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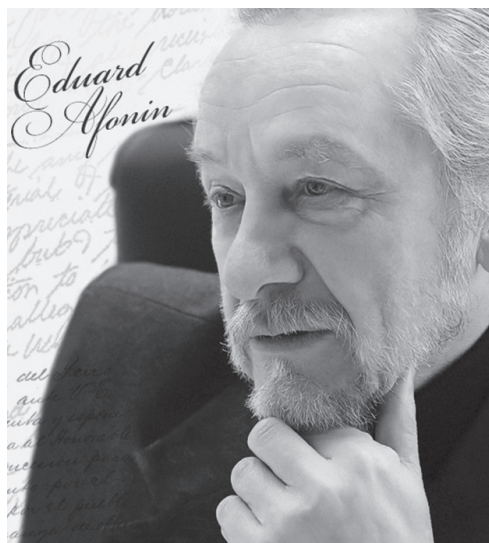
NEOTRIBALISM AND MODERN POLICY OF DECENTRALIZATION: ANALYSIS OF PROFESSOR MICHEL MAFFESOLI'S IDEAS

Abstracts. The article analyzes the ideas of the French sociologist, professor of the University of Paris V — Sorbonne Michel Muffesoli, presented by him on May 29, 2017 in a lecture for managers, read at the National Academy for Public Administration under the President of Ukraine within the framework of the annual events of the Ukrainian School of Archetypes. The phenomenon of neo-liberalism inherent in post-modern society and its connection with the modern decentralization policy are revealed. It is established that in the work of M. Muffesoli the central place is devoted to the sociology of everyday life and the logic of microanalysis. The subject of the author's observations was the socio-cultural processes of the present, which indicate the possibility of further development of political, economic and social realities.

Keywords: archetype, decentralization, myth, neotribalism, postmodern, society, transformation.

НЕОТРАЙБАЛІЗМ І СУЧАСНА ПОЛІТИКА ДЕЦЕНТРАЛІЗАЦІЇ: АНАЛІЗ ІДЕЙ ПРОФЕСОРА СОРБОННИ МІШЕЛЯ МАФФЕСОЛІ

Анотація. Проаналізовано ідеї французького соціолога, професора університету Париж V — Сорбонна Мішеля Маффесолі, викладені ним 29 травня 2017 р. в лекції для управлінців, прочитаній в НАДУ при Президентові України в межах щорічних заходів Української школи архетипіки. Розкрито притаманний постмодерному суспільству феномен неотрайбалізму і його зв'язок із сучасною політикою децентралізації. З'ясовано, що у творчому доробку М. Маффесолі центральне місце відведене соціології повсякденності та логіці мікроаналізу. Предметом спостережень автора стали соціокультурні процеси сучасності, які вказують на можливості подальшого розвитку політичних, економічних та соціальних реалій.

Ключові слова: архетип, децентралізація, міф, неотрайбалізм, постмодерн, суспільство, трансформація.

НЕОТРАЙБАЛИЗМ И СОВРЕМЕННАЯ ПОЛИТИКА ДЕЦЕНТРАЛИЗАЦИИ: АНАЛИЗ ИДЕЙ ПРОФЕССОРА СОРБОННЫ МИШЕЛЯ МАФФЕСОЛИ

Аннотация. Проанализированы идеи французского социолога, профессора университета Парижа V — Сорбонна Мишеля Маффесоли, изложенные им 29 мая 2017 г. в лекции для управленцев, прочитанной в НАГУ при Президенте Украины в рамках ежегодных мероприятий Украинской школы архетипики. Раскрыт присущий постмодерному обществу феномен неотрайбализма и его связь с современной политикой децентрализации. Установлено, что в творчестве М. Маффесоли центральное место отведено со-

циологии повседневности и логике микроанализа. Предметом наблюдений автора стали социокультурные процессы современности, которые указывают на возможности дальнейшего развития политических, экономических и социальных реалий.

Ключевые слова: архетип, децентрализация, миф, неотрайбализм, постмодерн, общество, трансформация.

Introduction. On the border of the last two centuries, the second wave of the transformation processes was spread to the world, that repeats the social transformations in the Euro-Atlantic area countries during the "great depression" of 1930–1940s. These processes are changing radically all the spheres of social life in general, affecting the quality of society and asserting new social relations, different from those that were typical to the countries in the era of modernism, which lasted in Europe from the French Revolution (1789–1794), and in the post-soviet area from the October Revolution (1917). According to the postmodernists, the new socio-historical era is accompanied by the phenomenon of neotribalism, in which the decentralization policy appears.

The existence of independent Ukraine in the conditions of the complex processes of reforms and modernization makes possible to observe the dynamic changes in the relations between the society and individual, as well as the people's attitude to the new social phenomena.

Analysis of the recent publications. Many contemporary scientists are interested in problems of neotribalism, among them the works of Sigmund Baumann, Michel Muffesoli, Maximilian Shepelev.

The aim of the article is to analyze neo-tribal tendencies in the contemporary world, to evaluate their importance for the decentralization policy as a model and project of postmodern society.

Main material. Social changes taking place in the modern world lead to the emergence of completely new social realities where immemorial traditional foundations and forms of consciousness collapse. The phenomena of global mass culture penetrate all areas of our life. Uniformity (homogeneity), unification of masses and mass consciousness are replaced by non-uniformity (heterogeneity), functionality and individual uniqueness, and all this affects the general state of culture, education, general moral and psychological climate in Ukraine as well.

M. Maffesoli accepted the challenge of postmodern paradigm and made its own contribution to creating a new image of the modern social reality. He tries to clarify the omissions that make postmodern philosophy alien to perception, and fills its separate theses with specific sociological content in the process of constant polemic with the most influential sociological paradigms.

M. Maffesoli refers to postmodernism processes, in the broad sense, as to the realities that replaced the socio-historical modern era of the 17–19th

centuries and great narratives inherent in it. When the main values were high and grand values, rational and consistent, large social institutions designed for the future that tried to control the social life of the modern era. Starting from 1950–1960s there has been an over-saturation with great narratives, a rethinking of high values, and their replacement by today's value ideals which emphasize deep emotionality and experience of the present moment, as opposed to the rationalism of the future far-reaching long-range goal [1].

Traditional positivist sociology burdened with objectivist, rationalist, and econocentric goals has been the main opponent for M. Maffesoli. He sees his goal in the formation of another version of an understanding sociology capable of describing the object of research "from within" [2].

In his studies, M. Maffesoli pays a particular attention to neotribalism as a phenomenon of the modern times. At one time, Z. Bauman said about the origins of the phenomenon of neotribalism, i. e. a common name usually used in science for manifestations of the so-called "new tribal consciousness", one of the two main forces opposing to the New World Order. Against the background of globalization, neotribal associations (or "tribes") unite among themselves with certain sensory experiences and cultivate such personality traits as loyalty to the clan, personal dignity, nationalistic and religious feelings, etc. [3, p. 37].

Of course, the expansion of the global space boundaries entails global consequences. M. Shepeliev argues that globalization leads to the formation of planetary consciousness as integrity

in action, which defines the norms and principles of the humankind's world activity and constitutes a realization of social existence as planetary existence. However, it is in the global environment that local social movements, associations and communities actively develop [4, p. 512], which a Scotsman Roland Robertson called "glocalization" [5].

He sees problems of an adequate combination and harmonization of the local and the global in the legal environment as the focus of special attention for the scientific community of future generations. The subject matter of legal globalistics at the local level is of a debatable nature and at the present stage (especially in Ukraine) is not fully formed and peremptory. Global problems of the present time in the local environment raise more questions than the answers that can be found today, but the potential of the knowledge gained for thousands of years, future advances of the latest technologies that are unknown to us, give us the opportunity to transform present-day science to meet today's challenges [6].

One of the important capacities of legal globalistics, as an interdisciplinary system of knowledge, is modelling of possible ways of the development of the state and law in the modern world. Specificity of the modelling is an activity of a high degree of complexity and truly global scale, as the result of building a possible model of the state and law development should take into account a large number of heterogeneous factors: natural, technical, economic, social, cultural, and legal. The results of such analysis should be formulated not only theoretically but practically,

which will allow to give a substantiated scientific picture of the current state of society and its regulatory system, to find out possible alternatives to the interaction of the "glocal" or locally-global paradigm, to evaluate it from the perspective of legal standards and moral values of the humankind [7, p. 76].

The notion of "neotribalism" is related to the notion of "archetype". In the history of philosophy, the notion of archetype is regarded as a prototype of "eternal ideas, eidoses" (according to Plato and his followers) and the collective unconscious (according to Carl Gustav Jung).

The study of archetypes is an indispensable condition for deep comprehension of national cultures, their essence and characteristic features. The specificity of mentality is attributable to the characteristic features of the historical experience of the nation and its spiritual life, which is manifested in the stereotypes of its behaviour and thinking, collective ideas and archetypes of culture. Mentality is cultivated not only through attitudes and habits, but also through the culture of emotional life [8, p. 15].

Archetypes are deep semantic ties that form primordial fundamentals of the humankind's culture in general, but also exist for certain historical local cultures that together constitute world history and global and local social reality. It is a certain substance that does not need anything for its existence, except itself [8, p. 16].

It can be argued that there is no society without archetypes, but there are also no archetypes without society. Archetypes function at the level of the individual unconscious, collective unconscious and locally-civilizational unconscious. The archetype does not distinguish one nation from the other at the level of structures of the collective unconscious, which often performs latent functions, in particular through the mechanisms of emotional intoxication. Influence on real essences is replaced by manipulations with words and notions. However, societies perish as a result of communicative chaos when there is no true language of mutual understanding [8, p. 16].

Understanding each archetype depends on the complex hierarchy of cultural codes as a system of symbols for storing, processing and communicating information about a particular culture, the actions of people, social groups and social institutions, norms and values. Our ancestors not only jointly procured food and ate, but also formed common collective ideas. Collective reflection requires collective memory as a repository of knowledge, ideas, images and meanings. Each historical era creates its own type of a hero, guided not only by a certain ideology, but also by mentality. Identity is a psychosomatic state that exists not only on the basis of the knowledge of oneself, but also on a sense of confidence, respect for oneself. Anyone who has lost self-respect is aggressive towards others. A person who is sincerely proud of his/her culture is not afraid of the unfamiliar. The description of archetypes coexists between poetic metaphoricity and grammatical precision of the social science, between natural, social and objective worlds [8, p. 16].

We are now living in an era when postmodern society tries to manage not big conscious ideas, but unconscious

present-day desires of small collective groups, archetypes of tribes or neotribes, regardless of how scientists call these social phenomena.

M. Maffesoli tries to study the mechanisms of the formation, organization and management of the communication process between these groups so that the knowledge that has the right to life naturally appeared from it.

The approach used by M. Maffesoli to analyse decentralization policy is based on the sociology of everyday life acting in the logic of microanalysis. The subject matter of his observations are phenomena of the postmodern society, which manifest themselves in the influence of technological culture novelties, i.e. mobile phone, computer, Internet, on everyday life, and "aesthetization of everyday life" with a focus on the emotional present rather than on a rational future. The hypothesis proposed by the scientist is based on the statement that the ideas of constant progress are replaced by the need to emotionally feel and experience life "here and now", an individualistic paradigm is replaced by the societal paradigm as a necessity to be part of a group "tribe" united by common interests [9].

The scientist notes that at the same time there is a cognitive resonance, since political, economic, information (journalistic) elite and the intellectuals morally remain closely tied to and dependent on the values of modernity, that is, high ideals, the image of "a father" in the great political, economic, scientific family, peremptory authority of a chief, unachievable level of a leader. However, more and more present-day examples of the political top erase the image of greatness and far-sightedness and more and more often keep pace with the modern mass society, sometimes without even realizing it, embodying the image of an ordinary society member, the same as all others, not alien to deeply emotional hedonistic feelings inherent in one or another modern "tribe". Thus, M. Maffesoli specifies that three characteristics are sufficient for a modern tribal phenomenon: living in one territory, common tastes, and returning of the eternal child archetype. What is an eternal child? The culture of ever young person with the concentration of the attention on the body and emotions. Moreover, according to the scientist, we can observe a return to those mythical, legendary heroes, to the times when the social was not limited to the simple, logical, rational and progressive, but vibrated around totems, symbols and heroes that used to remain in the imagination, especially in the imagination of children, but now dominate in the everyday mass popularization of not only cinematography (as in the case of Harry Potter), sports (as in the case of Zinedine Zidane), but also politics (Nicolas Sarkozy), that are more postmodern, emotional and passionate than modern, logical and rational [10].

In addition to the eternal child image, a significant characteristic feature of the modern era is nomadism and tribalism, which are the isolation of certain communities in the social space and related structural changes on this basis. M. Maffesoli predicts a change in the traditional forms of family, school, national state. A nomadic way of life concerns not only social mobility, but is also interpreted by M. Maffesoli in an extremely broad manner encompassing

the areas of ideology, power, occupation. He notes that "the very structure of the nomadic way of life will become widespread, and people will quite naturally change several families, several occupations during their lives", experiment with gender aspects of their identity, lifestyles [11].

M. Maffesoli predicts serious changes in the field of education, since modern educational institutions fail to perform their socializing functions in a sufficient manner. The study of university as a cultural and psychological reality was a special aspect of his research. Universities still base themselves upon ideals of the modernity and do not meet the needs of young people, which is why it is necessary to search for adequate cultural and psychological forms of youth integration into modern society, in its professional life. In addition, for the successful development of the country, it is important that the elite (political, economic, journalistic, intellectuals) listen to the new likings which modern social life of young people is filled with, since it is the youth who shows all modern tendencies of socialization, and it is the youth who will be able to take advantage of the results of today's social changes [12].

In the context of cultural and historical analysis, M. Maffesoli distinguishes two forms of socialization: formation as compulsion and communication as initiation. The second form of socialization is more in line with the spirit of modern times. Here the basis of true education for a personality is its own subjective and life experience, wealth of emotions. We live at the time when new forms of social life are born, the old (family, national, political, educational) being not in line with the spirit of the modern times. Marginal communities perform advance search of new forms emerging in the culture.

According to the ideas of M. Maffesoli, the driving force behind the differentiation of social space and development of communities is glocalization of the culture in general, that is, its local existence in the global space. Communities that emerge in this social space not only serve to search for new forms of sociality, but also function as reserves and centres for the development of the unique, for example, conservation of national customs. The more cities turn into megalopolises, the more differentiated their social life becomes, leading to the phenomenon of "a city within a city" (it can be ghettos, sects, fan groups, societies of history, art, cinema, theatre lovers, etc.). [2].

"The staggering growth of huge capitals (to be more precise, megalopolises), can only contribute to the creation of "cities within a city". The desire to "stick together" is a kind of way to adapt, "to domesticate" the world around us [2].

M. Maffesoli notes that, while being forced out of the area of research reflection in the last centuries, characterized by the cult of rationality, religiosity and fanaticism still remain the real driving force of individual and social actions. A strong religious charge has always been present in all revolutionary manifestations, although later they were qualified as political [13].

Nowadays, it is a fanatical passionate feeling that serves as a source of communities' association in the society at large. The scientist shows that formation of informal communities and

ethnic subcultures is based on common emotional experiences, values, ideals or goals. Dismantling of urban life gives rise to specific groups that unite people having common passion [13].

However, globalization and glocalization in the modern world are interconnected processes. "It is in this regard that we can say that some depersonalization, which is the consequence of the worldwide spread of the unified way of life, and sometimes of the way of thinking, may be neighbours with increased importance of certain values attached to them by certain people. Thus, we are witnessing the increasing influence of the mass media, clothing standardization, universal fast food, and, at the same time, the development of local means of communication (free radio, hundreds of cable television channels), success of certain types of clothing, products or dishes typical for one or another locality" [11].

Diversity ensures stability of not only biological and political systems, but also socio-cultural ones. According to the cultural and analytical approach, culture is an ontologically and gnosiologically complex heterogeneous reality. "... Creation of the social structure consisting of many small groups placed in strict order with respect to each other allows to avoid or at least mitigate strong influence of the authorities. This is an important lesson of polytheism, which, despite being enough studied, awaits further fruitful research" [11].

A modern human can even be aloof from the political and economic life of the country, but remain emotionally involved in the activities of its immediate circle, being rooted in everyday life. Similarly, at the cultural level, the no-

tion of great and universal "morality" common to all humankind disappears; instead comes the concept of "ethics" of a certain community, group, team, which is effective only in this coordinate system, replacing a universal morality of modernism [6].

The methodological error of Marxism and a number of other non-classical paradigms (structuralism, functionalism) was that they considered only macroanalytical processes of social life, losing sight of microsocial life. In the modern epistemology of humanitarian knowledge (mainly postnonclassical), there is a need for microanalytics which manifested itself in attention to the study of everyday life diversity through the variation of research optics of different approaches. "Domination of sociality manifests itself secretly, in the immediate surroundings and minor phenomena that do not come within the attention of macroscopic goals" [11].

Moreover, even political technologies turn out to be effective when appealing not to the global, but to the sovereign, not to abstract values, but to personal meanings.

It should be noted that in the classical type of the social space analysis, culture was interpreted exclusively as high spheres of life, in the non-classical interpretation, the problem of confrontation between the two cultures emerged, i.e. national and official (Mykhailo Bakhtin), elitist and mass (José Ortega y Gasset), while the postnonclassical type of the analysis refers to the idea of a complex intertwining of dynamic structures which includes flows of elite, mass and folk culture.

Everyday life of the postindustrial type of culture is notable for the di-

versity and democratism of the forms of sociality, as well as for the conscious creativity of lifestyles [2].

A new view of things was also associated with decentralization of methodological optics: in the field of culture, it meant that there are no high and low cultures, but rather people create different cultural forms, "there is no bad taste, there are different tastes" [2].

From the standpoint of the cultural and analytical approach, culture is an ontologically and gnosiologically complex multi-level concept. And before using it, its semantic differentiation should be performed.

Thus, the concept of culture can be both a wider concept of social space (culture is generally wider than society) and be included in it (avant-garde culture in the modern society). Moreover, semantic differentiation of the reality of culture implies a more complex idea of the identity of a modern human.

Culture-noosphere (as an opposition to nature) correlates with universal human identity ("cosmopolitan", "citizen of the world", "planetary consciousness").

Cultures-ethnoses are related to the national and ethnic identity.

Cultures-worlds are the contexts for formation of the socio-cultural and civic identity.

Cultures-psychotechnics are responsible for the construction of personal identity and self-identification [14, p. 69].

At the philosophical and general scientific levels of the methodology of science, the cultural and analytical approach unfolds in a three-dimensional space: an ideal of postnonclassical rationality (in science studies), cultural and historical epistemology (in philosophy), anthropological turn (in the methodology of humanitarian knowledge).

Work with cultural and psychological reality of the present-day social space reality requires new methodologies and another scientific language. So, while global mobilization projects worked successfully in the everyday industrial world, then in the postindustrial world, even motivational structures that stand behind the flows of social actions change, and the effectiveness of the society management (if we can talk about management as such in the given case) is determined by giving the society the opportunities for self-organization and individual freedom [9].

Social space is a paradigm of empirical studies that flow one into another, for example, concerning the aspects of the formation of socio-cultural, ethnic, temporal, territorial identity, analysis of reference groups and the attitude of a person to his/her own circle [9].

The undoubted archaization and even "orientalisation", according to the words of M. Maffesoli, of today's society is evidenced by the predominance of tribal, tribalist structure in it, suppression of individualistic inception, sensualization and irrationalization of intra-group relations, which manifest themselves through regular social paroxysms in the various forms of revival of the mythological as a means to maintain societal relation. Oddly enough, these archaic features of the postmodern society coexist with the latest technological advances, such as videotext, cable television, etc. Although the

proposed model contradicts the categorization that is customary for sociology, it nevertheless corresponds to the analysis of the postmodern society carried out by numerous researchers who also find a valuable complex of traits of traditional societies in it [12].

M. Maffesoli brings us back to the tribal-type society. Having originated as the analysis of the everyday life of the modern society, the concept of M. Maffesoli has subsequently outgrown its initial tasks and turned into a comprehensive theory that offers a non-trivial understanding of many controversial problems. [11].

Thus, the inverse interpretation of the everyday life derives from systematic revaluation of the realities of today's society that manifested itself in the conscious transition from the individualistic to the societal paradigm. While the first one was tailored to the standard of the "modern" society, used the concepts of "an individual", "a group" and "a state", the second one covers the "postmodernist" partition of the social life into such categories as "a person", "tribes" and "masses" [12].

While the individualist paradigm described an individual as a carrier of a certain function in a society he/she became a member of due to his/her participation in a certain stable group (party, association, etc.), the societal paradigm takes a tribal-type community consisting of persons as a basis of a society. Unlike an individual, a person does not perform any single determined function. By changing stage outfits, "theatrical masks", playing different roles every day, a person is more able, than an isolated, closed individual, to "step over" the limits of his/her individuality

and to merge with the community he/she belongs to [12].

Initial dissolution of the personality in the team implies transition to the next stages when the personality is included in even more broad and fuzzy conglomerates, the so-called "masses". This process does not pose a problem because of the extreme uncertainty of the boundaries separating the "mass" or nation from the "tribes". Relying on numerous empirical observations of his employees in different cities of the world, M. Maffesoli comes to the conclusion that there is a "constantly-oncoming movement" between them [12].

Although microgroups that are metaphorically called "tribes" are constantly crystallized inside this mass, they also are not notable for being stable, since their constituent parts, persons, can move from one tribe to another.

The image of the postmodern society written by M. Maffesoli very aptly conveys the sense of "the growing fragility of the established religious, political and ideological definitions" which European thinking has been accustomed to so far. At the same time, he gives a wealth of material to foresee the upcoming trends in the development of today's society [13].

M. Maffesoli uses metaphors that refer to the antiquity ("Dionysian", "orgiastic", "tribes", etc.), however, despite the fact that the scientist actively uses allegories from the world treasury of myths, he simultaneously tries to debunk today's myth of continuous progress, considering it to be one of the relics of thinking within the modern paradigm. In this respect, he feels, as

Nietzsche once, like a critic of the "scientific fideism[1]" [9].

He replaces the concept of progress with the idea of ingress, that is, the saturation of the cultural values of this era, as a result of which they are inevitably replaced with a completely different value system. M. Maffesoli draws this idea from Pitirim Sorokin, but does not bring it to the logical conclusions typical for the concept of socio-cultural dynamics of P. Sorokin. It can be assumed that M. Maffesoli essentially adheres to the same fluctuation theory as P. Sorokin, or believes in the "eternal return", like Nietzsche. His image of today's society as if on a new round reproduces characteristics of the obsolete, archaic societies. This applies, first and foremost, to the increasing significance of communities, especially those grouped around such "archaic" values as territory, ecology, regionalism, hedonism, in contrast to societies that were typical for the traditional type of social culture [15].

The undoubted archaization and even "orientalisation", according to the words of M. Maffesoli, of today's society is evidenced by the predominance of the tribal (tribalist) structure in it, suppression of individualistic inception, sensualization and irrationalization of intra-group relations, which manifest themselves through regular social paroxysms in the various forms of violence, orgies, manifestations of power and other, revival of the mythological as a means to maintain societal relation. Oddly enough, these archaic features of the postmodern society coexist with the latest technological advances, such as videotext, cable television and the like. Although the proposed model contradicts the categorization that is customary for sociology, it nevertheless corresponds to the analysis of the postmodern society carried out by numerous researchers who also find a valuable complex of traits of traditional societies in it [15].

Transition to the postmodernity as a transformation of the "social" into "sociality". While the first one corresponds with "society" (Geselschaft in the works of Ferdinand Tönnies), "Prometheus" culture, and social ties are based on the "mechanical solidarity" of Émile Durkheim characterized by instrumentalism, projectivity, rationality and teleologism, the postmodern social order is described in the terms of "community" (Gemeinschaft in the works of F. Tönnies), the values of the "Dionysian" culture and "organic" (or "orgiastic") solidarity with its enchanted reality, illogicality, immorality and communication. The symptom of the commencement of "neotribalism" is "the revival of the interest in everything natural and the feeling that the world is enchanted.

The postmodern "aesthetics" is by no means limited to the area of "fine arts" but encompasses the whole scope of everyday life. The "aesthetic" implies a private strategy: here the world is used by those who seek their own pleasure, and not domination over it [12].

Implosion of the rationally organized modern political body does not mean "the end of the social", but the shaping and development of the postmodern sociality which is structured

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[1] Fideism (French fidéisme, Latin fides — faith), consolidation of the priority of faith over reason, typical for religious world-views.

by the "culture of feelings". Political implosion is not a catastrophe, but rather a "transformation", i. e. "tribes" created as a result of people living together in modern megalopolises. The same way as primitive tribal communities were organically linked to the "mesocosm" of the immediate natural environment and identified themselves through this in the social environment which they shared this natural environment with, modern "tribes" in the "stone jungle" are linked to their urban quarters, streets, gathering places, and thus create a specific community of their members, providing them with identification. Postmodern "self" has nothing in common with the Cartesian "I think" or with an autonomous individual as a party to a social contract. It is a porous I which is in the state of constant trance and, therefore, is inclined to join the feelings that are tried by the people around, which gives it security of "archetypal communities" [12].

Conclusions. The image of the postmodern society written by M. Maffesoli very aptly conveys the sense of the growing fragility of the once established religious, political and ideological definitions which European thinking has been accustomed to so far. At the same time, he gives a wealth of material to foresee the upcoming trends in the development of today's society.

1. The metaphors and allegories that he uses are bringing us back to ancient times ("Dionysian", "orgiastic", "tribes", etc.), allowing us to suggest that, without denying the mobilizing role of the myths in certain historical eras and willingly drawing inspiration from the world's treasury of myths, M. Maffesoli simultaneously tries to overcome the myth of progress, considering it one of the relics of modernist thinking. He replaces the concept of progress with the idea of ingress, when there is saturation of the cultural values of the given era, as a result of which they are inevitably replaced with a completely different value system.

2. The modern era is characterized by the fact that, along with the creation of new forms of social life, the old ones are also reproduced. A lot of opposing trends coexist or are dual. The inverse interpretation of everyday life derives from systematic revaluation of the realities of today's society that manifested itself in the conscious transition from the individualistic to the societal paradigm. While the first one was tailored to the standard of the "modern" society, used the concepts of "an individual", "a group" and "a state", the second one covers the "postmodernist" partition of the social life in such categories as "a person", "tribes" and "masses". While the individualist paradigm described an individual as a carrier of a certain function in a society he/she became a member of due to his/her participation in a certain stable group (party, association, etc.), the societal paradigm takes a tribal-type community consisting of persons as a basis of a society. Unlike an individual, a person does not perform any single determined function. By changing stage outfits, "theatrical masks", playing different roles each day, a person is more able, than an isolated, closed individual, to "step over" the limits of his/her individuality and to merge with the community which he/she belongs to.

3. Initial dissolution of the personality in the team implies transition to

the next stages when the personality is included in even more broad and fuzzy conglomerates, the so-called "masses". This process does not pose a problem because of the extreme uncertainty of the boundaries separating the "mass" or nation from the "tribes". Relying on numerous empirical observations of his employees in different cities of the world, M. Maffesoli comes to the conclusion that there is a "constantly-oncoming movement" between them. Although microgroups that are metaphorically called "tribes" are constantly crystallized inside this mass, they also are not notable for being stable, since their constituent parts, persons, can move from one tribe to another. That is why neotribes, "cities within cities", passionate groups by interests represent simple means for an individual to fulfil his/her aspirations and to protect himself/herself from the demands of other modern tribes.

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