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ARTICLE

AI Adoption in Transitional Media Systems

The Integration of AI in Newsrooms across the Western Balkans

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This paper examines AI integration in three transitional Western Balkan countries: Albania, Kosovo, and North Macedonia, all characterised by structural constraints, scarce resources, and ongoing professional transformation, which may influence the way they adopt technology. This research is based on the Unified Theory of Acceptance and Use of Technology (UTAUT), and a cross-sectional survey of 227 journalists and editors conducted during 2025. The results show that AI adoption is still at its initial, uneven phase across the region: reported usage is low, there is a lack of training, and institutional support is also minimal. The general tendency for performance expectations of AI is toward scepticism, but the tendencies concerning effort expectancy and facilitating conditions tend to be neutral, which denotes a transitional rather than a resistant attitude. Disagreements between online and television media support the idea that AI attitudes are influenced by the

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organisational structure. Implementing UTAUT in the context of journalism research and positioning AI adoption in transitional media systems, this study broadens the geographical and theoretical domain of AI-in-journalism research.

Keywords: artificial intelligence, newsroom, technology adoption, UTAUT, transitional media systems, Western Balkans

Introduction

Automated content creation and transcription, data mining, customisation, and systems of generation are no longer isolated experiments in AI technologies, but a part of digital news infrastructures. However, as earlier arguments have taught us to think of AI as being focused on efficiency and automation (Diakopoulos, 2019), recent studies highlight how rather than AI implementation being a technical issue it is far more a social and organisational one. AI changes the balance of power in the newsrooms, questions conventional statements concerning professional authority, and introduces some new forms of epistemic mediation between journalists and their audiences (Lewis et al., 2019; Møller et al., 2025). For this paper, we have based our understanding and definition of AI on the one from Lewis et al. (2026), who define artificial intelligence as:

> "computational systems that learn from data to recognize patterns, make predictions, and generate content – automating or extending tasks at scales and speeds beyond practical human effort – though with capabilities and limitations that vary unevenly across tasks".

Although research on AI in journalism is currently expanding rapidly, recent literature is largely limited to North America and Western Europe. Research in these contexts indicates that AI is frequently introduced in a deliberate, planned way to improve productivity, facilitate investigative reporting, and streamline audience engagement (Thurman et al., 2025). Simultaneously, there are issues around algorithm bias, the level of transparency, editorial independence, and job losses (Marconi, 2020; Munoriyarwa & de-Lima-Santos, 2025). However, little emphasis has been placed on the experience of AI adoption in transitional or resource-constrained media systems where institutional vulnerability, economic demands, and uneven professionalisation might essentially define the pattern of adoption of technology.

This research fills that gap by analysing the views of journalists on AI integration in three Western Balkan countries: Albania, Kosovo, and North Macedonia. Instead of adopting AI as a linear process of technological diffusion, we theorise that AI adoption is a contextualised negotiation between organisational capabilities, technological opportunities, and professional standards. In this way, we place AI integration in a setting in which the professional authority of journalism will be renegotiated in conditions of structural constraint. The Western Balkans provide an interesting context for such an analysis because the media there has insufficient financial resources, endures political and economic pressures, mixed regulatory frameworks, and continuous professional change (Dobek-Ostrowska & Kleut, 2023). With editorial autonomy and institutional stability already weak, AI integration

might not be viewed as an opportunity for innovation, but more as a threat to professional control and credibility. The analysis of AI integration within this area will thus provide us with an opportunity to see the process of technological adoption when the zone of innovation meets institutional vulnerability.

The choice of Albania, Kosovo, and North Macedonia has been made for several reasons. First, as similarities, these countries have followed common socialist or communist paths, Kosovo and North Macedonia as part of the former Yugoslavia, and Albania under the Hoxhaj regime. Second, as Dobek-Ostrowska & Kleut (2023) assert, all three countries have the same media system, that is, the *media in transition* model. Third, they have small media markets, with limited financial resources, weak economic sustainability, and limited technological investment capabilities. All of which has a direct influence on the capacity of news organisations to implement AI technologies. Moreover, the media system of these countries is further characterised by weak editorial independence and high levels of political and economic pressure (Dobek-Ostrowska & Kleut, 2023).

From a theoretical perspective, this article contributes in two significant ways. On the one hand, it incorporates the Unified Theory of Acceptance and Use of Technology (UTAUT) (Venkatesh et al., 2003) into the field of journalism as an analytical framework for integrating AI at the organisational level and shows that professional routines, institutional support systems, and ethics mediate technology acceptance in journalism by modifying the main constructs of UTAUT (performance expectancy, effort expectancy, and facilitating conditions) in the newsroom. On the other hand, by placing the adoption of AI in transitional media systems, this research adds to the current discussion on journalism concerning technological change, the authority of the profession, and the transformation of newsrooms. It shows that AI integration cannot be seen only through the prism of the diffusion of innovation or technological determinism. Rather, it should be situated as a negotiated process that has been influenced by institutional capacity, professional culture, and structural vulnerability. In this way, the article expands the geographical and theoretical coverage of AI-in-journalism research and offers a methodology with which to study technological adoption in other, equally limited media settings.

AI integration into journalism

The integration of artificial intelligence (AI) across the globe has brought another big change to journalism. AI tools have been used to automatically create content, customise news feeds, identify misinformation, and support editorial decision-making. Diakopoulos (2019) indicates that algorithms are transforming the news-making process by enhancing journalistic work but not by eliminating it. On the same note, Simon (2024) highlights that automation in journalism is mostly applied to efficiency and data management rather than creativity. However, Møller et al. (2025) point out that it is not only a matter of efficiency, but also about redefining the professional authority and legitimacy of journalism. When it comes to studying AI in journalism, the researcher's focus is narrowed down to two main themes: 1. AI as an enhancing tool, improving the speed of reporting, data analysis, and engagement with the audience (Thurman et al., 2025); and 2. AI as a challenge, where

transparency, accountability, and the bias of algorithms emerge as ethical and professional concerns (Linden, 2017; Beckett, 2019).

AI integration into newsrooms

AI has become increasingly prevalent in media newsrooms around the world, changing professional jobs and workflows. According to empirical research, 73% of businesses utilise AI for automation and 68% for data analysis, suggesting a move toward editorial processes that are driven by technology (Sonni et al., 2024). The studies conducted on different media systems show that AI technologies have brought about efficiencies in newsroom operations and increased the capability to produce investigative and data-driven news (Hollanek et al., 2025).

The integration of AI in newsrooms has been unequal, based on structural, economic, and cultural aspects. One comparative analysis of European news agencies conducted by Fanta (2017) highlights that the automation of newsrooms tends to recreate the hierarchies of labour that existed previously rather than destroying them. The leading editors are left in charge of the quality of the stories and editorial values while AI conducts the lower-level analytical or linguistic work. Furthermore, a European Broadcasting Union (EBU) report (2025) showed that European newsrooms use AI technology currently for transcription, visualisation, personalisation, or analysis of the audience. European newsrooms, therefore, are not just experimenting with AI but embedding it strategically (European Broadcasting Union, 2025). The most common form of such integration is strongest in news organisations with the financial and technical means to build proprietary systems, and small outlets often depend on third-party technologies like automated transcription tools or social media sentiment analysis tools (Thomson Foundation, 2024).

However, the growth of AI in the media ecosystem has begun to raise controversy with regard to editorial autonomy and tech addiction. Editorial systems that are AI-driven may have some minor effects on the selection and framing of news, potentially delivering algorithmic bias to editorial decision-making (Marconi, 2020).

The implementation of AI in journalism is a developing phenomenon that has not yet been adopted in the Western Balkans either. Previous research points out that most media professionals are aware of the possibilities of AI, but a potential change in its implementation is hindered by major structural setbacks, such as insufficient finance, poor infrastructure, and an absence of professional training (Çipuri et al., 2025a). Various studies have shown that there is a limited application of AI in newsrooms in (Gërguri, 2026; Çipuri et al., 2025a), but there are differences among Western Balkan countries on the level of adoption, as well as in attitude towards AI. There is a more positive attitude towards AI in Serbia than in Bosnia and Herzegovina, where it is most negative (UNS, 2025).

AI adoption is not solely a matter of technological capability but is deeply embedded in newsroom cultures, power relations, and professional routines (Lewis et al., 2019). This is particularly relevant to Western Balkan media systems, which are often characterised by resource constraints, political and economic pressure, and ongoing transformations in journalistic practices. In such environments, positive attitudes toward AI may not translate

into effective adoption if institutional support, editorial autonomy, or professional safeguards are insufficient. To address this in our research, we formed the following research question and hypotheses:

RQ1: How do journalists in three Western Balkan countries perceive the integration of artificial intelligence in newsrooms?
H1: Media type impacts journalists' attitude towards the integration of AI into newsrooms.

Conceptual framework: Applying UTAUT to AI integration in newsrooms

The integration of artificial intelligence into journalism represents a significant step toward the transformation of the profession and practice of journalism, shaping how news is created, verified and published. While AI tools are often discussed in terms of their technical capabilities, their adoption in journalism is a social and organisational process influenced by professional norms, institutional contexts and individual perceptions. To build this theoretical framework we have used the Unified Theory of Acceptance and Use of Technology (UTAUT), which provides a comprehensive and integrative framework for analysing the adoption and use of emerging technologies within organisational settings through four core determinants: performance expectancy, effort expectancy, social influence, and facilitating conditions (Venkatesh et al., 2003; Venkatesh, 2022). These constructs explain how individuals evaluate new technologies, how easily they can be integrated into everyday work, how organisational and social pressures shape adoption, and whether institutional support structures enable sustained use. This framework is particularly well suited and relevant in analysing AI adoption in newsrooms in which professional routines and institutional constraints strongly determine technological change.

Previous research on technological innovation in journalism has frequently employed the Diffusion of Innovations (DOI) Theory (Rogers, 2003) to explain how new technologies are introduced and adopted within news organisations. Studies applying the DOI framework have shown that the diffusion and adoption of technological innovations in journalism are shaped not only by the characteristics of the innovation itself but also by organisational contexts, newsroom practices, professional dynamics, and individual differences among journalists (Garrison, 2000; Ekdale et al., 2015; Holman & Perreault, 2023). While this perspective has made an important contribution to understanding technological change in journalism, its primary focus is on explaining how innovations spread, rather than on the organisational and individual factors that shape journalists' perceptions and acceptance of new technologies. In the context of AI integration in journalism, journalists' perceptions are influenced not only by the characteristics of the technology itself but also by editorial routines, professional autonomy, organisational support, ethical considerations, and expectations from editors and colleagues. These dimensions are particularly important for understanding journalists' perceptions of AI integration and are more explicitly addressed by UTAUT through its constructs of performance expectancy, effort expectancy, social influence, and

facilitating conditions. Therefore, while the Diffusion of Innovations Theory provides valuable insights into how technological innovations spread across news organisations, UTAUT offers a more suitable framework for examining the organisational and individual factors influencing journalists' acceptance of AI in North Macedonia, Kosovo, and Albania.

The empirical research demonstrates the relevance of the UTAUT framework for understanding adoption of artificial intelligence in journalism and newsroom environments. Studies have shown that journalists' willingness to engage with AI-driven tools is significantly shaped by perceived usefulness and efficiency, ease of integration into editorial workflows, organisational expectations, and availability of institutional and ethical support structures (Lewis et al., 2019; Trang et al., 2024). These findings confirm that technology adoption in journalism follows patterns similar to other organisational contexts, while also being influenced by specific professional conditions.

In this context, performance expectancy refers to journalists' perceptions that AI technologies can enhance editorial efficiency, accelerate news production, support data processing, or assist in verification tasks. Effort expectancy relates to the perceived usability of AI tools and their compatibility with existing editorial workflows, particularly under conditions of time pressure and limited technical training. Social influence captures the role of editors, media managers, owners, and broader institutional narratives promoting innovation in shaping journalists' attitudes toward AI adoption. Facilitating conditions encompass the availability of organisational resources, technical infrastructure, training opportunities, and ethical or editorial guidelines that enable sustained and responsible use of AI tools.

Accordingly, this study empirically examines performance expectancy, effort expectancy, and facilitating conditions, while treating social influence as a contextual background, given its diffuse and uneven distribution across Western Balkan newsroom environments, where institutional innovation is promoted primarily through informal norms and localised newsroom practices rather than uniform organisational policies, a situation shaped by structural constraints such as insufficient finances, poor infrastructure, and the lack of professional training.

Building on these three UTAUT conditions, this study interrogates how journalists in three Western Balkan countries perceived the integration of AI in their newsrooms, leading to the following research question:

> **RQ2:** How do UTAUT conditions (performance expectancy, effort expectancy, and facilitating conditions) shape journalists' perceptions of AI integration in newsrooms across the three countries?

The role of individual and professional characteristics in perceived AI risks

Although UTAUT conceptualises age, gender, and experience as moderators of technology acceptance (Venkatesh et al., 2003), later syntheses show their effects vary across technologies, sectors, and institutional contexts and are not stable across domains (Marikyan &

Papagiannidis, 2022). Subsequent research also indicates that the model does not fully capture affective and risk-based responses, particularly when technologies threaten jobs or professional roles. In such contexts, attitudes, fear, uncertainty, and perceived risks often outweigh performance-related factors in shaping acceptance (Martins et al., 2014; Dwivedi et al., 2019; Tamilmani et al., 2021).

In the case of AI integration in journalism, acceptance is not only a matter of efficiency and usability but also involves professional, ethical and occupational risks including concerns about job displacement, algorithmic bias and the erosion of editorial judgment. Empirical studies show that journalists tend to associate AI integration with job insecurity, loss of professional autonomy and ethical uncertainty (Lewis et al., 2019; Trang et al., 2024). A qualitative study with Canadian news workers illustrates how journalists often feel unprepared to navigate the ethical challenges of AI, particularly in relation to transparency, bias and responsibility for AI assisted content especially in organisations lacking training and/or formal guidelines (Misri et al., 2026). Similarly, a recent study of generative AI further demonstrates that journalists are increasingly concerned about the way in which AI redistributes power and authority within newsrooms, potentially weakening human editorial control and professional decision-making (Munoriyarwa & de-Lima-Santos, 2025).

These concerns are also reflected in a large-scale survey of more than 1,000 UK journalists where the study found that 62% of respondents perceive AI as a threat to journalism, even though most of them already use AI tools regularly (Thurman et al., 2025). The survey also shows that attitudes toward AI integration vary by age, gender and professional position. Young journalists tend to use AI more frequently but remain uncertain about the long-term career perspectives, while senior editors are more concerned about editorial authority and accountability.

These findings indicate that journalists' perceptions of AI are shaped not only by organisational and technological conditions but also by who they are and where they are positioned within the profession. Differences in age, gender and professional experience appear to structure how AI-related risks are interpreted and evaluated in newsroom settings. In consequence, this study examines how these individual and professional characteristics condition journalists' perceptions of the risks associated with AI integration in newsrooms across Western Balkan countries, as framed in the following research question:

RQ3: How do age, gender and professional experience moderate journalists' perceptions of the risks associate with the AI integration in newsrooms?

Methods

Design, sample, and procedure

The study design contains a cross-sectional online questionnaire to address the perception, attitude, and experience of journalists on the use of AI in newsrooms in the Western Balkans. The survey was carried out among journalists and editors who are currently employed in

the news organisation in three Western Balkan countries, Albania, Kosovo, and North Macedonia, between May and July 2025.

The sampling was done using a non-probabilistic sampling strategy, which incorporated snowball and purposive sampling methods. Such a strategy is typical in journalism research, especially in cross-national and regional studies where extensive sampling frames are either impossible or unreliable (Hanitzsch et al., 2019; Mellado et al., 2017). Three channels were used to circulate the survey. First, the editors were contacted directly through publicly available email addresses and asked to distribute the survey in their organisations. Second, professional networks, such as national associations of journalists, were used to distribute the questionnaire. Third, a snowball sampling technique was used by requesting the participants to send the survey to their colleagues. No personally identifiable data were gathered, and all the procedures were in accordance with ethical research practices and the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR).

According to public data, Albania has 2,623 journalists (Union of Albanian Journalists, 2025), Kosovo 720 (Mehmeti, 2025) and North Macedonia 1,089 (Blazevski, 2024). However, these figures are for journalists that cover politics, culture, sports, music, etc., this study focused only on journalists that work in newsrooms and report on hard news on a daily basis. There is no public data on this category of journalists. Therefore, the sample consists of 227 respondents from all three countries, Albania (n = 102), Kosovo (n = 80), and North Macedonia (n = 45). Most of the respondents reported being journalists/reporters (78.4%, n = 178), with a small percentage being in editorial or managerial positions (21.6%, n = 49). The age range fell between 18 and 65, with most participants aged 25–34 (44.9%, n = 102). IBM SPSS Statistics (version 21) was used for all analyses.

Measures

Measurements were conducted taking into account that respondents had the opportunity to provide scaled responses in the Likert format, where the values were defined as follows: 1 = Strongly disagree, 2 = Disagree, 3 = Neither agree nor disagree (neutral), 4 = Agree, 5 = Strongly agree. The questionnaire was divided into three different parts that included the journalists' perception of AI integration, AI impact, and the future.

In addressing RQ1 – perceptions of AI integration across countries – this analysis draws on survey data concerning the current deployment of AI in respondents' newsrooms, perceived improvements in efficiency, beliefs about AI's contribution to enhanced performance, self-assessed adequacy of knowledge and skills, ease of use of AI tools, and the sufficiency of training opportunities provided.

RQ2 has been measured on three indicators of UTAUT dimensions:

- Performance Expectations (PE) were assessed based on respondents' agreement with the following four statements: 1. AI has increased efficiency in our newsroom; 2. AI helps improve the accuracy of our reporting; 3. AI can help identify new information from data/materials; and 4. AI improves audience engagement.

- Effort expectancy (EE) was measured by the results of responses related to agreement, neutrality or disagreement with the statements that: 1. AI is easy to use; and that 2. respondents feel they have sufficient knowledge about this technology.
- FC for the integration of AI in newsrooms were measured with variables that measured journalists' responses to statements related to training of journalists in newsrooms for this technology, the need to have guidelines for the use of AI and the need for it to be used transparently in content creation.

To examine the outcomes of PE, EE, and FC, the respective indicator variables for each construct were subjected to computation (SPSS) to derive the mean scores of determinants of AI adoption within newsrooms across the countries under study. In examining RQ3, data were collected on respondents' personal and professional attributes, encompassing variables of age, gender and length of professional experience in journalism (categorised into five intervals: < 1 year, 1–5 years, 6–10 years, 11–20 years, > 20 years).

Results

The findings of this paper on the integration of AI in the newsrooms of western Balkan media provide data that vary on several factors such as the type of media outlet where the journalists work, whether it is an online or television content, age, gender and work experience of the journalists who participated in the research. However, there is less variation in other factors such as the country in which the journalists operate.

To test the hypothesis of this paper, results generated by crossing data from the media type variable divided between television and online media, with some of the other variables such as usage, efficiency gains, assistance in improving content, confidence in knowledge about AI, training of journalists in this technology, and the need for transparency in its use were measured. Results show a higher use of artificial intelligence by online newsrooms among the journalists asked whether their newsroom uses this type of technology: 37.1% of journalists working in online media gave a positive answer, choosing the options 'I agree' and 'I completely agree', while in the case of television journalists the same attitude was only 17.6%. Similar differences are also observed in the attitudes of journalists regarding the finding that this type of technology has increased efficiency in the newsroom: 22.8% of online media journalists responded positively compared to 13.6% television journalists, although the percentage of those who disagree remains similar in both groups: 52.5% among online media journalists and 56.4% of television journalists. The difference in this case is seen in the number of journalists who declared neutrality towards this variable, which is 7.2% higher in television than in online media. The mood of journalists asked about the help that this technology provides for their newsrooms is the same regardless of the type of media. Meanwhile, of the respondents' perception of their competence in AI, journalists in online media feel more prepared to use this technology than those in television, although the difference is small. This can also be explained by the fact that many more journalists in online media (39.6%) have received training on this technology in their newsrooms than those in television (only 4.8%). Also, unlike television journalists, journalists in online media

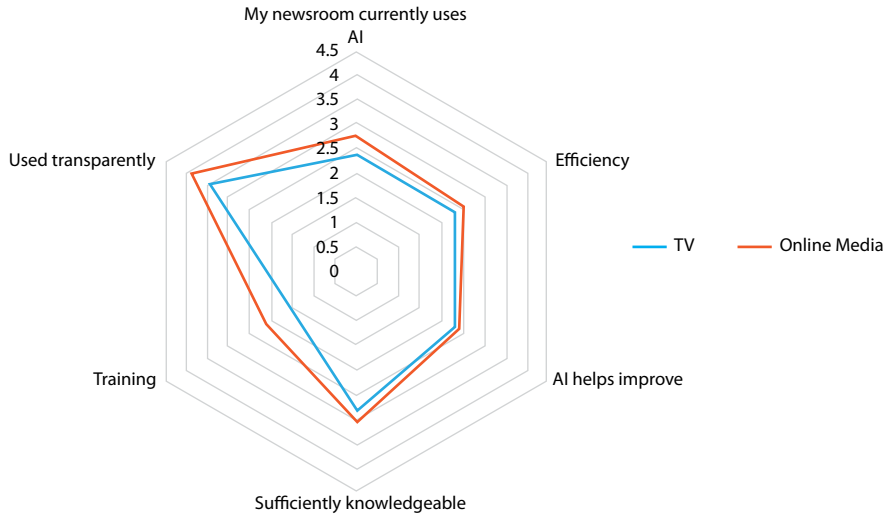


Figure 1:
Mean of respondents' answers on attitudes to AI integration in newsrooms, by media type
Source: Compiled by the authors.

approve to a greater extent of the use of this technology in a transparent manner for the public, making it clear what the role of these tools has been in the creation of media content.

Overall, the findings (see Figure 1 below), even from their mean point of view, favour use of AI (TV, M = 2.36, Online Media, M = 2.72), increased efficiency (TV, M = 2.34, OM, M = 2.5), assistance at work (TV, M = 2.32, OM = 2.4), competence (TV, M = 2.94, OM, M = 3.13), training for this technology (TV, M = 1.73, OM, M = 2.17) and transparent use of this technology by the editorial staff (TV, M = 3.5, OM, M = 3.89) more in online media than in television, although the responses are often below or close to the neutral response. These findings lead to confirmation of the first hypothesis of this paper: Media type has an impact on the attitude journalists have toward the integration of AI into newsrooms.

In answer to RQ1, the results show a division regarding the actual use of this technology: 49.7% disagree that this technology is currently used, 26.4% were neutral towards this statement and 23.7% agreed. More than half of the respondents (53.3%) disagreed that AI has increased the efficiency of work in newsrooms and 55% disagreed that this technology has increased the accuracy of reporting in their newsrooms. Moreover, the majority of respondents (74%) stated that they have not received any training on this technology in their newsrooms. The respondents are even more divided over their feelings of competence in using this technology, with 36.6% agreeing, while 30.8% disagree. Also, more journalists agree that using this technology is easy (39.6%), compared to those who disagreed (27.8%). The need for transparent use by disclosing the role of AI tools in content creation received the greatest approval from journalists in this context, with 61.3% choosing the options agreeing with this statement, while only 19.4% were against and 19.4% were neutral. Regarding divisions by country, the data shows that journalists in North Macedonia have a more positive approach, excluding the need for transparent use of this technology by the media,

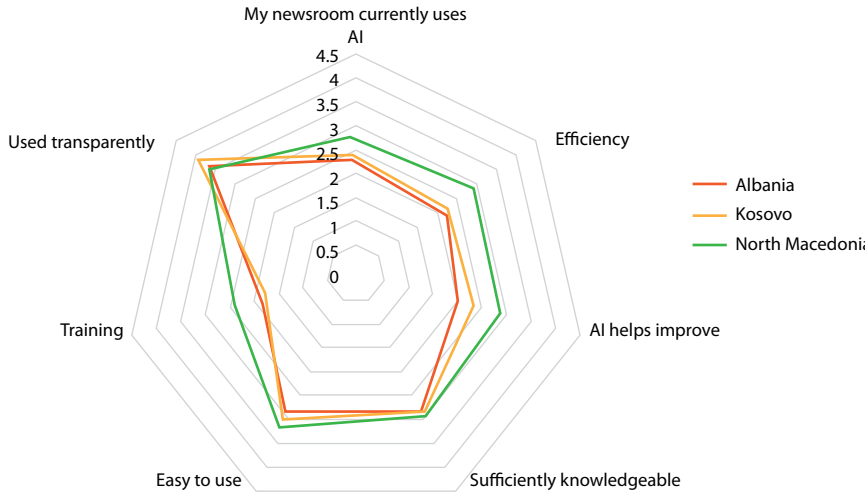


Figure 2:
Mean of responses from journalists in three Western Balkan countries on perception of AI integration in newsrooms
Source: Compiled by the authors.

while respondents in Kosovo and Albania share similar opinions regarding most of the statements testing the perception of this technology by journalists from different media. The mean (shown in Figure 2) regarding the current use of this technology by newsrooms (Albania (ALB), M = 2.41, Kosovo (KOS), M = 2.48, North Macedonia [MKD], M = 2.87), increased efficiency (ALB, M = 2.29, KOS, M = 2.28, MKD, M = 2.93), assistance in work (ALB, M = 2.08, KOS, M = 2.39, MKD, M = 2.96), competence (ALB, M = 3.05, KOS, M = 2.95, MKD, M = 3.11), ease of use (ALB, M = 2.96, KOS, M = 3.18, MKD, M = 3.29), training for this technology (ALB, M = 1.82, KOS, M = 1.81, MKD, M = 2.36), and the transparent use of this technology by the editorial staff (ALB, M = 3.6, KOS, M = 3.83 , MKD, M = 3.6).

Meanwhile, to see how the conditions of the UTAUT theory are distributed according to journalists' perceptions of the integration of AI in newsrooms (RQ2), results (see Table 1) were generated in the areas of PE, EE, and FC. Regarding PE, the average results show that the mean is negative regarding the increase in efficiency in Kosovo and Albania (ALB, M = 2.29, KOS, M = 2.28), while the average (mean) of the respondents from North Macedonia (MKD, M = 2.93) was almost neutral. Journalists from Kosovo and Albania are similar in terms of disagreeing that AI tools are improving accuracy in reporting (ALB, M = 2.08, KOS, M = 2.39), and if we compare the results in percentages, in both countries above 50% of journalists think that AI tools are not useful in improving accuracy in reporting. However, the average for journalists from North Macedonia show tendencies to neutrality (MKD, M = 2.96). Meanwhile, the trend to neutral or being neutral is dominant in responses of journalists from all three countries when it comes to AI as a tool to help identifying new information from data or materials (ALB, M = 2.8, KOS, M = 3.38, MKD, M = 3.47), as

well as help in audience engagement (ALB, M = 2.81, KOS, M = 2.88, MKD, M = 3.16). Regarding the tasks for which AI is used in newsrooms, the trend is the same in Kosovo and North Macedonia, where journalists said they most often use AI to generate headlines (37.5% in each country) and verifying information (KOS = 36.2%; MKD = 31.1%). In Albania, however, the main uses of AI differ: journalists primarily use it to generate summaries (29.5%) or to create multimedia content (images or videos) (27.5%).

Effort expectancy (EE) measurements emphasise that journalists in Albania and Kosovo are strongly divided into two groups, those who agree that AI is easy to use (ALB: 38.2%; KOS: 43.8%), and also believe that they have sufficient knowledge about this technology (ALB: 39.2%; KOS: 37.5%), and the rest who are in the group of sceptics or critics. In North Macedonia, neutrality is prominent amongst journalists, with over 50% for both statements. From the perspective of tendencies, the mean shows a neutral trend in all three Western Balkan countries regarding the statement about ease of use (ALB, M = 2.96, KOS, M = 3.18, MKD, M = 3.29) and also about sufficient knowledge for use (ALB, M = 3.05, KOS, M = 2.95, MKD, M = 3.11).

The findings indicate that, in the majority of cases, journalists across the three countries have not received adequate training in the use of AI (ALB: M = 1.82; KOS: M = 1.81; MKD: M = 2.36). In contrast, they express even stronger agreement on the importance of having appropriate guidelines (ALB: M = 3.87; KOS: M = 4.31; MKD: M = 4.11) and ensuring transparent application of AI tools in media content (ALB: M = 3.60; KOS: M = 3.83; MKD: M = 3.60).

Statistical analysis of the variables assessing the three UTAUT components revealed that journalists generally display a rejecting attitude toward the role of PE for AI integration within newsrooms. In contrast, their attitudes toward EE and FC were neutral, leaning slightly toward acceptance. These patterns are reflected in the mean, median, standard deviation, and skewness values for each of the three country groups.

Table 1:
Results of the computed variables

	Mean	Median	Std. Dev.	Skewness
PE	2.703	2.7500	0.88031	0.113
EE	3.063	3.0000	1.02583	–0.354
FC	3.226	3.3333	0.90272	–0.477

Source: Compiled by the authors.

This paper's third research question explores journalists' experiences in terms of perceived risks associated with the integration of AI in newsrooms, based on age, gender and personal experience. Most journalists do not see AI as a threat to jobs, with the 44–65 age group showing tendencies slightly above neutrality towards this judgment (18–24 years old, M = 3.00, 25–34 years old, M = 2.75, 35–44 years old, M = 2.76, 44–65 years old, M = 3.25). The result shows that journalists agree that this technology creates ethical dilemmas in the newsroom. Although only slightly above a neutral response, this suggests that younger journalists agree more that this technology causes ethical dilemmas (18–24 years old,

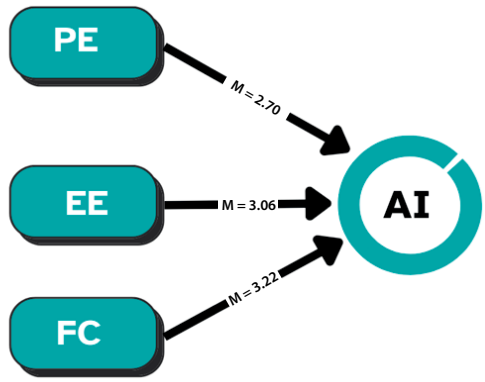


Figure 3:
Mean of UTAUT application elements in integrating AI in newsrooms in the Western Balkans
Source: Compiled by the authors.

M = 3.70, 25–34 years old, M = 3.53, 35–44 years old, M = 3.58, 44–65 years old, M = 3.56). As for the inclusion of bias in newsrooms, the older the journalist is in age, the more they believe this (18–24 years old, M = 3.19, 25–34 years old, M = 3.29, 35–44 years old, M = 3.44, 44–65 years old, M = 3.75).

Despite the differences in responses, gender does not seem to be a determining factor when respondents are asked about the integration of AI in journalism. Based on gender, female journalists (32.1%) are more likely to see AI as a threat to jobs than male journalists (26.7%), although the mean of respondents of both genders falls closer to neutral responses (F, M = 2.94, M, M = 2.75). Regarding the creation of ethical dilemmas by AI, a small difference in responses is observed, as the mean in this situation has slight tendencies to agreement with this statement by both female and male journalists (F, M = 3.52, M, M = 3.58). Even in the statement that this technology creates bias in media content, the gender difference is small, although the average for the responses is only slightly above the neutral response, it is noticeable that more male journalists agree with this statement than female journalists (F, M = 3.27, M, M = 3.32). A similar attitude is also found when journalists were asked if they agree or disagree that this technology reduces the need for critical media judgment (F, M = 2.78, M, M = 2.77). A gender difference in response is observed in the agreement regarding the finding that AI will reduce the need for young journalists, with more female journalists (44.4%) agreeing with this than male journalists (35.6%), although the average of responses in both cases easily exceeds the neutral response (F, M = 3.21, M, M = 3.03).

Another factor measured in journalists' attitudes towards AI integration is work experience. The expressed trend is that journalists with more experience show more disagreement that AI poses a risk to journalists' jobs, than those with less experience, which correlates with previous findings on age as an influencing factor in AI integration (0–1 year of experience, M = 2.92, 1–5 years of experience, M = 2.92, 6–10 years of experience, M = 2.83, 11–20 years of experience, M = 2.71, more than 20 years of experience, M = 2.67).

There are tiny differences over whether this technology can create bias in the news, however, more experienced journalists again show greater agreement (0–1E, M = 3, 1–5E, M = 3.32, 6–10E, M = 3.24, 11–20E, M = 3.38, 20+ E, M = 3.37). Different results are seen regarding the creation of ethical dilemmas by AI, as journalists with less experience have a tendency to agree more with this statement (0–1E, M = 3.62, 1–5E, M = 3.62, 6–10E, M = 3.6, 11–20E, M = 3.58, 20+ E, M = 3.27).

Experience is not a significant factor in journalists' responses about AI reducing the need for critical editorial judgment, because there is a very small difference between groups (0–1 E, M = 2.77, 1–5E, M = 2.9, 6–10E, M = 2.66, 11–20E, M = 2.6, 20+ E, M = 2.97). Interestingly, mid-career journalists (6–20 years of experience) are more inclined to believe that AI technology will decrease the need for new journalists (6–10E, M = 3.17, 11–20E, M = 3.31), with group means above the neutral threshold, unlike the entry-level (0–1E: M = 2.62, –5E, M = 3.04) and very senior (20+E: M = 2.93) groups, which hover at neutral and below neutral.

Discussion and conclusions

This study examined the current integration of artificial intelligence in journalism across three Western Balkan countries: Albania, Kosovo, and North Macedonia. The data shows that, unlike the newsrooms of other European countries – where most have moved beyond the level of experimentation and are implementing AI strategically (European Broadcasting Union, 2025) – in the Western Balkans, at least in these three countries, these dynamics are still in their initial stages, with no clear development and investment strategy in this direction. This is clearly reflected in the attitudes of journalists regarding the structural aspects of the media in which they work, which often lack professional guidelines, journalist training, or adequate technical and technological investment. In this regard, it is noted that fear and resistance to maintaining editorial autonomy and technological influence (Marconi, 2020) dominate the media spectrum of these countries.

When analysed from a cross-country perspective, North Macedonia appears to be somewhat more positive about AI integration and desires progress in this direction, despite journalist attitudes being at neutral levels and far from the European standard. Kosovo follows closely behind with Albania ranking last in this list. Previous studies have shown that in the Albanian case, resistance to the use of AI in editorial processes, among many other factors, is also related to the institutional culture that has been established. This culture seems to be based on the perception of the human factor as irreplaceable in verifying information collected by AI, especially when it comes to new information and the maintaining journalistic standards (Çipuri et al., 2025a).

In response to the hypothesis, it appears that television journalists are more hesitant about the use and integration of AI in the newsroom (17.6%) when compared to those in online media (37.1%). The attention that television or newspapers journalists pay to the credibility of the message, to professional standards and to human judgement is perceived as increased caution on their part regarding the use of new technologies in the newsroom (Çipuri et al., 2025b). In television, radio or newspapers, the filtering of bias and editorial

responsibility is achieved through adherence to professional norms (Amigo & Porlezza, 2025). Researchers evaluate the journalist as a guarantor and professional authority who maintains human control over the editorial process (Molla & Ahsan, 2025).

In contrast to what has happened in developed Western countries, the data related to AI integration reconfirms the findings of previous studies in the region (Gërguri, 2025; Çipuri et al., 2025a). Journalists emphasise a lack of training, investment or any clear editorial policies regarding the use of AI as reasons for not utilising it, thus hindering the development of newsrooms in alignment with the digital age. The lack of confidence in the accuracy and efficiency of AI-supported work remains a major concern for more than half of the journalists in these countries.

The assessments of journalists' perception on AI integration across the three countries indicate predominantly negative perceptions for PE, while EE and FC remain largely neutral. Upon data analysis, it is noted that the negative results for PE and EE do not indicate technology rejection, but rather stem from the lack of organisational conditions necessary to effectively implement AI. Consequently, these negative perceptions result from a lack of real experience in utilising these technologies (Venkatesh et al., 2003; Venkatesh, 2022).

On the other hand, the tendency towards neutrality, especially for FC, helps to explain the results for the first two indicators (EE and PE). This can be seen not as a refusal by journalists to use AI, but as a transitional phase, which is accompanied by their uncertainty about their editorial and professional responsibility. It is only natural that the lack of conditions results in a low perception of performance and limited use of professional practice. The characteristics of a transitional phase appear in the data, one in which journalists renegotiate professional authority with AI (Møller et al., 2025). This indicates that tension still exists between technological efficiency and professional authority. In fact, these are characteristic features of media systems in transition, where journalists' relationship with technological innovations is more influenced by institutional stability than by the desire to use or access them.

Data shows that differences in age and experience do not directly indicate whether journalists accept AI, but they do help in clarifying how and why they perceive it as a problematic issue. Younger journalists tend to be more sensitive to ethical dilemmas and professional uncertainties, while more experienced journalists focus on bias and editorial control. This can be explained by the approach of Lewis et al. (2019), who view AI as reshaping the human–machine relationship and professional roles, or as a form of renegotiation of professional authority, as Møller et al. (2025) see it. Gender differences, on the other hand, do not have a significant impact on journalists' perception of AI. Based on this data, we estimate that the integration of AI in newsrooms in the Western Balkan countries is influenced more by organisational and institutional factors than by the individual characteristics of journalists.

After analysing the data and results discussed above, our assessment is that this study contributes to the literature in the field in at least three ways. First, it serves as an important reference in understanding the difference between the integration of AI in television and online newsrooms, particularly in a region like the Western Balkans, where research on this topic has been lacking, or superficial. Second, the UTAUT model, commonly used in technology-related studies, was applied in this study within the context of journalism and the dynamics surrounding it in this era of artificial intelligence. This approach allowed for the

analysis of AI integration in newsrooms not only from a technological standpoint but also with regard to organisational conditions and professional perceptions within newsrooms. Furthermore, the study goes beyond interpreting journalists' attitudes as resistance to AI integration and instead frames them within organisational and professional uncertainties accompanying technological change, emphasising the journalist's role as a guarantor of credibility and professional culture within media in this region.

On the other hand, the study should be read within rational limits. First, it relies on data collected in only three Western Balkan countries, leaving out other countries and creating difficulties in generalising the results for the entire region. In this context, our suggestion is that the results be read in the context of transitional media systems. Second, the study focuses on individual journalists and editors, rather than on the managerial and ownership structures, because they constitute the frontline professional response to AI-related change and are the primary focus of UTAUT-based theorising about technology acceptance. However, these perceptions are inevitably shaped by decisions made at more senior managerial and proprietary levels, which determine which AI tools are approved, funded, or prohibited in the first place, and which our data cannot directly capture. Future research should complement journalist-level surveys such as this one with organisational-level analysis of managerial and ownership decision-making. Third, while the quantitative method can provide perceptions of the population, it cannot really measure the phenomenon. Furthermore, AI is developing very rapidly, and its integration into newsrooms is still in the early stages. The dynamics that characterise this field mean that the situation could change rapidly over short periods of time. Finally, comparative analysis on the level of AI integration in television and online media does not provide complete data on the divisions within each of these groups. The approach to AI integration between public and private televisions, or large and small portals, may differ from each other.

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ARTICLE

The Shifting Communication Ecology of Four Arab Countries and Its Impact on Journalistic Practices during the COVID–19 Pandemic

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This qualitative study explores the transformations and constraints that journalists from four post-Arab Spring countries – Egypt, Tunisia, Syria, and Bahrain – faced during the COVID–19 pandemic and the impact that had on their journalistic practice. Through in-depth interviews, we investigated the pandemic journalistic practice of 20 journalists who represent different professional affiliations, geographic areas, and demographic profiles in those nations. Using the communication ecology model, which includes interpersonal, organisational, and mediated communication resources, we examined the internal and external factors influencing their journalistic practice: externally, we analysed the political, economic, legal, and infrastructural factors that impacted the nature of the communication ecology; internally, we explored the routines of media organisations and the individual demographic variables of journalists – age, generation, and employment status – and their impact on journalistic practice in those countries.

Keywords: journalism, journalistic practices, Arab world, Arab journalists, Covid–19, pandemic, communication ecology

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Introduction

This qualitative study examines the challenges facing journalists during the Covid–19 health crisis in four post-Arab Spring countries – Egypt, Tunisia, Syria, and Bahrain – and the way these were shaped by evolving political and mediated landscapes. The analysis centres on the journalists' perceptions of their professional roles in times of crisis (Arafat & Porlezza, 2023) and their accounts of their lived experience.

Drawing on the communication ecology model or the COVID–19 communication ecology, which includes interpersonal, organisational, and mediated communication resources (Perreault & Perreault, 2021; Houston et al., 2021), we analyse the interrelated internal and external factors influencing journalistic practice during the pandemic.

Based on in-depth interviews with 20 journalists representing diverse affiliations, regions, and demographic profiles, we identify both shared and context-specific features of pandemic reporting. We examine the manner in which struggles over mediated narratives surrounding COVID–19 (Khamis, 2020) unfolded differently across these countries, shaped by external conditions such as degrees of governmental authoritarianism (Lynch, 2016), mechanisms of media control ranging from censorship to sponsorship, technological capacity, and broader economic, legal, and infrastructural environments.

Internally, we explore newsroom routines and demographic variables – including generational and gender differences, professional affiliations, and individual trajectories – and how these intersected with crisis reporting (El-Ibiary et al., 2024). In doing so, we analyse how distinct communication ecologies structured pandemic journalism and consider the journalists' reflections on the longer-term implications for professional practice.

Implications of the COVID–19 pandemic for international journalism

The COVID–19 pandemic posed significant challenges to international journalism, including threats to media freedom, journalists' safety, and independent reporting. Under emergency measures, many governments introduced digital surveillance mechanisms, shut down websites, and restricted both freedom of expression and access to information, ostensibly to protect public safety (Khamis, 2020).

Ninety countries have declared a state of emergency with exceptional legislative restrictions on rights and freedoms (Arab Trade Union Confederation, 2020). Globally, more than 220 measures were brought in to restrict freedom of expression, assembly, and access to information, raising concerns about the risk that temporary emergency powers could become permanent (Price & Antonova, 2024).

Research shows that crises influence journalistic routines in a variety of ways, with some studies suggesting that health crises can lead to sensationalism and distortion of scientific information, while others indicate that journalists tend to rely heavily on public health authorities to inform the public (Klemm et al., 2019; Briggs & Hallin, 2016). Non-Western journalism cultures were found to "support official policies and convey a positive image of political and business leadership" (Obijiofor and Hanusch, 2011, p. 50), shaping the interactions between journalists and political sources (Fisher, 2018).

A study surveying over 2,000 news users each in Germany, Spain, and the United Kingdom revealed a consistent gap: high recognition of the societal relevance of journalism but lower satisfaction with its performance, particularly in watchdog (holding power to account) and analytical functions compared to rapid information dissemination. Germany shows the strongest overall support, aligning with its democratic-corporatist media system, while Spain lags behind, fitting its polarised-pluralist model; older and highly educated users perceive greater relevance across countries (Serrano-Puche et al., 2024).

In authoritarian contexts, however, where the media is closely controlled and journalists risk censorship or prosecution for challenging official narratives, these dynamics become more pronounced. The Arab region is no exception.

Challenges in reporting health crises in authoritarian countries

Health emergencies are defined as "a rapid, often unthinkable, development of a severe hazard, creating a sense of urgency and a need for an instant reaction; nevertheless, uncertainty and high complexity, and scientific information might not be available yet" (Klemm et al., 2019, p. 1226). During the COVID–19 pandemic, journalists were required to provide accurate and reliable information amid uncertainty while maintaining personal safety (Nielsen et al., 2020).

This crisis altered newsroom routines, accelerating reliance on digital technologies often without adequate training (Finneman & Thomas, 2021; Abdulmajeed & El-Ibiary, 2023). While digital adaptation expanded reporting capacity, heavy dependence on expert opinion without sufficient verification increased the risk of disseminating inaccurate information (Bernadas & Ilagan, 2020, p. 135).

In authoritarian settings, journalists faced additional constraints, including limited access to official information and diminished press freedom (Abdulmajeed & El-Ibiary, 2023, El-Ibiary et al., 2024). Governments employed forms of *informational autocracy,* defined as "an approach to authoritarian governance based primarily on the manipulation of information" (Cosentino, 2021, p. 217). In Egypt, Tunisia, Libya, and Jordan, state actors interfered in the communication of scientific information (Alashry, 2021), while access to pandemic data was particularly restricted in Egypt (Khamis & El-Ibiary, 2022).

Media shutdowns and suspensions compounded these challenges (McIntosh, 2020; Macleod, 2021), affecting Egypt, Kenya, Mexico, and the Philippines, among others (Bernadas & Ilagan, 2020). Crackdowns intensified in Egypt and Iraq, where international media offices were closed and foreign journalists were deported because of unfavourable coverage (Arab Trade Union Confederation, 2020). Egyptian journalists who expressed personal views on social media also faced serious risks (Alashry, 2021; El-Ibiary & Calfano, 2022).

Health crisis reporting also generated tensions around professional roles with journalists experiencing "role conflicts between remaining independent and feeling responsible for supporting public interest" (Klemm, et al., 2019, p. 1236; Arafat & Porlezza, 2023). Reporting often shifted from a watchdog function toward a more cooperative, public mobilisation role. Professional background further shaped performance: general reporters tended to adopt a neutral stance and rely heavily on official guidance (Klemm et al., 2019).

Case study: Contextual background to the four Arab countries

A brief contextual overview of the four countries under study – Egypt, Tunisia, Syria, and Bahrain – is essential to situate the findings within their political and media systems. All four are Arab, predominantly Muslim countries that experienced the 2011 Arab Spring uprisings, albeit with divergent trajectories. Egypt and Tunisia witnessed regime change, while Syria and Bahrain did not. These political outcomes significantly shaped their respective media environments. Tunisia initially achieved a relatively peaceful democratic transition, enjoying a broader margin of media freedom. However, democratic setbacks from 2021 – when the president dissolved parliament and consolidated executive power – narrowed press freedoms. Egypt's democratic transition was short-lived. The removal of President Mohamed Morsi in 2013 through a military takeover resulted in political polarisation and increased restrictions on political and media freedoms (Khamis, 2020; Eltantawy & Wiest, 2011). In Syria, the uprising escalated into protracted conflict between Al-Assad's supporters and opponents, producing civil war, humanitarian crisis, and a severely constrained media environment (Khamis et al., 2013). Bahrain's uprising, often described as the 'forgotten revolution', was swiftly suppressed following protests by a Shiite majority against the Sunni ruling minority, further tightening political and media restrictions (Alwadi & Khamis, 2018). Although the trajectories differ, all four countries experienced democratic backsliding or authoritarian consolidation, resulting in constrained media systems that shaped pandemic reporting conditions.

The COVID–19 communication ecology

To understand the communication processes an examination of the environment in which they occur is required. As Perreault and Perreault (2021) noted:

> "When sharing information about crisis and disaster, journalists exist as a part of an ecology in which journalism influences, and is influenced by, the environment. To understand communication ecologies, researchers often isolate certain practices and examine how they connect to other processes and data. [...] The volatility of social media, fluctuation of information, and the desire to verify information about risks, health, and crisis provide a locus for dialogue about communication."

This makes communication ecologies a useful framework for analysing complex interactions across old and new media systems.

Pandemic disruption in the Arab region accelerated journalists' reliance on social media, with restricted mobility and access to sources transforming it into a core tool for news production. Rather than bringing journalism to a halt, this shift led to adaptive and intensified practices, and expanded newsgathering, enabling the inclusion of more diverse public perspectives (Elareshi et al., 2025a). Journalists used these platforms to follow rapidly evolving topics such as health prevention and social issues, but faced two central challenges: the pervasive spread of misinformation, which complicated verification, and increasing restrictions on media freedom, as governments intensified censorship and monitoring.

Overall, while social media enhanced journalistic efficiency during the crisis, it also exposed journalists to significant professional and structural risk (Elareshi et al., 2025b).

During the COVID–19 pandemic, journalism operated as a *microenvironment* within the COVID–19 communication ecology, in which news production depended both on the professional capacities of journalists and "the overall composition of the media environment". Crisis reporting reflected "the overlapping of citizens, organizations, and journalists through social media", as media organisations disseminated information online and audiences redistributed it (Perreault & Perreault, 2021).

COVID–19 did not merely introduce new reporting challenges; it intensified pre-existing ones, creating conditions for norms and practices to evolve while journalists struggled to uphold commitments to accuracy, ethics, and freedom of expression (Lewis, 2020; Perreault & Perreault, 2021). News coverage during crises is shaped by journalistic routines embedded within each country's communication ecology, which include legal frameworks, media policies, organisational structures, and professional responses to constraints. These routines vary across national contexts (Ross, 2017), making global crises analytically useful in revealing cross-national similarities and differences. As emphasised here:

"News organizations are normally part of a communication ecology, and so during the COVID–19 pandemic journalists and news organizations can be understood to be working in a COVID–19 communication ecology, where journalists serve as a resource for others, while also balancing the personal challenges of the crisis" (Perreault & Perreault, 2021).

This framework also requires engagement with health journalism as a field concerned with disseminating medical and health information (Gearhart et al., 2018; Tanner et al., 2015; Viswanath et al., 2008). When health information flows are shaped by political, economic, cultural, and security constraints, reporting may become distorted, potentially endangering public health and influencing harmful policy outcomes (Paul et al., 2021). These dynamics are central to understanding the COVID–19 communication ecology examined in this study.

The Arab media communication ecology

A defining feature of authoritarian Arab media ecologies is the use of direct and indirect control mechanisms to regulate media institutions and practices. These include state ownership of major outlets, the appointment of chief editors and executives, financial sponsorship of pro-government media, and repression of journalists who challenge official boundaries (Rugh, 2007; Sakr, 2013; Seib, 2007).

In the aftermath of the post Arab Spring democratic setbacks, this ecology has been increasingly characterised by digital authoritarianism, reinforcing a broader political authoritarianism (Dragu & Lupu, 2021; Khamis, 2020; Jones, 2022). Here, the use of digital technologies and internet governance is to control information flows and consolidate state power, which is an increasingly central feature of media systems in many Arab countries.

These dynamics intensified during COVID–19, as governments imposed strict controls on pandemic coverage and restricted journalists to official sources, thus limiting independent verification and access to information (Khamis, 2020). Punitive legal measures,

including vaguely worded *cybercrime laws* criminalising the spread of 'misinformation' or 'disinformation', further expanded state control during the crisis (Khamis, 2020).

Research questions

To analyse journalistic practices amid the COVID–19 communication ecology of the four countries under study, we attempt to answer the following questions:

RQ1*:* What impact did the external influences – namely the political, legal, economic and infrastructural factors – have on journalistic practices during the COVID–19 pandemic?
RQ2*:* What impact did the internal influences – namely media organisation routines and individual journalists' demographics and experiences – have on journalistic practices during the COVID–19 pandemic?

Research methods

To provide empirical data on the rapidly evolving Arab media landscape (Richter & Kozman, 2021), we conducted 20 semi-structured in-depth interviews to explore the COVID–19 communication ecology of the region. This method is particularly valuable in practice-oriented fields like journalism, allowing for in-depth analysis and contextualisation of findings (Richter & Kozman, 2021).

Conducted in 2020–2021, the interviews were conversational, enabling participants to elaborate on any issues they found important. Such an approach is useful for investigating complex behaviours, opinions, and experiences (Longhurst, 2009). Journalists were asked about media ecology in their countries, including pre- and post-2011 press freedom, the impact of COVID–19 on press freedom, pandemic-related challenges, generational, socioeconomic and gender differences in reporting, and anticipated post-pandemic journalistic shifts.

Not all participants were health correspondents or specialists, which reflects the structural reality of many Arab media systems, where health journalism is rarely institutionalised and expertise is limited (Gearhart et al., 2018; Tanner et al., 2015). In countries like Egypt, Syria, Bahrain, and Tunisia, pandemic coverage was often handled by general reporters within constrained institutions. This limitation highlights broader regional structural conditions, where political, economic, and organisational pressures shape journalistic practice. Thus, the findings capture the journalists' lived professional realities rather than specialised health reporting.

Sampling

Journalists covering pandemic-related stories were identified via snowball sampling, which facilitated trust and rapport. Selection considered political orientation, professional affiliation (government vs. private, mainstream vs. digital media), and regional diversity, including

Syria's three regions: Kurdistan, Idlib, and Damascus. Gender balance was achieved with 11 male and 9 female journalists.

Interviewees were anonymised using country-based codes (e.g. S1 for Syria #1). Due to pandemic and geographic constraints, interviews were conducted via Zoom or WhatsApp. Table 1 below summarises the details of the 20 interviewees.

Table 1:
Sample details

#	Name	Affiliation/ Media Organisation	Country/ Region	Gender	Interview Date	Interview Medium
1	S1	Director of ASO News Agency	Syria – Kurdistan	Male	3 October 2020	Zoom
2	S2	Independent Journalist	Syria – Idlib	Female	20 October 2020	Zoom
3	S3	Journalist with the German News Agency (DPA) in Syria	Syria – Damascus	Male	31 October 2020	Zoom / WhatsApp
4	S4	Freelance Journalist	Syria	Male	14 April 2021	Zoom
5	T1	Independent Investigative Journalist	Tunisia	Female	1 October 2020	Zoom
6	T2	Journalist and Researcher	Tunisia	Male	24 October 2020	Zoom
7	T3	Chief Editor of Shakshouka Times	Tunisia	Male	30 March 2021	Zoom
8	E1	Journalist and Media Trainer	Egypt	Female	17 June 2020	Zoom
9	E2	Independent Journalist	Egypt	Female	1 July 2020	WhatsApp
10	E3	Freelance Journalist	Egypt	Female	5 July 2020	Zoom
11	E4	Deputy Editor-in-Chief of *Al Ahram* newspaper	Egypt	Female	29 June 2020	Zoom
12	E5	Chief Editor and founder of *Daarb*	Egypt	Male	8 April 2021	Zoom
13	E6	Independent Journalist and Digital Media Trainer	Egypt	Male	6 April 2021	Zoom
14	E7	Journalist and Trainer	Egypt	Male	29 March 2021	Zoom
15	E8	Journalist, Eltareek Newspaper	Egypt	Male	9 April 2021	Zoom
16	E9	Senior Editor, *Forbes* Middle East Magazine	Egypt	Male	19 April 2021	Zoom
17	B1	Head of Local Affairs, Al Bilad Newspaper	Bahrain	Male	30 April 2021	Zoom
18	B2	Journalist and TV Presenter	Bahrain	Female	14 October 2020	Zoom
19	B3	Freelance Journalist	Bahrain	Female	1 & 5 October 2020	Zoom
20	B4	Journalist and Researcher	Bahrain	Female	25 October 2020	Zoom

Source: Compiled by the authors.

Findings and analysis related to RQ1

RQ1: External influences: political, legal, economic, and infrastructural constraints

External influences are examined through three interrelated sub-themes that constitute the structural layer of the COVID–19 communication ecology: 1. political–legal constraints; 2. economic precarity and ownership patterns; and 3. infrastructural inequalities and the *digital divide*.

The *Arab COVID–19 communication ecology* is characterised by capitalising on the pandemic to intensify already existing measures of media control, reflecting the nature of the media environment in which communication takes place (Perreault & Perreault, 2021). Arab governments struggled to frame the COVID–19 narrative through their officially controlled media to serve their interests and agendas, using a multitude of political, legal, and economic tools. In analysing the structure and dynamics of the Arab communication ecology during the pandemic, we address the relationship of media and politics, the legal aspects, and the technological, infrastructural, and economic factors of the period.

Political–legal constraints and informational control

This sub-theme examines how state authority, legal frameworks, and regulatory interventions structured the boundaries of pandemic reporting. Within the COVID–19 communication ecology, political and legal mechanisms operated as gatekeeping forces in defining permissible narratives, restricting access to information, and shaping journalists' risk calculations.

The politically and legally restrictive Arab media ecology intensified during the pandemic. In Egypt and other Arab countries, issuing new laws to smother media freedom became the new normal during the pandemic (Alashry, 2022). According to Egyptian journalist E4, "The Egyptian government imposed a total blackout on the coverage of controversial topics, including the spread of the pandemic". According to the Veteran Egyptian journalist E2:

> "The Supreme Council for Media Regulation warned journalists against quoting any unofficial sources when reporting on the pandemic. I had to avoid including my name on any pandemic-related stories to avoid governmental retaliation. [...] The Egyptian government capitalized on the pandemic to tighten its grip on the media and arrest journalists, using vague charges, such as spreading fake news, destabilizing society, and threatening national interests."

The Egyptian media is predominantly owned or controlled by the government, and as Egyptian journalist E7 describes: "This information blackout on the part of the regime contributed to the spread of misinformation around COVID–19, in the absence of factual and transparent reporting." This reflects the nature of media–government relationships in authoritarian countries (Abdulmajeed & El-Ibiary, 2023; Khamis & El-Ibiary, 2022).

Other interviewees made similar remarks, highlighting the many constraints Arab journalists suffered, such as limited press freedom, the issuance of new cybercrime laws which

make it easy to imprison journalists, the lack of access to accurate data about the pandemic, and the exploitation of advanced surveillance and tracing applications by authoritarian regimes to track opponents, activists, and truth-seeking journalists (Khamis, 2020). Laws that criminalise journalistic practices through extreme punitive measures carry the risk of being deliberately vague in order to serve the interests of the government (El-Ibiary, 2020; Alashry, 2022).

The Bahraini journalists concurred, saying that from inside Bahrain, expressing opinions on political issues online is not safe since the establishment of a 'Cybercrimes Department' in 2013, which can arrest people, ban them from travel, or file lawsuits against them under the cybercrime laws, which stifle freedom of expression and press freedom and restrict the journalists' ability to report on sensitive topics, such as COVID–19. Bahraini journalist B1 said:

> "Under the current 'Cybercrimes Laws' there are limits to what journalists can share online. If you tweet something that the regime does not like, the electronic army can draw the Ministry of Interior's attention to your tweet, and they can start acting against you immediately. Some journalists and activists deleted their tweets about COVID–19 and other sensitive issues out of fear of governmental retaliation."

In Egypt too, according to E5, "COVID–19 is linked to a crackdown wave, which includes imprisoning doctors who wrote about COVID–19 cases and the journalists writing about the doctors who were infected and other COVID–19 related issues". Punishments for spreading so-called 'fake news' (any news contradicting the official narrative) ranged from imposing fines on journalists and media organisations to withdrawing licenses or arrests. One infamous case was that Egyptian journalist Mohamed Mounir, who challenged the narrative of the Egyptian government on COVID–19, lost his freedom following arrest and, ultimately, lost his life after contracting the virus in jail, dying shortly after being released (Khamis, 2020). The crackdown on journalists who covered the pandemic extended to foreign correspondents and international media outlets in Egypt, too. The infamous case of the correspondent of *The Guardian,* Ruth Michaelson, who had her license withdrawn and was then expelled from Egypt for citing COVID–19 figures which contradicted the official narrative, is one example (Al Jazeera, 2020).

Likewise, journalist B3 remarked that some international media offices were shut down and their journalists were prohibited from reporting inside Bahrain during the pandemic:

> "When the government approved the reopening of some of these media's offices, such as AP and AFP, they gave them a hard time accessing pandemic news and made it difficult for them to get pandemic-related interviews, favouring local pro-government media instead, as the tight margin of press freedom became even tighter."

The complexities of the Syrian political landscape, riven by sectarian strife and civil war, and stretching across opposition and state-controlled zones, are reflected in its media ecology and COVID–19 coverage patterns, with journalists in government-controlled areas echoing the official narrative and journalists in opposition areas challenging it, as per our interviewed Syrian journalists.

According to S1, the Syrian regime, which had been sharpening its digital tools since the 2011 uprising (Khamis et al., 2013), 'strove to control the information flow on the pandemic, by blocking, sabotaging, or hacking any outlet transmitting a different story which challenges the official narrative'. This surge in digital authoritarianism, (Dragu & Lupu, 2021) indicates how technological innovation is abused by authoritarian regimes to smother opposition. Even for state-controlled media, S3, a DPA correspondent, complained about the absence of media freedom:

> "Media freedom simply doesn't exist, making Syria a most dangerous place for journalists. Anyone expressing an oppositional opinion can be forcibly disappeared, fired, imprisoned, or killed [...] You have no choice but to echo the official narrative to protect your safety."

Likewise, press freedom in Bahrain was largely stifled during the COVID–19 pandemic. According to journalist B4: "Most non-governmental media outlets and newspapers were shut down, independent journalists were banned from working, and their licenses were revoked. These practices exacerbated amid COVID–19." Journalist B3 added: "Many opposition figures, including investigative journalists, are either in exile or in prison. The only avenue for reliable communication for those in exile is the internet."

Therefore, when domestic and international media coverage of the pandemic became strictly controlled by the Bahraini regime, some journalists in the diaspora relied on the internet to fill the knowledge gap. According to B2: "Bahraini journalists abroad try to play the role that journalists inside Bahrain cannot play, providing more accurate information on the pandemic situation in Bahrain". This illustrates how "the inability to seek representation through official media outlets inevitably increased the importance of digital spaces and social media" (Jones, 2013). This is especially true since the Bahraini government's attempts to politicise the COVID–19 moment in order to polish its public image were unsuccessful. As B4 explained:

> "There is a major public distrust in the government and its official COVID–19 narrative, as evident in the public's increased reliance on alternative sources of information, such as WhatsApp messages and Facebook groups, rather than official sources of information."

Of Tunisia – the only country in the group that has had until recently a relatively broad margin of press freedom – T1 pointed out that "Despite suffering from multiple challenges, the picture is not too gloomy. We still have a reasonable press freedom margin, and we can criticise the government and challenge the state narrative by publishing alternative coverage." Both T1 and T3 concurred that this relative margin of media freedom means that there could be some criticism of the government's handling of different issues, including the pandemic, without fear of regime retaliation, a luxury which is not enjoyed by journalists in the three other countries.

One pandemic-related incident illustrates this. In March 2020, when a Tunisian parliament member proposed a draft law to combat disinformation during the COVID–19 crisis by controlling the information on social media, there was an immediate backlash. It was perceived as a threat to free expression online, muzzling journalists, and limiting access to

necessary information. Only hours after the proposal had been made the MP withdraw it because of the broadly critical response from the public on social media (Khamis, 2020).

The discussion above illustrates the way in which COVID–19 added new issues for journalists, as well as complicating already existing ones (Lewis, 2020). These dynamics illustrate how political authority and legal instruments shape the boundaries of communication ecology, structuring what can be reported, by whom, and at what risk.

Economic precarity and media ownership

This sub-theme explores how pandemic-induced economic pressures intersected with existing ownership structures to influence journalistic autonomy. Financial instability, declining advertising revenues, and ownership consolidation functioned as structural constraints that reshaped newsroom priorities and professional independence.

The exigency created by the COVID–19 pandemic in authoritarian countries to shift immediately to working online has exposed multiple economic and infrastructural constraints that several Arab countries have had to face. This became a major component of the Arab COVID–19 communication ecology. For example, in Syria, the economic and infrastructural gap between different areas was stark. According to journalist S2, the Syrian government always focused on developing more urban cities, such as Damascus and Aleppo, while neglecting other areas, such as Idlib, thus intensifying extant infrastructural, economic, and social challenges, and impacting the performance of the media. "A major problem in Idlib is lawlessness. There is no effective government, which means that there are no laws to regulate all aspects of life, including the media", S2 explained. This became a double-edged sword for journalists as, paradoxically, according to journalist S4, while they were freer to report on the pandemic, they faced increasing danger from lawlessness. The various political, economic, and infrastructural constraints which journalists face when working in a restrictive media environment can widen the gap between their conception of their role and their perceived role enactment (Arafat & Porlezza, 2023).

The Egyptian media also suffered from economic hardships during the pandemic (Khamis & El-Ibiary, 2022). As E3 remarked, "Egyptian newspapers suffered a sharp decline in advertising revenue, salaries were reduced, and some newspapers closed down or had to downsize and lay off journalists during the pandemic". Tunisia faced similar pressures. Journalist T1 indicated that

> "309 journalists were laid off between 2019 and 2020, including 190 journalists who lost their jobs during the three months lockdown during COVID–19. Some media laid off 10, 15, or 20 journalists at once. Many of them, especially during the lockdown, were unable to search for a job, due to mobility restrictions, and many did not have licenses, which complicated their situation."

Newspapers in Tunisia were not financially prepared for the shift to digital. According to T1, newspapers shifted from print to online, and those that did not have an electronic version had to create one. T1 remarked:

> "Our newspaper went on for three months without a print version. Afterwards, the number of pages, just like the number of journalists, declined [...] In April and May 2020, newspapers asked for governmental aid. They were promised a fund to aid in digitalisation and journalists' salaries. TV and radio stations were promised a free three-month broadcasting license. These promises were not enough to save the media, and they always fulfilled."

T2 highlighted some efforts to control the media economically "through advertising, buying media shares, and involving businessmen in private media ownership. While private funding is much-needed, due to the pandemic-related dire economic conditions, it compromises the media's autonomy."

Media ownership under such dire economic conditions is key to predicting the future of the Arab communication ecology. E7 remarked that

> "the future of Arab journalism depends on the pattern of ownership. We must have independent, publicly funded media to produce high quality journalism. This is the best model to ensure Arab media's professionalism and independence. Right now, We only have state-owned media. Even so-called private media have ties to the regime. This pattern worsened amid the pandemic, threatening Arab media's credibility."

Economic precarity operated not merely as a financial constraint but as a regulatory mechanism, reinforcing dependency structures within the media ecology.

Infrastructural inequalities and the digital divide

This sub-theme examines disparities in electricity, internet access, and digital resources. These infrastructural conditions shaped the capacity of journalists to gather, verify, and disseminate information, highlighting how communication ecologies are materially embedded as well as politically structured. According to journalist S2, poor infrastructure and lawlessness in Idlib meant that:

> "Practicing journalism in Idlib endangers journalists, who may easily get injured or killed. If they face any difficult situation, they can't file a complaint, in the absence of any official agency that can protect them. [...] Journalists face the double risks of infection and personal harm, when covering pandemic news. Media freedom without any regulation or protection equals chaos."

S3 also remarked:

> "Although many media organisations shifted to working online amid the pandemic, one major obstacle is inadequate infrastructure. Electricity is cut off more than 20 hours a day in some areas. In most areas it is cut off at least 10 hours daily. Moreover, the internet is slow and expensive, especially for low income journalists who work in neglected areas."

Mobile technology, explains S3, can help journalists overcome some of these challenges:

> "It is easy to send a picture, news, or voice messages through smart phones. Ironically, although the internet connection is worse for journalists outside the capital, they can use satellite internet from neighbouring countries to facilitate their coverage, which is prohibited in government-controlled areas."

In other areas, such as northeast Syria, journalists lived a different reality. According to S1, "[j]ournalists relied on online communication to spread awareness about the pandemic, verify information, collect donations, and buy and distribute essential resources". According to S3, the three newspapers run by the government in Syria stopped printing, and all print media switched to an online format. S3 remarked:

> "All media were impacted, as field coverage decreased to a minimum, out of fear of COVID–19, and tens of journalists were infected or lost their lives, due to the pandemic. Most journalists worked from home, with the least possible staff and resources."

Infrastructural asymmetries reveal how communication ecologies are materially embedded, with access to technology shaping journalistic capacity.

Findings and analysis related to RQ2

RQ2: Internal influences: media organisation routines and journalist demographics

Internal influences are organised into three sub-themes: 1. organisational routines and professional norms; 2. trust, credibility, and misinformation dynamics; and 3. demographic stratifications, including gender, generation, and employment status. These dimensions represent the micro-level of communication ecology.

Organisational routines and professional norms

This sub-theme analyses how newsroom routines, editorial hierarchies, and professional norms mediate the translation of structural constraints into everyday journalistic practice. Organisational cultures shaped decisions regarding sourcing, safety, self-censorship, and crisis adaptation. Our findings indicate that Arab countries imposed repressive measures on journalism during the COVID–19 pandemic (Price & Antonova, 2024). The new political, legal, economic, and infrastructural constraints exacerbated the already existing professional challenges and impacted routines and journalistic practices in Arab media organisations during the pandemic (Lewis, 2020). Further restrictive measures were imposed by the regimes on professional health journalism, which, even amid a health crisis, have been perceived as unnecessary by the leadership of both government and media organisations. This confirms

the findings of Gearhart et al. (2018) that journalists prioritised health as an important issue for their audience, yet it was not prioritised by the leadership of media organisations. Syrian journalist S4 remarked:

> "I believe that the COVID–19 media coverage both reflected, and intensified, the challenges and chaos in our fragile media scene. Even opposition media are not free of corruption, and they have their own political agendas and challenges which limit their ability to conduct professional pandemic coverage."

Egyptian journalists also complained about being smothered by many challenges, including censorship, cybercrime laws, lack of professional guidance from media organisations, and a government-controlled media environment. This led many of them to practice *self-censorship* because of fear of government retaliation, rather than *self-regulation,* which would have reflected attempts to boost journalistic professionalism (Badr, 2022). Most interviewees lamented the prevalence of self-censorship in the COVID–19 communication ecology at the expense of self-regulation. Barriers to obtaining accurate health information also posed another challenge. T1 stated:

> "Blocking health information by the authorities and the spread of contradictory official statements made it difficult for journalists in Tunisia to gather credible information about the virus. Some sources provide contradictory, incomplete, or inaccurate information, since they are not specialised epidemiologists. Also, some Tunisian officials used the pandemic as an excuse to avoid media interviews."

Likewise, S4 remarked: "The Syrian regime does not provide accurate statistics about the virus. They deny the reality, even though it is widespread in Syria. The regime does not conduct any testing, nor does it invest in the health sector", and another issue is the lack of trust in either the regime or the journalists; according to Bahraini journalist B2:

> "Bahraini journalists have been spreading information and safety guidance about COVID–19, but they have not been effective, due to limited trust in Bahraini media today. This pushed journalists abroad to play a bigger role on social media to fill this gap. However, they also face limitations, since they cannot be fully aware of the pandemic's situation back home."

Organisational routines functioned as mediating mechanisms between structural constraints and individual journalistic practice.

Trust, credibility, and misinformation

This sub-theme examines how diminished institutional trust and restricted information access contributed to the circulation of misinformation within the communication ecology, weakened credibility, and amplified reliance on informal networks and social media

channels. The absence of credible health information created a knowledge vacuum, which was oftentimes filled by misinformation and disinformation. According to S4:

> "Misinformation and disinformation have been widespread in Syria during COVID–19. Once they go viral on social media, it becomes difficult to stop them. Only few Syrian media organisations covered the pandemic responsibly and shared accurate information about it."

The interviewed Syrian journalists saw other challenges in lawlessness in the opposition areas and authoritarianism in the government-controlled areas, alongside the many socioeconomic and infrastructural constraints that hinder professional health journalism.

Some interviewees expressed frustration about being unable to play a more effective role in spreading correct information during and about the pandemic, raising public awareness, and changing the public's attitudes and behaviour. This confirms the findings of Tanner et al. (2015) that health journalists perceive their responsibility as going beyond simply gathering and providing credible information to supporting health education and promoting health behaviour change. It is also consistent with the findings of Viswanath et al. (2008), that health journalists prioritise the accuracy, trustworthiness, and credibility of the information they share publicly.

Ironically, the relative increase in media freedom after the initial success of the revolution in Tunisia proved to be a double-edged sword when it granted journalists the opportunity to develop their skills, to cross the red lines, and to expose corruption, because it introduced chaos and a lack of media professionalism in the absence of any regulation. Tunisian journalist T3 remarked: "The media became more unprofessional and sensational, no in-depth reporting and no valid sources, except for a few professional media. With the dependence on political money, media freedom and professionalism were compromised."

Several interviewees complained about the working environment in their media organisations during the pandemic. "During COVID–19, only a few media organisations in Tunisia provided clear safety instructions to their employees or took the necessary measures to ensure a safe working environment" – Tunisian journalist T1 stated. Likewise, Egyptian journalists felt that their safety was overlooked by media organisations. Egyptian journalist E4 remarked:

> "There is a strong resistance to change in many media organisations, even during a pandemic. The semi-official Al Ahram newspaper, for example, allowed journalists to stay home for the first couple of weeks only, and then everyone was required to go back to work, although all the work could be done remotely and sent via email. There was no need to risk the health and safety of journalists during a pandemic."

Some interviewees believed that responsible journalism is often too costly in the Arab region. "Objectivity and professionalism cost a lot in Tunisia. When you try to be neutral or objective you don't get advertising. You have to take sides and be sensational" – remarked Tunisian journalist T3, adding that this situation intensified with all the economic challenges posed by the pandemic.

However, Bahraini journalist B1 argued that the quality of journalistic coverage depends on the media organisation itself stating that:

> "Some media organisations used COVID–19 as an excuse to further stifle the information flow, while others continued to provide accurate information and sound reporting. We cannot say that COVID–19 itself has been an obstacle to information flow. It depends on each organisation."

While the COVID–19 communication ecology posed many challenges for Arab journalists in the performance of their professional roles, it also ushered new opportunities, such as the reliance on online communication to provide a convenient, accessible, safe, and reliable working environment for many journalists, albeit not for everyone, due to the infrastructural constraints in some areas. S2 explained:

> "Syrian journalists from Idlib were not able to travel to attend international events without travel documents. This year, since many events were held online, journalists from different parts of Syria could participate in international events, gain international visibility, cover the Syrian crisis for international media, and cooperate with international organisations to alleviate the suffering from the pandemic."

Online training was also useful for journalists who were interested in acquiring accurate scientific information about the virus. Tunisian journalist T2 stated:

> "Many young journalists learned new techniques, professional skills, and useful knowledge, especially since the trainings were online and free of charge. They became health journalists, and they learned how to protect themselves and others from the virus and from misinformation."

The Egyptian journalist E1 echoed the same sentiment stating: "Many Egyptian journalists are utilising this unique moment to advance themselves professionally, through online training, exchanging useful knowledge, and learning new skills to improve their pandemic coverage."

However, some interviewees remarked that the reliance on digitalisation has its limitations. For example, it cannot replace real-life field reporting and there are many socioeconomic and infrastructural barriers to digital access. The erosion of trust reflects ecological instability, where weakened institutional credibility amplifies misinformation flows.

Demographic stratification within the communication ecology

Some demographic variables placed constraints on journalists' practices during the pandemic in the countries studied. These included gender, generation, and employment status. Some Egyptian women journalists said that being a woman increased the risk of losing their job in the midst of the pandemic, confirming that "Arab women journalists are the hardest to hire and the easiest to fire" (Melki & Mallat, 2016). Similarly to the Bahraini women interviewees, the Egyptian journalist E1 remarked:

> "When making decisions about laying off journalists during the pandemic, many Egyptian media organisations fired women journalists first, using lame excuses, such as that women have male supporters or that they cannot work long hours like their male colleagues."

This gender-based discrimination against Arab women journalists (Khamis & El-Ibiary, 2022), even worse during the pandemic, reflects the glass ceiling that hinders women's advancement in Arab journalism (Melki & Mallat, 2016; Wharton Kaye-Essien & Ismail, 2020) and confirms what Mellor (2019) describes as "women's (in)visibility in Arab media".

Interestingly, the women from Tunisia and Syria we interviewed did not mention similar gender-related disparities. Similarly to the Tunisian women journalists, Syrian journalist S2 mentioned that there is reasonable acceptance of women's journalistic work in the Kurdistan and Idlib regions. She stated: "There is no remarkable gender-based discrimination among journalists in these areas. Rather, corruption, economic hardships, and weak infrastructure have been impacting both men and women journalists equally during COVID–19."

Ironically, there were some positive impacts on Arab women journalists, such as the growing reliance on digitalisation, which increased their gendered digital capital (De Vuyst & Raeymaeckers, 2019). Women interviewees across the four countries expressed views similar to Egyptian journalist E2 who said:

> "Online communication saves time, money, and effort, which is especially helpful for women journalists. They can do most of their COVID–19 coverage from the safety of their homes, while avoiding infection and inconvenience. Limitations to home-based reporting include missing live coverage, but, during a pandemic, the pros outweigh the cons."

Other pandemic-related factors impacting journalists were age and contract type. According to Tunisian journalist T1, "[y]oung journalists, especially freelancers or those with temporary contracts, and those who are close to retirement were more likely to lose their jobs during the pandemic in Tunisia". Echoing this S2 said:

> "The pandemic severely impacted freelance journalists in Idlib financially. Many of them were not given any pandemic-related assignments by media organisations, and their careers were less secure. The impact of COVID–19 on journalists in Idlib depends on the nature of media organisation and the political, economic, and infrastructural constraints. There are journalists who work in media organisations which protect them, and there are freelancers who have no rights whatsoever."

Egyptian journalist E3 likewise remarked:

> "Half of the Egyptian journalists' syndicate's members are working on a freelance basis, they have no media organisation to protect them, and they have been exerting an enormous effort to produce good journalism during the pandemic. Yet, many of them got laid off, due to this crisis."

Some interviewees highlighted the impact of generational differences, since older journalists often act as gatekeepers by resisting any change to professional routines when deciding on

content selection and the best techniques to use during the pandemic (Khamis & El-Ibiary, 2022). "Unfortunately, many older journalists, unlike the younger generation, are not willing to use new digital tools which became vital amid the COVID–19 crisis", Egyptian journalist E4 explained.

Concluding remarks: Current challenges and future potential

The findings of this study unpacked the traits of journalism as a microenvironment within the COVID–19 communication ecology (Perreault & Perreault, 2021), with multidimensional and intertwined external and internal influences which constrained journalistic practices during the pandemic in the countries under study. We argue that while the pandemic did not create these constraints, it exacerbated them. Taken together, the structural and internal sub-themes demonstrate how the COVID–19 communication ecology operated as a layered system in which power, resources, routines, and identities intersected.

Externally, media control mechanisms, ranging from total lawlessness and absence of media regulation to total governmental control and stifling of all freedoms, posed major threats to the safety and professionalism of journalists. Other external constraints included economic hardships and infrastructural barriers.

Internally, the nature of the routines and practices of media organisations posed other challenges. These included limited professionalism, scarce training, shortages in economic and technical resources, and the difficulties of obtaining and transmitting accurate health information. Other internal challenges included gender-based discrimination, generation-based discrimination, and employment status-based discrimination.

We argue that these external and internal influences constantly feed each other in a cyclical, ongoing process. For example, Arab regimes, representing varying degrees of authoritarianism, strove to politicise and monopolise the narrative around the pandemic by stifling media freedom. This has impacted the routines of media organisations, as was evident in the restrictive measures adopted by state-controlled media organisations. Moreover, because governments withheld accurate information about the pandemic, this negatively affected the ability of journalists to practice professional health journalism.

It is essential to examine how these constraints affect journalists across different demographic groups, particularly during the pandemic, which exacerbated the pre-existing inequalities related to gender, generation, and employment status. One aspect worthy of further investigation here is the digital divide and the *gender digital divide,* that is, the gap between the technological haves and have-nots, and the impact it has on journalists (De Vuyst & Raeymaeckers, 2019), and Arab women journalists in particular.

The findings of this study highlight the tug-of-war between Arab regimes and the journalists who dare to challenge their COVID–19-related narratives. In the future, both groups will likely increase their reliance on new technologies, highlighting the dual role of new media as tools for both liberation (Diamond, 2010) and repression (Gunitsky, 2015).

There were multiple ways in which some Arab journalists resisted the constraints, such as the diaspora practicing independent journalism and relying on digital technologies to acquire new skills. This invites further investigation of the phenomenon of digital authoritarianism

(Dragu & Lupu, 2021; Khamis, 2020; Jones, 2022) and its effects on many aspects of Arab journalism, including health journalism. Moreover, it is essential to continue exploring these issues beyond the pandemic, especially in understudied non-Western countries, to fill some of the gaps in the current literature on journalism, and to amplify marginalised voices from the Global South.

In analysing the dynamics of ongoing contestations between the regime-imposed constraints and challenges and journalistic resistance to them, it is important to highlight their impact on routines and journalistic practices of media organisations in this region in the future. Some interviewees believed that there is a need to develop alternative media economies to overcome similar future emergencies. They remarked that this crisis revealed the flaws of the current model of media funding, as it showed how advertising revenues can suddenly fall, causing huge economic losses, but also how the reliance on government funding can strangle media freedom. Consequently, they suggested systems of public funding which would enable the Arab media to survive, while safeguarding its independence.

Several interviewees also highlighted the need to develop effective health journalism practices in the Arab world, with a new generation of specialised journalists who can produce professional reporting during health crises to combat misinformation and disinformation.

Predicting the future of Arab journalism, the interviewees acknowledged some uncertainties, such as the future of the war in Syria, and future political changes in their respective countries. They agreed that these uncertainties create an equally uncertain future for Arab journalism.

Other predictions included the importance of digitalisation, and they agreed that the pandemic had ushered in a new era of increased digitalisation, which would restructure traditional journalistic practices and routines in the future.

There was consensus among the interviewees that the pandemic, with all its challenges, had paved the way for positive change in Arab journalism through the provision of new opportunities to train a new generation of qualified Arab journalists who will be more dynamic and technologically savvy, and, thus, enhance Arab journalism.

We argue that the interplay between these internal and external influences, and the amalgamation of these constraints and potentials, will give birth to new developments in the Arab media in a constantly transitioning region. We hope that some of the lessons learned from this crisis can help in overcoming similar constraints, maximising future potential, and creating new opportunities for Arab journalism moving forward.

Temporal scope and evolving communication ecologies

The findings of this study unpack journalism as a microenvironment within the COVID–19 communication ecology (Perreault & Perreault, 2021), shaped by the constant interaction between political, legal, economic, infrastructural, and organisational forces. This analysis is based on interviews conducted in 2020–2021 and therefore reflects a specific crisis phase marked by regulatory fluidity and institutional uncertainty. Importantly, the manuscript was developed before the fall of the Bashar al-Assad regime. All Syrian data were collected while the Assad government remained in power and exercised extensive territorial and

informational control. Accordingly, Syrian journalists' accounts reflect a communication ecology structured by authoritarian governance, surveillance practices, and constrained press freedom during that particular political configuration.

From a communication ecology perspective, crises do not create structures but intensify and reconfigure existing relational dynamics (Houston et al., 2021). In several Arab contexts – including Egypt, Syria, and Bahrain – pandemic-era informational controls appear to have been normalised, reinforcing patterns of digital authoritarianism (Dragu & Lupu, 2021; Khamis, 2020). In Tunisia, subsequent democratic backsliding has narrowed the relatively broad margin of press freedom observed during early COVID–19 coverage. At the same time, accelerated digitalisation, remote production routines, and online professional training have endured beyond the immediate crisis moment.

Thus, the COVID–19 communication ecology should be understood less as an exceptional rupture and more as a stress test that exposed and consolidated structural tensions within Arab media systems. Longitudinal research is needed to trace how these ecological configurations continue to evolve under shifting political conditions.

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ARTICLE

Is Listening Enough?

Podcast Categories, Listening Practices and Parasocial Interaction

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This study examines the associations between podcast-category selection, listening practices, and podcast-related parasocial engagement among 340 listeners. Parasocial engagement was measured with an eight-item podcast-context adaptation of the Parasocial Interaction Scale. A two-model hierarchical multiple linear regression estimated associations for interview/guest-based, narrative/storytelling, personal development, and comedy/talk category selection with an adapted PSI score; Model 2 also included listening frequency, listening duration, gender, age group, and education. In addition, the open-ended responses of the survey were inspected through an exploratory Sentence-BERT analysis that combined cosine similarity, k-means clustering, and human theme labelling with illustrative quotations. Interview/guest-based selection was positively associated with the adapted PSI score in both models. Narrative/storytelling selection was

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significant only before adjustment, while personal development and comedy/talk selection were not significant. Listening frequency showed a modest positive association; duration and demographic variables did not. The text analysis yielded four provisional themes and suggested only partial semantic proximity across theme centroids. We consider that component to be exploratory rather than confirmatory. Taken as a whole, the results offer a cautious, association-based account of podcast-related parasocial engagement in which theoretically familiar ideas such as the host's presence, conversational exchange, and narrative continuity remain in an interpretative rather than a causal role.

Keywords: podcasting, parasocial interaction, podcast categories, listening frequency, host–listener relationship, mediated intimacy

Introduction

Podcasting has recently emerged as a prominent form of digital audio media, fostering a more democratic landscape for individual narratives and increased user participation. The widespread adoption of mobile technologies and personalised recommendation systems on digital platforms has positioned podcasts as a key vehicle for both the dissemination of information and for emotional connection (Llinares et al., 2018). Compared to traditional media, podcasts offer listeners a more intimate, one-on-one communication experience. This heightened sense of intimacy has renewed interest in the concept of parasocial interaction (PSI), an intense but one-way emotional relationship between listener and host (Horton & Wohl, 1956; Giles, 2002). While initially explored in the context of visual media like television (Rubin & McHugh, 1987), the digital era, particularly with the rise of podcasts, has seen a resurgence of this interaction through auditory intimacy and personal closeness (Berry, 2016; Lindgren, 2016). The listener's direct engagement with a voice through headphones eliminates physical distance, fostering a feeling of 'togetherness' and transforming the podcast host into a perceived 'close friend' (Bilchi, 2025).

The emotional impact of podcasts varies across formats and communicative structures. Prior research suggests that conversational, narrative, and humour-oriented podcast categories may facilitate identification and emotional closeness, whereas news- or information-oriented categories may encourage more cognitive and distanced relationships (Perks et al., 2019). However, such differences cannot be fully explained through genre categories alone. Rather, PSI appears to be shaped by structural and relational features such as host centrality, narrative continuity, conversational engagement, and mediated intimacy. Accordingly, this study examines whether differences across podcast formats can be interpreted in relation to their communicative and narrative characteristics. Furthermore, listeners' motivations for engaging with podcasts significantly influence PSI levels. The Uses and Gratifications approach posits that individuals consume media not only for information but also to fulfil emotional needs, seek escape, and foster social belonging (Katz et al., 1973). In the context of podcasts, these motivations often revolve around sincerity, relaxation, information acquisition, and a sense of community (Spinelli & Dann, 2019). The strength of the parasocial bond, therefore,

depends not only on content type but also on the relational dynamics embedded within podcast formats and listeners' emotional orientations.

In the digital age, algorithmic content recommendations have amplified these relationships. Platforms like Spotify, YouTube, and Apple Podcasts analyse user behaviour to shape listening habits, thus influencing individual media experiences through algorithmic selectivity (Napoli, 2019). This creates a dual dynamic in which user bonds in digital environments are formed both organically and algorithmically, a concept highlighted by Serttaş et al. (2025) as 'synthetic social alienation'. Therefore, PSI today can be considered to be not just a psychological process but a socio-technical phenomenon shaped by AI-supported media infrastructures as well.

This study rests primarily on a quantitative survey design. Podcast-related parasocial engagement is measured with an eight-item podcast-context adaptation of the Parasocial Interaction Scale. A secondary, exploratory layer uses multilingual Sentence-BERT embeddings, cosine similarity, and human thematic labelling to describe patterning in the open-ended responses (Reimers & Gurevych, 2019).

Against this background, we ask whether podcast-category selection and listening practices are associated with differences in the adapted PSI score. We also pose a more provisional question about semantic patterning in the open-ended responses. Ideas such as recurring host presence, conversational exchange, and narrative continuity help us interpret the associations, but they were not measured directly and are not treated as tested mechanisms.

Literature review: Parasocial interaction theory, podcasts and listener motivations

Horton and Wohl (1956) introduced the concept of PSI to describe the illusion of conversational give-and-take that media users may experience with a media persona during media exposure. On the other hand, the concept of parasocial relationship (PSR) refers to a process of ongoing attachment that develops as a result of prolonged exposure to media content (Schramm & Hartmann, 2008). Contemporary scholarship distinguishes PSI which refers to an episode-specific, interaction-like experience occurring during media use, whereas PSR denotes a more enduring one-sided relational orientation that can persist beyond a particular episode or exposure. Similarly, emotional attachment refers to the affective closeness or intensity associated with a media figure, while host-liking represents a favourable evaluation that does not necessarily involve either an interaction-like experience or an enduring relationship. Identification is also conceptually distinct because it involves temporarily adopting the media figure's perspective, goals, or identity rather than relating to the figure as a separate social other. Although these constructs may be empirically associated, they should not be treated as interchangeable (Cohen, 2001; Dibble et al., 2016).

Early studies that built on Horton and Wohl's work, have demonstrated the strengthening of media personas, particularly through television news and news anchors. For instance, Levy (1979) found that news anchors' use of everyday language and direct address fostered a sense of closeness with viewers. Brown (2015), conversely, defines media personas as archetypal figures representing real people within the audience's cognitive and social world, emphasising

their role in triggering parasocial bonds through interactive techniques. The empirical measurement of these bonds was significantly advanced by the development of the Parasocial Interaction Scale (Rubin et al., 1985), which paved the way for studies examining the relationships between media use, emotional satisfaction, and loneliness (Wang et al., 2008). However, subsequent measurement research has indicated that conventional PSI-scale items may capture short- or long-term host-liking and more enduring relational orientations in addition to momentary parasocial interaction (Dibble et al., 2016). This methodological distinction is particularly relevant to the present study, as the adapted podcast-context measure includes items reflecting both interaction-like perceptions and more enduring relational responses.

In contrast to communication studies that portray audiences as passive recipients, the Uses and Gratifications Theory posits that individuals actively select media content to fulfil their specific needs (Katz et al., 1973). This approach is particularly valuable in understanding user-controlled, asynchronous, and customisable media formats like podcasts. Defined as a new generation of media formats, podcasts can cultivate more intimate relationships with listeners due to their low production costs, independence from time and place, and auditory nature (Berry, 2006; Crofts et al., 2005). This auditory structure, as Euritt (2022) argues, is central to the formation of podcast intimacy, as it enables a form of affective proximity that is less dependent on visual representation and more rooted in voice, tone, and repetition.

Research on podcast publishing generally falls into three main categories. The first focuses on the historical development, economic structure, and platformisation of podcasts, addressing issues such as advertising, sponsorship, and algorithmic visibility (Yücel, 2020; Adler Berg, 2022). The second concentrates on production practices and narrator identity, highlighting podcasting's potential for freedom of expression, community building, and the amplification of alternative voices (Markman, 2012; Millette, 2011). The third examines the educational, journalistic, and cultural transmission functions of podcasts, exploring the social impacts of this medium (Bulut, 2022; Sancar, 2024).

Recent studies indicate that the repetitive and intimate narrative structure of podcasts strengthens parasocial bonds with listeners. The narrator's voice, speaking tempo, and personal narrative style can create a sense of 'close friendship' and trust, increasing programme loyalty and emotional attachment (Schlütz & Hedder, 2021; Marx et al., 2021). Furthermore, genre-specific research suggests that podcasts centred on conversation, humour, and storytelling are particularly effective at triggering PSI (Boling & Hull, 2018; Pavelko & Myrick, 2020). This affective attachment should also be understood within the broader framework of 'affective economies' (Banet-Weiser, 2018), where emotional engagement becomes a key currency in digital media environments. In this sense, parasocial bonds are not merely psychological outcomes but are embedded in systems that circulate visibility, attention, and value through affective investment. Conceptualised as more than mere situational phenomena, parasocial relationships are differentiated from constructs like identification by their enduring nature. Whereas most forms of character engagement are localised to the moment of exposure, PSRs foster a sustained psychological presence that exerts a continuous influence over the consumer's world-view and conduct, irrespective of active media engagement (Breves & van Berlo, 2026; Hartmann & Goldhoorn, 2011).

The literature on podcast listening motivations reveals a multi-layered structure that influences listener behaviour, one in which functional motivations (time-space flexibility and portability), content-based motivations (information acquisition, entertainment, and storytelling), and relational motivations (closeness to the host and sense of community) operate in concert (Perks & Turner, 2019; Sundar & Limperos, 2013). Research indicates that the relational dimension is not simply a secondary effect but a structural element that sustains the overall listening experience. While situational engagement during episodes fosters momentary PSI (Horton & Wohl, 1956), the continuity of narrative structures and sound aesthetics transforms these experiences into enduring PSR. Consequently, parasociality in podcasting cannot be reduced to an isolated psychological by-product; rather, it functions as a hybrid relational form shaped by the intersection of individual emotional engagement and platform-driven visibility structures (van Dijck, 2013). By uniquely combining technical flexibility, affective intimacy, and platform-based circulation within the digital media landscape, podcasts operate through the interplay of parasocial dynamics, podcast intimacy (Euritt, 2022), and affective economies (Banet-Weiser, 2018). This positions podcasting as a critical site for rethinking parasociality not merely as an individual psychological phenomenon, but as a socio-technical and affective formation embedded in contemporary media systems.

Differences across media types in parasocial relationships

Traditional mass media fosters relatively low-interactive PSR within a programme-centred structure. Viewers typically lack direct contact with media figures, and the immediate experience of PSI is strictly confined to the duration of the broadcast. In this context, enduring relationships rely more on habit, repetition, and representational stability than on ongoing personal continuity (Perse & Rubin, 1989). While television characters or news anchors can create long-term familiarity over time, these relationships remain largely one-sided and lack direct feedback mechanisms.

Digital platforms – understood as socio-technical ecosystems structured by datafication, algorithmic governance and platform logics (van Dijck, 2013) – have not only intensified these parasocial relationships but also transformed them into more interactive and continuous experiences. On platforms like social media, YouTube, and podcasts, the relationships between content creators and users have evolved into a semi-interactive form through comments, likes, direct messages, and live streams. These new media environments produce a hybrid structure where momentary PSI and enduring PSR intertwine (Bizjak Zabukovec & Faganel, 2024; Cunov, 2025). The sharing of daily life by content creators, particularly on platforms like YouTube and Instagram, strengthens the viewer's sense of 'backstage access', thus deepening parasocial intimacy (Marwick & Boyd, 2011). Within this framework, parasocial dynamics become increasingly shaped by platform affordances, where algorithmic recommendation systems sustain visibility and continuity, reinforcing repeated exposure and deepening emotional attachment. Within this broader digital ecosystem, streaming platforms and social media content are restructuring parasocial relationships through algorithmic visibility and affective labour. As Banet-Weiser (2018) argues, in the digital popularity economy, visibility

is inseparable from affective performance. Content creators are compelled to continuously produce authenticity, intimacy, and emotional accessibility as forms of labour.

In this context, parasocial relationships are not only sustained through audience perception but are actively produced and managed as part of platform-driven visibility economies. Podcast media, however, occupies a unique position within this platform-driven landscape. Unlike visual-heavy platforms, the absence of visual cues, the directness of sound, and the individual listening experience via headphones create a distinct sense of intimacy between listener and host. While operating within the same visibility economies, research indicates that podcast listeners form stronger parasocial bonds with hosts, based on trust, sincerity, and emotional openness (McHugh, 2016; Bond, 2018). This demonstrates that parasocial relationships in podcasting are shaped not only by the algorithmic visibility of the media figure, but fundamentally by the narrative style, sound aesthetics, and communicative tone of the medium.

Hypotheses and research questions

Drawing on the discussion above, we advance the following hypotheses and research questions. H1 and H2, together with RQ1, map onto variables collected in the survey. RQ2 concerns the open-ended material and is kept deliberately provisional.

Podcasts are commonly categorised by genre; however, genre labels alone may not fully account for variations in parasocial interaction. Podcast categories may differ in communicative tendencies such as conversational exchange, recurring host presence, narrative continuity, humour, and personal disclosure. These tendencies may contribute to perceptions of mediated intimacy and relational closeness. Nevertheless, because these communicative features were not directly measured in the present study, they are used only as theoretically informed concepts for interpreting the observed associations between podcast-category selection and the adapted PSI score. Accordingly, the following hypothesis is proposed:

> **H1:** Selection of interview/guest-based, narrative/storytelling, and comedy/talk podcast categories is positively associated with the adapted PSI score, after accounting for selection of the other focal podcast categories.

Parasocial engagement may also be associated with patterns of podcast use. Repeated encounters with the same podcast host may be related to greater familiarity and perceived relational continuity. Because podcast listening is often incorporated into everyday routines, listening frequency may be more strongly associated with the adapted PSI score than the duration of individual listening sessions. Accordingly, the following hypothesis and research question are proposed:

> **H2:** Podcast listening frequency is positively associated with the adapted PSI score.
> **RQ1:** What is the relationship between daily podcast listening duration and the adapted PSI score?

We also include an exploratory computational reading of the open-ended answers in order to describe semantic proximity and recurring themes. In this questionnaire, the open-ended item asked respondents to name the podcast they listened to most often; the short Turkish replies to that item form the corpus. Because the analysis is descriptive rather than confirmatory, we formulate it as a research question:

> **RQ2:** When participants' open-ended responses are examined with Sentence-BERT embeddings, clustering, and human thematic labelling, to what extent do they show semantic proximity and recurring themes?

Methodology

This study adopts a primarily quantitative survey design to examine associations between podcast-category selection, listening practices, demographic characteristics, and the adapted PSI score. An exploratory computational text-analysis component was additionally used to examine semantic patterning in participants' open-ended naming of their most frequently listened-to podcasts and to contextualise the listening referents that preceded the adapted PSI items.

Measurement instrument and variables

The primary measurement instrument used in this study was an eight-item podcast-context measure based on the Parasocial Interaction Scale originally developed by Rubin, Perse, and Powell (1985). In adapting the instrument to the podcast-listening context, the study drew on both the conceptual content of the original scale and the Turkish podcast-oriented adaptation proposed by Özkan Sev (2024). The items were shortened and contextually reformulated to refer specifically to podcast hosts, podcast episodes, and audio-based listening experiences.

The survey was developed and administered in Turkish. Because the instrument used in the present study was adapted directly in Turkish rather than produced through an item-by-item translation of an English questionnaire, no forward-translation or back-translation procedure was conducted. The English translations presented in the Appendix were prepared by the authors solely for reporting purposes and were not administered to participants. The Appendix presents the complete Turkish items, their English translations, response anchors, and factor loadings.

Participants responded to the eight items using a five-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree. No items were reverse-coded. The composite score was calculated by averaging the eight item scores, with higher scores indicating stronger podcast-related parasocial engagement. The internal consistency of the scale was assessed using the final study sample and was found to be high (Cronbach's $\alpha = .91$). The resulting composite score was used as the dependent variable in all analyses. Throughout the manuscript, the term adapted PSI score refers to this eight-item composite measure. Because the items

encompass both interaction-like perceptions and more enduring relational responses, the score is interpreted as a broad indicator of podcast-related parasocial engagement rather than as an exclusive measure of momentary parasocial interaction.

Immediately before completing the adapted PSI items, participants were asked to name the podcast they listened to most frequently. The subsequent items referred to 'the podcast host' and 'this podcast'. This question order was intended to orient participants toward the specific podcast and host they listened to most frequently rather than toward podcast listening in general.

Podcast categories were measured using a multiple-response question asking participants to indicate the podcast types they listened to most frequently. Participants could select one or more of six original response options: chat/guest-based, informational (documentary, research, or educational), comedy/talk, personal development, narrative/storytelling, and news/current affairs. Each response option was coded as a separate binary variable (0 = not selected, 1 = selected).

The inferential analysis included four original category indicators: chat/guest-based, narrative/storytelling, personal development, and comedy/talk. Consistent with H1, the interview/guest-based, narrative/storytelling, and comedy/talk categories were treated as the primary theoretically motivated predictors, whereas personal development was retained in the model as an additional covariate to account for potential variation in podcast-category preferences. For consistency of terminology, the chat/guest-based and comedy/talk categories are reported throughout the manuscript as interview/guest-based and comedy/talk, respectively. Narrative/storytelling and personal development retain their original meanings. No participant response was altered or reassigned from one category to another. Accordingly, these variables should be interpreted as broad self-reported podcast-category indicators rather than as direct measures of structural or communicative characteristics.

The informational and news/current-affairs response options were not included in the inferential model and were not treated as reference categories. These options primarily reflected topical or functional orientations, whereas the focal category indicators were more directly aligned with the communicative presentation tendencies examined in the study. Accordingly, H1 was specified only for the interview/guest-based, narrative/storytelling, and comedy/talk categories. Because participants could select more than one response option, the analysed category indicators represented overlapping rather than mutually exclusive groups.

The remaining independent variables included listening frequency, daily listening duration, and demographic characteristics (age, gender, and education). Listening frequency ran from 1 = rarely to 5 = daily. Just before the adapted PSI items, participants named the podcast they listened to most often. That prompt was meant to give the later ratings a concrete referent. Still, because category selection allowed more than one answer and the PSI wording did not lock every item to a single podcast, some slippage in referent remains possible; we note this as a limitation. The same open-ended name field supplied the corpus for the exploratory embedding analysis. Since the item asked for a title or show name rather than a free account of parasocial experience, the computational themes speak to named referents only.

Validity and reliability of the adapted measure

The internal structure and reliability of the eight-item podcast-context measure were evaluated using the final study sample (N = 340). The Kaiser–Meyer–Olkin measure indicated a high level of sampling adequacy (KMO = .905), and Bartlett's test of sphericity was statistically significant, $\chi^2(28) = 1585.60$, $p < .001$. These results indicated that the inter-item correlation matrix was suitable for factor analysis.

An exploratory factor analysis was conducted using principal axis factoring. The number of factors to retain was evaluated through inspection of the initial eigenvalues. The first eigenvalue was 4.92, whereas the second eigenvalue was 0.76. Only the first factor had an eigenvalue greater than 1.00, suggesting a one-factor solution. Following principal axis extraction, the retained factor accounted for approximately 56.1% of the variance in the item set.

All eight items loaded positively and substantially on the retained factor, with factor loadings ranging from .684 to .825. No item was removed from the measure. The complete list of the original Turkish survey items, their English translations prepared for reporting purposes, and their individual factor loadings is presented in the Appendix.

The internal consistency of the measure was assessed using Cronbach's alpha. The reliability coefficient was alpha = .91, indicating a high level of internal consistency. Taken together, the exploratory factor analysis and reliability results support the use of the eight items as a single composite measure within the present sample. However, because the study did not administer separate criterion scales for parasocial relationship, host liking, identification, or emotional attachment, internal consistency and unidimensionality should not be read as complete discriminant validity. Accordingly, the composite is interpreted as a broad indicator of podcast-related parasocial engagement.

Nevertheless, the observed one-factor structure should not be interpreted as demonstrating that the measure is empirically distinct from related constructs such as parasocial relationship, emotional attachment, identification, or host liking. Some items reflect interaction-like perceptions experienced in relation to the host, whereas others capture more enduring relational responses, such as perceived friendship, interest in the host's personal life, and excitement about new episodes. The one-factor solution therefore indicates that the items functioned as a coherent composite measure in the present sample, but it does not establish discriminant validity among these conceptually related dimensions. Accordingly, the resulting composite score is interpreted as a broad indicator of podcast-related parasocial engagement rather than as an exclusive measure of momentary parasocial interaction.

Sample and data collection

The study sample consisted of 340 participants (N = 340) who completed an online survey designed to examine PSI in podcast listening contexts. Participants were recruited using purposive sampling, with the aim of including individuals who had prior experience in podcast listening and who exhibited varying levels of engagement with podcast content.

Data were collected between 25 May and 1 June 2025 through an online questionnaire administered via Google Forms. Given the exploratory nature of the study, purposive sampling was used to recruit participants who had prior podcast-listening experience and represented varying levels of engagement with podcast content. The survey was distributed through multiple channels, including university student networks and online podcast communities. This strategy increases relevance to digitally active young listeners but limits population representativeness; findings should not be generalised to all podcast audiences.

Participation in the study required prior experience with podcast listening. Rather than imposing a strict frequency threshold, the study intentionally included participants with different levels of podcast consumption to capture variation in parasocial interaction across listening practices. This approach allowed for a more comprehensive examination of PSI in relation to both frequent and occasional listeners.

Participants reported their age through an open-ended question, which was subsequently categorised for analytical purposes. The sample primarily consisted of young adults aged between 18 and 33. This age profile is broadly consistent with previous survey evidence indicating that podcast use tends to be more prevalent among younger adults than among older age groups (Shearer et al., 2023; Edison Research, 2024). This demographic focus enhances the analytical relevance of the study in examining parasocial interaction within contemporary podcast audiences.

Although the sample was not randomly selected, purposive sampling enabled the inclusion of participants with heterogeneous listening practices across different podcast categories, including interview/guest-based, narrative/storytelling, personal development, and comedy/talk podcasts.

Ethics, informed consent and data protection

The study received ethical approval from the ethics committee of Istanbul Atlas University under approval number 25-41 on 16 May 2025. Before beginning the survey, participants were presented with an information statement explaining the purpose of the study, the voluntary nature of participation, the types of data collected, the intended use of the data, and their right to discontinue participation before submitting the questionnaire. Participants provided informed consent electronically by selecting a consent option before accessing the survey questions. Furthermore, data were collected through Google Forms. The form was configured not to collect participants' names, email addresses, or other directly identifying information. Participants were not required to sign into a Google account. Internet Protocol addresses and other potentially identifying metadata were not accessed, downloaded, or included in the analytical dataset. The dataset was exported from Google Forms and stored in password-protected institutional storage accessible only to the research team. Survey responses were used exclusively for research purposes and were analysed in aggregated or anonymised form.

Data analysis

Statistical analyses were conducted using SPSS 29.0 and Python 3.13 with the statsmodels 0.14.6 package. Descriptive statistics were calculated to summarise participants' demographic characteristics, podcast-listening practices, and the distribution of the adapted PSI score.

The adapted PSI score was treated as approximately normally distributed. Its skewness and kurtosis values were .186 and −.808, respectively, and visual inspection of the Q-Q plot indicated no substantial deviation from normality. Although formal normality tests were statistically significant, these results were interpreted cautiously because of their sensitivity in larger samples.

A two-model hierarchical multiple linear regression was conducted with the adapted PSI score as the dependent variable. Model 1 simultaneously included four binary podcast-category indicators-interview/guest-based, narrative/storytelling, personal development, and comedy/talk-coded as 0 = not selected and 1 = selected. Because participants could select multiple categories, these indicators represented overlapping rather than mutually exclusive groups. Model 2 additionally included listening frequency, listening duration, gender, age group, and education level. Categorical covariates were entered using dummy variables. Model fit was evaluated using the omnibus F test, R^2, adjusted R^2, ΔR^2, and the F-change test. Unstandardised and standardised regression coefficients, 95% confidence intervals, and p values were reported for the predictors. Because category indicators were overlapping rather than mutually exclusive, each coefficient is interpreted as the association for selecting that category while accounting for selection of the other focal categories. Multicollinearity among the four category indicators was low in diagnostic checks (all variance inflation factors < 1.20). Given the modest model R-squared values expected for broad self-report category indicators, statistically significant coefficients are interpreted as small associations rather than as strong explanatory effects.

Means and standard deviations of the adapted PSI score were additionally presented for participants selecting each podcast category. Because the categories overlapped, these values were interpreted descriptively rather than as independent-group comparisons. Spearman's rank-order correlations were used to test H2 and address RQ1 by examining the bivariate associations of listening frequency and daily listening duration with the adapted PSI score. Their adjusted associations were additionally evaluated in Model 2 of the hierarchical regression.

As a supplementary analysis, one-way ANOVAs were conducted to examine unadjusted differences in the adapted PSI score across gender, age group, and education level. Levene's tests were used to assess homogeneity of variance, and eta-squared values were reported as effect-size estimates.

The open-ended responses were analysed in an exploratory way. Responses were written in Turkish. After empty and non-informative replies were set aside (for example, *'yok,' 'bilmiyorum,'* or *'en çok dinlediğim yok'*), 229 of the 340 submissions remained. Mean length in the retained set was about 3.07 words (median = 2.0). The text was lightly normalised – trimmed, with repeated spaces collapsed and lowercasing applied for duplicate checks – but not stemmed, and stopwords were not removed. Exact duplicates were collapsed (182 unique strings). Near-duplicates at cosine similarity of 0.92 or higher were then grouped, which

left 164 representations for clustering. Each representation was encoded with paraphrase-multilingual-MiniLM-L12-v2 (Reimers & Gurevych, 2019), a multilingual model suited to short Turkish texts. Embeddings were L2-normalised and compared with cosine similarity. We used k-means (k = 4; random_state = 42; n_init = 20) after checking cosine silhouette values for k = 2 through 5; those values stayed modest (roughly 0.14–0.20), so the clusters are best read as provisional groupings. Labels were assigned in two human coding passes that inspected titles near each centroid as well as additional sampled cases; where the two passes diverged, we kept the more cautious, descriptive label. No generative language model was used to invent themes. Mean pairwise cosine similarity among the four centroids (M = 0.57, SD = 0.15, range = 0.40–0.83) is reported only as a descriptive summary and is read alongside the labelled themes and quotations. One boundary matters for interpretation: the open-ended item asked for the name of the most frequently listened-to podcast, so the themes speak to named listening referents rather than to free-written accounts of parasocial feeling. The procedure does not validate the adapted PSI scale and does not, on its own, establish category-specific semantic regimes.

Results

The analyses were based on 340 valid responses. The sociodemographic characteristics of the sample indicate that it was predominantly composed of young adults. Participants aged 21–26 constituted the largest age group (51.5%), followed by those aged 18–20 (30.6%) and 27–33 (17.9%). Age was initially collected through an open-ended question and subsequently grouped into three intervals for descriptive presentation and group-based statistical analyses.

In terms of gender distribution, 67.1% of participants identified as female and 29.7% as male. The remaining 3.2% selected either another gender category or the option indicating that they preferred not to disclose their gender. Most participants were students (62.4%). With respect to educational attainment, 44.7% reported an undergraduate-level education and 42.1% were high school graduates. The remaining participants reported associate (4.7%), master's (7.1%), or doctoral-level education (1.5%). Overall, the sample was predominantly young, female, and student-based.

The descriptive findings indicate that podcast listening was generally occasional rather than routine. A substantial proportion of participants reported listening to podcasts rarely (38.2%) or a few times per month (22.1%). A further 11.2% reported listening approximately once a week, while 20.9% listened a few times per week and 7.6% listened daily. Thus, although the sample included listeners with varying levels of podcast use, frequent podcast listening was comparatively uncommon.

Daily listening duration was also relatively limited. Most participants (72.6%) reported listening to podcasts for 0–30 minutes per day, while longer daily listening durations were substantially less common. Taken together, these descriptive characteristics indicate that the sample predominantly consisted of occasional and relatively short-duration podcast listeners. This listening profile should be considered when interpreting the subsequent analyses of the associations between listening practices, self-reported podcast-category selection, and the adapted PSI score.

Associations between podcast-category selection and the adapted PSI score

To test H1, a two-model hierarchical multiple regression analysis was conducted. In Model 1, four overlapping podcast-category indicators interview/guest-based, narrative/storytelling, personal development, and comedy/talk were entered simultaneously as binary predictors. Interview/guest-based, narrative/storytelling, and comedy/talk represented the theoretically motivated predictors specified in H1, whereas personal development was included as an additional control predictor. Because participants could select more than one category, the indicators represented overlapping rather than mutually exclusive groups. The coefficients therefore estimate the unique association of each category with the adapted PSI score while accounting for participants' selection of the other focal categories.

Model 1 was statistically significant, $F(4, 335) = 6.65$, $p < .001$, and explained 7.4% of the variance in the adapted PSI score ($R^2 = .074$, adjusted $R^2 = .063$). Interview/guest-based podcast selection was positively associated with the adapted PSI score ($B = .393$, $\beta = .192$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [.173, .614]). Narrative/storytelling selection was also positively associated with the score, although the association was comparatively smaller ($B = .257$, $\beta = .113$, $p = .034$, 95% CI [.020, .493]). Personal development and comedy/talk selection were not statistically significant predictors in Model 1 (Table 1).

Model 2 additionally included listening frequency, daily listening duration, gender, age group, and education level. The fully adjusted model was statistically significant, $F(17, 322) = 2.29$, $p = .003$, and accounted for 10.8% of the variance in the adapted PSI score ($R^2 = .108$, adjusted $R^2 = .061$). However, the addition of the listening-practice and demographic variables did not significantly improve the model, $\Delta R^2 = .034$, F-change$(13, 322) = 0.96$, $p = .495$.

After adjustment, interview/guest-based podcast selection remained positively associated with the adapted PSI score ($B = .377$, $\beta = .184$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [.154, .600]). By contrast, the association for narrative/storytelling selection was attenuated and was no longer statistically significant ($B = .197$, $\beta = .087$, $p = .117$, 95% CI [–.049, .443]). Personal development and comedy/talk selection also remained nonsignificant. Among the adjustment variables, only listening frequency was positively associated with the adapted PSI score ($B = .111$, $\beta = .150$, $p = .016$, 95% CI [.021, .201]); this association is examined further in the section addressing H2.

On this basis, H1 receives only partial support. Interview/guest-based selection retained a positive association with the adapted PSI score in both models. Narrative/storytelling selection mattered before adjustment but not after it, and comedy/talk selection was not significant in either model. The models themselves explain a limited share of variance (Model 1 R^2 = .074; Model 2 R^2 = .108), which fits what one would expect from broad self-report category indicators. Because the design is cross-sectional, the coefficients should be read as associations, not as evidence that choosing a given category produces stronger parasocial engagement.

Table 1:
Associations between podcast-category selection and the adapted PSI score

Predictor	Model 1 B [95% CI]	β	*p*	Model 2 B [95% CI]	β	*p*
Interview/ guest-based	.393 [.173, .614]	.192	< .001	.377 [.154, .600]	.184	< .001
Narrative/ storytelling	.257 [.020, .493]	.113	.034	.197 [−.049, .443]	.087	.117
Personal development	.200 [−.017, .417]	.096	.071	.130 [−.106, .365]	.063	.279
Comedy/talk	.173 [−.053, .400]	.082	.133	.116 [−.118, .349]	.055	.330
Listening frequency	–	–	–	.111 [.021, .201]	.150	.016
Duration: 30–60 minutes	–	–	–	.154 [−.142, .450]	.061	.308
Duration: 1–2 hours	–	–	–	.027 [−.453, .508]	.006	.911
Duration: More than 2 hours	–	–	–	−.131 [−1.047, .784]	−.016	.778
R^2	.074			.108		
Adjusted R^2	.063			.061		
Model F	$F(4, 335) = 6.65, p < .001$			$F(17, 322) = 2.29, p = .003$		
ΔR^2	–			.034		
F change	–			$F(13, 322) = .96, p = .495$		

Notes: N = 340. Model 1 included the four overlapping podcast-category indicators. Model 2 additionally included listening frequency, listening duration, gender, age group, and education level. Demographic coefficients are not displayed for conciseness; none were statistically significant. Podcast-category indicators were coded as 0 = not selected and 1 = selected. Listening frequency was coded from 1 = rarely to 5 = daily. The reference category for listening duration was 0–30 minutes. B = unstandardised regression coefficient; β = standardised regression coefficient; CI = confidence interval.

Source: Compiled by the authors.

Descriptive patterns across podcast categories

To support the interpretation of H1, adapted PSI scores were descriptively examined among participants who selected each podcast category. Because participants could select more than one category, the category groups overlapped and were neither mutually exclusive nor

statistically independent. Accordingly, Table 2 presents descriptive statistics only and does not provide additional tests of between-group differences.

Descriptively, participants selecting narrative/storytelling podcasts had the highest mean adapted PSI score (M = 3.17), followed by those selecting interview/guest-based (M = 3.13), comedy/talk (M = 3.11), and personal development podcasts (M = 3.02).

These differences in category mean they should be interpreted cautiously. The adjusted regression analysis showed that only interview/guest-based podcast selection remained significantly associated with the adapted PSI score after listening-practice and demographic variables were included. Moreover, communicative characteristics potentially associated with these categories, such as narrative continuity, conversational exchange, and recurring host presence, were not directly measured. The descriptive means therefore should not be interpreted as evidence that particular category characteristics independently produce stronger parasocial engagement.

Table 2:
Descriptive adapted PSI scores among podcast-category selectors

Podcast category	n	Mean adapted PSI score	SD
Narrative/storytelling	94	3.17	0.96
Interview/guest-based	194	3.13	0.99
Comedy-talk	124	3.11	1.06
Personal development	134	3.02	0.98

Note: Participants could select more than one podcast category; the category groups therefore overlap and the sample sizes do not sum to the total sample size.

Source: Compiled by the authors.

Listening frequency, listening duration and the adapted PSI score

To test H2 and address RQ1, Spearman's rank-order correlation analysis was conducted to examine the associations between podcast listening frequency, daily listening duration, and the adapted PSI score.

As presented in Table 3, listening frequency showed a weak but statistically significant positive association with the adapted PSI score ($r_s = .201, p < .001$). Because listening frequency was coded from 1 = rarely to 5 = daily, this finding indicates that more frequent podcast listening was associated with higher adapted PSI scores. Accordingly, H2 was supported.

Daily listening duration was not significantly associated with the adapted PSI score ($r_s = .099, p = .069$). Thus, in response to RQ1, no statistically significant association was observed between daily listening duration and the adapted PSI score. These bivariate findings were consistent with the fully adjusted regression model, in which listening frequency remained a significant predictor, whereas listening duration did not.

Because the study used cross-sectional data, the causal direction of the association between listening frequency and the adapted PSI score cannot be determined. More frequent

listening may contribute to stronger parasocial engagement, but individuals experiencing stronger parasocial engagement may also listen to podcasts more frequently.

Table 3:
Spearman correlations between listening practices and the adapted PSI score

Variables	1	2	3
1. Adapted PSI score	1		
2. Listening frequency	.201***	1	
3. Daily listening duration	.099	.406***	1

Notes: N = 340. Listening frequency was coded from 1 = rarely to 5 = daily; higher scores therefore indicate more frequent listening. r_s = Spearman's rank-order correlation coefficient. All tests were two-tailed. ***p < .001. Daily listening duration was coded ordinally from 1 = 0–30 minutes to 4 = more than 2 hours.

Source: Compiled by the authors.

Supplementary analysis of demographic differences in the adapted PSI score

As a supplementary analysis, one-way ANOVAs were conducted to examine whether the adapted PSI score differed across gender, age group, and education level. Gender included four categories: female, male, other, and prefer not to say. Levene's tests were nonsignificant for all analyses ($p > .05$), indicating no evidence of a violation of the homogeneity-of-variance assumption.

No statistically significant differences in the adapted PSI score were observed across gender, $F(3, 336) = 0.423$, $p = .736$, $\eta^2 = .004$; age group, $F(2, 337) = 0.238$, $p = .788$, $\eta^2 = .001$; or education level, $F(4, 335) = 0.289$, $p = .885$, $\eta^2 = .003$. The effect sizes were very small. These supplementary findings were consistent with the fully adjusted regression model, in which the demographic variables were not statistically significant predictors of the adapted PSI score.

Because some gender categories contained relatively few participants, the findings concerning gender should be interpreted cautiously.

Table 4:
Summary of one-way ANOVAs for demographic differences in the adapted PSI score

Variable	Categories (k)	df (between, within)	F	p	η^2
Gender	4	(3, 336)	0.423	.736	.004
Age group	3	(2, 337)	0.238	.788	.001
Education level	5	(4, 335)	0.289	.885	.003

Note: N = 340. Gender included female, male, other, and prefer not to say. Levene's tests were nonsignificant for all analyses ($p > .05$), indicating no evidence of a violation of the homogeneity-of-variance assumption. These analyses were supplementary and were not linked to a separate hypothesis or research question.

Source: Compiled by the authors.

Exploratory analysis of open-ended responses (RQ2)

RQ2 was examined with the Sentence-BERT procedure outlined above. We present this part of the study as exploratory. Respondents had been asked to name the podcast they listened to most often, so the corpus consists of short Turkish titles and host or show names rather than extended personal narratives.

Of 340 submissions, 229 name responses remained after exclusions. Deduplication reduced the set to 182 unique strings, and near-duplicate collapse at cosine ≥ 0.92 left 164 representations for clustering. Average length was 3.07 words (median = 2.0).

We retained a four-cluster solution for reporting (cosine silhouette for k = 4 = 0.144; values for k = 2–5 were similarly modest). Pairwise cosine similarities among the four centroids were M = 0.57 (SD = 0.15), ranging from 0.40 to 0.83. In practical terms, the themes sit near one another without collapsing into a single pattern.

Table 5:
Human-labelled themes from open-ended podcast-name responses

Theme	n	Representative examples
1. Conversational, narrative and reflective titles	70	*Hikaye; Dinler Tarihi; kafaya takmama sanatı*
2. News and current-affairs media titles	10	*Kanal d haber; Cumhuriyet Gazetesi - olaylar ve görüşler; bbc news*
3. Explicit podcast-franchise titles	23	*Genel sesler podcast; Podcastia maceraları; Kalt'ın Podcasti*
4. Short host- or show-name referents	61	*Spor; Erlik; Bekir Develi*

After computational grouping, responses were human-labelled into the following themes:

- Theme 1: conversational, narrative, and reflective titles (n = 70). Many titles pointed toward story, talk, or everyday reflection, the kinds of framing often linked to relational listening. Examples include *'Hikaye'* (Story), *'Dinler Tarihi'* (History of Religion), and 'kafaya takmama sanatı' (The Art of Not Overthinking).
- Theme 2: News and current-affairs media titles (n = 10). Here respondents named news outlets or current-affairs programmes. Examples include *'Kanal d haber', 'Cumhuriyet Gazetesi - olaylar ve görüşler',* and 'bbc news'.
- Theme 3: Explicit podcast-franchise titles (n = 23). These titles either contain the word 'podcast' or clearly mark a named series. The grouping is partly lexical, so we treated it as a naming pattern rather than a deep content theme. Examples include *'Genel sesler podcast', 'Podcastia maceraları',* and *'Kalt'ın Podcasti'.*
- Theme 4: Short host- or show-name referents (n = 61). Many answers were brief host or show names, which suggests that listeners often anchored the later PSI items to a person or brand. Examples include *'Spor', 'Erlik',* and *'Bekir Develi'.*

In answer to RQ2, the open-ended material shows partial semantic proximity across four human-labelled themes, each illustrated with participant examples. Separation among clusters is modest, so we keep the reading cautious. Because respondents supplied podcast names, the themes describe motifs in those named referents; they should not be stretched into a full account of parasocial emotion or host attachment. Neither did we stratify the similarity analysis by podcast category. For that reason, we do not take cosine similarity as evidence that parasocial experience is 'collectively structured', and we read the computational layer as context for, rather than confirmation of, the regression results.

Discussion

On this evidence broad category labels do only limited explanatory work. Interview/guest-based selection continued to be positively associated with the adapted PSI score, yet the association was modest and the other category indicators did not hold as cleanly after adjustment. A fair reading is that parasocial engagement may hinge less on the category label itself than on relational qualities that vary inside those labels, which are qualities we did not measure directly.

The sustained association observed for interview/guest-based podcasts may be interpreted in relation to the interpersonal qualities of podcast listening. The auditory intimacy of podcasts, together with recurring voices and conversational exchange, can foster familiarity and perceived closeness between hosts and listeners (Berry, 2016; Lindgren, 2016; Schlütz & Hedder, 2021). However, because host continuity, conversational style, and perceived intimacy were not directly measured, these explanations should be treated as theoretical interpretations rather than demonstrated mechanisms.

The loss of significance for narrative/storytelling selection after adjustment further demonstrates that descriptive category differences do not necessarily represent independent format effects. Although narrative and storytelling-oriented podcasts are commonly associated with continuity, emotional involvement, and personal voice (Lindgren, 2016; McHugh, 2016), broad category indicators may not adequately capture the specific communicative features through which parasocial engagement develops.

Listening frequency showed a small positive association with the adapted PSI score, whereas daily listening duration did not. This pattern is consistent with the view that regular and repeated exposure may support familiarity and perceived relational continuity (Rubin & McHugh, 1987; Perse & Rubin, 1989). Podcast research similarly indicates that relational motivations, including closeness to hosts and a sense of connection, operate alongside informational and entertainment-oriented motivations (Perks & Turner, 2019; Perks et al., 2019). Nevertheless, the cross-sectional design does not establish whether frequent listening strengthens parasocial engagement or whether more parasocially engaged listeners choose to listen more often.

The limited explanatory power of the regression models suggests that important relational factors were not captured by the study. Perceived authenticity, host self-disclosure, conversational style, listener motivation, identification with the host, and continuity of host

presence may provide more precise explanations than broad category indicators. Future research should therefore measure these characteristics directly.

The Sentence-BERT work remains exploratory. It pointed to partial proximity among four labelled themes (centroid pairwise cosine M = 0.57) and supplied quotations for each. Similarity scores capture closeness among short replies – in this case, podcast names – and therefore neither show that parasocial experience is collectively patterned nor replace a fuller qualitative reading of listener narratives (Reimers & Gurevych, 2019). The firmer empirical claims of the paper are those from the hierarchical regression.

There are several limits then to what can be claimed: the adapted PSI score mixes more momentary, interaction-like items with more enduring relational ones, and we did not collect separate discriminant measures. Category choices could overlap, while the PSI block was oriented toward a named favourite podcast, so the link between category selection and the rated referent is imperfect. Explained variance is modest; even stable coefficients are small associations. The sample leans toward young and student-based and was gathered quickly online, which narrows external validity. The cross-sectional design also leaves open whether frequent listening deepens parasocial engagement or whether already engaged listeners simply listen more. Further research would benefit from more diverse samples, a single shared podcast/host referent across measures, direct indicators of communicative format features, and – where researchers want stronger text claims – open-ended narrative prompts with independent coding.

Conclusion

This study examined the associations between podcast-category selection, listening practices, and podcast-related parasocial engagement. Interview/guest-based podcast selection was positively associated with the adapted PSI score in both regression models, whereas the association for narrative/storytelling selection did not remain significant after adjustment. Personal development and comedy/talk selection were not significant predictors. H1 was therefore partially supported. Listening frequency was positively associated with the adapted PSI score, supporting H2, while daily listening duration was not significantly associated with the score, which addresses RQ1. No significant differences were observed across gender, age, or education.

RQ2 was addressed through an exploratory Sentence-BERT analysis that reported human-labelled themes and quotations. The pattern suggested partial semantic proximity and four recurring motifs, but we keep that reading tentative. The study's firmer conclusions come from the regression associations and stop short of causal claims about unmeasured communicative mechanisms.

In practical terms, the paper offers a transparent survey analysis of category selection and listening practices, set alongside a carefully bounded exploratory reading of open-ended names. We have tried throughout to separate what the data shows from what theory renders plausible. Useful next steps include measuring host self-disclosure, conversational style, narrative continuity, perceived authenticity, and listener motivation more directly;

sampling beyond student-heavy networks; and, when narrative text is available, pairing computational grouping with independent thematic coding.

Appendix

Adapted Parasocial Interaction Scale Items

The questionnaire was administered in Turkish. Participants evaluated each item using a five-point Likert-type response scale ranging from 1 = Strongly disagree to 5 = Strongly agree. The English translations are provided for reporting purposes only and were not administered to participants. Factor loadings were obtained from the exploratory factor analysis conducted on the final study sample (N = 340).

Table 1:
Original Turkish survey items, English translations and factor loadings

Item	Original Turkish survey item	English translation	Factor loading
1	*Podcast sunucusunu tanıdığım biri gibi hissediyorum.*	I feel as though the podcast host is someone I know.	.782
2	*Sunucu konuşurken doğrudan bana sesleniyormuş gibi hissediyorum.*	When the host speaks, I feel as though they are speaking directly to me.	.741
3	*Sunucunun fikirlerine değer veriyorum.*	I value the host's opinions.	.717
4	*Podcast sunucusunu gerçek bir arkadaş gibi görüyorum.*	I regard the podcast host as a real friend.	.825
5	*Sunucunun kişisel yaşamı hakkında daha fazla bilgi edinmek isterim.*	I would like to learn more about the host's personal life.	.716
6	*Sunucuyla bir bağ hissettiğim için bu podcasti tercih ediyorum.*	I prefer this podcast because I feel a connection with the host.	.787
7	*Yeni bir bölüm çıktığında heyecanlanıyorum.*	I feel excited when a new episode is released.	.731
8	*Podcast bittiğinde sanki bir sohbetten ayrılmışım gibi hissediyorum.*	When the podcast ends, I feel as though I have left a conversation.	.684

Notes: Response anchors were 1 = Strongly disagree and 5 = Strongly agree. No items were reverse-coded. Factor loadings are based on a one-factor exploratory factor analysis using principal axis factoring with the final study sample (N = 340). The eight-item measure demonstrated high internal consistency (Cronbach's $\alpha = .91$). Higher scores indicate stronger podcast-related parasocial engagement. The composite score was calculated by averaging the eight items.

Source: Compiled by the authors.

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ARTICLE

Representations of Women and Work in the Nineteenth-century Greek Press

A Communication and Media Perspective

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This article examines the nineteenth-century Greek press as a communicative system through which gendered visibility, meanings of work, and women's public identities were discursively constructed within a non-Anglophone national context. Drawing on qualitative content analysis of three historically significant newspapers (*Aion, Akropolis* and *Empros*), the study explores how women's public presence, professional activity and social roles were framed, constrained, or selectively made visible. The findings show that women were predominantly represented through relational identities linked to men or family structures, while references to autonomous professional activity were rare and fragmented. At the same time, the press gradually incorporated selective forms of female visibility in areas such as education, the arts, philanthropy and socially acceptable occupations, particularly towards the end of the century. By focusing on media discourse, symbolic visibility and communicative practices, the article demonstrates that historical press narratives actively shaped gendered public identity and the symbolic boundaries of women's work, rather than merely reflecting social change.

Keywords: media representations, gender and communication, media discourse, symbolic visibility, women and work, historical press analysis

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Theoretical and historical framework

Mechanisms of representation and gender identity in the nineteenth-century Greek press

The relationship between the press, representation, and the construction of gendered identities constitutes a key field for understanding the formation of the public sphere in the nineteenth century. Prior to examining the ways in which the press constructed and circulated gendered representations, it is necessary to briefly outline the actual forms and conditions of women's economic activity during this period. Women's participation in productive labour was broader in nineteenth-century Greek society than the dominant normative discourse of the time suggested; although its form and social recognition varied significantly according to social class. The construction of bourgeois gender ideology in the newly established Greek state was based on the separation of public and private spheres, assigning women primarily to roles related to the family, moral education and domestic responsibility, even when their contribution to economic life was substantial (Varika, 1987). Among the popular and rural strata, women actively participated in the production process through agricultural work, livestock farming and household crafts, activities that were part of the family economy and rarely recorded as 'professional' employment, despite being crucial for the survival of households (Thanailaki, 2018; Nina-Pazarzi, 2019). At the same time, in urban and semi-urban environments, forms of female wage labour emerged, such as domestic service, work in small crafts, textile processing, or piecework at home, sectors that offered limited and low-paid incomes but nevertheless constituted an important source of economic contribution for women from the lower strata (Hionidou, 2005; Papastefanaki, 2019).

Rather than treating newspapers solely as historical sources, this article considers the press to have been a communicative space in which gendered meanings were produced, circulated and normalised through everyday discourse.

Our main thesis is that the Greek press of the period was not limited to the official roles ascribed to it by journalists, publishers and media institutions, such as: informing the public, safeguarding democratic function, objectively shaping the agenda, and providing education and entertainment. On the contrary, it operated as a mechanism for the construction of social reality and in determining norms regarding gender, work and the position of women in society.

Through choices in discourse, agenda, topic selection, news prioritisation and symbolic silences, the press established a framework that produced not only stereotypes but also boundaries on how women's presence in the public sphere was perceived to be 'legitimate' and 'acceptable' (Hall, 1997; Couldry, 2003).

The analysis examines how communicative practices such as naming, framing, omission, and narrative positioning contributed to constructing women's public identity and the symbolic boundaries of work (Hall, 1997; Bourdieu, 1991; Entman, 1993; Goffman, 1974).

Gender representations in the media of the era highlight the close connection between traditional forms of power and the everyday practices of women's subordination, gender-based professional segregation, and the exclusion of women from various areas of life.

The depiction of various female figures as moral exemplars, family anchors, instruments of national cohesion, or potential threats to the social order was not solely a state-driven

ideological construct; it also functioned as a broader mechanism regulating the types of work, participation, and public visibility considered appropriate for the gender. Figures such as Queen Amalia, celebrated in ceremonial reports; cultural figures like the poet Aimée Landauer,[1] whose work was interpreted through gendered aesthetic norms; and activists such as Callirhoe Parren,[2] alternately recognised and mocked in the press, illustrate how newspapers assigned symbolic roles to women within the public discourse. In this context, the symbolic erasure of women, the systematic reproduction and, when useful, reinvention of gender stereotypes, along with the selective amplification of particular forms of female presence, operated as core mechanisms through which the media actively shaped social reality (Bourdieu, 1991).

The analysis gains further depth when we consider the distinction between the public and private spheres of Greek society in the nineteenth century. The public sphere, where professional and political action occurred, and the private sphere in which family and domestic practices prevailed, largely determined the limits of women's presence and legitimate participation in public activities.

However, despite their normative character, the media of the time did not function solely to reproduce traditional power. Even the deeply patriarchal press of the nineteenth century inadvertently left openings through which discourses emerged that articulated concerns, forms of resistance, and challenges to established gender hierarchies (Varika, 1987).

At the same time, the emergence of exclusively women's publications contributed significantly to the expansion of this field, providing institutionalised opportunities for women's discourse and self-representation.[3]

The coexistence of these contradictions requires a theoretically grounded approach that connects this historical moment to perspectives on the media as fields of production and power, while engaging with feminist analysis.

The origins of this critical inquiry into the representation of women and the construction of gender roles in public discourse can be traced to the early works of Wollstonecraft (1792), Fuller (1845), and Mill (1869), who addressed issues of education, autonomy and the social position of women.

1 Aimée Landauer was a nineteenth-century French poet whose work attracted the attention of the Greek press. Her reception in Greece exemplifies how foreign women's intellectual production was filtered through specific gendered and romantic aesthetic norms, framing female creativity within the idealised boundaries of European literary culture of the period (see Landauer, 1884; for a broader discussion of the gendered constraints on French women's writing in this era, see Finch, 2000).

2 While widely recognised as Greece's pioneering feminist activist and a significant intellectual and literary figure, Parren was also targeted by conservative contemporary newspapers. The press frequently used satire and mockery to undermine her campaign for women's suffrage and professional emancipation (Varika, 1987).

3 This study does not address the women's press or the distinctly autonomous female public sphere that began to emerge during the period through early women's magazines and newspapers (*Eurydice* in the 1850s, *Kypseli* in the 1860s, *Ephemeris ton Kyrion* in the 1880s), the formation of women's clubs, and the initial organised expressions of the women's movement in the second half of the nineteenth century. These publications are excluded because they constitute a distinct communicative field in which women themselves produced discourse and articulated claims about education, work and social rights. The present study focuses instead on the representation of women within the mainstream press, where female identities and forms of work were constructed primarily through male-dominated editorial frameworks. Nevertheless, it is important to recognise that these developments were already taking shape and generating their own discursive frameworks throughout the period under examination (Varika, 1987).

From the 1960s onwards, feminist media theory developed comprehensive approaches to the mechanisms by which representations were constructed, rather than simply reflected gender identities. Friedan (1963), Tuchman (1978), Mulvey (1975), McRobbie (1991) and Hooks (1992) highlighted different, often complementary, aspects of the relationship between media, power and gender. Internationally, the nineteenth-century press had already developed the figure of the 'New Woman' as a symbol of modernisation and social anxiety. Studies by Marks (1990), Tusan (1998) and Stetz (2001) showed that the press did not simply record changes but actively constructed them, transforming the body, fashion, mobility, and work into ideological tools for disciplining and demarcating the female role. Through these signifiers, the press produced divisions between 'legitimate' and 'threatening' forms of femininity, thus mediating the social tensions caused by women's increasing public presence. At the same time, other researchers, such as Sachsman et al. (2009), emphasised that the representation of women in the media cannot be separated from the racial and class connotations that intersect the female experience. While these intersectional dimensions have been widely explored in international scholarship, this study focuses primarily on gendered representations and the meanings attributed to women's work within the specific historical and cultural context of nineteenth-century Greece. In the Greek context, despite substantial historical and sociological research on women's presence and the mechanisms of cultural circulation (Doulkeri, 1990; Konstantinidou, 1997; Anagnostopoulou, 2007; Nina-Pazarzi & Tsangaris, 2008; Anagnostopoulou et al., 2013; Kontaxi, 2020), significant gaps remain with regard to the way the press in the nineteenth century – following the establishment of the Greek state – constructed and attributed meaning to the notion of women's work. Newspapers and periodicals defined this notion much more narrowly than contemporary scholarship, which conceptualises work as a multidimensional field encompassing domestic, waged, educational, emotional and moral forms of labour. It is within this broader analytical framework that we situate our approach.

Building on this framework, the analysis traces how women's work was made visible, silenced, or re-signified across different press formats and historical periods. It examines how women's work was presented or suppressed, highlighting the role of the press in constructing the earliest forms of public female identity in nineteenth-century Greece. In this way, it sheds light on the mechanisms that gradually shaped the possibilities and limits of women's presence in social space.

Historical context of the Greek press

The history of the Greek press begins in the Greek diaspora communities, where printed material primarily served to disseminate ideas and shape political and cultural identity, long before the formal establishment of the Greek state in the early 1830s. After the Greek state was established, the press continued with the enlightening tradition of the diaspora communities, initially functioning mainly as a means of disseminating ideas, political articles and literary discourse, rather than as a purely news mechanism (Droulia, 2005).

During the nineteenth century, a vibrant publishing movement developed, with important political newspapers such as *Athena* and *Αιον*. Towards the 1880s, however,

a decisive shift occurred: journalism became mass-oriented, adopting modern standards and technological innovations, such as systematic reporting and commercialisation, transforming the newspaper into a product of mass consumption. This transition was marked by the typical end of the century urban newspapers that decisively shaped the public sphere and the national ideology of the era, including *Ephemeris ton Kyrion, Estia, Akropolis, Empros* and *Skrip* (Droulia, 2005). Notably, at that time, the publication of the Ladies' Newspaper *(Ephemeris ton Kyrion)* built on earlier female publishing initiatives and distinguishing itself by its relatively broad circulation, continuity, and systematic engagement with gender issues, thereby consolidating women's voices within the Greek press and opening a new thematic period that significantly shaped public discourse on women's work and social status (Varika, 1987).

This article – considering the historical development of the press outlined above – conducts a qualitative analysis of selected samples to illuminate the portrayal of the presence and work of women during the transition from the traditional political press to mass journalism. More specifically, we will examine the representative newspapers *Aion* (as a sample from the first half of the century), *Akropolis* and *Empros* (as samples of the newer, news-based press) from the mid to late nineteenth century.

Methodological framework for the study of representations of women in the press

The selection of newspapers reflects the historical transformation of the Greek press during the nineteenth century, from early political newspapers to the more commercially oriented mass press that emerged at the end of the century.

For this study, three samples from the newspapers *Aion, Akropolis* and *Empros* were examined to explore the presence and representation of women in the Greek press from the mid to late nineteenth century. These newspapers were selected primarily on the basis of the availability and accessibility of archival material for the periods under examination, which enabled the analysis of consistent sets of issues from each publication.

Twenty-five issues from each newspaper were selected from specific chronological periods of the nineteenth century. As the newspapers examined were daily publications, each year contained several hundred issues. The sample, therefore, is not intended to represent the entire annual output statistically, but to provide a manageable corpus suitable for qualitative analysis. The selected issues were drawn from continuous publication periods to capture recurring patterns of representation within each newspaper. The selection was intended to provide indicative snapshots of press discourse at different points in the century, rather than to construct a continuous chronological series. The aim is not to compare the newspapers as equivalent cases, but to examine how representations of women appear across different phases in the historical development of the Greek press.

- Aion (1834–1843)
- Akropolis (1883–1885)
- Empros (1896–1899)

The chronological gap between the first and second samples reflects the limitations of available archival material rather than a deliberate attempt to establish a continuous comparison across the entire period. Nevertheless, the selected samples allow for the examination of representations of women in the Greek press at different historical moments of the nineteenth century, including the early decades of the Greek state and the more developed press environment of the late nineteenth century.

The number of issues per newspaper was considered sufficient to identify recurring patterns of female presence in the press, such as references to women in domestic roles, reports on women's participation in economic activities, or moral commentaries on women's social conduct, without compromising the depth of qualitative analysis. This approach follows established qualitative research traditions in media and discourse analysis, prioritising analytical depth and discursive saturation rather than statistical representativeness (Miles et al., 2014; Saldaña, 2016).

In each issue, all references to women were systematically recorded, regardless of text type or section.[4] The process included indexing every mention of a female name or collective reference to women within a press environment overwhelmingly dominated by male figures and roles.

The collected material formed the basis for a qualitative content analysis focusing on:

- the presence or absence of women in newspaper pages
- the ways in which women appear and the social or professional roles attributed to them
- women's relationship to work in a broad sense, from domestic and informal labour to socially recognised professional roles
- the evaluative charge of descriptions used to frame women in selected article texts

The analysis did not rely on predetermined coding schemes with standardised categories. Instead, the analytical categories and characterisations emerged inductively from the texts themselves, following the semantic units and contextual frameworks of each reference. This approach allowed for an interpretively flexible reading of the material, sensitive to the complexity of historical press discourse.

In the final stage, the study's theoretical questions were developed in relation to the analysed material, enabling a mapping of the ways in which the nineteenth-century Greek press defined, constrained, or highlighted the presence of women within public discourse.

4 It should be noted that for serialised novels published in newspapers, female characters were included in the corpus, but their professions, public roles, or relationship to work were not evaluated. This omission is due to the fictional nature of these narratives, which were often set in earlier periods, and cannot be assumed to reflect contemporary social conditions. The study therefore confines its analysis to representations found in journalistic content, including editorial and opinion articles, news reports, classified advertisements and commercial advertising, which can reasonably be interpreted as indicative of actual social realities.

Representations of women and work in the Greek press of the nineteenth century: Qualitative analysis and historical comparison

Analysis of the newspaper Aion: Gendered visibility in early Greek press

The *Aion* newspaper, examined here for the years 1838–1843, was a Greek political newspaper founded in 1838 by the historian Ioannis Philemonas and published in Athens. It is generally associated with the Russian Party, which represented the most conservative of the 'foreign parties' of the period, emphasising the centrality of Orthodoxy in social order and expressing scepticism towards Western educational and political influences (Koumarianou, 2008; Petropulos, 1968).

Although its ideological foundations were conservative, particularly with regard to the social hierarchy, the newspaper's political stance was more complex: its articles often adopted a strongly critical tone towards governmental arbitrariness and advocated constitutional reform and parliamentary principles. This juxtaposition of ideological conservatism and political radicalism reflects the broader tensions and contradictions of the era (Koumarianou, 2008; Mayer, 1957).

The analysis of twenty-five issues of *Aion* revealed a relatively consistent pattern. Clear references to women or related topics appear in just sixteen issues, approximately 64% of the sample, and even in these, the mentions are sparse, never exceeding four per issue. This percentage is presented as an indicative measure for *Aion* only and is not intended as a direct quantitative comparison with the other newspapers examined, whose analysis in this study remains primarily qualitative. Such references are typically limited to brief notices, such as mentions of members of the royal family, obituaries, wedding announcements, or occasional real estate listings identifying a woman as the seller.

From a communicative perspective, this scarcity does not merely indicate absence but serves as a form of symbolic exclusion, through which women's social presence was marginalised in the public discourse of the press (Tuchman, 1978).

In any case, the recording of instances where a woman is directly presented as a worker, or professional, is rare. Such reports remain isolated and unsystematic, resulting in a highly fragmented or even non-existent picture of women's (professional) work in the sample.

If we examine the material thematically, certain patterns emerge. First, the women who appear in the public sphere generally hold the highest positions in the social hierarchy. Frequent references to Queen Amalia of Greece and other foreign royal women suggest that early forms of female visibility in the press were mediated by class and elite forms of symbolic authority. In this context, it can be argued that Queen Amalia served as a key representational presence within the early Greek press: her public visibility supported broader nation-building processes, mobilised symbolic power around the monarchy, and reinforced the press's role in shaping the representational politics of the newly established Greek state.

Second, a woman's identity is often defined linguistically through her relationship to a man – as a wife, daughter, sister, or widow – which limits her individual visibility. Such naming practices anchor women's public visibility to male-centred reference points, limiting the emergence of autonomous female subjectivity in press discourse.

Third, although this type of journalism is limited, when women appear outside the context of the court or social ceremonies, they usually appear as victims or objects of news, whether in relation to criminal incidents, tragedies, or obituaries. In short, their presence in the news column is often associated with pain, violence, or mourning. Such representational patterns suggest that women entered press communication mainly through narratives of vulnerability and loss, reinforcing a gendered logic of newsworthiness that positioned female presence as exceptional and dependent, rather than active or productive.

Fourth, public discourse occasionally addressed issues related to the education of girls. Reports mention meetings of educational institutions and calls for the establishment of girls' schools, indicating that female schooling was, to some extent, a topic of public discussion. Yet even in these cases, the emphasis is on the 'usefulness' and 'moral benefits' of education as a privilege for future mothers, rather than on the autonomy, cognitive development, social mobility, and public participation that education could offer to women.

Even when women are recorded in legal or commercial documents, the entries often describe them as, for example, 'Pagona, widow and wife of...' or 'Anneta, wife of...', so that even economic activities are referenced through male identities rather than as independent public presences.

At the level of work representation, the conclusion is clear and concise: between 1838 and 1843, women are rarely presented as autonomous professionals or as agents of economic action in the *Aion* newspaper. Where work or occupation is mentioned, it is usually in the context of general or family statistics, medical or demographic data – such as notes on maternal mortality or occasional references to girls' education – detailed descriptions of women's occupations are very rarely, if ever, recorded. Consequently, the public image of women in the sample is mainly directed towards the roles of wife, mother, or feminine presence in high society, or appears as a victim in isolated news cases, while their image as independent working subjects is practically absent from the printed material.

If one considers the extent to which the image projected by the newspaper agrees with broader historiography and available sources, a brief overview shows that these patterns are indeed typical. Amalia of Oldenburg, Queen of Greece and consort of King Otto, for example, has been recorded in research as a powerful public figure who arguably set symbolic standards, as references to her travels and ceremonies in newspapers correspond to her reception as a national symbol (Macha-Bizoumi, 2012).

At the same time, the discussion on the organisation of the education of girls and the creation of relevant institutions in the mid-nineteenth century is historically documented, and references to educational initiatives correspond to the emergence of public interest in the educational destiny of girls (Koutsoulenti, 2005).

Furthermore, the general function of newspapers of the time as places where women appear mainly in social columns, obituaries and advertisements, rather than as protagonists of political or economic news, is also confirmed by the relevant bibliography (Psarra, 2008).

Finally, the practice of identifying women through their relationships with men in official records and publications has a clear socio-legal background and appears as a consistent pattern in nineteenth-century documents (Psarra, 2008).

Although the newspaper symbolically confined women to the domestic sphere, it failed to recognise motherhood, marriage and household labour as productive activities

that contributed to the development of the Greek economy and society. This approach is analytically reductive: by privileging paid work and market-based exchange, it obscures forms of labour that remain unpaid, invisible, or socially undervalued, such as domestic work, care and motherhood (Hochschild, 1983; Beechey, 1988; Federici, 2004). This exclusion operated at the level of discourse, as unpaid reproductive labour remained outside the symbolic economy of press communication and therefore outside the boundaries of socially recognised work.

This gap becomes even more pronounced when contrasted with the lived reality of rural Greek women, who combined agricultural labour with domestic responsibilities and formed an indispensable, yet largely unacknowledged, pillar of nineteenth-century agricultural production (Varika, 1987). At the same time, the near absence of any references to such everyday forms of labour in the newspaper suggests that the press only deemed the actions of exceptional or socially elevated female figures newsworthy, while rendering ordinary female work largely invisible. In this sense, the newspaper's representations are fully aligned with the dominant gender ideology of the period: rather than challenging prevailing assumptions, they confirm and reproduce the normative expectations through which women's work was rendered socially peripheral and symbolically secondary.

The roles and forms of visibility attributed to women in the newspaper thus reflect, reinforce, and circulate the dominant social and cultural understandings of gender in early nineteenth-century Greece.

Analysis of the Akropolis newspaper: Press orientation and partial female visibility

Akropolis was founded in Athens in 1883 by Vlasis Gavriilidis and quickly became one of the most influential Athenian dailies of the late nineteenth century. Associated with progressive and demoticist positions,[5] the paper advocated linguistic and educational reforms and often took a reformist stance on social issues. In contrast to several established conservative titles of the period, *Akropolis* adopted a modernising editorial approach and sought to broaden the newspaper's content by publishing extended reports, interviews and cultural commentary, practices that helped establish the paper as a forum for public debate and cultural renewal (Papadimitriou, 2008; Droulia, 2005; Mayer, 1957).

Analysis of twenty-five issues reveals a complex, although limited, pattern of female visibility. Women seldom appear as fully autonomous social actors; their representation remains relational, framed primarily in connection to men or family structures. Elite figures, particularly the Queen of Greece and foreign monarchs or aristocrats, dominate references, reflecting the newspaper's focus on socially prominent women. Nevertheless, *Akropolis* demonstrates broader engagement with female presence than preceding publications, with

5 The term demoticist refers to positions supporting the use of the Demotic Greek language in education, administration and public life, as opposed to Katharevousa (a learned, purist form of Greek), and is historically associated with progressive, reformist and modernising movements in Greek intellectual and political life from the late nineteenth century onwards (Mackridge, 2009).

mentions of everyday women (that is, women outside royal, aristocratic, or culturally prominent circles) appearing in nearly every issue, albeit usually in a secondary or indirect manner.

From a communicative perspective, this increased visibility does not necessarily indicate a neutral or emancipatory representation, but rather a reorganisation of gendered visibility within the evolving logic of press discourse. Women's visibility in professional and public domains is largely concentrated in roles associated with performance and artistic production, such as singers, actresses and troupe leaders, and in conventional occupations in teaching or the garment industry. Rare instances depict women as independent economic agents, for example, as proprietors of businesses recruiting female labour, challenging contemporary gendered labour boundaries (*Akropolis,* 26.6.1884, p. 4). These representations suggest a form of selective professional visibility, in which women's participation in public life was communicatively framed as acceptable only within specific moral, cultural and social boundaries (Van Zoonen, 2000).

Additional references to women excelling in education, organising charitable activities, or engaging in the arts suggest the emergence of a mediated framework recognising educated and socially active women, albeit selectively. An illustrative example from the analysed material is the reference to the poet Aimée Landauer, which highlights the ideological limits of female representation in *Akropolis.* Notably, the figure discussed is not a Greek woman but a foreign literary figure, a fact that made her presence in the newspaper more acceptable within the cultural framework of the period. References to foreign female artists often allowed the press to acknowledge women's intellectual activity while keeping it symbolically distant from the Greek social context. Within this framework, the newspaper emphasised her youth, beauty, and emotional sensitivity rather than the intellectual content of Laundauer's work, framing her poetry through gendered aesthetic norms.

> *...the poet, but she is probably not a poet, but a poetess, a young girl and certainly beautiful, because the muses are not ugly, and her name is dear Aimee Landauer. Miss Landauer's poetry has the colour and scent of violets, full of delicacy, nobility and soul. The poems of the young girl are rather philosophical studies or sentiments, murmurs of erotic elegies. But deep down, her philosophy is always done through the heart. Many of her inspirations refer to Italy, most of the themes of her verses are distinguished from the masculine in a subdued and very fortunate way...* (*Akropolis,* 9.5.1884, p. 1).

Even when acknowledged as philosophical, Landauer's poetry is interpreted primarily as emotional expression, reinforcing the idea that female creativity must conform to socially sanctioned notions of femininity. This example highlights how *Akropolis* legitimised female cultural contributions selectively, sustaining patriarchal norms even while ostensibly celebrating talent. This framing demonstrates how cultural recognition operated communicatively through gendered aesthetic criteria, shaping the boundaries of legitimate female authorship in press discourse.

Women are more frequently featured in reports of private life, weddings, deaths, social events, or family affairs, yet the focus remains on the family unit, with the man serving as the primary reference point. Female presence is recorded primarily as wife, daughter, or mother, rather than as independent subjects. Education, labour and social reform are

addressed cautiously, and women are seldom permitted to emerge as autonomous agents within these discussions.

Even when *Akropolis* referred to women's responsibilities in the home and family care, these tasks were framed as natural obligations rather than as labour with measurable value. The newspaper did not acknowledge these practices as part of the broader economy of social reproduction or as essential foundations enabling waged work.

Overall, female representation in *Akropolis* operates within what can be termed visible invisibility: women are present in the newspaper, yet their public identities are framed relationally, while their unpaid domestic labour, despite its economic and social value, and their professional, intellectual or civic contributions are marginalised. The editorial logic consistently conveys the social position of women through male counterparts, reinforcing dominant gender ideologies even when the thematic scope allows broader visibility.

Placing these patterns within the broader socio-historical context confirms that the newspaper's approach aligned with evolving, though still limited, public discourses. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the first wave of the Greek women's movement emerged, primarily led by middle-class women advocating liberal reforms, suffrage and access to professional roles. New communicative platforms, such as the women's periodical *Eurydice* (1870), introduced feminist discourses from Western Europe, calling for equality in education and employment. Subsequent organisations, including the Ladies' Association for the Education of Women (1872) and the Union for the Emancipation of Women (1894), further expanded women's organised presence in the public sphere (Stamiris, 1986).[6]

Taken together, these developments indicate that the representations of women in *Akropolis* were not anomalous, but part of a broader ideological landscape in which media narratives, gendered visibility, and nascent feminist claims intersected to shape nineteenth-century public discourse.

However, despite its editorial openness to modernising reforms, the newspaper largely reinforced patriarchal structures: women were present and partially visible, but their representation remained constrained by relational, domestic and gendered frameworks, limiting the construction of fully autonomous female subjects in the public sphere. Even when female achievement was acknowledged, it was filtered through criteria of beauty, delicacy and social propriety, showing that *Akropolis,* like much of the contemporary media, upheld the cultural and ideological prerogatives of patriarchy.

Analysis of the newspaper Empros: Mass press and mediated visibility of women

Empros, founded in Athens in 1896 by Dimitrios Kalapothakis, is a significant example of the late nineteenth-century development of the Greek press. The paper contributed to

6 Historical studies on women's participation in the arts in nineteenth-century Greece (Gotsi, 2018; Georgiadou-Kountouras, 2000; Helioti-Scholinaki, 1990), as well as systematic research on women's charitable foundations of the period (Kladou-Kranidioti, 1996), show that the forms of female social presence mentioned in the press were not isolated but part of broader trends towards the empowerment of women's activity in various fields.

the expansion of journalistic practices by publishing more varied reporting and literary material, and by incorporating advertising into its financing and distribution strategy. Its public interventions combined engagement with nationalist causes and an editorial orientation that embraced elements of modernising discourse, a communicative mix that helped shape public discussion and perceptions during a formative phase of Greek mass media (Droulia, 2005; Mayer, 1957).

A detailed analysis of the issues shows a notable increase in the mediated visibility of women compared to earlier newspapers.

From a communication perspective, this increase reflects both quantitative expansion and qualitative reconfiguration of mediated visibility within the emerging logic of mass press communication.

Female names frequently appear with relational designations such as 'wife', 'daughter', or 'sister', often linked to men of professional or social prominence. For example, in a report about a fire, alongside other properties, the house of the widow A. Davaroukas is mentioned (*Empros,* 12.12.1896, p. 3). Such naming practices serve communicative functions by anchoring female visibility within male-centred reference frameworks, thereby limiting the construction of autonomous female subjectivity in press discourse.

While *Empros* occasionally mentioned women in roles of domestic management and support for dependants, it refrained from attributing any economic significance to these forms of unpaid activity. This omission functioned discursively, placing unpaid reproductive labour outside the symbolic economy of press communication and thus beyond the boundaries of socially recognised work. The newspaper treated these activities as peripheral to productive labour, ignoring their pivotal role in sustaining the conditions upon which paid employment depends.

Elite figures, including the Queen of Greece and members of royal or aristocratic circles, continued to occupy a central place in the newspaper's representations. References to Greek elite women, such as Princess Sophia of Greece, Princess Maria of Greece, and the soprano Elvida Gouida, appear alongside mentions of prominent foreign figures, including European royal women such as Princess Alexandra of the House of Coburg, the historical figure Catherine II of Russia, Queen Victoria of England, and Queen Regent Maria Christina of Spain. The prominence of such figures indicates the persistence of symbolic hierarchies in mediated representation, whereby women's visibility in the press remained strongly associated with aristocratic status, cultural distinction, or dynastic power.

At the same time, *Empros* constructed broader frameworks for female professional identities, reflecting an expanded narrative space for women in the public sphere. Women appear in artistic professions such as actresses, sopranos, musicians, as well as in educational roles such as teachers and girls' school headmistresses. Technical and artisanal work, including seamstresses, weavers and shop employees, is represented in advertisements alongside commercial and specialised professions that challenge prevailing gender norms, such as the Swiss watchmaker (*Empros,* 16.11.1897, p. 4) and dentist Eliza Gasser (*Empros,* 30.12.1899, p. 4).

Classified advertisements reinforce this mediated visibility, detailing professional credentials, as in the case of Antonia Fragkia, whose midwifery training and certifications are documented (*Empros,* 11.12.1899, p. 4).

The newspaper's engagement with the women's movement and figures such as Callirhoe Parren reveals a complex discursive positioning, with some articles disparaging or employing irony, for example, in depicting the movement as divided between 'masculine' perceptions and 'genuinely Greek' positions, or mocking women's participation in rallies (*Empros,* 10.1.1897, p. 1; *Empros,* 2.12.1896, p. 2). Others acknowledge Parren's work in an institutional, authoritative context, such as a promotional article for *Ephemeris ton Kyrion* (*Empros,* 5.1.1899, p. 3). This contrast reflects a deliberate narrative construction in which the press selectively mediates female visibility, integrating it into socially acceptable frameworks while containing its potentially disruptive implications. Such discursive management demonstrates the role of the press in regulating ideological tension through communicative strategies such as framing, irony and selective recognition (Entman, 1993; Hall, 1980).

Empros also highlights women's social and cultural contributions, reporting on school activities, charitable and social-action organisations such as 'Ergane Athena' (named after Athena Ergane, the goddess associated with crafts and labour) and 'Megali Enosis ton Ellinidon' (Great Union of Greek Women), as well as women's participation in artistic life. These representations indicate a gradual expansion of the mediated public sphere, to the point where female creativity and civic engagement become visible. Coverage of private life, for example, of weddings, deaths and family events remains significant, yet women are primarily contextualised through relational identities or male-centred social networks.

From the late nineteenth century, the Greek women's movement experienced significant growth, mainly driven by middle-class women progressively consolidating their public presence and influence in education, professional activity and social reform. The admission of the first female student to the University of Athens in 1890 signalled a landmark institutional opening, reflecting and reinforcing these broader discursive transformations (Varika, 1987). While industrialisation in Greece was modest, artisanal growth and urbanisation created new employment opportunities, and the rise of mass literacy alongside women's journals increased the visibility of women as professionals, consumers and cultural figures in the media.

Empros functioned as an active site of ideological circulation, shaping representations of women through framing and narrative selection. Its construction of female identity reveals a duality: it registers modernity and public participation, yet simultaneously reproduces relational and patriarchal definitions. Although references to women remain infrequent overall, there is a noticeable, albeit limited, presence in certain professional, artistic, and civic roles previously absent from the press. Even in these cases, the newspaper mediates women's activities through male or social reference points, constraining their autonomy within the journalistic narrative.

Thus, while *Empros* documents and occasionally highlights women's emerging roles, this visibility remains conditional and selective. The press amplifies certain aspects of female agency, yet continues to frame women within traditional social hierarchies. Despite incremental recognition of women's contributions in new professional and public domains, the newspaper's editorial stance reinforces patriarchal norms: female presence is acknowledged, but independence, authority, and full participation in the public sphere remain limited. In other words, women's representation in *Empros* illustrates a form of conditional visibility, where modest progress coexists with enduring ideological constraints. This conditional visibility underscores the role of mass press communication not only in reflecting social

change but also in actively structuring the terms under which female participation became intelligible within the public sphere.

Conclusions concerning the representations of women and the limits on public action apparent in the Greek press of the nineteenth century

These findings should be interpreted as indicative of broader shifts in press culture across the nineteenth century, rather than as direct comparisons between individual newspapers. Throughout the nineteenth century, the image of women in the Greek press remained closely linked to the social and political context of a newly established country seeking to form a national identity and social order. In the first decades after Independence, women appeared rarely, and when they did, their visibility was mainly limited to family roles as wives, daughters, or sisters of socially recognised men, without personal or professional autonomy.

The *Aion* newspaper primarily presented women as symbolic figures of the family or the state, exemplified by the Queen, while ordinary women appeared only occasionally at social events such as weddings and funerals, or in their roles as mothers.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the *Axropolis* newspaper began to refer to young women attending schools or educational institutions. This development can be linked to the real increase in female employment in Greece that resulted from urbanisation, women's access to education and vocational schools, the activities of the first women's movements, changes in family and social structure, and international cultural influences. At the same time, the limited development of industry and crafts contributed to the expansion of their professional opportunities.

Women began to appear in professions deemed socially 'appropriate', such as 'feminine' manual work, teaching, nursing, or work in welfare institutions. Newspapers presented them positively, emphasising their moral and socially acceptable contributions, while stereotyping remained strong.

Their public activity was limited and relative, not equal to that of men, and professional recognition was confined to a few fields. At the end of the century, the newspaper *Empros* portrayed a more fluid image, with women appearing under their full names and with descriptions of their qualifications and skills. At the same time, the press continued to be highly caustic towards women's emancipation and to reproduce traditional patriarchal ideology through its themes, news hierarchy, language and symbolic silences.

Women's public recognition remained limited and relative, never approaching the extent of male presence in work, education, or politics. This development shows a gradual but measured shift from the almost exclusively familial and private presence of women in the press towards an image that recognises their education, qualifications and professional activity, without significantly exceeding the boundaries of gender inequality.

The press functioned both as a reflection of social changes and as a vehicle for reproducing the patriarchal norms that defined nineteenth-century Greek society, simultaneously restricting women's professional advancement and marginalising forms of labour traditionally associated with social reproduction, such as child-rearing, domestic work, caregiving

for the elderly or dependent family members, and the emotional support that sustains a household. Across all three newspapers examined, these unpaid forms of domestic and caregiving work were never treated as labour with economic significance; instead, they were consistently excluded from the realm of socially valued production, reinforcing the broader ideological framework that separated women's reproductive roles from the recognised economy of paid work.

In conclusion, analysis of the nineteenth-century Greek press shows that newspapers did not simply mirror social reality but acted as active mechanisms in constructing gendered public identity, determining which forms of work were socially recognised and shaping perceptions of women's participation in the public sphere.

The findings can be interpreted in light of communication theories that emphasise the structuring role of media in shaping public meaning. In particular, they are consistent with perspectives such as Cultivation Theory (Gerbner et al., 1986), Agenda-Setting (McCombs & Shaw, 1972), and Framing Theory (Entman, 1993), which suggest that media contribute to defining which social actors and activities become visible and how they are interpreted. At the same time, it is situated within the framework of social constructivism (Berger & Luckmann, 1966) and feminist media theories (Van Zoonen, 2000; Santoniccolo et al. 2023), which show that representations of women's work are not neutral but mediate social power relations, reproducing or challenging stereotypes. Although these theories were originally developed in relation to broadcast media, their analytical logic remains applicable to historical press cultures as long-term systems of symbolic exposure and meaning-making.

From a communication perspective, these findings underscore the role of the press as a structuring force in public meaning, actively defining the symbolic boundaries of work, legitimacy and gendered participation, rather than merely reporting social change.

Through their continued selection of topics, prioritisation of news, and the ways in which women were presented, often through subtle or indirect references linked to male identities, newspapers set boundaries and examples for what was considered 'legitimate', 'acceptable', or 'morally desirable' for women's work.

In other words, the nineteenth-century press was a crucial tool in cultivating, reproducing and reconstructing gendered reality, creating frameworks of understanding and norms for women's work that contributed to the gradual shaping of women's social visibility and limitations in contemporary Greece.

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ARTICLE

Let's Talk about Gender and Leadership

Women Leaders' Experiences on the Croatian Business Portal *Women in Adria*

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Global statistics confirm a growing number of women in leadership roles, yet gender gaps and underrepresentation persist. This paper reviews feminist literature addressing traditional, contemporary and alternative leadership models, noting that leadership is still predominantly conceptualised through traditional gender categories. Compared to men, women face many gender-based barriers and challenges in developing their leadership careers. In Croatia, efforts to increase gender equality and promoting gender awareness in the business sector are visible through the specialised online portal *Women in Adria.* The paper analyses mediated meanings and experiences of leadership, gendered challenges, and inequalities in the business sector from the perspective of women leaders from different industries and sectors. A thematic analysis of 38 articles published on the portal in 2024 identified four key themes: women on the leadership path, forms of gender (in)equality, work–life (im)balance and motherhood.

Keywords: leadership, gender, gendered barriers, thematic analysis, Women in Adria

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Introduction

Historically, women have been excluded from leadership positions, so there is still a 'tendency to view leadership synonymously with men' (Watterston & Ehrich, 2024, p. 162). Today, more than ever before in history, women have the opportunity to attain positions of leadership (Keohane, 2020; Madsen, 2017) but the 'gender gap in leadership is a persistent issue' (Women's Resource Centre, s. a.). Although global statistics indicate an increase in the number of women in leadership positions, much research indicates the underrepresentation of women in high-level positions, as well as the persistence of gender disparities and gender stereotypes related to leadership (Tremmel & Wahl, 2023; Keynton & Lee, 2024).

Despite some progress in terms of gender policies, Croatia remains 'among the lowest-ranked EU countries for overall gender equality' (Nguyen & Recher, 2024, p. 6). In the context of professional life and the acquisition of decision-making power, women in Croatia have a less favourable position compared to men (Nguyen & Recher, 2024, p. 19). In addition to the fact that the employment rate for women in Croatia is among the lowest in the EU, they bear the burden of caring for others (Nguyen & Recher, 2024, p. 12), and there is a persistent gender gap relating to 'family planning, childbearing, and child-rearing' (Nguyen & Recher, 2024, p. 9). Moreover, Croatia is characterised by 'the widest gender gap in the EU' related to 'time spent on unpaid work' (women spend 'nearly 20 hours more per week than men on unpaid activities' (Nguyen & Recher, 2024, p. 13). It is especially important to highlight the unfavourable and limiting position of women of reproductive age on the labour market, as well as the relevant issues of protecting pregnant women from discrimination by employers (Nguyen & Recher, 2024, pp. 9, 11). Women in Croatia earn about 17% less than men, and their access to high-paying jobs is limited (Nguyen & Recher, 2024, p. 15). When it comes to power, the data indicate that women have relatively strong influence in the political sphere, but their influence in the economic and social sphere is smaller. Considering the absence of women in 'powerful positions in the economy' (Nguyen & Recher, 2024, p. 18), the importance of EU directives encouraging greater representation for women in 'leadership and high-power positions, including mentorship, sponsorship, and targeted training' (Nguyen & Recher, 2024, p. 20) is highlighted.

Leadership is not gender neutral, neither conceptually nor in practice. Notions of leadership have long been shaped by traditional gender expectations, norms and ideas that have supported and maintained oppressive structures, which is why leadership is a genuinely feminist topic. Recent approaches to leadership critically question hierarchical relations and oppressive structures, where it is important to shed light on relations of inequality as well as to open space for the voices of women leaders. Women on the labour market and in leadership roles are faced with numerous obstacles and challenges along the way to realising their career and professional aspirations. Due to contradictory expectations and double standards, many give up their professional ambitions. Women who have managed to position themselves in leadership positions have travelled long, complex and circular paths to reach the top. Their experiences and professional stories are important in various ways, for example, both in sharing that experience with other women and for the further development of theoretical and research horizons and the articulation of specific gender sensitive policies and business models. Given the lack of visibility for the topic of women's

leadership as a gendered and feminist issue in the Croatian academic community, this paper represents a research contribution to its further development.

The focus of the analysis is the mediated experiential narratives of women leaders from different sectors (IT, banking, healthcare, pharmacy, logistics, etc.) and organisational systems (small businesses, medium-sized businesses and corporations) represented and published on the online business platform: *Women in Adria*. This online business platform has specialised in promoting gender equality and women's voices in various business domains in Croatia. In what way are leadership narratives constructed from the perspective of women leaders from Croatia and how do they understand them? What are the gendered meanings created and career experiences presented by women leaders? What kind of challenges and obstacles have they faced on their career paths? Representations of these experiences are understood in the context of feminist considerations of leadership and existing research on gender discrimination and gender inequality in the leadership sector.

Literature review: Leadership as a feminist issue

According to Watterston and Ehrich (2024, p. 159) 'leadership is a gendered concept', while Batliwala (2022, p. 6) highlights the importance of feminist perspectives that emphasise 'power' in 'the heart of leadership, especially power over'. Considering the different types of leadership, according to one of the broader definitions (Keohane, 2010, cited in Keohane, 2020, p. 236) 'leaders define or clarify goals for a group of individuals and bring together the energies of members of that group to pursue those goals'. Batliwala (2022, p. 6) emphasises that feminism analyses the ways in which power structures operate, and in the sphere of leadership 'seeks to move away from [...] oppressive use of power towards forms that are empowering, enabling, inclusive, and collective – power with, to, and within'. Women leaders are not only exposed to discrimination in practice. In theoretical considerations, they are mainly understood and assessed in relation to their difference from men (Pullen & Vachhani, 2021, p. 233). Feminist theories critically questioning the 'stubborn linkage between leadership and maleness' (Keohane, 2020, p. 238), structural gender inequalities in the leadership sector, also offer alternative models for theory and practice.

Kark and Buengeler (2024) connected feminist waves ('gender reform feminism'; 'gender resistance feminism'; 'gender rebellion feminism'; 'gender revolution feminism') with their themes and goals to leadership theories, and indicated their contributions and limitations in the research of gender aspects in leadership (Table 1). It is important to point out that while this division functions as an ideal type or an analytical tool (Weber, 1992), in reality, feminist waves have overlapped and do not function in a linear way.

Gender reform feminism and gender resistance feminism correspond to a binary understanding of gender as a fixed category, which is also reflected in the understanding of leadership, the desirable characteristics of a good leader, and the manner of leading. For example, gender reform feminism resonates with traditional heroic leadership theories such as the Great Man Theory, which are male-centric and insist on a hierarchical relationship between the leader and subordinates (Kark & Buengeler, 2024, p. 249). In this context, men are defined

Table 1:
Waves in Feminism and gender aspects in leadership

Feminist wave	Characteristics	Leadership type	Critique of the feminist wave
Gender reform feminism	Liberal feminism Gender balance and equal rights Gender as a 'fixed characteristic of the individual' (p. 248)	Traditional heroic leadership theories Male-centrism Leader as charismatic and autocratic man Leader vs. followers Toxic/negative leadership	Primary focus on gendered obstacles, rather than a quality solution Women are suggested to adopt masculine leadership styles Contradictory position of women leaders (masculine expectations vs. feminine ideals)
Gender resistance feminism	Radical feminism Women's experiences Celebrating stereotypical feminine qualities	Post-heroic leadership theories Transformational/servant/ shared leadership 'the female advantage' (p. 250)	Reinforcement of gender stereotypes Homogenisation of women's experiences Maintaining the gender status quo
Gender rebellion feminism	Intersectionality Gender as a fluid and flexible category/beyond gender binarism	Recent theories of (paradoxical/inclusive/ intersectionality) leadership Questioning traditional gender divisions and stereotypes Complexity due to the coexistence of contradictory elements	The door to 'less conventional' and 'less binary' leadership has not yet opened (p. 253) Importance of silenced and inaudible voices in leadership research
Gender revolution feminism	Online/digital feminism Challenging and criticising misogyny and sexism in the digital space	Virtual leadership Intersectionality related to gender and leadership Power relations and sexual harassment Questioning stereotypes and gender essentialism Importance of social media for leadership and mobilisation of employees (p. 254)	Commercialisation of feminism; Simplification of movements Excessive emphasis on individual identities 'undermining collective power' (p. 254) 'Reducing feminism to personal achievements' (p. 254)

Source: Compiled by the authors based on Kark & Buengeler (2024).

as the natural leaders (Keohane, 2020, p. 238) and stereotypical masculine characteristics (e.g. dominance, aggressiveness, self-confidence, independence, etc.) are declared to be norms for quality leadership (e.g. 'think manager – think male') (Tremmel & Wahl, 2023; Galsanjigmed & Sekiguchi, 2023, p. 368). Exception from masculine norms has been treated as weakness in practice, so women have been expected to adopt a masculine leadership style (Pullen & Vachhani, 2021). In this way, power structures have not been questioned, nor was a solution of quality sought to dismantle the system of inequality, but rather women were expected to adapt in a manner that supported gender asymmetries. Pullen and Vachhani (2021, p. 235) point to 'the contradictory' or 'the impossible position' of women leaders because on the one hand, masculine performances are expected of them, and on the other hand, they are 'still being subject to feminine ideals' (2021, p. 233). Gender resistance feminism builds on radical feminism and resonates with 'post-heroic leadership theories' (e.g. transformational/servant/shared leadership) that, on the one hand, represent deflection from the traditional male leader figure but on the other hand, affirm stereotypical feminine qualities (e.g. collaboration, empathy, care, intuitiveness, relationality, etc.) as key to effective leadership (Kark & Buengeler, 2024, p. 250). Although the focus has shifted from patriarchal ideas of leadership to 'womanhood' (Keohane, 2020, p. 246), women's realities and experiences of what constitutes a good leader are still rooted in traditional gender paradigms and gender stereotypes. Watterston and Ehrich (2024, p. 163) recall more recent approaches that emphasise how (stereotypically) 'feminine' qualities are important for achieving prosperity and successful leadership (Jaiswal & Rao, 2019). Affirming 'the female advantage' in leadership variously reinforces gender stereotypes, maintains the status quo, does not remove career barriers for women leaders, and homogenises women's experiences (Kark & Buengeler, 2024, p. 250).

Gender rebellion feminism and gender revolution feminism introduce an intersectional perspective in understanding power and gender issues while rejecting gender binarism and gender essentialism (Kark & Buengeler, 2024, pp. 251, 252). Such approaches also affect the understanding of good and desirable leadership, which distances itself from the traditional hierarchical model and devolved leadership. Gender rebellion feminism resonates with recent theories of (paradoxical/inclusive/intersectionality) leadership that questions traditional gender divisions and accepts complexity (e.g. paradoxical leadership is based on managing dualities such as integrating 'agentic and communal behaviours') (Kark & Buengeler, 2024, p. 252). In addition to emphasising the importance of the 'multiple faces of leadership' (Watterston & Ehrich, 2024, p. 161), gender rebellion feminism insists on inclusiveness, diversity within the team, and the mindsets of team members (see Jaiswal & Rao, 2019), while the intersectional perspective points to the importance of gender and other dimensions of identity (e.g. ethnicity, race, age, etc.) that influence leadership as well (Kark & Buengeler, 2024, p. 252). Critics point out that paradoxical leadership has not yet opened the door to theorising about leadership in a 'less conventional' and 'less binary' way and, in a methodological sense, that it is important to use innovative research methods that will enable silenced voices to be heard in leadership research (Kark & Buengeler, 2024, p. 253). *Online feminism* introduces theories of virtual leadership focused on more complex aspects of intersectionality related to gender and leadership; power relations and sexual harassment; questioning stereotypes and gender essentialism; and the importance of 'leadership and mobilisation of employees

via social media' (Kark & Buengeler, 2024, p. 254). Critics emphasise the risks related to online feminism such as commercialisation of feminism; simplification of movements and excessive emphasis on individual identities; 'undermining collective power' and 'reducing feminism to personal achievements' (Kark & Buengeler, 2024, p. 254).

New leadership models have the potential, through their approaches and value systems, to initiate deeper changes within traditional hierarchies and corporate structures based on different types of inequality. Batliwala (2022, pp. 7, 8) emphasises importance of the 'transformative feminist leadership' model based on idea that 'feminist leadership is no longer about biological women (or those who identify as women) playing leadership roles, but about integral changes in the way leadership is practiced' (2022, p. 7). Feminist leadership includes processes of transformation at the micro, mezzo and macro level that dissolve 'discriminatory structures of power' and strengthen the values of sustainability, equality, peace and well-being for everyone regardless of race, ethnicity, age, gender, etc. (2022, p. 7). At the level of the work organisation, transformative feminist leadership is practiced as leadership based on (2022, p. 9):

- the alignment of the leader's personal rhetoric and his practice ('the personal is political')
- principles of equality and equal treatment for all
- power sharing and rotating leadership
- democracy, openness, transparency of work and business
- ensuring leadership training for all employees
- support for young employees and development of their leadership
- 'low levels of disparity in salaries' of employees at different positions
- supporting 'wellbeing and resilience' (e.g. work–life balance, childcare support, paternity leave, rest areas, subsidising meals, rotating responsibilities, etc.)
- transparency of recruitment, reward, conflict resolution practices
- clearly articulated procedures for issues of abuse and 'hidden power dynamics'
- (in)formal 'systems of feminist mentoring' at individual/organisational level

On the way to the top: Gendered barriers and external challenges

Many women in leadership roles have witnessed or experienced specific obstacles, challenges and barriers that have prevented and/or slowed down their career progress and maintained gender inequalities in the working environment (Watterston & Ehrich, 2024; Topić, 2023). Research and statistics show that gender bias is 'pervasive, invisible, and harmful bias that demeans, discourages, and disadvantages women at work' (Diehl & Dzubinski, 2023, p. 1). To overcome the gender leadership gap, it is necessary to identify the barriers and promote solutions (Madsen, 2017). Many research in the field of psychology have focused on finding an explanation for why there are fewer women in top positions, emphasising 'the role of gender differences in psychological attributes' (e.g. gender differences in attitudes toward competition, negotiation and risk) (Bertrand, 2018, p. 8). However, in addition to gendered psychological attributes, structural and institutional inequalities that do not support equality

in the advancement of male employees and female employees must be taken into account – women in leadership positions are just as ambitious as their male counterparts but face more challenges than they do (McKinsey & Company, 2022, p. 5). The 'sticky floor' is a metaphor used to describe various obstacles that keep women in low-level jobs and discourage their vertical mobility, or advancement to higher-level positions (Sabharwal, 2013; Ciminelli et al., 2021; Galsanjigmed & Sekiguchi, 2023). In the literature, 'glass metaphors' (Kumra, 2017, p. xxvii; see Jakobsh, 2004; Sabharwal, 2013; da Rocha Grangeiro et al., 2022) are used to describe the challenges faced by women who try to attain high-level positions in their work organisation. The 'glass ceiling' is a well known phenomenon that describes: 1. 'vertical discrimination against women' within the company; and 2. 'subtle but persistent barriers/obstacles, underpinned by discriminatory' (un)conscious practices, and attitudes that prevent women from advancing to top positions (Babic & Hansez, 2021, p. 2; see Sabharwal, 2013; Galsanjigmed & Sekiguchi, 2023). On the other hand, a 'glass cliff' (Mashele & Alagidede, 2023; Sabharwal, 2013) occurs in cases of promoting women to 'a perilous leadership position' (Diehl & Dzubinski, 2023, p. 10) associated with increased possibilities of negative consequences (e.g. risks of criticism and failure are increased).

In addition to glass and sticky metaphors, during their leadership careers women also face other external challenges that indicate the persistence of gender biases, gender stereotypes/prejudices and discriminatory practices that support 'male privilege' (Diehl & Dzubinski, 2023, p. 7) and the presence of gender inequality in work environments (Galsanjigmed & Sekiguchi, 2023; Heilman, 2012). Women leaders also face specific gender stereotypes such as 'female leadership prototypes' or 'general stereotypes and images of leadership styles' for women leaders (Galsanjigmed & Sekiguchi, 2023, p. 368) and the stereotype that women cope better with crisis situations and challenges ('think crisis–think female') (Galsanjigmed & Sekiguchi, 2023, p. 372).

Many women in top positions face a 'double bind' or contradictory gender-based expectations because, on the one hand, they are expected to have stereotypical masculine characteristics that will mean they are perceived as competent but not likable, and on the other hand, if their behaviour is assessed as 'too feminine' they will be perceived as 'likable but incompetent' (Galsanjigmed & Sekiguchi, 2023, p. 373; see Watterston & Ehrich, 2024; Tremmel & Wahl, 2023; Topić, 2023) or 'not tough enough to make hard decisions' (Keohane, 2020, p. 243).

Contemporary successful women are in a 'schizophrenic situation' which can be identified as 'generic syncretism' because they are expected to be traditional and modern at the same time (for example, women have been criticised for being like men and for neglecting their traditional gender roles as wives and mothers) (Lagarde, 2000, cited in Medina-Vicent, 2015, p. 70). If a woman performs stereotypically masculine behaviours and qualities, a hostile social reaction or backlash is possible (Galsanjigmed & Sekiguchi, 2023, p. 368; Keohane, 2020; Watterston & Ehrich, 2024).

In the last two decades, the glass ceiling metaphor has been replaced by the labyrinth metaphor, which describes the complex and circular route women take on their career journeys to the top (Eagly & Carli, 2007; Galsanjigmed & Sekiguchi, 2023). On the journey through the career labyrinth a woman with leadership aspirations may encounter 'insufficient support based on gender' (Diehl & Dzubinski, 2023, p. 7). One of the forms

of denial of support is limited access to mentoring, which prevents their career growth and development, and training for the quality performance of a leadership role (Galsanjigmed & Sekiguchi, 2023; Watterston & Ehrich, 2024; Jakobsh, 2004). Research has shown that traditional mentoring was a key barrier in the career development of many women because male senior managers preferred to mentor and sponsor younger male candidates in whom they saw their younger selves (Watterston & Ehrich, 2024; Keohane, 2020; Jakobsh, 2004). To question this type of 'homo-social reproduction' that maintains the 'old boys' club culture' (Kanter, 1977, cited in Watterston & Ehrich, 2024, p. 166), it is important to encourage the development of relationships and networks with the aim of developing women leaders (Madsen, 2017, p. xxxi).

Unlike men's career paths, which are 'typically linear, upward trajectories' (Bierema, 2016, cited in Watterston & Ehrich, 2024, p. 168), women's career paths are often described as 'detours' and 'diversions' (Bierema, 2016, cited in Watterston & Ehrich, 2024, p. 168) due to family obligations, motherhood and care for significant Others. In addition to interrupting their careers due to motherhood or caring for others, women were often denied a leadership position because the employer questioned their commitment (ATA, 2020, as cited in Watterston & Ehrich, 2024, p. 168), which ultimately had a negative impact on their professional growth, promotion and advancement. Childless women in leadership positions have career paths similar to those of their male colleagues. Work–life conflict affects the career choices of many women, especially those who aspire to leadership positions (Morgenroth et al., 2021, p. 448; Diehl & Dzubinski, 2023). Much research again indicates the impact of work–life conflict in some life stages (Morgenroth et al., 2021, p. 449; Polić & Holy, 2020; 2021). Women are still more involved in household and caring activities than men, which ultimately results in a higher degree of conflict or imbalance between the work and private spheres for women than for men (Morgenroth et al., 2021, p. 449; Geiger Zeman et al., 2024; Geiger Zeman et al., 2025). Many women abandon actualising their leadership potential because of challenges in balancing their work and home-life, systemic obstacles and (un) conscious bias (Watterston & Ehrich, 2024). Keohane (2020, pp. 242, 243) highlights the importance of establishing 'flexible pathways through the labyrinth' and 'family-friendly workplaces' so that working mothers can more successfully balance parenthood and career advancement while successfully continuing their careers.

On the way to the top: Gendered internal challenges

It is important to emphasise several key internal factors or 'inner barriers' (Watterston & Ehrich, 2024, p. 164) that women with leadership aspirations face. According to Watterston and Ehrich (2024, p. 168), these are most often about a lack of self-confidence, feeling unprepared for a leadership position and imposter syndrome. Galsanjigmed and Sekiguchi (2023, p. 369) expand the catalogue of internal barriers and point to: 'Self-gender stereotypes', tokenism 'gender stereotype threat', and internalising gender stereotypes.

'Self-gender stereotypes' indicate the 'unconscious development of gender stereotypical attitudes and behaviours' (Galsanjigmed & Sekiguchi, 2023, p. 369). Research has shown that gender stereotypes are important for 'women's self-evaluation, career choices, and self-efficacy' (e.g. women leaders in male-dominated sectors tend to underestimate their own leadership abilities) (see Tremmel & Wahl, 2023; Toheed et al., 2019), and also points out that due to the internalisation of gender stereotypes, women tend to accept 'discrimination and prejudice toward women' (Galsanjigmed & Sekiguchi, 2023, p. 377). Gender-based tokenism can also negatively affect women who are tokens in their work organisation in such a way that they assess the atmosphere at work to be unfavourable and unfair, which increases the possibility of them seeking new employment (Galsanjigmed & Sekiguchi, 2023, p. 378). The literature mentions the 'gender stereotype threat' phenomenon in situations where women, most often in male-dominated sectors, feel fear and anxiety about confirming negative gender stereotypes, which leads them to give up on leadership status (Galsanjigmed & Sekiguchi, 2023, p. 378). The internalisation of gender stereotypes affects attitudes, values, choices, behaviours and self-evaluation, for example, due to gender biases that women are not good negotiators, women negotiate less, and less frequently than men. Women tend to underestimate their leadership abilities, and with a lack of self-confidence they maintain inequalities in the work organisation (Galsanjigmed & Sekiguchi, 2023, p. 379). The abovementioned 'inner barriers' (Watterston & Ehrich, 2024, p. 168) combine with institutional opportunities and power structure to influence 'the career development of women leaders' (Galsanjigmed & Sekiguchi, 2023, p. 379). Medina-Vicent (2015, p. 71) points to the limitations of approaches that are focused on individual psychological characteristics because the responsibility for the obstacles that women face is shifted from institutions that support gender inequalities to individual women. Individualising women's problems reinforces structural inequalities and masks the symbolic and material structures that create gender asymmetries (Medina-Vicent, 2015, p. 71).

Methodology

There is a lack of feminist research-based work on leadership and the experiences of women leaders employed in Croatia. This paper and its analysis of articles published on the business platform *Women in Adria* – specialised in promoting gender equality and women's voices in various business domains – represents a contribution to the inauguration of new approaches in research and reflection on leadership in the Croatian business sector and academic community.

Women in Adria is the 'largest women's business network in the region' founded in Zagreb in 2012 (Women in Adria, LinkedIn, s. a.). This empowering business network, which advocates for a better status for women entrepreneurs and corporate women in the region, organises education and conferences, provides mentoring, networks and creates space for women's voices from various sectors (Women in Adria, s. a.). In addition to connecting and networking women in the Croatian and regional economy, *Women in*

Adria continuously (re)produces and (re)constructs the discourse of empowering women in leadership and opens space for the representation and promotion of female leadership in Croatia and the region. The analysis is focused on interviews and presentations by women leaders at conferences organised by *Women in Adria* that are subsequently published and represent a contribution to creating a business culture based on gender equality and respect for diversity. This is precisely why *Women in Adria* represents an analytically relevant media space. The texts analysed are mediated produced narratives that offer significant insight into the ways in which women leaders talk about their experiences and how they represent them publicly in the context of 'women's media' (Yoong 2020, p. 18). Such journalistic media texts have been selected, stylised, edited and shortened in such a way that they represent the experiences and narratives of female leaders in a specific mediated manner with the aim of affirming and supporting female leadership in Croatia. This type of texts is produced '*for* women' and '*by* women' (original italics) (Yoong, 2020, p. 18). In the analysed texts, it is possible to identify three levels: 1. the personal narrative of the women leader; 2. journalistic interventions in the construction of the media text; and 3. application of the discursive framework of empowerment. Earlier research points to the ambivalence and complexity of women's media, for example Yoong (2020, p. 18) points out that women's media create space for feminism and question patriarchal hegemony, but at the same time: 1. create specific discourses that focus on individual transformation, experience and success without addressing gender inequality as a structural problem that requires structural change; and 2. mediated stories of professional women, whose experiences and career advice are based on 'neoliberal feminist and postfeminist logics' (Yoong, 2020, p. 17). Critics point out that the media is important in promoting gender equality and creating space for women's voices, but the intersectional perspective is neglected. Media research shows that highly educated women with higher-income backgrounds have greater access to the media and a greater chance to tell their story (Bracho et al., 2026, p. 12).

The goal of the study was to capture the recent representations and narratives about experiences of women leaders published on the *Women in Adria* portal. The formation of the corpus was started in February 2025, so it was decided to limit the analysis and focus on (during the analysis period) the most recent representations of female leadership on the *Women in Adria* portal. In accordance with the defined research questions, the term 'women leader' (in Croatian: *liderica*) was entered into the search engine. The search strategy was based on this keyword in order to avoid semantic ambiguities and to make the keyword consistent with the terminology used in the theoretical part of the paper. In the analysed articles under the term women leader, different types of female leadership are indicated, for example from entrepreneurs and managers to directors. The formation of the analytical corpus took place in two phases. A search based on the word 'women leader' yielded 143 results, which included texts published in January 2025 and earlier. An insight into these materials revealed that articles addressing the representation of women's leadership experiences were published in the section 'Career/Building a career', so a further selection was made based on a time restriction (2024) and an additional search of the mentioned section. A total of 38 articles published in 2024 were included in the analysis. All 38 of the articles analysed were written in Croatian. Data analysis and interpretation were conducted in Croatian and subsequently translated into English during the writing phase.

The analysis is based on the application of thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2022), which includes a gender perspective and feminist theory as a critical orientation that enables the examination of the social construction of gender and gendered meanings (Braun & Clarke, 2023, p. 1). Key research questions are based on feminist approaches and gender perspective. In the focus of the analysis are mediated representations of: 1. meanings and experiences of leadership as gender issues; 2. gendered experiences of leadership; and 3. gendered (in)equalities in the business sector.

Thematic analysis was conducted according to the conventional protocol or 'the six-phase analytical process' (Byrne, 2022, p. 1398) defined by Braun and Clarke (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017, p. 3354). Both authors participated in all phases of thematic analysis. Articles were copied into Word documents, read several times for the authors to familiarise themselves with the articles. Both authors independently made the initial inductive coding, after which the initial codes were discussed, questioned and redefined in relation to the research questions. Given that the research questions were posed from the position of a feminist leadership body of knowledge, both an inductive approach and a deductive approach were used (Byrne, 2022, p. 1396). This mixed approach is most frequently applied in research practice (Braun & Clarke, 2013, 2019, 2020 cited in Byrne, 2022, p. 1397) because it enables reflexivity but also offers 'a clear direction' (Giles & Harrison, 2023). The process of defining themes and sub-themes was long-lasting and dynamic: the relationships between the codes and their shared meanings were jointly considered and commented on, and on the basis of which themes and sub-themes were defined that 'communicates something meaningful that helps answer the research question(s)' (Braun & Clarke, 2013 cited in Byrne, 2022, p. 1403). The authors independently determined a number of themes and sub-themes, which were then discussed in several online meetings, following several revisions, until the final list was determined. In the end, the final themes and sub-themes were named based on the consensus thus reached, keeping in mind the feminist-rooted framework. Analytical rigor was ensured by collaborative work with data, constant comparisons of individual analytical activities, joint discussions, and the questioning of empirical material, and collaboration in the development of codes, and emerging themes and sub-themes.

Findings: Analysis and discussion

The analysis of the articles identified four themes and six sub-themes:

- Theme 1: Women on the leadership path
  - sub-themes: becoming a leader, being a leader, gendered styles of leadership
- Theme 2: Forms of gender (in)equality
  - sub-themes: perspectives of gender equality, challenges of external barriers, gendered internal barriers
- Theme 3: Work–life (im)balance
  - Theme 4: Motherhood

Theme 1: Women on the leadership path

The first theme includes three sub-themes: becoming a leader, being a leader and gendered styles of leadership. The business background of women leaders (for example, multinational corporations, domestic companies, small or family businesses, public sector, own company) and experiences of becoming a leader are very heterogeneous. For some women leaders, advancement was realised in the different stages of their careers. Therefore, some of the women leaders emphasise the unconventionality of their career trajectories, while some point to a gradual, linear, conventional career development. On their paths to leadership positions, women faced various obstacles and challenges: 1. *personal* (e.g. financial difficulties, unemployment, personal tragedies, etc.); 2. *work* (e.g. facing inconveniences in business, failures, global trends that cause changes in the sector, etc.); and 3. *professional* (for example, changing professions due to new business opportunities, inter-sectoral migration, etc.). However, personal/work/professional challenges, difficult experiences and career setbacks have not been interpreted as losses, but as motivation for progress, an opportunity for growth and personal empowerment, whereby the importance of a personal attitude and a positive and optimistic outlook, quality mentoring support, continuous education and training, networking, etc. are especially emphasised.

Despite all abovementioned differences, there are common denominators that connect all experiences and specific qualities on the leadership path: expressed ambition; clear business vision; the desire to make a difference and leave a positive impact; strong work ethic; navigating (unexpected) changes and uncertainty; risk acceptance; willingness to make sacrifices (e.g. time, private life, etc.); optimistic outlook on life; engaging in lifelong learning and in self-improvement. Women talk about their leadership qualities and professional goals in a gender-neutral manner. All the women leaders emphasised their satisfaction with their current position, salary, working conditions and business engagement in their work environment/organisation and status in the sector (e.g. networking, awards, positions in professional associations).

Based on the analysis of the articles, it is possible to catalogue the key premises of leadership philosophy (based on personal experience or well-known models from the literature on leadership or beyond), and the key values/qualities promoted and practiced by women in leadership:

- leadership is a skill that is learned and continuously developed
- the leader has integrity and acts in accordance with personal values that are in line with the values of the organisation in which she works
- they create positive changes in the team, organisation and community
- they recognise the importance of their team and respect team members
- they have a clear vision, set goals and define direction
- they are moving away from direct and control-based leadership and prioritise indirect, collaborative, transformational and relationship-based leadership that affirms empathy, trust, job satisfaction, joint learning and information/knowledge sharing

The preferred idea of leadership and everyday working practices indicate deflection from traditional heroic and hegemonic leadership, deconstructing the essentialist idea of a born leader and opening up to new models of leadership such as in gender rebellion feminism (Kark & Buengeler, 2024) and feminist leadership (Batliwala, 2022) – diversity, teamwork, harmony of rhetoric and practice, support for young employees, mentoring, etc. (Watterston & Ehrich, 2024; Jaiswal & Rao, 2019).

Although all women talk about leadership and their own leadership path in gender-neutral terms, some women leaders emphasise 'women's skills' and gendered characteristics, as an important part of new leadership models that resonate with new business and work realities (see Jakobsh, 2004):

> [...]teams led by managers focused on relationships and people have greater satisfaction, greater engagement, people are ready to put in extra effort, when necessary, feel connected to what they do and are much more innovative and creative. So, we don't have to change our 'female' leadership style to a 'male' one. This kind of data gives us the right to be leaders and be women. The two really go together (Maltarić-Dujnić cited in Orešković, 2024).

Speaking about their experiences, some women leaders engaged an essentialist perspective specific to gender resistance feminism (Pullen & Vachhani, 2021) in interpreting the quality and specificity of women's leadership. In this context, the revaluation of traditional women's characteristics is evident: intuition, empathy, emphasis on relationships, 'soft skills', etc. This approach is both empowering and limiting (Kark & Buengeler, 2024; Medina-Vicent, 2015). On the one hand, the traditional male-centred idea of leaders is rejected and power is associated with women and their concrete experiences, but on the other hand, traditional gender divisions and gendered stereotypes are supported, and women's experiences are homogenised (Medina-Vicent, 2015). This approach opens space for women and highlights the importance and relevance of specific women's experiences; however, it still does not call into question the current establishment and dominant power structures that support gender inequalities.

Theme 2: Forms of gender (in)equality

In the context of the second theme, three sub-themes have been identified: perspectives of gender equality; challenges of external barriers; gendered internal barriers.

Women are increasingly entering traditionally coded 'male areas' and, with their business successes, are proving that leadership does not exclude women. Moreover, many companies are increasingly emphasising the importance of diversity, the share of women in leadership roles is increasing, and the promotion of gender equality policies is perceived as important. Some women leaders emphasise working in companies that move away from gender stereotypes and dominant gender norms (e.g. some companies in traditionally 'male industries' strive to include as many women as possible in their business; women are enabled to advance, etc.). The opening of space and the entry of women into traditional

'masculine' areas (e.g. management positions, etc.) (see Wharton, 2012) and the increasing visibility of gender equality issues indicate positive developments (Keohane, 2020); however, a number of crucial issues and challenges that women face in the workplace still remain invisible (e.g. the issue of a gender pay gap, various forms of gender-based abuse) or are only mentioned in passing.

In accordance with the ideas of gender reform feminism and gender resistance feminism (Kark & Buengeler, 2024), the following is evident: 1. the idea that women and men have equal abilities, which abolishes traditional beliefs about the fixed division of male and female domains (Wharton, 2012; Kramer, 2011); 2. positive gender identification that celebrates the importance of 'women's qualities' and skills. Despite positive developments in equality in leadership positions and positive gender identification that questions traditional gender narratives and affirms women's abilities, various forms of gender inequality and an insufficient number of women in top positions persists in work organisations (EIGE, 2016). Experiences and attitudes towards gender inequality are polarised. There are some women leaders who advocate a position of gender neutrality and emphasis on meritocratic principles; however, this position is based on the denial of gender divisions, generalisation of the individual approach in such a way that gender (in)equalities are interpreted solely based on personal experience, attitude, effort and commitment. From this position, gender inequalities are not viewed as a systemic problem but rather an individual problem whose effective solution depends on personal engagement, hard work and attitude. This approach perpetuates gender (and other social) inequalities. Clarke et al. (2024) highlight the importance of critically questioning the discourse on meritocracy, because by emphasising gender neutrality and individualisation, structures of gender inequality are negated and become invisible. Emphasising gender neutrality and meritocracy: 1. homogenises and generalises the experiences of women in business; 2. does not indicate the importance and necessity of structural and institutional changes towards gender diversity in top positions (McKinsey & Company, 2022; EIGE, 2016, p. 8).

Other women leaders, however, point to the existence of visible gender inequalities primarily in the persistence of gender stereotypes, prejudices, double standards and gender biases that favour men (e.g. men's resumes are assessed as more competent, the glass escalator phenomenon, women have to prove themselves more, men are tolerated in everyday business situations for things that women are criticised for because they represent deflection from the stereotypical gender image, etc.).

Some women leaders emphasised the importance of mentoring for women as a form of intergenerational transfer of knowledge and institutionalised support for women's advancement by the institution but also by other women. It is not uncommon for the literature to define mentorship as 'the missing link in female leadership' because through mentorship, women receive guidance and support in managing the 'complexities of career progression', develop their skills, network and empower themselves (Women's Resource Centre, s. a.). Based on the articles analysed, mentoring should be viewed in an intersectional method because it intertwines two important social categories: gender and age. In the context of women's relationships in the working environment there are, on the one hand, examples of supportive women's relationships without the experience of the Queen Bee syndrome (Polić & Holy, 2021), and on the other hand, a lack of healthy examples of assertive women

leaders, which points to the problems that women leaders face every day in trying to balance the 'schizophrenic situation' (Lagarde, 2000 cited in Medina-Vicent, 2015, p. 70) due to double standards regarding gender and attempts to manoeuvre between opposing gendered expectations:

> I think that women often do not have healthy women's examples and role models of assertiveness in organisations. Sometimes women want to succeed in a 'masculine' way and slip into aggression, which is particularly resented by women, and sometimes they cocoon themselves in the traditionally expected submissiveness and become passive (Maltarić-Dujnić cited in Orešković, 2024).

Internal barriers that prevent women from advancing are also highlighted. This is a series of generalised assumptions based on which systemic gender inequalities and power relations in the workplace are explained by women's personal shortcomings and insecurities, and in some cases the explanation is sought in essentialist appeals to 'nature' and 'natural innateness' (e.g. women are 'naturally' too responsible). According to some women leaders, internal barriers (see Watterston & Ehrich, 2024; Galsanjigmed & Sekiguchi, 2023) are one explanation for why women are underrepresented in top positions, for example, women are represented as:

- more inclined to imposter syndrome
- unwilling to discuss their own promotion on their own initiative
- more inclined to fearing success
- more self-critical, over-responsible
- obsessed with productivity and unrealistic expectations
- being insecure in communication
- underestimating their abilities, etc.

This approach should be understood in the context of gender socialisation, internalisation of gendered restrictions, culture (not nature), working environment, and broader societal context. From a sociological and feminist perspective, the approach that explains persistent structural problems and asymmetric power relations with individual characteristics and shortcomings perpetuates gender inequalities and hinders the finding of quality institutional solutions (Medina-Vicent, 2015).

Theme 3: Work–life (im)balance

Issues of work–life (im)balance are evident in all the articles analysed, which indicates their relevance and urgency (EIGE, 2016; Geiger Zeman et al., 2024; Geiger Zeman et al., 2025). In the analysed articles work–life balance is defined as the right of every employee and as one of the fundamental values of a supportive corporate culture. In this context, work–life balance is related to mental health and self-care, because overwhelming and overworking lead to burnout.

In addition to gender inequality, women leaders in the earlier stages of their careers also experienced ageism, which manifested itself in their facing obstacles and a lack of opportunities for professional growth, as well as being exposed to pressure due to high expectations and the ambition to prove and advance. Many women leaders in the initial stages of their careers or in the stages of changing jobs invested a lot of effort and time, which resulted in sacrificing their personal life and blurring the line between work and private life.

The gendered dimension of work–life (im)balance is particularly highlighted, as indicated by feminist leadership perspectives (Batliwala, 2022). Namely, all women leaders pointed out that achieving a balance between business and private obligations and time management are the biggest challenges for women in top positions. Research results show that the (im)balance between work and life is a gendered issue (Geiger Zeman et al., 2024; Geiger Zeman et al., 2025; Diehl & Dzubinski, 2023). While some women have entered exclusive 'male space', their traditional gender roles and incumbent cultural expectations have not yet been redefined – women leaders define themselves with a series of roles, of which career roles are gender non-traditional, while marital, family and maternal roles remain a part of traditional gender expectations. This is precisely why work–life (im)balance represents efforts to balance the various roles that women simultaneously try to perform in excellent ways. Some women leaders highlight the great challenges of generic syncretism (Lagarde, 2000 cited in Medina-Vicent, 2015, p. 70), that is, contradictory cultural expectations (see Pullen & Vachhani, 2021; Galsanjigmed & Sekiguchi, 2023) – on the one hand, women are still positioned within the traditional space of the household, caregiving, family and private life in general; while on the other hand, in the domain of work the expectation is of maximum dedication to work, efficiency, productivity and excellence. Some women leaders also recall having dealt with guilt, self-doubt, and subsequent regret because in certain phases of their career/private life they prioritised work, i.e. over family obligations:

> It is more difficult for women to grow up because [...] we live in a time where women still have a lot of obligations. If they go on a trip, they must cook for a few days, iron, prepare the children [...] while this is not often the case with male colleagues (Smolić cited in Paušić, 2024).

Many women leaders are still struggling to find a formula for work–life balance because leadership responsibilities and the type of work they perform often make it difficult to draw a strict line between the two domains. Some of them accept work–life integration, while others prefer a clear separation between work and private life.

With work–life (im)balance issues being an important topic of much discussion in business circles, women leaders shared the strategies they themselves practice to achieve work–life balance, such as:

- time management techniques based on planning and careful organisation of weekly activities and responsibilities
- work flexibility and remote work
- sharing tasks and obligations
- redefining success and deconstructing the myth of the superwoman
- prioritising time with family during the weekend
- investing in personal growth and self-care

Most women leaders in the later stages of their careers have found a satisfactory formula for maintaining balance. Although women leaders emphasised: 1. the importance of career, business success, and the passion they feel for the work they do; 2. the importance of family, marital and parental roles, which also represent important dimensions of their identity. In the context of career development and work–life (im)balance, they particularly emphasised the support of their partners, as well as the sharing of joint family and parental responsibilities, despite which, the analyses show that women experienced work–life (im)balances due to lack of time, lack of or insufficient support from their employers, etc.

Although the dominant power structures are not questioned, the analysed narratives indicate the persistence of an organisational culture that requires employees in upper positions to be constantly available, to work overtime and resist flexible working hours. However, shifts in employee expectations and the opening of space for employer flexibility in matters of working time organisation, sensitivity to mental health, and employee needs in general are also indicated:

> People no longer intend to tolerate companies that treat them as profit-making machines rather than as individuals. 21st century employees demand to be understood – their desires, thoughts and potentials. You will have no more loyal employee than the one to whom you have provided a quality private life and a balance between work and private life (Dusper Sušić cited in Women in Adria, 2024).

Theme 4: Motherhood

Motherhood is an important topic that all the women leaders who had children talked about. The experiences of motherhood represented point toward a research-interesting ambivalence and a dynamic tension: between on the one hand, motherhood as a limitation and a factor that generates professional/career challenges; but on the other hand, as a valuable, transformative experience that brings maturation and empowerment, which in turn positively affects a person's career. For many women leaders, motherhood was an experience that presented a challenge to them in their own careers in creating a new schedule and balancing new personal obligations, which confirms the results of previous studies that have highlighted the differences between the career paths of women and men (Watterston & Ehrich, 2024). Some women leaders have positive experiences in the work environment because they progressed during maternity leave and had employer support after returning to work, while others made new (un)satisfactory career choices due to motherhood and changed employers in order to find a job in a healthy work environment that ensured advancement and also supported motherhood. Integrating motherhood into career aspirations was a challenge for many and a source of motivation in finding new strategies to balance personal work and life fulfilment. In this context, the importance of partner support and an equal sharing of parental tasks and duties was particularly emphasised. The experience of motherhood has highlighted the challenges faced by working mothers: 1. financial penalties for pregnant entrepreneurs and unjust maternity benefits; 2. lack of employer support; 3. discrimination against women by

employers due to pregnancy and maternity leave; 4. women being overburdened with work and family obligations; 5. cultural gender expectations rooted in patriarchal tradition that attribute parental responsibilities exclusively to women:

> I have heard many times: 'You are a mother, your place is at home with your children.' Many times, I have been 'rebuked' for leaving sick children at home with their father, instead of staying home with them. Yes, I am a mother, and I am always there for my children, but I also have a wonderful husband who is equally dedicated to our children and participates in every aspect of their lives (Jelić cited in Povijač, 2024).

Issues of balancing maternal and business obligations are crucial for achieving gender equality in the sphere of work and leadership. Based on the analysis of the articles, it is evident that (un)realised motherhood can be a source of discrimination against women by employers (EIGE, 2016). The articles analysed showed that women leaders describe their personal experiences of balancing motherhood and career as their greatest challenges. This shows that neither the challenges of gender reform feminism, gender resistance feminism, nor the ideals of feminist leadership have yet been fully realised in practice (Kark & Buengeler, 2024; Batliwala, 2022).

Conclusion

The feminist perspective enables the illumination of power structures and forms of inequality that still persist and thwart/impede women on successful leadership career paths. The *Women in Adria* portal makes a valuable contribution to the empowerment of women in the business sphere in the entrepreneurial, public and corporate sectors by educating, empowering and informing them about women's rights issues and gender inequality. The narratives of women leaders who shared their experiences and advice with other women in the articles analysed understand their own leadership experiences, as well as the issues of women and leadership in general in terms of gender neutrality and meritocracy, gender reform feminism and gender resistance feminism; however, most of the relevant topics dealt with by gender rebellion feminism have remained invisible, while gender revolution feminism is a topic that will most likely be added to the repertoire of new generations of women leaders.

Leadership is represented through a distance from traditional male-centred leadership and essentialist ideas about born leaders; and that women leaders are open to new models of leadership that affirm diversity, teamwork, mentoring and age-friendly approaches. As a counterweight to traditional heroic leadership, the importance of specific women's leadership is emphasised, which is observed in places through a romanticised essentialist lens. This approach provokes ambivalence because, on the one hand, it gives importance and value to women's leadership experiences, and on the other hand, it perpetuates traditional gender divisions/stereotypes and dominant power structures. Formerly exclusively 'male spaces' are opening up to women, but gender gaps still exist. Through the mediated narratives women leaders point out positive moves towards gender equality and positive gender identification; however, the persistence of tendencies to deny the importance of gender issues and generalise

individual approaches that do not question gendered hierarchies is evident. In addition to gender-neutral approaches, important contributions should be emphasised in addressing gender inequalities based on gender stereotypes, double gender standards, gender biases and contradictory expectations (traditional gender expectations versus career demands) (see Pullen & Vachhani, 2021; Galsanjigmed & Sekiguchi, 2023; Medina-Vicent, 2015). In addition to external barriers, internal barriers based on individual characteristics or gendered generalisations, some of which are interpreted in essentialist categories, were also emphasised in the narratives analysed. This maintains gender stereotypes and hinders actions to find institutional solutions and structural changes. The research is interesting in its findings on the ambivalent position of motherhood, which is simultaneously interpreted as a career obstacle but also a transformative experience that contributes to personal fulfilment and encourages career success.

The thematic analysis confirms the knowledge from earlier studies about: 1. the double standards that shape the career paths of female or male leaders; 2. the daily challenges of balancing work and life/career and private life being further intensified by motherhood, which affects the career of a woman in a leading position in a variety of ways; 3. that mentoring is important; and 4. of the effects of perpetuating the idea of meritocracy and emphasising individual efforts in achieving career goals. Given that this is the first analysis of media representations of the experiences of female leaders in Croatia, it is important to point out that even in the post-socialist context characterised by gender segregation of the labour market and gendered leadership structures, specific discourses and narratives are repeated. Despite the persistence of male-dominated structures and traditional gender expectations in media representations, the insistence on meritocracy, personal engagement, individual responsibility and gender neutrality is evident. While intersectionality is an important perspective in the analysis, it is insufficiently visible. Apart from gender and age, other relevant social categories (for example, ethnicity, non-normative gender identity, etc.) are not visible in the texts analysed.

The authors are aware of the limitations of the study: 1. the focus of the analysis is on media-represented and edited narratives published on a platform that has a clearly articulated orientation and focus on empowerment, success and support. In this sense, the narratives are selected and refined, which potentially has an impact on the insufficient articulation of a more clearly critical position; 2. the sample is limited to articles published during 2024, which, on the one hand, ensures the recency of the leadership narratives, and on the other hand, lacks analytical insight into earlier representations and discursive constructions of female leadership. These limitations represent guidelines for future research into gendered leadership experiences, which, in addition to analyses of media representations, should certainly include empirical material obtained through qualitative and quantitative research methods.

Although the analysis is limited to media representations of the experiences of women leaders and their professional paths on a specialised online business platform, the findings of the research show the ways in which women leadership identities are constructed narratively, and which meanings are produced in the representation of leadership in women-oriented business media. Within a socio-cultural context that still supports gender differences and reinforces limiting gender expectations, the experiences of women leaders signal the use of narrative strategies for presenting and interpreting their own business success. There is an

evident tension between neutralising structural gender inequalities and emphasising the importance of individual efforts, which supports the idea of meritocracy.

The findings of the analysis suggest directions for future debates and organisational policies focused on formalising supportive forms of mentoring, promoting gender equality, well-being as a value, ensuring job satisfaction of employees in all hierarchical positions, flexibility in work methods, support in balancing career and life. In this context, it is important to highlight the potential for the transfer of academic knowledge into organisational spaces, whereby feminist models of leadership with the values of democracy, respect for diversity, rotating responsibility, and deconstruction of the dominant structures of gendered power can create new spaces of freedom, inclusiveness and gender equality.

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ARTICLE

Eastern European Journals in the Scopus Communication Category

Visibility, Performance, and Editorial Boards

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The present paper outlines a comprehensive quantitative analysis of Eastern European communication journals indexed on Scopus, a largely overlooked area of global research. Drawing on Scopus, SciVal, SCImagoJR, and manual editorial board data, we assess 36 journals over the past decade, focusing on performance, visibility, internationalisation, authorship patterns, and editorial composition. Results show modest growth in indexed journals, though most remain in the lower quartiles. Journals with a higher level of international and collaborative authorship tend to have a greater impact. A small cohort of prolific authors dominates output, often with low citation impact; some of these authors also sit on the editorial boards of their preferred journals, raising ethical concerns. Our editorial analysis reveals that journals with internationally diverse boards publish more globally and rank higher. The findings also highlight both progress and persistent structural challenges in integrating EEC journals into global scholarly networks.

Keywords: Eastern Europe, communication journals, internationalisation, academic knowledge production, scientometrics

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Introduction

The field of communication research has historically been shaped by uneven global development, with marked imbalances in visibility, impact, and integration between scholars and journals from different world regions. Eastern European countries, shaped by decades of political isolation, economic upheaval, and linguistic barriers, have traditionally occupied a peripheral position in the global knowledge system (Demeter, 2018c). Despite increasing scholarly output since the political transformations of the 1990s, communication journals based in Central and Eastern Europe continue to face significant challenges in gaining international visibility, attracting citation, and achieving integration into major academic networks.

The dynamics of academic publishing are deeply tied to systemic factors such as access to global indexing databases, patterns of international collaboration, language policies, and the composition of editorial boards (Goyanes & Demeter, 2020; Lauf, 2005). Within this system, a small number of highly prestigious, Western-based journals dominate citation networks and influence academic epistemologies worldwide, whereas peripheral journals – often those published in non-Anglophone countries – struggle for recognition (Demeter, 2017; Lendvai, 2025; Erfanmanesh et al., 2017). Recent studies have pointed to modest but meaningful improvements among certain Eastern European communication journals in terms of internationalisation and performance metrics (Demeter et al., 2023; Kohus et al., 2022), yet the extent and durability of those gains remain unclear. That is, while there has been growing bibliometric interest in the visibility of peripheral scholarly communities (e.g. Teodorescu & Andrei, 2011; Sasvári & Lendvai, 2024), focused analyses of Eastern European communication journals are still limited.

This study addresses this gap by examining four interrelated research questions. First, it investigates what the performance trends of Eastern European communication (EEC) journals have been over the past decade. Second, it explores publication trends, visibility metrics, and internationalisation patterns within these journals. Third, it identifies the most prolific authors, and the most cited articles published in EEC journals. Finally, it analyses the characteristics and international diversity of EEC journals' editorial boards.

Before outlining the research agenda, we find it important to clarify at the outset that this study does not assume a rigid or essentialist definition of "communication journals". We follow the established scientometric practice (i.e. operationalisation of classification categories) to identify disciplinary categories in the field of communication based on Scopus and SCImago Journal Rank subject classifications and analyse journals that are indexed under the Communication category therein. We must underline, however, that many journals in this category are inherently multidisciplinary, often spanning linguistics, media studies, cultural studies, education, psychology, or information science. Therefore, rather than treating this hybridity as a methodological limitation, we approach it as an empirical characteristic of communication scholarship in Eastern Europe, where disciplinary boundaries are historically fluid and shaped by local institutional trajectories, and we also propose that this approach is consistent with a long-standing tradition in scientometric research that relies on database-assigned subject categories as reproducible and transparent units of analysis.

Literature review

In modern science, the "publish or perish" paradigm steadfastly persists (Erren et al., 2016). Globally, professional success, crucial for tenure and hiring decisions, hinges significantly on publications in esteemed peer-reviewed journals (Zdeněk, 2018). Consequently, high-quality journals wield substantial international influence, with journal editors and reviewers often acting as gatekeepers (Demeter, 2020a). These gatekeepers face the challenge of maintaining scientific reputation and visibility, with inclusion in prestigious international databases such as Web of Science (WoS), Scopus, PubMed, or Medline being a primary goal to enhance a journal's impact and citation rate (Astaneh & Masoumi, 2018). Consequently, there is intense competition in scientific research for visibility, with publishers and editors striving for high-impact factor journals while authors worldwide compete for publication in these esteemed outlets. Disparities, however, also exist due to non-academic factors such as economy, politics, geography, and cultural differences, leading to a division between successful countries with prominent publications and countries lacking visibility (Zanotto et al., 2016). This also means that, even if authors from developing nations manage to publish in leading journals, they often receive fewer citations compared to counterparts from developed nations (Bonitz et al., 1997). Current research suggests that for authors from developing countries to gain international recognition, they must either migrate to a more developed nation or collaborate with authors from one (Fernández et al., 2016; Schmoch & Schubert, 2008; Teodorescu & Andrei, 2011).

Performance and visibility trends of EEC journals

Eastern European communication scholarship has historically occupied a peripheral position in the global academic landscape. Decades of political and economic isolation under communist regimes delayed the institutionalisation and international integration of media and communication research in Central and Eastern Europe. Consequently, the visibility and impact of Eastern European communication journals have lagged behind those of Western Europe and North America. Demeter (2018b) estimates that at least 150 communication journals in Eastern Europe publish mostly in local languages, rendering roughly 95% of the region's scholarly output "invisible" to the international scientific community. Most of these journals were (and many still are) absent from major indexing databases (Web of Science, Scopus), which severely limits their global readership and citation counts (Demeter, 2020b). This marginalisation has led scholars to characterise EEC academia as part of the *"Global South"* or *semi-periphery* of knowledge production (Demeter et al., 2023).

Despite these challenges, recent evidence suggests a positive trajectory in international collaboration and diversity. Co-authorship networks involving EEC scholars have expanded geographically over the past two decades, indicating a "growing level of internationalization" (Demeter et al., 2023). While collaboration within the region remains relatively weak, Eastern European media scholars are increasingly partnering with Western European and other international colleagues, a development that has contributed to the gradual international visibility of EEC research. At the journal level, this shift is increasingly supported by targeted

strategies, including the recruitment of Western scholars as authors or special-issue guest editors in an effort to approximate the content and standards of high-prestige outlets (Tóth, 2018). As previous research suggests, where such internationalisation efforts extend beyond symbolic inclusion, journals tend to demonstrate improved citation metrics and stronger integration into global scholarly communication (Kulczycki et al., 2019).

One clear pattern is that internationalisation is tightly linked to performance gains. Journals that internationalise their content tend to see better metrics. Data indicates that EEC journals able to attract Western (especially U.S.) authors achieve higher ranks in Scopus, whereas those publishing mainly local authors remain lower-ranked (Tóth, 2018). In other words, *international orientation* correlates with performance: increased diversity in authorship and topics can elevate a journal's citation impact and indexing status. By contrast, journals serving primarily national audiences with local-language content continue to have limited citation impact outside their home country. In sum, the performance trends of EEC journals are characterised by slow progress – a few journals have gained international footholds and improved metrics, but most still face challenges of low visibility, limited citations, and modest impact factors on the global stage (Demeter et al., 2023; Tóth, 2018).

Given this context, an examination of the performance trends of Eastern European communication journals is warranted. We thus formulated the following research question:

RQ1: What are the performance trends of EEC journals?

Internationalisation and publication trends

Internationalisation has become a central focus for Eastern European communication journals as they seek greater visibility. Over the past decade, many EEC journals have adopted practices to appear more "international" – for instance, switching to English or bilingual publishing, inviting foreign contributors, and broadening their thematic scope (Demeter et al., 2023). Such changes have been partly driven by national research evaluation policies. In Poland, for instance, reforms to the academic journal ranking system explicitly incentivised journals to internationalise. Editors responded by implementing formal internationalisation practices (e.g. publishing more content in English, expanding editorial boards beyond the home country), yet often in a superficial, compliance-driven way. Kulczycki et al. (2019) found that Polish social science journals exhibited "ostensible internationalization" – essentially *gaming* the system – without truly globalising their author base or readership. In these cases, journals met the letter of internationalisation requirements (such as adding international board members or English abstracts) but did not substantially increase submissions or citations from abroad.

At the same time, language is a crucial factor in publication trends. Historically, most Eastern European communication journals were published in national languages, thus limiting cross-border readership (Demeter, 2020b). Recently, there has been a clear shift toward English as the primary language of publication for many leading EEC journals, as English-language content is necessary for inclusion in global indexes. Comparative studies across disciplines underscore this trend: an analysis of social science and humanities journals in the Czech Republic and Poland showed increasing use of English and contributions from

outside the home country in the 2010s, reflecting pressures to meet international standards (Daniel & Kulmiński, 2019). Nonetheless, true internationalisation remains uneven. Even when Eastern European journals attract "international" submissions, those authors often hail from neighbouring EEC countries rather than truly global sources (Tóth, 2018). Bucher (2018) observes that the international authorship of many EEC journals is largely regional (e.g. Slovak authors in a Czech journal, or Baltic authors in a Polish journal) rather than involving scholars from the U.S., U.K., or Asia. In effect, some journals have achieved *regional* internationalisation but still struggle to appeal to authors from the traditional centres of science.

Despite these challenges, recent evidence suggests a positive trajectory in international collaboration and diversity. Co-authorship networks involving EEC scholars have expanded geographically over the past 20 years, indicating a "growing level of CEE internationalization" (Demeter et al., 2023: 1211). Demeter et al. (2023) report that Eastern European media scholars are increasingly collaborating with Western European and other international colleagues (though collaboration within the region itself remains relatively weak). This expanding network is gradually raising the profile of EEC research. Moreover, targeted strategies are emerging: some Eastern European journals have begun actively recruiting Western scholars as authors and even special-issue guest editors to boost their global visibility (Tóth, 2018). The logic, as Tóth (2018: 3) argues, is that "successful Eastern European imitation of already established high-prestige journals" requires bringing in a significant share of Western authors (especially from U.S. institutions) to approximate the content and standards of top-tier publications. In summary, publication trends in EEC journals are toward greater internationalisation – more English-language content, more foreign authors, and topics with broader appeal – albeit with considerable variation across countries and titles. Where internationalisation has been embraced sincerely (beyond token efforts), journals have seen improved metrics and integration into global scholarship (Kulczycki et al., 2019).

In light of these mixed patterns, our second research question seeks to assess the publication and internationalisation trends of EEC journals to clarify whether and how these efforts translate into scholarly impact:

> **RQ2:** What are the publication trends, metrics, and internationalisation trends in EEC journals?

Prolific authorship and citation impact

The landscape of academic excellence, particularly within communication studies, reflects a complex interplay between systemic dynamics and individual merit, as evidenced by scholars' attainment of top positions, editorial roles, and publication outputs (Burris, 2004; Cowan & Rossello, 2018; Demeter & Tóth, 2020; Erfanmanesh et al., 2017; Goyanes & de-Marcos, 2020; Lauf, 2005). Identifying the most prolific contributors and the most cited works in Eastern European communication journals, therefore, also offers an insight into the intellectual dynamics of the region. Direct literature on this specific question is sparse, therefore, we infer patterns from bibliometric studies of similar journals and general laws of scholarly productivity. In many academic journals, a small core of authors tends to

contribute a disproportionate number of articles (Petersen & Penner, 2014). We can expect similar patterns in EEC journals, where a handful of prolific authors (often from the journal's home country or institution) dominate the publication output.

The most cited articles in Eastern European communication journals are generally those that manage to resonate beyond their local context. Because overall citation rates for these journals tend to be low (due to limited international circulation), any article that garners significant citations is notable. Commonly, review articles, theoretical pieces, or studies on globally relevant topics (e.g. social media use, comparative media systems) have higher citation potential (Demeter, 2020a). However, given that "at least 95%" of EEC communication research output has historically remained uncited or unnoticed internationally (Demeter, 2020b), even the top-cited papers from Eastern European journals often have only modest citation counts relative to citation classics in major Western journals. Demeter (2018a) found that the bulk of EEC research goes uncited by Western scholars, underscoring that highly cited works from the region are the exception, not the rule. Those exceptions, when they occur, tend to be articles that bridge local and international interests – for example, studies of EEC media transformation that speak to broader theories of post-communist democratisation, or methodological papers that scholars everywhere can use (Demeter, 2018a). Indeed, some Eastern European scholars have broken through by publishing such high-impact works in international outlets (e.g. *Javnost – The Public* or *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*), which then become the most cited pieces related to the region (Demeter, 2020b).

In the absence of extensive literature on individual prolific authors in EEC journals, it is also instructive to look at institutional patterns. Certain universities and research institutes in EEC emerge as hubs of communication research productivity. For instance, the University of Warsaw and the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań in Poland or Charles University in Prague host communication programmes that regularly contribute to regional journals. We can anticipate that the most prolific authors often hail from these leading institutions or national research centres, reflecting the concentration of research resources. Moreover, collaboration patterns (as noted earlier) are evolving – younger scholars with international training increasingly publish in both local and international journals (Demeter, 2020b). Such authors (often with dual affiliations or education abroad) may produce work that gets cited more widely. In summary, while a few veteran academics likely dominate authorship counts in Eastern European communication journals, an emerging generation of internationally savvy scholars is contributing research with broader citation impact. At the same time, the literature suggests that most-cited articles from the region are those that align with global research agendas or offer comparative insights, attracting citations beyond Eastern Europe's borders, albeit still far fewer than top-cited works in the West (Demeter, 2018a).

However, despite important advances in regional bibliometric research, there remains a lack of targeted analysis identifying who the leading contributors are within Eastern European communication scholarship, and which specific works have achieved meaningful citation impact. We thus formulated the following research question:

RQ3: Who are the most prolific authors, and which articles are cited most in EEC journals?

Editorial board composition and diversity

Editorial boards (EBs) are pivotal entities in the governance of academic disciplines, serving as gatekeepers of knowledge (Metz et al., 2016) and exerting significant influence on the content that informs theory development, research, and practice. Therefore, the composition of EBs is not merely a reflection of diversity but also a manifestation of world-systemic power dynamics in knowledge production and dissemination (Ganter & Ortega, 2019). In an increasingly standardised and formulaic scientific landscape (Alvesson et al., 2017), there's a growing call for scientific journals to adopt a more inclusive approach by diversifying the geographical representation within their EBs because this diversity could foster the publication of manuscripts with a broader range of research approaches and perspectives (Baruch, 2001). However, studies in scientometrics reveal the predominant presence in the EBs of major journals is of Western regions (Murphy & Zhu, 2012; Lendvai, 2025). In top communication journals globally, 87.7% of editors-in-chief are based in North America or Western Europe (Asuman et al., 2024), highlighting a stark imbalance.

Traditionally, the editorial boards of many EEC journals have been dominated by local scholars – often a small circle of academics from the journal's home country or region. This insularity was a product of both necessity (limited international contacts) and design (journals serving national scholarly communities). In recent years, however, Eastern European journals have sought to broaden their editorial boards by including international members in order to signal prestige and attract submissions from abroad (Kulczycki et al., 2019). The extent of this internationalisation of boards varies. Some journals now list numerous foreign academics (occasionally Western Europe or U.S.-based scholars) on their masthead, while others maintain largely national boards with one or two token foreigners. Importantly, studies suggest that merely expanding board size or adding a few international names does not automatically yield genuine diversity or influence (Asuman et al., 2024).

At the same time, research on journal editorship underscores the importance of geographic diversity in broadening a journal's content and reach. Empirical research by Lauf (2005) and Demeter (2018c) underscores the link between EB diversity and the diversity of published articles, revealing that journals with more diverse boards tend to feature a broader range of author affiliations. Similarly, Goyanes and Demeter (2020) found that in high-ranked communication journals, those with more geographically diverse editorial boards tended to publish more internationally diverse research (Demeter et al., 2023). The same principle likely applies to Eastern European journals: if the board includes active members from a variety of countries, the journal is more likely to receive submissions from and cite works across those nations. Yet achieving such diversity has proven challenging. "Thin" internationalisation or geographic tokenism is often evident – for instance, repeatedly inviting the same well-known foreign scholar to an advisory board role, without integrating broader international participation (Asuman et al., 2024; Cloud, 1996). Such tokenism, while creating an appearance of diversity, leaves the real decision-making core concentrated locally (Cloud, 1996). Some critics argue that Eastern European journals sometimes add Western scholars to their boards with the aim mainly of boosting evaluation points or prestige, rather than meaningfully involving them in the editorial processes (Kulczycki et al., 2019). Interviews with Polish journal editors, for instance, revealed that they implemented internationally

oriented changes only when required by policy, rather than out of any genuine strategy designed to globalise their journals (Kulczycki et al., 2019).

Another aspect of editorial boards is their *intra*-regional diversity. Given the shared post-communist history of EEC countries, one might expect regional solidarity in editorial collaborations. However, evidence also indicates that EEC journals do not feature board members from neighbouring countries heavily either – many remain nationally oriented (Demeter et al., 2023). Notwithstanding, there are some positive developments: regional associations (such as *CEECOM*) have encouraged cross-country representation on journal boards like the *Central European Journal of Communication*. As a result, newer boards are gradually mixing scholars from multiple Eastern European Communication countries, which could foster a regional identity and cooperative network. Ultimately, the characteristics of the editorial boards of EEC journals are in flux – moving from parochial, homogeneous groups toward more inclusive bodies, but not without resistance and structural constraints. Ensuring true diversity (not only geographical but also gender and methodological diversity) remains an ongoing challenge (Lendvai, 2025). What is clear from the literature is that editorial boards play a gatekeeping role that influences a journal's content and reputation (Demeter, 2020a; Ekdale et al., 2022; Metz et al., 2016; Paasi, 2005; Willems, 2014). If Eastern European journals are to increase their global visibility and impact, their boards will need to continue evolving toward greater international representativeness and more inclusive practices, rather than reinforcing the East–West divide in scholarly publishing (Metz et al., 2016).

Given the pivotal role of editorial boards in shaping scholarly discourse and the dissemination of knowledge, a systematic examination of their composition is essential. We thus formulated the following research question:

RQ4: What are the characteristics of the editorial boards of EEC journals?

In summary, scholarly research over the past decade highlights both the persistent challenges and emerging improvements in Eastern European communication journals. *Performance* trends show slight upward trajectories in impact and indexing for a select few journals, yet the overall visibility of the region's research remains limited by Western standards (Demeter, 2020b). Efforts at *internationalisation* – through language change, policy incentives, and collaboration – have begun to pay off in terms of broader authorship and readership, although genuine global integration is still a work in progress (Demeter et al., 2023; Kulczycki et al., 2019; Daniel & Kulmiński, 2019). Analyses of *authorship and citations* suggest that while a core group of local scholars drives much of the publication output, the region has yet to produce widely cited "breakthrough" articles in its own journals (most high-impact work by EEC scholars occurs at international outlets) (Demeter, 2018c; 2020b). Meanwhile, *editorial board compositions* are slowly diversifying, recognising that inclusive and internationalised editorial governance can attract better submissions and increase a journal's prestige (Asuman et al., 2024). Given the historically peripheral status of EEC communication research, these trends signal a gradual convergence with global scholarly norms, even as gaps remain. In general, the literature underlines a central theme: *international visibility* is both the greatest challenge and the key to future growth for Eastern European communication journals.

Materials and methods

Data were collected using multiple repositories. As we were primarily investigating Scopus-indexed journals because of the wide range of publications and comprehensive data (Baas et al., 2020), we started our data collection of journals from the SCImago Journal and Country Rank, which uses Elsevier's Scopus database and includes metadata on journals and their geographical data (González-Pereira et al., 2010). For SCImagoJR, we employed the following data collection sequence: Journal Rankings > Subject Category: "Communication" > All regions / countries > Eastern Europe. We chose a 10-year period (2014–2023) and manually downloaded all journal metadata for the attributable journals. We only included journals in our analysis; consequently, every other publication type was excluded as in previous scientometric examinations (Jokić, 2020; Jokić et al., 2019; Demeter, 2017; Sasvári & Lendvai, 2024; Teodorescu & Andrei, 2011; Christián et al., 2022). Although we initially identified 37 journals, after manually checking all of them we identified a critical issue with SCImagoJR because, probably due to an error, it had listed a journal concerning Black cinema and cinematography, *Black Camera,* issued by the Indiana University Press, as a Russian journal. In total, therefore, we extracted data for 36 journals.

In line with standard scientometric and bibliometric methodology, the unit of analysis in this study is the Scopus-assigned subject category, not an a priori disciplinary assessment of individual article content. Journals were included if they were indexed under the Communication category in SCImagoJR during the examined period, regardless of whether communication constituted their sole or dominant thematic focus (Table 1).

Concerning journals, we also took into account SCImagoJR's SJR value, a reliable and widely used metric based on the number of citations received and the prestige of the journals (Colledge et al., 2010; González-Pereira et al., 2010) in addition to their respective H-indices and quartile (Q) assignments (Hirsch, 2005; Garfield, 2006). In certain cases, however, journals indexed in Scopus are not assigned to a quartile (mainly due to the lack of citation data, see Cortegiani et al., 2020); these journals were excluded in the pertaining analyses.

Table 1:
Country based distribution of communication journals indexed in Scopus

Country	Count
Poland	12
The Russian Federation	6
Lithuania	4
Croatia	3
The Czech Republic	2
Hungary	2
Romania	2
Slovakia	2
Serbia	1
Slovenia	1
Estonia	1

Source: Compiled by the authors.

After having gathered all data for EEC journals, we analysed the publications in them using Scopus and SciVal. We identified 5,939 publications and were able to extract all their metadata, including the number of citations. Regarding publications we applied bibliometric methods to analyse trends and the visibility of the outputs. This included a citation analysis with a particular focus on the Field-Weighted Citation Impact (FWCI), a complex metric that is more comprehensive than the standard citation analysis as it is field-normalised which is based on the respective document's field of study, the type of the article, and the year of publication (Zanotto & Carvalho, 2021). For the visualisation of the co-authorship analyses (CAA) we employed VOSviewer (Van Eck & Waltman, 2010). During the CAA, we ignored documents with more than 25 authors and publications with fewer than 5 citations.

Lastly, regarding editorial boards, we manually checked each journal's editorial board composition on their respective website. Following similar scientometric editorial board composition analyses (De-Marcos et al., 2024; Goyanes, 2020; Goyanes et al., 2022; Goyanes & Demeter, 2020; Lendvai, 2025) we extracted the institutional affiliations of each editorial member. We conducted the data collection manually and excluded all journals in this analysis which did not provide a comprehensive institutional affiliation outline (affiliation name and affiliation country). As editorial board compositions are listed differently in case of the majority of journals, we opted to include all members listed on the respective journals that are either: chief editors, editor(s)-in-chief, (active) founding editor(s), advisory members or advisory editors, and reviewing editors and excluded members who are either handling technical tasks (e.g. website editors, copyeditors) and language-related duties (e.g. proofreaders). To keep the scope solely on the editorial boards, we also excluded members that are listed as members of the (scientific) network of the respective journals, because it was not possible to verify whether they are taking on editorial tasks or (if listed) act as reviewers. In certain cases where members were listed twice (e.g. as board members and advisory board members), we only counted the respective members once. After filtering out journals without comprehensive data on institutional affiliation, we excluded non-examinable journals, which left us with a database of editorial boards of 31 journals, based on the lack of comprehensive or decipherable data on affiliation which included the omission of the mention of affiliation or country of board members, or the journal's website being inaccessible. We collected data concerning editorial boards on 20 February 2025.

Results

EEC journals: Performance, visibility, and metrics (RQ1)

We first examined EEC journals by count. The number of Eastern European journals indexed in Scopus increased between 2014 and 2023. Though there seems to be a stagnation in the number of indexed journals since 2019, the trend shows a rise in the last 10 years, with a slope of 3.99 (intercept = –8038.27, $R^2 = 0.86$, $p = 0.0001$ ***, standard error = 0.56). Descriptive statistics indicate a median of 28.5 of journals, a mean of 23.5, a minimum of 6 (in 2014), and a maximum of 36 (in 2021) (Figure 1).

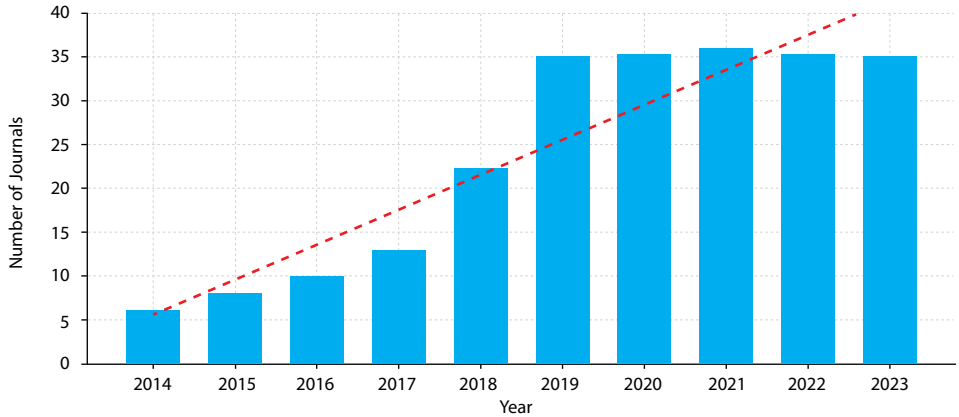


Figure 1:
Number of EEC journals by year between 2014 and 2023
Source: Compiled by the authors.

Though Q (quartile) rankings are often criticised in general and interdisciplinary scientometric analyses (Vîiu & Păunescu, 2021; Kosyakov & Pislyakov, 2024), in our case, as we specifically focused on one particular subject category, we examined the Q distribution too to see how prestigious EEC journals are.

The distribution of SJR quartiles throughout the examined period show that Q1 journals are the least common. The dominance of lower-ranked journals has been reported before (Jokić, 2020; Sasvári & Lendvai, 2024); however, it is striking that most academic publications in the region still struggle to reach Q1 status. Certain journals, however, consistently reach Q1 rankings across multiple years, including the Czech *Cyberpsychology,* which has been among the highest-ranked over time. It should be noted that not all indexed journals received a quartile ranking in every year of indexing. Of the 235 journal-year observations, 191 (81.3%) had an assigned SJR quartile. Journals typically lack a quartile in their first year(s) of indexing, as SCImago requires prior citation data to calculate the SJR score. Consequently, the following analyses are based on the 191 observations with assigned quartiles.

Given this pattern, we conducted two advanced statistical analyses to examine quartile stability and trends: Markov Chain Analysis (MCA) to review Q-transitions (Yutong, 2021) and the Cochran–Armitage Trend Test, a well-established statistical test used to detect a linear trend in proportions across ordered groups (Buonaccorsi et al., 2014).

First, the MCA evaluated how likely journals are to stay in the same quartile or transition to a different one over time. Transitions were only counted between consecutive years where both years had an assigned quartile (n = 155 transitions). The transition matrix reveals that Q1 journals have an 87.5% probability of remaining in Q1, showing strong stability at the top. Q4 journals have a 58.3% probability of staying in Q4, and Q3 journals show considerable stability as well, with a 56.1% probability of remaining in Q3. Q2 journals display the most movement, with a 38.9% probability of staying in Q2 and a 44.4% probability of dropping to Q3. Mobility between non-neighbouring quartiles (e.g. Q1–Q3, Q1–Q4, Q2–Q4) is almost non-existent.

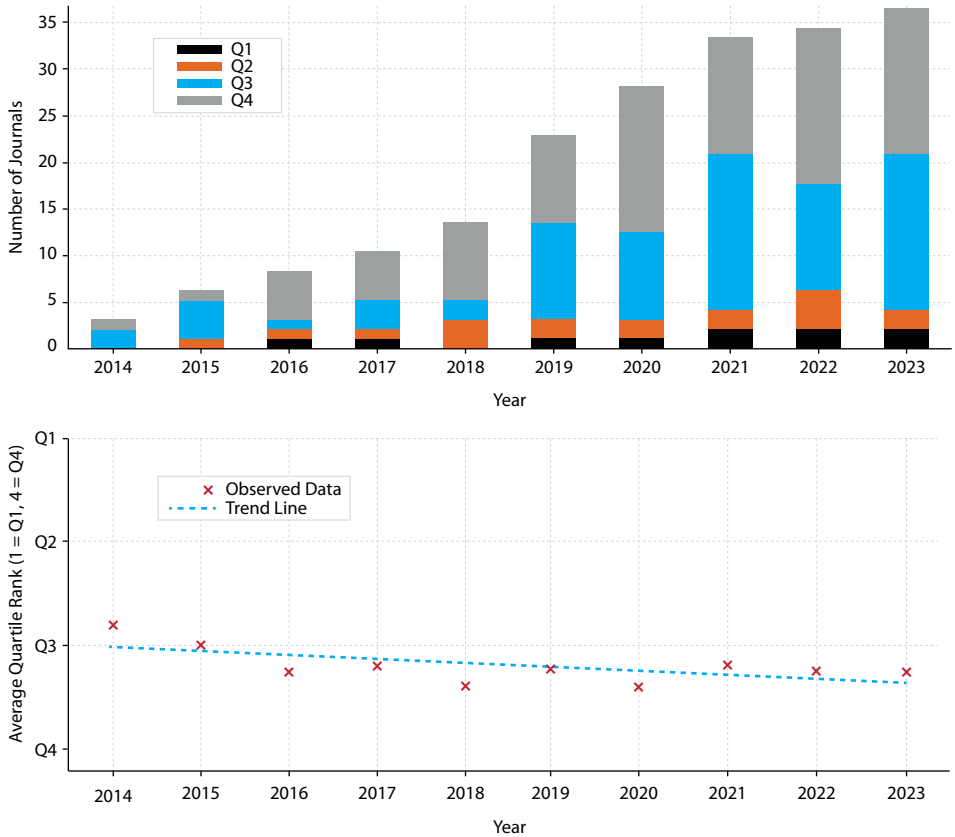


Figure 2:
Combined analysis of the quartile assignments of EEC journals between 2014 and 2023
Source: Compiled by the authors.

Second, the Cochran–Armitage Trend Test examined whether there is a statistically significant trend in quartile rankings over time. The regression model used was:

$$Quartile\ Rank = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \times Year$$

where β_0 (intercept) = −69.76, β_1 (slope) = 0.036, R^2 = 0.38, and p = 0.059.

All in all, these analyses reveal strong stability across quartile rankings: Q1, Q3, and Q4 journals tend to remain in their respective quartiles, while Q2 journals show the most movement. The trend test did not find a statistically significant change in average quartile rankings over the examined period (p = 0.059), suggesting that the overall distribution of journal quality has remained largely stable between 2014 and 2023 (Figure 2).

The distribution of H-indices over time exhibits substantial variation, with noticeable fluctuations in median values, outliers, and spread. The highest median H-index was recorded

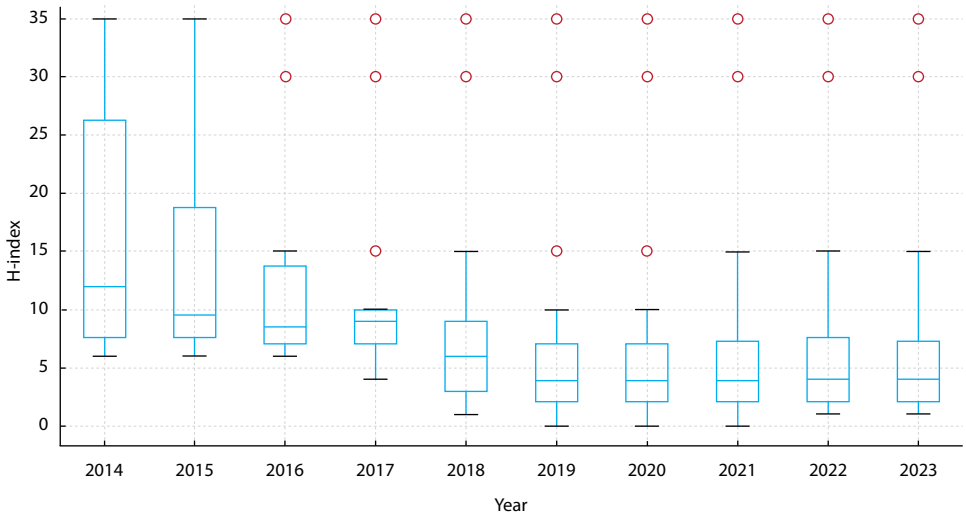


Figure 3:
Changes in H-index assignments of EEC journals between 2014 and 2023
Source: Compiled by the authors.

in 2014, reaching 12, while the lowest median H-index was observed in 2019, with a median value of 4, a level that remained stable through 2023. The interquartile range (IQR) remained relatively stable across most years, but 2014 and 2015 displayed a broader spread, suggesting a greater disparity between high-impact and lower-impact journals during those periods. The maximum H-index recorded in the dataset was 35 in 2014, while the lowest recorded H-index was 0 in 2019 and 2020, emphasising the disparity in journal influence across time. The standard deviation of H-indices was highest in 2014 (12.5), reflecting greater variability in journal rankings, whereas 2019 and 2020 had the lowest standard deviation (7.4), suggesting a more uniform distribution of journal impact in those years. However, the apparent decline in median H-index from 2014 to 2019 should be interpreted with caution, as it is largely a composition effect: in 2014, only 6 well-established journals were indexed, whereas by 2019, 35 journals were indexed, including many newly added journals with naturally lower H-indices (Figure 3).

With regard to the SJR scores, it can be stated that EEC journals display, generally, a rather low score which implies lower significance in international research visibility. There has not been a case in the 10-year period where an EEC journal was able to step over the 1.00 threshold which is generally regarded as the indication of balance prestige of a journal (Olmeda-Gómez & De Moya-Anegón, 2016). Furthermore, the highest median SJR score was recorded in 2014 (0.240) where only 5 of 6 journals was indexed (the lowest number in the examined period), while the lowest median SJR score appeared in 2018 (0.123), indicating a general decline in impact rankings over time. The mean SJR values varied, with 2014 having the highest average (0.255) and 2018 the lowest (0.188), while 2017 exhibited the widest dispersion (standard deviation: 0.210). The journal with the highest recorded SJR score was *Informatics in Education* in 2021, with an SJR of 0.956, followed by *Cyberpsychology* in 2021 (0.916) and again in 2022 (0.903).

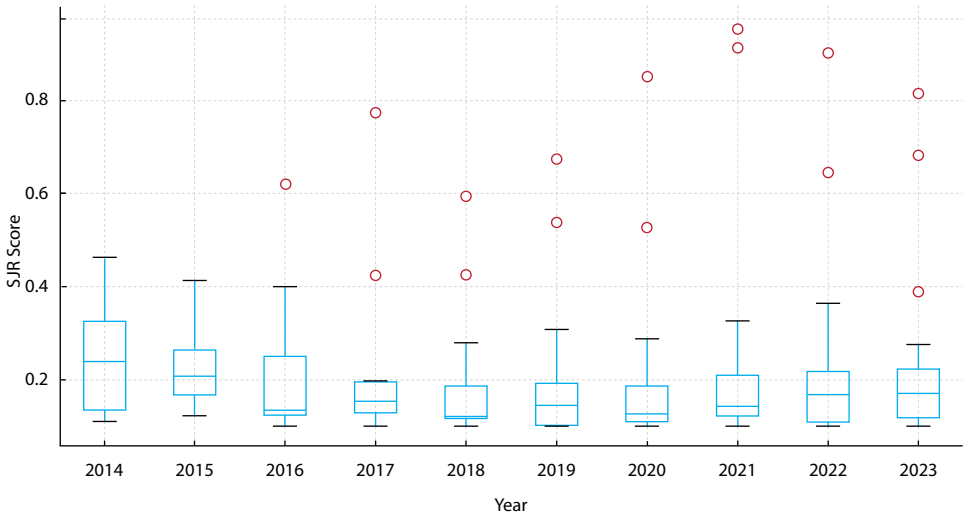


Figure 4:
Changes in SJR scores of EEC journals between 2014 and 2023
Source: Compiled by the authors.

For this analysis, a quantile regression was also applied to estimate relationships at different percentiles of the SJR distribution rather than just the mean/median values. We ran regressions at the 10th, 50th (median), and 90th percentiles, using the formula "*SJR ~ Year*", to examine how impact trends differ across journal tiers. The results reveal that lower-ranked journals (10th percentile) show virtually no change over time (slope ≈ 0.000, p = 0.999), and median journals (50th percentile) similarly show no significant trend (slope = 0.002, p = 0.359). At the 90th percentile, the slope was −0.020 (p = 0.055), suggesting a slight, non-significant decline in SJR scores among the highest-ranked journals. Overall, the quantile regression indicates that SJR scores have remained largely stable across all tiers over the examined period, with no statistically significant trends at any percentile (Figure 4).

Publication performance of EEC journals (RQ2)

First, we investigated the yearly change in the count of publications in EEC journals. Between 2014 and 2023, the number of publications grew significantly, increasing from 142 in 2014 to 956 in 2023, with a mean publication count of 593.9 and a standard deviation of 378.93, indicating substantial variability in growth ($R^2 = 0.88, p = 0.00005$ ***). The correlation (r) of 0.999 between the journal count and publication count shows that the rise in publications was closely mirrored by an increase in journal outlets. The data distribution shows that publication output accelerated particularly after 2017, with the median count at 691.5, indicating that half of the years had a lower and half had a higher publication output. The interquartile range also highlights that most of the rapid growth occurred post-2018, where the 75th percentile reached 945.75 publications (Figure 5).

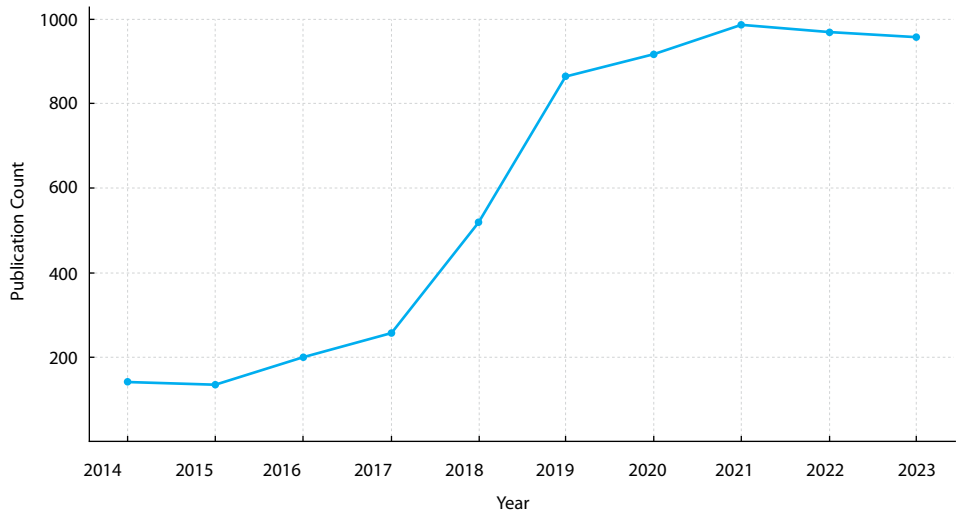


Figure 5:
The number of publications in EEC journals between 2014 and 2023
Source: Compiled by the authors.

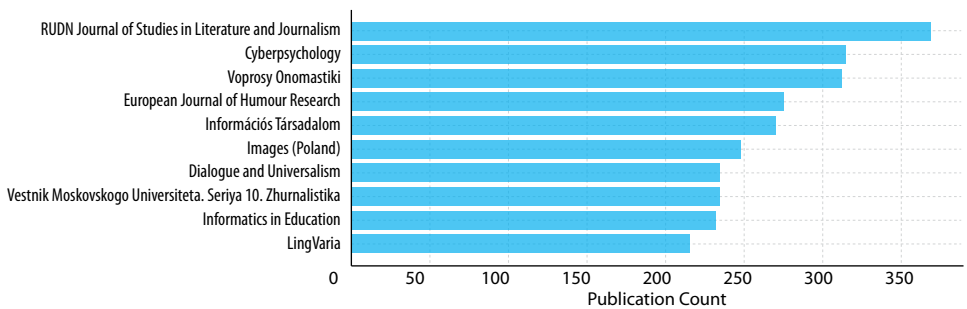


Figure 6:
Most productive EEC journals by publication count
Source: Compiled by the authors.

We also examined the most productive sources. The journal with the highest publication counts in the dataset is *RUDN Journal of Studies in Literature and Journalism,* with 369 publications. *Cyberpsychology* follows closely with 315 publications, making it the second most frequent source. *Voprosy Onomastiki* ranks third with 312 publications, showing a minor difference from *Cyberpsychology*. The *European Journal of Humour Research* appears in fourth place, contributing 275 publications to the dataset. *Információs Társadalom* rounds out the top five, with a total of 270 publications (Figure 6).

The yearly analysis of citations and FWCI revealed interesting trends in scholarly impact over time. In the starting year, 2014, the mean citation count was relatively high at 12.43, with an FWCI of 0.52, indicating a strong initial impact of publications from that year. However, in 2015, citations dropped to 8.56, while FWCI declined to 0.41, suggesting

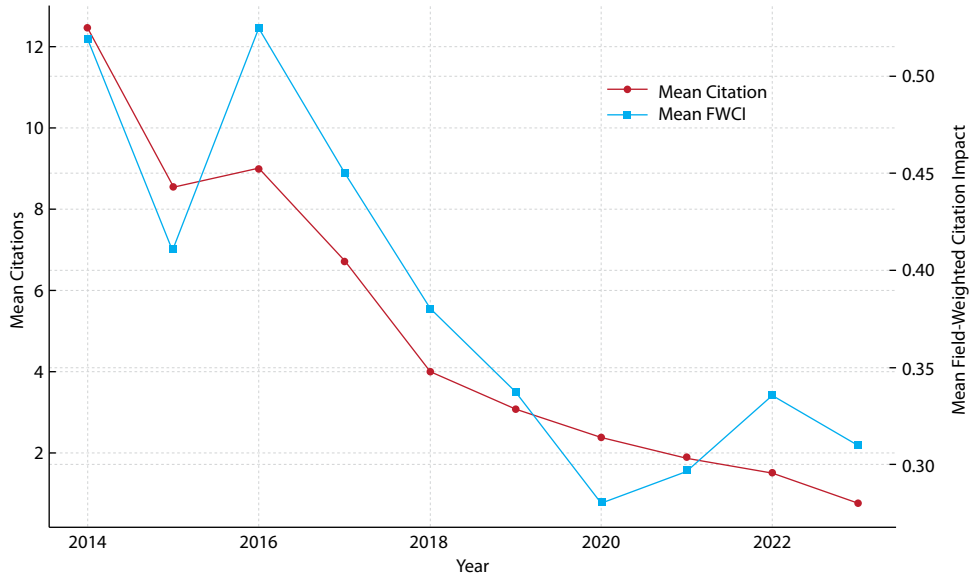


Figure 7:
Mean citation and FWCI value analysis of publications in EEC journals
Source: Compiled by the authors.

a decrease in both absolute citations and relative citation performance. The year 2016 saw a slight recovery in FWCI, rising to 0.52, while mean citations remained stable at 9.00. In 2017, citations experienced another drop to 6.73, and FWCI decreased slightly to 0.45, indicating a declining trend in research impact. By 2018, mean citations had decreased further to 3.99, marking a significant decline in the number of times publications from that year were cited. The FWCI in 2018 also dropped to 0.38, reinforcing the trend of diminishing impact. This downward trajectory suggests that articles published in later years tend to accumulate fewer citations on average which can be due to the fact that the volume of publications have grown significantly in the examined period; this phenomenon is well-known in scientometrics (Daruka, 2014; Larivière & Costas, 2016; Parolo et al., 2015; Varga, 2019; Chu & Evans, 2021). The similarity in decline between absolute citations and FWCI is also noteworthy. From 2017 onward the decline in FWCI implies that the relative influence of these publications was weakening compared to global benchmarks. Future research could explore whether this decline is field-specific or part of a broader trend in academic publishing (Figure 7).

Following Demeter et al.'s (2023) foundational paper on the internationalisation of "peripheral", Central and Eastern European communication scholars' collaboration pattern, we were interested in seeing whether that internationalisation is manifested in journals and publications, first, before seeing individual collaboration patterns. Using SciVal's country assignment we established three categories:

1. Domestic publications (DP): the journal's country and the publication's author(s) are assigned to the same country. For example, *KOME* is a Hungarian journal, if the publication is authored by a Hungarian author(s), it is a DP.

2. International collaborations (IC): the journal's country and at least one of the publication's author(s) are assigned to the same country, other authors, however, are from a different country. Naturally, this category only applies to co-authored papers. For example, if a publication in the Hungarian *KOME* is authored by two Hungarian author(s) and a Slovenian author, it is an IC.
3. International publications (IP): the journal's country and the publication's author(s) are not assigned to the same country. For example, if a publication in the Hungarian *KOME* is authored by two Slovenian authors, it is an IP.

With regard to this analysis, for 341 publications we found no country data, thus, we excluded them.

We found that higher internationalisation signified via the higher rates of IC and IP publication reflect the higher prestige expressed in quartile assignment of a given journal. This is particularly true regarding journals that generally rank in the upper segments of quartiles such as *Cyberpsychology* which is the most international journal with 92.38% of its publications being published by international authors (similarly, the Lithuanian *Informatics in Education* shows an IP rate of 91.77%). These results confirm Sasvári and Lendvai's (2024) findings which suggested that internationalised journals in social sciences in the Visegrád region tend to receive higher prestige and international visibility, which then also converts to impact elevation. What is intriguing, however, that there the IC rates are extremely low, which shows a fragmented authorship pattern: most EEC journal publications are either fully DP or IP which, again, confirms Sasvári and Lendvai's (2024) claims that these publication venues often fail to be platforms for international collaborations. We also found "quasi" EEC journals that are assigned to an EE country, however, solely publish ICs or IPs. Other than the two aforementioned journals, the most striking example of a quasi-EEC journal is the *Iberoamerican Journal of Science Measurement and Communication,* a mainly scientometrics-related journal which is Estonian in name but, however, did not publish any work by an Estonian author during the examined period (Table A in Appendix).

What is even more interesting is that despite the rather low citations and FWCI rates (Figure 7), ICs and IPs tend to be more visible and impactful than DPs which underlines why it is extremely unusual for peripheral regional journals to invite international authors (see Demeter, 2017). DPs receive a mean citation of approximately 1.2, while ICs and IPs receive significantly more (IC ≈ 3.43, IP ≈ 5.21). These results are reflected in the mean FWCI as well (DP ≈ 0.2, IC ≈ 0.47, IP ≈ 0.51) (Table 2).

Table 2:
Mean and median citation and FWCI scores by internationalisation categories

Publication type	Mean citations	Median citations	Mean FWCI	Median FWCI
DP	1.205	0.0	0.201	0.0
IC	3.434	1.0	0.470	0.14
IP	5.208	1.0	0.508	0.19

Source: Compiled by the authors.

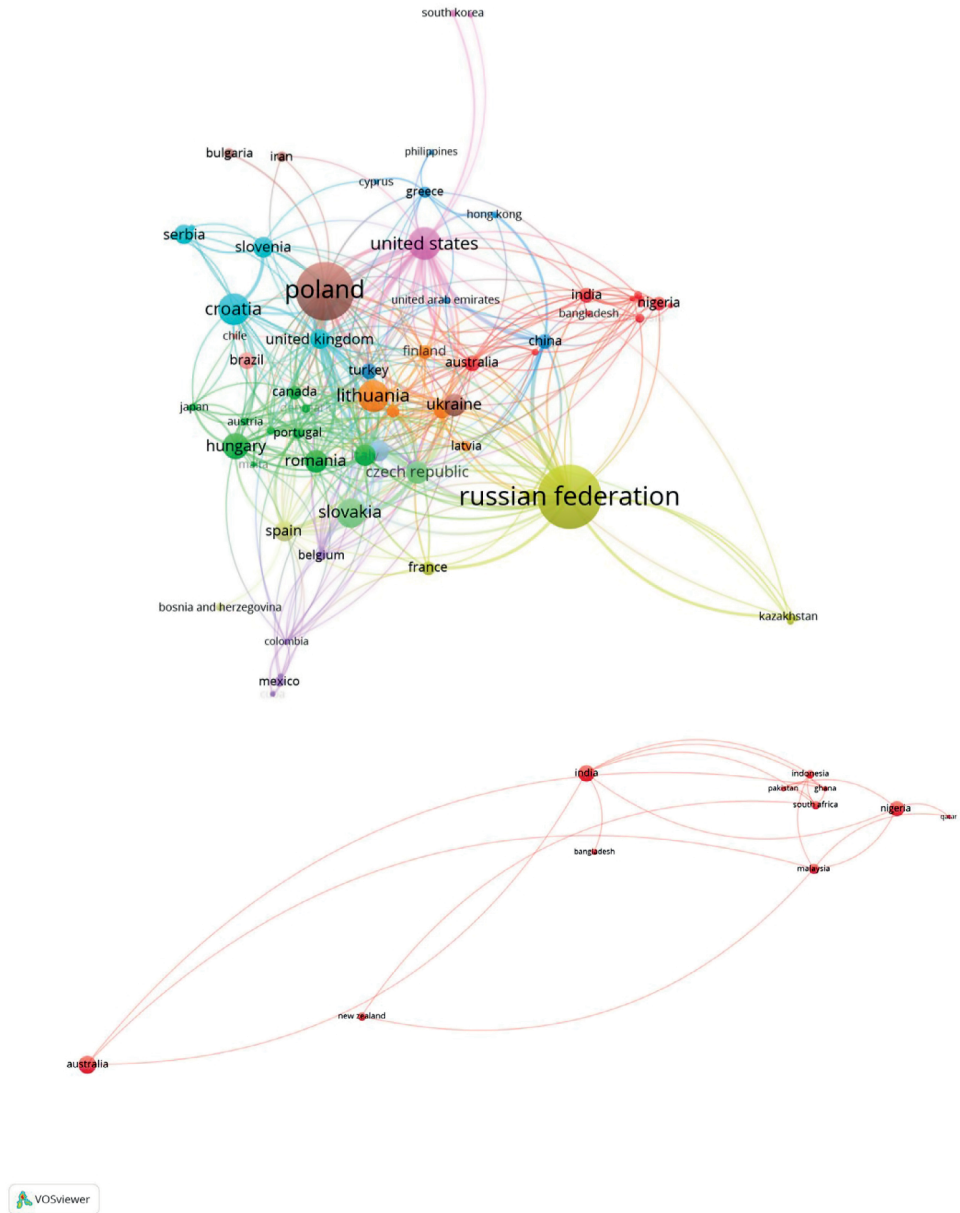


Figure 8:
Co-authorship analysis of publications in EEC journals with VOSviewer

Top figure: holistic overview, bottom figure: visualisation of Cluster 1. Nodes represent countries based on affiliation; edges represent co-authorship connections. On the bottom figure, in red, Cluster 1 is highlighted due to the fact that it is one of the bigger clusters without any involvement from any European-institution-affiliated authors.

Source: Compiled by the authors.

As for collaboration patterns, our CAA by country shows a highly interconnected network (items: 67, clusters: 13, links: 390, total link strength: 684). The largest nodes are Russia, Poland, and the United States. The majority of the network of co-authors is represented by regional countries which are positioned centrally in the network with larger nodes being Hungary, Lithuania, Slovakia, Ukraine, Romania, and Croatia, though the latter is more peripherally positioned with no connection to the Russian cluster. We have discovered a distinct Global South cluster too (Cluster 1) which we have visualised individually. This cluster (items: 11, links: 21) is a particularly interesting cluster as it composed of countries that are highly peripheral in the full network and their distribution can be described as the "Global South cluster" with only two countries, namely, Australia and New Zealand, being represented therein. The reason why we singled out this particular cluster for display is to show that there is a minimal representation of the scholarship of the Global South in EEC journals, however, it is highly interconnected, meaning that when Global South scholars publish in EEC journals, they prefer to do so with other Global South scholars (cf. Kohus et al., 2022) (Figure 8).

Most prolific authors in EEC journals

We used fractionalised counting to detect the most productive authors. To do this, we fractionalized the counts equally as there were no indication of the share of work in the papers. We also took into account the journal that was most preferred by the respective author, as well as the fractionalised citation counts and the total number of citations of all publications. Leading contributors, such as Mojžišová M. and Hendrykowski M., have the highest number of fractionalised publication counts (15 and 14, respectively), yet their citation impact is minimal, with only 2 total citations each, also implying that no co-authored publications papers were published by them. In contrast, scholars like Demeter M. and Levchuk P. rank lower in fractionalised publication count (7.36 and 7.17, respectively) but exhibit significantly higher citation influence, with 71 and 65 total citations. The Hungarian scholar, Márton Demeter ("Demeter, M."), has a particularly high citation-to-publication ratio, which implies that his work resonates strongly within the academic community.

Moreover, it is also worth highlighting an intriguing factor, specifically with regard to top publication venues. At the time of the writing of this paper, 7 out of 10 top authors are either the editor-in-chief or the senior editor of their most preferred EEC journal, and all the authors are members of the respective editorial board of their top publication value. While editorial participation can indicate expertise and commitment to a field, this pattern hints at structural self-reinforcement: those with publishing power also wield curatorial authority. This practice is not unethical *per se,* nor is it in any way novel in Eastern European journals (Bošnjak et al., 2011). However, this issue also raises rather uncomfortable questions about the balance between meritocracy and editorial privilege, particularly when top contributors repeatedly appear in journals they help in managing (Helgesson et al., 2022; Rosenblum et al., 2020). Nonetheless, another aspect must also be highlighted. It is proposed that the phenomenon of "self-publishing" be interpreted within the context of Eastern Europe as a peripheral academic region. As mentioned above in considerable detail, this region is often excluded from dominant circuits of global knowledge production and in such a systemically marginalised

scholarly field, scholars may rely on tightly-knit national or regional networks – including editorial positions – as "survival strategies" in a global hierarchy that disproportionately favours Western institutions and Anglophone publishing venues (see Demeter, 2020b). Therefore, what may appear as self-serving behaviour in core academic regions might, in this particular context, also be interpreted as a form of institutional resilience or even resistance (Table 3).

Table 3:
Top authors in EEC journals

Rank by count	Author	Fractionalised count	Top publication venue	Fractionalised citations	Total citations
1.	**Mojžišová, M.**	15	*Slovenske Divadlo (15)*	2	2
2.	**Hendrykowski, M.**	14	*Images (Poland) (14)*	2	2
3.	**Rotar, N.Z.**	13.3	*Medijska Istrazivanja (13)*	0	0
4.	**Czarnocka, M.**	12.5	*Dialogue and Universalism (13)*	4	4
5.	**Rak, M.**	11	*LingVaria (11)*	4	4
6.	**Shilina, M.G.**	8.75	*RUDN Journal of Studies in Literature and Journalism (16)*	6.6	10
7.	**Pop, D.**	8.5	*Ekphrasis (9)*	4	4
8.	**László, Z.K.**	8	*Információs Társadalom (9)*	10	10
9.	**Demeter, M.**	7.36	*KOME (8)*	61.75	71
10.	**Levchuk, P.**	7.17	*Cognitive Studies (9)*	49.17	65

Source: Compiled by the authors.

Analysis of editorial boards (RQ4)

To examine editorial boards, we first conducted a statistical analysis of the 31 EEC journals included. The investigation revealed a moderate association between editorial board internationalisation and key performance indicators. For this analysis, we also assigned values to Q rankings to calculate averages: D1 = 4.5, Q1 = 4, Q2 = 3, Q3 = 2, Q4 =1. We used the best quartile rank for each journal. Internationalisation was operationalised via affiliation countries.

The percentage of non-domestic (international) editors showed a positive Pearson correlation of $r = 0.49$ ($p = 0.005$ **) with better quartile ranking. In this regard, though we acknowledge that quartile rankings are based on a plethora of factors, we find that the fact that journals with more internationally composed editorial boards tend to occupy higher quartiles (Q1 being the most prestigious) is still an important finding. This trend is reinforced by two additional findings: a positive correlation of $r = 0.61$ ($p = 0.000311$ ***) between the percentage of international editors and IP, and a negative correlation of $r = -0.61$ ($p = 0.000269$ ***) between the percentage of international editors and DP share.

These relationships paint a significant portrait: as seen from previous research (De-Marcos et al., 2024; Goyanes, 2020; Goyanes & Demeter, 2020), international

editorial representation is not only statistically associated with journal prestige, but also with a higher share of international contributions. Top-ranked journals like *Cyberpsychology* (Q1 D1, 77.8% international editors) and *Informatics in Education* (Q1, 95.3%) illustrate how internationalisation supports broad visibility and integration into global knowledge circuits. In contrast, journals like *Medialni Studia* or *Z Badan nad Ksiazka,* which have no editors from non-domestic institution, remain confined to Q4 rankings and exhibit low international engagement. It should be noted, however, that not all journals with fully domestic editorial boards are confined to lower quartiles, see *Slovenske Divadlo* and *Tekst, Kniga, Knigoizdaniye*, journals that despite having 100% domestic editors, held Q3 rankings at one point. Concerning higher best quartiles, while exceptions do exist (such as *Medijske Studije* [Q2, 100% domestic]), they are rare.

Lastly, we investigated editorial diversity by Q rankings as well. Estonia and Hungary both exhibit strong performance, each with an average quartile score of 3 (Q2) and high international editor percentages (100% and 62.5%, respectively), but both of them are represented by only one journal which largely limits generalisability. Lithuania and Poland stand out as more structurally important. Lithuania averages 67.55% international editors across 4 journals, while Poland contributes the largest volume (12 journals) with a respectable average internationalisation rate (55.93%) and a consistent quartile score of 1.92. The Czech Republic also performs well, despite a lower internationalisation rate (38.9%), with an average quartile of 2.75 (Q3 leaning Q2) across 2 journals. This result is bolstered by the exceptional performance of one of the most successful journals in the region, *Cyberpsychology* (Q1, D1). In contrast, countries with lower international editorial participation, particularly Russia (37.74%) and Croatia (14.3%), show lower average quartile scores (2.0, respectively). Romania contributes two journals with a moderate internationalisation rate (43.55%) and an average quartile score of 1.50. Serbia and Slovakia remain outliers; Serbia contributes only one journal with less significant impact (Q4) and moderate international engagement (48.2%), while Slovakia's sole journal (Slovenske Divadlo, Q3) has no international editorial representation, pointing to structural limitations in global integration. In sum, Poland and Lithuania emerge as the most balanced contributors to the region's scholarly output, while countries like Estonia and Hungary, despite excellent scores, remain symbolically strong but institutionally light (Table B in Appendix).

Discussion

Our study's findings across the four RQs proposed offer a comprehensive analysis of the structure, performance, and potential limitations in visibility of Eastern European communication journals. Regarding RQ1, the results point to a modest yet consistent growth in the number of Scopus-indexed EEC journals over the past decade. However, the journals remain predominantly in lower SJR quartiles, with Q1 publications being rare and largely concentrated in a few "standout" journals. With regard to prestige, while top- and bottom-tier journals demonstrate stability, mid-tier ones exhibit more mobility, albeit without clear upward trajectories, pointing to a structural inertia. Concerning RQ2, the publication metrics depict a notable growth in article output, especially post-2017.

However, this growth has not translated into higher impact, in fact, quite the opposite is apparent. Both citation counts and FWCI have declined over time, moreover, journals with less local input and higher international collaboration and international authorship rates were found to be significantly more cited. Findings regarding RQ3 show that the most prolific authors are concentrated in specific journals and often have modest citation counts, suggesting limited cross-border academic influence. However, certain individuals, notably those affiliated with higher-impact journals demonstrate a more substantial reach. Finally, RQ4 revealed stark disparities in the composition of editorial boards: journals with a high percentage of international editors tend to publish more international work and rank in higher quartiles. Conversely, journals with mostly domestic boards correlate with low internationalisation and limited impact.

To synthesise our endeavours, the findings of the present paper across the RQs point to a structurally interdependent dynamic underlying the performance of Eastern European journals classified under the Scopus Communication category. We found that journal-level performance indicators (RQ1), such as quartile stability and SJR trajectories, are not merely outcomes of publication volume or time-bound citation accumulation but emerge from the joint configuration of editorial governance (RQ4), authorship structures (RQ3), and internationalisation patterns (RQ2). All in all, we can assert that journals with internationally diversified editorial boards are more likely to attract international publications and non-domestic authorship, which in turn is associated with higher citation impact and field-weighted visibility. Conversely, journals characterised by predominantly domestic editorial boards (i.e. internal bias as described by Sasvári & Lendvai [2024]) tend to reproduce concentrated authorship patterns, often involving prolific contributors embedded in the same editorial networks, and exhibit lower levels of international collaboration and impact. In this sense, authorship concentration and what we understand under editorial self-reinforcement as mentioned above do not solely operate independently from internationalisation but also function as mutually reinforcing mechanisms that either facilitate or constrain journal performance. These dimensions thus collectively constitute a structural ecosystem through which peripheral journals either gain limited integration into global citation circuits or remain locked into nationally bounded publishing cycles (see Sasvári & Lendvai, 2024). From the perspective of critical publishing studies, these interdependencies can be interpreted as practical manifestations of structural gatekeeping and epistemic injustice within global academic communication. Building on Bourdieu (1988; 1989, also see Kim, 2023), academic and symbolic power (Demeter, 2020b) is exercised, shaping whose knowledge is rendered visible, legitimate, and citable across international circuits. In the present, peripheral contexts, "concentration" – whether it be through authorial or editorial practices – represent the very economy of the current academic knowledge production system, in which constrained access to global evaluative infrastructures incentivises reliance on locally embedded networks rather than open competition (Demeter, 2020b). Seen this way, the patterns identified in this study are not anomalies but rather predictable outcomes of hierarchically organised knowledge production regimes.

As mentioned earlier, the count, type, language, and topical focus of academic publications produced in a given country, as well as the journals in which these works are published, and the nature of the collaborations involved, all reflect on the respective country's national, cultural, and political history (Petr et al., 2021). In the field of communication

studies, which often transcends national borders, leading international journals are structured to encompass current global trends in the discipline. In this context, the findings of the present study align with those of Ianoş and Petrişor (2020), indicating that communication research in the region has made significant progress in integrating into the international academic sphere compared to the past. However, this process still faces various structural limitations and regional inequalities. We find that the fundamental issue faced by EEC journals is not merely the matter of their peripheral positioning within the core–periphery framework (Demeter, 2017; Sasvári & Lendvai, 2024). Much rather, the main dilemma lies in their epistemological attachment to regional or local themes in knowledge production. This attachment functions as a structural constraint. These journals are often filled with studies conducted by local researchers on topics that are tightly bound to the local context. Such a focus frequently conflicts with international academic norms that prioritise knowledge deemed "generalisable," "transferable," or "theoretically contributive" (cf. Mazenod, 2018), making it difficult for these journals to ascend to higher quartiles. On the other hand, this structural limitation also ensures a stable reader–author cycle for these journals because the focus on regional issues may sustain their appeal among a specific readership. Nonetheless, the cycle of producing local knowledge by local scholars for a mostly local readership confines most EEC and emerging journals (see Meneghini, 2012) to a narrow area in terms of scientific impact and visibility.

In addition, despite the fact that most EEC journals provide open access and do not charge authors article processing charges (APCs), these policies have not necessarily brought them closer to the category of scientific "excellence" (cf. Demeter & Istratii, 2020). This is because open access and APC-free publishing, while reflecting an ethical and equitable approach to academic dissemination, are not in themselves indicators of quality (Demeter & Istratii, 2020; Ili, 2025; and also cf. Van Vlokhoven, 2019). Although such practices represent a commitment to fair publishing, they are insufficient for achieving high-level visibility in international academic circulation, as academic prestige is shaped not only by accessibility but also by a vast multitude of factors, including citation networks, author diversity, language policies, the quality of peer-review processes, and the international composition of editorial boards (Wang & Barabási, 2021).

A more concrete example of these structural inequalities can be observed in the positioning of journals originating from Eastern Europe within the global academic publishing system. As seen from our analysis and the previous research (Demeter, 2020b; 2017), in terms of visibility, citability, and impact factor, these journals frequently rank in the lower quartiles and assume a "secondary" or "peripheral" role in global knowledge circulation. This condition cannot be explained solely by academic performance; it has systemic and historical roots (Demeter, 2020b). First, the majority of articles published in these journals are authored by researchers from the same region, resulting in a largely homogeneous national or regional author base (Sasvári and Lendvai [2024] term this phenomenon "internal bias"). This homogeneity contradicts expectations of scientific pluralism and global dialogue, and moreover, poses barriers to access for international readers (Sasvári & Lendvai, 2024). Furthermore, the language barrier also plays a critical role. Although most of the EEC journals indexed in Scopus have begun to publish in English, they often struggle to meet the linguistic and academic standards upheld by journals based in core countries. This difficulty is not only linked to

individual competence but also to structural deficiencies in resources, for instance, in the limited access to professional language editors, lack of translation support, and exclusionary norms within the publication process. All of these issues are directly linked to the very essence of modern academic knowledge production: the functioning of capitalist academic publishing (cf. Bourdieu, 1984). The contemporary academic ecosystem is built upon a system that commodifies knowledge production and renders publishing a profit-oriented enterprise (Ili, 2025). In this system, visibility is not merely a reflection of scientific quality, but also a product of integration into publishing networks and databases, the capacity to conform to publication standards (including paying for APCs), and access to international prestige. As a result, many journals in Eastern Europe are subject to the exclusionary logic of the system; both because they remain outside these networks and because they structure knowledge production in response to local needs. This reflects a publishing regime in which knowledge production is increasingly centralised, dominated by Anglo-American epistemologies, and alternative forms of knowledge are marginalised (Demeter, 2020b). Within such an environment, the limited visibility or low impact factors of EEC journals should not be seen as a deficiency, but rather as a structural issue that reveals the inherent inequalities of the global publishing system. Subsequently, the determining factor is not how "good" or "prestigious" these journals are, but to what extent they can "conform" to the existing system as those unable to conform are met with invisibility, exclusion, and devaluation.

To conclude our examination, the dilemma faced by EEC journals is largely multilayered. While their commitment to local knowledge production imposes epistemological limitations, their open access policies render them ostensibly more democratic. Nonetheless, the existing hierarchies within the scientific system do not transform this openness into a marker of excellence; on the contrary, they place these journals into a category that is "accessible yet excludable". Therefore, the solution cannot be achieved through technical adjustments alone. It requires the construction of a more equitable academic publishing system; one that recognises the value of pluralism in knowledge production and affirms the legitimacy of locally grounded epistemologies.

Limitations

With regard to limitations, although this study aimed to provide a comprehensive analysis of Eastern European communication journals, three agenda-based limitations must be acknowledged. First of all, the analysis was limited to Scopus-indexed journals, excluding potentially influential regional outlets not included in this database. This may inadvertently underrepresent the diversity of scholarly activity within the region. Moreover, citation-based metrics, such as FWCI and SJR, may not fully capture the qualitative impact or regional relevance of publications, particularly those addressing local or culturally specific issues (see Scelles & Teixeira da Silva, 2025). Moreover, the classification of editorial board members relied on available online data, which may not always reflect active participation or decision-making roles. With particular attention to the analysis of editorial board composition, some journals were excluded due to the absence of sufficiently detailed or decipherable information on editorial members' institutional affiliations and countries. These exclusions were driven

by data transparency constraints rather than any substantive selection criteria. As a result, the observed associations between editorial board internationalisation, authorship patterns, and journal performance should be interpreted as lower-bound estimates rather than inflated effects.

Lastly, as mentioned earlier, our study relies entirely on Scopus subject classifications, which are known to involve overlapping and sometimes heterogeneous disciplinary assignments, particularly for multidisciplinary journals (Thelwall & Pinfield, 2024). While this may result in the inclusion of journals whose thematic focus extends beyond communication narrowly defined, our approach reflects prevailing practices in scientometric research and ensures analytical transparency and reproducibility.

Data availability statement

The datasets generated during and/or analysed during the current study are not publicly available due to need of institutional Scopus and SciVal access but are available from the corresponding author on reasonable request.

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Appendix

Table A:
Analysis of internationalisation of publications in EEC journals by DP, IC, and IP categories

Journal name	Journal country	Total publications	Included	DP (%)	IC (%)	IP (%)
Anafora	Croatia	108	99	47.47	0.0	52.53
Central European Journal of Communication	Poland	160	149	20.81	5.37	73.83
Cognitive Studies	Poland	95	93	34.41	9.68	55.91
Communication Today	Slovakia	158	151	42.38	5.3	52.32
Cyberpsychology	The Czech Republic	315	315	2.54	5.08	92.38
Dialogue and Universalism	Poland	235	209	15.31	1.91	82.78
Ekphrasis	Romania	104	101	38.61	0.99	60.4
European Journal of Humour Research	Poland	275	272	4.41	1.84	93.75
Iberoamerican Journal of Science Measurement and Communication	Estonia	58	58	0.0	0.0	100.0
Images (Poland)	Poland	248	240	80.0	2.08	17.92
Imagologiya i Komparativistika	The Russian Federation	166	163	87.12	2.45	10.43
Informacijos Mokslai	Lithuania	100	98	79.59	2.04	18.37

Journal name	Journal country	Total publications	Included	DP (%)	IC (%)	IP (%)
Információs Társadalom	Hungary	270	169	71.01	1.78	27.22
Informatics in Education	Lithuania	231	231	5.63	2.6	91.77
KOME	Hungary	115	109	18.35	2.75	78.9
Knygotyra	Lithuania	147	129	64.34	2.33	33.33
Komunikacija i Kultura Online	Serbia	79	73	68.49	0.0	31.51
LingVaria	Poland	215	211	92.42	1.42	6.16
Medialni Studia	The Czech Republic	65	57	21.05	1.75	77.19
Medijska Istrazivanja	Croatia	151	122	66.39	4.92	28.69
Medijske Studije	Croatia	154	142	45.77	6.34	47.89
Poznanskie Studia Slawistyczne	Poland	208	190	44.74	1.05	54.21
Psychology of Language and Communication	Poland	176	175	30.29	6.29	63.43
RUDN Journal of Studies in Literature and Journalism	The Russian Federation	369	365	80.0	7.95	12.05
Res Rhetorica	Poland	164	161	77.64	1.86	20.5
Respectus Philologicus	Lithuania	153	152	40.13	0.66	59.21
Romanian Journal of Communication and Public Relations	Romania	122	121	42.98	4.13	52.89
Slovenske Divadlo	Slovakia	156	141	82.27	0.71	17.02
Social Science Forum	Slovenia	112	99	84.85	1.01	14.14
Tekst, Kniga, Knigoizdaniye	The Russian Federation	165	164	90.85	3.05	6.1
Theoria et Historia Scientiarum	Poland	44	41	39.02	2.44	58.54
Token	Poland	78	77	12.99	1.3	85.71
Vestnik Moskovskogo Universiteta. Seriya 10. Zhurnalistika	The Russian Federation	234	233	94.42	1.72	3.86
Voprosy Onomastiki	The Russian Federation	312	304	73.03	2.3	24.67
World of Media	The Russian Federation	73	73	32.88	6.85	60.27
Z Badan nad Ksiazka i Ksiegozbiorami Historycznymi	Poland	124	111	61.26	0.9	37.84

Source: Compiled by the authors.

Table B:
Multi-analysis of editorial boards by highest Q ranking, publication count, and editorial diversity in %

Journal name	Journal country	Highest Q	Total	% Domestic editors	% International editors
Iberoamerican Journal of Science Measurement and Communication	Estonia	Q2	25	0	100
Cyberpsychology	The Czech Republic	Q1 (D1)	45	22.2	77.8
European Journal of Humour Research	Poland	Q2	38	13.2	86.8
Informatics in Education	Lithuania	Q1	43	4.7	95.3
Token	Poland	Q3	31	32.3	67.7
Dialogue and Universalism	Poland	Q3	28	10.7	89.3
KOME	Hungary	Q2	16	37.5	62.5
Medialni Studia	The Czech Republic	Q4	4	100	0
Central European Journal of Communication	Poland	Q3	17	41.1	58.9
World of Media	The Russian Federation	Q2	51	25.5	74.5
Psychology of Language and Communication	Poland	Q3	42	31	69
Ekphrasis	Romania	Q4	28	42.9	57.1
Respectus Philologicus	Lithuania	Q3	17	47.1	52.9
Theoria et Historia Scientiarum	Poland	Q3	18	27.7	72.3
Cognitive Studies	Poland	Q2	17	35.3	64.7
Romanian Journal of Communication and Public Relations	Romania	Q3	25	60	30
Poznanskie Studia Slawistyczne	Poland	Q4	18	38.9	61.1
Anafora	Croatia	Q4	14	71.4	28.6
Medijske Studije	Croatia	Q2	18	100	0
Z Badan nad Ksiazka i Ksiegozbiorami Historycznymi	Poland	Q4	8	100	0
Knygotyra	Lithuania	Q3	21	47.6	52.4
Komunikacija i Kultura Online	Serbia	Q4	37	51.4	48.2
Voprosy Onomastiki	The Russian Federation	Q3	31	54.8	45.2
Res Rhetorica	Poland	Q3	16	37.5	62.5
Informacijos Mokslai	Lithuania	Q3	23	30.4	69.6

Journal name	Journal country	Highest Q	Total	% Domestic editors	% International editors
RUDN Journal of Studies in Literature and Journalism	The Russian Federation	Q4	19	47.7	52.3
Images (Poland)	Poland	Q4	6	100	0
Slovenske Divadlo	Slovakia	Q3	3	100	0
Tekst, Kniga, Knigoizdaniye	The Russian Federation	Q3	13	100	0
LingVaria	Poland	Q3	18	61.1	38.9
Vestnik Moskovskogo Universiteta. Seriya 10. Zhurnalistika	The Russian Federation	Q3	12	83.3	16.7

Country	Average (%) International editors	Average quartile score	Journal count
Estonia	100.00	3.00	1
Hungary	62.50	3.00	1
The Czech Republic	38.90	2.75	2
Lithuania	67.55	2.50	4
The Russian Federation	37.74	2.00	5
Croatia	14.30	2.0	2
Slovakia	0.00	2.0	1
Poland	55.93	1.92	12
Romania	43.55	1.50	2
Serbia	48.20	1.00	1

Source: Compiled by the authors.

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DATA PAPER

A Textual Database of Lexical Entries for the Meaning Map of *Koinonia*

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This data paper presents a collection lexical entries of *koinonia / κοινωνία* from major Greek–English lexicons, as well as Latin translations of the term found in the *Biblia Sacra Vulgatae Editionis* (*Vulgata Clementina*) [*Sixto-Clementine Vulgate Bible*] (1592) and the *Nova Vulgata Bibliorum Sacrorum Editio* [New Vulgate Edition of the Holy Bible] (The Holy See, 1979), with the aim of providing a structured multi-language textual database of meaning and conceptual analysis. The database consists of 153 blocks of text labelled from A to EW, based on the entries found in Liddell–Scott (1883), Lampe (1961), and various other sources. In addition to the various meanings found for the term in these lexicons, the references were traced back to the original, classical texts and presented in a broader context alongside their corresponding English translations with the aim of identifying the specific members of the *koinonia* in question, and structure the meanings of the term according to the characteristics that those members possess.

Keywords: lexicography, philology, Κοινωνία, Early Christian Writings, communication

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Introduction

The linguistic connections between *κοινωνία* and its Latin and English translations, most importantly that of *societas*/society and *communicatio*/communication, are well known in theology and communication sciences (Perkins, 1983; Kruse, 2000, pp. 59–61; Lacoste, 2005, pp. 322–324; Luhmann, 2010, p. 23); however, an extensive analysis of the meaning of the original Greek term for the purposes of communication theory, especially for theories belonging to the spiritual tradition proposed by Craig (1999) and later defined and developed by Rich (2015) have yet to be completed. This data paper aims to present lexical entries of the headword *κοινωνία* in key lexicons for patristic and biblical studies in an extended context that allow the reader to specify and categorise the members of a community or those between whom a message is transmitted. This was achieved by following the citation pointers provided after the indicated senses of the word, and either extending the quoted snippet – or providing one if there were none – to sufficient length for the identification of those members. Furthermore, the Latin translations of *κοινωνία* in these snippets were also collected and organised.

Dimensions of the data set

Three main dimensions define the structure of the data presented (in the Appendix): 1. the number and type of sources; 2. the number of items; and 3. the number of categories and sub-categories in which they were grouped. Texts in this collection are grouped by lexicons (numbered from 1 to 12) and meanings (organised into sub-points), with a total of 153 extended snippets coded from A to EW. In this way, extended snippet "1: U" or simply "U" signifies the third meaning, given in *A Greek–English Lexicon* by Liddell and Scott (1883); "2: DZ" or simply "DZ" signifies the fourth meaning, given in *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* by Lampe (1961) and so on. Texts are also divided into four categories across two main groups. First, categories were established according to four worlds (divine, angelic, human and natural) to which the specific members of that *koinonia* each belong. Second, the *koinonia*s were divided into two main groups. Each of the members of the first group of koinonias belong to one world only. These were termed "mono-dimensional koinonias". The second group consists of koinonia, each of which has members belonging to at least two worlds; this includes cases where one specific member belongs to multiple worlds simultaneously (for example, the Roman Catholic Church or Christ incarnated). This categorisation is useful for both transmission and world-making models of communication, as it helps in clarifying the sources and targets of both messages and agency. Furthermore, such distinctions are essential for the spiritual tradition of communication which conceives communication as *mimetic of the atemporal* (Rich, 2015); where human communication occurs in the material, temporal world influenced by an atemporal, spiritual world which is neither socially constructed nor influenced through human interaction.

During this categorisation, the 153 blocks of koinonia-explanatory texts labelled from A to EW were reduced to 146 following the removal of seven blocks of text (namely; AB, AG,

AR, AS, CH, CO and BK) which assert the impossibility of koinonia. The distribution of the remaining 146 *koinonia* is as follows:

Mono-dimensional koinonia (n = 68)

Inside the <Divine World> (n = 10)
- Koinonia of Divine Persons
  - between the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit: CV, CX, CY, CZ
  - between the Father and the Son: AT, CP, CQ, CS, CT
  - between God and the Holy Spirit: CU

Inside the <Angelic World> (n = 2)
- between angels: AU, BH

Inside the <Human World> (n = 47)
- between humans:
  - in general: EC, ED
  - between every human: H, AD
  - between man and woman (non-sexual): EW
  - between man and woman (heterosexual): S, T, AE, AH, AI, AJ, AL, AM, AN, AO
  - between man and man (homosexual): AP
  - between man and woman (marriage): M, N, (AK: marriage between believers and heretics)
  - between man and woman (androgyny): R
  - between a person and a group: C
  - between groups of church members: BN
  - between ecclesiastics and church members: U, EE
  - between church members and heretic(s): BV, BX
  - between church members and unbelievers: EL
  - between members of a table community: CC, CD
  - between (Arian) heretics: BW
  - between citizens: D, J, O
  - between subjects: F
  - between church members: V, BT, BU, BY, EO, ES
  - between apostles: EM (between apostolic companions EQ)
  - between apostles and church members: EJ
  - between debate opponents: DZ
  - between teacher and audience: EA
  - between murderers: EP
  - between just and unjust people: G
- between human parts (body members: head, limbs, etc.) or qualities (n = 4): P, X, CB, CJ
- between a human and a human construct (n = 1)

- between a human and a weapon: L
- between human constructs (n = 4)
  - between a song's topic and the singers' voice: A
  - between greatness and smallness: I
  - between cities: E
  - between clans and villages: K

Inside the <Natural World> (n = 0)
none

Multi-dimensional koinonia (n = 78)

Between the divine, the angelic and the human world (n = 8)
- between ecclesiastics: CA
- between the Church and church members: BP
- within the community of the Church: BQ, BR, BS, BZ
- between individual ecclesiastics: BO
- within the Church as community: BL

Between the divine and the human world (n = 61)
- between God and human(s): AZ, AX, BA, EF, CI, CL, CM, DM, (specifically between God and teacher: BF, between God and the gnostic man: CF, between God, Abraham and Abraham's seed: EG)
- between gods and humans: B
- between heavens and humans: BE
- between the Father, the Son, the Holy Spirit and humans: CW
- between incorruption and the human body: DG
- between Christ and Jesus (incarnation): AC, DA, DB, DC, EU
- between the Holy Spirit and human(s): DH, DI, DJ, DL
- between Jesus Christ and humans: DD, DE, DF, EK, ET, EB, EI, (specifically the Eucharist: BC, BD, BJ, BM, DO, DP, DQ, DR, DS, DT, DU, DV, DW, DX, DY, EH)
- between the Son and doxology: CR
- between the Word and humans: AQ
- between the Word and rational beings: CG
- between immortality and humans: CE
- between saints: BI[1]
- between the divine nature and humans: DK
- between the Word and baptism: AF

1 The "community of saints" can be considered here a special case because saints are initially humans; however, in this community its members transcend the human world. Saints can only become members of this community – with Jesus Christ in eternal life – after they fade from life; one of the requirements of becoming a saint is to be physically dead.

- between the Holy Mysteries and catechumens: CK
- the community of the body of Christ: CN
- between faith and suffering man: Y
- between God, the sacraments and man: DN
- in the community of faith: EN
- in the spiritual community: EV
- between God, blessings that flow from philosophy, other spiritual gifts and men: Z

Between the divine and the angelic world (n = 4)
- between God (in gen.) and angel: AV, AY, BB
- between the Holy Spirit and angel: AW

Between the angelic and the human world (n = 2)
- between convert and "gloomy baseness" (as Satan and/or its works): AA
- between human and Satan: ER

Between the human and the natural world (n = 1)
- between herdsman and the sea: Q

In general between everything (n = 2)
- W, BG

The categorisation shows that *koinonia* relates to both mono- and multi-dimensional communities, and more often the latter than the former. Regarding the members who make up each of the communities, mono-dimensional *koinonia*s are mainly human, but to a lesser extent some mono-dimensional unities are made up of the Divine Persons of the Trinity or angels. Examples of purely natural *koinonia* are completely absent from the texts. The results, therefore, demonstrate no evidence that *koinonia,* either in the ancient Greek or early Christian form, was ever used to designate communities within/between nature. Multi-dimensional *koinonia* occur in various combinations which permeate the divine, the angelic, the human and the natural dimensions; however, emphasis is placed on the connection between the human and divine worlds. This is evident because sixty-one of the seventy-eight occurrences relate to human–divine communities (this figure can be rounded up to sixty-nine if instances which involved angels are included; or the figure can be further increased to seventy-one if the two cases where *koinonia* was used to signify an all-encompassing unity of everything are included).

It is important to stress that with few exceptions, *koinonia* refers to some special unity or community of members and, as such, the above categorisation is useful in distinguishing the various dimensions that make up each of the unities or communities. The few exceptions are *koinonia* that refer to simple connections or connecting (D, R, AR, EM), gathering and distributing alms to the poor (U, V, EC, ED, EE), and disclosure (DZ, EA, EB, EG). These were the only instances that did not automatically encompass the unity or community of the agents; in addition, it is clear that few of these exceptions are compatible with the transmission model of communication.

The emphasis on unity/community and on *koinonia* as a special type of unity/community is also apparent in cases where *koinonia* and its derivations are translated as:

- *socii, socios, societate, societatem, societatis* and *societas*
- *communicare, communicatio, communicat, communicatione, communicationis, communicationem, communicandi* and *communicantes*

Regarding Biblical text references, Latin "*soc-* translations" of *koinonia* like *societas, societate, societatem,* etc., signify exclusively human connections at approximately the same ratio as connections between humans and transcendent entities. Translations of *koinonia* as *communicatio* signify mainly unities and communities composed of both human and transcendent members. In some instances, *communicatio*-translations of *koinonia* refer to the conveyance of messages. The translations appear as follows (see Table 1).

Table 1:
Latin translations of koinonia in Vulgata Clementina (VC) and Nova Vulgata (NV)

Text's label code	Vulgata Clementina	Nova Vulgata
U	collationem	communicationem
V	communionis	Communionis
DL	communicatio	Communicatio
EE	Communicationem	communicationem
EI	*Societatem*	Communionem
EH	Communicatio	Communicatio
EJ	Communicatione	Communicatione
EK	*Societatem*	Communionem
EL	Participatio	Participatio
EM	*Societatis*	Communionis
EN	Communicatio	Communio
EO	Communicationis	Communionis
EP	socii (non essemus ~)	socii (non essemus ~)
EQ	Socii	Socii
ER	*Socios*	Communicantes
ES	Communicatione	Communione
ET	*Societas*	Communio
EU	Dispensatio	Dispensatio
EV	*Societas*	Communio

Note: Soc-translations are italicised, and *communicare* and its derivations are underlined for better readability.
Source: Compiled by the author.

Looking at the Latin translations of *koinonia* in texts written by the Fathers of the Church and collected in *Patrologia Graeca* and *Patrologia Latina,* the following results emerge (see Table 2).

Table 2:
Latin translations of koinonia in Patrologia Graeca

W commercio	X conjunctionem	Y *societas*
Z participes	AA communionem	AC *societate*
AD *societate*	AE commiscendum	AF *societatem*
AG communione	AH consuetudo	AI conjunctionem
AJ conjunctionem	AL *societate*	AM communionem
AN communionem	AO communionem	AP conjunctiones
AQ communionem	AS commune	AT communitatem
AU communitas	AV communicatione	AW communionem
AX communioque	AY participatione	AZ communionem
BA *societate*	BB communicationem	BC consortium
BD communionem	BE communitas	BF [omitted]
BG communionem	BH communione	BI *societatem*
BJ communione	BL ecclesiam	BM communione
BN communionem	BO communione	BP communionem
BQ communionem	BR communionem	BS communionem
BT communionem	BU communione	BV communionem
BW communionem	BX communionem	BY communionis
BZ communionem	CA communicatorum	CB *societas*
CC communem	CD (mensae) consors	CE participes
CF communionem	CG communionem	CI communicatio
CJ consortium	CK communioque	CL communione
CM communionem	CN communionem	CP communicatio
CQ commune	CR consortio	CS communionis
CT communione	CU communionem	CV communionem
CW consortium	CX *societas*	CY *societas*
CZ communionem	DA communione	DB communionem
DC communione	DD communionem	DE communione
DF participationem	DG particeps	DH communicationem
DI communicatione	DJ communicatio	DK consortes
DM communione	DN communione	DO communionem
DP communionem	DQ communicatio	DR communionem
DS communionis	DT communionem	DU communicandi
DV communio	DW communionis	DX communionem
DY communionem	DZ disputationes (koinoniai ton logon)	EA communicat
EB [omitted]	EC communicatione	ED communicare
EF communicatio	EG communicatio	

Note: Soc-translations are italicised, and *communicare* and its derivations are underlined for better readability.
Source: Compiled by the author.

Regarding the *soc-* translations of *koinonia,* there are two homogenous translations in the *Vulgata Clementina* and the *Nova Vulgata,* and ten cases are found in *Patrologia Graeca* (∑ 12); these can be described as follows:

- a type of unity/community in each of the 12 cases is apparent
  - in 7 of these cases, the unities/communities are mono-dimensional
    - from these 7 cases, 5 comprise members from the human world alone
    - from these 7 cases, 2 of the communities comprise the Divine Persons of the Trinity
  - in the other 5 cases, these unities/communities are multi-dimensional
    - each of the 5 cases refers to communities of both divine and human members

Table 3:
Mono- and multi-dimensional koinonias (soc-translations)

Koinonia-(soc-)	Mono-dimensional	Multi-dimensional	Total
unity/community	AD, AL, CB, CX, CY, EP, EQ	Y, AC, AF, BA, BI	12

Source: Compiled by the author.

Koinonia as *communicare, communicatio* and other derivations shows better correlations between *Vulgata Clementina* and *Nova Vulgata* translations. Among the nineteen examined verses, six in the VC and five in the NV show words derived from *communicare* when translating *koinonia*. Within these cases, there are four examples (DL, EE, EH and EJ) of same-word usage, two of which replace the old translation with *communicatio* and *communicatione* (ES, EN), and a further one changes the old *collationem* to *communicationem* (U). Each of the four homogeneous translations refers to multi-dimensional connections between God and humans.

Latin texts in the *Patrologia Graeca* show that *communicatio* often refers to a state or a process with transcendent members. In the majority of these cases *communicatio* makes reference to the unity or community of members, with the exception of two cases where *communicatio* means disclosure or transmitting a message, and one further case of gathering and distributing alms. To sum up, in the four homogeneous translations from the VC and NV, and the fourteen *communicare*-derived translations found in *Patrologia Graeca* (∑ 18), *koinonia* signify:

- in 15 cases, a type of unity/community
- 11 of these 15 unities/communities are multi-dimensional
  - 9 of these 11 are shared communities comprising divine and human members
  - 2 of these 11 are communities of angels and Divine Persons of the Trinity
- 4 of these 15 unities/communities are mono-dimensional
  - 3 of these 4 are communities comprising members of the human world
  - 1 of these 4 is a community within the divine world
- in 2 cases, disclosure/transmission of messages
  - 1 of these 2 is a mono-dimensional disclosure between humans
  - 1 of these 2 is a multi-dimensional message (the sender is a member of the divine world and the receiver is a member of the human world)
- in 1 case, a mono-dimensional, humanistic gathering of alms

Table 4:
Mono- and multi-dimensional koinonias (communicare-derived translations)

Koinonia–communicatio	Mono-dimensional	Multi-dimensional	Total
Unity or community	CP, EC, ED, EJ	AV, BB, CI, DL, DH, DI, DJ, DQ, DU, EF, EH	15
Disclosure	EA	EG	2
Gathering and distributing alms	EE	–	1

Source: Compiled by the author.

Summary

In sum, this paper makes available to the academic community a data set spanning 153 extended snippets from 12 lexicons, organised into 2 main categories, each with 4–4 subcategories, including 153 occurrences of koinonia with their Latin translations. This is one of the largest data sets released so far on the meaning analysis of *koinonia,* and the author hopes that the subsequent use of this data will accelerate research in the spiritual tradition of communication.

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Appendix

1. Liddell–Scott (1883: 823)

Liddell, H. G. & Scott, R. (1883). *A Greek–English lexicon.* 7th ed. Harper & Brothers.

1.1
1.1.1
1.1.1.1 *communion*
1.1.1.2 *association*
1.1.1.3 *partnership*
1.1.1.4 *society*

A

οὐ φθίνει Κροίσου φιλόφρων ἀρετά:
τὸν δὲ ταύρῳ χαλκέῳ καυτῆρα νηλέα νόον
ἐχθρὰ Φάλαριν κατέχει παντᾷ φάτις,
οὐδέ νιν φόρμιγγες ὑπωρόφιαι κοινωνίαν
μαλθακὰν παίδων ὀάροισι δέκονται.

The kindly excellence of Croesus does not perish,
but Phalaris, with his pitiless mind, who burned his victims in a bronze bull,
is surrounded on all sides by a hateful reputation;
lyres that resound beneath the roof do not welcome him
as a theme in gentle partnership with the voices of boys.

Pindar: Pythian 1; 95–98
Pindar: *Odes.* (Trans. D. Arnson Svarlien, 1990). Perseus Digital Library. Online: https://scaife.perseus.org/

B

So further, all sacrifices and ceremonies controlled by divination, namely, *all means of communion between gods and men* (περὶ θεούς τε καὶ ἀνθρώπους πρὸς ἀλλήλους κοινωνία), are only concerned with either the preservation or the cure of Love.

Plato: Symposium 188b–c
Plato: *Symposium.* (Trans. W. R. M. Lamb, 1925). Perseus Digital Library. Online: https://scaife.perseus.org/

C

οὔτε γὰρ ἂν ἄλλῳ ἀνθρώπῳ προσφιλὴς ἂν εἴη ὁ τοιοῦτος οὔτε θεῷ: κοινωνεῖν γὰρ ἀδύνατος, ὅτῳ δὲ μὴ ἔνι κοινωνία, φιλία οὐκ ἂν εἴη.

a man who would be blessed with the needful justice and temperance; not letting one's desires go unrestrained and in one's attempts to satisfy them – an interminable trouble – leading the life of a robber. *For neither to any of his fellow-men can such a one be dear, nor to*

God; since he cannot commune with any, and where there is no communion, there can be no friendship.

Plato: Gorgias 507.E
Plato: *Gorgias.* (Trans. W. R. M. Lamb, 1925). Perseus Digital Library. Online: https://scaife.perseus.org/

D

φέρε δή, βλάβαι μέν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀλλήλων τῶν πολιτῶν ἐν ταῖς κοινωνίαις τε καὶ ὁμιλίαις πολλαὶ γίγνονται, καὶ τό γε ἑκούσιόν τε καὶ ἀκούσιον ἐν αὐταῖς ἄφθονόν ἐστι.

Come now, in dealings and intercourse between citizens, injuries committed by one against another are of frequent occurrence, and they involve plenty of the voluntary as well as of the involuntary.

Plato: Laws 861e
Plato: *Laws.* (Trans. R. G. Bury, 1926). Perseus Digital Library. Online: https://scaife.perseus.org/

E

εἰδότες οὔτε φιλίαν ἰδιώταις βέβαιον γιγνομένην οὔτε κοινωνίαν πόλεσιν ἐς οὐδέν

For it is on the justice and goodness of our cause that we will first address you, especially as we are requesting the favour of your alliance; *knowing that neither friendship between individuals, nor league between communities, is ever lasting*

Thucydides: The History of the Peloponnesian War 3.10.1
Thucydides: *The History of the Peloponnesian War.* (trans. H. Dale, 1851–1852). Perseus Digital Library. Online: https://scaife.perseus.org/

F

οὐ γὰρ οἶμαι συμφέρει τοῖς ἄρχουσι φρονήματα μεγάλα ἐγγίγνεσθαι τῶν ἀρχομένων, οὐδὲ φιλίας ἰσχυρὰς καὶ κοινωνίας

it is not to the interest of their princes to have lofty notions engendered in their subjects, or any strong friendships and communions

Plato: Symposium 182c
Plato: *Symposium.* (Trans. W. R. M. Lamb, 1925). Perseus Digital Library. Online: https://scaife.perseus.org/

G

σκοπεῖσθαι δέ, ὦ εὐηθέστατε Σώκρατες, οὑτωσὶ χρή, ὅτι δίκαιος ἀνὴρ ἀδίκου πανταχοῦ ἔλαττον ἔχει. πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τοῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους συμβολαίοις, ὅπου ἂν ὁ τοιοῦτος τῷ τοιούτῳ κοινωνήσῃ, οὐδαμοῦ ἂν εὕροις ἐν τῇ διαλύσει τῆς κοινωνίας πλέον ἔχοντα τὸν δίκαιον τοῦ ἀδίκου ἀλλ᾽ ἔλαττον.

And you must look at the matter, my simple-minded Socrates, in this way: that the just man always comes out at a disadvantage in his relation with the unjust. To begin with, in their business dealings in any joint undertaking of the two you will never find that the just man has the advantage over the unjust at the dissolution of the partnership but that he always has the worst of it.

Plato: Republic 343d
Plato: *Republic.* (Trans. P. Shorey, 1935–1937). Perseus Digital Library. Online: https://scaife.perseus.org/

H

ἐπιμέλεια δέ γε ἀνθρωπίνης συμπάσης κοινωνίας οὐδεμία ἂν ἐθελήσειεν ἑτέρα μᾶλλον καὶ προτέρα τῆς βασιλικῆς φάναι καὶ κατὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀρχῆς εἶναι τέχνη.

But no other art would advance a stronger claim than that of kingship to be the art of caring for the whole human community and ruling all mankind.

Plato: Statesman 276b
Plato: *Statesman.* (Trans. H. N. Fowler, 1925). Perseus Digital Library. Online: https://scaife.perseus.org/

I

τῇδε: τὸ μὲν κατὰ τὴν πρὸς ἄλληλα μεγέθους καὶ σμικρότητος κοινωνίαν, τὸ δὲ τὸ κατὰ τὴν τῆς γενέσεως ἀναγκαίαν οὐσίαν.

In this way: one part is concerned with relative greatness or smallness, the other with the something without which production would not be possible.

Plato: Statesman 283d
Plato: *Statesman.* (Trans. H. N. Fowler, 1925). Perseus Digital Library. Online: https://scaife.perseus.org/

J

ἐπειδὴ πᾶσαν πόλιν ὁρῶμεν κοινωνίαν τινὰ οὖσαν καὶ πᾶσαν κοινωνίαν ἀγαθοῦ τινος ἕνεκεν συνεστηκυῖαν (τοῦ γὰρ εἶναι δοκοῦντος ἀγαθοῦ χάριν πάντα πράττουσι πάντες), δῆλον ὡς πᾶσαι μὲν ἀγαθοῦ τινος στοχάζονται, μάλιστα δὲ καὶ τοῦ κυριωτάτου πάντων ἡ πασῶν κυριωτάτη καὶ πάσας περιέχουσα τὰς ἄλλας. αὕτη δ᾽ ἐστὶν ἡ καλουμένη πόλις καὶ ἡ κοινωνία ἡ πολιτική.

Every state is as we see a sort of partnership, and every partnership is formed with a view to some good (since all the actions of all mankind are done with a view to what they think to be good). It is therefore evident that, while all partnerships aim at some good the partnership that is the most supreme of all and includes all the others does so most of all, and aims at the most supreme of all goods; and this is the partnership entitled the state, the political association.

Aristotle: Politics 1.1.1
Aristotle: *Politics.* (Trans. H. Rackham, 1944). Perseus Digital Library. Online: https://scaife.perseus.org/

K

πόλις δὲ ἡ γενῶν καὶ κωμῶν κοινωνία ζωῆς τελείας καὶ αὐτάρκους, τοῦτο δ᾽ ἐστίν, ὡς φαμέν, τὸ ζῆν εὐδαιμόνως καὶ καλῶς. τῶν καλῶν ἄρα πράξεων χάριν θετέον εἶναι τὴν πολιτικὴν κοινωνίαν ἀλλ᾽ οὐ τοῦ συζῆν.

And a state is the partnership of clans and villages in a full and independent life, which in our view constitutes a happy and noble life; the political fellowship must therefore be deemed to exist for the sake of noble actions, not merely for living in common.

Aristotle: Politics 1281a
Aristotle: *Politics.* (Trans. H. Rackham, 1944). Perseus Digital Library. Online: https://scaife.perseus.org/

1.1.2
1.1.2.1 *communion with someone/something*

L
οἴμοι δάμαρτος καὶ τέκνων, οἴμοι δ᾽ ἐμοῦ,
ὡς ἀθλίως πέπραγα κἀποζεύγνυμαι
τέκνων γυναικός τ᾽: ὦ λυγραὶ φιλημάτων
τέρψεις, λυγραὶ δὲ τῶνδ᾽ ὅπλων κοινωνίαι.

Alas for you, my wife, my sons! alas for me,
how sad my lot, cut off from wife and child!
Ah! these kisses, bitter-sweet!
these weapons which it is pain to own!

Euripides: Heracles Mad, 1373–1376
Euripides: *Heracles Mad.* (Trans. E. P. Coleridge, 1891) (Modernised by Perseus). Perseus Digital Library. Online: https://scaife.perseus.org/

1.1.2.2 *community of*
1.1.2.3 *partnership in*

M
ἀρχὴ δ᾽ ἐστὶ τῶν γενέσεων πάσαις πόλεσιν ἄρ᾽ οὐχ ἡ τῶν γάμων σύμμειξις καὶ κοινωνία;

Does not the starting-point of generation in all States lie in the union and partnership of marriage?

Plato: Laws 721a
Plato: *Laws.* (Trans. R. G. Bury, 1926). Perseus Digital Library. Online: https://scaife.perseus.org/

N
ἡ μὲν δὴ κοινωνία, ὦ Γλαύκων, αὕτη τε καὶ τοιαύτη γυναικῶν τε καὶ παίδων τοῖς φύλαξί σοι τῆς πόλεως

This, then, Glaucon, is the manner of the community of wives and children among the guardians.

Plato: Republic 461e
Plato: *Republic.* (Trans. P. Shorey, 1935–1937). Perseus Digital Library. Online: https://scaife.perseus.org/

O
οὐκοῦν ἡ μὲν ἡδονῆς τε καὶ λύπης κοινωνία συνδεῖ, ὅταν ὅτι μάλιστα πάντες οἱ πολῖται τῶν αὐτῶν γιγνομένων τε καὶ ἀπολλυμένων παραπλησίως χαίρωσι καὶ λυπῶνται;

Is not, then, the community of pleasure and pain the tie that binds, when, so far as may be, all the citizens rejoice and grieve alike at the same births and deaths?

Plato: Republic 462b
Plato: *Republic.* (Trans. P. Shorey, 1935–1937). Perseus Digital Library. Online: https://scaife.perseus.org/

P

οἷον οὖν ὑπερσκελὲς ἢ καί τινα ἑτέραν ὑπέρεξιν ἄμετρον ἑαυτῷ τι σῶμα ὂν ἅμα μὲν αἰσχρόν, ἅμα δ᾽ ἐν τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τῶν πόνων πολλοὺς μὲν κόπους, πολλὰ δὲ σπάσματα καὶ διὰ τὴν παραφορότητα πτώματα παρέχον μυρίων κακῶν αἴτιον ἑαυτῷ

A body, for example, which is too long in the legs, or otherwise disproportioned owing to some excess, is not only ugly, but, when joint effort is required, it is also the source of much fatigue and many sprains and falls by reason of its clumsy motion, whereby it causes itself countless evils.

Plato: Timaeus 87E
Plato: *Timaeus.* (Trans. R. G. Bury, 1929). Perseus Digital Library. Online: https://scaife.perseus.org/

Q

Ἰφιγένεια: καὶ τίς θαλάσσης βουκόλοις κοινωνία;

Iphigeneia: And what do herdsmen have to do with the sea?

Euripides: Iphigeneia at Aulis 254
Euripides: *Iphigenia at Aulis.* (Trans. E. P. Coleridge, 1891) (Modernised by Perseus). Perseus Digital Library. Online: https://scaife.perseus.org/

R

τίς δαὶ κατόπτρου καὶ ξίφους κοινωνία;
τίς δ᾽ αὐτὸς ὦ παῖ; πότερον ὡς ἀνὴρ τρέφει;

What relation has a mirror to a sword?
And you yourself, who are you?

Aristophanes: Thesmophoriazusae 140–141
Aristophanes: *Thesmophoriazusae.* (Eds. F. W. Hall & W. M. Geldart, 1907) in Aristophanis Comoediae, Vol. 2. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Perseus Digital Library. Online: https://scaife.perseus.org/

1.2 *sexual intercourse*

S

You accept, then, as we have described it, this *partnership of the women with our men* (τὴν τῶν γυναικῶν κοινωνίαν τοῖς ἀνδράσιν) in the matter of education and children and the guardianship of the other citizens

Plato: Republic 466c
Plato: *Republic.* (Trans. P. Shorey, 1935–1937). Perseus Digital Library. Online: https://scaife.perseus.org/

T
Κάδμος: τίς οὖν ἐν οἴκοις παῖς ἐγένετο σῷ πόσει;
Ἀγαύη: Πενθεύς, ἐμῇ τε καὶ πατρὸς κοινωνίᾳ.

Kadmos: What son did you bear to your husband in the house?
Agave: Pentheus, from my union with his father.

Euripides: The Bacchae 1275–1276
Euripides: *The Bacchae.* (Trans. T. Alois, 1850) (Modernised by Perseus). Perseus Digital Library. Online: https://scaife.perseus.org/

1.3 *common gift, charitable contribution, alms*

U
εὐδόκησαν γὰρ Μακεδονία καὶ Ἀχαΐα κοινωνίαν τινὰ ποιήσασθαι εἰς τοὺς πτωχοὺς τῶν ἁγίων τῶν ἐν Ἰερουσαλήμ.

for Macedonia and Achaia were pleased to share their resources with the poor among the saints at Jerusalem.

Romans 15.26 NRSVue
New Revised Standard Version Updated Edition: Holy Bible. (2021). Bible Gateway.

V
τῆς δὲ εὐποιίας καὶ κοινωνίας μὴ ἐπιλανθάνεσθε, τοιαύταις γὰρ θυσίαις εὐαρεστεῖται ὁ θεός.

Do not neglect to do good and to share what you have, for such sacrifices are pleasing to God.

Hebrews 13.16
New Revised Standard Version Updated Edition: Holy Bible. (2021). Bible Gateway.

2. Lampe (1961: 762–764)
Lampe, G. W. H. (1961). *A Patristic Greek Lexicon.* Clarendon Press.

2.1 *communion*
2.1.1.1 *association*
2.1.1.2 *connexion*

W
And this, as the prophet foretold, is the greatest symbol of His power and role; as is also proved by the things which fall under our observation. *For consider all the things in the world, whether without this form they could be administered or have any community.* (κατανοήσατε γαρ πάντα τα ἐν τω κόσμω, ει ἀνευ του σχήματος τούτου διοικεῖται η κοινωνίαν ἐχειν δύναται.) For the sea is not traversed except that trophy which is called a sail abide safe in the ship; and the earth is not ploughed without it: diggers and mechanics do not their work, except with tools which have this shape. And the human form differs from that of the irrational animals in nothing else than in its being erect and having the hands extended, and having on the face

extending from the forehead what is called the nose, through which there is respiration for the living creature; and this shows no other form than that of the cross.

Justin Martyr: Apologia Prima pro Christianis 55.2, PG 6 412b
Roberts, A. & Donaldson, J. (Eds.). (1885). *The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus* (A. Cleveland Coxe, Rev. ed.). The Ante-Nicene Fathers (Vol. 1). The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf01.html

of abstracts

X

Κινδυνεύει τοίνυν δεδεχθαι θάνατος μέν ειναι ή έν σώματι κοινωνία τής φυχής, άμαρτητιχής ούσης, ζοή δέ ό χωρισμός τής άμαρτίας.

The assertion, then, may be hazarded, that it has been shown that death is the fellowship of the soul in a state of sin with the body; and life the separation from sin.

Clement of Alexandria: Stromateis 4.3, PG 8 1224c
Roberts, A. & Donaldson, J. (Eds.). (1885). *Fathers of the Second Century* (A. Cleveland Coxe, Rev. ed.). The Ante-Nicene Fathers (Vol. 2). The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf02.html

Y

Furthermore, milk is mixed with sweet wine; and the mixture is beneficial, as when suffering is mixed in the cup in order to immortality. For the milk is curdled by the wine, and separated, and whatever adulteration is in it is drained off. *And in the same way, the spiritual communion of faith with suffering man* (κατά τά αύτά δέ τής πίστεως ή κοινωνία ή πνευματική πρός τόν παθητόν άνθρωπον), drawing off as serous matter the lusts of the flesh, commits man to eternity...

Clement of Alexandria: Paedagogus I. 6, PG 8.312a
Roberts, A. & Donaldson, J. (Eds.). (1885). *Fathers of the Second Century* (A. Cleveland Coxe, Rev. ed.). The Ante-Nicene Fathers (Vol. 2). The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf02.html

Z

For he did not aim merely at getting round us by any kind of reasoning; but his desire was, with a benignant, and affectionate, and most benevolent mind, to save us, and *make us partakers in the blessings that flow from philosophy* (κοινωνούς τών τε έκ φιλοςοφιας αγαθών καταστήσασθαι), and most especially also in those other gifts which the Deity has bestowed on him above most men, or, as we may perhaps say, above all men of our own time.

Gregorius Thaumaturgus: Oratio prosphonetica ac panegyrica in Origenem. 6, PG 10.1072a
Roberts, A. & Donaldson, J. (Eds.). (1885). *Fathers of the Third Century. Gregory Thaumaturgus, Dionysius the Great, Julius Africanus, Anatolius and Minor Writers, Methodius, Arnobius* (A. Cleveland Coxe, Rev. ed.). The Ante-Nicene Fathers (Vol. 6). The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf06.html

AA

Όπερ ή των συμβόλων παράδοσις ίερώς αίνισσομένη τον προσιόντα την οίον προτέραν ζωήν άπεκδύσασα και μέχρι των κατ' έκείνην έσχάτων σχέσεων άπολύσασα γυμνόν και άνυπόδετον ίστησι προς δυσμάς άφορώντα και τή τών κειρών άπώσει τάς τής αλαμπούς κακιας άναινόυμενον

κοινωνίας καϊ τήν έγγενομένην αύτω τής άνομοιότητος εξιν ώσπερ έκπνέοντα και τάς ολικάς όμολογήσαντα προς τό τοϋ θεοειδούς έναντίον άποταγάς.

This it is which the teaching of the symbols reverently and enigmatically intimates, by stripping the proselyte, as it were, of his former life, and discarding to the very utmost the habits within that life, makes him stand naked and barefoot, looking away towards the west, whilst he spurns, by the aversion of his hands, the participations in the gloomy baseness, and breathes out, as it were, the habit of dissimilarity which he had acquired, and professes the entire renunciation of everything contrary to the Divine likeness.

Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite: De Ecclesiastica Hierarchia 2.3.5, PG 3 401b
Parker, J. (Trans.). (1899). *The Works of Dionysius the Areopagite.* Part II. James Parker & Co. Online: https://www.tertullian.org/fathers/areopagite_14_ecclesiastical_hierarchy.htm

theol. (Eunomian)

AB
Since therefore, according to the foregoing Demonstration, he is Unbegotten, he cannot so admit of any Generation from him, as to communicate his own proper Nature to any Being that is made; and must be far removed from all Comparison, and *Fellowship, with what is made* (κοινωνίαν τήν προς τό γεννητόν).

Eunomius: Liber Eunomii Apologeticus 9, PG 30 844b
Pearse, R. (Ed.). (Trans. W. Whiston, 1711). *Eunomius: The First Apology.* Early Church Fathers. Additional Texts. The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: https://www.ccel.org/ccel/pearse/morefathers/files/eunomius_apology01.htm

Christol.

AC
ὅμως δὲ ἴστωσαν οἱ ἐγκαλοῦντες ὅτι, ὃν μὲν νομίζομεν καὶ πεπείσμεθα ἀρχῆθεν εἶναι Θεὸν καὶ Υἱὸν Θεοῦ, οὗτος ὁ Αὐτολόγος ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ αὐτοσοφία καὶ ἡ αὐτοαλήθεια· τὸ δὲ θνητὸν αὐτοῦ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ἐν αὐτῷ ψυχὴν τῇ πρὸς ἐχεῖνον οὐ μόνον κοινωνίᾳ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑνώσει καὶ ἀνακράσει τὰ μέγιστά φαμεν προσειληφέναι καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου θειότητος κεκοινωνηκότα εἰς θεὸν μεταβεβληχέναι.

And yet let those who make this charge understand that He whom we regard and believe to have been from the beginning God, and the Son of God, is the very Logos, and the very Wisdom, and the very Truth; and with respect to His mortal body, and the human soul which it contained, we assert that not by their communion merely with Him, but by their unity and intermixture, they received the highest powers, and after participating in His divinity, were changed into God.

Origen: Contra Celsum 3. 41., PG 11 973a
Roberts, A. & Donaldson, J. (Eds.). (1885). *Fathers of the Third Century. Tertullian, Part Fourth; Minucius Felix; Commodian; Origen, Parts First and Second.* (A. C. Coxe, Rev. ed.). The Ante-Nicene Fathers (Vol. 4). Christian Literature Publishing Co. The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf04

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AD

Πολιτείαν γούν διηχόνησεν άγαθήν, η δέ εστι τροφή ανθρώπων καλή κατά κοινωνίαν.

Now Moses, to speak comprehensively, was a living law, governed by the benign Word. Accordingly, *he furnished a good polity, which is the right discipline of men in social life*.

Clement of Alexandria: Stromateis I.26, PG 8 916b
Roberts, A. & Donaldson, J. (Eds.). (1885). *Fathers of the Second Century* (A. C. Coxe, Rev. ed.). The Ante-Nicene Fathers (Vol. 2). The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf02.html

2.1.2.1 *combination*
2.1.2.2 *mingling*

AE

λύον δέ τὴν σάρκα πρός σάρκι κατά τὴν ἕνωσιν πρός μίξιν εις τού γένους κοινωνίαν.

For he who deprives himself of his first wife, even though she be dead, is a cloaked adulterer, resisting the hand of God, because in the beginning God made one man and one woman, and *dissolving the strictest union of flesh with flesh, formed for the intercourse of the race*

Athenagoras: Legatio Pro Christianis XXXIII.2, PG 6 968a
Roberts, A. & Donaldson, J. (Eds.). (1885). *Fathers of the Second Century* (A. Cleveland Coxe, Rev. ed.). The Ante-Nicene Fathers (Vol. 2). The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf02.html

AF

και ήν δ λόγος έκ πρός το βάπτισμα κοινωνίαν, ταύτην έχει τό γάλα τήν συναλλαγήν πρός τό ὕδωρ

And such as is the union of the Word with baptism, is the agreement of milk with water; for it receives it alone of all liquids, and admits of mixture with water, for the purpose of cleansing, as baptism for the remission of sins.

Clement of Alexandria: Paedagogus I. 6, PG 8.309.b
Roberts, A. & Donaldson, J. (Eds.). (1885). *Fathers of the Second Century* (A. Cleveland Coxe, Rev. ed.). The Ante-Nicene Fathers (Vol. 2). The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf02.html

AG

ούκ έκ κοινωνίας τής πρός έτερον τὴν τὸν όντων δημιουργίαν συστησάμενον.

there is only One true God, the God of all things, Unbegotten, without Beginning, and beyond Compare; superior to all Cause, the Cause of Existence to all Beings that are*: not creating the World in common with another Being, (or by communicating himself to another)*

Eunomius: Liber Eunomii Apologeticus 26, PG 30 864a
Pearse, R. (Ed.). (Trans. W. Whiston, 1711). *Eunomius: The First Apology.* Early Church Fathers. Additional Texts. The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: https://www.ccel.org/ccel/pearse/morefathers/files/eunomius_apology01.htm

2.1.2.3 *sexual intercourse*

AH
πέντε ανδρας κοινωνία

intercourse with five men

Origen: Commentaria in Evangelium Joannis 13. fragment 181, PG 14. 452
Preuschen, E. (Ed.). (1904). *Origenes werke: Vol. 4. Der Johanneskommentar*. J. C. Hinrichssche Buchhandlung. Online: https://scaife.perseus.org/library/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg2042.tlg005/

AI
First of all I have to urge, what is of most importance in such matters, our own custom, which has the force of law, because the rules have been handed down to us by holy men. It is as follows: if any one, overcome by impurity, falls into *unlawful intercourse* (άθεμον κοινωνίαν) with two sisters, this is not to be looked upon as marriage, nor are they to be admitted at all into the Church until they have separated from one another.

Basil of Caesarea: Epistola 160. 2. PG 32 624b
Schaff, P. & Wace, H. (Eds.). (1894). *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* (2nd ser., Vol. 8). *Basil. Letters and Select Works.* Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing. The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf208.html

AJ
The Lord said, "If any one leave his wife, saving for the cause of fornication, he causeth her to commit adultery;" thus, by calling her adulteress, He excludes her from *intercourse* (κοινωνίας) with another man. For how can the man being guilty, as having caused adultery, and the woman, go without blame, when she is called adulteress by the Lord for having *intercourse* (κοινωνίαν) with another man?

Basil of Caesarea: Epistola 199. 48. PG 32 732b
Schaff, P. & Wace, H. (Eds.). (1894). *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* (2nd ser., Vol. 8). *Basil. Letters and Select Works.* Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing. Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf208.html

ref. illicit intercourse with heretics

AK
Περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν τοὺς τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀδιαφόρως πρὸς γάμου κοινωνίαν συνάπτειν τὰ ἑαυτῶν παιδία αἱρετικοῖς.

The members of the Church shall not indiscriminately marry their children to heretics

Synod of Laodicea, Canon 10
Synodus Laodiciae. Online: http://patristica.net/laodicea&g&la&e

ref. immaculate conception

AL
οι λέγοντες αδύνατον είναι χωρίς κοινωνίας της προς άνδρα, γυναίχα τεχείν

it is impossible for a woman to give birth without intercourse with a man

Clement of Alexandria: Stromateis III.2, PG 8 1112a

Oulton, J. E. L. & Chadwick, H. (Eds.). (1954). *Alexandrian Christianity. Selected Translations of Clement and Origen.* The Library of Christian Classics, Vol. 2. Westminster Press. Online: https://www.earlychristianwritings.com/text/clement-stromata-book3-english.html

ref. Carpoctratians

AM

These, so they say, and certain other enthusiasts for the same wickednesses, gather together for feasts (I would not call their meeting an Agape), men and women together. After they have sated their appetites ("on repletion Cypris, the goddess of love, enters", as it is said), then they overturn the lamps and so extinguish the light that the shame of their adulterous "righteousness" is hidden, and they have intercourse where they will and with whom they will. After they have practiced *community of use* (ἀγάπε τὴν κοινωνίαν) in this love-feast,...

Clement of Alexandria: Stromateis III.2, PG 8 1112a
Oulton, J. E. L. & Chadwick, H. (Eds.). (1954). *Alexandrian Christianity. Selected Translations of Clement and Origen.* The Library of Christian Classics, Vol. 2. Westminster Press. Online: https://www.earlychristianwritings.com/text/clement-stromata-book3-english.html

ref. Adamites

AN

The story goes that one of them came to a virgin of our church who had a lovely face and said to her: "Scripture says, 'Give to everyone that asks you.'" She, however, not understanding the lascivious intention of the man gave the dignified reply: "On the subject of marriage, talk to my mother." What godlessness! Even the words of the Lord are perverted by these immoral fellows, the brethren of lust, a shame not only to philosophy but to all human life, who corrupt the truth, or rather destroy it; as far as they can. These thrice wretched men treat *carnal and sexual intercourse* (σαρκίνην κατὰ τὴν σνουσιαστικὴν κοινωνία) as a sacred religious mystery, and think that it will bring them to the kingdom of God.

Clement of Alexandria: Stromateis III.4, PG 8 1133a
Oulton, J. E. L. & Chadwick, H. (Eds.). (1954). *Alexandrian Christianity. Selected Translations of Clement and Origen.* The Library of Christian Classics, Vol. 2. Westminster Press. Online: https://www.earlychristianwritings.com/text/clement-stromata-book3-english.html

AO

Ει γάρ και ούτοι, καθάπερ οι άπό Ούαλεντίνου, πνευματικάς έτίθεντο κοινωνίας, ἴσως τις αὐτῶν τήν ὑρόληψιν έπεδέξατο. σαρκικής δέ ὕβρεως κοινωνίαν εἰς προφητείαν ἁγίαν ἀνάγειν ἀπεγνωκότος ἐστὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν.

If these people spoke of acts of spiritual union like the Valentinians, perhaps one could accept their view. But to suppose that the holy prophets spoke of carnal and wanton intercourse is the way of a man who has renounced salvation.

Clement of Alexandria: Stromateis III.4, PG 8 1136a
Oulton, J. E. L. & Chadwick, H. (Eds.). (1954). *Alexandrian Christianity. Selected Translations of Clement and Origen.* The Library of Christian Classics, Vol. 2. Westminster Press. Online: https://www.earlychristianwritings.com/text/clement-stromata-book3-english.html

AP

Ἐντεῦθεν συμφανὲς ἡμῖν ὁμολογουμένως παραιτεῖσθαι δεῖν τὰς ἀρρενομιξίας καὶ τὰς ἀκάρπους σποράς καὶ τὰς κατόπιν εὐνὰς καὶ τὰς ἀσυμφυεῖς ἀνδρογύνους κοινωνίας, ἑπομένους τῇ φύσει

αὐτῇ ἀπαγορευούσῃ διὰ τῆς τῶν μορίων κατασκευῆς, οὐκ εἰς παραδοχὴν σπέρματος, εἰς δὲ τὴν πρόεσιν αὐτοῦ τὸ ἄρρεν ἀνδρωσάσῃ.

It is manifestly clear to us from this that physical relations between males, fruitless sowings, coitus from the rear, and incomplete, androgynous unions all ought to be avoided; and nature herself should, rather, be obeyed, who discourages (such things) through an arrangement of the parts which makes the male not for receiving the seed but for sowing it.

Clement of Alexandria: Paedagogus 2.10, PG, PG 8 501c
Roberts, A. & Donaldson, J. (Eds.). (1885). *Fathers of the Second Century* (A. Cleveland Coxe, Rev. ed.). The Ante-Nicene Fathers (Vol. 2). The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf02.html

Logos engendering children by Church in baptism

AQ
For in this way, too, the command, "Increase and multiply" is duly fulfilled, the Church increasing daily in greatness and beauty and multitude, by the *union and communion of the Word* (σύνερξιν και κοινωνίαν τού Λόγου) who now still comes down to us and falls into a trance by the memorial of His passion.

Methodius: Convivum Decem Virginum 3.8, PG 18 73b
Roberts, A. & Donaldson, J. (Eds.). (1885). *Fathers of the Third Century. Gregory Thaumaturgus, Dionysius the Great, Julius Africanus, Anatolius and Minor Writers, Methodius, Arnobius* (A. Cleveland Coxe, Rev. ed.). The Ante-Nicene Fathers (Vol. 6). The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf06.html

2.1.3 *relationship*

AR
Does not the Saviour who heals the soul also heal the body of its passions? But if the flesh were hostile to the soul, he would not have raised an obstacle to the soul by strengthening with good health the hostile flesh. "This I say, brethren, that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God nor corruption incorruption." For *sin* (ἁμαρτία) being *corruption* (φθορά), cannot have *fellowship* (κοινωνίαν) with incorruption (ἀφθαρσιας) which is *righteousness*. (δικαιοσύνη).

Clement of Alexandria: Stromateis III. 17. PG. 8. 1208B
Oulton, J. E. L. & Chadwick, H. (Eds.). (1954). *Alexandrian Christianity. Selected Translations of Clement and Origen*. The Library of Christian Classics, Vol. 2. Westminster Press. Online: https://www.earlychristianwritings.com/text/clement-stromata-book3-english.html

AS
For one of the brethren that assemble, who has long been considered a believer, and who, before my ordination, and I think before the appointment of the blessed Heraclas, was a member of the congregation, was present with those who were recently baptized. And when he heard the questions and answers, he came to me weeping, and bewailing himself; and falling at my feet he acknowledged and *protested that the baptism with which he had been baptized among the heretics was not of this character, nor in any respect like this* (ο παρά τοῖς

αίρετικοῖς ἐβεβαπτίστο, μή τοιούτον εἶναι, μηδέ ολως ε'χειν τινά πρός τούτο κοινωνίαν) because it was full of impiety and blasphemy.

Eusebios Pamphilius: Historia Ecclesiastica III.9.2, PG 20 656a
Schaff, P. & Wace, H. (Eds.). (1890). *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church. Second series. Vol. I: Eusebius Pamphilius: Church History, Life of Constantine, Oration in Praise of Constantine*. Christian Literature Company; Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company. The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf201

AT
ἀλλ' ἀναγκαίαν και ἀρρεκτων τέν κοινωνίαν ποιούσιν.

Eunomius wants the God and Father to have a substance that is foreign to the Son by a law of nature. But the laws of nature suggest, not a mutual distance between the Son and the Father, *but a necessary and unbreakable communion*

Basil of Caesarea: Adversus Eunomium II.30, PG 29 644a
Delcogliano, M. & Radde-Gallwitz, A. (Trans.). (2011). *Saint Basil of Caesarea. Against Eunomius.* The Catholic University of America Press.

of heavenly powers

AU
και κατα μέν τό αξίωμα ή διαφορα, κατα δέ τήν φύσιν ή κοινωνία.

For in the case of angels, one is a prince, another a servant, *and yet all are angels in nature: while they differ in dignity, there is communion in nature.*

Basil of Caesarea: Adversus Eunomium III.2, PG 29 657c
Delcogliano, M. & Radde-Gallwitz, A. (Trans.). (2011). *Saint Basil of Caesarea. Against Eunomius.* The Catholic University of America Press.

2.1.4 *communion, fellowship*
2.1.4.1 *of heavenly powers with the divine*

AV
οὑτώ και αι αγιαι δυναμις έκ τής πρός τό φύσει αγιον κοινωνίας

Likewise, the holy powers, from their communion with that which is holy by nature, possess a holiness that pervades their whole subsistence, and they become connatural with that which is holy by nature.

Basil of Caesarea: Adversus Eunomium III.2 PG 29 660b
Delcogliano, M. & Radde-Gallwitz, A. (Trans.). (2011). *Saint Basil of Caesarea. Against Eunomius.* The Catholic University of America Press.

AW
Thus too in the case of the heavenly powers; their substance is, perhaps, an aerial spirit, or an immaterial fire, as it is written, Who makes his angels spirits and his ministers a flame of fire; wherefore they exist in space and become visible, and appear in their proper bodily form to

them that are worthy. But their sanctification, being external to their substance, superinduces their perfection *through the communion of the Spirit* (διά τής κοινωνίας τού Πνευματος).

Basil of Caesarea: Liber de Spiritu Sancto XVI.38, PG 32 137a
Schaff, P. & Wace, H. (Eds.). (1894). *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* (2nd ser., Vol. 8). *Basil. Letters and Select Works.* Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing. The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf208.html

AX

την δέ δευτέραν ή συμπληροϋται πρός των άγίων κυριοτήτων και δυνάμεων και έξουσιών, της τών άρχών και άρχαγγέλων και άγγέλων έκφαντορικήν διακόσμησιν ταΐς άνθρωπίναις ίεραρχίαις δι' ιο άλλήλων έπιστατείν, ΐν' ή *κατά τάξιν ή πρός θεόν* άναγωγή καί έπιστροφή και κοινωνία και ενωσις και μην και ή παρά θεοϋ πάσαις ταΐς ίεραρχίαις άγαθοπρεπώς ένδιδομένη και κοινωνικώς έπιφοιτωσα μετ' ευκοσμίας Ιερωτάτης πρόοδος.

For the very highest Order, as being placed in the first rank near the Hidden One, we must consider as directing in spiritual things the second, hiddenly; *and that the second, which is composed of the holy Lordships and Powers and Authorities, leads the Hierarchy of the Principalities and Archangels and Angels, more clearly indeed than the first Hierarchy, but more hiddenly than the Order after it, and the revealing order of the Principalities, Archangels, and Angels, presides, through each other, over the Hierarchies amongst men, in order that the elevation, and conversion, and communion, and union with God may be in due order; and, further, also that the procession from God vouchsafed benignly to all the Hierarchies, and passing to all in common, may be also with most sacred regularity*.

Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite: De Coelesti Hierarchia IX.2, PG 3 260b
Parker, J. (Trans.). (1899). *The Works of Dionysius the Areopagite.* Part II. James Parker & Co. Online: https://www.tertullian.org/fathers/areopagite_13_heavenly_hierarchy.htm

AY

Νοητῶς γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ θεομίμητον ἑαυτὰς ἀποτυποῦσαι καὶ πρὸς τὴν θεαρχικὴν ἐμφέρειαν ὑπερ κοσμίως ὁρῶσαι καὶ μορφοῦν ἐφιέμεναι τὸ νοερὸν αὐτῶν εἶδος, ἀφθονωτέρας εἰκότως ἔχουσι τὰς πρὸς αὐτὴν κοινωνίας, προσεχεῖς μὲν οὖσαι καὶ ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸ ἄναντες ὡς θεμιτὸν ἐν συντονίᾳ τοῦ θείου καὶ ἀκλινοῦς ἔρωτος ἀνατεινόμεναι, καὶ τὰς ἀρχικὰς ἐλλάμψεις ἀϋλως καὶ ἀμιγῶς εἰσδεχόμεναι, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὰς ταττόμεναι, καὶ νοερὰν ἔχουσαι τὴν πᾶσαν ζωήν.

For by moulding themselves intelligibly to the Divine imitation, and looking supermundanely to the supremely Divine likeness, and striving to mould their intellectual appearance, they naturally have more ungrudging communications with It, being near and ever moving upwards, as far as lawful, elevating themselves with the intensity of the Divine unswerving love, and receiving the primal illuminations without earthly stain, and ranging themselves to these, and having their whole life intellectual.

Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite: De Coelesti Hierarchia IV.2, PG 3 180a
Parker, J. (Trans.). (1899). *The Works of Dionysius the Areopagite.* Part II. James Parker & Co. Online: https://www.tertullian.org/fathers/areopagite_13_heavenly_hierarchy.htm

2.1.4.2 *of man with God*

AZ

Ὅσα την προς θεόν τηρεί φιλίαν, τούτοις την ιδίαν παρέχει κοινωνίαν. Κοινωνία δε θεού, ζωή και φως και απόλαυσις των παρ' αυτού αγαθών.

And to as many as continue in their love towards God, does He grant communion with Him. But communion with God is life and light, and the enjoyment of all the benefits which He has in store.

Ireneus: Adversus Haeresies V. 27.2 PG 7 1196b
Roberts, A. & Donaldson, J. (Eds.). (1885). *The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus* (A. Cleveland Coxe, Rev. ed.). The Ante-Nicene Fathers (Vol. 1). The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf01.html

BA

ὁρῶσιν ὅτι ἀπ' ἐχείνου ἤρξατο θεία καὶ ἀνθρωπίνη συνυφαίνεσθαι φύσις, ἵν' ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη τῇ πρὸς τὸ θειότερον κοινωνίᾳ γένηται θεία οὐκ ἐν μόνῳ τῷ Ἰησοῦ ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς μετὰ τοῦ πιστεύειν ἀναλαμβάνουσι βίον, ὃν Ἰησοῦς ἐδίδαξεν, ἀνάγοντα ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς θεὸν φιλίαν καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἐχεῖνον κοινωνίαν πάντα τὸν χατὰ τὰς Ἰησοῦ ὑποθήχας ζῶντα.

when they see that from Him there began the union of the divine with the human nature, in order that the human, by communion with the divine, might rise to be divine, not in Jesus alone, but in all those who not only believe, but enter upon the life which Jesus taught, and which elevates to friendship with God and communion with Him every one who lives according to the precepts of Jesus.

Origen: Contra Celsum III.28, PG 11 956d
Roberts, A. & Donaldson, J. (Eds.). (1885). *Fathers of the Third Century. Tertullian, Part Fourth; Minucius Felix; Commodian; Origen, Parts First and Second*. (A. C. Coxe, Rev. ed.). The Ante-Nicene Fathers (Vol. 4). Christian Literature Publishing Co. The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf04

BB

εἰ μὴ ἄρα τις καὶ τοῦτο φαίη τὸ κοινὰς εἶναι πάσας τὰς ἀγγελικὰς ὀνομασίας κατὰ τὴν πασῶν τῶν οὐρανίων δυνάμεων εἰς τὸ θεοειδὲς καὶ τὴν ἐκ Θεοῦ φωτοδοσίαν ὑφειμένην καὶ προὔχουσαν κοινωνίαν.

Except perhaps some one might say this also, that all the angelic appellations are common, as regards the subordinate and superior communication of all the celestial powers towards the Divine likeness, and the gift of light from God

Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite: De Coelesti Hierarchia IV.2, PG 3 196d
Parker, J. (Trans.). (1899). *The Works of Dionysius the Areopagite.* Part II. James Parker & Co. Online: https://www.tertullian.org/fathers/areopagite_13_heavenly_hierarchy.htm

BC

ημάς αναβήναι και ούτω γενέσθαι κοινωνίαν Θεού προς ανθρώπους, της αξίας συγκιρναμένης.

And Jesus Himself in an Upper Chamber gave the Communion of the Sacrament to those who were being initiated into the higher Mysteries, that thereby might be shown on the one hand that God must come down to us, as I know He did of old to Moses; and on the other

that *we must go up to Him, and that so there should come to pass a Communion of God with men, by a coalescing of the dignity*.

Gregory Nazianzen: Oratio XLI.12, PG 36 445b
Schaff, P. & Wace, H. (Eds.). (1894). *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers. Cyril of Jerusalem, Gregory Nazianzen.* Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing. The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf207.html

BD
αὐτού τὴν πρός Θεον κοινωνίαν

For it scarcely ever happens, that any Hierarchical initiation is completed without the most Divine Eucharist, as head of the things done in each, ministering the collecting of the person initiated to the One, and completing *his communion with God*, by the Divinely transmitted gift of the perfecting mysteries.

Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite: De Ecclesiastica Hierarchia III.1.9, PG 3 425a
Parker, J. (Trans.). (1899). *The Works of Dionysius the Areopagite.* Part II. James Parker & Co. Online: https://www.tertullian.org/fathers/areopagite_14_ecclesiastical_hierarchy.htm

as natural

BE
ην δε τις έμφυτος αρχαία προς ουρανόν ανθρώποις κοινωνία

But there was of old implanted in man a certain fellowship with heaven, which, through darkened through ignorance, yet at times leaps suddenly out of the darkness and shines forth.

Clement of Alexandria: Cohortatio ad Gentes II, PG 8 93b
Butterworth, G. W. (Trans.). (1919). *Exhortation to the Greeks* (Books 1–2). Loeb Classical Library. Online: https://www.theoi.com/Text/ClementExhortation1.html#2

mediated by christian teaching

BF
Πλεῖον δέ τι καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπιτείνει τὸ γνωστικὸν ἀξίωμα ὁ τὴν προστασίαν τῆς τῶν ἑτέρων διδασκαλίας ἀναλαβών, τοῦ μεγίστου ἐπὶ γῆς ἀγαθοῦ τὴν οἰκονομίαν λόγῳ τε καὶ ἔργῳ ἀναδεξάμενος, δι᾽ ἧς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον συνάφειάν τε καὶ κοινωνίαν ἐμμεσιτεύει.

The gnostic dignity is augmented and increased by him who has undertaken the first place in the teaching of others, and received the dispensation by word and deed of the greatest good on earth, by which he mediates contact and fellowship with the Divinity.

Clement of Alexandria: Stromateis VII.9 PG 9 473b
Roberts, A. & Donaldson, J. (Eds.). (1885). *Fathers of the Second Century* (A. Cleveland Coxe, Rev. ed.). The Ante-Nicene Fathers (Vol. 2). The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf02.html

through Christian life

see **BA**

Origen: Contra Celsum III.28 PG 11 956d

2.1.4.3 *among heavenly powers*

BG

Ἔστι δὲ οὐκ ἐναντίος ὁ λόγος ὡς οἶμαι τοῖς προδιωρισμένοις. Φαμὲν γὰρ ὅτι τῆς ὁλικῆς καὶ ὑπερκειμένης τῶν πρεσβυτέρων διακόσμων δυνάμεως ἀποδέουσιν οἱ τελευταῖοι τῆς γὰρ μερικῆς καὶ ἀναλόγου μετέχουσι κατὰ τὴν μίαν ἁπάντων ἐναρμόνιον καὶ συνδετικὴν κοινωνίαν.

But this is sometimes also asked by diligent contemplators of the intelligible Oracles; Inasmuch as the lowest Orders do not possess the completeness of the superior, for what reason is our Hierarch named by the Oracles, "Angel of the Sovereign Lord?" *Now the statement, as I think, is not contrary to what has been before defined; for we say that the last lack the complete and pre-eminent Power of the more reverend Divisions; for they participate in the partial and analogous, according to the one harmonious and binding fellowship of all things*.

Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite: De Coelesti Hierarchia XII.2, PG 3 292c
Parker, J. (Trans.). (1899). *The Works of Dionysius the Areopagite.* Part II. James Parker & Co. Online: https://www.tertullian.org/fathers/areopagite_13_heavenly_hierarchy.htm

BH

Τινὲς μὲν οὖν φασιν ὅτι κατὰ τὸν ἤδη προαποδοθέντα τῆς πάντων τῶν νοῶν κοινωνίας

Some, then, affirm that, according to the definition already given of the mutual relation of all the Minds

Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite: De Coelesti Hierarchia XIII.2, PG 3 300b
Parker, J. (Trans.). (1899). *The Works of Dionysius the Areopagite.* Part II. James Parker & Co. Online: https://www.tertullian.org/fathers/areopagite_13_heavenly_hierarchy.htm

2.1.4.4 *among saints*

BI

ἐμφαίνει ὁξ ταύτα κοινήν τινα καὶ ὁμονοητιχήν των ἁγίων ἐπί τοις θείοις ἀγαθοι; κοινωνίαν, χαὶ Εκκγησιαν πρωτοτόκων ἀπογεγραμμένων ἐν οὐρανοις, καὶ πνεύματα δικαιων πάςιν αγαθοις τετελειωμένα, καὶ πάντον ἀγαθών ἀποπεπλησμένα

Now these things manifest a common and concordant communion of the holy, upon the good things of God, and a church of the first born, whose names are written in heavens; and spirits of just men made perfect by all good things

Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite: Epistola IX. 5, PG 3 1112d
Parker, J. (Trans.). (1897). *The Works of Dionysius the Areopagite.* Part I. James Parker & Co. Online: https://www.tertullian.org/fathers/areopagite_08_letters.htm

2.1.4.5 *of sacramental fellowship*

BJ

καὶ τῆς κοινωνίας ειρχθησαν

For the faithful in Asia met often in many places throughout Asia to consider this matter, and examined the novel utterances and pronounced them profane, and rejected the heresy, and thus these persons were expelled from the Church and *debarred from communion*

Eusebios Pamphilius: Historia Ecclesiastica V. 16.10, PG 20 468c
Schaff, P. & Wace, H. (Eds.). (1890). *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church.* (2nd series, Vol. I: Eusebius Pamphilius: Church History, Life of Constantine, Oration in Praise of Constantine.) Christian Literature Company; Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company. The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf201

BK

αλλά πάσαν αύτοϊς ανάγκην έπάγεσθαι χρή, άναστρέφειν εις τάς εαυτών παροικίας·ή επιμένοντας, άκοινωνήτους ειναι προσήκει

Neither presbyters, nor deacons, nor any others enrolled among the clergy, who, not having the fear of God before their eyes, nor regarding the ecclesiastical Canon, shall recklessly remove from their own church, ought by any means to be received by another church*; but every constraint should be applied to restore them to their own parishes; and, if they will not go, they must be excommunicated*

Council of Nicea, Canon 16
Bright, W. (1892). *The Canons of the First Four General Councils of Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon* (2nd ed.). Clarendon Press. Online: https://archive.org/stream/canonsoffirstfou00brig#page/n17/mode/2up

BL

ἀλλ' ὁ τῆς Κωνσταντινου πόλεως ἐπίσκοπος, ὁ μακαρίτης Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀντέλεγε φάσκων· μὴ δεῖν εἰς κοινωνίαν δεχθῆναι τὸν τῆς αἱρέσεως εὑρετήν.

When he thus came forth from the presence of the Emperor, Eusebius and his fellows, with their accustomed violence, desired to bring him into the Church. *But Alexander, the Bishop of Constantinople of blessed memory, resisted them saying that the inventor of the heresy (Arius) ought not to be admitted to communion.*

Athanasius: Epistola ad Serapionem de morte Arii. PG 25 688a
Schaff, P. & Wace, H. (Eds.). (1894). *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers. Athanasius. Select Works and Letters.* Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing. The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf204.html

BM

Ἄρειος ἐθάρρει τοῖς περὶ Εὐσέβιον πολλά τε φλυαρῶν εἰσῆλθεν εἰς θάκας ὡς διὰ χρείαν τῆς γαστρὸς καὶ ἐξαίφνης κατὰ τὸ γεγρα μμένον «πρηνὴς γενόμε νος ἐλάκησε μέσος» καὶ πεσὼν εὐθὺς ἀπέψυξεν. ἀμφοτέρων τε, τῆς τε κοινωνίας καὶ τοῦ ζῆν, εὐθὺς ἐστερήθη.

Arius, who had great confidence in Eusebius and his fellows, and talked very wildly, urged by the necessities of nature withdrew, and suddenly, in the language of Scripture, "falling

headlong he burst asunder in the midst", and immediately expired as he lay, and was deprived both of communion and of his life together.

Athanasius: Epistola ad Serapionem de morte Arii. PG 25 688c
Schaff, P. & Wace, H. (Eds.). (1894). *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers. Athanasius. Select Works and Letters.* Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing. The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf204.html

BN

ἡμᾶς μὲν οὖν ἀπεδέξαντο ὡς ἀδικηθέντας καὶ μάτην διαβληθέντας καὶ ἐκύρωσαν ἔτι μᾶλλον εἰς ἡμᾶς τήν τε κοινωνίαν καὶ ἀγάπην.

They said also, that probably they had come from the East, supposing that Athanasius and his fellows would not appear, but that, when they saw them confident in their cause, and challenging a trial, they fled. *They accordingly received us as injured persons who had been falsely accused, and confirmed yet more towards us their fellowship and love.*

Letters of the Council of Sardica. In Athanasius: Apologia Contra Arianos 36, PG 25 309c
Schaff, P. & Wace, H. (Eds.). (1894). *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers. Athanasius. Select Works and Letters.* Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing. The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf204.html

BO

ὀρθὰ τοίνυν αὐτὸν φρονοῦντα καὶ ἐπὶ ὀρθοδοξίᾳ μαρτυρούμενον τί πάλιν καὶ ἐπὶ τούτου ἔδει ποιεῖν ἡμᾶς ἢ ἔχειν αὐτόν, ὥσπερ καὶ εἴχομεν, ἐπίσκοπον καὶ μὴ ἀποβάλλειν τῆς κοινωνίας;

Seeing then that he [Marcellus] professed orthodox opinions, and had testimony to his orthodoxy, what, I ask again in his case, ought we to have done, except to receive him as a Bishop, as we did, and not reject him from our communion?

Letter of Julius to the Eusebians at Antioch. In Athanasius: Apologia Contra Arianos 32, PG 25 301b
Schaff, P., & Wace, H. (Eds.). (1894). *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers. Athanasius. Select Works and Letters.* Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing. The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf204.html

BP

γίνωσκε γὰρ ἡμᾶς εἰρήνην ἔχειν μετὰ σοῦ καὶ κοινωνίαν ἔχειν ἐκκλησιαστικήν, καὶ τούτου γνώρισμα ἡ διὰ τούτων τῶν γραμμάτων προσηγορία.

For know that we are at peace with you, and in communion with the Church, of which the salutation prefixed to this letter is a proof.

Ursacius and Valens: Letter to Athanasios. In Athanasius: *Apologia Contra Arianos* 58, PG 25 356a
Schaff, P. & Wace, H. (Eds.). (1894). *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers. Athanasius. Select Works and Letters.* Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing. The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf204.html

BQ

κοινωνίαν αὐτόν εκκλησιαστικήν παραδεξαμενοι

The books in my possession which contain his (Marcellus's) unrighteous writings exist as a proof of what I say. Nevertheless they nowhere openly condemned him, and are to this

extent culpable that, being from the first in ignorance of the truth, *they received him into the communion of the Church*.

Basil of Caesarea: Epistola 69. 2. PG 32 432c
Schaff, P. & Wace, H. (Eds.). (1894). *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* (2nd ser., Vol. 8). *Basil. Letters and Select Works.* Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing. The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf208.html

BR

ἐπὶ τοῦ κυρίου διεβεβαιωσάμεθα μήτε τῆς πίστεως τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ἐχβεβηχέναι μήτε περὶ τῶν προσθεμένων ἐκ. τῆς *Μαρκέλλου συνάξεως* εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν κοινωνίαν ἀκρίτως.

before the Lord we protested that we had neither departed from the faith of the Holy Fathers, nor had we done anything without due discrimination and inquiry in the case of those who came over from the communion of Marcellus to that of the Church

Gregory of Nyssa: Epistola V. PG 46 1029c
Schaff, P. & Wace, H. (Eds.). (1893). *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers. Gregory of Nyssa. Dogmatic Treatises, Etc.* Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing. The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf205.html

BS

ὅτι ἡμεῖς ὑπεναντία φρονοῦμεν τοῖς κατὰ Νίκαιαν ἐκθεμένοις τὴν ὀρθὴν καὶ ὑγιαίνουσαν πίστιν καὶ ὅτι τοὺς ἐν Ἀγκύρᾳ ἐπ' ὀνόματι Μαρκέλλου ποτὲ τὴν σύναξιν ἔχοντας ἀκρίτως καὶ ἀνεξετάστως εἰς τὴν κοινωνίαν τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας παρεδεξάμεθα.

They say that [...] we entertain opinions opposed to those who at Nicæa set forth the right and sound faith, and that without due discrimination and inquiry we received into the communion of the Catholic Church those who formerly assembled at Ancyra under the name of Marcellus.

Gregory of Nyssa: Epistola V. PG 46 1029b
Schaff, P. & Wace, H. (Eds.). (1893). *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers. Gregory of Nyssa. Dogmatic Treatises, Etc.* Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing. The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf205.html

with named individuals and groups

BT

διά τε τοῦτο ἡδέως ἀντιποιούμεθα τῆς κοινωνίας τοῦ προειρημένου Ἀθανασίου, μάλιστα ὅτι ἡ θεοσέβειά σου κατὰ τὴν ἔμφυτον ἑαυτῆς καλοκἀγαθίαν τῇ πλάνῃ ἡμῶν κατηξίωσε συγγνώμην δοῦναι

Wherefore we earnestly desire communion with the aforesaid Athanasius, especially since your Piety, with your characteristic generosity, has vouchsafed to pardon our error.

Ursacius and Valens: Letter to Julius. In Athanasius: Apologia Contra Arianos 58, PG 25 353b
Schaff, P. & Wace, H. (Eds.). (1894). *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers. Athanasius. Select Works and Letters.* Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing. The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf204.html

BU

ὅθεν οἱ πανταχοῦ πάντες ἐπίσκοποι τὴν κοινωνίαν Ἀθανασίου ἐβεβαίωσαν διὰ τὴν καθαρότητα αὐτοῦ.

Wherefore all the Bishops from all parts determined upon holding communion with Athanasius on the ground that he was innocent.

> Letters of the Council of Sardica. In Athanasius: Apologia Contra Arianos 37, PG 25 312d
> Schaff, P. & Wace, H. (Eds.). (1894). *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers. Athanasius. Select Works and Letters*. Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing. The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf204.html

BV

πῶς οὖν ἢ αὐτὸς ἢ Θεόγνιος ἠδύναντο καθαιρεῖν ἄλλον αὐτοὶ καθαιρεθέντες καὶ ταῖς ἀντ᾽ αὐτῶν καταστάσεσιν ἐλεγχόμενοι; οἴδατε γὰρ ἀκριβῶς, ὅτι Ἀμφίων μὲν ἐν Νικο μηδείᾳ, Χρηστὸς δὲ ἐν Νικαίᾳ κατεστάθησαν ἀντ᾽ αὐτῶν διὰ τὴν οἰκείαν ἀσέβειαν καὶ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀρειομανίτας κοινωνίαν τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς συνόδου τῆς οἰκουμενικῆς ἀποδοκι μασθέντας. κἀκείνην τὴν τῷ ὄντι σύνοδον ἀναιρεῖν θέλοντες τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἄδικον σύστασιν.

How could either he or Theognius depose another, after they had been deposed themselves, which is sufficiently proved by the appointment of others in their room? For you know very well that there were appointed instead of them Amphion to Nicomedia and Chrestus to Nicæa, in consequence of their own impiety and connection with the Arian madmen, who were rejected by the Ecumenic Council.

> Encyclical Letter of the Council of Egypt. In Athanasius: Apologia Contra Arianos 7, PG 25 261a
> Schaff, P. & Wace, H. (Eds.). (1894). *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers. Athanasius. Select Works and Letters*. Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing. The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf204.html

with Eunomians

BW

τὴν κοινωνίαν αὐτόν ἐπιζητούντες

Dorotheus, indeed, as we said above, was driven cut of Antioch, the presbyters, however, of the same city, Asterius and Crispinus, and the rest of the clergy, convened a council, at which some of the neighbouring bishops were present, and sent to Eunomius and his party, demanding to be *admitted into communion* by them

> Philostorgius: Ecclesiastic History, X.1, PG 65 584b
> Philostorgius: Ecclesiastic History. E. Walford (trans. 1855). *Epitome of the Ecclesiastical History of Philostorgius, Compiled by Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople.* Henry G. Bohn. Online: http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/philostorgius.htm

ref. canonical letters

BX

But they will urge that *I am in communion with Apollinarius* (οτι κοινωνος Απολλιναρίου ἐγώ), and cherish in my heart perverse doctrines of this kind. Let them be asked for proof. If they are able to search into a man's heart, let them say so; and do you admit the truth of all that they say about everything. If on the other hand, they are trying to prove my being in *communion* (κοινωνίαν) on plain and open grounds, let them produce either a canonical

letter written by me to him, or by him to me. Let them shew that I have held intercourse with his clergy, or have ever received any one of them *into the communion of prayer* (κοινωνίαν εὐκής ἐδεξάμεθά ποτε).

Basil of Caesarea: Epistola 224. 2, PG 32 837a
Schaff, P. & Wace, H. (Eds.). (1894). *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* (2nd ser., Vol. 8). *Basil. Letters and Select Works.* Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing. The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf208.html

BY
Πρὸς τούτοις ἀνταπέστειλεν ὁ μακάριος Ἰννοκέντιος ὁ πάπας ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς μέρεσι τὰ ἴσα τῆς κοινωνίας, ἀθετήσας τὴν δόξασαν γεγενῆσθαι κρίσιν παρὰ Θεοφίλου...

In answer to this letter, the blessed Pope Innocent sent to each party [Theophilus and Chrysostomos] a formal letter, declaring himself to be in communion with them both, at the same time nullifying the judgment supposed to have been given by Theophilus...

Palladius Hellenopolitanus: Dialogus de vita Joannis Chrysostomi 3, PG 47 12
Moore, H. (Trans.). (1921). *The Dialogue of Palladius Concerning the Life of St. John Chrysostom.* Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Online: https://www.tertullian.org/fathers/palladius_dialogus_02_text.htm

BZ
φασὶ γὰρ ὅτι καθαιρεθέντας κληρικοὺς ὑπὸ Θεοφίλου ἐδέξατο Ἰωάννης εἰς κοινωνίαν...

The story is, that John received into communion some clergy who had been deposed by Theophilus...

Palladius Hellenopolitanus: Dialogus de vita Joannis Chrysostomi 3, PG 47 22
Moore, H. (Trans.). (1921). *The Dialogue of Palladius Concerning the Life of St. John Chrysostom.* Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Online: https://www.tertullian.org/fathers/palladius_dialogus_02_text.htm

plur. claims to fellowship

CA
Ἵν' οὖν μὴ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἡ αἵρεσις ἐξάπτηται, τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαστασιαζόντων ἀντιπροβαλλομένων τὰ παρ' αὐτῶν γράμματα, παρακληθῆναι αὐτοὺς ἔδει κεκριμένας ποιεῖσθαι καὶ τὰς τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων αὐτοῖς κοινωνίας καὶ τὰς ἐγγράφως γινομένας κατὰ τὸν τύπον τῆς Ἐκκλησίας.

not to assent to every one writing a form of creed on the pretext of orthodoxy. If they do so, they will be found in communion with men at war with one another, who often put forward the same formulæ; and yet battle vehemently against one another, as those who are most widely separated. *To the end, then, that the heresy may not be the more widely kindled, while those who are at variance with one another mutually object to their own formulæ, they ought to be exhorted to make a distinction between the acts of communion which are brought them by chance comers, and those which are duly drawn up according to the rule of the Church*.

Basil of Caesarea: Epistola 129. 3, PG 32 561a
Schaff, P. & Wace, H. (Eds.). (1894). *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* (2nd ser., Vol. 8). *Basil. Letters and Select Works.* Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing. The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf208.html

2.2 *act of sharing*
2.2.1 *fellowship in life*

CB
ἀγάπη δὲ ὁμόνοια ἂν εἴη τῶν κατὰ τὸν λόγον καὶ τὸν βίον καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἢ συνελόντι φάναι κοινωνία βίου

love turns out to be consent in what pertains to reason, life, and manners, or in brief, fellowship in life

Clement of Alexandria: Stromateis II. 9 PG 8. 976c
Roberts, A. & Donaldson, J. (Eds.). (1885). *Fathers of the Second Century* (A. Cleveland Coxe, Rev. ed.). The Ante-Nicene Fathers (Vol. 2). The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf02.html

2.2.2 *participation in*
2.2.2.1 *commensality*

CC
ὑπὸ συμπαθείας οὖν ἐγὼ σύνδακρυς γενόμενος, ἀπολύσας τοὺς ὄχλους ἦλθον πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἵνα μετὰ τὴν ἁλῶν κοινωνίαν ταῦτα προσανάθωμαι ὑμῖν.

Accordingly, from compassion, I shed tears along with him, and, dismissing the multitudes, I came to you, in order that I might take counsel with you after we had partaken of food together.

Pseudo-Clementis Romanus: Homilia 14.8, PG 2 352b–c
Roberts, A. & Donaldson, J. (Eds.). (1885). *Ante-Nicean Fathers. The Twelve Patriarchs, Excerpts and Epistles, The Clementina, Apocrypha, Decretals, Memoirs of Edessa and Syriac Documents, Remains of the First Ages.* (A. Cleveland Coxe, Rev. ed.). The Ante-Nicene Fathers (Vol. 8). The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf08.html

CD
καὶ τραπεζον καὶ ἁλων κοινωνήσας

they shared the table and the salt

Johannes Chrysostomos: Homiliae LXXXVIII in Johannem 70.1, PG 59 381α
Schaff, P. & Wace, H. (Eds.). (1889). *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers. Saint Chrysostom. Homilies on the Gospel of St. John and the Epistle to the Hebrews.* Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing. The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf114.html

2.2.2.2 *in gen.*

CE
θέλημα δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπίγνωσις τοῦ θεοῦ, ἥτις ἐστὶ κοινωνία ἀφθαρσίας.

It is the will of God (that we should attain) the knowledge of God, which is the communication of immortality.

Clement of Alexandria: Stromateis IV. 6 PG 8. 1240b
Roberts, A. & Donaldson, J. (Eds.). (1885). *Fathers of the Second Century* (A. Cleveland Coxe, Rev. ed.). The Ante-Nicene Fathers (Vol. 2). The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf02.html

CF

ἐκ δὲ τῆς κατὰ τὸν βίον κοινωνίας ὡς ἀναγκαῖα τῇ τῆς σαρκὸς ἐπιδημίᾳ, εἰς ὅσον ἀνάγκη, προσιέμενος· προηγουμένη γὰρ αὐτῷ ἡ γνῶσις.

For, accustomed to spare living and frugality, he [the gnostic] is moderate, active, and grave; requiring few necessaries for life; occupying himself with nothing superfluous. *But desiring not even these things as chief, but by reason of fellowship in life, as necessary for his sojourn in life, as far as necessary.*

Clement of Alexandria: *Stromateis* VI. 9 PG 9. 300b
Roberts, A. & Donaldson, J. (Eds.). (1885). *Fathers of the Second Century* (A. Cleveland Coxe, Rev. ed.). The Ante-Nicene Fathers (Vol. 2). The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf02.html

CG

κατά μεν την σύστασιν της περί των όλων θεωρίας και νοημάτων της σοφίας νοούμενης, κατά δε την προς τα *λογικά κοινωνίαν* των τεθεωρημένων τον λόγου λαμβανομένον.

Considered in relation to the structure of contemplation and thoughts about the whole of things, it is regarded as wisdom; but in relation to that side of the objects of thought, in which reasonable beings apprehend them, it is considered as the Word.

Origen: Commentaria in Evangelium Joannis. I. 22 PG 14 56b
Roberts, A., Donaldson, J. & Menzies, A. (Eds.). (1994). *Ante-Nicene Fathers. The Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325* (Vol. 9). Hendrickson Publishers. The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf09.html

with the body in human nature

CH

εἰ δὲ ἕκαστος μὲν ἠδύνατο τὸ ὅλον ἀποτελέσαι, οἱ πάντες δὲ εἰργάσαντο διὰ τὴν τοῦ γιγνομένου κοινωνίαν· γελοῖον μὲν ἂν εἴη τὸ τοιοῦτον, εἰ διὰ δόξαν ἕκαστος εἰργάσατο, ἵνα μὴ ὡς ἀδύνατος ὑπονοηθ

But if, although each one was able to accomplish the whole, yet al. worked at it in order to claim a share in the result, we have the laughable conclusion that each worked for reputation, lest he should be suspected of inability.

Athanasius: Oratio sive liber contra gentes. 39, PG 25, 77c
Schaff, P. & Wace, H. (Eds.). (1894). *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers. Athanasius. Select Works and Letters.* Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing. The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf204.html

CI

As the grace given is from the Father through the Son, so we can have no *communion* (κοινωνία) in the gift except in the Holy Spirit.

Athanasius: Epistolae ad Serapionem. 30 PG 26 600c
Athanasius: *Epistolae ad Serapionem.* C. R. B. Shapland, Trans. (1951). *The Letters of Saint Athanasius Concerning the Holy Spirit.* The Epworth Press.

of human beings in one nature

CJ

Worse than wild beasts are they, like the devils, or perhaps worse than even those; for they against us indeed have unceasing hostility, but do not plot against those of their own nature, (and so by this Jesus silenced the Jews when they said that He cast out devils by Beelzebub,) but these men neither respect their *common nature* (κοινωνίαν τής φύσεως), nor spare their own selves.

> Johannes Chrysostomos: Homiliae LXXXVIII in Johannem. 37.3 PG 59 v.8, 210
> Schaff, P. & Wace, H. (Eds.). (1889). *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers. Saint Chrysostom. Homilies on the Gospel of St. John and the Epistle to the Hebrews.* Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing. The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf114.html

CK

άλλα και πρός αύτους ή των πανιερων θεα και κοινωνια συστέλλεται, και μάλα γε εικότος

Nor is that which has received a certain participation in the most holy offices, but is yet entangled by contrary qualities, whether enchantments or terrors, on a par, as I think, with the altogether uninitiated and entirely uncommunicated in the Divine initiations; but, *even for them* [for the Catechumens], *the view and participation in the holy mysteries is contracted, and very properly*

> Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite: De Ecclesiastica Hierarchia 3.3.7 PG 3 433c
> Parker, J. (Trans.). (1899). *The Works of Dionysius the Areopagite*. Part II. James Parker & Co. Online: https://www.tertullian.org/fathers/areopagite_14_ecclesiastical_hierarchy.htm

CL

Έξής δε διά τών λειτουργών ή τών άγιογράφων δέλτων άνάγνωσις άκολούθως γίνεται, και μετά ταυτας έξω γίνονται τής ίερας περιοχής οί κατηκούμενοι καϊ προς αυτοις οι ενεργούμενοι καϊ οί έν μετανοία όντες, μένουσι δε οί τής τών *θείων έποψίας και* κοινωνίας άξιοι.

Next follows the reading of the Holy Scriptures by the Leitourgoi. After these readings the catechumens quit the sacred enclosure, as well as the "possessed", and the penitents. But those who are deemed worthy of the sight and participation of the Divine Mysteries remain.

> Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite: De Ecclesiastica Hierarchia 3.2 PG 3 425b–c
> Parker, J. (Trans.). (1899). *The Works of Dionysius the Areopagite.* Part II. James Parker & Co. Online: https://www.tertullian.org/fathers/areopagite_14_ecclesiastical_hierarchy.htm

in prayer

CM

But they will urge *that I am in communion with Apollinarius* (οτι κοινωνος Απολλιναρίου έγώ), and cherish in my heart perverse doctrines of this kind. Let them be asked for proof. If they are able to search into a man's heart, let them say so; and do you admit the truth of all that they say about everything. If on the other hand, they are trying to prove my being in *communion* (κοινωνίαν) on plain and open grounds, let them produce either a canonical letter written by me to him, or by him to me. Let them shew that I have held intercourse

with his clergy, or have ever received any one of them *into the communion of prayer* (κοινωνίαν εύκής έδεξάμεθά ποτε).

Basil of Caesarea: Epistola 224. 2 PG 32 837a
Schaff, P. & Wace, H. (Eds.). (1894). *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* (2nd ser., Vol. 8). *Basil. Letters and Select Works.* Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing. The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf208.html

CN
ἀποκαταστήσονται εις τήν κοινωνίαν τώ σώματος τού Χριστού

As to perjurers, if they have broken their oaths under violent compulsion, they are under lighter penalties and may therefore be received after six years. If they break their faith without compulsion [...] and so at last, after giving proof of due repentance, *they shall be restored to the communion of the body of Christ*

Basil of Caesarea: Epistola 217. canon 82 PG 32 808a
Schaff, P. & Wace, H. (Eds.). (1894). *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* (2nd ser., Vol. 8). *Basil. Letters and Select Works*. Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing. The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf208.html

2.2.3 *community of essence*
2.2.3.1 *denied of God in rel. to creatures*

CO
Ὑπέρκειται δὲ καὶ τούτων ἡ τῆς παναιτίου θεότητος ἀμεθεξία τῷ μήτε ἐπαφὴν αὐτῆς εἶναι μήτε ἄλλην τινὰ πρὸς τὰ μετέχοντα συμμιγῆ κοινωνίαν

But the Incommunicable All-creative Godhead transcends all such symbols in that It is beyond Apprehension nor hath It any other mode of communion such as to join It unto the participants

Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite: De Divinis Nominibus II.5 PG 3 644b
Parker, J. (Trans.). (1897). *The Works of Dionysius the Areopagite.* Part I. James Parker & Co. Online: https://www.tertullian.org/fathers/index.htm#Dionysius_the_Areopagite

2.2.3.2 *essential community of the Father and the Son*

CP
ατρός πρός τόν Υιόν κοινωνία

the communion of the Father with the Son

Athenagoras: Legatio Pro Christianis XII.2, PG 6 913b
Roberts, A. & Donaldson, J. (Eds.). (1885). *Fathers of the Second Century* (A. Cleveland Coxe, Rev. ed.). *The Ante-Nicene Fathers* (Vol. 2). The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf02.html

CQ

οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἴσασιν, ὅτι μήτε ἀπηλλοτρίωται Πατὴρ Υἱοῦ ᾗ Πατήρ, προκαταρκτικὸν γάρ ἐστι τῆς συναφείας τὸ ὄνομα, οὔτε ὁ Υἱὸς ἀπῴκισται τοῦ Πατρός. ἡ γὰρ Πατὴρ προσηγορία δηλοῖ τὴν κοινωνίαν

But they are ignorant that neither is the Father, qua Father, separated from the Son – for the name carries that relationship with it – nor is the Son expatriated from the Father. For the title Father denotes the common bond.

Athanasius: Epistola De Sententia Dionysii 17, PG 25 504d–505a
Schaff, P. & Wace, H. (Eds.). (1894). *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers. Athanasius. Select Works and Letters*. Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing. The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf204.html

CR

Rash, then, is the attempt *to deprive the Son of participation in the doxology* (δοξολογιαν κοινωνίας ἀποστερειν τὸν Υἱὸν), as though worthy only to be ranked in a lower place of honour.

Basil of Caesarea: Liber de Spiritu Sancto VI. 15, PG 32 93b
Schaff, P. & Wace, H. (Eds.). (1894). *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* (2nd ser., Vol. 8). *Basil. Letters and Select Works*. Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing. The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf208.html

CS

It does indeed equally well with the preposition "and", confute the mischief of Sabellius; and it sets forth quite as well as "and" the distinction of the hypostases, as in the words "I and my Father will come", and "I and my Father are one". In addition to this the proof it contains of the *eternal fellowship and uninterrupted conjunction* is excellent (ἀϊδίου κοινωνίας και ἀπαύστου συνάφειας).

Basil of Caesarea: Liber de Spiritu Sancto VI. 15, PG 32 177a
Schaff, P. & Wace, H. (Eds.). (1894). *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* (2nd ser., Vol. 8). *Basil. Letters and Select Works*. Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing. The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf208.html

CT

Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀπωθεῖται ὡς πορρώτατω τὸν Μονογενῆ τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς κοινωνίας, μηδὲ εἰς σύγκρισιν αὐτὸν ἀξιῶν παραδέχεσθαι.

For this reason he has thrust aside the Only-Begotten as far as possible from Communion with the Father, not counting him worthy of being admitted into comparison.

Basil of Caesarea: Adversus Eunomium II.30, PG 29 641b
Delcogliano, M. & Radde-Gallwitz, A. (Trans.). (2011). *Saint Basil of Caesarea. Against Eunomius.* The Catholic University of America Press.

ref. deity of H. Ghost

CU

But the Spirit is ranked together with God, not on account of the emergency of the moment, but *on account of the natural fellowship* (φύσεως κοινωνίαν συντέτακται τώ Θεώ...); is not dragged in by us, but invited by the Lord.

> Basil of Caesarea: Liber de Spiritu Sancto XIII. 30, PG 32 121a
> Schaff, P. & Wace, H. (Eds.). (1894). *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* (2nd ser., Vol. 8). *Basil. Letters and Select Works.* Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing. The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf208.html

CV

Πατέρα και Υἱὸν τού Πνεύματος κοινωνίαν

Moreover, from the things created at the beginning may be learned *the fellowship of the Spirit with the Father and the Son*.

> Basil of Caesarea: Liber de Spiritu Sancto XVI. 38, PG 32 136a
> Schaff, P. & Wace, H. (Eds.). (1894). *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* (2nd ser., Vol. 8). *Basil. Letters and Select Works*. Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing. The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf208.html

CW

For if our Lord, when enjoining the baptism of salvation, charged His disciples to baptize all nations in the name "of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost", *not disdaining fellowship with Him* (οὐκ ἀπαξιών τήν πρός αὐτὸ κοινωνίαν), and these men allege that we must not rank Him with the Father and the Son, is it not clear that they openly withstand the commandment of God?

> Basil of Caesarea: Liber de Spiritu Sancto X. 24, PG 32 112a
> Schaff, P. & Wace, H. (Eds.). (1894). *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* (2nd ser., Vol. 8). *Basil. Letters and Select Works*. Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing. The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf208.html

of Trinity

CX

ὥστε διὰ τῶν εἰρημένων σημείων τὸ κεχωρισμένον τῶν ὑποστάσεων ἐξευρεθῆναι κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἄπειρον καὶ ἀκατάληπτον καὶ τὸ ἀκτίστως εἶναι καὶ μηδενὶ τόπῳ περιειλῆφθαι καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς τοιού τοις μηδεμίαν εἶναι παραλλαγὴν ἐν τῇ ζωοποιῷ φύσει (ἐπὶ Πατρὸς λέγω καὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου), ἀλλά τινα συνεχῆ καὶ ἀδιάσπαστον κοινωνίαν ἐν αὐτοῖς θεωρεῖσθαι

Hence, in accordance with the stated signs of indication, discovery is made of the separation of the hypostases; while so far as relates to the infinite, the incomprehensible, the uncreate, the uncircumscribed, and similar attributes, there is no variableness in the life-giving nature; in that, I mean, of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, but in Them is seen a certain communion indissoluble and continuous.

> Basil of Caesarea: Epistola 38. 4, PG 32 332a
> Schaff, P. & Wace, H. (Eds.). (1894). *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* (2nd ser., Vol. 8). *Basil. Letters and Select Works*. Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing. The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf208.html

CY

Ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ὁ τὸν Πατέρα δεξάμενος καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα συμπαρεδέξατο τῇ δυνάμει Οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἐπινοῆσαι τομὴν ἢ διαίρεσιν κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον, ὡς ἢ Υἱὸν χωρὶς Πατρὸς νοηθῆναι ἢ τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ Υἱοῦ διαζευχθῆναι, ἀλλά τις ἄρρητος καὶ ἀκατανόητος ἐν τούτοις καταλαμβάνεται καὶ ἡ κοινωνία καὶ ἡ διάκρισις, οὔτε τῆς τῶν ὑποστάσεων διαφορᾶς τὸ τῆς φύσεως συνεχὲς διασπώσης οὔτε τῆς κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν κοινότητος τὸ ἰδιάζον τῶν γνωρισμάτων ἀναχεούσης

Likewise moreover he who receives the Father virtually receives at the same time both the Son and the Spirit; for it is in no wise possible to entertain the idea of severance or division, in such a way as that the Son should be thought of apart from the Father, or the Spirit be disjoined from the Son. But the communion and the distinction apprehended in Them are, in a certain sense, ineffable and inconceivable, the continuity of nature being never rent asunder by the distinction of the hypostases, nor the notes of proper distinction confounded in the community of essence.

> Basil of Caesarea: Epistola 38. 4, PG 32 332d
> Schaff, P. & Wace, H. (Eds.). (1894). *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* (2nd ser., Vol. 8). *Basil. Letters and Select Works*. Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing. The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf208.html

ref. baptism

CZ

Therefore, in the case of baptism also the Trinity is included. The Father is able to effect the whole, as is the Son, and the Holy Ghost; yet, since concerning the Father no man doubts, but the doubt was concerning the Son, and the Holy Ghost, They are included in the rite, that by Their community in supplying (*κοινωνία τῆς χορηγία*) those unspeakable blessings, we may also fully learn Their *community in dignity* (κοινωνία τῆς ἀξιας καταμανθάνομεν).

> Johannes Chrysostomos: Homiliae LXXXVIII in Johannem. 78.3, PG 59 v.8, 428
> Schaff, P. & Wace, H. (Eds.). (1889). *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers. Saint Chrysostom. Homilies on the Gospel of St. John and the Epistle to the Hebrews.* Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing. The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf114.html

2.2.4 *Christol.; participation in, taking of human nature by Logos, union*

DA

μάλλον γαρ ούτω τω ἀνθρωπίνω σωματι προσθήχη μεγάλη γέγονεν ἐχ τής του λόγου πρός αὐτό κοινωνίας τε καὶ ενώσεως

For on the contrary, a great addition has accrued to the human Body itself from the fellowship and union of the Word with it.

> Athanasius: Epistola ad Epictetum 9, PG 26 1065b
> Schaff, P. & Wace, H. (Eds.). (1894). *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers. Athanasius. Select Works and Letters*. Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing. The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf204.html

DB

καὶ οὐκ ἐπιδιστάζει ταῖς ἐπινοίαις· πανταχοῦ γὰρ τὴν τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἀνάκρασιν κηρύσσων οὐδὲν ἧττον ἐν ἑκατέρῳ τὸ ἴδιον καθορᾷ, ὡς καὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἀσθενείας διὰ

τῆς πρὸς τὸ ἀκήρατον κοινωνίας πρὸς τὸ κρεῖττον ἀλλοιωθείσης καὶ τῆς θείας δυνάμεως οὐ συγκαταπιπτούσης τῇ πρὸς τὸ ταπεινὸν συναφείᾳ τῆς φύσεως.

For while he everywhere proclaims the combination of the Human with the Divine, he none the less discerns in each its proper nature, in the sense that while the human weakness is changed for the better by its communion with the imperishable, the Divine power, on the other hand, is not abased by its contact with the lowly form of nature.

Gregory of Nyssa: Contra Eunomium VI, PG 45 716a
Schaff, P. & Wace, H. (Eds.). (1893). *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers. Gregory of Nyssa. Dogmatic Treatises, Etc*. Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing. The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf205.html

DC

For He who is true God is also true man: and in this union there is no lie, since the humility of manhood and the loftiness of the Godhead both meet there. For as God is not changed by the showing of pity, so man is not swallowed up by the dignity. *For each form does what is proper to it with the co-operation of the other* (ἐνεργεῖ γάρ ἑκάτερα μορφὴ μετὰ τῆς θατέρου κοινωνίας); that is the Word performing what appertains to the Word, and the flesh carrying out what appertains to the flesh.

S. Leonis Magni: Epistola 28. 4, PL 54 768b
Schaff, P. & Wace, H. (Eds.). (1895). *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers. Leo the Great, Gregory the Great.* Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing. The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf212

2.2.5 *union of the faithful with Christ*

DD

Τὸ γὰρ ἓν καὶ ἁπλοῦν καὶ κρύφιον Ἰησοῦ τοῦ θεαρχικωτάτου λόγου τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐνανθρωπήσει πρὸς τὸ σύνθετόν τε καὶ ὁρατὸν ἀναλλοιώτως ἀγαθότητι καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ προελήλυθε καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡμῶν ἑνοποιὸν κοινωνίαν ἀγαθουργῶς διεπραγματεύσατο τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς ταπεινὰ τοῖς θειοτάτοις αὐτοῦ κατ' ἄκρον ἑνώσας

For the "one", and "simple", and "hidden", of Jesus, the most supremely Divine Word, by His incarnation amongst us, came forth, out of goodness and love towards man, to the compound and visible, and benevolently devised the unifying, communion, having united, to the utmost, our lowliness to the most Divine of Himself

Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite: De Ecclesiastica Hierarchia 3.3.12, PG 3 444a
Parker, J. (Trans.). (1899). *The Works of Dionysius the Areopagite.* Part II. James Parker & Co. Online: https://www.tertullian.org/fathers/areopagite_14_ecclesiastical_hierarchy.htm

perfected in life to come

DE

οὐκοῦν ἡ αἰώνιος ζωὴ οὐκ ἄλλως ἡμῖν πορισθήσεται ἢ «ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν»·καὶ ἡ ἐλπὶς ἡμῶν οὐχ ἁπλῶς ζῆσαι, ἀλλὰ σὺν αὐτῷ δοξασθῆναι καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ κληρονομῆσαι καὶ σὺν

αὐτῷ βασιλεῦσαι· πάντα γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ κοινωνίας ὑπάρξει. ὃ διδάσκει ὁ αὐτὸς φήσας «πιστὸς ὁ θεός, δι' οὗ ἐκλήθητε εἰς κοινωνίαν τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν».

Therefore, eternal life will be provided to us in no other way than "with Jesus Christ our Lord," and our hope (will be) not simply to live, but to be glorified together with him and to be heirs together with him and to rule together with him. For we will acquire all things from communion with him.

Eusebios: Contra Marcellum 2.14, PG 24 781b
Spoerl, K. (Trans.). (2017). *Eusebius of Caesarea. Against Marcellus and On Ecclesiastical Theology*. Fathers of the Church 135. The Catholic University of America Press.

DF

οὕτω γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ σοφίᾳ καὶ φρονήσει καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ ἀρετῇ πάσῃ τέλειοι κατεργασθέντες τῷ πατρικῆς θεότητος ἀλέκτῳ φωτὶ συναφθησόμεθα φῶτα καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν συναφείας γενησόμενοι, καὶ υἱοὶ θεοῦ κατὰ μετοχὴν τῆς τοῦ μονογενοῦς αὐτοῦ κοινωνίας ἀποτελεσθέντες μετουσίᾳ τῶν τῆς θεότητος αὐτοῦ μαρμαρυγῶν.

For in this way, having been made perfect by his wisdom and prudence and justice and piety and every virtue, we will be joined together to the ineffable light of the paternal divinity and become, yes, even us, lights because of our closeness to him, and sons of God according to our participating in communion with his only-begotten, having been made perfect through (our) participation in the brilliance of his divinity.

Eusebios: De Ecclesiastica Theologia. 3.18, PG 24 1041c
Spoerl, K. (Trans.). (2017). *Eusebius of Caesarea. Against Marcellus and On Ecclesiastical Theology*. Fathers of the Church 135. The Catholic University of America Press.

sacramentally

DG

And since that Body only which was the receptacle of the Deity received this grace of immortality, and since it has been shown that in no other way was it possible for our body to become immortal, *but by participating in incorruption through its fellowship with that immortal Body* (μὴ διὰ τῆς πρὸς τὸ ἀθάνατον κοινωνίας ἐν μετουσίᾳ τῆς ἀφθαρσίας γινόμενον), it will be necessary to consider how it was possible that that one Body, being for ever portioned to so many myriads of the faithful throughout the whole world, enters through that portion, whole into each individual, and yet remains whole in itself.

Gregory of Nyssa: Oratio Catechetica 37, PG 45 93c
Schaff, P. & Wace, H. (Eds.). (1893). *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers. Gregory of Nyssa. Dogmatic Treatises, Etc*. Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing. The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf205.html

with the Holy Spirit

DH

Ταῦτα γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ εἴρηται παρὰ τῷ Ματθαίῳ ἰδόντος πολλοὺς τῶν φαρισαίων καὶ σαδδουκαίων ἐρχομένους ἐπὶ τὸ βάπτισμα, δηλονότι οὐκ ἔχοντας καρποὺς μετανοίας καὶ φαρισαϊκῶς ἀλαζονευομένους ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀβραὰμ ὡς πατρί· διόπερ ἐπιπλήσσονται ὑπὸ τοῦ τὸν ζῆλον Ἠλίου κατὰ τὴν κοινωνίαν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἔχοντος Ἰωάννου.

This is what the Baptist says in Matthew, when he sees many of the Pharisees and Sadducees coming to his baptism, without, it is clear, having the fruits of repentance, and pharisaically boasting in themselves that they had Abraham for their father. For this they are rebuked by John, who has the zeal of Elijah according to the communication of the Holy Spirit.

Origen: Commentaria in Evangelium Joannis 6.13 PG 14 240c
Roberts, A., Donaldson, J. & Menzies, A. (Eds.). (1994). *Ante-Nicene Fathers. The Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325* (Vol. 9). Hendrickson Publishers. The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf09.html

DI

Λέγει τε ταῦτα οὐκ ἄλλως οἶμαι ἢ κοινωνίᾳ τοῦ θείου πνεύματος· τῆς γὰρ αὐτῆς δυνάμεως δεῖ προφητεύουσί τε καὶ ἀκροωμένοις προφητῶν· καὶ οὐκ ἄν ἀκούσαι προφήτου, ᾧ μὴ αὐτὸ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ προφητεῦσαν τὴν σύνεσιν τῶν αὐτοῦ λόγων ἐδωρήσατο.

These things, moreover, as I judge, he gives forth only and truly by participation in the Divine Spirit: for there is need of the same power for those who prophesy and for those who hear the prophets; and no one can rightly hear a prophet, unless the same Spirit who prophesies bestows on him the capacity of apprehending His words.

Gregorius Thaumaturgos: Oratio prosphonetica ac panegyrica in Origenem. 15, PG 10 1093d
Roberts, A. & Donaldson, J. (Eds.). (1885). *Fathers of the Third Century. Gregory Thaumaturgus, Dionysius the Great, Julius Africanus, Anatolius and Minor Writers, Methodius, Arnobius* (A. Cleveland Coxe, Rev. ed.). The Ante-Nicene Fathers (Vol. 6). The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf06.html

DJ

Therefore God, thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows. Since it was necessary to give form to the typical anointing, and the typical high priests and kings, the flesh of the Lord was anointed with the true anointing, by the coming of the Holy Spirit into it, which was called 'the oil of gladness'. And He was anointed above His fellows; that is to say, all men who are members of Christ. Therefore, *a certain partial sharing of the Spirit was given to them* (μερική τις ἐδιδοτο Πνεῦματος κοινωνία), but the Holy Spirit descending upon the Son of God, as John says, 'abode upon him'.

Basil of Caesarea: Homilia in Psalmum XLIV 8, PG 29 405a
Schaff, P. & Wace, H. (Eds.). (1894). *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* (2nd ser., Vol. 8). *Basil. Letters and Select Works*. Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing. The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf208.html

DK

Καὶ ἐν ταῖς καθολικαῖς Ἐπιστολαῖς γέγραπται· «Δι' ὧν τὰ μέγιστα ἡμῖν καὶ τίμια ἐπαγγέλματα δεδώρηται, ἵνα γένησθε θείας κοινωνοὶ φύσεως»

And in the catholic Epistles it is written: "by which have been given to us exceedingly great and precious promises, that you may be partakers of the divine nature." And we become partakers of the divine nature by the fellowship of the Holy Spirit.

Athanasius: Dialogus I. De Trinitate. I. 7, PG 28 1125d
Athanasius of Alexandria: *On Holy Trinity.* Online: https://catholiclibrary.org/library/view?docId=Fathers-Synchronized-OR/Athanasius_the_Great_of_Alexandria__De_sancta_trinitate.gr.html

DL
Ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἡ κοινωνία τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν.

The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Spirit be with all of you.

2 Corinthians 13.13
New Revised Standard Version Updated Edition: Holy Bible. (2021). Bible Gateway.

2.3 *eucharistic*
2.3.1 *partaking in, receiving of body and blood of Christ in Communion*

see **CN**

Basil of Caesarea: Epistola 217, Canon 82, PG 32 808a

DM
Ὁ κλέψας, εἰ μὲν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ μεταμεληθεὶς κατηγορήσειεν ἑαυτοῦ, ἐνιαυτὸν κωλυθήσεται μόνον τῆς κοινωνίας τῶν ἁγιασμάτων· εἰ δὲ ἐλεγχθείη, ἐν δυσὶν ἔτεσι. Μερισθήσεται δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ χρόνος εἰς ὑπόπτωσιν καὶ σύστασιν, καὶ τότε ἀξιούσθω τῆς κοινωνίας

The thief, if he have repented of his own accord and charged himself, shall only be prohibited from partaking of the sacrament for a year; if he be convicted, for two years. The period shall be divided between kneeling and standing. Then let him be held worthy of communion.

Basil of Caesarea: Epistola 217. PG 32 800a
Schaff, P. & Wace, H. (Eds.). (1894). *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* (2nd ser., Vol. 8). *Basil. Letters and Select Works.* Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing. The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf208.html

DN
Οὐδέποτε γὰρ μυστικῆς ἐπιτελουμένης εὐχῆς, μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ προσκυνῆσαι τὸν Θεὸν καταξιοῦται, ἀλλὰ καταμόνας μὲν εὔξεται· τῆς δὲ κοινωνίας τῶν ἁγιασμάτων καθόλου ἀλλότριος ἔσται·ἐν δὲ τῇ ὥρᾳ τῆς ἐξόδου αὐτοῦ, τότε τῆς τοῦ ἁγιάσματος μερίδος ἀξιωθήσεται.

When the mystic prayer is celebrated, he shall not at any stage be allowed to do homage to God together with the people, but shall pray alone and shall be wholly excluded from the communion of the sacraments. Only in the hour of his exodus shall he be allowed a share in the Sacrament.

Gregory of Nyssa: Epistola Canonica ad Letoium Melitinensem, PG 45 225c
Silvas, A. M. (Trans.). (2007). *Gregory of Nyssa. The Letters.* Brill, 211–224.

DO
Οὐ τοίνυν διὰ τοῦτο ὀλίγα λέγομεν, ἐπειδὴ ἀποκναίομεν ὑμᾶς τῷ πλήθει, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἀναγκαία τῆς βραχυλογίας σήμερον ἡ αἰτία· καὶ γὰρ ὁρῶ πολλοὺς τῶν πιστῶν ἐπειγομένους πρὸς τὴν τῶν φρικτῶν μυστηρίων κοινωνίαν

It is necessary today to say a few things to your love; it is necessary to say a few things, not because you are weighed down by the abundance of what is said; for it is not possible to find another city so lovingly disposed toward the hearing of the spiritual oracles. *Therefore, we do not say a few things for this reason, because we weary you with the quantity, but because*

the reason for brevity today is a necessary one; for I see many of the faithful hurrying toward the communion of the awesome mysteries

Johannes Chrysostomos: In Proditionem Judae (Hom. 1.) PG 49, 373
John Chrysostom: *On Judas's Betrayal.* Online: https://catholiclibrary.org/library/view?docId=Fathers-Synchronized-EN/John_Chrysostom__De_proditione_Judae.en.html

DP
Ἐν τέλει δὲ πάντων ὁ ἱεράρχης ἐπὶ τὴν ἱερωτάτην εὐχαριστίαν καλεῖ τὸν τετελεσμένον καὶ τῆς τῶν τελεστικῶν μυστηρίων αὐτῷ μεταδίδωσι κοινωνίας.

At the conclusion of all, the Hierarch calls the man initiated to the most Holy Eucharist, and imparts to him the communion of the perfecting mysteries.

Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite: De Ecclesiastica Hierarchia. 2.3.8, PG 3 404d
Parker, J. (Trans.). (1899). *The Works of Dionysius the Areopagite.* Part II. James Parker & Co. Online: https://www.tertullian.org/fathers/areopagite_14_ecclesiastical_hierarchy.htm

DQ
κοινωνία του Δεσποτικού σώματος τε και αίματος

Hesychius Presbyter Hierosolymitanus: Fragmenta in Psalmos 49:23, PG 93 1197d
Hesychius Presbyter Hierosolymitanus: *Fragmenta in Psalmos*. In J.-P. Migne (Ed.). (1865). *Patrologia Graeca,* 93, 1179–1338.
[No English translation is available.]

2.3.2 *Communion (as in Eucharistia)*

DR
Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀνάγκην χαλεπὴν ἐκ βασάνων ὑπομείναντες καὶ μὴ φέροντες τοὺς πόνους καὶ αἰκισθέντες πρὸς τὴν ἄρνησιν ἐν τρισὶν ἔτεσιν ἀδέκτους εἶναι, καὶ ἐν δυσὶν ἀκροᾶσθαι, καὶ ἐντρισὶν ὑποπεσόντας, οὕτω δεκτοὺς γενέσθαι εἰς τὴν κοινωνίαν.

Those who have endured grievous tortures and have been forced to denial, through inability to sustain the anguish, may be excluded for three years, hearers for two, kneelers for three, and so be received into communion.

Basil of Caesarea: Epistola 217. PG 32 805C
Schaff, P. & Wace, H. (Eds.). (1894). *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* (2nd ser., Vol. 8). *Basil. Letters and Select Works.* Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing. The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf208.html

DS
Συνήθειαν δὲ κατελάβομεν ἐπὶ τῶν τριγάμων πενταετίας ἀφορισμόν, οὐκ ἀπὸ κανόνων, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν προειληφότων ἀκολουθίας. Δεῖ δὲ μὴ πάντη αὐτοὺς ἀπείργειν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, ἀλλ' ἀκροάσεως αὐτοὺς ἀξιοῦν ἐν δύο που ἔτεσιν ἢ τρισί, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπιτρέπειν συστήκειν μέν, τῆς δὲ κοινωνίας τοῦ ἁγαθοῦ ἀπέχεσθαι, καὶ οὕτως ἐπιδειξαμένους καρπόν τινα μετανοίας ἀποκαθιστᾶν τῷ τόπῳ τῆς κοινωνίας.

In cases of trigamy we have accepted a seclusion of five years, not by the canons, but following the precept of our predecessors. Such offenders ought not to be altogether prohibited from the privileges of the Church; they should be considered deserving of hearing after two or three years, and afterwards of being permitted to stand in their place; but they must be kept

from the communion of the good gift, and only restored to the place of communion after showing some fruit of repentance.

Basil of Caesarea: Epistola 188. PG 32 673b
Schaff, P. & Wace, H. (Eds.). (1894). *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* (2nd ser., Vol. 8). *Basil. Letters and Select Works.* Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing. The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf208.html

DT

Ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν σπουδαιότερον κεχρημένων τῇ ἐπιστροφῇ, καὶ τῷ βίῳ δεικνύντων τὴν πρὸς τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐπάνοδον, ἔξεστι τῷ οἰκονομοῦντι πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν οἰκονομίαν, συντεμεῖν τὸν χρόνον τῆς ἀκροάσεως, καὶ τάχιον εἰς ἐπιστρο φὴν ἀγαγεῖν, καὶ πάλιν καὶ τοῦτον συντεμεῖν τὸν χρόνον, καὶ τάχιον ἀποδοῦναι τὴν κοινωνίαν.

In the case of those who apply themselves more earnestly to their conversion and who demonstrate their return to the good through their manner of life, it is permitted the one who dispenses according to what is fitting to shorten the time of hearing by ecclesiastical dispensation and advance them more quickly to conversion, and again to shorten this time and grant the communion more quickly.

Gregory of Nyssa: Epistola Canonica ad Letoium Melitinensen, PG 45 228b
Silvas, A. M. (Trans.). (2007). *Gregory of Nyssa. The Letters.* Brill, 211–224.

DU

Ἀλλ᾽ οὐχ οὕτως ὁ Παῦλος ἐκέλευσεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἕνα καιρὸν οἶδε προσόδου καὶ κοινωνίας, τοῦ συνειδότος τὴν καθαρότητα.

But not thus did Paul bid us come: he knows only one season of access and communion, the purity of a man's conscience.

Johannes Chrysostomos: Homilia XXVIII in Epistolam primam ad Corinthios, PG 61 (v.10) 233
Chambers, T. W. (Trans.). (1889). *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* (1st ser., Vol. 12). Edited by Philip Schaff. Christian Literature Publishing Co. Revised and edited for New Advent by Kevin Knight. Online: http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/2201.htm

DV

Εἰ τοίνυν ἑκάστη τῶν ἱεραρχικῶν τελετῶν ἀτελὴς μὲν οὖσα τὴν πρὸς τὸ ἓν ἡμῶν κοινωνία τε καὶ σύναξιν οὐ τελεσιουργήσει καὶ τὸ εἶναι τελετὴ διὰ τὸ ἀτέλεστον ἀφῃρημένη, τὸ δὲ τέλος ἁπάσῃ καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον ἡ τῶν θεαρχικῶν μυστηρίων τῷ τελουμένῳ μετάδοσις, εἰκότως ἡ ἱεραρχικὴ σύνεσις ἐπωνυμίαν αὐτῇ κυρίαν ἐκ τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων ἀληθείας ἐφεῦρεν.

First, let us reverently consider this; for what reason that, which is common also to the other Hierarchical initiations, is pre-eminently attributed to it, beyond the rest; and it is uniquely called, "Communion and Synaxis", when each consecrating function both collects our divided lives into uniform deification, and gives communion and union with the One, by the Godlike folding together of our diversities.

Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite: De Ecclesiastica Hierarchia 3.1, PG 3 424c
Parker, J. (Trans.). (1899). *The Works of Dionysius the Areopagite.* Part II. James Parker & Co. Online: https://www.tertullian.org/fathers/areopagite_14_ecclesiastical_hierarchy.htm

DW

δὲ καὶ παῖδας οὔπω τὰ θεῖα συνιέναι δυναμένους τῆς ἱερᾶς μετόχους γίνεσθαι θεογενεσίας καὶ τῶν ἱερωτάτων τῆς θεαρχικῆς κοινωνίας συμβόλων

Now the fact that even children, not yet able to understand the things Divine, become recipients of the holy Birth in God, and of the most holy symbols of the supremely Divine Communion.

Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite: De Ecclesiastica Hierarchia 7.3.11, PG 3 565d
Parker, J. (Trans.). (1899). *The Works of Dionysius the Areopagite.* Part II. James Parker & Co. Online: https://www.tertullian.org/fathers/areopagite_14_ecclesiastical_hierarchy.htm

part. of consecrated bread

DX

Τὸ δὲ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ διωγμοῦ καιροῖς ἀναγκά ζεσθαίτινα, μὴ παρόντος ἱερέως ἢ λειτουργοῦ, τὴν κοινωνίαν λαμβάνειν τῇ ἰδίᾳ χειρὶ μηδαμῶς εἶναι βαρὺ περιττόν ἐστιν ἀποδεικνύναι, διὰ τὸ καὶ τὴν μακρὰν συνήθειαν τοῦτο δι' αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων πιστώσασθαι.

It is needless to point out that for anyone in times of persecution to be compelled to take the communion in his own hand without the presence of a priest or minister is not a serious offence, as long custom sanctions this practice from the facts themselves.

Basil of Caesarea: Epistola 93. PG 32 485a
Schaff, P. & Wace, H. (Eds.). (1894). *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* (2nd ser., Vol. 8). *Basil. Letters and Select Works*. Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing. The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf208.html

DY

Tomorrow, I am going to such and such a cave but I entreat you for the Lord's sake, do not speak of it to anyone, not even my father. But count forty days and when they are fulfilled do me the kindness of coming and *bringing me holy communion* (λαβόν τήν ἁγιαν κοινωνìαν).

Apopthegmata Patrum, Peri tou abba Phoka 2, PG 65 433A
Ward, B. SLG (Trans.). (1984). *The Sayings of the Desert Fathers.* Cistercian Publications.

2.4 *communication, distribution, imparting*

DZ

Και δτι αληθή λέγω, ει μή άνηνέχθησαν ὓμῖν αί κοινωνίαι των λόγων, ἑτοιμος και ἐφ' υμών κοινωνεῖν τών ερωτήσεων πάλιν.

And to prove that I speak the truth, I am ready, if these disputations have not been reported to you, to conduct them again in your presence.

Justin Martyr: Apologia Secunda 3.3 PG 6 449.A
Roberts, A. & Donaldson, J. (Eds.). (1885). *The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus* (A. Cleveland Coxe, Rev. ed.). The Ante-Nicene Fathers (Vol. 1). The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf01.html

EA

It therefore follows, that every one of those who undertake to promote the good of their neighbours, ought to consider whether he has betaken himself to teaching rashly and out of

rivalry to any; *if his communication of the word is out of vainglory* (εἰ μὴ φιλόδοξος ἡ κοινωνία τοῦ λόγου); if the only reward he reaps is the salvation of those who hear, and if he speaks not in order to win favour: if so, he who speaks by writings escapes the reproach of mercenary motives.

Clement of Alexandria: Stromateis I.1, PG 8 692c
Roberts, A. & Donaldson, J. (Eds.). (1885). *Fathers of the Second Century* (A. Cleveland Coxe, Rev. ed.). The Ante-Nicene Fathers (Vol. 2). The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf02.html

of secrets

EB

Πῶς οὖν λέγει, Πολλὰ ἔχω 1έγειν ὑμῖν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ δύνασθε βωστάζειν ἄρτι; Οὐδὲν ἄλλο διὰ τοῦ Πάντα χαὶ τοῦ ἀχοῦσαι χατασχενάζει, ἢ ὅτι οὐδὲν ἀλλότριον φθέγγεται, ἀλλ᾽ ἢ τὰ τοῦ Πατρός. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῦτο μάλιστα δοκεῖ φιλίας εἶναι τὸ τὰ ἀπόῤῥητα λέγειν, χαὶ ταύτης ἠξιώθητε, φησὶ, τῆς κοινωνίας.

How then saith He, „I have many things to tell you, but ye cannot bear them now"? By the „all" and the „hearing" He showeth nothing else, but that He uttered nothing alien, but only what was of the Father. And since to speak of secrets appears to be the strongest proof of friendship, „ye have", He saith, „been deemed worthy even of this communion".

Johannes Chrysostomos: Homiliae LXXVII. In Johannem, 77.1, PG 59 (v.8) p. 415 α′.
Schaff, P. & Wace, H. (Eds.). (1889). *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers. Saint Chrysostom. Homilies on the Gospel of St. John and the Epistle to the Hebrews.* Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing. The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf114.html

of charitable giving

EC

There are some who call Aphrodite Pandemos (i.e., physical love) a mystical communion. This is an insult to the name of communion. To do something wrong is called an action, just as also to do right is likewise called an action. Similarly *communion* (κοινωνὶα) is good when the word refers to sharing of money and food and clothing. But they have impiously called by the name of communion any common sexual intercourse.

Clement of Alexandria: Stromateis III.4, PG 8 1132b
Oulton, J. E. L. & Chadwick, H. (Eds.). (1954). *Alexandrian Christianity. Selected Translations of Clement and Origen.* The Library of Christian Classics, Vol. 2. Westminster Press. Online: https://www.earlychristianwritings.com/text/clement-stromata-book3-english.html

ED

Then I read the Gospel, and I saw there that a great means of reaching perfection was the selling of one's goods, *the sharing them with the poor* (καὶ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἐνδεεῖς τῶν ἀδελφῶν κοινωνίαν), the giving up of all care for this life, and the refusal to allow the soul to be turned by any sympathy to things of earth.

Basil of Caesarea: Epistola 223. PG 32 824b
Schaff, P. & Wace, H. (Eds.). (1894). *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* (2nd ser., Vol. 8). *Basil. Letters and Select Works*. Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing. The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf208.html

EE
ὅτι κατὰ δύναμιν, μαρτυρῶ, καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν, αὐθαίρετοι μετὰ πολλῆς παρακλήσεως δεόμενοι ἡμῶν τὴν χάριν καὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν τῆς διακονίας τῆς εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους

For, as I can testify, they voluntarily gave according to their means and even beyond their means, begging us earnestly for the favor of partnering in this ministry to the saints

2 Corinthians 8. 3–4
New Revised Standard Version Updated Edition: Holy Bible. (2021). Bible Gateway.

ref. God's bounty

EF
For instruction leads to faith, and faith with baptism is trained by the Holy Spirit. For that faith is the one universal salvation of humanity, and that there is the same equality before the righteous and loving God, and the same *fellowship* (κοινωνία) between Him and all…

Clement of Alexandria: Paedagogus I.6, PG 8 285c
Roberts, A. & Donaldson, J. (Eds.). (1885). *Fathers of the Second Century* (A. Cleveland Coxe, Rev. ed.). The Ante-Nicene Fathers (Vol. 2). The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf02.html

EG
Φιλίας ἐνταῦθα ἐπιστατικῆς ἐστι κοινωνία.

This was He who appeared to Abraham, and said to him, "I am your God, be accepted before Me;" and in a way most befitting an instructor, forms him into a faithful child, saying, "And be blameless; and I will make My covenant between Me and you, and your seed." *There is the communication of the Instructor's friendship*.

Clement of Alexandria: Paedagogus I.7, PG 8 317b
Roberts, A. & Donaldson, J. (Eds.). (1885). *Fathers of the Second Century* (A. Cleveland Coxe, Rev. ed.). The Ante-Nicene Fathers (Vol. 2). The Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Online: https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf02.html

3. Parkhurst (1829: 371)
Parkhurst, J. (1798). *A Greek and English Lexicon to the New Testament.* 3rd ed. J. Davis.

3.1 *A partaking, participation*

EH
The cup of blessing that we bless, is it not a sharing in the blood of Christ? The bread that we break, is it not a sharing in the body of Christ?

1 Corinthians 10.16
New Revised Standard Version Updated Edition: Holy Bible. (2021). Bible Gateway.

EI
I want to know Christ and the power of his resurrection and the sharing of his sufferings by becoming like him in his death

Philippians 3.10
New Revised Standard Version Updated Edition: Holy Bible. (2021). Bible Gateway.

3.2 *communion, fellowship, society*

EJ
They devoted themselves to the apostles' teaching and fellowship, to the breaking of bread and the prayers.

Acts 2.42
New Revised Standard Version Updated Edition: *Holy Bible.* (2021). Bible Gateway.

EK
God is faithful, by whom you were called into the partnership of his Son, Jesus Christ our Lord.

1 Corinthians 1.9
New Revised Standard Version Updated Edition: Holy Bible. (2021). Bible Gateway.

EL
Do not be mismatched with unbelievers. For what do righteousness and lawlessness have in common? Or what partnership is there between light and darkness?

2 Corinthians 6.14
New Revised Standard Version Updated Edition: *Holy Bible.* (2021). Bible Gateway.

EM
And when James and Cephas and John, who were acknowledged pillars, recognized the grace that had been given to me, they gave to Barnabas and me the right hand of fellowship, agreeing that we should go to the gentiles and they to the circumcised.

Galatians 2.9
New Revised Standard Version Updated Edition: Holy Bible. (2021). Bible Gateway.

EN
I pray that the partnership of your faith may become effective as you comprehend all the good that we share in Christ.

Philemon 1.6
New Revised Standard Version Updated Edition: Holy Bible. (2021). Bible Gateway.

3.3 *communication, distribution, almsgiving*

see **U**

Romans 15.26

EO
Through the testing of this ministry you glorify God by your obedience to the confession of the gospel of Christ and by the generosity of your partnership with them and with all others.

2 Corinthians 9.13
New Revised Standard Version Updated Edition: Holy Bible. (2021). Bible Gateway.

see **V**

Hebrews 13.16

a partaker

EP
And you say, "If we had lived in the days of our ancestors, we would not have taken part with them in shedding the blood of the prophets".

Matthew 23.30
New Revised Standard Version Updated Edition: Holy Bible. (2021). Bible Gateway.

a partner, companion

EQ
And so also were James and John, sons of Zebedee, who were partners with Simon. Then Jesus said to Simon, "Do not be afraid; from now on you will be catching people".

Luke 5.10
New Revised Standard Version Updated Edition: Holy Bible. (2021). Bible Gateway.

connected with demons

ER
No, I imply that what they sacrifice, they sacrifice to demons and not to God. I do not want you to be partners with demons.

1 Corinthians 10.20
New Revised Standard Version Updated Edition: Holy Bible. (2021). Bible Gateway.

4. Donnegan (1831–1841: 766)

Donnegan, J. (1841–1831). *A New Greek and English Lexicon.* 2nd ed. J. F. Dove.

4.1 *the act of partaking in*
4.2 *community*
4.3 *mutual participation*
4.4 *companionship*
4.5 *society*
4.6 *social intercourse*
4.7 *relationship – the commerce between man and woman*

5. Hamilton (1871: 153)
Hamilton, H. R. (1871). *A Greek–English Lexicon.* Lockwood & Co.

5.1 communion
5.2 intercourse

6. Grooves (1828: 347)
Grooves, J. (1837). *A Greek and English Dictionary, Comprising All the Words in the Writings of the Most Popular Greek Authors.* Hilliard, Gray & Co.

6.1 *community*
6.2 *participation*
6.3 *share*
6.4 *society*
6.5 *intercourse*
6.6 *company*
6.7 *alliance*
6.8 *connexion*
6.9 communication
6.10 *distribution*
6.11 *liberality*
6.12 *bounty*

7. Giles (1840: 374)
Giles, J. A. (1840). *A Lexicon of the Greek Language.* 2nd ed. Longman, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longmans.

7.1 participation
7.2 communication
7.3 alliance
7.4 friendly intimacy
7.5 relationship

8. Robinson (1852: 450)

Robinson, E. (1852). *A Greek and English Lexicon of the New Testament.* William Tegg & Co.

8.1 act of partaking, sharing
8.1.1 *participation*
8.1.2 *communio*
8.1.3 *fellowship*

see **EJ** (Acts 2.42), see **EK** (1 Corinthians 1.9), see **EH** (1 Corinthians 10.16), see **EL** (2 Corinthians 6.14), see **EE** (2 Corinthians 8.4)

part, share in transmitting this alms

see **DL**

2 Corinthians 13.13

ES
for your partnership in the gospel from the first day until now

Philippians 1.5
New Revised Standard Version Updated Edition: Holy Bible. (2021). Bible Gateway.

ET
What we have seen and heard we also declare to you so that you also may have fellowship with us, and truly our fellowship is with the Father and with his Son Jesus Christ.

1 John 1.3
New Revised Standard Version Updated Edition: Holy Bible. (2021). Bible Gateway.

right hand of fellowship, the pledge of communion

EU
And to make everyone see what is the plan of the mystery hidden for ages in God, who created all things.

Ephesians 3.9
New Revised Standard Version Updated Edition: Holy Bible. (2021). Bible Gateway.

your participation in the gospel, accession to it

EV
If, then, there is any comfort in Christ, any consolation from love, any partnership in the Spirit, any tender affection and sympathy.

Philippians 2.1
New Revised Standard Version Updated Edition: Holy Bible. (2021). Bible Gateway.

see **EI** (Philippians 3.10), see **EM** (Philemon 6), see **ET** (1 John 1.3)

8.2 *communication, distribution, contribution (collection of money in behalf of poorer churches)*

see **U** (Romans 15.26), see **EO** (2 Corinthians 9.13), see **V** (Hebrews 13.16)

9. Pickering (1829: 493)
Pickering, J. (1829). *A Comprehensive Lexicon of the Greek Language, Adapted to the Use of Colleges and Schools in the United States* (2nd ed.). Hilliard, Gray, Little, and Wilkins.

9.1 *communion*
9.2 *participation or partaking*
9.3 *partnership*
9.4 *society*
9.5 *bounty*
9.6 *almsgiving*

10. Jones (1825: 719)
Jones, J. (1825). *The Tyro's Greek and English Lexicon; or a Compendium in English* (2nd ed.). Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green.

10.1 *participation*
10.2 *communion*
10.3 *community*
10.4 *communication*
10.5 *distribution*
10.6 *liberality*

see **EO**

2 Corinthians 9.13

10.7 *company*

EW
ἐμοὶ γάρ τοι, ἔφη φάναι, καὶ οἱ θεοί, ὦ γύναι, δοκοῦσι πολὺ διεσκεμμένως μάλιστα τὸ ζεῦγος τοῦτο συντεθεικέναι ὃ καλεῖται θῆλυ καὶ ἄρρεν, ὅπως ὅτι ὠφελιμώτατον ᾖ αὐτῷ εἰς τὴν κοινωνίαν.

For it seems to me, dear, that the gods with great discernment have coupled together male and female, as they are called, chiefly in order that they may form a perfect partnership in mutual service.

Xenophon: Oikonomikos 7.18
Xenophon: Oikonomikos. (Trans. E. C. Marchant, 1925). Perseus Digital Library. Online: https://scaife.perseus.org/

10.8 *alliance*

11. The Classic Greek Dictionary (1896: 384)

Hinds & Noble (1896). *The Classic Greek Dictionary in Two Parts, Greek–English and English–Greek.* Hinds & Noble.

11.1 *communion*
11.2 *fellowship*
11.3 *intercourse*

12. Lexicon Thucydidæum (1824: 197)

G. B. Whittaker (1824). *Lexicon Thucydidæum: A Dictionary, in Greek and English, of the Words, Phrases, and Principal Idioms, Contained in the History of the Peloponnesian War of Thucydides.* G. B. Whittaker.

12.1 *communion*
12.2 *confederacy, alliance*

see E

Thucydides: *The History of the Peloponnesian War* 3.10.1

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