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MEDIATED DIALOG BETWEEN CULTURES. A (DIS)TRUST'S IMPACT ON MINORITIES' TELEVISION PROGRAMMES' PRODUCTION AND RECEPTION

READING THE MEDIA TEXTS: MEDIA EFFECT THEORY VS. CULTURAL STUDIES

Intercultural communication becomes an experience familiar to the growing number of people. It is not only the soldiers, entrepreneurs, anthropologists or missionaries that leave their homes and countries to encounter the Other. There are new social groups for whom the intercultural contact and communication becomes an immanent element of life experience. These are people who leave their homes on voluntary basis like tourists and travellers¹ for whom journey and the diversity the Other provides the break from the boredom of everyday life, from homogeneity of their social and cultural context. There is also a large group of migrants, whose experience with the Other is less wilful, grounded on the economic or political basis – these are casual labourers and refugees. The experience of the meeting with the Other is shaped differently in case of these both groups. While the first one is lured to visit the Other (by national branding, travel agencies, spots on television etc.) and warmly welcomed (as an crucial element of the local economy and sometimes the main source of income), the other – bigger in number and less nomadic – is often not appreciated and stigmatized. Migrants are treated as a threat for local people on job market or a ballast for economy (the refugees). The reception of both groups is far from being the same; they have different expectations as well. For “voluntary” tourists and travellers the Other is a kind

¹ I see the difference between the tourists and the travelers basing on the organizational side of the journey (tourists' stays are organized by the travel agencies while travelers' are organizing their stays themselves) and the type of contact with local habitants (tourists' contact is limited to the special group of local people connected with tourism industry – as hotel employees, shop attendances, guides – while travelers have more opportunities to meet “ordinary” people). That is why the intercultural contact of both those figures practice is in fact different.

of attraction, they seek to meet local people, traditions and cuisine. Migrants and refugees create diasporas, they have to bear hostility and prejudices in local societies, their contact with local groups is totally different from what is tourists' experience.

In today's reality, the ethnoscapas – as Arjun Appadurai calls them² – are constantly changing bringing new experiences: meeting the Others and communicating with them – that in the past were reserved for narrower group of people. As I have suggested the character of the encounter and the communication act is significantly different depending on the group, but for all of them it is a difficult and demanding process of constant mutual confrontations and negotiations. Theorists dealing with the problem of intercultural communication points out several potentially problematical elements with anxiety and uncertainty (the Theory of Anxiety/Uncertainty Management by William Gudykunst), self-esteem and self-work (Face-Negotiation Theory by Ting-Toomey) among them. Communication itself has a strong impact of anxiety and distrust which all parties of the communication process needs to handle. Such elements of interaction as unpredictable reaction of the interlocutor or the possibility of misunderstanding grows rapidly in case of intercultural contact. Different language competences as well as social and cultural background make the communication process harder and more vulnerable. All that makes trust one of the vital elements of intercultural contact. Both parties of the contact need to assume partner's good will, openness and ability to interpret all doubtful elements positively.

Today's reality brings something more than changes in ethnoscapas. It is also constant and global fluctuations of mediascapas. Media enables people from different geographical regions as well as cultural and social backgrounds to share the same communication sphere, which gives the opportunity for a totally different type of intercultural contact than face-to-face communication.

When analysing media discourse as a means of intercultural communication it is very easy to get trapped in accusing the television of imperialism and Americanisation. This accusation is grounded on Media Effect Theory (with communication captured under metaphors of hypodermic needle model or silver or magic bullet model) which assumes that the viewer is the passive figure of media communication. He/she is thought to be the consumer accepting all meanings and representations according to sender's intention. This theory is based on the communication theory that can be described by the mirror metaphor – the meaning received by the viewer, the effect of the communication process, is the mimetic reflection of the message prepared by the sender. It means there are two similar texts on the beginning and at the end of the

² A. Appadurai, *Nowoczesność bez granic. Kulturowe wymiary globalizacji*, Universitas, Kraków 2005.

communication process. What this theory does not take into consideration is the active part played by the receiver of the media texts. This lack was recognised by the researchers connected to the Centre of Contemporary Cultural Studies in Birmingham with the leading role of Stuart Hall and his *Encoding/Decoding* text.³ The Cultural Studies has pointed out the activity of the receiver and meaning creation process (decoding) by the viewer and placed it in the centre of the media analysis. The decoding activity is influenced by the whole variety of elements such as gender, age, ethnicity, nationality or the social status. Researchers underlined that audience is not a homogenous mass consuming passively all they see or hear on the media.

This perspective sheds new light on the threat of Americanisation via media as well as manipulation in intercultural contact. The Stuart Hall's theory of Encoding/Decoding gives the viewers the possibility of opposite reading of the media texts. According to Hall's theory there are three modes of interpreting the media texts and their content. The first one is the dominant reading that follows the producer's idea. As researcher points out this reading follows the hegemonic ideology and leads to the reproducing of the social, cultural or economic *status quo* – and this one is the least possible to happen. The second reading is the negotiating one when the viewer accepts the message of the producer but not totally, there is a margin of negotiation and individual selection of those elements of the message that may and will be accepted. Last but not least – there is also an oppositional reading, rejecting the producer's strategy and meanings closed in the media text. This one happens when the trust toward the sender is low and the receiver suspects that the text is misleading.

Such an understanding of media reception influences the theory and analysis of mediated intercultural communication. Once we have recognised the power of the active viewer we need to look at mediated intercultural contact at the different angle. It is a process much more relied on the viewer than traditional Media Effect Theories suggests. If the viewer is actively co-producing the meanings his/her attitudes have to be taken into consideration – and trust or distrust toward the communication partner is one of the vital ones. The viewer who trusts the broadcaster is more willing to read the television programme along with the dominant strategy. On the contrary the distrust supports the negotiations and oppositional readings. The producer of the media text has to be aware of those conditionings as in the case of mediated intercultural contact doubts and misunderstandings cannot be solved on the spot in face-to-face relation where great informational and emotional impact is transferred not only in verbal mode but also by the whole sphere of non-verbal expressions as smiles, gestures, posture – they can support the communication process even though interlocutors may lack language competence

³ S. Hall, *Kodowanie, dekodowanie, „Przekazy i Opinie”*, 1987, vol. 1-2, p. 58-71.

or knowledge of cultural or social background and win interlocutor's heart, convince him/her.

The example of such oppositional reading in intercultural media relation can be the case of the Turkish promotional advertisements broadcasted on the global as well as local television channels. The spot promoting Turkey under the slogans *Turkey welcomes you* and *I dream of Turkey* consists of the series of astonishingly colourful shots full of fantasy creatures as mermaids, the mysterious riders strewing women with roses' petals, magical feminine characters dancing on the water. The main aim of the advertisement is to reflect the amazing (imagined) world of Orient and exotics covered in magical characters, fairytales of unreal creatures, and the romantic lone desert horse riders. All the positive emotions connected with the image of the mysterious but also mystical East are covered here. At the same time the country is presented here as modern (shots of contemporary downtown, metro, highway), where women are treated well (they are strewed with roses on the metro stations) as the Islam, and the women's role in it is one of the most distrusted elements of Turkish culture. In the dominant reading the advertisement cannot be more successful - vibrant, generating only positive emotions, the promise of the exotic but still safe holidays. The distrust toward the producer of the text - in this case it would be the state that ordered the advertisement production - leads to dramatically different readings. In 2007 the documentary *Screamers* by Carla Garapedian was created. The film is a documentary about the tour of the System of the Down - the group of American musicians with Armenian roots. The songs covering the historical and political themes, musicians' experiences and family tales, the relations of those who survived and archive photographs documenting the homicide that Turkey committed on Armenian minority in 1915 are confronted with the Turkish promotional spot. It all gives the "negative context" for interpretation of the Turkish advertisement even for the viewer who had no previous knowledge about the Armenian history and relations with Turkey. This context leads the viewer to oppositional reading of the colourful, "magical" shots presented in the advertisement. The distrust towards Turkey generates the impression of the lie and manipulation behind the advertisement. They ruin the warm expression of Turkey as a friendly and safe place.

INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION WITHIN ONE COUNTRY - TRUST/DISTRUST'S IMPACT ON MINORITY TELEVISION PROGRAMMES

Till now we have taken into consideration global media, social groups' fluctuations and intercultural communication caused by them. My question here is if intercultural contact is possible on local scale, within one nation

state? The answer seems quite obvious in case of multicultural countries, where the ethnic and cultural diversity is reflected by the state administration (several official languages, country divided into lands, cantons or states etc.) as well as media system (minority media, separate television channels for inhabitants of different regions etc.). In such countries the media sphere mirrors the everyday experience in which the coexistence with the Other is a rule of social organization.

The situation looks completely different in case of Polish social relations as well as public sphere, where intercultural communication is not a taken for granted feature of the reality. Poland as a whole is a monoethnic country where the encounter with someone of different ethnical or national identity is beyond everyday practice of the vast majority of the Polish citizens. The cultural diversity is rather the local phenomenon⁴ very seldom transferred to the media production. That is the paradox of Polish discourse of multiculturalism and (in consequence) the intercultural dialog: it is very intense and dynamic but lacks the anchor in the reality. It is quite hard to analyse the diversity and intercultural communication in the society where only 0.5% of citizens define themselves as non-Poles.⁵ Most of the "multicultural" elements of the media are the programmes broadcasted by the majority and from the majorities' perspective of folklore festivals on the one hand or the social problems on the other.

In this article I would like to concentrate on a specific media (and social situation) that takes place in a unique Podlasie region – in the north-eastern part of Poland. This region can be treated as a truly multicultural one as according to the outcomes of the National Census there are six national and ethnic minority groups living there. These are: Byelorussians, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Russians, Roms and Polish Tatars. This diversity makes the Podlasie truly intercultural although the percentage of the minority members is not the highest in Poland. In Opolskie region 12% of inhabitants call themselves Silesians while in Podlasie above mentioned five groups constitute 4.6% of all inhabitants. So even if the percentage of the Other in Polish society is not the highest in the scale of the country, the diversity – national as well religious (Catholics, Protestants, Orthodox and Muslims) and cultural one – seems to be unique and drawing attention.

Communication process gets more difficult as far as trust is concerned when it happens not incidentally (when travelling e.g.) or when migrants live in diasporas (specific, closed social groups) but on regular, everyday basis. When partners of the communication function in trans-border surroundings

⁴ T. Paleczny, *Stosunki międzykulturowe. Zarys problematyki*, Wyd. Krakowskiej Szkoły Wyższej, Kraków 2005, p. 80-82.

⁵ *Mniejszości narodowe w Polsce w świetle Narodowego Spisu Powszechnego z 2002 roku*, ed. L. Adamczuk, S. Łodziński, Wydawnictwo Scholar, Warszawa 2006.

or in region, where several nationalities live together. Also mediated contact between all participants of the public sphere is very demanding – especially in Polish media system, where the broadcaster is trapped between the “mission” he has to fulfil toward the viewers regarded as citizens and the economical calculations in which the viewer is nothing more than just a consumer. In the first strategy programmes supporting bottom-up initiatives should be broadcasted, they should be educational not only in the traditional sense but also backing up competence for self-definition, the coexistence with other members of the society. The other strategy calls the broadcaster to serve the viewers’ entertainment and informational needs (the outcome is so-called infotainment) and makes him be under the pressure of the telemetrics. In such a dialectical obligations serving as the media platform for intercultural contact may be very difficult. The solution for Polish Public Television⁶ is the strategy of niche – minority programmes are placed in the local subsidiaries of TVP.

When analysing the trust as a feature of mediated intercultural dialog we need to take into consideration that in case of minority programmes in Podlasie region the whole process of programme production is planned in such a way as to support the partnership of the public media-minority relation. From the beginning the minority groups played a significant role in this relation. There are three spheres of the democratisation of the minority television programmes.

The first democratic element is the origin of the regional subsidiary of TVP in Podlasie region. Subsidiary of Polish Television in Białystok (the main city of the Podlasie) appeared in 1997 with minorities as the flagship product. Its genesis is tightly related to minorities’ journalistic activity. A group of Byelorussian journalists was producing a short minority programme for other Polish Television subsidiary that was covering the Podlasie region. Due to the growing needs of minorities for media representation the group pressed television authorities to create a subsidiary in Podlasie. The local activists collected ten thousand signatures and the project of extension of the time given to minorities was handled to the authorities of Polish Television. The groups were promised to receive more broadcasting time once the local subsidiary of television is created.

The subsidiary in Białystok when settled was supposed to realise official mission of Polish Television, which is among many (not fulfilled) others: supporting local societies, their cultures and serving minorities’ groups. Minority programme was the second one (after local news service) that appeared in this regional television.

The second democratic feature was social consultation over the minorities’ programmes to which most of minorities’ organisations and associations were invited. Those consultations’ outcomes are visible till today in the for-

⁶ Telewizja Polska SA (TVP).

mula of the programmes as well as in the time share between all the national groups. The latter aspect caused the most of problems. In Podlasie there are, as has been said, six minority groups. The main problem was how to share the broadcasting time given by the television authorities to fulfil the expectations of all groups and to do it fairly. All participants of the negotiations agreed that the best idea would be if the broadcasting time reflected the factual demographical share of each minority in the non-polish demographic group. To avoid misunderstandings and conflicts the idea was: the bigger the group the more time it has. In praxis this means:

- Byelorussians estimating their amount for 200-300 thousand people got 22 minutes programme a week;
- Ukrainians estimating themselves for 200-300 thousand people got 10 minutes a week;
- Lithuanians estimating themselves for 20-25 thousand people got 10 minutes programme three weeks a month;
- Roms (estimated 20-30 thousand), Polish Tatars (estimated 5 thousand) and Russians (estimated 10-15 thousand) received 7.5 minutes programme a month each.

This division of broadcasting time was satisfactory for all groups. For the first several years all minorities had one block under the title *We About Ourselves* (*Sami o sobie*). In 2002 the block was divided into separate magazines under unique names.

The national census conducted in 2002 was quite an unpleasant shock for minority groups. It turned out that their own predictions of the groups' amounts were highly overestimated. It turned out also that the time division is far from being the mirror of the demographical reality of the region.

The undoubted advantage of such time division strategy was the public debate on it and (in fact) public's decision of how much time each group should have. The other advantage of this strategy is the trust to the television as institution (and programmes themselves), which is seen and regarded as "ours". The consequence is the culture-building, and socio-building power of the programme. This situation supports trust toward the broadcaster built on the partnership and treating the minority groups as equal party of the communication process. As my field research conducted among both minority viewers and minority journalists in TVP Białystok proved, minority members regarded the act of allowing minorities to influence the shape of the programmes as a milestone in mutual relations.

Maybe even more significant and supporting minorities' trust toward dominant broadcaster was the third element of democratising the media intercultural contact: the policy of leaving the selection of the journalists responsible for minority programmes to minorities themselves. Each minority group was supposed to select the representative person, who will be creating the television magazine – the person they trust, who knows the groups' back-

ground, specifics and problems. One of the minority journalists had some radio experience but for most of them the minority programme was the first encounter with media production. The broadcaster was supposed to provide minority adepts of journalism the courses and provide them with all technical and production support (journalists could use broadcaster's professionals as cameramen or editors as well as equipment).

All these three elements: taking part in grounding the television subsidiary, negotiations regarding the time share and the programmes structure and, last but not least, the selection of the minority journalists from the minority groups themselves, created an ideal situation for intercultural dialog in local media sphere. Minority groups could have the feeling of real and fair representation in the local media. It is they, who decide how their programmes will look like and who will be responsible for them. They were treated as partners. That is the theory – the practice and real social and media situation is far more multidimensional with several nuances introducing a great deal of distrust in the viewer-journalist-broadcaster relation. Below I will shed some light on the ambivalence of the trust factor in the mediated intercultural communication. All of forthcoming analysis and quotations are based on my field research conducted in 2008 and 2009 among Byelorussian viewers of the minority programmes and the journalist creating them.⁷

TRUST/DISTRUST IN VIEWER - BROADCASTER RELATION

The process of time share negotiations and extremely active role played by the minority organizations suggest that the viewer – broadcaster relation should be positive and trustful. Broadcaster by implementation of the viewers into programme production process makes them producers to some extent. This strategy builds the trust in the broadcaster's good will and democratic sense but did not prevent the minority viewers from critics based on the relation with the TVP as a national broadcaster. The trust built on cooperation with the local subsidiary cannot overcome the overwhelming distrust towards Polish Public Television as an institution. The minority members feel excluded and have the impression that they are not valid consumers of the public media as they cannot find the fair and satisfying self-representation in the television. When I asked my respondents if they are satisfied with the minority representation in local subsidiary of TVP in Podlasie their answers were far from contentment and surprisingly concentrated on the nationwide level of media production:

⁷ The complete report of the audience and journalists research can be found in my doctoral thesis: *Telewizja jako forma komunikacji międzykulturowej – analiza medjoznawcza i etnograficzne badania publiczności* (Television as a intercultural platform – content analysis and ethnographic audience research).

I am not satisfied because it is not only the matter of quantity but quality as well (...) sometimes there are such mistakes... [respondent B].

Minorities are treated as a worse child, there is not much about them in public media (...) in nationwide media there is no such topic as national minorities [respondent D]
As far as television, public, nationwide television is concerned (...) the information [about minorities] are superficial, very marginalized. I definitely have a grudge against all media (...) from time to time there is some information, but I must tell you, that I would prefer there was none instead of this alms [respondent H].

Although the authorities of local television subsidiary have made a lot to minorities to feel fair-traded and taking part in the local mediascape still the discontent of the minority representation in media as a whole wins in this situation. The local media consensus seems to be less influential than the feeling of harm and omission on the nationwide scale. Some of them are trying to "save" the Polish majority in its informational policy:

Maybe it is the matter of the proportions because the Byelorussian minority is only a small part of the Polish society - definitely a small one (...) but still the minorities' point of view is that we always need more and more [respondent A].

There is almost no information [about minorities] maybe because there is no such need. Now all media are searching for "the news". There is no space for cultural or educational programmes. [respondent B]

This way my respondents try to put the blame of inadequate minority representation on the rules that drives the media in general. It is the demography and the numbers that are responsible for the great difficulties with media access and at the same time the great need of these groups to be represented in the public sphere. The other explanation saving the broadcaster from being responsible for not allowing the minority on the screen is the mechanism of media attraction. As one of the respondents described: in the centre of today's media is "the news", attraction and minority very seldom fulfils this requirement.

TRUST/DISTRUST IN JOURNALIST - BROADCASTER RELATION

In 1997 when programmes for minorities emerged in TVP Białystok the minority journalists (selected from the minority members) became the employees of the local television. A special team producing national minority and orthodox programmes was created. The presence of such team creates the question of how it should be organised and who should be the editor. The editor plays significant role, as it is the person who makes decisions regarding the work of all the members of the team and has great impact on the programmes. There are two possibilities - and the TVP Białystok experienced both of them: the editor can be Polish or minority journalist.

The first editor of the minority programmes was a Polish radio journalist who was introducing the minority radio programmes in local subsidiary of Polish Radio. An editor coming from the Polish dominant group seems to be a rational decision. None of the minorities is advantaged though giving one of them the dominating position. The editor coming from outside the minority groups, but still knowing them well, seems to be a guarantee that programmes won't fulfil the particular needs of one of the minority groups. The other advantage was his professional experience. Most of the team of minority journalist consisted of people who had no previous contact with media – an experienced journalist was highly appreciated. But at the same time the paradoxical situation was created in which minorities had access to local television to create self-reliant, independent and totally author's media representation of their groups but at the same time they (and their work) were submitted to Polish, dominant perspective and evaluation. That is how one of minority journalists commented on this situation:

First the editor of this programme had to be Polish – because it is a trustworthy person. The one who comes from the minority could have been accused of disloyalty to Poland [respondent 5].

From the journalist's point of view the reasons for choosing Polish editor were not rational (experience, professionalism) but it was a sort of negative selection and the strategy of not allowing the minority member to hold this significant position. The key word here is trust. The broadcaster allowed minorities to create the local media programme and shape the local reality representation from their own perspective but did not resign from the supervisor's role. Minority employees were not trusted enough.

The change of the editor into minority journalist in 2000's seems to be a milestone in the minority journalists-broadcaster relations (the Byelorussian journalist was pointed to be the editor). The journalists themselves interpret this change in organisational strategy as an effect of evolution in trust of both groups. Minority journalists were verified and proved within several years. During that time they have proved their worth as loyal and professional employees so they were granted with the broadcaster's trust allowing them for the vast autonomy. In this situation, from the broadcaster's point of view the growing trust towards minority partners have been shown via growing autonomy they were given. That is the interpretation of a part of the minority journalist from minority team in TVP Białystok. The interpretation is based on trust towards the broadcaster and the belief of his good will. But there is also an oppositional reading of the change of the editor based on the distrust and the belief in the Machiavellic "divide and rule" strategy:

The ones who made this decision did it to create the conflict. They made the Byelorussian the editor of the team and he could decide what will be shown in Ukrainian programmes. He did not make those decisions as an editor only but also as a kind of opponent. It was unacceptable... [respondent 5]

When taking into consideration social context and the very sharp conflict between Byelarussian and Ukrainian activists (and journalists as well) the decision to submit one of the antagonised sides to the other seems to be reckless from the neutral point of view but for someone who doubts in the broadcaster's good it will be regarded as provocative and intrigue driven.

TRUST/DISTRUST IN VIEWER - JOURNALISTS RELATION

The process of journalists' selection from the minority members by the minority groups themselves is a situation without precedence in Polish television. It makes the journalist agenda trusted by the minority group as the minority authorities have selected the future journalists basing not only on their experience, language skills (polish, national and local language) and the knowledge of social and cultural context. It seems that the most important element of the selection was the trust minority authorities had for candidates. They were the people who will shape the minority representation, who will be the minority representatives in the local media - these could not be just anyone.

Being the selected by the group creates a situation in which a special, multiple loyalty appears. On one hand minority journalists were aware of the fact that their groups (minority organizations and authorities especially) have many expectations connected with their work. They kept in mind that it is groups' choice that gave them job. The loyalty to the minority authorities is a strong tie from which journalists have to liberate because the second loyalty is the set of rules connected with journalism as a profession (as objectivism, providing the floor for all parties of the conflict, etc.) and the loyalty to the viewer in general - both minority and majority ones. The process of journalists' emancipation from the minority rule is usually very disappointing for minority authorities to the extent in which they try to replace firstly selected representants with the new, more submissive one. The growing awareness of the professional rules of the journalism in case of minority journalists is parallel with the decreasing trust the minority authorities (and to some extent minority members in general) present toward journalists:

There were some conflicts of course. Every minority group experienced that - attempts to get rid [of us] and replacing us with the other journalists [respondent 5]. Now they are not trying to influence the programmes for a long time. At the beginning that has happened. It is always like this at the beginning as activists are convinced they have the power over anything [respondent 5].

The problem becomes even more complicated in the case of numerous minorities that are big enough to be consisted of oppositional parties and fractions. In such situation the trust factor is vital for programmes' reception. The

vivid example can the Byelorussian programme prepared by the journalists who represent the fraction strongly hostile towards the contemporary political situation in Republic of Byelorussia. They support the democratic changes in Byelorussia and are keen on modern, dynamic means of minority identity up keeping – by the economic means, political activity, fighting for minority language in public sphere. On the other angle there are the (mainly elderly) viewers whose main activity concentrates on the folklore, traditional dance and song festivals for which the authorities of the Republic of Byelorussia are invited. Their trust to the authors of television programme is very low. They are devoted viewers but they read the programme in oppositiona, and what is more, when watching the minority programme they are waiting for some signs of bad will and malice of the authors (when I was interviewing them they were very eager and open to describe such situations). They admit they watch the programme just to see if the meetings and concerts they organised were covered in the programme (if not they even contact authors with complaint) and if they were covered positively. The lack of trust makes them regular viewers, but at the same times makes them extremely critical and prejudiced, reading the television text in opposite mode.

CONCLUSION

The trust and distrust in the triangle viewer – broadcaster - journalist may be (and it seems it actually is) a strong factor influencing the production as well as the reception and interpretation of the television minority texts. It makes the viewer interpret the message along with the sender's intentions or against them. As I have already suggested the dialog between cultures is a dynamic situation, a constant process of struggle and negotiations in which trust and distrust play great role: one being the supportive feedback of the intercultural encounter and the other a significant obstacle to overcome. Mediated intercultural dialog is not at all easier from the face-to-face one – as Media Effect Theory suggests. In case of mediated contact the viewer not satisfied with the encounter, distrusting the broadcaster can always finish the communication process: change the channel or turn off the television – the possibility not so easy in case of the direct conversation with the Other standing next to us. This makes the mediated intercultural dialog very fragile and vulnerable, grounded in the social and cultural context, not benefiting on the spot, non-verbal modifications. That is why the institutional efforts to enlarge the trust impact in mutual relations are crucial. Making the contact democratic and equal, treating the minority as a partner supports trust factor in the communication but what the researcher needs to keep in mind is that trust, as well as media reading, is rather a complex and dynamic process than a stable structure.