

# ПРОЩАЙ, COVID?

Под редакцией  
Константина Гаазе  
и Вячеслава Данилова



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Respublica Literaria,

2020

## INTRODUCTION ON THE PRODUCTIVITY OF ITCHING

IT'S HARD to say who wins in the three thousand years game "philosophy VS epidemics". Epimenides, according to Diogenes, saved Athens from pestilence. Marcus Aurelius in the midst of the Antonine plague wrote "Treatise to Himself", perhaps one of the main works of the late Stoicism. Thomas Hobbes survived two or even three epidemics, but, was accused of blasphemy, which, according to Parliament, caused the plague and the Great Fire of London in 1666. Because of it he fell victim to the royal ban on philosophizing, and until the end of his life was engaged only in mathematics and translations. Immanuel Kant escaped at least three flu epidemics, practicing celibacy and strict daily routines. Hegel died of cholera. Kierkegaard — from tuberculosis, possibly exacerbated by the flu. Max Weber, possibly from a Spanish flu.

In case of COVID-19 pandemic we can say that philosophy probably wins this one, albeit not with a crushing score. Shakira, sitting on self-isolation, studied Plato and graduated from a four-week course of classical Greek philosophy at the University

of Pennsylvania. Slavoj Žižek on self-isolation wrote so many op-eds on the pandemic that it was enough to manage the book.

For humanitarian knowledge, this pandemic means the same as the 1991 Gulf War meant for the media. That was the first live war that had been televising and happening at once. This is the first pandemic, reflected by philosophers and social theorists live, here and now, in an innumerable accessible form. Columns, articles, op-eds, blog posts — if there is feast during the plague, during this we managed to look at the feast of the spirit.

However, the founders of Moscow Philosophical Circle weren't able to calmly enjoy the accessibility of the fruits of enlightenment and the steady flow of first-class humanitarian texts. Pillars of the English-, French-, German-, Italian-, Hispanic- language humanitarian scenes, did not tear themselves away from desks to produce texts on coronavirus. The Russian language as a tool of thought, having fallen into quarantine, flourished anywhere: in the heated debates of faculties at Zoom, in dialogs on YouTube and fleeting skirmishes on Facebook. But didn't want to lie down on paper. Iconic figures of modern philosophy seemed to us as if asking: what did you write during the quarantine, besides fifty Facebook comments and three posts? Perhaps it was a conscience. Rather, it was the very itch that Socrates describes in Plato's "Philebus".

The book you are holding is the product of this itch. It is unique for several reasons.

First, it gives a panoramic picture of the phenomenon that mankind encountered in the first half of 2020. In terms of the coverage of the plots given to us by the pandemic for observation and evaluation. In terms of the scatter of points of view. And in terms of the focus and sharpness of the advanced estimates and proposed arguments.

Second, it is a multi-party book. If we can call SARS-CoV-2 a thing, then this is its full-fledged democratic parliament. The Russian intellectual space has long been marked by demarcation lines protecting the integrity and hermeticity



of intellectual camps. “Goodbye COVID?” behaves as if these lines do not exist. Left, right, liberal, communist, statist, and anarchist points of view and argumentation systems are presented here on an equal footing. And no, neither the world nor this book collapsed from an unexpected or even provocative neighborhood. On the contrary, they became more voluminous and enlightened.

Thirdly, as it seems to us, this book is a good example of how should work a conscious attitude toward those forms of inequality that have no place in science and academia. We are talking about gender, ranks, and merits, about the age and differences in academic statuses. Absolute equality is still only a mathematical function, but we tried to get to it as close as was possible.

The collection consists of four sections. Choosing names for them we could not resist the temptation to play a game with the nomen of the virus that hit the world — SARS. To emphasize the inconceivable expressiveness of COVID-19, we used words of Esperanto, not live, not dead, not purely artificial, but not a natural language, the justification for the existence of which could confuse anyone, as well as the justification for the existence of a virus that is too perfect, to be a pure offspring of nature.

The Scio (Knowledge) section contains texts examining the problem of collision with COVID-19 through the prism of epistemology and speculative philosophy. A *tonomeco* (Autonomy) section presents this clash in the optics of personal ontological, existential and ethical experience. Reagoj (Reactions) — combines texts that interpret in one way or another the reactive nature of this collision, which mixes and redefines the set of maps, ideas, and situations in which we’ve been caught before the pandemic. Societo (Society) section collects texts devoted to social structures (in a broad sense of the word) that have been manifested, actualized, affected, or destroyed by a pandemic.

The usual words of gratitude to the authors and those who helped the birth of this book are not enough. Our idea to gather the “pandemic” series of texts together under one cover received approval and support from everyone we contacted from the very first attempt. The authors — philosophers, political scientists, sociologists, anthropologists — agreed on very short notice to participate. Foreign colleagues helped with all the difficulties that arise. Expert Institution of Social Researches, Moscow-based think tank, despite the obvious adventurousness of the idea (a book? a philosophical book? in two months? it can’t happen!), provided the necessary funding. Colleagues from the editorial office of the Logos journal and the Gaidar Institute Press, without asking any questions, gave us a comradely shoulder in advance and immediately agreed to be publishers. From the moment of the birth of this crazy idea to the appearance of the book layout, less than a month and a half passed, so it was truly a miracle, by any standards.

“The world will never be the same” — this seems to be the main post-COVID mantra. We do not quite agree with this. There is another world, and it exists regardless of epidemics and crises. This other world is called *respublica literaria*, and you are now holding the artifact from it.

*Moscow Philosophical Circle,  
June 2020*

Scio



patient's position. In a pandemic, this setting suffers from overstretching that produces drastic changes, shifting the equilibrium that has been achieved by emphasizing an individual private observer, eliminating anomalies and generalizing knowledge. The pandemic threatens to overturn this fragile equilibrium, but, at the same time, may sketch a new epistemic assemblage.

*Keywords:* pandemic, epistemic condition, Canguilhem, private patient

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CH-1015 Lausanne, Switzerland; e-mail: [mmaiatsky@gmail.com](mailto:mmaiatsky@gmail.com)

digital native

covid native,

(precautionary principle)

, digital native, covid native,

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BETWEEN PANIC AND HOPE

MICHAIL MAIATSKY. Fellow, Faculté des Lettres;  
Université de Lausanne, CH-1015 Lausanne, Switzerland; e-mail: [mmaiatsky@gmail.com](mailto:mmaiatsky@gmail.com)

The author notices the actual pandemia fits into a continuity of various (petrol, financial, economic) crises. Philosophers, too,

expected The Event (cf. Heidegger’s Ereignis, Deleuze’s Événement) celebrating the unforeseen, the unexpected, non causal. The fear is here mixed with a chiliastic hope for salvation brought by this ultimate event. Both fear and hope are recognizable in the reaction to the current covid crisis. The latter showed, amongst others, that the state is still present and powerful, and is able to stop and modify production process. The state bears its responsibility for managing big crises like this.

*Keywords:* covid crisis, digital native, covid native, precautionary principle

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COVID-19,

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PETER, LENIN, COVID

YOEL REGEV. Associate Professor, Stasis Center  
for Practical Philosophy, European University at St Petersburg,  
Department of Sociology and Philosophy; 6/1A,  
Gagarinskaya St., St Petersburg, 191187, Russia; e-  
mail: [yregev@eu.spb.ru](mailto:yregev@eu.spb.ru)

The paper deals with a special kind of temporality, that  
of “past-non-determined”. Contrary to the common-sense  
position, based on the metaphysics of presence, this temporality  
is provided here an ontological, and not only subjective, status.  
While being characterizing each beginning disease, it is  
especially important for understanding of the current situation  
of COVID-19 — a new disease spreading all over the world.  
This situation is further determined as proclaiming the arrival  
of a new kind of modernity, which is based on algorithms  
of cutting the temporal rows and changing the past.

*Keywords:* ontology, temporality, TJ-ing, touching typology  
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COVID-19

Forest St., Babson Park, MA 02457, ; e-mail: [jmohaghegh@babson.edu](mailto:jmohaghegh@babson.edu) , 231

: COVID-19,

## PRINCIPLES OF CORONADEMONOLOGY

JASON BAHBAK MOHAGHEGH. Associate Professor of Comparative Literature at Babson College, Massachusetts; 231 Forest Street, Babson Park, MA 02457, USA; e-mail: [jmohaghegh@babson.edu](mailto:jmohaghegh@babson.edu)

The virus appears to be testing us in this same demonic way: it is watching us collapse and fall apart psychologically and socially, hanging its victory above all else on our inability to fathom what matters and what we want to do in this dire circumstance. Demons compel us to live with them. We have to accept cyclical resurgences, or that there will simply be lifelong effects upon us physiologically. Meaning that we may end up living with the virus in the same way that someone who suffers mutilation afterwards always walks with the limp or feels sharp pain when it rains.

*Keywords:* COVID-19, virus, demonology, José Saramago, vampires

: *Jason*

*Bahbak Mohaghegh. Principles of Coronademonology. Urbanomic; <https://www.urbanomic.com/document/principles-of-coronademonology>.*

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SARS-CoV-2

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## BIOPOWER<sup>-1</sup>. CRISES OF IMMUNITY

NIKITA M. SAZONOV. Research curator, Posthuman Studies Lab, 119, Mira ave., build. 246, Moscow, 129223, Russian Federation; MA student, Philosophy Department of Lomonosov Moscow State University, 27/4 Lomonosovsky avenue, Moscow, GSP-1, 119234, Russian Federation; e-mail: [nkt.szny@gmail.com](mailto:nkt.szny@gmail.com)

The article elaborates the coronavirus pandemic condition as a resource for reinventing new directions of biopolitical resistance. Author links the accidence of SARS-CoV-2 with the event that is — geographically and chronologically — adjacent to it, namely, with the scandal against non-laboratory CRISPR/Cas implementation in China. The both events are unified by the common fear of mutations. Although mutation today is both well-used in gene manipulations and investigated variously in the models of cancerogenesis, the situation around it remains like with various materialistic predicaments such as clinamen (atomism), anti-production (Deleuze and Guattari), or

event (Badiou and Meillassoux). In regard to materialistic exposition of this problem we should consider mutations as not a simple accidentality but rather as a peculiar principle. They are specific political force which activity is always-already outside of protocols (cellular, medical, digital ones etc.).

The outsideness of mutation — grasped in the contrimmunitary dialectic of Greek “onkos” as both an expansion and barbness, both benign and malign progression — perform itself not in the logics of inside/outside, by rather in a special mode of scaling, that is, scale-1. The power of onko-politics reveal itself literally in the coronavirus’ protein spike, but also can be scaled on the higher levels where it faces off against contemporary capitalism and national state. The politics of mutations — due to its transparency both for the protocols of capitalist and state immune systems — can be mobilized in the situation of global crisis of immunitary paradigm.

*Keywords:* biopolitics, SARS-CoV-2, immunitary paradigm, mutation, onco-politics, protocol

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CRISPR-Cas9 system, which is a genome editing tool that allows for precise modifications to the DNA sequence.

The CRISPR-Cas9 system consists of two main components: the Cas9 protein, which acts as a molecular scissors, and the CRISPR array, which serves as a template for the Cas9 protein to cut the DNA.

The CRISPR array is a series of short DNA sequences, known as spacers, that are flanked by repetitive DNA sequences. The Cas9 protein binds to the repetitive sequences and uses the spacers as a guide to cut the DNA at specific locations.

Once the DNA is cut, the Cas9 protein can be used to insert, delete, or replace specific sequences of DNA. This process is known as genome editing and has a wide range of applications in biotechnology and medicine.

CRISPR-Cas9 has been used to edit the genomes of a variety of organisms, including bacteria, plants, and animals. It has also been used to study the function of specific genes and to develop new therapies for genetic diseases.

CRISPR-Cas9 is a powerful tool that has revolutionized the field of genome editing. It has the potential to be used to cure genetic diseases, improve crop yields, and develop new therapies for a wide range of conditions.

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: COVID-19,

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## COVID HERMENEUTICS: FROM JUDGMENT TO NARRATIVE AND BACK

Irina V. Dudenkova. Associate Professor, Department of Sociology, Moscow Higher School of Social and Economic Sciences; 3/5, Gazetny lane, Moscow, 125009, Russian Federation; e-mail: [irinafile@gmail.com](mailto:irinafile@gmail.com)

The article focuses on the crisis of judgment during the pandemic. This crisis is twofold: inadequacy of common sense for interpreting the imperatives of containment policies and the impossibility to bind universal and individual within the framework of a medical diagnosis. During pandemic medical and sanitary expertise mitigated accounts of patients as “wounded storytellers”. This paper addresses the problem of making judgment under extraordinary circumstances against the background of contemporary philosophy, social theory and medical anthropology.

*Keywords:* COVID-19, judgment, common sense, hermeneutics, narrative of diseases, testimony

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mail: [psafronov@nashipenati.ru](mailto:psafronov@nashipenati.ru)

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: COVID-19,

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WHAT... OF ALL OF THIS?

PETER SAFRONOV. Independent scholar, Nashy Penaty School; 92, Profsouyznaya st., Moscow, 117485, Russian Federation; e-mail: [psafronov@nashipenati.ru](mailto:psafronov@nashipenati.ru)

This essay addresses the question of visibility under pandemic. Relation of visible and invisible is first presented as a part of personal urban experience. The author then proceeds to the analysis of the overall effects on visibility produced by infrastructural inequalities of urban life. Discussion rotates around the notions of parastate and paraeconomy emerging through pandemic forms of government and communication. The essay crystallizes the distinction between continuous cosmopolitan globalization of humans and intermittent mondialisation of virtual objects.

*Keywords:* COVID-19, inequality, urban life, parastate, paraeconomy

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, 105062, , 29; e-mail: [vfaib@mail.ru](mailto:vfaib@mail.ru)

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LILIES OF THE FIELD AND BARE LIFE  
VICTORIA FAYBYSHENKO. Associate Professor  
at Philosophy Department Saint Tikhon’s Orthodox University  
of Humanities; 29, Pokrovka, Moscow, 105062, Russian  
Federation; e-mail: [vfaib@mail.ru](mailto:vfaib@mail.ru)

These notes focus on how philosophical mind deals with epidemic event, and what shortcomings are exposed in these attempts to interpret it. We discuss restrictions of recent biopolitical discourse around the pandemic, such as the reduction of life to «bare life» of Giorgio Agamben.

*Keywords:* COVID-19, biopolitics, life, bare life, ethics  
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in the progressive decline of ideologies and political beliefs,  
security reasons allowed citizens to accept limitations on their

liberty that they previously were unwilling to accept, biosecurity has shown itself capable of presenting the absolute cessation of all political activity and all social relations as the maximum form of civic participation”37.

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. 1; e-mail: [topisarev@gmail.com](mailto:topisarev@gmail.com)

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## VIRUS AND RISK. TOWARDS ONTOLOGY OF EPIDEMIC EXISTENCE

ALEXANDER PISAREV. Junior Research Fellow, Social Philosophy Department, Institute of Philosophy, Russian Academy of Science; 12/1, Goncharnaya St., Moscow, 109240, Russian Federation; e-mail: [topisarev@gmail.com](mailto:topisarev@gmail.com)

This paper addresses the relation of virus and risk. It presents mediatization of virus happening alongside medicalization of social life. In this brief sketch we see a certain kind of viral sociology. Microorganisms and their travels across human institutions and lives apparently take the leading role in the search for the new meanings of ‘fluid’ society. While often described generally in terms of risk contemporary social life was never consistently analyzed as risky on the level



of spontaneous communities emerging through infectious disease as a test for legal, political, economic, and moral regulations.

*Keywords:* virus, contagion, risk, epidemic mode of existence, epidemic time bomb

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[katya.althea@gmail.com](mailto:katya.althea@gmail.com)

, COVID-19,

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## “IN RELATIONSHIPS’’: HOW ANIMALS AND THEIR PEOPLE EXPERIENCE THE LOCKDOWN

Ekaterina B. Nikitina. Ph.D. in Literary Studies (University of Silesia); Posthuman Studies Lab, curator, 119, Mira avenue, build. 246, Moscow, 129223, Russian Federation; ITMO University, lecturer of international Art&Science master’s program, 9, Lomonosova st., Saint Petersburg, 191002, Russian Federation; e-mail: [katya.althea@gmail.com](mailto:katya.althea@gmail.com)

The article outlines the issues related to the eternal questions about animals’ place in human society, their embedment into economical and political processes which in the face of pandemic lockdown proving once again the conventions of the boundary between culture and nature. The expansion of coronavirus puts — with a new vigor — the questions about violence, care, livestock animals in the center of animal liberation and animal welfare discussions. The pandemic situation also insists on rethinking the planetary diet mode of production, which, without exaggeration, is completely tied to the consumption of animal products. The author analyses what has changed in the relations of animals and their people — in shelters, livestocks and households — under several months





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*National Geographic*

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*Companion Species Manifesto.*

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*Animal Liberation After*

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mail: [kuznetsov@eistr.ru](mailto:kuznetsov@eistr.ru)

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RESTITUTION OF POWER: PANDEMIC,

EXPERTOCRACY AND A NEW POLITICAL REALITY

GLEB KUZNETSOV. Head of the Scientific Council

of the Expert Institute for Social Research (EISR); 12,

Krasnopresnenskaya embankment, Moscow, 123610, Russian

Federation; e-mail: [kuznetsov@eistr.ru](mailto:kuznetsov@eistr.ru)

The immediate political implications of the pandemic are obvious. Political leaders did not want to take responsibility for a full state of emergency and delegated power to the medical and media expertocracy. Since reliable knowledge of COVID-19 is only just beginning to accumulate, this has led to “schizophrenia of measures”, a special kind of evidence-based policy, which, pretending to be a consistent model of public safety, is in fact a chaos of conflicting undertakings and recommendations. The pandemic not only for the first time in modern history subjugated power to knowledge, not vice versa, but also created two global classes: COVID-beneficiaries and COVID-outsiders. The political coalitions of the latter will form the face of the new global politics of the first half of our century.

**Keywords:** power and knowledge, medicalization of politics, expertocracy, evidence-based policy, pandemic

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## NATION STATES DURING THE PANDEMIC

EKATERINA SCHULMANN. Associate Professor,  
Moscow Higher School of Social and Economic Sciences; 3/5,  
Gazetny lane, Moscow, 125009, Russian Federation; e-  
mail: [oxanamol@gmail.com](mailto:oxanamol@gmail.com)

NATALIA BESPALOVA. Research Fellow, Institute  
of Social Sciences, RANEPA; 82, Vernadsky ve., build. 2,  
Moscow, 119606, Russian Federation; e-  
mail: [nbespalova@gmail.com](mailto:nbespalova@gmail.com)

In this paper we look at how the development of the already existing global political trends have been affected by the pandemic. What transformation could be expected in the mass consciousness and societal demand worldwide, and, consequently, how the states as political institutions can be expected to evolve (or remain the same), how the legislation will change, reflecting the change in societal norms. We can see four such trends now. Nation states as a model of political organization are still the focus of political demands, hopes and expectations. A new ethical paradigm, which has emerged in the last decades, has become more manifest due to the extreme circumstances of the pandemic. Process of medicalization of political and social life, which started more than 100 years ago, is now reaching its peak. Humanity has got some new shared experience, and the information sphere has never been more global, but this won't be able to undermine the prevalence of the national states as the world's basic political entities — not just yet.

*Keywords:* new ethic, shared experience, nation state, medicalization of state

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mail: [goboka@gmail.com](mailto:goboka@gmail.com)

COVID-19

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IS THAT THE VIRUS TO BLAME?



BORIS KAGARLITSKY. Sociologist, Director  
of the Institute of Globalization and Social Movements (IGSM);  
Moscow, Russian Federation; e-mail: [goboka@gmail.com](mailto:goboka@gmail.com)

In this article I explain why, in the optics of historical sociology, the significance of the COVID-19 is not in the severity of the crisis caused by the pandemic itself, but in the way it has highlighted the failure of the neoliberal economic model that has been implemented globally over the past few decades. For Russia, which is part of the semi-periphery of the world capitalist system, the effect of the pandemic is particularly significant also because it has demonstrated the weakness of its political system, which is unable to mobilize mass support, repressions, quarantine control or effective and organized response to the epidemic. The growth of crisis trends in the global economy, exacerbated by the pandemic, will inevitably shake this political system.

*Keywords:* capitalism, world-system, neoliberalism, medicine and healthcare, Russia

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COVID-19

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BETWEEN EAST AND WEST: COVID-19, BRIEF  
ANATOMY OF THE MAJOR PUBLIC HEALTH SYSTEM  
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PAUL-ANTOINE MIQUEL. Professor of Contemporary Philosophy, Université Toulouse II Jean Jaurès, Département Philosophie; 15 rue de l'Ecluse 30000, Nîmes, France; e-mail: [paul-antoine.miquel@univ-tlse2.fr](mailto:paul-antoine.miquel@univ-tlse2.fr)

PIERRE MONTEBELLO. Professor of Contemporary Philosophy, Université Toulouse II Jean Jaurès, Département Philosophie; 5 allées Antonio Machado 31058, Toulouse, France; e-mail: [pierre.montebello@univ-tlse2.fr](mailto:pierre.montebello@univ-tlse2.fr)

COVID-19 opens the brand new era: precarity. It is not a state, but the feeling that all things, including the human being and his life, the environment, society and economy, are vulnerable. At the same time, COVID-19 means that prejudices must be abandoned and the West must learn from the East the ways to overcome difficulties. The experience of the Republic of Korea teaches France how to fight the pandemic. COVID-19 taught us a lesson to think with others, not without them, about how to cope with global issues, without the taboos and political prejudices of the past.

*Keywords:* COVID-19, the West, the East, precarity

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« »; e-mail: [ivangog@mail.ru](mailto:ivangog@mail.ru) COVID-19

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## VIRUS COMMODIFICATION

VYACHESLAV DANILOV. Associate Professor

at Philosophy Department of Lomonosov

Moscow State University; 27/4 Lomonosovsky avenue,

Moscow, GSP-1, 119234, Russian Federation; contributing

editor of philosophical literary journal “Logos”; e-

mail: [ivangog@mail.ru](mailto:ivangog@mail.ru)

The multifaced virus with the brand name COVID-19 appeared as a transformed form of an ideal inhabitant of modern global cities replacing the citizens, and the virgin purity of the streets revealed the whole truth of gentrification. As oil prices turn into nothing, the virus acquires a trademark and market form, and its reproduction and consumption expands worldwide. Reproduction of the COVID-19 in northwest Russia shows the local specifics of the epidemic's invention. The strategy to combat the commodification of the virus consists in negative solidarity, which can only bring the virus back into deficit.

*Keywords:* COVID-19, epidemic, urbanism, mobile class, quarantine, biopolitics

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# COVID-19

125009, , 3/5; e-mail: [kgaaze@gmail.com](mailto:kgaaze@gmail.com)

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DOI: 10.22394/978-5-93255-592-7\_16  
COVID-19 AND THE FUTURE OF IDLENESS  
KONSTANTIN GAAZE. Sociologist, Lecturer at Moscow  
School of Social and Economics Sciences (MSSES); 3/5,  
Gazetny Lane, Moscow, 125009, Russian Federation; e-mail: [kgaaze@gmail.com](mailto:kgaaze@gmail.com)

In this sketch, I place the changes within temporal structures of social time happening due to the COVID-19 pandemic, in a broader context of the genealogy of leisure and idleness. After 500 years of struggle for the right to be idle, we may lose this right again: remote work and the transformation of forms of living into tele-jobs destroy both the gains of the consumer revolution and the winnings of the Welfare State. Thanks to the pandemic, capitalism is once again, experiencing its XVI century, using colonizing power to appropriate free time and autonomous living spaces. Neoliberal capitalism was a failure. But pandemic reassembled its components, including unconditional basic income, and gave it a new chance. It becomes clear that the political agenda of the next several decades will be built around decolonization of idleness, decolonization of a diversity of forms of living, and decolonization of private and community spaces.

*Keywords:* temporality, social time, leisure, idleness, financialization, colonization of private, forms of life

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10, . 9; e-mail: [julia.patsyukova@gmail.com](mailto:julia.patsyukova@gmail.com)

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DOI: 10.22394/978-5-93255-592-7\_17

## HOW DO INSTITUTIONS CLASSIFY? REASSEMBLING MARY DOUGLAS' ARGUMENT

IULIIA PATSIUKOVA. MA in Sociology (University of Manchester), Senior research fellow, Bureau for Social and Economic Research "KB 23"; 10/9, Nizhnaya Syromyatnicheskaya St., 105120, Moscow, Russian Federation; e-mail: [julia.patsyukova@gmail.com](mailto:julia.patsyukova@gmail.com)

The article attempts to revisit the institutional analysis of Mary Douglas using the interactionist perspective. The problem of stabilization of institutional classifications can be solved by introducing the dual ontology argument of these classifications: grid 1, grid 3, and grid 2 understood as a cluster of institutional conventions on the distribution of social roles, interaction rules, and a set of symbolic analogies, respectively. Everyday interaction, in which all three types of classifications are involved, is understood as the practice of the strategic use of classification cells (grid 2), where the actions of participants are formed by certain interaction rules (grid 3) and limited to their established roles (grid 1). The proposed theoretical model is operationalized in the last section of the article, where the author analyzes the texts of Russian courts decisions made during the COVID-19.

*Keywords:* institutions, classifications, Mary Douglas, institutional analysis, grid/group, the everyday life, interactionism

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#371, , MA 02138, ; e-  
mail: shapin@fas.harvard.edu

COVID-19?

## COVID AND COMMUNITY

STEVEN SHAPIN. Franklin L. Ford Research Professor  
of the History of Science, Department of the History of Science,  
Harvard University; 1 Oxford St #371, Cambridge,  
MA 02138, USA; e-mail: shapin@fas.harvard.edu



What kind of society is best able to cope with COVID? There are certain technologies that, by their very nature or the necessary conditions of their working, dictate the social forms mobilized around them. Nuclear weapons are inherently political in a similar way: you need strongly hierarchical systems of command and control to manage these technologies. So is COVID inherently political in that way? Our political responses to COVID are the vast social experiment.

*Keywords:* COVID, social distance, self-isolation, technologies, authoritarianism, expertise, austerity

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DOI: 10.22394/978-5-93255-592-7\_19

CORONAVIRUS NECROPOLITICS IN ONLINE  
REPRESENTATIONS: ON THE WORK OF DEATH AND (A  
LITTLE BIT) ON MEMORY

OXANA MOROZ. Associate Professor, Moscow Higher School of Social and Economic Sciences; 3/5, Gazetny Lane, Moscow, 125009, Russian Federation; e-mail: [oxanamol@gmail.com](mailto:oxanamol@gmail.com)

A variety of attempts to domesticize death and dying from COVID-19 in mediarepresentations indicate the incompleteness and inferiority of the languages of social theory. The aim of my article is to discover the connections between the blind spots of the languages of theory and equivalents for them that have been provided by the mediadiscourse, to find homologies between anthropomorphism, necropolitics and the heroization of the individual struggle against it. An important aspect of this homology can be demonstrated by the example of the representation of “distant” and “near” deaths on social networks, primarily on Facebook. I argue, that as a global necropolitical experiment, the COVID-19 pandemic can return us understanding of death in its singularity and existential meaning.

*Keywords:* death studies, media representations, necropolitics, heroization of death, social media

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Research on Disaster Risk),  
(  
mail: [allan\\_lavell@yahoo.com](mailto:allan_lavell@yahoo.com)  
(UNAM), ; LA RED  
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mail: [elisa\\_mansilla@yahoo.com](mailto:elisa_mansilla@yahoo.com)

(UNISDR),

; e-mail: [maskrey@un.org](mailto:maskrey@un.org)

; e-mail: [framirezcortes@worldbank.org](mailto:framirezcortes@worldbank.org)

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## THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC: DISASTER, RISK ACCUMULATION AND PUBLIC POLICY

ALLAN LAVELL. Office of the Secretary General  
of the Latin American Social Science Faculty (FLACSO),  
Founding Member of the LA RED (Latin American Network  
for the Social Study of Disaster Prevention); e-  
mail: [allan\\_lavell@yahoo.com](mailto:allan_lavell@yahoo.com)

ELIZABETH MANSILLA MENENDEZ. Research  
Professor, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México  
(UNAM), LA RED (Latin American Network for the Social

Study of Disaster Prevention) member; e-mail: [elisa\\_mansilla@yahoo.com](mailto:elisa_mansilla@yahoo.com)

ANDREW MASKREY. Chief of the Risk Knowledge Section at UNISDR (United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction), Genève, Switzerland; e-mail: [maskrey@un.org](mailto:maskrey@un.org)

FERNANDO RAMIREZ CORTES. Senior Disaster Risk Management Specialist, World Bank; e-mail: [framirezcortes@worldbank.org](mailto:framirezcortes@worldbank.org)

This document uses concepts developed in the social study of disasters to interpret the social construction of risk to the SARS-CoV-2 virus. It examines the construction of three associated risks: to human life; to public health systems and to the economy and argues that, as in other disasters, confusing risk with the virus veils and dissimulates the operation of a range of other underlying risk drivers. It argues that the risk management policies deployed to address the COVID-19 pandemic may lead to a transfer of risk to those who are most exposed and vulnerable to the coronavirus.

**Keywords:** COVID-19, social study of disasters, social construction of risk, public health systems, risk management policy

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