Dual communication and absence of dialogue

Studies on the „Student Network" in Hungary between 2012-2013

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"To be hopeful in bad times is not just foolishly romantic. It is based on the fact that human history is a history not only of cruelty, but also of compassion, sacrifice, courage, kindness. What we chose to emphasize is in this complex history will determine our lives. If we see only the worst, it destroys our capacity to do something. If we remember those time and places- and there are so many- where people have behaved magnificently, this gives us the energy to act, and at least the possibility of sending this spinning top of a world in a different direction. And if we do act, in however small way, we don't have to wait for some grand utopian future. The future is an infinite succession of presents, and to live now as we think human beings should live, in defiance of all that is bad around us, is itself a marvelous victory."

Howard Zinn

Abstract

Student Network (Hallgatói Hálózat, abrv. HaHa) is the name of the student movement born around 2011 in Hungary, formed out of the discontent with the government's educational policy. The analysis shows that the Student Network represents the emergence of a new kind of political awareness in Hungary that can be described as a prefigurative political initiative (Yates, 2014).

Four studies were carried out with the aim to analyse the involvement and identification with the movement and the representations held by the media during its existence. (1) In a pilot study we asked HaHa members about their involvement and their evaluation of the events. Results show that these personal experiences can be articulated through two dimensions: the personal involvement focused on a prefigurative political initiative or the more concrete educational claims and the evaluation of the movement as a success or a failure. (2) By analysing the published documents of self-proclamation we studied the institutionalized self-definition of HaHa. The two dimensions of identity (also stressed in the personal experiences) can be categorized as particular educational objectives and the desire of a new and different societal organisation, as part of a *prefigurative culture* (Mead, 1970) were both expressed. (3) We analysed the media representation of HaHa through the content dimensions of the documents of self-proclamation in two newspapers.(a left- and right-wing one). Some content dimensions were over-represented, whilst other ones were not mentioned. These unmentioned contents were concerned with the prefigurative political dimensions. (4) At last the dialogue between the student movement and the government represented by the media became in focus. Results highlight the dynamism of the dialogue between the government and the movement. At the beginning there is a negotiation and partnership around some of the educational claims, selected and then yielded by the government. After that the government left the negotiation process.

The Student Network (HaHa)

At the beginning of December 2012 the Hungarian government announced a reform with strong austerity measures on the public education sector. The reform concerned drastic budgetary cuts, a withdrawal of 43 billion forints, the reduction of the admission quota

(university students at the state expenses) and an obligatory contract for these students that bind them to the Hungarian labour market for the double of time that they spend at the universities, opposing to the free labour mobility in Europe. University and high school students together with some of university lecturers answered with protests in Budapest, Pécs, Szeged, Debrecen. On the 17th of December thousands of people protested in Budapest blocking bridges and boulevards. The government restituted the quota.

The movement rapidly grown, beside demonstrations, flashmobs and protests, students claimed for a comprehensive overall reform of the education sector (6. point and 13. points od demands of the Student Network, HaHa) and organized forums based on direct democracy at the Universities to discuss about actions and proposals. The 11th of February the Movement occupied the ELTE University, faculty of Humanities. As a result the National Union of Hungarian Students were called by the government to participate in the discussion concerning the educational reform, obtaining a partial agreement that even those faculties (e.g.. law, communication and media studies, economics, sociology) at that moment not supported by the government will receive students financed by the state. With no more effects of the actions the occupation ended the 26th of March and the movement burned out.

The Movement as a social group without clearly defined boundaries was formed as a reaction to the announced reform, whilst and for a short time lived inside, negotiating human values, discussing through direct participation about education, what are the boundaries of radical actions, how and with whom express solidarity. This process generated a constant deconstruction and renewal of cultural and social values and practices, a characteristic trait of modernism and modern society (Heller,1999).

In the following sections we present our studies and their results in details and while attempting to show what the term prefiguration means in this case and how it works in a kind of *post figurative* (Mead, 1970) society where the senior members and authority figures are the main sources and enforcers of basic values and norms as most significant actors of the public discourse. The Student Network was the first attempt since the transition to democratic political system in Hungary to change the social discourse on a mass level from the bottom up, where the youth could express their different worldviews and a desire to be actively involved in social change, stemming from the different political experiences in contrast to that of senior generations.[1]

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[1] Most of the movement's members are part of the generation born around '88-90, the time of regime change. So they are the first generation who grew up and socialized entirely in a democratic, capitalist, „western" society. In that sense this movement can be interpreted as part of a learning process as described at the end of this paper.

1st STUDY: INVOLVEMENT IN THE MOVEMENT: Analysis of HaHa's members' personal narratives

Results show that historical events occurring between the ages of 12 and 25 have the most significant impact on any individual's identity (Pennebaker, 1997; Erikson, 1950; Rubin & all., 1986; Conway, 1990). This phenomenon is related to the development of an integrated identity (Erikson, 1950) and the stabilisation of private relationships. If we accept this theoretical hypothesis, the youth for whom this historical event will become relevant will in time inherit experiences from the movement such as coping strategies, scenarios, and emotional attitudes. How will they imagine further possibilities of social activity, social responsibility, and engagement based on these experiences?

"...I think that the organization melded the people who were born at the time of the regime transition into a generation. Even those who did not take part in the protests/organization have some kind of attitude towards them. Talking about this in 10 years' time will still be relevant." (6th interview)

In our study we asked members of HaHa to answer three questions: How did they become involved in the Student Network; how do they reconstruct the history of HaHa; and how do they relate to the previous events. We received 12 reports to our online proposal out of the 112 members approached. There were subjects who responded with distrust toward our survey, and others who did not feel like they processed the events to the point where they could give a sequential narrative of the occurrences and their involvement in them, even less take a stand in what they think actually happened.

"There are people in HaHa with thousands of different political leanings and tempers, there are people from Pest, Pécs, Szeged, and Debrecen, everyone probably saw the events in a different way, what are you trying to conclude here? Even I "relate to the previous events" in two different ways on two different days, how the hell am I supposed to answer a question like this?" (12th interview)

The 12 interviews cannot be looked at as a relevant sample; nevertheless we tried to analyse the content in a bottom up way, identifying the recurrence of thematic issues and dimensions with the aim to construct a typology of these personal experiences. We found two underlying dimensions that have an important role in how their experience is structured: **how the individuals identify themselves in relation to HaHa**, and how they evaluate the movement itself (a success or a failure story).

The identification variable defines the way in which the individuals identified with HaHa. As in, how they textually phrased their commitment to the movement. We identified two tendencies: the so-called **regime critics** and the ones who identified strictly with the **educational policy objectives**. The former define themselves from a broader perspective, they criticize the social structure in a broader context; this is how they get involved in HaHa, which focuses on educational policy in its objectives, but also embodies one of the comprehensive regime critical movements in Hungary.

"I joined, because I am not content with the current – domestic and foreign – political and financial situation generally, and specifically with the current government, but the selection of opposing forces today is pathetic; I saw

potential in the forming HaHa to become the core of a new opposing movement and direct the anti-regime movements of Europe to Hungary." (1st interview)

The second category includes those individuals who joined HaHa specifically because of its mission, as in they do not agree with the changes occurring in higher- and public education policies.

"I joined the cell in Szeged way back in 2012 formally, because I found the educational policy related news (primarily the student contract), that were also prominent in the media, troublesome, and a friend of mine also joined not long before me." (5th interview)

Both ways of identification include individuals who experienced and evaluated HaHa as a success and as a failure. Nevertheless the definitions of success and failure change with the perspectives.

Regime critics define what happened as <u>failure</u> for the inner difficulties of HaHa as a movement. The lack of time for reconciling values and interests appears in some accounts. This includes the conflict between the attempts to include masses and the identification with regime critical national values, and how this conflict remains unsolved.

"However the real reason for failure is an inner one. Initially we denied our regime critical approach (well those at least, who had one), partly because of the vain hope that this somehow will legitimize us in the eye of the prevailing elite, partly because of the misconception that education could be observed in itself, independent of the remaining elements of the regime. (1st interview)

Those regime critics who experienced the HaHa movement as a <u>success</u>, although still giving accounts of the problems mentioned above, think further into the future. They evaluated these value conflicts as the necessary steps of the dawn of existence and life in the movement, and for them the success of the story depends on whether these first steps were taken to approach an attitude that is more critical from a societal point of view.

"Although we encounter a lot of obstacles and even now, two years after the launch of HaHa, the movement battles many initial troubles of functionality, I think that what happened in the past two years was useful and important, and I would like to continue developing our thinking, our pursuits, and the discourse we established to talk and debate about these issues." (4th interview)

Identification along the lines of educational policy objectives is a significantly more specific identification. It is a reaction to the regulation of educational policies. This is an identification of outer localization from a psychological point of view. "I am joining because I do not agree with what is happening." The content of identification is organized around the dimensions of educational policy. It does not touch upon other social problems and contents.

"Since I study in Hungarian higher education, I felt the problem was one of my own." (3rd interview)

Those individuals identifying with educational policy objectives who evaluate the movement as a <u>failure</u>, talk about failure against the government. They claim that they actually could not change, or managed to only minimally change the things they stood up against, things they did not agree with. Thus the failure of the educational policy identification is the failure of the

efforts to change educational policy. From this perspective the identification of outer localization sheds light on the lack of inner values independent of education, and even if these values appear occasionally, they never become a part of the agenda for discussion (due to time constraints or because of the direct democratic operation of HaHa). There are individuals who do not see, and individuals who do not want any further goals and values in HaHa, other than educational policy objectives.

"It appears to me that since the educational policy items have been taken off the agenda of the government, this movement does not have much to say; specifically we cannot reach a consensus on what it should say that would justify further operations of the movement." (2nd interview)

The inherent quality of specific identification is that due to codified failure and the long-term "fight" these individuals burn out with time, they feel like their actions and momentum are losing their point.

"If there are no political ambitions behind an organization (as in it does not want to be a part of higher politics), it is only natural that it is going to be governed by entirely human emotions, such as enthusiasm, disenchantment, fatigue, etc." (3rd interview)

„As an early HaHa member said: it seems like the organization is functional only when it is time for action. It does not stand on its own as a genuine organization." (6th interview)

In the end, the <u>success</u> <u>story</u> of educational policy objective identification is the experience of communal life, communal thinking, and practicing democracy.

"I am glad and also a little proud to have been able to take part in this organization where young citizens and intellectual can publicly express their views, taking social responsibility independently of party-politics. I feel this is an important development in Hungary" (7th interview)

"It is a very unique community, not without its mistakes. Everyone's opinions are equal, direct democracy functions in practice, with all of its advantages and disadvantages. […] To sum it up, I can honestly say it was one of the best choices of my life to join HaHa." (9th interview)

One of the most important categories that appear in almost every report is the degree of commitment. Those who identified with educational policy objectives, and especially those who evaluated the events as somewhat of a failure, joined HaHa through interpersonal relationships (*friends, colleagues*), often talk about the organization in the past tense and the third person (*they said, they wanted*), and often express the low level of their commitment to taking part in the actual events.

"XY asked me if I wanted to join." (2nd interview)

"For the longest time I would only observe the operation of HaHa from the side-lines, like an anxious, nagging old lady, who was also strongly critical. But I was also rooting for them. I decided to join the protest organizing evening on the 9th of December." (5th interview)

On the other hand regime critical identifiers speak about HaHa in the present tense and first person, they give accounts of their extreme commitment and their individual initiatives, painting a picture of themselves as people who joined the movement because of their personal values.

"I do not see the cause as lost." (1st interview)

"I have memories of disillusionment and subversion from as far back as the 2nd grade." (4th interview)

„I consider myself a politically active youth. I have been looking for ways to shape public life since 2009. Interestingly enough, as opposed to the majority of HaHa members, initially I tried myself at party politics and only later ended up in the world of civil regime criticism." (8th interview)

Different interpretations of the movement arise in these accounts of retrospective interpretation (Table 1). The content of identification frames these interpretations.

		Interpretation of the movement	
		Success story	*Failure story*
Identification	*Regime Critical*	A regime critical movement was born in Hungary. Long-term objectives, commitment aligned with certain values, individual efforts realized in communal work.	Commitment aligned with strong emotions and values, experiencing the lack of negotiation of values and norms as an internal obstacle.
	Educational Policy Objectives	Communal life, experiencing direct democracy and communal thinking.	Educational policy objectives failed. Internal tension. Burnout. Low level of commitment and involvement.

Table 1 –Typology of experiencing HaHa

2nd study: Institutionalized identity of the movement: Analysis of the documents published by HaHa

In the next part of the study we will summarize the educational policy demands and the politico-philosophical ideals of the students, based on documents produced by the Student Network. We do this in order to build a self-defining conceptual matrix that will make it possible to define the most prominent items and arguments by examining the dialogue between the students and the government, and various representations in the media.

Educational policy objectives

We define the educational policy objectives based on the 6 points of demands established by Student Network Budapest, and the 13 points established by Student Network Pécs. The demands can be organized in five basic conceptual junctions.

1. *Comprehensive reform*

The two documents call for the comprehensive reform of both public and higher education, highlighting the necessity to include the stakeholders (students, educators, parents,

maintainers of the institutes) in the process and to take into account the specificities of the 21st century labour market to create a more professional dialogue.

2. Availability

The students had very specific demands about the availability of higher education, such as the re-establishment of acceptance quotas, at least to the level of the year 2011. Furthermore the students criticized the arbitrary, governmental redistribution of scholarship quotas among universities and faculties. Another important point was to protect and increase the possibilities of the underprivileged to get accepted into higher education and to be provided with sufficient conditions to successfully finish that education.

3. Provision of resources

There were clearly outlined demands over the financial support of higher education. These were the immediate cancellation of the fund cuts, compensation for the funds withdrawn in the past, and the guarantee that the government will provide sufficient, consecutive, and transparent funding to maintain higher education. The Student Network was not entirely adverse to tuition fee, but stressed that tuition should only be one source of funding to higher education out of many others. Following in the same vein, they demanded fair wages and sufficient working conditions for the educators to ensure a public and higher education of a higher quality.

4. Contractual relationship

The immediate abolishment of student contracts was demanded. The student contract was harshly criticized, since it entirely opposed the principle of freedom of movement in the European Union. It obliges students to work in Hungary as a „repayment" for their education. It was pointed out that instead of restraining contracts the government should create jobs and opportunities for the youth to stay in the country.

5. Institutional autonomy

The government should not limit the intellectual, economical, and institutional autonomy of universities through financial supervision of „chancellors" appointed by the Ministry of Education.

Politico-philosophical notions

Besides the educational policy objectives, the movement also drew up some political-philosophical notions, which they tried to realize in their actions. We collected these notions from the available self-defining documents (the Charta of the movement, the online „Handbook" published by the movement).

Autonomous, self-organizing self-advocacy

By the definition of the movement, it is a self-organizing, autonomous, grassroots community, which set the establishment of such communicational frameworks as its goal, which provides the stakeholders with an immediate and personal space for self-advocacy and expression of opinions. In order to move these discussions forward, the network considered all violence-free tools of public resistance utilizable, such as the interactive and placid university occupation.

Movement quality ("movementality")

The movement does not have leaders, only organizers; it is more of an ethical, social, and political *compass*, than professional organization. The Student Network is free of hierarchy and wants to avoid the formation of any hierarchy. The movement is pursuing to cooperate with every citizen of public and higher education, including every advocacy group, students, educators, and other employees of educational institutions.

Active citizenship based on direct democracy

According to the self-defining documents of the student movement a democratic political culture cannot function without the active, reflexive participation of the citizens. In the students' opinion, by being responsible electors, the citizens claim right to the sovereign expressing of opinions in public matters. Thus the movement operates on direct democratic fundaments, as in every individual can rightfully express opinions about decisions, mould common activities, and decide how they want to participate in common duties. The movement envisions a scale-shifting political culture, thus while it phrases shared values and ideals, it also establishes the principle of subsidiarity, such as the importance of localized decision-making.

Party independence and neutrality

According to the self-definition of the Student Network, it condemns the cooperation with parties, as organizations, because it defines education as a collective interest rising above party interests. The movement is open to everyone, regardless of their party preference. Thus, they see their organization as independent of parties, which is not looking for representation, but puts its faith into direct action when it comes to reaching its goals.

The university campus as symbolic social space

The fifth conceptual junction is organized around the university as medium and physical space. The student movement considers the medium and space of university as a defining effect lasting for decades, thus it is the movement's first rate goal to qualitatively judge and reform it. At the same the *use and occupation of space* is a central tool among political resources, thus the university campus is not only a providing institution, but an effective,

symbolic, social space and the movement asserts its right to its evident use and its physical frames that provide immediate publicity.

The conceptual matrix

The comparative analysis of the two dimensions of educational policy objectives and politico-philosophical ideals can be found in the table below. In *Table 2* the starting points are the educational policy objectives, for which we collected connecting items among the politico-philosophical ideals to uncover the interpretational horizon, which would bring the arguments of the Student Network in the dialogue conducted with the government to a shared basis, or at least to a similar context. (Table 2)

Educational policy	Shared interpretive horizon	Political-philosophy
Institutional autonomy	● the shared, democratic principle of both institutions, ● and citizens *Autonomy and self-organizing*	*Autonomous self-organisation, self-advocacy*
	● autonomy of spaces supports the autonomy of the people *open communal spaces*	*University as symbolic space*
Comprehensive reform	● reforms touch upon all segments, ● reforms include the stakeholders *inclusion of all stakeholders, taking their specific interests into consideration, subsidiarity, sovereignty of the people*	*Active citizenship based on direct democracy*
Provision of access	● wide availability according to the expansional needs, ● equal access to stakeholders according to needs of advocacy *equal access to knowledge and goods attainable through education*	*Movement-like quality, independent and neutral of party politics*
Contractual relationship	● the student's and employee's right to autonomy, free choice, and free movement *Basic rights to education, pursuit of individual interests, freedom of choice*	*Autonomous self-organisation, advocacy*
Provision of resources	● space as the source of publicity	*University as symbolic space*
	● subsidiary channelling of sources	*Active citizenship based on direct democracy*
	● ensuring the funds for an education of better quality	*Movement quality, independent and neutral of party politics*

Table 2. Dimensions of HaHa self-proclamation: educational policy objectives and prefigurative political culture

To summarize it, according to both the analysis of the student narratives and the conceptual matrix of self-proclamation, the student movement has a twofold identity. Besides its

educational policy demands, it commits itself to the realization of a new kind of regime-critical, socio-political activism.

3rd STUDY: MEDIA REPRESENTATION OF THE MOVEMENT: *The representation of the dual identity of HaHa in the media*

The subject and methods of the analysis of media representation

We analysed online articles published by two major newspapers – Népszabadság (left-wing, oppositionist) and Magyar Nemzet (right-wing, loyalist) – between the 1st of December, 2012 and the 1st of March, 2013. We put the key term "HaHa" into the online search engine, being the most specific term related to the topic.[2] The number of words in the Magyar Nemzet Online corpus (hereinafter MNO): n=25362, number of words on Népszabadság Online (NOL): n=38426. We conducted the analysis with the Atlas.ti computerized content analysing software. The frequency of the previously coded contents was measured in relation to the total word count of the articles. The results are expressed in relative percentage.

To be able to analyse and compare the texts the targeted contents were categorized.

First of all we determined and coded **who** talks or acts **to whom**:

- the actors of the represented events were coded: (HaHa and the government); and
- the orientation of agency: to whom the actions and statements are addressed

As for the content of communication, we picked the **educational policy objectives**:

- institutional autonomy*,*
- security of availability, sorted into two categories:
  - o quota of governmentally financed education (quotas and tuition),
  - o underprivileged groups' social mobility and access to education;
- contractual relationship;
- Provision of funding.

The other main category concerned the **politico-philosophical ideals** and the forms of political action. Thus we also handled the articles along these categories too:

- active citizenship based on direct democracy,
- autonomy and self-organizing self-advocacy,
- movement-like quality,
- principles of party independence and neutrality
- the university as symbolic space (space occupation)

The analysis of media representation

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[2] The term "Student Network" would have turned up every instance of the expressions "Student" and "Network."

It is immediately striking that the MNO displays the Student Network more or even vocalizes them more often, then the government party (although this difference is not significant). At the same time, and less surprisingly, the NOL deals more with the Student Network, so it seems there is no quantitative difference between these tendencies. To understand this two pieces of data one has to consider two other factors. On one hand we can see that manifestations *against* the Student Network are more frequent in the MNO (9%) than in the NOL articles where this hostile attitude is not present (0,1). In the MNO most of these opinions originate from other „independent" sources, or authorities related to the students (i.e. university management) not directly from representatives of the government:

"The Dean of the Faculty of Humanities, ELTE has condemned the actions of the Student Network" - MNO, 11. Feb. 2013.

In case of NOL, in a whole different context, this code appears as an active rejection by the government party:

"It became clear, that the government won't give way to the protestors." / "this way the Student Networks who organized the demonstrations was intendedly left out of the negotiations" – NOL, 12. Dec. 2012.

On the other hand, the Student Network's explicit anti-government attitude is represented in a higher proportion in the MNO articles (16% vs. 5%). This oddity can be understood by the fact that these notions always correlated with the Student Network as an actor. In other words, the MNO depicted a threatening, anti-government mass.

"Following the announcement of the quota in higher education, there were multiple protests nation-wide against the notions of the government." – MNO, 18. Dec. 2012.

While the protesters are depicted as aggressive and threatening, the government's attitude is calm, solution seeking and positive towards the Student Network and the students in general, as manifested in higher proportions of government gestures (10% vs. 3%). This dual communication is illustrated in the quotation below:

" Prime minister Viktor Orbán wrote a letter to David Nagy, the head of the National Student Council in which he calls for negotiation with the students" – MNO, 18. Dec. 2012.

As for the students' demands, the problem of the *quota and the tuition-fee* appeared most prominently. These are the topics where the government seemed to be more permissive. In addition to this, the question of *financing* became emphasized in this category, showing that independently from party politics, education has been reduced to a mere economic problem. The cases of *institutional autonomy* or the *student contracts* appeared briefly and only in

relation to economic issues. The access of the underprivileged to higher-education as a pledge of social mobility is hardly represented in the media (0,2% MNO, 4% NOL).

The *new means of political action*, propagated by the movement and what they also tried to implement was even less dominantly represented in the press. Notions promoting active citizenship, or the methods and instruments of direct civil influence on decision-making appeared in greater proportion on the NOL site (7%).

Furthermore, *self-organization*, the *movement form* and *party-neutrality* were not represented in either media product. This can be an indicator that these medias are representatives of consolidated political structures and ideologies and try to anchor the movement's novelty to settled political concepts and relations. It is also possible that neither political „side" has an interest in promoting radically new approaches of political philosophy.

Agency and orientation in text	MNO	NOL
HaHa as agent	30,7%	26,8 %
Government as agent	27 %	20%
Actions against HaHa	9%	0,1 %
Actions against the government	16%	5%
Representation of educational policy demands	**MNO**	**NOL**
Financing of higher education	9%	10%
Student contracts	5,5%	7%
Accessibility (tuition fees, seats)	20%	19%
Availability for disadvantaged	0,2 %	4%
Representation of politico-philosophical ideas	**MNO**	**NOL**
Autonomy	5%	6%
Active citizenship	0,2 %	7%
Party neutrality	0,2 %	0,2 %
Occupation and reinventing public spaces	7%	3%
Self-organization	6%	6%
Movement-like quality ("Movementality")	6 %	7%
Discrediting	**17%**	**5%**

3. table. The relative amount of coded contents appearing in the two journals

Analysis of discrediting the prefigurative politics

Discrediting strategies are a characteristic feature of political rhetoric acting against minority influence. This method was found to be most conspicuous in the articles of MNO (15% vs. 5%). It is possible, that the oppositionary, critical attitude of Népszabadság (NOL) was fitter for propagating direct anti-government agenda, although it did not represent the movement's broader critique of the political system either. As a result they rather exerted open but friendly disagreement and used discrediting less. There were four different strategies of discrediting identified. Either a systematic error is attributed to minority arguments or the minority is naturalized, namely they are coded along contents that limit and discredit them ontologically. Naturalization can happen in three ways: biological, psychological or social reduction (Deschamps & Doise, 1978). Most prominently MNO often linked the Student Network to the official opposition, discrediting them as mere „puppets" of political conspiracy (social reduction).

4th STUDY: MEDIA REPRESENTATION OF THE DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE MOVEMENT AND THE GOVERNMENT

Test criteria for dialogue analysis

In this study the interactions between the movement and the government were examined as represented in the online press. Four hypertexts were generated for the study from the left-wing and right-wing articles (NOL-government / NOL-HaHa; MNO-government/ MNO-HaHa). Linguistic variables related to the dialogue of government and HaHa were searched for in the text. These variables either refer to the own group and the other group and their actions. They could also refer to whether if one considers the other as partner or to what extent they present the perspective of the other. The frequency of these variables occurrence was counted in all four texts. The codes' frequency was divided by the overall word count then multiplied with a constant (1000) to get relative word frequency.

<u>**Agents-Targets:**</u>

- **Other ("them")** when government or HaHa refers to, addresses or names the other group
- **Us:** government or HaHa member speaks about her own group

<u>**Action codes:**</u>

- **Other activity:** government or HaHa talks about the other's actions. E.g.: *"the government destroys the..."*
- **Us activity:** government or HaHa member speaks about their own actions E.g.: *"the HaHa is going to the streets" "the government fulfilled the assumed obligations"*

Imperative: either the government or HaHa calls the other to implement an action. E.g.: *"we demand the government to revoke…"* or *"we request the representatives of the students to..."*

Cognitive codes:

This category consists of verbs describing mental functions (e.g. think, assume, generalize, recall). "Linguistic expression of inner mental states is a narrative instrument that facilitates to receive the perspective of the actors and their group through empathy" (Vincze, 2007). The speaker can either refer to her own mental states or that of the other. Self-reference shows one's subjective position while referring to others inner states can signify perspective-taking. It can also be an instrument of discrediting through manipulating the image of the other. Based on this we identified two categories:

- **Us-cognitive:** when government or HaHa member refers to their own mental states, processes. E.g.: *"we don't trust the government" "[we] the government believes…"*
- **Other-cognitive**: when a representative is referring to the other groups mental functioning. E.g.: *"the government must think that…" "the students do not understand..."*

According to the previously formulated hypothesis the hypertexts were examined from four aspects: the mutual dialogue, the image presented by the media, the dynamic of the discourse over time, and the Student Networks self-definition in the dialogue.

2. Mutual dialogue

Mutuality was explored by comparison of statements referring to the other party of the dialogue.

	MNO		NOL	
Codename	HaHa	Government	HaHa	Government
Other	6,2	17,4	8,8	12,6
Other activity	4,9	9,4	13,1	5,4
Other cognitive	-	2	1,8	4,9

4th Table: MNO's and NOL's image of mutual communication

In both medium the representatives of the government are those who refer more to the HaHa members. The two groups differ in referring to the other's activity. There is also a difference in the frequency of cognitive states attribution. Overall, the government is more concerned with the others mental state, though references are generally rare.

2. Features of MNO's and NOL's representation of the dialogue

	MNO		NOL	
Codename	**HaHa**	**Government**	**HaHa**	**Government**
Imperative	6,5	5,2	6,7	3,1
Other	6,2	17,4	8,8	12,6
Other activity	4,9	9,4	13,1	5,4
Other cognitive	-	2	1,8	4,9
Us	10,6	7,3	8,8	5,8
Us activity	11,8	16,7	8,3	15,4
Us cognitive	0,93	5,7	3,9	7,2

5th Table: Distribution of the codes displayed in MNO's and NOL's representation of the dialogue

In both cases HaHa is represented as using more imperatives, to have more demands, attributes less mental states and refers less to its own activity.

In turn, the government is represented as referring more to the student movement, attributes more mental states to them and tend to emphasize their own activity. The differing frequency of reference to the other's activity is also revealing - in MNO articles the government is the one referring more to HaHa activity, while it's the opposite in NOL's case. Depending on which group's values the given news site share is there more space to discuss and evaluate the actions of the other party. It is also a telling detail that in the MNO there are barely any reference by HaHa to their own mental states or any attributed to the government. This way they are depicted as more "doer" than "thinker".

3. The dynamics of the dialogue over time

Frequencies of the coded contents were divided according to the dates of appearance (end of 2012 or first half of 2013). The distribution over time shows the changes in discourse. From the beginning of 2013 all of the HaHa codes are rising. Clearly, the students appear to be more and more active according to MNO articles (6th table). At the same time, less and less linguistic variables are displayed in 2013 related to the government (except imperative mode). It is clear that the government is subtracted from the discourse and only uses imperatives. The HaHa increases its activity.

	HaHa	Government

Codename	2012	2013	2012	2013
Imperative	2,1	4,4	1,7	3,5
Other	2,8	3,4	9,7	7,7
Other activity	2,1	2,8	5,5	3,9
Other cognitive	-	-	2	0
Us	2,1	8,5	3,8	3,5
Us activity	3,1	8,7	9,4	7,3
Us cognitive	0	0,93	3,8	2,1

6th Table: Distribution over time: MNO

	HaHa		Government	
Codename	**2012**	**2013**	**2012**	**2013**
Imperative	6	0,7	0,4	2,7
Other	6,5	2,3	8,1	2,5
Other activity	9	4,1	1,3	4,1
Other cognitive	1,6	0,2	4	0,9
Us	5,5	3,3	4,5	1,3
Us activity	3,9	4,4	6,7	8,7
Us cognitive	1,8	2,1	4,5	2,7

7th Table: Distribution over time: NOL

The image presented by NOL shows that HaHa abstains from the usage of imperatives while the government increases it. In 2013 both parties speak less about the other and attribute less cognitive process to the other. The HaHa speaks less about the government's activity while they, in turn talk more about the students' activity. Self-references tend to decrease in both groups, while referring to own activity increases. Display of own mental states increases in case of HaHa while decreases in case of government.

4. Developments in the self-definition of HaHa

The student movement, as newly arrived actor's self-definition shows an interesting change.

	MNO		NOL	
	2012	**2013**	**2012**	**2013**
Us	2,1	8,5	5,5	3,3
Us activity	3,1	8,7	3,9	4,4
Us cognitive	0	0,93	1,8	2,1

8th Table: HaHa self-definition

The image of HaHa displayed in MNO shows a drastic change in 2013. Linguistic markers of self-definitions increase significantly. While the expression of cognitive states also increases it stays undetectable. According to the image suggested by MNO, the Student Network becomes increasingly active while it barely reflects on itself. The HaHa image provided by NOL also suggests more activity in 2013 but rather along the attribution of action and cognitive states. In this context the movement gets a far more reflected and a moderately active tone.

Results

From the data above, the image of an unsatisfactory dialogue emerges. There is an overall discrepancy in referring to the other and their actions. The government rarely refers to the cognitive states of the students which suggests lack of empathy, and a refusal to take the other's perspective in account. At the same time, the Student Network emphasizes its own cognitive processes, mostly in 2013. It can be argued that there is no effective communication going on. The distribution of contents over time shows how the government subtracts itself from the dialogue and takes an imperative position. In turn, the HaHa becomes more active.

The Right-wing MNO and Left-wing NOL depicted the movement differently. The MNO showed a balanced governmental communication and presented HaHa as a non-able actor to negotiate. The NOL emphasized more the student's perspective, displayed more activity on their side and stressed their demands.

CONCLUSIONS

According to our results it is argued that the Student Network (SN) represents a new form of political consciousness in Hungary that can be defined as prefigurative political movement. By definition (Boggs, 1977; Yates, 2014) prefigurative politics is a form of direct action where socio-political goals are expressed through the means of the action as well as the structure and function of the movement itself. In this paper it is shown that the content of the SN's message and form in which it is delivered are intertwined. It is also presented that the movement possesses a kind of dualistic nature through the two-fold identification of the members. While on one hand it is a protest movement against certain educational reforms it is

also an attempt at deconstructing (Arató, 2014) or re-establishing social relations and the political system in general.

In the second half of the study the representation of the movement in the public discourse is examined. It is shown that the broader political context, the prefigurative motives of the movement are not presented in the media, either due to conflicting political interest or simply due to novelty of the phenomena which makes it difficult to put it in context and anchoring it to familiar concepts.

Prefigurative politics can only be successful if it is capable of impregnating the existing, postfigurative order. That is why we think the concept of prefigurative culture by Mead (1970) is relevant and necessary to interpret and predict the future of prefigurative action. The prefigurative cultures of the present develop facing the postfigurative one; it's existence gain legitimacy in this contrast. In our study the postfigurative culture and power (both the government and the opposition through their more or less independent communication channels) define the way of interaction, contrast and the pertinent and negotiable issues with the prefigurative culture and through this process of confrontation the dialectic contrasts dissolve, the new culture disintegrates. The available grade of cultural change is a function of the adjusted means and claims of the prefigurative culture and the openness to change of the figurative, dominant one.

As to our view the prefigurativeness of a society is embodied in the ways the members of the society relate to the questions of exercising political power. Moreover this is a social learning process where people as a group learn how to articulate their common opinion as one (political) entity. According to Hirsch (1990) there are four major aspects a society has to learn in order to be more successful in the communication with the beholder of the political power: consciousness-raising; collective empowerment; polarization and collective decision-making. We see the events that took place at the end of 2012 as the Hungarian society's first step to develop a more conscious, reflexive political culture.

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