MEDIA BEHAVIOR OF NETWORK SOCIETIES IN LIQUID MODERNITY

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Abstract: Background/Objects: The relevance of the article is predetermined by qualitative shifts in the information environment of society when social and technological changes in its functioning had a decisive impact on the conditions of interaction between the media environment and the social reality that gave rise to it. The behavior of the individual and social groups is realized in the information fields as "naturally" as in reality and becomes media behavior. People unite in network societies through which they sort things out among themselves, often in an aggressive form. The study of hyperlocal media communities allows identifying the stages of formation of communicative phobias and aggressions that to a certain extent characterize the media nature of liquid modernity. Method: The meaning of the raised issue predetermined the appeal to works on the theory of mass media by Russian and foreign scholars in the fields of journalism, philosophy, political science, and sociology. Thus, the basis for the theoretical analysis of the issue was created, and the use of laddering – a method for studying tests of mass communications – made it possible to analyze the results of the activity of hyperlocal communities. Findings: The article reveals the organic unity of action and its result inherent in media, where the action is the conversion of the "text of time into media form", and the result is the media presence of the "text of time" in social reality. This is the essence of the process of mediatization. In this regard, the stages of aggression formation in the media environment were identified, regardless of the semantic content of messages and the reasons for the implementation of destructive communication practices. Improvements: The materials of the article are of practical value for mass media theorists, sociologists, and social psychologists.

Keywords: media, mediatization, local and hyperlocal communities, mass communication, communicative aggression.

INTRODUCTION

Even in the last quarter of the 20th century, mass media researchers took into consideration, first of all, the involvement of the media in the formation of the media picture of the world. The dynamics of the process were associated, firstly, with a series of technological innovations in the information environment and, secondly, with changes on

the political map of the world. The globalization of television, the facilitated movement of printed materials from one country to another, and the emergence of the Internet – all this created the preconditions for new forms of the functioning of the news media and media in general and the renewal of the prerequisites for their theoretical analysis. In this aspect, the evolution of P. Bourdieu's field theory is indicative. He understood the field as a place of struggle between agents equipped with "the tools of symbolic production necessary to express their point of view on the social", and the field itself was expressed through the concept of abstract social space, "constituted by an ensemble of subspaces or fields (economic field, intellectual field, etc.)" (Bourdieu, 1993). However, later Bourdieu presented an object to the scientific community "a little strange, but very important in scientific and political terms, namely, the relationship *between the field of politics, the field of social sciences and the field of journalism*. They represent three social universes, autonomous, relatively independent, and at the same time influencing each other" (Bourdieu, 2002, p. 108).

Social space and its fields are not static; time changes their structure and characteristics. If Bourdieu discovered the field of journalism in it, then after 15 years, researchers expanded his idea to the level of media coverage of the entire space. If in 1995 the field looked "very weakly autonomous" (Bourdieu, 2002, p. 114), then today, the same field, formed at the junction of social needs and new technological possibilities, is already built into social relations due to its absorption of several functions of other social fields. Symbolic acts, previously inherent exclusively in the field of politics, are now carried out through the field of journalism, and it is not always understood where the original is and where its copy is. From now on, Z. Bauman writes, even "power can move at the speed of an electronic signal – the time required to move its main components has decreased to an instant" (Bauman, 2008, p. 17).

The changes that qualitatively transformed the social space have led to the emergence of the political field of journalism. This field is structured by subject, meaning, ideology, and person and is divided into independently functioning spheres. In one, politics determines the broadcast values, content, and dynamics of media processes, and in the other, it adopts the formats of journalism. In each case of institutional convergence of politics and the media, its communicative fundamental principle is clear. "The media actively 'dissect' political reality, highlighting some of its sides at their discretion and leaving others in the shadows" (*Dmitriev & Latynov, 1999*, p. 15]. With the beginning of the 21st century, the field of journalism is intensively transforming into a media one. At first glance, the subjects of the newly formed field are the same as before – politicians and journalists. However, if the situation was so clear, the status of such a field could have been revealed at the beginning of the last century. However, only at the end of it, Bourdieu proposed a new "strange object", which we more confidently single out only today, in the context of the emergence of previously unknown information technologies, with their powerful social component.

"A person, creating technologies, endows them with all those qualities that a person does not have" (Kolomiets, 2019, p. 41). Technologies have created conditions for previously "voiceless" social strata to enter into the interaction of politics and journalism. Naturally, in the newly formed field, journalists and politicians, sociologists and political scientists – all of the actors listed by Bourdieu – are still active. However, today, they should be joined by activists of mass society, who know neither the intricacies of the political backstage nor professional standards of journalism. Dubious comments overwhelm the network space, which is why the leading actors of information fields

themselves are subject to revision of the usual rules of presence in them and are embedded in the processes of mass production. Thus, the question of the extent of influence on traditional actors from the outside, in the words of Gianni Vattimo, of a mass person "who has greedily taken on the microphone" is relevant as never before. This is a question about the real and the imaginary in the actions of everyone who is involved in information fields and who reflects with their behavior on social, political, and cultural media facts, as well as their assessments by counterparties involved in the world of mass communications.

The ratio of "digital authenticity" as a form of the mediatization of everyday life and conditional "offline authenticity" is a problem that requires its detailed study. How comparable are the actions of the individual in the online and offline spaces? At what stage does online activity, which has a communicative nature, go beyond networks – into the space of actions? It seems to us that the answers to these questions have not yet been found, but their search opens up new perspectives in the study of the media state of "liquid modernity" (Bauman's term), the psychology of the masses, and the aggressive behavior of network societies in online and offline environments. Back in the mid-2000s, with the active spread of the Internet, technologies for accessing the network turned out to be superimposed on the spread of tools for individualizing users and turning consumers of network content into their producers. Users massively created their online avatars, trying to acquire the image of full-fledged media personalities. At the same time, a media personality is a "generalized characteristic of an individual as a subject of communicative activity in the media space" (Vanchakova, et al., 2019), which leads to the formulation of another important question, what is digital authenticity – a new form of authenticity or a continuation of reality?

We assume that digital authenticity is an extension of reality. The computer and networks appear as an expression of the universal logos, subject to the laws of nature. According to S.V. Fuller, there is "an abstract universal logic that transcends time and space. In practice, the computer implementation of software algorithms is comparable to the repetition of one or many laws of nature, subject to this logic. Consequently, people do not invent algorithms but discover or possibly confirm certain manifestations of the logos" (Fuller, 2019, p. 17-18). At the same time, the question of the individual's place in this "digital authenticity" and the formation of destructive communication practices in the online environment by individuals and communities of individuals remains open. A user's digital avatar is both a tool for communicating, the continuation of an individual in a networked environment, and a kind of shadow, the behavior of which may differ from the behavior of an individual in reality, but will be a reflection of their psyche and the processes that determine behavioral strategies. The behavior of an individual online, therefore, may differ from the behavior of its prototype – an offline individual, but it will remain the behavior of an individual. Therefore, it is possible and necessary to talk about possible problems, but taking into account the fact that a digital avatar is the embodiment of psychological processes that orient an individual in a social space. Some researchers already accept this thesis, raising questions of "politeness" and "impoliteness" in both online and offline forms (Chen, et al., 2019). Here we move from the ontological aspects of "digital authenticity" to a more mundane (but no less important) problem – the question of the media behavior of individuals in the network space and aggressive media behavior in particular.

METHODS

Theoretical publications related to the emergence of a new substance in the world of mass communications – media, currently number in the hundreds. This issue is addressed by both established and novice researchers. Their works should be subdivided into several specific factions, among which some monographs and articles are devoted directly to the phenomena of media and the mediatization of social facts and practices (N. Bolz, E. Nim, S. Volodenkov, L. Kazimirchik, A. Polonsky, V. Khorolsky, etc.); others – the diversity of the content and forms of Internet communications, their political interaction with the institutions of society (T. van Dijk, J. Keane, V. Kolomiets, G. Khaidarova, etc.); the third – the phenomenon of "digital reality" and its socio-psychological effects (S. Dudnik, A. Zabiyako, S. Ilchenko, A. Nazarchuk, V. Savchuk, L. Smorgunov, and many others). Journalism theorists, cultural scientists, philosophers, and sociologists (S. Shaikhitdinova, V. Mansurova, D. Dubrovsky, V. Kolomiets, A. Gureeva, L. Zemlyanova, E. Kozlova, M. Castels, etc.) pay special attention to the issues of including forms and methods of media functioning in the new "digital world".

The modern "digital environment" is understood by us as a civilizational phenomenon. It follows from this that the research methodology should include a provision according to which the shift of the focus of public attention to the "digital environment" is predetermined by civilizational changes. However, even in the newest conditions of the media environment of the reality around us, the problem of the relationship between the true and the imaginary, the humane and the anti-human, the true and the false is not removed. Neither the real nor the imaginary – no value or its negation in media conditions – are formed by themselves. At the same time, it is a world of abstraction, which becomes a conscious reality only on the condition of its subjective interpretation. However, it is precisely abstractions that allow seeing in this space a model for studying the problems of the fluid media of our time. The theoretical study of the question is based, in particular, on categorical analysis, the subject of which is the field of knowledge constructed in the acts of knowledge itself. This ultimately allows coming close to evaluating the media phenomenon under study. The analysis of various theoretical approaches of scholars to the interpretation of media as a special construct that connects information interests and needs of a person with social practices acquired no less importance in the methodology of the issue under study.

RESULTS

In the study of media behavior, there are two major trends in the context of our research. Thus, there is a departure from the understanding of media "exclusively as a technology in electronic or digital format" (Zhilavskaya, 2011). More organically, media as a means of transmitting meanings is combined with the concept of media behavior. The individual does not exist exclusively in the digital space, having finally merged with their avatar. On the contrary, it communicates using various means, combining the possibilities of online and offline communication, which again leads us to the thesis of the joint existence and complementarity of digital and non-digital authenticity (Zhilavskaya, 2011). Communicative aggression, referring to the reactive form of media behavior, always goes through several stages of formation. However, aggression will always be a reaction to the world around us – in its digital or non-digital embodiment. It can contribute to the development of aggressive communications and informal media

behavior, in which the individual themself sets the rules when working with the media; they search for relevant topics and create content, using the media exclusively as an intermediary. Non-professional journalists often have a vague idea of the professional culture and sometimes their work with sources of information is determined only by internal attitudes. Aggressive communications are expanding as a loyal audience forms around content creators. This formation is also facilitated by some of the functions of platforms for the distribution of content – for example, the ability to ban, that is, to blackout users using information means.

It is not for nothing that we started talking about audience formation. The opportunities that the Internet provides to its users make it possible for any of them to find those who share their beliefs, no matter how destructive they may be: the formation of network societies is common and began in the era of Web 1.0. Network societies are non-classical social communities. They are characterized by several features: 1. they function mainly in networks. Nevertheless, a formed community with established social ties between its members can periodically or regularly go offline (it is possible to recall "torrents" – meetings of users of torrent trackers who illegally exchange licensed content); 2. in network societies, horizontal connections predominate. This does not mean that there is no hierarchy in network societies – it exists and in most cases is obvious due to the presence of administrators and moderators who oversee the communication processes taking place within the community. However, most communities do not have bureaucratic mechanisms that restrict access to managers; 3. the audience of network societies is heterogeneous and mobile. It has a heterogeneous structure, and leaving the community is free.

In our study, we assume that network societies are a favorable environment for the formation and spread of aggression and phobias, and these features objectively contribute to the emergence and application of destructive communication practices. Hyperlocal media communities of Saint Petersburg are the object of analysis. Before we start describing the object of research, let us clarify the term "hyperlocal media". The phenomenon of hyper localization in the digital environment rhymes with the "narrowing theory" of the American sociologist R. Putnam. The essence of this theory is as follows: residents of large cities who live in an atmosphere of ethnic and other types of diversity are more likely to go to the defense of their local space than to discover new cultures with new values. A study by Putnam showed that New Yorkers "are less willing to vote, participate in community initiatives, donate to charities, or volunteer than Americans living in less ethnically diverse cities" (Tsukerman, 2015, p. 30). If earlier it was believed that contact between different social groups leads either to the establishment of social ties ("contact theory") or to a conflict between them ("conflict theory"), now in a metropolis permeated with media communications, a third option has appeared: isolation leading to hyper localization of communications.

Hyperlocalization of media is a consequence of the transformation of the social form of neighborhood, which is transferred to the digital environment. Moreover, we consider the neighborhood not only as a geographically localized community within the city. It seems to us that we can talk, for example, about professional, educational, etc. neighborhoods. In this case, criteria for joint activities, interests, and other social connections that contribute to the formation of a community are added to the idea of geographical localization. The issue is debatable, but we believe that it is inappropriate to limit the neighborhood to geographical localization when some scholars talk about "digital cosmopolitanism".

Hyperlocal media differ from local media, first of all, by a higher level of localization of the community that consumes and produces content, which leads to the formation of neighbors in the digital environment. Geographical localization in these neighborhoods is an important criterion, but not always the only one. A megalopolis resident is looking for an answer to the challenges posed by constantly growing volumes of content, friendly interfaces, and profit-seeking corporations. Hyperlocalization of communications is among the ways out of the situation: the user becomes part of several communities, often extremely localized. Groups in social networks, chats in messengers, individual sites, and much more are combined into a hyperlocal media system that allows the audience to meet its needs in the consumption and production of media content. At the same time, hyperlocal media combines different agendas: domestic, local, federal, and global. A statement of fact allows studying a broader thematic cross-section and get a clearer idea of what exactly causes aggression in the average participant of hyperlocal communities. At the same time, sample homogeneity can lead to more tangible results. Therefore, we selected geographically localized digital neighborhoods for the study – those hyperlocal media that serve the communication needs of specific districts, micro districts, and even individual houses in Saint Petersburg. We selected 207 hyperlocal communities of the city on the VKontakte social network and analyzed more than 15,000 messages (posts and comments) in them. The study was conducted from the fall of 2019 to the fall of 2020.

At the first stage of the analysis, the following tasks were performed: the selection of aggressive messages (key "-1") was based on the criterion of expressiveness of the statement and its destructive communicative orientation. Only those messages were selected in which the aggression was explicit and did not contain attempts to comprehend the problem constructively; the selection of thematic blocks – what or who the aggression is directed at – a person, social group, or phenomenon; comparison of selected thematic blocks by districts of Saint Petersburg. At the second stage, 53 most active participants of hyperlocal media communities were selected (but not network administrators or moderators). Active participants were interviewed using the laddering method – a partially formalized interview, the essence of which is to increase the level of abstraction with each subsequent question to identify the deep motives of the individual's actions. All of these users left aggressive comments in the communities at various times, and our goal was to determine the reasons for this behavior. Based on the responses received, the stages of the formation of communicative aggression among users were determined.

The conclusions drawn in this part of the study are as follows. The overall level of aggression in hyperlocal communities in Saint Petersburg is low and is about 2% (only 318 reports were classified as uniquely aggressive). However, the final selection did not include messages deleted by network administrators – radical comments and direct insults to other users. That is why only 28 messages out of 318 contained aggression directed at specific, but not named users: "The freak who shut a passage at the 8th front door with his clunker, next time I'll cut your wheels!" The rest of the messages contained aggression against a social group or phenomenon. We divided the groups and areas that are targeted by user aggression into thematic blocks. It turned out that the manifestations of media aggression in hyperlocal communities of the megalopolis are primarily caused by information about the practices of the following vital areas: healthcare (89 comments, 28% of the total), maintenance of polyclinics, provision of medical services to the population, work of doctors. The number of aggressive comments on the "healthcare" block has increased since the spring of 2020, which can be attributed to the poor

organization of hospitals and clinics in the context of the pandemic; personal transport (57 comments, 18%). This block includes messages about parked yards, traffic jams, and other inconveniences caused by cars and motorists to users of hyperlocal media communities; politics (29 comments, 9%). This section includes statements, including aggressive ones, about the work of politicians, the foreign and domestic policy of the state. Interestingly, the most popular thematic blocks of communicative aggression demonstrate how the global agenda is combined with the domestic one. The user can be aggressive about what causes them discomfort, regardless of the scale of the phenomenon or the popularity of the individual. Thus, the user can show media aggression both to the motorist who blocked their way – their neighbor, and the president of the country.

DISCUSSION

The information environment of mankind includes a phenomenon that was observed before, but has not yet been so noticeable and significant – the mediatization of social practices, because "real modernity is *multidimensional* and *multi-peaceful*" (Vasilkova, 2012, pp. 57-58). Reality is differentiated by social practices that include both the sphere of human activity and its dynamic status and role in society, ideals, values, and morals. Bourdieu revealed social practices through the ability of individuals to correlate their behavioral qualities with the ideas about the surrounding reality that had already developed in their minds. At the same time, we should take into account that "objective reality becomes inaccessible to the understanding of society"; therefore, an attempt to understand the mediatization of social practices using the concept of "media reality models" that society builds as a substitute for objective reality is characteristic (Volodenkov, 2016, p. 127). Thus, ideas about social practices become media and, as a result, a person lives in a world where they meet not with facts and events, but their "media image" (Khorolsky, 2013, p. 81). It would seem that the phenomenon itself is remarkable since imagination and imaginative thinking are inherent in man by nature. Therefore, the understanding of the other and the unknown, presented to the individual in images of reality, simplifies, and reliably paves the way to their consciousness. In this regard, media acts have a remarkable property of clarity and accessibility for audiences of different social strata. However, "the media act does not have the desired degree of reliability, so it seems appropriate to talk about it as an information product that is reliable or has the character of reliability. Based on reliability/fiction, the media fact is ambivalent. Truth as an axiological feature in the concept of "media fact", in contrast to a scientific fact, is absent. <...> Instead of verification, media facts are endowed with credibility" (Prom, p. 51).

Thus, based on the concepts that have developed recently, it is better understood why foreign researchers consider "the possibility of applying mediatization as a theoretical concept to empirical research, for example, by shifting the focus of political science research from the discourse analysis of political language (i.e., the consideration of the processes of media politicization) to the study of the processes of the mediatization of politics" (Akhmetova & Baiduzh, 2019, p. 154). Civilizational changes vary the attitude of society towards media; events turn into media events, social practices – into media practices. In social reality, a new criterion for assessing someone and something is emerging – the criterion of media, which makes it possible to assess the degree of publicity of someone/something, since only an object fixed in the information space can become a media fact, that is, an object of assessment in the mass consciousness. The new process

has a particularly large share of the media audience. Therefore, "in the era of deep mediatization, content becomes multimedia and is produced not only by professional journalists but also by amateurs" (Nim, 2019, p.31).

Moving the audience's attention to media encourages communicators to move the centers of business/political activity to a new space – the Internet. In the digital media communications environment, large-scale propaganda campaigns and political conflicts are not so much reflected as they are carried out. Thus, the media environment draws politics into itself and overwhelms it with the massification of those involved in the digital environment. What is happening not only reflects reality in a certain way, it becomes a part of reality: "imaginary constructions increasingly affect real political processes, not only replacing reality but also actively shaping it" (Kazimirchik, 2014, p. 100). The real and the media are intertwined, forming new entities – first of all, the reflection of political events and political eventfulness in mass communications. Therefore, N. Bolz believes that our knowledge of reality is mediated by the media, and if so, it is pointless to distinguish the display from the displayed phenomenon (Bolz, 2011, pp. 56-63).

The growing share of the Internet in meeting the information needs and interests of society is a qualitative social transformation of media: virtual libraries, film collections, art galleries, museum expositions, interest societies, works of media art, blogs of politicians, critics, cultural figures, various levels of network societies. Thus, media "from an intermediary or transmission channel has become an actor of cultural/social reality with all the ensuing consequences" (Akhmetova & Baiduzh, 2019, p. 153). Today, people increasingly identify themselves based on their inclusion in the network space, since "the new type of identity is based on the ability to be visible. The game of visibility/invisibility is a fundamental aspect of online existence that puts the user in an uncomfortable dilemma: to be seen and, therefore, to be or not to be seen and, therefore, not to be" (Smorgunov, 2019, p.64, 65).

In the "digital environment", authenticity has stepped beyond the boundaries of the familiar. In the modern media, the environment has established itself as a *new authenticity* that interacts with the "old", traditional form of being. Then the new authenticity becomes a new cultural entity, in which the Internet library should be viewed as an "original", that is, a real cultural institution. A side effect of the latest digital technologies is the formation of a new type of individual who is inclined to live in the media space for as long as the material circumstances of reality allow. However, "if the human dimension is chosen as a normative criterion [in building the future], then we should seriously look at the fact that the tools that people create are quickly ahead of their mental abilities" (Namelink, 2009, p. 222). It was found that the development of media technologies turned out to be associated "with major shifts unfolding independently of them in different areas of mass consciousness [which are expressed] using computer technologies in an environment artificially created by computer programs" (Zabiyako, 2009, pp. 177-178). The emergence of media centers of cultural manifestations as a sphere of higher human achievements is natural, and it does not involve transformations of the value principles of the human spirit. However, the problem of the relationship between the true and the imaginary, the humane and the anti-human, the true and the false is not removed even in the modern "digital environment". Media is transforming the environment beyond recognition. If we recall Bourdieu, they have become "instruments of symbolic production", with the use of which the subjects of the media space radically influence reality. "It is reckless to deny or even underestimate the profound changes in

the conditions of human life associated with the onset of" liquid modernity" (Bauman, 2008, p. 12, 14).

CONCLUSION

Modern media can be interpreted in different ways. First of all, it is necessary to mention its comparison/identification with mediatization, which is seen as the process of adapting social institutions to "media formats" (Nim, 2017, p. 10). Media is considered both "a category that directly merges with the technology of generating and distributing messages" (Khorolsky, 2013, p. 79) and a social elevator – "an existential project of those who want to break through and reach out *over* and *through* the newspaper strip, TV, and radio airwaves" (Savchuk, 2001, p. 25). The latter statement largely coincides with the idea of E. Masuda (Japan) about technological innovation as "a hidden force of social transformation, which is expressed in a radical increase in the quantity and quality of information, as well as in an increase in the volume of information exchange" (Kazimirchik, 2014, p. 100). However, media and mediatization should not be considered synonymous. The scope of these categories is not fundamentally the same.

In this regard, we should take a closer look at the definition of media, which is currently used in media linguistics. In this new branch of knowledge, *media* is understood as a special "form of the presence of media in culture, as a formal and meaningful response to the design features of a media resource, to technologies for ensuring the flow of information <...> The media factor has become a sign of the time included in the text, and its translation in a media form has become a key culture strategy" [Polonsky, 2016, p. 10]. The definition correctly noted the organic unity of the action and its result inherent in the phenomenon of media, where the action is the conversion of the "text of time into media form", and the result is the media presence of the "text of time" in social reality. Thus, the action should be understood as the mediatization of subjects of the information fields of society, and the result – forms of the final stage of the process. The media presence will be such a form, which was confirmed by the results of a survey conducted according to the laddering method of 53 most active participants in hyperlocal media communities. As a result, the stages of aggression formation in the media environment were identified, regardless of the semantic content of messages and the reasons for the implementation of destructive communication practices.

The first stage – cognitive – is the deepest stage, which was reached during the laddering process. Answers corresponding to this stage: "Probably, this is something new, incomprehensible, therefore, there is such a rejection", "The familiar is better than the unusual, isn't it?", "We have already worked out everything, but it is not necessarily true that changes are good". In other words, there is a rejection of a new or unusual phenomenon that is out of the general picture of the individual's world.

The second stage is value-based. The individual compares the phenomena of the surrounding world with the values that determine their attitudes. Answers that correspond to this stage: "This does not correspond to my values", "The safety of my children is important to me", "The Russian person lives differently, not like a westerner". It is on the values that the attitudes formed in the individual are based, and the inconsistency with these values (regardless of their nature) leads to the formation of communicative aggression.

The third stage is a rehearsal. The phenomenon that irritates the individual is repeated from time to time, which helps to consolidate the aggressive attitude. Answers

corresponding to this stage: "Nobody wants to do anything, so they drive round the bend [parking in the yards]", "The same sort of thing, just tired of it", "Do you think anything will change?". This stage is seen as the most important in the formation of communicative aggressions. If at the first stages, changes in the behavior of the individual are still possible (elimination of negative elements, change of values, change of the situation), then the constant repetition of a phenomenon that causes negative reactions to reinforce an aggressive attitude and can lead to the formation of negative stereotypes about some social groups.

The fourth stage is verbal. Aggression is formed and finds its way out in the form of a specific speech act. Answers corresponding to this stage: "Well, I wanted to speak out", "I could not stand it anymore", "Maybe someone will listen, otherwise everyone is silent. .The verbal stage is important because it is the first stage where the action takes place. An action can occur either as a result of the feeling of inactivity of other users ("everyone is silent") or from internal contradictions that tear the individual apart ("I could not stand it anymore"). Verbal aggression is not just an outburst of emotions, it comes from the desire to change the existing situation, to make it correspond to its settings.

The fifth stage is "optional". We called it behavioral since, at this stage, the action moves from the communicative plane to offline. Answers that correspond to this stage: "If not to do anything, nothing will change", "Yes, just hate it", "What's the point to talk, you need to do something". Even in the answers, there is an obvious desire for action. The behavioral stage begins when the level of communicative tension is so high that a speech act ceases to seem to be a sufficient action to change the surrounding reality following the individual's attitudes.

The study of hyperlocal communities and the communications implemented in them is important, but not sufficient for a complete understanding of the stages of formation and spread of communicative aggression. For example, the problem of radicalization of judgments and the subsequent destructive action remains outside the brackets. This task seems to us preferable for another study, in which the stages of formation and distribution of communicative aggression and phobias will be considered together, and the sequence of transition from the verbal stage to the behavioral one will be determined.

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