CORVINUS UNIVERSITY OF BUDAPEST

LESSONS OF A PUBLIC CONSULTATION

PhD THESIS

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Institute of Behavioural Science and Communication Theory

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Writing a dissertation is a long process that requires profound disquisition. For its success, beside the time dimension the sources of inspiration are equally important.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

In parallel with my doctoral studies I started to work in the field of European development policy and policy communication. As I got more into depth in my doctoral research and in my professional life, the similarities underlying the practical and theoretical spheres became more and more obvious, therefore I decided to focus on both of them in my dissertation. What I got really interested in, is the social world, notedly, the widely understood significance of communication that with its own dynamics, structures, systems and subsystems – and with the interrelations of these systems and their environment – construct and maintain society.

Both explicitly and implicitly the central role of my thesis is given to rational public deliberation, especially to its online form. I consider the characterisation of trust, and the questions of identity – both from social-communicational viewpoint and social psychological aspects – a crucial notion. I tend to base my conceptualization of public discourse on the theoretical frames provided by Jürgen Habermas's discussion on public sphere, whereas I intend to elaborate on the recent trends of digital communication and online publicity. I also consider the idea of participatory democracy important, which in parallel with the study of public sphere, functions as a place where public opinion is transformed into political action.

Being derived from the paradoxical nature of the scientific discipline the concept of trust is a direct component of most social notion, vision that I tend to challenge with an alternative interpretation which can be applied as an operational manner for surveying trust in its empirical and social allocation, without disregarding questions of validity in real social aspects, where trust plays a direct or indirect role in the basis of most public interactions. Beside the abstract notions of trust I plan to discuss some recent research results that show the increasing amount of institutional mistrust occuring in post-communist countries. The notion of trust is one of the most widely researched terms in Hungarian sociological research, therefore I plan to devote a part of my dissertation to the approaches of trust from a Hungarian perspective.

Through my threefold research – the comparative analysis – with the methodological help of discourse analysis – of two online public consultations in the topic of the use of 2014-2020 development funds, and the qualitative interview research functioning as a backup survey I intend to discuss questions and to prove or confute statements (1) concerning the relationship between online consultations and the space for inclusive public deliberation; (2) networks of interest created through online consultations; (3) online interaction generating greater trust between representatives and represented; and the (4) quality of online discussion, moreover (5) the role of online public consultation sphere in such government and citizen relationships where the probability of personal encounter is rather low; and (6) relationships towards time and space. Finally I plan to draw conclusions of the lessons of a public consultation.

The present PhD dissertation has its novelty in its topic choice itself. According to my knowledge it is among the first academic researches carried out in the field of rational public deliberation aiming at analysing the public consultation concerning the 2014-2020 European Union development funds from a social communication aspect. It is thus among the first ones written in English and examining the special Hungarian context. I find this paper an especially important one addressing the recent challenges of e-government, e-administration and consultative politics. Centering and emphasizing the concept of trust I aimed at reflecting on the institutional loss of trust emerging in Europe, particularly in the post-socialist countries in the years of 2010.

PART I

CHAPTER 1

1. Conceptualizing the term *public consultation*

In this part I tend to describe the concept of public consultation – which is the central term of my dissertation – the terminology that is used to describe the types of interaction connected to it, and the various forms by which the public's opinion is asked. According to the *OECD Background Document on Public Consultation* (2006), it is one of the key regulatory tools employed to improve transparency, efficiency and effectiveness of government regulation. In general, consulting the public can have three different forms including notification, consultation and participation.[1] Notification is a one-way form of communication, in which the public plays a passive role. It is usually the first step of consultation. Consultation requires the active involvement of the affected target group, in form of opinion expression, which can be a constant dialogue with the government. It is a two-way communication which occurs at any stage of the decision making process carried out by the government, from problem identification, through brainstorming to evaluation of existing regulation. Participation is the target group's active form of interaction, either being realized in making comments on an existing document or taking part in the drafting of legally binding documents. Governments usually prefer the participation of target groups in decision making processes, when they want greater commitment to the legislation's results or obvious form of consesus for future reference.

Public consultation on the other hand, increases the amount of information available to the government, in the past few years becoming one of the best tools to improve quality in regulation by *"bringing into the discussion the expertise of those directly effected, helping regulators in balancing opposing interests, and providing a quality check on the administration's assessment"*.[2] The mentioned OECD document describes five ways in which public consultation can be performed – depending on the nature of the topic to be discussed and the type of expertise needed – among

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[1] *Background Document on Public Consultation* , OECD Code. 10th March 2006. p.1.
[2] *Background Document on Public Consultation*, OECD Code. 10th March 2006. p. 2.

which we can mention informal consultation, proposals for public comment (in most cases the Internet is used for this purpose), public notice-and-comment, public hearings and advisory bodies.

Informal consultation is the fastest and most flexible form of public survey, that can be carried out through phone calls, personal emails, or meeting with interest groups. However its disadvantage is the limited access of the affected groups, meanwhile its transparency and accountability being questionable. It is widely used and accepted in the United Kingdon, France, Japan and Canada.

Proposals for public comment are the most widely used and rather inexpensive forms of consultation. It is a more structured form of survey where reply is provided in a written way, but oral contributions are also accepted. Yet, again the disadvantage of this type of survey is its limited accessibility. Bigger and more influential interest groups can easily be reached, but smaller professional organizations are difficult to be asked.

Public notice-and-comment is even more structured and formal than the previous two types of surveys. At the same time it is more open, inclusive and reachable for target groups and for the wider public. Despite its openness, research results show that in most countries participation of the general public remains at a low level, except for discussion on controversial topics, that lead to high participation. This type of consultation is widespread in the United States, Canada, Portugal, Denmark and Japan. Hungary is mentioned among those countries that apply it on an ad hoc basis.

Public hearings in general are seldom carried out on their own, but as part of other form of consultations. It is usually carried out in an ad hoc way (together with notice-and-comment). Its advantage is its openness to the public, however invitations are circulated in a tight round, therefore being quite inaccessible. It is formal in character with a limited possibility of debate for participants. It is particularly widespread in the United States, Germany, Finland and Canada.

According to the OECD study in majority of the countries the most popular form of consultation is the use of advisory bodies at all stages of the regulatory process. Many different types of advisory bodies are consulted such as committees, councils, commissions, the common feature they own, is the defined mandate they have and that they include non-government members. The two main types of advisory bodies are the interest groups and expert groups. Former consisting of members affected by the regulation, latter consisting of members outside of the scope of regulation.

In general it can be concluded that according to the OECD study in its member states the most popular and common regulatory tool by which the government communicates with citizens is public consultation. One of its main reasons, is the push coming from the side of civil society and the recent changes occuring between government and population relationship, combined with the advancement and spread of information technology. Key word of such consultations should be openness and transparency aiming at answering the following question: *"Have all interested parties had the opportunity to present their views?"* (OECD; 2002:7).

1.1. Modern society as an agora

Several examples of best practices can be found europewide for the execution of a public consultation both online and offline. Hence, in Hungary the use of the Internet for such purpose is still not widespread, only a few consultations were carried out via the Internet so far. The public consultation connected to the use of the 2014-2020 development funds, which I tend to analyse in my dissertation, was carried out both ways, therefore I find it necessary to discuss the conditions that provide public participation online and offline. I consider the platform of the Internet as a sphere for online participatory democracy, whereas I think of the offline consultation as public sphere – similar to the one discussed by Habermas at first.

In the following I tend to describe the similarities and differences (starting from the works of Habermas and Luhmann) between the online and offline platform. The necessary conditions for the realization of the online participatory democracy tend

to be that society considers itself a social network, Amitai Etzioni called it a "*webs of people*" (Etzioni, 1995: IX), rather than an information society. In order that an online public consultation to be successful, members of society should be able to acquire the competences necessary for participation in a social network, while government officials beside acting in accordance with their own corporate culture, should be able to apply the habits and practices of the online sphere. Proceeding from the term 'public life' used in classical sociology, I tend to describe the difference between the online and offline public sphere, moreover, how opportunities offered by the Internet can be used in public life.

Publicity and participation in public affairs is part of the premises of political public thinking. According to Papacharissi "*when thinking of the public, one envisions open exchanges of political thoughts and ideas, such as those that took place in ancient Greek agoras*" (Papacharissi, 2002:10). Whereas Tocqueville[3] says in his work *Democracy in America*, that "*participation in public affairs contributed significantly to an individual's sense of existence and self-respect*" (Tocqueville, 1990:34). Moreover, Dewey emphasises that "*inquiry and communication are the basis for a democratic society*" and highlighted the advantages of group deliberation over the decision of a single immensity (Dewey, 1927:78).

Public sphere has changed a lot in the second half of the 20th century, the online sphere has enlarged the possibility of citizen participation, at the same time challenging the actors of public administration. Publicity in traditional social structure differs a lot from that of the online communication sphere. Several models and theories are at our disposal about offline public sphere, among which the most remarkable is Jürgen Habermas's *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* and his *Theory of Communicative Action* and Niklas Luhmann's critique on social theory (as a response to Habermas' work) in his writing about social systems. I plan to deal with Habermas' theory more in depth as a reference to ideal speech situation – however I do not consider the analysed public consultation as an example of ideal speech situation, it is more a precedent to a hierarchical one – I still consider

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[3] It might be unusual to contrast and compare authors from different eras (like Papacharissi, Tocqueville, Dewey) however my aim was to show how important the act of participation and group deliberation was in political decision making since centuries.

the model a remarkable one to mention before discussing the characteristics of publicity and digital literacy of the 21st century.

Habermas describes public sphere as a place where individuals gather to discuss societal problems and to influence political action and decision through their contribution. *"Public sphere was coextensive with public authority"* (Habermas, 1989:30) Nancy Fraser calls it *"a theatre in modern societies in which political participation is enacted through the medium of talk"* (Fraser, 1990:45), while Asen describes it as *"a realm of social life in which public opinion can be formed"* (Asen, 1999:12). In general the study of public sphere is built on the idea of participatory democracy and the way in which public opinion is transformed in political action. In public sphere theory it is believed that government's laws and policies should be steered by the public sphere, this is why I see a determining parallel between Habermas's idea and the governing logic behind the public consultion carried out concerning the use of the 2014-2020 development funds by the government of Hungary (asking the beneficiaries about the best possible utilization of the development sources).

Habermas's concept of the ideal public sphere is connected to the 19th century coffee houses and salons, where bourgeois private people came together as a public, to negotiate and to engage themselves in debates over social issues. Those debates were always built on rational arguments and were inclusive in character, as Habermas pointed out the preconditions for the emergence of the new public sphere were the three *"institutional criteria: disregard of status, domain of common concern and inclusivity"* (Habermas, 1989:36). He argues that the philosophical role of publicity is the moral and social coordination of human lifeworld. Publicity at the same time is the guarantee and precondition of democracy, because only public discussions can reveal public opinion and public interest, that has to be taken into account by public authorities. The ideal speech situation is not a fiction, when speakers aim at consensus and mutual understanding, they presuppose the existence of the conditions of the ideal speech situation in order to be able to differentiate between the real and pseudo consensus. However as I have already mentioned, concerning my PhD research we cannot talk about an ideal speech situation but about a speech situation that is characterized by a subordinated relationship between

the commenters of the examined public consultation (carried out in relation to the execution of the 2014-2020 development funds) and members of the Hungarian government.

According to Habermas the rise of the public sphere didn't last long, which has two basic reasons: in order to restrain the more agressive expansion of capitalism and in order to be able to provide more and more welfare services the state started to intrude more and more in citizens' life. Secondly, as the notion of democracy has stiffened, and as the right to vote has broadened, so had the bourgeoisie lost its key role.

In reality different problems and particularities can be detected, like the access to the Internet and participation in online forums and discussions can in fact be limited. The legislative and executive power is directly present in the online public sphere as well, like in the offline communication sphere. In theory the Internet is a decentralized platform, without any dominant domain or network intersection, in practice these platforms can easily be centralized.

For Habermas the concept of communication appears as a certain type of action (this is why his theory was named communicative action theory). He debated about this issue with Niklas Luhmann, his fellow social scientist, according to whom, the social system, which functions as the basis of society, is constructed by communications, according to Luhmann society is not a system of human beings but that of communications. Human beings, their biology and psychology is not part of society, it cannot even be, because society is constructed by communications not by human beings.

Although looking at it from different perspectives online public sphere can be described both by Luhmann's and Habermas's theory. If we define online participatory democracy as a speech act, then online communication (proposal, recommendation, drafting, commenting – like the activities done my the participants of the public consultation) can really be regarded as communicative action, which serves social consensus. It is based on the idea, that a larger part of the public is involved in political discussion and decision making or in the preparation of a political decision (expression of opinion can not only happen every four year

through parliamentary elections), this is how the mechanism of public consultation works from this point of view. In case we consider the functioning of online public sphere, as one which can only work in a communicative way, we arrive to Luhmann's point of view, namely that society cannot function without communication, otherwise we can only talk about an unorderly aggregate group of people. Still from this point of view arises the question: How can online discussion (or the results of online discussion) be used in offline political decision making? The answer only depends on the decision makers' attitude, whether the online discussion and offline decision making is capable of structurally connecting to each other.

The notion of online participatory democracy strenghtened simultaneously with the development of web2 applications. I intend to elaborate on recent technological developments in the following chapters of my writing. The realization of online participatory democracy takes the first place in citizens' interest: it means immediate feedback, rapid articulation of opinions and faster decision making than in case of representative democracy. On the other hand, it has a positive effect on the state and on its decision makers, through the realization of quick opinion flow from the citizens' side, instant feedback, faster and more effective administration. A public consultation functioning as communicative scene and social platform can provide all the necessary facilities for the realization of such participatory democracy. Beside the positive effects, the possible negative ones also have to be taken into account, like impersonalization and scattering of social movements (organizations), destructive critiques from the state's side affecting participants, while administration may count with the threat of consulters' mechanical opinion formation.

1.2. Information and knowledge in network society

Beside the paradigm of information society this subpart aims to present the notion of social network, through which traditional public life can exploit the opportunities offered by the Internet. The practical interface of connecting the online and offline decision making can be the World Wide Web. This term refers on one hand to the

technical apparatus, on the other hand to the communicative functions formed with its help, through which a public sphere can be constituted. Agre (1998a:45) describes the Internet as a *"meta-medium: a set of layered services that make it easy to construct new media with almost any properties one likes"*. While DiMaggio refers to the Internet as to *"technical infrastructure and to uses to which this infrastructure is put"*, he also says that Internet is unique because *"it integrates both the different modalities of communication and different kinds of context in a single medium"* (DiMaggio 2001:308).

The industrial era came to an end for the developed countries in the 1960s, and they entered a new paradigm that the public called *information society*. Armand Mattelart describes the notion of information society as a dominant paradigm for social change in the 21st century, emphasising its impact as multiform and transdisciplinary, at the same time assessing the ways in which it has been conceptualised as a theoretical concept and a policy making tool. He cites Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, who created the term post-industrial society, by which in the early 1910s he forsaw the approaching fall of industrial civilization and the return to the decentralised societies (Mattelart 2003:78). The predicted process began before World War II with the researches of Turning, Shannon and their colleagues concerning automatization, since when the emphasis has been drifted from production to information management. According to Negroponte (1999:23) the era of atoms has been exchanged with that of the bytes.

Parallel to the industrial and commercial changes a great deal of transformation could be detected in society and in political decision making mechanisms. The social paradigm is characterised not only by having the information but also by applying it. For the description of such a society the metaphor of network is used, according to which we can talk about *knowledge society* or *network society*, in which acquiring the knowledge depends on the position occupied in the network, moreover participation in the network is a precondition of social action. Naughton in his work the *Contested Space* describes the Internet as a vitally important area for civil society, he writes that *"while more powerful economic and political interests dominate traditional media, the Internet has allowed the voices of ordinary citizens and organizations lacking strong financial resources to be heard"*. He also refers to the Internet as a means that has brought unprecedented benefits for civil society,

according to him "*the facilities it* (the Internet) *provides for accessing information, communicating, publishing and organizing evince a tremendous democratising potential*". As he says later on in his work "*the network appears to promise the realisation of Thomas Paine's dream of a society in which everyone has a voice*".

The concept of global civil society is used both in military and diplomatic language, but its existence is surrounded by numerous practical problems. The Internet like 'unrestricted publicity', as the ground of 'freedom of speech' in real life can only be idealtype. It seems as if the global political scene and the Internet communicative scene are opposing each other, however on small scales of public life, at national, regional or local public policy level there are examples of good usage and application of online functions. Traditionally meant public life can utilize the opportunities offered by the Internet in two ways: in political decision making (public policy, public preparation of decision making, public consultations, electoral campaigns, etc.) and in public administration (e-government, e-administration, digital signature, etc.). In the following chapters of my dissertation I will mainly deal with the usage of Internet and public life in political decision making.

1.3. The concept of system and lifeworld in context of the Internet

The following part aims to explore how the communicative sphere of the Internet can be regarded as public or privat sphere and in what way do the characteristics of the Internet differ from that of other media types. For a theoretical background I plan to draw on Habermas' description of modernity as consisting of system and lifeworld. The theory will be used as a framework for the discussion about the emergence of the Internet, focusing from the lifeworld oriented point of view to nowadays' reality, which is a sphere of private entities interlaced by regulation and commercialization. In describing the Internet as a new communicative sphere I will focus on its functional characteristics and the kind of similarities and differences it shows with other media. Moreover, the theory of system and lifeworld will further be used to describe the Internet as public versus private sphere.

System and *lifeworld* are two key terms in Habermas' discussion about modernity, where these concepts represent two different forms of action spheres: a lifeworld with communicative actions aiming at mutual understanding and a system with instrumental/strategic actions oriented to success (Habermas 1991: 258). Lifeworld stays for individuals' worldview and serves as a framework for their communicative actions. Lifeworld is constituted by three components: culture, society and personality, which represent a basis and a resource that functions as background for individuals' ideology formation and how they adjust to society surrounding them. The cultural aspect refers to the language and cultural heritage, while social aspect is constituted of rules and norms that frame proper social behaviour, therefore, ensure problem-free social integration. The personality aspect refers to individual capacities acquired during the socialisation process (Habermas 1992:138).

An important characteristic of the lifeworld is its function as principle for communicative actions. As the lifeworld represents the cultural and linguistic understanding of the world it gets a context forming and a constitutive function as well. As context, lifeworld serves as a horizon of meanings on which individuals' draw when communicating. On the other hand, the constitutive function refers to the structural boundaries that language represents, which influences individuals' worldview. As Habermas states, it is through communicative action that individuals reproduce the lifeworld and sustain their cultural and linguistic heritage.

Originating from the concept of communicative action the term public sphere and public opinion can be more carefully scrutinized. According to Habermas events and occasions are public when they, in contrast to closed events and exclusive affairs are open to all members of society like in the sense we regard public places or public houses (Habermas 1989:1). The public sphere appears as a specific area, the public versus private, where communicative action can flourish and form public opinion (Ibid:2). It is through communicative actions in the public sphere that lifeworld gains its potential for opposing the system (Ibid:4). While lifeworld has a symbolic characteristic, system has a material one. System stands for societies' economic and administrative organization, that cannot be reproduced through communicative action only through political power and money. System is a social sphere without specific norms and regulations where economic and political subsystems are

regulated by language free media. [4] Because these media are not constituted by communicative actions they provide place for much faster and more effective cooperation.

Habermas uses the terms system and lifeworld to describe modern societies with two main trends. Firstly, an increasing complexity, where discussions are still mediated by money and power, that function as the system's media, and where even more subsystems are brought to live in order to maintain this complexity. Secondly, a growing separation of system and lifeworld – that is social aggregation and system integration. Habermas solicitously describes this progress, because the system is more and more diverged from norms and values, in which it should be rooted (Habermas 1992:154). He is optimistic about the possibility of communicative actions regaining the relationship between system and lifeworld.

The disparity between social and system integration is one of the major distinctions between the way of thinking of Habermas and Luhmann. Luhmann does not differenciate between system and lifeworld, only between different subsystems. Thus, different system perspectives substitute lifeworld as a common linguistic and cultural basis. Modern societies are mainly constructed of media-mediated subsystems, that aim to reduce subtleness. Through this process, the system creates an inner complexity, with the help of its media, such as money, power or love. The inner complexity represents the level of outer complexity, which the system is capable to deal with (Luhmann 1993: Chapter 1:II). Despite the mentioned differences between Habermas's and Luhmann's conceptualization of modern society, there are some common features, like increased complexity and feasibility and system differentiation. Both of them emphasise the importance of communication, whether to attenuate complexity (Luhmann's viewpoint) or to build a relationship between lifeworld and system (as Habermas thinks).

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[4] According to Habermas media excite some linguistic particularities, like the structure of ascending and rectifying claims, while the structure of mutual understanding is not reproduced (Habermas 1992: 263).

1.3.1 Internet's function as lifeworld

In the following subsection I tend to evolve on how Habermas' theory of lifeworld and system can be used to describe the modern information society, focusing on the emergence of the Internet from an early chaotic stage to a more and more system controlled agenda. In the 1990s the new term of cyberspace[5] was introduced by the American author William Gibson and its use spread in Western Europe. Cyberspace arose from the replacement of certain devices of control. The one-to-many characteristic of mass media was substituted by a device, where every individual could participate. *"The space promised a kind of society that real space could never allow – freedom without anarchy, control without government, consensus without power"* (Lessig 1999:4).

Referring to Habermas's theory it can be said that Internet, at its beginnings showed the probability of an empowered lifeworld, by providing the possible circumstance for a communicative sphere free of system influence. In cyberspace, society could reestablish its public sphere, which was lost in the tangibleness of modern societies, where the ancient Greek agora-like meetings were replaced by mass media. In cyberspace everyone could make his/her voice be heard, since there were no gatekeepers[6] who could prevent the individual from public appearance, which is an important factor for participation in public sphere. If individuals do not appear publicly, their voice cannot be heard, their face cannot be seen, they remain unknown and unexisting as a public voice. *"Only in the light of the public sphere did that which existed become revealed, did everything become visible to all. In the discussion among citizens' issues were made topical and took on shape"* (Habermas 1989:4).

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[5] Gibson characterised cyberspace in the following way: *"A consensual hallucination experienced daily by billions of legitimate operators, in every nation, by children being taught mathematical concepts… Unthinkable complexity. Lines of light ranged in the non-space of the mind, clusters and constellations of data. Like city lights, receding "*. (Gibson 1984:51)

[6] Kurt Lewin in his *book Forces Behind Food Habits and Methods of Change* (in 1943) was the first to identify the word gatekeeping – he applied the concept to the food chain using the example of a woman being the person deciding what food is placed on her family's dinner table. Later he further developed the idea to how it can change the communication channels. The first author to turn Lewin's idea a journalistic term was David Manning White in the 1950s – Thereafter in the 1970s the significance of the influence of gatekeepers' decisions were further developed by Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw in their construction of the *Agenda Setting Theory*.

If we scrutinize Habermas' description of public opinion, we can realise why the apperception of cyberspace was such a promising idea for a stronger public sphere. Based on C.W. Mills' distinctions, Habermas characterised the evolution of public opinion in the following way: (1) virtually the same amount of people express opinion the same way they receive them, (2) public communication is so well organized that instant reply becomes possible. Opinions formed by such discussions (3) immediately find an output in effective action, and (4) authoritative institutions do not imbibe the public, which is therefore mostly independent in its functioning (Habermas 1989: 249). Some of the pecularities, especially the equal possibility of receiving and expressing opinions, are the particular features that differenciate Internet from traditional mass media, as we will see in the following subpart of my dissertation.

Habermas emphasises that opinions are no longer public opinions when they are confounded in the communicative structure of 'mass'. This is on account of the characteristics of mass media such as (1) far less people express opinions than receive them, therefore the community of publics become an abstract collection of individuals who receive impressions from the mass media. (2) The dominant communications are so organized that the immediate, effective reaction of the individual becomes cumbersome. (3) The crowd is not independent from institutions, inversely, agents of authorised institutions penetrate this mass (Habermas 1989:249). Thus, the public sphere of modern society dominated by mass media has partly lost its pre-modern prospect forming public opinion.

Habermas also discussed the alteration of "opinion power structure" when exposing the formation of communication in the public sphere, accordingly, the urge to protect the diversity of the public dialogue from the public itself. "*Wherever the apparently no less arbitrary power of the public itself had taken the place of princely power, the accusation of intolerance was now leveled against the public opinion that had become prevalent*" (Habermas 1989: 134).

The early conception of cyberspace held the promise for the revival of the public sphere, a sphere free from traditional power structures, relying on consensus-oriented communication by the participants. Coming from this idea, Internet symbolised the possibility for strenghtening communicative actions.

Before the appearence of the Internet online public sphere was characterised by mass media as the main transmitter of public opinion. With the contribution of mass media, public dialogue was defecated by news editors, who decided which information to broadcast. Using Luhmann's system terminology, we can say that mass media acts according to a communicative code, that appoints which information to be selected for publishing and which information not (Qvortrup 2001:237). The media cannot impart all available information, or voice every public opinion, therefore system selection becomes necessary. The public act as information producer, by creating 'saleable stories', but mainly they behave as passive information receivers. The press has the role of public watchdog or gatekeeper of the public sphere, but since they are also bound by the system of power and money, therefore they represent both lifeworld and system interests.

With the emergence of the Internet, the public gained a communication sphere, where every individual had the possibility to express opinion. On the Internet, filtered mass media communication is replaced by a communication, where in the chain of information exchange the individual acts as both information producer and receiver. Cyberspace therefore has the potential of providing space for a more diverse and varied dialogue and opinion formation, thus strenghtening the public discourse and sphere. An interactive public sphere, where an agreement aspiring discussion takes place, supplements the sense of maintaining mass media. The prerequisite of this empowered cyberspace is the presence of information listeners and information providers, because public appearance is meaningless if no one listens.

1.3.2. An emerging communicative sphere, called the Internet

This part plans to examine the importance of Internet as a new communicative sphere, focusing on its differences from and similarities with other media, especially the role of public and private entities regulating the sphere. The discussion does not intend to give an outline of the technical characteristics of the Internet, rather to give a description of the functional features. As I mentioned before *network* is the term most properly being used to characterise the Internet. "*The Internet is a physical or*

tangible entity, but rather a giant network, which interconnects innumerable smaller groups of linked computer networks. It is thus a network of networks". (District Court on CDA:4). Internet is free and open in the sense that no institutional, governmental corporate entity administers it. There is no centralised storage location, control point or communication channel and it would not be technically feasible for a single entity to control the Internet (Ibid:5). Internet allows for any individual to access and exchange information and communication. These communications can occur instantly and towards certain individuals, a group of people or the whole world. Internet allows a two-directional communication, where users are both receivers and senders of information, and also allows a variety of communication methods. The most common functions can be discussed based on the following six categories (Ibid 7-11, modified).

- one-to-one communication (e-mail or chat)
- one-to-many communication (listserv or chat)
- many-to-many communication (newsgroups or chat)
- real time remote computer usage (telnet)
- information gathering (world wide web)
- publishing information (Internet)

One-to-one communication is provided by email, including personal messages, which allows users to send messages and receive them from one or more people. The message itself can be read via the intermediary computers.

One-to-many communication is provided by listserv, an automatic mailing list service providing communication space about particular topics to a closed group of people. Listserv can either be open or closed. It is open in the sense that free modification within the mailing list by adding or removing members is possible, on the other hand, being closed means that the list is moderated by an administrator.

Many-to-many communication is possible through distributed message databases, newsgroups. These are open discussion on a particular topic, (no listserv is needed) which can be accessed any time.

Real time remote computer utilization allows accessing information from a far away provider, like being connected to a library online.

For the purpose of *collecting information* the most widely used method is browsing the Internet, which is a platform that stores documents, from which individual and institutions retrieve and share information.

World wide web also allows publishing information. Making information available requires that publishers have a computer device with W3C server software connected to the Internet. Publishing can either be open to all web users or to a limited group of people.

Following the brief overview of the functional characteristics of the Internet, I plan to examine how Internet differs from other types of media.

1.3.3. Internet and other types of media

In 1996 the European Commission declared: "*A unique characteristic of the Internet is that it functions simultaneously as a medium for publishing and for communication. Unlike in the case of traditional media, the Internet supports a variety of communication modes...at any given time a receiver can and does become a content provider, of his own accord or through "re-posting" of content by a third party. The Internet is therefore radically different from traditional broadcasting and telecommunication service*". (COM 96, 487:7).

By comparing the functionality of the Internet with those of telephone, mass media and common-interest assemblies I plan to illustrate the essence of the above quotation.

Telephone (one-to-one communication): similarly to the telephone Internet makes it possible for individuals and smaller groups the real time communication, regardless of place. Moreover Internet also provides users to instantly exchange messages with large groups of people making it possible for a less costly communication.

Mass media (one-to-many communication): like radio, television and newspaper, Internet also makes the transmission of the message available to a large audience. Opposed to mass media the Internet allows any user to become a publisher. Where mass media represents a closed, edited communication system, the Internet holds an open, interactive communication sphere where everyone can be both speaker and listener. [7]

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[7] "It follows that unlike traditional media, the barriers to entry as a speaker on the Internet do not differ significantly from the barriers to entry as a listener. Once one has entered cyberspace, one may engage in the dialogue that occurs there" (District Court on CDA:16).

Remembering Habermas's prerequisites for the formation of public opinion, we can state that Internet's interactive characteristics ensure a communicative sphere that is essentially different from mass media and provides space for interaction, dialogue, disagreement. *"The programs sent by the new media curtail the reactions of their recipients in a peculiar way. They draw the eyes and ears of the public under their spell but at the same time, by taking away its distance, place it under "tutelage" which is to say they deprive it of the opportunity to say something and to disagree"* (Habermas 1989:171). Whereas mass media is a representation of lifeworld, a means for public sphere, the Internet is public sphere itself, providing the opportunity of participation to the public. There is a difference between the cost factor as well. While mass media can be described by large production and distribution costs, the marginal cost of Internet communication tends to be very low. [8]

Common interest communities (many-to-many communication) the Internet can also provide place for common-intereset communities, which work similarly to offline, physical world assemblies, their advantage is that, they are independent of physical location and users have more possibilities to find interest groups worldwide.

1.3.4. Internet in the late modern period

Although I started Chapter 1.3.3. with a 1996 quotation of the Internet, extracted from a European Commission document I am aware of the fact that the Internet is a rapidly growing phenomenon, therefore I devote the present part of my discussion to the peculiarities of the Internet that characterize this sphere in the 21st century.

From a historical perspective the development of Internet technologies show, that in early days it served highly specialized purposes and was mainly limited to technological experts' use. Nowadays, the Internet can be characterized as the fastest growing communication technology of all times. Research has found that people spend hours each day on the Web (Pidd 2009: 3). [9] Since the years 2000 several changes and developments happened in the world of digital communication and digital technology. According to Chadwick "the Internet and digital technologies have not only provided

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[8] In the pre-modern stage of the print media also the press was characterised by low production cost and many small publishers (Habermas 1989:168)

[9] A research carried out by Pidd in 2009 shows that on average people spend 29% of their leisure time surfing the Web, however this number might have changed in the previous years due to the rapidly growing characteristics of this device.

the means to find, buy and sell products but they have also created an environment for building communities, where likeminded people can network, socialize and be entertained". (Chadwick 2012:670). The development of social networking sites such as Facebook, LinkedIn, Google+ and Twitter had a tremendous effect on global society. The emergence of social media provided voice to masses of individuals, businesses and communities worldwide. For example, in 2000 around 1.5 million users in China[10] had access to the Internet. Now we can talk about 674 million users, [11] which equals a 49.5% Internet penetration per head of population – in Europe the average is 73.5%.

Social media in general has three different constituents that have to be discussed: social, media and network. Tuten and Solomon (2013:24) argue that *social* elements involve thinking:

>*"about social media as the way digital natives live a social life …. it is all about a culture of participations; a belief in democracy, the ability to freely interact with other people, companies and organizations"*The term *media* also needs to be discussed separately. In the social context the technology encourages different forms of online activities. Based on Chadwick the following examples can be mentioned (2012: 672):

- social community media: that makes it possible the sharing of ideas, interests, having conversations (like Facebook and LinkedIn)
- social publishing media: which allows members to distribute contents, movies, photos, audios (eg: youtube, pintrest, flickr)
- social commerce media: that enables buying, selling, trading, building relationships (like Tripadvisor, Groupon, Facebook)
- social entertainment media which allows game playing and entertainment (eg: come2play, Zynga)

Network is the third term to be mentioned. On one hand it refers to the underlying technology, which makes all the above mentioned activities possible. If we consider the social community of Facebook, the network element can be the message board, the forum that fosters communication. While networks can also be the interconnections

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[10] Chadwick carries out a research about the Internet penetration in China
[11] The statistical data are based on surveys shown on www.internetworldstats.com (latest download 2016.04.29.)

between community members. The more extensive the number of members and interactions the more fascinating the network becomes to all those affected. To sum up, social (life), media (environment) and network (interconnections – technology and human) are three elements that have to conjoin in order to generate the fastest growing and most rapidly changing online phenomenon. (Chadwick 2012:672)

 In digital age the focus is on the Internet that fostered the creation of a global network of computers which brings forth the infrastructure for all online activities. Wireless networks make it possible for remote Internet access. Mobile and satellite technologies have revolutionized the communication industry. As discussed in Martin's article, the Tesco uses mobile and satellite technology throughout the supply chain, at the shopper end there is a Tesco.app which enables customers to add the shopping list to their smartphone which then generates a map showing the shortest way to the product. (Martin 2011: 12)

Convergence is a key element in the escalation of the use of digital technology, which refers to bringing together funcions that were previously performed separately. For example smartphones include and combine the functions of telephones, cameras, computers, audio systems. Convergence makes it possible to perform several tasks while using only one device. Platforms are switching from analogue to digital, from fixed to wireless. Convergence has also stimulated the development of cloud computing[12] and the access to multimedia content, similarly to the use of cookies[13].

Social media and social networking can be considered fairly new phenomena that have an effect on the way certain sectors of society communicate. According to Prensky digital natives, keyboard warriors and serial bloggers live parts of their life online in virtual communities like the participatory content-creation platforms, including Facebook, Biip, Pintrest or Weibo (2001:4). A virtual environment was created with the help of the Internet that coated the planet and created a platform for a vast amount of activities. Social networking is the most diffusive so far. Compared to the radio which took almost 40 years to reach 50 million listeners, television took 13 years to have the same amount, but for the Internet only took 4 years to have 50 million users, moreover,

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[12] The term refers to the technological solution that all documents can be stored in a single remote location.
[13] Cookies are digital mechanisms that recognize log-in details and store user's preferences (Chadwick 2012: 676).

within less than 1 year more than 100 million people had a Facebook account (Tuten and Solomon, 2013:19). According to the survey carried out by Kiss (2011: 20) Facebook users share 3 million links, tag 4 million photos, upload almost 9 million pictures, and post over 30 million comments every hour. Furthermore the research has found that 66% of Internet users aged between 18 and 49 partake in social networking sites. According to the research, from the outset, age is a key determinant of social network users. Young people under 30 are more likely to use social networking sites than any other age group, therefore social media campaigns increasingly target young audiences, however the number of Internet users over the age of 65 is increasing. Several online communities are engaged in various interests from art to education but the vast majority of communities deals with socializing, sharing information, commenting, forming opinion. In fact social networks are the same age as humanity. They are constituted by people who are connected together by relationships or interests.

In 1975 Burke and Weir found that individuals prefer to ask for help and advice from friends and family in times of need. (1975: 23). According to Argyle being part of a social community gives individuals a sense of purpose (1985: 44). Sociologists, including Amato insist on the fact that the majority of our daily lives involve relationship helpers and recipients and the nature of these relationships is based on the creation of social networks. (Amato, 1990:35). Based on Katona (2010:430) it can be argued that online social networks have spread through global societies with a rapid diffusion. A potential adopter[14] of a social network who is connected to many adopters is predisposed of becoming an adopter himself as well. According to his research the importance of a Web-based social network is to make it possible for the online community to use the technical functional tools of the site in order to share messages, information, discuss social matters, express opinions.

The primary benefit of digital technology is that it makes possible to reach very specific audiences, as a result communication can be shaped to individual needs.

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[14] a user already member of a social network

1.3.5. World Wide Web as public sphere

Through the combination of different functional elements of the Internet, we see a compound of existing media and of public and private communication. The communicative sphere provided by the Internet is open and public in the sense that any individual can reach it, at the same time also provides privacy in form of email[15] or closed group disscussions.

Internet is a public sphere, accessible for everyone similarly to a coffeehouse or public park, at the same time being commercial sphere managed by private entities. Although Internet is often referred to as 'information superhighway' it contains no public streets but public locations, like websites and servers. Websites can function as commercial sites, but providing place for advertisements, representing non-profit entities like NGOs. In connection to providing information we can talk about a private action in a public sphere opposed to offline information search. Information search on the World Wide Web significantly differs from going to the local library or travel agency, where receiving information is bound to physical limits. A Hungarian citizen who wishes to access the various exhibitions of the Tate Modern in London, can do it without physical difficulties by entering the museum's website and looking at the artistic works in digital format. Comparing the public and semi-public sphere of cyberspace we can make the following distinctions. (Jorgensen, 2001: 26-27)

The physical public sphere bears the following characteristics:

- Interaction between individuals is physical
- Communication is closely connected to the physical presence of the communicating parties
- Communication is influenced by our appearance, physical characteristics, kinesics, proxemics

While the Internet features the following particularities:

- Interaction between individuals is virtual

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[15] Email communication as the most clear-cut personal communication in cyberspace has not to the same degree as the Internet been subject to the discussion of content regulation, but rather to privacy related issues, such as users' right to use code writing and their right to privacy in relation to inspection, for instance at the workplace or in relation to cyber crime.

- Individuals can access the public room privately, thus receiving information when being alone
- Communicating parties can avoid prejudice resulting from physical appearance

As a result of the above description, it can be argued that cyber public sphere is characterised by more private features than that of the physical public sphere. On the other hand, online opinion expression is more public, since all the appearances are stored and can further be searched and cited. When sharing information online the individual is more exposed to uncontrollable effects, since the potential audience is completely unknown, while during physical conversations the individual is to a stronger degree aware of the audience's identity. On the other hand, receiving information can be more controlled online, because the individual proactively searches for particular information, while the offline receiver might be exposed to unwanted spontaneous information. *"If the cyberspace in which the information superhighway operates is regarded as analogous to public space, then First Amendment principles evident outside of the electronic media suggest that the burden may be on users of the information superhighway to avoid unwanted messages by electronically averting their eyes. In other words, accessing the information superhighway may be like walking onto a city street, and users should be expected to cope with the wide array of entertainment, annoyance, and offence that normally takes place there.*" (Harward Law Review quoted in Lessig 1999:38).

Lessig points to the difficulty Internet users have to face when browsing potentially offensive information, namely they have to cope with possible dangers as they would do on a dangerous street. In contrast to physical world, cyberspace is not marked with signs signalling different zones, therefore making it more difficult to recognise harmful content. Users, on the other hand have new means of avoiding information owing to the particularities of affirmative information retrieval discussed before. However, the access to information in cyberspace is easier the availability of harmful and abusive content, as well. In the physical world individuals only face a limited amount of the existing information, while the diversity of information is more attainable online.

Recalling Habermas' determination of the public sphere[16] I tend to analyse the semi-public sphere of cyberspace, that is constituted of chat, listserv and newsgroup. These cyber gatherings are public in the sense that they are open to all individuals, but opposed to physical public gatherings are managed by private entities. Cyber forums are typically organized around one topic and are moderated by electronic 'gatekeepers' who cenzor expressions that fall outside the scope of the conversation. Contrary to physical world does not have publicly runned space. According to Lessig *"much of free speech law is devoted to preserving spaces where dissent can occur – spaces that can be noticed and must be confronted by non dissenting citizens. People have a right to the sidewalks, public streets and other traditional forums. They may go there and talk about issues of public import…"* (Lessig 1999:69). Cyberspace does not have public space such as streets in physical world, the role of cyber meetings is crucial as public meeting places. Regarding that cyber gatherings are embedded in the commercial sphere, the codes of system (consumer demand) dominates over the codes of lifeworld (rights of expression).

Starting from the ascertainment that the communicative sphere of the Internet is decribed as being open, participatory and plural, similarly to the minds of human beings [17] it follows that the Internet is inherently different from mass media. According to Habermas Internet is enclosed by lifeworld, therefore being increasingly colonised by the system, the features of its communicative sphere resembles the particularities of the pre-modern public sphere, where participation was free for all and in general was accessible for everyone.

Mass media resembling lifeworld operates within system's power structure and money coercion. Hence, the mass media concept cannot be applied to cyberspace, but should be substituted by a concept that takes into account the variegation of content and functionality on Internet. Since freedom of expression is an assurance of public sphere communication, Internet should clearly be defined by terms of public and private communication. [18] As discussed earlier the Internet stands for communicative actions as well as resembling a lifeworld-anchored sphere. Internet therefore represents

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[16] Arrangements are public when they (in contrast to closed or exclusive affairs) are open to all, in the same sense as we speak of public places or public houses (Habermas 1989:1).

[17] It is no exaggeration to conclude that the content on the Internet is as diverse as human thoughts" (Distric Court on CDA:15)

[18] Mass media, particularly newspapers, have developed clear distinction between public and private sphere, whereas the same distinction within cyberspace has still not been realized.

communicative actions: to listen, to retrieve information, to disaccord, to speak freely. Soly considering the Internet as a new media system, does not represent the complexity of its features, neither its exquisite specificity of being both system and lifeworld, offering a new way for individuals to exist and communicate in the modern world.

1.4. Defining the Public Sphere through Communicative Rationality

The public sphere is an 'intersubjectively shared space' reproduced through communicative action (Habermas 1996: 360). [19] *A portion of the public sphere comes into being in every conversation in which private individuals assemble to form a public body* (Habermas 1974:49). The 'spacial structure' of 'simple interaction' spreads and 'is rendered more permanent' as the network of information is complemented by more dialogues and more forms of opinion. This network of communicative action is not an 'institution' and 'organization', a system, nor a standard of norms. It is more like a 'social phenomenon' that can be characterised through 'architectural metaphors of structured space': 'forums, stages, arenas and the like'. The phenomenon can be described with an even more abstract and generalised feature as communication can be separated from the public's physical attendance and are anchored in the virtual discussions of an unlimited public of strangers (Habermas 1996: 360-361).

The formation of public sphere by communicative action is what distinguishes it from other scenes (like administrative power or money market), in which intentional rational action is the basis of harmonization. Mode of communication in public sphere is also a characteristic which distinguishes it from private sphere. Although participants of public sphere also use communicative action, but those are more or less based on habitual agreement, considering cultural and traditional values as fundaments of mutual understanding. The public sphere grows out of private sphere when rational argumentation is applied to solve a moral-practical disagreement, that questions the grounds of pre-existing mutual understanding. As Habermas (1996: 366) explains:

"The treshold separating the private (intimate sphere) from the public is not marked by a fixed set of issues or relationships but by different conditions of communication. Certainly these conditions lead to differences in the accessibility of the two spheres, safeguarding the intimacy of the one sphere and the publicity of the other. However,

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[19] Robbins translates Öffentlichkeit (the term originally used by Habermas) as 'public space' (Robbins 1993: xvi).

they do not seal off the private from the public but only channel the flow of topics from the one sphere into the other. For the public sphere draws its impulses from the private handling of social problems that resonate in life histories."

The topic of argumentation in the public sphere originates from discussions that arose in the public sphere. As reasoning continues, it soon becomes obvious which discussions can be handled through the deliberation of private individuals creating a rational public: issues including moral-practical validity claims that can be resolved through political discourse. (Dahlberg 2000:53). *"Cognitive-instrumental questions and aesthetic-affective questions fall out of consideration in the process of deliberation"*. (ibid:54) In general no topic is inherently excluded from the disputation. This rebuts the common criticism of Habermas' public sphere idea that specific topics are not included in public discourse because they are considered private, therefore non-political. Stating that the agenda for critical discourse is specified by rational deliberation is in contrast with Fraser's (1992:215) point of view where she argues that issues of public interest will be determined through discursive affirmation, and no such topic should be excluded in advance.

Another criticism concerning Habermas' public sphere notion considers its lack to offer proper turnout option for multiple publics. According to Fraser, emphasising the singular 'the' in public sphere strenghtens the willingness to exclude plurality of groups from contemporary social discussions (Fraser 1992:44). Eley asserts that in the seventeeth and eighteenth centuries several parallel public spheres were operating beside the bourgeois public, including that of women's and proletarian's (Eley 1992:12). In the *Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* Habermas says little about such alternative public spheres (Dahlgren, 1991:6). These public spheres are often constituted of 'subaltern counterpublics' where members of subordinated and oppositional social groups spread counterdiscourses. (Fraser 1992:210). The public sphere as a tool of democracy in Fraser's viewpoint (Fraser 1992:209), has to provide a multiple layer of publics, including those spaces that provide opportunity for subordinate groups to express their opinion, form identities outside dominant arenas. Fraser (1997:118) states that:

"an adequate theory of the public sphere would need to theorize both the multiplicity of public spheres in contemporary late-capitalist societies and also the

relations among them. It would need to distinguish for example, official governmental public spheres, mass mediated mainstream public spheres, counterpublic spheres and informal public spheres in everyday life".

Habermas has come to agree with this idea, arguing that:

"It is wrong to speak of one single public…Apart from introducing a greater internal differentiation of the burgeois public, which by means of a more detail oriented focus could also be accomodated within my model, a different picture emerges if from the very beginning one admits the coexistence of competing public spheres, and takes account of the dynamics of these processes of communication that are excluded from the dominant public sphere".

Habermas (1992a:440) now refers to the public sphere as a network of publics, calling it a *polycentric public sphere*. He describes a significant difference between public spheres that involve *"popular science and literary publics, religious and artistic publics, alternative publics…"* (Habermas 1996: 373). This multisided notion is conformed by the communicatively defined theory of the public sphere. As Benhabib (1992:105) describes:

"The public sphere comes into existence whenever and wherever all affected by general social and political norms of action engage in practical discourse, evaluating their validity. In effect, there are as many publics as there are controversial general debates about the validity of norms. Democratization in contemporary societies can be viewed as the increase and growth of autonomous public spheres among participants."

Besides, Habermas (1996:374) thinks of the public sphere as:

"differentiated into levels according to the density of communication, organizational complexity, and range – from the episodic publics found in taverns, coffee houses, or on the streets; through the occasional or arranged publics of particular presentations and events, such as theatre performances, rock concerts, party assemblies or church congresses; up to an abstract public sphere of isolated readers, listeners and viewers scattered across large geographic areas, or even across the globe, and brought together only through the mass media".

The public sphere, Habermas (1996: 373) discusses "represents a highly complex network" that branches out into a multitude of overlapping international, national, regional, local and subcultural arenas. No geographical boundaries are set up, as some of the critiques of the *Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* argue. A public sphere does not necessarily has to be linked to a nation state it can exist at local and global level instead. The only requirement for the state and size of public is that, all those affected by a certain topic put for deliberation have to be consulted (Habermas 1996: 365).

The concept of multilayered public at separate levels raises the issue of fragmentation. How can all these parallel levels be reconciled? Habermas (1996:374) assets that "despite the manyfold differentiations"

all the partial publics constituted by ordinary language remain porous to one another. The one text of "the" public sphere", a text continually extrapolated and extending radially in all directions, is devided by internal boundaries into arbitrarily small texts for which everything else is context; yet one can always build hermeneutical bridges from one text to the next…boundaries inside the universal public sphere remain permeable in principle

Such definitions urge for requisiteness of bringing to life a central public sphere [20]. "All partial public spheres point to a comprehensive public sphere in which society as a whole fashions a knowledge of itself" (Habermas 1987b: 360). The existence of a core public into which meshing subpublics run is discussed by other media theorists as well. Fraser (1992:212) emphasises the necessity of multiple publics, simultaneously urging for the need of a "*comprehensive arena in which members of different publics, talk across lines of cultural diversity*". Calhoun (1992:37) extends the communicative notion of the public sphere. He said that in order to discuss the communicative aspect of different publics it might be beneficial to consider the public sphere as something involving a "*field of discoursive connections*" within which a smooth running of communication might be possible. In almost all possible cases there will be more vibrant parts of interactions within the relatively open fields. The public sphere can be

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[20] According to Dahlberg the conception of an overarching public must be distinguished from the idea of formal decision making bodies into which the public sphere feeds (Dahlberg 2000:55).

considered as an overarching notion where the various layers of public formed by communicative rationality are embedded.

In this part I attempted to describe the general character of the public sphere, presented how it is constituted by a multilayered network of publics constructed through communicative rationality. The conception of public sphere needs further dissection before drawing a thorough conclusion. This analysis can be carried out with the help of Habermas's reconstruction of the premises of communicative rationality, and with highlighting the deficiencies of Habermas' theory.

1.4.1. Specifying the notion of Public Sphere

Habermas declares, that every participant being involved in social discussion has to refer to several ”*strong idealizations*” or ”*idealizing suppositions*” (Cooke 1994:30). In Dahlberg's opinion ”*formal pragmatics identifies the necessary pragmatic presuppositions of moral-practical discourse*” (Dahlberg 2000:56). Assuming that the public sphere is constructed by moral-practical discourse these premises point to some exemplary conditions in public sphere. The first condition is the requirement of mutual critique that defines the basic structure of the discussion.

i.Thematization and critique of criticizable moral-practical validity claims

Argumentation requires the proposition and further critique of political suggestions that are 'backed with reasons rather than mere assertions' (Habermas 1991:25-26). This mutual critique turns to be pointless if positions do not change. Thus, the first requirement presupposes 'reflexivity'.

ii. *Reflexivity*

In discussion ”*participants question and transcend whatever their initial preferences may have been*” (Habermas 1992a: 449). Therefore, it can be asserted that communicative rationality desires reflexivity: the critical observing of one's cultural values, beliefs and interest similarly to the surrounding societal context. The analysis of pre-discursive situations within discourse differciate public and private oriented citizens.

To be analytical, first debating parties have to acquire a specific degree of communicative competence – the level of 'postconventional communicative

competence' (Dahlberg 2000:64) has to be from a critical distance, from various positions to reflect all sources available outside argumentation. Involved parties must 'accept' the pressure to conversation made when "validity claims" bound up in discourse. This presumes the capability of hearing the opposing claims and being able to position oneself in place of the other, a state embedded in the notion of "ideal role taking".

iii. Ideal role taking

Mutual understanding requires the 'ideal role taking' that means to put oneself in the position of the other and understand the situation from his/her perspective (McCarthy 1992:54). According to Chambers this attitude requires "impartiality and equal respect" (Chambers 1995:239). Impartiality reflects the attitude when all opinions are equally taken into consideration without any distortion. Equal respect refers to that point of view when all parties of the argument are treated equally without stereotyping, presuming that they all have some valuable thoughts to say. (Ibid:242). Both impartiality and equal respect necessitate careful listening. Moreover, this approach requires the attitude of aiming mutual understanding and agreement rather than boosting the existing conflict. This viewpoint requires engagement concerning whopping differences, a commitment to 'ongoing ideal role taking'. Taking the position of the other presupposes the honest rendition of information regarding aims, interests, identities, values. Indeed, as Habermas argues "*the manifest intention of the speaker is meant as it is expressed*" (Habermas 1991:99). This premise calls for the fourth condition: sincerity.

iv. Sincerity

Discussion in public sphere relies on publicity or 'discursive openness' rather than deceit. To be rationally judged, each actor of the dialogue has to sincerely seek for understanding all available information and the real intentions behind (Benhabib, 1992:109). Paraphrasing Chambers can be asserted that sincerity is indicated by an interlocutor's consistency across and between their speech acts and physical actions (Chambers 1996:208).

The above discussed three requirements that discussion partners apply 'reflexively', 'respectfully' and 'sincerely' are further strenghten by inclusion and equality. [21]

v. Inclusion

'Communicative rationality' requires all the arguments and counter-arguments to be heard. Every prepossessed discussion partner concerned by the validity claims capable of interaction has to be involved in the dialogue. Even in case of formal inclusion unforseen impediments – resulting from social inequalities – might hinder affected actors from participation. Inclusion can be restricted by disproportion deriving from outside of the context of the discussion such as material essentials or education requirements as threshold of participation. On the other hand, exclusion can be realized within the discussion, by dominant members, who outvoice the conversation. However, the demand for inclusion coincides and prerequires 'discursive equality'.

vi. Discursive equality

Rational discourse assures that every participant has equal opportunity to share his/her thoughts, feelings, desires connected to the debated topic. The assumptions of 'inclusion' and 'equality' are affirmed by the premises, in order to provide "*criticizable validity claims*" no impetus is allowed, as Habermas explaines "*whether it arises from within the process of reaching understanding itself (internal coercion) or influences it from the outside (external coercion) – except the force of better argument*" (Habermas 1984:25).[22]

Excluding internal deceit is already discussed by requirements iii-iv and purports the ceasing of the effects of misrepresentation, power and ideology. This abrogation requires "*a reciprocal openness of actors about their true intentions and motives and an equal chance to express their attitudes, feelings and needs*" (White 1988:56). On the other hand, eliminating external coercion means firstly that discussion is bondless of authority or social norms, secondly that the dialogue is not influenced by state or economic interests. The first requirement was covered by the overview in i, ii, v, vi. The second requirement adumbrates the seventh condition *'autonomy from system'*.

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[21] The requirements for inclusion and equality are discussed in depth by Habermas (1990:89 and 1996:305-306) in his conceptualization of discourse ethics and his overview on the consultative democratic process.

[22] Habermas argues that internal coercion takes place within the argumentative exchange while external coercion comes from a larger social context within which the discourse is placed (Habermas 1996:305).

vii. Autonomy from system

Discourse must be free from media effects and administrative power, since the latter *"utilize purposive rationality"* (Dahlberg 2000: 59) that influences discourse in public sphere.

The table below emphasises the importance of the previously discussed requirements.

Table 1 The Public Sphere Conception (resource: Dahlberg: 2000: 60)

i.	Exchange and critique of criticizable moral-practical validity claims
ii.	Reflexivity
iii.	Ideal role taking
iv.	Sincerity
v.	Inclusion
vi.	Discursive equality
vii.	Autonomy from system

I will now analyse the basic requirements of 'communicative rationality' that lay behind the previously discussed conditions: a moral-practical debate in the public sphere aiming at mutual understanding and consensus. Participants in general have a moral responsibility of respecting one another. I plan to investigate the way of reaching mutual understanding because it orientates towards the formation of public opinion, which is the ultimate tool for influencing decision making and forming a proactive and participating public.

1.4.2. Forming Public Opinion

In case we consider rational discourse (discussed above) as a tool of forming public opinion, then we can consider public opinion as the end product. In order to closely monitor how public opinion is formed we need to analyse Habermas' notion of *Verstandigung,* according to which the need and intent of reaching a mutual understanding is a prerequisite feature of 'moral-practical discourse'. On the other hand, public opinion is also formed via discussions in the public sphere, therefore *Verstandigung* can be regarded as the process of public opinion formation.

Versandigung is a key term in Habermas' communicative action theory, which in fact can have several different interpretations from linguistic understanding to moral-practical validity claims. Habermas defines it in the following way:

"The goal of coming to understanding (Verstandigung) is to bring about an agreement that terminates in the intersubjective mutuality of reciprocal understanding, shared knowledge, mutual trust, and accord with one another. Agreement is based on recognition of the corresponding validity claims of comprehensibility, truth, truthfulness and rightness. We can see that the word understanding is ambiguous. In its minimal meaning it indicates that two subjects understand a linguistic expression in the same way; its maximal meaning is that between the two there exists an accord concerning the rightness of an utterance in relation to a mutually recognized normative background. In addition two participants in communication can come to an understanding about something in the world, and they can make their intentions understandable to one another."

In every communicative act we must believe that both interacting parties can apply the same expressions in the same way. As Habermas (1992b:477) reflects on it *"if we don't presuppose that we can assign the same meaning to the same terms, we wouldn't even start to speak"*.

Intelligibility is a precondition of understanding that is compliance of the general validity of moral-practical claims. However, Callinicos (1989:105) argues that we should not confuse agreement and understanding, because someone can be understood without agreeing with him/her. The essence of Callinicos' idea is that a speaker can totally be understood, still disagreed. Opposed to this interpretation Habermas articulates that in moral-practical argumentation:

"the meaning of the problematic validity claim conceptually forces participants to assume that a rationally motivated agreement could in principle be achieved, whereby the phrase "in principle expresses the idealizing proviso: if only the argumentation could be conducted openly enough and continued long enough". (Habermas 1991:42).

The likelihood of agreement is presupposed in all moral-practical discourse since the characteristics of morality requires participants to work together towards a peaceful agreement, therefore they are inherently motivated to reach mutual understanding,

which can only be guaranteed in case of unrestricted flow of communication. *Verstandigung* has in fact no pretension concerning discourse in public sphere should end with final consensus. According to Chambers "*consensual agreement, if and when it does emerge, emerges gradually and is fragmentary and partial*" (Chambers 1995:250). It comes from this idea that public opinion as a consequence of moral-practical discourse is constantly under formation. Habermas in his deliberative model states that:

"*Public opinion is not representative in the statistical sense. It is not an aggregate of individually gathered, privately expressed opinions held by isolated persons. Hence it must not be confused with survey results. Political opinion pools provide a certain reflection of "public opinon" only if they have been preceded by a focused public debate and a corresponding opinion-formation in a mobilized public sphere*" (Habermas 1996: 362).

Habermas confirms that he believes in the proceduce of public opinion formation based on rational discussion rather than in the *consensus of hearts*. As Chambers (1995:238-239) aptly formulates:

"*The rationality of public opinion and will formation in general does not depend on citizens reaching a rational consensus on all issues. A discoursively formed public opinion can represent a process of Bildung[23] or education in which citizens build better foundations to their opinions through discursive interaction. Through discursive interaction on various issues on who we are, to the best means of deficit reduction, citizens become more informed about the issues; they become aware of what others think and feel; they re-evaluate their positions in light of criticism and argument; in short, by defending their opinions with reason their opinions become more reasoned. The result of such interaction is that public opinion ... is embedded in reasoned convictions, although reasoned convictions do not always need to reflect a consensus on an issue*".

Private individuals can become public citizens through the *'learning process of deliberation'*. This learning process first of all requires revision of own beliefs, morals

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[23] As translated by Jeremy Shapiro (1970) in the preface of *Toward a Rational Society*, *Bildung* literally means " formation", "education" but also "cultural cultivation". In German the original meaning always involves an extensive developmental process.

and needs, on the other hand it necessitates the questioning of that of others'. This reaffirms the requirements illustrated in Table 1. The seven requisites emphasize the importance of reaching mutual understanding as part of the public opinion formation. In fact that leads to the constitution of public opinion which is capable of influencing democratic government decisions (as it happens in case of a public consultation). As evaluated on by Dryzek (1996:48): "*while public opinion is most readily turned into formal policy when it is linked with accountable democratic decision-making bodies ...it can be, and is effective*".[24]

In this chapter I have dealt with the normative conception of the public sphere based (among others) on Habermas' communicative rationality. The most important idea for me is that the characterization and the farmework provided by the discussion of public sphere will enable me to undertake an overview of the efficiency and effect of the public consultation process carried out recently, regarding the use of 2014-2020 development funds. I also aimed in this chapter at illustrating through Habermas' system and lifeworld doctrine the social basis of the public sphere, however in 1.4.3. I plan to briefly discuss the thwarting features Habermas's public sphere notion bears. . In the present chapter I have also covered the need for different types of media to encourage the formation of a well functioning public sphere. Both online and physical spaces are a requisite of social interaction and provide the transfer of public information. The Internet is regarded by several authors as the most effective means of communication in this sense. I also put a big emphasis on the analysis of online discussions and online public consultation, however, this thesis does not intend to exert the extent to which the Internet fosters public sphere, neither does it want to discuss how it can do more. In this chapter I have also dealt with the public/private differentiation of the public sphere, with the notion of singular versus multiple publics and with the conception of consensus, which will all serve as a good theoretical basis and framework for me to carry out the planned evaluation.

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[24] In the upcoming chapters this thesis tries to focus on the impact of public opinion upon government, rather than on the development of public opinion framed by informal public sphere.

1.4.3. The Internet and Public Spheres

The notion of Internet and public sphere entered the mainstream political communication studies discourse more than a decade ago, both topics have their permanent place on the research agendas since then. According to Dahlgren (2005:147) the public sphere perspective can be viewed from structural, representational and interactional viewpoint. The Internet at the same time extends and pluralizes the public sphere in several ways, moreover scientific discourse hopes for its positive impact on democracy. Price discusses the utility of online political deliberation, assuming that features of computer-mediated exchanges may under the right conditions foster open discussions of controversial political ideas (Price, 2006:1). Yet given the changing social, political and technological context we shouldn't expect a simple answer or solution. Dahlgren (2005:148) on the other hand argues that the Internet itself contributes to the destabilization of democracy.

An operating public sphere is understood as the synod of communicative spaces in society that allow the flow of information, idea, opinion, political will ideally in a free way. These spheres encourage communication between citizens and power holders. The term public sphere is used in singural form by Habermas (1989), however sociological discourse emphasizes the plural form, as mentioned before (the structural, representational and interactional).

The structural dimension

It is characterized by the formal institutional features, which involve media organizations, the surrounding financial issues, control, regulation, legal frameworks. Therefore this dimension points to classic democratic issues, like freedom of speech, access to information and the field of inclusion versus exclusion. Moreover it also refers to society's political institutions. According to Dahlgren (2005: 149) when a society's democratic tendencies are weak it will not result in healthy institutional structures for the public sphere, rather results in inadequate representational dimensions. Concerning the Internet, structural dimension highlights the way in which communicative spaces necessary for democracy are formed. This is in connection with the pattern and method according to which cyber-geography is organized in terms of social, legal, technical and cultural characteristics. Such factors have an effect on the accessibility of the net for civic use

The representational dimension

This dimension refers to media output that aims at specific groups through newsletters or campaign materials. Since the massification of communication on the Internet, this dimension alludes to online contexts of the public sphere. As Dahlgren states (2005:149) in the representational dimension all the earmarks of media output for the political communication can be addressed, such as pluralism of views, agenda setting, ideological tendencies, accuracy.

The interactional dimension

Reflecting on Habermas' notion, in terms of the dimension of interaction public should be defined as something more than just media audience. According to him publics are constituted by discursive interactional processes, while atomized individuals do not constitute public. Based on Lewis (2001: 54) with the arrival of the public opinion industry the focus on aggregate statistics of individual views became grounded. While such approaches have their raison d'etre, we should not forget about the original idea from which democracy is derived, namely deliberation between citizens.

Interaction eventually consists of two viewpoints, firstly, citizens' encounter with the media, secondly, their encounter with each other – public discussion. Interplay has its discursive practices, its psychocultural regard. In this respect the public sphere has a very fluid characteristic, that relates to Alasuutari's (1999:23) viewpoint on the third generation of reception research on mass media, which does not refer to the actual media affiliation but to the circuit of meaning in broader everyday life context.

With the emergence of the Internet, civic interaction placed itself online, with the sprawling character of the public sphere becoming more articulated. Empirically, the categories of representation and interaction often intertwine online. As I have emphasized in 1.3.3. we apt to think about forms of communication as either "one to many", or "one to one" as featured by the mass media. This clear division tends to disband on the Internet, where group communication can have characteristics of both mass communication and interaction.

The three dimensions that I presented in this part of my writing function as a good basis for the analysis of the public sphere in any society.

The Internet as a major factor in media revolutionization became part of public discourse at the same time as discussion about poor democracy emerged in the 1990s. As a result researchers immediately connected the two notions in a positive way. New information technologies undoubtly have an effect on all spheres of life, but the extent to which they intensify democracy remains doubtful (Jenkins &Thornburn 2003:14).

Blumler and Gurevitch (2000:160-165 modified) summarized in an essay that the traditional systems of political communication in Western democracies are challenged by alterations in late modern society:

- growing amount of sociocultural heterogeneity and its effect on the actors within political communication
- increase in media outlets and channels simultaneously with that of the formats of media output
- the high amount of political experts and political mediators resulting the professionalization of political communication
- the changing geography of political communication

As a positive aspect it can be mentioned the increase in political voices, new modes of political engagement, redefinition of political constituents. However, concerning the cyber transformation of the public sphere it still has to be stated that the use of the Internet for political purposes is nigling compared to other purposes, such as consumerism, entertainment, networking. According to Wilhelm (2000:35) the communicative character of the political discussion does not always foster the civic ideal, a great amount of it is isolated and does not always contribute to democratic will formation. At the same time, we still have to agree that the Internet provides multiple space for civil initiative. The possibilty and access of it – the digital devide – is rapidly growing towards being demolished, however it would be an illusion to suppose that it will disappear. As Dahlgren (2005:151) states the Internet is becoming integrated with the established system of political communication, at the same time being used to challenge the standing power structures.

If the idea of a singular, integrated public sphere has been vanished in the social realm of late modern society, so has the normative force that described it as ideal. The aim of leading all citizens into one, uniform public sphere with one set of communicative traditions is refused on the basis of pluralism and difference. The existence of scopes where citizens with different group or cultural belongings find participation reasoned as necessary. At certain points groups might wish for a separate space where they elaborate on internal issues or develop a collective identity, thus counter public spheres must be taken into consideration (Fenton & Downey 2003:26). At this point the Internet definitely makes a meaningful contribution to the public sphere. In a structural sense, pluralization not only broadens but also scatters the dispositioned public sphere of the mass media. As Galston (2003:36) says the negative side of communicative pluralization is for sure fragmentation, with public spheres directing towards distinct islands of political communication. There must be formalized institutional procedures between the communicative spheres and the decision making processes according to Sparks (2001:76). Nowadays the gap between communication in the public sphere and decision making institutions lies in the global arena.

Based on Dahlgren (2005:153 modified) a number of Net-based public spheres can be differentiated:

- e-government: bearing a top-down character, is a sphere where government representatives interact with citizens, and information about government administration is made available. This sphere should not be blended with e-governance, which resembles horizontal civic communication with a purpose of input for government policy.
- advocacy domain: in this sphere the interaction is usually framed by organizations which share common values and aims for political intervention.
- civic forums: a sphere for exchanging views between citizens

Chadwick (2013:186) argues that the dispersal and the speedy evolution of new communication technologies has reformulated media and politics. Politics is increasingly defined by organizations, groups and individuals who are best able to compound older and newer media logics which Chadwick calls a hybrid system. Power is exerted by those who create and direct information flows to suit their aims and in

ways that modify, enable and disable the power of others through and between a range of older and newer media.

New communication technologies have not only reshaped the relationship between media and politics but have redefined the age group of network players. As Henry Jenkins elaborates on it in his latest book titled "*By Any Media Necessary: The New Youth Activism*" new forms of communication, such as social media platforms, spreadable videos and memes are seeking to bring about political change. He states this despite the widespread conception that public trust in social institutions is weakening and little is likely to evolve from traditional politics that will change these conditions. He states that although youth are often described as emblematic of this crisis it is in fact them who aim at bringing political change by using many different digital strategies and platforms to have their voice heard and to engage in a new form of politics, that is Participatory Politics (Jenkins, 2016:54).

PART I.

CHAPTER 2.

2.Theories of identity

In the next chapter I intend to analyse the question of identity, which I find crucial concerning the execution of a public consultation. The identity of opinion leaders, commenters, have a tremendous effect on the way how they percieve reality, how government decisions can influence their decisions, and their willingness to participate in a social consultation, or in general to take part in public sphere discussions. My aim is to disscuss the questions of identity from a social-communicational (reflecting on the PTC[25]'s relevant concepts) and a social psychological point of view.

Although it might not be obvious why I devoted a whole chapter of my disseration to the discussion of identity, I consider the notion of identity, trust – that I will elaborate on in the next chapter – and online participation an analytical frame for my discourse analysis. These topics are in line with the eight categories that I set up as codes of discourse analysis – which will be clarified in the second part of my dissertation.

2.1. Identity from a social-communicational viewpoint

For the conceptualization of identity from a sociological viewpoint I intend to use Manuel Castells' s delineation (Castells 2006: 6-68) that I find one possible, useful alternative. As the author defines identity is the source of aims and life experiences, constituted through the upbuilt of life aims, via the available set of cultural attributions. In the course of identity formation the mentioned aggregation has priority over the other sources of aims. According to the thinker one individual can possess different identities, that can easiliy become the resource of stress and contradiction both in the scope of self-advocacy and social action. Castells differenciates between the concept of *identity and role*. [26] In his viewpoint roles are defined by norms set up by social institutions and organizations, therefore the sources of aims for individuals are declared by their personal identity, that is formed in the course of individualition. On the other hand, the author considers internalization the main motif of identity formation, that he describes

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[25] PTC is the abbraviation of the Participation Theory of Communication by Özséb Horányi (2007)
[26] This differencion has already been applied by other thinkers before, one of them, whose notion of social system I have also briefly mentioned in my thesis is – Niklas Luhmann.

as a seed, around which individuals build up the system of their lifeaims. Roles construct functions, while identity sets up aims. Aims that can be regarded as factors capable of symbolically identifying motivations of identity. The essence of Castells's identity approach is that all identities are a result of construction, therefore can be deconstructed, in other words it can be exposed, how, for what aim, from what source, controlled by whom or what has been engendered. From this comes that identity is a system that distances itself from its environment, but interacts with it, characterised by all the specific features of a system. As a result, identity is influenced by impacts coming from its environment, thus having a correlation between the owner of the identity and its environment. Identity at the same time, can be regarded as the basis of devision between 'me' and 'you', 'mine' and 'yours', 'personal' and 'gentile'. In this sense we can talk about separation and division. The phase of separation stands in the outline of identity, while division means the affirmation of this evolved system. Therefore, division equals symbolic recognition of aims, and opposes some other kind of target system. Based on Husserl's separation and division concept, it can be argued to develop lifeworld: that is the web of cultural attributes bearing symbolic content (Dunlap 1968: 93-112). From a functionalist perspective identity is differentiation of 'me' and 'you', regardless of being the result of separation or division.

The opposition results reflection, that is, identity encountering another identity will be forced to carry out either separation or division. Both the content of lifeworld and identity is axiomatic for the individual, but confrontation patterns different from this, result the demand for carrying out distinctive operations. In case identities encounter within the individual, it produces self-reflexive response, the consequence of which can be multiple, from the strenghtening of one identity, through the termination of another one, to mingling of identities, even to loss of identity. In case identity encounters outside the individual, the persuit of identity preservation comes into action, which is also a form of reflexion, marked by a branded boundary between 'I' and the 'other', this reflexive opposition again might end up in multiple values.

Collective agents appearing in public sphere discussions – opinionating in public consultations – are present as a result of communication technologies, not as a starting point. Collective agents present in physical reality are capable of entering online social communication, while agents in coalition emerging in virtuality are constituated as a result of virtual communication. In case constitution of collective and coalition

communication agents occur, it can be an origination of further communication. Mechanic transmission – Internet as a device – is a necessary but not sufficient condition of the communicative act, sith for the engendering of the communication act at least two agents are necessary on the mentioned platform. The act of mechanic transmission, therefore, is feasible as the functioning of a code, not as the operation of an agent. Online public discussion takes place in a system – in a social system. This ascertainment involves the potential premise of agents's online communication, being social communication, which is realized, in condition of agents' discourse being available for other agents either directly, or indirectly.

The PTC centering the concept of agent, suits those theories, that discuss the nature of individuum and identity from a functionalist approach, without detailing its psychological or social psychological characteristics – which I intend to reveal in the following part. The reason why I mention the *Participation Theory of Communication* in context of identity is because its main idea was the inquest of human identity, the question of individuality.

While describing the identity of the agent according to the PTC, two different perspectives can be identified:[27] the categorial and the factual, latter being the actual and former being potentially possible. The categorial identity of the agent is in fact the result of a particular integration, namely the integration of the agent's categorial preparedenesses. (Horányi 2009: 211-212). This integration is secured by particular preparedness within its capacity. This preparedness realizes the economic principle, according to which, within the framework of cooperation, integration can be achieved and maintained in a more cost effective way. The preparedness securing the integration is in fact the agent's knowledge specificity, to which various outputs belong. In fact it is about drives that aim at maintaining and improving life quality, and survival. Factual components of identities appearing in agents, in other words are descriptive content of integration. Factual latitude of the agent is also part of its identity. According to Özséb Horányi problem identification and elimination can only be individual, problems cannot be eliminated in general, only problems appearing here and now for specific agents (Horányi 2009: 212).

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[27] I base my discussion about identity in relation to the PTC on Özséb Horányi's 2009 writing (Horányi 2009: 211-212)

Sociologists in general – Jürgen Habermas as well, whom I have discussed earlier in Part I. Chapter 1. – talks about individuals, when researching society-constructing elements. According to the *Participation Theory of Communication* if individuals constitute a system or community, not only their actor like attribution is involved in the commonly produced construction, but also their ownworld. This fact can easily be detected in such systems and communities – like family – that are small scale but require high degree of involvement. On the other hand, in case of large scale communities – like political opinion streams, public discussion forums – that require small degree of involvement, it is questionable, whether the whole individual (meaning actor and ownworld like attribution) has to be implied in the community, and in the social subsystem. According to Leydesdorff, who quotes Luhmann, we shouldn't talk about individuums, instead the application of the concept of identity and identification is advisable, through which he intentionally does not reflect on the particular person's individual uniqueness, but indicates such a form, by means of which, communication structures can be observed, meaning, it can be identified by the system, that he observes (Leydesdorff 2003:210). Ultimately, – referring again to the terminology of the PTC – we have to dispense with the ownworld of agents participating in communication and return to the actor concept of sociology. If we do so, we lose the psychological narrative, which is essentially important concerning the exposition of phenomena that cannot be depicted with the constructivist theory of social systems. Therefore I intend to discussed in detail the psychological and social psychological characteristics of identity.

2.2. Social psychological aspects of Identity

In the first part of my overview on social psychological aspects of identity I tend to focus on the contribution of *Identity Process Theory* (IPT) to the social psychology of identity. When we talk about public consultations, opinion expression, participation in public life the question of identity construction is especially worth analysis. The identity of opinion shapers can drastically influence the outcome of a public consultation, of any social deliberation. There are a great deal of researches in social psychology that address identity, focusing on various levels and dimensions of it.

Social identity [28] is a key concept in contemporary social psychology. This notion characterises individual's identity as a group member rather than a unique and

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[28] The term was first introduced by Henri Tajfel and John Turner in the 1970s and 1980s.

distinctive individual (Turner 1986:237). Social identity theory can best be characterized as a theory that foretells specific intergroup behaviours based on detected group status differences, the discerned legitimacy and stability of those status differences and the perceived possibility to move from one group to another (Tajfel & Turner 1979: 33). Since the mid 1970s numerous social psychological theories were influenced by the Social Identity Approach (Tajfel, 1978), accordingly by Self-Categorization Theory (Turner at all 1987). Two key hypotheses of these theories are remarkable, namely that individuals tend to derive positive attributes through identification with social categories, moreover they commit themselves to three strategies: *"individual mobility, social creativity and social competition "* in order to preserve positive distinctiveness (Tajfel and Turner 1979: 40). Henri Tajfel with his Social Identity Approach intended to evolve a theory of intergroup relations, engaging himself in only one aspect of the self, namely, in *"an individuals self-concept which derives from his knowledge on his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership"* (Tajfel 1978:63).

Identity Process Theory (ITP) (Breakwell, 1986; Jaspal and Breakwell, 2014) on the other hand, provides a holistic model of (1) the structure of identity, specifically its content and value dimensions and the centrality and salient features of identity components, (2) the interaction of social and psychological factors in the composition of identity content, (3) the correlation between identity and action. Core assertion of the theory is that, in order to understand the procession that drives identity construction, it is important to analyse individuals' reaction when identity is threatened (Beakwell, 2010: 60). The theory states that the structure of self-identity has to be conceived in terms of its content and value/effect dimensions and that this structure is governed by two universal processes, *assimilation-accomodation* and *evaluation*. The assimilation-accomodation process refers to the engrossment of new information in the identity structure (beginning to refer to oneself as Hungarian, or as member of a specific group – like those who express opinion, via a public consultation) and identity conditioning, which takes place in order to become part of the structure (regarding oneself as member of a specific group, not as member of another one). The evaluation procedure collates meaning and value on the purports of identity (viewing oneself as member of a specific group or community as a positive characteristic feature).

Breakwell originally discussed four identity precepts which direct the universal processes of identity: (1) continuity across time and situation (*continuity*), (2) uniqueness or distinctiveness from others (*distinctiveness*), (3) feeling assertive and in control of one's life (*self-efficacy*), (4) feelings of personal values (*self-esteem*) (Breakwell 1986:22). More recently Jaspal and Cinnirella (2010) proposed the 'psychological coherence principle' which connotes the determination to establish feelings of compatibility between interrelated identities. Based on previosly discussed researches it is obvious to presume that the more a given social group membership preserves the identity principles, the stronger one's identification with that social group becomes (Vignoles et al. 2006: 314). Therefore, IPT offers the background logic that lay behind potential motivations from which identification is derived.

The core concept of ITP states that if universal processes do not gratify the motivational principles of identity, then identity is menaced and the individual endeavors to overcome that threat. A tackling strategy is defined as *"any activity in thought or deed which has as its goal the removal or modification of a threat to identity"* (Breakwell, 1986:78). Conquering identity threat can principally effect the ways in which individuals engage with other groups.

According to Jaspal coping techniques can function at three levels: intra-psychic, interpersonal and intergroup. '*Compertamentalism*' is an intra-psychic strategy which involves the cognitive differentiation of identity elements in the individual's mind (Jaspal 2012: 770). *Passing* belongs to the interpersonal strategies, where individuals succeed in *"gaining exit through the threatening position through deceit"*, while entering *"a new interpersonal network on false premises"* (Breakwell 1986:116). *Group action* is an intergroup coping strategy which requires the mobilization of group members in a collective injunction to attenuate threats to identity.

Social psychological approaches to identity have tended to focus upon distinct dimensions – group versus individual; social versus psychological; cognitive versus rhetorical; consequences versus antecedents. Each of these approaches has made fruitful contributions to our understanding of the social psychology of identity, but none provides a holistic explanation of identity. Conversely, Identity Process Theory seeks to integrate the various dimensions that are clearly central to identity and provides an elaborate explanation of what motivates identification with social categories, – socially

and psychologically – when identification with valued social categories is somehow disrupted by changes in one's social and psychological environment.

2.2.1. Elaboration on the Significance of Social Identity Concept

The reason why I decided to discuss the significance of social identity more in depths, whithin the framework of social psychology, can be derived from the paradoxical nature of the discipline – social psychology. Which on one hand is a psychological phenomenon, that deals with the mental properties of the individual, on the other hand, the social phenomena, that discusses processes, properties, products originating from the correlation between individuals. Beside communication and the notion of participation, as we saw in Part I. Chapert 2. I find the study of psychological and sociological aspects a useful combination concerning the theoretical framework of my research. The paradox that lays in the premises of social psychology is first the psychological process's nature to belong only to individuals, without including any collective entity. Secondly, social or societal processes, such as political, cultural, etc. are distinct and irreducible to individuals. The question therefore is, how can psychology contribute to the comprehension of social life without being reductionist. Paraphrasing Turner *"denying the specific emergent properties that define being social, and yet, given, that there is no collective mental life in the most literal sense how can the science of the individual mind possible be irrelevant to how individuals behave in relation to each other"* (Turner 1986:237).

In the development of European social psychology, individualism can be described as the outstanding metatheory of the mainstream since the 1950s. According to social psychology individualism stands for the notion of the individual being the single psychological and/or social reality that, according to Allport *"the distinctive reality of the group or society is a fiction or a fallacy, that nothing emerges in social interaction"*, (Allport 1924:4), quoting Asch *"social behaviour is adequately explained by intra-individual mechanisms and that social psychology is merely the application of general (i.e. individual) psychological principles to the more complex stimulus conditions of the social environement, that the psychology of the individual is unchanging from 'non-social' to social contexts, and the latter are merely another class of stimuli ('people' as opposed to 'things') to which the individual responds on the basis of socially unmediated laws"* (Asch 1952: 44).

Current tendency is that scientists of the field define 'social cognition' consistently as the functioning of biologically based 'asocial' perceptual/cognitive construction relating to *'social stimuli'* (Forgas 1981; Tajfel: 1981b), emphasised in a *"major type of model in social cognition research"* (Fiske &Taylor 1984:11-12), that the *'social thinker'* is a *'cognitive* miser' whose detection of the social world is defined by cognitive errors *'heuristics and biases'* originating from typical limitations in the information-production capacity of the cognitive system. Fiske and Taylor (1984:15-17) assert on social cognition that:

"As one reviews research on social congition, the analogy between the perception of things and the perception of people becomes increasingly clear. The argument is made repeatedly: the principles that describe how people think in general also describe how people think about people. Many theories of social cognition .... undeniable build on fundamental cognitive principles".

It is stated unarguably that the difference between *'cognition'* and *'social cognition'* is based on the exerting of the same principles of individual psychology to different kinds of 'stimuli' – the idea of *'social processes of perception'* is less identified, meaning the cognition for individuals is basically social, 'inter-individual', similarly to a psychological intra-individual activity, the former being psychologically creative. According to Fletcher (1971) individualism is not a receptible theory and has long been disproved. Other scientists from Durkheim to Mead (Fletcher 1971) imply that at the level of metatheory the problem of the relation between psychological and social or the individual and the group has been eliminated by the doctrine of social psychological collaboration.

I do not intend to fully elaborate on the above concept, rather to briefly summarize the most general notions of the metatheory, based on Turner (1986: 239-240):

(1) Individuals in their diversity cannot be opposed to, in reality, differentiated from society: individuals are society and society is the innate nature of human individuals. The deception that the individual may be opposed to society ensues from a rightful but different contrast between a specific individual and others resulting in the idea of uniqueness; but individuality itself is a social characteristic of the individual and the terms of such an ambiguity are both

within society. The 'pre-social', 'asocial' 'isolated' individual does not exist, except as a fictional discreteness.

(2) There is a sequential mutual dialectical interaction and functional interrelation between individuals' psychological procedures and their activity, conjunctions and products as society. Mind and society, individual and group are reciprocal preconditions, collaterally evolving attributions of each other. According to Turner: "*Such a functional interaction holds both phylogenetically and ontogenetically*" (Turner 1986:239).

(3) Social psychological and social scientific interpretation of social behaviour, therefore, do not stand for different levels of occurence in the sense that one is more 'basic' than the other: their phenomena are interactive viewpoints of the same human procedure. Social psychological processes are or appertain to the psychological or subjective respect of society. McDougall emphasises that "the task of social psychology as part of psychology is *not* to provide social explanations of behaviour, *nor* to provide psychological explanations, but to *explain the psychological aspects of society*" (McDougall 1927: 24). This compounds the idea that structures and processes whereby society is psychologically constructed and mediated by individual minds. "*Individual minds are not individualistic in the ideological sense of being defined by some pre-social psychological dynamic but involve a socially structured field*" (Asch 1952:253). As a result, it can be argued that individual purports society, so much as society implies individual. Thus "*the nothing but stance of individualism, that society contains nothing but individuals, is refuted and stood on its head by the argument that individuals are more than we had ever supposed, parts which can psychologically contain the whole*" (Asch 1952:257).

(4) The key product of social psychological coaction is 'socially mediated cognition', namely the detection of a 'shared, public, objective world'. Individuals' social interaction is built on 'psychological representations of the interaction', shared by the interacting halves.

2.2.2. Social identity and the analysis of group behaviour

The main aim of the previous part has been to validate the reason why the discipline of social psychology is capable of theoretically framing such a socially sensitive topic as public consultation. In the following, I intend to elaborate on the specificities of social identity theory, that can be one possible theory being used to describe a socially discursive event as a public consultation from a psychological – social psychological – perspective.

The *Social Identity Theory* itself provides an analysis of intergroup relations and social conflict (Turner&Giles 1981: 9), the principle of which is that individuals aim at developing positive social identity by advantageously comparing in-groups to out-groups. According to Tajfel the theory is anti-individualistic in the sense that does not deal with intra-individual and interpersonal processes (Tajfel 1979:183), rather concentrating on psychological processes *'to cognitive – evaluative representation*s' of social structure and ideological belief systems, and in general assumes a *'dynamic interaction between psychological processes'* and the social context (Tajfel 1979:183). Although, the significance of the notion was rather ambiguous, as it did not deal with the issue of social psychological interaction, only focused on the individual need for self-respect with the social uniformness of intergroup behaviour. Unteriorly, Turner elaborated on social identity which could function as the psychological contraption that 'depersonalized' self-detection and made group behaviour possible (Turner 1982:18). This recognition led to the construction of *self-categorization theory* that discusses group occurence in terms of the structure and operation of the social self concept (Turner 1985: 77). The principle notions of the theory are the following: cognitive representation of the self takes the form of 'self-categorization', that is the cognitive classification of the self as equivalent to some class of stimuli opposed to some other class of stimuli (Turner: 1986:241). In the social self-concept there are three levels of abstraction: self-categorization as a human being, in-group out-group categories, and personal self-categorization (Turner 1986:241). Self-categories form based on correctly discerned intra-category similarities and inter-category differences and also emphasise such similarities and differences as the becoming 'salient' (Tajfel 1969:80). The effect of the salience of one level of self-categorization, is to reduce to the lowest possible amount the intergroup similarities and the intragroup differences which function as the cognitive basis of more superordinate and subordinate levels. There is a dissentient

relationship between the in-group-out-group and personal self-categorization so that self-detection varies along a perpetuity delienated at one pole of the perception of oneself as an exceptional person, and on the other pole by perception of the self as an in-group, resulting in the *depersonalization of individual self-perception*. (Turner 1986).

2.2.3. Individualism and interactionism in social influence

Social psychologists differentiate between two types of social influence. Based on the terminology of Deutsch and Gerard we distinguish between *informational influence*, which emphasizes acceptance of others' beliefs, opinions, norms – similarly to Habermas' argumentation about rational deliberation; – that might lead to own attitude change, and between *normative influence*, meaning plieableness to other's positive expectation, based on the urge to avoid rejection. Only the former is regarded as 'true' influence, the latter one pleding public approval (Deutsch and Gerard 1955: 630).

The theory of informational influence can be resumed in three stages (based on Festinger 1950: 271-282):

1. It is conceded that subjective uncertainty is the result of an asocial interrelationship between the discerning apparatus of the perceiver and the objective characteristics of the stimulus world
2. The willingness to reduce obscurity in a given situation lead to informational dependence (social dependence) on other.
3. Informational dependence results in adopting influence from others to the degree that others' responses are remarked to prove evidence of objective reality.

According to Moscovici the theory is individualistic in its insinuendo: (1) the principle differentiation between the social/normative/group related and informational regards of influence offsets the former with 'uniformative group pressure' and includes a pervasive 'conformity conflict' between the individual and the group. (2) Individual perception is regarded to have irrespective status, to be the sole method of achieving 'subjective validity'. (3) Social influence, even in the confined, non-normative form of informational influence is a secondary process that is applied in case direct individual testing becomes inextricable. (4) Therefore social influence is not a group process, but one of interpersonal 'averaging' in which individuals move towards each other as they

interchange private knowledge – "*social influence then is a change in individuals induced by individuals*" (Kiesler & Kiesler 1969:26) (Moscovici 1976:89).

Alexander reassures the above statements by declaring that the perception of others as adequate reference group for social comparison evokes the shared expectations of agreement necessary for the revolt of uncertainty and reciprocal influence (Alexander et al. 1970: 110), therefore the psychological group seems to be at the outset of the influence process not at the surcease.

Opposed to the individualistic notion, the self-categorization theory of social influence circumscribes that the potentiality of influence depends on the shared, social categorical nature of the self, moreover it also elaborates on the fact that the individual perception and consensual indorsement are interdependent procedures. It follows from the well-know phenomena, that behaviour is a function of a collaboration between the person and the situation, from this a collective version of this phenomena can be concluded, namely, identical individuals in similar situations tend to manifest the same behaviour – social consensus, uniformity, agreement.

A notion taken from Kelly accentuates that social agreement leads to the 'external attribution of the shared response'. From this point of view social influence is regarded as individuals' need to reach aggreement with others perceived as 'interchangeable' referring to relevant attributes about the same stimulus situation, in order to legitimate their responses as appropriate and valid (Kelly 1967:202).

The theory can be synthesized in five premises:

1. Subjective validity (described by Kelly 1967, as one's certainty in the objective validity of one's opinions, attitudes, beliefs, values, etc.) is a direct function by which similar individuals in similar situations are assumed to agree with one's own response.

2. Subjective uncertainty is a direct function with the help of which similar others are not perceived likewise oneself.

3. The uncertainty diminution can be achieved by: a) the feature of the disagreement to perceived relevant discrepancies between self and others or in the shared stimulus situation; b) reciprocal social influence to reach agreement

4. The significance of the mutual pressures for equality between people is the result of a) the degree of relevant similarity mutually remarked between them, b) the extent to which the shared stimulus situation seems to be identical, c) the degree of perceived disaccord about that stimulus situation, d) the importance of subjective validity to the group

5. The direction of efficient impact within the group is a function of the relative persuasiveness of the members, which is assigned by the extent to which their response is perceived as a primordial distribution of responses of the whole group (summary based on Turner 1986: 237-252).

2.2.4. Identity in terms of social cognition and symbolic interaction

When conceptualising social cognition I tend to rely on Fiske & Taylor's (1984) notion, in other words, that it is the theory of how we store and process information, it is closely connected to psychology and has intersections with experimental laboratory methodologies. Various suppositions underlie social cognitive theories of identity, referring to the limited capacity of human cognition, therefore conjecturing that individuals produce information as cognitive misers, following from this we categorize people, objects, situations, before we engage ourselves in presumable mental processes.

According to Howard "*cognitive schemas, abstract and organized packages of information, are the cognitive version of identities*" (Howard 2000:368). Self-schemas include structured knowledge about one's self, the mental response to the question of identity: Who am I? These involve the attributions, preferences, aims, behavior patterns we relate to ourselves. Group-schemas contain information about social position, stratification status. Due to the immediate effect social position has on the apprehension of self, therefore group-schemas play a significant role in the process of identification, by enabling us to recapitulate and reduce information to key elements. As Tajfel asserts schemas are not just perceptual phenomena; they can serve as explanatory devices and justification of social relationships (Tajfel 1981:33). Thus, social identities are inset in sociopolitical context. Social identity theory − as I have already elaborated on it in 3.2.1. and 3.2.2. − focuses on the extent to which individuals identify themselves in relation to group memberships (Tajfel & Turner 1986:8). Based on the central notion of the theory it can be argued that individuals define themselves along social and personal

dimensions. Deaux, however, insists on an interrelation between the two, emphasising that they are inseparable. (Deaux 1993:5). The more positive concerns of the self, tend to be principles among which a person places him/herself in terms of collective categories (Simon & Hastedt 1999), illustration the connection between categorization and evaluation. Strong identification with an in-group is not necessarily in interdependence with out-group hostility. *"Only under conditions of intergroup threat and competition are in-group identification and out-group discrimination correlated"* (Branscombe&Wann 1994: 650). *Realistic conflict theory* on the other hand insists on the fact, that out-group threat and hostility result in in-group identification (LeVine&Campbell 1972).

Cognitive processes are also involved in the constitution, sustainment and change of identities. According to Islam and Hewstone attribution processes – like judgements of blame, causality, responsibility – are especially important. It is dubious whether attributional patterns are infatuated in accord with intergroup identifications and adherence. It clears up from their reseach that patterns of in group favoritism such as positive behavior of in-group members, is ascribed to internal factors, while negative behavior to external ones. *"Consistent to social identity theory, when social categorizations are salient, these attributional patterns itens*ify" (Islam and Hewstone 1993: 940).

Cognitive structures and processes are combined in Moscovici's (1981: 115-150) theory of social representations. According to this viewpoint, knowledge structures are collectively shared, arising from and shaping via social interaction and communication (Augoustinos&Innes 1990: 213-231).

The principle theorem of symbolic interaction is that people attribute symbolic meaning to objects, behaviors, situations and they grow and convey these meanings through interaction. People treat objects, not on the basis of their attributions, but on the bases of the message they transmit to them. Interactionist approaches to identity alter in their emphasis on the structure of identity, moreover on the way procedures and discussions construct identities. "The more structural approach relies on the concept of role identities, the characters a person develops, as an occupant of specific social positions, explicitly linking social structures to persons" (Stryker 1980:15). Role identities are hierarchical based on their salience to the self and the degree to which we are connected

to them. The other approach stresses the procedure of identity constructions and deliberation. Deliberation about who people is crucial in developing mutual designation of situations, 'theses negotiations imply self-presentation or impression management' (Goffman 1959:45). Therefore, identities are strategic social productions generated through social interaction, with social and material entailment. According to Goffman's notion, externally obvious status hierarchies are set to "interactional cogs". Members of "total institutions" are exposed to compulsory visibility and to "normalising judgement" contracting them to an "average citizen". Goffman reckons that these processes, are more general, eventuating even in informal interactions.

2.2.5. Identity and Language

The interactionist literature on identity highlights the contexture, negotiation, and communication of identity through language, both directly in interaction, and discursively, through various forms of media (McAdams 1995: 365-96). Individuals produce identity through their everyday interactions. Elaborating on Hunt, it can be stated that discussion about identity has two basic branches of learning, one concerning respect for situated identities and an engagement to basic moral tenets, the second one dealing with ways in which people handle failure to endorse these moral principles, through disowning responsibility and other 'attributional tactics' (Hunt et al 1994). Identity work is a micro-level performance of social (dis)order (Howard 2000:372). Opposed to normative order, identity can also be regarded as a flexible resource in verbal collaboration. Antaki et al (1996) identify identity change through the course of conversation, they analyse how 'contextual variations shift identity claims'. They argue that individuals being engaged in dialogue not only admit contradictory identities, but also conjure up group differences and similarities. Verkuyten (1997) criticizes social identity theory by asserting that individuals construct and destroy borders of various categories in defining themselves. Language thus bridges the cognitive and interactive traditions. Hermans (1996) suggests elaboration on a voiced notion of identity that involves collective voices and encourages greater recognition of the dynamics of dominance and social power. Rapley (1998) correctly presents this last point in his survey. He analyses the speech of an Australian politician, focusing on three questions, namely, 'How speakers construct themselves as representatives of the audience they want to persuade'; 'how the appearence of truth/fact is constructed in political rhetoric'; 'finally, how the speaker structured her case as representative of and credible for the

audience'. Rapley stresses how the politician treats identities as discursive supply in strategic manipulation of identity claims to membership category legitimacy. The scientist draws the conclusion that 'identity work' and 'facticity work' reciprocally aid each other and are rather inseparable items of successful mobilization conversation.

2.2.6. Identities Across Time

When discussing the theories of social cognition I have not elaborated on the shift identities make over time. Interactionist views deal with this question more in depth. Cote's model connects identity shift to historical cultural changes, asserting that 'certain character types are encouraged by cultures via differential socialization practices. (Cote 1996: 417-28). Another approach on the mutability of identities argues about the type of identities individuals tend to distance themselves, namely who we say we are not. Freitas has carried out research and found complex patterns of identities that intersect dimensions and as a consequence questions the primacy of so-called master statuses. "*Identity instability may also point multiple and contradictory identity goals*" (Freitas et al 1997:333).

2.2.7. Identities and space

Concerning the fact that in my dissertation I deal both with offline and online public consultation, I find it important to discuss the social psychological aspects of identity in connection with virtual space and literal space. Many recent researches on identity deal with the question of space. Cuba and Hummon reflect on "place identities", that rest on the sense of being at home. Their key question deals with the effects of mobility on place reception and interrelations between place identities and stages of a life course. (Cuba & Hummon 1993a). Lindstrom extends the previous theory with a structural element, by analysing correlation between place stratification and place identity (Lindstrom 1997). Moving forward to a more abstract level of space analysis, Ruddick's notion can be found, who argues that "public space is not simply a passive arena for predetermined social behaviors but rather an active medium for the construction of objective and subjective identities" (Ruddick 1996:135) - which approach is the closest to the one Habermas discussed in his conception about public sphere, which I still rely on as a theoretical framework of my dissertation, from a sociological point of view.

Through the above mentioned theories of space now we arrive to the most relevant space arena in reference to my dissertation, that is *cyberspace.* The most widely discussed topic by social psychologists, in connection with cyberspace is whether individuals play with their identities in virtual space or not? Playing in the sense of adopting virtual, online identities, distinct from that of the offline identity, when appearing virtually, therefore invisibly. Kendall's researches result in a negative answer. In a two-year long participant observation experiment he concluded that participants insist on questing essentialized groundings for the selves they get together and the selves they offer. Where change occurs, it is characteristically a gender-switch, but even though, they distance themselves from online experiences (Kendall 1998).

McKenna and Bargh (1998) carry out a somewhat different experiment, achieving the same result. While Kendall's participants were white men, McKenna and Bargh studied individuals with culturally stigmatized identities. Internet newsgroups provided space and possibility for anonymus interaction, where membership of the newsgroup becomes a significant part of (offline) identity. Frequent participants were more likely to experience self-acceptance and to reveal themselves to their environment. Both surveys prove for correlation between online and offline identity and for a constant preference for stable identities.

2.2.8.Difficulties in identity formation

Identity struggles may result explicit social movements. However, in the rest of my Phd thesis I do not deal with social movements in general – I focus on other forms of citizens' opinion expression - thus I find it useful here to elaborate on the importance of how identity struggle might lead to social movement.

An influential theory of social movement declares that collective identity (a frequently examined feature in the field of social psychology) motivates and generates group action. The authors exert that "*this identity requires a perception of membership in a bounded group, consciousness about that group's ideologies and direct opposition to a dominant orde*r". (Taylor & Whittier 1992: 110). Simon et al (1998) surveyed the identity by studying a movement of the elderly and simultaneously a gay movement. He came to the conclusion that both groups showed different attitudes towards willingness to participate in collective action. One favorising cost-benefit estimation, while the other motivated by collective identification as an activist. Berstein (1997) disquisited

the strategic dimensions of identity formation in collective actions, by analysing how identities that asseverate or dissemble difference from the mainstream are used in strategic collective action.

2.2.9.Politicizing the social psychological aspects of identities

Several recent experiments and studies have made a remarkable theoretical contribution to a candidly politicized social psychology of identity and indemnified analysis of how identity constructions 'serve hegemonic ends' legalizing ideologies construct identities. (Langman 1998). The author studies key moments of child advancement as 'sites of colonization', a more politicized viewpoint of socialization. She determines particular desires as key forces in constructing identity: to seek subjunction to others; the endeavor of recognition and majesty, feelings of strenuosity and empowerment, avoiding dread and concern. Langman discusses how each is exploited through socialization to defilade dependable citizens, however aiming at not presenting individuals as passive puppets.

2.2.10.Deconstructing identities

Most of what literature discussed so far makes several key stipulations: identities have an inborn, essential content, defined by a common base or a common set of experience. When identity struggles occur, they generally appear in reconstructing negative images as positive, or of decoding the original identity. A different approach initiates on the impossibility of authentic identities, based on a mutual universal root (Grossberg 1996), identities are coadjacent, defined by their unlikeness from something, processual and various.

Hall attracts attention that this deconstructive critique does not supersede inadequate notions with ''truer'' ones, and thus emphasising on the importance of thinking about the former concept. He asserts that identity is such a notion whithout which certain key questions cannot be analysed at all. For Hall, identity passes on from marking a stable core of self, to becoming a strategic concept: "identities are points of temporary attachments to the subject positions which discursive practices construct for us" (Hall 1996:6).

Key notions underlying this approach stand opposed to much of the traditional literature. Fragmentation marks the multiplicity of identities and of positions within the identities. "*Hybridity is also key, evoking images of liminality and border-crossings in*

which a subaltern identity is defined as different from either of several competing identities" (Howard 2000: 386). Bauman (1996) relates this identity conception and postmodernity. Hall, Bauman and Grossberg all search alternatives to exert a concept of democratic citizenship that can be wholesome in the postmodern arena. They focus on questions of operation and possibilities for action, and they insist on a notion of identity based in people's subsistence in specific communities and contexts. Therefore identites become the concern of citizenship. According to a constant critique of social cognition it draws parallel with the ostensibly natural feature of categorization, and with the seeming evidence of which dimensions become principles for categorization. Insisting on the fact that a category like "race" wouldn't exist without racist ideology. Hopkins et al reasons 'racialized categories are socially constructed, and they require a social psychology that concentrates on the social procedures through which categories are constituted, including the power relationships and social practices that have an effect on who is capable of acting based on their category construction, make them visible, and lay them on others' (Hopkins et al 1997).

Irrespective off where we array the self in terms of these models of identity, obviously contemporary research unfolds and analyzes numerous crises of confidence. One solution of these crises is an extended interest in authenticity, as a commitment to self-values. Erickson ratiocinates that authenticity has captured both cultural and sociological imagination, in some measure on account of the power of images and mass media. (Erickson 1995:130) Defending that postmodernism does not cease selves and identities, instead focuses on how they are constructed. Erickson further argues meaning and the "*challenge of achieving authenticity and meaning when most human actors experience simultaneously a multiplicity of relationships and identities*" (Erickson 1995:132). She argues for a notion of self that is both diverse and unified, both emotional and cognitive, both individual and social, a concept that stays rather close to the traditional concepts of identity. According to the postmodern view authenticity, no longer quests for being true to self under all circumstances, but rather for being true to self in context of self in relationship.

2.2.11.Future Identities

There are several co-existing traditions on the aspects of identity, that seldom are combined. The traditional social psychological view describes identity as specificable, ponderable, undispersed and rational. The interrelating cognitive and interactionis approach describes identities as stable, but flexible to social context, at the same time being the characteristic feature of both individuals and social groups, bearing cognitive and affective features, functioning as resources for deliberation, motivation for social action, and as cognitive structures.

The deconstructionist approach, in accordance with postmodernist view, features identity as diverse, processual, variable, flighty, and potentially political. In foretelling future directions it is impossible not to require some interconnection between these seemingly disjointed approximations. Frable (1997) insists on a perspective of "seeing people as whole", referring to the need to address diverse identities of whole people, simultaneously asserting that the larger culture that surrounds us and the everyday like situations in which individuals operate, has an effect on identity. "*Both contexts are part of our experiences of identities*". (Frable 1997: 152).

PART I.

CHAPTER 3.

3.   **Conceptualising Trust and Confidence**

I decided to devote a chapter of my dissertation to the discussion and scientific conceptualization of trust. In case a government initiates rational discussion on a certain issue, in present case on the utilization of the 2014-2020 development funds, we must presuppose the mutual existence of trust between citizens and government. Below I tend to elaborate on the concept of trust from sociological, social psychological, and communication point of view, on its origins and epistemology.

The concept of trust is a direct or transcendental component of most social notions, at the same time being applicable as an operational manner in critical theory. At first I plan to discuss on the position argued in system theory – which I have already briefly dealt with in Part I. Chapter 1. where Luhmann considers trust as being a value-neutral system-internal decision, which presupposes that trust and mistrust are symmetrically intertwined functionally (Luhman 1979:86). In his early writing about trust and power Niklas Luhmann argues that there is need for clear directions and specifications in organizations and systems concerning the appropriateness of trust and mistrust (Luhmann 1979:93). Yet, I challenge this vision with an alternative interpretation discussed by Jürgen Habermas which can be applied as an operational strategy for surveying trust in its' empirical and social allocation, without disregarding questions of validity in real social aspects, where trust plays a direct or indirect role in the basis of most organizations, societies and public interactions.

3.1. Functions of Trust

According to Luhmann the function of trust is to reduce complexity in social life (Luhamnn 1979: 71). It is indisputable that the objective world is more multi layered than any system, as Luhmann discusses systems need to reduce complexity in order to operate as systems (Luhmann 1979:32). The diversity of reality as a whole it's too complex to allow the possibility of getting to know it soundly and to allow to controll it mechanically. With increasing complexity the need for assurances such as trust, grows accordingly (Luhmann 1979:13). This notion goes parallel with the basic need for having confidence in one's own expectations and believes and to be able to practice

self-control in order to realize one's desires (Luhman 1979:4). The author questions how trust can reduce complexity, and insists on the 'raison d'etre'of both functional and intentional strategies. The functional strategy regards trust as a system-internal prescience of disappointment of expectations (ibid:79). Luhmann expresses a counter-opinion against intentional strategy by asserting the misinterpretation of *"that stable structures with persons could be founded on unstable structures within their environment"* (ibid:79).

Opposed to Luhmann's argumentation I suggest to discuss another approach that links an intentional explanation with a perspective focusing on the issue of intersubjective validity. The need for *performative certainty* (Habermas 2003:253) and the need to differentiate between things are the reason why we need to trust our acquaintance and why we requisite validity. Luhmann's notion at some point contrasts the need for knowledge and expels the probability of having knowledge at all. A major distinction between Luhmann and Habermas concerning the discussion, lays in the question whether such reduction of complexity should be systems-based functional or intentional and validity based. In the following I will elaborate on the intentional validity-based reduction where experimental analysis of trust and its social allocation is always in connection with validity claims. Although trust is often regarded as taken for granted or as an implicit premise, it can be explicitly verified through empirical research following the strategy that *"whatever can be meant can be said"* (Searle 1988: 19-20). Consequently, it can be emphasised that whatever can be trusted can be claimed to be trustworthy. Trust should never be totally based on knowledge, reflectivity is also needed in order to be able to trust our knowledge – according to the epistemology.

3.2. Knowledge and Trust

Individuals participating in social discussions or those being part of an institution might face the dilemma, when to trust and when to mistrust. Knowledge can reassure trust or mistrust if it is considered as justified true belief. We normally expect participants of rational deliberation to be able to prove their notions to themselves and to their counterparts (Brandom 1994:3). Brandom's enunciation is also applicable to the substantiable feature of trust or distrust.

Silently demonstrated trust or confessed trust are not identical notions. Trust declaration and knowledge claims are alike in the sense that they are candid and need to be

justified. Knowledge can function as the basis of creating additional trust or mistrust. Appulsing with ignorance, uncontrollability, insincerity, reason for declaring trust can be found. This form of powerless trust can be named cognitively naive trust, that in fact stands for all declared trust we encounter, as it cannot be totally proved. It can be argued that trust and mistrust are intertwined by asymmetrical relationship, as trust cannot be secured in knowledge, on the other hand mistrust can be fixed in exact knowledge, even though declarations of mistrust can also be mistaken.

In a given deliberative or social action situation four essential elements can be differentiated: the situation itself, to whom we ascribe trust, the trust that is predicated, furthermore, that to which/whom trust is assigned. Trust can be attributed to functionality, system, individuals, structures, controlling mechanisms, propositions, knowledge, presupposition, and to social actions as well. According to Weber, in order for an action to become social, the individual acting in his/her subjective understanding of the action, takes into account, relates to, and orients him/herself towards other individuals' actions (Weber 1978:4). We must surmise some trust not only in regards of instrumental actions, but also in connection with social action, in relation to other individuals, before these actions can be carried out (Gambetta 1988:219). In case of successful social actions, trust generates trust, therefore trust can either be regarded as a prerequisite of social action, or as a product of it. For interaction with instrumental or social actions trust is a requirement, in case trust is replaced by mistrust cooperation between individuals becomes impossible.

3.3.The Undesirable Situations

Thomas Hobbes described the state of nature, a world without trust, as "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short" (Hobbes 1985:186). This condition is envisaged, as finding its seed-plot in self-preservation, realized as self-defence. Thus, making self-preservation and self-defence a natural right, a norm, a condition. A natural state, although created only for the sake of argument, is an unwanted state, among other reasons, because of the lack of trust.

The sociologist Talcott Parsons stated that double-contingency is a fundamental condition for all social actions, which is the result of our unaquintance of future situations. Double-contingency occurs when participant A's actions depend on participant B's and vica versa. Double-contingency therefore results in indecisive and

unstable social relations, which in fact is capable of baffling social action. Future oriented actions in such cases are often uncertain and unpredictable. Coming from this inherent insecurity and unpredictability individuals are unable to trust one another's actions. (Parsons 1989:54).

The neoclassical economic theory [29][30]declares that actors on the market, similarly to homo oeconomicus only focus on maximising their personal benefit. They know everything and are capable of doing everything, but finally are only interested in their own profit, regardless of other actors. Profit maximisation, with the assumable existance of an invisible hand on the market, should gear all workforce, goods, service exchange to function without defaults. Similarly to state of nature, actors strive for personal benefits, without profound care for others' needs. As Hartmut Rosa points out, societies based on market economics face challenges of accelerating social processes which have negative effects on those sub-systems incapable of social acceleration (Rosa 2003:20).

One common feature in the above mentioned three theories – Thomas Hobbes' model, Talcott Parsons' double contingency, or the neoclassic economic theory – is characterised by individualism. The outcomes of these situations are rather predictable, at the same time mirroring why trust among individuals – and between state and individual – is difficult to be accomplished. As a result, unless structurally created mistrust between institution and individual is repealed, social stability does not become feasible. The other common characteristic feature of the mentioned models is that they describe individuals' freedom and autonomy as a result of other individuals' uncertainty and uncontrollability. Social interaction is often characterized by social scrimmage, as individual freedom is expected to be realized through the demolish of others' freedom. The state of nature, citizen revolt are all consequences of such thread, which implies that the above discussed models are all undesirable state for the actors of social sphere. Culture, common knowledge, norms, beliefs, family structures, optimally functioning institutions, community collaboration are all tools for avoiding the realization of the state of nature, double contingency and boundless mistrust. In reality there is a conjugation between acting according to one's own interest and in favour of the

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[29] My discussion on neoclassical economics is based on the assumptions of E. Roy Weintraub (2007).
[30] The term was first used by Thorstein Veblen in his 1900 article of "*The Preconceptions of Economic Science*".

community. This is the reason why public consultations – and the lessons detracted from them – can be useful, operating in a well functioning state.

3.4. Trust created in light of expectations

There is a widly acknowledged scientific agreement about trust as being a concept related to expectations. It is linguistically possible to rephrase all sentences containing trust with expectation, however the reverse is not always possible, because only the expression "trust" has a positive value-laden nature. On the other hand, the value-free expectations can be described as:

"*The basic stuff or ingredient of social interaction, being the basic stuff of the psysical world. Expectations are the meanings actors attribute to themselves and others as they make choices about which actions and reactions are rationally effective and emotionally and morally appropriate. All social interaction is an endless process of acting upon expectations, which are part cognitive, part emotional and part moral*" (Barber 1983:9).

Expectations and trust function as a sort of self-revelation, concerning whom we trust during our social interactions and whom not. The unknown and strange is usually less trustable than the well-known. Erving Goffman draws parallel between social self-revelation and relationship to trust, in connection with stage actors:

"*It is apparent that if performers are concerned with maintaining a line they will select as team-mates those who can be trusted to perform properly. Thus children of the house are often excluded from performaces given to guests for a domestic establishment because of children cannot be trusted to behave themselves, ie: to refrain from acting in a way inconsistent with the impression that is being fostered*" (Goffman 1959: 95-96).

Trust is needed in order to secure social action when we confront unclarity, insecurity and lack of knowledge. Trust grants continuos social action, while mistrust intermits it. Trust as legitimacy is something that cannot be officially controlled, trust is always determined by the other. Expectations presuppose future trusts, as an emotional function, they can either be complied or thwarted, but always kept on a normative ground. The most essential function of norms is to abrogate double contingency by reciprocally stabilizing normative expectations in light of mutual knowledge. Apology and forgiveness on the other hand, function as trust rebuilding social construction.

3.5.The Cognitively Naive Trust

Trust creating mechanisms are in fact insecurity minimazing structures. In context of politics, decision preparing procedures should best be public, in order not to become insufficient in functioning, thus public can be used as a monitoring contraption to stabilize trust. Publicity secures the separation of the public and private, at the same time minimizing actions oriented to self interest (Weber 1978: 957). Procedures where mistrust turns to trust are much slower than those processes where trust has to be changed into mistrust, because trust similarly to experience and knowledge is built up over time. As Anthony Giddens states, trust shall, in order to be active, be created and won. (Giddens 1990:15). One cannot simply presuppose that it is present (Bech 1999: 130). According to Habermas trust is a concept of validity, which similarly to truth, neither belongs solely to the judging person, nor to the object judged (Habermas 2003:90). When we think about an atomic power plant's security, expectations are of an epistemic significance. It is not the atomic power plant itself which we trust in, but the relationship and the previously gained knowledge between our expectations and the atomic power plant. Trust is always in connection with our acquaintance about the object of trust, because we have no reason to distrust our knowledge, however we may distrust the object. In case of propositional knowledge, we need to believe in the approbation ensuring a belief as valid. We can construe a proclamation of trust as a linguistic judgement, as an assessment of our expectations. Trust in its explicit form would be a declaration of trust and an empirical linguistic adjudication. The way how judgement is made can be interpreted as corresponding to a learning process, as we are only capable of revising our judgement hereafter. We construe trust as a judgement and modulate it in light of our experience that function as learning process, however later this process can be confirmed as wrong. Quoting Charles Sanders Peirce *"fallabilism is the doctrine that our knowledge is never absolute, but always swims, as it were, in a continuum of uncertainty and of indeterminacy"* (Peirce 1958 vol I. 171). Morever, it can be stated that this is a condition for all forms of empirical knowledge. Ultimately we can only have trust in our ability and volition to learn, therefore understand it as a form of linguistic judgement, while assuring the continuos existance of a component of uncertainty bound to trust, as alternative possibilities will always exist that we cannot control. Declared trust will therefore in the end always be cognitively naive in the meaning fallible, therefore having an element of unfounded faith (Giddens 1994:34).

There are two reasons why declared trust can be seen as cognitively naive. *Firstly*, because guaranteed future predictions are not at our disposal. Trust based on experience involves a logically invalid syllogistic generalization, in the presumption that what we experience in the present, will be prevalent in the future. Trust and mistrust are expectations rooted in the present, but aimed at the future. *"Expectations are in their function aimed towards a future, despite their grounding in the present"* according to Niklas Luhmann (Luhmann 1979:12). *"To show trust is to anticipate the future, it is to behave as though the future was certain"* (Luhmann 1979:10). As the notion states future will be equivalent with the past, which is irrational and often proves to be false.

Trust is often connected to state operations or other individuals' future action, it is difficult to obviate the element of invalid inductive generalization. In David Hume's understanding it is a faulty naturalistic inference, which indicates past actions' validity for future ones. Aristotle explained the same notion as being a generalizing inference concerning that something which is valid for some is likely to become valid for all (Holland 1986:230 quoting Hume and Aristotle). Inductive generalization, as we saw in the above discussion concludes from past to future and from some to all. None of the mentioned syllogisms can finally be validated, if we do not clarify the phrase "all", as it cannot refer to all cases at all times. We cannot suppose that all lawyers are trustworthy in the present and will be in the future, without perpetrating an inductive fallacy. Nelson Goodman phrases the problem as follows:

"Predictions, of course, pertain to what has not yet been observed. And they cannot be logically inferred from what has been observed; for what has happened imposes no logical restrictions on what will happen" (Goodman 1972:371).

Ulrich Beck conceptualizes the link between past and future as: *"The concept of risk, reverses the relationship of past, present and future. The past loses its power to determine the present"* (Beck 1999:137).

Secondly, that trust turns into blindness and naivity is known as the problem of other minds: since we don't have direct access to other's consciousness. Other individuals' intentions and purposes are unseeable for us, unless they decide to share it with us through communication. Even though we face the risk of untrue communication. The above dealt concept of trust conjectures that either mistrust is neglected, or trust and mistrust have symmetrical features. As a result, individuals' self-determination, the

controversy with other individuals' mind, fallability in connection with empirical knowledge and the inductive nature of trusting result in a conclusive argument. Declared trust stays cognitively naive, because we are unable to foretell the future, moreover, we don't even have direct admittance to other people's intentions and to their mind.

Therefore, we can say, that positively experienced trust, constructed over time, having a future functional role in relationships faces problem of invalid induction and the unforseeable nature of the future. Declared trust as a consequence will always be peccable. This ratiocination opposes the notion that several social processes would be unexplainable without trust, and it objects that trust is critical. If we bring into the discussion the notions of trust and mistrust, then the resultate changes, especially if we take into account the pragmatic and functional necessity, where trust becomes generator of social action. In a social sense, trust cannot be regarded as naive, but as a functional premise for many wanted social occurence.

3.6. The Assymetric Expanse of Trust and Mistrust

In our contact with the world and with other individuals, for counter-factual bases, it becomes necessary to manifest and surmise trust. Trust is a precondition for numerous social procedures. A counter-factual principle for trust's generative character could be that a specific process could not at all exist without trust being present between parties. According to Quine in a counter-factual illation, Q (representing someting or the other individual) is defined by P (standing for something or the other individual), in a way that cannot be truth-functional and therefore doesn't belong to the formal logic. A counter factual link between P and Q does not indicate a formal logical relationship, but more probably causal relationship or family ties (Quine 1982:23).

According to Luhmann the premise of "if there were no oxygen I could not breathe" is true and valid for casual principles. Despite trust declarations being blind and fallible, for counter-factual reasons trust must be profert, because majority of social encounters and social constructions are built on it, and without its presence would be impossible to accomplish them. Trust is often declared as a necessary precondition for the advance of other social processes. Money media, power media, judicial media and scientific knowledge production are based on cognitively unjustified trust, which is a precondition of their social mediator operation. (Luhmann 1979:48).

The reason why we have to trust, is derived from the counter-factual preamble that for the existence and functioning of specific social phenomenon we need to build them on trust. Therefore trust is not normatively and socially naive, but precious and needed, which clearly functions as an asymmetry between trust and mistrust. This distinction between the functional and cognitive principles of the declaration of trust exfoliates when trust can independently function from mistrust. If we consider trust and mistrust a conceptual pair, looking at them as binding and coherent grandeurs, they can then be freed from blindness and gullibility, which concepts are otherwise connected to a purely cognitive declaration of trust.

Trust and mistrust are not simple opposites (Giddens 1990:37). Trust and mistrust exclude each other in the sense that we cannot suppose the presence of both at the same time, its declaration would be a repugnance that no one would keep to. This results from the asymmetrical relation lying between the two concepts. Trust is rounded by certain cognitive fallibility and blindness, opposed to this, mistrust does not surmise the notion of blindness. Expectations may simply be deceived one time in order to rationally justify the presence of mistrust. Trust is reconstituted and built up over time, but one single experience of dupery is enough to abrogate trust, before opinion can justly be modified and mistrust declared. From the perspective of time, it is characterised by asymmetry, as the logic of building trust and dissolving trust and creating mistrust, are completely opposite. It is possible for an individual to operate from totally different perspectives of trust concerning another individual or social actor, for example it is possible to trust in a doctors medical skills but mistrust his/her cooking skills at the same time. Such an atomistic trust based on specific features is possible in interaction between individuals, but not in the course of social actions. A differentiated notion of trust has to be synthesized in order to funcion in a type of cost-benefit evaluation, which is especially hard to accomplish if we take into consideration future actions. In social aspect trust usually operates in future oriented actions. Trust is maintained and rebuilt when a person reacts to rational commitments expected of them. Not being committed might terminate trust relationship. According to Brandom competent linguistic practitionars follow their own and each others' commitments and entitlements, as deontic scorekeepers (Brandom 1994:142). Resulting from this deontic record it is not possible to build trust on juggled grounds. Trust based relationships take the retrieval of

obligation and commitment. Making trust explicit requires a rather sensible tool to analyse social phenomena.

While trust building requires loads of time, experiencing mistrust is possible to be followed repeatedly in a short period of time. The declaration of mistrust has not to be escalated in the future and its induction is not connected to others' invisible thoughts and intentions, it can obviously be deduced from observable behaviour. Mistrust is characterised by changed behaviour, while trust is shown in continously stable conduct, which can be referred to as functional asymmetry. It is the declaration of trust that is characterised by questions of blindness. The asymmetry between trust and mistrust can be detected in the declaration of trust becoming inductive and naive. Opposed to this mistrust only requires a single disillusionment of expectations. Mistrust can be grounded singularly and finally with reference to risk, danger, insincere and unjust way of communication, or retrospectively with reference to contravention of trust, and factually disenchanted expectations. (Giddens 1990:37). Mistrust marks what one should not do, whom one should not believe in. A naively hopeful trust can only indicate that who has not disillusioned our expectations yet, will not do in the future either. If at the onset one's expectations are filled with mistrust, that one cannot be disappointed by the outcome of the encounter, can only become positively astonished by the lack of negatively fulfilled expectations. The asymmetry in connection to trust reveals itself in relation with the expectations we reflexively stabilize by showing trust can always be disappointed (Luhmann 1979:79). The drawback of indefinite expectation of mistrust is that this incumbers the probability of successful social action. It is therefore practically impossible to live in a constant condition of mistrust.

We can suspect mistrust if there is inconsistency between the content of the speakers' speech and action. Sincerity, therefore, can only be invalidated, but not validated by observation. There is a close connection between the concept of trust and that of the validity claims. Sincerity is a necessary pragmatic, but not sufficient condition for creating trust. Culturally seen, trust is defined as a positive notion, on the contrary mistrust is not simply defined as a negative charateristics but as the concept of lack of trust. In other words, trust is a desirable condition, while mistrust is an undesirable condition. The demand of trustworthiness can be understood as a demand for performative consistency. Mendacity, deceit, dupery are all forms of performative inconsistency. An expression first of all has to be understandable, interpretable, in order

to be regarded as a rational basis for the declaration of trust. Trust and distrust can be considered as judgements we set in connection with relations to individuals, organizations, systems, media, knowledge. Individuals wish that every applied judgement be normatively adequate. Trust is invalidated when even one single validity claim proves to be unfulfilled.

In this chapter I have dealt with the concept of trust, since I regard it a critical notion. Above I have presented the different forms of asymmetry between trust and mistrust. Opposed to mistrust, trust seems to have both culturally and functionally a positive connotation. Evolving trust is time consuming and functions inductively, whereas mistrust can be built quickly and justified by a single ground. As indicated by new asymmetry, trust can occur as cognitively naive, but socially and functionally necessary. The asymmetry refers to the fact that trust cannot be concluded from the absence of mistrust, therefore showing that trust understood positively and grounded in experience cannot be established as a well-proved true belief. On the other hand, distrust can be declared well justified, resulting from a single experience. The probability of being wrong in a material judgement is rather low, even though sources of error in perception might eventuate. The declaration of trust, thus, can never be considered as cognitively secure and based on certain knowledge. Although, trust does not find as much cognitive support as desired, still, the existence of a number of social, functional and moral reasons claim trust, even beside the risk of blindeness and beside the fear of becoming disillusioned.

In the normative and expressive dimension, trust can functionally be legitimated, without being naive in the end. It can be unethical to claim distrust without proved reason. A declaration of trust can only be ethical in case of not being honest. This conclusion opposes the strategic frame of self-propelling mistrust, rooted in several theoretical structures. In the end, the discussion on asymmetry suggests that there is something inconsistent in the way Luhmann regards trust and mistrust as functionally adequate value-neutral ways for a system to decrease complexity. [31]

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[31] Luhmann's assumption of functional equality presupposes reflexivity, and a certain kind of identity. In case a relation is transitive and non-symmetrical, as I have discussed, than it cannot be reflexive. The functional identity between trust and mistrust would not be possible, although they may share certain features. Luhmann's logic is by correspondance, and even though rhetorically persuasive, still invalid. In my argument value neutrality would assume a reflexivity, that does not exist (which Luhmann hypotheses by functional equivalence).

Most of the concepts – like constraint, illegitimacy – that critical theory opposes, creates mistrust when surveyed in a specific social context, and are operationally sensible to an analysis adopting trust as its analytic viewpoint. As a result, trust is a critical concept, not only from the sense that most social procedures in their bases presume one form of trust or another, but also critical in the sense of a probable analytic prospect at disposal of critical theorists who wish to make operational the ideas of Jürgen Habermas and his fellow theorists'. The close relation to validity claims, the notion of knowledge, norms, and honesty link the analysis of trust to the framework declared by Habermas. Therefore, trust can be regarded as an operational strategy of analysis, because meaning in a social stance is not only pragmatically aspectable in the allocation of consensus and divarication, but also concerning the concept of trust and mistrust, which can be made sincere and traceable in its social division, from which comes that trust is a critical concept.

3.7. Changes in the concept of trust as social capital in Hungary

Beside Luhmann's abstract categories of trust discussed in the previous part it is worth mentioning the fundamental notions declared by Francis Fukuyama (1996), who approaches social trust from the perspective of national cultures in order to predict the underlying features that bolster social and economic prosperity. Although, looking at societies from an economic view he declares that only those with a high potential of social trust will be able to bring about the large-scale business organizations that are needed to compete in the new global sphere. Based on this idea introduces countries classified as high-trust societies (like Japan, Germany, the United States) and low-trust societies (like France, southern Italy, Hong Kong, Taiwan, South Korea), the latter being explained with extremly strong family bonds that thwart trust outside the immediate family which hinders the creation of large-scale enterprises. It is questionable whether tested on a larger scale it would end up the same result. Even among the countries Fukuyama examines, he neglects the vital economic contribution of the small and medium-sized firms.

In modern societies we can observe the emergence of two types of models: one builds on social capital, trust and solidarity while the other sees the financial capital, fiscal aspects as primary. The first model, which was basically the vision of the founding fathers of the European Union, especially that of Robert Schumann's considers the

compliance with moral principles and social norms fundamental, built on trust, solidity, the functioning of a strong civil society, in other words on the strenghtening of social capital. Numerous researches in the past decades show that social capital is a real capital, its reinforcement is a more reliable basis of economic prosperity than any fiscal model.

The defining of social capital has four major approaches: anthropological, sociological, economical and political. The anthropological view states that cooperation, community and trust are people's major needs. During the past centuries these needs were not questioned rather toned-up, communities considered to be functioning as individuals' life frame. Due to industrial developments and urbanization, that occured in the past three centuries the cooperation and community concept of modern and postmodern societies' had to be reformulated.

The sociological approach originates from the phenomena of social norms and human motivation and describes the significance of trust, mutuality, and community networks from this perspective. For the definition of social capital from a sociological viewpoint the works of Coleman (1988) and Bourdieu (1986) can be considered fundamental. Both of them emphasize the significance of correlation between different forms of capital. Among the Hungarian sociologists the works of Andorka Rudolf (1996) are seen as essential.

The economical approach accentuates that cooperation and trust are crucial economic factors. Since it is not my aim to examine the effects of social capital on economy in this paper, I do not intend to elaborate on this approach.

In political studies it is highlighted that the strenghtening of social capital is vital for the affirmation of democracy, social solidarity and sustainable development. A major difference between social capital and financial or human capital can be detected in the fact that it is not the characteristic of an individual's property but that of a social community. Therefore we can speak about the social capital of a country, region, city, thus being an ecologiocal not an individual peculiarity. According to its definition social capital is such an investment which aims at developing group identity, Jane Jacobs referred to it as the "value of networks" (Jacobs, 1961:138). Decades later the term regained its popularity serving as focus of a World Bank research programme and major element of mainstream intellectuals' writings, among others Robert Putnam (2000)

made significant research in the topic of social capital. Friendship, trust, common norms and aims can be considered such investments that foster social cooperation through which they serve better economic efficiency. Evidently, most descriptions declare trust as the basics of social capital, however it is questionable, whether trust is the result of a strong social capital or it is its core element. No matter whether we characterise it as reason or as cause it is undeniably a major feature of social capital. Within social capital we can differentiate between three dimensions: bonding (referring to strong family ties) bridging (concerning bridges between colleagues and distant friends[32]), linking (in regards of networks between different social groups) (Skrabski & Kopp, 2007:15 own translation).

According to the OECD's 2001 study the measuring of social capital is still not in an advanced stage. The applied scientific instruments use trust, mutuality and participation as main indicators. These scientific instruments examine attitudes, opinions, behavior patterns. Concerning attitudes and opinions the role of cultural factors are significant, therefore based on such surveys only prudent intercultural conclusions can be drawn.

In Hungary the representative Hungarostudy researches have dealt with the concept of social capital, among others involving trust as a key element. These studies were carried out for several years: in 1988, 1995, 2002, 2006 (Kopp et al, 2008:34). Based on Putnam (1993:22) social capital was defined along three dimensions, such as trust or distrust concerning the social environment, help offered by others or given to others, moreover, help received by civil organization or commitment towards such an organization. The social indexes were defined as trust, competitive attitude and participation in civil organizations.

According to an international research (OECD: 2001) the highest rate of trust can be found in the Scandinavian countries: 65% of Norwegians and 60% of Swedes declare that co-citizens are trustful, thus only 35% of Norwegians and 40% of Swedes can be considered as socially distrustful. According to a recent OECD civic engagement survey (OECD, 2015) people in Sweden are highly engaged in politics – 86%[33] voted in the

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[32] According to a TÁRKI survey 7 out of 10 Hungarians trust at some level in their colleagues, distant friends, while the rest of the population trust the mentioned group slightly. However, the general trust level of the Hungarian society is rather law, 56% stating they do not trust anybody (Tárki: 2009& 2013).
[33] Voter turnout is defined as the percentage of the registered population that voted during the surveyed election.

last parliament election.[34] [35] Another significant data from the mentioned survey is that among OECD countries Australians feel the strongest sense of community, 92% report they have someone they can rely on.

In the changing societies of the Central-Eastern European region, the level of trust – in general towards all the actors of society – is significantly lower than in Western-European countries, and particularly lower compared to the Scandinavian Countries. Distrust and corruption have a close connection with each other. In this respect in Hungary the statements like "one cannot be prudent enough", "one cannot be careful enough" are considered very important by research subjects (Kopp: 2008 own translation). It is questionable however that trust without circumspection would be a realistic approach under our conditions, or it is rather the consideration of social reality.

According to the Hungarostudy researches the level of distrust has changed a lot in the past decades. While between 1995 and 2002 it has decreased, it increased significantly between 2002 and 2006 and since then to nowadays onwards. The level of impairment and distrust has increased significantly as well, which refers to the severe moral state and mentation. Interestingly, trust in family relationships and friendships has not decreased significantly, which indicates the viability of the Hungarian society (Utasi, 2002:21). Comparing different countries Fukuyama (1996) has proved that economic prosperity is closely related to the strength of social capital. Surveying only the Italian provinces Putnam (2000) arrived to the same conclusion. The mentioned changes in the social capital indexes have a significant role in Hungary's economic prosperity likewise.

3.8. Distrust in our contemporary Hungarian society

For discussing the current Hungarian situation I take as reference Ronald Inglehart's researches, who collects the World Value Survey results since 1981 in order to classify among two dimensions the attitudes and their changes present in each country. According to them the value structure of societies can vary among traditional and modernized/secularized value, on the other hand it can differ based on material or self-expression dimension. In case of Hungary concerning self-expression value it has "closed" characteristics, while concerning secularized-rational values the "rational" is

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[34] According to the same study voter turnout in Hungary was 62% in the most recent election, while the OECD average being 68%.
[35] High voter turnout is a measure of citizen's participation in policy making process, which is an essential element of trust in government that is necessary for social cohesion and well-being.

typical. (Inglehart, 2005: 257). Based on Keller (2009:77) Hungarian way of thinking is far away from the core western culture, nearing the orthodox culture. Hungarians based on the dimensions of self expression compared to Western-European countries can be featured as follows:

- we consider civilian and political rights less important
- the daily political activity is of a lesser significance for us
- we barely tolerate otherness
- self-fulfilment is of little relevance
- we do not trust others

As a result of the European comparative research four such dimensions were specified that can characterize the Hungarian community relations (based on Tóth: 2009):

- Hungarian society lacks trust
- social inequality is barely tolerated
- the judgement of corrupt behaviour is uneven
- the tax rate of state services are in general underestimated, therefore the expectations towards it are higher than the state's possible performace

Based on the survey results Hungary can be put into the lower middle group in comparison to other European countries concerning the amount of trust towards institutions. It is worth differentiating between trust in general and trust towards institutions, concerning the latter one Hungary has even worse results than the Western-European countries.[36] In general, as I have already mentioned in this part, Scandinavian countries can be typified with the highest amount of trust, while post-socialist countries have the lowest amount. Among the Swedes, Danish, Finnish, Swiss and Dutch the amount of trust towards others and each other is bewteen 50-70%, while in case of Cipriots, Portuguese, Romanians, Serbians, Slovaks, Latvians, Moldavians, Polish and Greek the amount is below 20%.

According to a 2009 Gallup research that was carried out in 120 countries of the world, surveying future aspects of certain nations and countries Hungary was ranked 117 (out of 120) in regards of their vision concerning the future. 34 % of Hungarians considered their future hopeless, while only 10% of Polish, 7,5% of Germans, 3% of Austrians,

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[36] In our region only the Serbians and Czechs have a lower level of institutional trust.

0.8% of Danish, 0.6% of Dutch and 0.5% of Norwegians had the same dark vision about their own future. A 2011 Pew Global Attitudes Project research – the most current that is at my disposal containing data about Hungary – has also detected that Hungarians are the most pessimistic among Central-Eastern European countries. 77% of Hungarians declared that they do not trust th current political system, and only 15% felt satisfied concerning their own life, while this rate (satisfaction in relation to own life) in Russia was 35%, in Poland 44%, in Czech Republic 49%.

In Hungary the social-economical status of the individual has a great effect on his/her level of general trust towards others. Those with higher educational level tend to be more trustful (54% declare they trust people in general). Compared to Western-European countries even individuals with higher educational level tend to trust their co-citizens less. Trust towards foreigners in general is very low (depending on what kind of knowledge we have about that individual or social group). (Bernát, 2009:23). One certain trust factor is age, Hungarians tend to trust more in elderly than in young people – all age groups agree on this. At the same time they apt to distrust rich and trust poor, while distrusting atheists and trusting religious citizens (Tóth, 2009:263).

Concerning public confidence, the level of trust is dramatically low in relation to parliamentarians, bankers, journalists. According to the 2009 research on a 10 point scale Hungarian citizens give a score of 2 for political institutions, concerning the press and the legal system the given score is 3.5. Among public institutions, the State Audit Office of Hungary, the Hungarian National Bank, the Police are relatively trustable, but still under the average – medium – rate (Tóth, 2009:265).

The Hungarian results are not only low in regards of general trust but also in regards of participatory elements of social capital – Hungarians are inclined to socialize the least amount of time with their neighbours among European countries. Also concerning assistance given to other people and engagement in civic organizations Hungary is in the bottom group – the former one being specifically the lowest rate among European countries, while the latter being the third lowest, preceding Romania and Bulgaria (Giczi-Sík, 2009:70).

Akerlof and Shiller (2009:34) stated that the fact whether we trust others or not is in interconnection with the view we form about them, concerning their expected behaviour towards us in a similar trust situation. Low trust level against public institutions is in

close connection with the image we form about them, namely citizens are not convinced about the operational cleanness of these organizations, they suppose institutions might be contaminated by corruption. In fact, according to citizens in Hungary all institutions are corrupt at some extent. The worst situation can be detected in business sphere and concerning political parties, but the Parliament, public media, central government fall under similar perceptions. The opinion is slightly better about local councils, public health, police and the court (based on TÁRKI economic culture research). Among the World Value Survey countries Hungarian citizens are the most convinced concerning the approach that the actors of economy can only grow rich at each others expense. Compared to the rest of the European countries in Hungary revenue disparity is relatively small, even though citizens feel that revenue disparity is huge (Tóth, 2008: 493).

The same research has been carried out in 2013 as well (examining the level of trust and the value structure of the Hungarian society), which got the following findings: (based on TÁRKI research, 2013)

- the value strucure of the Hunagrian society did not undergo significant changes
- the general level of trust is still low, however there is a slight improvement concerning institutional trust
- the expectation towards state functions is lower, however trust concerning welfare actions of the state has improved.

In general can be stated that in Hungary the lack of trust is significant. Interestingly, while Hungarians condemn transgression, they do think that citizens in general are norm-breakers. Lack of trust is not only present in relation to co-citizens but towards public institutions as well. Since the 1990 the majority of the population claims that it is impossible to grow rich in this country in a fair way, moreover progression is only possible through violating rules. In international comparison it can sharply be detected how malformed the view concerning active (through hard work) and passive (through personal networks) social progression is in Hungary. Among the European Union member states it is Hungarians who consider the most important family ties and social networks, while the least amount of citizens agree that good education and hard work can be a means of progression as well (Lannert 2009:145). According to Hankiss (2009:56) the deficiencies of the Hungarian value structure can be explained with the

late civilization, with the more than four hundred years of colonization, and the continuous faults committed by the elite.

PART II.

CHAPTER I.

1. A discourse analysis – the appearance of online public opinion in relation to the use of 2014-2020 development funds, and its significance in offline policy making

In the following, I tend to elaborate on the public consultation initiated in the topic of the use of 2014-2020 development funds by the Deputy State Secretariat of Cohesion Policy Communication of the Government of Hungary. The research plans to underpin and implement the concepts and findings of rational deliberation, trust and mistrust between government bodies and citizens, and the way identity influences opinion formation that were discussed in the theoretical part of my disseration. The research plans to focus on a specific aspect of social communication, namely the relationship between individual and group, the effect of identity on the willingness of opinion formation and its public expression, the building of trust between govenment and citizens. I am also interested in, whether a public consultation can reach all segments of society, or only a politically interested and socially active few.

I am especially curious about attitudes, ways of thinking, social and individual norms, value systems, emotional attitudes that influence the outcome of such a consultation. My research is about two different consultation processes, dealing with the same topic. The first consultation was carried out between 19th November and 16th December 2013, while the consultation being chosen as the second object of my analysis took place between 7-25th November 2014. (Both being available online at http://palyazat.gov.hu/2014_2020_as_operativ_programok_tarsadalmi_egyeztetese). I opt for these two consultations, because they are the first and last one (so far) being carried out in this topic. The first one was executed before the submission of the Partnership Agreement to the European Commission (3rd March 2014) while the second one being accomplished after the revision of the Operational Programmes' texts and after the publication of 2 more Operational Programmes. Therefore I decided to make a comparative analysis of these two consultations, in order to observe, whether there was any variation between the communication strategies used, between the commenters' identities, and whether greater trust can there be traced between government bodies and publicly deliberating citizens.

The research in other words, is about citizen participation engendering in a free – free from any attached strings – dimension, about their relationship to the professional political sphere. The posts and comments written in relation to the 8 Operational Programmes, are analysed from the viewpoint regarding to what extent did the citizen comments constitute the context of political products.

As we saw in Part I. Chapter 1. – when I dealt with the distinction between public and private – the attitude of public governance to private opinion flow was in constant change. Following the early resistance from public policy makers side, later we could detect an attitude change, concerning the recognition that an online citizen participation – public deliberation, could be of their benefit. In light of these circumstances I carry out my research, with the help of discourse analysis and comparison of two public consultations, to prove that the online participatory sphere has an effect on offline professional policy making.

Beside the above mentioned aim I have the following four hypothesis that I plan to approve or confute:

− I assume, that online consultations, provide a space for inclusive public deliberation.
− I assume, that online consultations generate and connect networks of interest or practice.
− I suppose, that online interaction between representatives and represented leads to greater trust between them.
− I suppose, that most online discussion is uniform and of poor quality.

My survey is accomplished with the help of discourse analysis, which is a promising way of research used by scientists worldwide. I know that discourse analysis does not work with initial hypothesis, but rather carries out an analysis and draws conclusions based on what the researcher has found. I also plan to do the same. My four hypothesis reflect my curiosity concerning the topic, it does not mean that it has any initial effect on the way I carry out my discourse analysis. I chose this method because it describes social actions through language in the most accurate way. According to Jonathan Potter and Margaret Wetherell discourse analysts suggest the following:

− Language is used for a variety of functions and its use has a variety of consequences

– Language is both constructed and constructive

– The same phenomena can be described in a variety of ways

– There will, therefore, be considerable variation in accounts

– There is, as yet, no foolproof way to deal with this variation and to shift accounts which are 'literal' or 'accurate' from those which are rhetorical or merely misguided thereby escaping the problems variation raises for researchers with a 'realistic' model of language [Potter & Wetherell 1987:67].

Political discourse analysis is a special field used to analyse and to focus on discourse in political forums (such as debates, speeches, hearings, consultations) as the phenomenon of interest. Political discourse is an informal exchange of reasoned views as to which several alternative courses of action should be taken to solve a societal problem [Johnson, 2000:27].

4.1. Why discourse analysis

In the present part I plan to justify why I decided to use discourse analysis as a methodological tool for my research and I also plan to elaborate on how I used it as a methodology. Due to the fact that this type of analysis can be applied to any piece of writing or recorded communication it is currently used from media studies, to rhetoric, cultural studies, political science, psychology and cognitive science. According to Berelson it can be used for gaining information with the following purposes: (1) reveal international differences in communication content; (2) demonstrate the occurance of propaganda; (3) detect the intentions, or communication trends of an individual, group or institution; (4) elaborate on attitudinal and behavioral responses to communications; (5) decree psychological and emotional state of individuals and groups [adapted from Berelson, 1952:12].

From the two general categories – conceptual and relational – I plan to rely on the latter one as a methodological concept of my research analysis. Conceptual analysis establishes the existence and frequency of concepts represented by words or phrases in a text. Relational analysis on the contrary, goes one step further by exploring the relationships among notions in a text, namely it focuses on meaningful relationships [Carley, 1992:67]. Palmquist asserts that concepts are 'ideational kernels' that can be regarded as symbols which acquire meaning through their connection to other symbols (Palmquist, 1997:58).

Discourse analysis is a general term for a number of approaches to analyze written, vocal or sign language use. The objects of discourse analysis are characterized in terms of coherent sequence of sentences, propositions, speech. Discourse analysts are not only engaged in the study of language use but inclined to analyze 'naturally occuring' language use, not invented examples (Tannen, 2016).

Tracy and Mirivel discuss the steps of discourse analysis as follows. According to them the first step should be to audio or videotape human interaction, then a transcript of the selected segments of interaction should be made. They refer to the creation of a transcript as a fundamental act of DA. As a third step a data session for a small group of people should be organized, in order to make them listen to or view the tape of the interaction, followed by a discussion. Finally, a scholarly argument should be developed, while reflecting on what has been observed [Tracy-Mirivel, 2009:154]. As the described discourse analysis process applies to verbal communication, I only plan to use it for gaining data from my semi-structured interview sessions.

As for the analysis of the comments' text I follow the 10-step methodological logic set up by Chilton (2004) and Schneider (2013) in their discussion about discourse analysis. As a first step Schneider mentions the importance of establishing a context, meaning to understand where the material comes from and in which social and historical context it was produced. Moreover, to get to know whether the analysed material is a response to a major event or not and how it was received at the time of publication. Concerning my analyzed document, the content comes from commenters, potential beneficiaries of the European cohesion funds – individuals and professional organizations likewise. Both the social and historical context in which the texts appear is significant, since it is the first time for Hungary to compulsorily carry out such a public consultation in order to be able to submit the Partnership Agreement to the European Commission. Therefore it can be stated without a doubt that the analysed material is a response to a major event, at the time of its publication it was well received and awaited by the commenters – by those contributors who decided to express their opinion.

As a second step Schneider (2013) advises to explore the production process, that is to make a thorough background check concerning who produced the source material – their institutional and personal background. What is the political position of the organization, and its affiliation if any. Once establishing the institutional background

the researcher should describe the media and the genre he/she is working with. Correctly defining the genre helps the researcher to asses the 'genre-specific mechanisms' of the source. Some scholars argue that "the medium is the message" (McLuhan, 1964/2001:14), or rather the medium in which the message is presented is the essential element that shapes meaning. Concerning my analyzed texts in reference to who produced the text of the comment – what kind of political affiliation he/she had is hard to decide. The majority of the comments – especially in the second round – tend to show a neutral position, commenting mainly on the professional content of the text. However, if we take one step back and ask who produced the texts that functioned as the debate material, the answer is obviously, the Hungarian Government – although each Operational Programme was written by experts in the ministries responsible for the field. Concerning the genre, the documents are scientific and political at the same time. The medium in which the text were presented is definitely the Internet. In Part I. Chapter I. I have already elaborated on the peculiarities of the Internet and the reason why it is such a well- usable sphere for public deliberation.

As a third step Schneider (2013) emphasizes the importance to prepare the material for analysis. In order to fulfil this step I have downloaded the comments from the webpage (first referred to in Part II. Chapter I.1), and made them available and re-readable for future reference.

In the meaning of step four (Schneider: 2013) the material should be coded, thus assigning characteristic features to specific units of analysis, such as paragraphs, sentences, words. The coding process itself is preceeded by the setting up of coding categories. During the coding process some of the original categories might be left out and some might be added at the end. In case of working with several documents the process should be repeated as many times as many different texts are there. This is what Mayring (2002:120) calls 'evolutionary coding'. In regard of my own research I established coding categories based on the discussion of the theoretical part of my dissertation, and I also took into account the information that I had about the commenters. Therefore I created 8 coding categories – in relation to emotions, trust, scientific resources, expression of own opinion, application of encouraging utterances, social aspect, identity and parlance (respect vs.solidity) – which I plan to exert in 4.2. I applied these coding categories for the analysis of the comments in case of all the 8 Operational Programmes for both surveyed consultation periods.

As a fifth step of discourse analysis process in line with Chilton's (2004) statements I examined the structure of the text. He asks whether the discourse strands overlap in the text or not. In general concerning the analysed comment material it can be said that the texts follow the structure of the original Operational Programme, not mentioning certain individual cases which rather express emotional opinion without focusing on the original scientific content.

Step number six should be the collection and examination of discursive statements. At this point statements with a specific code should be examined, mapping out the truths that the texts manifest on each major topic. The in-depth analysis and thorough elaboration of the discursive statements will be provided in section 4.2. of my paper.

According to step seven cultural references should be identified. After defining what the context of the source material is, the question of how the context influences the analyzed material should be clarified, which will help addressing the function of intertextuality. Concerning my research analysis it can be stated that the comments contain reference to other scientific sources – beside the Operational Programme – many of the commenters prove to be experts in the commented field and also in other disciplines, therefore seeing the analysed text from other perspectives as well.

As step eight linguistic and rethorical mechanism should be identified. This step is decribed as the most time consuming but the most rewarding at the same time. At this point needs to be recognized how the various statements function at the level of language (Fairclough, 1995:27). Do they belong to a certain jargon; are there any reguliarities in the grammar usage, such as 'we' –'they' – like this the protagonist and the antagonist of the statement can be identified. Passive versus active verb usage might be similarly telling, just like modalities that signify urgency, serve as calling to action. Concerning my research it can be stated that linguistic elements are salient. Especially in regards of *'Environmental and Energy Efficiency Operational Programme'*, *'Economic Development and Innovation Operational Programme'*, *'Regional and Settlement Development Operational Programme'* the use of jargon is remarkably dominant. Grammar use is also significant (in relation to expressing difference between commenters and government institutions – we vs. they). I made this feature one of the three scales among which I carried out the coding, similarly to active and passive verb usage that functions as the second scale. The presence of modalities calling for action

are also decisive in the text. Further elaboration concerning this step will be carried out in part 4.2.

Step nine stays for interpreting data. Basically this is the point when the researcher has to define what all the received data mean, whether they have any meaning at all. Here knowledge of structural features and individual statements have to be merged. It is advisable to bear in mind questions regarding who created the source material, what is their position on the examined topic, and most importantly who might benefit from the discourse created by the sources. My research definitely has a meaning not only for the parties involved in the consultation process, but also for wider audience, for the citizens of Hungary, who indirectly all benefit from the European development funds. My analysis might be useful first of all for government representatives who plan to carry out further consultations in the future, but also beneficiaries commenting on the Operational Programmes might profit from the findings.

Lastly, step ten urges for the presentation of the findings. This is the time when the original research questions should be answered and the hypothesis should be proved or confuted based of the received data. At this point evidence from the work can be added to present the arguments. Basically part II of my dissertation - especially 4.2.– functions as the presentation of findings, with all the illustrations supporting my claims.

4.2. Scope of the research

The object of my first analysis are the incoming comments for the 8 Operational Programmes, received within the framework of a public consultation initiated by the Deputy State Secretariat of Development Policy Communication, aiming to the most effective way of using the 2014-2020 development funds, that Hungary receives from the European Union. The first online public consultation took place between 19th November – 16th December 2013. Both professional organizations and citizens who felt being affected by the use of development funds were invited to take part in the public consultation. I decided to analyse this consultation because the first reactions arrived from civil citizens, which were also used, and reflected by professional organizations (that deal with the distribution and exertion of cohesion[37] funds). In the table below –

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[37] I use the term cohesion fund as synonym of development fund in this context.

Table 2. – I show the name and number of received comments that were at my disposal (and therefore constituted the scope of my analysis) from the webpage mentioned in Part II. Chapter 1. Section 1.

Name of the Operational Programme	Number of received comments
Hungarian Fisheries Operational Programme	36
Environmental and Energy Efficiency Operational Programme	202
Human Resource Development Operational Programme	171
Economic Development and Innovation Operational Programme	186
Integrated Transport Development Operational Programme	93
Regional and Settlement Development Operational Programme	190
Competitive Central Hungary Operational Programme	92
Rural Development Operational Programme	121

Table 2. own resource

For the analysis of the comments, in order to gain the necessary information I constructed the following discourse analysis categories:

(1) expression of emotion;

(2) mentioning trust in connection with policy making institutions;

(3) reference to scientific resource, statistics;

(4) expressing own opinion;

(5) the application of encouraging expressions, the ones that encourage for taking action;

(6) comments referring to a policy's social aspect;

(7) emphasise of own identity (personal benefit from an operational programme over its social benefit);

(8) expressions concerning respect vs. solidity (first of all in language usage, in connection to government bodies)

I also determined scales on which I have marked these categories: positive vs. negative; strong vs.weak; active vs. passive. I considered a concept positive, when it beared a positive connotation (eg.love, satisfaction), while I considered a notion negative when it referred to a negative connotation (eg: hate, dissatisfaction). The difference between strongness and weakness varried in context of the stress of the expressed opinion (whether it dominated the flow of discussion or not), and the determination of active or passive depend on the type of noun the commenter used (me vs. you, me vs. the government, me vs. the EU). Table 3. in the appendix shows an extract of the applied table.

Table 4. resumes the findings of the analysis concerning the Hungarian Fisheries Operational Programme.

	Positive	Negative	Active	Passive	Strong	Weak
1.Expression of emotion	55	17	+	-	+	-
2.Mentioning trust in connection with policy making institutions	12	3	+	-	+	-
3.Reference to scientific resources, statistics	23	-	-	+	+	-
4.Expressing own opinion	38	42	+	-	+	-
5.The application of encouraging expressions, the ones that encourage for taking action	8	4	-	+	-	+
6.Comments referring to	19	12	+	-	+	-

the social aspect of policy						
7. To emphasise own identity	10	-	+	-	+	-
8. Expressions concerning respect vs. solidity	78	32	+	-	+	-

Table 4. own resource

After surveying Hungarian Fisheries Operational Programme it can be stated, that the OP itself attracted a small number of commenters, who expressed their positive emotions in a great deal (using the expressions of "it is for my great pleasure", "we are pleased to see", "I am especially grateful"[38]), beside sounding some negative emotions as well ("I am sad to read", "it infinitely exasperates me"). In general they had little reference to trust towards government bodies (or policy making bodies), but the great majority of comments were respectful in this sense. Concerning the fact that Hungary is not surrounded by sea, therefore we can only talk about fishery in connection to our natural and artificial lakes and rivers, the reference to scientific resources was relatively high. The vast majority of the commenters emphasised his/her identity, even several times within one text. Only 8 occasions could be detected in the whole series of comments when there was any call for action addressed to the policy makers, and to the government (in one case to the European Union). Moreover, in 4 cases commenters suggested not to take action ("do not forbid", "do not dissolve"). In 19 cases commenters reflected on the Operational Programme's benefits in connection to social cohesion, and community formation, its advantages on education, however 12 occasions could be detected when opinion tellers thought the Operational Programme has a negative effect on social cohesion. The commenters did not allude in a great deal to their identities, in only 10 cases did they reveal their own identity (comments signed by own name), instead of expressing opinion in name of a professional organization. As I have stated before the vast majority of online speakers expressed respect towards the government in their writings ("highly esteemed", "let me", "with a deep honorary request").

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[38] The expressions are own translations from the original text of the comments given to the mentioned Operational Programme.

Table 5. concludes the findings of the analysis concerning the Environmental and Energy Efficiency Operational Programme.

	Positive	Negative	Active	Passive	Strong	Weak
1.Expression of emotion	657	638	-	+	+	-
2.Mentioning trust in connection with policy making institutions	105	243	+	-	+	-
3.Reference to scientific resources, statistics	367	-	+	-	+	-
4.Expressing own opinion	117	152	+	-	+	-
5.The application of encouraging expressions, the ones that encourage for taking action	441	61	-	+	+	-
6.Comments referring to the social aspect of policy	297	17	+	-	+	-
7.To emphasise own identity	67	-	+	-	-	+
8. Expressions concerning respect vs. solidity	139	127	+	-	+	-

Table 5. own resource

Concerning the Environmental and Energy Efficiency Operational Programme it can be confirmed that it was the most popular, therefore the most widely debated Operational Programme with its 202 posts received. However the tendency concerning the nature of comments was identical to that of the previous one. Almost as many commenters expressed positive emotions (657) as negative (638) ones. It was more than double in amount the exertion of mistrust ("I do not believe any more", "No matter what I say") towards the policy making bodies, than the mention of trust. The reference to scientific resources (367 in number) was a lot higher than in case of the Hungarian Fisheries Operational Programme, most probably due to the researchability of the topic and its current nature of topicality. In case of the Environmental and Energy Efficiency Operational Programme there were also a big number of opinion expression, in majority

negative opinions (criticising the present outcome of the document). The most obvious difference between the so far mentioned two Operational Programmes were the amount of expressions (441) encouraging the policy makers to take action in the field. Still a high amount of idioms showed the positive aspect of the policy's social effect. Slightly more than the quarter of the commenters revealed their identity (commenters who gave their own names). Despite the fact, that reference to mistrust (as I have mentioned earlier in this section) was high, all comments showed respect in language usage.

Table 6 sums up the findings of the analysis concerning Human Resource Development Operational Programme.

	Positive	Negative	Active	Passive	Strong	Weak
1.Expression of emotion	498	502	-	+	+	-
2.Mentioning trust in connection with policy making institutions	93	87	+	-	+	-
3.Reference to scientific resources, statistics	102	1	+	-	+	-
4.Expressing own opinion	68	93	+	-	+	-
5.The application of encouraging expressions, the ones that encourage for taking action	119	58	+	-	+	-
6.Comments referring to the social aspect of policy	387	146	+	-	+	-
7.To emphasise own identity	99	3	+	-	-	+
8. Expressions concerning respect vs. solidity	79	54	+	-	+	-

Table 6. own resource

The Human Resource Development Operational Programme was also among the highly debated documents. Slightly more commenters (502 opposed to 498) expressed negative emotions concerning the outcome of the present document. However, in proportional rate as many individuals expressed feelings of trust and mistrust as in case of Environmental and Energy Efficiency Operational Programme. Reference to scientific sources was not so remarkable as in case of the previously discussed Operational Programme, however it is still significative. 68 commenters expressed own opinion in a positive way, compared to the 93 mentions of negative judgement. It was the highest amount of comments received so far (compared to the previously discussed two Operational Programmes) when the policy's positive social aspect was discussed, namely how important is the inclusion of disadvantaged people, that of living in deep poverty. 99 times was own identity emphasised in the flow of the comments, which is somewhat higher in proportion than in case of the previous examples. Respect was still characteristic of the parlance.

Table 7. shows the findings of the analysis concerning the Economic Development and Innovation Operational Programme

	Positive	Negative	Active	Passive	Strong	Weak
1.Expression of emotion	321	368	+	-	+	-
2.Mentioning trust in connection with policy making institutions	67	59	-	+	+	-
3.Reference to scientific resources, statistics	78	-	+	-	+	-
4.Expressing own opinion	51	73	+	-	+	-
5.The application of encouraging expressions, the ones that encourage for taking action	197	121	-	+	+	-
6.Comments referring to the social aspect of policy	103	51	-	+	+	-
7.To emphasise own	84	-	+	-	+	-

identity						
8. Expressions concerning respect vs. solidity	27	32	-	+	+	-

Table 7. own resource

The Economic Development and Innovation Operational Programme with its 186 posts was among the most widely debated. Its tendencies can be considered similar to the previously presented examples. A slightly higher amount of opinion explicators (368) revealed negative emotions compared to those (321) who reported positive feelings. What is remarkable in case of the analysis of this Operational Programme is the high amount of call for action in regards of government bodies, and also for not taking any further steps in specific areas. The mention of trust (67) and mistrust (59) is similar to the previously documented cases, however there is a slight difference in the language usage, where solidity opposed to respect can be detected.

Table 8. presents the findings of the analysis concerning the Integrated Transport Development Operational Programme.

	Positive	Negative	Active	Passive	Strong	Weak
1.Expression of emotion	66	9	+	-	+	-
2.Mentioning trust in connection with policy making institutions	25	2	-	+	-	+
3.Reference to scientific resources, statistics	34	-	+	-	-	+
4.Expressing own opinion	31	48	+	-	+	-
5.The application of encouraging expressions, the ones that encourage for taking action	12	5	-	+	+	-
6.Comments referring to the social aspect of policy	7	3	-	+	-	+
7.To emphasise own	29	-	+	-	-	+

identity						
8. Expressions concerning respect vs. solidity	23	41	+	-	+	-

Table 8. own resource

The Integrated Transport Development Operational Programme can be considered to be among the slightly debated ones with its 93 received comments, in comparison to the previously presented four documents. The tendencies concerning expression of emotion, reference to scientific resources, emphasising identity, attitude towards trust and mistrust, declaration of respect, and call for taking action do not differ significantly from the earlier discussed four opinion flows.

Table 9. displays the findings concerning the analysis of the Regional and Settlement Development Operational Programme.

	Positive	Negative	Active	Passive	Strong	Weak
1.Expression of emotion	502	568	+	-	+	-
2.Mentioning trust in connection with policy making institutions	99	118	-	+	-	+
3.Reference to scientific resources, statistics	206	-	+	-	-	+
4.Expressing own opinion	86	103	+	-	+	-
5.The application of encouraging expressions, the ones that encourage for taking action	271	35	-	+	+	-
6.Comments referring to the social aspect of policy	33	4	+	-	+	-
7.To emphasise own identity	81	-	+	-	-	+
8. Expressions concerning respect vs. solidity	31	49	-	+	-	+

Table 9. own resource

The Regional and Settlement Development Operational Programme is among the documents of great interest. Despite the high amount of comments, or as a result of it, the expression of negative emotion is higher (568 in number) than that of the positive one (502). It is especially worth mentioning the big number of scientific resources that were referred to, and the high amount of encouragement to take action compared to the other documents.

Table 10. demonstrates the findings concerning the Competitive Central Hungary Operational Programmes' scrutiny.

	Positive	Negative	Active	Passive	Strong	Weak
1.Expression of emotion	58	2	+	-	+	-
2.Mentioning trust in connection with policy making institutions	11	3	+	-	+	-
3.Reference to scientific resources, statistics	29	-	+	-	+	-
4.Expressing own opinion	17	21	+	-	+	-
5.The application of encouraging expressions, the ones that encourage for taking action	54	26	-	+	+	-
6.Comments referring to the social aspect of policy	9	1	-	+	+	-
7.To emphasise own identity	31	-	+	-	-	+
8. Expressions concerning respect vs. solidity	18	12	+	-	+	-

Table 10. own resource

The analysis of the Comparative Central Hungary Operational Programme, with its relatively low (92) amount of incoming comments did not differ significantly from the previously examined ones. The difference cannot be detected neither in the way of identity emphasis nor reference to scientific resources, nor in the expression of emotions, or in revelation of trust and mistrust.

Table 11. contains the findings of the examination of the Rural Development Operational Programme.

	Positive	Negative	Active	Passive	Strong	Weak
1.Expression of emotion	63	18	+	-	+	-
2.Mentioning trust in connection with policy making institutions	14	4	+	-	+	-
3.Reference to scientific resources, statistics	32	-	+	-	-	+
4.Expressing own opinion	59	28	+	-	+	-
5.The application of encouraging expressions, the ones that encourage for taking action	63	7	-	+	+	-
6.Comments referring to the social aspect of policy	23	12	+	-	-	+
7.To emphasise own identity	48	-	+	-	-	+
8. Expressions concerning respect vs. solidity	20	8	+	-	+	-

Table 11. own resource

The lastly examined (from the first reference period of 19th November 2013 to 16th December 2013) eighth Operational Programme, the one concerning Rural Development, was very similar in outcome to the other seven. However it was a highly discussed online document, the research results show no difference, compared to the previous findings.

4.2.1. The second phase of public consultation: 7-25 November 2014

The second public consultation that I plan to examine in order to be able to compare the outcomes of the two consultations, took place between 7th to 25th November 2014. The research and discourse analysis of the incoming comments was carried out using the same methodology as in case of the firstly analysed public consultation. During this period of time one more Operational Programme was issued at request of the European Commission, but for the sake of comparability I do not plan to deal with it. On the other hand, the Environmental and Energy Efficiency Operational Programme was not released for public discussion this time. Moreover the Hungarian Fisheries Operational Programme was issued for public discourse between 13th-28th May 2015 (its reason being the late revision on the European Union's side). Despite these changes, I still find the two public consultations comparable, and applying the same methodology I plan to implement their comparative analysis. Table 12. presents the name of the Operational Programmes and the number of received comments.

Name of the Operational Programme	Number of received comments
Hungarian Fisheries Operational Programme	3
Human Resource Development Operational Programme	23
Economic Development and Innovation Operational Programme	42
Integrated Transport Development Operational Programme	13
Regional and Settlement Development Operational Programme	34
Competitive Central Hungary Operational Programme	19

Rural Development Operational Programme	68

Table 12. own resource

The most significant discrepancy between the outcome of the two public consultations can been detected in the appreciably low amount of incoming comments, which at first impression implies the reduced interest in the opinion formation as such. In the following I intent to present the results of discourse analysis in case of the 7 Operational Programmes that were brought to public consultation.

Table 13. represents the findings of the Hungarian Fisheries Operational Programme's analysis.

	Positive	Negative	Active	Passive	Strong	Weak
1.Expression of emotion	-	-	-	-	-	-
2.Mentioning trust in connection with policy making institutions	2	-	-	+	+	-
3.Reference to scientific resources, statistics	1	-	+	-	+	-
4.Expressing own opinion	3	-	+	-	+	-
5.The application of encouraging expressions, the ones that encourage for taking acion	2	-	-	+	+	-
6.Comments referring to the social aspect of policy	1	-	+	-	+	-
7.To emphasise own identity	3	-	+	-	+	-
8. Expressions concerning respect vs. solidity	1	-	+	-	+	-

Table 13. own resource

In case of the above analysed Hungarian Fisheries Operational Programme the number of received comments was extremely low, resulting from the late consultation. General conclusion or comparison, therefore cannot be drawn from it. Some scrutinized tendencies however show that there are no expressions of emotion (neither positive nor negative) within the comments, from which comes that contributors are less dissatisfied (or satisfied) with the present text, and they use more emotionally neutral words while assessing it.

Table 14. shows the outcomes of the analysis of the Human Resource Development Operational Programme:

	Positive	Negative	Active	Passive	Strong	Weak
1.Expression of emotion	22	4	+	-	+	-
2.Mentioning trust in connection with policy making institutions	36	7	-	+	+	-
3.Reference to scientific resources, statistics	18	-	+	-	+	-
4.Expressing own opinion	16	9	+	-	-	+
5.The application of encouraging expressions, the ones that encourage for taking acion	5	1	-	+	+	-
6.Comments referring to the social aspect of policy	24	10	+	-	+	-
7.To emphasise own identity	3	-	+	-	+	-
8. Expressions concerning respect vs. solidity	47	22	+	-	+	-

Table 14. own resource

From the discourse analysis of the Human Resource Development Operational Programme despite its lower number of comments some deduction can still be formulated. The expression of emotion is significantly lower compared to the same Operational Programme analysed in Part II. Chaper 1. Section 4.2. Mentioning of trust has risen significantly compared proportionally to the previous OP, moreover respect expressed in parlance has also be thriven. On the other hand, emphasis of own identity has almost disappeared, the vast majority of comments were released by professional organizations.

Table 15. represents the findings of the survey carried out concerning the Economic Development and Innovation Operative Programme.

	Positive	Negative	Active	Passive	Strong	Weak
1.Expression of emotion	18	9	+	-	+	-
2.Mentioning trust in connection with policy making institutions	26	3	-	+	+	-
3.Reference to scientific resources, statistics	39	-	+	-	+	-
4.Expressing own opinion	21	7	+	-	+	-
5.The application of encouraging expressions, the ones that encourage for taking acion	9	2	-	+	+	-
6.Comments referring to the social aspect of policy	36	9	-	+	+	-
7.To emphasise own identity	2	-	+	-	+	-
8. Expressions concerning respect vs. solidity	52	14	+	-	+	-

Table 15. own resource

During the analysis of the above Operational Programme significant changes compared to the one dissectioned in the previous part can be observed, namely that the amount of both negative and positive emotion expression has approximately halved, moreover the

reference to scientific publications has also significantly risen. There is significantly less emphasis on own identity (reference to it has almost disappeared). On the other hand, phrases expressing trust and representing respective language usage has almost doubled.

Table 16. shows the results of the Integrated Transport Development Operational Programme's disquisition:

	Positive	Negative	Active	Passive	Strong	Weak
1.Expression of emotion	16	2	+	-	+	-
2.Mentioning trust in connection with policy making institutions	28	5	-	+	+	-
3.Reference to scientific resources, statistics	8	-	+	-	+	-
4.Expressing own opinion	7	3	+	-	+	-
5.The application of encouraging expressions, the ones that encourage for taking acion	1	-	-	+	-	+
6.Comments referring to the social aspect of policy	14	4	+	-	+	-
7.To emphasise own identity	2	-	+	-	+	-
8. Expressions concerning respect vs. solidity	22	1	-	+	+	-

Table 16. own resource

Although the examined Operational Programme received a significantly low amount of comments (only 13), still clear tendencies can be detected. Although the expression of emotion has radically decreased compared to the first public consultation, where there is some, it is in majority positive in nature. Reference to trust and expressions resembling respect also show a growing number. Comments declaring the positive social aspect of

the OP proportionately outnumber that of detected during the first public debate. Moreover, emphasise on own identity has reduced in a great number, instead members of professional organizations are forming opinion.

Table 17. displays the resultate of the survey concerning the Regional and Settlement Development Operational Programme

	Positive	Negative	Active	Passive	Strong	Weak
1.Expression of emotion	18	5	+	-	-	+
2.Mentioning trust in connection with policy making institutions	35	8	-	+	-	+
3.Reference to scientific resources, statistics	14	-	+	-	-	+
4.Expressing own opinion	12	9	+	-	+	-
5.The application of encouraging expressions, the ones that encourage for taking acion	7	2	-	+	+	-
6.Comments referring to the social aspect of policy	18	10	-	+	-	+
7.To emphasise own identity	6	-	+	-	-	+
8. Expressions concerning respect vs. solidity	27	19	+	-	-	+

Table 17. own resource

The results of the discourse analysis of the Regional and Settlement Operational Programme indicates (similarly to previous OPs discussed in this part), greater reference to trust and respectful language usage, however in this case the items referring to solidity are almost as high as those to respect. Encouragement to take action, or emphasis of own identity, expression of own opinion, and reference to scientific

publications are rather low in this case. Generally, the expression of emotion does not show significant movement – neither increase, nor decrease.

Table 18. introduces the accomplishments of the analysis of the Competitive Central Hungary Operational Programme:

	Positive	Negative	Active	Passive	Strong	Weak
1.Expression of emotion	17	1	+	-	+	-
2.Mentioning trust in connection with policy making institutions	19	-	-	+	+	-
3.Reference to scientific resources, statistics	10	-	+	-	+	-
4.Expressing own opinion	6	4	+	-	-	+
5.The application of encouraging expressions, the ones that encourage for taking acion	3	-	-	+	-	+
6.Comments referring to the social aspect of policy	15	3	-	+	+	-
7.To emphasise own identity	2	-	+	-	-	+
8. Expressions concerning respect vs. solidity	18	-	+	-	+	-

Table 18. own resource

The results of the Competitive Central Hungary Operational Programme do not differ significantly from the previous findings. Almost no reference can be found to emphasis of own identity (instead only to professional organizations). Interestingly, however, no trace of mistrust or solidity is available, although the number of expressions referring to trust and respectful language usage are not outstandingly high.

Table 19. exhibits the Rural Development Operational Programme's research results:

	Positive	Negative	Active	Passive	Strong	Weak
1.Expression of emotion	20	10	+	-	-	+

2.Mentioning trust in connection with policy making institutions	38	-	-	+	+	-
3.Reference to scientific resources, statistics	43	-	-	+	+	-
4.Expressing own opinion	17	8	+	-	-	+
5.The application of encouraging expressions, the ones that encourage for taking acion	12	3	-	+	-	+
6.Comments referring to the social aspect of policy	29	6	-	+	-	+
7.To emphasise own identity	14	-	+	-	-	+
8. Expressions concerning respect vs. solidity	64	2	-	+	+	-

Table 19. own resource

Rural Development Operational Programme being the most highly debated among the set of OPs of the second consultation, shows rather similar findings to that of the rest of the members of this presently analysed consultation. The number of emotional expressions is rather low, however every second of it refers to negative emotions. The number of own identity emphasis has been decreased, parallel to this the number of reference to scientific research has grown. Significantly here as well, utterance of trust and respectful parlance shows increase in number, while mistrust cannot be observed at all, and there are only two written examples of solidity.

It is also interesting to check the proportion of individual commenters compared to that of the organizations. The table below (table 20) shows a summary of the variation between the number of individual commenters and that of the organizations for the first consultation period: 19th November-16th December 2013.

	Number of individual commenters	Number of organizations
Hungarian Fisheries Operational Programme	29	7
Environmental and Energy Efficiency Operational Programme	154	48
Human Resource Development Operational Programme	98	73
Economic Development and Innovation Operational Programme	132	54
Integrated Transport Development Operational Programme	77	16
Regional and Settlement Development Operational Programme	151	39
Competitive Central Hungary	64	28

Operational Programme		
Rural Development Operational Programme	85	36

Table 20. own resource

From the above epitome became clear that in the first round of consultations the number of individual commenters outnumbered the organizations in case of all eight Operational Programmes. In general both the individual commenters and the organizations tend to express their opinion for more OPs at the same time. The following non-exhaustive list contains some of the most active organizations (which are available at www.palyazat.gov.hu with the latest download of 14.06.2016.): "*Informatics for Society Organization*", "*National Association of Project Managers and Advisors*", "*Vértes Forest Ltd*", "*Hungarian Anti-Poverty Network*", "*Hungarian Innovation Society*", "*Municipality of Budapest*", "*Equity Association*", "*Roma Education Fund*", "*Hungarian Turism Ltd*", "*MAPI Ltd*".

Table 21 presents the number of individual and organization comments for the second round of the consultation: 7th-25th November 2014

	Number of individual commenters	**Number of organizations**
Hungarian Fisheries Operational Programme	3	-
Human Resource Development Operational Programme	5	18
Economic Development and Innovation Operational Programme	11	31
Integrated Transport	4	9

Development Operational Programme		
Regional and Settlement Development Operational Programme	9	25
Competitive Central Hungary Operational Programme	8	11
Rural Development Operational Programme	24	44

Table 21. own resource

From Table 21 becomes clear that for the second consultation phase the tendency has changed, professional organizations outnumber individual commenters. At this point I do not plan to name any of the commenting organizations as there is no significant change in them compared to the first round, only their proportion has grown. From this tendency we might infer to the fact that the second phase of the consultation looks more like a lobbying activity than a sequence of individual communications.

4.2.2. The effect of public opinion on the consultation texts

In the following part I plan to highlight the changes in the Operational Programmes' texts in order to provide data concerning the effect made by the public consultation on the 8 Operational Programmes. All the original and modified versions of the texts are available at www.palyazat.gov.hu. webpage.

In case of *Hungarian Fisheries Operational Programme* the changes that occured in the final version of the text after the public consultation are the following: the target indicators have been redefined in the whole text. Concerning the context indicators appearing on pages 29-32 (those referring to the initial state) in the final version they contain the base value index of the result indicators. In case of the fifth priority axis the quantity of first sales has also been included. All the indicators in relation to fifth priority have been renamed. In reference to specific aims 2C (vocational training) several measures have been deleted (pages 35-42). A complete subchapter – in relation to ecological aquaculture – has been deleted, as the commenters did not find the possible implementation plans realistic.

Environmental and Energy Efficiency Operational Programme: concerning part 2.1.6.1. types of measures, the second measure has been changed from aiding new investments to protecting social self-organization attempts. In case of fourth priority axis a new specific aim has been added – the effects of ecosystem services. Concerning the general and specific output indicators new indicators have been put to– in regional dissociation. The resource allocation has also been changed as a result of the comments. The financial plan (p. 108) has been modified in accordance with the suggestions.

Human Resource Development Operational Programme: in measures 1.5; 1.6; 1.7; 2.3; 2.4 the possibility of setting up social entrepreneurships has been added. The first priority has been changed into a specific aim. In priority 3 and 4 the ICT content has been broadened to all spheres of education. Moreover in the third priority the Paris Decree concerning open educational resources adopted by the UNESCO has been affixed. A list of concepts has been appositioned for the request of the commenters. In priority 5.2. the circle of beneficiaries have been extended with business companies owned by minority municipalities. In priority 3.4 beside scholarships aiming at disabled and underprivileged people the scholarship possibilities for roma students has been incorporated into the text.

Economic Development and Innovation Operational Programme: the 3rd – ICT – priority's originally planned 5,19% financial frame has been expanded to 19, 26% due to commenters' request. In pages 14., 27., 28., 39., 41., 144., 146., 255., the term renewal has been changed to modernization. Measure 1.4.4. has been extended to the whole territory of the country and to large scale of entrepreneurships. In 1.6.5 the redefinition of growth zones has been done. Into priority 5. the financial support of renewable energy projects concerning agricultural factories has been appended.

Integrated Transport Development Operational Programme: within priority axis 2 the development of Dombovár – Pécs railway line has been moved from place 51 to 3, ensuring its realization. In priority axis 3 the Pécs-Pogány airport development has been included into thematic aim 7, so granting its implementation. Chapter 11, horizontal principles 11.1 include sustainable development in line with commenters' appeal.

Regional and Settlement Development Operational Programme: in accordance with commenters' request there was no resource allocation from priority axis 1.6 to 1.7 as originally planned. The modification of professional requirements concerning county

governments has been realized. The infrastructural development of social basic services has been added to 4.2. The increase of local employment rates in form of an employment pact has been wed to 6.1.

Competitive Central Hungary Operational Programme: in priority 3 the whole budget of ICT is only 2,19% to that of the whole OP, which has been increased to 12% as a result of commenters' proposition. In 2.6.4. the incentive of building new residential buildings and stationals has been added. In 5.2. a more prominant display of energy efficiency of new buildings has been emphasised. In 2.2.3.4. among the selection criteria the possibly chosen topic's international relevance has been inclosed.

Rural Development Operational Programme: in 6.2 the support of non-agricultural activities has been subjoined. In 7.4 the development of basic services has been included. In 8.2.1.3.1. beside the promotion of agricultural training the finance of certified advisor training has also been added. In 8.2.4.3. the appreciation of agricultural products has been emphasised and also the competitiveness of horticulture has been highlighted. Within this chapter the aspect of selection has been changed to those settlements with the most disadvantaged location. In case of 8.2.16. turistical cooperation has been picked into.

4.2.3. Summary

During the two-fold research, with the comparative analysis of the two consultation phases it became obvious that the expression of online public opinion has an effect on offline policy making. Based on the eight categories and the three-scale determination that I set up for my discourse analysis after the comparison of the two surveyed public consultations it can be asserted that expression of emotion (both negative and positive) has significantly been reduced (with almost 50%), which means that the Operational Programmes' texts became more objective, more concrete, more professional, most of the reflected discrepancies have been eliminated, therefore commenters had a more neutral (emotion free) attitude towards them. The mentioning of trust is a recurring motive, in the second public consultation phase, first of all as a result of the better quality of the Operational Programmes' texts, and the amendment of the new texts with all the previous suggestions. Reference to scientific resource also shows a growing tendency, mainly due to the more and more professional level of comments, and the increasing amount of involvement of professional organizations, as a consequence of

this expression of own opinion (opinion without any reference to the OP's priorities, or without any consideration of its specific content elements) shows a decreasing number.

Encouragement or call to take action shows no significant difference, (even some decrease can be traced) mainly because of the implementation of previously expressed public opinion. Comments focusing on the specific policy's social aspect signify a slight rise. Emphasis of own identity has fallen down to its half thanks to the bigger amount of involvement of professional organizations, and network of organizations. As the idioms expressing trust has increased respectful parlance has emerged, and reference to solidity has disappeared.

For the above mentioned inquiry I used the methodological help of discourse analysis based on the 10-step logic set up by Chilton (2004) and Schneider (2013). After presenting the data found during my discourse analysis, I devoted a section to the description of the finding concerning the varying proportion between the number of individual commenters and that of the orgnizations. We can definitely state that these differing discursive positions led to differences within the surveyed dimension. Concerning the interest relations can be declared that especially in case of the first consultation phase there was no formal interest relation between the actors of the public consultation. However, from the second consultation phase it can be more obviously concluded that the posts can rather be seen as a formal type of communication, a lobby activity.

Following the analysis of the comments and the behaviour of the commenters I turned to discuss how the texts of the Operational Programmes have been changed as a result of the public consultation. After the scrutiny of the OP's texts I have realized that there were significant modifications in them due to the individual and organizational comments.

From the result of this comparative analysis, and the survey of the Operational Programmes' texts it can be concluded that expression of public opinion through public consultation has affected in a great deal the text of the Operational Programmes' final version. Policy makers incorporated contents in the texts that were initiated by the public, by this strenghtening the view that public sphere functions as a controller of government decisions. It can also be stated that online consultation in general provides space for inclusive public deliberation. Moreover, online consultation generated

networks of interest. As a result it facilitated greater trust between public and government representatives. The online discussion itself mirrored a high quality of deliberation through respectful parlance.

In the following section, which I count as the third part of my research, I plan to elaborate on the results of the qualitative semi-structured interviews that I carried out both with policy makers and with potential beneficiaries of the development funds, who commented on the texts of the Operational Programmes.

4.3. The background of a public consultation as a sphere of rational deliberation

In the third part of my research, beside the comparative analysis of the two previously discussed public consultations, as a back up survey I intend to discuss the results of an ongoing qualitative interview research, in the framework of which semi-structured interviews were carried out with the preparatory team members of the public consultation (with all the 7 members who worked on the realization of this public deliberation), and also with 8 members among the participants (the commenters) of the public consultation. The commenters – as interview subjects – were selected with random sampling, and I tried to have at least one commenter among those that contributed to both phases of the consultation, and I also tried to have them from each Operational Programme. The major aim of the qualitative interview research was to reassure or confute the results of my online analysis, moreover to find out whether the initial expectations of the preparatory team members have met the actual outcomes of the public consultation, whereas I was also interested in the role of online public consultation sphere in such a government and citizen relationship (as discussed in part 2.4), where the probability of personal encounter is rather low. According to my hypothesis the possibility of public consultation, especially its online version has changed to a great extent the structure of social communication between represented and representative, and the relationship towards time and space.

4.3.1. Why semi-structured interviews

In the present part I plan to elaborate on why I find it useful to apply semi-structured interviews as well. I intend to justify the reason why I chose this methodological tool and the way I applied it.

Semi-structured interviews are research methods most often applied in social sciences. According to Bernard (1988:167) it is best used when the researcher does not have more than one chance to interview someone. While a structured interview has an austere set of questions which does not allow one to distract, a semi-structured interview is open, making it possible to adduce new ideas during the interview as a result of the interviewee's thoughts. In general the interviewer has a set of frames to follow and explore during the interview, that are prepared along certain research topics. These research guides make it possible for the researcher to concentrate on the interview topics and the same time to tailor the questions appropriately to the interview context. Semi-structured interviews are widely used in qualitative research (Edwards, 2013:2), while realizing "the production of rich data, including observational data" (Bjornholt, 2012:3).

The interviews that I used were crucial in methodological terms for a deeper understanding of the empirical data. Furthermore, these discussions offered a more thorough interpretation on how different governmental and interpersonal processes developed further policy texts, namely the texts of the Operational Programmes. I had no problem in approaching interviewees, as I worked for several years in the field of development policy I had direct contact to most of the policy workers, or I had no difficulty in contacting them through the official way. All my interviews (15 in number) were carried out personally in a face-to-face format. As Laforest (2009:12) states conducting a good semi-structured interview requires a thoughtful planning which includes: identifying respondents, deciding on the number of interviews, and preparing the interviews. The reason why I find it essential to make interviews both with policy makers and with commenters of the documents is to have an insight into both interpretations. According to Walford (1994:229):

>*"the story behind the production of each document needs to be probed and analysed and the contents need to be triangulated against data from other documents and other forms of evidence. It is also always necessary to remember that there is never one objective reality to be discovered, but a range of competing perspectives that interact and intersect with each other"*.

Among the advantages of expert[39] interviewing Van Audenhove (2007:12) highlights the fact that experts have aggregated knowledge on policy making processes, group behaviours and strategies. They are usually motivated individuals, engaged in the topic, who are often willing to cooperate and exchange views. My interviewees were ready to discuss personal opinion concerning the results of the public consultation, therefore contributing to building a more specific view on the outcomes of the Operational Programmes' public deliberation. In fact this leads us to one of the critiques of this method, namely expert knowledge is never neutral. According to Van Audenhove (2007:14) experts are part of the societal debate, they have direct or indirect decisional power. For overcoming this concern I decided to ask for the opinion of the commenters, who in my sight make it possible to provide a more balanced view on the way how citizen opinion influenced in a certain way the creation of the final version of the Operational Programmes' texts, the kind of impact they had on the decision carried out by policy makers. As Van Audenhove states one of the strenghts of semi-structured interviewing process is that the knowledge shared by the experts runs through three dimensions: there is a technical knowledge on specific operations, there is a process knowledge on routines and interactions, and there is an explanatory knowledge, a subjective interpretation of policy-making (2007:14).

When it comes to the disadvantages of semi-structured interviewing, critiques stress that the effects of interaction between researcher and interviewee can be rather high. The reason for this are the following: procedures used to interview are not strictly standardized, the dialogue is open and the interviewer actively participates, as Van Audenhoven (2007:15) states there is a danger of getting only 'illustrative information' and that these interviews are not intersubjectively repeatable. However, Cohen (2006:8) argues that the inclusion of open-ended questions provide the opportunity to identifying new ways of seeing and understanding the topic at hand. In defence against these critiques in my semi-structured interviews the basic questions were identical in case of all interviewees which ensure a certain standardization of the process. The interviews then allowed for some improvised questions depending on the interviewee's involvement in the process of policy making. As a result I was able to come up with useful and up-to-date information, rather than 'illustrative' one. Rivera et al (2002: 685)

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[39] In this context I refer to the interviewed policy makers – to the preparatory team members - as experts, since they are the ones who are deeply involved in the field of policy making, have a deep insight in how development policy works within the Hungarian context.

argue particular challenges that have an effect on researchers in post-communist countries having methodological consequences as a result of the instability of institutional structures. Likewise, the less formatized role definitions in the political sphere can also be the source of problem. Neumann (2011:231) in interpreting her research results about interviewing Hungarian policy makers claims that "there is a paradox of the institutionally constrained role interpretations within an uncertain state bureaucracy facing changing expectations". Concerning my semi-structured interviews it was essentially important to clarify the power relations and to adapt to the situation. In case of my interviews this was successfully carried out, therefore the interviews resulted relevant information.

As for the practicalities of interviewing, I carried out personal face-to-face interviews. Before the interviews, I sent a short but detailed description of my dissertation emphasising the importance of contacting the specific interviewee. All the participants who were in accord with making the interview were asked whether they agree to be recorded for transcription. There were no disagreement on the interviewee's side, however they all refused to be mentioned by name and also forbid me to publish the interview as a whole.

4.3.2. The results of the semi-structured interviews

From the semi-structured interviews it turned out that the preparatory team members expected a lot more public activity, based on their initial calculations deduced from western-european best practices.

"We checked the amount of comments received for similar public consultations in France, Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands, and deduced a number that should be valid for Hungary on a proportional bases. That number, taking into account the number of inhabitants was approximately 10.000. The actual amount of received comments (the highest amount was 202, for Environmental and Energy Efficiency Operational Programme in the first round of the consultations) were far below our expectations" (quotation from a preparatory team member[40]).

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[40] Quotations are own translations from the original Hungarian interview.

Despite the little activity, they were satisfied with the fact that commenters took their task seriously, gave valuable contribution, and all of the suggestions and ideas could be incorpoarted in the revised policy texts.

"We consider it as a success, however that citizens gave valuable comments, most of them concentrating on the priorities and the general scope of the document" (quotation from another preparatory team member).

They had a positive feeling about the growing trust and respect between them and the deliberating citizens, as a result of the online public consultation.

In order to reflect on the questions concerning the relationship between citizen and government in the online sphere, and the changing structure of social communication, we have to take into consideration that the mentioned changes occur simultaneously with the spread of the concept of postmodern. Both the emergence of the Internet and that of the postmodern theorem occured in the 1960s. It can be stated that they are mutual results of one another, since it cannot be declared which characteristic feature (plurality, individualization) can be derived from the Internet and which from the postmodern theorem itself. The present research considers the Internet as a postmodern organism. Coming from this, the dilemma of real and virtual world has to be taken into account, in which the interpersonal communication's virtual and offline characteristic features might be traced. This can be connected to the space-time-presence concepts, and to Heidegger's presence-at-hand terminology. I do not intend to reflect more in depth on these notions, as they might be the topic of a separate research.

During the course of interpersonal communication it is essential to analyse the relationship, the coupling itself. Our times are characterized by the possibility of the individual to create impersonal, superficial relationships, and to deepen the already existing personal relationships. The deepening of personal relationships has been appreciated, therefore the claim for information exchange has increased. Which relates to the shrinkage of private sphere, since the more information an individual shares about him/herself the less he can sustain his own world. The deepening of a relationship and the intensifying of information exchange can also be understood as a result, not as a necessity. The consequence of the process of individualization, the core element of which is the differentiation between me and you, me and the other. On the other hand, interaction with the other is a tool for the representation of I. Because of these dense

interrelations, and as a result of the real or putative contradictions, the declaration of a logical causality becomes impossible.

Due to the increased public sphere, the private sphere decreases, however its value grows, which can easily be traced in individuals' desire to strenghten their personal relationships. The tool of affirmation is basically the increase of time dedicated to interpersonal communication, the integral part of which is online communication. The increased amount of time does not necessarily result the real strenghtening of a relationship.

Online communication connects identifications, and dissolves the lack of time and space dimension into the virtual dimension. This phenomena modifies communication, hence, it gives the pretence of a proximate communication situation, while entrance and exit from virtual reality is totally arbitrary, there are no stints, therefore proximation is more like indirectness. For example in an online consultation situation the waywardness of the response time breaks the continuity. As basically we talk about a virtual sphere, the role of symbolic significations is crucial, as everything we experience in real communication, that we reconstruct through imaging in online communication (Green 2003:21).

According to the interviews carried out and analysed so far, it can be declared that individuals communicating online aim at abolishing distance.

Virtuality can be understood as such a space which has no physical expansivity, only symbolic. As a consequence of this we can talk about the notion of distance-presence, which refers to the presence of online-I presence. From this comes that there is also an offline I, so the I probably becomes doubled. The interviewed commenters reviewed that during the online consultation they intend to express themselves similarly to a personal face-to-face meeting, but in fact in online consultation situation the emphasis is rather on factual communication – research data, scientific findings – than on expression of emotions.

"Although I was very angry that my suggestion has not been implemented in the final version of the text after the first consultation process, although I find it a crucial element….it is very difficult to express anger in writing, in online communication, so I decided to support my view with scientific data… and polite opinion expression looks

much better if they reread it, or anybody from the public, it matters the picture that I form about myself, through my comment" (quotation from an interviewed commenter – own translation).

The Internet made it possible for the individual to set the boundaries himself with abandoning the space-time dimension. This raises the problem that we are closer to that, what is far, thus we diverge more and more from ourselves (Hrachovec 2002:7). The I has no basis of comparison any more, however it would be crucial to define ourselves compared to something or somebody in time and space. From a communication viewpoint in this context, the physical distance can be brought closer.

Concluding the third phase of my research it can be declared that the qualitative interview has reassured the findings of the discourse analysis. The interviewed commenters felt that their opinion expression has transformed the texts' content to a great deal, their suggestions – underpinned by scientific research data – were incorporated into the specific Operational Programmes' final version. From this derives that public sphere functions as a controller of government decisions. In general can be reassured that online consultation provides space for inclusive public deliberation, by generating networks of interest. Although the interviewed policy makers confirmed they expected greater public activity, the online discussion itself mirrored a high quality of deliberation through respectful parlance.

However, after the first online consultation the expression of negative emotion was rather high, on the contrary a significant reduction in it could be detected after the second phase of the consultation. The language usage become more neutral in nature, owing to the rephrased text, based on participants' opinion. Reference to trust, therefore, has a growing tendency in the second public consultation as a result of its higher quality text and the implementation of citizen suggestions, reflecting greater trust between public and government representatives then we saw during the first phase of the consultation.

My hypothesis concerning that online public consultation has changed to a great extent the structure of social communication between represented and representative has been proved. Commenters in their research interviews confirmed that the expression of emotion is especially arduous. Concerning relationship towards time and space they

mentioned their endeavor to abolish distance and to demolish the lack of time and space dimension into virtual dimension.

5. Summary of the dissertation

The rationale of this disseration was to understand the role and effect of online public deliberation on offline policy making. In my writing I dealt with public consultation, as a key policy making tool. I analysed the role of public opinion and rational online deliberation in government decisions. What I was really interested in is the social world the widely understood relevance of communication, that with its own dynamics, systems and subsystems constitute and maintain society. My research focused on two public consultations, carried out in the topic of development fund used for the financial period of 2014-2020. Two public consultations were analysed and compared in order to find up-to-date information concerning the relationship between policy makers and commenters, moreover to define the possible power relations, the possible interest relationships and in general the operating mechanism of public institutions. I have chosen the mentioned two consultations as they were the first and the last one carried out so far (between the 19th November-16th December 2013 and 7th-25h November 2014) in this topic. Beside the comparison of the two consultation periods I conducted semi-structured qualitative interviews in order to prove or confute the research findings of the discourse analysis. I did not intend to survey or to summarize the outcomes of the 2007-2013 financial period as I do not find it crucial concerning my own research. I neither plan to make any comparison between the two periods.

There is a wide public interest lately in topics such as online deliberation, the challenges of consultative politics, loss of institutional trust, the role of publicity in the 21st century. Through initial immersion in relevant literature I decided to devote the first chapter of my dissertation to the conceptualization of the term public consultation. I tried to discuss it in relation to other forms of expressing public opinion – like proposals, public notice-and-comments, public hearings, putting all the literature discussion into an international context (looking at countries like the United States of America, Canada, Japan, China, Great Britain, France, Belgium, the Scandinavian countries, and some of the post-communist countries that border Hungary).

In this chapter I looked at modern society as an agora, that functions similarly to the ancient Greek agoras, which were the birthplace of participatory democracy, as a result

I considered the emergence of social network as a necessary precondition for the realization of online participatory democracy, in which citizens gain the required competences in order to be able to take part in opinion formation.

Still in the same chapter, I elaborated on the concept of publicity, starting with the classical public sphere theory of Jürgen Habermas. I decided to mention this work first, as I consider it a basic resource for the discussion of the political and social effects of the Internet.

Habermas argues that the philosophical role of publicity is the moral and social coordination of human lifeworld. Publicity on the other hand, is the guarantee and precondition of democracy, because only public discussions can reveal public opinion and public interest, that has to be taken into account by public authorities. While exploring how the communicative sphere of the Internet can be regarded as public or privat sphere, I relied on Habermas' description of modernity as consisting of system and lifeworld. Although I see the significance of Habermas' theory I am aware of its idealizing feature. Habermas himself was also sceptical concerning the democratizing feature of the Internet, therefore I tried to exceed this viewpoint with the help of presenting several layers and dimensions of the Internet. Concerning my present research I find it crucial to mention that my paper does not deal with ideal co-ordinated speakers, it is not about speakers compeer discursive situations it is rather a formalized, regulated speech situation, in which actors are in sub-ordinated relationship.

For a comprehensive understanding of publicity I tried to emphasise the characteristics of the Internet and digital literacy in the 21st century, as this whole public deliberation process I am discussing takes place online. I attempted to elaborate on the most recent changes of the Internet, as especially in the 21st century the peculiarities of the Internet and digital technology have undergone a rapid and enormous change. I confered the features of social media as a symbol of new media, mentioning Facebook, twitter, Instagram and many other recent applications. Research results from Hungarian and international literature were used to present contemporary trends within the field of publicity.

Beside publicity the topic of online had a significant role in my discussion, detailing digital culture, online identity – from social communication, social psychological and sociological aspects. Although it might not be obvious why I decided to devote a

chapter of my dissertation to the discussion of identity, I considered the notion of identity, trust, online participation an analytical frame for my discourse analysis. In my view these theoretical discussions are in line with the eight categories – expression of emotion, mentioning of trust, reference to scientific resource, expression of own opinion, encouragement for taking action, reference to social aspect, emphasis of identity, language usage – that I set up as codes of discourse analysis.

The next chapter of my dissertation was devoted to the discussion of trust and distrust as a major component of the relationship between state and citizens, decision making institutions beneficiaries. Since the notion of trust is one of the major terms of Hungarian sociology I tried to present the special Hungarian features as well, beside placing it into an international context. I tried to investigate the reasons of loss of institutional trust in post-communist countries during the past decade. I have found that there are huge cultural and social differences between the analysed societies, making it very difficult to test the validity of abstract statements. I tried to render as many research results as possible – however bearing with timely and contentual restrictions – in order to be able to put my results of online consultation into a wider context.

After conceptualizing my main theoretical findings I turned to the research part of my dissertation where I tended to discuss the roles of new communication aspect in decision making processing through a concrete empirical example.

The two phase of public consultations carried out between 19th November – 16th December 2013 and 7th-25th November 2014 constituted the core of my research. Two methodological tools – discourse analysis and semi-structured interviews were at my disposal. I based the logic of my discourse analysis on a 10-step scale presented by Chilton (2004) and later expanded by Schneider (2013), which involved:

- the importance of establishing a context
- exploring the production process
- the preparation of the material for analysis
- the coding process itself through assigning characteristic features to specific units of analysis
- examining the structure of the text
- collection and examination of discoursive statements

- identification of cultural references
- identification of linguistic and rethorical mechanisms
- data interpretation
- followed by the presentation of findings

For realizing the coding process of my analysed texts I set up eight analysis categories:

(1) expression of emotion;

(2) mentioning trust in connection with policy making institutions;

(3) reference to scientific resources, statistics;

(4) expressing own opinion;

(5) the application of encouraging expressions, the ones that encourage for taking action;

(6) comments referring to the social aspect of policy;

(7) to emphasise own identity (personal benefit from an operational programme over its social benefit);

(8) expressions concerning respect vs. solidity (first of all in language useage, in connection to government bodies)

Beside the coding categories I also determined scales on which I have marked these categories: positive vs. negative; strong vs.weak; active vs. passive. I considered a concept positive, when it beared a positive connotation (eg.love, satisfaction), while I considered a notion negative when it referred to a negative connotation (eg: hate, dissatisfaction). The difference between strongness and weakness varried in context of the stress of the expressed opinion (whether it dominated the flow of discussion or not), and the determination of active or passive depended on the type of noun the commenter used (me vs. you, me vs. the government, me vs. the EU).

Following the discourse analysis process I compared the amount of individual commenters with that of the organizations and I was also curious about the extent to which the texts of the commented Operational Programmes have changed after the public consultation.

The main findings of the first part of my research include that expression of emotion (both negative and positive) has significantly been reduced (with almost 50%), which means that the Operational Programmes' texts became more objective, more concrete, more professional, most of the reflected discrepancies have been eliminated, therefore commenters had a more neutral (emotion free) attitude towards them. The mentioning of trust is a recurring motive, in the second public consultation phase, first of all as a result of the better quality of the Operational Programmes' texts, and the amendment of the new texts with all the previous suggestions. Reference to scientific resources also shows a growing tendency, mainly due to the more and more professional level of comments, and the increasing amount of involvement of professional organizations, as a consequence of this, expression of own opinion (opinion without any reference to the OP's priorities, or without any consideration of its specific content elements) shows a decreasing number.

Encouragement or call to take action shows no significant difference, (even some decrease can be traced) mainly because of the implementation of previously expressed public opinion. Comments focusing on the specific policy's social aspect signify a slight rise. Emphasis of own identity has fallen down to its half thanks to the bigger amount of involvement of professional organizations, and network of organizations. As the idioms expressing trust have increased respectful parlance has emerged, and reference to solidity has disappeared.

It can be emphasised that expression of public opinion through public consultation has affected in a great deal the text of the Operational Programmes' final version. Policy makers incorporated contents in the texts that were initiated by the public, by this strenghtening the view that public sphere functions as a controller of government decisions.

Following the discourse analysis I presented the results of my semi-structured interviews, that I carried out as a back up survey in order to confirm or confute the results of my discourse analysis.

For the semi-structured interviews I relied among others on Bernard (1988), Bjornholt (2012) and Edwards (2013) descriptions, however I took into consideration some of the major critiques of this widely used qualitative research methodology. The findings of

the interview research has in fact supported the outcomes of the first part of my examination.

At the outset of my dissertation writing process I established four hypothesis that I was interested about in relation to my research topic. They were the following:

- I assume, that online consultations, provide a space for inclusive public deliberation.

- I assume, that online consultations generate and connect networks of interest or practice.

- I suppose, that online interaction between representatives and represented leads to greater trust between them.

- I suppose, that most online discussion is uniform and of poor quality.

At the end of my research process it can be stated that online consultation in general provides space for inclusive public deliberation. Moreover, online consultation generated networks of interest. As a result it facilitated greater trust between public and government representatives. The online discussion itself mirrored a high quality of deliberation through respectful parlance.

According to my hypothesis the possibility of public consultation, especially its online version has changed to a great extent the structure of social communication between represented and representative, and the relationship towards time and space.

From the semi-structured interviews it turned out that the preparatory team members expected a lot more public activity, based on their initial calculations deduced from Western-European best practices. Despite the little activity, they were satisfied with the fact that commenters took their task seriously, gave valuable contribution, and all of the suggestions and ideas could be incorporated in the revised policy texts. Moreover, they had a positive feeling about the growing trust and respect between them and the deliberating citizens, as a result of the online public consultation.

Concluding the third phase of my research it can be declared that the qualitative interview has reassured the findings of the discourse analysis. The interviewed commenters felt that their opinion expression has transformed the texts' content to a great deal, their suggestions – underpinned by scientific research data – were

incorporated into the specific Operational Programmes' final version. From this derives that public sphere functions as a controller of government decisions. In general can be reassured that online consultation provides space for inclusive public deliberation, by generating networks of interest. Although the interviewed policy makers confirmed they expected greater public activity, the online discussion itself mirrored a high quality of deliberation through respectful parlance.

My hypothesis stating that online public consultation has changed to a great extent the structure of social communication between represented and representative has been proved. Commenters in their research interviews confirmed that the expression of emotion is especially arduous. Concerning relationship towards time and space they mentioned their endeavor to abolish distance and to demolish the lack of time and space dimension into virtual dimension.

My constantly repeated initial assumption concerning that online public opinion formation has to a great extent affect on offline policy making and inclusive public deliberation results to greater trust between represented and representative could be detected throughout my dissertation. By the end of the research it becomes clear that we can definitely talk about novelty from a technical viewpoint (the emergence of the Internet, digital technical inventions and media literacy being present in the 21st century and all the cyber possibilities provided by it), on social and social communication level there have also been changes concerning the way of expressing public opinion. The desire for having a word into decision making processes affecting our lives, and shaping the possible outcomes towards a more favourable end is still as strong as it was in times of the ancient Greek rhetoricians who created the agora as a possible public sphere.

Further research directions and recommendations

Since I have worked in the field of development policy and policy communication I decided to devote my disseration theme to this current topic. Through my doctoral studies I acquired precise theoretical knowledge concerning most of the notions that I discussed in the theoretical part of my writing, while during my work experience I gained the practical knowledge. All of the research material was at my disposal, thus I had no difficulty in either reaching the discourse analysis texts or contacting the interviewees. I decided to write the disscussion in English to make it more appropriate for international use, and to fill the void of low amount of English language

publication(s) in the topic of the current Hungarian realm. I carried out this scientific research to point to some possible deficiencies occuring at present and to give help, to offer further reccommendations for the policy makers in order to be able to carry out more effective and more involving public consultations in the future.

It was not the scope of this writing to further elaborate on the quality of online deliberations – which served as my fourth hypothesis, but it can function as a useful future step. The additional development of the concept of participation, either along the axis of identity-trust-participation can also be regarded as future direction, along with the realization of an extended international comparative analysis in order to draw further conclusions of lessons of international public consultations as well.

Appendix

Table 3 – own resource

	Positive	Negative	Active	Passive	Strong	Weak
1.Expression of emotion						
2.Mentioning trust in connection with policy making institutions						
3.Reference to scientific resources, statistics						
4.Expressing own opinion						
5.The application of encouraging expressions, the ones that encourage for taking action						
6.Comments referring to the social aspect of policy						
7.To emphasise own identity						
8. Expressions concerning respect vs. solidity						

Table 20 - own resource

	Number of individual commenters	Number of organizations
Hungarian Fisheries Operational		

Programme		
Environmental and Energy Efficiency Operational Programme		
Human Resource Development Operational Programme		
Economic Development and Innovation Operational Programme		
Integrated Transport Development Operational Programme		
Regional and Settlement Development Operational Programme		
Competitive Central Hungary Operational Programme		

Rural Development Operational Programme		

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