Communication Theory and Application in Post-Socialist Contexts

Edited by
Maureen C. Minielli, Marta N. Lukacovic,
Sergei A. Samoilenko, and Michael R. Finch
with Deborrah Uecker

Communication Theory and Application in Post-Socialist Contexts

Communication, Globalization, and Cultural Identity

Series Editor: Jan Servaes

The *Communication, Globalization, and Cultural Identity* series explores and complicates the interlinked notions of "local" and "global" by integrating global dependency thinking; world-system theory; local, grassroots, interpretative, and participatory theory; and research on social change.

In the current world state, globalization and localization are seen as interlinked processes, and this marks a radical change in thinking about change and development. It also marks the arising of a new range of problems. One of the central problems is that the link between the global and the local is not always made clear.

The debates in the field of international and intercultural communication have shifted and broadened. They have shifted in the sense that they are now focusing on issues related to "global culture," "local culture," "(post)modernity," and "multiculturalism," instead of their previous concern with "modernization," "synchronization," and "cultural imperialism." With these new discussions, the debates have also shifted from an emphasis on homogeneity towards an emphasis on differences. With this shift towards differences and localities, there is also an increased interest in the link between the global and the local and in how the global is perceived in the local.

Recent Titles in the Series

Communication Theory and Application in Post-Socialist Contexts, edited by Maureen C. Minielli, Marta N. Lukacovic, Sergei A. Samoilenko, and Michael R. Finch, with Deb Uecker

Transcultural Images in Hollywood Cinema: Debates on Migration, Identity, and Finance, edited by Uğur Baloğlu and Yıldız Derya Birincioğlu

Media and Public Relations Research in Post-Socialist Societies, edited by Maureen Minielli, Marta Lukacovic, Sergei Samoilenko, and Michael Finch, with Deb Uecker

Rethinking Post-Communist Rhetoric: Perspectives on Rhetoric, Writing, and Professional Communication in Post-Soviet Spaces, edited by Pavel Zemliansky and Kirk St. Amant

Representations of Islam in the News: A Cross-Cultural Analysis, edited by Stefan Mertens and Hedwig de Smaele

The Praxis of Social Inequality in Media: A Global Perspective, edited by Jan Servaes and Toks Oyedemi

Negotiating Group Identities in Multicultural Germany: The Role of Mainstream Media, Discourse Relations, and Political Alliances, by David Abadi

Television, Democracy, and the Mediatization of Chilean Politics, by Harry L. Simón Salazar

Digital Inclusion: An International Comparative Analysis, edited by Massimo Ragnedda and Bruce Mustvairo

Communication Theory and Application in Post-Socialist Contexts

Edited by
Maureen C. Minielli, Marta N. Lukacovic,
Sergei A. Samoilenko, and Michael R. Finch,
with Deborrah Uecker

LEXINGTON BOOKS
Lanham • Boulder • New York • London

Published by Lexington Books
An imprint of The Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, Inc.
4501 Forbes Boulevard, Suite 200, Lanham, Maryland 20706
www.rowman.com

86-90 Paul Street, London EC2A 4NE, United Kingdom

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Information Available

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data Available

ISBN 9781793641236 (cloth : alk. paper) | ISBN 9781793641243 (ebook)

∞™ The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of American National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI/NISO Z39.48-1992.

Contents

Acknowledgments

We are honored that the contributing authors, who are leading and rising scholars on the frontiers on their fields, chose to submit their work to this edited collection. Immense respect and appreciation goes out to them.

We are grateful for the chapter reviews, recommendations, and feedback from a number of experts, especially Igor E. Klyukanov, Marilyn J. Young, Magdalena Igiel, Fred Vultee, John Koch, Greg Simons, Marlene Laruelle, Camille Lewis, John Armstrong, Dmitry Strovsky, Rod Carveth, Tim Gibson, Xiaoquan Zhao, Sojung Kim, and Kevin Wright. The expertise and intellectual contributions of these scholars was indispensable throughout the process leading to materialization of this book. We are thankful to scholars who facilitated and participated in discussions which shaped our thinking when developing this book, particularly Robert T. Craig, Michael Hazen, Elina Erzikova, Wilson Lowrey, Olga I. Matyash, and Katerina Tsetsura. We truly appreciate the scholars who wrote endorsements, reviews, and critiques of our previous work, particularly Carl Botan, Dejan Verčič, and Márton Demeter, as their feedback further motivated our thinking and direction when completing this book.

We are thankful to the team at Lexington Books of Rowman & Littlefield—principally Nicolette Amstutz for the professionalism, gracious patience, and robust support throughout this process. We want to thank Brian Hill for embracing our vision and initiating the agreement with the publishing house for this book.

The members of Communication Association of Eurasian Researchers (CAER) deserve special recognition. This is a vibrant and dedicated group of scholars who profoundly contributed to the building of a network and formalizing it through the creation of an association. Their support and input to the organization is vital. We are also thankful to the members and affiliates of

Russian Communication Association (RCA), for being empathetic allies to all the endeavors of CAER. This book was possible thanks to the foundation that has been developed through continuous labor of the CAER and RCA communities.

This book is a second volume that was completed following the sudden tragic death of the originator of the project and a truly wonderful individual—Maureen “Mo” Minielli. In light of such trying circumstances, we especially value the contribution and help that our team received along the way in moral support and intellectual input.

Our deepest appreciation must be expressed to numerous colleagues, friends, and relatives, who were there along the way, providing words of wisdom, advice, perspective, or sympathy whenever needed. We have named a few, but there are many more who on intellectual, technical, or personal levels guided and enabled our paths as we worked on this project. We appreciate you. We are humbled and grateful that we are surrounded by such a robust community of collaborators, coauthors, mentors, students, partners, friends, and loved ones. This larger network was paramount for the completion of this project. We thank you all.

Preface

SCHOLAR, MENTOR, COLLEAGUE, FRIEND

Mo was all these things. Everyone who knew Maureen C. Minielli, or Mo, would agree that she was a "force of nature" with fierce energy and boundless enthusiasm. Everything she did was done to the fullest with true care and devotion. All her work was marked by high levels of perseverance and professionalism. Mo was quick to offer advice, listen, encourage, and inspire all those she came into contact with during her life.

Mo's work was central for the creation and vision of Communication Association of Eurasian Researchers (CAER). She held several officer roles for the organization, including serving as CAER's president. Her efforts for CAER managed to advance the organization and its broader mission to uplift post-socialist communication scholarship and scholars. She reached out, built connections, and helped numerous researchers and educators in Eurasia and beyond. Mo was a discerning thinker, and she noticed that certain important ideas and findings from regional authors deserved more a "voice" in the larger context of communication scholarship. Discussions which she facilitated during informal or formalized conversations at conferences now appear in journals or books. Mo understood the need for this academic discussion and helped to consolidate and systematize the examination of the ideas and trends in post-socialist communication scholarship. This is the second book inspired by Mo's vision. The first edited volume, *Media and Public Relations Research in Post-Socialist Societies*, was published by Lexington Books in March 2021.

The foundation for this edited volume was laid out by Mo after several months of brainstorming and mapping its conceptual framework. She pitched the concept of the project to the CAER officers and built an editorial team, secured the publishing agreement from the esteemed Lexington Books, launched the recruitment of excellent contributing authors and had started to collect their chapters. Sadly, Mo unexpectedly passed away in the midst of the work on this project in February 2019. We deeply regret that we cannot celebrate with her that the books that she envisioned have indeed materialized.

We are thankful to Mo for her vision, collaboration, and friendship. Within this brief preface, we want to express our gratitude to Mo for initiating this book. We are honored that we had a chance to work with her. We want to express appreciation to all of the people who supported and facilitated the project after Mo's passing. The volume addresses questions on the state of post-socialist communication that deserve attention. Mo understood this need. She keenly understood people and the phenomena around her. That is why she conceived this book which speaks to many relevant issues of the present as well as the future. She was involved in this work from the beginning and will always be a presence in the field.

Introduction

Maureen C. Minielli, Marta N. Lukacovic,
Sergei Samoilenko, Deborrah Uecker,
and Michael Finch

This book is the first of a collection that focuses on communication theory and its application across several post-socialist cultural contexts. This is a pioneering project, and more importantly, this project is very timely. The broader field of communication studies is gaining more global prominence. This is also an era when the underrepresented voices are fortunately becoming more recognized. Eurasia and Central and Eastern Europe—the post-socialist region—represent a population of millions who embody a wide array of communication experiences. These experiences have not yet been recognized or given much acknowledgment by communication scholars. Our book aims to fill this academic vacuum by capturing significant communication tendencies in several post-socialist countries and situating these tendencies within communication theory, scholarship, and pedagogy.

This book aims to accomplish three objectives:

- To illustrate the application of communication theory across several national and regional contexts.
- To identify common trends and describe important tensions emerging from the works of the featured scholars, educators, and practitioners.
- To link the implications from the identified trends and tensions to a broader discussion about the current state of communication theory and practice in a global sense.

The Communication Association of Eurasian Researchers (CAER) is the organization that brought together this editorial team and the contributing authors. CAER is primarily dedicated to bridging the post-Soviet and post-socialist academia with the rest of the global community of communication scholars and practitioners. We have previously developed an edited volume for Lexington Books that traces the birth, development, and current state of media and public relations scholarship in the post-socialist world (Minielli et al., 2021). This book is an extension of the previous project for several key reasons.

First, CAER is a network of international communication scholars. We are familiar with the extent and immense value of the diverse communication scholarship and applications developed by these scholars. Hence, it has been public knowledge for a long time that CAER can serve as a liaison and have a positive impact on the development of the communication discipline in the region. Second, the global field of communication studies has a limited scope of knowledge when it comes to the understanding of post-socialist communication. In our first book, we outlined common features representing communication theory and practice in CEE and Eurasia. This book elucidates the essential role of post-socialist scholars in making sense of today's global communication processes. Lastly, with this volume we seek to showcase the work of academics who have spent years investigating underrepresented experiences.

The countries featured in this volume are Belarus, the Czech Republic, Kazakhstan, Lithuania, Poland, Russia, Slovakia, and Ukraine. The contributing authors are scholars and practitioners living in the region, expats, or global scholars associated with CAER, and who have a long tenure of experience studying, teaching, and collaborating with the said countries. The book features perspectives and implications for business communication, communication pedagogy, film studies, intercultural communication, interpersonal communication, linguistics, organizational communication, political communication, public memory studies, rhetoric, science communication, strategic government communication, and urban communication. In addition, it provides perspectives on academic journal development, creation and curation of teaching materials, and formalized academic networks. It contains examples of theory building and adaptation as well as applied projects implemented in national and local contexts.

THE ROLE OF THIS BOOK

Today, communication research and practice are associated with a number of issues and their effects on society including proliferating digitalization, 24-hour news cycle, global pandemics, political polarization, democratization and democratic backsliding, and conflict and peacebuilding. As our world is becoming increasingly global, it is important to maintain the relevance of communication research, practice, and pedagogy in international contexts (Kumar & Parameswaran, 2018; Matyash, 2021; Wang, 2014). In response to the above challenges, communication scholars have advanced new conceptual approaches and practical recommendations (Craig, 1999; Donsbach, 2006; Keyton et al., 2009).

As noted earlier, this book aims to bolster the presence of post-socialist communication research. The post-socialist region represents a unique and valuable set of experiences with a plethora of diversities as well as the common thread of sociopolitical transition (Minielli et al., 2021; Müller, 2020). From a theoretical and practical perspective, this region is a fascinating laboratory for new knowledge about social interaction. The post-socialist societies typify especially useful cases in global discussions because in some aspects they are more like the Global South than the North, while in other aspects they are more like the Global North than the South (Kumar & Parameswaran, 2018). Some scholars even argue for adopting the term "Global East" to convey the specifics of the region and unify the analytical efforts (Müller, 2020; Trubina, 2020). This book project is ambitious, and took substantial effort and considerable time. But it is an absolutely necessary enterprise that has clear benefits for international scholars and practitioners.

RECOMMENDATIONS ON THE APPROACHES TO READING THIS BOOK

In general, readers interested in gaining a holistic sense of post-socialist communication research can follow the thematic organization of this book. It begins with a look at some specific trends, and addresses publishing endeavors aimed at facilitating more robust academic conversations about the specific regions. Finally, it offers pedagogy-oriented research, theory, and reflective accounts in the last section.

Readers with more specific interests may consider prioritizing the specific chapters. Readers interested in learning about establishing sustained research output should primarily examine chapter 9 by Głowacki et al. and chapter 10 by Klyukanov and Sinekopova that discuss the development of region-specific academic journals. Readers interested in research studies should consider chapters in parts I and II, as well as chapter 14 by Uecker and Schmidt, which is an analytical data-based study. Readers interested in communication pedagogy should focus on part IV and see chapter 11 by Matyash, which extensively discusses pedagogy through instructional text creation. Readers with interest in various implications of international interactions will find relevant chapter 4 by Matveeva et al., chapter 5 by Finch, chapter 6 by Hejlová, and chapter 7 by Lukacovic, which focus on specific subareas of communication. Broader international implications are included in all chapters in parts III and IV.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

Part I features communication trends in the post-Soviet context. The chapters in this part reflect on theoretical advances and offer distinctive applied examples.

In chapter 1 titled "Reflections on the Development of Intercultural Communication in Russia," Olga Leontovich points out that despite adopting certain Western theoretical outlooks on intercultural communication, Russian scholars have developed their own approaches centered on the intersection of different disciplines. The author specifically elaborates on the role of linguistics within the relevant interdisciplinary intersection. Furthermore, she discusses the wide array of theoretical and methodological approaches that are specific for Russian intercultural communication research.

In chapter 2, "Grassroots Science Communication in Russia," Ekaterina Bogomoletc and Dmitrii Malkov theorize science communication in the Russian setting. The authors point out that a hybrid media system in the country shaped grassroots science communication projects and effected the choice of formats, media channels, topics, and audiences. Three specific case studies illustrate rising public interest in bottom-up science communication initiatives in Russia.

In chapter 3, "Urban Communication and Media in Russia," Olga Pichugina evaluates the state of affairs in urban and media studies in Russia. This chapter outlines several case studies that capture important developments in urban communication in the country. Urban communication is inevitably a multidisciplinary field that draws on a variety of relevant academic and applied areas. The author acknowledges the nuances of this intersection by focusing on carefully curated sets of theoretical lenses which embrace Western approaches as well as germane proposals of post-socialist region's thinkers.

Chapter 4, "Workplace Documentation in Post-Soviet Belarus and Russia: Insights for Organizational Communication," by Natalia Matveeva, Lilia Akhmerova, and Irina Savich outlines several insights for effective intercultural business communication and organizational communication theory by exploring documentation practices and genres in Belarus and Russia. The Soviet heritage of bureaucracy continues to play a role in private businesses and government organizations in these post-Soviet countries. Hence, the authors argue that competent international specialists in the areas of business or government communications should be knowledgeable of workplace documentation trends and organizational practices in post-Soviet states.

Through chapter 5, "Rhetorical Analysis of the Ukrainian Film *Julia Blue*: A Picture of Non-Western (Nonlinear) Identity," Michael R. Finch examines the film *Julia Blue* made by Ukrainian American creator Roxy Toporowych.

The movie depicts stories from Ukraine of the post-Maidan uprising era—and specifically Ukrainians who are dealing with the looming dialectical realities of war upon idyllic peaceful scenery, declines and revivals of rural traditional lifestyles, sense of belonging and pressures of immigration, and other relevant tensions. Finch employs Ricoeurian rhetorical analysis to point out the important emerging dialectics between the Eastern and Western understandings of reality (or realities), values, and the approaches to gain awareness and knowledge.

Part II includes chapters featuring trends in communication scholarship in CEE. These pieces particularly delve into various aspects of communication as related to challenges of democratic nation-building as stumbling between post-socialist heritage, some past traumas, and current pressures.

In chapter 6, “Transitioning from Communist Propaganda to Government Communication in the Czech Republic,” Denisa Hejlová traces the developments of Czech government communication during the eras of socialism and post-socialism, and identifies current trends that can be attributed to the historical baggage of communist propaganda and ones that require further conceptualization. The analysis outlines a stagnating progress of government communication that may be extrapolated to other post-socialist contexts. This model features three main identified components: academic, bureaucratic, and global trends.

Through chapter 7, “Slovakia as a Convenient ‘Laboratory’ to Extend the Theory of Securitized Framing: The Case of Far Right’s Frame Shifting between Euroskepticism and Europhilia,” Marta N. Lukacovic draws on works of Western and Slovak scholars to offer a conceptual framework for securitized frame shifting. She uses the context of Slovakia as an example which demonstrates the multilevel role of cultural congruence. Lukacovic argues that while securitization is impacted by strategic political alliances and ideologies, it is also reshaped by the undercurrents of the contemporary digital media environments.

In chapter 8, “The Past, the Memory, and the Polish Media: Collective Memory as an Object of Manipulation,” Aleksandra Synowiec identifies the mechanisms of manipulation in the area of Polish collective memory, referring to examples of text data collected in the right-wing Polish media. The analyzed question is part of a broader context for (re)establishing national identity in post-socialist societies in relation to the processes of social construction through language and communication and the role of the past as a group-forming factor. The objective is to recognize the relationship between the past, the memory, and the language of the right-wing media discourse and its role in shaping collective national identity.

Part III focuses on launching and maintaining academic publishing platforms for theoretical discussions. The authors bring valuable editorial *experience and well-informed insider perspectives that highlight important milestones and share insights about future directions.*

Chapter 9, titled "*Central European Journal of Communication*: Knowledge Share Community," is authored by the editorial team led by Michał Głowacki as the editor in chief, Agnieszka Stępińska as the executive editor, and their colleagues. First the authors explain the foundations and mission of *Central European Journal of Communication (CEJC)* as the scientific journal of the Polish Communication Association. Based on qualitative and quantitative data gathered from the period from 2008 to 2020, the authors argue that CEJC is a community for sharing knowledge, based on an open-access policy and a collaborative model of production. The chapter further explores the ways a national journal can cross national boundaries in order to facilitate research and knowledge exchange in CEE and beyond.

Chapter 10, "*Russian Journal of Communication*: Reflections on the First Decade," by editor in chief Igor E. Klyukanov and Galina V. Sinekopova offers an in-depth examination of the first decade of *Russian Journal of Communication* (*RJC*) which is the first English-language scholarly publication dedicated to the study of communication in, with, and about Russia and Russian-speaking communities around the world. The authors combine textual, historical, interpretive, and critical analytical aspects. This piece points out the challenges as well as the important values that stem from having a platform like *RJC* which creates a bridge between Russian and global communication scholarship.

In chapter 11, "Publishing a Communication Textbook for Russian Students," Olga I. Matyash describes her personal experience in creating an interpersonal communication textbook. The author stresses the importance of conveying theory by incorporating lived experiences that address local culture. Matyash reflects on the limitations that arose from the Russian national context, such as formal education policies and consequent approaches, hindrances to sustainable institutionalization, and the recognition of the communication discipline.

Part IV provides a unique look into various ways for bridging theory, research, and pedagogy. The chapters in this part include diverse perspectives and draw on a variety of sources, experiences, and contexts to exemplify intersections between the East and the West, theory and application, and various competing and also complimentary cultural tendencies. These chapters offer a variety of valuable lessons for those teaching and researching in post-socialist countries and for communication educators in general.

Through chapter 12, "Intercultural Communication Pedagogy in Lithuania: Listening to Viewpoints," Andrew C. Jones and Eugenija Kungienė suggest that the post-Soviet approach to communication, which embraces philology and linguistics, has important implications for pedagogy. The authors demonstrate the application through the reflection on their experiences with international students at a Lithuanian university. This chapter provides an example of a fruitful bridge between Western and Soviet schools of thought toward successful instruction in the contemporary world, which can inspire communication educators across the Baltic region and beyond.

In chapter 13, "Teaching Communication in Russia and Kazakhstan: An International Scholar's Perspective," Olga I. Matyash recounts her experience as an educator who primarily taught in the United States, but later dedicated an extensive effort and energy making an impact on communication education in Eurasia. Aside from reflecting on Russia, this chapter specifically traces important details of Matyash's work teaching in Kazakhstan. One significant aspect of this chapter is the recounting of the labors and successes when bridging Eurasia and the West with the didactic goals of making communication theory attractive and relatable to Kazakh students while navigating the broader local practices and values.

Chapter 14 raises a question "Interpersonal Communication and Perception Differences between Russia and the United States: Changes since 2009?" and the authors, Deborrah Uecker and Jacqueline Schmidt, offer a pedagogically relevant and empirically based examination on the shifting attitudes of students in the two countries—about one another. With the progressing deterioration of international relations between the United States and Russia, the authors illustrate how research and deliberate classroom practices help to identify and meaningfully address biases that inevitably form among the populations. The authors offer takeaways for educators as well and for anyone who is invested in facilitating aware, research-centered, and theory-informed growth within today's increasingly globalized world.

In the conclusion subtitled "Communication Studies in the Post-Socialist Contexts: Key Takeaways and Lessons Learned," we revisit the aims of the book in order to outline tendencies and tensions that can be identified across the presented works, particularly the important tensions between past and present and the position of the region in relation to the West and the broader global community. Finally, we discuss the implications of post-socialist communication for the global field of communication while elaborating on the imperative roles of culture and national contexts.

REFERENCES

Casmir, F. L. (1995). *Communication in Eastern Europe: The role of history, culture, and media in contemporary conflicts*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

Craig, R. T. (1999). Communication theory as a field. *Communication Theory*, *9*, 119–161.

Demeter, M. (2018). Theorizing international inequalities in communication and media studies. A field theory approach. *KOME – An International Journal of Pure Communication Inquiry*, *6*(2), 92–110.

Donsbach, W. (2006). The identity of communication research. *Journal of Communication*, *56*, 437–448.

Gunaratne, S. A. (2021). Resolving East-West rifts in Craig's metamodel. In M. H. Rich & J. S. Robles (Eds.), *Practicing communication theory; Exploring, applying, and teaching the constitutive metamodel*. San Diego, CA: Cognella Academic Publishing.

Keyton, J., Bisel, R. S., & Ozley, R. (2009). Recasting the link between applied and theory research: Using applied findings to advance communication theory development. *Communication Theory*, *19*, 146–160.

Klyukanov, I., & Leontovich, O. (2017). Russian perspectives on communication. In D. Carbaugh (Ed.), *The handbook of communication in cross-cultural perspective*. New York: Routledge.

Kumar, S., & Parameswaran, R. (2018). Charting an itinerary for postcolonial communication and media studies. *Journal of Communication*, *68*, 347–358.

Matyash, O. M. (2021). Communication as a practical discipline in Russia. In M. H. Rich & J. S. Robles (Eds.), *Practicing communication theory; Exploring, applying, and teaching the constitutive metamodel*. San Diego, CA: Cognella Academic Publishing.

Minielli, M., Lukacovic, M. N., Samoilenko, S. A., Finch, M., & Uecker, D. (Eds.) (2021). *Media and public relations research in post-socialist societies*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books – Rowman & Littlefield.

Müller, M. (2020). In search of the global east: Thinking between north and south. *Geopolitics*, *25*(3), 734–755.

Trubina, E. (2020). Обсуждая Глобальный Восток [Discussing the Global East]. *Russian Sociological Review*, *19*(3), 9–18.

Wang, G. (2014). Culture, paradigm, and communication theory: A matter of boundary or commensurability? *Communication Theory*, *24*, 373–393.

Part I

COMMUNICATION THEORY AND APPLICATION TRENDS IN THE POST-SOVIET SPACE

Chapter 1

Reflections on the Development of Intercultural Communication in Russia

Olga Leontovich

The study of intercultural communication in Russia is deeply rooted in the country's intellectual tradition. The popularity and rapid growth of the discipline in the United States and Western Europe acted as a catalyst for its development in Russia; however, it eventually took its own route based on both Russian and foreign scholarship in different research areas.

The aim of this chapter is to show that, alongside adopting certain Western ideas dealing with intercultural communication studies, Russian scholars have developed their own original approaches positioned on the intersection of different disciplines but mainly focused on linguistics. The chapter embraces a wide range of theories and brings into view such areas of research as *linguostranovedeniye* (literally "linguo-country study"), *linguocul'turologiya* (a version of linguistic anthropology), *linguopersonology* (theory of linguistic personality), and "linguistic conceptology." It also discusses the main aspects and leading methodological principles of Russian intercultural communication research.

INTELLECTUAL ROOTS

The problems of the interaction and mutual influence of cultures and languages had attracted the attention of Russian scholars long before intercultural communication developed into a separate field of study, with its own conceptual and terminological system and research methodology. It was inspired by the legacy of such thinkers as Lomonosov whose famous *Brief Guidebook to Eloquence* was written in 1748; Rizhsky and his *Rhetoric Study* (1796); Merzlyakov who published his *Brief Rhetoric* in 1809, and others (see more in: Klyukanov & Leontovich, 2016).

Russia was among the first countries to translate Wilhelm von Humboldt's research from German into a foreign language—the Russian edition of his paper "Über das vergleichende Sprachstudium in Beziehung auf die verschiedenen Epochen der Sprachentwicklung" ("On the Comparative Study of Language and Its Relation to the Different Periods of Language Development," 1820) was published in 1847 and had a great impact on the research done by Potebnya and his followers (Potebnya, 1862/1999; Zvegintsev, 1984). Potebnya based his ideas about the inner form of a word on Humboldt's heritage, but developed it into an original theory of his own. During the Soviet period Humboldt's ideas were further elaborated by Shpet (1927), Losev (1927), Ramishvili (1978; 1981), and others.

The groundbreaking research, which also had a great influence on the development of intercultural communication theory in Russia, includes Jakobson's views of language in relation to other communication systems (1968); Bakhtin's work on speech genres (1986) critical for the understanding of the dialogical nature of communication, as well as his ideas about polyglossia, heteroglossia, and so on; Lotman and his school's investigation of semiotics and semiosphere (see Matejka et al., 1977); Vygotsky's perspectives on the relationships between communication and cognition (1982); Luria's ideas about human cognitive development and its cultural and social foundations (1982); Stepanov's research of a wide range of topics dealing with semiotics and linguistic theory (Stepanov, 1971; 1975); and a number of other works (see more information on the history of communication studies in Russia in Klyukanov & Leontovich, 2016).

At the end of the 1970s, Leontiev posed the question about the national specifics of communication and the necessity of its multidisciplinary study (Leontiev, 1977). But the fashioning of intercultural communication as a discipline started with a detailed analysis of Western theories in the 1990s (Ikonnikova, 1994; Furmanova, 1994; Klyukanov, 1998; Greidina, 1999). Klyukanov (1999) discussed two approaches to multiculturalism: *positivist*, dealing with cultural values, norms, verbal and nonverbal communication, culture shock, and so on, which aims to predict and control particular cultural reactions and types of communicative behavior; and *systemic*, based on the holistic principles of investigating human behavior from the perspective of the general systems theory and the idea of an ongoing information exchange between an individual system and its environment. The systemic approach views culture not as a set of elements but as an interactive process of communication with other cultures.

Erasov (1997) proposed two other approaches to the problems of intercultural communication: instrumental and comprehending. The first one seeks to achieve practical results: successful adaptation of individuals to an alien culture and teaching the basics of effective intercultural communication in a particular environment. The second approach allows a researcher to trace the changes, which occur in a human as a result of the encounter with a new culture, and the formation of an intercultural personality as a mediator between different cultures. This approach presupposes a continuous development and improvement of the quality of communication, and the formation of a positive attitude toward differences for the growth of understanding on different levels and in different spheres of communication.

A special place in promoting intercultural communication in Russia belongs to Ter-Minasova who, as dean of the School of Foreign Languages at Moscow State University, did a great deal to popularize its ideas and bring them home to Russian scholars, teachers, and students. Her textbooks (Ter-Minasova, 2000; 2008) written in a student-friendly language and addressing a variety of topics common to basic intercultural communication courses gained immediate popularity across the country. She also organized numerous conferences for university and school teachers, which made the ideas of intercultural communication widely known all over Russia. Today new ideas continue to be spread through the journal of the Moscow State University *MSU Vestnik, Series 19. Linguistics and Intercultural Communication*.

Gradually, new original ideas were developed on the intersection between intercultural communication studies and linguistics (Leontovich, 2002; Donets, 2004). It is necessary to note that the research naturally drifted toward linguistics as the most developed area of studies in Russia dealing with the interaction between different cultures, at the same time making use of the terminology, conceptualization of cultures, and rich materials accumulated in communication studies.

The Russian areas of research based on the idea of the interrelation of language and culture which influenced (and continue to influence) intercultural communication as a discipline included *linguostranovedeniye*, literally "linguo-country study" (Vereshhagin & Kostomarov, 1980), and *linguocul'turologiya*, the Russian variant of linguistic anthropology (Chernobrov, 2006; Gak, 1999; 2000; Karasik, 2009; Kulinich, 1999; Maslova, 2001; Telija, 1996; Vorobyov, 1997). Maslova (2001) differentiates the following objects of study in *linguocul'turologiya*: (a) lexemes which denote culturally specific objects and phenomena and have no equivalents in other languages; (b) archetypes and "mythologemes"; beliefs, traditions, customs, and rituals reflected in language; (c) proverbs and sayings; (d) symbols and stereotypes; (e) metaphors and imagery; (f) system of styles; (g) speech behavior; and (h) speech etiquette.

A great contribution to the study of intercultural communication has been made by the scholars of psycholinguistics (Leontiev, 1977; 1997; Zalevskaya, 1983; 2007; Gorelov & Sedov, 1998; Bubnova et al., 2016), ethnopsycholinguistics (Sorokin, 1988; Krasnyh, 2002), and sociolinguistics (Dridze, 1980;

Shveitser, 1983; Karasik, 1992; Mechkovskaya, 1996; Konetskaya, 1997). The research into the mechanisms of understanding (Demyankov, 1983; Bogin, 1986; Znakov, 1994) allows scholars to make conclusions about the way contacting cultures are matched and how they exchange information in the process of intercultural communication. No less important are the works which deal with the nationally specific aspects of the worldview reflected in language (Serebrennikov, 1988; Arutyunova, 1999; Shmelev, 2002; Zaliznyak et al., 2005) and the correlation of language and national self-awareness (Ufimtseva, 1996; Gak, 2000; Krasnyh, 2003).

The developments in the Russian communication theory also include the study of speech communication (Voiskunsky, 1982; Kamenskaya, 1990; Tarasov, 1992; Pocheptsov, 1998), correlation of language and mind (Zimnyaya, 1993; Gasparov, 1996; Shabes, 1990), as well as language and communicative behavior (Vinokur, 1993). Interesting research was done in modeling the communication process (Suhih & Zelenskaya, 1998), examination of communicative strategies (Issers, 2002; Leontovich & Yakusheva, 2014), nonverbal communication (Gorelov, 1980; Kreidlin, 2002), speech genres (Dementyev, 2010), communication norms (Formanovskaya, 1989), types, categories, structure, and culture-specific features of discourse (Kasevich, 1997; Karasik, 2002; Kibrik, 2003; Makarov, 2003).

Russians have developed a number of theories which have been enormously popular within the country and produced a plethora of research, but unfortunately are not known abroad because most of the scholarship is published in Russian. Here we can observe great asymmetry (by the way, constituting an intercultural problem): unlike their English-speaking colleagues, Russian scholars are familiar with the works published abroad and actively refer to them in their research.

Among the key theories, which appeared in Russia and eventually developed into broad research areas, are those centered on the terms "linguistic personality," "concept," and "conceptosphere."

LINGUOPERSONOLOGY

The term "linguistic personality" was first mentioned in the early twentieth century by Weisgerber, but without any definition. It was later used by Bogin (1984), Karaulov (1987), Apresjan (1995), Kitajgorodskaya and Rozanova (1996), Neroznak (1996), Shakhovsky (1998), Gak (2000), and others to develop a broad theory of linguistic personality (see the analysis in Klyukanov & Leontovich, 2016). According to Karaulov (1987), "linguistic personality" is a basic culturally specific prototype of a language speaker which constitutes a timeless invariable identity structure (p. 39). He distinguishes three levels of linguistic personality: semantic, dealing with the natural use of language; cognitive (individual concepts and ideas organized into a more or less orderly worldview and reflecting a hierarchy of values); and pragmatic (aims, motives, interests, and intentions).

"Linguistic personality" is central in the communication process. In an intercultural context, the complex combination of physiological, psychological, social, cultural, and linguistic differences becomes critical; therefore, the achievement of intercultural understanding requires qualitative changes, which are implemented in the inner transformation of an individual participating in the interaction. The worldview acting as a context and vehicle of communication, as well as the basis for personal self-identification, largely depends on the way a culture identifies, organizes, and evaluates objects and phenomena. This does not mean a substitution of one worldview for another, but the matching of worldviews and broadening the communicators' horizons.

Other research done from the perspective of *linguopersonology* aims to identify typological regularities in the communicative behavior and language use of generalized characters associated with a particular culture. The approach was developed by Karasik (2009) and further realized by his followers in the study of such characters as "a Russian intellectual," "a Chinese traditional physician," "an American lawyer," "an English snob," and so on.

LINGUISTIC CONCEPTOLOGY

Linguistic conceptology is a Russian research area, which emerged in the context of a broader field—cognitive linguistics. Russian scholars working in this vein use two terms, which correlate with the English "concept": *ponyatiye* (equivalent to "concept" in its most common philosophical meaning) and *koncept* defined as a multidimensional meaningful unit reflecting the intersection of language and culture and possessing three major aspects—notion, image, and value (Karasik, 2002, p. 91; [qtd. from Klyukanov & Leontovich, 2016]). The second meaning was introduced into linguistics by Askoldov-Alekseev in 1928 but did not gain popularity until the 1990s when it was revived in the seminal works by Likhachev (1980; 1993) and Stepanov (1971; 1975). Likhachev suggested using the term *koncept* to denote an algebraic expression of meaning. Stepanov defined it as a cluster of cultural knowledge in people's minds, the main cells of culture in a person's mental world, a "bunch" of conceptions, associations, and experiences accompanying a word

(Stepanov, 1997, p. 40). According to Popova and Sternin (2001), the main difference between meaning and *koncept* is that meaning is "attached" to a linguistic sign, whereas a *koncept* is not—it can be expressed by numerous linguistic signs and their combinations, or it can be based in alternative semiotic systems, for example, mimics, gestures, music, art, sculpture, and dance.

The conceptual space of a person and a culture in general is organized into a *konceptosfera* (conceptosphere), primarily characterized by the ability to create culture-specific meanings (Likhachev, 1993).

Karasik (2014) indicates that the ontological characteristics of a worldview associated with a particular language include the existence of specific *koncepts*, uneven conceptualization of different fragments of reality depending on their relevance for a particular ethnic group, specific combinability of the associative features of those *koncepts*, and their orientation toward particular areas of communication.

Conceptology was further developed by numerous scholars: Slyshkin (2004), Krasavsky (2008), Vorkachev (2010), to name just a few. *Koncepts* have been used as basic units for the comparative analysis of mentalities, as well as dominant cultural phenomena and values, which, due to their elusiveness, intangibility, and vagueness, are difficult to investigate. Acting as the basic elements of language, *koncepts* unite representatives of a particular culture providing the foundation for understanding through the "clusters of knowledge," in which the spirit of the people is embodied (Leontovich, 2004).

A groundbreaking event was the publication of Stepanov's book *Constants. Dictionary of Russian Culture* (1997) which stimulates the development of a solid comprehensive methodology, draws out clearly the implications of the findings described earlier, and provides a theoretical framework for conceptology as a research area. The investigation of such *koncepts* as *time*, *space*, *life*, *money*, *love*, *family*, *age*, *property*, *privacy*, *beauty*, *modesty*, *happiness*, *anger*, *marriage*, *destiny*, *deceit*, and so on was carried out on the material of different "big" languages and cultures (Russian, British, American, German, French, Iranian, Finnish, Spanish, etc.), as well as minority ones of Russia and the former Soviet Union, and resulted in the publication of a carefully crafted eight-volume edition of the *Anthology of Concepts* (Karasik & Sternin, 2005; 2011).

The ability of *koncepts* to expand and be enriched through individual, emotional, and cultural experience of the speakers of a language provides for their elasticity and instability. On the one hand, the dynamic character of *koncepts* hinders their coordination between different cultures; on the other hand, they "flow" into each other, thus creating a unified cultural space, which allows for the flight of imagination in search of a "compromise" between the nonconcurrent concepts of different languages and cultures (Leontovich, 2004).

THE RESEARCH OF DIFFERENT SPHERES AND ASPECTS OF INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

Other significant contributions to the field include the exploration of different topics from an intercultural perspective: category of politeness in the book by Larina (2009) with an excellent foreword by Wierzbicka, intercultural family communication (Leontovich & Yakusheva, 2013), gastronomic communication (Olyanich, 2003), communication style (Kulikova, 2006), linguistic model of a polycultural world (Tameryan, 2004), linguistic policy in multinational regions (Grishaeva, 2007), intercultural approach toward translation and interpretation aimed at interpreting the meaning of the text at the intersection of languages and cultures (Karpukhina, 2013; Sdobnikov, 2015), and numerous other publications.

In addition to investigating general principles and patterns of intercultural communication, it is important to research specific issues and problems in the interaction between particular cultures. Among the works written in this vein are the comparison of gender issues in British and American cultures (Bodrova et al., 2011) and communicative behavior in different cultures: Russian and Finnish (Sternin, 2000), American (Sternin & Sternina, 2001), British (Sternin et al., 2003), U.S.-Russian intercultural communication (Gachev, 1997; Pavlovskaya, 1998; Leontovich, 2005), Russian and German communicative styles (Koptelzewa & Kulikova, 2011), Russian and German values (Babaeva, 2004).

Scholars who have done a great deal to popularize intercultural communication in Russia and show the relevance of communication to students' everyday life and experiences are Kabakchi (2002), Leontovich (2003), Kashkin (2007; 2014), Grishaeva and Tsurikova (2007), Ivanova and Chanysheva (2010), Lebedko (2012), Zhukova et al. (2013), and others.

MATERIAL AND METHODOLOGY

It is also worthwhile saying a few words about the material and methods employed in Russian intercultural communication studies. Alongside the use of general social science methods, such as observation, experiment, case study, ethnographic method, and so on, Russian researchers show strong preference for interpretative methods—discourse analysis, conceptual analysis, narrative analysis, and others. Surveys of both written questionnaires and oral interviews with native speakers or foreigners are often used to verify the results of the research.

Russian publications also include meticulous analyses of text episodes illustrating particular intercultural situations and interactions. Western scholars tend to criticize their Russian counterparts for using passages from literature and fiction films, in addition to real-life examples. However, one can argue that in real life researchers have practically no access to certain private situations, for example, romantic or family communication. Even though people's interactions in literature and films are only an approximation to real life, a stylized version of natural discourse which cannot be used as primary study material, in many cases it is as close as we can get to certain spheres of human existence. Russian scholars believe that the works of famous modern writers are not a worse reflection of culture and discourse practices than random conversations overheard in the street. Therefore, with certain assumptions, such texts, as well as documents, biographies, memoires, travel notes, newspaper articles, documentaries, and so on, can be employed in the exploration of different intercultural communication topics.

Having described the positive developments in Russian intercultural communication studies, it will not be fair to ignore some negative tendencies resulting from its overall popularity, such as the blurring of its boundaries and the attempts to label everything dealing with the study of foreign languages as intercultural communication research. It often happens that the approach is declared without taking into account the fact that intercultural communication is a substantive field in its own right, with its own terminological system, research algorithms, models, and methods. Hopefully, this tendency will be overcome with the further development and crystallization of the leading ideas and insights pertaining to intercultural communication research in Russia and abroad.

CONCLUSION

The purpose of the chapter was to examine the fashioning of intercultural communication as a scholarly discipline in Russia and bring into view the original theories and approaches developed by Russian researchers. Through discussing the Russian intellectual roots of the discipline since the eighteenth century, it shows that the foundations of the discipline were laid long before it was shaped into a separate research area. Situated in the contact zone between communication studies, linguistics, and cultural anthropology, present-day intercultural communication theory makes use of such topics as the mechanisms of understanding, the correlation of language and mind, the modeling of the communication process, speech genres, and culture-specific features of discourse. The chapter also highlights the ideas about the correlation of language and culture in such areas as *linguopersonology* and linguistic conceptology and their contribution to the development of intercultural communication theory.

REFERENCES

Apresjan, J. D. (1995). Obraz cheloveka po dannym jazyka: Popytka sistemnogo opisanija [Human image in language: An attempt of a systemic analysis]. *Voprosy Yazykoznaniya*, *1*, 37–67.

Arutyunova, N. D. (1999). *Jazyk i mir cheloveka* [The language and world of a human]. Moscow, Russia: Jazyki Russkoy Kultury.

Askoldov-Alekseev, S. A. (1928). Koncept i slovo [Concept and word]. In L. V. Sherba (Ed.), *Russkaya rech* [Russian speech] (Vol. 2, pp. 28–44). Leningrad, USSR, Academia.

Babaeva, E. V. (2004). *Lingvokul'turologicheskie harakteristiki russkoj i nemeckoj aksiologicheskih kartin mira* [Linguocultural characteristics of the Russian and German axiological worldviews] [Doctoral dissertation]. Volgograd: Volgograd State Pedagogical University.

Bakhtin, M. (1986). *Speech genres, and other late essays*. (Trans. W. Vern). Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Bodrova, A. A., Gritsenko, E. S., Lalaetina. O. A., & Sergejeva, M. V. (2011). *Gender v britanskoj i amerikanskoj lingvokul'turah* [Gender in British and American linguocultures]. Moscow, Russia: Flinta.

Bogin, G. I. (1984). *Model' yazykovoj lichnosti v ee otnoshenii k raznovidnostjam tekstov* [Model of linguistic personality in its relation to different text types] [Doctoral dissertation]. Leningrad, USSR: Leningrad State University.

Bogin, G. I. (1986). *Tipologija ponimanija teksta* [Typology of text comprehension]. Kalinin, USSR: Kalinin State University.

Bubnova, I. A., Zykova, I. V., Krasnykh, V. V., & Ufimtseva, N. V. (2016). (Neo)psiholingvistika i (psiho)lingvokul'turologija [(Neo)psycholinguistics and (psycho) linguoculturology]. Moscow, Russia: Gnozis.

Chernobrov, A. A. (2006). *Lingvokul'turologija: osnova integral'nogo gumanitarnogo znanija (jazyk - filosofija – logika – psihologija – kul'tura)* [Linguocultorology: Basics of integral humanitarian knowledge (language – philosophy – logic – psychology – culture)]. Novosibirsk, Russia: NPGU.

Dementyev, V. V. (2010). *Teoriya rechevykh zhanrov* [A theory of speech genres]. Moscow, Russia: Znak.

Demyankov, V. Z. (1983). Ponimanie kak interpretiruyjushhaja dejatel'nost' [Understanding as an interpretative activity]. *Voprosy jazykoznanija*, *6*, 58–67.

Donets, P. N. (2004). *Teorija mezhkul'turnoj kommunikacii. Specifika kul'turnyh smyslov i jazykovyh form* [Theory of intercultural communication. Specifics of cultural meanings and linguistic forms] [Doctoral dissertation]. Volgograd, Russia: Volgograd State Pedagogical University.

Dridze, T. M. (1980). *Jazyk i social'naja psihologija* [Language and social psychology]. Moscow, USSR: Vysshaja Shkola.

Erasov, B. S. (1997). *Social'naja kul'turologija* [Social culturology]. Moscow, Russia: Aspect Press.

Formanovskaya, N. I. (1989). *Rechevoj jetiket i kul'tura obshhenija* [Speech etiquette and culture of communication]. Moscow, USSR: Vysshaja Shkola.

Furmanova, V. P. (1994). *Mezhkul'turnaja kommunikacija i jazykovaja pragmatika v teorii i praktike prepodavanija inostrannogo jazyka* [Intercultural communication and linguistic pragmatics in the theory and practice of foreign language teaching]. Moscow, Russia: Moscow Pedagogical State University.

Gachev, G. D. (1997). *Nacional'nye obrazy mira. Amerika v sravnenii s Rossiej i Slavjanstvom* [National images of the world: America in comparison with Russia and the Slavic world]. Moscow, Russia: Raritet.

Gak, V. G. (1999). Chelovek v jazyke [Human in language]. In N. D. Arutyunova, I. B. Levontina (Eds.), *Logicheskij analiz jazyka. Obraz cheloveka v kul'ture i jazyke* [Logical analysis of language. Human image in culture and language]. Moscow, Russia: Indrik.

Gak, V. G. (2000). Jazyk kak forma samovyrazhenija naroda [Language as a form of people's self-expression]. In M. B. Yeshich (Ed.), *Jazyk kak sredstvo transljacii kul'tury* [Language as a medium of culture transmission] (pp. 54–68). Moscow, Russia: Nauka.

Gasparov, B. (1996). *Jazyk. Pamjat'. Obraz. Lingvistika jazykovogo sushhestvovanija* [Language. Memory. Image. The study of existence in language]. Moscow, Russia: Novoe Literaturnoe Obozrenie.

Gorelov, I. N. (1980). *Neverbal'nye komponenty kommunikacii* [Nonverbal components of communication]. Moscow, USSR: Nauka.

Gorelov, I. N., & Sedov, K. F. (1998). *Osnovy psiholingvistiki* [Basics of psycholinguistics]. Moscow, Russia: Labirint.

Grishaeva, E. B. (2007). *Tipologija jazykovyh politik i jazykovogo planirovanija v polijetnicheskom i mul'tikul'turnom prostranstve (funkcional'nyj aspekt)* [Typology of language policy and language planning in a polyethnic and multicultural space (functional aspect)]. (Doctoral dissertation). Saratov, Russia: Saratov State University.

Grishaeva, L. I., & Tsurikova, L. V. (2007). *Vvedenie v teoriju mezhkul'turnoj kommunikacii* [Introduction into the theory of intercultural communication]. Moscow, Russia: Academia.

Ikonnikova, N. K. (1994). *Sovremennye zapadnye koncepcii mezhkul'turnoj kommunikacii (modeli individual'nogo povedenija v situacii kontakta kul'tur)* [Modern Western theories of intercultural communication (models of individual behavior in situations of intercultural contact)] [Doctoral dissertation]. Moscow, Russia: Moscow State University.

Issers, O. S. (2017). *Kommunikativnye strategii i taktiki russkoj rechi* [Communicative tactics and strategies of Russian speech]. Moscow, Russia: USSR.

Ivanova, S. V., & Chanysheva, Z. Z. (2010). *Lingvokul'turologija: Problemy, poiski, reshenija* [Linguo-country studies: Problems, pursuits and solutions]. Ufa, Russia: RIC BashGU.

Jakobson, R. (1968). Language in relation to other communication systems. In *Selected Writings* (Vol. 2., pp. 670–708). Berlin, Germany: Mouton de Gruyter.

Kabakchi, V. V. (2002). *A Dictionary of Russia (2500 Cultural Terms*). St. Petersburg, Russia: Sojuz.

Kamenskaya, O. L. (1990). *Tekst i kommunikacija* [Text and communication]. Moscow, Russia: Vysshaja Shkola.

Karasik, V. I. (1992). *Jazyk social'nogo statusa* [Language of social status]. Moscow, Russia: Institute of Linguistics, Russian Academy of Sciences; Volgograd State Pedagogical Institute.

Karasik, V. I. (2002). *Jazykovoj krug: Lichnost', koncepty, diskurs* [Linguistic circle: Personality, concepts, discourse]. Volgograd, Russia: Peremena.

Karasik V. I. (2009). *Jazykovye kljuchi* [Linguistic keys]. Moscow, Russia: Gnozis.

Karasik, V. I. (2014). *Jazykovoe projavlenie lichnosti* [Linguistic expression of personality]. Volgograd, Russia: Paradigma.

Karasik, V. I., & Sternin, I. A. (Eds.) (2005–2011). *Antologija konceptov* [Anthology of concepts]. Volgograd, Russia: Paradigma.

Karaulov, J. N. (1987). *Russkij jazyk i jazykovaja lichnost'* [The Russian language and linguistic personality]. Moscow, USSR: Nauka.

Karaulov, J. N. (1989). Predislovie. Russkaja jazykovaja lichnost' i zadachi ee izuchenija [Russian linguistic personality and the goals of its study]. In D. N. Shmelev (Ed.), *Jazyk i lichnost'* [Language and personality] (pp. 3–8). Moscow, USSR: Nauka.

Karpukhina, V. N. (2013). *Konstruirovanie lingvisticheskoj real'nosti pri smene semioticheskogo koda kul'tury* [The construction of linguistic reality during the shift of the semiotic code of culture]. Barnaul, Russia: Izd-vo Altaisky State University.

Kasevich, V. B. (1997). *Kul'turno-obuslovlennye razlichija v strukturah jazyka i diskursa* [Culture-specific differences in the structures of language and discourse]. Paper presented at the XVIth International Congress of Linguists. Paris, July 20–25.

Kashkin, V. B. (2007). *Sopostavitel'naja lingvistika* [Comparative linguistics]. Voronezh, Russia: Voronezh State University.

Kashkin, V. (2014). Russian communication studies: A semi-clandestine science. *Russian Journal of Communication*, *6*(1), 89–92.

Kibrik, A. E. (2003). *Analiz diskursa v kognitivnoj perspective* [Analysis of discourse in a cognitive perspective] [Doctoral dissertation]. Moscow, Russia: Institute of Linguistics, Russian Academy of Sciences.

Kitajgorodskaya, M. V., & Rozanova, N. N. (1996). *Russkij rechevoj portret. Fonohrestomatija* [Russian speech portrait. Phonoreader]. Moscow, Russia: Institute of Linguistics, Russian Academy of Sciences.

Klyukanov, I. E. (1998). *Dinamika mezhkul'turnogo obshhenija: sistemno-semioticheskoe issledovanie* [Dynamics of intercultural communication: systemic semiotic study] [Doctoral dissertation]. Tver, Russia: Tver State University.

Klyukanov, I. E. (1999). A systems approach to multicultural education. *The Edge: The E-Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *1*(2). http://www.hart-li.com/biz/theedge

Klyukanov, I. E., & Leontovich, O. A. (2016). Russian perspectives on communication. In D. Carbaugh (Ed.), *The handbook of communication in cross-cultural perspective* (pp. 29–41). New York: Routledge.

Konetskaya, V. P. (1997). *Sociologija kommunikacii* [Sociology of communication]. Moscow, Russia: Brat'ja Korich.

Koptelzewa, G., & Kulikova, L. (2011). Akademische Kulturen in Russland und Deutschland—eine vergleichende Diskursanalyse [Academic culture in Russia and Germany—different approaches to discourse analysis]. In O. Rösch (Ed.), *Interkulturelle Studien zum osteuropäischen Sprach und Kulturraum* [Intercultural studies of the Eastern European language and culture] (pp. 27–38). Berlin, Germany: News & Media.

Krasavsky, N. A. (2008). *Emocional'nye koncepty v nemeckoj i russkoj lingvokul'turah* [Emotional concepts in German and Russian linguocultures]. Moscow, Russia: Gnozis.

Krasnyh, V. V. (2002). *Etnopsiholingvistika i lingvokul'turologija. Lekcionnyj kurs* [Ethnopsycholinguistics and linguoculturology. Lecture course]. Moscow: Gnozis.

Krasnyh, V. V. (2003). *"Svoj" sredi "chuzhih": Mif ili real'nost'?* ["Our man among strangers": Myth or reality?]. Moscow, Russia: Gnozis.

Kreidlin, G. E. (2002). *Neverbal'naja semiotika* [Nonverbal semiotics]. Moscow, Russia: Novoe Literaturnoe Obozrenie.

Kulikova, L. V. (2006). *Kommunikativnyj stil' v paradigme mezhkul'turnoj kommunikacii* [Communicative style in the paradigm of intercultural communication]. (Doctoral dissertation). Krasnoyarsk, Russia: Krasnoyarsk State Pedagogical University.

Kulinich, M. A. (1999). *Lingvokul'turologija jumora* [Linguistic and cultural study of humor]. [Doctoral dissertation]. Samara, Russia: Samara State Pedagogical University.

Larina, T. V. (2009). *Kategorija vezhlivosti i stil' kommunikacii* [Category of politeness in communication]. Moscow, Russia: Jazyki Slavjanskih Kul'tur.

Lebedko, M. G. (2012). *Practicing intercultural communication*. Vladivostok, Russia: Morskoi State University.

Leontiev, A. A. (1977). Nacional'nye osobennosti kommunikacii kak mezhdisciplinarnaja problema. Ob'yom, zadachi, i metody etnopsikholingvistiki [The national specifics of communication as an interdisciplinary issue. The volume, goals, and methods of ethnopsycholinguistics]. In A. A. Leontiev, Yu. A. Sorokin, & E. F. Tarasov (Eds.), *Nacional'no-kul'turnaja specifika rechevogo povedenija* [National and cultural specifics of speech behavior] (pp. 5–14). Moscow, USSR: Nauka.

Leontiev, A. A. (1997). *Osnovy psiholingvistiki* [Basics of psycholinguistics]. Moscow, Russia: Smysl.

Leontovich, O. A (2004). Expression of cultural values through key concepts. In V. I. Karasik, O. A. Leontovich, J. Mezza, & Sh. Rubin (Eds.), *American values reconsidered* (pp. 15–29). Volgograd, Russia: Peremena.

Leontovich, O. A. (2005). *Russkie i amerikancy: paradoksy mezhkul'turnogo obshhenija* [Russians and Americans: Paradoxes of intercultural communication]. Moscow, Russia: Gnozis.

Leontovich, O. A. (2007). *Vvedenie v mezhkul'turnuju kommunikaciju* [Indroduction to intercultural communication]. Moscow, Russia: Gnozis.

Leontovich, O. A., & Yakusheva, E. V. (2014). *Ponimanie – nachalo soglasija: mezhkul'turnaja semejnaja kommunikacija* [Understanding as the beginning of agreement: Intercultural communication]. Moscow, Russia: Gnozis.

Likhachev, D. S. (1980). Zametki o russkom [Notes on the Russian language]. *Novyj Mir*, *3*. 10–38.

Likhachev, D. S. (1993). Konceptosfera russkogo jazyka [Conceptosphere of the Russian language]. In *Izvestija AN. Serija literatury i jazyka*, *52*(1), 3–9.

Losev, A. F. (1927). *Filosofija imeni* [Philosophy of a name]. Moscow, USSR: Self-Published.

Luria, A. (1982). *Language and cognition.* New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Makarov M. L. (2003). *Osnovy teorii diskursa* [Basics of the theory of discourse]. Moscow, Russia: Gnozis.

Maslova, V. N. (2001). *Lingvokul'turologija* [Linguistic cultural studies]. Moscow, Russia: Academia.

Matejka, L., Shishkoff, S., Suino, M. E., & Titunik, I. R. (Eds.). (1977). *Readings in Soviet semiotics (Russian texts)*. Ann Arbor, MI: Michigan Slavic Publications.

Mechkovskaya, N. B. (1996). *Social'naja lingvistika* [Social linguistics]. (2nd ed.). Moscow, Russia: Aspekt Press.

Neroznak, V. P. (1996) Lingvisticheskaja personologija: K opredeleniju statusa discipliny [Linguistic personology: To the definition of the discipline status]. In V. P. Neroznak (Ed.), *Jazyk, pojetika, perevod* (pp. 112–126). Moscow, Russia: Moscow Linguistic University.

Olyanich, A. V. (2003). Gastronomicheskij diskurs v sisteme massovoj kommunikacii (semantiko-semioticheskie harakteristiki) [Gastronomic discourse in the system of mass communication (semantic and systemic characteristics)]. In *Massovaja kul'tura na rubezhe XX–XXI vekov. Chelovek i diskurs* [Mass culture at the turn of the 20th – 21st centuries. Humans in discourse]. Moscow, Russia: Azbukovnik.

Pavlovskaya, A. V. (1998). *Rossija i Amerika. Problemy obshhenija kul'tur* [Russia and America. Problems of communication between cultures]. Moscow, Russia: Moscow State University.

Pocheptsov, G. G. (1998). *Teorija i praktika kommunikacii* [Theory and practice of communication]. Moscow, Russia: Centr.

Popova, Z. D., & Sternin, I. A. (2007). *Kognitivnaja lingvistika* [Cognitive Linguistics]. Moscow, Russia: AST; Vostok-Zapad.

Potebnya, A. A. (1862/1999). *Mysl' i jazyk* [Thought and language]. Moscow, Russia: Labirint.

Ramishvili, G. V. (1978). *Voprosy energeticheskoj teorii jazyka* [Questions of the energy theory of language]. Tbilisi, USSR: Ganatleba.

Ramishvili, G. V. (1981). Jazykoznanie v krugu nauk o cheloveke [Linguistics in the circle of sciences about people]. *Voprosy Filosofii*, *6*, 104–110.

Sdobnikov, V. V. (2015). *Kommunikativnaja situacija kak osnova vybora strategii perevoda* [Communicative situation as the basis for choosing a strategy of translation] [Doctoral dissertation]. Moscow, Russia: Moscow State Linguistic University.

Serebrennikov, B. A. (Ed.). (1988). *Rol' chelovecheskogo faktora v jazyke. Jazyk i kartina mira* [Role of the human factor in language. Language and worldview]. Moscow, USSR: Nauka.

Shabes, V. Ja. (1990). *Sootnoshenie kognitivnogo i kommunikativnogo komponentov v rechemyslitel'noj dejatel'nosti. Sobytie i tekst* [Correlation of the cognitive and communicative components in speaking and thinking. Event and text] [Doctoral dissertation]. Leningrad, USSR: Leningrad State University.

Shakhovsky, V. I. (1998). *Jazykovaja lichnost' v emocional'noj kommunikativnoj situacii* [Linguistic personality in an emotional communicative situation]. *Filologicheskije Nauki*, *2*, 59–65.

Shmelev, A. D. (2002). *Russkaja jazykovaja model' mira* [Russian linguistic model of the world]. Moscow, Russia: Jazyki Slavjanskoj Kul'tury.

Shpet, G. G. (1927). *Vnutrennjaja forma slova. Etjudy i variacii na temu Gumbol'da* [Inner form of a word. Etudes and variations on Humboldt's theme]. Moscow, USSR. Publisher Unknown.

Shveitser, A. D. (1983). *Social'naja differenciacija anglijskogo jazyka v SShA* [Social differentiation of the English language in the USA]. Moscow, USSR: Nauka.

Slyshkin, G. G. (2004). *Lingvokul'turnye koncepty i metakoncepty* [Linguocultural concepts and metaconcepts]. Volgograd, Russia: Peremena.

Sorokin, Yu. A. (Ed.) (1988). *Etnopsiholingvistika* [Ethnopsycholinguistics]. Moscow, USSR: Nauka.

Stepanov, J. S. (1971). *Semiotika* [Semiotics]. Moscow, USSR: Nauka.

Stepanov, J. S. (1975). *Metody i principy sovremennoj lingvistiki* [Methods and principles of modern linguistics]. Moscow, USSR: Nauka.

Stepanov, J. S. (1997). *Konstanty. Slovar' russkoj kul'tury. Opyt issledovanija* [Constants. Dictionary of Russian culture. Research experience]. Moscow, Russia: Shkola "Jazyki Russkoj Kul'tury."

Sternin, I. A. (2000). Ulybka v russkom kommunikativnom povedenii [Smile in Russian communicative behavior]. In I. A. Sternin (Ed.), *Russkoye i finskoye kommunikativnoye povedeniye* [Russian and Finnish communicative behavior] (pp. 53–61). Voronezh, Russia: VGTU.

Sternin, I. A., Larina, T. V., & Sternina, M. A. (2003). *Ocherk anglijskogo kommunikativnogo povedenija* [An essay on English communicative behavior]. Voronezh, Russia: Istoki.

Sternin, I. A., & Sternina, M. A. (2001). *Amerikanskoe kommunikativnoe povedenie* [American communicative behaviour]. Voronezh, Russia: VGU-MION.

Suhih, S. A., & Zelenskaya, V. V. (1998). *Pragmalingvisticheskoe modelirovanie kommunikativnogo processa* [Pragmolinguistic modelling of the communication process]. Krasnodar, Russia: Kuban State University.

Tameryan, T. J. (2004). Jazykovaja model' polikul'turnogo mira: interlingvokul'turnyj aspekt [Linguistic model of a polycultural world: interlinguocultural aspect] [Doctoral dissertation]. Nalchik, Russia.

Tarasov, E. F. (1992). *Problemy teorii rechevogo obshhenija* [Issues of the theory of speech communication] [Doctoral dissertation]. Moscow, Russia: Institute of Linguistics, Russian Academy of Sciences.

Telija, V. N. (1996). *Russkaja frazeologija. Semanticheskij, pragmaticheskij i lingvokul'turologicheskij aspekty* [Russian phraseology. Semantic, pragmatic and linguocultural aspects]. Moscow, Russia: Shkola "Jazyki Russkoj Kul'tury."

Ter-Minasova, S. G. (2000). *Jazyk i mezhkul'turnaja kommunikacija* [Language and intercultural communication]. Moscow, Russia: SLOVO.

Ter-Minasova, S. G. (2008). *Vojna i mir jazykov i kul'tur* [War and peace of languages and cultures]. Moscow, Russia: SLOVO.

Ufimtseva, N. V. (1996). Russkie: opyt eshhe odnogo samopoznanija [Russians: one more essay on self-discovery]. In *Etnokul'turnaja specifika jazykovogo soznanija* (pp. 139–162). Moscow, Russia: Institute of Linguistics, Russian Academy of Sciences.

Vereshhagin, E. M., & Kostomarov, V. G. (1980). *Lingvostranovedcheskaja teorija slova* [Linguocultural theory of word study]. Moscow, USSR: Russkij Yazyk.

Vinokur, T. G. (1993). *Govorjashhij i slushajushhij. Varianty rechevogo povedenija* [Speaker and listener. Variants of communicative behavior]. Moscow, Russia: Nauka.

Voiskunsky, A. E. (1982). *Ja govorju, my govorim . . . Ocherki o chelovecheskom obshhenii* [I speak, you speak . . . Essays on human communication]. Moscow, USSR: Znanie.

Vorkachev, S. G. (2010). "Kuda zh nam plyt'?" – lingvokul'turnaja konceptologija: sovremennoe sostojanie, problemy, vektor razvitija ["Where are we heading?" – linguocultural conceptology: contemporary state, problems, vector of development]. *Jazyk, kommunikacija i social'naja sreda* [Language, culture and social environment], *8*, 5–27.

Vorobyov, V. V. (1997). *Lingvokul'turologija (teorija i metody)* [Linguistic cultural studies: theory and methods]. Moscow, Russia: RUDN.

Vygotsky, L. S. (1982). *Myshlenie i rech'* [Thinking and speech]. Vol. 3. Moscow, USSR: Pedagogika.

Zalevskaya, A. A. (1983). *Problemy psiholingvistiki* [Problems of psycholinguistics]. Kalinin, USSR: Kalinin State University.

Zalevskaya, A. A. (2007). *Vvedenie v psiholingvistiku* [Introduction to psycholinguistics]. (2nd ed.). Moscow, Russia: Rossijsky State Humanitarian University.

Zaliznyak, A. A., Levontina, I. B., & Shmelev, A. D. (2005). *Kljuchevye idei russkoj jazykovoj kartiny mira* [Key ideas of the Russian linguistic worldview]. Moscow, Russia: Jazyki slavjanskoj kul'tury.

Zhukova, I. N., Lebed'ko, M. G., & Juzefovich, N. G. (2013). *Slovar' terminov mezhkul'turnoj kommunikacii* [Dictionary of intercultural communication terms]. Moscow, Russia: FLINTA: Nauka.

Zimnyaya, I. A. (1985). Verbal'noe myshlenie (psihologicheskij aspekt) [Verbal mind (psychological aspect)]. In A. F. Tarasov (Ed.), *Issledovanie rechevogo myshlenija v psiholingvistike* [The study of the verbal mind in psycholinguistics] (pp. 51–72). Moscow, USSR: Nauka.

Znakov, V. V. (1994). *Ponimanie v poznanii i obshhenii* [Understanding in cognition and communication]. Moscow, Russia: Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Psychology.

Zvegintsev, V. A. (1984). O nauchnom nasledii Vil'gel'ma fon Gumbol'dta (On the research heritage of Wilhelm von Humboldt). In W. Humboldt (Ed.), *Izbrannye trudy po jazykoznaniju* [Selected works on linguistics] (p. 356). Moscow, USSR: Progress.

Chapter 2

Grassroots Science Communication in Russia

Ekaterina Bogomoletc and Dmitrii Malkov

In the past two decades, various projects communicating science to lay audiences were launched in Russia. The projects covered a broad range of topics including STEM fields (see, for example, PostNauka, 2020; Science Slam, 2020; SciOne, 2020), humanities and social sciences (see, for example, Arzamas, 2020), and medicine (Profilaktika Media, 2020). Interestingly, while the government was a major player in science popularization in the Soviet Union and has recently claimed this role in modern Russia (Borissova & Malkov, 2020), a number of popular science projects in the late 2000s and early 2010s started as grassroots initiatives. We argue that the advancement of technology and the hybrid media system of post-Soviet Russia (Bodrunova & Litvinenko, 2016) contributed to the development of grassroots science communication projects.

This chapter discusses how the hybrid media system of post-Soviet Russia shaped grassroots science communication projects, and affected the choice of formats, media channels, topics, and audiences. In order to do this, we examine three case studies that illustrate the trend of a rising interest toward grassroots science communication initiatives in Russia: Science Slam events, SciOne video channel, and Biomolecula website. Ultimately, we address the broader question of the connection between the media system of post-Soviet Russia and the trends in the development of science communication in Russia.

MEDIA SYSTEMS AND SCIENCE COMMUNICATION

The development of science communication is affected by a number of factors including the state of the media system. According to Schäfer (2017), today science communication is undergoing transformations "in line with the crisis of legacy media, the rise of online communication, and the extension of PR by societal stakeholders" (p. 56). This is especially true for Russia where science communication as a field was impacted by tensions between government agencies seeking control over media and the popularity of uncontrolled channels of communication including those communicating science.

Russian Media System in the Global Media Landscape

For many years, scholars have attempted to categorize Soviet and Russian media systems. For example, one of the more famous approaches to media systems was suggested by Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm (1984) who described four theories of press. The theories included the *Authoritarian*, *Libertarian*, *Social Responsibility*, and *Soviet Communist* theory. The latter described a system where "the Communist party . . . in the name of citizens, own, operate, invest on and directly distribute mass communication according to the aims and process embedded on a world revolution" (Vaca-Baqueiro, 2018, p. 11). As evident from the name, this classification dedicated a special niche for Soviet system, highlighting the unique relationship between media players and the Soviet government. Similarly, Oates (2007) called the Russian system "neo-Soviet" tracing the origins of the current media practices in Russia back to the Soviet media model.

Alternatively, Hallin and Mancini (2004) offered three models of media systems: *Liberal Model*, *Democratic Corporatist Model*, and *Polarized Pluralist Model*. Although very helpful for understanding media systems, the models were based on the analysis of media systems in Western countries. The approach did not address the Russian media system or other non-Western media systems. Thus, there was a need for the development of an updated, more inclusive approach to media systems.

When expanding their approach to countries outside of the Western world, Hallin and Mancini (2012) suggested refraining from using the Liberal, Democratic Corporatist, or Polarized Pluralist Models as a starting point. Instead, the contributing authors reflected on the questions that could be asked about any media system such as the questions about the structure of the media market and about journalists' professionalism. Analyzing Russian media system from the perspective of this framework, Vartanova (2012) suggested that the complexity of post-Soviet society "did not permit the media system to duplicate or efficiently reconstruct the Western experience" (p. 121). The similarities between Western media systems and the Russian one are mostly manifested at the official level through regulations banning censorship or proclaiming freedom of press. However, a deeper look at the

Russian media system reveals “informal constraints” (Vartanova, 2012, p. 122) that shape the system in a unique way.

The Unique Path of the Russian Media System

Due to its historical, cultural, and political background, the Russian media system is unique and differs from media systems in other countries. When studying the Russian media system, one might see such oxymoron combinations as the official ban of censorship and (informal) commonly accepted limitations and self-censorship when it comes to certain topics or views (Schimpfössl & Yablokov, 2020), government control and market-driven decisions (Vartanova & Vyrkovsky, 2020), influential traditional media and rapidly growing new media channels (Gavra, 2019; Koltsova & Bodrunova, 2019), and Soviet practices and modern approaches to media and journalism (Koltsova, 2006). According to Gavra (2020), the Russian media system is “neither fully democratic nor fully authoritarian, or totalitarian” and is “developing in accordance with its own logic” (para. 1). Furthermore, the system is shaped by multiple actors with competing interests (Koltsova, 2006). This system is “market-driven and nationally specific, and a historically determined one” (Vartanova, 2019, p. 30). Moreover, going hand in hand with political development, it is not necessarily a “transitional” type of system but rather the system that might stay in place for many years (Gavra, 2019).

Putting together such diverse and often mutually exclusive features of the Russian media system, some Russian scholars refer to the media system in Russia as the hybrid system (Gavra, 2019; Bodrunova, & Litvinenko, 2016). Following Bodrunova and Litvinenko (2013), we are adopting Chadwick’s (2017) approach to hybridity in which hybrid media systems are defined as the networks of “older and newer media logics—where logics are defined as technologies, genres, norms, behaviors, and organizational forms—in the reflexively connected fields of media and politics” (p. 4). The concept of hybridity perfectly describes the coexistence of seemingly incompatible features of Russian media system as it “rejects simple dichotomies, nudging us away from ‘either/or’ patterns of thought and toward ‘not only, but also’ patterns of thought” (Chadwick, 2017, p. 4). It allows for focusing on interdependent relationships between various types of media channels, politics, culture, and technology.

Features of the Russian Media System

We believe that some elements of the Russian media system play a crucial role in shaping grassroots science communication projects. Based on current research (Bodrunova & Litvinenko, 2013; Gavra, 2019; Litvinenko, 2012; Vartanova, 2012), some of the relevant features include (a) the relationship between media and the state, (b) independent information flows, (c) high Internet penetration, (d) fragmented audience, and (e) the new generation of content producers.

The relationship between media and the state. Toepfl (2016) described the Russian political system as "an authoritarian polity adopting a broad spectrum of consultative tactics" (p. 959) thus referring to the coexistence of strict government control and the attempts of the government to gain public support at the same time. Within this system, the media receive instrumental function (Vartanova, 2012) in promoting the government's policies and views. In fact, in Russia, the government is oftentimes the *owner*, *funder*, *regulator*, *and censor* of media (Smaele, 2010). However, it would be wrong to suggest that all of the media channels are fully controlled and/or supported by the government. As noted by Vartanova (2012), over the past several decades, there were shifts toward "commercialism of the media industry" (p. 142) in Russia. As a result, Russian media today are balancing between government control and the need to produce commercially successful projects to attract advertisers.

Independent information flows. Researchers suggest that today one might see the existence of two alternative media agendas in Russia. Dunn (2014) and Gavra (2019) describe the current media situation in Russia as a two-tier media system and a hybrid two-tier media system respectively. Scholars agree that there are two levels of media system or two "informational flows" in Russia (Dunn, 2014; Gavra, 2019). On the one hand, there are media owned and controlled by the government. This "level" mostly includes federal TV channels that serve as the main source of news information for many Russians (Gavra, 2019). These channels are seen by the government as an important means to control public opinion (Gavra, 2019). On the other hand, some media provide an alternative media agenda or focus on politically neutral topics such as *leisure* or *hobbies* (Gavra, 2019). This "level" includes relatively independent print media and the Internet (Gavra, 2019; Bodrunova & Litvinenko, 2013).

Internet penetration. Russia is a leading European country in the number of Internet users, with an increasing penetration of users around 80% (Internet World Stats, 2020). Around 72% of Russians use the Internet either daily or several times per week (Levada, 2019). The most popular social networking site is VK (short for its original name VKontakte) which reaches 72% of Russians monthly (Mediascope, 2019). Russians actively use both Russian and Western social media services including Instagram, Facebook, and Ok.ru, another Russian networking site. YouTube is the top video platform in the country (Mediascope, 2019). The popularity of both domestic and Western social media inspires unique media formats which are different from other countries.

Fragmented audiences. Media consumption in Russia differs depending on demographics and geographic regions, especially when comparing bigger cities, such as Moscow, with other regions (Levada, 2019). According to Bodrunova and Litvinenko (2016), Russian society is "fundamentally fragmented . . . with post-industrial, industrial, rural and migrant communities showing divergent relations to state social policies as well as varying patterns of public deliberation and consumption, including media use" (p. 113). For example, Russians in Moscow tend to consult more independent media sources (i.e., media that express positions different from the government agenda) than Russians living in other regions of the country (Levada, 2019). Fragmentation of the Russian media audience is also reflected through the Internet consumption habits. For example, while VK is popular among younger generations living in Moscow and Saint Petersburg, Ok.ru draws older generations, as well as users from other regions of Russia.

New generation of content producers. Finally, Millennials and Gen Z users are also shaping the Russian media system and science communication practices. As noted by Litvinenko (2012), there is a new generation of Russians who grew up after the collapse of Soviet Union and were "politically socialized in the frame of democratic rhetoric" (p. 182). These people are politically active, technologically savvy, and exposed to Western media projects and values. They study foreign languages and exchange ideas with international colleagues online or in person while traveling. These generations are currently active producers and consumers of online content contributing to both traditional and social media agendas.

Ultimately, we suggest that the aforementioned actors played an important role in creating networks that allowed grassroots science communication projects to emerge and thrive in the 2000–2010s. In the next section, we demonstrate how each element played out in the development of science communication in Russia by discussing three case studies of grassroots science communication projects: Biomolecula, Science Slam, and SciOne.

CASE STUDIES

The science communication landscape in Russia experienced a remarkable revival around 2010 after a prolonged stagnation, caused by the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the weakening of the role of science in state priorities (Borissova & Malkov, 2020). This revival of science communication initiatives was mostly driven by private stakeholders and gave rise to a variety of popular science events, centers, and media outlets as well as to the increasing professionalization of the field (Borissova & Malkov, 2018). The following science communication projects are illustrative of the early days of modern Russian science communication. The information about these projects was collected via IRB-approved interviews with three individuals directly involved in the implementation of the projects[1] as well as from public sources such as media publications and websites.

Biomolecula

Biomolecula is the oldest of the three projects discussed in this chapter. This popular biology and biotechnology resource was launched in 2007 by a group of life science graduates from Moscow State University (Biomolecula, 2020). The project creators did not have any background in media, science communication, or journalism, and the resource largely started as a hobby with little long-term planning, let alone any business model (Biomolecula source, interview, March 6, 2020). Given the avocational nature of the project, just a few years into its existence, all cofounders except one gradually lost interest and abandoned the initiative.

The only remaining cofounder, who had created the initial version of the website, was confronted with the choice of either giving up on the project himself or attempting to keep it alive with little support. This period of high uncertainty lasted for several years until 2014 when new participants joined the project—mostly researchers, rather than professional journalists (Biomolecula source, Interview, March 6, 2020). As with other case studies in this chapter, the maturation of Biomolecula as a popular science resource was largely dependent on the pure enthusiasm of its founder and unpaid contributions. Most of the early articles that laid the groundwork for Biomolecula were either written by the project creators themselves or by their immediate professional acquaintances with no financial incentive.

The initial lack of financial promise for projects like Biomolecula was conditioned by virtually no government involvement in science communication and consequently no government support. Private funds were not flowing into science communication initiatives either, with a few exceptions such as the Dynasty Foundation, the biggest private funder of science popularization in Russia at the time (Pokrovsky, 2015). Eventually, Biomolecula had to learn how to earn money through native advertising and other commercial projects with biotechnological organizations, including private companies. Up to the present day, the project creators claim to have not received any substantial government support, in part, because few financial opportunities exist for such niche popular science projects (Biomolecula source, Interview, March 6, 2020). Despite the reintroduction of government influence in Russia around science communication, and its popularization in the mid-2010s, there still remains few financial incentives for small and moderate-sized popular science resources.

As with most other popular emerging Russian science projects of that time, the main motivation behind creating Biomolecula was the proliferation of pseudoscience and various forms of esotericism in post-Soviet Russia (Biomolecula source, Interview, March 6, 2020). In fact, this public rise of pseudoscience, combined with the lack of government incentive to oppose it, was used by Borissova and Malkov (2020) to account for the rapid emergence of private interest in science communication in 2010s Russia. Another driving force behind Biomolecula, which is partially linked to the previous point, was the relative absence of popular science resources in general, in particular in molecular biology—the main domain field of the project creators. At the time, traditional media had little to offer in terms of science popularization, especially in such specialized subject fields.

The desire to create a resource which complies with the expectations of popular science, on the one hand, and addresses the rather narrow research field of microbiology, on the other, resulted in a unique format. The flexibility of the web platform enabled the authors to experiment with various content categories, which at different times included popular digests of research published in *Science* and *Nature*, news, reviews, original essays, content created for children and by children, career guides, biology-themed comics, and more. From its creation to the present day, Biomolecula always promoted itself as a popular science resource for advanced audiences, such as researchers themselves or people with a preexisting interest in science (Biomolecula source, Interview, March 6, 2020). Based on a 2017 audience survey (Biomolecula, 2017), Biomolecula's core audience consisted predominantly of biomedical students and professionals (although lay audiences also had a notable place). The largest age group was represented by people aged 21–30 (33.5%), followed by 11–20 (23%) and 31–40 (20%).

The engagement of a more professional audience is a defining feature of the early days of modern science communication in Russia. The absence of science communication professionalization implied that new projects were often initiated by active scientists who might have felt uncomfortable sacrificing scientific rigor for the sake of simplicity. Starting with a core audience of researchers and gradually expanding to include science aficionados was potentially more appealing than launching a project aimed at lay audiences.

These generalizations about the dynamics of popular science development in 2000s Russia can also be corroborated by comparing Biomolecula to another similar resource. Another private initiative called Elementy ("Elements"), which preceded and has shaped Biomolecula in many ways (Biomolecula source, Interview, March 6, 2020), was curated by researchers and engineers (Elementy, 2020). Naturally, it was characterized by a similar emphasis on scientific depth and rigor. In other terms, both Biomolecula and Elementy could be described as examples of hard-core science popularization, where the trade-off between simplicity and scientific depth tended to favor the latter. This self-concept was possible due to the use of the web format as Biomolecula's and Elementy's younger and advanced audiences were more likely to use the Internet as an information source.

Despite Biomolecula starting off as rather hard core in terms of its approach, the project gradually shifted to a softer popularization style to include wider audiences. This move also seems natural from a historical perspective. The increasing penetration of the Internet, professionalization of science communication, rapid emergence of other soft popular science projects, and an appetite for such projects among audiences in the early 2010s made it easier for Biomolecula to identify and capture the benefits of expanding its own audiences. Currently, Biomolecula defines its audience to include anyone occupied in science and knowledge-intensive fields, such as researchers, science journalists, medical professionals, biotechnology investors, but also lay people with strong interest in science (Biomolecula source, Interview, March 6, 2020).

The origin of Biomolecula and similar projects, such as Elementy, provides a nuanced illustration of some of the key features of early popular science resources in modern Russia. The case study highlights the role of private initiative, involvement of volunteers, lack of government support, reliance on emerging online communication channels, and orientation toward niche audiences. These factors and constraints shaped the project's unique profile and, as we will see in the subsequent case studies, appear to be prevalent for the analyzed time period.

Science Slam

The Russian adaptation of the German popular science event Science Slam is arguably the most recognizable grassroots example of informal science popularization in present-day Russia. As of 2018, Science Slam operated in 38 Russian cities with over 150 individual events on record and over 45,000 visitors in total (Borissova & Malkov, 2020). As a unique format, Science Slam was conceived and developed in Germany around 2006 (Science Slam, 2020). The most striking feature of Science Slam was its highly informal venue and humorous tone. Original events took place either in a bar or rock club where academics would compete to captivate the audience with 10-minute monologues about their research. Audiences eagerly took to this novel format and Science Slam quickly became an integral part of German popular science scene (Peters et al., 2020). Since then, the format and its various interpretations spread far beyond Germany, but it was in Russia where the popularity of Science Slam became almost as pervasive, or even more so, than in Germany (Science Slam source, Interview, March 8, 2020).

The dissemination of Science Slam in Russia began in the early 2010s through the German-Russian Forum, a civil organization aimed at fostering civil society processes and cross-cultural exchange between Russia and Germany. Supported by the Forum, the first German Russian Science Slam was held in 2011 on German soil (Shevelkina, 2014). Next year, the same bilateral version of Science Slam was hosted in Moscow, thus officially introducing the format to wider Russian audiences (Shevelkina, 2014).

Soon after, the initiative was taken up by another organization, a newly established digital media outlet from Saint Petersburg called Gazeta Bumaga ("Paper Paper") (Zayats, 2013). Bumaga was founded by a group of young media enthusiasts who were looking for novel ways of engaging their readership. Despite not being a popular science resource, Bumaga relied on a value-based approach to identify an overlap between their desired audiences and Science Slam attendees. Thus, with support from the German side, Bumaga organized their first Russian Science Slam event in Saint Petersburg in 2013. The first fully independent Russian Science Slam with exclusively Russian organizers and speakers was held in 2013 and prompted rapid expansion of the format across the entire country (Science Slam source, Interview, March 8, 2020).

Due to its informal character, the project clearly appealed to younger audiences interested in intellectual forms of leisure. As of 2016, Bumaga characterized Science Slam's audience in Saint Petersburg as predominantly 18–25 years old, university students or recent graduates, and those interested in science and technology (Khokhlova, 2016). The audience in Moscow was slightly different and more mature, aged between 23 and 30, often from a range of technology-related companies (Science Slam source, Interview, March 8, 2020). This audience profile complied with Bumaga's expectations of their readership and therefore transformed Science Slam into an important strategic asset.

Because early Science Slam events in Russia were organized by media professionals from Bumaga, the format enjoyed nationwide media coverage (Science Slam source, Interview, March 8, 2020). The novelty and uniqueness of the format, combined with its relatively apolitical nature, appealed to many Russian media outlets. In addition, Bumaga relied on social media to promote individual events, which also contributed to the overall popularity of the project. The combined media coverage propelled Science Slam further into regional cities. Some Russian cities, such as Samara, for example, decided to initiate their own series of events after reading news stories about events in Saint Petersburg.

The development of Science Slam outside of Moscow and Saint Petersburg was driven by dozens of local organizers. Such local enthusiasts often had little to do with science or science popularization and were motivated by the uniqueness of the format itself and desire to take part in an entertaining activity to complement their main occupation. Many regional organizers started running local events without any financial incentive and, in fact, continue doing so today (Science Slam source, Interview, March 8, 2020). For some regional cities, Science Slam also became the first regular popular science event since Soviet science propaganda efforts.

By 2016, Science Slam became widespread enough for organizers across Russia to establish an association (Science Slam Russia Association), through which future activities were to be coordinated. The creation of the association made it easier to promote the project, organize bigger events, and seek longer-term financial support. Over time, two main sources of income became instrumental to the stable growth of Science Slam: paid tickets and support from either private or public sponsors. In particular, financial support came from private companies; universities; state-owned companies, such as Rusnano; and most recently several government grants (Presidential Grants Foundation, 2019).

In fact, Science Slam is the only one of the three projects in this chapter that enjoyed direct and indirect government support (Science Slam source, Interview, March 8, 2020). However, it is important to note that this support came at a later stage in the project development. State-owned companies such as Rusnano or Russian Venture Company started supporting Science Slam around 2014–2015 when the project had already gained traction and sponsors could capitalize on its popularity to promote their agenda. Direct government support in the form of presidential grants was not obtained until 2019, but by then, Science Slam did not need any introduction. Therefore arguably, direct government support was not at all crucial to Science Slam's nationwide success.

To sum up, several circumstances contributed to the sweeping popularity of Science Slam in present-day Russia. It was introduced to the Russian audience by a civil organization, whose financial and organizational support was crucial for initial takeoff. Then an independent local media outlet joined the effort and contributed to the nationwide popularity of the project by raising the bar on the quality of the events and commercializing and spreading information through multiple media channels, including to other regions. Regional activists and volunteers were then engaged and started organizing their own local events. Finally, the establishment of the association led to the consolidation of the effort across Russia.

SciOne

SciOne is the most recent project, which arguably amassed the largest audience thanks to its reliance on a video format and effective content distribution through social media. As of 2020, SciOne had over 800,000 subscribers and 55 million views on YouTube, an almost unprecedented scale for a Russian-speaking popular science project (SciOne, 2020). The project specializes in original video content on a broad spectrum of popular research topics from astrophysics to gender studies. To many Russian popular science fans, SciOne is also known as the first Russian channel to interview international popular science figures, including Richard Dawkins and Lawrence Krauss.

Due to its nature as a video project, the rise of the Internet and the proliferation of social networks played an essential role in SciOne's success. SciOne used such social media platforms as YouTube, Facebook, VK, and others for content distribution. This enabled the project to gather a considerable audience, particularly among people between 16 and 35 years old and those living in Moscow, Saint Petersburg, and other large cities where the use of the Internet was more widespread and people's economic well-being made intellectual leisure activities more opportune. The producers of SciOne treated YouTube and other social media as a way to democratize content consumption and break free from restrictions imposed by traditional media channels (SciOne source, Interview, March 7, 2020).

SciOne was launched in 2015 amid an active stage of professionalization of science communication in the country. Inspired by several highly successful foreign YouTube channels including SciShow (SciShow, 2020) and Veritasium (Veritasium, 2020), the creators of SciOne decided to create a similar and recognizable video channel for the Russian audience. By then, one of the creators of SciOne had already been involved in another social media project called Vert Dider whose purpose was to translate and dub English science-related and educational videos for the Russian-speaking world (Vert Dider, 2021). Vert Dider was entirely nonprofit and maintained by a community of volunteers—a highly successful organizational structure, which was directly replicated in the early development of SciOne (SciOne source, Interview, March 7, 2020). Therefore, as with other case studies in this chapter, grassroots initiative and volunteering were among key defining features of SciOne's evolution and eventual rise in popularity.

Although SciOne was launched at the time of increasing science communication professionalization in Russia, the authors of the project still had relatively little exposure to the intricacies of the academic world. Furthermore, despite the project being conceived as a video channel from the very beginning, the creators did not have any substantial experience in video making and producing, a skill they had to acquire in the following months and years of the project's existence (SciOne source, Interview, March 7, 2020). Initial funding for the project was obtained rather spontaneously and was essentially donated by a benefactor on a nonrepayable basis. Thus, practically all work during the first year of the project's existence was undertaken by volunteers with zero financial incentive. Some people were in charge of scriptwriting, others acted as anchormen, video operators, editors, and graphic designers, all on a voluntary basis. Although a considerable amount of content was eventually produced this way, the efficiency of this workflow was questionable and with time, SciOne opted for employing people to deliver content more consistently. The diminishing returns from volunteer work and the subsequent switch to payroll employment are shared by all the three case studies. That being said, despite this shift to a more comprehensive business model and payroll employment, some work in SciOne (as well as Biomolecula and Science Slam), such as social media management, remains purely volunteer-based even now. This factor is shared with all three of the cases according to the information from the interviews.

It took several years before the project managed to establish a consistent source of income based on CPM monetization, native advertising, and stand-alone commercial projects. A majority of clients were universities and major government corporations, such as Rusnano and Rosatom (SciOne source, Interview, March 7, 2020). These examples also illustrate the kind of indirect government support that has been an important financial incentive for many popular science projects, including Science Slam. As for direct government support, such as specialized grants, SciOne creators expressed an almost complete lack of such support. All forms of government support, both direct and indirect, were found to be overly bureaucratized by SciOne creators. The constraints imposed by the government procurement system, combined with moderate funding value and extreme amounts of paperwork, made government incentives ineffective and insufficient, according to SciOne creators.

Today, SciOne remains one of the most successful grassroots science communication projects in Russia. Despite initial inexperience and its lack of a business model, the authors managed to ride the wave of the growing popularity of online video content in Russia. A major share of SciOne's achievement can be directly attributed to the community of volunteers and enthusiasts who helped create and disseminate content during the first years of SciOne's existence. In the process, the project raised the bar on professionalism, quality of content, and monetization. While over the years volunteering became less essential for SciOne, its grassroots roots are still evident in how well the project understands and engages its social media audiences, putting them at the core of the content creation process.

SEVERAL UNIFYING FEATURES OF THE RUSSIAN GRASSROOTS SCIENCE COMMUNICATION PROJECTS

The evolution of the science communication projects in Russia can be characterized by several unifying features which were shaped, at least partially, by the nature of the Russian media system. Obviously, not all popular science projects of that period can be identified by these features. However, we suggest that enough of the features are similar and can be considered as features defining this historical period.

First, these case studies are characterized by the lack of direct government support, at least during the takeoff stage. While this might have its drawbacks, the case studies also demonstrate that with the lack of such support, the projects in turn had a great deal of independence and flexibility. Being mostly off the radar when it comes to state control, the creators of these grassroots projects in Russia were able to develop their own vision of science communication, its mission, goals, formats, and audience. At the same time, the projects' creators had to quickly learn how to be profitable and attract sponsors, illustrating the growing commercialization of Russian media (Vartanova, 2012). While the projects have received support from state-owned organizations such as universities, the need for additional private funding inspired unique formats in Russian science communication. In fact, while some of the projects relied on or drew inspiration from Western experience of science communication projects, they also introduced unique formats that allowed them to attract Russian audiences with their unique demands. Now with the increasing interest of science communication projects by state-owned organizations (e.g., Science Slam and Rusnano), there is an increasing need to find a balance between the independence of science communication and government support of such projects.

Second, the case studies illustrate how science communication in Russia benefited from the existence of two information flows (Gavra, 2019) in the Russian media system. Falling into the category of "politically neutral" topics, Russian science communication projects were promoted by media channels that represented the second level of the two-tier media system, that is, the media that were relatively independent from the government. These media were not seen as a means to control public opinion by the state which allowed for the development of an alternative, independent, media agenda that caters to niche audiences. Interestingly, while initially science communication targeted scientists and highly educated publics, today the projects engage broader audiences. Moreover, in line with the key assumptions of the hybrid two-tier media system framework (Gavra, 2019), one of the key features of grassroots science communication projects is the active usage of the Internet as a tool to promote scientific knowledge. In fact, all of the science communicators discussed in this chapter used the Internet either for hosting their projects (Biomolecula), for promoting them (Science Slam), or both for hosting and promotion (SciOne). The case studies demonstrate that by being a relatively "uncontrolled territory" within the Russian media system in 2010s, the Internet created conditions that allowed grassroots science communication projects to thrive. However, with the growing control over Internet discussions in Russia (Denisova & Herasimenka, 2019), this trend raises questions about new possible channels within the second level of the two-tier system that would encourage the growth of grassroots science communication projects.

The case studies also demonstrate the impact of the unique Russian Internet landscape on current science communication practices within the hybrid media system in Russia. First, high levels of Internet penetration in the country allowed for reaching significant audiences and building communities around scientific topics. Today due to active Internet users in Russia, grassroots science communication projects are able to reach large audiences with high levels of engagement and high numbers of public impressions. Second, promoting the projects among younger audiences through popular online media contributed greatly to the projects' success. This might be illustrated by Science Slam whose success story was shaped by the support of the Bumaga outlet and their loyal audience. Also, the case studies illustrate the role of local social media preferences in the development of the projects. Many of the grassroots science communication projects in Russia took advantage of the local platform Vk.com but also relied on popular Western social networks such as YouTube and Facebook when promoting scientific knowledge. As a result grassroots science communication projects receive millions of views online, and thousands of visitors attending offline events. Overall, this trend calls for a deeper examination of the unique formats of content and promotion that were introduced by the local social media platforms into science communication practices in Russia.

A divide between science communication projects in bigger cities and other regions of Russia is highlighted in the case studies. First, many of the early science communication projects were started in large cities with bigger universities such as Moscow or Saint Petersburg. Second, despite the high levels of Internet penetration across the country, early online projects would mostly attract audiences from bigger cities. This phenomenon might be explained by the divide in daily concerns and interests among Russians from different regions of the country (Bodrunova & Litvinenko, 2016). Overall, Russian science communication practices reflect the larger trends of audience fragmentation in the Russian media system. This calls for consideration of possible ways to reach local audiences and bridge the science communication gap that exists in Russia today.

Finally, the case studies illustrate trends in Russian science communication such as the initial lack of specialized knowledge and skills in science communication and media, rapid accumulation of professional capabilities through trial and error, and idea-driven development with relative disregard for financial aspects of the projects. In other words, a number of grassroots science communication projects in Russia were started by enthusiasts with no media experience or hopes for profit. Moreover, the projects relied heavily on the help of volunteers who also supported the science communication initiatives out of passion for scientific knowledge. One might speculate that these trends reflect the power of the new generation of Russians that was discussed by Litvinenko (2012). The active social position, technological skills, international experiences, and open-mindedness allowed the new generation of Russians to develop successful science communication projects and engage large publics who also grew up in post-Soviet times and shared their values. This trend raises questions about the relative importance of societal, political, and cultural factors affecting the development of grassroots science communication projects in Russia and around the world.

Overall, the case studies described in the chapter demonstrate that Russian media system has contributed to shaping grassroots science communication projects in the country in a unique way. More specifically, the projects could be influenced by such features of the Russian hybrid system as the dominant role of the state, two independent information flows, high Internet penetration, fragmented audience, and the new generation of content producers. These features of the media system allowed for creation of relatively independent, creative, and successful projects that attract thousands of viewers, readers, and attendees. Within this system, science communicators have a chance to build their own, niche audiences; create their own formats; and even monetize their work. Such case studies give hope for a future where new generations of Russians would understand, value, and benefit from the liberating power of knowledge.[2]

NOTES

1. The IRB protocol was approved on February 26, 2020. The interviews with the experts involved in Biomolecula, SciOne, and Science Slam projects were conducted on March 6, March 7, and March 8, 2020, respectively.

2. We would like to thank the experts for their valuable insights shared during the interviews. We also thank Dr. Dmitrii Petrovich Gavra for his helpful feedback on this chapter.

REFERENCES

Arzamas. (2020). *Kak ustroen Arzamas* [How Arzamas functions]. https://arzamas.academy/about

Biomolecula. (2017). *About biomolecula's readers*. biomolecula.ru. https://biomolecula.ru/articles/neskolko-slov-o-chitateliakh-biomolekuly

Biomolecula. (2020). *About the project*. https://biomolecula.ru/about

Bodrunova, S. S., & Litvinenko, A. (2013). Hybridization of the media system in Russia: Technological and political aspects. In E. Vartanova (Ed.), *World of media*

2012: Yearbook of Russian media and journalism studies (pp. 37–49). Moscow, Russia: Moscow State University.

Bodrunova, S. S., & Litvinenko, A. (2016). Fragmentation of society and media hybridisation in today's Russia: How Facebook voices collective demands. *The Journal of Social Policy Studies*, *14*(1), 113–124.

Borissova, A., & Malkov, D. (2018). Five faces of Russian science communication. *Spokes Magazine*, *39*. https://bit.ly/3yPi3i4

Chadwick, A. (2017). *The hybrid media system: Politics and power*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Cherdak. (2020). *O proekte* [About the project]. https://indicator.ru/

Denisova, A., & Herasimenka, A. (2019). How Russian rap on YouTube advances alternative political deliberation: Hegemony, counterhegemony, and emerging resistant publics. *Social Media + Society*, 1–11. doi: 10.1177/2056305119835200

Dunn, J. A. (2014). Lottizzazione russian style: Russia's two-tier media system. *Europe-Asia Studies*, *66*(9), 1425–1451. https://doi.org/10.1080/09668136.2014.956441

Elementy. (2020). *O projecte* [About the project]. https://elementy.ru/about

Gavra D. P. (2019). Russian media system—A hybrid two-level format. In *Proceedings of contemporary issues of media research - 2019: IX International scientific and practical NAMMI technical conference* (pp. 33–34). Moscow: Moscow State University.

Gavra, D. P. (2020). Modern Russian media system: hybrid two-tier model. Unpublished manuscript.

Hallin, D. C., & Mancini, P. (2004). *Comparing media systems: Three models of media and politics*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Hallin, D. C., & Mancini, P. (2012). *Comparing media systems beyond the Western world*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Internet World Stats. (2020). *Internet stats and Facebook usage in Europe*. https://www.internetworldstats.com/stats4.htm#europe

Khokhlova, D. (2016, December 2). *Eto ne prosto priyatnoe zanyatie, my zarabatyvaem dengi* [This is not only a nice hobby. We make money]. https://vc.ru/offline/20424-science-slam-view

Koltsova, O. (2006). *News media and power in Russia*. London/New York: Routledge.

Koltsova, O., & Bodrunova, S. S. (2019). Public discussion in Russian social media: An introduction. *Media and Communication*, *7*(3), 114–118.

Levada. (2019). *Rossijskij media landshaft 2019* [Russian media landscape 2019]. https://www.levada.ru/2019/08/01/21088/

Litvinenko, A. (2012). Role of social media in political mobilization in Russia. In P. Parycek, N. Edelmann & M. Sachs (Eds.), *CeDEM12: Proceedings of the International conference for E-Democracy and open government* (pp. 181–189). Krems: Edition Donau-Universität Krems.

Malkov & Borissova (2020), Russian pendulum: From glorious science propaganda to modest public engagement initiatives. In Gascoigne, T., Schiele, B., Leach, J., Riedlinger, M., Lewenstein, B. V, Massarani, L., & Broks, P. (Eds.), *Communicating science. A global perspective* (pp. 715–741). ANU Press. http://doi.org/10.22459/CS.2020

Mediascope. (2019). *Social'nye seti v cifrah* [Social media in numbers]. https://bit.ly/3uzrPBD

Oates, S. (2007). The neo-Soviet model of the media. *Europe-Asia Studies*, *59*(8), 1279–1297.

Peters, H. P., Lehmkuhl, M., & Fähnrich, B. (2020). Germany: Continuity and change marked by a turbulent history. In T. Gascoigne, B. Schiele, J. Leach, M. Riedlinger, B. V. Lewenstein, L. Massarani, & P. Broks (Eds.), *Communicating science: A global perspective* (pp. 317–350). Acton, Australia: Australian National University Press.

Pokrovsky, V. (2015, July 9). *Russia's only private science funder closes its doors*. https://www.sciencemag.org/news/2015/07/russias-only-private-science-funder-closes-its-doors

Postnauka. (2020). *O postnauke* [About postnauka]. https://postnauka.ru/

Presidential Grants Foundation. (2019). *Science Slam Russia*. https://bit.ly/2ROAHGj

Profilaktika Media. (2020). *O proekte* [About the project]. https://media.nenaprasno.ru/about/

Schäfer, M. S. (2017). How changing media structures are affecting science news coverage. In K. H. Jamieson, D. Kahan, & D. A. Scheufele (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of the science of science communication* (pp. 52–59). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Schimpfössl, E., & Yablokov, I. (2020). Post-socialist self-censorship: Russia, Hungary and Latvia. *European Journal of Communication*, *35*(I), 29–45.

Science Slam. (2020). *What Is Science Slam?* https://www.scienceslam.de/what-is-science-slam/

SciOne. (2020). *Description* (YouTube Video). https://www.youtube.com/c/SciOne/about

SciShow. (2020). SciShow website. https://www.scishow.com

Shevelkina, J. (2014, August 21). Fröhlich und leicht verdaulich: In Russland werden Science Slams immer populärer [Happy and easy to digest: Science slams are becoming increasingly popular in Russia]. *Wissenschaft & Bildung*. https://bit.ly/2R4dr6A

Siebert, F., Peterson, T., & Schramm, W. (1984). *Four theories of the press: The authoritarian, libertarian, social responsibility, and Soviet Communist concepts of what the press should be and do*. Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Smaele, H. d. (2010). In search for a label for the Russian media system. In B. Dobek-Ostrowska (Ed.), *Comparative media systems. European and global perspectives* (pp. 41–63). Budapest, Hungary: CEUPress.

Toepfl, F. (2016). Innovating consultative authoritarianism: Internet votes as a novel digital tool to stabilize non-democratic rule in Russia. *New Media & Society*, *20*(3), 956–972.

Vaca-Baqueiro, M. T. (2018). *Four theories of the press: 60 years and counting*. London and New York: Routledge.

Vartanova, E. (2012). The Russian media model in the context of post-Soviet dynamics. In D. C. Hallin & P. Manchini (Eds.), *Comparing media systems beyond the Western world* (pp. 119–142). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Vartanova, E. (2019). Russian media: A call for theorising the economic change. *Russian Journal of Communication*, *11*(1), 22–36.

Vartanova, E., & Vyrkovsky, A. (2020). Between the state and the market: An analysis of TASS' fall and rise. *Journalism*, *21*(12), 1842–1858. https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884919883490

Veritasium. (2020). *About.* https://www.veritasium.com/about

Vert Dider. (2021). Vert Dider website. https://vertdider.tv

Zayats, K. (2013, March 29). Science Slam in Sankt-Peterburge: Kak ponyat uchenogo za 10 minut [Science Slam in Saint Petersburg: How to Understand a Scientist in 10 Minutes]. *Bumaga.* https://paperpaper.ru/science-slam-petersburg/

Chapter 3

Urban Communication and Media in Russia

Olga Pichugina

This chapter explores the current state of Russian urban media and communication. The goal is to identify the role of urban media projects within the modern Russian media landscape. The author notes the participatory culture of such projects and emphasizes the role of urban communication as a resource for local communities used for interaction and engagement purposes. The content produced by the local media is observed using documents, websites, social media, and news stories. It contributes to the development of the communicative city space. The maturation of today's Russian urban media prompts further discussion of their capacity to facilitate citizen dialogue and engagement in city planning and development.

Modern cities represent "supersaturated" social environments. Such "supersaturation" stems from a variety of economic, political, social, and technological factors which have a direct or an indirect impact on the course of city life. Social interaction in a modern city effects resident behavior and social practices. These practices contribute to the formation and maintenance of the sociocultural fabric and communicative spaces in municipal communities.

The traditional planning of urban life pays little attention to the communicative interaction between residents, business, and the authorities. The disregard of this aspect and the ways with which to build a dialogue with relevant audiences may lead to strong public reactions. This is evidenced by such things as street protests against the renovation of the urban setting recently observed in Moscow, Yekaterinburg, Vologda, Borovsk, and other Russian cities. At the same time, such strong public reactions to the executive decisions of the authorities help residents build networks and create local media projects aimed at addressing current city problems and finding possible solutions.

This chapter is drawing on the literature from the intersection of media and urban communication, while also advancing this particular theory-building endeavor by illuminating some pertinent cases in Russia. The presented analysis captures specific conditions of the Russian cities and the settings in the country. Furthermore, the analysis acknowledges the general trends in urbanization and the importance of new media platforms. Thus, this chapter contributes to both the better understanding of communication in Russia and the discussion on evolving contemporary communication theory toward urban media and planning.

URBAN COMMUNICATION RESEARCH

Urban communication scholars consider cities functioning as media of communication (Drucker & Gumpert, 2018). They seek to address the following questions: Who speaks on the behalf of cities? What messages do cities produce? What messages and channels are used by community members and institutions? Does technology operate independently as a means of communication?

In view of the above, the city space is a communication environment composed of private individuals, organized groups, and information technologies that create and transmit new messages and meanings. This space consists of various media, their practices of production and distribution, the use of messages, communication networks, and channels. The more developed a communicative space, the more advanced are the levels of civic engagement, activism, and social safety. Morley (2001) points to the need for complex spatial understanding of urban communication and argues, as the mobility of meanings and symbols, it should be viewed in relation to the mobility of society. The global communication structure includes media networks, roads, transportation routes, logistics of goods, and other elements. Today, new communicative environments driven by different media technologies are created in city spaces. Serving as communication managers, they are no longer used to simply transmit information but rather curate, convert, and mesh various messages. In a similar vein, Anderson (2013) sees the value of media extend beyond the function of mass communications broadcasting messages via mainstream channels to the masses.

Some scholars view a modern city as a relational space that includes dynamic semantic interactions facilitating urban development (McQuire, 2008). This research focuses on changes in social relations produced by the media in the urban setting. A city as relational space "is an ambivalent spatial configuration when the axiomatic nature of social space is eliminated in favor of active formation of the heterogeneous personal communications to global" (McQuire, 2008, p.14).

Aiello and Tosoni (2016) consider three directions of city communicative research which are the most relevant today: (a) the city as media, (b) the city as message content, and (c) the city as communication context. When studying the city as communication context, the focus is on the activities of media practitioners. The city as message content perspective examines the ways information about the city and its life (political, economic, cultural, and social) is generated directly by its inhabitants. Research of the visual urban environment like graffiti, street art, or other sensory stimuli, such as the smells and the sounds of the city, draw the picture of city as one big and complex medium.

Research work from the Urban Communication Foundation (UCF) serves to develop the concept of the *communicative cities* (Drucker & Gumpert, 2016). The main focus is on the communicative environment of the city and its three main elements: (a) places for interaction, (b) infrastructure, and (c) legislative and political regulation of communication. The UCF conceptualizes the city as a complex environment of interpersonal interactions, a landscape of spaces and places that shape human behavior, and an intricate media and technological environment. This is very close to the non-media-centric concept which focuses on media influence of city space and citizens' life and behavior (Morley, 2001). Further, it enables researchers to see the large-scale picture of urban communication and media field. Speaking about media, Miller assumes that the modern media environment is "scalable sociality" (2016, p. 28). This is a global platform allowing users to switch communication from the most private scale to the most public. Within the media "scalable sociality" platform, all cities are global digital centers.

Vale (1995) highlights three types of social communication in the urban environment: communication by means of the city, communication about the city, and communication within the city. The first type describes how residents perceive and identify the city as well as perceive and identify themselves and others through intrapersonal and interpersonal communication. The second type is how the city is being portrayed in the media. The third type is concerned with the ways city inhabitants interact with each other through interpersonal or group communication (pp. 646–663). In their study about the development and revitalization of urban areas, Gibson and Lowes (2007) concentrate on the following aspects of city communications: the practical ways the media produces content about the city and the context within which the media place the city narrative. An analysis of urban media content (mass media, social media, and digital projects) shows actual urban problems, communication practices, communication styles, and communication logic. The proper management of city-related narratives can shape the communicative environment.

Urban media and communication scholars emphasize the social role of media in facilitating public interaction. Several studies have looked into the use of media technologies to increase the "readability" of the city for its inhabitants, including migrant communities seeking ways to interact with each other and with the locals (Aiello, Tarantino, & Oakley, 2017; Bilandzic & Foth, 2012; Furman, 2017). These studies offer a variety of topics related to community identities, the polycentric nature of modern cities, the perceptions of the city formed by urban communities, new urban mythology, the influences of built environment and man-made surroundings on the quality social interaction, and language diversity in urban settings.

Today, the term "local media" is no longer applied to small-town newspapers. It also refers to print and online newspapers, specialized magazines and newsletters, Internet sites of local politicians, social media groups, and other resources. The Internet has improved and enhanced the capacities of local media and has also created new functions and responsibilities for digital journalists (Anderson, 2013; Alexander, 2005; Lewis et al., 2010; Reader, 2010). Digital journalism gave a rise to *hyperlocal media*, online media covering events and topics on a small, local scale, such as a specific neighborhood. Hyperlocal media is different from urban media focusing on the needs of municipalities because of its small local scale of coverage oriented around a specific community and directed toward the concerns of community members. Another distinctive characteristic is user-generated content of hyperlocal media focused on the events in that specific community and its population (Radcliffe, 2012). This type of media targets the needs of local consumers; seeks partnerships with other local media outlets, businesses, nonprofit organizations, and government agencies; and lacks the standards of traditional journalism and industry requirements for media products. Hyperlocal media benefits from their self-organization model, user-generated content, and contributions from volunteers and citizen-journalists and allows them to convey the most accurate representation of the city life.

The studies of urban communication and urban media have an interdisciplinary nature drawing on scholarship in sociology, philology, philosophy, information technology, city management and socioeconomics, architecture and design, and engineering. Despite an increasing number of studies concerned with urban communication issues, rapid urbanization across the globe brings about new challenges. To keep abreast with these developments, there is a need for a new integrated methodology for urban communication studies based on interdisciplinary models. This framework should be flexible in its utility and sensitive to the individual logic of each urban space. It is critical for contemporary Russia because of the rapid transformation of urban centers impacting the quality of life.

URBAN COMMUNICATION RESEARCH IN RUSSIA

Urban communication studies in Russia are in infancy except for some random attempts to study the culturological, sociological, and philosophical aspects of communication in urban sites (Berdnikova & Zaporozhets, 2015; Lapina-Karatasyuk, 2013; Vakhshtain, 2017). Only recently, a few undergraduate courses were introduced at some Russian universities and education centers in Moscow including those at Higher School of Economics; Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration; Russian State University for the Humanities; and Strelka Institute for Media, Architecture and Design. Urban studies in Russia rely on European and U.S. research methodologies that primarily deal with city economic development and much less with communication and the media aspects. Importantly, economic and political considerations often prevail over environmental and social concerns.

In Russia, urban communication and urban media research is neither seen as part of communication studies, nor as a separate field. Traditionally, it is considered as a concentration topic of regional journalism, a niche area within mass media scholarship (Zwick, 2000). Akopov (2002) points out a distinction between regional journalism focusing on local life issues and events (in a town, a district, a company, etc.) and the national press which is concerned with affairs nationwide. Ovsepyan (1999) considers regional journalism as a subtype of the national mass media which responds to information needs in the municipality. In other words, regional journalism reflects the life in the region and sometimes functions as a catalyst of change focusing on social values and prompting social mobilization (Fomicheva, 1993).

It is not a simple task to classify general functions of the Russian regional journalism due to its diversified nature. It is influenced by a number of factors including regional specifics, politics, media type, and the level of editorial media management. In general, regional media serves the same functions as the national media including informative, organizing, ideological, cultural, educational, and other functions (Naumenko, 2007). Other scholars suggest that media functions are defined by the types of human activity and depend on norms and values that influence journalism (Fomicheva, 1993; Korkonosenko, 2009). The urban type of journalism and media are interlinked with social and communicative aspects of a developing and changing city. In the Russian context, however, regional media are less concerned with public needs but rather provide information and public relations support to the local government.

Urban media transform in coordination with politics and society. Scholars reflected upon the experiences of regional media during the transition period of the Russian political system by focusing on the media role in the election process and their influence on a political situation in specific regions (Resnyanskaya, 1991; Zassoursky, 1995; Tulupov, 1996). Many scholars address the political function of the media by referring to Western experiences of media integration into democratic changes. Specifically, they look at the ways of constructing political communication and opportunities to influence political reality particularly at the regional level (Grachev, 2004; Kara-Murza, 2005; Kravtsov, 2011; Solovyov, 2004). Regional journalism studies address communication-related issues between local politicians and journalists (Zassoursky, 2001), growing political bias (Pasti, 2004), and the pitfalls of becoming a mouthpiece of government propaganda and business advertising (Tulupov, 1996; 2013). According to Fedotkina (2002), journalism serves as an integral part of public affairs management by the municipal authorities helping to inform the public about municipal events, to educate local residents on how to participate in local affairs, to voice criticism of local government, and to launch initiatives aimed to address social problems. Several publications examine the problems faced by the regional press including low salaries (Pasti, 2004), intransigent media business models (Dzyaloshinsky, 2006), and the lack of attention and concern toward media consumer needs (Kasyutin, 2013).

In recent years, scholars began to examine the interaction between the regional/local media and various publics and the media's contribution to the facilitation of public agenda. Dzyaloshinsky (2006) argues that regional journalism should be examined as a socially responsible agent and develop as participatory journalism addressing the public's needs. Moreover, journalism should function as a moderator in a dialogue between various social groups. Tulupov (2013) believes that regional media should facilitate public involvement in local self-government, civil society actions, and the cooperation between citizens and local government. Kasyutin (2013) emphasizes the importance of monitoring the public's information needs and ways the news is packaged and delivered to audiences.

The connections among residents and their interplay with the urban environment can be examined through symbols, technological developments, or material artifacts. In large Russian cities, the urbanism manifests itself via street performance, landscape and architecture, art festivals, and cultural events, all of which are promoted by new urban media. The cornerstone in the contemporary process is communication between communities, business, and government (Murunov, 2015).

DIGITAL URBAN MEDIA IN RUSSIA

Prior to the rise of the independent local media, the Russian regional and city press were mainly affiliated with the local authorities and municipalities and served as a news source to inform the population about government activities, current policies, and legislation. Print press is usually distributed free of charge to households. Municipal television and radio channels provide content for which no subscription is expected. For example, Moskva Media is affiliated with the government of Moscow and comprised of more than 400 companies including newspapers and television channels.

Starting 2011, independent urban media began to grow across the country mainly because of political and social factors.[1] The first factor is linked to the growth of the Russian opposition and public engagement. The second factor is linked to the rise of new urbanism in Moscow, setting the trend for a new type of citizen, modern young people working in creative industries (advertising, design, publishing, etc.) who use the latest gadgets to navigate social issues and address problems. The prototypes of independent urban media were the Moscow-based online project *The Village* and the magazine *Bolshoy Gorod*. *The Village* is now federal in the scope of its coverage. In 2013, *Bolshoy Gorod* presented the Regional Blogs project that laid the foundation for the development of local network communities throughout Russia. Now closed, *Bolshoy Gorod* was the first urban media channel that sought to build resident networks in order to improve city public space with no government support. Some local media have branches in other regions. For example, *Urban Rooms* has a branch in Saratov. *The Village*, along with Moscow and Saint Petersburg, has local websites in Irkutsk, Yekaterinburg, Vladivostok, Nizhny Novgorod, and Sochi. *Sobaka.ru* from Saint Petersburg is represented in 20 regions from Belgorod to Irkutsk.

Urban and local media in Russian can be categorized by *the owner type*, municipal or independent (initiated by business or private citizens), and by *the format type*, traditional (print press, radio, television, etc.) and *new* (digital urban newspapers, social media groups, blogs, etc.). However local government, businesses, and media organizations that typically work with traditional media also assume work with digital technologies. For instance, commercial and municipal media have the main traditional platforms, but also use social networks for content promotion and interaction with subscribers. Urban media can also be classified into the following themes: *sociopolitical* and *sociocultural* themes. Traditional journalistic genres integrate new digital styles of transmedia storytelling when different information within one media project moves on different channels.

The topics covered by the urban media are primarily centered on culture and society including urban history, traditional and modern art, and so on.

Many publications describe the life of city residents through feature stories, some of them concerning problems with architectural heritage. They rarely feature political and economic news. Although the content of many publications could be of interest for tourists, Russian urban media websites do not have English-language versions. The tone of publications is mostly conversational and abounds with visuals which is very different from the traditional and bureaucratic formal style of the municipal media. The readership is “new citizens” representing a creative class (Florida, 2008). They are mostly digital natives holding liberal values who actively participate in city life and feel a part of modern city culture.

ONLINE MUNICIPAL SERVICE “THE ACTIVE CITIZEN”

The “Aktivny Grazhdanin” project (“Active Citizen” in English) was launched by the government of Moscow (http://ag.mos.ru) in order to position itself as a modern-day style of administration. The project intended administration to stay in dialogue with local residents and to be in tune with public opinion, which is capable of solving urban problems at different levels. Specifically, the site functions to outsource some of decision-making to Moscow residents. This is the first and only platform of its kind that engages a large audience of more than 2 million users. It has a rapid turnaround allowing the solving of municipal problems and facilitating communication with city services. The website allows residents to vote for various projects related to city development and gives bonuses for voting which can be used for paying for public services. However, the voting system is not perfect. For example, for a period of time there was no voting for projects on the reconstruction of historical buildings. The Mayor’s Office made these decisions independently which caused strong public resentment and reaction from some local politicians concerned with the protection of Russian historic heritage. This issue demonstrates the need for independent city media. Another concern with this service was that voters can only select the project for reconstruction and modernization that has already been approved by the Mayor’s Office.

GRASSROOTS DIGITAL MUSEUM “BASMANIA”

The museum of the Basmanny District “Basmania” (http://basmania.ru) is a project created by Moscow activists and volunteers. This project was inspired by several academic underpinnings. The first source of inspiration is the concept of urban communication: city as media, city as context, city as message (Aiello & Tosoni, 2016). A second influence is the concept of “in museum communications" by Tomislav S. Šola (Šola, 2012) which sees modern museums as "the environment of relationships" where experiences of the past can communicate with experiences of the present times using modern technologies, including virtual reality. The project attempted to create the conditions for the maintenance of the unique sociocultural environment in Moscow's Basmanny District. Specifically, it was intended to preserve the memory of the city space through media, while the megalopolis is changing according to current policies concerning the city's heritage and the global trends of city development.

The "Basmania" Museum is a virtual museum and an urban media outlet. It neither owns any real estate nor resides in a particular physical building. The district itself is a museum under the open sky. A study of public attitudes based on 50 in-depth interviews and more than 500 questionnaires[2] found that residents refer to the area as "historical," "home town," "old Moscow," and "beautiful architecture" which is different from the Tverskoy, Khamovniki, and Arbat districts which are known for their commercialization and urban settings affected by the Mayor's Office policy of demolition and reconstruction. The museum's exhibits recreate the local history and sociocultural experience of residents. The "artifacts" of the museum include the local stores, different collections of the cultural centers, libraries, schools, and universities. The district is celebrated through a prism of historical events. The "halls" of the museum are the third places of community buildings, architectural styles, and residents' everyday life experiences. For example, about a half of 22 audio guides of the izi.travel platform[3] contain testimonials of real inhabitants which personify the experience of the virtual museum's visitors.

The "Basmania" project follows current technology principles such as *storytelling* or presenting information in the form of live stories and *transmedia storytelling* or storytelling using multiple platforms and formats to tell a single story. These include long read-format stories and interviews on the website basmania.ru, audio guides on the izi.TRAVEL free storytelling platform that provides indoor and outdoor tours around the world, user-generated content on social media, Instagram and YouTube photo and video stories told by local residents, and book projects about the Basmanny District.[4] In addition, all textual and audiovisual materials are written and recorded from the first-person point of view which allows residents to relate their experience with the city space. The website features content emphasizing residents' emotions, and memories and experiences of inhabitants including visual materials and photographs telling personal stories. The "Basmania" project holds exhibitions based on memories of residents showing the interiors of their apartments, artifacts, the organization of space in the yards, the architecture of the entrances to the buildings, and other memorabilia.

LOCAL COMMUNITIES ON SOCIAL MEDIA

Social networking sites such as Facebook and VK (original name VKontakte) enable users to create groups and communities built around local issues. Activists use these platforms to interact with local residents, communicate about acute social issues, or seek solutions together with community members. Some groups are dedicated to local history, architecture, and culture. The impact of online communities on the work of city authorities is most visible in Moscow and Moscow Oblast in which most okrugs, districts, and towns have a presence on social media. Many online groups form in response to a specific issue. For instance, in 2017 the Facebook group "Muscovites against Demolition" opposed the Moscow renovation project aimed to demolish 10% of Moscow's housing stock and relocate residents. The group included about 26,000 participants posting on average over 10 posts a day.

Many online groups focused on local and regional problems favor a certain political agenda: some of them are oppositional, and others support Moscow Mayor policies and resolutions. Some groups in favor of the Moscow Government were created either by the local representative office of the Russia's leading party Edinaya Rossia or by local activists. It is common that both ordinary citizens and members of local administrations participate in these groups. For instance, the Facebook group of the Moscow Presnya district was able to remove two local officials from office. Another Facebook group "Nash Savelovsky" became known for its active discussion of a charity campaign to open laundry services for the homeless. Such groups facilitate interaction among residents and help them engage with the local community. Importantly, such groups promote an active dialogue between government, business, and society and address matters related to the work of social services, housing, resident utilities, and others.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The new urban media is a trait of the contemporary urbanization, which is gaining momentum in today's Russia. City online newspapers, magazines, groups, and projects do not simply observe and reflect reality; they are agents of social processes. They contribute to city development as the systems of public communication which forms urban environments. The new urban media have become important platforms of public storytelling and thus participate in "production of the city space" (Lefebvre, 1991). This is a new type of media that functions as the city's sociocultural space and not as a tool of local authorities or big business. Russian urban media help build the relationships between residents and the environment, create local identity, manage city communities, and increase the level of social engagement. New digital formats, including transmedia storytelling, allow urban media managers to expand their reach and effectively engage different social groups in dialogue.

This chapter underscores the great potential of the Russian urban media and a positive role they play in urban space development by nurturing urban community, promoting dialogue, and advancing participatory approaches to civic engagement. Though still not used to their full extent, urban media help shape the cultural and economic landscapes of Russian cities that positively affects the quality of civil society.

The topic of urban communication has gained prominence in Russia. There are a growing number of urban media projects which encounter new challenges. One of the main issues is the sustainability of the urban media's commercial model and its gradual progress. Does this model have to be adaptable to the specifics of each region and the logic of city communication patterns? The issue of digital divide is still critical. How should urban media build relationships with older, pre-Internet generations who are often excluded from active discussions and decision-making taking place in the sociocultural sphere?

Another issue is the gated nature of some online communities which are often isolated from each other and separately attempt to produce changes in social and political systems. The case of "Nash Savelovsky" Facebook group demonstrates that online communities, on the one hand, can form self-government, but on other hand, this process is often chaotic and can result in a number of negative outcomes for the community. Finally, a key question is whether the urban media are a fad or do they have a real chance to evolve and produce an advanced urban media network in Russia to support self-governing cities.

The topic of urban communication and urban media provides a scope of research areas and directions ranging from the development of various city media based on linguistic and visual preferences to the evaluation of the social change promoted by the local media. The development of Russian cities is entering a new phase driven by a younger generation of Russians who are actively involved in the social transformations of the public space. Another important area of media research concerns the effects of urban communications on the local policies for cultural heritage protection. This is a pressing issue because of the rapid modernization in Russian cities and towns. Future studies should consider Russia's context of media development, the role of the urban media, the topics of discussions in public and professional communities, and their impacts on the rapidly changing socioeconomic environment. New media scholarship should embrace communication as an integral part of urban planning and development.

NOTES

1. The discussion is based on the analysis of 20 most popular Russian urban media including Moscow: *Moskvich Mag*, https://moskvichmag.ru/; Saint Petersburg: *Bumaga*, https://paperpaper.ru/; *The Village*, https://www.the-village.ru/; *Sobaka*, http://www.sobaka.ru/magazine; Irkutsk: *The Province*, http://the-province.ru/; Nizhniy Novgorog: *Istorii v Nizhnem Novgorode*, https://vk.com/nnstories; Kaliningrad: *Tvoy Bro*, https://www.tvoybro.com/; *Klops*, https://klops.ru/; Kazan: *Inde*, http://inde.io/; Samara: *Bolshaya Derevnya*, https://bigvill.ru/; Voronezh: *Downtown*, http://downtown.ru/; Sochi: *Scapp*, http://sochi.scapp.ru/; Krasnoyarks: *Gorod Prima*, http://gorodprima.ru/; Khabarovsk: *Prostransyvo*, http://prokhv.ru/; Ekaterinburg: *It's my city*, https://itsmycity.ru/; Tomsk: *Tomskii Obzor*, https://obzor.westsib.ru/; Saratov: *The Saratov Room*, http://saratov-room.ru/places/; Gus-Khrustalnyi: *Khrupkiy Gorog*, http://khrustalny.city/; Dalnyi Vostok, https://dv.land/; Krasnodar: *Yugopolis*, http://www.yugopolis.ru/; Volgograd: *Zhivoy Volgograd*, https://l34.news/.

2. Research results can be seen on the official site of "Basmania": https://basmania.ru/issledovanie-basmannyj-rajon-v-preds/

3. Izi. Travel: https://izi.travel/en/ecdc-muzey-basmannogo-rayona-basmani-ru-obshchestvennoe-obedinenie-sloboda/ru.

4. Read more about the book *Lyudi, ulitsy, doma: Rasskazy moskvichey o Basmannom* (People, streets, houses. Stories by Muscovites about Basmanny District) at https://basmania.ru/nashi-knigi/kniga-lyudi-ulitsy-doma/.

REFERENCES

Aiello, G., Tarantino, M., & Oakley, K. (Eds.). (2017). *Communicating the city: Meanings, practices, interactions*. New York: Peter Lang.

Aiello, G., & Tosoni, S. (2016). Going about the city: Methods and methodologies for urban communication research. *International Journal of Communication*, *10*, 1252–1262.

Akopov, A. I. (2002). *Nekotorye voprosy jurnalistiki: istoria, teoria, praktika* [Questions about journalism: History, theory, and practice]. Rostov-on-Don, Russia: Terra.

Alexander, C. F. (2005). Community journalism: Hope for a society without heroes. *Proceedings of Media Ecology Association*, *6*. https://bit.ly/3fBoihQ

Anderson, C. W. (2013). *Rebuilding the news: Metropolitan journalism in digital age*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Berdnikova, O., & Zaporozhets O. (Eds.). (2015). *Mikrourbanizm. Gorod v detalyah*. [Microurbanism. The city in detail]. Moscow, Russia: Novoe Literaturnoe Obozrenie.

Bilandzic, M., & Foth, M. (2012) A review of locative media, mobile and embodied spatial interaction. *International Journal of Human-Computer Studies*, *70*(1), 66–71.

Drucker, S., & Gumpert, G. (2016). The communicative city redux. *International Journal of Communication*, *10*, 1366–1387.

Drucker, S., & Gumpert, G. (2018, November 20). Urban communication. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Communication.* https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228613.013.581

Dzyaloshinsky, I. M. (2006). *Zhurnalistika souchastia. Kak sdelat SMI poleznym lyudyam* [Participatory journalism. How to make media useful for citizens]. Moscow, Russia: Prestige.

Fedotkina, L. (2002). *Organy mestnogo samoupravlenia deistvuyut ot imeni naselenia* [Local governments act on behalf of the locals]. http://www.dzyalosh.ru/02-dostup/books/mcu/3_fidotkina.html

Florida, R. (2008*). Who is your city? How the creative economy is making where to live the most important decision of your life*. North Logan, UT: Jenson Books.

Fomicheva, I. D. (1993). *Osnovnye ponyatiya zhurnalistiki* [The fundamentals of journalism theory]. Moscow, Russia: MSU.

Frolova, T. (2002). *Moskovskaya munitsipalnaya pressa: Tri scenaria* [Moscow municipal press: Three scenarios]. Moscow, Russia: Moscow State University.

Furman, R., Lamphear G., & Epps, B. (2016). *The immigrant other: Lived experiences in a transnational world*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Gibson, T. A., & Lowes, M. D. (2007). *Urban communication: Production, text, context*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Grachev, M. N. (2004). *Politichesjaya kommunikatsiya: Teoreticheskie kontseptsii, modeli, vektory razvitiya* [Political communication: Concepts, models, ways of development]. Moscow, Russia: Prometey.

Kara-Murza, S. G. (2005). *Manipulatsiya soznaniem* [Manipulation of the mind]. Moscow, Russia: Eksmo.

Kasyutin, V. (2013). *Zhivaya gazeta* [Live newspaper]. http://presslife.ru/media/51e3c68a579f3.pdf

Korkonosenko, S. G. (2009). *Osnovy zhurnalistiki* [The introduction to journalism]. Moscow, Russia: Aspekt-Press.

Kravtsov, V. V. (2011). *Politicheskaya zhurnalistika v internete* [Political journalism on the Internet]. Cheboksary, Russia: ChuvBook.

Lapina-Karatasyuk, E. (2013). Problemy gorodskogo prostranstva v teotiyah setevogo obshestva I kylture novyh media [The problem of urban space in network society theories and new media culture], *Vestnik RGGU*, *7*, 97–104.

Lefebvre, H. (1991). *Production of space*. Blackwell, UK: Oxford University Press.

Lewis, S., Kaufhold, K., & Lasorsa, D. (2010). Thinking about citizen journalism: The philosophical and practical challenges of user-generated content for community newspapers. *Journalism Practice*, *4*(2), 163–179.

McQuire, S. (2008). *The media city: Media, architecture, and urban space*. London, UK: Sage Publications.

Miller, D. (2016). *How the world changed social media?* London, UK: UCL Press.

Morley, D. (2001). Belongings: Place, space and identity in a mediated world. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, *4*(4), 425–448.

Murunov, S. (2015). *Gorodskie soobshestva: Pravo na gorod* [Urban communities: The right for the city] [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aay7qjlu2Ug

Naumenko, T. V. (2007). Funktsii zhurnalistiki i funktsii SMI [The functions of journalism and mass media]. *Credo New*. http://credonew.ru/content/view/176/25/

Murunov, S. (2015). *Gorodskie soobshestva: Pravo na gorod* [Urban communities: The right for the city]. [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aay7qjlu2Ug

Ovsepyan, R. P. (1999). *Istoria noveyshey otechestvennoy zhurnalistiki* [The newest history of Russian journalism]. Moscow, Russia: Moscow State University.

Pasti, S. (2004). *Rossiisky zhurnalist v kontekste peremen* [Russian journalism in the context of change]. Tampere, Finland: University of Tampere.

Radcliffe, D. (2013, October 30). *Here and now: UK hyperlocal media today*. Nesta. https://www.nesta.org.uk/report/here-and-now-uk-hyperlocal-media-today/

Reader, B. (2012). Community journalism: A concept of connectedness. In B. Reader & J. A. Hatcher (Eds.), *Foundations of community journalism* (pp. 3–19). Washington, DC: Sage

Resnyanskaya, L. L. (1991). SMI v ramkakh problematiki teoreticheskoy i prakticheskoy tipologii [Mass media in the framework of theoretical and practical typology]. In M. Shkondin (Ed.), *Regionalnaya pechat v gody perestroika: Organizatsionnye faktory effektivnosti* [Regional press during the perestroika years: Organizational factors of efficiency] (pp. 10–18). Moscow, Russia: Moscow State University.

Šola, T. S. (2012). *Eternity does not live here anymore—a glossary of museum sins*. Zagreb, Croatia: Eigenverl. des Verf.

Solovyov, A. I. (2004). *Politicheskie kommunikatsii* [Political communication]. Moscow, Russia: Aspekt-Press.

Tulupov, V. V. (1996). *Rossiiskaya pressa: Dizain, reklama, typologia* [Russian press: Design, advertising, typology]. Voronezh, Russia: Infra.

Tulupov, V. V. (2013). Regionalnaya zhurnalistika segodnya i zavtra [Regional journalism today and tomorrow]. *Nauchny Zhurnal Baikalskogo Gosudartvennogo Universiteta* [Scientific Journal of Baikal State University], *2*, 78–92. http://jq.bgu.ru/reader/article.aspx?id=17991

Vakhshtain, V. (2017). *Gorod, sudba b soobshestvo* [City, destiny, and community] [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7feENBq0Of4

Vale, L. J. (1995). The imaging of the city: Public housing and communication. *Communication Research*, *22*, 646–663.

Voronova, O., & Resnyanskaya, L. (2003). Vyzhit nelzya ymeret. Perspektivy raionnoy pressy. Gde postavit zapaytuyu? [Stay alive, can(not) die. Perspectives of urban media. Where does the comma go?] *Zhurnalistika i Mediarynok* [Journalism and Media Market], *3*, 5–17.

Zassoursky, I. I. (2001). *Mass-media vrotoy respubliki* [The mass media of the second republic]. Moscow, Russia: Moscow State University.

Zassoursky, Y. N. (Ed.). (1995). *Tipologia pereodicheskoy pechati. Problemy I tendentsii razvitia tipologicheskoy structury sovremennoy pereodiki* [The types of the press. Issues and trends in the development of the typological structure of modern periodicals]. Moscow, Russia: Moscow State University.

Zwick, V. (2000). *Vvedenie v zhurnalistiku* [Introduction to journalism]. Moscow, Russia: Moscow State University.

Chapter 4

Workplace Documentation in Post-Soviet Belarus and Russia

Insights for Organizational Communication

Natalia Matveeva, Lilia Akhmerova, and Irina Savich

This chapter explores documentation practices and genres in the former USSR and the contemporary Republic of Belarus and Russian Federation. Survey[1] was employed to map trends. Since the early 1990s, both countries have worked to streamline documentation procedures for organizations, but many forms have stayed unchanged. Furthermore, this chapter provides several insights for effective intercultural business communication and organizational communication theory in particular.

INTRODUCTION

Since the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, the new independent states have developed business cultures that in many ways emulate U.S. and European business practices (Rogotneva & Volodina, 2014). At the same time, they have also preserved and inherited administrative mechanisms and practices of the former USSR. Although international relations between the United States and some post-Soviet states have been unstable, research strives to contribute to the body of knowledge of international business communication and organizational theory.

Since the early 1990s, a number of American and European companies have opened representative offices and conducted business in the newly formed independent states. For example, according to Joyner (2018), "Russia imported $12.5 billion worth of US products in 2017, among the industries with the greatest exposure to Russia are food and beverages, technology and pharmaceuticals" (para. 7). Moreover, "publicly listed US companies generated more than $90 billion in revenue from Russia in 2017, according to the Thomson Reuters Country of Risk model, which estimates companies' financial exposure to different countries. That included aircraft, machinery, pharmaceutical and chemical products" (para. 6). Also since 2014, the United States and Russia have exchanged a number of sanctions as a result of their different stakes in the Ukrainian conflict.

Current scholarship in organizational and business communication lacks a comprehensive study of written documentation requirements in the former Soviet states, which may prompt substantial modifications in organizational practices. A few studies address generational differences in the contemporary business cultures, business ethics, multinational teams, and managerial practices in Russia (Grachev, 2009; Groznaya, 2009; Lin, 2013; Puffer & McCarthy, 1995; Schmidt & Uecker, 2015). Other studies examine varying genre expectation in workplace documentation (Artemeva, 1998; Bowen, Sapp, & Sargsyan, 2006; Hagen, 1998; Matveeva & Bespalova, 2016; Stevens, 2000). Several researchers have also presented case studies of cross-cultural institutional collaborations and reviewed curricular practices for professional communication in Russia (Bollinger, 2016; Herrington, 2010; Schell, 2016; Stevens, 2001; Zemliansky & Goroshko, 2016). Still, none of these studies have directly addressed business communication practices in Belarus, the country bordering Poland, Ukraine, the Baltic States, and is Russia's closest cultural, political, and economic partner. Russia remains the country's top trading partner and a major market for Belarusian products. "Even Belarusian exports to the EU are mainly composed of processed Russian oil" (Kazakevich, 2017, p. 2). Belarus's two official languages are Russian and Belarusian which facilitates the research of documentation practices in both countries.

This chapter is the first attempt to investigate the developments of documentation practices in Belarus and Russia. To explore workplace genres inherited from the Soviet times, this research surveys practitioners representing different sectors in Belarus and Russia, and asks them about the functions of written documentation, typical audiences, time spent preparing documentation, and its value in decision-making. The results of the study have confirmed that changes in how organizations operate and what documentation they produce happen slowly within the context of strong and well-established bureaucratic structures and established organizational cultures. The findings provide valuable information about varying documentation expectations in Belarus and Russia helping better understand documentation norms. Understanding the complexity of documentation requirements across cultures can help practitioners develop reasonable expectations in cross-cultural business exchanges and aid educators in preparing informed communicators for the future.

ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE, BUREAUCRACY, AND WORKPLACE DOCUMENTATION

This section explores the role of documentation in maintaining the legitimacy of bureaucracies in organizational culture in Belarus and Russia. According to Weber (1978), "The management of the modern office is based upon written documents (the 'files'), which are preserved in their original or draft form, and upon a staff of subaltern officials and scribes of all sorts" (p. 957). Documentation within an organization may serve as a material agent or the representation of internal and external relationships and connections that impact the lives of people directly or indirectly, individually or collectively. Documents within organizations help formalize relationships and establish rules, but they "are not simply instruments of bureaucratic organizations, but rather are constitutive of bureaucratic rules, ideologies, knowledge, practices, subjectivities, objects, outcomes, and even the organizations themselves" (Hull, 2012, p. 253). Specifically, they (a) are "the central semiotic technology for the coordination and control of organizations and the terrains on which they operate" (p. 256) and (b) have "the generative capacity" or the ability to construct objects, subjects, forms, and realities (p. 259).

The roots of the current Belarusian and Russian organizational structures can be traced to the Russian Empire. In fact, "the Soviet system was certainly not fully or even largely new" (Ryavec, 2003, p. 47). It was "mainly shaped by the institutions it inherited from the czarist regime—the autocracy, the secret police, the Siberian exile system, and so forth" (Pipes, 1994, p. 29; as cited in Ryavec, 2003, p. 57). Even the percentage of former czarist administrative personnel who continued to occupy positions in the newly formed Soviet state was significant. Some of the basic stylistic and structural features used in Russian business correspondence today appeared in the Russian language in the seventeenth century and were reflected in the newly created documentation standards during the Soviet era (Tortunova, 2016).

The formation of the USSR in 1922 led to the centralization of power under one government that constituted a well-oiled bureaucratic machine. The one legitimate party, the Communist Party, or the Center, instituted, directed, and supervised various chains of command that would communicate tasks and responsibilities not only within various government agencies, but within the local community as well by the means of involving "voluntary associations—trade unions, consumer co-operatives, writers' unions, the Communist Youth League and so on" (Rigby, 1970, p. 7). This hierarchy emerged with the goal to ensure that various groups would not "deviate from their assigned tasks" (p. 7) and included the multilayered apparatus of secretaries, "from the General Secretary all the way down to the secretary of the party organization in the basic employment group" (p. 7).

Over the span of 70 years, the Soviet apparatus grew into a massive "authoritarian-bureaucratic system" (Rigby, 1970, p. 12) that would mobilize human "resources for priority objectives, like building up the steel industry, but [would be] injurious to those activities which are sensitive to individual needs and preferences, like consumer industries" (p. 12). All such activities would require careful planning, which meant managing large groups of people at different levels, collecting information, documenting results, and reporting the success of various projects at the local and state levels. All these activities entailed workplace documentation.

When describing administrative bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, Ryavec (2003) mentions a peculiar nature of informalism and "bureaucratic fetishism" that created a certain attitude toward those occupying government posts. Informalism, or unspoken, but shared practices and attitudes, not formalized in regulations or laws, is present in all bureaucratic structures (p. 65). However, in the czarist Russia and then the Soviet Union, it led to widespread corruption as certain bureaucrats felt empowered to either follow or violate their own or state rules and regulations so that they could perform their functions. This attitude prevailed after the collapse of the Soviet Union (Groznaya, 2009; Puffer & McCarthy, 1995). When the Soviet Union ceased to exist, the old generation of bureaucrats was partially substituted with a new generation of politicians who rebuilt the system into a new "bureaucratic democracy" that employed mechanisms and administrative hierarchies similar to those used during the Soviet era (Ozernoy & Samsonova, 1995, pp. 275, 278–279; Ryavec, 2003, p. 3).

Paper-fetishism, a way of controlling information and formalizing procedures, was common and prolific. For example, "in 1970 as many as four million pages of administrative documentation were produced daily, one Soviet source says" (Ryavec, 2003, p. 147). At the same time, even by the 1970s, no standardized system of administrative documentation existed. In the 1970s and 1980s, such systems were introduced in the form of various "GOSTs" (ГОСТ in Russian), or state standards for documentation, unified document classifications, and unified systems of documentation, that essentially prescribed the look and content for a majority of official documents that circulated within organizational settings (Skakunova, Platych, & Zhereb, 2010). These were updated in the early 1990s, before the downfall of the Soviet Union, and later by each newly developed state.

In post-Soviet Russia, changes and updates to the existing standards were introduced in the early 2000 to reflect the need for unifying newly available electronic and traditional paper documentation standards (Rogotneva & Volodina, 2014). Similar updates were made to documentation standards and instructions of the Republic of Belarus, or "STB" (СТБ in Russian), in the mid-1990s and the 2000s.

The revised documentation standards were not the only major administrative changes introduced in the post-Soviet time within organizations. New types of documents appeared that signaled the shift to the market economy. The majority of new documentation formats were borrowed from American and European corporate practices. Such genres included a resume, for example. During the Soviet times, when applying for a job, a prospective employee would be asked to write a biography (Rogotneva & Volodina, 2014). Now every employment seeker is expected to submit a resume, as well as a recommendation letter in a letter format. This is also a new requirement and an equivalent to the Soviet-style "employee characteristics" file created by a person's previous employer. Other newly adopted or adapted genres include tax declarations, insurance documents, press releases and other marketing documentation, business offers or proposals, claim letters, and a variety of contracts.

In the late 1990s in Russia, "there was an apparent official understanding that, alongside the transformation of state administration, it was necessary to fine-tune the country's administrative mechanisms and instruments" (Yuzhakov & Dobrolyubova, 2018, p. 342). The new administrative reforms started in 2003 with the goal of reducing administrative barriers and increasing the quality of administrative services. New and improved standards and regulations were introduced to simplify procedures and reduce paperwork requirements and even fees associated with certain services. However, "the challenge of optimizing control and oversight functions and limiting their negative impacts on business has still not been adequately addressed" (p. 348). Although in 2016 some efforts have been made to optimize and reduce the number of inspection activities and control functions that businesses have been subjected to (p. 349), many more changes in procedures need to be implemented to ease the bureaucratic burden that the private sector has had to comply with.

Belarus has also taken steps for reforming its administrative structures. In 2013, President Lukashenko signed a new decree. The decree No. 168, "On a Number of Measures to Optimize the System of Administration Bodies and Other State Organizations, the Personnel Structure of These Organizations," would reduce the number of civil servants by 25%, and reduce bureaucracy. Still, administrative structures and functions are "excessive and overlapping," which puts a significant burden on businesses and private citizens (Preiherman, 2013). In fact, despite the recent efforts at reforming existing administrative apparatuses, both countries have scored low in the Worldwide Governance Indicators, specifically government effectiveness, as compiled by the World Bank. Since 1996, the indicator for Russia rose from 38th to 44th percentile, while Belarus dropped from 42nd to 36th percentile in 2016 (The World Bank).

The following study explored existing trends in the use of workplace genres and any changes that occurred since the downfall of the Soviet Union. The following research question was advanced:

RQ: What changes in workplace documentation practices have occurred in Belarus and Russia since the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991?

METHODOLOGY

Participants

The survey targeted at two types of respondents: those who spent at least 10 years (from 1960 to 1990) working in the former Soviet Union and those who have spent at least 10 years (from 2000 to 2016) working in contemporary Belarus and Russia. The above time frame was chosen to ensure the level of experience and exposure to different workplaces and workplace documentation among respondents. The researchers excluded the period from 1991 to 2000 as it was a transitional period in both countries, and during which the two states essentially formed as separate entities.

After receiving approval from the institutional review board,[2] the researchers recruited participants at Belarusian State University, Minsk, Belarus, and Kazan Federal University, Kazan, Russia, via a network sampling approach. The students were asked to pass on the information about the study to their parents and grandparents. Between January and December of 2017, the researchers collected a total of 106 completed surveys.

Instruments

A paper survey was chosen as a means of collecting data in a confidential manner. The survey instrument contained 13 multiple-choice questions and collected basic demographic data, specifically the participants' age group, gender, level of education, general area of employment, and leadership experience (lower, middle, and senior levels with suggested examples to ensure clarity). The survey also included questions about workplace practices, specifically about experience with written communication, common genres, the amount of time spent writing documents on a daily basis, document storage, and the importance and frequency of use of workplace documents. The study focused primarily on traditional paper genres and the participants' exposure to any documentation in general which might have included electronic versions. The survey employed closed and multiple-choice, as well as questions offering an option to add comments. Based on the collected data, the researchers then identified patterns, trends, and major preferences for the studied population.

RESULTS

The data analysis involved the identification of trends and patterns from the collected surveys. First, demographic data compared the groups from 1960 to 1990 and from 2000 to 2016.

Demographics

The Soviet Union (Belarus) 1960–1990 (25 Respondents)

The age range for those who worked in Belarus during the Soviet era ranged from 56 to 80 years of age. Eighty percent were female, while 20% were males. Twenty-eight percent of the respondents had a college or advanced degree, 52% had the equivalent of an associate degree or a trade school degree, while 20% had a high school diploma or did not finish high school. The heavy industry sector (machinery manufacturing and mining) was 25% of the respondents, as was the service sector. Sixteen percent of the respondents worked in arts and education, while 12% represented the food sector. The light industry, agriculture, transportation, and government were each represented by 8% of the respondents. Comparing the two groups representing Russia, 52% of the respondents had some level of leadership experience.

Belarus, 2000–2016 (41 Respondents)

The age of the respondents in this group ranged from 30 to 55, with 83% between 30 and 50. Sixty-eight percent were females, 32% were males. Fifty-nine percent of the respondents had a college or advanced degree, while 41% had an equivalent of an associate degree or a trade school diploma. As far as employment sectors are concerned, 32% of respondents worked in arts and education; the service sector and the food sector were each represented by 19% of the respondents. Fifteen percent of respondents worked in the heavy industry sector, while 10% represented transportation. Government, agriculture, and light industry were each represented by 7% of respondents. Five percent worked in the health sector, and roughly 2% represented finance. Twenty-nine percent in this group had some level of leadership experience.

The Soviet Union (Russia), 1960–1990 (15 Respondents)

The age of the participants who identified themselves as those who worked in the Soviet Union, specifically Russia from 1960 to 1990, ranged from 41 to 80 years. Eighty percent were older than 56. Sixty-seven percent were females, while 33% were males. Seventy-three percent of the respondents had a college degree or above, while 27% had either an equivalent of an associate degree or a trade school degree. More than half of the group, 56%, was employed in the heavy industry sector (machinery manufacturing and mining). Twenty-four percent represented arts and education, while 6% represented each of the following: medicine, the service sector, and the financial sphere. More than half of the respondents, 52%, had leadership experience at lower, middle, and senior levels.

Russia, 2000–2016 (25 Respondents)

A majority of the respondents in this group, or 84%, ranged from 30 to 50 years of age. Seventy-two percent were females and 28% males. Ninety-two percent had a college or advanced degree, while 8% had an equivalent of an associate degree. Forty percent of the respondents represented education and arts, 18% represented the service sector, and 15% represented the heavy industry sector (machinery manufacturing and energy). Seven percent represented finance and government, and 4% represented medicine and transportation. Fifty percent of the respondents had leadership experience at lower, middle, and senior levels.

Overall, the two groups were comparable in gender demographics, with half being female. In both groups, a majority had a college degree or higher and had leadership experience. However, the two groups varied in the representation of the employment sectors. There was a higher representation of the service sector in the contemporary Russia group.

In all studied groups before and after the fall of the Soviet Union, female respondents were predominant. This is a similar feature for these particular groups according to the data offered by the World Bank (2018). The percentage of females in the workforce in Russia was 48.26% in 1990 and 48.65% in 2018 and in Belarus was 48.35% in 1990 and 49.74% in 2018. The dominating employment sectors in both groups were arts and education, service, food, and heavy industry although heavy industry was represented less in the contemporary Belarus group. That same group also had the least leadership experience compared to all studied groups. Table 4.1 summarizes essential demographic information.

This demographic information is useful when comparing exposure to and engagement with workplace documentation across all groups.

Exposure to Organizational Documentation and Document Production

When inquiring about documentation exposure, the respondents were asked about specific time spent preparing documents and working with documents per day. The options included the following: 30 minutes, one to two hours, three to four hours, more than five hours, or "I have never prepared documents."/"I have never worked with documents."

Table 4.1 Comparative Demographic and Employment Data from All Studied Groups

Characteristics	*Soviet Belarus (25)*	*Contemporary Belarus (41)*	*Soviet Russia (15)*	*Contemporary Russia (25)*
Age	100% 56 and older	83% 30–50	80% 56 and older	84% 30–50
Gender	80% females 20% males	68% females 32% males	67% females 33% males	72% females 28% males
College degree or above	28%	59%	73%	92%
Prevalent employment sectors (at least 15% of all respondents in a group)	• Heavy industry (25%) • Service (25%) • Arts and education (16%)	• Arts and education (32%) • Service (19%) • Food (19%) • Heavy industry (15%)	• Heavy industry (56%) • Arts and education (24%)	• Education and arts (40%) • Service (18%) • Heavy industry (15%)
Leadership experience	52%	29%	52%	50%

Based on the results for document preparation practices within their organizations, the majority of participants in all groups spent one to two hours or more per day working on documentation. Specifically, a majority of respondents (around 80% in all groups) chose either one to two hours, three to four hours, or more than five hours. However, the data also shows that during the Soviet times, the respondents in the studied groups spent slightly more time with documentation when compared to the groups in contemporary Belarus and Russia: more than five hours versus one to two hours and three to four hours versus one to two hours. Note that the survey did not inquire about the time for manual retyping of documents, which might have affected the results for the Soviet period in both countries (see table 4.2).

Concerning document consumption, the results were also comparable across the studied groups. Specifically, the majority of respondents (around 70% in all groups) chose either 30 minutes or one to two hours. Based on the general trends, the data from the groups indicates that a majority of the respondents spent slightly less time reviewing documentation prepared by others when compared to the time they spent preparing documentation for others (table 4.3).

Most Common Addressees for Organizational Documentations

Based on the groups' responses, the most frequent users of the documents the respondents prepared were internal audiences (coworkers, managers, etc.). On average, around 35% of documentation across all studied groups targeted and still targets external audiences such as regulatory agencies and partners (table 4.4).

Table 4.2 Time Committed to Document Production by Respondents

Hours\Country	*Soviet Belarus (25)*	*Belarus (41)*	*Soviet Russia (15)*	*Russia (25)*
30 minutes	1	4	3	3
1–2 hours	7	16	3	9
3–4 hours	1	10	5	6
More than 5 hours	12	8	4	7
"I have never prepared documents."	4	3	0	0
General trend	80% 1–2 hours or more per day	83% 1–2 hours or more per day	79% 1–2 hours or more per day	78% 1–2 hours or more per day
Most popular answer	More than 5 hours (48%)	1–2 hours (39%)	3–4 hours (33%)	1–2 hours (36%)

Documentation Registration and Storage

When asked if respondents needed to file, register, or store (in any form) documentation they produced, the results varied across groups, but more than half in all groups responded affirmatively or "occasionally" (see table 4.5).

Based on the studied groups, the requirements for filing, registration, and storage practices are somewhat similar in contemporary Russia and Belarus. At the same time, the Soviet groups presented no consistency for this question.

Use of Documentation in Decision-Making

To establish the importance of organizational documentation, the authors asked the respondents whether they or their colleagues had to consult some sort of documentation before making important decisions. The vast majority responded affirmatively (see table 4.6).

Thus, the importance of organizational documentation cannot be underestimated through the history of Soviet and in contemporary organizations. Moreover, when asked how often documentation was in demand in respondents' organizations, the most common response across chosen options were "all the time" or "periodically" (see table 4.7).

Prevalent Genres in the Studied Groups

When asked about five of the most prevalent organizational genres they worked or work with, the respondents in each group selected the options indicated in table 4.8. The authors provide an approximate translation of these

Table 4.3 Time Committed to Reviewing Documents Prepared by Others

Hours\Country	*Soviet Belarus (25)*	*Belarus (41)*	*Soviet Russia (15)*	*Russia (25)*
30 minutes	7	14	7	6
1–2 hours	10	14	4	15
3–4 hours	4	8	3	2
More than 5 hours	3	4	1	2
"I have never prepared documents."	1	1	0	0
General trend	68% 1–2 hours or less per day	68% 1–2 hours or less per day	74% 1–2 hours or less per day	74% 1–2 hours or less per day
Most popular answer	1–2 hours (40%)	30 min (34%) 1–2 hours (34%)	30 min (47%)	1–2 hours (60%)

genres based on the main functions this documentation fulfills. Many of these document types or genres, around 20 survey options to choose from, with exceptions of business letters, employment contract, contract, or technical documentation, do not have strict American equivalents or could be translated in different ways using synonymous terms. The majority, if not all, of them are paper genres and require some form of authentication and authorization: a signature, initials, and/or an official seal.

The respondents' selections indicate that the same or similar formats and terminology used in the Soviet Union are still in use today. Note a slight rise in the use of traditional business letters in contemporary Belarus and Russia when compared to the Soviet times. Although it is not a new genre for the countries studied, with the rise of private enterprises, this genre has become more important for establishing business connections and conducting business in general.

Some of the commonly used types of the procedural organizational documentation indicated in table 4.8 have equivalents or approximations in American organizational contexts. At the same time, the formats used in the Soviet Union and contemporary Belarus and Russia are highly formalized and prescriptive. Some of the prevalent genres (an instruction, a decree, and

Table 4.4 Common Addressees for Documentation

Audiences\Country	*Soviet Belarus*	*Belarus*	*Soviet Russia*	*Russia*
Internal audiences	69%	69%	67%	52%
External audiences	31%	31%	33%	48%

Table 4.5 Practices of Documentation Filing, Registration, and Storage

Responses\Country	*Soviet Belarus*	*Belarus*	*Soviet Russia*	*Russia*
Yes	82%	66%	40%	60%
Occasionally	9%	26%	13%	36%
No	9%	8%	47%	4%

an act) are discussed below as they are somewhat unique in their function and constitute a distinctive subgroup of genres.

In the current Russian textbooks for organizational documentation, or "deloproizvodstvo" in Russian, circulating in Belarus and Russia, these genres are grouped according to their major functions within organizations. Each existed in the former Soviet Union and is common in today's organizations in the two countries.

An *instruction* (*instruktsiya* in Russian) is a broad genre category that includes a variety of subgenres such as rules, regulations, and job appointment instructions. It is "a legal act" listed under legal procedural documentation and contains "rules that govern organizational, scientific, technological, financial and other distinct aspects of functions of organizations, its subdivisions, and staff members" (Kuznetsov, 2006, p. 15). The genre should contain sections and subsections numbered using the Arabic numerals starting with a section describing general standing orders (p. 15). Moreover, in the language of an instruction, "one should use such words as 'have to,' 'should,' 'it is necessary,' 'it not permitted,' 'it is prohibited,' and others" (p. 15). The instruction should contain a clear heading describing the purpose of the document and must be printed on the official letterhead of the organization. It must be verified and approved by the organization's legal team and all those affected by the instruction and signed by the head of the department in which the instruction will be used (p. 15). Figure 4.1 shows a sample of an instruction for a job appointment. (Note: All samples in this chapter were created by the authors based on the review of numerous free samples available online.)

A *decree* or *an order* (*prikaz* in Russian) is also a "legal act" that is issued solely by the head of an organization to perform a variety of executive functions (Kuznetsov, 2006). Such functions may include organizational restructuring, liquidation of an organization, or actuation of various types

Table 4.6 The Importance of Documentation in Decision-Making

Responses\Country	*Soviet Belarus*	*Belarus*	*Soviet Russia*	*Russia*
Yes	52%	78%	80%	84%
Occasionally	28%	15%	20%	16%
No	20%	7%	0%	0%

Table 4.7 Demands for Documentation

Responses\Country	*Soviet Belarus*	*Belarus*	*Soviet Russia*	*Russia*
All the time	80%	78%	47%	72%
Periodically	16%	22%	47%	24%
Rarely	4%	0%	6%	4%
Never	0%	0%	0%	0%

of instructions and other procedural documentation (p. 26). A decree is also used for managing hiring and firing of employees, assigning vacation time, and other types of human resource functions. A decree must be completed on a special form with the word "DECREE" written prominently at the top of the page. The form must list all elements of a regular letterhead, plus "the document number, a place of its creation, a header, a signature, [and] vises" (p. 27). The header must be clear and short. The main text of a decree must have a "descriptive and executive" section (p. 27). The descriptive section may contain justifications and explanations, including any laws that have served as a basis for the decree. In between the two sections, the decree must state "I order to" and then proceed with the executive section of the document (p. 27). In this section, all statements are written in form of a command, each numbered using the Arabic numerals (p. 27). At the end, the document must

Table 4.8 Five Most Prevalent Genres Used by Participants

Country	*Soviet Belarus*	*Belarus*	*Soviet Russia*	*Russia*
Document type	• Instruction/ Regulations/Job Appointment Instruction (*Instruktsiya/ dolzhnostnaye instruktsyy*)(68%) • Technical documentation (*Tehnicheskaya dokumentatsiya*) (36%) • Service note (*Sluzhebnaya zapiska*) (36%) • Degree (*Prikaz*) (24%) • Order (*Rasporyazheniye*) (20%) * Business letters (*Delovye pisma*) (16%)	• Instruction/ Regulations/Job Appointment Instruction (*Instruktsiya/ dolzhnostnaye instruktsyy*) (80%) • Decree (*Prikaz*) (37%) • Act (*Akt*) (34%) • Technical documentation (*Tehnicheskaya dokumentatsiya*) (32%) • Application/ declaration/claim (*Zayavleniye*) (29%) *Business letters (*Delovye pisma*) (22%)	• Instruction/ Regulations/Job Appointment Instruction (*Instruktsiya/ dolzhnostnaye instruktsyy*) (80%) • Technical documentation (*Tehnicheskaya dokumentatsiya*) (53%) • Decree (*Prikaz*) (40%) • Employment contract (*Trudovoi dogovor*) (33%) • Business letters (*Delovye pisma*) (27%)	• Instruction/ Regulations/Job Appointment Instruction (*Instruktsiya/ dolzhnostnaye instruktsyy*) (72%) • Technical documentation (*Tehnicheskaya dokumentatsiya*) (48%) • Business letters (*Delovye pisma*) (40%) • Employment contract (*Trudovoi dogovor*) (36%) • Decree (*Prikaz*) (32%) • Contract (*Kontrakt/ dogovor*) (32%)

list all responsible parties. Kuznetsov (2006) emphasizes that the text of a decree must be precise and concise, with minimal use of participial phrases, unfamiliar terminology, or abbreviations (p. 27). Figure 4.2 presents a section of a sample decree.

An *act* (*akt* in Russian) is a type of a document that performs a variety of reference or informational functions. It usually "confirms established facts, circumstances, [and] actions" (Kuznetsov, 2006, p. 47). Acts are usually created by a committee of people that has observed a phenomenon (including industrial accidents, inspections, and internal audits) and is tasked to evaluate it and make conclusions and recommendations. Acts are written on an organization's letterhead with a clear label "ACT" at the top of the page with "the document number, a place of its creation, a header, [and] a signature" (p. 48). An act must have a clear header and contain introductory and main sections (p. 48). In the introduction, one must provide justification for the act and participating parties. In the main section, the act presents evaluation procedures, methods, procedural steps, results, and recommendations (p. 48) (see figure 4.3).

Overall, these three genres are highly prescriptive in their form and content with somewhat overlapping functions or could be written in response to the same event, but the genres are produced and consumed by different audiences

T

TETRATECH
Closed Joint Stock Company

CONFIRMED BY
Managing Director:
Ivanov A.G.
01.05.2018

JOB APPOINTEMNET
INSTRUCTION
01.05.2018 # 245

City of Kazan

Manager, Transportation
Department

1. General Provisions
1.1 A general manager of the Transportation Department manages the work of all departmental personnel and oversees transportation functions of the entire organization.
1.2 A general manager of the Transportation Department must have a bachelor's degree and a minimum of 5 years of related workplace experience.
1.3 A general manager of the Transportation Department must know
- instructions, degrees, and acts that govern the work on the Transpiration Department
- principles of business correspondence

Figure 4.1 A Sample Instruction. *Source*: Created by Author.

within organizations. Writers must follow strict organizational standards to ensure that the document confirms to all legal requirements and expectations. Such standards include not only forms that are used for each genre, but also margins, numeration, expected subsections, the placement of document titles and headings, and the use of grammatical structures. Thus, the overview of the most prevalent and familiar genres in the current workplaces in Russia and Belarus signals the unique features of workplace documentation and established procedural practices that can be characterized as abundant, highly formalized, and prescriptive.

DISCUSSION

This exploratory study contributes to business and professional communication pedagogy and practice by raising awareness of organizational and regulatory practices in Belarus and Russia. Thus, this study answers the research question: What changes in workplace written communication in the

T

TETRATECH
Closed Joint Stock Company

DECREE

01.05.2018 City of Kazan # 245

About newly implemented
registration procedures for
all commercial vehicles in
the City of Kazan

To respond to newly established registration procedures for all commercial vehicles in the City of Kazan, I

ORDER TO:

1. Check the stock of all commercial vehicles in the Transportation Department at TETRATECH.
2. Apply new registration procedures according to the regulations implemented by the City of Kazan on 01.01.2018.
3. A responsible party for all registration procedures is Manager of the Transportation Department Sidorov A.A..

Managing Director: Ivanov A.G.

Figure 4.2 A Sample Decree. *Source*: Created by Author.

T

TETRATECH
Closed Joint Stock Company

CONFIRMED BY
Managing Director:
Ivanov A.G.
01.05.2018

ACT

01.05.2018 # 245

City of Kazan

about the review of the
correctness of registration
documentation of all new
commercial vehicles at
TETRATECH

On the basis of: newly established registration procedures by the City of Kazan on 01.01.2018.

Prepared by the committee:
Chair: Manager of the Transportation Department Sidorov A.A.

Members of the committee: Lead Supervisor of Registration Division Petrov A.V. and Chief Controller Mikhailov D.R.

On 01.03. 2018, the committee reviewed new registration documentation of all commercial vehicles at TETRATECH.
No violations or inconsistencies were found.

Copies of the act:
Copy 1 submitted to: Managing Director Ivanov A.G
Copy 2 submitted to: Manager of the Accounting Department Yamskaya N.V.

Chair Sidorov A.A.

Members of the committee Petrov A.V.
Mikhailov D.R.

Figure 4.3 A Sample Act. *Source*: Created by Author.

organizational settings in Russia and Belarus have occurred over the past three decades? There are two important conclusions:

First, workplace documentation continues to serve as an essential part of daily operations across all employment sectors in both countries. The groups showed agreement in responses. Across all employment sectors, documentation production is an important part of daily operations in organizations, occupying anywhere between one and two hours, up to five hours, or more a day. Moreover, one notable difference between the contemporary groups and the "Soviet" groups is the finding that the respondents in the latter groups seemed to spend more time with documentation when compared to the groups in contemporary Russia and Belarus. In addition, the overall trend is that document consumption across groups takes less time, one to two hours or less per day, when compared to document production.

Document production served and still serves many internal purposes and, in more than half of all cases, targets internal audiences, although external audiences across all groups constituted on average around 35% of all cases.

Requirements for documentation filing, registration, and storage varied across the groups; however, more than half or a majority of the respondents saw them as obligatory or occasional. A majority of respondents in all groups reported that they used documents in decision-making and that documentation was in demand either "all the time" or "periodically."

Second, the Soviet genres of workplace documentation continue to prevail in contemporary Russia and Belarus with a slight increase in the use of business letters. One of the most interesting results of the study was the fact that the same genres used during the Soviet times are in circulation today in both countries. Respondents from both countries are well familiar with them and have shown agreement in choosing the most prevalent types. One notable difference is the fact that the use of business letters for external purposes seems to be on the rise. The fact that the genres have not changed over the past three decades may signal that many of the established Soviet-style bureaucratic structures are still in place in contemporary Russia and Belarus. It seems that the change is very slow and happens only in response to changing technologies for document production and the need to be part of the global marketplace.

The findings provide multiple implications for pedagogy and practice especially when applied in courses specializing in intercultural business communication. Learning about the history of the target countries and the functioning of their organizations will provide students with a much better understanding of differing communication expectations. Examining sample documents and their functions, comparing and contrasting them with documents accepted in the students' countries, will offer insights into culture-specific rhetorical strategies (verbal and visual) and their organizational functions that impact how business is conducted.

Practitioners planning to work with Belarusian or Russian counterparts on multinational teams or as expatriates in these countries should expect to see similar genres circulating in the two countries. Many of those genres do not have strict equivalents for American business communication. Participating in intercultural training sessions and learning about the countries' cultural heritage will help contextualize the role of written documentation and bureaucracies in the contemporary organizational contexts in these countries.

There were several limitations. Although the surveys reveal agreement between the groups, the response rate for the Russian group was lower than the Belarusian group. The goal of 50 participants from each group was not achieved. The recruiting of participants was difficult. Despite these limitations, the data highlighted obvious patterns and trends in documentation practices. The findings provide insight into former and existing practices within organizations in two countries.

This study can serve as a starting point for researchers interested in furthering their understanding of historical and sociopolitical factors that affect business communication practices across various geographical locations and time periods. Such investigations are important for building bridges and establishing a constructive dialogue for the benefit of all participating in international business transactions. In this regard, investigating documentation production in other former republics of the Soviet Union can reveal interesting facts about the history of this region and help better understand the existing communication practices and business relationships. Furthermore, the impact of differing economic systems on workplace practices, the evolution of relationships and mutual influences, and the role new technology plays in cross-cultural business exchanges can be explored in other regions of the world for comparison.

NOTES

1. This research was supported in part by the Organized Research and Creative Activity grant at the University of Houston—Downtown, Houston, Texas, United States.

2. The study was approved by the Committee for the Protection of Human Subjects at the University of Houston—Downtown (Application #47-16).

REFERENCES

Artemeva, N. (1998). The writing consultants as cultural interpreters: Bridging cultural perspectives on the genre of the periodic engineering report. *Technical Communication Quarterly*, *7*(3), 285–299.

Bollinger, K. (2016). Introducing Western writing theory and pedagogy to Russian students: The writing and communication center at the New Economic School. In P. Zemliansky & K. St. Amant (Eds.), *Rethinking post-communist rhetoric: Perspectives on rhetoric, writing, and professional communication in the post-Soviet spaces* (pp. 19–42). Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Bowen, B., Sapp, D., & Sargsyan, N. (2006). Resume writing in Russia and newly independent states. *Business Communication Quarterly*, *69*(2), 128–143.

Grachev, M. (2009). Russia, culture, and leadership: Cross-cultural comparison of managerial values and practices. *Problems of Post-Communism*, *56*(1), 3–11.

Groznaya, E. (2009, June). Conflict of generations: Business culture of contemporary Russia. *TCWorld*. https://bit.ly/3fzjIRe

Hagen, P. (1998). Teaching American business writing in Russia: Cross-cultures/cross-purposes. *Journal of Business and Technical Communication*, *12*(1), 109–126.

Herrington, T. (2010). Crossing global boundaries: Beyond intercultural communication. *Journal of Business and Technical Communication*, *24*(4), 516–539.

Hull, M. (2012). Documents and bureaucracy. *The Annual Review of Anthropology*, *41*, 251–267.

Joyner, A. (2018, August 9). Factbox: U.S. companies with exposure to Russia. *Reuters*. https://reut.rs/3p3c2d0

Kazakevich, A. (2017). Belarus. *World development indicators.* World Bank. https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/NiT2017_Belarus.pdf.

Kuznetsov, I. (2006). *Deloproizvodstvo* [Office administration] (2nd ed.). Moscow, Russia: Dashkov & Co.

Lin, N. (2013). Concinnity of assorted nuts. In H. Yu & G. Savage (Eds.), *Negotiating cultural encounters: Narrating intercultural engineering and technical communication* (pp. 41–59). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley & Sons.

Matveeva, N., & Bespalova, E. (2016). Visible and invisible boundaries: Documentation requirements for opening a foreign representative office in Russia and in the United States. In P. Zemliansky & K. St. Amant (Eds.), *Rethinking post-communist rhetoric: Perspectives on rhetoric, writing, and professional communication in the post-Soviet spaces* (pp. 97–109). Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Mirovalev, M. (2018, September 28). Tiny Belarus is a throwback to the Soviet Union — and the center of a booming tech economy. *Los Angeles Times*. https://lat.ms/3c4xNUO

Ozernoy, M. A., & Samsonova, T. N. (1995). Political history of Russian bureaucracy and roots of its power. *Democratizatsiya*, *3*(3), 275–282.

Pipes, R. (1994). *Russia under the Bolshevik regime*. New York: Vintage Books.

Preiherman, Y. (2013). Why Belarus needs to reform its bureaucracy. *BelarusDigest*. https://bit.ly/3i507Kg

Puffer, S., & McCarthy, D. (1995). Finding the common ground in Russian and American business ethics. *California Management Review*, *37*(2), 29–46.

Rigby, T. H. (1970). Bureaucracy and democracy in the USSR. *The Australian Quarterly*, *42*(1), 5–14.

Rogotneva, E., & Volodina, T. (2014). The development of Russian documentation production in the post-Soviet period. *Vestnik Nauki Sibiri*, *3*(13), 67–71.

Ryavec, K. (2003). *Russian bureaucracy: Power and pathology*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Schell, T. (2016). Exploring technical communication pedagogy in Russia. In P. Zemliansky & K. St. Amant (Eds.), *Rethinking post-communist rhetoric: Perspectives on rhetoric, writing, and professional communication in the post-Soviet spaces* (pp. 43–58). Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Schmidt, J., & Uecker, D. (2015). Business ethics in US & Russia. *Journal of Leadership, Accountability and Ethics*, *12*(2), 92–102.

Skakunova, E., Platych, L., & Zhereb, L. (2010). Comparative characteristics of certain aspects of Russian and western documentation production. *Aktualnye Problemy Aviatsii i Kosmonavtiki*, *6*(1), 291–292.

Stevens, B. (2000). Russian teaching contracts: An examination of cultural influence and genre. *Journal of Business and Technical Communication*, *14*(1), 38–58.

Stevens, B. (2001). Cross-cultural service learning: American and Russian students learn applied organizational communication. *Business Communication Quarterly*, *64*(3), 59–69.

Tortunova, I. (2016). Linguistic 'image' of modern business correspondence. *Verhnevolzhski Filologicheski Vestnik*, *2*, 80–86.

Weber, M. (1978). *Economy and society*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

The World Bank Group. (2018). Labor force, female (% of total labor force). https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/sl.tlf.totl.fe.zs.

The World Bank Group. (2018). *Worldwide governance indicators*. http://info.worldbank.org/governance/WGI/#reports.

Yuzhakov, V., & Dobrolyubova, E. (2018) The bureaucracy. In I. Studin (Ed.), *Russia: Strategy, policy, and administration* (pp. 341–352). London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Zemliansky, P., & Goroshko, O. (2016). A survey of academic and professional writing instruction in higher education in Russia and Ukraine. In P. Zemliansky & K. St.Amant (Eds.), *Rethinking post-communist rhetoric: Perspectives on rhetoric, writing, and professional communication in the post-Soviet spaces* (pp. 3–18). Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Chapter 5

Ricoeurian Rhetorical Analysis of the Ukrainian Film *Julia Blue*

A Picture of Non-Western (Nonlinear) Identity

Michael R. Finch

This study uses Ricoeurian rhetorical analysis to study *Julia Blue* (2018), an award-winning film produced in Ukraine by producer Roxy Toporowych, a first-generation Ukrainian American. This movie is a compelling text in its own right, as it portrays a cinematic portrait of the post-Maidan Ukrainian culture and life through the vessel of a seemingly simple romance/coming-of-age film. The film portrays numerous dialectical tensions within the text which illustrate that the Ukrainian identity represented is replete with nonlinear elements. In the book *Media and Public Relations Research in Post-Socialist Societies*, the conclusion of the text states that "tensions, are common and somewhat innate to the post-socialist settings. These tensions are rooted in the region's academic, social, political, historical, and cultural attributes" (Minielli et al., 2021). These sociopolitical cultural elements that form a "third-dimension" (Minielli et al., 2021) to this text provide both sociopolitical cultural and theoretical insights that diverge from more linear or two-dimensional Western cultural and theoretical conceptions.

This study discusses the dialectical tensions present in the film, including the tension presented by the subordinate transcendent ontology represented by the film that informs the other aspects of the film. Philosophically speaking, the epistemology, axiology, and praxis of the film all flow from (and to) the ontological frame. The dialectical tensions that are presented in cinematic form communicate a non-Western understanding of identity, allowing for a nonlinear, complex identity project and sense of reality, or ontology.

The ideas underpinning this research are based on subjective, qualitative observations of modern entertainment which led to the formation of a thesis that is illustrated in the text to be analyzed. Films are persuasive because "the spectator is indeed 'disconnected' from the real world, but he must then connect to something else and accomplish a 'transference of reality,' involving a whole affective, perceptual, and intellective activity" (Metz, 1974, p. 12). Film is a most opportune method for the transference of reality, and thus is an appropriate text to look at rhetorically. Brummett (1991) states "a film is easily and often manifested as a discreet text because the audience is put in a position of deferring to the source's definition of the text" (p. 105).

Filmic texts, because they create a pseudo-reality, reflect ontological presuppositions. Such presuppositions shape the nature of the stories and the nature of the characters within the stories. The observation that led to this chapter was as follows: cinematic movies often are supposed to have materialist ontological foundations or transcendent ontological foundations. It is tempting in the modern fashion to categorize films singularly in the Western, linear sense as such: materialist or transcendent, good or evil, urban or rural, light or dark, and so on. But after analyzing the text, there is evidence showing singular categories to be lacking.

This chapter examines the "text" *Julia Blue* using a Ricoeurian rhetorical analysis (Warnick, 1989). The analysis has two steps: the study will identify particular dialogic elements within the text (the matter to be studied, from dialogue to cinematography), and then attempt to show second-order findings about the dialogic presuppositions of those characters, or rather how the characters move within, or perhaps between, materialist and transcendent ontological presuppositions. This chapter postulates that the "being" in this film will consistently be framed by dialogic tension, which will then inform the knowing and doing—from moral understandings to practical choices made by the characters. Such a dialectical tension gives evidence that the movie is a singularly persuasive tool utilizing a dialectic of transcendent and material presuppositions, dark and light, urban and rural, and so on, and therefore, constructivistically, also promoting them. A dialectic or dialogic ontology of a not quite Eastern nor Western origin should be a more accurate portrayal of the ontology represented by the film, in that even geographically, Ukraine represents a middle—a place between—that itself is something new. Such realities in the text will provide evidence that the movie persuades viewers of a dialogic nature of reality, settled in neither purely materialist nor purely transcendent ontological presuppositions.

Ricoeur's (1995) discussion of the dialectical tension between ontologies in texts is appropriate for analyzing media because of his persistent reluctance to allow any side of a dialectic to "win." Hegelian (n.d.) dialectic shows the modern conception of the resolution of dialectic—one side must win over the other. But with Ricoeur, there is room for the coexistence of dialectical tensions. This is reflected in the "being" of the characters in *Julia*

Blue (2018) as well. They live in the tension between the noumenal and the practical.

The argument presented by this text is this: First, this movie reflects a dialectical tension between the transcendent and material ontologies that find their outworking in diverse praxes. Second, this tension is inherent to the Ukrainian identity project. Third, this gives evidence toward the conclusion that social constructions of reality can be dialectical. Fourth, this metaphor represents a third-dimension sociopolitical context. Fifth, this text is presenting a nonlinear, dialogic worldview as discussed, and such a presentation is persuasive.

DESCRIPTION OF RHETORICAL ARTIFACT

All movies are symphonies of sorts, requiring numerous people to work together toward the harmony of a filmic product. While many diverse people came together to create this film, it would be fair to say that the director, Roxy Toporowych, was the conductor, writer, promoter, and more for this symphonic work. Toporowych, a Ukrainian immigrant to the United States, has worked in the film and TV industry since she graduated from the Tisch School of the Arts and NYU. She worked on set decoration for blockbuster movies like *Captain America* and for diverse television programs, from *Saturday Night Live* to Marvel's *The Punisher*. She most recently worked on Steven Spielberg's *West Side Story*, set to be released in 2021.

Toporowych has stayed connected with her Ukrainian roots since childhood, having attended a Ukrainian school and participated in organized Ukrainian folk dancing. Her first documentary film, *Folk*, was about Ukrainian folk dancing in America. Toporowych became active in the film scene in Ukraine and acted as the program director of the American Independent Film Festival in Kyiv from 2012 to 2014. In 2013 she attended the festival, and personally witnessed the Maidan revolution.

In November of 2013, Ukraine was poised to move closer to the European Union with an agreement of association that had been drafted. Without explanation, the Yanukovych administration unilaterally suspended the planned agreement, resulting in large national protests. The protests continued for months, when a tipping point was reached. Protesters were shot by government forces, and then the protesters called for and accomplished removing Yanukovych from office. Soon after, Russia took advantage of the turmoil by funding and arming separatist proxies in the Donbas region of Ukraine in a civil war that continues to this day, and then by seizing and annexing Crimea.

The Maidan revolution, which started as a large protest, became a pivotal point in Ukrainian history, leading to massive sociopolitical changes in the nation. The cultural impact of this historical moment reverberates to this day and is arguably the most significant event in the short history of the nation since it broke away from the Soviet Union. In 2014, after the revolution, the annexation of Crimea, and the beginning of the war with separatists, Toporowych returned to Ukraine on a Fulbright scholarship. Her personal experiences gave her the desire to create a story about Ukraine that encompassed the traumas and hopes of the people of Ukraine, and out of that desire came the film, *Julia Blue* (2018).

Julia Blue (2018) is a post-Maidan revolution love story about the protagonist, aspiring photographer Julia, and the injured soldier love interest named English. The setting is post-Maidan Ukraine, a time in which an active warfront was a short car or train ride from the relative normalcy of Kyiv. The revolution and war affected everyone in Ukraine. *Julia Blue* is the story of two normal young people of Ukraine finding their identity within this traumatic context. In a news report, Marusia Kvit-Flynn (2020) said that Toporowych was looking at the "light" side with the character of Julia and the "dark" side with English "both physically and psychologically." Kvit-Flynn said, "This distinction reflects reality, as many Ukrainians from both sides of Ukraine are fighting this war but share the same Ukrainian identity" (Kvit-Flynn, 2020). The characters themselves embody the struggle to reify the realities of war and conflict in the Ukrainian identity project. This duality of light and dark implies a third-dimension sociopolitical cultural conception of truth, digressing from a linear, modern/scientific ideation.

METHODOLOGY

Paul Ricoeur, a prominent twentieth-century philosopher, would not have called himself a rhetorical critic, though he might have called himself an interpreter (2006). Ricoeur traveled to Ukraine and communicated with the Ukrainian Academe in a relationship that led to him being given an honorary doctorate from Kyiv-Mohyla University. Ricoeur not only presents a valuable method for analysis of this text but also had a direct connection to the post-socialist Ukrainian Academe.

In several of his works Ricoeur deals with hermeneutics and the interpretation of texts, but never directly dealt with persuasion. Warnick (1989) shows in a seminal article that because of Ricoeur's text-focused methods of hermeneutics, he was in fact using critical devices to show how a text influences/persuades a person who participates with it:

> Rhetorical criticism is to be differentiated from literary and esthetic criticism by its focus on influence processes. Ricoeur's approach illuminates the processes of influence by answering the question: Why and how was this audience influenced

> in its encounter with this particular text? The explicit attempt to isolate and explain how latent features of the text are arranged so as to evoke responses of a certain kind when the text is encountered is what makes criticism using Ricoeur's approach rhetorical. (Warnick, 1989, p. 229)

Of course, this places this rhetorical analysis in the formalist school, also tying it to the region. Ricoeur's method looks at "second-order references," or metaphorical items in texts and narratives that relate to the audience. "First-order references" are objective facts or empirical data (Warnick, 1989, p. 229). "Second-order references," or experiential, metaphorical texts, have the ability to then influence/persuade/argue with/change the individual who interacts with them. The point of Ricoeur's criticism is then to consider "the text's adequacy for enhancing cultural self-definition and appreciation and understanding of ideology" (Warnick, 1989, p. 230).

According to Ricoeur the text is already autonomous. "In displaying the text's ability to reach beyond the circumstances of its original production and reception, the interpreter becomes the critic" (Warnick, 1989, p. 230). Then the text can be interacted with in such a way that the text persuades the one who interacts with it in a dialectical nature or a "fusion of horizons." This is something like Kantian appropriation. "The audience encounters and experiences the world deployed in the work and thereby appropriates its meaning" (p. 232).

Ricoeur posited that the critic can then find the metaphors or narrative elements in a text that relate to the culture of the audience through a combination of structural analysis and semiotic or narrative analysis. The first step of the critic is distanciation from the text. The critic must discover the objective elements in the text (as defined by the text). When the critic has sufficiently broken down the text into "matter," or elements simply understood and defined by the text itself, the critic can move on to the second step of forming a "learned explanation" of the text (Warnick, 1989, p. 233). For this the matter under scrutiny are the many filmic choices made in *Julia Blue* that speak to ontology and dialectic. The second step of the critic is to then look for metaphors, narrative structures, or other features that appropriate the text for the audience. "In their guise of the imaginary, narratives . . . represent the most fundamental and unspeakable of human truths [according to Ricoeur]" (Warnick, 1989, p. 499). The critic is then looking for both time-bound cultural themes and timeless cultural themes as they interact with/upon the audience. The timeless elements addressed in this analysis are the dialogic, nonlinear elements working upon and within the selected hero characters.

In interacting with the text the audience changes, possibly in such a way as to better understand self to a greater degree (Warnick, 1989). When the critic recognizes timeless cultural themes they ensure "that the system of values instantiated in the text will endure" (p. 235). If such cultural themes are lost, "as Ricoeur has noted, a society lacking such self-images would be 'a society without a global project, consigned to a history fragmented into events which are all equal and insignificant'" (p. 235). This analysis posits that dialectical or nonlinear aspects of reality are often ignored by Western criticism. This is unfortunate, as such nonlinear conceptions most certainly deal with timeless themes, and therefore constitutes a beneficial way of appropriating Ricoeurian rhetorical criticism.

Ricoeur believed that communication was the only way to understand self. Kearney aptly states in the introduction to *On Translation*,

> For Ricoeur the matter is clear: there is no self-understanding possible without the labor of mediation through signs, symbols, narratives and texts . . . one finds itself after it has traversed the field of foreignness and returned to itself again, this time altered and enlarged, "othered." (Kearney in Ricoeur, 2006, xix)

The critic could be called one who attempts to find and isolate the timeless truths that people experience through the text.

Ricoeur's dialectical approach to the study of human communication has many untapped applications. He not only points out the interaction between text and viewer but also speaks to the dialectical nature of interacting ideas and ideologies in text. Modern, Western, linear nature requires that a singular ideology or idea must triumph over competing ideologies. But much of nature is dialogical. There are men and women, and though men attempted to dominate women for centuries, procreation requires men and women to work together within a dialectical framework. Such interacting dualities are seen often. But what of transcendence? This chapter argues the possibility of a pronounced dialectical interaction in human experience between the material and the transcendent. Ricoeur's work seems a viable foundation to study this dialectical relationship, and with Warnick's application of Ricoeur to text, we can study the rhetorical nature of such a dialectic.

The first-order analysis is simply selecting subjectively relevant aspects of *Julia Blue* (cinematography, characters, etc.), and then analyze them to determine the dialectical tensions working upon and within them.

PHILOSOPHICAL FRAMEWORK AND DEFINITION OF TERMS

Ricoeur not only provided the methodology for this research, he also provided the philosophical framework that helps define the ideas dealt with in this article. First, he gave us a philosophical underpinning that allows for dialectical truths:

> He embodies the Socratic dictum that truth is a dialogic event as he seeks maieutically to bring forth a variety of possible perspectives on the questions under discussion. His charitable interpretations of diverse positions reflect a wide and generous philosophical style that allows him to uncover the often hidden middle ground between the factions that characterize contemporary intellectual life. (Wallace, 1995, p. 1)

Second, he allowed for a world with both material and transcendent possibilities. "His writing is characterized, nevertheless, by a fragile hope that in the borderlands beyond calculative reason there might be a world of transcendent possibilities (mediated through the text) that can refigure and remake the world of the reader" (Ricoeur, 1995, p. 2).

Such "transcendent possibilities" referred to by Ricoeur (1995) could be worked out through nature (p. 49) or through the divine (p. 52), and according to Ricoeur are actually intertwined. According to Ricoeur (1995), the possibility of the divine makes the material "sacred," thus creating a paradoxical relationship between the material and the transcendent. And because language and experience are limited, the symbols and myths of the material are often the signifiers of the transcendent.

Third, Ricoeur (1995) also gave a groundwork for a materialist ontology in his critique of those who adhere to pure materialism (which he calls modernism here). He says, "I am surprised to see how many critical thinkers, whose suspicious nature is elsewhere limitless, capitulate before what they take to be the verdict of modernity and adopt the ideology of science and technology" (p. 63). The "ideology of science and technology" is based on the ontology of materialism (or modernism). Though Ricoeur does not directly connect modernism with Nietzsche, this analysis associates him with a materialist ontology, and uses his philosophy as an extension of, or description of, Ricoeur's discussion. Nietzsche, with his statement, "God is dead" (Nietzsche, p. 108), put his ontology on display quite readily. When he spoke of the death of God, he really did not believe there was a God to kill; he simply was stating that mankind had moved beyond the need for a dependence on something outside of the material. He might say that because there is no transcendent reality, why continue to bother acting as if there is, and why continue to abide by precepts based on such presuppositions? Much of Nietzsche's philosophy was based on the "ideology of science" of his day (Birx, 2002, p. 1).

Fourth, Ricoeur (1995) helped define the ontological dialectic of materialism and transcendentalism. Ricoeur discussed the relationship between materialism and transcendentalism extensively.

> This essay [about the manifestation of the transcendent in the material world] will deal with the study of a polarity or tension that I wish neither to see

> disappear into a simple identity, nor to allow to harden into a sterile antimony, or still less and unmediated dichotomy. (p. 48)

In this article Ricoeur discussed the overwhelmingly material nature of humanity and nature, and posits that reality is a tension between the transcendent and the material. With this central dialectical tension of material and transcendent, Ricoeur creates an ontological frame that allows for duality, plurality, and spectrum in all areas of reality.

Description of Artifact

The film begins with the protagonist, Julia, saying, "I was born in 1991, the same year my country, Ukraine, freed itself from the Soviet Union," as the introductory montage of the film begins. The montage sets the stage for this movie, a series of revolutions, from the initial establishment of statehood and separation from the Soviet Union through the Orange revolution of 2004 up to the most recent Maidan revolution. During this monologue, a direct connection is made between Julia and Ukraine when she says, "When Ukraine and I were both 13 years old, we experienced our first revolution." This language is a subtle way of saying that Julia is a personification of Ukraine. Toward the end of the monologue she says, "Once again, I find my fate intertwined with my beloved Ukraine," again firmly tying her person, her own identity, to the nation. For all intents and purposes, Julia, and then later the romantic interest English, both metaphorically are Ukraine. English, the dark and tragic side of this story, is directly linked to Ukraine by the large tattoo on his neck of the Ukrainian emblem. He also is a personification of Ukraine. This intentional construction within the text shows that this film is not just a romance, but it is an attempt at a dialogic statement regarding the identity of Ukraine itself.

These two characters then walk through a meandering romance that takes them from the streets of Kyiv to the foothills of the Carpathian Mountains. In the city of Kyiv at the beginning of the film, Julia goes to University and is shown in her dorm as a student. A pending application to a prestigious photography school in Germany is referenced as a hope for her future before she goes to volunteer at a military hospital where she meets English. The romance between Julia and English builds, and Julia invites English to her hometown for a wedding—bringing him home to meet the family as it were. Julia then finds out she has been accepted into the prestigious German university, and the plot complication is set. She takes English to her hometown in rural Ukraine, and the tension between her aspirations and her feelings for English builds. There will be spoilers later in this study, so if you haven't seen the movie, now would be a good time to watch it.

Though this is a formalist reading of the text, Toporowych was kind enough to provide a few quotes that illustrate her creative intentions. She said in a recent short text interview,

> In 2014/2015 I saw an awakening in the Ukrainian population that I had never seen before, and I wanted to show that awakening visually . . . Julia IS Ukraine. The opening Montage explains how they (Julia & Ukraine) grew up together. (Toporowych, personal communication, May 13, 2021)

The following discussion will take you on a nonlinear journey through this text, sometimes referencing moments from early and late in the movie. The following is organized by dialectical themes, rather than by chronology, and is meant to uncover the metaphors and symbols in this culturally rich text.

Dialogical Tensions

Dialogic Characters

*Light and dark***.** Julia, from her hair color to her smiling demeanor, to her Ukrainian language is cast as what Toporowych calls the "light" character, while English, from his introductory scene riding a bus, is shown to be "dark," not in the sense that he is negative, but rather representative of the difficult aspects of the Ukrainian identity. He also is a personification of Ukraine, with the frequently displayed Ukrainian emblem tattooed on his neck.

The simple contrast in hair color begins the contrast, but then in the bus ride and subsequent walk to the military hospital, English's brow is furrowed, his eyes are narrow and suspicious, and his affect is one of negative emotions. This "darkness" is not a judgment of character, but rather an illustration of another side of Ukraine—a side containing sorrow, suspicion, anger, frustration, one that has lost its innocence and, try as much as it will, cannot regain its innocence. English speaks primarily Russian, and in the next scene, the doctor says, "Your medical record says that you are from Donetsk. We both know you can't return to Donetsk right now." Donetsk, the city, is potentially emblematic of what has been lost, or what is in darkness/sorrow. Donetsk was a huge city that had rapidly modernized. While the underpinning industry for the Donetsk region was coal mining, before the Maidan revolution the city had built a new soccer stadium, airport, and train station in addition to numerous other modernizations. After Maidan, more than two million people were displaced from the Donetsk region, and the developing metropolis was largely razed. "You can't return to Donetsk right now." You have no home. You are displaced. Then, the doctor says, "None of us are prepared for the emotional devastation of war. We'll learn how to deal with it together," again, linking him to the "emotional devastation" of war, followed by a quick flashback to war. His next scene shows him walking up Heavenly Heroes Alley, with its monuments to those who have died in the conflict in Ukraine, and the embodiment of the war itself. It is as if the text is saying that English is a personification of sorrow upon sorrow that is something to be loved and accepted, but not held onto.

Julia, the light character, still resides in that innocence. In the scene during which Julia meets English, she is volunteering at a military hospital talking to English and two other more severely wounded veterans. Her banter with the wounded war veterans is lighthearted and fun, and after she leaves English asks the other veterans, "Who was that girl?" The reply is, "That's a girl who's trying to do good." It is almost as if he is saying, "She is the Ukraine we have been wounded for."

Now English and Julia are obviously attracted to each other from this initial meeting, showing that the two sides of Ukraine, the light and the dark, are aspects of this same identity in a sort of dialogic harmony or tension, or both. Their next scene together comes when Julia is walking out of the clinic where she was likely volunteering. He is smoking. They awkwardly greet each other, and she asks, "How's your bandage?" He had a wound on his hand, and his hand is completely wrapped in bandages. He responds, "It's a little tight." She responds, "Can I help you?" and he replies, "Sure, if you can," to which she quickly says, "I can." This interaction, while potentially setting up the masculine and feminine in the film, also begins the interplay between the light and dark, the innocence and sorrow in the movie. Julia will continue to bring English back to meet his own innocence. She has already entered his home as it were—the hospital—she has encountered the within—this continues on their first walking date in Kyiv during which he teaches her what her "dynamic eye" is, or rifle aiming eye through the entire movie. She is right-eyed, and he is left-eyed, but they are both left-handed. She encounters him in his trauma in the hospital, and then, he encounters her in her innocence in her hometown.

In Julia's hometown of Pidhorodsti at the base of the Carpathian Mountains, the characters' (and thus Ukraine's) cultural and community roots are illustrated, and English, in facing these roots, faces the sorrows he carries. It is as if the innocence of the nature and people of the country provide him with a mirror that he cannot look away from, showing him what he was, and possibly what he lost. English forms a relationship with Julia's grade school–aged nephew, and gives the nephew the code name "rascal," the same thing that English named himself and his friends in an earlier scene. The nephew appears to be a representation of English finding his own innocence again.

There is a scene during which English is playing with the nephew, and Julia comes into the room and asks, "What's this? Are you having Ukrainian lessons?" She is speaking of the language, but perhaps there is a deeper meaning. The nephew and English continue to play with a toy gun. English takes the gun and the nephew says, "No don't shoot! I come in peace!" English replies, "Get up. Go over there . . . recite the Lord's prayer." And the boy, holding back laughing, recites the Lord's Prayer. As the nephew recites the prayer, English drops his gun, smiles, revelatory music builds in the background. Did English lead the boy to the Lord's Prayer, or the nephew lead English to the Lord's Prayer, that is, to his roots, to his innocence?

Later, in this innocent space of Pidhorodtsi, he fully flashes back into the worst trauma of his time in the war when a young girl was killed during his watch. This death of a child during the war was the death of English's innocence. The life of the nephew is the search for his innocence lost. In Pidhorodtsi, English takes off his bandage and shows his scars literally, and then later opens up to Julia about his internal scars. The dark and the light fully meet.

New Ukraine and Old Ukraine

When Julia asks for her mail after leaving her dorm room she says to the dorm attendant, "Good day," and the dorm attendant, an older woman who is emblematic of many such attendants you find in post-socialist nations quips back, "What's so good about it?" This interchange of character development might point to the generational differences present in Ukraine, though this is not illustrated much in the corpus of the film.

Dima, the suitor from Julia's hometown, is a study in contradiction himself. He has a yellow Lada (a car from the Soviet era, the old) with racing stripes, but also with a traditional Vishvanka embroidery–like blue stripe down the middle (new cultural identity). He blares rap music (the new) as he maneuvers through the potholes and even cattle of the countryside (the old). Dima's rapping, a Western construct, is then also nationalistic (non-Western). Contrast after contrast after contrast! The lyrics in his first song use the "road" as a metaphor for destiny, for the path that Ukraine is on.

> Roads broken like our broken destinies, tell me how long we can wade through this muddy mess . . . can you really not see the desire in our eyes . . . is there really no other way or better road?

He calls his second song "patriotic" which he then raps on a stage in a local pub, with two reindeer heads decorating the back of the stage and a fireplace in the corner. His song has lines like, "I want to live and be a person in Ukraine. . . . I love my land and my people, my only home. Endless vistas, water, mountains, and fields, this land has born oh so many patriots like me." He is emblematic of numerous apparent contradictions, but that are not contradictions at all. These are the tensions of the outworking of identity in this post-socialist space. Because they seem contradictory, they can only be understood through these symbolic representations like the metaphor that is Dima. His "friend" status with Julia and the "potentially more" status with English could be a statement about the countryside itself—that it is appreciated, but Julia/Ukraine can no longer be one with it. She "loves" Dima, but as a friend. She "loves" the traditions and community of her cultural heritage, but just as a visitor. When the three are driving home from the train station this idea is illustrated through a short dialogue where Julia says, "God, I've really missed home." And Dima says, "Home is always waiting for you. Home, and Dima," connecting his character to the reality of the rural life.

Julia and English went to Pidhorodtsi, this countryside that Dima is connected to, for Julia's friend's wedding. The wedding is a traditional event through and through, from the Orthodox service to the following parade and reception. Everyone who attended the wedding parades from the reception to the church behind a small, folk band. Then, they arrive at a reception which begins with the entire reception group singing a traditional wedding song to a tune played by the folk band as they sit around large community tables. Then eating, toasts, and dancing commence. The folk clothing, singing, toasts, even the vodka toasts, all hearken back to a different time. A time that is part of the new, but is not the new. These cultural rituals and artifacts are interesting in that the urban style landscape is filled with them in the form of clothing, artwork, and more (Satenstein, 2015), illustrating the dialectical interaction of old and new.

Dialogic Setting

Urban and rural: The movie starts in Kyiv, and moves to the small village of Pidhorodtsi, the two parts of Julia that make up her identity. The B-roll footage of the city is quintessentially Kyiv for the average person. Busses, pedestrians, traffic, smoking, tourists, children, and many other everyday elements often precede or follow scenes. The "first date" of Julia and English is the classic young person date in Ukraine: walking through the square. It is interesting that they are not shown going to restaurants, but rather are shown on the poorer person's date in Eastern Europe: the walk. The square, Maidan Square, is of great significance as well, once again tying the two to the Maidan revolution and to the nation that they personify. English is shown in Kyiv, as stated earlier, but is from the city of Donetsk, a place he cannot return to. This outlier location is only recognized by its absence, but that absence is a presence in the film. By not having presence in the film, this location is a representation of loss, that is also central to the identity project being conveyed in the film. While Donetsk is important to the film in its absence, the primary geographic representation of urban and rural settings illustrates the diverse dualities of the necessity for urban existence for work and progress, but then the felt identity that can be found in the countryside. The second half of the movie in and around the sister's home in Pidhorodtsi, with its ancient ceramic heaters, livestock, nature, singing, religion, potholes, and more, is emblematic of traditions that the urban people still cling to for identity construction, even if they do not reside there, as has been reflected in the high and low fashion of Ukraine (Yurchenko, 114). Though the folk lifestyle is not as common in modern Ukraine as the urban lifestyle, it is seen to be treasured as a root of culture.

When Julia and English arrive at her sister's home, the first scene is a family meal with extended family all crowded around one table. The food is first discussed, with the pork they are eating being tender because it was "fed milk," and the pickles being homemade, followed by a discussion of the good harvest this year. A sense of community pervades the scenes in the countryside, from this meal, to the wedding, and the celebration after the wedding, while the majority of the scenes in the city are of one or two solitary people. Every scene in the countryside is filled with community, and is potentially saying something like, "This is where our national fraternity comes from, from our traditional heritage—this is where we will find community, even when we are alone in the city." The countryside is also filled with nature, potentially stating a cultural root value in nature as well. The sister takes Julia aside for a conversation, and Julia notices that it is snowing. The sister laughs and says, "You've forgotten. Snow, wind, rain." This, along with even the connection to the food they eat, seems to be a reconnecting for Julia to her roots, which is to say it is Ukraine's metaphor, reconnecting to its roots.

War and Peace

While the wounded soldiers and main character, English, speak to the presence of war, a background illustration that war is always present in Ukraine today is developed through the media represented in the film. Any time a radio or TV is on, it is news covering tragedies happening in the war zone. Most of the setting for the film is peaceful, however, with plentiful everyday seemingly undirected atmospheric shots and sounds. In one scene, Julia is reviewing photos in a dark room with the radio playing. The radio tells of civilian and military deaths in Donetsk and the war zones as Julia looks through pictures of Maidan. Julia displays one Dia De Los Muertos skull earring that perhaps pays symbolic tribute to the 8,000 war deaths and millions of dislocated peoples discussed in the radio broadcast. This tension, of having an active war zone a few hundred kilometers away from everyday normalcy, is of course personified in English. He carries the war with him literally in his apparel and backpack, and then cognitively through flashbacks. Even in peace, the war is present.

In the first meal scene in the remote village, the patriarch's traditional toast with vodka and rye again showed the tradition of the place. He wished health and wealth upon the guests, but then finishes his toast with "Happiness and health for us, our children, and our defenders." The inclusion of "defenders" might be seen as simply tradition, or simply welcoming English, but in light of the messaging throughout the film, it would seem that this has deeper meaning. This toast places the "defenders" into a special space reserved for the most cared for in the community—equating their value to the value of the children. This powerfully integrates the darkness of war into the being of the Ukrainian identity project illustrated in this film.

When English finally opens up to Julia about the war, this intersection of war and peace, innocence and sorrow, light and dark all come to a head. This is the first time an actual war scene is shown in full. Leading up to the war scene, English talks about how when he was young, he would play soldier, but never thought he would actually be in a war. This discussion of his childhood again resonates with the presence of the young nephew—the metaphorical innocent English. In his description of the war, he tells of how the separatists send children to report on the position of Ukrainian soldiers. English could not shoot a young informant girl sent by the separatists (who looks a lot like a young Julia, the metaphor of light and innocence), so he captures her instead. After her capture, the little girl is put in a car and sent to "headquarters" by English and the soldiers, and the van goes over a land mine as it leaves, killing the young girl. English then says to Julia, "I think about her all the time. She's with me." This is more than a simple trauma. This scene is the death of innocence. The heart of his "darkness." So, while the war is never directly included in the film, memory and other tools are utilized to illustrate the dialectical tension that is reality in this film. Even when there is peace there is war, as it is not war or peace, it is war and peace simultaneously.

Transcendent and Material

Transcendent imagery finds its way into the initial montage with the contrast of Julia, a modern looking black leather clad young woman with a camera taking several photos of Saint Andrew's church from the cobblestoned Andriyivskyy Descent. The contrast of modern materialism and ancient religion is clear—this young woman, who is Ukraine, is modern and materialistic, but still finds value in the ancient religion, still frames it, includes it in her photos. Then, in the countryside, the proverbial seat of culture in the film, religion is woven in as a fabric of the community, from the frequent cinematography with a church in the background, the Lord's Prayer scene, the religious B-roll, and especially the traditional Orthodox wedding. The wedding shows rites not often seen outside of the Orthodox Church, from the short processional, to the crowning and walk around the sacraments of the two who are married, to the ringing of the church bells. All of these elements position religion as a part of this "village life," which seems to be set forth as the root of cultural heritage for the nation.

In the film, the rural/urban, old/new, peace/war, and light/dark dialectical tensions all are interwoven into the dialogic ontology that is most specifically represented by the tension between the transcendent and the material. The cultural identity represented in the film represents an ecological unity of tensions that are central to conceptions of reality/ontology, not only the praxis of the film.

Dialogic Plot/Action

The characters in this movie walk a lot. To anyone who has lived in Ukraine for any length of time, this is appropriate, as people walk functionally and recreationally in the nation. The first walking scene shows Julia walking through a park and listening to a German lesson on her headphones. The intrusion of the German language so early in the film (just two minute in) included with the motion of walking, moving toward, shows that Julia, the "good" in Ukraine, is moving toward Europe itself. She is Ukraine, states her love for Ukraine several times, but is moving toward integration with Europe to fulfill her identity project of becoming. This brings a new tension into play in the plot very quickly. Julia loves Ukraine, is Ukraine, but must integrate with Europe to complete her journey. This complication, later illustrated in her brooding and looking for advice after she gets accepted into the German photography program, is the central complication of the plot. It is interesting that she chooses to walk down the Heavenly Heroes Alley as she thinks through the implications of being accepted to the German university. She is recognizing the dark element, the sorrowful side of Ukraine, as she makes the hard choice to move forward toward something new. She wears an earring that is simply a tangled looking wire, the earring potentially another subtle Easter egg within the text to communicate her internal conflict.

It is after the scene of her brooding about this opportunity that she dyes some of her hair blue. With the title then including this color blue, it is obvious that something is being communicated. With the dual-culture director, it is possible that the color blue has two dialogic connotations—one of sorrow (the Western understanding of the color), and the other of health and growth, of the flag and nationalism, and so on (the more Eastern and traditional understanding of the color). While outside of the formalist reading, director Toporowych (2021) said, “In the film, before Julia goes to the Carpathians, she looks at one of her photos. It’s the flag reflected on her face . . . the blue was always a representation of her identity, more directly the flag.”

While Julia is moving toward Europe metaphorically, English is trying to find his way to innocence that he cannot quite grasp. In a date scene in Kyiv, English tells Julia about his innocent childhood games during which he and his two best friends would pretend to be soldiers. He discloses that he “signed up” for the military because of the violence of the attempted suppression of Maidan. Later he recounts how one friend died in the conflict and the other is “still fighting on the front.” He then goes on to say that the minor injuries to his body and mind have kept him away from the place “he should be,” on the front with his friend, and ends a short monologue with “But I will fight for Ukraine” in English. The intrusion of the English language is interesting, as he “is” English. This might be an intentional almost exclamation point on the statement. A subtle way of saying that his identity is “But I will fight for Ukraine. Liberty or death.” Julia seems to give him another potential path later in the film, a return to innocence and the path of the light side of Ukraine. But in his quiet exit from the movie it is almost as if the text is saying, “As much as Ukraine would like to not have this war and darkness as a part of our identity, as much as we would like to return to our innocence, this is a part of who we are.” And for Julia to progress, for Ukraine to advance, for innocence to exist, English must go back to the war. English must walk away from the village, as Julia walks toward Europe.

The violence of his position comes out in a Pidhorodsti village scene during which English gets a call about his best friend being hurt in the battle. Julia innocently comes over to surprise him, not realizing that he just heard traumatic news, and he turns around instinctually and grabs her. She is visibly shaken, and he walks off after saying, “Don’t ever do that to me again. Ever.” This further illustrates that there is a tension between light and dark, between innocence and sorrow, between progress and defense. While the two sides of Ukraine have a deep love for one another, it is one that can never be consummated in wholeness, but must remain in dialectical tension.

CONCLUSION

Dialectic Nonlinearity as Characteristic of Ukrainian Cultural Identity in Film

The first place that nonlinearity is given high value within the text is during the early scene during which the professor begins a discussion about the photo. He asks, "Why is a photograph more powerful than the written word?" This is juxtaposition of the written word—the linear, the direct, the produced, linear word—and the photograph, which Julia describes saying, "Well, a photography can record everything. It's a verb. An object. It's a complete sentence." This immediately places a value on the image above the written word, and while this might simply be seen as something that positions Julia as a student photographer, this is also a value statement about an understanding of reality itself. The professor and Julia are saying that linear truths have a purpose, but holistic, nonlinear, almost ecological perspectives are superior to linearity. In the hospital visit scene, Julia is jokingly given the code name "Dom Kino," translated, "Movie House." This again connects Julia to imagery, but takes it deeper, saying she is the movie, and the movie is her. The code name "English" seems arbitrary, but it again builds the complexity of his character, a Russian-speaking Ukrainian soldier from Donetsk, the separatist region, who also speaks English. The picture is certainly a nonlinear social construction.

This film is a representation of identity and experience in Ukraine that is nonlinear, complex, and non-Western (Kincaid, 1987). It shows that identity in Ukraine cannot be singularly defined, but to even begin to understand the complexities which can only be illustrated through something like the metaphor of film. Toporowych masterfully crafts an experience that allows for a transference of reality, a fusion of horizons (Ricoeur, 2006) if you will, that persuades one to understand things that are difficult to quantify. This transmission method itself speaks to the "third dimension" (Minielli et al., 2021) that must be taken into account in post-socialist research.

This analysis looks at how the reality of the film presents many dialogic realities that one could label as tensions, but using the term "tension" incorrectly, places conflict in the dialogue from the Western perspective. The film presents dialogic realities, that come with tensions and harmony, that are accepted as reality. In the Western mindset, one sees a tension and wants to "resolve" said tensions. In this non-Western frame, such resolution would actually erase critical ontological frames. What we see rather than tension is a mixing of sorts. It is not war or peace, it is war mixed with peace. It is not new or old; it is new mixed with old. It is not material or transcendent, it is material and transcendent. Such mixtures are the outworking of something that must be communicated in metaphor or experience, as even the metaphor of "mixture" is lacking. Yet the film is able to portray what cannot be said with words. To try to fit this reality into Western conceptions, one might say that the movie represents a dialogic ontology. Individualism is mixed with collectivism, nationalism is mixed with globalism, materialism is mixed with spiritualism, and this social construction is simply dialectical. Certainly tension is present, but that tension is a part of the dialectical whole—the reality of what it means to be Ukraine.

REFERENCES

Birx, H. J., & Delaney, T. (2002). *Values, society & evolution*. Unalaska, AK: Legend Books.

Brummett, B. (1991). *Rhetorical dimensions of popular culture*. Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press.

Campbell, J. (2008). *The hero with a thousand faces*. Novato, CA: New World Library.

Dauenhauer, B. (2020, December 28). Paul Ricoeur. *Stanford encyclopedia of philosophy*. http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/ricoeur/

Hegel, G. W. F. (n.d.). *Philosophy of history*. https://bit.ly/3i5uakY

Iaccino, J. F. (1998). *Jungian reflections within the cinema*. Westport, CT: Praeger.

Kincaid, D. L. (1987). *Communication theory: Eastern and Western perspectives.* Cambridge, MA: Academic Press.

Kvit-Flynn, M. (2020, May 8). "Julia Blue": The Journey of Roxy Toporowych. *Ukrainian Weekly*. Retrieved at: https://www.ukrweekly.com/uwwp/julia-blue-the-journey-of-roxy-toporowych/

Metz, C. (1974). *Film language*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Minielli, M., Lukacovic, M., Samoilenko, S., Finch, M., with Uecker, D. (2021). *Media and public relations research in post-socialist societies.* Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Nietzsche, F. (2006). *The gay science*. Mineola, NY: Dover Publications.

Ricoeur, P. (1995). *Figuring the sacred*. Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press.

Ricoeur, P. (2006). *On translation*. London and New York: Routledge.

Satenstein, L. (2015). Your favorite Bohemian garb is actually traditional Ukrainian costume. *Vogue*. https://bit.ly/3fV9Lg3

Smoot Egan, K. (2004). The ethics of entertainment television: Applying Paul Ricoeur's spiral of mimesis for authenticity as a moral standard. *The Journal of Popular Film and Television*, *31*(4), 158–166. https://doi.org/10.1080/01956051.2004.10662049.

Toporowych, R. (2018). *Julia Blue* [Film]. KinoRox Productions and LaiLou Productions.

Wallace, M. I. (1995). Introduction. *Figuring the sacred*. Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press.

Warnick, B. A. (1987). Ricoeurian approach to rhetorical criticism. *Western Journal of Speech Communication*, *51*(3), 227–244. https://doi.org/10.1080/10570318709374269.

Warnick, B. (1989). Judgment, probability, and Aristotle's rhetoric. *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, *75*(3), 299–311. https://doi.org/10.1080/00335638909383879.

Part II

COMMUNICATION THEORY AND APPLICATION TRENDS IN CENTRAL EASTERN EUROPE

Chapter 6

Transitioning from Communist Propaganda to Government Communication in the Czech Republic

Denisa Hejlová

This chapter describes the transition of state propaganda in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic toward the government communication in the post-socialist, liberal-democratic Czech Republic. Historical analysis maps this transition from the socialist period (1948–1989), including the “perestroika” stage in 1987, the “Velvet Revolution” in 1989, the 1990s transitioning phase, and the modern period until 2021. The author argues that despite major political and societal shifts, the transition from communist state propaganda to government communication did not occur—neither naturally nor fully. It is an ongoing process. This analysis addresses the sociopolitical heritage as well as current trends that hinder the process.

INTRODUCTION

The fall of socialist regimes in Central and Eastern Europe after the end of the Cold War produced major geopolitical changes effecting key global affairs in the late twentieth century. The transition of former regimes to liberal democracy is often studied with little regard to the role of ideology and propaganda and their impact on contemporary government communication practices. The process of transformation for former state propaganda, including its role, legitimacy, and narrative structure, has not occurred naturally in any of the post-socialist states. This chapter argues that the democratic freedom of expression is yet to be achieved in today’s Czech society as current government communication preserves former propaganda practices.

Former Czechoslovakia represents a notable case illustrating the transition from communist propaganda toward government communication and the nation branding of two separate countries, the Czech Republic and Slovakia, without an armed conflict (Hejlová & Klimeš, 2016). To understand this transition, it is essential to make sense of the national context which shapes many facets of current government communication in the Czech Republic.

The role of government communication is critical for building the nation's narrative through political communication, nation branding, public diplomacy, and international relations. The government communication aimed at its own citizens helps translate government actions into practice, set social standards, and influence the adoption of norms and values. Democratic governments need to develop relationships with their citizens to be able to exist and operate within a social contract theory as outlined through the works of Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau (Hampton, 1988).

Current scholarship focuses mainly on public relations (PR) practices (Hejlová, 2014; Kasl Kollmannová, 2013). Government communication remains a peripheral academic area and is only addressed episodically (Hejlová, 2014; Matušková & Kasl Kollmannová, 2013; Soukeník, 2018). Notably, government agencies cannot be easily compared with commercial companies and their ways and means of communication (Fredriksson & Pallas, 2016; Gelders & Ihlen, 2010; Sanders & Canel, 2013). Recently, government communication received more attention due to the COVID-19 pandemic which emphasized the role of crisis communication in government affairs practices. The new communication and social control strategies of non-state actors and hybrid democracies have led to new developing forms of information and psychological warfare including disinformation campaigns and cyberattacks (Bazarkina, Pashentsev, & Simons, 2020; Tenove, 2020).

This chapter will describe the development of nation branding and government communication, and it refers back to the first Czechoslovakian president Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk (in office 1918–1935) who lobbied for the formation of a multinational state after the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Then it will address the role of the Czechoslovak Communist Party's propaganda system, its transformation after the fall of the Berlin Wall, and its development in the current model of government communication in the Czech Republic. These developmental stages were influenced by several milestones including joining North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1999, joining the European Union (EU) in 2004, and the information campaign of the Czech—American Radar Agreement in 2007. Finally, this chapter addresses the impact of interventions from China and Russia on the state of political affairs in Czech Republic. Key examples, including "the Novichok case" (2018) and "the Taiwan case" (2020), will illustrate this point. Arguably, little interest in government communication was particularly obvious during the COVID-19 pandemic and resulted in poor crisis response by the Czech government.

The approach of this chapter combines examination of (a) historical events that predetermined shifts in the practice and understanding of government communication; and (b) contemporary cases that exemplify important local and global trends that impact political and government communication. Such an approach is conductive in the effort to outline a basic and yet comprehensive theoretical model of the hindered development of government communication in post-socialist settings.

PROPAGANDA VERSUS GOVERNMENT COMMUNICATION

The politicians have communicated with their citizens since the early days of democracies. However, the professional use of government communication coincides with the professionalization of PR in the twentieth century. Jacquie L'Etang (1998) pioneered PR research[1] within the framework of local government communication in Great Britain following the increased democratization of society, technological developments in communication, the rise of mass media, and other changes. Importantly, political PR emerged in response to the rise of totalitarian propaganda in Italy, Germany, and the Soviet Union after World War I. At that time, Great Britain also developed its own propaganda system which was often considered an unsuitable and "un-English" form of democratic communication with its own citizens (L'Etang, 1998, p. 419).

The term "propaganda" gained negative connotations throughout the twentieth century. Today, it serves both as a definition of underhanded communication practices and a moral label to malign certain communication behavior. The contemporary use of propaganda is often considered to be a form of authoritarian or totalitarian communication linked to a certain political ideology, such as fascism, communism, fundamentalism, and others (Jowett & O'Donnell, 2018). This distinction is less useful in the post–Cold War world in which the boundaries between *democratic* and *authoritarian* are no longer obvious. Jowett and O'Donnell (2018) define *propaganda* as "a form of communication that attempts to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of a propagandist" (p. 1). However, this definition is too broad and similar to a definition of strategic communication as "the purposeful use of communication by an organization to fulfill its mission" (Hallahan, 2007, p. 3). Jowett and O'Donnell (2018) thus stress that propaganda is a deliberate and systematic attempt to impact perceptions and manipulate cognitions. PR definitions usually tend to enhance the role of the receiver and the symmetrical nature of relationships between the organization and its publics (Grunig & Hunt, 1984). However, the power balance is subjected to many circumstances, such as knowledge, access to media, democracy, and so on, and it has been the subject of constant debates.

Grunig and Hunt (1984) developed four models of PR that describe the field's various practices. *The press agent/publicity model* assumes the use of one-way persuasion and manipulation to shape the thoughts and opinions of key audiences. The accuracy of communication is less important so long as it serves as a means to an end. *The public information model* puts an emphasis on accurate information. Practitioners use press releases and other in-house journalism materials to target intended audiences. *The two-way asymmetrical model* is based on research to understand the audience's attitudes which subsequently inform message strategies. Persuasive communication still benefits the sender more than the message receiver and thus is considered asymmetrical. This model is popular in advertising. Finally, *the two-way symmetrical model* posits that PR should serve an organization's stakeholders and society in general. PR practitioners serve as liaisons between organizations and various publics and attempt to create mutually beneficial situations for long-term relationships.

The notion of *propaganda* fits best *the press agent/publicity model* because an organization aims to disseminate information via a press agent or mass communication channels. These mass messages are often based on emotional appeal, distortions, and fabrications. There is a difference between publicity and public information models as one-way forms of communication. In the latter, the source attempts (often in a very subjective way) to provide meaningful information to audiences that is believed to be truthful. At the same time, public information model does not exclude the use of emotional appeals to reach desired audiences often heavily relying on framing which may often lead to news slant and production biases (Entman, 1989).

Academic communication education in the Czech Republic is mainly focused on communication management and developing communication skills. However, academic research has been rather neglected compared to other fields, such as media studies or political science (Hejlová, 2015). PR and government communication research is scarce. Scholarly research in the fields of media studies, political communication, political marketing, or international relations is much more prominent. Since the 1990s, a number of practice-oriented publications prevailed, including books on communication management and marketing. PR as a field is studied primarily at the Department of Marketing Communication and Public Relations at the Charles University in Prague. Seminal publications on history, theory, and local PR practice include Svoboda (2006), Kopecký (2013), and Hejlová (2015). International publications on Czech PR include a chapter in Watson's series in national perspectives on PR development

(Hejlová, 2014). Other studies discussed the state of the PR field (Kasl Kollmannová, 2013) and public affairs practices (Kasl Kollmannová & Matušková, 2014; Millar-Schijf & Hejlova, 2013). The first dissertation on government communication in the Czech Republic was defended by Soukeník in 2018.

The term "government communication" is recent in academic literature (Howlett, 2009; Pfetsch, 2008). Sanders and Canel (2013) stress the relevance of symmetry in government communication similar to Grunig's (1984) symmetrical models of PR: "Governing necessarily involves constant exchanges of information and communication about policies, ideas and decisions between the governors and the governed" (p. 1). It is difficult to distinguish between various forms of state and political communication, including public diplomacy. Gelders and Ihlen (2010) note that "government communication about potential policies is a bit of both government public relations and propaganda" (p. 61), and thus, government communication needs to be transparent, ethical, and focused on dialogue with stakeholders.

The concept of four theories of the press (Siebert et al., 1956) lists authoritarian, libertarian, social responsibility, and Soviet communist concepts of the press. The latter has virtually disappeared or has been transformed into a new form of authoritarian model, for example, in Russia and China. Most contemporary PR and political communication do not address government communication practices used for control and compliance, such as surveillance, censorship, social media monitoring, big data analysis, behavioral nudging and targeting, cyberwarfare, disinformation campaigns, and many others. These control strategies and tactics are normally implemented in hybrid regimes, such as Russia, China, or Iran (Topor & Shuker, 2019; Warner & Childress, 2020). Such communication actions are referred to as *influence campaigns*.[2] For example, disinformation often etymologically referred to by the Russian term *dezinformatsiya* has become internationally used to describe the means of information wars, influence campaigns, and propaganda (Pomerantsev, 2015).

THE DEVELOPMENT OF GOVERNMENT COMMUNICATION IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC

This chapter describes the development of government communication through a historical narrative approach (Hall & Ellis, 2019). This approach is used to trace the events in a diachronic way as different phases and evolution, and is useful in this case as noteworthy historical and regime-change events left a significant imprint on Czech government communication practices.

The Communist Period (1949–1989)

The idea of a common state of Czechs and Slovaks was pursued by Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, a Moravia-born politician who became the first Czechoslovakian president in office from 1918 to 1935. Masaryk was able to create the state of Czechs, Slovaks, Hungarians, and Ruthenians, with a large German minority. However, the first Czechoslovakian state was dismantled before World War II on October 1, 1938, when Nazi Germany annexed the Sudetenland. Supported by Hitler, the nationalist Slovak forces formed the Slovak State on March 14, 1939, with parts of Slovakia, Zaolzie, and Carpathian Ruthenia annexed by Hungary and Poland shortly after the secession of the State. Germany occupied the newly established Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia in 1939. At the end of World War II, Czechoslovakia was reestablished, but lost Carpathian Ruthenia to the Soviet Union. In February 1948, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, backed by the Soviet government, orchestrated a coup d'état, which led to four decades of Communist Party political domination. The 1948–1989 period included multiple instances of political oppression, show trials, and state censorship. Censorship was an essential part of everyday functioning of Czechoslovak media. Over the course of time, censorship was executed by specialized political and administrative bodies and/or editors and publishers and reinforced by patterns of self-censorship.

The 1950s were significantly influenced by Stalinist propaganda and political agitation. Propaganda against political adversaries, who were considered "enemies of the state," was frequently used against former industrialists or intellectual elite who were labeled as "class enemies" or "bourgeoisie." The role of the media was to be a conduit for communist political ideology (Končelík, Večeřa, & Orság, 2010). The most notorious examples of political show trials were the executions of Milada Horáková or Rudolf Slánský. The 1950s embodied the era of "pure" political propaganda which was symbolized through socialist realism in literature, art, and architecture. Communist ideology also attempted to reduce the importance of religion in Czechoslovakia. Traditionally, community life in villages or small towns was organized around churches erected in the main square and known for their distinct architecture style. The government tried to diminish the church's local presence by engaging small-town residents through public outreach and activities led by a *culture center* (*dům kultury*). These community centers were built right across the street from the church, to provide secular and state-supported rite-of-passage ceremonies, such as weddings, funerals, and cultural entertainment.

After Stalin's death in 1953 and subsequent political and social reforms in the USSR, both Czechs and Slovaks experienced a breath of fresh air. In the late 1960s, particularly influenced by the Prague Spring movement, there was a gradual top-down liberalization of politics and the press. Some early attempts to study communication practices still considered capitalist, such as marketing and PR, were made by Alfons Kachlík, Jaroslav Nykrýn, and Ladislav Kopecký to name a few (Hejlová, 2014). In March 1968, state censorship was temporarily softened but resumed again after the Warsaw Pact invasion in August 28, 1968 (Končelík, Večeřa, & Orság, 2010). Following the invasion, the idea of *socialism with human face* promoted by Prague Spring leader Alexander Dubček was replaced with the course toward so-called normalization or preserving the ideological status quo and a steady path toward communism. The new course again strengthened the political ties with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. However, during the normalization era, new opposition leaders and thinkers emerged including Václav Havel, who would later become the first democratically elected president of the Czech Republic. In the late 1960s and 1970s, he was part of the underground "dissident" movement, and was imprisoned for his political manifestations (Hejlová & Klimeš, 2019).

Czechoslovakian state propaganda mimicked the Soviet system of influencing citizens' thoughts and behaviors. Various children and youth organizations, such as Pionýr and Socialistický svaz mládeže, were the required steps to Communist Party membership. However, the program of educating a *socialist man*, as it was presented in propaganda handbooks, often resulted in resistance and escapism including withdrawal from political life and emigration to the West. Oftentimes, people publicly declared their compliance with the regime but privately sabotaged it (Hejlová & Klimeš, 2019). During the normalization era, the system of state censorship developed into a practice of *self-censorship*. Many professional communicators and journalists were cautious about crossing the line and accepted self-censorship as the status quo.

The communist ideology was presented as a science rooted in dialectical materialism and played a major role in all academic research including research intended to develop propaganda theory and practice which was meant to further reiterate the education of the "socialist man" (Pavlů, 1984). According to Hejlová and Klimeš (2019), propaganda, often referred to as "propagation," had three main applications. *Economic propagation* included advertising and promotion of goods and services. *Socio-educational propagation* referred to leisure-time activities and lifestyle including public health communication, sports communication, environmental and recycling education, road safety, and the promotion of culture and hobbies. *State propagation* included ideological campaigns directed at internal and external audiences including citizens in other countries.

The economic propagation frequently copied the Western advertising formats. Local advertisements often promoted food products (e.g., eggs, butter, honey) even during times when there was a shortage of food on the market. Some progressive state companies had their own press services which disseminated press materials or organized press conferences and trade shows. The government had influence on the production of all forms of communication including advertising and consumer-oriented campaigns, health education, and others.

The state propagation was mainly executed through the system of press departments at governmental bodies as well as key political leaders and representatives of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (ÚV KSČ). The Federal Department for Press and Information (Federální úřad pro tisk a informace) monitored, analyzed, and coordinated the key strategies and tactics of propaganda, including the selection and approval of certain topics to be covered by the mass media. For example, the preferred media topics included economic and cultural cooperation with other socialist countries, presentation of economic and social problems of the Western countries, promoting the idea of "brotherhood" of Slavic nations (namely Czechs, Slovaks, and Russians), and some specific issues of economic propaganda such as economic self-sufficiency. But the most powerful control tool continued to be the self-censorship which was fostered within editorial offices and passed down in the "professionalization" process to young journalists and media professionals (Bednařík, Jirák, & Köpplová, 2019).

State propaganda directed at Western media and audiences promoted the narrative of a "socialist, yet progressive country" with an emphasis on developed industry and culture (Hejlová, 2014). The Czechoslovak identity was crafted carefully through national narratives drawing from the ideology of Pan-Slavism and through a parity system in media, which reflected the ratio of Czechs and Slovaks within federative state institutions and manifestations. As an example the parity was reflected in a number of TV programs, which aired in the Czech language, Slovak languages (Hejlová, cit. ibid.).

The Democratization Period (since 1989)

When Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev started the *perestroika* program of social and political reforms in 1985, the Czechoslovak nomenclature reacted with caution mostly due to the fear of the loss of its power. The change of the political system known as The Velvet Revolution was accompanied mainly by nonviolent student and public protests. The transition of power eventually led to the dismantling of the Communist government, the banning of state censorship, and the first legislative democratic election in more than 40 years in 1990. The Czech society went through a convoluted transformation of political and economic systems from a centrally planned economy to private ownership. The new market was attractive for Western investors, brands, and companies which brought new professional practices in advertising and PR (Kasl Kollmannová, 2013). The media system was also transformed and became either privately owned or public service, such as Czech Television, Czech Radio, and Czech Press Agency, which adopted the BBC model (Bednařík, Jirák, & Köpplová, 2019; Jirák & Köpplová in Gross & Jakubowicz, 2012).

Press and communication departments started appearing not only in the commercial sector, but at local courts, hospitals, police and fire stations, NGOs, and cultural institutions. PR became a profession and accredited according to the Western standards. PR and communication consultancies became a norm of the communication industry (Kasl Kollmannová, 2013). The communication profession began the processes of self-education and self-regulation through newly established professional associations such as Association of Communication Agencies (est. 1992), Advertising Council (est. 1994), or Association of Public Relations Agencies (est. 1995, later known as Association of Public Relations, broadened to in-house departments). These associations provided professional development workshops and introduced ethics committees to solve emerging ethical issues within the industry. Communication theory and research entered academia at Charles University in Prague and Tomáš Baťa University in Zlín.

The change of state ideology led to the transformation of government communication. It resulted in the dissolution of former state agencies including the Federal Office for Press and Information. However, it was not easy to replace the former communist ideology with a new narrative. The government promoted the idea of "keeping up with the West" and state privatization alongside with the restitution of the property confiscated by the Communist Party's government. The democratic ideals were personified by political leaders such as Václav Havel. The former narrative of a common state of Czechs and Slovaks promoted by the previous regime was no longer relative. The separation of Czechs and Slovaks was a relatively peaceful process driven by democratically elected politicians, namely in Slovakia, and completed by the end of 1992.

The newly established Czech Republic strived to find new diplomatic relations and international supporters. Together with Poland and Hungary, the Czech Republic joined the NATO in 1999 during the first round of NATO post–Cold War enlargement. This decision defined its further course of international politics. The Czech government did not have any information campaign to explain its decision to the population. This decision was marked by a scandal when a protestor burned a NATO symbol at the membership ceremony (Roman, 2019). Four years later, the Czech government launched a communication campaign to motivate its citizens to support the EU membership referendum. In June 2003, 77.3% of the Czech voters supported Czech membership (Šaradín, 2003).

CONTEMPORARY GOVERNMENT COMMUNICATION

The system of government communication in the Czech Republic is similar to the one in Czechoslovakia: every government institution has its in-house communication department. Soukeník (2018) argues that after joining the EU, the Czech government began to develop a variety of communication campaigns focusing on road safety (since 2008), environmental issues, and health issues such as cancer prevention (2014). In addition, the government promoted e-Government to provide public services to citizens, Electronic Record of Sales (2016), or Pension Reform (2012) (Soukeník, 2018). However, the choice of issues and policies was rarely based on strategic planning. Often, communication campaigns are initiated and adopted based on the themes of EU support programs and subsidies such as campaigns to promote local food consumption. The responsibility for nation branding and public diplomacy are divided among the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Regional Development, Ministry of Industry and Trade, and other government institutions. Tourism and trade are promoted by state agencies such as Czechtourism, Czechtrade, and Czechinvest.

In addition to the aforementioned EU referendum campaign and the 2008 Czech EU presidency campaign, the 2007–2008 "Counter Missiles" (*Proti raketám*) campaign was produced to address an important geopolitical issue. In 2002, the United States informed the Czech Defense Ministry of their intent to build an antimissile radar system across the Central Eastern European region in order to protect NATO countries against "rogue states." In 2007, the Russian government negatively reacted to this initiative claiming that this decision would only increase military spending and arms race (Kasalická, 2011). Because public opinion in the Czech Republic opposed the antimissile system, the Czech government launched a public information campaign to educate the population. Activist groups opposed the radar placement arguing that Czechs would not have control over the base, and the United States could misuse it for such activities such as to conduct cross-examinations of suspects or even torture. The most prominent groups included "No to bases" (*Ne základnám*), "Non-aggression" (*Nenásilí*), and Greenpeace. They organized demonstrations and even hunger strikes. The media questioned the financing of some activist groups linking them to a Russian intelligence campaign (Šťastný, 2008). The radar project was terminated by the Obama administration in 2009, but some activist organizations, especially the "No to bases" group, continued their subversive activities. This case added to the escalation of information operations linked to Russian intelligence in the Czech Republic (Táborský, 2019).

The threat of Russian interference in the local politics increased significantly after Miloš Zeman was elected president in 2013. Some of Zeman's advisers and closest aides did not receive security clearance. Others had business ties with Russia, such as Martin Nejedlý, CEO of Russian gas company Lukoil in the Czech Republic. Zeman's political communication is an interesting example of a politician influencing international public opinion contrary to the interests and values proposed by the EU and NATO, as well as the national government. Zeman's form of political communication is based on carefully crafted messages able to produce explosive sound bites in the media. For example, Zeman has long undermined the role of Czech intelligence calling them losers (*čučkaři*). Zeman's communication style contradicts the official foreign policy of the Czech Republic toward China. Zeman has promoted political and business relations with China claiming that Chinese investments will boost Czech economy. In September 2020, Zeman has explicitly criticized the diplomatic visit of Miloš Vystrčil, head of the Czech Senate, to Taiwan. Zeman's communication style has also contributed to the lack of public trust in politicians and the government in general which was exacerbated during the COVID-19 pandemic.

The Novichok case is another example of Zeman's populist rhetoric affecting public opinion. In 2018, former Russian military officer Sergei Skripal and his daughter were poisoned in Salisbury, UK, with the nerve agent Novichok (Reuters, 2018). President Zeman stated in a media interview that Novichok was produced in the Czech Republic without fact-checking or consulting with Czech intelligence. This information was later used by the Russian state media to dismiss the accusations against Russian intelligence services. Zeman's statement was later proven false. The Czech Senate committee concluded that the president had threatened Czech Republic's national security interests by releasing classified data and spreading misinformation (ČTK, 2018).

In January 2017, the Ministry of Interior established the Centre against Terrorism and Hybrid Threats to counter foreign propaganda and disinformation campaigns at the government level. In August 2017, the National Cyber and Information Agency was founded employing about 120 specialists. There are many NGO's and public sector organizations who help fight disinformation, such as Demagog.cz, Nelež, Čeští Elfové, Konspirátoři.cz, or Prague Security Studies Institute. In addition, the Czech government hired a specialized company on disinformation mapping, Semantic Visions, to analyze the influences of Russian and Chinese disinformation in the EU (Hendrych, 2021). One conspiracy theory claimed that the COVID-19 virus was produced in the United States as a biological weapon. It was swiftly adopted by the Chinese propaganda (Semantic Visions, 2021). Other fake stories linked the virus to Bill Gates or accused the mainstream media of exaggerating the virus threat to conceal the migration crisis (Semantic Visions, cit. ibid.). During the COVID-19 pandemic crisis, the underdeveloped system of government communication resulted in failures to communicate with the Czech public and declining trust in government after the first "shock" wave in spring 2020 (Shavit & Konrádová, 2021).

In 2019, the Czech government, led by Prime Minister Andrej Babiš, a top billionaire and a media tycoon, issued a new nation branding strategy. It called the Czech Republic "the country for the future" which excels in innovations: biomedicine, nanotechnologies, information and communication technologies, and artificial intelligence (The Ministry of Industry and Trade of Czech Republic, 2021). The idea was to foster smart investments, national start-up and spin-off business environments, digitalization, and smart marketing. However, the Czech government has failed to provide senior citizens with clear instructions for online vaccination during the COVID-19 pandemic (Lizcová, 2021). In the context of other failed communication attempts, an ambitious branding strategy proposed by the Czech government was poorly received by the public causing an avalanche of negative and sarcastic comments on social media.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The Czech Republic has undergone major changes, shifting from a socialist state with an ideologically driven propaganda to a democratic society with developed media and advertising market. Still, the field of government communication has long been neglected both practically and academically. The Czech government executes communication through the Government Office and press departments at ministries and other government bodies. Most information produced and disseminated by government institutions lacks strategy and rarely reflects the immediate goals of the current political agenda. Oftentimes, it is even contrary to the statements made by President Miloš Zeman. The Czech government has initiated changes to battle disinformation and support cybersecurity. However, an attempt to introduce a new national branding strategy based on narratives about advanced innovations and technology was not successful.

The current state of government communication in the Czech Republic does not correspond with the demands and objectives of leading democracies. One reason is the rigidity of the communication infrastructure and methods inherited from the Communist Party's system of communication. This model based on control and one-way communication is not suited for starting a dialogue with citizens and public institutions. A limited capacity to use communication technologies to build resilience and inform citizens about government measures during the COVID-19 pandemic, for example, has resulted in human life losses (approaching 30,000 deaths as of May 2021; Kottasová, 2021; World Health Organization, 2021) and economic losses with the sharpest decline since the establishment of the Republic (Johnston, 2021).

This discussion would benefit from a comparison of communication systems in other post-socialist countries such as Poland, Slovakia, and Hungary. Every country presents an interesting case of sociopolitical conditions and legislation which directly impact the media system in post-socialist contexts. This chapter cannot avoid some generalizations, void of a more comprehensive analysis of other variables explaining the current state of government communication in the Czech Republic. In Grunig's terms, most examples of political and government communication still follow the patterns of publicity and public information models. Today, the distinction between the government communication and state propaganda is blurry as a result of the rise in digital propaganda (Gelders & Ihlen, 2010; Topor & Shuker, 2019; Warner & Childress, 2020).

Future research should incorporate more recent communication theories, such as strategic cocreational perspective (Botan, 2018), that would explain major trends and shifts caused by digital communication (Fredriksson & Pallas, 2016; Soukeník, 2018). In addition, an analysis from the strategic communication perspective would allow scholars to examine the complex nature of communication between government, business, and society in contemporary democracies.

In summary, the analyzed Czech case provides an opportunity to draw the theoretical contours toward a model of a slow/stagnating progress of government communication within the post-socialist context. This model features three main identified components: academic, bureaucratic, and global trends. First, the previous era's different academic tendencies are difficult to overcome for some states. There is only a limited body of national research and theory on modern government communication. Second, contemporary governmental institutions retain the old bureaucratic models of operation which largely ignore possible two-way approaches to communication with the publics. Thus, the historically skeptical publics in this region have little reason to increase their trust in the official narratives. Third, certain global contemporary trends such as the rise of populism are bringing politicians forward who deploy communication as a tool of short-term individual political benefits, but this style is frequently damaging and antithetical to strategic government communication.

NOTES

1. The terms "propaganda" and "public relations" are used in this chapter according to the historical and political realities.

2. "An influence campaign is the coordinated, combined, and synchronized application of diplomatic, informational, military, and economic abilities, together with other national capabilities, whether in times of peace, periods of crisis, hostile situations, or following hostilities" (Topor and Shuker, 2019, p. 65).

REFERENCES

Bazarkina, D., Pashentsev, E., & Simons, G. (2020). Introduction: Mapping risks and opportunities from new technologies in terrorism and counter-terrorism in the 21st Century. In D. Bazarkina, E. Pashentsev, & G. Simons (Eds.), *Terrorism and advanced technologies in psychological warfare; New risks, new opportunities to counter the terrorist threat* (pp. xii–xlii). New York: Nova Science Publishers.

Bednařík, P., Jirák, J., & Köpplová, B. (2019). *Dějiny českých médií: Od počátku do současnosti, 2., upravené a doplněné vydání* [History of the Czech media: From the beginning to the present]. (2nd ed.). Prague, Czech Republic: Grada Publishing a.s.

Botan, C. H. (2018). *Strategic communication: Theory and practice.* Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.

ČTK. (2018, May 16). Zeman lied about Novichok: Senate Committee. (2018, May 16). *Prague Business Journal*. https://praguebusinessjournal.com/zeman-lied-about-novichok-senate-committee/

Dinnie, K. (2015). *Nation branding: Concepts, issues, practice*. London, UK: Routledge.

Entman, R. M. (1989). *Democracy without citizens: Media and the decay of American politics*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Fredriksson, M., & Pallas, J. (2016). Diverging principles for strategic communication in government agencies. *International Journal of Strategic Communication*, *10*(3), 153–164. https://doi.org/10.1080/1553118X.2016.1176571

Gelders, D., & Ihlen, Ø. (2010). Government communication about potential policies: Public relations, propaganda or both? *Public Relations Review*, *36*(1), 59–62. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pubrev.2009.08.012

Gross, P., & Jakubowicz, K. (2012). *Media transformations in the post-communist world: Eastern Europe's tortured path to change*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Grunig, J. E., & Hunt, T. (1984). *Managing public relations*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Grunig, J. E. (2013). *Excellence in public relations and communication management*. New York: Routledge.

Hall, N., & Ellis, J. (2019). *Hands on media history: A new methodology in the humanities and social sciences*. New York: Routledge.

Hallahan, K., Holtzhausen, D., Van Ruler, B., Verčič, D., & Sriramesh, K. (2007). Defining strategic communication. *International Journal of Strategic Communication*, *1*(1), 3–35.

Hampton, J. (1988). *Hobbes and the social contract tradition*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Hanzlová, R., & AVČR. (n.d.). Důvěra v evropské a mezinárodní instituce – červenec 2020 [Trust in European institutions – July 2020]. *CVVM - Centrum pro Výzkum Veřejného Mínění* [Center for public opinion research]. https://cvvm.soc.cas.czindex.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=5269:duvera-v-evropske-a-mezinarodni-instituce-cervenec-2020&catid=34:mezinarodni-vztahy

Hejlová, D. (2014). The Czech Republic. In T. Watson (Ed.), *Eastern European perspectives on the development of public relations: Other voices* (pp. 25–40). Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137404268_4

Hejlová, D., & Klimeš, D. (2016). Propaganda in 1980s Czechoslovakia: Life in a ritualized lie. In I. Somerville, O. Hargie, M. Taylor, & M. Toledano (Eds.), *International public relations: Perspectives from deeply divided societies* (pp. 173–197). London, UK: Taylor & Francis.

Hejlová, D., & Klimeš, D. (2019). Propaganda stories in Czechoslovakia in the late 1980s: Believe it or not? *Public Relations Review*, *45*(2), 217–226.

Hejlová, D. (2014). The Czech Republic. In Watson, T. (Ed.), *Eastern European perspectives on the development of public relations: Other voices* (pp. 25–40). Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Hendrych, L. (2021, February 10). Czech Republic is losing the information war, experts warn. *Euractiv.com*. https://www.euractiv.com/section/digital/news/czech-republic-is-losing-the-information-war-experts-warn/

Howlett, M. (2009). Government communication as a policy tool: A framework for analysis. *Canadian Political Science Review*, *3*(2), 23–37.

Jirák, J., & Köpplová, B. (2012). Two decades if free media in the Czech Republic: So what? Remarks on the discourse of post-1989 media transformation. In P. Gross, & K. Jakubowicz, *Media transformations in the post-communist world: Eastern Europe's tortured path to change* (pp. 183–194). Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Johnston, R. (2021, February, 3). Czech economy sees sharpest decline since establishment of independent Czech Republic. *Expats.cz*. https://www.expats.cz/czech-news/article/the-czech-economy-fell-a-record-amount-in-2020-but-it-was-not-as-bad-as-analysts-expected

Jowett, G. S., & O'Donnell, V. (2018). *Propaganda & persuasion*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.

Kasalická, A. (2011). *Vládní informační kampaň, "Proti raketám" v letech 2007 a 2008* [State-sponsored information campaigns "Against the rockets" in the years 2007 and 2008]. Prague, Czech Republic: Charles University.

Kasl Kollmannová, D. (2013) The role and function of public relations in the Czech Republic. In V. Carayol, A. Okay, & R. Tench (Eds.), *Researching the changing profession of public relations* (pp. 91–110). Brussels, Belgium: Peter Lang.

Končelík, J., Večeřa, P., & Orság, P. (2010). *Dějiny českých médií 20. století* [History of the Czech media in the 20th century]. Prague, Czech Republic: Portál s. r. o.

Kopecký, L. (2013). *Public relations: dějiny-teorie-praxe* [Public relations: History-theory-practice]. Prague, Czech Republic: Grada Publishing a.s.

Kottasová, I. (2021, March 1). How the Czech Republic slipped into a Covid disaster, one misstep at a time. *CNN*. https://www.cnn.com/2021/02/28/europe/czech-republic-coronavirus-disaster-intl/index.html

L'Etang, J. (1998). State propaganda and bureaucratic intelligence: The creation of public relations in 20th century Britain. *Public Relations Review*, *24*(4), 413–441.

Lizcová, Z. (2021, April 4). Analýza: Země jako obchodní značka. Německo boduje, Česko tápe a budí ironický smích [Analysis: A country as a brand. Germany scores, Czechia gropes and stirs up ironic laughter]. *Aktuálně.cz*. https://zpravy.aktualne.cz/ekonomika/komentar-zeme-jako-znacka-nemecko-boduje-cesko-tape/r~3aea451691f611eb99faac1f6b220ee8/

MacFarquhar, N. (2016, December 31). How Russians pay to play in other countries. *The New York Times*. https://www.nytimes.com/2016/12/30/world/europe/czech-republic-russia-milos-zeman.html

Matušková, A., & Kasl Kollmannová, D. (2013). *Research on government communication in the Czech Republic: Results, findings and further analysis*. Presented at International Conference on Political Marketing, Stockholm, Sweden.

Mccullagh, C. B. (2000). Bias in historical description, interpretation, and explanation. *History and Theory*, *39*(1), 39–66. https://doi.org/10.1111/0018-2656.00112

Millar-Schijf, Carla C. J. M., & Hejlova, D. (2013, September). *Public Affairs in CEE: On the way to transparency?* Paper presented at 7th International Political Marketing Conference, Stockholm, Sweden.

The Ministry of Industry and Trade of Czech Republic (2021). *Strategy*. The Country For The Future. https://www.countryforfuture.com/en/strategy/

Moloney, K. (2006). *Rethinking public relations: PR propaganda and democracy*. New York: Routledge.

Pavlů, D. (1984). *Propagace – specifická forma sociální komunikace. K některým základním otázkám propagačního působení v socialistické společnosti* [Propagace/promotion – a specific form of social communication. On some basic issues of promotional activity in socialist society]. Prague, Czech Republic: Novinář.

Pfetsch, B. (2008). Government news management: Institutional approaches and strategies in three western democracies reconsidered. In D. A. Graber, D. McQuail, & P. Norris (Eds.), *The politics of news: The news of politics* (pp. 71–97). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.

Pomerantsev, P. (2015). *Nothing is true and everything is possible: Adventures in modern Russia*. London, UK: Faber & Faber.

PRSA. (n.d.) *About public relations*. https://www.prsa.org/about/all-about-pr

Roman, V. (2019, February 26). Ani pískot Křečka mu nezabránil: Před 20 lety podepsal Havel vstup Česka do NATO [Not even Křeček's whistling stopped him: 20 years ago Havel signed Czech Republic's accession to NATO]. *G.cz*. https://g.cz/ani-piskot-krecka-mu-nezabranil-pred-20-lety-podepsal-havel-vstup-ceska-do-nato/

Sanders, K., & Canel, M. (2013). *Government communication: Cases and challenges*. London, UK: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Šaradín, P. (2003). Referendum o přistoupení k EU a volební podpora politických stran v České republice [Referendum on EU accession and electoral support for political parties in the Czech Republic]. *Středoevropské Politické Studie – Central European Political Studies Review*, *5*(4). https://journals.muni.cz/cepsr/article/view/4021

Semantic Visions. (n.d.). *Resources*. https://semantic-visions.com/

Shavit, A., & Konrádová, M. (2021). Government communication in Kafka COVID time. In P. Harris, A. Bitonti, C. S. Fleisher, & A. Skorkjær Binderkrantz (Eds.), *The Palgrave encyclopedia of interest groups, lobbying and public affairs*. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan.

Siebert, F. S., Peterson, T., & Schramm, W. (1956). *Four theories of the press: The authoritarian, libertarian, social responsibility, and Soviet Communist concepts of what the press should be and do*. Urbana and Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Soukeník, Š. (2018). *Government Communication in the Czech Republic: Organization, perception and new theoretical model* (Doctoral dissertation). Prague, Czech Republic: Charles University.

Staff, R. (2018, March 26). Czech president asks spy service to see if Novichok was produced locally. *Reuters*. https://reut.rs/3vMeLdA

Šťastný, O. (2008, May 12). Iniciativu Ne základnám financuje tajemný sponzor podnikající v Rusku [The 'No to bases' initiative is funded by a mysterious sponsor who does business in Russia]. *Mladá Fronta Dnes*. https://bit.ly/3ibNeOF

Svoboda, V. (2006). *Public relations: Moderně a účinně* [Public relations: Modern and efficient]. Prague, Czech Republic: Grada Publishing a.s.

Szondi, G. (2008). *Public diplomacy and nation branding: Conceptual similarities and difference*. Netherlands Institute of International Relations 'Clingendael.' https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep05374

Táborský, J. (2019). *V síti dezinformací* [In the net of disinformation]. Prague, Czech Republic: Grada Publishing a.s.

Tenove, C. (2020). Protecting democracy from disinformation: Normative trends and policy responses. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, *25*(3), 517–537.

Topor, L., & Shuker, P. (2019). To cyber influence campaigns in the dark web. *Cyber, Intelligence, and Security*, *3*(2), 63–79.

Warner, M., & Childress, J. (2020). Information wars. In M. Warner & J. Childress (Eds.), *The use of force for state power: History and future* (pp. 213–257). Cham, Switzerland: Springer International Publishing.

Chapter 7

Slovakia as a Convenient "Laboratory" to Extend the Theory of Securitized Framing

The Case of Far Right's Frame Shifting between Euroskepticism and Europhilia

Marta N. Lukacovic

Eastern European scholarship and paradigmatic experience are severely underrepresented, and suffer from the lacking attention of international communication scholarship (Demeter, 2018). Authors argue that this is a byproduct of the general Westerncentrism of the field (Kumar & Parameswaran, 2018). Slovakia is located on a particularly difficult intersection of the broader geopolitics of academia and the acute local sociopolitical challenges (Fidrmuc et al., 2019; Tomek, 2017). Slovakia's peripheral academic position is not just unfortunate for the country, but it also weakens the possibilities for general and inclusive theory development in the field of communication. This chapter aims to demonstrate that Slovakia is a promising "laboratory" for communication theory building by showing the implications that the country can offer for expanding the existing body of literature on *framing model/theory*.

The study draws on the research of Slovak scholars and scholars of Slovakia. Their findings are confronted with areas where the theoretical literature on framing can benefit from additional growth. Further, the chapter offers qualitative framing analysis to illustrate the extension of framing model/theory. Finally, the chapter discusses how being a compact country, Slovakia has a unique possibility to illuminate the nuances of framing as occurring across political communication, mass media, and social media, all of which are functioning within a broader ecosystem of international influences and interdependencies. The focus of this analysis is on questions of security within the growing influence of far-right and populist political discourse. Hence, the Slovak "laboratory" informs pertinent global discussions.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The literature review that follows addressed Slovak scholarship's interactions with Western mainstream framing and securitization scholarship. It is important to note that when mentioning "Slovak literature" in this chapter, it implies either works done by Slovak scholars or works done about Slovakia. Frequently, Czech scholars or other scholars of the Central Eastern European (CEE) region engage in research of Slovakia as a result of bilingual backgrounds and other numerous connections. The works on and about Slovakia draw on the Slovak experience as a microcosm where the phenomenon occurs under particular conditions, and which may inform theory. The foundation of this literature review is used to craft the task for the case study in the chapter.

In Slovakia, the field of communication predominantly encompasses journalism, mass media, and in recent decades, new media studies. In respect to mass media and journalism research, the field has productively culminated toward an especially fruitful period of establishment for Slovak academic journals in 1950s and 1960s (Slobodová, 2010). Since the political transition of the post-1989 period, political communication has emerged in Slovakia as well. There are clear leanings toward the mass media aspects of the subject as intersecting with political science (e.g., Hrbková & Zagrapan, 2014; Žúborová et al., 2012). The field has been strongly influenced by foreign, primarily Western, schools of thought and paradigms. This tends to be true for Slovak academia in general. However, the Slovak academic community was not particularly successful in becoming influential in impacting the mainstream Western theory building in the discussed fields. This is unfortunate since the media-related aspects of the field have such deep roots and Slovak researchers are capable of the production of insightful and meaningful works (e.g., Belakova, 2013; Hudíková et al., 2020).

The lack of Slovak resonance in the field is rooted in several structural limitations. Slobodová (2010) points out that the democratization transition in Slovakia was marked by a decline and shutting down of scholarly periodicals. Furthermore, mismanagement, corruption, and depleted funding sources are severely depressing the Slovak academia overall, even more than is the case for peer countries (Fidrmuc et al., 2019; Tomek, 2017).

Yet, several studies have looked at Slovakia as a sole focus or in comparative research through the lenses of framing, securitization, or a combination of these two prisms (e.g., Androvičová, 2013; Kazharski, 2019a; Kluknavská, 2014; Kluknavská & Hruška, 2019; Kovář, 2020; Kroon et al., Naxera & Krčál, 2016; 2016; Žúborová, 2013; Zvada, 2018). These studies are insightful as they draw on Slovak idiosyncratic settings, while offering some pointers for theory building or recommendations for directions where theory development can occur. Still, the overall volume of Slovak literature on framing is limited, and when applied, it is utilized as the tool for studies of the phenomena rather than to further develop framing as model/theory (e.g., Kluknavská, 2014; Višňovský & Baláž, 2012). However, the local literature on securitization is more abundant, particularly as a majority of these works are in political science, international relations, and area studies, which collectively are more robust in this region than media and communication studies (e.g., Kazharski, 2019a; Zvada, 2018).

Just as the mainstream field of communication in general (Craig, 1999), framing as a model/theory is based on multidisciplinary roots (D'Angelo, 2002; Entman, 1993). Framing is used as a methodological or a theoretical tool across different paradigms, including social-scientific, constructionist, rhetorical, and critical schools of thought. Entman (1993) argues that this diverse philosophical origin can make framing a signature model/theory within the field of communication, and can perhaps advance the entire field to a more recognized position among humanities and social sciences. Entman's definition of framing tends to be widely accepted across the field of communication and its varied paradigms; framing means defining a problem, determining causes, assigning moral evaluations, and prescribing preferable solutions (Entman, 1993; 2003). The broader framing model/theory addresses multiple incarnations and processes of framing; frames are (a) strategic political discursive tools, as well as (b) media processes of selection which leads to particular depictions of some aspects of alleged reality, and additionally also (c) psychological schemas that invite particular interpretations of reality among the consumers of the media framing (Entman et al. in Wahl-Jorgenson & Hanitzsch, 2009).

Within the same time period, the Slovak author Dolinec (2010) and an American author Vultee (2010a; 2010b) have asserted that the communication field's framing concept overlaps with the international relation's theory of securitization (Buzan et al., 1998). It can be summarized that securitization describes a particular type of master frame, where the key problem is a broadly defined existential threat, and where the solution is encompassed in a set of extraordinary measures. Crucially, the main security threat does not have to mean traditionally understood military threats against people and sovereignty of a nation-state. But can also be threats to the core identity of the collective unit (e.g., a nation), cultural values, economic integrity, and other imagined essential aspects of the referent object. As the alleged threat is believed to be violating something essential, the remedies to address it may include approaches that would normally be comprehended as unacceptable.

The normative justification of the “extraordinary” remedies is discursively achieved through securitization. Hence, Watson (2012) proposes securitization and framing:

> Not only . . . these two bodies of work are compatible and based on strongly overlapping theoretical and normative commitments, but also that “security” operates as a distinct master frame similar to “rights” and “injustice” and that securitization theory may usefully be understood as a subfield of framing. (p. 280)

Dolinec (2010) presented a theoretical argument for the ways in which media processes as described by the theoretical concepts of agenda-setting (McCombs & Shaw, 1972) and framing (Entman, 1993) contribute to the dissemination of securitization to broader publics. A similar argument with further support in empirical evidence has been advanced by Vultee (2010a; 2010b).

As often happens in the post-socialist countries (Grbeša & Bebić, 2021), many media and political communication studies are focused on the replication of works by Western academics and reaffirming the degree of usability of Western theories (e.g., Hrbková & Zagrapan, 2014; Višňovský & Baláž, 2012). Usually, the studies offer a solid and valuable description of the phenomena, but do not aspire to expand theory toward new frontiers.

When considering Slovak literature on framing and/or securitization, several main lines of findings and arguments are noticeable. First, many studies address political communication frames and media frames that negatively depict immigrants and minorities or securitize these groups as a threat (Androvičová, 2013; Kluknavská, 2014; Kovář, 2020; Kroon et al., 2016; Zvada, 2018). While such securitizing positions are abundant across the political spectrum in Slovakia (Androvičová, 2013; Harris, 2019; Lajčáková, 2012; Mesežnikov & Gyárfášová, 2016), these frames are particularly salient within the nativist and populist repertoires of the far-right political spectrum (Kluknavská, 2014; Kluknavská & Smolík, 2016; Kovář, 2020). Hence, many studies deal specifically with far-right political discourses and media around those discourses (e.g., Kazharski, 2019b; Kluknavská, 2014; Kluknavská & Hruška, 2019; Kluknavská & Smolík, 2016).

The frequently addressed entity in these studies is the Slovak far-right party LSNS which attracts international scholarly attention for having extremist tendencies while being electorally successful (Harris, 2019). The scholars point out that nationalist and far-right Slovak politicians have demonstrated inclinations to the securitization of national sovereignty, particularly as allegedly threatened by European Union (EU) integration (Gerő et al., 2017;

Kazharski, 2019b; Kluknavská & Hruška, 2019). But the EU-related framing and securitization is not as thoroughly researched as racist, xenophobic, and Islamophobic types of frames are.

Kluknavská and Hruška (2019) offer one of the rare studies that carefully examine social media discourse associated with LSNS with specific attention to the unique aspects that stem from digital environments. More research should be done with social media and other pertinent online platforms. It is particularly crucial to study and theorize about the Internet platforms because far-right movements, and particularly the more radical factions as is LSNS, frequently benefit from information dissemination and mobilization through new media (Wojcieszak, 2010).

In terms of repercussions for theory development, some key pointers can be extrapolated from the reviewed literature. Kluknavská and Smolík (2016) note that the Slovak far-right spectrum has shifted some of its main focuses over time. While the threats against national sovereignty tended to be the dominant frame in past, the far-right factions of the more recent era focus on other security issues. Kazharski (2019a) notes how Slovakia, unlike the Czech Republic, represents a different construction of the idea of security perils. For Slovakia becoming isolated or being perceived as peripheral is a type of central imagined security threat. This leads Slovak political forces to present the EU as a solution for the main fear, not a threat. This diverges from the Europskeptical tendencies of other CEE far-right political forces (Gerő et al., 2017). Indeed, in recent history some Slovak right-wing groups flip-flopped between Euroskepticism and Euroenthusiasm (Kopecek, 2004). Hence, when considering the Slovak far right and its relationship toward the EU through the lens of securitization, interesting theory-enriching takeaways about peculiar shifting can be detected upon a closer look. This should not be limited just to speeches of leaders, party manifestos, or press releases, but can include party's online media and these media's role in the framing processes.

Among scholars from the region of CEE, Tkaczyk (2018) asserts that further research should clarify the role of media in securitization processes with a specific attention on the strategies and conditions that are related to these processes. Slovak scholar Kluknavská (2014) notes that insights on the determinants of framing strategies represent a particularly valuable knowledge building direction. The subsequent case study traces the development of LSNS' online framing as related to securitization in relationship to the EU. The analysis of the case heavily draws on what has been identified by the literature, but also advances knowledge by focusing on noteworthy aspects of the phenomena that were not specifically illuminated thus far—leading to theory development.

CASE STUDY: FRAMING ANALYSIS

Slovakia's Far Right

Far right–oriented parties have enjoyed wide electoral support in Slovakia in recent history (Minkenberg, 2002). HZDS (also known as ĽS—HZDS; *Ľudová Strana—Hnutie za Demokratické Slovensko*; the People's Party—Movement for Democratic Slovakia) and SNS (*Slovenská Národná Strana*; the Slovak National Party) received massive support in the 1990s and several times led the government. Steadily, though, HZDS and SNS lost support (Beichelt, 2004). Throughout the 2000s, these two parties were unable to meet the 5% requirement to get their representatives elected to Národná Rada (the National Council) of the Slovak Republic.

The electoral appetite for far-right politics has not disappeared. LSNS emerged as a new nationalist party with even farther radical right positions. LSNS (sometimes also presented with palatalized Slovak spelling as ĽSNS; *Ľudová Strana—Naše Slovensko*; the People's Party—Our Slovakia) was established in 2010 by Marian Kotleba. This leader,[1] aesthetics, and ideology represent several links between LSNS and an extremist paramilitary organization Pospolitost (also known as Slovenská Pospolitosť; frequently free translated to the "Slovak Brotherhood," but literally meaning the "Slovak Togetherness"), which has operated in Slovakia since the 1990s (Harris, 2019). LSNS, with its propensities toward nationalism, populism, some radical and extreme positions, selected elements of socialism, and its willingness to engage with new technologies and media, embodies an example of a contemporary type of far right-wing party in CEE (Harris, 2019; Minkenberg, 2002; Minkenberg & Perrineau, 2007).

After initial marginality when receiving just 1.33% of the votes in 2010 and 1.58% of the votes in the 2012 parliamentary elections (Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic, 2013), LSNS eventually began to achieve some important electoral successes starting with Kotleba winning as a governor of Banska Bystrica with 55.53% of the votes in this region in 2013 (Kluknavská & Hruška, 2019), and winning seats in Národná Rada with 8.04% in 2016 and 7.97% of votes in 2020 national parliamentary elections. A far-right party like LSNS would be expected to display skepticism about the EU in contrast to mainstream Slovak parties, which are either pro-EU or very inconsistent (Beichelt, 2004; Kopecek, 2004).

European Integration

The EU presents itself as a political and economic alliance between nations of Europe that serves to strengthen ties and limit possibilities of conflict on the continent (Official Website of the EU, 2020). The contemporary EU has 27 member states including Slovakia. Fabbrini (2008) describes the EU as a "compound democracy" which tries to balance the complex compilation of member countries. Nevertheless, the alleged democratic character of the EU is at times questioned by politicians, pundits, and academics (e.g., Hammond, 2006; McGiffen, 2011).

Beyond political and economic unification, the EU, perhaps partially inspired by the United States, promotes the idea of a European identity, or "Europeanization" (Harris, 2004). Critics see the project of Europeanization of national identities as implausible or problematic in many ways (Smith, 1992; Shore, 2006). The enlargement of the EU was marketed by a campaign centered on the positive connotations in perceptions of people in the CEE countries such as Slovakia, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Poland. A very symptomatic promotional metaphor about the membership in the Union was often applied with the phrase "return to Europe" (Malova, 2002). This conceptual *Europe* was articulated as a beacon of freedom and progress. So, therefore, a notion of European exceptionalism became an accompanying narrative of the integration promotion efforts (Isiksel, 2016).

Along with the mythical connotation of the "return," in more pragmatic terms the integration in the Union was represented as a pathway to political and economic stability. Hammond (2006) argues that post-socialist countries face authoritarian exercises of power from Brussels. As Hammond explains, the problem is that the Western European nations had and have the privilege to decide whether a country is worthy or unworthy of the desired "return." In practical terms, the European integration procedure has resulted in dictating particular policies to candidate nations by the West, and at times encouraged disdain among the new members.

Euroskepticism, Nationalism, and the Far Right

Euroskepticism is conventionally understood as a wide range of attitudes that in various ways exemplifies disagreement with European integration or with the politics of the EU (Kopecky & Mudde, 2002; Lubbers & Scheepers, 2010). In analytical works it is important to recognize that the conventional use of the term "Euroskepticism" includes a variety of different skeptical attitudes toward the Union and/or its institutions and/or its policies.

One phenomenon often associated with Euroskepticism is nationalism (Buzan et al., 1998). Nationalism has been bourgeoning in the post-socialist region since the fall of the regimes dominated by the Communist Party (Csergo & Goldgeier, 2004). The federations of Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and the USSR broke into fragment states that were formed primarily on the ethno-nationalist principle. Beichelt (2004) points to many connections between nationalist leanings and various attitudes of Euroskepticism in CEE.

The former regime in Czechoslovakia collapsed as a result of the peaceful "Velvet Revolution" in 1989. Czechoslovakia as a federation also collapsed in a peaceful manner, in 1993. This was the birth of the Czech and Slovak Republics. Butora and Butorova (1993) emphasize that since its establishment, a pertinent question was whether Slovakia "will become 'the East of the West' or rather 'the West of the East'" (p.706). This question is loaded beyond just geographical denotation. Malova (2002) points out that the slogans of "return to Europe" and "Europeanization" began to appear shortly after the collapse of the previous regime. These slogans of course implied the ideological realignment and the integration in the EU.

Harris (2004) suggests that the "young" Slovak Republic has been a fertile ground for certain nationalist tendencies. Indeed, the Slovak political sphere in the first decade since independence has been dominated by the previously mentioned HZDS which was associated with nationalism, far-right conservative politics, and Euroskeptic tendencies (Beichelt, 2004; Tudoriou et al., 2009). As HZDS lost much of its former influence, the new-coming governments have focused on accession to the EU (Fisher, 2006). Slovakia joined the Union in the first wave of the Eastwards enlargement in 2004.

Gerő et al. (2017) point out how recent years are marked by the intensification of populism and politics of antagonism, which often translate to resentment toward the EU or its policies. What remains to be answered by a more empirically focused approach is whether newer and more radical versions of the nationalist far-right parties in the region, and LSNS in Slovakia in particular, are also inconsistent or rather firmly positioned in their attitudes toward the EU. The online environment gives an opportunity to conduct an analysis of framing and the possible flip-flopping and shifting that can occur within it.

Approach of the Analysis

Ideologically specific media attract devoted subgroups of consumers, especially in such cases when mainstream media provide very limited coverage and space to that type of political opinions (Wojcieszak, 2010). When LSNS had only small electoral impact, it had little resonance with Slovak mainstream media. Thus, its sympathizers only had the Internet to find the information that LSNS has been presenting. While LSNS has begun reaching electoral victories since then, their mainstream presence is still limited. Many media outlets object to the party's problematic positions and revisionist interpretations of Slovakia's involvement with the Axis powers. Thus, the Internet continues to be the key platform for disseminating the party's views to the Slovak people. Furthermore, LSNS has full control over the content on their social media and content-sharing platforms. Thus, the medium of the Internet is a specific ideological media stream through which the full, complete, and unaltered frame of the party representatives takes shape (Entman & Usher, 2018).

The following analysis examines the party's framing evolution over time. The focus is on the year 2013 when the party's online presence emerged and the period of 2019–2020 when the party reached its peak and ran two important campaigns (and before a departure of several key members). Furthermore, in 2019–2020 young adults in their 30s, 20s, and teenagers started to gain significant prominence in the party. Specifically, the discourse on the EU presented on the party's online assets is analyzed utilizing elements of a frame—*problem definition*, *attribution of causes*, *moral evaluations*, and *solutions* (Entman, 2003)—and accompanied by a further analysis of the securitization features of this frame.

LSNS's Internet Media Framing in 2013

A first glance at the website of LSNS as of 2013 showed a heading with a background of mountain peaks, a photo of the leader Marian Kotleba, and the text: "With courage against the system!" (LSNS website, 2013). The page included various files describing the party, the program, embedded YouTube videos, various links, PDFs of newsletters, and chronologically outlined news.

Problem Definition, Attribution of Causes, and Moral Evaluations

The description of the party, which was saliently available through the link on the top of the website, was brief—only 110 words (LSNS website, 2013). It stated that the party is rooted in national and Christian traditions with the purpose to return a national, lawful, and socially just character to the Slovak Republic as guaranteed by the Constitution of the country. Furthermore, LSNS proposed it stands for direct democracy and freedom of thought while promising to provide "thick patches" for "thick holes."

After these somewhat vague position statements, the last sentence of the party description finally offered a concrete position. It stated that the interest of Slovakia should be put before the "dictatorial" rule of Brussels. This clearly is a reference to the EU and its purportedly "dictatorial practices." Second, the sentence posed that LSNS stands for the revision of privatization. Third, LSNS wanted secession of Slovakia from NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) which was labeled here as a "criminal pact." Last, the party asked for the reestablishment of the Slovak Koruna as the national currency instead of the Euro. To close, LSNS asserted its mission is a delivery of reform against the ill-effects of among other things, membership in the EU.

Securitization and Solution Recommendations

While secession from NATO was demanded without compromise, curiously no such demand was proposed about the EU membership in LSNS's manifesto. Still, the characterization of the EU as dictatorial represents a securitizing move (Buzan et al., 1998). The use of securitization in this instance helped LSNS to present itself as the political force that can handle the threat of supposed dictatorship against Slovakia's sovereignty, political, and economic security. LSNS framed the issue so the party appeared as the remedy to mitigate the issue (Entman, 1993; 2003).

The other important information available on the website of LSNS (2013) was a list of the points for the program of the party. Many of these were in conflict with widely accepted policies within the EU. For instance, LSNS proposed agricultural, industrial, and energy self-reliance for the Slovak Republic. Such a proposal disregarded international agreements within the EU that bind member states and their agricultural, industrial, and energy spheres. LSNS addressed the EU overtly in one point of the program; again, the Union was described as having dictatorial practices. Furthermore, LSNS stated that it is against federalization of the EU as this would be limiting the sovereignty of Slovakia. With that statement, LSNS used securitization to describe the Union as threatening the sovereignty-related security of the country (Buzan et al., 1998). Just as in the short description of the party, the resolute proposition of secession from NATO occurred in the party program, while secession from the EU was not explicitly proposed.

LSNS gave securitized discourse against the EU. However, the party had no alternative plan of alliance in case Slovakia was to exit the Union. The secession was not proposed in any of the documents available on the website, except for the proclamation of Marian Kotleba in the February 2013 newsletters (*LSNS website*, 2013), where the leader contended that Slovaks are "enslaved" in both NATO and the EU, and therefore must leave both of these "strange pacts." It remained to be seen whether this statement of Kotleba would mark a paradigm shift for LSNS in an adoption of the ultimate rejection of the EU.

Fractured Euroskepticism

Based on that discourse, the party could be considered Euroskeptic according to the categorization of Kopecky and Mudde (2002), as it was pessimistic about the pathway of the Union. However, LSNS did not object to the basic idea of integration among European nations. This sympathy to some type of European unification was latently apparent in the reluctance of the party to consistently demand secession from the Union.

Moreover, LSNS conveyed certain manifest ideological affinity to European camaraderie. For instance, in the same issue of the newsletter where Kotleba demanded secession from the Union, an article criticizes Radio Slovensko (one of the publicly funded broadcast radio stations in Slovakia) for playing American music. The article recommended that the radio should instead play "German, French, Spanish, Italian, Greek, Hungarian, and Austrian music" as these are allegedly "developed and significant European cultures." Naming these nations would suggest that LSNS sympathized with EU member states and their "developed" cultures. Interestingly, this frame was mirroring the slogan of the "elite club" that was used to convince CEE countries to "return" to the EU, despite some questionable conditions that were enforced by the Western powers of the Union upon the post-socialist states (Hammond, 2006). Yet, this "developed" European nations statement coming from LSNS paired with LSNS's propensity to revisionist positions on World War II invites another interpretation as well. LSNS appears to have found a way for the cooption of the EU's self-promotional rhetoric for the advancement of extreme far-right positions and whitewashing fascist baggage in several European states' history.

One frequent theme with articles, links, and embedded YouTube videos on the website (LSNS website, 2013) was devoted to various crimes and abuses that were perpetrated by members of the Roma ethnic minority. The Roma theme occupied the most salient portions of the website as well as more space than any other theme. Discussion about the EU was less salient, less frequent, and occupies less space on the website of the party than discussion about issues related to the Roma. Among five YouTube videos that were embedded on a prominent part of the website, four videos were focused on the crimes committed by Roma perpetrators. None of the videos discusses the EU. Such negligence of the EU issues is important for agenda-setting implications (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). While LSNS used securitization in its accusations about "dictatorial" practices of Brussels and these frames occupied prominent space in basic party description, the overall website content carried little stress on the importance of the EU. Therefore, followers of LSNS who depended on the party for information were seeing the EU issues as significantly less attention-deserving than criminal acts of Roma individuals. Essentially, "Roma crime" was a more important issue than "Brussels' dictatorship" according to the agenda of the LSNS website.

In interim conclusion, Slovak parties that move along the far-right continuum, including LSNS, tended to leave enough room within the discourse for potentially shifting to politically opportunist acceptance of European integration despite their generally skeptical rhetoric about the Union itself. LSNS gained this leverage space by using securitization impacted frames to negatively depict the EU, yet strategically leaving the issues about the Union aside from its main agenda.

LSNS′ Internet Media Framing in 2019 and 2020

In the year 2019, the official website of LSNS was still based at the original web address. The site bore some resemblance to its previous articulations, but important differences have occurred (*LSNS Website*, 2019). For instance, the party changed its logo from a double cross based on the fascist Hlinka Guard motif to a double cross in the shape of the official Slovak coat of arms. Also, any connections with the paramilitary group Pospolitost were no longer promoted.

Problem Definition, Attribution of Causes, and Moral Evaluations

Yet, petitions for leaving EU and NATO were still available on the homepage of LSNS. Some explicit racist remark, such as "Gypsy parasites," were cleared up from the party's online assets. While the party still embraced and rearticulated the core of the ideas from its original "Desatoro"—the manifesto—the most explicit articulations were removed not just as related to minorities, but also in references to the collective Europe as a threat. For instance, the "About Us" section on the website (December 2019) now stressed that Slovakia ought to be "educated and cultured" as is appropriate for a "proud state in the heart of Europe." They still asserted that EU should not "rule over" Slovakia, but no derogatory terminology, as past references to "dictatorship," were utilized anymore to evoke harsh moral evaluations of the Union. The language was still harsh toward other international actors by, for instance, stating that Slovakia should refuse to "participate on aggressive criminal politics of NATO, USA and Israel."

2019 EU parliament election campaign was reflected in the party materials, as embedded within the website or as rearticulated through social media and content-sharing platforms (*LSNS Website*, 2019; for example, Milan Uhrík on Facebook, 2019). One of the popular party members running for a seat in the EU Parliament was Milan Uhrík. He and other candidates were promoted in the party's online newsletter/bulletin of May 2019. This document captures a noteworthy shift in the frame presented by some important party members.

A prominent headline in the bulletin alleged "Current politics of Brussels is destroying Europe and Slovakia!" Below the bold-print title was an image of the burning Notre Dame cathedral in Paris. Blaming Brussels of bad deeds was consistent with past framing. But interestingly, here the new allusion can be interpreted as the concept of "Europe" is the referent object put on equal platform with Slovakia. Furthermore, the newsletter of May 2019 featured emoji-style icons of bombs with a lit fuse and focus on immigration. Africans in particular were mentioned several times in connection to threat and danger. It represents clear allusions to a terrorist threat—this is in coherence with LSNS's xenophobic line of framing as documented by other scholars (Kazharski, 2019b; Kluknavská, 2014; Kroon et al., 2016; Zvada, 2018).

Solution Recommendations

To follow up with the alarmist frame, the May 2019 newsletter further claimed that LSNS offers to "reform EU" (LSNS Website, 2019). The plan for reform adamantly endorsed the Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orbán, who in recent years became particularly known for illiberal policies and defiance toward Brussels (Krekó & Enyedi, 2018). This is a very interesting shift in framing. First, Slovakia no longer needs to leave the EU, but reform it. So the solution is not isolation of the country, but political reconfiguration of the Union. Second, the glorification of Orbán represents an important divergence from the older Slovak nationalist right-wing spectrum for whom the Hungarian nationalist leader Orbán was an archenemy.

The newsletter was concluded with an article by Martin Beluský—a prominent party member and a frontrunner on the party's EU candidate list (May Newsletter, *LSNS Website*, 2019). Beluský opened by asserting EU was "a great idea." The problem, according to him, was "groups," which are "attempting to overthrow everything Europe was based on for millennia." This alleged threat was materializing through "forcing" the countries to accept "immigrants, homosexuality, decadence and implementation of political censorship." However, there is a solution, which can be brought about by voting for LSNS politicians and their allies in other European countries who are offering "the last chance to save Europe from destruction and onset of totalitarian liberalism." Martin Beluský has certainly been rising in terms of prestige. After the 2020 Slovak Parliamentary Elections, he was elected the chair of the Národná Rada's committee for the oversight of the National Security Office. Also, he is a member of permanent delegation of Slovakia with the Council of Europe.

Milan Uhrík, who ended up being elected to the EU Parliament echoed the position articulated by Beluský. Uhrík was presenting similar European exceptionalism, protection of European security, and building alliances among European nationalists. An example of Uhrík's involvement was his role in EU hearing of Carola Rackete who gained public attention when arrested for being a captain of a ship that was helping African migrants reach Italy. A video of Uhrík interrogating and criticizing her gained quite a bit of friction among the supporters of a well-known Italian nationalist leader Matteo Salvini. Uhrík proudly shared the news about the resonance of his video within Italian Facebook community (*Milan Uhrík—Europoslanec* on Facebook, 2019). Furthermore, Uhrík has appeared in a video program of British far-right politician Nick Griffin (*ĽS Naše Slovensko v NR SR* on YouTube, 2019). Griffin and his guests engaged in an amicable conversation; among the guests was also a member of Golden Dawn, which is a party notorious for embracing openly neo-Nazi ideology in Greece (Tipaldou in Laruelle, 2015). These activities and many Uhrík's Facebook posts reflect the investment in some form of European community, which is rather specific in ideological leanings.

Securitizing Shift's Dissemination to Other Media Frames

The interesting skepticism about the idea of the liberal EU, while at the same time showing Europhilia for a type of civilizational European entity was also popular among members of the party and closely affiliated people, specifically when considering the projects which are highly visible within the platforms of the Internet.

The most resonant project was "KulturBlog," which entails a website, online store, YouTube channel, presence on important podcast platforms such as SoundCloud and Spotify, Facebook page, and Instagram accounts, among other digital assets. The YouTube channel affiliated with KulturBlog was established in 2018. As of October 2020, the video views summed up to more than 6.6 million and the channel had more than 23,000 subscribers (*KulturBlog* on YouTube, 2020a). The project was closely affiliated with a LSNS high-rank member and deputy of the Národná Rada, Milan Mazurek. The main faces of the project were Ján Pastuszek, David Pavlík, and Livia Garčalová. Pastuszek and Pavlík were official Mazurek's assistants (*Národná Rada Slovenskej Republiky*, 2020). Garčalová was a high school student and in a romantic relationship with David Pavlík. Besides weekly visits from Mazurek on their podcasts/videos, the show was frequented by highly promoted exclusive guests such Uhrík and Beluský.

The early content of KulturBlog's YouTube videos included shorter appeals by Livia Garčalová and translations of different far-right and alt-right video materials from Western influencers such as Brittany Pettibone and Lauren Southern. In 2019, KulturBlog began airing a reoccurring podcast show of one to three hours in length. Over time they have increased frequency and as of fall 2020 it was approximately three episodes a week.

The YouTube video version of the regular podcast included introduction and transition segments with Garčalová's narration and drone footage of her walking near the site of the Spiš Castle ruins. The settings and dramatic bird's eye-perspective with the panorama of the magnificent medieval ruins and Tatra mountains in the background, evoke an allusion to patriotic motifs.

Garčalová, a teenager with long blond hair down her back and wearing a traditionally inspired red skirt, can be understood as an embodied personification of the nation, as would be common for iconography and metaphorical depictions within nationalist mythmaking in Europe (Abousnnouga & Machin; 2011). A young Slavic woman as a personification of the Slovak nation is also particularly common for the Slovak poetic tradition (Kraus, 1972). To accompany this visual, Garčalová narrates: "Europe is falling into the mud of moral decay. A cultural war is escalating here" (*KulturBlog* on YouTube, 2020b). By this assertion of danger, the securitizing move is not speaking just about a threat against Slovakia, but the concept of "Europe" is brought to the conversation also as a distressed entity, importantly, a distressed feminized entity ("Európa" in Slovak language is a feminine word). It can hardly be considered a mere coincidence. The segment is professionally produced and clearly fits the broader strategic vision. The segment was deliberately created and curated and is replayed during all the shows for over a year.

Throughout the year 2020, LSNS's original website has been deactivated and the party has moved to a new platform (*LSNS Website*, 2020). The new location provided a very trite and unadorned overview of party's vision. While some older goals were rearticulated, there was no mention of the EU. No engaging visual or links were featured. Such a laconic presentation perhaps even further encouraged sympathizers to just visit the vibrant social media accounts, or Uhrík's more interesting and glossier individual website (www.milanuhrik.sk), or one of KulturBlog's digital assets.

Toward Theory Implications

While LSNS has expressed negative attitude toward EU's policy through a frame which asserted the EU is threatening Slovak sovereignty, prominent party members have recently been presenting another important frame in which Europe as such is intertwined with Slovakia. This conception makes Europe a worthy referent object for the spectrum of security threats (Buzan et al., 1998), which are framed in terms of cultural security (e.g., Garčalová's intro segment), or physical security as threatened by immigrants (e.g., claims of Beluský and Uhrík), and so on. While other authors have consistently pointed out LSNS's xenophobic, racist, and Islamophobic assertions (Kazharski, 2019b; Kluknavská, 2014; Kroon et al., 2016; Zvada, 2018), the reviewed literature on Slovakia has not called attention to the far right's framing of Europe as the referent object to be protected from a security menace. In general, the supranational European identity as the far right's referent object is a newer trend in the academic literature (Brown, 2020). Hence, the Slovak case has the potential to contribute to newly forming theoretical conversation and also to promote the relevant input from a communication studies perspective.

DISCUSSION

Slovak literature offers several valuable observations about framing and securitization, specifically as performed by the extreme and far right of the political spectrum. This chapter mined the important points from the literature to inform the case study, which tracked important shifts in framing that the party LSNS has presented over time through their website, other online media presence, and social media posts. This discussion is aimed at important theoretical repercussions that can be drawn from this case. The theoretical deliberation is motivated by a Slovak scholar, Kluknavská (2014), who suggests that particularly important insights can be developed when illuminating the determinants of framing strategies for the far right. Furthermore, some of the implications may well generalize beyond the far right of the spectrum to wider understandings of ideological framing, securitization, and other related processes.

Cultural Congruence

Entman (2003) stresses that cultural congruence is the condition that can determine the success of a frame. The EU's promotional campaign, which is performed through the years, reflects the idea of European exceptionalism (Hammond, 2006; Isiksel, 2016; Malova, 2002). Of course, EU institutions are hoping this idea will encourage positive attitudes toward the EU integration efforts. However, the campaign might also be inadvertently creating a platform of cultural congruence that is exploitable by reactionary forces that readily reinterpret it to mean that racialized European identity is superior to other identities (Brown, 2020). Also, Europhilia does not automatically imply support for EU integration, as can be observed in the arguments of some LSNS opinion leaders. Slovak political tradition is strongly marked by a yearning to belong to something larger and perceivably more important, which in the past has been inspiring Slavophilia and Russophilia, while in the contemporary time it has translated to EU-specific Euroenthusiasm (Harris, 2019; Kazharski, 2019a). Importantly, in the contemporary time of the hegemony of American culture, the influence of the discourse about race, specifically according to American interpretations, is becoming particularly impactful even in the context of Europe (Lehr, 2020). Hence, for the "Millennial" and "Gen Z" LSNS members and supporters, the modern "alt right" understanding of "White race" as the essence of the European heritage may resonate more than the rather old-fashioned Pan-Slavism.

What can be extracted from the analyzed case is that cultural congruence is happening through a continuum of micro-to-macro levels, such as on the local/national level (e.g., Slovak aspiration to belong to larger collective), international level (e.g., EU promoting the European exceptionalism), and supranational/global level (e.g., the American cultural and informational hegemony—and consequent salience of the American interpretation of race as more fundamental than national origin). The studied case offers an example of a particular mixture that emerged from a combination of these congruencies within the framing by a far-right political party.

Further research is necessary to describe these interactions of various levels of cultural congruencies in more detail and within other circumstances. Also, additional research can illuminate the idiosyncrasies of other countries.

Strategic Political Framing

A robust body of literature covers the trends within contemporary far-right political ideology, groups, and their communication tactics (e.g., Atton, 2006; Bliuc et al., 2019, Halikiopoulou & Vlandas, 2020; Harris, 2019; Kazharski, 2019b; Stefanovic & Evans, 2019; Umland, 2017). It has been documented that certain powerful or ambitious actors attempt to influence their far-right counterparts in other countries (e.g., Laruelle, 2015). LSNS, particularly since the party has been raising in certain ranks of political power and oversight in Slovakia, might be particularly attractive targets of such attempts. Marian Kotleba has made some generally pro-Russian remarks (Kazharski, 2019b). However, Russian official sources such as the MID characterizes LSNS in a very negative manner as linked to extremist ideologies and neo-Fascism (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, 2019). Krekó et al. (2015) point out that there is no direct evidence connecting the Russian government or some other influential Russian entity to LSNS—particularly as many other Slovak political forces on the other hand have significantly more robust visible connections with the Russian political establishment. Kotleba also steadily denounces the Slovak National Uprising (Slovenské Národné Povstanie; SNP) insurgents who were allied with the Red Army during World War II (Naxera & Krčál, 2016). This creates a significant rift between Kotleba's party and the main consensus on the basis of friendship and comradery in both Russia and Slovakia.

On the other hand, the international nationalist network is a noteworthy occurrence that may play an important role. This analysis' data reveal Milan Uhrík has made several statements conveying a desire to establish more collaborations with Marine Le Pen of France and Matteo Salvini of Italy.

Furthermore, Uhrík has made public addresses and developed efforts within the EU Parliament to back up the position of the Italian nationalists. In short, LSNS and its elites do not function in a vacuum. Besides possible internal motivations, they may be impacted by some external allies. Also, they might be courting possible external partners, and this effort can result in some imprints on their rhetoric and impact frame shifting.

A frame shift, on the level of political elites, party leaders, or other important party influencers, is an interesting aspect of framing that deserves further research and theorization. The main takeaway here is that such frame shifts happen within a broader and often international web or interconnections and established or desired spheres of influence. The recommended approach to further research would incorporate multiple methodologies in order to comprehensively explain the possible internal and external sources of influence.

Party Media as Ideological "Pump Valves"

Within the original cascading activation model of framing by Entman (2003), media organizations represent a separate level where gatekeepers filter, alter, or let certain frames pass as articulated by the political elites. However, ideologically committed media represent a different model where "pump valves" control the framing process within the preferred constraints and propensities (Entman & Usher, 2018). Still, some type of filtering can occur within ideological media as well—particularly if there is a situation where party elites may have diverging preferences. For instance, KulturBlog is clearly a pet project of LSNS's Milan Mazurek, so his particular preferences are likely to be more prominent in this medium.

Another important property of ideological media that requires further empirical and theoretical attention is the degree of influence for the frames that are advanced by ideological peers, including peers from other countries. It is very likely that the promotion of Lívia Garčalová within Kulturblog has been inspired by the success of North American alt-right "poster girls" Brittany Pettibone and Lauren Southern (Laruelle & Rivera, 2019), who also were previously promoted by KulturBlog. Possibly, not just the format and persona formula, but some framing tendencies may be imitated within the ideological media realm.

The future research should help document the party media tendencies in clearer detail. Additional data can demonstrate how prevalent is the trend of the proposed frame cross-pollinations. Such findings would importantly expand the existing theory to reflect on framing tendencies within international ideological ecosystems, which are further facilitated by the internationalized and globalized nature of the modern digital media.

Interactivity and UGC

A separate attention should be devoted to affordances of the new media and digital technology-enabled environments. One of the main differences between new media and traditional media is the aspect of interactivity (Cvetkovic & Pantic, 2018; Krebs & Lischka, 2019). Another important new trend is user-generated content—UGC (Dylko & McCluskey, 2012; Shifman, 2016). One of the rare studies that considered the level of Internet-user engagements with particular LSNS-related online posts, is by Kluknavská and Hruška (2019).

As the current study's findings show, Kotleba, Uhrík, as well as Mazurek pay attention to how users interact with their material. Uhrík, for instance, made a post expressing very clear pleasure that his video confrontation with Carola Rackete received a high view count within the Italian social media sphere. Perhaps this notice by foreign audiences is encouraging Uhrík to take up more international issues. In this way, interactive reactions of the audience may create some perceived incentives. In order to continue to attract international audience's response, a politician like Uhrík is likely to shift his framing. He now displays solidarity for fellow nationalist Europeans, as well as disdain for the liberal policies of the EU.

The UGC—the different comments, memes, videos, and other types of multimedia materials circulated through social media and content-sharing platforms—represents a massive body of material. First it serves as one of the important venues for interactive feedback. Second, it may also serve as a separate frame-setting entity. Some of KulturBlog's material clearly mimics UGC aesthetics, so some trends for the far-right media materials have been set by UGC. Yet, the potential and degrees of influence that UGC has on the actual frame shifts needs more research. Slovakia, in this case, functions as a useful illustration that something theoretically noteworthy might indeed be happening.

When considering securitization, it is rather understudied even in aspects of the traditional media (Tkaczyk, 2018). Theoretical knowledge is particularly thin in describing the intersections of new media affordances and securitized framing. Furthermore, new media are quickly evolving, while interactivity is increasing and UGC genres are mounting. Hence, studies of diverse types, utilizing diverse methodologies, and based on diverse paradigmatic schools, should be continuously applied to explore these dynamic complex phenomena.

Additional Considerations

The author hopes that this discussion of the Slovak case helps to extract the separate observations that speak to broader trends and thus to general theory. The discussion was primarily guided by tenets of pertinent theories which shed light on the currently detected phenomena. These are, however, just some ideas, not a complete list of theoretical possibilities. For instance, neither framing nor securitization is an exclusively far-right phenomenon. Hence, a whole another area of research can further verify the validity of observations when applied to other instances. As previous research points out, Slovak politicians across the ideological spectrum have been using securitization as a strategic tool, particularly in pre-election periods (Androvičová, 2013; Zvada, 2018). Some claims have been made that far-right tendencies that evoke securitization are mainstream in this region. However, such claims need to be verified using empirical methodologies and rich interdisciplinary theorization (Gerő et al., 2017).

It is important to add that specific effects methodologies are scarce and should be used more often in relationship to securitized framing (Baele & Thomson, 2017), granted that causal claims are frequently made by securitization literature but left unsubstantiated in terms of data. In addition, the normative and moral implications of securitized framing need to be discussed by future scholarship, as there is a body of literature on which such works can help to expand (e.g., Floyd, 2011). Another important normative issue that ought not to be omitted from scholarly conversation is the EU's own role in advancing the exceptionalism frame (Isiksel, 2016), which might have been a useful marketing tool to promote integration at one time (Malova, 2002), but as this study detects is being now weaponized against the very liberal-democratic values that the EU claims to represent.

While not solely focused on Slovakia, it is noteworthy that Slovakia as a case and Slovak authors as partners within teams, played a role in some comparative international studies (Gerő et al., 2017; Kroon et al. 2016), and made valuable recommendations for future research programs. In the aspects of communication theory, specifically Kroon and colleagues (2016) explored the issues with securitized news framing in Slovakia, and they problematize the conflict-escalating slant of the frames (Galtung & Ruge, 1965). First, their points can serve to create a promising theoretical bridge between securitized framing and the body of literature on peace journalism (Kempf, 2019; Lynch & Galtung, 2010), conflict sensitivity (Howard, 2009), and peacebuilding when challenged by cultural and structural forms of violence (Galtung, 1990). Second, this is an important direction for practical implications. The theoretically eclectic and interdisciplinary approaches are not only indispensable to better understand complex world phenomena (Gerő et al., 2017), but are also essential to design applied tactics that can effectively address societal problems (Craig, 1999).

CONCLUSION

Slovakia is a sort of "laboratory" offering important cases, not just with interesting idiosyncrasies of this post-socialist nation, but also with opportunities to develop communication theory. The scholarship from and about Slovakia has built a useful basis for further theorizing. While this basis does not include very numerous works in the area of political communication and media studies, the communication scholarship can capitalize on its multidisciplinary roots and draw on works in other disciplines. Framing as a model/theory and its overlaps with securitization theory is a suitable example. Hence, the chapter culminates with theorizing the conditions of frame shifting. Specifically, it further defines cultural congruence's multilevel role in impacting frame shifts. Also, it expands the understanding of securitization as impacted by both strategic political alliances and ideologies, as well as reshaped by the undercurrents of contemporary digital media environments.

Furthermore, this chapter can serve as a blueprint to begin theory building in post-socialist countries where communication research is not abundant. Many reviewed communication or political science pieces primarily centered on descriptions of the country's context and idiosyncrasies. This chapter extracted important elements from the literature and used them to guide a separate analysis with the aim to look for ways with which to further outline theoretical constructs. Additional projects with similarly deliberate theory focus can add valuable insights and possibly better explain other contexts as well, so the scholars in and of the post-socialist countries can achieve international resonance.

NOTE

1. Marian Kotleba was a leader of the paramilitary group Pospolitost in past.

REFERENCES

Abousnnouga, G., & Machin, D. (2011). Visual discourses of the role of women in war commemoration: A multimodal analysis of British war monuments. *Journal of Language and Politics*, *10*(3), 322–346.

Androvičová, J. (2013). Immigration in current political discourse – The case of Slovakia within the European Union. *ALPPI Annual of Language & Politics and Politics of Identity*, *7*, 5–22.

Atton, C. (2006). Far-right media on the internet: Culture, discourse and power. *New Media & Society*, *8*(4), 573–587.

Baele, S. J., & Thomson, C. P. (2017). An experimental agenda for securitization theory. *International Studies Review*, *19*, 646–666.

Beichelt, T. (2004). Euro-skepticism in the EU accession countries. *Comparative European Politics*, *2*, 29–50.

Belakova, N. (2013). Analyzing how law shapes journalism in Central and Eastern Europe: The case of the 2008 Slovak Press Act. *Global Media and Communication*, *9*(3), 197–217.

Bliuc, A., Betts, J., Vergani, M., Iqbal, M., & Dunn, K. (2019). Collective identity changes in far-right online communities: The role of offline intergroup conflict. *New Media & Society*, *21*(8), 1770–1786.

Brown, K. (2020). When Eurosceptics become Eurofiles: Far-right opposition to Turkish involvement in the European Union. *Identities*, *27*(6), 633–654.

Butora, M., & Butorova, Z. (1993). Slovakia: The identity challenges of the newly born state. *Social Research*, *60*(4), 705–736.

Buzan, B., Waever, O., & de Wilde, J. (1998). *Security: A new framework for analysis.* Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Pub.

Craig, R. T. (1999). Communication theory as a field. *Communication Theory*, *9*, 119–161.

Csergo, Z., & Goldgeier, J. M. (2004). Nationalism strategies and European integration. *Perspectives on Politics*, *2*(1), 21–37.

Cvetkovic, I., & Pantic, M. (2018). Multimodal discursivity: Framing European Union borders in live-blogs. Journal of *Communication Inquiry*, *42*(4), 318–339.

D'Angelo, P. (2002). News framing as a multiparadigmatic research program: A response to Entman. *Journal of Communication*, *52*(4), 870–888.

Demeter, M. (2018). Theorizing international inequalities in communication and media studies. A field theory approach. *KOME – An International Journal of Pure Communication Inquiry*, *6*(2), 92–110.

Dolinec, V. (2010). The role of mass media in the securitization process of international terrorism. *Politické Vedy/The Journal of Political Sciences*, *1*(2), 8–32.

Dylko, I., & McCluskey, M. (2012). Media effects in an era of rapid technological transformation: A case of user-generated content and political participation. *Communication Theory*, *22*, 250–279.

Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, *43*, 51–58.

Entman, R. M., (2003). Cascading activation: Contesting the White House's frame after 9/11. *Political Communication*, *20*, 415–432.

Entman, R. M., Matthes, J., & Pellicano, L. (2009). Nature, sources, and effects of news framing. In K. Wahl-Jorgenson and T. Hanitzsch (Eds.), *Handbook of journalism studies* (pp. 175–190). New York, NY: Routledge.

Entman, R. M., & Usher, N. (2018). Framing in a fractured democracy: Impacts of digital technology on ideology, power and cascading network activation. *Journal of Communication*, *68*, 298–308.

European Parliament. (2020). Milan Uhrik – Assistants. Retrieved at https://www.europarl.europa.eu/meps/en/197763/MILAN_UHRIK/assistants#detailedcardmep

Fabbrini, S. (2008). Contesting the Lisbon Treaty: Structure and implications of the constitutional divisions within the European Union. *The European Journal of Law Reform*, *10*(4), 457–476.

Fidrmuc, J., Gordoňová, K., Hulényi, M., & Zavarská, Z. (2019). *Report on productivity and competitiveness of the Slovak Republic 2019.* National Productivity Board. Bratislava, Slovakia: Institute for Strategy and Analysis, Government Office of the Slovak Republic.

Fisher, S. (2006). *Political change in post-communist Slovakia and Croatia: From nationalist to Europeanist.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Floyd, R. (2011). Can securitization theory be used in normative analysis? Towards a just securitization theory. *Security Dialogue*, *42*(4–5), 427–439.

Galtung, J. (1990). Cultural violence. *Journal of Peace Research*, *27*(3), 291–305.

Galtung, J., & Ruge, M. H. (1965). The structure of foreign news: The presentation of the Congo, Cuba and Cyprus crises in four Norwegian newspapers. *Journal of Peace Research*, *2*(1), 64–91.

Gerő, M., Płucienniczak, P. P., Kluknavská, A., Navrátil, J., & Kanellopoulos, K. (2017). Understanding enemy images in Central and Eastern European politics. Towards an interdisciplinary approach. *Intersections. East European Journal of Society and Politics*, *3*(3), 14–40.

Grbeša, M., & Bebić, D. (2021). Political communication in Croatia: Critical assessment of the field. In M. Minielli, M. N. Lukacovic, S. A. Samoilenko, M. Finch, & D. Uecker, *Media and public relations research in post-socialist societies* (pp. 59–76). Lanham, MD: Lexington Books – Rowman & Littlefield.

Halikiopoupou, D., & Vlandas, T. (2020). When economic and cultural interests align: The anti-immigration voter coalitions driving far right party success in Europe. *European Political Science Review*, *12*(4), 427–448.

Hammond, A. (2006). Balkanism in political context: From the Ottoman Empire to the EU. *Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture*, *3*(3), 6–26.

Harris, E. (2004). Europeanization of Slovakia. *Comparative European Politics*, *2*(2), 185–211.

Harris, E. (2019). Nation before democracy? Placing the rise of the Slovak extreme right into context. *East European Politics*, *35*(4), 538–557.

Howard, R. (2009). *Conflict-sensitive reporting: State of art*. Paris, France: UNESCO.

Hrbková, L., & Zagrapan, J. (2014). Slovak political debates: Functional theory in a multi-party system. *European Journal of Communication*, *29*(6), 735–744.

Hudíková, Z., Pravdová, H., & Gažicová, A. (2020). The pragmatism of hybridization logic of television news in Slovakia. *Communication Today*, *11*(1), 90–124.

Isiksel, T. (2016). European exceptionalism and the EU's accession to the ECHR. *European Journal of International Law*, *27*(3), 565–589.

Kazharski, A. (2019a). Two kinds of small? The "EU core" in Slovak and Czech geopolitical imagination. *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, *27*(4), 424–438.

Kazharski, A. (2019b). Frontiers of hatred? A study of right-wing populist strategies in Slovakia. *European Politics and Society*, *20*(4), 393–405.

Kempf, W. (2019). Concepts and conceptions of peace journalism. *Conflict & Communication Online*, *18*(2), 1–11.

Kluknavská, A. (2014). Enemies among us: The anti-elitist and xenophobic discourses in the Czech Republic and Slovakia. *Rexter*, *12*(2), 42–71.

Kluknavská, A., & Hruška, M. (2019). We talk about the "others" and you listen closely. The extreme right communication on social media. *Problems of Post-Communism*, *66*(1), 59–70.

Kluknavská, A., & Smolík, J. (2016). We hate them all? Issue adoption of extreme right parties in Slovakia 1993 – 2016. *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, *49*(4), 335–344.

Kopecek, L. (2004). Euroskeptici, europeaniste, euroentuziaste, eurofobove – Jak s nimi pracovat? [Eurosceptics, Europeaninsts, Euroenthusiasts, Europhobes – How to work with these categories?] *Politologicky Casopis*, *11*(3), 240–262.

Kopecky, P., & Mudde, C. (2002). The two sides of Euroscepticism: Party positions on European integration in East Central Europe. *European Union Politics*, *3*(3), 297–326.

Kovář, J. (2020). A security threat or an economic consequence? An analysis of the news framing of the European Union's refugee crisis. *The International Communication Gazette*, *82*(6), 564–587.

Kraus, C. (1972). Básnik a jeho dielo [Poet and his opus]. In *Andrej Sládkovič poézia*. Bratislava, Slovakia: Tatran.

Krebs, I., & Lischka, J. A. (2019). Is audience engagement worth the buzz? The value of audience engagement, comment reading, and content for online new brand. *Journalism*, *20*(6), 714–732.

Krekó, P., & Enyedi, Z. (2018). Explaining Eastern Europe: Orbán's laboratory of illiberalism. *Journal of Democracy*, *29*(3), 39–51.

Krekó, P., Győri, L., Milo, D., Marušiak J., Széky, J., & Lencsés, A. (2015). *Marching towards Eurasia: The Kremlin connections of the Slovak far-right*. Budapest, Hungary: Political Capital; Social Development Institute.

Kroon, A. C., Kluknavská, A., Vliegenthart, R., & Boomgaarden, H. G. (2016). Victims or perpetrators? Explaining media framing of Roma across Europe. *European Journal of Communication*, *31*(4), 375–392.

KulturBlog on YouTube (2020a). About. Retrieved at https://www.youtube.com/c/Kulturblog/about

KulturBlog on YouTube (2020b). Videos. Retrieved at https://www.youtube.com/c/Kulturblog/videos

Kumar, S., & Parameswaran, R. (2018). Charting an itinerary for postcolonial communication and media studies. *Journal of Communication*, *68*, 347–358.

Lajčáková, J. (2012, November 22). Changing the story about minorities in Slovakia. *Open Society Foundation*. Retrieved at https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/voices/changing-story-about-minorities-slovakia

Laruelle, M. (2015). Dangerous liaisons: Eurasianism, the European far right, and Putin's Russia. In M. Larualle (Ed.), *Eurasianism and the European far right: Reshaping the Europe-Russia relationship* (pp. 1–31). Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Laruelle, M., & Rivera, E. (2019). *Collusion or homegrown collaboration? Connections between German far right and Russia.* Budapest, Hungary: Political Capital.

Lehr, F. (2020, October 31). The Ukrainian babysitter: Adopting American discourses on racism can blind Europe's left. *Neue-Deutschland*.

ĽS Naše Slovensko v NR SR. (2019, December 4). Diskusia so zástupcami európskych národných strán: Budúcnosť národov v Európe (12/2019) [Discussion with representatives of European national parties: The future of the nations of Europe (12/2019)]. Retrieved at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qWbFOmyoH2A&t=195s

LSNS Website. (2013). Retrieved at www.naseslovensko.net

LSNS Website. (2019). Retrieved at www.naseslovensko.net

LSNS Website. (2020). Retrieved at lsnaseslovensko.sk

Lubbers, M., & Scheepers, P. (2010). Divergent trends of euroscepticism in countries and regions of the European Union. *European Journal of Political Research*, *49*, 787–817.

Lynch, J., & Galtung, J. (2010). *Reporting conflict: New directions in peace journalism*. St. Lucia, Queensland, Australia: University of Queensland Press.

Malova, D. (2002). Review of European integration research in Eastern Europe. *European Political Science*, *1*(3), 41–46.

McCombs, M. E., & Shaw, D. L. (1972). The agenda-setting function of mass media. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, *36*(2), 176–187.

McGiffen, S. (2011). Bloodless coup d'état: The European Union's response to the Eurozone crisis. *Socialism and Democracy*, *25*(2), 25–43.

Mesežnikov, G., & Gyárfášová, O. (2016). Súčasnỳ pravicovỳ extrémizmus a ultranacionalizmus na Slovensku [Contemporary right-wing extremism and ultranationalism in Slovakia]. Bratislava: *Inštitút pre Verejné Otázky*.

Minkenberg, M. (2002). The radical right in postsocialist Central and Eastern Europe: Comparative observations and interpretations. *East European Politics and Society*, *16*(2), 335–362.

Minkenberg, M., & Perrineau, P. (2007). The radical right in the European Elections 2004. *International Political Science Review*, *28*(1), 29–55.

Milan Uhrík – Europoslanec. (2019, October 11). ODPORUČTE NAŠE STRÁNKY AJ SVOJIM ZNÁMYM (capitalization sic) [Recommend our webpages to your acquaintances]. *Retrieved at* https://www.facebook.com/ing.milan.uhrik/posts/959583374394775

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation. (2019, May 6). Regarding the situation with the glorification of Nazism and the spread of Neo-Nazism and other practices that contribute to fuelling contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance; Slovakia. Retrieved at https://www.mid.ru/en/web/guest/general_assembly/-/asset_publisher/lrzZMhfoyRUj/content/id/3193903

Národná Rada Slovenskej Republiky. (2020). Asistenti poslanca - Milan Mazurek. Retrieved at https://www.nrsr.sk/web/Default.aspx?sid=poslanci/posl_asistenti&PoslanecID=975&CisObdobia=8

Naxera, V., & Krčál, P. (2016). The Slovak National Uprising as a national treasure? Interpretation and legacy of the SNU in Slovak political discourse and national mythology. *Annual of Language & Politics and Politics of Identity*, *10*, 83–102.

Shifman, L. (2016). Cross-cultural comparisons of user-generated content: An analytical framework. *International Journal of Communication*, *10*, 5644–5663.

Shore, C. (2006). “In uno plures” (?) EU cultural policy and the governance of Europe. *Cultural Analysis*, *5*, 7–26.

Slobodová, B. (2010). Vedecké a obdorné periodiká pre teóriu a výskum masmédií [Scientific and specialized periodicals for theory and research of mass media]. *Communication Today*, *2*, 59–68.

Smith, A. D. (1992). National identity and the idea of European unity. *International Affairs*, *68*, 55–76.

Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic. (2013). *The election to the Parliament of the Slovak Republic 2010. Number and share of valid votes for political parties*. Retrieved from http://app.statistics.sk/nrsr_2010/sr/tab3.jsp?lang=en

Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic. (2013). *The election to the Parliament of the Slovak Republic 2012. Number and share of valid votes for political parties*. Retrieved from http://app.statistics.sk/nrsr2012/sr/tab3.jsp?lang=en

Stefanovic, D. & Evans, G. (2019). Multiple winning formulae? Far right voters and parties in Eastern Europe. *Europe-Asia Studies*, *71*(9), 1443–1473.

Tipaldou, S. (2015). The dawning of Europe and Eurasia?: The Greek Golden Dawn and its transnational links. In M. Laruelle (Ed.), *Eurasianism and the European far right: Reshaping the Europe-Russia relationship* (pp. 193–219). Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Tkaczyk, M. (2018). Mediální konstrukce hrozeb v kontextu politiky sekuritizace a výjimečného stavu [Mediated construction of threats in the context of securitization and state of exception]. *Media Studies / Mediální Studia*, *3*(1), 48–65.

Tomek, R. (2017, August, 17). Slovak minster resigns after criticism over handling of EU funds. *Bloomberg*. Retrieved at https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2017-08-17/slovak-minister-resigns-after-criticism-of-handling-eu-funds

Tudoriou, T., Horvath, P., & Hrusovsky, M. (2009). Ultra-nationalism and geopolitical exceptionalism in Meciar’s Slovakia. *Problems of Post-Communism*, *56*, 3–14.

Umland, A. (2017). Post-Soviet Neo-Eurasianism, the Putin system, and the contemporary European extreme right. *Perspectives on Politics*, *15*(2), 465–476.

Višňovský, J., & Baláž, M. (2012). Nastolovanie tém a vplyv lokálnych médií na formovanie verejnej agendy – prípadová štúdia [Agenda-setting and effect of local media on shaping of public agenda – case study]. *Communication Today*, *2*, 104–120.

Vultee, F. (2010a). Securitization as a media frame. In T. Balzacq (Ed.), *Securitization theory: How security problems emerge and dissolve* (pp. 77–93). New York, NY: Routledge.

Vultee, F. (2010b). Securitization: A new approach to the framing of the ‘war on terror.’ *Journalism Practice*, *4*(1), 33–47.

Watson, S. D. (2012). ‘Framing’ the Copenhagen School: Integrating the literature on threat construction. *Millennium: Journal of International Studies, 40*(2), 279–301.

Wojcieszak, M. (2010). ‘Don’t talk to me’: Effects of ideologically homogenous online groups and politically dissimilar offline ties on extremism. *New Media & Society*, *12*(4), 637–655.

Žúborová, V. (2013). Prejavy personalizácie líderstva: perspektívy slovenských straníckych lídrov vo vzťahu k medializácii [Expressions of the personalization of leadership: Perspectives of Slovak party leaders in relation to their media coverage]. *Středoevropské Politické Studie[Central European Political Studies Review]*, *13*(4), 399–419.

Žúborová, V., Šaradín, P., Klus, M., Kuś, M., Pinterič, U., Klimovský, D., Štefančík, R., Čemez, A., & Piskozub, P. (2012). *20 rokov transformácie: Postavenie politickej komunikácie v Českej republike a na Slovensku* [20 years of transformation: The state of political communication in Czech Republic and Slovakia]. Trnava, Slovakia: Univerzita Sv. Cyrila a Metoda v Trnave.

Zvada, L. (2018). Securitization of the migration crisis and Islamophobic rhetoric: The 2016 Slovak Parliamentary Elections as a case study. *Journal of Nationalism, Memory & Language Politics*, *12*(2), 216–235.

Chapter 8

The Past, the Memory, and the Polish Media

Collective Memory as an Object of Manipulation

Aleksandra Synowiec

In recent years a growing interest in the issues of collective memory in Polish society can be observed. Identity and memory are both very important concepts in social sciences. Identity according to Zygmunt Bauman (2007) "is currently one of the most intriguing social and individual questions" (p. 19). The processes of constructing and reconstructing individual and collective identities are subjects of research in various fields of study: sociology, history, anthropology, psychology, and communication studies. The issue of memory is particularly interesting from the perspective of the latter: namely as a language, and thus as a group-forming phenomenon. Therefore, language is a binder and a group-forming factor: "The group creates the language, and the language creates the group" (Grabias, 1994, p. 135). Public and media discourses contribute to defining and strengthening the identity of the interpretative community (Fish, 2002) in which they operate. The self-awareness of an individual, or collective "I" in terms of the "crisis of belonging" (Bauman, 2007, p. 14-15), becomes an indispensable practice, a repeated or reconstructed procedure for legitimization of one's presence in the world.

Collective memory of national communities may be a subject of manipulation when illuminating and giving meaning to certain aspects while omitting and silencing others. The purpose of this chapter is to show how the past and memory become a representation practice and an effective tool for establishing the discourses of collective identity. The main question is to describe in what ways the past becomes an object of manipulation in Polish right-wing media discourse. Another question concerning further empirical explorations arises: What is the role of history—or precisely its visions cherished in the form of ideas and beliefs and shared by members of the collectivity—in creating a collective identity? And finally, whether the process of establishing collective identity consists of restoring or producing memory components? This chapter is an attempt to identify the relationship between the past, the memory, the language, and the collective identity. These are understood as a set of general features characterizing a particular collectivity but do not come naturally from the group attributes. Therefore, "at the practical level, it requires a number of procedures for its creation and collective rituals confirming its existence" (Bokszański, 2006, p. 124). In Poland, the complex of Polish symbolic-mythological representations is activated in various types of messages ranging from political speeches and debates, to polemical articles. National lexis is the domain for the right side of the political scene and thus appears in the right-wing media discourse.

The following analysis is qualitative and refers to significant examples of public discussions concerning attitudes toward Polish history since 1945 and the socialist era. The adopted method of analysis allows first, to observe such debates as the process of establishing a social framework of the particular use of collective memory representations. Second, qualitative research reveals a variety of manipulative techniques regarding the construction of an image from the past. All examples used to discuss collective memory representations understood as "socially useful" and dedicated to community building (Żakowski, 2002, p. 16) come from Polish right-wing media sources and are available online.

COLLECTIVE MEMORY DEFINITIONS AND METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES

The interdisciplinary nature of the issue of memory is reflected both in different concepts of memory, in subjects of study, and in diverse research perspectives and methodologies. The issue of memory is defined eclectically, including "historical consciousness, collective memory, social memory, cultural memory, or national consciousness" (Szacka, 2006, p. 33–34). Many scholars based their works on Durkheim's idea of collective representations, beliefs, and ideas that are intersubjectively shared among individuals as artifacts of a certain collectivity. The sociological perspective in particular defines the category of memory in accordance with the initial works of Durkheim, where Maurice Halbwachs (1969) employs the term "collective memory." Also in this study the concept of collective memory close to the Durkheimian tradition was used. Polish sociologist Barbara Szacka (2006) contributed to the field and introduced the definition of collective memory as

> a set of mental representations held by the members of collectivity about past, about the characters and past events that have taken place, as well as ways of commemorating them and sharing knowledge about them, knowledge that is considered obligatory for any collectivity a member. (p. 19)

An analysis of recent Polish research on collective remembering by Gubała (2015) posits the following four dominant research perspectives: (a) the "Witness to History" approach using contemporary oral history or the biographical method; (b) the "Quantitative Studies" approach where the examined artifact is captured as an aggregative phenomenon of individual opinions; (c) the "Manifestations of Collective Memory" approach, which is perceiving collective memory as elusive and nonexistent out of the figments and the behaviors of individuals' research constructs (e.g., research on cultural patterns, commemorative practices, public debates); and (d) the "Collective Forgetting" approach that employs the practice of analyzing the content of artifact(s) excluded from commemorative practices (pp. 14–18). In the conducted analysis the third approach to memory studies is used. This is research concerning collective memory as social constructs hidden in cultural artifacts, mainly the practices of representation in media content.

Historical Importance of Collective Memory

Memory and its multidimensionality became an important field of research interest due to the political, economic, and social changes taking place in Central Eastern Europe (CEE) after 1989 in terms of the process of knowledge production (Tismenau, 2000). Representations as a reference system constitute the starting point for the social generation of meaning, that in turn demarcates the horizons of identity and strengthens the collective image of the world, as both Ricoeur (2006) and Berger and Luckmann (1983) suggest. Ricoeur (2006) argues that representation can be understood as a privileged way of explaining, or as a historiographic operation. By a "privileged explanation," he understands a mentality that has an integrating function for creating identity and social bonds (p. 289). On the other hand, representation in the sense of a historiographic operation is a "claim to present the past as a truth" (p. 305), or the procedure for validating memory. Growing interest in the relationship issues between the past and social memory applies to Poland and other post-socialist countries, especially in the context of "national" (re)construction through representations. National here follows Anderson's (1997) concept as "an imagined community and its reconstruction after the fall of the regime dominated by the Communist Party" (p. 8). Reestablishing national identity in post-socialist countries may sometimes lead to a kind of pathology. Bobrownicka (2006), a prominent Polish philologist and Slavist, argues that

> the more mature the nation is, the more it demonstrates the ability to autocratic objectivism, to liberate itself from the convention of mythologized thinking about its past. It mostly does not happen especially to nations full of complexes and insecure (rightly or wrongly) and therefore willing to succumb to the populist slogans of demagogic compensation or claims. (p. 7)

Washington Post columnist and American Polish citizen Anne Applebaum stated in a series of interviews for the Polish newspaper *Gazeta Wyborcza*, "In Poland, every conversation ends in the same way. You can start with real estate prices, raising children or new books, but the final is always history. WWII above all" (Kurski & Maćkowiak, 2013, para. 3). As such, an obsession with history has seized many of post-socialist nations. Historical policy is perceived as a main tool for collective memory reconstruction. Under the influence of transformations in the political sphere, the way of talking about the past has also evolved. According to Jerzy Bralczyk (2007), the language of the political sphere is also "a component of political culture, enabling the creation of communities, efficient expression of group interests, recognition of ideology" (p. 292). Consequently, talking about the past has become a tool for creating social concepts. The language of the public sphere determines how the world is perceived and allows the construction of a vision in line with the adopted point of view and suggests the "correct" interpretation of events.

Theoretical Perspectives toward Collective Memory

Conscious and deliberate reference to the past, referring to the reflections of Marcel Mauss (1973), participates in the creation of the current social reality. Jacques Le Goff (2007), further extending Mauss's thoughts, believes that memory even displaces the history. He states we witness a kind of "reflective *dictum* that, produces more and more collective memory and history is written, to a much greater extent than in the past, under the influence of collective memory" (p. 152). Individuals often memorialize the past based on their collective recollection of events instead of on factual information. The main role for organizing collective knowledge is by memory manifestations and its ideologization, which is reflected by the implementation of current and legitimized interpretations of the past in political and media discourse. Ricoeur (2006) suggests representation can be understood as a privileged way of explaining, or as a historiographic operation. Through a privileged explanation, a mentality that has an integrating function for creating identity and social bonds. He suggests that representation in the sense of a historiographic operation is a "claim to present the past as a truth" (p. 305), or the procedure for validating memory.

Halbwachs (1969), who initiated and conducted analyses on defining and examining the conditions that result in the shaping of collective memory, argues memory is a linguistic phenomenon and operates only through the language. To him, collective memory is a phenomenon that is independent of the memory of individual subjects. It is not an object; it is a process, since collective memory is not shaped forever. Memory changes as time changes its status, position, or social group. Halbwachs contends that this involves the reconstruction of the past due to the frameworks established by social groups in which the subject participates. Therefore, he claims, the sine qua non condition for collective thinking is a system of signs: "Language and the whole system of social conventions allows people to reproduce their past each time" (p. 407).

For this reason, the relationship between past and social memory is an interesting and important field of analysis from the perspective of social communication. The area of social representations can be perceived as a bridge between critical discourse theory and the processes of constructing social imagination. Duszak (1998), a Polish discourse researcher, indicates that the revelations of ideology and social representations are possible through the language—"particularly its lexical, syntactic or textual level—that evoke various social implications through the use of certain verbal means" (p. 65). According to Van Dijk's (2001) discourse theory, the role of the cognitive aspects of communication practices should be underlined. "Discourse as a social action is situated within the framework defined by understanding, communication and interpersonal interaction, and this is a part of a wider context of structures and socio-cultural processes" (p. 30). Discourse therefore occurs within various types of contexts that are positioned within larger structural and procedural social contexts. From the perspective of conducted analysis, an interesting issue to explore are the ways of producing and introducing collective memory concepts through media content.

The Community of Memory

By reflecting on memory and history (or the past) and their relationship with identity, the concept of "nation" can be placed within the larger category of the *community of memory*. The *community of memory* is the way of remembrance with reference to important events, heroes, and holidays that contributes to establishing "tradition" and culture reproduction. As such, *community of memory* makes use of a certain symbolic set, using Berger and Luckmann's (1983) terminology, in creating and reproducing a specific picture of the past. Collective memory provides frames built of concepts and ideas that serve as guideposts and reference points which are immersed in the past. Memory, as the universe of symbols they argue, becomes the basis for “all meanings socially objectified and subjectively real” (p. 156). Thus it includes in its scope historical heritage and cultural products. *Communities of memory* build a collective identity based on the symbolic repertoire provided by collective memory. Polish anthropologist Tokarska-Bakir (2004) indicates that the concept of a *community of memory* can mean a community of “truth,” officially legitimized by literature and historiography as a recognized version of past events. The past is an inspiration for creative activities, like literature, drama, theater, and film, and is also the subject of political disputes in the context of a historical policy. Undoubtedly, the issue of memory leads to considerations about the visions of the past, which when intersubjectively shared, become an important component for the validation of social reality.

The notion of *the interpretative community* is also worth mentioning here as it alludes to the nurtured image of the past. Stanley Fish (2002) states that this type of community describes a “community guided by certain determinants in the interpretation of the message content and one that accepts a certain established interpretation paradigm” (p. 60). Fish’s observation is important because it suggests the ability to communicate is possible not only by means of a shared language but also due to established ways of thinking. This brief explanation illustrates how communities are possible through the understanding and interpreting of signs legitimized by a certain community.

Public, political, and scholarly discourse over the latest version of the Polish past includes linguistic strategies constructing the actor’s axiology as well as a group’s axiology. These connotations that valorize the space of “us” and “them,” in addition to stereotypes and prejudices, are activated by the symbolic dimension of a dispute. Conflict over symbolic rule is in fact a conflict about the “truth” held by a community of memory. It is a discussion about the vision of their own, mythologized history. A positively marked, nurtured image of the world, enveloped by encompassing collective ideas, is reflected in public discourse. As Piekot (2006) notes, the structure of the narrative contains the rules of learning and interpreting the world, which are socially and culturally determined cognitive schemes. In this context each text is “from the point of view of the sender—a record of the perception of the world—and from the point of view of the recipient—a set of guidelines for its understanding” (p. 44).

Ideological character comprises the relational link of memory between the individual and the national community. The reconstruction and continuation of collective memory are possible through transmission channels such as literature, historiography, and education systems, but also mass media and new media content, political debates, monuments, holidays, buildings, and street names. Nijakowski (2008) emphasizes that the way of memorizing is not ahistorical but changes along with the development of civilization and cultural transformation. It is therefore necessary to recognize the function of media in this process.

Collective memory as the object of ideological efforts, as manifested in press releases and other media content, becomes an important, pertinent, and timely object of analysis. In the following sections a set of manipulative techniques constructing the privileged vision of the Polish past will be presented and interpreted.

Past, Memory, and Media

The collective memory phenomenon, as described, can be analyzed only through language. Language as a tool of constructing social reality affects the sphere of values shared by a certain collectivity or group. Creating an image of a specific fragment of social reality is related to the creative function of language. This function is realized by creating a world image using lexical means. Both explicit and hidden content contained in media discourses opens the field for axiological analysis. Ideology as a system of social practices creates the identity of individuals and enables the reproduction of society itself. Ideological content contained in the media messages impose on the recipient a vision of values, beliefs, and needs, which the recipient can consider as his own. Under the dictation of ideology, the recipient acquires a false belief that she is the author of arbitrarily targeted content (Taylor & Willis, 2006). Conducting research in this dimension enables scholars to reveal the motivations, myths, and stereotypes essential for constructing collective identity.

Examples illustrating the concepts described above come from Polish right-wing media sources. Media of national and right-wing character serve as a suitable exemplification for two reasons. First, one refers to the role of history in the construction of the right-wing discourse in general. Second, one relates to the language issue.

After the victory of the conservatives in the 2005 elections in Poland a typology of contemporary Polish languages present in public sphere was set, with the national language serving as one of the contemporary linguistic strategies of social construction of the reality (Gozlinski & Mikolajewski, 2006). The national language uses national rhetoric and vocabulary, uses great universal quantifiers, polarizes public spaces according to the dichotomous “we—they” line, and often references myths and national symbols. In moments of a real or alleged threat a group consolidates using the language of nationalism. Very often when the image of Poland in the international arena is endangered, right-wing politicians and media use nationalistic language, especially presenting Poland as a fortress under siege. Their tactics apply to internal political conflicts as well. The most commonly used mechanism in this context is the use of the term "anti-Polish" to discredit any critical statements about Polish policy.

The Polish national language is a kind of communal deposit: it stores the memory of the community. Certain words serve as a key or password to activate certain emotions and attitudes toward perceived phenomenon, a social group, or an object. Furthermore, the national language establishes two dominant narrative strategies about the past: sanctification and sacrification. Both serve as legitimized interpretative paradigms. Sanctification (as an act or process of acquiring sanctity, of being made or becoming holy) as well as sacrification (as a willingness to sacrifice for someone or for something) are modes of presenting the Polish past in definitive black-and-white terms. Grey shadows that could distain a vision of purity and heroism do not exist, and there is an emphasis on discussing heroic acts in dark times. These two discursive strategies arose out of a sign for the importance of historical policy noticed by the political leaders of the right-wing party—Law and Justice. In 2004 they made these distinctions in their political program which resulted in their "martyrdom offensive" approach (Nijakowski, 2008, p. 190). Complex systems of myths, remembrances, and symbols produced by nations shape their overall constitutive political myth, which in turn influences their political culture (Thompson, 2000).

The effect of the 2005 parliamentary and presidential elections constituted a real change on the Polish political scene and resulted in the adoption of a new course of state leadership. At the same time these significant changes effected public language as well. Čolović (2007) characterized the language of nationalism in the following way:

> Language of nationalism refers to the culture as a privileged reserve of individuality and uniqueness, the basic expression of a unique national spirit, national existence or mentality. [. . .] Language in which we speak about the culture becomes a language of an isolated, homogeneous, self-satisfied and threatened by others national community. It is the language of the hostility, deep and insurmountable difference between people, visible mainly in the culture. (pp. 10–11)

This kind of language supported the return of the Law and Justice party's victory in the 2015 parliamentary and presidential elections, utilizing emotional appeals regarding history and collective identity to win support of many Poles. According to statistics, the vast majority of Poles (87%) are of the opinion that knowledge about the past is necessary for contemporary society. Every fourth survey respondent declared interest in history as important to a very large or large extent, with almost half also indicating they were interested in the most important issues related to history (CBOS, 2016). The renaissance of history has become visible in many public venues, including pop culture, with an increasing number of historical films and TV series; state celebrations of round anniversaries, for example, the baptism of Poland; historical commemorative practices; and the opening of new historical museums, such as The Warsaw Rising Museum, Museum of the Second World War, and Museum of Polish Home Army.

Keystones of Past and Privileged Memory Visions

Interpretative criteria of Polish media discourse encompassing memory and the past, for example, content based on cultural, political, and social implications, have emerged in a set of keystones or main thematic threads in the context of which past and privileged visions of memory are presented. These categories themselves indicate "historical and collective memory manipulation: history without black scars, worship of romantic heroes, genetic anti-Sovietism and anti-Germanism, dangerous European Union, Poland as a purely Roman-Catholic country, and rejection of communism legacy" (Nijakowski, 2008, pp. 190–224). The motifs listed above do not function as memory preserving memory, but instead as memory creating. The categories of history without black scars and worship of romantic heroes can be used to exemplify the media's manipulation activities of the past in terms of the sanctification and sacrification strategies.

One of the right-wing directors and publicists on the Christian information website *Polonia Christiana 24*, a web portal dedicated to fight with secularism, claims that Polish history should be rewritten (Braun, 2013). The postulate of rewriting history means that the one we have is not good enough, because it was written by *them*—which means *commies*, *reds*, *Russian servants*, or *German servants*—and thus it is not credible. A strong conviction that history was falsified and is still being falsified by "them" applies both to World War II and to later events in Polish history, like the 1989 roundtable talks. Supporters of this view are convinced that only a polonocentric perspective on history can guarantee the quality of historic reflection. Overcoming the so-called pedagogy of shame, or humiliating Poles by holding negative narratives about its past, showing only black spots and allowing others to use the phrase "Polish death camps" (MFA Press Office, 2016), should be a reason for shaping the image of history, according to the right-wing *Do Rzeczy* magazine (Fiedorczuk, 2019) For this conservative web portal and magazine, manipulation is not only about the language, but also about combining the "right version" of the past with the Polish raison d'état.

The main purpose of using the history without black scars motif is for building group cohesion. History here is regarded as a metaphor of collective values that are perceived to be endangered by a community of memory members and emotionally defended by a specific language referencing the suggestive image of a besieged fortress. It occurs in media discourse very often, mainly in the context of World War II debates, and especially when the role of Poles in Holocaust is concerned. Two interesting situations of recalling this motif in the right-wing press are worthy of analysis. The first refers to a discussion about the Polish film *Ida*, directed by Paweł Pawlikowski, which won numerous international awards, including an Oscar for "Best Foreign Film" by the American Film Academy in 2015. The second situation is connected with adoption of an amendment to the Act of Institute of National Remembrance in 2018.

The film *Ida* is about a young Polish woman in the 1960s who is about to become a Catholic nun when she unearths a family secret from the World War II era, learning that her family was Jewish and murdered by Polish profiteer (IMDb, 2013). Since its premiere in Poland, the right-wing press and other conservative information sources have hailed *Ida* as an anti-Polish. The film was labeled antipatriotic and defaming, and characterized as an "extremely nasty story justifying the communist crimes, depicting Poles as savages, hungry for Jewish blood and gold, who deserve all the suffering that was inflicted after the war by the red executioners" (Gędłek, 2015). When typing in Google search engine the question "Why Ida is anti-Polish?" over 58,000 records are listed—most of them consist of expressions such as anti-Polish propaganda, false image of Poland, disgusting and deceitful, spreading negative stereotypes, and so on.

Since its release in fall 2013 the film has been a subject of serious national debates about Poland's past. While the center and left-oriented press continually praise the film, the right side of the agora continually expresses alarm. For example, the national-Catholic newspaper *Nasz Dziennik* (Antypolska "Ida," 2015) expressed explicitly its affirmation of "Ida embodying an anti-Polish movie" (Żebrowski, 2015, p. 11). "Why does this picture hurt the image of war and the Holocaust and falsify Polish history?" asks one of the editors. "Film made of hatred," another conservative source nods (Nalaskowski, 2014, p. n. d.). Other comments include negative expressions: "Ida is anti-Polish propaganda" (Łuksza, 2015, p. n. d.), a rotten composition (Krasnodębska, 2015), or "This is another picture that will build false generalizations" (Horubała 2013, p. n. d.). The media discourse around *Ida* has activated stereotypes embedded in Polish culture. In fact, *Ida* appraisals turned into a discussion about Polish collective identity as well as its fundamental values and symbols. Taking advantage of the affected lexis and black-and-white division in perceiving situations, the critics of *Ida* became, in their own opinion, guards or watchmen for Polish tradition in general.

A second example is found in the adoption of an amendment to the *Act on the Institute of National Remembrance* which resonated globally, mainly in Israel and Ukraine. The amendment draft introduced "criminal penalties for statements imputing responsibility for crimes of the Nazi regime to the Polish nation" and established "civil law remedies for infringements of the good name of the Republic of Poland and that of the Polish Nation" (Helsinki Foundation of Human Rights, 2017, p. n. d.). After the international opinions and protests were voiced, the controversial point regarding penalization was withdrawn, but religious and national exaltation in right-wing sources of information increased.

In consequence many anti-Semitic clichés were evoked, essentially among right-wing supporters. In the avalanche of comments and polemics that accompanied the process of adoption and the sudden freezing of the new law due to fear of the international public opinion, the phenomenon called by Dubravka Ugrešić "the terror of memory" has appeared. Ugrešić (2006), Croatian writer and essayist, upon unmasking the rules governing historical and cultural policy in Croatia after the breakup of Yugoslavia, defines this concept as "a strategy for confirming the allegedly broken continuity of national identity" and "a method of building national identity, does not retreat from national megalomania, heroization, mythologization, and absurdity, in other words from a lie" (pp. 130–131). The terror of memory in a Polish context provides examples illustrating the crimes of Jews committed toward the Polish nation, and tries to balance the responsibility for Polish crimes during the Holocaust. In the scheme of national narrative and phraseology, counterarguments appeared to defend the undermined identity. Czykwin (2007) argues that Poles welcomed the Jews, as well as the Lithuanians, Ukrainians, and Belarusians, but the Jews, along with other countries, were deemed "ungrateful." They "were biting the hand that fed them, intriguing, exploiting and entering into alliances with the enemies of Poland, nevertheless the Poles supported them with all their sacrifices" (p. 377). A similar climate of public debate occurred with the Polish edition of Art Spiegelman's graphic novel *Maus: The Survivor's Tale*. The reason for the controversy was animalization and its portrayal of Poles as pigs. A publicist for the *Rzeczpospolita* newspaper—a conservative-liberal nationwide daily economic and juridical newspaper—wrote,

> In fact, the most satisfied with the animal character imposed by Spiegelman should be the Germans. They are shown as torturers [. . .], but admittedly cats chase after mice, there is nothing strange. That's their role, besides cats are nice, we like them. And pigs? Apparently they are intelligent animals, what is hard to believe, undoubtedly they are useful (tasty!), but as far as their non-consumption advantages, the world has learned about just one classy pig—Babe, not the best film." (Masłoń, 2001, para. 5)

Right-wing media, as well as national-Catholic political parties, seem to believe that history could be rewritten, so that Polishness would be sinless and spotless, and all black scars erased. The debate over infamous pages of Polish history is often perceived as an attack on national sanctities and a profanation of the sacred Polish image. Attempts to demythologize Polish ethos and the crystal legend of demeanor during World War II remain in the sphere of Polish taboo.

The strategy of sacrifice present in media discourse about the past germinates from the Promethean myth deeply rooted in Polish culture since the time of Romanticism. This strategy is implemented mainly through the reproduction of the motif of worship of romantic heroes, which is based on the cultivation of heroic sacrifice in the name of national values. Two main components of this motif can be distinguished: the so-called cursed soldiers' phenomenon and the 1944 Warsaw uprising. As Czajkowski (2017) notes, "Over the last few years, the cursed soldiers have taken over the collective imagination" (para. 1). The notion "cursed soldiers," also known as doomed soldiers or unbroken soldiers, applies to postwar resistance movements which continued to struggle against the Red Army and the Communist Party rule until the 1950s. The cursed soldiers' cult was legitimized by introducing an initiative of President Lech Kaczyński for a new state holiday on March 1 to commemorate the heroes of the anti-communist underground. The concept of cursed soldiers corresponds with an anti-Sovietism discourse motif and supports the assumption of lasting and sustained mental structures forming Polish collective imagination toward Russian issues.

Emphasizing the Polish struggle with red oppression after 1945 has affected popular culture. Movies and television series devoted to the Warsaw uprising and anti-communist postwar resistance are indicators of the growing interest in those twin issues. Nowadays both are viewed as icons of heroic combat of the Polish nation during World War II and even after. The search for an attractive form for the national idea might, however, encourage the temptation to mythologize the vision proposed. "Let's show our heroes to the world," right-wing *W sieci* weekly magazine suggests (Janecki 2013, para. 1). "Cursed soldier, our heroes," claimed Zychowicz (2018, para. 1). "Cursed soldiers are worth following," exclaims (Kozłowska, 2014, para. 1). In turn, in the *Gazeta Polska Codziennie*, an emotional appeal can be found:

> After years of lies and humiliation, the truth triumphed, and "buried memory" turned out to be a seed, the fruit of which we can collect today. We talk more and more about the heroes of the struggle of independence, various initiatives are organized to familiarize their biographies and to break down the decades of propaganda aimed against them. (Przemylski, 2017, para. 3)

This type of manipulative narration equates the cursed soldiers' conviction to oblivion during the communist era, as consistent with the times of independent III Polish Republic before the worship of cursed was established.

The right-wing media discourse locate cursed soldiers in the center of the Polish founding myth that is associated with purity and honor while the mainstream discourse underlines the ambiguity of the phenomenon. Therefore, collective identity indications differ depending on the discourse producer and visions of the past are subjected to ideological and political purposes of discourse.

CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this chapter was to explore the mechanisms of manipulation in the area of Polish collective memory and the role of right-wing media in this process. The analyzed question is a part of a wider context for (re)establishing national identity in post-socialist societies with regard to the processes of social construction through language and communication and the role of the past as a group-forming factor. Communication is the creation of a system for common signification that is a prerequisite for fostering social bonds and group identity. In each process of designation, the experience of a particular group is caught. This is why the questions posted in memory studies are more often undertaken by communication researchers.

Maria Bobrownicka (2006) indicates that

> historical memory is not stable and enriched only by adding new events and characters. It is movable and selective: in some elements proportions or meaning are changed. Memory produces myths, and these in turn compete with the truth about the past, sometimes—although it is not a rule—condemn it to exile, taking its rightful place. (p. 11)

The conducted analysis was focused on identifying the process of transformation of past to a representation practice, which is used in order to establish collective identity keystones. This process may sometimes encourage the temptation to mythologize the proposed vision of the past, and that means manipulation.

Verbal divisions over the recent Polish past are strongly represented in political and media discourse in a set of clichés and stereotypes. Analyzing the issue of collective memory and its representations in media discourse leads to the conclusion that intersubjectively shared particular visions of the past become an important aspect of legitimizing of social reality. Here the issue of "good" and "bad" memory should be noted (Żakowski, 2002). "Bad memory" means the memory that differs from the official historical narrative, which undermines the canons of memory. It can take the form of a hidden or repressed memory, or a memory striking at the foundations of the national identity. Instead "good" memory is officially legitimized, often mythologized or even falsified, but it is socially binding.

In the context of the sociocultural changes taking place in CEE after 1989, the multidimensionality of memory is becoming an important issue and a field of interesting analysis regarding the creation of collective representations. By reflecting on memory and history and their relationship to identity, macrostructures such as nations are understood as communities of memory. The community of memory uses a certain set of signs in creation and reproduction of a particular image of the past. Collective memory provides a framework built on concepts and ideas that act as reference points, where stereotypes are stored and rules of decoding are established.

This chapter illustrates how the context of the Polish case and the works of Polish authors add important insights into the growing international academic conversation about memory studies. The post-socialist region is characterized by reinvigorating the ideas of nation as the central concept for the collective vision. The region also possesses other features that are important for broader academic conversations, such as an active media sphere and resonance of pronounced nationalist elements. Hence it is vital for comprehensive knowledge-building projects that the post-socialist experience is represented in the scholarly intersection of communication, media, and memory studies.

REFERENCES

Anderson, B. (2007). *Wspólnoty wyobrażone. Rozważania o źródłach i rozprzestrzenianiu się nacjonalizmu*, przeł. S. Amsterdamski [Imagined communities. Reflections on the origins and spread of nationalism, translated by S. Amsterdamski]. Kraków, Poland: Wydawnictwo Znak.

Antypolska "Ida". (2015, January 26). *Nasz Dziennik*. Retrieved from: https://naszdziennik.pl/polska-kraj/125453,antypolska-ida.html.

Bauman, Z. (2007). *Tożsamość. Rozmowy z Benedetto Vecchim* [Identity. Conversations with Benedetto Vecchi]. Gdańsk, Poland: Gdańskie Wydawnictwo Psychologiczne.

Berger, P., & Luckmann, T. (1983). *Społeczne tworzenie rzeczywistości*, przeł. J. Niżnik [Social creation of reality, translated by J. Niżnik]. Warsaw, Poland Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy.

Bobrownicka, M. (2006). *Patologie tożsamości narodowej w postkomunistycznych krajach słowiańskich* [Pathologies of national identity in post-communist Slavic countries]. Kraków, Poland: Universitas.

Bokszański, Z. (2006). *Tożsamości zbiorowe* [Collective identities]. Warsaw, Poland: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.

Bralczyk, J. (2007). *O języku propagandy i polityki [On the language of propaganda and politics].* Warsaw, Poland: Wydawnictwo Trio.

Braun, G. (2013). Historię trzeba napisać na nowo. *Polonia Christiana 24*. Retrieved from: https://www.pch24.pl/historie-trzeba-napisac-na-nowo,3723,tv.html, access date 15.10.2019.

Čolović, I. (2007). *Bałkany – terror kultury* [Balkans – cultural terror].Wołowiec, Poland: Czarne.

Czajkowski, M. (2017, November 30). Will the cursed soldiers defend us? *Res Publica Nowa*. Retrieved from: http://publica.pl/teksty/czajkowski-will-the-cursed-soldiers-defend-us-62718.html

Czykwin, E. (2007). *Stygmat społeczny* [Social stigma]. Warsaw, Poland: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.

Duszak, A. (1998). *Tekst, dyskurs, komunikacja międzykulturowa* [Text, discourse, intercultural communication]. Warsaw, Poland: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.

Fiedorczuk, J. (2019, August 3). Z pogardy do Polaków [Out of contempt for Poles]. *Do Rzeczy*. Retrieved from: https://www.dorzeczy.pl/opinie/110056/z-pogardy-do-polakow.html

Fish, S. (2002). *Interpretacja, retoryka, polityka*, ed. A. Szahaj. Kraków [Interpretation, rhetoric, politics, edited by A. Szahaj]. Kraków, Poland: Universitas.

Gędłek, K. (2015). Oscar dla morderców [Oscar for murderers]. *Polonia Christiana 24*. Retrieved from: https://www.pch24.pl/oscar-dla-mordercow,33003,i.html

Gozlinski, P., & Mikolajewski, J. (2006, February 17). Nowa władza mówi Konopnicką – rozmowa z profesorem J. Bralczykiem [Konopnicka talks on new government – an interview with professor J. Bralczyk]. *Gazeta Wyborcza*. Retrieved from: http://wyborcza.pl/1,76842,3170408.html

Grabias, S. (1994). *Język w zachowaniach społecznych* [Language in social behavior]. Lublin, Poland: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej.

Gubała, J. (2015). Collective memory research methodology – Diversification of perspective in Polish research practice. In P. Bałdys, & K. Piątek (Eds.), *Alternative memory – alternative history. Reconstructions of the past in Central and Eastern Europe* (pp. 13–22). Gdynia – Bielsko-Biała, Poland: Continuation Conflict Change.

Halbwachs, M. (1969). *Społeczne ramy pamięci*, ed. M. Król [The social framework of memory, translated and edited by M. Król]. Warsaw, Poland: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.

Horubała, A. (2013, October 21). "Ida": piękna rozpacz ["Ida": beautiful despair]. *Do Rzeczy*. Retrieved from: https://dorzeczy.pl/1658/ida-piekna-rozpacz.html

Helsinki Foundation of Human Rights. (2017, November 7). The draft amendment to the *National Remembrance Institute*. Act returns to Parliament. Retrieved from: http://www.hfhr.pl/en/the-draft-amendment-to-national-remembrance-institute-act-returns-to-parliament/.

Ida. (2013). *IMDb.* Retrieved from: https://www.imdb.com/title/tt2718492/?ref_=ttls_li_tt.

Janecki, S. (2013, November 11). Pokażmy światu swoich bohaterów [Let's show the world our heroes]. *W Sieci.* Retrieved from: https://www.wsieciprawdy.pl/pokazmy-swiatu-polskich-bohaterow-pnews-212.html, access date 18.11.2018.

Kozłowska, I. (2014, January1). Żołnierze wyklęci godni naśladowania [Cursed soldiers worthy of following]. *Nasz Dziennik*. Retrieved from: https://naszdziennik.pl/polska-kraj/63990,zolnierze-wykleci-godni-nasladowania.html, access date 18.11.2018.

Krasnodębska, S. (2015, January 15). "Ida" – sukces zgniłego arcydzieła – kontrowersje wokół filmu Pawlikowskiego ["Ida" – the success of a rotten masterpiece – controversy over Pawlikowski's film]. *Niezależna.* Retrieved from: https://niezalezna.pl/63263-ida-sukcesy-zgnilego-arcydziela-kontrowersje-wokol-filmu-pawlikowskiego, access date 16.11.2018.

Kurski, J., & Maćkowiak, T. (2013, October 18). *A Polacy wciąż o wojnie* [And Poles are going about the war]. *Gazeta Wyborcza*. Retrieved from: http://wyborcza.pl/magazyn/1,124059,14805809,A_Polacy_wciaz_o_wojnie.html.

Le Goff, J. (2007). *Historia i pamięć* [History and memory]. Warsaw, Poland: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego.

Łuksza, K. (2015, February 25). "Ida" to antypolska propaganda – recenzja ["Ida" is an anti-Polish propaganda – a review]. *Polska Niepodległa*. Retrieved from https://polskaniepodlegla.pl/opinie/item/759-ida-to antypolska-propaganda-recenzja.

Mauss, M. (1973). *Antropologia i socjologia*, przel. M. Król, K. Pomian, & J. Szacki, wstęp C. Levi-Strauss [Anthropology and sociology, translated by M. Król, K. Pomian, & J. Szacki, introduction by C. Levi-Strauss]. Warsaw, Poland: PWN.

Masłoń, K. (2001, May 5). Myszy i ludzie [Mice and people]. "*Rzeczpospolita – Plus Minus*" Retrieved from: https://archiwum.rp.pl/artykul/335164-Myszy-i-ludzie.html

MFA Press Office. (2016, November 16). Deputy minister Jan Dziedziczak at conference "What was the truth? German camps, Polish heroes," *Ministry of Foreign Affairs Republic of Poland*. Retrieved from: https://www.msz.gov.pl/en/news/deputy_minister_jan_dziedziczak_at_conferencewhat_was_the_truth__german_camps__polish_heroes_

Nalaskowski, A. (2014, December 26). Idzie po nas Ida czyli film zrobiony z nienawiści [Ida, a movie made of hate, is coming for us]. *W Polityce*. Retrieved from https://wpolityce.pl/kultura/227316-idzie-po-nas-ida-czyli-film-zrobiony-z-nienawisci-przypominamy-poruszajacy-felieton-prof-aleksandra-nalaskowskiego-z-tygodnika-w-sieci.

Nijakowski, L. (2008). *Polska polityka pamięci. Esej socjologiczny* [Polish policy of rememberance. A sociological essay]. Warsaw, Poland: Wydawnictwa Akademickie i Profesjonalne.

Piekot, T. (2006). *Dyskurs polskich wiadomości prasowych* [The discourse of Polish press news]. Kraków, Poland: Universitas.

Przemylski, J. (2017, November 10). Żołnierze wyklęci, pamiętamy *o was* [Cursed soldiers, we remember you]. *Gazeta Polska Codziennie*. Retrieved from: https://gpcodziennie.pl/73037-zolnierzewyklecipamietamyowas.html

Ricoeur, P. (2006). *Pamięć, historia, zapomnienie,* przeł. J. Margański [Memory, history, forgetting, translated by J. Margański]. Kraków, Poland: Universitas.

Survey; Historical consciousness of Poles. (2016). *CBOS*. Retrieved from: https://www.cbos.pl/SPISKOM.POL/2016/K_068_16.PDF, access date 30.11.2018.

Szacka, B. (2006). *Czas przeszły, pamięć mit,* tom 3 serii *Współczesne Społeczeństwo Polskie wobec Przeszłości* [The past tense, a memory myth, volume 3 of the series Contemporary Polish Society towards the Past]. Warsaw, Poland: Wydawnictwo Scholar.

Taylor, L., & Willis, A. (2006). *Medioznawstwo. Teksty, instytucje i odbiorcy* [Media studies. Texts, institutions and recipients]. Kraków, Poland: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.

Tismenau, V. (2000). *Wizje zbawienia. Demokracja, nacjonalizm i mit w postkomunistycznej Europie*, przeł. H. Jankowska [Visions of salvation. Democracy, nationalism and myth in post-communist Europe, translated by H. Jankowska]. Warsaw, Poland: Warszawskie Wydawnictwo Literackie Muza SA.

Thompson, E. (2000). *Trubadurzy imperium. Literatura rosyjska i kolonializm* [The troubadours of the empire. Russian literature and colonialism]. Kraków, Poland: Universitas.

Tokarska-Bakir, J. (2004). *Historia jako fetysz; Rzeczy mgliste: eseje i studia* [History as a fetish; Hazy things; Essays and studies]. Sejny, Poland: Wydawnictwo Fundacja Pogranicze.

Ugrešić, D. (2006). *Kultura kłamstwa (eseje antypolityczne)* [The culture of lies (antipolitical essays)]. Wołowiec, Poland: Czarne.

Van Dijk, T.A. (2001). *Dyskurs jako struktura i process* [Discourse as structure and process]. Poland: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.

Żakowski, J. (2002). *Rewanż pamięci* [Memory payback]. Warsaw, Poland: Wydawnictwo Sic.

Żebrowski, J. (2015, January 26). Antypolska "Ida". Propaganda na ekranie [Anti-Polish "Ida". Propaganda on the screen]. *Nasz Dziennik*. Retrieved from: https://wp.naszdziennik.pl/, access date 21.11.2018. file:///C:/Users/asus/Downloads/ND5164.pdf

Zychowicz, P. (2018, February 28). Żołnierze wyklęci, nasi bohaterowie [Cursed soldiers, our heroes]. *Do Rzeczy*. Retrieved from: https://dorzeczy.pl/historia/57511/Zolnierze-Wykleci-nasi-bohaterowie.html

Part III

ACCOUNTS OF TRENDS IN ACADEMIC PUBLISHING ON COMMUNICATION

DISSEMINATING KNOWLEDGE IN AND ABOUT POST-SOCIALIST SOCIETIES

Chapter 9

Central European Journal of Communication

Knowledge Share Community

Michał Głowacki, Agnieszka Stępińska, Jacek Mikucki, Róża Norström, Dagmara Sidyk-Furman, and Julia Trzcińska

Scholarly journals around the world need to evolve in order to fit the digital and data-driven age. The growing number of online and mobile platforms for knowledge exchange between researchers and academic networks calls for traditional publishers to respond to new technologies and competition connected with high-quality research. The overall goal is not only to create a "living platform" for knowledge exchange but also to make use of new media and technologies to support teamwork and multitasking within the editorial workflow. All of this requires opening up to new forms of communication and engagement within a wide range of research communities and developing a strong community for cross-country and cross-regional collaboration. We argue that this shift is of particular importance for scholarly journals in the area of communication. A turn into more agile, participatory, and community-driven processes has been one of the key characteristics of media today.

In this chapter we explain the foundations, mission, and scholarly contribution of *Central European Journal of Communication* (*CEJC*)—the scientific journal of the Polish Communication Association (PCA). The case study of *CEJC* founded as a follow-up for creation of the first communication and media association in Poland offers insights on a set of goals and values typical for a young, agile, and independent nonprofit publisher. The story of *CEJC* and PCA can be seen as highly interwoven initiatives fostering the autonomy and visibility of communication theory and facilitates media research in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) and beyond. Based on qualitative and quantitative data gathered from the period of 2008–2020 we argue that *CEJC* can be seen as a knowledge share community which is based on open-access policies and a collaborative model of production.

In line with this, our contribution aims at identifying *CEJC*'s potential impact on media studies and communication theory as well as CEE scholarship at different levels. First, through an analysis of our organizational structure, we evidence practices of co-funding (supporting institutions), coproduction (Open Journals System), and international collaboration with a group of scholars who cocreate (guest and associate editors) and support the journal's findability (scientific network). Second, the knowledge share community is analyzed with data on publishing activities and disseminating high-quality research in different forms, including scientific papers, methods and concepts, book reviews, conference reports, and interviews with media practitioners and experts. The CEE dimension is evidenced here with a quantitative analysis of authors of papers, book reviews, and scholars involved in the double-blind review processes and through a diversity of topics published over the last years. Finally, our goal is to illustrate the importance of community building which goes beyond a regular model of publishing. Examples of fostering community events and partnership relations (scientific associations, media industries, other scholarly journals) via face-to-face meetings and digital tools and explain the practical implementation of the current journal's strategy, which identifies quality, networking, and communication as key areas to move forward in the future.

The salient questions to be addressed are as follows: What are the key characteristics of a scholarly journal run by a scholarly association? In what ways can the national journal cross national boundaries to facilitate research and knowledge exchange in the region? To what extent has *CEJC* contributed to CEE scholarship and research communities? And last, but not least, what are the key challenges for the future?

FOUNDATION, MISSION, AND STRUCTURE

The history of *CEJC* is directly linked with the story of the PCA. In 2006 scholars from universities and other research institutions gathered in the city of Wrocław to celebrate 50 years of media studies in Poland. One of the outcomes of the anniversary conference was the concept of establishing the national network of researchers with its scholarly journal.

Our History: West Meets East

Back in the early 2000s communication and media was not recognized as an autonomous research field in Poland. A majority of research centers conducting studies and courses on media and journalism were institutionally attached to other related scientific disciplines, such as political science, international relations, language, philology, or sociology. Therefore, the primary goal of PCA created in 2007 was to support recognition of media studies by the Ministry of Science and Higher Education. This goal was completed in 2011 and was successfully followed by the creation of the first Committee of Social Communication and Media Studies at the Polish Academy of Sciences (January 2021).

Building the community of scholars across the country has been further supported by the internationalization of media research, with opportunities to engage in international research teams within new funding schemes introduced in the early years of Poland's membership in the European Union. Moreover, a publication of *Comparing Media Systems: Three Models of Media and Politics* by Daniel C. Hallin and Paolo Mancini (2004) resulted in the rapid growth of research. The goal has been to advance comparative media systems research with case studies of Poland and other countries in the CEE. The expansion of media studies and related media studies "de-Westernization" (Curran & Myung-Jin, 2000; Jakubowicz, 2004) has further called for a regional platform supporting publications by experts and scholars from the CEE and beyond.

The newly created PCA adopted its strategy and appointed its first executive on April 22, 2007, in Wrocław, during an international conference entitled "Comparing Media Systems: West Meets East." The meeting attended by Daniel C. Hallin and Paolo Mancini and scholars from Central and Eastern, Western, Northern, and Southern Europe was followed by the launch of an English-language community-driven scientific journal to support media studies in the region and to act as a bridge between Western and Eastern European legacy. The conference in Wrocław resulted in two edited book proceedings (Dobek-Ostrowska & Głowacki, 2008; Dobek-Ostrowska et al., 2010) and the publication of the first issue of *CEJC*. Scholars from more than 20 countries agreed to join the editorial board to support the idea of *CEJC*. The first issue edited by Bogusława Dobek-Ostrowska—president of the PCA (2007–2013) and editor in chief of *CEJC* (2008–2019)—was published in the fall of 2008 with contributions from Bulgaria, Finland, Lithuania, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Sweden, United Kingdom, and the United States.

Our Values and Goals

CEJC is published by the PCA.[1] Prior to 2020, the production processes were supported by the University of Wrocław Press. With the fall 2020 issue, we introduced a new publishing formula and changes in the graphic design, layout, front cover, research sections, and so on. *CEJC* is now published as an open-access journal with the PCA as the main publisher and coordinator of all stages of production. A turn into a more open, participatory, and community-driven model of publishing has also been advanced via formal collaboration with supporting institutions, universities, and research centers from Kraków, Gdańsk, Kielce, Lublin, Olsztyn, Warsaw, and Wrocław.[2]

CEJC follows international publishing standards when it comes to editorial guidelines (*APA Style Grammar and Citation Guidelines*) and publication ethics. In line with this, *CEJC* has adopted a set of responsibilities for authors, reviewers, and guest editors, which maintains anonymity and no conflict of interest during the reviewing procedure. Each scientific paper goes through a double-blind review by Polish and international experts in related communication and media disciplines (Dobek-Ostrowska & Głowacki, 2011). Since 2020 all the stages of *CEJC* production, including paper submission, review, copy-editing, typesetting, and publication, are managed by Open Journals System—an online management tool (Sidyk & Zdunek, 2020). Every paper published in *CEJC* has its own Digital Object Identifier and ORCID—persistent digital identifier for researchers.

CEJC has a wide understanding of today's communication and media, in that we are open to the submissions of both theoretical and empirical research from a wide range of disciplinary approaches (media history, media-political relations, media literacy, journalism studies, mass communication, digital media, data-driven technologies, etc.). Similarly, our understanding of CEE is not defined only in geographical terms, with research coverage of post-socialist (Berend, 2005; Splichal, 1994) or a troubled democracy perspective (Bajomi-Lázár, 2013; Połońska & Beckett, 2019). The goal of *CEJC* is to juxtapose different research traditions in order to further advance media studies in the region.

Our activities draw on highly linked and interwoven areas: quality, network, and communication (see table 9.1).

Our Team

There are three key areas of *CEJC*'s international network: editorial team, associate editors, and scientific network of *CEJC*. This means that in addition to the editorial and technical team, our work relies significantly on collaboration with international editors and a group of supporting researchers fostering the journal's quality, as well as advice with regard to its visibility and findability.

The editorial team of *CEJC* (2019–2022) consists of editor in chief—Michał Głowacki (University of Warsaw)—and executive editor—Agnieszka Stępińska (Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań); Michał Głowacki, who served as an executive editor at *CEJC* in 2008–2019 was elected editor in chief by the General Assembly of the PCA (September 2019). Roles and responsibilities in

Table 9.1 The Values of *CEJC*

Quality	*Network*	*Communication*
• Maintaining quality of submissions and reviews • Maintaining ethical standards of publication • Extending databases/ abstracting	• Fostering relationships with research networks and scientific associations • Building the bridge between academia and the media industry • Developing partnership relations with other journals	• Communicating scientific research to scholars and the media industry • Fostering digital communication (website and social media) • Face-to-Face communications (conferences, workshops, meetings)

Source: Authors (n.d.). *CEJC* Strategy (2019–2022). https://cejc.ptks.pl/About-Us.

our team are shared between four young scholars: Róża Norström (University of Silesia in Katowice), Julia Trzcińska (University of Wrocław), Jacek Mikucki (University of Warsaw), and Dagmara Sidyk-Furman (University of Warsaw). Róża Norström is taking care of papers submissions and the double-review processes, while Julia Trzcińska is responsible for submissions of book reviews. Our colleague Jacek Mikucki is tasked to coordinate digital communication and maintaining relationships in the overall *CEJC* network. Finally, Dagmara Sidyk-Furman focuses on databases, abstracting, and community events related to the Media and Democracy Karol Jakubowicz Award.

Since its beginning the *CEJC* has been the result of collaboration with guest and associate editors. The strategy of engaging in cross-country and cross-regional collaboration has become a norm and an overall practice in the majority of issues published. In 2008–2020 the journal was created by 23 researchers from 14 countries, with the largest groups of scholars from Poland, Sweden, and the United States (see figure 9.1). In late 2019 we invited a group of scholars to join a team of associate editors. Scholars from 10 countries accepted our invitation to support the production and reviewing processes (assigning of the potential referees, making editorial decision on acceptance, rejection, or further review). The group of associate editors reflects European research diversity, with scholars from Estonia, Latvia, Hungary, Romania, Russia, Serbia, and Slovakia (see table 9.2).

The scientific network consists of 61 communication and media scholars from all over the world, including a wide range of representatives from Europe and North America. The largest group in the network is represented by researchers from Poland (19 scholars) and other CEE countries, including Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Serbia, Slovakia, and Slovenia (15 scholars). The network of *CEJC* also consists of scholars from universities and other research centers located in Northern and Western Europe (13 scholars), North America (8 scholars), and

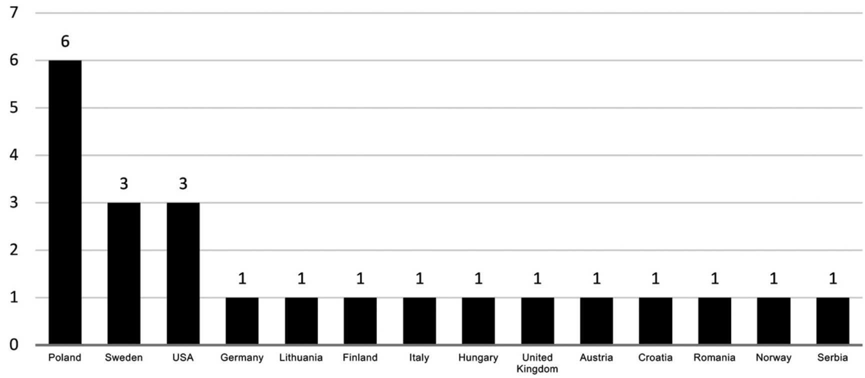

Figure 9.1 Number of Guest Editors of CEJC (2008–2020): Country Perspective. *Source*: Created by Authors.

Southern Europe (6 scholars). More than 50% of scientific network represent CEE (see figure 9.2).

Indexing and Abstracting

Since 2012 *CEJC* has been included in the list of scientific journals by the Polish Ministry of Science and Higher Education (currently, Ministry of Education and Science). One year later the journal was evaluated by Index Copernicus International and was included in the ICI World of Journals. *CEJC* has successfully passed the procedure of qualifying for the Emerging Sources Citation Index (ESCI) by Thomson Reuters (currently Clarivate Analytics) and has been included in the Web of Science Master Journal List. Since 2016 *CEJC* is abstracted and indexed in the Scopus database.

Table 9.2 Associate Editors of CEJC (2019–2022)

Editor	*Institutional Affiliation*	*Country*
Svetlana Bodrunova	Saint Petersburg State University	Russia
Nicoleta Corbu	University of Political Studies and Public Administration in Bucharest	Romania
Márton Demeter	National University of Public Service in Budapest	Hungary
Karen Donders	Vrije Universiteit Brussel	Belgium
Tobias Eberwein	Austrian Academy of Science/Alpen-Adria University of Klagenfurt	Austria
Paulo Faustino	University of Porto	Portugal
Aleksandra Krstić	University of Belgrade	Serbia
Ulrike Rohn	Tallinn University	Estonia
Anda Rožukalne	Rīga Stradiņš University	Latvia
Martin Solík	University of SS. Cyril and Methodius in Trnava	Slovakia

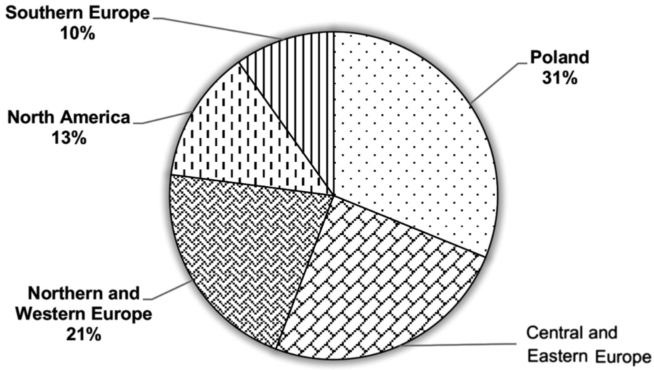

Figure 9.2 Members of Scientific Network of CEJC: Regional Perspective. *Source*: Created by Authors.

The full list of abstract and citation databases with *CEJC* includes (a) ARIANTA—Polish Scientific and Professional Electronic Journals; (b) BazHum—bibliographic database of journals from humanities and humanistic social studies; (c) CEEOL—Central and Eastern European Online Library; (d) CEJSH—The Central European Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities; (e) Clarivate Analytics (Web of Science Master Journal List), Web of Science—Core Collection, ESCI; (f) Czasopisma Naukowe w Sieci (English: Scientific Journals Online); (g) EBSCO (Academic Research Source e-Journals, Elsevier: Scopus); (h) ERIH PLUS—European Reference Index for the Humanities and Social Sciences; (i) Federacja Bibliotek Cyfrowych (English: Federation of Digital Libraries); (j) Index Copernicus International (ICI World of Journals); (k) List of scientific journals of the Ministry of Science of Higher Education in Poland; (l) POL-index—Polska Baza Cytowań (English: Polish Citation Database); (m) Polona—Polish digital library, which has collections of the National Library of Poland and cooperating institutions; (n) Polska Bibliografia Naukowa (English: Polish Scientific Bibliography); and (o) SCImagoLab.

Recent dynamics in selected scientrometric indexes for *CEJC* (2017–2019) are illustrated in table 9.3.

CONTRIBUTION TO COMMUNICATION THEORY AND MEDIA STUDIES

A total of 27 issues of *CEJC* were published in 2008–2020. *CEJC* publishes scientific papers, notes on methodology, book reviews, conference reports, and interviews with scholars and media practitioners, policy makers, and journalists (see table 9.4).

Scientific Papers

Publishing scientific papers are at the core of *CEJC*'s activities. Since fall 2008 we published a total of 205 papers which successfully went through double-review processes (see figure 9.3). The growing number of submissions in recent years has resulted in changes with regard to the acceptance rate, ranging from 70% for a paper in the fall of 2014 to only 23% of papers accepted in the spring of 2020 (see figure 9.4).

One of the main criteria for paper selection is the quality and novelty of the presented approach. Scientific papers need to provide a better understanding of some phenomenon and contribute to new insights into a wide range of communication processes. Reviewers pay particular attention to the theoretical background of the study, methodology, as well as presentation of findings and clarity of arguments. Our editors and referees prioritize papers which refer to CEE, either by a comparison of the findings or by emphasizing relevance to the CEE countries. Overall, we aim to contribute to communication theory and media studies by papers which advance existing knowledge or show directions for future research.

Table 9.3 Scientometric Indexes for *CEJC* (2017–2019)

Database	*Index*	*2017*	*2018*	*2019*
Scopus (Elsevier)	Source-Normalized Impact per Paper (SNIP)	0,000	0,024	0,209
	CiteScore	0,1 (1 citation 2014–2017/14 documents 2014–2017)	0,2 (4 citations 2015–2018/26 documents 2015–2018)	0,3 (18 citations 2016–2019/56 documents 2016–2019)
	CiteScore rank (Social Sciences—Communication)	#286/308	#293/355	#285/387
	SJR (SCImago Journal Rank)	0,102	0,123	0,194
ICI Journals Master List (Index Copernicus International)	Index Copernicus Value ICV (Index Copernicus Value)	100,00	–	120,62

Note: Based on Scopus: https://www.scopus.com/sourceid/21100802697 and ICI Journals Master List: https://journals.indexcopernicus.com/search/details?id=7851 (as of December 31, 2020).

Table 9.4 Publishing in *CEJC* (Key Sections)

Scientific Papers	*Methods and Concepts*	*Interviews*	*Conference Reports*	*Book Reviews*
Findings from qualitative and quantitative research from a wide range of communications and media disciplines	Papers on emerging theories, methodologies and research design, sharing experience from research projects	Interviews with experts on current trends in research and practice of communications and media	Reports from meetings and conferences of the Polish Communication Association and other scientific associations	Reviews of books and other scholarly publications

The first double-blind reviewed issues of *CEJC* were devoted to specific themes and areas of media research. For example, the spring issue in 2009 entitled "Impact of European Integration and EU Entry on the Media and Media Policy in 'New Europe'" was coedited with Karol Jakubowicz—one of the leading experts in CEE media policy and democracy. In the fall of 2010 Barłomiej Łódzki (University of Lower Silesia) and Wayne Wanta (Oklahoma State University) collaborated on the issue dedicated to agenda-setting with a contribution by Maxwell McCombs (University of Texas)—one of the founders of agenda-setting theory. Similarly, spring 2011 issue coedited with Jerzy Olędzki (University of Warsaw) included a paper by James E. Grunig (University of Maryland)—one of the most famous public relations theorists. Other examples of thematic issues include publications on "Political Campaigns Communication in Different Media Systems"

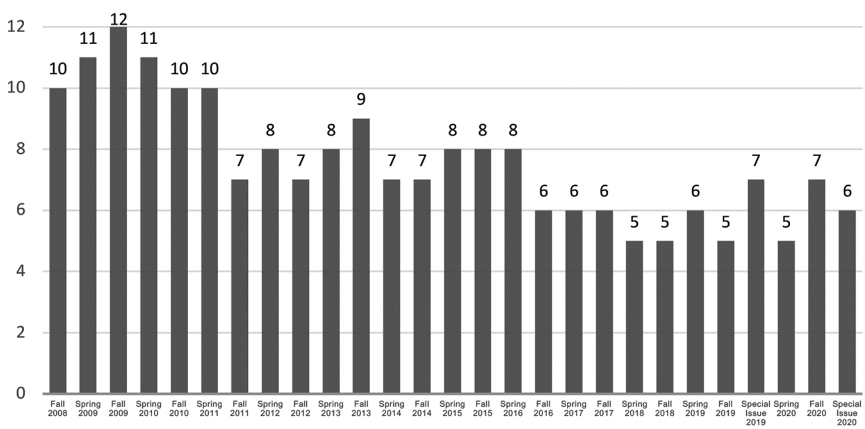

Figure 9.3 Number of Scientific Papers Published in CEJC (2008–2020). *Source*: Created by Authors.

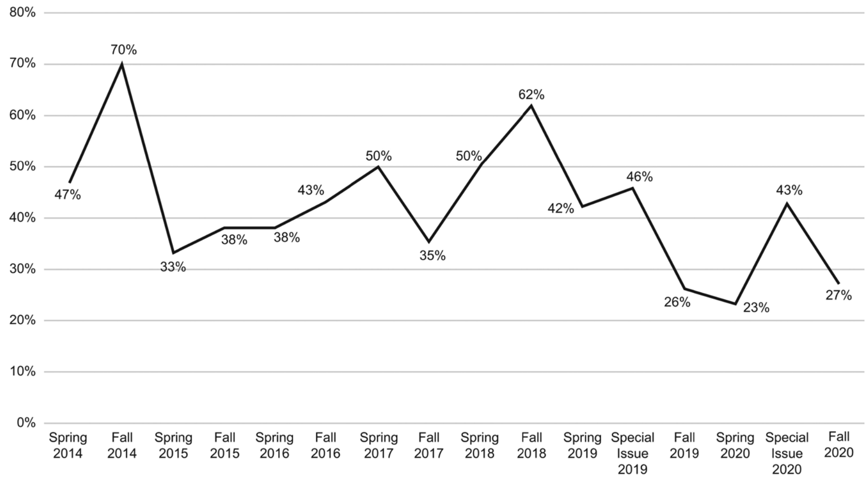

Figure 9.4 Acceptance Rate in CEJC (2014–2020). *Source*: Created by Authors.

(Fall 2009), "Public Service Media on the Baltic: The Role of the State in Central and Northern European Media Systems" (Spring 2010), "Political Communication in the Era of New Technologies" (Fall 2011), and "Media Accountability. Between Tradition and Innovation" (Fall 2012).

Starting from the spring 2012 issue, *CEJC* has been opened up for media and communication diversity with each issue covering different topics based on the outcomes of the review processes. In 2019 editorial team of *CEJC* reestablished the idea of publishing thematic issues. With its new formula, special issues of *CEJC* are now published in summer, as the third issue in a year; see, for instance, "Populism and the Media Across Europe" (Special Issue 2019) and "Media and Information Literacy Research in Countries Around the Baltic Sea" (Special Issue 2020).

Methods and Concepts

In 2019 *CEJC* launched a section on theories, methodologies, and research design. This decision was a response to the scholarly call for paying more attention to well-established or emerging conceptualizations. Through methods and concepts, we acknowledge a need for discussions on to what extent the classic theories are useful for examining today's media and communication. We also strive to be up to date with new research trends, models, and research projects. Therefore, this section provides an opportunity to share an experience from participating in a research project or launching an international research team.

The first contribution to methods and concepts was published in Special Issue 2019. In the issue dedicated to media populism, Agnieszka Hess and Dominika Kasprowicz (Jagiellonian University in Kraków) presented their reflections on the comparative experiment as a method in assessing populist political communication in Europe. In the spring of 2020, Barbara Pfetsch (Freie University of Berlin) discussed the state of democracy in Western Europe in the light of an essential change in the contemporary public sphere. The fall 2020 issue includes a study by Ignas Kalpokas (Vytautas Magnus University, Kaunas and LCC International University) developing a post-humanist account of the research processes.

Interviews

A section of interviews was launched to capture current trends in research and practice of communication. The overall goal has been to communicate research to a broader public with a more accessible and less scientific format. This section was established in 2011 with an interview with Daniel C. Hallin and Paolo Mancini comparing media systems beyond the Western world. Table 9.5 presents a complete list of the experts and topics addressed during an interview. Starting from 2011, interviews were published in the majority of *CEJC* issues, except fall 2013, fall 2016, and fall 2017 issue.

Book Reviews

Like many other journals around the world, *CEJC* published reviews of books and other scientific publications. Since 2011—when a section on book reviews was launched—we published a total of 70 book reviews, with approximately 2 to 3 reviews per issue. The majority of reviews are reviews of books either published in CEE or covering topics related to the CEE. Among the CEE books which were reviewed in *CEJC* are books by Dyczok and Golutvina (2009); Sükösd and Jakubowicz (2011); Hallin and Mancini (2012); Głowacki, Lauk, and Balčytienė (2014); Dobek-Ostrowska and Nygren (2015); Zielonka (2015); and Bajomi-Lázár (2017).

Conference Reports

Finally, a separate section of the journal is devoted to reports from meetings and conferences of the PCA or other scientific associations. This section offers information about PCA's contributions to the annual conferences of the International Communication Association (ICA), European Communication

Table 9.5 Interviews with Experts (2011–2020)

Issue	*Scholar(s)*	*Interview Title*
Fall 2011	Daniel Hallin, Paolo Mancini	*Comparing Media Systems in Central and Eastern Europe*
Spring 2012	Karol Jakubowicz	*Democracy and New Media in Central and Eastern Europe*
Fall 2012	Stephan Russ-Mohl	*Media Accountability and Transparency*
Spring 2013	Jane Leftwitch Curry	*Profession in Transition: Journalistic Professionalism and Its Changes in Central and Eastern Europe*
Spring 2014	Walery Pisarek	*Polish Media Studies between Past and Future*
Fall 2014	Peter Gross	*Culture and Media Systems*
Spring 2015	Andrei Richter	*Media Freedom in CEE*
Fall 2015	Maxwell McCombs	*New Trends in Agenda-Setting Research*
Spring 2016	David H. Weaver	*Journalism Around the World in the 21st Century*
Spring 2017	Jesper Strömbäck	*Changes in the Mediatization of Politics*
Spring 2018	Christina Holtz-Bacha	*Established Media Still Matter*
Fall 2018	Wayne Wanta	*The Perspectives of Media and Agenda-Setting Research in Times of Big Data*
Spring 2019	Epp Lauk	*CEE Media and Communication Research on the Global Map*
Special Issue 2019	Péter Bajomi-Lázár	*The Hungarian Media System Under Political Pressure*
Fall 2019	Robert M. Entman	*Political Communication Around the World: New Trends and Threats*
Spring 2020	Andrzej Adamski, Michał Bukowski, Márton Demeter, Katarzyna Konarska, Michał Kuś, Małgorzata Madej, Anna Mierzecka	*ROUNDTABLE: Scientific Journals in the Data-Driven Age*
Special Issue 2020	Grzegorz Ptaszek	*Media Re-Education and the Need to Be Constantly Updated*
Fall 2020	Gianpietro Mazzoleni	*Contemporary Political Communication*

Research and Education Association (ECREA), as well as smaller meetings and workshops with the participation of scholars from the CEE.

CONTRIBUTION TO CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPEAN RESEARCH COMMUNITIES

Building on its key values, *CEJC* has come a long way in developing research communities around the idea of the journal. In order to make an impact, there is an ongoing need for networking, developing partner relationships, and communicating research across the region and beyond. *CEJC*'s contribution to CEE scholarship can therefore be analyzed via supporting and promoting CEE research, but also in line with face-to-face meetings, community events, joint initiatives, and interactions via digital media.

Supporting CEE Research

Over the last years, *CEJC* has provided a space for CEE scholarly exchange. The contribution of *CEJC* is twofold: on the one hand, with double-blind review procedures, we offer a platform to share referees' comments and further improve submissions. On the other hand, scholars who take an active part in the reviewing procedure have an opportunity to further exchange ideas. Although the overall idea has not been to limit our scope to the CEE region, we make an ongoing effort to engage with the CEE countries. Scholars from our region make a significant contribution to a group of associate editors (70% of scholars from the CEE), guest editors (47% guest editors from the CEE), and referees (71% of all referees in 2015–2020 were from the CEE countries). Moreover, 175 out of 305 authors who published their papers in *CEJC* represented CEE (57%). In total, we had 70 authors from Poland, 112 authors from other CEE countries, and 123 authors from non-CEE regions (see figure 9.5).

The largest number of CEE authors of scientific papers were from Estonia (19), Hungary (19), Czech Republic (10), Lithuania (10), Ukraine (10), Slovakia (9), Latvia (8), and Romania (8). Scholars from CEE have also been active in submitting book reviews with six contributions from Romania and three contributions from Hungary. Figure 9.6 illustrates CEE scholarly contributions to *CEJC* in line with the authorship of a scientific paper, authorship of book review, and engagement in the peer review procedure.

Partnership Relations and Community Events

Establishing the PCA and *CEJC* was followed by a set of community-building initiatives identified as key areas to go forward. From the very start, the overall idea of both PCA and *CEJC* has been to integrate scholars from Poland and to foster as a joint platform for CEE knowledge exchange. In line with this, *CEJC* has taken an active part in several regional partnerships to maintain relations with other scientific associations and scholarly journals on media.

The community-building initiatives were initiated by Bogusława Dobek-Ostrowska—president of PCA (2008–2013) and who also served as editor in chief of *CEJC* (2008–2019). Both the meeting of PCA founders (2006) as well as the international "Comparing Media Systems: West Meets East"

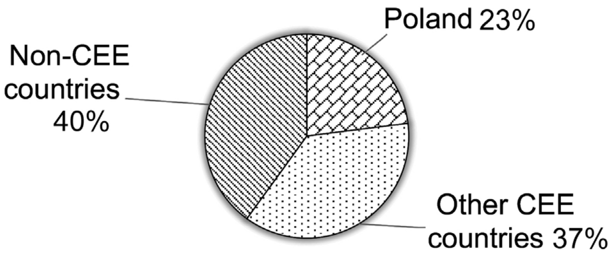

Figure 9.5 Authors of Scientific Papers Published in CEJC (2008–2020) (N = 305). *Source*: Created by Authors.

conference (2007) resulted in numerous follow-up actions. One of the most significant outcomes has been to create an international CEE consortium to facilitate communication and media conferences. The organization of the first Polish, Czech and Slovak Forum on Political and Communication Studies in Książ Castle, Poland (2008)—followed by similar events in Brno/Telč, Czech Republic (2009), and Bratislava, Slovakia (2010)—has grown through Central European Communication Forum in Kraków, Poland (2011), and the first Central and Eastern European Communication and Media (CEECOM) conference in Prague, Czech Republic (2012). The establishment of the CEECOM consortium with participation by Auksė Balčytienė (Vytautas Magnus University in Kaunas), Bogusława Dobek-Ostrowska (University of Wrocław), Michał Głowacki (University of Warsaw), Epp Lauk (University of Jyväskylä), Zrinjka Peruško (University of Zagreb), Ilija Tomanić-Trivundža (Ljubljana University), and Tomáš Trampota (Charles University in Prague) has been of critical importance to maintain future conferences on CEE research. In the following years, CEECOM conferences were organized in Kaunas, Lithuania (2013); Wrocław, Poland (2014); Zagreb, Croatia, (2015); Tartu, Estonia (2016); Ljubljana, Slovenia (2017); Szeged, Hungary (2018); and Sofia, Bulgaria (2019). Competencies related to the planning of future CEECOM conferences were granted in 2018 to CEE network at the ECREA.

At the same time PCA organized several community events addressed to both Polish and CEE researchers and also to a wider global research community. The idea of CEE knowledge exchange was further spread during international meetings on "The Development of Agenda-Setting Theory and Research. Between West and East" in Wrocław (2009), "Political Communication in the Era of New Technologies" in Warsaw (2011), and "Matters of Journalism: Understanding Professional Challenges and Dilemmas" in Gdańsk (2012) as well as the PCA congresses—in Wrocław (2008), Lublin (2010), Kraków (2013), Poznań (2016), and Warsaw (2019).

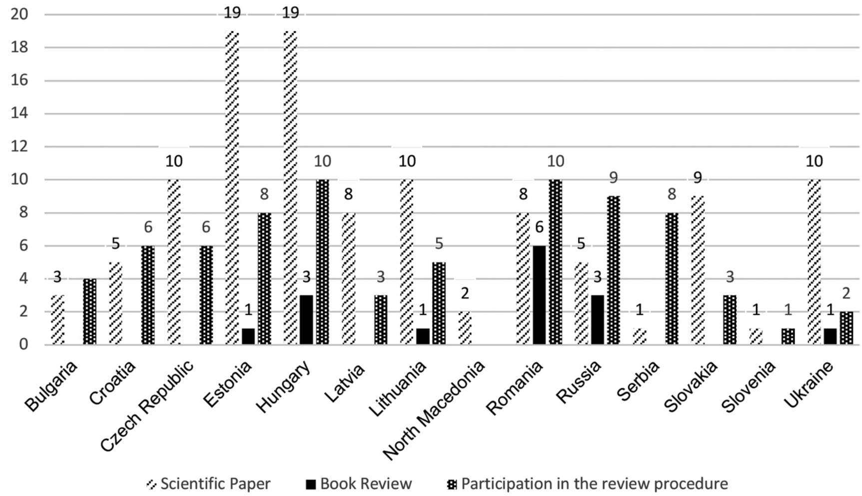

Figure 9.6 Authors (Scientific Papers and Book Reviews) and Referees from Central and Eastern Europe (2015–2020). Data on the Review Procedure Reflect the Period of 2015–2020. *Source*: Created by Authors.

Since 2009 PCA has also been active in organizing a sponsored session during the annual conferences of the ICA—one of the world's largest network of communication and media scholars. Through the status of an institutional member of ICA the CEE research has presented during the PCA sessions at the ICA conferences in the Czech Republic, Japan, Puerto Rico, Singapore, the United Kingdom, and the United States (see table 9.6). Each PCA session at ICA events was launched with a short introduction to PCA and an invitation to collaborate with *CEJC*.

Through a wide range of community events, *CEJC* has played an active role in integrating scholarly CEE journals and building a vision for further development. For instance, a roundtable session with CEE editors was chaired by Michał Głowacki (executive editor of *CEJC* in 2008 to 2019) during the CEECOM conference in Prague (April 27, 2012). The meeting attended by communication and media publishers from the Czech Republic, Lithuania, Poland, Serbia, and Slovakia has resulted with the creation of the first CEE journals database, mapping communication and media journals across the region. As a follow-up of the meeting in Prague we launched a special section of *CEJC* devoted to media journals in CEE. Starting from the fall 2012 we shared basic data and activities of several journals, including "Mediální Studia/Media Studies" (Czech Republic), "Media Transformations" (Lithuania), "Medijske Studije/Media Studies" (Croatia), and "Revista Română de Jurnalism şi Comunicare/Romanian Journal of

Journalism and Communication" (Romania). The format of the roundtable discussion with CEE journals' editors was relaunched during "Central European Journal of Communication: 10 Years On" conference in Wrocław (November 19, 2018). An international gathering to highlight the 10th anniversary of *CEJC* opened up room to identify key challenges for scholarly journals in the era of new technologies (Adamski et al., 2020). In the same vein, *CEJC* Editors organized a roundtable on CEE journals during the 5th Congress of the PCA (Warsaw, September 19, 2019). Knowledge exchange

Table 9.6 Polish Communication Association at the Annual Conferences of the International Communication Association (2009–2019)

Year	*Place*	*ICA Conference Theme*	*PCA Session Theme*
2009	Chicago, the United States	Keywords in Communication	Twenty Years of Free Media and the Public Sphere in Central Europe
2010	Singapore, Singapore	Matters of Communication. Political, Cultural and Technological Challenges	Polish Electoral Campaigns and Political Communication in Comparative Perspective
2011	Boston, the United States	Communication @ the Center	Back to Planet Earth (or Society): Public Relations and Social Media
2012	Phoenix, the United States	Communication and Community	Journalistic Professionalization on the Baltic
2013	London, United Kingdom	Challenging Communication Research	Media Accountability in the Digital Age: International Perspectives
2014	Seattle, the United States	Communication and The Good Life	25 Years of Media Freedom and Democracy in the Central and East Europe
2015	San Juan, Puerto Rico	Communication Across the Life Span	Journalism Education in the Digital Mediascapes
2016	Fukuoka, Japan	Communicating with Power	Public Service Media: An Idea of the Enlightenment?
2017	San Diego, the United States	Interventions; Communication Research and Practice	(New) Media and Political Communication in Europe
2018	Prague, Czech Republic	Voices	Political Executive—Media Relations in the Era of Mediatized Politics in Lithuania, Finland, Poland and Sweden
2019	Washington DC, the United States	Communication Beyond Boundaries	Power Struggles: State, Media and The Public

with editors from other communication and media journals have had a profound impact on the *CEJC*'s strategy.

The current president of PCA Iwona Hofman (2013–) and *CEJC*'s editor in chief Michał Głowacki (2019–) continue the PCA's policy of internationalization and support toward activities of *CEJC*. One of the recent developments has been the establishment of Media and Democracy Karol Jakubowicz Award for outstanding monographs, scholarly papers, and policy making in the areas of human rights, democracy, the value of journalism, and public service media. The award founded in 2018 by Malogorzata Semil-Jakubowicz and affiliated with PCA opens up to international collaboration. Since its fourth Edition in 2021 editor in chief, executive editor, and associate editors of *CEJC* (see table 9.2) have an opportunity to recommend scholarly publications in the areas of interest of Karol Jakubowicz (1941–2013). Editors from the *CEJC* network will be joined by previous award winners and the leadership team of the International Association of Public Service Media Researchers in evaluating works for originality and methodological correctness, the contribution to media and democracy studies, and practical implementation to media and societal awareness. We hope that the knowledge exchanged in conjunction with the award initiative will strengthen cross-national and cross-regional collaboration CEE and global media research communities (Głowacki & Sidyk, 2020).

Online Communities

In early 2020 *CEJC* launched its new website. The website (www.cejc.ptks.pl) offers data on the journal's goals and values, as well as the organizational structure of *CEJC*. More importantly, scholars around the world can browse and download the current issue of *CEJC* and search via its archives. Every new issue of *CEJC* is announced via newsletters to members of PCA, as well as other networks, including CEE Network and ECREA. Additionally, the journal has its profiles on social media, including Facebook, LinkedIn, and Instagram.

Fanpage on Facebook publishes content that promotes the journal and its affiliated and partner organizations. The goal of the fan page is to support *CEJC*'s visibility and to attract new readers and audiences. In January 2020, the number of *CEJC* followers exceeded 1,000. Overall, our Facebook page publishes information on the activities of the editorial team, such as the number of articles submitted and accepted for future publications. *CEJC* further promotes community events, including the call for papers for regional and global conferences alongside the news about our participation in journal related activities. Additionally, *CEJC*'s account on LinkedIn contains content similar to Facebook. However, we noted that posts on LinkedIn are addressed mostly to media industries and professionals. Finally, a set of social media tools is extended by a fan page on Instagram. With the hashtag #cejcjournal, we publish photos of the front cover of *CEJC* in different cities in Europe and beyond. The goal of the "traveling" journal profile is to consolidate the journal's brand awareness from the "light and fun" perspective.

CONCLUSIONS

Through this chapter, we have argued that scholarly journals in CEE and beyond shall evolve toward a collaborative model of production to meet the needs of today's readers. The so-called knowledge share community—our "umbrella term" to analyze *CEJC*—has shown a diversity of activities beyond traditional publishing and the national boundaries. We see a number of advantages from being attached to and run by a scholarly association. Being small, agile, community-driven, and nonprofit gives a great deal of autonomy and room for experimentation. This includes new forms of disseminating scholarly research (interviews, methods, and concepts), cross-cultural engagement, and international collaboration with scholars via organizational structures and partnership relations. The synergy of missions of PCA and *CEJC* on facilitating CEE studies via community events has supported the journal's recognition in CEE beyond. Overall, we believe that due to our diverse strategies and a wide spectrum of scholarly approaches the journal has had a positive impact on the transdisciplinary nature of communication theory and media studies.

The overall goal for the future is to continue our strategic efforts toward quality, network, and communication. We hope that we open up more dialogue with publishers representing the Western research traditions, to share experiences on how to further respond to the digital and the data-driven age. Due to fast-changing technologies, there might soon be a need to adjust to mobile communication and create the *CEJC*'s app. However, one of the biggest challenges from the Polish perspective will be to recognize the journal's quality by the Ministry of Education and Science. Although *CEJC* has been published in English and further successfully shifted toward CEE scholarship, Poland's Ministry still evaluates the potential of *CEJC* similar to national publications and those communication and media journals which are published in Polish. Extending abstracting, indexing, and citation rates are among potential ways to change that evaluation.

NOTES

1. See the website of the Polish Communication Association: https://www.ptks.pl/en/.

2. See the full list of our supporting institutions: https://cejc.ptks.pl/About-Us#Our-Supporters.

REFERENCES

Adamski, A., Bukowski, M., Demeter, M., Konarska, K., Kuś, M., Madej, M., & Mierzecka, A. (2020). ROUNDTABLE: Scientific journals in the data-driven age. *Central European Journal of Communication*, *25*(1), 112–116. https://doi.org/10.19195/1899-5101.13.1(25).8

Bajomi-Lázár, P. (2013). *Party colonization of the media in Central and Eastern Europe*. Budapest, Hungary: Central European University Press.

Bajomi-Lázár, P. (Ed.) (2017). *Media in third-wave democracies. Southern and Central-Eastern Europe in a comparative perspective*. Paris, France: L'Harmattan Publishing House.

Berend, I. T. (2005). What is Central and Eastern Europe? *European Journal of Social Theory*, *8*(4), 401–416. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1368431005056420

Curran, J., & Myung-Jin, P. (Eds.) (2000). *De-Westernizing media studies*. London, UK: Routledge.

Dobek-Ostrowska, B., & Głowacki, M. (Eds.) (2008). *Comparing media systems in Central and Eastern Europe: Between commercialization and politicization*. Wrocław, Poland: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego.

Dobek-Ostrowska, B., & Głowacki, M. (2011). Central European Journal of Communication – The Official Journal of the Polish Communication Association. *The Review of Communication*, *12*(1), 78–83. https://doi.org/10.1080/15358593.2011.627591

Dobek-Ostrowska, B., Głowacki, M., Jakubowicz, K., & Sükösd, M. (Eds.) (2010). *Comparative media systems: European and global perspectives.* Budapest, Hungary: Central European University Press.

Dobek-Ostrowska, B., & Nygren, G. (Eds.) (2015). *Journalism in change. Journalistic culture in Poland, Russia and Sweden*. Frankfurt am Main, Germany: Peter Lang Publishing.

Dyczok, M., & Golutvina, O. (Eds.) (2009). *Media, democracy and reform: The post-communism experience.* Frankfurt am Main, Germany: Peter Lang Publishing.

Głowacki, M., Lauk, E., & Balčytienė, A. (Eds.) (2014). *Journalism that matters: Views from Central and Eastern Europe*. Frankfurt am Main, Germany: Peter Lang Publishing.

Głowacki, M., & Sidyk, D. (2020). The Media and Democracy Karol Jakubowicz Award, *Central European Journal of Communication*, *25*(1), 137–139.

Hallin, D. C., & Mancini, P. (2004). *Comparing media systems: Three models of media and politics.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Hallin, D. C., & Mancini, P. (Eds.) (2012). *Comparing media systems beyond the Western World*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Jakubowicz, K. (2004). Ideas in our heads. Introduction of PSB as part of media system change in Central and Eastern Europe. *European Journal of Communication*, *13*(1), 53–74. https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323104040694

Połońska, E., & Beckett C. (Eds.) (2019). *Public service broadcasting and media systems in troubled European democracies*. London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Sidyk, D., & Zdunek, R. (2020). An introduction to open journals system. *Central European Journal of Communication*, *27*(2), 470–473.

Splichal, S. (1994) *Media beyond socialism: Theory and practice in East-Central Europe*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Sükösd, M., & Jakubowicz, K. (Eds.) (2011). *Media, nationalism and European identities.* Budapest, Hungary: Central European University Press.

Zielonka, J. (Ed.) (2015). *Media and politics in new democracies: Europe in a comparative perspective.* Oxford, UK: Oxford University.

Chapter 10

Russian Journal of Communication

Reflections on the First Decade

Igor E. Klyukanov and Galina V. Sinekopova

PURPOSE

The present chapter is stimulated by the need to provide an in-depth examination of the first decade of *Russian Journal of Communication* (*RJC*) as a scholarly publication focusing on communication in, with, and about Russia and Russian-speaking communities around the world. This purpose is reflected in the title of the chapter—"*Russian Journal of Communication*: Reflections on the First Decade." It must be noted that the chapter reflects on the journal as a part of the system of scholarly communication that takes place within the context of a larger sociocultural system. To that end, several objectives need to be achieved.

OBJECTIVES

First, it is necessary to consider the scholarly journal as a form of scholarly communication; hence, a short literature review of how the scholarly journal is conceptualized is in order.

Second, it is necessary to specify how the examination of the first decade of *RJC* is to be undertaken; this is done in the "Analysis" section where our approach to the material is outlined.

Third, the main findings of our examination need to be presented in terms of the topics and approaches found on the pages of *RJC* during the first decade of its publication.

Fourth, those findings need to be discussed in more detail. In that respect, special attention must be paid to the main stages of preparing the journal for publication, including the roles played by various agents at each stage, content areas and content recruitment issues, peer-review process, evaluating the quality of research articles, access to the journal's materials, promoting and increasing the visibility of published materials, and so on.

Fifth, it is necessary to identify the main challenges we came across during the first decade of publishing *RJC*.

Sixth, the potential of *RJC* needs to be revealed in light of the changing landscape of scholarly communication, including prospects for innovation.

Seventh, recommendations need to be given for how the challenges can be addressed, the potential realized, and the new lines of research pursued.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Scholarly communication is usually conceptualized in terms of monographs, articles, or conference presentations. However, it also encompasses many informal modes, for example, face-to-face or telephone conversations, email exchanges, and increasingly social media (Johnson et al., 2018). A look back at the historical development of scholarly communication shows that already in the seventeenth century scholars used many modes for advancing their work, including scientific books, commercial periodicals, newspapers, journals, letters, personal, communication, and scientific anagrams. Today, while all these modes (except perhaps the scientific anagram) remain, it is the journal that is considered the most accepted and preferred mode for scholarly communication (Fjällbrant, 1997).

Publication of the scholarly journal is typically understood as the dissemination of scientific ideas to the public. However, journals not only disseminate information, but also establish the author's precedence and ownership of an idea, ensure quality control of research, and preserve it for future reference and citation. Thus, the scholarly journal performs the functions of dissemination, registration, certification, and archival record (Johnson et al., 2018).

The beginning of the twenty-first century saw a number of new journals focused on communication from other various cultural perspectives, including *Chinese Journal of Communication*, *Central European Journal of Communication*, *Middle East Journal of Culture and Communication*, and *Journal of Multicultural Discourses*. Those journals appeared in response to the study of communication which, at that time, was entrenched in Americanism or limited by Eurocentric cultural assumptions (e.g., Craig, 2007, Jia et al., 2002). Thus, the idea for a new communication journal focusing on Russia was in the air and in 2008 such a journal was launched. *RJC* was conceived to fill a niche similar to those felt by academics in other cultures. Naming the journal came easily to parallel the like titles of other journals (see above). Also, the name was modeled after *Journal of Communication* (published by Oxford Academic) that aims to bring to its readers the latest, broadest, and most important findings in the field of communication studies. Similarly, *RJC* was conceived to present a wide range of the most significant studies of communication in, with, and about Russia and Russian-speaking communities around the world.

ANALYSIS

The work on the journal brought up many challenges, revealed new potential, and proved to be a good learning experience. Below, we analyze the first decade of *RJC* and share our reflections. We use textual analysis to examine the contents published in the journal. Since we examine the issues published over 10 years, our approach has some elements of historical analysis, as well. While our textual analysis is inductive in that it looks for patterns in the examined material, it is different from content analysis in that it's aimed at understanding the dynamics behind those patterns. In this sense, our approach is interpretive, as "the first major goal of interpretive research is the creation of insight" (Deetz, 1982, p. 138). Finally, insights by themselves, though interesting, are not sufficient. With that in mind, our analysis becomes critical insofar as we not only focus on underlying social and cultural assumptions of *RJC*'s output and production process, but also provide recommendations on how to address challenges faced by the journal and more fully use its potential, for example, "Critical-interpretive research has as a goal appropriately directed action as well as understanding" (Deetz, 1982, p. 139). Thus, our analysis is textual, historical, interpretive, and critical.

FINDINGS

Over the first decade, *RJC* has published hundreds of materials by leadings scholars, including such well-known authors as Steven A. Beebe, Vincent Colapietro, Robert T. Craig, Stephen M. Croucher, Evgeny Dobrenko, Caryl Emerson, Mikhail Epstein, Stephen Hutchings, Alexander Genis, Howard Giles, Vyacheslav V. Ivanov, Vyacheslav B. Kashkin, Sergey G. Korkonosenko, Alexander Kozin, Alexander Kravchenko, Alexander Kozintsev, Richard L. Lanigan, Mark Lipovetsky, John Nerone, Benjamin Peters, Calvin O. Schrag, Johan Siebers, Greg Simons, Grigory Tulchinskii, Elena Vartanova, Lyudmila A. Verbitskaya, and Anna Wierzbicka.[1] Thanks to all these, and many other authors not mentioned here, *RJC* has been able to stay faithful to its mission, acting as a platform for scholars across the globe whose goal is to advance our understanding of communication in, with, and about Russia.

The journal's vision to seek research on a wide variety of topics and welcome various scholarly approaches to communication has proved successful: in the first 10 years, *RJC* has published numerous and diverse research on all the topics announced in its Aim and Scope statement. Listed here are some materials representative of those topics: philosophy of communication ("The Destiny of Metaphysics in Russia: An Investigation of Being and Communicative Behavior," by Igor E. Klyukanov), traditional and new media ("Transmedia Storytelling Panorama in the Russian Media Landscape," by Renira Rampazzo Gambarato and Ekaterina Lapina-Kratasiu͡k), film ("Visualizing Vertov," by Lev Manovich), literature ("From an Unprintable to a Printable Language of Literature? Russian Obscene Language in Late and Post-Soviet Literatury Cultures," by Manuela Kovalev), rhetoric ("Arguing in Russian: Why Solzhenitsyn's Fictional Arguments Defy Translation," by Anna Wierzbicka), journalism ("Journalism in Russia as a National Cultural Value," by Sergey G. Korkonosenko), information-communication technologies ("Toward a Genealogy of a Cold War Communication Sciences: The Strange Loops of Leo and Norbert Wiener," by Benjamin Peters), interpersonal communication ("Interpersonal Communication: Qualities and Culture," by Michelle Scollo and Donal Carbaugh), communication in instructional contexts ("Perspectives of Russian Educators on Communication and Communication Education in Russian Universities: A Survey Analysis," by Olga Matyash), advertising ("Fear Appeals in Road Safety Advertising: An Analysis of a Controversial Social Marketing Campaign in Russia," by Prisca S. Ngondo and Anna Klyueva), cultural practices ("Russian Toasting and Drinking as Communication Ritual," by Elena V. Nuciforo), organizational and group dynamics ("Tourism: An Intergroup Communication Model with Russian Inflections," by Howard Giles, Hiroshi Ota, and Megan Foley), public relations ("Shaken, Not Stirred: Western Public Relations Practices in Russia," by Elina Erzikova), political campaigns ("The Role of Political Rhetoric in the Development of Soviet Totalitarian Language," by Andreas Ventsel), legal proceedings ("Glasnost in the Courtroom," by Andrei Richter), environmental and health matters ("The Intersection of Public Health and Cross-Cultural Communication: Illustrations from the Tatarstan Women's Health Initiative," by Deborah Ballard-Reisch, Sergei A. Samoilenko, Marat Zagidullin, Marina I. Galitskaya, and Svetlana F. Nagumanova), and communication policy ("Russian Media and Censorship: A Means or an End?" by Greg Simons).

Several issues of *RJC* have been prepared on more specific topics by the guest editors with more expertise in those content areas. Examples of special theme issues include "The Russian Anecdote as Cultural Genre, Discourse, and Performance" (2009, vol. 2, nos. 3 and 4), guest-edited by William Graves III and Vladimir Karasik, and "The Data Turn & Ethics" (2017, vol. 9, issue 3), guest-edited by Marina Shilina, Robert Couch, and Benjamin

Peters. The most recent example of a special issue is “Russian Intelligentsia in the Age of Counterperestroika: Political Agendas, Rhetorical Strategies, Personal Choices” (2018, vo. 10, issues 2–3), guest-edited by Dmitri Shalin and based on the proceedings of the conference organized by the Center for Democratic Culture, University of Nevada: this issue has just been published as a book (Shalin, 2019). Special issues proved an effective way of publishing in-depth material on a specific subject as well as a means of promoting the journal. Also, it turned out to be a good way to foster academic collaboration.

Today, *RJC* is a well-known journal with a solid web presence: in 0.66 seconds, the search for *RJC* brings up 44,400,000 results. In addition to its impressive quantitative results, the journal’s quality is recognized, as well: on the journal’s website, we find a number of testimonials from leadings scholars.

DISCUSSION

Publishing a scholarly journal may seem to be simple and quick, that is, authors submit manuscripts, which are then edited and published. However, it’s a complex, time-consuming, and creative process.

Most of the work on the journal takes place at the preproduction stage. It starts, of course, by deciding on the journal’s content. There is a clear difference in how the publisher, on the one hand, and the editor and the editorial board, on the other, see content and, therefore, where their effort is directed. Taylor & Francis, the present publisher of *RJC*, notes that no representations or warranties are made as to the accuracy, completeness, or suitability for any purpose of the content contained in the journal. Whereas the publisher’s concern is not to be held liable for what appears on the journal’s pages, the editor and the editorial board are concerned with content in terms of the topics covered, approaches taken, and methods used. The editorial board members are experts in relevant fields and often advise on the content areas to be addressed and so it’s important to have a diverse and active team, bringing new members on board. Looking back, if some specific term of office (e.g., three years) had been included in the invitation letter to the initial editorial board, it would be easier today to undertake its renewal. Also, it would have been helpful to establish a regular communication forum for the editorial board members to ensure a smoother operation of the journal; today, such communication can easily be conducted through teleconferences or Skype. In the same vein, “an effective editorial office staff is absolutely essential for optimal manuscript processing and maintaining smooth general journal operations” (Loscalzo, 2017, p. 122). For *RJC*, no editorial office exists (due to a lack of funding): when the editor assigns a new submission to the "editorial office" (which is usually the case), the manuscript comes to the editor's computer.

While determining what content is desirable and suitable for the journal is crucial, content recruitment is also very important. Common ways in this area include sending announcements to relevant Internet lists, websites, newsletters, and professional organizations, and getting the word out in more informal ways, for example, emailing or calling academics around the world working in relevant areas (McCord & Taylor, 2009). The editor and the editorial board, along with the publisher, used all those ways of reaching out to potential contributors, and their joint effort generated a lot of submissions, as well as interested queries. Today, *RJC* must direct more attention to social media that are playing an increasing role in posting calls for papers and promoting contents; for instance, blogs are said to offer a valuable source of publicity (Coulter, 2010). It must be noted that content recruitment must be carried out systematically and on a regular basis.

As a result of careful content selection and concerted content recruitment, over the first 10 years *RJC* has received hundreds of submissions from many dedicated and conscientious authors. Occasionally, though, the editor and the editorial board have encountered authors who submit manuscripts that do not fit within the journal's scope (perhaps because they do not read the submission guidelines or, if they do, simply disregard them); who submit manuscripts that have been put together in a hasty fashion as they contain glaring errors, omissions, and so on; who submit a revised manuscript with just cosmetic changes; and so on. This is an area that clearly needs better communication between the authors and the journal's editorial team.

We're aware that, for many authors writing in Russian today, changes in publication languages and citation practices affect their productivity and are even said to have an effect on the scientific impact of Russian science (Kirchik et al., 2012). RJC, though, publishes materials only in English. Although we do our best to provide editing (usually done by graduate students who are native speakers) of the manuscripts accepted for publication that may need improvement of English style and grammar, translation of original manuscripts in other languages is not a language service provided by *RJC*. In the past, however, we have provided authors with contact information for certified translators; as a result, the journal has published several excellent articles in translation. One way to deal with this language issue, for instance, would be to try publishing materials in other languages. Multiple-language publication is said to be a good way to increase awareness of a journal among potential multilingual users around the globe. For example, "the presence of an article in Spanish (which is then cited by other Spanish websites) may open a journal to numerous Spanish readers who also read English, but would not have otherwise known of the existence of the journal"

(Coulter, 2010, p. 9). For *RJC* the first obvious choice would be the presence of materials in Russian; however, while the idea for such multiple-language publication has occasionally surfaced in informal discussions, no concrete steps have been taken in that direction.

Thus, *RJC* brings cutting-edge communication research conducted throughout the world and, first of all, in the West, to the Russian reader. Also, the journal has become a good window on Russian thought about communication for the English-speaking reader. If we look at the journal's contents overall, we can see that *RJC* continues to build upon the philosophical, linguistic, and psychological traditions that are central to the study of communication in Russia (Klyukanov, 2011). At the same time, the journal takes up other various problems of communication ranging from health communication to digital humanities to nation branding. It remains to be seen how the heritage of Russian approaches to communication, informed by philological and philosophical ideas, can be integrated with the new research more focused on messages, outcomes, and social influence (Klyukanov & Leontovich, 2016, p. 36).

One important line of research, set by Robert T. Craig (2008) in the inaugural issue entitled *Communication in the Conversation of Disciplines*, is the identity of communication as a discipline that attracts much attention. *RJC* contributes to the open discussion of communication as a category constituted by sociocultural and institutional factors and practices. This area is of special interest and concern for Russian scholars since the disciplinary status of communication study in Russia is not universally recognized.

Another area where *RJC* encountered some problems, but also has seen some progress, is the use of methodologies in the submitted manuscripts or, rather, lack thereof. Especially during its early years, many manuscripts were submitted to the journal in which their authors simply expressed their opinions and presented conclusions without grounding them in any methodological perspective. Sometimes, an author would note a conscious desire to avoid positivism, as if such epistemology were anathema to communication research. However, no rigorous attempt would be made to develop what might be considered a more interpretive approach. In general, the authors from Russia and former Soviet republics clearly felt more comfortable within the humanistic paradigm, using more qualitative methods and focusing on the interpretation of actions in various contexts. The authors from the Anglo-Saxon world were more comfortable within the social-scientific paradigm and much better at empirical research supported by evidence gathered using more quantitative methods. This distinction can in part be explained by national differences in communication education, especially at the PhD level: unlike many other countries, in most Western universities research methods are a core curriculum component. Recently, however, we've seen positive steps in this area, for example, with new books appearing in Russia on methods of communication research (Leontovich, 2011; Sinekopova, 2013). As a result, *RJC* now receives more manuscripts in which a research design is clearly described and experiments are conducted in order to test hypotheses.

All academic content, regardless of the topic, approach, or methodology, must be formally composed, documented, and presented. In this respect, *RJC* makes it possible for scholars to become familiar with one another's culturally determined academic styles, conventions, practices, and formulas. We've discovered that such formal elements can present many challenges. For instance, consistent with what is reported in academic literature, unlike a dominantly linear paragraph development by Anglo-American researchers, Russian scholarly writing is found to be much more tolerant of digression. This feature fits into the so-called Teutonic style that focuses on monolog and theory creation, rather than dialog and thesis formation, typical of the Saxonic style represented by English (Siepmann, 2006). The opaqueness of some submissions was noted by the editor, the editorial board members, the reviewers, and the native speakers who helped to edit manuscripts for style and grammar. Another area where problems arose was documenting sources used in research; on numerous occasions, the contributors were asked to provide proper in-text and bibliographic citations (cf. Vance, 2018). In the Anglo-American academic tradition, citing outside sources is imperative. However, it is noted that in some cultural traditions, citing the source is not always necessary. In fact, some have reported that citing the source could be considered an insult to the intelligence of the reader (Buranen, 1999). Much more could be said about the role played in *RJC* by different academic writing styles and other conventions. In fact, it would be interesting to publish a special issue on that subject.

As far as the overall format, while it has used data visualization, images, short video clips, and video abstracts, *RJC* has mostly stayed a traditional text-based journal, including such standard features as articles and book reviews. Over the years, based on the publisher's feedback and recommendations, shorter materials are now given less attention (and thus space), the primary focus being on original articles. The article, of course, is a core scholarly journal format. Even with articles, though, there is room for innovation. Many will be sympathetic to what Mikhail Epstein, a member of *RJC*'s editorial board and one of its contributors, has to say:

> If we look at today's academic journals in the humanities, we will find only two main genres of scholarly discourse: the article and the review. Where are all of the other genres that, over the course of centuries, have helped to exercise our human capacity for wonderment, imagination, and creative thinking?

> Where are the manifestoes, aphorisms, fragments, theses, programs, preambles, and essays? . . . The way to expand academic discourse is by cultivating and institutionalizing micro-genres that are in tune with the accelerated modes of contemporary communication, e.g. short fiction or Twitter poetry. (Epstein, 2012, pp. 286–287)

Recently, as if in response to that lament, Elsevier introduced a new feature called "Microarticles." For instance, the journal *Results in Physics* now welcomes papers no longer than two pages that allow authors to publish short pieces of research, such as a follow-up result to a previously published paper or a description of a failed experiment that provides a new insight. The academic journal is never set in stone, and *RJC* should be open to new formats and features.

When it comes to a journal's overall format, technology itself is a major driving force behind innovative features of scholarly materials. Authors, editors, and others continue to take full advantage of electronic publishing. Some of the recent developments include article versioning, when articles are updated or expanded while the original version is preserved; the 3D PDF article format adopted mainly in geophysical, engineering, and medical sciences; and article viewing and sharing, for example, ReadCube's Content platform (Ware & Mabe, 2015). Although Marshall McLuhan's famous formula—"The Medium Is the Message"—still holds here, new formats and features also depend on larger sociocultural factors, for example, to what extent all players involved in journal publishing can resist the discrete charm of the (digital) machine (Steiglitz, 2019).

A crucial part of the preproduction stage is peer review, widely seen as a process assuring the quality of published research (Kelly et al., 2014). Such a seal of quality approval becomes especially critical today in order to distinguish credible scholarly publications from "predatory journals" (Ayeni & Adetoro, 2017). The editor, the editorial board, and the publisher were unanimous in their decision to make *RJC* an international academic publication that follows a double-blind peer-review process to maintain its high standard of scholarship. Scholars with expertise in the subject areas related to the journal were invited to act as reviewers. All the materials published in the journal over the first decade have undergone rigorous evaluation, based on an initial screening by the editor and reviews by at least two anonymous referees. The ScholarOne Manuscripts submission and manuscript tracking system, provided by Taylor & Francis, makes it possible to keep the peer-review process on record and allows for easier communication between authors, reviewers, the editor, and the editorial board members. The publisher provides on their website a useful peer-review flowchart that explains the steps and expectations during the review process.

For some authors, peer review was initially a novelty, and so the editor and the editorial board members had to explain to prospective contributors that there's no fee for publishing their research, however, in order to be published, it must undergo double-blind peer review, explaining what the process meant. Fortunately, this is no longer the case, and all authors expect and even welcome a rigorous review process, fully appreciating the feedback they receive even if their submission is not accepted.

Many journals face the challenge of finding qualified and reliable reviewers, and *RJC* is no exception. Even though the journal has a reviewers' database and the editorial board members regularly review submissions, occasionally it becomes necessary to turn for help to the Reviewer Locator that is a part of the ScholarOne Manuscripts submission and manuscript tracking system and that suggests potential reviewers based on the contents of the submission. In some cases, those contacted turn the invitation down, for various reasons; in other cases, however, they are eager to do a review, and sometimes, they become the journal's regular reviewers. Another challenge journals face is making sure prospective reviewers act ethically and disclose possible conflicts of interest, for example, prior involvement with the manuscript. *RJC*'s reviewers have always done that over the years, often suggesting alternative reviewers. Unfortunately, like many journals, *RJC* does not have any resources to offer any honorarium to reward the reviewers financially.[2]

While viewed as a valuable research practice, peer review is not without its critics who note such shortcomings as a lack of transparency in the process, being slow, poor at detecting errors, offering too much scope for bias, and so on (Kelly et al., 2014; Rose & Boshoff, 2017; Smith, 2006). And so new ways of conducting peer review are increasingly attracting attention, aimed at addressing the limitations of conventional peer review rather than acting as its replacement. A common model is the so-called "open peer review" when the reviewer names are disclosed, sometimes with the reviewer reports published alongside the article. Another one is "post-publication review" when authors post their papers on an online forum for others to read and comment on (Imperiale et al, 2016). The benefits of such new models include accelerating the review turnaround time and thus reporting of findings, a more transparent process, a wider access to scholarly manuscripts, interactive discussion threads, and so on (Sullivan, 2018). Overall, the hope for peer review is to become a layered, collaborative, and community-governed process (Tennant, 2018). *RJC* at a minimum must be open to all new ideas in this area. The editor and the editorial board need to have a discussion on how the conventional peer-review process used by the journal can be complemented by alternative models.

At the production stage, the publisher is responsible for most of the work, which includes assessing manuscripts for completeness and making sure the necessary permission for the use of third-party copyright material is provided, detailed copy-editing, preparing proofs and proofreading, resolving any remaining queries, typesetting, tracking and status reporting, and printing and binding (a print and bound copy of *RJC* is published annually). The production flowchart on the publisher's website outlines the basic workflow that materials and issues will follow. Over the first decade, *RJC* has been produced in a very efficient way, thanks to many different players as well as the technological resource and services available.

Most of the production work goes behind the scenes for authors, reviewers, and readers. Authors, though, have several responsibilities: since each issue of the journal follows a production schedule, an author must fill out and sign the copyright agreement form, check proofs, and respond to the production manager's or copy editor's queries in a timely manner. These responsibilities may not sound very difficult or time-consuming, yet over the years the editor and the editorial board members have had to deal with authors failing to perform one of the responsibilities, thus potentially delaying publication of the entire issue. In some cases, considerable effort was required to get hold of the author and make sure all the required forms and/or information is submitted.

It's crucial for the editor and the editorial board to stay in touch with the production team and, ideally, be on the same page regarding every aspect of the process. For instance, *RJC*'s founding editor and the production manager initially had some arguments on publishing individual articles versus complete issues. Whereas print journals have materials made available to readers only when bundled into issues, electronic publishing technology is much more flexible. The founding editor was at first in favor of the former model when all materials would be arranged into a complete issue and published all at once; that way, it was possible to see the big picture in terms of an issue's structure and running order. The production manager, however, insisted on putting materials in production as soon as they were accepted and assembled into an issue later; that way, it was possible to spend more time on each file instead of rushing if all final copy was submitted right before the due date. Also, the materials posted online are provided with the online publication date and the digital object identifier, which allows for the material to be quoted and cited. As time went on, the benefits of a more flexible workflow became clear and now most of the materials first appear online individually and then are put together as an issue. This model works well not only for the editor and the production manager, but—what is more important—for the authors and the readers of the journal.

Once materials have been published, either separately or as an issue, the work on the journal continues. The publisher must act not only as manufacturer but as marketeer, distributor, and electronic host. When a survey was conducted asking the editors currently involved in the publishing process what services they especially want their publisher to provide, most of the responses focused on advertising, marketing, promotion, and distribution (Murray & Clobridge, 2014). The same services are expected from learned societies, such as Russian Communication Association. In academia, a journal can only benefit if supported by a learned society. By the same token, a journal can help a learned society to advance a field or a discipline. In fact, most learned societies consider publishing peer-reviewed academic journals to be one of their central roles (Ware & Mabe, 2015).

Taylor & Francis is committed to promoting and increasing the visibility of published materials via *My Authored Works* on Taylor & Francis Online where authors can access everything they have published in the journal and share up to 50 free e-prints of their work with colleagues and friends. Also, *My Authored Works* allows authors to view, download, and check their published materials' metrics, such as downloads and citations. It must be noted that one of the most common queries from the authors on publication of their work is how they can access and promote it; this clearly calls for better communication on the part of the publisher and the editorial team, perhaps by foregrounding this information on the website and in front matter of the journal.

Every journal is said to be as good as its editorial team, the quality of its reviewers, and the efficiency of its publisher. However, the journal's success is ultimately determined by its readers' response, including subscriptions and citations. Most of the research on scholarly article reading habits focuses on such factors as the time spent on finding, accessing, and reading articles; the number of readings from e-collections and other electronic sources, for example, listserves; the number of personal subscriptions; citation and download pattern, and so on (Tenopir et al., 2009; 2011). While undoubtedly important, such research presents data of a social-scientific nature that tells us *what* is read and *how* it is read. It is equally important to conduct research of a more humanistic nature that allows us to find out *why* and *by whom* the journal is read. To that end, more qualitative research methods would need to be used, for example, focus group interviews, ethnography of communication, and so on. A special theme issue of *RJC* on that subject would be very interesting and helpful by providing more heuristic and nuanced feedback that can be used as a basis for further improvement of the journal.

Access is another important aspect of the postproduction stage. Today, there are many complaints about limited access to academic journals. At *RJC*, we hear such complaints from students for whom research is essential to a complete education, from faculty who can't afford to pay for article downloads, from university libraries that find the journal subscriptions costs prohibitive, and so on. More calls are made to develop an open-access infrastructure of scholarly communication and for academics to take back control of their research (Tennant, 2018). Such calls are undoubtedly laudable. At the same time, it must be remembered that scholarly publishing is costly. As Anthony Wilden put it several decades ago, "We are all free to say what we think; it is only the channels to the audience that cost money" (Wilden, 1972, p. 211). Slightly modifying these words, it can be said that we are all free to publish what we think; it is only copy-editing, typesetting, printing, indexing, promotion, distribution, and so on that costs money. It's no surprise, therefore, that tensions exist between open-access and subscription-based models (Murray & Clobridge, 2014).

At the postproduction stage, it is also important to evaluate the state of the journal. One way of accomplishing that is through face-to-face meetings between the journal's editor and the editorial board members and the publisher's representatives. Such meetings, usually taking place at NCA or ICA conferences, have been very productive and helpful as they allow us to touch base on the progress made and discuss a common vision for the journal's future.

The most widely used indicator of evaluation of research journals is the impact factor (IF). For its IF to be calculated and assigned, the journal has to be indexed in the Web of Science—an online subscription-based service providing a comprehensive citation search. Obviously, journals with higher IFs are usually evaluated as more important than those with lower ones. Since *RJC* is not indexed in the Web of Science and so has no IF, a question arises for the editor and the editorial board: How much effort, if any, should be directed toward that end? This question is important since decisions must be made whether to increase the space devoted to those materials likely to receive more citations at the expense of original papers (Zanchetti, 2008). Increasingly, however, the IF is being viewed as a marketing tool rather than a reflection of the journal's quality (Chapman, 2011), and has even been described as "the number that's devouring science" (Monastersky, 2005).

In 2016, CiteScore—a new journal metric—was launched with the view to be more transparent, freely available, and comprehensive. Its indicators are calculated from the dynamic Scopus citation index, which is said to be much larger than the Web of Science list and includes more social sciences and humanities journals (Courtney, 2017). *RJC* is now indexed in Scopus; that has considerably increased the visibility of the journal and attracted more authors, especially from Russia where decisions governing promotion and merit are often determined by the journals in which research is published.

As we can see, it takes many players to publish the journal. At various stages, different players play more important roles, for example, the role of reviewers at the preproduction stage or the role of the publisher as distributor at the postproduction stage. However, all players—from authors to typesetters—are indispensable, their roles simply being more or less salient at various stages. Overall, the journal can be viewed as a (sub)system in which all these players are interconnected and work toward a common goal within a larger system of scholarly communication through which research is created, evaluated, disseminated, and preserved for future use.

The process of coordinating all that work can be viewed as a complex activity, which is oriented to certain motives, comprised of actions directed at specific conscious goals and carried out through operation determined by various actual conditions (Leontiev, 1974). Although this process looks different when one moves between the vantage points of various players involved in this activity, ideally all these players need to be oriented to the same motive, working in complete collaboration as one system. Only then can the activity lead to the feeling of complete engagement or the so-called "flow experience" that is intrinsically motivated and enjoyable because it has an end in itself (Csikszentmihalyi, 2008). In this light, such terms as "workflow" or "flowchart," often used by the publisher, are no accident.

It must be noted that, just as the journal is a part of the system of scholarly communication, scholarly communication itself takes place within the context of a larger sociocultural system.

Today, some views of the changing landscape of scholarly communication (De Silva & Vance, 2017) take on alarmist and even apocalyptic notes, which can in part be explained by the discourse of disruptive innovation, often conflated with any generic threat (Christensen et al., 2018). We read that in the digital world the traditional academic publishing business model is anachronistic (Siler, 2017). We are told that the world of scholarly communication is broken (Tennant, 2018). Academic journal publishing is said to be headed for a day of reckoning (Burns, 2017). It seems nothing can be done and it's time for a postmortem because, in academic publishing, "it's not just the author: the reader and the editor are dead, too" (Modarres, 2015, p. 168).

Such pronouncements, though, seem to be somewhat exaggerated. It's more productive to talk about academic publishing in evolutionary terms. For instance, in the latest STM Report, which presents an overview of scientific and scholarly publishing, it's stated that "scholarly communications is evolving" and that, while the scholarly communication model has "traditionally comprised two main players that serve the needs of the scholarly community represented by academics, as authors and readers, and their funders and host institutions," today "other players are becoming increasingly active in the distribution and discovery of content" (Johnson et al., 2018, p. 11).

Overall, we witness a lot of effort toward making scholarly communication more diverse, dynamic, and transparent. Much faith is placed in the role of new technologies; for instance, blockchain is viewed as a force that may revolutionize scholarly journal publishing (Kafka, 2018). At the same time, it's noted that "the future of scholarly communication depends more on overcoming social tensions . . . than on breaking down technological barriers" (Tennant, 2018) and calls are made for academic communities to demand more openness and join the scientific and intellectual movements to play a more substantial role in shaping the future of academic publishing (Siler, 2017). Since academic publishing is not only about sharing scholarly ideas but also distributing costs and benefits, there will be struggles involving various players with conflicting and overlapping interests. The best way to resolve all such conflicts would be through negotiation, aiming at integrating all resources for the benefit of all players involved (Siler, 2017). After all, scholarship is an inherently social act, and we must remember that, when we build models and theories of communication, they not only describe and explain whatever the subject of our research may be but also create "the kind of communicative world we inhabit" (Carey, 1992, p. 32).

As can be seen, when placed within a larger context, the discourse of scholarly communication, in general, and journal publishing, in particular, takes on critical notes. This becomes clear from its very vocabulary, for example, "revolutionary," "community," "movements," "rights," "control," "resistance," "transparency," "demands," and so on. It's beyond the scope of the present chapter to focus on the journal from the perspective of critical theory; our goal here is to emphasize that *RJC*, as any other academic journal, must be viewed as a system in and of itself, focusing on its content, approaches, methodologies, and so on, but also as a part of a larger system that brings into play numerous social, cultural, and political players. It would be interesting to look into the influence of all those players on the journal and perhaps publish a special issue on the subject. After all, *RJC* is open to all methodological perspectives, including critical, and so why not apply it to the journal itself? Such self-reflection could be very heuristic and thought-provoking (e.g., Milne, Leck, & Choudhri, 2015). It's our hope that the present chapter makes a contribution toward that end.

CONCLUSION

We have provided a historical, textual, and critical examination of the first decade of *RJC* reflecting on the journal as a part of the system of scholarly communication within the context of a larger sociocultural system. Eight years ago, in its third year, *RJC* was still "a new journal on the block" yet "going strong" (Klyukanov, 2011, p. 236). As can be seen from the present chapter, in its eleventh year the journal is on the cusp of adolescence, and going stronger.

Here are several key takeaways from our work on the journal and reflecting on the experience.

First of all, it must be emphasized that the academic journal is a form of scholarly communication through which research is created, evaluated, disseminated, and preserved for future use. Publishing a scholarly journal is a complex, time-consuming, and creative process. It is a commitment on many levels for many people who should not expect extrinsic rewards; it is labor of love.

Second, it should never be forgotten that the journal must be viewed as a system in which many players are interconnected and work toward a common goal. In this light, constant communication among all these players is essential. Also, the journal exists as a subsystem within a larger sociocultural system. Approaching the publication of the journal with a broad systemic view in mind is crucial to its success.

And, third, publishing a scholarly journal is a learning experience; the journal can be successful only inasmuch as all those working on the journal at all stages (preproduction, production, and postproduction) are willing to learn from one another.

Which brings us to what we have learned over the first 10 years of our work on *RJC*. Although it is hard to predict what the next decade brings for the journal, it is our hope that the lessons we have learned may in some ways inform and shape *RJC*'s future.

First of all, we have learned that, while readers see a published issue, a lot of work goes on behind the scenes, so to speak, from content recruitment and selection to assessing manuscripts and preparing them for publication to promoting and increasing the visibility of published materials.

Second, the journal can be as good as its editorial team for, ultimately, it is the editor and the editorial board who are responsible for what appears on the journal's pages in terms of the topics covered, approaches taken, and methods used. It is crucial to have scholars on the journal's editorial board with relevant and diverse expertise; also, undertaking the board's renewal, based on the journal's needs, is a necessary yet delicate process. Also crucial is regular communication between the editor and the editorial board members; for instance, only their joint efforts can generate quality submissions. Finally, it is a good idea to invite guest editors with specific expertise in certain content areas to prepare special theme issues.

Third, the journal can be as good as the quality of reviewers: peer review is a critical part of the preproduction stage that assures the quality of published materials. We have learned how hard it is to find qualified and reliable reviewers; hence, looking for reviewers must be an inherent part of the ongoing work of the editor and editorial board members. As far as the review process itself is concerned, it is important to strive toward accelerating the review turnaround time and reporting of findings.

Fourth, the journal can be as good as the efficiency of its publisher, including the materials found on its website such as the basic workflow all issues will follow. We have learned how important it is to remember that the publisher acts not only as manufacturer but also as marketeer, distributor, and electronic host. Thus, the publisher's role is invaluable when it comes to advertising, marketing, promotion, and distribution of materials.

Fifth, it quickly became clear to us that the journal's success is ultimately determined by the readers' response, including subscriptions and citations. We have learned the importance of various indicators of evaluation of published materials, such as the IF. At the same time, we find it necessary not to rely too much on IFs that can sometimes function as a marketing tool rather than a reflection of the journal's quality.

Sixth, more attention needs to be directed to social media in posting calls for papers and promoting contents; also, blogs could be used as a source of publicity. At the same time, while making use of new technologies, we find it important not to rely too much on automatic electronic management, keeping the journal on a human scale.

Obviously, more research needs to be conducted for the purpose of a more in-depth examination of *RJC* as a form of scholarly communication in a larger sociocultural context. Here are some comprehensive insights for future research, based on our reflections.

First of all, it remains to be seen how the Russian approaches to communication, informed by philological and philosophical ideas, can be integrated with the research focused on messages, outcomes, and social influence. To that end, the editor and the editorial board members may want to cast their net wider and search for new insights into the nature of communication.

Second, the journal needs to be analyzed in a comparative light in order to identify similarities and differences with other journals approaching communication from different cultural perspectives.

Third, more research needs to be conducted into culturally determined academic styles, conventions, practices, and formulas. It is crucial to examine what they reveal about those cultures and how that information can be used for making intercultural communication more successful.

Fourth, since the academic journal is never set in stone, research needs to be conducted into its new formats and features. One especially important area is a possibility of multiple-language publication that could increase awareness of the journal among potential users around the globe.

Fifth, the role of new technologies must be further researched, including how much faith can be placed in their potential, compare blockchain as a force in revolutionizing scholarly journal publishing.

Sixth, calls are made for intellectual movements, including journal publishing, to play a more substantial role in shaping the future of academic publishing; we need to see how such calls are answered and how they impact journal publishing.

And, seventh, since *RJC* is open to all methodological perspectives, including critical, it is crucial to apply the critical perspective to the journal itself: such self-reflection will be heuristic and thought-provoking.

Finally, the present chapter contributes to communication theory building in the post-Soviet contexts, helping explain how and why important relationships exist between key variables and then predict the occurrence of overlapping patterns and specific sociocultural phenomena.

First of all, we have shown how *RJC* contributes to the open discussion of communication as a category constituted by sociocultural and institutional factors and practices. This area is of special interest and concern for scholars in other post-Soviet countries where the disciplinary status of communication study is not universally recognized.

Second, the chapter contributes to our understanding of concrete sociocultural and institutional factors and practices in post-Soviet Russia, from the practice of journalism to various communication rituals to social marketing campaigns.

Third, the chapter contributes to our understanding of how the academic styles, conventions, and formulas have been changing in post-Soviet Russia.

Fourth, the chapter shows how scholarship is an inherently social act, drawing our attention to the significance of such notions as "community," "movements," "rights," "resistance," "transparency," and so on.

And, fifth, it is crucial to point out the journal's contributions to the field found on the journal's website in the testimonials by leadings scholars who find the journal "interdisciplinary in its core, thematically wide-ranging and unexpected, methodologically diverse and intellectually challenging," and "indispensable reading for any responsible student of modern Russian culture and thought" (Evgeny Dobrenko, University of Sheffield, UK); find the journal "original and fascinating" (John Durham Peters, Yale University, USA); and consider the journal "a unique forum for exchanging ideas and sharing perspectives on things Russian, across a wide range of subject matters, approaches and methodologies" (Anna Wierzbicka, Australian National University).

In conclusion, let us note one more time that any journal, especially a communication journal, is a form of communication. In the *Preface* to the first volume of the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* (1665), with which the scholarly journal is generally acknowledged to have started, we find these words by Henry Oldenburg, its editor: “Whereas there is nothing more necessary for promoting the improvements of Philosophical Matters, than the communicating to such, as apply their Studies and Endeavours that way, such things as are discovered or put in practice by others” (see: Weld, 1848, p. 180). Those words remain true today.

NOTES

1. Two scholars from this list—Vyacheslav V. Ivanov and Vyacheslav B. Kashkin—are no longer with us and sorely missed.

2. On the journal’s behalf, we wish to express our gratitude for all their work: thank you.

REFERENCES

Ayeni, P. O., & Adetoro, N. (2017). Growth of predatory open access journals: Implication for quality assurance in library and information science research. *Library Hi Tech News*, *34*(1), 17–22.

Buranen, L. (1999). “But I wasn’t cheating”: Plagiarism and cross-cultural mythology. In L. Buranen & A. M. Roy (Eds.), *Perspectives on plagiarism and intellectual property in a postmodern world* (pp. 63–74). Albany, NY: SUNY Press.

Burns, P. (2017, Nov. 5). Academic journal publishing is headed for a day of reckoning. *The Conversation.* https://bit.ly/3vGcO2c.

Carey, J. (1992). *Communication as culture: Essays on media and society*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Chapman, J. (2011). Rating an academic journal—indexing and impact factor. *Evidence-Based Spine-Care Journal*, *2*(1), 5–6.

Christensen, C. M., McDonald, R., Altman, E.J., & Palmer, J. E. (2018). Disruptive innovation: An intellectual history and directions for future research. *Journal of Management Studies*, *55*(7), 1043–1078.

Craig, R. T. (2007). Issue forum introduction: Cultural bias in communication theory. *Communication Monographs*, *74*(2), 256–258.

Craig, R. (2008). Communication in the conversation of disciplines. *Russian Journal of Communication*, *1*(1), 7–23.

Coulter, G. (2010). Launching (and sustaining) a scholarly journal on the Internet. *The International* Journal *of Baudrillard Studies*, *13*(1), http://dx.doi.org/10.3998/3336451.0013.104.

Courtney, N. (2017, June 12). CiteScore vs. impact factor: How do we rate journal quality? *Research Commons*. https://bit.ly/2Ty4QtL

Csikszentmihalyi, M. (2008). *Flow: The psychology of optimal experience.* New York, NY: HarperCollins.

Deetz, S. A. (1982). Critical interpretive research in organizational communication. *The Western Journal of Speech Communication*, *46*, 131–149.

De Silva, P., & Vance, C. K. (2017). *Scientific scholarly communication: The changing landscape*. Cham, Switzerland: Springer.

Epstein, M. (2012). *The transformative humanities: A manifesto*. New York, NY: Bloomsbury.

Fjällbrant, N. (1997). *Scholarly communication — historical development and new possibilities*. Proceedings of the 1997 IATUL Conference. Paper 5. https://bit.ly/3vCCfSa

Imperiale, M. J., Shenk, T., & Bertuzzi, S. (2016). mSphereDirect: Author-initiated peer review of manuscripts. *mSphere*, *1*(6): e00307–e00316.

Jia, W., Lu, X., & Heisey, D. R. (2002). *Chinese communication theory & research: Reflections, new frontiers, and new directions*. Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger.

Johnson, R., Watkinson, A., & Mabe, M. (2018). *The STM report. An overview of scientific and scholarly publishing. 1968-2018 celebrating the 50th anniversary of STM*. The Hague, the Netherlands: International Association of Scientific, Technical and Medical Publishers.

Kafka, A. (2018, November 13). Will blockchain revolutionize scholarly journal publishing? *The Chronicle of Higher Education.* https://bit.ly/3c5w9lI

Kelly, J., Sadeghieh, T., & Adeli, K. (2014). Peer review in scientific publications: Benefits, critiques, & a survival guide. *EJIFCC*, *25*(3), 227–243.

Kirchik, O., Gingras, Y., & Lariviere, V. (2012). Changes in publication languages and citation practices and their effect on the scientific impact of Russian science. *Journal of the American Society Science and Technology*, *63*(7), 1411–1419.

Klyukanov, I. (2011). Russian Journal of Communication: A new journal on the block. *Review of Communication*, *11*(3), 229–237.

Klyukanov, I., & Leontovich, O. (2016). Russian perspectives on communication. In D. Carbaugh (Ed.), *The handbook of communication in cross-cultural perspective* (pp. 29–41). New York, NY: Routledge.

Leontiev, A. N. (1974). The problem of activity in psychology. *Soviet Psychology*, *13*(2), 4–33.

Loscalzo, J. (2017, May 9). Reflections on my tenure as a scientific journal editor-in-chief. *ScienceEditor*, *40*(1), 122–123. https://bit.ly/3fB4vz4

McCord, S., & Taylor, T. (2009). Journal editing in the age of open access. A Reflection on opportunities and challenges. *Communications in Information Literacy*, *3*(2), 65–67.

Milne, D. L., Leck, C., & Choudhri, N. Z. (2009). Collusion in clinical supervision: Literature review and case study in self-reflection. *The Cognitive Behaviour Therapist*, *2*(2), 106–114. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1754470X0900018X

Modarres, A. (2015). It's not just the author: The reader and the editor are dead, too. *Publications*, *3*(3), 168–173.

Monastersky, R. (2005, October 14). The number that's devouring science. *The Chronicle of Higher Education.* https://bit.ly/3p2xqPE

Murray, S., & Clobridge, A. (2014, September). *The current state of scholarly journal publishing in Africa: Findings & analysis.* https://bit.ly/3i3TqYZ

Rose, M., & Boshoff, W. (2017, February 26). The peer-review system for academic papers is badly in need of repair. *The Conversation.* https://bit.ly/34tUlK7

Shalin, D. (Ed.). (2019). *Russian intelligentsia in the age of counterperestroika: Political agendas, rhetorical strategies, personal choices*. New York & London: Routledge.

Siepmann, D. (2006). Academic writing and culture: An overview of differences between English, French and German. *Meta*, *51*(1). https://doi.org/10.7202/012998ar

Siler, K. (2017). Future challenges and opportunities in academic publishing. *Canadian Journal of Sociology*, *42*(1), 83–114.

Sinekopova, G. V. (2013). Methods of communication research [Методы коммуникативных исследований]. *Russian Journal of Communication*, *5*(3), 304–305.

Smith R. (2006). Peer review: A flawed process at the heart of science and journals. *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine*, *99*(4), 178–182.

Steiglitz, K. (2019). *The discrete charm of the machine. Why the world became digital.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Straumshein, C. (2017, January 5). The shrinking mega-journal. *Inside Higher Education.* https://bit.ly/3vGeiJO

Sullivan, B. (2018, August 28). Is it time for pre-publication peer review to die? *PLOS SciComm.* https://bit.ly/3wIf8FT

Tennant, J. (2018, July 3). Scholarly publishing is broken. Here's how to fix it. *Aeon*. https://bit.ly/34xqCjy

Tenopir, C., King, D., Edwards, S., & Wu, L. (2009). Electronic journals and changes in scholarly article seeking and reading patterns. *Aslib Proceedings: New Information Perspectives*, *61*(1), 5–32.

Tenopir, C., Allard, S., Douglass, K., Aydinoglu, A. U., Wu, L., Read, E., et al. (2011) Data sharing by scientists: Practices and perceptions. *PLoS One*, *6*(6): e21101. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0021101

Vance, M. (2009). Cross-cultural perspectives on source referencing & plagiarism. *Research Starters*, 1–6. https://bit.ly/3c4Tfsw

Ware, M. (2006). *Scientific publishing in transition: an overview of current developments.* Bristol, UK: Consulting Ltd Publishing.

Ware, M., & Mabe, M. (2015). *The STM Report. An overview of scientific and scholarly journal publishing. Celebrating the 350th anniversary of journal publishing*. The Hague, the Netherlands: International Association of Scientific, Technical and Medical Publishers.

Weld, Ch. R. (1848). *A history of the Royal Society: With memoirs of the presidents* (Vol. 1). London, UK: John W. Parker.

Wilden, A. (1972). *System and structure: Essays in communication and exchange.* London, UK: Routledge.

Zanchetti, A. (2008). Editing a scientific journal: Problems and challenges. *Journal of Hypertension*, *26*(1), 1–3.

Chapter 11

Publishing a Communication Textbook for Russian Students

Olga I. Matyash

Textbooks represent a vital category of published material that should capture the nuance of communication theory and be able to convey it to learners. This chapter traces the process of creating a textbook in Russia. The important aspects of this process illuminate the paramount role of culture, broadly defined, as well as the crucial role of national context and particularly nationally specific education practices and policies.

BACKGROUND

As an international scholar who has been teaching communication in different parts of the world, usually in two languages, finding the right instructional resources to support my educational goals has been a challenge. There are at least three major components to the problem: the instructional materials' *language*, either foreign or native, which makes a big difference when learning about interpersonal communication; *culture* with regard to how the text includes relevant cultural examples to illustrate theory; and *conceptual framework* or how the text embraces modern perspectives on the state of the field and subject matter, in this case communication.

As a native Russian, who was trained in communication in the United States, I have dedicated years to spreading communication knowledge in my home country and in the regions typically labeled as "post-socialist countries." Chapter 13, "Teaching Communication in Russia and Kazakhstan: An International Scholar's Perspective," provides some specific pedagogy-related deliberations based on this experience. It was during my initial teaching of interpersonal communication in Russia that I encountered the problem of finding a quality textbook and felt the urge to work on a solution.

Those who teach communication in the United States know that there is no shortage of relevant textbooks and other supportive instructional materials. In fact, instructors are normally "bombarded" with multiple offers from different publishers. Despite different authorships, most textbooks of an introductory level follow the same patterns and they resemble each other in structure and content, thus allowing for some coherence and consistency in what is being taught on the subject. In Russia, the situation with communication programs in higher education and consequently with publishing and marketing instructional resources is considerably different. This is particularly true with the topic of interpersonal communication. In this chapter, I will revisit that situation and analyze my personal experience of writing, editing, and publishing a Russian-language textbook on interpersonal communication. I will integrate two perspectives into my critical analysis: metatheoretical (addressing the issues of conceptual foundations of a textbook) and practical (exploring problematic situations within the broader social/cultural context).

A PEDAGOGICAL PROBLEM TO BE SOLVED

As mentioned earlier, acquiring appropriate instructional resources to teach interpersonal communication in Russia appeared to be a challenge from the start. During earlier years of teaching, when I was working at Saint Petersburg State University, I chose to use an American textbook and supportive reading materials in English. Those students who were fluent in English and even had some experience studying abroad enjoyed the readings. Some of the students even established contact with the American textbook author to debate some perspectives. However, two things quickly became problematic. First, the students who were enthusiastic about the topic, but had poor English-reading skills, struggled with those sources. Second, the American textbook, with all its interesting vignettes and illustrations, was grounded in American culture, to which Russian students often could not relate.

My primary purpose was to help students to build conceptual knowledge about communication so that they could incorporate it into their own practices. I needed instructional sources embedded with native cultural themes so that the students could relate better to theory. The Russian academic sources did not solve the problem. Many of them are written in an abstract and typically dry academic manner and were not very engaging. Also, there were no books in the academic market representing the discipline I was going to teach. The books about interpersonal communication, or as it was called in Russian, interpersonal *obshenie* (the root of the Russian word means "common, being in common, togetherness"), were typically written by psychologists and represented a different disciplinary perspective and theoretical paradigms (Dokuchayev, 2013; Matyash, 2015; 2016; 2021). In response to my grievances about a lack of instructional resources, the dean of the school suggested, "Why don't you write your own textbook?" And, really, why not?

That was a starting point for my textbook project. The idea was intriguing and the project seemed feasible. Some colleagues who had already published textbooks warned that it would be a hard process: "You won't make money out of it, instead it will be costly, tension-filled, and exhausting." Yet, a few colleagues became inspired by the idea to create a modern textbook on interpersonal communication and got on board. So, we became a team and found a publisher. Little did we know the series of systemic challenges we would face as we went along.

CONCEPTUALIZING A COMMUNICATION TEXTBOOK

What constitutes a "modern communication textbook"? The basic requirements are straightforward. The book should be informative, review modern theory and research on the subject, incorporate multiple perspectives, and activate critical thinking of the reader. As an instructional source, the text should be engaging and interesting for the reader and unfold as an active query about communication. It should be dialogical. Readers should feel that the author speaks to them, anticipates their questions, doubts, skepticism, or confusion, and addresses them. The text should be supported visually and have appealing graphics. (Which in our case was turned out to be quite limited: to lower costs, and "to make it more affordable," the editor refused to use colors in the design.) This was the most general vision for the book.

Conceptual considerations are the most important. The quality of existing communication textbooks is often unsatisfying, and it is admitted by the authors themselves. For example, Dokuchayev (2013) points to the problem of the quality of available textbooks. He contends that too many authors use diverse theoretical languages and inconsistent terminology to write about communication. In the absence of comprehensive communication theory, collective academic reflections and consensus on what a theory should be, modern communication textbooks do not provide systematic, consistent perspectives. I agree, particularly about the lack of and a need for a metatheoretical framework. If we are concerned about building some unity, consistency, and coherence of the field, which consequently is reflected in the textbooks, a scholarly discussion should be undertaken to work out criteria and principles of what constitutes the basics of modern communication theory.

I would characterize communication textbooks offered on the market today as often content-abundant but conceptually not useful. Compiled of diverse ideas about communication drawn from different disciplines, they present a kaleidoscope of themes, names, terminology, models, and perspectives. According to their authors, this constitutes the field (e.g., see the textbooks by a widely published author Sharkov, 2012). The most common rationale for such "all-inclusiveness" is based on the argument that, since human communication is complex, this diversity of perspectives is what constitutes the landscape of the field and it is unavoidable. Authors often state that the field is immanently multidisciplinary, and intentionally or not, rationalizing their methodological eclecticism and ambiguity.

In this light, it was particularly important that our book design have a clear and coherent conceptual foundation. In the broadest philosophical sense, it must address the basic metatheoretical considerations for communication theory and knowledge—ontological, epistemological, praxeological, and axiological (Anderson & Baym, 2004; Miller, 2002). Therefore, the book needed to address the following core metatheoretical principles:

- *Constitutive approach to communication*: The text had to introduce the fundamental principles of communication ontology—*communication as a primary way of being* and *the constitutive power of communication*, or *communication as social construction* (Baxter, 2006, 2011; Cooren, 2012; 2018; Craig, 1999; Deetz, 1994; Deetz & Eger, 2014; Miller, 2002, 2006; Pearce, 2007). Why I considered it a paramount task for the book project can be explained by the following abstract from Anderson and Baym (2004). The authors draw a distinction between two types of ontologies, foundationalist and communicative-discursive, and conclude that the very identity of the discipline is rooted in the latter:

  > For the foundationalist, communication is at best a second-order effect, always reducible to psychology, biology, or physics, explainable in the final instance by the tools, techniques, and focus of other disciplines. Communicative and discursive ontologies, by contrast, see communication as irreducible to the traditional hard sciences and prior to sociology, politics, economics, and the other sciences of the social. Such ontologies demand that careful attention be paid to dialogue among people and organizations and to media discourse, for those are seen to be the constituent levels of human experience. We endorse the argument that only communicative and discursive ontologies can sustain the field of communication. If ours, however, is indeed a discipline that on balance remains committed to a foundationalist ontology, then we continue to undercut our own relevance within the wider academy. (Anderson & Baym, 2004, p. 603)

  In Russia, the issues of communication ontology, although raised and discussed by a number of authors, generally of a philosophical background (e.g., see the works by Gavra, 2011; Kuzheleva-Sagan, 2011; Sokolov, 2001), are not broadly developed in communication theory. So, it became a central theme and a primary goal of the book—to show how we communicatively constitute our worlds. The text not only explains *what* we cocreate in and through communication (relationships, multiple identities, norms and traditions, organizations, status and power, social order, etc.) but also illustrates *how* this takes place in ongoing interactions.

- *Focus on discourses, or discursive/conversational practices*: It was important to articulate that this communicative construction takes place in the fabric of daily conversations, in *discursive practices*, or as Baxter (2006, 2011) states, in "the interplay of competing discourses." The purpose was to show that we are engaged in this interplay of discourses continuously and at different levels. We do it in routine conversations, through the exchange of messages. For this purpose, the book is riddled with multiple fragments of ordinary, "down-to-earth" talks, many from personal observations. We are also engaged in discursive construction in a broader social context, as an interplay of cultural discourses and symbols, often found in rituals and national celebrations. Among examples for the latter, I used an annual celebration of May 9 or Victory Day for the Great Patriotic War (World War II in the Western world). Included were examples of how language, arts, symbols, and other cultural historical resources, along with modern nationalistic patriotic discourses, are used to reproduce and enhance the "heroic and sacred" meanings of that event.
- *Communication as meaning-making*: Consistent with the constitutive approach, the book emphasizes a meaning-centered approach, the centrality of *meaning* and *meaning-making* in interpersonal communication (Baxter, 2006, 2011; Knapp & Daly, 2011; Pearce, 2007). Some authors rightfully describe *meaning* as a unifying concept of the field. "As communication scholars, we are all concerned with the matter of meaning" (Ott & Domenico, 2015, pp. 253, 234). So that was another important methodological task to explain and illustrate how meaning-making unfolds, how we generate, convey, and negotiate meaning in conversations. In regard to meaning-making in interpersonal communication, the book emphasizes the importance of *perspective-taking* and *other-orientedness*, which in my view is paramount in modern societies. Eventually the book was to motivate readers to work with meanings and meaning-making in their own communication.
- *Agency and ethical mode of communication*: It was important for me to convey the idea of agency in two aspects. First, communication as a course of action is influenced by each participant. Each person's behavior, verbal or nonverbal, has an impact on its quality and outcomes. "Each of us is an agent in the process of making social worlds" (Pearce, 2007, p. 52). Second, communication has an ethical mode. Each of us as a communication

participant carries an inevitable ethical "burden" or responsibility for our choices and their consequences. Communication is about power to influence and about accountability (Cooren, 2012; 2018).
- *The practical nature and pragmatic value of communication theory*: I share the perspective that "the essence of the discipline of communication is in the practical questions of how to communicate well, how to make wise choices in our communicative conduct. In that perspective, communication is a practical discipline" (Craig, 2015, p. 64; 2008; 1999, 2006; Pearce, 2007). The text aims to convince the reader that communication theory is practical and communication knowledge is useful. It equips us with skills, or "tools," that we apply to better understand and manage our relationships in all areas of life. Communication knowledge is also empowering. It opens for us new choices and increases our self-awareness and confidence, which also adds to its pragmatic value. It is "the power and freedom to use communication to create the social worlds we desire" (Miller, 2006, p. 36).

To illustrate how a certain idea, concept, theory, or principle can extend into everyday practice and elicit our understanding of occurring social events, the text introduces multiple real-life scenarios supported by authors' comments and analysis. The same principle of connecting theory to real life applies to the chapter tasks and activities. They also serve to project theory onto the readers' personal experiences and stimulate the reader's reflective thinking. To make it even more convincing I used comparison and contrasting in some cases. For example, I reproduced two seemingly similar episodes of customer service: one happened in my home post office in Siberia and the other in an Iowa City hospital, the United States. Both descriptions were followed by a set of questions designed to help students recognize how confirming and disconfirming, or person-oriented and depersonalizing/bureaucratic, communication are manifested and enacted in ordinary practices.

- *Multiple contexts*: Another way to illustrate the applicability and pragmatic value of interpersonal communication theory was to make a case that basic concepts and principles apply not only to personal relationships, but to *a wide array of social contexts* (Knapp & Daly, 2012). To illustrate how interpersonal concepts apply to diverse areas, the text includes cases from customer service, health care, education, family communication, and so on. I also made a special point to bring in examples from political and media communication, featuring talks by well-known politicians and public figures, including presidents.

Looking back, this method of connecting theory to practice was effective. Later when I was using the book for teaching a course in Moscow, one of the students commented, “First, when you start reading and thinking about an idea, you feel skeptical. But then you get to an example, an illustrating situation, and have to agree: Damn . . . , yes, this is true, this is really how it works!”

- *Integrating a native cultural background*: The book had to demonstrate a sociocultural relevance of communication theory. The cases for analysis need to be recognizable and feel “like home,” so that the reader can identify with them. For that purpose, the text represents a wide variety of examples from cultural life including examples of popular radio programs, media, or movie episodes. Each chapter also includes fragments of live conversations, many of which were observed on the streets and in public places. Also included are personal stories and episodes that happened to me when I was working on the book. In some stories, the locations were easily recognizable: Saint Petersburg, Moscow, my home city in Siberia, or the United States. The readers who live in those regions can even recognize where particular episodes took place: a store, post offices, street yard, or hospital. Some friends, relatives, and colleagues, both Russian and American, can also recognize themselves (anonymously) in conversations and picture illustrations. The purpose was to bring a verisimilitude into the book, to saturate it with real voices, real talks, real people, and real places, weave them into the fabric of the book narrative, so that at every step of learning the reader would feel that interpersonal communication is all about life, and about *their* life. It served also as a persuasive strategy and helped to immerse theory into everyday life so that the reader could see for themselves that communication theory is practical, and useful and effective for life.

An additional rationale for illustrating theory with multiple and recognizable episodes from real life derived from my meta-goal. This book was intended to reach out a broader audience. There is a growing interest among general audience in regard to an interpersonal communication agenda. People of different professional affiliations/backgrounds and different ages often ask me what exactly I am teaching. When I explain, they are eager to learn more about it. As a recent example, an organizer of a Moscow foundation for disabled teenagers asked me to help find an expert who could develop a series of presentations on interpersonal communication and would be competent enough to deliver it to the teenagers. The topic was in high demand, but finding a competent expert turned out to be quite a challenge. So, the need to create a book which, along with being replete with theoretical perspectives and research, would be engaging and interesting for audiences outside academia and could be used for independent learning is clear.

- *Advancing a (paradigmatic) disciplinary approach*: By building on a communicative constitutive approach, or as Pearce (2007) called it "a communication perspective on social worlds," the book sought to achieve another important metatheoretical goal: help readers understand in what way this approach differs from other disciplines' approaches to communication, for example, psychology, and how the readers can benefit from it (Baxter, 2006; Cooren, 2012; 2018; Deetz, 1994; Deetz & Eger, 2014). The book has to demonstrate to a reader how communication serves as a mode of explanation for social phenomena. "If we are to make our full social contribution, we have to move from studying 'communication' phenomena as formed and explained psychologically, sociologically, and economically, and produce studies that study psychological, sociological, and economic phenomena as formed and explained communicationally" (Deetz, 1994, p. 568).

In retrospect, I would admit that it was a challenge to follow the same paradigmatic approach throughout the book, and in this regard the book falls short of consistency. It was created by five coauthors, representing different disciplinary areas: two communication scholars, one a Russian American and the other American; a psychologist; a philosopher-sociologist; and a language studies and cultural studies scholar who adapted an American chapter for Russian readers. In this sense, the reader can notice that each chapter has not only a different writing style but to a certain degree, a different conceptual framing, reflecting on each author's disciplinary identity and worldview. This collective writing experience revealed that each of us, when writing a chapter, conceptually stayed loyal to their "home" discipline's paradigms, reproducing their discipline's perspectives on communication. And that demonstrates the broader state of affairs with communication as a discipline in Russia and is specifically what I consistently refer to as "the problem of institutionalization" (Matyash, 2015, 2016, 2021).

CHALLENGES IN PUBLICATION

Having outlined the conceptual design and main features that make our book *modern*, I will reflect on problems that we faced for the book's publishing, promotion, and distribution. In a nutshell, the major problem was systemic in nature and had several facets to it. One was what in Russia's academic system is known as *complying* or being in accordance with formal educational standards.

The book's title is *Interpersonal Communication: Theory and Life* (Matyash et al., 2011). In order for the book to be widely adopted by Russian universities, it had to correspond to the courses included in established educational programs and in turn had to correspond to existing educational standards (see more, Bachurina, 2020). In other words, it had to be officially recommended by the Ministry of Education as an instructional source for a particular discipline as a part of an established communication curriculum. Currently in contrast to the United States, interpersonal communication is not considered a mandatory course in many communication-related programs and therefore there is no need for university libraries to acquire it in large quantities. Selected topics on interpersonal communication can be found in existing programs, such as Sociology of Communication or Intercultural Communication, but the number of academic hours to cover those topics is often miniscule, see an example, *Programma distsipliny Sociologia kommunikatsii* (Kazanskiy [Privolzhskiy] Federalnyi Universitet, 2018).

One could argue that a book of this nature could be used in a variety of disciplines including Introduction to Communication Theory and Intercultural Communication. In fact, it has been so used. Professional development programs are another area where according to my Russian colleagues the book was enthusiastically appropriated. Both instructors and students (adult professionals) appreciated the book's practical applications. A memorable moment was when I received a review letter from an unknown librarian from Siberia who was compelled to write an unsolicited review commenting on the fresh, live dialogic style of the book, contrasting favorably from a dry tone of mainstream texts. However, all that was not enough to warrant a massive adoption of the book across national regional universities.

To illustrate the point, a situation happened when I was invited to teach at a Moscow university and was going to use the book in my own course. The university bookstore did not carry it. So, I arranged to get our own authors' copies. Technically, the bookstore could acquire those copies for sale. But the bureaucratic procedure was so long and cumbersome and required weeks to go through all the steps, that in the time it took, my students had covered the larger portion of the course material. The stacks of the book copies ended up sitting in the department office, and eventually disappeared. There was simply no way I could arrange for students to purchase the textbooks.

One of my Saint Petersburg (SPb) colleagues-coauthors, Nadezhda Kazarinova, shared her perspective on why the book distribution did not go well through formal channels. Professor Kazarinova has been teaching interpersonal communication in several SPb universities and put in great effort to establish it as a part of the university curriculum including technical/engineering programs, which is rare. She has been teaching it under different names and integrating it into different courses, for example, *Professional Communication and Research Seminar*. Her viewpoint is that teaching communication in Russian universities is rather chaotic these days and to a great degree driven by personal preferences. The content of communication courses, methodological perspectives, and resources being used differ greatly from one institution to another and depend on who is teaching. Most professors prefer to promote their own instructional materials and tend to see alternative sources as competition. She also feels that her own achievements in establishing interpersonal communication as a component in the university curriculum are not sustainable: “It all depends on individual commitment—when we go away, teaching of these courses will go away.”

Speaking in broader institutional terms, I posit that this presents an interesting paradox. Despite formally defined standards for communication-related programs, the actual teaching and content of what is being taught are highly unstructured and vary dramatically. To a great degree they are determined first, by a teacher’s disciplinary background, whether they were trained in psychology, language studies, philosophy, culturology, or sociology (Matyash, 2015; 2016) and second, by a teacher’s enthusiasm, will, and standing to push for their area, in this case interpersonal communication and establish it within the existing university curriculum.

Getting back to our publisher, the general director highly praised the book and suggested that, as a special sign of recognition, the book be published in the series Golden Series of Psychology or The Masters of National Psychology. This would facilitate the book’s promotion, but it undermined the entire mission of this project—to introduce a different conceptual and disciplinary perspective on communication, to distinguish it from a traditional psychological perspective, and to show the benefits of a new approach. As flattering as it was, I had to decline the offer. Eventually, the number of printing copies was reduced from 4,000 to 2,000. The book did not get as wide a distribution across Russian universities as we hoped. We ended up distributing copies through our personal networks at conferences. It was gratifying to see how fast the book disappeared from display tables as we gave them out to our colleagues, friends, and best students, and eventually posting it online (Communication Association of Eurasian Researchers’ website). We hope, by now, it has a life of its own and yet serves its intended purpose. Our mission was to introduce modern communication theory and show how it works in the context of Russian cultural practices. That mission was accomplished. And the instructional goal of utilizing not only English but also native language resources in teaching interpersonal communication has been achieved.

CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS

I view our teamwork on the book project as pioneering. We were creating an instructional text on interpersonal communication, the conceptual design serving to advance core principles of constitutive communication. In this sense, our product was different from other books in the Russian-language instructional market.

I can characterize the publishing experience as emotionally and resourcefully depleting, the investments outweighing the *tangible* benefits. Among multiple systemic factors that contributed to publication difficulties, the status of the discipline is the most basic. Currently interpersonal communication is not developed and cannot be characterized as a core area of study and an established curriculum component in Russian higher education. Therefore, the availability of this kind of instructional literature is not institutionally driven. It is driven however by individual ambitions and the enthusiasm of pioneering scholars. The general public and professionals' interest in the interpersonal communication agenda in that part of the world is noticeably broad and growing. This leads us to believe that our pioneering efforts have planted the seeds into fertile soil.

REFERENCES

Anderson, J., & Baym, G. (2004). Philosophies and philosophic issues in communication, 1995–2004. *Journal of Communication*, *4*, 589–615.

Bachurina, N. S. (2020). The history of the development of public relations as an institutionalized field and as a discipline in the post-Soviet space. In K. Tsetsura & D. Kruckeberg (Eds.), *Strategic communications in Russia: Public relations and advertising* (pp. 45–71). New York, NY: Routledge.

Baxter, L. A. (2006). *Communication as dialogue*. In G. J. Shepherd, J. St. John, & T. Striphas (Eds.), *Communication as . . .: Perspectives on theory* (pp. 101–109). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Baxter, L. A. (2011). *Voicing relationships: A dialogic perspective*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Cooren, F. (2012). Communication theory at the center: Ventriloquism and the communicative constitution of reality. *Journal of Communication*, *62*(1), 1–20.

Cooren, F. (2018). Materializing communication: Making the case for a relational ontology. *Journal of Communication*, *68*(2), 278–288.

Craig, R. T. (1999). Communication theory as a field. *Communication Theory*, *9*(2), 119–161.

Craig, R. T. (2006). Communication as a practice. In G. J. Shepherd, J. St. John, & T. Striphas (Eds.), *Communication as. . .: Perspectives on theory* (pp. 38–47). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Craig, R. T. (2008). Communication in the conversation of disciplines. *Russian Journal of Communication*, *1*(1), 7–24.

Craig, R. T. (2015). Communication as a practical discipline: Engaging theory with practice. In *Kommunikatsiya kak distsiplina i oblast' znaniya v sovremennom mire: Dialog podhodov* [Communication as a discipline and as a field in the modern world: A dialogue of perspectives] (pp. 59–72). Moscow, Russia: National Research University Higher School of Economics.

Deetz, S. A. (1994). Future of the discipline: The challenges, the research, and the social contribution. In S. A. Deetz (Ed.), *Communication yearbook 17* (pp. 565–600). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Deetz, S. A., & Eger, E. K. (2014). Developing a metatheoretical perspective for organizational communication studies. In L. Putnam & D. Mumby (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of organizational communication: Advances in theory, research, and methods* (pp. 27–48). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Dokuchayev, I. (2013). *Osnovy teorii kommunikatsii. Uchebnoye posobiye.* [Foundations of communication theory]. Komsomolsk-na-Amure, Russia: FGBOU VPO «KnAGTU».

Gavra, D. P. (2011). *Osnovy teorii kommunikatsii* [Foundations of communication theory]. Saint Petersburg, Russia: Piter.

Knapp, M., & Daly, J. (Eds.) (2012). *The Sage handbook of interpersonal communication* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Kazanskiy (Privolzhskiy) Federalnyi Universitet (2018). *Programma distsipliny Sociologia kommunikatsii* [The program of the discipline Sociology of communication]. https://kpfu.ru/pdf/portal/oop/107019.pdf

Kuzheleva-Sagan, I. P. (2011). *Nauchnoye znaniye o svyazyah s obshestvennostyu: Filosofskiy analiz* [Scientific knowledge about public relations: A philosophical analysis]. Moscow, Russia: URSS Publishing House.

Matyash, O. (2015). Perspectives of Russian educators on communication and communication education in Russian universities: A survey analysis. *Russian Journal of Communication*, 7(1), 1–26. https://doi.org/10.1080/19409419.2015.1008941

Matyash, O. (2016, September). *Prepodavateli rossiiskih vuzov o kommunikatsii i o problemah kommunikativnogo obrazovaniya* [Russian educators about communication and problems of communication education]. *Kommunikatsii.Media.Desain*, *1*(1). https://cmd-journal.hse.ru/article/view/3237

Matyash, O. (2021). Communication as a practical discipline in Russia. In M. Rich & J. Robles (Eds.), *Practicing communication theory: Exploring, applying, and teaching the constitutive metamodel* (pp. 153–173). San Diego, CA: Cognella.

Matyash, O., Pogolsha, V., Kazarinova, N., Beebe, S., & Zaritskaya, Zh. (2011). *Mezhlichnostnaya kommunikatsiya: Teoriya i zhizn'. Uchebnik dlya vuzov* [Interpersonal communication: Theory and life] (O. Matyash, Ed.). Saint Petersburg, Russia: Rech. https://caer.wildapricot.org/MATYASH-BOOK

Miller, K. (2002). *Communication theories: Perspectives, processes, and contexts.* New York, NY: McGraw Hill.

Miller, K. (2006). Communication as constructive. In G. J. Shepherd, J. St. John, & T. Striphas (Eds.), *Communication as. . .: Perspectives on theory* (pp. 31–37). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Ott, B., & Domenico, M. (2015). Conceptualizing meaning in communication studies. In P. Gehrke & W. Keith (Eds.), *A century of communication studies* (pp. 234–260). New York, NY: Routledge.

Pearce, W. B. (2007). *Making social worlds: A communication perspective.* Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Sharkov, F. (2012). *Kommunikologia. Osnovy teorii kommunikatsii.* [Communicology: The basics of communication theory]. Moskva, Russia: Dashkov i Ko.

Sokolov, A. V. (2001). *Metateoriya sotsialnoi kommunikatsii* [Metatheory of social communication]. Saint Petersburg, Russia: Russian National Library.

Part IV

APPLICATIONS OF COMMUNICATION THEORY AND RESEARCH TO PEDAGOGY

TEACHING IN AND ABOUT POST-SOCIALIST SOCIETIES

Chapter 12

Intercultural Communication Pedagogy in Lithuania

Listening to Viewpoints

Andrew C. Jones and Eugenija Kungienė

Current scholarship underrepresents the impact of the language in which intercultural communicant occurs. By engaging with scholarship from philology and linguistics, we clarify the problem of treating Anglo-American English as a neutral medium for intercultural communication. Relying on recent theorizing about the importance of listening in communication studies, we develop a practical pedagogical intervention that addresses this issue. Though not limited to post-Soviet communication studies, our work contributes to this specialized area by reclaiming an approach to communication scholarship initially developed in the Soviet bloc. This chapter explains a practical intervention in communication pedagogy and highlights a fruitful area of future interdisciplinary research into the impact of the language on intercultural communication in the post-Soviet states and beyond.

One problem for intercultural communication pedagogy in general, and more specifically for post-Soviet communication studies, is the implicit assumption that intercultural communication takes place through the neutral medium of a shared language. However, as Mačianskienė (2009) argues, while intermediate-advanced learners of English are able to discuss their Anglo-American target culture, "when it comes to presenting their national language, way of life and reality they take pride in, it appears that they lack appropriate language and the facts or even motivation to speak about themselves" (p. 6). That is, even within a shared language, intercultural communication is limited by the language of discourse. While this problem has been addressed by scholars in philology and linguistics (Firth, 1996; Jenkins, 2000; Seidlhofer, 2005; Syed & Kuzborska, 2018; Taguchi & Ishihara, 2018), it is not yet widely discussed in the field of communication studies. However, recent theorizing about listening in communication studies (Bodie & Crick, 2014; Crick & Bodie, 2016; Lipari, 2004, 2010) provides a possible solution to the limitations imposed by communication in a non-native language.

To communicate in an intercultural situation, it is not sufficient to speak in order to be heard, one must also be willing and able to listen. Therefore, our chapter intervenes in two ways: first, we introduce scholarship on the topic of intercultural communication through a shared language from philology and linguistics that should inform intercultural communication theory moving forward. Second, we introduce a pedagogical practice, informed by recent theorizing about listening in communication studies, which addresses the practical problem of intercultural communication raised by scholars in philology and linguistics. Despite the more technical review of literature and theorizing, we hope that the discussion will provide communication scholars with tools to improve intercultural communication research and practice, particularly in post-Soviet countries.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

A colleague at the international university where we teach once shared the following anecdote while introducing the idea of colonialism in a lecture on economics. "In university," he explained,

> we were required to take two semesters of "Foreign Language." I thought this was an excellent plan, and gleefully signed up for my required credit hours. After toiling away for a full academic year, I was proud to have attained proficiency in "Foreign Language" as required by my selective liberal arts university, and, after graduation, I was particularly happy to have completed this requirement because my first position after graduation was in a post-soviet country. Imagine my surprise when I arrived and learned that they didn't speak "Foreign Language" at all!

Our colleague's story is similar to the old philologist's joke: "If you speak three languages, you're trilingual, two languages you're bilingual, one language, you're American." Both illustrate a common problem in intercultural communication: there is a tacit assumption that intercultural communication takes place through a neutral medium, and that neutral medium is Anglo-American English. However, language is not a neutral medium (Phillipson, 2013), and Anglo-American English is a particularly fraught medium, even if it has fulfilled John Adams's prediction of becoming "the language of the world" (1852, p. 250). Adams's prediction placed the English language as a successor to Greek, Latin, and French as a common foreign language through which nations could communicate. And not just nations. As Taguchi and Ishihara (2018) explain, English has become the lingua franca of international higher education.

English is not a neutral medium for intercultural communication, because it has adopted nuances from all of its many users. English is a living language that does not benefit (or suffer) from any tightly controlled central authority dictating its usage. As Seidlhofer (2005) explains, this leads to English as a lingua franca (ELF), which is “shaped as much by its non-native speakers as by its native speakers” (p. 339). While Seidlhofer is primarily referring to phonological shifts within ELF—for example, Jenkins’ (2000) suggestion for de-emphasizing difficult sounds, like the “th” sound in “Lithuania,” which can be difficult for non-Anglo-American English speakers to pronounce and is not typically necessary for international intelligibility—the same is true of non-phonological features of the language as well. The conceptual and cultural assumptions underlying English are also shaped as much by its non-Anglo-American speakers as by its Anglo-American speakers, both through the incorporation of idioms and expressions and through the natural extension of language through metaphor. Lakoff and Johnson (2003) argue, “Metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action” (p. 3). The thoughts and actions of all language users weave through the medium of communication creating a rich tapestry of understanding that is influenced by the weft of other tongues as well as the warp of native users. This creates an increasing need for intercultural communication pedagogy that considers the influence of ELF on intercultural communication.

As institutions worldwide move toward English medium instruction (EMI), the need for language intensive programs—from Summer Language Institutes to year-long Prerequisite Intensive Module in English (PRIME)—creates one such opportunity for intercultural communication within academic English coursework. However, as proponents and critics of EMI observe, English as the language of instruction may overwhelm student’s willingness or ability to share their unique cultural viewpoints in EMI courses (Mačianskienė, 2009; Phillipson, 2013). This is because, as Smith (2009) summarizes, older paradigms of majority/minority culture are currently being used in classrooms, even though they are already decades out of date. Therefore, as courses are updated, it is possible to integrate intercultural communication more explicitly. Syed and Kuzborska (2018) suggest second language learners’ willingness to communicate may be positively impacted by assignments that explicitly encourage student communication. Activities that encourage students to share their unique viewpoints within a structured environment allows for acknowledgment which “requires that all sides learn to look at their common history and their respective current conditions from a more complex perspective than is usually available to them” (Ben-Porath, 2005, p. 88). Activities that focus on intercultural communication across the curriculum at public and private institutions help students who have been educated in a monoculture environment appreciate the diversity of the university classroom.

As our review of the literature from linguistics and philology suggests, the language of intercultural communication must be taken into account when considering intercultural communication pedagogy. In the analysis which follows, we synthesize current theorizing on the place of listening within communication studies to develop a practical intervention that we implemented at a liberal arts EMI university in a post-Soviet state.

In the following paragraphs, we set out the current debate about the centrality of listening in communication studies. Through this review of the literature, we ground our analysis and practical intervention on a pragmatic theory of listening responding to a call for recognizing the impact Anglo-American English has on intercultural communication. Listening, as articulated by Crick and Bodie (2016), creates the space necessary for intercultural communication identified by linguists and philologists in our literature review above.

Lipari (2010) reframes communication by placing listening rather than speaking at the center of the communicative act. Lipari (2004) defines the ideal listener as "rhetorically and ethically sensitive" and one who "keeps an ear out for places of silence, erasure, misrecognition" (p. 122). However, ideal listening is nearly impossible to achieve, as Lipari illustrates when exploring the silence, erasure, and misrecognition in the textual encounters of Martin Buber and Emmanuel Levinas, arguably the two most important dialogic philosophers of the twentieth century. If they are not able to listen, then what hope do mere mortals have? Without creating a false synthesis of Buber and Levinas, which would further silence, erase, and misrecognize both philosophers, Lipari creates a space for dialogue between the two. Lipari summarizes this space by explaining that "in my dialogic encounter with you, I will not only listen for your radical alterity but I will open and make a place for it" (p. 138). In this way, Lipari places listening at the center of the communicative act, recognizing that this requires listening for and making space for the difficult, the different, and the radically strange. However ethically grounded this advice may be, it still hovers in the realm of the abstract and ideal, so Lipari (2010) attempts to ground the practice of listening as a way of being in the world.

Lipari (2010) disentangles listening from hearing by identifying the elision of listening and hearing in both Gadamer and Weinsheimer (2011) and Hyde (2006) before arguing for the primacy of listening. Lipari argues that listening does not follow hearing, as decoding a message might follow from receiving a message. Rather Lipari places listening as a prior ethical act in which we seek to belong to the matter addressed. However, this clarification of listening does not make the practice of listening any more clear for the communication pedagogue who must now translate the phenomenology of Heidegger for a lay audience that simply wants to improve their daily life. Thus we might summarize Lipari's argument as follows: we have forgotten to listen before we hear and before we speak. As noted earlier, the same critique can also be applied to intercultural communication, where questions of how others speak take priority over questions of how we might make space to listen for other voices. This problem is further compounded when the medium of discourse reinforces technical hearing above ethical listening, as when native speakers insist on native pronunciation despite its irrelevance to discourse in EFL (Jenkins, 2000). By placing listening before hearing, Lipari (2010) grounds the practice of listening in the being of the listener, arguing that the internal state of the listener is more fundamental to the phenomenon of listening than the mere mechanics of sound waves bouncing around the ear. Yet, as Lipari concludes, "what is thus proposed in this article is perhaps a utopian vision of listening we might call *listening being*" (Emphasis in original) which is not "an actual state or principle, but a horizon toward which we might travel" (p. 359). Fortunately, Lipari's utopian vision called for a pragmatic response.

Bodie and Crick (2014) turn to the phenomenology of C. S. Peirce for a more pragmatic explanation of listening through his three categories of thought and nature. They dispute the notion that listening might be an inherited capacity, explaining that "artful listening involves an ability to work through obstacles in relationships over time, to give oneself to another consistently rather than unpredictably, and to consider that things could be other than what we had assumed them to be" (p. 105). Thus far they agree with Lipari. However, where explorations of listening through a phenomenological perspective grounded in Buber and Levinas lack verification, Peirce's tripartite division of the act of thinking maps onto a tradition of listening scholarship that identifies listening as affective, cognitive, and behavioral. Bodie and Crick explain that their departure from Lipari is grounded on a distinction between listening as a phenomenological object and listening as an artful practice.

Bodie and Crick (2014) identify three categories of experience, defined by relationships between quality, relation, and mediation, which culminate in the artful practice of listening. By quality, they mean the timeless and eternal aspects of phenomena. This is perhaps the most difficult category of experience to classify because we tend to merge it with sense perception, as in the example of redness, where we are tempted to define that which is red by the wavelength of light refracted from the surface of a given object. However, for Peirce, as for Bodie and Crick, quality is more like the answer to the Buddhist kōan, "What is the sound of one hand clapping?" The answer to such a question will timelessly encapsulate the quality of clapping, by escaping the perceptual bounds of definition since one may never truly experience the sound of one hand clapping. By relation, Bodie and Crick refer to that which brings us in contact with reality, such as the Newtonian notion of action and reaction. That is, things in relation act upon each other, such as the compulsion of a gambler when exposed to a deck of cards or the movement of water from an area of high particulate concentration to an area of low particulate concentration through a semipermeable membrane in osmosis. By mediation, Bodie and Crick mean the synthetic unity of two things through cognition. Thus mediation is like the neural network that, having repeatedly correctly identified a pattern of movements in a game of chess, "learns" that pattern of movements and is able thereafter to correctly identify "castling" in future games of chess.

Bodie and Crick (2014) then identify three modes of consciousness which correspond to listening, hearing, and sensing. Where the experience of listening is "characterized by a plural consciousness sensitive to Mediation as it reveals itself through Relation and Quality" and hearing is "a dual consciousness that tends to take Mediation for granted and focus primarily on instrumental Relations and concomitant Qualities" and sensing is "a single consciousness within which the actual meanings of words or the practical import of our situation are overpowered by the sheer force of Qualities" (p. 106). Put more simply, we are in a sensing mode when we are only aware of the sound of another's voice, we are in a hearing mode when we are able to parrot back the standard meaning of those sounds verbatim, and we are in a listening mode if and only if we are able to discern the underlying character and attitude of the people with whom we communicate in a shared experience of mutual understanding. That is, sensing, hearing, and listening must all be present simultaneously for artful listening to take place. Furthermore, in keeping with Bodie and Crick's understanding of listening as a rhetorical practice, listening cannot exist alone as a state of being, but must always also be in relation to dialogue. The key difference with Lipari's phenomenology of listening, then, is that Lipari's definition would allow a neural network to be a listening being, but Bodie and Crick would not allow this because the neural network could not participate in dialogue leading to a shared experience of mutual understanding.

Returning to our earlier discussion of intercultural communication, we would argue that much intercultural communication undertheorizes the impact of EMI and ELF. Without acknowledging the impact of the medium of communication, intercultural communication will be mired in sensing, only occasionally able to claw its way to the banks of hearing, but never able to stand firm on the shores of listening. In order to listen, intercultural communication scholars must first acknowledge that Anglo-American English is a fraught medium, which requires contextualization as well as definition that is shaped by its history and its present usage. In the remainder of this chapter, we explore one way of foregrounding the medium of intercultural communication by discussing the integration of intercultural communication through an activity that prioritizes listening to student viewpoints.

ANALYSIS

Our approach in this analysis follows a performative approach within the arts and humanities paradigm as outlined by Davis, Lachlan, and Westerfelhaus (2017). This approach is particularly appropriate for a study of intercultural communication pedagogy because we wish to be forthright about the ways we construct meaning through EFL, and we wish to highlight multiple perspectives by casting all individuals (including teachers) as learners within the classroom. While this approach may be considered novel by some researchers trained only in the social sciences, it has a rich history in communication studies (Pelias & VanOosting, 1987; M. S. Bowman, 1996; R. L. Bowman, 2009) and draws many of its early insights from the work of Meyerhold (Rzhevsky, 1984) and Grotowski (Abel & Post, 1973). Therefore, this approach is not only appropriate for a study of intercultural communication within the classroom, but particularly appropriate for a collection focusing on post-Soviet communication studies because it derives from work originating in the Soviet bloc.

We constructed the following pedagogical practice from Ritchhart, Church, and Morrison's *Making Thinking Visible* (2011) and informed by both a pragmatic approach to listening (Crick & Bodie, 2016) and Bogart and Landau's *The Viewpoints Book* (2005). From Ritchhart, Church, and Morrison we adopted the dictum that student thinking should be at the center of the classroom experience, and from Bogart and Landau, we adopted the philosophical disposition that the final lesson is the classroom context created by student discourse as we worked through common concerns, issues, and predicaments. Though the focal point of this chapter is a pedagogical exercise implemented in a PRIME course, we believe that this exercise highlights a foundational concern—and an exciting opportunity—for intercultural communication theory. Specifically, we argue that education in English can silence dissent unless particular care is taken to listen for student viewpoints.

The activity was designed for the Academic Reading and Vocabulary II course that is part of our universities' PRIME program for students who need to improve their academic English proficiency before entering full-time BA status. During the last two weeks of the course, students read and analyze the novel *Sold* by McCormick (2011). The book depicts the harsh experiences of a 13-year-old Nepali girl who is trafficked into India where she was sold to a brothel. This text was chosen in part because many of our students come from areas with high incidents of human trafficking, but also because it meets Ritchhart, Church, & Morrison's (2011) requirements for a text that is "rich with characters and/or possibilities [that] lends itself immediately to considering the many and diverse viewpoints as opposed to something simplistic and obvious" (p. 172).

Earlier in the semester, students explored the text with little direction regarding the cultural aspects of the text. In terms of Bodie and Crick's explanation of listening, students were engaged in "sensing" because they were focusing on the sheer force of qualities within the vocabulary of the story. Students also participated in hearing as they completed classroom assignments that focused on tasks associated with English-language learning. For example, during class discussions, students were asked to base their judgments on their own knowledge, world experience, and contexts. They engaged in what Bodie and Crick label "hearing" by identifying overt patterns in the story and practicing academic skills like summarizing and paraphrasing. Throughout this part of the term, students developed familiarity with the content of the text, but only as a means of studying its composition so that they would be ready to participate in an activity that went beyond sensing and hearing.

Following the pedagogical guidance of Palmer (1998), we paid particular attention to the arrangement of the classroom space in preparation for the activity. In the classroom, the physical space was arranged so that all of the chairs formed a circle. There are whiteboards on two walls of the classroom, and on one of the whiteboards, a list of human characters from the novel was written. It included most characters, except the main protagonist, Lakshmi, the girl who was sold into slavery. On a separate whiteboard, a list of the nonhuman characters from the novel was written. This list included animals and objects from the novel.

In the first part of the activity students were asked to select a character from the list of human characters and answer the following three questions in writing:

(1) What does the person you selected think about the situation (Lakshmi being taken to sex slavery)?
(2) What might this person be puzzled or curious about?
(3) Create a question from this person's viewpoint.

In preparing their answers to these questions, students were instructed to use the pronoun "I." That is, they were asked to take on the perspective of the character, and move beyond sensing what the novelist had written, or hearing what the character had said by attempting to listen to the characters mediation between qualities of experience and the character's relation to those qualities. After the students had an opportunity to generate their responses, they read them out loud to the whole group and the class discussed their answers. By stepping into the story, students were able to move beyond the vocabulary and construction of the story and begin to create dialogue through the medium of the story. A shared understanding of the text allowed for a dialogue in which the viewpoints of the characters—as understood by the students—could take place.

In the second part of the activity, students chose from the nonhuman character list and again composed answers to questions using the pronoun "I." The list included Lakshmi's pet goat, the cucumbers that Lakshmi grew, the Nepal Mountains, roads, trains, and the brothel where she lived. The students were also invited to add choices to the list before answering the following questions:

(1) What does the animal or thing think about the situation (Lakshmi being taken to sex slavery)?
(2) What might this animal/thing be puzzled or curious about?
(3) Create a question from this animal/thing's viewpoint.

After the students generated their answers, they read them out loud to the whole group and the class discussed their answers.

Finally, as a part of a reflection after the activity, students were asked to write a short response to the activity as a part of their homework. They were given the following questions to guide their responses:

(4) What did it mean for you to talk from a viewpoint of a character? You can share your thoughts, impressions, emotions, and so on.
(5) In your opinion, what was the purpose of taking a viewpoint of one of the "nonhuman" characters?

FINDINGS

Most of the students had a very positive reaction to the activity, noting that they found it both fun and useful for gaining a deeper understanding of the culture presented in the text, and a deeper understanding of their own culture. Many students identified that talking from different viewpoints broadened their understanding of the problem presented by the text and the struggles the main character faced. Finally, students noted that they were able to share their own thoughts and feelings, which indicates that they were not merely passively sensing or hearing the text, but actively listening during the in-class discussion.

We found this activity both effective and rewarding. It was effective in that it created a space for English-language learners to communicate in English, but more broadly it was effective because it created a structured space for students to communicate about cultural differences and similarities. This led also to the rewarding aspects of the assignment, in that students seemed to come away from the assignment with more tools for communicating about their own culture, and an ability to respect the viewpoints of members of other cultures.

DISCUSSION

In the first part of the activity, students were very successful at exploring viewpoints different from their own, which they demonstrated through collaborative dialogue throughout the class period. Surprisingly, over half of the students chose controversial characters: the stepfather who sold his stepdaughter into slavery and Mumtaz, a cruel brothel owner in India. While students initially voiced a stepfather who was only interested in the money he could make from selling his stepdaughter and a brothel owner who took care of "her girls" only to gain more money for herself, as the discussion developed, students began to explore the motivations underlying these choices. Importantly, students began to look at these characters as complex individuals with motivations that were not visible to the protagonist, for example, identifying the famine that motivated the stepfather to sell his stepdaughter, or the cold economic calculus underlying Mumtaz's decisions about which girls to keep and which to get rid of. Students were involved during all stages of the activity and were not shy communicating the characters' viewpoints to the group. The students gave voices to the characters, talked about characters' views about situations explicitly raised in the text, and broader issues only suggested by the text.

The second round was a little bit more challenging because students were not sure how to communicate from the perspective of an animal or an inanimate object. They were instructed to talk just as they talked in the first round. The purpose was to explore the topic creatively, voice unexpected perspectives, in some cases, to create a possibility for the students to express their personal thoughts. The majority of the students used this opportunity to express deep concern about where Lakshmi is going when she initially leaves home, what will happen to her when she arrives at a distant destination, and whether she would ever come back home. This portion of the activity was particularly interesting as some students used the format to voice their concerns—for example, students who are externally displaced were able to express their thoughts about the places and things they left behind, and other students were able to express the sense of helplessness that can accompany learning about the struggles of others without being able to intervene. This portion of the activity was particularly interesting in light of Ben-Porath's (2005) work on multicultural education and the need for a space in which students can name their experiences and demand that others listen to their experiences, in the sense Bodie and Crick describe earlier.

This activity created space within EMI coursework for students to share their viewpoints, make their thinking visible and engage with classmates from other cultural backgrounds. Thinking of students as active participants in the performance of learning helped focus this activity on student voices, no matter how haltingly they might emerge in the students' second, third, or fourth language. To expand on Bogart and Landau's discussion of viewpoints as a method of performative composition, by giving students equal access to perform in the space of the course, we found students more willing to communicate. As students voiced the viewpoints of characters and objects in the story, they also created space for discussions about their own story. Klyukanov and Sinekopova (2019) stress that the important thinkers such as Soviet Lev Vygotsky and American George Herbert Mead valued the tremendous importance of taking the perspective of the other for the individual's development as well as for the improvement of communication's role in the broader society:

> Both Mead and Vygotsky emphasized the importance of play (transposing internal and external embodiment) in this activity: transitioning from play to game, the individual mind develops from "me" to "us" as the social mind. (p. 139)

Returning to the phenomenological framework for listening proposed by Bodie and Crick as an extension of Lipari's work, we found that the activity incorporated listening, hearing, and sensing as students worked between the three modes of being described by Peirce's phenomenology. We found that, far from beginning "from the emptiness of awareness itself" (Lipari, 2010, p. 348), listening began with external stimulation motivated by a desire to understand the viewpoint of another. That is, intercultural communication began with a desire to create and inhabit a shared universe of discourse. Unlike the sharp counterpoint of a jazz performance, the metaphor used by Bodie and Crick and Lipari, we found listening to be more in line with the description of contemporary dance given by Bogart and Landau (2005), where students "rejected the insistence by the modern dance world upon social messages and virtuosic technique, and replaced it with internal decisions, structures, rules or problems" (p. 4). Students in this activity found an opportunity to listen for each other's understanding of the text, for each other's use of English as a medium of communication, but most importantly they were able to listen for each other's unique cultural contribution to the dialogue taking place in the classroom during this activity.

From the perspective of Bakhtin, dialogue is inherent to all communication (Klyukanov & Sinekopova, 2019). Yet, the role of pedagogy is to carefully cultivate more meaningful versions of the dialogue through the examples of activities brought up in this chapter. Besides the described practical advantages, it is important to reiterate to what degree this approach utilizes the intersection of the Western and Soviet schools of thought toward novel applications.

CONCLUSION

The main point of our chapter has been to argue for the importance of recognizing the medium of intercultural communication as a significant factor in improving intercultural communication pedagogy. We grounded our analysis within the theoretical framework provided by recent debates about the nature of listening within the field of communication studies and argued that listening to student viewpoints in pedagogical exercises, like the one described above, helps students communicate in the fraught medium of Anglo-American English. By raising communication scholars' awareness of scholarship in philology and linguistics, we have opened a space for future interdisciplinary scholarship probing the impact of ELF at English medium institutions.

One major limitation of our study was the scope of our project. One classroom activity at a single international university in the Baltics does not demonstrate the impact of listening to student viewpoints. However, we believe that our approach yields sufficient evidence that a theoretical framework in pragmatic listening bears further exploration. Furthermore, because our institution is in the unique position of being both privately funded and comprised of students from across the post-Soviet states (not merely a local population of Lithuanians, Latvians, and Estonians), our work shows the fruitfulness of listening to student viewpoints across post-Soviet states.

Furthermore, our work reclaims an approach to communication studies pioneered in the Soviet bloc, but currently underdeveloped in the post-Soviet context. Lithuania recently reclassified communication studies as a social science rather than a humanities discipline. This reclassification altered both the criteria and means of assessing the discipline and effectively eliminated work in the burgeoning field of performance studies. As we argued earlier, performance studies in the United States owe a debt to the Soviet bloc and reinvestigating the methods and theories of performance studies in post-Soviet and Eurasian contexts could lead to fruitful future international collaboration.

Finally, our work is important for international scholars and practitioners because it foregrounds the necessity of listening to the viewpoints of others. While our chapter proposes one practical application of this within the pedagogical context of an educational institution, one of the authors has found through work as a consultant that these lessons are no less valuable for professionals in every field. Listening as an artful practice can be improved through training and experience. Starting with students in university classrooms is worthwhile, but it is also helpful to consider how the art of listening can improve both personal and professional communication. Listening to the viewpoints of others is a significant first step in this direction.

REFERENCES

Abel, L. G., & Post, R. M. (1973). Towards a poor readers theatre. *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, *59*(4), 436–442. https://doi.org/10.1080/00335637309383193

Adams, J., & Adams, C. F. (1852). *The works of John Adams, second President of the United States: Official letters, messages, and public papers. Correspondence*. Boston, MA: Little, Brown, and Company.

Ben-Porath, S. R. (2005). Multicultural education, peace, and democracy: Considerations of civic education in wartime. *Philosophy of Education Archive*, *10*(1), 87–95.

Bodie, G. D., & Crick, N. (2014). Listening, hearing, sensing: Three modes of being and the phenomenology of Charles Sanders Peirce. *Communication Theory*, *24*(2), 105–123. https://doi.org/10.1111/comt.12032

Bogart, A., & Landau, T. (2005). *The viewpoints book: A practical guide to viewpoints and composition*. New York, NY: Theatre Communications Group.

Bowman, M. S. (1996). Performing literature in an age of textuality. *Communication Education*, *45*(2), 96–101. https://doi.org/10.1080/03634529609379038

Bowman, R. L. (2009). Teaching the body—reclaiming memory. *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies*, *6*(4), 411–415. https://doi.org/10.1080/14791420903357089

Crick, N., & Bodie, G. D. (2016). "I says to myself, says I": Charles Sanders Peirce on the components of dialogue. *Communication Theory*, *26*(3), 273–289. https://doi.org/10.1111/comt.12092

Davis, C. S., Lachlan, K. A., & Westerfelhaus, R. (2017). *Straight talk about communication research methods*. Dubuque, IA: Kendall Hunt.

Firth, A. (1996). The discursive accomplishment of normality: On 'lingua franca' English and conversation analysis. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *26*(2), 237–259. https://doi.org/10.1016/0378-2166(96)00014-8

Gadamer, H.-G., & Weinsheimer, J. (2011). *Truth and method* (2nd rev. ed., reprint). London, UK: Continuum.

Hyde, M. J. (2006). *The Life-giving gift of acknowledgment: A philosophical and rhetorical inquiry*. West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press.

Jenkins, J. (2000). *The phonology of English as an international language*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Klyukanov, I. E., & Sinekopova, G. V. (2019). *Communication theory through the ages.* New York, NY: Routledge.

Lakoff, G., & Johnson, M. (2003). *Metaphors we live by*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Lipari, L. (2004). Listening for the other: Ethical implications of the Buber-Levinas encounter. *Communication Theory*, *14*(2), 122–141. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2885.2004.tb00308.x

Lipari, L. (2010). Listening, thinking, being. *Communication Theory*, *20*(3), 348–362. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2885.2010.01366.x

Mačianskienė, N. (2009). *English for intercultural communicaiton*. Kaunas, Lithuania: Vytauto Didžiojo universitetas.

McCormick, P. (2011). *Sold*. New York, NY: Hyperion Paperbacks.

Palmer, P. J. (1998). *The courage to teach: Exploring the inner landscape of a teacher's life*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Pelias, R. J., & VanOosting, J. (1987). A paradigm for performance studies. *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, *73*(2), 219–231. https://doi.org/10.1080/00335638709383804

Phillipson, R. (2013). *Linguistic imperialism continued*. New York, NY: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203857175

Ritchhart, R., Church, M., & Morrison, K. (2011). *Making thinking visible: How to promote engagement, understanding, and independence for all learners.* San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Rzhevsky, N. (1984). Literature in the Soviet theatre: 1960–1980. *Literature in Performance*, *5*(1), 13–19. https://doi.org/10.1080/10462938409391567

Seidlhofer, B. (2005). English as a lingua franca. *ELT Journal*, *59*(4), 339–341. https://doi.org/10.1093/elt/cci064

Smith, E. B. (2009). Approaches to multicultural education in preservice teacher education: Philosophical frameworks and models for teaching. *Multicultural Education*, *16*(3), 45–50.

Syed, H., & Kuzborska, I. (2018). Dynamics of factors underlying willingness to communicate in a second language. *The Language Learning Journal*, 48(4), 481–500.

Taguchi, N., & Ishihara, N. (2018). The pragmatics of English as a lingua franca: Research and pedagogy in the era of globalization. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, *38*, 80–101. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0267190518000028

Chapter 13

Teaching Communication in Russia and Kazakhstan

An International Scholar's Perspective

Olga I. Matyash

Communication pedagogy benefits from descriptive and reflective approaches to discuss complicated issues (*Journal of Communication Pedagogy*, 2021). This chapter is formulated as an essay that tracks the experience of the author—an educator bridging classrooms in Eurasia and in the West with didactic goals focusing on the communication theory. The first-person perspective is characteristic for this approach and it conveys the author's standpoint when encountering situations with the specific practical, pedagogical, and social dilemmas across national settings, comparing Kazakhstan, Russia, and the United States.

BACKGROUND

I have been teaching most of my professional life. First it was English as a second language, then pedagogy. I had been teaching in different universities in various regions in Russia until, and through a chain of unexpected events, I happened to land in a U.S. university and discovered the field of communication. Today I identify myself as a "communication evangelist," or a communication scholar and educator, who takes teaching communication as a special mission. It is my belief that communication education, especially in modern times, is much more than about learning and understanding communication phenomena or developing skills to apply theory to practice. It implies a different world outlook. It advances our understanding of human agency, be it in personal relationships or broader social relations and institutions. It opens new opportunities for an individual to better manage their own life by offering new resources. From this perspective, communication education is empowering and liberating.

This is the standpoint from which I began my mission of spreading the *communication word* around the world. In addition to teaching communication in the United States, I have also taught in my home region of Siberia, as well as in Saint Petersburg and Moscow universities. My most recent teaching took place in Central Asia, at a university in Almaty, Kazakhstan.

In this chapter, I will reflect upon and analyze my teaching experience from the perspective of an international scholar. The first part will focus on teaching and some common pedagogical issues viewed through the lens of national and local institutional culture. Among those issues are relational dynamics in the classroom, dialogic teaching and collaborative learning, and the conceptual challenges of teaching a constitutive model (Baxter, 2006, 2011; Cooren, 2012, 2018; Craig, 1999, 2006, 2015; Deetz, 1994; Miller, 2006; Pearce, 2007). The second part will focus specifically on issues of culture, emphasizing the topic of recognizing "the presence of culture" in the classroom. Finally, a reflection on the issues of personal intercultural adaptation, using specific examples of tensions that took place while I was navigating my way in a new cultural environment and trying to adjust to local institutional norms and traditions.

ESTABLISHING AND MANAGING AN OPEN RELATIONSHIP IN THE CLASSROOM

One of the first things for an instructor to manage when starting a new course are the relational dynamics in the classroom. In Russian universities, the students typically take classes within the same group of peers whom they have known for more than one semester. This means that when they sign up for a new course and come to the first session, the only person whom they do not know is the teacher. The initial relationship dynamic may be somewhat different from an introductory session in the United States. The students may initially be less nervous and intimidated when surrounded by peers with whom they have worked elbow-to-elbow for a few semesters. They may behave more like a collective audience, watching the stage, anticipating "testing" a new professor. On the other hand, the professor might feel more on the spot and in a "me and them" situation. In this light, the ice-breaking strategies, as important as they always are, become even more vital. Not only does the initial introduction become a key moment to establish a certain degree of credibility for an instructor, it is also a "shaping" moment for establishing openness and trust in the classroom.

At an international conference, I happened to listen to a German scholar, who had done extensive research in intercultural communication and had personal experience teaching Russian students. Her conclusions were that the Russian students tended to be less open and self-disclosing in the classroom than Western students. I could not disagree more. In my experience, developing rapport and trustworthy relationships with Russian or Kazakh students was not that different than in any other teaching. As a teacher, one has to try to find "the right key to open the door." In other words, I view relational dynamics in the classroom as communication problems which a teacher must manage. And it depends on my professional sensitivity and competencies how effectively and promptly I can do that.

An episode from my work in a class with Central Asian students which I initially assessed as "low involvement" illustrates my point. In that class, there were two groups of graduate students. One consisted of doctoral students, and the other was mostly younger MA students. Each group tended to stick to themselves. They took seats in the classroom, which was a conference room, on opposite sides of a long conference table. The doctoral students occupied one side and MA students the opposite. While students were active from the very start, responding to my questions and posing their own, just as I encouraged from the start, the group on one side of the table was consistently silent. A few sessions later I decided that the students on the silent side were not quite up to the challenges of the course because we communicated in English and they might have problems with understanding. After class one evening when most students had left, I asked one of the "silent" students, "What's the matter? I don't hear your voices. Why don't you speak in class?" The response was "We don't dare. We listen to what doctoral students have to say, and it all sounds so smart . . . after hearing what they say, we don't feel like we can contribute." It had not occurred to me that there was a self-imposed hierarchy based on "who is smarter" in the classroom. Once I recognized two subcultures, PhD and MA, present in the classroom, breaking a communication barrier between them did not present a problem. Instead of letting the students form their own groups by affiliation, I started mixing them into small groups from both sides of the table to work on assignments. As soon as they started talking person to person when discussing an assignment, the ice of intimidation and silence melted away.

Among other relationship dynamics in the classroom I observed were generational differences. These differences manifested themselves, for example, in terms of national memory, in what the students of different generations know and cherish about their national history. Those differences between the age groups were sometimes quite striking and to me, as someone who lived through the Soviet and post-Soviet times, were somewhat amusing. There were situations when the older students expressed nostalgia about the Soviet era and its socialist values (like free education), while their younger peers could not relate to that. Ironically, they would also have no clue about the greatest markers of that time, such as CPSU abbreviation (Communist Party of the Soviet Union). Nor did they know what the slogan "five-year plan in four years" meant. However, all those relational dynamics and differences in beliefs and attitudes presented interesting opportunities for me as a teacher. It was stimulating to think how to integrate all those differences into our collective group work.

BUILDING A DIALOGIC AND COLLABORATIVE TEACHING-LEARNING ENVIRONMENT

Building a dialogic and collaborative climate in the classroom was a key component of my international-intercultural teaching. For many decades the education system in Russia and its neighboring countries has used a knowledge-transmission model. The teachers' role was to provide the content through a series of lectures, that is, transmit the knowledge, and the students' role was to acquire and reproduce that knowledge. In this predominantly monological mode, the teachers were viewed as an authority in charge of the entire process, whereas the students played the more passive role of recipients of knowledge.

Things have changed in modern times at many universities, and the instructors can utilize a wide range of instructional tools and methods to engage the students in a more active role in the learning process. Yet this stereotyping of educational roles, when the teacher is expected to deliver the content and the student is expected to reproduce it, is still alive. According to an analysis at Tyumen State, many first-year students come to sessions as passive recipients, ready to listen to a lecturing professor and answer questions only when asked. In addition, they raise their hand to answer only when they are sure that they have the "right" answer, the answer expected by a professor (Blushevitch, 2019).

The old gestalt of "transmitting the knowledge" emerges in academic discourse. Russian-speaking professors still commonly use a cliché "to read the lecture (читать лекции)," dating back to the times when a lecturer used to deliver content by reading from their notes, and the students were to listen and take notes.

In my classroom, I have tried to set the stage for a different working mode. It is made clear from the very start that our work together would be an ongoing dialogue, or discussion, and that active involvement at every step of the process is expected. Even when I am "lecturing" (giving a presentation), I expect the students to not only answer *my* questions when posed or give examples when solicited, they are invited to express *their* perspectives on issues. They should not hesitate to say when they feel confused or disagree with what I am saying. Being skeptical about what they read in the text or hear from me as a "knowledge-provider" should be their regular mode of thinking. In fact, a good question stimulating a discussion may be sometimes more valuable and insightful than a good answer. That was the framing of our work together.

Another point I had to stress was about collaborative learning. In the learning process, which is by default a communication process, we inevitably influence each other. I will be learning from them just as they will be learning from me and their classmates, so each voice matters. The more different perspectives and personal experiences they will bring to the table, the more it will enhance the discussion and ultimately enrich our understanding of communication phenomena.

So, how did the students respond to this call? Typically, with some reserve and apprehension at first. But it did not take long before they would get a taste for it and fully embrace the approach. As time went by the students became increasingly open and active. One of my favorite teaching moments happened while teaching in Almaty. Just a few sessions into the course, when discussing communication competence, I was showing a video with an interview of Donald Trump by the American journalist Lesley Stahl. The task was to analyze the communication behavior of the American president in that conversation. I asked the class to apply some criteria of communication competence that they had just learned, and they struggled with that. After prompting them with additional questions, we collectively drew some conclusions. Then unexpectedly, a doctoral student, one of the most active ones, asked, "And what about Vladimir Putin, can we call him a competent communicator?" I fired back to the group, "And what do you think?" Again, I saw pondering but silent faces. Apparently, the question was intriguing, yet puzzling. I had to help with framing an analysis, in the meantime thinking, "The rifle has finally fired!" ("Вот оно ружье—выстрелило!"). And then another more quiet student asked, "And what about Nazarbayev?[1]" Excellent, the rifle fired again! What a breakthrough for them, and what a bonus for me as a teacher! To hear this kind of critical questioning from the students whose cultural tradition is to defer to authorities meant a great deal.

Among specific techniques that promoted an atmosphere of openness, inclusiveness, and comradery in the classroom was my self-irony and self-critique. I did not hesitate to turn my own experience and my*self* into an object of analysis, and I often used humor in doing so. I liked to emphasize that, in our pursuit for understanding communication behavior, it is critical to analyze not just the positive cases. The analysis of problematic situations when we do not do well or even fail as communicators might be just as powerful and useful. The ultimate purpose was to illustrate that the nature of human communication is complex and messy and none of us are perfect communicators. The understanding of one's own limitations is a lifelong project for each of us, regardless of education, expertise, or experience.

This strategy of self-reflecting and self-critiquing had an effect. Soon the students would reciprocate and start telling their own stories. It would become a regular part of our class activities. Someone in the class would bring in a "fresh case," something that had happened to them recently, even just prior to our session, something they observed, or a recent public event, and that would yield a group discussion. At that point, I did not have to initiate a discussion. My role would be to moderate and structure the flow of discussion so that it would stay relevant to our course agenda. The students particularly appreciated those spontaneous discussions not only because those were real-time situations, but because they were a part of their everyday life.

There was another dimension to how the students appreciated the mode of collaborative learning and adopted it. At our first session, when we were going through an introduction procedure, I stated that as someone who is new to their culture, I was eager to learn more about Kazakh national traditions and that they might be my cultural guides. They took my words seriously and initiated a "weekend cultural program," inviting me to visit special places of interest in and around the city. Hospitality is one of their national signature values as they stated, and they were enthusiastic to embrace me into that tradition.

In our recurring discussions of communication, culture, and gender (that topic appeared to be particularly popular in that classroom) the students liked to talk about national traditions in family communication. There was a point where particularly the female students liked to emphasize "the wisdom of Kazakh women" for me. In Kazakh families, they claimed a woman would not argue with a man, particularly her husband. Not because she is weak, inferior, or less powerful. Just the opposite: her role in the family is to keep peace and prevent discord. Hence, avoiding an argument and conflict manifests not the woman's subservience, but rather strength and wisdom. Interestingly as you will read later, I got a chance to observe how it works in practice.

It is worth noting that it was the topics of gender and sex identities where some of the most noticeable and interesting cultural differences occurred in my classrooms. For example, my U.S. students do not typically hesitate to express their LGBTQ affiliations and identity. The younger ones often argue that in modern times gender and gender roles should not matter and should not affect communication. Individuals should be viewed for who they are, no matter their sex and gender. Conversely, for my Central Asian students, traditional gender roles and sex identities seemed to be a big issue. Some students viewed them as a part of their cultural heritage and wanted to explain and advocate to me, their “foreign” teacher. For my Russian students, sex and gender identities did not seem to be a topic of particular concern or interest, at least on the surface.

As for becoming cultural ambassadors and enlightening me with regard to national cultural values, the Central Asian students acted on that until the very end of the course. When presenting their final group projects, a group of younger students concluded their presentation by saying, “We deliberately chose this topic (of cultural national patterns in Kazakh communication) because we remembered that you wanted to learn more about our culture.” Thus, our collaborative teaching-learning, where both parties switched sides from time to time, came full circle.

TEACHING A CONSTITUTIVE APPROACH TO COMMUNICATION: CONCEPTUAL CHALLENGES AND ACHIEVEMENTS

In Russian academic literature, it is common to define communication in terms of an information process: creating, transmitting, and receiving diverse information (i.e., Krasnyansky, 2009; Sharkov, 2012). Students would be more frequently and systematically exposed to the information exchange approach. There is little to no familiarity with what in Western theoretical discourse is known as a communicative constitutive approach, or communication as social construction (Baxter, 2006; 2011; Cooren, 2012, 2018; Craig, 1999, 2006, 2015; Deetz, 1994; Miller, 2006; Pearce, 2007). This was perhaps the most challenging part of my teaching: to establish a different conceptual perspective on communication and help students to appropriate and build on that perspective.

Those of us who teach communication know that the constitutive model is not a quick and easy concept for students to grasp (Rich & Robles, 2021). Its ideas such as communication as meaning-making, and negotiation of meanings as a way of constructing relationships, identities and social orders, the idea of communication agency—all are ideas that implicate not only a different way of talking but also a different way of thinking about communication. In other words, it is a different paradigm, embracing a particular kind of social ontology—a communicational ontology—inviting us “to analyze the multiple ways by which *communication constitutes our world*” and “to think *communicatively* about the world” (Emphases mine) (Cooren, 2012, p. 1; 2018, p. 2). As practicing teachers, we know that this paradigmatic approach may be mind-blowing for many students, particularly at the start of their learning. To comprehend and absorb the concept requires an intellectual effort. But if successful, it results in a fundamental mind shift and change of worldview, which cannot happen overnight.

So, how did my Russian and Kazakh students respond to the theoretical and metatheoretical challenges of a constitutive model? Much depended on their conceptual-analytical skills. Not all students grasped and acquired that approach. Suffice it to state that at the end of our coursework, when students presented their final projects, some of them would still describe communication as a "process of information exchange." However, other students, typically with strong analytical skills and research background (often doctoral students), grew to appreciate the heuristic power of a constitutive/social constructionist approach and enjoyed using it as an analytical framework. They enjoyed reconstructing a problematic situation and looking for different approaches, discussing how those situations could have been managed differently to produce a better result.

At the beginning, I had to model a reflective-analytical approach in my own talk. I used to illustrate how we can take any ordinary situation, look at it through the lens of communication theory, and gain a better insight. I would create a story out of the most ordinary experience:

> Yesterday, after the class, I was hungry and was looking for a place to eat. I came across a Korean cafe, and although Korean cuisine is not typically on my menu, I decided to give it shot. As I was ordering a meal, this is what happened . . .

I would tell the story, and we would get into a broader discussion of some basic Kazakh national values, such as hospitality and respect for seniors, and how they manifest and are enacted in everyday communication practices, such as in customer service.

Another kind of group activity effective for facilitating understanding constitutive power of communication is reflecting on immediate communication, or on what is occurring "here and now" during a class discussion. Often when discussing a controversial topic, with strong differences of opinions and emotions running high, I would put our discussion on hold and ask the class to reflect on what had just happened. How did the actions, the ways they expressed their point of view, listened, and responded to their peers, produce a certain result, disagreement, confusion, misunderstanding, or perhaps lead to a better understanding? I would ask if they recognized what specific communication techniques they had just used, which they often did intuitively, and what was the effect on the conversation. These moments of immediate and extemporaneous reflection are particularly insightful and inspirational. Not only do the students see for themselves the transformative and constitutive power of communication, but they also feel the immediate power of their own agency. This focuses attention to how their choices in expressing themselves in conversation create consequences and impact the quality of communication.

An important thing that I was observing during those multiple case discussions in the framework of a constitutive model was that some students demonstrated an increased self-awareness and belief in their own agency. During our discussion at Almaty university, a graduate student admitted that his mind acquired a new intellectual mode. Now he stated that he "automatically" perceives all his interactions, all occurring conversations, through a constructionist perspective: who is doing what, by saying what they are saying, and what outcomes it produces, and what else he could have done, or done differently in those circumstances.

At the end of that course in Almaty, when I was wrapping up the last session by doing a group reflection for what was helpful or what did not work in that course the graduate students, most of whom were majoring in linguistics, summarized their learning experience quite emphatically: "When we signed up for this course, we thought we knew what it would be about because we had already taken Intercultural Communication, but it turned out into something very different." In a similar course closure at a Moscow university among students who were communication majors, they summarized their conceptual learning experience in this way: "By now we have taken quite a few communication courses, but this was the first time that we've eventually got an idea of what communication is."

To summarize, my teaching experience shows that the students in those universities are up to a conceptual theoretical challenge. Most of them are intellectually/analytically equipped and highly motivated to critically reflect, to conceptualize the most up-to-date theoretical approaches to communication, and to utilize them as analytical tools in their everyday relations and practices.

ADDRESSING CULTURE

As an international scholar teaching in different regions, it is unavoidable that cultural and intercultural challenges occur on a regular basis. I have addressed some of these issues by describing how national beliefs and traditions permeated our classroom discussions. However, the topic is certainly much bigger and more complex. It goes beyond recognizing and managing cultural differences and their effects on teaching and learning. Another dimension of it is the tensions of my own cultural adaptation, reflecting how your own *self* is different from the norms of this new cultural environment and trying to "negotiate" that. It is also about testing the boundaries of your own identities and asking questions about who you are and how you want to be perceived.

Recognizing "Culture Presence" in the Classroom

A main focal point with respect to culture in the classroom was language, a fundamental dimension of cultural/social identification. What language should I choose to work with students if English is their second or even third language? Both in Russia and Kazakhstan, the leading universities have embraced English as a working language in many of their programs. It was expected that I would teach my course in English and in full accordance with "the Western standards." As one program manager stated, "We want you to teach the course just the same way you do it the US." The majority of my Russian and Central Asian students had good to excellent English-speaking skills. In fact, some of them had done programs in the West and were completely fluent. For other students English was a challenge. They could understand to varying degrees, but often struggled when expressing themselves in English.

Another aspect to this language problem, which became obvious later, was when we started discussing critical cases and the students began talking about their *byt* (*быт*)—everyday situations that happened to them outside the classroom. In that talk English as a second language turned out to be limiting. It was not easy, or in some cases even possible, to convert the domestic practices into a foreign language system where there may be no semantic equivalents to fit into your native system. In those situations, whoever was telling a story had to skip some "untranslatable details" and simplify. Indeed, that was an additional experiential way for students to verify firsthand the interrelatedness of language and culture. As a result, although at the beginning of the course I would normally start teaching in English, as we progressed, we would naturally drift toward including Russian as a work tool. For the analysis of "domestic situations," I offered a choice. Every speaker in the classroom could decide for themselves in what language they would prefer to express themselves. Thus, our class would gradually transition from using English to using two or even three languages.

A topic of importance associated with cultural beliefs and values is about talking politics in the classroom. Here I had to walk a very fine line. Every time I am in Russia, I experience the power and effect of anti-Western propaganda. And the classrooms are not immune. Echoing the national political discourse, students sooner or later began to express their ideological views and preferences. Similar tendencies occur in Kazakhstan as well. Here is a typical sentiment voiced by a doctoral student in Almaty: "The US tends to control every part of the world. They interfere everywhere and try to dominate the world." And then she "softened" it with a disclaimer: "But of course, we are talking about the American government and politicians, not the American people. American people are good."

So, how does a teacher respond to somewhat naive geopolitical outlooks when teaching interpersonal communication? I tended not to avoid this kind of issues. To me it was a clear indication that the young people are highly interested in such topics and would like to hear more or have a broader discussion particularly with a person from "that part of the world." Their inquisitiveness and desire to engage was quite uplifting. I liked to recognize that and responded to any "problematic" or "politically igniting" topic they initiated. It presented interesting, inspirational instructional challenges for me. I liked to take those spontaneous discussions as additional opportunities to tie in the concepts and principles of communication theory into new and broader contexts. Actually, during those discussions of controversial social and political issues the students' motivation and involvement skyrocketed.

Overall, the student's motivation, active involvement, along with good analytical skills, made that work quite stimulating and rewarding.

Personal Boundaries for Cultural Adaptability: To Fit or Not to Fit

Recognizing and managing intercultural challenges in the classroom was not the only concern of mine during that teaching experience. Another part of it was my own *self*, and the work I had to do to adjust to a new environment. In general terms, I can define it as my personal adaptations to the local institutional rules, policies, and national cultural traditions. There were times when my work ethics would clash with the local academic and cultural traditions.

A few cases of that nature, when I had to adapt to the existing organizational norms, happened in Almaty. The most distinctive one can be defined as respect for organizational hierarchy and rituals. On the very first day of teaching when I was meeting my students, there was a summons to meet with the Rector. My initial reaction was "I can't do it now, I am in the middle of teaching, can't I meet with the Rector later?" The response was "The Rector is very busy, and the students will understand." So, I complied and apologized to students for the interruption, and left for a visit. The Rector, a highly ranked and renowned linguistics scholar in the country, and as I discovered later a warm person, had been Rector for many decades. During that welcoming meeting I realized what a special ritual of honor it was to be personally welcomed by the highest university authority. That was my initiation to the Asian culture with its respect for authority. But I still felt deeply guilty for my students, whom I considered my first and final responsibility as they were deprived of a good chunk of learning time. Ironically, the same pattern repeated itself on our last day of class. That morning, I attended a doctoral dissertation defense. After it was over, everybody was invited for lunch to celebrate the defendant's success in a nearby café. Regretfully, I had to decline the invitation: "I have a class starting shortly, the students will be waiting for me." Again, I heard in response, "That's all right, the students will understand." I regretted having to choose between my loyalty to colleagues and respect for the tradition, and loyalty to my students. In that case, however, my Western-oriented professional values won.

Another situation when my personal professional standards came into clash with the local norms of behavior happened in regard to the hierarchy of seniority. There were several visiting professors teaching at the university at that time. Most of us represented "the West," and there was one senior professor from Russia, a linguist whose work is well-known and highly regarded at the university. This was not surprising since this was a linguistic university. His visit was highly anticipated, broadly advertised, and when he arrived, he received very special treatment. For somebody like me who is used to egalitarian collegial relations and environments, not emphasizing differences in status, age, or credentials, when going to professional conventions, that style of traditional hierarchical communication was interesting to observe.

One day all of us were invited to a short welcoming lunch held by the faculty. A senior male faculty member opened the ceremony and made a toast honoring the Russian professor. He turned to me and said, ". . . And you, young scholars . . ." This is where I rebutted, "Thank you, but I wouldn't consider myself a young scholar, either by my age or by my professional achievements and contributions to the field." My words were followed by a long pause, as if they were frozen in the air. Have I just trespassed and ruined the harmony of a ritual? After the lunch, a couple of faculty women came up to me: "You know, the professor didn't want to offend you by calling you 'young,' he was actually giving you a compliment." "Yes, I understand, and I am flattered, I just wanted to straighten it out." It looked like the harmony was restored, but it was not the professor himself who came up to me to do fixing. It was his female colleagues who did face-saving and peacemaking. And it made me think again about the discussion I had had with my students about the special role of Kazakh women in keeping a social harmony.

Collective celebrations were a particularly cherished ritual at the university, and as I soon found out they mirrored a broader national tradition to celebrate special events. However, for an outsider participating in some of those rituals required a considerable degree of adjustment and endurance. One of the events that put my endurance at test was a celebration for the Rector's *round* birthday, or a jubilee. It was an impressive two-day event, consisting of a series of rituals. It started with a conference, the first day of which was dedicated to honoring the Rector for her multiple contributions and achievements. A long line of representatives from different countries, public officials, business groups, and others formed the ceremony. The second day conference opened with scholarly presentations and then wrapped up with a grandiose university banquet in the evening. All visiting international professors were expected to attend.

The banquet was in a beautiful palace-like building. It was organized accordingly: The Rector was seated at a special station, which resembled a "throne." On either side were two special guests of honor, a German professor and a professor from Russia, both linguists, as was the Rector herself. In front of the "throne" was a big open stage. Faculty and staff were seated at round tables on both sides of the stage and each taking turns to go on stage for addressing her honor. It was quite a performance, with high-spirited creativity and talent.

After five hours that included an abundance of food and wine in continuous courses, dancing, and giving speeches, I felt exhausted. I asked a department chair sitting next to me if it would be acceptable to leave the feast. "Why so early?" he asked. "Early?" The time was approaching midnight. Considering all the events of that long and busy day, that included presenting at the conference, teaching, and then going through all the celebration activities, it did not seem early to me. "This party is not that long," he said, "you should see our other celebrations, let's say weddings—they keep going for three to five days!" At that moment I thought that another Western professor who had excused themselves from the event and saved their energy probably made a smart choice.

To sum up, testing my boundaries while negotiating my Western-influenced professional principles with local institutional norms and traditions was an interesting experience. While testing my flexibility, I discovered which of my professional principles were and were not negotiable. These experiences were indeed an exercise for the tension between what is universal and relative, which is pertinent for intercultural communication ethics–related discussions (Collste, 2016).

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, reflecting on my international teaching experience in Russia and Kazakhstan, I would like to highlight the following points. First, in both countries the communication education agenda is very much in demand. The students appear to be broadly and genuinely interested in learning about human communication. They tend to be motivated and active learners, interested both in practical skill–oriented knowledge and conceptual theoretical perspectives. The idea of constituting our living worlds through and by communication, as challenging as it is, resonates well with them.

Second, the cultural and intercultural challenges which started with recognizing the culture in the classroom and ending with my personal adaptations to local organizational norms and traditions were multiple and sometimes fascinating. Recognizing and responding to them as they arose was a test for my cultural sensitivity and competence, and significantly contributed to the richness of the experience.

Finally, and perhaps the most uplifting takeaway from the experience, was realizing how much the students loved the dialogic-collaborative format. They were eager to be actively engaged and to be recognized as partners in the learning process. It was evident that they openly appreciated when it became a regular classroom practice. In this sense, I believe that, regardless of sociocultural specifics or societal traditions, we are seeing a new modern generation of learners. To what extent we as educators are ready to respond to the higher expectations of this new generation? The answer depends on us—the educators.

The lessons learned through this experience can serve as an example or case study for other educators who aim to facilitate the bridges between various cultures, one's own perspectives and others' perspectives, between the East and the West, and between abstract theory and applied learning.

NOTE

1. Nursultan Nazarbayev, first president of Kazakhstan (1991–2019).

REFERENCES

Baxter, L. (2006). Communication as dialogue. In G. J. Shepherd, J. St. John, & T. Striphas (Eds.), *Communication as . . .: Perspectives on theory* (pp. 101–109). Thousand Oakes, CA: Sage.

Baxter, L. (2011). *Voicing relationships: A dialogic perspective*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Blushevitch, T. (n.d.). *Rossiiskie studenty glazami zarubezhnyh professorov* [Russian students from the perspective of foreign professors]. https://sas.utmn.ru/ru/russian-students/

Collste, G. (2016). *Ethics and communication: Global perspectives*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Cooren, F. (2012). Communication theory at the center: Ventriloquism and the communicative constitution of reality. *Journal of Communication*, *62*(1), 1–20.

Cooren, F. (2018). Materializing communication: Making the case for a relational ontology. *Journal of Communication*, *68*(2), 278–288.

Craig, R. (1999). Communication theory as a field. *Communication Theory*, *9*(2), 119–161

Craig, R. (2006). Communication as a practice. In G. J. Shepherd, J. St. John, & T. Striphas (Eds.), *Communication as. . .: Perspectives on theory* (pp. 38–47). Thousand Oakes, CA: Sage.

Craig, R. (2015). Communication as a practical discipline: Engaging theory with practice. In *Kommunikatsiya kak distsiplina i oblast' znaniya v sovremennom mire: dialog podhodov* [Communication as a discipline and as a field in the modern world: A dialogue of perspectives] (pp. 59–72). Moscow, Russia: National Research University Higher School of Economics.

Deetz, S. (1994). Future of the discipline: The challenges, the research, and the social contribution. In S. Deetz (Ed.), *Communication yearbook 17* (pp. 565–600). Thousand Oakes, CA: Sage

Journal of Communication Pedagogy (2021). About this journal. https://scholarworks.wmich.edu/jcp/about.html

Krasnyansky, D. E. (2009). *Osnovy teorii kommunikatsii* [Fundamentals of communication theory]. Moscow, Russia: Moscow State Technical University of Civil Aviation.

Miller, K. (2006). Communication as constructive. In G. J. Shepherd, J. St. John, & T. Striphas (Eds.), *Communication as. . .: Perspectives on theory* (pp. 31–37). Thousand Oakes, CA: Sage.

Pearce, W. B. (2007). *Making social worlds: A communication perspective.* Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Rich, M. H., & Robles, J. S. (Eds.) (2021). *Practicing communication theory: Exploring, applying, and teaching the constitutive metamodel.* San Diego, CA: Cognella.

Sharkov, F. (2012). *Kommunikologia. Osnovy teorii kommunikatsii.* [Communicology: The basics of communication theory]. Moscow, Russia: Dashkov i Ko.

Chapter 14

Interpersonal Communication and Perception Differences between Russia and the United States

Changes since 2009?

Deborrah Uecker and Jacqueline Schmidt

There is no truth. There is only perception.—Gustave Flaubert

Friedman (2005) commented that the socioeconomic reality of the world is that we are interconnected and interdependent. As a result of global economies, e-commerce, mass media, and changing immigration patterns, there is growing intercultural interdependence and a realignment of the processes of interaction between people (Ting-Toomey & Chung, 2005). Since Friedman's comment in 2005, these interconnections have continued to grow. These changes can have both positive and negative implications. Institutions of higher education continue to increase attention on preparing students to be more globalized in their thinking. In order to prepare students for the opportunities in the future, fostering a strong sense of self-awareness and multicultural orientation is essential.

As a discipline of study, communication is uniquely situated to contribute to this endeavor. "The study of communication underscores structure, process and interpretation and is sensitive to diverse cultural environments" (Schmidt, Conaway, Easton, & Wardrope, 2007, p. 4). Furthermore, "communication is the substance of global organizing, and the ability to navigate the treacherous waters of intercultural conflict and the level of skill and tact necessary to coax high-quality decisions" (Stohl, 2001, p. 335). Perhaps most important of all, studying communication can assist students in developing greater self-awareness by understanding how cultural identities are negotiated, reinforced, and challenged (Schmidt et al., 2007). Stimpson (1994) believes "that people can talk about, through, across, and around their differences and these exchanges will help us live together justly" (p. B1).

The study of intercultural communication helps people understand how they bring different cultural, relational, and work practices with them into every interaction. The process of interaction across cultures involves using different approaches to solving problems or expressing emotions and emotional issues differently. For example, developing friendships and romantic relationships often have different motivations and expectations in different cultures (Schmidt & Uecker, 2015). The rules and norms that operate across cultures can create misunderstanding and miscommunication which effect how people think or interact with others.

This chapter addresses how the process of perception and culture influence interaction and understanding of self and others. The authors conducted a survey of Russian and U.S. participants about their perceptions of each other and self in 2009 and 2017/2018. This type of study is important in the context of Eurasian studies in that comparison and analysis of perceptions can aid in identifying orientations and differences, avoiding possible misunderstandings and providing suggestions for more effective classroom strategies.

Perception is a complex process. "Interpersonal perceptions develop when we observe and interpret communication (verbal and nonverbal) of people we encounter" (Mottet, Vogl-Bauer, & Houser, 2013, p. 63). These observations can be in person, on film, or through other's accounts of interactions. The process is divided into three stages. First, there is the selection of a stimulus. Imagine a fight between a black-haired waiter and a red-haired customer in a restaurant. Observing this interaction, the viewer must select where to focus their attention. Will the focus be on their own food and people at their table, the actual fight occurring, or what others in the restaurant are doing? It is impossible to attend to everything. After the selection, the individual organizes the event in terms of past experiences. How does this fit into what one has heard or experienced about these situations (e.g., what type of person picks a fight with a waiter in a restaurant?)? The final step in interpretation is attaching meaning and attribution to the event, such as the attribution that people who pick a fight with a waiter want a free meal.

The process of perception can create a series of beliefs and attitudes about people and behaviors which often result in miscommunication, misunderstanding, and stereotyping. Stereotyping is a shortcut in the process of perception and occurs when one attributes a characteristic to an entire group of people such as people with red hair argue more, at least in restaurants. Perceptions are highly subjective and often biased. They can pose a powerful barrier to effective intercultural communication. Perceptions can lead people to choose to separate, disengage, or avoid even getting involved in the first place with someone who does not seem to share their values.

One factor affecting perception is culture. One's customs, practices, and values are derived from their cultural groups. One approach in discussing cultural differences is individualism/collectivism. Individualism (Hofstede, 1980, 2001; Markus & Kitayama, 1991) sees people as autonomous and independent with high levels of individual and personal responsibility (Ting-Toomey & Chung, 2005). People from individualistic cultures tend to assume that the cause of a problem, such as the previously mentioned restaurant example (bad food, poor service), is the result of the person (waiter) and is under that person's ability to control. For example, people from the United States, an individualistic culture, may assume that a person who argues with the waiter in a restaurant is standing up for his rights and view such behavior as appropriate. Collectivism places a strong emphasis on relatedness and interdependence (Gudykunst, 1998). Collectivistic cultures are more apt to assume the situation caused the problem. A collectivist could see the event in the restaurant as outside of the control of the person (waiter) and find explanations for the problem in other factors (e.g., kitchen not working properly, someone calling in sick resulting in too few waiters). They might view arguing with the waiter who has no control over the situation as inappropriate. The result of these varying cultural orientations is misunderstanding and stereotypes. The individualist is viewed as rude by the collectivist and the collectivist is viewed as unable to defend himself by the individualist.

These stereotypes become part of one's attitudes and way of perceiving the world. Instead of being challenged, they are assumed to be correct. For example, Uecker and Schmidt (2006) showed two films to Russian and U.S. students. Both films displayed young men (one in Russia, one in the United States) trying to succeed in business in somewhat unsavory situations. Students were asked to identify film stereotypes about their culture and the other culture and then assess the accuracy of these stereotypes. While students from both United States and Russia were able to see the stereotypes about their own culture and recognize whether they were true or not, (e.g., the United States is greedy, Russia is corrupt), they had problems detecting the stereotypes about the other culture. This inability may be tied to the fact that the stereotypes of the other culture fit into their existing cultural beliefs about that culture. Instead of perceiving these actions in the film as stereotypes, they were perceived as reality and not identified. Additionally, once formed, these stereotypes cause one to continue to judge and react to people in the same ways, thus ignoring or not perceiving changes. For example, research by Hisrich, Bucar, and Oztark (2003) identified many differences between the

Russian and U.S. participants on the perception of the ethics of various business practices (e.g., giving/taking bribes, taking items from work). However, in 2015, Schmidt and Uecker using the same business practices found there were very few perceptual differences between Russian and U.S. participants. Despite these findings, the U.S. public still perceived that many of ethical differences in business practices between Russian and the United States existed.

These misunderstandings and stereotypes are increased by ethnocentrism. Ethnocentrism is the tendency for any culture to put itself in a position of centrality and positivity and to develop negative attitudes toward other cultures which have different values (Ting-Toomey, 1999). Ethnocentrism is a comparative evaluation. “Ethnocentric people view their own culture or co-culture as the standard against which all other cultures should be judged, and they often have contempt for other cultures” (McCornack, 2016, p. 153). The more ethnocentric one is, the more difficult it can be to make accurate predictions and explanations of others’ behavior. High levels of ethnocentrism can also create increased levels of anxiety when interacting with people from other cultures. People become anxious when they can’t predict or explain someone else’s communication.

One goal of intercultural teaching is to help students become more competent communicators. The ability to communicate in ways that are appropriate and effective with people from diverse backgrounds can be seen as the gateway to connections across cultures. Culturally competent people are more world-minded and have higher levels of attributional complexity and communication accommodation (McCornack, 2016). Embracing cultural differences has many benefits to the self, such as new friendships, romantic relationships, and professional alliances. In order to reach these goals, one must develop self-awareness of their own perceptions and be willing to challenge them. “Intercultural communication consists not only of interpreting behaviors of people from other cultures but also interpreting our own behavior based on others’ reactions to it” (Klyukanov, 2005, p. 15). These factors can limit one’s ability to accurately perceive and cause misunderstandings that impact interaction.

In 2009 Schmidt and Uecker conducted an online survey of U.S. and Russian students to assess their perceptions of each other. They found that 87% of U.S. students and 61% of Russian students reported knowing nothing or little about the other. Thirteen percent of U.S. students and 49% of Russians reported knowing a moderate amount about the other. No one reported knowing a great amount. Ninety percent of U.S. students and 75% of Russian students reported their information came from media. Other sources of information for Russian students were coursework (18%) and travel/

personal contact (7%). U.S. students cited coursework (5%) and personal contact/travel (5%).

U.S. students' perceptions of Russians were largely tied to the past. Sixty-five percent of the comments related to communism/Soviet Union and the Cold War. Russians were described as stern/strict/harsh/mean (40%), vodka drinking/furry hats (35%), bearded/hairy (15%), and aggressive/athletic (10%). Russian students perceived the U.S. students more in modern terms. Sixty percent described the U.S. students as advanced, enterprising, and stable and listed Disneyland, films, fast food, and McDonald's. Americans were described as sincere, cheerful, friendly, and brave.

In identifying characteristics (perceptions) of their own culture, 50% of U.S. student comments related to capitalism/democracy/ freedom, technologically advanced, and powerful. Other comments described U.S. citizens as obese (19%), materialistic (11%), friendly/open (8%), and lazy/arrogant/rushed (12%). Fifty percent of Russian students perceived Russia as nationalistic, honorable, hardworking, purposeful, and brave and Russians as kind, generous, and hospitable (50%).

Forty percent of U.S. students perceived differences in business practices due to government issues, seeing Russia as more restrictive, communistic, and regulated than the United States. Thirty percent perceived differences in business style, viewing the United States as working harder/faster, caring more about business, and more direct/open/fairer and less formal than Russians. Ten percent identified differences in type of business (size and number) and 10% identified language as the biggest difference. Sixty percent of Russians perceived the differences in business practices due to the government, viewing Russia as more socialist, corrupt, and difficult in which to start a business. Forty percent of Russians perceived differences in business style, viewing Russians as less competitive, more relational in starting and doing business, less experienced in business, and less transparent than the United States.

Ten percent of the United States and 20% of Russian students believed they would likely work with each other in the future. In regard to how comfortable they would be working with each other, 15% of U.S. students felt uncomfortable or somewhat uncomfortable, 42% were neutral, and 43% felt somewhat comfortable to comfortable. Of the U.S. students responding uncomfortable to neutral, the largest reason for being uncomfortable was they did not know enough about the other. Only 70% of the Russians responded to this question. Of the Russians who responded, 30% felt somewhat comfortable/comfortable, 57% neutral, and 30% somewhat uncomfortable/uncomfortable. For Russian students responding not comfortable to neutral, the reasons were they either did not know enough about the United States or did not trust people from the United States.

CURRENT STUDY

Since 2009, much has changed economically and politically between the United States and Russia but have the perceptions of Russians and U.S. participants changed about their own country and the other country?

Method

In order to determine whether perceptions have changed, the current study replicated Schmidt and Uecker's 2009 study. A total of 181 U.S. participants and 59 Russian participants completed an online survey. The U.S. students were from two U.S. universities and Russian subjects were invited to complete the survey as a result of a posting on the Communication Association of Eurasian Researchers Facebook page or as part of a class. IRB approval was obtained for the U.S. participants. Russian faculty reviewed the survey and approved their students' participation. Data was collected three different times from October 2017 to September 2018. Participants were asked to indicate how much they knew about each other (the United States about Russia, Russia about the United States), where their information came from (courses in school, media, other), and to list a story from the media. Participants were also asked to list three characteristics that came to mind when they thought about the United States or Russia and to provide three characteristics that came to mind when they thought about their own countries. Additionally, students identified what differences, if any, they saw in business practices between Russia and the United States. A final set of questions addressed whether they anticipated working with each other in the future, and how comfortable they felt working with the other.

Results

What Do They Know about Each Other?

All participants responded to this question. Fifty-five percent of U.S. participants reported knowing nothing or little about Russia, 30% a moderate amount, and 15% a great amount. Twenty-four percent of Russian participants reported knowing little or nothing about the United States, 50% a moderate amount, and 26% a great amount.

Where Do They Get Their Information?

All participants responded to this question. Seventy-eight percent of U.S. participants and 90% of Russian participants reported media as their primary source of information. Twenty percent of U.S. participants reported courses and 2% travel/personal experience as additional sources of information. Ten percent of Russian participants reported a mixture of courses, travel, and personal experience.

Media Story

When asked to recall a story from the media, 86% of the Russian and 80% of the U.S. participants could recall a story. The overwhelming response for both U.S. participants and Russian participants were political stories. Typical stories were those on "Putin and Trump colluding to rig the election in the US, Trump and Putin's relationship, and Russia in relation to 2016 presidential election and Facebook."

Perceptions of Other

When asked what three perceptions (characteristics) come to mind when you think about the other, the responses varied. The findings are displayed in table 14.1 in terms of general categories of comments about the country and people and the percentage of the frequency with which they occurred. All participants answered the characteristics question, but only 20% of the U.S. participants and 18% of the Russian participants identified characteristics about people.

Perceptions of Own Country

When asked what they perceived about their own culture, results also varied. The results are listed in table 14.2 in terms of percentage of frequency they occurred and divided by comments about country and people. All participants answered the question about characteristics, but only 15% of U.S. students and 8% of Russian students who responded identified perceptions about people.

Perceived Differences in Business Practice

Eighty-nine percent of U.S. students and 72% of Russians students responded to this question. The perceived differences in business practices are listed in table 14.3 grouped by general categories of responses and the percentage of the frequency they occurred.

Anticipate Working with the Other Culture

All participants responded to this question. Thirty-three percent of U.S. participants believed they would work with Russians in the future and 67% felt they would not work with Russians. Of the Russian participants, 77%

Table 14.1 Perceptions of Other

The Unites States about Russia		*Russia about the United States*	
Country			
Cold War/Soviets/Communism	37%	Freedom/Liberty	40%
Putin Tensions/Rivals/Conflict	25%	Trump/Politics/Sanctions	20%
Power/Military/Missiles/Nuclear	18%	Rich/Industrial/Modern	17%
Corrupt/Cheating/Spying/Hacking	15%	Films/Hollywood	13%
Snow/Big/Cold	5%	Violence	5%
		Competitive	5%
People			
Aggressive/Competitors		Well-wishing	
Loud		Optimistic	
Proud			

believed they would work with people from the United States in the future and 23% felt they would not work with people from the United States.

How Comfortable Are They Working with Each Other?

All participants responded to this question. Sixty-eight percent of U.S. participants felt somewhat comfortable/comfortable working with people from Russia, 9% were neutral, and 23% reported being somewhat uncomfortable/uncomfortable. Of those responding uncomfortable, somewhat uncomfortable, or neutral, only 53% explained why. Difficulty in understanding language differences was the factor for 64% of the respondents, uncertainty/embarrassment was reported by 27%, and not trusting by 9%. Fifty-four percent of Russian participants felt somewhat comfortable/comfortable working

Table 14.2 Perceptions of Own Country

The United States about the United States		*Russia about Russia*	
Country			
Freedom	20%	Pride/Home/Powerful	29%
Powerful/Strong/Good Military	20%	Bad Economy/Corruption	21%
Bully/Arrogant/Obnoxious/Greedy	15%	Big/Resources	16%
Going Downhill/Declining/ Disjointed/Divided	15%	Putin/Politics	15%
Losing Freedom/Divided/ Internal Problems	15%	Has "soul"	7%
Wasteful/Polluted	10%	Traditional	6%
Unknown Future/Changing	5%	Friendly	6%
People			
Affluent/Rich		Sincere	
Obese/Lazy		Hospitable	
Arrogant/Proud			

Table 14.3 Perceived Differences in Business Practice

U.S. Perceived Differences	
Style (52%)	Working styles, treatment of workers, classes of workers, Russia is more formal and direct in business.
Government (30%)	Russians are communistic, determined, less open, and less passionate, and have more government interference and regulations and few ethics than the United States.
Language (18%)	Difficulty in understanding Russian language.
Russian Perceived Differences	
Government (60%)	U.S. businesses are more government-supported, popular, and easier to start, and have more opportunities, less corruption, and few rules/laws than Russia. U.S. workers love their jobs and are always looking to the future. Russians don't always love their job, need money to live, and start a business on their own.
Styles (33%)	Different approaches, communication, and mindsets. Russians rely more on personal contacts and relationship than U.S. businesses.
Economy (3%)	U.S. salaries are higher and economy is more stable.

with people from the United States, 19% were neutral, and 27% were somewhat uncomfortable/uncomfortable. Of those responding very uncomfortable, somewhat uncomfortable, and neutral, 37% explained why. Fifty-six percent of these listed various culture differences, 33% reported awkwardness, and 11% indicated difficulty in understanding language as factors.

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to see if perceptions of students had changed since 2009, and, if so, how had perceptions changed. Are students more "global-minded" and thinking less stereotypically today than in 2009? Both U.S. and Russian students claim to be more knowledgeable (up to 32% for U.S. students and 37% for Russian students) about each other in 2017/2018 than in 2009. Additionally, in both 2009 and in 2017/2018, Russian students claim to know more about the United States than U.S. students claim to know about Russia. Although both Russian and U.S. students claimed more knowledge about each other in 2017/2018 than in 2009, this additional knowledge did not change how they perceived each other or perceived differences in business practices from 2009. Students in the United States still think of Russia using old stereotypes (37%) and relate primarily to negative political issues/stereotypes (57%). Much of their thinking about Russian characteristics continues to be generally negative, referencing events in the past. Russian students also have not substantially altered their responses of the United States. In both 2009 and in 2017/2018, their responses are still positive in tone toward the United States. Russian students still see the United States as modern, developed, free, and an entertainment center (60%). Findings on differences in business practices were also very similar to 2009 findings with a slight change in perception of government problems (increase of 10%) for U.S. students. Generally, these findings reinforce the studies on perception that once formed, perceptions are difficult to change, even though changes do occur in practices, ethics, and business approaches (Schmidt & Uecker, 2015). Furthermore, perceptions continue to be developed within the construct of one's own cultural lens and ethnocentrism.

One difference for the Russians in 2017/2018 was an increase in negative comments about the United States such as "the US is false" and "the US accuses other countries for their own problems." These negative comments were not present in 2009. Smeltz, Goncharov, and Wojtowicz (2016) found a similar negative attitude in that only 23% of Russians said they had a positive view of the United States. This was among the lowest of the rankings since the post–Cold War era. This shift is also reflected in the writings of journalist Tavernise (2015) on her travels to Russia, noting that she felt that anti-Americanism was more potent now than ever. Much of this anti-American shift might be a reflection of Russian media. Grincheva and Lu (2017), in their study of media messages on the fifth BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa) summit, commented on the tendency of the Russian media to capitalize on the strong national identity of Russia, placing it in comparison and even opposition with the rest of the world. This increase in negative comments did not occur for U.S. students even though the discussion of political hacking and Russian involvement in the 2016 election has been a major subject of U.S. media. Even with this shift in negativity toward the United States, it should be noted U.S. participants both in 2009 and in the current study had a much more negative perception of Russia than Russians' of the United States.

The responses to what participants perceived about their own countries was the biggest change in perception since 2009. Both groups gave more negative comments about their own country in the current study than in 2009. Russian participants still thought of Russia as being a strong, big, beautiful country; friendly; and having "soul" (58%), but also included characteristics such as corrupt, pride, nationalism, and "bad economic system" (21%). These comments were not present in 2009. One possible explanation might be a change in cultural orientation for Russians to more individualistic and different expectations of the economy. U.S. participants still referred to the United States as free, democratic, and a land of opportunity (40%), but also described the United States in more negative terms such as declining, divided, polluted, self-centered, "meddlesome in other countries," and arrogant (60%). They also described people in the United States in negative terms such as lazy, fat, and obese. For the U.S. participants, the number of these negative comments was much higher and the actual comments were more negative in describing the United States than those used by Russian participants in describing Russia.

As the results of this study demonstrate, the media continues to be the number one source of information for both Russian and U.S. participants. Furthermore, the articles or news stories most remembered related to possible interference by Russia in the 2016 presidential campaign. These findings confirm research by Gottfried, Barthel, Shearer, and Mitchell (2016) who found that over 90% of U.S. adults learned about the presidential election through media sources. Although the majority of information still comes from the media for both Russian and U.S. participants, the frequency of participant dependency on the media for information was reversed. In 2009, 90% of U.S. participants and 75% of Russian participants cited the media as primary source information, and in the current study, 75% of U.S. participants and 90% of Russian participants cited the media as their major source. Russian participants also mentioned the film industry in their perceptions of the United States.

Given the substantial influence of media in forming and maintaining perception and the research of Grincheva and Lu (2017) as well as Hall (2017) about the ethnocentric bias in both Russian and U.S. media reporting, teachers should challenge sources of information from media and encourage students to develop media literacy, thinking critically about what they read or hear on all media platforms. Additional studies should examine what type of media (e.g., movies, Internet, social media) people rely on and the perceived credibility of these mediums especially in light of recent information about hacking and planting fake news stories. Furthermore, the question should be asked how this media reinforces cultural stereotypes and encourages ethnocentrism.

An additional source of knowledge for students was coursework. In 2009, 5% of U.S. students and 18% of Russian students identified courses as a source of knowledge. In the current study, this was reversed with more U.S. students identifying coursework as a source of knowledge than Russians. While courses can potentially help offset media for U.S. students, what is not asked in this survey is the type of courses. For example, are these courses primarily history courses reviewing the past (possibly reinforcing old perceptions) or courses that examine current policy and approaches? What types of texts are used and do they have an ethnocentric bias?

Since 2009, there were substantial differences in the perception of the likelihood of working with Russia or the United States and the perceived comfort level in working with the other. In the current study, the number of U.S. and Russian participants who believed they would probably work together in the future increased and both expressed being more comfortable working with each other. While more U.S. participants felt more comfortable working with Russians, more Russian participants believed that they would work with each other in the future. This increased comfort level reinforces studies supporting that more knowledge (in this case the perception of more knowledge) reduces anxiety, and less anxiety helps perceive others as more predictable/attractive, encouraging them to consider the formation relationships and working with them (Burgoon & Hoobler, 2002).

This study reinforces the need for researchers to study and collect material about practices and perceptions from various cultures rather than to just collect data about their own culture. Additionally, researchers should conduct replication of earlier studies to identify if perceptions are changing and develop longitudinal studies to see trends. Given the findings of this study on students' reflections on their own culture, additional studies are needed on the relationship of ethnocentrism and the concept of individualism/collectivism to perception.

This study also reinforces the need for teachers of communication to continue to challenge students' stereotypes in the effort to develop intercultural competence. One approach would be to have students take a survey similar to this study before class discussion, identifying characteristics they have of other cultures and share the results. The results would help to make students aware of their perceptions, where these perceptions come from, and how these perceptions may affect their ability to interact with people from other cultures. One of the authors found this method to be very helpful to class discussion. Students became aware of not only the effect of the media in forming their perceptions but also how their perceptions affected them in assigning attribution for actions by the "other."

Another approach would be to develop more exchanges using Skype or Internet surveys/exchanges between students of different cultures to discuss differences in perception. For example, as a follow-up to this survey, a U.S. class was asked to list the three characteristics they thought Russians would have of the United States before they saw the results from the Russians. The U.S. students, given their largely negative perceptions of the Russians, thought that the Russian students' perceptions of the United States would be negative. They were surprised to find out that the Russians had positive impressions of the United States. This led to a discussion between the groups on how these stereotypes were established and why the differences in perception existed. These exchanges not only give students more experiences with each other, but also increase their knowledge and comfort level in working together.

CONCLUSION

Perceptions are strong factors influencing interaction in a globalizing society. This chapter discussed the process of perception and the impact of culture, media, and ethnocentrism on assessing ourselves and others' cultural values and attributions through an online survey of Russian and U.S. participants. The goal of the survey was to identify perceptions, where these perceptions were developed, and what possible effects they could have on interaction between these cultures. This type of research is important in the Eurasian context, because in order to enhance the intercultural competence needed for developing personal and business relations in the future, students must become more aware of their own cultural lens and ethnocentrism. Students must also be aware of how their perceptions of themselves differ from others to avoid possible misunderstandings. Instructors and researchers should be concerned with improving how students communicate with others and facilitating how to engage in mindful learning and understanding to foster a multicultural perspective that allows them to check their perceptions when interacting with people different from themselves. The authors provided suggestions for future research and classroom instruction.

REFERENCES

Burgoon, J. K., & Hoobler, G. D. (2002). Nonverbal signals. In M. L. Knapp & J. A. Daly (Eds.), *Handbook of interpersonal communication* (3rd ed., pp. 240–299). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Friedman, T. L. (2005). *The world is flat: A brief history of the 21st century.* New York, NY: Anchor.

Gottfried, J., Barthel, M., Shearer, E., & Mitchell, A. (2016, February 4). The 2016 presidential campaign – a news event that's hard to miss. *Pew Research Center*. https://pewrsr.ch/3pdjSkB

Grincheva, N., & Lu, J. (2016). BRICS summit diplomacy: Constructing national identities through Russian and Chines media coverage of the fifth BRICS summit in Durban, South Africa. *Global Media and Communication*, *12*(1), 25–47. doi: 10.1177/1742766515626827.

Gudykunst, W. B. (1998). *Bridging differences: Effective intergroup communication* (5th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Hall, K. (2017). The new voice of America: Countering foreign propaganda and Disinformation act. *First Amendment Studies*, *51*(2), 49–61, doi: 10.1080/21689725.2017.1349618.

Hinckley, R. (1989). American opinion toward the Soviet Union. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, *1*(3), 242–257. doi: 10.1093/ijpor/1.3.242.

Hisrich, R.D., Bucar, B., & Oztark, S. (2003). A cross cultural comparison of business ethics: Cases of Russia, Slovenia, Turkey & United States. *Cross Cultural Management*, *10*(1), 3–28. doi: 10.1108/13527600310797504.

Hofstede, G. (1980). *Culture's consequences.* Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Hofstede, G. (2001). *Culture's consequences: Comparing values, behaviors, institutions, and organizations across nations* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Klyukanov, I. E. (2005). *Principles of intercultural communication.* Boston, MA: Pearson.

Markus, H., & Kitayama, S. (1991). Culture and self: Implications for cognition, emotion, and motivation. *Psychological Review*, *98*(2), 224–253.

McCornack, S. (2016). *Reflect and relate: An introduction to interpersonal communication* (4th ed.). Boston, MA: Bedford/St. Martin's.

Mottet, T.P., Vogl-Bauer, S., & Houser, M. L. (2012). *Your interpersonal communication.* Boston, MA: Pearson.

Schmidt, J., & Uecker, D. (2015). Business and close friendship expectations in U.S., Russia, and Croatia. *Journal of Higher Education Theory and Practice*, *15*(2), 35–43.

Schmidt, J., & Uecker, D. (2015). Business ethics in the United States and Russia. *Journal of Leadership, Accountability and Ethics*, *12*(2), 92–102.

Schmidt, J., & Uecker, D. (2009, November). *Work expectations in the global marketplace.* Paper presented at the 95th annual meeting of the National Communication Association Conference, Chicago, IL.

Schmidt, W., Conaway, R., Easton, S., & Wardrope, W. (2007). *Communicating globally: Intercultural communication and international business.* Los Angeles, CA: Sage.

Smeltz, D., Goncharov, S., & Wojtowicz, L. (2016, April 11). Levada-Center and Chicago Council on Global Affairs about Russian-American relations. https://bit.ly/3i9hnOF

Stimpson, C. (1994, March 16). A conversation, not a monologue. *Chronicle of Higher Education*, *40*(28), B1.

Stohl, C. (2001). Globalizing organizational communication. In F. M. Jablin & L. L. Putnam (Eds.), *The new handbook or organizational communication: Advances in theory, research and methods* (pp. 323–375). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Tavernise, S. (2015, September 15). Why Russians hate America. Again. *The New York Times*. https://nyti.ms/3cgj4WC

Ting-Toomey, S. (1999). *Communicating across cultures.* New York, NY: Guilford.

Ting-Toomey, S., & Chung, L. (2005). *Understanding intercultural communication.* Los Angeles, CA: Roxbury.

Uecker, D., & Schmidt, J. (2008, June). *Using film to explore cultural differences and business ethics*. Paper presented at the 4th annual meeting of Russian Communication Association Conference, Moscow, Russia.

Conclusion

Communication Studies in the Post-Socialist Contexts—Key Takeaways and Lessons Learned

Maureen Minielli, Marta Lukacovic, Sergei Samoilenko, Deborrah Uecker, and Michael Finch

This edited volume offers a comprehensive reflection on a wide range of communication theories and applications across post-socialist societies spanning two continents—from Central Europe to Central Asia. This project's goals are (a) to extract emergent trends from examples; (b) to identify some key tensions and elaborate on their influences on scholarship, education, and practice; and (c) to elucidate the implications for a broader audience focusing on the tasks of the global field of communication. Next, we assess common themes through the lens of this volume's main goals and objectives. Then we reflect on the implications of our findings for conversations around global knowledge building. Finally, we address the future of communication theory and its applications in countries of the former socialist region.

BUILDING THEORY THROUGH APPLIED RESEARCH AND CASE STUDIES

Across eight chapters in parts I and II, the authors reflect on the role of communication in their socialist past. This is an important observation because these chapters simultaneously address current phenomena and the representative cases of the era. These chapters deal with the following: socialist bureaucratic practices (Matveeva et al.—chapter 4; Hejlová—chapter 6), unique features of post-Soviet media systems (Bogomoletc and Malkov—chapter 2; Pichugina—chapter 3), and reemerging types of nationalism with certain reactionary features (Finch—chapter 5; Lukacovic—chapter 7; Synowiec—chapter 8). The historic heritage is unmistakably present in other chapters as well.

The examples of modern-day trends include the new digital technologies and online platforms (Bogomoletc and Malkov—chapter 2; Pichugina—chapter 3; Hejlová—chapter 6; Lukacovic—chapter 7; Synowiec—chapter 8), internationalization and globalization (Leontovich—chapter 1; Bogomoletc and Malkov—chapter 2; Pichugina—chapter 3; Matveeva et al.—chapter 4, Finch—chapter 5; Hejlová—chapter 6), urbanization (Pichugina—chapter 3; Finch—chapter 5), and new generation trends including Millennials and Gen Z (Bogomoletc and Malkov—chapter 2; Pichugina—chapter 3; Finch—chapter 5; Lukacovic—chapter 7). Furthermore, the degree of overlap that exists between past and present results in stagnation, value clashes, or productive synergy, and is context-bound.

The above commonalities among chapters are essential for theory building. Inductively, chapters 2 through 8 demonstrate that many post-socialist contexts share the tensions between the political and social issues of the past and present. Furthermore, these chapters' inductive input supports Leontovich (chapter 1) arguing for the appropriation of a body of knowledge produced by Russian linguists in order to develop a truly global approach toward intercultural communication.

In a dialectical sense, the past-present tension needs to be acknowledged as a conceptual framework within post-socialist contexts. In addition, it is evident that further attempts at communication theory building should focus on resolving or harnessing the above tensions.

ACADEMIC PUBLICATIONS AS DIALOGIC PLATFORMS IN POST-SOCIALIST CONTEXTS AND THE WORLD BEYOND

Chapters in part III provide accounts of launching and maintaining scholarly communication journals which focus on post-socialist content.

Both chapters by Głowacki et al. (chapter 9) and Klyukanov and Sinekopova (chapter 10) acknowledge the success of *Central European Journal of Communication* (*CEJC*) and *Russian Journal of Communication* (*RJC*) was possible due to the support of both semiformal and fully formalized networks of organizations and individual scholars in the field. Both publications stress the communitarian and communicative core of their enterprises. For example, Głowacki et al. (chapter 9) liken their journal to the "community for sharing knowledge." Klyukanov and Sinekopova (chapter 10) consider their "journal as a part of the system of scholarly communication." Another positive trend is that both chapters reflect optimism in the prospects of these two important journals.

Klyukanov and Sinekopova (chapter 10) address a friction point between epistemological approaches and language for research presentation in *RJC* which is embedded in East-West dialectics. Głowacki and colleagues (chapter 9) position *CEJC* as rooted in the broader European academic network. Overall, Polish academic thought has been evolving in connection to Western paradigms and which make collaborations between Polish and Western European scholars much easier and more productive. *RJC* illustrates a case of international collaboration between Russian and U.S.-based scholars that implies a certain paradigmatic clash as a result of academic and cultural differences. On the other hand, the authors perceive this set of tensions as an opportunity that often leads to productive academic outcomes.

In the similar vein, Matyash (chapter 11) sees a textbook as an important platform for an active dialogue between the author and the reader. This is a view which facilitates the further translation and adaptation of communication theory for students. It is an example of another critical bridge between communication scholars and post-socialist publics. Similar to Klyukanov and Sinekopova (chapter 10), Matyash (chapter 11) reflects on the relationship between the communication field and its definitions and other academic disciplines. There are implications for designing university programs and curricula in Russian higher education. Matyash describes the lack of state and institutional support for incorporating interpersonal communication into Russian higher education, which limits the adoption of certain textbooks, even when they are endorsed by the faculty and students.

Academic publications offer indispensable linkages between communication theory, research, and practice. The literature outlined by Głowacki et al. (chapter 9), Klyukanov and Sinekopova (chapter 10), and Matyash (chapter 11) bridge post-socialist societies with other global communities. It is paramount to sustain these bridges for continuous and inclusive scholarly dialogue, as well as a general dialogue.

TEACHING COMMUNICATION IN AND ABOUT THE POST-SOCIALIST REGION

Communication education is a venue that allows the spread of academic knowledge and research. In addition to the approaches discussed earlier, Jones and Kungienė (chapter 12), Matyash (chapter 13), and Uecker and Schmidt (chapter 14) offer *applied theory* in various contexts of teaching in and about post-socialist societies.

Jones and Kungienė (chapter 12), Matyash (chapter 13), and Uecker and Schmidt (chapter 14) capture several important approaches to international pedagogy as they attempt to link theoretical frameworks and cultural practices from East and West. This is another example of building academic bridges. Also, there are similar tensions as noted in most previous chapters: between West and East, theory and practice, past and present.

The reflections in chapters 12 and 13 highlight another significant tension point: the differences between instructor and student cultural standpoints. Jones and Kungienė (chapter 12) discuss the role of language, supporting the idea of intercultural communication rooted in the study of linguistics as advocated by Leontovich (chapter 1). Matyash (chapter 13) highlights the interpersonal dimensions and normative nuances of teaching communication theory in international and intercultural settings.

Uecker and Schmidt (chapter 14) provide an account based on theory, data, and practice when applied to communication education of Russian and American students, hence dealing with a contentious context. In their calls for dialogue, Jones and Kungienė (chapter 12) encourage listening based on theory and Matyash (chapters 11 and 13) argues for a nuanced adaptation of context-specific examples that reflect local experiences. To enforce the calls for dialogue, Uecker and Schmidt (chapter 14) raise theoretical awareness through education, thereby using empirical approaches as a tool to improve students' understanding of *self* and *other*. The authors note that perceptions should be deliberately analyzed as "strong factors influencing interaction in a globalizing society." This type of awareness is particularly indispensable for dialogue on complicated and sensitive concepts such as ethnocentrism. However, thorny concepts are especially crucial in order to facilitate more options for common ground in the current, increasingly more globalized world.

Jones and Kungienė (chapter 12), Matyash (chapter 13), and Uecker and Schmidt (chapter 14) report promising prospects when students demonstrate enthusiasm for learning about communication theory and learning about the *other*. Their studies of pedagogical approaches facilitating bridging international and intercultural differences are exemplary and recommended for further examination.

THE FUTURE OF COMMUNICATION THEORY AND RESEARCH IN THE POST-SOCIALIST CONTEXTS

This edited volume provides evidence that communication theory has evolved in post-socialist societies. All chapters in this volume add to a continuous conversation between the post-socialist scholars and Western schools of thought. Some conversations occur naturally in a harmonious way, others display tensions between the two worldviews.

A fascinating trend is a past-present tension which offers important implications for theory building and theory application. We do not normally observe this type of discussion in the U.S. communication research. This common theme may be indicative of the Global East notion (Müller, 2020; Trubina, 2020), which is defined by the shared experience of post-socialist political transition and the consequent sociopolitical, institutional, and economic implications that stem from this transition.

At the same time, some similarities in themes and approaches should not lead our readers to oversimplifications and generalizations. Post-socialist societies contain many internal differences within local communities. For that reason, a national context is what we identify as particularly useful frame of reference for theory application and development. National settings possess characteristics of shared memories and history with specific intellectual heritages. National collectives share numerous formal and informal linkages through personal, professional, and cultural activities. Furthermore, national policies significantly impact academic institutions and educational curricula.

The national context impacts the degree to which theoretical and applied research can be compared to communication scholarship produced by Western researchers. For instance, while countries like the Czech Republic or Slovakia are politically, economically, and militarily deeply integrated within the West, many subfields of Czech and Slovak communication studies remain quite immature when compared to Western communication scholarship (as Hejlová—chapter 6—and Lukacovic—chapter 7—point out). However, the communication field in Russia has more developed subareas including science and urban communication (see Bogomoletc and Malkov—chapter 2; Pichugina—chapter 3 in this volume) and therefore resembles more of the West.

Finally, a promising trend that resonates throughout this book is a call for collaborative research between post-socialist scholars and other international communication scholars. The links to the West are strongly pronounced through the use of Western theory and attempts to do research and teaching through the prism of Western paradigms. From the viewpoint of the communication field, the metaphor "Global East" reflects a metamodel of communication theory. The different traditions are positioned to be engaged in productive dialogue toward addressing practical problems in contemporary societies (Craig, 1999). A broadly defined culture, which encompasses sociopolitical, economic, institutional, and other particularities, represents another dimension of tensions that impact the evolution of communication scholarship in post-socialist societies (Minielli et al., 2021). The current volume helps to identify additional friction points embedded in national contexts.

There is a potential for the Global East notion (Müller, 2020; Trubina, 2020) in the academic sense to help determine to what degree knowledge structures travel across the scholarly map in the directions north-south and west-east. The scholarly orientation toward the West and comparisons with research produced in the United States and Western Europe are already well-established. Perhaps an interesting next step would be expanding post-socialist communication studies' horizons more globally.

CLOSING REMARKS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

This volume houses an eclectic collection of scholarly, applied, and pedagogical chapters on various communication phenomena in the post-socialist region. The book aims to accomplish as follows:

- To illustrate the application of communication theory across several national and regional contexts.
- To identify common trends and describe important tensions emerging from the works of the featured scholars, educators, and practitioners.
- To link the implications from the identified trends and tensions to a broader discussion about the current state of communication theory and practice in a global sense.

A significant trend, and also a tension, is the dialectic tension between past and present. We presume that this is reflective of the profound impacts of the social, economic, and political transition that has been unfolding in the region. On the other hand, national context also determines important differences within the post-socialist societies.

In international communication literature, which is primarily dominated by Western scholars, post-socialist contexts are grossly underrepresented (Demeter, 2018). This book is an avenue to increase the visibility of the post-socialist region in academic conversations. It calls for further initiatives that advance communication theory, application, and pedagogy in the region, embedded in global conversations. We hope that the wide array of interesting points brought up by the contributing authors will stimulate further discussions about the post-socialist region and beyond. By *beyond*, we want to stress that it is paramount that Russia, Eurasia, and Central Eastern Europe are not discussed as an isolated set of cases but incorporated in global dialogues. Similarly, we hope that future research and similar collections will look at theoretical, practical, and pedagogical connections between post-socialist and postcolonial experiences.

The post-socialist region is home to more than 400 million people. In addition to robust normative pleas to represent diversity, there are clear practical benefits for understanding the communicative processes in the frame of world society. It is only by the inclusive incorporation of underrepresented experiences in the field's discussions that the communication discipline can continue to assert its relevance in and for the global community. This book serves as a resource for anyone on the quest of diversifying and globalizing communication studies.

REFERENCES

Craig, R. T. (1999). Communication theory as a field. *Communication Theory*, *9*, 119–161.

Demeter, M. (2018). Changing center and stagnant periphery in communication and media studies: National diversity of major international journals in the field of communication from 2013 to 2017. *International Journal of Communication*, *12*, 2893–2921

Minielli, M., Lukacovic, M. N., Samoilenko, S. A., Finch, M., & Uecker, D. (2021). Conclusion: The characteristics and dynamics of dialectical tensions within media, public relations, and communication studies in post-socialist societies. In M. Minielli, M. N. Lukacovic, S. A. Samoilenko, M. Finch, & D. Uecker, *Media and public relations research in post-socialist societies.* Lanham, MD: Lexington Books – Rowman & Littlefield.

Müller, M. (2020). In search of the Global East: Thinking between North and South. *Geopolitics*, *25*(3), 734–755.

Trubina, E. (2020). Обсуждая Глобальный Восток [Discussing the Global East]. *Russian Sociological Review*, *19*(3), 9–18.

Index

About the Editors and Contributing Authors

Maureen C. Minielli (PhD, Pennsylvania State University), Professor (In Memoriam), CUNY—Kingsborough. Her main research area was presidential crisis rhetoric with an emphasis on Richard M. Nixon. Her recent scholarship focused on Nixon's presidential rhetoric toward the Soviet Union during his first presidential term based on archival document research at the NARA Archives in Maryland and Nixon Presidential Library and Museum in California. Minielli served in a variety of different leadership roles for several state, regional, national, and international academic associations. She was instrumental in connecting communication scholars from the post-socialist world to a broader community of global researchers.

Marta N. Lukacovic (PhD, Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan) is an assistant professor of Communication and Mass Media at Angelo State University, Texas, the United States. Her recent research has been centered on how user-generated online content reflects on the issues of international security—specifically what the implications are for strategic communication. She frequently presents at international conferences, such as the conventions of National Communication Association and International Communication Association, and her work has appeared in several international journals, such as *PACO*, *Frontiers in Communication*, and *International Communication Research Journal*. She currently serves as the president of Communication Association of Eurasian Researchers (CAER) for the 2021 to 2022 period. She is a coeditor of the book *Media and Public Relations Research in Post-Socialist Societies* (2021).

Sergei A. Samoilenko is assistant professor in the Department of Communication at George Mason University. His research focuses on issues in crisis communication, reputation management, and propaganda. He is a coeditor of *Routledge Handbook of Character Assassination and Reputation Management*, *Handbook of Deception, Fake News and Misinformation Online*, and *Media and Public Relations Research in Post-Socialist Societies*.

Michael R. Finch is the chair of the communication department at Bryan College in the United States and serves as a research affiliate at LCC International University in Klaipeda, Lithuania. His areas of research interest include cultural identity, media ecology, and communication curriculum development. He is the executive director of the CAER and has presented research nationally and internationally. Finch has developed international cooperative student programming internationally in Ukraine, Poland, Australia, New Zealand, Italy, and Lithuania. He holds a PhD in communication and an MA in Journalism from Regent University.

Deborrah Uecker is emeriti professor of Communication at Wisconsin Lutheran College and chair of the Communication/Business program for many years. She has advanced degrees from Marquette University and UW Milwaukee in Intercultural Communication. She has been involved in extensive research, publications, and presentations at national and international conferences on cultural differences between the United States, Russia, and other Eastern European countries. She is a founding member of Communication Association of Eurasian Research (CAER) which has involved extensive collaboration and project opportunities with scholars and students in Eastern Europe.

Lilia Akhmerova is a senior lecturer of Russian as a Second Language at Kazan Federal University (KFU), Kazan, Russia. She holds an MA in Russian as a Foreign Language from KFU. She teaches a variety of courses, including Russian grammar, stylistics, Russian culture, speech, introduction to linguistics, and other courses. Lilia has published a number of articles on Russian as a foreign language in edited collections and journals in Russia and Europe.

Ekaterina Bogomoletc is a PhD candidate in the Communication, Rhetoric, and Digital Media program at North Carolina State University. With her industry experience in strategic communication, she is interested in phenomena on the intersection of strategic, science, and global communication.

Michał Głowacki is an associate professor at the Faculty of Journalism, Information and Book Studies, University of Warsaw, Poland. He researches media and democracy, public service media, and creative cultures. He has been involved in several large European research projects and conducted studies funded by the European Commission, the Polish American Fulbright Commission, the National Science Center of Poland, and the Polish National Agency of Academic Exchange. He is the editor in chief of *Central European Journal of Communication* (*CEJC*).

Denisa Hejlová is a Czech researcher, academic, and communication consultant. Since 2011, she has served as Head of the Department of Marketing Communication and Public Relations at the Charles University. Denisa has gained her PhD in Media Studies at the Charles University, studied one-year Intercultural Communication at the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, Japan, and spent one semester as Fulbright Visiting Scholar at Columbia University, the United States. In her academic career, Denisa focuses on the development of academic research and education in public relations (PR), marketing, and strategic communication in the Czech Republic. She has laid the grounds of academic research and education with strong international ties in these fields and publishes regularly for domestic and international audiences. Besides that, she has codeveloped a self-regulatory initiative in influencer marketing Ferovyinfluencer.cz and online magazine Markething.cz.

Andrew C. Jones (PhD, Louisiana State University A&M, 2016) is assistant professor in the Department of Communication at LCC International University in Klaipėda, Lithuania. Dr. Jones was the first recipient of the Hinderliter Endowed Faculty Fellowship and he is a frequent presenter at international conferences in Europe and the United States. His research interests include rhetoric in popular culture, STEM, and political communication in Eastern Europe.

Igor E. Klyukanov has authored numerous articles, book chapters, and books in communication theory, semiotics, translation studies, general linguistics, and intercultural communication. His monograph *A Communication Universe: Manifestations of Meaning, Stagings of Significance* (2010) won the 2012 NCA Philosophy of Communication Division 2012 Best Book Award. He is a coauthor (with Galina V. Sinekopova) of *Communication Theory through the Ages* (2019). He is also the translator and editor of Mikhail Epstein's book *The Transformative Humanities: A Manifesto* (2012). He is the founding editor of *Russian Journal of Communication*.

Eugenija Kungienė is an assistant professor of English language at LCC International University, Lithuania. Her interests are in psycholinguistics and communication. She teaches courses in Prerequisite Intensive Module in English.

Olga Leontovich (PhD, Moscow Linguistic University; Doctor habil—Volgograd State Socio-Pedagogical University) is distinguished professor and chair of the Department of Intercultural Communication and Translation at Volgograd State Socio-Pedagogical University (Russia) and distinguished professor of Tianjin Foreign Studies University (China). She is the author and coauthor of 10 books, 4 textbooks, more than 220 articles, as well as over 150 papers and professional presentations at international conferences. She has given lectures and conference presentations on intercultural communication, sociolinguistics, and discourse analysis in several European countries, the United States, and China. Olga is one of the founding members of the Russian Communication Association (RCA) and a member of editorial boards of several academic journals.

Dmitrii Malkov is the founder and first director of the Center for Science Communication at ITMO University and a cofounder of the Russian Association for Science Communication (AKSON). Dmitrii has experience both as a practitioner and researcher in such diverse areas as corporate science communication and science policy.

Natalia Matveeva is a professor of Corporate Communication in the Department of Arts and Communication at the University of Houston—Downtown (UHD), the United States. Her core research foci include intercultural business communication and plain language. She has published articles, special issues, and a book chapter exploring cultural differences in written documentation, best methods of teaching intercultural communication, and the use of plain language. Natalia's recent edited book (2018), titled *Citizenship and Advocacy in Technical Communication: Scholarly and Pedagogical Perspectives*, coauthored with Dr. Godwin Agboka (UHD), explores the questions of active citizenship, community engagement, and effective teaching strategies in the academy. In addition to codirecting the Institute for Plain English Research and Study at UHD, she also teaches a variety of courses, including small group communication, business and professional communication, intercultural and world communication, plain language, research methods, and others.

Olga I. Matyash (PhD, Syracuse University, USA; PhD, Russian Academy of Education, Moscow, Russia) is an international scholar whose professional interest and activities have been divided between the U.S. and Russia/Eurasian region. Her career began teaching Pedagogy in Russia and then turned to teach communication in U.S. and Eurasian universities and colleges. Her work has also been promoting the discipline's development in Russia and making bridges between U.S. and Eurasian scholars. Olga is the founder / first president of the RCA and an organizer of projects partnering U.S. and Russian scholars. Another area of her work has been within the scholarly communities of NCA and ICA, eventually leading to the establishment of new organizations focused on communication research in Eastern European and Eurasian regions (currently represented by CAER, Communication Association of Eurasian Researchers). Her research and writing is focused on the issues of the development of the discipline, communication education, and methodology of modern social studies. A particular highlight is *Interpersonal Communication: Theory and Life* (2011), a collaboration of Russian and U.S. scholars, possibly the first Russian-language textbook in interpersonal communication featuring a practical and constitutive/social constructional approach.

Jacek Mikucki, PhD, is an assistant professor at the Faculty of Journalism, Information and Book Studies, University of Warsaw, Poland. He has studied audiovisual culture, urban communications, and new forms of media, including startups and SMEs in Germany and Poland. He has contributed to the theory of high technologies and media infrastructure in a smart city. He has a background in qualitative studies—data collection and coding of findings from semi-structured interviews.

Róża Norström, PhD, is an assistant professor at the Institute of Journalism and Media Communication at the University of Silesia in Katowice, Poland. She is the author of numerous publications in the field of journalism and media studies and political science. She has been involved in several research projects granted among others by the Swedish Civil Contingency Agency and the Foundation for Baltic and East European Studies. Since 2014 she is the coordinator of submissions for the *CEJC*. Her research interests are political communication, international relations, and conflict reporting.

Olga Pichugina is an associate professor at Russian State University for the Humanities and PR director of Moscow City Cultural Centre, "Gaydarovects." She teaches sociocultural design and urban communications. She is the author of more than 20 papers on the problems of urban media and urban researches in Russia. She also works as an independent consultant on sociocultural project management and communications. She authors expert papers and articles in Russian media about urban communications, the problems of preserving and studying heritage. During the pandemic, she launched the research about Moscow Cultural and Community Centers and their media representations from the beginning of the twentieth century to today, including the Soviet era. She lives in Moscow.

Irina Savich is an exceptional former undergraduate student in PR at Belarusian State University, Minsk, Belarus, who completed her degree in the Institute of Journalism. Irina was an honors student and received a scholarship for her excellent study, research, and writing skills.

Jacqueline Schmidt is a professor of Communication and the academic director of Entrepreneurship at John Carroll University in University Heights, Ohio. She received her BA from Macalester College, and her MA and PhD from the University of Iowa. Areas of interest in teaching include entrepreneurship, interpersonal, intercultural, and organizational communication. She has presented papers at conferences in the United States and internationally, has published in several academic journals and books, as well as has consulted with various business and professional organizations. She received John Carroll University's Distinguished Faculty Award which recognizes excellence in research, teaching, and advising.

Dagmara Sidyk-Furman is a PhD student at the University of Warsaw. She is a graduate of law, as well as journalism and media studies. Her main research areas are media law and policy, along with media monitoring. She was involved in several both Polish and international research projects, including the ERC Starting Grant *Europeans Exposed to Dissimilar Views in the Media: Investigating Backfire Effects*. From September 2019, she is a member of the Editorial Teams of scientific journals published by the Polish Communication Association: *CEJC* and "Com.press".

Galina V. Sinekopova has published articles in such journals as *Journal of Communications*, *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, *Listening—Journal of Communication Ethics*, and *Religion and Culture*. Her chapter (coauthored with Igor E. Klyukanov) on Press in Post-Soviet Societies is published in *International Handbook of Media and Mass Communication Theory*. She is a coauthor (with Igor E. Klyukanov) of *Communication Theory through the Ages* (2019). She has presented her research at conferences in the United States, Canada, China, Taiwan, Turkey, Russia, and Bulgaria. She served as a guest editor of two issues of *International Journal of Communication*.

Agnieszka Stępińska is an associate professor at the Faculty of Political Science and Journalism at the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, Poland. Her main area of research is political communication, journalism, and media content. Currently, she is involved in the NORFACE project: *THREATPIE: The Threats and Potentials of a Changing Political Information Environment*. She is a leader of a research team conducting studies on populist political communication. She is an executive editor of the *CEJC* and a member of the editorial board of the Central European Political Studies. She is a member of the Network of Political Communication Scholars.

Aleksandra Synowiec, PhD in sociology, is an assistant professor at the Department of Applied Social Sciences at the Silesian University of Technology. She completed an individual scientific and research internship at Vasyl Stus Donetsk National University Vinnytsia (Ukraine, 2018) and Kyiv International University (Ukraine 2013). She is organizer and instructor of field research on Ruthenian and Ukrainian national identity and collective memory (2010, 2011, 2017), author of a scientific project concerning sociocultural changes in the Ukrainian countryside (2017–2018), methodology expert in a scientific project concerning the creative activity of ethnic minorities in Poland (2015–2016), and short-term observer during election observation missions in Ukraine (ODIHR 2014, 2019). Her scientific interests are sociopolitical changes in Central and Eastern Europe, cultural anthropology, and memory studies.

Julia Trzcińska is PhD in political science from the University of Wrocław, Poland. She has been involved in both Polish research projects funded by National Science Centre and international projects such as cooperation with George Washington University. She is a Robert Bosch Stiftung alumna and a graduate of Confucius Institute. In 2020 she became a MAXQDA professional trainer (specializing in content analysis). Her research interests focus on political communication and public diplomacy, popular culture and fan studies, and East Asia (mainly South Korea).