

## Political Discourse as the Subject Transgressive Intention

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**Abstract:** The study is devoted to identify the category of tactical media which are now coming to play an important role in the processes of political mobilization and to address the problem of formation of tactical media, their role, functions and goals in the global information space. Tactical media are cost-effective and technologically advanced means of communication that are created for political campaigns and actions. This type of media are claiming as to be a public control tool over the actions of the authorities, declaring the purpose of opposition and criticism of the existing positions of power and warning the public about its anti-people activities and illegal reallocations values. The definition of “tactical” emphasizes mobility which gives superiority over such “strategic” players as big business and the state. Tactical media often increase the risk of human participation in the destructive social epidemics. However, the media have a tactical and positive potential to overcome the process of demoralization and show the audience a positive and constructive life scenarios. The research is about the analysis and systematization of the structural components of tactical media. This will allow developing approaches to the implementation of effective communication strategies aimed at neutralizing the destructive actions of tactical media and information security of the state and citizens. Objects are tactical media in most advanced countries and Russia.

**Key words:** Discourse, verbal extremism, the evaluation criteria of materials, speech influence, appeal, mass media, postnonclassical rationalism, transgression

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### INTRODUCTION

During the last decades in the global spiritual continuum the post modernism principles had been established that have considerably changed the set of values. This is primarily related to the fact that change of the depth essence of consciousness of a human involved in the semiotics space and acting as the most active subject of creating the world of signs and consumption of the sign complexes took place. There is obvious shift of semantics of many essential semiotic codes not only at the level of the everyday media practice but also production and consumption of media discourse, the most politicized and socialized text model. Such trend featuring primary ontological meaning and associated with many imperatives of empiricism enjoying a rather limited cognitive resource has definitely had negative humanitarian consequences. In this regard we'd like to present a sociologist's opinion: 'Despite the fact that postmodernism as an intellectual trend started being developed quite long ago, only today the postmodern situation started to be felt at the level of collective consciousness. Psychologically, postmodernity created a critical situation at the level of common collective consciousness. The peculiar features of this situation are loss of the criteria of correctness and, fuzziness of 'self', a person does not know who he is, everything became

relative including the good and the bad, value of a human life, moral guides' (Stadnikov, 2013). It is dangerous that representatives of professions the main tool of which is a word treat it thoughtlessly which results in contamination of the information environment, diversification of the conceptual content of political discourse, incitement of disorders.

### MATERIALS AND METHODS

The objective of the study to identify criteria of transgression of the political discourse as certain kind of attitude to reality provoking extremism behavior. For confirmation of hypothesis of transgression of conceptual content of the political discourse of issues enjoying mass audience the method of comprehensive text analysis, analysis of separate words, statements and the entire text designed within linguistic semantics, linguo-stylistics, text linguistics and linguo-pragmatics were used. The key words mass media, post-non-classical rationalism, transgression, power, separatism and religion were used; the search criteria were limited to the timeframe the years 2013-2015 (as of September, 2015). Searching included information materials published in the traditional or online, audio-visual mass media and then posted in social networks.

The assessment criteria were the following indicators: signs of hostile, hateful attitude to people distinguished by social, national, racial, religious or linguistic belonging; the number of statements containing the specified indicators. The content analysis method was used.

Indicators were processed using Microsoft Excel 2007. The study was performed on the basis of data of the psychological-linguistic examination of political texts placed at network information platforms during the period from September 2013 till September 2015. The 120 texts featuring extremism signs were subjected to analysis.

## RESULTS

In the course of the study indicators of transgression of the political discourse were identified and classified:

- Presence of obscene vocabulary
- Substantiation (justification) of the necessity of performance of aggressive, cruel actions aimed against a person due to his social, national, racial, religious or linguistic belonging
- Propaganda of exclusivity, supremacy or inferiority of a person due to social, national, racial, religious or linguistic belonging
- Offence of any group or either of its representatives due to social, national, racial, religious or linguistic belonging
- Justification of the necessity of the hostile, hateful attitude to people distinguished by social, national, racial, religious or linguistic belonging
- Intentional public desecration of religious or liturgical literature, signs or emblems of the world-view symbols and attributes or damage or destruction thereof
- Threats of committing aggressive, rude actions aimed against a person due to his social, national, racial, religious or linguistic belonging

The main content of a number of texts consists in stating the concepts of physical and mental inequality of separate ethnic groups, appeals for aggressive actions aimed against representatives of separate professional groups including liquidation of them. The texts contain invective lexis, obscene words are used. They intentionally use words and expressions incorporating in their semantics, expressive shading and evaluative content component the intention of the speaker to insult or offend the addressee.

## DISCUSSION

Some positive and attractive features of post-modernism have been already transformed into their opposites, in fact. Empiricism G. Deleuze creates on its basis the transcendent empiricism as 'self-definition' of the own philosophic concept-demonstrates the own limitedness as the cognitive practice tool with the prevailing practical form of the reality identification. Anti-rationalism following post-modernism restrains harmonic development of the society and it is no coincidence that it is interpreted in close correlation to anti-functionalism. As mentioned above, degenerative post-modernism disorients a person in a complex and sometimes hostile world and hinders him from finding adequate solutions. Moreover, it may determine prerequisites for origination and dissemination of extremism as the most dangerous form of the social sphere. In the rapidly changing and complicated world the more perfect and efficient identification tools are demanded. Since the 'type of the system organization of objects being learnt' is assigned crucial importance the post-non-classical type of rationality ensuring mastering of the 'complex self-developing systems' is in demand. However, despite its rather high cognitive potential that will probably be significantly actualized in the future the post-non-classical rationalism is being currently ineffective in terms of the cognitive practice and insufficiently verifiable. There is no denying that the following statement is reasonable: 'post-non-classical science rejects the very possibility of design of the single and systemic conceptual model of the world (the principle of the metaphysical thinking), actively learns the concept of chaos, changes the static idea of the subject structure through the dynamic idea of the game with the structure. Rejecting the idea of the external causality it transforms determinism into neo-determinism. What is peculiar to post-non-classicism is 'rediscovery of time' that is thought as qualitative and irreversible (Parton and Cherni, 2006). As the result, cognition becomes sensitive to the transgression experience that is reaching beyond the limits, overcoming the border between possible and impossible'. As a consequence, the issue of adequacy of the semiotic presentation of the material world items especially in respect of 'abstract items that do exist in reality (which can be easily established at the inter-subjective level) but cannot be directly perceived by senses' arises.

Thus, it is not possible to escape the post-modernism circle yet transgression holds the subject of the social action within it tightly while covering nearly all spheres of

the modern ontology and the 'boundaries between the possible and impossible' remain to be surprisingly transient. Proceeding from this provision, G. Bataille reasoned: 'a norm is not always effective: it may be not adhered to anywhere an individual not affected by anxiety is indifferent like an animal. Such kind of indifference transgression that is rather then transgression itself ignorance of law must have been common at all times where restrictions start to be accepted without being imposed explicitly enough'. This sententia shakes the foundation of the adequate world-perception, distorts the cultural-mental framework for design of the methodological cognitive structure that would be efficient within the discourse context. This may imply severe negative consequences for the medium function of a text as a complex poly-code phenomenon, especially for a political text which explains many strange phenomena including the religious-political extremism that may be observed in the modern media discourse. It is no coincidence that the issue of adequacy of understanding a statement is actualized, it is also referred to the 'hermeneutic renaissance in linguistics'. However, too many factors have adverse effect on formation of the text space.

Thus, in the network newspaper 'Sobor' the text signed by the archpriest appeared that to the fullest extent demonstrated researchers position based on hate reaching its extreme towards most of the people around of which he speaks up with uttermost sincerity and certainty: 'There are only some mean mice around possessed by the Iscariot's spirit'. At that researcher neglects patristic guidance and forgets of the main Christ's commandments: 'A new commandment I give to you that you love one another: just as I have loved you, you also are to love one another' (In. 13: 34). Researcher of the text under consideration treats the Moscow Patriarchy with particular hostility and anger calling it 'heretic church structure'. He defined separation from it as 'withdrawal from heresy and mischief'. The statement that researcher and his followers 'have separated from heretics' and 'have got their antimension', i.e., symbol of particular holiness in the Orthodoxy with a particle of relics of any Orthodox martyr also sounds cynical. At the same time he states with satisfaction that his community was adopted under omophorion of the canonic Orthodox ebishop of the Russian Orthodox Church Outside of Russia that is known to be the self-governing part of the Russian Orthodox Church.

The text researcher admits public insults of separate people mentioning their names: he calls the Tikhvinsky bishop 'mean Talmudist Mstislav', the head of the district administration a 'villain', etc. In the archpriest's opinion,

in the Kremlin 'the Jude's are dancing' (the word 'Jude' is a swear word and is ultimately pejorative name of a Jew), cathedrals of the Moscow Eparchy are 'just lucrative posts for goats'. In this case, transgression is ultimately expressed as 'overcoming the insuperable': the author loses the ability to objectively evaluate the situation and hiding behind the Christian ethics commits spiritual crimes that are abusive to the church.

Potential breach of chronotope as specific unity of spatial-temporal characteristics may also be referred to transgression. Starting out from the proposed postulates, I.I. Bakhtin distinguished 'chronotopic values of different degrees and scopes' that art and literature are penetrated with. Using the Bakhtin's method, let's consider transgression of 'chronotopic values' of the topical media discourse, overcoming the time and spatial limits and manipulative use of this option. Thus, the text 'Father Daniil Sysoyev about abortions' was posted in the social networks on the page of the community 'Movement for abortion ban #ForLife#prolife'. The name of the community speaks of its secular, non-religious orientation at that the moderator currently uses for relevant purposes the alarmist intention of the Moscow priest Father Daniil Sysoyev that died 2009 of an extremist's shot. The priest took for the main guilty persons the doctors 'spilling innocent blood', committing a 'terrible crime' for which 'God punishes Russia'. He compared a doctor to a 'slaughter man, maniac worse that Chikatilo'. 'In America the doctors performing abortions get huge money as they are in terror of their life. They know they may be killed at their working place'. Father Daniil considered reprisal against a doctor as retribution: 'I don't believe it to be unfair if an executor, mass maniac is killed at the scene'. According to the Guttmacher Institute, over a half of the US clinics performing abortions have been abused including picketing of clinics and doctor's houses, vandalism and even explosion threats. However there is no information available that such aggressive actions were committed by Christians (Catholics, Protestants, parish of the Anglican Church). The priest called the Orthodox Christians to pursue doctor, commit acts of violence against them.

This text is a vivid example of transgression as the refrain of it is the idea that 'today everything is possible, absolutely everything as monarchy has been overthrown, revolution has been performed. Why not to perform inverse revolution meaning to ban abortions'. According to Father Daniil, abortion ban shall proceed in a revolutionary way 'there are even no particular draft laws required'.

The community in the social networks continues transmitting the algorithm of actions proposed by

Sysoyev as the result of which the situation of intolerance is established: the Christians are demanded to 'create the atmosphere of shame...to hang a plate at the entrance: a killer lives here, in the apartment No..., his/her name is ... People shall reject such a person until he ceases doing his evil deeds. Such a small program will change a lot'.

There are no words in the text about the Christian education of the future mothers and fathers, about the Christian attitude of a woman and a man to marriage, family, birth of children. Thereby the call of the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church reminding the priests of the necessity to 'maintain particular chastity and particular pastoral caution by discussing with the parish the issues relating to some or other issues of their family life' is ignored.

Transgression may also be expressed in the political iconic text changing semantics of some or other semiotic symbolic complexes. Thus, each sign features specific and rather definite functionality and being an artefact that is the product of the human consciousness and physical labor is always created with a particular purpose and for solution of the intended task. The subjects using the sign complex are guided by a definitely identifiable motive and realize that a sign does not only symbolize anything. It never acts as a representative of something only but also affects the audience consciousness, forms its attitude and incites for actions. A sign acts as a subject and method of physical action.

Let's pay attention to such essential element of a symbolic iconic text as a cross. It features special religious-political meaning. The researchers do not always associate a cross with the Christian ideology and the Christian humanitarian values in the past it also acted as a sign in the pre-Christian culture and was peculiar to some nations that were absolutely far from the Christianity. Remarkably, a cross even acting as a corresponding Christian sign demonstrated during different periods and in different situations shift of semantics which also referred to humanitarian manifestations as a cross existed representing the pre-Christian values as well. This means that even according to the objectively established situation a cross as a semiotic element may reveal completely different ideological meanings including filling with political semantics as well. Thus, according to the historical traditions the Celtic cross was supplemented with such scenes as the Fall of man. Today the Celtic cross represents the emblem of the 'Russian Right Sector': the words denoting this organization are placed against the background of the Celtic Cross that according to many data published in the reference literature is being the Nazi symbol indicating the white supremacy: for the first time it was used as the symbol of racism by the Ku Klux Klan in the USA and then by Neo-Nazis all around the world.

The Celtic cross a cross with equal beams and a circle may feature different outlines; however, it is easily recognized. Its difference from the Novgorod cross consists in the fact that the Novgorod cross usually had an extended lower beam (base) and the Orthodox cross was often incorporated in its central part that beside the extended horizontal beam had another two. Relative features of formal resemblance and even possible common structural elements are not fundamental: it is the Celtic cross that is used by the 'Russian Right Sector' that differs from the Novgorod one as a nationalistic symbol. In any case it features semantics that is relevant to nationalistic concepts just like the swastika used by many nations as a symbol of motion, life, light and well-being gained evil meaning in Germany. During the last decades the Celtic cross was prohibited for use by many organizations, in particular the International Federation of Association Football (FIFA).

Any power going beyond the limits set may act as transgression. Thus, followers of the radical Islamism on their information platforms attempt to extend the territories of their impact applying to threats in respect of 'kafirs': 'Shake of fear, kafir, shake and know that brother in Islam will soon reach you wherever you are, will release the believers from the bonds of kufr will return the lost glory to Ummah, will return dignity to those who lost it, establish sharia all around the world and punish everyone who sowed evil deeds and anarchy on the Earth'.

The warriors fighting for kalifate appear to be a powerful force leaving no doubts that Islam will be widespread: 'Establishment of kalifate is only approachable to warriors in blood of which the fire of faith and striving for freedom is burning; to warriors who can definitely see their objective... The warriors of God have the courage of convictions when it is referred to their freedom and possibility to declare and glorify their idea'. This example of religious ecstasy represents transgressive escape of a subject beyond the limits of his everyday mental 'norm'.

Disintegration and separatism become the new trends of extremist texts. In the attempts to overcome the limits of possible the followers of destruction of the Russian statehood promote the systemic concepts admitting breach of the territorial integrity of the Russian Federation and creation of the 'free' republics.

On the specially created web-site "Independent republics of former Russia" the materials aimed at division of the state and destruction of the constitutional framework of the Russian Federation are posted. The key concept of the site 'Since the ancient times this Muscovia from has been is and will be complete rejection of anything European and fierce enemy of Europe'. Information is presented in such a manner that a reader takes existence of the republic 'Muscovia' as given. The

researchers does not only admit existence of such republic but also the possibility of the 'MIR' being within another state Ukraine. The 1411 persons said to have voted for that. According to the poll, 63.4% voted for 'being an autonomy as part of Ukraine or Russian Federation'.

The column in the WWW 'Ingermanlandia': lamp regionalism from the Neva coast' already contains over 3,5 thousand comments of the contact group members. Some of them do not doubt they will get a Swiss passport at home: 'live in Ingermanlandia and wait for the Swedes to bring passports to houses as the St. Petersburg and Moscow passport officers did in Abkhazia and South Ossetia at the end of the 90's beginning of the 2000's'.

Each regional page of the website contains the set of peculiar attributes (appeal, invitation, statement of the goal, historical reference, justification of integration or disintegration, listing of the territories incorporated into the 'free republic', the map of the new territory, etc.) Each community attempts to recruit followers by addressing the visitors directly. On the website of the official community 'Free Siberian Republic' we read: 'we invite to our group the Siberian patriots, regionalists, confederalists, oblastnik, autonomists, local historians and just people who are interested in life, history and politics'.

In the information material 'URAL! CHAIN! STATE!' the community members are specified. "In this group patriots of the Big Ural have been gathered. Here practicing local historians, regionalists, confederalists, autonomists, Ural republicans gathered', the political objectives of the community are specified: 'we take a stand in favor of integration of the regions of the Big Ural divided between the RF and Kazakhstan and formation of the single economic, political and cultural space here from the Arctic Regions to the Caspian and Aral Seas', the reason of seeking integration is mentioned (Citizens of the Big Ural deserve better life). Ural is the heart of Eurasia, its foundry and storehouse! To the prospering Big Ural, respect of his citizens, freedom and Integration'.

Thereafter listing of the 'regions of the Big Ural' follows: Barents-Kara (Nenets Area), Komi, Yamal (YMAA), Yugra (KMAA), Vyatka (the Kirov Region), Pama (Komi-Pemnyak Area), Udmurtia, the Kama region (the Perm Region), the Middle Ural Mountains (the Sverdlovsk Region), Tyumen (the Tyumen Region), Bashkiria (Bashkortostan), the Southern Ural (the Chelyabinsk Region), Trans-Urals (the Kurgan Region) orenburg (the Orenburg Region), Yaik (Ural Region-Western-Kazakhstan Region): Islands: Novaya Zemlya, Franz Joseph Land and others. The list also includes the current territories of another state Caspiya (Guryev-Atyraus Region), Araliya (Aktyubinsk Region), Turgaya (Kustanay Region), Ishim (NKR), Akmola (Akmola Region) which makes the readers thinking of possible existence or possible creation of a state with

accession of adjacent territories. Researchers do not doubt the possibility of neighbor's territories to the 'Big Ural'.

The map of the 'Big Ural' clearly demonstrated within which boundaries it is supposed to create the 'Big Ural', these boundaries do not match the current borders of the Russian Federation and reach beyond its borders. The pages are followed by links to 'interesting materials' in which, in particular, the logo 'Ural nationalism Mass Media' is announced. /Ural Republic News, Events, People'.

In all material rhetoric in the spirit of separatist attitudes is used: 'formation here of the single economic political and cultural space from the Arctic Regions to the Caspian and Aral Seas', 'Free Siberian Republic'; 'future free Ingria', 'the status of autonomy as part of Ukraine', 'the future, past and present of the Neva region'; 'free Ingria', 'Closed group Free Karelia, Vapaa Karjala'.

The extremist texts posted on network platforms carry the destructive energy aimed at different objects their researchers intentionally use the strategies of overcoming the social barriers, cultural traditions, moral regulations, for example with particular fury they scoff at monuments, cultural values and relics of the society, eventually, at the historical memory of the nation. The apparently abstract concepts of transgression gains very specific features: the limits are lost; penetration into any semantic areas, free use of any meanings becomes possible. 'Within the information space an army of 'clowns' appears the task of which is to create an impression of comicality of rituals that are traditional to the specific society. The symbols of national ideology are placed within such conceptual context that changes their emotional connotations from positive to negative ones' (Deyneka and Zabarin, 2014). Evaluation of significance of the symbolic component is represented in the CC of the RF where the articles relating to abuse of the national symbols are classified as crimes against state administration.

The illustrated web-site Tolerance of free was created for realization of the objective of destruction of relics and sacral values: photos, collages, caricatures presented on the site 'aggress' even the natural human right to life. The images of a crematorium with the rests of the unburned human bones where at the open door of the burner the emblem Tolerance of free with the scripture 'Jewish sunroom' is shown appear to be quite acceptable to the site creators. Aweless images arouse allusions with the gas furnaces of extermination camps of the WWII.

Using the expressive linguistic and semiotic means, the game tonality and images the inferiority of a person by attributes of religious, national or racial belonging are emphasized. The strategies of opposing one nation to the other ones are used for creation of favorable public image of a specific nation; miseries of one nation are explained

by actions of another one, extremist actions are approved in the public. The strategies used by authors are implemented through such speech genres as threats, intimidation, insults, dramatizing, 'pinning labels' as well as mockery, rhetoric effect, creative of negative reputation (Ivanenko, 2013).

On a number of sites texts abound with quotes proving, in the authors' opinion, the 'maleficent' role of the Jews in the historical process. They often contain appeals calling for radical actions, for example, such as: 'All (except for those located in Israel) Jewish synagogues houses of demons-centers of fighting against the progressive thinking shall be prohibited and destroyed along with the foundation and these places shall be buried under a thick layer of salt'.

In a number of texts transgression is expressed in reproduction of anti-humanistic racial concepts in introduction of the absurd criteria of dividing people into 'normal and abnormal', 'worthy and unworthy' existing. The authors of such texts introduce and substantiate the concept of the necessity of cultivating the first and destructing the second one. 'The only feature of the nation that cannot be subjected to a rapid change is the ethnic one and with respect to the racially pure nations like the Russian one-racial purity'. Thus, by reasoning the necessity of keeping the 'ethnic purity', researcher of the mentioned text takes introduction of the alien genotypes meaning rising of the 'fifth column' in the population for 'racial treachery'.

Despite, the absurdness of the concepts stated by followers of racial theories, the site 'Racial doctrine NSI' enjoys its numerous fans. Here civilization is considered as the result of the active participation of the white race in the natural selection and opposition 'to the inert mass of other races': 'nearly everywhere we observe the same picture: the creative beginning introduced by the white people has formed the fundamentals of one or another centers of civilization thereafter even upon complete assimilation of the white people the social models created by their genius continued functioning for centuries'.

In the cases listed the specifics of transgression consist in combination of such forms of ultimate experience that are being neither sensuous nor mystic but promote to 'diffraction'. The objective of the text space is to make a subject deviating from the ordinary path of motion towards unambiguity, violate linearity of the process.

Researchers of a number of texts use the concepts of 'ecstasy, madness orgasm'. Thus, the web-site 'Sell your soul to the devil' explains how to perform the ritual of the soul sale for specific wishes.

The entirety of texts of different network resources represents the attempt of radical transformation of the individual consciousness 'and disablement of the system of subordination of living functions of an organism'.

## SUMMARY

Information on political resources gains more extremist nature and becomes commonly accessible to public. In pursuit of the autonomy and independence the authors of political texts strive for necessary overcoming of limits set by the society.

## CONCLUSION

All texts within the political discourse space may be classified by transgression indicators as political as such and extremist ones.

In the extremist texts the actions (either symbolic or real) are recorded that are aimed at the other people in order to expand control over them. The texts gain more and more remonstrative nature (I remonstrate everything there is at the moment).

In the political texts the limits of applicability of the linguistic means, for example, invective, slang, professional vocabulary used for creation of evaluating judgments that are often expressed in the ultimately obscene form are extended. Thus, under the influence of the communication transgression facilitating overcoming of the borders of possible and impossible the essence of political communication is changed. Using various agitation-propaganda platforms including the network ones, the internet communities and real groups try to attract to their ideology as many people as possible by means of the speech impact.

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