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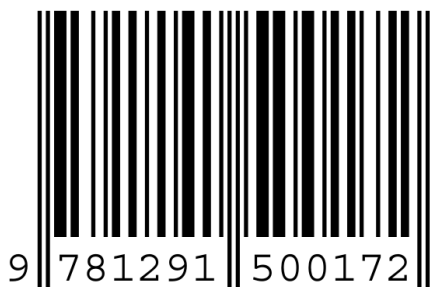
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ECONOMICS, MANAGEMENT AND LAW

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Qurbonzoda Z.M., Ikromova M.N. On the 35th anniversary of the state independence of Tajikistan: the United Nations General Assembly resolution on the modalities of the final conference of the International decade for action “water for sustainable development”, 2018-2028, and the formation of a new architecture for global water cooperation

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Abstract. *The 35th anniversary of the State Independence of the Republic of Tajikistan coincides with a significant new stage in the evolution of the global water agenda. On 2 September 2026, the United Nations General Assembly adopted by consensus Resolution A/RES/80/304 on the modalities of the 2028 United Nations Conference on the Final Comprehensive Review of the Implementation of the Objectives of the International Decade for Action “Water for Sustainable Development”, 2018-2028. The Conference will be held in Dushanbe from 4 to 6 May 2028 and will conclude the International Decade initiated by Tajikistan. This article examines the resolution in the broader context of the evolution of international water diplomacy, the implementation of Sustainable Development Goal 6, the outcomes of the 2023 United Nations Water Conference, the forthcoming 2026 United Nations Water Conference and the Dushanbe Water Process. Particular attention is paid to the decision to develop an intergovernmentally negotiated, non-binding and action-oriented outcome document serving as the “Dushanbe Water Framework”. It is argued that Resolution A/RES/80/304 creates an institutional foundation for strengthening continuity, coordination and accountability within global water cooperation beyond the conclusion of the Water Action Decade. At the same time, the article considers the positions expressed by Member States regarding the relationship between the 2026 and 2028 Conferences and the need to avoid prejudging future intergovernmental processes. In the context of the 35th anniversary of State Independence, the adoption of the resolution is assessed as a significant stage in the development of Tajikistan’s water diplomacy and its contribution to shaping the emerging architecture of international cooperation on water.*

Keywords: *Republic of Tajikistan, State Independence, water diplomacy, United Nations, Dushanbe Water Framework, Water Action Decade, sustainable development, SDG 6, global water governance, international cooperation, Dushanbe Water Process.*

Water has become one of the central issues of contemporary sustainable development. Population growth, climate change, degradation of ecosystems, increasing demand for food and energy, urbanization and uneven access to water and sanitation are transforming water from a predominantly sectoral development issue into a strategic component of global economic, environmental and political stability.

The scale of the challenge remains considerable. According to official United Nations data, in 2024 approximately 2.1 billion people still lacked safely managed drinking-water services, 3.4 billion lacked safely managed sanitation and 1.7 billion lacked basic hygiene services. Progress in integrated water-resources management has continued, but at a pace insufficient to meet the ambitions of the 2030 Agenda [8].

These indicators demonstrate that water policy can no longer be addressed exclusively through individual national programmes. Water connects public health, food security, energy production, climate adaptation, biodiversity, economic development and regional stability. It is therefore increasingly becoming an issue of global governance.

The Republic of Tajikistan has played a distinctive role in this transformation of the international water agenda. Over the period of State Independence, water diplomacy has developed into one of the most recognizable areas of the country's international activity.

The adoption on 2 September 2026 of United Nations General Assembly Resolution A/RES/80/304 on the modalities of the 2028 United Nations Water Conference represents a new stage in this process [1].

The significance of the resolution extends beyond the organizational arrangements for another international conference. It defines the political and procedural framework for the final comprehensive review of the International Decade for Action "Water for Sustainable Development", 2018–2028 and establishes the basis for negotiating a dedicated intergovernmental outcome – the Dushanbe Water Framework.

In this sense, the resolution creates an opportunity to connect the completion of the Water Action Decade with the emerging global discussion on international water cooperation after 2028 and, more broadly, after 2030.

The International Decade for Action as a Stage in the Institutionalization of Global Water Cooperation. The contemporary phase of global water diplomacy is closely connected with United Nations General Assembly Resolution A/RES/71/222, adopted on 21 December 2016, which proclaimed the period from 2018 to 2028 as the International Decade for Action "Water for Sustainable Development" [2].

The Decade was conceived as an implementation-oriented international framework intended to strengthen attention to sustainable water management, facilitate cooperation and partnerships and contribute to the achievement of internationally agreed water-related goals.

Its establishment was particularly significant in the context of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, adopted in 2015. Sustainable Development Goal 6 calls for ensuring the availability and sustainable management of water and sanitation for all [10].

The emergence of a separate global goal on water and sanitation demonstrated that water issues were no longer viewed merely as supporting elements of other development sectors. Instead,

water became an independent global development priority with direct links to poverty reduction, health, food security, energy, climate resilience and ecosystem protection.

The International Decade created an additional political mechanism for translating these objectives into international action.

From an institutional perspective, the Decade also contributed to a gradual intensification of global dialogue on water. International conferences, high-level meetings, national initiatives and stakeholder partnerships increasingly became interconnected rather than isolated events.

Within this process, the Dushanbe Water Process developed into an important international platform supporting the implementation of the objectives of the Decade.

Tajikistan's approach has consistently emphasized that water-related challenges require not only political declarations but also mechanisms for implementation, partnership, financing and the exchange of practical experience.

This orientation towards implementation became increasingly important as the international community approached the midpoint of both the 2030 Agenda and the Water Action Decade.

The 2023 United Nations Water Conference and the Return of Water to the Highest Level of Multilateral Diplomacy. A major turning point was the United Nations Conference on the Midterm Comprehensive Review of the Implementation of the Objectives of the International Decade for Action "Water for Sustainable Development", 2018-2028, held in New York from 22 to 24 March 2023.

The Conference, co-hosted by the Republic of Tajikistan and the Kingdom of the Netherlands, represented the first United Nations conference devoted exclusively to water in almost half a century [4].

Its importance was not limited to its symbolic return of water to the highest level of multilateral diplomacy. The Conference generated extensive voluntary commitments and contributed to the development of the Water Action Agenda, which was designed to accelerate implementation during the second half of the International Decade.

Unlike a traditional multilateral treaty-making process, the Water Action Agenda was based primarily on voluntary commitments by governments, international organizations, civil society, businesses and other stakeholders.

This approach had important advantages. It expanded participation, encouraged practical initiatives and created an opportunity for actors from different sectors to contribute directly to the global water agenda.

At the same time, the voluntary nature of these commitments raised a broader question: how could political momentum be transformed into greater continuity, accountability and institutional coherence?

This question became particularly important after the 2023 Conference. On 1 September 2023, the General Assembly adopted Resolution A/RES/77/334 on follow-up to the Conference

[3]. The resolution decided to convene both a United Nations Water Conference in 2026 and, in 2028, the United Nations Conference on the Final Comprehensive Review of the implementation of the objectives of the Water Action Decade.

The same resolution welcomed the offer of the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan to host the 2028 Conference in Dushanbe [3].

Thus, the international community effectively established a sequence of major water-related milestones: the 2023 midterm review, the 2026 Conference aimed at accelerating implementation and the 2028 final comprehensive review.

This sequence provides an institutional basis for maintaining political attention to water over an extended period rather than allowing global engagement to decline between major conferences.

The Dushanbe Water Process and the Transition from Commitments to Implementation. The Dushanbe Water Process has played a continuing role in connecting international political commitments with implementation-oriented dialogue.

A particularly important stage was the Fourth High-Level International Conference on the International Decade for Action “Water for Sustainable Development”, 2018-2028, held in Dushanbe in May 2026.

The Conference brought together representatives of governments, international organizations, financial institutions, civil society, academia and other stakeholders and was positioned as an important bridge towards the forthcoming United Nations Water Conferences.

Its outcomes included the Dushanbe Declaration, the Co-Chairs’ Summary and the Dushanbe Contribution to the 2026 United Nations Water Conference [6].

The significance of these documents lies in the attempt to connect global commitments with practical mechanisms for implementation.

The Fourth Dushanbe Conference also became the platform at which President of the Republic of Tajikistan Emomali Rahmon proposed the establishment of a Dushanbe Water Framework [5].

The proposed Framework was conceived as a mechanism capable of strengthening coordination between existing international water processes and providing a basis for practical cooperation in the period following the conclusion of the International Decade.

In presenting the initiative, particular attention was given to the need to begin considering the global water agenda beyond 2030 and to build future international cooperation on the achievements of the Water Action Decade, the Water Action Agenda and the experience accumulated through the Dushanbe Water Process [5].

This proposal represents an important conceptual evolution in Tajikistan’s water diplomacy. Earlier initiatives had focused primarily on raising global awareness, declaring international years and decades and convening high-level dialogue. The Dushanbe Water Framework introduces an

additional institutional dimension: continuity between international processes and a more structured transition from commitments to implementation.

Resolution A/RES/80/304: Establishing the Modalities of the 2028 Conference. On 2 September 2026, at its 112th plenary meeting, the United Nations General Assembly adopted by consensus Resolution A/RES/80/304 entitled “Modalities of the 2028 United Nations Conference on the Final Comprehensive Review of the Implementation of the Objectives of the International Decade for Action, ‘Water for Sustainable Development’, 2018-2028” [1; 9].

The resolution establishes that the Conference will take place in Dushanbe from 4 to 6 May 2028 [1].

This decision has both practical and political significance. From a practical perspective, it establishes the timetable, organizational structure and preparatory process for the final review of the International Decade.

From a political perspective, it confirms that the culmination of the Decade initiated by Tajikistan will take place in the capital of the initiating country.

The objectives of the Conference go considerably beyond a retrospective assessment.

The 2028 Conference is expected to assess progress in implementing the objectives of the Decade, identify remaining obstacles, strengthen partnerships, promote additional actions and initiatives and contribute to the broader follow-up and review of the 2030 Agenda [1].

The Conference will therefore combine two functions.

The first is evaluative: examining what has been achieved during the International Decade and identifying areas in which progress has been insufficient.

The second is forward-looking: creating a basis for continued international action once the Decade formally concludes.

It is the combination of these two functions that distinguishes the 2028 Conference from a conventional concluding event.

The Dushanbe Water Framework as the Central Institutional Innovation

The most significant institutional element of Resolution A/RES/80/304 is the decision concerning the outcome document of the 2028 Conference.

The resolution provides that the Conference will adopt by consensus a non-binding, action-oriented and intergovernmentally negotiated outcome document, agreed in advance, which will serve as the Dushanbe Water Framework [1].

The President of the General Assembly is requested to appoint two co-facilitators to conduct open, transparent and Member State-driven consultations on the document.

This mechanism is important for several reasons.

First, it introduces an explicitly intergovernmental dimension into the outcome of the 2028 Conference. The 2023 United Nations Water Conference generated substantial political momentum and numerous commitments, but its structure was centred primarily on a summary of proceedings

and the voluntary Water Action Agenda [4]. The Dushanbe Water Framework introduces the prospect of a dedicated text negotiated directly among Member States.

Second, the Framework is intended to be action-oriented. Its potential significance therefore lies not merely in articulating general principles but in creating a shared basis for advancing implementation, partnerships and cooperation.

Third, the Framework is expressly non-binding. This characteristic is important because it preserves the flexibility necessary for achieving broad participation among states with different national priorities, resource capacities and water-management challenges.

Fourth, the decision introduces an element of continuity beyond the formal conclusion of the International Decade. The Decade ends in 2028. The global challenges associated with water clearly do not. The institutional problem is therefore how to preserve accumulated experience, political momentum and cooperation once the framework that generated them reaches its scheduled conclusion.

The Dushanbe Water Framework can potentially address this problem by providing a common reference point for future water action.

Six Interactive Dialogues and the Broadening of the Global Water Agenda

Resolution A/RES/80/304 also determines six themes for the interactive dialogues of the 2028 Conference:

- Water for People;
- Water for Prosperity;
- Water for Planet;
- Water for Cooperation;
- Water in Multilateral Processes; and
- Investments for Water [1; 11].

The structure of these dialogues illustrates the expanding conceptual scope of water policy.

“Water for People” emphasizes access to water and sanitation and the human dimension of water management.

“Water for Prosperity” links water to economic development, food systems, energy, industry and employment.

“Water for Planet” reflects the growing importance of ecosystems, climate adaptation, biodiversity and environmental sustainability.

“Water for Cooperation” focuses attention on the international and transboundary character of water resources.

“Water in Multilateral Processes” recognizes that water policy is interconnected with the broader system of international governance.

Finally, “Investments for Water” places financing at the center of implementation.

This thematic architecture reflects a broader transformation of global water diplomacy. Water is increasingly understood not as one isolated sector among many, but as a connective element across the sustainable-development agenda.

This interpretation corresponds with the current global assessment of SDG 6. The United Nations SDG 6 Synthesis Report 2026 emphasizes that water and sanitation policy has cross-sectoral implications and that accelerating implementation requires stronger governance, financing, data, capacity and international cooperation [7].

Consequently, the structure of the 2028 Conference creates an opportunity to address water through a systemic rather than fragmented approach.

From a Sequence of Conferences to a Continuous Global Process. One of the most important analytical dimensions of the new resolution concerns continuity. The 2023, 2026 and 2028 United Nations Water Conferences should not be regarded as unrelated diplomatic events. They increasingly form a connected institutional sequence.

The 2023 Conference restored water to the highest level of the international political agenda and mobilized commitments under the Water Action Agenda [4].

The 2026 United Nations Water Conference, to be held in the United Arab Emirates, is intended to accelerate the implementation of Sustainable Development Goal 6 and translate existing commitments into stronger practical action [3].

The 2028 Conference will provide the final comprehensive review of the Water Action Decade and, through the Dushanbe Water Framework, potentially provide a bridge towards the next phase of international cooperation [1].

This creates three-stage logic: *commitment and mobilization-acceleration of implementation-comprehensive review and future framework.*

Such sequencing is significant for global governance.

One of the long-standing weaknesses of international development processes is the gap between high-level political commitments and continuous implementation.

Conferences may generate temporary momentum, but that momentum can decline if it is not supported by institutional follow-up.

The emerging sequence of water conferences offers a possibility of reducing this discontinuity.

Tajikistan has consistently promoted the idea that the 2023, 2026 and 2028 Conferences should be understood as components of a continuous global process rather than isolated events [11].

If effectively implemented, such continuity may contribute to a more stable international architecture for water cooperation.

Why a New Architecture for Global Water Cooperation Is Needed? The concept of a new architecture for global water cooperation should be approached analytically. It does not imply the

creation of a single supranational water authority or a legally binding global water regime. Rather, the emerging architecture can be understood as a combination of interconnected institutions, political processes, implementation mechanisms and recurring forums capable of maintaining international attention and coordinating action.

The need for such architecture is demonstrated by the current state of SDG 6. Despite progress since 2015, billions of people continue to lack safely managed water, sanitation and hygiene services [8].

Global water stress remains highly uneven, with particularly severe conditions affecting several regions, including Central and Southern Asia [8].

Wastewater treatment, integrated water-resources management, ecosystem protection and financing also remain areas requiring faster progress.

At the same time, water challenges increasingly intersect with climate change. Changes in precipitation patterns, glacier retreat, droughts, floods and other climate-related phenomena can affect both the availability and predictability of water resources. These challenges do not respect national borders. Transboundary Rivers, shared aquifers, climate risks and interconnected economic systems make cooperation indispensable. The institutional problem is therefore not the absence of international water-related initiatives. Numerous initiatives already exist. The greater challenge is fragmentation.

Different organizations, conventions, financing mechanisms, development programmes and political forums often address separate dimensions of the water agenda.

The potential contribution of the Dushanbe Water Framework lies in strengthening coherence among these processes without necessarily replacing existing mechanisms.

In this sense, the emerging architecture may be based on coordination rather than centralization, implementation rather than institutional duplication, and continuity rather than episodic political attention.

The Importance of Financing and Implementation. A sustainable global water architecture cannot be based exclusively on declarations. Financing represents one of the most persistent challenges in achieving SDG 6. Investment is required for drinking-water and sanitation infrastructure, irrigation modernization, wastewater treatment, climate resilience, data systems, ecosystem restoration and capacity-building. The inclusion of a separate interactive dialogue on “Investments for Water” in the 2028 Conference reflects recognition of this challenge [1]. The issue is particularly significant for developing countries and states with limited fiscal resources. For such countries, implementation often depends on access to international development finance, modern technology, institutional capacity and long-term partnerships. Consequently, the effectiveness of the Dushanbe Water Framework will ultimately depend on whether it contributes to narrowing the gap between political commitments and implementation resources. This point is fundamental. The success of global water diplomacy should not be assessed only by the number of conferences,

resolutions or declarations adopted. Its principal measure must be whether international cooperation improves access to safe water and sanitation, strengthens water security, protects ecosystems and increases the ability of societies to respond to water-related risks. The transition from commitments to measurable results is therefore central to the emerging architecture.

Multilateral Debate and the Need for Institutional Balance. Although Resolution A/RES/80/304 was adopted by consensus, the General Assembly discussion also demonstrated that the future architecture of global water cooperation remains the subject of legitimate intergovernmental debate [9].

Several delegations emphasized that the 2028 Conference should build on the outcomes of the 2026 United Nations Water Conference and should not predetermine discussions that have not yet taken place. Concerns were also expressed regarding the designation of the Dushanbe Water Framework as the sole outcome document before completion of the 2026 Conference and before broader discussions concerning the post-2030 development framework [9]. Other delegations raised procedural questions regarding participation by non-governmental organizations and other stakeholders. These positions are important for understanding the resolution accurately. Consensus on the modalities does not mean complete agreement among Member States on every institutional or substantive aspect of the future process. Instead, it demonstrates a willingness to proceed collectively while preserving different national interpretations and concerns. From the perspective of global governance, this is not necessarily a weakness.

A durable international framework normally requires negotiation between different institutional preferences, development priorities and concepts of sovereignty. The effectiveness and legitimacy of the Dushanbe Water Framework will therefore depend on the inclusiveness, transparency and Member State-driven character of the negotiating process. It will also depend on its ability to incorporate relevant outcomes of the 2026 Conference without duplicating or prejudging other multilateral processes. This balance between continuity and institutional flexibility will be one of the central challenges of the preparatory period leading to 2028.

The 2027 High-Level Preparatory Meeting. An additional element of Resolution A/RES/80/304 is the decision to hold a one-day high-level preparatory meeting at United Nations Headquarters in New York in 2027 [1].

This meeting may play an important role in maintaining political momentum between the 2026 and 2028 Conferences. International experience demonstrates that large global conferences are most effective when preparations involve sustained political and technical engagement rather than being concentrated immediately before the event. The 2027 meeting can therefore serve several functions.

- It can assess progress following the 2026 Conference.
- It can facilitate consultations on the Dushanbe Water Framework.
- It can identify priority areas requiring additional international action.

- It can also provide an opportunity to align the 2028 process with wider discussions concerning sustainable development after 2030.

The decision to include this intermediate political milestone reinforces the idea that the 2028 Conference is part of a continuous process rather than a single three-day event.

Tajikistan's Water Diplomacy in the Context of 35 Years of State Independence. The adoption of Resolution A/RES/80/304 acquires particular significance in the year of the 35th anniversary of the State Independence of the Republic of Tajikistan.

Over the period of independence, Tajikistan has gradually developed an international profile in areas directly connected with its national geographical and environmental characteristics. As a mountainous country located in Central Asia and possessing substantial water and glacier resources, Tajikistan has consistently emphasized the strategic importance of water for development, climate resilience and regional cooperation. However, the evolution of the country's water diplomacy demonstrates a transition from the presentation of national concerns to the formulation of proposals with broader global relevance. The International Decade for Action "Water for Sustainable Development", 2018-2028, the Dushanbe Water Process, the co-hosting of the 2023 United Nations Water Conference and the proposal for the Dushanbe Water Framework illustrate successive stages of this development [2; 4-6].

This sequence is important in the context of the evolution of Tajik statehood. International subjectivity is expressed not only through membership in international organizations or participation in existing diplomatic processes. It is also expressed through the capacity of a state to propose initiatives, mobilize international support and influence the formation of new multilateral agendas.

From this perspective, water diplomacy has become one of the mechanisms through which Tajikistan contributes to contemporary multilateralism. Resolution A/RES/80/304 gives this contribution an additional institutional dimension. The country that initiated the Water Action Decade will host its final comprehensive review, while the outcome of that review is intended to provide a basis for the continuation of international water action.

This creates a symbolic and substantive connection between the origin of the Decade and the discussion concerning what should follow it.

The Dushanbe Water Framework and the Post-2030 Global Agenda. The most forward-looking dimension of the 2028 process concerns the period after 2030. The 2030 Agenda remains the current universal framework for sustainable development [10]. However, the international community has already begun considering how accumulated experience can inform subsequent global development priorities. Water will inevitably remain central to these discussions. Climate change, demographic growth, urbanization, food production and ecosystem degradation suggest that pressure on water resources may increase rather than diminish. Therefore, the international

community faces the challenge of preserving water as a high-level political priority beyond the current SDG timeframe.

President Emomali Rahmon's proposal for the Dushanbe Water Framework explicitly connects the conclusion of the Water Action Decade with consideration of the global water agenda after 2030 [5].

Resolution A/RES/80/304 does not itself determine the future post-2030 development framework.

Nor should the Dushanbe Water Framework be interpreted as replacing future intergovernmental negotiations on that agenda. Its potential role is different.

It can preserve experience, partnerships and institutional momentum accumulated over the preceding decade and provides a platform from which future decisions can develop. This distinction is important. The Framework's legitimacy will be stronger if it complements rather than predetermines broader negotiations concerning the post-2030 development agenda.

In this sense, the Dushanbe Water Framework can be understood as a bridge mechanism: connecting the implementation experience of 2018-2028 with the evolving global sustainable-development system.

Prospects for the Formation of a New Global Water Cooperation Architecture. Resolution A/RES/80/304 creates several conditions for a more structured architecture of global water cooperation.

First, it strengthens institutional continuity by linking the 2026, 2027 and 2028 stages.

Second, it establishes an intergovernmental negotiating process for a dedicated outcome document.

Third, it reinforces an implementation-oriented approach by requiring the future outcome to be action-oriented.

Fourth, it integrates multiple dimensions of water policy through the six interactive dialogues.

Fifth, it provides for participation by governments and relevant stakeholders, recognizing that implementation cannot be achieved by states alone.

Sixth, it creates an opportunity to connect water cooperation with the broader discussion concerning the period beyond 2030.

However, the emergence of a new architecture should not be considered automatic. Its development will depend on several conditions. The negotiating process must remain inclusive and transparent. The Dushanbe Water Framework should incorporate lessons from the 2026 United Nations Water Conference. Mechanisms for monitoring and implementation must avoid unnecessary duplication. Developing countries require realistic access to financing, technology and capacity-building. The Framework must also be flexible enough to respond to different regional and national water challenges. If these conditions are met, the 2028 Conference can become more than the

formal conclusion of an international decade. It can mark a transition from a decade-based mobilization mechanism towards a more continuous model of international water cooperation.

The adoption by consensus on 2 September 2026 of United Nations General Assembly Resolution A/RES/80/304 represents an important stage in the evolution of the international water agenda [1]. The resolution establishes the modalities for the 2028 United Nations Conference on the Final Comprehensive Review of the Implementation of the Objectives of the International Decade for Action “Water for Sustainable Development”, 2018-2028, to be held in Dushanbe from 4 to 6 May 2028. Its significance, however, goes beyond the organization of the Conference itself. The decision to negotiate and adopt the Dushanbe Water Framework creates an institutional opportunity to connect the conclusion of the International Decade with the next stage of international cooperation.

The development of the global water agenda over recent years demonstrates a gradual movement from isolated international events towards greater continuity.

The 2023 United Nations Water Conference generated new political momentum and voluntary commitments. The 2026 Conference is expected to focus on accelerating implementation. The 2027 preparatory meeting will maintain intergovernmental engagement, while the 2028 Dushanbe Conference will combine final review with consideration of future action [1; 3; 4]. Together, these elements form the outlines of an emerging architecture of global water cooperation.

Its defining characteristics are likely to include continuity between political processes, stronger attention to implementation, broader integration of water with other dimensions of sustainable development and a growing emphasis on measurable results.

At the same time, the discussions surrounding Resolution A/RES/80/304 demonstrate that the shape of this architecture remains subject to intergovernmental negotiation. Concerns expressed by a number of Member States regarding the relationship between the 2026 and 2028 Conferences, the future post-2030 framework and stakeholder participation must be taken into account in the preparatory process [9].

This makes the period leading to 2028 especially important. The Dushanbe Water Framework will acquire substantive international significance only if it succeeds in combining ambition with consensus, continuity with institutional flexibility and political commitments with practical implementation. In the context of the 35th anniversary of the State Independence of the Republic of Tajikistan, the adoption of the resolution also demonstrates the evolution of the country's role in multilateral diplomacy.

During the years of independence, Tajikistan's water initiatives have progressed from drawing international attention to water-related challenges towards contributing to the design of mechanisms for long-term global cooperation.

The International Decade for Action, the Dushanbe Water Process, the co-hosting of the 2023 United Nations Water Conference and the initiative to establish the Dushanbe Water Framework form interconnected elements of this trajectory.

Thus, the 2028 United Nations Water Conference may become both the culmination of one institutional cycle and the beginning of another.

Its long-term significance will depend on whether the international community can transform the experience of the Water Action Decade into a coherent, inclusive and results-oriented system of cooperation capable of addressing the increasingly complex water challenges of the twenty-first century.

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Qurbonzoda Z.M., Sharofzoda F.R., Bodurova G.G. On the 35th anniversary of the state independence of Tajikistan: the transformation of Dushanbe into a “Green city” in the context of sustainable development and ecological modernization of the capital

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Abstract. *The thirty-five years of State Independence of the Republic of Tajikistan have been accompanied by significant political, socio-economic, infrastructural and spatial transformations, one of the most visible manifestations of which is the development of Dushanbe. As the capital and the principal administrative, economic, scientific, educational and cultural center of the country, Dushanbe occupies a special position in the implementation of national development priorities. In recent years, the modernization of the city has increasingly incorporated the principles of environmental sustainability, energy and resource efficiency, low-carbon mobility, climate resilience and improvement of the quality of the urban environment. This article examines the transformation of Dushanbe towards a “green city” model in the context of the 35th anniversary of the State Independence of Tajikistan. Particular attention is given to the relationship between national green-economy policy and municipal development, the Dushanbe Green City Action Plan, modernization of public transport and district heating, the development of electric mobility, expansion of green public spaces and cooperation with international development institutions. It is argued that the contemporary transformation of Dushanbe is gradually moving beyond the traditional concept of urban beautification towards a broader model of ecological modernization that integrates infrastructural renewal, environmental management, sustainable mobility, efficient resource use and long-term urban resilience. In this context, the development of Dushanbe reflects the broader evolution of independent Tajikistan from post-independence reconstruction towards a model of sustainable and environmentally oriented modernization.*

Keywords: *Republic of Tajikistan, Dushanbe, State Independence, green city, sustainable development, green economy, ecological modernization, urban infrastructure, sustainable mobility, electric transport, climate resilience, urban greening.*

The 35th anniversary of the State Independence of the Republic of Tajikistan provides an important historical framework for assessing not only political and socio-economic achievements, but also qualitative changes in the spatial and infrastructural development of the country. Dushanbe represents one of the clearest manifestations of these transformations. During the independence period, the capital has undergone substantial architectural renewal, expansion of transport and social infrastructure, construction of residential and administrative facilities, improvement of public spaces and modernization of municipal services.

At the same time, contemporary urban development cannot be evaluated solely through construction volumes or the physical expansion of cities. Climate change, demographic growth, increasing demand for energy and water, traffic congestion, air pollution and pressure on municipal infrastructure require cities to reconsider conventional models of growth. The quality of urban development is increasingly determined by the capacity to combine economic dynamism with efficient resource use, environmental protection and improved living conditions.

This shift is particularly relevant to Dushanbe. The concept of a “green city” should not be reduced to landscaping, tree planting or the creation of parks, although these remain important elements of urban policy. In contemporary sustainable-development practice, a green city represents a more complex system in which transport, energy, buildings, water, waste management, land use and public spaces are planned in an interconnected manner.

The national policy framework for such a transition was strengthened by the adoption of the Strategy for the Development of the Green Economy in the Republic of Tajikistan for 2023-2037, approved by Resolution No. 482 of the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan dated 30 September 2022 [1]. The Strategy established a long-term framework for integrating environmental priorities, resource efficiency, green technologies and sustainable infrastructure into the country's development model.

Against this background, the transformation of Dushanbe may be considered not only as a municipal modernization programme, but also as the urban dimension of Tajikistan's broader transition towards sustainable development.

National Green-Economy Policy as the Strategic Basis for Urban Transformation. The ecological modernization of the capital is closely linked to national strategic priorities. The Strategy for the Development of the Green Economy in the Republic of Tajikistan for 2023-2037 provides the principal institutional framework for the gradual transition towards a more resource-efficient and environmentally sustainable economic model [1].

The significance of this Strategy lies in its comprehensive character. Green development is approached not as a separate environmental sector but as a principle capable of influencing energy policy, infrastructure, investment, transport, industry, agriculture, construction and public administration. Such an approach is particularly important for cities, since urban territories concentrate population, economic activity, infrastructure and demand for resources.

Policy continuity was reinforced in 2025 with the approval of the Action Plan for the second stage of the Green Economy Development Strategy covering 2026-2028. Resolution No. 517 of the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan assigns implementation responsibilities not only to ministries and central agencies but also to local executive authorities, including the Executive Body of State Authority of Dushanbe [2].

This linkage between national strategy and municipal implementation is essential. Environmental modernization cannot be achieved through isolated projects. Its effectiveness

depends on whether sustainability criteria are incorporated into regular investment decisions, urban planning, transport policy, energy systems and municipal management.

For Dushanbe, the national green-economy framework therefore performs two functions. First, it establishes the strategic direction of transformation. Second, it creates an institutional basis for aligning urban projects with national development priorities.

Dushanbe and the EBRD Green Cities Programme. A significant step towards a systematic environmental approach was Dushanbe's accession to the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development's Green Cities programme in 2019 [4].

Participation in the programme marked an important transition in the city's environmental policy. Rather than addressing individual urban problems separately, the Green Cities methodology is based on identifying the principal environmental pressures affecting the city and developing an integrated portfolio of policy and investment responses.

The resulting Green City Action Plan (GCAP) Dushanbe, finalized in July 2022, identifies major challenges affecting solid waste management, water and wastewater systems, urban transport, energy use in buildings and other aspects of environmental performance [3]. The document contains 27 priority actions intended to support a cleaner, healthier, more climate-resilient and socially inclusive urban environment [3].

The importance of the GCAP extends beyond the number of measures contained in the document. Its principal contribution lies in the introduction of an integrated planning approach.

Environmental challenges in a modern city are interdependent. Traffic affects air quality; the structure of urban development affects transport demand; the condition of buildings influences energy consumption; water infrastructure affects both resource efficiency and public health; and the availability of green spaces affects thermal comfort, recreation and climate adaptation.

Consequently, the ecological modernization of Dushanbe requires coordination between sectors that were traditionally planned separately.

The GCAP provides an institutional mechanism for such coordination and may therefore be regarded as a bridge between national green-economy policy and specific urban projects [1; 3].

Sustainable Mobility and the Changing Transport Model of Dushanbe. Transport represents one of the most important components of the transition towards sustainable urban development. Rapid growth in private motorization can lead to increased air pollution, carbon emissions, congestion, noise and inefficient use of urban space.

For this reason, the modernization of the transport system should not be limited to expansion of road capacity. A sustainable city requires a more balanced mobility structure in which reliable public transport, pedestrian movement, cycling and low-emission vehicles provide viable alternatives to dependence on private cars.

The development of electric mobility in Dushanbe provides an important example of this transition.

Under the Dushanbe E-Mobility Project, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development approved financing of up to USD 3 million for the acquisition of up to 100 electric vehicles and the development of 30 electric-vehicle charging facilities at the company's depot and selected locations throughout the city [5].

The significance of the project goes beyond the direct environmental effect of individual electric vehicles. The establishment of charging infrastructure contributes to the creation of a technological ecosystem necessary for a broader transition to electric mobility. Such projects can also stimulate new technical competencies, maintenance services and consumer familiarity with low-emission transport technologies.

A more comprehensive approach is reflected in the Dushanbe Riverside West Avenue Project. The project supports the integration of sustainable mobility into urban transport infrastructure through dedicated public-transport provision, improved conditions for walking and cycling and further integration of electric-vehicle charging infrastructure [6].

According to the EBRD assessment, the planned improvements are expected to reduce carbon dioxide emissions by approximately 37 per cent compared with the "do nothing" scenario and simultaneously reduce emissions of major air pollutants [6].

This aspect is particularly important from a scientific perspective. Sustainable mobility does not mean replacing every conventional private automobile with an electric private automobile. A truly sustainable transport system requires changes in the structure of mobility itself, with greater emphasis on public transport and active forms of movement.

The proposed Dushanbe EcoMobility Project of the Asian Development Bank follows this broader logic. The project envisages investment in battery-electric buses and charging equipment, the creation of a green transport corridor with a dedicated busway, high-quality pedestrian and cycling infrastructure, improved parking management and institutional capacity building [9].

At the same time, the project must be described accurately. According to the official ADB project database, it currently has the status "Proposed" [9]. Therefore, its components should be considered prospective directions of urban development rather than completed achievements.

Taken together, these initiatives indicate a gradual shift from a transport model dominated by road expansion towards a more integrated approach combining public transport, electric mobility and non-motorized movement.

Modernization of District Heating and Resource Efficiency. Transport is not the only area in which ecological modernization is taking place. Energy and municipal infrastructure have an equally important role in determining the environmental performance of a city.

The efficiency of urban energy systems depends not only on the source of energy but also on the condition of distribution networks, pumping systems, metering and equipment. Technical losses in ageing infrastructure increase resource consumption and reduce the overall efficiency of municipal services.

The Dushanbe District Heating Project, approved by the EBRD in 2021, was designed to support the rehabilitation of selected sections of the district-heating network, modernization of pumping stations, introduction of metering and procurement of operational and maintenance equipment [7].

The project is significant because it demonstrates that the transition towards a green city is not necessarily based only on highly visible new construction. Modernization of existing infrastructure can produce considerable environmental and economic benefits through reduced losses, better control of consumption and improved reliability.

The continuation of this approach is reflected in the Dushanbe District Heating, Extension project approved by the EBRD in September 2025 [8]. Additional financing was provided to continue the rehabilitation and extension of district-heating infrastructure and achieve the objectives of the initial investment programme [8].

These projects illustrate an important principle of ecological modernization: sustainable urban development depends not merely on expanding infrastructure but on improving the efficiency and technological quality of existing systems.

For Dushanbe, further modernization of heating, water supply, electricity, wastewater systems and municipal services can therefore make a substantial contribution to reducing resource losses and improving the quality of urban life.

Urban Greening as Environmental Infrastructure. The physical greening of Dushanbe remains one of the most visible elements of the capital's transformation.

Official information from the Executive Body of State Authority of Dushanbe indicates that over a nine-year period approximately 2.2 million trees and shrubs and 132 million seasonal and perennial flowers were planted in the city, while lawns and grass-covered areas were created over approximately 2.5 million square meters [10].

The same official source states that 76 parks and public gardens were constructed or reconstructed in Dushanbe between 2017 and 2025 [10].

These figures demonstrate the considerable scale of urban landscaping undertaken in the capital. However, from the perspective of sustainable development, quantitative indicators alone are insufficient for assessing the environmental value of urban greening.

A mature green-city policy should also consider the ecological functions of vegetation: reduction of urban heat, provision of shade, dust retention, protection of biodiversity, and improvement of pedestrian comfort, reduction of surface temperatures and creation of spaces for recreation.

Accordingly, the next stage of urban greening should increasingly treat parks, boulevards, tree-lined streets, public gardens and other green areas as components of an interconnected system of green infrastructure.

This approach differs from conventional decorative landscaping. While beautification primarily improves the visual appearance of the city, green infrastructure contributes directly to climate adaptation, public health and environmental resilience.

For a city such as Dushanbe, where summer temperatures and pressure on water resources require careful planning, the long-term effectiveness of greening also depends on the selection of suitable plant species, irrigation efficiency and maintenance of mature vegetation.

Thus, the ecological value of urban greenery should increasingly be assessed not only by the number of planted trees but by its contribution to the functional sustainability of the city.

The 35th Anniversary of State Independence and the Scale of Urban Renewal. The preparation for the 35th anniversary of the State Independence of the Republic of Tajikistan has provided a significant additional impetus to the modernization of Dushanbe.

According to the official Executive Body of State Authority of Dushanbe, the programme of construction and improvement works for 2022-2026 initially included 4,337 measures associated with preparations for the anniversary [11].

By 1 July 2026, the city reported the implementation of 6,559 measures, meaning that the original programme had been exceeded substantially [11].

The implemented activities included educational and healthcare facilities, industrial enterprises, road construction, administrative and residential buildings, sports facilities, hotels, renovation of buildings and modernization of waste-collection points [11].

These data demonstrate the scale of the physical transformation of the capital during the jubilee period.

However, the scientific assessment of this process should not be limited to the number of completed facilities. The more important issue is the direction and quality of urban growth.

Rapid construction creates new opportunities but also increases demand for electricity, water, transport, land and municipal services. If these systems are not modernized in parallel, economic growth can produce additional environmental pressures.

For this reason, the 35th anniversary of State Independence should be considered not only as a symbolic milestone but also as a transition point between two stages of urban modernization.

The first stage was largely associated with reconstruction, expansion and improvement of the physical urban environment. The emerging second stage requires greater emphasis on environmental efficiency, climate resilience, technological modernization and quality of life.

In this sense, the contemporary development of Dushanbe demonstrates an evolution from quantitative expansion towards the gradual introduction of qualitative sustainability criteria.

From Urban Beautification to Ecological Modernization. A key conceptual distinction for understanding the current transformation of Dushanbe is the difference between urban beautification and ecological modernization.

Urban beautification generally refers to visible improvements in the physical appearance of a city: reconstruction of streets and façades, landscaping, lighting, decorative planting, maintenance of parks and improvement of public spaces.

Such measures are important because they improve the aesthetic quality of the urban environment and contribute to civic identity.

Ecological modernization, however, has a broader meaning. It concerns the transformation of the mechanisms through which the city functions.

This includes reducing the environmental impact of transport, increasing energy efficiency, limiting infrastructure losses, modernizing waste management, integrating environmental criteria into construction, improving resilience to climate risks and creating accessible green and public spaces.

The recent development of Dushanbe increasingly combines both dimensions.

The extensive programme of construction, landscaping and improvement has contributed to a new urban image [10; 11]. Simultaneously, the Green City Action Plan, E-Mobility project, Riverside West Avenue project and district-heating modernization have introduced more systemic environmental objectives into urban development [3; 5-8].

This transition is significant because a green city cannot be created exclusively through visual modernization.

A genuinely sustainable city must be able to reduce the resource intensity of economic and social activity while continuing to improve living standards.

In this regard, the principal challenge for Dushanbe is not whether development should continue, but how future growth can be organized so that infrastructure expansion does not lead to proportional growth in pollution, congestion and resource consumption.

Ecological modernization offers a framework for addressing this challenge.

Dushanbe and the Sustainable Development Goal. The transformation of Dushanbe is also closely related to the international sustainable-development agenda. The United Nations 2030 Agenda identifies the development of inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable cities as Sustainable Development Goal 11 [12].

Several targets under SDG 11 are directly relevant to the modernization of Dushanbe.

Target 11.2 emphasizes access to safe, affordable, accessible and sustainable transport systems, with particular attention to the expansion of public transport. Target 11.6 focuses on reducing the environmental impact of cities, including air quality and municipal waste management. Target 11.7 concerns access to safe, inclusive and accessible green and public spaces [12].

The sustainable-mobility, green-infrastructure and municipal-modernization projects being developed in Dushanbe correspond to these global priorities.

At the same time, the relationship should not be understood simply as formal compliance with international goals. The Sustainable Development Goals provide a conceptual framework that

allows national and municipal policies to be assessed against internationally recognized principles of urban resilience, inclusion and environmental responsibility.

Dushanbe's experience demonstrates how global sustainability objectives can be adapted to the specific conditions of a Central Asian capital.

International cooperation with development institutions has an important role in this process. EBRD participation has supported strategic planning and infrastructure modernization, while the proposed ADB EcoMobility project introduces additional opportunities for the development of low-carbon public transport [3; 5-9].

Thus, international cooperation functions not only as a source of financing but also as a channel for transferring technical expertise, planning methodologies and environmental standards.

Challenges and Priorities for the Next Stage. Despite the progress achieved, the transformation of Dushanbe into a sustainable green city should be regarded as a long-term process.

The first major challenge concerns transport. Continued growth in private vehicle ownership may increase congestion, air pollution, noise and pressure on public space. The ADB documentation for the proposed EcoMobility Project specifically identifies rapid growth in private vehicle ownership and use as an important challenge for the capital [9].

The solution therefore requires not only cleaner vehicles but also a structural shift towards attractive and reliable public transport, safe walking environments and cycling infrastructure.

A second challenge concerns the environmental quality of new construction. As the city expands vertically and spatially, energy efficiency, adequate green space, pedestrian accessibility and infrastructure capacity should increasingly become integral components of planning decisions.

The third priority is waste management. The modernization of collection points reported by the city authorities is an important element of urban improvement [11], but a more advanced green-city model also requires gradual development of waste separation, recycling and circular-economy approaches.

A fourth priority is climate adaptation. Green spaces, heat-resistant urban design, rational water use and resilient municipal infrastructure will become increasingly important as cities face higher temperatures and more frequent climate-related stresses.

The fifth challenge is institutional coordination. Green-city policy crosses the boundaries of transport, architecture, energy, housing, environmental protection and municipal services. Its effectiveness therefore depends on the ability of different institutions to operate within a common strategic framework.

Finally, public participation and environmental awareness remain essential. Even technologically advanced infrastructure cannot produce its full effect without responsible patterns of energy and water consumption, appropriate waste disposal, protection of green areas and greater willingness to use sustainable transport.

The next stage of Dushanbe's green transformation should therefore combine infrastructure investment with institutional development and environmental culture.

The 35th anniversary of the State Independence of the Republic of Tajikistan represents an important milestone for assessing the transformation of Dushanbe.

During the independence period, the capital has undergone extensive architectural, infrastructural and socio-economic modernization. The scale of construction and improvement activities implemented in preparation for the anniversary reflects the dynamic character of this development [11].

At the same time, the most significant feature of the contemporary stage is the gradual incorporation of environmental sustainability into the logic of urban modernization.

The Strategy for the Development of the Green Economy in the Republic of Tajikistan for 2023-2037 and its second-stage Action Plan provide the national institutional framework for this transition [1; 2]. Dushanbe's participation in the EBRD Green Cities programme and the preparation of the Green City Action Plan has translated these broader priorities into a city-level framework [3; 4].

Projects involving electric mobility, sustainable transport infrastructure and modernization of district heating demonstrate that environmental objectives are increasingly influencing actual investment decisions [5-8]. At the same time, the extensive creation and reconstruction of parks, public gardens and other green areas contributes to the environmental and social quality of the urban environment [10].

These developments support the conclusion that Dushanbe is gradually moving from a model centered mainly on urban beautification towards a broader process of ecological modernization.

This distinction is fundamental. A green city is not defined only by its visual appearance or the number of trees planted. Its sustainability depends on how efficiently it uses resources, how people move through urban space, how energy and municipal services are managed, how accessible public and green spaces are, and how successfully the city adapts to future environmental and climatic challenges.

In the context of the 35th anniversary of State Independence, this transformation has a broader historical meaning. The first decades of independence required Tajikistan to consolidate statehood, restore economic stability and create the basic foundations for national development. The contemporary stage increasingly brings issues of quality, sustainability, technological modernization and environmental responsibility to the forefront.

Therefore, the transformation of Dushanbe into a "green city" should be regarded not as an isolated municipal initiative but as an integral component of the evolving development model of independent Tajikistan.

The continuation of this process requires consistent integration of environmental principles into transport, energy, construction, land use, municipal infrastructure and urban governance. If

these areas develop within a unified sustainability framework, Dushanbe has the potential to strengthen its role as a modern, environmentally responsible and resilient capital and to provide a relevant regional example of green urban modernization in Central Asia.

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MEDICAL AND HEALTH SCIENCES

UDC 616.31

Lugovskov A.D., Zelensky V.V., Shamraev A.E., Fedorov F.A. Dental practices in ancient China and India: a comparative historical and medical analysis

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Abstract. *Aim. To conduct a comprehensive comparative historical and medical analysis of theoretical concepts, diagnostic approaches, hygienic regulations, conservative and surgical treatment methods for dentoalveolar diseases in the traditional medicine of Ancient China and Ancient India.*

Material and methods. The source base comprised ancient Chinese medical canons (Huangdi Neijing, Shennong Bencao Jing, Qianjin Yaofang, Xinxiu Bencao) and ancient Indian medical treatises (Sushruta Samhita, Charaka Samhita, Ashtanga Hridaya Samhita, Atharvaveda). Comparative-historical, historical-genetic, typological methods, terminological analysis, and medical hermeneutics were employed. The study is historical and documentary in nature, conducted without experimental animals or human clinical trials.

Results. A commonality of early etiological views was identified (the dental worm mythologem – chong ya in China and krimidanta in India) alongside fundamental differences in disease systematization. In Ancient India, Sushruta established a detailed nosological classification of 65 oral diseases across 7 anatomical sites, whereas ancient Chinese medicine viewed dentogingival pathology through the meridians of the Stomach and Large Intestine, defining teeth as the "surplus of bones" governed by the Kidneys. In oral hygiene, India pioneered the institutionalized codification of daily oral care (dantakashta chew sticks, tongue scrapers, oil pulling gandusha and kavala). China established the global historical priority in inventing the bristle toothbrush and utilizing silver amalgam for filling carious cavities (659 CE, Su Gong). The surgical school of Sushruta surpassed Chinese practice in surgical instrumentation (yantras), dental scaling, and maxillofacial traumatology.

Conclusion. The evolution of dentistry in Ancient China and India was determined by foundational philosophical paradigms (Yin-Yang holism and the meridian system in China versus the Tridosha doctrine and anatomical-surgical pragmatism in India). The Indian tradition laid the groundwork for systematic oral pathology, hygiene, and maxillofacial surgery, while Chinese medicine pioneered preventive restorative dentistry, pharmacotherapy, and biomechanical oral hygiene devices.

Keywords: *history of dentistry, Ancient China, Ancient India, Sushruta Samhita, Huangdi Neijing, silver amalgam.*

1. Introduction

The investigation of the genesis of medical knowledge in the centers of ancient Eastern civilizations represents one of the pivotal trajectories of contemporary history of medicine, enabling the identification of fundamental patterns underlying the formation of specialized clinical disciplines [1, 2]. Dentistry, which only differentiated into an autonomous medical discipline in modern times, developed throughout antiquity as an inseparable constituent of comprehensive therapeutic systems deeply rooted in specific philosophical and ontological doctrines [3, 4].

A comparative analysis of the dental practices of Ancient China and Ancient India is of profound scholarly importance. These two autonomous cradles of Eastern civilization produced medical heritage that exerted a decisive influence on healing arts throughout Asia [5, 6]. Historiography over the past two decades has largely focused either on general aspects of Eastern medicine [1, 7] or on isolated, specialized topics – such as the introduction of silver amalgam in Tang Dynasty China [8, 9] or the surgical techniques documented in the Sushruta Samhita [10, 11]. Nevertheless, a systematic comparative analysis contrasting the conceptual terminology, anatomico-physiological theories, hygienic regimens, pharmacotherapeutic formulas, and operative interventions of these two cultures remains insufficiently represented.

The relevance of this study is determined by the necessity to systematize the empirical and theoretical experience of ancient Eastern medicine in odontopathology and periodontology from the perspective of modern biomedical criteria, and to re-evaluate the historical origins of contemporary preventive and therapeutic oral health technologies.

The aim of the study is to perform a comprehensive comparative historical and medical analysis of theoretical concepts, diagnostic approaches, hygienic regulations, conservative and surgical treatment methods for diseases of the dentomaxillofacial system in the traditional medicine of Ancient China and Ancient India.

2. Material and Methods

The primary source corpus of this study consisted of classical written medical treatises from Ancient China and Ancient India.

The Ancient Chinese corpus comprised:

1. The canon Huangdi Neijing (The Yellow Emperor's Inner Classic, 3rd–1st centuries BCE), including the Suwen (Plain Questions) and Lingshu (Spiritual Pivot), detailing organ-meridian correlations with the masticatory apparatus [12].

2. The pharmacopoeia Shennong Bencao Jing (The Divine Farmer's Materia Medica, 1st–2nd centuries CE) [13].

3. Sun Simiao's encyclopedic compilation Qianjin Yaofang (Essential Formulas Worth a Thousand Gold Pieces, 652 CE) [14].

4. The Tang Dynasty official pharmacopoeia Xinxu Bencao (Newly Revised Materia Medica, authored by Su Gong in 659 CE) [8].

The Ancient Indian corpus included the principal texts of the classical Ayurvedic triad (Brihat-trayi):

1. Sushruta Samhita (4th–2nd centuries BCE to 4th century CE, Nagarjuna recension), specifically the Nidana-sthana (Chapter 16, detailing the etiology and semiotics of oral cavity diseases – Mukharoga) and the Chikitsa-sthana (Chapter 22, setting forth surgical and therapeutic regimens for teeth, gums, and jaws) [15].

2. Charaka Samhita (1st–2nd centuries CE), notably the Sutra-sthana (Chapter 5, outlining daily oral hygiene rules – Dinacharya) [16].

3. Vagbhata's Ashtanga Hridaya Samhita (7th century CE), synthesizing oral hygienic and medicinal chapters [17].

4. Hymns of the Atharvaveda (early 1st millennium BCE), representing the earliest sacred-empirical concepts of dental ailments [18].

The methodological framework was grounded in historical-medical principles of objectivity, historicism, and systematism. The research utilized: the comparative-historical method (to correlate concurrent developmental stages of dentistry across both civilizations); the historical-genetic method (to track the transition from mythological etiologies to rational clinical systems); the historical-hermeneutic method and terminological analysis of ancient Sanskrit and Chinese terminology (Sansk. Danta, Krimidanta, Dantasharkara; Chin. Ya, Chong ya, Chi); and the typological classification method (for categorizing instruments and therapeutic interventions).

The research design was a retrospective documentary historical-medical investigation. Because the work was carried out entirely on historical texts without experimental animals or human participants, formal review by an institutional bioethics committee was not required.

3. Results

Anatomico-topographical and Etiological Concepts of Dentoalveolar Diseases

In the ancient Chinese medical tradition, the morphological and functional condition of the masticatory apparatus was integrated with the visceral organ system (Zang-fu) and the meridian network (Jing-luo). According to the Huangdi Neijing, bone tissue is governed by the Kidneys (Shen), with teeth explicitly defined as the "surplus of bones" or the "manifestation of bones" (Chin. 齿为骨之余, *chi wei gu zhi yu*). Imbalances in Kidney energy and depletion of the Jing essence were regarded as the underlying cause of alveolar bone resorption, tooth mobility, and early tooth loss.

Topographically, gingival and jaw tissues were linked to digestive channels: the maxilla and upper dentition were governed by the Foot Yangming Stomach meridian (*Zu yangming wei jing*), whereas the mandible and lower dentition were controlled by the Hand Yangming Large Intestine meridian (*Shou yangming dachang jing*). Periodontal inflammation (gingivitis, periodontitis, abscesses) was attributed to pathological accumulations of "Internal Heat" (*Re*) and "Fire" (*Huo*) within these channels following dietary transgressions.

The etiology of dental caries in Ancient China centered upon the concept of the "dental worm" (Chin. 虫牙, *chong ya*), perceived as an agent gnawing away hard dental tissue. In subsequent pharmacological literature (*Qianjin Yaofang*), this evolved into a doctrine combining external damp-heat with the invasive fermentation of trapped alimentary residues.

In the ancient Indian tradition, codified in the Sushruta Samhita, an elaborate and systematized classification of diseases of the mouth (Mukharoga) was established. Sushruta partitioned the oral cavity into 7 distinct anatomical sites, identifying a total of 65 nosological entities:

1. Diseases of the lips (Oshta-roga) – 8 varieties;
2. Diseases of the dental roots and gingiva (Dantamula-roga) – 15 varieties;
3. Diseases of the teeth proper (Danta-roga) – 8 varieties;
4. Diseases of the tongue (Jihva-roga) – 5 varieties;
5. Diseases of the hard and soft palate (Talu-roga) – 9 varieties;
6. Diseases of the throat and pharynx (Kantha-roga) – 17 varieties;
7. Generalized affections of the entire oral cavity (Sarvasara-roga) – 3 varieties.

The Ayurvedic pathogenesis of dentogingival pathology was based on the Tridosha theory (imbalance of Vata, Pitta, and Kapha) and structural alterations of bodily tissues (Dhatus), specifically bone tissue (Asthi-dhatu) and marrow (Majja-dhatu). Vata disorders manifested as severe, shooting neuralgia, hyperesthesia, and premature tooth loosening. Pitta imbalance caused gingival inflammation, suppurative ulceration, and burning sensation. Kapha dominance produced mucosal edema, excessive salivation, numbness, and rapid accumulation of oral debris. Caries was categorized as Krimidanta ("tooth afflicted by worms"), characterized by perforation of the crown, gingival swelling, and excruciating odontalgia. Dental calculus was designated as Dantasharkara, defined as hardened secretions adhering to tooth surfaces and destroying the supporting dentoalveolar ligament.

Hygienic Regimens and Preventive Practices

In Ancient India, oral hygiene was elevated into an obligatory daily religious-medical ritual codified under the concept of Dinacharya (Charaka Samhita, Sushruta Samhita). Core hygienic procedures included:

1. Use of chew sticks (Dantakashta). Permissible sticks were restricted to trees exhibiting astringent (Kashaya), bitter (Tikta), or pungent (Katu) tastes: Neem (*Azadirachta indica*), Babool (*Acacia arabica*), Karanja (*Pongamia pinnata*), and Khadira (*Acacia catechu*). Stick dimensions were strictly standardized to 12 angulas in length (approx. 22 cm) and the thickness of the small finger. Chewing one end separated the plant fibers into a pliable brush used to clean tooth surfaces and stimulate gums without epithelial injury.

2. Tongue scraping (Jihva-nirlekhana). Flexible U-shaped scrapers crafted from gold, silver, copper, or bent reeds were applied to clear the dorsal lingual surface of toxic metabolic residue (Ama).

3. Therapeutic oil rinsing: Gandusha (holding the maximum tolerable volume of medicated sesame oil, Tila taila, in the oral cavity until tearing occurs) and Kavala graha (active oral gargling with smaller fluid volumes). These interventions were prescribed to reinforce the periodontal ligament, firm loose teeth, and prevent carious decay.

In Ancient China, oral hygiene revolved around postprandial rinsing with saline solutions and brewed green tea, an agent naturally rich in polyphenolic tannins and fluoride. From the Han Dynasty onwards, shredded willow twigs (yangzhi) were utilized as natural toothbrushes.

During the Tang (618–907 CE) and Song (960–1279 CE) Dynasties, China developed mechanical bristle toothbrushes. These instruments featured handles fashioned from bamboo or bovine bone, drilled with arrays of small apertures into which dense tufts of wild Siberian boar bristles were fastened. This innovation constituted the direct historical precursor of the modern toothbrush. Chinese abrasive dentifrice powders were compounded from finely pulverized gypsum, calcinated mollusk shells, rock salt, and dried menthol/mint leaf powder.

Conservative Pharmacotherapy and Analgesia

Conservative therapy in Ancient China relied on differentiated phytotherapy combined with *Zhen-jiu* (acupuncture and moxibustion). For odontalgia relief, topical pastes containing aconite root (*Aconitum carmichaelii*), Dahurian angelica (*Bai Zhi*), clove oil (*Ding Xiang*), camphor, and alum were applied. For cavitated lesions with agonizing pain, arsenic compounds (arsenic trioxide derived from realgar/orpiment) were applied to devitalize the dental pulp. Acupuncture was systematically deployed for pain control: needles were inserted into specific distal and regional acupoints, notably Hegu (LI 4, Large Intestine meridian), Xiaguan (ST 7), and Jiache (ST 6, Stomach meridian).

In Ancient India, conservative management (Chikitsa-sthana) included applications of honey-herbal pastes, astringent decoctions of Triphala, alum, and rock salt (Saindhava lavana). For fistulae (Danta-nadi) and hyperplastic gingival tissues, Sushruta instituted chemical cauterization (Ksharakarma) utilizing caustic plant alkalis (kshara), alongside thermal cautery (Agnikarma) with heated metallic probes. Acute gingival congestion was treated by local bloodletting using medicinal leeches (Jalaukavacharana) or surgical scarification (Chhadana).

Invasive Interventions, Surgical Instrumentation, and Restorative Metallurgy

Sushruta's surgical school in Ancient India developed a sophisticated array of surgical instruments. The armamentarium included blunt forceps (Yantra), particularly Sandamsha-yantra (toothed and smooth forceps) modeled after animal and avian jaws, and sharp cutting instruments (Shastra) including elevators, lancets (Mandalagra), and scraping probes.

Indications for tooth extraction (Danta-uddharana) were strictly delimited in Sushruta's teachings: exodontia was restricted to teeth with extreme pathologic mobility, severe coronal destruction complicated by alveolar osteomyelitis, or persistent fistulous tracts refractory to conservative therapy. Prior to extraction, gingival attachment was severed with a probe, followed by careful luxation to prevent alveolar bone fracture.

In mandibular fractures (Hanu-bhanga), Sushruta detailed manual reduction of displaced bone fragments, followed by interdental stabilization using gold, silver, or copper wire ligatures and immobilization dressings impregnated with herbal resins. For calculus encrustations (Dantasharkara), Sushruta mandated precise instrumental scaling with fine curettes down to the enamel margin while avoiding cemental injury.

In Ancient China, invasive surgery was circumscribed by dominant Confucian ethics demanding the preservation of bodily completeness received from one's ancestors. Tooth extractions were performed only as a last resort using iron forceps after preliminary chemical loosening with escharotic pastes.

However, Ancient China achieved a monumental technological breakthrough in restorative dentistry. In the official pharmacopoeia Xinxu Bencao (Newly Revised Materia Medica, compiled by imperial physician Su Gong in 659 CE), the preparation and clinical placement of silver amalgam ("silver paste", Chin. 银膏, yin gao) was documented for the first time in world history. The formulation consisted of 100 parts mercury, 45 parts silver, and 900 parts tin. These elements were triturated in a mortar into a homogeneous, workable paste, condensed into an excavated cavity, and allowed to set at intraoral body temperature.

The comparative characteristics of both systems are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1

Comparative Characteristics of Dental Systems in Ancient China and Ancient India

Comparative Parameter	Traditional Medicine of Ancient China	Traditional Medicine of Ancient India
Primary Written Sources	*Huangdi Neijing* (3rd–1st c. BCE), *Qianjin Yaofang* (652 CE), *Xinxu Bencao* (659 CE)	*Atharvaveda* (1st mill. BCE), *Sushruta Samhita* (4th c. BCE–4th c. CE), *Charaka Samhita* (1st–2nd c. CE)
Anatomico-Physiological Paradigm	*Zang-fu* holism; teeth as "surplus of bones" (Kidney governance); gingival link to Stomach and Large Intestine channels	Tridosha concept (*Vata*, *Pitta*, *Kapha*); teeth as derivatives of bone tissue (*Asthi-dhatu*); morphological orientation
Nosological Classification	Syndromic patterns (Kidney deficiency, Stomach fire, invasion of the tooth worm – *Chong ya*)	Rigorous anatomico-topographical nosology: 65 oral diseases (*Mukharoga*), 8 distinct dental disorders
Individual Oral Hygiene	Postprandial tea and brine rinses; willow twigs (*yangzhi*); invention of the bristle toothbrush with boar hair on bone handle	Mandatory *Dinacharya* ritual: *Dantakashta* chew sticks (Neem, Babool); tongue scrapers; oil pulling (*Gandusha*, *Kavala*)
Conservative Pharmacotherapy	Topical pastes (aconite, camphor, alum); pulp devitalization with arsenic; acupuncture analgesia (LI 4, ST 6, ST 7)	Medicated honey and oil rubs; astringent decoctions (*Triphala*); caustic (*Kshara*) and thermal (*Agni*) cautery; leeches
Surgical Interventions	Conservative avoidance of tissue trauma; exodontia preceded by chemical loosening; minimal surgical resection	Advanced oral surgery: extraction with specialized forceps (*Sandamsha*); calculus scaling; wire splinting of jaw fractures
Restorative Technology	Historical global priority: invention and clinical utilization of silver amalgam ("silver paste", *yin gao*, 659 CE)	Conservative cavity care; cautery; permanent restorative filling materials not recorded

4. Discussion

The comparative analysis demonstrates that the development of dental knowledge in Ancient China and Ancient India was a structured manifestation of clinical differentiation within the broader medical systems of antiquity. The structural similarities and divergences identified directly mirror the overarching cosmological doctrines of each civilization [1, 3].

At the etiological level, both cultures shared an archaic baseline concept: the "tooth worm" theory (Chin. Chong ya, Sansk. Krimidanta). This universal mythologem, also prevalent in ancient Mesopotamian cuneiform tablets and Egyptian papyri (e.g., the Ebers Papyrus), emerged as an intuitive perceptual explanation for coronal cavitation and boring, pulsatile odontalgia [2, 18]. However, the subsequent rationalization of this concept proceeded along markedly different conceptual paths.

In Ancient China, the worm etiology was subsumed within the broader Daoist framework of Yin-Yang balance, Five Elements (Wu Xing), and meridian energetics [7, 12]. The tooth was never viewed as an isolated organ; rather, its integrity served as a clinical barometer of Kidney essence (Jing), while gingival health reflected digestive channel dynamics [19]. This philosophical perspective prioritized systemic harmonization and acupuncture analgesia over localized surgical intervention. Furthermore, Confucian filial piety (Xiao), which forbade deliberate damage to bodily tissues inherited from parents, acted as a significant sociocultural deterrent against the emergence of aggressive oral surgery in China [4, 9].

Conversely, in Ancient India, the surgical orientation of the Dhanvantari school led by Sushruta (Shalya-tantra) fostered an objective, morphologically oriented approach to oral pathology [10, 15]. Sushruta's catalog of 65 oral diseases represents the earliest comprehensive oral nosology in medical history, preceding Western systematic classifications by more than 1,500 years [5, 11]. Sushruta provided clear differential diagnostic markers between pulpitis, periodontitis, and facial phlegmons, coupled with explicit indications for tooth-preserving versus surgical interventions [10].

India's early clinical recognition of dental calculus (Dantasharkara) as a major cause of periodontal tissue destruction and the formulation of an instrumental scaling protocol represents a groundbreaking historical contribution [15], anticipating the periodontal principles later articulated by Pierre Fauchard [2, 20].

The elevation of oral hygiene to a mandatory religious-sanitary duty (Dinacharya) embedded effective preventive habits across Indian society [6, 16]. Modern phytochemical investigations have repeatedly validated the antimicrobial efficacy of *Azadirachta indica* (Neem) chew sticks, which contain bio-active triterpenoids (azadirachtin, nimbin), while clinical trials have confirmed that Gandusha (oil pulling) significantly reduces salivary *Streptococcus mutans* levels and gingival inflammation indices [17, 21]. Historical cross-cultural interactions mediated by the spread of Buddhism facilitated the transmission of Indian hygienic practices eastward: monastic codes (Vinaya) brought chew sticks (yangzhi) to China, where the domestic urban craftsmanship of the Tang and Song Dynasties subsequently transformed them into the world's first mass-produced bristle toothbrush [8, 22].

In dental materials science, China's historic priority remains incontestable. Su Gong's 659 CE formulation of silver amalgam (Xinxu Bencao) preceded the European adoption of amalgam by Auguste Taveau (1826) by nearly twelve centuries [8, 9]. The sophisticated metallurgical skill of Chinese physicians in compounding low-temperature amalgams of mercury, tin, and silver provided a malleable, durable restorative filling material that successfully arrested carious cavitation [23].

In summary, while Ancient India made monumental contributions to systematic oral nosology, periodontal scaling, and maxillofacial surgery, Ancient China pioneered restorative biomaterials, pulp devitalization, acupuncture anesthesia, and mechanical toothbrush design.

5. Conclusion

1. The comparative historical-medical analysis reveals that dental practices in Ancient China and Ancient India evolved from a common archaic concept of the "dental worm" (*Chong ya* / *Krimidanta*), subsequently diverging into two distinct paradigms: a holistic, meridian-based functional model in China and an anatomico-topographical, surgically oriented system in India.

2. In Ancient India, Sushruta established the world's first comprehensive oral nosological classification encompassing 65 distinct diseases across 7 anatomical sites, invented specialized dental extraction forceps (Sandamsha-yantra), documented instrumental calculus scaling (Dantasharkara), and pioneered interdental wire ligatures for mandibular fractures.

3. Ancient India institutionalized preventive oral hygiene as a daily obligation (Dinacharya), utilizing antimicrobial chew sticks (Dantakashta), tongue scrapers, and oil pulling (Gandusha), establishing foundational principles of modern preventive dentistry.

4. Ancient China established global historical priorities in dental materials and personal hygiene devices: it formulated the earliest recorded silver amalgam filling material (Xinxu Bencao, 659 CE) and invented the modern-type bristle toothbrush utilizing boar bristles anchored in bone handles.

5. The direct correspondence between philosophical frameworks (Confucian-Daoist holism in China versus Ayurvedic-surgical realism in India) and clinical methodology highlights the profound sociocultural determination of medical and dental development throughout antiquity.

Conflict of Interest

The authors declare no obvious or potential conflicts of interest related to the publication of this article.

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SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES, ART

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Masterov O.V. Personalized Journalism vs. Privacy: The Boundaries of Television Intrusion into Private Life (A Case Study of NTV and Channel One Talk Shows, 2025–2026)

Персонафицированная журналистика vs. приватность: границы вторжения телевидения в частную жизнь (на примере ток-шоу НТВ и Первого канала, 2025–2026)

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Аннотация. Исследуется конфликт между редакционными практиками персонафицированной журналистики и правом граждан на неприкосновенность частной жизни в российских ток-шоу 2025–2026 годов. На материале пяти программ – «Мужское / Женское» и «Пусть говорят» (Первый канал), «Секрет на миллион», «ДНК» и «За гранью» (НТВ) – анализируются механизмы, посредством которых эмоционально насыщенный контент достигается ценой вторжения в частную жизнь участников. Предлагается понятие «репрезентационное насилие» – способ репрезентации, при котором человек лишается субъектности и рассматривается как ресурс для драматургии. На основе анализа судебной практики (включая дело А. Серова), обновленного законодательства о персональных данных (ФЗ № 152-ФЗ в редакции 2024–2025 гг.) и теории контекстуальной целостности Х. Ниссенбаум показано системное противоречие между редакционной логикой ток-шоу и правовыми нормами. Сформулирован этический принцип «презумпции достоинства в эфире». Статья адресована исследователям медиаправа, телевизионным продюсерам и специалистам по медиаэтике.

Ключевые слова: ток-шоу, приватность, персональные данные, репрезентационное насилие, контекстуальная целостность, «Мужское / Женское», «Пусть говорят», «Секрет на миллион», «ДНК», «За гранью», медиаэтика, правовое регулирование СМИ.

Abstract. This article examines the conflict between the editorial practices of personalized journalism and citizens' rights to privacy in Russian talk shows aired between 2025 and 2026. Drawing on material from five programs – *Muzhskoe / Zhenskoe* and *Pust' Govoryat* (Channel One), and *Sekret na Million*, *DNA*, and *Za Gran'yu* (NTV) – the study analyzes the mechanisms by which emotionally charged content is achieved at the cost of invading the participants' private spheres. The concept of "representational violence" is proposed to describe a mode of representation in which an individual is stripped of agency and treated merely as a resource for dramatic storytelling. Based on an analysis of case law (including the A. Serov case), updated personal data legislation (Federal Law No. 152-FZ, as amended in 2024–2025), and Helen Nissenbaum's theory of contextual integrity, the article demonstrates a systemic contradiction between the editorial logic of talk shows and legal norms. An ethical principle of the "presumption of dignity on air" is formulated. The article is addressed to media law researchers, television producers, and media ethics specialists.

Keywords: talk shows, privacy, personal data, representational violence, contextual integrity, *Muzhskoe / Zhenskoe*, *Pust' Govoryat*, *Sekret na Million*, *DNA*, *Za Gran'yu*, media ethics, legal regulation of media.

ВВЕДЕНИЕ

Ток-шоу как жанр на протяжении всей своей истории балансировало на границе между правом на информацию и правом на защиту чести и достоинства. Семейные конфликты, публичные обвинения, демонстрация документов и исповеди составляют драматургическое ядро жанра, но одновременно создают зону правового и этического риска. В 2025–2026 годах эта зона перестала быть теоретической: обновление законодательства о персональных данных, с одной стороны, и сохранение редакционных практик, сложившихся в предыдущее десятилетие, – с другой, породили системное противоречие.

Актуальность исследования определяется тремя обстоятельствами. Во-первых, с 1 сентября 2025 года вступили в силу поправки в Федеральный закон № 152-ФЗ «О персональных данных», ужесточающие требования к обработке биометрической и специальной категории информации, а с 30 мая 2025 года – масштабные изменения в КоАП РФ, усиливающие административную ответственность за нарушения в сфере персональных данных [1]. Во-вторых, судебная практика 2019–2025 годов демонстрирует устойчивую тенденцию к росту числа споров между участниками и производителями ток-шоу: если в 2018–2022 годах публично известны лишь единичные случаи (дело А. Серова, иск О. Бузовой к производителю «Пусть говорят»), то к 2025 году зафиксировано не менее пяти публичных судебных дел, связанных с условиями согласия и использованием личной информации героев передач [2; 3]. В-третьих, научное осмысление этих процессов в российской медиатеории до настоящего времени фрагментарно: существующие работы (Н.А. Жирнова, Г.В. Лазутина, А.С. Константинова) затрагивают отдельные аспекты проблемы, но не предлагают системного анализа механизмов вторжения в приватность на материале конкретных программ текущего сезона.

Степень разработанности проблемы. Конфликт между свободой слова и правом на приватность исследуется в работах Н.А. Жирновой, которая фиксирует «дуализм и неопределённость» правового режима для СМИ и отсутствие чётких критериев разграничения общественного интереса и частного любопытства [4]. Медиаэтические аспекты затрагиваются в исследованиях Г.В. Лазутиной [5] и А.С. Константиновой, которая рассматривает этические дилеммы журналистской деятельности в контексте уважения к личным границам и человеческому достоинству [6]. Проблема приватности в цифровой среде анализируется через призму теории контекстуальной целостности Х. Ниссенбаум [7], которая определяет приватность как соответствие потоков информации контекстным нормам, а не как простое сокрытие данных. Е.Л. Вартанова рассматривает коммерциализацию медиаконтента как фактор, влияющий на редакционную логику и баланс между общественным интересом и зрелищностью [8]. Жанровая специфика российского ток-шоу анализируется в работах Е.А. Притчиной и З.Ш. Шукурджиевой [9]. И. Гофман в классической работе о самопрезентации показывает, что социальное взаимодействие построено на управлении впечатлениями, где «передний план»

поведения регулируется нормами соответствия контексту [10] – это положено в основу анализа того, как ведущие ток-шоу управляют контекстом раскрытия личной информации. Однако системного анализа механизмов вторжения в приватность на материале конкретных ток-шоу 2025–2026 годов с опорой на теорию контекстуальной целостности не проводилось.

Цель статьи – выявить и классифицировать способы вторжения в частную жизнь, используемые в российских ток-шоу, и оценить их соответствие обновлённому законодательству и этическим нормам. Для достижения цели решаются четыре задачи: проанализировать механизмы персонифицированной журналистики на материале пяти программ; сравнить модели работы с приватностью на Первом канале и НТВ; рассмотреть правовые аспекты обработки персональных данных участников; сформулировать этический принцип, ограничивающий допустимые границы вторжения.

МЕТОДОЛОГИЯ

Исследование опирается на комплекс методов. Кейс-стади применён к пяти программам, выбранным по критериям: жанровая принадлежность к ток-шоу, федеральный статус вещания, ориентация на личностно-ориентированный контент, разные модели работы с приватностью. Три из пяти программ представляют эфир НТВ, что обусловлено разнообразием форматов канала в работе с приватностью – контрактной, биометрической и остросоциальной моделями. Две программы Первого канала включены как контрастные кейсы: публично-экспансивная и таблоидно-исповедальная модели.

Эмпирическая выборка составляет 50 выпусков, вышедших в эфир в период с января 2025 по сентябрь 2026 года: по 10 выпусков каждой программы, отобранных методом стратифицированной выборки. Для каждого года отбирались 5 выпусков с наибольшим рейтинговым показателем по данным Mediascope и 5 выпусков со средней рейтинговой позицией (определялась как медианное значение рейтинга программы за соответствующий год). Распределение выборки представлено в таблице 1.

Таблица 1

Эмпирическая выборка исследования

Программа	Канал	Период	Выпусков	Модель приватности
«Мужское / Женское»	Первый	2025–2026	10	Публичная экспансия
«Пусть говорят»	Первый	2025–2026	10	Таблоидно-исповедальная
«Секрет на миллион»	НТВ	2025–2026	10	Контрактная
«ДНК»	НТВ	2025–2026	10	Биометрическая
«За гранью»	НТВ	2025–2026	10	Остросоциальная

Анализ нормативных документов включает тексты Федерального закона № 152-ФЗ «О персональных данных» (в редакции 2024–2025 гг.), Закона РФ «О средствах массовой информации», УПК РФ (ст. 14 – презумпция невиновности), КоАП РФ (ст. 13.11), УК РФ (ст. 137, 138, 272.1), а также материалы судебной практики, включая дело А. Серова (№ 5-КГ19-173) и обзор практики Верховного Суда РФ за 2025 год.

Дискурс-анализ использован для выявления коммуникативных стратегий ведущих, направленных на преодоление психологических барьеров участников. Категории кодирования определены на основе теоретической рамки: (1) степень добровольности раскрытия информации, (2) тип раскрываемых сведений (биометрические, медицинские, семейные, финансовые), (3) наличие информированного согласия, (4) использование уязвимости участника как драматургического ресурса. Кодирование проводилось одним исследователем; для проверки надёжности 20% выборки (10 выпусков) кодировалось повторно с интервалом в 2 недели. Коэффициент согласованности (Каппа Коэна) составил 0,78, что соответствует уровню существенного согласия.

1. ТЕОРЕТИЧЕСКАЯ РАМКА: ПЕРСНИФИЦИРОВАННАЯ ЖУРНАЛИСТИКА И ГРАНИЦЫ ПРИВАТНОСТИ

Персонифицированная журналистика – направление, в котором фокус повествования смещается с события на личность, с факта на переживание. В ток-шоу этот подход реализуется через эмоционализацию – намеренное выстраивание нарратива вокруг личной драмы участника. Как отмечает Е.А. Вартанова, коммерциализация медиаконтента и высокий уровень индустриализации производства ведут к тому, что границы между редакционным и коммерческим содержанием размываются [8, с. 12].

Конфликт между персонифицированной журналистикой и приватностью имеет двойственную природу. С одной стороны, статья 23 Конституции РФ гарантирует право на неприкосновенность частной жизни, а статья 24 запрещает сбор, хранение и распространение информации о частной жизни без согласия гражданина [11]. С другой стороны, статья 3 Закона «О СМИ» выводит деятельность журналистов из-под некоторых ограничений, если информация представляет общественный интерес [12]. Ключевая проблема, как отмечает Н.А. Жирнова, – отсутствие единообразных критериев разграничения общественного интереса и частного любопытства [4, с. 89].

Для теоретического осмысления этой проблемы продуктивна концепция контекстуальной целостности Х. Ниссенбаум [7]. Согласно этой теории, приватность понимается не как бинарная оппозиция «публичное – частное», а как соответствие потоков информации контекстным нормам. Одна и та же информация может быть уместной в одном контексте (например, медицинский диагноз в кабинете врача) и неуместной в другом (тот же диагноз в телевизионном эфире). Нарушение приватности происходит не тогда, когда информация

становится «известной», а тогда, когда она передаётся в контекст, нормы которого не допускают такого распространения [7, р. 137].

Для анализа коммуникативных стратегий в ток-шоу продуктивна концепция И. Гофмана, который рассматривает социальное взаимодействие как перформанс, в котором участники управляют впечатлением через «передний план» (фасад) и «задний план» (подлинная суть) [10, с. 22–35]. В ток-шоу ведущий выступает как режиссёр перформанса: он определяет, какие элементы «заднего плана» участника будут выведены на «передний план» эфира, – и именно этот перенос составляет суть вторжения в приватность.

Предлагается понятие «репрезентационное насилие» для описания практики, при которой:

- участник лишается субъектности и рассматривается как ресурс для драматургии;
- его уязвимость (психическое расстройство, возраст, зависимое положение, финансовая нужда) инструментализируется для производства эмоционального отклика у аудитории;
- информированное согласие либо отсутствует, либо получено в условиях информационной асимметрии – когда участник не осознаёт масштаб аудитории, невозможность удаления информации после эфира и долгосрочные репутационные последствия.

Это понятие не сводится к правовым нарушениям: оно описывает структурную характеристику жанра, которая воспроизводится даже при формальном соблюдении требований к согласию.

2. МОДЕЛИ РАБОТЫ С ПРИВАТНОСТЬЮ: СРАВНИТЕЛЬНЫЙ АНАЛИЗ

2.1. «Мужское / Женское» (Первый канал): публичная экспансия частного

Программа «Мужское / Женское», выходящая на Первом канале с 2014 года, представляет модель, в которой граница между публичным и частным максимально размыта. Ведущие – Александр Гордон и Юлия Барановская – реализуют две коммуникативные стратегии: «судья-трибун» (Гордон) и «эмпатичный модератор» (Барановская), что позволяет программе охватывать широкий спектр реакций аудитории.

Анализ 10 выпусков 2025–2026 годов выявил три системных механизма работы с приватностью.

Первый механизм – эскалация семейного конфликта до публичного спектакля. В выпусках, посвящённых спорам между родственниками о выплатах за погибших военнослужащих (выпуски от 14 января, 3 марта и 17 ноября 2025 года), личная трагедия разворачивается перед многомиллионной аудиторией. Ведущие используют оценочную лексику («кукушка» – в адрес матери, оставившей ребёнка), что переводит частный конфликт в регистр публичного морального суда. С точки зрения теории Ниссенбаум, происходит нарушение контекстных норм: информация, уместная в рамках внутрисемейного или судебного

разбирательства, перемещается в контекст развлекательного эфира, где моральная оценка подменяет правовую.

Второй механизм – использование материалов, полученных вне редакционной процедуры. В выпуске от 8 декабря 2025 года с ульяновским шоуменом В. Семёновым в эфире была продемонстрирована видеозапись, источником которой, по данным СМИ, стал следователь [13]. Впоследствии в отношении участников ситуации были возбуждены уголовные дела по статьям 137 и 138 УК РФ – нарушение неприкосновенности частной жизни и тайны переписки [14]. Программа, таким образом, выступила каналом распространения информации, полученной вне правовой процедуры.

Третий механизм – использование уязвимости участников для создания драматургии. В выпуске от 26 сентября 2025 года, где героиня из Черепановского района Новосибирской области обратилась за помощью в воспитании внука, личная трагедия используется как нарративный ресурс. Ведущие и приглашённые эксперты (психологи, юристы) дают оценки, которые формируют у аудитории определённое восприятие ситуации, при этом сам участник лишается контроля над интерпретацией своей истории.

Показательно, что Совет при Президенте РФ по развитию гражданского общества и правам человека в 2024 году констатировал: значительная часть сюжетов ряда программ Первого канала, посвящённых семейным конфликтам, не получала надлежащего согласия участников на распространение сведений [15]. Это указывает на системный, а не эпизодический характер проблемы.

2.2. «Пусть говорят» (Первый канал): таблоидно-исповедальная модель

Программа «Пусть говорят», выходящая на Первом канале с 2004 года и пережившая в 2025 году смену ведущего (Дмитрий Борисов пришёл на смену Андрею Малахову, после чего формат неоднократно обновлялся), представляет таблоидно-исповедальную модель работы с приватностью. Если «Мужское / Женское» работает с семейно-бытовыми конфликтами, то «Пусть говорят» специализируется на историях, находящихся на стыке частной жизни и публичного скандала: измены, расследования исчезновений, конфликты знаменитостей, истории преступлений.

Анализ 10 выпусков 2025–2026 годов выявил две специфические черты.

Первая – использование травматического нарратива как основного драматургического ресурса. В выпуске от 17 февраля 2025 года, посвящённом истории женщины, потерявшей ребёнка, детали личной трагедии обсуждаются в студии с участием родственников, экспертов и случайных зрителей. С точки зрения теории Гофмана, «задний план» горящего участника (переживание утраты) принудительно выводится на «передний план» эфира, где он становится объектом коллективного зрительского наблюдения. Формальное согласие на участие не компенсирует нарушение контекстных норм: переживание утраты,

уместное в частном или терапевтическом контексте, перемещается в контекст развлекательного ток-шоу.

Вторая – вовлечение третьих лиц, не дававших согласия на участие. В выпуске от 5 декабря 2025 года с певицей Ларисой Долиной, рассказавшей об угрозах мошенников [16], в эфире упоминались имена и обстоятельства, касающиеся лиц, не присутствовавших в студии. Это создаёт правовой риск: согласно ст. 152.2 ГК РФ, охрана частной жизни гражданина предусматривает запрет на распространение сведений без его согласия, если иное не обусловлено общественным интересом. Однако критерий общественного интереса в подобных случаях остаётся неразработанным.

Дело О. Бузовой иллюстрирует правовые риски таблоидно-исповедальной модели. В 2019 году телеведущая подала иск к производителю программы за использование её образа без согласия. Суд первой инстанции удовлетворил требования частично, однако апелляционная инстанция отменила решение, указав на необходимость более полного исследования материалов [3]. Кейс демонстрирует, что даже при наличии формальных оснований для иска участники сталкиваются с трудностями доказывания нарушений.

2.3. «Секрет на миллион» (НТВ): контрактная модель приватности

Программа «Секрет на миллион» с Лерой Кудрявцевой, вышедшая в эфир в 2016 году и отметившая десятилетие в 2026 году, представляет принципиально иную модель работы с приватностью. Формат построен на добровольном раскрытии личной информации знаменитостями в обмен на денежное вознаграждение (до 1 миллиона рублей), которое участник получает, если решает прервать интервью, не отвечая на главный вопрос. Согласно правилам программы, вопросы выстраиваются по принципу нарастающей чувствительности: от нейтральных биографических фактов к личным и потенциально конфликтным темам [17].

Ключевая особенность формата – наличие договора между производителем и участником, который регулирует условия раскрытия информации и обязательства сторон. Этот правовой инструмент отличает «Секрет на миллион» от программ, где согласие носит вербальный характер. Договор предусматривает: (а) исключительное право производителя на созданный контент, (б) обязательство участника не разглашать тему выпуска до эфира, (в) штрафные санкции за нарушение обязательств [18].

Однако контрактная модель не снимает проблему репрезентационного насилия, а трансформирует её. Анализ 10 выпусков показал следующее.

Во-первых, добровольность согласия ставится под вопрос структурной зависимостью участников от медиапубличности. Для знаменитостей, карьера которых зависит от медийной видимости, отказ от участия или от ответа на вопрос может иметь репутационные последствия. Как отмечает Е.Л. Вартанова, «журналистика всё больше характеризуется противоречием между творческим характером труда и высоким уровнем его коммерциализации и индустриализации» [8, с. 12].

Во-вторых, формат программы предполагает асимметрию информации: участник не знает полного списка вопросов заранее, что сохраняет «эффект спонтанности» [17], но одновременно лишает его возможности заранее оценить масштаб раскрытия. С точки зрения теории Ниссенбаум, это нарушение контекстуальной целостности: участник даёт согласие в одном контексте (предварительная беседа с редакторами), а раскрытие информации происходит в другом (прямой эфир перед многомиллионной аудиторией), причём второй контекст не был полностью известен в момент согласия.

Хотя дело А. Серова относится к 2018–2020 годам и хронологически находится за рамками периода исследования, оно остаётся ключевым судебным прецедентом, определяющим правовой статус контрактной модели. Певец заключил договор с производителем «Секрета на миллион» (ООО «Ток Шоу»), обязавшись не разглашать тему выпуска и не участвовать в других передачах в течение 30 дней. Нарушив условие, Серов рассказал ту же историю в программе «На самом деле» на Первом канале. Производитель подал иск, и суды первой и апелляционной инстанций взыскали с певца штраф 650 тыс. рублей – сумму, которую он направил на благотворительность [19]. Верховный Суд РФ отменил решение и вернул дело на новое рассмотрение (дело № 5-КГ19-173), указав на необходимость дополнительного исследования материалов [20]. Этот кейс демонстрирует, что контрактная модель, формально защищающая права производителя, может ограничивать право участника на распоряжение собственной личной историей.

В-третьих, денежное вознаграждение, которое в большинстве случаев направляется на благотворительные цели [21], выполняет двойную функцию: с одной стороны, легитимизирует раскрытие личного через общественно полезный мотив; с другой – создаёт моральное давление на участника, которому отказ от ответа может быть представлен как лишение благотворительного фонда средств.

2.4. «ДНК» (НТВ): биометрические данные как драматургический ресурс

Программа «ДНК», выходящая на НТВ с 2018 года (ведущий – А. Колтовой, с 2024 г. – А. Казючиц), представляет уникальный для российского телевидения формат, в котором ключевым элементом драматургии становится генетический тест. Участники – обычные граждане, для которых ДНК-тест – единственная возможность разрешить спор об отцовстве, подтвердить родство или воссоединиться с потерянными родственниками [22].

С точки зрения законодательства о персональных данных, программа работает с двумя специальными категориями: биометрическими данными (ст. 10 ФЗ № 152-ФЗ) и сведениями о состоянии здоровья (генетическая информация). Согласно закону, обработка этих категорий требует письменного согласия субъекта. Ведущий программы подтверждает, что «участники лично дают согласие на взятие биологических образцов» [23].

Анализ 10 выпусков выявил следующую специфику.

Сильная сторона формата – наличие объективного разрешающего элемента. В отличие от ток-шоу, где конфликт разрешается моральной оценкой ведущего или экспертов, в «ДНК» разрешение происходит через научную экспертизу. Это снижает риск репрезентационного насилия: результат теста не зависит от редакционной воли и не может быть манипулирован.

Проблемная зона – момент вскрытия конверта с результатом. Результат ДНК-теста оглашается в прямом эфире, перед аудиторией и в присутствии всех сторон конфликта. Эмоциональная реакция участника (слёзы, шок, агрессия) становится центральным драматургическим элементом выпуска. С точки зрения контекстуальной целостности, генетическая информация, уместная в контексте медицинской или судебной экспертизы, перемещается в контекст зрелищного эфира, где её функция – не информирование, а производство эмоционального отклика.

Дополнительный риск связан с долгосрочными последствиями: результаты ДНК-теста, однажды показанные в эфире, остаются доступными на платформах (RuTube, VK Видео) и могут быть использованы третьими лицами. Право на отзыв согласия (ст. 9 ФЗ № 152-ФЗ) формально сохраняется, но практически неосуществимо: видеозапись уже распространена и тиражирована.

2.5. «За гранью» (НТВ): острые социальные ситуации и грань репрезентационного насилия

Программа «За гранью» (ведущий – Т. Еремеев), выходящая на НТВ с 2022 года, заявлена как остросоциальное ток-шоу, где участникам помогают найти выход из трудных жизненных ситуаций [24]. Формат близок к «Мужское / Женское» по типу контента (семейные конфликты, жилищные споры, криминальные ситуации), но отличается тональностью: ведущий позиционирует себя как посредник, а не как судья.

Анализ 10 выпусков 2025–2026 годов показал, что программа использует три стратегии работы с приватностью.

Первая – привлечение участников, находящихся в юридически уязвимом положении. В выпусках от 11 февраля 2025 года и от 15 апреля 2025 года участники – родственники обвиняемых и потерпевших – публично обсуждают обстоятельства дела до вступления приговора в законную силу. Это создаёт прямое противоречие со статьёй 14 УПК РФ (презумпция невиновности): «Обвиняемый считается невиновным, пока его виновность в совершении преступления не будет доказана в предусмотренном настоящим Кодексом порядке и установлена вступившим в законную силу приговором суда» [25]. Эфирная репрезентация, в которой участник презумптивно представлен как виновный или как жертва, может рассматриваться как нарушение презумпции невиновности.

Вторая – демонстрация бытовых условий участников. В выпуске от 7 октября 2025 года показаны условия жизни многодетной семьи, что превращает частную жизненную ситуацию в публичный объект оценки. Хотя участники дают согласие на съёмку, масштаб раскрытия (адрес,

имена, внешние данные детей) выходит за рамки того, что необходимо для решения заявленной проблемы.

Третья – использование приглашённых экспертов (юристов, психологов) для легитимации вмешательства в частную жизнь. В выпуске от 23 марта 2026 года, где обсуждался развод с разделом имущества, эксперты давали профессиональные оценки, которые в эфире приобретали характер публичного судебного решения, не имея при этом юридической силы. Это создаёт у аудитории иллюзию правового разрешения конфликта, тогда как реальное разрешение может быть достигнуто только в судебном порядке.

3. ПРАВОВЫЕ АСПЕКТЫ: СОГЛАСИЕ, ОТЗЫВ И ОТВЕТСТВЕННОСТЬ

Обновлённое законодательство о персональных данных устанавливает ряд требований, непосредственно затрагивающих деятельность ток-шоу.

Согласие на обработку. Согласно статье 9 ФЗ № 152-ФЗ, субъект персональных данных имеет право на отзыв согласия. С 2025 года согласие должно быть оформлено как отдельный документ – его нельзя включать в общие условия участия или договоры [26]. Для участников ток-шоу это означает, что после эфира они могут потребовать прекращения обработки своих данных. Однако на практике механизм отзыва в телевизионном производстве не отработан: видеозапись уже распространена, тиражирована на платформах и находится в открытом доступе.

Специальные категории данных. Статья 10 ФЗ № 152-ФЗ устанавливает особый режим для биометрических данных, сведений о состоянии здоровья, интимной жизни [1]. Ток-шоу, обсуждающие медицинские диагнозы, результаты ДНК-тестов (программа «ДНК»), подробности личных отношений, вторгаются именно в эту категорию. Для биометрических данных требуется письменное согласие, что формально соблюдается в «ДНК», но не всегда – в программах, где биометрическая информация (внешность, голос) фиксируется камерой без отдельного письменного согласия.

Ответственность. Статья 13.11 КоАП РФ предусматривает штрафы за нарушение законодательства о персональных данных. С 30 мая 2025 года штрафы для юридических лиц составляют от 60 000 до 150 000 рублей за первое нарушение, от 300 000 до 500 000 – за повторное, до 1 млн рублей – если нарушение привело к незаконной передаче или утечке данных [1]. Кроме того, статья 272.1 УК РФ, вступившая в силу в ноябре 2024 года, предусматривает уголовную ответственность за незаконное использование, передачу, сбор и хранение компьютерной информации, содержащей персональные данные, – вплоть до лишения свободы на срок до 10 лет [1].

Однако, как отмечает Н.А. Жирнова, применение административной ответственности к СМИ осложнено коллизией между общим законодательством о персональных данных и специальным статусом СМИ, который выводит журналистскую деятельность из-под некоторых

ограничений [4, с. 95]. Роскомнадзор как регулятор в сфере персональных данных располагает полномочиями по проведению проверок и вынесению предписаний, однако практика применения этих мер к телевизионным производствам остаётся единичной [27].

Судебная практика демонстрирует противоречивые тенденции. Дело А. Серова показало, что суды склонны признавать силу договоров между участниками и производителями, но Верховный Суд обратил внимание на необходимость более тщательного исследования обстоятельств [20]. Обзор практики Верховного Суда РФ от 08.10.2025 признал значимость режима персональных данных в спорах о фотографии, но одновременно содержал позицию, согласно которой СМИ не обязаны удалять публикации из-за утраты их актуальности [28].

4. ЭТИЧЕСКИЙ ИМПЕРАТИВ: ГРАНИЦЫ ДОПУСТИМОГО

Проведённый анализ позволяет сформулировать этический принцип, который мы обозначаем как «презумпция достоинства в эфире». Принцип предполагает четыре положения:

1. Лицо, не дававшее информированного и осознанного согласия на распространение сведений о его частной жизни, рассматривается как субъект, чьё достоинство подлежит защите независимо от общественной значимости темы.
2. Уязвимость участника (психическое расстройство, возраст, зависимое положение, финансовая нужда) не может использоваться как ресурс для производства драматургии.
3. Согласие на участие должно быть получено в условиях, исключающих информационную асимметрию: участник должен осознавать масштаб аудитории, невозможность полного удаления информации после эфира и долгосрочные репутационные последствия. Согласие, оформленное как отдельный документ, должно содержать перечень категорий данных, которые будут раскрыты, – а не общую формулировку.
4. Общественный интерес не является универсальным основанием для вторжения в приватность: он должен быть доказан применительно к каждому конкретному случаю, а не декларироваться редакцией. Для оценки соответствия используется критерий контекстуальной целостности: уместно ли распространение данной информации в данном контексте.

Этот принцип не противоречит жанровой специфике ток-шоу, но ограничивает практики, при которых зрелищность подменяет информационную значимость, а личная драма становится ресурсом для рейтинга. Программы, использующие объективные разрешающие элементы (научная экспертиза в «ДНК», договорная основа в «Секрете на миллион»), демонстрируют, что драматургия может строиться на раскрытии фактов и добровольном обмене, а не на эксплуатации уязвимости. Кодекс профессиональной этики российского журналиста в статье 4 закрепляет принцип уважения чести и достоинства граждан [29], однако

в редакционных практиках ток-шоу этот принцип нередко вступает в противоречие с коммерческой логикой производства.

ЗАКЛЮЧЕНИЕ

Проведённый анализ позволяет сформулировать следующие выводы.

Первое. Персонифицированная журналистика в российских ток-шоу 2025–2026 годов реализуется через четыре модели работы с приватностью: модель публичной экспансии частного («Мужское / Женское»), таблоидно-исповедальную модель («Пусть говорят»), контрактную модель («Секрет на миллион») и модель с объективным разрешающим элементом («ДНК»). Остросоциальные программы («За гранью») сочетают элементы нескольких моделей.

Второе. Обновлённое законодательство о персональных данных (ФЗ № 152-ФЗ в редакции 2024–2025 гг., ст. 272.1 УК РФ, изменения в КоАП РФ) создаёт нормативную базу для защиты прав участников, однако правоприменение остаётся фрагментарным. Механизм отзыва согласия в телевизионном производстве не отработан, а коллизия между общим законодательством о персональных данных и специальным статусом СМИ не разрешена.

Третье. Предлагается понятие «репрезентационное насилие» – способ репрезентации, при котором участник лишается субъектности и рассматривается как ресурс для драматургии. Этот феномен не сводится к правовым нарушениям: он воспроизводится даже при формальном соблюдении требований к согласию. Теория контекстуальной целостности Х. Ниссенбаум позволяет операционализировать это понятие: нарушение приватности происходит не при раскрытии информации как таковом, а при перемещении её в контекст, нормы которого не допускают такого распространения.

Четвёртое. Сформулирован этический принцип «презумпции достоинства в эфире», противопоставляемый практике приоритета зрелищности над правовой ответственностью. Принцип основан на четырёх положениях: информированное согласие, недопустимость использования уязвимости, требование доказанности общественного интереса и оценка по критерию контекстуальной целостности.

Перспективы дальнейшего исследования связаны с мониторингом судебной практики по искам участников ток-шоу в 2026–2027 годах, а также с разработкой профессиональных стандартов для редакций, работающих с личностно-ориентированным контентом. Отдельного внимания требует анализ программ, использующих объективные разрешающие элементы (научная экспертиза, договорная основа), как потенциальной модели снижения репрезентационного насилия при сохранении жанровой привлекательности.

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