ВЕСТНИК РОССИЙСКОГО УНИВЕРСИТЕТА ДРУЖБЫ НАРОДОВ. СЕРИЯ: ЛИТЕРАТУРОВЕДЕНИЕ. ЖУРНАЛИСТИКА

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RUDN Journal of Studies in Literature and Journalism is a peer-reviewed international academic journal publishing research in literature and journalism. It is international with regard to its editorial board, contributing authors and thematic foci of the publications.

The goal of the journal is to promote scholarly exchange and cooperation among Russian and international linguists, disseminate theoretically grounded research, and advance knowledge in a broad range of interdisciplinary issues pertaining to the field of literature studies, journalism, public relations and advertising. The editors aim to publish original research devoted to literature and journalism: literary process, prose, poetry, drama, literary criticism, mass communication, press, radio, television, genres of journalism, public relations.

Contributions to the journal should show awareness of current research trends in these areas, and explore their implications. Methodologies for data collection and analysis can be quantitative or qualitative, and must be grounded in practices in this area. General journal sections are "Literary Studies" and "Journalism".

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JOURNALISM

MEDIATIZATION IN THE DIGITAL ERA: FROM TRANSITION TO TRANSGRESSION

Editorial article / Редакционная статья

Mediatization in New Normal: Reversive Paradigms and Provoking Transgression?

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Медиатизация в «новой нормальности»: реверсы парадигмы и провокации трансгрессии?

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New Normal dilemma: "Mediatize or die"?

Nowadays, the global Coronavirus (COVID-19) pandemic provokes unprecedented change and sweeps through politics, economics, societies, cultures [1] — and mass media as well [2]. Meanwhile, the media is not only collapsed like other industries and social institutes. Paradoxically, it sweeps its own traditional professional, industrial and social boundaries to retain its brand perception as an indispensable and normative condition of our existence in this New Normal [3].

In the era of such mobilizing slogans as New Normal, Build Back Better and others, the mass media communication model and mediatization effects are changing dramatically, mostly due to digital platforms and their owners as its specific normative actors of the data colonialism [4]. Digital mediatization effects stay on the life's edge and a New Normal dictum sounds as — literally — "mediatize or die" dilemma when in lockdown someone has no access to the Internet to check the hot news or pay for their food or medicine or to take their permission to leave lockdown zone, etc.

New Normal is seemingly here to stay and in the near future according to the Pew Research Center and Elon University's Imagining the Internet Center research (2021), people's relationship with technology and tech determinism will deepen. The experts foresee significant change that will worsen economic inequality, enhance the power of big technology firms, multiply the spread of misinformation "as authoritarians and polarized populations wage warring information campaigns with their foes", etc. Some of the experts' express hope that changes spawned by the pandemic will make things better for significant portions of the population [5]. However, the imperativeness of mediation will grow, and traditional media communication modes, models and actors — and media effects — will change.

What does this New Normal change mean for media and mediatization studies? In other words, what is the impact on media and mediatization studies in the context of New Normal resulting from the pandemic, and how could it be theorized?

Media, mediation and mediatization in New Normal: Quo Vadis and Qui Prodest?

The evolution of modern media and media studies growth is connected with the evolution of capitalism and modernity. Since 17th century, media became an instrument of new bourgeois stratum and remains an inseparable part of society and politics, economics and culture. In 20th century, it cannot be divorced from contexts of everyday life [6]. In the 1950–60s Harold Innis, Marshall McLuhan, Raymond Williams and others defined media as one of the core mediators of society and its transformations. In the 1990s, Thompson analyses media effects in the context of modernity, and as one of the first determines media as institutional structures forming modern society and suggests mediatization as its function [7].

In the 2000s, the mass media is defined as being socially organized technologies for communication; mediated communication as a kind of intercourse that "makes use of such institutionalized tools that are primarily intended for communication"; mediatization as "an historical process whereby communication media become in some respect more "important" in expanding areas of life and society" and "expand in extension and power" [8. P. 484], especially in times of mediation of 'everything' [9].

During the last decade, media studies and mediatization studies as its new specific direction have evolved due to (digital) diversity of media and its effects. Starting from the differentiation of mediation and mediatization, and discussing the essence of the studies, academic researchers are still trying to mark the borders of this research field [10].

The majority of researchers consider the mediatization phenomena to be best understood as a non-linear process through which the media influences culture

and society. According to Stig Hjarvard, mediatization is a double-sided social process through which society is totally saturated with the media and it can no longer be viewed separately from other social institutions [11].

Mediatization is not only the process by which society is increasingly represented by the media, it becomes dependent on media and their logic. Media provokes limitation and distortion, such as through the use of exaggeration [12]. Friedrich Krotz presumes it is a meta process (i.e., similar to globalization) based on various forms of communication practice of social and cultural world construction [13]. At the same time, the boundaries of the media and social networks, professional journalism and "citizen journalism" are blurring.

The mediatization fundamentals were taken from the media and cultural studies and social science [6, 11]. The researchers conceptualize media as a social institution, from a cultural and material "perspective" [14]. For instance, one of the last theoretical approaches of mediatization proposed by Nick Couldry and Andreas Hepp in "The Mediated Construction of Reality" (2016), was realized within the framework of the figurative approach of Norbert Elias (1978) [15] taken from social science, at the intersection of social and media studies, the social-constructivist and cultural framework [16]. In 2020, the concept of digital 'deep mediatization' provided first by Couldry and Hepp advances the traditional sociological figuration and institutional approach [17]. Typology of mediatization studies includes such directions as institutionalist, social-constructivist, and material. Mediatization is classified as direct and indirect, at macro- and micro levels, etc.

To evaluate different effects, mediatization "demands cross-disciplinary work — with political science or pedagogy or the sociology of the family, for example — in ways too rarely attempted" [10]. For instance, socioeconomic context and effects are not included to the research agenda as a rule.

In the time before a New-Normal-past, even several years ago leading European researchers traditionally stressed, that "questions concerning the positive or negative outcomes of mediatization cannot, however, be answered on a general level; they must be addressed through an analysis of the specific contexts in which mediatization occurs and by explicating the normative framework of such evaluations" [14. P. 6].

The mediatization proponents mention that its concept is not just a concept reflecting the ever-increasing influence of media on different sectors of society and culture but a "paradigmatic shift" in media studies [6. P. 315] and social science in general.

The mediatization opponents argue that it is best understood as a sensitizing concept that guides empirical research and the interpretation of findings rather than as either a new paradigm or a middle-range theory in competition with others. They call on proponents of mediatization to understand social and media change within modernity within a variety of domains, in the context of existing theories and the other meta processes of modernity over a wide timescale (recent decades, centuries, millennia) [10].

How to analyze and theorize mediatization in the New-Normal-present? At the ICA 2020 conference, Andreas Hepp and Wiebke Loosen argued that it could be theorized as a 'mediatized collective break' during which all of us are experiencing the 'refiguration of public connection' [18]. In 2021, Hepp describes New Normal as deeply mediatized and identifies four points for analysis, such as people's expectations having been mediated, a mediated experience of the pandemic itself, an ongoing media-mediated analysis of the course the pandemic takes and repeatedly confrontation with the idea of a media-based 'solution' to individual problems brought up by the pandemic. "There are also 'collective actors' who play an important role in the 'making' of deep mediatization", such as social movements, for example, the open-source movement, pioneer communities, etc." — he added [19].

This specific environment and situation creates a number of key questions and dilemmas in the field of media and communication studies. Does New Normal mean just the 'refiguration of public connection' to be analyzed and theorized by mediatization scholars? Does the traditional approach of analysis address the contexts in which mediatization occurs work in New Normal?

To describe change, there needs to be included in the research framework we are identifying some of the basic elements and aspects that drive the transformation parameters of mediatized communication models rooted in digitalization, datafication and Internetization. In the mid-2010s, the AI-driven datafied and mediated economy was rising as normative in the majority of developed and many developing countries. Media becomes (or has to become) a normative element of the so called quadro helix (4H) of innovative economics communication model ('state-to-business-to-science-to-citizens') [20]. It means that exactly media effects in 4H are strongly needed to evaluate effective communication. Thus, in a new type of datafied digital economy media effects — and the mediatization framework of research — could be the most effective. It determines the expansion of the framework of mediatization, taking into account the realities of the quadro helix, social economy, economy of innovation, innovation communication, etc.

In the era of the Internet and the data colonialism, digital datafied mediated communication model a priory includes digital platform and data owner as the main normative autonomous media actors and (quasi) subjects. At all the levels of mediatization, macro (state), meso (institution), micro (individual). All of the subjects are influenced by data-driven mediation, provoked directly and indirectly by these (quasi) subjects and their specific media logic. However, these new core (quasi) subjects of datafied mediated economics are rather new for media studies [21] but determine the new structure and typology of mediatization studies.

Professional and social essence and function of the media differs due to media platforms. For instance, a media platform is not a 'traditional' institutional actor like media holding or supra-individual actor like state. As a normative (quasi) actor platform influences and transforms not only media and socio economy but politics and other spheres. The platform's media logic is radically different from all

previously existing and studied media realities. Just two examples: in 2021, Twitter bans President Trump and Google decides to ban all of the opponents of the idea of global warming — and for the first time a media platform (and its owners) became not only an economic and social but a real independent political actor. Thus, even before the advent of the New Normal, media and mediatization are already significantly transformed. Let's explore some of the changes that can be defined, without exaggeration as being paradigmatic.

Firstly, the effects of mediatization are becoming more popular and more important than media effects. It means that in media studies, mediatization is becoming a leading trend. It allows us to confirm the relevance of the idea of mediatization as a 'paradigm shift' in media research (which is constantly being criticized). We propose to designate the current situation as a reverse paradigm shift.

Second, the effects of mediatization can no longer be limited to cultural and social effects; the disciplinary framework of research is significantly expanding — even within the quadro helix of the digital economy. It necessitates a broader interdisciplinary approach (and also indicates the evolution and increasing importance of the concept of mediatization).

Thirdly, the effects of the functioning of media platforms, despite the specifics of their medialogic, have a significant impact not only on the mediatization, but all spheres of life. The media (platform) is transforming from *a tool* of the traditional class and economic struggle of the bourgeoisie into *a means of production* for digital 'data colonizers'. In other words, the essence of media in the economy and society is changing radically and reversibly.

Nowadays, mediatization becomes a meta process that has been under the critique of academic research earlier [10]. It could not be possible to analyze mediatization phenomena by continuing to follow traditional mediatization studies borders, especially while they are blurring. As an open meta element and process of New Normal it needs a new conceptual meta vision.

New Normal mediatization as transgression?

Media is a tool of transition and change 'by origin'. According to Roger Silverstone, mediation requires us to understand how processes of communication change the social and cultural environments and vice versa [22]. The very next 'new' media provokes radical social and cultural transition and transgression (it is a commonplace that according to Plato, even Socrates expressed concern over writing as 'a new media tool'). Every emergent media is always surrounded by controversy because it presents a shift in patterns of communication and social structure that is potentially threatening to established powers [23].

Digitalization, internetization and datafication create the ground for radical socioeconomic and sociopolitical 'data turn' [20] and mediatization as a double reverse paradigm shift. In other words, it means a transgression (COVID-19

pandemic and New Normal is a sort of transgression). De facto, transgression (trans means "through"; and gradi "to go", in Latin) is a fundamental character-ristic of human existence and relation to reality, since the very transgressive separation of man from nature.

There is a history of transgression in society since 14th century, and transgression research since last century seems to be challengingly transgressive and challenging transgression. The term and concept of transgression refers to (post)modernity and non-classic philosophy. The researchers insist that the German term 'Aufhebung' (the untranslatable German verb aufheben means to overcome while maintaining) which is close to transgression was proposed by Hegel in the "Phenomenology of Spirit". 'Aufhebung' means going beyond social being and achieving the position of an external observer in relation to the phenomena under consideration which describes only one of the possible meanings.

The essence of transgression as a phenomenon and process has many interpretations in various fields of science. Transgression is a space of transition from one fixed state to another. The term is fixing the phenomenon of crossing an impassable border, first of all, the border between the possible and impossible. Transgression as a violation of the border is possible only when and where such a border exists, and, on the other hand, the existence of the border presupposes its violation. Moreover, in certain cases, the border can be established as a result of a transgression, therefore it can be understood as a positive expansion of the boundaries. Transgression can be determined only by knowing the boundaries and only by an outside observer of the system.

Blurring norms, taboo and boundaries transgression permanently asserts and denies the limit at the same time and needs new transgression. Transgression describes the specific destructive and explosive, and innovative function or a social, cultural, political act or a characteristic. Paradoxically, to transgress is to go beyond the bounds or limits set by a commandment or law or convention, it is to violate or to infringe. And to transgress is also more than this, it is to announce and even to contradict a commandment, the law or convention. Transgression is a deeply reflexive "act of denial and affirmation" [24. P. 2].

According to Blanchot, transgression "is overcoming an insurmountable limit" [25]. For Bataille, the "transgressive way of thinking' is a sort of 'inner experience' and a sort of hedonistic autism [26]. He substantiates the philo-sophical, literary, economic, theological strategies of transgression and convinces that it lifts the prohibition without destroying it. Sometimes, the exception is more interesting than the normal case because it "not only confirms the rule, the rule itself exists only due to the exception" [27].

Gournels and Gunkel consider that "first, transgression is a social fact that is not completely contained within, and not completely apart from the social; second, transgression is anomalous but necessary to the functioning of the norm, what Slavoy Žižek … has termed 'a constitutive exception'; third, transgression works beyond mere opposition and resistance to an inhabited Other; fourth, transgression embraces desire and play in order to self-consciously question the

stasis and seriousness of the status quo, and thus while its politics are ambivalent, its power is both unquestionable and necessary" [28. P. 8].

Transgression is realized on two levels: at an institutional and individual level of transgression, which do not exclude each other. However, at meta level transgression is a specific original version of anthropological and sociogenesis. It is obvious as a striving beyond the boundaries of rationality and expediency of capitalism, especially in the data colonialism era. (Is it possible that the New Normal is the next stage? Then the transgression becomes the key approach to any research.)

Transgression is one of early cultural studies' key terms used in media cultural studies. Discourse on transgression dominates social and cultural studies and media culture in particular. For instance, one of the most widespread ideas, models and analytic categories is carnival as a phenomenon of socially permitted transgression, described by Bakhtin in "Rabelais and his Word' (1965) [29], and widely used not only in cultural and media cultural but also in political studies and related disciplines.

Nowadays, media researchers traditionally are interested in a variety of transgression 'taboo-breaking' topics but it's rather narrowly focused, not the cross-disciplinary or complex analysis of mediatization in dozens of articles. For instance, the authors of the special Transgression series of Amsterdam University publishing house explore such topics as analysis of forms of media culture that violate moral, legal, cultural and social limits; high theory and its use in the context of transgressive media culture discourse; Trans, in any variety e.g. human-species-gender-sexuality, and so forth [30]. Researchers of transgression in digital era and digital 2.0 are also deeply connected only with topics of media culture, such as mediatized political mashups, sex, pornography and other "non-conventional" scientific problems [28].

In 2021, the latest special issue of the International Journal of Cultural Studies on media and transgression inquiries into the uses of transgression as a critical concept to query contemporary media culture which is discussed in case studies from political satire to online trolls. According to the editors, nowadays "transgression points to the energy that fuels the media ecology — from content and content production to audience practices and the policing of content ownership". The researchers are focused on such problems as the (conscious) overstepping of moral and legal boundaries, that challenges written and unwritten rules. They claim that "frisson of rule breaking and the reward of rule re-establishment (whether by powerful parties or everyday gossip) are transgression's bookends. Together they support the cyclical rhythm of media culture that maintains not just our interest as viewers but our interests and connectedness as citizens, whether in celebration, outrage or condemnation" [31].

Therefore, staying at the 'not-to-distant-past' theoretical, conceptual, methodological and thematic position, mediatization theorists do not reflect the transgression effects of growing media 'meta invasion' in New Normal. However, in New Normal the provocative concept of transgression provides some new

lenses through which we could see and understand mediatization as a meta process transgressing not only culture and society but economics and politics, more comprehensively and study it cross-disciplinary. Universal total of New Normal transgression engages with interdisciplinary areas and methodologies, including those drawn not only from media and mediatization studies, social science and philosophy, but beyond from economy and politics, etc. and opens up a pioneering approach for media research.

Mediatizations and transgression: Mapping the research field

In mediatization studies, the concept of transgression allows us to reveal the transgressive and analyze the ways of its expression in New Normal almost for the first time. The Russian RUDN *Journal of Studies in Literature and Journalism* presents a pioneering attempt to explore mediatization through its empirical and theoretical analysis using the lens of transgression. In this special issue of the RUDN journal we wish to explore the many ways in which media are embedded in current total transgression and to start mapping the research field despite the fact that transgression means the destruction of any boundaries.

The aim is both to substantiate the theory of mediatization and provide a richer understanding of the role of the media in current both global and local mediatized changes. Of course, there are more questions than answers in this field of mediatization research and in this special issue. But we hope it helps the reader himself to put together from the scattered, at the first glance, topics the contour of the general map of transgression mediatization in New Normal.

The first section of the Journal is theoretical. Our study identifies the "reverse" paradigm shift and characteristics that reinforce the special place of mediatization studies in medialogy. In the New Normal at the meta level, the idea of transgressive mediatization as a complex vision of actual practices and their conceptualization is proposed. The new concept 'opens the boundaries' of the classical field of research for interdisciplinary analysis.

The institutional essence of media transgression is the first paper! In his research, Viktor Kolomiets implements the idea of mediatization as a process of transformation of media as it is. He analyzes the mass communication industry under the pressure of digital transit, which breaks traditional business practices and is transgressive by definition. Behind the industrial transformation the more crucial conflict is seen between the relatively free digital environment and the institutionalized state-controlled media.

Journalism is a traditional 'core sphere' of media but its existence nowadays seems to be very contradictory due to a great number of challenges perceived by the media themselves. Greg Simons and Dmitry Strovsky are breaking the rules to find out that the interactions and reactions between the cognitive imaginations of the ideal form of journalism and the physical realities of the forces shape and

affect the profession — and find another sense of transgression in journalism. The institutional boundaries and practices of the profession are under a great deal of strain between the ideal imaginations and expectations. There is cumulative effect of the ideas and elements, proposed by the authors could be a revolution from the original academic vision and conception of practice.

In recent decades social media is also rather a traditional mediatization field. To describe the ontology of transgressive social media, Valentin Stepanov proposes the T-Magic formula. Three Ts stands for transformation, transfiguration and transgression. It displays digital space and digital time navigation. Pioneering ideas of research allow Stepanov to discuss social media and social capital, anthropology of digitalization from this point of view.

The theoretical foundations of transdiscursiveness, proposed by Anna Kostikova and Sergei Spartak, allow us to fix its new characteristics in the conditions of crucial digitalization of society. In response to the crisis of understanding in mediatized everyday life, the authors turn us back to the idea of discursivity of human civilization and propose to rethink the concept of possible worlds — to renew social strategies and communications in terms of the philosophy of language.

The problem of strengthening biopolitical control as a consequence of the corporeality deep mediatization is discussed by Ekaterina Alekseeva. The article argues that the deep mediatization of corporeality is a complex and inevitable process. The author suggests that theoretical approaches such as cyberfeminism or xenofeminism show that the corporeality deep mediatization as a transgressive alliance of people, media and technology can open up new opportunities for creating different life forms out of control.

Marina Shilina and Julie Wirth analyze the communication essence of an immersive media project. To designate the research direction into the essence and effects of immersive media practices, the authors propose the term 'generative mediatization' to describe the effects of personal and socio-cultural development obtained by the user and based on experience. Such a new type of transgressive user experience deepens the user-centric approach and provokes a new paradigm shift in mediatization studies.

To find new theoretical ideas, Evgenia Nim provides the analysis of the possibilities and limitations of the figurative approach to the deep mediatization study. The researcher proposes to analyze the multifunctional platforms that become a single digital infrastructure for many figurations and could be the ecosystem for a mediatized social life and use a more radical interpretation of media logics as human-machine logics.

The second section of the journal opens up the transgressive optics for empirical studies of mediatization. The article by Sergei Samoilenko supports Valentini's (2006) observation that the EU's inability to tailor its message to different audiences. In the context of European mediatized politics, the idea of an integrative European identity is unlikely to become a unifying power for the fragmented citizenry. Audience segmentation and fragmented media lead to

multiple transgressions including the formation of new public spheres and growing ideological polarization.

In Kazakhstan, omni-mediatization became the strategy for political parties and opposition movements, according to Mariyamgul Kussainova. She analyses the transgressive concept of transmedia storytelling as a promising direction of their strategies. Author is of the opinion that the main features of mediatization of public policy in Kazakhstan are a paternalistic format of interaction and politics through social media to protect society from surrogate opposition, "the growth of political populism" and disinformation.

Theorizing mediatization, Can Bilgili and Olena Goroshko focus on discussions and research on the intertwining of the media with the awareness of the audience (or consumer) about the content of transmedia stories in the context of media literacy. The study focuses on the Turkish and Ukrainian audience knowledge about transmedia applications. They examine the competence of multimedia viewers who use social media and follow traditional media — the television channel — to understand and be aware of the content transitions between different media tools and platforms. Television was chosen as the traditional media for the research study due to its widespread viewing in Turkey and Ukraine.

Dmytrij Sharonov analyzes the concept of hypermedia as a transgressive aspect of deep mediatization of the relationship between the company and its stakeholders. He concretizes the model of recursive communication for the correct interpretation of the discovered phenomena. The author believes that the philosophical reflection, ecological approach and transition to trans-disciplinary methods of researching the problems of deep mediatization in the digital era is inevitable.

Larisa Sharakhina, Vera Achkasova and Liudmila Azarova point out that the media and the environment crucially shape each other and operating conditions for other institutions. For the first time, the authors use mediatization optics for corporate communication and media relations strategies analysis and find the specific discursive "configurations of configurations" built up in layers, constantly referencing each other.

In times of social media, social institutions are affected by media, particular in medicine. Marina Shutova and Yana Rocheva focus on the new interaction clinic-to-doctor-to-patient digital mediated models. Pioneering study of the transformative effect of mediatization in medicine reveals the efficiency of communicative constructivism, validates the transformation tendencies in medicine as a social institution and blurs the boundaries of the traditional research field.

Growing ubiquitous digitalization of mediatized communication, especially in New Normal, provokes the interest of Elena Chankova and Oleg Sorokin to the phenomenon of communicative competence of an individual. The researchers insist that the communicative competence of an individual is a factor which determines the effectiveness of interactions in the context of technological, semantic and institutional changes and the integration of the communicative space of society.

In the third section of the Journal the reader can compare realities of mediatization in a global and local theoretical context while reading the interviews with the leading researchers in their fields, Professor Andreas Hepp and Professor William Dutton.

Many of these pioneering research questions left wide open. Nevertheless, mapping transgressive New Normal mediatization research field the contributors of this special issue stay pioneers, literally and metaphorically. Let us, together with the authors of this special issue of *Mediatization in the Digital Era: From Transition to Transgression*, cross all the boundaries because only an external observer of any system has the most interesting and rewarding view and role, which is paramount especially for a scientist. Bon voyage and good luck!

RUS

Дилемма «новой нормальности»: медиатизация или смерть?

Глобальная пандемия SaRS-COVID-19 вызывает беспрецедентные изменения во всех сферах — экономике, обществе, культуре [1], — и в медиа [2]. Однако СМИ, как ни парадоксально, не только оказались в «зоне поражения», как другие отрасли и социальные институты, но и расширили собственные традиционные профессиональные, производственные и социальные границы, поскольку оказались непременным и, по существу, нормативным условием нашего существования в нынешней «новой нормальности» [3].

В «новой нормальности» модели медиакоммуникации и эффекты медиатизации кардинально меняются, в основном благодаря цифровым платформам и их владельцам как нормативным акторам эпохи Big data колониализма — колониализма «больших данных» [4]. Современные эффекты цифровой медиатизации балансируют на грани жизни: слоган «новой нормальности» звучит буквально как дилемма: «Медиатизация или смерть!», — когда в условиях изоляции у человека нет доступа к Интернету, чтобы проверить горячие «ковидные» новости, заплатить онлайн за еду или лекарства или взять пропуск, чтобы выйти из дома...

«Новая нормальность» останется с нами и в ближайшем будущем, согласно данным исследовательского центра Pew Research Center и Университета Илона (Imagining the Internet Center, 2021), люди и технологии будут связаны еще теснее. Эксперты предвидят значительные изменения, которые усугубят экономическое неравенство, усилят влияние крупных технологических корпораций, умножат объемы дезинформации, авторитарные и поляризованные группы населения, будут вести «враждебные информационные кампании со своими противниками» и т. д. Некоторые эксперты при этом выражают надежду, что постпандемийные изменения улучшат положение

людей [5]. Как бы там ни было, сфера императивной медиатизации будет продолжать расширяться, традиционные медийные способы коммуникации, модели, акторы, медиаэффекты — изменяться.

Какие вызовы возникают в «новой нормальности» с точки зрения исследований медиа и медиатизации? Иными словами, каковы особенности медиа, медиатизации и их исследований в контексте «новой нормальности»?

СМИ, медиация и медиатизация
в «новой нормальности»: Quo Vadis и Qui Prodest?

Эволюция современных медиа и развитие медиаисследований тесно связаны с эволюцией капитализма и общества модерна. СМИ как инструмент влияния нарождающегося нового класса буржуазии в XVII веке вскоре становятся неотъемлемой частью общества и политики, экономики и культуры. В XX веке медиа невозможно исключить из контекстов повседневной жизни [6]. В 1950–1960-е годы Г. Иннис, М. Маклюэн, Р. Уильямс и другие исследователи определили СМИ как один из основных медиаторов общественных процессов и преобразований. В 1990-х годах Дж.Б. Томпсон анализирует медиаэффекты в контексте современности и — среди первых — определяет медиа как институциональные структуры, формирующие современное общество, и описывает медиатизацию как функцию СМИ [7].

В 2000-е годы ученые определяют медиа как социальные организованные коммуникационные технологии; опосредованное медиаобщение — как вид коммуникации, в котором «используются такие институционализированные инструменты, которые в первую очередь предназначены для общения»; медиатизация описывается как «исторический процесс, посредством которого средства коммуникации становятся в некотором отношении более „важными“ в расширении сфер жизни и общества» и благодаря этому «ширятся и обретают силу» [8. Р. 484], особенно в нынешние времена «медиатизации всего» [9].

В последнее десятилетие изучение медиа — и исследования медиатизации как нового специфического направления медиалогии — эволюционирует в контексте роста (цифрового) разнообразия медиа и их эффектов. При этом ученые, начав с разграничения медиации и медиатизации и дискуссий о сущности медиатизации как сферы научных изысканий, пока лишь обозначают параметры и возможные границы этого исследовательского поля [10].

Большинство исследователей рассматривают феномен медиатизации как нелинейный процесс, посредством которого медиа влияют на культуру и общество. По мнению С. Ярварда, медиатизация — это двусторонний социальный процесс, благодаря которому общество полностью (предельно — *Прим. авт.*) насыщается средствами массовой информации, которые больше нельзя рассматривать отдельно от других социальных институтов [11].

Медиатизация — это не только процесс, благодаря которому общество все больше опосредовано медиа, — социум становится зависимым от СМИ и их логики. Медиа провоцируют искажения, например преувеличение [12]. Ф. Кротц полагает, что медиатизация — это метапроцесс (подобный, к примеру, глобализации), основанный на различных формах коммуникативной практики построения социального и культурного мира [13]. При этом границы СМИ и медиапотоков социальных сетей, профессиональной журналистики и «журналистики граждан» размываются.

Теоретические основы медиатизации ученые черпают из медиалогии, культурологии и социальных наук [6. Р. 11], концептуализируя медиа как социальный институт, с позиций культурной и материальной «перспектив» [14]. В частности, один из актуальных теоретических подходов к изучению медиатизации предложен Ником Коулдри и Андреасом Хеппом в работе «Медиаконструирование реальности» (2016) в рамках фигуративного социологического подхода Норберта Элиаса (1978) [15], на стыке социологии и медиалогии, социально-конструктивистского и культурологического подходов [16]. В 2020 году концепция цифровой «глубокой медиатизации», впервые предложенная Н. Коулдри и А. Хеппом, развивается в рамках традиционного социологического фигуративного подхода [17].

Типология исследований медиатизации включает институциональное, социально-конструктивистское и «материальное» направления. Медиатизация рассматривается как прямая и косвенная, на макро- и микроуровне, социальном и индивидуальном и т. д. Оценка эффектов медиатизации «требует междисциплинарного исследования, например, совместного с политологией, педагогикой или социологией семьи, что происходит крайне редко» [10]. Так, например, социально-экономический контекст и эффекты, как правило, не включаются в повестку исследований.

В период до «новой нормальности», буквально несколько лет назад, ведущие европейские исследователи традиционно подчеркивали, что «на вопросы, касающиеся положительных или отрицательных результатов медиатизации, нельзя, однако, ответить на общем уровне; они должны решаться посредством анализа конкретных контекстов, в которых происходит медиатизация, и путем объяснения нормативных рамок таких оценок» [14. Р. 6].

При этом сторонники медиатизации отмечали, что это — не просто концепция, отражающая все возрастающее влияние медиа на различные слои общества и культуры, но и «парадигмальный сдвиг» в исследованиях медиа [6. Р. 315] и общественных наук в целом.

Противники же медиатизации утверждают, что ее оптимально воспринимать не как новую парадигму или теорию среднего уровня, конкурирующую с другими теориями аналогичного уровня в медиалогии, но как сенсибилизирующую концепцию, которая определяет направления эмпирических исследований и интерпретацию результатов. Ученые-критики предлагают сторонникам медиатизации изучать социальные и медийные изменения во

всех сферах в контексте уже существующих теорий, в рамках других мета-процессов современности, в широком временном масштабе (например, последних десятилетий, столетий, тысячелетия) [10].

Каковы подходы к анализу и концептуализации медиатизации в «новой нормальности»? На конференции крупнейшей международной ассоциации исследований коммуникации International Communication Association (ICA) в 2020 году немецкие ученые Андреас Хепп и Вибке Лоозен утверждали, что в ковид медиатизацию можно теоретически обозначить как «коллективный перерыв» («mediatized collective break»), во время которого все мы переживаем «рефигурацию связей в обществе» («refiguration of public connection») [18]. В 2021 году Хепп описывает «новую нормальность» как глубоко медиатизированную и выделяет четыре направления для анализа медиатизированных реалий: ожидания людей, опыт самой пандемии, анализ хода пандемии и идеи «решения» отдельных ее проблем в СМИ. Ученый отмечает «коллективных акторов», которые играют важную роль в «глубокой медиатизации» и требуют изучения, например социальное движение за открытый исходный код, сообщества технологических пионеров и т. д. [19].

Является ли «новая нормальность» очередным форматом классической «рефигурации связей в обществе»? Возможно ли анализировать и концептуализировать медиатизацию в «новой нормальности» с помощью классических подходов?

Прежде чем определить характер практик и направления возможных подходов к исследованию медиатизации в «новой нормальности», обозначим некоторые из основных параметров трансформации медиатизации (на уровне моделей) в период «до-новой-нормальности», обусловленных цифровизацией, датафикацией и интернетизацией, которые, однако, не нашли отражения в исследованиях. Так, в середине 2010-х годов цифровая экономика, основанная на Big Data, больших данных, и технологиях искусственного интеллекта, становится нормативной в большинстве развитых и многих развивающихся странах. СМИ становятся (или должны стать) нормативным элементом, который обеспечивает функционирование так называемой квадроспирали инновационной экономики («государство — бизнес — наука — граждане»), то есть медиа становятся обязательным «пятым элементом» цифровой экономики, формируя новую модель «квинтоспирали» [20]. Эффективное функционирование цифровой экономики означает, что именно медиаэффекты необходимо учитывать при обеспечении взаимодействия всех акторов в «квадроспирали». Таким образом, в цифровой экономике более всего востребованы именно медийные эффекты, их исследование обусловливает расширение рамок медиатизации с учетом реалий квадроспирали, социальной экономики, экономики инноваций, инновационной коммуникации и т.д.

В эпоху Интернета, так называемого Web 2.0 и особенно «датифицированного колониализма», модель цифровой медийной коммуникации априори

включает цифровую платформу и владельца данных как базисных автономных (квази)субъектов. На всех уровнях медиатизации — макро (государство), мезо (социальный институт), микро (индивид) — коммуникация всех иных субъектов и объектов опосредована прямо или косвенно упомянутыми выше (квази)субъектами и подчинена их специфической медиалогике. Изучение этих базисных (квази)субъектов цифровой экономики довольно ново для исследователей [21], однако именно медиаплатформы определяют новую структуру и типологию медиатизации.

В условиях доминирования медиаплатформ изменяются не только параметры медиатизации, но и функции медиа, их профессиональная, индустриальная и социальная сущность. Платформы и их владельцы трансформируют не только медиа, общество и культуру, но и экономику, политику и другие сферы. Медиаплатформа при этом не является «традиционным» институциональным субъектом как медиахолдинг, или надындивидуальным субъектом — как государство. Медиалогика платформы радикально отличается от всех ранее существовавших и исследованных медийных реалий. Приведем всего два примера: в 2021 году Twitter «банит» тогдашнего президента США Трампа — и впервые медиаплатформа и ее владельцы выступают не только как экономический, социальный, но и как автономный политический актор; Google принимает официальное решение «банить» на своих ресурсах всех противников идеи глобального потепления, то есть фактически вводит глобальную цензуру и расправляется с неугодным для владельцев компании «научным инакомыслием».

Таким образом, уже до «новой нормальности», медиа и медиатизация существенно трансформируются. Зафиксируем два изменения, которые возможно определить — без преувеличения — как парадигмальные.

Во-первых, эффекты медиатизации становятся максимально востребованными и более важными, чем медиаэффекты. Это означает, что медиатизация становится ведущим направлением в медиалогии, что позволяет подтвердить релевантность идеи медиатизации как «сдвига парадигмы» в исследованиях медиа (хотя это направление постоянно подвергается критике). Сложившуюся ситуацию предлагаем обозначить как обратный, реверсивный сдвиг парадигмы.

Во-вторых, эффекты медиатизации уже невозможно ограничивать только культурными и социальными эффектами; дисциплинарные рамки исследования существенно расширяются — даже в границах квадроспирали цифровой экономики, что обусловливает необходимость более широкого междисцилинарного подхода (и также косвенно свидетельствует об эволюции и повышении значимости концепции медиатизации).

В-третьих, эффекты функционирования медиаплатформ, несмотря на специфику их медиалогики, оказывают существенное влияние не только на параметры медиатизации, но и трансформации во всех сферах жизни. Медиа (платформа) трансформируется из *инструмента* традиционной классовой и

экономической борьбы буржуазии в *средство производства* для цифровых «колонизаторов» данных. Другими словами, сущность медиа в экономике и обществе меняется радикально — и реверсивно.

В «новой нормальности» медиатизация трансформируется еще более радикально, становится метапроцессом (что ранее подвергалось критике со стороны академических исследователей [10]).

Таким образом, невозможно анализировать феномен медиатизации, оставаясь в рамках традиционных частных, не кросс-дисциплинарных, не метасущностных границ исследований, тем более когда они взламываются. Медиатизация как открытый метаэлемент и метапроцесс «новой нормальности» нуждаются в новом концептуальном метавидении.

Медиатизация в «новой нормальности» как трансгрессия?

Медиа — это инструмент перехода и перемен «по определению». По мнению Р. Сильверстоуна, медиация предлагает нам понимание того, как процессы коммуникации изменяют социальную и культурную среду и vice versa [22].

Каждое «новое» медиа всегда вызывает споры, потому что провоцирует изменения в моделях коммуникации и социальной структуре, что потенциально угрожает установленному порядку вещей [23].

Каждое «новое» медиа провоцирует радикальный социальный и культурный переход — и трансгрессию (еще Сократ, если верить Платону, выражал озабоченность по поводу письменности как «нового медиаинструмента»).

Цифровизация, интернетизация и датафикация, как доказывают наши исследования, создают основу для радикального социально-экономического и социально-политического «поворота», Data Turn [20] и двойного «реверсивного» сдвига парадигмы в медиатизации. Другими словами — для трансгрессии. (Можно считать и саму пандемию COVID-SaRS-19, и «новую нормальность» своего рода трансгрессией.)

De facto трансгрессия (лат. *trans* — через; *gradi* — идти) является фундаментальной характеристикой человеческого существования и отношения к реальности, начиная с момента отделения человека от природы.

История трансгрессии в обществе с XIV века и ее исследования с века прошлого бросают вызов трансгрессии и кажутся вызывающе трансгрессивными.

Термин и концепция трансгрессии относятся к (пост)современности и неклассической философии. Исследователи настойчиво повторяют, что немецкий термин Aufhebung (непереводимый немецкий глагол aufheben означает «преодолевать, сохраняя»), близкий к трансгрессии, был предложен Гегелем в «Феноменологии духа». По сути, Aufhebung отражает только одно

из возможных значений и означает выход за пределы социального бытия и достижение позиции внешнего наблюдателя по отношению к рассматриваемым явлениям.

Сущность трансгрессии как явления и процесса имеет множество трактовок в различных сферах научного знания. Трансгрессия — это переход из одного фиксированного состояния в другое. Термин фиксирует явление пересечения непроходимой границы — прежде всего границы между возможным и невозможным.

Трансгрессия — как нарушение границы — возможна только тогда и там, где такая граница существует, то есть может быть определена только благодаря знанию границ и только сторонним наблюдателем системы. С другой стороны, разве само наличие границы не предполагает ее нарушение? Более того, создание границы как таковое есть изменение, то есть нарушение, так что трансгрессию можно понимать и как процесс устранения нарушений.

Размывание норм, табу и нарушение границ постоянно утверждает и отрицает предел одновременно — и требует новой трансгрессии.

Трансгрессия — «глубоко рефлексивный акт отрицания и утверждения» [24. P. 2], акт социальный, культурный, политический — или свойство. Это деструктивная и взрывоопасная — и новаторская — функция.

По мнению М. Бланшо, трансгрессия «преодолевает непреодолимый предел» [25]. Для Ж. Батая «трансгрессивный образ мышления» — это своего рода «внутренний опыт» и своего рода гедонистический аутизм [26]. Он обосновывает философские, литературные, экономические и теологические стратегии трансгрессии и убеждает, что они снимают запрет, но не разрушают его. Согласно К. Шмитту, иногда исключение более интересно, чем норма, потому что оно не только подтверждает правило, но и само правило существует только благодаря исключению [27].

Т. Гоурнелс и Д.Дж. Гункель считают, что «во-первых, трансгрессия — это социальный факт, который социален и асоциален одновременно; во-вторых, нарушение аномально, но необходимо для функционирования нормы, это то, что Славой Жижек назвал „конститутивным исключением"; в-третьих, проступок выходит за рамки простого противостояния и сопротивления Другому; в-четвертых, трансгрессия включает в себя желание и игру, чтобы осознанно подвергнуть сомнению застой и серьезность статус-кво, и, таким образом, хотя суть трансгрессии амбивалентна, ее сила неоспорима и необходима» [28. P. 8].

Трансгрессия реализуется на двух уровнях: как институциональная, так и индивидуальная, не исключающие друг друга. На метауровне — это специфическая версия антропо- и социогенеза. В эпоху капитализма, особенно датифицированного колониализма, трансгрессия отражает стремление выйти за рамки рациональности и целесообразности. (Возможно ли, что «новая нормальность» — это следующая стадия? Тогда трансгрессивный подход может оказаться ключевым для всякого исследования.)

Трансгрессия — один из базовых терминов времен ранних культурологических исследований. В медиакультуре дискурс о трансгрессии доминирует. Например, одной из наиболее распространенных идей, моделей, метафор и аналитических категорий является карнавал как феномен социально разрешенного нарушения, описанный М.М. Бахтиным в исследовании «Творчество Франсуа Рабле и народная культура средневековья и Ренессанса» (1965) [29] и широко используемый в сфере исследований не только культуры, медиакультуры, но и политики и др.

В настоящее время исследователи медиа традиционно интересуются широким спектром тем, нарушающих табу, что предполагает довольно узкую фокусировку, но не междисциплинарный или комплексный анализ медиатизации. Например, авторы специальной серии «Трансгрессия» издательства Амстердамского университета исследуют такие темы, как анализ форм медиакультуры, которые нарушают моральные, правовые, культурные и социальные ограничения и т.д. [30].

Исследования трансгрессии в цифровую эпоху и digital 2.0 также связаны исключительно с темами медиакультуры, такими как политизированные политические мэшапы, секс, порнография и другие «нетрадиционные» научные проблемы [28].

В 2021 году в специальном выпуске международного журнала исследований медиа и трансгрессии трансгрессия обозначена как критический фокус для изучения современной медиакультуры, от политической сатиры до онлайнового троллинга. По мнению редакторов этого специального выпуска Дж. Хермес и А. Хилл, в настоящее время «трансгрессия указывает на энергию, подпитывающую экологию СМИ — от контента и производства контента до практик аудитории и контроля за обладанием контентом». Исследования затрагивают такие проблемы, как (сознательное) превышение моральных и правовых границ, которое бросает вызов писаным и неписаным правилам. Хермес и Хилл утверждают, что «дрожь от нарушения правил и вознаграждение за восстановление правил (будь то влиятельные партии или повседневные сплетни) — это баллы проступков. Вместе они поддерживают циклический ритм медиакультуры, который поддерживает не только наши интересы как зрителей, но и наши интересы и связи как граждан, будь то празднование, возмущение или осуждение» [31].

Таким образом, придерживаясь в изучении концепции трансгрессии и ее применении теоретической, концептуальной, методологической и тематической классической позиции «прошлого-до-новой-нормальности», теоретики медиатизации не отражают пока трансгрессивные эффекты растущего «метавторжения» медиа в эпоху «новой нормальности».

Однако провокационная концепция трансгрессии дает возможность рефлексии медиатизации как метапроцесса, взрывающего не только культуру и общество, но и экономику и политику, — и фокусировку для более комплексного изучения медиатизации на междисциплинарном уровне. Уни-

версальность концепции позволяет интегрировать в исследования медиатизации идеи не только социальных наук и культурологии, но и философии, экономики, политики и т. д. — и открывает новаторский подход к междисциплинарным комплексным исследованиям медиа в «новой нормальности».

Медиатизация и трансгрессия: картография исследования

Концепция трансгрессии позволяет впервые выявить и проанализировать специфику медиатизации в «новой нормальности».

Российский журнал исследований в области литературы и журналистики — «Вестник РУДН» — представляет читателю новаторскую попытку исследования медиатизации с использованием трансгрессивной оптики. В этом специальном выпуске журнала «Медиатизация в цифровую эру: от транзита к трансгрессии» мы хотим исследовать многообразие точек соприкосновения медиа и трансгрессии, начать составление карты исследования — несмотря на то, что трансгрессия предполагает разрушение любых границ.

Наша цель — предложить и обосновать новые идеи теории и практики медиатизации для более глубокого понимания сущности медиа, их роли в текущих глобальных и локальных изменениях.

Конечно, в медиатизации как сфере исследования — и в этом специальном выпуске — вопросов больше, чем ответов. Но мы надеемся, что этот специальный выпуск поможет читателю составить из разрозненных, на первый взгляд, тем контуры общей карты медиатизации и трансгрессии в «новой нормальности».

Раздел «Теория и методология: трансгрессия трансформации» — теоретический. Исследование характеристик медиатизации позволило выявить «обратную» смены парадигмы и характеристики, которые закрепляют особое место mediatization studies в медиалогии. В «новой нормальности» на метауровне предложена идея трансгрессивной медиатизации как комплексного видения актуальных практик и их концептуализации. Новая концепция «открывает границы» классического поля исследования для междисциплинарного анализа.

А пока — институциональная сущность трансгрессии прежде всего! Виктор Коломиец в своем исследовании реализует идею медиатизации как процесса трансформации медиа. Автор анализирует индустрию массовых коммуникаций в тисках цифрового транзита, который ломает традиционные методы ведения бизнеса и является трансгрессивным по определению. За индустриальной трансформацией виден и более существенный конфликт — между относительно свободной цифровой средой и институционализированными СМИ, которые контролируются государством.

Журналистика — это традиционная «основа» медиа. Грег Саймонс и Дмитрий Стровский нарушают правила и разрушают стереотипы, выясняя,

что институциональные границы и практики профессии противоречат идеальным представлениям и ожиданиям. Совокупный эффект идей, предложенных авторами, представляется революционным — в сравнении с академическим видением и концепциями.

В последние десятилетия социальные сети становятся традиционной сферой медиатизации. Валентин Степанов предлагает онтологию трансгрессивных социальных сетей — в виде формулы T-Magic. Три буквы «T» обозначают трансформацию, трансфигурацию и трансгрессию. Формула отображает цифровое пространство и цифровую навигацию во времени. Новаторское исследование включает анализ социальных сетей и социального капитала, антропологию цифровизации.

Теоретические основы трансдискурсивности, предложенные Анной Костиковой и Сергеем Спартаком, позволяют зафиксировать ее новые характеристики в условиях цифровизации общества. Авторы возвращают нас к идее дискурсивности человеческой цивилизации — в ответ на кризис понимания в медиатизированной повседневной жизни — и предлагают переосмыслить концепцию цифровых миров, обновить социальные стратегии и коммуникации с точки зрения философии языка.

Проблема усиления биополитического контроля как следствие телесности в условиях глубокой медиатизации рассматривается в статье Екатерины Алексеевой. Глубокая медиатизация телесности — сложный и неизбежный процесс. Автор полагает, что теоретические подходы, такие как киберфеминизм или ксенофеминизм, показывают, что глубинная медиатизация телесности как трансгрессивный альянс людей, медиа и технологий может открыть новые возможности для создания различных форм жизни, выходящих из-под контроля.

Марина Шилина и Юлия Вирт анализируют коммуникации иммерсивного медиапроекта. Чтобы обозначить новое направление исследования сущности и эффектов иммерсивных медиапрактик, авторы предлагают термин «генеративная медиатизация» для описания опыта и эффектов личного и социокультурного развития, которое получает пользователь. Этот новый тип трансгрессивного пользовательского опыта провоцирует новый сдвиг парадигмы в исследованиях медиатизации.

Чтобы найти новые теоретические идеи, Евгения Ним проводит анализ возможностей и ограничений фигуративного подхода к исследованию глубокой медиатизации. Исследователь предлагает проанализировать многофункциональные платформы, которые становятся единой цифровой инфраструктурой для многих конфигураций и могут быть экосистемой для медиатизированной социальной жизни, а также использовать более радикальную интерпретацию медиалогики — как логики человеко-машинной.

Следующий раздел журнала открывает возможности трансгрессивной оптики для эмпирических исследований медиатизации. Статья Сергея Самойленко отражает реалии неспособности ЕС адаптировать свое послание к разным аудиториям. Автор подчеркивает, что в контексте европейской ме-

диатизированной политики идея интегративной европейской идентичности вряд ли станет объединяющей силой для граждан. Сегментация аудитории и фрагментарность медиаинформации приводят к многочисленным нарушениям, обусловливают растущую идеологическую поляризацию.

В Казахстане омни-медиатизация стала стратегией политических партий и оппозиционных движений. Мариямгуль Кусаинова анализирует трансгрессивную концепцию трансмедийного повествования как перспективное направление этих стратегий. Автор доказывает, что основными чертами медиатизации государственной политики в Казахстане являются патерналистский формат взаимодействия и политическая коммуникация в социальных сетях для защиты общества от суррогатной оппозиции, роста политического популизма и дезинформации.

Джан Билгили и Елена Горошко сосредоточились на изучении взаимосвязи СМИ с осведомленностью аудитории о содержании контента трансмедийных историй в контексте медиаграмотности. Исследователи сфокусировались на изучении понимания турецкой и украинской аудиторией трансмедийных проектов. Особое внимание ученые уделили изучению компетентностей пользователей социальных сетей и телезрителей (телевидение для исследования было выбрано в качестве традиционного СМИ в силу его высокой популярности в двух странах). Исследование решило задачу описания переходов контента между различными медиаинструментами и платформами.

Дмитрий Шаронов анализирует концепцию гипермедиа как трансгрессивный аспект глубокой медиатизации отношений между компанией и ее стейкхолдерами и конкретизирует модель рекурсивного общения для правильной интерпретации обнаруженных явлений. Автор считает, что философская рефлексия, экологический подход и переход к трансдисциплинарным методам исследования проблем глубокой медиатизации в цифровую эпоху неизбежны.

Лариса Шарахина, Вера Ачкасова и Людмила Азарова отмечают, что медиа и окружающая среда решающим образом формируют друг друга и условия работы других институтов. Авторы впервые используют оптику медиатизации для анализа корпоративных коммуникаций и стратегий отношений со СМИ и находят определенные дискурсивные «конфигурации конфигураций», выстроенные слоями, постоянно ссылаясь друг на друга.

В эпоху социальных сетей социальные институты находятся под влиянием медиа, в частности в медицине. Марина Шутова и Яна Рочева сосредоточили внимание на новых цифровых опосредованных моделях взаимодействия от клиники к врачу и пациенту. Новаторское исследование преобразующего эффекта медиатизации в медицине раскрывает эффективность коммуникативного конструктивизма, подтверждает тенденции трансформации в медицине как социальном институте и стирает границы традиционной области исследований.

Растущая повсеместная дигитализация медиатизированной коммуникации, особенно в «новой нормальности», определяет интерес Елены Чанко-

вой и Олега Сорокина к феномену коммуникативной компетентности личности. Исследователи полагают, что коммуникативная компетентность человека определяет эффективность взаимодействий в контексте технологических, семантических и институциональных изменений и интеграции коммуникативного пространства общества.

В третьем разделе выпуска читатель может сравнить реалии медиатизации в глобальном и локальном теоретическом контексте, читая интервью с ведущими исследователями в своих областях — профессором Андреасом Хеппом и профессором Уильямом Даттоном.

Вопросы исследования медиатизации по-прежнему открыты. Исследователи данного специального выпуска «Медиатизация в цифровую эру: от транзита к трансгрессии», создавая карту медиатизации в «новой нормальности», являются первопроходцами — в прямом и переносном смысле. Давайте вместе с ними пересечем все границы, потому что только внешний наблюдатель любой системы получает возможность взглянуть на нее объективно, что особенно важно для ученого. Приятного вам путешествия и удачи!

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ТЕОРИЯ И МЕТОДОЛОГИЯ:
ТРАНСГРЕССИЯ ТРАНСФОРМАЦИИ

THEORY AND METHODOLOGY:
TRANSGRESSIVE CHANGES AND CHALLENGES

Mediatization of the Media as Industrial Transformation

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Abstract. The article implements the idea of mediatization as a process of transformation of the mass communication industry. Nowadays, the current system of mass communication is under the pressure of digital transit, which is transgressive in nature and breaks traditional business patterns, requires business administration to make mental changes in thinking and management practices, and creates the highest level of tension among media managers. The article attempts to conceptualize (through the analysis of industrial 'points of tension': between television and online video — players of the cross-media dimension) some aspects of the digital transformation of the media industry and industrial management practices. Behind this transformation is the conflict between the digital environment generated by the relatively free development of the Internet and the purposefully organized and institutionalized state-controlled media.

Keywords: media, mediatization, media industry, media management, television, video, media measurement

Медиатизация медиа как индустриальная трансформация

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Аннотация. В статье реализуется идея медиатизации как процесса трансформации индустрии массовой коммуникации. В настоящее время сложившаяся система массовой коммуникации находится под прессом цифрового транзита, который носит трансгрессивный характер, ломает традиционные бизнес-модели, требует от менеджмента ментальных изменений в мышлении и управленческих практиках, создает высочайший уровень напряженности среди медиаменеджеров. Предпринята попытка концептуализации (через анализ индустриальных «точек напряженности»: между телевидением и онлайн-видео, игроками кросс-медийного измерения) некоторых аспектов цифровой трансформации медиаиндустрии и индустриальных управленческих практик. В основе этой трансформации лежит конфликт между цифровой средой, порожденной относительно свободным развитием Интернета и целенаправленно организованными и институционально оформленными, контролируемыми государством средствами массовой информации.

Ключевые слова: медиа, медиатизация, медиаиндустрия, медиаменеджмент, телевидение, видео, медиаизмерения

Articulation of issue

Mediatization, in the most general sense, is the socio-cultural effect of the spread of media [1–6]. However, the media themselves are currently in a zone of turbulence. Traditional media are losing their luster to both consumers and advertisers; new digital media, filling all communication niches, are beginning to determine the configuration of the media space and the media environment. In other words, mediatization as a process of transformational changes in culture and society under the influence of the media should also apply to the media themselves, their transformations from the point of view of the interests of individuals and society, government and business. We can agree with the researchers who claim: "One of the neglected areas of studies in terms of mediatization is ironically the media system itself. The media no doubt has

changed other institution, but what about the mediatization within the media itself? The media itself has experienced a storm of changes" [7. P. 365].

The methodological complexity lies in the fact that media as a phenomenon has practically no boundaries, since everything that surrounds us can be considered by a person as a carrier of meaning, that is, media. In this regard, as a research assumption, we reduce the media ontology to the media industry.

The media industry is the most significant subject of social life, a hierarchical organization, rigidly structured by financial flows, with prescribed rules, legal norms and an established corporate culture [8. P. 31–44]. In the media industry, communication technologies (through the practices of social actors) determine both the content and the form of the existence and functioning of media; what we have denominated the 'mediatization of the media' occurs. Moreover, the very problem of 'mediatization of the media' is generated by the development of the media industry and the need to reconsider the processes taking place within the industry, its transformations, and its digital change-over.

The digital paradigm of the media industry

Media industry is the industrial production and distribution of meaningful messages aimed at making a profit. Performing the functions of the institute of culture, it works as a business structure, the purpose of which is to increase revenue by attracting a wider range of consumers (readers, listeners, viewers) [9].

Until the beginning of the XXI century, the media industry developed in the form of holdings specialising in individual segments (print press, radio, television), or in the form of conglomerates of unrelated businesses. The digital revolution has broken down the barriers between previously isolated segments and has led to fundamental changes in the development strategy of companies, has caused the need for the formation of new business models [10. P. 12–24].

First of all, the digital standard has exacerbated the problem of paying for content on the part of final consumers. It is no coincidence that the development of digital technologies and the Internet has led to a surge in such a phenomenon as piracy, which has not yet been defeated. Another important element in the 'digital paradigm' is the interactivity that the digital standard can provide. The feedback from the consumer, which the creators so dreamed of, has come true. The number of likes on a digital product has become a criterion for recognition and creative success.

Finally, the digital standard has also led to the personification of media consumption, which, in turn, caused conceptual changes in the advertising product of media companies. Commodity producers began to use new communication channels not for forming loyal consumers and branding, but for immediate sale to a targeted group of consumers.

The "digital paradigm" has set the main strategic vector in the development of business models of media companies: the consumer should receive an information product there, when and in the way that they consider more

convenient for themselves; the consumer should receive the product that is individually assembled for them; the consumer will pay for the information product either directly with money, or indirectly — by consuming related advertising, producing user content, or providing information about themselves, their behavioral practices.

Today, one of the problems of the media industry is that the scale of investment is becoming more significant, and the effects are less predictable. That is remarkable because the collected data on consumers should significantly increase the predictability of the economic effects of the produced content, made according to consumer patterns, and this is not happening, at least not yet. The main reason is the rapidly changing media landscape: technological innovations create opportunities for products that require different competencies from company employees, different working rules. Transgressivity as overrunning the usual and comfortable is becoming the mental basis for survival not only for top managers of companies, but for all employees. Whoever monetizes technological breakthroughs faster gets the revenue. Changes occur so rapidly that they do not have time to develop norms, rules, values, around which a certain business order is formed. Therefore, the only criterion for their efficient use is income. This is the demand of the time, as it may seem at first glance. This is a derivative of the speed of change, the unattainability of understanding the full range of opportunities provided by technology. The accelerating speed of change in the media industry is becoming its attribute characteristic. This gives rise to two types of industrial risks, which act as mental limits that must be overcome by transgression ("possibility of the absolute impossibility" M. Blanchot).

The first: "be not in time". There is a well-known thesis "the winner takes it all" which every businessman strives to implement. Only the first one gets the highest margin income for a short period from an innovation that is instantly copied and scaled, losing its economic attractiveness. Therefore, time is one of the most important investment resources. Following the timing is becoming a central characteristic of both the organization and its employees.

The second: "make a mistake". Industrial management activity, as a process of tackling problems, has made a rapid transition from "classic chess" (2 hours for 40 moves) to "blitz" (5 minutes for the entire game). In the conditions of hard time pressure, the probability of erroneous decisions increases at almost all levels of business functioning. It is no coincidence that people are increasingly talking about the emotional burnout of people engaged in business. The time pressure, multiplied by the responsibility of the decision, creates an enormous psychological stress.

Business models: Competition and mediation

The modern media industry operates in a rather complex market structure [2. P. 186–194]. Companies are forced to compete in three main areas: for high-quality content (the market of authors), for the audience (the market of consumers) and for advertising budgets (the market of advertisers). This is the most general

conception. Let us try to take the point further. Take as an example the video segment, which includes both traditional linear television and video distributed via various digital media. The "struggle" between television and video for the audience attention and the money of advertisers, which broke out in Russia in the 2010s, and a little earlier in the United States and Europe, is not only a field of confrontation, but also a space illustrating the main industrial conflict between the media, generated by the relatively free development of the Internet, the digital environment and purposefully organized and institutionalized state-controlled media.

Let us imagine that a commodity producer (advertiser) of a certain brand has invested a certain amount of money in advertising of its products. Who can claim this money?

First of all, the content producers or its copyright holders. One of the main assets of media companies is content that allows them to accumulate an audience for sale to advertisers or directly receive a fee for consumption. It should be taken into account that this refers to the potential audience, which is predicted by industrial researchers. At the same time, a forecast both for the model when the consumer pays for the content itself (subscription model), and in the case when the advertiser invests (advertising model) is needed.

Next in line are TV channels — broadcasters. In traditional television advertising (placed in linear television programs), TV channels remain the main beneficiaries. According to the Association of Communication Agencies of Russia (ACAR), in 2020, advertisers spent 169 billion rubles on advertising on traditional television, and 20.8 billion rubles on online video (Stream+VOD).

In this industrial segment (television advertising), the list could be finished. However, the digital environment has made it possible to place video advertisements on both desktop computers and mobile digital devices. This has led to the emergence of new players claiming money from advertisers or directly from consumers (subscription model). These include providers that provide traffic to final consumers and have their own information resources (access to websites, IP addresses). These should also include content delivery providers (CDP) that optimize traffic, deliver content to those points that are closest to consumers. As a result, the speed of access to the global network increases.

OTT services — hosting companies, digital cinemas, portals, social platforms, and distributors — have become relatively new intermediaries. In addition, software developers and device manufacturers claim an interest.

The presence of a large number of intermediaries has created a problem of business transparency. Occasionally there are heated discussions around the data of various studies that are aimed either at proving the 'integrity' of business processes in video advertising, or at proving the presence of fraudulent schemes in this segment of the media business.

The Internet is a communication environment that completely differs from the one created by the mass media of the recent past. It provides users with the opportunity to receive only what they want to receive. By individualized media

consumption, media production becomes personalized, and the model of advertising financing for content production collapses, since it was built, as a rule, on outreach models. This leads to a shift of emphasis in business. A large number of alternative business models rely primarily on audience loyalty. Business models turn on the intersection of audience loyalty and money (targeted models), rather than content and inventory (outreach-frequency models). Creating a set of personalized audience that can be effectively monetized is the main task of media holdings.

In the context of these arguments, the situation that is developing around the audience measurement system is one of the vivid examples of the conflict of the digital transformation of the media industry.

Search for a single currency

The media industry considers measurement results as a currency that allows building commodity-money relations between advertisers and communication channels [11]. However, the measurement system has broader sociocultural consequences. The metric setting of the measuring "barometer" implicates focusing management's attention on the indicators of commercial efficiency, which may differ from the principles of functioning of responsible and independent mass media. Now it is difficult to suppose what changes in the functioning of television as a cultural, political, and economic phenomenon will be caused by a measurement system that will record the consumption of video content on all media, regardless of the time and place of consumption. However, there is great doubt about the possibility of its creation. It is complex in nature, moreover, it affects the interests of almost all market players, which is a bad basis for consolidated decisions, which are vital.

As soon as we move beyond the traditional TV, many questions arise, starting with: what is a viewer? The mantra of television measurements — "being in a room with the TV on", as an attribute characteristic of a viewer in the electronic measurement system — has always raised questions among data users. With the emerging of various screens, it can no longer claim to be an essential characteristic of a viewer of TV or video content.

In addition to the complexities of technological nature, the development of legal defense of personal data, which significantly complicates the entire work of measuring the audience, market players have different, almost incompatible interests. The main stakeholders in audience measurement are TV channel owners, advertising agencies that use the data, and advertisers who primarily fund research. The main role here is played by broadcasters, whose opinion determines the main decisions of the industrial committee. However, digital technologies have changed the media landscape, considerably shaking the leading position of television, which has lost a substantial part of the young audience and, as a result, advertising budgets. It appears that the dominance of television channels, as the

main subjects of the transformation of the entire media industry, is gradually becoming outdated.

Perhaps the most interested and neutral in relation to various technological innovations are advertisers. Their needs are clear: they need a technology that would cover all media, make it easy to assess the effectiveness of a particular communication channel, however, they are unable to build such a system independently — this is not their profile activity.

That is, there is a situation where those who are most interested in creating a measurement system that answers the questions "how much?" or "how many?" for any content and distribution channel do not have the necessary resources, sufficient competencies, and authoritative unity to give this system an industrial character. However, those who can do this are not interested in it.

However, nowadays, the situation of confrontation between various market players on the issue of cross-media measurements has sharply escalated. Large multinational advertisers represented by the World Federation of Advertisers (WFA) have entered into an alliance with the leading technological platforms — Google and Facebook, and in 2021 launched a pilot version of the cross-media measurement Origin in the United States and the United Kingdom. The project was based on an artificial intelligence system, which is trained on recorded video consumption practices and calibrated by a panel of television measurements [12. P. 97–101]. The response of broadcasters to the proposed system was moderately critical. The proposed system does not suppose the development and compliance with industry-defined standards, which is typical of the current measurement system, but looks like a "black box", the key to which is in the hands of digital platforms. In this system, there is no place for an industrial committee, as well as there are no conditions for consolidated discussions and decisions. At present, it is difficult to imagine how events will develop; there is still no answer to the main question — will the measurement system proposed by technological platforms become an industrial currency? One thing is certain. The Origin project required active action from one of the leaders in traditional TV audience measurement — research company Nielsen, which in late 2020 announced the launch of a single cross-media panel. Nielsen ONE is planning to offer the market an independent, standardized currency that all players can trust. The pilot launch is scheduled for the fourth quarter of 2022, and the full transition to the new metrics should be completed by the autumn of 2024.

It is conceivable that in the context of multiplicity of market participants and their constant diversification, it is hardly possible to create a system of "fair" division of money, and this is what the system of audience measurement of various communication channels is primarily designed for. The diversity of media consumption hardly implies uniformity in its measurement. The desire for this is understandable, but it contradicts the whole logic of the digital transformation of the media industry that is of a transgressive nature, which means requiring management to constantly go beyond the established concepts and mental schemes, as well as to break everything usual and traditional.

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Research article / Научная статья

The Theoretical Perceived Transgressing Role and Identity of Contemporary Journalism: Revolution or Evolution?

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Abstract. Journalism as a definition emerged more than two centuries ago and became actively promulgated in the study of media by core Western countries. Meanwhile, this term is often interpreted too freely, the term and practice are transgressing in the 21st century. This is a theoretical paper that seeks to understand how the role of journalism and mass media have mutated and why as interpreted by scholars. On the one hand, it is followed with a lack of its complex essence is hindered by contemporary political, social, economic and technological challenges that occur in the way of its development. It is caught between the utopian and idealistic theoretical and conceptual projections that are intended to be the basis of its social capital and legitimacy and the practical dilemmas and hardships (economic and political) of the contemporary era that shift the profession away from the aforementioned ideals.

Keywords: journalism and media transgressions, mediatization, globalization, politicization, commercialization

Теоретическое восприятие трансгрессивной роли и идентичности современной журналистики: революция или эволюция?

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Аннотация. Журналистика как понятие и одновременно ярко выраженное явление социальной действительности возникло более двух столетий назад и с тех пор активно используется в академической литературе применительно к изучению СМИ в различных странах. Между тем сам термин «журналистика» сегодня нередко трактуется слишком широко, что делает его неопределенным, а подчас и выводит его за рамки научного пространства. Цель данной статьи — понять, как именно трансформировалась в наше время роль средств массовой информации и журналистики и почему они трактуются так, а не иначе. С одной стороны, упрощенные трактовки становятся возможными вследствие целого ряда социально-политических, экономических и технологических вызовов, с которыми сталкивается современная медиасфера и которые влияют на журналистскую профессию. С другой стороны, восприятие журналистики подвержено влиянию бесконечных иллюзий, возникающих в современную эпоху и только усиливающихся с ее развитием. Все это подчас приводит теорию журналистики к «состоянию неопределенности» как среди теоретиков, так и практиков, что выхолащивает ее сущность и напрямую влияет на эффективность ее практической реализации.

Ключевые слова: журналистика, медиатизация, глобализация, политизация, коммерциализация

Introduction

While not ignoring the basic fact that national media systems are often quite different in terms of their history, culture, current political priorities and law being one way or another connected with the relationship between the governmental institutions and media themselves. There are some common challenges that journalism has been facing, especially in the wake of the globalization of media and journalism through ownership and international editions of national media outlets (e.g. *The Guardian* and the *Huffington Post*). When approaching these challenges, researchers tend to pick a narrow selection of them, but they all fully relate to political management affecting national media systems [43. P. 31]. This can be a national political system that originates the state of the media, for instance such one that historically evolved in Russia [28] or specific representations of cultural, legal or economic priorities [27. P. 281–292] or political, historical and social influences on journalism [8. P. 1–40, 35].

It is unlikely to deny that these signs influence identity, and definition of journalism itself [17; 20. P. 17, 6]. At the same time, the set of components that determine the development of journalism in modern world is vast and diverse that it often makes it difficult to understand the essence of this profession. This review paper seeks to take a broad look at the essence of contemporary journalism and several main factors that affect this field of social activity across boundaries as noted by academic scholars. We seek to understand how precisely the challenges and opportunities are affecting the perceived mission and role of journalism as a communicator in terms of the modern mediatization reality.

Journalism as practiced today seems to be different from the initial concept of journalism, mainly due to a very diverse understanding of its essence by the academic community and its professional practice. There are therefore two pivotal questions, to narrow our inquiry. Firstly, what are those environmental factors that influence the academic perception of journalism's identity, role and mission? And secondly, given current media environment, how the process of journalism change can be understood: as an evolution or a revolution?

Journalism as an academic definition and a professional activity is often involving set practices and values working towards outcomes, such as the independent pursuit of accurate information about current or recent events that are relevant and affect the publics [7. P. 36]. Transgression is the process of modernity that can bring about changes in the boundaries of institutions and practices [5], which in this case not only involves the academic understanding of journalism, but also the professional practice. Yet the current changes occurring in journalism are being presented as a threat to the idealised academic notions of what journalism

"should" be and how it is theoretically and conceptually defined. We view journalism as a carrier of mediatization of contemporary life, and this present article is intended to be a comparative study of the various influences and effects on journalism and hence the function of qualitative functions of mediatization.

A journalistic text, initially has always been understood through the written word or image to awaken in society the pursuit for truth and justice [16. P. 18], and a more contemporary investigation into the role played by emotions [42]. The problems and challenges faced by journalism and journalists are simultaneously both old and new, which become more acute and pronounced as the distance between its rhetorical foundational values and contemporary practice continues to grow. Academic literature and reflections in journalism point to this critical dilemma, but often without a solution for an exit.

Western journalism has put on the agenda the concept of being the "fourth estate" [40]. The pivotal idea construed initially, from the first steps of media evolution, was that the journalism profession should act independently from the state. The separation of journalism from formal political institutions was extremely significant from the very beginning as its theoretical background and influenced all the subsequent development of this field of activity. At the same time, in practice this was initially not an easy task, taking into account that journalism could never exist outside the socio-political space, which has always had a significant impact on it [22].

Method and approach

Internet-based searches were made using the key search terms: "challenges to journalism," "evolving journalism," and "changing journalism." A snowballing technique was applied to the relevant hits in the search results, when an appropriate article was found, an additional search was conducted of the content that was recommended under "related" or "recommended" articles. The approaches to textual analysis include content analysis (quantifications of different elements in text), argumentation analysis (the structure of argumentation used), and the qualitative analysis of ideas in the content (with a focus on values, norms and practices of journalism) [3. P. 7–9]. The combination of these approaches is expected to yield results on the ontology (what exists) and epistemology (knowledge and how we 'know' things) of academic and mass mediated textual depictions in a literature review of the evolution versus revolution in journalism. The objects of study include power, people, norms and values, journalism and politics and so forth [3. P. 1–2]. The academic and popular texts then contextualise the relationships according to perceived and projected power in the constructed social world's order.

This shall be conducted within the frame work of Schutz on social phenomenology [34], being an example of studying social interaction that involves two senses of understanding interpretive understanding. The first sense

occurs where people interpret or make sense of the phenomena of the everyday world. The second sense of understanding concerns generating "ideal" types from which to interpret or describe the phenomenon being investigated.

Defining identity, missions and roles of journalism

Initially conceptual ideas of journalism carry with it expectations associated with the notion of it as the "fourth estate". McNair [26. P. 19–20] defines the function of the "fourth estate" as "an independent institutional source of political and cultural power which monitors and scrutinises the actions of the powerful in other spheres." This is tied to classical liberal theory that postulates the press as a defender of public interests and a watchdog on the workings of the government [12. P. 84, 14]. One of the popular myths of journalism is its supposed power to influence people and events. However, the presumed power is increasingly being called into question with some saying it is merely a public record of events as they unfold [37]. Simultaneously, it is impossible to deny that if journalism affects the audience, which it does it not from the calculating viewpoint but rather from moral sentiments.

There is also a great deal of myth and symbolic power associated with journalism as the "fourth estate". The elements of journalism as defined by Kovach and Rosenstiel [22] include: journalism's first obligation is to the truth; its first loyalty is to citizens; its essence is a discipline of verification; its practitioners must maintain an independence from those they cover; it must serve as an independent monitor of power; it must provide a forum for public criticism and compromise; it must strive to make the significant interesting and relevant; it must keep the news comprehensive and in proportion; its practitioners have an obligation to exercise their personal conscience; citizens, too, have rights and responsibilities when it comes to the news [21]. From an academic and practitioner's perspective, these obligations are an ideal conceptualisation of journalism's professional and moral duty to society. As such, there are expectations and benchmarks set in terms of values and norms to be adhered to, which can create confusion and contradictions.

The exact meaning of 'objectivity' with regards to journalism is deeply problematic due to the term being used very often. How to measure this definition and who is going to be a judge about this context? "Objectivity has long been advanced to legitimise journalism practice, even while the journalism profession struggled to articulate objectivity as a norm" [19. P. 289]. Yet, the 20th century, driven by an economic model pitching the "news product" to mass audiences at an affordable price has created a specific type of journalism [9]. Furthermore, scarcity of resources in the early broadcasting era solidified the idea of a necessary separation between news and opinion [30. P. 569, 32]. This necessitates understanding the separation and implications of commentary, opinion, analysis and facts.

However, the advent of cable news and social media has had a dramatic effect on the information sphere by making obsolete the issues of scarcity and creating an environment where almost anyone can be a producer as well as a consumer of information [4; 13; 41].

The act of communication is vital to not only being human, but also for guiding social interaction. As such, it generates several dilemmas, one of most important of which is its morality. This implies the pursuit of ethical practice insofar as doing the 'right thing' and an adherence to a certain social duty and moral responsibility [2. P. 2–3]. Currently there is an increase split of perception on how journalism explains its public duty and how the public interprets their actions. Often journalism is deemed to be an essential element of a healthy democracy due to formal isolation of the former from state institutions that was established initially. What we have nowadays is, following Fenton [10. P. 31], is "the prevailing dominance of state legislatures but not state-bound due to globalization" [10. P. 31].

One of the global trends observed has been the incremental concentration worldwide of mass media ownership into fewer and fewer hands. As such, this trend has a potentially negative effect on transparency and accountability in a political system as Baker fairly argues [1. P. 6–37]. It also potentially weakens the effects of supposedly insular 'national' media systems as media outlets become parts of global corporate empires. This in turn, negatively influences the professional standards of journalism, and manifests in a number of tangible ways within its content and behaviour which is becoming more politically and economically biased.

Traditionally journalism was studied from the point of view of government, corporate or educational perspectives. However, what is necessary is to look at it from journalistic perspectives, because there is no journalism without journalists [29]. Academics can be forgetful that journalism cannot exist without feedback from the audience, expressed in people's opinions that can regularly emerge in the press or on air. Without it we have a right to raise a question of the gradual death of professional journalism [24. P. 3–10].

However, there are different opinions. McNair [25] declared that journalism is not heading for extinction, but rather an evolution, and added to this point that this has always been a priority for journalism to undergo changes. This fits with the views of other academics that speak of a renewal of "neo-journalism" being adaptive to the changing environment [15]. Simultaneously these changes are sometimes referred to as being in a "crisis" [23, 33]. At times there is also a tendency to look back to perceived "golden" periods in history as a guiding force to overcome the 'crisis' and thus prevent any evolution. A 'crisis' is construed as being an extraordinary event, something not within the realm of what can be considered ordinary or business as usual.

Meanwhile, these transformations do not really account for why the changes are currently occurring. Andrew Fowler attributes the "decline in journalism" to the following reasons: 1) mainstream media disconnect (in terms quality/relevance

of information product and declining public confidence); 2) the loss of money and power by news media; 3) failing business models; 4) acting as echo chambers for powerful interests [38]. Thereby, he stresses a dependence on journalism on real circumstances while ignoring strict limits of the profession. In this regard, Tumber [40. P. 95] also explains that journalism is "attacked" by two distinct sources/areas: 1) pressure from owners and media conglomerates, which has exacerbated traditional problems with professional news output; and 2) new forms of political and government communication with the public. In meeting these challenges, different media outlets have attempted different solutions to overcoming the challenges and obstacles, which some observers describe as a "splintering" of the fourth estate from a model that was viewed as being homogenous [34].

Conclusion

Journalists and journalism are important components of the mediatization of society as they enable consumers the possibility to access events and people through narrated and communicated information, which enables the public to experience these indirectly. Journalism has built its image and reputation as being an indispensable public institution that functions as a public good through the concept and term the fourth estate, which in turn is a means to accumulate social capital and a sense of legitimacy for their role and mission in society that is expressed through a branded identity. However, it is not something that remains static and unchanging with time and circumstances.

The key underlying conceptual foundation of Western journalism, the fourth estate, is not only an academic concept that describes its function and mission, but also a professional (pragmatic) promise to various stakeholders in society (the public, politicians, business community and so forth). However, this ideal has come under increasing pressure concerning with it still remains an actual contemporarily practiced standard or not, within academic discussions on the matter. This does not mean that the profession of journalism is prepared to rhetorically set aside one of its foundational myths, even if it has been taking a battering in the field of public and academic perception and discussion. The reason being is that the ideal of the fourth estate is much more than a brand or a practice, it is also a professional identity that defines its mission and goals.

There are a host of weaknesses and threats in the wider informational realm, especially in terms of pressures and influences from political and economic interests, which threaten the viability of the fourth estate and how journalism is narrated in terms of its role and mission in society in academic debates. Various academics have identified the various and increasing influences of powerful political and business interests on news tone and content, which is not something that is recent or groundbreaking. It has, however, created an evolution in the debate and characterisation of journalism, away from the ideals of the fourth estate towards "interpretive" journalism and churnalism. These represent a shift

away from the desired ideal towards something that is working much less in the public good.

In addition to the weaknesses and threats coming from political and economic interests, there are additional weaknesses that are derived from a lack of clarity and imprecise or broadly interpreted values that guide the work and ethics of journalism and journalists. Journalism has gone through an evolution of different key guiding ethical philosophies in their work, directed towards such utopian ideals as "the truth" or for "objectivity" in the production of news content. One of the pivotal problems that has emerged is that these ideals of best ethical practice are not clearly and sharply defined in terms of the realistic practical operationalisation. Consequently, these ideals remain utopian in the face of dystopian practical realities of a non-ideal physical world that subverts these theoretical and conceptual cognitive constructions.

As a result of the interactions and reactions between the cognitive imaginations of the ideal form of journalism and the physical realities of the forces that shape and affect the profession there is a sense of transgression. The institutional boundaries and practices of the profession are under a great deal of strain between the ideal imaginations and expectations and the less than ideal actual practices transgress those hopes and desires. Each of the incremental steps has proven to be an evolution in the identity, role and mission of journalism in contemporary society, but the cumulative effect of the parts is a revolution from the original academic vision and conception.

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Research article / Научная статья

Ontology of Transgressive Social Media

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Abstract. This paper presents the T-Magic formula revealing ontology of social media which has become a transgressive form of media through its ability to build a digital community, sharing digital identity, and building a digital social capital, that prevails over offline human relations, and includes supporters and doubters estimated for their contact establishing function. Social media belongs to the so called culture of participation, and is considered as a versatile social phenomenon building a hybrid digital culture. Mutation seems to be a key characteristic of media in general and social media in particular. The consequences of the mutation' change shows pathway to a new ontology of digital communication, that of digital physics with a special focus on digital space and digital time, digital substance and digital energy. Transformation displays a technological turn in digital communication that reveals technological sources of digital energy. Transfiguration unveils the essence of digital substance, that of a social media sapience. Transgression outlines digital space and digital time, and is a means of overcoming "real" space and time by means of certain text units establishing bridges to connected personal or collective accounts or aggregate archives. The main function of the media text transgressiveness is to raise a so called publicity capital of a media subject initiating or releasing the post.

Keywords: social media, transformation, transfiguration, transgression, digital substance, digital energy, digital magic

Онтология трансгрессивных социальных медиа

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Аннотация. В работе представлена формула «Т-магии», раскрывающая онтологию трансгрессивных социальных сетей через их способность формировать цифровые сообщества и цифровой социальный капитал, делиться цифровой идентичностью, которые надстраиваются над человеческими отношениями в реальности и учитывают многообразие ролей их субъектов. Социальные медиа формируют так называемую культуру участия и рассматриваются как сложное социальное явление, формирующее гибридную цифровую (медиа)культуру. Видоизменения (мутации) представляют собой основную характеристику современной медиасферы в общем и социальных сетей в частности. Последствия видоизменений помогают описать онтологическую природу цифровой коммуникации, в частности цифровой физики, цифрового пространства, цифрового времени, цифровой субстанции и цифровой энергии. Трансформации указывают на технологические изменения цифровой коммуникации и раскрывают технологические основы цифровой энергии. Трансфигурация помогает вскрыть суть цифровой субстанции (цифрового) медиасапиенса. Трансгрессия описывает цифровые пространство и время, преодолевающие «реальные» пространство и время с помощью специальных инструментов связи с другими аккаунтами и агрегаторами. Основная функция трансгрессивности медиатекста заключается в том, чтобы обеспечить прирост паблицитного капитала медиасубъекта, инициирующего пост.

Ключевые слова: социальные сети, трансформация, трансфигурация, трансгрессия, цифровая субстанция, цифровая энергия, цифровая магия

Introduction

The term "social media" refers to an activity of a software tool or a platform. As a term, it is traditionally regarded as nebulous. The set of its usual attributes includes participation, openness, conversation, community, and connectivity.

Social media belongs to the "culture of participation" that "extends well beyond journalism", and is considered as "a broad social phenomenon" [1. P. 53]. In other words, social media is generally understood as something that "enables people to be more than simply members of an audience" [Ibid.].

Lipschultz examines social media's use in journalism, broadcasting, public relations, advertising and marketing, and emphasizes key concepts, best practices, data analyses, law and ethics on the platforms like Facebook, Instagram, LinkedIn, Snapchat, TikTok, Twitter, and YouTube [2].

The complex relationship between media, technology and *social movements* is engaged with contemporary debates in the field of social movements and new media.

Sophisticated digital practices and technologies exploit and *capitalise* on emotions, social media are used to exacerbate *social conflicts*. Emotions are being weaponised within mediatised political landscapes, enable affective information economies, and outline new frontiers of propaganda. The implications of recent innovations in information and communication technology for civic and political engagement in the digital age, and the impact of social media on citizens' propensity to get involved in political actions depict how online behaviour can act as a springboard into what might be called real-world politics.

Social media and social capital: Sharing values

Thorsen explains the relationship between journalists and their audiences by means of live blogging and social media, which also allows them to *capitalize* on the opportunities afforded by the immediacy, transparency and interactive nature of online communication [3].

The social and cultural implications of a digital, connected workforce are explored by Fast and Jansson [4]. *Transmedia work* refers to the rise of a new social condition that saturates many different types of work, with various outcomes. In some social groups, and in certain professions, according to Fast and Jansson, transmedia work is wholeheartedly embraced, while it is questioned and resisted elsewhere [4].

Kennedy offers definitions of *sharing* in digital culture, and the roles that the digital devices and the platforms play in these practices [5]. According to Kennedy, the relationship of sharing to privacy and control, the labored strategies and boundaries of reciprocation, and the relationships with the technologies mediate *sharing practices* [Ibid.].

The blockchain is a disruptive, revolutionary technology which is a means of sharing information and can be seen as a way to introduce the next level: *sharing value* [6]. The platforms encourage users to upload, share and respond to content, while the platforms themselves *monetise* the digital traces of this activity.

The central thesis of the theory of *social capital* "can be summed up in two words: relationships matter. By making connections with one another, and keeping them going over time, people are able to work together to achieve things that they either could not achieve by themselves, or could only achieve with great difficulty. People connect through a series of networks and they tend to share common values with other members of these networks; to the extent that these

networks constitute a resource, they can be seen as forming a kind of capital» [7. P. 1]. According to Field, "Networks provide a basis for social cohesion because they enable people to cooperate with one another — and not just with people they know directly — for mutual advantage" [7. P. 12]. Thus, social capital is treated as a "relational construct" and even "a property of relationships" since "it can only provide access to resources where individuals have not only formed ties with others but have internalised the shared values of the group" [7. P. 139].

The shadow side of the "relational construct" embraces such "dark" aspects as misinformation, disinformation, and populism transmitted across countries, political systems, and media systems. The sphere of public communication is often attributed as polarised, anti-rational, post-fact, post-truth communication championed by populism.

Reed argues that making sense of *digitised culture means* looking past the glossy surface of techno gear to ask deeper questions about how we can utilize technology to create a more socially, politically and economically just world [8]. Mobile and social media, new platforms and devices have altered the way we interact with digital technologies in an allegedly 'post-truth' era.

Anthropology of digitization:
Digital humanities and immersive communication

The distinction between online and offline realities is becoming more and more difficult to sustain. Digital tools and platforms for communication are progressively becoming commonplace, while the cultural conceptions that surround these technologies — immediacy, constant accessibility, availability — are becoming increasingly mainstream and are called *hybrid media culture*.

The new cultural dynamics became evident and are seen as a result of *digitisation*, and the cultural changes are triggered by digitisation processes. For example, the ludification of culture reveals the significance of play and games in everyday practices of the digital era. The *anthropology* of digitisation enables the study of *ethnography* of digital infrastructures.

Digital humanities is seen as an established field with its own array of methodologies and projects operating at the intersections of media, culture, and practice, including access, praxis, social justice, design, interaction, interfaces, mediation, materiality, remediation, data, memory, making, programming, and hacking. For example, the issues pertaining to millennials and digital media ecology determine definite cultural, pedagogical, and political environments such heterogeneous generation populates.

Means of communication have changed immeasurably, and, according to Li [9], communication today has moved beyond the bi-directional mass communication of "the second media age" to ubiquitous, *immersive communication* in "the third media age".

The T-Magic of Social Media due to its three dimensional mutation

Mutation seems to be a key characteristic of a transgressive media sphere with social media in its core. According to Li [9], media morphosis breaks through traditional spatial categories, and the evolutionary trends of media morphosis involve "coevolution and coexistence" and "anthropotropicness". The "anthropotropic" trend leads people to choose the most suitable things in order to survive. The results of the mutation show pathway to a new *ontology* of digital communication that of *digital physics* with a special focus on *digital space* and *digital time*, *digital substance* and *digital energy*. According to a more profane view, this is a way to a *digital magic* given in a metaphor displayed in the formula of *T-Magic of Social Media*, due to its three dimensional mutation.

The first T stands for *transformation* in a technological sense, it refers to a technological versatility in digital communication that reveals technological sources and means of *digital energy*.

Ellis and Tucker characterise the digital landscape as rapidly developing and consisting of the vast practices of *digitisation* and *datafication*, which constitute a *digital age* with its special concern to how emotion operates in, through, and with *digital technologies* [10].

According to *transmediations*, the processes of transfer and transformation occur when communicative acts in one medium are mediated again through another, thus, they are modified when transferred across multimodal media [11]. The broad variety of transmediations is viewed through four different "lenses" as follows: firstly, narrative transmediations; secondly, the spatial dynamics which is involved in media transformation; thirdly, new radical boundaries and media types in transmediality and its versatility; fourthly, the challenges involved in transmediating scientific data into the narrative format.

A rapid development and broad scope of Internet technologies determine the emergence of new digital genre classifications. According to Goroshko and Poljakova, "it is an extension of the offline genres theory but applied to the communicative space of the world wide web" [12. P. 119]. Thus, technological (web 1.0 – web 2.0 – web 3.0), hierarchical (hypergenre — genre — subgenre) and communicative-dynamic (conventional communication, convergence, hybridization, mutation) count as components of the proposed genre classification.

The information about the physical artefacts, digital content, performative interventions, practices and discursive expressions of affective sociality that ordinary citizens produce as they participate in public life is circulating across media and outlines a fast-evolving terrain known as *citizen media* which effect, aesthetic or socio-political change.

Emotion tokens given as emoji faces used in texts in social media provide digital communication with a new *digital grammar*, which contains special rules to, firstly, words and phrases substitution, secondly, phrase and period boarder

marks, thirdly, initial and final signs of a communication unit that leads to a *digital punctuation* issues.

The second T stands for *transfiguration*, which unveils the essence of *digital substance* and determines a new view of a *social media sapience*.

Immersive communication reconstructs the relationship between media and the human being, which seems the "hottest and coolest" *medium*. Changes in the media space, the transformation of human living space and changes in the social functions of media bring changes to *social relations* and the *ontology of human being*. Immersive communication is seen as *human-centered*, according to Li [9], when everything is media, and humans are also a *media form*. Even the language of the virtual world as a whole depends on the *linguistic hegemony* of immersive media and follows the principle "moistens everything softly and silently".

The main characteristic of the digital substance is that a subject is transfigured into a *navigator* to be followed through the structure of the resulted unit, that of a post consisting of two parts including a *presentation* of and *reaction* towards the key message presented in the post. It also outlines the structure of cognitive basis of the subject's conscience, its emotional and intentional states with certain intentions to establish a dialogue, to support, or to doubt, to share a social value by clicking definite icons. The cognitive structure of a post navigation is aimed at provoking certain cognitive state in the public of emotional or intentional nature, provoking feelings, evoking thoughts, and sharing values.

Social media in ordinary people's wider patterns of media usage and everyday practices by Lomborg are further shown as *communicative genres* and *a cognitive category* for making sense of the ordinary [13]. In everyday life, ordinary persons gain their status of public figures, and establish social media as a public sphere.

The development of digital technologies, for example, fasten the services for the tourists, who can use the digital technology to increase their working effectivity and productivity while enjoying the tourist destination. These people are usually freelance workers and called the *digital nomads*. Adam states that digital nomad as a term refers to those people who do not stay in a certain place for long time and work in long distance by using the Internet [14].

Global nomads is another name for the digital nomads who work independently, from their laptops, without a specific location as long as they have a good Wi-Fi connection. Long-distance work might be combined with a trip that includes "business and pleasure".

According to Vagena, digital nomads might be *millennials* 20 to 35 years old, tired of 9 am to 5 pm working hours, who appreciate gaining new experiences, especially through travel [15]. They also might belong to *generation X* between 35 and 50 years old, or *Baby Boomers*, who have turned 50 years old.

The third T stands for *transgression* and displays *digital space* and *digital time* navigation. The constructive units of a post characterized as a modular text which includes its measurement in two dimensions, that of width and height.

Transgression is a means of overcoming space and time, and outlining digital space and digital time.

The revolution of *media ontology* and changes in social productivity, the ways and modes of communication evolve to "vanishing boundaries". According to Li [9], *immersive communication* is all-powerful, which means that boundaries between entertainment, work, and life vanish, and cloud computing integrates everything.

Transgressive potential of a post is determined and represented through insertion of heterogenic text units, or *insets*, such as different types of tagging (hashtags, hyperlinks, geolocation, geo tags) into a modular text. The main function of the media text *transgressiveness* is to raise a so called *publicity capital* of a media subject initiating or releasing the post.

The transgression marks in a post display means of *digital geology*. Firstly, it allows multiplying a message, typing it once, and presenting it several times by posting it in the accounts pointed in the *insets* or *hyperlinks* of collective or personal accounts, as well as public events.

Secondly, transgression through insets or hyperlinks determines a targeted addressee who gets a message just after having been mentioned.

Thirdly, *geotagging* leads to another option that of navigating and locating the presence of the author, showing its *geolocation*.

Fourthly, transgression outlines the emotional state of the author by displaying an emotional mark.

Finally, digital time is provided by *hashtags* which straightforward the messages to an aggregate community which is thematically connected to the original message to be laid therein forever. Technologically, one may also write a message and postpone its publishing for the time period needed.

Conclusion

Digital means of communication today has moved beyond the bi-directional mass communication of "the second media age" to ubiquitous immersive communication in "the third media age".

The T-Magic formula reveals the ontology of transgressive social media through its ability to build a digital community, share intent digital identity, and build a digital social capital that prevails over offline human relations and includes supporters and doubters esteemed for their contact establishing function.

Transformation displays a technological versatility in digital communication and reveals technological sources of digital energy. Transfiguration unveils the essence of digital substance, that of a social media sapience. Transgression outlines digital space and digital time, and is a means of overcoming "real" space and time by means of certain text units establishing bridges to connected personal or collective accounts or aggregate archives.

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Research article / Научная статья

Transdiscourse as a Concept of Digital Worlds

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Abstract. The paper presents the current transformations of media culture in the conditions of crucial digitalization of society. Everyday life is fundamentally mediatized and this process is beyond the control and understanding, both by an individual, and by the professional community and society as a whole. Rather, we observe a general disturbing sense of violation of the usual boundaries of definitions and norms. In response to the crisis of comprehension and understanding, philosophy of language and communication turns back to the idea of discursivity of human civilization and proposes to adapt and rethink the concept of possible worlds and its descriptions in the aim to renew social strategies and communications. The increasing demand for methodological support of communication activities indicates the growing significance of cabinet philosophy, in particular philosophy of language and communication. This strategy of the scientific approach will allow us to build a research relevant to the subject-transdisciplinary. Based on an analysis of history of ideas and modern Russian methodology of transdisciplinarity, the authors put forward a hypothesis in terms of the philosophy of language on the development of digital mediated discourse in a transdimensional unity and the generation of different discourses.

Keywords: transdiscourse, digital worlds, mediatization, transdisciplinarity, transborder, philosophy of language and communication

Трансдискурсивность как концепт цифровых миров

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Аннотация. В статье представлен анализ трансформаций медиакультуры в условиях радикальной цифровизации общества. Повседневность принципиально медиатизируется и этот процесс оказывается вне управления и осмысления как отдельным человеком, так и профессиональным сообществом и обществом в целом. Мы наблюдаем скорее общее тревожное ощущение нарушения привычных границ определений и норм. В ответ на ситуацию кризиса в понимании и оценке этих процессов философия языка и коммуникации возвращается к идее дискурсивности человеческой цивилизации и предлагает адаптировать и переосмыслить концепцию возможных миров и их описаний — прежде всего для решения задачи обновления социальных стратегий и коммуникации. Возрастающий спрос на методологическое обеспечение коммуникативной деятельности свидетельствует о растущем значении «кабинетной» философии, в частности философии языка и коммуникации. Такая стратегия научного подхода позволит выстроить исследование релевантно предмету — трансдисциплинарно. На основе анализа истории идей и современной российской методологии трансдисциплинарности авторы выдвинули гипотезу в терминах философии языка о развитии цифрового медиатизированного дискурса в трансмерное единство, генерирующее различные дискурсы.

Ключевые слова: трансдискурсивность, цифровые миры, медиатизация, трансдисциплинарность, трансграничность, философия языка и коммуникации

Introduction

Rather, we observe in the conditions of crucial digitalization of society a general disturbing sense of violation of the usual boundaries of definitions and norms. Big Data for example is collected without understandable human supervision and, it is not only ethical or legislative challenges, but methodological philosophical challenge [1]. Digital worlds are improving very quickly in now days and tomorrow we won't realize what objects physical or virtual we meet.

And here are the environments that we are already in with new qualities of reality or simulation its physical qualities. It seems that the difference is narrative but the concept of Transdiscourse turns the picture out: the everyday life, our work or entertainment, the politics, by the politicians themselves or threw the media, the culture and science, presented by professionals or by public — all converse to the transborder evolution of discourse.

A i m : to reconstruct the theoretical impact of Philosophy of Language and Communication in the Critical Inquiry of Mediatization of the Culture. In terms of the philosophy of language it is a development of discourse in a transdimensional unity and the generation of different discourses, suggesting the development of disciplinarity in transdisciplinarity. This new cooperation of different disciplines in the process of digital worlds constructing is overcoming of epistemological yarrow between them.

D i s c u s s i o n : The explanation is often given in terms of the complexity or complexity, dynamism, and unpredictability of new systems. In this regard, many functions of the systems are deformed. Russian philosophical approach on methodology of transdisciplinarity is related with the tradition of dialectical thought. Although it is obvious that such a nature of systems has already been described in dialectical concepts — that is, coming from the development and multi-level nature of systems. But the continental and analytical philosophers could add some principal basics in this understanding and give the new perspectives of describing the world. But the most important optic is presented by philosophers of Discourse [2]. In response to the crisis of comprehension and understanding, philosophy of language and communication turns back to the idea of discursivity of human civilization and proposes to adapt and rethink the concept of possible worlds and its descriptions in the aim to renew social strategies and communications. Philosophy plays an important role in integrating the knowledge and competencies of a wide range of scientific and practical branches on the basis of structuring the problem field.

M e t h o d : Historical and analytical reconstruction of theoretical interpretations of transdiscursivity and contemporary issues: strategic communication is considered as a certain way of thinking about communication as a concerning management at all levels of activity [3]. Thus, the self-definition and integrative methodic to rebuilt the scholar knowledge and practices in different areas of communication is an important issue of this research.

Reconceptualization of discourse: Transdiscursivity

On this revolutionary non-antithetic philosophy of language as the key of the human culture so called "French theory" all philosophies of communication grow up: "a body can be everything" [4], outside binary and metaphysical ways of thinking [5], outside the anatomy [6] in a discursive practice [7] and etc. At the very roots — the Wittgenstein's Linguistic Turn of Philosophy. But more useful for communication studies became Foucault' and Derrida' concepts of discourse.

It could be observed as an explanation of the current mediatization of all intellectual production that we are producing — at individual or collective level. A new letter or arche-letter, or what he then just starts calling "a letter" — is something that has no beginning, which itself is a list, which is a list both in the literal sense (such a rewriting) and some transcription. And in this regard, immediately, as you understand, the letter expands, i.e., it is an arrangement, it is how something is heard. Notice how the emphasis shifts. We don't actually have a speaker anymore, we don't have a source, but we do have a certain process of rewriting transcribing / rewriting again, you see, this time slice is immediately torn apart, as if the chronology is out of the discussion. Because, it seems clear — there is no beginning of the list, there is no such chronological chain. In the case of the text, these templates are related to the manifestation of language and, above all, in writing. I.e., as an attempt to consider writing, as, for example, an internal speech, and to collide the external and internal. And we must say, all classical and actual concepts of internal speech, internal experience, it is extremely actively updated today. An attempt to escape from the direct collision of the inner and the outer, and to try by what is difficult to reduce to an unambiguous, fixed, in the sense of a certain manifestation, usually performative, i.e. external, to bring under some explanation what has always been considered to belong to the inner.

With the discourse analysis, we run through media materials i.e. how a particular term works, and the computer already counts all the connections, taxonomic maps are compiled. It is clear that the discourse analysis appears, undoubtedly, from philosophy, but it becomes an applied field of research that requires its own philosopher for interpretation. Discourse analysis is rather a tool of political philosophy and the history of political thought, because by and large, the discourse analysis of philosophical texts does not provide a reconstruction of the mass character of the use of terms. Because here, too, the history of ideas and the history of the ideas of philosophy, that is, no matter how we focus there, remains free from thus method.

This does not mean that you cannot use it on these texts, but still you will only get what one author has, and this is obvious even without quantitative calculation, since it is explained in a certain way — how as a rule, philosophical texts give an appropriate introduction, some propaedeutics in the use of terminology. The difficulty was precisely that the concrete rational mechanisms on which modern science is built — this is Galilean modeling, reasoning by analogy — it just very often involves a departure. And, paradoxically, a very important plot here, which in many ways, if it does not bring us closer together, then it builds a single field of conversation between analysts and structuralists — this is of course the role of a metaphor.

The mediatization of the culture let us step back to metaphorical and polysemantic language. The language reappears completely different — and it is no more the only one, it is something in a complex eternal process of self-construction. Like the Möbius line presented by J. Lacan in his variant of topological metaphors. And Derrida refers to M. Heidegger that gave him this

sense of language. That is no questions about boarders but the search of different ways to transgress the traditional rational instrumental frontiers of meanings. Thus, we found in the use of notion of discursivity the very deep need of rethinking the methodology of science itself, the need of new language of scholar research.

Reconceptualization of disciplinarity: Transdisciplinarity

Russian philosophy of science has a long tradition of methodological inquiries. In the structure of professional education in philosophy the link with the science was ever very strong and significant. And vice versa — the philosophy and methodological explanation has a powerful meaning for academic research in natural sciences.

The challenges of modern innovative scientific projects and the mediatization of academic science itself push to revise the terms of disciplinarity: "It is necessary to look at science as a whole as an innovatively reflexive self-organizing environment, the evolution of which obeys the general laws of "upward" evolution in the direction of increasing complexity, the emergence of new differences and the preservation of the former various organ-like symbioses (autopoiesis)" [8]. Expert discussion of the situation in Russian academic science due to the changes in the academic policy since 2016 allowed one to state that the new terms as transdisciplinarity reflects an increasingly significant integration of specific scientific communications. They became already more flexible and relevant in the conditions of new innovative strategy. Russian philosophical approach in methodology of transdisciplinarity is related with the tradition of dialectical thought. Although it is obvious that such a nature of systems has already been described in dialectical concepts — that is, coming from the development and multi-level nature of systems. And we can see the improving and differentiations of this understanding [for example, 9]. It is useful to underline that the reaction to the new appeals make turn the philosophy back — to Kant — for example or to the philosophy of 20th century discussing the previous to Artificial Intelligence topics of new virtual world — Technik itself. And the philosophical critique of technical society provided by Husserl, Simmel, Heidegger, Jaspers and others throw the in-between new age of science — with Bachlaire and Simondon — gave us the example of the new approach in inquiry. All assessments in science have to be long-term investigations with some special organizational efforts and not a single experience with one effect or result. It has to be a long way of construction and reconstruction of the special language of inquiry. And by and threw this language — new subjects of inquiry and new scientific teams.

The performance of the united process of self-construction and self-identification is finally the only one subject of understanding and theorizing. That is why the philosophy of language is so important not only for analytical philosophical researches concentrated in logical theories of meaning and senses but for humanities. Performativity of individual, personal is the main theoretical problem of contemporary philosophy (for example, this is one of the central

concepts of Judith Butler's gender theory that she borrows from John Austin), understood in the tradition of analytical philosophy: action, articulation and meaning.

Human society and culture in all its historical forms produces and reproduces always this kind of uncertain unstable and nonlogical relations in uncertain unstable and nonlogical language senses. Floating signifying is the processual basis of the culture [10]. And there is no signified strict and unchangeable in human culture. It could be an ontology without hierarchy, without center, could be a description without strict rules, could be a human society without policy — and the nature of human bring is already prepared for those conditions. We have already this experience and it is the basic one for all other our live experience — it is our freedom in sense of creativity, it is the lability of our personal relations, it is our biological algorithms and energy for all ours achieves.

As the French philosopher M. Merleau-Ponty has successfully formulated it, the most important task of metaphysics of the 20th century is to overcome its antithetic both in the answers to the "eternal" philosophical questions, and in their statement. The traditional alternative of the common and single, individual and society, possibility and reality, project and its realization, new and old, intuition and rationality, faith and reason, expression and expressive means, male and female, finally, becomes in the modern philosophy, especially gender, the theme of historical and philosophical criticism, in relation to which a new style of philosophical thinking is formed [11]. This is the search for a third, no alternative way. The basis of this approach is the fundamental difference of all, including philosophical, postmodern culture, considering the person, his perception of the world and the world in a close relationship [12]. Thus, the concept of transdisciplinarity can be generally defined as a more methodologically differentiated stage of the evolution of language of understanding that give to the science the opportunity of long-term complex flexible systematic interactive innovative scholar research.

Conclusion

The communication system has always been one of complex types of systems, as it is conceptualized by Russian philosophers of methodology of science. And its digitalization has not simplified it, but has made its complexity and dynamism visible. Transdiscourse reverses the status of constructed digital worlds, they cease to be secondary, they turn out to be primary. The idea of transdiscursivity, proposed first of all by so called French Theory, could be a support for discourse analysis of mediatized current everyday culture.

The philosophy of language and communication can play an important role in integrating the knowledge and competencies of a wide range of scientific and practical branches on the basis of structuring the problem field. This strategy of the scientific approach will allow us to build a research relevant to the subject — transdisciplinary. Thus, the analysis of history of ideas and modern Russian

methodology of transdisciplinarity confirms the research hypothesis put forward in the article: in terms of the philosophy of language the digital mediated discourse develops in a transdimensional unity and the generation of different discourses.

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Research article / Научная статья

Mediatization of Corporeality and Biopolitics in Cyberculture

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Abstract. The article analyzes the ways of biopolitical control based on the corporeality deep mediatization in cyberculture. It is argued that such mediatization is inevitable process because of all-pervading interaction between bodies, technologies, media, etc. Thus, people's corporeality includes in complex system of different mediatized lifeforms. The article concentrates on the two forms of the corporeality deep mediatization in cyberculture. The key features of these forms are pointed out and investigated. It is standed that specific of these forms makes people corporeality permeable for biopolitical control. The ways of mediatized biopolitical control and their dangerous are demonstrated. Besides, it is shown that the mediatized biopolitical control sometimes makes people to face with the choice between mediatization and death. The author proposes the question if the biopolitical control is inevitable due to the deep corporeality mediatization.

Keywords: biopolitics, deep mediatization, biopolitical control, extended cyborg, cyber culture, the body representation

Медиатизация телесности и биополитики в киберкультуре

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Аннотация. В статье анализируются способы биополитического контроля на основе глубокой медиации телесности в киберкультуре. Утверждается, что такая медиатизация является неизбежным процессом из-за всепроникающего взаимодействия между телами, технологиями, медиа и т.п. Таким образом, телесность людей входит в сложную систему различных медиатизированных форм жизни. Рассматриваются две формы глубокой медиатизации телесности в киберкультуре. Выявлены и исследованы ключевые особенности этих форм. Утверждается, что специфика этих форм делает человеческую телесность доступной для биополитического контроля. Продемонстрированы способы медиатизированного биополитического контроля и их опасность. Кроме того, показано, что медиатизированный биополитический контроль иногда ставит людей перед выбором между медиатизацией и смертью. Автор ставит вопрос: неизбежен ли биополитический контроль в связи с глубокой медиатизацией телесности?

Ключевые слова: биополитика, глубокая медиатизация, телесность, биополитический контроль, расширенный киборг, киберкультура, репрезентация тела

Introduction

The idea of biopolitical control over the vital level of human existence (birth, death, reproduction, body functions) had been proposed before computer technologies and media reality rooted in everyday life. But nowadays media and ICT technologies shape everyday life and it means that ways of biopolitical control are

changing and its scope is expanding along with the expansion and / or deepening of the mediatization. It is necessary to understand the role of the corporeality deep mediatization in the contemporary forms of the biopolitical control. It is critically important because new mediatized forms of biopolitical control make some people to face with radical choice: mediatization or death.

The theoretical background

The philosophical concept of biopolitics goes back to the several M. Foucault's texts, which demonstrate how purely vital phenomena are included in the area of political control. G. Agamben partially transforms M. Foucault's approach in such a way that it can be used to analyze the mediatized forms of biopolitics. P. Preciado applies biopolitical ideas to describe measures to prevent the spread of the COVID-19 pandemic. Besides, the problem of biopolitics is considered by M. Hardt and A. Negri, R. Esposito, K. Mills and others.

J. Thompson suggested the original definition of mediatization. S. Hjarward and F. Krotz emphasized the significant influence of mediatization on social and cultural phenomena. However, this research is mostly grounded on the idea of the deep mediatization presented by A. Hepp and N. Couldry. There are also several articles and books devoted to the mediatization of the body / corporeality, including mediatization in the context of biopolitical control.

The phenomenology and ontology of corporeality go back to the phenomenological theories of E. Husserl, M. Merleau-Ponty and J.-L. Nancy. S. Gallagher is one of the researchers who investigate different aspects of corporeality.

It is necessary to find the special ontology to "build a bridge" between the immaterial structures of media reality, cyber technologies and the biological materiality of the bodies. This ontology based on the actor-network theory connecting semiotic systems and material objects, new materialism, agential realism and the assemblages theory.

The theoretical basis of the cyberculture studies is the M. Dery's book "Escape Velocity: Cyberculture at the End of the Century. Female bodies and corporeality representation in cyberculture artefacts" is explored in the feminist discourse.

The idea of a body and corporeality extended cyborgization relates to A. Clarke's book "Natural Born Cyborgs" and Clark's and D. Chalmers' extended mind concept. In addition, this approach to the cyborgization was influenced by the ideas of D. Haraway and cyberfeminism in general, concerning breaking biological/technical, nature/culture, mind/body oppositions.

Analyzes and results

Ontology of mediatized corporeality. In the phenomenological tradition corporeality is the type of experience connecting with various aspects of body

functioning: spatial sensation, perception of objects in their relations to the body, self-perception of body states, affects, sexual attraction, etc. From this point of view, corporeality is the basis of agency, subjectivity, social and cognitive actions. In other words, body shapes the mind. The main components of corporeality are body image and body schema. "The body image consists of a complex set of intentional states and dispositions — perceptions, beliefs and attitudes — in which the intentional object is one's own body" [1]. Body schema is mostly unconscious sensation of dimensions, dynamics and spatial position of the body allowing people to move and act. The body image and the body schema are quite closely interrelated, therefore, the mediatization of one of these components contributes to the mediatization of the other.

According to the corporeality ontology proposed by the new materialism, the body/corporeality is not some uniform passive substrate, shaped by various symbolic structures activities. Body is an active part of the world, which activities intrinsically entangled with the activities of the different kinds of another objects from physical things to symbolic structures. "Phenomena are produced through agential intra-actions of multiple apparatuses of bodily production. Agential intra-actions are specific causal material enactments that may or may not involve 'humans'. Indeed, it is through such practices that the differential boundaries between 'humans' and 'nonhumans', 'culture' and 'nature'" [2]. Thus, media structures form an assemblage network of interactions with bodies, which indicates the ontological inevitability of the deep mediatization of corporeality. "Deep mediatization is an advanced stage of the process in which all elements of our social world are inextricably related to digital media and their underlying infrastructure" [3]. At the same time, the corporeality mediatization can take various forms due to the type of culture.

Forms of the corporeality mediatization in cyberculture. Cyberculture is a type of culture, which artifacts are created by computer technologies. There are two key ways of the corporeality mediatization in cyberculture: through the representation of body and through the (extended) cyborgization of body. The representation of body influences the body image in the structure of corporeality and cyborgization influences the body schema.

The body mediatization through representation means that culture creates a set of visual images of bodies, which integrates into the self-perception and the body image of one's own body. There are positive and negative body representations in movies with computer graphics, computer games, Social Medias etc. The positive body representation offering images of ideal bodies corresponding to the certain norms. Cyberculture has tools helping quickly transform the visual image of the body according to the norms and ideals (filters in Social Media, image editing, deep fakes). In material world plastic surgery can correct biological body to make them perfect as such ideal images.

Feminist phenomenologists contend that primarily female bodies and their images become the objects of repressive normalization to correspond to culturally inspired body standards. "The tacit and active women consent to the standards of

feminine self-presentation and, as a result, they are interested in regular work on the body with the help of fitness, dietary practices, make-up, etc. and such situation is often interpreted as a result of the pressure of mass culture — as the interiorization of male gaze" [4]. Even the bodypositive which is becoming a part of cyberculture and trying to represent diversity of real and imperfect bodies often demonstrates "non-standard" female bodies in just aesthetic and sexual contexts, while women's body non-canonical manifestations are ignored.

Another way of representation of the body is a "negative" image of the body, when it is presented as an object of various destructive manipulations, it is infected or invaded. For example, such images of bodies can be found in the bodyhorror movies, where bodies are objectified and just looks like a sets of organs that could be reassembled in strange and unhuman configurations. A destructive objectification of corporeality correlate with the implicit dualistic metaphysics presented in various discourses and cultural forms. The body in such metaphysics becomes an object for manipulation and control by a higher instance (spiritual or political). The positive and the negative body representations instill the idea of body control.

The body mediatization through cyborgization is first of all the "extended" cyborgization, which means that it's not necessary to integrate cybernetic elements into living flesh to become a cyborg. Extended cyborg is an assemblage of bodies, cognitive processes, devices, semiotic systems, forming unity of human and technical environment. For example mobile phone becomes a part of people's personality and intersubjectivity: "Seen as such, a mobile phone, for example, is not an instrument of either isolation or solidarity — it is a device in which our solitude and togetherness is embodied, gets meaning and provides purpose" [5]. People interaction with computer techs environment makes them a hybrid of human and tech, because they used to share many they body and mind functions with the different devices. However, there is one perceptible tendency: "extended cyborgization" often suggests people tech components helping control body, for instance smart wristbands counting steps.

Representation and cyborgization influencing the body image and the body schema deeply mediatize corporeality. It seems that people get the great choice of cyber body practices and partly it is true, but there is another side of this situation: people's corporeality become more and more permeable for the new forms of biopolitical control due to the controlling methods of the corporeality mediatization. People tend to perceive self-control over their bodies using devices as a normal part of their life, hence they open the gate for other actors who will assume this control too.

Mediatization of biopolitics. Biopolitics, according to Foucault's definition, is "the political power control over life: it is, if you will, gaining power over a person as a living being, a kind of etatization of the biological, or at least some inclination towards such etatization" [6]. According to Foucault, biopolitical control arises when the state begins to view the population as a kind of collective body, which should reproduce and function stably. The state

operates with statistical data in the field of medicine and demography and tries to make population "normal" according to the certain average biological and medical norms. State is not interested in the health, reproductive abilities and life quality of each individual civil, it thinks about the statistics and the health of population.

According to Agamben's biopolitical concept, there is the difference between two ancient Greek notions of life: "*zoe*, which meant the very fact of life, common to all living beings (whether animals, people or gods), and *bios*, which indicated the correct way or form of life for an individuals or a group" [7]. Gradually, the state begins to consider the preservation of "bare life" (life as a biological survival) by limiting rights, freedoms, political will, and indeed people subjectivity. The era of a permanent state of emergency is coming, and the visual methaphor of survived bodies without will and subjectivity is zombie: "figure of the zombie — the living dead, the mass of living corpses that are only bodies, that are only bare life" [8].

D. Lapton demonstrates the integration of two mediatization bases of the biopolitical control. According to her research, trying to solve the problem of overweight people the health care system (obviously a biopolitical system) consider not only rather contradictory medical and biometrical data concerning weight norm, but also culturally proposed images of normal bodies: "Medicine and health care exist in a cultural context in which certain long-established ideas about certain types of corporeality circulate" [9].

Technologies of the extended body cyborgization provide permanent everyday control over the body functions, especially with the help of self-tracking devices. The owners of self-tracking devices "often admit to researchers that they cannot start any activity (running, walking, exercising, eating, sleeping, working, having sex) without turning on the tracking option and generating data. Otherwise, it seems to them that they are wasting time" [10]. Thus, body experience is estimated from the point both of "norm" and "efficiency", and this integrates individual life in the system of platform capitalism there people have to share they data with other actors by media systems and make their bodies permeable for the biopolitical control.

Such data driven mediatized biopolitical control is dangerous because it tends to reduce peoples' corporeality and subjectivity to a certain set of prede-termined parameters, hence: "it seeks to reduce all phenomena and means of accounting for phenomena to numbers, it simultaneously displaces other less easily quantifiable albeit insightful ways of expressing phenomena". So "in the process, critics protest, an entire world of human, social and environmental complexity may get lost" [11]. From the other point of view, data driven approach could help people to take into account individual corporeality experience of each person, but in this case it is necessary to use other principals of getting and processing data which are not limited by "norm" and "control".

Analyzing biocontrol during the COVID-19 pandemic P. Preciado points out that people can be included in a life protection system if they are ready to be

mediatized by the methods they do not choose, otherwise they will die. For example, now the Moscow government is going to introduce special QR codes to separate vaccinated people from unvaccinated ones and at the same time deprive the unvaccinated some social rights including several kinds of medical care (this is potentially deathful for them). Therefore, R. Esposito's immunization biopolitics concept contending that death is paradoxically used to preserve the bare life is consistent with Preciado's assertion: "A new utopia of an immune society and a new form of high-tech mass control over human bodies will be invented after this crisis" [12].

Now there is the problem: is the strengthening of biopolitical control inevitable together with the obviously inevitable the corporeality deep mediatization? Such theoretical approaches as cyberfeminism or xenopheminism contend that the deep corporeality mediatization as an alliance of humans, media and techs may open new possibilities to create different forms of life out of control: "if the phallological-centric codes work according to the command-control-information stencil, then resistance codes are written as new collectivities and hybrid identities using outsider and marginal experience" [13].

Conclusion

And so, it can be argued that the corporeality deep mediatization is an inevitable process now, because people's bodies are included in the complex net interaction between people, cyber technologies and other material objects, media, semiotics systems etc. This mediatization effect changes both the body image and the body schema in the corporeality experience.

There are two main ways of the corporeality mediatization: the body representation mostly influencing on the body image and the extended cyborgization influencing the body schema. Both of these types of mediatization often shape people's corporeality in the frames of norm and control. And this fact make people's corporeality be permeable for the mediatized biopolitical control.

Mediatized biopolitical control periodically gives people the alternative: to be mediatisized or to die. The question remains open whether biopolitical control is inevitable if the corporeality deep mediatization is an inevitable process.

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Research article / Научная статья

Deep Mediatization: Rethinking a Figurational Approach

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Abstract. The article analyzes the possibilities and limitations of the figurative approach to the deep mediatization study, developed by Andreas Hepp and Nick Couldrie. To what extent is figurative theoretical optics sensitive to the processes of social worlds and practices transformation under the media influence? What are the possible directions of revision and further development of this approach? The figurative approach to deep mediatization is a powerful theoretical tool to explore this complex, non-linear meta-process. Focusing on figurations helps to avoid media centrism and emphasize the social life procedurality. At the same time, the figurations concept (understood as collectives, organizations, and institutions) raises some questions. In particular, the thesis about special media ensembles inherent in different figurations does not always work. This is due to the emergence of multifunctional platforms that can become a single digital infrastructure for many figurations. Such platforms have the potential of the ecosystem for a mediatized social life. Further analysis of the relationship between figurations and platforms is required, which does not reduce platforms only to the technological component of figurations. Bridging the deep divide between human actors and technology would also lead to new readings of medialogics (such as human-machine logics).

Keywords: digital media, deep mediatization, figurational approach, platforms, media logics

Глубокая медиатизация:
пересматривая фигуративный подход

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Аннотация. В статье анализируются возможности и ограничения фигуративного подхода к изучению глубокой медиатизации, развиваемого Андреасом Хеппом и Ником Коулдри. В какой мере фигуративная теоретическая оптика чувствительна к процессам трансформации социальных миров и практик под влиянием медиа? В каких направлениях возможна ревизия и дальнейшее развитие этого подхода? Фигуративный подход к глубокой медиатизации является сильным теоретическим инструментом, позволяющим исследовать этот комплексный, нелинейной метапроцесс. Фокус на фигурациях помогает избежать медиацентризма и акцентировать процессуальность социальной жизни. В то же время концепт фигураций (понимаемых как коллективы, организации и институты) вызывает некоторые вопросы. В частности, тезис об особых медиаансамблях, присущих разным фигурациям, не всегда работает. Это связано с появлением многофункциональных платформ, способных стать единой цифровой инфраструктурой для множества фигураций. Подобные платформы имеют потенциал экосистем для медиатизированной социальной жизни. Необходим дальнейший анализ связи фигураций и платформ, не редуцирующий платформы только к технологической составляющей фигураций. Устранение глубокого разрыва между людьми-акторами и технологиями также привело бы к новым прочтениям медиалогики.

Ключевые слова: цифровые медиа, глубокая медиатизация, фигуративный подход, платформы, медиалогика

Introduction

Over the past ten years, the concept of mediatization has gained widespread recognition among academics. The concept of mediatization is not just a new concept reflecting the ever-increasing influence of media on different sectors of society and culture — theorists of mediatization claim to be a *"paradigmatic shift"* in *media studies* [6. P. 315] and social science in general. In the discourse

on mediatization, three perspectives can be distinguished, which, for all their differences, are not mutually exclusive and hermetic: *institutionalist, social-constructivist, and material* [10]. This typology is based on different ways of conceptualizing media — as a social institution, symbolic form, and material technology. This article focuses on the figurative approach to *deep mediatization* developed by Nick Couldry and Andreas Hepp within the *social-constructivist (cultural)* tradition.

According to these authors, the concept of deep mediatization reflects a fundamentally new quality of the media environment and the social world saturated with media technologies [3. P. 5]. In their view, mediatization is a long process spanning six centuries of human culture. Couldry and Hepp distinguish four "waves" in it, each of which has a specific technological principle: mechanization, electrification, digitalization, and datafication [3. P. 38–52]. Deep mediatization begins with the development of computers, machine intelligence, the Internet, and mobile communications. It is the situation when media technologies are penetrating all spheres of personal and social life, transforming the practices of individuals, communities, organizations, and social institutions. Deep mediatization is marked by five distinctive trends: *the differentiation of digital media, their connectivity, media's omnipresence, the accelerating pace of media innovation, and the rise of datafication* [5. P. 40].

Mediatization and deep mediatization are considered as *"sensitizing concepts"* [5. P. 4], allowing a better understanding of the transformations of various areas of social and cultural life associated with a change in the media environment. However, this sensitivity largely depends on the theoretical perspective within which specific manifestations of mediatization are described and explained. In this article, the author uses the figurative approach of Couldry and Hepp, which seems to be the most flexible, comprehensive, and relevant for the study of the mediatized social world. To what extent is this approach sensitive to deep mediatization processes? What are the limitations of figurative perspective and the possibilities for its further modification? Without claiming to be a full-fledged revision of figurative optics, the author outlines some of its possible directions.

A figurational approach

The *cultural* version of mediatization theory presented by Nick Couldry and Andreas Hepp distances itself from media centrism. For them, the starting point of analysis is, first of all, *"not media themselves, but the social domains and, in a second step, the role of media in a domains' construction"* [5. P. 100]. Their approach to the study of deep mediatization, described in the book "*The Mediated Construction of Reality*" (2016), is formed at the intersection of social theory and media studies.

Couldry and Hepp suggested their version of figurative sociology that is relevant to our digital age. The figuration concept of the German sociologist

Norbert Elias [4], adapted by them, makes it possible to consider such "social bodies" as collectives, organizations, social institutions, and even entire societies procedurally, as existing only in the interaction of people. Unlike other procedural concepts — in particular, *"networks"*, which reduce the social world to a multitude of constellations of interconnected actors [2] or *"assemblage"*, which compose aggregates from human and non-human actants [9] into a *"flat landscape"* — the figuration concept has certain heuristic advantages, according to Couldry and Hepp. It contains both possibilities: to see structures in the flow of social life as patterns of interdependences and to understand the place of material technologies in heterogeneous networks.

Any figuration presupposes the presence of the three elements: (1) a specific constellation of interrelated social actors; (2) *"dominating frames of relevance"* that determine constitutive practices and the nature of figuration; (3) communicative practices (based on a specific *"media ensemble"*) intertwined with other social practices inherent in this figuration [5. P. 104–105].

Media and the *"ensembles"* they form are the technological basis for communication in figurations, without which the latter can no longer exist.

While recognizing the overall productivity of the figurative approach in studies of deep mediatization, it should be noted that it has its limitations and opportunities for further development, discussed below.

Figurations vs. platforms

First, the introduction of the communicative figurations concept does not bring fundamental novelty to the understanding and description of the mediatization of social life from the standpoint of the cultural approach. This is a kind of "rebranding" of the former concept of *"mediatized worlds"* [7], which goes back to the "life" / "social" / "small" worlds of phenomenology, which are now experiencing a noticeable influence of media technologies. That is, the "patterns" for "cutting out" social reality have remained largely the same (e.g.: the family, or state). These are "classical" social worlds (spheres, fields, locales), only viewed through the prism of ubiquitous media. The figuration concept overcomes the undesirable dualism of actor and structure, and is free from the connotations of hermeticity, territoriality, and substantiality inherent in "worlds", but it is more important for the development of social theory, and to a lesser extent — for understanding the mediatization processes. Are Couldry and Hepp exploring the mediatization of social life with inspiration from Elias, or are they developing Elias's figurative sociology while adapting it to digital realities? Is it worth it to come up with new sociology to study the impact of media technologies in different sectors of society and culture? Definitely worth it, although the rapid processes of deep mediatization will require more radical theoretical optics.

The figurative approach proceeds from the fact that it is not the media that build specific eras or worlds around themselves, but social worlds (figurations) have their media ensemble, which changes over time. However, in the conditions

of digitalization and datafication, *"infrastructural platforms"* [5. P. 27], created by large technology companies (Alphabet, Amazon, Apple, etc.), are of particular importance. Social life is "moving" to platforms, and not only to the such as Facebook, Airbnb, or Uber, which offer a rather narrow range of possible actions. In several countries, there is a trend towards the creation of multifunctional *super-apps* like the Chinese WeChat, where the user can satisfy many needs — from news, shopping, and payments to medical control, dating, and entertainment — in one "place". In Indonesia, the equivalent of WeChat is Gojek, in Malaysia — Grab, in Latin America — Rappi, in Russia — Sberbank, Yandex.Go, VKontakte and Tinkoff.

WeChat is somewhat close to the imaginary platform "The Circle" from Dave Eggers' 2013 dystopian novel of the same name, which was referred to by Couldry and Hepp in their book "The Mediated Construction of Reality" (2016). In this novel, not having an account in "The Circle" or not using it meant losing access to the digitalized social world. The WeChat demonstrates that the thesis about special *media ensembles* inherent in different figurations, and *media repertoires,* individual for each actor, may no longer work: most Chinese people use this super-app in all situations and "worlds".

The described trends indicate that soon such mega-platforms can become an ecosystem of mediatized social worlds-figurations. It is still difficult to say what consequences the concentration of social life on one or several global infrastructural platforms may have, but this will likely require a transition from "figurative" to "platform" sociology. In any case, a clearer relationship between figurations and platforms will be required, in which platforms will be seen as more (or other) than just the technological basis of figurations.

Platforms logics, human-machine logics

Media logics is one of the key concepts in mediatization research, which both Hepp and Couldry have taken very critically. Further, the productive reinterpretations of media logics are possible, but this requires a modification of the figurative approach itself.

In his book *"Deep Mediatization"* (2020), Hepp systematizes different interpretations of media logics, highlighting three approaches, which are based on interaction, organization, or technology. In the first case, it is an *approach to media logics as forms of interaction*, assuming that each medium has its way of encoding and decoding content. These are certain formats, genres, aesthetics, and language that determine the specificity of media representations of social phenomena and processes [1]. In studies of mediatization, media forms are usually studied not by themselves, but in the context of their socio-cultural influence. The second, the organization approach, is characteristic of the so-called strong version of the mediatization theory [8] and describes how non-media actors and institutions adapt to the rules of media organizations. The third, technological

perspective, focuses on the materiality of media technologies, in particular through the concept of affordances, prompting certain patterns of media use [11].

Hepp believes that currently, none of these interpretations of media logics can be a useful metaphor for describing the essence of deep mediatization processes. The main critical argument is that, in all three cases, *"media become a 'static object' that is powerful in itself"* [5. P. 67]. This attributable power of the media lies in their perceived ability to structure human practices in a particular way. This view overlooks the importance of actors' perception, use, and transformation of technology ignores the dynamics of the media. If technologies have "structuring" power, then it is delegated to them by people who produce, consume, and constantly rethink/remake these technologies. According to Hepp, it is more appropriate to speak of the *"molding forces"* [5. P. 57] *of media*, which manifest themselves in the *institutionalization and materialization* of social practices.

Given this criticism, it seems problematic to define media logics as the logic of platformization of social life, which would be the fourth way of conceptualizing it based on *infrastructural platforms*. Yet, this approach has the potential if we understand the platforms not only as limited in functionality services (like Facebook or Airbnb), but as global digital ecosystems comparable to the fictional "Sphere" or the real, but not so comprehensive WeChat.

However, further here will be analyzed not this promising thesis, but a more radical argument in favor of interpreting media logics as *human-machine logics*.

The fact that the media should be seen as a process does not raise objections. The main difficulty for rethinking media logics within the framework of the figurative approach is different. It is connected with the fact that the media and people are separated as different components of figurations. Couldry and Hepp introduce technology into the structure of figurations but consider only people as actors. Therefore, although the media can appear in the role of the social world modifiers, their *"molding forces"* are constructed as factors external to people. In this perspective, the media themselves do not possess agency (like Latur's *non-human actants*).

Media technologies here are still something that can be turned off at will, put aside, or left (like a mobile phone or a social network), remaining "yourself". Although currently such "disconnections" from the media are easy, nevertheless, there is an increasingly noticeable mediatization of the human actor and his "growing' into digital infrastructures. Media is becoming more mobile, smart, immersive, and invasive. As the human body is equipped with sensors and a smart digital environment develops, into which such mediatized bodies will be integrated along with other smart objects, ideas about corporeality, identity, and humanity — as well as media and media logics — will begin to change significantly.

Incorporated at the cognitive and physical levels, media logics is likely to structure differently both the perception of the social world and social practices. Of course, an attempt to conceptualize media logics as *"human-machine logics"* looks like a difficult task, but the theory of mediatization "waves" has good

predictive potential. In addition, some of the described tendencies are already present, and if such a categorical separation of human actors and technologies is somehow overcome, the metaphor of media logics can get a "second wind".

Conclusion

The figurative approach to deep mediatization remains a powerful theoretical tool for exploring this complex, non-linear meta-process. At the same time, the approach is more significant as a social theory articulating the role of media technologies in social world construction. Focusing on figurations as mediatized worlds avoid media centrism, but this does not provide much for understanding the very process of deep mediatization. The "binding" to figurations encourages the mediatization study through "social domains" (collectives, organizations, social institutions, states), which have their specific practices and media ensembles that support them. However, as shown by the example of WeChat, *the media ensemble* thesis does not always work: multifunctional platforms can become the digital infrastructure for the social world and themselves become this world, *"figurations of figurations"*. A deep analysis of the relationship between figurations and platforms is needed, which does not reduce platforms only to the technological component of figurations. Perhaps the result of such an analysis will be a new reading of media logics as the logic of social life platformization. A more radical interpretation of media logics as *human-machine logics* involves overcoming the dualism of people/actors and technologies/platforms, embedded in the figurations model.

As Andreas Hepp notes, the future as a whole is not predetermined, and even more so, not predetermined by technologies [5. P. 177–178]. However, for mediatization to remain a *"sensitizing concept"* within the figurative approach framework, it should become even more visionary, to which the model of "mediatization waves", which has a high predictive potential.

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Research article / Научная статья

Immersive Technologies in Media: Towards the Concept of Generative Mediatization?

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Abstract. The practices of so-called immersive media have been developing in the past few years. The immersive media situation characteristics, infrastructure, content and social aspects have been identified through the use of a multilevel structural and functional methodology, and make it possible to fix its specificity at all levels. The new format of the immersive media situation leads to changes in approaches to the mediatization studies. In the article, to study the media immersive communicative situation a generative approach is proposed for the first time. It is relevant to topological thinking, and to the modern immanent picture of the world, when a person and technology co-create a new form. Along with the generative approach and generative design, the necessity of applying relevant paradigms and methods of psychology to form new theoretical and methodological foundations of immersive user-centric media communication is substantiated. Several new concepts and terms are introduced, in particular, the term "immersive hypermediation", which is opposite to immediacy as a classical criterion of media effectiveness. As a result, the analysis of the essence and features of immersive media projects allows fixing the premises of immersive paradigm shift in mediatization studies.

Keywords: immersive communicative situation, transgression, prosumer of immersive media experience, immersive hypermedia, topological paradigm, immersive media reality, generative mediatization

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Иммерсивные технологии в медиа: формируя концепцию порождающей медиатизации?

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Аннотация. Практики так называемой иммерсивной медийной коммуникации развиваются в последние несколько лет. Характеристики, инфраструктура, социальные аспекты иммерсивной медийной ситуации выявлены благодаря применению многоуровневой структурно-функциональной методологии и позволяют зафиксировать ее особость на всех уровнях. Новый формат иммерсивной медийной ситуации обусловливает изменения в подходах к изучению данной специфической персональной коммуникации. В статье впервые для исследования иммерсивной коммуникативной медийной ситуации предложен генеративный подход. Подход релевантен топологическому мышлению и современному представлению об имманентной картине мире, когда человек и технология становятся партнерами в процессе создания новой формы. Наряду с генеративным подходом и генеративным дизайном обоснована необходимость применения релевантных парадигм и методов психологии для формирования новых теоретико-методологических оснований иммерсивной медиакоммуникации, ориентированной на пользователя. Вводится ряд новых понятий и терминов. В частности, термин «иммерсивная гипермедиация» фиксирует редукцию иммедиации как классического критерия эффективности медиа. В итоге анализ сущности и особенностей иммерсивных медийных проектов позволяет зафиксировать предпосылки иммерсивной смены парадигмы в изучении медиатизации.

Ключевые слова: иммерсивная коммуникативная ситуация, трансгрессия, просьюмер иммерсивного медиаопыта, иммерсивная гипермедиация, топологическая парадигма, иммерсивная медиареальность, генеративная медиатизация

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Introduction

In the past decade, the emergence and spread of so-called immersive technologies such as augmented reality (AR), virtual reality (VR), mixed reality (MR) in the media have shaped the practice of media.

Immersive media projects imply a new, different from the traditional, format of interactive creation, receipt, consumption of media information and communication by an individual: for the first time in the history of media in immersive projects, a user becomes not just an individual prosumer (according to Toffler), but the prosumer of his own user experience (virtual, real, hybrid). The "immersive" prosumer can consume, create and vice versa creating, consume individually (including in games [1]) the content, in fact, in the format of an experiment. Thus, an object of an immersive project become *a prosumer of an immersive media experience*.

Immersive journalistic projects develop intensively in the 2010s (e.g. by Nonni della Peña, 2012). Nowadays, immersive journalism is a subcategory of journalism that uses technologies (e.g. VR) to provide engaging in such technologies with a sense of being wholly engrossed in the news story [2], thus allowing the audience to form an impression of the story [3].

In this article, we deliberately use broader non-journalistic but communication research optics, which allows focusing on the study of the immersive media communication situation as such. The immersive media communication situation within the framework of this study will be defined in its most general form as the interaction of situational elements and actors: the basic subject (customer of communication), creative subject (content creator), technical subject (ensuring the project functioning), and object (user). The elements are also the means and ways of implementing interaction, and the place of the project implementation.

What is the essence and specificity of the immersive communicative situation in the mediatization studies? The relevant literature analysis did not reveal complex answers to the posed research question.

Solving the scientific problem of identifying the features of the immersive media communication situation as a specific format of assemblage in mediatization studies is the aim of the study.

To identify the immersive communication situation specifics, there will be applied a multi-level methodology for studying the phenomena of social communication mediated by digital technologies, the Internet, artificial intelli-

gence programs, which involves a step-by-step study of infrastructural, technical, technological and then social features of communication [4].

Ontogenesis of immersion: Typology vs. topology?

Immersion in various fields, from biology to mathematics, involves expanding the limits of the visible, a special type of spaces mapping, an increase in the most significant indicators, and a decrease in the visibility of defects and discontinuities, up to the mutual replacement of elements (e.g. in chemistry, atoms) of interacting media or a special mapping of topological spaces to each other. In other words, it is transgressive "by origin".

Researchers describe the genesis of modern immersive media projects, such as panoramic and 360° photos or videos, starting with static ancient Roman panoramas [5]. The ideas of immersiveness as the basis for creating special virtual "worlds" were described in the literature of the 1930s (e.g. "Pygmalion's Glasses" by S. Weinbaum).

In the digital age, immersive media projects (proto)ontogenesis is possible to study in the traditional paradigms of man-to-technology interaction as transindividual connection or in line with cybernetic traditions. The generative approach allows to involve users in creative communication and get new experiences. It is possible to consider the generative approach as the basis for understanding the essence and effects of all immersion formats, and generative design at the stages of technologies and projects research (and creation).

The generative approach's essence is clarified by the famous researcher of digitalization and architect Nicholas Negroponte. In the 1970s, Negroponte used the generative concept as the ability to create something new concerning architecture, and today his ideas are still relevant [6]. According to Negroponte, generative architecture should be created based on the interaction of an architect (subject) and a city dweller (non-architect, object), in order to adapt the environment using the residential building interface [7] (that is, the modern Internet of Things and the smart home concept).

Thus, the approach and the term reflect the integrative essence of both the man and technology interaction and the immersion of a person in a new virtual and "real" reality that he creates himself, including, as a result, cognitive and affective "production" of a new virtual, hybrid, and real experience.

The proposed approach is relevant to the modern concept of the immanent picture of the world, when a person and technology co-create a new form. This corresponds to the topological thinking characteristic of immersivity, as indicated above. In contrast to the traditional typological one, it determines the interaction of the topological spaces, and is aimed at optimizing the interaction of parts of the immersive media project as a system. In the context of media philosophy, immersive projects create a specific personalized immersive media reality.

Immersion: Immediation vs. hypermediation?

De facto media are initially determined by various infrastructures and technologies the use of which is aimed at achieving maximum efficiency of impact on the audience with "seamless" consumption of communication.

Media traditionally uses three types of infrastructural and technical and technological "intermediaries" (communicative situation elements): tools and technologies to create a message; channels for the message delivery to the audience; media consumption tools [8]. An immersive media project at the infrastructural and technological levels is based on the digital technologies used to "immerse" the user who is in a physical space into a virtual or hybrid (virtual-real) space.

The technical infrastructure, thanks to which modern projects immerse the user in an immersive communicative situation, is diverse and multifunctional [9]. For example, the sensations from virtual reality are transmitted using a smart-phone with a special VR application, tracking systems, mobile VR helmets, gloves, costumes, etc. The communication situation technical and technological elements are created for the most personalized communication and are adapted to the particular user's behavior through data analysis.

In the classical media, all "intermediaries" together form the consumer's media environment, where media communication is embodied and manifested [8].

In immersive media projects, a virtual-hybrid environment is formed based on the specific integration of convention and reality, which ensures interaction within all possible situations in media. For the first time, immersive projects provide a high level of simulation technology that is practically not used in other formats.

Multimodality of perception acts through various sensory modalities, on sight, hearing, touch. The immersive communication space can be designated as polysensory, which reflects the infrastructural, technological, and communicative aspects of project support.

How does the environment affect media effects? In the classical media, efficiency seems to be optimal with the "invisible" influence of media, immediacy. New criteria appear in immersive projects, in particular, because the "immersion" infrastructure and technologies are quite complex, the user needs to master a sufficiently large number of technology mediated "entry points" into virtuality, etc.

To describe such a situation, which in classical media studies is referred to as "hypermediation", we propose the term "immersive hypermediation". Immersive hypermediation captures the a priori plurality of channels, technologies, resources, carriers of an immersive media project (and it is opposite to immediacy as classical criteria for the media project effectiveness).

Immersion as a communication strategy: Rational vs. emotional?

At the social interaction level, immersive projects are also specific, since individual immersive polysensory communication aims at the experimental creation of a new user experience, which distinguishes it from all other media practitioners.

The very attribution of the immersive media communication format is new. The classic dichotomy of interpersonal and mass communication in the digital era is being transformed, researchers fix a new dichotomy of interpersonal (face-to-face) and technology-mediated communication [8]. But the immersive experimental acquisition of real experience determines the need for allocation of a special immersive subcategory in the technology-mediated communication classification.

In terms of content, immersive media projects demonstrate the dominance of the long-established visualization trend as a consequence of the content strategies transition from rationality to emotional influence [3]. According to Novikov and Kiriya, "the audience is less and less interested in **knowing** what is happening in the territories controlled by ISIS. Modern journalism is trying to make the audience **feel** what is happening there" [10. P. 278].

De facto, the immersive media projects content satisfies all the key "classic" needs of the mass media audience: cognitive, affective, integrating rational and emotional requests, communicative, etc.

At the same time, the "experimental" way of immersive media content consuming satisfies the modern need for the "experience of presence" in a certain situation, time, and place. The topological paradigm allows the user to constantly reconstruct the situation, each time to receive new information, satisfying all new and diverse needs.

In the classical classification of digital information consumption formats, there are various formats, for example, linear or hypertext, planned or unplanned. In an immersive project, the content is multi-level and polysemantic, consumption is possible through planned and unplanned navigation, the spontaneity of the reaction provokes the spontaneity of the user creating a new story and new experience, obtaining new generative effects.

Thus, the immersive project's communication is personalized and experimental and constantly update. It is created in the generative topological paradigm, which determines the need to apply the relevant psychology paradigms in its study.

Mediatization studies: Immersive media vs. new paradigm shift?

The media and their effects as the sociocultural changes indispensable condition are considered by scientists in the paradigm of mediatization studies,

especially since the 2010s. The mediatization studies concepts, which were declared as a paradigm shift in classical media studies, are inherently media-centric, despite the statements about the distance from mediacentrism [11].

The practices and essence of the media's traditional "media-centricity" have long been undergoing radical transformations with the advent of the Internet, peer-to-peer communication, and mobile access. The user's involvement in mass interaction (the so-called Web 2.0), form a vast array of non-media or mass-media-centered, but "mass-personal" [12] or person-centered media.

The communicative situation of the personal interactive practices dominance, in fact, initially determined the need for the creation of relevant concepts in mediatization studies. However, to this day, the user-centric approach to mediatization studies has not found its comprehensive reflection; the existing concepts have been criticized largely for the lack of proper attention to the user as an object, despite the idea of "mediatization of everything" [11; 13].

The dominance of personal media communication determines the need for a transition in mediatization studies from social optics, which has proven itself productively, to (socio) psychological ones, and generative approaches in media psychological research.

Conclusion & discussion

Immersive media projects are a new communicative situation for media. Basic differences are noted at all levels: infrastructural, technical and technological, and social. At the communication level, information consumption becomes for the first time an experiment aimed at obtaining a new user experience. The user becomes not just a prosumer, but also an immersive media experience prosumer. The proposed term "immersive hypermediation" captures the radical multiplicity of channels, technologies, resources, carriers of an immersive media communication, and is opposite to immediacy as classical criteria for a media project effectiveness.

The immersive media communication essence is proposed to be investigated based on a generative approach, which reflects the communicative situation of creation, distribution, consumption based on immersive technologies of creative communication for the user to gain new experience.

To designate the research direction into the essence and effects of immersive media practices, the term "generative mediatization" is proposed, which we define as the effects of personal and socio-cultural development obtained by the user based on experience following participation in a creative immersive media project.

The immersive media situation determines changes in research approaches to the study of immersive user-centric media communication: the transition to relevant psychology methods.

Thus, the analysis of the immersive media project's essence and features allows us to fix the prerequisites for a new format of media communication, which deepens the user-centric approach, and provokes a new paradigm shift in mediatization studies.

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ПРАКТИКА: ТРАНСГРЕССИЯ ТРАНСФИГУРАЦИИ

PRACTICES: TRANSGRESSIVE FORMATS AND FOCI

Research article / Научная статья

The Impact of Mediatization on EU Public Outreach Campaigns

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Abstract. This article addresses the mediatization of the European public sphere(s) and the issues it creates for the implementation of EU-wide public outreach efforts. As applied to the EU context, the concept of mediatization is understood as a relationship between the media and political institutions that causes societal transformation. In this sense, the public sphere is seen as a mediating infrastructure of debates of political legitimacy. In the context of mediatized politics, European public opinion is fragmented and bound to national public spheres. EU public outreach efforts are increasingly filtered and shaped by the media of its member countries. Due to multiple implementation issues, the EU has not been able to offer its members an attractive and unifying identity narrative promoting European values. This article offers some conceptual solutions to the problem.

Keywords: Europeanization, The European Union, mediatization, the public sphere, strategic communication

Влияние медиатизации
на информационные кампании Евросоюза

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Аннотация. В статье обсуждается медиатизация публичной сферы Евросоюза и ее влияние на реализацию информационных кампаний в государствах — членах ЕС. Автор рассматривает медиатизацию в ЕС как отношения между СМИ и другими социальными институтами, ведущие к трансформации общества в соответствии с медийными правилами. Публичная сфера исследуется как медиатизированная инфраструктура для дискуссий о политической легитимности. В контексте медиатизированной политики европейское общественное мнение фрагментировано и привязано к национальным общественным сферам. Усилия ЕС по информированию общественности все больше фильтруются и формируются средствами массовой информации его стран-членов. В итоге ЕС не смог предложить своим членам привлекательный и объединяющий нарратив идентичности, продвигающий европейские ценности. Предлагаются концептуальные решения этих проблем.

Ключевые слова: европеизация, Европейский Союз, медиатизация, публичная сфера, стратегическая коммуникация

Introduction

Traditionally, the mass media have been considered the providers of social integration and democratization within a political community [1]. Western societies are often referred to as *media democracies* in which democratic functions rely on mass communication infrastructure [2]. The rise of media-driven democracies correlates with the weakening of political parties and the decline of their function of mediating between the people and the government [3].

The European Union's political representation and legitimation occur through a dynamic interaction between multiple audiences representing member states, aspiring nations, and neighboring countries such as Russia and Turkey. Like other political systems, the EU relies on the mass media to publicize its

policies and thereby ensure legitimation and public support. The media are instrumental in helping the EU justify the merits of European identity to various international audiences [4].

The EU Parliament maintains public information offices in the member states that are responsible for media relations and public outreach. Since the Maastricht Treaty (1992), the EU has consistently promoted European integration along with specific political values and Europeanization as a distinctive marker of a new, consolidated public space [5]. In 2002, the European Commission also launched a communications strategy to improve public knowledge of the EU and explain the implications of accession for each country. The creation of new EU symbols (the Flag of Europe, etc.) was intended to promote a sense of identity, peace, and unity. Activities such as the Erasmus program were designed to boost cultural learning and understanding among EU citizens as well as to stimulate their sense of European belonging.

In 2014, the European Parliament and Commission introduced *New Narrative for Europe: The Mind and Body of Europe* to "bring Europe closer to its citizens and reviving a European spirit via the arts and sciences". Although there have been several public outreach campaigns to promote integrative values among member states, none has been able to establish a unified European community. Moreover, none of these outreach efforts resolved the issue of *communication deficit* [6]. The 2020 withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the EU and the European Atomic Energy Community suggests — among other things — that EU institutions and programs have failed to offer European citizens a solid unifying paradigm.

The interchange between the EU and its member states takes place in the public sphere, filtered and shaped by the media environment [7]. The interrelation between media and politics *shapes* the representation of EU governance and its public legitimation. Hence, EU governance and its democracy model are not simply *mediated* but rather *mediatized* or transformed via interactions with media, creating multiple transgressions [8]. The efforts of the EU to enhance Europeanization through public outreach campaigns were impeded be multiple issues associated with the compromised legitimacy of EU institutions and the effects of mediatized politics on the relationship between the EU and its member states.

This article discusses the impact of *mediatization* on EU public outreach campaigns. It addresses the mediatization of the European public sphere(s) and the issues it creates for the implementation of EU-wide public outreach efforts. The essay outlines several issues with EU public communication campaigns and offers some alternative solutions to the problem.

The EU as an assembly of public spheres

Initially, scholars nurtured the idea of the EU as a homogenous public sphere at the supra-national level, represented by EU citizens sharing the values and norms of Europeanness [9]. According to Habermas (1962), the public sphere

refers to a space of civic communication where citizens come together to deliberate on state affairs. The quality of this public forum is crucial: the stronger the public sphere, the better public opinion can resist the state's abuse of power.

The concept of Europeanization refers to interactions between the EU and its members. This notion is largely based on Europeanness or the sense of personal identification with European cultural and political views and values. The idea of the integrative European identity is often referred to as "the European Dream." Jeremy Rifkin, in his 2004 book *The European Dream: How Europe's Vision of the Future Is Quietly Eclipsing the American Dream*, saw it as a unifying power that helped to produce economic stability, peace, and employment. However, low turnout in the European elections and a persistent lack of identification by nation-states' citizens with EU institutions demonstrate that the integrative European identity has yet to become a new unifying paradigm for Europe.

While early scholars predicted the future of Europe as a homogenous public sphere, an alternative perspective dismisses the traditional view of the EU as idealized and unattainable. These scholars argue that in pluralistic and diverse societies, multiple publics jointly construct relationships with permeable boundaries. Such societies allow for plural *public spheres* in which even minority publics are able to cocreate public events, intervene in ongoing events, and produce new social arrangements. In other words, the political integration of the Europe of states has advanced at a more rapid pace than the social and cultural integration of the Europe of citizens. As a result, the EU still remains "a case of system integration and not a case of the social integration of citizens" [4. P. 40].

Today, the EU is extremely diverse and represented by a variety of opinions on policies and issues contributed by governments and citizens in its member states, ranging from the Nordic to Mediterranean and Central/Eastern European countries. The European media landscape is diverse. Some media outlets serve as carriers of dominant frames; others promote alternative opinions. There are three categories of media in Europe in terms of media freedom, ranging from the most developed countries (Scandinavian countries, Germany, etc.) to the countries ranked low (Hungary, Poland, etc.), where there are growing attacks on media [10].

This assembly of public spheres poses a significant challenge for the EU that has to adapt to the new realities and create a strategic vision that would promote democratic deliberation and encourage participatory engagement on the part of EU citizens.

The mediatization of the EU public spheres

There is a body of media scholarship arguing that the media should no longer be considered a neutral mediator between citizens and government institutions. Instead, the media is an active player that transforms politics by acting in accordance with its own judgments and rules [11].

A relationship between the media and other social institutions that leads to societal transformation is often referred to as *mediatization* [8]. Research suggests

there is a system is considered legitimate when citizens accept stories praising its merits and social order within an organized narrative framework. In this sense, "the mediated reality becomes more important than the actual reality, in the sense that it is mediated reality that people have access to and react to" [12. P. 238].

Thus, mediatization is often discussed as referring to the increased intrusion of media logic on the operations of other social institutions via new rules imposed by the media. The adoption of media logic by a political system produces a hybrid of *mediatized politics* or "politics that has lost its autonomy […] and is continuously shaped by interactions with mass media" [11. P. 250]. Some scholars even refer to "new social condition" created by mediatization when the "media increasingly transgress the whole culture and society" so that "everything gets mediated" [13. P. 224].

As applied to the EU context, the concept of mediatization helps us understand the public sphere as a mediating infrastructure of debates of political legitimacy [4]. Hence, mediatization should not be studied "in the narrow sense as the impact of media on the operational modes of the EU political system, but, in more general terms, to capture the transformation of the public sphere and the changing conditions for the generation of political legitimacy both at national and at European level" [4. P. 47]. As a result, the mediatized public sphere should not be perceived as "the infrastructure for the mediation of EU representative politics but as the place where the representative claims-making of the new transnational elites resonates, meets with national (or other) counter claimants and informs public opinion and will formation" [4. P. 40].

In the context of mediatized politics, European public opinion remains fragmented and bound to national public spheres. Most EU-related information is filtered through national and regional agendas and framed according to local perspectives in privately owned news outlets. EU institutions often become the easy scapegoat for poor decisions made by local governments in the national media, thus helping them avoid public criticism.

While the EU uses social media for public engagement, its critics and social activists use them to challenge the EU's legitimacy. Scholars have observed the potential of social media to alienate publics in modern societies and to incite "EU contestation processes" [7]. Social media enable citizens to produce memetic content reframing the original meaning of complex issues promoted by EU institutions and agencies and turning political actors into targets of hate and condemnation.

Issues with EU public outreach campaigns

Essentially, many EU public outreach campaigns lack properly designed and executed communication strategies based on what Botan [14] defines as strategic communication: understanding what various publics think and want rather than focusing on message production. Below, I list several reasons why the EU's efforts to promote European integration and identity have proved unsuccessful.

First, the EU has not been able to offer its members an attractive and unifying *identity narrative promoting European values*. The European Commission supported the "unity paradigm," which often produced conflicting messages because it "promoted unity and diversity at the same time" [15. P. 112].

Second, European integration has been driven by bureaucratic and political elites who have monopolized the power to define what it means "to be fully 'European'" [16]. Most elite argumentation is based on understanding Europe as a public space with universal values. From this perspective, the advantages are obvious and axiomatic, the shortcomings are often overlooked, and controversial issues are rarely examined and addressed in public debate.

Third, the EU has failed to *communicate its policies and ideas in a consistent manner*. Audiences in member states are often confused about the long-term vision and goals of the European Parliament and other EU institutions. The EU has repeatedly used several hegemonic narratives in its discourse (e.g., the Nobel narrative, green Europe, etc.). None of them has been able to produce a solid core message across Europe because of their narrow focus.

Finally, the EU institutions *have failed to fully embrace the notion of mediatized politics and adapt their communication campaigns to new mediatized realities*. The EU system of governance has yet to be fully integrated into the ecosystem of the European media. For example, Trenz [4] argues that the European Commission is reluctant to adapt to media logic and interlink its policies and issues with the discussion items on media and public agendas. The EU establishment chooses to communicate with journalists in a reactive way. This reactive communication is often caused by preexisting mutual mistrust. For example, instead of seeking a dialogue with journalists, the Commission often looks for opportunities to criticize them for inaccuracies and negativity in their reporting of EU activities.

Conclusions and future research

In the context of European mediatized politics, the idea of an integrative European identity is unlikely to become a unifying power for the fragmented citizenry in transitional societies, as it still appears foreign in terms of norms and values. EU initiatives and programs often produce inconsistent and sketchy messages that confuse local audiences and appear insincere. This article supports Valentini's (2006) observation that the EU's inability to tailor its message to different audiences mainly results from inadequate planning and coordination among the EU institutions.

In addition, most EU-sponsored programs promoting democracy are filtered and shaped by the media of nation-states. Fragmented media and audience segmentation lead to multiple *transgressions* including the formation of new public spheres, and growing ideological polarization. For example, in 2021, national elections in Hungary, Poland and other European countries support anti-immigrant views promoted by populist politicians.

To respond to the challenges outlined in this article, the EU needs a new strategic outlook. The *cocreational* paradigm of strategic communication is a well-suited conceptual framework that ascribes primary power to the public in the relationship with institutions in the context of mediatized politics [14]. Scholars suggest a distinction between *the basic mediatization* and *the reflexive mediatization* of political institutions [4]. In the case of basic mediatization, EU political actors and institutions follow the agenda proposed by the media and link media items to their own topics and issues. In the reflexive mode, the EU mobilizes its internal resources to generate content for publicity and social media users.

When applied to the European scenario, this article suggests that publics within EU member states become the main reference point and the largest interpretive community of EU messages. Following the model of reflexive mediatization, the EU should become reflexive on the processes taking place in the media environment and strategically inserts topics relevant to media and public discussions. In addition, the cocreational approach prescribes that the content of future EU programs should be determined through ongoing communication with core and aspiring EU members. This involves providing full information concerning EU programs and initiatives for timely public evaluation and debate.

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Research article / Научная статья

New Strategies of Omni-Mediatization of the Public Policy in Kazakhstan

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Abstract. In the context of the accelerated development of new media and the growth of e-democracy, the mediatization of Kazakhstani politics is entering a new digital-driven stage of development. The author's approach relevance lies in studying the modern digital-driven strategy of Kazakhstani political communication and identifying methods of influence of political parties on the electorate, manipulative media forms on certain segments of the electorate from the opposition. The article presents an analysis of the main strategic resources of the politics mediatization and of their impact. Moreover, it reveals the influence tendencies of the political mediatization, the political communication in society and with party stakeholders. The author attempts to analyze the methods and formats of transmedia storytelling in the social networks on the Internet for the political leaders communication shaping, social and political dialogue building. The research material included the election campaigns of parliamentary and unregistered parties texts in Kazakhstani social media, the posts / publications on social networks during the first ever primaries in the country's history and the parliamentary elections of 2019 and 2021.

Keywords: social policy, new media, elections, political brand, transmedia storytelling, opposition, stratum, primaries, mediatization of politics

Новые стратегии омнимедиатизации общественной политики в Казахстане

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Аннотация. В контексте ускоренного развития новых медиа и роста электронной демократии медиатизация казахстанской политики выходит на новый этап развития, основанный на цифровых технологиях. Актуальность авторского подхода заключается в изучении современной цифровой стратегии казахстанской политической коммуникации и выявлении методов воздействия политических партий на электорат, манипулятивных медиаформ на отдельные сегменты электората со стороны оппозиции. Представлен анализ основных стратегических ресурсов медиатизации политики и их влияния. Выявлены тенденции влияния медиатизации на политическую жизнь общества и работу со стейкхолдерами партий. Сделаны попытки проанализировать методы и форматы трансмедийного повествования в социальных сетях Интернета для формирования коммуникации политических лидеров, построения социального и политического диалога. В качестве материалов исследования использованы тексты избирательных кампаний парламентских и незарегистрированных партий в казахстанских социальных сетях, посты / публикации в социальных сетях во время первых в истории страны праймериз и парламентских выборов 2019 и 2021 гг.

Ключевые слова: социальная политика, новые медиа, выборы, трансмедийный сторителлинг, оппозиция, страта, праймериз, медиатизация политики

Introduction

In Kazakstan, last years the political life is changing dramatically. But the growing activity of political parties are not completed with relevant media strategies, tools and effects.

On the background of the changing role of the state in the context of political transformation in Kazakhstan, new subjects of social policy are becoming more active. Political parties, civil movements and NGOs are among them and they create

a separate category of media communication. In order to manage stakeholder relations effectively, the emphasis is placed on the systematic identification, analysis and planning of communications, negotiation and influence on stakeholders on social networks such as Facebook, YouTube, Instagram and Telegram.

Thus, the research question is: What are the main features of mediatization of public policy in Kazakhstan?

The methodological basis includes modern theories in the spheres of political science, communication studies, mediatization, journalism and PR. In order to realize the set tasks, the narratives received during the monitoring of social networks of parties and individual candidates in the pre/post-election period with open access, were used. Methods of monitoring and analysis of social media using the automated systems Alem Media Monitoring and Brand Analytics, content analysis of the websites of political parties and unregistered movements were applied.

The research material included the election campaigns of parliamentary and unregistered parties texts in Kazakhstani social media, the posts / publications on social networks during the first ever primaries in the country's history and the parliamentary elections of 2019 and 2021.

Mediatization of politics: Social media impact

According to the Kazakhstani political scientist R. Nurtazina, along with the social relevance of the semantic information, the evaluative information is substantial as well. It is the evaluative information that contributes to the formation of public opinion. And this is already a lever used by the political forces of society to achieve their goals [1].

The definition of the mediatization of politics was introduced for the first time by the Swedish scholar K. Asp. He has defined it as a process of political news broadcast by the mass media, focusing on the transformation of politics under the peculiarities of the mass media. The mediatization of politics in political communication studies means a set of interconnected information and communication phenomena and processes occurring both within the political space and in the external environment, through public presentations and frames of political and public meanings [2].

David L. Swanson and Dan Nimmo define the political communication as "the strategic use of communication to influence public knowledge, belief and action on political issues" [3]. They emphasize the strategic nature of political communication by highlighting the role of persuasion in political discourse. Brian McNair provides a similar definition when he writes that the political communication is "a purposeful communication about politics". In McNair's view, it also includes all those aspects that develop "political identity" or "image" [4].

With the development of social media, the role of the politics mediatization as an informational and strategic resource has increased dramatically. The fact

that we are entering the era of the "omni-mediatization" is evidenced by the works of the American media researcher S. Livingstone [5].

Social networks allow political parties and movements to manage voters proactively: first, by defining the goal of interaction, and only then by selecting the tools and format of communication for it. In turn, for society, along with the advantages (prompt interaction, possibility of dialogue and openness on the part of political structures), there are communication risks that complicate and destroy. Firstly, parties use anonymous Telegram channels (given their brevity and efficiency), which can be calculated by comparing the content and frequency of publications, they have two main purposes: 1) to foresee the audience's reaction to any action and 2) to manipulate information by referring reliable sources and public opinion leaders. The trend of political communications on Facebook and YouTube in terms of influencing the electorate and the audience as a whole has become transmedia storytelling, which allows integrating systems of rational and sensory influence.

Secondly, the social networks have changed politics, because it has given political polities and opposition movements a direct means of communicating to their constituents and people — the opportunity to communicate directly with politicians. This kind of informality may lead to information errors for the reason that it is not subject to the "fact-checking processes as institutional journalism" [6]. A relevant example is the civil case filed by the first deputy chairman of Nur Otan Bauyrzhan Baibek against activists Zhanbolat Mamai and Inge Imanbayeva. In the lawsuit, Baibek asked to recognize the information as untrue, discrediting his honor, dignity and business reputation (the activists accused B. Baibek of corruption and published a series of films with interactive storytelling on social networks).

Deep mediatization of politics: Towards transmedia storytelling

Nowadays, mediatization of politics became more and more voter-centered. The voter, through the points of contact, determines to what extent a given party is "his own", whether it reflects his views, whether he will be able to declare his position through belonging to this organization.

Among the most effective tools of media communication with voters in politics is storytelling. According to D. Boyle, the main task of storytelling in political discourse is to explain the situation, make it easy to understand and, consequently, make it believable. Thus, "every candidate in the 2008 presidential race appears as the hero of at least one narrative tied to one of the nation's key issues: McCain and the noble warrior saga, Hillary Clinton and the story of the American woman, Obama and the tale of the two races" [7].

In December 2020, in Kazakhstan, for the first time intra-party elections — the primaries were held. These elections demonstrated that the candidates could not build a strong and relevant to modern communication requirements image of their organization, establish a strong long-term connection with their voters

through self-identification, which is best built by the use of storytelling method in communications.

In the era of social media the political discourse is changed. The traditional storytelling does not works. Kazakhstani politician and public figure Amirzhan Kossanov during the campaign for president of Kazakhstan in 2019 used similar to American presidential election tactics. His trick was the profession of a journalist, i.e. the role of a fighter for the truth. A. Kossanov used the model of the "closeness to the people — a person who comes from the people". Social network users subsequently accused him of false opposition.

Since 2011s, in the times of deep mediatization storytelling became more complex. Transmedia storytelling is a technique of telling a story across multiple platforms and formats, using modern digital technology.

S. Emerson quotes H. Jenkins in "The Great Examples of Multi-Platform Storytelling" that we live in transmedia, a globally connected world where we use multiple platforms to connect and communicate [8]. Today, transmedia storytelling is a theory that is finally beginning to find practical success.

The transmedia storytelling allows the interpretation of a story from an individual perspective, opening the way for personalized reflection. The new model of experiential transmedia storytelling is based on six fundamental qualities of the digital environment: interactivity; immersion [9]; multisensory presentation; algorithm and information management; first-person perspective; natural user interface.

An expert in the field of communications I. Kiriya believes that the processes of mediatization of socio-political movements and civic activism, in particular, occurring through the use of transmedia tools, are of great importance [10]. While the state authority establishment is reluctant to use transmedia in an effort to avoid the effects of participatory democracy, the transmedia storytelling is becoming the main form of engaging audiences in political and social transformation.

In Russia, the projects of Alexei Navalny and the art group "Partizaning" are the vivid examples of transmedia activism. In Kazakhstani practice, the opposetionists Zh. Mamai from the Democratic Party of Kazakhstan and the leader of the banned (unregistered) party in Kazakhstan M. Ablyazov's Democratic Choice of Kazakhstan are using similar models of transmedia storytelling. Unlike the parliamentary parties "Ak Zhol", "NPK" and "Auyl", which have election programs and specific tasks for implementation, as well as direction and electorate, the opposition uses other channels and forms of influence (manipulation) through social networks. The peculiarity of the work of two representatives is that one (Zh. Mamai) communicates with the audience while in Kazakhstan, and the second (M. Ablyazov) from France. Both candidates use the social justice model of transmedia storytelling. The specificity of the dialogue with the audience according to this model is to unite people through social networks (Facebook, Instagram and Telegram channels), since congresses and gatherings easily may turn into meetings and they are prohibited by law. The storyline and unfolding of the story depend on the communication channel and the ultimate goal of

influencing the audience. For example, Zh. Mamai (head of story: he is a positive hero "opposition journalist and participant in the "December events", but with dubious initiatives. For anti-government actions and rallies, he does not receive a prison sentence in comparison with other activists) who raises acute social issues throughout his career, voices the most painful problems: bank credit, Chinese expansion, the land of Kazakhstan, the state language, etc., manipulating the consciousness of the average class of Kazakhstanis.

The same model is used by M. Ablyazov, (head of the story: he is a negative character "fugitive banker and ex-politician", but pursued by the law enforcement agencies of the Republic of Kazakhstan and with loud revelations of Kazakhstani politicians) he puts the construction of Utopia, the realism of which is added by mixed facts and fakes about joint labor activities with the First President of the Republic of Kazakhstan N. Nazarbayev. As a manipulative tool, Ablyazov tells stories about a tough career, difficulties, desires to serve the country, its prosperity, to provide a better life for the people, discrediting Elbasy, allegedly hindering his efforts. People on social networks unite in groups based on a common desire to live in Utopia, not paying attention to the fact that information is presented in the form of rumors that are transmitted in word-of-mouth through the Telegram channel "Uzyn Kulak" ("Long Ear" in translation from Kazakh), blindly following Ablyazov's policy and identifying themselves with him, trying on his role and events.

Both politicians have an impressive number of followers and friends on social networks (hidden in the settings), so the speed of distribution, audience response and reach is high.

The trend of transmedia storytelling is the visual stories in the format of investigative films. The plot is based on the conflict of good and evil interests. The acting authorities play the role of the evil, and an opposition activist, standing up for justice and trying to open people's eyes to the glaring injustice, plays the role of the good. The culminating moment is the "unmasking" scene, the presentation of archival documents about illegal real estate or parallel business, as well as the property or financial condition of close relatives. Fragmentary videos are published on Facebook, gaining popularity and comments, generating a new format of stories already in the official mass media. As a rule, official denials began to take place after the scandalous film by Zh. Mamai about the first deputy chairman of the "Nur Otan" party B. Baibek [11].

The author of "Media Communication. An Introduction to Theory and Process", James Watson emphasizes that regardless of whether the information is factual or fictional, it must be assembled into a narration because when stories are told, regardless of their format and genre, meanings are created and conveyed [12].

The past parliamentary elections of 2021, as well as the primaries that preceded them, revealed an important problem: the vast majority of political organizations begin their activities six months before the political campaign, when there is already a fierce competition. This is a result of the fact that a party

strategy is not established. As a result, we see a lack of solid organizations that know their voters and are familiar to them. A similar situation occurred in the parliamentary elections of January 10, 2021, when in a short time "revived" or reformatted the direction of several years work of dormant parties ("Birlik" and "KNPK"), and also returned "to the stage" of ex-politicians. Identical without "self-identity" organizations brought only informational noise in voter's head, leaving him in uncertainty.

As a consequence, in Kazakhstan there is an insufficiently developed political communication, the absence of a systematic dialogue between parties and voters, as a result, a surrogate opposition is growing, digital democracy risks becoming uncontrollable, social networks are becoming a tool for manipulating public consciousness. A problematic feature in the differentiation of political organizations is their one-sided anti-positioning of the existing power. In practice, organizations do not have another articulated advantage or message that would be relevant and understandable to potential voters.

Thus, as the main characteristics of transmedia storytelling in politics should be considered the obligatory presence of a story on a current topic (conflict of interest) and the interpretation of story through the prism of the author's perception.

Conclusion

In Kazakhstan, omni-mediatization became the core strategy for political parties and opposition movements. The transmedia storytelling should be recognized as a promising direction of their strategies. The main advantages of this communication technology are that it becomes possible not only to create the effect of "self-identification" with his party and participation of the voter, but also to involve them in active interaction, to create a both real and virtual reality that combines online and offline contact of parties and society. Politics becomes more open, accessible and "close" for each of the social groups.

The social media, coupled with the competent use of various storytelling models, play a key role in mobilizing voters, as stories appeal to the values and emotions of their target audiences, achieving a lasting emotional connection between them.

The transmedia storytelling as a tool in social and political communication, which is based on the principle of influence, audience mobilization and manipulation both in virtual reality and in the space of public politics in the form of opposition protest activities. However, the storytelling method in Kazakhstani public politic is underdeveloped or applied incorrectly, which significantly hinders party branding and quality management.

In terms of communication risks, social media in Kazakhstan fosters an uncontrolled flow of information for voters and the growth of populist statements by political parties. Unregistered movements, in the absence of official party programs, use storytelling to manipulate, implicitly shaping the values, norms and behavioral patterns of citizens.

Thus, the main features of mediatization of public policy in Kazakhstan are paternalistic format of interaction and politics through social media (protection of society from surrogate opposition), activation of e-democracy and the growth of digital platforms for interaction between political parties and the electorate, taking into account the specifics of the content.

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Research article / Научная статья

Comparative Study
on Transmedia Awareness of Traditional Media Audiences
and Social Media Users in Turkey and Ukraine

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Abstract. The theory of mediatization focuses on discussions on the intertwining of the media with social institutions such as politics, family and religion, influencing and being affected by these structures. In general, mediatization refers to the social and cultural process in which a field or institution becomes to some extent dependent on the logic of the media (Hjarvard, 2011). Hjarvard draws attention to the processes of mediatization as a concept by cultural and social phenomena through the media, and their symbolic content is more or less under the influence of the media. The media is determinative on the fictional world with it produces and, on its audience (consumers). It influences, directs and shapes them through the discourse it produces. Mediatization is an important issue in the context of media literacy and especially transmedia methods. Because transmedia content practices and methods increase the mediatization effect and affect the orientations of the individual and society, especially when it comes to inadequacy in the context of media literacy. Therefore, this study focused on the awareness of the audience (consumers) about transmedia applications. It is seen that the studies conducted in the field of transmedia have developed in terms of content production methods, strategies and audience engagement. It is understood that there are not enough studies on subjects such as audience impacts or audience awareness. In this context and in this study, the competence of multimedia viewers who use social media and follow a traditional media tool to understand and be aware of the content transitions between different media tools has been examined. The television channel was chosen as the traditional media medium for the research study due to its widespread viewing.

Keywords: transmedia storytelling, media audiences, social media, convergence, Turkey, Ukraine

Сопоставительный анализ трансмедийной осведомленности аудиторий традиционных СМИ и социальных медиа в Турции и Украине

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Аннотация. Тема трансмедиа становится все более актуальной для современных исследований медиа как с точки зрения производства контента, так и аудитории СМИ. Развитие новых медийных технологий изменило распространение контента в сфере массовых коммуникаций, а также его влияние на людей и общество. Сегодня мы продолжаем получать и генерировать социальные смыслы, имеющие коммерческие, политические или социальные цели, практически от любого средства массовой информации с разным содержанием посредством именно трансмедийного повествования. Проведенный теоретический анализ показал, что исследования в области трансмедиа, развивались интенсивно с точки зрения методов производства контента, стратегий и взаимодействия с аудиторией. Однако вопрос влияния аудитории или осведомленность аудитории и их взаимоотношения с трансмедийными историями является недостаточно изученным. Данное исследование направлено на выявление осведомленности аудитории и потребителей о содержании трансмедийных историй в контексте медиаграмотности, особенно в контексте использования традиционных и новых медиа в сопоставительном аспекте (турецко-украинские параллели).

Ключевые слова: трансмедийное повествование, медийная аудитория, социальные медиа, конвергенция, Турция, Украина

Understanding the transmedia audience (or consumer)

In general, media professionals, as content producers, have sufficient equipment and knowledge about transmedia applications. They have method and strategy skills on issues such as content production, content reinforcement with cross-media applications, presenting complementary content with different media tools, ensuring participation and experience. However, when the studies in the field are taken into account, there are not many studies on the level of awareness of the audience about reaching them through different media and transmedia methods. This aspect of the study is expected to contribute to the field.

According to Scolari (2009), on whose views we base our study in the context of the media consumer, there are three types of media consumers [25]. Such consumers can also be considered as a chronological perspective on the media and the development of the media consumer. In this sense, the media consumer of the first group is the consumer of a single text. In the second group, there are users of a certain channel. These consumers consume every single text transmitted through a channel.

Transmedia consumers are in the third group. Transmedia consumers are on the move between channels and platforms where the story is presented. They do not limit themselves to only a part of the story and try to capture all the narratives and texts to explore the world of the story [7].

With the development of social media usage habits of viewers who follow traditional media tools, media consumption behaviors and tendencies are also changing. Today's media consumers may not have sufficient awareness of the transmedia content they are exposed to while following many media content with different mass media (Figure 1). In addition, if the watched content redesigns the perception of reality, this issue becomes even more important.

Figure 1. Types of Media Consumer and Transmedia Consumer
S o u r c e : [25. P. 597]

Research problem and methodology

The study seeks answers to the following two fundamental questions:

a) Do social media users have an idea about the fictional nature of the media contents they follow daily?

b) Do social media users have awareness about transmedia contents and applications?

Within the scope of the research, the quantitative research method was preferred. The answers given by people who both have social media accounts and watch television were evaluated as research data.

The questionnaire form of the research, in which the trend and behavior data on media use was also obtained, was shared online. In order to get the views on Transmedia awareness, which is important for the subject of the research, and to generate data, some suggestions were made to the participants with a Likert scale and their opinions were asked.

The awareness levels of the participants were questioned on the subjects in the scale consisting of 13 randomly ordered items.

Social media users are analyzed transmedia awareness level trough the Turkish-Ukrainian perspective within different media and different cultural contexts with the propositions in the Likert scale.

In the study, in which the awareness levels of the subjects with different characteristics such as age, gender and education, regarding transmedia content were examined, the awareness levels of the participants were also obtained according to the social media networks they used.

The research includes only a limited observation based on the comparison of two media consumption areas and two countries. It is expected to be a source for future transmedia audience research.

Findings

The answers of the participants in the research were evaluated and the data of 561 people from Turkey and 356 people from Ukraine were taken into account.

Considering the participant profile; 76.5 percent of the participants from Turkey and 52.8 percent of the participants from Ukraine are women. The proportion of male participants in Ukraine is 45.2%, higher than the participants in Turkey. While the majority of Ukrainian respondents are in the age group of 15–19, 34.58 percent of respondents from Turkey are in the age group of 40-49. It is seen that the participants from Turkey are mostly at "University (3–4 years), Higher Education (3–4 years)" and Postgraduate levels. Respondents from Ukraine were found to focus on "Full secondary education (10–12 years)".

Within the scope of the research, particularly, with the 8th question, on which the Likert scale was applied, the opinions of the participants on the reality and propaganda power of the contents in these media channels were taken and their awareness levels on transmedia content practices in both media areas were questioned.

Although many results have been obtained, the following findings have been reached when we evaluate some data in terms of our subject:

– Turkish viewers watch television at a higher rate than Ukrainian viewers.

– It is understood that the media consumers of both countries have a similar tendency in their use of social media.

– When a comparison is made between both countries, it is understood that media consumers in Turkey are more dependent on social media as they are on television.

– The proposition "Television is a propaganda tool" was accepted for media consumers in both countries.

– It is understood that Turkish media consumers agree more with the proposition that television is a fiction than Ukrainians.

– Media consumers in both countries largely agree with the proposition that television and social media are used to promote certain ideas in public. Accordingly, both countries emphasize that there is a serious transition between media consumers, television and social media, and real life.

One of the scale statements in the research form, "I come across different types of content on television and social media to support certain ideas" is an important proposition for our study. It is useful to make some determinations by comparing this expression with other scale expressions. In this context, if an evaluation is made on people who "agree" or "disagree" with other propositions, the participants mostly state that they encounter different types of content on television and social media to support certain ideas. The view that certain thoughts are expressed with different types of content in media environments and tools was put forward by the participants. Awareness is high.

Discussion and conclusions

Within the scope of the study, by taking the opinions of the participants, the effects of the contents in television and social media, which are different types of

media, in terms of reality/fiction, propaganda and their power to direct life, and participant levels of transmedia awareness were questioned.

The issue of "awareness" even gains more importance within the context of mediatization and media literacy, especially considering the effect of the transmedia storytelling method, in which certain ideas and trends are marketed, on the media consumer.

The people participating in the research have a very high opinion that the different types of content they follow on social media and television are organized in order to support a certain thought.

However, this awareness should not be considered as having knowledge about "Transmedia" and being aware in this way. With this study, it can be argued that only the participants' awareness of exposure to transmedia applications is high. In addition, it is seen that the participants have a high awareness of the power of television or social media content to be fiction, contain propaganda and direct their life and thinking.

Within the framework of the research, the participants were also asked whether they encountered an idea presented by a TV program (series, news, entertainment program, etc.) in their social media posts. At this stage, it is targeted to understand the awareness of social media users on social media of transmedia content in the context of media convergence, regardless of content type. While 46.7 percent of the participants from Turkey gave the answer "Largely agree", this rate was 23.3 percent for the participants from Ukraine. Respondents from Turkey seem to have a higher level of awareness of transmedia content.

This research shows that the influence of transmedia in the context of mediatization is great. However, this study should be considered as a pioneering study for transmedia awareness research.

In the context of media literacy and mediatization in terms of our subject, it is predicted that studies on the awareness of media consumers will become more and more important, especially considering the impact and prevalence of trans-media applications in terms of constructing reality and placing certain thoughts.

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Research article / Научная статья

Hypermedia and Recursive Mediatization of the Corporate News

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Abstract. The article analyzes some trends in the dynamics of deep mediatization processes. The phenomenon of "saturation" of standard formats for presenting news with unexpected references, which transform the communication system, is revealed. For the correct interpretation of the discovered phenomena, the concept of "hypermedia" is used as an aspect of deep mediatization of the relationship between the company and its stakeholders. The model of recursive communication is concretized. The central point is the thesis about the self-applicability of the recursive method of studying the communication field. The influence of digital platforms algorithms on the daily practices of users has been investigated. The conclusions are formulated from an ecological point of view, highlighting the importance of creating an effective environment for corporate relations. The author believes that the transition to trans-disciplinary methods of researching the problems of deep mediatization in the digital era is inevitable. The role of philosophical reflection in determining the key areas of research is especially emphasized.

Keywords: deep mediatization, hypermedia, recursive communication, digital platforms, algorithms, corporate news, transdisciplinary methods

Гипермедиа и рекурсивная медиатизация корпоративных новостей

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Аннотация. В статье анализируются некоторые тенденции динамики процессов глубокой медиатизации. Выявлен феномен «насыщения» стандартных форматов подачи новостей неожиданными ссылками, трансформирующими систему коммуникации. Для корректной интерпретации обнаруженных явлений используется понятие «гипермедиа» как аспект глубокой медиатизации отношений между компанией и ее стейкхолдерами. Конкретизируется модель рекурсивной коммуникации. Центральным моментом является тезис о самоприменимости рекурсивного метода исследования коммуникационного поля. Исследовано влияние алгоритмов цифровых платформ на повседневные практики пользователей. Выводы сформулированы с экологической точки зрения, подчеркивая важность создания эффективной среды для корпоративных отношений. Автор считает неизбежным переход к трансдисциплинарным методам исследования проблем глубокой медиатизации в цифровую эпоху. Особо подчеркивается роль философской рефлексии в определении ключевых направлений исследований.

Ключевые слова: глубокая медиатизация, гипермедиа, рекурсивная коммуникация, цифровые платформы, алгоритмы, корпоративные новости, трансдисциплинарные методы

Introduction

Against the backdrop of the COVID pandemic, the impact of media and technological change has highlighted some new trends in corporate communications strategies. Many companies had to move to a business model that worked entirely online. These challenges imply a senior management's willingness to face any unexpected turns in order to remain competitive. At the same time, researchers of mediatization processes pay comparatively less attention to this issue.

Mediatization has become an influential concept over the decade. It highlights the process of cultural changes that accompanies with the deep penetration

of the media into various social domains. And more important — "many practices are now entangled with digital media, and the algorithms they are based on involve a new kind of recursivity. Human practice, when incorporating digital media and their infrastructures, leads to a continuous processing of data, which in turn is the basis for adapting these media" [1. P. 110].

Currently, digital ecosystem standards imply multilevel schemes of "organization", "configurations of configurations" by A. Hepp, and corporate business models are primarily based on the monetization of user data. On-demand search technology provides the digital platform with the ability to track the trajectory of a unique user and automatically rank his or her search results according to previously defined preferences. The world in its digital perspective seems to be compressed into complementary generic object types — data structures and algorithms that filter data streams. But how do the recursive properties of digital ecosystems transform corporate practices into ambivalent hyper modes?

There is a micro-segmentation effect known as an "echo chamber". The term "echo chamber" refers to a situation in which only certain ideas, beliefs, and sentiments are shared, such that those inside the echo chamber encounter only information they already agree with. The algorithms filter out incompatible information and create a bubble of like-minded resources [2]. Falling into a recursively closed circle of self-justified prophecies, media audiences are forced to delve into specific thematic priorities. But this is only one side of the issue. The opposite is the possibility of risky actor strategies to overcome domain boundaries and access wider communication spaces due to situational switching of network configurations. The recursive aspect of deep mediatization thus also includes special hyper — states of communication systems.

The purpose of this article is to propose a recursive model for interpreting corporate news. The familiar concept of "hypermedia" has been revisited as an analytical frame of reference, reflecting radical shifts in digital transformation processes.

These introductory remarks allow us to put forward hypothesis H1.: Reapplication of corporate agenda frames in ambiguous contexts is likely to lead to ad hoc switching of network domains, echoed by serious public resonance. RQ1: What is the essence and mechanics of these phenomena? RQ2: What transformations in the conceptual thesaurus of communication disciplines will require for their correct interpretation?

M e t h o d o l o g y . This study systematized theoretical generalizations of the corporate agenda's over-saturation effect in ambivalent situations. Case study method has used.

The Issue

Following the example of Google, it is possible to reveal some strategies for deep mediatization of corporate news. The Google search engine occupies over 70% of the world market. Thus, on-demand search advertising is based on the

ability to better understand what is most important to the target audience. In addition, the cost-per-click approach allows for much more accurate tracking of the relationship between the cost of an ad and its competitive advantage. Such services are sold only through an auction system governed by the rules of the digital platform. These guidelines are used to determine how Internet users interact with advertisers on a two-way marketplace that is technologically powered by Google Ads.

On March 30, 2021, Marshall Weil, Product Manager of the Privacy Sandbox project, posted a message about the start of a test period for the FLoK tracker, a new web technology Federated Learning of Cohorts. Google has raised some concerns. It was declared that many publishers rely on cookie-based advertising to support their content efforts. Cookie blocking was already spawning privacy-invasive workarounds (such as fingerprinting) that were even worse for user privacy. Google announced that blocking third-party cookies outright without viable alternatives for the ecosystem was irresponsible, and even harmful, to the free and open web [3].

The technically complex text is addressed exclusively to interested business and expert communities. But the scale of the subsequent resonance in the general public was incommensurate. The arguments put forward by the company and the declared practical intentions excited the entire advertising world and went far beyond the technical issue. Points of view ranged from incantations like "Google, please don't do this" to claims that we "have not seen so much craziness in the 10-plus years." Analytics markets were overheated, with some Google partners receiving triple-priced offers from agency holding companies, private equity funds and tech rollup firms around the world.

Partly the excessive reaction from business and the Internet community to the tech leader's initiative stems from the widespread adoption of his technology. Google Chrome is the internet's most popular web browser. But the diligence of the mainstream media in translating technical terms into everyday language is symptomatic. "The Economist" explains, that few people outside the advertising industry will mourn the death of third-party cookies. These are snippets of code placed on people's browsers that allow advertising companies to track them around the web, gather information about them and then flog products to them based on their interests. Google claims that semi-anonymity of FLoK technology is more protective of privacy than third-party cookies, which track specific users, but still 95% as effective at getting users to click on ads [4].

Instead of letting advertisers track the browsing history of individual users, as with cookies, FLoC groups similar online activities into numbered "cohorts", each containing thousands of such users. Semi-anonymity here means the hidden use of the so-called "dark patterns", about which the user is not informed and which he cannot turn off on his own. It may be difficult for Google to prevent people from grouping in a system according to characteristics they want to keep secret, such as race or sexual orientation. From a philosophical point of view,

The Economist talks about the possible blurring of the border between the public and the private. Even a simple hint of such a possibility can alert any user.

Obviously, simply blocking third-party cookies will lead to new solutions from the ad technology industry. One of the ploy the Google is trying to prevent is fingerprinting. That's the generalized term for ways that websites can identify you through little data signals that leak out of your browser when you visit a site. Company has declared that FLoC is a lot better than the current status of third-party cookies that directly identify you anywhere you go on the web. But "better than the worst" is a low bar, and it's hard to know yet whether FLoC just clears it or vaults way over it, popular tech resource "The Verge" suggested [5].

Google has a long history of following the roadmap for implementing the new standard. Like most Internet applications today, FLoK is being developed openly and is part of a process of engagement other browser vendors. A detailed discussion always presupposes putting forward proposals, criticism, counter-proposals and good faith efforts to make the Internet better as well. Back in January 2020, the company announced to the Internet community its determination to find generally acceptable options for ensuring the security of personal data. It was declared, that with continued iteration and feedback, privacy-preserving and open-standard mechanisms like the Privacy Sandbox can sustain a healthy, ad-supported web in a way that will render third-party cookies obsolete [6].

However, a year later it turned out that it was not possible to attract competitors to the project. Thus the statement of the testing period has become most important corporate news and innovation for the advertising domain. An avalanche of protests and negative comments on this issue was poured through the narrow professional framework, leaving behind only an unhealthy hype in the analytical services market. Similar examples of promotional behavior during the same period can be traced to other megabrands. All of these cases involve a common element — a positional statement of the company which contained an appeal to public opinion.

First, news of Bruce Springsteen's arrest for DUI did not surface until February 10th and as more details arose, the story became more confusing. Jeep said in the statement at the time they were right to suspend their Super Bowl ad until the fact is established. Springsteen's message of community and unity was more relevant than ever. Like the message that drunk driving can never be justified as well [7].

Volkswagen of America has announced that it will not change the name to the Voltswagen. The renaming was conceived as a Fool's Day announcement, highlighting the launch of the all-electric ID.4 SUV and signaling the company's commitment to providing electric mobility for all. There was also a promise to provide additional information on this matter [8]. But then only bewilderment and apologies followed.

Finally, Nike filed a lawsuit alleging that MSCHF was misusing Nike's trademarks. There is already, as it were, evidence of significant confusion and blurring in the marketplace, including calls for a boycott of Nike in response to

the launch of MSCHF's Satan Shoes. Which was based on the erroneous assumption that Nike authorized or approved this product [9]. Thus the original media format, based on celebrity testimony, an outrageous fashion product (Satan's Shoes) or an awkward attempt to joke with the brand name (Voltsvagen), was radically switched and shifted towards noisy public debates.

The author insists that an adequate understanding of the sequence of these unusual cases involves the occupation of the superior meta-position of observation. Here public understanding of the of the company positioning is formed in a reflexive loop. The recursive circle, unfolding the media frames into a practical perspective, re-enter them into the very same figurations from which they were derived. "The news twisted the internet into knots" — one of the many commentators wrote. "What enter a reflexive loop are not physical stimuli, things, or messages as seen by an external observer, but challenges to or constraints on someone's understanding, — Klaus Krippendorff insisted. — I will call these 'objections' from the medium of a loop's embodiment. Objections say no' to someone's construction of reality when the expectations that derive from a construction are incommensurable with the experiences resulting from one's actions" [10. P. 83].

Similar to the operation of the "uncertainty principle" in modern physics, an attempt to test the threshold of ambivalent situations leads to spontaneous symmetry breaking. And the multiple echo reflections of public arenas recursively transformed the company's effective environment into a hyper-mode. The third-party publics raised the stakes and set disjunctive discursive agendas to alter defensive strategies used by corporate newsmakers.

Discussion

From widespread point of view mediatization means that other institutions are influenced by the working practices and preferences of the media, and that the media thus crucially shape the environment and operating conditions for other institutions [11]. This approach includes a distinction between several ideal types of media relations strategies: provision, promotion, and co-optation. Each line of work includes specific tasks and tools in different contexts of an unpredictable corporate environment. The rule of thumb for any corporation is economic rationality. But negative coverage of corporate matters can reduce profitability or cause reputational damage.

Designing and delivering media events at the right time and in the appropriate format is one of the key aspects of the corporate newsmaker's protective job [12]. We assume that these three strategies often work not sequentially, but in parallel, situationally shifting media frames towards more advantageous discursive positions. Hypermedia mode reverses the flow of corporate news through feedback loops within the communication circuit by roundabout ways. Then it becomes possible to connect different elements of recursive model through the effects of "switching" network domains. The dissimilar discursive "configurations of confi-

gurations" build up in layers, constantly referencing each other. In all the cases considered above, the positional statements of the companies were calculated for additional public resonance and continuation of the discussion.

Conclusion

First of all, "imperative Internet usage complicates communication and exacerbates its non media effects and their assessment" [13. P. 89]. Uniting ties, configurations and narratives of heterogeneous domains into a single whole, the paradoxical effect of recursive mediatization requires its philosophical reflection. The concept expands fractally by referring to itself: deepening the process means formation of higher observation meta — positions. The hyper-dimensions of deep mediatization concept need further elaboration based on transdisciplinary empirical research as well.

Then, the problem requires more comprehensive review, including the recognition of media formats that provoke network domains switching. Practice shows that a new type of "hyperlinks", combining incompatible meanings, is really capable to transform corporate news strategies in uncertain situations. Corporate news agenda remains a significant indicator of change in the age of deep mediatization.

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Research article / Научная статья

Mediatization of Russian Companies in the Framework of Corporate Citizenship

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Abstract. The paper emphasis is made on corporate mediatization process conceptualization, which role is of high importance in Russia, because it influences sociopolitical situation on a legal basis, creates a form of business corporations' citizenship. The concept reveals a changing role of corporation in sociopolitical relations: due to encompassing corporate communication technologies it becomes necessary to meet communities' expectations, sociopolitical, socioeconomic, ecological issues. Thus, sociopolitical sphere mediatization in the context of complicating media discourse forms the situation when the modern business organization should become a corporate citizen giving a boost to societal development, well-being, confidence-building.

Keywords: strategic communication, corporate mediatization, corporate citizenship

Корпоративная медиатизация как стратегический ресурс российских компаний: на пути к корпоративному гражданству

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Аннотация. Придерживаясь социально-конструктивистского подхода, авторы рассматривают медиатизацию как новую форму социализации общества путем распространения инфокоммуникационных технологий, влияющих на всю систему общественных отношений. Основное внимание в статье уделяется процессу корпоративной медиатизации, который включает в себя изменение роли корпорации в системе социально-политических отношений. Корпоративная медиатизация стимулирует формирование ситуации, когда компания трансформируется в корпорацию-гражданина, заботящуюся о качестве жизни различных групп общественности. Итогом является эволюция концепции корпоративной социальной ответственности: современная бизнес-органи-зация — это член общества, который вносит существенный вклад в общественное развитие, благосостояние и формирование атмосферы доверия.

Ключевые слова: стратегические коммуникации, корпоративная медиатизация, корпоративное гражданство

Introduction

The growing process of postindustrial society transformation involved business, governmental activities and their communication practices. The SaRS-COVID-19 outbreak in a case of well-established communication and IT-infrastructure forced reshaping of public relations towards symmetrical two-way model [1]. In such cases we are stating the deepening mediatization of social practices.

We stick to socio-constructivist approach and review the mediatization as a new form of socialization by information and communications technologies, influencing the whole system of social and sociopolitical relations. An effective system of communication between media and non-media actors is observed as its result.

Russian companies with socially responsible practices based on their corporate and local governments' visions without much attention to public interests usually don't possess well established two-way communication frameworks with local publics. In cases of effective strategically based mutual communication of business and people of companies' presence territories, we esteem such companies as citizens, taking actions responding to local needs, creating the constellation of individual and corporate actors. Thus, we review a phenomenon of mediatized society supported and often created by corporate citizens.

The research purpose of the present article is to develop corporate mediatization phenomenon conceptualization illustrated by its influence on Russian companies' corporate responsibility programs.

Research methodology: complex analysis of empiric data (case study, 11 in-depth interviews, content of the social programs concepts and social reporting of companies, the results of secondary research, etc.). The most important principle was a comprehensive analysis of empirical data based on social programs conducted by Russian corporations and the results of their implementation.

Communicative figuration as the conceptual framework of corporate mediatization

Development of corporate citizenship and corporate sustainability concepts, their implementation in the companies' activities formed the modern context of PR-specialists performance. The organization's corporate social responsibility (CSR) focus on sustainable development goals (The Global Compact Network) characterizes a new vision of strategic communications, its role in shaping public attitudes [2, 3]; the business organization recognizes itself as a corporate citizen [4].

T. Knowlton notes: "the best corporate citizens are providing positive value to society and meeting or exceeding the expectations of their stakeholders" [5]. In the mid-2010s works focusing on the need to form a new model of socially oriented business (the corporate-citizen model) are emerging in Russia [6–8].

Digitalized interactive communication of postindustrial society involved different media and influences all spheres of social life [9]. While M. Castells focuses on cultural changes caused by mass media and information infrastructure, N. Elias process sociology introduces a figurations concept as a "networks of individuals" [10. P. 15], "analytical tools that work across the levels of the micro, meso and macro and at the same time focus on the processes of constituting entities in-between the individual and society" [11. P. 10]. A. Hepp has developed

it: "communicative figurations as patterns of processes of communicative inter-weaving that exist across various media and have a 'thematic framing' that orients communicative action" [11. P. 10].

SaRS-COVID-19 pandemic demonstrated unprecedented decisions made by governmental structures: countries borders were closed, people were locked. People and companies were confused awaiting decisions by states: what kind of assistance they can get to cope with negative situations. On the other hand, social structures, including nongovernmental and business sectors, with well-functioning communicative infrastructure with local citizens were able to deal with the issue. Such corporate citizens can be treated as communicative figurations [11].

In case of corporate citizens, according to Hepp A., Hasebrink U. [12], originated from N. Elias, we observe specific constellation of actors as a structural basis; they provide to their audiences "thematic framing that serves as action-guiding topic"; organize "patterns of communicative practices" by a "specifically marked media ensemble". These communicative junctions of communicative figurations reveal a corporate mediatization processes phenomena: mediatized corporate citizens are able to establish larger, more stable social entities, blurring the barriers between individuals and business structures.

Moreover, global standards for sustainability reporting (GRI Standards) are reviewed as a feature of deep mediatization trend [13]: they structure the frameworks for reporting, the way of thinking about CSR and strategic communi-cations: "When it comes to individual media, institualization refers to a stabilization of the patterns of communication and of expectations in the process: we know how a certain medium is typically used for communication, we communicate with the help of the medium in that way, and we expect others to do the same" [13. P. 8].

Therefore, corporate mediatization eliminates distinctions between individual and corporate levels and reveals itself in ideology of public affairs participation. Corporate citizens are oriented not only to economic efficiency, but to social interests, transform communicative space strategically, create mediatized world in which the company is perceived as a social actor and a corporate citizen. The structural basis of such figuration is represented by a corporate citizen, its stake-holders, involved in communication frameworks (thematic and media ensembles).

Russian corporate citizens communication practices analysis

Four leading Russian companies (GazpromNeft, Russian Railways, Norilsk Nickel, AFK Systema) were selected as cases, because of the following:

The scale of the activities of these companies.

Widely practiced social programs aimed to change the social climate in the areas of presence.

A mechanism for monitoring the results of social projects existence.

UN Global Compact network and the Social Charter of Russian business participation.

In the course of the research the authors' attention was focused on the issues:

– the structural principles of social programs implemented by companies (areas of activity, coverage), making possible to review them as a constellations structural basis;

– the extent of such programs openness and transparency (primarily the social reporting is concerned), a media ensemble existence;

– the measurements of social projects implementation results (public attitudes monitoring and feedback);

– the use of Russian corporations strategic communications to form communicative practices thematic framing and patterns.

The results obtained determined the corporate mediatization features, its influence on the grounds on which the CSR of large Russian companies, as well as the role/functionality of strategic communications (PR).

The current stage of corporate citizenship development, when Russian business seeks to rethink the previous approaches, began in 2010: before this period CSR of business in Russia was understood as a variety of social investments, now corporate citizenship is perceived by management as corporate self-regulation, ensuring active compliance with the current legislation, socially responsible investment, adherence to ethical and international standards.

The effect of market incentives — the demands of investors, the corporate culture of responsible entrepreneurship — have been key reasons why Russian companies have adopted the practice of corporate citizenship [9]. The growing expectations of the local population were another important reason. We have to state that the level of trust in business of the Russian regions population is still low [14].

In these circumstances the Russian state support allowed companies to make the policy of corporate citizenship a tool for improving competitiveness, reducing transaction costs in the domestic market in the situation of a society mediatization. Hence, the CSR practice of companies with state capital becomes a kind of reference model, which can be used by other organizations.

"GazpromNeft" has been implementing the program "Hometowns" since 2012. The purpose of the program is to improve the quality of life in the territories of the company's presence. The social investment program of GazpromNeft is built into the company's development strategy, an integral element of which is the comprehensive development of the territories of its presence. But, according to experts, there are problems limiting the program's effectiveness: the regional public authorities are the key audience, on which the attention is focused; the main focus is not on the people satisfaction from CSR projects, but on measuring the association of them with "GazpromNeft".

Nevertheless, we observe the creation of corporate figurations on higher levels of hierarchy ("GazpromNeft" management, local and federal governments);

media ensemble (owned corporate media, earned mass media) providing mostly one-way information pattern.

The scale of activity of "Russian Railways" (RZD Holding) caused the all-Russian coverage of social programs: "We deal with pretty much everybody in Russia and sometimes with citizens of other countries". Among communication instruments used to demonstrate the company's contribution to community development are Mass Media publications and publications in journalistic text format in owned media. Of particular interest is *measuring of implemented projects social impact effectiveness.* The expert noted that RZD specialists measure 2 types of effectiveness: unmediated (quantitative data) and mediated ones, when the company creates real possibilities for people's personal fulfill-ment, territories development. The second approach demonstrates a wider constellation creation accompanied by well-developed media ensemble making possible to fix a develop-ped corporate mediatization phenomenon, but in a case of RZD we do not observe neither "thematic framing that serves as action-guiding topic" nor "patterns of communicative practices" by a "specifically marked media ensemble".

Markedly different approach to CSR has Sistema, a publicly-traded diversified holding in Russia and the CIS, one of the major private investors in real and Hi-Tech sectors. It established Sistema Charitable Foundation (operates in 81 regions) as a social investments, volunteer movement integrator with "a goal to unite competences of business, engineering communities, and non-profit organizations to solve definite socially important tasks by using innovative developments" [15]. Company emphasizes programs performance measuring.

Empirical data show Sistema has synchronized application of the whole communications mix implementing sustainable development social programs: event management, media relations, Internet activity, public reports. This Russian corporation is at the forefront of corporate citizenship formation, which demonstrates a mediatized corporate actor phenomenon.

Corporate citizenship is especially important for *single-industry towns*. The foundation of Norilsk Nickel's charitable activities is the large-scale program "World of new opportunities", launched in 2014, and aimed at supporting socially significant social initiatives to create favorable conditions and opportunities for sustainable development in the regions of activity; it includes three areas: partnership, innovation, development. Norilsk Nickel is guided in its activities by the principle of *increasing transparency and information openness*. The company publishes information on the official website and on corporate pages in social networks, holds press conferences, briefings and teleconferences. Cooperation with the media, including leading business publications of the country and the world, the world's largest news agencies and news channels, and social media has been built. The CSR reports provide several directions for *evaluating the effectiveness of the company's social program,* including measurements of staff involvement level, employee satisfaction, quality of corporate culture.

The analysis of this case most clearly demonstrates the phenomena of corporate mediatization: company social programs implement one of the important principles of involving the public in the selection and implementation of programs and projects.

Conclusion

Corporate citizenship formation model in Russia is forced by mediatization:

– large companies began to use corporate citizenship as a tool for building transparent long-term mutually beneficial relations with stakeholders;

– the key reasons for the transition were market incentives — the requirements of investors and partners, the growing expectations of the local population and media.

Analysis of using strategic communications in CSR programs implementtation allows to fix corporate mediatization features:

– in the most of the companies studied, the communication strategy clearly fits into the corporate strategy. Companies aimed at achieving positive results in the regions of presence are paying more and more attention to the communicative component of their activities;

– integration is reflected in the establishment of special units for the planning and implementation of social programs to manage mediatized communication patterns;

– there's a transition from simple public awareness to its involvement in the selection and implementation of long-term social programs to create a more resistant social constellation.

The pilot study allows us to state the strengthening of strategic communication role in the formation of targeted long-term relations with stakeholders, leading to communicative figuration formation. In such figurations individual and corporate citizens become significant actors of the territory: it drives to a more sustainable development of the corporate actors, individual actors feel themselves more valuable, governmental structures are able to find support for socially important projects and initiatives.

Therefore, we conclude that corporate mediatization is a process, characterrized by:

– blurring the distance between individual and corporate levels;

– establishing a social entity of a higher resistance and complexity;

– transformation of people and business to public actors with a citizenship self-perception.

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Research article / Научная статья

Digital Mediatization in Medicine: New Models of Clinic-to-Doctor-to-Patient Interaction

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Abstract. Mediatization is an interdisciplinary construct, which allows us to study how the transformation of social institutions is affected by media influence and social theories. Researchers are focusing on people's digital representations and new interaction models. As digital networks grow and overlap with traditional interaction forms, new models of clinic-doctor-patient interaction emerge. Researching this reveals the efficiency of communicative constructivism. The purpose of the research is to study the transformative effect of mediatization on medicine. The research methodology is based on communicative constructivism and phenomenological approach, including analysis of 70 Instagram accounts of doctors and clinics and in-depth interviews of 10 St. Petersburg-based doctors. The research validates the transformation tendencies in medicine as a social institution.

Keywords: mediatization, medicine mediatization, social, medicine, interaction patterns, doctor, patient, clinic

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Цифровая медиатизация в медицине: новые модели взаимодействия врач — пациент — клиника

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Аннотация. Междисциплинарный статус концепта медиатизации позволяет рассматривать трансформацию социальных институтов с точки зрения влияния теорий медиа и социальных теорий. Фокус внимания исследователей переносится на цифровые репрезентации и новые практики взаимодействия. Исследование новых моделей взаимодействия врач — пациент — клиника, обусловленных цифровыми коммуникационными сетями, и их пересечение с традиционными формами, показывает практическую полезность социально-конструктивистского подхода. Цель исследования: характеристика влияния социальных медиа, развития цифровых технологий на трансформацию института медицины. Методология исследования основывается на социально-конструктивистском и феноменологическом подходах, включает анализ содержания цифровых репрезентаций отдельных индивидов и организаций и практик их взаимодействия с пациентами. На основании содержательного контент-анализа страниц социальных сетей клиник и врачей (70 аккаунтов сети Instagram), глубинных интервью среди врачей Санкт-Петербурга (10 человек) впервые приводятся доказательства отмеченных тенденций трансформации социального института медицины.

Ключевые слова: медиатизация, социальные институты, медицина, паттерны взаимодействия, врач, пациент, клиника, медиатизации медицины

Introduction

Society is undergoing rapid mediatization that is causing social institutions to reformat and recreate themselves. Medicine, among others, is also experiencing a transformation under the influence of digital technologies. Mediatization has already significantly impacted medicine as a social institution. The current changes have to be thoroughly studied along with their implementation mechanisms to enable a humanitarian expert assessment of the novel medicine and avert any possible risks. The role of an individual doctor as an agent of social influence is assuming greater prominence. Given these facts, we need to estimate the implications the changes occurring may have for society as a whole and medicine in particular.

New models of patient-doctor-clinic interaction are emerging. Social media are shifting the focus of patients' attention towards the digital representations of individual personalities. According to J. Baudrillard, neglecting the social structure hierarchy (the so-called 'revamp of the society') has raised the masses to a level not only above the creative minority but also above the social norm that was previously enabled to adjust the behavior of the masses. Without the social component above, the masses have started to dictate their tastes [1]. This entails additional risks for those suffering from diseases and devalues the skill and knowledge of narrow-field specialists in the eyes of the common people. In turn, the social success of blogger doctors does not simply attract the attention of patients but moves the focus of attention of the general public from social institutions (healthcare organizations) and their public representations to specific individuals (doctors), which stimulates medical specialists to further exploit this pattern.

Conceptual approaches of mediatization theory in empiric studies of the transforming social institute of medicine

The contemporary theory of mediatization can be split into two approaches: the "institutional" approach [2] and the "social constructivist" approach [3, 4]. The first approach suggests that mediatization shapes the development of social processes. According to Hjarvard, the media integrates into the functioning of other social institutions and thereby changes its norms and methods, adapting it to the specifics of media text as a genre and the commercial requirements of the authors (or media owners). A study of digital representations of individuals and social institutions in healthcare [5] showed that in the era of digital media and, in particular, social media as the primary means of communications, personalities elicit far greater interest compared to organizations. An earlier study demonstrated the increasing importance of the doctor in the doctor-patient-clinic interaction model.

However, the institutional approach does not reveal the true essence of how the media format is influencing the transformations we are witnessing. The social reality is formed by practice — people's joint activity. We interviewed doctors specializing in multiple areas, with blogger doctors whose subscribership exceeded 10K among them. These expert interviews showed that doctors get more consultation and treatment requests via social media, such as Instagram and WhatsApp, than they do via official websites of clinics where they are employed, or via review portals. None of the interviewees mentioned that they receive patient requests via specialized internet portals for diseases they expertly treat. These data may suggest that since the subject of health is intimate by nature, patients prefer to communicate with doctors using media that most closely resemble direct interpersonal communication.

Mediatization in medicine: Analysis

The demand for personalized, individual interaction (or its simulation) between the patient and the generalized 'health-related help provider' is indirectly proven by a comparative study of accounts belonging to blogger doctors and medical organizations on Instagram. 60 Instagram accounts of doctors focused on personal brand promotion and 15 accounts of clinic chains were selected at random. The decision to focus on chain clinics and not independent medical organizations was based on the fact that chains have more promotion resources and often employ a more proactive communications policy compared to independent clinics. The accounts met the following selection conditions: the number of subscribers was over 2000 as of February 1, 2021, and the doctor's (or the chain's) work is geographically based in Russia. The analysis was based on engagement rate (ER), a parameter describing subscriber involvement in the interaction with the author of the media. The mean ER value for clinics was found to be 0.89% and the values ranged from 0.047% to 3.93%, while the average ER for doctors was 10.051%, values ranging from 5.5% to 18.593%. The study also included an analysis of performative utterances by doctors and institutional organizations (i. e. clinics) in the Instagram media space. Since texts are used as a means of interaction with the world outside and the people in it, the truth becomes a matter of speech practice and public discourse [6]. The study showed that clinics mostly use their social media accounts as a channel for direct advertising and the texts they post are more formal. On doctor personal social media account webpages, audience interactions are personalized and emotional. Patients demonstrate by their activities online (i. e. reviews, likes, comments, direct messages) that the emotional aspect of communication is overwhelmingly important to them.

The social constructivist concept paradigm of mediatized worlds developed by F. Krotz and A. Hepp [3; 4] states that every mediatized world has its own 'communicative figuration', and any changes occurring therein should become the

subject of mediatization studies. This paradigm appears to be better suited for empirical studies of social words from the perspective of mediatization. As Nim E. [7] sums it up, this approach represents "an ambitious project to revise social theory and make it more attuned to the transformative potential of communicative technologies". Following the logic suggested by Hepp, the authors conducted a study comprising 10 expert interviews with practicing doctors to find out about their experience of remote digitized interaction with patients. The focus group included doctors of various specialist fields. The study showed that all the doctors use digital means of interaction with patients. If a doctor promotes themselves on social media, they become a systemically important node and a leader of the subscriber group, regardless of how many of these subscribers are colleagues, patients, or just curious.

The key concepts describing the structure of a communicative figuration in Hepp's view were used as a backbone for the narrative analysis of the expert interviews with doctors. The results helped identify the method of shaping the role identities of the patient and the doctor during their mediatized interaction. They also helped establish how the digital context of the doctor-patient interaction impacts the experience of the interaction.

Actors

Actors build communication directly, in such a way that the clinic steps out of the limelight and into the background. Under the conditions of mediatization, digital communications doctor-to-patient follow the same patterns as traditional ones. Doctors do not digress substantially from their routine work algorithm in interactions with the patient. Actors build communication in a free manner. The clinic has no way of influencing this interaction. Regardless of whether the clinic offers the service of consultation or not, doctors of all the specialties covered by the study practice remote consultations. *"Actually, you can do online consultations in virtually 100% of cases, ... and so as not to waste the patient's time, you can ... discuss everything, then tell them what they need to do further, and then the patient arrives fully prepared to start inpatient treatment and ready for surgery"* (an oncologist surgeon, 7 years of practice).

Forms

The forms of interacting and establishing initial contact are becoming simpler, the doctor is becoming more "accessible" so the patient can address them directly and take fewer actual steps to do so; regardless, the essence of the interaction and the distribution of roles within it remain unchanged — doctors assume the role of a parent, and patient has to take the role of a kid according to Eric Bern's terminology [8].

Even though direct patient contact is left out of the equation, doctors name quite a few benefits they are gaining. Specifically, they quote time savings,

interaction conciseness, greater resource efficiency for the patient, and the convenient structure of the interaction. As an expected drawback of online interactions, doctors mentioned the inability to perform a full spectrum of checkups and manipulations on the patient (palpation, auscultation, etc.) when it is required.

Additionally, it should be noted that even doctors with little experience and capacity in remote consulting did not display a total aversion to doing consultations online. *"As yet, I don't see how I could apply teleconsulting in my work, but I will perhaps find a way to incorporate it later"* (a proctologist, 3 years of practice). This comment is of particular interest because this doctor was the only interviewee who is not currently practicing teleconsultations.

Media

The media are not inextricably linked to the communications, and the level of trust does not change depending on whether the patient met the doctor via a specialized portal or in a social network. The level of trust the patient has for the doctor depends on the doctor's brand, on how well the doctor is 'remotely familiar' to the patient, and on the doctor's communicative skills. Digital communications have become organically integrated with doctor-patient interactions. Given this, the significance of the doctor's communicative skills and building a professional brand increases since these are the key factors that determine the path of the patient to the doctor. The stronger they are, the shorter and the smoother that path becomes. *"They find me via YouTube, Instagram, Facebook, or with the help of my own site or clinic's site, they email to me or to my personal assistant"* (a cancer surgeon, 7 years of practice)

Frames of relevance

The frames of relevance remain unchanged, and mediatization does not affect the role of the doctor. The forms of communication have changed, but media ensembles, means of communication are not crucially important to the doctor. The platform (i. e. the place where digital communication takes place — a social network, a messenger, or a video conference) does not influence the structure of communication between the doctor and the patient. The priorities here are the protocol, the plan of work, and the experience of building interactions. *"I don't see any conceptual difference in communication comparing online and offline medical advisement"* (traumatic surgeon, 16 years of practice)

During the study, not a single medical specialist was found to represent a medical specialty in which remote patient interactions are dismissed as ineffective. All the doctors said that for remote consulting they use messengers (and WhatsApp is the most popular one) and email; for consulting in the video format, they mostly use Zoom or Skype. It is interesting that according to the

respondents' assessments, the pandemic has neither increased nor decreased the number of remote consultations that they do. The practice of remote consulting was a working routine norm even before the pandemic. The interviewees said they had practiced remote consulting of patients for over 3 years. All the respondents mentioned that it has become easier to engage in the interaction, and the interactions have become more accessible. None, however, mentioned any significant changes in the interaction protocol that the shift online has caused.

Conclusion

Digital communication has become commonplace even in medicine. Real digital interaction practices by a wide margin exceed the official statistics in terms of volumes. All those involved in the interaction perceive certain benefits from this kind of interaction: time is saved and interaction structure is optimized, all of which works towards achieving the best possible result.

With the approach professed by Couldry and Hepp, it is possible to empirically assess how digital communications are impacting the transformation of medicine as a social institute. In particular, mediatization influences the forms and means of communication while also changing media ensembles. Actors directly build communication. Interaction forms are simplified, and the doctor becomes more readily accessible. Despite the drawbacks of remote (digital) interaction, doctors acknowledge it as highly useful and effective. It is noteworthy that the media are not linked to communication: it is the doctor's brand that defines the level of trust that a patient displays. The frames of relevance remain unchanged. It appears a promising subject for prospective research to assess the impact of mediatization on media ensembles.

The research demonstrates that it can be stated that the mediatization of medicine has become established as a new phenomenon. What is implied by this term is the process of transformation invoked by the emerging digital communication that has given the masses free access to medical information; has caused medical knowledge to lose at least some of its sacral nature; and has pushed the personality of a particular actor to the fore in the context of interaction, with their communicative skills now playing the decisive role.

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Research article / Научная статья

Personal User's Communicative Competence of "Mediatized World" Construction

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Abstract. The relevance of this article is determined by the growing ubiquitous digitalization of mediatized communications, including under the influence of the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020–2021. The consequence of this process is the transformation of the structure of social space and approval of virtual interaction as a basic method of communication — instead of interpersonal. These transformations entail institutional changes, manifested in axiological and normative transitions of communicative space, semantic restructuring of communications under the influence of changing social reality. Induced by the technological infrastructure of communication, a "mediatized social reality" emerges, which also entails semantic changes in communication. All these circumstances actualize the phenomenon of communicative competence of an individual, which determines the effectiveness of interactions in the context of technological, semantic and institutional changes. The article presents some outcomes of empirical verification of communicative competence in contemporary Russian interaction practices. The phenomenon of hybridization of communicative competence during the transition of a person from the environment of real communications to the environment of virtual communications, contributes to the construction of "mediatized social reality" and expands his social reality. This ability of an individual and his communicative competence for transgression, combined with hybridity, is a factor in the integration of the communicative space of society with its contradictory characteristics.

Keywords: communicative competence of an individual, changing social reality, "mediatized social reality", selfregulation and transgressiveness of communicative competence of an individual

Коммуникативная компетентность личности пользователя в конструировании «медиатизирующегося мира»

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Аннотация. Актуальность статьи определяется повсеместно растущей цифровизацией коммуникаций, в том числе под влиянием пандемии COVID-19 в 2020–2021 годах. Следствием данного процесса является преобразование структуры социального пространства и утверждения виртуального взаимодействия как базового способа коммуникации — взамен межличностного. Данные трансформации влекут за собой ценностно-нормативные преобразования коммуникативного пространства, смысловые перестроения коммуникаций под влиянием изменяющейся социальной реальности. Под воздействием технологической инфраструктуры коммуникации происходит порождение «медиатизированной социальной реальности», также влекущей смысловые изменения в коммуникации. Это актуализирует феномен коммуникативной компетентности личности, определяющий эффективность взаимодействий в условиях технологических, смысловых и институциональных изменений. В статье представлены некоторые результаты эмпирической верификации коммуникативной компетентности в современных российских практиках взаимодействия. Явление гибридизации коммуникативной компетентности при переходах индивида из среды реальных коммуникаций в среду виртуальных коммуникаций способствует конструированию «медиатизированной социальной реальности» и расширяет его социальную реальность. Данная способность личности и ее коммуникативной компетентности к трансгрессии в сочетании с гибридностью является фактором интеграции коммуникативного пространства социума с его противоречивыми характеристиками.

Ключевые слова: коммуникативная компетентность личности, изменяющаяся социальная реальность, медиатизированная социальная реальность, саморегуляция и трансгрессивность коммуникативной компетентности личности

Заявление о конфликте интересов. Авторы заявляют об отсутствии конфликта интересов.

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Relevance

Influenced by digitalization, globalization and pandemic, there was a massive movement of most interpersonal contacts into the virtual sphere. This reality reduces the role and share of interpersonal interaction as a cultural phenomenon. Mediated communication is universally becoming the basic way of communication [10]. The social and territorial growth of social networks causes significant changes in the nature and forms of communication, and, therefore, in the nature of the competence of those interacting. The communicative competence of an individual becomes a factor in the personality and stabilization of society, and changes under the influence of the constant sociocultural dynamics of communications.

Under the conditions of fluidity the social institutions are being eroded, the meanings and symbols of communication themselves are subject to changes. Communicative competence strives for self-regulation, rationalization, flexibility, which ensures its transgressiveness in the transition from the interpersonal space of interaction to the virtual.

Media are viewed as the technological basis for these symbolic processes and their transformation, as a transmitter of knowledge, values and norms in the course of communication. The technological infrastructure of communications, which determines communicative practices, includes them in broader sociocultural contexts, which gives rise to a "mediatized social reality" [11]. In this reality the communicative competence of an individual with his self-regulatory resource plays a key role from the standpoint of the integrity and integration of society — this time on a personal level. This method is both promising from the point of view of potential for the integration of society and contradictory from the point of view of its formation and establishment.

In current scientific discourse, communicative competence is represented to a greater extent at an interdisciplinary level and is reflected in a wide subject field of social and human sciences — pedagogy, psychology, linguistics, management [3, 5], in different forms, types and methods of communication — real and virtual, political, mass [6, 7], the problem of ruptures of communicative space and other. Keen research interest is indicative of the totality, versatility and ambiguity of the processes of transformation of communications and the need to turn to sociological meta-instrumentation for non-object comprehension and generalization of communicative competence as a sociocultural phenomenon.

Research methodology

Let us dwell on the conceptual foundations of the analysis of communicative competence of an individual in contemporary Russian reality.

In the proposed theoretical and methodological approach to the analysis of the communicative competence of an individual, classical and contemporary

sociological theories are applied, which make it possible to study communicative competence from the viewpoint of sociocultural self-regulation. These are the theories of social reality [4, 8], changing social reality [2], the theory of media construction of reality [11], the theory of virtual reality [1].

Social reality is interpreted as an objective reality reflected in the consciousness of an individual, formed in the process of his interactions with others for the purpose of cognition. Communicative reality is seen as part of the changing social reality of an individual, and his communicative competence is a changing self-regulating phenomenon.

Mediatization is a "two-way" concept that allows to connect the transformation of society and culture, on the one hand, and specific changes in media and communications, on the other [11]. Media are the technological basis of these symbolic processes, a key transmitter of knowledge, values and norms, internalized in the process of socialization [10].

The theory of an information society [1] allows us to take into account how the special features of virtual reality affect the construction of meanings in the changing communicative space of a person and, as a result, in the communicative competence of an individual.

In accordance with the presented methodological foundations, the communicative competence of an individual in a changing social reality is understood as: "the ability of an individual to maintain his sociality through movable values and the construction of a flexible individual sociocultural norm of communication based on the following principles: 1) interiorization of variability as an immanent characteristic of the space of communicative reality; 2) identification and typification of the expectations of actors; 3) rationalizing one's own expectations and actions, taking into account the changing norms and expectations of others; 4) reflection on the sociocultural foundations of communicae interactions; 5) development of new norms of communication and communicative practices; 6) self-regulation of communicative interactions based on the reflexive choice of its optimal mode [9].

Here, the transgressiveness of communicative competence manifests itself as the ability, through self-regulation and self-control, to overcome the boundaries between the virtual and the real world of interaction in order to build or expand the space of the lifeworld. In this regard, the transgressiveness of communicative competence of an individual is a factor in the integration of the society in transformation.

Analysis of communicative practices of constructing a mediatized world

The empirical measurement of communicative competence of an individual in contemporary Russian practices is represented by the results of the author's research in Moscow region in 2012 (N = 360, purposive sampling) in collaboration

with The Institute of Socio-Political Research under the Russian Academy of Sciences, of a pilot survey in Moscow universities in 2020 (N = 100, snowball sampling).

The obtained data on the nature of contemporary communicative practices in Russia is represented by the following outcomes.

The nature of self-regulation in the construction of a mediatized changing world is reflected in the respondents' perceptions of a change in the norm of interaction in the structure of their communicative competence. Thus, 98% of respondents believe that changes are required in the norms of communication not only in the Internet, in virtuality, but also in real interpersonal interactions.

The respondents from the metropolitan universities demonstrated a tendency to revise and change the norms of communication drastically — both from the viewpoint of uniting all sociocultural types of environments under one denominator of the need for change, and from the viewpoint of the percentage of consonants. In real interpersonal contacts, traditionally regulated by social institutions and setting the parameters of interaction in accordance with established regulations — in situations seemingly devoid of sociocultural axiological-normative conflict, young people demonstrate the need to rethink and reevaluate the imperatives established by culture.

With this choice, young people demonstrate a position characterized by a high degree of activity and enterprise, striving for modern forms of self-expression in communication situations, regardless of the nature of the environment in which the communication took place. These ideas about the need to renew the norm are the result of redesigning the meanings of interaction in the conditions of the electronic, virtual representation of the interaction partner with possible distortions of his real image, entailing a change in the way of interaction, the nature of expectations. The norm of interaction in communicative competence, constructed and fixed in virtual reality, also affects the communicative competence of real interactions by transferring ideas and communication experience, where a different, changing image of interaction and a picture of the world is formed. In the structure of an individual's communicative competence, this reverse interconnection of coexisting ideas takes place and forms the basis of the transgressiveness of an individual's communication competence in a changing social reality.

In what way do changing ideas about norms and parameters of communication manifest themselves in specific communication skills? The empirical data obtained is illustrative in juxtaposing the types of skills in real and virtual interactions. Thus, in real interactions, the ability to understand and exchange meanings is significant for more than 80% of respondents, and in virtual interactions, the significance of this skill is approximately 40%. This distribution indicates that those changes in communication parameters that occur in the Internet: the replacement of a real partner by his electronic image, the blurring of institutional regulators of interaction, the decrease of the function of social control in the communicative space — lead to a change in the image of interaction,

interacting parties and a change in the meanings of communication. In particular, this is manifested in a decrease in the necessity, and, accordingly, in the ability to understand the other. It should be noted that the ability of understanding is an immanent sign of communication and its decrease leads to violations of the communication itself, the generation of simulacra, semantic substitutions, game scenarios associated with the destruction of normativity.

Changes in the understanding of the meanings of communication in virtuality, of the constructed worldviews in the media space, lead to a change in both the image of interaction and the manifestation of personality traits in interaction. Thus, in real interactions, the respondents demonstrate honesty, conscientiousness, sincerity, responsibility. And in virtual reality being cunning, unreliable and mobile is in demand. The significance of the qualities traditionally approved in social life is more than halved. This phenomenon is an illustration of the manifestation of gamization as a means of simplifying the increasingly complex world and the manifestations of these qualities themselves should be considered function-wise. Through gamization, it is possible to preserve the integrity of the communication space.

Argumentation and conclusions

It is noticeable that the construction of a mediatized world is developing multidirectionally — in the direction of constructing new norms, meanings, greater freedom of self-expression, and self-regulation. And in the direction of destruction, normalization of deviation.

The changing social reality becomes an everyday life-purpose contour, and the transition of an individual from one sociocultural field of interaction to another requires from him often incompatible communicative skills and behavioral efforts. In this sense, the transgressiveness of communicative competence creates semantic supports in conditions of contrariety, as well as for the construction of new forms and methods of communication as a means of resolving this contrariety.

In a single picture of the complex social life of contemporary Russian society, the coexisting two types of communicative competence of an individual, which have different mechanisms of formation (institutional and self-regulatory), overlap within one carrier. A person turns out to be the carrier of two types of communicative competence, and the type of communicative competence that is relevant for a given situation of interaction is realized. This feature forms a "hybrid" social reality in the consciousness of a person, allowing him to adapt in the modern conditions of the communicative space and integrate into society.

Hybridity is manifested in the central role of virtual reality in the production of new modes of communicative competence. As M. Castells notes, "paradoxically, virtual life is more socially diverse than physical," [1] pointing at this shift in emphasis in the creation of new cultural models of communication to the domain of virtuality. In this sense, virtuality is a "platform" for the construction and

testing of new communication models, and in real interactions they are shifted, mixed, assimilated, replaced, etc. Such shifts of online formats of interaction to offline formats impart internal mobility to communicative competence, the ability to amortize, situational redesign, and thus to sustainability.

Communicative competence of different types is manifested in one individual, and the transgression of communicative competence, which allows a person to make the transition from one environment to another within these different types of communication, is a factor steadinessin of the modern social space in transformation.

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ГЛОБАЛЬНЫЙ КОНТЕКСТ: МЕДИА, ПАНДЕМИЯ, ТРАНСГРЕССИЯ

(PAN)MEDIA AND TRANSGRESSION: DISCUSSING GLOBAL CONTEXT

Editorial Note

От редакторов номера

Mediatization was a 'non-connected' with the real-world process (Habermas, 1987).

Nowadays, pandemic mediatized reality is growing beyond the scientific, physical and virtual, and other borders.

Mediatization became transgressive.

What does it mean? How does it correspond to the ideas of mediatization in "New Normal", in times of data colonialism and 'the fifth estate'?

Our aim is to identify the main features of mediatization in the 2020s.

We ask the prominent experts in their field: Prof. Andreas Hepp (Bremen University, Germany) and Prof. William Dutton (Oxford, UK) the same questions.

What does mediatization mean in your opinion?

Is it possible to mention the basic relevant concept and idea of mediatization in the 2020s?

Has your research field transformed? If yes, what are its main features, especially in pandemic mediated reality? Are there any differences in it before/after COVID-2019?

What are the main actors in the (pan)mediated communication model?

Which areas have been influenced by mediatization more? Culture? Society? Real or virtual world? Technologies?

Is mediatization really transgressive (e.g. according to 'Aufhebung', etc.)? What are the problems and threats?

What are the main directions for (your) future research?

Greg Simons, Marina Shilina

Pioneering Mediatization Studies:
An Interview *with Professor Andreas Hepp*

Пионерские исследования медиатизации
Интервью *с профессором Андреасом Хеппом*

— *What does mediatization mean in your opinion?*

— Basically, mediatization is a concept to describe the relation between changes to media communications on the one hand and changes to culture and society on the other hand. This is a long-term process reaches back to when the first technical communication media were introduced. Thus, on whatever stage

of human history you think, the kind of society people live in is in its form related to the media they use. In this sense, mediatization is — as Herbert Blumer called it — a "sensitizing concept" to make us "sensitive" to the interrelation between particular forms of societies and cultures with the forms of media and communications they are constructed by. Around this "sensitizing" concept of mediatization a group of scholars has formed to research this interrelation in detail and discuss ways of theorizing it.

Within such a general framework, we can differentiate between various "stages" of mediatization, which is the reason why Nick Couldry and I together with others have suggested the term "deep mediatization". Deep mediatization is a stage of mediatization in which the various social forms rely on digital media and infrastructures — and thereby datafication and automation of communication play an increasing role in everyday life.

— Is it possible to talk about the basic relevant concept and idea of mediatization in the 2020s?

— Today, our everyday practices are deeply entangled with digital media and their infrastructures. Therefore, media have become a crucial part of a lot of our "doings". A deeply mediatized society cannot be understood beyond digital media and their infrastructures. Just to give you one example: If you think about today's financial markets and how their "products" are traded, one realises that what we call "financial markets" could not exist beyond digital media and the computerized representation of partly automated trading. Digital media and their infrastructures are a pre-condition for the existence of financial markets as we have them nowadays.

The same can be said for other domains of society because the idea of the term deep mediatization is designed expressly to reflect this. Basically, deep mediatization is related to particular changes in our media environment, which we can systemize in five trends. The first trend is the increasing differentiation of media: more and more kinds of media are emerging along with digitalization and even "things" which we did not understand as media of communication — cars, toys etc. — have become such means of communication with the help of the internet of things. The second trend is that of increasing connectivity. Hence, all these different media are more and more interconnected by the digital infrastructures we have nowadays. Because of that interconnectedness, various forms of communication can spread across these media. The third trend is an increasing omnipresence of media. Because of mobile communications, media are increasingly accessible in any social situation. Just to take on example: While we used the fixed-line phone to call a place where we expected a certain person to be, we use the mobile phone to call this person wherever he or she is. A fourth trend is the path of innovation, which means that the waves of fundamental change in media and of the emergence of "new" media have accelerated. And finally, there is the trend of datafication: As today's media are digital, they are both means of

communication and data collection. With all these trends the media environment is changing fundamentally.

— *Has your research field transformed? And, if yes, what are its main features, especially in (pandemic) mediated reality? Are there any differences in it before/after COVID-19?*

— Owing to all these trends, also my field of research — that is: mediated communication — has changed fundamentally. To address the "deepness" of today's mediatization, we need different methods that address the entanglement of media practices with digital and data processing, for example. But also our theories have to change since we have to think differently about what media of communication are and are not. Furthermore, questions of automation of communication have arisen, which I am trying to address through my research on communicative robots, in other words, systems like Alexa, Siri, but also social bots and work bots in journalism.

COVID-19 can only be understood if we understand it as deeply mediatized: At least four points can be identified here. First, from the initial outbreak, we have experienced the pandemic on the basis of mediated expectations. Films and series featuring dangerous viruses, their rapid spread and humanity's struggle with them have been popular since at least the 1970s. And for those who did not already know them, they became readily available through the various digital platforms after Covid-19 broke out. With this in mind, we approached the pandemic from existing media-mediated scripts dealing with what 'can happen' and 'how to deal with it'.

Second, we have a mediated experience of the pandemic itself: what we know about the pandemic has been communicated to us through the media, and here partially automated data journalism — the continuous visual processing of the latest Corona figures (infections, deaths, vaccinations) — has, at times, played a significant role.

Third, we are dealing with an ongoing media-mediated analysis of the course the pandemic takes. What is meant here is that digital media and their infrastructures in particular are being used to obtain "data" on how people are dealing with the pandemic. Examples of this include the analysis of people's mobility during the lockdown using login data from their mobile phones or a range of mathematical models of possible pandemic outcomes using various other digital data. Fourth and finally, we were repeatedly confronted with the idea of a media-based "solution" to individual problems brought up by the pandemic. Digital media in particular should be mentioned here, for example, when at the beginning of the pandemic politicians imagined a Covid app as the central solution strategy, digital platforms were seen as the solution to preventing a collapse of local economies and cultural industries, or when working from home was only possible through specific platforms and video conferencing systems. In all these cases, significant elements of the "solutions" were bought from Silicon Valley making these companies a lot of money even as individuals were

becoming poorer as a result of the pandemic. Inequalities within the emerging digital society were probably made clear to all by the pandemic and in all likelihood were further exacerbated.

— What are the main actors in the (pan)mediated communication model?

— I am skeptical about all communication models that assume that they can take all levels and actors of communication into account. However, my previous reflections on COVID-19 should have made it clear that in times of deep mediatization, media and communication, research should broaden its view of the actors relevant to media communication: it is no longer enough — as with legacy media — to address journalists, contents and audiences. In my opinion, we should broaden our view also to include among others the people who develop digital media and their technologies, the people who are responsible for processing data, and audiences should rather be understood as people who use a variety of different digital media. Furthermore, questions of human-machine-communication are gaining relevance, as the examples of communicative robots show. Of course, it is not possible for every study to take all this into account. But the subject area of media and communication studies has become much broader than it was just a few years ago.

— Is mediatization really transgressive (e.g., according to "Aufhebung", etc.)? What are the problems and threats?

— It depends on how you understand transgression. If you use the term transgression, it is close to the idea of deep mediatization in the sense that digital media are increasingly becoming entangled with everyday practices, and the construction of meaning on all levels. Media are not that "semi-independent" sphere any more as legacy media are. Digital media are present across everything. Thus, we might understand this as a "transgression" of media into everything, or what Sonya Livingstone is calling the mediation of everything.

This said, we also must be careful about such arguments: the spread of digital media and their infrastructures does not mean that the consequences are the same for all social domains. It very much depends on the domain we are looking at. Just to give you an example: You can use a data management system within a civil society organization to introduce more "inclusive" decision-making. Nevertheless, the same system can be used to introduce a more hierarchical structure of control and surveillance. Therefore, we cannot assume that there is a general "tendency" or "bias" within digital media, but we should investigate in detail how they are involved in the transformation of a particular domain.

— Which areas have been influenced by mediatization more: Culture? Society? Real or virtual world? Technologies?

— It is more about the "deepness" of entanglement between human practices and digital media and their infrastructures. This relates to culture and society in

the same way. Also, I think it is not helpful to position a "real" world against a "virtual" one. In times of deep mediatization what is happening online is as real as what is going on offline.

From my point of view, an important basis for understanding deep mediatization is process sociology. This does not juxtapose the individual and society, but understands society as always emerging through individual practice, and that individuals are always part of society. Norbert Elias coined the term 'figuration' to capture this. A community, for example, is a figuration of people who share certain practices and orientations of meaning. One can now look at this figuration from two perspectives: From the perspective of the figuration as a whole or from the perspective of the individual as part of that figuration. This is particularly helpful for questions of autonomy. Autonomy is never absolute, but relational: it always arises in certain figurations. And then the decisive question in relation to digital media and infrastructures is: What spaces for practice do they promote for people in certain figurations? Where do they replicate previous restrictions? Where do they create new ones? From my point of view, it is this kind of relational thinking that helps.

— *What are the main directions for (your) future research?*

— I just finished the German translation of my latest English book "Deep mediatization". In German the book will be called "On the way to digital society". With this book I hope to shift the direction of the argument by saying that we are not yet in a "digital society" although all social domains are deeply mediatized. We are, however, on the way to being one. Therefore, it is time to think more closely about the question: What kind of digital society do we want to have? How can digital media and their infrastructures support a "good life" for as many people as possible? How should they be organized? These are questions I plan to address in my future research.

Интервью провела М.Г. Шилина / Interviewed by M.G. Shilina

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The Internet as a Transgressive Media:
An Interview *with Professor William Dutton*

Интернет как трансгрессивное медиа
Интервью *с профессором Уильямом Даттоном*

— *What does mediatization mean in your opinion?*

— I would argue that the concept of mediatization is anchored largely in Harold Innis's (1950) seminal work. Innis — a Canadian historian — was a mentor to Marshall McLuhan and McLuhan's famous phrase that the medium is the message. Innis and McLuhan argued that the medium used was more socially significant than any messages conveyed over that medium.

Innis challenged conventional perspectives on history and the media. As an historian, Innis was opposing the dominant paradigm of his time — that the basic

mode of production in the economy was deterministically shaping social and political structures. Instead, Innis argued that a society's communication infrastructure was more important is shaping or biasing social and political change. Innis wrote about the telegraph as one of his primary examples of a shift in communication infrastructure that enabled the expansion of empires. McLuhan (1964), whose book on the 'media is the message', which I read soon after it was published, while an undergraduate student, focused on electronic broadcast media. If he were alive today, during the COVID-19 pandemic, he would remark on it being more significant that households are spending so much time watching streaming video than what particular films they view.

This not only challenged economic determinism, but it did not replace economic with a technological determinism. Innis spoke about the bias of media and communication infrastructures, not their inevitable outcomes. But he made a case for not ignoring the historical role of shifts in media of relevance to politics and society.

In addition, his ideas did not align with dominant approaches to the study of media since the 1940s, which focused on the analysis of media content. Researchers assumed a relatively common text in nations with few radio and television options, and therefore focused on the messages, not the media.

— Is it possible to mention the basic relevant concept and idea of mediatization in the 2020s?

— From my perspective, since the rise of the Internet and Web, but also in the 2020's, the ideas of Innis and McLuhan are still quite fundamental to our understanding of the role of the Internet and new digital media in politics and society. I had the good fortune of directing the last years of a UK national Programme of Information and Communication Technologies (PICT), supported by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC). PICT brought together centres of research on new media and communication technologies — all of which were anchored in one or another social science perspective. In that capacity, I focused on bringing together and integrating the findings of the centres involved and found it useful to organize all the findings around 'reconfiguring access' [1, 2].

This was my take on mediatization or Innis' idea, suggesting the primary role of technological change in information and communication technologies (ICTs) was to reconfigure access to: information (what we read, see and view, but also what we know); people (how we communicate with individuals, groups, or multitudes, but also with whom we communicate); services (how we obtain services, but also who provides what services to whom); and technologies (what technologies we access, but also what know how we require). This conception helped me understand the social and political implications of the Internet and Web, but it is as useful today in thinking about any new digital media, from AI to AR.

— Has your research field transformed? If yes, what are its main features, especially in (pan)demic)mediated reality? Are there any differences in it before/after COVID-2019?

— Most generally, I find my field of research in a state of flux. Maybe it has always been in flux. In the early 2000s, study of the Internet seemed like a waste of time to many who saw it as an ephemeral technology that would quickly lose its novelty and rapidly diminish in significance. By 2005, Internet studies were rising rapidly as the field in new media with incredibly optimistic views on its social and political implications, which were largely positive outcomes of an open and global Internet for sociality and democracy. After 2010, the Internet and Web became more taken for granted and viewed as such a routine technology of everyday life that they did not merit special notice. The Arab Spring woke a sense of the potential of the Internet to reach new networks with new ideas, but with the decline of democratic movements around the world, the Internet became a new scapegoat for many actors. Many saw its influence as dangerous, not only in destabilizing political regimes but spreading misinformation or disinformation across the world in clearly technological deterministic ways, such as conveyed in notions of filter bubbles and echo chambers. While research on how people use the Internet to gain information about politics counters techno deterministic perspectives, the disinformation theme had become a major focus of research and policy that ignored studies based on users, focusing instead on research on the production of disinformation.

The COVID-19 pandemic demonstrated how central the Internet and digital media had become across the globe. It was not to be taken-for-granted. With nearly 60 percent of the world online, the Internet became a life saver and job saver for many during lock downs and social distancing. The pandemic pushed even more individuals online in more central ways, but dystopian perspectives on the Internet and digital media remained quite prominent as this was a bandwagon within the research communities across multiple disciplines.

In a more academic sense, my field has been changing dramatically ever since I began studying the Internet in 1974. Initially, only a few academics studied the use of computer-mediated communications in those early days. As a political scientist, I had to publish in specialized journals as mainstream political science did not see communication online as a valid field of study — it was engineering maybe, or computer science, or maybe public administration, but not political science.

It was not until the early 2000s that there became some recognition of Internet studies as a field. I was actually recruited to be the founding director of the Oxford Internet Institute in 2002, when I was appointed the first Professor of Internet Studies at Oxford. This was a major recognition of change by the university, which had only recently recognized sociology as a field. Over the years, however, as Internet and related studies of new media have been one of the most burgeoning fields in the social and behavioral sciences, nearly every

discipline has begun to recognize Internet studies. Political science, sociology, information schools, and so on have all adopted research on the Internet as not just a legitimate but important area of inquiry.

However, when Internet studies was divorced from the disciplines, it was genuinely multidisciplinary. Maybe you would call it transdisciplinary. I truly believe you cannot study topics around the Internet, such as online voting, from a single disciplinary perspective. You need a transdisciplinary perspective as an individual or as a team. My worry is that the adoption of Internet and digital media studies by various disciplines will unintentionally undermine that transdisciplinary perspective.

— *What are the main actors in the (pan)mediated communication model?*

— The platformatization of the Internet led the platforms to rise as new and major actors in shaping developments online. However, as the platforms were increasingly acting as content providers and regulators themselves, such as in jettisoning the former US President Trump from social media, their roles as intermediaries came under increasing scrutiny. Far from neutral intermediaries, they were acting increasingly as if they were newspapers or publishers. This threatens to call into question their protection, such as from civil liability in the US under Section 230 of the Communication Decency Act.

In a short space of time, dystopian perspectives on the harms caused by the Internet, such as around disinformation, and the failure of platforms to act as genuine intermediaries, have brought regulators back into the picture as key actors. Prior to the 2020s, regulators took a more hands off approach to Internet regulation, but with new 'duty of care' regulation in the UK, privacy regulation across the EU, and questions over Section 230 or its applicability surfacing in the US, regulators have come roaring back into discussion about the future of the Internet.

— *Which areas has been influenced by mediatization more? Culture? Society? Real or virtual world? Technologies?*

— From my perspective on how the Internet and related digital media are reconfiguring access, I think the most dramatic implications are social – reshaping what we know, who we know, from whom we get services, and what know how we require. Moreover, I often find that technical change is exaggerated, such as the treatment of VR over decades of discussion, while social change is less visible and less often the focus of research or debate.

— *Is the mediatization really transgressive (e.g., according to 'Aufhebung', etc.)? What are the problems and threats?*

— Yes, but often not for long. It is common to find that new media, such as the Internet, violates older patterns of communication, such as leveling and

crossing borders. For example, the telephone was often credited with having a leveling effect, as compared with in person communication. And an open global Internet was crossing borders by design.

In the early days of email diffusion, its leveling effect was often cited as a major benefit. An employee could directly email their boss, when previously, they would need to go through a chain of command to communicate up the organizational ladder. This was transgressive, I believe, but it did not last. Organizations were relatively quick to create rules and filters, such as having individuals — a personal assistant — screen email. When Bill Clinton was President of the US, his VP Al Gore frequently used email, but President Clinton was said to be an infrequent user. The folklore was that if an email came in ALL CAPS, it was from Bill Clinton. Of course, individuals could write a letter to the President and receive a personal letter from the President, but email seemed to be a more direct form of communication that psychologically could have a leveling effect. That said, organizations and techies can repair any transgressions, such as by blocking email from the rank and file.

Likewise, an open and global Internet is by design transgressive. In early days of email, for example, it was difficult to call an academic in Russia from the US given the sheer scarcity of phone lines between two huge nations. However, you could email academics in Russia and that proved to be a more reliable way to communicate across borders. However, in today's dystopian climate of disinformation and malicious users, more nations are being to close their borders as an aspect of security but also political sovereignty. So simply because technologies enable some transgressive patterns of communication, policy and practice can be more conservative and undermine these potentials.

— *What are the main directions for (your) future research?*

— My present preoccupation is a book on the Fifth Estate. I view the Fifth Estate as a collectivity of public-spirited networked individuals who are able to reach others online in ways that can hold individuals and institutions more accountable. Networked individuals can source their own content through search. They can create their own content for a global audience, such as through v-blogs or microblogs or posting a simple photo. Networked individuals can share information in ways that develop collective intelligence about air pollution levels or crimes in ways that can inform the public. They can leak information online in ways that reach beyond their own organization. This collectivity I call the Fifth Estate has become a new independent source of information and accountability in the digital age that is comparable to an independent press of an earlier age, which we have called a Fourth Estate.

In many ways, the Fifth Estate is an illustration of how digital media can be used strategically to transgress old boundaries. But the Fifth Estate is probably not indestructible, and the other estates of the Internet realm, including the press and media, are working very hard to undermine the influence of networked individuals.

The Fifth Estate is not a populist movement, as it can amount to one networked individual like Greta Thunberg making a major difference simply by her photograph in front of the Swedish Parliament being posted online that helped spark global interest in climate change. In fact, autocracies as well as democracies can benefit from networked individuals being enabled to hold institutions more accountable.

Интервью провела М.Г. Шилина / Interviewed by M.G. Shilina

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ЛИТЕРАТУРОВЕДЕНИЕ
ИСТОРИЯ РУССКОЙ ЛИТЕРАТУРЫ

LITERARY STUDIES
HISTORY OF RUSSIAN LITERATURE

«Лики» и «личины» В. Розанова
в «Уединенном» и «Опавших листьях»

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Аннотация. Интенсивное изучение творчества В. Розанова закономерно актуализирует вопрос о причинах разноречивых оценок, которыми оно сопровождается уже более века. Их полярность автор объясняет преобладанием субъективных или стереотипных представлений о принципиальной новизне подхода В. Розанова к психологии литературного творчества и эстетике «уединенных обнажений», которой неизменно следовал творческий субъект его книг. В статье исследуется пространство «уединения» как сферы творческого осуществления Розанова, где главное внимание уделено интуиции «интимности», трактуемой писателем как неподдельный духовный акт, лежащий в основе истинного творчества жизни и литературы. В «уединении» авторская интуиция интимности проникает в явления и предметы жизни, наделяет их родственными интимными значениями, отражается в них и способствует созданию мифопоэтической картины мира, наполненной многообразием субъективно-личностных представлений В. Розанова о Боге, мире, культурных и литературных ценностях, о самом себе. В приведенных примерах «лики» В. Розанова возникают в процессе интимного сближения с Абсолютом и открывшихся в онтологических прозрениях. «Личины» являются образными диалектическими проекциями «интимных ликов» автора, противостоящими традиционным взглядам на писательскую личность. Это полярные, фамильярно-травести-

рованные проекции его «интимных ликов», призванные усилить их онтологическую и эстетическую значимость. Методологической основой для исследования феномена «уединенности» и единства у В. Розанова — мифотворца и писателя — послужила философская концепция «отрешенности» в мифе и литературе, разработанная А.Ф. Лосевым в «Диалектике мифа».

"Faces" and "Disguises" of V. Rozanov's *Solitary Thoughts* and *Fallen Leaves*

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Abstract. An intensive study of V. Rozanov's work naturally actualizes the question of the reasons for the contradictory assessments that have accompanied it for more than a century. The author explains their polarity by the prevalence of subjective or stereotypical ideas about the fundamental novelty of V. Rozanov's approach to the psychology of literary creativity and to the aesthetics of "secluded nudity", which the creative subject of his books invariably followed. The article examines the space of "solitude" as a sphere of creative realization of Rozanov, where the main attention is paid to the intuition of "intimacy", interpreted by the writer as a genuine spiritual act underlying the true creativity of life and literature. In "solitude" the author's intuition of intimacy penetrates into the phenomena and objects of life, endows them with related intimate meanings, is reflected in them and contributes to the creation of a mythopoetic picture of the world, filled with a variety of subjective and personal ideas of V. Rozanov about God, the world, cultural and literary values, about to yourself. In the above examples, V. Rozanov's "faces" appear in the process of intimate rapprochement with the Absolute and revealed in ontological insights. "Disguises" are figurative dialectical projections of the "intimate faces" of the author, opposed to the traditional views on the writer's personality. These are polar, familiarly traversed projections of his "intimate faces" designed to enhance their ontological and aesthetic significance.

The philosophical concept of "detachment" in myth and literature, developed by A.F. Losev in *Dialectics of Myth*, served as a methodological basis for the study of the phenomenon of "solitude" and unity in V. Rozanov of the myth-maker and writer.

LITERARY STUDIES. HISTORY OF RUSSIAN LITERATURE

Введение

Эстетика «безобразного». Вопрос о том, где в своих писаниях В. Розанов подлинный, а где преднамеренный, где проявляется его онтологический образ, а где эксцентричные литературные проекции, возник в результате беспрецедентно поляризованных оценок его творчества. Нет нужды вновь говорить о «смеси» «писательской низости» и гениальности Розанова, которая поражала современников и нередко акцентируется сегодня. «Блестящие и возмущающие» откровения Розанова вызывали оторопь у самых смелых новаторов серебряного века, которые сторонились его даже в рамках ими же провозглашенной «эстетической свободы» и одновременно признавали в нем новый феномен русской литературы. «Так писать нельзя», — упрекали Розанова и в то же время завороженно отслеживали его книги, констатируя в них феномен нового писателя, который, не убоявшись репутационных потерь, пошел против литературного канона и создал жанр, изменивший представление о литературном творчестве. Розанова столь же корили, сколько поддавались его влиянию. Мэтр символизма Мережковский после смерти Розанова начал использовать его фрагментарно емкую графику письма, а полвека спустя Вен. Ерофеев обрел в нем своего спасителя, увидев в его эстетической «гнусности» родственный для себя способ не пропасть в условиях того, что Розанов называл «мундирной литературой». «Этот гнусный ядовитый фанатик, этот токсичный старикашка, он — нет, он не дал мне полного снадобья от нравственных немощей, — но спас мне честь и дыхание (ни больше, ни меньше: честь и дыхание)» [1. С. 44].

Литературное «бесстыдство» Розанова происходило из желания разрушить чинные образы писателя и литературы, казавшиеся ему исчерпанными и застывшими, сбросить партикулярное писательское платье и предстать в неумытом естестве обнаженного чувства и слова. Он заговорил не «как принято в приличном обществе», а как изначально и «некрасиво» Бог на душу положил, что заставило его отбиваться от упреков в «непристойности»:

«Да не воображайте, что вы «нравственнее меня. Вы не нравственны и не безнравственны. Вы просто сделанные вещи. Нравственна или безнравственна фарфоровая чашка? Можно сказать, что она чиста, что хорошо расписана, „цветочки" и все. Но мне больше нравится Шарик в конуре. И как он

ни грязен, в сору, — я, однако, пойду играть с ним. А с вами — ничего» [2. С.145].

Важно понять, что в противопоставлении «грязного Шарика в конуре» и «хорошо расписанной фарфоровой чашки» кроется принципиально важное свойство философско-эстетического чутья Розанова — ощущение живого тела, в жизненных проявлениях которого осуществляется духовное начало. «Грязный Шарик» суть «дух, данный сквозь тело», символ естественной, «неочищенной» жизни, которая Розанову была милее и ближе «хорошо расписанной чашки». Он и о собственной душе писал как о «сплетении грязи, нежности и грусти» [2. С. 88]. Здесь определяющее значение имеет интуиция подлинности предмета в диалектике его действительных душевно-физических состояний, в «телесном» естестве осуществляющейся души. В этом смысле «дворовая» природность Шарика сродни «мизерабельному» образу самого Розанова, который пестовал его в «Уединенном» и «Опавших листьях», чтобы подчеркнуть свое природно-неприглядное писательское естество.

«Не литература, а *литературность* (здесь и далее в цитатах курсив автора) ужасна, — писал Розанов в «Опавших листьях», — литературность души, литературность жизни» [2. С. 124]. Литературному совершенству чувства Розанов предпочитал его недовоплощенность. Этого можно было достичь, попытавшись уйти в себя и там запечатлеть свои «получувства» и «полумысли», «схватить» их тогда, когда они только нарождаются в досознательной чистоте освоения. Розанов назвал это место «уединением».

«Уединение» как источник познания и литературного творчества

«Умей искать уединения, умей искать уединения, умей искать уединения. Уединение — лучший страж души. Я хочу сказать — Ее Ангел-Хранитель. Из уединения — все. Из уединения — силы, из уединения — чистота. Уединение — „собран дух“, это — я опять „целен“» [2. С. 183].

Розанов искал «уединение» не за письменным столом. Иначе его скоропись с указанием мест, где возникали «полумысли» и «получувства», не имела бы смысла. Она необходима ему, чтобы показать, что записанные им «узрения» рождались не в досужих созерцаниях, а в непосредственной рефлексии над фактами текущей жизни. «Уединение» Розанова находилось в нем самом, в непрерывном поиске соответствий между смысловым разнообразием наблюдаемых фактов и собственных интуиций, которые были на них направлены. Психологическое пространство «уединения» видится там, где совершаются встреча и синтез внешних наблюдений с энергиями смыслов, уже заложенных в душе и духовной памяти. В «уединении» происходило слияние с источником этих смыслов — Абсолютом, который освещал внешние факты истинным знанием. Здесь, как представляется, и возникало событие, которое Розанов называл «пониманием»: в силовом поле одухотворяю-

щего синтеза дух и сознание Розанова обретали ясность, собранность и цельность:

«Мне и одному хорошо и со всеми. Я не одиночка и не общественник. Но когда я один — я полный, а когда со всеми — не полный. Одному мне все-таки хорошо лучше».

«Одному лучше — потому, что когда я один — я с Богом» [3. С. 55].

Следующим шагом было обратное движение к такой практике письма, где возникшее в «уединении» новое качество ощущений должно было получить органичное воплощение. «Уединение» выразилось у Розанова в опыте перехода «выговаривания» в рукопись, что позволило ему, во-первых, сохранить непосредственность своих душевных движений, и во-вторых, — сделать свой писательский стиль их естественным продолжением, показать, что писательство осуществляется не на кончике пера, а «на «кончиках пальцев».

«Всякое движение души у меня сопровождается выговариванием. И всякое выговаривание я хочу непременно записать. Это — инстинкт» [2. С. 58.]

«Уединение» В. Розанова и «отрешенность» А. Лосева: общие признаки. На наш взгляд, «уединение» как область порождения новых ощущений и смыслов допустимо соотнести с пространством «отрешенности», категорию которой разработал А.Ф. Лосев в «Диалектике мифа». Конкретно — с двумя видами отрешенности, «мифической» и «поэтической», в которых, согласно философу, создаются миф и литература. Проведенное Лосевым исследование природы и различий мифической и поэтической образности, может помочь нам прояснить вопрос о разновидностях личностных отражений Розанова, о парадоксальном сочетании «ликов» и «личин», которые, как и в «отрешенности» Лосева, возникают в глубинах авторского субъекта, но фиксируются в отдалении, в самых неожиданных обстоятельствах его внешнего местопрыбывания.

Под «отрешенностью» Лосев понимал особое состояние творческого восприятия, в котором осваивающая предмет личность ощущает сопричастность его сущностному содержанию, сливается с ним и, одномоментно, отстраняется, чтобы наполнить обнаруженную общность значениями собственных душевных интуиций. Интуиция, по мнению Лосева, мгновенно превращает идею предмета в иную, новую, необычную, такую, какой инстинктивно чувствует и видит ее воспринимающая личность [4. С. 109]. Если совпадение предмета и устремленных к нему интуиций ощущается органичным и полным, происходит синтез: содержание перестает относиться только к предмету, поднимается над обыденностью и уводится в сферу бытийную, где данный предмет становится выражением всеобщности. Синтез предмета и интуиций порождает новые захватывающие смыслы и значения, которые, не изменяя реальный облик предмета, оживают в нем в новых образных формах.

Ощущение полного слияния предмета и субъекта интуиций Лосев называл началом мифотворчества. А отразившуюся в предмете идеальную сущ-

ность личности — мифическим ликом. Миф у Лосева всегда имеет личностную природу и предстает, по его выражению, «ликом личности» [4. С. 115]. В мифе слияние предмета и личности предстает в живом и непосредственном единстве, что придает мифическому образу реальную жизненную фактичность. Лосев убеждает нас в этом, приводя в пример феномен оборотничества. Как душа «обращается» в человека, так и человек душой может вжиться в предмет и принять его образ.

Открывшаяся в образе всеобщность вызывает в личности потребность в иных, более масштабных и всеобъемлющих формах выразительности, что закономерно обращает ее к поиску символической образности, обладающей способностью указывать на незримое присутствие и проявление всеобщего в частном. Постижение невидимых духовно-смысловых связей требует от личности свободного от сложившихся представлений, развоплощенного и расширенного сознания. Это расширение происходит именно в состоянии отрешенности, где личность обнаруживает способность к созданию всеобъемлющих выразительных форм.

В отрешенности, которую Лосев называет поэтической, дело обстоит несколько иначе. Поэтический образ не сливается, а отвлекается от предмета, он выдуман и нереален. Поэт или писатель тоже наполняет предмет своими ощущениями и смыслами, но, преобразовав его в жизнеподобный образ, отдаляется от него и становится его опосредованным участником. Между ним и образом находятся сцена, зритель, читатель, слушатель. В отличие от мифотворчества, где возникает полное «нутряное» слияние с предметом, в котором «исторгается» личность, в поэтической отрешенности такого единства нет. В литературе личность отражает предмет, а переданные в нем ощущения и душевные состояния рассматривает и оценивает «со стороны», не как настоящее, а как бывшее. И эти взгляд и оценка могут быть довольно критическими. С точки зрения Лосева, «видящий образами, видит в них себя лишь наполовину» [5. С. 471].

В «уединении» Розанова мифическая и поэтическая отрешенность находятся в диалектическом единстве, поскольку его личность одновременно существует в них обеих.

Но главное, в чем сходятся и чем объединяются творческие субъекты в «уединении» Розанова и «отрешенности» Лосева, так это в способе освоения предмета. Его можно определить, как опыт интимного переживания, в котором между творческими субъектами и предметами возникают чувственные отношения, когда субъекты открывают в предметах родственные интуиции, сливаются с ними в живое целое и испытывают ощущение духовной сопричастности. Розанов демонстрировал и утверждал этот опыт во всех своих книгах. В «Диалектике мифа» Лосев подверг его научному, философскому и эстетическому анализу, обосновав как сущностное условие мифотворчества. Впоследствии, интимность как духовную сопричастность Лосев образно раскрыл практически во всех своих повестях и рассказах 1930 — начала 1940-х годов.

Напомним, что главная интуиция Розанова, которой охватывались интересующие его предметы, выражалась в инстинктивном ощущении родства всему, что объединено общим качеством духовности, проявляющейся, по его выражению, в «осязательности и обонятельности» телесного тепла, в интимных свойствах естественного бытия тела. «Без телесной приятности нет и духовной дружбы. Тело есть начало духа. Корень духа. А дух есть запах тела» [2. С. 213]. Интуиция интимности как духовности тела и, соответственно, онтологической ценности бытия распространялась Розановым практически на все рефлексируемые им темы, будь то религия, культура, пол или литература. Осуществление духовности в интимной чувственности стало у Розанова признаком присутствия Бога и созидательности жизни.

В «Уединенном» читаем:

«Мой Бог — особенный. Это только мой Бог; и еще ничей. Если еще „чей-нибудь“ — то этого я не знаю и не интересуюсь.

„Мой Бог“ — бесконечная моя интимность, бесконечная моя индивидуальность. Интимность похожа на воронку, или даже две воронки. От моего „общественного я“ идет воронка, суживающаяся до точки. Через эту точку-просвет идет только один луч: от Бога. За этой точкой — другая воронка, уже не суживающаяся, а расширяющаяся в бесконечность: это Бог. „Там — Бог“» [3. С. 55].

«Особенным» Бог у Розанова становится тогда, когда проявляется в интимном освоении всего, в чем он чувствует свою внутреннюю заинтересованность. Бог как одухотворенная интимность пронизывает субъект Розанова и отражается в его душевных намерениях и чувствах, но только по отношению к самому близкому, о чем он думает, говорит и пишет. Она внутренне объективируется в критерий истинности, которым определяется его восприятие и оценки жизни, религии, истории, культуры, самого себя. Данная в ощущении интимная бесконечность Бога — это глубоко личностный, мифический *первообраз* (курсив наш. — *О.Д.*), в котором отражается «лик» Розанова и который одновременно становится матрицей для его мифопоэтических и литературных проекций.

Мифические «лики» и поэтические «личины». Мифический «лик» личности Розанова ярко заявляет о себе в период «погружения» в древнеегипетские манускрипты. «Все, все, все — весь Египет — я открыл внутри себя. Это есть самое поразительное и „Бог меня привел“. Но Он привел и *постепенно приводил* именно от чрева матери, и от шалфея, и от спринцовки» [6]. Обратим внимание, что открытие Египта «внутри себя» описано как Богом призванный процесс живорождения. Розанов подчеркивает связь Бога с интимностью и с поразительной непосредственностью уточняет, как именно «*приводил*», с указанием известных ему интимных подробностей.

Именно в Египте Розанов встретил родственную ему интуицию красоты «божьего обличья», которую мифологизировал в символике своих книг. Приведем пример мифопоэтической версии «святого естества», которую со-

здал Розанов, соединив мифическую «вечную женственность» и образ древней египтянки: «Есть ведь „всемирные педагоги“… есть „всемирные воины“, как древние скандинавы; всемирные мудрецы — Сократ, Спиноза: естественно *быть кому-то* и „всемирной женой“, всемирной как бы „матерью“, всемирной „невестой“... Она „невестится“ перед всем миром, для всего мира, — как ведь и все вообще девушки в 14–15 лет „невестятся“ *неопределенно перед кем,* перед всяким, перед *всеми* <...>. Из таковой врожденной девочки-девушки-женщины как бы истекают потоки жизни, — и ей мерещится, „будто я *всех* родила“, „*все* родила“... И волосы ее, и очи, и сосцы, и бедра, и чрево... таковы, что первозданный невинный взгляд египтянина уловил и назвал и торжественно воскликнул, или скорее богомольно прошептал — „sainte“. <…> „Не *все* вмещают слово сие, но *кому дано*“ (природно, от Бога)» [7. С. 74]. «Лик» Розанова возникает в интимном претворении «девушки 14–15 лет» во «всемирную жену». Именно здесь образ девушки, не утрачивая своей фактичности, органически наполняется розановской интуицией «вечной женственности», обретает условно-символическую образность и получает удивительную фактичность и достоверность. «*Лишь там, где субъект и объект — одно, исчезает неправда*», — написано в «Опавших листьях». Образом египтянки Розанов доказывает свою сокровенную мысль, которую позже мы найдем философски раскрытой и обоснованной Лосевым в „Диалектике мифа“».

Производные от «лика» «личины» Розанова возникали чаще всего, когда «сошедшие с души» [3. С. 20] первозданные впечатления облекались в письменную форму или превращались в печатный литературный текст. Для Розанова эти превращения оборачивались внутренней драмой. Писательство, как «тайна, сокрытая в кончиках пальцев» [2. С. 200], уходило от автора во власть объективности, где его интимная связь со страницами утрачивалась. Восприятие «со стороны» вселяло в автора испуг и смятение. Просьбы почитать вслух или опыты чтения его докладов другими вызывали у Розанова стыдливую реакцию: «…я бывал до того подавлен, раздавлен, что ничего не слышал (от стыда)» [2. С. 174]. Потеря сокровенной связи с написанным вызывала у него нервозную отстраненность, нарочитое равнодушие, в результате которых возникали недовольство собой, насмешливость и самоуничижение. Появлялся другой Розанов, в интимном «лике» которого проступали ернические черты.

«Поразительно впечатление уже *напечатанного*: „Не мое“», — пишет Розанов. «Поэтому меня никогда не могла унизить брань *напечатанного*, и я иногда, смеясь, говорил: „Это дур. Р-ов всегда врет“» [3. С. 174].

«Лик» рождает «личину», когда Розанов, уже зная, что стал знаменит именно благодаря «Уединенному», был искренне недоволен его «слогом»:

«Чтó-то такое *противное* есть в моем слоге. С *противным* — все не вечно. Значит, я временен?

Противное это в каком-то самодовольстве. Даже иногда в самоупоении. Точно у меня масляное брюхо и я сам его намаслил. Правда, от этого я

точно *лечу*, — и это, конечно, качество. Но в полете нет праведного тихого шествования. Которое лучше. <...>

Какой-то я весь судорожный и жалкий. Какой-то растрепанный <...>.

Я *сам* себя растрепал, и «укатали горки».

Когда это сознаешь (т.е. ничтожество), так чувствуешь себя несчастным» [3. С. 169].

Дело здесь не в критике «самодовольства», которое Розанов называл неизбежным «эготизмом» и искренне искал способ «остраненной» эстетизации интимных ощущений. Розанов сам почувствовал свою «личину», которая вызвала отвращение тем, что выделилась, бросилась в глаза: «Я *сам* себя растрепал». «Горками» был всеобщий для модернистской литературы принцип «пишу не как вижу, а как чувствую». Модернизм, объявивший субъективное восприятие главным критерием искусства, абсолютизировал творческую личность. Создание собственного образа, самопортретирование было в моде.

Ощущаемое несоответствие между намерением и «слогом» стало для Розанова поводом для сомнений в целесообразности публиковать «Уединенное». В стороннем восприятии она показалась искажающей замысел. Но даже невольно возникшая «личина» не помешала решению Розанова публиковать «рукописности души»:

«Почему я издал „Уедин.“?

Нужно.

Там были и побочные цели (главная и *ясная* — соединение с „другом“). Но и еще сверх этого слепое, неодолимое

Н У Ж Н О.

Точно потянуло чем-то, когда я почти автоматично начал нумеровать листочки и отправил в типографию» [3. С. 250].

«Слепое, неодолимое» — это исходящая из духа «коренная розановская интимность», которая — «точно потянуло чем-то» — мифически потребовала своего выхода. Отсюда это дважды приведенное и, во втором случае, аршинными буквами начертанное «Н У Ж Н О».

Розанов, как всегда, нутром ощутил слитность себя внутреннего и внешнего, своего «лика» и «личины». Мифический «лик» должен с максимально возможной точностью выразиться в мифе поэтическом, который и в «личинах» был его бесконечным продолжением.

Заключение

В заключение следует сказать, что антиномичность оценок Розанова, сколь бы взаимоисключающими они ни казались, имела диалектическую природу и провоцировалась вызывающей новизной его эстетических принципов и литературно-практического опыта. Принципиальной в этом опыте была эстетика интимного переживания предметов, придающая писательской

рефлексии характер глубоко личного, задушевного разговора, для которого, в силу его интимности, не существовало ни запретных тем, ни их пределов. В литературной практике розановский феномен «интимности» возникал в синтезе мифически-провиденциального чувства и проникновенного слова, связывая их интуитивным ощущением всеобщей духовной близости. Розанов впервые в русской литературе очистил «интимность» от пошлости уничижительных характеристик, символизировал ее духовное величие и придал ему онтологический статус.

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Научная статья / Research article

Мотив «покоя»
в творчестве Б. Пастернака и М. Булгакова

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Аннотация. Концепция «покой» вошла из Библии в русскую культуру и стала ее важной духовной традицией. С развитием светской литературы «покой» постепенно выходит из божественной области и становится смыслом богатой эстетической концепции. В своих произведениях Пастернак и Булгаков размышляют о «покое» в сфере бытия и искусства, в частности, в онтологической ценности дома и любви, в размышлении об истории и смерти и творчестве. Важное место в художественном мире обоих писателей занимает концепция памяти. Книги Булгакова и Пастернака являются свидетельствами о возрождении и вечной жизни, это был способ их участия в Божественном Промысле. В статье анализируются место и роль мотива покоя в романах Б. Пастернака «Доктор Живаго» и М. Булгакова «Мастер и Маргарита» в их сходстве и различии. В этой связи сопоставляются образы дома, музыки, творчества как средоточия мира художника, рассматриваются типологически близкие фигуры возлюбленной-музы и спасительницы, отмечается специфика раскрытия в романах темы бессмертия в творчестве.

Ключевые слова: Пастернак, Булгаков, покой, «Доктор Живаго», «Мастер и Маргарита», дом, музыка, творчество

The Motive of Peace
in the Works of B. Pasternak and M. Bulgakov

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Abstract. The concept of "peace" entered into Russian culture from the Bible and became its important spiritual tradition. With the development of secular literature, "peace" has gradually come out of the sacred field and become the significant aesthetic concept rich in connotation. In their works, Pasternak and Bulgakov reflect on the "peace" in the field of existence and art, especially the ontological value of family and love, thoughts about history, death and creativity. The concept of memory plays an important role in the artistic world of the two writers. Bulgakov's and Pasternak's books are testimony to rebirth and immortality, which is the way they participate in the sacred cause. The paper analyzes the place and role of the motive of peace in the novels of B. Pasternak *Doctor Zhivago* and M. Bulgakov *The Master and Margarita* in their similarities and differences. In this regard, the images of the house, music, creativity as the focus of the artist's world are compared, the typological related figures of the beloved muse and the savior are considered, the specificity of the disclosure of the theme of immortality in creativity is noted.

Keywords: Pasternak, Bulgakov, peace, *Doctor Zhivago, The Master and Margarita,* house, music, creation

Conflicts of interest. The authors declare that there is no conflict of interest.

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Введение

В современном российском литературоведении тема «Пастернак и Булгаков» поднималась неоднократно. Очевидным материалом для сопоставления становились «Доктор Живаго» и «Мастер и Маргарита». Одним из самых глубоких размышлений на эту тему, по нашему мнению, остаётся статья М.О. Чудаковой «Пастернак и Булгаков. Рождение двух литературных циклов» (Литературное обозрение, 1991. № 5). В своей статье «Булгаков и Пастернак. Точность тайн» другой автор, Н.Б. Иванова, в частности, отмечает: «Сам замысел романа „Доктор Живаго" и его реализация были своего

рода ответом на роман „Мастер и Маргарита"… в Юрии Андреевиче Жива́-
го сливаются — в сравнении с „Мастером и Маргаритой" — два персонажа:
Христос и Мастер» [3. С. 315–316]. По удивительному совпадению герой ро-
мана Пастернака Юрий Живаго и Михаил Булгаков имеют немало общего:
оба — «писатели от Бога» и врачи по образованию, они призваны на службу
в госпиталь во время Первой мировой (или гражданской) войны; после сме-
ны режима в стране решают остаться на Родине и в конце концов умирают в
изнеможении — потому произведения обоих авторов отмечены трагизмом.
Трагический герой, по мысли Г. Гегеля, «верен своему нравственному прин-
ципу» [9. С. 82], ядро которого составляет стремление к покою. Покой явля-
ется важной духовной традицией русской культуры, он был определен в
религиозных текстах, связан с содержанием Книги Бытия, закреплен в Вет-
хом Завете, а затем укоренился в русской светской словесности. Именно
обращение к мотиву покоя в двух романах в его онтологическом, мистиче-
ском и, наконец, «земном» аспектах видится нам новым поворотом в, каза-
лось бы, хорошо изученном материале. Нашей задачей было рассмотреть
мотив покоя на некотором новом уровне, критически сопоставляя ортодок-
сально-православные литературоведческие трактовки «покоя» в его прак-
тически-религиозном значении (в работах М. Дунаева, дьякона Андрея Ку-
раева, А. Зеркалова, Т. Поздняевой и т.д.) и «светские», сугубо научные
мнения крупнейших современных булгаковедов (Е. Яблокова, М. Чудако-
вой, Л. Яновской, Б. Соколова, М. Голубкова и многих других).

В статье «„Покой" в религиозно-философских и художественных кон-
текстах» В. Котельников выявил религиозно-онтологическое и художествен-
ное осмысление категории покоя в русской культуре. Покой воспринимается
и «как завершение миротворения», и как «субботний» покой, и как «акт
творчества в духе». Покой трактуется и как наличие высшего Божественного
замысла о мире и человеке и его воплощение в примирении Бога и человека в
акте творческой синергии. В светской литературе XVIII века разрабатывают-
ся «те значения слова, которые относятся к телесно-душевной жизни челове-
ка, к природному и общественному миру» [4. С. 7], и категория покоя пере-
живает «процесс обмирщения и деонтологизации». Под пером поэта Г. Дер-
жавина покой даруется разумом: «*Жизнь есть небес мгновенный дар; /
Устрой её себе к покою / И с чистою твоей душою / Благословляй судеб
удар*» («На смерть князя Мещерского», 1779); иногда покой воспевается эпи-
курейцем вместе с любовью и весельем: «*Пой любовью, покой, приятство: /
Будешь красотой любим*» («Дар», 1797). В. Жуковский рассматривает покой
как самосозерцание и связывает его со спокойствием, счастьем и грустью об
ушедших душах: «*В сих мрачных келиях обители святой, / Где вечно цар-
ствует задумчивый покой, /…Что сердце мирныя весталки возмутило?*»
(«Послание Элоизы к Абеляру», 1806); «*Конец всему — души покой. / Конец
желаниям, конец воспоминаньям. / Конец борению и с жизнью, и с собой…*»
(«К Филалету», 1808–1809). В этом контексте следует вспомнить и эпиграф к
булгаковскому «Бегу»: «*Бессмертье — тихий, светлый брег; / Наш путь — к*

нему стремленье: / Покойся, кто свой кончил бег...» («Певец во стане русских воинов», 1812).

В русской литературе XIX века концепция покоя приобрела более умозрительное выражение и толкование. А. Пушкин придал слову оптимистическое звучание: покой представляет беззаботную деревенскую жизнь после донжуанства и распущенности в Петербурге: «*Мой идеал теперь — хозяйка, / Мои желания — покой, / Да щей горшок, да сам большой*». У М. Лермонтова роковое понимание покоя: «*И осужден страдать я долго в нём, / И в нём лишь буду я спокоен*» («Мой дом», 1830–1831). В созданном Богом мире поэт видит свою судьбу, которая неизбежно несет страдания, и ясно осознает, что только в страданиях можно найти покой. По Гончарову, красота содержится «в глубоком ровном дыхании, исполненном чистоты и покоя» [5. С. 117]. Как важная часть философско-эстетической идеи писателя, покой воспринимается в романе «Обломов» как процесс диалектический, сопровождаемый негативным и одновременно позитивным осмыслением образа Обломова. Этот момент подробно разъяснен М. Пришвиным: «Никакая „положительная“ деятельность в России не может выдержать критики Обломова: его покой таит в себе запрос на высшую ценность, на такую деятельность, из-за которой стоило бы лишиться покоя. Это своего рода толстовское „неделание“. Иначе и быть не может в стране, где всякая деятельность, направленная на улучшение своего существования, сопровождается чувством неправоты, а только деятельность, в которой личное совершенно сливается с делом для других, может быть противопоставлена обломовскому покою» [7. С. 233–234].

Со временем отношение русских писателей к понятию поменялось. В начале XX века, когда назревали революционные события, А. Блок уверенно прощается с покоем и призывает к бою. Страсть к сражениям была темой его времени: «*И вечный бой! Покой нам только снится / Сквозь кровь и пыль... / <...> / Покоя нет! Степная кобылица / Несется вскачь!*» («На поле Куликовом», 1908). К 30–40-м годам XX века, в период творчества Булгакова и Пастернака, их принятие «покоя» уже полностью усвоено как насущная потребность и неявное выражение индивидуальной психологии. Уникальный опыт эмоционального комплекса «дом», а также необычная художественная концепция писателей основаны на «покое» как на духовном ядре. Оба писателя своим романом интерпретируют и расширяют идейную силу и творческое измерение «покоя».

Мотив «покоя» в творчестве Б. Пастернака и М. Булгакова

Внешнее построение и эмоциональное наполнение дома составляют умиротворяющую часть жизненного опыта. В «Докторе Живаго» дом главного героя имеет две географические координаты — дом братьев Громеко в Сивцевом Вражке в мирное время и уральское поместье дедушки Крюгера, Варыкино, в годы гражданской войны. С домом Громеко, где выросли Жи-

ваго и Тоня, связана прежняя налаженная жизнь, беззаботность, «поэзия, сердечность и чистота». Всегда сохраняется теплый семейный колорит фисташкового и оливкового тонов в памяти Живаго. По мысли И.П. Смирнова, «Живаго не исключается Пастернаком из общего утопизма эпохи не только в главах о Февральской революции, но и тогда, когда речь в романе заходит о большевистском периоде» [8. С. 102].

Переезд из голодной революционной Москвы на Урал — наивная попытка найти уничтоженный революцией покой в овеянном сентиментальными воспоминаниями далеком уголке «земли обетованной», типологически схожая со знаменитым одиннадцатидневным путешествием Лариосика из Житомира в Киев в надежде обрести Дом и покой измученному сердцу в самом пекле Гражданской войны. Обратим внимание, что в обоих случаях тепло Дома контрастирует с мотивом разрушенного семейного гнезда (Елена и Тоня — брошенные жены, чего не могло бы случиться при ровном, мирном течении событий). Так что знаменитая реплика Мышлаевского о покое, невозможном при ошибке в карточной игре, звучит не только комически, но и носит пророческий характер.

Отсутствие покоя — следствие коренной ошибки мирового масштаба, которую на земле уже не изменить и не исправить. Вся деятельность Живаго в Варыкино до роковой встречи с Ларой — именно попытка исправить ошибку бытия слабыми человеческими силами: в этой почти идиллической обстановке Живаго находит счастье в экзистенциальном смысле. В его заметках прекрасен труд, прекрасны весна и природа. Но этот идиллический покой призрачен: без помощи Самдевятова и покровительства Микулицына семья бы не выжила; беззаконная страсть Лары и Юрия омрачает будущее материнство Тони, а «развязка» — насильственная мобилизация Живаго в партизанский отряд Ливерия — лишь завязывает и запутывает и без того безнадежную ситуацию, ставя окончательный крест на иллюзии покоя. После побега Юрия из партизанского лагеря и периода недолгого счастья в Юрятине, ввиду опасности ареста, Юрий и Лара делают заведомо обреченную попытку очередного обретения успокоения в том же Варыкино, но теперь они живут в доме Микулицына, где обнаруживают явные следы чужого присутствия. Но даже минута «ворованного» покоя дарует поэтический взлёт. Герой обнаруживает кабинет, который становится для него местом творчества: «В нем было широкое цельного стекла окно во всю стену, возвышавшееся над оврагом. Из окна… открывался вид на далекое заовражье и равнину… У окна стоял широкий, также во всю стену, стол проектировщика или чертежника». Этот большой письменный стол властно побуждал Живаго к писательству и стал свидетелем его напряженного мышления, творческого вдохновения и диалога с самим собой. Живаго наблюдал за занятой Ларой, ее хлопотами по хозяйству, испытывая ощущение счастья и гармонии. Это время и стало для них последним оплотом мира и спокойствия: после того как Лара была обманом увезена Комаровским, Живаго фактически потерял свой дом и саму ценность жизни.

Варыкино — это утопия Живаго, где он может защитить себя от угрозы войны и политики, спокойно наслаждаться семейной заботой и творческой свободой. Для Мастера, героя Булгакова, дом также является единственным гнездом, где возможны тишина, уход от суеты и наслаждение творчеством. Дом — и свидетель «беззаконной», свободной от условностей любви между Мастером с Маргаритой. Эти две комнаты в подвале на Арбате стали и единственным воспоминанием героя, когда он сидел в сумасшедшем доме. Письменный стол и лампа на нем для Мастера, так же как и для Живаго, — необходимая часть жизни пишущего человека и важная часть мироздания. Тема «подвала» Мастера поднимается в работах современных ученых, в том числе в монографиях Е. Яблокова «Художественный мир Михаила Булгакова» и «Подвал Мастера».

Романтические пристанища обоих героев и их возлюбленных в стороне от «большой жизни» оказываются равно уязвимыми в ситуации исторических потрясений и тоталитарного режима. Исчезновение дома отняло у них любовь и силы жить: Живаго раньше времени уходит от сердечного приступа, Лара погибает в лагере, а воссоединение и освобождение булгаковских героев происходит в пространстве мистики, тогда как в «реальности» и Мастер, и Маргарита умирают.

Любовь героев показывается в широком историческом контексте под мраком трагизма времени. Причина, по которой место жительства стало домом, заключается в силе любви, делавшей место безопасным и гармоничным пространством.

1930-е годы и для Пастернака, и для Булгакова — время поиска тайной свободы, внутреннего творческого покоя как формы духовного противостояния тирании. Понятие «творческий покой» было перенесено в русское сознание из Книги Бытия. Это благословение и выделение седьмого дня, как дня благодарственно-радостного покоя, посвященного воспоминанию творения и прославления Творца, имело значение только для разумно-одаренных существ, т. е. людей, которые, вероятно, с этого времени начали соблюдение субботы, в подражание творческому покою Бога. («Толковая Библия Лопухина» Быт. 2:3). Архимандрит Феодор сделал уникальное богословско-философское толкование этой концепции: «И человек, по своей богочеловеческой природе, прямо причастен к творческому покою Бога, причем причастен двояко: «покой жизни вечной» может осенить человека по благодати, но и сам человек должен собственным духовно-творческим деланием «упрочить за собою» еще на земле со-участие в божественном покое» [4. С. 5]. Когда настают тяжкие времена и жизнь человека не может быть урегулирована в силу катастрофических обстоятельств, Пастернак и Булгаков и их главные герои невольно обращаются к «творческому покою», чтобы обрести связь искусства индивидуальности с Богом, искать духовный диалог и духовное спокойствие. «Входя в царство покоя Божия, человек входит в царство свободы» [4. С. 6]. Сочетание покоя и свободы является важным религиозно-метафизическим принципом в русской культуре. Поэтому в мыслях Пастер-

нака и Булгакова покой и дух свободы сплетаются друг с другом. В романе Пастернака дом, покой и литературное творчество неразделимы. Для Мастера дом также единственное место, где он смог отложить все дела, забыть о суете и сосредоточиться на романе о Пилате. Этот период счастливого и покойного литературного труда Мастер назовет «золотым веком».

Искусство (включая литературу и музыку) занимает важное место в жизни Пастернака и Булгакова. Можно сказать, что музыка повлияла на них не меньше, чем литература. Как известно, музыка была важной частью жизни Пастернака. Мать писателя была пианисткой, и он с детства привык к звучанию рояля дома, еще в школе серьезно изучал теорию композиции, и в 1903 году встретил Скрябина и самозабвенно увлекся его творчеством. Гениальная восприимчивость помогает ему проникнуть в мир композитора: «…трагическая сила сочиняемого торжественно показывала язык всему одряхлело признанному и величественно тупому и была смела до сумасшествия, до мальчишества, шаловливо стихийная и свободная, как падший ангел» [6. С. 303]. Художественный стиль и темперамент Скрябина оказали значительное влияние на творчество Пастернака. Даже в мемуарах, размышляя об истинном значении искусства и правды, он снова возвращается к Скрябину. Хотя впоследствии поэт отказался от музыки как рода деятельности и выбрал философию, наработанная музыкальная интуиция и вкус остались при нем. Его поэзия наполнена красотой музыки, он относит музыку к категориям философии и придает ей силу жизни и искупления. Такая сила проявляется и в романе «Доктор Живаго».

О роли музыки в творчестве Пастернака рассуждает Б. Гаспаров в своей ставшей классической статье «Временной контрапункт как формообразующий принцип романа Пастернака „Доктор Живаго“» и монографии «Борис Пастернак: по ту сторону поэтики (Философия. Музыка. Быт.)». Как известно, музыка лежит в основе философских размышлений Живаго, навеянных Николаем Веденяпиным, — для него музыка обладает огромной силой и способствует развитию цивилизации: «…человека столетиями поднимала над животным и уносила ввысь не палка, а музыка: неотразимость безоружной истины, притягательность её примера».

Музыка также связана с самым радостным и беззаботным временем в жизни Булгакова. По словам его сестры Надежды, дом Булгаковых был полон шума, смеха и музыки, каждый член семьи может играть на музыкальном инструменте или поет в хоре. Как известно, Булгаков любил оперу настолько, что брал в юности уроки пения, всерьёз задумываясь о карьере оперного певца. «Аида», «Кармен», «Гугеноты», «Севильский цирюльник», «Руслан и Людмила»... И конечно же, «Фауст» с его «На земле весь род людской...» и арией Валентина. О тесной связи творчества Булгакова с музыкой свидетельствуют и воспоминания Татьяны Лаппа, и «Дневник» Елены Сергеевны. Но и без этих записей очевидно, насколько широко использует Булгаков, особенно в «Мастере и Маргарите» с его сложной симфонической структурой, оперные техники.

Пристрастие Живаго и Мастера к искусству, а именно их практика «творческого покоя», — это попытка поговорить с Богом и войти в мир Божий. Как художники, они думают о сущности искусства и объединяют искусство с такими понятиями, как смерть и история. Мысль Живаго об истории унаследована от дяди Веденяпина: как вторая вселенная, история воздвигается человеком в ответ на неизбежность смерти с помощью категорий времени и памяти. Эти слова прояснили эстетическую логику Пастернака. Память и искусство неразрывно связаны. Уже не разделены память и искусство с момента рождения музой Мнемозиной в древнегреческой мифологии. Блаженный Августин также чувствовал великую силу памяти. Живаго уделяет больше внимания функции памяти, потому что память — это основа противостояния эрозии времени и способ отказаться от смерти. В ответ на смерть Живаго написал историю свою и окружающих. Эта мысль перекликается с идеей Булгакова о том, что «рукописи не горят». А прощение мастер получил, положившись на искусство. Пилат приказал казнить Иешуа из трусости и мучился потом почти две тысячи лет. Мастер не мог войти в царство света из-за своего малодушия и слабости, но в конце обрел покой в связи со своим романом.

Как мы уже отмечали, тема покоя волнует Булгакова на протяжении всего творческого пути. Уже в раннем очерке «Киев-город» возникает образ города, смертельно уставшего от революционного лихолетья. Дивной красоты город испытывает покой сродни загробному отдыху. О том же загробном существовании идет речь в разговоре Левия Матвея и Воланда на крыше Пашкова дома в Великую Субботу. Это время, когда Сам Христос находится в гробу и земля вместе с Богом замерла в ожидании Воскресения. В отношении судьбы Мастера возникает некая странность: ведь в чине православной панихиды есть прошение о «во блаженном Успении вечном покое» для усопшего. Вечный покой — такая же формула потустороннего блаженства, как и «свет». Но очевидна разница в, так сказать, «степенях» блаженства. Судя по описанию вечного пристанища, данного Маргаритой, находящийся за ручьем и мостиком через него (образ из сна Татьяны!) дом скорее похож на Чистилище. Он равно далёк и от Воланда, и от Иешуа, именно в свет (рай) забирающего Пилата. Об этом свидетельствует лунный луч, по которому идут герои, и это закономерно: именно к Иешуа две тысячи лет стремится Пилат, тогда как Мастер не разделяет порыва своего героя. Вспомним: Мастер пишет роман именно о Понтии Пилате, не сильно вникая в глубину Га-Ноцри. Это следует хотя бы из предельно краткого сообщения о проповеди и деяниях этого героя. И если на том свете человек действительно получает именно то, к чему стремился больше всего в жизни, то понятно, почему Пилат получает свет, а Мастер — покой, дом, возлюбленную, цветущий вишневый сад. Казалось бы, чем не рай?

Однако подлинный рай (свет) — это бесконечность познания и развития, которое и ждет Пилата в общении с Иешуа. Мир же Мастера ограничен людьми — Маргаритой, друзьями, старым слугой. Рано или поздно он будет

исчерпан, человеческий потенциал закончится, а продолжения рода на том свете быть не может. По мнению Е. Яблокова, «„беззвучие“ это… и знак пустоты… покой оказывается амбивалентной наградой — наказанием» [11. С. 269]. Как считает М. Чудакова, «последнее убежище Мастера и Маргариты имеет своим литературным прообразом последние страницы „Божественной комедии“ Данте — место, где описывается Лимб, для которого не сделано выбора между раем и адом» [10. С. 228]. А вот, по мнению дьякона Андрея Кураева, к которому с той или иной степенью активности присоединяются вышеперечисленные нами адепты «ортодоксального литературоведения», Мастер «...и по смерти остаётся в области Воланда... в Вечности Мастер зависим от Воланда и его даров» [2].

Таким образом, «покой» — в лучшем случае место отдыха от усталости, но не творческого развития, нуждающегося в вечно обновляющемся источнике, Боге, Которого в мире «покоя» нет. Так ещё раз подтверждается истина о глубоком, интуитивном понимании Булгаковым духа и законов христианства.

Заключение

Итак, несмотря на то, что, по мысли Н. Ивановой, «Мастер в „Мастере и Маргарите“ ничего общего с Пастернака не имеет» [3. С. 313], ибо Пастернак входил в номенклатуру, а ни Булгаков, ни его герой не могли и мечтать ни о квартире в Доме Литератора на Лаврушинском, столь ненавистном Маргарите, ни о Перелыгине-Переделкине, ни о других прекрасных и соблазнительных вещах, доступных творцу «Доктора Живаго», мы обнаружили множество пересечений в романах выдающихся писателей XX века, общность представления их о счастье творчества и покое. «Покой» в обоих произведениях оказывается очевидно связанным с мистикой, но если Булгаков определяет место покоя творческой личности не на земле и вряд ли в раю, то Пастернак ищет для своего героя «земного рая», хотя тотальная невозможность обрести покой в конкретной исторической обстановке России после революции приводит его к идеализации жизни до переворота и к упованию на земную вечность высокого, в основе своей христианского творчества.

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СОВРЕМЕННЫЙ ЛИТЕРАТУРНЫЙ ПРОЦЕСС

CONTEMPORARY LITERARY PROCESS

Пародийный сказ
в «Совах» (советских текстах) Д. Пригова

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Аннотация. Цель статьи — изучить художественные особенности цикла прозаических текстов Д. Пригова «Совы» (советские тексты) как концептуалистского произведения. Автор статьи исследует пародийную стилизацию и обусловленные обращением к ней модификации жанра и стиля. В статье показано, как сказка, былина, предание, анекдот, житие модифицированы содержанием советского мифа, который создает квазиисторию. В «Совах» исторические деятели, политики, поэты и писатели, мифологизированные идеологией и обывательским сознанием, представлены как герои-первопредки и культурные герои; жизненный путь культивируемых советским мифом личностей описан в соответствии с агиографическим каноном. Отправная точка фольклорных стилизаций и пародийных подражаний советскому искусству в цикле «Совы» — маска сказителя-пропагандиста. Пародийный сказ создан путем имитации фольклорного и публицистического стилей, их гибридизации на лексико-грамматическом и ритмико-синтаксическом уровнях. Игра с масками, стилями, жанрами в цикле Д. Пригова «Совы» впервые исследована с методологической позиции нарратологического анализа текста, что подчеркивает новизну и актуальность исследования. Автор статьи приходит к выводу о том, что Д. Пригов деконструирует советские мифологемы, демонстрируя превращение мифа в анекдот, знаменитого имени — в пустой знак, истории — в симулякр.

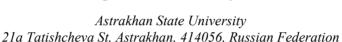**Ключевые слова**: Д. Пригов, концептуализм, повествование, сказ, пародия, жанр, анекдот

Заявление о конфликте интересов. Автор заявляет об отсутствии конфликта интересов.

A Parodic Tale in "Sovy" (Soviet Texts) by D. Prigov

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Abstract. The article aims to study D. Prigov's series of prose texts "Sovy" (Soviet texts) artistic subtleties as a conceptualist work. The author of the article analyzes genre and style modifications owing to use of parodic stylization. The research exemplifies how a fairy tale, epic, legend, anecdote, hagiography are modified by the Soviet myth content, whereas creating a quasi-history. Historical characters, politicians, poets and writers, mythologized by ideology and commonplace consciousness in the "Sovy", are presented as cultural and progenitor heroes. Life journey of characters, cultivated by the Soviet myth, is often depicted according to the hagiographic canon. The mask of a storyteller/propagandist is the starting point of folklore stylizations and parody imitations of the Soviet art in the "Sovy" series. Parodic tale was crafted by mimicking folklore and journalistic styles, their hybridization at the lexical-grammatical and rhythmic-syntactic levels. Styles, genres and masks mocking in D. Prigov's "Sovy" series is examined at the methodological perspective of text narratological analysis for the first time, thus emphasizing the study's novelty and relevance. The author of the article concludes that D. Prigov deconstructs Soviet mythologems, showcasing transformations of a myth to an anecdote, a famous name into an empty sign, a story into a simulacrum.

Keywords: D. Prigov, conceptualism, narration, tale, parody, genre, anecdote

Conflicts of interest. The author declares that there is no conflict of interest.

Введение

Прозаические опыты Д. Пригова изучены в меньшей степени, чем его поэтические тексты, и если поэтика романов Д. Пригова глубоко исследована в работах И. Кукулина, М. Ямпольского, А. Чанцева, то его малая проза, во многом экспериментальная, оказалась на периферии исследовательского интереса; между тем она содержит важнейшие для понимания творчества Д. Пригова художественные решения. Сборник текстов под названием «Совы» (советские тексты) реализует основной принцип соц-арта: гиперидентификация нарративов советского мифа с целью его деконструкции. Доминирующий фактор циклообразования – стилизация фольклорного сказа и языка советской пропаганды. Имитационный принцип текстообразования распространяется на стиль, тип нарратора, форму наррации.

Приемы создания пародийного сказа

По мнению Н.А. Кожевниковой, «типы повествования в художественном произведении организованы обозначенным или необозначенным субъектом речи и облечены в соответствующие речевые формы» [2. С. 3–4]. Основной субъект речи в «Совах» — псевдофольклорный сказитель, носитель и пропагандист советской идеологии. Д. Пригов создает речевой портрет нарратора с помощью приемов имитационно-подражательных, имманентных сказу, и пародийно-комических, модифицирующих его в необходимом автору направлении.

Первые соотносятся с созданием особого темпоритма. В «Совах» ритм образуют повторы однотипных конструкций. Стилизация фольклорного сказа обусловливает разнообразные инверсии. Преобладают предложения с инверсией подлежащего и сказуемого, подражающие былинной интонации: *и родились у них три сына, прочел царь эту книгу, задрожал тут племянник Геккерена*. Ритмообразующим свойством обладает неоднократное инверсионное вынесение в начальную позицию наречий и частиц: «тут пробился сквозь толпу гонец и сообщил» [7. С. 679], «еще пуще волнуется народ» [7. С. 684]. Имитирует нелитературную разговорную речь сказителя анафора: «а тут Наполеон без объявления войны перешел наши государственные границы… А Пушкин им и отвечает… А там только и разговору» [7. С. 678–679]; «и обнаружился у него необыкновенный дар… И ушел он из дома… И приснилось ему» [7. С. 697–698]. Стоящие в начале предложения союзы не только создают ритм, но и интонируют текст, придавая ему спокойно-эпический или патетически-торжественный пафос.

Пародийно-комическую направленность сказа Д. Пригова обнаруживает лексическо-фразеологический уровень. Фольклорные элементы: троекратные повторы, характерные зачины и концовки, постоянные эпитеты («боевой конь», «зычный голос», «коварный враг», «брачный пир»), гипер-

болы («он был росту огромного и силы непомерной») — такой же объект игры, как и советские штампы: «группа товарищей из ЦК», «обличал трусость и разложение высшего общества», «лично наградил… сурово наказали». Эти группы слов образуют гибридные сочетания, создающие комический эффект: «была в ту пору сложная внутренняя и внешняя политическая ситуация» [7. С. 678], «подивились товарищи из ЦК» [7. С. 672], «опечалился Первый секретарь ЦК КПСС и Председатель Совета Министров СССР товарищ Хрущев» [7. С. 686], «Давно жил в Москве видный работник одного министерства по фамилии Алексеев» [7. С. 690], «и не могла по климатическим причинам вовремя прибыть подмога» [7. С. 674], «прилетели советские хоккеисты в стан врага» [7. С. 687].

Маска неперсонифицированного сказителя, выражающего народное миропонимание и мировосприятие, позволяет раскрыть механизмы мифологизации реальности, обнажить устойчивые паттерны коллективного бессознательного, деконструировать советскую мифологию, которая, по мнению О.В. Эдельман, «родилась в сложном взаимодействии пропаганды и воспринимающей ее аудитории…» [11. С. 53].

Игра с советским мифом

В цикле Д. Пригова представлена имитация фольклорных текстов, отражающих мифы советского сознания. Жанровые модели сказки, былины, предания, жития Д. Пригов наполняет новым содержанием: героев-первопредков заменяют лидеры российской коммунистической партии, революционеры; богатырей героического эпоса — герои Гражданской и Великой Отечественной войн, персонажи литературы соцреализма; агиографический сюжет приложим к биографиям персон, культивируемых советским мифом. Сакральному времени мифа, описанному в народном эпосе, соответствует эпоха рождения и становления нового государства.

По словам Е.М. Мелетинского, «мифологическое моделирование осуществляется посредством повествования о некоторых событиях прошлого» [6. С. 154]. В «Совах» прошлое обозначено с помощью традиционных зачинов: «давно это было…», «была в ту пору…», «жил давно на Руси…», «давно жил в Москве…».

Поэтика мифа предполагает существование в сакральном времени первопредков, являющихся прародителями новых мужчин и женщин. В открывающем цикл тексте «Делегат с Васильевского острова» обнаруживается комплекс представлений о первопредке-прародителе, мифы о котором «описывают создание упорядоченного социума» путем брака с представителем «чужого рода» [6. С. 167]. Таковым в тексте Д. Пригова становится «делегат с Васильевского острова» — молодая партийная девушка с «огромной русой косой», участница съезда РСДПР в Цюрихе. Сказитель контаминирует сюжет мифа о первопредке с элементами сказки: мотивом испытания невесты,

его троекратным повтором, благополучным финалом, завершающимся свадьбой. «Ложные невесты» — дочери Маркова и Плеханова, «толстые, старые, с некрасивыми лицами» [7. С. 672] — посрамлены. Брак Ленина и Надежды Константиновны Крупской (именно она оказывается делегатом с Васильевского острова) — начало истории страны, символическая основа для создания государства рабочих и крестьян. «И родились у них три сына. Первый пошёл в крестьяне, второй в рабочие. Третий — в солдаты. Растут сыновья, и все больше продуктов даёт стране первый сын, все больше товаров даёт стране второй сын, все зорче стережёт страну третий сын» [7. С. 673].

Культурным героем иного типа, героическим борцом с силами хаоса, показан Сергей Лазо в тексте «Вечно живой». Его образ создан в соответствии с былинным принципом гиперболизации: «огромный, белокурый», «с громоподобным голосом». Изображение героической борьбы Лазо с тридцатью миллионами китайцев имеет для модели сакрального времени важное символическое значение: погибая, герой обретает черты умирающего и воскрешающего бога, о чем свидетельствуют название и финал текста. «С воинскими почестями похоронили Лазо и памятник ему поставили. А рядом поставили памятник Ленину. И как посмотрит Лазо на Ленина, так словно вспыхивает жизнь в его бронзовых глазах» [7. С. 677].

Мифологизирующее сознание переводит образ Лазо из реально-исторического времени в условно-героическое прошлое, где единичность и универсальность факта теряют свою ценность. Д. Пригов демонстрирует, как в квазиистории смещаются акценты, на первом плане оказываются фобии, комплексы и травмы коллективного бессознательного: вместо классовой борьбы с белогвардейцами и японцами описан конфликт национально-расовый: Лазо — «огромный, белокурый», китайцы — «маленькие, желтенькие, проворные».

В «Совах» Д. Пригов обнажает основные принципы механизма мифологизации прошлого — деиндивидуализацию, коллажность, героизацию. Гибрид фольклорно-эпического и пропагандистско-идеологического создает ощущение абсурдности и нелепости, фантасмагоричности.

В тексте «Звезда пленительная русской поэзии» абсурдизирован советский миф о «великом русском поэте». Место «великого поэта» прошлого в советской культуре было отведено А.С. Пушкину. Как отмечает А.А. Кобринский, к 1937 году, столетию смерти поэта, «завершалась советская канонизация Пушкина» [1. С. 374].

Мифологизированный образ «великого русского поэта» основан на представлении о нем как о культурном герое, который помогает людям: Пушкин «один понимал всю опасность, нависшую над Россией. Где мог, обличал он Наполеона… трусость и разложение высшего общества… призывал народ готовиться к борьбе с захватчиками: копать траншеи, собирать оружие и бутылки с зажигательной смесью, сжигать хлеб и не сдаваться в плен» [7. С. 678]. В образе Пушкина контаминируются черты общественного деятеля («Я нужен народу, а честь народа выше личной»), радикального революци-

онного демократа («и отказали Пушкину от дома друзья Тютчев и Турге-нев»), гениального полководца («русский народ, благодаря умелой диспози-ции великого поэта, разгромил французов на Бородинском поле») [7. С. 680–681]. Меняется каузальность судьбы поэта. Причина дуэли теперь не в лич-ном оскорблении, нанесённом Дантесом, а в том, что «задета честь всех рус-ских женщин» [7. С. 680]. Как и в поэзии, в прозе Д. Пригов обыграл «лите-ратуроцентристское представление о поэте как воплощении высшей власти, как носителе божественного знания и искупителе национальных грехов... Представление это не имеет ничего общего с реальным творчеством того или иного "великого русского поэта", — это безличный миф» [4. С. 257].

Похоже представлен образ «великого русского писателя» в тексте «И смертью врагов попрал». Он не назван по имени, его биография соткана из домыслов и фактов жизни А. С. Пушкина, Л. Н. Толстого, Максима Горького.

В картине мира советского человека важное место занимает концепт «герой». Героическое в сознании советского человека связано с самопо-жертвованием и подвигом во имя светлого будущего, блага страны, поэтому лейтмотив героической смерти становится сквозным в «Совах»: Лазо, Пуш-кин, «великий русский писатель», Алексеев, Вучетич, советские хоккеисты — жертвуют своими жизнями. Полем боя становится даже спортивная арена.

В «Битве за океаном» сражение переносится на ледовый каток. Элемен-ты былинной поэтики (мотив поединка, гипербола, троекратные повторы) придают событиям второй половины XX века характер эпического дейст-ва. Гротеск разоблачает бесчеловечность советского лозунга «Победа любой ценой». Гибель всей хоккейной команды одновременно и комична (в силу своего неправдоподобия), и драматична, поскольку хоккеисты — жертвы партийно-номенклатурной установки: «не гоже, чтобы американец над со-ветским торжествовал» [7. С. 686]. Девальвация ценности человеческой жизни показана в «Битве за океаном» сквозь призму идеологизированного сознания, увидевшего в гибели хоккейной команды героический подвиг спортсменов во имя престижа советского государства. Однако здесь же про-исходит перекодировка значения сюжета. Былинный сказитель, описавший серию спортивных поединков между хоккеистами-богатырями, трансфор-мируется в рассказчика анекдота. Текст имеет не былинный зачин, а анекдо-тический: «Поспорили как-то Никсон, Президент американский, с первым секретарем ЦК КПСС и Председателем Совета Министров СССР товарищем Хрущевым, чей хоккей лучше» [7. С. 686].

Былинная интонация и патетика героического вкупе с пропагандист-ским стилем — отсылка к так называемым «новинам» — псевдофольклор-ному жанру, искусственно созданному в 1930-е годы и описанному в моно-графии Ф. Миллера «Сталинский фольклор». Анализ новин «Сказание о Ле-нине», «Чапай», «Слава Сталину будет вечная», «Клим да свет Ворошило-вич» приводит автора к выводу об их «мозаичности»: традиционная сюжет-ная схема былины, общие места, эпические формулы, традиционный язык соединяются с языком лозунгов [5. С. 155].

В «Совах» пародийно воспроизведен принцип миромоделирования новин, основанный на попытке недавние исторические события описать с эпической дистанции, мифологизировать «вождей революции» и создать химерический советский эпос, выполняющий функции агитки.

Новины, имитировавшие фольклор под диктатом государственной идеологии, пропагандировали ценности советского мира. Конечно, не очень умело, малохудожественно и не очень эффективно. Они радикально отличались от естественно возникшего в сталинское время фольклора. Приговские тексты расшатывают официально-идеологические смыслы и подрывают советскую идеологию. Д. Пригов, гипертрофируя нелепость и абсурдность, присущие социалистическому реализму, обнажает симулятивность советской концептосферы через смеховое начало.

В «Повести о трижды герое Советского Союза Алексееве» приемом, комически вскрывающим мнимое значение советских мифологем, становится пастиш соцреалистического монументально-героического эпоса. Подвижнический путь Алексеева содержит аллюзии на роман «Как закалялась сталь» Н. Островского (работа в Сибири), «Повесть о настоящем человеке» Б. Полевого (ампутация обмороженных ног и замена их протезами), очерки о войне «Человек из легенды» О. Костюнина (спасение немецкой девочки из-под огня). Обыгрываются мотивы агиографической литературы. К житийной традиции отсылают обстоятельства рождения и взросления героя. Родители Алексеева «благочестивы»: отец — «видный работник одного министерства, член партии с 1905 года», мать — «честная женщина и член партии». Герой отказывается от брака для подвижнического подвига (работа в Сибири, участие в войне), испытывает добровольное мученичество («в лютый мороз, без сапог, без лопаты, голыми руками рыл землю»), предчувствует собственную кончину (перед смертью на листке бумаги «написал он… всю свою жизнь»). Наконец, с героями житийной литературы его сближают посмертные чудеса: «он был мёртв, но лицо его светилось» [7. С. 692]. Алексеев становится трижды героем Советского Союза, что вполне можно интерпретировать как пародийную канонизацию.

В «Повести о трижды герое Советского Союза Алексееве» повествователь уже не былинный сказитель или сказочник, он, скорее, агиограф, деиндивидуализированный медиатор между надличными силами, в данном случае — государственными — и читателем. Гибрид элементов жития и мотивов соцреалистической литературы создаёт комический эффект, разрушительный для советского мифа.

В «Двадцати рассказах о Сталине» обыграны былинные и агиографические традиции. Герой этих рассказов «тяжело болел и до 14 лет не ходил… был гигантского роста» [7. С. 693], обладал богатырской силой: «Сталин разорвал подкову на две части». Подобно святому, он предвидит свою кончину. Сталин — носитель черт значимых фигур советской мифологии. Сталин, как Чапаев, — участник Гражданской войны, с Иваном Грозным его сближает сыноубийство и мнимое отречение от власти, с

Иисусом Христом — мотив воскрешения мертвого. Имя Сталина, отчужденное от его носителя, превращается в симулякр, знак, который с легкостью можно поменять местами с другими знаками.

Использование маски сказителя, а затем агиографа вкупе с советским публицистическим дискурсом создает в цикле «Совы» определенные повествовательные алгоритмы, что придает нарративу некую инерцию.

Анекдотизация нарратива в «Двадцати рассказах о Сталине»

В микроцикле «Двадцать рассказов о Сталине» возникшая инерция нарушена введением жанровых элементов анекдота: например, анекдотических зачинов. По мнению А.Д. Шмелева и Е.Я. Шмелевой, «типичное начало анекдота — предложение, начинающееся глаголом в настоящем времени, за которым следует подлежащее, а затем — все второстепенные члены предложения» [10. С. 33]. Эта отличительная черта анекдота эксплицирована в «Двадцати рассказах о Сталине»: «въезжает Иосиф Виссарионович… идет Иосиф Виссарионович… гуляет Иосиф Виссарионович». Между тем пятнадцать текстов из двадцати начинаются с наречия «однажды», что становится отсылкой к «Случаям» Д. Хармса, у которого «*Однажды* как интродуктивный зачин становится… той границей, которая отделяет хармсовские „Анекдоты...“ как литературный жанр от бытового анекдота» [9. С. 46].

В рассказах появляются персонажи анекдотов: сам Сталин как объект анекдотизации, Карл Радек, Анка-пулеметчица, народ, депутаты, американцы, немец. Сталин словно кочует в анекдоты разных серий:

«Однажды, вернувшись из похода, слезает Иосиф Виссарионович с коня, вытирает шашку о полу шинели. Подбегает к нему Анка-пулеметчица и кричит: „Белого притаранили!“. Посмотрел Сталин на нее внимательно, посерьезнел и отвечает: „Ах, Анка, Анка, сколько раз я тебе говорил, что нет такого слова: таранить. Надо уважать великий русский язык“» [7. С. 693].

Комический эффект создает последняя реплика, ее неуместный дидактический пафос в контексте диалога. Поучительными афоризмами завершаются и остальные рассказы о Сталине, что позволяет соотнести их с жанром апофегмы, «короткого рассказа об остроумном, поучительном ответе или поступке великого человека — царя, полководца, философа» [3. С. 233]. Но если цель апофегмы — «внести новые штрихи в круг представлений о государственном деятеле, философе, писателе, целой эпохе» [3. С. 233], то цель приговских рассказов о Сталине — травестировать образ политика. Повествователь стремится обнаружить в Сталине черты идеального правителя, однако делает это неумело, примитивно. Однообразие синтаксических конструкций и лексики, бедность и трафаретность фабулы, псевдомудрость Сталина обнажают искусственность жанровой конструкции, что в итоге приводит к стертости атрибуций. Апофегма становится безжизненным ритуалом возвеличивания «отца народов».

Минимализм ремарок, примитивность стиля отсылают к советской литературе, посвященной вождю, к «поэтике простоты» детской сталинианы [8. С. 455]. Низкий статус, которым обладал ангажированный государством советский писатель, обезличивание автора, стертость индивидуально-авторского начала как характерная черта литературы 1950-х годов — один из аспектов художественной рефлексии и в то же время объект пародирования в «Совах» Д. Пригова.

Заключение

Центральной темой цикла становится тема выхолащивания смыслов, существования в мире концептов, ярлыков, взаимозаменяемых знаков. Жанровый и нарративный эксперимент Д. Пригова направлен на деконструкцию архетипических паттернов советского массового сознания. Имитация сказки, былины, предания, жития в сочетании с пародированием советской художественной и публицистической литературы создают пародийный тип сказа, гротескно и комически изображающий мифы советской истории.

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РЕЦЕНЗИИ

BOOK REVIEWS

Поэтология и поэтика акмеизма: рецензия на книгу: Кихней Л.Г., Меркель Е.В. Акмеизм: теория и художественная практика: учебное пособие. М.; Берлин: Директ-Медиа, 2021. 492 с.

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Аннотация. В рецензии выявляется специфика авторского подхода к феномену акмеизма. Доказано, что рецензируемый труд является учебным пособием нового типа. Так, на содержательном уровне книга включается в научный дискурс и соотносится с жанровым модусом монографии, на формально-композиционном — связывается с жанровым форматом учебного пособия.

Ключевые слова: Акмеизм, поэтическая семантика, поэтология, учебное пособие, поэтика, литературное направление

Poetology and Poetics of Acmeism:
Book review: Kihney, L.G., & Merkel, E.V. (2021).
Acmeism: Theory and Artistic Practice:
Tutorial. Moscow, Berlin: Direct-Media. 492 p.

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Abstract. The review reveals the specificity of the author's approach to the phenomenon of acmeism. It has been proven that the work under review is a tutorial of a new type. So, at the substantive level, the book is included in the scientific discourse and correlates with the genre format of the monograph, at the formal compositional level, it is associated with the genre format of the tutorial.

Keywords: acmeism, poetic semantics, poetology, tutorial, poetics, literary direction

Рецензируемое издание представляет собой пособие принципиально нового типа: книга является и *учебным пособием*, где собраны хрестоматийные материалы по теории и истории акмеизма, и *научным трудом*, который вводит в художественный мир акмеизма и дает общее представление об эстетике и поэтике течения.

Учебное пособие состоит из четырех разделов. В первом разделе («Теоретические материалы акмеизма») последовательно рассматриваются организационное самоопределение акмеизма, его философские установки и миромоделирующие образы и мотивы акмеистической поэзии.

Раздел открывает краткий очерк развития акмеизма, где авторы показывают, что *акмеизм — это не просто теоретический конструкт, возникший как поэтическая антитеза символизму, а объединение поэтов на основе общих принципов мирочувствования*. Отсюда и основной тезис теоретической части: исчезнув как организационное объединение после смерти Гумилева, акмеизм имплицитно, «потаенно», продолжает существовать в рамках отдельных поэтических систем — от натуралистично-физиологической поэзии Нарбута до сложнейшей и реминисцентно насыщенной поэзии Мандельштама.

Такое единство в разнообразии обусловливается, как доказывается в работе, общей акмеистической платформой, которая и предопределяет основные векторы развития акмеистов как первого, так и второго рядов: несмотря на несходство поэтик Зенкевича, Ахматовой, Гумилева и др. логика трансформации их поэтик была типологически сходной.

Отмеченное сходство было детерминировано общеакмеистической установкой на реабилитацию тварного бытия. В теоретической части показывается, что «оправдание существования» является как основным онтологическим постулатом акмеистов, так и своеобразным «принципом отбора» многочисленных художественных традиций. Активно «рецепируются» те традиции, которые содержат сходные мировоззренческие установки (поэзия Франсуа Вийона, эстетика средневековья, философия Бергсона). Так картина мира оказывается критерием верификации интертекстуальных заимствований.

Концептуальным центром представлений об акмеизме становится идея о его логоцентричности. В теоретической части доказано, что понимание слова как воплощенного бытия не только отражается в акмеистических манифестах, но и детерминирует ключевые особенности поэтической практики. Выявлено, что слово-организм, «живое слово» определяет важнейшие семантические линии акмеистической поэзии.

Интенция на принятие тварного мира приводит акмеистов, как справедливо считают авторы книги, к стихийной феноменологии. Оправдание феноменального бытия в лирике акмеистов действительно реанимирует комплекс феноменологических идей, которые находят свое образное воплощение в поэтической семантике акмеистов.

Таким образом, в относительно короткой теоретической части авторам удалось не только показать историко-культурное своеобразие акмеизма, но и обозначить основные вехи его ценностной парадигмы, выявить их связь с поэтикой и вычленить ключевые принципы освоения культуры.

Обозначенный комплекс научных идей дан в жанровом модусе учебного пособия. И этот жанровый формат обусловливает особенности изложения и подачи материала. Так, кластер сложнейших идей как бы «расчленяется», что обусловливает «дробную» внешнюю композицию: каждая специфическая черта акмеизма рассматривается в отдельном блоке раздела. При этом между графически выделенными блоками существует теснейшая смысловая связь: материал каждого последующего блока логически вытекает из содержания предыдущего. Такая композиция способствует, с одной стороны, усвоению содержания книги, а с другой стороны, помогает представить акмеизм как целостный философско-художественный феномен.

Существенным вопросом первой части становится вопрос о связи картины мира с категориями поэтики. Этот вопрос решается через обращение к универсальным критериям, которые позволяют «подтвердить или опровергнуть положение о единстве поэтики акмеизма как иерархически организованной, единой в своих основах структуры» (с. 38). *В качестве таких кри-*

териев закономерно предстают категории времени и пространства, воплощающиеся в парадигме образов, названных в работе *«миромоделирующими».* Утверждается, что мироорганизующая функция этих образов детерминируется их тесной связью с глубинным семантическим уровнем картины мира. Говоря иначе, образы времени и пространства становятся, по мысли авторов, первичными структурами, которые, непосредственно актуализируя миромодель, являются средством для историко-типологического и генетического сопоставления разных поэтик. Аналитический материл, представленный в этом разделе, на наш взгляд, выходит далеко за пределы учебных задач и соотносится с важнейшими вопросами теоретического порядка: как связаны модель мира и поэтика, как авторская интенция реализуется в мотивно-образном материале и т.д.

Таким образом, в теоретическом разделе был выявлен общий знаменатель акмеистической эстетики и реконструирован общеакмеистический миф о мире, воплотившийся в мотивно-образной ткани акмеистической поэзии.

Второй раздел пособия «Хрестоматийные материалы по акмеизму» состоит из двух частей: первая часть включает в себя манифесты, программные статьи и заметки поэтов-акмеистов, во второй части представлена акмеистическая лирика.

Включение в состав первой части обширного метапоэтического наследия акмеизма является, несомненно, оправданным, так как в книге огромное внимание уделяется акмеистической поэтологии. При этом, в отличие от ряда традиционных учебных пособий, где в композиции главенствует компилятивный принцип, здесь материал сгруппирован концептуально: все метапоэтические тексты сопровождаются авторским аналитическим комментарием, который позволяет читателю определить место той или иной работы на общей акмеистической «карте».

Содержание этих комментариев также определяется «полиадресованностью» пособия. Так, с одной стороны, комментарии имеют практически-прикладное значение и ориентированы в первую очередь на студентов, изучающих поэзию Серебряного века. А с другой стороны, некоторые из этих текстов представляют собой полноценные развернутые научные статьи, где подробно анализируются основные принципы акмеистической поэтологии.

Приведем два примера. В комментарии к статье Мандельштама «Утро акмеизма» поднимаются вопросы поэтической философии и показываются переклички концепции поэзии Мандельштама с хайдеггеровскими эстетико-онтологическими идеями. Такой же содержательно емкий комментарий следует и после статьи Мандельштама «О природе слова». Здесь выявляются контуры мандельштамовской концепции слова (которое самим поэтом понимается как хранитель истории и репрезентант культуры) и определяется место логоцентрических идей в ценностной иерархии поэта.

Важно отметить, что содержательно все аналитические комментарии коррелируют с первым разделом книги и доказывают ее ключевую идею о мировоззренческом, поэтологическом и смысловом единстве акмеизма как

определенной семантической парадигмы. В этом смысле вся книга представляет собой не просто компендиум разнородных материалов, но архитектонически выстроенное композиционное целое.

Вторая часть раздела включает в себя наиболее репрезентативные стихотворения поэтов-акмеистов. Все тексты даны по авторитетным источникам с обозначением сборников, что позволяет представить творческую эволюцию каждого из поэтов. Необходимо отметить полноту выборки: в эту часть включаются стихотворения не только акмеистов первого ряда, но и большое количество текстов менее известных акмеистов «левого фланга» (Нарбута и Зенкевича). С точки зрения архитектоники книги это решение выглядит логичным, ибо соответствует самой концепции акмеизма, являющейся композиционной осью работы: акмеизм — это инвариантная смысловая парадигма, которая по-разному преломляется у каждого из отдельных представителей течения.

В третьем разделе («Из опыта анализа поэтических текстов») предложены интерпретации отдельных стихотворений. Включение такого материала в учебное пособие позволяет продемонстрировать обучающимся, как в практике анализа художественного текста претворяются теоретические идеи и концепции, которые представлены в первой части пособия. Именно поэтому нам кажется, что анализ лирических текстов композиционно был бы гораздо уместнее во втором разделе, где были прокомментированы метапоэтические тексты акмеизма. Такое композиционное решение способствовало бы более очевидной экспликации связи между поэтикой и метапоэтикой.

В четвертом — завершающем — разделе пособия («Рекомендованная литература») приведены основные теоретические источники. Список литературы разбит на блоки, которые включают в себя как общие источники по поэтике Серебряного века, так и литературу, посвященную отдельным персоналиям.

Таким образом, книга «Акмеизм: теория и художественная практика» — учебное пособие нового типа, рассчитанное на несколько уровней восприятия. Являясь концептуально целостной и методологически выверенной, она обращена как к студентам, так и к профессиональным исследователям.

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Рецензия на книгу: М.А. Булгаков: аннотированный библиографический указатель. Т. I. 1919–1940 / под ред. С.П. Бавина, М.В. Мишуровской; библиогр. ред. А.В. Акименко; сост. М.В. Мишуровская, Е.И. Алексеенкова, И.С. Ефимова, Ю.Г. Слизун. М.: РГБИ, 2017. 704 с.; Т. II. 1941–1985 / под ред. С.П. Бавина, М.В. Мишуровской; библиогр. ред. А.В. Акименко; сост. М.В. Мишуровская, И.С. Ефимова, О.В. Голубева. М.: РГБИ, 2021. 816 с.

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Аннотация. Два тома аннотированного библиографического указателя охватывают работы на русском языке, посвященные жизни и творчеству М.А. Булгакова и вышедшие в 1919–1985 годах. В 1-м томе, завершающемся 1940 годом, 3820 названий, во 2-м — 4061. В каждом томе имеются указатели имен, заглавий, спектаклей по пьесам Булгакова и список просмотренных периодических изданий.

Ключевые слова: библиография, М.А. Булгаков, журнал «Часовой»

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Abstract. Two volumes of the annotated bibliographic index cover works in Russian devoted to the life and work of M.A. Bulgakov and published in 1919–1985. In the 1st volume, ending by 1940, there are 3820 titles, in the 2nd — 4061 titles. Each volume contains indexes of names, titles, performances based on Bulgakov's plays, and a list of viewed periodicals.

Keywords: bibliography, M.A. Bulgakov, the journal *Chasovoj* [Sentry]

Завершен важный этап проекта, который осуществлялся с 1996 года сотрудниками Отдела научной библиографии Российской государственной библиотеки искусств (РГБИ) и был направлен на выявление и систематизацию информации на русском языке о жизни и творчестве М.А. Булгакова и выявление публикаций его произведений. Составители изучили картотеки и списки, созданные исследователями булгаковского творчества и собирате-

лями информации о М.А. Булгакове А.А. Ниновым, И.Е. Ерыкаловой, Б.С. Мягковым, В.И. Рокотянским и др. Были использованы рабочие картотеки, составленные в 1990-е годы специалистами Российской национальной библиотеки (РНБ) Д.Б. Азиатцевым и М.А. Бениной в рамках подготовки библиографии М.А. Булгакова в серии библиографических указателей «Русские писатели. Поэты. (Советский период)». Впоследствии эти картотеки были переданы из РНБ в РГБИ.

В 1-м томе — 3820 названий, во 2-м — 4061. Получается, что за 22 года творческой жизни о Булгакове было почти столько же публикаций, сколько за 45 лет после смерти, когда Булгакова уже публиковали, хотя и неполностью, но официальное литературоведение еще не считало его классиком. До 1929 года включительно, когда все его пьесы были запрещены, Булгакову было посвящено 2335 публикаций, а в 1930-1940 годах — 1495, т. е. ненамного меньше. Все почти 8000 названий «Указателя» одному исследователю прочитать вряд ли реально. Значительно помогает то, что «Указатель» — аннотированный. Аннотации передают в том числе через цитаты, содержание материалов.

К сожалению, составители очень выборочно ознакомились с периодикой русского зарубежья за 1941–1985 годы. В 1-м томе «Указателя» в списке просмотренных периодических изданий значится архив номеров парижско-брюссельского журнала «Часовой» за 1929–1988 гг. Для 1-го тома он, естественно, был просмотрен только за период 1929–1940 гг. Логично было бы для 2-го тома просмотреть этот журнал за 1941–1985 годы. Однако во 2-м томе «Указателя» «Часовой» в списке просмотренных периодических изданий не значится. Между тем, наугад открыв один из номеров «Часового» за 1968 год, я сразу же наткнулся на рецензию бессменного редактора и издателя журнала Василия Васильевича Орехова (1896–1990) на роман «Мастер и Маргарита», причем на 2-е издание YMCA-Press, вышедшее, как и 1-е, в 1967 г. и отмеченное в «Указателе» (Т. II, с. 603, № 3585). Эта рецензия представляется интересной и глубокой. В.В. Орехов пишет о романе: «Большая и больная повесть! Написана она с несомненным талантом, описания людей, их быта, во времена НЭПа, картины природы замечательны. Но тема!.. <…> Мы совершенно согласны, что книга написана с «шекспировским блеском» [здесь В.В. Орехов цитирует предисловие архиепископа Сан-Францисского Иоанна (князя Шаховского) к изданию YMCA-Press], но добавим еще, что в сложных клубках ее темы чувствуется, как это ни странно, и влияние Гоголя и… нечто от Остапа Бендеры [так у В.В. Орехова]. В Москву прибывает под личиной профессора черной магии сам Сатана со своими помощниками. Он угадывает людские мысли, предсказывает людям будущее, издевается над людьми, пользуется их пороками, — особенно жадностью, устраивает гипнотический сеанс со всевозможными фокусами, затем предлагает множеству женщин бесплатно выбирать себе роскошные туалеты, разбрасывает в зале червонцы, — ослеплен-

ные жадностью люди, выходя из зала, оказываются полуголыми, а банкноты – бутылочными этикетками и т.д.» Орехов отмечает картину «фантастического бала, устроенного Сатаной, Маргарита, летающая на метле („Ночь перед Рождеством“?) и зловещая пятница — день смерти душ Мастера и Маргариты… Эта пятница на фоне повести каким-то образом соединяется со Страстной пятницей и в повесть вкраплены, в разных местах, страницы Страстей Иисуса Христа… С исключительным талантом изображены Понтий Пилат, иудейские судьи, римские воины и чиновники, Апостол Матвей… Спаситель? Образ человека, схваченного по наущению иудейского первосвященника римскими воинами, подвергающегося допросу пресыщенного, страдающего болезнью и „ненавидящего Иерусалим <…> и иудеев“ Пилата написан талантливо, но… это не Иисус Христос, тот, которого веками представляла мировая литература. Это, действительно, образ какого-то бродячего проповедника, „сына сирийц“ (?), „не имеющего никакого родства“ и знавшего только одного своего спутника Матвея». Орехов утверждал, что отсутствие в романе Воскресения Христа «тяготит читателя» и даже ошибочно предположил, что сцена Воскресения стала жертвой цензуры. Он думал, что «в будущей свободной России в библиотеках займет почетное место» не «Мастер и Маргарита», а «Дни Турбиных» и «Белая гвардия». [1. С. 19]. Орехов не только первым указал на пасхальную приуроченность московских сцен «Мастера и Маргариты», но и стал основоположником той консервативной христианской критики, которая не приняла роман из-за отсутствия божественного в образе Иешуа и противопоставляла ему произведения писателя о гражданской войне.

Можно не сомневаться, учитывая большую любовь редактора к булгаковскому творчеству, что в «Часовом» непременно найдутся и другие материалы, посвященные М.А. Булгакову. И будем надеяться, что в последующих переизданиях 2-го тома «Указателя» (а они, я думаю, состоятся) периодика русского зарубежья будет представлена гораздо шире. Издание «Указателя» предполагается составителями как многотомное. Пока что планируется третий том (вероятно, в нескольких книгах), куда должны войти работы 2-й половины 80-х и 90-х годов XX века, когда М.А. Булгаков, наконец, стал официально признанным классиком, и публикация его произведений и материалов, посвященных его жизни и творчеству, приобрела обвальный характер. Несомненно, выявление всех публикаций этого периода потребует значительного времени. Также встает вопрос, каким должна быть верхняя граница следующего тома, тем более что поток материалов о М.А. Булгакове в XXI веке, хотя и существенно сократился, но представляет собой более или менее постоянную и довольно значительную величину. Я бы, со своей стороны, в качестве последнего года для следующего тома «Указателя» рекомендовал бы взять юбилейный для М.А. Булгакова 2021 год, после завершения которого наверняка произойдет некоторое снижение числа публикаций.

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