



BACHELOR THESIS

**BETWEEN THREAT AND OPPORTUNITY  
TO A YOUNG DEMOCRACY:  
THE REFLECTION OF HUNGARY'S  
MEDIA REGULATION IN THE GERMAN  
AND BRITISH WRITTEN PRESS  
AROUND THE TIME OF THE  
INTRODUCTION OF THE MEDIA LAWS  
IN 2010/2011.**

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**STUDY PROGRAMME:**

DOUBLE DEGREE EUROPEAN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

18/08/2015

## **Abstract**

The present thesis focuses on the reflection of Hungary's media regulation in the German and British press around the time of the introduction of the new media laws in 2010 and 2011. With the help of a two thirds parliamentary majority, Hungary's prime minister, Viktor Orbán, decided to introduce a new media regulation within a newly established constitution, which was highly discussed referring to its contradictory content. The new media laws generated international concern and were criticized by many organizations, due to threats to democracy and possible violations against the EU-law. However, advocates that support the changes initiated by Orbán also raised their voice publicly.

In line with the embedded democracy model by Wolfgang Merkel, indicators are operationalized in order to identify a dominant threat or opportunity reflection referring to democracy using content analysis. According to Merkel (2004, 2010, 2012), press freedom and not providing politically motivated restrictions for the distribution and reception of information are inherent parts of his partial regimes that must be present in an intact, constitutional democracy. Yet, two-thirds of the articles published in the German and British written press articulate that absolute press freedom is detrimental because political motivations inevitably distort information. As a result, aspects of the partial regimes suffer according to the argumentation line of the articles. Moreover, only few articles reflect the issue under study in a neutral way and none of the articles were considered as somehow positive.

Therefore, this thesis essentially draws the conclusion of a clear dominant score reflecting Hungary's media laws as a threat to democracy across the sample. Although it is given a disproportionate distribution of articles between the countries, Germany and the United Kingdom follow similar patterns. Notwithstanding that this research has its limitations, the outcome can be utilized for raising the attention to a severe problem and it can serve as a basis for further research.

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## 1. Introduction

“The proportion of the world’s population that has access to a free press declined to its lowest point in over a decade during 2010” (Freedom House, 2011).

Freedom of the press is facing a growing threat by ‘soft’ censorship which uses governmental financial power to put the bite on news media, punish critical reporting and reward favorable broadcasting. Soft Censorship was noted by the World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers (WAN-IFRA) when a report on soft censorship practices in the Hungarian media was released, in which it was said that state influence over media has accelerated in this country (Mong et al., 2015, p. 5).

Over the years, Hungary has made progress in its political transformation and democratic institutions. Moreover, processes based on the rule of law were consolidated more quickly than in many other transition countries of post-communist Central and Eastern Europe (Bojomi-Lázár, 2001, p. 3). In 2004, Hungary acceded to the European Union and met its requirements, despite the long-term implications of the systemic change (Agh, 2009, p. 1). However, after eight years of opposition politics, another big transformation of the Hungarian political landscape took place since the changes in 1989. Viktor Orbán succeeded to win the parliamentary elections with a two thirds majority in spring 2010.

With the help of his parliamentary majority, Viktor Orbán decided to introduce a new media regulation within a newly established constitution. At the end of 2010, the Hungarian Parliament adopted two Acts: Act CIV of 2010 on the freedom of the press and the fundamental rules on media content, and Act CLXXXV of 2010 on media services and mass media, thereby rearranging the landscape of media regulation (Koltay, 2012, p. 1). The adoption of the new media laws not only laid the foundation for the complete reconditioning of the Hungarian media system, but also represented one of the first and current administration measures to scale back constitutional democracy (Mong et al., 2015, p. 5). It provides a distinct perspective of the way the government conceives democracy. The new regulation aims toward a structural rearrangement of the media system by endorsing the dominance of the current ruling parties in the public domain. To encourage the understanding, the new media laws include the centralization of state advertising expenditures and growing governmental pressure on the media market to overt political intervention in newsroom practices. This centralization in state advertising expenditures influences editorial policies in an indirect way, and creates a newsroom, in which editors accept and journalists practice self-censorship. Furthermore, the act establishes a new body for media control, the National Media and Infocommunication Authority (NMHH), which monitors the contents of all media. This media authority is occupied politically one-sided, which further increases the risk of governmental pressure on the media market as well as simplify the rearrangement of the market position of the right-wing media. In addition, editorial teams can be forced to discharge through the new regulations. The most spectacular scandal in the media market was the discharge of origo.hu’s editor-in-chief in 2014. Origo.hu is a huge company, which is backed by the Deutsche Telekom. If such a big venture cannot withstand political pressure, it is highly questionable whether smaller Hungarian media owners stand a chance (ibid., p. 7). Beside abounding other changes enforced through the new media acts of Hungary, these are considered the most important parts and relevant for the given thesis.

The adoption of the new media laws has directed the attention of Europe and the world at large to the ongoing marginalization of constitutional democracy in Hungary. From the OSCE to the UN and the European Council, virtually all organizations concerned with fundamental rights, have voiced severe criticism over the regulation, and their objections have been seconded by journalist forums and other Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO's) (ibid., p. 5). The foreign minister of Luxembourg, Jean Asselborn, expressed his concerns by stating "this is a direct threat to democracy" (Eckholm et al., 2012, p. 1). However, the turmoil about the media laws disappeared quickly. The European Commission was satisfied with slight modifications and considered the media law as conform with EU laws, although the main problems that were criticized did not receive further attention. Moreover, advocates stated that the criticism on the media law is unintelligible and support Orbán in his political changes (Aachener Zeitung, Article ID: 33). For example the CDU delegate Werner Langen states that the campaigns against Hungary's new media law are "hypocritical and unbearable" (Berliner Morgenpost, Article ID: 34). Orbán himself manifests that the new law is more democratic than the old one (Die Welt, Article ID: 44).

The present bachelor thesis will focus on Hungary's new media laws within the new constitution in 2010. While these new media laws generated international concern and were criticized by many organizations, there were also advocates that support the changes initiated by Viktor Orbán as pointed out in the previous paragraph. In addition, it was particularly discussed in European newspapers according to its contradictory content. Based on the research problem, this thesis seeks to answer the following research question: **"To what extent are Hungary's media laws reflected as a threat or an opportunity to democracy in the German and British written press for the time period between December 01, 2010 and April 01, 2011?"**

With this research question, the thesis recognizes and attracts the attention to the significant impact of Hungary's new media regulation and its effect on democracy reflected in the written media. Media is commonly seen as an institution, which serves as a guardian for democracy and it is important to bring concerns from the public to the government's attention (Gross, 2002, p. 90). Still, it is highly controversial whether there should be a guardian for the guardian. Consequently, it is expected that the media as the institution of democracy guardianship judges the law harshly and critically assesses possible interventions in the freedom of the press. Together with the assumption that the two case examples, Germany and the United Kingdom, represent an equal role in the EU, the following hypothesis results: **"The German and British media predominantly express negative attitudes towards Hungary's democracy."**

Since Hungary acceded to the EU in 2004, these aspects are fundamentally important for future scenarios deciding on possible changes within Europe and thus consorts with a topic in the research field of European Studies. Moreover, the start of 2011 was a historic moment for Hungary, as it took over the helm of the Council of the European Union for the first time. Thus, Hungary carried particular responsibility regarding the tasks ahead for Europe as well as for the image of the Union in the world.

Critics in Hungary as well as in foreign countries consider the media regulation as means to censorship of the press. The EU-Parliament already discussed whether these changes can be seen as a violation against the EU-law and demonstrations were on in front of the parliament building in

Hungary. As it is of sociological relevance, not only newspaper articles determine the topic as highly important. Reports and studies deal with the conformity of Hungary's new media legislation to European and EU media-regulation standards and address a key policy debate (CMCS, 2012). Furthermore, a comprehensive study was conducted to analyze whether the new regulation is in compliance with the norm of Hungarian constitutionality that took shape since 1989 (National Media and Infocommunications Authority, 2011). Additionally, a report on soft censorship in the Hungarian media in 2014 was published by several Hungarian social scientists (Mong et. al., 2015). However, the most similar work is also the one, which is recently published. In June 2015, the German Council of Foreign Relations (DGAP) published a report with the title: "Hungary in the Media, 2010-2015, critical reflections on coverage in the Press and Media" (Von Dohnanyi et. al., 2015). This report examines German media reports relating to common media criticism on different parts of the Hungarian constitution and adds a critical reflection in order to expose the truth behind Hungary's constitutional law. However, the DGAP report is most widely confusing and a contradiction to the main findings from other institutions and scholars. In order to incorporate this opinion, it is referred to the report within the analysis to emphasize differences. Overall, only insufficient references have been found in line with the given thesis of whether Hungary's new media regulation was reflected positively or negatively to democracy in the written press. Concentrating on the term democracy and incorporating democracy theories takes it to another level to be able to discuss Hungary's form of government. Moreover, this study aims at providing insights into the complex interconnection between media and democracy with the help of one particular case example. The thesis starts with the explanation of the theoretical framework, which begins with the literature review. In order to be able to test a specific theory on the given event under study, it is then focused on the model of "embedded democracy" and the position of the media in democracy. Next, the research methodology of a content analysis is presented. Then the data is analyzed and the findings are interpreted. In the end, the main findings are concluded and implications are stated.

## 2. Theoretical Framework

The present thesis can be located in the framework of democracy theories, due to its focal point of Hungary's media regulations and its effect on democracy.

Democracy and democracy theories are not an invention of the modern world (Merkel, 2010, p. 26). Theory as well as reality provide different normative fundamental principles and forms for thousands of years, hence a definition of democracy is essential for the continuing discussion. The latin term *democratia* is made up of *demos* (the people) and *kratein* (to govern). The idea of *demos* defines the people politically and varies from century to century. Not until the development of the 19th and 20th century, the term democracy lost its exclusiveness and the right to vote extended (ibid., p. 27). However, only short-term after the first World War, the right to vote became universal in various western industrial states. From that time on, criteria of the modern inclusive democracy were met. Theoretical developments of the term democracy were traced by John Locke, Jean-Jacque Rousseau, Montesquieu, Alexis de Tocqueville, Joseph Schumpeter, Robert Dahl, Jürgen Habermas and various other theorists (ibid.). By now, this number of outstanding theorists of democracy indicates the spectrum of concepts and models that deal with the term 'democracy'. These can be classified in strong and weak, direct and indirect, elitist or participative, procedural or substantial democracy models (ibid., p. 28). However, these democracy theories did not consider the quality of democracy. Moreover, it is difficult to locate the media in the mentioned theories. From 2003 on, the research of comparative democracy and transformation included the debate about the quality of democracy. Certainly, measurements of democratic quality of political regimes, such as Freedom House, Polity I-IV and the Bertelsmann Transformation Index (BTI), exist since the 1970s<sup>1</sup>. Within these measurements the media is included, because "whoever wants to strengthen democracy [...], has to concentrate on the media and the people who work in them" (Kleinstauber, 2010, p. 37). It is complicated to refer to unique and specific events by means of indices, such as Freedom House and the BTI that are designed to evaluate the system at large. Therefore, special reports of the two organizations have been chosen, in order to elaborate on the implementation of Hungary's media law in 2010 and its aftermath. As an example, 'Freedom of the Press' is a yearly report by the US-based non-governmental organization 'Freedom House', measuring the level of freedom and editorial independence appreciated by the press in nations and significant disputed territories around the world. The BTI also provides a single rubric within the section of freedom of speech, focusing on media in their country reports. Details of specific findings by Freedom House and the BTI will be provided in the analysis section. Next, the concept of 'embedded democracy' according to Wolfgang Merkel is presented.

### 2.1. Concept of Embedded Democracy

In order to define democracy in line with the present thesis, the theory of the German political scientist Wolfgang Merkel is used. In his typology of political systems (1999), he deploys six classification criteria, which are connected to fundamental issues that are related to the focus of sover-

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<sup>1</sup> Freedom House since 1972: (Gurr et al., 1990; Jagers et. al., 1995); Bertelsmann Stiftung since 2004: (Bühlemann et al., 2008); recapitulatory: (Lauth, 2004, p. 297 f.; Schmidt, M.G, 2006, p. 389 f.)



eighty in a political system (Merkel, 2012, p. 189). This concept was developed further by the Berlin Science Centre for Social Research under the direction of Wolfgang Merkel and was named 'embedded democracy'.

Embedded democracy follows the idea that stable constitutional democracies are embedded in two ways: Internally, where the specific interdependence and independence of the different partial regimes of a democracy secure its normative and functional existence (ibid.). And externally, where these partial regimes are embedded in spheres of "enabling conditions of democracy that protect it from outer as well as inner shocks and destabilizing tendencies" (ibid.).

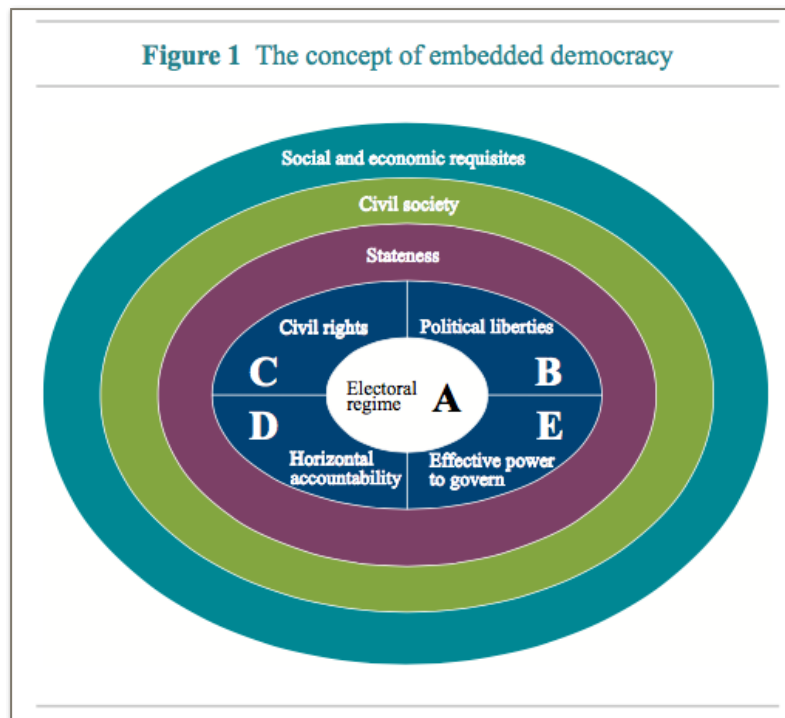


Figure 1: The Concept of Embedded Democracy and its Five Partial Regimes Developed in the Research Project "Defective Democracies" (Source: Merkel, 2010, p. 31)

An embedded liberal democracy consists of five interdependent partial regimes: a democratic electoral regime, political liberties of participation, civil rights, horizontal accountability, and effective power to govern (ibid., p. 37). These five partial regimes show that the concept of democracy goes "beyond simple democratic electoralism, since only the other four partial regimes guarantee that not only the procedural aspects but also goals behind democratic elections are fulfilled" (ibid.). In the next section, it will be enlarged on the five partial regimes, especially focusing on the media within each of them.

### 2.1.1. The Electoral Regime (A)

A main position of embedded democracy is engaged by the electoral regime. It has the function of making the access to public power positions of the state dependent on the results of open, competitive elections (Merkel, 2004, p. 38). It is the most obvious expression of sovereignty of the people, the participation of citizens and the equal weight allotted to their individual preferences. Further-

more, the electoral regime presents a cardinal difference to autocracy, due to open and pluralist competition about the central sovereignty (Merkel, 2010, p. 32). Equal political rights are the minimal requirements for a democratic electoral regime, but do not testify the sufficient condition of democratic governance (Merkel, 2004, p. 38). Nevertheless, the electoral regime cannot be taken into account without considering the second closely linked partial regime of political rights.

### **2.1.2. Political Rights (B)**

A special emphasis lies on the partial regime of political rights because it focuses on the public domain and underlines the remarkable interdependence of the media and press freedom. The political participation rights complete the vertical dimension of democracy. They function to facilitate democratic elections in which the interests of complex societies can also be expressed (Merkel, 2004, p. 38). The institutional core of political rights is the right for political communication and organization, which are fundamental parts of a complete democratic regime (Dahl, 1989, p. 221). Political participation is facilitated by freedom of expression, freedom of assembly, the right to petition and freedom of the press (Merkel, 2004, p. 38 et. seq.). According to Merkel (2004, 2010, 2012), citizens are able to form independent interest groups and organize parties to help them express their political preferences. Besides public media, private media can have significant weight in the provision of information. "The distribution and reception of information and news may not be regulated by politically motivated restrictions" (ibid., 2010, p. 39). The political communication and organizational law are important components. None of the political parties must be allowed to deprive the right of free expression and organizational law. Citizens must also have the right to form free social interest groups that are independent from the state. Only the public allows the full development of political and civil society. It promotes the persistent and sensitive feedback of state institutions to the interests and preferences of society. The partial regimes A and B form the hard control through elections on the one hand, and the soft control of the public between the elections on the other hand (ibid.).

### **2.1.3. Civil Rights (C)**

The first two partial regimes have to be supplemented by civil rights. Even before the institutionalization of mutual checks and balances, civil rights are central to the rule of law in an embedded democracy (ibid., p. 32). The rule of law is the principle that the state is bound to uphold its laws effectively and to act according to clearly defined prerogatives. Therefore, it is understood as "containment and limitation of the exercise of state power" (Merkel, 2004, p. 39). Civil rights as 'negative' rights of freedom against the state, touch on questions about the reach of and claim to power. In a constitutional democracy, decisions concerning these rights have to be put out of reach of any majority of citizens or parliament. Otherwise, majoritarian democracies could turn into the 'tyranny of the majority' (ibid., p. 40). The executive and legislative branches need barriers that prevent individuals, groups or the political opposition from being oppressed by a democratic majority decision (Merkel, 2010, p. 33). Consequently, civil rights are a basic condition of the existence of the concept of citizenship.

#### **2.1.4. Devision of Powers and Horizontal Accountability (D) & The Effective Power to Govern (E)**

The fourth and fifth partial regime of a constitutional democracy are combined in one section within the course of this thesis, since they are considered of secondary importance in association with the media. The fourth partial regime comprises the division of powers and resulting 'horizontal accountability'. The origin of the principle of the division of powers in political philosophical writings can be found in the theories of John Locke and Montesquieu, but there are already beginnings of a mixed constitution form by a theory, which is embossed by Aristoteles. The principle of power division manifests the division between legislative (legislative power), judiciary (judicial power) and executive (executive power). The principle of the division of powers is one of the most important components of modern democracies. It is closely linked to the term of power structure in the concept of embedded democracy, which is embodied in terms of a balanced mutual interdependence autonomy of the legislative, executive and judiciary.

The fifth and last partial regime emphasizes the necessity that the elected representatives are the ones that actually govern (Merkel, 2004, p. 41). The criterion of an effective power to govern includes an attribute that is established, but not seen as a matter of course in a new democracy (Merkel, 2010, p. 33). It determines that the military or other powerful actors that are not subordinated to a democratic responsibility, do not possess the (last) disposal over particular policy areas or domestic territories (ibid.). For the concept of embedded democracy, it is crucial that the effective power to govern lies in the hands of democratically elected representatives (Merkel, 2004, p. 41).

The described partial regimes can only function effectively in a democracy, if they are mutually embedded. This means that partial regimes support the functions of another partial regime and that they ensure political actors not to infringe on the functional spheres of another regime (Merkel, 2004, p. 43). In addition, every democracy is not only embedded internally, but also externally. Every democracy as a whole is embedded in an environment that compasses, enables, and stabilizes the democratic regime (ibid., p. 44).

#### **2.2. Concept of Defective Democracy**

If one of the five partial regimes is damaged in such a way that it changes the entire logic of a constitutional democracy, the embedded democracy is replaced by a defective democracy (Merkel, 2010, p. 37). There are different types of defective democracies, dependent on which partial regime is damaged. Thus, defective democracies are democracies, in which the partial regimes are no longer mutually embedded and the logic of a constitutional democracy becomes disrupted (Merkel, 2004, p. 48). Defective democracies are defined as systems of government that excel through the presence of a broadly functioning democratic electoral regime to regulate the access to rule, but lose their complementary supports through disturbances in logic of one or several partial regimes (Merkel et al., 2003, p. 66). These complementary supports are usually unalterable to secure freedom, equality and control in an efficient democracy.

It can be distinguished between four types of defective democracies: exclusive democracy, domain democracy, illiberal democracy and delegative democracy (Merkel, 2004, p. 49). The exclusive

democracy comprises the defect of popular sovereignty through the universal voting right and the fair implementation. In case of withdrawal of power from political domains by veto powers, like the military, one speaks of a domain democracy. An illiberal democracy is characterized as an incomplete and damaged constitutional state and the executive and legislative control of the state are only weakly limited by the judiciary. If the legislature and judiciary have only limited control over the executive branch, one can speak of a delegative democracy (ibid., p. 49 et seq.).

The figure below shows again the five partial regimes with their most important elements that will be used as test criteria to analyze the condition of Hungary's concrete democracy.

- I. Dimension of vertical legitimacy
  - A. Electoral regime
    - (1) Elected officials
    - (2) Inclusive suffrage
    - (3) Right to candidacy
    - (4) Correctly organized, free and fair elections
  - B. Political rights
    - (5) Press freedom
    - (6) Freedom of association
- II. Dimension of liberal constitutionalism and rule of law
  - C. Civil rights
    - (7) Individual liberties from violations of own rights by state/private agents
    - (8) Equality before the law
  - D. Horizontal accountability
    - (9) Horizontal separation of powers
- III. Dimension of effective agenda control
  - E. Effective power to rule
    - (10) Elected officials with the effective right to rule

*Figure 2: Dimensions, Partial Regimes and Criteria of Embedded Democracy (Merkel, 2004, p. 40)*

With the help of Wolfgang Merkel's five partial regimes, the author of the thesis is able to construct indicators in order to test the condition of Hungary's democracy. By analyzing the reporting of the German and British written press with the help of these indicators, it can be concluded whether Hungary's new media laws are reflected as a threat or an opportunity to democracy.

As stated in the hypothesis, it is expected that the German and British media predominantly express negative attitudes towards Hungary's democracy. In line with this hypothesis, it is assumed that this case example will be a set of most-similar cases in terms of their newspaper reporting, due to their similar role in the EU. Therefore, an equal number of articles of the two countries across the sample is expected. Additionally high numbers of articles are expected due to the topicality of the issue under study at that time.

In case of a reflection as a threat, it will be referred back to the section of the concept of defective democracy. However, in case of a reflection of an opportunity, the possibility of an embedded democracy will be discussed. After explaining the methodological steps, the analysis chapter assesses whether the written press of the two countries reflect Hungary's new media law as a threat or an opportunity to democracy.

### **3. Research Methodology**

In order to create a basis for the analysis of the German and British written press and its content, a clear methodological outline is needed. Important aspects such as validity and reliability are ensured through a comprehensible procedure. Therefore, the following paragraphs give an overview about the chosen research design of a content analysis and its characteristics including strengths and weaknesses. Next, the method of data collection is presented. It will be amplified on the sampling and the chosen time period of four months in connection with the events under study. Finally, the method of data analysis will receive further attention and the operationalization will be thoroughly explained. This section will include three tables presenting the coding guidelines. By using the information of the theoretical framework, indicators are constructed for the defined two key variables.

#### **3.1. Research Design**

A content analysis is “particularly well suited to the study of communications and to answering the classic questions of communications research: who says what, to whom, why, how and with what effect?” (Babbie, 2010, p. 333). It is a flexible method for analyzing text data and its goal is to fully understand the issue under study. Due to the fact that the thesis aims at analyzing the content of the written press on the issue of Hungary’s media regulation, the research question of the present work is clearly in line with the given research design. A content analysis can be used with “either qualitative or quantitative data; furthermore, it may be used in an inductive or deductive way” (Elo et al., 2007, p. 109). Within this thesis, the deductive approach is utilized, which is due to the fact that it is aimed at testing a part of a theory on a particular country and event.

On the one hand, the design of a content analysis has a great advantage in terms of time and money. There is no requirement for a large research staff and no special equipment is needed, which is in the interests of students constructing a bachelor thesis (Babbie, 2010, p. 344). Another huge advantage is the allowing of correction of errors. If problems are discovered within the study, one might be forced to repeat the whole research project. To be able to correct errors within the study makes the content analysis suitable for not experienced researchers and students. In contrast, a field study can make it impossible to redo the project (ibid.). Finally, content analyses provide the advantage of all unobtrusive measures, meaning that a content analysis can have no effect on the subject. On the other hand, content analyses are limited to the examination of recorded communications (ibid.). In the given bachelor thesis, the communications are written in newspapers, to permit analysis. Although the content analysis comes at cost of reliability and specificity in coding, because of the employment of different definitions and standards by the author, the content analysis is best suited according to the given research question (ibid., p. 338).

Consequently, the following empirical work rests upon the content analysis method. By the help of this method, it shall be seen whether media editors reflect the event under study as a threat or an opportunity to democracy in their articles.

### 3.2. Method of Data Collection

The sample of the content analysis contains two cases: German and British contributions exclusively. This decision is firstly based on the availability of language skills of the author and secondly on limitations concerning time and resources. According to Babbie (2010), it is usually appropriate to sample, because it is impossible to observe everything one wants to explore (*ibid.*, p. 334). Since the present bachelor thesis can be located in the research field of European Studies, Germany and the United Kingdom have been chosen owing to their central role as political drivers in the EU (Lehne, 2012, p. 1). The event under study is the implementation of Hungary's media law in 2010 and whether they are reflected positively or negatively in the German and British press. In line with the hypothesis, it is assumed that this case example will be a set of most-similar cases in terms of their newspaper reporting, due to their similar role in the EU. Moreover, two cases have been chosen to extend the external validity by presenting the media reflection of more than one country. It needs to be admitted that an inclusion of a greater number of countries into the examination would increase the external validity even further. By including the Hungarian press in the study, a comparison of Hungary's articles with the one of the two Central European countries would be ensured. Yet, this would induce a substantial change of the thesis. Unfortunately, this procedure is not feasible for the author, because of insufficient language skills. Nevertheless, given the fact that the issue of Hungary's new media regulation generated international concern and was discussed in the written press, this research is of current character.

As a consequence of the fact that the media laws were put into practice in the beginning of 2011, it will be focused on a four month time period from December 01, 2010 until April 01, 2011. Thus, the period includes the time right before and after the implementation of the new media laws, to make it feasible. In addition, it includes the time after the announcement and introduction of the media law, as well as the time period after the European Union forced for modifications within the law. Moreover, it is not possible to focus on the whole range of media outputs, which is why this thesis will only focus on newspaper contributions. The author is aware that this leads to limitations of external validity. Also, due to the partly lacking quality of reporting, it cannot be detected whether the journalists report the objective truth of the event under study. However, newspaper articles are one of the only ways to get access to information for the event under study. Additionally, newspapers and media have a special role within democracy by informing the people, but also reflecting the opinion of the people, and thus affecting the setting of the political agenda. To confirm the line of argumentation, information from indices like Freedom House and the Bertelsmann Transformation Index are added. However, the advantages and disadvantages of the two indices need to be discussed. On the one hand, Freedom House mandates a high empirical coverage, a wide democracy concept and makes a distinction between political and civil rights also concentrating on the detection of theory and reality. On the other hand, the reliability is hardly testable and a high dependency on the United States exists, which is why its reports have been criticized for the perceived bias towards countries with pro-US positions (ZeePedia, n.d.). By contrast, the BTI is criticized, because its findings are based on expert opinions and due to the fact that it is a private actor. In addition, it only provides a small coverage and the calibration via the BTI board is non-transparent. Nevertheless, it contains a wide definition of the concept of democracy, a transparent publication of

data and the most important part: the possibility to identify individual defects of democracy is in place. Notwithstanding that these indices have their limitations and received criticism, they can be used to support arguments that are given in the articles due to their wide democracy concept.

The data collection will be conducted via the electronic search engine LexisNexis. LexisNexis is one of the world's largest online database, which provides thousands of publications and is considered as an extensive source of information. Here, the following filtering scheme for British news items is employed: "Hungary's Media Laws". The search string will be translated into German in order to account for language differences<sup>2</sup>. The author chose to pick only one search word, because the topic was highly relevant and current at that time. Furthermore, "Hungary's Media Law" comprises and describes the topic the best, which is why it is assumed that not many other articles would be found relating to that specific topic. Additionally, different search words and variations would possibly exceed the limitations of a bachelor thesis. The sample size refers to the newspapers that are available in the LexisNexis database for both countries, presenting the unit of observation. Every relevant article is taken into account. In the case of the United Kingdom, the newspaper sample includes: 'The Guardian', 'Irish Examiner', 'The Irish Times', 'Right Vision News' and 'Future News - Media Planner'. The German newspapers that will be considered are: 'Taz, die Tageszeitung', 'Frankfurter Rundschau', 'Die Welt', 'Welt kompakt', 'Der Tagesspiegel', 'Berliner Zeitung', 'Hamburger Abendblatt', 'Aachener Zeitung', 'Berliner Morgenpost', 'Kölnische Rundschau', 'Stuttgarter Nachrichten', 'Stuttgarter Zeitung', 'Aachener Nachrichten', 'Börsen-Zeitung', 'General-Anzeiger', 'Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger', 'Rheinische Post Duesseldorf' and 'Die Zeit'.

Within this thesis, the author has done what was possible and feasible. However, the results of this research cannot be generalized to the entire press, due to limitations of the database.

### **3.3. Method of Data Analysis**

The measurement of the variables is rooted in tradition of deductive, qualitative as well as quantitative approaches, predefining certain indicators for the presence or absence of threats and opportunities to democracy reflected in the German and British written press. Thus, the German and British written press can be determined as the unit of analysis. In order to test the theoretical framework of embedded democracy, two sets of questions, intended to cover the conceptual dimensions of threats and opportunities to democracy, are defined. These sets of indicators will then be used to scan for the existence of threat and opportunity reflections. One set refers to the negative implications of the new media regulation (threat), whereas the other set refers to positive aspects of the media laws (opportunity). The set of indicators are formulated as follows:

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<sup>2</sup> German translation: "Ungarns Mediengesetze"



<b>Negative Implication (Threat Indicator)</b>
Does the article contain negative expressions that oppose the implementation of Hungary's media law?
Is press freedom presented as limited or even violated by the media regulation?
Is the distribution and reception of information and news presented as regulated by politically motivated restrictions (e.g. including the term censorship)?
Does the article contain the message that political parties allow themselves to deprive the right of free expression?
Does the article deliver arguments or facts that oppose the media laws referring to democracy?
Does the journalist include concerns about Hungary's media law on European level, e.g. by the EU Commission?

Figure 3: Set of Threat Indicators within the Tradition of Latent Coding (Source: Own Research)

<b>Positive Implication (Opportunity Indicator)</b>
Does the article contain positive expressions that welcome the implementation of Hungary's media laws?
Is press freedom presented as supporting or with no negative effect by the media regulation?
Is the distribution and reception of information and news presented as independent from political state regulations and restrictions?
Does the article contain the message that none of the political parties are allowed to deprive the right of free expression?
Does the article deliver arguments or facts that support the media laws referring to democracy?
Does the journalist include supporting arguments about Hungary's media law on European level, e.g. by the EU Commission?

Figure 4: Set of Opportunity Indicators within the Tradition of Latent Coding (Source: Own Research)

Content-wise, the indicators go beyond the question of whether the article contains negative or positive expressions that oppose or support the implementation of Hungary's new media laws. In line with Merkel's theory of embedded democracy and the constructed partial regimes, negative and positive indicators have been operationalized in order to test for threat and opportunity conditions. By referring back to chapter two, it is considered as a threat to democracy, if one element of the five partial regimes is damaged through the passing of the media regulation in the end of 2010. In contrast, if the elements are not damaged or even strengthened, it is considered as an opportunity to democracy. It is noted that some of the indicators, such as the question of whether the article delivers arguments that oppose the media laws referring to democracy and whether press freedom is presented as limited or violated, are associated with each other. However, the author wants to expose particular components of the embedded democracy model by Wolfgang Merkel. Moreover, the last indicator was appended besides the previous indicators, owing to the topic of European importance.

The operationalizing of the two dependent variables is approached by the tradition of latent coding. Latent coding is a method that can help to tap the underlying meaning of communications. The

coder subjectively decides what wordings or phrases shall be considered for tapping the key variables (Babbie, 2010, p. 338). This approach scores high in terms of validity, but comes at a cost to reliability and specificity (ibid.). The two sets of questions can be answered in a binary way, whereas the answer 'yes' is coded as '1', and 'no' as '0'. The codes are then added up for each article and divided by the total number of items in order to construct two different index scales for both conditions. These scales range from zero to one. The higher the score, the stronger the presence of a negative or positive reflection of the media law to democracy.

To give an example, it is assumed that an article is checked for both, threat and opportunity to democracy, due to the implementation of Hungary's media law. Five threat indicators are present in the article and one opportunity condition is appointed. The sum of the codes yes=1, yes=1, yes=1, yes=1, yes=1, no=0 is therefore 5. This number will be divided by the total number of indicators, which is six, and an index score of 0.83 will be obtained. If the same article simultaneously contains one indicator of the opportunity, the score of 0.83 for the threat score has to be contrasted with the opportunity condition of 0.16. In this example, the threat score outweighs the opportunity score and the article will therefore be marked as reflecting the issue under study as predominantly negative to democracy. In general, a high score on the threat scale indicates that the written press emphasizes the negative impact of Hungary's new media regulation on democracy, the poor situation of press freedom in this country and high concerns from the EU Commission, whereas a high opportunity score underlines the exact opposite. In the case of equal index scores, it will be concluded that no frame indicator can be detected.

In order to construct the analysis even more meaningful, the author will refer to a subjective evaluation concerning the overall tone of the article towards Hungary's media regulation and its impact on democracy ranging from (1) strongly positive to (5) strongly negative. This evaluation is based on the coder's personal assessment and is among others, influenced through the occurrence of qualitative statements, the amount of positive or negative citations and the persuasiveness of arguments in favor or against the media regulation. For a comprehensible procedure, the table below provides a definition and the specific coding of the given categories.

Categories	Definition	Coding
<b>Strongly Positive</b>	High occurrence of qualitative statements that are highly positive and persuasive referring to Hungary's media law and democracy. Nearly no negative arguments.	1
<b>Positive</b>	Occasional occurrence of qualitative statements that are positive and persuasive referring to Hungary's media law and democracy. Positive arguments outweigh the negative ones.	2
<b>Neutral</b>	Positive and negative statements outweigh each other referring to Hungary's media law and democracy. Or no real favorable condition can be identified.	3
<b>Negative</b>	Occasional occurrence of qualitative statements that are negative and persuasive referring to Hungary's media law and democracy. Negative arguments outweigh the positive ones.	4
<b>Strongly Negative</b>	High occurrence of qualitative statements that are highly negative and persuasive referring to Hungary's media law and democracy. Nearly no positive arguments.	5

Figure 5: Coding Guideline Concerning the Overall Tone of the Article (Source: Own Research)

In order to cross check for internal consistency of the coding, the articles will be coded and analyzed twice. This can either be done by a different coder, or the author will re-do the coding himself after a week. Within this thesis, the author will code and analyze the articles twice, due to lacking expertise of another person to conduct such an analysis properly. In case of differences between the first and second coding round, the author will change the index score and analysis, but variations will not receive further attention. By re-doing the coding, it can be checked whether coding labels have been applied consistently and a stronger analysis can be provided. Moreover, it needs to be considered on which sources the articles are based on. If many articles use the same sources, it is obvious that these articles use a similar argumentation line and depict the same opinion. However, this limitation does not affect the outcome sorely.

Another interesting element would have been the inclusion of the satisfaction of democracy by means of the Eurobarometer (EU Commission - Eurobarometer survey). Thereby, it could be detected whether the public opinion differs from the reporting of the newspapers and a verifying and supporting character could have been added. It is assumed that the satisfaction for certain institutions in Hungary decreased drastically. Unfortunately, current data on the satisfaction of democracy in Hungary have not been released, which is why it cannot be included within the analysis.

The methodological part of the thesis argues in favor of applying a content analysis and latent coding, in order to examine the newspaper sample and find out whether the new media laws are reflected as a threat or opportunity to democracy. The following analysis will present the results of the content analysis, which will be interpreted and discussed.

#### 4. Analysis

The content analysis is conducted for the time period between December 01, 2010 and April 01, 2011. According to Babbie, the documentation of the content analysis has been approached by means of a tally sheet, which can be found in the appendix (Babbie, 2010, p. 341). This tally sheet comprises the following elements: article ID, article name, date of release, newspaper name, threat score, opportunity score, dominant score or whether there could not be identified one of the two scores, and an overall evolution of the newspapers' tone. Additionally the articles are ordered time-wise from December 01, 2010 until April 01, 2011.

The initial search via LexisNexis produces a sample of N=56 articles. The original sample is N=67, but eleven articles turn out to be irrelevant, because they are too short with not enough content to analyze.

Contributions by Country	Sample	Percentage Points
Germany	N=51	0.91
United Kingdom	N=5	0.09
Total	N=56	1

Figure 6: Distribution of Contributions by Country (Source: Own Research)

The majority of the total number of contributions appears in the German press (N=51), which constitutes 91 percent of the whole sample. The selected British newspapers released only N=5 contributions via LexisNexis on the topic of Hungary's new media laws around the given time period. Thus, it seems that the given topic received considerably more attention by the German press than in articles in Great Britain. This assumption can be supported by the cultural and historical connection of Germany and Hungary. Germany has an economically stronger bonding to Hungary and German enterprises have always been the biggest investors in Hungary's media ventures (LB., 2014). Consequently, it is assumed that Germany puts more emphasis on the issue in their political agenda as well as in their reporting. However, five articles in the British press are seen as an extremely small sample size, which is unfortunately not highly representative for the United Kingdom. Overall, the sample of 56 articles in a time period of four months in two different countries is surprisingly menial, even though Hungary's new media law is a topic of high relevance, especially around the time of the implementation of the law. Hungary carries particular responsibility for the image of the Union in the world, especially focusing on the time period in the beginning of January, where Hungary took over the EU presidency. The European Union has common core values, which includes the independence and diversity of the press. Thus, they should represent united norms and conserve the image of a democratic institutional set-up. Due to a selected sample of newspapers as well as articles by LexisNexis, it cannot be identified whether an equal and representative newspaper coverage is given. Nevertheless, the expectations of high numbers of articles as well as an equal number of articles of the two countries across the sample, are not fulfilled.

Case	Sample	Percentage Points
<b>Dominant Score: Threat</b>	N=45	0.8
<b>Dominant Score: Opportunity</b>	N=0	0
<b>No Dominant Score</b>	N=11	0.2

Figure 7: Distribution of Scores between Threat and Opportunity (Source: Own Research)

Looking at the distribution of the resulting scores of the articles in figure seven, the threat score outweighs the opportunity in N=45 articles, which constitutes 80 percent across the sample. In most of the threat cases, opportunity scores are not even existent. Thus, the articles reflect the issue of Hungary's media laws as predominantly negative and as a threat to democracy. In only N=11 articles, positive and negative arguments counterbalance each other. Therefore, no dominant score can be identified. Altogether, a clear dominant score across the sample can be exposed. Although it is given a disproportionate distribution of articles between the countries, Germany and the United Kingdom follow similar patterns. As depicted in figure eight, the threat score outweighs the opportunity score in both countries with the same number of distribution.

Score	Germany	Percentage Points	United Kingdom	Percentage Points
<b>Threat Score</b>	N=41	0.8	N=4	0.8
<b>Opportunity Score</b>	N=0	0	N=0	0
<b>No Dominant Score</b>	N=10	0.2	N=1	0.2
<b>Total</b>	N=51	1	N=5	1

Figure 8: Distribution of Threat, Opportunity or No Dominant Score by Country (Source: Own Research)

The outcome of the distribution of scores across the sample, as well as by country, is anything but unexpected. As stated in the section of research methodology, it was assumed that this case example will be a set of most-similar cases in terms of their newspaper reporting, owing to their similar role in the EU. Thus, the hypothesis that "the German and British media predominantly express negative attitudes towards Hungary's democracy" can be confirmed. Figure eight depicts, that the threat score outweighs the opportunity score with the same number of distribution in German and British newspapers. Thus, the assumption and the hypothesis are correct.

Using the example of Hungary, many threats to a constitutional democracy could be identified in the new constitution and by introducing the new media laws. Not for nothing, many organizations and politicians raised their voices and phrased their concerns publicly. Consequently, it is unambiguous that journalists incorporate the concerns in their line of argumentation and reporting, which should represent the overall opinion of the society. Here, the inclusion of the Eurobarometer would have been helpful to support this argument. However, sufficient data are not available for the event under study. Moreover, it is understandingly that journalists hold the same opinion. Eventually, the threatened rights of press freedom and distribution of information without politically censorship are

their own rights. Even though newspapers should cover objective reporting, the subjective opinions of journalists are always included.

<b>Tone</b>	<b>Strongly Positive</b>	<b>Positive</b>	<b>Neutral</b>	<b>Negative</b>	<b>Strongly Negative</b>
<b>Sample</b>	N=0	N=0	N=11	N=27	N=18
<b>Relative Number</b>	0	0	0.2	0.48	0.32

Figure 9: Distribution of the Newspapers' Tone (Source: Own Research)

In addition, the author of the present thesis referred to a subjective evaluation concerning the overall tone of the articles towards Hungary's new media regulation and its impact on democracy ranging from (1) strongly positive to (5) strongly negative. 80 percent of the articles are considered as negative or highly negative tone-wise. In contrast, none of the articles were considered as somehow positive and only 20 percent reflect a neutral tone.

The majority of the total number of contributions are considered as negative (N=27) in its tone, constituting 48 percent across the sample. These articles contain qualitative statements that are negative and persuasive referring to Hungary's media laws and its democracy and outweigh the positive arguments in case of existence. Even 32 percent were considered as highly negative, including a high occurrence of contentual qualitative statements that are very negative and persuasive referring to Hungary's media laws and democracy as well as providing nearly no positive arguments.

<b>Distributions of Scores</b>	<b>Threat Scores</b>	<b>Opportunity Scores</b>
<b>≤ 0.33</b>	N=13	N=16
<b>&gt; 0.33 &lt; 0.83</b>	N=26	N=2
<b>≥ 0.83</b>	N=17	N=0

Figure 10: Distribution of Scores (Source: Own Research)

With regard to content, the overall sample of N=56 articles include various indicators of the threat variable that are formulated with the help of the theoretical framework. The inclusion of negative arguments range from a low threat score of 0.16 until a high threat score of zero, including all threat indicators that are formulated. In contrast, the inclusion of positive arguments only range from a low threat score of 0.16 to 0.5, if opportunity scores exist. In order to give an overview about the distribution of scores across the sample, the scores are scaled from a low threat score (0-0.33), over a medium threat score (0.33-0.83) and a high threat score (0.83-1) in figure ten. The majority of the total number of articles including negative arguments, can be found in the category of medium threat scores N=26. Within this category, at least half of the formulated threat indicators need to be applicable to the article. Moreover, even 30 percent of the total number of contributions scored 0.83 or higher, which claims that five out of six or all indicators are concurrently. Content-

wise, the indicators go beyond the question of whether the article contains negative or positive expression that oppose or supports the implementation of Hungary's new media laws. Of course, some of the indicators, such as the question of whether the article delivers arguments that oppose the media laws referring to democracy and whether press freedom is presented as limited or violated, are associated with each other. However, the author wants to expose particular components of the embedded democracy model by Wolfgang Merkel.

One of the indicators contain the question whether press freedom is presented as limited or even violated by the new media regulation. According to Merkel, political participation is facilitated by freedom of expression, freedom of assembly, the right to petition and freedom of the press (Merkel, 2004, p. 38f.). In Merkel's vision, citizens are able to form independent interest groups and organize parties to help them express their political preferences. Consequently, freedom of the press is an important component within the model, and needs to be present in an intact constitutional democracy.

Many articles thematize that the new media law in Hungary prevent the full elaboration of press freedom. The German newspaper 'General Anzeiger' reports that Hungary has catered for an outcry shortly before the takeover of the EU presidency, due to the restrictions of its press freedom (General Anzeiger, Article ID: 4). Under the new law, a new authority controls the private television and radio stations as well as newspapers and internet portals (ibid.). Moreover, the CDU member of the German parliament, Tom Kirschbaum, states that freedom of the press is a very valuable good and that it is not allowed by any member state and any government to hinder its full elaboration. In Kirschbaum's opinion, Hungary's media laws restrict press freedom. Furthermore, he finalizes that "without freedom of the press, there is no right of free expression, and without freedom of expression there is no democracy<sup>34</sup>" (Frankfurter Rundschau, Article ID: 27).

At this point, it can be referred to the report on Hungary in the media by the German Council of Foreign Relations (DGAP) which was mentioned in the introduction. The scholars of the given report exposed the same information on Hungarian media from media coverage as the findings in the given bachelor thesis. However, in the section of critical reflection, the scholars consult that freedom of the press is present in Hungary and that "neither control nor censorship are practiced" (Von Dohnanyi et. al., 2015, p. 13). Furthermore, they conveyed that Hungary provides a pluralistic and highly polarized media landscape. Although a large part of the Hungarian media is politically biased, another part is politically independent (ibid.). However, it is highly questionable how it is possible not considering the media law as a restriction to press freedom, despite its far reaching sanctions. It needs to be considered that foreign affairs broadly conceive in diplomacy and often misunderstand the cultural differences, which are considered by comparative political sciences. Overall, the findings of the DGAP report are highly contradictory to the ones of the bachelor thesis that stand in line with experts' opinions.

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<sup>3</sup> All translations from German into English have been done by the author of the thesis

<sup>4</sup> Originally published in the German press: "Ohne Pressefreiheit gibt es keine Meinungsfreiheit, ohne Meinungsfreiheit keine Demokratie"

As mentioned in the research methodology chapter, this subitem will also refer to details of specific findings by Freedom House and the BTI despite their mentioned limitations, in order to support arguments that are given in the articles. According to the report 'Freedom of the Press' by Freedom House, the press status of Hungary changed from 'free' in 2010 to 'partly free' in 2011 (see figure 10).

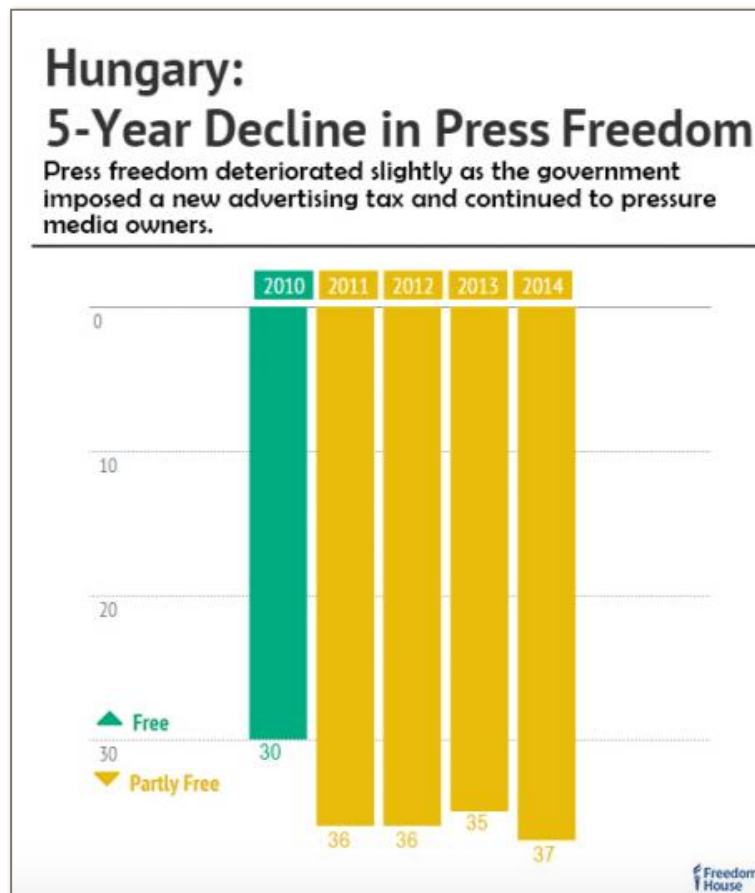


Figure 11: Hungary: 5-Year Decline in Press Freedom (Source: Freedom of the Press - Hungary, 2015).

Moreover, the press freedom score changed from 21 in 2009 to 36 in 2011, whereby a low score indicates a good quality of press freedom. The status change is explained due to mutually reinforcing legislative changes, tightening government control of the broadcast media and extending regulation to print and online media by prime minister Orbán's Fidesz party and its parliamentary supermajority (Freedom of the Press - Hungary, 2011). The specific parts of the explanation will receive further attention in the following paragraphs.

It can be concluded that over two-thirds of the articles reflect the message that a full elaboration of press freedom is hindered by Hungary's new media regulation. Besides, none of the articles across the sample include arguments that the media law is supporting or has no negative effect on press freedom. By reason that it is an inherent part of the partial regime of political rights by Wolfgang Merkel, a first threat to democracy is present.

The next indicator deepens the understanding of the term press freedom. It is questioned whether the distribution and reception of information and news are presented as regulated by politically motivated restrictions, which is explicitly appointed by Merkel. Furthermore, the question of whether



censorship is present and identified in the newspapers across the sample is appended to this indicator to elucidate the understanding. Censorship is termed as the strictly rejected (political) control of publicly expressed opinions (in the press, radio and television, but also in the field of literature, art etc.) in modern democracies (Schubert et. al., 2011, p. 333). Even the caption of some articles are saying “a censorship can still take place“, “authorization to censorship“ or “censorship in Hungary“<sup>5</sup>. Moreover censorship is explicitly termed all over the newspaper sample provided by the search engine LexisNexis. The German newspaper ‘Kölnische Rundschau’ reports that a member state of the EU introduced a board of censors, which can silence recusant media that are not controlled by the parliament. Consequently, governmental despotism is present by vague formulations on statutory basis (Kölnische Rundschau, Article ID: 6). In July, the Hungarian government amended the constitution, by removing a passage on the government’s obligation to prevent media monopolies. It then consolidated media regulation under the supervision of a single authority, the National Media and Infocommunications Authority (NMHH), whose members are elected by a two-thirds majority in parliament and whose leader also chairs a five-person Media Council charged with content regulation (Freedom House - Hungary, n.d.). The law gives the head of the NMHH the right to nominate the executive directors of all public media. The first president of the NMHH, Annamária Szalai, a former Fidesz politician, was appointed by Orbán for a nine-year term without limits on reelection (ibid.). The German newspaper ‘Stuttgarter Nachrichten’ for instance, stated that the occupation of the NMHH endangers the independency (Stuttgarter Nachrichten, Article ID: 39). Hereafter, the mentioned media authority is occupied politically one-sided, and does not fulfill the criteria of non-depriving into the right of free expression and organizational law by political parties. The German newspapers ‘Die Welt’ and ‘Der Tagesspiegel’, even reported about an abstruse incident, in which a small radio station was sued for playing a violence-glorifying song by an US-American rapper on air (Die Welt, Article ID: 15 ; Der Tagesspiegel: Article ID: 12).

This directly alludes to the next indicator, asking whether none of the political parties are allowed to deprive the right of free expression and organizational law. Only the public allows the full development of political and civil society. It promotes the persistent and sensitive feedback of state institutions to the interests and preferences of society (Merkel, 2004, p. 38). By supervising the media with the help of a single authority that is politically one-sided, and gives them the right to deprive the right of free expression and organizational law, this threat indicator is also affirmed. With the introduced board of censors, the feedback loop in formulating interests and preferences from society is hindered. This directly affects the development of the political and civil society in a negative way. Political parties are allowed to deprive the right of free expression. Hence, a part of Merkel’s partial regime of political liberties is threatened.

The following indicator comprises whether the article delivers arguments or facts that oppose the media law referring to democracy. If one element of the five partial regimes is damaged through the passing of the media law in the end of 2010, it is considered as a threat to democracy. According to Merkel, all dimensions, partial regimes and criteria of his embedded democracy model should be intact and not damaged in any way. Although the previous indicators are associated with

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<sup>5</sup> Originally published in the German press with the titles: “Eine Zensur kann doch stattfinden“, “Ermächtigung zur Zensur“, “Zensur in Ungarn“.

the fact of whether a threat to democracy is given, the author wants to expose whether a threat to democracy is explicitly termed. Almost half of the articles include the stance that a threat to democracy is given explicitly. Many journalists involve the question about the liberal democracy in Hungary under the given circumstances and state that Lukashenko was considered as the last dictator in Europe, but if the law comes into force, this will no longer be true. By expressing such extreme opinions, it becomes clear that Viktor Orbán's disposition referring to democracy and Europe is called into question. The German newspaper 'Kölnische Rundschau' quoted the foreign minister of Luxemburg, Jean Asselborn, who questions: "How can elections be free if people are informed in advance only from the government perspective?"<sup>6</sup> (Kölnische Rundschau, Article ID: 5). This quote alludes to the connection of the first two partial regimes by Wolfgang Merkel. The electoral regime (A) and the political rights (B) provide the function of facilitating democratic elections in which the interests of complex societies can also be expressed. According to the report 'Freedom of the Press' by 'Freedom House', the provision of important political news and campaigning is often restricted to public media. Thus, private media cannot have significant weight in the provision of information, as it is desirable according to Merkel. Furthermore, the public media have been brought under direct governmental influence, although it is said that the distribution and reception of information and news may not be regulated by politically motivated restrictions. Moreover, the Hungarian Fidesz party from Viktor Orbán wanted to focus on its core voters during the election campaign via personal mobilization and exclude swing voters susceptible to opposition parties in 2011. Thus, Fidesz introduced several amendments to the electoral law to create favorable conditions for its own interests for the elections in 2014 (ibid.). Fidesz redesigned electoral districts (technical term: gerrymandering), restricted election campaigning to public media, which have since been brought under direct governmental influence, and required voters to register via a complicated procedure two weeks before the elections. This measure is aimed at preventing last-minute voters from participating (BTI, 2014). In January 2013, the Constitutional Court judged that pre-registration was unconstitutional. However, Viktor Orbán's party possesses a two-thirds majority in parliament and may therefore work to include the registration requirement into the constitution itself, making the measure immune to scrutiny by the Constitutional Court (ibid.).

In contrast, the report on Hungary in the media by the DGAP, indeed provides the same information on the electoral laws from media coverage as the findings in the given bachelor thesis (Von Dohnanyi et. al., 2015, p. 10). However, in the section of critical reflection, the scholars state that the new electoral laws were necessary for various reasons. According to the DGAP, the prior existing voting district divisions were unconstitutional and the "electoral laws in democracies are rarely perfect" (ibid., p. 11). Furthermore, it is reported that the time allotted to electoral advertising is distributed fairly among parties in Hungary's public media and that even though campaign advertising is limited in public broadcasting, no limitations on government information campaigns are present (ibid.). Anyway, it is questionable that a fair and equal election campaigning takes place, when public media was brought under direct governmental influence.

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<sup>6</sup> Originally published in the German press: "Wie können die Wahlen fair sein, wenn das Volk vorher nur von der Perspektive der Regierung informiert wurde?"

Orbán justifies his media law in saying that an infringement of the human dignity is daily reality in the media, which he wants to counteract (Berliner Zeitung, Article ID: 8). Furthermore he does not want the EU to intervene in his domestic politics. In his view, the criticism referring to Hungary's media laws is an insult for the Hungarian nation and "the regulation is more democratic than the old one"<sup>7</sup> (Die Welt, Article ID: 44). The CDU delegate, Werner Langen, supports Orbán in his stance. According to him, the criticism on the media laws are unintelligible und even praised Orbán's "factual and constructive style"<sup>8</sup> (Aachener Zeitung, Article ID: 33). After Werner Langen, the campaigns against the media laws are "hypocritical and unbearable"<sup>9</sup> (Berliner Morgenpost, Article ID: 34). Nevertheless, facts prove that the Fidesz party restricted the election campaigning to public media. Thus, a first intrusion of the media freedom is present. Moreover, the public media was brought under direct governmental influence, which is why it is assumed by the author that election campaigning over the media was not proceeded correctly in a competitive and free way and probably in favor of the governing party Fidesz (BTI, 2014). Another article of the Kölnische Rundschau pointed out that the EU cannot allow a member state of the European Union to turn into an "authoritarian pseudo-democracy without consequences"<sup>10</sup> (Kölnische Rundschau, Article ID: 6). Consequently, the democratic Hungarian regime is mistrusted explicitly and declares that Viktor Orbán and his government only pretend to act conformable to constitutional democratic and European law. Although proponent arguments are included in the line of argumentation, this paragraph emphasizes that parts of the partial regimes A and B by Merkel are infringed by the implementation of Hungary's new media laws.

Next, it will be focused on the last indicator of whether concerns about Hungary's media laws on European level are included. Since Hungary acceded to the EU in 2004, it is especially a topic of European importance and thus consorts with a topic in the research field of European Studies. Therefore, the last indicator was appended besides the previous indicators according to the embedded democracy model. More than half of the articles include concerns on EU level and state that Hungary's media law is seen as a clear contradiction with the EU treaties. Furthermore, the EU is considered as untrustworthy, if it admits oppression of freedom of expression. The German newspaper 'Die Welt' states that the European Union has common core values, which includes the independence and diversity of the press. Hungary's media regulation from January 2011 is not considered in line with these mentioned core values. In 'Der Tagesspiegel' and other newspapers, it is referred to the EU charter of fundamental rights and the British newspaper 'Right Vision News' published a letter of the European Commission in which it is said that the principle of freedom of the press is a sacred one in the European Union (Der Tagesspiegel, Article ID: 13; Right Vision News, Article ID: 37). The 'Frankfurter Rundschau' speaks of "the greatest credibility crisis in EU history"<sup>11</sup> (Frankfurter Rundschau, Article ID: 11) and it is emphasized that Hungary carries particu-

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<sup>7</sup> Originally published in the German press: "Das Regulierung ist demokratischer als die Alte"

<sup>8</sup> Originally published in the German press: "Sachlich und konstruktiver Stil"

<sup>9</sup> Originally published in the German press: "Heuchlerisch und unerträglich"

<sup>10</sup> Originally published in the German press: "Autoritäre Pseudo-Demokratie ohne Konsequenzen"

<sup>11</sup> Originally published in the German press: "Größte Glaubwürdigkeitskrise in der Geschichte der EU"

lar responsibility for the image of the Union in the world as a future EU presidency (Kölnische Rundschau, Article ID: 5). As a counterargument to the accusations on European level, Viktor Orbán states that they have assembled the media laws from different sections of European countries'. Hungary would only amend any section of the media regulation if it is also amended in the law of the country from which they have adopted it (The Irish Times, Article ID: 20). According to an analysis on Hungarian media laws in Europe by the center for media and communication studies (CMCS), the fact that other European member states provide specific sections in their constitution as well as media regulation similar to the Hungarian one is factually wrong (CMCS, 2012). Nevertheless, this would depart from tradition and cannot receive further attention within this bachelor thesis. Additionally, if this statement would be proven true, it will not give Hungary the right to infringe the mentioned core values. Many articles thematize the EU inability of managing the issue, wherefore the EU gave the government of Hungary a two-week ultimatum to change specific problems within their media laws in the end of January 2011 (Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Article ID: 45). The British newspaper 'The Guardian' reports that the EU-Commission has trust in the Hungarian government and that they will reconsider this legislations and ensure the full functioning of the democracy and rule of law in this country (The Guardian, Article ID: 1).

It is important to distinguish between the articles around the time period from December 01, 2010 and the articles published after Hungary made slight modifications on the law, to satisfy the EU-Commission in mid-February. The articles with the ID zero to 48, all comprise criticism in different ways, while the articles with the ID 49 to 56 are partly two-minded. On February 17, 2011 the German newspaper 'Taz, die Tageszeitung' reports that according to the Commission, Hungary's media laws now conform with EU-standards (Taz, die Tageszeitung, Article ID: 52). The 'Aachener Zeitung' states at the same date that the outcome of the modification is satisfying (Aachener Zeitung, Article ID: 49). However, the modifications of the EU particularly affect foreign media, but left out important changes for the Hungarian media. Furthermore the most controversial part of Hungary's media regulation of having a politically one-sided media authority, did not change at all. One thing is clear: While Brussels stopped fighting, the Hungarian media landscape refuses to follow. This manifests the only aim of the bureaucrats in Brussels of not losing face. Some articles highly criticize the outcome and appoint it as ridiculous, due to the fact that Hungary does not bow to foreign authority and that Hungary's press is the true loser (Taz, die Tageszeitung, Article ID: 53). The above mentioned published letter with remarks by the European Commission was mainly about the discussion of all upcoming issues Hungary had to face as it took over the helm of the Council of the European Union at that time. Then a small paragraph on Hungary's media laws, saying that the principle of freedom of the press is a sacred one in the European Union, is added (Right Vision News, Article ID: 37). Even though the media laws were considered as conform with EU-standards by the Commission, the amended media regulation still poses a threat to press freedom and the outcome is declared as insufficient (Die Welt, Article ID: 56; Aachener Nachrichten, Article ID: 50). In several articles, it is appealed to demonstrate for the freedom of the press. Adam Michnik, a polish publicist and former friend of Orbán said: "Viktor, one cannot speak of freedom in

a country, in which the freedom of art is threatened and the freedom of the press is demolished. This destroys democracy. This way leads to dictatorship“<sup>12</sup> (Die Welt, Article ID: 56).

Although Hungary's government already made some modifications in mid-February 2011, it is still reflected negatively in the press. Over two-thirds of the articles reflect the message that a full elaboration of press freedom is hindered by Hungary's new media regulation owing to its new politically motivated restriction and authority control. Merkel emphasizes that the distribution and reception of information and news should not be regulated by politically motivated restrictions. Additionally, political parties should not allow themselves to deprive the right of free expression. Nevertheless, censorship is explicitly termed all over the newspaper sample, either in the headings or the articles' body of content. The most notably criticism was about the one-sided media authority, NMHH, which did not experience any changes after the allegedly modification. This and other issues have been discussed on European level. However, the European Commission could not assert itself, and content itself with little change. Even though the contradictory report of the DGAP exposed critical reflections concerning the criticism of the Hungarian constitution in the media, this line of argumentation is not persuasive enough to change the mind of the author of the present bachelor thesis. Within the analysis, it becomes clear that German and British journalists reflect the issue under study as an infringement of the first two partial regimes of the embedded democracy model by Wolfgang Merkel.

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<sup>12</sup> Originally published in the German press: Viktor, man kann nicht von Freiheit sprechen in einem Land, wo die Freiheit der Kunst in Gefahr ist, in dem die Pressefreiheit vernichtet wird. Dies zerstört die Demokratie. Dieser Weg führt zur Diktatur.“

## 5. Conclusion

The adoption of the new media laws has directed the attention of Europe and the world at large to the ongoing marginalization of constitutional democracy in Hungary. Virtually all organizations concerned with fundamental rights criticized the new regulation. Journalist forums and other organizations concurred with these objections. However, international advocates for the new laws in Hungary were also present, who publicly raised their voice. By applying Wolfgang Merkel's model of embedded democracy, it could be analyzed whether actual threats or also opportunities to democracy are presented in the media and whether one can still speak of an intact constitutional democracy.

With the help of the theoretical framework, indicators have been operationalized within the methodology part, in order to test for the existence of a threat or opportunity reflection among German and British newspapers. These indicators include the existing or threatened press freedom, whether the distribution and reception of information and news are presented as regulated by politically motivated restrictions or not, and whether a threat to democracy is termed explicitly. All of these indicators were constructed in line with Merkel's five interdependent partial regimes: the democratic electoral regime, political liberties of participation, civil rights, horizontal accountability, and effective power to govern, which need to be intact in an embedded liberal democracy. Furthermore, a last indicator was appended to test for the inclusion of concerns about Hungary's media laws on European level. Hungary carried particular responsibility regarding the tasks ahead for Europe as well as for the image of the Union in the world as it took over the helm of the Council of the European Union in 2011. Overall, Merkel's model appeared as helpful to amplify on the interdependence of the media, press freedom and democracy. Freedom of the press is a permanent feature in his model that occupies specific characteristics, which is why the findings fit to Merkel's assertions and criteria. However, the embedded democracy model goes way beyond this interconnectedness and it focusses on the big picture including all the characteristics of the partial regimes that need to be intact. In the opinion of the author, the terms 'press freedom' and 'independence of the media' should receive further elaboration, owing to the utmost importance for this topic. Analyzing the connection between media and democracy in detail, a development of a new theory concentrating on this connection and including criteria of indices like Freedom House and BTI is recommended.

As a result of the analysis, the articles include arguments from various experts, who stated that freedom of the press is a valuable good and that it is not allowed by any member state and any government to hinder its full elaboration. Moreover, two-thirds of the articles reflect the message that a full elaboration of press freedom is hindered by Hungary's new media regulation. By reason that it is an inherent part of the partial regime of political rights by Wolfgang Merkel, a threat to democracy is present. Referring back to the recommendation of developing a more specific theory, it is assumed that manifold tendencies would occur. Moreover, censorship is explicitly termed all over the newspaper sample due to the fact that a single authority, the National Media and Communications Authority (NMHH), which is occupied politically one-sided, was introduced to supervise all media. Consequently, Merkel's criteria of political parties not to deprive into the right of free expression and organizational law by political parties is not fulfilled. Furthermore, it is ques-

tioned how elections are considered free, if the articles only provide information from the government's perspective. This question alludes to the connection of the first two partial regimes by Wolfgang Merkel. The electoral regime (A) and the political rights (B) provide the function of facilitating democratic elections, which are harmed according to the argumentation line of the articles. Although only slight modifications were done in mid-February, Hungary's media law was then considered as conform with the EU-standards according to the Commission. This outcome is reflected as highly unsatisfactory and the EU's inability of managing the issue is questioned in the press.

According to the findings within the analysis, the Hungarian media laws provide several threats, and harm Merkel's electoral regime (A) as well as the political rights (B). Even though not all of the indicators could be applied to every newspaper article across the sample, 80 percent of the read articles are considered as either negative or strongly negative. Thus, the research question „to what extent are Hungary's media laws reflected as a threat or an opportunity to democracy in the German and British written press for the time period between December 01, 2010 and April 01, 2011?“ can be answered with the help of the findings. Altogether, a clear dominant score of reflecting Hungary's media laws as a threat to democracy across the sample can be exposed. Although the author wanted to refer back to the chapter of defective democracy, the research does not provide sufficient information to more explicitly classify Hungary's defective democracy. However, it can be determined that threats to democracy exist and that Hungary's form of government is not a fully intact constitutional democracy anymore according to the applied model on the analyzed articles. Even though a disproportionate distribution of articles between the countries is present, Germany and the United Kingdom follow similar patterns. Thus, the constructed hypothesis that “the German and British media predominantly express negative attitudes towards Hungary's democracy“ can be confirmed. However, it is questionable whether one can still speak of a comparison between the countries, due to the uneven distribution of articles.

The expected predominantly negative reflection of the media laws was proven through the conducted hypothesis test. The results of the analysis go in line with other reports and studies that were presented in the introduction. However, the most similar and recently published report by the German Council of Foreign Relations (DGAP) is the only work that contradicts the findings. Although the scholars expose the same information on Hungarian media from media coverage as the findings in the given bachelor thesis, they refute that the constitutional reality is represented. It needs to be noted that there are differences between the constitutional law and the constitutional reality in every political system. Nevertheless, the constitutional reality is usually considered as more restrictive, which is why the outcome of the DGAP is highly questionable. In order to follow up the disagreement between the studies it is suggested to test for the truth of the content of the newspaper articles, meaning to test for the constitutional reality for further research. In this case the DGAP report would be somehow repeated and could be compared and contrasted in order to test for validity and reliability. Furthermore, Hungarian newspaper articles could be analyzed with the help of a content analysis around the same time period. Hence, it could be searched for signs of censorship as well as the inclusion of the opinion of the Hungarian society and media. It needs to be admitted that newspaper articles are not considered as the finest reliable sources reflecting constitutional reality. However, these are the best sources that were available and able to analyze

by the author of the given thesis due to time, money and language limitations. Nevertheless, this is not the only weakness concerning the medium. The author of the thesis decided to consider all articles from different newspapers that were available on the database LexisNexis, in order to provide a diverse sample and to be able to generalize the results beyond the study. Admittedly, the different newspaper articles possess diverse political backgrounds and provide a distinct readership. As an example, the 'Taz, die Tageszeitung' is a politically left-oriented newspaper, which cannot simply be compared to other daily newspapers like 'Frankfurter Rundschau'. The reporting is partly geared to the needs of the readers of a specific newspaper in a strong way. Therefore, differences in how drastic, negative or even neutral Hungary's media laws were reflected by the media occur. Another weakness is the extremely small sample size, especially for the British newspaper contributions, which was considered as surprising by the author. The sample size for the United Kingdom is not highly representative. Yet, the total sample of 56 articles in a time period of four months in two different countries is unexpectedly menial, which is why the expectations of high numbers of articles as well as an equal number of articles of the two countries across the sample, are not fulfilled. Therefore, the author could have done improvements in setting more search words. By appending search words like 'media regulation' or 'democratization', it would have expanded the number of hits within the sample. However, the author chose to pick only one search word, because the topic was highly relevant and current at that time. Furthermore, "Hungary's Media Laws" comprises and describes the topic the best. Additionally, different search words and variations might have exceeded the limitations of a bachelor thesis. Due to limitations of the database, the results of this research cannot be generalized to the entire press.

Nevertheless, Hungary's new media laws are a topic of high relevance, especially around the time of the implementation of the law. Hence, a bigger sample size was anticipated. The menial occurrence of articles that are related to the research question goes in line with the handling of the European Union with the event under study. Although the EU implies common core values, which includes the independence and diversity of the press and contains the requirement of a democratic regime explicitly, the Commission was satisfied with slight modifications and did not pay further attention on this issue. The most problematic part, which affects the condition of Hungary's democracy, is the single authority NMHH, which is still intact and did not receive any amendments compelled by the European Commission. It is recommended that the EU should act more drastically regarding infringements of European common core values. The Commission has to clarify that anti-democratic actions do not conform with EU standards and without conforming to EU standards, Hungary is unable to represent common core values of the European Union anymore.

Yet the Hungarian government is not the only government which gives a reason for concern relating to rights of freedom. Especially the member states of the European Union need to be suspicious owing to an alarming increase of restricting press freedom and soft censorship all over the world, but specifically in Eastern Europe. Although Hungary was considered as a role model according to its transformation to a democracy, it is now a negative example in the eastern region. Due to the widespread increase, it is recommended that the European Union should put more emphasis on the compliance of the topic of press freedom, freedom of expression and democratic reality in the political agenda and extravert this importance. Furthermore, it is advised to undertake



modifications within the EU law to explicitly declare the right of free expression and press freedom as an important part of the EU law more clearly. Notwithstanding that this research has its limitations, the outcome can be utilized for raising the attention to a severe problem and it can serve as a basis for further research.

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## Appendix

### Appendix 1: Documentation of the Content Analysis by Means of a Tally Sheet

ID	Article Title	Date of Release	Newspaper Name	Threat Score	Opportunity Score	Dominant Score or No Frame Indicator	Overall Evaluation of the Tone 1= very positive 2= positive 3= neutral 4= negative 5= very negative
1	Hungary media law protest	December 14, 2010	The Guardian	0.83	/	Threat Score	5
2	Eine Zensur kann doch stattfinden. Kritik an Verschärfung des Medienrechts in Ungarn	December 22, 2010	Berliner Zeitung	1	0.33	Threat Score	5
3	„Ziel ist Machterhalt“; Journalist Kispál zu Ungarns Mediengesetz	December 23, 2010	Frankfurter Rundschau	0.83	/	Threat Score	5
4	EU tadelt Ungarns Mediengesetz; Kanzlerin Merkel warnt das EU-Mitglied vor der Verletzung rechtsstaatlicher Prinzipien	December 23, 2010	General-Anzeiger (Bonn)	0.83	/	Threat Score	4
5	Mediengesetz: Ungarn verprellt EU; Künftige Ratspräsidentschaft lässt Zensur ausüben	December 23, 2010	Kölnische Rundschau	1	/	Threat Score	5
6	Erschütternd	December 23, 2010	Kölnische Rundschau	1	/	Threat Score	5
7	EU-Protest gegen Ungarns Mediengesetz	December 23, 2010	Der Tagesspiegel	0.83	/	Threat Score	4
8	Heftige Kritik an Ungarns Mediengesetz; Berlin appelliert an den Wertekodex der EU	December 23, 2010	Die Welt	0.5	/	Threat Score	4

ID	Article Title	Date of Release	Newspaper Name	Threat Score	Opportunity Score	Dominant Score or No Frame Indicator	Overall Evaluation of the Tone 1= very positive 2= positive 3= neutral 4= negative 5= very negative
9	„Autoritäre Fäulnis“ in Ungarns Mediengesetz; während Deutschland die Regierung in Budapest genau beobachten will, halten sich EU-Kommissionen und Ratspräsident zurück	December 23, 2010	Die Welt	0.83	/	Threat Score	5
10	Bild: Nachgefragt	December 24, 2010	Stuttgarter Zeitung	0.83	/	Threat Score	5
11	Ermächtigung zur Zensur	December 27, 2010	Frankfurter Rundschau	1	/	Threat Score	5
12	Ungarns Mediengesetz; Rappen verboten	January 2, 2011	Der Tagesspiegel	0.66	/	Threat Score	4
13	Auf Entzug	January 3, 2011	Der Tagesspiegel	0.66	/	Threat Score	4
14	Zensur in Ungarn: Its on	January 3, 2011	Taz, die Tageszeitung	0.16	/	Threat Score	4
15	Kein Gangsta für Ungarn	January 3, 2011	Die Welt	0.5	/	Threat Score	4
16	Ungarn gerät ins Visier der EU; Brüssel zweifelt die Rechtmäßigkeit des neuen Mediengesetzes an	January 4, 2011	Aachener Zeitung	0.5	/	Threat Score	4
17	EU überprüft Ungarns Mediengesetz	January 4, 2011	Der Tagesspiegel	0.5	/	Threat Score	4
18	Barroso soll Klartext reden; Druck auf EU-Kommission wegen Ungarn	January 6, 2011	Frankfurter Rundschau	0.33	/	Threat Score	4
19	Ungarn deutet im Streit über Mediengesetz Einlenken an	January 7, 2011	Hamburger Abendblatt	0.33	0.33	No Frame Indicator	3

ID	Article Title	Date of Release	Newspaper Name	Threat Score	Opportunity Score	Dominant Score or No Frame Indicator	Overall Evaluation of the Tone 1= very positive 2= positive 3= neutral 4= negative 5= very negative
20	Orban says Hungary's media laws in line with EU norms	January 7, 2011	The Irish Times	0.5	0.5	Equal	3
21	Ungarn lenkt ein; Zusage bei Mediengesetz soll EU-Vorsitz entlasten	January 8, 2011	Börsen-Zeitung	0.5	/	Threat Score	4
22	Die erste Runde geht an die EU	January 8, 2011	Stuttgarter Zeitung	0.83	0.16	Threat Score	4
23	Pressefreiheit; Budapest: Kritik verboten, Antisemitismus erlaubt	January 8, 2011	Die Welt	0.5	/	Threat Score	4
24	Hungary's democratic credentials at issue' amid media law criticism	January 8, 2011	Irish Examiner	0.66	0.33	Threat Score	4
25	Ungarns Außenminister: Mediengesetz hat Mängel	January 10, 2011	Rheinische Post Düsseldorf	0.33	0.33	No Frame Indicator	3
26	Kritik an Ungarns Mediengesetz bekräftigt; EU-Kommission	January 12, 2011	Taz, die Tageszeitung	0.66	/	Threat Score	4
27	Ungarns Mediengesetz ist inakzeptabel“ CDU-Bundestagsabgeordneter Krichbaum sieht rote Linie überschritten	January 15, 2011	Frankfurter Rundschau	0.83	/	Threat Score	5
28	Viktor Orban verteidigt Ungarns Mediengesetz	January 17, 2011	Berliner Zeitung	0.33	0.33	No Frame Indicator	3
29	Viktor Orban verteidigt Ungarns Mediengesetz	January 17, 2011	Frankfurter Rundschau	0.33	0.33	No Frame Indicator	3
30	EU-Kommission: Ungarns Mediengesetz heikel	January 18, 2011	Berliner Zeitung	0.33	/	Threat Score	4

ID	Article Title	Date of Release	Newspaper Name	Threat Score	Opportunity Score	Dominant Score or No Frame Indicator	Overall Evaluation of the Tone 1= very positive 2= positive 3= neutral 4= negative 5= very negative
31	EU abgewatscht, Ungarns Mediengesetz	January 19, 2011	Taz, die Tageszeitung	0.33	0.16	No Frame Indicator	3
32	Hungarian govt official discusses his country`s media law at U.S. think thank	January 19, 2011	Future News - Media Planner	0.66	/	Threat Score	4
33	Auf den Protestplakaten steht „zensiert“. Aber Orban will kämpfen.	January 20, 2011	Aachener Zeitung	0.66	0.33	Threat Score	4
34	Ungarns Mediengesetz löst im EU-Parlament einen Eklat aus	January 20, 2011	Berliner Morgenpost	0.66	0.5	No Frame Indicator	3
35	Schlagabtausch statt schöner Reden im EU-Parlament; Abgeordnete kritisieren Ungarns Premier für sein Mediengesetz	January 20, 2011	Hamburger Abendblatt	0.66	1.66	Threat Score	4
36	Ungarns Premier Viktor Orbán nimmt Kampf mit Europa auf	January 20, 2011	Die Welt	0.83	0.16	Threat Score	4
37	Belgium: Hungarian Presidency debate	January 20, 2011	Right Vision News	0.5	/	Threat Score	4
38	Die Freunde Ungarns sind irritiert; eine Umfrage: Das umstrittene Mediengesetz der Regierung in Budapest stößt im Südwesten auf verhaltene Kritik	January 21, 2011	Stuttgarter Nachrichten	0.83	0.33	Threat Score	5
39	Ungarns Mediengesetz	January 21, 2011	Stuttgarter Nachrichten	0.83	/	Threat Score	5
40	Knappe Frist für Ungarn bei Mediengesetz	January 23, 2011	Berliner Morgenpost	0.16	/	No Frame Indicator	3

ID	Article Title	Date of Release	Newspaper Name	Threat Score	Opportunity Score	Dominant Score or No Frame Indicator	Overall Evaluation of the Tone 1= very positive 2= positive 3= neutral 4= negative 5= very negative
41	Mediengesetz: EU-Kommission setzt Ungarn unter Druck	January 24, 2011	Hamburger Abendblatt	0.33	/	Threat Score	4
42	Knappe Frist, EU vs. Ungarn	January 24, 2011	Taz, die Tageszeitung	0.33	/	Threat Score	4
43	Bahn frei für die Willkür; Samuel Salzborn über die autoritären und völkischen Tendenzen in Ungarn	January 31, 2011	Der Tagesspiegel	0.83	/	Threat Score	5
44	"Wir sind doch Europäer, mitten in der EU"; In Budapest beginnt sich Protest gegen Ungarns neues Mediengesetz zu regen: Ein Ortstermin	January 31, 2011	Die Welt	0.66	0.33	Threat Score	5
45	Kommissarin Kroes wartet auf Antworten aus Budapest	February 1, 2011	Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger	0.83	/	Threat Score	5
46	EU-Kommission verhandelt über Ungarns Mediengesetz	February 2, 2011	Berliner Zeitung	0.5	/	Threat Score	4
47	Europäische Solidarität mit dem Kampf gegen das neue Mediengesetz in Ungarn	February 5, 2011	Taz, die Tageszeitung	0.66	/	Threat Score	5
48	Zeitung klagt; Ungarns Mediengesetz	February 10, 2011	Taz, die Tageszeitung	0.66	/	Threat Score	4
49	Ungarns Mediengesetz	February 17, 2011	Aachener Zeitung	0.66	/	No Frame Indicator	3
50	Ungarns Mediengesetz	February 17, 2011	Aachener Nachrichten	0.5	0.16	Threat Score	4

ID	Article Title	Date of Release	Newspaper Name	Threat Score	Opportunity Score	Dominant Score or No Frame Indicator	Overall Evaluation of the Tone 1= very positive 2= positive 3= neutral 4= negative 5= very negative
51	Ungarn lenkt bei Mediengesetz ein; Regierung sagt der EU Änderung zu / Regeln werden gelockert	February 17, 2011	Frankfurter Rundschau	0.33	0.33	No Frame Indicator	3
52	Premier Viktor Orbán bessert das Mediengesetz nach	February 17, 2011	Taz, die Tageszeitung	0.5	0.33	No Frame Indicator	3
53	Lauter Verlierer	February 18, 2011	Taz, die Tageszeitung	0.5	/	Threat Score	5
54	OSZE unzufrieden mit Ungarns Mediengesetz	March 9, 2011	Berliner Zeitung	0.66	/	Threat Score	5
55	EU-Parlament unzufrieden mit Ungarns Mediengesetz	March 11, 2011	Berliner Zeitung	0.33	/	Threat Score	4
56	Europaparlament: Harsche Kritik an Ungarns Mediengesetz	March 11, 2011	Die Welt	0.66	/	Threat Score	5

## **Declaration of Academic Integrity**

I hereby confirm that the present thesis "Between Threat and Opportunity to a Young Democracy - The Reflection of Hungary's New Media Regulation in the German and British Written Press around the Time of the Introduction of the Media Laws in 2010" is solely my own work and that if any text passages or diagrams from books, papers, the internet or other sources or in any other way used, all references - including those found in electronic media - have been acknowledged and fully cited.

Münster, 18.08.2015

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "M. Liebler", written over a horizontal line.

Melina Liebler