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Media designing of identity: knowledge structures under the influence of media

ABSTRAKT

Opierając się na teorii (P. Bourdieu, A. Giddens, N. Luhmann, P. Sztompka) i metodologii wykorzystywanej przez badaczy podejmujących problematykę tożsamości (R. Brubaker, D. Schnapper, B. Anderson) autor dowodzi, że projektowanie tożsamości przez media stało się współcześnie istotnym faktem społecznym. Jednakże tożsamości kształtujące się w ten sposób różnią się zasadniczo od tożsamości charakterystycznych dla społeczeństw przednowoczesnych i nowoczesnych. Tożsamość pod wpływem mediów staje się coraz bardziej elastyczna, płynna, wyjęta z tradycyjnego kontekstu, jaki stanowiły dla niej kultura, tradycja, życie codzienne, literatura, historia, podstawowe wartości, wpisuje się w inne konteksty, jak polityka, przemysł kultury masowej, Internet i media.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: projektowanie tożsamości w mediach, wiedza, socjologia wiedzy, cechy tożsamości kształtowanej przez media, tradycyjne i nowe konteksty tożsamości

The modern world predicted by one of the leading modern sociologists as "the world of identity and globalization" puts under question even these categories, ontologically fundamental for it. If identity (and the community / group / ethnos / nation standing behind it) in long sociological tradition is considered as a substantial phenomenon ("the social fact, rigid and compulsory for certain people" according to E. Durkheim), the modern world evidently desubstantializes and diversifies (that is the connected processes) it.

Certainly, these processes can be reflected differently. For instance, Anthony Giddens views the specifics of personal identity in a modern era in reflexivity of it as a project. According to his opinion, identity is built and carried out as a complete and constantly corrected project of a biographic narration, densely connected with abstract systems dominating in society ("metanarratives", according to Jean-François Lyotard1) and the range of social and existential choices existing in this society. The British sociologist connects it with the traditions' force loss and with an

outlet to the forefront of a way of life free choice. That, according to A. Giddens, also affects the person's perception of himself as the personality who has to create and recreate his own identity much more actively than earlier.\(^2\)

From our point of view such an opinion, however, is excessively rationalistically-courageous and politically liberal, thereby, first, (socio)cultural and (socio)structural limitation of the actor has been eliminated. The actor here, de facto, is hardly distinguishable from the agent that A. Guiddens's contemporary and colleague - Pierre Bourdieu, constantly emphasizes. Secondly, identity turns into a product of especially rational and reflexive activity of choosing a subject freely. Thirdly, such identity (despite the formal reference to "the abstract systems dominating in society") is positioned exclusively as the text, which the actor is the author of. Giddens appears here as the anti-structuralist liberal disavowing any attempts to explain the identity structurally and macrosociologically.

Certainly, it is necessary to remember both the genre and specifics of the primary source – in this thought A. Giddens embodies not only scientific, but also journalistic tradition. Respectively, this tradition characterizes not so much identity as it is, but a current state of a social phenomenon of identity, doing that not substantively, but tendentiously, that is from the point of view of not an actual, but rather perspective state. However, this one of the most quoted and famous present sociologists' ways of thinking is indicative.

On the contrary, P. Sztompka, despite his declared ambition of sociological optics relativization and process based approach, he suggests considering traditions as the phenomenon which "incorporates symbols of collective identity, strengthens feeling of the corporate roots, and fidelity to the nation, community, group. Such are first of all national traditions with their anthems, flags, emblems, mythology and public rituals. They are embedded deeply into history and use the past to unite people in the present"\(^3\). Without denying the appealing to knowledge of the past textual nature of identity, P. Sztompka pays special attention to material and symbolical enrootedness of identity in traditionally realized con- and subtexts.

Thus, consideration for the whole range of identities was formed in sociology. They can be divided into a number of attributes: the micro- or macroorientation, the subject-structural ratio, harmony of the practices and symbols, (con)textualism of identity, etc. The described problem situation is aggravated by the fact that the identity, being a product of socialization, in the same measure as actually that process, comes under the blow of institutional transformations. Traditional hierarchized education is succeeded by dehierarchized process of information pulsing, in the people's daily space the "micronarrative" (according to Jean-François Lyotard – see above) mythologies and eclecticism are dominating instead of the "metanarrative" (see the same place) history and culture. The place of highly

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\(^2\) Э. Гидденс Ускользающий мир: как глобализация меняет нашу жизнь, Москва 2004.

\(^3\) П. Штомпка Социология социальных изменений, Москва 1996, с. 58.
autonomous cultural and symbolical production fields (such as literature field, art field, science field and so on) in a producing mass identity is increasingly taken by lowly autonomous cultural production fields (which, respectively, are poorly protected from the heteronome order agents’ invasion – look P. Bourdieu). Here is the temptation to use the radicalizing discourse and to declare one of the following hypotheses:

1) that identities stop being structurally and substantively existing identities and become a product of a specific actor's choice;
2) that identities stop being non-reflexed and "socially unconscious" (the term again from P. Bourdieu's socioanalysis) and become rational and reflexed (look the above-stated discourse of A. Giddens);
3) that identities degenerate into the situational self-positionings and practical embodiments of personal interests (where the pragmatic discourse of the rational choice and exchange theories drives to).

We do not assume to agree with one of these radicalizing provisions; however, we are offering them as one of the extreme ends for creation of this research's hypotheses space.

Thus, the purpose of our article is the analysis of identity media designing as the process of socially conscious or unconscious operating with knowledge fragments, institutes` elements and constructs, structures and agents.

This perspective is increasingly often present in sociology, and not only in sociology of knowledge. For example, Karl E. Weick, studying the process of meanings production, states: "... the meaning production begins with a meaning-producer. The phrase 'How can I know what I think, until I see what I'm saying?' has four pronouns, and all of them point to the person who makes the meaning". In particular, this statement generates the identity concept that is very close to the structuralist-positivistic, which offers to remove a dichotomy "identity – practice (interaction)" and turn it into the single synthetic concept: “... 'this' person represents 'the typified discoursive construction'. Identity is constituted of the interaction process. To move in interaction means to move in definitions of your own I”.

However such conceptualization is certainly marginal and rather rare: a similar radical praxeological and discoursive approach identity in sociology is quite rare. Moreover, sociology began using the idea of plurality not only of the identities (this phenomenon in sociology was conceptualized and operationalized a long time ago), but also of their bases and the nature. Therefore, in the book which appeared in 1986, R. Baumeister allocated 5 historical ways of identity formation: attributing (in a primitive clan), single transformation (in the early Middle Ages), identity of criteria

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5 К. Вейк Смыслопроизводство в организациях, Харьков 2015, с. 41.
hierarchy (late Middle Ages), optional choice (18th century), necessary choice (present). Undoubtedly, we can interpret this chronology also as the identity typology (though incomplete, and, of course, not finished), constructed on such attributes as "freedom - need" and "ascribed statuses - achievement statuses". Nevertheless, such typology is especially formal, and it does not describe the essence of the allocated identity types.

R. Brubaker goes farther than Baumeister: he offers the independent draft of the identity analysis on a case of the ethnic / national conflicts and identities. Thus, "goffmanizing" the identities analysis, he would quite find a common language with K. Weick: "I want to show that ethnic conflict — or what should rather be classed ethnized or ethnically framed conflict — shouldn't be understood as the conflict between ethnic groups, and in the same way racial (or framed as racial) conflict shouldn't be understood as the conflict between races, and nationally framed conflict — as the conflict between the nations". Herewith (that is why, actually, R. Brubeker’s conceptual design is important for us) identity and identification related phenomena are not just made discursive by Brubeker. They are also analyzed via discursive mechanisms of their realization and via the habitualized bases of these mechanisms: "...idioms, ideologies, narratives, categories and systems of classification, attitudes in understanding, thinking, conversation and the framing statements are real and important, especially when they are inbuilt in the power organizations".

In the light of that, R. Brubeker pays special attention to "the framing statements" and the "systems of classification" designing, what in the modern world is practiced primarily within the media systems. Carrying out the societal self-reference function (N. Luhmann), media produce society through application of the nomination symbolic power (P. Bourdieu). One of the aspects of this dually (objectively and subjectively) structured process is the identity categories production.

Speaking at the most obvious level — the level of the legal (justice) and normative basis of identity, Dominique Schnapper interprets a community of citizens as "the principle of functioning and as the general ideal" which "legalizes rules according to which people receive the power and promote the division of material (profit, property, services) or non-material (safety, health care, education, utilities) benefits between citizens and groups, solve the conflicts which can result from this division, and defend independence and aspiration of the nation among other political units". Here we are speaking not only of the identity legal founding, but also of normative-ideological one, so far as D. Schnapper implants the civil identity in transcending. He felicitously notes that "there is the main contradiction between the universal principle to which the civil nation refers, and policy which is conducted by each of

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7 Р. Брубейкер Этничность без групп, Москва 2012, с. 27.
8 Ibid, с. 30.
them for the purpose of their own dissimilarity and difference from others proving". However we believe such a look is an illegal constriction of identity media designing processes.

On the basis of the analysed concepts we assume that it is possible to pass to the research synthesis – in particular, to the allocation of specific media aspects among a set of the identity designing discursive mechanisms. Here we suggest to understand the mass media as the German sociologist Niklas Luhmann designated it in his system theory: "The concept 'mass media' has to capture all public institutions using technical means for distribution of messages (Kommunikation). First of all, the books, magazines, pressed newspapers are meant; and also any results of photo or electronic copying in case mass products are made through them for yet not definite addressees". Therefore, the technical mediation, public (both "social" and "common", "Gemeinsame") functioning and the unaddressing (in a concrete word meaning "address") are significant in this definition. This definition is rather broad, that is why such traditional institutes of mediation such as literature, theater, fine arts, architecture, sculpture and music are excluded from consideration, because of the intrinsic difference between the media designing and designing with traditional text (re)broadcastings and (re)production tools.

Identity media designing relies not on the substantiality (argumentativeness), but on the evidence and brightness of the representation owing to what identities gain hypertrophied drama representation and the discriminated practical reproducibility. The media designed identity needs the raised sign and symbolical representation, but it comes across problems in practice-praxeology realization. The traditional "soft" and "non-attractive" sign and symbolic systems that served as the identity base can’t compete with media "seducement" (using J. Baudrillard's language) of modern identity discourses. Besides, such identities for their confirmations and reasons need neither logical abstract constructs, nor specific independently functioning mechanisms (one of the most powerful in historical science). On the contrary, their abstractness and specificity are capable "to frighten off" potential "consumers" of such identity.

One more characteristic sign of such identities spirit is a reference to easily corrected, "flying" (in chemical sense) texts, subtexts and contexts. Thereof such identities are easily instrumentalized, politicized and depoliticized; they carry out functions that are quite complementary to media functions in the context of the modern neoliberal capitalism and crisis democracy (and the abstract and extremely neutral Luhmann's scheme turns out to be excessively formal and empty here). Such identities are held "aloof" of direct actors' "vital" interests, they are not connected with their practical everyday life and activity, and even with their life experience. Their optimal interpretation would be one through a prism of media preferences.

10 Д. Шнаппер Ibid, c. 117
and practices in the field of symbolical production and distribution. The "heavy", "non-mobile" bases of identity as text (and consequently – as knowledge) are able to be instrumentalized much less owing to their practical inadjustability in the short term. Media designing of identity creates, thus, the knowledge about the social world and space, which seems implanted in the real life of actors, but appeals substantially weakly to it.

It is connected primarily with the fact that such identity shows low extent of fixing at the cognitive level and high – on the affective. One the matter is that modern information streams are obviously excessive for the daily actor and his tools and the techniques of knowledge. "On the one hand, the computer person has access to the huge arrays of information and practical activities; on the other hand, he completely depends on this information, loses the ability to think independently and to make decisions. The computer person becomes the object of advertising, marketing, information and political manipulations", that forms the passivity of perception. This passivity transforms into affective compensation of activity detachment (see B. Dubin). Therefore, a study of such identities with the traditional triad of the cognitive-affective-conative elements of identity is almost pointless because such sociological tools will not find them.

The high density and saturation of information streams leads to impossibility of system unity in such identity. Therefore, it becomes fragmented and segmented in its nature. So, metanarratives and mikronarratives (J.-Fr. Lyotard) are pulled apart, biographies become shreds of history, facts become shreds of regularities, the particular – from the general: "The gap between “daily” and “high” plans can be presented in another way – as principal inconsistency of orientations to the socially close and socially far ..., as existence between them the adjusted and insuperable barrier". In a place of the harmonious, rigid and hardly challenged ideologies and difficult constructions an ideologeme arises, and though it can be understood as "difficult cognitive-stylistic phenomenon which serves the forming means of the mass, collective and individual consciousness of concrete society", but even such understanding of an ideologeme shows its "wresting" from a system context and its anti-hierarchical nature.

In terms of identity of regularities, the identity of history-and-book comes as the identity of myth and non-criticality, identity of syncretism (we believe, many times repeated interpretation of postmodern as "a new magic era" or "a neoshamanism era" shouldn’t be reminded once again). N. Luhmann writes about it: "In perception of systems the distinction between the world as it is in itself and the world as it is

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12 Е.А. Ходжаева Содержание масс-медиа и транслируемые ими культурные идентичности в контексте глобализации, «Вестник Казанского государственного университета культуры и искусств», 2005, №52, с. 64-69.
observed is erased. There exist the numerous, culturally certified possibilities of delusions correction. Since the time of Marx and Freud possibilities of the self-suspicion (which is already mediated by mass media) and understanding of the latent interests or motives guide us are opened. For these purposes society provide itself with "critical" intellectuals and therapists. However, it [the suspicion of the latent interests and motives] is only a condition of the valid operations correction and consequently [the correction] of the prospects on the future, while in operations of the actual present it is impossible to distinguish the world as it is and the world as it is observed\(^\text{15}\). J. Baudrillard described it in a bit different categories, speaking about special characteristics of modern simulacra orders. However, this syncretic "uniting of the world" concerns not only the signed and the sign, not only the subject and object of knowledge, but also others modernly built distinctions and borders. As observed by the experts through the mass media in the personality's vital world "...erasing of borders between the private and public sphere, and also between social strata" occurs\(^\text{16}\).

Such identity doesn't distinguish the political opponent, the colleague, friend and the interlocutor; it doesn't distinguish characteristics of politics from features of intimate life, the specifics of the economic processes and the specifics of household interactions; speaking with antique categories, it is the identity of "the person of nomos", but not the "person of cosmos".

By virtue and in regard of this the identity reproduced by mass media becomes sectorial and significantly internally non-homogeneous (see further our metaphor of "archipelagization" of identity). Pierre Bourdieu noticed that our habitus pushes us "to discuss politics with those who agree with us in advance"\(^\text{17}\). Still, the conserving and hermetizing abilities of modern media are such that the topics offered by them instead of serving "for structural linking of mass media with other spheres of society"\(^\text{18}\), actually deuniversalize the discourse in comparison with a discourse of education, religion, ideology – in other words, any "metanarrative". In globalization conditions it leads to a de-etatization of mass media, consequently – to a de-etatization either the policies of identities and their discourse-knowledge constructs: "Development of the new technologies led the international discourse to become complicated, popularized and more uncontrollable. The governments bit by bit lose control of national communication because of the new technologies convergence"\(^\text{19}\). This de-etatization involves a bigger break with the system (in

\(^{15}\) Н. Луман Реальность масс-медиа, Москва 2005, с. 23
\(^{16}\) Е.Г. Ним Жизненный мир и массмедиа: онтологические трансформации, «Вестник Челябинского государственного университета», 2010, № 16 (197), Выпуск 17, с. 37.
\(^{17}\) П. Бурдье Начала. Choses dites, Москва 1994.
\(^{18}\) Н. Луман Реальность масс-медиа, Москва 2005, с. 25
\(^{19}\) Е.А. Ходжаева Содержание масс-медиа и транслируемые ими культурные идентичности в контексте глобализации, «Вестник Казанского государственного университета культуры и искусств», 2005, №52, с. 64-69.
the Enlightenment-Renaissance sense of the ordering hierarchical reason – see S. Bauman about it).

Such identity becomes fluid and conjunctural: the hypertextualization of thinking forms the "archipelago" structure instead of systemic, "continental" structure of identity. Its "islands" (knowledge constructs lying in the base of identity) are connected randomly, depending on subjective associations, biographic trajectories etc., – and therefore they are fluid and changeable. At the same time interactivity (as "the procreation" and "the satellite" of hypertextualism) deconstructs authoritativeness, stability and recognition, so that the formed "bloggily-onlinely" (see O.V. Sergeyeva) identity is badly “translated” in other "languages". Within the Walter Benjamin's concept of "aura" it can be regarded as "de-reified", dematerialized and torn out of the real world. Responsibility for the identity is erased, that almost completely desacralizes the relations to "another" and to "others" and dilutes the substance of the tolerance concept. Tolerance abstracts from actual subjective identity maintenance and becomes an ideologeme (see above), but not the ideology or the world outlook.

It is promoted by the fact that identity designed by mass media is "highly actual" and excitable. It doesn't construct around the history, literature or religion, which have their dynamics and dramatics, but not so intense. It is constructed (rarely constituted) on the basis and by the efforts of a news, sport, the mass culture industry, advertising, fast-fluid (see about fluidity above) and not essential: "The requirement of relevance makes messages concentrate on separate events – incidents, accidents, failures, inspirations". It is impossible to consider such "linking-up" of people's biographies and identities to the wider contexts as the step towards the identity systematization and structuring: "The involvement into the more large-scale linked actions and wider worlds makes people dependent on media, these actions and the worlds rely on their functioning". Systemicity is impossible wherein ecstasy substitutes an identification effort, the de-rationalization substitutes rationalization, the eclipse and shamanic practices come to the place of analysis and comprehension. The converged media are especially demonstrative here, among them the social media and social networks should be noted: "Social media create effect of social euphoria, they automatically construct the reality where user's life would be the most comfortable: the links and news of adherents, recommended audio- and video of friends are arranged for the user".

Such identity constantly demands "feed", "reinforcement" and "external legitimation", so the dependence on the identity channel-"medium" arises. There

22 В.Г. Николаев Идентичность, структура опыта и социальная структура, «Вопросы социальной теории», 2011, Том 5, с. 220.
23 М.Ю. Чанхунова, Ц.Ц. Чойропов Социальные медиа как инструмент формирования этнической идентичности, «Вестник ВГУТУ», 2013, № 3 (42), С. 122.
turns to be efficient the M. Castells’ “first hypothesis” of broad social and cultural differentiation of multimedia users: “messages not only vary by market determined by producers, but also are segmented by users on the assumption of their interests and use of interactive opportunities advantages.” In a paradoxical for the modern world way, it leads not only to the “death” of classically understood tolerance (see above), but also to disappearance of the chance to the tolerant identity of this kind. Having lost the chance of making the acquaintance of "other" and "otherness", such identity by its very knowledge constitution is customary "habitual" and "adapted" for absence of "opponents" and "others". That forms a perhaps unique situation in social history of identity – the "identity-without-other" or "identity-with-absent-other".

The identity that has lost "the image of other" isn't built on the normative concepts of "other" and "myself", but on "exceptions" and "limit cases". In other words, it is based not on the Gaussian's mode, but on its "tails", that is explained by the essence of the mass media practices (but isn't justified by them): "Violations of norms also deserve the special attention (of mass media)". Herewith, B. Dubin is Foucaultically adding, if the norm is shown, it "is regulated through the display of negative sanctions for its continuous violation, for falling away from the whole, that supports the recipient's feeling of being the constant violator and the person under surveillance...". Taking in account that traditionally normative identity is formed, as Y. Ten describes, on the model of standardness and being typical: "The person's images of himself, of his relation to other people (social group, community) create the models of individual and group behavior. These images are formed through the correlation with the values and marks, developed in a certain social group, which are either accepted as "insiders" or rejected as "strangers"...", whereas "identity of a media era" appeals to limit cases: as N. Elias described it for the techniques of domination, the worst sample of the opposing group is compared to the best sample of the dominating one, that allows to establish discursive and symbolical superiority of the needed group.

Owing to these media era identity features it has specific nomenclature of phenomena and manifestations. N. Luhmann is dialectically right, noting that "mass media generate the world in which individuals are finding themselves already. It refers to the all program sectors: news, advertising, entertainment” — and, actually, in nomenclature of contemporary identity (and consequently, in the knowledge constitution of subjectively perceived vital world) the figure of ethnically marked boxing world champion takes much more space, than the historically critical fight.
with hundreds of thousands of victims, and the folk rock "Eurovision" winner constitutes much more weighty knowledge fragment of identity, than the writer from the school program. Besides, such identity exists and functions in absolutely other time and space: "Modern mass media considerably transform time and space— the two fundamental measurements of human life". Time is erased, space is deformed, there emerges the space of streams and timeless time, in which "uncovered "we" allows to expand action networks, connecting to them those participants who at rigid "we" identity couldn't be connected to". On one hand, such identity starts to deny the traditional bases and ways of the identity (identities) institutionalization — such as race, blood, ground, origin, etc.; from the other —the identity relativisation doesn't bring its "mitigation" in practical sense and "washing out" in knowledge.

Thus, the identities media designing which succeeded in educational and religious practices of their institutionalization, show a number of intrinsic differences in the results of its activity. They are so significant that sociologists started talking about “the war of identity” and a new era of identity beginning, where "the strategy of about Enlightenment succumbed to the tourism strategy" both in comprehenion of history and in forming the identity on the basis of this history. however the relativity and fluidity of modern identity, should deceive neither sociologists, nor politicians, and their mediatizedness doesn't soften the identity conflicts at all; on the contrary, the instrumentalization of identity puts in front of the sociologists, social engineers and political strategists a row of new praxeological and ethical questions.

Media designing of identity: knowledge structures under the influence of media

Summary

The paper is an analysis of the processes of the identity designing by means of modern media. Applying synthetic theorists’ (P. Bourdieu, E. Giddens, N. Luhmann, P. Sztompka) and the identity problems researchers’ (R. Brubaker, D. Schnapper, B. Anderson) methodology, the author proves the identity media designing to be the real and actual social fact. However, the identities produced in its framework fundamentally differ from the “Pre-Modern” and “Modern” society systems identities. It is emphasized that the knowledge in the constitution of identity turns to be more and more diversified, in spite of what the identity media designing becomes only one of the tools, though very important in the contemporary world.
The conclusion tells the identities under the influence of media become more and more flexible, fluid, tactical, taken out of their traditional contexts, such as culture, traditions, life, literature, long history, the value basis, Lyotard’s “metanarrative”. Instead they become integrated into absolutely other contexts (the politics, mass culture industry, the Internet and media, the daily-practical bases, Lyotard’s “mikronarrative”).

Key words: media designing of identity, knowledge, sociology of knowledge, features of media created identity, traditional and new context of identity