

The concept of interdisciplinary research on intergenerational transmission of communicative and cultural memory¹

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Abstract

In this paper, the concept of studying the specifics of digital communication between the older (analogue) and younger (digital) generations in Russia is proposed. The process of communication opens up the possibility of a perception of communicative and cultural memory by the digital generation, which is in the process of socialization and awareness of cultural identity. We suggest methodological development and the testing of research methods into the transformation of communicative and cultural memory and ways of its transmission from the analogue to the digital generation of Russians. The proposed scientific and practical concept assumes the development of three basic directions. The first is related to the study of the general process of transformation of syncretic communicative and cultural memory in the digital environment. The second involves the study and modelling of media texts.

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Addressing the strategies of organizing multimedia narration and linguistic and statistical peculiarities of big data makes it possible to identify the language and conceptual markers of communicative and cultural memory in the texts of two different generations. Finally, the third one is related to the identification of the specifics of media consumption by generations, which implies the actualization of the transformation of journalistic competencies to work in the modern digital environment. These directions are developed using several approaches and methods: social-communication, cognitive, structural-semiotic, sociocultural, and linguistic. Such an interdisciplinary approach is necessary for the comprehensive study of intergenerational transmission of communicative and cultural memory.

Keywords

Communicative memory, cultural memory, digitalization, analogue generation, digital generation, intergenerational transmission, social media.

Introduction

There are increasing calls for the de-Westernisation of academic research within the context of a de-Westernisation world in order to make it more representative (Curran & Park, 2000; Gluck, 2015). Yet at the same time, the resulting research needs to be translatable and understandable (i.e. accessible and comprehensible) to other contexts. Therefore, is it possible or practical to create a 'hybrid' approach that can use a Western theoretical and conceptual framework, combined with a local academic framework to make the results meaningful and a reliable account of any cultural specifics. This article seeks to explore how this could be done in terms of the cultural, social and political interplay between journalism and audiences in Russia.

The socio-cultural transformations that have resulted from the integration of digital media technologies into everyday life have led to the emergence of new communication practices. However, this is in turn shaped and influenced by different generational cultures that occupy global human communicational spaces. Eyerman & Turner (1998) noted (in the British context) 'a sociological understanding of the 20th century requires a better understanding of the distinctive generational movements that have shaped its history, politics and culture'. The same can be said for understanding the current changes occurring in non-Western countries in the 21st century within the context of an evolving global power transformation. For the first time in the history of civilization (particularly in Russia), digitalization and the formation of a post-industrial

digital society have led to the emergence of a particular intergenerational gap associated with various customary communication practices, which are implemented in different media spaces (Barsukov, 2018; Romanov, 2013).

Although the generations of the analogue and digital are both part of the same larger information domain and interact with each other, there are some differences and tensions observable. On the one hand, the older, *analogue* generation needs to transmit the accumulated communicative and cultural memory to the younger (*digital*) generation. On the other hand, for the *digital* generation, it is essential to have information that can meet the needs of socialization and cultural identity. Furthermore, generations can be categorised by factors others than through merely common media habits, but also by values and lifestyles (Vyugina, 2017). Furthermore, as noted by Erzikova & Lowrey (2020) and Vartanova & Gladkova (2019), the assumption of the different generations relies on the assumption of equal access to new communication technologies and means of communication (Internet and social media). In the realities of provincial and rural Russia, there can be an absence of access to these means and styles of communication.

However, differences in the transformation and tools of memory transmission of generations are the reason for failures in the attempt to transmit communicative and cultural memory, which leads to significant social deformations. Meanwhile, even in an era of instability, the possibility of productive intergenerational communication makes the awareness of belonging to one's country and identification with its interests, history and culture more stable and productive.

The concept of 'generation' is an important aspect of the research and needs to be specified what exactly is meant and implied by this term. Eyerman & Turner (1998) define generation 'as a cohort of persons passing through time who come to share a common habitus, hexis and culture, a function of which is to provide them with a collective memory that serves to integrate the cohort over a finite period of time'. Thus, the first aim of this paper is to study the mechanisms of transformation of communicative and cultural memory with a view of applying them to the ongoing research project. The second aim is to study ways of its transmission from the analogue to the digital generation of Russians in the era of digitalization. This present exploratory article is devoted to the first stage of the study of navigating aspects of methodology and approach in an era of rapid social, political, technological and economic change. Is there any discernible transformation in the de-Westernising of media and communication studies beyond the rhetoric and the calls for it? This shall be examined against recent

research in Russia, together with exploring the limits and the opportunities. The interdisciplinary nature of this work is determined by the intersection of interests and the use of methods of journalism, sociopsychology, linguistics and culturology.

Method and approach

Following a communication study by Simons (2020) using the framework of Schulz on social phenomenology, which Fereday & Muir-Cochrane (2006) notes 'is a descriptive and interpretive theory of social action that explores subjective experience within the taken-for-granted, "common sense" world of the daily life of individuals'. Schulz (1967) created a method for studying social interaction that involves two senses of understanding interpretive understanding. The first sense is where people interpret or make sense of the phenomena of the everyday world. The second sense of understanding that involves generating 'ideal' types from which to interpret or describe the phenomenon being investigated. This approach is the most relevant given that the topic of the research focuses upon the results of the interaction between the information domain and the cognitive domain in the production and consumption of mass media content.

In the following section of possible theoretical lenses, the most closely aligned to Schulz are those in the categories of the social and communication approach and the sociocultural approach. It should be noted though, the above two orders need to be firmly grounded in the subjective meaning of human action. Therefore, Schulz proposed three essential postulates to be followed during the research process.

1. The postulate of logical consistency: The researcher must establish the highest degree of clarity of the conceptual framework and method applied, and these must follow the principles of formal logic.

2. The postulate of subjective interpretation: The model must be grounded in the subjective meaning the action had for the 'actor'.

3. The postulate of adequacy: There must be consistency between the researcher's constructs and typifications and those found in common-sense experience. The model must be recognizable and understood by the 'actors' within everyday life (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006; Schulz, 1973).

This requires a trail of evidence to be followed by the researcher in order to show credibility and reliability of the study in terms of theoretical and conceptual rigor, but to also be mindful of empirical confirmation. To try and achieve this balance a

targeted Internet search was used with the following key words: ‘communicative memory’; ‘cultural memory’; ‘analogue generation’; ‘digital generation’; and ‘intergenerational transmission’. The search results were also checked within the perspective for snowball technique where displayed ‘related research’ or ‘similar research’ promoted by journals were also checked for relevance.

Potential underlying theoretical lenses

Roediger & Wertsch (2008) argue that memory studies is an emerging discipline, its development is dependent upon the creation of a systematic set of qualitative and quantitative methodological tools. These can be borrowed from various social sciences and adapted. This is owing to memory studies combining the intellectual strands from academic domains such as anthropology, education, sociology, psychology, history, literature, philosophy, and others. It is also noted by Roediger & Wertsch that a single definition of memory is not useful, but rather scholars need to specify the variety of memory being subjected to investigation.

The theoretical focus of this paper to study communicative and cultural memory and its intergenerational transmission involves the study of the mechanisms of transformation of communicative-cultural memory of analogue and digital generations. In order to compare, develop and test the methods of communicative and cultural memory transmission from the analogue generation to the digital generation, a new interdisciplinary methodological toolkit is undoubtedly needed. It should be noted that the ‘clean’ distinction between the analogue and digital generations can be a simplified theoretical exercise that can ignore the physical and cognitive realities present. For example, youth in the large urban areas in Russia have access, motivation and opportunity to engage and be influenced by digital sources. The same may not be true for youth from small towns and rural areas that can lack the technical means of connection and use. There are a number of potential directions that are the most significant and promising for application in our research project, a mix of theoretical approaches can bring a more complete result if it is applied to the right question.

The social and communication approach makes it possible to identify and understand different layers of culture and its specific phenomena as social and communication systems. In the social-communication model of culture developed by Arkady Sokolov, the central place is occupied by the category of meaning (knowledge, skills, emotions, stimuli) and communication cycles of movement of meanings in social time and space (Sokolov, 2002). The approach is applicable to the solution of such research problems as ‘interaction of an individual, collective, society in the processes of creation, distribution,

perception, cultural values; mutual influence of sociocultural environment and personality; impact of specific cultural texts on the individual, social group, mass or historical communities' (Mankevich, 2001). It is expedient to use these ideas to reveal the mechanisms of transformation of the communicative and cultural/social memory of generations and the significant meanings-symbols of generations.

The structural semiotics approach was developed by both foreign and domestic scientists (Jean Baudrillard, Claude Lévi-Strauss, Yuri M. Lotman, Evgeniy M. Metelitsky, Charles Peirce, Vladimir Ya Propp, Ferdinand de Saussure, Paul-Michel Foucault, and Roman Jakobson). From a semiotic point of view, social communication appears as an interaction based on signs and symbolic systems. This approach is needed in the construction of social media communication as the basis for intergenerational dialogue.

The cognitive approach in sociology has been developed regarding collective social notions (Niklas Luhmann et al.). According to Luhmann's cognitive system theory of communication, the reality is developed within the media system through the appropriation/production of meaning, and 'any cognition (consequently, any reality) is a construction' (Luhmann, 2005). The cognitive approach in social psychology is based on the principle of consciousness of the individual, developed by George Kelly (personal construct theory), Theodore Newcomb (Newcomb's model), and Jean Piaget (theory of cognitive development).

Cognitive methodology in media research is actively used by Russian and international scientists (Makarenko & Kovalchuk, 2018). The model of media impact on the audience based on the cognitive approach, which is required for the analysis of the transmission of communication and cultural memory from the analogue to the digital generation (Sukhodolov & Marenko, 2018). Cognitive strategies for the perception of digital literature are presented in the work of the Danish scientist Jens Hansen (2018). Understanding the narrative messages of the 'distant past' based on cognitive templates has been experimentally tested and summarized in the works of scientists from Old and New World, such as Ara Norenzayan, Scott Atran, Jason Faulkner, Mark Schaller (Norenzayan et al., 2006). The American psychologist-cognitivists William Hirst and David Manier reveal the psychological mechanisms that ensure the effectiveness of collective memory functioning in any specific culture (Hirst & Manier, 2008). In order to address the stated scientific problem, the cognitive approach facilitates the process of constructing meanings and interpreting what is meant in the perception of the digital generation.

Sociocultural approach is to identify the markers of communicative and cultural memory based on work with focus groups of analogue and digital generations. For this purpose, empirical methods of qualitative and quantitative research can be used. In particular, Q Methodology, which benefits and technology of implementation for the study of the perception of social and cultural phenomena are described in the works of Charles Davis, Carolyn Michelle (Davis & Michelle, 2011) and Igor Romanov (Romanov, 2014). This method, as well as surveys, is in demand for mapping the socio-cultural 'places of memory' of generations. Besides, questionnaires, interviews, and mental maps can identify the markers of communicative and cultural memory of both digital and analogue generations.

Linguistic approach uses methods of ideographic lexicography, computer linguistics are actively developed in the practice of linguistic analysis of the text. In the published works of Mikhail Mukhin, the methodology of comparative-statistical analysis of large text arrays is proposed (Mukhin, 2015). There are also the possibilities of automation of semantic analysis that are studied in the monograph of Yuri Kiselev, Mikhail Mukhin, Sergei Porshnev (Kiselev et al., 2018). These methods are applicable for the processing of large volumes of media and social media texts.

The research involves the use of quantitative methods of web analysis of big data in the study of current problems and content requests of the digital generation. Methods of modern corpus linguistics related to computer processing and marking of large text arrays are in demand to identify markers of communicative and cultural memory based on the study of a vast array of social media data and storytelling in media. Comparative lexical and statistical analysis of a vast array of texts created by representatives of different generations allows us to identify the language preferences of each of them and further interprets the peculiarities of media communication, typical for the analogue and digital generations. Methods of selective discursive analysis of mass media texts and social media make it possible to clarify and supplement the results of the lexical and statistical analysis of a large amount of data.

For the purposes of this paper, the social and communicative approach, and the cognitive approach hold the most promise in order to derive an answer to the research question. This is owing to the role of information and communication channels and flows among and between generations of media consumers and producers, and how these information channels and flows are cognitively processed to challenge or reinforce the worldviews and identity of individuals and groups.

Characteristics of an interdisciplinary problem area

We propose a scientific and practical concept that assumes development in three basic directions. The first direction is related to the study of the general process of transformation of syncretic communicative and cultural memory in the digital environment. This represents a tangible communicative act through technical means. The second direction involves the study and modelling of media texts (including media texts and social networks). It will be addressing the strategies of organizing multimedia narration and linguistic and statistical peculiarities of big data make it possible to identify the language and conceptual markers of communicative and cultural memory in the texts of the two different generations. This represents an intangible communicative act through the information domain that impacts upon the cognitive domain of the audience. Finally, the third direction is related to the identification of the specifics of media consumption by generations, which implies the actualization of the transformation of journalistic competencies to work in the modern digital environment. This direction is aimed at mapping and understanding the characteristics and specifics of the segmented audiences. These three parts when combined are intended to reveal the effects on the cognitive domain of the actors (journalists and public) by the qualities and format of the physical domain representations transmitted and appearing in the information domain.

Cultural memory and communication memory: Concept, specifics of accumulation, transformation, and transmission in the context of digitalization

Heinrich and Weyland (2016) propose a theoretical process where collective memory at the macro level influences the individual's memory, where memory at the individual micro level may become part of the collective memories. 'This process can be considered as an exchange taking place at the meso level and can be exemplified by the public discourse within the Web 2.0. It is assumed that the Web 2.0 provides a forum that aggregates individuals' perceptions and interpretations of the past on the one hand (bottom up) and disseminates the meaning of a society's dominant commemoration figures on the other hand (top down)' (Ibid.). However, problems exist in the research and analysis within the field of memory studies.

There exists in memory studies the danger of reducing culture to politics and ideology, instead of broadening the field from the political to the social and the experiential, to an everyday history of memory. And there exists the danger of reducing culture to some vague notion of memory, whereby memory

is separated from other memories in society and from the culture around it (Confino, 1997).

In terms of the recalling and study of cultural and communicative memory, Confino calls for a more wide-reaching analysis beyond the top down only perspective. In understanding the term and practice of collective memory Olick (1999) proposes ‘a sensitising term for a wide variety of mnemonic processes, practices, and outcomes, neurological, cognitive, personal, aggregated, and collective’. These are in keeping with Heinrich and Weyland (2016) that propose investigating all connections and relations, top down and bottom up. Confino (1997) warns that ‘the beauty of memory is that it is imprecise enough to be appropriated by unexpected hands, to connect apparently unrelated topics, to explain anew old problems’. These processes and relations are coded, guided and influenced by narrative creation and circulation.

Narrative organisation is an essential element in shaping the collective memory of members of a group or a nation. These narratives are shaped by a socio-cultural context and possess the capacity to serve as cultural tools for those members to recall their past (Wertsch, 2008). This includes specific narratives that refer to specific events, people and places, and schematic narrative templates that include the use of representation and symbolism to shape the quality and specifics of a narrative story (Wertsch, 2008(a)). In his study of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact as a ‘blank spot’ in the collective memory of Russia, Wertsch noted that people are unlikely to come to a common understanding of history as they are not exposed to a uniform body of objective information. Furthermore, ‘given how central deep memory is to collective identity, this should come as no surprise’ (Wertsch, 2008(b)). Memory is connected to information and experiences that are directly experienced and mediated by individuals and collectives. According to Hoskins (2011), the world has rapidly evolved from an environment of information scarcity to post-scarcity culture, with its possibilities of instant access to information and connections.

The focus of this study is on the concept of communication and cultural memory. To develop this concept, the authors rely on the theories of communicative memory and cultural memory of the German historians and culturologists Jan and Aleida Assman. ‘Memory is what allows us to build an image or narrative of the past and in the same way, develop an image and narrative of ourselves’ (Assmann, 2011). In Jan Assman’s theory, two vectors are distinguished communicative memory (related to the recent past) and cultural memory (related to the ‘absolute’ past – cultural memory, based on external mediators such as texts, images, monuments and rituals, has no time limit). ‘The notion of communicative memory includes those types of collective memory

that are based solely on everyday communication' (Assmann & Czaplicka, 1995). This memory reflects the personality as the bearer of the social roles of the time. This is the 'field of oral history', which now, in the era of widespread mediatization of communication, seems to be becoming an integral part of the institutional 'written history' and is represented in social media.

Publicly circulated representations of cultural memory serve as markers of collective purpose, meaning and belonging in any given society. 'Cultural memory includes a collection of frequently used texts, images and rituals specific to each society in each era, where cultivation serves to stabilize and convey the image of society itself. Based on collective knowledge, for the most part (but not entirely) of the past, each group bases its understanding of unity and specificity' (Assmann & Czaplicka, 1995).

In existing scholarship, it has been confirmed that in everyday communication an individual simultaneously operates with communicative memory skills based on 'historical experience within individual biographies' and this reflects the meanings that are stored in the cultural memory of identical groups (Sumskaia & Simons, 2018; Sumskaia & Sumskey, 2018). Communicative memory requires a means of transmission to the members of the community through social institutions that are the means of cultural (re)production.

In the digital era, the communicative memory transmitted through specially organized institutions such as social networks, mass media, messengers, communication services acquires the status of cultural memory. According to Assman's position, communicative memory is non-institutional since '...it is not supported by any educational institutions and cultivated by specialists, [...] nor reproduced in special cases, it is not formalized and fixed in any forms of material symbolism' (Assman, 2011). However, today, it is evident that everyday communication, mediated by the media, is formalized and has embedded certain norms and rules of communicators' behaviour, set by the developers of media content. Technical development experts have set the framework for 'ritual behaviour' in the digital environment, playing the role of 'Brahmins' in the era of oral culture. The correlation between communicative and cultural memory in the digital era is confirmed by the authoritative Dutch researcher José van Dijck. She concludes that the traces of individual memory in digital media are both personal and collective, and eventually acquire the status of a cultural treasure inscribed in a broader cultural framework than merely personal memories (Dijck, 2004).

Thus today, at every moment of communication in the digital environment, it is the communicative and cultural memory, which has the properties of syncretism and ensures the integrity of perception of information, is actualized.

We believe that the communicative and cultural memory of a generation can be formally presented as a set of essential cultural signs and communicative practices that contribute to identification with their cultural-historical community, with their country, and significant for a particular individual 'here and now'.

The communicative memory has a time horizon that is capable of shifting since it is directly dependent on what is happening in time. Jan and Aleida Assman conclude that the memory of the recent past passes into the status of absolute past through three-four generations, because 'the family is a [...] communication framework for generations living together. Within this framework, their experiences, stories and destinies overlap' (Assman, 2014).

In a situation of dynamic technological transformations, the most expedient thing to do is to operate not with the categories of generations within the family, but with the generations of media communicators, since the framework of communications, including in the media, is set by the service and technological tools of the media industry. As a result, at least two types of generations can be distinguished – analogue and digital. Addressing the media is essential because media 'spectacularly rework the events of the past, update them and convey them to the public consciousness' (Assman, 2014), encode meanings and symbols, ensuring the 'longevity' of memory.

The change of media generations in the period of powerful digital innovations is faster than in the analogue period of media development, especially in the large metropolitan areas. If we consider that a significant marker of the digital era is the mediatization of life in the broadest sense, we can state, on the one hand, a rapid increase in the mass of cultural memory, and on the other hand – a lack of communication practices that ensure the creation of intergenerational relations. These practices and meanings-symbols are a significant field of research since they seem to be the most productive for the implementation of the tasks of transformation and transmission of the communicative and cultural memory, including the transition from the analogue to the digital generation of Russians.

Nowadays, research in this problematic field has intensified all over the world. For example, the transformation of the recent past into a 'digital cultural heritage' and how it is represented to a digital audience are described by Spanish scholars (Pecourt Gracia & Rius-Ulldemolins, 2018). The use of the media in the modelling of shared memories has been studied in the work of the Dutch literary critic Ann Rigney. She has developed a model for the transmission of cultural memory through the media, which includes the following stages: selection, aggregation, repetition, reproduction, transformation, and replication of representations in the media. At the same time, the experience and attitude of the generation towards the events and facts of the near and far past are imitated (Rigney, 2005).

The construction of national cultural memory through narrative message templates is presented in the works of an Estonian professor of cultural history, Marek Tamm (2008). The work of a British researcher describes the ideological framework of the 'past in the present' and its role in the organization of influence on modern politics (Middleton, 2002). The significance of spiritual symbols in the broadcast of political memory is defined in the work of Simons and Westerlund (2016). The writings of a Slovenian communicator, Zala Volčič, investigated the manipulation of cultural memory to exacerbate forms of nationalism and hatred through a populist media discourse (Volčič, 2007). Thus, today there are various tools to study communicative and cultural memory, mechanisms of its transformation and transmission from one generation to another.

In the Russian context, studies (Gladkova, 2015) have noted the creation of the representation of ethnic and cultural minorities in cyberspace as a means of discussing and keeping alive identities and values of those groups. In terms of reflecting upon the past and especially the negotiation of memory in hyperconnected memory cultures where the Soviet past is negotiated in contemporary Russia where national identity is discursively constructed alongside official narratives and individual memories.

An important element in this process is nostalgia, which motivates people to join mnemonic online communities but also functions as an intermediary between cultural memory and national identity by making history a personal, sentimental matter. However, we will also demonstrate that the negotiation of official history and individual memory in mnemonic online communities does not automatically lead to emancipation from state-propagated narratives (Kalinina & Menke, 2016).

Although the research above is done by Russian researchers (or teamed with a Russian researcher), it demonstrates the meta theoretical frames of this topic by Western researchers (such as Heinrich & Weyland, 2016 or Confino, 1997 or Wertsch, 2008) can be used to make sense of the Russian case to international audiences. Theories that have been created by or reworked Western ideas applied to make sense of the national, regional and local specifics of Russia are also used in the internationally published research of Russian researchers.

Media texts and social media modelling and theory of multimedia storytelling

Collective memory and media are intertwined and entangled with one another. As Neiger (2020) points out, 'for a memory to be collective, it needs to be manifested and socially shared, and thus ought to be mediated; on the other

hand, many media products and mediated processes incorporate shared recollections'. Zierold (2008) notes the increased complexity introduced into this sphere of media and memory owing to technological developments, which necessitates a more nuanced and multi-varied approach to explain and account for 'often paradoxical development of present day media systems. Consequently, international scholars are trying to develop an advanced interdisciplinary theory and empiricism that can be counted as part of a media-cultural studies approach to memory studies'. Therefore, Zierold (2008) proposes a more abstract understanding of social memory as an alternative to static models. It includes looking beyond the political and ideological connections to media use to include social and cultural aspects too.

Volkmer (2008) argues that a number of different event spheres are in existence, which represents discursive spheres that act as signifiers of identity and culture of the self and the other. The sphere of reflection is connected to events of the dominant social centre of a given society, its historical roots are found in the development of traditional journalism. It is responsible for shaping a strictly national lens for viewing and understanding the world. Moreover, it is a crucial element in shaping a sense of national identity based on a constructed (imagined) distinction between in-group and out-group (Volkmer, 2008). A second, sphere of action, which is referred to the new demands to produce and cover news in a continuous 24-hour cycle that no longer concerns connectivity, but action. There is also the added aspect of new political influences of media events in the shape of media diplomacy, which has created a new relationship between mediated centres and politics (Volkmer, 2008). The final, sphere of magnification, provides a discourse by magnifying specific moments of a political nature in a politicised context (Volkmer, 2008). This is the process of coding events and experiences as a means of mediated cultural production. As Castells (1996) noted, all realities tend to be communicated through the use of symbolism and in this sense that all 'reality' is virtually perceived.

Nowadays, texts of mass media and social media (in particular, social networks) have become a significant object of interdisciplinary study. Hoskins (2011) notes 'media life is also memory life. Memory is lived through a media ecology wherein abundance, pervasiveness and accessibility of communication networks, nodes, and digital media content, scale pasts anew. An ecological modelling is therefore needed to illuminate a holistic, dynamic and connected set of memory's potential itineraries'. In the Russian case, the methodology of sophisticated linguistic and socio-cultural modelling of the journalistic text, as well as the concept of studying media text in the era of digitalization is

presented in the works of Vera Boguslavskaya (2011) is of interest and relevance for the project. The system of codes of Russian journalistic discourse, the text-generating practices demanded in the modelling of media texts, is being developed by the Ural philologist Elina Chepkina (2000). In terms of a qualitative understanding of journalism's influence via its content, Zelizer (2008) observes that 'as journalism continues to function as one of contemporary society's main institutions of recording and remembering, we need to invest more efforts in understanding how it remembers and why it remembers in the ways it does'. This indicates the need to understand and research more deeply, the direction of the intangible (cognitive) elements found in the communication of text, memory and meaning.

International research in this field includes experience in text modelling in a multimedia environment, which is based on the application of the implicative theory of multimedia storytelling. The author of this theory is the philosopher and culturologist Henry Jenkins (2006). Carolyn Miller confirms that the way stories are told in a multimedia environment has its own characteristics. Her work defines strategies for organizing narration on various digital platforms, and special attention is paid to the use of interactive technologies in the organization of interaction with the media audience (Miller, 2008). Technology is the critical element in the transmission of the narrative.

The technology of creating 'narrative worlds' and convergent narratives is summarized in the works of Spanish researcher Carlos Scolari (2009). In turn, Irish scientist Kelly McErlean is building a conceptual framework for the production of multimedia and transmedia stories (McErlean, 2018). His reference guide to the creation of multimedia and trans-media storytelling is primarily based on an understanding of the concepts and principles of the works of Dziga Vertov, Vasily Kandinsky, Lev Manovich, Vladimir Propp, Alexander Skryabin, Igor Stravinsky, Andrei Tarkovsky, Viktor Shklovsky, Sergei Eisenstein who are representatives of the Russian creative environment.

American media designer and writer Andrea Phillips, in a guide for creators of Transmedia Storytelling, concretizes the position of creating storytelling platforms, which is extremely important for practitioners. She distinguishes between two directions: 1) Western (Hollywood), which involves the transmission of the audience's history on a variety of 'big' platforms – movies, theatre, print and others, and 2) Eastern, entirely focused on interactive online platforms (social media, Internet portals) (Phillips, 2012). Therefore, articles organized as multimedia narratives or as they are called today, storytelling, may become the leading communication technology, which is in high demand

for intergenerational communication for communicative and cultural memory transmission.

Markova and Sukhoviiv (2020) note in the Ukrainian context that the term storytelling in the Ukrainian and Russian languages is borrowed from the English language. They also note the significance and impact of storytelling in the post-Soviet context, where storytelling is a communicational tool of journalism.

Digital storytelling in journalism uses the full communicative potential of traditional storytelling, adding multimedia and interactivity to it, thereby increasing the chances to create an impact. Digital storytelling in journalism is implemented in forms such as cross-media, multimedia, transmedia. Technological innovations such as Augmented Reality, Mixed Reality, and Virtual Reality can also enhance the communicative impact of storytelling. The latter implements the principle of involvement and dialogism to the greatest extent. The principles of storytelling development in journalism are its recognition as a communication tool that can achieve both commercial and social goals, the increase and complication of means to influence the audience with new information technologies, and a paradigm shift from broadcasting to involving (Ibid.).

In this research, the authors identify the role of digital storytelling as a means to enhance the effectiveness of influence on its audience by engaging and involving them in the production of journalistic text in this post-Soviet context. In this regard there are more similarities than differences with the Western approach to understanding and visualising storytelling from a theoretical point of view. The application of storytelling in the Russian context, in particular the development of transmedia storytelling, takes into account the operational objectives of this form of communication.

In addition, the development of Transmedia Storytelling (TS) in Russia is relevant not only for commercial purposes but also for improvements in the social, political and media realms because (1) TS projects help overcome the television vs. Internet divide characteristic of the Russian media system (e.g. The Voice succeeded in this task), (2) TS strategies are used by activists and artists in order to encourage civic engagement development in Russia and (3) TS tools contribute to changing the passive audience paradigm, introducing the Russian audience to contemporary forms of participatory culture (Gambarato & Lapina-Kratasiuk, 2016).

These research findings support some of the findings of the previous research findings based on the example of Ukraine, especially with reference to the use of storytelling as a means to influence an audience to bring about some

type of change in a given society with an active audience participation. This is significant for Russia given the uncertain sense of post-Soviet national identity and values. The appearance of a co-created narrative fits with the Eastern direction of transmedia storytelling envisaged by Phillips (2012) in terms of the role of technology in the process of intergenerational communication, albeit for domestic change in Russia.

Digital audience and journalists' competencies in the digital environment

Information flows are much quicker paced and contain greater amounts of content than ever before in human history. Within this context, Volkmer (2003) observes that the new flow of political information enables the audience to be better informed on issues of relevance. Journalism, both in its analogue and digital form, mediate the collective memory of society through rendering narratives of the past into a functional socio-political construct. In order to deconstruct this complex creation of mediated collective memory, six essential elements have been identified. '1. Its multidirectional disposition (from the present to the past and vice versa); 2. Its concretisation in media texts and other products; 3. The functional role it plays for the community; 4. Its socio-political aspects; 5. The technological qualities of the process of mediatisation; 6. Its narratological characteristics and formation' (Neiger, 2020). Each of these aspects and elements combines to unravel the multifaceted relations and interactions between media and memory. The above also alludes to a dual role played by mass media and journalism in shaping and influencing memory – as a platform for actors and as an actor in their own right.

The new media environment and infrastructure permits eyewitness accounts of events that take place at any location around the globe, which facilitate the exchange of information and knowledge, ethics, values and so forth. This is in-line with Marshall McLuhan's concept of the global village, albeit a very diverse and digitally based one. These developments create new responsibilities for journalism to act as a mediator and mediating between new political discourses and between diverse political media environments. This includes providing discourse platforms for otherwise restricted media environments as 'the terms of "foreign" and "domestic" journalism become obsolete within this environment' (Volkmer, 2003). This creates the potential for change in worldview, identity and culture among segments of the domestic audience.

These 'dialectical' spaces shape 'worldviews' but also political identity, based on conflicting images and refine political reasoning 'rationality' within the national public sphere (Volkmer, 2003).

Generational differences have been detected by field work results, which demonstrate a certain level of divergence that seem to confirm the above quote. 'Whereas in the oldest generation in each of the countries, cultural, national and social memories strongly affected to recollected media events, this is not the case in the youngest generation' (Volkmer, 2003(a)). She noted that the oldest generation's social and cultural context defines the mediated impression. Parents reproduce family roles in relation to the media, access is controlled and 'events' interpreted. Media began to colonise private and symbolic spaces of the middle generation through newly established content, mediating the meaning and importance of events. The individual social context of the youngest generation was defined through the media perspective (Volkmer 2003(a)). Contradictions and dilemmas can be seen emerging across the resulting generation gaps where digital technologies are being increasingly used by the older generations that have the effect of closing the gap, and other gaps are widening as the older generations tend to be ignored somewhat by advertisers and in academic research (Bolin & Skogerbo, 2013). The differences between the analogue and digital generations have been noted by other researchers.

Criticism has been levelled at the current state of knowledge and the resulting need to identify research gaps generational media research. Bolin and Skogerbo (2013) identify several points that require addressing: 1) the lack of critical reflection as age as a category in its own right; 2) there are few attempts to analyse empirically generational user patterns and/or experiences that go beyond fashionable buzzwords and jargon (such as digital natives or net generation); 3) a relative absence of cross-national analyses of generational experience or cross-generational analysis of media users. Bolin (2014) sought to address the third research deficit, a cross-cultural and cross generational comparison of two generations of media users in Sweden and Estonia. Some theoretical lessons were deduced in the course of the study findings that are relevant for our study.

Theoretically, then, it can be concluded that generation as locality needs to consider not only temporal locality in the historical process, but also spatial locality; that is, the locality of geopolitical, media technological and cultural space. In terms of fresh contact, and formative years, it can be further concluded that there are two kinds of formative years: one in childhood and one in youth (Bolin, 2014).

The focus of this study is on intergenerational communication and the transmission of communicative and cultural memory from the analogue to digital generation. We conditionally call the audience, which is more accustomed to using primarily analogue media, the analogue generation, and the audience, for which digital media are preferred, the digital one. The study of the needs of the digital audience is presented in the works of Russian researchers. In particular, it summarizes the communication practices in the digital environment (Kaminskaya, 2018), the habits of a modern user (Viugina, 2017), the focus of media inquiries of digital youth (Dunas, 2018). This lays the broader foundations of our research project, together with its aims and goals.

To solve the stated scientific problem, conceptual foreign studies of both generational values and technologies of overcoming the communication gap of working generations X, Y and Millennials are significant (Coupland, 1991; Hillman, 2014; Prensky, 2001; Tapscott, 1998). In this regard, it becomes particularly important to understand the competencies of the journalistic community among both the analogue and digital generations, which are in demand in the production of content 'in digital form'. Many experts recognize the need to adapt the analogue generation of journalists to work in the digital information environment, where the complexity of the transformation of journalists' competencies is concretized, summarized and analysed in Russian research projects (Kohanova, 2017; Oleshko V. & Oleshko E., 2017).

There are conflicting positions taken by scientists, in this case, these are manifested in different points of view regarding the content of communication with the audience: is it necessary to follow its current preferences, anticipating possible interests or to dictate the topic and the content? However, the second question, in our opinion, reflects the experience of the analogue generation.

The mechanisms of transformation of communicative and cultural memory and methods of its intergenerational transmission are causally related to the study of the possibilities of modern information and communication technologies. One of the essential results of the Russian analytical project 'Monitoring of global trends in digitalization in 2018' is the conclusion that the visualization of information is of particular importance, which makes it possible to accelerate the process of the audience's perception of communicative and cultural memory products through the formation of imaginative associations. In this regard, the work of Svetlana Simakova, a philologist and mathematician, 'Visual turn in mass communications' is of great importance (Simakova, 2017). The transformation of historical science in the conditions of formation of a society of visual culture and use of unique methods of work with visual sources are described in the

works of the Ural scientific school under the direction of Ludmila Mazur (2015). The specificity of media consumption of the digital generation actualizes the importance of the transformation of journalists' competences in order to work successfully in the digital environment. Gritsenko, Wijermars and Kopotev (2020) note that the digital is profoundly changing Russia today (in terms of the quantity and quality of available information and communication), but there are also wider implications given the number of Russians and Russian speakers living beyond the national borders. In terms of the production and consumption of information in the digital environment, other national and organisational specifics play a role in journalists' competencies and the digital audience reaction.

Russian journalists had no such autonomy, at least within news organizations. They abided by the top-down one-way communication mandated by officials. Rather than pretending interaction, they openly ignored online audiences and the blogging community. The Russian response of top-down communication was also consistent with the moralistic educational position journalists historically have taken toward their readers. Informal activity among Russian bloggers showed that the potentiality for journalist – citizen online dialogue exists, but the institutional logics of officialdom and moral education stunted this potentiality (Lowrey & Erzikova, 2014).

The study reveals the specifics of political and organisational culture, which differs from its Western counterparts. This culture and approach are incompatible with the nature of the digital environment, but at the same time affects it by limiting the potential of the various actors and stakeholders. In some respects, the digital media environment appears to be viewed as being another communicational environment with a similar approach to analogue media. There are also other identified causes of inequalities for audiences and journalists in the digital environment in Russia.

While one speaks of the journalism environment, it is often in reference to the global megacities like Moscow or other large urban areas in Russia as St Petersburg, which are more digitally connected and politically active. Other regional and local media exist, which is often understudied. Erzikova and Lowrey (2020) stress the importance of these media in information landscapes that are one of the few sources of information to the rural local population. Furthermore, the journalists are torn between ideas and concepts of professional goals, senses of community obligations, and pressures from increasingly influential local elite. Therefore, the regional and local daily realities for journalists and journalism can vary greatly and it is not possible to speak of

a singular reality in a diverse country such as Russia. This is exactly what is noted by Sergey Davydov (2020), ‘we should not forget that we are discussing a country with the biggest territory and diverse and complex climatic conditions. That is why communication infrastructure and technologies are of particular importance here. A side effect is the uneven development of the infrastructure and, accordingly, the information inequality in particular, between residents of large and small settlements’. Therefore, technology and access to it is a key aspect and element for a more effective and vibrant digital environment.

Future research

The focus of this paper has been on the informational dimensions of the de-Westernisation of research, which is in reference to the information and knowledge produced. However, this approach ignores vital components and actors in the process and trend. We believe that it is in need of greater academic attention and research owing to the possible influence on the quality and quantity of de-Westernisation of academic research. This is namely the role of non-Western researchers and academic publishing outlets. The young, up and coming research generation is more networked and connected with the global academic and information world, and likely more widely travelled (especially those from major metropolitan areas such as Moscow, St. Petersburg and to major provincial cities such as Yekaterinburg) than many of the previous generations of academic researchers. This means that they are generally knowledgeable about Western academic literature but are also developing their own approaches to academic problems and questions. Furthermore, there are a growing number of academic publishing outlets that specialize on media and communication studies and publish the research results in the English language, such as *World of Media in Moscow* and *Changing Societies and Personalities in Yekaterinburg*. These outlets are also linked with international academic publishing through being indexed to Scopus and other indexes.

Conclusion

As the global transformation takes place that is witnessing an evolution from a unipolar US and Western-centric order to a multipolar non-Western-centric order, it is beginning to affect all aspects of the human environment, including academic research. In the digital age, the role of media communications is increasingly determined not only by participation in the process of socialization of individuals but also by the fact that the mass media contribute to the awareness of a person or an audience as a whole of their universal, professional

and civic identity. A significant problem of communicative and cultural memory transmission from analogue to digital generation are the mechanisms of its transformation, conditioned both by the content of personal memory and social community and by habitual communicative practices. These customary practices are conditioned by the service and technological capabilities and competence of journalists in the era of digitalization. As seen in the examples of research on Russia, there are some national specifics that involve the availability and access to technology beyond the major metropolitan areas, which creates inequalities and defies the assumption of an easy divide between different generations.

Public discussions of the problem that puts the concept of 'memories' relevant for a person or any given society at the centre of comprehension of the changes taking place in the sciences of society and culture. This makes it possible to draw the conclusion that the transformation of the information sphere in conjunction with the communicative and cultural memory as one of the foundations of this process makes it a priority to form and develop the professional culture of journalists and information culture of other subjects of information activity. As noted in the research by Western and Russian academics, there are various specific factors that include national specificities that influence the process and outcome of the communication of culture and memory. An apparent political problem for the Russian authorities is a lack of a coherent cognitive understanding and adherence to a common set of 'ideal' values and an identity as a means to unify a very diverse national population. As such, public discussions and the role of mass media and journalism are potentially important and vital, and it also means actors and stakeholders are tempting targets to influence the quality of those public discussions. This is particularly valid given Vladimir Putin's public statement from the beginning of his presidency that for Russia to rise again the people need to believe in the past (paraphrased).

The study of the ways of transformation of the communicative and cultural memory, typical for the analogue and digital generations, is possible based on a set of interdisciplinary solutions involving the use of social-communication, cognitive and structural-semiotic methodological approaches, socio-cultural and linguistic methods. The comparison of features and mechanisms of transformation will help to identify generational priorities in the awareness of one's cultural identity and significant differences in the understanding of these priorities. In the wider perspective, it will permit the development of a model of social media communication, capable of ensuring the effective transmission of communicative and cultural memory to the digital generation using the actual means used in youth communication practices, for example, storytelling.

An apparent departure in the Russian example from Western examples is the nature of the values and norms that bind various generational communities, which is linked to the historical, social, political, cultural and even economic peculiarities that exist in varied forms across the territory of the Russian Federation. But also includes the influence of other specifics that are demographic and technological in nature, which is evident in the urban-rural divide.

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