

## Post-Perestroika Ideologemes Survey (Based on the Newspaper "Izvestiya")

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### Abstract

The ability of linguistic units to generate new connotative and associative meanings (that is, intentionality) is especially relevant for political rhetoric, the function of which is to influence an audience as a rule. A created semantic field requires a detailed analysis both from the point of view of political science and from the point of view of linguistics, since ideologemes are the phenomenon of political reality and a language fact simultaneously.

The study is devoted to the understanding of the post-perestroika period ideological system. In the framework of the political-journalistic discourse (based on the material of the daily "Izvestia" issues in 1992) eight thematic groups of post-perestroika period ideologemes were singled out by the method of continuous sampling (the total number of ideologeme uses was 1658 units). Ideological nature, repeatability and evaluation were referred to the obligatory signs of an ideologeme (understood as the ability to influence an existing picture of the world).

The study used descriptive method, the method of continuous sampling of material, quantitative methods and the method of semantic-cognitive analysis. The systematization of the selected groups of ideologemes is performed on various grounds (from the point of view of relevance / irrelevance in the ideological picture of the world under consideration, taking into account the pragmatic component, in terms of use and understanding by native speakers). The significance of the ideological units under consideration is characterized and their importance in the analyzed period is found using the material of the newspaper "Izvestia".

The leading "democratic" ideologemes did not form the basis of modern political discourse, as the promises of a "golden" democratic future were not justified. The results of the research can be applied for further theoretical understanding of the post-Soviet political myth.

**Keywords:** Ideologeme; Post-Perestroika; Political-Publicistic Discourse, Newspaper "Izvestia"; Opposition "ours - theirs"; "Democracy"; "the USSR"; "Gaidaronomika"; Political Myth.

### Introduction

Linguistic sovietologists believe that the year 1992 is considered as the starting point of modern political language research beginning [Budaev, Chudinov 2008]. This is the end of perestroika and the beginning of a new era for a former totalitarian country with a planned economy. The destruction of the Soviet myth led to the change in social values to the opposite ones, previously viewed as "hostile". At the same time, there was the process of new foundations modeling for Russians worldview (within the language level - at the expense of units containing an ideological component), and the media played a significant role in this.

Thus, it becomes urgent to study the technologies of information and political management by public consciousness (because at the present stage the struggle for political power is carried out mainly in the aspect of information warfare) to develop the methods of confrontation. One of the fundamental tools for linguistic picture of the world transformation is ideologemes (representing the central nominations of a mythologeme [Vepreva, Shadrina 2006: 125]).

A number of publications is devoted to the study of political, political and journalistic discourse [Harkova, Shigapova 2014; Sheigal 2000; Shemshurenko, Shafigullina 2015; Van Dijk 1998; Wodak 1989, et al.], in particular, concerning the perestroika, post-Soviet discourse [Dunn 1995; Koteyko 2014; Political Discourse 1998; Ryazanova-Clarke 2008; Shaposhnikov 1998, etc.], an ideological content of political discourse [Erol 1993; Guseinov 2003; Malysheva 2009; Robinson 1995 et al.].

This work is devoted to the understanding of the ideological system of the initial post-perestroika stage.

### Materials and Methods

The study used the descriptive method, the method of continuous sampling of material, the quantitative methods and the method of semantic-cognitive analysis.

By the method of continuous sampling (281 issues), the key groups of the post-perestroika period ideologemes were revealed in political and journalistic discourse on the basis of the national Soviet and Russian social-political and business daily newspaper "Izvestia" of 1992 [Izvestia, 1992], positioning itself as an independent publication, in which both opinions "under the control" of the state power are present, as well as

oppositional statements, which, in our opinion, gives a more comprehensive and objective picture of the political-journalistic discourse.

Following E.G. Malysheva and E.A. Nakhimova, we turn to the linguistic-cognitive approach of ideologeme nature understanding [Malysheva 2009; Nakhimova 2011], we propose the following definition: ideologeme is a mental unit that includes an ideological component (which is intended to form a given idea of political reality), and which is realized and actualized in a text and a discourse usually by a word or a stable

phrase. The obligatory signs of ideologeme include: 1) ideological nature (the ability to determine the motivation of actions, to form a world image) [Klushina 2014: 56-57]; 2) evaluational nature [Vepreva, Shadrina 2006: 122; Zhuravlev 2004: 28] and 3) repeatability, the actualization within a discourse [Zhuravlev 2004: 21].

We selected eight most important thematic groups<sup>1</sup> ideologemes (from the point of view of frequency and relevance in the political discourse under discussion) (see "Table 1"):

**Table 1 The Total Number of Ideological uses During the Period under Study was 1658 units.**

Ideologeme Group Name	Number of uses in the newspaper «Izvestia» during 1992	The share of uses in the newspaper «Izvestia» during 1992
Democracy	367	22,1%
Gaidaronomika	345	20,8%
the USSR	253	15,3%
Yeltsin	244	14,7%
Disintegration ideologemes	205	12,4%
Integration ideologemes	122	7,4%
The Crimean Issue	89	5,4%
Orthodox Church and State	33	1,9%

**Results**

Within the framework of our research, we found it logical to address the classification of ideologemes on several grounds (based on the systematization proposed in [Malysheva 2009: 37]): 1) from the point of view of relevance/irrelevance in the ideological picture of the world under study; 2) taking into account the pragmatic

component (axiological orientation); 3) from the point of view of the sphere of use and the understanding by native speakers.

1. From the point of view of relevance/irrelevance in the ideological picture of the world (1992), the groups of ideologemes are distributed as follows (see "Table 2"):

**Table 2**

Name of Ideologeme Group	Types from the Point of View of their Relevance	Comment
Democracy	<b>Universal Ideologemes</b>	Universal ideologemes include "actualized ones in the ideological picture of the world, regardless of a social and a political system and the views of any political elite" [Malysheva 2009: 39]. At the same time, in the course of post-Soviet political rhetoric, during the definition of the concept "democracy", the value component (with the connotative value of opposition to the party system of the CPSU Central Committee) begins to be accentuated, rather than class orientation, that points to the changes of this concept perception in society.
Gaidaronomika	<b>New ideologemes</b>	They are ideologemes-historicisms for the present time; they include the ideologeme-anthroponym "Gaidar".
the USSR	<b>Reactivated ideologemes</b>	There was the revival of the deactualized group of ideologemes in a negative sense due to new ideological orientation. For the present time they are ideologemes-historicisms.
Yeltsin	<b>New ideologemes</b>	For the present time they are ideologemes-historicisms.
Disintegration ideologemes	<b>Universal ideologemes</b>	The group of ideologemes is connected with the opposition "ours - theirs".

Integration ideologemes	<b>Universal ideologemes</b>	The group of ideologemes is connected with the opposition "ours - theirs".
The Crimean Issue	<b>Reactivated ideologemes</b>	Connected with the opposition "ours - theirs".
Orthodox Church and State	<b>Reactivated ideologemes</b>	The revival of deactualized ideologemes with the filling by new content.

On the basis of relevance, the classification of ideologemes allows us to identify the meaningful ideologemes for a particular period (in our case, post-perestroika), as well as the ideologemes relevant for a long time, which allows us to discover the semantic cognitive transformations that take place with them.

2. Taking into account the pragmatic component, ideologemes are defined by the parameter of an estimated potential, from our point of view, underlying

the ideologization of language units: here the ideologemes with positive, negative and mixed axiological modus are distinguished (which assumes the mode fluctuations from positive to ambiguous and negative [Malysheva 2009: 38]). In order to determine mode nature, we examined the connotations in the groups of ideologemes, acquired in the relevant contexts of the newspaper "Izvestia" (see "Table 3"):

**Table 3**

Ideologeme Group Name	Positive Connotation	Negative Connotation	Mixed Connotation
Democracy	57%	23%	20%
Gaidaromics	19,1%	36,5%	44,4%
the USSR	1,6%	98%	0,4%
Yeltsin	84,4%	12,7%	2,9%
Disintegration ideologemes	100%	–	–
Integration ideologemes	95%	5%	–
The Crimean Issue	5,6%	92,1%	2,3%
Orthodox Church and State	87,9%	12,1%	–

As is evident from the table, the analyzed ideologemes are allocated in the newspaper "Izvestia" with various estimates. Moreover, the disintegration ideologies have absolutely positive (100% use) appraisal and are characterized by positive axiological modus, the rest ones are characterized by a mixed axiological mode: the ideologeme "the USSR" has almost completely negative evaluation (98% of use), the ideologeme "Yeltsin" has a positive evaluation in the vast majority of uses (84.4%). These are the significant indicators of those processes that occurred during the described period: the differentiation of the concepts "the USSR" and "Russia" with a negative assessment of the events happening in the USSR. A scheme is emerging for the creation of a new political myth: from the dark party

past to a brighter future, led by a strong democratic leader, Boris Yeltsin.

Taking into account the axiological orientation (evaluation) expressed by ideologemes, it is also necessary to take into account the classification made with respect to mythologemes in [Sheigal 2000: 195-198]. In accordance with it, we differentiate ideologemes (see "Table 4"), which affirm positive values from the standpoint of an acting ideology (an ideal ideologeme), and the ideologemes that personify the evil force (ideologemes nightmares). This division is conditioned to the fact that ideology is based on oppositions, the most significant of which is "ours - theirs" (and which is one of the oldest in human society [Schuklina 2014: 640]), and the ideologemes cumulate this attitude depending on a political situation.

**Table 4**

Ideologeme Group Name	Axiological Orientation
Democracy	Ideal ideologemes
Gaidaromics	Ambivalent axiological orientation
the USSR	Ideologemes nightmares
Yeltsin	Ideal ideologemes
Disintegration ideologemes	Ideologemes nightmares <sup>2</sup>
Integration ideologemes	Ideal ideologemes
The Crimean Issue	Ideologemes nightmares
Orthodox Church and State	Ideal ideologemes

Let us confirm the mentioned above by the analysis of such ideologeme thematic groups as "Democracy", "the USSR" and "Gaidaronomika".

From the point of view of axiological orientation, the group "Democracy" refers to the ideal ideologemes. At that time this group defined the nodal orientation of the opposition "ours" (democracy) - "theirs" (USSR), its semantics is also closely related to the concept of freedom: "Blue, white, red are the colors of freedom and democracy. Our flags symbolize democratic values, for which Russia and America managed to unite finally in a democratic partnership" (Izv. 1992,139,06)<sup>3</sup>; "The CPSU prohibition was a decisive breakthrough in the struggle for freedom, justice and democracy" (Izv.1992,166,07).

A large number of the ideologemes of this group is explained by the destruction of the Soviet myth and the need to establish a new democratic mythology in the public consciousness. The democratic myth grew out of the totalitarian one, but it has also destroyed it: "The CPSU Party is the midwife of democracy in Russia" (Izv.1992,157,07); "There was a unique political situation in Russia and around it, developing in the direction of genuine democratization, in the direction of loosening the foundations of the parasitic nomenclatural system" (Izv.1992,239,10).

In this regard, the connotative semantics of the ideologeme "Democracy" in Russia turned out to be different from the generally accepted one. Traditionally, democracy means the form of political system in which the supreme power belongs to people, in the post-Soviet discourse democracy is also the opposition to the enemy authority of CPSU Central Committee: "The CPSU, its charter and activities violated the basic principles of democracy and international law for 70 years" (Izv.1992,166,07).

Meanwhile, often the ideologemes of the described group are addressed to the future. This was facilitated by the general crisis situation, which required the belief in a democratic "bright future" in return for the Soviet one: "The establishing of democracy requires a lot of work and struggle" (Izv.1992,177,08).

The group of ideologemes "the USSR" in the post-Soviet space lost its former positive value and acquired an extremely negative one (ideologeme-nightmare) due to new ideologemes that affirm the image of the USSR as an absolute enemy. The ideologemes of the group being characterized was aimed at the desacralization of the Soviet and the establishment of the democratic myth: "The Soviet Union is an evil empire, a bloody era, an inhuman order and moral lawlessness"; "The dark period of our past, fears and humiliations are behind" (Izv.1992,01,01); "Any step back to the tyranny of the past will be a tragic mistake" (Izv.1992,172,07).

The ideologemes-anthroponyms of the Soviet leadership began to be perceived negatively in this group. They were moved to the area of "theirs": "Khrushchev is the Crimean voluntarist" (Izv.1992,162,07), etc.

The group of ideologemes "Gaidaromics" marked the turn to Western values, namely - to economic freedom in market economy conditions. Since the post-Soviet myth was in the process of becoming (1992), the ideology of this group has a clear phenomenon of the denoter semantic uncertainty. Perhaps, it was best indicated in the metaphor "Russian roulette of the Russian reform" (Izv.1992,23,01). Meanwhile, the bad economic situation, the lack of practice of economic freedom, determined the ambivalent axiological orientation of this group of ideologemes: "By the end of the year, the economy, like a beaten and a driven horse, collapsed" (Izv.1992,27,02); "Does the capital meet the morning of market freedom without bread at all?" (Izv.1992,02,01). Subsequently, the group of ideologemes proclaiming the freedom of market relations became one of the post-Soviet myth components.

3. From the point of view of the sphere of use and the understanding by the native speakers of the language, the considered groups of ideologemes were distributed as follows (see "Table 3"): 1) commonly used, understood in different ways ("Democracy", "Yeltsin", "Crimean Issue", "Gaidaronomika", "the USSR", "integration ideologemes", "Orthodox Church and State"); 2) commonly used, understood in the same way ("disintegration ideologemes").

### **Discussion**

As was noted in introduction, we share the position that ideologemes are the basis for the development of mythological consciousness, one of the features of which is a clear division into "ours" and "theirs" and influence the transformation of the political world linguistic picture.

One of the most important signs of ideology is the appraisal, and it can vary depending on a political situation.

For example, one of the leaders in the post-Soviet discourse was the group of "Democracy" ideologeme, because it established the key orientation of the opposition "ours - theirs". The Soviet political myth was rapidly collapsing due to its functioning in the post-Soviet discourse. Thus, the semantics of the word "Democracy" has undergone the change, having received a new connotation - the opposition of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the symbol of liberation. In our view a bright reference of this group of ideologemes towards an ideal future, demonstrates their key role in the development of the post-Soviet myth at the stage under consideration.

### **Summary**

The change of political discourse in the early 1990-ies was followed by the process of new central ideologemes rethinking and creation, which became the nucleus of the emerging mythologies. The results of the study (assuming the study of the emerging ideological system in dynamics in the long term) can be applied for

further theoretical understanding of the post-Soviet political myth development phenomenon.

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