SOCIO-COMMUNICATION HYBRIDITY AS THE PHENOMENON OF THE CONTEMPORARY INFORMATION SOCIETY[1]

Evstafiev D.
Candidate of Sciences in Politics, Professor at the National Research University Higher School of Economics
(Moscow, Russia)
devstafiev@hse.ru

Abstract:
The development of the modern digital integrated communications that possess the significant potential of social intrusiveness forms a new institutional framework of the interaction between the information society and the social action sphere as well as a new type of links between information and social processes. It is relevant to discuss not only new forms but rather new formats of social institutionalization that develop along the lines of the model of socio-communicational hybridity that is a specific form of manifestation of the specific social networks that have been formed under the conditions of the indivisibility of the social and communicational spaces. Socio-communicational hybridity becomes one of the major and quite effective forms of the organization of the contemporary communicational environment and one of the instruments of the involvement of the individuals as well as different social groups in social processes.

Keywords: integrated communications, social action, hybrid environment, social context transformation, communication action, social involvement

Introduction

The transformation of the modern information society developing on the basis of customized digital communications technologies and within the framework of the model of socialized integrated communications raises a question about the sources of high level of influence that the communication environment has on the social. The peculiarity of modern integrated communications is a higher degree of social (both individual and group) intrusiveness, the ability to sustain formation of long-term realities, not only in communication, but also social ones (areas, entities/meanings, stable connections of variable nature).
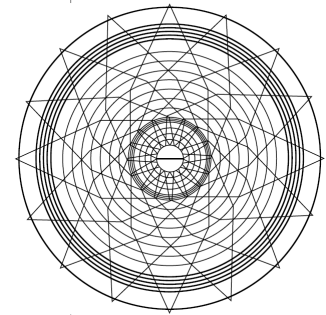
The process of global information society transformation is considered to be a set of processes related to technological improvement of communication channels and transformation of the environment where information enters and where it spreads (Fuchs, 2017). In many ways, such approach is a product of the process of assessment

---

of integrated communications area being dominated by introversion, associated with the rapid development of relevant technologies and the change of generations in digital communications.

In Russia, the emergence of hybrid type of socio-communication phenomenon is also noted, but so far this phenomenon is associated mostly with socio-political activity (Borisova & Manokhin, 2016), although other areas manifest signs of socio-communicative hybridity as well. In fact, the significance of the socio-communicative hybridity (SCH) phenomenon is much wider, and in the future, as representatives of generations who have actively mastered mobile versions of digital integrated communications enter active social life, this phenomenon can become one of the main tools for social field restructuring and managing social atomization.

Clarifying concepts

The "hybridity" concept has recently been used in a wide range of different situations related to armed conflicts (Yegorchenkov & Danyuk, 2018). In practice, hybridity reflects such an operational context in which it is inefficient, and in some cases simply impossible to use only one group of tools to influence the most important types of target audience (like economic, administrative, information, social or military and law-enforcement ones). "Hybridity" can be characterized as institutionalized social contextuality that contributes to the emergence of an inseparable dialectic for content, context and tools for context changing.

The hybridity term and hybrid technologies of political and social influence being in such demand in modern society is a product of a crisis, and in some cases, direct disintegration of social structures and models that provided social evolution within relatively rigid social frames, including the social-consumer ones, and economic models. The frames and economic models being so fluid produces a growing contextuality in the communication models.

The "socio-communicative hybridity" term, in turn, reflects mutual penetration and influence of communications and social spheres and the formation of operational spaces in which the impact potential of social actions and communication is at least comparable or equivalent[2]. The formation of the socio-communicative hybridity phenomenon reflects the internal properties of specific social systems, as well as their socio-constructive potential and the ability to change under the influence of external subjective and objective circumstances. SCH sphere should be considered a social state, with certain characteristic specific features enhanced by communication tools. In the first approximation, socio-communicative hybridity can be defined as:

The emergence and sustainable medium-term existence of an environment where there is no functional separation in the degree of importance and influence on the

---

[2] Using Talcott Parsons' approach (Parsons, 2018), we can say that communication is a theoretical abstraction, a kind of generalization on the basis of each individual's social and communicative experience, based on the reduction of meaning, but, nevertheless, correlated with empirical experience and apparent objective reality. Hybridity allows maintaining a relatively high level of social reference for communication, and also allows one-time or episodic approbation of its semantic content.
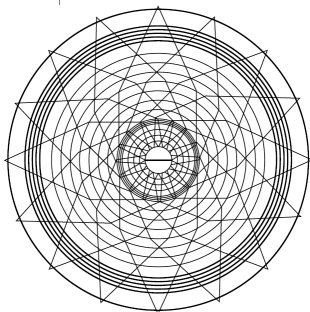
processes of communication and social action, within which communication partially acquires the functions of a tool for social assistance, at least in terms of forming a social context (a field of operations)[3].

Socio-communicative hybridity is both a dimensional phenomenon and a process. This creates a dialectically developing phenomenon with a high chance of situational manifestation[4]. At its initial stages SCH evolves relatively spontaneously, the "procedure" of social interaction partially going beyond the limits of remote communicative interaction (de-virtualization) due to the subject of interaction being the processes or procedures that provide a minimum amount of face-to-face social interaction or, at the very least, the presence of such a need. As internal system connections are further built in the SGH field, the element of meaningfulness in its evolution will inevitably increase, because there is an important component for further development — the goal of communicative or social interaction with a group-level meaning.

The points of socio-communicative hybridity formation

The question of communicative hybridity problematization is, in many respects, a question of identification and formalization of mutual influence, integration and alienation mechanisms between the globalized information field, specific information fields arising in it, as well as the tools inherent in a particular sphere to ensure interaction, including, but not limited to, communication channels that link information fields with the area of social processes and social action.

Thus, the question of communicative hybridity becomes as methodological as it is operational, and reflects the qualitative, quantitative and localized, i.e. both sectoral and spatial, evolution of the points of contact between the information society and the sphere of social activity. The peculiarity is that this process is nonlinear, alternating between increase and decrease of the amount of such points under the influence of various factors, as well as changes in the level of interaction intrusiveness, not necessarily meaning its increase.

The most important points of contact between the modern information society and the sphere of social reality, where the effect of socio-communicative hybridity can occur, are:

Economy. Especially from the production management, logistics, credit and financial activities point of view, and other processes directly related to both
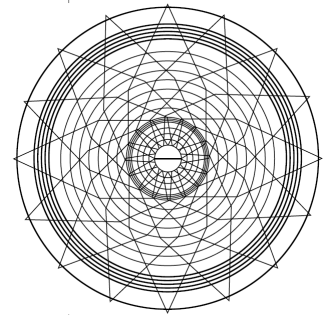
---

[3] Of course, this definition is working, but it reflects the basic properties of socio-communicative hybridity: situativeness, methodological indivisibility of tools, social orientation. Beyond the definition are aspects such as the multiplicity of channels of influence and the high level of group and individual intrusiveness.

[4] Which confirms the hypothesis by Niklas Luman: "The communication system exists only at the time of its operation, but to determine its operations, it uses the medium-sense, and thus each operation, based on itself, acquires the ability to selectively correlate with other operations and implement it in the horizons in which the world that exists simultaneously with the system appears to it" (Luman, 2011, p.75). In other words, in order to become complete, communication must transcend the world of communications, emancipate itself from itself and become part of a social sphere, or at least a socially conditioned discourse.

production and sale of products and services. But here hybridity manifests itself not so much at the social level as at the technological, although it creates new aspects of social relations (the communications' automation and algorithmization) and is the basis for the so-called "human neurophication", considered as the most important development paradigm in the Western radical-liberal discourse proposed paradigm of "Globalization 2.0". The basis for the implementation of such hybridity functions will not be social environments, but technologies (Schwab & Davis, 2018) and in this case hybridity will be technologically transformed, but will preserve its social nature.

Marketing as a tool for managing consumer expectations, and the integrated communication companies generated by it, including advertising. Their direct objective is predictable social action (acquisition). The concept of the "Internet of things", which has become the basis for the most effective marketing formations and a promising "new consumerism" social model (Diamandis & Kotler, 2018, pp. 114–115), is itself a hybrid socio-communicative sphere, limited by consumer possibilities, but not by human needs. The marketing by its very essence is an area of direct contact between communications and the sphere of social action, where the potential of the accumulated and communication-formalized social experience of a particular person and those social groups with which he associates himself (i.e. the phenomenological side of communication) is realized. But this happens in the sphere of formal, and more often-informal socio-cultural restrictions on communication and social action[5].

Social institutionalization. The socially active communities' activities. The modern information society offers a possibility for deep social life virtualization, but virtualized communities in their pure form are rare and still more of a social anomaly (Bennett, 1999). Classic social structures still offer some elements of devirtualized social interaction. The phenomenon of socio-communicative institutions formation should be viewed as a principal possibility of effective social institutions[6] emerging in the future with a minimized devirtualized participation component. At this level, socio-communicative reference, which ensures the integration of communication paradigms in relevant socio-cultural systems, should probably be considered the dominant aspect.

A model case of socio-communicative hybridity manifestation in the sphere of social institutionalization is football fan unions, where a dynamic balance of communicative and social is present. At the same time the most important factor for the SCH phenomenon emerges — the "area of trait realization" factor. It is the "stadium", with the distance from which the communicative-social synergy weakens, bringing to the fore one, then the other side.

---

[5] The most obvious such restrictions are religious and ethical ones imposed on consumption and advertising activities, but there are also more hidden, non-obvious socio-culturally motivated factors.

[6] We highlight the remark by Russian researchers S. L. Dimans and V. F. Levicheva: "Historically, political and religious institutions are those who have the symbolic representation of the institutional order with all its status and role positions fixed most clearly in ritualized forms. Moreover, some roles have no other functions than the symbolic presentation of the institutional order as an integrated whole" (Dimans & Levicheva, 2018, p. 23).
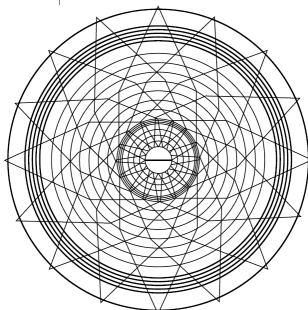
Political communications. So far, it hasn't been possible to create and maintain a fully virtualized political process for a long time. Modern political communication supposes a high level of full-time social behavior as a tool for political framing based on the implementation of freedom and pluralism of communications principles (Lilleker, 2010), although "face-to-face" activity is no longer mandatory to realize the potential of a pluralistic civil society (for example, remote voting through the Internet is becoming increasingly common). The problem of digitalization and virtualization of democracy and the introduction of automated posthuman algorithms is extremely important. But for now, political communications and the sphere of political interaction remain the central and most prominent sphere of SCH manifestation.

Most of the known relatively successful cases of social and socio-political protest of recent times have developed to some extent within the SCH frame. An interesting, though not entirely exemplary case of this is the "Yellow Vest" movement. In this case, it is very significant that in an attempt to transfer the phenomenon to a different operating environment (to realize political institutionalization), that is, to destroy the context contributing to hybridity, the phenomenon actually just disintegrated, as proved by the lamentable results of the European Parliament elections (the Yellow Alliance party, which used the "Vest" brand, received only 0.54% of the votes in France).

Crisis situations, including military and political conflicts. Not only power conflicts are hybrid, but also crisis situations of political and economic nature. To a large extent, hybridity is manifested in corporate conflicts and marketing wars. The state of conflict blurs the line between communication and practical action, in terms of the impact on the participants of the process or conflict. This is due to the fact that, while in a state of conflict, communication has opportunities to change the context, which are close to a social action. It is significant that during armed conflicts and military-power crises, actions are taken to reduce the number of interaction points between the information and military-power environments. The meaning of a full-fledged power confrontation is to break the hybridity environment and make the situation pass into a state of relatively linear development.

Personal level interaction, although in this case hybridity is gradually being lost in favor of virtualization as a simpler operational and social interaction model[7]. Personal communications hybridization and the tendency to their virtualization is a specific manifestation of the "mobility" social model (Urry, 2012), which assumes exceptionally situational face-to-face interaction/communication outside "narrow" groups. Socio-communicative hybridity arising at this level should probably be attributed to the semiotic aspects of communication, which start prevailing over the "rhetorical" component, as direct communication is replaced by sign and symbolic communication, often based on visualization.

---

[7] This partly generates fluctuations in language, when language and stylistic norms adopted on the Internet, in remote digitized personal interaction, are transferred to the field of interaction in person (Gur'yanova, 2015).
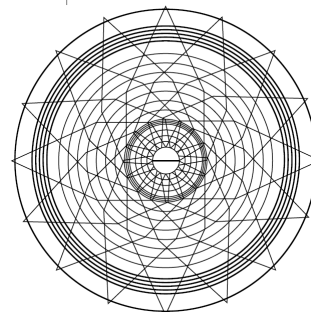
We can also talk about the emergence of fluid points of contact between the information society and the space of social activity. This is manifested, for example, during the formation of socially active communities or information impact during military and political conflicts. Such points of contact between the two spaces depend on the currently available technologies and the state of a particular social environment, which gives rise to the phenomenon of asymmetry of impact on the same basic target audiences.

The structure of the hybrid socio-communicative sphere: comparative analysis

One of the most important factors determining the importance of socio-communicative hybridity as both a communicative and a social phenomenon is the structure of the area formed on the basis of such hybridity, which radically changes the dialectic of the relationship between communications and social impact.

The classic model of relationship between communications and social spheres looks like an expanding combination of different types of involvement in the typologically similar socio-communication process, in which different categories of participants choose different degrees of involvement, remaining within the communication area ("the coverage area"). By itself, "the coverage area" develops linearly, basing on interconnected content-filled narratives. Technologies of integrated communications, however, allow a wider, close to unlimited content "expansion" of the basic plot and its affiliation with other plots. Affiliation is carried out at the expense of not only existing non-obvious connections, but also fictitious connections, which are potentially stable in midterm in the modern information society.

The structure of the classic socio-communication space, usually implemented in the non-integrated communications' environment, is shown in Figure 1.
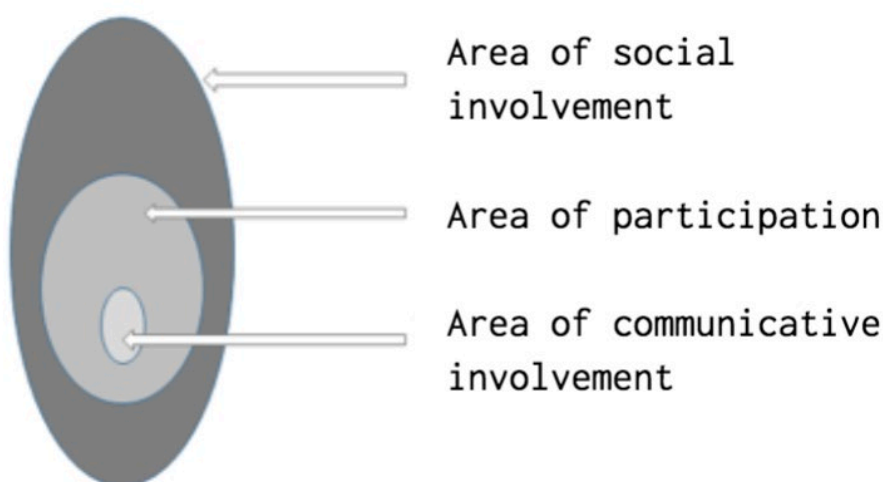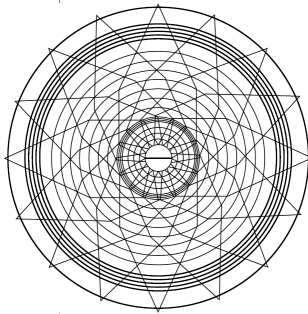

Figure 1. The classic model of social action "communication expansion"

The scale of "coverage" is achieved through the combination of different communicative and social spaces. In this case, there are three limitations: first, the interaction points of the various components of the traditional space are determined meaningfully as the limits of communication discourse expand. This creates a possibility for contradictions emerging at the content level and the loss of the communicative space "core of content" due to alien components being added to it.

Secondly, contact and synergy formation is possible only at symmetric levels of involvement/intrusiveness. The participation sphere can be supplemented only by a substantially similar participation sphere and naturally limits the social involvement sphere dimension. It doesn't grow linearly with total coverage areas' expansion. In other words: even when related discourses (for example, supporters of healthy lifestyles and vegans) come into contact, the number of individuals involved in socially active structures' activities, will remain at about the same level for HLS supporters, or increase just slightly. Only the scope of discourse will grow, and, as mentioned above, it may begin to lose its integrity.

Thirdly, as a rule, the points of contact between the space of communication and social action retain individuality for each space of social involvement, very rarely "moving" from one socio-communicative space to another, which usually occurs situationally and on a one-time, not systemic basis. The reason for this is contact points optimization for social needs and features of this or that community or group, including their social consumption features.

The primary conclusion is:

The classic model of socio-communicative institutions formation either doesn't or provides not enough social integration to at least partially compensate for the effect of social atomization, which turns relatively broad social strata, especially the population of large megapolitan areas, into a socially loosely controlled mass. This is especially evident in the transition of significant strata from the state of communicative involvement to the state of social involvement, which is associated with them losing technological "continuations", working well at low levels of involvement (Ratti & Claudel, 2017).

Another main conclusion is that the traditional space of socio-communicative hybridity is dominated by the "waves" principle of information dissemination, which almost eliminates the possibility of burst development type for social involvement.

In the integrated communications field there is a fundamental possibility of not just a single-level multiplication of the potential scope of individual communication fields, but also, on the one hand, their structural evolution, the emergence of more complex intra-system structures, and, on the other — the emergence of complex socially significant areas with multiple points of interaction between the communications field and the social reality sphere (Aruguete & Calvo, 2018).

Also, the structure of each socio-communicative space gets more complex: a certain "core" emerges in it, not just involved in the processes of social action, but aimed at the formation of internal rules and regulations of behavior and communication. The modern version of integrated communications is characterized by
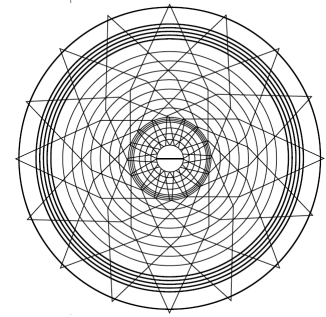
being in its core a network structure, where elements of hierarchy start to manifest. And, to the most vivid extent, these elements of hierarchy are manifested in hybrid socio-communicative spaces that are actively involved in social processes. This is probably due to the fact that, for the modern socio-communication space, the defining criterion of social consistency is not its coverage, but the ability to control the discourse and its transformability into social results.

On the other hand, the potential of interaction with other hybrid spaces and addition of satellite communicative spaces and structures incorporated into the space of social action, is expanding. The main points of socio-communicative spaces integrativity are not discourses, which may not intersect, but the social action field, or, in a narrower interpretation, the sphere of new context frames formation (the "activists" area of interaction).

A classic example of this is the activity of the Russian opposition, including at its level of social action "activists" and, generally, groups involved in the social action area, with discourses not just contradicting each other, but denying each other. This is due to the fact that all of them are aimed at changing the social "enclosing" context, which has become, to a certain extent, quite common to all communities integrated into the socio-communication system.

The effect of heterogeneous integrativity is formed, when interaction can be conducted outside the frame of functional "similarity", and groups or their components, by their nature oriented on social action, can fall into the space of communicative coverage of the same communities. Preserving their functional nature, they begin to claim parts of the narratives of "related" (communicatively partnered) systems, even if they are not primarily communicatively close.

A model example of the demand for related narratives is the emergence of a synergetic demand for the ecology topic by different social forces with different goals. The theme of ecology becomes a meaningful focus for the formation of situational SCH, although the development area in this case is limited.

This hybridization includes the emergence at the systemic level of the "left-right", superficially un-ideological movements, in which a unified and directed, or often direct coordination of social actions coexists with total inconsistency of content and complete absence of attempts to form a consolidated discourse.

A classic example of such a movements are the "Yellow Vests" in France, and, in a somewhat more distant historical perspective — the Ukrainian "Maidan" and Maidan-like movements in post-Soviet Eurasia and elsewhere in the world (for example, the anti-government movement in Serbia).

This paradox is explained by the peculiarities structure of this socio-communicative hybridity version, produced by socialized integrated communications based on modern digital technologies, allowing, on the one hand, a high degree of communication intrusiveness, and therefore a high socio-constructivist potential; and, on the other hand, a high degree of customization, individualization of communications by each consumer individual.
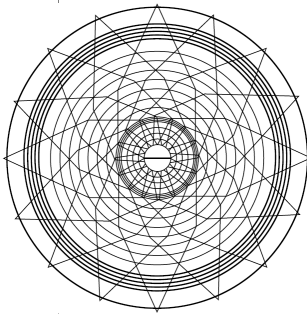
The author's model of related socio-communicative spheres is presented in Figure 2. The basis of this model is socio-communication efficiency limiters emerging in the form of context, limiting the possibility of transformation of communications (both for individual communication, limited in time and space, and for a cumulative and lasting discourse) into a potentially effective action. The concept of socially effective socio-communicative hybridity becomes key and requires further consideration below.
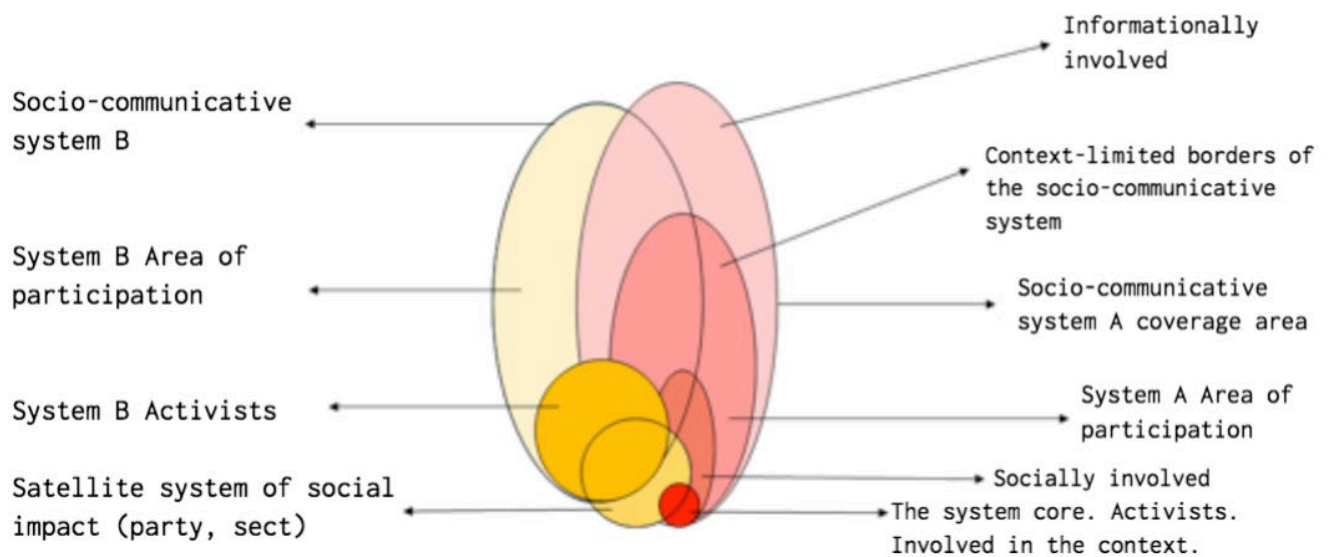

Informationally involved

Socio-communicative system B

Context-limited borders of the socio-communicative system

System B Area of participation

Socio-communicative system A coverage area

System B Activists

System A Area of participation

Satellite system of social impact (party, sect)

Socially involved
The system core. Activists. Involved in the context.

Figure 2. The phenomenon of communicative expansion of the social action core in the integrated communications circumstances.

The most important factor determining the SCH model stability is the transparency of related spheres for communication channels and communicative tools. Despite the possibilities for introducing restrictions, most specific communicative areas, and especially those with elements of hybridity, operate on the basis of a standardized, though substantially customized set of communication channels. Restrictive hierarchy is normally present only in the "core" of the system, in the "activists" field of interaction, especially if a particular socio-communication space introduces at least some basic elements of ritualization. But generally, the individual is located in the "area of communicative coverage", often not as much as being involved in the relevant semantic narratives, but only at the technological level due to the formation of the relevant customized communicative field through social network algorithms.

The conditions that allow the conversion of the communicative into the social and vice versa, which is the basis of the principle of heterogeneous integrativity, are:

- Relative quickness of communicative actions, the possibility of simultaneous communications in various content and group areas.
- Close to unlimited possibilities of communicative mobility, the removal of restrictions on the geography of communicative involvement while
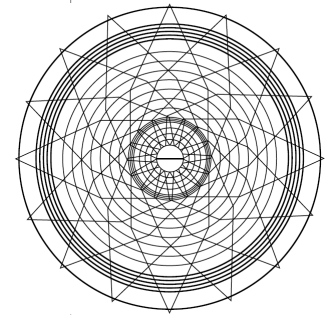
maintaining restrictions on social involvement. This makes possible almost unlimited remote control of processes within the SCH field.

- Relatively open communicative system. As practice shows it, the degree of social system openness is not a critical factor, because socio-communicative hybridity can generate new areas of social involvement.

- Unlimited implementation of the principle of multi-personality inherent in the modern interpretation of social networks, multiplication of formats and forms of participation in the communicative processes.

- Realization of the possibility of simultaneous presence in the communicative field and the social action sphere, creating the possibility of real-time visualization of transformations.

The most significant conclusion should probably be considered the fact that the main restricting factor for the SCH field is the social context, separating acceptable social and communicative behavior from unacceptable, and integrating communications (even in its variant of "communicative action") into the existing framework ("frames"), or partially eroding, thus creating a new field for the phenomenon development.

We state that the emergence of the SCH phenomenon as a significant expansion of involvement is only possible in the field of integrated communications, which introduces some technological limitations into social processes. A full-fledged part of the SGH spheres can only be an individual included, and actively included, in the integrated communications sphere.

The concept of socially effective socio-communicative hybridity

Defining moment for socio-communicative hybridity development is the corresponding sphere participants' ability to exert a focal influence on the social environment in order to transform both its internal structural connections and the limits of the context formed by the environment. This ability is a product of communicative and social synergy, having three important functional traits:

- It manifests itself situationally, forming a situation similar to of the transition of quantitative changes into qualitative in its socio-philosophical implementation; it has an explosive nature.

- It depends on the context existing at the moment of hybridity field formation, is its product and loses relevance after its destruction for any reason. The dynamics of transformations in this case is not quite clear, but it sure isn't linear. Going beyond the conventional "stadium" for football fans means, if not the dissipation of SCH phenomenon, then its significant skew towards social action or communication, depending on the direction it's going to. At the same time, in the case when we are dealing with social or socio-political activity, going beyond the hybrid socio-communicative area of the conditional "meeting" doesn't mean the dissipation of hybridity, nor any significant distortions in its structure. This should probably be attributed to the difference
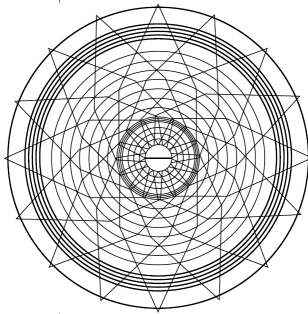
in mechanisms and stages of involvement in the hybridity sphere. This question will be the subject of further research.

- It is both an object of manipulation and a process that is extremely difficult to manage outside the "corridor" management technologies. The transformational potential of hybridity can be determined only situationally.

There is an interesting phenomenon: the vector of transformations in the social area is formed mainly in the communicative field due to the appropriate management of the most important vectors of communications and the spread of elements of discourse in adjacent communicative and social areas. But it manifests itself in the social action sphere, almost completely depriving communications of self-importance, submitting them, at least temporarily, to the task of social transformation, or in extreme cases, making communications into a tool not just for propaganda, but for effective process control. It's not hybridity that becomes the main tool of content transformation, but the energy of social changes accumulated inside the sphere or artificially introduced there.

In fact, the realization of SCH potential means at least its temporary disintegration, the cessation of existence as an integrated and internally integral complementary unit.

It seems reasonable to introduce the term "efficiency limit" in relation to socio-communicative hybridity, which defines the state when the SCH retains the status and state of an integrated entity, but is capable of transforming the "accommodating context" — the system of social and operational relationships existing and emerging around it. In other words, the limit of SCH social efficiency and its associated institutions is almost identical to its manageability.

The hypothesis arising in connection with this thesis is that the main political (but not social) value of the SCH lies in its possibility to significantly expand the limits of interaction with a competitor, opponent or rival within the existing context — in the format of "non-zero sum" competitive models. From a social point of view, SCH are an effective model for organizing "trades" with multiple participants having partially converging economic interests. The main and still unresolved issue, as shown by the practice of using this model, is the loss of manageability at the time of social field transformation of and the difficulty of restoring manageability after the phase of intense crisis. SCH can destroy context under certain conditions, but these mechanisms are not suitable for recreating social frameworks after destruction.

Instead of a conclusion: summary and formulated questions

Methodologically, the development of processes within the framework of socio-communicative hybridity is quite in line with the approaches of structuralism and post-structuralism, especially regarding the communicative foundations of the modern society development. If we look at the situation from the role of binary oppositions point of view, we are faced with a significant complication of the approach to the processes of communications transformation into social imperatives of varying institutionalization degrees. Of course, we face a request for "new structuralism" as a
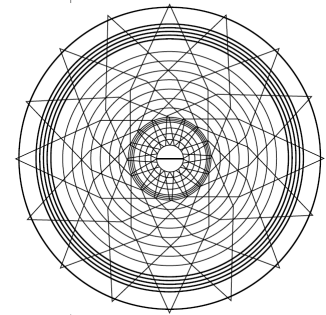
starting point for understanding and methodological argumentation of social and communicative hybridity as the basis of social processes in a society of unlimited social mobility and fluid social relations. This is a big question by itself, the answer to which should lie in the field of long-term reference of socio-communicative processes.

The conclusions of the realized study are several preliminary statements containing questions for further study of the problem:

First. The question arises about the importance correlation between various institutions of social consolidation — "large", "small" and "medium" social groups — in determining the private social behavior of an individual involved in the field of communication[8]. The new system of asymmetric qualitative involvement raises the question of identifying the mechanisms of interaction and mutual influence of these groups in the formation of human communicative everyday life (Pentland, 2018).

Second. The most important component of further research is to identify the degree and mechanisms of correlation between the new socio-communicative hybridity and Craig's communication paradigms (Craig, 1999), which certainly retain their basic relevance, but need methodological clarifications, especially regarding reflection on communications of individual and group social experience, as well as changes that various paradigms of Craig's communication model undergo, being included in the SCH field.

Third. The dominant factor of affiliation in the frame of the modern understanding of socio-communicative hybridity is the issue of a sphere's technological accessibility. This will mean the existence of constant and pronounced factors in favor of a constant lowering of the technological "threshold of social involvement" and its mirroring within hybrid fields — the "threshold of communicative accessibility".

Fourth. In the conditions of integrated communications dominance, there's an increase in importance of irrational, trans-emotional component for decision-making, including for those on increasing the degree of one's social integration into the appropriate sphere[9]. In the format of "big numbers" processes, the synergetic emotional element can play a significant system-forming role. This, however, means that the modern information society has a "limit of mathematization" and algorithmization.

---

[8] Also, the question arises about the structural organization of the most important communication systems and models that are transformed in the field of integrated communications of such a phenomenon as the "global village", to make an example, which, of course, is not in itself fully an area of socio-communicative hybridity, at least in the original interpretations, although the elements of the fusion between social and communicative fields are naturally present in this model (McLuhan & Fiore, 2012). The global village, placed in the integrated communications field with appropriate consumption models, however, creates a large space for the development of at least some aspects of the SCH.

[9] The conversion of the communicative into the social can be considered, in particular, within the framework of the discourse on the conversion of the "dead" into the "living" in fantastic, or rather — fantasy texts, as Renate Lachman says (Lachmann, 2009, p. 73). In any case, it's impossible to deny that there's some unmathematized component present in this process, associated with the institutionalization and formalization in practical behavior of a sometimes instantaneous sense of belonging and social affinity, generated precisely by communications.
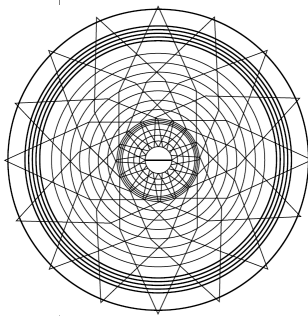
Fifth. The growing importance of context as a system-forming factor for socio-communicative hybridity means a significant increase in local and localized factors in determining the dynamics of a phenomenon's evolution. Modern socio-communicative hybridity is a phenomenon in modern integrated communications that is increasingly localized, both at the macro and at the micro level. But in such case, there is a fundamental question about the priority of the context of a particular level[10].

Sixth. The transformation of the SCH field within the internal and external discourse and context dialectic frame means a change in the mechanisms of mutual influence and, naturally, of the "weight" of internal and external system connections, internal system connections being more stable than external ones, and being able to create a situation of "institutional substitution". The fundamental question is whether these connections will be predominantly communicative or social, which will form the core of the public representation of the socio-communicative sphere (van Dijk, 2013) as it develops in the relevant context.

The questions raised require interdisciplinary analysis, emphasizing the methodologically complex nature of communication studies as a science and the need for further development of fundamental research of the new social phenomenon.

Using Talcott Parsons' approach (Parsons, 2018), we can say that communication is a theoretical abstraction, a kind of generalization on the basis of each individual's social and communicative experience, based on the reduction of meaning, but, nevertheless, correlated with empirical experience and apparent objective reality. Hybridity allows to maintain a relatively high level of social reference for communication, and also allows one-time or episodic approbation of its semantic content.

Of course, this definition is working, but it reflects the basic properties of socio-communicative hybridity: situativeness, methodological indivisibility of tools, social orientation. Beyond the definition are aspects such as the multiplicity of channels of influence and the high level of group and individual intrusiveness.
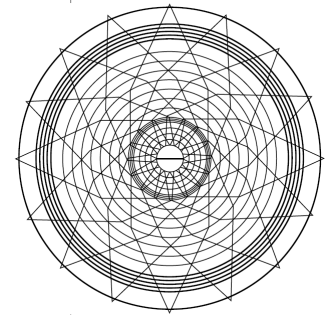
Which confirms the hypothesis by Niklas Luman: "The communication system exists only at the time of its operation, but to determine its operations, it uses the medium-sense, and thus each operation, based on itself, acquires the ability to selectively correlate with other operations and implement it in the horizons in which the world that exists simultaneously with the system appears to it" (Luman, 2011, p. 75). In other words, in order to become complete, communication must transcend the world of communications, emancipate itself from itself and become part of a social sphere, or at least a socially conditioned discourse.

---

[10] Talking about the application of the model to a situation of the "Russian spring" in Crimea and in the Eastern Ukraine, there are obvious significant differences. In Crimea, the localized context was more important, manifested in the socio-cultural and socio-communicative spheres being dominated by institutions, mechanisms and stereotypes, different from the corresponding "Ukrainian" areas, and moreover, built on emancipation from the Ukrainian communicative and social fields. In the East of Ukraine, the socio-communicative context, and hence the corresponding hybrid institutions, were much more rigidly and deeply embedded in the socio-communicative systems and paradigms of Ukraine, even though of its Eastern part.

The most obvious such restrictions are religious and ethical ones imposed on consumption and advertising activities, but there are also more hidden, non-obvious socio-culturally motivated factors.
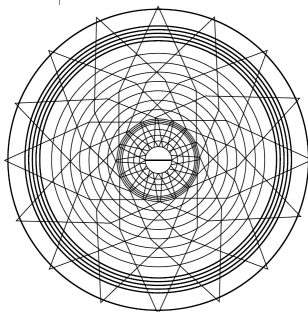
We highlight the remark by Russian researchers S. L. Dimans and V. F. Levicheva: "Historically, political and religious institutions are those who have the symbolic representation of the institutional order with all its status and role positions fixed most clearly in ritualized forms. Moreover, some roles have no other functions than the symbolic presentation of the institutional order as an integrated whole" (Dimans & Levicheva, 2018, p. 23).

This partly generates fluctuations in language, when language and stylistic norms adopted on the Internet, in remote digitized personal interaction, are transferred to the field of interaction in person (Gur'yanova, 2015).

Also, the question arises about the structural organization of the most important communication systems and models that are transformed in the field of integrated communications of such a phenomenon as the "global village", to make an example, which, of course, is not in itself fully an area of socio-communicative hybridity, at least in the original interpretations, although the elements of the fusion between social and communicative fields are naturally present in this model (McLuhan & Fiore, 2012). The global village, placed in the integrated communications field with appropriate consumption models, however, creates a large space for the development of at least some aspects of the SCH.

The conversion of the communicative into the social can be considered, in particular, within the framework of the discourse on the conversion of the "dead" into the "living" in fantastic, or rather — fantasy texts, as Renate Lachman says (Lachmann, 2009, p. 73). In any case, it's impossible to deny the presence in this process of some unmathematized component associated with the institutionalization and formalization of a sometimes instantaneous sense of belonging and social closeness, generated precisely by communications, in practical behavior.

9 Talking about the application of the model to a situation of the "Russian spring" in Crimea and in the Eastern Ukraine, there are obvious significant differences. In Crimea, the localized context was more important, manifested in the socio-cultural and socio-communicative spheres being dominated by institutions, mechanisms and stereotypes, different from the corresponding "Ukrainian" areas, and moreover, built on emancipation from the Ukrainian communicative and social fields. In the East of Ukraine, the socio-communicative context, and hence the corresponding hybrid institutions, were much more rigidly and deeply embedded in the socio-communicative systems and paradigms of Ukraine, even though of its Eastern part.

REFERENCES

Aruguete, N., & Calvo, E. (2018). Time to Protest: Selective Exposure, Cascading Activation, and Framing in Social Media. Journal of Communication, 68(3), 480–502. https://doi.org/10.1093/joc/jqy007

Bennett, A. (1999). Subcultures or Neo–Tribes? Rethinking the Relationship between Youth, Style and Musical Taste. Sociology, 33(3), 599–617. https://doi.org/10.1177/S0038038599000371

Borisova, E. G., & Manokhin, I. V. (2016). Fenomen "Bolotnoy ploshchadi" kak svidetel'stvo formirovaniya novogo sotsial'no-politicheskogo tipa v Rossii [The phenomenon of "Bolotnaya Square" as evidence of the formation of a new socio-political type in Russia]. Vestnik MGLU, 3(742), 129–144.

Craig, R. T. (1999). Communication Theory as a Field. Communication Theory, (9), 119–161.

Diamandis, P., & Kotler, S. (2018). Izobiliye: Budushcheye budet luchshe, chem vy dumayete [Abundance: The future will be better than you think]. AST.

Dimans, S. L., & Levicheva, V. F. (2018). Lyudi i normy: instituty VS neformal'nyye praktiki [People and Norms: Institutions VS Informal Practices]. Klyuch-S.

Evstafiev, D. G. (2019). Socio-Communication Hybridity as the Phenomenon of the Contemporary Information Society. Communications. Media. Design, 3(4), 140-158 https://cmd-journal.hse.ru/article/view/9896

Fuchs, Ch. (2017). From Digital Positivism and Administrative Big Data Analytics Towards Critical Digital and Social Media Research! European journal of communications, 32(1), 37–49. https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/0267323116682804

Gur'yanova, A. S. (2015). Novoyaz internet-sredy: k probleme issledovaniya [Internet Newspeak: Toward a Research Problem]. Filologiya i literaturovedeniye, 48(9). http://philology.snauka.ru/2015/09/1696

Lachmann, R. (2009). Diskursy fantasticheskogo [Discourses of the fantastic]. Novoye literaturnoye obozreniye.

Lilleker, D. (2010). Politicheskaya kommunikatsiya. Klyuchevyye kontsepty [Political communication. Key concepts]. Izdatel'stvo "Gumanitarnyy tsentr".

Luman, N. (2011). Obshchestvo obshchestva. Kn. 1, Obshchestvo kak sotsial'naya sistema [Society of the society. B. 1, Society as a social system]. Logos.

McLuhan, M., & Fiore, K. (2012). Voyna i mir v global'noy derevne [War and Peace in the Global Village]. AST, Astrel'.

Parsons, T. (2018). O strukture sotsial'nogo deystviya [On the structure of social action]. Akademicheskiy proyekt.
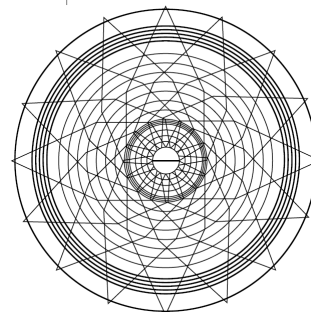
Pentland, A. (2018). Sotsial'naya fizika. Kak rasprostranyayutsya khoroshiye idei: uroki novoy nauki [Social physics. How Good Ideas Spread: Lessons from the New Science]. AST.

Ratti, K., & Klodel, M. (2017). Gorod zavtrashnego dnya. Sensory, seti, hakery i budushchee gorodskoj zhizni [The city of tomorrow. Sensors, networks, hackers and the future of urban life]. Izdatel'stvo Instituta Gajdara.

Schwab, K., & Davis, N. (2018). Tekhnologii chetvertoy promyshlennoy revolyutsii [Technologies of the fourth industrial revolution]. EKSMO.

Urry, J. (2012). Mobil'nosti [Mobility] (N. A. Kharlamov, Ed.). Praksis.

Van Dijk, T. (2013). Diskurs i vlast'. Reprezentatsiya v yazyke i kommunikatsii [Discourse and power. Representation in language and communication]. Knizhnyy dom «Librokom».

Yegorchenkov, D. A., & Danyuk, N. S. (2018). Teoretiko-ideologicheskiye podkhody k issledovaniyu fenomena "gibridnykh voyn" i "gibridnykh ugroz": vzglyad iz Rossii [Theoretical and ideological approaches to the study of the phenomenon of "hybrid wars" and "hybrid threats": a view from Russia] Vestnik Moskovskogo universiteta. Series 12, Politicheskiye nauki, (1), 26–48.
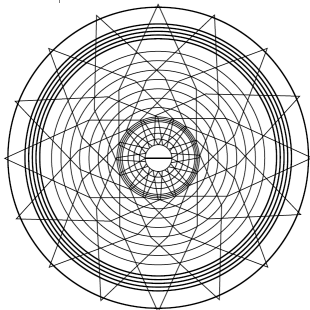
СОЦИО-КОММУНИКАЦИОННАЯ ГИБРИДНОСТЬ КАК СВОЙСТВО СОВРЕМЕННОГО ИНФОРМАЦИОННОГО ОБЩЕСТВА

Евстафьев Д.Г.
кандидат политических наук, Профессор Департамента интегрированных коммуникаций, Факультет коммуникаций медиа и дизайна, Национальный исследовательский университет «Высшая школа экономики» (Москва, Россия)
devstafiev@hse.ru

Аннотация:
Развитие современных цифровых интегрированных коммуникаций, обладающих значительным потенциалом социальной интрузивности, формирует новые институциональные рамки взаимодействия между информационным обществом и пространством практического социального действия. А также между информационными и социальными процессами и институтами, их образующими. Правомерно говорить о новых не только формах, но и форматах социальной институционализации, развивающихся по модели социо-коммуникационной гибридности, становящейся формой проявления специфических социальных взаимосвязей, сформированных по принципу неразделяемости социального и коммуникационного пространства. Социо-коммуникационная гибридность становится одной из основных и весьма эффективных форм организации современного коммуникационного пространства и инструментом вовлечения, как отдельной личности, так и социальных групп различного масштаба, в социальные процессы.

Ключевые слова: интегрированные коммуникации, социальное действие, гибридное пространство, трансформация контекста, коммуникационное действие, вовлечение