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Trust and Technologies of Sense. VR and Proprioception in *Hamlet Encounters*

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Abstract: This paper investigates the changing role of media devices in constructing fictive worlds through senses, and the changing relation we have to our senses. The demand for immersion in a virtual visual reality has its precedents, shown for example by the popularity of the kaleidoscope, the peeping box, the Guckkasten, or the panoramas. But while the immersive effect of these illusion spaces was based on visual perception, now we have multisensory interactive spaces that trigger our proprioception (body awareness and feeling of presence). The VR experience *Hamlet Encounters* offers a unique experience and exemplary use of distance, dislocation, and perception of one's own senses.

Keywords: trust, senses, VR, immersion, presence, technologies of sense

Introduction

Technology allows us to learn about ourselves extending our senses, testing our perception, anchoring us in different environments. In parallel to representing the natural and cultural space that surrounds us, it is more and more about constructing imaginative spaces that reveal something otherwise hidden to our senses. Seeing is believing, so states the saying, meaning that truth will be recognized once perceived. But can we trust our ability to believe what we see after so many deceptions? Media can extend the human body and its senses, but in the meantime human perception also adapts to be extended. What we are is interdependent of the media we use. But our sense of what we are can be triggered differently by distinct media environments. This paper investigates the role of a VR environment in the participants' proprioception.

Media Archaeological Incursion

The idea that humans have not changed so much during the history of civilization and that every new development is connected to something already known before appears as an underlying principle in the book *The Language of New Media* by Lev Manovich: "By looking at the history of visual culture and media, in particular cinema, we can find many strategies and techniques relevant to new media design" (Manovich, 2001: 314). Bolter and Grusin's theory of remediation or Marshall McLuhan's theory of technological determinism also serve arguments for the thesis that cultural history serves as a unique source for developing a novel theory of new media or for understanding the development of the media landscape. It may simply occur that new is not so new and that there are some basic interests, drives that explain our enthusiasm for new media tools, for example VR settings. Oliver Grau argues in his book about the history of image spaces of illusion that virtual reality has always been part of the relationship of humans to images (Grau, 2003: 5). Furthermore, he describes this relationship as a recurring cycle:

> When a new medium of illusion is introduced, it opens a gap between the power of the image's effect and conscious/reflected distancing in the observer. This gap narrows again with increasing exposure and there is a reversion to conscious appraisal. Habituation chips away at the illusion, and soon it no longer has the power to captivate. It becomes stale, and the audience are hardened to its attempts at illusion. At this stage, the observers are receptive to content and artistic media competence, until finally a new medium with even greater appeal to the senses and greater suggestive power comes along and casts a spell of illusion over the audience again. This process, where media of illusion and the ability to distance oneself from them compete, has been played out time and again in the history of European art since the end of the Middle Ages. (Grau, 2003: 152)

Looking at pictures has always been a favourite occupation of humans, and the power of images seems to be just as strong as in the beginnings. Susan Sontag's essay *On Photography* starts with the sentence*:* "Humankind lingers unregenerately in Plato's cave, still revelling, as its age-old habit, in mere images of the truth" (Sontag, 1973: 1). What we have are "mere images of the truth", but they teach us how to revel, how to be human, how to live in alignment with the lingering humankind. Even Grau takes this image and transforms it in a fable we can learn from: "Obviously, like Plato's prisoners in the cave, what we need to do is to turn toward the light, to face the new and, armed with our knowledge, confront it squarely. The question is not to find a way out of the cave, for there is no way out of the history of media" (Grau, 2003: 346).

Grau's question is whether the newest media tools with all their arsenal of illusion and immersion-creating effects leave room for critical distancing and reflection. I will highlight two devices that aim for immersion, but even so they facilitate distancing and teach media competence: the peep egg and the camera lucida.

In the history of media, there was a popular viewing device in the Victorian era, called the peep egg. This device allows one person to view two still images through a monocular lens. "The peep egg is made of alabaster, so that light passes through the body of the device and no other source of illumination is required. The body is fitted with twin alabaster handles rotating a spindle so that two or three prints can be mounted inside the body of the egg. Each person turns the handle at his/her own speed to see each of the images" (Mellby, 2008). The device was based on a loop, e.g. "sequence of images featuring complete actions that can be played repeatedly" (Manovich, 2001: 297). The loop brings repetition, distance, and a focus on the medium, while the mix of realities brings in-betweenness and marks the position of the outsider/observer, who is distanced from the world s/he is observing. Magdolna Kolta reminds us that these optical images and others seen in marketplaces conveyed unknown cities, unknown landscapes, and celebrated events for the viewers at that time, and, last but not least, they brought exotic and new information in one's life that could be a topic to talk about in companies, at restaurant tables, and in salons for a long time (Kolta, 2003). The viewers also learned something about visual literacy. They learned that a picture is a two-dimensional representation of the three-dimensional physical reality. It is an abstraction but also a possibility to experience something virtually that is unavailable for direct, immediate, physical contact. We have in this experience two different realities brought together in a mixed reality space. The distance between the two layers is always interesting, the immersion felt thanks to the device (detaching from the natural environment) and the presence of something physically absent.

The second device is called the camera lucida. It is an optical device that permits drawing with the help of a projection: a prism makes it possible to simultaneously see the real thing and the projection of that on the paper. The drawer has only the task to follow the projection, so the drawing will be accurate and fast. In his essay about photography, Roland Barthes concludes that: "It is a mistake to associate Photography, by reason of its technical origins, with the notion of a dark passage (*camera obscura*). It is *camera lucida* that we should say (such was the name of that apparatus, anterior to Photography, which permitted drawing an object through a prism, one eye on the model, the other on the paper)" (Barthes, 1980: 106). This optical device, this apparatus, serves as a metaphor for what photography represents, its state of an absence made present. *Camera lucida* joins two different realities together as two layers or strata.

It is important here to emphasize the fact that all the preceding optical devices were for making a two-dimensional representation familiar to the audience. They

taught abstraction to the viewer and also slowly showed that a representation is similar but not equal to the represented reality.

Nowadays, "new forms of sense and sensations are increasingly being produced and measured by [contemporary] technologies" (Salter, 2017: 175). VR devices and experiences try to make the two-dimensional representations three-dimensional and teach us how to act and interact in these computed, amplified, augmented, mediated, virtualized spaces. The difference between previous immersive devices and VR seems to be a quantitative one, having now a much more complex and synchronized sensorium integrated in the experience. But a more attentive perspective reveals that VR productions also operate with the joining of two realities, the juxtaposition of two experiences that brings as a result distance, dislocation, and, paradoxically, trust.

Media of Attraction and Technologies of Sense

Grau (2003: 152) argues that the strongest moment of illusion for every new immersive media is the moment of appearance. The effect of illusion will decrease in time with domestication, habituation, and media competence, but when it arises "the medium becomes invisible" (Grau, 2003: 340). In contrast, Rebecca Rouse introduces the meta-category of "media of attraction" and speaks about four characteristics as common threads across media of attraction: 1. unassimilated, 2. interdisciplinary, 3. seamed, 4. participatory. Seamed is an interesting concept in this group, and it means that media of attraction is not self-sufficient, it exposes the specificity of the media itself: "the audience to media of attraction is made explicitly aware of the technology itself. If leveraged well, this awareness can operate to allow audiences to take meta-pleasure in the mediation presented, in addition to the feeling of immersion" (Rouse, 2016: 101). Ágnes Karolina Bakk defines in her paper many important and recurrent notions related to VR productions (for example, the differences between 360-degree videos and VR, immersion, presence, interactivity, atmosphere, performativity) and concludes that immersion is enhanced through the seamed traits: "the seamed character of VR experience is actually enhancing its immersive effect. Immersion becomes a dynamic function that, through the interactive characteristics of the art form, always presents to the viewer a new layer of experience" (Bakk, 2019: 154). In this sense, the seamed quality can be a lasting criterion, not only a characteristic in the media of attraction phase in the history of VR.

VR productions are often described as being hybrid media, using many different media elements. They offer multisensory experiences by creating multisensory environments that regularly challenge our senses (using not only visual and auditory impressions but sometimes stimulating our haptic and gustatory senses

too). In an ideal immersion, these different sensorial layers would work together, creating a total illusion. But most of the creators of these VR productions are artists who want to look behind the curtains of illusion and research the mediation (what is a media and what it does to us), the self (how the subjects are created through different experiences), the technologies of the self. VR productions can be regarded as created for such investigations, and through interaction they provide a safe place for the private experiences of the users. Namely, the users interact with the created environment in their own rhythm, according to their own inquisitiveness, and perceive only what is meaningful for them. Salter accentuates that "when you deal with questions of sensory perception, how environments or the external world meet the human perceptual system, you can't be passive. You are a performer in the sense that philosophers like Alva Noë have argued – you perform your perception of the world in an active way" (Salter, 2015).

Performing the perception means that we become aware of processes of our body that usually work in the background. Proprioception is exactly body awareness and feeling of the presence. In a mediated environment, like a VR production, we not only use our bodies in a more conscious way, but we become aware of the fact that – as Caroline Jones puts it – "the human sensorium has always been mediated. But over the past few decades that condition has greatly intensified. Amplified, shielded, channelled, prosthetized, simulated, stimulated, irritated – our sensorium is more mediated than ever before" (Jones, 2006: 5). The mediation of the human sensorium happens through techniques like the "truth games", defined by Michel Foucault when he speaks about the technologies of the self. According to him, there are four major types of these "technologies" that we use in order to understand ourselves and the conditions of our existence: (1) technologies of production which permit us to manipulate things; (2) technologies of sign systems which enable us to use signs and symbols in order to construct meanings; (3) technologies of power which transform us in compliant subjects; (4) technologies of the self which are performed by the individuals themselves on their own bodies and souls towards a kind of self-transformation "in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immortality [...] Each implies certain modes of training and modification of individuals, not only in the obvious sense of acquiring certain skills but also in the sense of acquiring certain attitudes" (Foucault, 1988: 18).

Salter introduces a fifth category, the technologies of the senses, "defined as those techniques, devices, procedures or strategies that aim to produce bodies and selves with other kinds of perceptions – perceptions that extend routine ways of seeing, hearing, feeling, touching and tasting the world" (Salter, 2017: 175). The immersive media takes advantage of our perception routines but also has the advantage to position the experiencer in a new space, in a different kind of sensorium than we are used to.

VR and Proprioception in *Hamlet Encounters*

The example presented in this article for examining all of the above is the VR production *Hamlet Encounters* (2018, Crew Group Netherland, attended at the international conference *Intermediality Now: Remapping In-Betweenness*, 18–20 Oct. 2018, organized by Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania, Cluj-Napoca).[1] It enables the participant to live an experience with a mix of 3D, virtual reality, and theatrical elements.[2] The production itself is a research project gathering specialists from different fields (artists, scholars, technicians) investigating the role of new immersive technologies resulting in new modes of creating, presenting, and experiencing possible worlds.

This production is a one-by-one experience which begins already in the waiting area. The participants get accommodated with the fictive world thanks to a screen which projects the view from the headset of the experiencer who is just exploring the virtual reality world. The waiting participant sees the real, empty, and marked space, and the experiencer in it sees the director sitting at an outside table providing instructions to the facilitators of the VR team. Simultaneously, s/he is able to check what the experiencer is seeing in the virtual image space. This outside experience helps to build trust both in the environment and the staff of the VR production. The technical parameters achieve that "not only the illusion is visible, but the creation of the illusion as well" (Kattenbelt, 2019).

The participant is mostly a visitor until the point where s/he gets the VR headset and literally steps into the VR world. The outside experience is being put under observation now that the visitor becomes performer in the fictive world, even if the price of this border crossing is the loss of the image of the physical body and the acquiring of a ghostlike state. The differences between the inside and outside experiences are highlighted by Robin Nelson (Nelson, Joris, Kattenbelt, 2018), who also specifies that "the play between them is what ultimately re-functions perception". It re-functions proprioception as well.

1 Credits (http://www.crewonline.org/art/projects; accessed on: 24.08.2020): Concept: CREW; Directors: Eric Joris & Mesut Arslan (Platform 0090); Actor: Rashif El Kaoui (KVS); Dramaturgy: Geraldo Salinas (KVS), Robin Nelson (ex-Central School of Speech & Drama, University of London), Aneta Mancewicz (Univ. Birmingham) & Chiel Kattenbelt (University of Utrecht); Intern dramaturgy: Sofie Revet; Creation VR production "Hands-On Hamlet": CREW & Urland; Intern dramaturgy "Hands-On Hamlet": Jesse Van der Heijden; Director VR production "Hands-On Hamlet": Marijn Alexander de Jong & Eric Joris; Actors VR production "Hands-On Hamlet": Nadia Babke, Thomas Dudkiewicz, Robin Nelson, Paulette Smit, Jesse Van Der Heijden, Bram Van Der Kelen & Koen Van Kaam; Technological coordination: Koen Goossens; 3D design: Joachim Bouvie, Emmanuel Tomozei & Eric Joris; Production Hamlet Encounters: CREW & Platform 0090 & KVS; special thanks to Joris Weijdom (HKU) and Kasteel Van Gaasbeek (BE).

2 Some technical data about the staging of the production in Cluj-Napoca: * large premises in the basement of the university building with a conference room and a separate area for the VR setting; * single visitors who attend the experience one by one; * 10-minute introduction time,

The image space the visitor is entering is a castle with various rooms where the experiencer can go into. There are figures playing different characters from Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, engaged very lively in their conversations. The experiencer can stop and listen to the dialogues or simply go through them like a ghost. There are also some uncanny bubbles I can put my head into. The bubbles are like worlds in the experienced world revealing how the different scenes were put on stage: actors, wires, cameras, all kinds of devices. In the bubble, I am an observer placed above the stage. I must admit to myself that I am much more interested in the created space than in the narrative of the virtual world. At a certain point, there are stairs. I know that the actual space I am experiencing is a flat floor, but I cannot help having a vertigo feeling. My equilibrioception (perception of balance) is triggered. I try to find the handrail while I am bending my knees to go down the stairs (doing by that exactly what the previous visitor did and I said to myself that I would not). I have to negotiate the space because what I know from the outside experience and what I see in the VR stage do not correspond. Then I am invited to sit down on a chair in the virtual reality, and I know that a technician will bring now an actual chair I can actually sit on, and I sit down. I am aware that the guiding voice in my headset does not belong to the image world though it is part of the experienced production. I am also aware that a technician is behind me holding the cord (which functions like a safety rope between the two worlds).

During the immersion in this VR world, I have an intense desire to explore untrodden paths, to find places undiscovered by others. Being a single visitor, I feel like I am in the centre of the experience, like I am the protagonist, everybody just watching me and making all the necessary adjustments for me to have a perfect journey. The voice asks me what I see, how I feel, what triggers me. My experience is important not only for me but for the others too.

After the experience, I am asked if I saw something unusual. I have the possibility to write my impressions down. It would be nice to read the written experiences of the other visitors.

Although I know that what I see is not real, I must accept that I am acting according to what I see. I have to negotiate with my bodily actions how to move in a place that shows itself like something it is not. How to go down a staircase where there is no staircase? It is a very uncommon feeling, tormenting even after the experience in question. Why were my eyes so convinced about the stairs? Why did I believe my eyes if I knew that the actual space was a flat floor? Why is this experience reinforcing the trust in my visual capacities if I now have such a solid proof that not everything I see is necessarily true?

Even if what I see is constructed, it has the convincing force given by the senses. As a picture the staircase would not be interesting, but as a space that

observation of the previous visitor's journey, 10-minute experience + after-journey time, writing feedback to the team; * 1 director, 1 coordinating technician, 1-2 technicians.

I have to experience it becomes a true environment. As I have to move in this environment, it is safer to act in concordance with what I see and then with what I know. The sight of a staircase in an immersive environment – in the inside of the image, it brings the need to act towards it as it is seen, not as it is known. My sensorial experience is taking over, and I am in the position of experiencing how my sensorial agency works. The negotiation of the space is a complex process, and it has more likely a positive outcome if I trust my eyes. Even if what I see is constructed, it has the convincing force, and in this VR project I am experiencing exactly that convincing force of my visual perception.

The experience is much more about this – actively perform my own perception – than following the drama of *Hamlet*. The choice of *Hamlet* as the theatrical frame is important because Shakespeare's play deals with a historical time and a narrative moment when everything becomes questioned, the whole world is out of joint, conflicted. In the frame of the VR project, the participant finds him-/herself experiencing the characteristics of Hamlet's time. The makers of the virtual reality theatre *To Be with Hamlet* (NYU Tandon School of Engineering) highlight as a learnt lesson that a VR production "can be used to shed new light on canonical theatrical texts by giving the audience a more visceral experience of the world of the play" (Gochfeld–Molina, 2017: 47). Hamlet is put on stage with this effect: adjacent enough to understand what is happening but intriguing enough to keep the participant alert.

Thinking about the future of narrative in cyberspace, Janet H. Murray (2017) includes the example of *Hamlet* even in the book's title: *Hamlet on the Holodesk*. Murray argues that exactly like "Shakespeare's extensive use of soliloquy in *Hamlet* is an appropriate technical innovation to capture [...] the Renaissance fascination with thinking itself and with separateness of the individual life", cyberdrama will create "simulated environments that capture behavioural patterns and patterns of interrelationships with a new clarity. [...] The new medium can take us even further in both directions, looking deeper into the human mind and encompassing even more of the external social world" (Murrey, 2017: 259–260).

Should We Question or Trust Our Senses?

Virtual reality has a powerful potential to familiarize us with other realities and different points of view, to increase our empathy towards foreign people, foreign problems, and foreign life situations that are not accessible to us physically. But VR also brings a sense of danger or uncanniness that our knowledge and beliefs are not true anymore, or they are not helping us anymore. Our self, our body becomes foreign before our very eyes and controlled by the proprieties of the device or headset we use.

> VR technology has so far been mainly considered as a kind of new form of film which goes one step further: you are no longer a disappearing invisible witness like in mainstream film, who is allowed to be everywhere in the world in order to understand what the film is about, but you are actually in the centre of it. Of course, you pay the price for it because the first thing you notice in the virtual space is that your body has disappeared. "Where am I?" "Where is my body?" You immediately sense how your eyes and ears are redefined, and then you have to find out with your physical body how to relate to it. (Kattenbelt, 2019)

Anna Eifert argues that in this new world of telematics and telepresence we are experiencing a loss of confidence in our perception system. Our senses cannot be trusted anymore, and this process began with the medium of the photography. Photography should have been a realistic medium that was supposed to show us the world as seen around us. However, photos did not show the reality seen, but they showed that reality differs from what we see. The conclusion is that our eyes are not to be trusted (Eifert, 1997: 395). The torrent of images that are received by our eyes as augmented and extended every day and from everywhere are not helping in the discernment between what is important to be seen and what can be dismissed. Our vision is overwhelmed, and lately the mistrust drifts towards the other senses too. Eifert concludes that we need a new balance, a new synchronization between our active and passive senses so that "we get the picture", meaning that our perception of reality recovers. Meanwhile, being in the picture, in immersive environments could actually help with increasing awareness towards perception and senses, with rewiring the system of the senses.

Derrick de Kerckhove writes in his essay *Touch versus Vision: Äesthetik Neuer Technologien* about the trust we feel towards our senses and why that is so important:

> The only sense in which we can truly trust is touch, because it is through touch that we really exist [*denn er ist da, wo auch wir wirklich sind*]. Through the vehicle of electricity, we are in contact with the whole world. Thus only the rediscovery of proprioception will make it possible for us to trust in our feelings, in the sense not of emotions which accompany us in daily life, but of the much deeper sensation of being in the centre of our own perception of the world that surrounds us. This form of intercourse with information . . . is rooted in a fully realized proprioceptive sense. It calls on us to transform our personal centre of reference [*Bezugszentrum*] into a "point of being". (cited in Hansen, 2004: 217)

Conclusions

The greatest impact of the VR experience on proprioception consisted in recognizing the impossibility to act against the sensorial knowledge. Firstly, this insight brings paradoxically trust in the senses because they are powerful enough to be treated seriously. Secondly, it brings distance and the spaces required for recognizing proprioception and learning about it. In a space of highlighted perception, we gain perspective on the technologies we use, on the mediation of our sensorium.

The question regarding the trust in our ability to believe what we see can be answered as it follows: what we see presents itself so powerful to the cognition system that we can only adapt to fit to the reality seen. Experiencing the VR environment reinforces trust in the senses because it helps us recognize ourselves and what we truly are.

It is more and more important to be aware of processes that we have taken too long for granted since there is an imminent danger to loose these types of technologies: "The self-propagating, self-escalating increase in non-perceptual sensible data generated by twenty-first-century media profoundly affects the economy of experience, such that our (human) experience becomes increasingly conditioned and impacted by processes that we have no direct experience of, no direct mode of access to, and no potential awareness of" (Hansen, 2015: 8). VR projects, immersive experiences may offer exactly the tools needed for balancing non-perceptual with perceptual, indirect with direct, unawareness with awareness, inertia with agency.

Media history helps us to draw the big picture, to approach the technologies of perception and shows the ways how skills and attitudes are acquired. Our training has many methods, stops, and vigorous digging-in phases, but it is continuous, and there is no way out of it.

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Affective and Cognitive Dimensions of Trust in Communication[1]

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Abstract: Based on the complexity of communication acts, the paper presents how affective and cognitive aspects are intertwined. First of all, the context of trust and the conditions of its appearance are examined. It is followed by an analysis of trust as an attitude which reveals the difference between contractual approaches and alliances. The relationship between communication and trust is presented by the illocutionary acts. As a result of the analysis, trust can be conceived as a positive attitude of expectation, where one person relies on the assumed good faith, suitability, and sensitivity of the other person, where, although vulnerable, the one who trusts counts on the fact that the trusted person will not abuse his/her position but rather provide assistance to his/her best knowledge in a given area. Cognitive trust is reinforced if the proper data are available, understandable, fit into prior knowledge, and anticipate the possible forms of operation. With affective trust, the issue is not data quality and quantity but rather the way how they are presented.

Keywords: trust, distrust, affective trust, cognitive trust, speech act theory

Introduction

Trust is a versatile concept subject to various interfaces. It has a certain meaning in the case of couples and yet another in the parent–child relationship. Trust in a physician has a completely different meaning than trust in science, politics, environment, or weather forecast. Trust has a wide span starting from the most personal level, i.e. self-confidence, up to the most encompassing network of contacts, i.e. social trust. According to the multifariousness of manifestations, trust fits into the current environment. This results in a diversified content requiring communication structures to be reviewed.

Trust is inseparable from the concept of distrust; thus, in my interpretation, the relationship between these two is a displacement along a vertical axis, and

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it increases or decreases depending on the risk. Any decrease in terms of trust is an increase in terms of distrust and vice versa. Any increase in terms of trust is a decrease in terms of risk and vice versa. This is the cognitive aspect of trust, taking into account the risk factors and calculating probability. However, there is also an affective dimension, which enhances or prevents the development of trust. Using communication acts, my review presents how affective and cognitive aspects are intertwined. First of all, I examine the trust context, then the relationships developed relying on trust, and, finally, I show the essential characteristics of affective and cognitive trust.

Trust Context

A distinction shall be made between trust in the context of which we acquire information and trust in information itself. According to the principle of our navigating the world, trust structures, preconceptions, and conscious actions are a prerequisite. This is facilitated, for instance, by family, neighbourhood, kinship, or friendship, i.e. all such relationships which are determining factors. It relies also upon them, not only upon the direct consciousness that one can think or feel that s/he is capable of doing something. This is an extended directness since not only one's own conscious activity is given but also the context of one's life-world through the system of relationships. Although we experience this extended directness as something a priori, it is not unproblematic since the basis of the resulting evidence or beliefs is often fragile.

Our navigating the world is enabled by a context or system within the framework of which we feel comfortable and familiarized, i.e. which makes orientation possible for us in our own media. Such contexts may be totally personal, for instance one's deep conviction or value system. By way of example, external systems include social institutions starting from school or bakery through police or pub to an Internet browser or the Facebook platform. All these act as infrastructures, as networks. Paths and tracks are created to function as a communicative system.

It is this network that provides information to be processed using our system. Is it comprehensible for us or not; does it reach our sensitivity threshold or not; do we perceive it as being attractive or repelling? Information represents the surface, and it is processed on grounds of the system. Thus, the question of how the system works is at least as significant as the very communication of the information. The perceived information is the input, while the information which is understood is the output, and processing takes place within the framework of a system. According to this approach, trust mirrors cognitive and affective trust in the context, i.e. in the system. Cognitive trust means the knowledge I have about

the operation of a certain context. Affective trust means the entirety of my prior experiences, expectations, and preconceptions, which determines my attitude towards the given context. I either accept, for instance, social media as a system and appreciate the opportunities provided thereby or not.

The system is intended to be used in a very large sense, starting from the operational system of consciousness to the Facebook platform system. One can ascertain that it is a communicative system where there is a communicator and a recipient, there is intention, there is channel (infrastructure), and most of all there is a context. The actual question is: how does a relationship or an attitude towards something or somebody develop? We live in relationships, our mutual being is based on relationships, and trust is a quality attribute of relationship. Consequently, something exists as subject to my attitude, i.e. the attitude develops it, just as it develops me.

Trust as Attitude

Trust equally means self-confidence, confidence in the world, and confidence in relationships. This enumeration gives rise to a possible summarization of the trust theories by differentiating the reference aspects of relationships (Dormandy, 2020: 1). In the case of a three-party trust, somebody trusts in someone else concerning something: for instance, somebody asks another person to buy something for him/her. This is the most frequent and most analysed approach of trust. In the case of a two-party trust, there is a trust relationship without any actual targeting, i.e. it is the relationship itself that carries the trust. Between acquaintances, this type is the most common occurrence, no matter whether the relationship is familial, cordial, or of another nature. One-party trust means self-confidence, where the person deems that his/her own position is safe and well-founded. These three factors mutually influence each other. Self-confidence is a prerequisite for being able to develop relationships based on trust and for trusting someone with regard to something.

Basically, I intend to pursue an interpretation focused on three-party and two-party trusts. A three-party trust may be regarded as being based on a contract since it is accountable and conditional. Also, it can be construed as a market model since a delivery–reception can take place if somebody places trust in someone else and has certain expectations in exchange. No buying and selling are conceivable if the buyer fails to trust the merchandise to some extent or if the seller fails to accept the means of payment (except in cases where the purchase takes place, for instance, due to some constraint).

Two-party trusts refer to interpersonal relationships. The trust invested in interpersonal relationship is a prerequisite of the contract; however, at a more

basic level, it also means an alliance not having necessarily any subject or purpose or actual gains. Alliances are also set up under certain conditions; moreover, they are accountable and reinforceable, just as contracts are. Contracts are governed by rationality, covering as many details as possible. Alliances, namely relationships between two persons or groups, are governed by affectivity, which makes it possible for the relationship to even develop. As such, an alliance is a more extended contractual form. It is possible to envisage situations where contracts are concluded by and between perfect strangers; however, alliances presuppose a deeper acquaintanceship where the community of interests and basic principles are mutually accepted.

Communication, Action, Trust

How can we get to genuine knowledge? What may put an end to an infinite suspicion? It is not only about the evidence of truth which can be comprehended by pure reason but also about an affective attitude. How can we even stand up, start walking, go to bed, dream, speak, or listen? In keeping with Luhmann, we could say that no action can take place unless we trust ourselves and our environment (Luhmann, 1979). Getting up in the morning presupposes that I am able to move, going to work presupposes that I accept the traffic rules and I am confident that others do the same as well.

The focal point of the review is speaking, a manifestation for the interpretation of which Austin's speech act theory is of assistance (Austin, 1962). Locution is the trust in the language. Illocution is the trust in the act. Perlocution is the trust elicited by the utterance, i.e. the effect of the speech. Under these terms of interpretation, the issue of trust or distrust may appear at all three levels.

Firstly, there is the trust in relying on the language, under the form of locution. Most frequently, we experience this as the question whether we succeeded to communicate something in a proper form. It is not only about observing syntactic and semantic rules but also about assuming the expression act. We recognize this phenomenon in situations where we vacillate to say something or not in an alien environment in a foreign language. It is subject to this decision that a manifestation takes place.

Secondly, illocution refers to an act accomplished in speech. Terestyéni presents in keeping with Austin the most common acts of speech as forms of illocution. Examining these, we can easily find out that an important component of the speech acts, illocutionary force is the displacement according to the trust–distrust axis (Terestyéni, 2006: 80–81). When promising, the communicator pledges himself/herself to do something, i.e. asks for the recipient's trust, stating his/her own capacity (to keep the promise) at the same time.

In the asking act, the communicator depends on the recipient, who feels impelled to do something, trusting the communicator's genuine request.

In the case of commands, the recipient trusts the commander as the communicator trusts the execution. A power relation is also involved here since any failure to obey the order results in punishment, and the communicator is liable for what was commanded.

In the informing act, the facts made known to the recipient are accepted only if the recipient trusts the communicator and the communicator is confident that the information is properly processed by the recipient.

Through the statement, the communicator commits himself/herself to the truthfulness of the subject matter of the statement as well as to the fact that s/he can also prove the same, while the recipient considers and checks upon the truthfulness of the statement according to the trust level.

By way of authorization, the recipient becomes entitled to do something, enjoys trust, and accepts the authorizer's authority, while the communicator trusts the recipient.

In a contract, the communicator and the recipient mutually pledge themselves to do something and mutually confer trust to each other under certain conditions endeavoured to be met by both parties.

Accusation means loss of trust, holding to account, where the communicator imputes an unfavourably appreciated deed to someone and assumes liability for the proper formulation of the imputation. The accused person finds himself/herself in a situation where s/he has to prove the extent of his/her liability in terms of the deed which represents the subject matter of the accusation, i.e. has to restore the shattered trust. The recipient is the one who considers whom to trust most, the accuser or the accused?

It is not only in speech acts that the role played by trust is demonstrable but also according to the meaning and purpose of the illocution. Following Searle's typology, Terestyéni highlights the following illocutionary essentials (Terestyéni, 2006: 82). The essence of the speech act assertive is that the hearer commits himself/herself to the truthfulness of the sentence, i.e. a cognitive trust is developed in terms of the given information. The essence of the illocutionary directives is to cause the hearer to adapt his/her behaviour according to the proposition content, i.e. the effect becomes evident when the hearer accepts what the communicator said. Commissives are such commitments on the communicator's part through which s/he warrants the hearer that the act shown in the proposition content is executed. The illocutionary essence of expressives refers to warranting the sincerity of the speech act. In speech declarations, the essence is eliciting some kind of change in the world, exerting an effect. Someone tells somebody something in expectation of achieving a certain effect. Except for the speech act assertives, presupposing affective trust is unavoidable.

Thirdly, perlocution refers to the audience's increase or decrease of trust due to the speech act. We are thinking in models regulated on an illocutionary level, where such expectations and obligations are formulated towards the participants, which, once accomplished, result in a valid manifestation, so that the rationalization function plays a central role. In the case of perlocution, there appear sentiments, beliefs, and affective dimensions of trust, which are driven not only by convention. This triple division of the speech act offers a comprehensive image of the manifestation. In the context of communication and action, we learn more about how trust operates. The relation between trust and communication is enriched by a more explicit meaning. Manifestations develop if trust is given. Manifestations result in increasing or decreasing trust.

Although Austin does not use the concept of trust in *How to Do Things with Words*, one can conclude that it is about a specific element of the speech acts (Austin, 1962). The basic communicative aspect of trust is when someone tells somebody something. Trust is presupposed by this act in itself. The communicator hopes to formulate the statement so that the recipient understands its content and it has an impact on the recipient. Therefore, trust related to one's own abilities is present in the manifestation, a trust related to the community of the language, the trust in the speech act, the trust in the recipient's attention and in processing the information as well as the trust in the effect of the speech.

Taking three examples, I illustrate the speech act development according to trust.

Let us imagine the following situation at the foot of the Eiffel tower. A tourist's phone battery has just gone flat, so the tourist cannot contact the person whom he must meet. The tourist asks a stranger to kindly lend him his/her phone, disassembles it in order to change the removable SIM card, and then returns it as soon as the call has ended. The situation is more difficult since s/he does not speak any foreign languages.

This person steps over a boundary, which involves addressing a stranger, and then yet another one, which is due to not knowing the foreign language. This locution is a manifestation of self-confidence at the same time. The request (illocution) is formulated in a gesture language and places trust in the recipient's understanding. The recipient intercepts the message, steps over his own stimulus threshold, not sensing it as a risk source, a common language is developed, and as soon as this is understood, a response is formulated. Since the attempt was successful, trust is confirmed in the communicator's case and, as soon as the phone is returned, the recipient may enjoy the confirmation of the fact that s/he was in a position to help (perlocution).

Let us see an example of conventional mode of speech. Whenever someone receives a piece of information that can be easily comprehended although s/he dissociates him-/herself from it, this is often manifested using expressions such as

"I do not understand" or "I do not know". Besides the word-by-word interpretation of the expression meaning that s/he simply does not have the answer, there are also other possibilities. It may well happen that s/he is in an emotional disposition which makes incomprehensible for him/her the given information or message, i.e. the content which is accounted for has not even crossed his/her stimulus threshold. It is characteristic for students that whenever they complain about the "absolutely incomprehensible" nature of a subject matter, it is difficult to discern whether understanding the content or the lecturer is the source of the issue, or they happen to be in an emotional disposition which makes concentration difficult for them. The statement involves locution, and the explanation act involves illocution; however, there is no apprehension, so that the effect (perlocution) is low since a wall is built in between the communicator and the recipient. Consequently, trust is frozen between the communicator and the recipient.

Besides the "I do not know" dead-end strategy, the "diverting to side roads" strategy is also possible. The side road aspect is reached in that the content of the message of communication gets a totally different interpretation than originally intended. This may readily take the form of telling a story. The simple message (locution) "you look good this morning" is basically a confirmation (illocution). At the same time, it may be formulated as expectation or, due to an unthought-of connotation, it elicits an effect which is quite the contrary to what is expected (perlocution), i.e. the look is not interpreted as a statement but rather as an expectation. The communicator's intent and the recipient's interpretation yield an entirely different result. Consent, cooperation, and togetherness is possible only provided that the two interpretations concord. This, however, can be achieved by continuous communication and trust-building efforts. In the present case, it is the very loss of trust which emerges as a winner.

The first example showed how a challenge resulted in assuming risks and yielded a positive outcome. The "I do not know" attitude of dissociation meant postponing the risk. Finally, in the example for misunderstanding, risk assumption ended up in a negative outcome. Why is this difference between the results?

According to my interpretation, the reasonably understandable core of the message reached various affective contexts. Affective context is a very broad term, which includes emotional affection and emotional intention. However, past, tradition, customs, all unclassified and voluntary attitudes, reflexes, aspirations, expectations, visions, and preconceptions are also present, carrying an affective interest, attitude, and intention.

Diverting to side roads leads to discord, i.e. the speech fails, ending up in a disagreement/conflict. There are many ways how conflicts may arise, but what I would like to reveal here is that even the simplest commonplace sentence can initiate the development or the destruction of the communicator's and the recipient's already existing trust.

Under such circumstances, there are two solutions; however, neither can be regarded as being perfect. On the one hand, there is the shortcut way, which would be ideal but is such an abstract form, so abstract from actual happenings and from the flesh-and-blood reality of the human relationships that it cannot be regarded as self-evident. This is the place for permanent evidence, the realm of genuine, valid discernments, which presupposes a formalized language where everything is univocal.

On the other hand, there is the roundabout way which tries to wrap up what has happened, taking into account the affective aspects, the context, the antecedents, etc. Its greatest disadvantage is that judgment, just as action and decision, is difficult to be achieved. It shall always be taken into account that something might be missing, the results are probabilistic, and thus ambivalence and ambiguity are always present.

Affective and Cognitive Features of Trust

A particular feature of trust is that it can be regarded as a cognitive and affective happening at the same time (Baier, 1994). We cannot categorize it unequivocally, only on one side. The cognitive side is about rationally admitting the necessity and the risk of the trust. I am unable to check upon the validity of all information; thus, I am relying on the experts' opinion. Luhmann describes the complexity of the world, which can be reduced by trust (Luhmann, 1988). This also involves taking a risk and assuming a role in a play where we assign a certain extent of trust to the challenges posed by ambiguous outcomes encountered by us, based on rational appreciations. Pettit seems to find the cunning of trust in that the one who trusts expects that the trustee will not break the promise since otherwise society would consider the trustee unreliable (Pettit, 1995). Thus, the relationship between the two parties can be considered as being valid in such a social environment where there is a third party who is watching and judging.

Following this approach, it is obvious to construe the question of trust based on the supply–demand concepts. It is difficult for us to regard trust as a constant value, i.e. the nature of trust is subject to an increasing or decreasing displacement according to risk. Of course, trust is high if risk is low, and it is low if risk is high. At the point of impact between trust and risk, trust supply and trust demand meet. How can the equilibrium point be found, when can we speak about trust surplus and trust deficit?

Examining the trust concept in itself, one can readily find behind this rational sale–purchase the a priori givenness of either of the trust layers without which this meeting would not take place at all. Consequently, we have to assume such a trust level which serves our navigating the world.

Another shortcoming of the model is that it is supposed to be general; however, one can easily realize that it can take a completely different form according to the subject matter of trust. It is not exactly the same whether it is about a close family member relating to whom the question of trust does not really arise or about a high risk factor stranger. This model can hardly explain how to relate to a stranger, how innovation is possible if trust does not break through the framework of habits.

The contradiction of trust resides in that a give–take is conducted on the basis of rational market terms on the one hand, and for affective considerations we go beyond the logic of these market terms on the other hand. In a parent–child relationship, for instance, using the market term logic would practically bring about terror or some kind of blackmail. This does not mean that there is no negotiation of a certain sort in the educational process but that what is at stake is completely different. Relating to the first case, one could say that it is the operating mode of social trust. In the second case, there is a one-person trust, where it is not the mutuality logic which acts in a positive or negative direction but rather the logic of support. Hence, we find the limits of trust relativity in personal trust, which has absolute values. The parent can look at the child trustfully even if the latter has just committed an outrageous act. A friend is able to be supportive even if s/he should deny an act according to all social conventions. The parent is not a dominator, a friend is not a trading customer, and the spouse is not a business associate. In this conceptualization, the first level can be regarded as a contract and the second one as an alliance.

The rational model allows us to work out game theory models; however, this can turn out to be too abstract when analysing actual human relationships. Obviously, there is a rational element in judging trust; however, the emotional disposition and the affective interests shall also be considered at the same time. Raising this question makes us go from the abstract extreme to the specific extreme, where we encounter case-by-case situations impossible to be generalized on a permanent basis. The topicality of this research is given by the fact that within a specific area of public life, namely in social media, all those mechanisms meant to influence voters and buyers through affective and emotional methods are readily recognizable. Phenomena such as fake news, post-truth, and echo chamber are all proofs that the most efficient way to influence opinions is through emotions and affective interests. This well-established mode of communication can be regarded as rationally fundamental; however, it is still necessary to understand the emotional and affective side of communication. By emotional dimension I mean that the recipient goes through experiencing fear, anger, rage, joy, etc. Basically, the affective dimension means an interest, i.e. the recipient is not untouched by what s/he sees, and that it has some kind of effect upon the recipient. Pursuant to Jones's conclusions, we can envisage an affective

looping which acts in the sense of reinforcing or transforming a prior emotional state (Jones, 2019: 2).

Returning to our analysis concerning the trust context, relationships, and language, we find that both the affective side and the cognitive side are present. In examining the trust context, the very processing of the information requires the operation of the cognitive side, based on which we can make various decisions – for instance, we can rely on someone. However, the information context means an affective interest as well since in order to notice something our attention has to be drawn to it. Subject to the trustworthiness of the context, attention will be expressed in yet other forms, noticing yet other factors, and interpreting in yet other contexts the same. The "I am able" or the "I am unable" notion also involves an affective message, which creates or buries a world.

This latter notion means the formation of a self-affection, which in analysing the trust aspects took the form of self-confidence. In this part, we have explained the role of cognitive trust, which defines the three-party trust since conferring trust takes place on some kind of grounds. In the case of two-party trust, discussing the affective dimension was unavoidable because of the reliance upon a mutual interest in interpersonal relationships.

By virtue of the speech act theory, one may consider that the communication, action, and trust concepts can be interconnected. In analysing common speech acts, one can perceive trust as a component. The basic question of perlocution in our analysis is whether manifestation brings about an increase or a decrease in terms of trust. Obviously, the communicator's motivation can be deemed to be the fact that s/he is regarded as being trustful, and his/her motivation why s/he said whatever s/he said is accepted.

According to Luhmann, trust is a risky investment (Luhmann, 1979). The notion facilitated the intense economic interpretation and application of the trust concept. This analysis is aimed at highlighting the fact that trust has also an affective dimension besides the rationalizing interpretation. Jones (2019) has made two attempts to define trust from an affective viewpoint.

According to the first one, "trust is the optimism that the other person's benevolence and suitability will be extended to warrant our area of interaction, and, at the same time, it is the expectation that the trusted person is directly and favourably influenced by the fact that we are counting on him/her" (Jones, 1996: 4). In his second definition, Jones uses the concept of sensitivity instead of a benevolence, and leaves out the notion of expectation. "A trusts B in a D area of interaction if and only if A handles optimistically B's suitability and sensitivity to support him/her in the said area" (Jones, 2019: 4).

Conclusions

Summarizing these definitions, trust can be construed as a positive attitude of expectation where one person relies on the assumed good faith, suitability, and sensitivity of the other person, where, although vulnerable, the one who trusts counts on the fact that the trusted person will not abuse his/her position but rather provide assistance to his/her best knowledge in a given area. The affective definition of trust involves the concept of optimism, good faith, sensitivity, and vulnerability, which reinforces the subjective side and makes trust highly malleable since these concepts are also difficult to be given a general definition within this context. At the same time, the affective definition does not exclude the definition regarded as being cognitive, but it rather emphasizes a peculiar dimension of risk.

Which are the distinctive features of cognitive and affective trust? Cognitive trust is reinforced if the proper data are available, understandable, fit into prior knowledge, and anticipate the possible forms of operation. With affective trust, the issue is not data quality and quantity but rather the attitude, the way how they are presented. The interdependence of the two forms is well recognizable. Failure to provide all information results in two possibilities: the communicator was either unaware of or wilfully omitted them. In the case of wilful omission, bad faith is supposed, which causes weakening in terms of trust. Based on our reasoning, we can ascertain that communicating the proper information will not suffice, but rather wording the message and the nature of the communicator's attitude are decisive. The form of communication can be regarded as efficient if it is capable of performing the information selection for the cognitive trust, and, at the same time, such form of communication is chosen and the communication takes place in such a way that the supposition of good faith is preserved.

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Project (I)solation – Everyday Life and Media Use During the COVID-19 Pandemic

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Abstract: The pandemic has placed our relationship with digital media in a new context. Regardless of age, the isolation had significant impact on our everyday routines, of which media use has become a constant factor in one form or another. We may have never tried to use so many new applications in such a short time before, as for many of us media was the only connection to the outside world. However, after the quarantine, there are several questions that may arise following the extreme situation. Were we captured or rather liberated by the online media? What did we learn about online life and our relationship with the media during the epidemic? How could the digital generation adapt itself to the new circumstances? What challenges and problems did Generation Z face during the quarantine? How have young people's daily routines, media use patterns, news consumption, learning and/or working habits changed? How about their general attitudes towards the media and their effects on them? In the study below, I seek answers to these questions based on the results of an international, interdisciplinary research project called *TOGETHER* initiated by the University of Pécs (Pécs, Hungary) and Hochschule für Kommunikation und Gestaltung (Stuttgart, Germany).

Keywords: media use, pandemic, Generation Z, effects, everyday life

Introduction

The first scientific article on the virus known as COVID-19 appeared in a medical journal in January 2020,[1] and the first description of the symptoms of the disease dates from December 2019. Although the origin of the virus is unknown, and to the best of our knowledge the pathogen was already present in several parts of the world as early as 2019,[2] many consider China as the starting point for the

1 https://www.thelancet.com/journals/lancet/article/PIIS0140-6736(20)30185-9/abstract.
2 https://www.reuters.com/article/us-health-coronavirus-italy-sewage/italy-sewage-study-suggests-covid-19-was-there-in-december-2019-idUSKBN23Q1J9.

epidemic.[3] The epidemic that unfolded in early 2020, as well as the pandemic that was following it, resulted in huge changes around the world in a matter of weeks: hundreds of millions of people were forced into quarantine, entire institutional systems shut down, entire industries were closed down overnight – the world suddenly fell silent. These circumstances had a serious impact on the relationship between the media and consumers as for many the media was the only connection to the outside world, thus playing a central role during the pandemic. During the period under discussion, the use of traditional media functions (such as providing information and entertainment) also intensified, and new functions (working, learning, social contact, and communication) were added to the usual practices, some of which were already available, but they became even more important in the wake of the pandemic.

What was only conceivable at the beginning of 2020 is now clear: the situation has generated significant changes; media supply and consumer demand have interacted in response to the epidemic, which means that not only the media has affected consumer behaviour, but the new consumer needs also affected how media works today. This transformation was surrounded by huge professional and market interest, so as early as March 2020 relevant international research programmes were launched to map changes in media use during the pandemic. A significant part of the research projects in question addressed the extent to which identifiable changes can be related to the social/cultural embeddedness of media audiences and, more importantly for the present study, how these changes adapt to differences along generational boundaries.

One of the most cited summaries on the topic is related to the Global Web Index research carried out between 25 and 30 March 2020, addressing changes in media use during the pandemic.[4] Through a sample of 4,000 people, the researchers explored how the pattern of media consumption has changed during the pandemic in an international comparison and what variances can be identified between different generations in this context.[5] Some important, general results of the research revealed that during the quarantine period 80% of media users consumed more content, and the dominance of television and online content was rather characteristic. The study also confirmed that during the outbreak of the epidemic users consumed far more news than before and 68% of people were informed about current news on the epidemic with the help

3 http://weekly.chinacdc.cn/en/article/id/e53946e2-c6c4-41e9-9a9b-fea8db1a8f51.

4 https://www.globalwebindex.com/hubfs/1.%20Coronavirus%20Research%20PDFs/GWI%20coronavirus%20findings%20April%202020%20-%20Media%20Consumption%20(Release%204).pdf.

5 I present the main conclusions of the research here because, on the one hand, the results of the Global Web Index have become an important reference point in connection with the phenomenon studied here, and, on the other hand, the qualitative research carried out within the frameworks of the *TOGETHER* programme may refine its results.

of the World Wide Web. From a market point of view, it is not incidental that the proportion of new subscriptions increased significantly during the period under review, with Netflix being the biggest winner, which, as will be discussed later, was able to succeed during the quarantine in age-groups with typically low subscription ratio. The research by the Global Web Index has also examined consumer attitudes, and the results show that media content generated serious tensions over the period in question. The study also found that it was not the time spent on media use that caused the problem but rather the consumption of certain content that was not considered prudently, leading to frustration and anxiety. The main reason of this phenomenon was that during the time spent on increased media consumption users did not consume useful information or light, entertaining content but browsed disturbing social media shares, some of which fell into the category of rumour and fake news.

The Global Web Index research also pays special attention to the question of what changes have taken place in the media use of different generations.[6] The research worked with four age-groups: mature generations, i.e. boomers (aged 55–75 years) and the Generation X (aged 40–54 years) and younger generations, i.e. the Generation Y (aged 25–39 years) and Generation Z (9–23 years old). Based on the results, the media use of the boomer generation has changed the least during the quarantine; in their case, radio still plays a major role, but they also consumed significant amounts of content in the form of online videos and online press. Among boomers, television remains the leading mass medium, and during the quarantine they spent even more time watching traditional, linear television content – in this age-group, this is the most important change that the research could detect compared to their normal habits prior to the pandemic. The international research has revealed that members of Generation X spent more time watching television in the time interval studied than any other age-group. At the same time, in addition to linear television, they also watched online television broadcasts, so the increased time spent on television was mainly shared by these two platforms. Within this age-group, the consumption of online videos and online press materials can also be considered significant, but listening to the radio was not uncommon either. Of the age-groups in the sample, the media use of Generation Y appears to be the most colourful since they were consuming more content on almost all platforms during quarantine than before. Of these, the importance of online videos and online television also stand out, but, contrary to popular belief, members of this age-group still spent a significant amount of time watching traditional, linear television content as well. Members of this generation also consumed more content on the interfaces of online press and online music streaming services. In the case of Generation Z youth, the preference for online

6 For the generational segmentation and characteristics of the digital generation, see: Howe–Strauss, 1991; Mackay, 1997; Prensky, 2001.

platforms is overwhelming, and in particular the popularity of online video content and online television programmes is outstanding. In addition, members of this age-group enjoyed browsing Internet news sites, and the use of online music streams also increased, while the practice of listening to the radio and reading print media was almost completely relegated to the background.

The research cited here provides interesting and valuable information for all age-groups; however, in this case as well, marketers paid special attention to what Generation Z did in the quarantine. The increased interest is due to the consideration that Generation Z young people, also known as digital natives, are a "trend-setter generation", which means that future trends can be predicted by studying their consumption patterns such as their media use (Törőcsik, 2015). This finding is based on the observation that the media use practices and habits observed in this age-group (use of devices and applications, popularity of social networking sites, etc.) have a wide impact on consumer trends, and typically with a one- to two-year lag these appear among the practices of older users as well. In the light of this finding, it is even more important to understand the changes that followed the pandemic that began in 2020, in the media use of Generation Z youth and to see whether these may have a long-term impact in the future.

The research projects mentioned so far were, without exception, quantitative, large-sample studies that reveal important general, large correlations. At the same time, we have far fewer qualitative results on the subject. The study of PTE (University of Pécs) and HFK+G (Hochschule für Kommunikation und Gestaltung) in Stuttgart described below sought to fill this gap; the interdisciplinary, qualitative research project implemented with international cooperation can be considered as a deep social and cultural drilling on the topic. A detailed presentation of the project and research is provided below.

TOGETHER – Communication and Design for Intercultural Understanding: The Institutional Background of the Research, Methodological Foundations, Methods, and Informants

TOGETHER is a research project proposed by the University of Applied Sciences for Communication and Design (in German: Hochschule für Kommunikation und Gestaltung, HfK+G) and funded for 3 years by the Ministry of Science Research and Art in Baden-Württemberg. The project is based on an innovative teaching concept for intercultural understanding, especially with regard to the Danube region. The interdisciplinary approach of HfK+G's two study programmes, Communication Design (B.A.) and Advertisement and Market Communication

(B.A.), lays the foundation for the 4 workshops carried out within the scope of the project, continuing these workshops throughout the semester, thus embedding them in the curricula of the study programmes. Students from all three institutions, the HfK+G in Germany, the Josip Juraj Strossmayer University of Osijek (Croatia), and the University of Pécs (Hungary), were given the chance to participate in the 4 workshops, two of which took place in Germany (Stuttgart and Ulm) and one each in Hungary and in Croatia. Within 10 days of each workshop, students jointly do research in an international environment, with a special focus on local cultural, social, and urban needs (e.g. democratic values, social participation and responsibility, diversity, discrimination, intolerance, integration, etc.). In order to find solution approaches, active participation and dialogue-promoting methods, such as Design Thinking, Citizen Design, science platforms, the World Café method as well as Open Space formats, are used with the contribution of experts in the field and with the involvement of the local society. Analogue, digital, and interactive focused design and communication concepts as well as interdisciplinary solution approaches are deduced by the students in the frame of the workshops. After each workshop, they exhibit their results, thus making them available for the public dialogue. During the semester, the students continue working on the topics at their home universities. In each case, the research projects were implemented in five phases as follows.

Phase 1: Contextualization. This phase starts with research, field work with local target groups, observing, questioning, recognizing, and analysing in order to approach the topic and identify socially relevant problems. It is followed by exploration using Design Thinking research techniques such as A Day in a Life, Behavioural Mapping, Shadowing, Five Whys, or Cultural Probes. Then we rely on the impulse and input from experts, locals, stakeholders, and professors, and we use discussion and dialogue-promoting formats such as Citizen Design Science, the World Café method, and Open Space.

Phase 2: Analysing. Based on phase 1, we derive socially relevant questions to be further addressed. After this, we use Design Research and Design Labs with mood boards, videos, photography, sketches, and text material to evaluate and classify the results, while we also apply economic methods such as SWOT analysis, Business Model Canvas, Ansoff Matrix, Product Life Cycle analysis, or Brand Steering Wheel.

Phase 3: Brainstorming, strategy formation, and concept. After splitting up into groups, students develop their first ideas, strategies, and concepts while using visualization techniques. In this phase, we apply methods such as narration, cognitive maps, conceptual landscapes, and finally we elaborate design approaches such as Look and Feel.

Phase 4: Prototyping. Prototyping (e.g. paper prototypes, mock-ups) and testing them with local stakeholders while using methods such as Behavioural Sampling, Experience Prototypes, Empathy Tool, Role Playing, or Scenario Testing.

Phase 5: Presentation and feedback. Presentation of communication strategies and design approaches happens in this phase followed by the feedback including local target groups. The programme ends with the presentation of the final strategy, selection of the best concepts, presentations, and realization in cooperation with industrial, cultural partners or with administration and politics.

The implementation of the workshop in Pécs, planned for the spring of 2020, failed because of the COVID-19 epidemic and the subsequent quarantine and isolation. During this period, the role of the media became a central issue, so the organizers of the programme decided that the behaviour and attitudes of quarantined users would be the focus of the study, with partly preserving the methodological principles described above and partly by adapting them to the new situation. Adapted to the circumstances, the research was carried out using online platforms (e.g. Facebook, Zoom, Skype, and Miro Brainwriting), while the central methodological tool of the quarantine research (using a qualitative approach) was the quarantine diary, an auto ethnographic approach belonging to the group of media ethnography.[7] Students participating in the programme (25 Hungarian and German Generation Z students between the ages of 18 and 25) recorded their quarantine experiences for one week while supplementing written documents with images, videos, drawings, and design solutions according to the five phases described above. In September, the programme will result in an online website featuring interactive audio-visual material that can provide a comprehensive picture of the quarantine experiences of Generation Z youth, particularly in terms of media use. The present study systematizes and interprets these findings through a detailed discussion of five topics: 1) daily routine and media, 2) general pattern of media consumption, 3) news consumption, 4) online learning and work, and 5) media effects.[8]

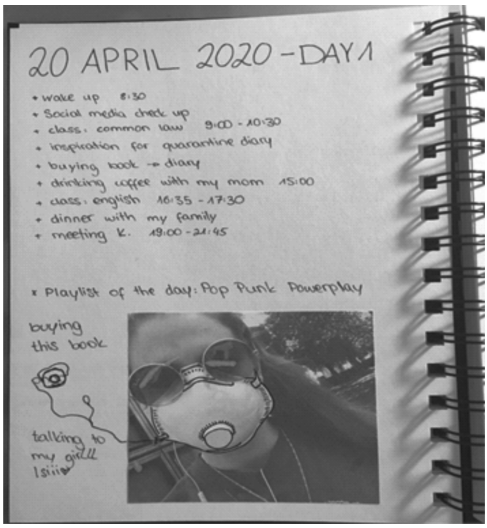
7 For more information, see: Hepp et al., 2011; Gunter, 2009: 22–55; Horning, 2009: 95–115; Sheble–Wildemuth, 2009; Stokes, 2008: 143–172.

8 From a methodological and theoretical point of view, the research project on Generation Z, which took place between 2013 and 2016 at the University of Pécs, can be considered the antecedent of this research. For more information, see: Törőcsik, 2015; Guld, 2014; Guld–Maksa, 2013.

Results

Daily Routine and Media

One of the central questions of the research was how the position of media developed in everyday life during the quarantine period. The answer to the question was basically a summary of the activities recorded in the diaries as in these texts the students indicated not only when and what media platform they were using but also how the activity fitted into their daily routine and how it all adapted to the changing environment (*Picture 1*). Based on the results, it can be stated that media became a central factor in everyday life during quarantine, i.e. in many cases it emerged as an organizing force of the daily routine. Media was present in the lives of users from the moment of awakening until late at night, which would not be surprising at all in the case of Generation Z youngsters under normal circumstances, but during this period of isolation even this age-group reported a significant increase in time spent on media consumption. This is closely related to the fact that during the period under review all major everyday activities moved to the media space, including learning, working, keeping in touch with friends, acquaintances, relatives, collecting information, entertainment, and leisure activates in general. According to user reports, the rapidly developing monotony in quarantine was also resolved by the media since variety as such was represented by the switching between different media devices and media platforms related to different activities. Thus, for example, while the typical tool for learning and working was the laptop and the Internet, television and traditional linear broadcasting, such as watching popular television series, often appears as a means of entertainment and recreation. Media-related user attitudes towards daily routines varied widely across the sample. Young people who identified themselves as introverted (with specific comments referring to this in the texts) initially experienced the period from March to early June as "heaven". They argued that the confinement gave them the opportunity to do jobs and tasks that they had not had time for before and that for them the lack of personal encounters and company was not a particular problem. In contrast, youngsters who reportedly have extroverted personality traits experienced serious discomfort as early as a few weeks after the quarantine had started, because in their case virtual encounters and programmes could not trigger the experiences provided by personal meetings. In conclusion, media use was an essential factor in the quarantine period; it was as for everyone almost the only permanent connection with the outside world.



Picture 1. *List of daily tasks in the quarantine diary of a student from Stuttgart*

The above-mentioned phenomenon is well illustrated by the following diary quote, which simultaneously reflects on the tension caused by the isolation, lack of company, and media use as a typical escape from all of these:

> I live my social life digitally. Because I consider the quarantine important, I have very rarely left home since the declaration of the state of emergency. Therefore, I have perceived the lack of connections much more intensely in recent weeks than any other effects of the quarantine. So, the question is how I defend myself against the frustrations caused by the corona virus. Since our apartment is new and we have moved in recently, it is not yet very equipped, and it is inevitable that a few things disappear during the move. The implication of this for me was that in the absence of material and space, foreign faces and communication, I had a hard time finding a leisure activity with which I could occupy myself for a longer and meaningful time. Due to the lack of social connections, I spent these times with video games and online communication. (Ádám, male, 23)

General Patterns of Media Consumption

The second issue of the study addressed the question of how the pattern of media use of young people developed during the quarantine period. In this context, the most typical experience was the feeling of media overuse, which means that the informants also thought – based on their own impressions – that they had spent

too much time in the company of the media during the sampling period. This was partly explained by the fact that hardly any other opportunities for entertainment and recreation were available besides the media, and, on the other hand, a state of "dependence on the media" developed after a while. By this they meant that the media "sucked them in", meaning that one content pulled the other, and finally they spent long hours consuming content while completely forgetting about the passage of time. The example of Netflix is repeatedly mentioned in the reports in connection with the phenomenon, which platform proved to be an addictive factor for many during the quarantine period. For example, one of the students wrote in his diary that the streaming service provider's amazing content offerings, mainly series, glued him to the screen, which became disturbing after some time and led to dysfunctional behaviour such as obesity due to lack of physical movement, mood swings due to confinement, failure to perform tasks and duties (*Picture 2*). In connection with this experience, the feeling of stimulus oversupply became rather typical – by this we mean that the time spent in the company of the media resulted in an increase in stimuli. This phenomenon was only worsened by the fact that in the flood of content provided by a wide range of platforms all actors fought for the attention of users and service providers tried to offer as interesting and up-to-date content as possible by overbidding one another. On the users' side, this activity was manifested in two ways. On the one hand, many people reported fatigue, exhaustion – as many put it: the hours of inactivity spent in the company of the media became just as exhausting in a few days' time as normal everyday life at work or university. On the other hand, many of the students experienced time pressure, which means that there was a tension between consumers' finite amount of leisure/media time and the influx of seemingly endless, exciting content. Many people tried to bridge these problems with the practice of multitasking, that is, to use several tools or interfaces at the same time in order to consume more content more efficiently. This typically meant using traditional television and online platforms at the same time. The general appearance of background media use served the same purpose, in which case media use appeared in parallel with activities related to daily routine (such as cleaning, cooking, or exercising). As a result of the practices mentioned above, there has been a need for a "digital detox", that is, a determination for users to consciously reduce the amount of time they spend using the media. In this process, we can trace the emergence of self-regulation, which was mainly activated in cases where the user clearly recognized that excessive media use had already unfavourably affected his or her well-being, mood, or relationship with friends, family, and acquaintances. In conclusion, the report suggests that the media played a dual role during the quarantine: not only did it liberate users and meant an escape from the cruel reality, but it also shut them down many times, imprisoning them in a virtual world.

Picture 2. *Visual reflection on the addictive effects of Netflix by Ádám Mohai, student of PTE, Faculty of Arts*

News Consumption

Reflecting on the fact that large-sample research results, without exception, reported a much higher rate of news consumption during the quarantine, this issue also received special attention in our own research. Indeed, in international research material published since April 2020, we often find that consumer interest in news has increased significantly due to the fears and uncertainties created by the epidemic. During this period, people who are not regular news consumers would normally also click on news sites more often. Recognizing the phenomenon, service providers began to compete and started to publish and update news items with an incredible speed and with more and more attention-grabbing and shocking headlines. After a few weeks, the process was given the name "infodemic", or information pandemic, by experts.[9] The term also reflects on the negative effects of the practice, namely that consumers had become increasingly insecure because of the growing news competition about the epidemic as more and more fake news and horror news emerged in the information tsunami – often in mainstream news sites as well. Changes in the media, the soaring influx of news, also had an impact on consumer practices. This appeared in a form of an urgent pressure to consume news items, which can be clearly seen in the students' reports. This was mainly due to users trying to keep up with the latest news every minute of the day; so, while recording diaries, more and more people realized that they had spent long hours constantly updating news pages while hunting for the latest broadcasts.

9 https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/06/health/coronavirus-misinformation-social-media.html.

Even those who did not consciously seek out the news about the epidemic could not escape them, and this phenomenon can be highlighted by the difference between active and passive consumption of news. While we consider active news consumers to be users who themselves search for information about the epidemic, passive news consumers are those who meet the news items indirectly, mainly via their friends and relatives through online shares. In the latter case, a feeling of serious discomfort developed in some people who felt unable to exclude the threat of the epidemic from their lives, generating constant insecurity and quite often frustration and depressive attitudes as well. As a result of such news, many also experienced feelings of confusion and despair and struggled with the ambivalent feeling that the media was both a means of escape and relaxation, while the same tool was a source of news from the terrifying outside world. This inconsistency is embodied in the paradox of reassuring media versus threatening media, which had led many to withdraw from the media and voluntarily undertake digital detoxification. The processes mentioned here are well illustrated by the amount of contradictory information provided by the Hungarian media in a short period of time about the possible advantages and disadvantages of wearing a mask – in connection with this, even the extreme situation arose that official news sources gave completely contradictory advice within a single day. The uncertainties and tensions associated with this are also reflected in the diaries such as in the pictures below (*Picture 3*) and the related entries.

Picture 3. *Reflection of Marcell Hamza, a student of the Faculty of Arts at the University of Pécs, on the tensions caused by the contradictions related to wearing a mask*

> I don't need my "crown" anymore (mask made of hair). My hair's "job" is to protect my scalp from the sunshine, and it has aesthetic purposes too. However, I can't take full advantage of it due to the quarantine, so I don't need it anymore. One of the most noticeable changes in the current situation is that people cannot go to the hairdresser. It may seem like a tiny problem, but it spectacularly illustrates with the help of the body what usual routines we have to give up in this situation. Reflecting on this, with regard to my lack of material, I decided to use my almost disturbing mass of hair for my work, the hair that grew during my quarantine. This act symbolizes the present conditions and choosing health over the protection of my scalp or beauty. On the other hand, I'm thinking about starting to make masks in a personalized way. I consider it as a material and moral symbol in the name of a commitment to quarantine. (Maybe, if there is a demand for, I would prepare the masks using the customer's hair. Although I don't think there would be many applicants for it.) (Marcell, male, 22)

Online Learning and Work

During quarantine, Generation Z youth were able to take part in education via online applications, and, because many of the young people in the sample are already working in addition to their studies, the media space has also become a space for learning and working as well. The transition was reportedly not a particular challenge for young people, and new routines for online learning and working emerged within about a week following the declaration of the quarantine. Some students saw the transition as a positive change. For example, with the elimination of commuting between home and university or work (being mentioned by almost everyone), they were more effective, and they could experience the benefits of a more efficient scheduling. At the same time, in addition to the positive changes, some inconveniences were also expressed by the informants. In addition to connection problems and technical difficulties, one of the most common problems mentioned was the so-called "always on" mode, which means that students were supposed to be in a constant standby status all day long. The always on mode suggests that due to constant availability and online presence, after a while, time spent studying and working is completely blurred with leisure time, and the spheres of the university and the workspace are persistently pushed into the private sphere, often causing tension or awkward life situations. One of the typical manifestations of the always on mode can be read in the following entry, which comes from a student who has also taken up a job in addition to her studies:

> I barely woke up today. I was already terrified when I opened my email account: I got about 12 emails from my boss. Yes, I know, I know this is one of my worst habits, so people shouldn't open email accounts first because our brains are starting to spin on things to do right away. In the morning, I always tell myself that it can't be my first thing to read emails right after I open my eyes. Though I always set a reminder, I do this for three or four days, and then everything goes on as before. But it's very boring now. It would be nice to meet my teammates and co-workers. But let's go back to the emails. There are a lot of them. (Mercédesz, female, 23)

Picture 4. *Typical spaces for learning and work – photographic documentation related to quarantine diaries from Hungarian and German students*

Among the negative experiences, the respondents also mentioned the problem that in accordance with the constantly changing university and workplace requirements more and more new applications had to be downloaded and used by them every single day. Domestication, that is, the incorporation of new applications into everyday practice, did not go smoothly either, and ambivalent feelings often arose in this regard as well. While almost everyone agreed that they had never been able to learn and use so many useful new applications in such a short period of time, it was clear that all of this consumed a lot of time and energy, especially for those who were less open to innovations in the digital world. In this context, it

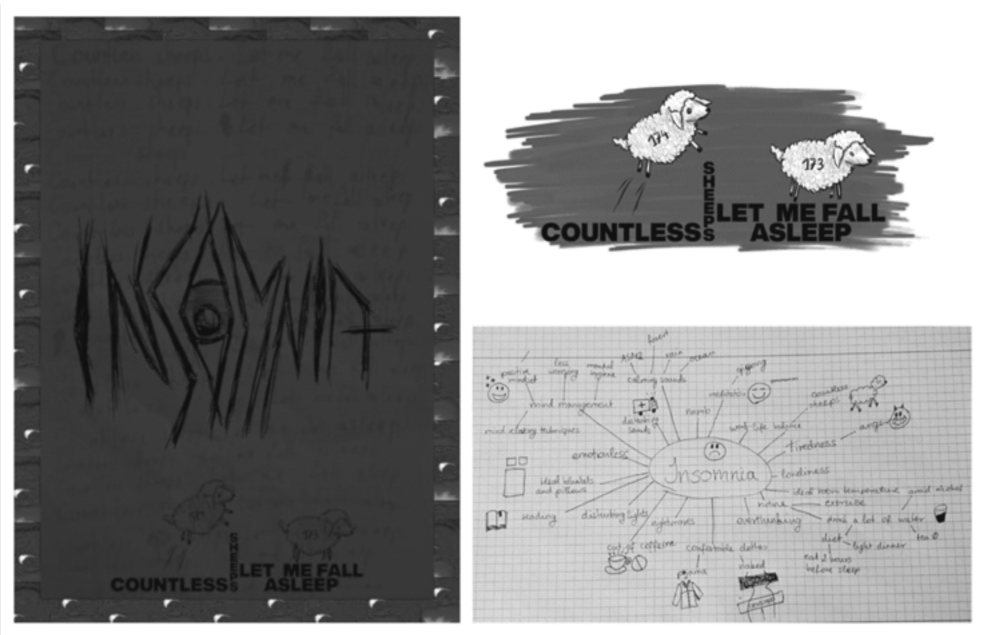
is also worth mentioning that the reports show that not only new technical skills emerged in the process, but new cultural practices and rules developed along with the new routines. A good example of this is the emergence of a set of cultural rules for online meetings and discussions over video calls. These include the practice that, after a time, participants grew accustomed to turning off their microphones whenever they were not speaking in order to eliminate disturbing external noise, and in the same way new rules appeared regarding what to wear or what kind of background to show during video calls. In conclusion, results suggest that although technology helped and solved many things during the quarantine, at the current state of technology, online learning or work cannot yet fully replace personal presence and meetings in real space and real time.

Effects

In the extreme situation created by the epidemic, the questions of how the media affects the audience and how these effects are perceived and interpreted by the recipients become especially interesting. Examining the effects of media is always problematic as we know that different media contents have different effects on different people (Bajomi, 2017). Within the framework of the present study, our aim was not to formulate general, representative statements about the effects of quarantine media. In contrast, our aim was to identify on the basis of individual reflections the characteristic attitudes that were presumably present in the case of other users too while taking into account that larger differences in effects depending on the social-cultural environment and personality are also possible. Comparing the results, it can be stated that the majority of respondents were able to report a predominance of positive effects. Most of these are based on the insight into functional benefits associated with the media, i.e. users were able to realistically assess how many areas the media had helped them to perform their tasks even in isolation. The media helped to survive the epidemic-generated extreme situations, engage in education and work, and provide opportunities to connect with friends, classmates, and distant relatives even when online learning, work, and virtual meetings could not fully replace personal presence. Among the positive effects, it is worth highlighting the recreational function of the media, which in the case of Generation Z respondents can be seen mainly in watching series and listening to online music streams – this result clearly coincides with the research assumptions of the Global Web Index research. At the same time, it is important to highlight that there are several negative effects mentioned in the responses, including lack of motivation, feelings of wasted time, poor time management in general, tension, and frustration. An interesting result is that one of the most frequently mentioned symptoms of these was insomnia, which could manifest itself in two ways (*Picture 5*). On the one hand, this may have been

due to excessive content consumption, when the time of media consumption extended to the period that is normally spent by sleeping, for example in the case of new serial addicts. On the other hand, many students reported that the news seen and heard during the day generated a degree of fear and tension in them that resulted in the upset of the normal sleep cycle. One student put it this way:

> This insomnia is driving me crazy! I played online for 2 hours at dawn because I couldn't fall asleep. The real problem is that I can barely get up in the morning. I always say that I should have been born on the other side of the Earth because it's morning there when I'm awake and evening when I can sleep. I'm a night owl – somehow my brain works better at night –, but it's no longer healthy that I want to sleep, but my body won't let me. I am always very tired during the day. (Andrea, female, 22)



Picture 5. *Reflections of Hungarian and German students on the phenomenon of media-induced insomnia*

Conclusions

As a summary of the joint research project of the PTE and HFK+G, it can be stated that the results of the qualitative study coincide with the experiences of the large-sample international surveys, and they can help us to refine and fine-tune them. In this regard, based on the results, one of our most important findings may be that during the quarantine even members of Generation Z, who are considered "digital natives", were fed up with the extreme use of media, that is, every important aspect of their lives moved online for months. The time they spent on using media, sometimes more than 10-12 hours a day, became unpleasant after a few weeks, even if users could easily see that the media had provided significant help in solving the challenges and problems caused by the quarantine. Whether we approach the issue from the point of view of daily routine and media, the general pattern of media consumption, news consumption, online learning and work, or media effects, it is clear that digital media was a huge help in surviving the COVID-19 epidemic, and the extent to which students were able to successfully adapt to the changing circumstances may depend to a large extent on whether the respondents were conscious users of the media or "media citizens" (Mosco, 2003). If they were conscious users, they survived this stressful period with fewer "injuries".

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Museums and Online Spaces. The Society-Building Role of the Museums during the Pandemic

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Abstract. In the past more than six months, not only the cultural institutional network but also all of humanity has entered in a peculiar existential state. All that was previously commonplace, accepted, or natural has become in many ways impossible or, in some cases, even illegal. In the last period, we could also witness the changes regarding museums and museum environments, and we ourselves, who inhabit/use the spaces of the museums, have also changed. These changes affect the frameworks of representation and reception as well as our habits of viewing and interpretation. The pandemic has caused in museum practice a backward step towards a previous practice. Museums have suddenly re-become archives preserving objects and meanings, and it will take time for them to recollect themselves and start searching for solutions.

Keywords: pandemic situation, museum, digitization, virtualization, identity and authenticity

0. Introduction

The basic premise of this paper is that the museum is a space/construction which not only offers a location for objects that have fallen or have been taken out of use for various reasons and were transferred to various exhibitions, nor is a mere framework for museologists' or curators' work, but it also determines the meanings emerging during the work going on within it, both for the creator and the recipient. My main aim is to touch upon some problems of principle (partly methodological and partly theoretical) associated with the museum practice of the last half year, with the restriction that my suggestions are primarily based on, and valid for, experiences related to the practices of (ethnographic) museums dedicated to the exploration, presentation, and interpretation of the past (and primarily of folk culture) and, as such, of prime importance for the construction of national/regional/local identity.

1. On the Nature of Museums

1. In order to explore the above-mentioned issues, I must first of all clarify the issues related to the nature of the museum. The social scientific description and analysis of museums as well as of the scientific and artistic work (if we accept that even exhibitions based on scientific research and presenting scientific results are to be viewed primarily as an artistic form of interpretation) taking place in museums has been carried out many times and in many ways. Several metaphors have been tried out for the description of the practices going on in the museum. Museums have been discussed in the context of the objects, the spectacle, the meanings, the movement(s), and the encounters[1] alike. Additionally, the nature of the museum and of museum work has also been described based on the concept of the heritage factory (where meanings are produced and communicated in a process of ongoing recontextualization),[2] of the theatre/stage (see Frazon, 2011: 67–92) (where the spectacle and the theatrical and the strident nature of the representation of the objects and meanings is of decisive importance),[3] and of the mall model (where in addition to/instead of the exploration and presentation of meanings the increasing emphasis is on entertainment). At the same time, I should also mention here Richard Kurin's conception about the transmission of different forms of culture, in which the different types of cultural representation are discerned on the basis of three metaphorical expressions: expedition, flea market, and mediation (Fejős, 2003b: 150–151.). All of these metaphors/models emphasize and put in the centre of our attention different characteristics of the museum and of museum work.

Without detailing the approaches mentioned here, let me start from the premise that the museum is first of all a station or a hub that defines the movement of the tourist or the visitor sensitive to the arts and the past (Frazon, 2003: 228). It is a space and a structure producing a public sphere where social communication is taking place, interpretations are emerging, and meanings are produced. As noted by Zsófia Frazon:

> museums are institutions of social communications, and as such they produce or generate ideas, narratives, meanings, and interpretations from

1 In one of his studies, building upon the thoughts of Nelson Graburn, Zoltán Fejős calls attention to the fact that museum collections were in most cases born as a result of travels (e.g. ethnographic collecting trips), and these collections themselves become, in their turn, travel destinations. While previously museums have served as idiosyncratic substitutes for travelling (and, in a certain sense, continue to serve as such even today), they also send their exhibitions to travel. All these travels, with various purposes and taking different shapes, inevitably produce encounters that call to life various meanings/interpretations. See Fejős, 2000.

2 In this perspective, the museum is a "location for the cultivation of heritage", a cultural machine for presentation and interpretation, which collects, preserves, and mediates the cultural heritage of humanity. For more details, see Gagyi, 2008: 77 and Binni–Pinna, 1986.

3 The museum interiors that use panoptical techniques are also close to this concept.

> the objects and sources at their disposal. Through its exhibitions, the museum talks about that which – according to it – is important, valuable, and to be appreciated as well as about that which can be regarded as having national or regional character and is authentic. The museum is a forum for the communication and debate about science, society, politics, and economics. (Frazon, 2003: 230)[4]

Moreover, as mentioned above, museums are also heritage factories, where we may witness not only local/regional, national, ethnic, sexual, confessional, social, etc. identity formation/emergence, but which also function as complex spaces/contexts of the construction of meaning. The museum simultaneously produces the authentic and exotic past, strengthens community conscience, and offers visibility to the Other and to the past (viz. the past situation; the others, past self) that has been transcended by the community that constructed and sustains the museum.

As such, museums preserve the past, and the exhibitions explore and produce meanings already through the gesture of selection. They build identities, teach and entertain, bring close faraway worlds and cultures, establish and boost the tourism of certain cities or regions while also contributing to the functioning of economy.

As early as the second half of the 1960s, ethnographic museums were criticized for having become dubious institutions which had lost their function.[5] Even if not explicitly stated, these critiques hint at the fact that (ethnographic) museums, viz. museums which (also) present ethnographic material, may be in many ways also conceived of as storage closets or, to put it even more strongly, as the final stages of consumption, as landfills. Indeed, the main characteristic of the material collected and exhibited in the ethnographic museum is that it consists of objects of use which have fallen into disuse, having mainly a documentary and no aesthetic value (Fejős, 2003a: 62). These objects acquire their final meaning in consumption and in living everyday life, a fact which, in most cases, also destroys them in the long run. In the context of folk/peasant life, most objects are open to their own contexts and are destroyed during their use: they deteriorate and become worn out (i.e. they cease to reproduce certain meanings).[6] Consequently,

4 The translations of all non-English quotations belong to the author throughout the article.

5 The reason for this is to be found, first of all, in the fact that the object stock of ethnographic museums was, in the main, not collected by professionals, and the recording of even the most basic data about the objects was often omitted. Secondly, within the field of ethnographic/anthropological research, the examination of material culture is continuously losing ground in favour of social-ethnographic research. Thirdly, the role of ethnographic museums is negatively affected by their loss of relevance for the ethnographic/anthropological research of material culture. See Sturtevant, 1969.

6 For more details on the evolution of the use ("biography") of objects from the folk/rural environment, see Hofer, 1983: 39–64.

the ethnographic museum offers a new chance, a possibility for objects which ceased to make part of the consumption process, so that they can survive their own contexts. These objects are filled with new meaning through their collection, preservation, and presentation in the museum context.

2. The Effect of the Covid-19 Pandemic on Museums

In the past more than six months, not only the cultural institutional network but also – admittedly with some mild exaggeration and pathos – all of humanity has entered a peculiar existential state. For reasons of simplicity, let us refer to this state as the *pandemic situation*. This specifically means that all that was previously commonplace and accepted – or natural, if you like – has become in many ways impossible or, in some cases, even illegal. Our natural way of life has become trapped. Similar to the vast majority of cultural institutions, museums have been forced worldwide to close their gates in front of the public (while in the last one and a half hundred years all efforts have been directed at making them as open as possible).

Although the most prestigious institutions of the Western world reacted very quickly to this new situation and started to present themselves even more powerfully than before in online spaces and social media (organizing online presentations, guided tours, and even a series of exhibitions specifically created for online viewers), even these museums were strongly challenged. In Romania, including the Transylvanian region, the pandemic has almost completely halted the functioning of museums.

The pandemic has caused a regression[7] in Transylvanian museum practice, a backward step towards a previous practice. The recent period reminded in many ways of the practice of the 1980s and 1990s, when (partially due to the lack of material resources) museums were unable to conduct any serious collecting work and to organize major exhibitions. Museums have suddenly re-become treasuries,[8] archives preserving objects and meanings, and it will take time for them to recollect themselves and start searching for solutions.

7 According to Hermann Bausinger, regression does not only mean the revival of older attitudes that have meanwhile become obsolete and were superseded but also a return "to the genetically older and thus to deeper psychological strata", which, "lending regression, is not only an anchoring in the past but also a dangerous power". For more details, see: Bausinger, 1995: 45.

8 One should not forget that the precursors of museums, the collections known in the German-speaking world as *Kunstkabinett*, *Kunstkammer*, or *Wunderkammer*, were spaces closed for the wider public.

3. Museums and Digitalization

The closing of the gates of the institutions did not always mean that the objects preserved in museums and the representations, knowledge forms, and interpretations constantly reproduced through the exhibitions would become completely inaccessible. In recent decades, the efforts directed at the digitalization of museums (museum objects and representations) not only opened the gates of these institutions but also created a museum without walls.

This period of digitalization and transmigration of museums into online spaces also showed the extent to which online/virtual spaces may or may not be regarded as *natural* mediums of museum representation. While online presence has never been so important for museums, the pandemic situation also showed the limits of this presence. The digital/online/virtual museum offering programmes for the viewing of the digital copies of museum objects, for their sorting according to different criteria as well as for virtual guided tours is at the same time something more and something essentially less than the museum that can be actually visited in the physical space.

Thus, the closing of the gates has not only caused an even stronger opening and shift towards online spaces, but it also (re)openend some classic questions. The most important of these is the simple but always timely question related to the purpose of museums – more specifically: what is the museum good for if the objects it contains are not directly accessible for the visitor (within the framework of exhibitions)?[9] This question is ultimately related to the social role of the museum, viz. its function within the communication that builds and organizes society. It seems that in this "unnatural" period of museums (for which there are no functioning, i.e. well-established and controlled practices)[10] the classic tasks of these institutions – their earliest functions, which have been already at work at their birth –, such as depositing and preserving, are becoming the most important, and the gesture of preservation may also be considered a compensatory practice in this context. Indeed, according to Odo Marquard (2001), the gesture of preservation is a compensatory practice, nourished by our growing insecurity about the usefulness (usability) of the fragments of the past that are left to us. In other words, while previously we only preserved what was important,

9 This question could be put in a different way as well, namely: what is the use of the objects hiding in museum storages for decades, with merely a few data recorded about them, which have minimal chances for being included in exhibitions and becoming accessible to the wider public?

10 Since the beginning of the writing of this study, museums have reopened their gates in many countries – including Romania – only to close them again almost immediately. Consequently, I do not believe that the former conditions/situations upon which the museum politics and museum interpretation of the past decades was built will be available again in the near future. The world of the museums is forced to develop new strategies and practices if it wants to preserve its role in anchoring culture and identity- as well as society-building communication.

now we are increasingly preserving everything left to us. This is due to the fact that we are more and more unsecure about what we will need in the future for constructing our identity. Hence, preservation acquires its rationale from our insecurity about the future, and it is this insecurity that feeds the imperative of preserving everything. Since the future becomes even more uncertain in this pandemic situation, there is an even greater responsibility on museums as spaces of cultural and identity production and places of security and trust.

4. The Limits of Museums without Walls

Museums are usually located in the busiest urban areas, and the pure dimensions of these buildings and their impressive inscriptions draw our attention to them. Even if I, as a tourist, do not exactly know what treasures the institution is hiding, it still catches my attention, attracts and invites me in. By contrast, it is largely haphazard who and how will access certain virtual museum exhibitions. In the jungle of myriad websites, I am most likely to access and come into contact with those institutions about whose existence I already have some previous knowledge.

The online medium by itself (the museum's website, the virtual guided tours, and social media) is incapable of performing on its own the tasks of the museum. The system can only function if the institution can also be visited in its physical form. This phenomenon could be termed as "the unbearable lightness", or weightlessness, of the online medium, and the crucial point is that without actual physical connection, the museum is unable to fully perform its essential function. To put it more strongly, the online space remains foreign to the spirit of the museum, and it is not a natural medium of museums.

It is another matter that, while museums could actually be visited in their physical form, and there were temporary exhibitions, ushers, actual guided tours, etc., it seemed that all is well with virtual museum tours. I myself was very happy that, similarly to the Western giants, our Eastern European and, in particular, Romanian museums are discovering one after another the possibilities offered by the online space. Indeed, I certainly maintain that this is a good thing, and it is needed.

However, I now also see where the limitations of this online world lie. The social media and the various online applications, while most usefully complementing the activities going on in the physical space of the museum and helping the museums to nurture their reputation and establish connections, as well as aiding visitors in orienting themselves, cannot ensure the (in my opinion) primordial functions of these institutions (the experience of recognition stemming from the joy of the encounter, the emergence of the meaning of the objects in this particular context, and the joy/experience it emanates, which also contains an element of learning and identity formation/preservation).

It is for this reason that I venture to say that in this not at all natural world (i.e. a world that is not based on long-established traditions, is not relatively stable, planned, and predictable) preservation is becoming again the main task of museums. Considering that in the last six months the revenues of most museums have decreased significantly, which in many cases also led to drastic staff cuts, the above statement may become even more acceptable. Museums, which are fighting the problem of declining revenues, are increasingly viewed as a burden by their funders, what not only threatens with the loss of prestige, but, in many cases, the very existence of the institution also becomes questionable. It is partly due to this reason that, over the last decade, the entertainment function of the museum has increasingly come to the fore, at the expense of the preserving function, so much so that, according to the public view – and the opinions of many specialists are quite close to this view –, entertainment can be regarded as one of the main tasks of the museum. This may partially be due to the fact that it is entertainment – mainly through tourism – that can be best integrated into the logic of the funders and is in many ways most readily accepted by the majority of the society as well.

At the same time, the vigorous relocation into the online space and the strengthening of the preserving function also means, in some sense, a state of waiting: due to the pandemic situation, museums cannot do anything else but wait for the possibility to open their gates again to their visitors, even if this does not mean that everything will immediately go back to normal. New rules for the use of time and space will take effect, and some services (e.g. luggage storage) will not be available yet.

Nevertheless, there is a silver lining: museums were given a small breather to redesigning themselves and to examine their ideas related to digitalization (viz. its advantages and disadvantages) as well as to find a new kind of balance between physical and online presence at the threshold of a new era.

5. The New Challenges of Digitalization and Virtualization

In connection with the spread of panoptic-like solutions in museum interiors, G. Péter Tóth states that "it is by now almost certain that we may bury the traditional genre of the museum interior", with exhibition spaces turning from locations of "silent contemplation" into "total spectacle" (Tóth, 2011: 45). However, the process does not stop here. The digitalization of museum interiors and exhibitions is just a milestone on the road to the eradication/disintegration of traditional museum concepts, reaching their climax in the "digital transition" that took place during the quarantine period. It was the closing of the museums and the transfer of museum activities into the online space which showed it most distinctly how

much the visitor needs silent reflection and how much the possibility of this reflection is tied to the actual walls of the museum and to those physical spaces where the preservation of the objects and the production of meaning is/was taking place. The silence of virtual spaces cannot reconstruct the silence preserved/created by the walls of the museums located in the tourist-filled noisy squares of the metropolises. While it is true that, thanks to digital technology, the viewer may frequently discover details and connections which would hardly be accessible in the actual museum spaces for the naked eye, the "spirit of the place" and its mood cannot be fully reflected by the digital copy of the museum object or by the virtual exhibition. More exactly, another kind of reception is taking place because of the virtual nature (immateriality) of the exhibition.

This alterity is also due to the fact that the story represented in the space of the museum acquires its way of reading from the location, which makes it possible for the visitor to become an active part of the narrative that is represented (Tóth, 2011: 45–46). What happens if this story is represented in the digital space? Does it make the same way of reading accessible? Does the "on-site" visitor participate in the same way in the narrative as if s/he walked through the physical space of the museum? Hardly.

The viewing of an exhibition organized at a memorial site or the visit to a traditional country house allows for a different kind of reception than the viewing of the digitalized version of an exhibition, which is accessible in the online space. While the former is closely connected to the place and the narratives preserved/encoded in it, this connection is less evident in the case of the virtual version. On the one hand, the visitors of the exhibitions accessible in the online space are visiting these virtual spaces with intentions of another kind. While the act of viewing has a kind of ritualized character in the former case, this attitude is less present in the latter. On the other hand, while it is indisputable that the museum exhibition built in the online space is able to tell its stories efficiently and graphically, it is a huge disadvantage compared to the traditional/actual museum exhibition that it is not able to create a real space but only a fictional one. As much as it may refer to a specific (memorial) site, it will always remain to some extent a *non-place* (Auge, 1995), which "condemns us to loneliness and causes anxiety" (Horányi, s.a.).

Besides the connection between the space and the story, the issue of *authenticity* is also significant. From this perspective, it seems that, while even the poorest execution is able to offer a sense of authenticity in the museum setting, the construction of this authenticity is an almost impossible task in digital/virtual spaces. In other words, the museum setting is able to create authenticity, but the narrative it creates remains in many ways boring. By contrast, the virtual space may construct a very interesting story, but it is unable to offer a sense of authenticity to the visitor.

As already noted above, the museum fulfils an important role in socially constructive communication. It does not only render the past that we have left behind visible and help us to understand and accept the past and another culture, as well as to connect them with processes going on in the present, but it is also a space which "offers a scientifically-based and experiential representation of culture, arouses interest for the representations, and creates a constructive dialogue" (Frazon, 2003: 231). In this approach, representation is "a social representation of reality", which, on the one hand, may be regarded as "a manifestation of the institutional state", and, on the other hand, as "the representation of topics, the transformation of phenomena and processes into topics (...), an instrument of the institutional communication strategy" (ibid.).

The curatorial practice built on participation emphasizes the actualization of the principle of general accessibility and open dialogue. While the digitalization of museums enables the actualization of this principle, the online space presents at least as many obstacles as the possibilities it promises from the perspective of accessibility. The Internet, the various online platforms and immersive technologies render even faraway institutions accessible, but this type of accessibility is strongly dependent upon device, energy source, and Internet access, not to mention the knowledge/competence necessary for using the technology.

6. Closing Remarks

Over the past six months, we could and still can witness the changes regarding museums and museum environments, and we ourselves, who inhabit/use the spaces of the museums, have also changed. These changes affect the frameworks of representation and reception as well as our habits of viewing and interpretation. The mass museum visits – taking place in the context of cultural heritage and urban tourism – that have become the general practice during the last decades and offered the museums their lifeblood currently seem to transform/disappear. Instead of/besides tourists coming from far away, with a foreign cultural background, natives, i.e. the locals, are moving (again) into the focus of the museums, and curators, as the gaze of the local visitor, come to the fore and are re-appreciated. All this implies the necessity of creating concepts and narratives of a different kind. At the same time, it is also clear that these changes affect very differently the life and the world of the museums of the metropolises and those of provincial museums (cf. Frazon, 2003: 232).

Besides/instead of increasing the number of visitors, the issues of *security* and of following the epidemiological and health rules become acute. However, the uncertainty created by this situation also offers a possibility for Transylvanian

(minority) museology for turning towards professional issues as well as for mapping and integrating the international theoretical literature on museums and museum practices. It offers a chance for experimentation and innovation, for constructing the museum practices associated with online spaces according to international models, and for conquering the online world.[11] In this regard, museums and museologists must also rely upon the results of communication science and upon the research of new media.

At the same time, the museum as a space and an institution is also connected with several professional roles besides that of the museologist, from the usher[12] to the museum educator, the curator, and the PR specialist. The relocation of museums into the online space – even if it is forced by necessity – affects these professional roles. Due to the fact that physical spaces become inaccessible and the encounters hosted by them are eliminated, the organization of new exhibitions and the generation of new art projects, as well as their contextualization, takes a different, unusual form. The online space provides different tools, with differences in both quantitative and qualitative terms, which allows for a presence and meaning generation of a different intensity and quality. While the space expands (there is almost no limit for the exhibition space and for the number of rooms that can be created, and the time allocated for viewing/museum walkthroughs is also theoretically limitless), the time allocated to viewing is actually shortened and becomes fragmented. The attention of the visitor is divided between many homepages and between two worlds (the virtual world and the real one).

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11 I would also like to mention here that critical analysis can also not be omitted during the adaptation of these international models.

12 According to Johan Idema, "the usher is the most conspicuous and, at the same time, the most invisible person in the museum". Nevertheless, they are "foot soldiers of art" and "the eyes of the museum", from whom we may learn quite much about the museum and its life as well as about the artworks. For more details, see: Idema, 2019.

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The Psychology of Inclusion on New Media Platforms and the Online Communication

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Abstract. Following the tabooistic and rejective attitude of the 20th century, in the processing and announcement method of the 21st century, there is is a growing emphasis on sharing various life events on the platforms of new media (Web 2.0). Such platforms can be social media sites or one of the file or video sharing pages or blogs. In addition to presenting user habits shaped by the COVID pandemic, which have temporarily changed the online communication, I aim to answer the question of how new media (Web 2.0) becomes the platform of communal loss for users of different ages, genders, social statuses, and diverse Internet usage habits and socialization. I attempt to present the comprehensive picture of the transformation of personal loss into communal grief experience on the different platforms of new media and what supportive acts help the person who shares his/her loss experience in the processing of the events. By means of feedback (reactions, comments, replies with different emoticons), the user's loss experience "expands" into communal loss experience. In the present research paper, the findings of the international discipline are only applied to Hungary (its current population is 9.6 million), a Central Eastern European country where, according to a representative study published in 2015, there are 5 million Facebook users.

Keywords: loss announcement, grief, communal processing, new media, Web 2.0

Introduction

New media offers an ever-growing opportunity to announce and share various life events. Thus, loss experiences are also shared with acquaintances (and, as a consequence of the accessibility and operation principle of new media sites, with strangers as well) on these platforms. I have studied the complex manifestations and announcements of loss (hereinafter referred to as communication of loss and announcement of loss, or loss announcement) over the past year through self-administered questionnaires and in-depth interviews. A detailed analysis of the

results of my non-representative research has shown that the published events can be: the break-up of a relationship or divorce, sadness over the disappearance or passing away of a beloved pet, the trauma of relocation or changing jobs, documentation of illness on a blog, and in certain cases the process of dying recorded through the medium of online diary. One of the most widely quoted articles on the subject is the study entitled *Who Interacts on the Web?: The Intersection of Users' Personality and Social Media Use* by Correa, Hinsley, and Zúñiga (2010), published in *Computers in Human Behaviour*. I have used this study as a point of reference.

My hypothesis is that the personal loss experiences announced on the platforms of new media become communal loss experiences, and thus members of the community provide a kind of supportive care to the person who has suffered a loss. The interpretation of these processes offers possibility for further comparison in the context of Hungarian and international research results. In my research paper, the findings of the international discipline are only applied to Hungary (its current population is 9.6 million), a Central Eastern European country where, according to a representative study published in 2015, there are 5 million Facebook users. The research methodology combines the presentation of theoretical findings (similar to reviews but using the methodology of desk studies) and the conclusions of the in-depth interviews I conducted. I have deliberately chosen the age-groups represented by the graphs as both the OECD and the Active Ageing programme of the European Commission consider people aged 50 and over to be a single age-group. I followed the same practice.

Social media sites (Facebook, Twitter), *blogs*, the *video sharing site* youtube.com, and *online memorial pages* constitute the primary focus of my research. This study dedicates a chapter to each of these fields. I analyse the phenomenon of changing the profile picture to black, the changing of the relationship status without deleting the notification from the stream – which conveys a clear message –, while in another subchapter I discuss the blogs which document diseases and their treatment, all from the perspective of "loss communication".

Memorial videos – shared as public content on youtube.com – and their underlying messages, the way they are edited and their textual content are as much in the focus of my research interest as are the different manifestations of loss announcements appearing on online memorial pages and blogs. As the users of Web 2.0 offer a deeper and deeper insight into every moment of their lives, they transform their personal loss experiences into communal loss experiences. The articles and studies dealing with new media nicely demonstrate the interest of research on the high-priority role Web 2.0 has in communication research. Berners-Lee et al. (2006) published their article in *Science*, in which the community content, which allows content sharing and uploading opportunities, is referred to as Web 2.0. The study of Ajjan and Hartshorne (2008), which has been cited nearly one thousand times, examined empirically the educational

applicability of Web 2.0, thus proving that Web 2.0 has become one of the basic components of the communication toolkit.

My aim is to answer the question of how new media (Web 2.0) becomes the platform of communal loss for users of different ages, genders, social statuses, and diverse Internet usage habits and socialization. For this purpose, I conducted a questionnaire-based survey. The analysis of communal processing of loss communication is also an integral part of my research. My study is strongly interdisciplinary: communication theory approaches are complemented by psychological research which deals with personal accounts of individual losses and traumas.

This review style paper must consider the COVID-19 pandemic and the way social and community media usage has been shaped by the global-scale social distancing (Howley, 2010) and must also look at the communication of losses related to this situation. The shift of communication channels produced by the sudden reduction of personal social relationships, telework, and curfews is an important communication theory topic. Amber Silver, a professor at Albany University, has published in this topic, focusing on how tourists and bloggers, vloggers, and professional journalists communicate (Silver, 2019). She points out that the unpredictability of the crisis has brought to the fore the influencer-type opinion leaders, the creators of travel blogs and vlogs, and our network of personal acquaintances who were on their way when airports and hotels were closed down, because they provided first-hand, authentic information, unlike the news reports. Thus, in the midst of the pandemic, information sourced from social media content is considered authentic by users, and the pieces of information coming from personal acquaintances are valued above all. Fake news elements of social media communication are going to be mentioned later on in the paper.

New Media

In comparison with the linear communication channels, the platforms of new media offer the possibility of giving feedback and writing answers; thus, there is no clear boundary between personal and public communication and mass and interpersonal communication (McQuail, 2010). A new set of rules regarding the usage of new media is gaining ground among users, who should acquire new competencies as they must perform the cognitive process of reception and interpretation simultaneously. "Familiarity with the language of information technology and proficiency in the protocol and signs of the new communication culture become indispensable" (Aczél, 2015: 143).

New processes are appearing in the mechanism and quality of interpersonal relationships, and the boundary between the real self and the virtual face, the

"public mask – false self" is radically blurred (Jenkins–Ford–Green, 2013). Several socio-psychological studies deal with the difference between the real self and the public mask, virtual face and the dangers implied by the phenomenon. The user takes on a certain role on the social media site. As if being one of the world's greatest restaurant critics, s/he publishes his/her selfies taken in restaurants and "mini-reviews" on end or, in another case, shares several pictures from the series *What a wonderful parent I am* while looking for the ideal picture location and setting even on the children's playground, hoping for the prospective likes. It is the serious distortion of the personality, of the real self-image when a person, unable to accept the passage of time and the aging process, shares years- or decades-old photographs accompanied by seemingly current textual content or spends hours touching up recent pictures in order to remove signs that give away their real age.

Consequently, the information in new media is not only the result of broadcasting but also that of collaborative creation; thus, new media, instead of dissemination, circulates the information (Jenkins–Ford–Green, 2013).

In addition to the classic contents, the so-called UGC (user-generated content) is also gaining ground. Users generate content with the help of professional technological tools, and thus everyone has the possibility to shape narratives. New media distinguishes itself from the earlier form of media through "key characteristics" such as digitalization, interactivity, hypertextuality, dissemination, and virtuality (Aczél, 2015: 147). What do interactivity and hypertextuality mean on the platforms of New Media? In this case, interactivity means that by complementing the classic ways of interactions there is the possibility of immediately sharing content with the network of acquaintances and the probability of receiving numerous answers within a few minutes. This process can be described with the notions: reciprocal influence of primary meanings and joint effect. The hypertextuality of the digital world emphasizes the coexistence of the original text and the metatext (comment, reply), and, because of the possibility to republish – to "copy" –, it separates the texts from their authors (Barthes, 1996; Szűts, 2011). In the 21st century, even corporate dialogues unfold on new media platforms as these offer endless possibilities for the businesses to liaise with their customers (Anderson, 2006). Users create content together in the new media, as is the case, for example, in the Waze application, through which fellow drivers report hazards (object on road, construction), standstill, and traffic jam. On Wikipedia, we edit pages related to our hobbies, and on social media sites we recommend leisure time activities to our acquaintances. Instead of pictures taken by meteorologists or photographers, our photos submitted to the broadcasting company could appear on screen in the weather report.

The main corpus of my study is the field of social media sites, video sharing sites, and blogs, which, applying the term employed in the introduction, are the primary scenes for making announcements of loss. The studies which constitute

the basic literature of this complex topic are compiled in the study of Ágnes Veszelszki and Andrea Parapatics (2014). These issues will be dealt with in more detail in the respective chapters.

The Loss Communication of New Media

A new special research synthesizes the findings of two PhD students (from the University of North Carolina at Charlotte and University of Kansas): "The sense of community processes can aid in the development of another community psychology value – sense of community, which is characterized by perceived similarity in identity, shared emotional experiences, and interdependence" (Maryman, 2016). In my opinion, the cited interdependence and shared emotional experience have a supportive and helping function in this case. The video *In Memory of Joe Cocker 1944–2014*, which was shared in 2015 on one of the most popular video sharing sites (youtube.com), was viewed by 5.3 million people until 11.09.2018. This shows that the site has become a platform for communal grief. In a previous study published in *Kharon Thanatology Review* (Zelena, 2016), I attempted to give an account of obituaries or funeral announcements published on the social media wall by users of different ages, genders, social statuses, and diverse Internet usage habits and socialization. I adapted the questionnaire, and in a self-administered questionnaire published on the most popular social media site in Hungary (in a non-representative study) I was looking for answers to the following questions:

1. How much time do you spend browsing social media sites?
2. Have you encountered announcement(s) of loss?
If yes, which were these? (several answers are possible)
3. Would you share your own loss experience on your wall?

When compiling the questionnaire, my aim was to get a clear picture of the loss communication appearing on the platforms of new media. My informants were men and women between the ages of 16 and 82, in proportional distribution (the eldest informant marked themselves as being 82 years old). As mentioned earlier, I have deliberately chosen the age-groups represented by the graphs as both the OECD and the Active Ageing programme of the European Commission consider people aged 50 and over to be a single age-group. I followed the same practice, representing every level of education from those who had completed 8 grades to those holding a PhD/DLA degree. However, this research is non-representative, and my work is based on data gathered from self-administered questionnaires.

The answers to the question surveying the frequency of social media site usage are well dispersed: on one end, there are the users who log in once a month or once/twice a week, while on the other end there are those who spend more than

3-4 hours online daily. The strongly similar answers of informants in the two age-groups – 16 to 29 and users 56 to 64 – create a set intersection.

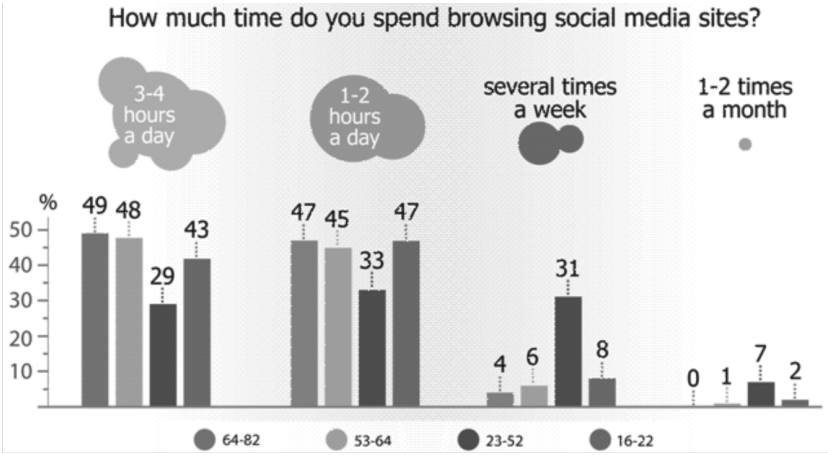

Figure 1. *Frequency of social media site usage*

The chart illustrates that a significant proportion of people aged 53 and above spend more than 3-4 hours a day on social media platforms. (An interesting finding of the survey is that users between the ages of 16 and 22 marked YouTube and messenger applications as the most frequently used ones.)

Have you encountered announcement(s) of loss?
If yes, which were these? (several answers are possible)

There was no such person in the group of informants who has never encountered some form of loss announcement. The analysis of the second part of the non-representative but large sample (N = 387 respondents) survey resulted in heterogeneous answers. A wide spectrum of loss announcements appears on the wall of social media sites as the loss experience involving the disappearance of a dog is published along with the trauma of retirement (the loss of permanence offered by the workplace and going to work, the loss of the feeling of being "an important and active person"). The pain caused by relocation, the separation from friends, acquaintances, and the old home was also mentioned. A significant proportion of the informants (almost 70%) had encountered several times notifications regarding changes in the family status, which conveyed primary information, that is, many users had learnt about the divorce or break-up of their friends from these announcements. 93% of the respondents mentioned the public posts commemorating the victims of a school bus tragedy (which had happened one month before the survey was carried out). Given the date of the

survey, this is not surprising as the tragedy shaking the whole country was and still is actively present in the memory of the users in the period available for the filling in of the questionnaire. The rate of shares and publications on the social media site had been extremely high; thus, the number of wall posts had also grown radically. An interesting outcome of the survey is the fact that Facebook posts commemorating tragedies which happened a few years or even decades ago were also mentioned. In addition to the death of police psychologist Kata Bándy from Hungary, several respondents mentioned the wall posts commemorating the tragic death of Michael Jackson.

The research brought into my focus several other forms of loss communication in addition to death announcements: family status changes published on the wall of the social media site as well as indirect notices about break-ups and divorces. In a Facebook post encountered by one of my informants, a photo of a local court decision granting divorce was published accompanied by the following words: "Together till the end?! No comment."

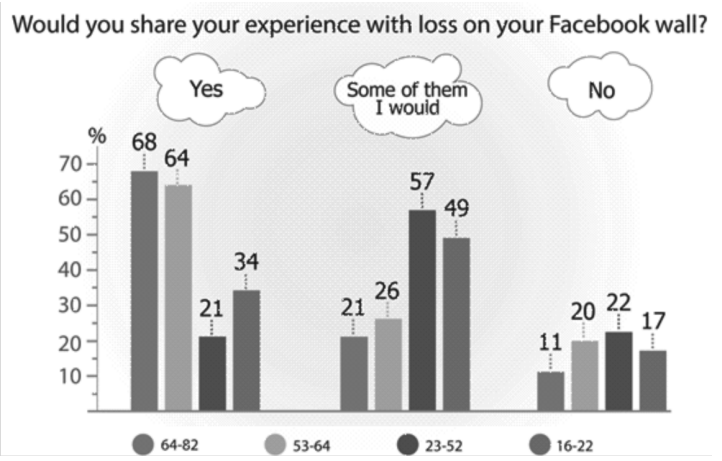

Figure 2. *Would you share your experience with loss on your Facebook wall?*

A distinct surveyed age-group can be identified when analysing my non-representative research, as the members of the older generation are braver in publishing the announcement of their loss on the social media site. From in-depth interviews, I found that several informants prefer notifications published in the virtual space to verbal manifestation because many people are incapable of the small talk and compulsory dialogue as they are retraumatized by the retelling of the suffered loss.

I see the explanation of the popularity of online sharing in the fact that members of the older generation rarely meet their acquaintances in person – in comparison with younger informants, who are in daily personal contact with their

classmates, schoolmates, and friends. The relocations, which frequently involve moving from one city to another, make it impossible for elderly respondents to meet their friends and acquaintances in person. While the pandemic has led to the halt of economic growth resulting in serious public deficit, people must be also aware that fake news is expected to become excessively widespread, and users encounter them on community and social media platforms (Zing, 2020).

Trauma and Video Sharing Websites

In the aftermath of the war and the genocide, Dumisani Ngwenya (2017) summarizes the consequences of trauma and its mechanism of action in his study. The examination focuses on how social trauma takes place in the affected war zones. He defines the concept of "recovery" precisely and names the minimum condition for processing the traumas. He writes in the context of social science, politics, and psychology in one of his case studies, where he describes, for example, how people from Chile, Northern Ireland, and Ruanda handled the traumas, how quickly they recovered, and what strategies they used to process them. If the social traumas have such literature, it is appropriate to investigate deeper into how the personal traumas become communal on the Internet – therefore, I will make an attempt to find this out. The study of 21st-century forms of absence and loss experience has been in the focus of my research interest for the past few years. Studying several aspects of the possibility of integrating memorial videos into the grieving process, I found that making and sharing memorial videos made up of photos edited into a slideshow with accompanying music facilitates the grieving. With my proposed term, this is a form of *online mourning* (Zelena, 2014). Most of such content are made with the help of online editing tools – the use of which requires advanced knowledge of software use –, and their textual content and visual composition shows marks characteristic of teenagers and young people. Making a search for synonyms of bereavement and remembrance (such as "RIP", "in memoriam", "rest in peace", "remembrance"), I found that, with one exception, the search words bring up a similarly low set of results when narrowing them down to Hungarian-language videos, while the search for the "rest in peace" expression reveals 16,900 results on youtube.com. After a detailed analysis of the video content, it can be asserted that search narrowed down to search words displays only slideshows commemorating deceased people, memorial videos, and content generated to draw the portrait, evoke the memory of the person lost. To sum it up, our previous hypothesis proves to be true, and it can be concluded that social media sites are used by many – consciously or unconsciously – to share announcements of loss as a search result of nearly 26,900 items (25 May 2020) can be considered a high

rate among Hungarian-language videos. (In 2014, the search started on youtube.com with the same search parameters yielded 12,900 results.) I found that more and more people in the country I am studying publish their loss experiences on their Facebook walls, and meanwhile the distinction between the personal and public discourse and the mass and interpersonal communication becomes unclear (McQuail, 2003).

A detailed analysis of the textual content of memorial videos shows that their makers are probably in the phase of "longing-pursuit" or "displacement (disintegration, regression, chaos) – according to Elizabeth Kübler-Ross's categorization – as lines such as "How could this happen?", "Why you?", "We had so many plans", or "I have no idea what will happen now" are prevailing in comparison with sentences which denote other stages of grief ("I do not understand! The sun shines more faintly...", "At least it does not hurt you any longer, and it is easier for you", etc.). These are textual elements of the videos randomly chosen and analysed from among the results of the search for the expression "rest in peace" on youtube.com. I will not specify the source due to the possibility to identify the deceased and their memorial videos.

Sentence fragments, incomplete sentences are frequent in the analysed videos, and graphical symbols, such as emoticons, also appear. The memorial videos chosen for detailed analysis by means of "simple random sampling" show similarities concerning their imagery and choice of music. Using this method all the videos appearing in the result list (shortlisted by keyword-based search) had an equal chance of being included in the sample (Zelena, 2014: 22). In this phase of the research, I was trying to answer the question of how the memorial videos accessible on the video sharing sites fit into the stages of grief and whether communal grieving helps the individual loss experience or not. Gábor Gyáni quotes Ricoeur: "It is on the level of collective memory, even more perhaps than on that of individual memory, that the overlapping of the work of mourning and the work of recollection acquires its full meaning" (Ricoeur, 2006: 79). In the collective memory, there are more possibilities to free the libido bound to the lost object and to transfer it elsewhere (Gyáni, 2006). The online memorial short film (as a tool of loss announcement) helps the person who has suffered loss to transform his/her personal loss into communal loss and thus proceed to the next stage of grief, which, according to the categorization of János Pilling, is "acceptance" (Pilling, 2003), while in the categorization of Alaine Polcz (1998) it is "giving account, review, the adaptation of the relationship". Ágnes Kárpáty writes the following:

> When processing our losses, in addition to the socialization that facilitates the acceptance of death, the possibilities to share loss experiences through ritual, traditions, and collective remembrance are also important. The communal experience of mourning and the meeting of those left behind

> have important integrative psychological functions as death provokes tears and wounds not "only" in the "texture" of personal life but also in that of social life. This "wound" creates a public institution from the flows of personal processing by specifying which actions on which occasion and for how long are needed for the wound to heal. (Kárpáty, 2002)

Disease- and Treatment-Documenting Blogs

In literature, Eckermann's *Conversations with Goethe* prepared the ground for the little-known genre of the 21st-century loss communication, the so-called disease- and treatment-documenting blogs. In the research process, I had the possibility to meet a recovered young person who had been writing such a blog from the first days of her disease to the end of the three-year check-up. Unfortunately, I also encountered an unfinished text which was unexpectedly interrupted one day (a sorrowful case of death diary based on the terminology used in international literature). According to the information shared in the in-depth interview, the patient separated from family and friends faces a complex communication task. I met a blogger whose class- and schoolmates, teammates, teachers and parents' friends inquired after her health in more than 107 text messages and e-mails during her first week spent in the hospital. My informant pointed it out that if she had answered each of these messages in informative and individual responses, she would not have had time for the treatment and could not have concentrated on the healing process. In such cases, the patient starts writing a blog instead of sending personal replies. The main motivation of one of my informants' was the structuring of time. In her detailed blog posts, she described the headaches which were becoming more and more frequent, her growing need for sleep, and then the impact the doctor's announcement about her illness – malignancy frequent among youngsters – made on her. She proceeded step by step with "writing out" her tragedy, recording the visible effect of hair loss, the stages of chemotherapy, and the reactions of her body to the treatment. In the beginning, her readers were her friends and acquaintances, but then the group became wider: relatives of other patients and later even strangers started to regularly follow the illustrated diary of the young blogger. At the beginning of the text, the style of her loss communication exhibits signs of protest and the search for answers. The sad experience of hair loss and inappetence appears together with the longing for her old appearance. When transferred to the sterile room, the blog posts narrate about the drastic end of interpersonal relationships and the painful experience of isolation. At a certain point, however, we realize that we are reading the lines of a young lady who has turned her attention to the future, who accepts the loss of her hair and the radical

changes her body has undergone. Instead of absence and loss experiences, her text becomes characterized by a hopeful look into the future. The last sentence of the paragraph is a quote from the blogger girl: "At that moment, I decided I should not write about what I have lost but about how I am going to regain it."

Changing Attitudes towards Alternative Methods

The genre of loss announcement I find the most interesting, and what offers potential for further research is the study of virtual graveyards. After a short registration process, visitors can create a grave and publish photos and a short obituary about the deceased, and later they can light candles and write comments. There are several reasons for the popularity of these websites. One is the geographical distance between the mourner and the grave of the deceased, and the other is the lack of a memorial place in case of an ash scattering ceremony or an urn kept at home. I also found that the possibility and hope for the expansion of personal pain and loss experience into the communal sphere and the wish for social support could also be an explanation. As the act of lighting a candle can be shared on social media sites, an internal dialogue can also be started in the forum of the virtual graveyard or, in certain cases, in the forum "next" to the grave. During my research, I found that people who mourn relatives with the same degree of propinquity start forming a community, in which communal support, lengthy correspondence, the sharing of tragedies and losses frequently occur. I also found that people who mourn their children ensure that a candle is always burning on the grave of their acquaintance's child as well. The following is an acknowledgement to such an act published in the forum: "Thank you for the candles you lit on the grave of my daughter. I am going to return the favour as soon as my PC is working." In addition to virtual memorials, other alternative practices have also emerged, but I will only mention the ones that stirred controversy among the participants of online forums on the topic. The use of biodegradable urns in water ceremonies or scattering the ashes from an airplane are not considered to be as unusual burial methods today as were at the beginning of the century. However, users are shocked if such events are shared on the platforms of social media. Several of my informants were interested in the possibility of using biodegradable urns that can be planted next to the roots or trunks of trees, the so-called burial in natural burial grounds and memorial gardens. When seeing such a post, my informants remained indifferent, or their interest was triggered. The lack of accurate information on alternative burial methods and cremation and the abundance of false information on the Internet stir uncertainty.

Conclusions

According to my standpoint, the phenomenon that the personal loss experience announced by users on Web 2.0 expands into communal loss experience following the act of posting is characteristic of the population of Hungary (its total population is 9.6 million). By means of feedback (reactions, comments, replies with different emoticons), the user's loss experience "expands" into communal loss experience. The public compassion, "sharing" the loss helps the personal loss experience in its progress to the next stage. In a study analysing blogs dealing with bereavement and investigating the question of online intimacy and publicity, the authors note: "... a characteristic of our (post-)postmodern age is the manifestation of privacy on the Internet. Personal information and feelings, privacy-related problems are freely shared with the whole world" (Ferdinandy–Szépe, 2010: 59; Szűts, 2019). I presume that such loss communication could relieve anxiety and bring down communication barriers. If the user "has already talked about or shared" his/her pain and loss, the retraumatizing repeated narration might become unnecessary with the occasion of a personal meeting; its place could be taken over by a supportive conversation. To sum it up, I also propose that the personal loss communicated on the platforms of new media facilitates individual processing, thus becoming an organic part of communal processing. My study is focused on a country in which, according to a representative study published in 2015, there are 5 million Facebook users. In conclusion, I would like to refer to the guidelines of the OECD and the Active Ageing programme of the European Commission. I would like to complete the definition of the age-group 50 and over by adding that this is the generation (the baby boomers, those born between 1946 and 1965) whose members are losing their parents belonging to the "veteran generation" (term by Tom Brokaw) in the biggest proportion and are relying on social media when processing this trauma.

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Politeness and Insult in Computer Games – From a Pragmatic Point of View

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Abstract: In line with the principle of technological determinism, the linguistic context of computer games influences the (linguistic) behaviour of millions of active gamers. This makes it important to explore gamer communication thoroughly with respect to politeness, too. Indeed, the communication of gamers during games may also affect the users' off-game communicative situations. The international literature suggests that the quasi-anonymity of online communication and the lack or weakness of sanction make it ruder than offline communication: it involves a higher number of insults or offensive personal remarks. The paper looks at this issue, in particular by a pragmatic – politeness-centred – investigation of a particular kind of online insults. The corpus of analysis is provided by "taunts", i.e. inbuilt instructions triggering "mocking" remarks of League of Legends (LoL), a multiple-participant online arena game. The authors interpret in-game insults in the framework of speech act theory, the Cooperative Principle (conversational and politeness maxims), face threatening, and a matrix of aims and functions. The paper wishes to be a contribution to cyberpragmatics, a pragmatically-oriented branch of Internet linguistics.

Keywords: Internet linguistics, pragmatics, cyberpragmatics, insult, politeness, speech act, computer games, gamer communication

Aim of Research: Analysis of Offensive-Mocking Language in Computer Games

International research findings suggest that online communication is ruder and involves more insults and offensive personal remarks than offline media due to its quasi-anonymity and the lack or weakness of sanctions. The paper looks at this matter in the light of "taunts", a set of inbuilt commands that trigger "mocking" remarks in the multiple-participant online arena game *League of Legends* (LoL), with a politeness-centred pragmatic inquiry of insults. The paper wants to be a contribution to cyberpragmatics (Yus, 2011), a pragmatically oriented extension of Internet linguistics. The paper uses the term *taunt* to designate the text commands (a kind of special speech act).

Statistics by the designer Riot Games (W4) show that *League of Legends* had more than 100 million gamers in September 2016. In line with the principle of technological determinism, the linguistic (and non-verbal, visual) context of the game influences the (linguistic) behaviour of millions of active gamers. This makes it important to take a thorough look at gamer communication in terms of politeness as it may also affect the communicative situations of users' off-game time.

Politeness Theories and Insult Pragmatics – In Computer Games

Insults are a universal feature of human social behaviour. However, while humour and irony were studied by philosophers in ancient Greece, the communicative acts of gossip and insult (banter, pecking, mocking) seemed too trivial for a long time to encourage major inquiry, and so their research history is much shorter (Brock, 2008: 543).

From a pragmatic perspective, insults may be interpreted within politeness/impoliteness theories. A term with multiple definitions, politeness can mean both a social (non-linguistic) behaviour, a codified set of norms encompassing appropriate and tactful forms of social behaviour that change through history (Fraser, 1990), and the linguistic expression of the former, the linguistic reflection of current expectations of politeness (Szili, 2007). Since Thomas (1995), politeness has been known to have four definitions: 1. an expression of respect; 2. a communicative style; 3. an utterance-level linguistic phenomenon; 4. a subject of pragmatics (cf. Szili, 2007: 2).

In pragmatics, there are two major politeness theories: Leech (1977, 1983) considers politeness as an expression of Grice's conversational maxims, while Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) describe politeness as a face-saving act. Both approaches "define politeness as the speaker's strategy adopted for a variety of

purposes, especially to establish or maintain a harmonic relationship. In other words, they put the speaker's intentions in the foreground" (Szili, 2007: 14). This can apply to the interpretation of insults within speech act theory.

Insults within Speech Act Theory

A key pillar of the pragmatics of insults may be the speech act theories of Austin (1962) and Searle (1969). Loosely speaking, speech act theory is the analysis of discourse in operation.

Taunt may be defined as a speech act that "involves an element of negative judgement for the interlocutor", "expresses the speaker's aggressive intention against his or her partner", and by it "individuals place themselves above their partners" (Batár, 2007: 452). By the taunt, the speaker wants to cause damage to the hearer or addressee (by discrediting, insulting, or slighting them). In addition, the taunting person naturally reinforces his or her self-image because a negative judgement, as heuristic works, cannot apply to the person making it.

Further criteria include illocution and perlocution in the typology of insults created by Martinez and Yus (2013) according to four variables, specifically 1. the conventional or innovative nature of the utterance; 2. the speaker's underlying intention (insult, praise, social relationship); 3. the hearer's interpretation; 4. the hearer's reaction or lack of reaction (Martinez–Yus, 2013).

Jucker and Taavitsainen (2000) address the speech act of insult in the framework of historical pragmatics, from a diachronic perspective. They propose (2000: 73) that an insult has its illocutionary force in that the speaker performs a speech act by which he or she attacks or offends another person or makes an arrogant, scornful, disdainful remark about the hearer. Certain forms, independently from the hearer's response, count as insults including mocking, swearing, misleading, insolence, and cursing (cf. Hill–Öttchen, 1995). The perlocution (the effect of the utterance on the hearer) may be offence, pique, resentment, confrontation, and indignation.

Whatever its intention or effect, an insult has three basic components. The first is a statement about another person (or any of their qualities or features of identity). The speaker utters or states something about the other person, describes them, or uses an adjective to refer to them. The second component is the target person's perception of the statement/adjective as wrong, improper, indecent, or even degrading. The third component is the target person's perception of the statement as the speaker's face-threatening intention, thinking that the speaker's statement was meant to be an affront, insult, or degradation (Jucker–Taavitsainen, 2000: 73). The latter consideration links this approach to Brown and Levinson's politeness theory. The first two components are absolutely necessary for the definition of insult, and the third one also occurs in most speech acts, but this is

not fully supported by evidence (and the hearer sometimes takes offence although the speaker meant no harm; cf. Jucker–Taavitsainen, 2000: 73). Similarly, the present authors do not regard as insult any case where an offensive, insulting statement is made about an absent third party (cf. [malicious] rumour) unless a participant has a (close) relationship with them. In the latter case, the target of the insult is not the third party but the participant.

Insults in Grice's Cooperative Principle

In terms of Grice's Cooperative Principle (CP), an insult is a non-cooperative behaviour. Grice (1975, 1989) views human communication as a cooperative effort where both the speaker and the hearer normally behave in a rational and purposive manner. "Make your contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged" (Grice, 1975: 45). Irony (and, in a certain sense, humour), fraud, lie, and insult constitute a deviation from the Cooperative Principle, a flouting of the conversational maxims that contribute to cooperation.

In Grice's Cooperative Principle, the maxims of quantity, quality, relation/relevance, and manner may be flouted as follows. The maxim of quantity may be flouted by understatement, overstatement, and tautology; the maxim of quality by contradiction, irony, metaphor, and rhetorical questions; the maxim of relation/relevance by giving hints, giving association clues and presupposition; the maxim of manner by ambiguity, vagueness, overgeneralization, ellipsis, and hearer displacement (Brown–Levinson, 1978).

Based on the Gricean terms, Leech's Politeness Principle (PP) is observed in order to "minimize the expression of beliefs related to our impoliteness and to maximize those that reinforce our politeness" (Szili, 2007: 7; cf. Leech, 1983: 81). The Politeness Principle involves seven maxims along the pragmatic scale, including 1. Tact, 2. Generosity, 3. Approbation, 4. Modesty, 5. Agreement, 6. Sympathy, and 7. Phatic Maxim (Leech, 2014).

In addition to the basic principles, Leech proposes another two. One is the Irony Principle: "If you must cause offence, at least do so in a way which doesn't overtly conflict with the PP [Politeness Principle], but allows the hearer to arrive at the offensive point of your remark indirectly, by way of implicature" (1990: 82). The other is the Banter Principle: In order to show solidarity with the hearer, say something which is obviously untrue and impolite. Using taunt as insult, the speaker normally flouts Leech's Politeness Principle in a conscious way.

Insult as a Face-Threatening Behaviour

Brown and Levinson's politeness theories are based on Erving Goffman's face theory (1959). "The term *face* may be defined as the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact. Face is an image of self delineated in terms of approved social attributes – albeit an image that others may share, as when a person makes a good showing for his profession or religion by making a good showing of himself" (Goffman, 1967: 5). Goffman claims that a rational speaker wants to create and maintain a positive image of him-/herself in others and to save it from problems, conflicts, and face-threatening acts (FTA) arising in communication (Brown–Levinson, 1978). At the same time, "Goffman's face is not unilaterally egocentric. In fact, it includes the other party's reactions and emotions. Defensive practices (saving the person's own face) and protective practices (saving another person's face) will play a key role in Brown and Levinson" (qtd. in Szili, 2007: 9).

Of such practices, special mention must be made of insult, which, within the politeness and impoliteness theory, is a seriously face-threatening impolite speech act as opposed to the accepted social conventions, an extreme form of impoliteness (Heltai, 2013: 61). Serious face threatening may aim to achieve a particular perlocutionary effect, such as irritating or provoking the addressee, expressing the offender's contempt of the other party, releasing tension or negative feelings. The gravity of the insult depends on the speaker's intention, the content of the utterance, the form of the utterance, the relationship between the speaker and the hearer, the participants' personal qualities, the consequences and context of the utterance, social norms, and the expected degree of politeness (Heltai, 2013: 61).

The more an act threatens the face of the parties to the conversation (speaker and/or hearer), the more the speaker attempts to choose a less risky strategy for expressing it. In terms of the rising level of threat, social distance, power, and the degree of coercion in proportion to the desired goods, a face-threatening act may involve the following strategies: off-record, i.e. an indirect main strategy that hides the real intention, and on-record, i.e. a direct strategy clearly expressing the intention, which may occur baldly, without redressive action or by minimizing the threat, with redressive action. Redress may take the form of positive (approximating) and negative (alienating) politeness (Brown–Levinson, 1978).

Insults in Online Computer Games

Interest in online politeness was first raised by anonymous forums and chat sites (Danet, 2013), which may be analysed with the models described in this paper.

Scholars looked at the link between computer games and (linguistic) politeness primarily from the perspective of social psychology and less typically of linguistic

pragmatics. A major contribution to the matter was the gamer linguistics inquiry of Astrid Ensslin, whose *The Language of Gaming* made a number of important claims about gamer communication and politeness (Ensslin, 2011: 103).

So far politeness research related to computer games (Kramer, 2014; Ensslin, 2011) has primarily relied on Brown and Levinson's model.[1] These findings show that games involve both on-mic (bold) and off-mic strategies. This is because efficient communication may have different features in each type of game. In a rapid game, on-mic sentences may add to team efficiency. At the same time, the rationale behind the off-mic strategy is that gamers' communication is mainly aimed at building trust and showing a cooperative image to their fellows for achieving the game objectives (Kramer, 2014: 267–268). In the off-mic strategy, "there is more than one unambiguously attributable intention so that the actor cannot be held to have committed himself to one particular intent" (Brown–Levinson, 1978: 69).

Research into politeness, then, should consider the different communicative features of each type of game, including promptitude. The criteria by which an utterance is considered as polite or impolite are different in each type. A role game may involve situations where the point is to perform appropriately and the gamer's utterance is not limited by time and may hence include over-polite expressions and even long monologues (Kramer, 2014: 270). By contrast, in the combat situation of a "shoot 'em up game", there is hardly any time for decision making or a lengthy group discussion of the situation: the gamer and the team must communicate and act as fast and, hence, as efficiently as possible (Herring et al., 2009). In a combat situation, even "on-mic" direct (less polite) utterances are acceptable for the sake of efficiency and so are over-polite expressions in a role game as long as they are appropriate for the character. The former, rapid game is typical of the online arena game in this study, too.

Another major claim by Ensslin is that underlying both polite and impolite utterances, there is rivalry, so that gamers infringe the rules of politeness to achieve a better position and more success in their groups (Ensslin, 2011: 103). This observation was also confirmed by the findings of Kramer (2014).

From her research of MMORPGs (Massively Multiplayer Online Role-Playing Game), Kramer (2010, 2014) concluded that the main motivation for politeness in online games is the mutual dependence of gamers as the completion of certain *quest*s and *raid*s strictly requires cooperation between multiple gamers. In order to achieve their goals and to develop their characters in the game, users form teams approaching each other as politely as possible. It is fair to say, along the lines of Watts (1992: 51), that gamers have an ego-centred motivation. The

1 This was one of our reasons for choosing the theory based on the flouting of Grice's and Leech's maxims together with Martinez and Yus's taxonomy, which are less applied to computer games, as a starting point for this paper.

feedback corpus showed that a polite request triggers a polite response and help, but any gamer who gives a rude answer or uses threatening language will be stigmatized within the group. These games are played on online servers, where gamers can be identified by their character names, so a gamer's bad reputation soon reaches a high number of people, preventing the excluded character from further development (Kramer, 2014: 268).

Kramer (2014) looked at online politeness using a questionnaire and found, among other things, that most gamers agree with the stereotype that in-game communication is less polite than offline dialogues. This, however, is in contrast with the self-report of the vast majority of respondents by which they always try to communicate with fellow gamers in a way that fits the situation and is the politest. This contradiction may be put down to several factors. Firstly, the respondents of the questionnaire do not, of course, cover the entire gamer community (and include some people who do not bother to use polite forms in-game). Secondly, negative experiences about game politeness presumably leave a deeper mark than positive impressions. Thirdly, the respondents may also have tried to put their best foot forward and show their positive face when filling in the questionnaire although it would not have had any consequences if their opinion had been contrary to the expected positive team player attitude (Kramer, 2014: 267).

Taunts

The term *taunt* occurs in games with two related meanings: 1. the ability of tanks, i.e. powerful characters that are resistant to attacks, to draw the enemy's attention to themselves in order to save their teammates; 2. a battle cry, sarcastic remark, gesture, or insult by which gamers deliberately demoralize or anger their opponents (primarily to make them act in a haste and hence cause them to make mistakes). A lot of times, taunting is part of or a byword for *trolling* (cf. Buckels et al., 2014; Hardaker, 2010, 2013; Shin, 2008; Veszelszki, 2017). This paper focuses on the second meaning. Taunts play a key role in games – so, if developers do not incorporate this option, gamers will find alternative insults to express their dominance.

LoL enables gamers to communicate with their fellows via inbuilt messages throughout the match, but in the game examined in this research one of the peak periods is idle time from 0:00 to 1:45 minutes, where the characters cannot perform any action other than buying initial items, taking up their positions, and interacting with each other. Taunts can be seen and heard by every gamer located in the affected point of the field.

Taunts occurring in the game and specifically addressed to the gamer may 1. be indirect or direct (in the latter case, the inbuilt options make explicitly

mocking remarks about the gamer); 2. appear as a monologue or dialogue, 3. exist as an extra feature or may be built on the game's dynamics (as in games that are basically meant to be mocking and impossible).

Both the manner and the function of taunting gestures are also different by game type. In fighting games, the opponent's taunting is typically linked to game mechanics (e.g. insulting another gamer may help to take up energy required for different wounding combinations). Online role games (MMORPG) also feature taunts as an ability and animation. In the latter case, they are only important for the communication between gamers without an actual role in game mechanics.

The gamer (speaker) can perform a face-threatening act through their selected character, which is made technically possible by the other gamer's character. As taunting typically occurs at the beginning of the game or because of uneven levels of power (one of the gamers is much more skilful than the other and even wants to emphasize this), gamers use the automatically generated messages to encourage both themselves and their teammates to play better, and they attempt to threaten their opponents in an implicit (and sometimes humorous) form.[2] Using taunts, then, is a kind of psychological warfare. Indeed, permanent and repeated taunting may even influence the end of the game (irritating the opponent and detracting their attention).

Taunts in *League of Legends* (LoL) as the Research Corpus

The present authors evaluated multiple criteria to choose a game for this research project. In her 2009 paper, Masso specifically mentions a frequent mistake in computer game research, by which scholars draw conclusions and propose models without ever having played the given game (Masso, 2009: 150). In addition, Masso suggests that an analysis of games should take into consideration whether the researcher prepares a log of a well-known video game or one played for the first time. We considered these criteria before our decision to analyse *League of Legends*: we knew how the game is played and were able to observe it, but our excessive game involvement did not affect the research. The game's designers clearly support team player gamers who communicate positively, emphasizing the attitude of paying attention to the team as a good example both in their communication with gamers (in social media, the game's official platforms, forums, and Reddit) and in their promotion materials.[3]

2 Game design often raises the question if the system should punish threats as verbal aggression (W8, W9).

3 In the *Summoner's Code* – a set of guidelines for the proposed in-game behaviours (W2).

As mentioned in the first part of the paper, LoL, the game chosen for the analysis, belongs to the type of online arena games (*Multiplayer Online Battle Arena*, MOBA). Gamers fight in two teams of five members, each in a closed area with the aim of destroying the opponent's most protected building. This is a third-person game where gamers have a bird's-eye view of their characters, the environment, and the animations. The research covered the game mode called *soloQ* (solo queue), where gamers find a team on their own and are put together with their teammates by the server based on previous performance. This team design method means that people playing together are nearly always strangers, so they cannot rely on any shared experiences but only on the communication channels offered by the game (written chat, visual signs on the map) and on their shared knowledge (about the objective of the game, the abilities of the different characters, and the roles assumed in the game) to coordinate team work, which is vital for victory. Tamás (2014: 17) proposes that while online strategic games "are mostly anonymous and virtual products, they are able to result in real human relationships and indeed affect the offline environment, too." This claim also applies to arena games. Continuous and intensive communication is vital for the efficiency of multi-character group games. LoL uses English as a common language.

Similarly, to several computer games, LoL has a narrative structure as its background story and the related events create something like a novel where each part is linked to the others by the characters. The characters also have their respective background stories underlying their forms of appearance and communication, including the Taunt command assigned to each. These utterances always reflect the character's perspective, so they are best interpreted together with the given background story. The game features male and female heroes with some characters whose gender is unknown and unidentifiable. As the gamers do not know each other, they often use the character's gender in reference to the controlling gamer,[4] which also shows that the character and the addressed gamer may be different.

As opposed to role games, MOBA gamers do not create avatars with a permanent graphic design used for a long time but may choose a new character for the same account from game to game. Every new game starts by the user's choice of a character for the match. As a result, the gamer's and the character's personae and perspectives merge to a lesser degree than in a strategic or role game played with the same character for an extended time.[5] This is confirmed by the game's framework as the gamer called *summoner* chooses a hero called *champion* for the battle.

4 For instance, with a personal pronoun matching the gender of the character, not the gamer: "she failed her ult, lol" (she failed her ultimate ability, laugh out loudly) or "her Q has big dmg" (her ability, which she uses by hitting the key Q, has big damage).

5 For the differences between the personae of the avatar and the gamer, see: Carter–Gibbs–Arnold, 2012.

The relative positions of the interacting participants can move along two scales according to the gamers and their characters. On the one hand, a distinction is made between good and bad gamers in terms of performance. Logically, a good gamer holds a higher position in the hierarchy. Wallace (2006: 133) coined the term *expert-ism* to designate the use of expertise or its lack by elitist in-groups on the Internet to define and distinguish themselves. The author points out that insiders love taunting newbies. Gamers engage in mocking by typing their messages that are hence unique. On the other hand, by the positions of the gamers' respective characters, there are allies/friends facing opponents/enemies. This distinction is revealed by the inbuilt messages. Thus, the dual perspective of gamer and character means that when two characters meet in the game, gamers either write messages from their own perspective and animate their characters or respond to certain situations according to the characters and the stories around them in a rapid game. The latter is served by the inbuilt options such as the taunts analysed here or the greetings that are automatically pronounced and/or appear when the characters meet.

The research corpus contains Taunt command sentences in the online arena game *League of Legends*.[6] LoL features taunts both as an ability and as an inbuilt expression of emotion. This paper will look at the latter one.

Our taunt corpus forms a huge matrix with one axis featuring the speakers and the other featuring the characters potentially hearing the given taunt. This research covers texts by 127 heroes until 1 January 2016: the taunts related to heroes, which may be activated near any character (all taunts, 260 sentences, 10,671 characters) and the sentences uttered upon the meeting of only two characters (character taunt, 394 sentences, 18,154 characters). Thus, the corpus contains a total of 645 English-language taunts (654 sentences; 28,825 characters all told). On average, two taunt sentences per character are programmed as an inbuilt option.

Table 1 summarizes all preliminary information about the taunts in terms of addressee, form, and content. A taunt may address the gamer[7] or the character controlled by the gamer.[8] The form and wording of a taunt may be conventional, i.e. a statement prototypically used as an insult or mockery,[9] but the diversity of the characters may introduce innovative forms, too.[10] Ritual, formulaic insults may be regarded as conventional verbal weapons. By contrast, "personal,

6 Each taunt is interpreted using the game's wiki site (W1). The following examples will include (1) the taunt in English (in italics), (2) the character's name, and/or (3) the interpretation.

7 "You will lose, Malphite." In some way, this is a curse. A curse carries a bigger illocutionary force than an insult because cursing is usually related to the magical power of language and hence has an effect: that which is uttered will happen. A curse differs from an insult precisely by not involving any statement about the addressee (Jucker–Taavitsainen, 2000: 86).

8 "A legion couldn't stop me. What chance do you have?", Syndra.

9 "Foolish Sejuani", Ashe.

10 "Should I make your pulse rise? Or...STOP!", Ahri is an attractive eastern humanoid fox that can quickly and badly injure her opponents.

individualized statements work best as insults, but they also have the greatest potential to incite violence" (Arnovick, 1995: 604; cf. Jucker–Taavitsainen, 2000: 90). Given the play situation, a taunt may be in-game[11] or off-game,[12] one not necessarily closely associated with the game.

Table 1. *Data of taunts in the corpus (with numbers)*

		Character taunts	All taunts	Total
Number of sentences		394	260	654
Number of taunts		389	256	645
Addressee	Gamer	0	53	53
	Character	389	203	592
Form of taunt	Conventional	100	71	171
	New	289	185	474
Content of taunt	In-game	389	214	603
	Off-game	0	42	42

The three characteristics (1. taunt addressed to a gamer or a character; 2. conventional or innovative form; 3. content referring to in-game or off-game relationships) are closely associated with each other.[13]

Taunts that may only be activated between certain characters (called *character taunts* in *Table 1*) account for 60% of the corpus. Therefore, they respond to in-game contents and mostly take an innovative form (289 occurrences vs. 100 conventional items). A look at the addressees of taunts that may be used against any character/gamer (*all taunts*) also revealed a higher number of character-oriented interactions (203 occasions). Here, novel wording is also more frequent than conventional forms, and in-game content is also dominant (83%).

In order to analyse taunts and understand the essence of insults, it is (nearly) always necessary to present the story or personal features of the affected character(s); therefore, the analysis will touch upon this, but only as much as necessary. In addition, verbal information in the game may not be distinguished from visual and paralinguistic features (sound effects and stress patterns in the utterances), so we

11 E.g. a reference to the relationship between the characters: "Go where you want, Mundo – outside of Zaun." Both characters come from the fictitious city of Zaun, but Ekko considers Mundo as a negative inhabitant. The sentence also echoes a line by Mundo uttered when moving: "Mundo will go where he pleases."

12 E.g. "Would you prefer the good cop or the bad cop?", Caitlyn.

13 Where we did not find a clear form of address or where the interaction did not specifically involve the characters, we relied on the content of the taunt to identify the addressee. Where a sentence only made sense in-game (e.g. a reference to an injury or death: "Fight as a hero or die as a coward", Aatrox), we categorized it as one addressed to the character. Where we were able to attribute an off-game meaning to a message, we designated the gamer as the addressee ("I already calculated your odds. Sorry", Ekko).

also regarded the character's looks, appearance, and intonation as key sources of information and hence incorporated them in the analysis as required by the topic.

LoL Taunts in Impoliteness Theories Based on the Flouting of Maxims

The insults in the taunt corpus will first be examined as the flouting of Grice's conversational maxims and Leech's politeness maxims. For ease of reading, all examples taken from the game will be given as footnotes.

Flouting of Conversational Maxims

We were able to categorize 572 corpus items as flouting of conversational maxims. Of these, 65 belong to the category of direct insults.[14] In a game situation, a fast and accurate exchange of game-related information is a priority for gamers, but taunts usually aim to distract the opponent's attention, and this may involve the flouting of conversational maxims. The following sections will analyse the corpus instances relying on the flouting of maxims as an indirect politeness strategy (Brown–Levinson, 1978).

"Flout Quantity"

As a consequence of the game's competitive nature, the most common tactics to flout the maxim of quantity is overstatement (43 of the 70 taunts flouting quantity), but the corpus also includes examples of understatement (16) and tautology (11). Taunts reveal background information about the character or inter-character relationships in every case, but this does not affect the course of the game. *Overstatement* and *understatement* are key taunt strategies given the game's war situation as the characters extol their strength, qualities, and weapons as opposed to those of their enemies.[15] Taunts using a *tautology* share information that is only associated with the course of the game indirectly.[16]

14 These include refusals ("Foolish spirit, be gone!", Illaoi), threats ("If I want your opinion, I'll beat it out of you", Vi), and direct insults ("You remind me of Agatha. Best cow back home", by Braum to Alistar, the hero appearing as a minotaur).

15 The main quality of Draven is vanity. This hero usually makes statements about himself: "Welcome to the League of Draven". This refers to the name of the game (*League of Legends*) and introduces the character as the only one who is worthy of the game. The hero Syndra overstates her abilities with the already quoted taunt "A legion couldn't stop me. What chance do you have?" This also refers to her opponent's poorer qualities.

16 A typical example is the pun on Graves's name with the punch line explained by Gangplank: "You will never have a grave, Graves... see, it's 'cause your name, it's… your name is like a grave, it's – I – never mind'."

"Flout Quality"

In order to understand taunts that flout quality, the hearer must know the game's world and characters (background, abilities) even more if they are to identify and decode any secondary meaning. Of all taunts in the corpus, 162 belong to this type: most of them hinge on irony (73), while rhetorical questions, contradictions, and metaphors have roughly the same share (31, 30, and 28 respectively). The direct offensive nature of these utterances may be partially reduced by *irony*, by which the characters – as was the case above – describe their own abilities and interpersonal relationships.[17] Taunts based on *metaphor* rely on the characters' appearance and background stories together.[18] Given the game's communicative setting, a *rhetorical question* is a special situation as there are no inbuilt answers to the questions that the designers programmed for the heroes. In spite of, or using, this, several characters engage in taunting in the form of questions, relying on off-game information.[19] Gamer qualities always provide a solid ground for insults, and the intonation of the sentence even reinforces that no answer is expected. Irony and rhetorical question may go hand in hand.[20] In these cases, it is absolutely necessary to know the character's abilities to activate the secondary meaning.

"Flout Relevance"

The maxim of relevance requires the utterance to match the situation, to avoid unnecessary digressions, and to keep to the point. In the games, relevance may be best flouted by taunts that are made at a time and in a situation where the information is irrelevant, involves unnecessary additions, or is unrelated to the situation (number of instances found: 216). In this research, taunts relying on *association* and partly on *presupposition* include memes about the gamer: the designers relied on shared knowledge when programming the sentences.[21]

17 An utterance involving irony by Elise, a character who also appears as a spider, is "Come closer, I don't BITE!" because *Bite* is the name given to one of her abilities. This utterance is ironic because the speaker (Elise) makes an obviously false claim which implies just the opposite idea.

18 "You are but a grain of sand, Xerath", a metaphor used by the ruler Azir to his servant, is an allusion to the fight for power between the two characters and activates their environment in the desert as a connotation. "Ice Witch, prepare to be shattered!" is addressed to Lissandra in reference to the relationship, qualities, and looks of the characters as she looks like a female figure carved out of icy rocks, while the taunting Sejuani is a powerful warrior riding on a wild boar, whose utterances often relate to destruction. The threat is made obvious by the image of ice being shattered.

19 Jax's taunt ("Who wants a piece of the champ?!") refers to his story of origin according to which he used to be the most powerful hero in the game's world that no one dared to challenge. The taunt "Why so serious?" by Shaco, the Demon Jester, is also an allusion to Joker's character in the Batman films.

20 "You think you can outshoot me?" is asked by Tristana, a gunner able to attack from one of the greatest distances.

21 "Death at the door? Hmph, no. I am the one who knocks", an insult by Lucian to everybody, is

"Flout Manner"

The maxim of manner requires clarity. This is flouted by obscurity of expression, ambiguity, prolix and disorderly utterances. Our corpus contains 59 instances of flouting manner by obscurity and ambiguity. In creating the characters' personae, the designers would often assign not completely clear utterances to them (maybe as a way to introduce subsequent events and further characters). Indeed, the main attribute of certain heroes is the obscurity of their utterances. *Generalizing* utterances refer to in-game conditions.[22] Their comprehension does not require familiarity with the character or the story, but, with such background knowledge, the sentences provide extra information about the characters, which is not really necessary during the game.[23] One type of obscure taunt that relies on *ambiguity* may also be considered as a flirt and the other as showing off of power based on in-game skills.[24] The interpretation of an *omission* or silence is typically assisted by intonation.[25]

Flouting the Politeness Maxims

The following sections will look at taunts in the light of the politeness maxims. We had expected each item in the corpus to flout these principles, but it actually included some taunts that were utterly polite. This may be put down to the characters' personae and the game developers' already mentioned commitment to positive communication. The ways in which the taunts flout these maxims

an allusion to a famous monologue by the protagonist of the show *Breaking Bad* and aims to express that the character is a dangerous opponent. In order to decode Amumu's taunt "Let me give you a hug", one must know the background story that the character is a mummy looking for friends, and one of his abilities is like a hug by which he injures the victim and hence poses a risk. Likewise, the implicature of the next example can only be revealed by familiarity with the game. Tristana's insult of Ziggs refers to his explosions: "Watch where you're exploding, Ziggs!" All abilities of the character have to do with explosions. Another instance of in-game knowledge is the characters' roles based on their abilities. Soraka is a healing character, so she is usually selected by gamers to play a support role. Her taunt "I will not save you" refers to her charms and support role.

22 Most of the time, they relate to groups ("Ninjas… I hate those guys", Yashuo), qualities ("So young, so naïve", Anivia), or to abilities and their development ("You wish to learn the hard way", *I see*, Master Yi).

23 Yashuo was chased by ninjas. Anivia is an immortal ice bird, while Master Yi is a mentor.

24 Illaoi, the priestess of a sea god, uses a taunt of an ambiguous intonation to express her attraction to Braum, the northern warrior: "Northman. There are motions I would like to show you." The double entendre gives rise to an insult in Quinn's taunts. She is accompanied by an eagle and has a good relationship with the royal family: "I'd keep my head down if I were you; I've got friends in high places."

25 For instance, Ekko taunts all heroes from the opponent city by saying "Great. Pilties" without finishing the utterance, but the paraverbal features make it clear that this is an insult.

cannot be strictly categorized. Instead, we are going to give the most typical examples of flouting in all seven politeness maxims.

Tact

One of the basic goals of taunts in the games is to anger the opponent, so it is just logical that most of them flout the tact maxim ("minimize cost to other, maximize benefit to other"). Yet, we only found few examples of tact.[26] In order to identify the flouting of this maxim, one needs to know the game's story.[27] Most of the taunts emphasize and make abuse of the opponent's weaknesses and defects. This may be based on differences in worldview[28] or the characters' looks.[29]

Generosity

Leech's generosity maxim states: "Minimize the expression of beliefs that express or imply benefit to self; maximize the expression of beliefs that express or imply cost to self". The basic situation of the game does not support the gamer's/character's generosity with the partner as the aim of the game is to defeat the opponent. However, the designers also programmed generosity as a quality of one character.[30] At the same time, generosity is reduced as these utterances also give hints about the assisted characters' weaknesses.[31] Non-verbal qualities play a key role as shown by the fact that sometimes not the verbal information but the intonation suggests that while the form of taunt expresses generosity, its actual aim is threat and intimidation.[32] The corpus includes a relatively high number of examples of flouting the generosity maxim. The qualities of egoism and conceit are exhibited by several characters.[33]

26 The utterances of Poppy, who admires two heroes, are tactful and this is also manifest in her utterly polite taunts (to Garen: "Oh, wow, Garen, do you think you could sign my shield?"; to the future ruler, Jarvan IV: "A pleasure to fight for you, your majesty"). Illaoi normally hurls strict and tough taunts, but the next one addressed to the Yordle (an in-game race of tiny creatures that are sociable and nice) is relatively low-profile and soft: "Little one, I don't need empathy. Seek those who do."

27 While Thresh's offer may seem nice or tactful ("Ever seen your soul? Would you like to?"), this taunt is made seriously threatening as he usually captures and imprisons the souls of his opponents.

28 "Your twisted ways must be stopped!", Ashe to Sejuani. They are rival leaders, Ashe being more peaceful and Sejuani more cruel.

29 "Quit monkeying around!", Master Yi to his apelike disciple Wukong.

30 In some taunts to his allies, Tahm Kench offers to help them fulfil their wishes.

31 For instance, when they are fighting on the same side, he offers to return Gnar to his own time ("Time is just a river, boy, let me take you back where you belong.").

32 In the taunt by Twitch the Plague Rat: "I'm dedicating this piece to you."

33 The taunt of Zyra, a plant-turned-witch ("This land is mine."), is about the expropriation of the area that she occupies. The insult of the materialistic Sivir refers to the looks of the anthropomorphic crocodile god Renekton and to his own money-grubbing attitude ("I could use

Approbation

Contrary to our previous expectations, the corpus included taunts flouting the approbation maxim ("Minimize the expression of beliefs which express dispraise of other; maximize the expression of beliefs which express approval of other.") and utterances praising the opponent. Underlying this may be attraction,[34] respect,[35] and potentially similarity between the characters.[36] In these cases, the taunts play a key role in describing the character.

As opposed to the relatively low number of approbatory messages, our corpus contains a high number of critical remarks. Most of them refer to the combat and the abilities of the characters, their own invulnerability and dexterity but mostly to the opponent's lack of skill.[37]

Modesty

While the designers of LoL tried to achieve the greatest diversity in their characters, the taunts do not include any that relates to the modesty maxim. By contrast, there is quite a high number of utterances where the heroes praise themselves, their abilities and looks.[38]

Agreement

The corpus only included one taunt expressing agreement with the partner ("Minimize the expression of disagreement between self and other; maximize the expression of agreement between self and other."), and even this one seems ambiguous.[39] By contrast, the flouting of the agreement maxim, i.e. opposition and conflict, follows from the game's mechanics. These utterances involve direct verbal aggression and, indeed, threats of "physical" aggression.[40]

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a pair of croc skin boots.").

34 "Finally, a man who won't break", Illaoi to Braum.

35 "Garen, I think you might be the one!", Poppy to Garen as an expression that she has been looking for him for years as the heir of a great warrior.

36 "Oohoohoo, Singed! You smell nice!", Twitch to Singed as both characters relate to venoms and stench.

37 The taunt of Heimerdinger, a genius inventor, is an implicit self-praise and a disapproval of his opponent ("I prefer a battle of wits, but you're unarmed!").

38 One of the main attributes of Draven is conceit ("Who wants some Draven? Heheheh; Welcome to the League of Draven!"). Likewise, Zac praises his own abilities against the addressee ("It's not how much you can lift. It's how good you look!").

39 The already mentioned Twitch the Plague Rat tells Singed, who keeps laying a poisonous trail: "I see why everyone chases you." However, this is also ambiguous as it refers to a misleading tactic of Singed.

40 For instance, there are three characters fighting for control over the northern territories: Ashe, the archer queen, Lissandra, a highly powerful ice witch, and Sejuani, a barbarian warrior riding

Sympathy

The ultimate goal of taunts contradicts the sympathy maxim ("Minimize antipathy between self and other; maximize sympathy between the self and other.") as the characters primarily express their antipathy to each other. The expression of antipathy may be offensive based on the gamer's skills[41] but may also target the character.[42]

Phatic Maxim

The phatic function essentially aims to maintain contact between the interlocutors – specifically, "avoid silence, keep talking". Given the unilateral nature of taunts, this function does not apply here. However, there are utterances that may prototypically be categorized within phatic communication, used to establish contact[43] or to close it.[44]

A Typology of Insults by Aim/Function

The above findings show that not every item of the taunt corpus is an offensive utterance, but the vast majority do involve an insult. This makes them suitable for the insult typology developed by Martinez and Yus (2013) along the following four categories: 1. conventionality/innovativeness, 2. intention; 3. the right/wrong interpretation of the insult; 4. the addressee's response or lack of response. Due to its manner of compilation, the corpus cannot contain any data of the ways in which the addressees respond to the taunts (perlocution), so two elements in the original taxonomy that refer to hearer response have been replaced with the addressee (gamer/character). Accordingly, we looked at mockeries within the 12 categories listed in *Table 2*. The results are presented in three groups by the intention of the taunt: aggressive mocks, praising utterances, and taunts meant to maintain a social relationship.

on a wild boar (to Sejuani: "Misguided warmonger!; Foolish Sejuani.; So, which one is the pig?"; to Lissandra: "To pierce your black heart!; Your twisted ways must be stopped!"; "I will end your corruption!").

41 "It's just not possible to sink to the level of this competition", Cassiopeia.

42 "Darius, you're a butcher, not a general", Garen to Darius. These characters are the warlords of the two biggest peoples fighting against each other.

43 "So, uh... how about that weather?", Ekko to the wind magus Janna, whom he likes.

44 "You're boring; Not interested", Fizz.

Table 2. *A typology of insults*

Taunt intention	Taunt form	Taunt addressee	Number
aggression	conventional	gamer	18
aggression	conventional	character	144
aggression	innovative	gamer	16
aggression	innovative	character	317
praise	conventional	gamer	–
praise	conventional	character	1
praise	innovative	gamer	–
praise	innovative	character	43
social relationship	conventional	gamer	2
social relationship	conventional	character	6
social relationship	innovative	gamer	17
social relationship	innovative	character	81

Aggressive Taunts

As expected, the vast majority of the corpus items consist of taunts revealing an aggressive intention (493 items, 76%). This can be put down not only to the fundamentally aggressive nature of insults but also to the interpretation of the game situation as a fight.[45] The aggressive message mostly targets a character (461 vs. 34 gamer-oriented messages). This proportion is in harmony with the game designers' attempt to make the game fair and to have aggression aimed at characters and not fellow gamers. This may also explain why innovative character-oriented taunts have the highest number. The developers try to create a wide range of texts that match the characters, incorporating the aggressive and offensive function of taunts.

Praising Taunts

Praising taunts represent the smallest portion of the corpus (44 items found) and usually relate to the latest heroes. Praises always address characters (and never gamers themselves). The category of innovative positive messages addressed to a character includes utterances motivated by the following intentions: expression of sympathy,[46] recognition,[47] and acknowledgement.[48]

45 "Fight as a hero, or die as a coward", Aatrox, the spirit of war in the game.
46 "You, I like", Illaoi.
47 "I see why everyone chases you", Twitch to Singed.
48 "It is you who have shown Gangplank his path. For that, I thank you", Illaoi to Miss Fortune.

Taunts Aimed to Maintain a Social Relationship

Leech (2014) also claims that banter should not only be interpreted in terms of politeness vs. impoliteness ("polite [or rather, 'camaraderic'] interpretation", Leech, 2014: 238) and points out that in the case of banter a particularly important aspect besides politeness is the expression and confirmation of the relationship between the interlocutors. Technau (2017: 99) proposes that banter involves an intention of entertainment in addition to a reference to social relationships. In summary, banter has the following interrelated and not necessarily mutually exclusive motivations: 1. dealing with conflicts, problem solving, expression of criticism; 2. joining in the power game, winning, demonstrating, increasing power; 3. relational work, marking of in-group membership, consolidating friendly relations; 4. humorous entertainment (Technau, 2017: 99–100). Taunting is similar to banter, typical of friendly conversations, but it also has different characteristics, primarily because of its medium and the game setting.

16.4% of the taunts in the corpus (108 identified) do not aim to offend, similarly to praising expressions, but to refer to and consolidate the social relationship between the characters. As with praising taunts, this type is common primarily among the latest heroes, but, contrary to praises, phatic markers may also address gamers (in 39 cases) and not only characters (67).[49]

Conclusions and Further Implications

This paper presented the utterances activated by the Taunt command in the English version of the game *League of Legends* from the perspective of impoliteness strategies, specifically as the flouting of (conversational and especially politeness) maxims.

We looked at a communicative situation which is not an essential part of the game and where the aim of entertaining and the phatic function are just as important as the exchange of information and storytelling. A game can also be played "in silence", without taunts, which is not a disadvantage for gamers in terms of the course of the game. The use of taunts is gamer dependent; so, there is a need for further research to find out why, in what situations, and how often gamers use taunts.

49 A conventional taunt addressed to a gamer may also carry a negative message ("You're boring", Fizz). A conventional taunt addressed to a character may also refer to a friendship ("Are you having fun, my friend?", Braum, an open-minded and friendly hero, taking a friendly approach even to the bloodthirsty Trynamere). The innovative taunts addressed to a gamer are often pop cultural allusions ("Why so serious?", by Shaco, the jester, who looks like Joker's character in the Batman films) and may also refer to the gamer's success ("If at first you do not succeed, please, tell me what it is like", Braum, a successful, friendly and optimistic character).

A look at taunts and conversational maxims shows that these text commands infringe the rules of linguistic politeness primarily by using in-game information. None of the utterances influences the course of the game directly (but, of course, they do so indirectly by perlocution, i.e. their effect on the gamer each time they anger the opponent so that he or she will make a mistake and hence help the taunting gamer's team). The utterances are primarily used to describe a character, by which the gamer is involved in the story even more and will hence be presumably more loyal to the game (and might even buy game-related products and services both in- and off-game). This function is confirmed by the fact that the game developers created a separate site to introduce the game's world and the characters. Such supplementary solutions may be necessary because MOBA gamers are offered little opportunity to establish a bond with the characters as they do not play with a permanent avatar but with a different hero in each match.

A look at the taunts from the gamer community's perspective has revealed that familiarity with the different insults (and other inbuilt texts), just like familiarity with gamer terminology, is a group feature that confirms community membership. Many of the taunts have become independent from the specific game and are now memes known not only to those playing the given game but also to the wider gamer community. Gamers often view inbuilt texts as challenges and try to find in them hidden allusions or signs that refer to the latest hero created in the continuously developed game, the field, or someone's in-game looks.

Our findings clearly suggest that a taunt (originally meaning insult) does not always refer to an obviously offending utterance but has more forms and roles than that. The reason is that, while taunts are elements that may not be left out of a competitive game (if they are not officially incorporated in the game, gamers develop their respective alternatives for this purpose), the designers want to present the social and cooperative game style as a norm for their gamers. In creating the heroes with a high number and wide range of qualities, the developers repeatedly built in the features of politeness among them. However, most corpus items, with only a few exceptions, may not be regarded as polite utterances. This is explained by the conflicts in the game's world and by the relationship between allies and opponents.

Our analysis of the politeness maxims has shown that the corpus items follow the basic scheme of insult, which the developers created to match each character. The ways in which the characters make utterances are greatly determined by their background stories and relationships with the other characters. Some of the examined taunts involve a conventional insult (i.e. one that reveals the intention to offend as an illocution even without knowing the game), but decoding requires familiarity with the game's world, the characters, and their stories in the vast majority of the cases. The same idea is emphasized by Technau (2017: 97) in his examination of oral in-group banter: "Understanding banter is not an easy task,

especially for analysts who do not belong to the in-group in which the object of their investigation occurs". The present authors managed to overcome this difficulty as one of them is a gamer and knows *League of Legends*. Also, we referred to the game's story description as necessary (W1).

The written nature of the corpus also meant that we focused on the illocutionary force of the insults. The texts do not make it clear if the addressee understands the insult and takes offence and, if so, how much and how they respond (cf. the third and fourth aspects by Yus and Martinez, 2013). Further research should find out the extent to which gamers feel hurt by the offensive messages that are sent to their respective characters and can take the insults to apply only to such characters. Another research question should be if there is a difference in response to an inbuilt insult created in advance by the system's text writers and to a unique message sent by a fellow gamer. Yet another task should be to see if there is any difference in response to insults by type of game (presumably, gamers using a permanent avatar identify considerably better with their characters than those choosing a new one for each game). The answers should be provided by a questionnaire of gamer attitudes.

Arnovick (1995: 611) points out that insult and banter are rooted in play and have a playful character by their very nature. Accordingly, it is fair to say that taunt is a play within a game.

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W1 = *League of Legends Wiki*: http://leagueoflegends.wikia.com/wiki/League_of_Legends_Wiki.
W2 = *Summoners Code*: http://gameinfo.eune.leagueoflegends.com/hu/game-info/get-started/summoners-code/.
W3 = Reddit. https://www.reddit.com/r/leagueoflegends/comments/1d7ppg/loading_screen_tips/.
W4 = http://www.riotgames.com/our-games.
W5 = https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Taunting#Video_games.
W6 = http://boards.eune.leagueoflegends.com/en/c/player-behaviour-en/a8iu9i1l-taunt-can-get-report.
W7 = http://forums.na.leagueoflegends.com/board/showthread.php?t=3195698&page=1.
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Trend Analysis of Technologies Supporting the Availability of Online Content: From Keyword-Based Search to the Semantic Web[1]

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Abstract. The era of Web 1.0 implied the connection of web-based documents via links, which enabled search engines to scan for information and guarantee the search and availability of webpages. Web 2.0 represented the next evolutionary stage. Known as the collaborative web, the emphasis in this case was on the establishment of services and content by the community. Search options were complemented with labelling and frequently undesirable clickstream analysis coupled with push technology-supported information provision. The semantic web is a revolutionary development, which, in addition to processing information by humans, assures the readability of datasets by machines and facilitates communication between devices. In order to promote data and information processing by machines, the semantic web relies on a special ontology allocating the respective meaning to the given data along with relying on the global indexing and naming schemes of the web. Several ontologies emerged with differing basic guidelines while displaying compatibility to the RDF standard ranging from the more semantic description of bibliographical data in libraries to the description of information gained from social networks and human conversations. While Web 3.0 is often used interchangeably with the semantic web, the former one with its intelligent server function exceeds the semantic web. We have to ask ourselves, however, whether we can rely on the accuracy of the obtained data, and we must explore what progress have libraries – expected to increase reliability – made regarding the implementation of semantic data storage.

Keywords: semantic web, Web 2.0, Web 3.0, LRM, Library Reference Model, RDF, search systems, semantic search

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Introduction

The Fourth Industrial Revolution radically impacted communication forms. While psychologists switched their focus to the impact of our presence in on-line communities from that of long hours of television watching, technological developments reached the next level. Accordingly, artificial intelligence has penetrated everyday life, including the communication process, as chatbots provide services in web stores and avatars process our requests on the search pages of libraries. Thus, not only is communication placed on an on-line basis, but one party in the communication chain has become either a robot or an algorithm. It was less than forty years ago when the forwarding option of hypertext materials emerged, and today if we want to provide information to a specific audience it is not enough to establish suitable content as we need to be familiar with technologies facilitating the retrieval of the given information. Furthermore, a few years ago, it was sufficient to place appropriate keywords among the metadata of our websites, but today we can establish semantic connections between the given data. This helps us to exceed the establishment of connections between the given pages and to reach Web 3.0. My study provides an overview of the formation of the semantic web along with introducing the basic guidelines of its operation. I will explore the trends of the respective processes in order to highlight the need for information storage and retrieval, along with introducing the options provided by the semantic web. I will illustrate that several ontologies appeared showing compatibility to the RDF standard with completely different guidelines ranging from a more semantic description of bibliographical data in libraries to the description of information gained from social networks and human communication. Where are we now in this process? How can we describe Web 3.0? Can we trust the authenticity of the data obtained? Have libraries – expected to increase the reliability of information – started to implement semantic data storage?

As a result of the technological development, the application of algorithms facilitating full text search had become widespread by the second half of the 1990s. Keyword-based full text search options appeared after the discovery of hypertext-based information search during which the web content was mapped via the keywords marked as links. Another previous development included the use of a scanning language to gain access to the structured data of texts stored in databases, which enabled the selection of the potential data for search but had no impact on the given process (Lengyelné Molnár, 2014). Keyword-based search explores the syntactically identical elements but ignores the semantic ties.

The Era of the Semantic Web

By the second half of the first decade of the 21st century, the emphasis was placed on this deficiency, and the semantic web was seen as a key for access to electronically stored data. The semantic web is "a global network metadata infrastructure facilitating the integration of data available on the World Wide Web, the definition and description of the respective connections and the interpretation of the given data. Such developments will lead to the formation of the generation of the new global network, the extension of the current web, known as Web 3.0" (Fülöp, 2018). In order to comprehend this definition, we need to retrace the road taken until now.

Following the emergence of the World Wide Web, we shared pages connected with links. This presented a global document repository for the users, who were helped by portals in accessing the given webpages to be superseded by search websites utilizing search engines. Search engines explore the given webpages via indexing the keywords in the text or the metadata with the abovementioned method. At the time of *Web 1.0*, this support was sufficient as users could reach the respective pages by clicking and interpret or explore the information on the given webpage independently. In the second decade of the World Wide Web, after 2005, the content was not produced by the manager or owner of the given website as the community itself became a content producer. While Web 1.0 was characterized by static content, in the case of *Web 2.0*, the community producing the given content used a framework provided by the producers of the webpage, which resulted in a more dynamic appearance and continuous growth facilitating the modification and change of the respective data. Web 2.0 is "a surface of the World Wide Web facilitating high-level interaction determined by the social media, a web segment including special community-produced sites, picture and video sharing platforms, blogs, vlogs, and other surfaces" (Szűts, 2018). Web 2.0 using previously existing technology in a new way did not bring major changes in accessibility to the content of web pages, and *Web 3.0* is expected to implement the concept of the fully restructured web (Krauth–Kömlődi, 2008). The latest achievements included the continuous expansion of algorithms operating search engines, and, in addition to full text search, the whole content of the given website was disclosed, content in .pdf was indexed, and significant advances were made in the retrieval of non-textual content. However, semantic connections were not revealed, and still a large segment of the web unreachable by search engines, named the Deep Web, remained unknown. This included the content of library catalogues containing very thorough bibliographical descriptions with more detailed metadata but with no connections or compatibility with the standards of the semantic web. For this reason, they remain invisible for the search engines. Furthermore, it was still the user who processed the content of the webpages appearing as a result of searching for hits.

The solution came from two directions:

Library profession experts have already started "to separate essential units with special importance for users, thus requiring the presentation of information. These crucial concept categories were described in abstract form as entities" (Hubay, 2019a) at the Stockholm Bibliographical Records Seminar in 1990. Accordingly, 10 entities were divided into three groups. Entities expressing the result of a creative effort include the *work*, *form of expression*, *presentation form*, and *copy*. Entities referring to the creator of the work are *person and body or organization*, and the third entity category included the object of the production effort, namely *concept*, *object*, *event*, *and place* (IFLA, 1998).

During the analysis of the entities, a work commission "determines the characteristic features and attributes of the given entities along with the connections that have special importance for the user during the bibliographical search. It also interprets the answers received for the search request and navigates in the universe of entities described by bibliographical records." The entities can be divided into two large groups: attributes related to physical appearance and identifiers pertaining to the content of the given work (catalogue number, content identifiers). These connections form the basis of the model (i.e. a PERSON "created this:" WORK). The entities, attributes, and connections are described in a hierarchical structure or order (Pat et al., 2017).

Practical applications, however, revealed that the models describing the functional requirements must be combined due to the respective discrepancies, and a uniform model has to be created. The FRBR Review Group started this work in 2010, and in 2013 they formed the Consolidation Editorial Group (CEG). The manuscript was submitted for review in 2016, and it was approved by the IFLA Standardization Committee in August 2017 (Pat et al., 2017). Accordingly, "the three models were integrated into a uniform consolidated system via the elimination of the respective inconsistencies resulting in the formation of the Library Reference Model" (Hubay, 2019b).

Library Reference Model

Utilizing the FRBR methodology, the LRM includes the entity analysis, the separation of the most important documents for the users, the identification of the entities, and the attributes of the respective connections as the most significant considerations for the search. The aim of the model – similarly to the FRBR – is the establishment of basic guidelines without making preliminary statements regarding data storage (Dancs, 2018).

The LRM model prioritizes the following aspects: the work, form of expression, form of appearance, and structural connections between the given entities. The

model focusing on the tasks of users takes into consideration the widespread use of bibliographical and authority-related data along with the needs of the respective users. The five tasks users were expected to perform: location, identification, selection, accession, and investigation of data were described in a general sense and without a sequential order (Pat et al., 2017). The entity linkage model includes the following components: entities, attributes, and connections.

– Entities: categories in the focus of interest (determine the frame of the model and function as nodes).

– Attributes: data describing the occurrence of entities; provide information on entities while they are dependent on them.

– Connections, correlations: attributes connecting and describing the entities.

The hierarchical system of entities, attributes, and connections was retained in the LRM. 10 entities are allocated under one upper hierarchy level, known as the Res ("any entity of the given universe under discussion"), in the following way (Pat et al., 2017).

Table 1. *The hierarchy of entities*

Entity Hierarchy		
Top Level	**Second Level**	**Third Level**
LRM-E1 Res		
	LRM-E2 Work	
	LRM-E3 Expression	
	LRM-E4 Manifestation	
	LRM-E5 Item	
	LRM-E6 Agent	
	–	LRM-E7 Person
	–	LRM-E8 Collective Agent
	LRM-E9 Nomen	
	LRM-E10 Place	
	LRM-E11 Time-span	

The LRM model not only facilitates transparency and compatibility between library systems (as currently used standards, including the /MARC/, meet this requirement), but its introduction implying a shift towards RDF-structured descriptions (as all the entities could be described in one structure or within one graph) results in the reduction of the size of the Deep Web, the segment invisible and unreachable for search engines. In the LRM, the data of entities are separated and complemented with recorded connection fields and references, making them

visible or perceivable for the search engines.[2] It is also important that users are provided much higher-standard library services, while the respective data is enhanced since the semantic description of the documents enables the on-line catalogue system to provide more detailed information besides the bibliographical descriptions. Libraries and public collections relying on the semantic web at its current stage of development can provide higher-level services for users by presenting the semantic connections with the respective hits pertaining to exhibitions, events, and education materials. The search surface of PLM enables the user to express such interest concerning the given hits.

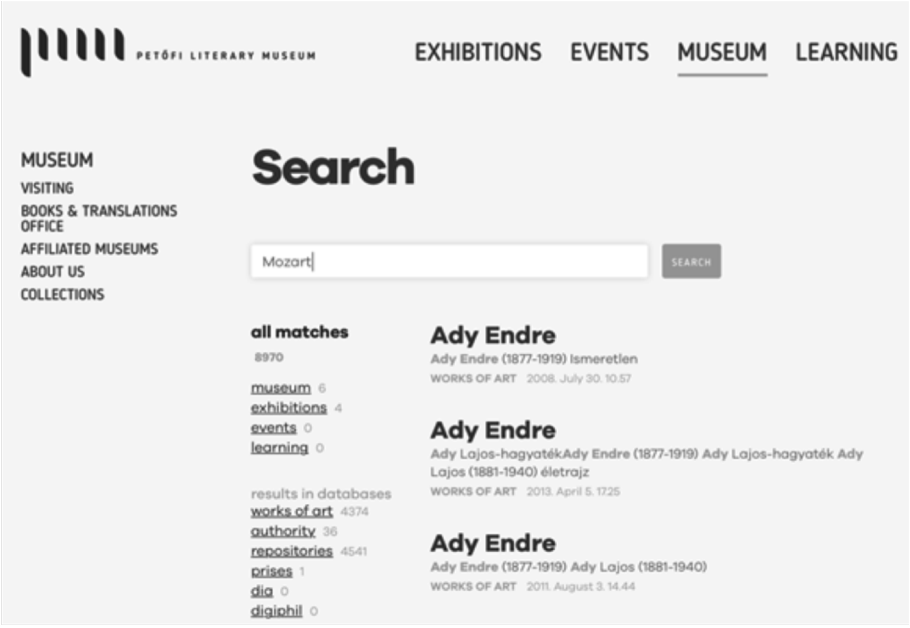

Figure 1. *The webpage of PLM (Petőfi Literary Museum)*

Libraries, however, have not yet implemented the LRM model. Researchers at the University of Wisconsin (Park–Kipp, 2019) pointed out that libraries in the USA and other parts of the world are currently developing their LLD schemes, but they do not utilize ontologies based on LRM models. With the exception of the Library of Congress, libraries prefer to use the schemes, ontologies, and data models of the Linked Data.

2 In order to be used by search engines, the data do not have to be in RDF format as several discovery software inherently include this option. Accordingly, the data components are labelled with an HTML page code presenting the given data component as an address, information about length, or a potential contributor. Webpages enhanced with semantic markers (semantic for its capability to interpret the given data) are intelligible for search algorithms and can be indexed as well. This is a necessary yet not a sufficient condition for access into the search engine.

Linked Data: Data Connections

Linked Data is the result of a data-centric perspective dominant in the post-2010 period.[3] It utilizes the basic operational concept of the web, but instead of sharing documents it facilitates the sharing of structured data on a global level. Just like the web, it relies on links while utilizing the principle of the four connected or linked data (Bizer et al., 2018):

1. Use of URIs (uniform resource identifiers) for identifying the units; the URI guarantees the uniform naming of the entity.

2. Search should be performed with HTTP URI, while a hypertext transmission protocol assures access to the description of entities.

3. The URI search should be based on standardized information (RDF, OWL, SKOS, SPARQL, etc.). The two entities published by the various data sources are connected to the resource description framework (RDF) via unifying data model references. The Linked Data applications follow the RDF references via searching for URIs identifying the entities with the HTTP protocol.

4. The linked data should provide references to other URIs in order to discover more information. When the server responds with an RDF description during the search for an entity, the resulting hit can contain more references, making it suitable for identifying more data sources.

RDF – Resource Description Framework

The concept of the RDF is indispensable for the semantic web as it is a standardized model of data exchange taking place on the Internet. According to a W3C definition, it is a framework which facilitates the description of information on the web.

The RDF is a declarative language including triplets, which are a combination of a subject, object, and a predicate describing everything as a simple declarative sentence. Furthermore, the correlation between the subject and object is determined by the predicate. The set of triplets forms the RDF graph, in which all triplets are represented by a "node-edge-node connection" (W3C, 2004). The composition of a statement is helped by a formal vocabulary known as the RDF Schema (RDFS, *RDF-VOCABULARY*). We present a specific example below:

Einstein	works as	a physicist.
Subject	Predicate	Object

3 The 1st International Workshop on Consuming Linked Data was organized in 2010, but the concept of the Linked Data has been in use since 2006.

The RDF designed as a foundation for other languages functions as a standard. At the same time, the schemes forming its foundation can differ (Király–Szekely, 2018), and the RDF can even support the chronological development of the schemes.

The Most Often Used Schemes in LLD and the Semantic Web

Dublin Core (DC) (Dublin Core™ Metadata Initiative): This metadata system capable of describing 15 attributes was established in 1995 and reached its present capacity as a result of continuously being updated and adjusted to the requirements of the National Information Standards Organization of the United States. The components describing the 15 metadata are complemented by an attribute, class, data type, and vocabulary coding scheme to form the Dublin Core expressions together (DCMI, Dublin Core Metadata Terms). It is a highly prevalent and propagated metadata description scheme, and its application in library systems guarantees the connection with the semantic web.

BIBO (The Bibliographic Ontology): It is a bibliographical ontology used in library environments for citation, document qualification, and document description. The bibliographical ontology is not a standard but a specification built on the rule facilitating the formation of the RDF (Bruce, 2009). It is based on the hierarchical description of connection types – all important relations are identified by an URI, and the hierarchical structure allows the performance of logical operations. "If the ISBN of X is Y, then Y is the identifier of X as well." One setback of the BIBO is the lack of several concepts in its web scheme.

FOAF (Friend of a Friend): The purpose of the FOAF project is the establishment of connection between people and information on the Internet. It is built on the idea that not only data in documents can be described but those in the heads of people as well. It was prepared for a social network, and, based upon the cooperation, friendships, and social networks of people, it creates connections with the respective data. It is a computer language determining the vocabulary of human connections and is usable in a structured form. It is used by semantic web applications for the description of humans and their relations.

SKOS (Simple Knowledge Organization System): The SKOS is a general data model for the sharing and linking of knowledge organization systems with the help of the semantic web (W3C, 2009).

Schema.org: The Schema.org structured data-marking dictionary established by Google, Microsoft, Yahoo!, and Yandex enables webmasters to embed metadata on HTML5 webpages via micro-data labels recognized by the search engines of Google, Yahoo!, and Microsoft Bing. The Online Computer Library Centre

(OCLC) uses, among others, Schema.org for facilitating a connection with the Linked Data model. This makes its data pool more accessible for the previously mentioned three search engines. It is a rather popular scheme as the dictionaries of the Schema.org are developed continuously by an open public community effort, and "several applications ranging from Google through Microsoft and Pinterest to Yandex and others rely on these vocabularies for the enhancement and expanding and intensification of experiences".

Web 3.0

In sum, while web documents are connected with links facilitating accessibility and searchability, the next stage of the evolution of the web is the semantic web including datasets readable by machines. In order to promote data processing by machines, the semantic web allocates the respective meaning to the given data by a special ontology in addition to the global indexing and naming schemes of the web. The idea of the semantic web can be considered realized if a meaning related to a given document is as thorough as or even more detailed than that of provided by the human brain.

What is the difference between the semantic web and Web 3.0? "Web 3.0 is an intelligent offering of a data network consisting of a collection of structured data records published in the web in repeatedly reusable formats (e.g., XML, RDF)" (Isaias, 2012). Frequently, the semantic web and Web 3.0 are used as interchangeable concepts. This is not without any justification as the aim of Web 3.0 is substituting people with software agents and improving the efficiency of the collection, transmission, and analysis of data on the web. Such features suggest a similarity with the definition of the semantic web as the latter is a technology facilitating the sharing of machine-readable data by the use of metadata schemes and ontology while matching the data with the respective meaning. The main difference is represented by the Web 3.0 intelligent server system as its application can produce a complete itinerary (Ashir, 2018; Park–Kipp, 2019).

Web 2.0 is often referred to as the web of collaboration due to its emphasis on services, content creation, and the sharing of knowledge components. We describe a few of its most popular services (Racskó, 2011):

– Unified entry systems (OpenID): A user name–password dyad facilitating simple entry, which can be used in many locations by the person applying it.

– Documents based on cooperation (i.e. Google documents): In the second decade of the 21st century, services based on cooperation and shared work become popular, enabling more than one person to work on a document or product in real time without the need for software or storage space.

– Professional communities based on shared interest (Ning): It implies a community-forming capability based on professional interest. This service appears in the social media.

– Forums: for the shared discussion of problems and the respective options. One specific example is the professional forum.

– News channels.

– Social media.

– Community bookmarks.

– Book recommendation and evaluation services.

– On-line map services.

– Content sharing services.

– Wikipedia and wiki services.

– Mashups: websites embedding other applications.

– Picture and video sharing services, etc.

One of the greatest deficiencies of Web 2.0 was that only those people could take advantage of the otherwise excellent support services who had a level of digital literacy sufficient to use the given systems, websites, and services.

Another disadvantage was that as a result of labelling and continuous data analysis the system stored a high amount of information about the users without their knowledge. The clickstream, or analysis of people's clicking habits, provides a sophisticated and more thorough picture or image than a simple reference or citation management tool. This option is frequently used by disseminators of unwanted ads and recommendations based on the profile analysis of the user and screening the respective data locations and hits.

Web 3.0 is, however, an easy-to-use and more secure system. Since the given data are described in the perspective of a graph, the features include not only click analysis but the data storage is complemented with linkage-related information.

The operation of Web 3.0 is determined by the following systems/processes:

Big Data: Analysis of a high amount of data. "The more we communicate, perform transactions, and exchange information, the greater the Big Data becomes, enhancing the cumulative meaning of the dataset" (Findlay, 2015).

Cognitive learning by machine: The computer collects previously unstructured data – pictures, videos, sounds, and languages – and links them with cognitive metadata in a computation model resulting in semantic improvement. (With time, these systems are expected to become more accurate and reliable).

Data mining: Data mining has reached a developmental level when communication in social media is analysed not only by texts but via face recognition systems. "The more information a user provides, the more they are rewarded with a richer, more dynamic experience" (Findlay, 2015).

Artificial intelligence based on computational manoeuvres can make decisions instead of humans as the system not only designs the shortest trip towards our

destination but books accommodation, and if this type of development reaches its highest potential it can navigate our self-driving car.

Internet of Things: This is a definitive component of Web 3.0 as it provides a perfect example for communication among machines. Home appliances with Internet connection make decisions instead of people: for example, ordering food in low supply in the refrigerator. Personal assistants following our orders, regulating room temperature and lighting, providing cooking advice, preparing a shopping list, and even carrying on a conversation belong to this category as well.

Virtual and augmented reality: Studies on the operation of Web 3.0 highlight the capability of three-dimensional images to increase user experience and improve the quality and enjoyment value of the given services.

Accessibility: While previously different data formats hindered communication, this disappears in the world of Web 3.0 as not only such obstacles are eliminated, but accessibility is assured between devices (refrigerator, computer, car), resulting in the perfect user experience (Aslam–Sonkar, 2019).

Search Systems

A semantic search system will ask the user to identify the given meaning of the word; thus, if we enter the word "jaguar", the machine wants to know whether we want information related to the automobile or the animal.

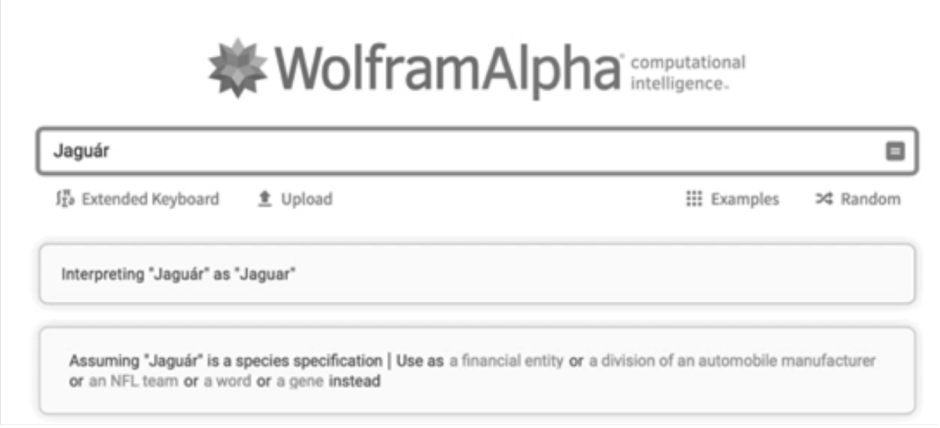

Figure 2. *Search in WolframAlpha interface*

While the search platforms of libraries provide good examples, this option is not fully realized. One of the vanguards, the National Library of France (*Bibliothèque nationale de France*, *BnF*), offers search platforms which ask the user to make their search more accurate as shown below in the case of the term "jaguar".

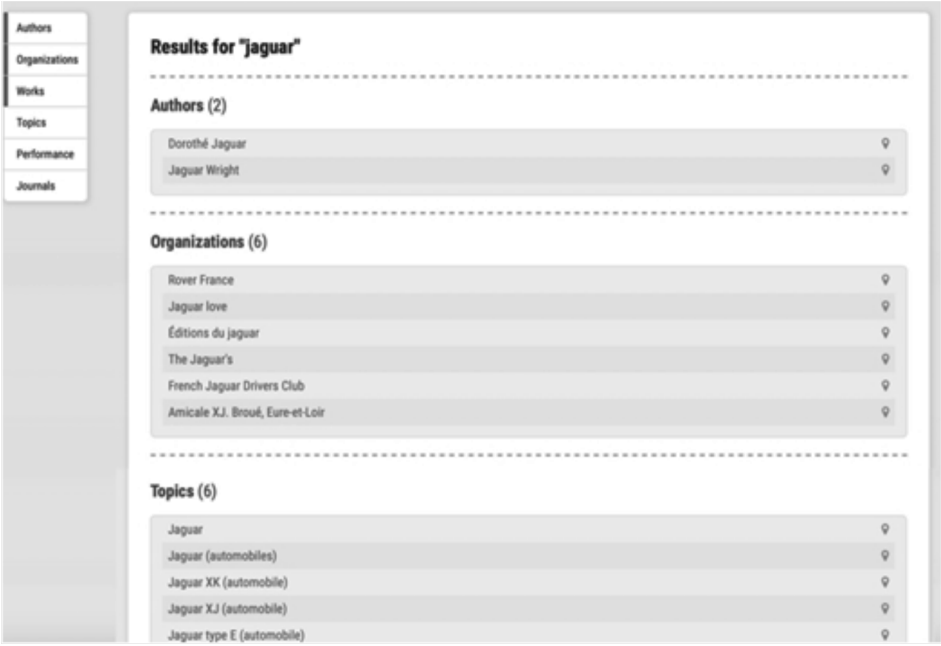

Figure 3. *The search page of the* Bibliothèque nationale de France

The development process has to reach a level that in case of searching for an item in a library catalogue the following information is revealed: other users' view pertaining to the item, the availability of a review, or a theatrical or musical version. Furthermore, we can provide merchandizing-related information if the given webshops use the protocols of the semantic web. Presently, this level of development is subject of isolated research efforts, but the process has already started. The OCLC operates an entitlement service (viaf.org) where the joined institutions share their bibliographical and entitlement records, enabling national and other connected libraries to assist each other's work. In the case of integrated library systems, the development effort has started, while many institutions are reluctant to open up their records. The start of the development process is indicated by a demo version (i.e. Exlibris MetaLib) or introductory efforts (i.e. Qulto Connect).

Reliability

The shifting of library standards to meet the requirements of the semantic web facilitates the transmission of reliable information and strengthens the future roles of libraries. The most important impact of the semantic web is that web data are interpreted, categorized, and processed by machines, leading to the autonomous

integration of data and services. One such example is sharing information on the web portal of our institution with people who can share it further, make comments, or create links with other subjects. If we integrate this ontology into the operation of our portal, then the respective content will be complemented with new terminology, including "news, publication, author, institution" along with such definitions as "all news is a publication, all authors of publications are persons", which will lead to much more accurate and reliable hits than before (Vidács, 2015). We can also find out the institutional affiliation of the given author, which could be previously done only by databases built by humans. While the semantic web provides unlimited options, we must keep in mind the dangers of unauthorized access or manipulative use. Thus, it is essential that reliable institutions and libraries join the world of the semantic web as soon as possible.

Institutions are slow to recognize the necessity of the semantic web, but the provision of accurate and rich data content and high-quality services to people are crucial for the future, especially since the semantic web is a key to the development of on-line environments. Appropriate use requires familiarity with the options provided by Web 3.0, and proper knowledge of the background of the given process is a guarantee of reliability.

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Argumentation Moods

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Abstract: Argumentation is an act of communication performed by a speaker aiming to persuade a listener to accept or reject a proposition, named thesis, using another proposition, called argument, and a relation between them – the frame of argumentation. Argumentations are evaluated relatively to the pragmatic value of success and to the logical value of correctness. These values are independent of each other – namely, from the success of an argumentation, nothing can be inferred about its correctitude, and reciprocally. In order to establish the correctness of an argumentation, we can classify all argumentations into moods such as the syllogisms. A necessary condition for the correctitude of an argumentation is the validity of its mood. The validity of the argumentative moods is investigated using the reduction method established by Aristotle for syllogistic moods.

Keywords: argumentation, validity, moods, argumentative modalities

1. Introduction

Argumentation is the communication act of a speaker (sender) aiming to persuade a listener (addressee) to accept or to reject a proposition, called thesis, using another proposition, called argument, and the relation between them (Eemeren–Grootendorst–Snoeck, 2009: 54).

For each elementary proposition, there is a corresponding fact, and reciprocally. The facts are relations among the semiotic parameters of expressions. The propositions are used to suppose that a fact takes place. If the presupposed fact is real, then the proposition is true, and if the fact does not take place, then the proposition has the value false.

For instance, through the proposition "The planet Mars is red.", we suppose that the intension of the name "Mars" includes the intension of the term "red", or the extension of the name "Mars" is an element of the extension of the term "red".

Only if these relations between the intensions and extensions of the expressions take place is the proposition "The planet Mars is red." true.

A fact is good if it has good consequences, and it is bad if it has bad consequences. The definition of ethical values of facts through their consequences does not lead to infinite regression since there are facts without consequences, namely, the subjective states of the evaluator. Since an evaluator has access only to his subjective states, these are ethically evaluated, and any other fact gains ethical value through its relationship to the subjective states of the evaluator.

On the other hand, only some facts are good, and only some facts are bad. From here, it follows that, if it is good for a fact to take place, it is bad if that fact does not take place, and if a fact is bad, then it is good if that fact is not real. Consequently, if a proposition has a certain ethical value, then its negation takes the opposite ethical value.

The tautologies and contradictions have no ethical value because there is no fact assigned to them. For instance, if a tautology were good (/bad), then any proposition would be good (/bad), contrary to the above presupposition, since a tautology is a consequence of any other proposition. Having in sight that the logic is the assembly of all tautologies, it means that logic has no ethical value, is neither good nor bad, and escapes any moral. Only factual propositions take ethical values, only they are associated to facts or systems of facts.

Both for truth and ethical values, there is a positive and a negative variant. The positive values are truth and good, and the negative ones are false and bad. If an evaluator gives to a proposition a positive value, then we say that s/he accepts that proposition. When the evaluator gives it a negative value, s/he rejects it. If the evaluator accepts or rejects a proposition due to its truth value, then s/he has an opinion, and if s/he accepts or rejects a proposition on the ground of its ethical value, we will say that s/he has an attitude about that proposition or presumed fact.

The goal of the speaker when s/he uses an argumentation is to influence or persuade the listener to accept or reject a proposition, namely, to form a certain opinion or attitude (Eemeren–Grootendorst, 2016: 13). The speaker proposes to the listener a proposition to be accepted or rejected, which is the thesis of argumentation (Eemeren–Grootendorst, 2016: 3). In order to reach his goal, s/he points to another proposition, called argument, about which s/he presumes that the listener accepts or rejects it (argumentative modalities) (Benoit, 1992: 166). The argument is displayed in a certain relation to the thesis, and this relation represents the frame of argumentation (Eemeren–Grootendorst, 2016: 158). Hence, the elements of an argumentation are thesis, argument, and the frame of argumentation (Freeley–Steinberg, 2005: 65).

The general form of an argumentation is "P because Q, and you accept Q". Here, P is the thesis, Q is the argument, and the frame of argumentation is the subaltern relationship between thesis and argument, expressed through the word

"because" (Walton, 1996: 46). The listener, accepting both the argument and the relation between thesis and argument expressed through argumentation, has to accept the thesis in order to avoid a contradiction, namely, to avoid falling into error (Ehninger, 1992: 146). Let us say that, given the mentioned conditions, the listener would reject thesis P. In this case, the following would take place:

1. P* (the listener rejects *P*; therefore, s/he accepts non-P). (1)
2. Q (the listener accepts the argument).
3. Q → P (the listener accepts the argumentation frame).
4. P (from 2 and 3).
5. P & P* (contradiction, from 1 and 4).

Hence, to avoid the error, the listener cannot both accept the argumentation and reject the thesis; consequently, s/he either accepts the thesis or rejects the argumentation. If s/he rejects the argumentation, then s/he rejects the argument or rejects the argumentation frame. We reach the outcome that: when the listener is in the presence of an argumentation, s/he agrees with the thesis or rejects the argument or rejects the argumentation frame. For instance, concerning the argumentation "Mars is red since its surface contains iron ores.", the listener accepts that Mars is red, or he rejects that on the surface of Mars would be iron ores, or s/he rejects that the presence of the iron ores would be enough for the planet Mars to be red.

2. Types of Argumentations

Argumentations can be classified using several criteria. Firstly, if an argumentation includes only one thesis, we say that it is simple, and if it includes more than one thesis, it is a complex argumentation (Eemeren–Grootendorst, 2016: 14). For instance, the above argumentation is simple, and it has a single thesis, the proposition "Mars is red." In exchange, the argumentation "The number two is prime because it can be divided only by one and itself, and the number two is even since it is divisible by two. is a complex argumentation, including two theses: "the number two is prime" and "two is an even number".

In their turn, simple argumentations can be classified according to the type of values, taking into consideration, distinguishing between alethic and ethic argumentations. For alethic argumentation, the thesis is sustained or rejected according to its truth value. For example, the argumentation "Mars is red since its surface contains iron ores." is alethic. The speaker claims that the thesis "Mars is red." is a true proposition.

Instead, for the ethical argumentations, the sustaining or rejecting of the thesis concerns its ethical value. For instance, in the argumentation "It is good that Mars

contains iron ores since we could exploit them.", the thesis is held not because of its truth but because the fact meant by it is good or useful. Here, the argument is presented as a consequence of the thesis – namely, from the fact that Mars contains iron ores, it follows that we could exploit them in the future. The fact that we will exploit new iron ores is good, wherefore its sufficient condition is also good.

Another criterion is the purpose of an argumentation to sustain or reject the thesis. For instance, through the argumentation "There is water on Mars since there are alluvial formations on its surface.", the thesis "There is water on Mars" is stated, while the argumentation "There is no water on Mars since there are no clouds in its atmosphere." is used to reject the same thesis.

The direct argumentations connect the argument and the affirmation of the thesis, while for the indirect argumentation the argument is related to the negation of the thesis (Eemeren–Grootendorst, 2016: 15). When someone argues that "Mars is too far from Earth for visitors to come from there.", the argument that "Mars is too far from Earth" is displayed as a contrary to the affirmation of the thesis that there are visitors from Mars; thus, such an argumentation is a direct one. On the other hand, for the argumentation "No Martian visited us because Mars is too far from Earth.", the argument is showed as a sufficient condition for the negation of the thesis, so that argumentation is indirect.

As already mentioned, the frame of an argumentation means the relation between thesis and argument (Dale, 1977: 7). We say about two propositions that they are compatible when there is at least a context where both are true. For instance, the propositions "Mars is red" and "Mars is a planet" are compatible since they are both true for the actual context. Two propositions are opposite if there is no context where both are true. For example, "Mars is a planet" and "Mars is a galaxy" cannot be both true in any context.

We will further discern the relations of opposition between propositions:

1. Two propositions are contrary (C) if there is no context where their affirmations are both true. Regarding any given context, at least one of the contrary propositions is false. Their affirmations are opposite to each other.

2. Two propositions are subcontrary (c) if there is no context where their affirmations are both false. This time, in any context, at least one of the two subcontraries is true. If two propositions are both contrary and subcontrary, they are contradictory (e). Two contradictory propositions have different truth values relatively to any context.

3. A proposition is the supraaltern (S) of another proposition if the affirmation of the first and the negation of the second are opposite. There is no context in which the first proposition is true and the second is false or, in any context, if the first proposition is true, the second is also true.

4. A proposition is the subaltern (s) of another proposition if the negation of the first proposition and the affirmation of the second one are opposite. Relatively

to any context, if the first proposition is false, the second one is false too. If two propositions are both in relation of supraalternation and subalternation, they are equivalent (e) to each other. Equivalent propositions have the same truth value in any context.

The relations of contrariety and subcontrariety are antireflexive, symmetrical, and non-transitive, namely, they are distinguishing relationships. The alternation relations are reflexive, non-symmetrical, and transitive, being weak-order relationships. Moreover, subalternation and supraalternation are inverse relations. If a proposition is the subaltern of another proposition, the second one is the supraaltern of the first proposition.

Subalternation is also called consequence, and supraalternation is a relation through hypothesis (Walton, 1996: 168). The subaltern proposition is a consequence of the supraaltern, while the supraaltern is a hypothesis relative to the subaltern. In the same way, the subaltern is a necessary condition for the supraaltern, and the supraaltern is a sufficient condition for the subaltern. We notice that when the sufficient condition is true, the necessary condition is also true, and if the necessary condition is false, it follows that the sufficient condition is false too.

The compatibility relations are the negations of the relations of opposition. For instance, two propositions are non-contrary if there is at least a context where both of them are true. Analogously, two propositions are non-contradictory if there are contexts where both propositions are true or there are contexts where both are false, etc. Besides the negations of the opposite relationships, another relation of compatibility is independence. Two propositions are independent if neither the affirmation nor the negation of a proposition is opposed to the affirmation or negation of the other. Hence, two independent propositions can take any truth value relatively to a given context.

Two factual propositions must be in one of the following relationships: independence, supraalternation, subalternation, contrariety, subcontrariety, equivalence, or contradiction. For instance, if two propositions were simultaneously contrary and subaltern to each other, one of them should be a contradiction. We are further concerned about the argumentations with factual propositions, wherefore their argumentative frames consist of the mentioned relationships.

The relations of opposition are reducible one to another. For instance, they can be expressed through alternation and negation. The contrary of a proposition is the negation of a necessary condition, and the subcontrary is the negation of a sufficient condition. Similarly, we can express the alternation using contrariety. A necessary condition of a proposition is the negation of a contrary of that proposition, and the sufficient condition of a proposition is expressed by the contrary of its negation.

During the usual appeal to argumentations, the relations of alternation are preferred, especially the argument is supposed to be a sufficient condition of the thesis. However, we cannot exclude the argumentations where relations other than alternation are used. Therefore, concerning the argumentation frame, we must take into consideration both the relations of alternation and contrariety. The argumentation frame is most often an opposition relation since these relations point out that if a proposition takes a certain truth value, another proposition has, in its turn, a determinate truth value. For instance, if the sufficient condition is true, then the necessary condition is necessarily true; instead, for a compatibility relation, if a term is a true proposition, we can say nothing about the value of the other term.

The relations of compatibility can be used in order to reject an argumentation or for counter-argumentation. For instance, we can reject the frame of an argumentation consisting of an opposition relation, arguing that, in fact, the thesis and the argument are in a compatibility relationship. As an example, the argumentation "Mars is red since its surface reflects the sunlight." can be rejected bringing the argument that the reflection of the sunlight by the surface of a planet is not a sufficient condition for that planet to be red – namely, the reflecting of the sunlight and not being red are compatible.

The argumentations are also characterized through the assumption made by the speaker concerning the state of the listener at the moment of the argumentation. The speaker may assume that the listener agrees with certain propositions used as arguments. We admit that if the listener accepts the affirmation of a proposition, then s/he rejects its negation, and if s/he accepts the negation, then s/he rejects the affirmation. On the other hand, we consider that the speaker always assumes that the listener accepts the argumentation frame.

Besides acceptance and rejection, there is a third argumentative modality, indifference, because it is possible that a proposition be neither accepted nor rejected. Instead, we discern only two enunciative modalities: affirmation and negation. The relations between the argumentative and enunciative modalities are displayed in the following table:

Table 1. *Argumentative and enunciative modalities*

Affirmation	Acceptance	Rejection	Indifference
Negation	Rejection	Acceptance	Indifference

If the affirmation is accepted or rejected, the negation is rejected or accepted and reciprocally. Moreover, if the listener is indifferent to an affirmation, similarly, s/he will be indifferent to negation. If the affirmation is not accepted, it does not result that negation is automatically rejected since indifference is not excluded. Likewise, if the affirmation is not rejected, we cannot state that the negation should be accepted.

There are two different kinds of values for argumentations: pragmatic and logical values (Dale, 1977: 3). From a pragmatic view, the argumentations are either successful or not. An argumentation is successful if the speaker reaches his/her goals and the position of the listener is modified according to the argumentation. For instance, an alethic argumentation where a certain thesis is stated is successful if the listener accepts the thesis, and in this fashion s/he will change his/her opinion on a certain topic related to that thesis (Eemeren–Grootendorst, 2004: 71).

From the logical perspective, argumentations are either correct or incorrect. An argumentation is correct if the argument and the frame of argumentation are sufficient to support the thesis (Dale, 1977: 6). If these conditions are accomplished, then, if the listener does not accept the thesis, s/he will be wrong. The relation between logical values of argumentation and the possibility of error is the following: if the listener rejects the thesis of a correct argumentation, s/he is wrong. If the listener accepts the thesis of an incorrect argumentation, s/he is not always wrong since there can be incorrect argumentations with true thesis (Eemeren–Grootendorst–Snoeck, 2009: 56).

The pragmatic and logical values of argumentations are independent. If an argumentation is successful, it does not mean that it is also correct, and, reciprocally, not every correct argumentation is always successful. Therefore, the listener can be persuaded through argumentation to accept or reject a proposition no matter if the argumentation is correct or not. Success cannot be used as an argument to state the correctness of an argumentation, the truth of a proposition, or the kindness of a fact (Micheli, 2012: 115).

The pragmatic value of an argumentation is difficult to be evaluated. In order to see if an argumentation is successful, we should verify if the listener's system of opinions and attitudes has been changed by the argumentation; but such a task is impossible to accomplish (Eemeren–Grootendorst, 2016: 14). On the one hand, the opinions and attitudes are subjective, and they are not accessible from outside, wherefore we cannot know the opinions and attitudes of another person. We could notice the manifestations of a subject and extrapolate some hypothesis concerning his/her opinions, but we cannot reach certainty (Eemeren–Grootendorst–Snoeck, 2009: 54).

On the other hand, the opinions and attitudes are acquired freely. A subject may adopt any opinion, no matter if s/he is affected by an argumentation or not; therefore, we cannot conclude that an argumentation has played any role regarding the process of adopting an opinion. For instance, let us suppose that listening to the weather forecast someone does not take the umbrella when s/he leaves home. We cannot come to the conclusion that s/he does not take his/her umbrella because s/he believes that it is not raining; s/he might forget to take his umbrella. Moreover, even if s/he believes that the sky is clear, we cannot claim

that just the weather forecast lead him/her to that opinion; we cannot exclude the alternative that s/he has learned the weather condition by looking out the window.

3. Argumentative Moods and Figures

The acceptance of the thesis is justified or grounded only for logical, correct argumentations (Eemeren–Grootendorst, 2004: 72). In order that the thesis of an argumentation be justified, it has to come from the argument and the frame of argumentation; moreover, the suppositions concerning them have to be true – namely, the argument and the frame must take the value supposed by argumentation. If one of these conditions is not fulfilled, the thesis does not necessarily result from argumentation, and there is no ground for acceptance; therefore, the argumentation is not logically correct (Feteris, 1999: 20).

To verify the correctness of an argumentation (Eemeren–Grootendorst, 2016: 30), we can use the following method:

1. We associate an inference to the evaluated argumentation, where the premises are the argument and the frame, and the conclusion is the thesis.

2. The premises of the associated inference must have the value presupposed by argumentation.

3. The associated inference must be logically correct.

If these requests are fulfilled, the argumentation is correct and the acceptation of the thesis is justified. Many times, the condition (3) takes place only if other premises are added, namely, the associated inference is conditionally correct. In such a case, the argumentation, in its turn, is correct only under some supplementary conditions, which must also be evaluated. For instance, in order to establish the correctness of the argumentation "Mars is red since its surface contains iron ores.", we will create the following associated inference:

If the surface of a planet contains iron ores, that planet is red (Frame). (2)
The Mars surface contains iron ores (Argument).
**Mars is red (Thesis).

The inference is correct only under the condition that Mars is a planet, i.e. it should be added the premise "Mars is a planet". The speaker takes this condition implicitly accepted by the listener and does not express it. Such conditions which remain unexpressed during an argumentation are called commonplaces (Eemeren–Grootendorst, 2016: 60).

Other conditions for correctness are: the proposition "Mars surface contains iron ores" has to be true, and "The surface of a planet contains iron ores" has to be a sufficient condition for that planet to be red. Only if all of these conditions

are fulfilled can the thesis be justifiably accepted on the ground of the given argumentation.

The quality of the propositions from the associated inference is the product between argumentative and enunciative modalities as they are manifested during the argumentation. For instance, if the argument of an argumentation is supposed to be accepted, and it is also asserted, then its quality is affirmative. Instead, if the argument is supposed to be rejected, and it is asserted through argumentation, its quality in the associated inference is negative. Generally, through the composition of argumentative and enunciative modalities, we get the affirmative or negative quality of a proposition according to the next table:

Table 2. *The quality of propositions*

	Acceptance	Rejection
Assertion	Affirmative	Negative
Negation	Negative	Affirmative

For example, if we suppose that the listener believes that an asserted proposition is true, then the quality of that proposition is affirmative, and if we suppose that the listener believes that the negation of that proposition is true, then its quality is negative. In this way, the associated inference to the argumentation "Admit that Mars is a planet since you agree that Mars orbits the Sun, and if Mars orbits the Sun, then Mars is a planet." is:

If Mars orbits the Sun, then Mars is a planet. (3)
Mars orbits the Sun.
**Mars is a planet.

The corresponding formula to this associated inference is $(q \,\&\, (q \rightarrow p)) \rightarrow p$. Instead, the associated inference to the argumentation "Admit that Mars is a planet since you reject that Mars emits light, and if Mars does not emit light, then it is a planet." takes the form:

If Mars does not emit light, then Mars is a planet. (4)
Mars does not emit light.
**Mars is a planet.

This time, the formula of the inference is $(q^* \,\&\, (q^* \rightarrow p)) \rightarrow p$, where the quality of the argument is negative because, although the argument is asserted during the argumentation, the supposition of argumentation is that the listener rejects the argument.

Taking into account that inferences can be discerned by the quality of the component propositions and, for argumentations, the quality of a thesis or argument is given by the argumentative and enunciative modalities, it follows

that there are more argumentations assigned to the same associated inference. Therefore, we must separate the forms or moods of inferences from the moods of argumentations. If the mood of an inference is valid, it means that there are more valid argumentative moods corresponding to it (Dale, 1977: 6).

For instance, since the inference mood $(q \& (q \rightarrow p)) \rightarrow p$ (ponendo ponens) is valid, then, if we remember the relation between argumentative and enunciative modalities on the one hand and the quality of propositions on the other, it means that the following argumentative moods are also valid:

(5)
Admit p since you agree that q and q is sufficient for p.
Admit p since you reject q*, and q is sufficient for p.
Reject p* since you agree q, and q is sufficient for p.
Reject p* since you reject q*, and q is sufficient for p.

Let us introduce the below convention to express the alethic argumentative moods:

(6)
1. The order of the elements of argumentation in a certain mood is: thesis – argument – relation – argument – thesis. The prefix of a mood (thesis – argument) includes the thesis and the argument, and it is followed by the frame of argumentation (relation – argument – thesis) as a relation between argument and thesis.

2. The assertion is noted through A and the negation through N.

3. Acceptation has no special symbol, and rejection is represented through (*). We will leave out indifference.

4. The argumentative modalities are applied only to the elements of the prefix, the thesis, and argument.

5. The possible relations between propositions are symbolized as follows: S – subalternation, C – contrariety, E – equivalence, s – subalternation, c – subcontrariety, e – contradiction.

For example, the mood "Admit thesis P since you agree with argument Q, and the argument is a sufficient condition for the thesis." is expressed as AASAA. Analogously, the argumentative mood "Reject thesis p since you agree with argument q, and the argument is contrary to the thesis." is represented using the next string of symbols: A*ACAA. Here, the assertion of the thesis is rejected (A*), the assertion of the argument is accepted (A), and the frame of argumentation is the contrariety relation between the affirmations of the argument and thesis, CAA.

After the criterion of relation, we can divide the argumentative moods into argumentative figures. For instance, the moods of the form xySzw belong to figure S, and the moods xyCzw are included in figure C. In this fashion, the mood ANSAA belongs to figure S, and AACNN is a mood of figure C.

4. Evaluation of Argumentative Moods

In order to establish the valid moods of alethic argumentations, we will use the reduction method introduced by Aristotle for syllogisms (Didilescu–Botezatu, 1976: 114). Firstly, the argumentative modality is eliminated:

(7) 1. If the argumentative and enunciative modalities are both positive, or if they are both negative, the affirmative modality is taken. In this way, A is not modified, while N* is replaced by A. For instance, AN*SAN is equally valid to AASAN.

2. If one of the argumentative and enunciative modalities is positive and the other is negative, then the negative enunciative modality is kept – namely: A* = N, and N remains unchanged. The mood A*A*SNN is equally valid to NNSNN.

As noticed previously, any relation between propositions can be expressed through supraalternation and negation; in this way, all argumentative figures can be reduced to figure S:

1. Subalternation is reduced to supraalternation, changing the quality of symbols from the argumentative frame, where A becomes N and N becomes A because Sqp = sq*p*. For instance, the mood AAsAA is equally valid to the mood AASNN. It is the same from the validity perspective to argue that "Mars is a planet since Mars orbits the Sun, and if Mars orbits the Sun, then it is a planet." (mood AASAA) or to argue that "Mars is a planet since Mars orbits the Sun, and if Mars were not a planet, then it would not orbit the Sun." (mood AAsNN).

2. The contrariety can be reduced to supraalternation if the enunciative modality of the second term is changed because Cqp = Sqp*. For example, the mood NNCNA is equally valid to NNSNN. The argumentation "Mars is not a star since you agree that Mars is not a source of light, and it is incompatible that Mars is not a source of light and Mars is a star." (mood NNCNA) is equally valid to the argumentation "Mars is not a star since you agree that Mars is not a source of light, and if Mars is not a source of light, then it is not a star" (mood NNSNN).

3. Subcontrariety is reduced to supraalternation if the enunciative modality of the second term of the relationship is changed. The moods AAcAA and AASAN are equally valid.

4. The equivalence is obtained through the composition of supraalternation and subalternation. Therefore, E-moods cannot be reduced to simple S-moods but to forms including a complex argumentative frame where the relation between argument and thesis is a conjunction of two supraaltern relations. For instance, the E-mood AAEAA is equally valid to the mood AA(SAA & SNN). A term of conjunction keeps unaltered the qualities of the propositions, while, for the other term, they are replaced through their opposite qualities. For example,

the argumentative form "Accept the thesis since you accept the argument, and the argument and thesis are equivalent." is equally valid to "Accept the thesis since you accept the argument, and if the argument is a sufficient condition for the thesis and if the argument is false, then the thesis is false too".

5. In their turn, the e-moods can be reduced using the supraaltern relation if for one term of conjunction the enunciative modality of the argument is changed, and for the other the enunciative modality of the thesis is replaced by the opposite. For instance, the mood ANeAA is reduced to AN(SNN & SAA). The argumentation "Accept the thesis since you reject the argument, and the argument is contradictory to the thesis." is equally valid to "Accept the thesis since you reject the argument, and if the non-argument entails the thesis and if the argument is true, then the non-thesis is also true".

According to these rules, all argumentative moods can be reduced to the following sixteen moods of S figure, where the supposed relation between argument and thesis is supraalternation: AASAA, AASAN, AASNA, AASNN, ANSAA, ANSAN, ANSNA, ANSNN, NASAA, NASAN, NASNA, NASNN, NNSAA, NNSAN, NNSNA, and NNSNN. Let us call them *canonical moods*.

If we apply the logical decision methods, we reach the result that the valid canonical moods are: AASAA, ANSNA, NASAN, and NNSNN. For example, the corresponding formula of the mood ANSNA is $(q^* \& (q^* \rightarrow p)) \rightarrow p$. This formula is a logical law; consequently, the argumentative mood is valid.

Instead, the formula of the canonical mood AASAN, namely $(q \& (q \rightarrow p^*)) \rightarrow p$, is not a logical law because, for the interpretations of the variable symbols p = false and q = truth, this formula takes the interpretation false. For instance, while the argumentation "Admit that Mars is a planet since you reject that Mars emits light, and if Mars does not emit light, then it is a planet." is valid, the argumentation "Accept that Mars is a planet since you accept that Mars orbits the Sun, and if Mars orbits the Sun, then Mars is not a planet." is an invalid argumentation.

From the fact that an argumentation is valid, namely, it belongs to a valid mood, it does not follow that it is correct; validity is a necessary condition for correctness but is not sufficient. For instance, if we take the first argumentation from the previous example, the listener is justified to accept the thesis only if it is false that Mars emits light, and that Mars does not emit light is a sufficient condition in order for Mars to be a planet.

We may notice that, for the valid canonical moods, the prefix and the suffix are symmetrical to the symbol of relationship between the argument and thesis. A canonical mood is valid if the qualities of the argument and of the thesis are identical both in the prefix and in the frame of argumentation.

If the reduction rules are reversed, we can restore all valid argumentative moods from the valid canonical moods. For instance, if we focus on the

canonical mood AASAA, we reach other valid moods in the S figure displaying the argumentative modalities. Noticing the affirmative quality of both thesis and argument, it follows that the enunciative and argumentative modalities are either both positive or both negative. Hence, the moods AASAA, AN*SAA, N*ASAA, and N*N*SAA are all valid. In other words, since the mood "Accept the thesis because you accept the argument, and the argument is a sufficient condition for the thesis." is valid, the following moods are also valid:

(8) Accept the thesis because you reject the non-argument, and the argument is a sufficient condition to the thesis.
Reject the non-thesis because you accept the argument, and the argument is a sufficient condition to the thesis.
Reject the non-thesis because you reject the non-argument, and the argument is a sufficient condition for the thesis.

Similarly, we can recover the valid moods corresponding to AASAA belonging to other figures, i.e. with another relation between argument and thesis. For instance, if rule (2) is used, the valid mood of C figure assigned to AASAA is AACAN. After introducing the argumentative modality, the corresponding valid moods forming C figure are AACAN, AN*CAN, N*ACAN, and N*N*CAN. If these symbols are interpreted, then the following expressions of valid argumentative moods are obtained:

(9) Accept the thesis since you accept the argument, and the argument and the non-thesis are contrary.
Accept the thesis since you reject the non-argument, and the argument and the non-thesis are contrary.
Reject the non-thesis since you accept the argument, and the argument and the non-thesis are contrary.
Reject the non-thesis since you reject the non-argument, and the argument and the non-thesis are contrary.

Table 3 includes the valid moods of the argumentative figures, where the argumentative modalities are not taken into account.

Table 3. *Valid argumentative moods*

Figure S	Figure s	Figure C	Figure c
AASAA	AAsNN	AACAN	AAcNA
ANSNA	ANsAN	ANCNN	ANcAA
NASAN	NAsNA	NACAA	NAcNN
NNSNN	NNsAA	NNCNA	NNcAN

Setting out from these moods, we can obtain other valid moods if the argumentative modalities are explicitly expressed. For instance, from the valid mood AAcNA, namely "Admit the thesis since you admit the argument, and the non-argument and the thesis are subcontrary.", the following valid moods are also obtained: AAcNA, AN*cNA, N*AcNA, and N*N*cNA.

It is useful that for the ethical argumentations the canonical moods be taken from s figure, where the argument is presented as a subaltern of the thesis since – as we have already seen– a proposition is ethically accepted or rejected if a consequence thereof is also accepted or rejected. Let us agree to represent the ethical moods in the same manner as the alethic ones, adding in front the symbol M. For instance, the mood MAAsAA will be read: "Accept the thesis as good since you agree that the argument is good, and the argument is a consequence of the thesis."

In this way, the canonical ethical moods are: MAAsAA, MAAsAN, MAAsNA, MAAsNN, MANsAA, MANsAN, MANsNA, MANsNN, MNAsAA, MNAsAN, MNAsNA, MNAsNN, MNNsAA, MNNsAN, MNNsNA, and MNNsNN. Applying the logical decision methods, we arrive at the valid canonical ethical moods: MAAsAA, MANsNA, MNAsAN, and MNNsNN.

For example, let us decide on the validity of the mood MNASAN. This mood is valid if the formula (Gq & (p* → q)) → Bp (if the argument is good and if it is a consequence of the non-thesis, then the thesis is bad) is logically valid. The demonstration runs as follows:

For q = G: (10)
1. (1 & Gp*) → Bp
2. Bp → Bp
3. 1 (truth).
For q = B:
1. (0 & Bp*) → Bp
2. 0 → Bp
3. 1 (truth), the given formula is a logical law; therefore, the mood MNASAN is valid.

In the same fashion, let us show that the mood MNAsNN is not valid. The corresponding formula is (Gq & (p* → q*)) → Bp.

For q = G: (11)
1. (1 & Bp*) → Bp
2. Gp → Bp
3. 0 (false), the given formula is not a logical law.

The following forms of argumentation are expressions of the valid canonical ethical moods:

Take the thesis as good since you agree the argument is good, and the argument is a consequence of the thesis (MAAsAA). (12)

Take the thesis as good since you agree the non-argument is good, and the non-argument is a consequence of the thesis (MANsNA).

Take the non-thesis as good since you agree the argument is good, and the argument is a consequence of the non-thesis (MNAsAN).

Take the non-thesis as good since you agree the non-argument is good, and the non-argument is a consequence of the non-thesis MNNsNN).

The argumentation "It is good to colonize the planet Mars since it is good that Earth not be overpopulated, and if we colonized Mars, the Earth would not be so overpopulated." is valid, belonging to the mood MANsNA. Like for the alethic moods, we can obtain other valid ethical moods reversing the reduction rules. For instance, once the mood MAAsAA belonging to the figure s is valid, the mood MAACNA from figure C is also valid: "Accept the thesis as good since you accept the argument as good, and the non-argument is contrary to the thesis."

Even if an argumentation belongs to a valid mood, it does not mean that the argumentation is correct and the listener is justified to accept the thesis. It is not excluded that a mood is valid and the thesis has another value than the one presumed through argumentation. However, the validity of argumentative moods is a necessary condition for a thesis to be justified. Even if the thesis of an argumentation from an invalid mood is true, its truth does not result from that argumentation (Freeley–Steinberg 2005: 61).

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The Branding Power of Szeklerland. Online Place Branding Tendencies and Identity-Forming Efforts in Szeklerland

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Abstract: Destination branding has always been a complex question. This is especially true if we are talking about Szeklerland as a historical, cultural, and ethnic region, which can be defined in the easiest way through Covasna, Harghita, and Mureş counties of Romania. A well-structured brand in a region can help with its economic development and search for identity, so it is worth looking into branding activities in the region. Despite Szeklerland's strong identity and reputation, the discourse is extremely divided between Romanian and Hungarian people. There are plenty of brand owners in the region without central management and coherence. There are plenty of amateur and corporate initiatives that are generally poorly organized and serve individual economic purposes. In addition, politicians also play an active role in forming these processes. Although the regional and tourism development strategies of the counties of Szeklerland are similar, and it can be said that the stakeholders are open to the cooperation between the three counties, there were only partial results of regional-level collaboration. The paper follows the activities of online promotional initiatives about Szeklerland and the larger territorial units influencing the region, such as Romania and Transylvania, and the branding narratives created during them.

Keywords: destination marketing, branding, destination image, Szeklerland, identity

Introduction

One of the most important determinants of the globalized world is competition between countries. As a result of this competition, there was a need to shape the image of areas and regions. A well-structured identity, brand, the regulation of these, awareness, and authentic positioning can play a key role in the economic, tourism, and cultural development of a region. Nowadays, it is no longer enough

to rely on the image based on the historical past and the national culture, but conscious campaigns and image-building processes are also needed (Törőcsik–Somogyi, 2009). Decreasing travel costs, increasing purchasing power, the multiplicity of geographical locations and their similarities, and international investment have increasingly created a demand for a well-structured brand. Failure to find distinctive features and create unique country and nation images can have serious consequences (Anholt, 2005).

In the future, local brands, such as city, region, or country brands, may play an important role. Developing and supporting them can be a logical and growing expectation on the part of the local administration, civil society, and the private sector (Papp-Váry, 2019b). However, it is questionable what level of segmentation can work effectively in specific countries. From Romania's point of view, the question of whether it is necessary to promote smaller historical regions such as Szeklerland is also justified, or it can be called a success if the larger regions (Transylvania, Moldova, etc.) can become attractive tourist and investor destinations. According to Kádár, "the country brand influences the regions, settlements, but vice versa, a settlement or region can represent the country, it can bring added value to the country brand. It would be reasonable to develop regional and local plans related to the strategic plan, to allocate resources to them" (Kádár, 2013: 22). To get a clearer picture, it is worth examining the image-forming activities of Romania, Transylvania, and Szeklerland and their online representations.

In general, the country brand is shaped centrally by the government and, within it, by the ministries and agencies responsible for tourism, but there may be regions that develop their own image rather than being integrated into the national campaign (Papadopoulos–Heslop, 2002). In the case of Szeklerland, it can be said that the actors involved in the case try to highlight and build on the beauty of the landscape, the elements of local intellectual and built culture, and (folk) traditions, but there is no prominent motive, a well-defined positioning. There are some attempts to attract investors, but these are short-term recommendations rather than long-term strategies.

If regions do not build up a definite image, stereotypes will dominate, and they will determine the mentality of the recipients (Papadopoulos–Heslop, 2002). In the case of Szeklerland, this is perhaps the most decisive argument for creating a good brand image as both the public living in other regions of Romania and the Hungarian public associate a lot of stereotypes with this region. For Romanian people, it may be an unknown, hostile, but, in any case, a disruptive region, while for the Hungarians in Hungary this region is often accompanied by the image of archaic culture and romantic landscape as well as the image of backwardness. Szeklerland may be a lesser-known region in other countries, which may have become known in recent years through aspirations for autonomy. It would be worthwhile to carry out further research in order to

get a more accurate picture of how well Szeklerland is known in the world and what people associate with it.

In destination branding, the product you want to sell is the area itself, the place. The main goal of branding is the successful operation of the region and that the people living there can live in the highest possible living conditions economically, culturally, community-wise, and ecologically alike (Piskóti, 2017). Territorial branding involves a complex range of services and products that is complemented by cultural features and natural resources. The difficulties come from the fact that they have a lot of brand owners, and there is no single target group to whom they could be sold. The customer base is extremely heterogeneous. Political expertise in this area is useful so that proposals and provisions can be made that comply with all regulations. Regions need to communicate clearly and in an organized way with the world in order to influence public opinion. To do this, it is essential to create a discourse between the (local) government, the business sector, and civil society that can make this happen. It may be necessary to create new institutions and structures so that this behaviour can become sustainable (Anholt, 2008). This process is unique in each case, and there is no universal toolkit.

A special type of regional branding is country branding. A well-thought-out and designed brand can build the image of the country, creating a central idea on which to base movements promoting tourism, investment, and exports, thus gaining greater respect in the eyes of partners, competitors, and residents (Popescu–Corboş, 2010). Recognition of the role of the country brand needs serious steps. In many places around the world, "country image centres", "country brand councils", and similar initiatives have been launched with the common goal of positioning countries. One of the basic requirements of this was the creation of a unified brand strategy and the coordination of messages and images about the country. According to Papp-Váry (2019b), brand is a subjective state that can be influenced by the branding process. Effective and successful branding is based on well-organized marketing communications, advertising, public relations activities, and integrated communications, all of which help to spread a central message among relevant target groups. If this process is successful, the brand will be able to fulfil its functions of identification, orientation, trust, competence, and image. If these features work, the brand will provide quick and expressive identification, becoming able to give orientation about itself in the world through positioning, thereby building itself a reputation and respect that can build trust in the eyes of consumers (Papp-Váry, 2019a).

Destination marketing and its structure are mostly made up of the traditions characteristic of the region, the history of the region, the events that took place there, and the gastronomy, which strongly define the brand culture. The brand structure can be inferred from the internal structure, infrastructure, integrity of the area, reliability, and honesty in general. The logo or various symbols can be closely

associated with the brand name to help make it easier to identify. In some cases, you may need to rethink these when you are working on the brand strategy (Papp-Váry, 2019a). However, places do not gain suddenly a new identity from a new slogan or a spectacular logo. These elements can go a long way in helping the strategy, but they cannot stand on their own. Brand includes not only these but also various economic, political, and socio-psychological factors (Kavaratzis–Ashworth, 2005).

The complexity of the country brand is perhaps best summed up by Simon Anholt's (2007) nation brand hexagon. These hexagons are defined by the following dimensions: tourism, exports, governance, investment and immigration, culture and heritage, and people. There were several types of attempts to measure the country brand, ranked by initiatives such as Anholt-GfK, FutureBrand, or Bloom Consulting.[1]

Methodology

During the research, I examined the regional branding tendencies of Szeklerland in a complex way with methods that included interviews and observation (case studies). During my research, I observed the activities of the media shaping the image, and I conducted interviews with the persons shaping or supervising the image. I used the method of content analysis during the examination of press materials, advertisements, and website forms published and communicated by institutions and organizations. Our everyday lives are defined by the stories that surround us. According to Mitev Ariel (2006), we perceive our lives as stories, and through these we can relive events. The narrative technique is basically a qualitative research method. The narrative-based methodology probably avoids our attention because we consider storytelling around us to be natural. The practical aspects of marketing and advertising often build on storytelling in brand building, or in myth creation. Narratology has grown into a multidisciplinary discipline in recent decades, where not only structuralist analysis but also the interpretation of narratives is at the centre. In contrast to the paradigmatic, scientific approach, according to the narrative approach, people basically live through stories, pass them on, and their world consists of stories. Instead of the logical proof and testability of scientific theories, the stories are judged based on their reality and viability. Instead of hypotheses, the focus is on interpretations. Getting to know the world develops through stories instead of speculative models. The narrative paradigm also allows you to use concepts such as feelings, images, time, and perspective (Mitev, 2006). These factors may help to analyse branding.

Successful branding requires dialogue with people and creating stories that connect the product to the consumer. In many cases, these stories are based

1 For theoretical background and conceptualization of brand identity construction, see also: Tőkés, 2020.

on general motives of consumer behaviour, thus creating myths. Narrative interviews can capture different elements of consumer stories, the relationship between brand and consumer. The purpose of branding is to create an authentic story. "According to the meaning-based approach, consumers attach different meanings to advertisements as a result of personal interests and the interpretation of advertisements in cultural contexts" (Mitev, 2006: 37). A narrative approach is a philosophy that can place a set of methodologies in marketing and additional management sciences in a new context. With this method, we can examine the problems in question from a more human point of view and get practical results through them (Mitev, 2006).

The Internet is an inexhaustible source of data. In addition, much of the content produced by users is freely available, so they can strongly influence the image of regions. I believe that mapping and presenting all aspirations in the absence of time and space is not only impractical but also unreasonable and would result in a fragmented picture that would lead us away from the objectives of the paper. Although regional branding narratives are extremely unique and fragmented, there is a relatively generally accepted, stereotypical image of regions that is presented in these campaigns.

I have investigated several initiatives in order to get a comprehensive picture about Szeklerland narratives created for different purposes. Among the initiatives, I tried to highlight the best-known and most popular projects, but these are difficult to define and are not based on objective metrics. That is why I tried to make my selection as diverse as possible so as to include both Romanian (e.g. Explore the Carpathian Garden) and Hungarian (e.g. Szeklerland – Unlimited Experience) state initiatives, political party initiatives (e.g. Transylvania NOW), economic sector initiatives (e.g. Transylvania Beyond), tourism promotions, business promotions (e.g. Investing in Szeklerland... where everyone wins), amateur promotions (e.g. YouTube channels, videos), projects that focus on people, and projects that focus on natural environment. I mainly analysed the online appearances, social media presence, websites, and profiles of the initiatives. In the case of the counties, I also examined the various strategic plans and conducted interviews with stakeholders (e.g. one of the public relations specialists at *Visit Covasna*). Although the content examined does not exhaust the topic, I wanted to illustrate the chaotic branding processes present in the region through these.

Regional Branding Efforts in Szeklerland

Szeklerland is in the central part of Romania, in the south-eastern part of Transylvania and consists of the historical regions called Aranyosszék, Csíkszék, Háromszék, Marosszék, and Udvarhelyszék. Today, Harghita, Covasna, and Mureş

counties are mostly considered as Szeklerland, but the county boundaries do not fully correspond to the historical boundaries of the region. According to Alpár Horváth (2010), there are different regional development regions in Romania created by the country's leadership. The development regions thus created have neither a well-described identity nor socio-economic or territorial cohesion. Szeklerland, for example, is located in the Central region, of which a significant area of the former Saxon region is also part.

One of the most obvious features of Szeklerland is that it is home to the largest ethnic-national minority bloc in the Romanian state. The Szekler ethnic group living here is socialized in the Hungarian mother tongue and Hungarian culture. The unique identity of the region is nourished by the past and the ethnic myths, stories of origin, and legends passed on from there. These narratives are constantly being rebuilt in everyday discourses. However, myths and legends could be used as economic resources due to their strong ability to carry identity. This initiative can play a decisive role not only in identity formation but also in ethnic tourism (see: Horváth, 2010; Jakab–Vajda, 2018). The potential in this was recognized and exploited by *Székelyföldi Legendárium* (Legends of Szeklerland).[2]

In the following, I will present how Szeklerland is represented in branding campaigns about larger regions (Romania, Transylvania), and I will describe in detail the branding activities, strategies, and initiatives operating in the counties of Szeklerland.

The ongoing Romanian-level country brand campaign, *Explore the Carpathian Garden*, initiated and implemented by the Romanian Ministry of Tourism, does not refer in any way to Szeklerland as a region. It does not appear in the campaign in almost any form. The only element connected to Szeklerland is the Stuffed Cabbage Festival in Praid. Although the Transylvanian region is described as a multicultural environment, it makes no reference to the Szeklers as a minority ethnic group, while Țara Moților and the *moți* do appear. In addition, in the county division, Covasna and Mureş counties are highlighted from the alphabetical order and are at the end of the list. (This is also true for Bihor, Cluj, Sălaj, and Satu Mare counties.)

If we examine the initiatives at the Transylvanian level, we can already encounter the mention of Szeklerland more often. The region regularly appears on the *Transylvania NOW* website, initiated and implemented by School Foundation,[3] which is a foundation initiated by the Democratic Alliance of Hungarians in Romania.[4] In the news section, they often write about Szekler people and their success. On this page, there is an article specifically about this

2 *Székelyföldi Legendárium* is a traditional and value-saving initiative, within the framework of which Szekler legends have been reworked into various forms of expression such as cartoons, maps, and board games.

3 Iskola Alapítvány/Fundația pentru Şcoală.

4 Romániai Magyar Demokrata Szövetség/Uniunea Democrată Maghiară din România.

region: *The History of Székelyföld: It's Complicated*. The article highlights that nothing is known about the Szeklers living in the area in the Anglo-Saxon world. (Not to mention that the area does not have an English name. It is usually referred to as *Székelyföld* 'Székelyland', but this is far from the English pronunciation. The term Szeklerland often occurs, but it is also closer to the Saxon/German language.) The *Transylvania Beyond* campaign, created by Heraldist & Wondermarks, also mentions Szeklerland as a tourist destination, which roughly covers the three counties already mentioned.

According to Horváth (2010), it is difficult to maintain destination marketing and place marketing based on an entrepreneurial initiative alone; therefore, it is necessary to be managed by the state. In Romania, on the other hand, there are no tourist regions. The strategies of the development regions already explicitly include tourism development measures, but there are no larger tourist regions with their own image; we can only talk about tourist zones or districts, the sole purpose of which is to coordinate infrastructural developments.

As we can see in the development strategies, the public/political discourse of the leaders of Hungarian minority in Romania strongly supports the identity-building initiatives developed as a result of the territorial entity living in Mureş, Harghita, and Covasna counties. In the following, I will present these initiatives.

Harghita County

In 2009, Harghita County established a tourism development strategy[5] with the help of Aquaprofit Consulting SRL, which is an independent consulting and investment company. The rationale for the strategy was that this initiative was needed because the European Union requires different levels of government to set up a long-term strategy about their ideas and opportunities. In 2015, the Visit Harghita organization was established.

Based on the situation analysis of Aquaprofit Consulting (2009), active tourism, heritage tourism, and medical tourism are most prevalent in Harghita County, and the strategy suggests that these should play a central role in the branding process. At the same time, they mention village tourism, event and festival tourism as a potential development opportunity. During the formulation of the strategy, Covasna and Mureş counties are marked as a competition, mainly due to the presence of Hungarian tourists.

According to Harghita County Tourism Development Strategy, as a long-term goal, Harghita County, together with Covasna, wants to become one of the

5 Harghita County Tourism Development Strategy, Aquaprofit Consulting, 2009. http://elemzo.hargitamegye.ro/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/Hargita_megye_turizmusfejlesztesi_strategiaja.pdf.

country's key destinations, with unique active and ecotourism, spa tourism, cultural tourism, and rural tourism. In this strategy, Mureş County only appears in the development strategic guidelines. The possibility of Szeklerland as a unified tourist region, based on the marketing plan created jointly by the three counties, is also formulated here. The programme includes the creation of thematic routes to castles and mansions. This idea is also being implemented in Covasna County within the framework of the *Land of Mansions*[6] initiative; however, it does not extend to Harghita County.

The issue of Szeklerland as a unified region will play an important role in the strategy.

> This is necessary because Harghita County has no tangible identity in the imagination of either foreign tourists or tourists from Hungary. Szeklerland, on the other hand, is a historical territorial unit whose roots go back to the Middle Ages, to the time of the quasi-independent Szekler division of the Kingdom of Buda, its population has a very strong local identity, and its ethnic characteristics increase the region's attractiveness in many cases. (Aquaprofit Consulting, 2009: 263)

Covasna County

In Covasna County, tourism was seen in 2015 as a tool to increase rural employment. The county has an integrated tourism human resource development strategy. In this strategy, the goal is to increase rural employment. It was commissioned by Covasna County Council through OTP Consulting Romania. No strategy for the development of the county's tourism is available on the county's website. The site[7] mentions a strategy whose aim is to create a realistic vision that can add value to locals and contribute to the growth of prosperity as well as meets the national tourism strategy.

The Potsa plan[8] (Covasna County Development Strategy 2015–2020) shows that although there are fewer accommodation units in Covasna County than in Harghita and Mureş counties, this county has the highest percentage of tourism revenue. The plan concludes that the greatest potential is in balneotherapy and cultural tourism. The goal of OTP Consulting's strategy is to set the county as an example to follow by being able to implement a rural tourism development that can increase employment, entrepreneurship, and the quality of human resources

6 In Hungarian: *Kúriák földje*.
7 https://www.kvmt.ro/strategia-de-dezvoltare-a-turismului/.
8 https://www.kvmt.ro/_f/jelentesek_tanulmanyok/Anexa_Planul%20Potsa_Strategie_Covasna.pdf.

(OTP Consulting, 2015). Proposals for developments in tourism strategy include the use of balneary and therapeutic resources, including the development of spa and wellness tourism, the assessment of ethnographic markers for cultural tourism, and the rehabilitation of related sites. Local festivals can also be a strong tourist attraction. One of the key aspects of marketing activities is the development of image elements and institutionalized cooperation in the field of advertising and destination marketing (OTP Consulting, 2015). A great example of this is the *Visit Covasna* initiative. *Visit Covasna* is a project initiated by the Covasna County Tourism Association, which was created by Covasna County Council, the city council of Covasna and of Sfântu Gheorghe.

Mureş County

According to the Mureş County Development Plan[9] issued by Mureş County Council for the period of 2014–2020, the main forms of tourism in the county are cultural and spa tourism, and agro tourism deserves special attention. Among the destinations, mediaeval castles, churches, built heritage, spas, and natural phenomena and reserves are highlighted. The county is also rich in mineral waters, natural values, cultural, artistic, and folk heritage. In addition to green tourism, niche tourism became central in Mureş County during the period as the Transylvanian Motor Ring was completed. Unlike the other two counties, religious, conference, railway, and urban tourism are important elements here. The strategy plan outlines the development of a new tourism strategy for the period of 2020–2030, which will be able to create a market advantage over the competitors.

According to the annex[10] to the plan, it is worth creating smaller geographically connected territorial units to increase the efficiency of management, and groupings within the field of tourism. In the target period, according to the strategy, the county council wants to pay attention to increasing the visibility of the county, both domestically and abroad, as well as the number of tourists. This could be achieved through various tourism packages, cooperation with neighbouring counties, involvement of experts, appearance on tourism platforms, branding, development of information networks, distribution of promotional materials, and creation of a tourism portal. In the meantime, the *Visit Mureş* initiative has also been set up. *Visit Mureş* was initiated by Asociația Visit Mureş Egyesület, which was established by Mureş County Council, Salvamont-Salvaspeo Mureş County Public Service, and Mureş County Museum.

9 http://www.cjmures.ro/Hotariri/Hot2014/anexa_hot107_2014.pdf.
10 http://www.cjmures.ro/Programe_actiuni/Programare2014_2020/4_Strategia.pdf.

Conclusions

In summary, Szeklerland has great potential both economically and in terms of tourism. The materials presented in the article point out that Szeklerland tries to carry out various branding activities which mainly build the image of tourism. Although the region is barely visible in national campaigns (it does not appear independently), Szeklerland can already be discovered in Transylvanian campaigns.

Regarding the branding of the region, it is fortunate that the Szeklers have a very strong sense of identity and are proud of their values. It was able to create a well-known and popular brand personality. Szeklers already have a strong national brand, and their stereotypical personality also carries a lot of brand marks, which also affects the image of Szeklerland. The region has a well-defined primary target group, which consists mainly of Hungarian tourists.

As the writers of the Harghita County Strategy put it:

> Despite the fact that the 'Szekler Region' is only a political project for the members of the Hungarian communities in Romania, based on the tangible and intangible cultural and historical heritage and on territorial identity, Szeklerland can develop a tourism strategy that, while respecting the Romanian legislation and taking advantage of the region's own values, it is integrated into the list of the country's tourist offers with its territorial peculiarities. This aspect is fully in line with the basic objectives of European development policies, thus considering Europe's cultural diversity and sustainable development.[11] (Aquaprofit Consulting, 2009: 51)

Destination branding processes have an extremely large impact on natural resources. The natural environment, the landscape, the flora and fauna play a central role in each initiative. The Szeklers are strongly connected to their typical gastronomy and cuisine, which also hides a lot of destination marketing opportunities. At gastronomic festivals, this can unfold freely, but it becomes an important factor even during simpler tourist occasions. In my opinion, pálinka (which is a hard-fruit liquor, mostly from plum) could be also a powerful product of Szeklerland; so, in addition to being able to become a tourist-organizing element, it could also grow into a significant export product under proper management. At the same time, the idea of utilizing mineral water, on which a brand has already been built, often returns.

In addition to the natural treasures, Szeklerland is rich in cultural heritage and traditions, which play an important role in the people's sense of identity. Legends,

11 Harghita County Tourism Development Strategy, Aquaprofit Consulting, 2009, p. 51. http://elemzo.hargitamegye.ro/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/Hargita_megye_turizmusfejlesztesi_strategiaja.pdf.

myths known by the people can define the storytelling of the region, and there are some projects which have already been built for these. Thanks to the archaic way of life, the countryside can grow into a centre of rural tourism as elements of traditional way of life, crafts, and a lifestyle close to nature have survived to this day. The cultural heritage of Szeklerland, the experience of the local authentic way of life, has become extremely popular among tourists. Tourists are looking for individual, personalized travel experiences and interactions. At the same time, short-term vacations have begun to spread. Szeklerland offers a great opportunity to experience an authentic lifestyle through personalized journeys.

Although most campaigns present Transylvania and Szeklerland as a multicultural region, strategic steps are rarely built on this multiculturalism. Branding initiatives usually communicate their own narrative about this region, so Hungarian initiatives present a Hungarian-centric, while Romanian projects present a Romanian-centric interpretation of the region. The difficulty of cultural differences is also reflected in language disadvantages. Most initiatives usually communicate with their target audience in one, sometimes two languages, and only exceptional projects provide information in Romanian, English, and Hungarian. Initiatives for the area do not have easily identifiable image elements and design. The projects are well structured individually, but there is no institution that would manage the entire Szeklerland region.

Finally, based on the examined content, it can be said that many people are interested in the cultural heritage, folk traditions, and tourist offer of Szeklerland. The counties are open for cooperation with neighbouring counties; however, only Harghita County has published more specific ideas for cooperation. There is still a way of cooperation between Covasna and Harghita counties, but Mureş County usually misses out on this although – based on their strategic plans – they would be interested in a similar project. In terms of supply, all three counties are similar, so cooperation can be made easier, but it must not be forgotten that they are also in competition with each other.

As it is observed in the development strategy of several counties, there is a lack of complex tourism products and packages that could attract tourists with a well-organized offer. A jointly built Szeklerland image could help the efficiency and operation of these tourist packages.

In the case of Covasna County, there are the *Land of Mansions* and the *Land of Mineral Waters* initiatives. The problem with these two brands, in my opinion, is that they make it difficult to create a single well-known positioning that can span the entire region. Nevertheless, these are initiatives that would be worthwhile to extend to the whole of Szeklerland and could serve as a great basis for collaboration as the related tourism branches play a central role in all three counties. There are plenty of projects that can be linked to the regional brand of Szeklerland. They are already present in such quantities that they are

difficult to maintain, and there are plenty of incomplete initiatives. It would be worth concentrating resources, thus creating an initiative that is able to gather and communicate information much more efficiently and that can also reach the target group more easily.

As we are talking about a peripheral European region, strong branding activities are needed for the region's improvement. Szeklerland has a huge cultural heritage, which can provide a great foundation for destination branding activities. Recently, a lot of initiatives have been launched to take advantage of these, which may even be able to develop the region.

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The Initiators of Our Everyday Life – Relationship between Coffee and Instagram

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Abstract. In this study, I would like to understand the background of sharing coffee online and get to know why it encourages young people to post their coffee. I analyse the two popular parts of our everyday lives, coffee and Instagram, and their connection points, which are coffee posts as communication tools and their posting and content sharing itself as a form of communication. In my theoretical background, I reflect on the process of coffee becoming a consumer product, the relationships between cafés and the public, and I reflect on the features of Instagram that captivate young people and enable online social rites. Regarding the question of presence, I am looking for the answer to the peculiarities of the relationship between online and offline, the dissonance caused by the simultaneous appearance on the two stages. The aim of the paper is to compare the traditional and the online characteristics of the coffee community and to interpret it as a rite. Based on the theoretical background of digital ethnography, using participatory observation and photomontage techniques, I explore attitudes and motivations among the Generation Z young people in Târgu-Mureş in terms of this activity. These two evocative methods, further interpreting the visuals of Instagram, allow interpretation not only from an aesthetic point of view but also in terms of the analysis of their symbol system, background, and motivations. In my interpretations, the acceptance of manipulation, the attitude of reality, the social characteristics of online coffee communities, the relationships between Instagram visuality and Generation Z media consumption needs, compensation practices that use coffee posts as an excuse and provide insight into the self-reflexive process of coffee post backgrounds are explicated. In my final conclusions, I outline the system of likeability for coffee posts as a feature of competitive, community photography. I refer to the sharing of coffee online as new contexts of parasocial relations, and I also reflect on coffee posts as a self-branding opportunity that can be used as a tool for self-expression.

Keywords: online/real presence, community, rite, social publicity, compensatory practice, consumer behaviour, snapshot culture, Instagram and identity

Introduction

Examining the relationship between coffee and Instagram, I would like to understand and interpret the social practice entrenched in the online space, which shapes the everyday lives of contemporary consumer society, especially young adult's lives, almost unnoticed. There are few such widespread actions that define our daily routine that are as connected to our daily activities as posting coffee (making it available online). The social group that is involved in this topic is made up of the Internet users. It is produced and consumed by many people, whether they compose the image themselves or not. What do I mean by consuming coffee posts? As we browse, we do not only find or encounter information directly on the Internet based on the search terms we enter, but we also see a lot of seemingly incidental information that we do not even perceive at the moment, including Instagram posts about coffee. My research reflects on the motivation behind coffee posts, the attitudes associated with it, and the identity-expressing aspect influencing representations, which has become describable through a self-reflexive method.

1. The Origin and Role of Coffee Consumption in Modern Societies

Coffee can be considered a consumer good if we focus on how it is grown and sold. In my research paper, I discuss the origin of coffee only tangentially because I examine it more as a symbol. Nevertheless, the historical and social significance of coffee cannot be ignored because the spread of coffee did not start today. For us, coffee is part of our everyday lives; however, this has not always been the case even though it is hard to imagine today that there used to be a world without coffee. Until the mid-fifteenth century, coffee was completely unknown.

Coffee consumption first became established and incorporated into the culture among the peoples of the Red Sea region and then spread worldwide during the Age of Discovery. Coffee then became one of the great success stories of changing consumer habits, quickly becoming popular and a consumer product that transformed the early modern world. Although attitudes towards it were controversial in all societies at the beginning of its appearance, it soon found its place among more traditional beverages, such as beer, wine, water, and juices (see Cowan, 2005), so much that we can now easily talk about coffee culture and even coffee cultures.[1] Coffee consumption is universal in its own way. Every nation drinks coffee, and, as Williams Harrison Ukers writes, it has become a basic human

1 More on the history of coffee and its social historical phenomenon: Jolliffe, Lee, 2010; Varga, V.–Dúll, Andrea, 2001; Kleidas, M.–Jolliffe, L., 2010; Gondola, A., 2015.

need. This efficiency enhancer that complements human energy, according to Ukers, has become adored for two reasons: its efficiency enhancement and its pleasurable, experiential look (Ukers, 1922). Visual experience is associated with its popularity, and even with an experience that was once composed for their microenvironment and today for the entire global village, but specifically for the coffee community with the help of the World Wide Web.

2. The Relationship between the Public and Cafés

In the coffee community of the 1700s, the communicative event in the café was the expression of: identity, the social life corresponding to the rank, and interpersonal communication. According to Gábor Gyáni, "[...] Within the framework of the public space that differentiates during the separation of the private and public spheres, the café is at most a sphere of the semi-public. If the street, with its 'democratism' and its unrestricted accessibility to all, provides the fullness of a neutral public, a café-separated public space that separates the crowd and attracts socially filtered guests is a transition between privacy and metropolitan mass life" (Gyáni, 1996). How does this manifest itself in today's social media? Does Instagram mean a semi- or a fully democratized public space?

3. Online Communities

What does the online community mean? One of the earliest definitions originates from 1993, given by Rheingold, who states that virtual communities are social congregations that appear on the Internet when enough people have open discussions with the right human feelings and form a network of personal relationships in cyberspace (Rheingold, 1993). With the advent of social media, the emergence of online groups has accelerated, and their numbers have jumped by orders of magnitude. These groups are organized and articulated along different themes and motivations, but some of their characteristics, such as the way they are organized, the development and functioning of communication and hierarchy within the group, are very similar. The similarities between the groups organized in the social media were systematized by Adrienn Ujhelyi. According to the author, based on empirical studies, it can be clearly stated that fundamental similarities, norms, and roles are formed in the same way, the same group dynamic processes take place, a common language, group structure develops, and conformity or group polarization occurs under appropriate conditions (Ujhelyi, 2013: 3). In this case, the mapping of coffee communities can show similar characteristics both online and in real space.

4. Sharing the Act of Drinking Coffee Online as a Rite

Just as in the coffee house communities of the 1700s, we can find in today's online communities the practice of coffee making, talking about coffee, making narratives and then pictorial representations about coffee. Examining from an anthropological view the reason for coffee posts, Victor Turner's rite theory can help to form a coherent picture of the cause-and-effect relationships. According to Turner, the rites that appear in folk cultures are the basis of social cohesion: these symbolic practices are able to ensure the survival of a given society even in times of crisis (Turner, 1969). So, if we look at coffee consumption as a rite, then we can understand why a "coffee community" can be formed even online. Therefore, if we interpreted making coffee and posting it as a rite, we must say that in the practice of posts about coffee we can identify an action that promotes a very strong group identity. We can even say that within a given age-group/community, these posts (content) create strong cues and meanings that are easily decoded and confirmed by the participants. In Durkheim's work, we can read that at the base of every rite there is a separation of sacred and profane elements, and there is no social rite in which elements of religious origin cannot be found (Durkheim, 2002). Coffee used to be a status symbol. Coffee was consumed only by the élite, but today, thanks to its widespread use, it has changed significantly. In this new environment, coffee is a source of prosperity, happiness, young adult status, and so on. It has become a symbol that hashtags make visible in the online space. These image compositions also contain a series of hidden symbols such as watch, book, ring, etc. displayed in coffee posts.

Martín-Barbero Jesus's popular example of the transformation from profane to sacred comes from advertisements: "[...] simple activities such as washing, scrubbing, cleaning, and ironing have been transformed, become poets, and somehow become transcendent. Just think of how advertising makes a bottle of Coca-Cola a magical source of energy, wisdom and beauty – a source of life and youth itself" (Martín-Barbero, 1997). Similarly, the private/amateur coverage of coffee and coffee consumption on social media is increased. In these images, the act of drinking coffee becomes a rite that can create islands of peace and happiness almost anywhere. At the same time, the themes are closely related to wisdom and love.

In fact, this kind of reading of posts about coffee is made possible by ritual communication, which is based on the unified vision and emotional world of the community. It creates a symbol system in which trends, relationships, and models can be recognized.

5. What Do We Share on Social Media?

Manovich divides the photos we post into three groups: casual, professional, and design photos (Manovich, 2017). However, Csilla Sebestyén and Zoltán Dragon warn that "within these, of course, a relatively large variance is possible based on the social, cultural, and aesthetic values of the users, which also have local and demographic aspects" (Dragon, 2018: 206).

Serafinelli (2018) highlights the peculiarities of the images. According to her, visual messages pass through different places. Photographs are taken in one place and appear in another. They are very easy to record and send; their value or significance often varies between time and platforms. In this case, meanings are limited by a number of socio-cultural contexts. These social and cultural environments need to be identified in order to learn more about the background of this habit. It is essential to know the environment in the online world in order to be able to recognize and adapt interpretations – just like in society, Serafinelli says, with different cultural contexts and tools of objects that can modify what they mean. In analysing the photo-sharing practices of the participants in the research, she realized that photographs cannot be seen as evidence of "who", "where", and "what" are part of reality but as evidence of bias, an ideologically captured interpretation of how the creators or decision makers have perceived and rebuilt reality (Serafinelli, 2018). The photos provide us several meanings intentionally yet not directly. "The use of the Internet, social media platforms, and smart mobile devices is leading to drastic changes in social habits. The growing practice of online photo sharing is changing traditional approaches to and about photography. Nowadays, photographs reveal the unclear contrast between real life and mediatized life" (Gefter, 2006). According to Alise Tifentale:

> Competitive photography has always been communal, social in nature. Photographs exhibited or published in books were openly sponsored by other photographers. [...] This type of photography [...] closely follows the textbook prescriptions and conventions of a chosen pictorial paradigm. Or, in other words, the main criterion of competitive photography is likeability. In order for someone to take favorite pictures, they have to follow the rules. (Tifentale, 2016, qtd. in Dragon–Sebestyén, 2018: 205)

The rules mentioned above created a time for coffees pleasing to the eye. As a result, a class of postable and non-postable coffees emerged. A number of considerations determine when a coffee composition is spectacular enough to be published on Instagram.

6. Snapshot Culture

> Social media and smart mobile devices are targeting new forms of interactivity that combine the representative and communicative capabilities of images. As discussed, since their arrival, smart mobile devices have further enhanced the quantity and diversity of social forms of visuality (online communities, forums, social networking sites, etc.). Towards one of the most spectacular transformations of the traditional functions of photography: towards snapshot culture. (Chalfen, 1987)

Because of its visibility in online space, reality is not perceived by posters, which creates tensions in human relationships. In social media, people also feel that they cannot be present in the online and real world at the same time without losing their attention and care in one or the other. Perhaps under the fear of devaluation, we are moving towards the fast, snapshot sharing described by Chalfen.

7. Method(ology)

"You learn the [ethnographic] method, not what you start with", says Daniel Miller in his YouTube presentation. The ethnographic method can be transferred to the online space, but it is not an endless field, rather a new learning opportunity that helps to understand today's society. In my research, I follow the method of digital ethnography and the approach implicated by the method.[2] I base my research on exploring what online representations are produced in the case of a pre-selected group and what cultural characteristics and social practices they refer to.

Daniel Miller mentions the benefits of digital anthropology in connection with the coronavirus epidemic, highlighting that people online share much more information with researchers than in real space. When someone visits their home, for example, they do not behave naturally: they get ready, they get ready for the reception, which is already an intervention in the field. However, the digital world liberates them, being less bound there by the interpersonal norms of the real world. In his view, anyone who interprets online and offline participation in cultural anthropology as two completely separate fields is not doing the right thing. If we do offline research based on different cases,

2 My interest in the ethnographic methods is based on an article by András Vajda, which analysed the Facebook activity of a local poet (who is also a teacher, journalist, and local historian), following issues like: what kinds of routines characterize the individual within the new media context and what cultural patterns influence these activities? See: Vajda, 2017.

interpretations, why would it be different online? (Miller, 2020).[3] Individuals' identities are projections of societies based on different socio-cultural characteristics as well as our online identity using the concept of Katalin Fehér (2015). So, if in real spaces individuals are able to become imprints of the cultural characteristics of society, this also applies to them in the online space. The digital world shows an expanded horizon, but – as I mentioned above – it is not an endless field since, just as physical research produces many different contexts, it is no different in the online space. At the beginning of my research, I wanted to explore the data through participatory observation, which is also important in the online space. This is not a series of independent interviews whose data can be compared to content found on the Internet. Participatory observation is an "evocative method" (Boellstorff, 2018: 188) which assumes that culture is in the human, and if someone is able to convey information about it, s/he allows the researcher to gain insight into his or her world of thought. In this case, the observed persons belong to a pre-defined group into which they are classified on the basis of their social cultural data. In my case, the research population consists of participants in the 20–24 age-group from Târgu-Mureş. Looking at Instagram as my number one field, I aim to reflect on a community whose behaviour is comparable both in online and in realistic (geographically limited) spaces. In their study, Krisztina Dörnyei and Ariel Mitev describe social media as a field. According to them, this field is:

> A community structure consisting of relationships between individuals or organizations, which include social relationships between participants, and information about themselves. There are variations based on leisure or professional information. In addition to connections, they are also a means of self-expression for users; with different applications and content uploading, they can make their profiles unique and can communicate what they want to say. (Dörnyei–Mitev, 2010: 58)

Preparations before the pandemic showed participant observation and personal encounter as suitable research methods. However, due to the Covid-19 epidemic, my method has slightly changed: online observation and conversations became feasible. In the light of these changes, I have placed more focus on online representations. I use a new method known to me from the writings of Vincze Dalma, which is the mixed method of photomontage and semi-structured interview (in my case, partly participatory observation, partly semi-structured interview) (Vincze, 2019). The photomontage technique, also known as the

3 Miller, D. (2020). *How to Conduct an Ethnography during Social Isolation*. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NSiTrYB-0so&t=241s. Further methodological reports on digital ethnography: Fuchs, 2020; Hine, 2015; Madianou–Miller, 2012; Mason, 2011.

collage method, is a method used in new wave marketing research. Horváth and Mitev point out that this method may be suitable for exploring content (such as instinctive dimensions of self-representations) that is built up from memories and unquestionable content (for example: it can be used to evoke the motivations and effects behind coffee making and coffee-related posts). Collages can successfully bring emotions and background information to the surface (Horváth–Mitev, 2015).

Another important advantage of this method is that the production and use of such edited content – such as clips, short commercials, or the possibilities offered by Web 2.0 applications (Instagram) – is very typical of the young age-group I have studied as well. Instagram is characterized by collage; the profiles function as large montages. "An individual profile created on social media sites is also a 'montage' of many, many images taken together. The total images can be considered as self-representations" (Vincze, 2019: 59). Pictures of coffee published on Instagram also tell stories about us and represent us. What others read from these is also a very exciting question, but, from the point of view of my research, what is very important is what self-reflexive process they initiate and, as a result, what Instagramers say about themselves and the motivations of their coffee-based posts based on my montages.

Why do I find the young adult group relevant for researching coffee online? This age-group is affected in several ways by coffee and its display on Instagram. Users of social media are primarily young people, members of Generation Z, who are active on social media for up to 10–12 hours a day (Guld–Maksa, 2015; Tőkés–Velicu, 2015), and this produces a lot of created/shared content. The whole concept of Instagram was invented for them.

> Today's young people are members of a generation that grows up on the Internet and knows its visual and linguistic world. This means they handle short, pictorial, up-to-date, truly real-time information. This age-group is characterized by "brief attention"; therefore, most of the messages addressed to them should be structured on the basis of the principle of "less is more"; simplification and focus on the essence lead to results. (Törőcsik et al., 2019: 6)

The research of the worldviews and motivations behind the posts was carried out in a micro-community meeting these criteria: among Hungarian students living in the Transylvanian urban environment.

In terms of research, important motivations and attitudes emerged from Generation Z members' coffee posts. In the course of their analysis, generational characteristics and their behavioural patterns have come to the surface, which explain the motivations to create coffee posts nowadays. The transformation of coffee into a consumer article has initiated serious economic and cultural processes

in modern societies. In the list of the most valuable brands in the world compiled by Forbes, coffee brands (Nescafé, Starbucks) are in the 34th and 37th places.[4]

The spread of coffee and the increase in its economic role can be well traced, but what are the social effects? I have mentioned above that coffee is universal in its own way – every nation drinks coffee and makes coffee a little differently. However, as in many other sectors, the symbolic social practices associated with coffee are globalizing due to the spread of media, network systems, and the Internet. Many formerly local, national coffee-making and consumption practices are becoming popular around the world, and fixed forms of coffee are spreading on online platforms (e.g. dalgona coffee).

8. Summary. What Do Coffee Posts Say?

Coffee houses were the arenas of civil society, and coffee can be interpreted as a pledge and means (also) of participation in public reasoning (Habermas, 1999). Instagram's coffee communities remind us of the semi-democratized world of cafés (Gyányi, 1996). Instagram gives almost anyone (provided they have the right tools, Internet access, and knowledge to use it) the opportunity to access this online public space after registration. In this sense, Instagram is the street where – just as the gates of coffee houses were only open to citizens – new coffee houses, more precisely, coffee communities are being created. This coffee community reproduces itself.

Who can be part of the online coffee community? As in traditional coffee house culture, no one is admitted here, only individuals who know and recognize the rites, symbols, and norms of the community, based on which the community as a system decides and filters who can be part of the community and who can become dominant within the community. The rules of community-building (community organizing and maintaining communication) are the way a given generation communicates. To gain membership and increase status within the community: you need to respond, comment, and reproduce if you want to become a recognized member. As in the offline space, social media has the characteristics and rules of age-appropriate and platform-related social construction communication that play a decisive role. Coffee is also important in building social networks and connections. We do not have coffee with anyone. Our roles, which we express during contact/conversations, change during coffee. Our attitude and behaviour towards our partner change when our relationship with the person reaches a level where we have coffee together. The act of drinking coffee creates a familiar, intimate environment and atmosphere that can be interpreted as a rite, which

4 Forbes's annual list of *The World's Most Valuable Brands*: Retrieved on: 29 September 2020, from: https://www.forbes.com/the-worlds-most-valuable-brands/#3323e9be119c.

can have a positive effect not only on friendly but also on formal (e.g. workplace) collaborations. Traditionally, a series of community experiences and interpersonal communication acts have been built around coffee. The need for these has not disappeared with the advent of digital interfaces either; we are not only looking for an audience but a community.

As in the physical world, the individual demands and searches – as many times as possible – create situations in the online space through which one can interact with other individuals. Coffee has an important role to play in both overcoming loneliness and fostering interpersonal relationships. It can be the perfect "excuse" to talk to others, and this feature is also available online. At the same time, not only the structure of the coffee communities but also the network of each individual is outlined along the likes and comments given to each coffee post. Since it has become available, coffee has lost its interpretation as a status symbol. However, in coffee posts, there are also objects that carry an underlying message. They seek to convey the sacredness of the coffee moment, prosperity, happiness, and young adult status. In the course of my research, it has become apparent that communication situations based on a mature symbol system are hidden in the background of coffee posts.

Interactions at the level of coffee posts are not just for aesthetic purposes, but they convey an important message between members of the online community. The notion of the "perfect image" much mentioned in the conversations points to an essential feature of the coffee community: manipulation is accepted and even expected here. It is necessary to edit and retouch the images to create something beautiful for the community. At the same time, coffee posts are also constructed in terms of content.

Generation Z members, according to research, clearly do not consume # coffee content with those they are physically close to each other and could even do so by having regular coffee together. Many times, it is precisely the frustration that arises from their posts that (due to lack of time, distance, etc.) they cannot come into contact with the people with whom they would definitely like to share this moment. However, they also feel important to support each other with their reactions to those who only meet based on searching for # coffee or feed filters. These rites are key elements because they are used by the "lonely" generation to satisfy their social needs. The coffee post can also be seen as a compensatory practice for the desire for physical connections online (see Marquard, 2001). Compensation is considered to be one of the most important motivations behind the coffee posts. This motivation takes the concept of parasocial relations to a new level as it is no longer limited to individuals we consider celebrities, but it also allows us to make parasocial interactions with any person who is not close to us physically but virtually. From a gender perspective, coffee posts are important for the messaging channel of both sexes; however, in terms of the content of

their messages and the tendency of content organization, quite a lot of gender characteristics can be observed. While boys articulate a more informative, clearer message, girls are more likely to articulate their messages in an emotionally overheated or contemplative mood. Manipulation-based messaging as a procedure can be observed for both sexes, while a more marked difference can be observed in the numbers of variation in the produced content. In the context of the pandemic situation, the case of posting dalgona coffee (coffee consumption and coffee representation) also points to the previously mentioned globalizing trend of coffee culture. During the epidemic, Seoul, more precisely Dalgona in the South Korean region, will become a central player in the visual coffee narratives expressed in the online space. The region, which is the pinnacle of digital development and literacy as well as with regard to the number of cafés per capita, is also becoming the creator of mainstream forms of online coffee. The dalgona challenge is already producing worldwide many reproductions, just as in Târgu-Mureş.

What do young people say with coffee posts? A regionally recognizable relationship between coffee and adulthood has been explored. The stories about their first coffee experience are clearly an act with the characteristics of an initiating rite. The initiates are already members of adult society.

The relationship between visuality and coffee. It should be noted that the Instagram generation prefers pictorial, short, and real-time information content. This has also been noticed by the marketing and advertising industries. Young people's coffee preferences are primarily based on the appearance of the coffee. At the same time, visual appearance is the aspect that determines postability. As for the community characteristics of coffee distribution, it is important to note that this community is also organized on the basis of common interest and reinforcement (sympathy and its expression). It is a well-known and recognized action among this age-group, which is a daily routine for them. However, there is also a kind of frustration in these actions; they feel that their interpersonal relationships in the real world decrease and the online presence is becoming more and more pronounced. The cure for this is the snapshot culture, the possibility of quick sharing although (as discussed above) these posts are mostly created through lengthy preparations. So, this procedure cannot completely resolve the discomfort of Generation Z either. Members of the coffee community produce content that meets the criteria of competitive photography (Tifentale, 2016) and community. And the common concept is likability as both competitive photography and communities are based on recognition and the system of criteria by which a given pictorial content can be recognized. At the basis of the criteria system, there are the message (which uses symbols to represent what adulthood means – happiness, well-being, etc.) and manipulation.

My final conclusion is that coffee posts are a means of expressing our identity. Based on Vincze's (2019: 59) statement that montages can be considered self-

representations on Instagram, with the self-reflexive process (photomontage technique) I discovered that with the help of the posts users are able to convey to the world their characteristics and personality traits that determine their identity. Through coffee posts, self-branding (also) takes place.

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Global Stars on Local Screens: BTS and Its "Army"

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Abstract. This research note is aimed at exploring the opportunities and challenges faced by teenagers living in an underprivileged region in Romania as fans of an internationally popular K-pop band. We used desk research and netnography to explore similarities and differences between the local and international BTS (Bangtan Sonyeondan) fandom, also called "Army". Which are the barriers a Hungarian "Army" from Romania encounters when engaging with their idols? What is the role of K-pop in opening up the language and cultural bubble in which Hungarian youth in rural Romania live?[1] The innovative element in our empirical research is the *focus on family context*: we interviewed both BTS fans and their parents in order to assess to what extent is K-pop in general and BTS in particular part of their daily lives. With its limitations as a small-scale qualitative analysis, such research can give insights into fan studies from a comparative perspective.

Keywords: K-pop, Hungarians from rural Romania, cultural bubble, BTS fandom

Introduction

Korean pop music (K-pop) is gaining popularity worldwide as part of the cultural phenomenon called Hallyu (Korean Wave). The term, coined by the Chinese media to express the rising appeal of the Korean popular culture in Asian countries, epitomizes what Kim (2013) defined as the Asian reaction to a Western-dominated globalization:

> In contemporary Korean cinemas, TV dramas and pop music, globalization is also evident. The stars follow the world trend in performance, presentation and fashion [...]. English is often used as lyrics in songs. However, the big difference is that the performers have distinct Asian physical features, and

1 Funded by Sapientia Foundation – Institute for Research Programmes, Romania.

> the dramas reflect the traditional Asian values and ethos, which helps to make the Asian fans feel at home. The "Asian-ness" is no longer something weird or marginal, but takes center stage. (Kim, 2013: 135)

The diffusion of Korean popular culture across the world started in the mid-nineties, and it is an ongoing process facilitated by globalization and social media (Huang, 2017). In Romania, Hallyu penetrated relatively late, starting from 2009 with K-dramas and from 2011 with K-pop. The first Korea-fan meeting was held in Bucharest in 2010 (Marinescu–Balica, 2014: 91).[2] Kim (2015) presented the three main periods of Hallyu and its gradual expansion, as summarized in the table below:

Table 1. *Diffusion of the Korean Wave across the world*

Stages	Hallyu 1.0	Hallyu 2.0	Hallyu 3.0
Period	1995–2005	2006–2015	From 2016 onwards
Diffusion area	Asia (China, Taiwan, Japan)	Asia, North America, Europe	All over the world
Target	K-dramas and -movies	K-pop idols, star-oriented	Diversification, brand-oriented
Early distribution	Overseas Korean society	Online circulation (YouTube)	Social media (Twitter, FB, IG)
Media	Video, CD, broadcasting	Internet, on-site performance	Cross-media
Focus	The world should remark Korea	Overseas K-expansion	Worldwide mainstreaming

Source: adapted from Kim (2015: 158)

In his interpretation, the Korean Wave is a form of soft power spreading peacefully across the global village (Kim, 2015: 160). K-drama and K-pop are the main vectors of the Hallyu phenomenon, and all my teenage interviewees were fans of both: listening to many other K-pop groups while preferring BTS and watching ardently Korean dramas. In this article, we will be focusing on the K-pop fandom, with a highlight on BTS "Army". The acronym ARMY stands for Adorable Representative MC for Youth: "the BTS global fan base of millions of loyal followers is powerful enough to create major waves" (Seo–Hollingsworth, 2019).

Not all BTS fans are K-pop fans though. Sherliza Moé, an influencer from Austria, a BTS fan, and a critical voice of the K-pop phenomenon, put it bluntly:

2 Japanese and Chinese cultural diplomacy were more advanced in the country through martial arts and music.

> All my friends were super into K-pop and I don't know, I just didn't find it that interesting. […] There were some songs that were kind of catchy and I'd listen to them, but I could never fully get the appeal of K-pop. Something about it just looked and felt off. All these boys and girls who dance perfectly synchronized, those perfect basic doll-faces, those copy-paste beats, manufactured hooks… I don't know: something about these music videos and people felt kind of fake, hollow, and uninspired. (Sherliza Moé, 2018a: 0:28–1:11)

Beyond her gut feeling, Moé started digging systematically into the dark side of the pop industry:[3] how do young people become idols? By training to be talented – but is that even possible? Taking dancing, singing, and acting classes and most importantly, at the entry level, to have the looks. What is there to admire when it is just the outside that looks good? It is all manufactured – these opinions echoed in one interviewee fathers' words as well. If this music is so "mediocre" and "fake", how did Sherliza Moé become a BTS fan? Why did she attend three concerts? How does anybody become a fan? Is it the ubiquitous social media? Is it through friends?

Social media has radically changed the spaces of engagement with popular music, leading to a shift from local subcultures to translocal and global interactions (Tófalvi, 2011). The process of creation, distribution, and consumption of culture in general and popular music in particular has shifted from a music-show-centric approach and the dominance of big music labels to a complex business model engaging talent management, multimedia distribution channels, and a carefully planned digital marketing with fandom engagement at its centre.

Methodology

The exploratory case study on BTS and its local and global fandom started on 25 May and was completed on 31 October 2020, combining desk research and empirical analysis. We interviewed six BTS fans and their parents (the five families were selected upon criteria of availability and variety in a rural area from Central Romania, inhabited mainly by Hungarians) and followed systematically six savvy influencers with critical views on K-pop – meanwhile BTS fans. Such a contrastive approach is aimed at highlighting the socio-cultural gap between a privileged and an underprivileged fandom: the influencers in their twenties,

3 The harsh treatment K-pop trainees are subjected to, the slave contracts they are forced to sign for up to ten years, and their underpayed efforts are often mentioned. Predator business practices of talent management companies led to court cases and media scandals, highlighted by influencers under study. Big Hit Entertainment is presented in a positive light, with more creative freedom given to artists.

belonging to the older and independent generation Z versus the teenager fans, dependent on their parents. Five YouTube channels' and five families' BTS-related approach was compared in order to explore how the global and local fandom intertwines and differs.

Research was carried out online, during the Covid-19 restrictions: a literature review on K-pop and fandom studies, ten semi-structured interviews (fans and parents) as well as a content analysis of BTS-related posts of international "Army" influencers followed via YouTube from June to October 2020. The influencers were carefully selected after screening popular BTS-related, English-speaking YouTube channels: Farina Behm's channel (Farina Jo – 897,000 subscribers) from Germany; Cameron Philip K from Canada, with 676,000 subscribers; Danny Kim and David Kim's channel (DKDKTV) from Korea, with 697,000 subscribers; Dave Disci from the United States, with 191,000 subscribers; Sherliza Moé from Austria, with 553,000 subscribers. They epitomize the privileged, international fandom with a high level of visibility online. Meanwhile we screened closely BTS-related content on Big Hit Entertainment (BHE)[4] official YouTube and Twitter channels concerning company events in order to understand the business model and talent management philosophy leading to BTS success. During September and October 2020, more than 120 hours of BTS-related influencer and BHE videos were screened for relevant content and for a better understanding of the global K-pop fandom phenomenon.

Table 2. *BTS fans under study*

Name or alias	Status	Gender and age	Method
1. Anna (alias) – Bahrein[5]	interviewee	Female, 15	Video interview analysis + mother's
2. Erika (alias) – Romania	interviewee	Female, 19	Phone interview analysis + mother's
3. Kitti (alias) – Romania	interviewee	Female, 13	Phone interview analysis + mother's
4. Mari (alias) – Romania	interviewee	Female, 16	Phone interview analysis (Kitti's sister)
5. Lily (alias) – Romania	interviewee	Female, 12	Phone interview analysis + father's
6. Mira (alias) – Romania	interviewee	Female, 12	Phone interview analysis + father's
7. Farina Behm (Germany)	influencer	Female, 27	YouTube, 15 video analyses

4 The Korean company that discovered, trained, and manages BTS.

5 Her mother moved abroad from Romania. Anna still has roots here and speaks her native Hungarian language.

Name or alias	Status	Gender and age	Method
8. Dave Disci (US)	influencer	Male, 25	YouTube, 34 video analyses
9. Danny Kim (Korea)	influencer	Male, 28	YouTube, 13 video analyses[6]
10. David Kim (Korea)	influencer	Male, 28	
11. Sherliza Moé (Austria)	influencer	Female, 23	YouTube, 22 video analyses
12. Cameron Philip K (Canada)	influencer	Male, 24	YouTube, 48 video analyses

Teenagers were asked about the history and the status of their fandom, their daily fangirling routines, their favourite BTS members and songs, whether they bought or plan to buy any related products, whether they follow BTS on social media, and what kind of BTS-related content they prefer. An important part of the interview was the impact BTS has on their lives and why they think BTS is so popular. We also carried out follow-up discussions with the teenagers. Upon request, two of the six interviewees sent pictures with various BTS products they bought. Parents were interviewed via Facebook Messenger: mothers (of Anna, Erika, Kitti, and Mari) and fathers (of Lily and of Mira),[7] by asking them four questions: (1) How much do they know about BTS based on their daughter's fan behaviour? (2) How much do they like or dislike BTS? (3) Did Korean music and BTS have an impact on their daughter? (4) Why do they think BTS has so many fans?

Based on the interviewees' and the influencers' discourses, we created three categories of engagement: entertainment-oriented, cultural, and professional. Entertainment-oriented engagement refers to a mainly consumerist attitude towards BTS-related content be it music, live streaming, reality shows, or memes and fan art. A cultural engagement describes a broader interest in Korean culture, going beyond kimchi: language, history, habits, and iconic places.

An element of the study was *auto-ethnography*: from mid-May to the end of October, the author was a participant observant of BTS Army life: commented on YouTube videos, streamed the new hit *Dynamite* to promote it on the international charts, and watched BTS-related content online: reality shows, interviews, memes as well as fan fiction. This part of the research was less rigorous given the "plethora of apps on mobile devices, a range of social media platforms, and highly individualized engagement patterns[8] [giving] rise to uncertainty, complexity, and the feeling that something is always being missed"

6 They are friends and colleagues, not brothers, as some netizens think. They post together and separately too.

7 Lili and Mira are cousins living in different small towns, fangirling together both on- and offline.

8 I learned the BTS fanchant (the boys' names) and had a bias (favourite group member): RM.

(Popova, 2020: 3.2). However, it gave a glimpse of the fandom spirit and the rich media content available on the boy band.

Bangtan Sonyeondan: The Brightest K-Pop Star

When she newly discovered the boy band, Sherliza Moé has found their music mediocre. "I am not a fan of pop music in general [...] I don't think it is bad or something, just mediocre. But that does not mean I don't jam to it, that I don't listen to it" (2019: 20:27–20:43). Two of the interviewed teenagers – Kitti and Lili – had the same first impression when they started listening to K-pop and BTS. After getting immersed in their music and the stories built around it, after they encountered group members – even if only virtually –, their perception has changed radically, just like in the case of Sherliza.

> I watched a video, then another video, and I kinda got sucked into the fandom [...] I really tried not to like them, but it's hard [...] I'm not the biggest fan of their music, it sounds pretty mediocre [...] It sounds like many other pop songs [...] But I do appreciate the fact that some members are involved in the songwriting [...] Most K-pop bands sing about superficial topics like looking pretty, partying, making somebody falling in love with them. (Sherliza Moé, 2018b: 1:03–1:11)

Bang Si-Hyuk, leader of Big Hit Entertainment and the "founding father" of BTS, explains in an interview the secret of the band's appeal: communication with fans on a more personal level and a constant effort to convey a positive message (Song, 2020). Bangtan Sonyeondan – literally meaning Bulletproof Boy Scouts – formed in 2010 and debuted in 2013; they were a hip-hop group first and later playing a mixed genre.[9] It has seven members: Kim Namjoon (RM), Kim Seokjin (Jin), Min Yoongi (Suga), Jung Hoseok (J-Hope), Park Jimin (Jimin), Kim Taehyung (V), and Jeon Jungkook (Jungkook). As Romano (2020) put it, the key to the Bangtan Boys' success is resonance, sincerity, and an army of fans. From 2017 onwards, BTS broke records in terms of performance and popularity, winning several awards nationally and internationally (Bensley, 2020) – more recently with their all-English single *Dynamite* in August 2020. "BTS is the product of an industry insider who wanted to create a new kind of idol" – summarizes Romano.

In order to understand the background of such results, it is worth mentioning the way talent management companies work in Korea: "While record labels, artist management companies, and talent agencies operate as separate entities in

9 With EDM, R&B, and rap dosed differently in each song.

America, Korean entertainment companies are a configuration of all three [...] a hybrid, highly integrated cultural technology" (Nguyen, 2020).

Beyond this enabling context and the state support for the cultural export of K-pop, the reason behind the BTS's meteoric success was the smart and systematic use of social media to build up a personalized yet well-controlled relationship with its fan base. Spontaneity, playfulness, and charisma on the stage combined with gratitude towards their fans lifted the "bulletproof scouts" to the top of international and national ranks and magnified them via online interaction. According to the official K-pop ranking in September 2020,[10] BTS was on the first place both individually and as a group. Ranking was based on consumer participation (sales), interaction (communication with fans and the media), and community (fan base).

Chang and Park (2019: 260) identified four primary dimensions of this mainly online fandom: (1) digital intimacy, (2) non-social sociality, (3) transnational locality, and (4) organizing without an organization. All these elements are related to the network effect of the Internet and the global access to digital content, with the advantages of comfort, speed, and affordability and the disadvantage of mediality ("I watch their videos every day" – Anna, Kitti, Lily, and Mira reported). There is also the risk of oversaturation and commercialization of online media content, experts warn (Reinhardt, 2020). They also coagulate ARMY into "tribes" – transnational fans connected by their common idols and the English language as well as local ones connected by local languages. Indeed, the five teenagers interviewed were mostly connected to Hungarian-language content produced in Hungary and some YouTube and Instagram videos translated into English.

Social media interaction of BTS members with their fans is highly controlled by their management, Big Hit Entertainment (BHE): Twitter is the main and official social media platform with a company account and one common account for the seven members of the boy band. However, fans are creating a plethora of videos, memes, fan fiction, and animations featuring the whole band or their favourite members. BHE also created a dedicated platform called Weverse through its subsidiary tech company beNX for synchronous and asynchronous interactions between idols and fans, with over 7 Million BTS fans as of October 2020 (Benjamin, 2020). The advantage is the higher profit margin on content and product selling on its own platform and data ownership, thus a better control.

Global Fans: Influencers as Prosumers

Each of the five influencers selected for this study are immersed in BTS fandom, creating video content such as MV reactions, BTS music covers (Cameron), K-pop-related documentaries (Danny and David, Farina Jo, Sherliza), live streamings

10 https://kpopofficial.com/top-50-kpop-popularity-reputation-ranking-september-2020/.

from BTS concerts (Danny and David, Farina Jo, Sherliza), meme reviews (Dave), and fan fiction (Cameron). Learning about K-pop and BTS was a refreshing cultural experience during lockdown.

Meanwhile, following the five YouTube channels was the most entertaining part of the empirical research: a daily sip of witty K-pop and BTS gossip with Dave Disci, hilarious fan fictions with Cameron Philip K, concert live streams with DKDKTV, Farina Jo and Sherliza Moé, and reactions, memes: never would I have imagined that studying K-pop was such an entertaining endeavour. In order to understand the "Army" bubble, I had to learn the insiders' language – keywords and slang mostly fans can understand.[11] There are also difficulties related to the complicated Korean cultural background of the BTS music videos, not only insider language or the lack of translation from Korean into English. A "cultural translation" is also needed, and DKDKTV aims at providing it. As Danny Kim explained in the Arirang TV studio (2019): "We try to bridge the gap of cultural differences between Korean and international fans of K-pop".

The agencies "know exactly what the audience wants. They have special concepts for each group because they want them to make it in this super saturated market. I think that aspect makes the groups strive for different things and it makes K-pop scene interesting", said Danny Kim in an interview (Park, 2018). Due to their creativity as content producers and their high connectivity with like-minded audiences, the influencers under study are receptive to cultural movements across the K-pop industry; they care and are knowledgeable. Their videos are well prepared, even if they put on a laid-back mask: the content is informative and mostly well thought. Their level of involvement as BTS fans is different: the most dedicated is Cameron, a loyal Army since the group was formed, whereas Danny and David got immersed in BTS fandom through their cultural ambassador work as K-pop translators from Korean into English. Dave and Sherliza are witty K-pop commentators, almost stand-up comedians, while Farina Jo's engagement has a strong personal character: her Korean partner is a BTS fan as well, and she acts as a cultural interpreter of K-pop and Korean lifestyle.

Through their active audience involvement, these YouTubers strengthen BTS's participatory fan activism, gathering a fan base themselves and giving an extra boost to their band's Army (Jung, 2012). It is both for the good and for the bad since comments are often offensive, and they complained of receiving hate and death threats online.

11 If you are a BTS fan, you can decode "Lachibolala", "NamJin", "TaeKook", "Sasaeng", or "delulu" – to name but a few.

Local Fans: A Shy Army

Language is a serious barrier when it comes to local BTS fandom, and cultural differences add to it, as other studies confirm from Canada (Yoon, 2019), Latin America (Min–Jin–Han, 2018), and Poland (Trzcinska, 2018). All teenagers interviewed had English as their third or second language although Anna, Kitti, Lili, and Mira started to learn Korean as an impact of watching BTS music videos that they wanted to understand better. It seemed to be too difficult, and Kitti gave up, while the others just slowed down.

Since there is so much BTS content available online, the language barrier seems to be frustrating for many fans, not only for those interviewed. Comments on the BHE official YouTube channel often asked for English translation, especially for interviews and live streams. Initial access to BTS, the first contact with the Korean band was either via a friend (Anna, Mira) or a family member (sister – Erika, Kitti, and cousin: Lily). Social media played a catalyst role, though, by offering BTS-related content through its algorithms. Out of the five parents interviewed, only one (Lily's father) seemed to be more knowledgeable in K-pop and BTS, while Anna's, Kitty's, and Erika's mother had a very vague idea on this music and the band. Mira's father was well-informed about K-pop industry and was rejective towards it, although knew little details about BTS.

All parents interviewed expressed their satisfaction that BTS opened their daughter's cultural horizon and their interest towards Korea in general: language, food, customs, and lifestyle. As for BTS as a band, three of five parents declared that they would hardly recognize any of their songs or know the members' names. The dislikes came from their feminine appearance, not the music: "It is pleasant, I can listen when Erika is listening." Mira's father has definitely rejected K-pop as a genre, considering it too manufactured and commercial – however, if his daughter would ask him, he would take her to a BTS concert when they come to Romania.

In terms of purchasing products, only Anna had the privilege to visit Korea, and she travelled to a country where she had fast access and financial resources to buy several valuable objects: albums, plush dolls, posters (*Picture 1*), and she had the opportunity to go to a BTS concert. Mira's father reported that his wife visited Korea and bought BTS-related products: shirts and small memorabilia, to the great satisfaction of their daughter.

Picture 1–2. *Anna's room with her idol, Jimin (left), and small items*[12] *(right)*

Kitti also bought BTS-related memorabilia: school bag, pencil case, mask, hoodie, and an Army Bomb (a light stick for concerts, although she never could get a ticket to one).

Picture 3. *Kitti's schoolbag with her idol, Jimin*

12 The little animals available as animations and plush dolls, each designed by a member of BTS, are very popular.

There are significant differences between the teenagers interviewed in terms of involvement, daily routines, and updates related to BTS. The most involved and knowledgeable were Anna, Lily, and Mira, while Erika and Kitti were less informed about the band.

All interviewees had at least a three-year history with the band, and all expressed some level of interest towards Korean culture (K-dramas and other K-pop bands, such as Stray Kids, and kimchi). It came as no surprise that in terms of social media engagement Anna was the most present one on all platforms where BTS content was available: Twitter – the main account of the band, YouTube, Instagram, and Weverse. I was surprised by the lack of interactivity of the girls on social media, and one explanation given was the language barrier: they could understand English but were not very confident to write. The more consistent their interest and engagement with the band was, the greater interest and broader cultural horizon the local teenage fans had.

Fandom Engagement: The Global and the Local

If we look into influencers' and interviewees' discourses, striking similarities and expectable differences unfold: consistent engagement with K-pop in general and with BTS in particular led to a broader cultural perspective, as shown in the summary table below.

Table 3. *BTS fans and their engagement*

Name or alias	Level and type of engagement	Description
1. Anna (alias)	High, entertainment and cultural	Daily engagement, informed, went to concert, speaks and writes Korean (basic), visited Korea.
2. Erika (alias)	Low, entertainment	Basic BTS knowledge, listens favourite tracks but not daily, open interest towards K-drama.
3. Kitti (alias)	Medium, entertainment	Informed, bought products, started to learn Korean, influenced by friend and sister.
4. Mari (alias)	Low, entertainment	Informed, used to be a fan, influenced her younger sister, general interest towards K-pop.
5. Lily (alias)	High, entertainment and cultural	Daily engagement, informed, cooked kimchi, started to learn Korean (basic), bought products.

Name or alias	Level and type of engagement	Description
6. Mira (alias)	High, entertainment and cultural	Daily engagement, informed, cooked kimchi, started to learn Korean (basic), bought products.
7. Farina Behm	High, entertainment and cultural	Informed, went to three concerts, learns Korean for personal reasons, creates BTS-related content.
8. Dave Disci	High, entertainment and cultural	Informed, creates K-pop-related content daily, rich BTS-related YouTube content (over 800 videos).
9. Danny Kim	Medium, professional and cultural	Went to two BTS concerts, explains background meaning of BTS music videos, explains K-pop.
10. David Kim	Medium, professional and cultural	Went to two BTS concerts, explains background meaning of BTS music videos, explains K-pop.
11. Sherliza Moé	Medium, entertainment and cultural	Went to three BTS concerts, engages in critical debates on K-pop and BTS. Other topics prevail.
12. Cameron Philip	High, entertainment and cultural	Created several BTS song remixes (with one remarked by BTS), fan art, reaction videos.

A high level of fandom engagement is related to a broader interest in K-pop and to a variety of idol-related activity, be it going to concerts (for the privileged, both local and global fans) or buying products, getting immersed in Korean culture, and staying informed in BTS matters – both globally and locally.

Conclusions

Cultural production and consumption habits have changed radically with the rise of new media, and pop music is a mix of genres that is gaining popularity and appreciation worldwide, even if there is still a lack of acceptance and openness towards it (Batta, 2011).

There is a significant difference between local and global fans, the former ones having a good command of English (Sherliza, Danny, and David) or being native speakers (Dave and Cameron). For Hungarian young people living in rural areas of Romania and in ethnic bubbles (Bakó, 2019), a cultural trip to Korea is more difficult yet refreshing and mind-opening: parents' and interviewees' opinions were consonant.

For influencers living in big cities (Toronto, New York, Vienna, Frankfurt, and Seoul), a multicultural environment is more familiar, and yet even they have their own bubbles. For Danny and David, the cultural trip was Los Angeles, with its infinitely more diverse fandom at the BTS concert. Bubbles might also be useful: without their cultural translation of Agust D's[13] *Daechwita*, little would I have understood from the deep historical roots of the song.

As for the author immersed in the role of an Army, it was a refreshing and interesting research experiment. BTS and its fandom created meaningful multimedia content to explore. "They are so entertaining to watch!" – conceded Sherliza Moé (2018: 7:38). McLarren and Jin (2020) said the same: you cannot help but love them. Agreed.

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Why a Book on the Digital Divide in 2020?

Jan van Dijk. 2020. *The Digital Divide*.
Cambridge, UK: Polity, 208 pages
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A comprehensive approach to digital inequalities helps both researchers and practitioners to understand the widening gap between the haves and have-nots in today's information society. Jan van Dijk's book helps key stakeholders – students, scholars, policy makers, and the public at large – to evaluate the broader societal implications of being disconnected in so many ways.

Living in a hyperconnected world is an opportunity and a privilege for about a quarter of the world's users: the developed, urban, young, educated, and English speaking. In order to design effective strategies and policies aimed at bridging the gap between the privileged and the underprivileged communities, areas, social and professional categories, and age-groups, an evidence-based approach is needed.

While several voices have criticized a dichotomic approach to ICT-related engagement and affordability (Gunkel, 2003; Selwyn, 2004), a closer look at Jan van Dijk's work unfolds a nuanced view. Ellen Helspser's appreciation on the back cover of the book is relevant: "Building on existing research and new theoretical development, he shows that digital divides are changing shape and are likely getting worse. Anyone interested in why, what and who we should be worried about in increasingly digital societies has to read this book."

Although the term "digital inequalities" seems to be constantly gaining popularity (DiMaggio–Hargittai, 2001; Gilbert, 2010; Beaunoyer–Dupéré–Guitton, 2020), the "digital divide" is still a strong metaphor and a term that is here to stay (Barzilai-Nahon, 2006; Ragnedda, 2017; Vartanova–Gladkova, 2019). From infrastructural access and digital skills to usage patterns (van Deursen–van Dijk, 2010, 2014), the transformation of the digital space resulted in researchers focusing more and more on users and their specific needs, rather than on technology.

A Weberian perspective focused on digital capital (Ragnedda, 2017: 76), while looking at children and youth for a gradual digital inclusion (Livingstone–Helsper, 2007) is aimed at the problem-solving side of the digital inequality issue. Meanwhile a proactive, problem-solving approach to digital inequalities leads to the rising popularity of the term *digital inclusion* (Helsper, 2008; Seale–Draffan–Wald, 2010; Chadwick–Wesson, 2016). Answering the opening question of this review – why then a book on the digital divide in 2020? – the answer is blunt yet not simple: because it is still relevant.

The Book: Nine Chapters and a Comprehensive Language

The first chapter – What is the digital divide? – introduces key terms and the overall concept of the book. The author tackles misreadings of the term and criticism surrounding it. Van Dijk defines digital divide from four key perspectives: motivation, physical access, skills, and usage. Utilizing a metaphor to define digital inequalities has its own dangers, warns the author: firstly, that it is a simple division between social categories. Instead, we should rather imagine multidimensional fractures between various groups, along a wide range of socio-economic and cultural criteria. The second misunderstanding is conceptualizing divides as very long-lasting phenomena, as if carved in stone. In fact, these differences can be mitigated by smart policies on the local, regional, and national level. The third misconception is looking at digital divides in terms of absolute exclusion versus inclusion, and, last but not least, the term digital divide might suggest that it is a technological problem, when in fact it is a social problem of who, what, how, and why there is such a complex inequality between individuals, groups, countries, and regions.

Chapter two – *Research into the Theory of Digital Divide* – presents the key questions and themes tackled by social scientists, policy makers, and developers in the past 25 years, shifting from a technology-centred approach to a user-centred vision on how information and communication technologies (ICTs) have changed skills, attitudes, and lifestyles. In chapters three, four, five, and six, the author presents the framework of the digital divide theory: motivation and attitude (Chapter 3), physical access (Chapter 4), skills (Chapter 5), and usage inequality (Chapter 6). Chapter seven – *Outcomes* – frames the causes and consequences of digital media appropriation. Social inequalities have their complex expression in the field of digital inequalities, leading to disruption in terms of skills, and even more of usage, rather than access. The comprehensive highlights on positive and negative outcomes of digital media use are important for users, developers, educators, and decision makers alike: on the one hand, a fast and affordable

access to economic, political, cultural, and health resources via ICTs; on the other hand, excessive use, cybercrime, loss of security, and privacy.

Chapter eight – *Social and Digital Inequalities* – frames the multiple gaps between socially and digitally advantaged vs. disadvantaged categories and the connection between them. Social inequalities reinforce digital inequalities and user vulnerabilities: socio-economic status, education, residence, and age are predictors of such gaps.

Finally, chapter nine – *Solutions to Mitigate the Digital Divide* – wraps up the possible action steps for those in charge of ICT policies and social development plans. It is urgent and important to educate the workforce and to bring the benefits of digitalization in all areas of economic, social, and cultural activities. "The final direction of development is the full integration of all digital and social policies" (2020: 158) – concludes van Dijk.

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