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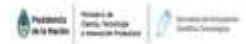




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**CORPOREALITY PERFORMATIVE: A NEW EXPERIENCE OF POLITICAL SUBJECTIVATION?**

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**Abstract**

The study of social and political efficiency of performative acts is an actual and perspective direction of modern humanitarian researches. The aim of this article is to consider the phenomenon of corporeality as a new practice of political self-expression within the framework of performative approach. It is shown that in conditions of bodily communication the performative act becomes a means of manifestation of individuality, a way of entering into communication, including the political one. The perspective of problematization of the political, started in the performative paradigm and continued in the works of Judith Butler, as well as other researchers of the new political reality is considered. The concepts of assembly, power, precariousness, democracy, ethical sources of politicization of corporeality, etc. are also considered. Particular attention is paid to the fact that the phenomenon of people taking to the streets, caused by vulnerability and drama of personal stories, forces us to take into account such motives, as well as to comprehend the conditions and ways of taking a political position as such.



### Keywords

Performative ontology – Corporeality – A new political subject

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## Introduction

The dynamics of the development of the latest socio-political practices is rapid, unpredictable and marked by the concepts of rupture, transition and mosaicism. In order not to lose a positive identity and not to fall out of the field of socio-cultural interactions, individuals are forced to reconsider their perceptions of themselves, their place in life, the relationship with a particular social and political group. A logical consequence of such shifts is a change in the vector of social sciences and Humanities from the study of structure to the study of activity (*agency*), as well as rethinking social practices in terms of their representation in symbolic forms. At the forefront of the Humanities, the concept of *performancy/performativity* is firmly entrenched, denoting a universal quality that is organically inherent in modern culture and post-information consciousness.

If the previous tradition connected the world with the category of *text*, with the problem of understanding and interpretation of meanings, the performative approach focuses on the study of the meaning-forming power of human actions and the peculiarities and formation of cultural meanings by them. In particular, the *body* acquires specific significance as a field of practical transformation of bodily practices. The body is understood not only as the physical side of corporeality, but is also involved in the system of human meanings as an external, material manifestation of the mental.

The phenomenon of the crowd is becoming the object of increased research interest as the most important social and political actor, that in conditions of the decline of symbolic effectiveness presents itself “not through traditional empty definitions (freedom, justice, etc.), but through everyday images and names – an umbrella, tent, mask, “Occupy”<sup>1</sup>.

Without a single, clear purpose and signs of identity, common images and names denote only tactics that can be used by completely different agents, and mark a gap, a gap in the dominant political organization. In essence, they precede the ideologies, and the struggle for the meaning of the sign becomes a part of a broader political struggle.

On the other hand, the crowd creates political unpredictability and an opportunity for new political subjectivity. The masses are not a political entity, although they are described in terms of collective courage and the ability to unite. Rather, the crowd, feeling its own quantitative strength and power, provokes political subjectivity, determines it. In this regard, one of the relevant topics of modern philosophical reflection is the phenomenon of corporeal language against the background of the destruction of traditional ways of expressing the political.

## Literature review

Modern social experience symptomatically reveals a crisis of representation, which affects theoretical approaches, in particular, semiotic perspectives<sup>2</sup>. With a great deal of confidence we can talk about the tendency to go beyond the meaning and appeal to the

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<sup>1</sup> Sl. Žižek, *The Ticklish Subject: The Absent Centre of Political Ontology* (London, New York: Verso, 2000).

<sup>2</sup> A. Helbo, “Semiotics and performing arts: contemporary issues”, *Social semiotics* num 26 (4) (2016): 341-350.

transsemiotic components of human existence. Thus, the researchers pay special attention to the phenomenon of presence in its fundamental difference from the meaning and non-reproducibility by it<sup>3</sup>. Such intentions reflect the desire by philosophical means to show the incommensurability of language (meaning) and experience with the appropriate emphasis, “where there is language, there is no experience, and vice versa language is a shield that separates us from the horrors of direct contact with the world”<sup>4</sup>.

The concept of presence does not deny the discursive understanding of the world as a text and the discursive conditionality of the basic dimension of the human world. However, the human world is not limited to discursiveness, because it is from the human world that the effect of presence emerges as something different from this world. Therefore, presence necessarily presupposes a previous level of meaning and is thought of as an oscillation / interference between “presence effects” and “meaning effects”<sup>5</sup>.

The problem of externality actualizes the rethinking of the genesis of meaning itself, paving the way for theories of corporeality with their attention to such philosophies as the effect of *presence*, *intermediality*, *bodily-machine relations*, etc., which calls into question the universalizing status of semiotics and its ability to reproduce the experience of subjectivity.

Addressing the specific experience of the body, in turn, gives rise to the idea of “placing” of the body outside the concept and definition – “corpus is not a discourse and it is not a narrative”<sup>6</sup>. Such philosophical constructions are intended to show that the human world is not only a universe of meanings, but also contains a specific content on that side of meanings, in which a man is also involved.

At the beginning of the XXI century, the visual language of performance is becoming one of the main forms of public addressing. The performative turn determines many further humanitarian studies of how verbal and nonverbal performative acts background and support social reality<sup>7</sup>. In particular, cultural performance is proposed to be understood as “social process by which *actors* – whether individual or collective - convey the meaning of their social situation to others”<sup>8</sup>, which allows further application of this understanding to specific events and interpreting them as examples of political and cultural influence of the performative acts.

Thus, the new metaphor of the world shows it as a number of performative acts/actions, following the poststructuralist metaphor of the world as a text. In this case, the

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<sup>3</sup> H. U. Gumbrecht, *Production of Presence: What Meaning Cannot Convey* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004).

<sup>4</sup> F. R. Ankersmit, *Sublime historical experience* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005).

<sup>5</sup> H. U. Gumbrecht *Production of Presence* ...

<sup>6</sup> J.-L. Nancy, *Corpus* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2008).

<sup>7</sup> J. C. Alexander, *Performance and Power* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2011); J. C. Alexander; B. Giesen and J. L. Mast, *Social performance: symbolicaction, culturalpragmatics, andritual* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); E. Domanska, “El “viraje performativo” en la humanística actual”, *Crerios. Revista Internacional de Teoría de la literatura, las Artes y la Cultura* Vol. 37 (2011): 125-142.

<sup>8</sup> J. C. Alexander; B. Giesen and J. L. Mast, *Social performance: symbolicaction, culturalpragmatics, andritual*... 55.

question of essence gives way to the task of describing specific dispositives, and the opposition “truth-error” – to the explications of the effectiveness of certain performatives.

## Methods

The specificity and multidimensionality of the phenomenon of corporeality necessitated the recourse to a wide range of methodological guidelines and principles. The methodological foundations of this article were the philosophical achievements of structuralist, poststructuralist, phenomenological, semiotic and hermeneutic schools with their own perspective of the problem analysis of human existence and culture. In addition, the basic theoretical and methodological foundations of the article are the achievements of the theory of discursiveness and performativity. The value of some theories is determined by their role in revealing the essence of the problem, in identifying the range of issues and the direction of the research. Others, in particular, *performance studies*, directly determine philosophical and anthropological perspective of the study of the problems of formation of the collective subject, political communities, identities and collective sensuality.

## Dialectics of meaning and action in the problem field of modern philosophy

Human existence in symbolic world is marked by paradoxicality, ambivalence of gain and loss, freedom and restlessness. According to hermeneutics and phenomenological philosophy, the universal factor that causes and puts on record such a paradox is language attributed to plurality, variability and redundancy. Expressing the experience of human's being in the world, language at the same time constitutes the world in a special way, and the expression of the world becomes equivalent to its creation<sup>9</sup>. Accordingly, by transforming meanings, man transforms the reality itself, sharpening it into meanings as if into a spacesuit<sup>10</sup>.

As a result, meaning is made dependent on discursive practices and language games. Language itself, endowed with the status of transcendence and the ability to produce new meanings and senses beyond the will of a man, not only raises the man above nature, but also blocks access to reality, which is always given in linguistic wrapper.

Hypothetical objective reality is replaced by the reality of senses and meanings that become synonymous, interchangeable, and form transrepresentative hyperreality. Emphasizing the discursive nature of the human world, R. Barthes notes, “any material can be arbitrarily given meaning”<sup>11</sup>. Man, rising above the reality, creates the world himself, without “checking” with reality, while the world itself is a universe of myths and arbitrary meanings. Such meanings are motivated not just by the reality or truth but in a big deal by the dominant discourse - by the immanent patterns of ideological, political, social and general cultural nature.

Discursivism, therefore, becomes a characteristic of the existence of social reality, and also logically determines the precedence of communicative practices in the human

<sup>9</sup> G. Gadamer, *Truth and Method*. 1989. Available at: <https://ru.scribd.com/document/208154001/Gadamer-Truth-and-Method>.

<sup>10</sup> E. Husserl, *The crisis of European sciences and transcendental phenomenology: an introduction to phenomenological philosophy* (Evanston: Northwestern Univ. Press, 2006).

<sup>11</sup> R. Barthes, *Mifologii* (Moskva: Akademicheskij proekt, 2008), 266.

world. However, “there is no text as a complete whole”<sup>12</sup>, because the human world, despite its introversion, is rich and meaningful in terms of the plurality of meanings that make it up.

In turn, poststructuralists declare the “embodiment” of the subject, constituted by super-subjective realities (the unconscious, language and discourse) and studied mainly in terms of the relationship between corporeality and the discourse of power. For example, in J. Butler’s concept of performative subjectivity, the subject is reduced to a purely discursive game<sup>13</sup>.

For post-marxists E. Laclau and Ch. Mouffe, discourse is a field of meaning, a realm where senses and meanings are formed. However, the authors emphasize that the constitution of anything as an object of discourse does not necessarily imply a reference to the outside world. In other words, it is denied that objects can constitute themselves as such outside the discursive condition of their manifestation<sup>14</sup>. In this sense, discourse is no longer defined as a mediator between the mind and the outside world, but is a realm primary to the definition of identity; in essence, discourse becomes the only reality available for study, and objects outside of discourse do not exist at all. Hence, any object from the social field, for example, the practice of expressing a certain political will, is the same because of the specific configuration of the discursive field, which determines the semantic content of the object.

It should also be borne in mind that during communication there is not only the creation of values and their exchange; understanding is manifested not only as the achievement of a certain point of view, but also as a process associated in part with misunderstandings, disagreements, and so on. For example, sometimes during a communicative act people share nonsense, most clearly expressed not just in words, views and concepts, but in actions and deeds. Semiotics considers nonsense the meaning to name the meaningless, and hermeneutics - a temporary phenomenon with the prospect of replacement by meaning or understanding.

The return of the difference between meaning and significance, as well as the identification of extra interpretive components of meaning is traced in Heideggerian philosophy. A key concept in the philosophical study of the question “what is a man” is the concept of *dasein*, which contains a mode of presence as a *possible* way to be. The fundamental category of the possible allows us to define meaning as the ability to become different, as the articulation of understanding, which, in turn, is defined as the “ability to be”<sup>15</sup>.

The analysis of *dasein* is also marked on the dichotomy “consciousness – body”, revealing the interference of consciousness and body, which extends not only to a man but also to the world. The consequence of this understanding is an important conclusion that meaning as a possibility of being presupposes materiality, and is equally ideal and material.

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<sup>12</sup> R. Bart, *S/Z* (Moscow: Akademicheskii proekt, 2009), 48.

<sup>13</sup> J. Butler and A. Athanasiou, *Dispossession: The Performative in the Political* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013).

<sup>14</sup> E. Laclau and Ch. Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Politics* (London: Verso, 2001); E. Laclau, “Subject of Politics, Politics of Subject”. *Emancipation (s)* (London: Verso, 1996), 47-65.

<sup>15</sup> M. Hajdegger, *Bytie i vremya* (Sankt-Peterburg: Nauka, 2006), 143.

It should be noted that the philosophical vector aimed at studying the aspects of human existence that are not reduced to a system of meanings and their interpretation is not least due to the specifics of information and post-information society, attributed to constant information increase, accelerating data exchange, increasing “immersion” into virtual space. This, in turn, actualizes the phenomenon of *presence* as a material-corporeal aspect of human existence<sup>16</sup>.

The problematization of presence takes place in the communicative space (as opposed to something stable, guaranteed and available), which emphasizes the problematic nature of human existence as such. Thus, in particular, the issues of the difference between presence and physical or material essence, the conditionality of presence by the temporal aspect, etc. remain debatable.

In the dichotomy of presence and meaning, it is presence that is more important than that which belongs to the level of meaning, which, in turn, becomes only a background for the manifestation of presence, which affects a person, causes a person to change and, ultimately, generates the meaning. Dialogue / relationship with another (as opposed to the act of communication as a purely transmission of information) opens a person new horizons of existence; in this case, the circulation of information is not the main and only content of the conversation, but serves as an arena in which presence is manifested. Thus, an important condition for the generation of meaning is the oscillation between meaning and presence.

The phenomenological tradition, referring to the discursive and corporeal dimensions of subjectivity, rehabilitates the essence of a man, comprehending his corporeality not as passive flesh or biological substrate-organism, but as a special type of human presence in the world – “intentional presence”<sup>17</sup>. In this case, bodily experience is considered primary in relation to the organization of the world.

Thus, for M. Merleau-Ponty there is no boundary between perception and what is perceived, and the conditions of perception of the world are given to a man by his body. The body, first of all, is what speaks - an expressive, intentional source of meaning. The very intentionality of the body, its focus on something, becomes a way of existence in the world, enabling the ontological replacement of “I think” with the construct “I can”. As a result, bodily sensations and possibilities become the modes of human discovery of the world, as well as a source of generation of senses and meanings. Instead of distinguishing between body language (with its natural signs) and verbal language (as a system of conventional reference signs), M. Merleau-Ponty postulates the integrity of any gestures that begin with the body and end in speech/ writing.

If M. Merleau-Ponty emphasizes the bodily ability to expression and believes that the subject discovers the world through sensory perception and gives it the meaning through bodily involvement, then J.-F. Lyotard, drawing the boundaries of such sensory contact, asserts the dependence of the subject on his own ability to bodily “signifying”, due to the dependence of a man on his own affects<sup>18</sup>.

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<sup>16</sup> H. U. Gumbrecht, *Production of Presence: What Meaning Cannot Convey...*

<sup>17</sup> M. Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception* (London: Routledge, 2010).

<sup>18</sup> ZH.-F. Liotar, *Sostoyanie postmoderna* (Moscow: Institute of experimental sociology; Sankt-Petersburg: Alethea, 1998).



J.-F. Lyotard also speaks about the inseparability of body and language, focusing on the inconsistencies and ruptures in the face of the disproportionate - the sublime.

Such philosophical postulates allow us to emphasize once again the existence in the world (apart from the leading role of language) of “failures” in the level of meanings that people share in the communicative act and which open a specific transsemiotic level that allows a different experience of the world and communication.

In the study of socio-cultural communication in its various manifestations the philosophy of performative is actively used with its emphasis on formal and actual manifestations in the form of interactions. However, for all the diversity of philosophical, culturological, philological, sociological, political science reflection, the theory of performativity remains conceptually incomplete, is a problem field and is being rethought in each new appeal to it. As a result, there is a steady use of the term “performative / performativity”, marked by a decrease in epistemological standards and semantic vagueness. In particular, this is facilitated by an approach called “social constructivism” which is far from paradigmatic stability and theoretical and methodological unambiguity, and which combines conversational analysis, gender studies, postmodern political science, symbolic interactionism and other special scientific approaches<sup>19</sup>.

Among the characteristic features of the performative as a new form of thinking, researchers unanimously highlight the fundamental situationality, variability, the potential of many manifestations, the tendency to acquire different kinds of corporeality, conditionality by a particular communicative situation, etc.<sup>20</sup> In the conditions of bodily communication, the performative act becomes a means of manifestation of individuality, a way to evoke the attitude and understanding of others, a way of entering into communication.

The phenomenon of performativity is inextricably linked with the problematization of presence, which reflects the tendency to abandon repetition in favor of the uniqueness of the event and the reaction to the medialization of human life in the modern configuration of social reality. Performative acts involve each participant in the event and make everyone responsible for what happens. In this way a situation of presence is formed, which is significantly different from the ordinary physical presence.

On the other hand, the performative act actualizes corporeality, thus, displacing the semiotic experience with the material-corporeal - the extra-semiotic in essence. The main intention of the performative is to create a unique situation of interaction as pure openness, the influence of which is stronger than possible meanings and senses, as well as unforeseen. However, the performative event turns out to be paradoxically typical, because its distinctive features - liminality, uncertainty of the situation, interaction, autopoetry, responsibility, etc.<sup>21</sup> - are the characteristics of any life situation.

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<sup>19</sup> K. J. Gergen, “Social construction and pedagogical practice”. *Social Constructionism: Knowledge and Practice*. Collected articles (Minsk: BSU, 2003), 116-144.

<sup>20</sup> Y. Meliakova; I. Kovalenko; E. Manuylov and E. Kalnytskyi, “Subject of Law as Homo Present”. *Revista Inclusiones Vol. 7: Numero Especial: SI (2020): 179-192*; Y. Meliakova; I. Kovalenko; S. Zhdanenko & E. Kalnytskyi, “Performance in the Postmodern Culture and Law”. *Amazonia Investiga Vol. 9: issue 27 (2020): 340-348*.

<sup>21</sup> E. Fischer-Lichte, *Ästhetik des Performativen* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2019).

It should be noted that in the new context, direct connotations with the individual also disappear: the concept of a decentralized subject and existential analytics led to the transition from the idea of a man as an individual (integral, indivisible subject) to the *dividual* - a person, fundamentally divided, fragmented, confused, deprived integrity whose bio-psycho-social functions and roles and stereotypes of behavior do not coincide radically and inevitably. Subsequently, the theoretical movement continued towards an *agent* involved in networks of interactions, where agents and objects together reproduce, perform the reality. The concept of *agency*, closely related to the concept of performativity, is used in American “left” theory, the theory of agent realism, as well as performative ontology and the theory of neo-materialism<sup>22</sup>.

Considering the methodological explorations discussed in this section and following the objectives of the article, we emphasize that in terms of value drift from the significance of the sign (word, text) to its ability to reproduce the action the task of the subject’s self-presentation as a way of realizing one’s identity is actualized. On the other hand, the performative situation exacerbates the problem of human presence, in which there is always the representation of another in the form of a body, the coexistence of the life stages and interaction.

### **Performativity of vulnerable bodies: reading Judith Butler**

The perspective of problematizing power, given by the poststructuralist tradition and the paradigm of performative turn, is continued in the works of Judith Butler. At an early stage of creativity, the researcher offers an interesting interpretation of the problem of gender: there are no metaphysical guarantees of the truth of gender (“female in itself” or “male in itself”); instead, there are historically variable and contextually dependent gender roles, the performance of which is mainly disciplinary and coercive and causes an ontological effect *ex post facto*<sup>23</sup>.

According to this understanding, gender appears as a socio-cultural construct derived from power. In turn, this gives the reason to believe that power is exercised performatively, and its effectiveness is due to performative acts. Power, therefore, is always present where there are social relations and disciplinary practices that permeate everyday life and that shape bodies in a certain way - in fact, where there is some coercion on the part of discourse. The author’s hopes for the emancipatory perspectives of the performative approach are connected with the possibility of performative practices (as conscious and purposeful actions) to change the power dispositive, in particular, towards the assumption of individual gender strategies. We should also note that performativity does not necessarily imply the role of an external performer. The human body is performative from the beginning. The man himself is always inside the performative action; accordingly, through action people are given in historical forms, political states, social restrictions, and so on.

For J. Butler, performativity becomes a new concept of ontology, according to which reality is not naturally or socially determined or abstractly described by politicians - it is

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<sup>22</sup> D. Haraway, “Anthropocene, Capitalocene, Plantationocene”. *Environmental Humanities* Vol. 6 (2015): 159-165; K. Barad, *Posthumanist Performativity: Toward an Understanding of How Matter Comes to Matter* (2003). Available at: <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/3846/2c1ed106c55ac6f4a2729ef639d9b4e83537.pdf>.

<sup>23</sup> J. Butler, *The Psychic Life of Power: Theories in Subjection* (Stanford University Press, 1997).

performable, in a certain way reproduced. The researcher's further philosophical intuitions deepen the issues of corporeality, language, ethics, mourning, violence, being in a certain space. In her later works, the author tries to "collect" these concepts into a single theory, analyzing, in particular, the emancipatory potential of policy performativity<sup>24</sup>. With a certain sensitivity to gender, sexual orientation and bodily vulnerability, the author tries to rethink rather typical concepts of political theory - democracy, freedom, equality, etc. - and, finally, to find out the level of political demands of the masses in different parts of the world.

This raises the question: how can a new policy be conceived in a context where reality is reproduced at different and mixed levels? It is to such a new political reality that J. Butler tries to apply her theory, and the author sees her main theoretical task in redefining and re-describing the conditions for the birth of the political in the new mode of topicality.

Perhaps Ransier's perspective is seen here - an ambitious program of reconstructing what the disadvantaged, the deprived of the right and any other participation in the forms of social order imposed by the transformation of politics to "police" could express. The "police", according to J. Ransier, is called not to discipline the body (as, in particular, M. Foucault believed), but to symbolically set and organize the social configuration in accordance with certain ideas and rules. The "police" should also seek to reconcile people (even through subjugation) in a symbolic space, taking due consideration of all parts of the whole. Politics undermines the public order of the "police" and becomes a meeting place for the "police" and equality. It is an activity the essence of which is to find the groups and communities that are not taken into account in the practice of domination and to give them the right to express themselves. As J. Ransier points out, "the police is the division of the tangible, and its principle is the absence of emptiness and complementarity," while the essence of politics is to "excite...the system by supplementing it by the disadvantaged, identified with the totality of the community itself"<sup>25</sup>.

Previous forms of modern politics, as well as its neo-liberal version, reach the democratic tradition. The very notion of democracy is linked to certain discursive canons: it is the way by which a large group describes itself, regulates, and declares its political configuration. J. Butler notes, "Apart from nominalists who think that democracies are those forms of government, there are also discursive strategies that use discursive techniques of public debate, marketing and propaganda to decide which states and which social movements will be called democratic"<sup>26</sup>. The researcher proceeds from the fact that democracy is an empty defining, empty concept, behind which there are certain political trends. For her, democracy is not a political regime with an electoral system, but the possibility of mass action. In addition, as the author notes, today a new understanding of democracy is emerging: it is learning. Thus, leaving the passive observation of some oppression and beginning to communicate with some community, caring people enter the realm of learning - they find themselves in the space of the corporeality through speech. It is interesting to note that the life practices of the disadvantaged are not necessarily shared by those who sympathize with them. For example, a subject may not belong, for example, to the LGBT community, but sympathize with and support its members by joining their discourse.

<sup>24</sup> J. Butler and A. Athanasiou *Dispossession: The Performative in the Political...*

<sup>25</sup> ZH. Rans'er, *Desyat' tezisov o politike*. 2006. Available at: <http://left.by/archives/7471>.

<sup>26</sup> Dzh. Batler, *Zametki k performativnoj teorii sobraniya* (2018). Available at: <https://syg.ma/@sygma/dzhudit-batlier-zamietki-k-pierformativnoi-teorii-sobranii>.

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PH. D. EDUARD ANATOLIEVICH KALNYTSKYI / PH. D. EVGEN MYKOLAYOVYCH MANUYLOV

PH. D. KSENIA VIKTORIVNA NESTERENKO

J. Butler considers such an orthodox-Marxist approach to be politically dubious and rich in unproductive politics. If the principle of the political procedure is not problematic, but is considered self-evident, the risk of falling into the trap described by the author increases: those who assembled on the streets think of themselves as people, as well as those who do not want to participate in such events, not to mention the representatives of law enforcement agencies who also act on behalf of the people. Political discourse, therefore, falls into the force field of false identities, which must be abandoned.

J. Butler tries to solve this logical problem by resorting to the performative methodology of eliminating the essentialist principle of self-identity and using the concepts of performativity, corporeality and precariousness as components of political language.

As already mentioned, the reading of the corporeal through political discourse presupposes the thematization of the concept of people. In this regard, it is worth mentioning the remarks of J. Derrida in a lecture dedicated to the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence: this important document was signed by 12 people whose actions did not have any historical or legal basis<sup>27</sup>. However, their words “All we people”, being in essence a discursive practice, became a gesture of establishment and officiated to the birth of the American people.

In addition, the procedure of the traditional description of one’s own political configuration presupposes a self-identical nature based on a binary relation (proletarian – a factory owner, people - oligarchs, etc.) and necessarily entails exclusion. As J. Butler points out, “when a particular group, assembly, or organized group calls itself “the people”, providing for a set of included and excluded groups, they engage the discourse in a way that forcibly refers to populations that are not “the people”<sup>28</sup>. The subject, accordingly, identifies himself on the basis of the established difference between “his” and “not his” groups. Hence, the very procedure of registration, self-description is arranged as the exclusion of others and is presented not as a complex practice of distinction, but as a basis, indisputability.

Instead, J. Butler emphasizes, “There are always open questions about whether there are people who express “the people’s will”, “the people” and whether the acts of self-naming are equivalent to self-determination or at least just a legitimate expression of the people’s will”. Continuing the tradition of criticism of discursiveness, the author avoids any differentiation, abandons all rubrics - from Marxist to extreme-right - in order to rethink the very concept of “the people”, considering it open to future redefinitions. According to the researcher, “in the process of intensified struggle for belonging to “the people”, one group opposes its version of “the people” to a group of outsiders”, which is considered to “threaten “the people” or to be in opposition to the proposed version of “the people”. As a result, we have (a) those who seek to define people (a group much smaller than the nation itself that it can define), (b) people defined (and demarcated) in the process of such a discursive rate, (c) people who are “the people”, and (d) those who try to define the last group as a part of the people”<sup>29</sup>.

<sup>27</sup> Derrida J. The ear of The other (1985). Available at: [https://monoskop.org/images/4/4a/Derrida\\_Jacques\\_Ear\\_of\\_the\\_Other\\_1985.pdf](https://monoskop.org/images/4/4a/Derrida_Jacques_Ear_of_the_Other_1985.pdf)

<sup>28</sup> Dzh. Batler, Zametki k performativnoj teorii sobraniya...

<sup>29</sup> Dzh. Batler, Zametki k performativnoj teorii sobraniya...

If J. Derrida addresses the priority of writing over the voice, J. Butler considers discourse an ineffective practice of exclusion. According to the researcher, “an attempt to define the people is a discursive claim to the recognition of a specific border”<sup>30</sup>, which should be refused in order to establish a performative border, which will be expressed at the level of bodies. J. Butler proposes to consider the attributes of the notion of the people as plurality (a set of units which, being disappointed and humiliated, form a certain mass) and corporeality, which, in the end, express performativity and, consequently, politicality. It is important for the researcher to emphasize that the meeting as such precedes the act of expression and in itself is an activation of the people’s will. The meanings generated by the fact of the meeting are different from those that result from the expression of one’s will by one or a single subject. “We”, declared in language, are activated bodies, gestures, movements and voices. Sometimes “the people” act by their collective silence or irony; humor and even mocking intercept and turn the language that people want to move off the beaten track”<sup>31</sup>.

Thus, discursiveness and performativity reveal the basis which is bodily plasticity. J. Butler’s remark, “There is a temptation to succumb to old habits and say, ‘If something generates meaning, thus, it is discursive’, and this is probably true”. But this assumption, even if true, does not allow us to study the important relationships that arise between intersecting forms of linguistic and bodily performativity. They intersect; they are not completely different from each other; but still they do not coincide”<sup>32</sup>.

If traditionally demonstration is perceived primarily as a civic position, then modern practices are reduced to the formation of situational alliances in a speechless-bodily way - this is the performativity of a huge “body” that expresses its protest. Such an action not only collectivizes and organizes people, but also becomes an act of implementation. Accordingly, the new political is established through performativity in the format of corporeality - in essence, through the assertion of an action.

It should also be noted that not only the community can be themed, but also some area “*between*” - the realm of attitude as such. For example, situational gatherings to honor the memory of those killed in military conflicts unite people with their private, personal “stories” in a collective grief. However, the participants do not necessarily share these stories. Accordingly, the meeting space forms the very mentioned “*between*”. However, it is very likely that at some point the appropriation will take place as a classic gesture of power - discursiveness will begin to crystallize, which will be given a political outline with possible gestures of profanity. It is possible that this will eventually mean the destruction of the space “*between*” while preserving the community itself.

The above example confirms the assumptions of J. Butler and H. Arendt that modern politics can be born *in between* (in a gap) - not only from the attitude of the majority, but also from the attitude of any other: it is born when the mass came out to show their protest, even silent, eroding the traditional political.

Political for J. Butler is a joint action on the principles of equality. Like H. Arendt, the researcher connects politics with publicity, the ability to present oneself, which, in turn,

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<sup>30</sup> Dzh. Butler, Zametki k performativnoj teorii sobraniya...

<sup>31</sup> Dzh. Butler, Zametki k performativnoj teorii sobraniya...

<sup>32</sup> Dzh. Butler, Zametki k performativnoj teorii sobraniya...

presupposes the figure of an observer. However, unlike H. Arendt, who fundamentally distinguishes public sphere (where general problems are discursively spoken) and private sphere (related to the care of the body and individual life), J. Butler proceeds from the discursiveness of bodies, which allows them to acquire political significance through the assembly format in public space.

The appeal to the assembly and the new political language presupposes a rethinking of corporeality. For J. Butler, the body is a discursive field<sup>33</sup>. The presence of the body in some place is at the same time a message in communication. In other words, having its performative dimension, the body always speaks, is effective and has a political dimension: each being participates in a certain way in politics, making a political expression. Hence, the language spoken by the body is bio-political. In this sense, there is no body devoid of political language or that one that does not express its claim.

It also means that the body is forced to participate in the political and legal matrix as an active agent: to exercise its right to be itself and to understand freedom in its own way means to discursively change the ontology. Thus, analyzing short-term critical gatherings, J. Butler emphasizes that it is the assembly of bodies that matters, and the political meanings activated by demonstrations are not only discursive or pre-discursive, “the very forms of assembly are important even *before* the requirements put forward by those who gathered and *except them* (italics by I. Kovalenko, Y. Melyakova, E. Kalnytsky...). Silent meetings, including liturgies or funerals, often mean more than any written or oral presentation of what they are dedicated to. Such forms of bodily and multiple performativity are important components of any understanding of “the people”, despite their inevitable limitations”<sup>34</sup>.

Thus, the statements, even in a situation of deprivation of voice and dehumanization, are provided by the very fact of entering the public space. According to the researcher, the essence of such a statement lies in the performative statement “We, the people...”, but to interpret such a thesis is proposed not in a representative sense (when the people are understood as a source of power), but performatively - as bodies present at mass political assemblies and declare themselves as the people beyond any claim to representation. In addition, “assembly produces more meaning than the expressed one, and this mode of meaning is a compatible bodily activation, a plural form of performativity”<sup>35</sup>. Thus, it is no longer a question of representative, but of performative mechanisms. It should also be considered that such an assembly not only precedes political demands, but is also not homogeneous in terms of identity and is not reduced to a political organization.

As shown above, for J. Butler, a political statement is an action, and the gathering of people (regardless of context) automatically implies verbal or nonverbal communication. Accordingly, there are discursive channels between people, through which power circulates, which has a very specific organization.

In J. Butler’s theory, power is a kind of energy flow, it is not just a force that exerts pressure and can be resisted in some way; it is an energy that passes through each of the people and interpellates everyone (L. Althusser’s term) or, figuratively speaking, infects. By

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<sup>33</sup> J. Butler, *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of «Sex»* (New York, London: Routledge, 1993).

<sup>34</sup> Dzh. Butler, *Zametki k performativnoj teorii sobraniya...*

<sup>35</sup> Dzh. Butler, *Zametki k performativnoj teorii sobraniya...*



“infecting” people, this power at the same time subjects them - turns them into subjects. Then it is transmitted by people through discursive channels as particles that make up the flow. Hence, the important conclusion is made: it is impossible to deviate from power or somehow bypass it. However, power can be re-channeled in some way, re-articulated, which, according to J. Butler, an assembly can make. Accordingly, the researcher is primarily interested in the peculiarities of body language and how power circulates through it.

This idea is not fundamentally new. For example, M. Foucault (at least in his later works) does not associate power with the constant oppression of people from a certain center, “power is something much more complex, much denser and more scattered than any set of laws or any state apparatus”<sup>36</sup>. Moreover, the philosopher believes that “in the basis of power relations as a common matrix, there is no binary and global opposition between the rulers and the ruled”<sup>37</sup>. Power, according to M. Foucault, has a “capillary” nature: it does not come from a specific central source, but circulates throughout the social body, close to its smallest and most insignificant limits. In essence, the power makes articulation from various agents. If the subject assumes the existence of another articulation, then the machine of power no longer affects him directly. Conflict, and therefore political action, arises when the subjects offer other ways of self-realization.

More and more modern people, not connected between themselves, but overwhelmed by a common sharp sense of lack of rights, benefits and sovereignty of their own lives, go in the streets and form situational alliances. According to J. Butler, “the declarative goals of such public assemblies can be different: to prevent despotic rule, securitization of politics, nationalism, militarism, economic injustice, violated citizenship rights, apartheidization, environmental pollution, increasing economic inequality and escalation of precaritization”<sup>38</sup>. J. Butler considers physical precarity and vulnerability to be the main factor in people going in the streets. Linking these phenomena to the concept of *dispossession*, the author suggests that precarity and vulnerability can be understood in the language of political.

In a broader context, the ontological connection between human life and bodily precarity allows J. Butler to consider vulnerability a common characteristic of all beings. According to the researcher, to be alive means “to be connected with that that lives not only outside one’s self, but also outside my humanity”<sup>39</sup>. We should note that sexuality or gender vicissitudes for J. Butler are only one of the areas of vulnerability. However, it is from gender that Butler’s theoretical construction begins and unfolds - the idea of the vulnerability of the body, its importance, which, in our opinion, is a very interesting attempt to combine gender theory with political reflection.

Does the assembly, as a manifestation of human corporeality, which acquires a political meaning, presuppose its further problematization - is it certain “plasma”, the traces of some formatting or presentation of social experiences and structures? Starting from the impossibility of defining the people, J. Butler focuses on the precarity - those who lacked a political position or articulation.

<sup>36</sup> M. Fuko, *Okno vlasti* (2002). Available at: [http://riskprom.ru/\\_ld/0/85\\_\\_\\_\\_.pdf](http://riskprom.ru/_ld/0/85____.pdf), 19.

<sup>37</sup> M. Fuko, *Volya k istine* (1996). Available at: [http://1576.ua/uploads/files/6350/Istoria\\_sexualnosti\\_Tom\\_1\\_Volya\\_k\\_istine.pdf](http://1576.ua/uploads/files/6350/Istoria_sexualnosti_Tom_1_Volya_k_istine.pdf), 194.

<sup>38</sup> Dzh. Batler, *Zametki k performativnoj teorii sobraniya...*

<sup>39</sup> Dzh. Batler, *Zametki k performativnoj teorii sobraniya...*

In a broad sense, precarity is a socially unprotected type of employment, which is a partial manifestation of the current tendency to commodify one's self<sup>40</sup>. In addition, precarity as a physical and economic vulnerability characterizes modern life in the face of migration waves, military invasions, unguaranteed labour against the background of increasing neo-liberalization processes. The phenomenon of precarity also arises against the background of the dispersion of large social structures that previously claimed and asserted their social rights in an organized manner. Today, instead of a single monolithic group, there are many people, to some extent excluded from all rights. Accordingly, precarious workers are deprived of the opportunity to make their demands in an organized manner, including the fact that they belong to very different groups of people.

However, it is precariousness, according to J. Butler, that causes the phenomenon of mass gatherings and it is in it that the potential for collective political action lies. Precariousness is conceived by the author outside the logic of class confrontations, although some researchers take a different point of view - such as G. Standing in his book with the characteristic title "The Precariat: the New Dangerous Class"<sup>41</sup>. The researcher believes that social dangers can be avoided provided that "the precariat becomes a class for itself" with effective representation and is powerful enough to form a new "policy of paradise"<sup>42</sup>. However, the formation of an alliance between precarious groups is possible only if we move away from the previous political model.

J. Butler interprets the precariat beyond any identity, considering it a rubric "that unites women, queers, transgender people, the poor, people with alternative possibilities and statelessness, and religious and racial minorities"<sup>43</sup>. The researcher emphasizes, "The precariat is part of a variety of movements", regardless of who is vulnerable in specific situations - those killed in war, deprived of basic living conditions, those who suffer from greater street violence or fall into debt due to excessive education fees. Sometimes the assembly is just in the name of life - in the name of a body that has the right to live and develop, and may even prosper. At the same time, no matter what the subject of the protest is, it is implicitly a requirement of the very opportunity to gather freely, without fear of police violence or political censorship"<sup>44</sup>.

In our opinion, J. Butler understands the problem of precariousness affectively rather than structurally. In particular, the researcher proposes to supplement the study of socio-economic aspects of precarization with "the analysis of the impact of precariat on the psyche, which contains a heightened sense of cost or one-time, which is unevenly distributed in society. The more you fulfill the requirement of "responsibility" for being self-sufficient, the more socially isolated one becomes and the more precarious one feels; and the more supporting social structures fall away for "economic" reasons that support well-being in one way or another, the more isolated and one feels in one's sense of heightened anxiety and "moral failure"<sup>45</sup>. Thus, for J. Butler, precariousness is primarily a set of affects (the feeling

<sup>40</sup> J. E. Davis, *The Commodification of Self*. 2003. Available at: <https://hedgehogreview.com/issues/the-commodification-of-everything/articles/the-commodification-of-self>.

<sup>41</sup> G. Standing, *Prekariat: novyj opasnyj klass* (2014). Available at: <https://e-libra.ru/read/508982-prekariat-novyy-opasnyy-klass.html>.

<sup>42</sup> G. Standing, *Prekariat: novyj opasnyj klass...*

<sup>43</sup> Dzh. Batler, *Zametki k performativnoj teorii sobraniya...*

<sup>44</sup> Dzh. Batler, *Zametki k performativnoj teorii sobraniya...*

<sup>45</sup> Dzh. Batler, *Zametki k performativnoj teorii sobraniya...*

of slow death, anxiety, fragility, vulnerability, uselessness) that allow a person to feel precariousness, even if the subjects are engaged in completely different activities. In this sense, precariousness is not directly related to a particular type of employment; it is a feeling of how busy a person's body is, how it is involved in or excluded from the public sphere.

As it was shown above, precariousness occurs in conditions of unequal distribution of vulnerabilities, in which some groups of the population become expendable material. Moreover, the neo-liberal logic places the responsibility for such existence on these groups themselves. Hence, according to the researcher, all those who, feeling excluded, go out into the streets are the precaries (of course, there is also an appeal to LGBT communities, which are fundamentally precarious because of their vulnerability).

Thus, the appearance of bodies on the street is not accidental; it is a definite and naturally historical form of political associated with precariousness. This suggests that the politicization of precariousness means the politicization of bodies. The precariat, being a living confirmation of the unequal distribution of vulnerabilities in society, is able to performatively testify to the lack of life. However, the precariat does not form an independent political subject: such is the assembly itself.

We should also note that the problematization of precariousness has an ambivalent perspective: on the one hand, it is the result of a sense of life, devoid of dignity; on the other hand, a powerful potential capable of performatively transforming into positive political energy. In essence, this is an attempt to "reconsider Lacanian ontological deficiency in a more affirmative way with the help of a kind of Fukian" self-care"<sup>46</sup>. Thus, precariousness has not only a vulnerable but also an emancipatory dimension. In this regard, we agree with G. Stending, who proposes to see in the precariat not just victims of vulnerability but the potential of a future effective political model. According to the researcher, the precariat is not a "squeezed middle", not an "underclass" and not a "lower working class". It is already aware of its vulnerability in a number of positions and will make the same number of demands"<sup>47</sup>.

Analyzing the current technological and media situation, J. Butler notes a strange paradox with locality and time. The researcher emphasizes, "Asserting that a group of people is still existing taking up space and obdurately living, is already an expressive action, a politically significant event, and that can happen wordlessly in the course of an unpredictable and transitory gathering"<sup>48</sup>. Here, in our view, a very important aspect is violated - a performative act related to corporeality does not exclude danger or at least tension and can lead to the opposite result. Thus, people going to the streets due to the feeling of vulnerability or threat can turn into a new threat for them. The imprisonment or even deportation of refugees who take to the streets of Europe can be the examples of this.

On the other hand, people, being in a certain place, have a close neighborhood and a close "gathering", however, they also are in the media space. In fact, people exist both locally and globally. At the same time, globality is imbued with military conflicts and very

<sup>46</sup> M. Simakova, "Al'yansy khрупkikh tel, ili Politika uyazvimykh zhiznei. Retsenziya na knigu: Batler Dzh. (2017) Zametki k performativnoi teorii sobraniya", *Sotsiologiya vlasti* Num 1 (2018): 217.

<sup>47</sup> Стендинг Г. Прекариат: новый опасный класс (2014). Available at: <https://e-libra.ru/read/508982-prekariat-novyy-opasnyy-klass.html>

<sup>48</sup> Dzh. Batler, *Zametki k performativnoj teorii sobraniya...*

tangible bodily vulnerabilities. Accordingly, people have both local and global vulnerabilities. At the same time, the very sensitivity of the experience is related to the level of physical precarity.

Developing the categories of alliances and performative plurality, J. Butler rethinks the traditional understanding of identity. The researcher doubts the effectiveness of left-wing political strategy, which considers the creation of active political subjectivity and identity a prerequisite for political change. J. Butler's idea is that people are not the collections of identities, but they themselves are an assembly, gathering, assemblage (in the Deleuzean sense). Understanding a person as a plural alliance (this approach does not explicitly assume the phenomenon of individual heroism, which is sometimes expected in a crowd or being gathered together), naturally raises the issue of a new common ethics of existence in the political space.

Like P. Kropotkin at his time, J. Butler sees an extremely important condition for achieving convincing results in rethinking the very interaction between people, rather than making demands on the authorities. Kropotkin also expressed the hope that the analysis of human experience (from the pre-human state to labor unions, maternal groups, medical self-organized posts in the villages - for the displacement of which J. Butler criticizes H. Arendt) will show the prospects of private ways of self-organization. Such very methods, according to the researcher, can form global alliances that will gradually destroy national states<sup>49</sup>. Like P. Kropotkin, J. Butler actively uses the concept of mutual help and mutual support, reaching an important conclusion: the ethical is a reaction to the recall of another, which precedes the formation of subjectivity and choice and which permeates not only human communities but also all ways of existence in general.

H. Arendt's ethical ideas of coexistence with an unselected neighbor are also related to the understanding of vulnerability and precarity can also serve as sources of politicization of corporeality<sup>50</sup>. It is primarily about the experience of the divided Jewish diaspora, which was acquired by migrating Jews before the emergence of state Zionism and according to which the tradition of accepting oneself and another in conditions that are not elected was formed. Accordingly, it is the political field in which one should look for a means that would allow people to universalize themselves in some form and at the same time not be automatically included in racial, class, ethnic and other groups. For H. Arendt, as well as for J. Butler, this is a very important strategy that claims the universality of the political.

J. Butler takes another strategy partly from the works of W. Benjamin, partly from the ethical system of E. Levinas. In particular, this concerns the issue of what is outside political law and political norm. It is a question of a vague ethical norm, which is not always pronounced, but is always felt very concretely. In the tradition of E. Levinas these are the commandments. They are not laws, but repeatedly reproduced, not quite clear and not quite articulated norms of community. Because of their abstractness and at the same time

<sup>49</sup> P. Kropotkin, *Vzaimnaya pomoshch' kak faktor evolyucii* (1907). Available at: [https://ru.wikisource.org/wiki/%D0%98%D0%BD%D0%B4%D0%B5%D0%BA%D1%81:%D0%92%D0%B7%D0%B0%D0%B8%D0%BC%D0%BD%D0%B0%D1%8F\\_%D0%BF%D0%BE%D0%BC%D0%BE%D1%89%D1%8C\\_%D0%BA%D0%B0%D0%BA\\_%D1%84%D0%B0%D0%BA%D1%82%D0%BE%D1%80\\_%D1%8D%D0%B2%D0%BE%D0%BB%D1%8E%D1%86%D0%B8%D0%B8\\_\(%D0%9A%D1%80%D0%BE%D0%BF%D0%BE%D1%82%D0%BA%D0%B8%D0%BD\\_1907\).pdf](https://ru.wikisource.org/wiki/%D0%98%D0%BD%D0%B4%D0%B5%D0%BA%D1%81:%D0%92%D0%B7%D0%B0%D0%B8%D0%BC%D0%BD%D0%B0%D1%8F_%D0%BF%D0%BE%D0%BC%D0%BE%D1%89%D1%8C_%D0%BA%D0%B0%D0%BA_%D1%84%D0%B0%D0%BA%D1%82%D0%BE%D1%80_%D1%8D%D0%B2%D0%BE%D0%BB%D1%8E%D1%86%D0%B8%D0%B8_(%D0%9A%D1%80%D0%BE%D0%BF%D0%BE%D1%82%D0%BA%D0%B8%D0%BD_1907).pdf).

<sup>50</sup> S. E. Aschheim, "A People Apart: Hannah Arendt and the Modern Jewish Experience". *The Times Literary Supplement* Num 5452, September 26 (2007).

specificity, the commandments are taken personally; they are not imposed from above: if someone wants to be inscribed in a certain life activity according to the rules that allow this person to be accepted, the commandments must be taken. That is, it is the form that is in some ways contrary to the law.

When J. Butler turns to the ideas of E. Levinas and the construction of the initial subordination and responsibility to others, understood as sensitivity, controlling the body already indicates its inevitable reactivity - the ability to respond to the environment in which it is. Such sensitivity indicates that the individual is a fiction, because any individual is preceded by a relationship of community, reciprocity, relationships in which people are willing to respond to each other. According to J. Butler, the assembly just implements this ethical, if not the program or imperative, then at least the ethical and sensual picture of the world. We can say that the author offers a version that W. Benjamin called messianism without overtask, without teleology<sup>51</sup>.

In connection with the actualization of the need for a new unity, a new totality, it is interesting to mention the work of Jody Dean "Crowds and the Party"<sup>52</sup>, which was published simultaneously with "The Notes on Performative Theory of Assembly" by J. Butler. After analyzing the experience of public rallies and movements of 2010-2013 and being seriously disappointed in them due to the lack of radical political results, J. Dean tries to derive a new concept of parties. If J. Butler rethinks street body politics in the categories of the alliance, then J. Dean tries to rethink the crowd, reducing it to the category of the party. At the same time, a new understanding of the party is proposed - as an expansion of the crowd, which for political change still needs some kind of collective identity, collective subjectivity, which does not exclude the presence of a leader.

These works differ considerably in the proposed political strategies. In our view, J. Butler's book is largely anarchic in many respects. However, the author does not call for the abandonment of the welfare state: assemblies must uphold social guarantees, as neo-liberal systems seek to destroy such residual guarantees; on the other hand, it should be borne in mind that talks, for example, about LGBT rights mask completely different problems - military interventions, the problem of refugees, unfair labour policies, and so on. In turn, J. Dean tends more to Marxism, believing that the party promises a utopia, gathers the collective in a certain utopian perspective. Perhaps, such a model is in some way retrospective and refers to certain past practices. J. Butler's strategy, understood in the categories of alliances, also contains a utopian dimension, but for the author the utopian is not a design, not a specific utopia, not a specific vision, not a plan-project of the future offered to crowds and masses, but an invention of here and now new types of interaction policy in the course of public alliances.

### **Conclusions and prospects for further research**

Breaking previous discourses requires theoretical thinking in order to find a new language that can describe and influence contemporary political practices. The phenomenon of people taking to the streets, caused by the vulnerability and drama of

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<sup>51</sup> P. Boyanich, "Istoriyu pishut pobezhdennye: messianstvo Val'tera Ben'yamina". Logos Vol: 28 num 1 (2018): 201-216.

<sup>52</sup> J. Dean, *Crowds and Party*. 2016. Available at: <https://www.versobooks.com/books/2802-crowds-and-party>.

personal stories, forces us to take into account such motives, as well as to comprehend the conditions and ways of taking a political position.

One of the versions of the new political subject is the assembly, differentiated from the multitude, the party, the people, and so on. Such a subject is constantly in the process of “gathering”; the action is built into the very model of the political subject, which allows us to talk about its anti-essentialist specificity. The classical political way of articulation gives way to the density of the performative-corporeal, which becomes a new engine of energy of political processes.

Judith Butler offers an original interpretation of the political, describing it through the performativity of bodies and highlighting the assembly as something that needs to be given the meaning. For J. Butler, the body, being a biological and discursive expression of life, becomes the beginning of the political. In essence, politics is now where a new political scene is being introduced, where new distinctions are being implemented, where new interests are being shared. This approach sets a powerful research vector, although it does not remove both theoretical and practical issues.

Thus, in our opinion, the following questions need further consideration: by what criteria (in the absence of a conceptual-discursive definition) should people go out on the street be perceived as a self-sufficient fact worthy of attention? what is the potential of bodily practices in the political space - repressive or emancipatory? what factors reduce the effectiveness of text messaging or project practices? what should be the mechanisms of perception of gathering people on the street? how to move from a negative meeting (protest) to a positive agenda? to what extent are the assemblies monolithic and capable of introducing a new political?

It is likely that in the future, discursive-centric, immanent-objectifying analysts will be replaced by fundamentally new ones, capable of embracing new policy instruments and creating new configurations. In a world that is constantly “re-describing” itself, the political situation is very dynamic, often without pre-established principles, and politics is thought of primarily as a process rather than a final result.

At present, researchers are trying to describe a new political language for a new political situation. It is possible that their efforts will shift the focus from political to the practice of people’s self-expression. J. Butler’s idea seems interesting and fruitful in this connection: “the life” that a person should lead has a broader social, economic and infrastructural world - it is greater than our point of view and the local modality of the ethical question from the first person”<sup>53</sup>. In essence, this is a call to restructure society on new ethical principles: in order to put an end to competing individualism and live in harmony, we must become physically collective.

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<sup>53</sup> Dzh. Batler, *Zametki k performativnoj teorii sobraniya...*



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