ABSTRACTS

András Bíró-Nagy–Gergely Laki
RECOMMENDATIONS AND THEIR IMPLEMENTATION: COUNTRY-SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE V4 COUNTRIES IN EUROPEAN CONTEXT

The aim of this study is to investigate to what extent the Visegrád countries implement the country-specific recommendations (CSRs) of the European Commission, and how their level of implementation can be evaluated in European comparison. Based on a database built by collecting the official evaluations of the European Commission found in the yearly country reports, we reveal the levels of both short-term and long-term implementation at the national level, as well as the policy fields of the CSRs. The 5-year average level of implementation of the CSRs is largely the same in the four Visegrád countries. All four countries are ranked in the second half of the EU, their average level of implementation can be categorized as somewhere between „limited progress” and „some progress”. However, the CSRs have a much bigger impact on domestic policy-making in the long-term than the 1-year implementation suggests. The fact that the Orbán government has reached “some progress” in 64% of all recommendations according to the long-term evaluation is clear proof that is the case. At the same, it must be highlighted that the Visegrád countries are more likely to ignore the country-specific recommendations than the EU average, even in the long run. Overall, the experiences of implementation of the CSRs prove that the EU can have a significant impact on domestic public policy not only with sanctions and exclusive competences, but with softer tools, such as policy coordination as well.

Keywords: European integration, Europeanization, European Semester, public policy, Visegrád countries

Gabriella Szabó – Balázs Kiss
POLITICAL COMMUNICATION AND EXPRESSIVITY

The article is an introductory piece of the special issue of Political Communication and Expressivity. Our aim is to convince readers of the importance of emotionally saturated political communication and the need to introduce new ap-
proaches to political communication. In our view, Roman Jakobson’s theory of functional communication is a good point of departure for understanding expressivity in political communication, but it is worth supplementing it with action theories that go beyond goal-rationality, such as the dramaturgical action developed by Goffman and ventilation known from psychology. Finally, we attempt to define expressive political communication: expressivity is the aspect of communication that covers the communicator’s own relationship to the components of communication. Such communication might be strategic, which can be explained by goal oriented rational approaches. Psycho- and sociolinguistics might be helpful to explain expressivity beyond strategic communication.

Keywords: expressivity, functions of communication, politics, truth telling.

Gabriella Szabó–Xénia Farkas
LIBERNYÁKOK” AND „O1G”. INCIVILITY IN POLITICAL COMMUNICATION

Obscenity, vulgarity and rude languages are always being the part of the political life, but nowadays the visibility of incivility is increasing in Hungary. However, the introduction of these topics needs to be recognized by the academia as legitimate research agenda in political communication studies. This article presents a topic review to summarize the state-of-the-art and offer new theoretical and empirical perspectives of incivility. We argue that the main branch of the literature consider incivility as a violation of social and political norms. Our critical overview highlights several weaknesses of the norm violation approach. First, we lack the substantive definition of the incivility. Second, we question the normativity: on what basis a researcher define what counts as uncivil political communication and what does not?; who sets the discursive norms in the commentary platforms?, what if the labeled words and expressions are not perceived uncivil by the users?. To give new impetus to incivility studies, this article works toward a practice-oriented multimodal approach which focus on the verbal and visual usage of communication toolkit in politics. Finally, the article outlines three directions for future research: consideration of psychological aspects, strategic uses and sociolinguistic practices of incivility.

Keywords: incivility, norm-violation, political communication, multimodality
Krisztina Burai–Márton Bene
PULLING ON THE HEART STRINGS. POLITICAL COMMUNICATION AND USERS’ REACTION ON SOCIAL MEDIA

Political communication is increasingly adapting to citizen’s user habits, switching to appropriate platforms and delivering content that align with them, leading to the growing political importance of social media. On these social media websites, especially on Facebook, the reactions of users significantly increase the visibility of a message, so the main goal of political actors has become to create content that can go viral. Based on previous research, emotions have a prominent role in this process. In our study, after reviewing the relevant literature, we conduct a qualitative research in which we examine the emotional character of politicians’ most successful Facebook posts created during the 2018 Hungarian parliamentary election campaign. Existing research could only indicate the presence of certain emotions, but did not provide information about the successful way of communicating emotions, therefore we’re trying to fill this gap with our analysis. Our results show that the most successful posts were clearly emotional, neutral content was rare among them. We found that citizens responded most favorably to positive emotions, including posts about victory and saying thanks to voters, with holiday greetings also being particularly popular. Meanwhile, in the case of negative emotions, expressions of anger and sadness characterized viral posts. It can be observed that although the most popular posts displayed emotions, they did not do so with the traditional and common means of expressing emotions on these online platforms.

Keywords: virality, emotions, Facebook, reactivity, social media

Balázs Kiss–Lilla Petronella Szabó–Xénia Farkas
WHO CAN BE THE VICTIM? VICTIMIZATION IN THE METOO-DISCUSSION IN HUNGARY

With moralization of politics, the presence of human interest stories and issues are more and more frequent in the public sphere as well as in politics. The scandal and the follow-up public debate of metoo started in 2017 is a perfect example. Based on a specific case in Hungary, the paper presents the ways the metoo discourses and visuals constructed victim and perpetrator, that is, the processes of victimization and vilification and the role emotions played therein. In the research, textual and visual analyses, social semiotics and qualitative content analysis were used in processing the relevant content of the main po-
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The study found five ways of constructing the case and six types of victim. Each type was supported by visual material and some were complemented with specific emotional components.

Keywords: victimization, textual analysis, visual analysis, emotions, moralization of politics

Márk Áron Éber

THE MIDDLE CLASS AS WILL AND IDEA. CRITIQUE OF THE NORMATIVE AND DESCRIPTIVE CONCEPT OF THE MIDDLE CLASS

The concept of the middle class contains both descriptive and normative elements. Commenting the paper of Ákos Huszár and Viktor Berger “The new middle class?”, this article criticizes both the descriptive and normative elements of the middle class. The gradational concept of the middle class is a heterogeneous ensemble of the “people somewhere in the middle” in a structural-relational sense. The paper identifies the source of normative elements in the universalization and generalization of particular historical-social experiences. It proposes to replace the concept of the middle class with a conceptual tool of intermediate and intermediary classes.

Keywords: middle class, social structure, class structure, embourgeoisement