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Changing Societies & Personalities is an international, peer-reviewed quarterly journal, published in English by the Ural Federal University. *CS&P* examines how rapid societallevel changes are reshaping individual-level beliefs, motivations and values – and how these individual-level changes in turn are reshaping societies. The interplay of personality traits and sociocultural factors in defining motivation, deliberation, action and reflection of individuals requires a combination of theoretical and empirical knowledge. Since an interdisciplinary approach is needed to understand the causes and consequences of the contemporary world's changing socio-political institutions, moral values, and religious beliefs, the journal welcomes theoretical and empirical contributions from a wide range of perspectives in the context of value pluralism and social heterogeneity of (post)modern society.

Topics of interest include, but are not limited to

- value implications of interactions between socio-political transformations and personal self-identity;
- changes in value orientations, materialist and post-materialist values;
- moral reasoning and behavior;
- variability and continuity in the election of styles of moral regime and/or religious identity;
- the moral bases of political preferences and their elimination;
- social exclusion and inclusion;
- post-secular religious individualism;
- tolerance and merely "tolerating": their meanings, varieties and fundamental bases;
- ideologies of gender and age as variables in political, moral, religious and social change;
- educational strategies as training for specific social competences;
- social and existential security.

The journal publishes original research articles, forum discussions, review articles and book reviews.

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EDITORIAL

Media Culture of a Globalised World: Evolution of Language Technologies

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As a world civilisational phenomenon occurring at the turn of the 20th–21st centuries, globalism has affected not only politics and economics, but also culture. Moreover, due to the expanding system of media communications and increasing mobility of images and symbols of the information age, which has profoundly affected methods of thinking and system of science and education, the globalisation of the world socio-cultural space can be seen as reflecting many aspects of the current "spirit of the time". For this reason, various discussions currently taking place in the humanities are related to the nature and consequences of cultural globalisation including the sphere of language technologies, which influences the dialogue of cultures in the globalised world.

On 24th–25th April 2020, the online International Conference "Dialogue of Cultures in the Age of Globalization and Digitalization" took place. The Conference was organised by the Chair of Cultural Studies and Socio-Cultural Activity of the Ural Federal University along with the Ural Branch of the Scientific-Educational Society of Cultural Studies of Russia. Papers in the current issue of *Changing Societies & Personalities* are devoted to the main theme of the conference, including the language of culture. It was Martin Heidegger who put forward the idea that language is the "house of being" of humanity (Heidegger, 1927/1993, p. 220). In this regard, the methods of language formation, its evolution, main trends and development are the subject of research interest, which also includes the language of media culture as an information-age phenomenon that affects the process of globalisation.

An important factor of contemporary media culture is how representations of reality in the context of globalisation and digitalisation increasingly affect public consciousness and the process of socialisation on individual level. Whether for realising one's creative abilities or learning the "other", contemporary communication technologies (digital cinema, television and photo, multimedia systems, computer-related art, social networks and mobile communications)

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facilitate an interactive mode of communication. Consequently, when researching contemporary media culture, it is necessary to use an integrated approach to its analysis as a system of information and communication, including the culture of production and transmission of information, as well as the culture of its perception (Kirillova, 2016).

The global socio-cultural space combines diverse media, such as print, visual, audio and audio-visual, each having its own sign system and language utilised as a means of conveying meaning. During different periods of the 20th century, the functions and characteristics of the media language were the focus of research by Mikhail Bakhtin, Roland Barthes, Walter Benjamin, Jean Baudrillard, Gilles Deleuze, Jacques Derrida, Julia Kristeva, Yury Lotman, Mashall McLuhan, Kirill Razlogov, Umberto Eco and others. Their works interpret the transformation of iconic systems of media culture, as well as the specifics of new digital media, which is based on the "human-machine interaction". The new tendencies are analysed in the works of Norbert Bolz, Jean-Jacques Wuneburger, Manuel Castells, Niklas Luhmann, Lev Manovich, William J. Mitchell and Erkki Huhtamo.

The most in-demand forms of media culture are on-screen. A cinematic narrative, interactive visualisation of texts, search engines, a mobile phone interface, etc., are all variants of media screen forms having their own linguistic communication forms. One of the pressure points of contemporary media culture is the dramatic increase in informational scope, producing a wide variety of socio-cultural effects. Although we often evaluate media products (books, articles, films, photo, computer or television programs, social advertising, video clips, websites, etc.) in terms of language and information aesthetics, there are other cultural dimensions to take into consideration, such as "authorship", "co-authorship", "perception", "type of media", "concept", "new media", etc.

The present editorial paper is aimed at identifying specific features of virtualisation of media culture as a phenomenon of a globalised world and considering the evolution of language technologies of different media as methods of codification and representation of reality, including the specific language of a modern digital screen, which promotes cultural dialogue and polylogue.

Transformation of Media Culture as a Sign System

An important research issue consists in the transformation of media culture as a sign system, forming an important factor in representing reality, which has gone from written culture to audio-visual and digital cultures including the search for a new language as a codifier of reality and retransmission of meaning. The structural-functional method used in the present paper not only helps to determine the key functions of media culture (informational, cognitive, communicative, compensatory, integrative, mediative), but also to identify specific features of the languages of different media: written (book), visual, audio and audio-visual. If the basis of the language of written culture is the letter, for audio culture it is a sound denoted by a musical note, while for visual culture it is an iconic sign. Thus, the aesthetics of the

frame becomes the basis of the language of audio-visual media culture. A special place is given to the analysis of the digital screen language, which promotes dialogism and polylogism in communication. Here, the use of a synergistic approach allows the interdisciplinary character of the study to be taken into consideration.

From an informational and semiotic point of view, media culture comprises a triune system that includes artifacts (from Latin *arte* – artificial and *factus* – made), symbols and signs. The system that serves the purposes of communication can be defined as a language. Based on this, philologist and philosopher Yury Lotman showed that not only works of literature, but also any cultural phenomena may be regarded as texts, since they store special artistic information and are carriers of a certain thought – idea (see: Lotman, 2000, p. 19). Hence, a media culture text comprises both a written message and the additional content of electronic communications: a movie, a television or video film, a television program or clip, computer animation and graphics, website, etc. The language of different media comprises signs and sets of signs ("texts") in which the relevant socio-cultural information is "encrypted", by which means it is empowered to carry content, sense and meaning. Evolving from the era of phonetic writing to the "Gutenberg Galaxy" (McLuhan, 2005), i.e., book culture, and then to electronic civilisation, the media text undergoes changes under the conditions of the modern "Internet Galaxy" (Castells, 2004).

The need for the representation and codification of reality gives rise to ever-new iconic text forms that translate different ideas, images and representations. The text is a connected sign complex and the basis of humanitarian thinking (see: Bakhtin, 1986, p. 281). Therefore, in Mikhail Bakhtin's philosophy of language, the word comes to the fore, in the absence of which there can be no text or dialogue. According to Bakhtin, dialogical relations cannot be torn from the domain of the word, that is, language as a concrete integral phenomenon. Language lives only in the dialogical interaction of those who make us of it. The whole life of a language, in any area of its use (household, business, scientific, artistic, etc.), is permeated by dialogical relations (see: Bakhtin, 2017, pp. 274–275). The problems posed by Bakhtin concerning the *language of culture*, *dialogue of cultures* and *man in culture* concepts turned out to be immensely relevant for researchers working in the second half of the 20th century.

Bakhtin's follower Julia Kristeva stresses that the language of the text, which is not limited to what it simply represents, denotes reality. It participates in the movement and transformation of reality (see: Kristeva, 2004, p. 35). Kristeva argues that, since the text is always polyphonic, it becomes a platform for different ideologies that come out to bleed each other in the confrontation (p. 21). The value of Kristeva's work consists in her enrichment of semiotics with new terms: *hypertext, intertext, genotext* and *phenotext*. These terms, having become central to postmodern culture, denote dialogic and even polylogic relationships with reality, constructed as a mosaic of quotes, a mosaic of signs.

From the perspective of Roland Barthes, media texts are a communication system that connects a person with the world around him, inevitably leading to the mythologisation of reality. The French philosopher argues that the language of media,

like myth, comprises a form, a way of signifying (see: Barthes, 1957/2008, p. 264). Under the terms *language, discourse, word*, etc., Barthes means any significant unit or entity, whether verbal or visual; thus, in the same way as a newspaper article, photography can also be seen as speech. The researcher proves that *language* as a general understanding of the word is confirmed by the history of writing: long before the invention of the alphabet, objects were regular forms of speech or drawings like pictograms (Barthes, 1957/2008).

It is generally understood that writing as a system for recording signs of the natural language or everyday speech was among the greatest achievements of human thought. The master of post-structuralist philosophy, Jacques Derrida, in his works ("Voice and Phenomenon", "Letter and Difference", "Fields of Philosophy", "Positions", etc.) evaluated letters and writing in accordance with the Western tradition as "body and matter", external to "spirit" and "logos". His concept boils down to the realisation that, between man and truth, there is a very significant series of intermediaries, which are located mainly in the sphere of language. Among the key concepts of philosophy of language, Derrida distinguishes the following: *deconstruction*, *difference*, *writing*, and *overcoming of metaphysics*. The language for him is the signifying substance tied to the thought of the signified concept (Derrida, 1972/2007, p. 29). Before the advent of poststructuralism, the German philosopher of culture Walter Benjamin, reflecting on the language of symbols as a "tragic game" of mankind, stated that language should not be interpreted as an instrument of adequate communication, but as an arbitrary form of everything. According to Benjamin, since a thing has a certain spiritual content, then language is involved in any material realisations and manifestations thereof: verbal communication is only a fragment of the functioning of the language. In his famous writing "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction" (1936), he revised the language of traditional arts, proving that with the development of photography and cinema, based on a synthesis of technology and creativity, a fundamentally new situation in culture is created that affects the transformation of the language of works of art (Benjamin, 1935/1996, pp. 70–72). Benjamin was among the first to see that the techniques of reproduction removed the object of art from the sphere of tradition, replaced its unique existence with the mass; thus, instead of individual communication with art, modern culture began to offer more and more diverse forms of "mass consumption". Inevitably, this, in turn, influenced the specifics of creativity, leading to its unification and standardisation.

The sociologist Jean Baudrillard developed an original concept of the linguistic sign system and its intermediary function, translating them into the sphere of politics and economics. He defined the sign as a functional simulacrum (Baudrillard, 1972/2007, p. 17); as a discriminant, the simulacrum structures itself through exclusion, by means of which all virtualities of meaning are shorn off in the cut of the structure (Baudrillard, 1972/2007, p. 207). This means that a symbolic semantic operation must be performed not only on sound or visual, but also on social material, although its implementation requires a completely different logic.

As the German media theorist Norbert Bolz argues, there is now no common media space. Rather, different media are served by different value systems. Different

informational worlds separate democratic, political and cultural boundaries (Bolz, 2007/2011, p. 15). Moreover, according to Lev Manovich, new media is concerned with cultural objects and paradigms enabled by all forms of computing, not just networking (Manovich, 2013, pp. 32–33).

However, none of abovementioned researchers note the significant distinction between auditory and visual communication systems. Let us therefore consider these differences here. Firstly, a structural differentiating factor consists in the time that flows through sound, speech, music and vocalisation. The structuring of visual systems, conversely, is associated with space: in traditional art, forms represented by painting and sculpture dominate, more recently joined by graphics, posters and various iconic sign systems. In computer graphics, as in network animation, the replication of architecture and painting comes to the fore along with photography. It is here that creative forms start to prevail that dependent on a symbiosis of man and machine. According to William Mitchell, there are no "visual media". Instead, he argues that "visual media" is a colloquial expression used for such phenomena as television, cinema, photography and painting, etc. However, upon closer examination it turns out that all the so-called "visual media" also involve other types of perception (especially tactile and auditory), which means that they are mixed (see: Mitchell, 2005, p. 257), that is audio-visual.

In this regard, it is interesting to focus on the language of audio-visual (screen) media culture, which has become the most popular. Screen culture is a special type of culture based on a synthesis of technology and creativity, and the screen is the material carrier of its texts. We can agree with Kirill Razlogov that screen-based culture at the turn of the 20th–21st centuries becomes the most important mechanism for the formation and translation of the norms, customs, traditions and values that form the basis of various communities of people and mass culture in general (Razlogov, 2005, p. 13).

Therefore, it is natural that the content of on-screen culture includes a wide variety of audio-visual forms related to cinema, television, video and computer creativity, including gaming technology and multimedia systems. Consequently, with the improvement of technical artefacts, the screen has evolved from a white canvas onto which a movie is projected to an electronic television tube and then to a computer display. During this evolution, the capability of screens for displaying transmitted images was greatly enhanced. Thereby, the development of on-screen means of displaying reality has determined the formation of on-screen culture. And the terms "screen", "screening", "screen reality", and later "virtual reality" became the key concepts of culture at the turn of the 20th–21st centuries.

The novelty of on-screen forms of modelled reality underwent a qualitative leap into different socio-cultural dimensions represented by computerised representations of pages, providing the dialogic possibility inherent in the new type of "book". Although the fundamentally important concept of "dialogue" is associated with the thought of Russian cultural theorists Mikhail Bakhtin and Yury Lotman, it is usually replaced in Russian discourses with its loan translation from English – "interactivity". Meanwhile, thanks to Kristeva's work in culture and semiotics, the terms *polylogue* (the broad

exchange of meanings between authors and readers) and *intertext* (the general interrelativity between all texts) have been established, raising Bakhtin's polyphony to a qualitatively new step (Kristeva, 2004, pp. 14–21). Due to the availability of information networks, the computer is becoming an important part of the global polylogue, a new dynamised way of being for culture.

The cinema-driven culture in which reality has long been reproduced is associated with "photogeny" – in Louis Delluc's definition (1924), the aesthetics of the frame, which is common to all modern audio-visual means of communication (animation, art media, television, computer graphics, digital photo, etc.). On-screen media, consisting of synthetic types of creativity in which all previous sign systems are integrated, are influenced by the general laws of the development of technical culture and technological progress. On this basis, a new vision is formed according to a new type of imaginative thinking that integrates auditory and visual forms (Kirillova, 2015, p. 45).

If it is a letter in the written (book) culture that forms the basis of a sign system, helping to compile words and sentences, then the frame is the cornerstone of audio-visual culture. Moreover, the photographic culture of the frame is associated with its use as a means of transmitting a direct impression of a real event. Within cinematic culture, the frame is used as an *editing cell* (Eisenstein, 1956, p. 199), which allows it not only to convey the impression of an event, but also to reveal the meaning of the event in the creation of an artistic vision of reality. It is no coincidence that the classics of Russian cinema Sergey Eisenstein and Vsevolod Pudovkin saw the photographic way of reproducing reality (the frame) as that technical "first phenomenon", forming the basis for the emergence of cinematic poetics, which refers to the possibility of perceiving images on a screen as *sculpting in time* (Tarkovsky, 2002).

Cinema would become a language system that required a different type of perception, changing the very nature of object-subject relations. This led Gilles Deleuze to consider cinema as a kind of material equivalent of Nietzsche's will to power, a place where the philosophy of exacting meaning dissolves, where inchoate images that have not yet been fixed in the picture come to the surface. In capturing and fascinating us, these images appear to represent reality to us; however, this is not reality as such, but rather the reality of desires, forces that enter into relations with each other (Deleuze, 1983/2004, p. 14). A big semantic load in this regard is carried by the frame. As the researcher notes, framing refers to the conditioning of a closed or relatively closed system, which includes everything that is present in the image: accessories, decorations and characters. Therefore, the frame forms a set consisting of a large number of elements (Deleuze, 1983/2004, p. 53).

The universal language of the frame is capable of fulfilling iconic and symbolic functions, as well as those of speech signs, without being identical with any of them. However, the frame itself is a purely formal element – that is, it does not possess independent figurative content (the exception is photography). In addition, the iconic universality of the frame is widely used when working with a computer, where it acquires the features of an artistic image, a dramatic scene and an element of figurative narration; with all these transformations, it preserves the presence of a

moment that does not exist in an artwork created with the language of traditional arts. This synthesis of technology and creativity is what distinguishes the culture of the screen from the classical culture. Owing to the syncretic language of the screen, a number of its elements are important both for creating screen work and for the qualified perception of the audience. Elements of the language of the screen comprise the following concepts: objective and subjective points of view, a point of view and a distorted vision, a picture as a frame, long and short frames, a frame as an "external space", a combination of frames, large, general and medium plans, etc.

Modern culture exists under the conditions of the "digitisation" of media creation, i.e. the creation of a digital image. Here, we can agree with Jean-Jacques Wunenburger, who observes that digital imagery reproduces reality in an increasingly complete form, permitting fantastic manipulations that are almost impossible to recognise as such. Thus, images increasingly come to replace reality (reality and representation are always intertwined), putting more and more under the control of the creator. Although such manipulability allows the quantity of objective information to be increased, it also increases the extent of the possible intervention of the subject, simultaneously affording both greater truth and more dexterous trickery (Wunenburger, 2003, p. 88).

According to the metaphorical definition of Kirill Razlogov, the screen becomes a kind of meat grinder of cultural discourse, transforming the reality effect of the audio-visual image into a mechanism of global falsification, which in turn acquires the appearance of absolute authenticity (Razlogov, 2012, p. 37). This means that the phenomenology of the screen language becomes the main formative principle of modern media culture. Thus, American "media archaeologist" Erkki Huhtamo's suggestion that "screenology" be singled out as a special science is no accident, since the importance of screens in contemporary media practices increases, the task of understanding their cultural roles becomes urgent (see: Huhtamo, 2004, p. 32). An alternative approach consists in the idea of a comprehensive humanitarian science of a globalised world proposed by the present author and encapsulated in the term *medialogy* (Kirillova, 2015).

It was the screen that became the construct of a new parallel world – "virtual reality" – and a new phenomenon – "virtual culture". In the late 1990s, the concepts of "virtual reality", "cyberspace", "virtualisation of consciousness", etc. became such dominant trends that today it is difficult to imagine the socio-cultural sphere without them, whether in terms of theoretical research, artistic practices or media communications.

Virtualisation and Digitalisation as New Paradigms

The philosophical and cultural understanding of virtuality can be represented as the dynamics of the following key reading possibilities: (1) virtuality as a non-existent reality; (2) virtuality as an unknown reality; (3) virtuality as a utopian or ideal reality; (4) virtuality as an inner world subjectively experienced by an individual; (5) virtuality as an imaginary, imitation reality ("pseudo-reality"); (6) virtuality as an information and technical space, i.e. cyberspace, a technically-mediated environment, forming an

information resource of modern society and the media environment of modern culture (Usanova, 2013).

The mainstreaming of the problems of "virtuality" has a significant impact on modern culture, contributing to the transition of society to the "network type of existence" (in Castells' expression), the establishment of direct and equal relations of "everyone with everyone", providing the possibility of more accurate, operational accounting of personal requests by institutional structures and fundamentally transforming the entire communication system. Therefore, one of the most important skills acquired by a visitor of virtual space is the ability to independently choose the conditions for their own activity, which fundamentally contradicts any suggestion that the computer monitor is the same kind of "zombie box" as the TV. Obviously, in extreme cases, such a selection may come to resemble the split personality of a schizophrenic (Zvezdina, 2015, p. 386); nevertheless, in most ordinary circumstances, the ability to quickly switch between tasks or perform several functions at once is undoubtedly a useful skill. The same observation can apply in the perception of virtual reality.

The transformation of the information sphere in which a person lives causes to reconstruct his or her thinking and perception, resulting in the ability to quickly switch from considering one item of information to another (Zvezdina, 2015, p. 387). As a consequence, a person operates not so much with holistic concepts and complex logical chains, but rather moves between fragmentary images, situations and representations. It turns out that, for the emerging new consciousness, the outer surface of the event is of interest more than the essence of the whole set of premises and possible outcomes. Although one of the disadvantages of this type of thinking entails an increasingly shallow perception of information, one of the major upsides is an unprecedented increase in the speed of its processing.

At the same time, studies in modern humanities subjects increasingly focus on the variability and instability of reality – above all, on the fact that it is "virtual", i.e., connected with spiritual and symbolic formations. Moreover, it can be stated that games, illusion and chance as variations of the pseudo-real existence become dominant worldviews in modern culture; everything turns into an element of gambling and gaming: socio-cultural practices, commerce and politics (Usanova, 2013).

Today, a special communicative role is given to the language of the digital screen, based on digital encoding (computer, tablet, smart-phone, etc.), which not only tells us something using a frame or visual images, transmitting a "picture", speech and music, but also comes to talk to us directly. As a consequence of the interactive mode, we come directly into contact with it – that is, it becomes our interlocutor. At the same time in Bolz's figurative definition, a computer is worn as a "dress" serving as an information assistant, that is the direction of paradigm shifts determined by the progressive digitisation of our lives (Bolz, 2007/2011, p. 14). Paying tribute to "computerisation" as the main cultural phenomenon of the turn of the 20th–21st centuries, Bolz argues that the computer is a technical medium creating a learning environment; it is an artifact that can be fully described functionally. Therefore, to reveal the instrumental potential of computers, digital cameras and modern mobile phones implies understanding their

language and codes, since new computerised media are technologies that rigorously mathematise the world (Bolz, 2007/2011, pp. 89–90).

Thus, the new media comprise a combination of language technology and digital computing. According to Manovich, this definition of *digital media*, which became popular in the late 1990s, is not very successful, since it reflects only one idea – the idea of digitalisation. In his opinion, a more appropriate term would be computer media or programmable media (Manovich, 2017, p. 31). Manovich proposes introducing new directions and concepts related to digitalisation and the latest language technologies: *web science, natural language processing, vernacular culture, digital heritage*, etc. (Manovich, 2016).

Highlighting the role of the Internet as a means of free global communication (Castells, 2001/2004, p. 5) and as a socially distributed "human memory", we should keep in mind that some representatives of the humanities are biased towards the Internet space due to the predominance of economic interests in it and concomitant mass flow of false information. In a recently published book, Geert Lovink, the founding director of the Institute of Network Cultures (Netherlands), provides a critical analysis of the growing contradictions in social networks, such as fake news, toxic viral memes and online addiction, which generates "platform nihilism" (Lovink, 2019). Michael Stevenson, an American populariser of online science and education, speaks of the need for "the dynamics of the interaction of cultural and symbolic forms of capital within cyberspace" (Stevenson, 2016, p. 1100). Digital media researcher Zizi Papacharissi believes that "online networked platforms, supportive of Big Data and a variety of similar analytical formulations, blend interpersonal and mass storytelling practices variably, offering a reconciliation of primary and secondary orality tendencies and tensions" (Papacharissi, 2015, p. 1099).

It should be noted that, in an age of globalisation and digitalisation, on-screen (audio-visual) culture takes on a dominant role, partially "eating up" the book. Screen culture has a wider range of distribution and closer feedback between the contacting parties, i.e., between the creators of cultural products and their consumers. What, then, did screen culture bring that was new and valuable? First, a new type of communication based on the possibilities of a person's free access to the "information space". The free dissemination of information has made the media space a constant meeting place for people seeking harmony in the vast information world, allowing a consideration of the multidimensional specificities of diverse cultures. At the same time, it became the basis of a new kind of thinking. However, the cultural phenomenon of the Internet has influenced not only the new communications system, but also politics. According to Castells, the Internet is a communication medium that for the first time made it possible for many people to communicate with many others at any given time and on a global scale; this is not just a metaphor, but also a technology and an instrument for facilitating activity (Castells, 2001/2004, pp. 6–7). The concepts of *virtual reality*, *cyberspace*, *virtualisation of consciousness*, etc. have become not just fashionable trends; today it is difficult to imagine the socio-cultural sphere without them. Although the virtual space was created as an instrument, it overcame the functions of means, becoming a medium, i.e., a platform of life and socio-cultural activity. Thus, in becoming the

virtualisation of consciousness, the network came to influence major developments in the very essence of human thinking.

Another property of virtual consciousness is polyphonism, which describes participation in virtual communication not as a dialogue – that is, as a sequence, as a logical chain of individual replicas – but rather as a polylogue, i.e., the collaborative product of multiple participants. This is a consequence of the very scheme according to which time and space is constructed online, since connected by the principle of hypertextuality – a set of interwoven links, whose image may be visualised as forming a web-like structure. Hence, the perception of any object of virtual reality – namely, the attitude towards it as a product of the collective mind – is formed as a result of the interaction of several actors, often anonymous. The computerisation of text has thus had an enormous impact on the transformation of the entire process of perception of the surrounding world. Automated writing means increasing the "productivity" of creating a written product, which, as a result, affects the speed of response to external stimuli in general. In addition, the perception of the text as a collage or mosaic was the result of an increase in the amount of information, which is incapable of being perceived in totality. This information ultimately breaks up into the simplest elements – fragments or "clips" that are primitive and easy to perceive and transmit. For the perceiver, the other side of this simplification often experienced in terms of the loss of a holistic picture of the world.

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This introductory paper shows that, due to globalisation and digitalisation in the 21st century, an essentially dialogical – or polylogical – form of knowledge about the world has emerged that allows the acquisition of interactive and multimedia modern knowledge. A myriad of texts, static and moving images are thus circulating in the global information network, comprising the sphere of audio-visual language technologies and new media strategies that demonstrate the universality and interactivity of the screen along with its ability to facilitate the dialogue and polylogue of cultures in the globalised world.

In the search for a new language as a codifier and a transmitter of meanings, contemporary media culture has become virtualised. Through representing reality with the help of a digital screen, it has become a construct of "virtual culture", which contributes to a new type of communication based on the possibility of free access of the individual to the global information space. The priority of screen media culture has rapidly grown to become the globally dominant form. Thus, the Internet has become a kind of "mirror-screen" of the life of the entire planet.

For the reasons discussed above, the study of the language of new media as a way of coding and representing reality, along with the influence of new media on the processes of socialisation and adaptation of the individual in the globalised world, has become one of the most urgent tasks of the humanities in the 21st century. Due to their interdisciplinary nature, these problems present themselves at the intersection of cultural studies, philosophy, linguistics and psychology. This approach became the

basis of the discussion at the International Conference "Dialogue of Cultures in the Age of Globalization and Digitalization", the materials of which are presented in the papers of the current issue.

In her article "The Dichotomy of Public/Private in the New Media Space", Alla Drozdova emphasises that the new environment of network media has caused a real revolution in our concept of reality by transforming public spaces and audiences, as well as modes and mechanisms for the functioning of the private sphere through the creation of online modes of communication. In a mediatised culture, the boundaries between public and private have been fundamentally changed. In creating a new mode of visibility for social cultures and subcultures, the phenomenon of multi-screening allows us to rethink the public-private dichotomy. In this way, new media have led to the sphere of private life being absorbed by the public sphere not only in terms of facilitating discussion, but also in becoming a means of control by the state, the market and advertising. In turn, in coming under the domination of specific private or group interests, which only achieve temporary commonality, the public sphere itself has been transformed.

The modernisation of the modern theatre space, as discussed in Lilia Nemchenko's "Theatrical Dialogue in the Digital Age: From the Director's Theatre to the Theatre Onscreen", is of no less interest. As the author notes, the nature of the theatre for a long time allowed it to withstand the challenges of information and then digital culture, whose prerequisite consists in the principle of replication. As such, the theatre already possessed the characteristics of a virtual object, information about which is stored exclusively in the memory of a professional critic or spectator. In becoming an object of digitalisation, the theatre both loses its virtual status and acquires a new format of existence and pragmatics: this can be seen not only online broadcasting, but also a unique manifestation of theatre in a cinema – Theatre HD.

In "Art in the Age of Globalisation: Dialogue of Cultures (Ural Opera Ballet Theatre's Production of the Opera *Tri Sestry*)", Andrey Shishkin and Olga Morozova similarly draw attention to the importance of theatre as a means of dialogue between cultures in the practice of contemporary musical production operating in the global intercultural space. In this regard, the staging of the opera *Tri sestry* ("Three Sisters") at the Ural Opera Ballet provides a vivid example of the fruitful interaction of artistic traditions of different cultures (Russian, European, American) in creating a new synthetic image. Although such connections involve various paradoxes, multiple levels of historical experience coexist in the space of this musical performance without contradiction, giving birth to a new modern work of art.

In their article entitled "Cultural and Educational Practices in the Museum Environment: Transmission of Cultural Heritage", Natalia Simbirtseva, Galina Kruglikova and Elena Plaksina consider a distinctive problem in the age of digitalisation and globalisation consisting in the preservation of cultural heritage. The authors consider practices included in the educational environment of the preschool-, school- and university levels in terms of the cultural and educational potential of actual and effective mechanisms for transmitting memory about values and meanings, places, objects of material value, etc. The virtualisation of

the contemporary museum space makes it possible to present projects at different levels that target a wide range of visitors in the offline space.

An interesting analysis of intercultural dialogue is presented in the article by Ksenia Muratshina entitled "Cultural Exchanges between Russia and Turkmenistan: Structure, Dynamics and Defining Features". The purpose of the article is to identify forms, features, factors and dynamics of the development of cultural cooperation between Russia and Turkmenistan over the past decade (2010–2020). The content of the concepts "cultural exchanges" and "cooperation in the field of culture" is considered by the author in the light of intergovernmental documents signed by Russia and Turkmenistan. The article also refers to interviews, materials from public organisations and news archives from the media of both countries.

In "Chinese Migration and Cross-Border Practices in the Russian-Chinese Interaction in the Far East: Four Stages of Intercultural Dialogue", Olga Zalesskaia considers how the problem of the dialogue between cultures has exacerbated the problems of relations between different states in the age of globalisation on the example of Chinese migration, which, as a factor in cross-border practices, reflects the historical process of relations between the two largest world civilisations. She concludes that Chinese migration, which still has considerable potential in terms of various levels of cross-border practices, is capable of becoming an effective mechanism in the development of Russian Far Eastern territories due to its strategically transparent and culturally sensitive approach.

The Book Reviews section contains a review by Andrei Dudchik of the book by Julian Baggini entitled "How the World Thinks: A Global History of Philosophy". The analysis is based on the project of the modern British philosopher Julian Baggini, which realises his understanding of the relationship between philosophy in its historically changing forms and culture in a broad sense, as well as substantiating the heuristic potential of studying the history of philosophy in its global dimension as a basis for fruitful intercultural dialogue.

In the same section, one also can find Danis Sultanov's review on the book by A. Kumankov "Voina v dvadtsat' pervom veke" [War in the 21st Century], as well as Georgy Vedernikov's review on J.-F. Caron's "Contemporary Technologies and the Morality of Warfare. The War of the Machines".

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ARTICLE

The Dichotomy of Public/Private in the New Media Space

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ABSTRACT
Today we exist in a situation in which the new media environment has resulted in paradigm shift in our conception of reality, altering public spaces and communities, as well as functional modes and mechanisms of the private sphere, through the creation of new digitally-intermediated methods of communication. In a mediatised culture, the boundaries between public and private have been fundamentally transformed. Multi-screening has created a new mode of visibility for social cultures and subcultures, which, if it does not exactly abolish the boundary between private and public, at least allows us to rethink this dichotomy. Having thus established a new mode of visibility, the advent of new media has led to the sphere of private life being absorbed by the public sphere, in the process not only of facilitating discussion, but also in becoming a means by which control is exerted by the state, the market and advertising. In turn, in coming under the domination of specific private or group interests, the public sphere itself has been transformed. While, in coinciding with the interests of other groups, these interests may achieve temporary commonality, they cannot be truly public in the original universal sense. The use of multiple Internet portals in living reality creates a distinct or alternative level of virtual publicity. No longer requiring the usual physical spaces to regulate his or her inclusion in both virtual and traditional public spheres, a user of contemporary gadgets creates a remote and individually-tailored model of public interaction. This process of virtual individualisation indicates the ambivalent nature of the networked public sphere. While, on the one

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hand, in engaging in collective interaction and concern for common affairs, politically-active people need the presence of others, on the other, the fact of being rooted in their own experience results in the creation of burgeoning personalised and fragmented hierarchies.

KEYWORDS
virtual public sphere, privacy, digital profiling, social media, multi-screen, mediatised culture

Introduction

Today we exist in a situation in which the new media environment has resulted in a veritable revolution in terms of our conception of reality, fundamentally transforming public spaces and communities, along with functional modes and mechanisms of both public and private spheres, through the creation of new digitally-intermediated methods of communication. So-called new media accessible via digital devices and implying the active participation of users in the distribution and creation of content represents a revolutionary mass media format. This new mode of presence, taking the form of social groups, while not eliminating the boundary between private and public, in any case presents an opportunity for rethinking this dichotomy. New media have become one of the means by which private stories are assembled, represented and made available for general viewing as part of the public sphere. The purpose of this article is to examine how the conceptual public/private dichotomy "works" in the space of new media, what are the key features of contemporary network publicity and its relationship with network privacy, as well as what discursive and social transformations occur within the concept of "private life" in the context of digitally-intermediated civilisation.

The Transformation of Classical Theories of the Public Sphere

We will begin by considering how the notion of the public sphere has changed in response to the advent of the information society and what are the distinct features of the networked public sphere in the 21st century. Here, it is important to note that the contemporary concept of the "public sphere" (*Öffentlichkeit*) was originally formulated by Jürgen Habermas back in 1962, long before the advent of the new media era. Considering it in terms of forming an intermediary between society and the state, Habermas based his notion of the public sphere on the principle of uniting citizens around a common (public) interest to achieve a rational consensus (Habermas, 1962, pp. 15–26). The concept of the public sphere embodies Habermas' idealised model of communicative action, in the process of which a "morality of equal respect" is established. However, Habermas' fundamentally impersonal notion of the public sphere implies a space in which it is not so much actions that are carried out as the exchange of information and opinions. Publicity, in the form in which Habermas conceptualises it, has found its full embodiment in the idea of

communicative rationality, that is, in the ability of the subject to express himself, perceive another and find a common language with carriers of other points of view taking the form of arguments. However, Habermas's ideal-normative theory of the public sphere relies on a very limited view of the contemporary subject (Warren, 1995, pp. 194–195). Since Habermas' subject is not a concrete *Other*, it is taken in its unembodied dimension and thus placed in the space of abstract rationality. In other words, Habermas's consensual model of the public sphere, while productive in many respects, left out of the analysis those who are in reality "excluded" from the sphere of public discussion of the public good. Characteristically, in this sense, Habermas becomes captive to his own discourse, since his idea of the unity of the public sphere essentially implies a refusal to take into account factual inequality.

The momentous social changes taking place in recent years have again initiated discussions about the public sphere; as a rule, "publicity regimes" are considered outside the framework of changes to boundaries between private and public in media culture. In the context of the unfolding controversy, many researchers note that, with the change of publics, the public sphere itself is subject to redefinition. Thus, according to Nancy Fraser the public sphere has undergone changes not only because publics have become diversified, but also because there is neither a relationship of dialogic equality nor a unifying interest, which can in principle be held in common by diverse social groups (Fraser, 1992, p. 128). After all, such social groups that had previously been deprived of participation in public discussion (for example, women, migrants, people with disabilities, national minorities, etc.) have come to the fore, gaining voting rights for the first time in a multicultural, globalised world. Needless to say, each of these groups brings their own values and heroes, their own problems asserted as fit for public discussion, to which factor can be attributed the increasing anonymity and amorphousness of the public space in the era of modernity.

In recent years, researchers have been paying increasing attention to various symptoms of the decline, hollowing-out and de-politicisation of the public sphere. According to the classical Habermasian position, the deformation of the public sphere took place according to the logic of the media market, which, as well as representing the interests of corporations and political elites, is also associated with the growth of state power. As Habermas notes, the colonisation of the lifeworld that takes place through the "silent" media of communication – i.e. power and money – leads to structural distortions in communication and the violation of social integration, along with an externalisation of living interrelationships. It is certainly possible to agree with this: cultural media – art, cinema, literature and the mass media – create an officially-sanctioned, essentially manipulative public sphere in which the political participation of the public is typically reduced to the quiescent consumption of a media product. It is therefore no coincidence that media analysts (Teun van Dijk, Danilo Zolo) identify a contradiction between the dramatically increased access to public media and a deterioration in the quality of public debate. On the other hand, the specificity of the public sphere of contemporary society, with its inherent features of heterogeneity and competitiveness of public interaction, is determined both by new media and traditional media, which can act as counter-publics and mobilise people for collective action.

The Pluralisation of the Public Sphere in the Digital Age

As we have already noted, under the conditions of a modern mediatised and consumer society, contemporary audiences have become increasingly heterogeneous, compartmentalised and explicitly segmented according to their interests, needs and lifestyles. At the same time, both the need and the ability to share a common "public interest" has declined. Therefore, the modern public can be thought of "at best as a collection of non-intersecting microspaces, comprising LiveJournal[1], blogs, forums, family networks, etc. (Usmanova, 2009, p. 88). Not only in real, but also in virtual public life, we are not dealing with a homogeneous public, but with a multitude of audiences and counterpublics, each having their own interests, aesthetics, needs and lifestyles. In other words, publicity loses its previous outlines and meanings: such a "cultural diversity" of the publics of network communications leads to the emergence of a disordered and non-collective publicity that actively invades the zone of privacy.

Let us now attempt to provide an outline of the diverse sociocultural factors that have determined significant changes in the nature of the public sphere and its relationship with the private. The fundamental novelty of today's situation lies in the fact that a contemporary person finds him- or herself in a "total transition zone" that lies between offline reality and the connection to virtual information worlds. This not only implies day-to-day living in such worlds, but also the value-semantic transition between the external and the internal, the individual and the mass, the private and the public. The quantitative "explosion" of Internet users has led to more than 5 billion users, in the words of Lev Manovich, becoming producers of culture; with this critical mass of social connections, the prospect of "easy contacts" has increased. According to Ekaterina Sal'nikova, the use of gadgets and multiple Internet portals in living reality creates a distinct or alternative level of virtual publicity (Sal'nikova, 2015, p. 120). No longer requiring the usual physical spaces (squares, cafes, parks, streets) to regulate his or her inclusion in both virtual and traditional public spheres, a user of contemporary gadgets can create a remote and individually-tailored model of public interaction on a one-to-one basis and at his or her own discretion. Even ten years ago, it was impossible to imagine that engagement in social, public life could be maintained from the privacy of one's own home. Today, under the conditions of pandemic, the home as a locus of privacy has paradoxically become the place where groups are spontaneously created and new public virtual arenas are born; here, the invasion of the private sphere by the public can clearly be delineated. A person now possesses the means to regulate the quality and content of publicity, as well as the level of his or her own involvement in it. Thus, a personal model of publicity is created that resembles a kind of playing field. However, this process of virtual individualisation indicates the ambivalent nature of the networked public sphere. On the one hand, argues Paulo Virno, in engaging in collective interaction and concern for common affairs, "politically-active people need the presence of others", while, on the other,

[1] LiveJournal is a Russian-owned social networking service where users can keep a blog, journal, or diary. LiveJournal™ is a registered trademark of LiveJournal, Inc.

the fact of being rooted in their own experience results in the creation of "burgeoning personalised and fragmented hierarchies" (Virno, 2001, pp. 37, 39).

For this reason, according to Lance Bennett, have great potential for studying the modern public sphere (Bennett, 2012). The technological renewal of the media has led to a re-coding and reorganisation of the public space, along with the creation of new public actors and arenas, new forms of communicative interaction, as well as non-traditional forms of solidarisation. Let us consider the potential of new media to act as intermediaries and public platforms capable of broadcasting and consolidating the meanings of social action. In recent years, the online medium of the Internet has acquired the features of a social system, leading to the emergence of many "virtual worlds" whose subjects consist of real and virtual individuals, groups and communities. To designate this new situation, Manuel Castells introduced the concept of "networked space" (Castells, 2001, p. 328), which is characterised by an exchange of different types of resources or flows of information, technology, capital, organisational interaction, images, etc. Thus, according to Inna Kushnaryova, the "information Internet" was replaced by its social equivalent (Kushnaryova, 2012, p. 4); this transition is associated with the global development trend from "publication", "document", "message" to "co-authorship", opening access to everyone who wants to participate in the creation, evaluation and analysis of texts that can change over time and whose content is not definitively specified. These new interactive "documents" have become the means by which a culture of participatory culture is formed, in which subject-users act in the new capacity of creators/prosumers or co-participants in civil actions. In essence, now we are dealing with the specific developmental consequences of the communication structures underpinning the Internet, in which the usual scheme of "content producer/consumer" is supplemented by the additional link of "content modifier", with these three links potentially representing independent participants in the creative process (not only the author and reader, but also those who adapt content or contextualise it with their commentary). Therefore, a characteristic feature of new social media comprises the principle of active user participation in replenishing and creating content, which generally distinguishes these forms from those of the 20th century mass media.

As we have already noted, the key feature of new media is their socialisation, which has also led to the formation of new public communities that are directly focused on mutual relationships. As a consequence of their intrinsic nature, the simplest online interactions take on a networked structure, creating what the French economist Yann Moulier-Boutang calls a "pollinating" online world. In this sense, the audience of traditional media forms did not comprise a networked space, since there were no established connections within it. While, at first glance, the content of social networks and media may look the same, it is in the "the nature of its construction" that it has a fundamentally different, network character (see: Lavrenchuk, 2010, p. 69). Moreover, this type of social interaction does not rely on a single centre or unified growth point; there is no dedicated control level. Therefore, unlike the traditional media, social networks create distinct groups or communities that coalesce around common interests, values, or some event. Of course, it is not uncommon for such

communities to determine the agenda, in the first instance, their own. As a product of an infinite number of private initiatives, they are not fully integrated into the general social idea. The network clearly demonstrates its isolation from many social problems and political topics: so many people, so many opinions… this is the conclusion that the network helps to draw on the basis of live communication. This is inevitable due to the observable fact that even the smallest groups manifest their own specific contradictions.

Another important characteristic of networked public communications is that the model offers a "simpler" communication platform than any traditional news media portal. In the networked media environment, the main motivation for social interaction consists in the human desire to be seen or heard by formulating and sharing some interesting news with someone. According to David Marshall, it is these two dimensions – a form of cultural production and a form of public engagement and exchange – that make social networks simultaneously a media and communication form (see: Marshall, 2010, p. 44). By means of software for exchanging messages between users, this communication is carried out in real time, in the "here and now", providing an instant response to some important events of general significance. Therefore, synchronicity is one of the most important aspects of the social media space: here nothing is ever deferred, but everything takes place in the reality of current time, where everyone is already connected to each other. In other words, social media is focused not on contemplation, but on (re)action, which occurs not according to tradition, but momentarily. The world of new media is instantaneous rather than sequential: the yearbook has taken the place of the chronicle, while linear relationships have been replaced by group communication configurations. During its formation, network communication was characterised by the horizontal nature of social ties, along with autonomy, accessibility and equal participation of users, which created opportunities for discussion of public issues free from power and the market, those which for various reasons had been excluded from the news agenda or remained on the periphery of discussion within the framework of traditional media.

However, the modern virtual model of publicity is far from ideal; it dispels the liberal myth of network communication as a decentralised platform where an open and free exchange of opinions between users takes place, where other people's opinions are respected and where an exchange of information is the subject of discussion. Indeed, at an early stage in the development of social networks, new media were seen as a revolutionary weapon of the Internet, the formation of a "new social system and civic engagement" (Shirky, 2003), resulting in the creation of a new network-based public sphere. Here it is emphasised that the traditional public sphere was to be replaced by a new multipolar environment, egalitarian in nature, without a single centre, clearly delineated boundaries or a hierarchical "top". In other words, the online environment carried a positive political charge, ensuring not unilateral, but two-way information interaction of many actors – that is to say, their collective, public communication. Based on these characteristics, social networks were viewed as a new independent arena for discussion, whose developmental logic implied the active and free collaboration of participants.

However, a fundamentally different point of view has emerged, according to which social networks, in acting as a kind of filter and information selector, neither create new content nor new evaluations, but rather only redistribute and process information. Thus, according to Lev Gudkov, social networks are the renewal element of a technologically novel form of old mechanisms of social communication (see: Fanailova, 2013), including their own opinion leaders and the reproduction of those mass sentiments that are characteristic of society as a whole. Analysing the content of the pages of ordinary Russian users, sociologists note that about half of them use social networks for communication, shopping and entertainment, as well as for disseminating existing rather than creating new information.

Thus, in their online communication, participants, much as in everyday offline life, devote more time to private, domestic interests and hobbies, rather than socially significant issues. At the centre of the online discussion is the world of apparency, comprised of ostensibly meaningless events. For example, in a network context, a landscape viewed or a dinner eaten can become a topic for discussion. Thus, it can be seen that the "agenda", in which the personal and private begins to prevail over the public, is subject to fragmentation, pushing important and pressing social problems to the periphery of the sphere of network cooperation. In other words, as Zygmunt Bauman saliently notes, the modern lifeworld, both online and offline, has been transformed into an individualised and privatised version of events, consisting of "endless train of activities, in the center of which we find ourselves and our thoughts about ourselves" (Bauman, 2007, p. 323). As a result, according to Bauman, the former balance between the public and the private, by which means the stability of the social order was maintained, has been lost; contemporary society, in principle, does not recognise the need for a dialogue between the public and the private, since the public has been colonised by the private. Since, in the networked world, "public interest" degrades to curiosity about the private life of "public figures", "public problems" that cannot be subjected to such a reduction cease to be comprehensible.

Sceptically assessing the impact of the Internet on society, Jaron Lanier in his manifesto *You Are Not A Gadget* argues that social networks have led society down the wrong path, since here, instead of creativity and individuality, it is superficial judgments and the rapid creation and consumption of content that are privileged (Lanier, 2010). Indeed, social networks are increasingly becoming a platform for constructing the standards and values of mass media culture, progressively manifesting hierarchical features, including the presence of "stars", who receive the lion's share of comments, likes and hit counts. Thus, the reorientation of communication towards the area of private interests turned social networks into an endless number of parallel universes, each enclosing the user in the loop of personality. The trend towards the personalisation of information, its increasing polycentricity and variability, exacerbates not only the atomisation of individual communities, which become a kind of sub-institution, but ultimately risks the formation of information "tunnels" or "ghettos", i.e. subjective and multiplied "world pictures".

Dmitry Golynko-Volfson interprets this chiefly in terms of the way that Russian social networks immerse the user in the entertainment environment of image

strategies and role-playing games, imposing a cult of comfortable consumption of information goods and services in an atmosphere of careless repressive hedonism (see: Golynko-Volfson, 2009, p. 103). Indeed, with the widespread adoption of social media and online services, advertising and marketing strategies are being introduced into the public space, in which consumer values and practices take on a social dimension. Thanks to new photo and video hosting services, users can instantly visualise their consumer preferences, as well as sharing with friends what they have bought or watched and where they have travelled. At the same time, for each photo or video sent from the application or project editor, the user can gain points and thus increase their rating. Therefore, the term "user engagement" is increasingly used as the main parameter in measuring online audiences, which is achieved through well-thought-out scenarios and engagement tools (buttons for sharing on social media, giving ratings, registering and subscribing etc.). The representation of these practices in social media symbolises the expansion of the influence of new forms of marketing (guerrilla-, viral-, trust-) on the user's life. It would seem that there is an image of a transparent society built on horizontal connections, as well as that of a participant who does not seek to hide the details of his or her private life.

In the case of Russian network communication, the "syndrome of public silence" characterises not only offline reality, but also the virtual sphere, in which a public dispute quickly develops into a "scandal" or a "performance", transforming communication into part of the culture industry. It is the open space of the Russian network media that creates a favourable environment for the ostentatious exhibition of tendentious private or group interests. What emerges in the place of communicatively mature public discussions is either a scattered polyphonic noise or an authoritarian monologue. The metaphor of "public silence" used in this sense encompasses both the inability to express oneself in the language of public communication and a willingness to express oneself in registers that do not correspond to the ideal of public discussion (indiscriminate speech, authoritarian monologue, etc.). As a result of the underdevelopment of "the public register" in modern Russian interaction (both offline and online), public online communication becomes not only aggressive, but also vacuous. The diversity of the public of network communication leads to the immersion of participants in their own personal "filter bubble" (Pariser, 2011), precluding their interest in another point of view and making it impossible to form a single public consensus.

From Public to Private: a History of Privacy

In tandem with transformations affecting the public sphere, privacy is also undergoing significant changes. Today, it can be stated with some confidence that the era of erased boundaries between public and private has begun in the sphere of network communication. Since the question of what has become of privacy (as the "primary reality") today is complex and requires extensive sociocultural analysis, we will content ourselves with analysing only those social effects that have been introduced by new media. However, making a digression into history, we must remember that

the idea of solitude and privacy is more a product of culture: for a long time, privacy was not a universally-held value. It should also be noted that privacy in the sense we understand it now did not exist until the 18th century.

In premodern cultures, people living in small communities typically experienced little in the way of privacy. Sex, breastfeeding and bathing took place in the full view of family and friends. In ancient Rome, landowners built their homes with wide open gardens, transforming their homes into public museums in an ostentatious show of wealth. A change in the understanding of privacy took place during the early Middle Ages, with the monastic practice of practice of seclusion for the purposes of prayer. However, according to Aron Gurevitch, the confession procedure was public for the majority of parishioners: the communicant confessed to God (in the person of a confessor), repented of his sins and received absolution in the presence of fellow believers (Gurevich, 2005). In other words, the world of the Middle Ages is a "common world", a shared place of residence, work, prayer and reading. Medieval publicity was realised in various forms of state, religious, scientific, artistic and everyday life.

The need for a private sphere started to be articulated during the Modern Era, when class-based affiliations and models of social life started to be replaced by such behavioural attitudes of a person as individuality, self-development and responsibility for one's life. Rapid changes including industrialisation, urbanization and an accelerating pace of life led to feelings of constant tension, resulting in the desire for a private space where one cannot be observed. Thus, the private home gradually became the locus of individual existence, in which, in contrast to the public sphere, natural-spontaneous human behaviour becomes possible. An idealisation of informal communication in the family circle arose, contrasting with the conflicts and stresses inherent in public bourgeois society. Thus, in the aftermath of the Industrial Revolution, along with improved standards of living and the guarantee of basic needs, privacy came to be recognised as a basic human right. Along with the bourgeois institution of privacy, which became a much more closed institution than before, arose a perceived need to protect the private sphere of the family from the encroachments of the outside world. For example, the uncontrolled use of the image of US First Lady Frances Cleveland in product advertisements led to the emergence of one of the first national privacy laws. In 1903, the New York City legislature imposed a fine of up to $1,000 for the unauthorised use of someone's image for commercial purposes. In other words, with the emergence of state institutions of modernity and the emergence of the capitalist economy, the term "private" began to refer to a wide range of phenomena: firstly, to the household; secondly, to the economic order of market production, exchange, distribution and consumption; and thirdly, to the sphere of civil, cultural, scientific and artistic etc. associations functioning within the framework of civil society.

However, it should be noted that traditional media, which began to play an important role in the recognition of the concept of privacy, also involved itself in the representation of private life as that which ensured the unity of living, that is, the happiness of recognising one's own experience in a new material form (see: Bolz, 1989). In particular, television created the illusion of direct, trusting contact with the

viewer. By entering the home and becoming “household names”, the heroes of the small screen seem to address an individual personally. In thus invading the private home space with information presented as belonging to “everyone”, the public becomes personal by virtue of the manner in which the person sitting in front of the screen is addressed. Thus the “man on the telly”, whether an announcer, presenter, actor or even a portrayed character, comes to seem like an acquaintance or even a “relative”; with his scheduled arrival, he is imbued with the private meanings of the viewer. This phenomenon of “close contact” also affects the formats of television programmes. At the same time, a counter movement can be observed. Already in the era of traditional media, the boundary between private and public was starting to blur with the emergence of intermediate forms of communication that engender a new kind of openness on the part of the viewer. Although hidden from view, his or her life and intimate experiences more easily become the subject of general discussion as shown by the format of various talk shows on Russian federal channels. The penetration of the airwaves by the social fears arising from the various private problems and interests of “the man in the street” lead, in time, to a disintegration of the public agenda. The concomitant inversion of the private and the public in media culture can then be asserted as a self-evident everyday reality.

The Public: The Privatisation of the Private in New Media

Modern network media problematise the situation to a greater extent; in creating new modes of visibility and transparency of private life in full view of everyone, they have opened the personal world for public discussion. The public legitimisation of private life comes with the emergence of an open, complex, interactive social media structure, with many competing and collaborating communities of users who thus acquire the right to share their experiences publicly in a wide variety of forms. Users of social networking services generally strive to socialise their every step; for them, it becomes important to record what they have read, listened to, watched, as well as where and with whom they have met. The principle of plurality and universal visibility across social networks, in which everyone began to see everyone else at the same time, led to the presence of the *Other* becoming an integral part of contemporary media. Multiple profiles on social networks made it possible to see the world of others; hence, the growing interest in other people’s everyday experience, in their diverse practices and lifestyles, even the most intimate and secret aspects thereof. The stars of TV have been replaced by bloggers, authors of scandalous posts on Facebook[2] and popular YouTube[3] channels and insta-girls, whose accounts invite their followers to transfer their personal values drawn from private life to different spheres of society, applying them in such a way that they act as a force for social transformation. Of course, “public interest” in the private and intimate is not a new cultural phenomenon; however, each era has its own limits of the admissibility of the private in the public sphere. In new media, not only does the distance between the

[2] Facebook® is a trademark of Facebook Inc., registered in the U.S. and other countries.

[3] YouTube™ is a trademark of Google Inc., registered in the U.S. and other countries.

user and his or her world becomes transparent for the first time, but also the boundary between intimacy and publicity itself. Thus, the constant fixation of private moments of life alienates the subject from his or her private space, which is increasingly displaced by the public space of narcissistic self-presentation. According to Anthony Giddens, the life forms created by modernity have torn us away from all traditional types of social order in a way that has no historical precedent. In a qualitative sense, they have thus managed to change the most intimate and deeply personal characteristics of our everyday existence (Giddens, 1999, p. 115).

Thus, the urge to document life, to record the momentary and trivial in presenting a kind of visual diary of private life for public viewing, leads to a change in the algorithms of personification and self-identification. With the development of new media, a significant anthropological shift occurs: the reality-structuring "I" has vanished and in its place has appeared a kind of "multi-personality" performing various roles and having many hypostases and identities.

In video blogs, in particular, as noted by Alla Chernykh, there is a legitimisation of public discourse about private things, when the unsayable becomes expressed and discussed, the shameful becomes acceptable or even decent and repulsive secrets turn into an object of pride (see: Chernykh, 2013, p. 134). For example, the highest-rated positions of vloggers on *YouTube* are occupied not by politicians, but by "opinion leaders" in beauty tips, whose subscribers – sometimes numbering in the millions – are interested in watching unpretentious, simple stories of a young girl's day who "discovers" the secrets of makeup, meets with friends, goes shopping etc. Roland Barthes refers to this "publicity of the private" as a "new social value", emphasising that "the explosion of the private in public", i.e. public consumption of the private, is a deeply ambivalent process (Barthes, 1980).

The expansion of the boundaries of the private in social media is also characterised by the fact that discourses related to traumatic experiences are among those most often brought up for public discussion. Today, in social networks, the traditional notion of privacy, which was closely associated with feelings of shyness and shame, has been transformed, with many prohibitions and regulations being reversed or simply annulled. Thus, for example, such social hashtags as #Imafraidtosay, #prosthesesarefree, #metoo, #faceofdepression have brought into the public space topics long considered socially taboo: suicide, disability, sexual violence and harassment. In other words, along with their alternative public discourses, the counter-publics are gaining a voice. In this regard, the emergence of such "volatile forms of sociality" as flash mobs on social networks suggests that novels forms and methods of human cooperation are emerging that were not characteristic of pre-Internet communication. Although virally-organised flash mobs do not always address important social issues, this does not prevent them from becoming a new platform for social discussion. All these new tools and practices create a dynamic picture of continuous and varied "evidence" and documentation of reality, which, according to Castells, leads to increasingly diverse social voices being heard and an increasing number of their stories becoming available and observed through such simple acts like photography or video, reposting stories or comments to blogs (see: Castells, 2001, p. 269).

The End of the Private Era

Thus, having become digital citizens, we find ourselves in a new situation of post-privacy, in which the private world is visualised and acquires mobility along with its owner-user (see: Sal'nikova, 2015, p. 132). As Umberto Eco rightly observes, the Internet makes us voluntarily withdraw our privacy, disavowing what used to be a zone of the unseen and the opaque (Eco, 2007). We willingly share our life on the Web with a wide circle of near and far. After all, if you are invisible on social networks, then you not only do not exist, but you are also probably hiding something. Paradoxically, it is the sphere of the private that today correlates with activity and visibility; therefore, the border between private and public can be determined not only by referencing the duality of collective versus individual, but also through such concepts as the dichotomy of visible and by invisible.

In social media, we have not only gained visibility under the gaze of the *Other*, but our social data has become the new gold, which we voluntarily give away in the form of private messages, photos, likes, comments and reposts that leave a deep digital footprint. Thus, our daily private lives become not only observable, but also included in the system of supervision over us. However, as Eli Pariser notes, with the development of digital technologies, our needs and preferences are personalised through the use of a system of numerous filters by Internet companies that study our interests and desires to determine the purchasing goals and abilities of participants, who have inadvertently become a media audience. All this leads to the fact that the corresponding programs construct not only consumer practices, but also streams of information messages, determine "which videos we watch, which restaurants we should go to, which potential partners we will meet via an online dating service" (Pariser, 2011, p. 19). As a result, in the era of personalisation of search and data tracking, the Internet has ceased to be transparent and the world of everyday life has ceased to be an autonomous space. According to Pariser, the contemporary Internet is fraught with a threat, since the more private places a user creates on Facebook, Instagram[4] or Twitter[5] etc., the more amenable this private life becomes to state and corporate control. The translation of complex social relations by personalised online systems into the space of only "friends" precludes the opportunity "to see the world from another point of view" and thereby presents an incomplete version of the picture of the world, stripped of alternative perspectives. In this case, the daily life of media users, although ostensibly constructed in accordance with their personal desires and interests, becomes more and more controlled by the social media platforms themselves.

Software algorithms analyse the nature, interests, desires and views of users to create a digital user profile. For example, researchers from University of Cambridge and Northern Illinois University back in 2013 developed a technique for measuring the so-called "Big Five" personality traits using Facebook posts (*Big Five* is a personality model that identifies five variables according to which we are perceived

[4] Instagram® is a trademark of Instagram LLC., registered in the U.S. and other countries.

[5] Twitter® is a trademark of Twitter Inc., registered in the U.S. and other countries.

and evaluated by others: openness, neuroticism, extroversion, conscientiousness and agreeableness. The researchers were able to accurately identify political tendencies, religious preferences and many other factors by analysing "likes" left by users. Michal Kosinski, a researcher at Stanford University, noted in an interview that ten likes (interests) are enough for the system to recognise your personality better than a work colleague, by 230–240 likes the computer will know about you more than your spouse does (see: Dobrynin, 2016).

It is not coincidental that the Harvard labour historian Shoshana Zuboff defines the current situation in terms of the transformation of traditional capitalism into surveillance capitalism (Zuboff, 2019). Under surveillance capitalism is supposed the unilateral appropriation of human experience by private companies for transformation into their own proprietary data streams. Although some of this data is genuinely used to improve products and services, the rest, considered in terms of "behavioural surplus", is valued for its wealth of predictive signals. This predictive data is then processed by computer programs into highly profitable predictive products that anticipate our current and future consumer decisions.

Therefore, digital privacy has become a manipulative and market-based personal targeting tool for conducting effective marketing research, as well as for use in advertising and political campaigns. Another notorious example concerns the use of *Big Data* methods in a political campaign. In 2015, Cambridge Analytica[6] unleashed an app called *This Is Your Digital Life*, admitting that it was created to study the digital traces of users, on which basis their psychological profiles were to be constructed. Cambridge Analytica subsequently used its database to individually tailor messages targeting voters as part of Donald Trump's election campaign. Based on the analysis of data from 50 million users, Cambridge Analytica was able to provide recommendations for the conduct of the election campaign: what to tell a person and how to tell it in such a way that he believes the message and responds to it as desired.

Under the influence of the present coronavirus pandemic, the tendency for governments to accumulate private data has received a new impetus. In the context of global public emergency, it becomes necessary to consider issues concerning the forced transparency of personal life and the trend towards total digital control, which poses an existential threat to privacy and raises new concerns regarding the problem of personal data protection. The use of digital surveillance technologies such as QR codes, SMS passes, questionnaires filled in by those arriving from abroad, requirements to report movements and confirm one's actual place of residence, mandatory photographing and daily health diaries and the tracking of mobile phone data confirms the distinctively global character of the current situation. For example, the Chinese government obliged its citizens to install special software on their smartphones. This official application assigns individuals a colour code of red, yellow or green to indicate their health status and impose a regime: travel freely, self-isolate at

[6] Cambridge Analytica Ltd was a private British political consulting firm that was involved in influencing hundreds of elections globally. It was a subsidiary of SCL Group (formerly Strategic Communication Laboratories), a British behavioural research and strategic communication company.

home for seven days or undergo two weeks of quarantine, respectively. The software provides access to personal data, which sends the data subject's location, city name and identification code to the police. In Italy, Germany and Austria, mobile operators have shared location data with health authorities to ensure that citizens comply with emergency social distancing measures. However, such measures can also be seen as testifying to the fact that, in modern civilization, the value of human life is so high that society, as a collective entity, is ready to sacrifice the private life of citizens for their own safety. Consequently, the contemporary world, in which all the data about us is routinely collected, has become a reality that problematises a new set of relationships between people, the state and their employers. This may explain why, in the modern information society, privacy has turned into another form of inequality, with non-transparency becoming a luxury jealously guarded by the new digital aristocracy.

Conclusion

Thus, as a result of our analysis, we have seen that in the new media space, the border between the private and the public has become unstable. As a consequence, it is in the process of being redefined with the emergence of multiple networked publics and counter-publics, which have become the subject of observation and evaluation, collective discussions and even the intrusions of third parties. For this reason, the boundary between private and public can be defined not only in terms of the social collective versus the individual, but also according to such concepts as the visible/invisible dichotomy.

We have seen that, in the era of new media, a personalisation of network publicity takes place, along with the sphere of private life itself turning out to be absorbed by the public sphere, open not only for discussion, but also for control by the state, the market and advertising. This is because every network activity comprises both an action and a digital footprint. In turn, in coming under the domination of specific private or group interests, the public sphere has also been transformed, since, while these interests may achieve temporary commonality, they cannot be considered to be truly public in the original universal sense of the word.

From our point of view, the ambivalent nature of new media, being based on personalisation and filtering, sets out and defines the ambiguous and contradictory nature of the public/private relationship. Thus, not only is the public responded to, but also represented in the private sphere, while, in the public sphere, privacy is reproduced up to and including its peculiarly intimate atmosphere and intonation. This rapidly changing network reality requires further development of conceptual tools for analysing the new content and forms of collective and private life, of which one of the most important remains the relationship between public and private.

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ARTICLE

Theatrical Dialogue in the Digital Age: From Director's Theatre to the Theatre Onscreen

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ABSTRACT
Thanks to its inherent nature, theatre has been better able than other artforms to resist the challenges presented by information and digital culture, which are based on the principle of reproduction. Since a theatrical text is created anew each time, an audience can enter into a real-time dialogue with a concrete group of players recreating an authorial concept. This is true even when, as in director's theatre, a director's interpretation is performed by different acting companies. Today, however, the hubris of theatre critics and enthusiasts, who value unmediated dialogue as a pre-condition of theatrical pragmatics, has collided with the novel theatrical practice of live broadcasting, which was preceded by the standalone genres of radio and television plays. As a performance art, theatre possesses characteristics of a virtual object, where the information about such an object exists only in the memories of audiences or professional critics. In becoming digitised, theatre loses its former character – the uniqueness of presence in a concrete theatrical here-and-now that can never be repeated – and acquires a new mode of existence within a movie theatre represented in Russia by the Theatre HD project, which translates the theatrical educational mission into the digital age by involving new participants in creative dialogue.

KEYWORDS
dialogue, theatrical communication, performance, theatre, director's theatre, digital age, Theatre HD

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Introduction

Contemporary theatrical practice is faced by two diametrically opposing trends: on the one hand, the emergence of small-scale theatrical forms (chamber performances, theatrical laboratories, immersive theatre) that strive to reduce the distance between director, actors and audience; on the other, the beaming of theatrical performances into cinema houses, where viewers potentially number in thousands and the traditional form of theatrical dialogue between the audience and the stage disappears. Here dialogue implies communication of a special type, involving a subject-to-subject relationship between the sender and the recipient. Historically, dialogue was understood in terms of communication between two – and, later, three – actors in Ancient Greek theatre. Aristotle's theory of *catharsis* expanded the notion of dialogue as a reciprocal emotional connection between the audience and the dramatic action. This connection gave rise to theatre's specific sociocultural mission: to be a podium, a socialising medium, etc. Since classical antiquity, which gave birth to the professional theatre, the pragmatics of dramatic performance – and of theatre in general – was aimed at moulding civic feelings to produce an experience of unity (here Voltaire's phrase "the nation is gathered in the stalls" comes to mind). In contemporary culture, theatre acquired another dimension, being described according to marketing concepts as a product or a type of service, whose quality is evaluated by quantitative markers – in this case, an increasing audience size.

Thus, in a theatrical context, the concept of dialogue is used to describe the theatre's essential function. Here we can and should talk about multiple dialogic connections: for example, such dialogues exist within the text of the play, in the connections that are formed between the actor and the portrayed character, between the actor and the place of action, as well as in many other communicative functions that fuse to bind an audience to the stage. The stage itself forms the location in which multiple dialogic connections unfold to result in the creation of a performance. The performance, a constant and central feature of theatrical events, serves as a vehicle for semantic meanings both in the traditional stage/audience communicative schema, as well as in the contemporary digital approach that is based on the new communicative agents of camera and screen.

The system of audience expectations has always depended on a type of theatrical communication, which, in the decades prior to the digital age, was defined in terms of the concept of director's theatre. The concept of "director's theatre" referred to here, following Bradby and Williams (1988), is analogous with the phenomenon of "auteur cinema", in which a director takes on the role of the dominant creative figure and the ultimate "author" of the resulting piece.

Prior to the emergence of director's theatre as the dominant form, theatre was characterised by a two-element system. Director's theatre overcomes the text/actor dichotomy, replacing this duality by the playwright/actor/director triad. This development increased both the quantity and quality of dialogic connections emerging within the theatrical text, within the relationships between the actors and other actors, and in their relations to the characters – as well as to the stage itself,

which, since Antoine's Théâtre Libre, has become a character in its own right. Thus, despite the changing components of theatrical communication, the existence of a dialogue between the audience and the performance (stage) remains both necessary and sufficient to define theatre as an art form.

As a participant in a theatrical dialogue in pre-digital and digital age, the actor is always a performer, who articulates the text or performs an action. Simultaneously a person signified by the text (who has to methodically construct the character based on the reading of the text) – and a person that signifies the text anew within each interpretation. According to Patrice Pavis (1987/1991), mimetic action creates the impression that it is the actor who creates a word or an action; in reality, these are dictated by the text, the narrative, the acting style or the improvisation. The actor plays with the spoken word, placing it according to the prescribed meaning of a mise-en-scene, addressing the audience through dialogue, but without the right to answer. Here, it should be noted that the experimental approaches of contemporary interactive theatre do offer the audience the right to answer: this right is provided by the new conventions that have emerged in such practices as "promenade performance" or "quest performance", in which the traditional distinction between an actor on the stage and the audience in the theatre auditorium ceases to function. However, these kinds of interactive dialogical approaches are for now not possible in the new digitised forms.

Therefore, when applied to the theatre, digital technology "works" with the other participants of the dialogue – the literary or musical (as in opera or ballet) text, the skills of the actors, the audio-visual framing of the performance – but not with the audience. Instead, the audience enters into a new kind of pragmatic relationship with the video director.

Here we are faced with a question: what type of theatre (traditional, psychological, stylised, experimental, interactive) best maintains its integrity when filmed and digitised? The analysis of the Theatre HD platform shows that the earliest participants in this experiment all belonged to opera and ballet – that is, the most stylised theatrical genres. The Metropolitan Opera in New York, which was the first major venue to adapt its performances for cinema houses, successfully continues this practice to this day.

Since every new artistic phenomenon is based on human abilities, without which artistic dialogue is impossible, it is important to try to evaluate the preconditions for the successful translation of theatrical performances into video broadcasts.

Theatre and Technologies of Reproduction: Resistance and Acceptance

Throughout its millennia-long history, theatre as a social institution and an art form – along with all types of associated communication framed by stage and audience – has been in constant flux. However, one thing has remained constant: the presence of the main participants in dialogue consisting of the performance and the audience. While the semantic concepts of performance, the acting techniques and the theatre's mission undergone constant change, theatrical pragmatics has remained almost constant: the theatre has preserved its position as a socially and culturally relevant form of communication thanks to the *immediacy* of theatrical interaction.

The active role of the audience remains a necessary precondition for meaningful theatrical communication. According to the semiotician Yury Lotman, theatre is the only form that demands the existence of the physically and temporally present addressee, changing the text in response to perceptions of audience signals, e.g. silence and vocal signs of approval or disapproval (see: Lotman, 1998, p. 589). Unlike other art forms, which only *presume* an addressee (viewer, listener, etc.), theatrical performance is an open dialogue unfolding in real time, in a concrete place, in front of the audience.

Obviously, in translating theatrical performance on screen, the theatre's main component – immediacy of interaction in a situational context – is irrevocably lost. Screened theatre ceases to be a performance art in the critical sense that no audience is present during the actual creation of the performance.

What, then, is left of the theatre if the performative quality of its art is lost? Can the history of theatre help us to rediscover phenomena and trends that have predetermined its relationships with the various technologies of reproduction – auditory in radio theatre and visual in cinema, which transferred the three-dimensional theatrical space into the two-dimensional frame of the screen or one-dimensional auditory space of radio?

The development of technologies capable of documenting and reproducing spatial and temporal art of the theatre coincides with the birth of director's theatre, which radically changed the elements of theatrical communication increasing the complexity of interaction.

The sociocultural situation of the late 19th century from which director's theatre emerged had been shaped by the age of industrial revolution that created a new type of culture: a realist culture striving to find causal connections between the social circumstances and inner lives of characters on the basis of the development of character. In the pre-director's theatre age, literature in general – and the author-playwright in particular – dominated the theatrical synthesis (the sole exception was the brief emergence of commedia dell'arte that excluded dramatic narrative as a literary genre). Director's theatre, conversely, presupposes at least two authors. Exploring the nature of theatre, the blogger Pavel Rudnev notes that pre-director's theatre is an author's theatre. The theatre takes a play, previously written, and tries to bring it to life as effectively as possible, filling it with the actors' emotions. Here, the actors seem to be trying to recreate the playwright's idea, the theatrical model that he had in mind when writing the play, by carefully considering the stage directions (Rudnev, 2014). It should be noted that such declamatory theatre comprises an excellent pre-processed product for radio performances. Pre-director's theatre viewed the original dramaturgical literary or music text as a representation of a universe, since this theatre existed within the confines of logocentric culture. However, the entire history of director's theatre (from Duke von Meiningen's theatre till today) was in many respects a fight against the logocentrism of creative culture (Nemchenko, 2008, p. 83), one that resulted in inevitable conflicts between the playwright and the director. Director's theatre problematised the relationship to the literary text offering the director opportunity to become something more than just an

interpreter of the dramatic text: a reader, a narrator, a literary critic and an architect of theatrical space.

For Konstantin Stanislavsky, when the stage ceased to be a podium for re-enaction to become a living world (Rudnitsky, 1981, p. 42), the key artistic component was authenticity (physical, historical or psychological). In this context, written words became transformed into the organic psychological and physical expression of an actor/character. Conversely, for Vsevolod Meyerhod, authenticity – as well as the text itself – were excluded from aesthetic principles. Meyerhold's concept of stylised theatre offered a new convention of communication with the audience. In place of forms in which an actor played a preacher and the stage formed a kind of a pulpit, he turned to theatrical forms such as the medieval street theatre, the travelling show, and the circus. The resultant critique of contemporary theatre – aimed especially at the psychological theatre – addressed all the main elements of theatrical synthesis: playwriting, acting and scenography. According to Meyerhold's stylised approach, the power of the theatre's primaeval elements consists in the power of the masque, gesture, movement and intrigue (Meyerhold, 1968, p. 213).

In replacing psychological theatre with stylised acting methods, Meyerhold carried out a reduction of the theatrical language, which was typical for the avant-garde artistic practices in general. Meyerhold's aesthetic revolution coincided with the avant-garde upheaval in art, when the development of new artistic languages went hand in hand with changes in artistic pragmatics: now art was supposed to take the audience's perception into serious consideration by consciously constructing it. Meyerhold considered that stylised theatre produces a type of performance in which the audience, comprising a fourth creative element in stylised theatre (after playwright, actors and director), actively uses its collective imagination to creatively fill in the hints presented on the stage (Meyerhold, 1968, p. 212).

Similar ideas can be found in the manifestos of Antonin Artaud, who proclaimed that, in adding a different language to the language of words, he was trying to recreate its ancient magical power (see: Artaud, 1938/1993, p. 121).

Some of those who oppose the translation of theatre onscreen interpret this process as a destruction of the communicative field uniting the stage with the audience, which was established in director's theatre, seeing it as a return towards the stage that preceded director's theatre, the obligatory "fourth wall" now represented in the form of a screen. It was director's theatre that proclaimed the radical shift in the spectator's position within theatrical communication. The elimination of stage lights, which had served as a kind of wall between the audience and the stage, made it possible to draw the spectator into the action as an additional medium of expression. By becoming involved in the dramatic action themselves, the audience was transformed into an indispensable participant, whose absence would make a performance impossible. Antonin Artaud describes the uniqueness of each concrete performance as one of the characteristics of theatrical communication, which strives to become a meaningful one-act event subject to all demands and sharing all circumstances, in which chance plays an important role (Artaud, 1938/1993, p. 189).

This characteristic of every single performance is also described by Meyerhold through the concept of the variability of a theatrical text, in which performance can be interpreted as a specific invariant realised through a number of other variants (see: Lotman, 1998, p. 589).

Alongside the co-creation enacted by the actors and the spectators, we can discuss the relationships emerging *within* the audience. In this case, the recipient of theatrical communication is not represented by an isolated individual spectator, but rather by the audience as an organic whole. According to Anne Ubersfeld, the spectator is never alone: while watching the performance, his gaze also touches upon other spectators, whose gazes, in turn, touch upon him. Thus, as a psychodrama and a type of social interaction, theatre holds both of these paradoxical threads in its hands (Ubersfeld, 1992, p. 196). Exploring theatrical communication, Lotman drew particular attention to the specific "theatrical vision", which focuses on the "as if" existing stage objects and excludes "as if" non-existing ones (a sound technician sitting across, the ropes holding the stage sets, the neighbouring spectators) (see: Lotman, 1998, p. 589). It is exactly these non-existent stage objects that would become the elements of theatrical synthesis when translating performance onscreen.

How the Theatre Supported Screen Art

The development of screen-based artforms was partially supported by the theatre. Thus, performances produced according to biomechanical principles were based not on the spectator's psychological involvement, but rather relied on the pragmatics of stage acting preferring it to the pragmatics of emotional immersion. In these performances constructed as a fixed system of *mise-en-scènes*, close shots and editing, we may establish a connection between Meyerhold's theatre and the new cinematic artform.

Movement, which was one of the main discoveries of cinema, dominated Meyerhold's theatrical performances. By referring to movement, the director developed artistic techniques that no longer required the actors to produce emotions to "inject" into the audience. Unlike psychological theatre, the logic of narrative movement did not represent a linear narrative; rather, it followed the temporal and rhythmical structure of separate episodes, as can be seen in Nikolay Gogol's *Revisor* (The Government Inspector), Alexsander Griboedov's *Gore ot uma* (Woe from Wit) and others. Referencing cinema, the director compared episodes with the wide shot, changing the scenes according to lighting and musical rhythms. In refusing to use figurative stage sets (the stage as a podium), he provided audiences with an opportunity to focus on the energy produced by actors' bodies.

One of Meyerhold's constructive techniques was to break the whole into its parts, a play into its episodes: for example, noting that Alexander Ostrovsky's five acts were divided into 33 episodes contraposed to each other, providing great advantages in terms of influencing audiences (Meyerhold, 1936/2016, p. 715).

Thus, the editing principle employed to organise the theatrical reality (space and time) was realised within the gamut of director's theatre. The theatrical experiments

themselves typically dealt not only with an interpretation of a literary text, but with a new understanding of the theatrical performance as a spectacle created on the basis of laws of technical production, a spectacle that could organise society in a certain way by shifting the consciousness of its audience. Editing as an expression of the discreet nature of events and of the fragmented nature of the world was understood as the operative structure of art. It is not by chance that the young theatrical innovators who would later move to cinema – Grigori Kozintsev, Leonid Trauberg, Sergey Eisenstein – were interested in music halls, variety performances and circus. What united these artistic practices was their rejection of a plot: the whole was constructed rhythmically rather than thematically. Eisenstein even noted that cinema comprises the current and next phase of the theatre (Eisenstein, 1997, p. 2).

According to Oksana Bulgakowa, editing in theatre was understood in two ways. One was to follow an approach developed by the constructivists, who applied the concept of construction to all artistic phenomena (depending on the specific area, differences existed only in the materials subjected to disassembling and assembling, as well as in the corresponding techniques utilised for the purpose) and interpreted such construction as a combination of ready-made parts of architecture, performative episodes or film editing. On the other hand, theatre borrowed the idea of editing from cinematic art, but only in one aspect – as a tool for creating multi-plot narrative structures with parallel lines of action. Viewed from this angle, editing in theatre does not differ substantially from editing in cinema (Bulgakowa, 1988, p. 99). Theatrical editing was almost always presented as a destruction of narrative dramaturgical continuum, as a division of a single storyline into different episodes. This resulted in the bouncing and syncopal rhythm of the performance, with breakages, segmentations and new assemblages, as well as in the possibility to transfer action from one plane to another, from the aesthetic reality to non-aesthetic one. The use of dynamic connections/jumps between the planes and of unexpected transitions inside the performance is interpreted as an organising principle (Bulgakowa, 1988, p. 103).

Meyerhold's cut-and-edit theatre transformed the stage into a complicated mechanism that could be observed without an emotional response to what was going on: the emotions provoked were mostly those of astonishment and delight in the precision of the actors' movements and the director's inventiveness. Since Meyerhold was not interested in the traditional movements of the soul, atmosphere, stage breathing, half-tones used in psychological theatre, the director's stylised theatrical aesthetics became a nourishing medium for future onscreen translations. Interestingly, video recordings of rehearsals and fragments of performances by Stanislavsky and Meyerhold preserved in *Gosfilmofond* provoke very different impressions: the film medium has turned Anton Chekhov's characters played by great Maria Lilina, Olga Chekhova, Vasily Kachalov and Ivan Moskvin into the wonderful and expressive performers of the *text*; however, these recordings completely fail to communicate the revolutionary character of Stanislavsky's innovations. On the contrary, video recordings of Meyerhold's *The Government Inspector* showcase the biomechanical capabilities when we witness the pantomime of the Postmaster with letters spilling out of his clothes, the intricate movements of Khlestakov's hands taking the bribes or

the functional construction of nine doors corresponding to the number of scenes in the performance. The bribe episode was developed by Meyerhold in the technique of eccentric clownery. The action begins when all the nine stage set doors half-open simultaneously, the hands of the officials reaching through to offer wads of cash. Combined with the architecture of the stage set and the close shots of mise-en-scenes, the acting techniques employed by Igor Ilyinsky, Erast Garin and Vasily Zaychikov resemble popular eccentric comedies of the silent film era featuring Max Linder, Buster Keaton, Charlie Chaplin and Harold Lloyd.

While the greatness and the innovative character of Moscow Art Theatre (MAT) performances is beyond doubt, the only sources of information apart from photographs that we have about them are critical pieces written by the spectators and theatre historians. In this respect, video recording *of* the performance adds nothing to the stories *about* the performance: on the contrary, the stories become fuller and richer because they provide us with the differing viewpoints. MAT video archives present theatrical works as an ethnographic material lacking any grounding. It is possible that the very nature of MAT texts resisted video recording due to the lack of specific shooting techniques. Cinema shines when there is an external movement; the cameras of the early 20th century could not preserve and transmit the *internal* movements.

Conversely, Meyerhold's archives perfectly correspond with the descriptions of his performances, even preserving the capability of producing an emotional response. This is due to the fact that the various manipulations – grotesque, extravaganza and pantomime – are all techniques that transmit *movement*, making them more accessible to cinema. Another reason why Meyerhold's fragments were successfully translated onto film (it is a great regret that so few of these pieces have been preserved) is that the director followed the logic of musical development subjecting lighting and imagery to this principle. Rigorous use of time and space required an economy of movements, stark precision, mathematically calculated concordance between the actors, a merging with the performance's collective and choral principle: these are the achievements that allowed a theatrical text to be translated onscreen.

This principle also applies to the Brechtian performances, in which the theatrical text carries an intellectual rather than psychological load. The archive of Brechtian performances (cinematic fragments from the "Berlin Ensemble" repertoire, Robert Sturua's production of *The Caucasian Chalk Circle* at the Tbilisi Shota Rustaveli Theatre, recordings of Yury Lyubimov's productions) prove that the more rational the organisation of the performance and the more open its structure, the better suited it is to be transferred from the theatrical space into other media.

The development of director's theatre with its anti-Aristotelian stance resulted in the accentuation of separate elements of theatrical synthesis and the accentuation of visual, musical and plastic components of the performance. This practice of differentiating and re-integrating different elements of theatrical performance produced a new theory of theatre, described by the concept of "postdramatic theatre" developed by Hans-Thies Lehmann in application to theatrical developments after the 1960s (Lehmann, 1999/2013, p. 76). According to Pavel Rudnev, Lehmann

logically and terminologically draws upon the theatrical practices of Brecht and Mueller, Artaud, Kantor and Grotowski, presenting post-drama not as a sudden fad but as a logically inevitable development of Bertolt Brecht's anti-Aristotelian stance that had emerged as a result of the rejection of the duplication of reality in psychological theatre (Rudnev, 2013).

Thus, postdramatic theatre ceases to be text-centric, treats mimesis with suspicion and, in this respect, inherits the traditions of stylised theatre. Lehmann also characterises the general scheme of the movement towards post-drama in terms of a movement from the theatre-story to the theatre-drama (Lehmann, 1999/2013, p. 76). In the theatrical synthesis, the idea of an actor as a central character is also to be treated with suspicion. An actor, according to Lehmann, is no longer merely an actor, but rather a "performer", who offers his presence on stage for contemplation. Thus, theatre audiences do not witness acting that mimics real-life role-relationships, but rather a real living human being performing a chain or a bundle of actions, which serves the same function for performance as tricks in the circus. In other words, here is we are dealing with an actual action, not a theatrical image of an action (Ibid.). Lehmann's theory legitimises the artistic practices of Grotowski, who, in striving to find sincerity in theatre, realised that it can be achieved by abolishing the source of the lie – that is, the role. Based on the experience of director's theatre, Lehmann shows that the postdramatic theatre changes the relationships between the theatre and the everyday life. Director's theatre, as a theatre of interpretation, has always relied on the relative border between the performance and the everyday life.

In this way, postdramatic theatre equalises both the everyday and the theatrical spaces. According to Gilles Deleuze, even the most mechanical, routinised, habitual, stereotypical repetition finds its place in a work of art. This is because a repetition is always dislocated relative to other repetitions if it manages to extract a difference out of them. For Deleuze, there is no other aesthetic problem than that of the insertion of art into everyday life. The more our daily life appears standardised, stereotyped and subject to an accelerated reproduction of objects of consumption, the more art must be injected into it in order to extract from it that little difference which plays simultaneously between other levels of repetition (see: Deleuze, 1969/1998, p. 293). It is worth noting that theatre has traditionally tended to be seen as in opposition to the everyday life: both in its spatial organisation, in the regulation of the audience's behaviour, and of course in the spectacle itself. Cinema, that emerged as a democratic art and that interests us a technology of translation of the theatrical text onscreen, also offered a set of rules to regulate communication, but not practices of the everyday (food in the cinema hall, regular clothing, etc.).

The Theatrical Text: Means of Preservation

The question concerning how to preserve the value of theatrical statements – including concrete performances – has been always complicated by the situational nature of the theatrical event – and, therefore, of theatrical communication itself. During the 20th century, theatre was presented with the possibility of documenting its events through filming and radio broadcasting. However, many theatrical

professionals treated filming techniques with a certain contempt. A symptomatic example of such attitude concerns the story of Alexander Shiryaev, a dancing teacher who also performed at the Mariinsky Theatre. Shiryaev, who understood the possibilities of filming ballet dancing, asked the Direction of the Imperial Theatres for the permission to film standalone dances and entire performances. However, his request was categorically rejected by the theatre management. As a result, Alexander Shiryaev became a pioneer of puppet animation: his desire to film dance was stronger than any prohibition.

While the theatre was sceptical in its treatment of new cinematic possibilities, this latter new art form, conversely, interpreted theatre as an event to be screened, as a readily available "raw material" of film. Here, dancing was especially attractive. Cinema's uniqueness among other art forms lay in its possibility to reproduce and document, to preserve time through the movements of the camera. As an art of movement, dance corresponded directly with cinema's core characteristic. We know that the Lumière brothers were enchanted by the dancing of Loie Fuller, as testified by their *Danse serpentine* [Serpentine Dance]. According to Alla Kovgan, director, video artist, curator and founder of Russian *Kinotanets* [Cinema Dance] dance festival, cinema was "born to dance". Kovgan thus considers all great cinema directors to be choreographers in some way (Vasenina, 2016).

The dialogue between theatre and cinema depended on the technical capabilities of the latter. While silent cinema experimented with video dances, sound cinema explored and developed its capabilities through music-based theatrical genres, such as musicals. Kovgan explores the pre-WWII American musical films based on their two central figures: Fred Astaire and choreographer Busby Berkeley. For the former, the screen provided only technical means to an end, while the latter treated it as an expressive medium in its own right. Thus, according to Ekaterina Vasenina, when playing roles in his own movies, Astaire stipulated that the shots should be life-sized and with minimal number of cuts – as a result, Astaire's routines were often single-shot. Although Astaire was not particularly interested in cinema language, he had a clear understanding that he was working in film, not on the theatrical stage. Vasenina remarks that Astaire had an absolutely remarkable feeling of space and borders of the frame. Understanding that time has a different meaning in cinema compared to the stage, his routines were never overlong (Vasenina, 2016).

In this respect, the American director-choreographer Busby Berkley was the complete opposite of Astaire. According Vasenina, his first love was the cinema: his routines were only possible on-screen. Showing no interest in the uniqueness or virtuosity of individual dancers, he selected dancers of the same height and similar appearance, insisting on them having the same facial expression. With as many as a hundred girls on set at once, he made them practice ad nauseam, arranging them in geometrical shapes and then replacing the shapes with graphical lines (Ibid.). This use of dance would facilitate the further development of cinematic language. Not by chance, avant-garde cinema explored the other art forms, such as abstractionism in painting and drawing or cubism (*Ballet mécanique* [Mechanical Ballet] by Fernand

Leger, *Diagonal-Symphonie* by Viking Eggeling, *Rhythmus 21* by Hans Richter, *Study Nr. 6* and *Optical Poem* by Oscar Fishinger).

Since a theatrical text is created anew every time, its documentation is always problematic: what *can* be reproduced in theatre? Of course, it is a verbal dimension expressed in word/sound.

Radio Theatre

It has already been mentioned previously that the development of the theatrical language within director's theatre coincided with the industrial – and, later, technological – revolution. Although, the new technologies for communication and information transmission were originally used solely for utilitarian purposes, very soon the creative and expressive capabilities of radio began to be explored. Quite naturally, artistic radio broadcasts turned to the performance arts – and, therefore, to the theatre. Radio theatre is the result of the first proper "meeting" of a theatrical play and media. Real-time broadcasting of performances and the rapidly emerging new genre of radio drama, functioned, on the one hand, as a redacted version of live theatre; on the other, as a means of preserving and archiving. In radio plays, theatre returned to its pre-director's past, with the actors performing in service to literature. However, according to Pavis, when electroacoustic explorations are combined with the strict rules of theatrical drama, the result is a highly powerful and original work, proving that radio drama is already an established genre with a bright future ahead of it (Pavis, 1987/1991). The pragmatics of radio theatre is found in its educational mission. It is not by chance that the first Soviet radio dramas dealt with historical characters or broadcasted ideological proclamations. For example, the first radio drama in Russia (1925) *Vecher u Marii Bolkonskoy* [Evening at Maria Bolkonskaya's] was dedicated to the 100-year anniversary of the Decembrist uprising, while the years of the first five-year plans saw the performances of *Torf* [Peat] by Arseny Tarkovsky, which explained to the audience why it was important to mine peat and protect the forests. When staging Tarkovsky's poem, director Osip Abdulov historically grounded peat mining by using the text of the decree issued by Peter the Great, who had first launched peat harvesting in Russia. During their heyday, radio plays attracted far larger audiences than traditional live theatre performances. The democratisation of the audience presupposed a reliance on famous actors, especially on who possessed recognisable and unique voices. The perceiving subject found him/herself in a situation of behavioural freedom: freedom of movement, freedom to fill in a theatrical image carried by voice and sound. Thus, for years the voice of Nikolay Litvinov became the popular voice of Soviet storytelling.

The 1960s were a decade that saw many famous directors working on radio – for example, Anatoly Efros who produced plays featuring Vladimir Vysotsky: first *Kamennyi Gost'* [The Stone Guest] and later *Martin Eden.* The 1980s began with the *Portrait of Dorian Grey*, a radio play produced by Anatoly Vasiliev, where the main voices belonged to Vsevolod Meyerhold's actress Maria Babanova, and Innokenty Smoktunovsky. The practice of radio drama reproduced specific ways of working with the text, where the lack of immediate connection with the audience and

elimination of the physical space of the auditorium was compensated by the freedom of association and the immersion in the semantics of voice which carried not only the traces of biological body (anatomical, vegetative, hormonal), but also, in the view of Oksana Bulgakowa, allowed a "localisation" of a socio-historical body, providing information on social background, upbringing and class reflected in orthoepy and prosody (Bulgakowa, 2015, p. 3). According to Roland Barthes, the sensation brought by the sound of a familiar voice in radio play is akin to the pleasure of finding the flesh of the voice that had died in the text (Barthes, 1989, p. 283).

Television Theatre

Comprising yet another channel for documenting/archiving theatre, television, like radio, developed from the technology for news transmission towards an exploration of artistic capabilities. Here the theatrical performance again becomes a ready-made product transferred onscreen as a recording, a process later to be followed by the emergence of a new theatrical genre: the television play. Becoming a part of a television program, theatre acquired a new communicative form, a form of "pre-Lumière cinema" – that is, a form of individual viewing.

By being transferred onscreen, theatre and all its elements – the actors, the playwright, and the director – address the viewer directly in his or her everyday space. The television play broke everyday monotony, allowing the viewer to enter a festive space. However, when performances are shown in a non-specialised space, they must attract the viewers and hold their attention by changing their original temporal and rhythmical characteristics.

The educational mission of television drama is obvious both in the scope of its audience, and in the way it introduced the viewers to the famous and, more importantly, less famous texts, directors' concepts and acting achievements. The lack of immediate dialogue with the audience is replaced by an opportunity to see in detail the staging, the actors, the reaction of live audience, if the play is recorded. This opportunity emerged thanks to the use of close-up shots discovered by the film. However, according to Pavis, since close-ups are designed for a small screen, a theatrical director working with the pre-existing theatre or television play can either choose to reduce the most prominent theatrical features using cinema effects to make acting and staging appear more natural, or, conversely, to accentuate these features (Pavis, 1987/1991). On the one hand, the audience of television drama is freed from the disciplinary practices of theatre auditorium – on the other, it is "non-free" compared to the spectator in the theatre, because its experience is conditioned by the pre-arranged semantic accents added by the producer and the operator through camera movements and editing. It is in the tele-theatre, where the most important methods of on-screen existence of a theatrical text, such as framing, close-ups and master shots, were worked through.

Theatre HD

The Theatre HD project is a logical extension of the cultural transformations of the 20th and 21st centuries, when theatre has entered the space of old (analogue) and new (digital) media, encountering and being transformed by the cinematic

experience, participating in the development of a new artistic language, and later taking part in radio and television experiments. At least two forms of theatre can be seen in practices of tele-theatre: live streaming (direct broadcast of a theatrical performance) and an innovative form (creation of a new genre), where the tele-performance becomes a synthesis of theatre and technical mass media. Thus, Theatre HD is based first of all on the broadcasting tradition. The name given to this means of organising a theatrical event in Anglo-American discourse is "event cinema", pointing not so much towards the characteristics of a theatre event translated onto screen, but rather in terms of its nature as a cinema event, when all the elements are changed: from public to content (the peculiarities of the "event cinema" are well documented in the materials of The Live Cinema Conference at King's College London on 27 May 2016 (Atkinson & Kennedy, 2016b). Systematic analysis of live theatre broadcast as an emergent hybrid form is still in development. Among the few academic publications on the topic, Martin Barker's (Barker, 2013) and Lauren Hitchman's (Hitchman, 2018) studies can be mentioned. For instance, Hitchman engages the discourse of remediation and the ideological contexts of "liveness" (following Benjamin and Frederic Jameson), noting that

> the live theatre broadcast can be seen as an attempt to transpose the stage onto the screen. … This transposition is not as neutral as might first be assumed, and is, instead, a form of adaptation. In the process of adaptation, the live theatre broadcast becomes a new medium, one with its own ontology and, resultantly, its own unique mode of audience perception (Hitchman, 2018, p. 183).

The Theatre HD project translates performances of the top world theatres to the large screens of cinema houses across the globe (here we are talking about the performances of The Metropolitan Opera, UK's National Theatre, Royal Shakespeare Theatre, The Globe, La Comédie-Française, Bolshoy Theatre, etc. Digital technologies not only provide a communication bridge between the theatrical text and the audience, which was already possible in the tele-theatre, but also an experience of the audience and performance as co-existing in a single space. This way, "event cinema" becomes interesting not only as an object of market studies (as a growing market segment), but also in terms of its aesthetic qualities and impacts on the audience experience (see: Atkinson & Kennedy, 2016b).

Naturally, this project has provoked sceptical reactions from conservative theatrical critics, who believe that theatre can only exist as an unmediated communication with the audience. The pronouncements of Western critics were essentially the same as those of their Russian counterparts: "The critics argued that you could never capture the heartbeat of a live production, that if you couldn't smell the Brylcreem to be showered in spittle sitting in the front row, then it wasn't the real thing" (Battersby, 2016). However, the project's success shows that the critics' fear of massification and mechanical reproduction of theatrical art turned into mass product proved to be unfounded, as expressed in the newspaper headlines, such as: "Live theatre on the big screen: The fear that streaming plays in cinemas would

cannibalise theatre sales has largely been disproven" (Ibid.). First and foremost, this project performs an educational mission by enlarging the theatrical audience. Matilda Battersby notices the democratic character of the project only regarding one theatre, the NT:

> In seven years, 6 million people have watched NT Live productions and its reach has grown to more than 2,000 cinemas in 55 different countries. It streams not just from its own theatre but from affiliate stages from the Wyndham and the Garrick, to the Old Vic and Manchester International Festival (Battersby, 2016).

The project overcomes the oppositions of centre/periphery and homeland/overseas, bringing the best global theatre performances everywhere. "The audience for a single live broadcast of a Shakespeare production by the RSC is about the same as the audience for an entire year at the Royal Shakespeare theatre in Stratford." That's according to the RSC's deputy artistic director Erica Whyman, who was speaking at the recent British Theatre in Hard Times conference. "The upside is so massive and the exponential reach so great that we can change who the audience is," said Whyman (Gardner, 2015).

The project has been operating in Russia since 2006, when the Metropolitan Opera first started streaming its performances. In 2009, the British Royal Theatre also began digitalising its performances; in 2012, the Russian company CoolConnections launched its broadcasts of world masterpieces, beginning with the performance of *Frankenstein* staged by Danny Boyle for the Royal National Theatre. During its 4-season run, the performance was watched by 58,000 spectators in 70 cinema houses across Russia, including in Moscow, Saint Petersburg, Kaliningrad, Voronezh, Yekaterinburg, and Novosibirsk. Undoubtedly, the project's success was assured not only by the names of Danny Boyle and Jonny Lee Miller, but also by Benedict Cumberbatch.

In addition to its educational mission, Theatre HD performs another important service: since the broadcasts are streamed in real time (taking into account time zones), it provides awareness of global humanist solidarity. In this case, we can see the shift in theatrical communication: instead of the simple audience/stage dialogue, there is a more complex, mediated encounter with the performance, where the director, the playwright, the broadcast producer and audience are united through the screen. Just like director's theatre created a new author in addition to the playwright, Theatre HD creates a new communication between the theatrical director and broadcast producer.

Theatre HD project is a complex process of creating a new performance, since it is not possible to just set up a few cameras and expect a piece of theatre to work onscreen. "We have to give an experience to an audience that is better than in the theatre," says Tim van Someren, a camera director who has captured *As You Like It*, *Frankenstein* and *War Horse* for NT Live. "I do mean 'better', because in cinema you're guided. You won't get splattered by blood in *Macbeth,* but we will show you the best moments" (Battersby, 2016).

The effect of "being present" at a performance achieved in cinematic broadcasts is not just a technical gimmick; rather, it is a new form of communication that has to be analysed. How is this effect created – the effect in which the "fourth wall" destroyed by the avant-garde director's theatre is replaced by the screen?

Nelly Kogut, a researcher specialising in theatre in the digital age, proposes to describe the Theatre HD phenomenon through the concept of "medialised theatre" (Kogut, 2019).

Medialised theatre that utilises cinematic and screen tools operates not by using an event itself – that is, an object on screen – but rather with the characteristics of an image. The audience enjoys a feeling of "being present" at the performance because broadcasts utilise six or seven cameras positioned at various points throughout the auditorium: usually two or three cameras are positioned on rails at the centre and on both sides of the stalls allowing them to move about one and a half meter to the right or to the left while simultaneously zooming and making turns. At the centre of the stalls there is another camera on crane spanning the space inside the stage and above it, allowing to create expressive panorama shots. The other cameras are positioned throughout the stalls, and sometimes on the balconies; they are mostly used to create wide static shots (see: Kogut, 2019).

The Theatre HD project not only changes the form of theatrical communication by replacing the traditional dialogue with a simulated presence in virtual space, but also qualitatively solves the issue of preserving the theatrical text, which, at the time of great actors and playwrights remained only in literary memoirs of their contemporaries.

The theorists and practitioners of mediated theatre, such as radio and television theatre, accepted the drawbacks of the unmediated dialogue with the audience while centring their experiments on the improvement of technical possibilities of transmission. Brecht already wanted to make the listener not just the one who listens, not to isolate him but to engage him into a relationship (see: Brecht, 2014, p. 19). Walter Benjamin, who had experienced radio work, also meditated on the necessity and possibility to connect with the audience when introducing the concept of mediated communication as an immediacy of any spiritual communication, calling it magical (see: Benjamin, 2012, p. 10). This immediacy is virtual and depends on technical capabilities. Theatre HD's cardinal difference from television play is not so much the fact that it transfers theatrical texts from the private into the public sphere, but, rather, that it manages to overcome the impenetrability of the television screen that had destroyed the traditional theatrical dialogue. The technical capabilities of Theatre HD allow the audience to become actual witnesses of a theatrical event, since in broadcasts all mise-en-scenes are amplified: the cinema viewer experiences the performance as more perfect, because it does not depend any more on his or her place being at the gallery or in the stalls.

Theatre HD and television drama have one factor in common: the performances chosen for broadcasting tend to be the successful ones, staged by the famous directors and starring the top actors. By broadcasting the performances, the project's authors perform an operation of translating the works that do not belong to mass culture in

terms of their content into the space of mass culture, which relies on reproduction for its existence. Both television plays and Theatre HD share their education mission and attract wider audiences to the theatre.

Conclusion

The starting point of this research was the problem of theatre's existence in the digital age. Can the theatre remain a *theatre* without an immediate interaction between the audience and the stage?

- Theatre is an art without a permanent text; an art based on dialogic relationships between the stage and the audience. A dialogue is a communicative form grounded in subject-to-subject relationship. The conducted research brings us to the conclusion that the entire history of theatre, from antiquity to Theatre HD, is a history of increasing the complexity of the connections and the number of participants in a dialogue.
- The history of theatre was described as following the three stages: pre-director's, director's and postdramatic theatre.
- The participants in the pre-director's theatre included the playwright, the actors and the audience. This type of theatre was dominated by the dramaturgical principle (with the rare exception of commedia dell'arte).
- Director's theatre complicates communicative connections through the introduction of a new dialogue participant (the director), who, in turn, recreates the theatre's synthetic nature turning literature into a spectacle, a performance. Avant-garde theatre of the early 20th century activates a dialogue with the audience by destroying the "fourth wall". It was the director's avant-garde theatre that developed the techniques of action breaks, editing, defamiliarisation (see: Chubarov, 2018, p. 233), producing an illusion of "being present" in the digital incarnation of theatre.
- As predecessors of Theatre HD, radio theatre and television theatre are similar in their ability to penetrate the most private spaces. In terms of the development of theatrical language, radio plays and television plays relied on models that represented the shift from the pre-director's to director's theatre and from the pre-Lumière to the Lumière cinema.
- Television play is a direct predecessor of Theatre HD. Here we witness the emergence of a new communicative partner – that is, a television screen that destroys the dialogue between the stage and the audience.

Theatre HD is a project launched in 2006. Its goal is to livestream the best theatrical productions by renowned venues in cinema houses. The radical novelty of this project lies in the simultaneous unfolding of theatrical performance and cinema broadcasting, thus creating an experience of being present within the theatrical dialogue. The project's educational mission is obvious, as testified by the scope of its audience: a new audience is formed that is interested in the "sense of shared

experience, the value of being part of a shared community with shared tastes" (Atkinson & Kennedy, 2016b).

It also created a new technique for documenting the theatrical text. The viewer becomes a participant in a dialogical communication, in which the main roles are played by the cinema producer and the camera that transcends the limits of ordinary human vision.

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ARTICLE

Art in the Age of Globalisation: Dialogue of Cultures (Ural Opera Ballet Theatre's Production of the Opera *Tri Sestry*)

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ABSTRACT
The article explores the dialogics of art and the role of art as a tool of dialogue between cultures on the example of the Ural Opera Ballet Theatre's recent stage production of the opera *Tri Sestry* (Three Sisters), which demonstrates a successful interaction between different cultural traditions.
Interpreting Chekhov's play from a late 20th century perspective, Hungarian composer Peter Eötvös presented new responses to the questions that tormented the play's characters one hundred years ago. In his work, which blends French and German avant-garde techniques with structural elements drawn from film narrative and the Japanese Noh theatre tradition, he added a radically new dimension to Chekhov's play. As a result, he was able to open up latent meanings the play within the *great time* space proposed by the Russian philosopher Mikhail Bakhtin. In turn, Christopher Alden (USA), the Artistic Director of the Ural Opera Ballet production, merged voices from different artistic traditions into a new contemporary musical image.

KEYWORDS
globalisation, dialogue of cultures, art, theatre, Ural Opera Ballet, *Tri Sestry*, Chekhov

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Introduction

In the contemporary global and intercultural space, which implies a convergence of nations and states, a "turning of many into one", the significance of art as a dialogue between cultures cannot be overestimated. Such an artistic dialogue is instrumental in the emergence of new cross-national audiences, which help individual cultures disseminate their values far beyond their national and traditional boundaries. Nevertheless, the as-experienced effects of globalisation remain controversial. While, on the one hand, globalisation undeniably promotes development in many economic, technological and political spheres of human activity, on the other hand, it can exacerbate isolation and lead to confrontation between competing cultures. According to Lyudmila Egle, in a time of globalisation, nations tend to preserve their cultural identities (see: Egle, 2009, p. 350). Golbarg Abutorabian notes that the unification of behavioural norms and cultural manifestations produces a protest mindset and promotes an intensive search for ethnocultural identification inside multiple cultures (see: Abutorabian, 2011, p. 52).

The protest mindset suggests that, while interacting and adapting to the new social environment, local cultures face the threat of being completely assimilated under the influence of stronger cultures. In attempting, on the one hand, to shut off themselves from the outside world, and on the other, to uncritically accept everything associated with globalisation, cultures can manifest extreme responses in the face of the possibility of their vanishing altogether. In this context, the only obvious way for cultures to ensure their preservation and development is for them to participate in a continuous dialogue that recognises their equal standing. Such a dialogue between equal cultures lays the foundation for a process of continuing acculturation, in which both parties adopt elements of each other's culture, acquiring universal features, while simultaneously retaining their uniqueness. According to Mikhail Popov and Anna Akulova, awareness of one's own identity sets the stage for a dialogue. The dialogue is a manifestation of one's own, rather than the opposite identity (see: Popov, Akulova, 2009).

Possibilities for Dialogue between Cultures in Art

Art is one of the means by which culture can be adapted to new environments. According to Marina Moskalyuk, on a global scale, the us-versus-them opposition in art produces an exceptionally promising dialogue, thus contributing to the development of universal culture (see: Moskalyuk, 2014, p. 411). The dialogue between cultures, which takes place during encounters with works of art, makes it possible to balance the aspiration for national self-identity with respect for other cultures and the perception of other nations' values in all their uniqueness (Bakhtin, 1995). Such a dialogue relates to the inherent nature of art, which forms a space for mutual understanding and intercultural dialogue. Art effortlessly overcomes linguistic boundaries and time frames. At the same time, being present in the universal categories of ethical and aesthetic values, it is art that helps us understand

and perceive the uniqueness of a different culture, the individuality of a different mind, the fundamentals of a different religion (see: Moskalyuk, 2014, p. 413). A work of art that represents another culture can be understood through the revelation of timeless meanings and their aesthetic value.

Any work of art can be seen as a certain communication: It "speaks", asks and answers, encapsulates "a message", which can be "heard", and which, when coming in contact with another text, will repeatedly become actualised in the entirety of cultural life (see: Averintsev, 1994, p. 105). Lotman compares a text (i.e., a work of art) with an information generator, having the characteristics of an intelligent individual and the ability to store different codes, transform received messages and generate new ones (Lotman, 2009, p. 71). Inside that text, the artist enters into a dialogue with other authors, from time to time using elements of their style, borrowing images and placing them into a new reality to facilitate dialogue. Whether this takes the form of a dialogue of agreement, i.e. when the artist takes up and develops another person's idea, or a disagreement, the space of art hosts an endless conversation between creators of artworks; such? a conversation reveals cultural constants, facilitating interaction with other cultural systems and helping them to perceive their uniqueness along with the discovery of new meanings arising in the work. According to Alexander Medvedev (2020), the recognition of the dialogics of art, together with the ability to hear the conversation of artists representing different styles and time periods, provides deeper understanding of the content of a composition, gives insight into the logic of art's self-motion, and, more importantly, makes it possible to understand the dynamics of the actual reality, for one of art's missions is to serve as a means of cognising reality (see: Medvedev, 2020, p. 142).

A dialogue between cultures within the space of art is becoming increasingly feasible when it involves synthetic types arising within art structures that involve a fusion of their constituting components. In terms of an art form, theatre is intrinsically dialogic. Acting as a special channel of international communication, it generates a unique space that opens up across several dimensions – musical, verbal and visual. In contributing to the distinctiveness of a particular work, this multidimensionality shapes audience perception. An opera, which is typically born out of a dialogue between a composer and librettist, grows into a unique, multilayer and multi-subject polylogue conducted by the authors and directors of the musical work; it is an outcome of a successful dialogue between cultures in the space of the literary text. Alla Baeva notes that the opera, quickly and easily, makes inter and intra-genre contacts, thus becoming the joint creation of the composer, director and librettist (Baeva, 1996, pp. 7–8). Here it is emphasised that, in technical terms, the interaction of cultures takes place at the levels of libretto, musical score, director's script, scenography and performance.

Opera Staging as a Specific Form of Intercultural Dialogue

Taking place in Bakhtinian *great time*, the theatrical production of an opera comprises a form of a dialogue between cultures, through and by means of

which each participating culture re-apprehends different meanings contained in the composition and discovers new meanings brought to life during different productions. The interaction of cultures within the musical performance space not only facilitates an appreciation of the values of other persons, nations and cultures, but also actively circumvents the tendency towards slavish imitation of foreign-born elements. Instead, through comparison of different patterns of thought and cultural values, possible borrowings can be selected and worldview concepts carried over from one culture to the semiotic system of the other culture.

The dialogue between cultures takes on a new dimension when the composer, author of the literary source and production team represent different cultural systems; in this case, the performance soaks up national and cultural features, its imagery and symbolic structure mirroring the different world views blended in the canvas of the literary text. In bringing the musical material to life, the director acts as intermediary between the authors of the musical work and the audience; on the other hand, the director is also a subject in the dialogue of cultures; when staging the performance, he or she expresses his or her attitude towards the musical work, toward the cultural values represented in it, as well as his or her own philosophy.

Audiences also have their own specific role to play in the dialogue of cultures, since any work of art, as Dmitry Likhachev points out, in its creation, suggests not only passive perception, but also active participation (see: Likhachev, 1983, p. 62). This is especially true of a performance in a musical theatre: when an individual audience member is drawn into the dialogic cultural space through his or her perception of art, a performance can have a specific effect on him or her. In the words of Sergey Isaev, the meaning comes into being once we start interpreting the performance. We do not decode the existing meaning or try to detect it; instead, we create it. Then, the analysis of the performance turns into a totally creative process, since the meaning is created from scratch, for the first time ever, rather than being retrieved from the place where it was kept hidden by the artist (see: Isaev, 1993, p. 26).

The fully-fledged perception of a musical performance constitutes the level of understanding of the “Other”, impacting on the level of empathy in comprehending of the values-based idea implemented by the composer in his composition. As Olga Bochkareva notes, the dialogic reflection helps the audience member leave the boundaries of his “Self” and connects the person with the other person. In this way, the dialogue triggers a successive movement of musical culture from one subject to the other subject, from “Self” to “Other” (see: Bochkareva, 2013, p. 199).

The audience perception is closely connected with the truth of art and the perceived “correctness” of its perception. For Umberto Eco, any work of art comprises an object offering infinite interpretative possibilities. However, it does not always please the creator of the work, who expects an adequate audience response to his or her artistic statement. Analysing his relationship with the audience, Anatoly Efros (1985) wrote that, most of all, he valued people with normal, natural vision and hearing – those people who see what exists, rather than what they imagine. Nevertheless, art seems to suggest that no two people will form the same impression of the same thing. Still, one wishes that the deviation from truth

would stay within reasonable limits, i.e. that one's work would be seen through normal eyes (see: Efros, 1985, p. 90).

The opera *Tri Sestry*[1] (Three Sisters) written by the Hungarian composer Peter Eötvös, inspired by Anton Chekhov's play and staged by the American director Christopher Alden at the Ural Opera Ballet Theatre, offers the possibility to analyse the dialogue of cultures within the space of the opera performance at a time of globalisation and to identify special characteristics of the audience perception.

Written by Eötvös in 1997 and premiered to critical acclaim, *Tri Sestry* was hailed as the most important new work of the year 1998 ("zum wichtigsten neuen Werk des Jahres 1998") (Beaujean, 2005). Its production at the Ural Opera Ballet Theatre offered an unexpected interpretation of the Russian classical play by, on the one hand, a European who is quite familiar with Russian literature and Soviet ideology, and, on the other hand, by a representative of American high culture. Thus, the Ural Opera production transformed Chekhov's play into intermediary between cultures of three countries, subjecting it to substantial structural and plot-related changes at the same time as replenishing it with new meanings. Implemented as an international project, the staging of the opera also involved the hosting a variety of events intended to explain the background of the opera to the audience and furnish clues to support its popular and critical interpretation.

The creative work of the composer Peter Eötvös (born in 1944) is influenced by a number of diverse cultures. His childhood in post-war Hungary was strongly influenced by Russian culture; he studied composition in Budapest and Cologne; he gained European-wide fame as a conductor of contemporary music. Eötvös worked as an assistant with Karlheinz Stockhausen, a German composer, conductor and one of the leading figures of the musical avant-garde. Later, in the 1980s, he held the position of Artistic Director of the French Ensemble InterContemporain (Paris) founded by Pierre Boulez and specialising in 20th and 21st century music. As Sergey Nevsky (2019) notes, Eötvös' interaction with modern culture caused him to dismantle his musical language only to reassemble it later using elements of the tradition learnt in his younger years. Eötvös builds a dialogue of multiple traditions, existing and bygone, like a big post-modern game. In this sense, Umberto Eco is his closest associate in art (see: Nevsky, 2019, p. 21). The use of elements borrowed from a variety of traditional sources helps the composer to avoid dramaturgical tropes typical of European music; at the same time, it allows him to show every facet of the emotional life of the characters.

Tri Sestry: Transformations from the Play into the Opera

Commissioned by the Opera National de Lyon in 1997, *Tri Sestry* is Peter Eötvös' first large-scale opera and the one that made him famous in the theatrical world. Eötvös invited the German dramaturge Claus Henneberg to write a libretto. Although

[1] The performance is a laureate of the Russian National Theater Award "Golden Mask" in the nominations "Best Performance in Opera" and "Best Director in Opera", a laureate of the Russian Opera Casta Diva Award in the category "Event of the Year" and the Prize of the Governor of the Sverdlovsk Region. The national newspaper *Musical Review* recognized the production as the "Performance of the Year"; the Association of Music Critics included it among the best Russian productions of 2019.

Henneberg did not know the Russian language, he was ready to work with the translated text to write a libretto in German, after which the libretto was to be translated into Russian. Although the abridged version of the libretto prepared by Henneberg differed greatly from Eötvös' understanding of Chekhov in terms of dramatic quality, tension between the characters and melancholic mood, the composer decided not to use the standard adaptation of the Chekhov's play but instead to transform it by showing all the events from the perspective of the different characters as was done in Akira Kurosawa's Rashomon (inspired by Ryūnosuke Akutagawa's story *In the Grove*). As such, Eötvös may be said to be the first composer to have used this technique in the context of opera. In the process of reconceiving the source text, he restructured it to present a version of Chekhov's play that was both condensed and creatively contrasting. Nevertheless, he retained all the main storylines, themes and general ambiance of the play. In his words, he casted his vision in the score; it was very specific in the case with *Tri Sestry*: he did not deny Chekhov, but he was translated into the language of opera (Surnina, 2019).

Eötvös' main characters are Irina, Andrei and Masha, each of whom has their own "sequence" – or, in other words, a certain succession of elements or dramatic layers. Inside each sequence, the composer arranged those scenes associated with or related to the main character; these scenes have their own logic of development and dramatic expressiveness. Sequences follow one after another; each sequence is shorter than the preceding one. The triadic structure affects the conflicts between characters: the three sisters themselves represented by three sequences or triads. Relationships are similarly represented by triangles: Irina – Tuzenbach – Solyony; Masha – Vershinin – Kulygin; Andrei – Natasha – the sisters. Following the Western classical tradition, the core of the musical narrative is also represented by major and minor triads.

The opera has no choir; as in Chekhov's play, there are thirteen characters, whose voices comprise the narrative of the opera. In terms of character development, the composer intentionally confronts Chekhovian psychological drama with traditions drawn from the Japanese Noh theatre. The interaction between the real and dynamic character, typical both of Chekhov's plays and European theatre in general, and the mask representing the Japanese theatrical tradition, produces a peculiar "flickering" effect, creating the impression that the character is trying to break out of the boundaries of his or her assigned role. This interaction between the frameset and the character turns the character into a person of universal nature, which is especially noticeable in the original version of the opera in which all the parts were performed by men: even the three sisters themselves were sung by countertenors. Peter Eötvös said that in his opinion, it was a story about parting, rather than about family conflicts – he wanted to show not four women, but broadly speaking, four persons. In this case, countertenors had the function performed by cothurni in the ancient Greek theatre – they lifted drama above the everyday routine (Monolog Petera Etvesha, 2019, p. 25) – then, characters take on qualities of immaterial spirits of history, culture and geography. Abstraction of music and "gender neutrality" of the characters make it possible to create a certain ritual mystery play, notes Evgenia Krivitskaya (2019).

Peter Eötvös worked on the opera libretto together with his wife Mari Mezei. On the basis of Chekhov's original text, the Russian libretto was stripped into actor's lines, words and remarks; next, it was reassembled as a mosaic panel, though having its own order. Dialogues and soliloquies form a continuous flow, giving a sense of elusive reality; only on rare occasions the action comes to a stop, interrupted by monologues spoken by characters – Solyony, Andrei or Vershinin. The effect of this composition is very Chekhovian. Characters are agitated; they live in anticipation of events that never happen; all of them speak frantically, but remain unheard (see: Ryabin & Korolyok, 2019, p. 14). This continuous flow is supported by repetitions, oppositions, variations, reflections, cross-talks taking place at the level of the dramatical structure, musical tissue and narrative. For example, in Irina's refrain: "Where has it all gone? I have forgotten everything… I'm getting so forgetful…"; in the dialogue of Vershinin and Kulygin: "Splendid fellows! Splendid fellows! They are first-rate men! If it hadn't been for the soldiers, the whole town would've been burnt down…" – "What…" – "Splendid…" – "What time is it?". Eötvös places emphasis on the recurrent theme of the fire and a tangle of familiar phrases, fragments, recalls. Chekhov's characters do not hear and do not understand each other; they have no cause-and-effect relationships whatsoever (Biryukova, 2019).

The composer assigns specific timbral characteristics to all the characters, represented by thirteen groups of orchestral instruments. For example, the oboe and English horn stand in for Irina; Masha is represented by the clarinet, while the flute and alto flute identify Olga (the three sisters together are represented by the string trio); Andrei is identified with the soprano saxophone etc. The orchestral space is also doubled. Here, Eötvös borrowed Stockhausen's idea of two orchestras: the ensemble of soloists – the characters' counterparts – is located in the orchestra pit, while the main orchestra is hidden behind the stage (or, in the Ural Opera production, above the stage). The traditional orchestral instrumentation was complemented by tom-toms, cymbals, gongs, cowbells, and a rainmaker (an instrument simulating the sound of rain), as well as by a custom instrument imitating a lion's roar consisting of a small tub with crushed porcelain and plastic foam blocks: all these instruments are also located in the orchestra pit. In addition, the third sequence is accompanied by sounds of metal spoons the characters use to stir their tea in porcelain cups – all these sounds are also included in the score.

Eötvös's Opera in Different Musical Traditions

The system of mirrors, mirror images and reflections is continued in the musical text, saturating it with multiple external musical associations, as well as sometimes with direct quotes. Musicologists note that the *Tri Sestry* opera features universal formulas and techniques of the European academic music of the second half of the 20th century: jazz intonations, the influence of the New Viennese School, techniques of minimalist composers, the stylistic ambiance of the madrigal comedy, Verdian detective and psychological drama, pastorale and New Viennese cabaret, Berg's expressionist dramas, the music of Stockhausen and Boulez (Krivitskaya, 2019).

The author himself admits that he intentionally relies on the tradition of the western artistic music to form a link between the musical past, present and future. This correlates with the *great time* concept introduced by Mikhail Bakhtin speaking about the infinite and never-ending dialogue full of undying meanings. The culture of the past is asking us questions and is answering our questions, while restating its meaning and revealing its new facets to us. During this dialogue, people representing different time periods can become time peers. *Great time* undiscriminatingly hosts Homer and Aeschylus, Sophocles and Socrates. You can meet Dostoevsky there, for nothing vanishes without trace; everything restores to a new life. When a new period begins, everything that happened previously, everything experienced by humankind, sums itself up and acquires a new meaning (see: Bakhtin, 1995, p. 8).

The *Tri Sestry* opera is nurtured by the European and Russian opera traditions. First of all, these are compositions of Mussorgsky with their dramaturgy of non-melodious vowels, percussive consonants ("zhzhzhazhda", "zhzhal", "zhzhzhisn") and remarkable expressiveness of instrumentation. Eötvös takes the genre pattern from Tchaikovsky as well as his method of turning an opera into a succession of love songs ("It is close on midnight already, but still no sign of Herman, no sign!" in *The Queen of Spades*). Eötvös also uses associations (Tuzenbach's and Solyony's quarrel and duel bear a resemblance to the Lensky and Onegin storyline from *Eugene Onegin*). The haunting tune of the lost time and the clock breaking to pieces remind us of Prokofiev's ballet *Cinderella*; Andrei from *Tri Sestry* triggers associations with Andrei Bolkonsky from Prokofiev's *War and Peace*; his vocal part is characterised by a narrative thoughtfulness and rationality that is fundamentally different from the overall style of Eötvös' composition; his monologue contains the direct tune quote from the anthem of the Soviet Union ("I believe in freedom" to the tune of *Unbreakable Union*), at the end of which Andrei laughs. There are also similarities with *The Nose* by Shostakovich and *Dead Souls* by Shchedrin. Thus, the composer's postmodernist strategy brings about a dialogue in the musical space, which forms the perception of *Tri Sestry* as a Russian opera. The sounds of the accordion at the beginning of the opera are clearly associated with Russian music.

Director Christopher Alden, when analysing Eötvös' compositions, said that it looks as though Chekhov was mixed up and recooked (Monolog Kristofera Oldena, 2019). Nevertheless, Eötvös' work tends to be seen in terms of having added a new dimension of Chekhov's play. By using different – and not only musical – methods, the composer tries to uncover the meanings embedded by the writer; he translates the play into the language of opera, while using structural elements of narrative filmmaking as well as avant-garde music techniques to build Russian art's dialogue with French and German avant-garde. As a result, the composer examines Chekhov's play from the perspective of the 20th-century author, initiating a dialogue in *great time*, giving his answers to the questions tormenting characters of Chekhov's play one hundred years ago, and his answers are destructive and destroying. As the critic Ekaterina Belyaeva asseverates, while Chekhov's *Tri Sestry* is an open-ended drama incorporating elements of comedy and, despite everything, leaving a feeble glimmer

of hope, Eötvös' interpretation turns it into a completely cheerless absurdist tragedy intensified by elements of grotesque (Belyaeva, 2019).

The opera *Tri Sestry* was first performed in Lyon in 1998, one year after it was written. It was staged by the Japanese director Ushio Amagatsu as an opera with an all-male cast, in the tradition of Japanese kabuki, which is related to cothurni and the symbolism of the ancient theatre and thus echoes the vision of the composer. Ural Opera, however, opted for a different approach, which was informed by the artistic vision of the opera's stage director Christopher Alden.

In terms of stage direction, Alden, like Eötvös in music, ranks among radical theatre directors known for their modernist views regarding the opera artform, drawing inspiration from modern visual art – first and foremost, from cinema. In his creative work, he was influenced by the more abstract than realistic Europe poetic theatrical tradition, namely by such great modernists as Pina Bausch, Peter Brook, Peter Stein. The director admits that he eventually settled on opera as the most "unnatural" of all the art forms. Alden launched his directing career with Long Beach Opera (California), where its founder and general director Michael Milenski was building a director's theatre whose repertoire featured non-mainstream names. Alden wanted his performances to be "exciting and appealing to a mass audience, like a good movie." He tried to find connections between stories taken as a basis for opera librettos and composers' biographies, looking for similarities between the storylines of opera characters and various historical personalities, as well as employing elements of cinematic art.

The stage director made his Russian debut in 2012 when he staged Britten's opera *A Midsummer Night's Dream* at the Stanislavsky and Nemirovich-Danchenko Musical Theatre. Thus, the Yekaterinburg production of *Tri Sestry* was his second work carried out in Russia. The production team included the set designer Irakli Avaliani (New York), the costume designer Doey Lüthi (Berlin) and the lighting designer Seth Reiser (Rochester, New York State). The principal conductor of Ural Opera Oliver von Dohnányi oversaw the musical interpretation of the opera. *Tri Sestry* mirrored the director's attempt to find an innovative, abstract and not too straightforward approach, which the opera itself, in fact, implies. Alden wanted to recapture his attitude toward Chekhov's story and Russian history from the perspective of Chekhovian characters. Nevertheless, while keeping an eye on Chekhov's story, his work is primarily an interaction with Eötvös' composition.

Tri Sestry from Three Eras: Alden's Directorial Concept

Alden transferred the opera's action into a surreal space between heaven and earth, looking like a waiting hall and almost exactly duplicating the interior design of the famous *Haus des Rundfunks* (Broadcasting House) in Berlin (Eötvös' creative life was closely connected with Germany). In Alden's concept, the two-level structure, whose upper level hosts the orchestra, is shown as a dream house from the time when the father of the sisters was its master. In his words, the long dead actors are locked in a certain purgatory. They recall significant moments in their life, replaying them over

and over, while being trapped in the *Groundhog Day* loop (Monolog Kristofera Oldena, 2019, p. 55). The directing solution was driven by the author's implied closedness and circling nature of the story; at the same time, it fits in with Chekhov's perception of time that flows relentlessly, while staying in the same place: Changeable, but unchanged. Something happens, but nothing comes. A truly Russian collision. And there is more than that. Time always drags everyone into its vortex, like it happened to the sisters staying in the province (see: Krylova, 2019). As can be seen from the above, the idea suggested by Chekhov was picked up and developed, first by the composer, and then by the stage director. While in Chekhov's *Tri Sestry*, a beautiful, unknown life is passing by the characters, though somewhere outside the house it exists and can be enjoyed, in Alden's version (and in Eötvös' opera) time stops (the clock broke down). Everything that happened keeps coming back. Chekhov's characters coexist together, like in the Great Beyond, playing back their past (or their present) over and over again: the fire, Natasha with Bobik in the carriage, Protopopov, Masha's bidding agonising farewell, the nervous breakdown of Olga who is in love with Vershinin, Andrei's pathetic monologues about his ruined life, the loud sound of the gunshot fired by Solyony (Oleg Budaratsky). This emotionless grotesque absorbs everything that fits into present-day actual reality (see: Muravyova, 2019).

The movement of time in the opera and performance, as envisioned by the stage director, should be the same as the feeling of time, which exists in human nature, when life is more than a chain of events succeeding one another. Human experience is multilevel. The opera makes an attempt to communicate the idea that all of us live our lives at different levels at the same time (Monolog Kristofera Oldena, 2019, p. 55). The persistent recollection of the same events correlates with Alden's perception of the Soviet regime with its endless absurdity of bureaucracy.

Following the concept offered by Eötvös and working around the symbolism of the number three, Alden transforms the opera's characters into representatives of three periods of the Russian history. Irina, the youngest sister, is a classic character; in her early 20th-century long dress, she belongs in the Chekhovian times; Masha, the middle sister, is from the Soviet 1960–1970s, representing a type of a wealthy married householder; Olga, the eldest sister, is our contemporary, a single and unfettered, ambitiously career-minded person, a businesswoman. As envisioned by the stage director, *Tri Sestry* remains relevant in any time. He said that the more they rehearsed, the better he realised that it was absolutely unimportant what time period the costumes came from to be used by thirteen characters in the world of the Prozorov family. It is not important in what time they live; they cannot get out of this story. This story tells that we may not be as free as we would like to think; that we, pretty much, are a product of the beliefs, religions, doctrines and myths of the society we live in. This story also tells us what we inherit from our parents and how this colours our lives (Monolog Kristofera Oldena, 2019, p. 55).

By bringing representatives of different eras together into one space, the stage director points out that anticipation of coming changes was typical of people not only on the eve of revolution, but also in the Soviet times and in present-day Russia. In broader terms, such sentiments are in people's nature, in any country of the world,

including the United States; therefore, the reference to Russian realities was rather conditional. It was mainly manifested in the characters' costumes and attributes assigned to them by the stage director (in the same way that Eötvös associates them with different timbres of instruments). For example, Tuzenbach walks with a portable radio pressed to his ear; Solyony never parts with his gun; Irina is always with her books; Olga is never seen without a laptop; Masha leafs through a *Burda* fashion magazine; Andrei, holding a pillow, wanders around the house; Chebutykin takes the clock off the wall, drops it, breaks it and puts it back on the wall to break it again in the next sequence; Natasha struts around the house with Bobik's smoking carriage, as if illustrating Masha's comment: "She walks as if it was she who started a fire".

While in the opera, the sound of accordion is associated with the Russian ambiance (in addition to quotes and allusions to Russian classical music art), in the staged action, its alternative is introduced in the third sequence when the stage director brings the voiceless guests of Irina's name-day party to the stage: a ballerina representing "high spheres", a metaphorical bear ("a symbol of Russia"), three little girls with whitened faces, who are associated with the sisters' childhood, with coming death, and with a mysterious princess wearing a head-band and dying, being shot by Solyony like Aleksandra Fyodorovna[2] who was killed in Yekaterinburg one hundred years ago.

Continuing the game that was started by Eötvös, Alden used mirror images and counterparts to produce the visual manifestation of the composer's musical ideas. Having, by his own admission, listened to the opera music at least forty times, Alden came to understand all its subtle nuances. Following the music and its transformations, he transforms the on-stage world from the humorous and light-hearted to vicious and horrible. The dreamy intonation well-remembered from the previous Russian performance staged by Christopher Alden does not bring relief; on the contrary, it emphasises the endless torment of being horror-stricken by living through the nightmare of one hundred years of surrounding reality (see: Ovchinnikov, 2019).

Thus, a new conceptual level was presented by the stage director who, inspired by the American reality, decided to turn the opera into a story about women living in a man's world and having to become stronger and more assertive. Alden is keenly aware of the increasingly central role played by women not only in Russia or America, but also worldwide. As he describes, the world is going through very serious historical changes – for him, it is very important to show it in staging of *Tri Sestry*. It is a story about women who live in the world of men, who start wars commit, assault and force their way into love. In handling this world as well they can, women have to remain strong. The opera *Tri Sestry* is a powerful portrayal of sisterhood relations of the women supporting each other (see: Monolog Kristofera Oldena, 2019, p. 55). In the opera, the stage director focuses on two extremes – strong women endowed with commitment, for example, to go to Moscow, like the Prozorov sisters, or to become the householder, like Natasha (Alden does not see her as a negative personality) –

[2] Aleksandra Fyodorovna, original German name Alix, Prinzessin (princess) von Hesse-Darmstadt, (born June 6, 1872, Darmstadt, Germany—died July 17, 1918, Yekaterinburg, Russia) was consort of the Russian emperor Nicholas II.

and weak men. For example, in Alden's performance, Andrei is associated with Oblomov. Dressed in pyjamas and a robe, he stays at home, reads newspapers and drinks vodka. Chebutykin, an army doctor, feels helpless and keeps repeating: "I have forgotten everything… I do not know how to treat people… I can do nothing to help anyone." This new conceptual level, which, to some extent, can be noticed in Chekhov's play, does not cause any internal conflict in terms of the play's structure. In our opinion, the anticipation-imbued play (even though the anticipation is tedious and impossible), the farewell opera and the performance about strong women surprisingly blended in, being fully compatible and giving birth to new meanings incorporated in characters – slightly different from the Chekhovian prototypes, but easy-to-understand by a modern audience familiar with the artworks of the 20th century. For example, the opera soloist Olga Tenyakova introduced Natasha as "a stunning monster-blonde" reminding Angela from Godard's movie *A Woman is a Woman* or a "typical American woman" from the *Sex and the City* television series. The role Masha, performed by Nadezhda Babintseva, turns her into a "lady of the art nouveau period" – stately, stylish, with a cigarette in her mouth, a broken-down voice and Carmen's impulsive temperament. Vershinin, according to the director's vision, comes onto the stage in a riot police officer's uniform – as if right off the street, where, during the period of the premiere performances, people spontaneously gathered to protect the park at the Drama Theatre.

Ural Opera prepared two main casts, the difference between which, according to Morozov (2019), is in colours and accents: in the first case, sharper and more intense; in the second, smoother and softer. Yet, the overall quality of work in both cases is quite high. Almost all the soloists act thoroughly, neatly and at their best, performing in the highly sophisticated vocal design of Eötvös and the sadness-laced stage-set grotesque of Alden (see: Bederova, 2019); the Mussorgsky-and-Prokofiev recitative declamation is very expressive, when performed by them; multiple non-vocal fragments (conversational phrases, exclamations of various pitches) are worked out with dedication and commitment. The challenging score is compiled by the conductor and musical director Oliver von Dohnányi and his assistant Alexei Bogorad, who aimed to achieve the preciseness and mathematical coordination in performance (see: Matusevich, 2019).

Conclusion

Getting ready to stage the opera *Tri Sestry*, the theatre did a lot to prepare the audience – not only through brochures and the website, but also through a chain of pre-premiere interviews, coverage reports and meet-the-artist events. Shortly before the premiere, on May 14, 2019, the Yeltsin Presidential Centre hosted the Hungarian musicologist Gergely Fazekas reading the lecture "Love and Other Demons: Music by Peter Eötvös." On May 15, the *Piotrovsky* book store (in the Yeltsin Center) welcomed the audience to a presentation of the compilation book "How Opera Should Be Watched", which was introduced by its compilers – musical critics Alexey Parin and Aya Makarova. During the days of the premiere, the oval

foyer of the theatre hosted meetings with the stage director Christopher Alden (May 16) and the composer Peter Eötvös (May 17); the prominent critic Aya Makarova was invited to moderate the meetings. The educational efforts of Ural Opera Ballet focused not only on information about the future performance, but were also aimed at transforming the attitude of the audience toward the opera genre. As the composer Vladimir Rannev notes, the opera genre is stylistically very flexible; its potential is not limited to the familiar format of the classical opera of the 19th century, which has come into our time as a conservative form of leisure activity. Today, it can be a multilayered, intellectual or showy, encompassing boundless conceptual and aesthetic fields (Ganiyants, 2019), which, to the full extent, can apply to the opera *Tri Sestry*. This multi-layeredness focusing not only on the emotional and sensual, but also on intellectual perception, is a result of interaction between and among the different artistic and national cultures in the performance.

The professional community assessed *Tri Sestry* as a flawless product of world class and significance. It is a very sophisticated, beautiful, clever, emotionally charged performance completed with the respect for the audience – without arrogance, though without simplification. It follows and maintains the non-trivial, mathematically rational and enthralling interpretation of Chekhov's play, which was outlined by Eötvös in the score (see: Bederova, 2019). Alden and his team offer masks we can accept or turn down; in any case, they are highly informal; they ask questions; they excite and wound (see: Biryukova, 2019]. At the same time, the performances showed that, despite the educational programme and theatre's efforts aimed at popularisation of contemporary opera art, the mainstream Russian audience was not quite ready for such experiments with the Russian classical work of literature, seeing it as an integral part of the specific time and their own culture. Therefore, the interaction with Chekhov's text, especially when it is done by foreign stage directors, can be seen as an attempt to destroy the work's cultural integrity. Such an audience may have a very general idea about the plot and content of Chekhov's play; its expectations from the performance may largely be connected with filling gaps in school education involving a traditionally reverential attitude toward the writer's works. Therefore, *Tri Sestry* being introduced by Ural Opera may seem embarrassing to the audience: they offer a present-day narrative of Chekhov, which is adequate to his work and the scale of his talent. For our part, in this case, the performance can be seen as the goal and the outcome of the completed cultural dialogue of the writer – composer – stage director, in which the play, music and theatrical production are equal in their impact on the audience; the dialogue, in which they enrich and complement each other.

Thus, the opera *Tri Sestry* introduced the vision of the classical plot of Russian literature and Russian history from a present-day perspective. It is an avant-garde interpretation of Chekhov's drama from the standpoint of the Hungarian composer, whose formative experiences were dominated by the Soviet Union, and the American stage director who has his own independent view of Russian history and culture. Thus, the opera staged in the Ural Opera Ballet Theatre is a remarkable example of artistic traditions from different cultures and their creative interaction.

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ARTICLE

Cultural and Educational Practices in the Museum Environment: Transmission of Cultural Heritage

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ABSTRACT

In the age of digitalisation and globalisation, one of the essential tasks addressed at the level of cultural policy, having relevance for all generations, consists in the preservation of cultural heritage. Cultural and educational practices, integrated in the preschool-, school- and higher education environments and aimed at the formation of the worldview and identity of the younger generation, are considered by the authors as effective and relevant mechanisms for transmitting the memory of values, meanings, places, cultural artefacts, etc. Therefore, it seems advisable for the organisers of multi-level projects to address the potential of the museum as a cultural institute. Today, museums are oriented towards a wide variety of visitors, including professionals and creative audiences of all ages, in the presented activities and services. The transmission of cultural memory in the museum environment is implemented not only in traditional ways, but also through contemporary information and media technologies. The introduction of the younger generation to cultural heritage provides them with an opportunity to experience significant values and meanings of the cultural space and time of the city, region, or country at the personal level.

KEYWORDS

cultural policy, cultural and educational practices, museum environment, cultural heritage, transmission of experience, information technologies

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Introduction

In the Russian context, cultural policy is described by Irina Murzina as referring to actions carried out by the state authorities and public institutions of the Russian Federation aimed at supporting, preserving and developing all branches of culture and all types of creative activities of Russian citizens and forming a personality based on the system of values inherent to Russian society (Murzina, 2017). In this connection, one of the main cultural policy directions consists in the protection of cultural and historical heritage. For this purpose, efforts in the field of culture, education and social policy should be unified. This is particularly significant for positioning the region as "culturally significant, possessing development potential in the post-industrial world, authoritative and competitive in the different spheres of economy and social development" (Ibid.). According to Murzina, one of the modalities for the implementation of cultural policy the region comprises the formation of a pool of qualified independent experts capable of objective – rather than strictly departmental – judgments concerning the sociocultural significance of events or projects, as well as media representatives interested in the development of the region (Ibid.). Another condition is the direct involvement of the society in cultural and creative activities and various social groups participating in them. Thus, the creation of a supraregional cultural policy provides the necessary conditions for the production, preservation, functioning, development and transmission of the regional cultural values as the uniting vital origins.

In 2016, the *Strategy of State Cultural Policy for the period up to 2030* was approved (On the Approval of the Strategy of State Cultural Policy, 2016). The strategic document identifies a threat to the unity of cultural space emerging against the background of insufficient use of the culture potential as a factor of social and economic development of the Russian Federation, including its national security and territorial integrity. Culture retains great potential for the formation and strengthening of civil identity, ensuring the unity of the Russian Federation's cultural and linguistic space.

Such a threat to social inequality in terms of the creative development of children and young people, as well as the social rehabilitation of people with various disabilities, has a negative impact on the general social well-being of the population. In this regard, a set of measures is to be implemented aimed at ensuring citizens' constitutional rights to access cultural properties and use cultural institutions to create conditions for improving the population's quality of life.

One of the key problems related to the preservation and transmission of cultural heritage is its actualisation and representation within the region, in the professionally-oriented community, in the service sector and in society as a whole. Today, much attention is paid to the problem of educating the population in the various spheres of modern society: social, economic, political, spiritual, etc. In this regard, the mechanisms for transmitting and popularising knowledge are becoming increasingly relevant. As part of the process of organising multi-level communication in the sphere of culture and art by contextualising knowledge and meanings, interpretation deserves

separate attention on account of its special role in enriching human perceptions of the world. Here, the main difficulty consists in taking into account the diverse reflections of different subjects when encountering artistic works and artefacts. Thus, while the transmission and interpretation of meanings are realised at the social level, the comprehension of events and works of art presented as historically and culturally significant is deeply individual.

The turn of the 21st century was marked by a greatly increased intensity of information density and widespread availability of various technologies and personal gadgets reflecting the high speed of changes taking place in the material and spiritual life of a given society. Such transformations also affect the organisation of daily and weekly routines. Due to a blurring of boundaries between working hours and free time for the 21st-century person, specific challenges arise concerning the organisation of sociocultural activities combining leisure and education. Obtaining new information about something is a process to which modern society is highly attuned. However, the quality of information and criteria for determining its veracity vary widely; moreover, not everyone has the same ability to "sort the wheat from the chaff." An important objective of cultural policy aimed at the preservation of cultural heritage, to be determined at the level of comprehensive and specialised educational institutions, thus becomes the multidirectional education of the population.

Situating Modern Museum in Cultural and Educational Activities

The normative document *O prosvetitel'skoy deyatelnosty* ("On Educational Activities", 2002) outlines the main directions, purpose, objectives and principles of educational activities in the Russian Federation. Here, education is designated as comprising a set of information and measures to promote and purposefully disseminate scientific knowledge and other socially significant information that form the general culture of a person, the basis of personal world view and a set of intellectual abilities for competent action (for practical activities in an informed manner) (see: On Educational Activities, 2002). Thus, this normative statement relies on a contemporary understanding of the concepts of "education", "continuous education", "adult education" and "informal education".

It should be noted that education is defined as the purposeful process of informing the population about available sociocultural experiences, designed for a wide audience that is not necessarily divided into stable groups, which do not involve any formalised procedures for monitoring the successful comprehension of the information provided (Ibid.). Since, it is impossible to check the degree of "knowledge increment" following the attendance of events by an individual person, this is not a task carried out by the organisers cultural and educational activities; here it is tacitly assumed that any subjective value derived from such pastimes are a person's own business.

At present, cultural and educational activities are defined according to a number of key points: firstly, they form a part of an integrative multifunctional sphere

that comprises one of the components of social work; secondly, their main tasks comprise the organisation of people's rational and meaningful leisure, satisfaction and the development of their cultural needs; thirdly, they consist in the creation of conditions for each individual's self-realisation and development of their abilities, self-improvement and amateur creativity carried out in their spare time. Viktor Tuev notes that this process of introducing people to culture, including their subsequent active inclusion in it, is governed by society and social institutions (Tuev, 2003). Here, the main objective is to disseminate various types of information in post-industrial culture. Since cultural and educational activities are involved in almost all spheres of people's lives: politics, the economy, education, medicine, leisure, a career, etc. (Morozova, 2013), approaches and forms of their organisation are aimed at obtaining public support and response.

Defined as comprising a set of organised actions aimed at disseminating and explaining scientific knowledge, as well as other socially significant information, the role of educational events in the popularisation of cultural and leisure activities in an information society becomes obvious. Here, such events correspond to the need to transmit the values of historical and cultural past along with an explanation of their significance and content to the general population. Thus, at the turn of the millennium, the museum becomes a particularly relevant venue in which cultural and educational ideas are to be realised. The various programmes and projects designed on its basis are aimed, first of all, at educating in the spheres of culture and art, at familiarising the general population with their cultural and historical heritage, as well as forming personal moral and even spiritual guidelines.

Information technologies, which have become an integral part of present-day living and educational space, act as means and resources by means of which people are introduced to the values and meanings of culture. The various communicative technologies become means by which processes of communication are accelerated. By allowing their content visualised, allowing the relevant information to be made accessible to many people, dialogue is virtualised to enable it to be conducted independently of time and space in such a way that focuses on the specific needs of its participants.

In the light of these opportunities for the application of information technologies, the mechanisms that ensure dialogic sustainability for all the participants in communicative interactions become increasingly relevant. One of the spheres that ensure the engagement of participants in the cultural space and construction of dialogic relations with modernity is the museum, which offers the visitor various options for understanding the memory of the past and the values of the current reality. According to Tatyana Kuryanova, the museum is thought of as an institution of living memory, covering all significant objects of peoples' memory, as the main information factor contributing to the sustainable and harmonious development of civilisation (Kuryanova, 2012).

The introduction of information technologies has led to some positive results in this sphere. The number of visits to the *"Culture.ru"* portal in 2019 exceeded 31 million, which is 26 times more than in 2014. 20,500 cultural institutions from all over the

country have already registered with the *"Culture.ru"* PRO platform[1]. Last year they used the platform to post more than 174,000 announcements.

In the context of the increased openness and permeability of various spaces, including museums and other leisure and educational facilities, practices that allow the subject of culture to be included and immersed in the action are in increased demand. As Larisa Solonitsyna, Director of the State Central Film Museum in Moscow, notes, in the modern world, museums have gone beyond the usual classical exposure of museum objects. The museum is now quite rarely just a venue for exposition: typically, educational programmes, masterclasses, film shows and lectures also happen there. The modern museum is a multifunctional cultural centre in which essential additional contemporary activities are organised around the collection or around a particular direction in which the museum specialises (Sovremennyi muzey, 2017). In the age of information and digital technologies, museums offer various forms of communication: from conventional (lectures, discussions, exhibitions, etc.) to topical ones, offering the visitors concepts, which they comprehend independently.

The space external to the museum has also changed: cafes, restaurants, souvenir shops and specialised literature shops have appeared. The public and social spheres have become a kind of continuation of the museum space, having taken on the tasks of mass popularisation of the museum as a cultural institute, as well as the implementation of principles of openness and accessibility of the museum to a wide audience. According to Zelfira Tregulova (Director General of the Tretyakov Gallery), museums are transforming into very important places where people get impressions of all kinds, but all of them are connected with art, aesthetic experiences and sensations. Even a souvenir shop in a modern museum should look like it's just impossible to go past, and everything in this shop should attract (Muzei XXI veka, 2016). This space then forms part of the essential aesthetics of the museum's external appearance and attached space, providing part of its overall attractiveness to the consumer.

Russian museums actively employ social networks, especially VK[2] (short for its original name VKontakte) and Instagram[3]. Museum institutions have created a single information space, i.e. a repository for digitised documents and photographs. This is a unique opportunity not only for ordinary visitors, but also for professional scientists and experts in local lore engaged in research. In some cases, where museums are ready for such openness, digitised documents are posted on the Internet. This develops inter-museum interaction and attracts a new audience. Many museums today host IT departments, which form electronic catalogues, process virtual data and support the visual reconstruction of artefacts, creating information and multimedia products (Kovalyova, 2015).

The cultural and educational activities of the contemporary museum have become of particular importance, ensuring the involvement of individuals in the general cultural fund of humankind. As Irina Murzina notes, educational programmes developed by museum employees are designed for different social- and age-groups,

[1] A platform for organisers to promote cultural events: https://pro.culture.ru

[2] https://vk.com

[3] Instagram® is a trademark of Instagram LLC., registered in the U.S. and other countries.

allowing the realisation of the dialogic concept that is fundamental for the modern world (Murzina, 2016). Most museums offer a list of programmes targeted at different categories of visitors, their demands and interests. Programmes are being updated and improved, allowing regular and "occasional" visitors to stay at the level achieved and expand their cultural knowledge.

Undoubtedly, cultural and educational activities today are predominantly realised by cultural institutions, which are oriented to the needs of the population and perform an important educational function in early 21st-century society. Various forms of their implementation not only contribute to the dissemination of information about the world, presented in artistic images, in interpretations and reinterpretations of classical art works, as well as in historical artefacts, but also attract a greater number of visitors, who can profitably spend their spare time in demonstrating their activity, interest and creative abilities in participating in leisure events organised outside educational institutions.

In 2017, the Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation launched *Artefact*, an augmented-reality smartphone app guide to the museums of Russia. Pointing a mobile device to an art object reveals its name, while the interactive tags provide more details about the exhibit. *Artefact* was adopted by leading Russian museums including the Tretyakov Gallery, the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, the Peterhof State Museum-Reserve. According to museum visitors, it provides a convenient and accessible communication channel between the visitor and the museum. Using technologies familiar to the gaming generation, the app engages and educates by providing quick access to interesting information with visual feedback, as well as allowing users to access resources at any convenient time and regardless of location.

A significant feature of the museum environment is the shared understanding of its universal accessibility through a process of dialogue. This concerns not only social and generational characteristics, but also cultural background factors. The museum has always been and remains the place where a person attributes the "ours" and "theirs", "similar" and "different". Thus, the museum environment is involved in the formation of identity. Contemporary projects implemented on the basis of museums are aimed at the active inclusion of the younger generation, ensuring not only cultural and leisure activities, but also cultural and educational outcomes.

Institutional decisions and tasks related to cultural and educational activities at the regional level also lead to relevant practices involving different social groups – children, adolescents, and young people – in order to form their identity and concept of national belonging.

Transmitting Cultural Heritage through Museum Practices

In a multicultural environment, the process of familiarisation with Russian language culture is popularised in pre-school educational institutions. Modern technologies (visualisation and virtualisation) implement principles of visibility and accessibility when immersed in the interactive cultural and historical environment offered by the museum. At a regional level, the familiarisation of children with elements of Ural culture

during excursions offered by Yekaterinburg museums, regardless of their nationality, is another example of this process. Immersion in the museum space allows pre-schoolers to experience a sense of involvement in the history of their native region. This stimulates an emotional response, inspiring their further cognitive activity.

Older pre-school age children of Pre-school Educational Institution No. 254 (Yekaterinburg) (hereinafter – PEI) were impressed by the familiarisation with the creative legacy of Ural writers, which was carried out in various forms. During a visit to famous writer Pavel P. Bazhov's memorial house-museum[4], the children's attention was focused on the peculiarities of the Ural writer's daily life, the conditions of creation of his works and thus the realities woven into his stories. The children plunged into the environment and settings of the times the writer lived in. Further discussion with the children about what they had seen at the exhibition, what they liked and what they would like to share with their relatives upon their return from the excursion, revealed the children's genuine interest in significant places in the cultural landscape of Yekaterinburg. Within the framework of speech development, the described experience also determined the trajectory of formation of evaluation statements, monologue speech skills, visual thinking, etc. In terms of literary development, the children became motivated to discuss the plot of a literary work and understand details embedded in the text. They learned to build a relationship with the past epoch, the household artefacts they saw and the personality of the writer himself, who thought so brightly and distinctively in terms of the artistic images of the Urals.

As a subsequent stage of the children's acquaintance with the places described by Bazhov in his tales, a visit to the Bazhov Places Nature Park enhanced perceptions of the writer's creativity: for example, the "curved mirror" – a rock with a polished surface situated at the bottom of a mine mentioned in the tale *Tayutkino zerkal'tse* (Tayutka's Mirror) – is situated here. Such a literary outing (with the participation of the children's parents) based on Bazhov's tales was a particularly illustrative result of children's interaction with their cultural heritage. At the event, the children performed the fragments of literary works they like, paying attention to the creation of images, props, and costumes, idea developed by the children themselves in response to their visit to the exhibition. Certainly, role of the teacher-organiser and inspirer is extremely important at all the preparatory stages. Demonstration of Ural minerals (ophite, malachite, jasper, amethyst, etc.), whose names occur in the writer's tales, organically fit into the holiday context. As a continuation, an exhibition of photographs and illustrations was organised, demonstrating the work of Ural craftspeople working with local mineral materials.

In the search for new ways to enhance the PEI's educational and subject-development environment, teachers are increasingly addressing the idea of cultural heritage preservation through the inclusion of the museum space resources in the space of the pre-school educational institution. While earlier it referred to older pre-school age children, already capable of analysing what they see and drawing conclusions based on their experience and knowledge, today the content of museum stands is better adapted for younger pre-school children. For example, within the

[4] http://dombazhova.ru/

implementation of the educational programme of the PEI during familiarisation with various such topics as “Toy” and “Human Being” is now included a visit to the museum exhibition “Made in the USSR” (Yekaterinburg), where modern children come into contact with household objects from the Soviet era and have an opportunity to touch and play with real dolls and toys of those years, i.e., those their parents and grandparents played with. The distinctive features of the dolls, including materials, facial expressions, etc., are discussed with the children. Comparing them to modern dolls, children themselves try to formulate conclusions, e.g., that modern dolls often do not correspond to the real appearance of a person: the material dolls are made of can be blue, bright pink, etc., the hair colour of most dolls also does not reproduce the natural shades of people’s hair; the body proportions are often violated – a huge head and a disproportionately small torso, tiny hands and legs, or incredibly long legs.

Most of the toys of the exposition are Soviet cartoon characters: Cheburashka, Gena the Crocodile, Winnie-the-Pooh and Piglet, Karlsson-on-the-Roof and Little Brother, Vasya the Gnome, The Wolf and The Hare from the *Nu, pogodi!* animated series, Leopold the Cat, Buratino, etc. The acquaintance with these toys inspires children’s desire to watch the cartoons or read the stories in which these characters appear.

According to results of the excursion, teachers facilitate various forms of reflection depending on the age-related capabilities of the pre-schoolers: designing a “literary corner”, where children bring books featuring their favourite characters by Eduard Uspensky, Alan A. Milne, Alexey Tolstoy, Astrid Lindgren and others, followed by collective reading and discussion of the plots within various topical units, e.g. organising a drawing or handcraft exhibition or arranging a literary excursion, including organising performances of the plots of the children’s favourite literary works. When working with younger pre-school age children, a visit to the *Family Toy* exposition is organised. In this case, the original idea – an appeal to the “epoch” – is still emphasised, with children being invited to bring a toy with which their parents played in their childhood. The teacher sets specific tasks for the children: to find out the origin of the toys, what materials are used in their construction, what names they were given by their owners and why, and then to share this information in the group. Solving the set task contributes to the children’s speech development: improvement of dialogical and monological skills, grammar structures and enrichment of the children’s vocabulary. Most importantly, such activities promote an intergenerational dialogue between children and their parents.

Inclusion in the museum space through immersion in the Soviet era, which still seems relatively familiar to children’s parents, has rich potential for the organisation of work with pre-schoolers of different ages and for solving various educational tasks of the pre-school educational institution.

The specificity of native language culture can also be revealed through the world of professions relevant in any culture. During the introduction to the topic of Professions, children turn both to modern professions and to those that are losing or have already lost their relevance. One of the disappearing professions, discussed in the process of educational activity, is that of the postman. Through a conversation with a teacher,

children get an idea of the postman's job responsibilities, analyse his or her activities, starting from the origins of this profession. Inclusion of parents in the formation of the perceptions of this profession is aimed at implementing project activities in the pre-school educational institution, in which parents are involved together with their children. In a multicultural environment, this is appropriate and productive: as a holder of national cultural values, everyone can present information on the postman's job in their country, on the peculiarities of correspondence, on the traditions of letter writing, on the history of stamps and creation of envelopes, etc.

The concepts of this profession on the part of children and their parents in the context of 19th-century history is greatly enriched during a visit to the Literary and Memorial House-Museum of the Ural writer Fyodor Reshetnikov[5], which presents objects associated with the postal service from the second half of the 19th century, e.g., a postal employee's clothes and household utensils, postal carts etc.

The joint activity of the educational relation participants resulted in the creation of a thematic corner exhibition, in which stamps, envelopes, postcards from different countries were presented, which, in turn, expands children's geographical concepts. It is advisable to include the pre-schoolers' stories in the exposition descriptions. This activity requires child-teacher-parent interaction. At the same time, children can trace the evolution of the letter: from pigeon mail and paper envelopes to e-mail, allowing the child to reach conclusions concerning the development of modern technologies.

Extending the concept of the world of professions, teachers organise pre-schoolers' visits to the exposition at Sverdlovsk Railways Museum of History, Science and Machinery (Yekaterinburg)[6]. Thanks to its interactive space, the children become acquainted with the job responsibilities of the railway manager, train driver, passenger car attendant, station master, etc. The sculpture entitled "The Passenger" positioned in the centre of the exposition reminds visitors who is the main person around whom the railway service revolves. Thus, the museum space indirectly teaches skills involving taking cognisance of the details and location of exhibits, relating one's own representations of the surrounding reality to the newly received information. To not only receive publicly-available information about an exhibit within the museum walls, but also to learn to read "between the lines," to form one's own judgments, are necessary skills for the formation of a versatile personality. Older pre-school children were invited to develop their own "railway route". Here, the objective was to develop a railway tour covering cities that the child and his or her family would like to visit. The real opportunities of the railways were taken into account. Materials on the topic "A city begins with its railway station" were presented. Together with his or her parents, a child responds by collecting information on the history and traditions associated with railway stations of different cities or even countries.

Familiarisation with professions through the transmission of the cultural heritage of the Urals reveals its sociocultural potential: historical facts related to the birth and development of the railway, presentation of scientific and technical achievements

[5] https://ompural.ru/museum/muzey-fmreshetnikova

[6] http://rzd-expo.ru/museums/sverdlovsk_railway_museum/

applied on the railway, as well as the significance of the railway professions, creating the necessary conditions for the formation of a child's cognitive interest.

Visits to a number of museums, whose exhibitions are aimed at familiarising children with the history of a particular profession's development, results in the inclusion of pre-schoolers' families in implementation of project activities: presentation of a pre-schooler's family member's profession during the cultural and educational event "World of Professions" designed to demonstrate all the diversity of human activities, enrich a child's ideas and vocabulary and dispel myths about fashionable and popular professions.

According to our observations, including everyone in an interactive process is an effective means of overcoming cultural and linguistic barriers to communication: at the end of the excursion, parents of children whose mother tongue is not Russian are often seen to engage in communication regardless of their own level of Russian proficiency. Eventually, the parents start a closer interaction with the teacher. Despite the language barrier, they enter into discussion of events taking place in the group attended by their child, take part in parental meetings and intensify conversations carried out through the medium of electronic messaging services.

Traditional forms of familiarisation with cultural heritage, which maintain their importance for older pre-school age children, have a greater value for the younger generation since they facilitate a dialogue with the living reality and stimulate the ability to see historical and cultural objects of the modern urban environment within spatial coordinates, thus becoming a part of their own lived experience. The emotional-sensual experience of events affecting the formation of a worldview always lies at the heart of children's familiarity with the cultural environment of their urban environment.

In November 2019, the first festival of children's museum routes "Time of Discovery" was organised. This project, original in its content and unique for Yekaterinburg, was supported by the Department for Culture of the Government of Yekaterinburg. Although new to Yekaterinburg, the festival took the form of an already-established tradition of children's museum festival events held in many cities, including Perm, Moscow, Kaliningrad, Vladivostok and Tallinn. However, one of the earliest adopters of this format is the Children's Days festival in Saint Petersburg, which celebrated its 15th anniversary this year. While preparing for the festival in Yekaterinburg, the organisers of the Children's Days in the northern capital acted as consultants and masterminds.

The event was held last year from October 26 to November 10 during the school holidays. Sergey Kamensky, Director of the Yekaterinburg History Museum and curator of the festival, noted that permanent museum exhibitions are usually targeted at an adult audience. Young visitors, as a rule, are not interested in reading long descriptions of exhibits, written in scientific language, or in being passive listeners not manifesting themselves. Many of them believe that visiting a museum is boring. We want such visits to become fascinating events, comprising cognitive games for children (Kostyuk, 2019). According to the information received from the project organisers, 12,000 schoolchildren of different ages took part in the project[7]. Each of

[7] http://ekaterinburg300.ru/vo-fest

the 14 leading city museums, which served as the festival venues, prepared special guides for children with bright pictures and tricky questions. In the course of the quest, the children were invited to exercise their observational skills and resourcefulness while getting directly acquainted with the museums' collections, to look for answers to the questions, pay attention to the most unusual exhibits and learn interesting facts related to them. Especially for the festival, the museums staff developed guides, which helped the young visitors digest the exhibition through the form of a game, without an adult's assistance. In the festival curator's words, "Time of Discovery" is a game-excursion. All achievements were recorded in the individually issued form "Your Route": each museum visited by the student recorded the completed tasks. The main feature of the event was not the number of routes passed through, or even the number of "correct" answers, but rather the process itself. Upon presentation of the participant's diploma at Yekaterinburg History Museum, each participant received a memorable souvenir.

The inclusion of the younger generation in such active cognitive activities connected with the region's history and culture is an important step towards overcoming problems associated with the preservation of historical and cultural heritage, the transmission of memory and acquisition of identity, as well as taking the form of familiarisation with meanings and values of the past. This is what gives the process its vivacity and immediacy. The students obtained the opportunity to diversify their leisure activities within the urban environment, to demonstrate their independence and activity. The mini-guides created to pass the quest in each museum turned into unique "memory cards" about the event: the schoolchildren appeared to greatly enjoy sharing their impressions concerning those tasks which had been completed by everyone and which remained in their hands, having become a part of their personal history.

A different kind of museum project was aimed at solving problems of civil-patriotic orientation, directly included in the educational environment. The implementation of "Yekaterinburg – my favourite city" began with the thematic lesson dedicated to Yekaterinburg's patron Saint Catherine of Alexandria. The objective of the lesson was to explain the significance of the patron saint's personality to the schoolchildren, to introduce them to spiritual values and humanistic ideals. The author of the project, Irina Murzina, outlines the following priorities of the city thematic lesson:

- to cultivate a sense of belonging to the city's history as the basis of cultural identity;
- to promote comprehension of such traditional Russian spiritual and moral values as love for one's homeland, faith, spirituality, true beauty and harmony, humanistic ideals;
- to promote schoolchildren's interest in the history of their native land (see: Murzina, 2019).

Although the described event provoked controversy, receiving all kinds of comments both positive and negative in the media and on social networks, it is indisputable that, without knowledge of the place where a person studies, lives or works, the concept of history of the city, region or country will be incomplete. Through

the author's apparently simple and elementary ways of interacting with first graders and other students, mechanisms are launched that contribute to a personal feeling of the history of the place – and, along with this, the acquisition of identity.

According to the information provided by the Department for Education of Yekaterinburg, 162 schools took part in the project[8]. Among the participants were 36,970 primary school students, 31,290 secondary school students and 2,217 teachers. These studies are described in detail on Irina Murzina's Facebook page[9].

The lesson dedicated to the saint patron of Yekaterinburg became a part of the big regional cultural and educational patriotic project "We are Uralians!" (*Regional'nyi kul'turno-prosvetitel'skii patrioticheskiy proekt "My – Ural'tsy!"*, 2019*)*. Its developers and authors aim to address problems of regional education through the creation of a systematic programme, encompassing all educational levels (from pre-school to professional education, including supplementary and leisure activities), devoted to the history and contemporaneity of the region. The project is focused on the implementation of the idea of unity of classroom, extracurricular and out-of-school activities according to the understanding that this is possible when combining the educational, cultural and intellectual space of the region.

In order to achieve the main objective of the project (the development and implementation of a regional cultural and educational patriotic project aimed at formation of a positive identity (personal, regional, civil) and ensuring unity of all stages of education) (Ibid.), the authors consistently address the ostensible tasks, including mechanisms for ensuring children's direct involvement (in relation to the lesson) in cultural and educational practices. Despite the process of introduction to cultural values being localised and limited to the educational institution, the penetration of such practices into education solves the problem of institutional isolation. Familiarity with the city and its history through forms understandable and accessible for younger schoolchildren resolves a particular cultural tension that sometimes arises due to an inability to visit museums, unavailability of sources, lack of information or perceived need. In this sense, the project is significant in terms of cultural policy.

In autumn 2019, employees of the Sverdlovsk Regional Museum of Local History[10] launched an initiative entitled "The Museum Passes an Exam", which was aimed at demonstrating the possibilities of museum technologies to a youth audience. The action was organised by the Centre for Innovative Museum Technologies in cooperation with Ural State Pedagogical University. Future teachers visited the two exhibitions of the Sverdlovsk Regional Museum of Local History in express-excursion mode. The first of these was Poklevsky-Kozell's mansion[11], where a classical interior exposition, revealing the daily life of pre-revolutionary Yekaterinburg, was presented.

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[8] https://xn--80acgfbsl1azdqr.xn--p1ai/%D0%B6%D0%B8%D1%82%D0%B5%D0%BB%D1%8F%D0%BC/%D0%BE%D0%B1%D1%80%D0%B0%D0%B7%D0%BE%D0%B2%D0%B0%D0%BD%D0%B8%D0%B5/%D0%B4%D0%B5%D0%BF%D0%B0%D1%80%D1%82%D0%B0%D0%BC%D0%B5%D0%BD%D1%82

[9] https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100030597372303

[10] http://uole-museum.ru/

[11] http://uole-museum.ru/museums/muzejno-vystavochnyj-tsentr-dom-poklevskih-kozell/

The second exhibition took place at the sculptor Ernst Neizvestny's Museum[12], where the future teachers got acquainted with original artistic works and modern presentation technologies. In special "record books", the students assessed both museums for richness of content, historical credibility of the presented materials, attractiveness of the expositions and involvement in the atmosphere (*Budushchie pedagogi prinyali ekzamen u dvuh muzeev,* n.d.).

In the after-exam discussion, students, teachers and museum staff speculated on why not all museums meet the needs of today's society and what specific problems historical, local lore and art museum should aim to overcome. During the discussion, the students were observed to be divided into two ideological camps. The first camp argued that historical museums lack interactivity due to not all of them being able to afford to host genuine masterpieces with which many visitors would like to get acquainted in order to access their historical, cultural and artistic heritage. According to the participants of the event, the main advantage of the application of information technologies in the museum environment became everyone's access to information relating to cultural heritage: the opportunity to see the masterpieces on display in many countries of the world today without necessarily going there. The use of technologies for the preservation and transmission of cultural heritage provides an opportunity to familiarise oneself with it in detail: the images on the screens can be zoomed and rotated. Documents and artefacts related to Neizvestny's fate characterise him as a person of extraordinary thinking who built his relationships in accordance with the social norms of his time.

The other camp of students voted for the primacy of the museum exhibit: the authenticity of the museum object is important and interesting, first of all, by its involvement in the epoch it witnessed. Here, the point is precisely the memory it carries and the ability to transmit the information embedded in it. Both camps agreed that museums need to change, but while maintaining a balance between "classics" and "innovation." Along with the opportunities that information technologies offer to the visitor, the participants mentioned a loss of sense of ownership of the object – the opportunity to contemplate (and sometimes touch) an authentic artefact; they also noted that a museum object presented through multimedia loses its uniqueness and charm, becoming a product of mass consumption, about which Walter Benjamin wrote at the beginning of the 20th century (Benjamin, 1935/1996).

In this regard, the use of information technologies solves many tasks. For example, visitors entering Ernst Neizvestny's Museum in Yekaterinburg are welcomed by the sculptor's voice, preparing them for a dialogue with him as the author of many famous works, along with the epoch in which he lived and created, providing a special atmosphere for perception of the museum exhibits. It is clear that the opportunity to see the master's works with the help of interactive and multimedia means does not necessarily detract from a genuine enjoyment and perception of the artist's talent. Students noted the attractiveness and involvement in the atmosphere of the exhibition, since everyone was able to construct their own

[12] http://en-artmuseum.ru/

route and hold an interesting dialogue with the historical and cultural heritage in the modern language.

Conclusion

Presently, forms of cultural and educational practices are quite diverse and aimed at the widest range of consumers. This meets the objectives of cultural policies related to the inclusion of cultural heritage and the transmission of the people's experience and cultural memory. The preservation of cultural heritage – values, meanings and material cultural objects – is significant for the museum as a cultural institution and the functions assigned to it. The museum environment has always been an important element in the formation of historical memory, comprising a space for uniting its components. At present, projects implemented by museums in the regions contribute to the preservation and modernising of historical memory, as well as its transmission to future generations. Among the most effective factors of development and transformation of museum spaces on the way to openness, accessibility and dialogue are those resources used to facilitate non-institutionalised activities. These include alternative museum initiatives, often of an informal nature: games, events, excursions, etc. They provide public resonance and interest in the museum as a multifunctional cultural centre, where boundaries (linguistic, ethnic, national, age, etc.) can be surmounted and communicative interaction facilitated, ensuring a dialogue between the past and the present.

An important mechanism for the transmission of cultural experience, both of a particular people and of humanity as a whole, is the direct, living involvement of those to whom the transmission is provided. Pre-schoolers, schoolchildren and students comprise a generation that will also face the task of facilitating the transmission of memory and experience. The formation of the younger generation's identity, worldview, civic position and patriotism is possible through their inclusion in a dialogue about values and meanings. These are enshrined in images, stories, artefacts, oral traditions, etc. Cultural and educational activities, intensively positioned by museums, have become a part of the museum environment in an age of globalisation and digitalisation. Building constructive relations with educational institutions and organisations, the modern museum solves not only its "own" institutional tasks, but also apply to a different level of professional communication, which is characteristic of:

- the directed actions of public authorities for management in the sphere of culture;
- the formation of a professionally-focused and expert community (researchers, teachers, guides, marketing specialists, etc.) mastering the techniques and technologies of cultural and historical experience transmission;
- the competent entry of all the dialogue participants into the space of culture;
- intelligent immersion in the historical and cultural context;
- competent interpretation of significant information;
- competently solved marketing tasks.

It should be noted that the described practices involving various aged children of and students took place in 2019. This is an intensive, substantial, but also complex, activity, which is carried out in order to reduce the increasing gap with the past and tackle intergenerational problems. Cultural and educational activities are aimed at maintaining interest in the historical and cultural past, thus transmitting cultural heritage. The technicality of cultural heritage transmission organically combines traditional and innovative practices involved in the comprehension of significant events, places and artefacts. The development of a strategy of interactive communication in the context of modern culture is significant for participants regardless of how much emphasis is placed on the technological component. The main condition of communication sustainability is the acquisition of meaning, introduction to the values of cultural heritage and the interlocutor's sensual-emotional response. Well-organised communication allows the realisation of the cultural and educational potential of museums, using both traditional approaches (still relevant for the visitor) and multimedia technologies in its transmission.

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ARTICLE

Cultural Exchanges between Russia and Turkmenistan: Structure, Dynamics, and Defining Features

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ABSTRACT

Cultural exchanges are an essential component of humanitarian interaction between countries and societies, in particular, between political partners and neighboring states whose citizens regularly communicate with each other. This paper discusses cooperation in the area of cultural exchanges between the Russian Federation and one of its Central Asian neighbors the former Soviet republic of Turkmenistan. To date, cultural exchanges and humanitarian cooperation have received very little attention in Central Asian studies, despite the attention paid to Russian-Turkmen economic cooperation and policy aspects. This paper is aimed at illuminating the modes, factors, dynamics, and defining features of the Russia-Turkmenistan cooperation in the area of cultural exchanges over the recent decade. The notions "cultural exchanges", "humanitarian cooperation", and "cooperation in the area of cultural exchanges" are explored in Russian-Turkmen diplomatic documents and the legislation of the Commonwealth of Independent States. The author has studied such sources as diplomatic documents, interviews, newsletters of state institutions and non-governmental organizations, and news archives of Russian and Turkmen media.

KEYWORDS

Russia, Turkmenistan, humanitarian cooperation, cultural exchanges, "soft power"

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Introduction

Humanitarian cooperation – namely, cooperation in cultural exchanges, education, science, media, sport, tourism, and youth policy, according to the agreement between the members of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) (Agreement on Humanitarian Cooperation, 2005) – has become an integral part of Russia's relations with other post-Soviet countries. It has also become an essential tool of policy coordination and integration in post-Soviet space (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, 2005). Cultural exchanges, usually including those in art, concerts, cinema, theatre, libraries and book fairs, are an essential component of humanitarian cooperation, insofar as they can contribute to better mutual understanding and an increase in overall attractiveness of the respective countries' policies. This humanitarian cooperation is often regarded as a tool of "soft power". According to the concept of "soft power", the cultural appeal of a state results in the increase of its political impact, and is thus regarded as an important factor for international communication (Nye, 2004, 2008; Nye & Goldsmith, 2011; Nye, Jisi, Rosecrance, & Guoliang, 2009).

This paper discusses the cultural cooperation between the Russian Federation and one of its Central Asian neighbors, the former Soviet republic of Turkmenistan. The research is aimed at defining the modes, factors, dynamics, and specific features of this bilateral cultural exchange in recent decade. The study of this area of interstate cooperation is informative in several aspects: it can illuminate the symmetry as well as asymmetry of cultural communication, it can identify the practices of "soft power" between the partner states, and, finally, it can contribute to building forecasts and better evaluating the relationship as a whole.

Turkmenistan is a quite special case because of the unique character of its political regime. In Central Asian studies, Turkmenistan is usually viewed as having a strong continuity in "authoritarian" governance (Gyene, 2016; Horák, 2017; Maerz, 2016; Polese, Ó Beacháin, & Horák, 2017; Troitsky, 2014; Zabortseva, 2018). It has also been described as an "autocracy" (Basora, 2012) or a "totalitarian" regime (Kubicek, 2013). Beyond strongly influencing the internal politics of the state, this characteristic has also had direct impact on the state's interaction with the rest of the world. Turkmenistan is known for being an exceptionally closed state. For example, no Turkmen university, theatre, or library has an open website. In addition, the state does not welcome the arrival of foreign researchers planning to conduct field investigations in politics or sociology, refusing to issue visa invitations. In fact, for a foreigner, it is even impossible to visit Turkmenistan, unless you are a member of a state delegation, a celebrity on an agreed tour, a visiting researcher having a fixed purpose (e.g., a member of Russian-Turkmen archaeological expedition, or an officially appointed speaker at a conference), a businessperson officially invited for negotiations, or a member of an organized group of tourists with a strictly fixed route.

Consequently, an analysis and evaluation of cultural exchanges with a "closed" state and society like Turkmenistan is challenging, but at the same time a matter of high academic interest. This paper is based on an analysis of diplomatic documents,

interviews with Turkmen migrants to Russia, newsletters of state institutions and of non-state organizations, and news archives of Russian and Turkmen media. The latter was possible thanks to the fact that the leading news agencies in Turkmenistan – such as TDH[1], Orient[2] and others – have open websites in Turkmen, Russian, and usually English as well. Apart from the interviews of Turkmen migrants to Russia, it turned out to be impossible to get any statements directly from Turkmenistan on this topic, as the possibility of regular communication with the outer world via the Internet for Turkmen citizens is limited.

Legislative Framework

Since the collapse of the USSR, Russia and Turkmenistan have signed a number of bilateral documents, defining the cultural area of their cooperation. The importance of cultural cooperation and the obligation to develop cultural ties are fixed in the Russian-Turkmen treaties of 2002 (Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation, 2002) and 2017 (Treaty on Strategic Partnership, 2017), and in the detailed way the cultural area is referred to in the 1995 intergovernmental agreement on the cooperation in the field of culture, education, and science (Agreement between the Government, 1995). According to this document, both countries agreed on access to the cultural heritage of both countries, free and equal cultural development for expatriate communities, delegation exchanges, festivals, tours, exhibitions, film festivals, literature exchanges, ties between libraries, and cooperation between artists, publishing houses, and cultural foundations.

The Russian-Turkmen bilateral agreement differs considerably from Russia's similar documents with other Central Asian partners such as Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan. In Russian-Turkmen agreement, laconic phrases prevail, with minimal specifics added; furthermore, the structure of cooperation is far less detailed. Moreover, there is a relatively limited set of obligations that are mostly reducible to simple cooperation. Based on comparison with Russia's other Central Asian partnerships one can conclude that this is because of Turkmenistan's closed status and firm opposition to broader exchanges.

In addition, in 2017 the Russian and Turkmen Ministries of Culture signed a program of bilateral cooperation for 2018–2020. The new program included the same areas of exchange: cinematography, theatre, literature, and art (Press Office of the Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation, 2017a). Lastly, it is important to note that Turkmenistan is extremely centralized. Although it defines itself "democratic", nearly all power lies with the president, and no decisions or deals can be made with foreign partners without a thorough evaluation by the government.

[1] *The state news agency of Turkmenistan – Turkmenistan today*. https://tdh.gov.tm/en/

[2] *Orient – Information agency "Media-Turkmen"*. https://orient.tm/en/

Cultural Exchanges between State Organizations

The cultural cooperation between Russia and Turkmenistan is mainly carried out by state organizations controlled by the respective governments such as museums, theatres, and concert agencies. The first type of interstate cultural exchange to note are the "Days of Culture". This event is organized annually on a reciprocal basis. In 2010, Moscow and St. Petersburg celebrated the "Days of Turkmen Culture" in Russia with the concerts by Turkmen musicians, a presentation of an anthology of the works of the famous Turkmen poet Mollanepes, and an exhibition of Turkmen applied and decorative art (Press Office of the Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation, 2017g). In 2011, the Astrakhan region of Russia – that is geographically closest to Turkmenistan – organized its "Days of Culture" in the Turkmen capital Ashgabat and in the city of Mary. This program included the performance of Astrakhan singers and dancers, a concert by the philharmonic orchestra, and exhibitions of paintings, *Palekh* decorative art, and photography (Krylov, 2011). In 2013, the Russian state agency tasked with maintaining cultural ties with foreign partners and Russian expatriates – the Federal Agency for the Commonwealth of Independent States Affairs, Compatriots Living Abroad, and International Humanitarian Cooperation (*Rossotrudnichestvo*) organized the "Days of Russian Language" in Turkmenistan, offering lessons and seminars for teachers of Russian language from Turkmen schools, a conference for philologists, and a reading contest for schoolchildren (Romanova, 2013).

In 2013, 2014, and 2015, Turkmenistan celebrated a film festival, which screened the most popular Soviet and Russian films (Dni "Mosfil'ma", 2015). In 2016, the "Days of Turkmen Culture" were organized in both Moscow and Vladimir by Turkmen authorities and the Russian state concert agency "Rosconcert". The program included concerts by Turkmen musicians, singers, and dancers, meetings with Turkmen writers and poets, and an exhibition of Turkmen applied and decorative art (Kovalevsky, 2016). The contents of the "Days of Turkmen Culture" in Russia in 2018 was similar (Press Office of the Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation, 2018e). In 2017, "The Days of Russian Culture" were conducted in Turkmenistan, including the performances of the Igor Moiseyev State Academic Ensemble, a lesson for the students of Turkmen State Institute of Culture, a photography exhibition titled *The Nature of the Russian North*, and film screenings (Press Office of the Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation, 2017b). The years of 2018 (V turkmenskoy stolitse, 2018) and 2019 (Dni rossiyskogo kinematografa, 2019) were also marked by the "Days of Russian Cinema" in Turkmenistan, which included film presentations and meetings with directors and actors. In addition, in 2019 the "Days of Turkmen Culture" were organized in St. Petersburg (Serdar Azmun, 2019) and in Tatarstan (Letopis' 2019 goda, 2020).

Besides the "Days of Culture," more examples of exchanges between state cultural organizations can be cited. As a rule, they are organized with the help of both the Russian and Turkmen embassies and "Rossotrudnichestvo". In 2017, the Russian State Museum of Oriental Art and the Turkmen Museum of Art held a joint exhibition of Turkmen paintings in Moscow (Press Office of the Ministry of Culture of

the Russian Federation, 2017c). The same year, the A. A. Bakhrushin State Central Theatre Museum held a personal exhibition of Turkmen and Russian artist Berdiguly Amansahatov (Press Office of the Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation, 2017q). In addition, that year the Russian Central Museum of Cinema organized an exhibition dedicated to the famous Soviet film *Beloe solntse pustunu* ("White Sun of the Desert"). in Turkmenistan (Press Office of the Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation, 2017f). In 2018, the Moscow State Conservatory celebrated Turkmen musicians at a concert dedicated to the 80th anniversary of the world known Turkmen composer Nury Khalmamedov (Kovalevsky, 2018), and the Moscow House of Artists – with the help of the Russian Ministry of Culture – organized an exhibition of paintings by artists from post-Soviet countries, including Turkmenistan (Press Office of the Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation, 2018a). In 2019, the Ashgabat Russian Drama Theatre toured in Volgograd (Grechukhina, 2019) and the famous Russian pianist Yuri Bogdanov visited Ashgabat (Letopis' 2019 goda, 2020). In addition, the Russian State Museum of Oriental Art presented an exhibition "Splendid Margiana" on the history of the Margiana archaeological expedition, which involved the cooperation of Russian and Turkmen archaeologists and art restoration experts (Letopis' 2019 goda, 2020). In the beginning of 2020, the famous Russian cellist and rector of the St. Petersburg State Conservatory, Alexey Vasiliev (Embassy of the Russian Federation in Turkmenistan, 2020b), as well as a leading opera singer from the Mariinsky Theatre Tsvetana Omelchuk (Embassy of the Russian Federation in Turkmenistan, 2020a) gave concerts in Ashgabat. Also, at the beginning of 2020 the Institute of Material Culture (IMC) of the Russian Academy of Sciences presented a 3D copy of a sacrificial altar – which had been found in Turkmen Republic by Russian archaeologists in Soviet times and carefully preserved by IMC up to present days – to the Turkmen Museum of Art as a gift (Tsinkler, 2020).

In addition, Turkmen artists and musicians regularly take part in international contests, culture festivals, art symposiums, and exhibitions held in Russia. For example, in 2015 Turkmen artists took part in the art symposium titled "Great Silk Road" in Yelabuga (Federal Agency for Tourism of the Russian Federation, 2015). In 2017, Turkmen artists took part in the festival of modern art titled *Territoriya* in Moscow (Press Office of the Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation, 2017d), the culture festival *Caspian Sea – the Shores of Friendship* in Makhachkala (Press Office of the Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation, 2017i), and the art symposium *Ceremonies and traditions* in Yelabuga (Press Office of the Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation, 2017h). Moreover, young Turkmen musicians participated in a festival in Astrakhan (Press Office of the Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation, 2017j). In 2018, Turkmen artists took part in a festival of art and design in Cheboksary (Press Office of the Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation, 2018f) and an art symposium in Yelabuga (Press Office of the Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation, 2018c), while Turkmen composers participated in an All-Russian composing contest with international participation (Press Office of the Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation, 2018d). In 2019, Turkmen composers took part in the Winter Festival of Art in Sochi (Press Office of the Ministry of Culture

of the Russian Federation, 2019b). Turkmen masters of applied and decorative art also participated in an international exhibition in Makhachkala (Press Office of the Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation, 2019f) and Turkmen cultural studies scholars visited as guests at a conference on decorative art in Derbent (Press Office of the Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation, 2019e).

Russian artists and musicians are also sometimes invited to festivals, national holidays, and contests organized by Turkmen cultural institutions. For example, in 2012, ethnic pop band *Argymak* participated in a music festival in the Turkmen city of Avaza (Press Office of the Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation, 2017l). In 2013, several Russian pop bands and singers were invited to take part in a gala concert for the All-Turkmen Week of Culture, which also coincided with the celebrations of President Berdymuhammedov's birthday (Volkova, 2013). In 2019, Russian pop stars participated in a concert at a Caspian Economic Forum in Avaza (Prezident Turkmenistana, 2019) and Russian theatres were presented at an international theatrical festival in Ashgabat (V turkmenskoy stolitse, 2019). In addition, every year Ashgabat holds an international book fair in which Russian authors and publishing houses are represented by the Russian Federal Agency for Press and Mass Communications (Rospechat') (Erusalimsky, 2012; Rossiyskie knigi, 2017).

It should be noted, that in Russia, even in "official" exchanges between state organizations, Turkmen culture is often represented through the efforts of local enthusiasts interested in oriental art and art research. For example, the State Museum of Oriental Art regularly organizes exhibitions and lectures dedicated to Central Asian art (including Turkmen art) and to Turkmen art in particular (Press Office of the Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation, 2017e, 2017n, 2019a). Besides events in Moscow, some museums and cultural centers in Russian regions also from time to time present exhibitions and cultural program dedicated to international friendship which sometimes include Turkmen art and traditions. In recent years, such events took place in 2017 in the Krylov museum in the city of Tula (Press Office of the Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation, 2017k), in an art gallery in the city of Nefteyugansk (Press Office of the Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation, 2017m), in a Tula Art Gallery (Press Office of the Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation, 2017o), in Voronezh State Regional Museum of Art (Press Office of the Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation, 2017r), and in Orenburg State Regional Museum of Art (Press Office of the Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation, 2017p). In 2018, Turkmen culture – among others – was presented at an exhibition *Culture Has No Borders* in the Chuchkovo State Library in the Ryazan region (Press Office of the Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation, 2018b). In 2019, a young artist from Turkmenistan, L. Kulova, was invited to take part in a collective exhibition in Tambov Regional Art Gallery (Press Office of the Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation, 2019g). In 2014, the Agency for Archives of Astrakhan region opened access to its online collection of archival documents on the cooperation between Russia and other Caspian states, including Turkmenistan (Otkryta virtual'naya, 2014). Russian archaeologist Natalia Solovieva (Tsinkler, 2020), who is also head a Russian-Turkmen archaeological expedition,

and I. Golubnichy (Kustov, 2014b), who is the chief editor of the newspaper *Moscow Writer*, were awarded the Turkmen national Magtymguly Medal for their studies and popularization of Turkmen culture.

One can explain the interest and enthusiasm of Russian activists and spectators in Turkmen culture by appealing to the common Soviet past. In addition, we can see that Turkmen culture and Turkmen art are a matter of interest for Russian experts in Oriental studies. The traditions and continuity in Russian school of Oriental studies have always been consistent, since the times of the Russian Empire and Soviet Union. In a multinational and multicultural Russian society, the interest to Central Asia is persistent, as well as the readiness to communicate with other cultures and study their cultural heritage.

Non-State Organizations in Cultural Exchanges

In addition to exchanges between state cultural institutions, there are several examples of non-state participation in Russian-Turkmen cultural cooperation. These typically include the initiatives of expatriate communities.

In Russia, there are some well-organized Turkmen expatriate communities, mostly in large cities like Moscow, St. Petersburg, Yekaterinburg, and others. They usually have websites or online communities in social networks, although the majority of the latter are closed to non-members. These sites report recent news of interest to the community. Moreover, these Turkmen communities also often include several cultural initiatives. For example, in 2010, the Turkmen diaspora in Ivanovo organized a concert for a local orphanage to celebrate the Day of the Turkmen flag (Ivanovo House of Nationalities, 2010). In 2012 (Griboedova, 2012) and 2014 (Zaharov, 2014), Turkmen students organized presentations of Turkmen cuisine in Barnaul. In 2014, the association *Russian-Turkmen House* and the Congress of Turkmens of Russia presented an exhibition of Turkmen painting in the Moscow House of Nationalities (Moscow House of Nationalities, 2014) and Turkmen students and diaspora members represented Turkmen culture at a festival titled “Friendship Meridian” in St. Petersburg (Kustov, 2014a). In 2017, Turkmen students from Tula State University gave a lecture on Turkmen traditions of the New Year celebrations in the local Veresaev Museum (Press Office of the Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation, 2017s) and musicians from the Turkmen community of Tula region took part in a concert in the local philharmonic society (Turkmenskaya diaspora primet uchastie, 2017).

In 2018, the Turkmen community of St. Petersburg organized a photo exhibition titled *Turkmenistan – the Heart of the Silk Road* (Fotovystavka o Turkmenistane, 2018). In 2019, Turkmen students from the Association of Foreign Students of Moscow State University organized a book exhibition also titled *Turkmenistan – the Heart of the Silk Road* in the library of the Russian town of Pokrov (Press Office of the Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation, 2019d) and in Tula Turkmen students gave more lectures on Turkmen national traditions in the Veresaev Museum (Press Office of the Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation, 2019c). In addition, in

2019 Turkmen community members in St. Petersburg in cooperation with the local House of Nationalities organized an exhibition of Turkmen paintings and decorative art (Letopis' 2019 goda, 2020) and the Turkmen community of Edelbai village in the Stavropol region organized celebrations of the 295th anniversary of the famous Turkmen poet Magtymguly's birth (Turkmenskaya diaspora v Stavropol'e, 2019). In February 2020, a Turkmen student from Dagestan State Agrarian University – who is also a member of "Interdruzhba Association" (Association of International Friendship) – conducted a "lesson of friendship" dedicated to Turkmenistan, in a school in the city of Makhachkala (Charyeva, 2020). In addition, every year Turkmen communities in Russian cities organize the celebrations of *Nowruz* holiday, which are open to everyone (Turkmenskaya diaspora Moskvy, 2011; Turkmenskaya diaspora Chuvashii, 2019).

Russian Expatriates in Turkmenistan, Turkmen Diaspora in Russia

There is very little research and almost no mentions in either Russian or Turkmen media on Russian expatriates in Turkmenistan. The author of the present article is aware of two publications: the research by Natalia O. Matveytseva on the evolution of social and political status of Russian expatriates in the CIS countries (2007) and by the Institute of CIS country studies presenting a comparative analysis of the legal status of compatriots in post-Soviet countries (2014). Both these publications claim unsatisfactory conditions for Russian expatriates in Turkmenistan (Matveytseva, 2007; Zatulin et al., 2014). Since the 1990s, the Turkmen government has pursued a path of total "Turkmenisation" (Ivanov, 2019) that has resulted in numerous human rights violations (V Gosdume Rossii, 2020). Moreover, given the adoption of state laws that have forced people with dual citizenship either to denounce their non-Turkmen citizenship or to leave the country (Iskhod. Russkie begut, 2015), it is safe to conclude that there is no role for the Russian diaspora in Turkmenistan currently.

Thus, apart from the above-mentioned official exchanges, any other means of representation of Russian culture in Turkmenistan are hard to assess. Since Turkmenistan does not welcome field research in the social sciences and has highly regulated laws of internet, this study employed a poll of Turkmen immigrants – mainly, students and labor migrants – to collect details on Russian culture in Turkmenistan. However, even this was challenging, as the numbers of Turkmen immigrants are much less than those of other diasporas from Tajikistan or Uzbekistan. Furthermore, Turkmen migrants by-and-large prefer not to answer polls, probably fearing persecution upon their return to Turkmenistan. The author of this article was, however, able to find 40 migrants from Turkmenistan, currently living in Russia. The author achieved this with the help of online communities in the social network VK[3], the help of the Moscow office of the non-commercial organization All-Russian Federation of Migrants, and thanks to local Turkmen diaspora in Yekaterinburg.

[3] VK (short for its original name VKontakte) is a Russian online social media and social networking service. https://vk.com

Of these 40 contacts, only six agreed to answer. Even this small batch of results were curious:

> I studied in "Russian" school, but didn't get in touch with cultural exchanges with Russia. We only studied Russian literature and culture at school. There are Russians living in Turkmenistan, although much fewer, than earlier. They preserve their traditions, celebrate Christian orthodox holidays. What can be interesting in exchanges? I don't know. Maybe, some theatrical performances on the works of famous Russian writers. It can help to visualize and feel Russia. And now there are very few Russian books in bookshops, while in 1990s there had been a lot (Guzel, 32).

> I saw Easter celebrations by Russians. And I know about the Russian tradition to go to *banya* [Russian sauna]. At school we studied Russian writers. I like reality shows on Russian TV (Jeyhun, 24).

> At school we studied Russian language and Russian literature. The books of Russian writers are translated into the Turkmen language, too. I like the fashion style of Russian girls (Mekan, 24).

> I studied at "Russian" school. Because of this, books in Russian were accessible for me. But generally, the government is against spreading of books in other languages than Turkmen. From Russian culture, in Turkmenistan Russian literature and cuisine are popular. Can the exchanges be developed? I doubt, because in our country the government is pushing forward Turkmen culture, everything Turkmen, starting with the control of clothes in national style (Myakhri, 28).

> I studied at "Russian" school. My image of Russia was formed by my mother, she is from Russia. I read Leo Tolstoy, Dostoyevsky, Gogol, Pushkin. Talking about cultural events – I have visited some now in Russia. I want to study in Russian university in future. From Russian experience – holiday celebrations, cultural events in Russia are worth borrowing (Anonymous, 33).

> I studied at "Russian" school; I speak Russian well. In Turkmenistan I had experience of visiting some cultural events, dedicated to Russia. Among Russian writers and poets, I know Pushkin, among movie stars – Boyarsky, among musicians – Kirkorov, Pugacheva and Basta. Generally, acquaintance with Russian culture helps to feel more comfortable here and understand each other with Russians better (Anonymous, 32).

What implications can be drawn from these answers?

First, the official cultural exchanges are *not* accessible for the majority of people in Turkmenistan. Otherwise, these Turkmen citizens could have at least remembered

visiting, say, some concerts of "Days of Culture" or a film festival. This does not mean the absence of the exchanges *per se*, but rather indicates their poor accessibility for Turkmen citizens not only in small cities but also in the capital.

Second, the Turkmen government is consistently carrying out a policy of total "Turkmenisation". The promotion of national culture, national literature, national language, and national fashion would certainly seem natural, provided that this policy did not imply a strict limitation on the representation of other cultures, including those with which Turkmenistan officially "develops cooperation and cultural exchanges".

Third, the cultural practices of Russian expatriates and "Russian" schools seem to provide more contact with Russian culture for Turkmens on a regular basis than the official exchanges between state cultural institutions. Thanks to becoming acquainted with Russian expatriates' practices and studying at "Russian" schools, locals can form their own first image of Russia and Russian cultural heritage. Even if they do not become regular visitors of official events related to Russia, their acquaintance with Russian culture can contribute to developing more open-minded and culturally receptive personalities.

Conclusion

The study of the cultural exchanges between Russia and Turkmenistan demonstrates the following: There is an "official" exchange – between the state institutions of both countries – and there is an "informal", or non-state exchange provided by people-to-people exchanges and the activity of expatriate communities. The former mechanisms prevail over the latter in terms of organizational structure and size. Moreover, it can be assumed that the latter would be impossible without the approval of the state institutions that facilitate the former. Therefore, we can talk about strong state control over the exchange in both countries. However, this state control should not only be regarded in a negative way. It also demonstrates the interest of governmental circles in the continuation of such exchanges.

At the same time, state control of the exchanges provides the state with control over the information about them too, and this creates a problem for the study and evaluation of these exchanges. While in Russia it is possible at least to locate and study the organizational (state and non-state) reports, as well as detailed descriptions and photos from the events, this is not possible in Turkmenistan. There is no open information about the accessibility of the events for Turkmen citizens, the number of visitors, or their reactions. Furthermore, field research in Turkmenistan is inaccessible due to the refusal of the Turkmen state to accept visitors doing research, other than fixed participation in a conference, fixed artist tour, or fixed route for a group of tourists accompanied by Turkmen guides.

The dynamics of the bilateral cultural exchanges between Russia and Turkmenistan over the recent decade can be characterized as stable. The continuation of the exchanges, despite the closed status of the Turkmen state and its "Turkmenisation" policy, testify to the sturdiness of the cooperation between the two countries. Despite its attempts, Turkmenistan cannot close its cultural space

completely. Economic communication with Russia continues thanks to large-scale events like the Caspian Forum, CIS summits, etc. And moreover, it also can be assumed that these highly controlled cultural exchanges with the outer world – including those with Russia – can probably be used positively by the Turkmen regime to avoid acquiring the image of a completely closed totalitarian country. Thus, international music festivals and book fairs continue to be organized, and international cooperation is demonstrated to the world. And while these cultural ties do not change Turkmenistan's restrictive cultural policy toward its foreign partners, the impact is still political. The events organized still create an environment of contacts, which importantly exceed political or business negotiations. Even limited as they are, the exchanges will probably contribute to Russia's image as a friendly state toward contemporary Turkmenistan.

The main factors that define the trends of bilateral cooperation are the positions of state organizations in charge of cultural exchanges, the closed status of Turkmenistan, and the above-mentioned bilateral state control over exchanges. This state control can be considered the main defining feature of Russia-Turkmenistan cultural exchanges. The second defining feature is their asymmetry. Turkmen culture in Russia has much greater opportunity to be represented, than Russian culture in Turkmenistan. This has been accomplished by the well-organized cultural initiatives of the Turkmen expatriate community in Russia. And, crucially, Russian state authorities are in favor of such pluralism of culture representations, as it corresponds to the purpose of inter-ethnic accord. This pluralism can be understood as deeply rooted in the history of the multi-national Russian Empire and multi-national Soviet Union. At the same time, Turkmen national policy limits the self-expression of non-Turkmen cultures to a minimum. This contradicts its image of "not-a-completely-closed-state," and this is a fundamental contradiction. The cultural exchanges from the Turkmen side therefore have a dualistic nature: on the one hand, they exist and are organized. On the other hand, they are not accessible and sometimes not even known to exist for the majority of Turkmens, especially those who live outside Ashgabat and who are not in any way linked to political and cultural circles. This is also a certain asymmetry, but it is not due to the weakness of Russian "soft power," but the external circumstances which are defined by the Turkmen regime and its sovereign national and cultural policy. Probably, given the continuity of Turkmen regime, these characteristics of the bilateral relationship will remain the same in foreseeable future. Nevertheless, "windows of opportunities" provided by cultural exchanges for people-to-people communication should be used carefully and thoughtfully to build and maintain unofficial, informal, and friendly ties between the people of these two nations.

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ARTICLE

Chinese Migration and Cross-Border Practices in the Russian-Chinese Interaction in the Far East: Four Stages of Intercultural Dialogue

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ABSTRACT
Russian-Chinese interaction in the Far East covers relations between the two largest world civilizations: Russia and China. One of its most important features is Chinese migration in the Russian Far Eastern (RFE) border region. This article analyzes the role and importance of Chinese migration as an integral component of the Sino-Russian cross-border interactions that has had varied effects over the past century and a half. Chinese migration is an indispensable condition for the emergence and development of cross-border practices in the RFE and the presence and economic activity of Chinese migrants ensures the continued development of forms of cross-border interaction and, in general, the dialogue between the cultures. To substantiate this thesis, systemic and historical-chronological methods are used to analyze a significant amount of factual and statistical material accumulated by historical research in the works of Russian and Chinese historians and social researchers.

KEYWORDS
Chinese migration, Russian-Chinese interaction, cross-border practices, the Far East, intercultural dialogue

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Introduction

Sino-Russian relations have an over four-century history. Today, contacts between Russia and China have become not only a part of global international relations, but also an essential component of an inter-civilizational convergence (Myasnikov, 2017, p. 11). This makes new research on the history of this relationship – particularly in the Russian Far East (RFE) – increasingly important.

Russian-Chinese interaction in the Far East began to develop in the second half of the 19th century. After the signing of the Aigun[1] and Beijing Treaties[2], there was a wave of Russian migration from Europe to the southern territories of the Russian Far East. Through the development of agricultural, industry, and transport in this border territory, the two civilizations began to converge. It was here that Russian-Chinese interaction was the greatest. At the same time, Chinese migrants in the Russian Far East formed one a distinct, but related subgroup.

This Chinese migration flow, which began in the 19th century, has today become an integral part of the RFE's socio-economic life. And today more than ever, the economic activity and the peculiarities of the interactions of this Chinese migrant population with the Russian population continues to have a direct impact on the development of Russian-Chinese cooperation at all levels. Consequently, the study of Chinese migration continues to be important for the Russian state.

Over the past 150 years, Chinese migration to the RFE has been the most important element in determining Sino-Russian relations. Several cross-border practices in the RFE are important to consider here. Nevertheless, ethnic and migration studies remain "a rag-tag field", defined by one scholar as "a ragged field of study, not an intellectually unified discipline" (DeTona et al., 2019, p. 7). Scholars have mainly studied the socio-economic aspects of the Chinese migration to the RFE, as well as the peculiarities of the Chinese migrants' legal status. Yet the daily interactions of the Russian population and Chinese migrants, including cross-border practices and dialogue has not yet sufficiently been analyzed.

The purpose of the current article is to analyze the role of Chinese migration in the RFE border area as an integral part of cross-border Sino-Russian practices. Throughout the long history of Sino-Russian relations in the RFE, a cultural dialogue between these two unique cultures has unfolded. While this dialogue is not an explicit part of the common understanding of either culture, it has been recognized to have important effects (Ornatskaya, 2014, pp. 51–52). The current article explores this dialogue through everyday actions and interactions, i.e., situated discursive practices (Linell, 2004, pp. 7–9).

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[1] The Aigun Treaty, which was concluded on May 16 (28), 1858, established the Russian-Chinese border, and legally assigned to Russia the areas in the Amur region. The Russians claimed the territory on the left bank of the Amur river to the sea, while the Chinese claimed the right bank. The exclusive rights of Russian and Chinese vessels to sail on the Amur, Sungari, and Ussuri rivers was also established.

[2] The Beijing Treaty, which was concluded on November 2 (14), 1860, finally secured for Russia the Ussuri territory. The western border between the two countries was also fixed with this treaty. Moreover, Russia received the right to duty-free trade along the entire eastern border.

This dialogue is most obvious in the RFE border, where, due to the geographical proximity of Russian and China, maximum rapprochement occurs. The ongoing contact of these two cultures is highly interdependent in this region and could be interrupted only by force. At the same time, the RFE – traditionally conceived of in Russia as a region far from the central Russia, and thus already alienated from Russian culture in general – is a peripheral area, remote from the cultural and economic centers of both countries. Cross-border practices thus flourish here are considered to be forms of interaction that exceed each state individually.

This article argues that Chinese migration is an indispensable condition for the emergence and development of the cross-border practices in the RFE. The presence and economic activities of Chinese migrants not only ensure the development of diverse forms of cross-border interaction; they are also integral in fostering of cultural dialogue and cultural diffusion.

A system method was used in this study. This allows me to analyze Chinese migration as a subject of the formation of social cross-border practices of Russian-Chinese interaction in the RFE territories across cultural, historical and geopolitical contexts, and, at the same time, as a coherent system with its own development and homeostasis. Furthermore, a historical-chronological method allows me to consider Sino-Russian relations through the prism of the Chinese migration's effect on the development and transformation of the RFE.

Historical Stages of the Intercultural Dialogue between Russia and China in the Russian Far East

Stage One–"Creation": the middle of the 19th century through the beginning of the 20th centuries. Completely new patterns were formed in this period of the Russian Empire's development of the RFE in the wake of the Aigun and Beijing treaties. These new patterns crystallized in the emerging contact zone of the RFE border. It was here that Chinese migration flows increased the most. William Petersen has called this migration an "impelled migration" (Petersen, 1958, p. 262): in the middle of the 19th century, the invasion of China by imperialist powers and its transformation into a semi-colonial country led to the emergence of a layer of Chinese coolies who went to work outside their homeland and made up a significant part of Chinese migration. By 1897, there were 43,000 Chinese citizens in the RFE (Wishnick, 2002, p. 42).

During this time, Chinese migrants began to engage actively in the economic life of the region where there was previously a shortage of labor. The settlement of the region by ethnic Russians from the west, however, was slow. From 1861–1891 about 43,000 immigrants arrived in the Amur and Primorye regions. The Russians had followed a military-strategic orientation to the settlement of the RFE which resulted in a mixed population of Cossacks, peasants, and prospectors, but very few workers (Krushanov, 1991, pp. 32–34). This set the stage for an influx of Chinese workers because of the exceptional proximity of the region to China. According to official data, the number of Chinese prospectors in the mines of the mountainous districts

of Amur, Primorye, and Transbaikalia in 1910 reached 25,000 people (Ossendovsky, 1916, p. 20). Chinese labor was widely used in the construction of railways. So, in 1892–1916, 200,000 Chinese people worked on the construction of the Trans-Siberian Railway (Li, 2006, p. 121).

Because of socio-economic and geopolitical factors, Chinese migration to the RFE became a hotspot for Russian-Chinese interaction, foreign trade, and Chinese small to medium business. In 1910, in the Primorsky and Amur regions, there were 4,267 Chinese trading enterprises with a total exchange of more than 25 million rubles (Gravje, 1912, p. 362), or 185 million US dollars. Chinese migration also led to the emergence of a host of illegal and semi-illegal activities that have long been rooted in the RFE: smuggling, Honghuzies[3], opiate smoking, horse stealing, poaching, and espionage. Furthermore, the Chinese population at this time started to stratify itself into specific trades and professions from merchants, workers, and artisans to tradesmen and smugglers.

This influx of Chinese migrants also led to significant cultural exchange. Russian settlers became more acquainted with the Chinese traditions. There is evidence that the Russian urban population decorated their houses in Chinese-style dwellings (Petrov, 2003, pp. 754–755) and great interest in Vladivostok grew because of the Chinese celebration of the Chinese New Year in that city. Moreover, since the end of the 19th century, Chinese theaters have been an important part of settlements in the RFE. In Vladivostok, for example, there were three Chinese theaters by the end of the 19th century, and in Khabarovsk, there were two theaters. In return, the Chinese people showed interest in the Russian language and culture. They visited Russian libraries, theaters, museums, and concerts, and attended Russian language courses or hired tutors. Among the 1,987 people who visited the museum of the Troitskosavsko-Kyakhtinsky branch of the Amur Department of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society in 1904, 520 were Chinese (26.2% of the total number of visitors). Chinese children also had the opportunity to learn Russian in the "Vladivostok Nikolayevsk City Russian-Chinese School" (opened in 1897 in Vladivostok), which the Chinese City Society Organization helped create. At the school, Chinese children studied alongside Russians. In 1899, there were 75 Russian children at the school, 15 Chinese children, and 5 children of Russian Koreans. The school also taught Russian children Chinese (Petrov, 2003, pp. 702–705, 729, 755). The development of Russian-Chinese intercultural interaction was facilitated by the opening in 1899 of the Eastern Institute in Vladivostok, where the teaching of Sinology disciplines was pioneered in Russia. Among the faculty of the Institute were several Chinese professors. The activities of the Institute made a great contribution to the development of scientific contacts between Russia and China, and surely contributed to the cultural interpenetration of the two peoples and the formation of their inter-civilization relations.

It must be emphasized that during this historical stage the RFE region was seen as part of periphery by both cultures. This peripherality had a direct impact on the

[3] The participants of armed groups, which had operated in Manchuria since the middle of the 19th century until 1949, were called Honghuzies (from the Chinese "Honghuzi" – "red-bearded"). They were mostly either bankrupt migrants, or the Chinese fleeing to Manchuria from hard labor.

development of cross-border contacts. The RFE regional authorities were entrusted with migration control and regulation of migrants' activities; however, as there was no developed migration legislation, serious difficulties and problems arose. This situation was aggravated by the impossibility of accurately registering Chinese migrants (because of shortcomings in statistical work); the isolation of the Chinese community; and, at the same time, the mobility of the Chinese; illegal Chinese penetration into Russian territory; and the cultural specifics of Chinese names and surnames. Local regional authorities were thus largely left alone to make decisions about Chinese migrants.

The Committee on the Settlement of the Far East, established in 1909, developed measures to limit the influx of Chinese migrants. The fee for a passing certificate or visa was increased and the use of Chinese labor in military and railway construction was prohibited. These measures, as well as "The Law about Some Restrictions on Foreigners" (established on June 21, 1910), which prohibited the hiring of foreign nationals with treasury funds, only slightly reduced the number of Chinese workers in the RFE. In 1910 before these measures there were 42,500 Chinese workers in the RFE according to official figures (70% of the total number of Russian workers), while in 1911 there were 36,200 workers (about 50%). However, less than a month after the adoption of this law, significant concessions were made. For example, §4 of the law gave the Council of Ministers the right to allow foreigners to perform urgent work (in case of a shortage of Russian workers). This made it possible for many departments to obtain permits to hire Chinese workers for construction and other works (Romanova, 2000, p. 87). Importantly, these restrictive measures were applied before the outbreak of World War I. On July 25, 1914, the tsarist government temporarily allowed Chinese people to work at enterprises. Subsequently, the number of Chinese workers increased once again. By October 1917, there were about 500,000 Chinese people in Russia, including more than 200,000 in the RFE (Li, 1996, p. 6; Yin, 1997, p. 32).

In general, this first historical stage saw a fairly stable development of cross-border practices. The field of interaction between Chinese and Russian populations expanded, and more forms of cultural contact became routine. Due to civilizational differences, the Chinese migrants did not seek to assimilate into Russian society, but they did actively contribute to the socio-economic processes of the RFE.

Stage Two – "Conversion": 1918–1938. The second stage was not long, but it was exceptionally. After October 1917, a new stage in Sino-Russian relations began. The new Chinese migrants to Soviet territory were now considered to be useful as participants in the upcoming class battles – particularly as the Soviet leadership oriented itself toward the implementation of a world socialist revolution.

Chinese migrants on Russian territory thus became an important element of the Soviet national policy system. The policy regarding Chinese migrants was developed in accordance with the programmatic guidelines of the ruling Communist Party. One goal was to use "revolutionary" Chinese migrants in the implementation of socialist revolutions across Asia. To achieve this aim, varieties of methods were used. First, an international consciousness for the Chinese workers was needed. Protecting the

rights of Chinese migrants on Soviet territory was seen as integral to the process of introducing Chinese migrants to the revolutionary transformations in Russia and further internationalist education.

In April 1917, the Union of Chinese Citizens in Russia was created in Petrograd. In December 1918, it was renamed the Union of Chinese Workers. By the middle of 1920, the Union included more than 50,000 people and had branches in Samara, Saratov, Kiev, Murmansk, Vyatka, Chelyabinsk, Tashkent, Yekaterinburg, Tomsk, Krasnoyarsk, Irkutsk, Blagoveshchensk, Chita, Khabarovsk, Vladivostok, and other Soviet cities (Lin, 1994, pp. 101–102). Under the leadership of the Union, schools for political literacy were created; lectures were given; and communist cells were organized.

On June 25, 1920, the Central Organizing Bureau (CSC) of the Chinese Communists in Russia was created, which carried out propaganda work among the Chinese workers living in Russia. About 1,600 Chinese attended a course at the University of Chinese Workers, while at the Communist University of the East Workers there were about 500 participants. Chinese revolutionaries also had opportunities to get involved with the Frunze Military Academy, the Tolmachev Military-Political Academy, the Higher Artillery School, the Flight Military Theoretical School, the International Leninist School, and the Central Komsomol School (Pantsov, 2001, pp. 230–231, 237).

In 1918–1922, the cardinal socio-economic and political transformations took place in the RFE. Regions and governments changed kaleidoscopically during the civil war. In this difficult situation, however, the flows of Chinese migrants and their economic activities in the RFE border region continued. Because of a shortage of Russian workers, there was need for Chinese labor. During the civil war and intervention, the RFE's ties with the central industrial regions were severed, so the Russian population needed Chinese food and industrial goods more than usual. The successive authorities had their own approaches to regulating Soviet relations with the Chinese people. In the Amur Labor Socialist Republic, Chinese migrants were given equal rights as Russians. During the years of the Far Eastern Republic (FER), the Chinese, who were regarded as a national minority there, were granted the right to create cultural-national autonomy. Enshrined in Art. 121 of the FER Constitution, this right proclaimed: "All the national minorities in the territory of the Republic shall be granted autonomy in matters pertaining to their national culture." (Constitution of the Far Eastern Republic, 1921, p. 54). According to the Constitution of the FER, two conditions were important for the development of cultural-national autonomy: (a) that Chinese migrants be guaranteed all the rights as any other citizens of the FER, and (b) that they were also given the opportunity to preserve their distinctive and traditional characteristics. During the FER period, guidelines were also set for future regulation of Russian-Chinese interaction. Chinese migrants were tacitly divided into "working people" – who needed to be internationalized and revolutionized – and "entrepreneurs" – or those that were not considered as the future revolutionary vanguard in the East and who were allowed to continue their economic activities in the RFE because of the socio-economic situation of the region and because of the historical practices of interaction between the population of two countries.

In 1918–1922, cross-border practices were supplemented by an additional component: Chinese migrants, who participated in the civil war in Russia and, who upon returning to their homeland, passed on revolutionary experience and revolutionary ideas. The Chinese people fought in the Red Guard units of the Grodekovsky, Ussuriysky, Daursky, and other fronts, as well as participated in the liberation of Primorye. The names of the leaders of the Chinese armed groups (e.g., Chen Bochuan, Sun Jiwu, Wang Yingzu, San Hu, Yang Dehai, Li Po, A. Songfu, Sheng Chenghuo, and others) are still famous across Russia. In total, there were 30,000–40,000 Chinese people in the Red Army during the civil war (Kheifets, 1959, p. 79; Li, 1979, p. 42; Li, 1987, p. 230).

After the civil war and intervention, large-scale work to implement the principles of Soviet national policy in the RFE was begun. Chinese migrants were granted the rights of a national minority in the Soviet state. Chinese newspapers were organized; the Latin alphabet was spread among Chinese workers; and clubs were opened (in the late 1920s, in the RFE there were six clubs for Eastern Asian workers, with a total of 1,945 mainly Chinese members) (State Archive of the Khabarovsk Region, fond P-2, inv.11, file 193, p. 17). Party education courses were also organized and libraries for Chinese workers were created. The organization of Chinese theaters in the Soviet Far East became an integral part of the general process of the RFE's cultural development. The most fruitful Chinese theater scene was in Vladivostok, where on March 19, 1931, the unique Chinese Working Youth Theater was created.

Chinese workers were involved in the trade union, cooperative, and Stakhanovite movement. In 1931, of the 50,000 Chinese workers in the region, 6,300 were registered as members of trade unions (12.6%), as well as nearly 3,000 Chinese migrants were employed in the handicraft industry (State Archive of the Khabarovsk Region, fond P-2, inv.9, file 73, p. 191; State Archive of the Primoriye, fond P-67, inv.1, file 82, p. 108).

In the 1930s, the Chinese collective farms became a regular phenomenon. In 1932, there were 13 Chinese collective farms in the region, in which about 3,000 Chinese migrants worked together (Zalesskaia, 2009, pp. 272–273).

Furthermore, more schools were opened for Chinese children (by 1928, there were four first-level Chinese schools in the Soviet Far East) and labor schools were opened for adults. By January 1, 1932, 809 Chinese migrants and 3,828 children of Chinese migrants were studying in the official educational institutions of the region (State Archive of the Khabarovsk Region, fond P-2, inv.9, file 73, p. 126). Additionally, the unique Far Eastern Regional Higher Chinese Leninist School was founded on March 1, 1933, which offered educational opportunities specially created for Chinese workers who were previously unable to obtain secondary and higher education. This emphasis on education enriched the structure of the study system and contributed to its success. Many of these Chinese people educated on Soviet territory subsequently became active participants in the revolutionary movements in China (Zalesskaia, 2009, pp. 311–312).

This progressive work stopped in the middle of 1930s, however, when the international situation forced Soviet leadership to choose the security of the region over social development. During this time, Chinese migrants were severely victimized,

and in 1938 they were even expelled from the Soviet Far East. For almost half a century, the RFE borders were closed.

This period marks the beginning of ***Stage Three – "Lockdown":*** 1938–1988. During this period all the cross-border practices were significantly interrupted. In fact, during this stage there were virtually no contacts at the intercultural level.

Russian-Chinese border interactions resumed again with the opening of borders in the late 1980s. This marks the beginning of ***Stage Four – "Regeneration":*** from the end of the 1980s (1988) to present. The first tourist exchange occurred in September 1988, when the USSR and the PRC exchanged the first tourist groups. Two groups of people – numbering 40 each – made a day-long trip on visa-free exchange from Blagoveshchensk (in the center of the Amur region) and Heihe (on the USSR-Chinese border).

Subsequently, the migration flow across the Russian-Chinese border began to re-emerge and Chinese migrants started developing entrepreneurial activity again in the RFE. Chinese migrants assessed the potential and prospects of the RFE market, established channels for the transportation of goods for trade in Russia, and developed various forms of business organizations. At the same time, the Chinese migrant population constantly communicated with the Russian population. At the end of the 20th century, new cross-border practices started to unfold on border territories including "shuttle" (or "people's") barter trade, joint Russian-Chinese enterprises with foreign (Chinese) investments, cross-border tourism, cultural relations, and – as before – smuggling, "gray" customs, illegal cross-border currency transactions, etc.

While cross-border contacts re-emerged with active barter trade, over several years larger-scale business activities also developed in the RFE. For example, Chinese shopping centers increased in Russian cities, and there was a lively trade in a wide variety of goods. The Russian financial crisis of 1998 significantly displaced many Russian entrepreneurs, but this only opened up more space for Chinese entrepreneurs. The same situation repeated after the Russian financial crises of 2008 and 2014. During these times, Chinese migrants developed their businesses drawing extensively on ethnic resources and ethnic networks. Among Chinese migrants, marriage with Russian women was also a common way to obtain full rights in Russia. When married to a Russian woman, a Chinese migrant was able arrange his business in the name of his wife, and thus pay much less rent and other taxes, as well as receive legal protection for their business on Russian territory (Zalesskaia, 2019, pp. 37–38).

Today, Russia implements a special state policy in the RFE through the Territories of Advanced Development and the Free Port of Vladivostok. The aim of this policy is to increase the profitability and reduce the risks of foreign investors. Eighteen Territories of Advanced Development with special tax and customs status have already been created. Russia's implementation of major new investment projects in the RFE, as well as China's promotion of the "One Belt and One Road" Initiative, the Heilongjiang development of the "Three Bridges – One Island" plan all suggest rapidly increasing cross-border interaction. All this creates more opportunities for the formation and development of new cross-border practices, such as cross-border e-commerce,

the development of financial infrastructure, the use of national currencies in mutual settlements, etc.

In fact, the share of Chinese foreign direct investment in the Pacific Russia is still less than 1%, of which two-thirds is directed to the Trans-Baikal region for the construction of the only major Chinese plant in the Pacific Russia: the Amazar Pulp and Saw Mill (APSM). This means there is still much room for development. Furthermore, the share of Chinese investments in APSM and Free Port of Vladivostok is only 16.3 billion rubles ($259 million) and 1.67 billion rubles ($25.7 million). In total, Chinese businesses have invested less than $300 million across 45 projects. Primarily, this Chinese business is attracted to the extraction and primary processing of raw materials rather than the development of industry (Larin, 2020, p. 21).

Despite the proclamation of favorable business regimes, Chinese investors remain frightened by systematic problems: a small local market, the limited economic power of the region, the small population, and the lack of transport infrastructure. According to Chinese experts, the underdeveloped Russian border transport infrastructure has always been the main factor limiting the development of Sino-Russian trade and economic cooperation. Many of the border port infrastructures are also dilapidated, and the capacity of the border ports is not commensurate with the cargo flow and the volume of cargo transportation, which leads to a large delay in cargo (Guo et al., 2017, p. 76). Moreover, the Russian legal system seems to be too complicated for Chinese migrants. Sophisticated Russian tax and customs laws often negate the benefits that the Territories of Advanced Development and the Free Port of Vladivostok regimes offer to potential investors.

At the same time, regional leaders acknowledge that without the cross-border practices of Chinese migrants, the economy of the RFE would lose significant infusions and income, and the Russian population would lose the opportunity to purchase cheap everyday goods and a whole range of products. One attempt to close the borders resulted in immediate protests. In the summer of 2003, when fatal SARS[4] cases were first registered in China, 11 customs points were closed on the Amur River by order of the federal government, and the import of Chinese goods was limited. Less than a week later, a picket was organized in front of the Amur government building, the participants demanded that customs be opened, as almost all consumer goods were experiencing a shortage and the prices in the city markets has increased significantly. At that time, the borders reopened very quickly.

Today the situation is much more serious. On January 30, 2020, Russian Prime Minister Mikhail Mishustin signed an order to close the Russian border in the RFE to prevent the spread of a new type of coronavirus (COVID-19). Beginning March 18, Russia further restricted the entry of foreigners and stateless persons.

Such unprecedented measures were not taken during the spread of SARS and bird flu, which still had generally negatively effects on the development of cross-border trade and economic relations. Many Russian firms and private entrepreneurs have suffered losses, especially on imported goods for their business from China. Since these measures have been put in place, RFE economic actors have been

[4] Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS).

forced to reorient themselves to Russian factories that offer goods at prices at least twice as expensive, and with high delivery costs. Moreover, the closure of freight transport links with China has also led to a shortage of Chinese vegetables. Freight traffic has been opened and this may solve the problem of vegetable shortages (Ob"em importa kitayskih ovoshchey, 2020). However, other goods have not yet been allowed to cross the border (the only exception are parts for a Gas Processing Plant being constructed in the Amur Region). The education industry has also experienced negative consequences because of the closure of the border. Chinese students who had returned home for Chinese New Year were not able to return to RFE universities. With the border now closed on orders from Moscow, this has all ground to a halt, leaving the city frozen in limbo. Businesses that depend on China are shriveling, hotels once full of Chinese guests stand empty and the local university, once a magnet for paying pupils from China, is struggling to cope as hundreds of its students who went home for the Lunar New Year holiday find themselves stranded. Ms. Li Lihua, a Russian-speaking Chinese businesswoman, who has been working in Blagoveshchensk since the 1990s, said this is the worst economic situation she has encountered (see: Higgins, 2020).

In short, the COVID pandemic has halted a significant part of cross-border practices between the territories of Russia and China, and will undoubtedly have negative consequences for the development of relations between the two countries in the future. Unfortunately, China's success in stopping the COVID epidemic on their territory will not be enough to neutralize this decrease in total trade turnover or the consequences of months of border closures and the slowdown of interregional and intercultural interaction. Losses will continue to be felt even after the official end of the pandemic, and it is already obvious that such extraordinary circumstances will seriously hinder the development of cross-border practices in the future.

Discussion and Results

This article argued that Chinese migration has played a crucial role in the historical process of Sino-Russian relations in the RFE. Chinese migration has functioned as an actor in the practice of cross-border contacts and the forming of a special relationship between these two civilizations. It analyzed the historical stages of this interaction over the last century and a half and the characteristics of these cross-border practices at each historical stage was discussed. These practices act both as a "soft power," and as a factor in overcoming the periphery status of the RFE territories. The article showed that in the absence of Chinese migration flows to the RFE border region, cross-border practices cease. And when the flows resume, the cross-border practices reappear although they take new form to adapt to the socio-historical conditions.

The results suggest that the interaction between the two civilizations should be considered as a significant factor for cultural, historical and geopolitical devilment of the RFE territories, and, at the same time, as a form of interaction across societies and cultures. Russian-Chinese interaction has been influenced by many internal factors

of the systems of Russian and Chinese societies, as well as Sino-Russian relations at the interstate and interregional levels. In this process of forming cross-border practices, the penetration of traditions and customs from one culture to another can be observed. These processes of cultural diffusion do not lead to the formation of a single culture, but to a dialogue between cultures. Thus, the RFE region can be characterized as a unique territory for the development of sociocultural practices in the process of contacts between Russia and China. Due to Chinese migration flows, cross-border practices are an important aspect of the RFE social life and an integral part of the interaction process between Russian and Chinese civilizations. The continued promotion of successful and mutually beneficial cooperation between Russia and China requires yet more study, characterization and analysis, as well bilateral work to deepen and optimize cross-border interaction and minimize its negative sides.

Conclusion

Chinese migration in the RFE border region is an essential component of Sino-Russian relations at all levels. During the historical development of these relations, Chinese migrants and the Russian populations in the RFE took on many different roles over the past century and a half, including trade (and smuggling), guest labor, land cultivation, participation in the civil war, the perception of revolutionary ideas, etc. The cultural exchange component was an integral part of all these cross-border practices: there was familiarity with the traditions and customs of the foreign culture in both cases, as well as linguistic exchange. In other words, Sino-Russian relations in the RFE have developed through a process of mutual recognition, habituation, and coexistence. Without this cultural dialogue, it would have been impossible to develop this interactional way of life. Because of transcultural practices, the Russian-Chinese border region has accumulated a unique experience of cohabitation and cooperation between the peoples of the two countries. The study of this interaction is extremely important for understanding migration trends, their regulation, and the formation of a tolerant environment for different ethnic groups and their interaction.

Given the unprecedented increase in China's influence in the world and the unique geopolitical proximity of Russia and China in the RFE, Chinese migration has the powerful potential of an actor of new cross-border practices. The cross-border practices that have emerged are poised to become an effective mechanism in the development of the RFE territories. However, the question remains, will the Russian authorities at various levels be able to implement consistent and effective social and economic measures in the RFE? This all depends on the economic policy pursued by the Russian government as to whether the presence of Chinese migrants and the influx of Chinese investments will contribute to the development of the RFE territories, or whether the raw materials orientation and peripherality of the RFE region will ultimately overwhelm economic development. If the latter, then in the not-too-far future, China may finally lose all interest in the Russian-Chinese cross-border practices.

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BOOK REVIEW

Julian Baggini (2018). How The World Thinks: A Global History of Philosophy. London: Granta

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The concepts of dialogue and intercultural dialogue have gained popularity in contemporary humanities and social sciences as well as in international relations. In philosophy, various attempts were made to conceptualise the dialogue and to explicate its ontological, epistemological, ethical and other aspects. History of philosophy, in particular, has to deal with the problem of plurality of philosophical systems, discourses, traditions. While unsystematic attempts to conceptualise historical development of philosophical thought are known since Antiquity history of philosophy as an institutionalised form of philosophical knowledge existed since the 18th century. It is an interesting and a significant moment that institutionalised forms of history of philosophy appeared in the situation of religious plurality and conflicts (Santinello & Piaia, 2011). Classical canon of history of philosophy was centred mainly on the Western European tradition, while traditions of the East (for example, the Chinese or Indian), though represented fragmentarily, were deprecated for lack of conceptualisation and systematic form. Today, after criticisms of Eurocentric and orientalist views in history of philosophy (Kimmerle, 2016) non-Western intellectual traditions receive more attention. The interest in a dialogue between philosophical traditions motivates not only specialised research but also popular books for the wider audience as well. An example of such popularising approach can be found in Julian Baggini's "How the World Thinks: A Global History of Philosophy" (Baggini, 2018).

Julian Baggini is well known for his popular works in philosophy. Baggini has published more than twenty popular books on various philosophical issues. His interests are quite wide and are not limited only to the familiar problems of the English-language tradition and Western philosophy as a whole. So in his last for today book he refers to the diversity of world intellectual traditions. Baggini describes his approach as "philosophical journalism" (Baggini, 2018, p. 14).

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His first two books are, in fact, collections of interviews with famous contemporary English-speaking philosophers (Baggini & Stangroom, 2002, 2003).

Although most people do not articulate their beliefs about the nature of personality, the possible sources of our knowledge, ethical issues as philosophical doctrines, these beliefs are deeply rooted in cultures and, as Baggini writes, influence our ways of thinking and living. While academic philosophy is usually presented in textual form "folk" philosophy – in preliterate cultures especially – existed mostly in non-systematic and non-textual forms. Sedimentation, a notion borrowed from the French philosopher Maurice Merleau-Ponty, refers to this implicit process of assimilation of meanings: "Just as a riverbed builds up sediment comprised of that which washes through it, values and beliefs become 'edimented' in cultures. In turn, those values and beliefs begin to sediment in the minds of the people who inhabit those cultures from birth, so that we mistakenly take the build-up for an immutable riverbed" (Baggini, 2018, p. XIV). Inarticulate philosophical attitudes "create the rhetorical space in which cultures think, explain and justify" (Baggini, 2018, p. XVI). Baggini rejects, though, cultural essentialism, highlights the importance of various kinds of gaps, and ruptures in the history of philosophy.

One has to avoid both extremes in comparing different philosophical traditions, neither we should overestimate similarity nor overemphasize difference. In his opinion, our "shared humanity" and perennial philosophical problems allow us to appreciate ideas and experiences of other peoples and cultures. Baggini's main task is a study of diversity of world philosophical thought in order to "dig up" the hidden foundations of how the world today thinks. In a prologue "Historical Review: From Axial to the Information Age" Baggini examines the diversity of philosophical traditions in world history, he notes that recent ideas about philosophy were developed during the period of the Western dominance. This, in particular, led to the spread of the Greek word "philosophy" or its variants in other languages, although in many cultures for a long time there was no special term to denote this kind of speculative thinking. Along with classical texts and philosophical schools, there are also oral traditions in many parts of the world. Baggini proposes using L. Wittgenstein's notion of "family resemblance" to indicate typical features of various intellectual traditions. According to Baggini, people are engaged in philosophy, "whenever they set their minds to a systematic investigation of the nature of the world, selfhood, language, logic, value, the human good, the sources and justifications of knowledge, the nature and limits of human reason" (Baggini, 2018, p. XXX). Although boundaries between philosophy, religion, and folklore are not clear, they might be distinguished. Complicated relations between philosophy and religion are important for Baggini:

> We must acknowledge that the strict secularization of philosophy is itself a philosophical position that requires justification. To simply stipulate that faith separates you from philosophy is as deeply unphilosophical as stipulating that a sacred text must have the last word. Both positions need to be argued for as part of a shared philosophical enterprise (Baggini, 2018, p. 51).

The main body of the book is divided into five parts, covering one of the main areas of philosophical knowledge: “How the World knows” – epistemology, “How the world is” – ontology, “Who in the world are we?” – anthropology, “How the world lives” – ethics) as they are presented in different cultural traditions; the fifth part contains conclusions of a more general character.

Baggini, in the second part, observes that many positivists and science methodologists insist on a decline or even the end of traditional metaphysics with its speculative explanations of what the world is. Although natural sciences now successfully resolve problems, which previously pertained to the domain of philosophy, there remains a large number of problems that cannot be subject to the expertise of positive scientific research. Even if one abandons the idea that metaphysics can explain the world as it is, it still continues to study the human experience of interaction with the world. Baggini calls this kind of research a “phenomenological metaphysics”. It will continue to be relevant even when the objective world is explained by positive sciences. Such understanding of metaphysics, as Baggini believes, could be not only recognized as relevant for contemporary texts, but is partially applicable to the metaphysical systems of the past, which can be understood in terms of a “phenomenological” rather than traditional “scientific” metaphysics.

In the third part, Baggini analyses three theories of the self in various philosophical traditions: the idea of the lacking self (no-self), present in Hinduism, Buddhism, and modern analytical versions of the philosophy of consciousness; the relational ideas of the self, exemplified in Japanese and Chinese systems, and in African folk philosophy, which Baggini describes as “pro-social”; the idea of atomized, self-sufficient personality in the European philosophy. Relational and atomistic views on the self are clarified by the categories of Th. Kazulis: “intimacy” and “integrity”. Imbalance or even dominance of either of these characteristics, according to Baggini, can lead a cultural crisis. The latter is familiar in contemporary Western societies, where “much of the rise of populism and nationalism in the West is a backlash against the gradual erosion of belonging” (Baggini, 2018, p. 215). Baggini addressed the lack of integrity in previous works, and, in particular, the essay “In Defence of Hierarchy” that was written in collaboration with S. C. Angle, K. A. Appiah, D. Bell and other intellectuals (Angle et al., 2017).

The fourth part discusses the cross-cultural study of values from a philosophical perspective. Baggini uses the mixing desk metaphor: “In the studio, producers record each instrument as an individual track, playing them back through separate channels… The moral mixing desk works in much the same way. Almost everywhere in the world you’ll find the same channels: impartiality, rules, consequences, virtue, God, society, autonomy, actions, intentions, harmony, community, belonging and so on” (Baggini, 2018, p. 314). The main values, thus, in some variants could be found in almost all cultures, but the difference is in their relation to each other and the overall synthesis. Such understanding of cultural values, according to Baggini, allows to emphasize moral pluralism. Moral pluralism, however, does not mean relativism that is based on the principle of non-interference (“laissez-faire relativism”), but it proceeds from the concept of a harmonious combination of different values within a unified vision of a particular

culture. Baggini proposes to distinguish pluralism and relativism. In Isaiah Berlin's approach, objective variety of values cannot be reduced to the predominance of any one of them and to the rejection of all others as false (Berlin, 2000, pp. 14–17). At the same time in philosophy comparison and criticism of various systems is possible:

> Real dialogue requires careful listening but also mutual examination and questioning. I would go so far as to say that to refuse to criticise in all circumstances is in itself disrespectful, since it treats "other" philosophies as more fragile and less able to stand up to scrutiny than our own. Criticism and disagreement are only disrespectful when they come from a combination of arrogance and ignorance (Baggini, 2018, p. 234).

In the final part, Baggini summarizes his survey of world philosophical traditions and offers his understanding of the major regional traditions of philosophical thought. He begins with the East Asia, which includes China, Taiwan, Japan, and Korea. The main virtue here is harmony, which requires constant self-improvement through various types of practical activities. This region is characterised by dominance of "metaphysical agnosticism", which does not entail a complete understanding of reality. An important role is played by the "correlative" concepts of the self, as well as the concepts of emptiness and inconstancy with a certain ontological meaning. For Indian thought, which possesses a highly developed arsenal of philosophical knowledge, as Baggini notes, a focus on tradition and authority as sources of knowledge is widespread. Its key philosophical characteristic is a "soteriological focus" that suggests a profound difference between the genuine and external aspects of reality and corresponds to "ethics of detachment". The philosophy in Islamic cultures (the Arab world, North Africa, the Indian subcontinent, Southeast Asia) is characterised by a close relationship with theological doctrines and religious tradition in general, which deals with the most diverse aspects of everyday life. Moreover, historically, Islamic philosophy has been characterised by significant role of interpretative practices, which sets a certain impulse for the culture of Islamic countries as a whole. Western countries occupied a dominant position in the field of philosophy over the centuries "for reasons noble and ignoble". The most important features of the Western tradition as a whole include the following: the search for truth ("truth-seeking" orientation as opposed to traditions focused more on "way-seeking"); interest to issues of cosmogony, to the structure of the world as a whole; value of truth and knowledge as such; a desire to resolve contradictions; an interest in the study of laws and principles; a desire for impartiality as a moral virtue and a cognitive imperative. Baggini explores the intellectual practices of "traditional societies" that are available today on the basis of the reconstruction of oral folk traditions – "folk philosophy". In particular, the author analyses fundamental connections between the nature and the people who inhabit it, and this connection seems so deep that it is often not possible to separate one from the other. Such cultures, as a rule, do not consider the individuals in isolation from the community to which they belongs, which sets their "communitarian ethos". Baggini writes that Russian philosophy as

a special intellectual tradition is characterised by criticism of the Cartesian concept of the self-sufficient person, different from the Orthodox ideal of "kenosis", which implies a consciously humble relation to the believer's self. In contrast to the Western European rationality, in Russian philosophy, intuition is prioritized in epistemology, it leads to a convergence of philosophy and literary and poetic creativity, as well as a difference in the concepts of truth as *istina* and *pravda* as an intuitive and morally coloured cognitive value. In social thought, Baggini highlights the Russian ideal of *obshchina* (commune) as a harmonious voluntary community.

At least since the 19th century attempts to analyse world history of philosophy including various periods and regions existed, but today we have much more factual knowledge about various philosophical traditions and some new methodologies of qualitative as well as quantitative analysis. Such a new approach in the history of philosophy could be a part of a broader study of the social and cultural context of the development and transfer of philosophical knowledge. The use of "global history" is growing in history and other fields, which merited some attempts to conceptualise it (Conrad, 2017; Stanziani, 2018). But Baggini's book is a rare example of "global" history of philosophy. Another example might be found in "The Idea of a Global History of Philosophy", presented by a Norwegian philosopher Gunnar Skirbekk at the 24th World Congress of Philosophy in Beijing in 2018. Later its extended version was published (Skirbekk, 2018).

According to Baggini himself, one of the impulses to write the book was the discussion about the nature and role of comparative research in contemporary philosophy. In particular, the question is whether comparing philosophical systems is just studying diverse cultures through a comparison of ideas from different philosophical traditions, or could it give a new knowledge on the basis of comparison, striving to develop "hard-core philosophy" (Chakrabarti & Weber, 2015, p. 10). Baggini identifies at least three aspects, in which comparative research can have a heuristic effect in philosophy. Firstly, a combination of different perspectives allows us to get a better view than any particular approach could offer: an example is the famous Indian parable about blind men exploring an elephant and exchanging their particular impressions. Baggini uses an analogy with Cubist painting, which combines different perspectives. He calls this aspect of his study a "Cubist perspective". Secondly, different philosophical concepts add new theoretical problems and problematize existing ideas. As Baggini writes,

> This is the best way to think about the question of what it means to be a person or a self. It is easy to think there is a single question here. In fact, it disguises myriad questions, such as: What is the self made of? Is the self permanent? How do relations to others fashion the self? What gives us our sense of identity? In different traditions "the problem" of the self is likely to involve only one or some of these questions and others are set aside (Baggini, 2018, p. 318).

In various intellectual traditions, a "problem" usually involves only one or at the best a few of the possible aspects. The comparative approach, due to the

"disaggregating" perspective, allows to obtain a more "objective" understanding by dividing the apparently simple question into more complex parts. Thirdly, multiple perspectives show that there is no one legitimate way to understand the world and to establish social norms. The division between these three perspectives is not strict, but the author intends to demonstrate their potential to enrich our knowledge in the general framework of a comparative study of philosophy, while not abandoning the desire to search for objective criteria for this knowledge.

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Arseniy Kumankov (2020). Voina v dvadtsat' pervom veke [War in the 21st Century]. Moscow: Higher School of Economics Publishing House

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Arseniy Kumankov has become known to a wider public for his popularization of philosophical theorizing about war. His new book *Voina v dvadtsat' pervom veke* ("War in the 21st Century") discusses modern theories of just war and their historical and philosophical contexts. This book provides a good introduction to contemporary normative debates in just war theory, but it also outlines the challenges that just war theory has to face when normative theorizing encounters the realities of current armed conflicts.

Among the four chapters of the book, the first deals at length with the main philosophical premises of classical just war theory and the relevant historical, social and political contexts. In the chapters devoted to modern war (Chapter 2 and 4), a more critical approach to classical just war theory is adopted. Kumankov shows that the traditional version of the theory is unable to adequately reflect the current situation and is thus gradually losing its edge. Chapter 3 focuses on contemporary political thinkers' more nuanced visions of different aspects of just war theory. The latter include the causes of war and methods of warfare that can be deemed just in the current political situation.

In our view, Kumankov excelled in contextualizing classical just war theory as the author analyzes the socio-political situation of each period that provided background of theorizing about the war. However, the attempt to theorize the concept of modern war is less convincing as the author outlines his views on the

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normative potential of just war theory – even in its more 'elaborate' form – to address the realities of new wars.

Just War and Limits of Politics

The author emphasizes the connection between the origins of modern political philosophy and the emergence of modern warfare. The former began with rejecting the concept of punitive war and prioritizing defensive war. Due to the separation of politics as an autonomous and homogenous sphere, political space was open for the interplay of actors of equal status. As Kumankov suggests, nobody can impose on others their idea of what is due, nobody can judge others. Time and again this idea will be reproduced by philosophers, lawyers and state officials from the seventeenth to nineteenth century (see: p. 27). On the national level, this principle meant equality of citizens, while on the international level, it entailed the sovereignty of states recognized as equal agents of international relations. Within its own borders, the states establish monopoly on violence and therefore only they can legitimately coerce those who breach the state's law and order. For Hobbes, a natural state of war of all against all necessitates a social contract whose execution is ensured by the government: By giving up the right to violence to the sovereign, they [citizens] instead are guaranteed a safe life (see: p. 24). The birth of a state as the main political actor makes state violence secondary and thus, in Kumankov's account, a derivative of politics.

Subordination of violence to political interests of the state is extended to the relations of countries with each other. As in the pre-contractual state, people sought their egoistic interests and lived in conflict with each other, the states, in 'postcontractual' era, pursue exclusively their own interests. In pursuit of these interests, states enter into agreements that can be broken when their national interests change. Although such situation could be remedied by a government that would be supreme to the states and perform the functions of a supranational court (see: p. 24), this does not seem possible for international politics in its modern understanding.

Since there is no supranational government that would have the authority over national governments, the relations between them are based on mutual respect of each other's right to self-determination, the right to pursue their own interests. Kumankov notes that in political practice, we should consider as the main mechanisms of managing the war the notion of the dominant position of the state (national) interest and the decisive significance of the balance of powers principle (see: p. 33). As a political concept, state interest or *raison d'état* implies that the state is pursuing certain goals, primarily, the preservation of the state itself.

In this homogeneous space, states resort to violence only if other states impinge upon their interests and only in order to put a stop to such encroachments; the ultimate goal of war is to restore the original balance that was broken by the intrusion of one of the parties. Kumankov observes that competing states are constantly searching for a system that, on the one hand, would prevent some states from becoming too strong and, on the other, would allow them to pursue their own interests freely (p. 36).

War is legitimized and regulated within the political sphere and so are the methods of warfare. Regular armed forces are the main actors in conventional warfare. The author comments on the changes in the status of the military personnel by pointing out that initially the status of a military officer was a class privilege (hereditary appointment), but the situation changed due to the increasing military professionalization and the special role of the soldier, and the concept of military duty (p. 41). At the same time the rest of the state's citizens are excluded from the military sphere and this distinction between combatants and non-combatants underlies the distinction between just and unjust methods of warfare. Violence is permissible against combatants but not against civilians. Introduction of regular armed forces thus contributes to the humanization of war since it seeks to limit the collateral damage.

Consequently, the author's interpretation of the evolution of modern politics leads him to conclusions about what reasons to wage a war are considered justified and what methods of warfare are deemed appropriate. The book's analysis, however, leaves out some important issues in dealing with armed conflicts of the "post-modern era".

The Concept of "New Wars" and Its Definition

Kumankov discusses at length what distinguishes the reality of 'new wars' from conventional warfare. The new wars lost their symmetry as a result of changes in the political sphere in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Today's military action often has to be conducted against irregular armed groups such as guerillas, insurgents, terrorists, paramilitary groups and so on. According to the international legal norms, these groups cannot be considered official participants of warfare: These actors of international politics challenge the state monopoly on war, representing one of the opposing sides or even initiating escalation of armed conflicts (see: p. 89).

Means and methods of warfare have also changed. Instead of classical battles between regular armed forces, smaller-scale, targeted strikes now prevail, which precipitates re-evaluation of the principles that the actors themselves are following. First, non-regular actors may be pursuing aims different from the eventual peace agreement and, second, the victims of retaliation are often not the regular military units but civilians. There used to be a clear distinction between just and unjust goals in war and harming civilians was considered wrongful. Terrorist attacks as one of the methods of warfare in the period of new wars, on the contrary, are directed against civilians. Their aim is to generate terror and wreak havoc. Thus, acts of a military nature go beyond warfare in its strict sense since the goal they pursue – intimidation of civilian population – is political rather than military.

Asymmetry as a characteristic of new wars is a rather capacious category that includes a range of other characteristics discussed in the book. For example, since the scale of armed conflicts is now incomparable with classical wars or even more so with world wars, contemporary wars are much less intense. Instead of large-scale frontline combats between the armies, modern warfare is characterized by swift, targeted strikes. As a result, both sides need fewer military personnel and the intensity of military action is also lower. Modern warfare is characterized by the prevalence of

high-precision attacks and the absence of clearly defined frontlines since new wars involve regular as well as irregular forces, which may be dispersed across a large territory. Low-intensity conflicts may last for an indefinite time for exactly this reason – that forces of one of the sides are dispersed and can restore their fighting capacity. Because the opposing parties are so heterogeneous, low intensity in combination with longer duration of 'new wars' is possible.

Since armed conflicts now tend to be globalized, which is one more important feature of new wars, any local conflict may grow into a global one and involve large international players via proxy wars (p. 103). Participation of large states in a proxy war happens at the expense of the local communities directly affected by the military operations. Depending on their strategic interests, powerful states may instigate a party to a conflict but do little of the actual fighting themselves. First-world countries no longer consider it permissible to wage a war on their own territories, instead lending financial or military assistance to one of the warring parties elsewhere. Since the clash of the key players' interests is inevitable, these major powers, vying for influence and resources, act through their proxy surrogates in poorer countries. This undoubtedly reflects the asymmetry in relations between developed countries and third-world countries.

The author quotes one of the contemporary theorists of war Mary Kaldor, who pointed out that identity politics often becomes a reason for "new wars" (pp. 107–108). Exclusive identities, fostered by this kind of modern politics and foregrounding the national superiority, lack the intention to interact on equal terms with their opponents. Asymmetry is particular characteristic of terror, which is a frequently used "mode" of warfare. Terrorists as a political actor are not interested in participating in negotiations; neither are they willing to establish or maintain relations of mutual respect with other political actors. Terrorist's political objective is to exclude the other from politics by eliminating the opponents altogether. Terrorists are difficult to identify because in their actions they strive to keep a low profile. In fact, they reveal their true intentions only during the terrorist attack but its execution depends on how successfully they had managed to keep the preceding stages hidden. Furthermore, terrorist attacks are not military actions but actions of political nature since their goal is to sow fear and panic among civilians. These actions are hugely disproportionate to the means used, because terrorist violence is used not in response to somebody else's armed violence on the battlefield, which exists separately from other spheres, as it had happened during classical wars. Terrorist brings armed violence into the political sphere as a means of political struggle, which, by standards of modern politics, is an action inadequate to the content of the political sphere.

Since the author's perspective is primarily normative in the book, Kumankov in order to trace the development of just war theory applicable to "new wars" in Chapter 3 focuses on the main philosophical contributions to contemporary just war theory. In other words, while in his discussion of the evolution of just war theory Kumankov moves from philosophers to the notion of war as such, in this case his argument takes the opposite direction. The reality of "new wars" leads philosophers to turn reflexively to the conventional theories and principles.

The criteria of just or unjust war come from our definition of politics since only a sovereign political actor is believed to have a right to legitimate violence. Does it, then, mean that asymmetry as a feature of "new wars" signifies the end of modern politics as a homogeneous space for interactions of equal actors? If yes, then does the theory in its normative mode have the possibility to provide us with an understanding of asymmetrical normativity? An example of asymmetrical normativity can be found in the medieval theory of just war which posits that the side that aims to restore justice in a punitive war has a higher moral status than its opponent. But in regard to modern normative theorizing, asymmetry despite featuring prominently in the realities of "new wars" remains, in our view, more of an instrumental characteristic. It highlights what is new in the practice of warfare today but of itself it can't direct us to a new understanding of political actors. Yet, the latter – a new vision of political actors – would be necessary, because in classical "just wars" we are dealing with actors whose political status is equal, which is why war as an instrument of politics becomes regular. Asymmetry in war should in this case be pointing towards the asymmetry of political actors. We can consider actors of politics in the medieval period as asymmetrical since at that time a punitive war created asymmetry between the perpetrator and the state that sought to restore the order and justice. In this case, can medieval wars be classified as "new wars"? It hardly is so. The normative discourse labels a war as "just" if a state engages in this war to protect its national interests. Situations where the right of nations to self-determination is questioned by a certain aggressor without a valid reason include defensive war, preventive war, military aid, and humanitarian intervention, all of which are discussed in Chapter 3. Contemporary studies analyzed by the author in this chapter adopt the traditional notions of classical just war theory to the current situation. The key concept in this respect is that of national interest, since it is the countries' respect for each other's national interests that ensures political stability on the international arena. While asymmetry is a key characteristic of modern warfare, in politics asymmetrical actors are not always guided by the principle of mutual counterbalancing. The description of the evolution of classical just war theory demonstrates the connection between the changes in the perception of politics and rules of warfare. It remains unclear, however, why the author did not show such connection for new wars. However, it might not have been his primary purpose. The book *Voina v dvadtsat' pervom veke* ("War in the 21st Century") summarizes the main approaches to the questions of just war theory, namely, when can war be justifiable and what means and methods of warfare are acceptable. The book provides a comprehensive overview of the main questions of normative theorizing by classical and contemporary theorists on war, which is a major step in remedying the asymmetry between international and Russian academic reflections on war.

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BOOK REVIEW

Jean-François Caron (2020). Contemporary Technologies and the Morality of Warfare. The War of the Machines. London: Routledge

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This recent book on morality of warfare is written by Jean-François Caron, Professor and Chair of the Department of Political Science and International Relations at Nazarbayev University, Kazakhstan, and fellow at the Institute of Political Science and Administration at the University of Opole, Poland. The author aims to show that the ethics of weapons systems such as autonomous and semi-autonomous robots, AI, cyber technologies and human enhancement technologies depends on which states use them. J. F. Caron argues that these should be "reasonable states" or the states that adhere to the rules of modern warfare (international treaties and conventions). In this case, their use of modern lethal and non-lethal weapons against opposing military forces is morally and legally justified.

Since 1977, when Michael Walzer published his seminal work *Just and Unjust Wars: A Moral Argument with Historical Illustrations*, the problematique of normalization and humanization of warfare has gained increased scholarly attention. *The Journal of Military Ethics* published in the 2000s provided a platform for just war theorists to develop the principles that would limit the scope of permissible violence and make armed conflicts less bloody. In Russia, the growing number of publications in journals *Logos*, *Voprosy filosofii* and *Sotsiologicheskoye obozrenie* also point to increased interest in this topic. Caron's book logically continues the debate about modern military practices by putting the main emphasis on technology, which is a rather underexplored aspect of the problem.

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The book consists of six chapters. The first chapter starts with an overview of the most advanced methods and means of warfare, describing the distinctive features of different types of weapons, some of which, according to the author, can justify the use of these weapons. In the following chapters the author explains why the use of modern technologies is not only morally justified but is essential for a just war. The second chapter deals with the duty of care that the military institution has towards its members, in other words, the military commanders' obligation to treat soldiers with care, ensure their safety during the period of service and curb any negligence towards them. The third chapter focuses on the ability of modern military technologies to discriminate between combatants and non-combatants (civilians) during military operations. The following three chapters cover the critique and arguments brought up by scholars and wider public against the use of modern military technologies. In the fourth chapter, the author argues against the opinion that even the most advanced technologies not only are incapable of reducing but, on the contrary, increase the number of breaches of just war morality. Caron insists that to prevent war crimes from going unpunished, it is important to set strict rules for the use and development of military technologies. The fifth chapter discusses whether or to what extent moral it is to use the cutting-edge military technologies against the enemy's soldiers due to the asymmetry that arises between those who possess such technologies and those who do not. Finally, the last, sixth chapter describes the ethical and political fears concerning the use of modern military technologies from the perspective of the just war theory. The author argues that advanced technologies can serve as means of preventing wars rather than escalating unlawful violence.

In his book, not only does Caron provide an overview of the key works discussing the potential of the emerging military technologies and their implications but he also provides an in-depth analysis of the military reports about the operations that marked different stages in the evolution of such technologies in the second half of the 20th and early 21st century. Nevertheless, in our view, in some parts of his analysis the author is prone to giving rather subjective interpretations. However, we cannot but agree with the author's opinion that precision strikes against the attacker, which came to replace the "war until final victory" principle, appear to be a morally justified measure.

In our view, the author leaves room for uncertainty when he fails to provide clear distinctions between what is "just", "acceptable" or "legal" in the use of military technologies. As a result, the use of advanced weapons by a more developed country can easily turn the latter from a sovereign state seeking to protect its citizens into an aggressor persecuting undesirable communities and individuals. In this case the technological aspect that the author highlights is shifted to the political domain and requires a more conceptually elaborate reflection.

Modern Military Technologies

One of the book's obvious strengths is the detailed description of modern military technologies and their conceptualization. The author provides a careful examination of the new military weapons and their characteristics. Another important strength

of the book is that the author manages to stay immune to widely spread fears and misconceptions concerning the use of aerial vehicles (UAVs) based on artificial intelligence applications. It is shown how even the most technologically developed countries such as the USA, UK and China still have a long way to go on the creation of fully autonomous UAVs or other similar devices before they are able to exclude humans from the decision-making chain. Thus, the problem of the legitimate use of violence remains within the human sphere, which means that legally it is the drone operator, hired hacker or developer of an automated air defense system that can be charged with criminal negligence and misuse of military power. In his book, Caron provides a clear-cut classification of the types of technical autonomy in modern military systems (p. 8):

Types of autonomy	*Technical specificities*
Automated systems	
Weapons without autonomy	Weapons that have no autonomy and whose capacity to act depends on direct human control. Examples: machine guns and remotely controlled robots that inspect, detect, or disarm explosives or bombs
Non-lethal pre-programmed autonomy	Weapons whose autonomy can be pre-programmed and whose lethal capacities are an exclusive human responsibility. Example: drones
Lethal or destructive pre-programmed autonomy	Weapons targeting specific programmed objects with lethal force. Examples: the Israeli Iron Dome and the South Korean SGR-AI system.
Autonomous systems	
Lethal autonomy without human intervention	Hypothetical weapons able to show moral judgement when using lethal force against targets akin to human moral agency

Automatic Decision-Making Systems

The majority of prominent thinkers on the ethics of modern war (Michael Walzer, Paul Christopher, Nicholas Fotion, and Brian Orend) pay considerable attention to the notion of collateral damage, which is seen as the main counterargument against the use of lethal autonomous weapons. Inhuman killer robots stand out vividly in the public's mind, which means that any failures or errors in the work of automated systems are perceived as a sufficient reason to completely ban their use.

To counter this view, the author brings up a tragic incident that happened in 1988, when the USS Vincennes, a US Navy cruiser, shot down an Iranian civilian plane, killing all 290 passengers and crew members on board. This tragedy resulted from a

series of human errors on the part of the US military commandment and pilots of the civilian plane. Importantly,

> the USS Vincennes was at the time one of the first vessels of the US Navy that was equipped with the AEGIS combat system, a missile system that combined computer and radar technology to guide and destroy targets in record time and that could engage a multitude of targets simultaneously, the caveat being that the firing options could only be activated by a human being (pp. 46–47).

The limited time, stress and hostile environment led the crew of the American cruiser to see the civilian plane as a threat although the ship's automated combat system provided evidence of the opposite.

This and other examples discussed in the book show that more objective and emotionless decision-making may provide a moral counterbalance in the discussion about collateral damage in drone warfare. Following the Western intellectual tradition, Caron filled his book with practical cases and examples, which allowed him to avoid ungrounded theoretical speculations.

Principles of Legality of the Use of Modern Military Technologies

The UN's principle of "the responsibility to protect" (or R2P principle) is included in the international law regulating sovereign states' rights and duties in relation to their citizens. The aim to prevent massive atrocities and crimes such as genocide and ethnic cleansing is at the core of this principle. As the author makes clear, this principle can be applied not only to the above-mentioned crimes but also to terrorist attacks committed by radical Islamist organizations. In Caron's view, it is this principle that allowed to launch the international anti-terrorist struggle and gave Western countries more opportunities for interference in the internal affairs of states that, according to their intelligence services, were helping terrorists. This reasoning brings us to the key question as to how to identify the actual need to engage in warfare with and without modern military technologies, especially if these military operations are to be conducted on the territory of another state and do not have a clearly defensive character. For the sake of conceptual clarity, Caron proposes the following key principles. First, a state's use of advanced military weapons against combatants (and non-combatants as "collateral damage") of the opposing side can be considered legitimate if this state acts "reasonably" by adhering to all the international conventions. Second, the state's use of such weapons is considered legitimate if, in doing so, the state seeks to minimize the destructive effect of such weapons and to enhance their precision targeting.

The author considers these principles universal in the sense that they apply to all modern types of weapons,

> since chapter 7 of the UN Charter does not refer to any specific weapons in its definition of acts of aggression, and because international law does not refer

> to any particular level of intensity in its definition of an attack, the lawful use of force ought to apply independently of the arms or weapons used against another country's sovereignty, a principle that is thought to also apply to a country's cyberspace (pp. 108-109).

Being "reasonable" is understood by the author as the ability to follow UN treaties, that is, a "reasonable" state will engage in a just, defensive war only if it has found itself under attack and there is a real threat to its civilians or military staff. The author does not deny that when conducting military operations involving high-tech weapons, a state may be pursuing its own hidden political or economic agenda. An air strike, deployment of special forces and maintaining full-time surveillance over leaders of terrorist organizations are univocally recognized as legal and ethical if they are likely to bring a decline in violence in the future. Caron underlines that the moral side of preventive military action taken by developed countries against terrorist and similar organizations is a debatable issue since such military operations resemble police sweeps much more than ideological struggle between different cultures and worldviews.

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Audio and visual media	Taupin, B. (1975). Someone saved my life tonight [Recorded by Elton John]. On Captain fantastic and the brown dirt cowboy [CD]. London: Big Pig Music Limited. Author, A. (Producer). (2009, December 2). *Title of Podcast* [Audio podcast]. Retrieved from *Name website*: https://www.w3.org Producer, P. P. (Producer), & Director, D. D. (Director). (Date of publication). *Title of Motion Picture* [Motion picture]. Country of origin: Studio or distributor. Smith, A. (Writer), & Miller, R. (Director). (1989). Title of episode [Television series episode]. In A. Green (Executive Producer), Series. New York, NY: WNET.

	Miller, R. (Producer). (1989). The mind [Television series]. New York, NY: WNET.
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