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Manuscript

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**CONSTRUCTION OF CIVIL SOLIDARITY BY THE RUSSIAN
MEDIA IN THE POST-DEMOCRACY ERA**

Summary of a candidate of political sciences thesis in the specialty
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Our research rationale is based on the fact that the construction of a civil nation, as well as harmonious interethnic and interfaith relations is a vital necessity for the existence and development of the Russian Federation in connection with the historically established polyethnicity and religious heterogeneity of our state. It is necessary to construct an adequate model of collective identity and social solidarity within the framework of a comprehensive strategy for the formation of a civil nation to achieve progress in the macro-political consolidation of the population.

Building a civil nation promotes the consolidation of ethnic groups on the basis of a powerful national idea. The discourse of a civil nation is the "antidote" to nationalist discourse. Without understanding the mechanisms and features of the functioning of political discourse and political communication, without researching the interaction of language, culture, mentality, thinking, it is impossible to understand how exactly to build harmonious interethnic and interfaith relations in our country, how to form a civil nation. Therefore, the study of civic discourse, concepts and metaphorical models, its components, is necessary to analyze the features of the concepts of "civil nation", "ethnic nation", "national idea", "patriotism" and others as basic elements of the national political conceptual sphere.

The author explores the conceptual-metaphorical and narrative construction of the Russian nation by the mass media in order to present a discursive conceptual-metaphorical and narrative model of civic solidarity as the basis for strengthening the unity of the Russian nation. The construction of civil solidarity, a civic nation in a post-industrial society influenced by globalization, as well as in a constantly changing geopolitical situation, is becoming one of the most important tasks facing our state, given the influence of post-democratic trends on the political regime.

Prior scientific research on the issue. The topic of this scientific research, due to its interdisciplinary nature, is widely represented in the corpus of foreign and domestic literature. The research focuses on the study of interethnic conflicts from the standpoint of constructivism and on the study of the formation of a civil

nation, civil solidarity and collective identity with the help of the media. It is necessary to analyze the array of scientific literature on political science, sociology, political metaphorology, cognitive linguistics.

The three basic methodological approaches to the analysis of the phenomenon of nationalism and nationalist discourse are primordialism, instrumentalism and constructivism.

The apologists of Western and Russian constructivism include such scientists as B. Anderson, P. Berger, A. Brubaker, T. Luckmann, E. Hobsbawm, as well as domestic researchers - L.M. Drobizheva, V.S. Malakhov, V.A. Tishkov. In the research paradigm of primordialism, Y.V. Bromley, L.N. Gumilev, as well as foreign scientists - P. Van den Berge, K. Geertz, G. Simmel, E. Shils.

The most famous adherents of instrumentalism are F. Barth, D. Moynihan, M.N. Guboglo, V.A. Jadov.

This research used the works of foreign and Russian cognitive scientists who study political linguistics and discourse analysis, as well as those who are engaged in the study of general problems of cognitive linguistics: R. Vodak, T.A. van Dijk, M. Johnson, D. Lakoff, N.D. Arutyunova, A.N. Baranov, N.N. Boldyrev, A.P. Chudinov, E.I. Sheigal.

From the point of view of the goal and objectives of this study, we should also refer to the works of researchers dealing with problems and topical issues of political communication, such as H. Arendt, G. Lasswell, N. Luhmann, M. Foucault.

The works of scientists related to the era of postmodernism, used in the study, J. Baudrillard, P. Bourdieu, Guy Debord, J. Deleuze, F. Guattari, P. Ricoeur, H.I. Ortega y Gasset are useful for their constructivist focus, since they describe the linguistic construction of social reality.

It is necessary to analyze the structural transformations of the socio-political space of modern Russia in order to construct a macro-political identity and a national idea. Consequently, we should turn to the works of scientists engaged in research on the institutional metamorphosis of the post-industrial information

society, studying the specifics of collective behavior and action, such as E. Giddens, M. Castells, K. Crouch, D. Rotkopf, J. Habermas, as well as sociologists who study the genesis of state institutions and the place of the political elite in society, for example, R. Michels and G. Mosca.

The study of identity and its formation, the building of a civil nation, in particular, in the context of globalization, is presented in the works of such domestic scientists as V.A. Avksentiev, V.A. Achkasov, Y.V. Harutyunyan, N.A. Baranov, V.A. Volkov, I.F. Kefeli, A.P. Kochetkov, V.A. Gutorov, O. V. Popova, M.M. Shumilov, including foreign ones such as F. Fukuyama, M. Heidegger, S. Huntington.

Also, this study used the works of A. Leiphart, E. Toffler and T. Fotopoulos, reflecting on new social movements, democracy of participation in complex multi-component societies subject to powerful differentiation and disintegration due to ethnic, religious, regional and / or ideological differences. The works of B. Barber, in which the problems of national states, the development of civil society, xenophobia, as well as solidarity between people that lie outside states and nations, are considered, have had a large-scale impact on the development of modern political philosophy.

The study of works devoted to political violence and violence in general: Plato, Aristotle, D. Locke, T. Hobbes, M. Weber, G. Spencer, M. Gandhi, R. Girard, P. Konzen, E. Fromm.

Despite the presence of a colossal array of scientific literature on the problems of the work, there is a lack of publications on a comprehensive parallel analysis of the construction of civil solidarity and interethnic conflicts by the media.

The goal of this scientific research is to present a discursive conceptual, metaphorical and narrative model of civil solidarity as a basis for strengthening the unity of the Russian nation.

Based on this goal, the following **research objectives** were formulated:

1. To characterize the theoretical and methodological foundations of the discourse of ethnic nationalism and the discourse of the civil nation.
2. To determine the main approaches to the definition of the concepts of "discourse", "nation", "nationalism", "solidarity", "identity".
3. To carry out a descriptive and comparative discourse analysis of the practices of constructing interethnic conflicts in modern Russia and abroad, based on media publications.
4. To operationalize the theory of K. Krauch about post-democracy, which reflects the development trends of modern democratic societies, to investigate its influence on civil solidarity.
5. To study the main directions of the narrative construction of the discourse of the civil nation of the media in modern Russia.

The object of the research is the discourse of nationalism (ethnic and civil) as a mobilization resource.

The subject of the research is the conceptual, metaphorical and narrative construction of the Russian nation by the mass media.

The theoretical and methodological basis of the study is the work of domestic and foreign researchers devoted to a wide range of problems existing in modern Russia and foreign countries: the transformation of democratic institutions under the influence of the post-democracy paradigm and post-truth discourse, the influence of globalization processes on the structure of collective and individual identity, political technological use of the mass media for constructing social reality (including interethnic conflicts).

This scientific research used general scientific methods such as analysis, synthesis, induction, deduction.

The author used the systemic, structural-functional methodological approaches and the methodology of postmodernism (including post-positivism and post-structuralism) in the study of discourse and its constituent metaphors and narratives.

The study applies the principles and methodological approaches of political linguistics, political philosophy, cognitive linguistics. The methods of cognitive linguistics are necessary to describe metaphorical concepts - the objects of research of this science. In this study, the methodology of political linguistics is required to analyze the interdependent political and national cultural concepts that are most relevant to Russians (such as "patriotism", "nation", "homeland"). The study of concepts, along with metaphors and narratives (studied by political metaphorology), is necessary to describe the discursive model of a civil nation. The discursive approach of cognitive linguistics to the analysis of political texts taking into account the context is also extremely important.

In this work, the content analysis of mass media publications was used in the analysis of specific ethnic conflicts and practices of their discursive construction. Comparative analysis was used to study political metaphors and concepts in media publications in Russia, the USA, Turkey and Europe.

The empirical base of the research consists of normative legal acts, analytical materials and statistical data of sociological surveys on the level of nationalism, patriotism, as well as ethnic and confessional tolerance in the Russian Federation, political journalism, Internet resources covering research issues, data of Russian and foreign mass media.

Research results submitted for defense and **constituting scientific novelty**:

1. As a result of the author's understanding of the processes of macro-political consolidation of the population on the basis of civil solidarity, the concept of post-democracy by K. Crouch was operationalized and extrapolated to the Russian socio-political reality, its significance for the construction of civil solidarity was substantiated, which consists in the fact that due to the transformation of the traditional institutions of democratic states, partial loss of their capacity and legitimacy due to globalization and the transition from industrial to post-industrial society of the hegemony of information technologies and branched communications (including the network space), new forms of collective action and civic participation, including non-institutionalized ones, have emerged,

aimed at solving urgent social political issues (from environmental initiatives to the protection of civil rights).

Post-democracy is not a new type of political regime, but a broad post-positivistic analytical concept that summarizes the impact of globalization processes on democratic states functioning in the socio-political and economic paradigm of a post-industrial society of developed information and communication technologies with a significant impact on the political processes of private corporations, including transnational corporations.

2. The author has shown, using a discursive (descriptive, comparative and contextual) analysis of the practices of constructing interethnic conflicts by the media in Russia and abroad, that the media, influencing public consciousness with metaphorical means of nationalist discourse, can cause open conflicts and incite them intentionally in the interests of individuals, political associations, interest groups, business lobbies, or to provoke them unintentionally due to incompetence or other reasons.

3. Disclosed and formulated in specific provisions the impact of globalization processes on the socio-political situation in the world and in the Russian Federation, which consists in the fact that: 1) an international paradigm of socio-cultural and ethno-confessional development is being formed, which presupposes the preservation of the uniqueness of cultures and ethnic groups; 2) an increase in the degree of independence of individual regions (especially locomotive regions), an intensification of international cooperation between regional state structures of different countries, as well as between cities implementing programs of economic and socio-cultural cooperation; 3) a parallel growth of solidarity and respect for other ethnic groups, confessions and cultures along with the escalation of interethnic and interfaith contradictions at both the regional and federal levels; 4) the growing role of both television, print and online media ("new media") due to the massive spread of Internet technologies, as a result of which it is expedient to use them to construct civil solidarity.

4. P. Ricoeur's theory of narrative identity is developed and conceptualized, and the term “narrative solidarity” is proposed. Narrative solidarity is based on the dynamic unity, cooperation and symbiosis of citizens to solve urgent socio-political problems and is induced by the consolidation of individuals around a specific historical and cultural paradigm, which, in turn, is a collection of narrative metaphorical concepts and other discursive formations (such as mythologemes as universal images, scenes and plots of mythology, which are organically incorporated into political narratives) positively perceived by most of the society, regardless of ethnic or confessional affiliation. The narrative of the dynamic unity of past events - both triumphant and tragic - consolidating citizens on the basis of historical memory, as well as the present - at the moment, is the optimal and most effective basis for the metaphorical construction of a discourse of civic solidarity in Russia.

5. The expediency of deconstructing the discourse of ethnic nationalism in order to neutralize its potential for conflict through the media has been substantiated. A civil nation is a discursive construct that represents the primacy of the political and legal over the ethno-cultural on the basis of common national values and standards in all spheres of society. The most optimal is the construction of a civil nation on the basis of a discourse of solidarity, implicitly implying social responsibility, mutual respect, mutual assistance, initiative and effective symbiosis of citizens in solving socio-economic and political problems together with the state.

Theoretical and practical significance of the study lies in the possibility of using its provisions and conclusions for the construction of civil solidarity within the framework of nation-building. Taking into account the specifics of Russian statehood, the construction of a civil nation will be most effective if metaphorical concepts and narratives are adequately represented in its discourse not only of the civil and historical-patriotic segments of solidarity, but also of the ethno-confessional one. The concept of post-democracy is of decisive importance for the construction of the discourse of a civil nation and solidarity due to the

emergence of new forms of collective action, as well as institutional and informal changes in the structures of democratic states, the functioning of political institutions and collective behavior due to the development of mass media and as a result of global geopolitical transformations.

Approbation of research results. The main results of the dissertation research are presented in 5 publications, 3 of which were published in scientific periodicals recommended by the Higher Attestation Commission of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation.

Papers published by the author in leading peer-reviewed scientific journals and publications recommended by the Higher Attestation Commission:

1. Kovaleva A.M., Kugay A.I. Racist discourse of electronic media as a factor in the construction of interethnic conflicts // Management consulting. 2015. No. 1 (73). - S. 86-94.

2. Kovaleva A.M. The role of mass media in the representation of the "black and white" discursive picture of the world // Management consulting. 2015. No. 5 (77). - S. 211-217.

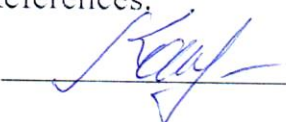
3. Kovaleva A.M. Theoretical and Practical Aspects of Conflict Construction on the Example of Studying the Current Political Situation // Management Consulting. 2016. No. 8 (92). - S. 150-155.

Works published in other publications:

1. Kovaleva A.M. Construction of interethnic conflict by the mass media // Scientific works of the North-West Institute of Management RANEPa. 2015. Volume 6, Issue 4 (21). - S. 229-234

2. Kovaleva A.M. The racist discourse of electronic media as a factor in the production of discrimination // Prevention of manifestation of national and religious extremism in the youth environment. November 28, 2014. Collection of materials. SPb: Printing house of LLC Galanika, 2014. - S. 40-53.

The structure of the thesis. The work consists of an Introduction, three chapters, a Conclusion and a List of References.

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