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PHILOSOPHY AND POLITICAL SCIENCE

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THE EXPERT-ANALYTICAL ENVIRONMENT IN THE MIRROR OF THE RUSSIAN-UKRAINIAN WAR OF 2022

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February 2022 became the point of no return for every Ukrainian. As the President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelensky noted in his New Year's greetings on December 31, 2022, "Different us woke up on February 24. Another nation. Other Ukrainians. The first missiles finally destroyed the maze of illusions. We saw who is who. What friends, enemies are capable of, and most importantly, what we are capable of".

For Ukrainians, the Russian-Ukrainian war is an existential war, because Ukraine can exist only if it wins this war. The war raised questions about Ukraine's place in the world and what the world should become after the end of the war. These issues formed the agenda of the public debate, which has been actively unfolding since the first days of the full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine. Politicians, military personnel, public activists, cultural figures, business representatives, journalists, bloggers, and ordinary citizens took part in this discussion. However, its real headliners were representatives of the expert and analytical department. New stars lit up in the sky of the Ukrainian information space.

Certainly, in a situation of uncertainty and anxiety, at a time when the picture of the day changes at a kaleidoscopic speed, the demand for a quality analytical product increases. However, it should be noted that the expert media community of today's Ukraine is not the only one. It is represented by several groups.

First of all, we are talking about Ukrainian and foreign observers. Thus, Ukrainian opinion leaders are represented by teams of political observers, military analysts and "old school" experts. Foreign analytics is also divided into three groups. First, it is a powerful squad of the so-called "good Russians" – citizens of the Russian Federation, whose marker, as a rule, is the status of foreign agents. Secondly, these

are Russian-speaking commentators – citizens of other countries with a post-Soviet biographical background. Thirdly, these are American and Western European specialists, mostly military experts. However, their awareness pales against the background of their Russian-speaking colleagues.

The basis of the expert's popularity is the density of his presence in the media space of Ukraine. In general, it should be noted that one of the distinguishing features of this war was its information openness. With the beginning of the war, Ukrainian radio and television – commercial, state and public – united and spoke with a single pro-Ukrainian voice. Already on February 25, 2022, the lion's share of channels formed a joint project – "Yedyny marafon (The Single Marathon)", which is coordinated on the basis of the parliamentary TV channel "Rada". The content is produced by the public broadcaster – National Public Broadcasting Company of Ukraine (UA:PBC), the Directorate of Television and Radio Programs of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine (RADA) and private television and radio holdings "1+1 media", "Starlight Media", Inter Media Group and "Media Group Ukraine" (until July 2022). Entertainment radio stations have also reformatted their broadcasts. The public "Ukrainske radio (Ukrainian Radio)" became the base of the radio marathon.

Media fusion technology has demonstrated its effectiveness in the cause of national resistance. The information policy of the participants of the "Yedyny marafon (The Single Marathon)" is characterized by the consistency of the main messages, the reliability and efficiency of information, the patriotic context, the refusal of political PR of the country's leadership and the owners of the media themselves, the prevention of criticism of the authorities, the absence of political and ideological quarrels. However, the expert-analytical block of individual channels of the marathon is somewhat different.

Thus, the most popular media personalities in Ukraine became the expert faces of the "1+1" channel: Oleksii Arestovych (the highest-rated Ukrainian blogger, political and military columnist, which is currently under sanctions due to its open anti-Ukrainian position), Mark Feygin, Russian political and public activist, former lawyer, host of the author's informative and analytical YouTube channel "Feygin Live") and Oleg Zhdanov (colonel of the Armed Forces of Ukraine reserve, Ukrainian military expert, video blogger).

"Inter" TV channel is betting on "good Russians" whose biographies are marked by cooperation with the KGB or the modern Russian regime. These are Sergey Zhirnov, a former employee of the KGB of the USSR and the Foreign Intelligence Service of the Russian Federation, Igor Yakovenko, a former secretary of the Union of Journalists of the Russian Federation, Igor Hudkov, a retired lieutenant colonel of the FSB of the Russian Federation, and others.

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ICTV's information policy is aimed at creating an image of "strength and strong masculine character". Hence the brutal names of his projects – "Sekretny front (Secret Front)", "Hromadianska oborona (Civil Defence)", "Antyzombi (Anti-Zombies)". Among the invited experts are mainly military observers who provide summaries from the theatre of military operations (Kyryl Sazonov, Sergey Hrabsky, Petro Chernyk, Igor Romanenko, etc.).

Noting the leading role of the "Yedyni Novyny" telemarathon in the information resistance of Ukraine, it would be extremely incorrect to claim that the media space of Ukraine was monopolized with the beginning of the military invasion. The expert content of Channel 5 and the "Priamyi" and "Espresso" channels, which have launched their own alternative joint broadcasting project, is distinguished by the quality, genre pluralism and authority of the speakers. Vitaliy Portnikov, Michael Sheitelman, Mykola Malomuzh, Roman Mashovets, Yevhen Magda, Taras Berezovets, Roman Tsimbalyuk, Yevhen Karas, Roman Svitan, Mark Feygin, Yurii Shvets, Andriy Pionkovskiy, Igor Gudkov, Ramiz Yunus, Rovshan Askerov, Hryhorii Tamar are regular guests of their broadcasts. It is no coincidence that the "Espresso" TV channel was included in the group of Ukrainian TV channels, which in the third month of the full-scale war reached the international level in terms of the number of views on YouTube [2].

Indeed, today it is YouTube that has become the space in which the stars of public expertise light up. If the TV format involves a monologue presentation of content, then YouTube platforms have become real platforms for public dialogue, and the viewer got the illusion of personal involvement in the development of policies.

Among the top video bloggers of Ukraine with the largest number of subscribers who cover the topic of war (the rating was compiled on October 24, 2022), half are representatives of the analytical department: Oleksii Arestovych (1.67 million subscribers), Roman Tsimbaliuk (961 thousand subscribers), Ivan Yakovyna (901 thousand subscribers), Oleg Zhdanov (879 thousand subscribers) [1].

Domestic YouTube channels that are focused on high-quality analytics should be singled out as a separate phenomenon. Politeka Online (864 thousand users), UKRLIFE.TV (695 thousand users), Iceland (429 thousand users), Yuriy Romanenko (230 thousand users) have become real online discussion platforms to which reputable economists, political scientists, cultural experts, historians, military experts, social psychologists, philosophers are invited.

At the same time, in the public media space of Ukraine, there are almost no systematic reports on the work of state, university, and independent analytical centres on socio-political issues, although after the full-scale invasion, many of them changed their profile, focusing on actual problems. The key areas of their

research were the causes and consequences of the war, forecasting the development of events, modelling the future of post-war Ukraine. Some expert organizations are actively involved in volunteering. But everyone contributes to the victory of Ukraine.

Scientific periodicals of Ukraine did not remain aloof from topical wartime issues. Today, 25 specialized publications are published in the specialty "Political Science" alone. In the difficult conditions of martial law, domestic scientists try to direct their efforts to conceptualize the challenges of modernity in the categories of political theory, look for the causes and predict the consequences of the events that Ukraine and the world are experiencing today.

With the beginning of the war, the interdisciplinary socio-humanitarian discourse became more active. For example, already in September 2022, under the auspices of the Ukrainian Catholic University, the collective work "Pozytyvni stsensariyi rozvytku Ukrayiny. Rozdumy suchasnykiv (Positive scenarios for the development of Ukraine. Reflections of contemporaries)", which contains more than twenty essays-visions of the country's future. Among the authors of the collection are the most authoritative Ukrainian scientists: sociologists, lawyers, political scientists, historians, demographers, mathematicians, etc.

However, regardless of the relevance and importance of this kind of projects, their public resonance cannot be compared with the influence of the headliners of public examination, which flooded the domestic information space.

In our opinion, expertise today has turned into a kind of competition for subscribers, views, ratings, and the information space has become an arena for the competitive struggle of producers of expert content for the public's attention. The keys to victory in this show-competition are the frequency of media presence on television and in the network media, charisma and symbolic capital of the speaker. The public places bets on the accuracy of forecasts, unites in fan clubs, excitedly discovers its chosen "Russian agents" among competitors, admires new faces.

The world remains unchanged. If once the birth of the public sphere took place thanks to traditional print media (let's remember Habermas with his concept of the public sphere), today it is the electronic media environment that shapes public opinion, influences public attitudes, and creates conditions for open public dialogue. "Tell me which expert you listen to and I'll tell you who you are."

Perhaps, this is precisely the reason for the departure of classical academic expertise to the periphery of public discourse. After all, in the era of the transition from the Gutenberg Galaxy to the Internet Galaxy, when the Word is replaced by the Image, those who continue to work in the standards of the culture of the written text are doomed to communicate in closed clubs for the chosen ones, and, therefore, lose the opportunity to be seen and heard.

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