COMMEMORATION LEADERS: CULTURAL MEMORY OF A CITY IN THE DIGITAL AGE*

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Abstract. Urban commemoration is the most important determinant of social reality, influencing the processes of constructing urban identity and the images of modern cities. The article is devoted to the analysis of the commemoration leaders, who have acquired a specific nature in the digital age, causing new aspects in the processes of generating and transmitting the cultural memory of the city. The article shows how the structures of collective memory are now reproduced in digital communications, and those who produce digital content on the Internet (bloggers, active users of social networks, content creators in video messaging services) are becoming leaders of commemoration. Commemoration leaders carry out the reproduction of potential or maintenance of relevant layers of memory, influencing the content and selection of those episodes of memory that are to be remembered. Commemoration leaders create a new, soft mosaic of memory, woven from reviews, publications, videos, posts in digital media that transform personal information into collective information. The modern memory of the city lives in digital content as a collage woven from different fragments of the city's past "remembered" in the network, whereas the city's commemorative practices with VR/AR effects deepen its "imagination" and reinforce identification codes. Meanwhile, the author reveals the features of the digital representation of the city, which complicate the processes of commemoration and are accompanied by the erosion of the cultural memory of the city, which should be taken into account when researching collective memory and developing strategies for its management.

Keywords: commemoration, city, collective memory, cultural memory of the city, digital communications.

Introduction

In the modern discourse of the humanities, a special place is occupied by issues related to cultural memory; the scientific interest in which is largely explained by the so-called "commemorative boom", which was the consequence of the academic development of the discipline of "Memory studies". The relevance of this kind of research is explained by the consequences caused by globalization and informatization of society, which have made it increasingly important to study the patterns of structuring local identities. No less important in this context is the thesis about the value of cognition of the processes of constructing the present and the future of a particular group of people through the prism of interpreting its past. It is now obvious that managing the collective past by interpreting cultural meanings is the most important determinant that determines social reality, which significantly affects the diverse processes of constructing collective identities, the images of modern territories, and the manner of their representation in the external environment.

As Jeffrey Olick notes, today the past is viewed as a basis "on which one can fight not only for interests and resources ... but also for the very identity that primarily supports and organizes these interests" (Olick 2016: 49). Collective memory is now viewed as a certain way of constructing people of their past, interpreting this past and attitudes towards it on the part of one or another collective. For Pierre Nora, collective memory is "not a memory, but a shared economy and management of the past" (Nora 1999: 84). This type of memory, which possesses the properties of collective identification and has a symbolic nature (based on symbolic mediators, transmitting, and accumulating images of the past), following Jan Assmann (2011), can be customarily called cultural memory.

Cultural memory is structured around a collective of people, which is united by a common history and culture, collective memories stored and reproduced in joint practices, and not limited only to the categories of a nation or ethnos. However, this kind of collective may have a different character, given by other conditions of association, including local ones. Among the various types of cultural memory, one can single out the cultural memory of the city, which largely depends on practices, institutions, and social groups that influence urban identity and are able to manage the processes of understanding and updating fragments of the urban past.

Based on this research position, the city "ceases to be an administrative or economic object, but is deemed as a place that is formed with the help of collective actions" (Fedotova 2020a: 125) and is comprehended as "a specific, complex cultural construct that embodies ... fundamental aesthetic, social and ideological attitudes of people" (Avanesov 2018: 10).

Meanwhile, modern researchers of collective memory are increasingly turning to the study of the methods of its translation, since the very process of constructing a collective future through an appeal to the past depends on their specifics. In other words, the filling and preservation of the cultural memory of this or that community is directly dependent on the leading trends in society in the practices of maintaining collective memory and in the methods of its transmission. This should include not only communicative trajectories along which cultural meanings are transmitted that carry memorable information, but also the diverse ways, means, and forms of packaging of collective experience. In addition to traditional ways of maintaining current layers of the city's cultural memory, whether it is the installation or dismantling of a monument, the name of city objects (street, square, quarter) with a certain name in honor of a specific event or a person significant for the city, the modern digital era determines new trends in this process, producing new leaders of city commemoration.

In this regard, research questions arise about which commemorative practices are leading in the digital age and why? Who are these modern commemoration leaders? In addition, one of the most important issues that this topic brings up is related to the identification of social and cultural consequences that are caused by the dominance of digital commemoration practices. The solution of such research problems will make it possible to scientifically explain and predict the development of the processes of preserving and updating the urban past, to take into account the ever-new aspects that appear in the management of the city's cultural memory.

The issues of researches related to the study of various aspects of structuring and representation in the social environment of cultural memory are characterized by an integrative synthesis of humanitarian approaches that have developed within the framework of sociology, anthropology, philosophy, and political science. It should be added that the author's research methodology is built around a culturological approach. The culturological approach allows one to focus on the processes of structuring cultural meanings and ways of transferring social experience. In this case, the processes of modeling cultural norms and attitudes in society, which are dependent on the social consequences of the digital era, as well as the processes and methods of representing cultural meanings in social reality, are of particular importance. The methodological basis of the study is the communicative approach, which allows the cultural scientist to consider modern processes of remembering through the prism of the movement of meanings in space and time, to take into account the peculiarities of the communicative trajectories of coding, deciphering and disseminating cultural meanings in society.

Thus, the purpose of this work is to analyze the new leaders of commemoration and the leading commemorative practices in the digital age, as a consequence of global transformations of the process of collective mindfulness.

Cultural memory of a city and urban commemoration

Nowadays, cultural memory is increasingly interpreted as a socio-cultural frame, which is a meeting place for the present and the past. Therefore, cultural memory is not just a collective memory; it differs in that it has a symbolic character, that is, "it can only be carried out artificially, within the framework of institutions" (Assmann 2011: 23) that transmit and actualize cultural meanings. For example, idols or buildings that store memory allow one to identify a particular community, as well as accumulate and build knowledge about oneself.

Consequently, the cultural memory of the city is "a complex space for storing, transmitting and updating the cultural meanings of the city" (Fedotova 2020b: 131), conveying memorable images of the urban past. The cultural meanings of the city, which store and transmit images of the urban past, include a variety of city symbols, myths, facts, and iconic places that transmit and represent the cultural memory of the city.

Cultural memory as a social phenomenon has an important feature associated with the presence and complex interaction of two layers in its structure. Any memory, whether collective or individual, consists of two layers: a) the relevant memory layer, which is supported by events and processes that do not allow forgetting fragments of the past, and b) a latent layer of memory that contains fragments of the past (individual or collective) hidden purposefully or accidentally. And the structure of layers of cultural memory also depends on how certain fragments of collective memory are cultivated, how they are maintained in society, so that oblivion does not prevail over remembrance, since the latent can always become relevant, and vice versa — fragments of memory that were once relevant can be forgotten by the collective. Therefore, following Aleida Assmann, we believe that cultural memory combines "mutually penetrating each other, recollection and forgetting" (Assmann 2016: 33), as relevant and latent layers of memory.

Thanks to the relevant layer of cultural memory, we can "recall" the events of the collective past, regularly reproduced in various commemorative practices (for example, in the names of objects in the urban environment or in traditional festivals). Reproduction, reminder, and experiences of one or another episode of the city's past allow the preservation of unique pages, or episodes of the city's cultural memory in the current layer. The potential layer of cultural memory,

as a rule, is not objectified in the urban space and is often stored in some kind of hidden or implicit media (for example, in archival documents). Also, a potential layer of cultural memory can be concentrated in the structures of individual memory, and with the disappearance of a given person, this episode of the urban past can be forgotten.

Such a thesis is essential for understanding the whole process of keeping cultural memory up to date and, in fact, the significance of commemoration and its practices for modern communities and their future. Cultural memory is always constructed, and contemporaries have the opportunity to exert one way or another impact on the entire repertoire of reproduced meanings of the collective past. Consequently, in this case, it becomes possible to design the present and future of the city through the cultivation of specific images of the urban past.

Bearers of the city's cultural memory

The properties of interpretation and actualization of cultural meanings, in turn, force us to attach special importance to the problem of maintaining the cultural memory of the city. It is especially important to focus on the processes of formation and functioning in the urban environment of cultural meanings that support the significance of certain fragments of the collective past. The symbolic matrix of the city's cultural memory has a number of scientifically understandable regularities, and its relevant layer is the result of a number of commemorative practices that support the memory.

If one understands the cultural memory of a city as a reservoir of cultural meanings preserved and actualized in the urban space, then the most important role in its functioning is played by those means that convey the significance of these meanings to the collective, transmit symbolic information, forming various images of the urban past and, accordingly, the present of this city. In a variety of symbolic means — bearers of the city's cultural memory — there is an objectification and translation of cultural meanings, as a result of which fragments of memory are "delivered" to each person. The bearer of the city's cultural memory is the mediator who accumulates and then conveys the cultural meaning as a specific element from the entire reservoir of the city's cultural memory.

On the one hand, people themselves are the mediator which constantly revives and actualizes cultural meanings. As Pierre Nora points out, memory is maintained exclusively with the help of people: "memory is life, the bearers of which are always living social groups" (Nora 1999: 19). It is no coincidence that social groups and communities constantly initiate discussions about the interpretation of the past, since at this moment the forgotten fragments of the

past are actualized, and each community seeks to create its own portrait through the image of the collective past.

A wide variety of people, both living in a given city and living in other cities and countries, can convey the cultural memory of a city. Those who are involved in the process of transferring the cultural memory of the city may include a) residents of the city, and b) representatives of the external environment (for example, scientists, tourists, diplomats, and journalists) who spontaneously or purposefully interpret the urban past. In turn, their interpretations and ways of seeing in assessing episodes of the past have an impact on the formation of meanings and actualization of specific cultural meanings of the city.

However, in the author's opinion, the bearers of the city's cultural memory should, first of all, be called those symbolic intermediaries who, unlike people, reliably ensure the long-term storage of cultural memory and its transmission from generation to generation. The reliable sign fixation, stability, and artificial nature of symbolic memory mediators as its carriers ensure the process of transformation of individual memory into collective memory. Such bearers of the city's cultural memory play an important role in the commemoration processes: with their help, fragments of the city's cultural memory are recorded and manifested in everyday reality.

In the practice of mindfulness, as Olick (2012) notes, a large role is played by those mediators who, through the most important process of symbolization and interpretation of reality, transmit sacred information about the past. In his opinion, "there is no perception without interpretation; there is no event that has not been constructed by social forms; there is no reality in itself" (p.53). The bearers of memorable information that actualize the images of the urban past are the diverse mediators of the collective experience that the townspeople face in the urban environment and in everyday life — the names of streets and squares, stelae, architecture, music, poetry, posters, memorial plaques, cinematographers — thus connecting the very past and present of the city.

According to Olick (2012), the functions of these bearers are not limited only to the transfer of memory, since "mediums of memory are not secondary, they define the message" (p. 53) as a means of communication. The bearers of collective memory have a kind of cultural code that can give symbolic mediators the properties of incrementing new meanings through the originality of the interpretation of fragments of memory, and therefore symbolically influencing the production of collective ideas about the city.

With the help of intermediaries, the past can become a part of the present, since the past comes to us through means that are symbolically encoded and objectified in reality which form their own picture of images. One and the same episode of memory can be interpreted in different ways; for example, in a film

adaptation of an event, in a public speech of a politician, in a granite monument, or in a song, because each means of transmitting memorable information acts in its own way. For example, intermediaries in the transmission of memorable information about a city can differ in the ways of influencing people: emotionally (game, festival, film), and cognitively (lecture, lesson, conference, etc.), as well as verbally or visually, depending on from the ways of coding cultural meanings.

In other words, different ways of presenting episodes of the urban past (for example, military exploits, the cultivated past of Russian merchant cities, etc.) reproduce different images of the past. Urban images presented as part of a joint experience of the historical event of a city at a festival can revive some meanings, while a museum exhibit can evoke different connotations of the experienced cultural meaning.

The bearers of the city's cultural memory, in fact, perform the function of representing the past, and thanks to them, episodes of collective memory will be preserved and will not disappear after the death of people. Festivals, monuments, films and much more are bearers of the city's cultural memory, and their specificity largely depends on regional contexts and trends in the development of society. Meanwhile, in the digital age, as will be shown below, screen-oriented means of transmitting images of the urban past with a predominance of visual forms (for example, computer games) began to be used as intermediaries in the process of transmitting memorable information about the city.

In the space of the city, the bearers of the city's cultural memory can acquire different specifics depending on the images of the cultivated past. When applying the typology of dividing all mediators of information transmission into hard and soft mediators, then hard media and soft media of the city's cultural memory can become ways of transmitting memorable information.

Hard bearers of the city's cultural memory participate materially (being physically present in the environment) in the processes of representing fragments of the city's past. They bear traces of cultural memory by being present in the urban environment as "cultural landmarks carrying the memory of the city" in the spatial dimension, helping to recognize and identify the city (Gao 2020: 426). The material elements of the cultural heritage (monuments, steles, architectural compositions, etc.) built into the urban space form a sense of place and thereby strengthen the identity of the townspeople. As modern researchers note, the sense of place in the urban environment is provided precisely by "physically constructed fabric that preserves both personal and cultural memory through a long connection with communities" (Hussein et al. 2020: 264).

Hard bearers of the city's cultural memory are more constant and stable over time than soft bearers. They broadcast episodes of the urban past through

material forms that are very durable. Presented in stone, wood, and granite, a city is nothing more than a tangible heritage, "the memory of which is transmitted over time through physical media such as buildings or monuments" (Prata 2020: 445). Their reconstruction, demolition or dismantling testifies to a revision of the assessment to the events of the past, to a change in the repertoire and the repository of cultural memory (Hussein et al. 2020: 264).

On the contrary, the peculiarity of the soft bearers of the city's cultural memory, in contrast to the hard ones, is flexibility and inconstancy, as well as regular updating of the meanings of the memory bearers. As an example, we can note the constant process of renaming streets, as well as the emergence of new music, new films, or photographs that tell about the city's past. As a rule, soft bearers of the city memory culture are mobile, since the city can unlimitedly "draw" from the layers of cultural memory a part of its authentic past, reproduce it in symbolic forms and, accordingly, position its image, including in the external environment.

In particular, the brand of the city can be seen as a soft bearer for the cultural memory of the city. Brands "manifest an identity, publicly declare the uniqueness of a city" by appealing the uniqueness of anything: "locality, landscape, history, cultural tradition, innovation, music, famous event, cuisine, education, climate, design, etc." (Shcherbinina 2018: 200). Such bearers form a different involvement of the citizen with the city, often through imagination, when "the city turns out to be the bearer of meanings that can symbolically "overcome" the differences between specific and very different urban communities in one way or another" (Musiyezdov 2013: 29–30). A well-constructed city brand as an example of successful management of the city's cultural memory is at the intersection of identity and image, "when the transmitted image of a place reflects the identity of the place" (Braun et al. 2017: 22).

In this regard, the cultural memory of a number of cities has recently been filled with new relevant meanings that allow the city to compete for symbolic capital (Fedotova 2018), that is, to increase its recognition, fame, and build trust in the city from various target groups. In particular, Russian cities updated the memorable connection with fairy-tale characters, and as a result, a "Fairy-tale map of Russia" was formed, in which cities were identified as places that are associated with certain characters (for example, Arkhangelsk became the birthplace of the Snowman; Kostroma — the Snow Maiden; and Ilya Muromets — Murom).

Depending on the coding methods, the bearers of the cultural memory of the city can be conditionally divided into visual and verbal bearers. The visual bearers include those that convey memorable information about the citythrough visible signs (through sculpture, posters, logos, etc.) while verbal bearers are

those that convey the cultural meanings of the city through speech (through texts, phrases, words).

However, any bearer of the city's cultural memory becomes such only as a result of its interaction with people, namely in the processes of communication, when cultural meanings are understood, comprehended, accepted, and interpreted by the townspeople. For example, a literary work with a biography of a great city poet or an urban feat during the war will become relevant only when they become part of commemorative practices. The latter are specially designed to fill with meaning, actualize, give significance to the images of the urban past and "revitalize" cultural memory (film adaptation of an event of the past, a holiday, a forum, a conference, and much more). Jan Assmann noted that cultural memory exists only in "constant interaction not only with people's memories, but also with external symbols" (Assmann 2011: 110).

Leaders of urban commemoration practices

Commemoration is a set of public practices that support and reproduce in reality fragments of the collective past, thereby influencing the processes of updating the collective memory. The peculiarity of this phenomenon lies in the presence of any activities (practices) as tools for the constant maintenance of cultural memory in an up-to-date state and "reminders" of the cultivated meanings of the collective (traditions, events, artifacts, etc.).

In turn, urban commemoration allows for maintaining the symbolic connection of the modern city with episodes of the urban past, when the meanings of the city acquire a certain value for the townspeople. The significance of the process of urban commemoration lies in the fact that commemorative practices set a "frame of memory", updating certain fragments of memorable information about the city, that is, they participate in maintaining the repertoire of the collective's cultural memory.

One of the most pressing problems in this research field is the analysis of sources that produce commemorative discourse that determines what to remember and how to remember. Research on this issue can be focused both within the framework of the policy of collective memory, and in the contexts of problems associated with the formation of local patriotism, urban identity, and so on. At the same time, the research focus can be aimed at studying the leaders of urban commemoration as dominant actors who actively and regularly participate in the selection, interpretation, and representation of what is to be "forgotten" or "remembered" in the public space of the city.

In modern leadership theory, the author covers conceptual aspects (Yang, Chong 2014; Zhang 2017) that allow for identifying and explaining the behavior of various types of leaders. So, in business, an organization or a person who

occupies a dominant position in a given segment, has certain resources to influence the market, and gains authority among competitors and trust from consumers, is usually called a market leader.

Drawing an analogy, it can be noted that the leaders of urban commemoration are characterized by a dominant position in the processes of preserving and updating the cultural memory of the city, have control over symbolic resources of influence on the repertoire of memory, possess a certain authority among other actors of commemoration, as well as occupy a position of trust on the part of city residents. Moreover, the leaders of commemorations can have both a collective character (organizations, institutions, unions, associations), and be individually represented (party leader, head of a region, a well-known writer), while possessing an authoritative opinion for the majority of citizens. This is elaborated as follows:

a) From an institutional point of view, traditionally, the collective leaders of urban commemoration include those special organizations that are created in order to transform individual memories of people into collective memories. This can include various types of activities of archives or museums, libraries or scientific organizations, in which the structuring and representation of fragments of the urban past are concentrated. The memorial information is transmitted, first of all, by educational institutions (in particular, through textbooks on local history, open lectures, etc.). The role of leaders is especially important as "individuals who direct the minds and actions of their followers" (Mirzoyan 2013: 4) in the activities of social institutions that influence the actualization of the latent structures of the city's cultural memory.

b) From an individual position, the leaders of urban commemoration include all those individuals who have a significant impact on the processes of constructing collective memory. As a rule, they include journalists, scientists, politicians, writers and all those who comprehend and interpret the urban past in the creation and dissemination of their own texts that have authority, trust or other means of influencing a mass audience. Thus, individual leaders of commemoration participate in the representation of elements of the city's cultural memory, presenting them in various media (for example, in a scientific article, memorable speech, painting, etc.).

c) The strategic rolenot only in maintaining the cultural memory of the city, but also in determining what and how it should be remembered, is played by those leaders of commemorations who are directly related to politics — municipal authorities, mayors of cities, etc. The formation of vectors of remembrance, and, in fact, the selection of images of the past cultivated by the city, depends on their activity. Having an administrative resource, the municipality, for example, decides on the city's holidays and festivals. In this

regard, the political leaders of commemorations have the greatest ability to manage this commemoration memory.

d) However, the commemoration leaders can also be informal elements that influence the accumulation of the city's cultural memory. This includes the townspeople themselves, since they "are an active subject of the development of the urban environment" (Dunaeva 2021: 146) and through active discursive practices, influence the cultural memory of the city. In this case, this means the active participation of citizens through associations, unions, and other various civic associations that participate in the interpretation of the city's past and the transmission of significant episodes of the city's cultural memory to the younger generation (for example, by participating in the city's public council to resolve issues of toponymy or in an citizens'association on the preservation of cultural monuments of the city).

e) From the standpoint of the increasingly popular performative practices of commemoration (commemoration by action), leaders can be directors, screenwriters, actors, and an active audience, included in the process of reproducing a memorable event based on a certain scenario. Initially, as performative practices of commemoration, people used the rituals of transmitting memorable information, which made it possible to transmit collective memory, experiencing the sacred meaning of the event in action. Nowadays, these include, as an example, the Immortal Regiment action, the Street Art festival, or the festival of folk crafts, when a joint "playing around" with a fragment of memory and experiencing cultural meaning take place. In performative practices, the collective leader is the composition of the main participants in the action (those who perform the action) and its active participants, but not observers.

f) Since the middle of the last century, the undisputed leaders of commemorations are the mass media, and, primarily, the media, which have a dominant influence on the actualization of cultural meanings. The media are not just an intermediary in the transmission of memorable information; their role is much more important. In the media sphere, there is a generation of cultural meanings, including the section of the city, as well as interpretation and value judgments about the city's past, which are firmly entrenched in the collective memory. As the author notes, "the representation of the past in the media is an important factor in determining which episodes of memory will be considered relevant" (Zierold 2008: 399–408). Urban commemoration in a media format can be viewed as a communicative process; as a result, the repertoire of fragments and images of the collective past cultivated by the city is maintained. Media is a key leader in the processes of urban commemoration, since it massively connects the person and the city, the past and the present, and the individual and collective representations.

The digital era: the peculiarities of communication processes

The current stage of the development of society is characterized by the intensive development of digital devices, services, technologies, and the dynamic introduction of innovations in information processing and in its transmission.

The consequence of this has been a large-scale digitalization of reality that has caused not only an increase in the comfort of everyday life or led to the automation of numerous processes, but also significantly influenced all aspects of human development from the economy and factors of economic development to breakthrough scientific discoveries. In this regard, the digitalization of reality has influenced many social and cultural processes, causing changes in the principles and conditions for the transfer of collective experience.

Socio-cultural implications of the digital age

The digital transformation of social reality and of numerous communication processes has not gone unnoticed by scientists. Now, digital media are becoming a vital part of people's social experience and defining aspects of their daily lives (Leyva, Beckett 2020). Of particular concern to researchers is the fact that the trends in the development of digital culture have also led to the emergence of both social and cultural risks, including fragmentation of society, increased individualization, as well as global changes in the everyday life of today's youth (Kravchenko 2019: 50).

Digital media, which often replace direct communication between people, inevitably affect the definition of the boundaries of identity, causing "the fusion of the digital and real "I" into a single digital public identity" (Lisenkova 2020: 65).

Most of the incentives, attitudes, and stereotypes that affect the values and norms of modern and, above all, young people, come from the digital environment in which a person who has access to the Internet is immersed everywhere. Now the Internet space is not only a source of searching for the necessary information, but a place for the implementation of many social communications, including cognitive, game, and entertainment. One of the consequences of the structuring of the digital age is the fact that a new way of consuming media texts is emerging in society, and it directly affects the processes of modern socialization (Dunas, Vartanov 2020: 186-203), closely related to the representation of their visible images in the digital environment. (Lukianova 2021) as a virtual world where ubiquitous visibility absorbs some aspects of personal space (Nazarov 2018).

In this regard, one of the markers of the consequences of the digital age was the emergence of a new type of person, the "digital human", who uses

electronic devices daily for a wide variety of types of communications, including for interacting with people and transferring social experience. Modern individuals spend a considerable amount of time in virtual space, and the digital content that they consume is uncontrollableas it is formed by a variety of actors.

It should be noted that the socio-cultural consequences of the onset of the digital era are associated with the dominance of digital communications in people's daily lives. For example, to replace the artifacts familiar to us that we used to observed in museums, now a virtual artifact is used, which is available on web pages on the Internet. Instead of a regular signature, an electronic signature is often used, and instead of a photograph on paper, now, as a rule, a photograph is used, placed virtually on web resources and portals or in the "cloud".

The society of the digital age can rightly be termed a digital society. It is multi-communicative with the possibility of endless, prompt, and personalized exchange of a wide variety of texts.

Furthermore in this digital society, new types of communications, values, norms, and new ways of transferring collective experience are emerging that significantly change various social and cultural processes.It is no coincidence that scientists note, in this regard, that the study of digital communications has now "turned into the study of digital differences and the role of digital media in compensating for physical, mental and social addictions" (Givskov, Deuze 2018: 400).

Peculiarities of the transfer of collective memory in the digital age

The consequences of the development of the digital society, which has changed various forms of communications, have also significantly influenced the processes of updating and broadcasting the cultural memory of the city. Not only have the bearers of memorable information changed, but also the processes of constructing cultural meanings, as well as the features of the representation of fragments of the collective past in the urban environment and everyday experience of citizens.

In addition, the communicative trajectories of memory transmission, bearers of cultural memory, as well as leaders who interpret the urban past and form a value attitude towards the past have changed, which directly affects how we perceive facts in the present.

In modern society, cultural meanings become part of the processes of remembering, expressed through a digital code as part of a bearer of memorable information, which becomes an active participant in the transformation of traditional ways of depicting the urban past. Nowadays, the memory of the city lives in digital content as an endless collage woven from different fragments of

the city's past "remembered" on web pages of the Internet. Therefore, one of the most important problems within the framework of this work is the fragmentation of knowledge about who is the leader of commemoration in the digital era and how the transfer and actualization of this memory takes place in this day and age.

It should be noted that the digital transformation of the social and cultural reality in which the modern individual is immersed has affected how urban experience is consolidated and fixed, as well as how significant episodes of the city are transmitted from generation to generation.Therefore, the processes of commemoration should be considered by scientists based on the awareness of the importance of the aspect of the development of digital communications and, accordingly, the virtual environment in which the episodes of the urban past are kept up to date.

The total digitalization of the modern life with the introduction of information technologies into social communication could not but affect the processes of generating, updating, and transferring the cultural memory of the city. In particular, in digital communications, the translation of cultural meanings that carry memorable information takes place, and soft mediators of the city's cultural memory have acquired special significance. Consequently, cultural memory has acquired greater dynamism and the possibility of its construction. Changes have also taken place in the processes of transferring the cultural memory of the city in hard media, since architectural compositions or monuments that store tangible and visible images of the city's past may become part of an Internet resource or an electronic message.

Digital leaders in urban communication

It's very important to note that these changes do not cancel and replace the significance of traditional commemorative practices. Cities often become festival centers, films are made about the city's bright memory pages and citizens, as before, bring flowers to the memory places on a landmark day for them. However, this research is designed to focus on new trends that have significant impact on the remembering process and on new urban past images generating and updating conditions, which require timely scientific understanding.

As highlighted earlier, commemoration leaders participate in the processes of updating the cultural memory of the city through trust, authority, and power, contributing to the transformation of memories from individual to collective. Since cultural memory is maintained artificially, this requires institutions and actors who interpret and encode cultural meanings. The reproduction of potential or latent layers of memory supporting the relevant layers of cultural memory is carried out by commemoration leaders. Thanks to their leadership

position, they participate in managing the process of interpreting the urban past, influencing the content and selection of those episodes of memory that are subject to collective "recollection".

However, the structure of commemoration leaders, including the urban context, has changed markedly in recent decades due to the growing importance of digital communication in the transfer of social experience and collective memory. The digital era has uncovered new aspects of the functioning of the city's cultural memory, including the processes of its accumulation and actualization in the urban environment.

The commemoration leaders in the digital age can refer to all those who produce digital content that affects the actualization of this type of collective memory. In particular, this includes:

a) digital media, as a modern type of media industry, carrying out mass communication in the virtual space and broadcasting images of the urban past;

b) official web portals, sites of cities and city organizations, which concentrate memorable information of an official natureabout the city;

c) authors of scientific and educational content presented in a digital environment, revealing various aspects of the urban past, interpreting, and generating collective memory, including "alternative" versions, as well as (or) referring to the microhistory of the city;

d) individual commemoration leaders — active creators and users of the Internet space who create and distribute formats characteristic of the digital age with individual reviews and stories about cities and their cultural heritage, including bloggers, "tiktokers", and instagrammers.

e) virtual games and services that are created on the basis of modern digital technologies, allowing to perceive and comprehend the images of the city using additional aspects of reality.

Digital media and urban commemoration

As already stated, media is now the leading leader of commemoration. The digital age is characterized by digital media, which has gained particular popularity in recent decades. These usually include a wide range of modern mass media, which includes not only social networks (for example, Facebook), but also podcasts and services for publishing and sharing video materials (YouTube in particular), as well as blogs and microblogs and much more.

The main feature of digital media is the placement and transmission of messages for the mass of people within the framework of digital communications, which presuppose the presence of the Internet, as well as services and applications that open up opportunities for these processes. Digital media has features that significantly change the entire commemoration process.

First of all, digital media are interactive and have multimedia quality. Multimedia messages are transmitted and updated very quickly. Accordingly, the dynamism of reality and require constant support of cultural memory; a continuous process of "remembering" the authenticity of urban experience. Digital media messages are concise and accessible to a large number of Internet users. The places of concentration of the city's cultural memory are short texts created with the help of a digital code (a tourist's comment on Instagram after they visited a city or a blogger's note about the opening of a city monument).

In addition, digital media suits the use of electronic gadgets, and these media allow for the processing of the information transmitted by an individual. The electronic nature of such devices facilitates continuous and instantaneous interaction with many people. Digital devices enable the visualization of texts and their audio accompaniment, which enhances the effect of information impact. Finally, they are often personalized according to user requests, which implies automatic selection of the information emanating from the gadget's screen, including memorable information that conveys symbolic information about the city.

It should be noted that digital media operate in a different logic of media presentation and selection. The media initially distributed texts that were created at a professional level. Journalists worked on newspaper articles and television spots setting a high standard for the quality of public content. Nowadays, digital media function by virtue of people who are active on the Internet, and it is they (for example, bloggers) who today, have become sources of various media, as well as interpreters and experts in evaluating other messages. As a result, the consumersand producersof media content are often combined in the person of one Internet user.

Before the onset of the digital era, the transfer of collective memory was conducted through the long-term creation of special objects (arches, temples, texts), which became artificial bearers of cultural meanings, carrying the collective memory — objectified traces of culture. For centuries, the collective cultural code, accumulated in the form of heroes, myths, ornaments, music, poetry, attire styles, and culinary traditions, which, in fact, was a living tissue of cultural memory present in the people's daily life. Today, in the digital age, these cultural meanings are placed on digital platforms and have become content for services (applications, websites), and their repertoire and value are dependent on digital commemoration leaders.

In particular, studies of the semiotics of urban spaces on Instagram allow us to conclude that social networks form a kind of symbiosis of meanings, which is assigned to the city. Thus, social networks influence the generation of cultural

meanings, with the help of which the city is understood and remembered in society. As experts note, "the development of an urban space by an inhabitant, recorded as visual facts in a social network, forms a social construct of a public place, which through network media becomes a unified image: an image of an "elevated" "place of memory" (Basina, Malyar 2018: 200).

Digital bearers of the cultural memory of the city

Nowadays the cultural memory of the city is preserved and enriched due to digital technologies for generating and transmitting memorable information. Thus, facts about the peculiarities of the life of famous personalities of the city or about the installation of a commemorative sculpture in an urban environment, in addition to traditional bearers of collective memory, are now concentrated in digital formats.

Not only digital media are included as digital carriers of the city's cultural memory, but also a wide variety of digital platforms and virtual spaces that participate in the representation of fragments of the city's past. In particular, these are social networks, Internet portals, web resources, official sites, virtual games, etc. If one wants to learn about the history of the city, its great personalities, traditions or holidays, one just needs to open a digital device and enter the correct request as all this information has been preserved in a digital format.

Cultural meanings that carry symbolic information about on the city's past episodes have been placed in digital media. The peculiarities of digital media involving the preservation of a city's cultural memory include not only those related to digital media (brevity, efficiency of information exchange, multimedia), but also the dominance of the visual code in the presentation and dissemination of memorable information. This is no coincidence. The digital age as such is characterized by the growth of visual messages, and digital devices are specifically designed to convey concise visual information on the screen, accompanied by short messages.

An equally important feature of digital media is the fact that the digital format is dominated by reduced information about the city, which, due to short texts with visual representation on the screen, has an accessible effect on figurative thinking which affects the transmission of cultural meanings. Of course, this does not exclude the presence of traditional means of transmitting memorable information (literature, cinema, painting), including on digital media web pages; however, the popularity of the principles of creating and disseminating other kinds of messages characteristic of the digital era is overwhelming.

Modern researchers who have analyzed two different digital sources as ways of accumulating traces of the memory of one of the Brazilian cities, noted that

it is the official portal of the municipality that today is becoming a key synthesizing platform connecting "memory, information and cultural heritage" (Daminet et al. 2018: 388).

The visual codes of the city's cultural memory convey vivid and memorable images that are emotionally fixed in the collective's memory. The on-screen representation of the city, formed in digital communications, is always marked with a certain style - the foreshortening of the streets, the colors of buildings, the images of people. Watching a video clip about the cultural heritage of the city on an Internet portal, people unconsciously remember the city just like that, and thanks to the massiveness of digital media, these images acquire a collective character.

Digital leaders of commemorative content

Today's commemoration leaders are not just teachers, writers, or politicians. Producers of digital content in digital media have a powerful influencing effect (usually not targeted) on the process of generating cultural meanings of a city containing images of the past.

The dominant way of presenting commemorative content via the Internet and digital media is the photo and video format, which allows for the representation of any figurative information about the city through new ways of working with content that synthesize sound, picture, and frame movement. Most of this kind of multimedia texts are created by amateurs and, hence, lack the professional touch.

Today, commemoration leaders are those who produce digital content on the Internet, namely bloggers, active users of social networks, and content creators in video formats (for example, on TikTok). A video review of historical sights and architectural compositions of the city, created by an ordinary traveler who posts his/her YouTube video, can act as commemorative content, decorated with a digital code. A photoreport by a blogger who writes about the authentic atmosphere and identity of his city also falls into this category.

The cultural memory of the city today is concentrated in a mosaic of reviews, publications, videos, and posts by modern commemoration leaders who, through digital media, transform personal information into collective information. According to researchers, "the ways of presentation and transmission in the oral, written and electronic environment of culture have changed the form and context" (Çetinkaya 2020: 139). In particular, studies of the peculiarities of structuring city memory with the help of bloggers, using the example of Turkish Travel Blogs, which have become a "new space for cultural memory," (Çetinkaya 2020: 139) have shown that virtual travelers significantly affect the representation of the urban image.

Digital technologies for the representation of the city's past

The digital age is characterized by regular technical updates and technological innovations that set the dynamics for digital communications. The value of innovations determines their constant growth, and innovative technologies and the improvement of digital devices contribute to the constant introduction of new ideas, including science-intensive ones, which change the processes of preserving the cultural memory of the city through digital representations of the collective past associated with the city.

In this regard, one of the leaders in commemoration is the new practice of representing the city as a result of the development of digital technologies. In particular, this refers to virtual reality (VR) and augmented reality (AR) as digital technologies that allow the user of digital content to experience new aspects of reality.

Commemorative VR practices are associated with an artificial digital reality, in which images of the urban past are presented through the use of various devices (headphones, helmets, etc.). In AR, urban commemoration is carried out with the help of additions in the process of a person's perception of information coming from outside as a consequence of the application of new sensory conditions for cognizing reality (sound, picture, etc.). The most striking examples of how cultural memory is actualized using VR and AR are computer games, where ancient urban plots, images, heroes, and myths often come to life. In addition, the city's commemorative practices based on digital VR and AR technologies are present in interactive books about the city, in virtual tours of city museums, and in virtual reconstructions of historical events in the city.

Studies of AR as a means of widespread use of creative processing of literary texts within the urban space confirm the hypothesis of their significant potential in strengthening the cultural memory of the city (Moira, Makris 2018: 153). In this regard, scientists postulate that AR applications allow for new expressions of some aspects of cultural memory (Moira, Makris 2018: 153), primarily in its spatial expression.

Indeed, modern digital technologies that make it possible to recreate the spaces and images of cities open up new ways of fixing this type of memory and its transmission, as well as the ways of generating the cultural meanings of the city. Thus, commemorative practices of a city with VR and AR effects deepen its "imagination", and strengthen identification codes, which are directly related to the stability of the processes of transferring the city's cultural memory in relation to the modern generation.

Peculiarities of the digital representation of the city

In the digital age, a city's cultural memory lives on in digital form, and commemoration leaders are inherently linked to digital communications.

The virtual nature of the digital representation of the city evokes new qualities of the commemoration process, which are important to focus onas it necessitates consideration of the development trends of the processes of managing this process.

First, the cultural memory of the city, previously stored in special institutions and ritually transmitted from generation to generation through monuments, education systems, enlightenment, etc., is now simultaneously generated and broadcast in the digital space by ordinary users on web platforms. The commemoration leaders these days are active creators and users of digital content, who spontaneously or purposefully participate in the structuring and accumulation of the cultural memory of the city. They create texts that can then be replicated many times, multiplied, and influenced by the representation of the city in digital communication channels. This is an important consideration as the structures of collective memory can now change depending on how effectively and colorfully the city is represented digitally (in a social network or in a virtual game) or how popular certain unique episodes of the urban past (images of the city of war, cities of the Middle Ages, Soviet cities, etc.) are. This situation gives rise to a fundamentally new technology for generating and transmitting cultural memory in general and the city in particular, which is closely related to the sociocultural consequences of the above-mentioned digital era.

Secondly, if we consider the mechanism of codification and labeling of urban reality inherent in postmodern studies, then the digital representation of the city is directly related to the artificial creation of ideas about the urban past, causing the illusory and blurring of cultural memory. Digital technologies, devices, and services make it possible to create and distribute the visual images of the city, as a rule, based on effective positions. For example, a city in digital content is a city in the sun or a bird's eye view. Digital representation endows the city with a new reality — augmented, improved, and therefore leaves new ones in the collective memory — digital traces, sometimes completely opposite to each other.

Therefore, Olick's (2012) assertion that the functions of memory bearers are not limited only to the transmission of information is relevant, since "mediums of memory are not secondary, they define the message" as a means of communication (p. 53). Digital bearers of collective memory have a kind of code that is able to impart new properties to the transmitted meanings through the peculiarity of the digital representation of the city, and therefore, symbolically influence the process of which fragments of the city's memory will be cultivated and remembered in modern society.

Thirdly, digital commemoration leadersconstantly create, replicate, comment, and edit texts containing memorable information about the city. However, digital bearers of cultural memory are fundamentally different from traditional ones.

In particular, on social media, "content can be transferred between users without significant third-party filtering, fact-checking, and editorial judgment" (Allcott, Gentzkow 2017: 213). Texts in digital media are very often produced by an ordinary person instead of a professional writer or journalist, which affects quality of these texts, including, the fact that no one actually edits these texts for content accuracy. Consequently, "a chaotic stream of video and audio information replaces systematized knowledge that is difficult to access and requires conscious effort" (Andreev, Nazarova 2018: 91). At the same time, dynamic and short texts, which are usually accompanied with visual content, are processed by Internet users, who, among other things, also use fragments of the urban past. This process is uncontrollable as anyone who wants to can leave their mark on the Internet in the interpretation of the urban past.

Texts containing images of the urban past published in social networks or blogs, as a rule, are created at the philistine level, they are available to a large number of people;these texts quickly appear and are quickly shared, and are not checked for the veracity of the information.That is why in modern research, experts pay attention to the problem of the security of information circulation on the Internet as one of those topical issues that should be considered in the context of the consequences that the digital era brings with it (Astakhova 2020: 56–64). It is not uncommon today to disseminate unreliable, "fake" information as a declaration of a different position regarding any event in "electronic, digital communications", which can influence the opinion of a large number of people (Shushpanova 2018: 94). Digital content creators, guided by the self-centered goal of increasing attention to themselves to gain 'views" or 'likes", often use a synthesis of real facts with fictional ones, which negatively affects the processes of preserving collective memory.

Therefore, one of the urgent issues that need to be considered when studying the cultural memory of a city is that the digital environment causes the erosion of fragments of collective memory that were previously carefully stored in hard media. Such a situation can cause the transition of a number of episodes of cultural memory to the latent level, along with the substitution of new cultural meanings that interpret the images of the urban past in a different way. Realizing the importance of this problem, scientists record that in social networks "performances must be regulated, otherwise cyberspace can be used against ... preserving national security" (Watney 2018: 345), undermining sustainable knowledge about collectives, values, society, and cities.

Conclusion

It should be noted that in the digital era, broadcasting episodes of the cultural memory of the city are changing dramatically. It is especially important

to note the growth in the number of communication channels and formats that interpret and convey the collective meanings of the city that store its memory, thereby structuring the cultural memory of the city. Finally, it should be noted that now, the key media in which the city's memory lives and is transmitted are no longer limited to books, photographs or monuments. The collective memory of communities in our era is supported by digital communications that set the vectors of memory and select the significant meanings of the city.

Digital bearers of the city's cultural memory, due to interactivity, visualization, and new information technologies and formats, are becoming the most important mediators in the accumulationand interpretation of cultural meanings of the city. This structuring of commemorative information about the city involves the participation of new commemoration leaders who realize their leadership position in the digital environment. In addition to traditional commemoration leaders, such leaders today include active creators and consumers of digital content, who purposefully or spontaneously construct structures of collective memory. Such knowledge can be used both in fundamental research of various forms of collective memory, and also in applied research, that allows one to design the cultural memory of the city, managing the urban past and its interpretations.

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ЛИДЕРЫ КОММЕМОРАЦИИ: КУЛЬТУРНАЯ ПАМЯТЬ ГОРОДА В ЭПОХУ ЦИФРОВЫХ ТЕХНОЛОГИЙ[1]

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Аннотация. Городская память является важнейшим фактором, определяющим социальную реальность, влияющим на процессы формирования городской идентичности и образов современных городов. Статья посвящена анализу лидеров

коммеморации, которые приобрели особый характер в эпоху цифровых технологий, обусловливая новые аспекты в процессах генерирования и передачи культурной памяти города. Показано, как структуры коллективной памяти в настоящее время воспроизводятся в цифровых коммуникациях и как те, кто создает цифровой контент в интернете (блогеры, активные пользователи социальных сетей, создатели контента в сервисах видеосообщений), становятся лидерами сохранения и трансляции коллективной памяти. Современные лидеры городской коммеморации осуществляют поддержание соответствующих слоев памяти, влияя на содержание и выбор тех эпизодов памяти, которые следует запомнить. Они создают новую, мягкую мозаику памяти, сотканную из обзоров, публикаций, видео, постов в цифровых медиа, которые преобразуют личную информацию в коллективную. Современная память о городе живет в цифровом контенте в виде коллажа, сотканного из различных фрагментов прошлого города, «запомнившихся» в Сети, в то время как памятные практики города с эффектами виртуальной/дополненной реальности углубляют его «воображение» и укрепляют идентификационные коды. Автор раскрывает особенности цифровой репрезентации города, которые усложняют процессы сохранения памяти и сопровождаются забвением культурной памяти города, что следует учитывать при исследовании коллективной памяти и разработке стратегий управления ею.

Ключевые слова: память, город, коллективная память, культурная память города, цифровые коммуникации.