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EXPLORING MEDIA SUPPORTER MOBILIZATION ON THE PROTEST CASE

Аннотация: Целью текущего исследования является изучение механизмов, благодаря помощи которых, через медиа, люди могут мобилизовать сторонников. С применением различной литературы, в том числе по темам синхронизации фреймов и микромобилизации, осуществлялся анализ эмпирической ситуации. В ходе выполнения работы было разобрано видео, опубликованное на YouTube командой Алексея Навального, на примере которого можно изучить конструкции, привлекающие людей, вовлекающие их в свои фреймы и влияющие на то, как аудитория интерпретирует происходящие вокруг явления. Проведенная работа показывает, за счет каких инструментов осуществляется привлечение внимания аудитории, намечает перспективы исследований влияния на большие массы людей через медиа, что может быть применимо в том числе для политической деятельности, выстраивания условия для достижения целей с помощью общественной поддержки.

Ключевые слова: микромобилизация, медиа, фреймы, ксенокоммуникация.

Annotation: The aim of the current research is to study the mechanisms through which, with the usage of media, people can mobilize supporters. The empirical situation was analyzed using various literatures, including those on frame synchronization and micromobilization. In the course of the work, a video published on

YouTube by the team of Alexei Navalny was dismantled, on the example of which it is possible to study constructions that attract people, involve them in their frames and influence how the audience interprets the phenomena taking place around them. The work carried out shows what tools are used to attract the attention of the audience, outlines the prospects for researching the impact on large masses of people through the media, which can be applied, among other things, for political activity, building conditions for achieving goals with the help of public support.

Keywords: micromobilization, media, frames, xenocommunication.

Current work is devoted to the study of mechanisms for mobilizing supporters through the media. We will try to make out in detail the video with invite for uncoordinated street actions, posted by supporters of Alexei Navalny, as he imprisoned, in order to provide him with medical workers who are not associated with the Federal Service for the Execution of Punishments. It is this video, *The final battle between good and neutrality* (2021), that seems to be the most interesting for analysis. This is primarily since the stakes, namely, the safety of a person's life, are high. The day of meeting was to coincide with the speech of the President of the Russian Federation Vladimir Putin to the Federal Assembly. From the peculiarities of this particular action, the slogans under which the supporters of Navalny offered to leave the dissenting citizens were formulated rather wide, but mainly aimed at taking urgent measures to provide him with medical care.

We will adjust the optics of the current work by introducing the demarcation system developed by Snow, Rochford, Worden & Benford (1986), according to which: "Micromobilization ... [is – approx. A. Stupitskiy] the various interactive and communicative processes that affect frame alignment" [1, c. 464]. Diving further, we can say that "alignment of frames, [is – approx. A. Stupitskiy] the linkage of individual and SMO interpretive orientations, individual interests, values and beliefs" [1, c. 464]. The group of researchers defined the concept of frame in the same way as Erving Goffman did, "to denote "schemata of interpretation" that enable individuals "to locate, perceive, identify, and label" occurrences within the world" [1, c. 464]. The authors of

the work under consideration propose such a scheme: "(a) frame bridging, (b) frame amplification, (c) frame extension, and (d) frame transformation" [1, c. 467]. At first, people unite based on common views and plans, they develop patterns of interpretation of events, over time, their narrow requirements can be replaced by more general slogans, with which the majority agree. All this can be reflected in the activities of Navalny with supporters.

Ronald Reagan once compared politics with show business, which includes, for example, sports. But as Neil Postman quite rightly notes in "Amusing Ourselves to Death" (2006), in sports, both athletes and spectators know what to expect [3, c. 125]. Here everything is more complicated, and it seems that the principle of television commerce is a working path: "in a world of visual media, "political knowledge" means having pictures in your head more than words" [3, c. 130]. Like everyone who fights for our attention, whether in politics or commercial, they want to convey to us the idea that "all problems are solvable, that they are solvable fast, and that they are solvable fast by some techniques" [3, c. 130]. For example, supporters of Navalny have left on the Internet the formulation "Wonderful Russia of the Future", suggesting that someday Alexei Navalny will become president and begin to pass his "wonderful" reforms. Slogans, like frames, are transformed over time, and may change, for example, to "Russia will be happy" instead of "free". Even this detail can expand the agenda of the movement, and attract, according to Socrates, everyone. Such slogans – an ideal method of micromobilization, especially in a closed Russian public, TV and press, sphere, except for the Internet, or rather even YouTube, Telegram, and mail, because their sites are banned. "Frequently broadcast 'live' and - unlike television — 'unrecorded', radio [or Telegram channels – approx. A. Stupitskiy] regarded as both an ethereal and ephemeral medium" [4, c. 374]. As with the Falkland Islands case, instant access to information, such as the radio in the passage mentioned, or through which protests can be controlled, is, in fact, the only tool to achieve any results.

Diving into the context, let us move on to analysis of the invitation itself. The data is divided into blocks: the first three are about frame alignment and transformation,

the last two deal with politics as showbusiness, developing the idea of Reagan, and politics as advertising, following Postman's ones, respectively.

1. **As for the imposition of frames**, that is, the settings for the perception of interests, values and desires, in one among Navalny's audience, it seems that the situation is close to consensus – many in the country hate the representatives of the United Russia party, also, the basic values of the group include the requirements for "a happy life in which there are no political prisoners, in which political opponents are not killed and in which they are not tortured in prisons". It follows from the above fragment that when we go for protests, the peaceful nature of which is especially emphasized, to which Navalny invites, even if we are concerned about questions of a different kind, we agree in advance with this thesis.

2. **Speaking about the articulation of the environmental interpretation scheme**, the supporters form a frame according to which: The ruling party is a group of "thieving and deceitful officials" who are "furious" and are supported by prosecutors and courts to stop the work of Navalny's team. It is a kind of interpretation scheme, for example, for lost court proceedings, arrested accounts, endless searches and detentions. Interesting that during the seven-minute video the surname of the RF President was sounded 11 times. Thus, in the frame of the supporters, there is always a powerful image of an opponent who, oversees all administrative problems.

3. **Dealing with the formulations of meeting goals and triggers, we distinguish**: Navalny is being killed in a colony without doctors being allowed in; the authorities recognize his organizations extremist; to bring down the ratings of the ruling party "on which Putin is relying"; it is important to support actions until any political activity is banned. You must get out if you are a "free person"; a "normal person", not an "absolute evil" and do not want "the country to completely plunge into darkness". All in all, there is an interesting gradation which is cited from the original video. The slogans, as well as the motives of the participants, are expanding, with the aim to broaden the audience.

4. **"Politics as show business"** in relation to Navalny's organizations rhetoric. Important to emphasize to hold meeting that "Will change everything" "Now". It also

attracts attention with vivid formulas, like "Alexei Navalny is being killed in a terrible way in front **us**". "Principle of Three Yes" is used a few times during the speech. "To talk about corruption is a crime, to fight for your rights is a crime, to tell the truth is a crime". In addition, show business guides the minds and attention of the viewer. "Three days before the meeting are needed so that absolutely everyone knows about it" - gives the viewer confidence that there are millions of people like him, but it is necessary to inform them, to contribute to the common cause.

5. "**Politics as advertising**" takes place in the formulation of dates, times, and the idea that "we have nowhere to retreat", which are repeated by both speakers. A clear "understanding" of the situation is required. It is important to immerse the viewer at the beginning of Navalny's path, giving him "points of empathy" and the image of a person who knew how it could end. The old slogan "the struggle between good and neutrality" was also replaced with "the last battle between normal people and absolute evil." Which, of course, may look distorted.

The fact that slogans are broadly formulated can be compensated for by the lack of involvement of each of the groups. At least, this is evidenced by the practice of recent years. Slogans – communication posted, for example, on merchandise or billboards, like Trump's MAGA. Politics requires communication, which requires xenocommunication. "There must be an external, other space or time, with which communication is virtually impossible, but the impossibility of which must be communicated" [5, c. 163]. Thus, the same "Wonderful Russia of the Future" is, by definition, given by McKenzie Wark, a manifestation of xenocommunication in relation to the current reality, offering the audience a plan, or a vision of reforms. The "us", "we" used in the video is a manifestation of "deixis" [2, 95], which aims to instill the idea that the audience is united and vast. We managed to move from modest, more political demands to radical ones, like "normal people against absolute evil", which, it seems, could frighten off part of the audience. Navalny's team talks about the results achieved, such as the results in the elections with "Smart Vote", or the resignation of some politicians. NGOs such as Navalny's "must communicate transparency to donors and the public in the interest of reliability" [6, c. 8], showing their intentions with deed

and attracting supporters. This video mobilizes Navalny's followers for political action, attuning, changing, expanding the original frames of compromise. Part of the video is an advertising element that provides a solution to all problems, part is show business, presenting us a character with a story, opposing the system, and one well-known politician.

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