

Relational Strategies, Tensions, and Resilience: Underground Journals in the Soviet Union (1956-1990)

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Abstract

Connecting the literatures on resilience and paradox, we develop a dynamic approach to resilience that conceptualizes it as a relational process with paradoxical features. Our substantive focus is on how tensions between stability and adaptation are manifested and managed in social networks. The research context is underground (“samizdat”) journals in the Soviet Union, where a community of practice emerged in the mid-1950s to organize self-publication. Resilience in our context is the capacity to withstand state repression through enduring operations. Our dataset catalogs 304 journals founded between 1956 and 1986. Exponential Random Graph Models (ERGMs) and Cox survival models attest to two relational strategies addressing opposite imperatives of stability and adaptation. The first strategy pursues network exclusivity and reliability, reflected in the tendency to form ties with geographically and temporally proximate journals, in thematic homophily, scarcity of ties between political and non-political journals, and triadic closure. The second strategy pursues network extension and responsiveness by publishing in multiple locations and shifting editorial responsibilities in response to security threats. A dynamic balance between the two strategies bolstered resilience vis-à-vis state repression. However, tensions between the strategies endured, and the dynamic local balance ultimately proved globally imbalanced as political democratization of the Soviet Union accelerated. The paper exposes the dynamic, relational, and intrinsically contradictory nature of resilience.

Keywords: Resilience; Paradoxes; Organizational communities; Social Networks; Soviet Union; underground journals.

The concept of “resilience” has proved itself resilient. Ever since it entered the organizational vocabulary (e.g., Meyer, 1982), it has followed an uneven trajectory. The number of studies and review articles has steadily grown, but the concept remains contested (Hillmann & Guenther, 2021), on the fringes of the social sciences (Lazega et al., 2022), struggling to gain acceptance in top journals (Olsson et al., 2015). This is surprising, given the general recognition that resilience captures something fundamental about organizations: their ability to anticipate potential threats, to cope effectively with adverse events, and adapt to changing conditions (Duchek, 2020, p. 220). Providing an effective response to disruptive events—i.e., environmental hazards, major accidents, governmental pressure, or organized crime—is a foremost managerial concern. Resilience has been historically relevant in organizational scholarship (Linnenluecke, 2017; Sutcliffe & Vogus, 2003; Wildavsky, 2017) but has not attained a leading role in its research agenda (Lazega et al., 2022).

There are several reasons for this situation. One is the ambiguity generated by the all-embracing, “umbrella” nature of the concept. Resilience features multiple definitions (Vakilzadeh & Haase, 2020), reflecting disciplinary divisions within a fragmented field (Conz & Magnani, 2020). Linnenluecke (2017) identifies five distinct conceptualizations of resilience as (1) responses to external threats, (2) reliability, (3) employee strengths, (4) adaptability of business models, and (5) design principles that reduce supply chain vulnerabilities. Resilience is described variously as a capability, process, outcome, or strategic orientation (Krick & Ruiner, 2025). Unsurprisingly, scholars remain skeptical about the theoretical utility of a concept that has added value to the study of ecological systems, but may appear too ambivalent to be meaningfully applied to social systems (Lazega et al., 2022; Olsson et al., 2015).

Our guiding assumption is that these contradictions are meaningful: they attest to a complex phenomenon that defies easy conceptualization and precise measurement. They also motivate efforts to bring disparate pieces together into a coherent picture, examining resilience as a dynamic process that features trade-offs and reversals. The first step in this direction is the specification of key ontological and epistemological assumptions (Caza et al., 2020, p. 343). One of these assumptions concerns time. There is agreement on the importance of the temporal aspects of resilience (before, during, and after an event occurs), but less so on how these temporal aspects, nested into each other, determine future trajectories and outcomes (Pinheiro & Frigotto, 2026). It is widely observed that studies fail to conceptualize resilience as a process over time (Conz & Magnani, 2020). Dominated by retrospective case analyses and archival data (Linnenluecke, 2017) and perception-based, cross-sectional approaches (Hollands et al., 2024), resilience scholarship has a limited capacity to examine temporal dynamics and establish cause-and-effect relationships (Taris & Kompier, 2003; Zapf et al., 1996). There is a pronounced need for quantitative, longitudinal studies that treat resilience as a process (Hollands et al., 2024), examining how resilience waxes and wanes over time (Caza et al., 2020).

A second assumption concerns the treatment of tension. Among the many tensions resilience entails, that between stability and adaptation is the defining one (Krick & Ruiner, 2025). It is well recognized that resilient firms possess short-term coping capacity to recover from disturbances and long-term adaptive abilities to generate changes in business models (Liu et al., 2021). Yet, the exact relationship between the two, the degree to which they stand in tension, and the ways in which this tension is managed, remain disputed. Some scholars emphasize the organizational ability to recover fast from adversity and maintain functions (Hillmann & Guenther, 2021), while others highlight the “dynamic capacity of organizational adaptability that grows and develops over time” (Gittell et al., 2006, p. 306). As Olsson et al. (2015, p. 6) observe, it may not be too helpful that resilience thinking seeks to combine dynamic with static elements in one framing concept, generating grey zones.

We consider these grey zones an opportunity to connect with research streams that explicitly articulate the interaction between opposite forces. To better understand the nature of the interaction between stability and adaptation in resilience, we draw on research on organizational paradoxes. Paradoxes feature the simultaneous presence of contradictory yet interrelated elements that persist over time (W. K. Smith & Lewis, 2011). Recent scholarship proposes that paradoxes are intrinsic to resilience, lying at the heart of the dynamic and complex interplay between organizational stability and adaptation (Pinheiro & Frigotto, 2026). We examine resilience as a process with paradoxical features (Cunha et al., 2026), developing a perspective that emphasizes the dynamic, ongoing nature of how organizations respond to challenging and changing conditions over time (Duchek, 2020).

Our core contribution is in bringing together time and tension within a relational framework, analyzing how tensions between stability and adaptation are manifested over time and managed at the level of social networks. This approach responds to the lack of systematic attention to relational and social network concepts in the literature. Networks have been mentioned as relational resources that facilitate organizational resilience in times of crisis (Gittell et al., 2006; Vogus & Sutcliffe, 2007), and resilience is sometimes portrayed as an interactive process of relational adaptation to the environment (Williams et al., 2017). This recognition, however, has not been translated into rigorous network-based analysis (Lazega et al., 2022). As a result, the resilience field lacks a fine-grained understanding of the use of relational resources and of the ways in which networks structure responses to adversity.

To this end, we develop a relational approach to organizational resilience that examines the tension between stability and adaptation over time, as reflected in the relational strategies of actors. We recognize the empirical and theoretical difficulties associated with the concept of resilience, but share Lazega and colleagues' (2022, p. xxv) conviction that a serious engagement with resilience in all its complexity has added value, in particular when analyzed from a network perspective. Social networks are a window into the contradictions underlying the process of resilience, exposing the ways in which actors make sense of adversity and construct relational strategies in response to it.

Scholars observe that resilience cannot be universally defined or measured; rather, it must be understood in light of specific vulnerabilities, resources, and capacities within particular communities or systems (cf. Hein & Schubert, 2021). Accordingly, we develop a context-specific, longitudinal research design, focused on the relational strategies of endurance. Our research context is unusual—underground (“samizdat”) journals in the Soviet Union. However, it is also uniquely appropriate for the study of resilience for two reasons. First, as a form of illegal activity, “samizdat” publishing was constantly exposed to the threat of a crackdown by the authorities, requiring strong convictions and organizational prowess to ensure journal survival. Resilience in this context is the dynamic capability to withstand repressive pressure by persisting in an uncertain and hostile world (Perrings, 1998). A lengthy observation period (1956-1990) enables us to analyze resilience as an interactive process between dissidents and the state. Second, publishing underground journals was based on informal networks governed by mutual trust, providing an opportunity to investigate relational strategies of surviving state monitoring and repression over time. As Komaromi (2008, p. 658) observes, there is a “a whole interesting field of work to be done on the samizdat text and its social networks [...] in which it is realized and circulated”. This is what we set out to explore.

A Dynamic Relational Approach to Resilience

Upon reviewing the literature on resilience, Conz and Magnani (2020, p. 401) propose an analytical framework that features three components. First, the conceptualization of resilience as an attribute that

evolves in time. Second, its conceptualization as a dynamic process consisting of two paths: adaptive and absorptive (stability). And third, the identification of capabilities required for achieving success along these paths. We adopt these components as a starting point for the construction of a dynamic relational approach to resilience and the formulation of a research question that guides the analysis of self-published journals in the Soviet Union.

The lack of knowledge on the dynamics of organizational resilience is frequently bemoaned in review papers (e.g., Conz & Magnani, 2020; Linnenluecke, 2017; Sevilla et al., 2023). Linnenluecke (2017, p. 24) notes that studies have largely relied on retrospective analyses to diagnose how resilient an organization or system is in a certain situation or at a point in time. Accordingly, the main methodological tool for capturing resilience is case studies (Linnenluecke, 2017, p. 9). However, case studies are not well-suited to analyzing the path-dependent nature of resilience capabilities: how they develop in the process of coping with an external threat (Ortiz-de-Mandojana & Bansal, 2016). Typically captured as a situationally observed phenomenon, resilience is, in reality, a recurrent, never-ending process of dealing with adversity (Sutcliffe & Vogus, 2003), reinforced by an organization's capacity to acquire new knowledge. Understanding how resilience actually works requires a dynamic approach to the interaction between actors and their environment (Boin & van Eeten, 2013), exploring how actors absorb disruptions and reorganize while undergoing changes (Walker et al., 2004).

Our dynamic approach is inspired by Abbott (2001), who describes the social order as a set of processes rather than as solid structures. We retain three key elements from it. First, his insistence on respecting the temporal nature of reality, identifying regularities in how social processes actually unfold rather than just capturing the association between variables at a single point in time. Second, the necessity to combine sociological generalization with historical attention to timing and order, capturing the actions of particular actors at particular times in particular places (Abbott, 2001). Third, the understanding that these actions are as much the result of shifting conditions as of reflective choices. Actors are embedded in circumstances and relations that shape their actions, but they respond to the social forces pressing on them by way of interpretations (Abbott, 2001).

The last element is particularly important in addressing criticisms of the limited role of social relations in scholarship on resilience (Lazega et al., 2022). Social relations can be found in studies, but they lurk in the background. It is recognized that embeddedness in social networks shapes responses in challenging circumstances (Weick et al., 1999). These responses depend on relations to family members, friends, and acquaintances, which provide resources that facilitate coping with challenges (Hall & Lamont, 2013). When events get outside of normal operational boundaries, people tend to self-organize into networks to facilitate brainstorming, thereby improving the quality of decision-making (Wildavsky, 2017). In such conditions, trust is paramount to achieving positive outcomes and community resilience (Colquitt et al., 2011; Shepherd & Williams, 2014).

Relations in such conditions are inherently dynamic, they can be supportive or conflictual, often both at the same time (Lazega et al., 2022). Their analysis provides valuable insights into the degree to which power, control and conflict are implicated in practices of resilience. Power is always exercised through networks, it is immanent in types of relations that are seemingly consensual in nature (Foucault, 2002). For White (2008) control efforts are the very fabric of relational processes; networks congeal through mechanisms of social control. From this angle, the social organization of resilience is a cumulative product of individual efforts at control over uncertainty and adversity.

Yet, this perspective is barely visible in scholarship. Conz and Magnani (2020, p. 404) identify a research strand that investigates "collectiveness": the development of coordinative and interactive dynamics inside and outside the firm, which promotes a shared and positive vision among

employees. However, research remains largely oblivious to issues of conflict, power and control. Olsson et al. (2015) observe that resilience is typically analyzed as a property of systems, devoid of agency and conservative toward social change. These authors appeal for acknowledging openly “the politics of resilience” (Olsson et al., 2015, p. 6). This involves examining relations between social groups and control processes, recognizing that adaptive change can develop from tensions between groups and contestation of power. Foucault conceptualizes power not as a property, but as a relational strategy—a phenomenon whose “effects cannot be attributed to an appropriation but to dispositions, maneuvers, tactics, techniques, [and] functioning” (Deleuze, 1988, p. 25). This approach informs our substantive interest in the control efforts of social relations in the form of relational strategies, and specifically, in how these strategies shape adaptive responses to external threats. Relational strategies are valuable capabilities, helpful in understanding the tensions between stability and adaptation.

Between Stability and Adaptation: A Paradox

Questions about the distinctiveness and interdependence of the two resilience paths—adaptive and absorptive (Conz & Magnani, 2020)—loom large in research. Rooted in the engineering field, the absorptive tradition emphasizes the robustness of the firm during critical events and the stability of its organizational structure. The main concepts here are redundancy, reliability, and stability, describing the reproducibility of patterns of activity (see Hannan & Freeman, 1984). Early high-reliability theory emphasized the closed-system nature of high-reliability organizations (Weick et al., 1999; Weick & Roberts, 1993). To be resilient, a firm needs to keep some resources in reserve and be able to sustain performance during times of crisis (Conz & Magnani, 2020). Redundancy (or slack) is the capability of accumulating reserve capacity to be used in case of necessity (Rice & Sheffi, 2005). In turn, the core capabilities that characterize the adaptive path are adaptability, resourcefulness, and flexibility. Resilience here is an active response to a crisis situation that involves taking proactive steps to be able to thrive during and after a crisis (Conz & Magnani, 2020). In this perspective, reliability is not the outcome of organizational invariance, but rather results from the continuous management of and adaptation to fluctuations. Thus, variation rather than invariance in reliability-enhancing activities is necessary to cope with the unexpected (Weick et al., 1999).

It is appropriate that both absorption and reactive responsiveness be featured in resilience (Weick et al., 1999). Effective organization requires the prevention of potential dangers before damage is done, and the capacity to cope with unanticipated dangers after they become manifest (Wildavsky, 2017). Yet, as review papers reveal (Lazega et al., 2022; Linnenluecke, 2017; Olsson et al., 2015), the tensions between the need for organizational stability (habits, routines, consistency) and adaptation (search, openness, experimentation) have not yet been resolved. A key objective remains understanding how actors juggle between demands for stability and change (Olsson et al., 2015), and ensure safety through tight coupling, but also adaptation through loose coupling (Weick et al., 1999).

The theoretical question is broader, concerning the degrees of tension and complementarity in “the simultaneous presence of competing and ostensibly contradictory” qualities, such as stability and adaptation (Graetz & Smith, 2008). It is increasingly recognized that opposite imperatives, such as competition and cooperation or exploration and exploitation, are endemic to organizations, that they are contradictory yet interdependent, and feature persistent tensions (Ashforth & Reingen, 2014). There is a tendency in the literature to impose order on such duality, treating opposite imperatives as incompatible and mutually exclusive, and tensions as either/or tradeoffs (W. K. Smith et al., 2017). Inversely, dualistic qualities can be treated as “mutually inclusive” (A. Smith & Graetz, 2006, p. 232) or “mutually enabling”, constituent of one another (Farjoun, 2010, p. 203).

The latter is the perspective that recent accounts develop in the form of a paradox-based approach to resilience. Here, resilience is the permanent interplay between forces in tension that have a mutually interdependent relationship (Cunha et al., 2026; Pinheiro & Frigotto, 2026). Resilience requires organizations to navigate the stability/adaptation paradox: the need to maintain reliable processes while remaining adaptive (Krick & Ruiner, 2025). The paradox approach posits that such tensions are intrinsic, ongoing, and often productive when managed constructively (Lewis, 2000).

Cunha et al. (2026) articulate the key objectives in this perspective as better understanding the dynamic nature of resilience and the potential for reversal, by exploring how resilience may lead to vulnerability and vice versa. The first objective is well recognized; scholars emphasize the need to examine how the tension between stability and adaptation is practically managed in the long run (Cunha et al., 2026; Krick & Ruiner, 2025), echoing earlier calls in paradox theory for exploring the short- and long-term implications of accepting and resolving tensions (W. K. Smith & Lewis, 2011). Tensions and duality in resilience must be studied across multiple events, not in a single event, as is typically the case (Graetz & Smith, 2008).

The second objective is less well recognized and more theoretically innovative. Cunha et al. (2026) contend that understanding how these tensions operate over time is important to explain how choices that are supposed to increase resilience may end up undermining it in the long run. A veritable paradox is that the same vehicles that bring strength may be sources of vulnerability, and vice versa. In this logic, tensions are productively managed over time, but are not solved once and for all, as they create the potential for reverse effects in the long run. Due to their longer time horizon, reverse effects are typically excluded from studies. This objective is important because it identifies a “potentially less attractive side to resilience” (Comfort et al., 2010, p. 10; Cunha et al., 2026) than what is accepted in our scholarship.

These objectives guided the articulation of our research question and design. The three core attributes of paradox are opposition, interdependence, and persistence (Cunha et al., 2026; W. K. Smith & Lewis, 2011). We examine opposition and interdependence in terms of (relational) persistence, exploring the Janus-like relational quality of association and dissociation (conflict and cooperation) whereby groups address opposite imperatives (Ashforth & Reingen, 2014, p. 505). Our research question is: *How do actors develop relational strategies to address opposite imperatives of stability and adaptation in pursuing resilience and manage the tensions that emerge between them over time?* Based on past scholarship, we have a broad expectation to observe a dynamic equilibrium between relational strategies oriented toward stability and adaptation (W. K. Smith & Lewis, 2011), but also that this equilibrium is tentative—characterized by enduring tensions, occasional failures, and reversals (Krick & Ruiner, 2025).

What we are zooming in on are the relational dimensions of “paradox work”. Paradox work captures the ways in which individuals deal with conflicting demands or opposite imperatives through interpretations and interactions (Putnam et al., 2016). Traditionally, scholarly attention is on processes of interpretation, by reframing, balancing, improving, or selectively attending to different poles of a paradox (e.g., Krick & Ruiner, 2025). In proposing a peer-based model, Pamphile (2022) advocates shifting paradox scholarship towards a more relational approach, placing interactions front and center in the process of navigating paradoxical tensions. We reinforce this approach by examining relational strategies in navigating tensions. Pamphile (2022) highlights the value of building relationships with external peers to address paradoxical demands internally; we take this approach a level up, exploring the process of managing tensions at the level of the social network. Our substantive interest is in how relational factors shape how paradox work is carried out in ensuring the resilience of a community.

This substantive interest motivates the analysis of underground journals in the Soviet Union. We examine how these journals developed relational strategies to bolster resilience: preventing operational “failure” by ensuring regular publication and distribution within circuits of trust, but also being flexible enough to withstand crackdowns by state security by creating alternative paths for task performance. Ours is a peculiar but rewarding context, as it is in such tense situations of stand-off that paradoxes between stability and adaptation are most acutely experienced and skills of tension management are most useful (Krick & Ruiner, 2025). The next section presents the historical context, the dangers of dissidence in socialism, and the organization of underground activity. Resilience in this context denoted survival but was also characteristically fragile.

Dissidence and Samizdat in the Soviet Union

The term “dissident” originates in the Latin “dis-sidere”, meaning to “sit apart”, used metaphorically to signify disagreement (Komaromi, 2015, p. 8). Dissidence in the Soviet Union arose organically from the regime’s internal contradictions rather than from an external force (Nathans, 2024; Yurchak, 2006). It appeared as a result of the loss of hope for real political change in the late 1960s. The liberalization of controlling policies during the “thaw” period, following the death of Joseph Stalin in 1953, created expectations for deeper political reforms, which were brutally dashed with the trial of the writers Andrei Sinyavsky and Yuli Daniel in February 1966 and the invasion of Czechoslovakia by Soviet tanks in 1968. From the mid-1960s, intellectuals such as Sinyavsky and Aleksandr Esenin-Volpin started testing the boundaries of state tolerance through acts of defiance, including publishing abroad and organizing human rights petitions. These practices carved out a new “space of possibles”, which people would come to recognize as Soviet dissidence (Komaromi, 2015, p. 154).

Frustrated by the hard line of the authorities, many members of the Soviet intelligentsia would voluntarily drop out of official career paths, seeking instead to create islands of cultural autonomy where they could think, speak, and write independently, disregarding norms and conventions. Diverse types of independent writing and cultural activity flourished in the 1970s, before their suppression in the early 1980s, and eventual disappearance in the political currents of liberalization (“glasnost” and “perestroika”) in the late 1980s. The main objective of dissidents was not to challenge the Soviet state directly; they questioned not so much the principles of the existing political order but rather their implementation, appealing to the Soviet state to closely follow the rule of law (Nathans, 2024; Oushakine, 2001). The subversive component of their activities was in shattering a hegemonic social homogeneity into pluralism (Komaromi, 2012). They did so by exploring and diffusing new images of the self and society through cultural means: poetry readings in private apartments, the circulation of forbidden manuscripts, experimental art forms, and quiet advocacy for human rights (Komaromi, 2015).

Uncensored self-published journals played a pivotal role in this process, providing a platform for discussing suppressed political and cultural topics and literature from the West. We lack accurate information, but estimates suggest hundreds of thousands of people were involved in creating, circulating, and reading these uncensored texts (von Zitzewitz, 2020, p. 2). Producing journals involved authors, typists, editors, and readers, who acted also as publishers and distributors, passing on the copy received and producing additional copies of the text for even wider distribution (Komaromi, 2012, p. 274). The largely spontaneous production process became more professional in the 1970s. Journals were intended to be regular publications, not just occasional pamphlets shared among friends. They relied on a more or less stable network of individuals who conceived, compiled, and distributed them (von Zitzewitz, 2020). At their core were the editors, responsible for every aspect

of the production process, apart from the typing. Editors were network brokers, with a talent for connecting people, sometimes organizing informal seminars (von Zitzewitz, 2020).

Based on her archival research, von Zitzewitz (2020) defines the groups engaged in producing samizdat journals on a regular basis as “communities of practice”. Georgiou and Arenas (2023, p. 3) describe it as a social entity determined by a common boundary inside which unity of trust, reciprocity, and commitment to common values motivate members to connect with peers, support each other, share practices, and invest in collective activities. It is characterized by the adoption of a flexible structure (Thompson, 2005), actively maintaining open communication between members (Boland & Tenkasi, 1995). Samizdat journals fulfilled these criteria: their members interacted in the pursuit of a common endeavor, which can be defined as the publication and promotion of unofficial literature or, more broadly, as non-sanctioned cultural activity (von Zitzewitz, 2020). The regular production of a journal necessitated a higher degree of organization than the reproduction of individual texts; it required that a number of people come together in a context that was external to their regular professional activities.

For von Zitzewitz (2020), each of the journals—with their individual editorial policies and processes related to production and distribution—constitutes a separate community of practice. But as the groups making individual journals overlapped, it is appropriate to regard the network of groups as a single community of practice. The shared practice of underground-specific behaviors, focused on reading, producing, and circulating samizdat literature, fostered a feeling of belonging to an alternative community vis-à-vis official Soviet culture (Komaromi, 2022). A spirit of cooperation characterized this community, facilitated by a non-negligible degree of overlap in the readership of these journals.

Research Design

In agreement with our theoretical framework, we adopt a longitudinal research design, examining the lifespans of underground, self-published journals that appeared in the Soviet Union between 1956 and 1986. As suggested by von Zitzewitz (2020), our study is at the level of the individual journal (and its production team), but it factors in interdependencies and transitions between journals, treating them as members of a larger community. Our design incorporates the assumption that a community of practice can be viewed as a form of organization and that, up to a certain point, community and organizational resilience can be treated as synonymous (Sevilla et al., 2023, p. 206).

A dynamic approach conceptualizes resilience as a process by which an actor (i.e., an individual, organization, or community) builds and uses its capability endowments to interact with the environment in a way that positively adjusts and maintains functioning prior to, during, and following adversity (Williams et al., 2017, p. 742). We adopt an operationalization strategy suggested by Sevilla et al. (2023). Recognizing that a precise measure of organizational resilience probably cannot be achieved (Sevilla et al., 2023, p. 214), the authors observe that the idea of being able to survive in a constantly changing environment is widespread in the literature, and that the measurement of resilience necessarily involves an evaluation of the probability of an organization’s survival (Sevilla et al., 2023, p. 200). In this perspective, a study of resilience generally examines what an organization can or must do to maximize the probability of continuous operation in untoward conditions.

This perspective is highly suitable for our context, where illegal, self-published journals were exposed to monitoring and constant attempts at disruption and suppression by state security (i.e., the KGB). In this environment, doing the necessary to ensure survival was the foremost objective of the

underground press (Komaromi, 2015). Resilience defines the capacity to handle risk and uncertainty and to maintain long-term functioning in the face of adversity (Sutcliffe & Vogus, 2003). Accordingly, we infer resilience from endurance in a repressive political environment. Whereas the endurance of journals in Western Europe is largely determined by technological and demand factors, Soviet underground journals were largely self-sufficient entities, regulated not by market demand but by the tolerance of authorities. Regular crackdowns on the samizdat press bear strong resemblance to the stigmatization and closure of non-governmental organizations by an authoritarian government in the present-day Russian Federation (Zavyalova, 2025).

Our research question is on the role of relational strategies in enhancing resilience along the two paths: absorptive and adaptive (Conz & Magnani, 2020). The substantive interest is in how actors used social relations to juggle or reconcile imperatives of trust (stability) and openness (adaptation). The relational analysis is made possible by the fact that journals often featured the names of editors involved in their production (von Zitzewitz, 2020), enabling us to trace the mobility of editors and identify the connections that this mobility created between journals. Another key characteristic is the ability to capture relational strategies at different levels of risk, differentiating between politically oriented journals, and those discussing religion, culture, or ethnicity. As Machovec (2009, p. 6) observes: “The more copies made and the more politically charged the content of the disseminated texts, the greater the risk of persecution for their originator”.

We adopted an “abductive” procedure (Bamberger, 2018; Peirce, 1955) to answer our research question, following a well-established sequence of steps: data observation, identification of a pattern, generation of an expectation, testing of the expectation, and refinement of the explanation. We use both qualitative and quantitative data to address the imperative of “internal replication”, requiring us to test whether inferences from one sample or using one set of procedures may be similarly drawn when applied to another sample or when using different procedures (Bamberger, 2018, p. 4).

We started with a systematic qualitative survey of historical research, carefully going through the most authoritative accounts of samizdat publishing and the Soviet dissident movement. We used a list of keywords to orient our exploration. We had two objectives. First, familiarize ourselves with the context and understand better the challenges faced by journal editors, and second, identify relational strategies used by the editors to bolster the chances of endurance vis-à-vis the attempts by the state to infiltrate their networks, impair operations, and terminate their activity. We were attentive to accounts of relational activity, and to signs of tension between accounts or between relational strategies. Upon the identification of patterns, we used theory to make sense of them in an explanatory framework and to formulate expectations that we subsequently tested with quantitative data.

We built into our research design two recommendations by Abbott (2001): the use of both qualitative and quantitative data in identifying temporal patterns, and attention to “turning points”—moments of transition that are often absent from modelling strategies but can be critical to understanding social change. The turning point in our context is the formal launch of democratic reforms (“perestroika”) at the XXVIIth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in February–March 1986. Mikhail Gorbachev, the Soviet leader, shifted toward more radical economic and political restructuring in 1987, introducing laws on state enterprises and cooperatives. This shift provides a unique opportunity to identify potential reversals in tendencies established in previous decades—a key objective in the paradox-based approach to resilience (Cunha et al., 2026).

Qualitative Survey

A consistent observation across accounts was that dissidents were thoroughly Soviet people (Nathans, 2024), developing organically out of the post-Stalin context and Soviet experience (Komaromi, 2022, p. 4). For Yurchak (2006, p. 283), dissident activity amplified the pervasive practice in Soviet society of reproducing the system and participating in its continuous internal displacement as mutually constitutive processes. Borrowing from Foucault (1986), the dissident universe can be defined as a counter-site that simultaneously represents, contests, and inverts the logic governing reality. This universe was the opposite of the Soviet regime, as it was non-hierarchical and lacked a common ideological foundation. Yet, it embraced many Soviet beliefs and institutions, such as national health, free education, emancipation of women or state ownership of productive assets (Fitzpatrick, 2024). The general strategy of dissidents was to expose inconsistencies between the legal framework of socialism and the practices of suppression of human rights and freedom (Oushakine, 2001).

This is related to another common observation across accounts: that social networks underlay the self-publishing activities, and that the editors reproduced and transformed the characteristic social relations among Soviet citizens (Komaromi, 2022). As a result of the Great Terror in the late 1930s, Soviet society was characterized by mutual distrust and fear of denunciation by colleagues, neighbors, or friends (Goldman, 2011). Unsurprisingly, a common relational strategy was reliance on a close circle of friends, regulated by mutual trust, often accompanied by mistrust toward outsiders (Yurchak, 2006). Soviet society represented a loose assemblage of face-to-face communities, whose strong internal bonds were both cause and effect of the weakness of broader societal trust (Nathans, 2024). The micro-communities that structured Soviet society were built on “strong ties”: bonds of kinship and friendship, but featured relatively few “weak”, bridging ties (Granovetter, 1973), which could help overcome the parochialism of small, face-to-face communities (Nathans, 2024, p. 97).

This relational strategy was even more pronounced among dissidents. As von Zitzewitz (2020, p. 174) remarks, belonging to the underground was defined by the company individuals kept, rather than by any one attribute, such as ideological opposition to the Soviet system, in contrast to broader dissident movements in the Eastern Bloc, such as *Solidarność* in Poland (Kozlov, 2011, p. 58). There was a connection between these networks and the infamous *blat* networks—systems of mutual favors that functioned as a parallel economy widespread across the USSR (Ledeneva, 1998). As a result, the universe of Soviet dissidents looked less like an assembly of citizens than a *mélange* of roving clusters of friends: inside each cluster was a high degree of mutual trust, but between them was considerable wariness (Nathans, 2024, p. 97).

The historical accounts provide ample evidence for how relational exclusivity contributed to the “absorptive” path to resilience. Social networks served as a buffer and were instrumental in reducing risks and addressing the constant threats of disruptions, persecution, and closure of journals. Based on principles of sincerity, loyalty, and mutual trust in friendships (Fitzpatrick, 2024; Nathans, 2024), these networks were critical to both the production of journals and to their readership, defined by whom people knew; journals depended on social networks for sourcing texts and distributing the finished product (von Zitzewitz, 2020, p. 173). Networks provided access to resources in an economic environment characterized by constant shortages and a degree of stability and predictability in a repressive political context (Ledeneva, 1998). The familiarity of close personal relations allowed to create routines; for example, Komaromi (2022, p. 147) attributes the endurance of journals in part to the “coordination of editorial groups designed to survive incidents of arrests or emigration of its members”. Coordination routines that developed in networks reinforced the capacity for “absorptive” resilience.

Besides a strategy of relational exclusivity, we also identified the opposite relational strategy of openness and flexibility. Accounts testify to consistent efforts for network expansion, illustrating the “adaptive” path to resilience. Thus, von Zitzewitz (2020, p. 128) attributes the longevity of the journal “*Chasy*” (*Clocks*) to its “broader conceptual and personal base”, strategically aiming for an extended production network that is less vulnerable to disruption. The strategic intent was to make the journal the hub of a network of people with similar interests, whose involvement enables them to discover like-minded peers sharing their interests (von Zitzewitz, 2020, p. 136). Another example is provided by Nathans (2024, pp. 445–446). During her interrogation by the KGB, one of the editors of the legendary Moscow-based journal *Chronicle of Current Events* declined to denounce fellow editors and to reveal that “the *Chronicle* had not one address but many, and that the job of editor had already migrated—informally, as usual—among half a dozen individuals, assisted by roughly fifty contributing editors [...] and an unknown number of typists [...]” The endurance of the journal owed much to the capacity to maintain multiple addresses and shift editorship quickly across locations.

The vitality of the journal production system was largely due to its decentralized organization, offering a platform for exchange between disparate parts of the Soviet cultural elite (Nathans, 2024). The decentralized structure was developed in response to the repressive methods of Soviet authorities that targeted network hubs as informational sources to dismantle dissident activities. Authorities relied on the hub-and-spoke model to disrupt journal distribution and remove editors by pushing them into exile or incarcerating them (Nathans, 2024). The informal network could not afford to stand still: flexibility and informal coordination proved vital for the survival of journals at critical points (Nathans, 2024). Authorities and dissidents were involved in an ongoing series of mutual adaptations, devoting ample attention to each other in a game of wits (Fitzpatrick, 2024). Dissidents needed to respond to the latest KGB activity, while security officials had to adapt their policies to the perceived scope and influence of the informal network (Nathans, 2024; Yurchak, 2006).

The overview of historical research identified relational strategies targeting exclusivity and openness at the same time, suggesting the existence of tension between absorptive and adaptive paths to resilience. By controlling access to networks, relational exclusivity was instrumental in preventing safety breaches in the form of infiltration by state security. However, there were notable downsides to this strategy, limiting the natural growth of the dissident network and its penetration of Soviet society. “The extreme self-referentiality of the Leningrad underground” (von Zitzewitz, 2020, p. 132) and the “social isolation” of Moscow dissidents, which Fitzpatrick (2024) witnessed personally, attributed an “elitist”, detached character to dissident activity and had the unfortunate consequence of making network operations more predictable and easier to monitor by state security. Nathans (2024, pp. 234–235) directs attention to the fact that the textual orientation of the activities of dissidents meant that recruitment occurred mostly among intellectuals. This limited the ability to connect to other social strata, and to extend the underground social network, so that it becomes less vulnerable to disruptions.

The challenge for members of the underground community was figuring out how to balance safety concerns with the need to extend the network (i.e., recruiting new members and publishing new journals), thereby enhancing the capacity to withstand operational disruptions and journal closures. It is not surprising that achieving this balance proved a difficult task and led to internal divisions in the dissidents’ camp. Kozlov (2011, p. 57) provides an apt illustration, based on KGB documents. In April 1969, the chairman of the KGB, Yury Andropov, reported to the Central Committee that the leading dissidents Krasin and Grigorenko “continue to seek opportunities to encourage their sympathizers’ harmful activities and widen their circle of supporters”. He also noted tactical inconsistencies among the dissidents, embodying the discussed relational strategies of exclusivity and openness:

Grigorenko believes that the fewer of them there are, the more aggressive they should be, and that the only way for them to survive is by continuous attacks; he thinks of them as partisans [...] Krasin, in contrast, believes that “[...] our movement is open and legal. It [...] does not rely on the traditional methods of underground organization, conspiracy, subversion [...]. It has its own ethical principles. Openness [...] is its main principle [...] As long as only twenty, thirty, or forty people attend a demonstration, this is not a real demonstration: it takes a thousand people to make up a real one. [...]” (Kozlov, 2011, p. 57).

The observations from the qualitative survey guided the quantitative analysis, which has three principal objectives. First, to substantiate the relational strategies identified so far, determining which factors favor or discourage connections among samizdat journals. Second, to assess the extent to which specific factors (i.e., geographic mobility, decentralization, connectivity within the larger samizdat network) favored survival. Third, to test whether institutional change (“perestroika”) affected the survival of samizdat periodicals. The next sections discuss our data sources and methods before presenting the results of the analyses.

Data and Methods

Data sources

Our primary data source is the *Soviet Samizdat Periodicals Database* (Komaromi, 2022), which is the most comprehensive record of underground publishing in the Soviet Union.¹ Housed at the University of Toronto, it was assembled from diverse sources, including the *Arkhiv Samizdata* at the Radio Liberty Archive and more than thirty other collections, drawing on Russian émigré press, Western publications, catalogs, biographies, memoirs, and interviews. This multi-source strategy was designed to address claims that Arkhiv Samizdata is biased towards nationality-based and political periodicals, while neglecting artistic, cultural, and literary ones (Zaslavskaya, 2008).

The dataset catalogs 304 journals founded between 1956 and 1986, including their launch year and the year of discontinuation (the latter is missing for 43 journals). It also details geographic location, topics covered, language, and information about journal participants. A total of 662 individuals can be identified, for the most part serving as founders, editors, or editors-in-chief (only sixteen held auxiliary roles such as typist, translator, compiler, or photographer). These records allowed us to reconstruct the samizdat network via editorial interlocks, linking periodicals through individuals who contributed to multiple journals—frequently, by moving to another journal after a journal had closed.

We supplemented these data with two additional sources. First, to capture variation in state repression over the observation period, we added annual conviction records. These come from a confidential report sent by KGB Chairman Viktor Chebrikov to the Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in 1987, which was subsequently leaked and published by *Istochnik*.² The report provides annual counts of convictions from 1956 to 1987 under Articles 70 and 190 of the RSFSR Criminal Code, which sanctioned anti-Soviet activity (see Figure 1). These data are widely featured in historical scholarship (see Hornsby, 2013, p. 116; Kozlov, 2011, p. 45; Nathans, 2024, p. 401).³

¹ See: <https://samizdat.library.utoronto.ca/samizdat-periodicals>.

² *Istochnik*, No. 6, 1995, p. 151. Available at: <https://imwerden.de/publ-9478>.

³ We considered several alternative sources, including data on psychiatric detentions (T. C. Smith & Oleszczuk, 1996), protest-related violence (Beissinger, 2002), or distances between a journal’s city and the nearest Gulag camp (Nikolova et al., 2022). However, Smith and Oleszczuk’s chart-based presentation complicated data

Figure 1 here

Second, we constructed demographic profiles for journal participants. Gender was coded manually using first names or, when unavailable, inferred from Slavic surname conventions (e.g., -ov/-ova), with a success rate of 90.0% (596/662) in classifying all individuals. The results show a composition of 84.7% men and 15.3% women. For ethnic/national background, we employed a surname-matching algorithm trained on First World War conscription records, categorizing approximately 80% of surnames. The remaining cases were processed using the DeepSeek-V3 model, achieving near-complete classification (only one individual, who signed under the pseudonym “Kupidon,” remained uncategorized). The largest groups were Russians (47.8%), Jews (20.3%), Ukrainians/Belarusians (12.9%), Poles (6.1%), and Balts (5.7%). We recognize that these ascribed categories may not reflect self-identification. Their value, however, lies in reproducing patterns of differential monitoring and targeting by the Soviet state.⁴

Data exploration

The data reveal a predominantly urban profile of the samizdat periodicals. As visualized in Figure 2, the two main centers of samizdat activity were Moscow (107 journals) and Leningrad (64), followed by Novosibirsk (15) and the major Baltic capitals—Vilnius (8), Tallinn (8), and Riga (7).⁵ Twenty-four journals appeared in multiple locations, while nine have no location data.

Figure 2 here

Figure 3A shows a general upward trend in the number of new periodicals over the 1956–1986 period, though with considerable annual fluctuation. As expected, given their clandestine nature, most journals proved short-lived, surviving just 3.18 years on average (median = 1). Figure 3B tracks annual discontinuations, while Figure 3C charts the stock of active journals. This indicates steady growth until around 1980, when state repression of dissident activity caused a sharp reversal. A resurgence followed in 1986—the peak year for new foundations (n = 31)—concurrent with the onset of liberal reforms. Yet the very policies that facilitated samizdat publication, subsequently accelerated its decline.

Figure 3 here

The original dataset features 19 overlapping thematic categories. If literature was the dominant topic, many journals were dedicated to human rights or socio-political discussion. Other notable themes included religion/philosophy and music, while a smaller group focused on minority issues. Due to significant thematic overlap, we constructed dummy variables for the four principal themes: Rights/Politics (131 journals), Minorities—specifically concerning Jews, Crimean Tatars, or Volga Germans—(23), Religion/Philosophy (45), and Music (45); 99 journals were dedicated to none of these themes, focusing instead on Literature, National Culture, Art, History, or Science.

Figure 4 illustrates the connections between samizdat journals formed by participants who contributed to multiple publications. The graph on the left distinguishes participants by gender, while

extraction, while the temporal coverage of the other two sources offered only partial overlap with our study period: Beissinger’s data span 1987 to 1992, whereas Nikolova and colleagues’ cover 1923 to 1960.

⁴ For example, many secular Jews were pressured to emigrate to Israel based on state-imposed categorization, irrespective of personal identity (Nathans, 2024, p. 411).

⁵ A further 21 journals were confirmed to be from Lithuania, though their specific cities are unknown. This establishes Lithuania as a third significant hub of samizdat activity by volume.

that on the right highlights their ethnic/national background. Out of the 662 individuals identified, 110 participated in more than one journal. Among these individuals who connected different publications, 87 were men, and 17 were women. According to a chi-squared test ($\chi^2(1) = 0.117, p = 0.733$), these proportions are consistent with the overall sample's gender distribution. Similarly, the ethnic/national backgrounds of these connectors reflect their representation in the broader network ($\chi^2(5) = 4.711, p = 0.452$).

Figure 4 here

Method 1: Network analysis

To examine the factors shaping connections among samizdat journals, we built a journal-to-journal network via editorial interlocks, linking journals that shared one or more participants in common. We then modeled network formation mechanisms using Exponential Random Graph Models (ERGMs; Lusher et al., 2013; Rawlings et al., 2023, pp. 316–326). ERGMs are a class of probability models that identify structural and nodal drivers of observed tie patterns in cross-sectional network data. Although our data span multiple decades, we lack precise information on when ties formed, leaving only rough estimates of timing and direction based on journals' founding and closure years. We therefore adopted a cross-sectional framework, while incorporating temporal covariates (e.g., start year, activity overlap) to introduce a degree of historical sensitivity into an otherwise synchronic analysis. (In the Supplementary Materials, we complement this approach with discrete-choice and multilevel models that explicitly model editorial mobility at the participant level; see Section E. These models require additional assumptions—namely, the inference of move direction from temporal information and the construction of choice sets—but provide an independent check on the robustness of our main findings.)

ERGMs treat the global structure of an observed network as the response variable, modelling it as a function of the relative prevalence of local sub-graph configurations (e.g., reciprocated ties, triangles; see Rawlings et al., 2023, pp. 322–323). Each configuration corresponds to a potential tie-formation mechanism (e.g., reciprocity, transitivity). The advantage of ERGMs for our study is their capacity to simultaneously model endogenous network effects, exogenous actor-level attributes (e.g., as a journal's thematic focus), and dyadic factors (e.g., geographical proximity) (Lusher et al., 2013). This enabled us to isolate the distinct effects of specific mechanisms—like thematic homophily—as fundamental building blocks of the samizdat network's overall structure, net of other competing processes, such as transitive closure or geographical propinquity.

The general form of an ERGM is represented by the following equation:

$$P(Y = y|\mathbf{X}) = \frac{\exp\{\theta^T g(y, \mathbf{X})\}}{\kappa(\theta)}.$$

Here, $P(Y = y|\mathbf{X})$ is the probability of observing the particular network y from the set of all possible networks with the same basic structure (e.g., number of nodes), given nodal attributes $\mathbf{X}$. The vector $g(y, \mathbf{X})$ contains the network statistics, including endogenous configurations, node-level attributes, and dyadic covariates. The vector θ consists of the coefficients for these statistics, and $\kappa(\theta)$ is a normalizing constant that ensures the probabilities sum to one.

Our models were designed to test network formation mechanisms along four key areas: geography, temporal proximity, thematic focus, and journal size. For geographic propinquity, we logged the distance (km + 1) between journals' cities, using country centroids for the 24 Lithuanian and Ukrainian journals lacking city-level data, and the shortest inter-city distance when either journal

lists multiple locations. The nine journals with no geographic data were assigned the network's median distance (708.2 km). To assess temporal effects, we included a node-level covariate for a journal's start year and a dyadic measure capturing the temporal gap between each journal pair's activity periods, calculated as $\ln(\text{years} + 1)$.⁶ For thematic alignment, we used node-level indicators for the four principal subjects—Rights/Politics, Minorities, Religion/Philosophy, and Music—alongside dyadic terms to test for homophily (whether journals preferentially connect with others sharing the same thematic focus). Finally, to account for differences in journal scale, we used the natural logarithm of the number of participants as a node-level covariate and added a dyadic measure of the logged absolute difference (plus 1) in participant numbers between journals.

The strength of ERGMs lies in their ability to test hypothesized mechanisms against distributions of simulated networks that preserve the fundamental structural properties of the observed network. These counterfactual networks maintain not only the number of nodes but also important endogenous properties such as degree distribution and clustering. To ensure that our models faithfully represent the network's underlying social structure, we included two endogenous effects in addition to the baseline *edges* term, which serves as an intercept capturing overall tie density. Specifically, we incorporated a *geometrically weighted degree* term to account for the degree distribution, and a *geometrically weighted edgewise shared partners* (GWESP) term to capture transitivity and local clustering. In building our model specifications, we adhered to the established principle of favoring parsimony rather than rigorously accounting for all potential structural confounders (Rawlings et al., 2023, p. 321).

By default, ERGMs assume that all nodes are mutually connectable. However, this assumption is untenable in our data, given the vast spatial and temporal distances separating many journals. We therefore imposed sample constraints during estimation to enhance inferential realism (Krivitsky et al., 2023, pp. 21–25). First, because 48 journals lack participant information—the key data used to define ties—we fixed their ties as absent in all simulations, effectively removing them from the feasible connection set. When participant data served as a covariate, we limited the node set to journals with known information. In subsequent analyses, we also fixed dyads between journals separated by >10 years or >100 miles, reducing the modeling space from 46,056 ($\frac{304 \times (304 - 1)}{2}$) possible dyads to 4,996 (10.8%) and the observed ties from 135 to 109 (80.7%).

Finally, historical scholarship has pointed to important regional differences in the type of underground activity. According to von Zitzewitz (2020, pp. 122–124), Leningrad's underground in particular was marked by a predominance of cultural over political interests, and its network was smaller and more cohesive than Moscow's, which was larger, more socially fragmented, and more overtly political. Building on these observations, we conclude our analysis by estimating separate ERGMs for the Leningrad and Moscow sub-networks. These allowed us to assess whether these documented regional distinctions are reflected in the tie-formation mechanisms identified at the level of the whole network.

Analyses were conducted in R using the *ergm* package (version 4.12.0; Hunter et al., 2008). Models were estimated using MCMC maximum likelihood estimation. The MCMC algorithm was configured with a burn-in of 2,000 iterations to reach a stationary distribution, followed by a sampling interval of 1,000 iterations. A sample size of 1,024 networks was drawn for likelihood approximation.

⁶ For example, if one journal operated from 1966–1968 and another from 1971–1975, they have a three-year gap (1971 minus 1968), which we transform to $\ln(3 + 1)$. Journals with missing end dates were assigned an end date equal to their founding year.

Goodness-of-fit was assessed by ensuring that networks simulated from the fitted model reproduced key characteristics of the observed network (namely: model statistics, degree distribution, edgewise shared partners, and minimum geodesic distances). To check for multicollinearity, we used the *ergMargins* package (version 1.6.1; Duxbury, 2021). All variance inflation factors (VIFs) ranged from 1.00 to 7.95, well below the standard thresholds of 20 and 100 that indicate moderate and high multicollinearity, respectively. (For model diagnostics and goodness-of-fit statistics, see Section D of the Supplementary Materials.)

Method 2: Survival analysis

The final stage of our analysis examines the factors that facilitated or impeded journal discontinuation. For this purpose, we constructed a panel dataset spanning 1956–1986, in which each journal contributes one observation per year of activity (calculated as the difference between discontinuation and founding years, plus one). Journals still in operation after 1986 (52 cases) were right-censored. This approach disregards temporary suspensions—such as the *Chronicle of Current Events*’ 1972–73 hiatus—but it allows us to incorporate our time-varying indicator of state repression (see Figure 1).

Panel D of Figure 3 displays the number of active journals by age. The distribution is heavily right-skewed, underscoring the fragility of samizdat journals, particularly in their early years. This pattern is reinforced by Figure 3E, which plots hazard probabilities by journal age: in the first and second years, the hazards of discontinuation reach 31.8% and 36.3%, respectively. In other words, roughly one in three journals folded within their first year, and of those that reached their first anniversary, more than one in three did not survive to see a second. Beyond the two-year mark, the risk of discontinuation declines. Figure 3F, depicting survival probabilities, tells a consistent story—a sharp drop in the early years followed by a gradual flattening.

We analyzed these data using Cox survival models (Singer & Willett, 2003) with a three-way random effects structure to account for unobserved heterogeneity at the journal, calendar year, and country levels. Our models estimate the instantaneous risk of

discontinuation for journal i at time t (years since creation) using the following specification:

$$h_i(t) = h_0(t) \exp \left(\sum_{j=1}^J \beta_j X_{ij} + \gamma Z(t) + \sum_{k=1}^K \delta_k (X_{ik} \times \ln(t)) + \alpha_i + \zeta_{year[t]} + \eta_{country[i]} \right).$$

Here, $h_0(t)$ is the baseline hazard function; X_i is a vector of journal-level covariates; and $Z(t)$ captures state repression intensity (measured as the natural logarithm of the annual number of convictions for anti-Soviet activity), which varies by year t . The interaction terms involving $\ln(t)$ — $X_i \times \ln(t)$ —allow for non-proportional effects of some covariates over time (i.e., by journal age). Finally, α_i , $\zeta_{year[t]}$, and $\eta_{country[i]}$ are the journal-level, year-level, country-level random intercepts, respectively.

Among the variables included in X_i are cohort indicators for three periods: 1956–1966 (43 journals), 1967–1976 (83), and 1977–1986 (178). We also included two dummy variables for location in Leningrad (64) or Moscow (107), as well as an indicator for those journals that operated across multiple locations (24). Thematic focus was captured using indicators for the four principal subjects: Rights/Politics, Minorities, Religion/Philosophy, and Music. Drawing on editorial data, we also

accounted for team composition, including the number of editors and the presence of female editors (62 journals), Jewish editors⁷ (77), or editors from other non-Russian ethnic/national groups (130). Finally, to capture a journal's embeddedness within the wider samizdat network, we included a dummy variable identifying the 79 journals featuring participants with experience in pre-existing underground publications. (In the Supplementary Materials, we additionally test whether results are sensitive to city-level ecological factors, such as local scene density and thematic pluralism—to account for potential competitive dynamics within local samizdat scenes; see Section F.)

Missing data posed several challenges for our survival analysis. Of the original sample, 9 journals lack precise location information, 51 lack participant data, and 43 lack a recorded end date. We retained the 9 journals missing precise location information by creating a category of journals with unknown location, which shared a random effect in the same way as journals from the same country. For missing participant data, we replaced the editor count variable with a categorical indicator comprising four levels (1–2 editors, 3–4 editors, 5+ editors, and unknown), thereby retaining these journals in the analysis too. Journals missing an end date were excluded from the primary analysis, yielding a final analytic sample of 261 journals (85.9% of the original), of which 209 experienced discontinuation during the observed period (1956–1986). To ensure that our findings were not unduly influenced by these missing data decisions, we conducted a series of sensitivity analyses (see Section C of the Supplementary Materials). Specifically, for the missing editor-count data, we compared our complete-case results to models estimated on multiply imputed datasets. For journals missing end dates, we stress-tested our estimates under two extreme assumptions: one where all such journals closed after a single year (the sample median) and another where they survived through 1986.

Finally, because we are interested in the effect of institutional change on journal survival, we re-estimated our models using an extended observation window (1956–1990). Extending the endpoint to 1990—the year the Law on Press abolished censorship (von Zitzewitz, 2020)—allowed us to capture the transformative impact of perestroika, which ostensibly created a more permissive environment for political dissent than the preceding repressive era. Since official conviction records are unavailable after 1987, we carried the 1987 value forward through 1990. Only 14 journals continued beyond 1990, meaning our extended window captures the full lifespan of 94.6% of the analytic sample.

Analyses were conducted in R using the *coxme* package (version 2.2-22). We present results as hazard ratios (HRs), where values below 1 indicate a reduced risk of discontinuation and values above 1 indicate an increased risk. Following model estimation, we ran diagnostics to verify that all variance inflation factors (VIFs) remained within acceptable limits (below 10, and preferably below 5) and that there were no violations of the proportional hazards assumption. Two covariates demonstrated non-proportionality over time: 5+ editors and an unknown number of editors. We addressed this by including time-interaction terms with the natural logarithm of time (see Singer & Willett, 2003, p. 562ff), which resolved the proportionality violations. (For model diagnostics, see Section B of the Supplementary Materials.)

⁷ While state-supported antisemitism fluctuated (Slezkine, 2004), Soviet dissidents disproportionately included individuals of fully or partly Jewish ancestry. Our data confirms this: 134 of 662 documented dissidents (20.3%) were categorized as Jewish, despite Jews constituting only ~1.1% of the USSR's population in the 1959 census (see: https://www.demoscope.ru/weekly/ssp/sng_nac_59.php). As Nathans (2024, p. 518) notes, this overrepresentation nourished perceptions of the dissident movement as a “Jewish operation” or conspiracy against Holy Russia.

Results

Table 1 presents descriptive statistics for the editorial interlock networks in the USSR, and for Leningrad and Moscow separately. The full network is sparse: 135 ties connect 304 periodicals, with 174 journals remaining isolated (48 of which lack editorial data). Despite this sparseness, transitivity is substantial (57.1%), indicating strong local clustering. Thematic homophily is pronounced, especially for Minorities (5/5 ties) and Music (23/25 ties), but weaker for Rights/Politics (45/77) and Religion/Philosophy (6/26). Consistent with historical accounts of the split between Moscow “politics” and Leningrad “poetry” (Komaromi, 2008, p. 301; see also von Zitzewitz, 2020, pp. 122–124), geographic variation is notable: 49.5% of Moscow journals (53/107) address Rights/Politics versus 15.6% in Leningrad (10/64); minority-focused journals are nearly absent in Leningrad (2/64) but comprise 11.7% in Moscow (12/107).

Table 1 here

Table 2 presents the ERGM results. Model 1, the baseline specification, includes only the *edges* term. Its large negative coefficient ($\theta = -5.48$, $p < 0.001$) reflects the low probability of observing a tie, consistent with the network’s overall sparsity. Model 2 introduces geographic, temporal, and thematic predictors. The results indicate that ties formed primarily between journals in close geographic proximity and overlapping periods of activity, while later-founded journals tended to be less connected. Thematically, Minority journals were less likely to form ties, whereas Music journals were more likely to do so.

Table 2 here

Models 3 and 4 complement the thematic foci with indicators capturing homophilic tendencies. Both models reveal strong thematic homophily for Rights/Politics, Religion/Philosophy, and Music. As shown in Table 1, homophily among Minority (5/5 ties) and Music (23/25 ties) journals is so pronounced that the former cannot be estimated, while the latter precludes the simultaneous estimation of node-level and dyadic effects due to multicollinearity.

Model 5 incorporates node-level and dyadic information on journal size, based on the number of participants in the editorial team. The results reveal that journals with larger editorial teams were more likely to form connections ($\theta = 0.51$, $p < 0.001$), while substantial size disparities inhibited tie formation ($\theta = -0.44$, $p < 0.001$). Model 6 repeats the same specification, except that it constrains the sample space by fixing dyads between journals separated by more than 10 years or 100 miles. As expected, this adjustment weakens the geographic effect and, to a much lesser extent, the effect of temporal gaps. Overall, however, all previously detected effects remain robust.

Finally, Model 7 incorporates degree heterogeneity and local clustering, yielding strong evidence for both effects. The inclusion of these two dimensions attenuates several effects—notably homophily among Rights/Politics and Religion/Philosophy journals—suggesting that part of the homophilic tendencies observed earlier are driven by triadic closure. Nevertheless, the overall picture remains largely consistent: ties are shaped by geographic and temporal proximity, thematic homophily, and triadic closure, all of which are indicative of journals pursuing exclusivity and reliability—the first of the two resilience paths.

Models 8–11 present the results for the Leningrad and Moscow subnetworks, revealing notable differences. The most important concerns the absence of homophilic tendencies among Rights/Politics journals in Leningrad, contrasted with Moscow, where this effect is strong and significant ($\theta = 2.55$, $p < 0.001$; Model 11). Relatedly, Moscow exhibits a marked aversion to ties connecting Rights/Politics journals with those not covering such topics ($\theta = -1.42$, $p < 0.001$; Model

11). These divergent patterns point to distinct relational strategies: Moscow's political dissidents clustered for solidarity or safety, while Leningrad's dissidents appear to have adopted a more integrative approach, embedding themselves within the broader cultural underground—either by moderating the overtly subversive character of their activities or by pivoting toward less openly oppositional forms of cultural production.

The visual evidence from Figure 5 reinforces this interpretation. In Leningrad, Rights/Politics journals are underrepresented (15.6% of journals) yet overrepresented among ties (40.0%), frequently functioning as bridges between non-political journals. In Moscow, their share of ties (54.2%) closely mirrors their presence (49.5%), but 73.1% of these ties are homophilous—well above the country average (58.4%) and what is observed for Leningrad (14.3%) Moscow's pattern points to a strategy of reliability: political journals shunned communities perceived as regime-adjacent, while non-political journals reciprocated to evade state scrutiny. Trust-based selectivity structured the network, isolating the politically exposed from the potentially compromised.

Figure 5 here

We now turn to the survival models. For brevity, we present the Cox models directly; descriptive analyses (univariate statistics, bivariate comparisons, Kaplan-Meier curves) are reported in the Supplementary Materials (see Section A).

Table 3 presents nested models. Model 12 (no predictors) serves to decompose the variance across journals, calendar years, and countries; it shows that calendar year is the dominant source ($SD = 0.254$), but this is largely accounted for once state repression is included. Model 13 adds cohort effects. Model 14 adds state repression (logged annual convictions). Model 15 adds geographical information, Model 16 thematic content, and Model 17 editorial team size (log editors). Model 18 replaces log editor count with a categorical specification (1–2 editors reference; 3–4, 5+, unknown). Finally, Model 19 adds editorial composition indicators: female, Jewish, non-Russian editors, and prior samizdat experience (inferred from participation in earlier journals). In the following, use Model 19 as our reference.

Table 3 here

Three factors are associated with lower discontinuation hazards: a Religion/Philosophy focus ($HR = 0.54$, $p = 0.002$), multi-location publication ($HR = 0.43$, $p = 0.002$), and editorial teams of five or more editors ($HR = 0.29$, $p = 0.001$). The first likely reflects religious journals' perceived lower subversiveness, while the latter two point to adaptive relational strategies that enhanced resilience by distributing risk. Both effects point to a substantively similar mechanism: decentralization and redundancy. Spreading activities across locations and editorial responsibilities reduced dependence on a single node and diversified operational risks, reinforcing a journal's capacity to absorb disruptions. Notably, the effect of large editorial teams (like that of an unknown editor count; see next paragraph) exhibits non-proportionality over time. As shown in Figure 6, their protective effect was most pronounced in the first couple of years after a journal's foundation, fading as journals aged and consolidated. Thus, a broad, decentralized editorial team appears to have been paramount for the viability of newly founded journals.

Figure 6 here

By contrast, three factors elevate discontinuation risk: high-repression years ($HR = 1.58$, $p < 0.001$), unknown editorial team size ($HR = 2.21$, $p = 0.008$), and prior samizdat experience ($HR = 1.68$, $p = 0.004$). This last finding is particularly notable. In general, having a seasoned editor join the

production team should be an asset: as a competent, trustworthy operator with knowledge of underground networks, who can provide access to a new audience. Yet the results point in the opposite direction. Prior samizdat experience is a liability: somebody known for dissident activity is likely to be already subjected to state surveillance. This finding illuminates a key paradox of underground organizing. Building large, decentralized networks conferred a survival advantage; however, establishing ties to earlier samizdat ventures could endanger a journal's viability.

Given the spatial differences in connectivity patterns observed earlier, we interacted prior samizdat experience with indicators for Leningrad and Moscow. As Figure 7 shows, a meaningful interaction emerges for Leningrad: unlike in Moscow (or elsewhere), prior experience did not increase discontinuation risk here. This pattern suggests mutual adaptation between dissidents and state authorities. Specifically, Leningrad's artistic and literary culture likely provoked less intensive surveillance, enabling more open connections to experienced underground figures. In Moscow, the concentration of state power rendered prior dissident activity a liability, prompting journals to rely on narrower, trust-based ties.

Figure 7 here

Model 20 re-specifies the hazard on a calendar-year (late-entry) scale rather than journal age. This allows estimation of a pure age effect—unattainable under the age-scale specification—which confirms the descriptive patterns in Figure 3E: older journals were significantly more likely to survive than younger ones ($HR = 0.74$, $p = 0.015$). Thus, while many journals emerged and quickly disappeared, a resilient subset endured for years. This pattern is suggestive of a process of organizational consolidation: journals that weathered the precarious early years accumulated experience, established routines, and built reliable networks—all of which buffered them against future disruptions.

It remains to be seen how journals fared under the institutional change brought by perestroika. Figure 8 visualizes the annual hazard of discontinuation by calendar year. The number of periodicals was small through the 1950s and most of the 1960s, yet discontinuation rates were high (37.2% for 1956–1968). By the early 1970s, a more established samizdat underground had formed, with several dozen journals operating simultaneously and lower discontinuation risks. The 1979–1980 crackdown on the unofficial intelligentsia was followed by a spike in hazard rates (1980–1983), then a subsequent decline. Contrary to expectations, perestroika did not initially reduce discontinuation risk; instead, hazards trended upward until 1990, reversing only thereafter.

Figure 8 here

To better assess the effect of perestroika, we re-estimated the Model 19 specification on the panel extended to 1990. We then demarcated the 1986–1990 period, estimating its main effect and its interaction with journal age (given non-proportionality). The results are shown in Table 4. Model 21 reveals that perestroika did not significantly affect the survival of newly founded journals ($HR = 0.48$, $p = 0.105$), but the interaction with age betrays higher discontinuation rates among more experienced journals ($HR = 3.01$, $p < 0.001$).

Table 4 here

Figure 9 shows the marginal effects: for journals with 3 or fewer years of activity, no difference in risk is observed before or after perestroika; for journals with 4 or more years, the hazard of discontinuation is significantly higher. In other words, perestroika's liberal reforms appear to have endangered established journals. The older journals, having navigated the repressive environment for

years, were well-adapted to the very structures and practices that perestroika rendered obsolete; they were resilient in a political regime that was rapidly dissolving.

Figure 9 here

This finding is corroborated by Model 22, which uses the calendar-year scale instead of the age scale. In this model, a direct perestroika effect cannot be estimated due to collinearity with the baseline hazard; however, we manually computed an interaction term with journal age to estimate an effect analogous to that in Model 21.

Taken together, these results depict samizdat resilience as the product of two distinct relational strategies. The first, evident in the network analyses, is absorptive: journals favored selective, trust-based connections calibrated to the intensity of state surveillance. The second, evident in the survival models, is adaptive, striving to distribute risk and buffer against the loss of key members through multi-location publication and large, decentralized teams. These strategies sometimes clashed. Thus, the trust-based ties that afforded protection, particularly in Moscow, thwarted the network extension that adaptation demanded. The survival of journals depended on a dynamic balance between these strategies, which proved ill-suited to radical political change. Journals that had consolidated under state repression appeared highly vulnerable when perestroika started attenuating the constraints to which they had adapted.

Discussion

Resilience is an imperfect concept with a strong, intuitive appeal. The theoretical and empirical issues with it are familiar: conceptual ambiguity, observation under exceptional circumstances, insufficient integration of time, and persistent tension between stability and adaptation (Linnenluecke, 2017). We addressed these issues by integrating time and tension within a relational framework, exploring how tensions between the imperatives of stability and adaptation are manifested and managed over time. Our core contribution is in articulating a dynamic relational approach that examines resilience as a relational process with paradoxical features. This approach changes the perception of tensions from a problem to resolve (Lazega et al., 2022; Linnenluecke, 2017; Olsson et al., 2015) to an opportunity for theoretical advances.

This opportunity lies at the emerging nexus between the literatures on paradox and resilience (i.e., Cunha et al., 2026; Pinheiro & Frigotto, 2026). Our analysis reinforces the recent tendency for rapprochement between these research streams. Adopting a paradox perspective allows scholars to examine the duality between stability and adaptation as inherent and enduring in complex systems (e.g., Cunha et al., 2026; Krick & Ruiner, 2025). The analysis also reinforces the relational approach to paradox (Pamphile, 2022). We highlighted relational strategies for managing paradoxical tensions that are related to, but are distinct from, those observed in a work environment (Pamphile, 2022). Our meso-level perspective explores the management of tensions at the level of the social network.

The emphasis on social relations allowed us to better capture than previous studies processes of stability and adaptation (Caza et al., 2020). We substantiate the importance of social networks in practices of resilience (Lazega et al., 2022). Our approach exposes the “politics of resilience” (Olsson et al., 2015), explicitly integrating agency, power, and conflict in the analysis of relational strategies used by a community of practice to organize the self-publication of journals and counteract repressive pressure from the Soviet state (von Zitzewitz, 2020).

The results of the ERGMs and Cox survival models corroborated the two relational strategies identified from the qualitative survey. The first strategy is oriented toward the pursuit of reliability: the quality of being trustworthy, achieved through relational exclusivity. It transpired as a strong tendency to form ties with geographically and temporally proximate journals, as thematic homophily, scarcity of ties between political and non-political journals and triadic closure. This confirms that trust is paramount to community resilience (Colquitt et al., 2011; Shepherd & Williams, 2014), providing stability, facilitating coordination, and reducing the acute danger of penetration of the underground networks by state security.

The downside of a strategy of exclusivity is the risk of isolation and self-centeredness. The opposite strategy was intended to reduce this risk by extending the network, rather than by preserving it in its current form. Extension targeted the generation of alternatives, bolstering the capacity for reactivity. The strong, positive effect of publishing in more than one location on the probability of endurance is indicative of efforts to spread activities in the face of high uncertainty, reducing dependence on a single location. This is not the well-established practice of building reserve capacity (Rice & Sheffi, 2005), which resource-poor dissident groups could barely afford (Nathans, 2024), but the active hedging of risk by network extension: accessing resources through a variety of contacts and bolstering the chances of survival by embedding the journal deeper into society. This was achieved by distributing in several locations, inviting authors, encouraging readers to circulate copies through their networks, and organizing social events (von Zitzewitz, 2020).

Network extension facilitated adaptation in real time to threats and challenges, such as in responding to a KGB crackdown and the incarceration or expulsion of an editor. As our results reveal, a key factor behind the endurance of journals was the ability to shift between editors. As authorities' efforts for "decapitation" of the underground network intensified, endurance hinged on nimbleness: having a large editorial team and shifting responsibilities quickly across editors. The objective was to better anticipate inevitable crackdowns, cultivating ambiguity to confuse the authorities. Resilience is a result of constant movement and of practices for generating options in the face of extreme uncertainty, building up a capacity for "antifragility" (Taleb, 2012). This capacity is derived from a "polycentric" social network, with many, relatively autonomous clusters, enhancing the capacity to counteract the control efforts of authorities (Hardt & Negri, 2004).

A key theoretical implication of our analysis is reinforcing the conceptualization of resilience as a process with paradoxical features (e.g., Cunha et al., 2026; Krick & Ruiner, 2025). Resilience is a "Janus-faced" concept (Brand & Jax, 2007): competing demands interact in a dynamic equilibrium, but the underlying tensions persist over time. This dynamic equilibrium assumes constant motion across opposing forces; the system maintains equilibrium by adapting to a continuous pull in opposing directions (W. K. Smith & Lewis, 2011, p. 386). The notion of a dynamic equilibrium captures aptly how the dissident network functioned over time. Resilience was a juggling act: preventing expected dangers through containment and coping with unanticipated dangers through reactive responsiveness (Wildavsky, 2017). Political journals, facing the greatest risks, pursued stability by connecting to like-minded peers, reducing contact with non-political journals, but also pursued flexibility in responding to state repression. We observed contradiction and complementarity of opposite imperatives, as dual aspects of a common process (Ashforth & Reingen, 2014; Farjoun, 2010; Graetz & Smith, 2008).

Complementarity in our context refers primarily to the mechanisms whereby stability serves to promote adaptation, while processes of adaptation help maintain stability (Farjoun, 2010, p. 205). This is illustrated by how the trust generated through an exclusive relational policy was leveraged to bolster adaptation to external threats by moving between editors or setting up alternative publication

sites. Resilient journals handled skillfully seemingly discordant activities. Complementarity is visible in how political journals ostracized dissidents viewed as accommodating to the Soviet state, recruiting editors sufficiently motivated to do whatever necessary to ensure survival, at the risk of imprisonment. Resilience, thereby, integrates both ideological opposition and strategic alliances. Relational stability enables adaptation, while adaptation facilitates stability by renovating or repairing the network that makes publication possible.

However, this form of complementarity does not equal “ambidexterity”: the capacity to do different things equally well (Birkinshaw & Gupta, 2013, p. 287). What we observe is a dynamic equilibrium (W. K. Smith & Lewis, 2011) of adaptation intertwined with stability, but this equilibrium was always tentative in nature, featuring uncertainty, tensions, and errors of judgment. This is best illustrated by the finding that recruiting an editor with previous samizdat experience imperiled the journal. Adding an experienced editor conformed with the imperative of trustworthiness and stability, but simultaneously posed a security threat, due to the monitoring of editors with underground experience by the KGB. Tensions of this kind could never be resolved; they presented acute challenges to the operation of journals. Another source of tension emerged in comparing networks in Moscow and Leningrad. The greater network fragmentation of the Moscow scene provided leeway for adaptation and bolstered safety, as loosely-connected networks were more difficult to penetrate and control. However, the downside was that editors in Moscow were familiar with only their local section of the network, thereby impeding collective action and coordination across communities.

It is such irresolvable tensions and contradictions that characterize resilience as a paradoxical process (Pinheiro & Frigotto, 2026). Perhaps the most distinctive feature of a paradoxical process is its capacity to originate non-linear effects with unexpected consequences. This capacity is illustrated in our analysis by the observation of a sudden, precipitous loss of resilience. The relational strategies of dissidents were designed in response to repression by the state and strived to optimize fit with the socialist context through a form of adaptive stability. Unsurprisingly, when repression started to decrease during “perestroika” in the late 1980s, the same relational strategies proved ill-adapted to radical change (see Fitzpatrick, 2024; Nathans, 2024). The relational exclusivity and intellectual orientation of dissident circles undermined their ability to pursue collective action, to reach out and adapt to the conditions of democratization.

Their relational strategies pursued a dynamic local balance between stability and adaptation, which ultimately proved globally imbalanced, as the process of political democratization accelerated. The Gorbachev reforms reappropriated the language of the dissidents—its openness and publicity, but ignored them as political subjects and exhausted the subversive component of their resistance, thereby making them redundant (Oushakine, 2001, p. 214). The dissidents failed to transform their dissent into parliamentary opposition. The key principle of political competition shifted rapidly from resistance to authority to recruitment of sympathizers for democratic participation. Relational strategies ensuring local subsistence were not designed to scale up quickly, as did alternative forms of economic and political mobilization that rose to prominence in late socialism. These include economic cooperatives (e.g., Jones & Moskoff, 1991) and civic associations, such as nationalist independence movements, environmental and human rights groups, independent labor unions, and religious organizations (see Sedaitis & Butterfield, 2019).⁸

As Komaromi (2012, p. 281) observes, pluralism is the essence of samizdat and dissent, but the dissident pluralism was in fact contentious, encompassing a plurality of groups, which were linked

⁸ For example, the number of cooperatives increased by 450 percent—from 14,000 to 77,500—in the course of a single year (1988) (Jones & Moskoff, 1991).

in a complex network of collaboration and contention. An internal dynamic of dissent naturally appeared over time, visible in the establishment of pluralistic opposition vis-à-vis a dissident “establishment” (Komaromi, 2012, p. 303). The attenuation of repression in the late 1980s reinforced this pluralistic opposition, undermining the bases of collective action. Paradoxically, repression held together diverse groups that started growing apart as democratization facilitated the articulation of political interests specific to Jewish citizens, feminists, Baltic or Russian nationalists, religious advocates, political radicals or artistic intelligentsia. The exercise of power over subjects is constraining, but it also “produces the subject”, unifying the dominated and activating the possibility of speech (Foucault, 1980, p. 205).

Only a longitudinal analysis enables identification of how the same factors of resilience may later become the source of dysfunction. This “less appealing” side to resilience (Comfort et al., 2010) is rarely documented in “situational” accounts. Our analysis reinforces the importance of integration in our theories and models of the potential for reverse effects in the long run (Cunha et al., 2026), of capturing “turning points”: those complex, momentous interactions that actually drive social change (Abbott, 2001). These turning points highlight that history is not linear; it is riddled with paradoxes of various kinds, such as the finding that a political change that, in theory, favored the older, established dissident groups, doomed them in practice, in view of their commitment to a Socialist “playbook” and narrative that became redundant in just a few years (Oushakine, 2001).

Contradictions are frequently observed and bemoaned in studies of resilience (Linnenluecke, 2017; Olsson et al., 2015) but our findings imply that these contradictions are at least partly the result of the complexity of the underlying process. We reinforce the observation that developing the concept of resilience and analyzing it in its relational complexity is beneficial to organization studies (Lazega et al., 2022), even if it may be accompanied by inconsistencies. The ability to capture resilience as a continuous, interactive process, rather than a situational occurrence (Béné et al., 2012; Duchek, 2020) is a key advantage of our research design. In response to the often-stated need for robust empirical analysis of resilience (e.g., Linnenluecke, 2017; Williams et al., 2017), we provide a template for longitudinal quantitative analysis that lends itself to broad application and adaptation to other contexts and research streams. For example, our method can be usefully integrated in organizational studies of paradox, addressing the long-recognized needs to capture social interactions (Pamphile, 2022) and integrate more cyclical dynamics (W. K. Smith & Lewis, 2011).

Our context-specific research design enabled the identification of relational strategies. These strategies are sufficiently broad in nature to be observed in other research contexts. We encourage more attention to their scope and motivation. A question that historical accounts do not allow us to unambiguously resolve is whether the strategies were proactively pursued or emerged reactively from adaptation to circumstances. The available evidence points toward a dual presence. Episodes, such as the Krasin-Grigorenko discord (recounted above) suggest that dissidents were aware of the pros and cons of the strategies and made considered choices in embracing one or the other. But a highly uncertain environment, where survival depended on the reliability of others, reduced predictive ability and encouraged reactive responses. The pursuit of a form of balance between the strategies was likely intuitive in nature, the result of a trial-and-error approach, as our “previous experience” finding implies. As evident in other aspects of our analysis, a complex social process encompasses opposite, co-existing elements.

A distinct research context tends to raise generalizability concerns. Illicit publishing activities are different from a capitalist enterprise: they harness more spontaneous collective energy, feature a large amount of mostly unremunerated labor and a much lower degree of market pressure (Komaromi,

2012, p. 298). At the same time, these activities were organized in a community of practice and were structured by social networks, similar to a capitalist enterprise. Soviet dissidents were not unlike present-day entrepreneurs in seeking to resolve resource shortages and bypass centers of political or economic power. The high mortality of samizdat journals is reminiscent of start-ups. The observed dynamic balance between stability and adaptation is a hallmark of effective firm performance in any economic sector. These considerations lead us to believe that inferences from samizdat are generalizable beyond our context. This belief is reinforced by the established connections to other research streams (i.e. paradox, duality, or social networks) and by the consistency of our findings with studies of resilience and paradox in standard business contexts (e.g., Pamphile 2022, Krick & Ruiner, 2025).

The analysis provides a rare opportunity to shed light on informal or illegal organizing, which is generally overlooked in our scholarship. It exposed the complexity of underground operations and the courage and organizing capability that dissident activity requires. What remains hidden from view may prove even more intriguing or rewarding for scholars than what is out there in plain sight. In our current political environment, where dissent is being pushed into the underground by authoritarian forms of repression in many countries, the relational strategies for resilience of Soviet dissidents demonstrate newfound resonance and practical relevance.

Tables and figures

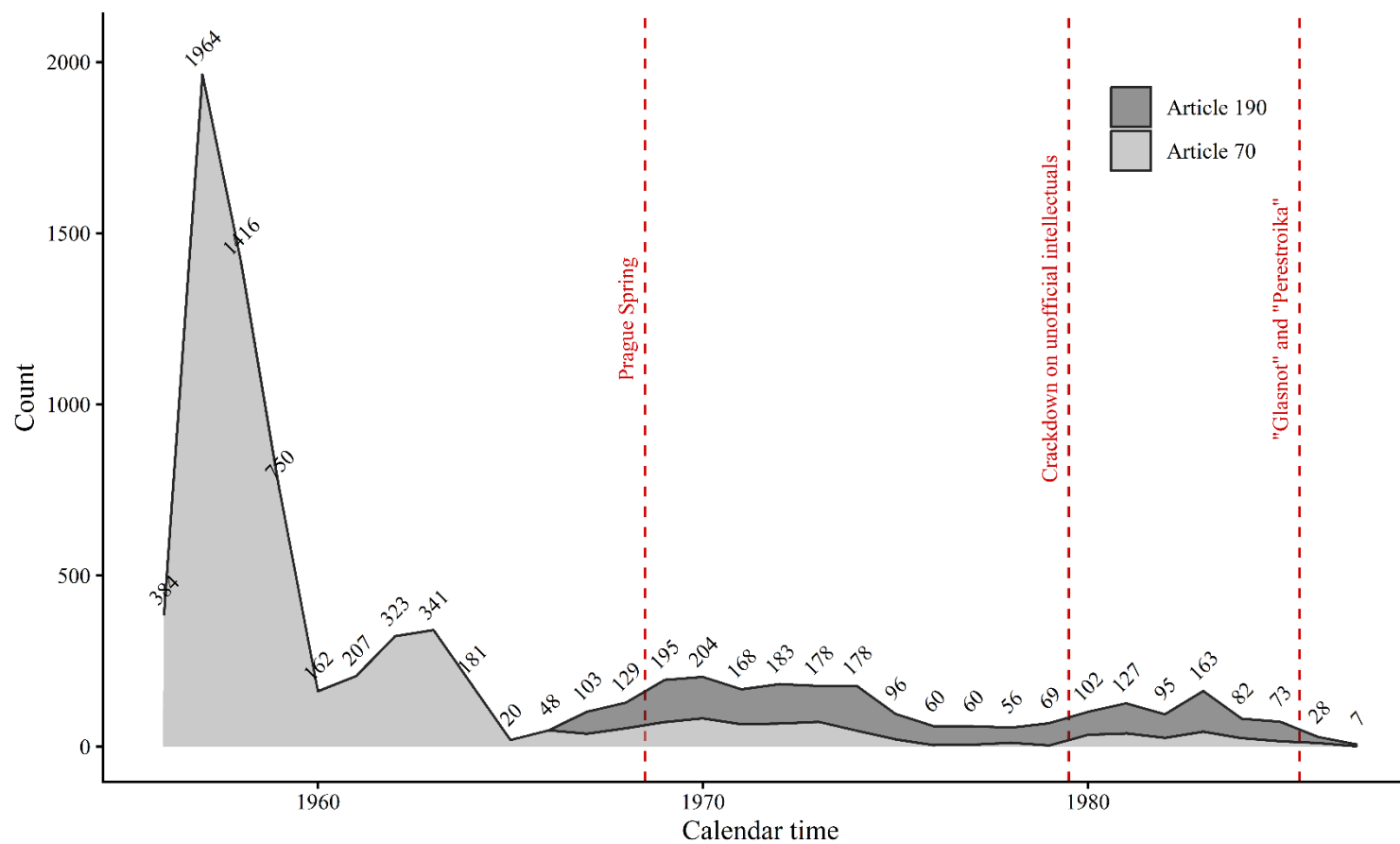


Figure 1. Annual convictions under Articles 70 and 190 of the RSFSR Criminal Code. The data reveals surges in repression, notably following the Prague Spring and during the crackdown on official intellectuals circa 1979-1980. Article 190, which specifically targeted dissent, was introduced in 1966.

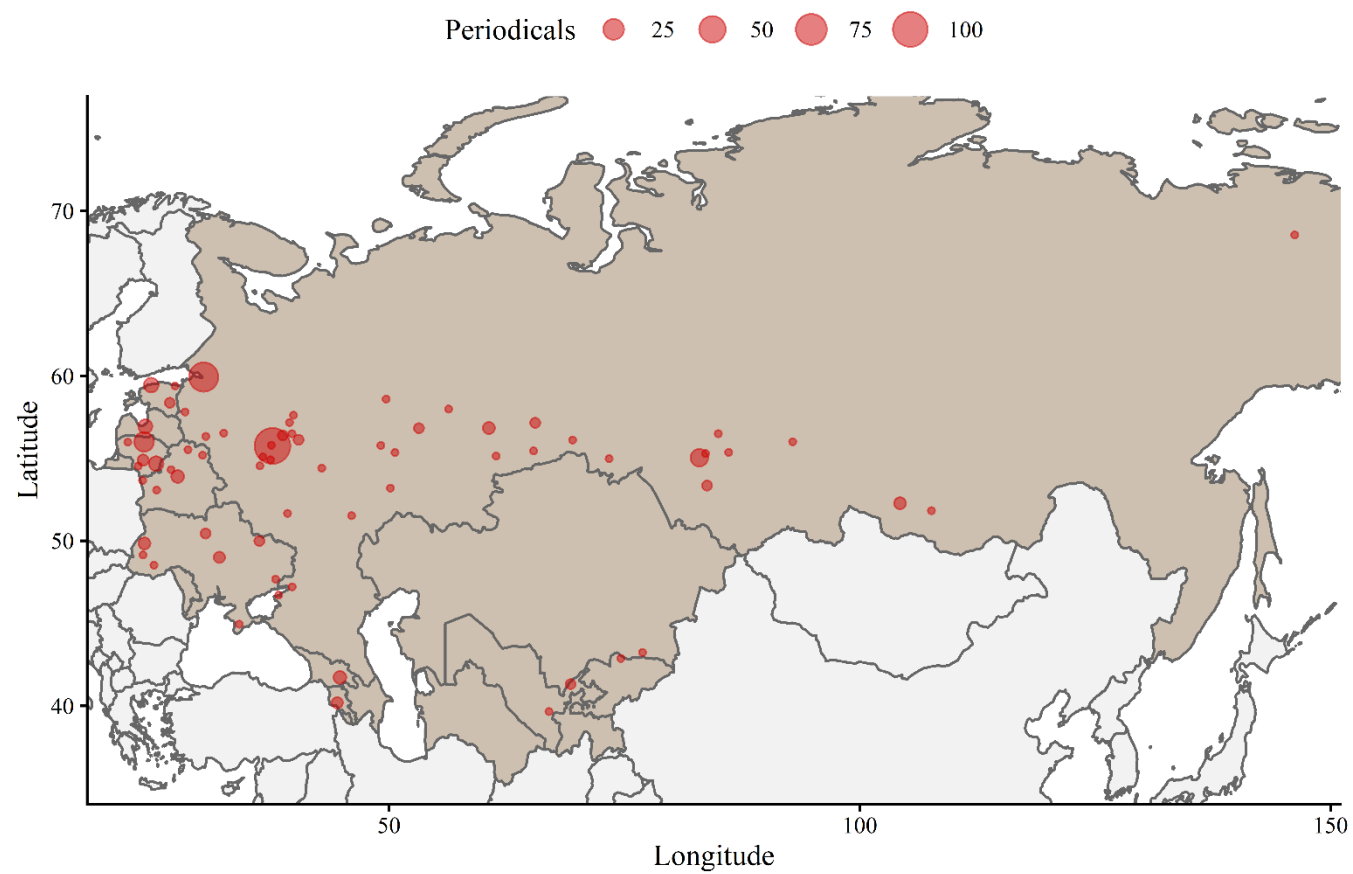


Figure 2. Samizdat periodicals by location. For journals with unknown cities but known Soviet republics (21 in Lithuania and 3 in Ukraine), the centroid of the republic was used as the location.

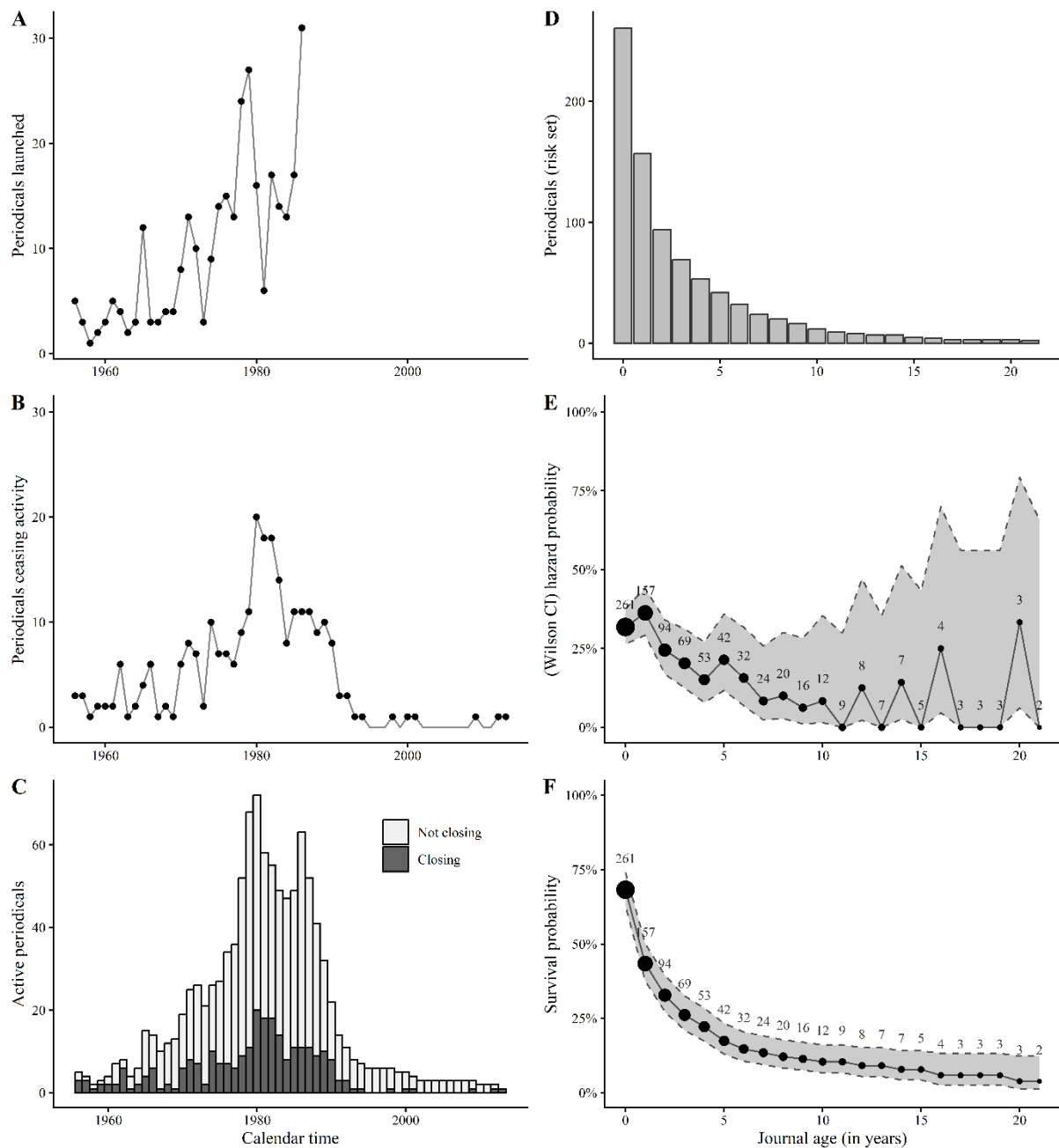
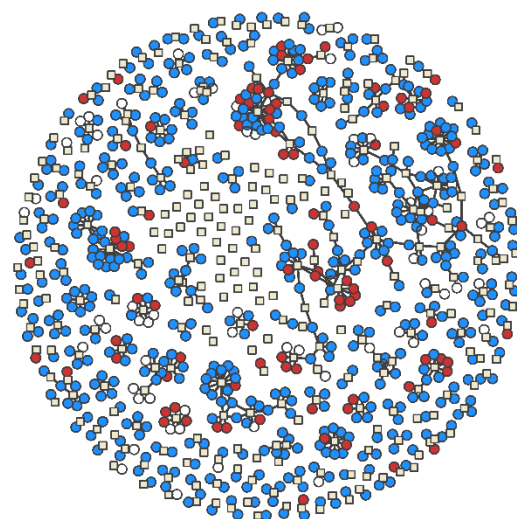


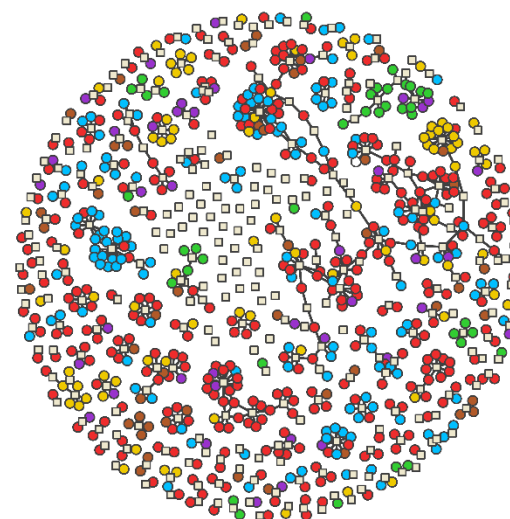
Figure 3. Panel A: Number of samizdat periodicals founded by calendar year. Panel B: Number of periodicals discontinued by calendar year. Panel C: Number of active periodicals per calendar year (journals closing in that year highlighted in dark gray). Panel D: Number of active periodicals by journal age (values over the points indicate the number of periodicals that made it to that age). Panel E: Hazard probabilities of discontinuing activity by journal age. Panel F: Survival probabilities by journal age.

Gender



□ Journal ● Man ● Woman ○ Unknown gender

Ethnic/national background



□ Journal ● Polish ● Russian ● Baltic
● Jewish ● Others ● Ukrainian/Belarusian ○ Unknown ethnicity

Figure 4. Bipartite network graphs representing samizdat periodicals (squares) connected via common participants (circles).

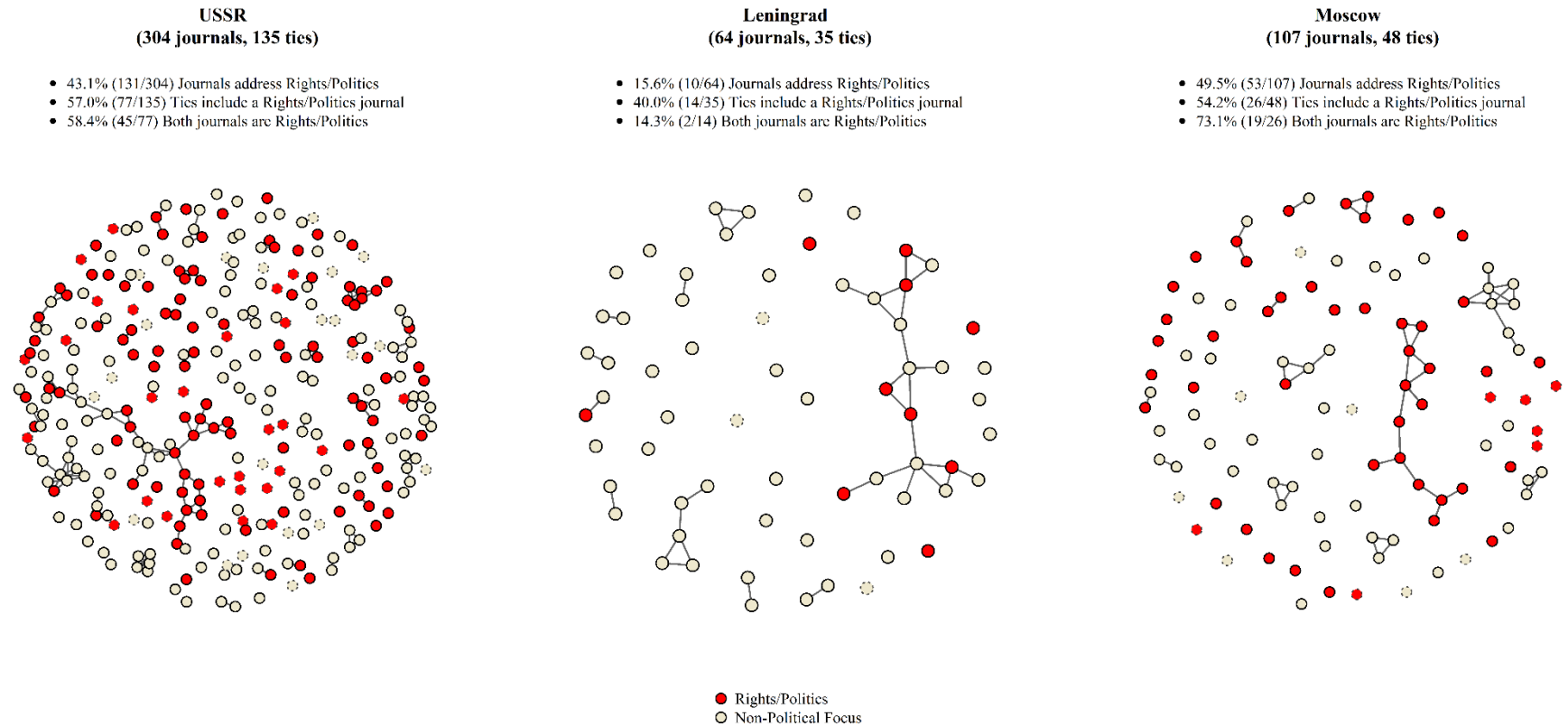


Figure 5. Network graphs mapping connections between journals based on shared participants. The visualizations depict the network for the entire Soviet Union (left), for journals with a presence in Leningrad (center), and for journals with a presence in Moscow (right). Journals with dotted outlines lack data on participants ($n=48$) and are therefore unable to form network ties.

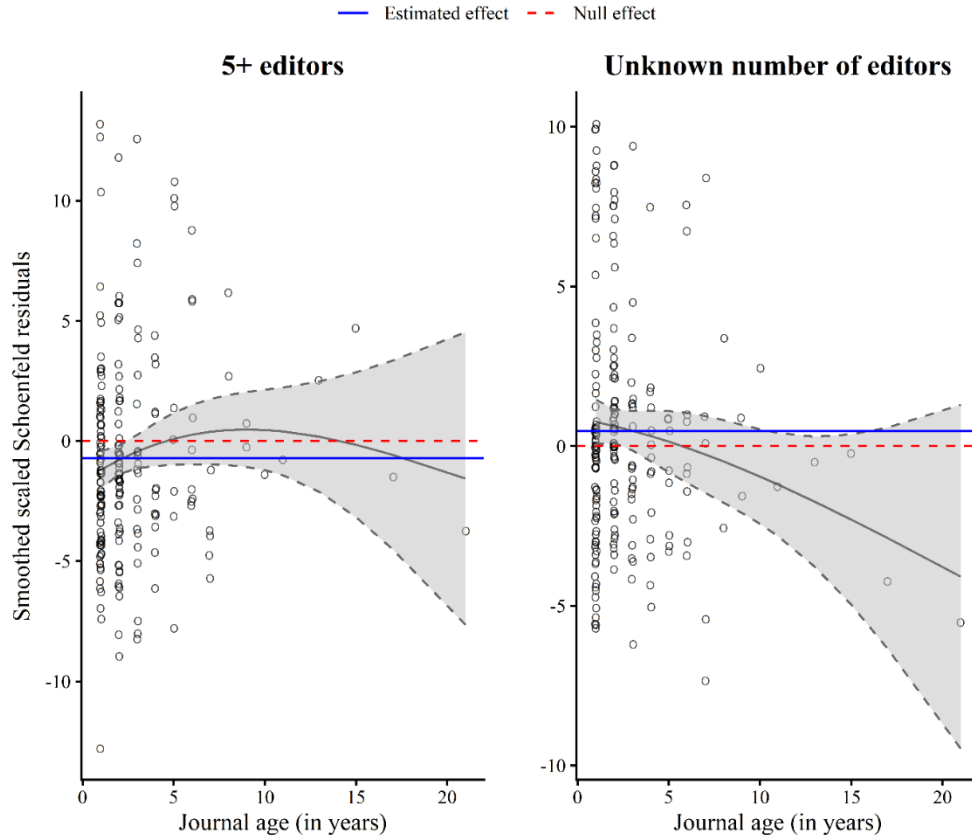


Figure 6. Schoenfeld residuals for the predictors exhibiting non-proportional hazards. The blue line indicates the estimated effect under the assumption of proportionality.

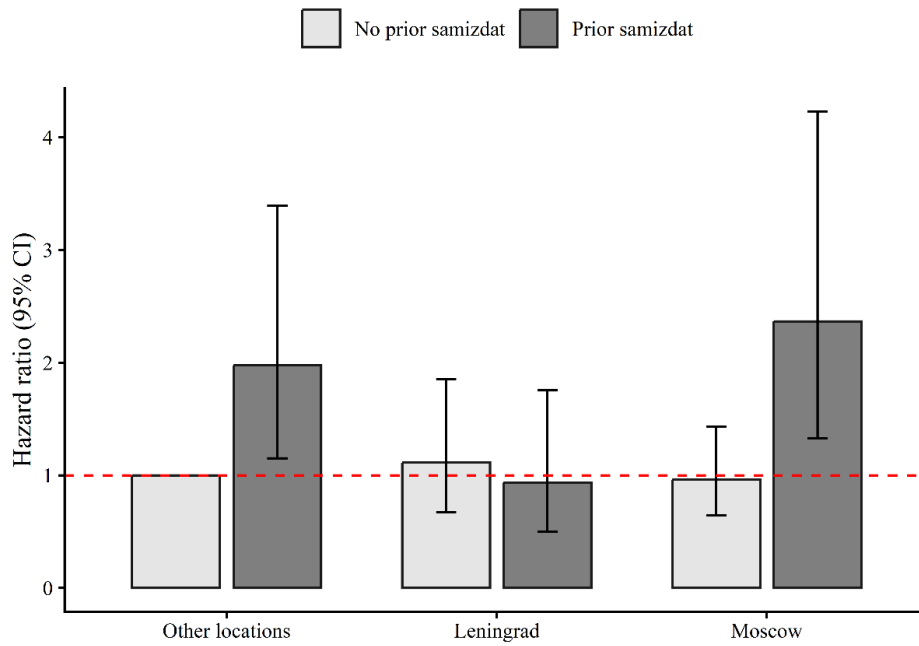


Figure 7. Marginal-effect estimates capturing the impact of having an editor with prior samizdat experience on the risk of journal discontinuation, stratified by publication location.

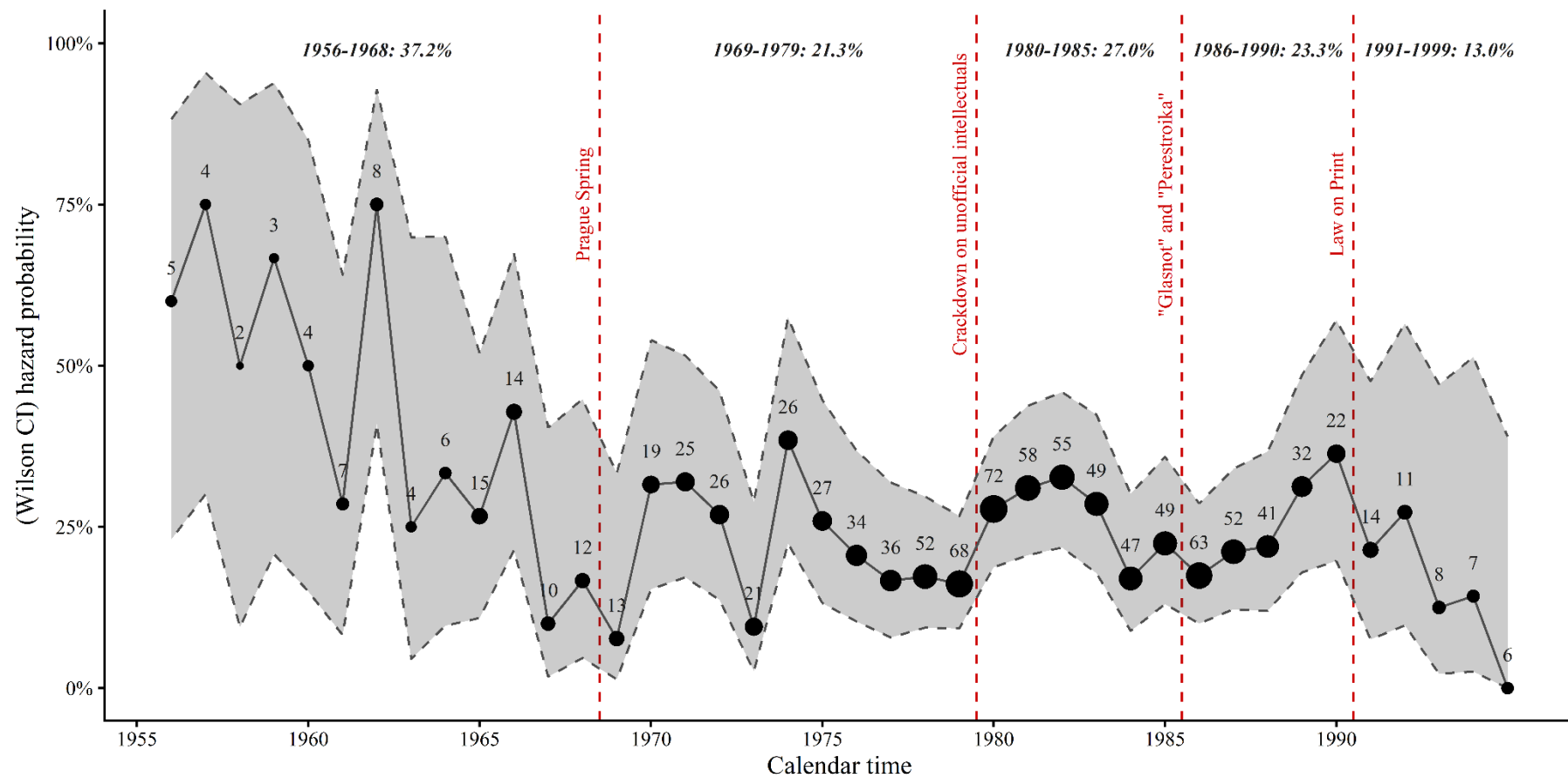


Figure 8. Hazard probabilities of discontinuing activity by calendar year (values over the points indicate the number of periodicals active up to that given year).

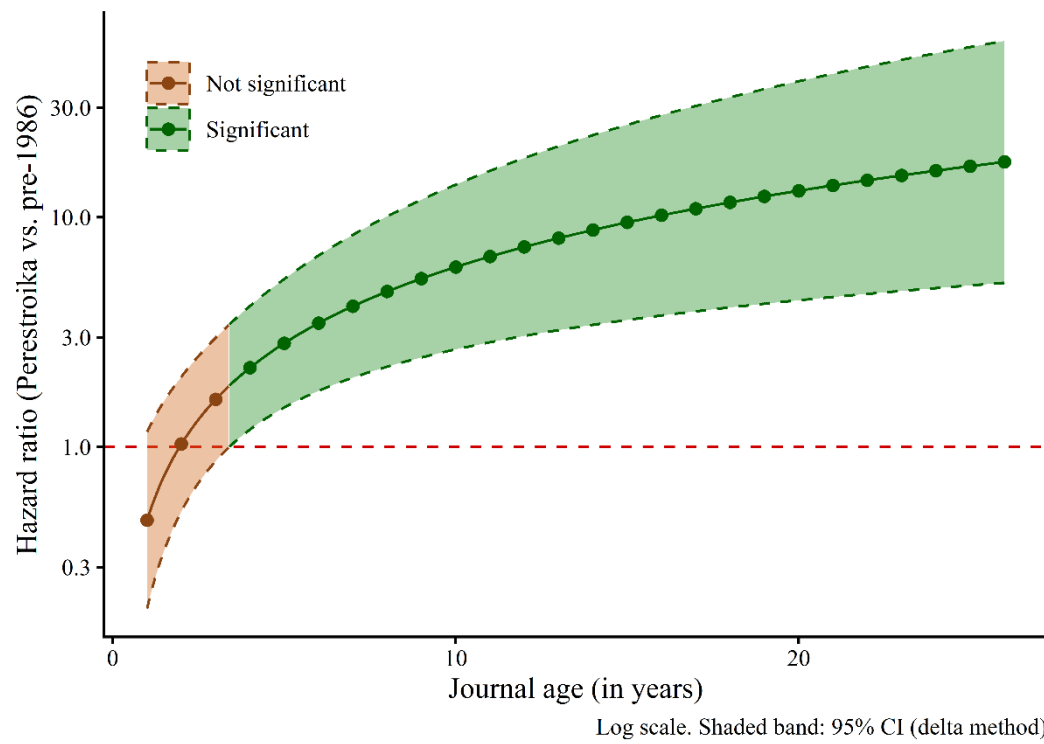


Figure 9. Marginal-effect estimates of Perestroika's impact on the risk of journal discontinuation, by journal age.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics for samizdat journal networks.

	USSR	Leningrad	Moscow
Nodes	304	64	107
Right/Politics journals	131	10	53
Minorities journals	23	2	12
Religion/Philosophy journals	45	8	13
Music journals	45	7	14
Edges	135	35	48
Ties involving a Right/Politics journal	77	14	26
Ties between Right/Politics journals	45	2	19
Ties involving a Minorities journal	5	0	5
Ties between Minorities journals	5	0	5
Ties involving a Religion/Philosophy journal	26	8	3
Ties between Religion/Philosophy journals	6	2	0
Ties involving a Music journal	25	5	12
Ties between Music journals	23	5	10
Density	0.003	0.017	0.008
Transitivity	0.571	0.375	0.520
Isolates	174	25	59

Table 2. ERGM results predicting tie presence between samizdat journals.

	<i>Dependent variable: Network tie (log-odds)</i>										
	Whole network					Leningrad sub-network		Moscow sub-network			
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6 (constrained†)	Model 7 (constrained†)	Model 8	Model 9 (constrained†)	Model 10	Model 11 (constrained†)
Edges	-5.48*** (0.09)	-3.36*** (0.21)	-7.29*** (0.76)	-3.41*** (0.21)	-4.05*** (0.29)	-3.99*** (0.31)	-6.99*** (0.55)	-6.56*** (1.03)	-6.70*** (1.08)	-7.19*** (0.96)	-7.20*** (1.00)
Distance in km (ln)		-0.44*** (0.03)	-0.42*** (0.03)	-0.45*** (0.03)	-0.44*** (0.04)	-0.43+ (0.23)	-0.34 (0.22)	—	—	—	—
Start year		-0.13• (0.07)	0.00 (0.06)	-0.19** (0.06)	-0.22*** (0.07)	-0.24*** (0.07)	-0.17• (0.07)	-0.12 (0.11)	-0.10 (0.10)	-0.31• (0.12)	-0.31** (0.11)
Temporal gap (ln)		-0.69*** (0.09)	-0.63*** (0.09)	-0.59*** (0.10)	-0.52*** (0.10)	-0.35** (0.13)	-0.30• (0.12)	-0.52** (0.17)	-0.13 (0.23)	-0.48** (0.16)	-0.26 (0.19)
Rights/Politics		0.22+ (0.13)		-0.33 (0.25)	-0.43+ (0.25)	-0.52+ (0.29)	-0.28 (0.27)	0.44 (0.43)	0.43 (0.45)	-1.25** (0.40)	-1.42*** (0.43)
Minorities		-1.08*** (0.32)		-1.02** (0.33)	-1.02** (0.33)	-0.87** (0.33)	-0.80• (0.32)	—	—	-0.04 (0.34)	-0.09 (0.35)
Religion/Philosophy		-0.27 (0.20)		-0.46+ (0.25)	-0.24 (0.26)	-0.57+ (0.32)	-0.36 (0.29)	-0.23 (0.48)	-0.25 (0.49)	-1.17• (0.58)	-1.12+ (0.60)
Music		0.38• (0.19)									
Rights/Politics homophily			0.84*** (0.21)								
Religion/Philosophy homophily			0.76** (0.25)								
Music homophily			3.04*** (0.72)								
Between Rights/Politics journals				1.41*** (0.42)	1.54*** (0.43)	1.66*** (0.49)	1.12• (0.45)	-0.14 (0.99)	-0.02 (0.99)	2.26** (0.69)	2.55*** (0.75)
Between Religion/Philosophy journals				1.73** (0.63)	1.59• (0.63)	2.46*** (0.74)	1.63• (0.63)	1.41 (0.99)	1.44 (0.97)	—	—
Between Music journals				2.30*** (0.31)	2.23*** (0.32)	2.27*** (0.35)	1.51*** (0.30)	1.85*** (0.53)	1.85** (0.56)	1.43** (0.44)	1.35** (0.45)
Participants (ln)					0.51*** (0.09)	0.54*** (0.10)	0.48*** (0.10)	0.37+ (0.22)	0.40+ (0.22)	0.68*** (0.14)	0.68*** (0.16)
Difference in participants (ln)					-0.44*** (0.13)	-0.53*** (0.14)	-0.37** (0.13)	-0.14 (0.28)	-0.14 (0.27)	-0.57** (0.19)	-0.54** (0.2)
Geometrically weighted degree (decay value = 0.50)							1.82*** (0.28)	1.49** (0.56)	1.45** (0.56)	1.66*** (0.50)	1.62** (0.50)
Geometrically weighted edgewise shared partners*							2.19*** (0.20)	1.94*** (0.35)	1.90*** (0.36)	2.42*** (0.34)	2.38*** (0.35)
Nodes	304	304	304	304	256	256	256	61	61	93	93
Ties	135	135	135	135	135	109	109	35	34	48	47
AIC	1,753.21	1,420.53	1,358.00	1,351.10	1,322.11	923.49	765.19	298.25	276.41	376.45	356.85
BIC	1,761.60	1,487.68	1,416.75	1,435.03	1,422.83	1,001.69	856.42	364.39	337.54	452.78	430.13

Note. + $p < .10$; • $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; two-tailed tests. Standard errors in parentheses.

* Decay parameters set below default range to prevent tie probabilities from escalating too sharply with each additional shared partner. Values: 0.35 (whole USSR), 0.05 (Leningrad sub-network), 0.25 (Moscow sub-network).

† “Constrained” indicates that no ties are allowed between journals whose active periods are separated by more than 10 years or whose locations are more than 100 miles apart.

Geographic effects are by definition zero for journals within the same city, so we do not estimate them in either subnetwork. For Leningrad, we exclude an effect for Minority journals due to their scarcity (only 2; see Table 1). For Moscow, we exclude the Religion/Philosophy homophily term, as only 3 ties involve these journals in the city, none of which are homophilous (see Table 1).

Table 3. Cox regression models predicting journal discontinuation (time window: 1956-1986).

	<i>Dependent variable: Journal discontinuation (hazard ratio)</i>								
	Model 12	Model 13	Model 14	Model 15	Model 16	Model 17	Model 18	Model 19	Model 20 (late entry)
Cohort [ref: Created in 1956-1966]									
Created in 1967-1976		0.95 (0.22)	1.07 (0.22)	0.99 (0.22)	0.99 (0.23)	1.01 (0.24)	1.05 (0.23)	0.88 (0.24)	—
Created in 1977-1986		0.84 (0.22)	1.13 (0.22)	1.07 (0.23)	1.03 (0.23)	0.96 (0.25)	1.18 (0.23)	1.08 (0.24)	—
Number of convictions (ln)			1.56*** (0.12)	1.53*** (0.12)	1.47** (0.12)	1.38* (0.13)	1.53*** (0.13)	1.58*** (0.13)	—
Journal age (ln)									0.74* (0.12)
Leningrad				0.81 (0.18)	0.80 (0.20)	0.94 (0.21)	0.91 (0.21)	0.79 (0.23)	0.71 (0.24)
Moscow				0.91 (0.15)	0.89 (0.16)	0.94 (0.17)	0.97 (0.16)	0.99 (0.18)	0.98 (0.18)
Several locations				0.52* (0.26)	0.48** (0.27)	0.40** (0.29)	0.45** (0.27)	0.43** (0.28)	0.42** (0.28)
Rights/Politics					1.02 (0.16)	1.12 (0.18)	1.11 (0.17)	1.08 (0.17)	1.04 (0.18)
Minorities					1.04 (0.26)	1.08 (0.28)	1.18 (0.26)	1.25 (0.28)	1.35 (0.28)
Religion/Philosophy					0.62* (0.19)	0.51** (0.23)	0.55** (0.20)	0.54** (0.20)	0.51** (0.21)
Music					0.90 (0.26)	1.01 (0.27)	1.03 (0.26)	1.05 (0.27)	1.01 (0.28)
Number of editors (ln)						0.80** (0.08)			
Number of editors [ref : 1–2 editors]									
3–4 editors							0.76 (0.19)	0.80 (0.20)	0.81 (0.21)
5+ editors							0.31*** (0.35)	0.29** (0.39)	0.33** (0.37)
5+ editors × Journal age (ln)							1.72+ (0.29)	1.90* (0.30)	1.64+ (0.27)
Unknown number of editors							1.80* (0.27)	2.21** (0.30)	2.15* (0.30)
Unknown number of editors 5 editors × Journal age (ln)							0.62 (0.31)	0.59+ (0.31)	0.61+ (0.29)
Female editor								0.91 (0.21)	0.91 (0.21)
Jewish editor								0.93 (0.20)	0.92 (0.20)
Non-Russian editor								0.91 (0.18)	0.93 (0.19)
Prior samizdat participant								1.68** (0.18)	1.77** (0.18)
Random effects									
SD (journal)	0.018	0.019	0.011	0.005	0.009	0.014	0.004	0.004	0.012
SD (calendar year)	0.254	0.249	0.017	0.013	0.015	0.001	0.003	0.003	—
SD (country)	0.006	0.008	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.005	0.001	0.001	0.004
Observations	834	834	834	834	834	743	834	834	834
Events	209	209	209	209	209	180	209	209	209
AIC	1,971.6	1,974.4	1,968.0	1,963.8	1,964.9	1,633.8	1,950.8	1,949.8	1,361.1
BIC	2,009.0	2,018.9	1,982.6	1,992.3	2,012.5	1,684.7	2,021.7	2,039.6	1,441.6

Note. + p < .10; * p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001; two-tailed tests. Standard errors in parentheses.

Table 4. Cox regression models predicting journal discontinuation (time window: 1956-1990).

	<i>Dependent variable:</i> <i>Journal discontinuation (hazard ratio)</i>	
	Model 21 (age scale)	Model 22 (late entry)
Cohort [ref: Created in 1956-1966]		
Created in 1967-1976	0.90 (0.23)	—
Created in 1977-1986	1.10 (0.23)	—
Number of convictions (ln)	1.61** (0.15)	—
Journal age (ln)		0.75• (0.12)
Leningrad	0.73 (0.21)	0.70 (0.22)
Moscow	0.88 (0.16)	0.90 (0.17)
Several locations	0.43** (0.26)	0.45** (0.25)
Rights/Politics	1.08 (0.16)	1.07 (0.17)
Minorities	1.33 (0.27)	1.45 (0.27)
Religion/Philosophy	0.53** (0.19)	0.53** (0.20)
Music	1.03 (0.23)	1.00 (0.24)
Number of editors [ref : 1–2 editors]		
3–4 editors	0.84 (0.18)	0.86 (0.18)
5+ editors	0.42** (0.34)	0.46• (0.34)
5+ editors × journal age (ln)	1.35 (0.23)	1.22 (0.22)
Unknown number of editors	2.15** (0.29)	2.14** (0.29)
Unknown number of editors × journal age (ln)	0.58• (0.27)	0.59• (0.25)
Female editor	0.98 (0.19)	1.00 (0.19)
Jewish editor	0.86 (0.19)	0.85 (0.19)
Non-Russian editor	0.84 (0.16)	0.87 (0.17)
Prior samizdat participant	1.44• (0.17)	1.46• (0.17)
Perestroika period	0.48 (0.45)	—
Perestroika period × journal age (ln)	3.01** (0.26)	1.92** (0.23)
Random effects		
SD (journal)	0.006	0.014
SD (calendar year)	0.004	—
SD (country)	0.001	0.004
Observations	981	981
Events	247	247
AIC	2,268.6	1,629.7
BIC	2,371.3	1,717.9

Note. + $p < .10$; • $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; two-tailed tests. Standard errors in parentheses.

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Relational Strategies, Tensions, and Resilience: Underground Journals in the Soviet Union (1956-1990) Supplementary Materials

Section A. Descriptive statistics

Tables S1 and S2 present descriptive statistics for the data used in the Cox survival models. Table S1 covers the journal level ($n = 304$); Table S2 covers the journal-year level ($n = 834$).

Tables S1 and S2 here

Most journals were short-lived. The average duration was 3.2 years, but the distribution is right-skewed—one journal lasted 36 years—making the mean a poor summary statistic; the median of 1 year is more representative. The number of editors shows a similar pattern: the mean of 3.1 is inflated by *The Chronicle of Current Events*, which had 27 editors (an exceptional case). The number of convictions per year (Table S2) is also right-skewed. For these reasons, both the editor count and the number of convictions are log-transformed in the analyses. Editors are additionally modeled as a categorical variable: nearly half of journals (145, 47.7%) had 1–2 editors; 58 (19.1%) had 3–4; 50 (16.4%) had 5 or more; and 51 (16.8%) had an unknown number.

The sample exhibits variation across several categorical dimensions. In terms of cohort, only 43 journals (14.1%) were founded between 1956 and 1966, reflecting the substantial increase in samizdat activity from the late 1960s. Geographically, 64 journals (21.1%) had a presence in Leningrad and 107 (35.2%) in Moscow, the two main centers of samizdat activity; journals active in multiple locations were comparatively rare (24, 7.9%), though numerous enough to estimate an effect. Thematically, 131 journals (43.1%) focused on Rights/Politics, 45 (14.8%) on Religion/Philosophy, and 45 (14.8%) on Music; Minorities-focused journals were the least common, with only 23 (7.6%). As for editorial composition, 62 journals (20.4%) included at least one female editor, 78 (25.7%) a Jewish editor, and 182 (59.9%) a non-Russian editor; and 79 journals (26.0%) featured an editor who had previously participated in another samizdat periodical.

Figure S1 presents bivariate associations among the same variables. Panel A shows Pearson correlations at the journal level; Panel B uses the journal-year format. Looking at the bottom row of Panel A, several variables show positive associations with longer journal lifespan: publishing in multiple locations ($r = 0.22$), number of editors ($\ln$) ($r = 0.21$), female editors ($r = 0.15$), and Religion/Philosophy content ($r = 0.13$). The only variable with a moderate negative association is the cohort effect for those journals created in 1956-1966 ($r = -0.06$). Figure S1B tells a similar story at the journal-year level. The number of convictions shows a positive association with journal discontinuation ($r = 0.13$), suggesting it may be a predictor of shorter journal lifespan.

Figure S1 here

Kaplan-Meier curves (Figure S2) offer a complementary descriptive view. Curves that fall more steeply indicate shorter durations; larger gaps between curves suggest bigger differences between groups. The most pronounced gap appears between journals that publish in one location and those that publish in several (Panel D). Smaller but discernible differences also emerge for Religion/Philosophy content (Panel G), editorial size (Panel I), and the presence of female editors (Panel J).

Figure S2 here

Section B. Model diagnostics: Cox regression

To verify that the Cox regression models satisfy key assumptions, we report a series of diagnostic checks for Model 19 (the complete specification). We begin by testing the proportional hazards (PH) assumption using

Schoenfeld residuals. Table S3 reports test statistics from three time-transformation approaches—identity, Kaplan–Meier, and rank—to ensure that conclusions regarding PH violations are not sensitive to the choice of transform. Across all three approaches, no individual covariate yields a statistically significant result, and the global test is comfortably non-significant in each case (identity: $\chi^2(19) = 15.870$, $p = 0.670$; KM: $\chi^2(19) = 14.238$, $p = 0.770$; rank: $\chi^2(19) = 14.476$, $p = 0.760$). There is no evidence of proportional hazards violations.

Table S3 here

Table S4 presents variance inflation factors (VIFs) used to assess multicollinearity among the predictors. All values remain well below the conventional threshold of 5. The highest VIFs are observed for 5+ editors (3.42) and its interaction with journal age (2.57)—an expected level of inflation given the inherent shared variance between interaction terms and their component variables.

Table S4 here

Figure S3 presents QQ plots for evaluating the normality assumption of the random effects. For the country-level component, the plotted quantiles adhere closely to the reference line, offering no evidence of non-normality. The journal- and year-level components, by contrast, reveal moderate deviations in the tails.

Figure S3 here

Figure S4 displays the estimated random intercepts, allowing us to identify journals, years, and countries with the largest deviations from the average discontinuation hazard. Most journals cluster near zero, which is consistent with the model capturing the principal sources of variation in survival. A handful of journals stand out for having particularly low discontinuation hazards. Among calendar years, 1981 and 1982 rank among the highest in discontinuation hazard, reflecting the intensified crackdown on dissent that began around 1980. The year immediately preceding this repressive wave—1979—exhibits the lowest discontinuation hazard in the sample. At the country level, Russia shows the highest discontinuation hazard, whereas Lithuania shows the lowest.

Figure S4 here

Section C. Missing data: Sensitivity checks

Two variables carry notable rates of missingness: editorial information (51 of 304 journals, 16.8%) and journal end date (43 of 304 journals, 14.1%). Because both enter the Cox models directly—as a predictor and as the event time, respectively—we examine whether their missingness is systematically related to the covariates used in the main analysis.

Table S5 reports two logistic regression models predicting the probability that each variable is missing. The results indicate that missingness is not entirely arbitrary but is also not driven by our primary predictors of interest. In Model 1, Leningrad-based journals and music journals are significantly less likely to have missing editorial information. In Model 2, journals with unknown editor counts are far more likely to have a missing end date—a result that reflects the same underlying documentation gap rather than substantive selectivity. Likewise, journals founded in the 1977–1986 cohort show a marginally elevated probability of missing their end date. By contrast, Rights/Politics and Religion/Philosophy journals are significantly less likely to have a missing end date. None of the predictors most central to the Cox analyses—publication in multiple locations or editorial size—are, however, significantly associated with end-date missingness.

Table S5 here

Figure S5 (left panel) further assesses the impact of missing editorial information by comparing estimates from a complete-case analysis—restricted to the journals with observed editorial data—against estimates pooled from 50 multiply-imputed datasets. Missing values were imputed using predictive mean matching, and results were

combined using Rubin's rules. The comparison reveals that missing editorial data have negligible impact: coefficient estimates and confidence intervals are closely aligned across both approaches, and all substantively significant effects identified in the main analysis remain detectable under imputation.

Figure S5 here

Multiple imputation is not applicable for missing end dates, as the event time constitutes the outcome itself. We instead bound the problem using two extreme scenarios applied to the 43 journals with unobserved closure dates. Under the pessimistic scenario, we assume that each of these journals discontinued approximately one year after founding—consistent with the observed median duration in the full sample. Under the optimistic scenario, we treat all such journals as surviving the entire observation window, right-censoring them at 1986. Figure S5 (right panel) reports estimates from the main model alongside both bounding scenarios. The core substantive findings—that publication in multiple locations and having 5+ editors are associated with lower discontinuation risk, while prior samizdat participation is associated with higher risk—are identifiable under both extreme scenarios, passing the stress test.

Section D. Model diagnostics and goodness of fit: Exponential random graph models

Table S6 reports variance inflation factors (VIFs) for all ERGM models. In the ERGM context, VIF values above 20 indicate moderate concern and values above 100 indicate high concern (Duxbury, 2021). All values in Table S6 remain well below the moderate threshold of 20, indicating negligible inflation.

Table S6 here

In ERGMs, parameter estimates are obtained by comparing observed network statistics against those generated by a series of simulated networks that reproduce the fitted model. Goodness-of-fit (GOF) assessment evaluates whether the model also reproduces aspects of the observed network that were not explicitly targeted during estimation, in particular the degree distribution, the edgewise shared partner distribution, and the distribution of minimum geodesic distances. A well-fitting model produces simulated distributions that closely envelop the observed statistics.

Figure S6 presents GOF diagnostics for Models 7, 9, and 11—the complete specifications for, respectively, the full network, the Leningrad subnetwork, and the Moscow subnetwork. These models incorporate the constraint that ties can only form between journals with overlapping active periods and located within a radius of 100 miles. In all three cases, the observed statistics fall well within the interquartile range of the simulated distributions, indicating that the models reproduce the key structural features of the observed networks.

Figure S6 here

Section E. Discrete-choice and multi-level models

This section complements the ERGM analyses by examining editorial mobility at the level of individual participant decisions. Rather than modelling the full network of co-participation ties, these analyses ask: given a journal of origin, which journal does a participant choose to move to next? The discrete-choice and multilevel models estimated here closely mirror the structure of the ERGMs, providing an independent check on the main findings.

The analytical sample is derived from the bipartite network linking individual participants to journals. We first identify participants who contributed to more than one journal. For each such participant, we enumerate all pairwise combinations of their journals and infer the direction of each move from temporal information: a participant is classified as having moved from the journal with the earlier start year to the one with the later start year. When start years are identical, the end year serves as a tiebreaker (an earlier end date marking the

sending journal); in the rare cases where both start and end years coincide, direction is assigned at random. To avoid treating a two-way flow as two independent observations, reversals—cases where A→B is subsequently followed by B→A for the same participant—are removed. The resulting dataset contains 150 directed moves made by 110 participants. Most participants (76) contribute a single observed move; 30 contribute two moves, and 4 contribute three or four.

For each observed move, the choice set consists of all journals that were active during at least one year in which the destination journal was also active, excluding the journal of origin. This operationalization mirrors the ERGM assumption that co-participation ties can only form between contemporaneously active journals. To match the spatial constraint introduced in the main ERGM specifications, the choice set is further restricted to journals located within 100 miles of the journal of origin, using great-circle distances computed via the Haversine formula. When choice sets exceed five alternatives, we randomly sample up to five unchosen journals; moves whose choice sets collapse to a single alternative after sampling are excluded from estimation.

The predictors mirror those in the ERGMs. Geographic distance between journals is log-transformed. The launch year of the destination journal and the absolute log difference in launch years between origin and destination capture temporal proximity. Journal size is the log number of participants in the destination journal, after subtracting the moving participant (who has not yet joined); the absolute log difference in size between origin and destination captures size-based assortative mixing. Binary indicators capture content category (Rights/Politics, Minorities, Religion/Philosophy, Music) and between-journal content homophily—whether the origin and destination share the same category. All continuous predictors are standardized (mean = 0, SD = 1) within each analytical sample before estimation.

Two modelling strategies are employed. The first is a conditional logit model with a random intercept for the destination journal, which accounts for the possibility that some journals are systematically more attractive as destinations regardless of the covariates. The second is a multilevel logistic regression with crossed random effects for the choice set, the participant, the journal of origin, and the destination journal, offering the most flexible treatment of multilevel dependence. Each specification is estimated on four analytical samples: one in which each actual movement is accompanied by up to five alternative destination journals; a second in which such alternatives are restricted to journals within 100 miles of the journal of origin; and two geographically restricted samples consisting of Leningrad-origin moves only and Moscow-origin moves only, mirroring the geographic subsampling strategy of the ERGMs.

Table S7 presents the results from conditional logit models with random intercepts for the destination journal. The results reproduce the main finding from the ERGMs: greater geographic and temporal distances both emerge as negative predictors of the chosen destination (see columns 1 and 2). By contrast, we observe a preference for moving between Rights/Politics journals—particularly evident in column 2, when choices are constrained to destinations within a 100-mile radius. As in the ERGM results, no evidence of homophilic moves among Rights/Politics journals is detected in Leningrad. In Moscow, however, the results demonstrate a strong preference for homophilic moves across such journals ($\beta = 3.463$, $p = 0.004$) and a reluctance to move toward non-political ones ($\beta = -2.359$, $p = 0.025$), suggesting that political journals in the capital operated as a distinct, internally cohesive cluster.

Table S7 here

Table S8 presents the corresponding multilevel model estimates, which add crossed random effects for the choice set, the participant, the journal of origin, and the destination journal. The substantive conclusions remain unchanged: the homophily effects and the asymmetric avoidance of political journals by non-political participants in Moscow align closely with both the conditional logit results and the main ERGM estimates, corroborating the robustness of the main-text findings.

Table S8 here

Section F. Ecological dimensions of the samizdat scene

This section extends the survival analyses presented in the main text by incorporating city-level dimensions of the samizdat environment. The objective is to account for potential ecological effects—namely, whether the risk of journal discontinuation was influenced by the characteristics of the local periodical scene. Specifically, we consider two dimensions: (1) the number of active journals in the same city, and (2) the degree of thematic pluralism. Although the dissident field was broadly characterized by a cooperative spirit, these measures permit us to test whether a crowded environment heightened competitive pressures and the hazard of discontinuation.

The construction of the first control variable was straightforward: for each city and calendar year, we counted the total number of active journals. The pluralism index proved more complex to operationalize, as many journals addressed multiple topics simultaneously, producing thematic overlap. To address this, we first distinguished five substantive topics: Rights/Politics, Minorities, Religion/Philosophy, Music, and Art/Literature. For each city and year, we calculated the share of total topical attention devoted to each of these five categories. We then measured how evenly that attention was distributed across topics. When one topic dominated and others received little or no coverage, the resulting measure was low; when attention was spread roughly equally across all five, the measure was high. Formally, we employed Shannon entropy:

$$H(city, year) = - \sum_{i=1}^5 p_i \cdot \log_2(p_i),$$

where p_i denotes the proportion of total topical attention allocated to topic i in a given city and year (such that $\sum p_i = 1$).

Figure S7 (left panel) presents the annual share of journals addressing each topic over the 1956–1990 period. It reveals substantial temporal change in the composition of the samizdat scene. Art/Literature predominated during the 1950s and early 1960s. By the mid-1960s, however, the share of journals addressing Rights/Politics had risen to over 50% of the total, peaking in 1972 at 76.9% (20 out of 26 journals). This proportion subsequently declined following the crackdown on the unofficial intelligentsia in the early 1980s. That repression had a major impact: it reduced the share of journals engaging with political and societal issues—as reflected in the declining proportions of Rights/Politics, Religion/Philosophy, and Minorities—while increasing the presence of more culturally oriented subjects. By 1986, journals addressing Rights/Politics constituted only 23.8% of the total (15 out of 63), having been surpassed by both Art/Literature (23 journals) and Music (24 journals). During the perestroika period, we observe a further—though less sharp—decline in the share of journals addressing political and societal topics, while Art/Literature and Music maintained similar levels.

Fig S7 here

These observations not only substantiate existing historical accounts but also point to systematic variation in thematic pluralism over time. The right panel of Figure S7 displays the evolution of the pluralism index across the three largest samizdat hubs: Leningrad, Moscow, and Novosibirsk. The trajectory is remarkably similar across all three cities: pluralism increased steadily until approximately 1970, continued to rise more gradually thereafter, peaked around 1986, and then declined as the samizdat scene shed its more politicized component and cultural subjects became increasingly predominant.

Table S9 reports the results of Cox models incorporating these ecological dimensions. The number of active journals enters the models log-transformed to correct for right-skewness, while the pluralism index is Box–Cox transformed to address its left-skewed distribution. We also introduce an interaction term between pluralism and time (i.e., journal age), as the effect of pluralism proved non-proportional. Models 1 and 2 are estimated on the panel data covering 1956–1986, whereas Models 3 and 4 extend the time window to 1956–1990.

Table S9 here

The results indicate that the number of active journals in the city has no discernible effect on journal survival. Only Model 3 (1956–1990, without controlling for thematic pluralism) yields a borderline significant estimate for this variable ($HR = 1.22$, $p = 0.082$). Overall, however, this pattern suggests that discontinuation was largely indifferent to whether a journal operated in a more or less crowded local environment. Turning to thematic pluralism, while Model 2 detects no significant effects, Model 4 reveals a significant interaction between the pluralism index and journal age ($HR = 1.15$, $p < 0.001$). This indicates that, although newly founded journals were unaffected by the degree of pluralism, more established journals faced a higher risk of discontinuation during periods of greater thematic pluralism relative to periods of lower pluralism.

Importantly, none of the main effects central to our argument—publication in multiple locations, editorial team size, prior samizdat experience, and the interaction between perestroika and log-transformed journal age—lose predictive power after the inclusion of these ecological controls. We have chosen to present these results in the supplementary materials rather than the main text, as the incorporation of city-level variables substantially reduces the analytical sample. In particular, missing information on the city of production for 32 journals reduces the effective sample from 261 to 234 journals.

Table S1. Descriptive statistics at the journal level (n = 304).

		Unique	Missing	Mean	SD	Min	Median	Max	Histogram
Years of activity		23	14%	3.2	5.3	0.0	1.0	36.0	
Number of editors		17	17%	3.1	3.1	1.0	2.0	27.0	
		N	%						
Cohort	Created in 1956–1966	43	14.1						
	Created in 1967–1976	83	27.3						
	Created in 1977–1986	178	58.6						
Leningrad	No	240	78.9						
	Yes	64	21.1						
Moscow	No	197	64.8						
	Yes	107	35.2						
Several locations	No	280	92.1						
	Yes	24	7.9						
Rights/Politics	No	173	56.9						
	Yes	131	43.1						
Minorities	No	281	92.4						
	Yes	23	7.6						
Religion/Philosophy	No	259	85.2						
	Yes	45	14.8						
Music	No	259	85.2						
	Yes	45	14.8						
Number of editors	1-2 editors	145	47.7						
	3-4 editors	58	19.1						
	5+ editors	50	16.4						
	Unknown	51	16.8						
Female editors	No	242	79.6						
	Yes	62	20.4						
Jews editors	No	226	74.3						
	Yes	78	25.7						
Non-Russian editors	No	122	40.1						
	Yes	182	59.9						
Prior samizdat participant	No	225	74.0						
	Yes	79	26.0						

Table S2. Descriptive statistics at the journal-year level (n = 834 observations).

	Unique	Missing	Mean	SD	Min	Median	Max	Histogram
Years of activity	22	0	3.1	4.0	0.0	1.0	21.0	
Number of convictions	29	0	120.8	160.2	20.0	95.0	1964.0	
Number of convictions (ln)	29	0	-0.3	0.6	-1.7	-0.3	2.4	
Number of editors	17	11	4.0	4.6	1.0	2.0	27.0	
Number of editors (ln)	17	11	0.2	1.1	-1.1	-0.2	3.3	
		N	%					
Journal discontinuation	No	625	74.9					
	Yes	209	25.1					
Cohort	Created in 1956–1966	172	20.6					
	Created in 1967–1976	266	31.9					
	Created in 1977–1986	396	47.5					
Leningrad	No	628	75.3					
	Yes	206	24.7					
Moscow	No	521	62.5					
	Yes	313	37.5					
Several locations	No	688	82.5					
	Yes	146	17.5					
Rights/Politics	No	416	49.9					
	Yes	418	50.1					
Minorities	No	762	91.4					
	Yes	72	8.6					
Religion/Philosophy	No	614	73.6					
	Yes	220	26.4					
Music	No	740	88.7					
	Yes	94	11.3					
Number of editors	1-2 editors	373	44.7					
	3-4 editors	191	22.9					
	5+ editors	179	21.5					
	Unknown	91	10.9					
Female editors	No	595	71.3					
	Yes	239	28.7					
Jews editors	No	579	69.4					
	Yes	255	30.6					
Non-Russian editors	No	313	37.5					
	Yes	521	62.5					
Prior samizdat participant	No	623	74.7					
	Yes	211	25.3					

Table S3. Schoenfeld residual test for the proportional hazards assumption.

	Identity			KM			Rank		
	χ^2	df	p	χ^2	df	p	χ^2	df	p
Created in 1967–1976	1.044	1	0.310	0.235	1	0.630	0.355	1	0.550
Created in 1977–1986	0.301	1	0.580	1.255	1	0.260	1.081	1	0.300
Number of convictions (ln)	0.390	1	0.530	0.766	1	0.380	0.763	1	0.380
Leningrad	1.709	1	0.190	1.591	1	0.210	1.966	1	0.160
Moscow	0.918	1	0.340	0.662	1	0.420	0.841	1	0.360
Several locations	0.032	1	0.860	0.006	1	0.940	0.002	1	0.970
Rights/Politics	0.371	1	0.540	1.106	1	0.290	1.015	1	0.310
Minorities	0.005	1	0.940	0.567	1	0.450	0.444	1	0.500
Religion/Philosophy	0.027	1	0.870	0.099	1	0.750	0.085	1	0.770
Music	1.694	1	0.190	0.917	1	0.340	0.854	1	0.360
3–4 editors	0.302	1	0.580	0.092	1	0.760	0.083	1	0.770
5+ editors	0.009	1	0.920	0.030	1	0.860	0.021	1	0.880
5+ editors × Journal age (ln)	0.023	1	0.880	0.013	1	0.910	0.022	1	0.880
Unknown number of editors	0.817	1	0.370	0.146	1	0.700	0.693	1	0.410
Unknown number of editors × Journal age (ln)	0.804	1	0.370	0.917	1	0.340	0.734	1	0.390
Female editor	0.530	1	0.470	0.528	1	0.470	0.659	1	0.420
Jewish editor	0.005	1	0.940	0.000	1	0.990	0.001	1	0.980
Non-Russian editor	0.091	1	0.760	0.055	1	0.820	0.099	1	0.750
Prior samizdat participant	0.113	1	0.740	0.021	1	0.890	0.026	1	0.870
Global	15.870	19	0.670	14.238	19	0.770	14.476	19	0.760

Note. A significant p -value would indicate a violation of proportional hazards. All $p > .05$ for individual variables; global tests confirm no violation.

Table S4. Variance inflation factors for multicollinearity among predictors.

	VIF	95% CI [2.5%]	95% CI [97.5%]
Created in 1967–1976	2.42	2.19	2.70
Created in 1977–1986	2.54	2.29	2.84
Number of convictions (ln)	1.15	1.08	1.26
Leningrad	1.79	1.64	1.98
Moscow	1.48	1.37	1.63
Several locations	1.28	1.20	1.41
Rights/Politics	1.58	1.45	1.74
Minorities	1.20	1.12	1.32
Religion/Philosophy	1.29	1.20	1.42
Music	1.38	1.28	1.52
3–4 editors	1.41	1.30	1.55
5+ editors	3.42	3.06	3.84
5+ editors × Journal age (ln)	2.57	2.32	2.87
Unknown number of editors	2.45	2.21	2.73
Unknown number of editors × Journal age (ln)	2.27	2.05	2.52
Female editor	1.53	1.41	1.68
Jewish editor	1.65	1.52	1.82
Non-Russian editor	1.59	1.46	1.75
Prior samizdat participant	1.28	1.19	1.40

Note. VIF > 5 indicates moderate, VIF > 10 indicates high multicollinearity.

Table S5. Logistic regressions predicting the probability that a given variable is missing.

	<i>Dependent variable: Editorial info missing</i>	<i>Dependent variable: End date missing</i>
Intercept	-1.740** (0.586)	-2.276** (0.697)
Cohort [ref: Created in 1956-1966]		
Created in 1967-1976	0.772 (0.615)	1.067 (0.758)
Created in 1977-1986	0.716 (0.586)	1.189+ (0.706)
Leningrad	-1.470* (0.581)	-0.778 (0.614)
Moscow	-0.654+ (0.361)	0.434 (0.418)
Several locations	-0.749 (0.783)	-1.502 (1.148)
Rights/Politics	0.122 (0.354)	-1.097* (0.468)
Minorities	-0.614 (0.655)	0.110 (0.750)
Religion/Philosophy	0.552 (0.393)	-3.116** (1.084)
Music	-1.730* (0.794)	-0.903 (0.620)
Number of editors [ref: 1–2 editors]		
3–4 editors	—	-0.871 (0.684)
5+ editors	—	-0.946 (0.681)
Unknown editors	—	1.929*** (0.460)
N	304	304
AIC	267.70	217.76
Tjur's R ²	0.017	0.173

Note. + $p < .10$; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; two-tailed tests. Standard errors in parentheses.

Table S6. Variance inflation factors for ERGM predictors.

	<i>VIFs corresponding to...</i>									
	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9	Model 10	Model 11
Distance in km (ln)	1.01	1.00	1.02	1.03	1.05	1.07	—	—	—	—
Launch year	1.25	1.11	1.32	1.34	1.25	1.28	1.17	1.21	1.80	1.54
Difference in launch years (ln)	1.11	1.11	1.18	1.24	1.15	1.20	1.26	1.32	1.25	1.13
Rights/Politics	1.26	—	5.92	5.91	6.24	7.67	2.27	2.22	7.34	7.95
Minorities	1.02	—	1.03	1.03	1.03	1.11	—	—	1.13	1.13
Religion/Philosophy	1.07	—	2.24	2.28	2.94	2.40	2.43	2.46	1.11	1.12
Music	1.47	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Rights/Politics homophily	—	1.01	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Religion/Philosophy homophily	—	1.02	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Music homophily	—	1.01	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Between Rights/Politics	—	—	5.18	5.15	5.52	6.63	1.79	1.80	6.56	7.22
Between Religion/Philosophy	—	—	2.12	2.11	2.76	2.22	2.21	2.25	—	—
Between Music	—	—	1.63	1.63	1.53	1.72	1.38	1.47	1.94	1.74
Number of participants (ln)	—	—	—	1.54	1.55	2.25	1.87	1.89	2.21	2.30
Absolute difference in participants (ln)	—	—	—	1.39	1.38	1.53	1.42	1.34	1.42	1.29
Geometrically weighted degree	—	—	—	—	—	2.73	2.13	2.22	2.93	3.00
Geometrically weighted edgewise shared partners	—	—	—	—	—	1.73	1.50	1.57	1.89	1.91

Note. VIF > 20 indicates moderate, VIF > 100 indicates high multicollinearity.

Table S7. Conditional logit models with random intercepts predicting editorial mobility.

	<i>USSR</i>	<i>≤100 miles</i>	<i>Leningrad</i>	<i>Moscow</i>
<i>Structural controls</i>				
Distance in km (ln)	-1.878*** (0.216)	-0.413• (0.203)	—	—
Launch year	1.605** (0.501)	1.201** (0.447)	1.161 (0.778)	2.432** (0.925)
Temporal gap (ln)	-0.707** (0.267)	-0.676** (0.233)	-0.408 (0.404)	-1.166• (0.476)
<i>Content category of destination</i>				
Rights/Politics	-0.458 (0.418)	-0.156 (0.458)	-0.043 (0.620)	-2.359• (1.056)
Minorities	-0.075 (0.488)	0.163 (0.579)	—	0.402 (0.641)
Religion/Philosophy	-0.104 (0.472)	-0.109 (0.488)	-0.095 (0.901)	0.187 (0.655)
Music	0.134 (0.390)	0.458 (0.475)	-0.682 (0.709)	0.764 (0.601)
<i>Content homophily</i>				
Between Rights/Politics	1.076+ (0.607)	1.471• (0.599)	-0.194 (1.175)	3.463** (1.197)
Between Religion/Philosophy	0.584 (1.130)	0.736 (0.961)	-0.192 (1.510)	—
<i>Journal size</i>				
Participants (ln)	0.018 (0.142)	-0.294+ (0.171)	-0.328 (0.276)	0.120 (0.212)
Diff. in participants (ln)	-0.476** (0.180)	-0.491** (0.183)	-0.178 (0.301)	-0.482+ (0.255)
Random effects				
Variance (destination journal)	0.000 (0.000)	0.898 (0.133)	1.019 (0.554)	1.224 (0.442)
AIC	272.1	356.6	133.4	195.1
BIC	307.9	390.8	149.2	218.5
N observations	146	128	36	77
N destination groups	224	167	131	175

Note. + $p < .10$; • $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; two-tailed tests. Standard errors in parentheses.

Table S8. Multilevel logistic regression models predicting editorial mobility.

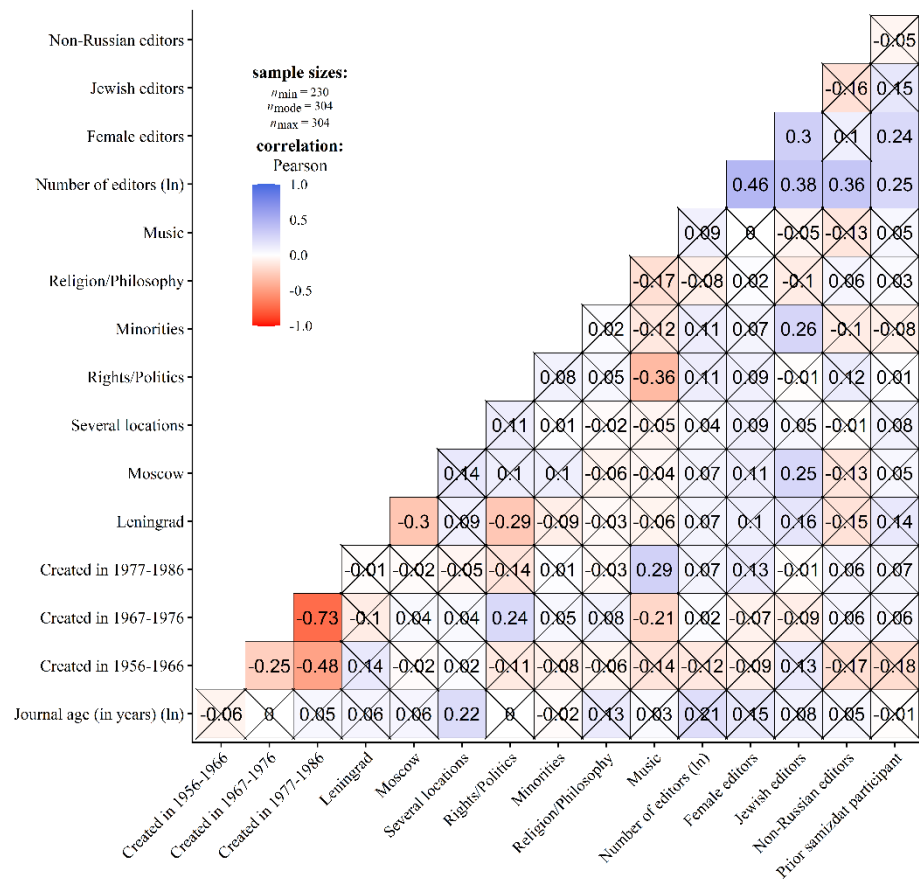
	<i>USSR</i>	<i>≤100 miles</i>	<i>Leningrad</i>	<i>Moscow</i>
<i>Structural controls</i>				
Distance in km (ln)	-1.630*** (0.149)	-0.316• (0.161)	—	—
Launch year	0.273• (0.129)	0.250• (0.125)	0.289 (0.221)	0.358• (0.173)
Temporal gap (ln)	-0.116 (0.115)	-0.185+ (0.108)	-0.135 (0.202)	-0.109 (0.149)
<i>Content category of destination</i>				
Rights/Politics	-0.255 (0.338)	-0.409 (0.324)	-0.119 (0.489)	-1.785• (0.754)
Minorities	-0.555 (0.435)	-0.021 (0.411)	—	0.090 (0.449)
Religion/Philosophy	-0.322 (0.357)	-0.293 (0.337)	-0.166 (0.705)	-0.125 (0.435)
Music	0.348 (0.329)	0.166 (0.293)	-0.520 (0.548)	0.555 (0.377)
<i>Content homophily</i>				
Between Rights/Politics	0.490 (0.348)	1.062•• (0.338)	-0.153 (0.781)	2.365•• (0.759)
Between Religion/Philosophy	0.887 (0.712)	0.906 (0.671)	-0.280 (1.256)	—
<i>Journal size</i>				
Participants (ln)	-0.218+ (0.116)	-0.031 (0.110)	-0.263 (0.219)	0.239+ (0.143)
Diff. in participants (ln)	-0.499*** (0.117)	-0.394*** (0.108)	-0.126 (0.188)	-0.487•• (0.151)
<i>Random effect</i>				
SD (choice set)	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
SD (participant)	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
SD (sending journal)	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
SD (destination journal)	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
R² (marginal)	0.485	0.135	0.060	0.268
AIC	579.3	681.4	217.1	405.4
BIC	656.1	755.8	264.4	463.9
N observations	896	776	216	482
N choice sets (id)	150	141	36	81

Note. + $p < .10$; • $p < .05$; •• $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; two-tailed tests. Standard errors in parentheses.

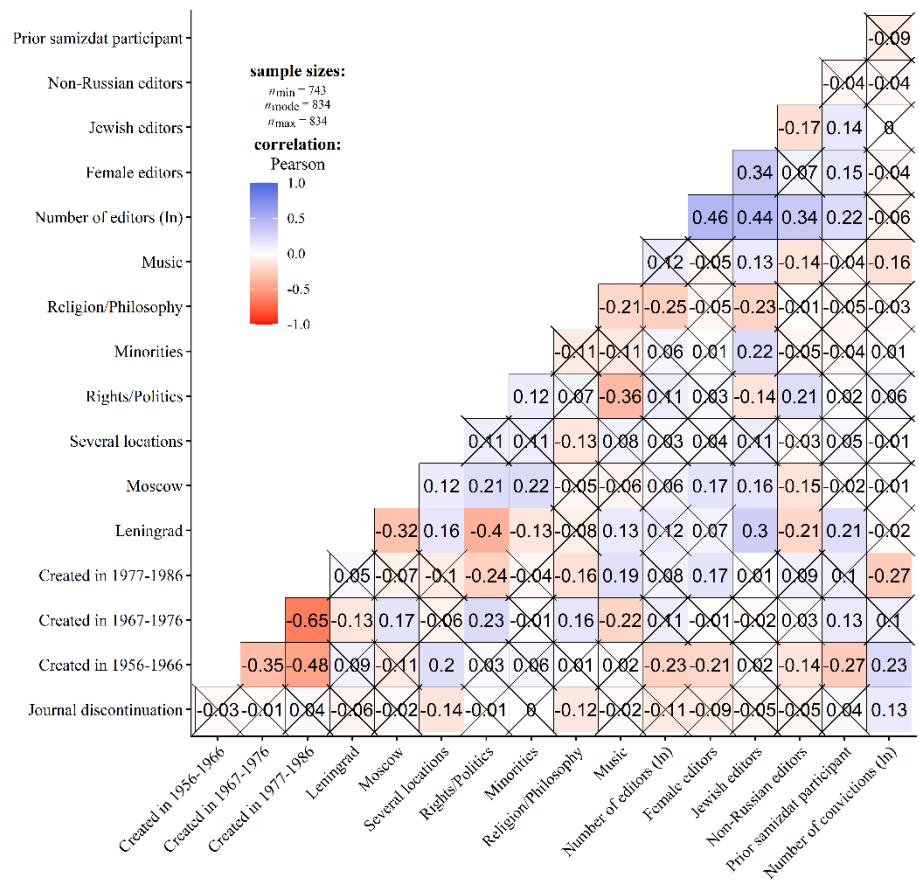
Table S9. Cox regression models predicting journal discontinuation

	<i>Dependent variable:</i> <i>Journal discontinuation (hazard ratio)</i>			
	<i>Time window: 1956-1986</i>		<i>Time window: 1956-1990</i>	
	<i>Model 1</i>	<i>Model 2</i>	<i>Model 3</i>	<i>Model 4</i>
Cohort [ref: Created in 1956-1966]				
Created in 1967-1976	0.87 (0.26)	0.96 (0.27)	0.80 (0.25)	0.87 (0.26)
Created in 1977-1986	0.97 (0.26)	1.09 (0.28)	0.87 (0.25)	0.97 (0.27)
Number of convictions (ln)	1.52** (0.13)	1.45** (0.14)	1.52** (0.16)	1.41* (0.17)
Leningrad	0.69 (0.28)	0.66 (0.32)	0.55* (0.27)	0.75 (0.30)
Moscow	0.80 (0.29)	0.75 (0.35)	0.56* (0.28)	0.79 (0.33)
Several locations	0.43** (0.29)	0.45** (0.29)	0.46** (0.27)	0.44** (0.28)
Rights/Politics	1.14 (0.18)	1.17 (0.19)	1.14 (0.17)	1.10 (0.18)
Minorities	1.10 (0.29)	1.13 (0.29)	1.12 (0.27)	1.13 (0.28)
Religion/Philosophy	0.63* (0.23)	0.65+ (0.23)	0.59* (0.22)	0.61* (0.22)
Music	1.06 (0.27)	1.09 (0.28)	1.05 (0.24)	1.05 (0.24)
Number of editors [ref : 1–2 editors]				
3–4 editors	0.86 (0.21)	0.84 (0.21)	0.85 (0.19)	0.84 (0.20)
5+ editors	0.28** (0.39)	0.28** (0.39)	0.37** (0.35)	0.37** (0.36)
5+ editors × journal age (ln)	1.87* (0.30)	1.84* (0.31)	1.50 (0.25)	1.59+ (0.26)
Unknown number of editors	2.29* (0.37)	2.27* (0.37)	2.24* (0.37)	2.33* (0.37)
Unknown number of editors × journal age (ln)	0.64 (0.46)	0.63 (0.46)	0.61 (0.46)	0.63 (0.45)
Female editor	0.90 (0.22)	0.90 (0.22)	0.96 (0.21)	0.96 (0.21)
Jewish editor	0.97 (0.20)	0.94 (0.20)	0.89 (0.19)	0.85 (0.19)
Non-Russian editor	0.97 (0.19)	0.97 (0.19)	0.90 (0.17)	0.89 (0.17)
Prior samizdat participant	1.58* (0.19)	1.57* (0.19)	1.36+ (0.17)	1.45* (0.17)
Perestroika period			0.53 (0.47)	0.42+ (0.49)
Perestroika period × journal age (ln)			2.59*** (0.28)	3.28*** (0.29)
Number of active journals in the city (ln)	1.06 (0.12)	1.10 (0.14)	1.22+ (0.11)	1.05 (0.14)
City-level pluralism (Box-Cox transformed)		0.94 (0.06)		0.95 (0.05)
City-level pluralism (Box-Cox transformed) × journal age (ln)		1.06 (0.05)		1.15*** (0.04)
Random effects				
SD (journal)	0.009	0.007	0.005	0.008
SD (calendar year)	0.002	0.002	0.002	0.006
SD (country)	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001
Observations	707	707	836	836
Events	189	189	221	221
AIC	1,714.6	1,716.8	1,989.9	1,980.5
BIC	1,805.8	1,817.2	2,094.0	2,094.1

Note. + p < .10; * p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001; two-tailed tests. Standard errors in parentheses.



X - non-significant at $p_{\text{Holsm-adj.}} < 0.05$



X - non-significant at $p_{\text{Holsm-adj.}} < 0.05$

Figure S1. Bivariate associations among all model variables. Panel A: correlation matrix at the journal level ($n = 304$). Panel B: correlation matrix at the journal-year level ($n = 834$ observations).

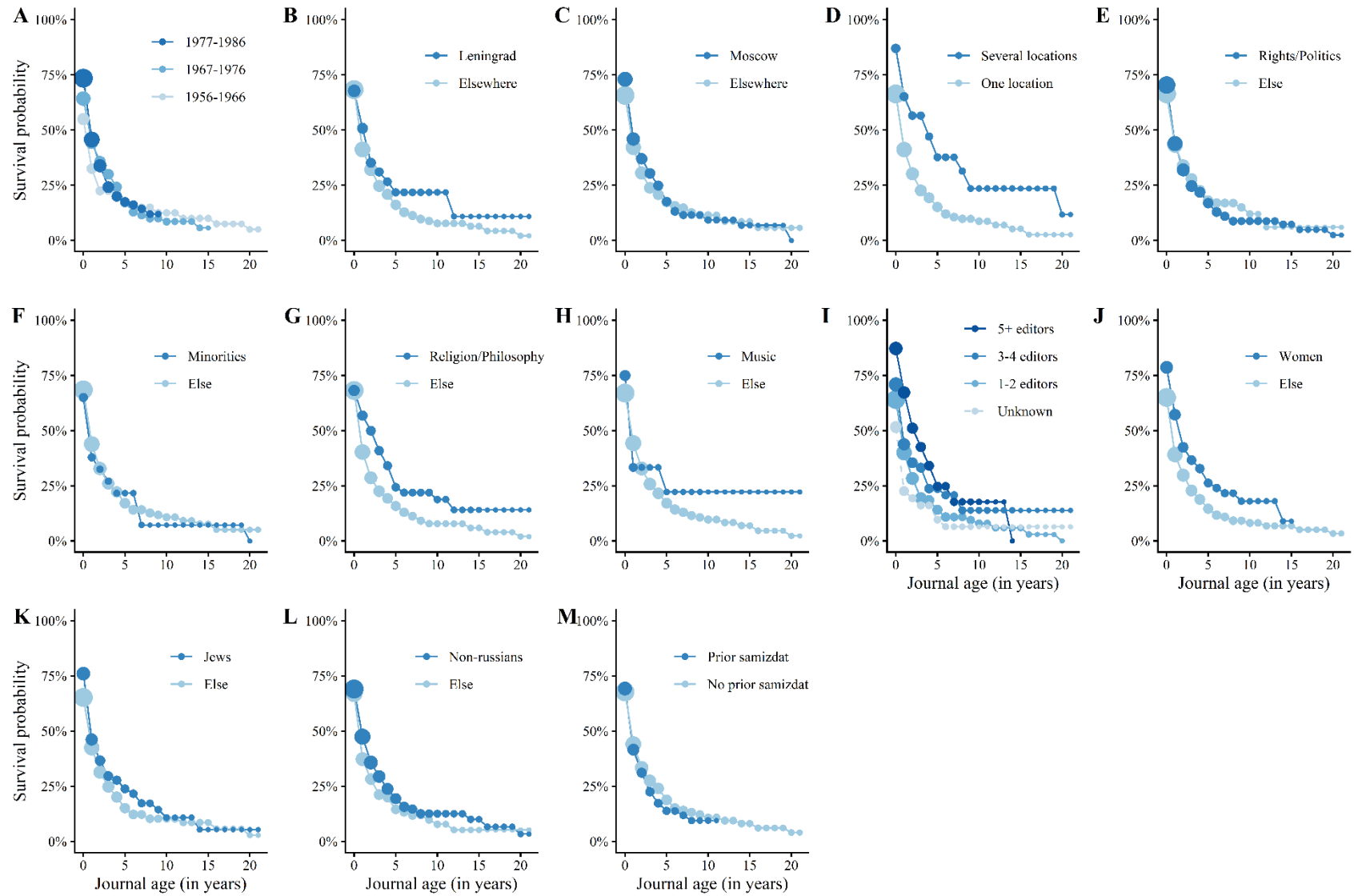


Figure S2. Kaplan-Meier survival curves by journal characteristics.

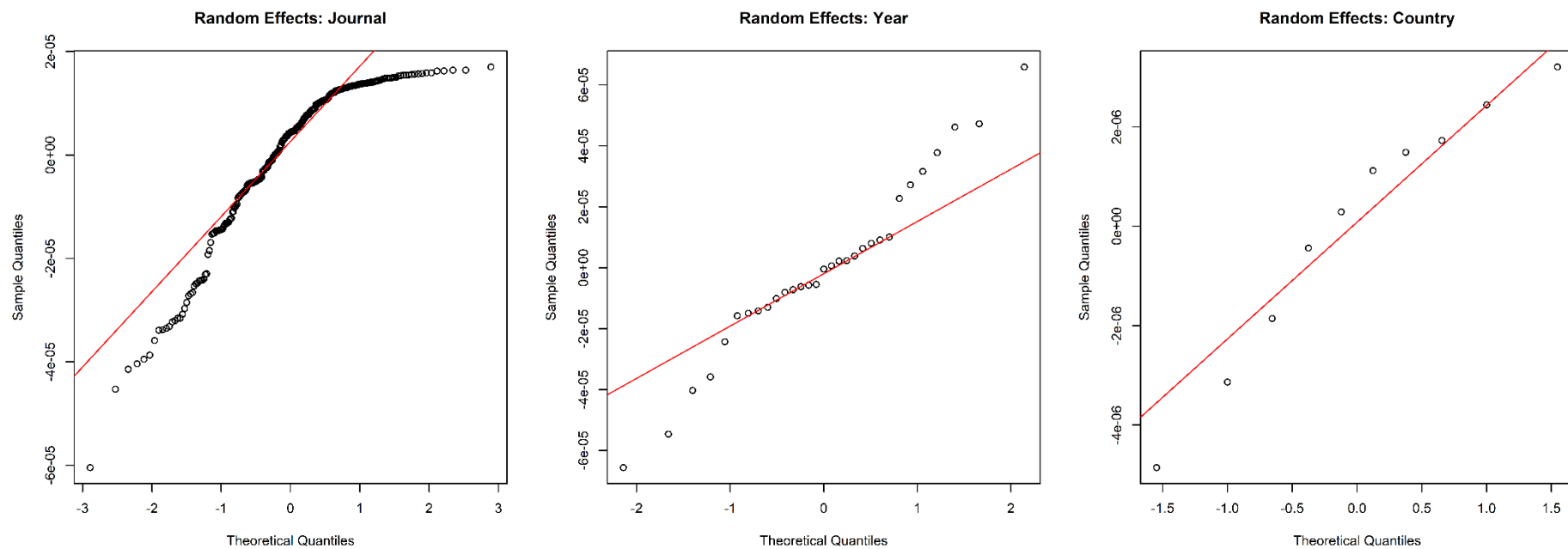


Figure S3. QQ plots assessing the normality of the estimated random effects by journal (left panel), calendar-year (middle panel), and country (right panel). Points along the diagonal indicate approximate normality.

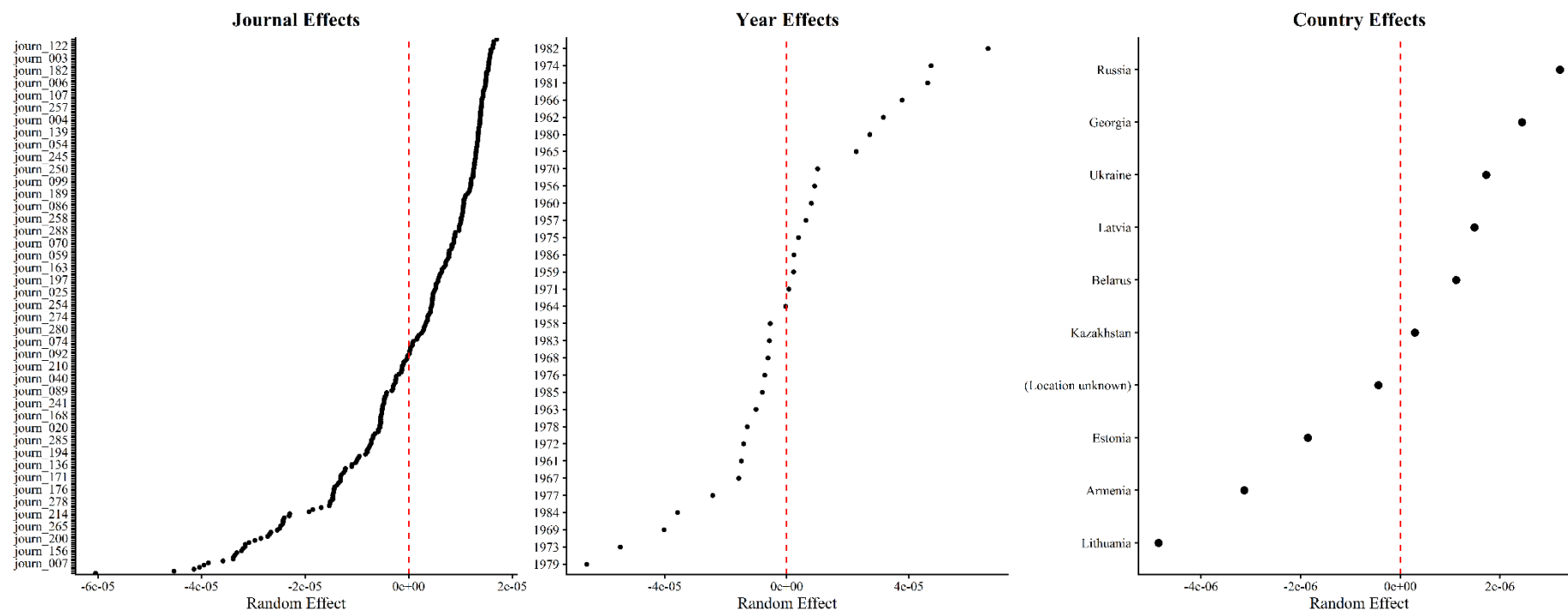


Figure S4. Estimated random intercepts from the Cox mixed-effects model, shown separately for journals (left panel), calendar-years (middle panel), and countries (right panel). Positive values indicate higher-than-average discontinuation hazards; negative values indicate lower-than-average hazards.

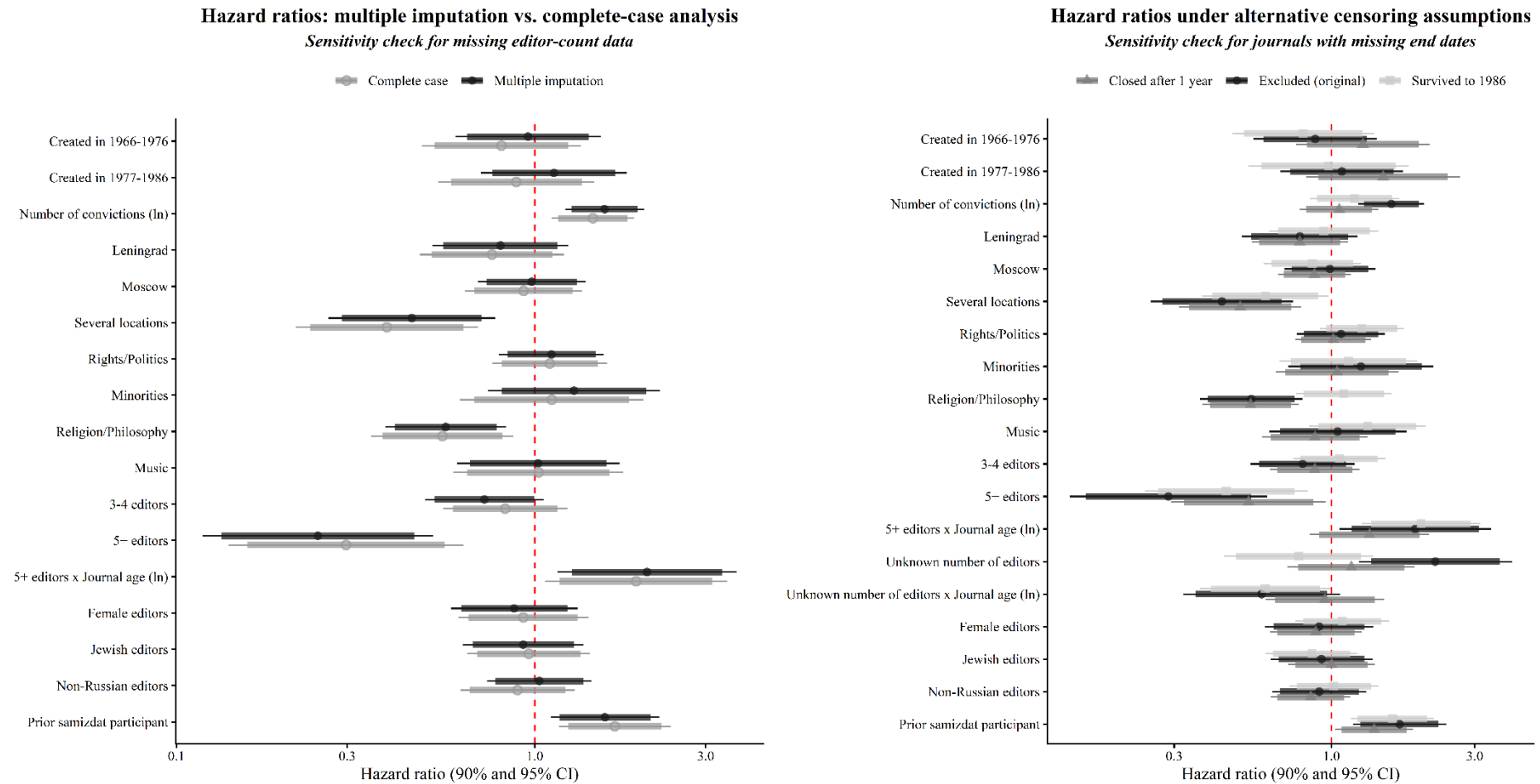


Figure S5. Left panel: comparison of Cox regression coefficient estimates under complete-case analysis and multiple imputation for journals with missing editorial information. Right panel: comparison of Cox regression coefficient estimates under three specifications for journals with missing end dates: excluded (original), pessimistic scenario (assumed closure one year after founding), and optimistic scenario (right-censored at 1986).

Goodness-of-fit diagnostics

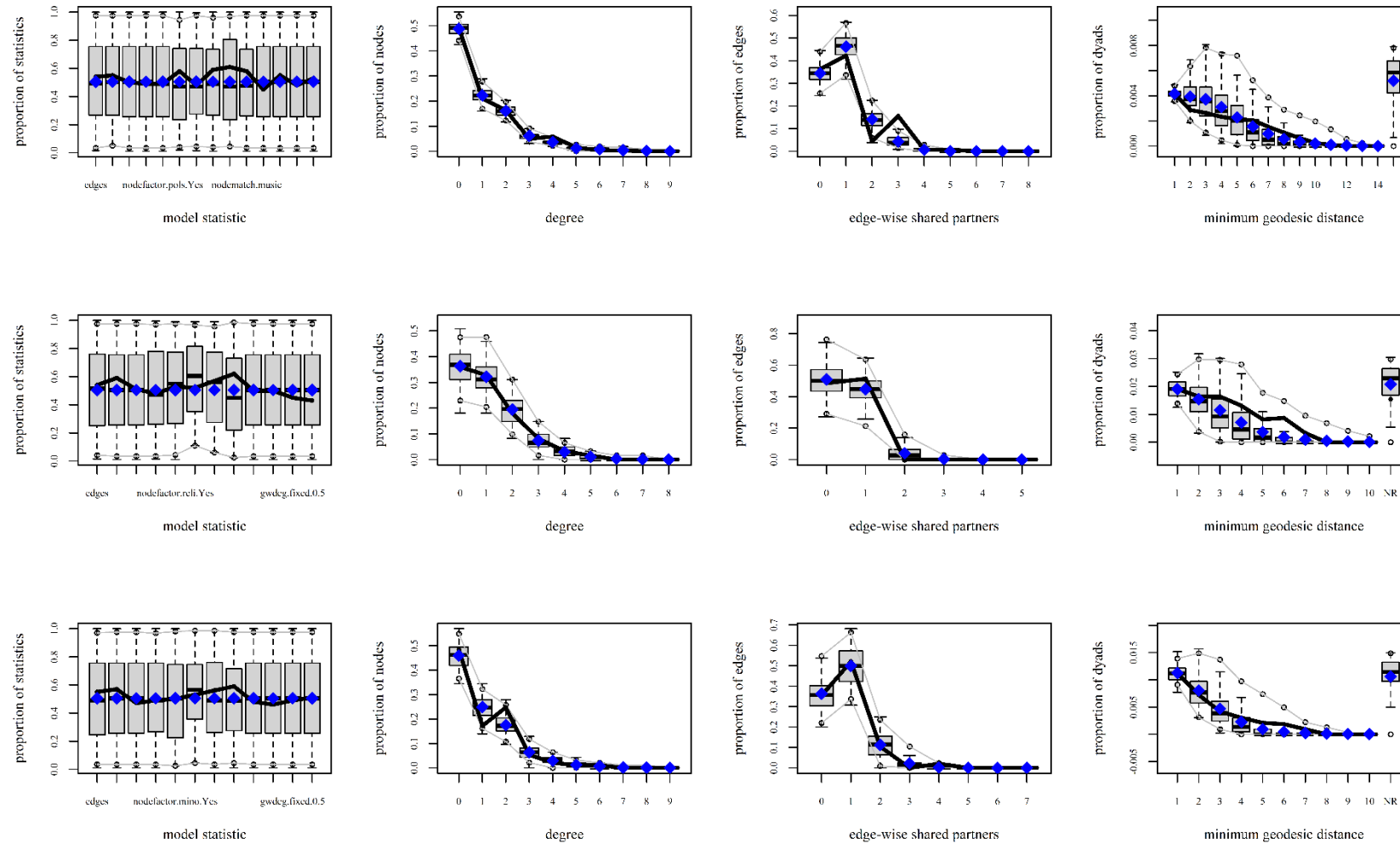


Figure S6. Goodness-of-fit diagnostics for the Exponential Random Graph Models (ERGMs). Black lines represent statistics from the observed network, while boxplots show the distribution of values from simulated networks. The top panels display diagnostics for the model using the complete dataset (Model 7). The central panels correspond to the model fitted to the Leningrad sub-network (Model 9), and the bottom panels represent the model fitted to the Moscow sub-network (Model 11).

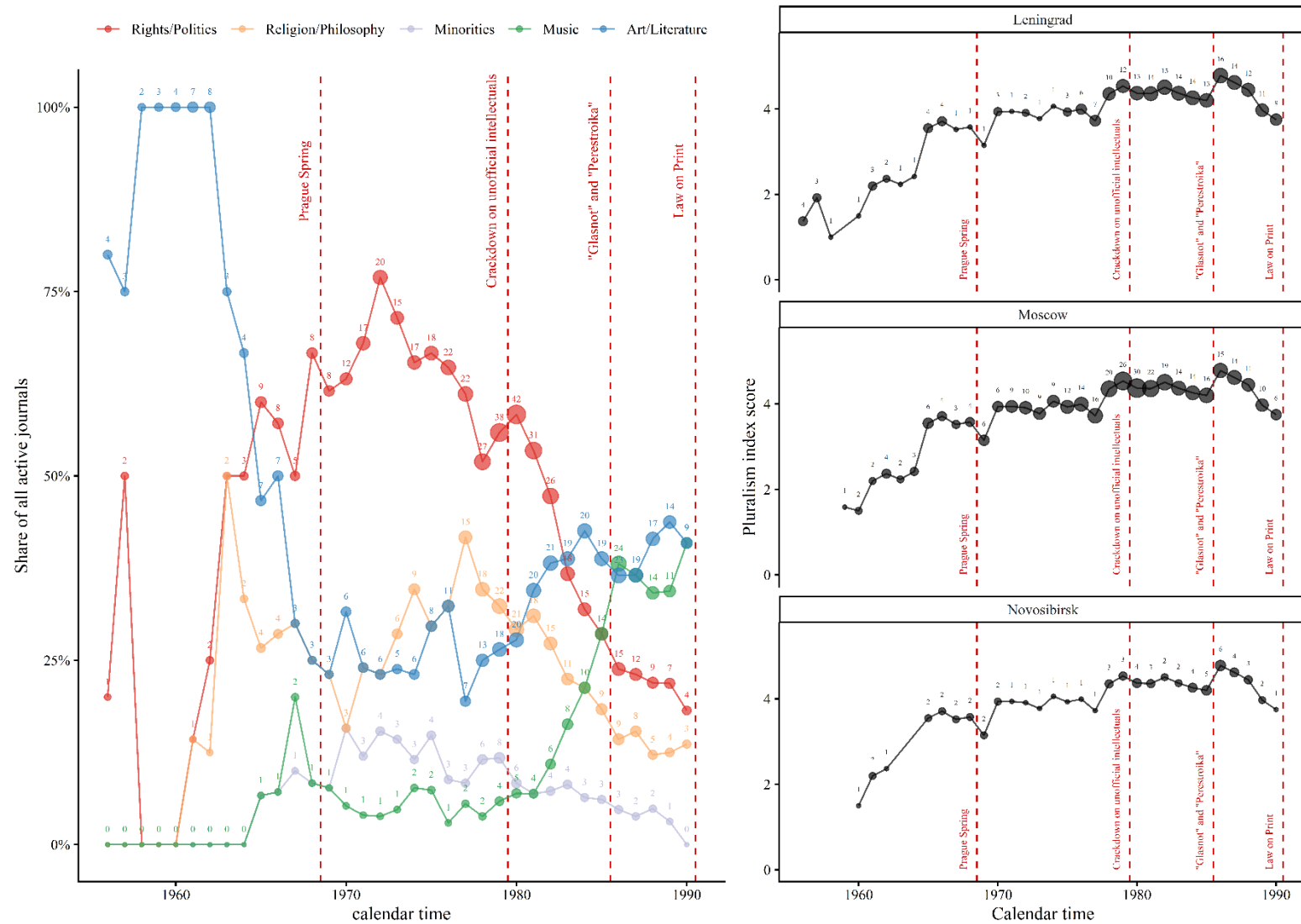


Figure S7. Left panel: Subject-specific composition of the active samizdat periodicals by year (sample sizes indicating total active journals are provided above each data point). Right panel: Annual pluralism index scores for the three principal samizdat centers—Leningrad, Moscow, and Novosibirsk—with corresponding yearly periodical counts.