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Computer Assisted Content Analysis of the print press coverarge of corruption in Hungary

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CONTENTS

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1. The analysed media

Coverage of corruption in the Hungarian media was analyzed using four online news portals. Three of them, *Magyar Nemzet Online* (short name: *MNO*, web: mno.hu), *Népszava* (web: nepszava.hu) and *Heti Világgazdaság* (web: hvg.hu) are also available as newspapers but the content of these papers is different from the online form to a certain extent. The news portal *Origo* (web: origo.hu) has no print version.

The printed version of *MNO* was founded in 1938 as a moderately center right newspaper. The entire content of the paper was available online from 2001 but now only the most important articles are published in both formats, and the online version has separate editorial staff. *MNO* may be considered a right-wing portal.

The printed version of *HVG* is a weekly which was closely modelled on the Economist in style and content. It reports on economic, political and cultural topics from Hungary and around the world. Its online portal (hvg.hu) contains additional articles besides those found in the printed newspaper. *HVG* may be considered a center-left paper.

Origo is a tabloid-like news portal which exists solely on the web, having no printed version. Beside news articles it publishes a large range of entertaining content to a wide audience. It has separate sports, car, media and cultural columns. It was not considered to be committed to any political ideology or group in the period ofanalysis.

The printed version of *Népszava* was originally the daily newspaper of the official trade union movement. Today it may be considered a left-wing portal. The online version has operated since 2002.

We downloaded articles from these portals if they contained at least one of our nine keywords, and if the articles were published between 2004 and 2013. We collected and analyzed a total of 34.068 articles (16.931 from mno.hu, 10.152 from hvg.hu, 3.792 from nepszava.hu and 3.193 from origo.hu).

2. Most used keywords

As demonstrated in Figure 1 and 2, the number of corruption-related keywords in the analysed articles increased between 2004 and 2010, while after the elections it dropped but then started increasing again in 2013. The overall picture shows (Figure 1) that the occurrence of corruption-related keywords increased from 2004 to 2013. However, this does not mean necessarily that the media coverage of corruption has also risen because the constant growth in the total number of articles available online could have caused this phenomenon. A more detailed illustration of this is included in Chapter 5: Evolution over time.

It is worth noting that the Hungarian general election in 2010 may have caused a temporary rise in the number of corruption-related articles and keywords; probably because writing about the corruption of politicians and parties was an important part of the pre-election political struggle in Hungary.

From the nine keywords we searched for,the word *corruption* was most frequently found in the articles (64% of all occurrences), often to refer to corruption as a general phenomenon or in relation to the anti-corruption activities of governments. The more specific words which indicate the exact type of felony such as *embezzlement* (17%), *kickback* (10%) and *bribe* (2%), are found less frequently. These words occur often in articles that describe specific cases of corruption or new details of an investigation or judicial procedure.

Table 1 – Hungary (2004-2013): Recurring keywords (%)

Keyword	N	%
Corruption (korrupció)	23420	63,6
Bribe (csúszópénz)	864	2,3
Kickback (kenőpénz)	3626	9,8
Embezzlement (sikkasztás)	6378	17,3
Collusion (összejátszás)	440	1,2
Favouritism (részrehajlás)	538	1,5
Nepotism (nepotizmus)	177	0,5
Clientelism (klientúra)	675	1,8
Familism (mutyi, mutyizás)	733	2,0
Total	*36851*	*100,0*

"Embezzlement" is the second most frequently identified keyword; this is an important and unique finding compared to those of other countries in the analysis. The reason could be that embezzlement occurs more frequentlyin Hungary than in other countries, or that it receives more attention from the Hungarian media, or it may only be due to specific features of word usage. The word *embezzlement* refers almost everytime to specific situations in the legal sense of the word because

embezzlement has legal status in the Hungarian Criminal Code. Another potential explanation for its frequent appearance may be that the police and courts focus on the crime of embezzlement, even when cases are more complex and (for example) bribery or money laundering was also involved, simply because the crime of embezzlement may be easier to prove.

Figure 1 – Hungary (2004-2013): Recurring keywords
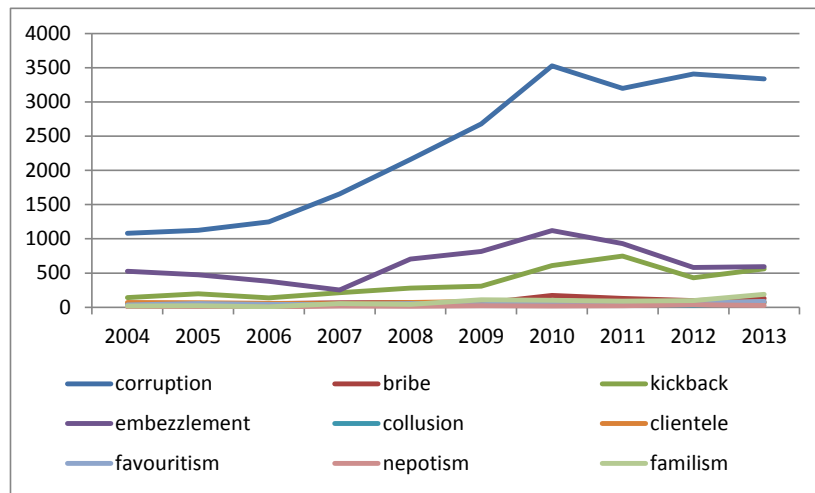
Figure 2 – Hungary (2004-2013): Recurring keywords without corruption
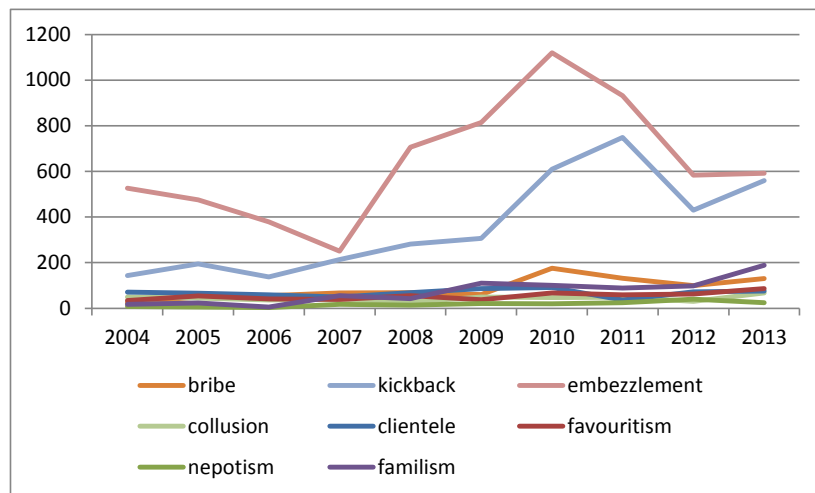
It is important to note some specificities in the Hungarian language that may have had an effect on the comparative results. "*Kickback*" and "*bribe*" – referring to the money that is handed over before, during or after a corrupt transaction – are synonyms in Hungarian and cannot really be clearly differentiated. Moreover, the Hungarian equivalent of *collusion* is often used with another meaning besides that of "agreement aiming at limiting open competition" so many of its occurrences are not connected to corruption.

The keywords *nepotism, clientism, familism and favouritism* exist in Hungarian but they are very rarely used in normal language using the exact forms "nepotizmus", "klientizmus", "familizmus" and"favoritizmus". Only the word *nepotism* occurred in a measurable quantity in the articles. Instead of *clientism* we used *clientele* as a keyword because this word does occur in published material, and always in articles about clientism. We translated "favouritism" to a more common Hungarian word ("részrehajlás") which may be retranslated to English as *partiality*. We translated *familism* to "mutyi" which refers to a secret agreement aimed at creating a profit by excluding others from obtaining relevant information.

3. Most frequent words

Table 2 shows the words that appear most frequently in the articles we examined which contain at least one of the selected corruption-related keywords.

Table 2 – Hungary (2004-2013): Most frequent words in the selected articles

First part of the table				Second part of the table		
Rank	Word	Frequency		Rank	Word	Frequency
1	CASE	41419		26	STATE/PUBLIC	16151
2	BIG	35932		27	PROCEDURE	15994
3	HUNGARIAN	33006		28	BILLION	15649
4	GOVERNMENT	31039		29	CONTRACT	15538
5	PARTY	30079		30	MONEY	15243
6	FORINT	29674		31	QUESTION	15008
7	COUNTRY	29407		32	POLICE	14856
8	PRESIDENT	27960		33	PRIME MINISTER	14806
9	LEADER/LEADING	27353		34	TO GET/TO RECEIVE	14338
10	COMPANY	26939		35	RELATION	14293
11	MILLION	25508		36	SITUATION	14175
12	HUNGARY	24930		37	SOCIALIST	14068
13	ECONOMY	24321		38	SUSPECT	13473
14	CORRUPTION	23420		39	COMMITTEE	12722
15	POLITICAL	23008		40	CASE (synonym)	12401
16	TO KNOW	22862		41	HANDLING*	12105
17	ELECTION/CHOICE	22250		42	INTEREST	12074
18	COURT	21997		43	LAW	12052
19	TO BUY	20257		44	MEMBER	11932
20	REPRESENTATIVE	19946		45	TO ASK/TO REQUEST	11914
21	BUDAPEST	18706		46	ORGANIZATION	11534
22	PERCENTAGE	18495		47	INVESTIGATION	11419
23	POLITICIAN	17439		48	SYSTEM	11342
24	STATE	17187		49	DECISION	11186
25	FIDESZ	16706		50	CHARGE	11088

*This word is also the second part of a Hungarian phrase meaning "misuse of funds"

words referring to politics (10 words)
words referring to an investigation or judicial procedure (7 words)

Words related to politics such as *government, party, political, election, prime minister, etc.* appear significantly more frequently than others within the fifty most frequent words. Words that refer to other topics are present in much lower numbers. For example, *procedure, court, police, suspect, law, investigation and charge* could refer to police investigations and judicial procedures. Some words indicate that an exact sum of money has also been specified in the articles (*forint (HUF), million, and billion*). The words *Budapest, Hungary and Hungarian* refer to the geographical provenance of the topics of the articles. It is worth noting that none of the most frequently identified 50 wordscould be clearly connected to non-Hungarian issues. This may suggest that Hungarian media cover foreign cases less often than British or French media do, but this claim needs further examination.

Analysis of the most frequently identified 40 family names confirms that corruption is strongly related to national politics in the articles. Actors from outside the political arena are almost entirely absent from the list. All international actors on the list are heads of state, prime ministers and presidents which suggests that the Hungarian articles mostly cover the biggest foreign corruption scandals that affect top government actors, or concern corruption in a foreign country in a general sense, or are about anticorruption efforts. In the analyzed articles foreign leaders are often mentioned together with the name of the country, there by concentrating complex information in one expression: e.g.*Putin"s Russia*.

It is worth noticing that at the top of the list are two prime ministers of Hungary, Viktor Orbán (Fidesz, Alliance of Young Democrats, 1998-2002 and 2010-present) and Ferenc Gyurcsány (MSZP, Hungarian Socialist Party, 2004-2009), whose names comprise 30 percent of all occurrences in Table 3.They are often mentioned not only as individual persons, but government is more generally identified with their names as they have also become symbols of two political parties, their sympathizers and ideologies. Further on we will see that this strong focus on the two main political party contenders is a characteristic feature of the analyzed segment of Hungarian media.

Other politicians" names appear less frequently, often in the context of the statements they make about corruption and anticorruption activities, or when they accuse politicians from other parties of corruption. However, not all of these charges are followed by judicial procedure, according to the content of the articles.

Table 3 – Hungary (2004-2013): Most frequent words: people"s family names

Rank	FAMILY NAMES	Frequency	National/Inter national	Type of actor
1	**ORBÁN**[1] (Prime minister, FIDESZ, 1998-2002 and 2010-present)	10685	National	National politics (politicians and government members)
2	**GYURCSÁNY** (Prime minister, MSZP, 2004-2009)	10514	National	National politics (politicians and government members)
3	**HORVÁTH** (AMBIGUOUS, e.g.:1:mayor, 2:MP, 3:journalist, 4:photographer, 5:minister)	2743	National	-
4	**KOVÁCS** (AMBIGUOUS, e.g.: 1:EU Commissioner, 2:MP, 3:businessman, 4:head of Court of Audit)	2371	National	-
5	**DEMSZKY** (Politician, mayor of Budapest, 1990-2010)	2275	National	National politics (politicians and government members)
6	**PUTIN** (Prime minister and president, Russia)	2255	International	Foreign heads of state, gov. representatives and politicians
7	**MEDGYESSY** (Prime minister, MSZP, 2002-2004)	2155	National	National politics (politicians and government members)
8	**MESTERHÁZY** (AMBGUOUS: 1, politician, chairman of MSZP, candidate for the position of PM 2, businessman, movie producer with political role: counsellor of mayor of Budapest)	2146	National	National politics (politicians and government members)
9	**BERLUSCONI** (Prime minister, Italy)	1851	International	Foreign heads of state, gov. representatives and politicians
10	**SANADER** (Prime minister, Croatia)	1741	International	Foreign heads of state, gov. representatives and politicians
11	**TÓTH** (AMBIGUOUS, e.g.: 1:police superintendent, 2:researcher, 3:state secretary, 4: journalist)	1677	National	-
12	**KOCSIS** (AMBIGUOUS, e.g.: 1:CEO of nuclear power plant, 2:leader of intelligence, 3:spokesman, 4:pianist, 5:journalist, 6:mayor of a district in Budapest, 7:CEO of public transport company)	1604	National	-
13	**TYMOSHENKO** (Prime minister, Ukraine)	1519	National	Foreign heads of state, gov. representatives and politicians
14	**VARGA** (AMBIGUOUS, e.g.: 1:minister of finance, 2:photographer, 3:various MPs)	1500	National	-
15	**JUHÁSZ** (AMBIGUOUS, e.g.: 1:minister of defense, 2:Hungarian Competition Authority 3:CEO, 4:journalist, 5:MP)	1455	National	-
16	**TÁTRAI** (AMBIGUOUS, e.g.: 1:mountain, 2:MP, 3:under-secretary, 4:CEO of Hungarian National Asset Management Inc., 5:public procurement expert)	1392	National	National businessman/professional
17	**KOLOMPÁR** (Politician, President of the National Gypsy Council)	1340	National	National politics (politicians and government members)
18	**HAGYÓ** (Entrepreneur and politician, former deputy mayor of Budapest,	1315	National	National politics (politicians and government members)

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[1]Orbán Kolompár, President of the National Gypsy Council, also appears on the list, but much less frequently than Viktor Orbán, the prime minister

	MSZP)			
19	**BASESCU** (President, Romania)	1311	National	Foreign heads of state, gov. representatives and politicians
20	**BALOGH** (AMBIGUOUS, e.g.: 1:various MPs, 2:musician,3:translator, 4:ambassador, 5:assigned CEO of public transport company, 6:legal aid activist)	1096	National	-
21	**MUBARAK** (President, Egypt)	1087	International	Foreign heads of state, gov. representatives and politicians
22	**OBAMA** (President, USA)	1073	International	Foreign heads of state, gov. representatives and politicians
23	**PINTÉR** (Politician, FIDESZ, Minister of the Interior)	1067	National	National politics (politicians and government members)
24	**NAVRACSICS** (politician, minister, FIDESZ, European Commissioner)	1023	National	National politics (politicians and government members)
25	**NASTASE** (Prime minister, Romania)	995	National	Foreign heads of state, gov. representatives and politicians
26	**PORTIK** (Head of organized crime, "businessman")	989	National	Other
27	**LÁZÁR** (AMBIGUOUS, e.g.: 1:CEO, 2:MPs, 3:coach,4: writer, most often: 5: politician, minister, FIDESZ)	989	National	National politics (politicians and government members)
28	**BLUM** (businessman)	972	National	National businessman/professional
29	**TARLÓS** (politician, FIDESZ, mayor of Budapest, 2010-present)	961	National	National politics (politicians and government members)
30	**LENDVAI** (AMBIGUOUS, e.g.: 1:politician, leader of MSZP, 2:journalist)	943	National	National politics (politicians and government members)
31	**SÓLYOM** (President, Hungary, 2005-2010)	943	National	National politics (politicians and government members)
32	**FAZEKAS** (AMBIGUOUS, e.g.: 1:sport actors, 2:journalist, 3: director of Hungarian Academy of Science, 4:MP, 5:businessman, 6:spokesman)	943	National	-
33	**PAPCSÁK** (politician, MP, FIDESZ, Mayor of a district of Budapest)	923	National	National politics (politicians and government members)
34	**SZIJJÁRTÓ** (Politician, FIDESZ, minister)	852	National	National politics (politicians and government members)
35	**PAPP** (AMBIGUOUS, e.g.: 1:inspector, 2:MP, 3:spokesman, 4:mayor, 5:journalist, 6:lawyer, 7:deputy manager)	811	National	-
36	**KARÁCSONY** (AMBIGUOUS, e.g.:1:politician, LMP, PM, mayor of a district of Budapest 2: Christmas)	799	National	National politics (politicians and government members)
37	**MEDVEGYEV** (Prime minister, Russia)	790	International	Foreign heads of state, gov. representatives and politicians
38	**SZÁSZ** (AMBIGUOUS, e.g.: 1:Leader of Hungarian Financial Supervisory Authority, 2:MP, 3:businessman, 4:president of party)	768	National	-
39	**NECAS** (Prime minister, Czech Republic)	753	National	Foreign heads of state, gov. representatives and politicians
40	**YUSHCHENKO** (President, Ukraine)	747	National	Foreign heads of state, gov. representatives and politicians
41	**TAKÁCS** (AMBIGUOUS, e.g.:	729	National	-

	1: Minister of Justice, 2: Informatics teacher, 3: Reporter, 4: Liberal party politician)			
42	**HORN** (Prime minister, 1994-1998)	726	National	National politics (politicians and government members)
43	**MATOLCSY** (Politician, FIDESZ, MP)	717	National	National politics (politicians and government members)
44	**SCHIFFER** (Politician, LMP, MP)	712	National	National politics (politicians and government members)
45	**BUSH** (President, USA)	710	International	Foreign heads of state, gov. representatives and politicians
46	**POLT** (Politician, Chief prosecutor)	703	National	National judge/prosecutor
47	**SARKOZY** (President, France)	691	International	Foreign heads of state, gov. representatives and politicians
48	**ZUSCHLAG** (Politician, MSZP, MP)	672	National	National politics (politicians and government members)
49	**CSÁSZY** (Former leader of National Asset Manager)	676	National	National businessman/professional
50	**WIESZT** (Politician, MSZP, mayor)	627	National	National politics (politicians and government members)

Note: If a family name was ambiguous, we analyzed a sample of 30 texts in which the name appeared. The "Type of actor" column wasfilled out only when the most frequently mentioned actor is responsible at least for 28 occurrences from the 30.

Table 4 shows the types of actors in an aggregated form. The most important finding relates to the high proportion of politicians (90%) and, more particularly, the proportion of national politicians (54%). This suggests the close interrelation of corruption and politics as topics in the media. It is worth noticing that the proportion of national politicians is underestimated in these results as ambiguous family names have been excluded, but they probably often refer to national politicians too.

42 family names refer to national actors (84%) while only 8 names refer to international actors which indicates that attention devoted to international corruption-related actions, cases and events is much less than the interest in national processes.

Table 4 – Hungary (2004-2013): Most frequent words: kind of actors

(analysis limited to the first,unambiguous 50 family names)

	N.	%
Foreign heads of state, gov. representatives and politicians	13	33,0
National politics (politicians and government members)	21	54,0
Sports-related	0	0,0
International businessman/professional	0	0,0
National judge/prosecutor	1	0,0
National businessman/professional	2	5,0
Other	1	2,0
Total	*39*	*100,0*

Note: ambiguous family names have been excluded

Table 5 shows the twenty most frequently named organizational actors (associations, political parties, business companies, etc.) in our sample related to the selected keywords. The most frequently used organizational names are the two biggest (and rival) parties: FIDESZ (a right-wing party) and MSZP (a left-wing party). Their frequent usage occurs for similar reasons as with the names Orbán and Gyurcsány. They are leading domestic political actors. The Christian Democrat Party (KDNP) also appeared frequently among the political actors and the biggest ethnic Hungarian party from Romania (RMDSZ) is present as well. Hungarian media addresses RMDSZ from two perspectives: opportunities and events during the Romanian elections, and the party's relations with Hungarian political actors. The four mentioned parties are not necessarily linked directly to cases of corruption, but they are key actors in domestic politics.

One company (MALÉV), two state-owned companies and Siemens (a business company) were all involved in cases of corruption. The few international actors that appear in articles are the UN, the European Union and FIFA. The UN is related mentioned along side anticorruption activities and reports in most cases, but some cases included officials of the UN being accused of corruption. FIFA is in a similar situation – it is associated both with corruption and anticorruption. Mentions of the EU were associated with anticorruption regulation and reports related to EU enlargement.

Table 5 – Hungary (2004-2013): Most frequent words: political parties, business companies and specific institutions

Rank	Words related to specific political parties, business companies and institutions	Frequency	National/International	Kind of actor
1	**FIDESZ** (Biggest right-wing party, governing party in 1998-2002 and 2010-present)	16706	National	Political party/political area
2	**MSZP** (Biggest left-wing party, governing party in 2002-2008)	10152	National	Political party/political area
3	**Unió** (European Union)	5669	International	Other
4	**BRFK** (Budapest Police)	2489	National	Other
5	**MÁV** (National railway company)	2080	National	Other
6	**Számvevőszék** (State Audit Office)	1876	National	Other
7	**Alkotmánybíróság** (Constitutional Court)	1686	National	Other
8	**Transparency** (Transparency International)	1598	International	Other
9	**RMDSZ** (Ethnic Hungarian party from Romania)	1162	National	Political party/political area
10	**ENSZ** (United Nations)	1128	International	Other
11	**Pénzügyminisztérium** (Ministry of Finance)	857	National	Other
12	**KEHI**[2] (Government Control Office)	845	National	Other
13	**Belügyminisztérium** (Ministry of Interior)	821	National	Other
14	**MALÉV** (Hungarian Airline company)	815	National	Other
15	**KDNP** (Hungarian Christian-Democrat Party)	777	National	Political party/political area
16	**FIFA**	727	International	Sportsperson
17	**PSZÁF** (State Supervision of Financial Institutions)	692	National	Other
18	**SIEMENS**	671	International	Business company
19	**ORFK** (National Police Headquarters)	663	National	Other
20	**APEH** (Hungarian Tax and Financial Control Administration)	654	National	Other

Analysis of the most frequent words and actors suggests that Hungarian coverage of corruption focuses primarily on domestic cases and often includes a discussion of corruption together with national politics. Corruption accusations are mostly a part of the symbolic struggle between the dominant parties.

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[2] This can also mean the National Office of the President, but it is less likely

Table 6 – Hungary (2004-2013): Most frequentlymentioned geographical areas

Rank		N.		Rank		N.
1	Hungary	24930		16	Germany	1927
2	Romania	5145		17	Afghanistan	1854
3	Russia	3916		18	Washington	1838
4	Buda (part of Budapest)	3702		19	Pest (part of Budapest)	1692
5	Moscow	3678		20	Csepel (part of Budapest)	1621
6	Europe	3471		21	Slovakia	1574
7	Israel	3346		22	Africa	1540
8	Pécs (Hungarian city)	2869		23	Bucharest	1532
9	Brussels	2705		24	Debrecen (Hungarian city)	1516
10	China	2565		25	Austria	1388
11	Iraq	2520		26	France	1352
12	Ukraine	2255		27	Serbia	1341
13	Croatia	2190		28	Czech Republic	1313
14	Sukoró (Hungarian settlement)	2092		29	Poland	1286
15	Bulgaria	1965		30	Erzsébetváros (district of Budapest)	1264

The most frequently occurring geographical name in the articles is "Hungary". The majority of locations refer to European countries as Romania, Russia, Ukraine, Slovakia, etc. Some other capitals appear,such as Washington, Bucharest, Moscow and Brussels. Hungarian cities are another significant group and include Debrecen, Sukoró and Pécs. Parts and districts of Budapest also appear as a separate group (Buda, Pest, Csepel, and Erzsébetváros).

4. Word associations

The following illustrations demonstrate the words associated with the nine selected keywords across the three examined periods.

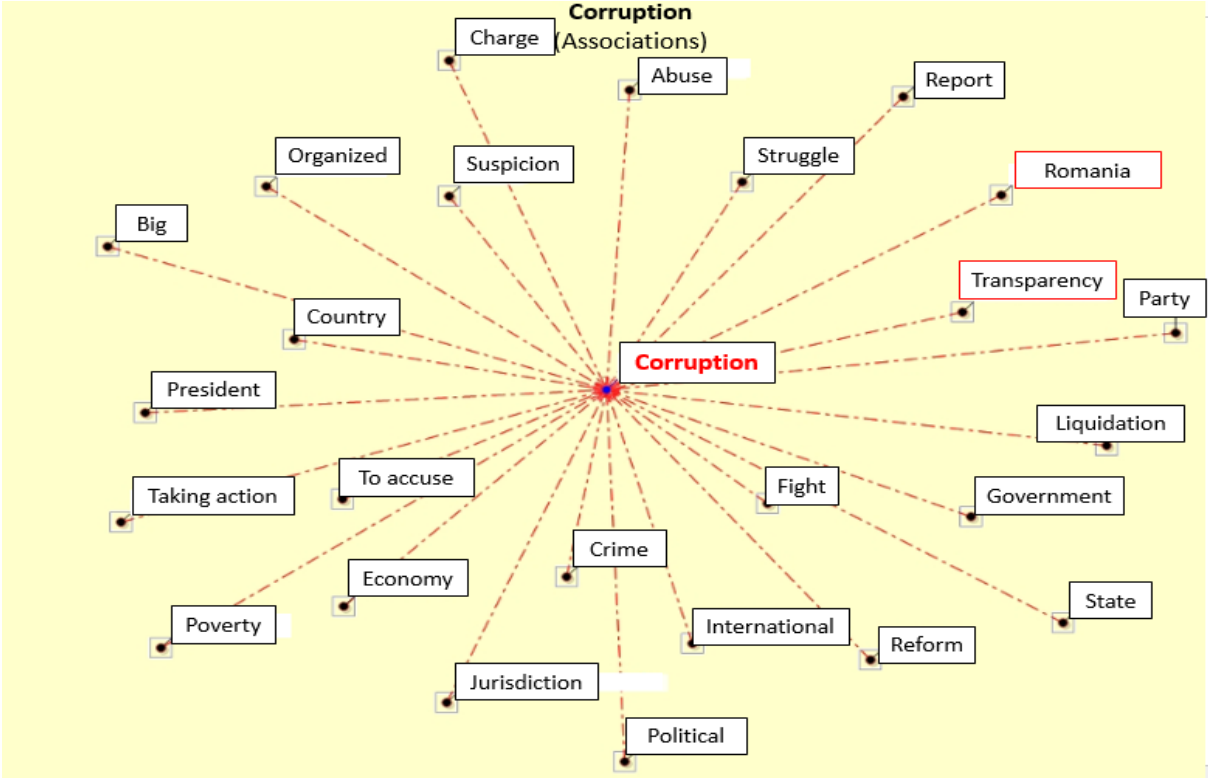**Figure 3 - Hungary (2004-2007): Words most often associated with keyword "corruption"**

Figure 4 - Hungary (2008-2011): Words most often associated with keyword "corruption"
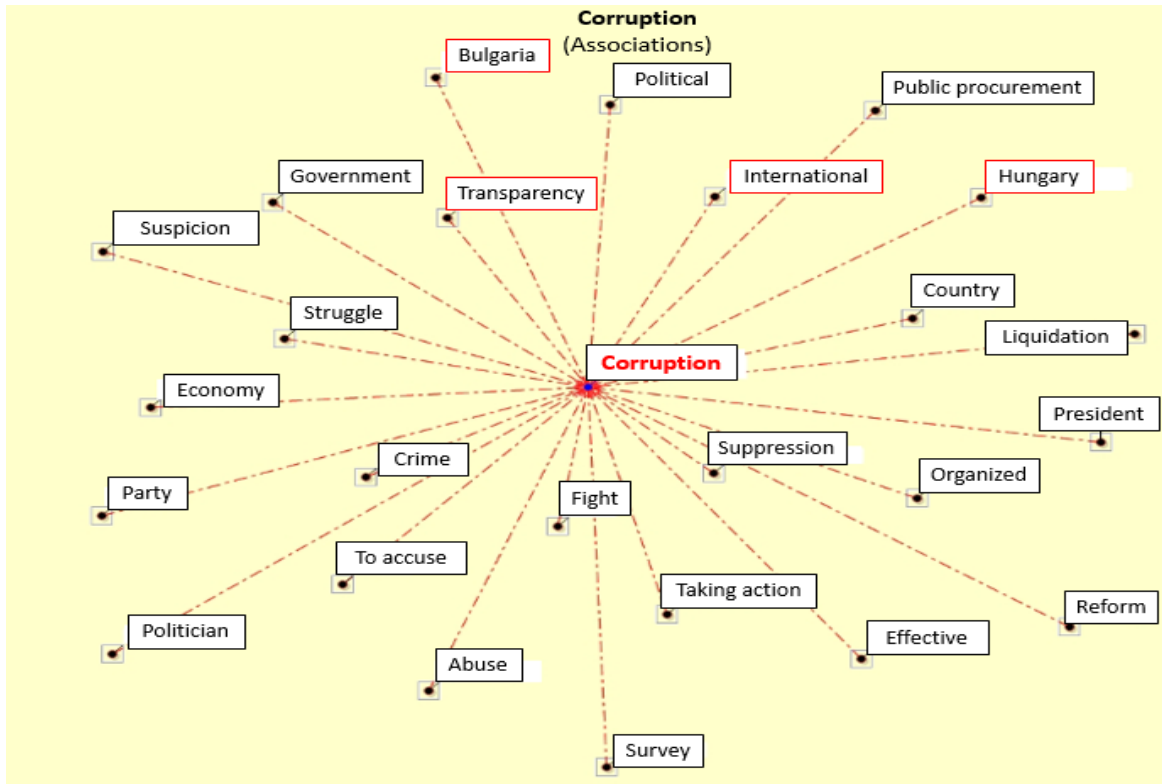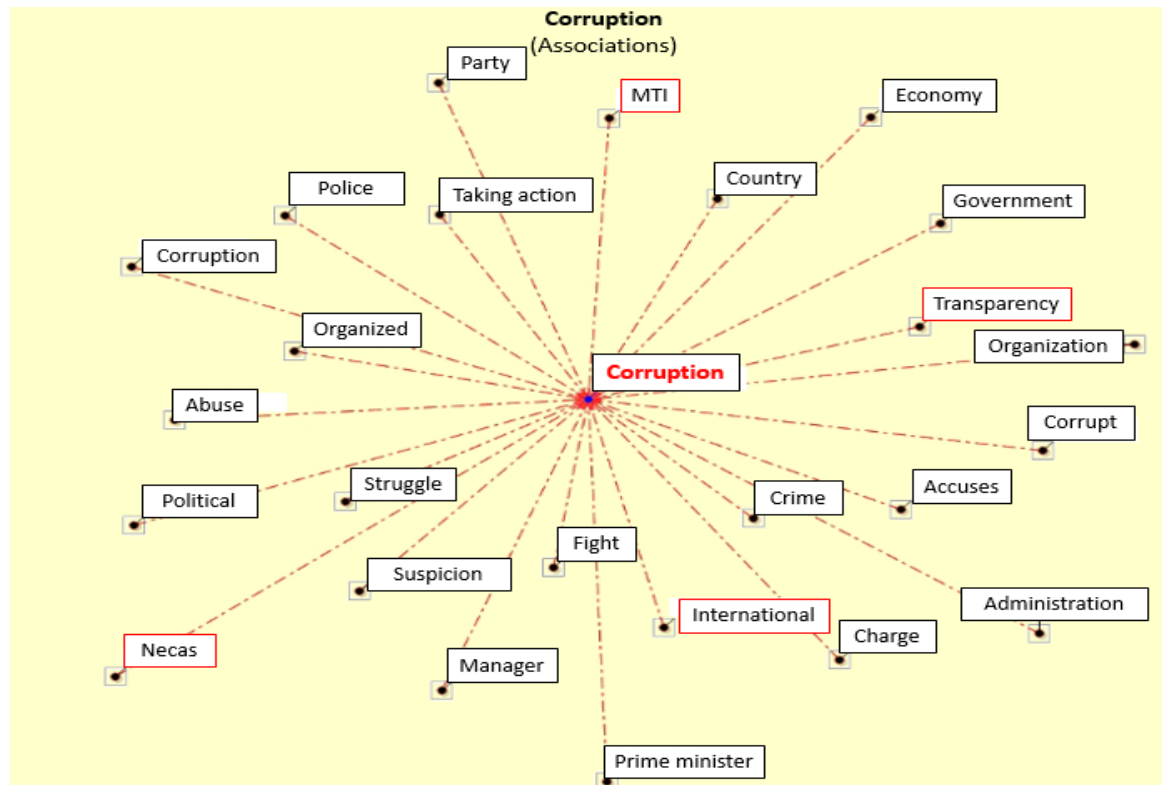

Figure 5 - Hungary (2012-2013): Words most often associated with keyword "corruption"

Across all three periods, the keyword *corruption* refers to corruption as a general phenomenon that should be defeated (Figures 3, 4 and 5). The contexts in whichit occurs are policy statements or reports designed to help in the struggle against corruption or organized crime, and which state that corruption should be suppressed and liquidated or otherwise addressed by the government or the state.

> *As a part of the governmental anticorruption program, Hungary is joining the Open Government Partnership which is operating in more than fifty countries and making a commitment to fight corruption. [MNO, 2nd semester 2012]*

In the national context, corruption is only mentioned sporadically. Corruption is mostly refered at the international level;one context being the EU regulations against corruption and the accession of Romania and Bulgaria to the European Union and the Schengen area. Another international approach is provided by the reports of Transparency International which rank countries by the level of perceived corruption and associate poverty and economy withthis indicator.

> *Hungary remains moderately corrupt on a worldwidebasis according to Transparency International anticorruption organization"s 2009 ranking [MNO, 1st semester 2013]*

There is only one specific case associated with the keyword corruption emerged during the third period of the analysis. Petr Necas, the Czech prime minister, resigned over accusations of corruption against his chief of cabinet, who was eventually imprisoned.

In the Hungarian language, the translations of the keywords *bribe* ("csúszópénz") and *kickback* ("kenőpénz") are used interchangeably. Accordingly, they are analyzed together (Figures 6-11).

In contrast to the general usage of the word corruption, bribe and kickback are used to address various and much more specific cases that occurred in the analyzed period. The differences between the words associated with the words bribe and kickback are due to the low frequency of the keywords.

Figure 6 - Hungary (2004-2007): Words most often associated with keyword "bribe"
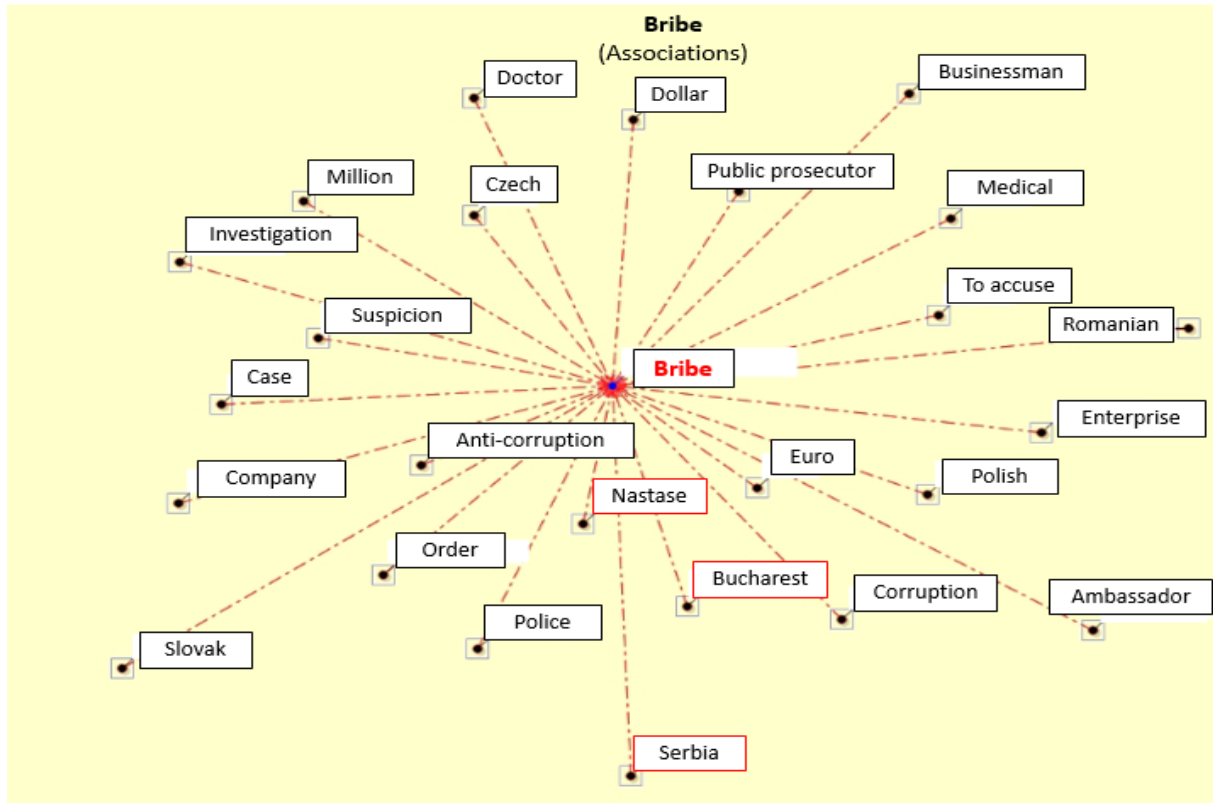
Figure 7 - Hungary (2008-2011): Words most often associated with keyword "bribe"
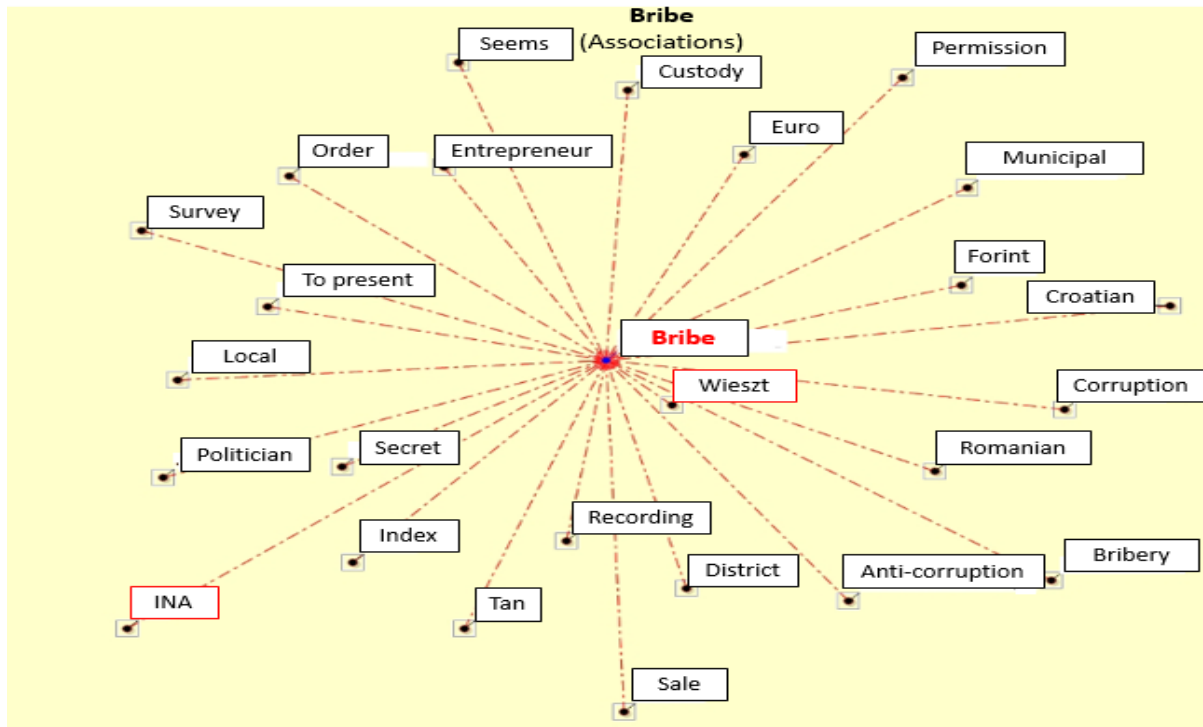
Figure 8 – Hungary (2012-2013): Words most often associated with keyword "bribe"
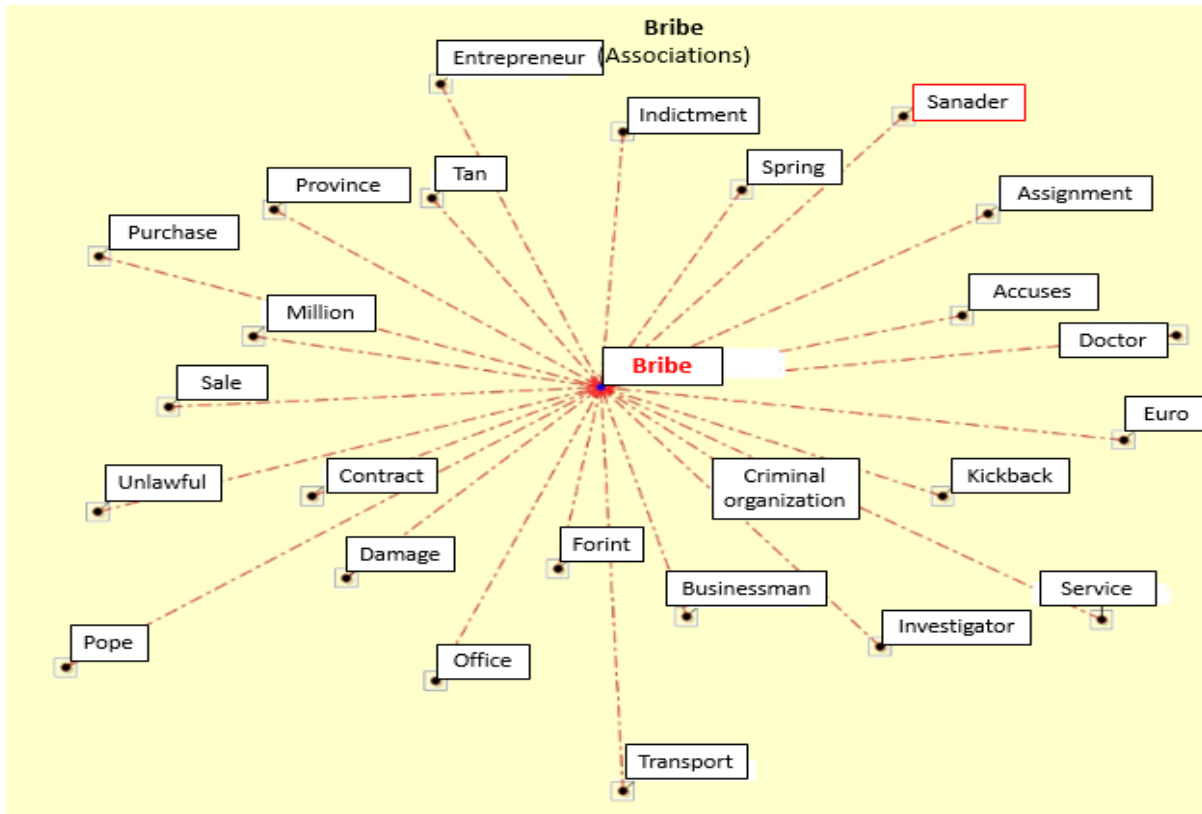
Figure 9 – Hungary (2004-2007): Words most often associated with keyword "kickback"
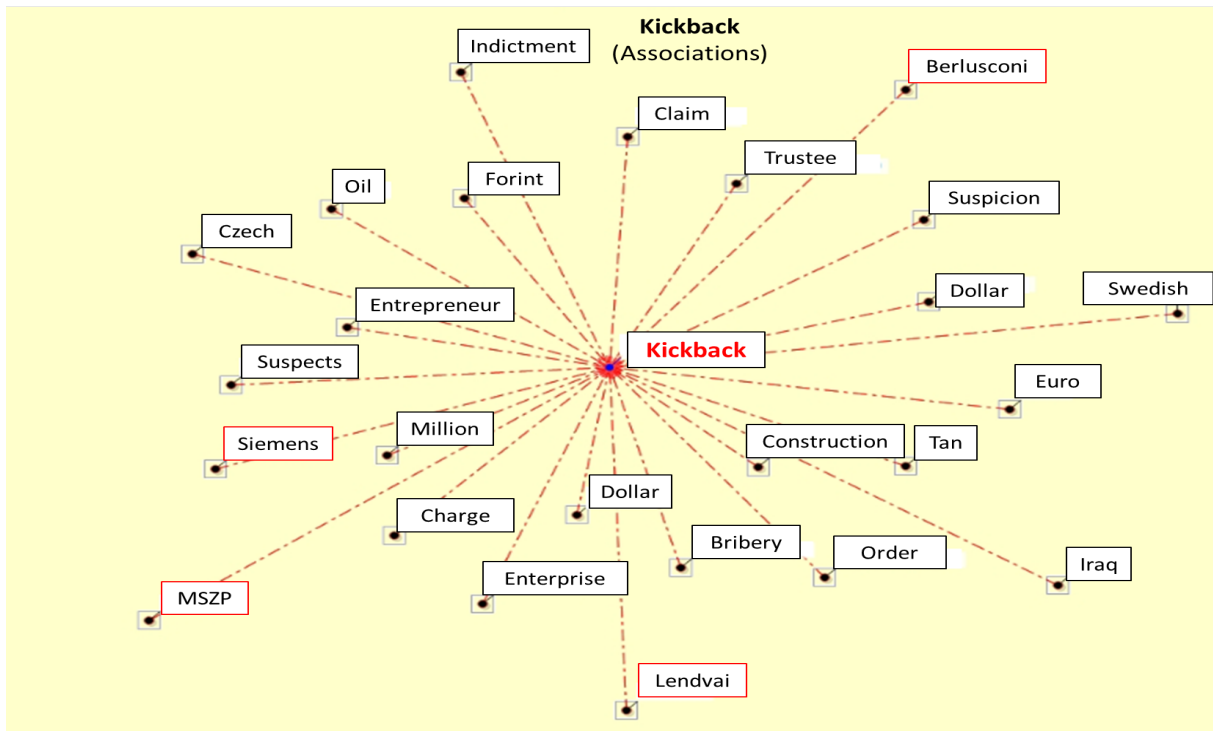
Figure 10 - Hungary (2008-2011): Words most often associated with keyword "kickback"

Kickback
(Associations)

National defense · MOL · Romanian · Forint · Entrepreneur · Croatian · Austrian · Accuses · Bribery · Wieszt · Sanader · Kickback · Gál · Charge · Suspects · Euro · Juhász · Tan · Million · Dollar · INA · Company · Police · Million · Public prosecutor · Anti-corruption
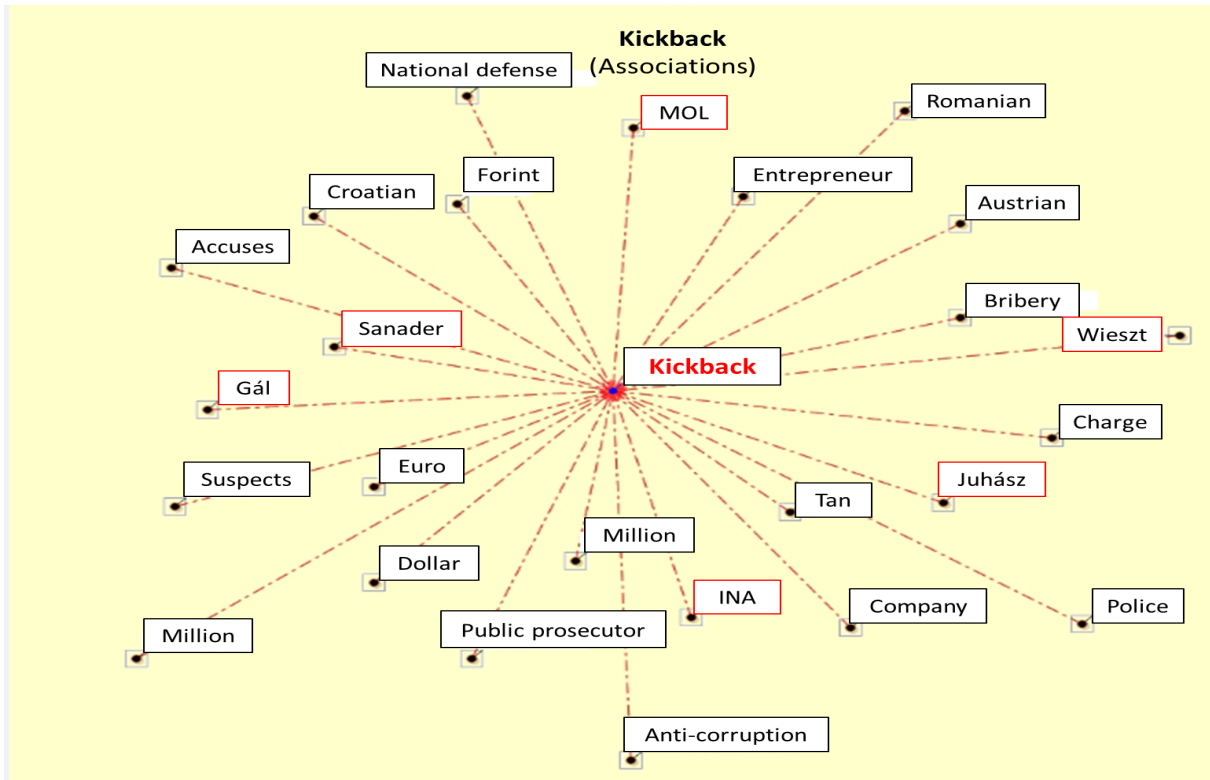
Figure 11 - Hungary (2012-2013): Words most often associated with keyword "kickback"

Kickback
(Associations)

Corruption · Hernád · Doctor · Imprisonment · Croatian · Tan · Zagreb · Entrepreneur · MOL · Enterprise · Euro · Kickback · Forint · Sanader · Judges · Million · Count · Court · INA · Leading · Bribery · Company · Testimony · Percent · Accuses · Final
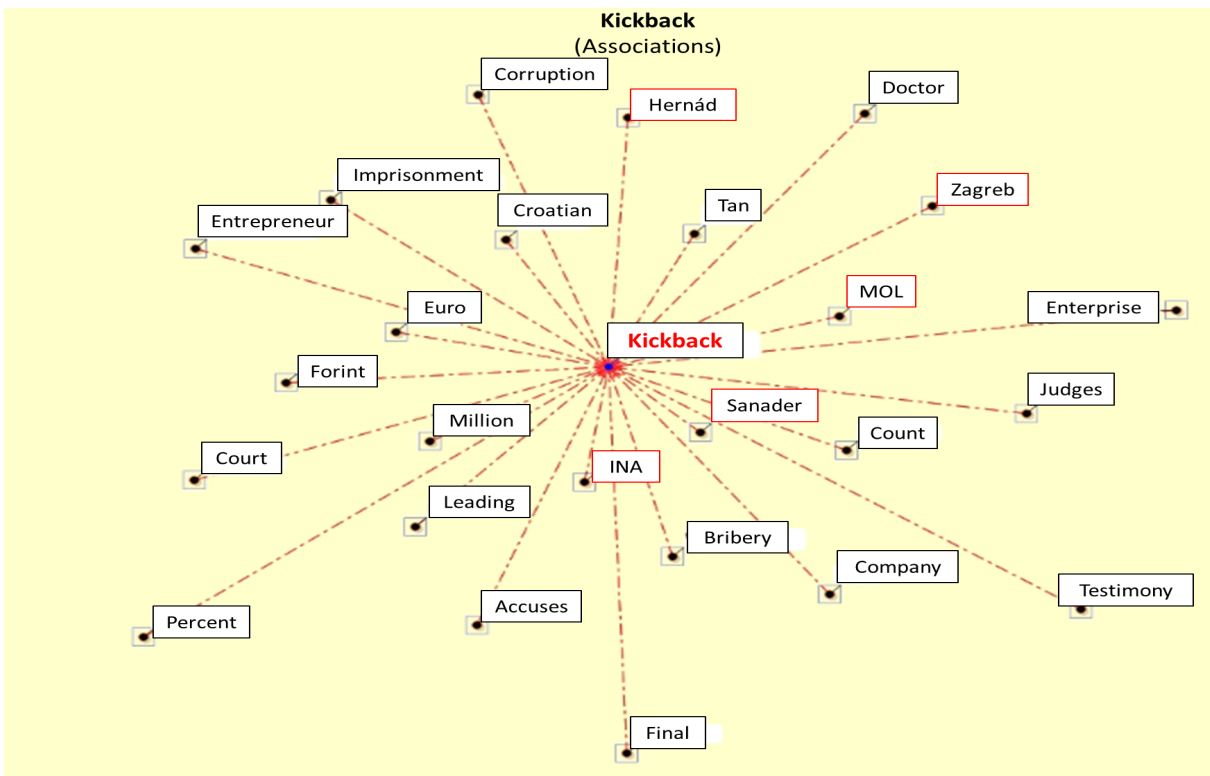
Across all three periods, many words associated with bribe or kickback are related to units of money (words such as forint, dollar, euro, etc.) that were transmitted during the act of corruption. Generally speaking, the terms kickback and bribe are related to specific corruption cases, where as the value of the money itself is specified as it related to juridical procedures in most cases. Words such as judge/s, court, testimony, to accuse, investigation and more indicate that many court cases related to bribery. As it is detailed later, kickback and bribe are associated in the Hungarian media with large-scale corruption, mostly by leading politicians.

The first period (2004-2007) is characterized mostly by reference to foreign corruption cases, reported from neighboring countries in most cases. One of the most frequently mentioned cases is that of Nastase. In Romania, Adrian Nastase, former Head of State and Social-democrat President of the Chamber of Deputies at that time, was accused of accepting bribes from the head of the Authority Department responsible for Construction. The cases were investigated by the National Anticorruption Directorate, explaining many of our associated words. Nastase was also involved in multiple cases of corruption that had significant political consequences.

> *The Romanian National Anticorruption Directorate made a proposal in recent days*
> *to bring charges against former Prime Minister Adrian Nastase and former minister*
> *of transportation Miron Mitrea on suspicion of their giving and accepting bribes, as*
> *well as instigating fraud. [MNO, 2nd semester, 2007]*

Another major case that characterized the first period emerged from the privatization of the biggest Czech chemical holding, Unipetrol. Both Czechand Polish politicians accepted kickbacks in this case of corruption.

> *According to press releases, the privatization of Unipetrol wasn''t entirely lawful;*
> *supposedly, Czech and Polish politicians received kickbacks. [MNO, 2nd semester,*
> *2005]*

Many other cases of corruption outside Hungary were reported by the Hungarian media in the first period as well. One chief medical officer was caught in the act of accepting a kickback in Slovakia. In Serbia, the vice-president of the Central Bank was accused of bribery. Two former leaders of Siemens from Germany gave bribes to managers of the Italian Enel energy company in order to obtain the rights for gas turbine transportation. In other countries, multiple cases of corruption arose in relation to oil trading.

Only one prominent domestic case was associated with the keywords kickback and bribe. In Figure 7 the name Ildikó Lendvai (Parliamentary group leader of MSZP, the socialist party) appears. Lendvai was not involved in a corruption case, but her campaign manager, Gábor Csonka, was imprisoned for receiving a 5-million-forint kickback in the name of the Asset Management Company of Terézváros. Articles dealing with the case emphasize that Csonka was campaign manager for Lendvai, and a member of the Hungarian Socialist Party (MSZP).

During the second and third period of analysis, the words bribe and kickback are almost exclusively associated with domestic affairs. Media attention shifted from the international to the national level. In the second period (2008-2011), two major and a few minor cases dominate the associations with bribe and kickback keywords. János Wieszt, a socialist politician and president of the IX District Asset Management committee was accused of bribery by the local FIDESZ organization. In a secretly recorded videotape, he can be seenaccepting 2 million Hungarian Forints as a kickback from a businessman[3].

The other characteristic case from the period involved MOL, the Hungarian oil company. This case received international attention. Zsolt Hernádi (MOL) was accused of bribing Ivo Sanader, the Croatian Head of State, because MOL wanted to acquire control over INA, the Croatian oil company. Thiscase led to a debate between the two states and to the involvement of multiple courts. Hernádi even made it onto Interpol's wanted list. Finally, the Hungarian court acquitted Hernádi of the accusation[4].

> *The Croatian Prosecutors Office requested the interrogation of Zsolt Hernádi because the office suspected that Sanader had accepted a 10-million-euro kickback in exchange for allowing MOL (the Hungarian oil and gas company)to acquirethe right to control INA without the majority of its stocks becoming the property of the Hungarian company. [HVG, 2nd semester, 2011]*

In the second period, a few more domestic cases like that which involved businessman Károly Juhász were mentioned. Hebribed Péter Kovács, former president of the Asset Management company of Terézváros, in order to facilitate the purchase of cheap real estate. Similarly, György Gál (SZDSZ, the liberal party group leader from Erzsébetváros, a district of Budapest) received a bribe and sold underpriced real estate in exchange.

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[3]https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I5hHXq-Yl9A and http://www.politics.hu/20100602/socialist-politician-suspected-of-graft-has-improved-memory-but-not-credibility/
[4]http://www.origo.hu/gazdasag/gazdasag-plusz/20140526-a-fovarosi-torvenyszek-felmentette-a-hernadi-zsoltot-a-mol-elnok-vezerigazgatojat.html and http://www.politics.hu/20140526/mols-hernadi-acquitted-by-budapest-court/

The third period (2012-2013) is very similar to the second. Media reported on very few international cases related to bribes and kickbacks. The Sanader-Hernádi case continued to gain media attention, and other minor domestic cases emerged. One characteristic case from this period involved the University of Pécs (PTE), where 29 persons were accused of bribery and forming a criminal organization. The administrative staff of PTE and the members of companies that won certain public procurements were also involved.

The keywords bribe and kickback were associated in the first period with non-Hungarian cases from the surrounding countries, but the second and the third period are dominated by domestic cases. A few cases were emphasized by the Hungarian media, while others were only mentioned. The actors involved in bribery cases are not necessarily politicians, but members of a group primarily involved in the purchase of state-owned real estate. While discussing the involvement of actors in cases of corruption, the media often report on their connection to a specific political party. In the case of Csonka, his relationship to a leading politician was emphasized, even though Lendvai herself was not involved. Another observation is that news outlets often publish similar articles with only minor differences that contribute to certain word associations in our dataset (see above: Lendvai - kickback).

The word "embezzlement" is the second most frequently identified corruption-related keyword reported by the Hungarian media, although its usage does not substantially differ from the use of the words kickback or bribe. Embezzlement is related to domestic cases, where a few specific cases that resulted in legal procedures were emphasized. This time the analyzed keyword is more closely associated with political figures than in the earlier examples.

Figure 12 - Hungary (2004-2007): Words most often associated with keyword "embezzlement"

Figure 13 - Hungary (2008-2011): Words most often associated with keyword "embezzlement"

Figure 14 - Hungary (2012-2013): Words most often associated with keyword "embezzlement"
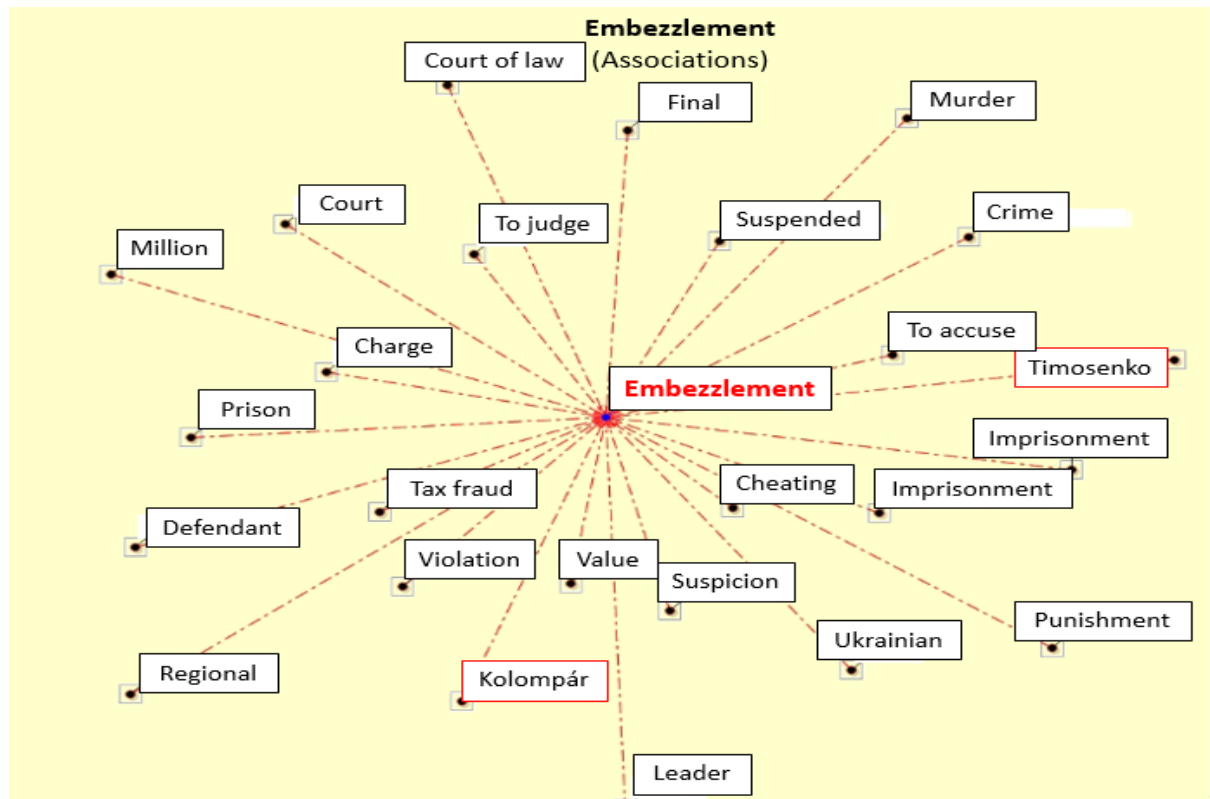
Association with the word "embezzlement" in the first period (2004-2007) is almost entirely devoted to one specific case. The Kulcsár case[5], also known as "the broker scandal", started in 2003 and the legal procedure is still ongoing. Kulcsár was a broker at the K&H Bank Equities company who, according to the charges, circulated money belonging to many individuals and state-owned companies through offshore institutions. Kulcsár used customers" money without their permission, invested it and expropriated the profit, sharing the money with his accomplices. A significant political scandal arosefrom the Kulcsár case because FIDESZ (the dominant right-wing party) claimed that the actors had direct ties to MSZP (the socialist party).

> *The Prosecutor's Office accused Attila Kulcsár and his associates with embezzlement, money laundering, bribery, and complicity. Among the 23 defendants is Rejtő E.Tibor, former CEO of K&H Bank, Csaba Kerék, the former manager of the Britton company, and Henrik Schöntal, a businessman who voluntarily returned from the USA. [MNO, 1st semester, 2007]*

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[5]See Eva Inzelt: White-collar crime in countries of transition. The lessons of Hungary. In: Judith van Erp,Wim Huisman,Gudrun Vande Walle (eds.): The Routledge Handbook of White-Collar and Corporate Crime in Europe, 2015, pp. 182-197.

In the second period (2008-2011), reporting about the Kulcsár case continued and two other domestic cases of corruption emerged. Orbán Kolompár, President of the National Gypsy Self-Government (OCÖ) was accused of embezzling the financial resources of the organization. Gábor Deme (a local politician from the Hungarian Socialist Party) was the director of an elementary and vocational school in Csepel who was originally accused of complicity in a double murder that happened at his school[6]. It became known that he and his life partner had also repeatedly embezzled money from the school's cash register. In the articles about Deme, the media often reported on his membership of MSZP.

In the third period, the Kolompár case remains closely associated with the word embezzlement, but the media's attention shifted to the case of the former Prime Minister of Ukraine, Julija Timosenko, who was incarcerated for her alleged abuse of authority related to the signing of the Ukrainian-Russian gas agreement of 2009.

> *Former Prime Minister Julija Timosenko is currently doing her 7-year jail sentence for abuse of power related to the signing of the 2009 Ukrainian-Russian gas agreement according to the charges. Meanwhile, another procedure against her is under way involving charges of embezzlement and tax fraud that she allegedly committed in the second half of the 1990s as head of United Energy Systems of Ukraine. [Népszava, 2nd semester, 2012]*

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[6] See http://www.politics.hu/20090114/politician-suspected-of-involvement-in-csepel-killings-booted-from-party/ and http://www.politics.hu/20110504/former-socialist-minister-allegedly-linked-to-double-murder-in-budapest/

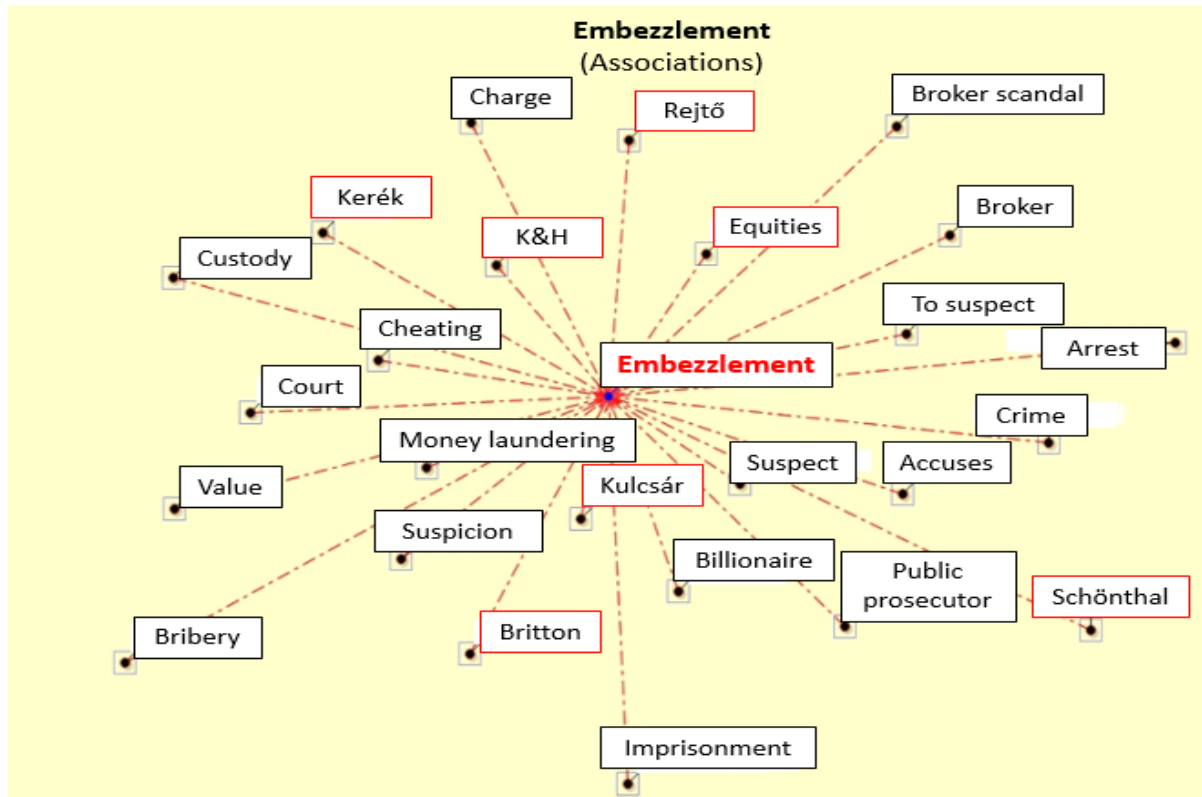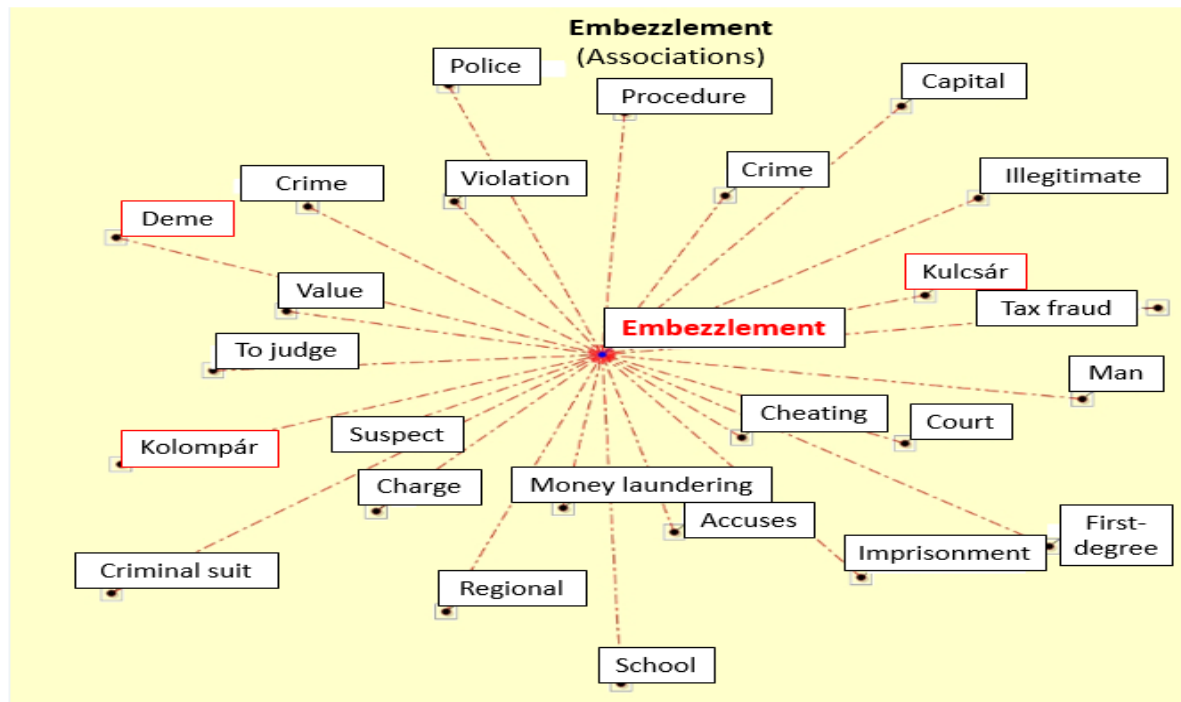**Figure 15 - Hungary (2004-2007): Words most often associated with keyword "collusion"**

Figure 16 - Hungary (2008-2011): Words most often associated with keyword "collusion"

Figure 17 - Hungary (2012-2013): Words most often associated with keyword "collusion"
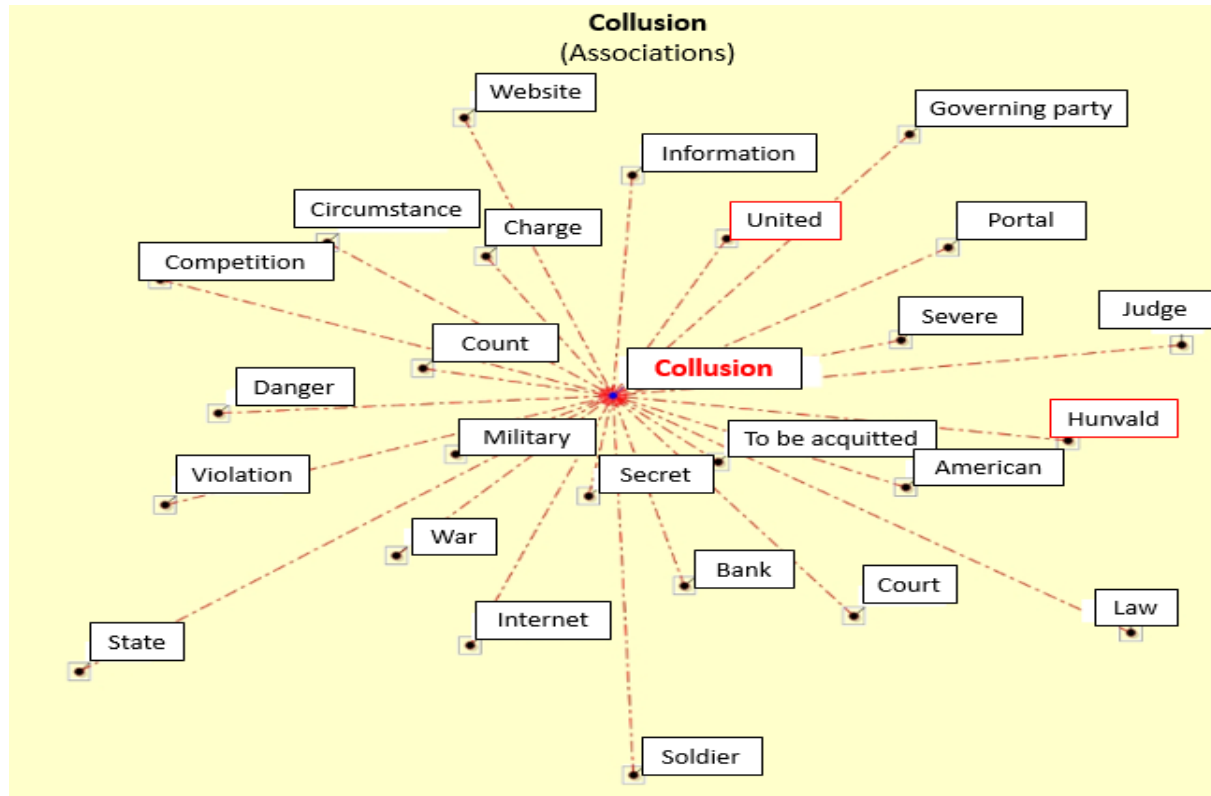
The word collusion occurs in numerous contexts with different meanings. The word occurs most frequently in its everyday sense in the Hungarian language as part of the expression "körülmények összejátszása", meaning *extraordinary set of circumstances*. Descriptions of non-Hungarian cases appear sporadically. Among the international cases, some are specific, but these are not characteristic of their period. For instance, the Social Democratic Party of Germany allegedly colluded with Porr GmbH in the first period (Figure 15). Another example from the second period is Washington"s Department of Justice investigation into collusion at financial institutions like György Soros" (a famous businessman born in Hungary) company (Figure 16). Judicial procedures were launched against American military personnel between 2012 and 2013 (Figure 17). In the international context, the word collusion is used in a more general sense, as in "oil prices are rising due to collusion".

Domestic cases are mostly related to distortionary market activities that often involve public procurement. The second period demonstrates that collusion can be an element of political rhetoric. Ferenc Gyurcsány (Prime Minister and leader of MSZP) claimed that abuse of power and collusion in the public sphere should be fought against through legislative action. The word collusion also appeared in distant connection with the Hunvald case in which György Hunvald (former major and

socialist politician) was accused of real estate fraud and the court refused to grant him temporary leave from jail because he might collude to escape.

Figure 18 - Hungary (2004-2007): Words most often associated with keyword "clientelism"

Figure 19 - Hungary (2008-2011): Words most often associated with keyword "clientelism"

Figure 20 - Hungary (2012-2013): Words most often associated with keyword "clientelism"
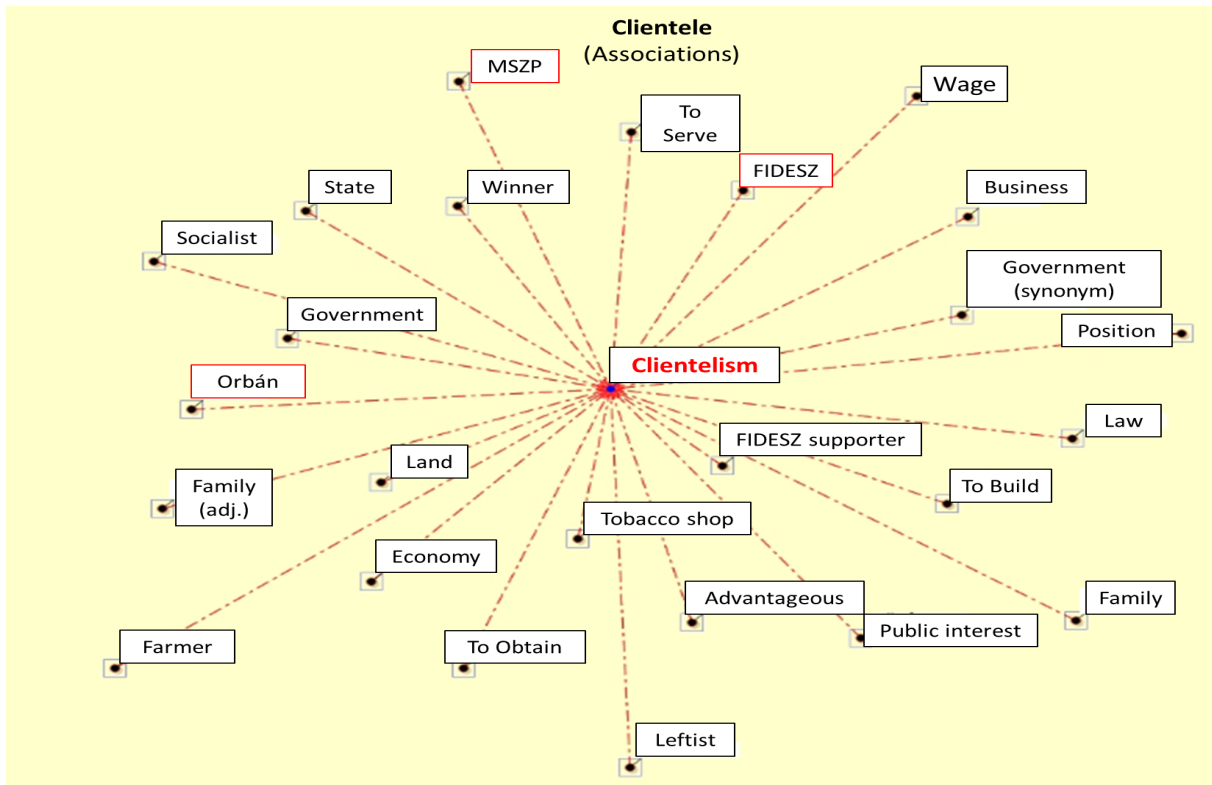
The word "clientelism" appears frequently in editorials and commentaries in all periods – often in the phrase "clientelism building". These articles rarely refer to a specific case of corruption or investigation; they are rather an element of general party warfare. In general, the opposition accuses the governing party of having a clientelism to which they allocate EU funds and positions.

In the first two periods when MSZP (the Hungarian Socialist Party) was in power (2002-2010), the words related to MSZP (*Gyurcsány (prime minister), MSZP, socialist, left-liberal*) are more closely associated with keyword "clientelism" than in the third period when FIDESZ (the right-wing party) was in power. In the third period the words related to FIDESZ (*FIDESZ-supporter, Orbán, FIDESZ*) are more closely related to the keyword. The word "clientelism" tends to be more closely associated with the current governing party.

In the third period, specific situations such as the tobacco law and the leasing of state-owned public lands appear along side general accusations. Fidesz was accused in both cases of allocating tobacco concessions and lands to their supporters ("their clientelism") in a biased way.

Figure 21 - Hungary (2004-2007): Words most often associated with keyword "nepotism"
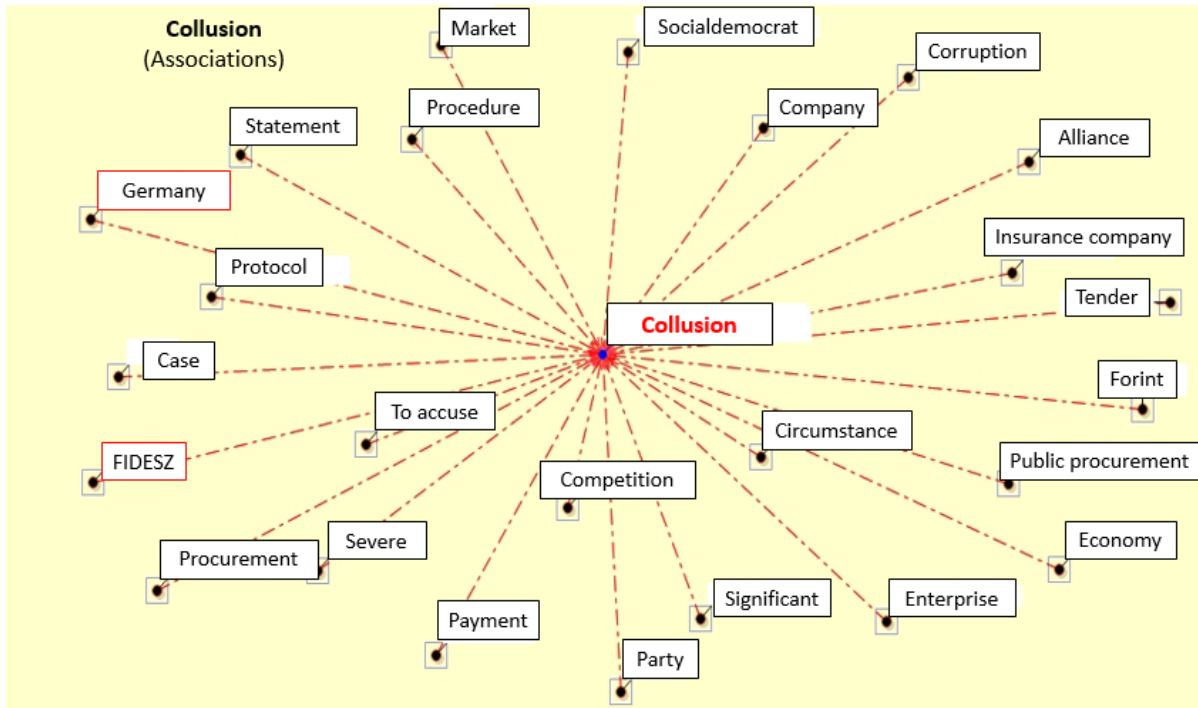

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Figure 22 - Hungary (2008-2011): Words most often associated with keyword "nepotism"
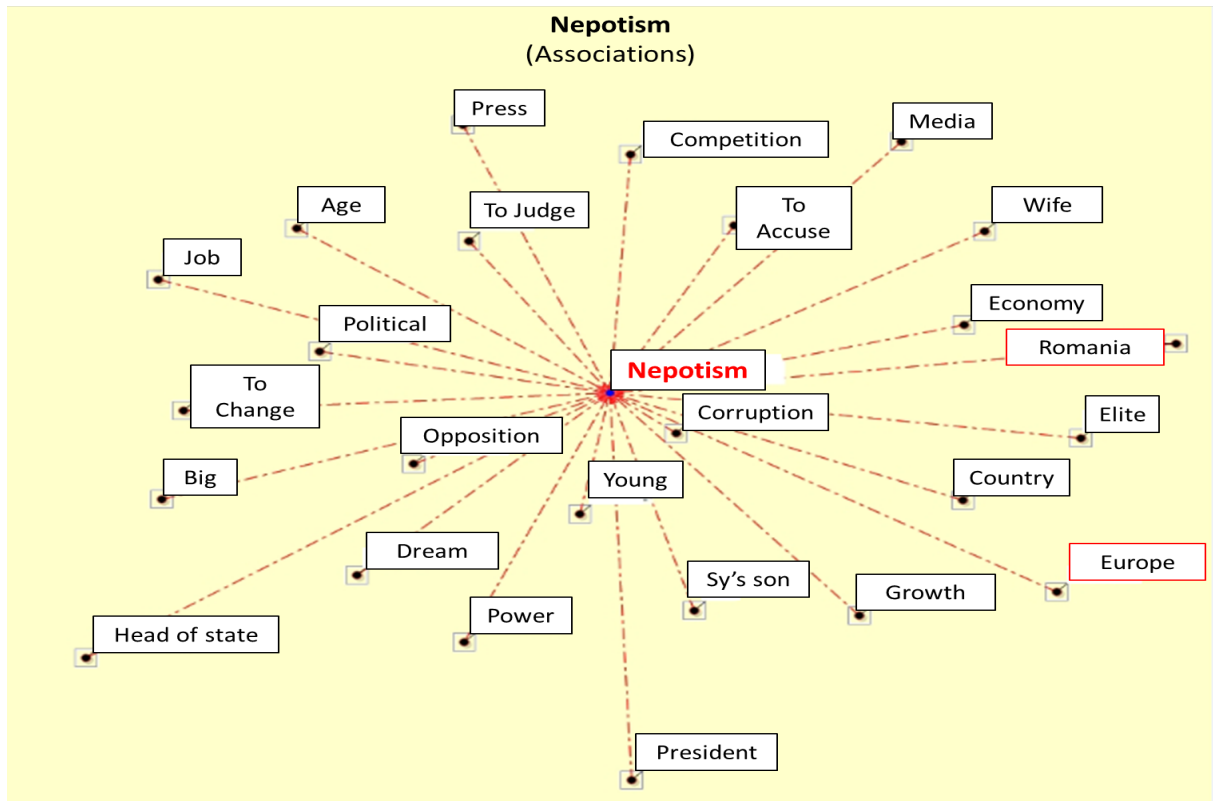
Figure 23 - Hungary (2012-2013): Words most often associated with keyword "nepotism"
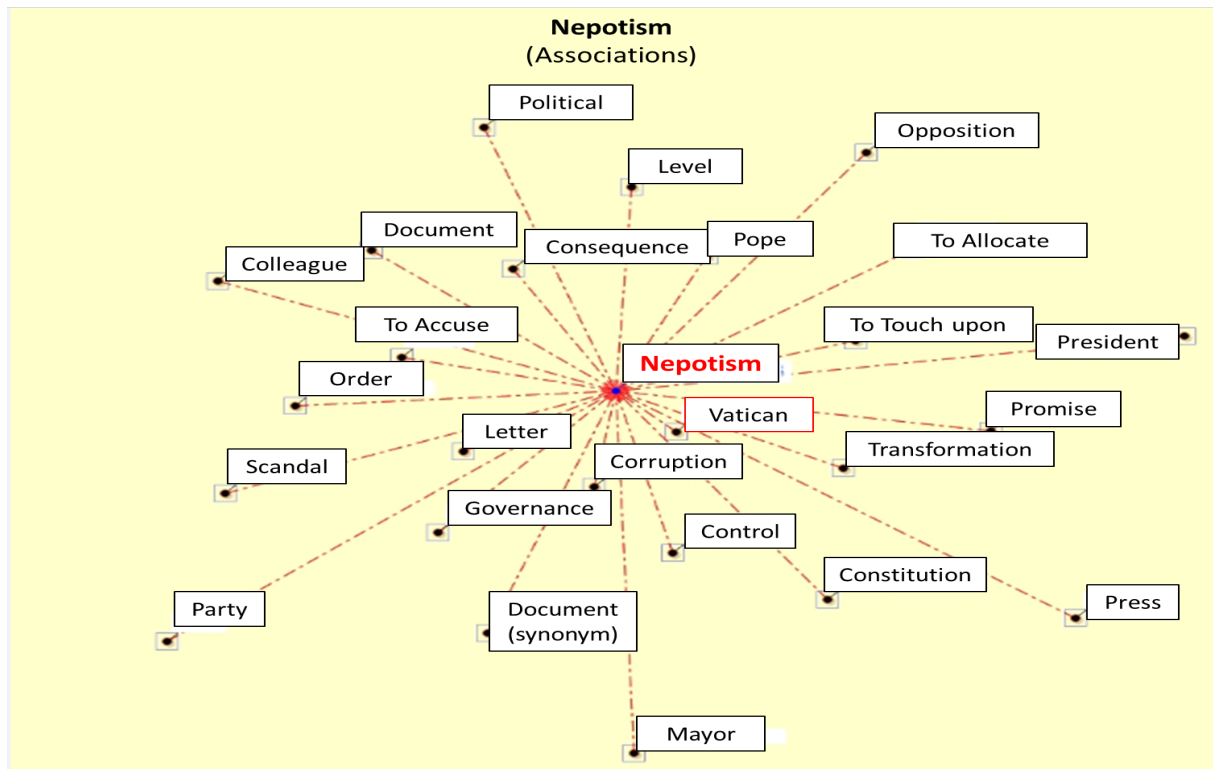
Nepotism is a word rarely used in Hungarian; many occurrences in the articles have their origins in translations of articles published by foreign news agencies. As a consequence, this keyword is mostly associated in all three periods with other words that relate to non-Hungarian cases of corruption or foreign newspaper content about Hungary (e.g. the corruption and nepotism accusations aimed at the Vatican"s administration based on documents stolen from Pope Benedict XVI's desk).

When articles were about Hungary, they often referred to the political and economic situation of the country in general, not to specific cases, e.g.:

> *Stephen Ozsváth stressed that Hungary is afflicted by poverty and nepotism. [HVG, 2nd semester, 2012]*

Figure 24 - Hungary (2004-2007): Words most often associated with keyword "favouritism"
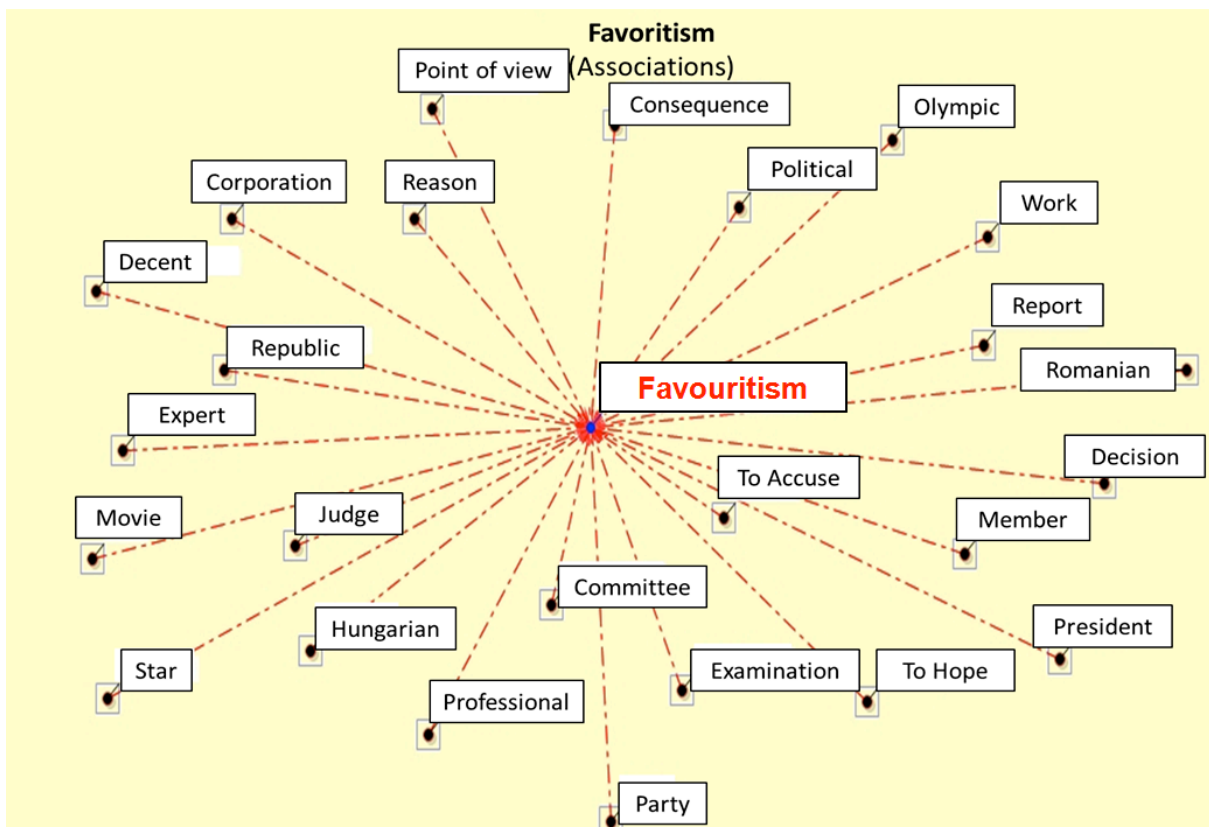
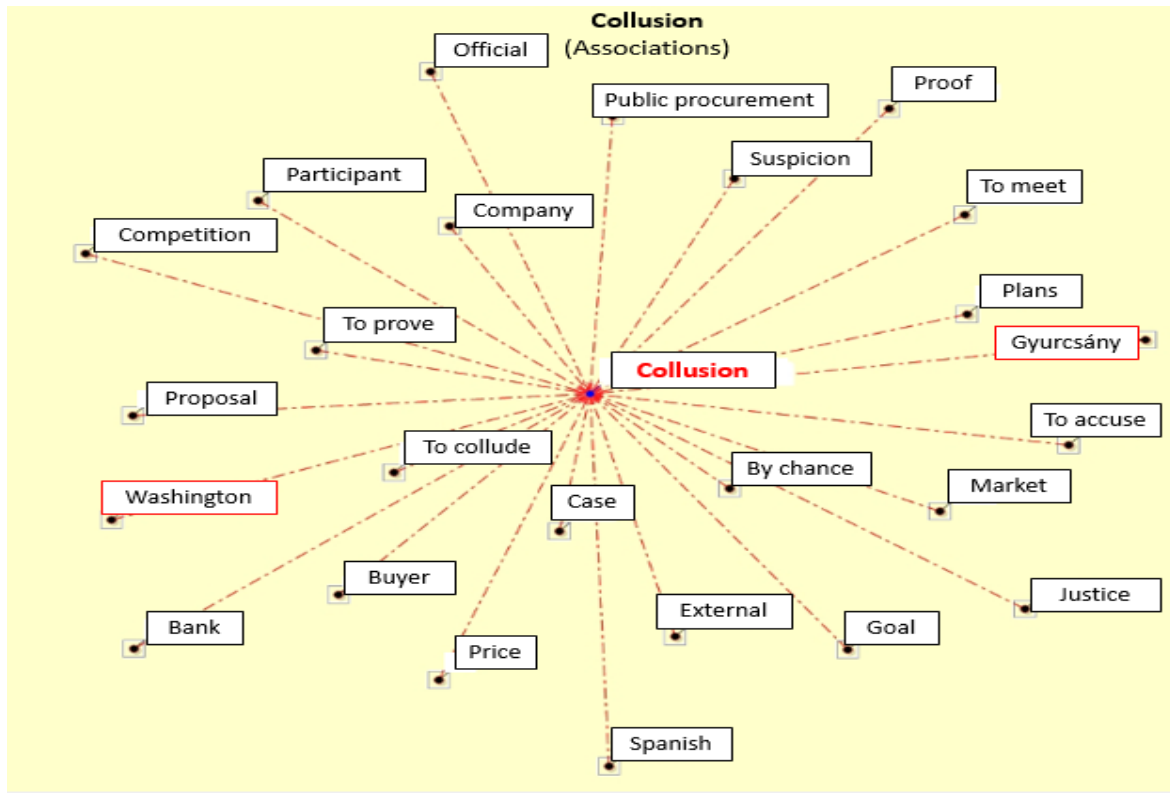**Figure 25 - Hungary (2008-2011): Words most often associated with keyword "favouritism"**
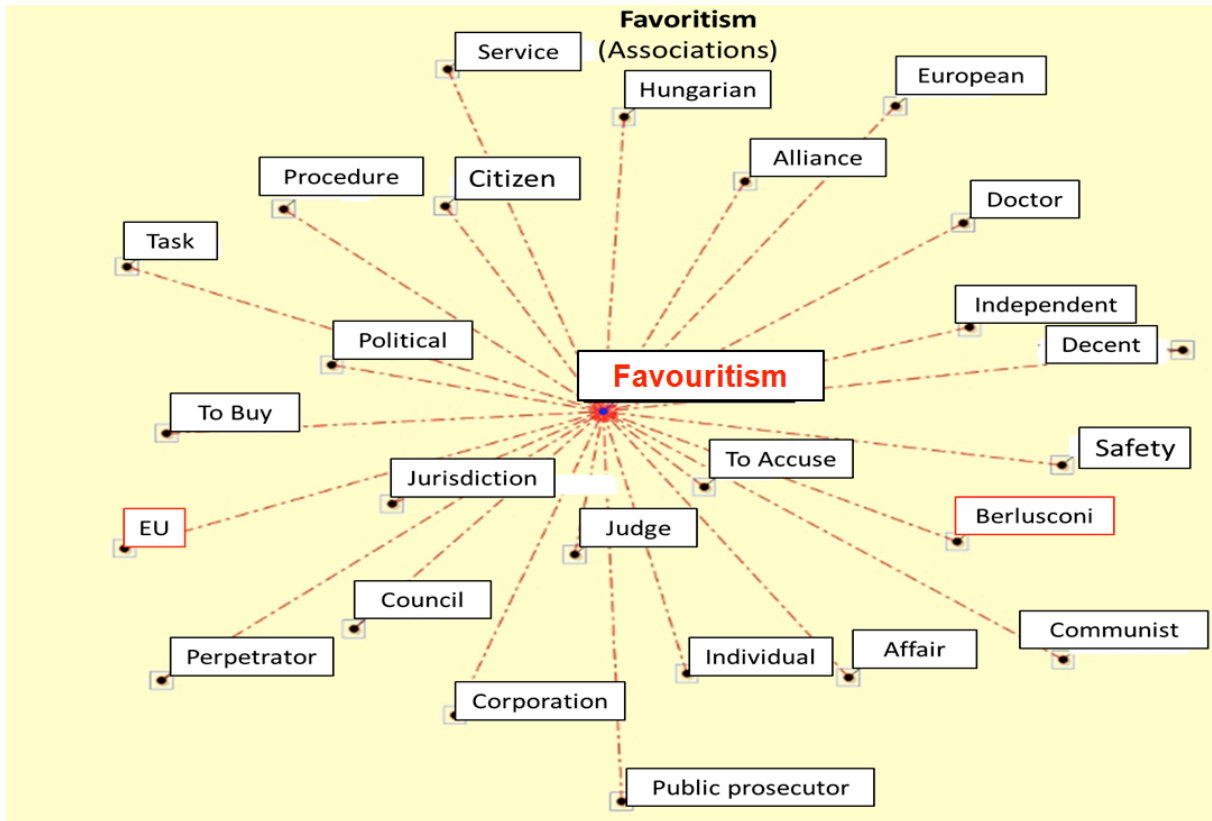
Figure 26 - Hungary (2012-2013): Words most often associated with keyword "favouritism"
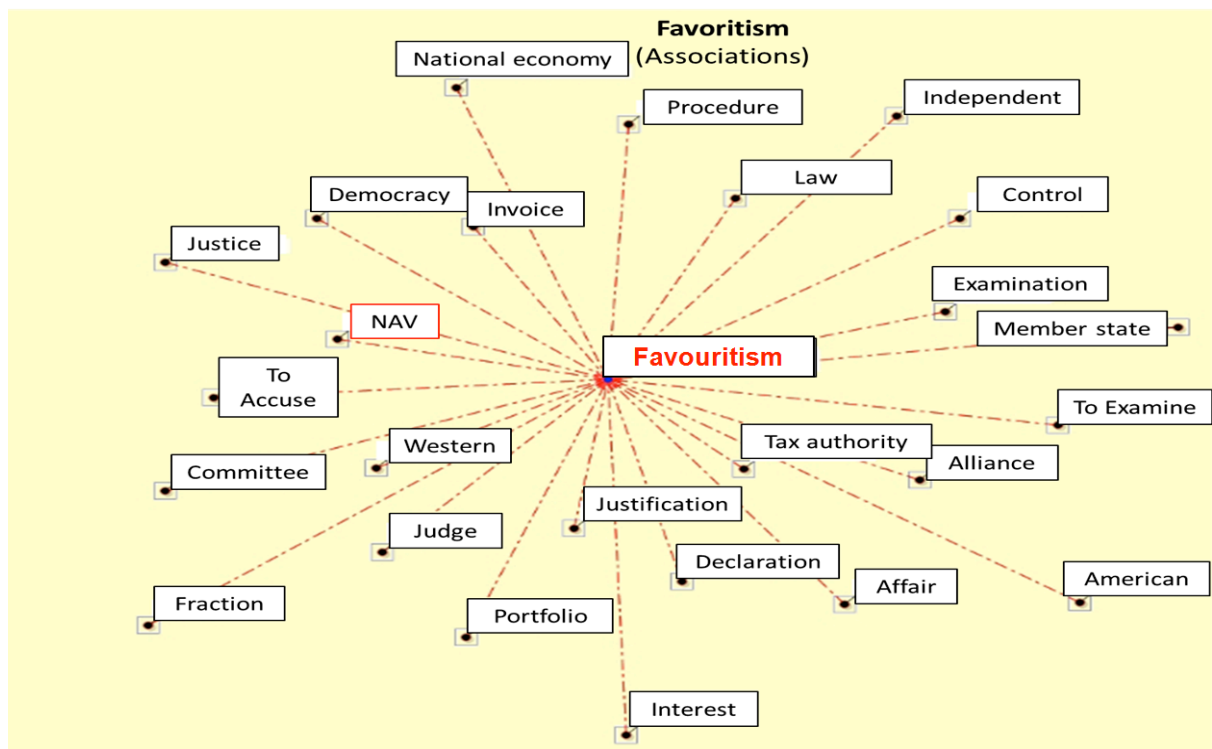
Across all three periods, favouritism often appeared in the examined articles as a part of a common phrase meaning "without fear or favor". As a consequence, this keyword is often only indirectly connected to corruption and is mostly mentioned in connection with the judicial procedures:for example, it appears in the statements of politicians who express their expectations that a court will be unbiased.

In the second and third period, reference to specific cases of corruption also arose. Articles reported on Berlusconi's lawsuit, according towhich he was sentenced to pay compensation to the CIR publishing company because he was found to have bribed judicial actors in order to gain control of the Mondadori publishing group, which they were also struggling to obtain. According to the court decision, CIR did not have access to an unbiased judicial procedure.

In the third period, a domestic case emerged: the National Tax Authority was accused of being biased and of allowing big companies to remain involved in taxfraud.

Figure 27 - Hungary (2004-2007): Words most often associated with keyword "familism"
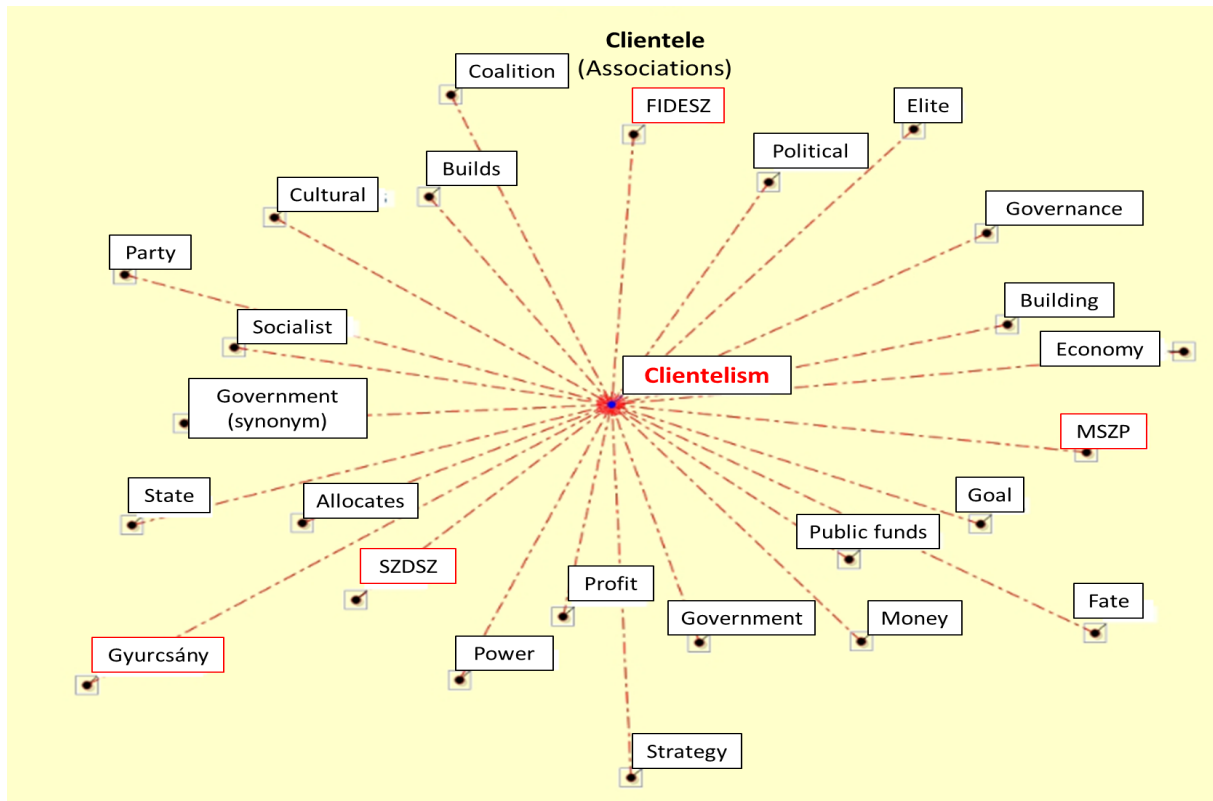
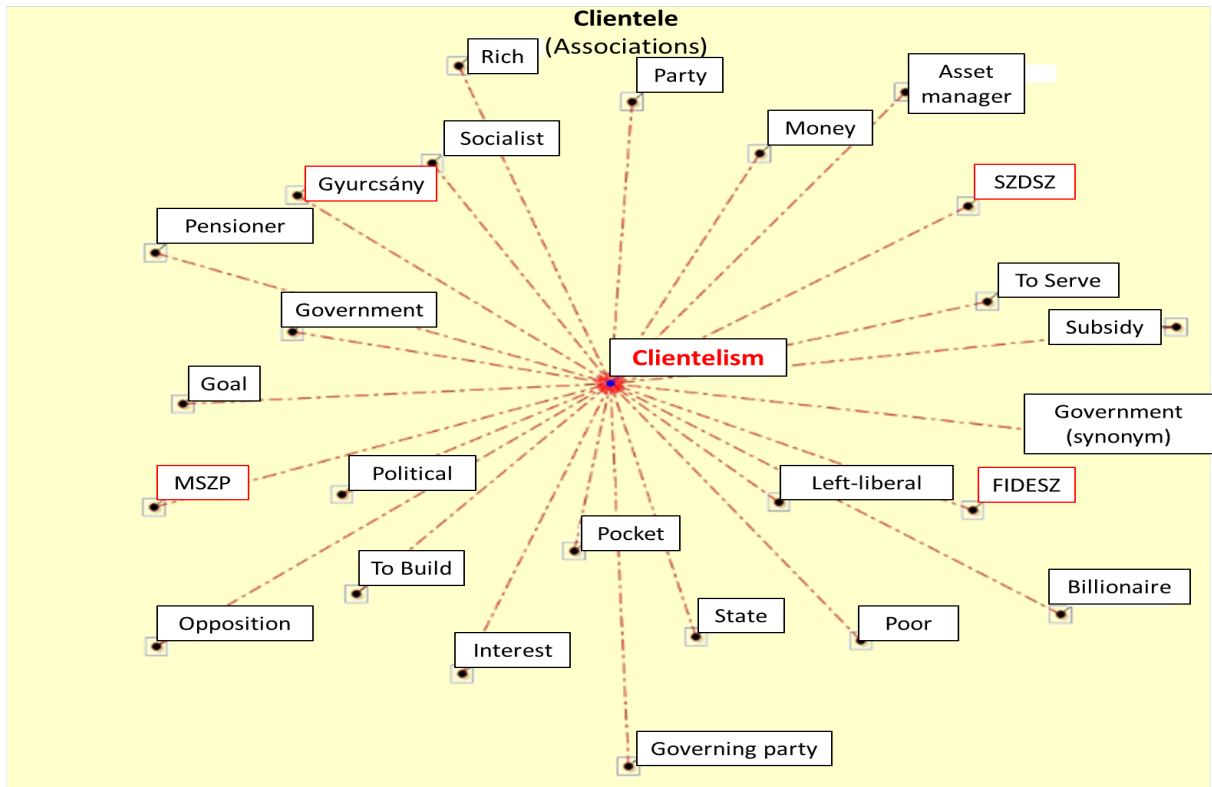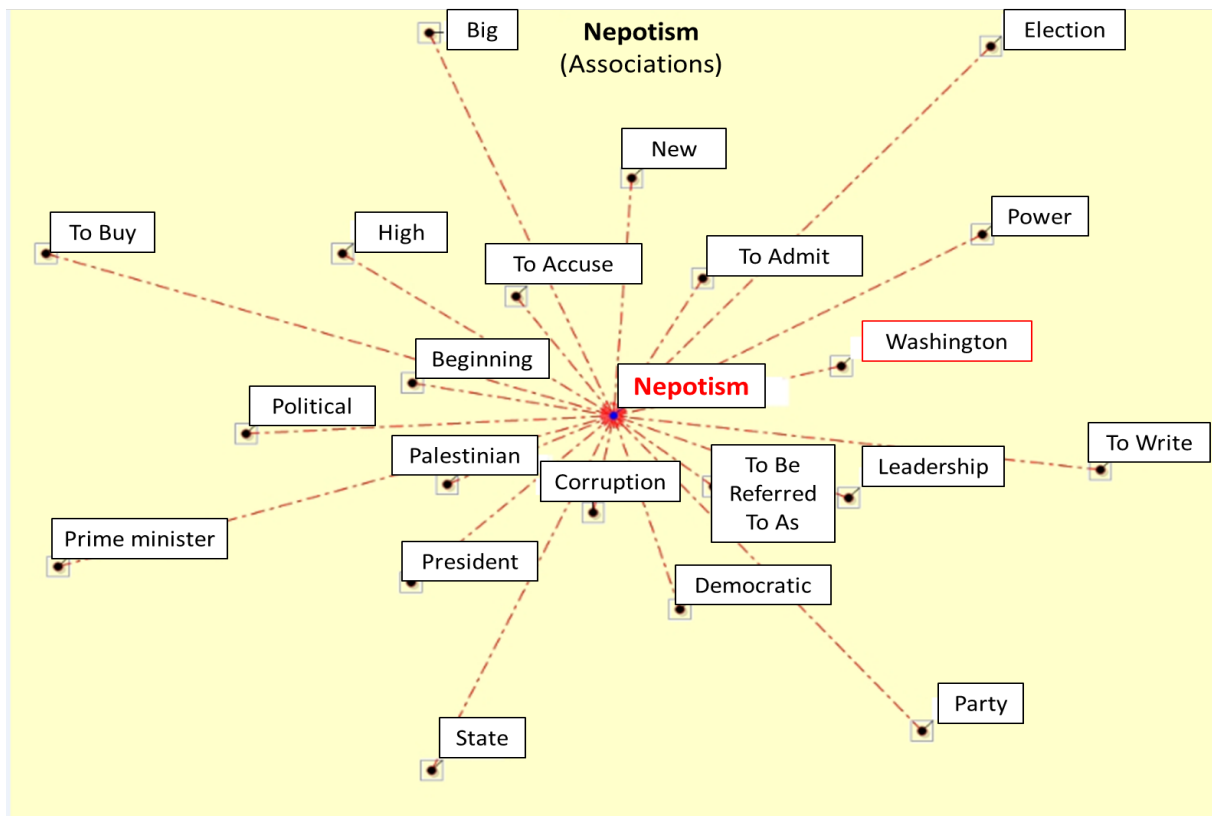**Figure 28 - Hungary (2008-2011): Words most often associated with keyword "familism"**

Figure 29 - Hungary (2012-2013): Words most often associated with keyword "familism"
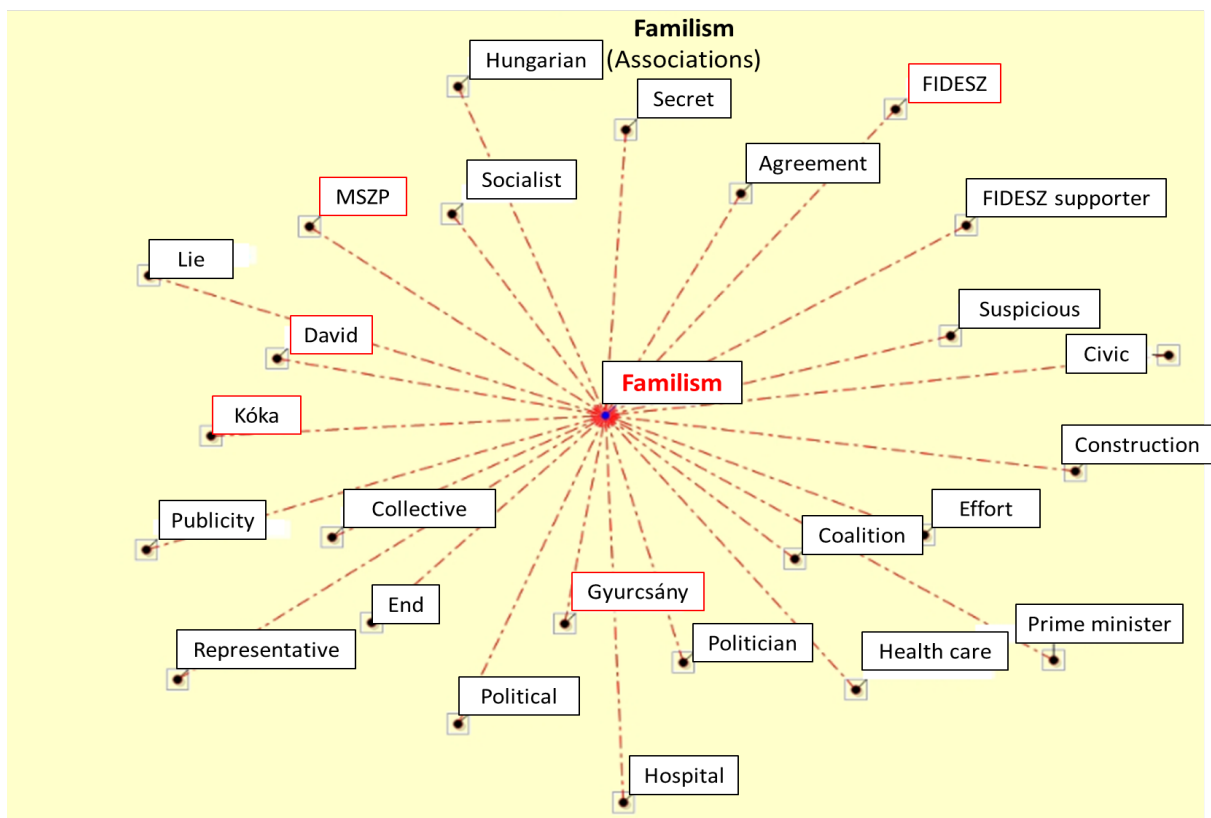
This keyword appears in a highly political context in all three periods. It is often an element of the symbolic attacks of parties on each other, similarly to the keyword "clientelism". Accordingly, the names of several political actors can be found among the words most associated with it; e.g. politicians (Dávid, Kóka, Gyurcsány, Mesterházy, Bajnai, Szijjártó) and political parties (MSZP, FIDESZ, LMP, DK, MDF, SZDSZ).

The most frequently mentioned cases include health care reforms and the privatization of hospitals in the first period, public procurement in the second period, and the formerly mentioned tobacco law and state land leasing in the third period. In all cases, the current governing party was accused of allocating benefits illegitimately to clientelism and family members.

5. Evolution over time

The occurrence of corruption-related keywords in the selected Hungarian news portals increased significantly before the elections in 2010 (See Figure 30) and a smaller increase occurred before the election in 2006 too. This was most apparent at mno.hu; the number of articles on the other portals changed less (Figure 31).

The number of analyzed articles increased over time, at least partly because of the growing number of online articles in general, not because of the wider relative coverage of corruption. However, it is difficult to differentiate between these two effects because we do not have information about the total number of articles per year hosted atthe news portals. One cannot search a website without using search terms.

We applied two different methods to obtain a rough estimate of the total number of articles on the portals under analysis. On the one hand, we ran multiple searches in news outlets' search engines for different, very frequently occurring words (conjunctives, pronouns and articles) which appear in a great proportion of articles. However, searches forvery short words are disallowed; in this way the words "those" and "news" proved to be the most suitable keywords. Unfortunately, two portals did not allowqueries to be run according to year/s so we needed to use another method. On the other hand, we retrieved information from Textplore[7] software which is designed to collectall the articles from eight Hungarian news portals via their RSS feeds. This software appropriately covers only two of our analyzed news portals – but exactly those two for which the keyword search method did not work. The Textplore-archives of the other two news portals are incomplete.

We illustrate the relationship between the number of online articles in general and the articles containing the word "corruption" in Figures 30-34. Figure 30 shows the number of articles

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[7]https://www.textplore.org/?locale=en_GB

containing "corruption" on the four portals in total. Figures 32 and 33show 1) the number of articles containing the word "news" and "those" on *HVG* and *Népszava* per year, and 2) number of articles per year on *Origo* and *MNO* from the Textplore on-line software. Both figures illustrate the fact that the number of online articles on these four portals increased between 2004 and 2013 in general.

Figure 30 - Hungary (2004-2013): Number of articles per semester
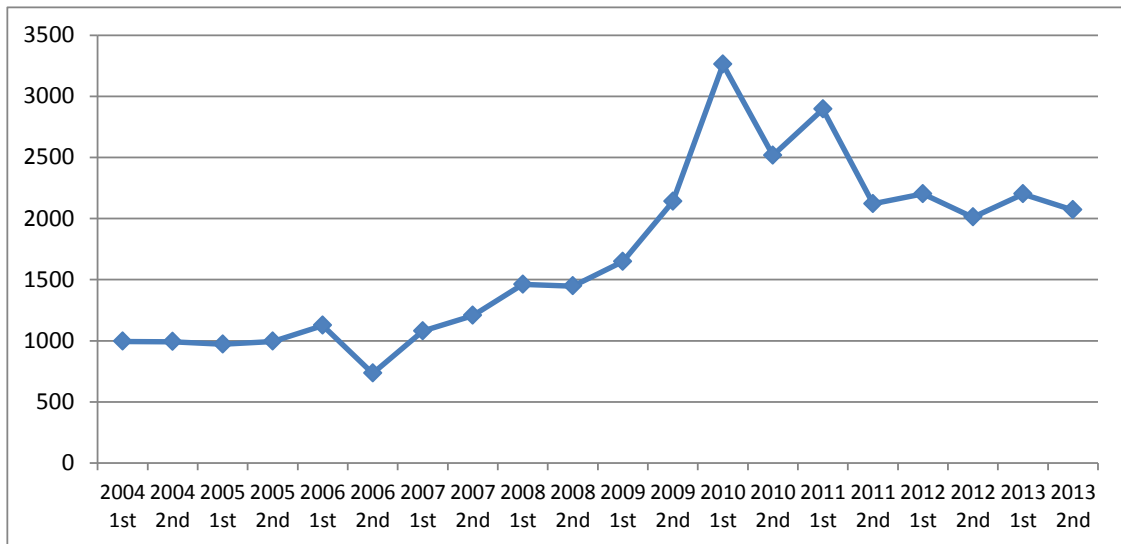
Figure 31 - Hungary (2004-2013): Number of articles per semester and source
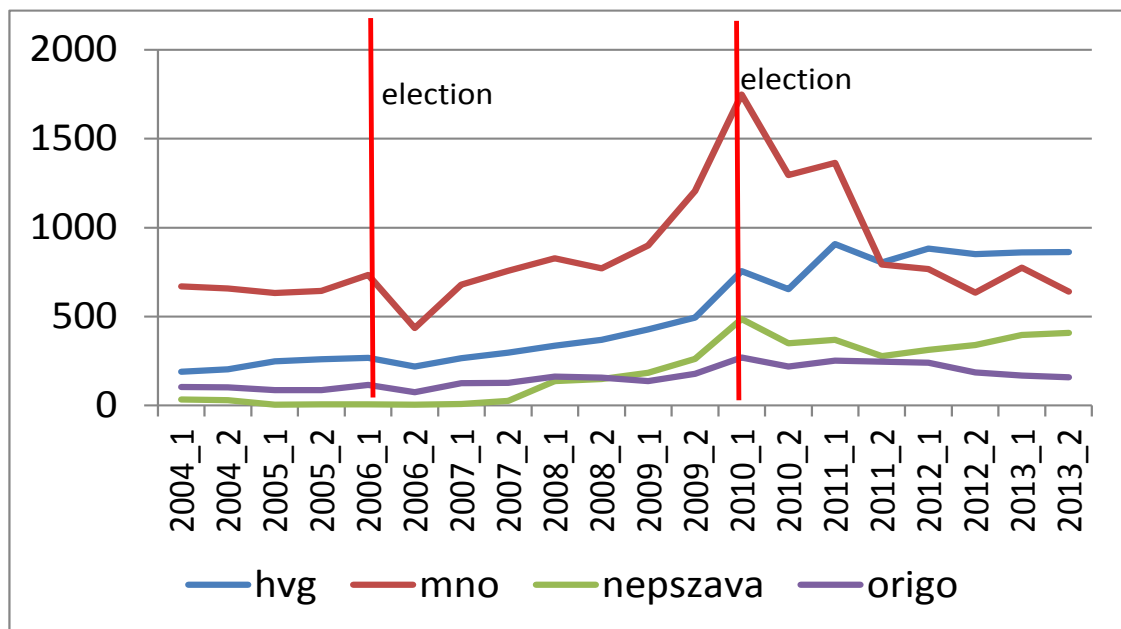
Figure 32 - Hungary (2004-2013): Number of articles containing the word "news" and "those" on *HVG* and *Népszava* per year
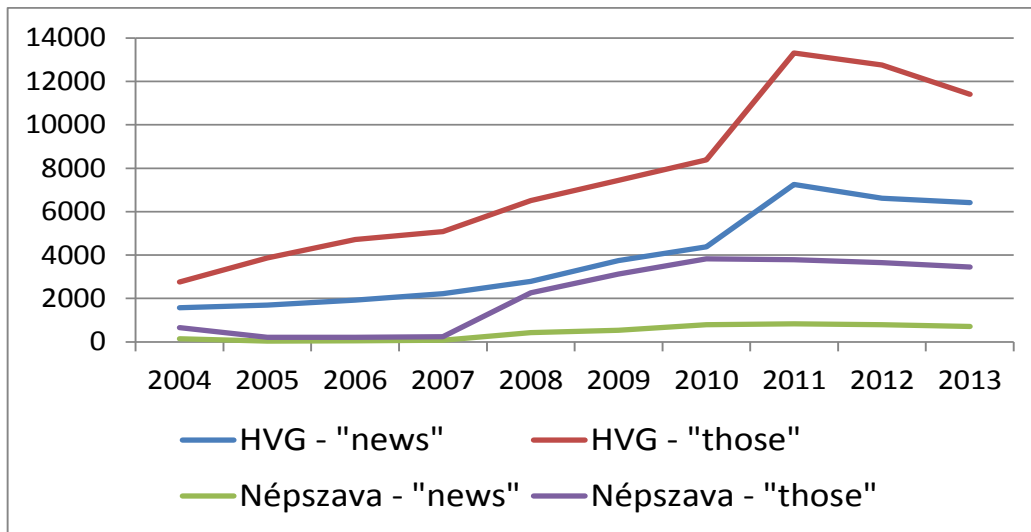
Figure 33 – Number of articles per year on *Origo* and *MNO* from the Textplore software
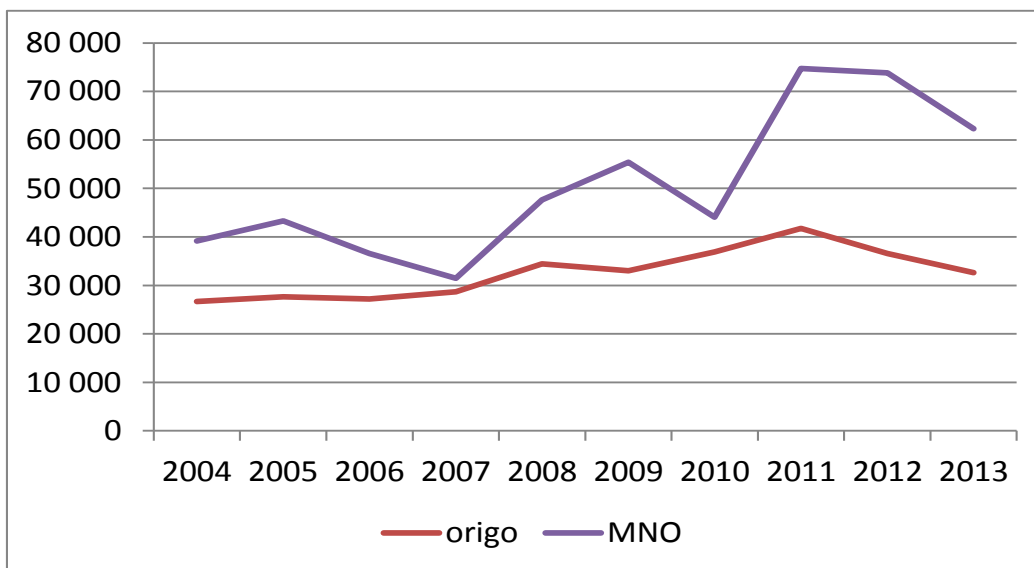
Figure 34 shows the number of articles containing "corruption" in *Origo* and *MNO* divided by the yearly number of all the articles fromthese two portals combined. The results suggest on the one hand that the proportion of articles that contain the keyword "corruption" has not increased over time. On the other hand, the fluctuation between years was very different regarding the two portals. While *Origo* was quite balanced, the proportion of articles containing the word "corruption" fluctuated significantly on the *MNO* portal.

Figure 34 – Normalised number of articles containing the word "corruption" per year on *Origo* and *MNO* (divided by the summed number of articlesfrom *Origo* and *MNO* using Textplore software per year)
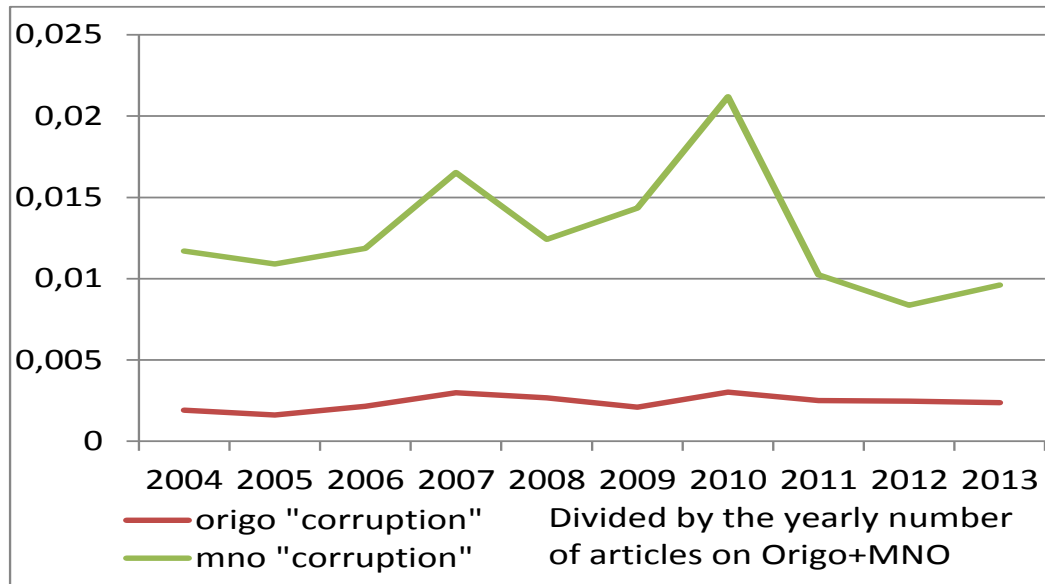
We chose three corruption cases that received intense interest fromthe media for an extended time to examine the timing of the outbursts. We assumed that certain corruption cases which had emerged before the elections (2006 and 2010) were being used as political instruments, causing an increase in the number of articles. Examination of three huge corruption cases (Figure 35) proved this assumption to be correct just –in the case of a corruption-related incident with Miklós Hagyó, a former deputy mayor of Budapest. However, many general political statements about corruption thematized the campaigns. For example,

> *[The press officer of FIDESZ] said that the new government was unmercifully defeating all types of corruption in Hungary, including political and economiccorruptiontoo[MNO, 1ˢᵗ semester, 2010]*

Figure 35 - Hungary (2004-2013): Number of news articles per semester
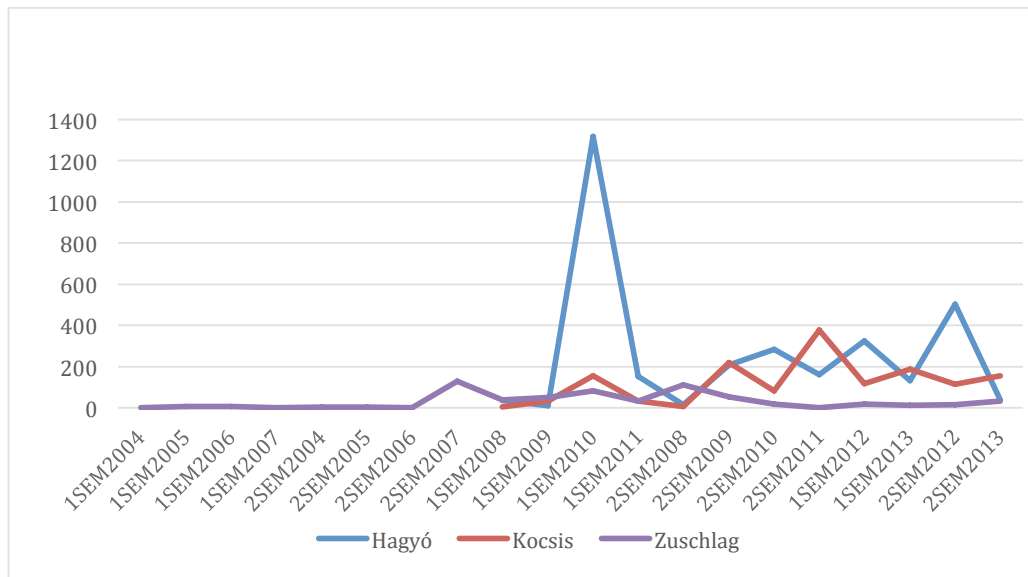
6. Differences among the observed newspapers

Important differences existamong the media coverage of corruption in different news portals (see Figure 36) partly because of the differences between the total numbers of published articles.

Figure 36 - Hungary (2004-2013): Number of news articles per newspaper
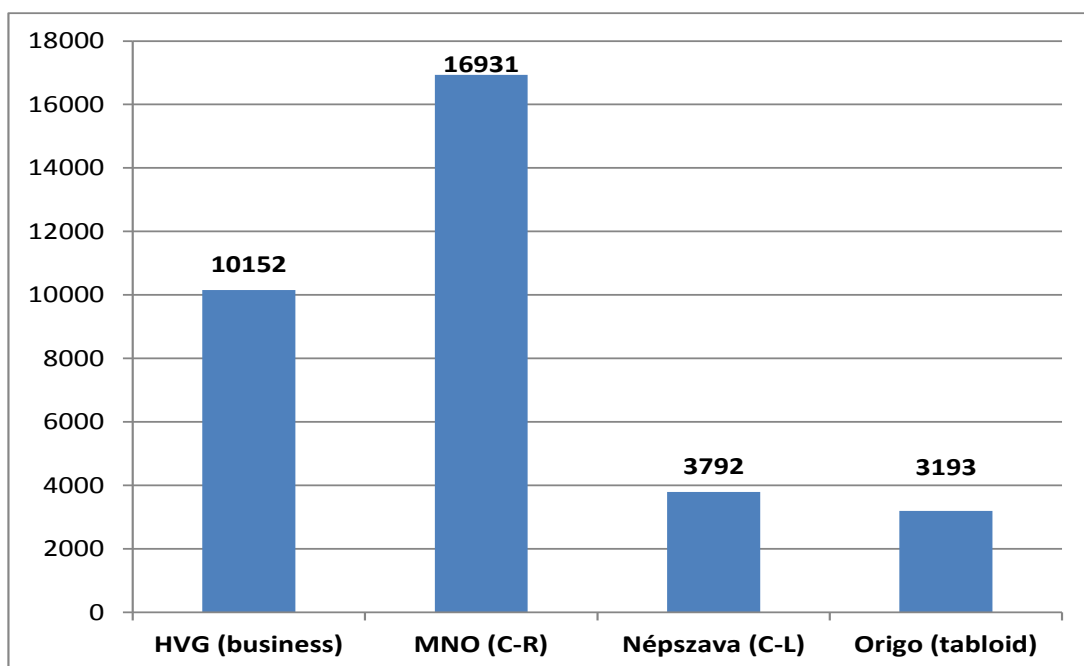
Notes: C-R: center-right wing, C-L: center-left wing

Although all the selected news portals aim to inform their readers about domestic events and major international cases, there are certain differences in the news selection strategies. Examination of the three periods confirms that, beyond the cases which characterize certain periods, specific features of each news portal appear in all periods and demonstrate a clear news selection and presentation strategy. Tables 6-29 in the Appendix show which topics, names, words etc. were under- and overrepresented by each news portalin comparison to the others.

HVG was thenews outlet most likely to write about international corruption cases. Many of the over-used words referred to foreign geographic areas or individuals (USA, Berlusconi, Haiti, Kazakhstan, Moldova, etc.). A part of *HVG*"s coverage was reserved for general assessments of foreign countries such ascoverage of political elections, specific international cases and some business cases such as the BAE-case. Middle Eastern countries and conflicts were also widely covered by *HVG* (the West Bank, Israel, Palestine, Lebanon, etc.). In a national context, some specific cases of corruption in business were overrepresented, such asthose which occurred at OTP, Holcim, Telekom, or Mol. As the former analysis demonstrated, corruption-related articles were often connected to the two major political parties and leading politicians. *HVG* did not participate in this directly polarized reporting: its articles under-used words related to the two main parties (Fidesz, MSZP, socialist) and their representatives (Gyurcsány, Orbán, Bajnai, Medgyessy). In contrast, LMP (a small Hungarian green party) was more frequently discussed in *HVG* than on other news portals. Some words related to domestic cases involving mostly leftist politicians (e.g.: *Hagyó, Sukoró and Szekeres*) were under represented (see Tables 6-11 in the Appendix).

MNO placed its focus on the national level when discussing cases of corruption. Its articles contained words referring to the two biggest parties (MSZP, socialist, Gyurcsány, Medgyessy, Fidesz, etc.) and cases of corruption involving left-wing personalities (Zuschlag, Csonka, Hagyó, etc.). Articles about suspected leftist clientelism appeared frequently as well. *MNO* had a distinct journalistic style compared to the other outlets. Political adjectives like "postcommunist", "neoliberal", "left-liberal", "democracy", or "national" wereoften used in *MNO* articles. They even employed another form of the expression "regime change" that is an element of rightist rhetoric.[8] The international context was under represented: mentions of foreign countries and international cases of corruption wereless frequent (*Medvedev, Berlusconi, Moscow, EU, etc.*). Transparency International's anticorruption activity was also rarely discussed (see Tables 12-17 in the Appendix).

Similarly to *MNO*, *Népszava*'s articles had a strong focus on domestic affairs. Words connected to

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[8] The different terms used for the change of the regime are 'rendszerváltás' and 'rendszerváltozás' in Hungarian. The first indicates that the fall of the communist regime in 1989 was complete and radical, while the second form implies that the changes were more like a slow, evolutional process and that some of the communist leadership remained in power.

right-wing politics (*Fidesz, Fidesz sympathizer, Orbán*) were found significantly more frequently than left wing parties and politicians. Some words referring to corruption cases connected to the right wing were overused (*Papcsák, tobacco shop, Meggyes*[9]), but several left-wing public personalities were under represented (*Gyurcsány, Medgyessy, Bajnai*). *Népszava* reported on international cases of corruption (*Chirac, Juppé, Medvedev*), international entities like the Schengen area, and the former Serbian leader Milosevic. In contrast to *HVG*, *Népszava* focused mainly on European matters (see Tables 18-23 in the Appendix).

It is difficult to identify a pattern in the overused words of *Origo*. The obvious difference is explained by *Origo*'s profile. In contrast to the other news outlets, *Origo* has a significant sportscolumn which explains the occurrence of words connected to sport (Button, FIFA, Ecclestone, Blatter, etc.). Similarly to *HVG*, words connected to Hungarian politics (*Gyurcsány, Orbán, Fidesz, MSZP, etc.*) were under represented, but national cases of corruption were discussed (Mol, Közgép, Deme, etc.) and international cases were also reported on (*Berlusconi, Jelcin, etc.*). Numerous legal terms such as court, embezzlement, investigation, and charge were proportionally over represented in *Origo* articles (see Tables 24-29 in the Appendix).

Specificity figures (37-45) visually demonstrate the differences in news selection among the news portals by presenting the over- and under-used words. We selected the two most characteristic political leaders" names from the two political sides, two words related to specific cases of corruption (one left-wing and one right-wing) and an international case.

In the first period of analysis, the name Viktor Orbán was highly over represented in *MNO*, and under represented in *HVG* (Figure 37). In *MNO*, the leader of Fidesz was discussed positively with reference to 1) his governing activities between 1998 and 2002 as Prime Minister, 2) to his political statements before the elections, and 3) his reactions to the attacks of the leftwing party. E.g.:

EU funds cannot be stolen or degraded to party financing – claimed the politician who referred to the case, while Viktor Orbán, president of FIDESZ drew attention to contradictions around EU funds [MNO 2nd semester, 2007]

Ildikó Lendvai"s press conference has todayrevealed something important. The smear campaign against Viktor Orbán was organized by Ferenc Gyurcsány and MSZP – saidMáriusz Révész.[MNO 1st semester, 2005]

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[9]Tamás Meggyes is a politician connected with Fidesz. As mayor of Esztergom, he was alleged to have been involved in numerous cases of corruption.

In the second and third periods (Figures 38-39), Orbán's name appeared in a negative context in *Népszava*. On this news portal, the politician's name was used in a diverse set of contexts. In the second period, negative references to the Orbán-government of 1998-2002 and warnings of his current and future rule prevail. Duringthe third period, Orbán was Prime Minister once again, causing *Népszava* to over-report on his activities, while *MNO*'s under reporting intensified.

> *The number of criminal acts dropped by ten percent over the last decade, but people"s sense of security worsened significantly. The Orbán government promises order in two weeks, but the number of crimes remainsunchanged [Népszava, 1st semester, 2010]*

> *After last year, which the Orbán government tried to present as the year of growth, this year should have been the year of development. Sadly, it seems that last year the Hungarian economy went in the wrong direction. [Népszava, 2nd semester, 2013]*

Ferenc Gyurcsány"'s name showed up in a very similar pattern in the news portals' reporting (Figures 40-42). *MNO* over-reported about him in all three time periods, even after Gyurcsány's resignation as Prime Minister (in 2009, while *HVG* consistently neglected Gyurcsány's name the most.

Figure 43 presents the news portals' reporting on INA, the Croatian state-owned oil company involved in therefore mentioned Hernádi-Sanader case. Mol, the Hungarian oil company that attempted to exert control over INA, was often associated with the Hungarian state, and therefore with the current (rightwing) government. Analogously, *MNO* under reported on the case, while *Népszava* and *Origo* remained neutral. *HVG* over-reported on the case which might be due to its business and economics-related profile.

The word "Nokiás[10]" (Figure 44) refers to the corruption case of Miklós Hagyó, former deputy mayor of Budapest and member of MSZP. He was accused of accepting a 15 million HUF bribe in a Nokia cellphone box from Zsolt Balogh, CEO of BKV (the public transport company of Budapest), after which the Nokia cellphone box became a political symbol of corruption in Hungary. *MNO* over-reported, while *HVG* under reportedthis word. *Origo*, as in the previous cases, had the least distinct reporting policy on political cases, remaining mostly neutral[11].

There was no distinct foreign individual or case which was covered during all three periods. The family name of Julija Timosenko, the imprisoned former Ukrainian political leader, appeared

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[10]The Hungarian word 'Nokiás' is related to 'Nokiás doboz' (in English: Nokia mobile phone box).
[11] The main characteristics of Origo's articles are its neutrality and its intention to present expert opinion. About this, see Agnes Mako's comparative content-analysis: http://www.mediakutato.hu/cikk/2011_04_tel/04_oszodi_beszed and https://www.textplore.org/elemzesek/textrend_2011_oszodi_beszed_elemzes_110616.pdf

mostly in relation to the corruption charges against her, her trial and her health in prison (Figure 45, third period). *MNO* tended to mention the fact that Timosenko's husband had applied for asylum. The reporting on the Timosenko case illustrates that there is no distinctive pattern in the media's presentation of international cases. The reporting was incidental, and the case received a moderate level of attention. Although *HVG* and *MNO* over-reported and *Népszava* and *Origo* under reported the Timosenko case, different actors demonstrate different patterns.

7. Conclusions

For the research described in this paper we analyzed 34.068 corruption-related articles from Hungarian news portals between 2004 and 2013. The articles were published on the following four Hungarian news portals: *Magyar Nemzet Online* (mno.hu), *Heti Világgazdaság* (hgv.hu), *Népszava* (nepszava.hu) and *Origo* (origo.hu)

Both the number of articles and the occurrence of keywords increased during the period on the whole, but this happened in great part due to the increasing number of online articles in general and not because of the relative growth in media coverage of corruption-related topics. The number of articles about corruption rose temporarily before the general elections (especially in 2010) but the extent of this effect varies between sources; it is strongest on the central-right portal, mno.hu. The issue of corruption played a major role in the elections of2010 that were won by the central-right party, Fidesz.

"Corruption" was the most frequent keyword in the articles; it covered 64% of all occurrences (36,851) of the nine keywords and often referred to corruption as a general phenomenon, or in relation to anti-corruption activities. In Hungary the second most frequent keyword was "embezzlement" (17%), which was the third most frequent in the total sample considering the average of all the seven countries. The point is, in Hungary, embezzlement was mentioned more frequently than the rest of the countries.

This suggests that Hungarian news portals have paid a high level of attention to this type of criminal activity, a claim which is also confirmed by the results of human assisted content analysis (HACA). However, identification of the reasons would require further analysis.

The most frequent 50 words from the articles under analysis were classified into groups based on their meanings, and the following groups proved to be the most significant: words related to politics (10 words) and investigations and judicial procedures (7 words). It is worth noting that there were no words among the most frequent 50 which referred to sports or international cases.

The results of the analysis of the most frequent family names and organizational names are consistent with the previously mentioned results; 84% of the most frequently identified 50 family

names are Hungarian names, while 16% were non-Hungarian. The family names of the leaders of the two biggest parties (Orbán and Gyurcsány) appear 10,685 and 10,514 times in the articles respectively, mostly because of negative references connecting them to corruption cases, while the third name in the ranking appeared only 2743 times. The results are similar regarding names for institutions and organizations: the political parties Fidesz and MSZP appear 16,706 and 10,152 times respectively, while the third organization ("Union") appeared only 5,669 times. This suggests that the analyzed segment of the Hungarian press strongly focuses on national politics when reporting on corruption, and they write a lot especially about the two main parties in Hungary, their leaders and the political struggle between them.

The specificity analysis showed the words which appeared in the articles on the four different portals either more or less frequently compared to the mean. These results provided the data which was used to outline a more complex picture of the differences between portals. The two portals which may be considered to be ideologically/politically biased were more strongly focused on national politics and domestic corruption cases than the other two, rather neutral portals. Names of parties and politicians appeared relatively more frequently in MNO and *Népszava* than in *Origo* and *HVG*. *HVG* used words related to the economic sphere and international affairs more often than the other portals and *Origo* mentioned sports-related words significantly more frequently than other portals. *Origo* also relatively frequently used words referring to investigations or judicial procedures relating to cases of corruption.

Although *MNO* and *Népszava* were both focused on national party politics according to the specificity analysis, there are important differences between them. *Népszava* used words that referred to the opponent right wing party (Fidesz) more often than other portals in all three periods. *MNO* used relatively often not only words related to MSZP but also words referring to Fidesz in the first period (2004-2007). However, in the second and third period (2008-2013) words referring to Fidesz were no longer over represented on mno.hu, but only words referring to MSZP. One possible explanation for this change is that in the first period *MNO* was focused both on the 1) the corruption cases of MSZP which may have harmed the reputation of the party, and 2) the "positive alternative"; i.e., a non-corrupt party – Fidesz. Later, they might have changed their reporting policy and the corruption cases of MSZP and its representatives took center stage.

Appendix

Features of news outlets

(Words featured by a news outlet, compared to all other newspapers)

Table 6 – HVG (2004-2007): over-used words

WORD	SUB	TOT	PERC	CHI^2
Head Of State	708	1630	43.44	271.49
Neighbourhood policy	99	105	94.29	259.74
Palestinian	535	1155	46.32	259.69
dollar	789	1917	41.16	242.89
Moscow	484	1038	46.63	240.36
Muslim	106	132	80.3	207.08
European Committee	126	175	72	197.49
million	1861	5531	33.65	187.19
mandate	315	648	48.61	179.69
billion	1376	3992	34.47	164.11
internet user	82	101	81.19	163.61
Israel	632	1621	38.99	151.99
financing	249	503	49.5	150.51
Lebanon	162	297	54.55	130.35
USA	141	250	56.4	124.25
Hamas	203	412	49.27	120.9
West Bank	97	152	63.82	116.33
AP	70	95	73.68	115.13
exam	101	162	62.35	114.62
analyst	320	752	42.55	113.1
Uzbekistan	72	100	72	112.85
Karimov	41	43	95.35	109.68
Holcim	42	45	93.33	108.25
study/paper	264	600	44	106.32
Uzbek	48	56	85.71	106.1
Hyundai	60	79	75.95	104.98
IMF	63	85	74.12	104.88
Abbas	101	169	59.76	103.35

zone/area	179	367	48.77	103.2
election/choice	2106	6804	30.95	101.62
gas	267	616	43.34	101.5
Sejm	83	129	64.34	101.46
FIDESZ-MPSZ	38	40	95	101.01
EU	405	1046	38.72	94.14
urban	197	428	46.03	93.5
PSD	98	169	57.99	92.88
Kazakhstan	61	87	70.11	90.36
President Election	272	650	41.85	89.76
rival	142	283	50.18	89.52
Moldova	59	84	70.24	87.73

Table 7 – HVG (2004-2007): under-used words

WORD	SUB	TOT	PERC	CHI^2
Gyurcsány	427	4078	10.47	492.29
FIDESZ	550	4365	12.6	389.3
man	933	6089	15.32	340.03
MSZP	343	2967	11.56	308.36
nation	128	1606	7.97	262.85
Medgyessy	136	1629	8.35	255.3
socialist	480	3410	14.08	239.01
Prime minister	802	4700	17.06	181.13
K&H	51	828	6.16	164.68
Government	325	2297	14.15	158.9
Orbán	334	2315	14.43	152.46
SZDSZ	261	1872	13.94	134.18
Kóka	61	699	8.73	104.76
change of the regime	13	394	3.3	103.06
homeland	195	1358	14.36	90.49
problem	243	1555	15.63	81.62
European	837	4270	19.6	81.44
Parliament	243	1554	15.64	81.4
democracy	280	1702	16.45	75.22
society	250	1546	16.17	72.56
case	1765	8159	21.63	68.49
free	350	1983	17.65	66.24
left-liberal	5	226	2.21	65.01
Demszky	65	586	11.09	64.96
clientele	8	245	3.27	64.28
to like/to love	330	1878	17.57	63.96
László	567	2946	19.25	62.98
passed/past	311	1781	17.46	62.32
Molnár	64	569	11.25	61.73
radio	73	609	11.99	59.45
Member or sympathizer of MSZP	73	608	12.01	59.18
interest	663	3335	19.88	57.84
Csonka	6	209	2.87	56.78

politician	1023	4881	20.96	55.89
work	506	2627	19.26	55.89
Lendvai	16	264	6.06	53.03
wealth	327	1799	18.18	52.41
Zeitung	11	228	4.82	51.77
Europe	183	1121	16.32	50.9
to meet	87	645	13.49	49.87

Table 8 – HVG (2008-2011): over-used words

WORD	SUB	TOT	PERC	CHI^2
AP	326	359	90.81	641.05
Hungary	4829	12593	38.35	448.66
Páty	156	170	91.76	313.14
Telekom	276	401	68.83	293.41
LMP	627	1207	51.95	285.2
Pelle	110	114	96.49	243.2
study/paper	651	1359	47.9	214.85
Usa	234	378	61.9	187.3
Croatian/horvát (family name)	951	2216	42.92	184.45
Property manager	78	79	98.73	180.05
Horthy	104	122	85.25	179.97
INA	269	483	55.69	155.84
Sávoly	74	81	91.36	147.25
Berlusconi	392	794	49.37	146.6
Sanader	472	1010	46.73	139.76
Montenegro	171	277	61.73	135.79
MTelekom	70	78	89.74	134.46
Sebok	56	57	98.25	128.07
Dudás	65	72	90.28	126.34
Muslim	133	206	64.56	119.63
Palestinian	192	339	56.64	117.47
Papp	250	478	52.3	116.56
Krekó	57	62	91.94	114.83
professional	797	1977	40.31	106.01
liquidator	171	302	56.62	104.54
FH	97	142	68.31	101.16
Mol	454	1032	43.99	100.48
risk	476	1093	43.55	99.92
Babarczy	48	52	92.31	97.46
stock market	168	307	54.72	91.79
Strabag	60	75	80	90.72
Kurdish	82	118	69.49	89.29
Nádas	49	58	84.48	83.22

Hamas	76	111	68.47	79.73
Bibó	54	69	78.26	77.78
Schiffer	160	305	52.46	75.41
BAE	123	221	55.66	71.1
Israel	549	1373	39.99	69.12
payment/salary	816	2152	37.92	69.07
Siemens	136	254	53.54	68.94

Table 9 – HVG (2008-2011): under-used words

WORD	SUB	TOT	PERC	CHI^2
socialist	1544	8069	19.13	434.49
Member or sympathizer of MSZP	227	1870	12.14	277.15
man	2426	10787	22.49	271.43
forint	4217	17027	24.77	201.7
homeland	336	2132	15.76	199.31
Demszky	222	1550	14.32	176.22
BKV	758	3748	20.22	162.3
left-liberal	45	643	7	159.08
Home Defense	267	1696	15.74	158.92
nation	547	2852	19.18	152.1
Gyurcsány	1091	4982	21.9	146.47
HM	165	1188	13.89	142.76
Member or sympathizer of SZDSZ	121	981	12.33	142.15
Secretary Of State	453	2389	18.96	132.7
national	1615	6891	23.44	130.92
MSZP	1537	6550	23.47	123.28
President	3446	13542	25.45	119.38
Kolompár	148	1037	14.27	118.66
severance pay	183	1193	15.34	118.31
MN	4	304	1.32	117.5
Blum	74	664	11.14	109.82
Tender	621	2959	20.99	108.38
Fidesz–KDNP	10	305	3.28	102.17
MNV	227	1313	17.29	97.33
Defence Forces	77	643	11.98	97.05
case	5764	21566	26.73	93.64
Ministry	787	3529	22.3	93.34
KDNP	53	508	10.43	90.57
Portuguese	28	376	7.45	89.39
Gypsy	192	1135	16.92	89.25
Bajnai	444	2153	20.62	85.56
task	892	3884	22.97	85.17
Szekeres	43	443	9.71	85.04

responsibility	766	3393	22.58	83.23
Kóka	56	501	11.18	82.56
Minister	1251	5213	24	82.14
Hospital	376	1853	20.29	79.08
detective	1171	4876	24.02	76.34
At BKV	70	550	12.73	76.13
change of the regime	33	365	9.04	74.8

Table 10 – HVG (2012-2013): over-used words

WORD	SUB	TOT	PERC	CHI^2
financing	477	635	75.12	228
study/paper	537	777	69.11	177.94
professional	663	1055	62.84	131.18
liquidator	134	150	89.33	117.41
ÁNGYÁN	162	219	73.97	72.69
HORN	134	182	73.63	58.96
LMP	719	1285	55.95	58.95
sociologist	73	88	82.95	50.37
Azerbaijani	87	111	78.38	49.03
Private Detective	43	44	97.73	48.82
Captaincy/police Headquarters	81	102	79.41	47.92
Lipid	51	56	91.07	47.36
BAE	57	65	87.69	47.16
Gorkij	41	42	97.62	46.41
Csányi	131	187	70.05	46.27
cartel	70	86	81.4	45.23
trafikmutyi***	174	265	65.66	44.36
tender writer	60	72	83.33	42.05
Ombudsman	160	243	65.84	41.41
Pusztai	41	44	93.18	40.72
Police Officer	1772	3505	50.56	39.22
otherness	46	52	88.46	39.11
Muslim	90	123	73.17	38.58
Zsurka	41	45	91.11	38.12
liquidation	286	484	59.09	37.19
USA	112	162	69.14	37.16
cooperative	81	109	74.31	37.04
Lincoln	33	34	97.06	36.77
Mong	35	37	94.59	36.29
Haiti	50	60	83.33	35.04
Simicska	156	244	63.93	34.22
blacklist	39	44	88.64	33.36
GVH	73	99	73.74	32.32

Angola	29	30	96.67	31.95
Sólyom	55	70	78.57	31.28
Iraq	154	244	63.11	31.27
Krémer	33	36	91.67	31.24
OTP	77	107	71.96	30.71
forced interrogation	46	56	82.14	30.69
Central Bank	136	212	64.15	30.42

Table 11 – HVG (2012-2013): under-used words

WORD	SUB	TOT	PERC	CHI^2
socialist	781	2589	30.17	239.45
Gyurcsány	413	1454	28.4	167.53
Secretary Of State	489	1629	30.02	153.54
accused	1264	3506	36.05	121.07
European	1312	3600	36.44	114
misappropriation (first half of the word)	932	2647	35.21	108.79
case	4753	11682	40.69	100.69
president	2455	6265	39.19	94.64
misappropriation (second half of the word)	1073	2941	36.48	92.27
Hagyó	307	1000	30.7	86.01
Reding	36	235	15.32	85.23
Csepel	69	337	20.47	83.8
charge	1439	3786	38.01	81.27
TRIBUNAL	644	1846	34.89	80.79
Committee	1286	3411	37.7	79.5
wealth	816	2258	36.14	76.49
Blum	64	308	20.78	74.72
public administration	273	885	30.85	74.58
Prime Minister	1483	3852	38.5	71.92
Court	2566	6407	40.05	71.35
Chinese	531	1517	35	64.89
disadvantage	387	1150	33.65	62.95
High Prosecution	817	2213	36.92	62.74
Fapál	46	230	20	59.4
Tátrai	169	576	29.34	59.19
Po	130	467	27.84	57.45
Laborc	119	436	27.29	57.03
country	2572	6338	40.58	57.02
Császy	78	317	24.61	54.77
Sukoró	112	411	27.25	54.02
Gogös	29	169	17.16	53.99
Government	3340	8089	41.29	52.55
Deme	55	246	22.36	52.24

contract	1283	3287	39.03	52.11
Cabinet	255	785	32.48	52.01
Union	441	1252	35.22	51.28
crime	1062	2757	38.52	51.14
Member or sympathizer of MSZP	159	530	30	50.05
forint	2625	6416	40.91	49.87
Rétvári	25	149	16.78	48.9

Table 12 – MNO (2004-2007): over-used words

Gyurcsány	3495	4078	85.7	751.48
FIDESZ	3603	4365	82.54	574.67
MSZP	2507	2967	84.5	483.75
nation	1428	1606	88.92	395.98
socialist	2777	3410	81.44	393.07
Medgyessy	1434	1629	88.03	372.06
man	4612	6089	75.74	294.58
SZDSZ	1566	1872	83.65	278.9
Orbán	1864	2315	80.52	237.24
Government	1786	2297	77.75	157.7
Kóka	614	699	87.84	156.93
change of the regime	373	394	94.67	150.13
Prime Minister	3463	4700	73.68	146.45
democracy	1335	1702	78.44	129.98
society	1211	1546	78.33	116.16
free	1522	1983	76.75	115.14
K&H	683	828	82.49	108.15
Parliament	1209	1554	77.8	107.44
left-liberal	220	226	97.35	102.5
Molnár	484	569	85.06	98.21
homeland	1059	1358	77.98	96.65
Csonka	203	209	97.13	93.52
Demszky	491	586	83.79	88.54
Member or sympathizer of MSZP	506	608	83.22	86.34
clientele	229	245	93.47	85.88
national	2218	3027	73.27	85.33
left-wing	605	745	81.21	83.36
leftist	1003	1300	77.15	80.84
interest	2421	3335	72.59	78.7
radio	501	609	82.27	77.5
Altus	233	256	91.02	74.79
privatization	742	947	78.35	71.37
Kuncze	344	405	84.94	69.03
neoliberal	206	225	91.56	68.52

posztkommunista	240	270	88.89	66.38
system	1924	2642	72.82	66.31
Gyurcsány-Government	196	214	91.59	65.33
wealth	1337	1799	74.32	64.82
national debt	236	266	88.72	64.47
Tóth	455	559	81.4	64.02

Table 13 – MNO (2004-2007): under-used words

WORD	SUB	TOT	PERC	CHI^2
Palestinian	439	1155	38.01	379.4
Head Of State	712	1630	43.68	335.97
dollar	879	1917	45.85	319.72
presidential election/choice	236	650	36.31	240.92
million	3098	5531	56.01	210.45
Muslim	12	132	9.09	183.94
neighbourhood policy	4	105	3.81	175.11
Moscow	476	1038	45.86	172.97
billion	2216	3992	55.51	168.61
Israel	815	1621	50.28	161.23
Arafat	96	310	30.97	161.12
corruption	2905	5109	56.86	160.41
EU	489	1046	46.75	158.66
charge	1146	2184	52.47	158.38
custody	408	894	45.64	152.35
police officer	915	1781	51.38	152.19
Serbia	134	376	35.64	145.86
USA	76	250	30.4	134.27
film	309	690	44.78	128.03
European Committee	43	175	24.57	128.01
mandate	289	648	44.6	122.4
election/choice	4030	6804	59.23	110.45
Abbas	47	169	27.81	104.74
gas	282	616	45.78	103.46
Hamas	171	412	41.5	102.83
Ragáts	37	146	25.34	102.79
Court	2458	4242	57.94	101.08
Russian	1208	2193	55.08	100.81
internet user	18	101	17.82	100.41
oil	183	432	42.36	100.2
Fatah	85	244	34.84	99.84
Saron	162	390	41.54	97.07
Africa	292	627	46.57	96.93
British	493	977	50.46	94.8

zone/area	151	367	41.14	94.4
corporation	657	1257	52.27	94.06
armed	219	492	44.51	93.71
Hyundai	11	79	13.92	91.96
West Bank	43	152	28.29	91.81
dollar worth (dolláros)	191	438	43.61	90.85

Table 14 – MNO (2008-2011): over-used words

WORD	SUB	TOT	PERC	CHI^2
socialist	5239	8069	64.93	833.96
Member or sympathizer of MSZP	1368	1870	73.16	441.48
left-liberal	573	643	89.11	416.78
Gyurcsány	3111	4982	62.44	367.72
HM	899	1188	75.67	341.61
Home Defense	1200	1696	70.75	325.14
homeland	1447	2132	67.87	308.12
Member or sympathizer of SZDSZ	753	981	76.76	305.37
Defence Forces	528	643	82.12	284.42
Fidesz–KDNP	295	305	96.72	279.49
Portuguese	339	376	90.16	256.53
MN	278	304	91.45	220.55
Portfolio	1413	2186	64.64	217.58
MSZP	3784	6550	57.77	207.9
nation	1770	2852	62.06	198.69
Hungarian	11713	21868	53.56	193.48
Demszky	1031	1550	66.52	193.18
SZDSZ	1406	2210	63.62	192.46
Ministry	2121	3529	60.1	178.25
national	3917	6891	56.84	175.46
Szekeres	355	443	80.14	173.3
Zuschlag	345	436	79.13	159.75
Gypsy	767	1135	67.58	158.97
man	5924	10787	54.92	158.19
Kolompár	707	1037	68.18	154.71
CHANGE OF THE REGIME	297	365	81.37	154.28
Competent Ministry	280	340	82.35	152.54
ethical	540	760	71.05	149.66
MSZP–Member or sympathizer of SZDSZ	137	138	99.28	140.31
neoliberal	235	284	82.75	130.43
democrat	1091	1752	62.27	125.94
Rector	296	384	77.08	122.32
public fund	920	1456	63.19	119.44

patient	528	772	68.39	117.76
lie	399	555	71.89	117.72
Veres	510	742	68.73	117.16
comrade	171	196	87.24	115.51
suspected corruption	463	667	69.42	112.67
railway	540	803	67.25	108.53
Government	2174	3803	57.17	104.77

Table 15 – MNO (2008-2011): under-used words

WORD	SUB	TOT	PERC	CHI^2
Croatian/Horvát (family name)	480	2216	21.66	657.01
Mol	152	1032	14.73	481.59
Sanader	192	1010	19.01	360.53
Hernádi	24	443	5.42	334.81
INA	47	483	9.73	296.17
AP	19	359	5.29	272.88
Berlusconi	158	794	19.9	266.79
LMP	315	1207	26.1	250.61
corruption	4808	11567	41.57	247.72
Stiller	4	264	1.52	236.96
USA	44	378	11.64	209.72
Hungary	5346	12593	42.45	208.31
MVM	119	597	19.93	200.12
Esztergom	49	357	13.73	176.5
Meggyes	8	207	3.86	167.82
Mubarak	210	776	27.06	147.75
FIFA	114	514	22.18	146.59
Kulcsár	639	1832	34.88	143.6
Kocsis	296	991	29.87	143.26
EURO	1223	3172	38.56	135.19
Telekom	81	401	20.2	131.95
corporation	1272	3274	38.85	131.66
Croatia	381	1171	32.54	125.09
Bulgary	296	960	30.83	125.04
Russian	1152	2966	38.84	119.54
BAE	27	221	12.22	118.84
OTP	49	289	16.96	117.83
Medvegyev	186	661	28.14	113.73
protester	357	1088	32.81	112.33
Italian	312	973	32.07	110.01
Tunisia	137	526	26.05	109.7
early/to advance	17	177	9.6	109.23
Muslim	26	206	12.62	108.34

British	536	1507	35.57	106.8
football	62	311	19.94	104.22
Zagreb	166	591	28.09	102.19
Hodorkovszkij	14	156	8.97	99.38
Transparency	252	800	31.5	96.64
Putin	307	924	33.23	90.55
dollar	905	2312	39.14	87.62

Table 16 – MNO (2012-2013): over-used words

WORD	SUB	TOT	PERC	CHI^2
Gyurcsány	733	1454	50.41	476.35
Portik	520	970	53.61	404.37
Reding	188	235	80	367.92
Csepel	225	337	66.77	302.57
accused	1333	3506	38.02	290.87
thesis	130	162	80.25	255.92
socialist	989	2589	38.2	220.89
tribunal	731	1846	39.6	193.98
suspected	782	2025	38.62	184.24
detective	1002	2723	36.8	183.93
criminal organization	383	840	45.6	179.07
case	3597	11682	30.79	174.51
confession	550	1363	40.35	158.87
nightclub/bar	312	679	45.95	149.89
European	1237	3600	34.36	149.8
High Prosecution	811	2213	36.65	145.49
Romanian	548	1386	39.54	144.36
Court	2049	6407	31.98	143.03
corrupt/corruption	1098	3179	34.54	137.61
Hagyó	416	1000	41.6	136.92
arrest	540	1387	38.93	132.29
thesis work	64	78	82.05	131.47
Police	1362	4095	33.26	130.8
Laborc	215	436	49.31	130.44
Sógor	79	108	73.15	129.25
central	709	1934	36.66	127.42
Rozs	60	72	83.33	126.92
Brigadier General	70	92	76.09	124.09
National Security	259	567	45.68	121.87
Head Of State	737	2043	36.07	120.88
AFP	196	396	49.49	120.3
trial	898	2577	34.85	119.22
public administration	365	885	41.24	115.86

Romania	543	1439	37.73	113.89
left-liberal	70	96	72.92	113.77
Bevy	88	136	64.71	110.21
Senior Officer	65	88	73.86	108.5
Committee	1129	3411	33.1	104.44
Szenteczky	55	70	78.57	103.92
People''s Party	204	437	46.68	103.48

Table 17 – MNO (2012-2013): under-used words

WORD	SUB	TOT	PERC	CHI^2
FIDESZ	490	3390	14.45	217.4
member or sympathizer of FIDESZ	164	1509	10.87	169.8
Orbán	470	2980	15.77	148.13
Hungary	1224	6306	19.41	122.74
tender	192	1447	13.27	113.72
professional	128	1055	12.13	99.04
KÖZGÉP	3	308	0.97	97.43
Papcsák	20	405	4.94	90.02
trafik	24	384	6.25	74.8
trafikmutyi**	9	265	3.4	68.07
financing	72	635	11.34	66.9
public interest	42	457	9.19	63.88
Lázár	63	564	11.17	60.84
Ángyán	6	219	2.74	59.65
payment/salary	139	941	14.77	56.86
study/paper	107	777	13.77	56.13
Orbán-Government	61	532	11.47	55.04
market	124	858	14.45	54.98
Stiller	1	167	0.6	54.45
Együtt-PM	10	228	4.39	53.44
true	176	1098	16.03	51.68
Csányi	5	187	2.67	51.23
economy	985	4672	21.08	47.68
owner	201	1186	16.95	45.5
winner	44	404	10.89	45.29
company	1171	5441	21.52	45.02
child	64	507	12.62	44.15
LMP	224	1285	17.43	43.86
oligarch	32	330	9.7	43.3
public procurement	216	1242	17.39	42.82
land	100	682	14.66	42.04
Matolcsy	25	284	8.8	41.61
to win	221	1255	17.61	40.97

tax	186	1087	17.11	40.12
hectare	27	290	9.31	39.94
liquidator	5	150	3.33	38.75
Nyerges	1	115	0.87	36.69
competition	54	425	12.71	36.53
Sanader	112	713	15.71	35.87
business	167	971	17.2	35.09

Table 18 – NEPSZAVA (2004-2007): over-used words

WORD	SUB	TOT	PERC	CHI^2
disputant	37	44	84.09	1950.43
Juppé	35	44	79.55	1741.5
Government Committee	30	46	65.22	1213.1
Chirac	59	205	28.78	988.55
UMP	29	60	48.33	854.25
Milosevics	22	58	37.93	499.31
reformer	21	77	27.27	331.3
state organization	12	33	36.36	260.13
Sarkozy	32	214	14.95	249.81
Indonesian	16	70	22.86	206.61
APA/father	36	330	10.91	187.7
Hague	23	152	15.13	182.19
Islamist	19	116	16.38	165.78
KEH(I)	12	55	21.82	146.89
film	50	690	7.25	145.2
Ukrainian	53	792	6.69	135.75
exploitation/mining	12	62	19.35	127.76
millennial	13	72	18.06	127.49
Indonesia	14	83	16.87	126.56
mother	18	131	13.74	126.47
Ragáts	18	146	12.33	110.18
anti-Semitism	13	82	15.85	109.02
Postbank	26	286	9.09	105.55
parisian	16	125	12.8	102.76
Papcsák	11	65	16.92	99.83
sutka	10	57	17.54	94.76
alliance	15	120	12.5	93.46
minor/young	11	73	15.07	86.68
angola	9	53	16.98	82.02
shell	8	44	18.18	79.11
judge	53	1090	4.86	77.36
informatics	26	365	7.12	73.51
Baumgartner	7	37	18.92	72.55

observer	23	306	7.52	70.64
Pioneer Association	8	49	16.33	69.53
genocide	9	66	13.64	62.63
Yudhoyono	7	42	16.67	62.37
festival	11	98	11.22	59.56
Korei	6	33	18.18	59.33
opera house	6	33	18.18	59.33

Table 19 – NEPSZAVA (2004-2007): under-used words

WORD	SUB	TOT	PERC	CHI^2
SZDSZ	3	1872	0.16	23.92
Kulcsár	12	2718	0.44	22.19
Local Government	7	2061	0.34	20.03
Gyurcsány	30	4078	0.74	18.11
company	56	6167	0.91	17.16
Medgyessy	5	1629	0.31	16.68
Hungary	56	6038	0.93	15.81
MSZP	20	2967	0.67	15.21
corrupt/corruption	10	2028	0.49	15.06
Government	82	7836	1.05	13.55
FIDESZ	39	4365	0.89	12.68
Israel	8	1621	0.49	12.03
client	1	858	0.12	11.65
euro	5	1268	0.39	11.24
socialist	29	3410	0.85	11.22
tax	3	1051	0.29	11.13
Local Governmental	5	1252	0.4	11
practice	6	1314	0.46	10.44
Kovács	1	749	0.13	9.94
entrepreneur	6	1201	0.5	8.81
goal	21	2478	0.85	8.22
referendum	2	752	0.27	8.21
anticorruption	1	623	0.16	7.95
Parliamentary Group	1	611	0.16	7.77
press conference	1	605	0.17	7.67
source	10	1479	0.68	7.54
Minister	28	2983	0.94	7.53
Orbán	20	2315	0.86	7.33
committee	34	3436	0.99	7.31
party	109	9018	1.21	7.31
proposal	11	1529	0.72	7.05
program	21	2369	0.89	7.02

budget	18	2116	0.85	6.95
on duty	3	756	0.4	6.67
Poland	2	651	0.31	6.66
opposition	15	1836	0.82	6.62
public life	3	752	0.4	6.61
analyst	3	752	0.4	6.61
Austrian	3	737	0.41	6.39
National Security	2	629	0.32	6.33

Table 20 – NEPSZAVA (2008-2011): over-used words

WORD	SUB	TOT	PERC	CHI^2
Meggyes	117	207	56.52	412.97
member or sympathizer of FIDESZ	620	2621	23.66	381.99
FIDESZ	1632	9403	17.36	319.38
Esztergom	136	357	38.1	248.65
corruption	1859	11567	16.07	239.86
Várhegyi	44	70	62.86	181.7
Fót	63	157	40.13	126.68
Kövér	94	299	31.44	117.08
Parking	43	95	45.26	106.61
authenticity testing	35	72	48.61	97.61
Orbán	846	5389	15.7	94.18
Szijjártó	144	600	24	92.43
suppression	157	678	23.16	90.84
Ihász	38	87	43.68	88.68
Of Schengen	141	596	23.66	86.86
misappropriation (first half of the word)	969	6410	15.12	83.24
Police	1112	7521	14.79	80.66
gratitude money	67	222	30.18	76.31
Kulcsár	328	1832	17.9	74.25
representative	1405	9875	14.23	73.18
party	1860	13457	13.82	72.43
public media	30	68	44.12	71.22
press conference	320	1794	17.84	71.21
Parliament	588	3699	15.9	70.82
law	906	6072	14.92	70.56
Papcsák	109	453	24.06	70.47
Balsai	75	274	27.37	68.02
denunciation	775	5127	15.12	66.53
Tétény	41	115	35.65	66.06
amending	76	284	26.76	65.18
misappropriation (second half of the word)	1074	7426	14.46	64.83
KEH(I)	83	324	25.62	63.64
Episcopate	24	52	46.15	61.47

moving	25	56	44.64	60.56
Leinemann	36	99	36.36	60.27
Medvegyev	137	661	20.73	55.52
Board	369	2238	16.49	55.1
President	1830	13542	13.51	54.92
Szekszárd	53	184	28.8	54.28
Major	844	5803	14.54	53.45

Table 21 – NEPSZAVA (2008-2011): under-used words

WORD	SUB	TOT	PERC	CHI^2
American	337	4352	7.74	60.02
Defence Forces	15	643	2.33	53
Chinese	73	1363	5.36	50.4
Home Defense	103	1696	6.07	48.9
Ministry	279	3529	7.91	44.53
Israel	80	1373	5.83	43.27
Demszky	96	1550	6.19	42.72
Gyurcsány	426	4982	8.55	42.27
Member or sympathizer of SZDSZ	48	981	4.89	41.95
left-liberal	23	643	3.58	39.57
Portuguese	6	376	1.6	36.18
Telekom	8	401	2	35.53
railway	40	803	4.98	33.43
foundation	147	1980	7.42	32.15
Iran	25	599	4.17	31.51
Palestinian	6	339	1.77	31.48
province	38	751	5.06	30.51
offshore	38	740	5.14	29.36
Kovács	86	1288	6.68	29.31
Higher Education	12	408	2.94	29.3
China	72	1107	6.5	27.03
USA	12	378	3.17	25.69
Member or sympathizer of MSZP	145	1870	7.75	25.63
National/domestic	174	2168	8.03	25.55
BBC	15	415	3.61	25.3
Spanish	39	709	5.5	24.99
university	115	1541	7.46	24.55
suspected corruption	36	667	5.4	24.33
Hungary	1271	12593	10.09	24.11
Hagyó	207	2474	8.37	23.69
Borovszky	3	231	1.3	23.58
comrade	1	196	0.51	23.23
Secret Service	51	824	6.19	22.74

Portfolio	181	2186	8.28	22.11
Brazil	6	260	2.31	21.55
APEH	20	446	4.48	21.51
Király	24	482	4.98	20.08
student	21	445	4.72	20.05
Csepel	90	1216	7.4	19.96
consumer	17	393	4.33	19.82

Table 22 – NEPSZAVA (2012-2013): over-used words

WORD	SUB	TOT	PERC	CHI^2
member or sympathizer of FIDESZ	643	1509	42.61	515.9
FIDESZ	1141	3390	33.66	436.11
Orbán	941	2980	31.58	279.13
trafik	198	384	51.56	252.35
tender	519	1447	35.87	248.4
Orbán-Government	243	532	45.68	233.15
Governing party	400	1168	34.25	162.81
Government	2026	8089	25.05	161.2
Harangozó	94	160	58.75	157.49
Papcsák	178	405	43.95	154.88
cabinet	290	785	36.94	152.96
winner	177	404	43.81	152.75
KSE	41	45	91.11	147.33
clientele	82	148	55.41	121.93
policy maker	60	93	64.52	120.39
land	246	682	36.07	119.95
Secretary of State	485	1629	29.77	110.43
Legislator	77	143	53.85	107.81
Mazsu	48	70	68.57	107.66
to win	384	1255	30.6	99.22
concession	88	181	48.62	98.12
Cséfalvay	55	92	59.78	95.38
MSZP	710	2645	26.84	91.89
KLUBRADIO	51	85	60	89.08
master/owner	123	301	40.86	87.91
concession	86	189	45.5	81.72
socialist	686	2589	26.5	81.69
democratic	380	1296	29.32	80.31
trafikos**	64	125	51.2	80.29
professional	175	494	35.43	80.25
mafia-charge	23	26	88.46	78.94
leader of parliamentary group	25	30	83.33	78.05
party general secretary	51	91	56.04	77.66

Józsa	53	97	54.64	76.54
tender	129	337	38.28	76.08
proposal	411	1446	28.42	74.02
Gogös	77	169	45.56	73.41
social charge/special tax	54	103	52.43	71.37
Parliament	419	1490	28.12	71.21
hectare	113	290	38.97	70.33

Table 23 – NEPSZAVA (2012-2013): under-used words

WORD	SUB	TOT	PERC	CHI^2
Portik	14	970	1.44	201.1
police officer	352	3505	10.04	198.93
nation	127	1782	7.13	173.26
corrupt/corruption	358	3179	11.26	136.76
László	435	3567	12.2	120.54
man	133	1465	9.08	100.93
nightclub/bar	34	679	5.01	90.59
American	161	1545	10.42	80.72
police office	571	4095	13.94	79.86
Russian	225	1906	11.8	71.45
detective	357	2723	13.11	70.28
Timosenko	52	680	7.65	60.63
dollar	94	976	9.63	60.26
Chinese	177	1517	11.67	58.91
arrest	160	1387	11.54	55.7
suspected	264	2025	13.04	53.47
suspect	94	919	10.23	50.06
prison	198	1582	12.52	48.8
study/paper	75	777	9.65	47.76
Romania	185	1439	12.86	40.15
Ponta	39	483	8.07	40
bribe	114	990	11.52	39.96
custody	245	1785	13.73	37.57
center-right	18	307	5.86	36.25
National Security	54	567	9.52	35.77
reding	10	235	4.26	34.69
Bajnai	137	1101	12.44	34.67
Romanian	185	1386	13.35	33.13
Csepel	24	337	7.12	32.77
financing	68	635	10.71	31.08
to bribe	155	1186	13.07	30.99
FIFA	7	193	3.63	30.89
Hong Kong	9	209	4.31	30.65

secret service	45	476	9.45	30.45
AP	6	180	3.33	29.89
Greek	20	290	6.9	29.24
bribery	33	383	8.62	28.77
Afghanistan	20	287	6.97	28.6
to accuse	315	2115	14.89	28.25
Montenegro	12	222	5.41	28

Table 24 – ORIGO (2004-2007): over-used words

WORD	SUB	TOT	PERC	CHI^2
corruption	817	5109	15.99	526.97
pessimist	42	74	56.76	257.65
police officer	312	1781	17.52	255.58
charge	348	2184	15.93	221.94
film	147	690	21.3	188.2
Police	441	3240	13.61	172.51
Szent-Iványi	25	43	58.14	158.24
hostage-taker	24	41	58.54	153.26
court	525	4242	12.38	143.54
real	27	58	46.55	126.89
Jelcin	40	113	35.4	126.1
to accuse	232	1591	14.58	113.82
Lazarenko	18	31	58.06	113.74
coffee	23	50	46	106.32
investigation	266	1962	13.56	102.58
spokesman	157	977	16.07	102.46
abuse/misuse	162	1022	15.85	101.77
beer	20	41	48.78	100.24
report	243	1781	13.64	95.79
embezzlement	226	1631	13.86	93.92
Volkswagen	29	81	35.8	93.03
death penalty	31	92	33.7	90.51
Cotecna	17	34	50	88.11
man	149	961	15.5	87.89
Kostunica	25	66	37.88	87.35
at home	25	66	37.88	87.35
parking lot	25	66	37.88	87.35
figure/character	42	153	27.45	87.25
climate change	16	31	51.61	86.55
G8	22	54	40.74	85.58
Georgian	49	198	24.75	84.35
Annan	54	230	23.48	84.07
Iraq	213	1565	13.61	83.24

major	236	1790	13.18	82.35
championship	23	60	38.33	81.8
Gorbacsov	22	56	39.29	81.14
suspect	293	2363	12.4	80.66
Rácz	50	210	23.81	79.98
president election/choice	109	650	16.77	79.78
Szabadi	43	167	25.75	79.66

Table 25 – ORIGO (2004-2007): under-used words

WORD	SUB	TOT	PERC	CHI^2
Gyurcsány	126	4078	3.09	115.59
FIDESZ	173	4365	3.96	79.82
MSZP	97	2967	3.27	77.39
SZDSZ	42	1872	2.24	75.15
socialist	124	3410	3.64	74.29
Medgyessy	54	1629	3.31	41.56
democracy	58	1702	3.41	41.53
budget	83	2116	3.92	39.55
Budapest	157	3338	4.7	38.3
Orbán	97	2315	4.19	37.08
political	400	7076	5.65	35.84
society	55	1546	3.56	35.03
privatization	25	947	2.64	32.51
national	146	3027	4.82	31.85
fact	38	1165	3.26	30.47
change of the regime	1	394	0.25	29.95
right-wing	10	599	1.67	29.54
show	1	375	0.27	28.41
professional	40	1163	3.44	27.94
societal	43	1215	3.54	27.78
opposition	79	1836	4.3	27.45
free	88	1983	4.44	27.22
left-wing	19	745	2.55	26.52
entrepreneur	44	1201	3.66	25.77
civic	56	1407	3.98	25.45
change of the regime	23	808	2.85	25.44
referendum	21	752	2.79	24.23
Kóka	19	699	2.72	23.23
property	50	1263	3.96	23.12
consequence	21	736	2.85	23.11
true	79	1740	4.54	22.33
leftist	53	1300	4.08	22.25
real estate	46	1143	4.02	20.16

health care	43	1081	3.98	19.58
state	284	4848	5.86	19.45
citizen	20	661	3.03	19.25
elite	28	799	3.5	18.59
intellectual	1	243	0.41	17.68
liberal	66	1427	4.63	17.28
patient	21	644	3.26	16.85

Table 26 – ORIGO (2008-2011): over-used words

WORD	SUB	TOT	PERC	CHI^2
FIFA	188	514	36.58	409.41
Ecclestone	46	48	95.83	396.92
KÖZGÉP	46	56	82.14	327.27
Kocsis	260	991	26.24	295.92
Hatala	51	76	67.11	278.47
croatian/horvát (family name)	433	2216	19.54	230.27
Tunisia	155	526	29.47	225.37
Quatar	90	229	39.3	221.58
Kulcsár	367	1832	20.03	210.34
anonymity	47	82	57.32	206.42
design	43	71	60.56	204.04
Homeland	55	108	50.93	203.51
MVM	161	597	26.97	194.59
Blatter	76	192	39.58	189.36
Mol	233	1032	22.58	185.52
Szima	95	280	33.93	180.93
Blagojevich	71	178	39.89	179.17
man	458	2580	17.75	177.8
protester	237	1088	21.78	171.83
Hernádi	125	443	28.22	166.3
beer	43	83	51.81	163.19
podravka	55	129	42.64	154.74
report	484	2886	16.77	152.24
British	292	1507	19.38	151.3
corporation	531	3274	16.22	146.05
assorted/national team	68	188	36.17	145.21
Atkári	43	90	47.78	144.55
series	114	416	27.4	142.61
Italian	206	973	21.17	138.24
Chinese	264	1363	19.37	136.63
suspect	1091	7905	13.8	134.3
player	97	339	28.61	132.84
from Illinois	29	50	58	129.52

source	499	3120	15.99	129.42
senatorial	44	101	43.56	128.13
contract	1290	9684	13.32	126.46
police	1036	7521	13.77	126.03
Berlusconi	173	794	21.79	125.5
film	161	733	21.96	119.32
prosecutor's office	1074	7937	13.53	116.8

Table 27 – ORIGO (2008-2011): under-used words

WORD	SUB	TOT	PERC	CHI^2
socialist	320	8069	3.97	319.95
MSZP	352	6550	5.37	151.19
FIDESZ	594	9403	6.32	136.26
leftist	38	1749	2.17	117.33
society	121	2697	4.49	88.92
left-wing	22	1166	1.89	84.1
liberal	59	1632	3.62	72.46
party	1040	13457	7.73	71.98
right-wing	31	1176	2.64	69.72
left-liberal	2	643	0.31	66.37
citizen	34	1138	2.99	61.1
points out	12	765	1.57	59.63
community	104	2078	5	56.03
SZDSZ	114	2210	5.16	55.92
remind	65	1508	4.31	52.98
election/choice	797	10210	7.81	50.75
societal	142	2507	5.66	50.66
gypsy	41	1135	3.61	50.44
necessary	206	3284	6.27	48.7
democrat	89	1752	5.08	45.8
portfolio	123	2186	5.63	44.95
cabinet	56	1283	4.36	44.21
right-wing	19	733	2.59	43.98
Gyurcsány	354	4982	7.11	43.94
conscious	19	724	2.62	43.06
Parliament	248	3699	6.7	42.61
force	207	3196	6.48	42.23
civic	92	1747	5.27	42.22
ethical	22	760	2.89	41.9
political	873	10820	8.07	41.21
population	112	1956	5.73	38.37
voter	64	1317	4.86	37.64
local governmental	290	4110	7.06	37.54

minority	69	1380	5	37.28
governing	82	1528	5.37	35.35
portuguese	3	376	0.8	34.97
homeland	130	2132	6.1	34.73
people	68	1329	5.12	34.22
Ltd.	362	4880	7.42	33.99
social	117	1958	5.98	33.97

Table 28 – ORIGO (2012-2013): over-used words

WORD	SUB	TOT	PERC	CHI^2
Brezsnyev	31	34	91.18	255.98
Urbán	37	47	78.72	253.89
red	36	45	80	252.17
Gumi	31	35	88.57	246.91
Urdangarin	34	42	80.95	241.78
universum	25	26	96.15	220.41
neo	26	28	92.86	219.6
Chinese	319	1517	21.03	219.03
royal	50	89	56.18	217.84
Barabás	30	38	78.95	206.61
Argentinian	50	103	48.54	175.99
bull	22	25	88	173.82
Fürst	33	53	62.26	165.95
Mercedes	42	81	51.85	163.01
Po	127	467	27.19	161.31
empathy	22	27	81.48	157.75
Fitch	27	39	69.23	156.67
Macedonian	31	52	59.62	146.81
sympathy	25	37	67.57	140.44
York	72	213	33.8	139.88
New	93	320	29.06	135.47
fishing	20	26	76.92	133.21
Ferrari	20	27	74.07	126.85
button	21	30	70	123.65
infraction/offence	45	109	41.28	123.05
Libia	63	188	33.51	120.48
Dömény	25	43	58.14	114.32
Macedonia	37	83	44.58	114.3
Africa	73	243	30.04	113.56
country	865	6338	13.65	109.29
auction	28	54	51.85	108.67
competing	29	58	50	106.68
Grand Prix	18	26	69.23	104.45
Delta	24	43	55.81	103.59

Olympics	71	246	28.86	101.98
Europol	17	24	70.83	101.68
rat	17	24	70.83	101.68
British	138	640	21.56	101.33
Helsinki	34	79	43.04	99.38
Deme	70	246	28.46	97.69

Table 29 – ORIGO (2012-2013): under-used words

WORD	SUB	TOT	PERC	CHI^2
FIDESZ	137	3390	4.04	125.99
party	482	7811	6.17	114.53
MSZP	98	2645	3.71	110.17
socialist	133	2589	5.14	62.84
election/choice	348	5235	6.65	57.64
parliamentary	128	2425	5.28	55.31
LMP	48	1285	3.74	52.95
Mesterházy	12	700	1.71	51.44
cabinet	21	785	2.68	44.73
Head of State	113	2043	5.53	41.48
Gyurcsány	75	1454	5.16	34.95
professional	46	1055	4.36	34.92
financing	18	635	2.83	34.57
Pécs	21	677	3.1	34.07
Parliament	79	1490	5.3	33.61
Head of Government	158	2481	6.37	32.4
public procurement	62	1242	4.99	32.05
Romania	77	1439	5.35	31.75
trafik	5	384	1.3	31.18
Basescu	8	434	1.84	30.88
social democrat	21	625	3.36	29.06
Constitutional Court	16	542	2.95	28.51
left-wing	13	492	2.64	28.29
member or sympathizer of FIDESZ	86	1509	5.7	28.24
leftist	27	704	3.84	28.05
announcement	109	1795	6.07	27.7
trafikmutyi***	1	265	0.38	26.48
tobacco shop	2	281	0.71	26.12
Romanian	79	1386	5.7	25.93
Timosenko	27	680	3.97	25.87
judge	122	1920	6.35	25.28
Portik	49	970	5.05	24.41
People"s Party	12	437	2.75	24.4

RMDSZ	4	302	1.32	24.39
coalition	38	816	4.66	24.12
BKV	31	717	4.32	24.05
from Transylvania/Erdélyi family name	1	238	0.42	23.57
Reding	1	235	0.43	23.24
accused	258	3506	7.36	22.94
Papcsák	11	405	2.72	22.81

Words featured per newspaper

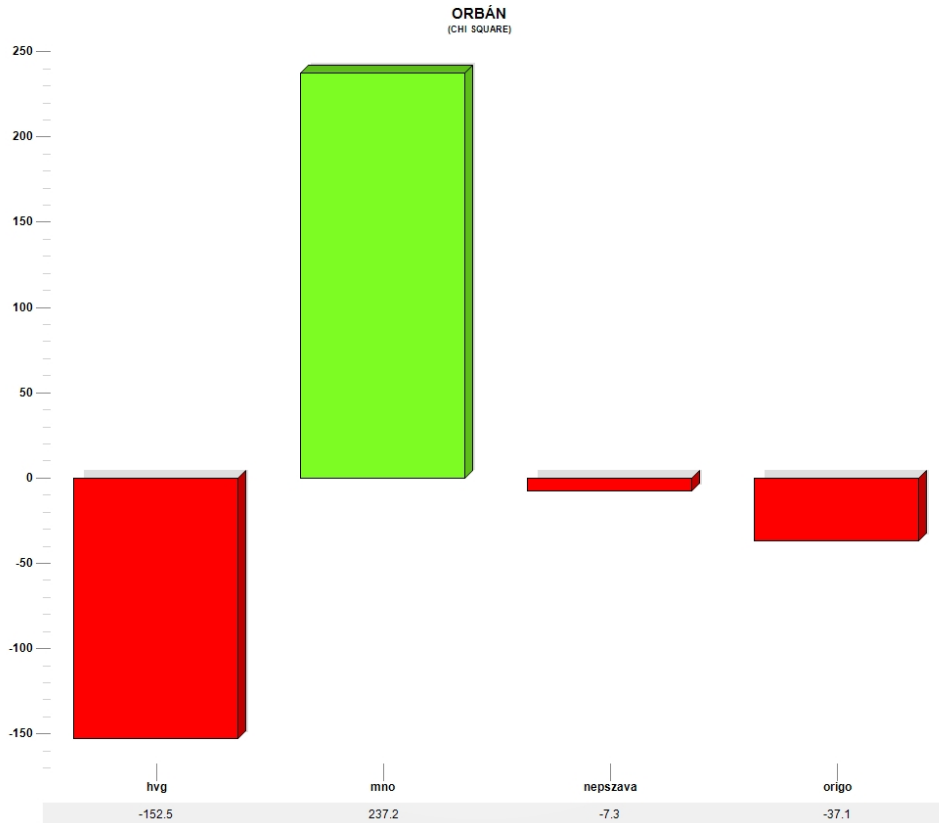**Figure 37 - Word "Orbán": over- and under-use in Hungarian news portals(2004-2007)**

ORBÁN
(CHI SQUARE)

hvg	mno	nepszava	origo
-152.5	237.2	-7.3	-37.1

Figure 38 - Word "Orbán": over- and under-use in Hungarian news portals (2008-2011)

ORBÁN
(CHI SQUARE)

hvg	mno	nepszava	origo
-1.8	-3.1	94.2	-28.5
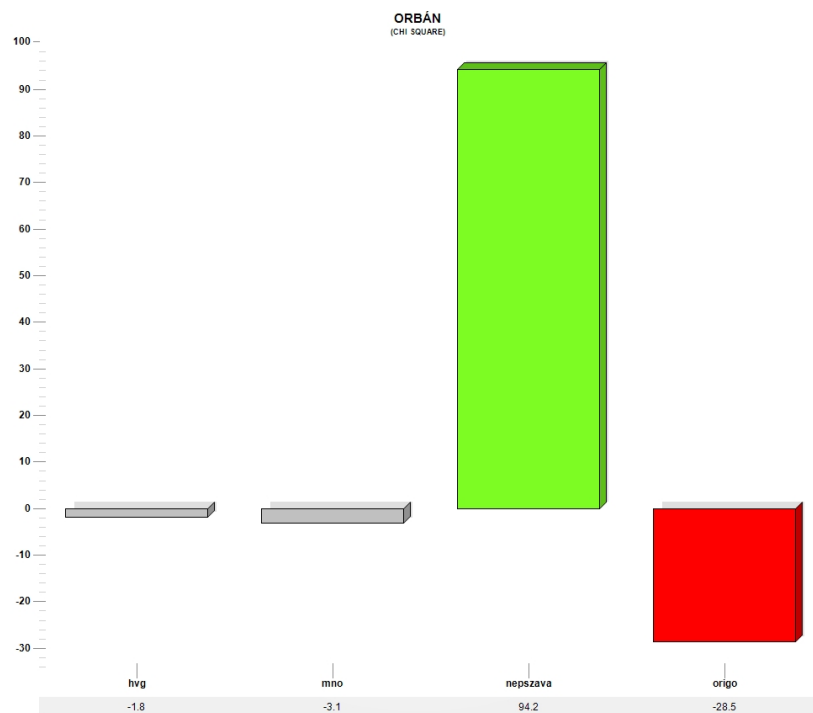
Figure 39 - Word "Orbán": over- and under-use in Hungarian news portals (2012-2013)

ORBÁN
(CHI SQUARE)

hvg	mno	nepszava	origo
-2.1	-148.1	279.1	-3.9
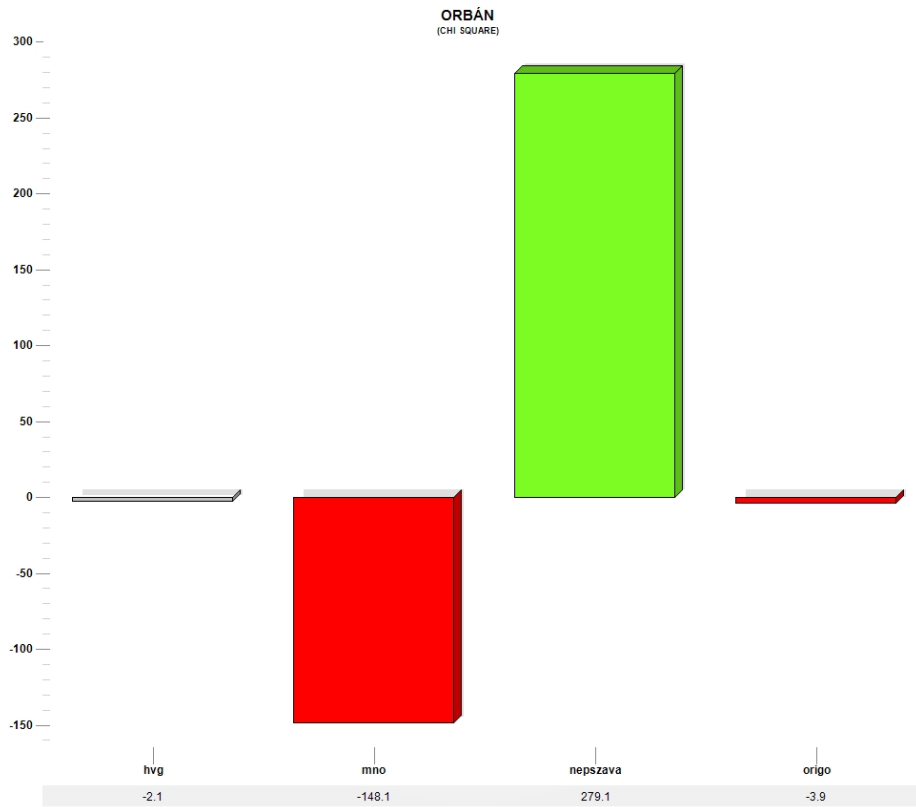
Figure 40 - Word "Gyurcsány": over- and under-use in Hungarian news portals (2004-2007)

GYURCSÁNY
(CHI SQUARE)

hvg	mno	nepszava	origo
-492.3	751.5	-18.1	-115.6
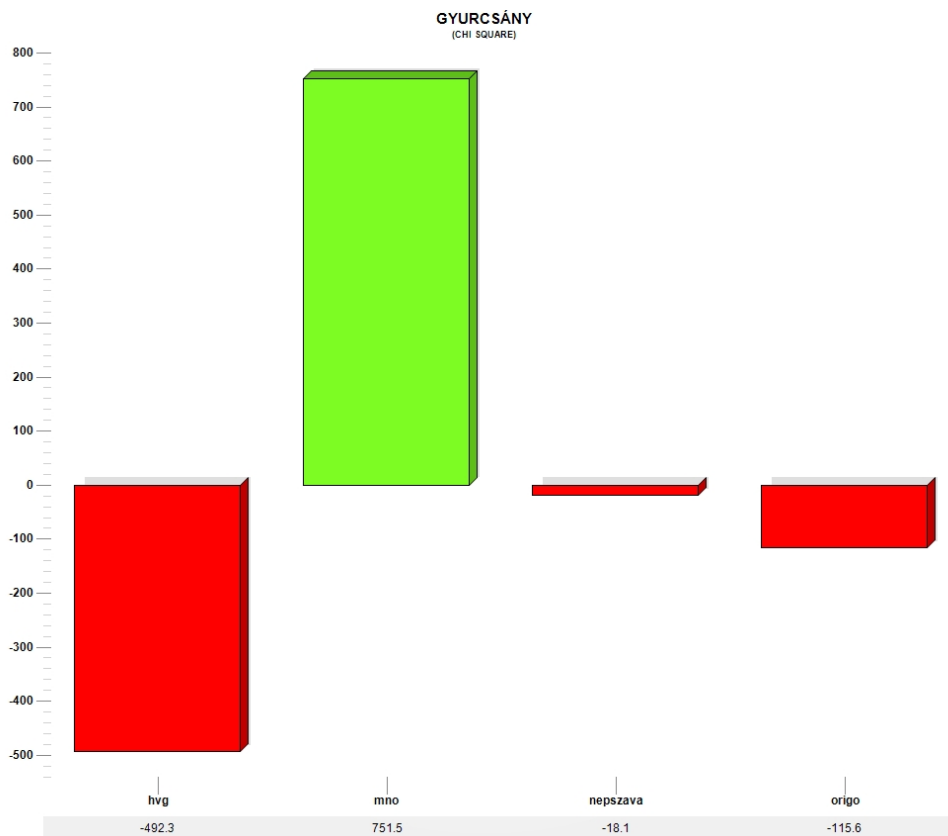
Figure 41 - Word "Gyurcsány": over- and under-use in Hungarian news portals (2008-2011)
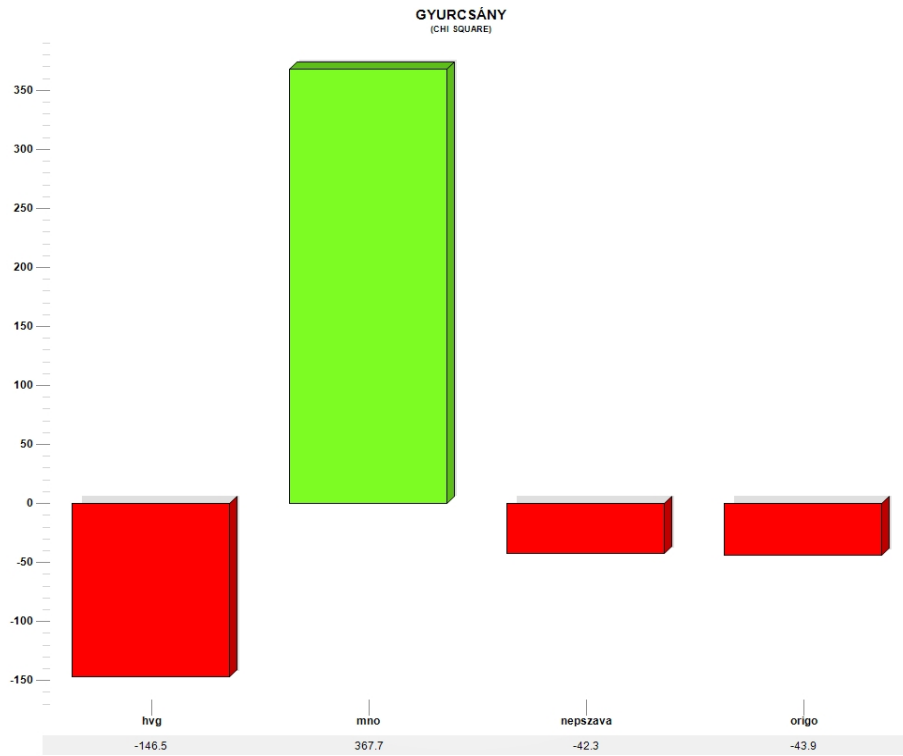
Figure 42 - Word "Gyurcsány": over- and under-use in Hungarian news portals (2012-2013)
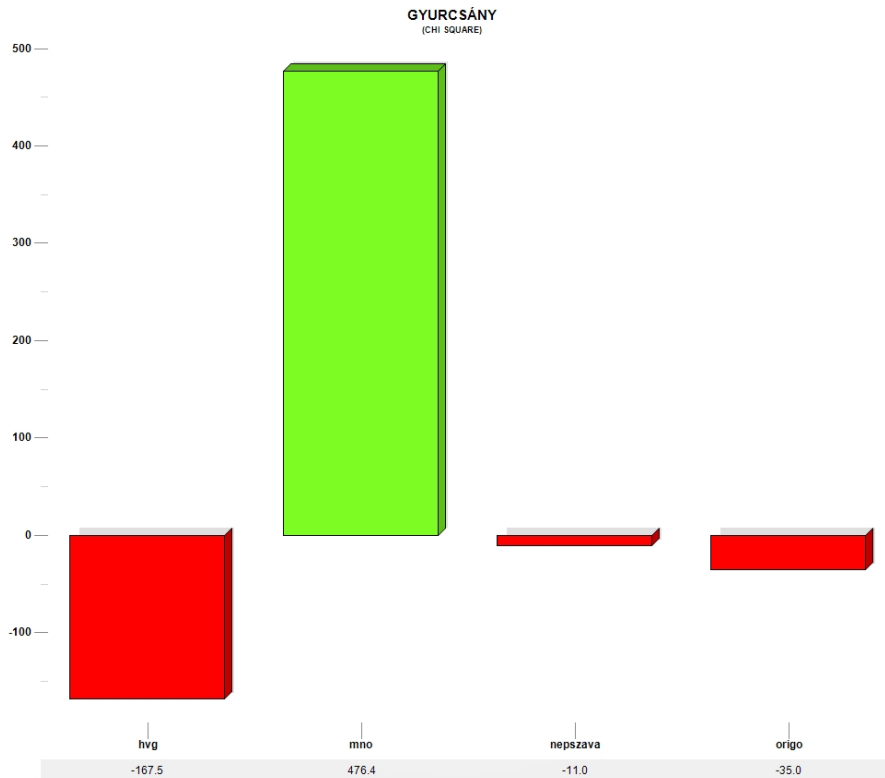
Figure 43 - Word "INA": over- and under-use in Hungarian news portals (2008-2011)
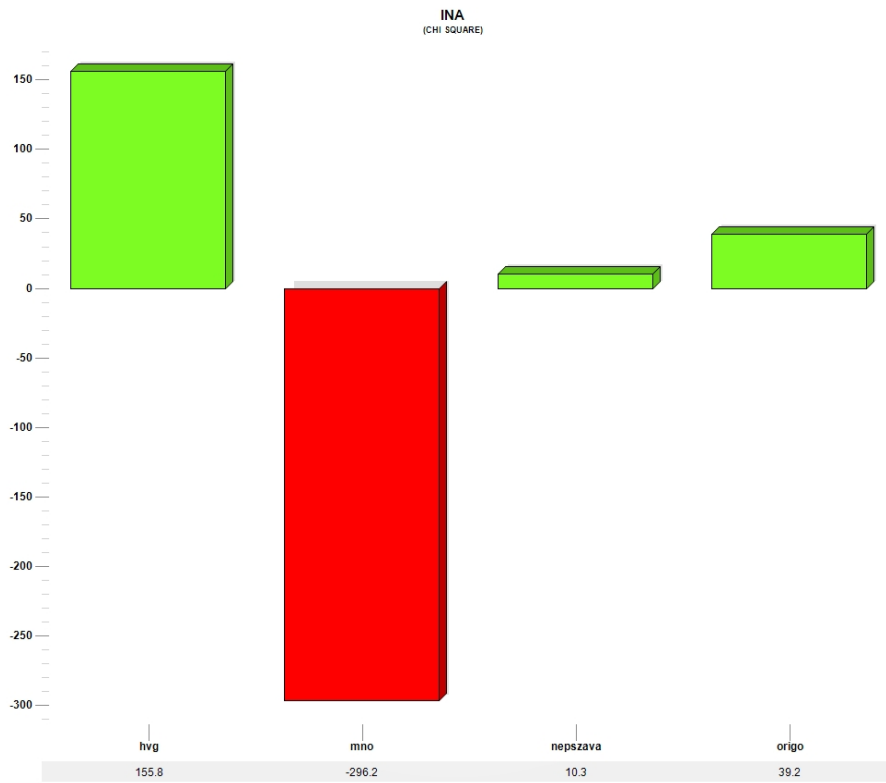
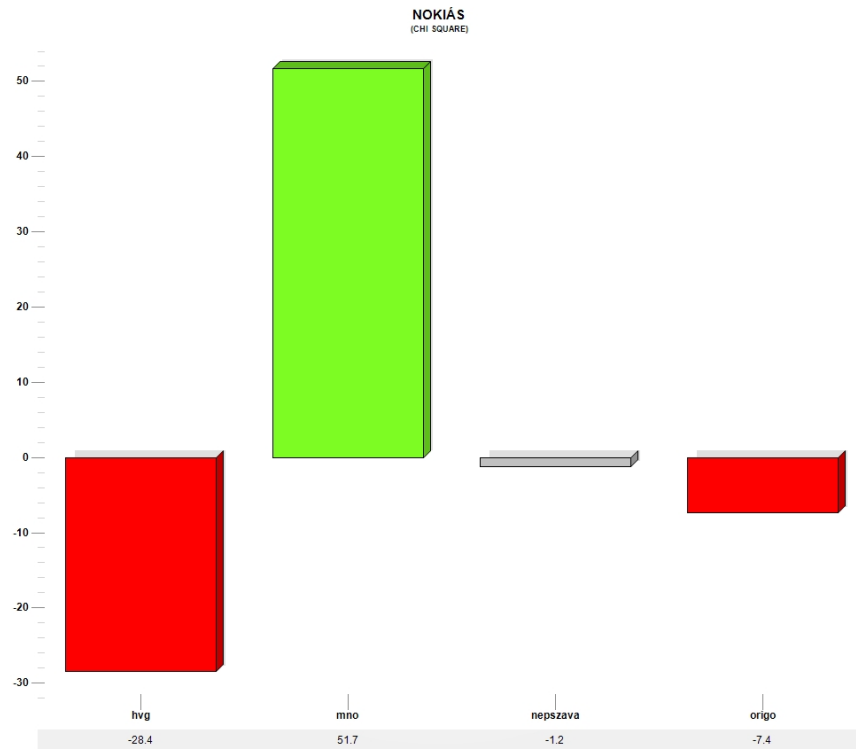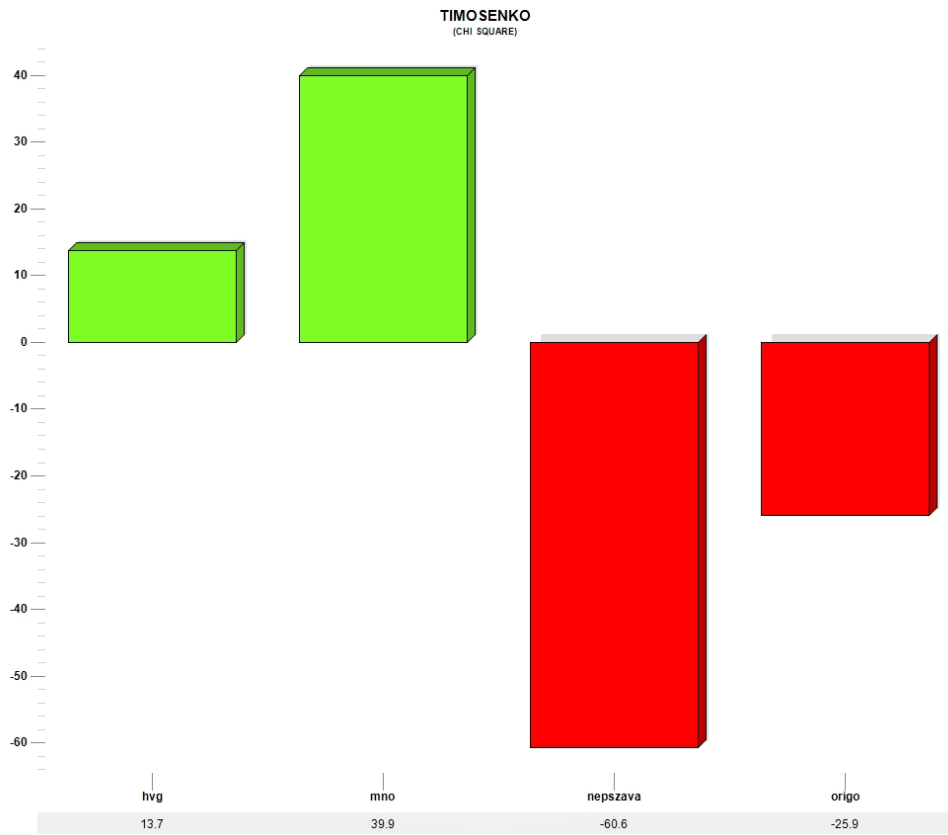**Figure 44 - Word "Nokiás": over- and under-use in Hungarian news portals (2008-2011)**

Figure 45 - Word "Timosenko": over- and under-use in Hungarian news portals (2012-2013)

hvg	mno	nepszava	origo
13.7	39.9	-60.6	-25.9

ANTICORRP is a large-scale research project funded by the European Commission's Seventh Framework Programme. The full name of the project is "Anti-corruption Policies Revisited: Global Trends and European Responses to the Challenge of Corruption". The project started in March 2012 and will last for five years. The research is conducted by 20 research groups in fifteen countries.

The fundamental purpose of ANTICORRP is to investigate and explain the factors that promote or hinder the development of effective anti-corruption policies and impartial government institutions. A central issue is how policy responses can be tailored to deal effectively with various forms of corruption. Through this approach ANTICORRP seeks to advance the knowledge on how corruption can be curbed in Europe and elsewhere. Special emphasis is laid on the agency of different state and non-state actors to contribute to building good governance.

Project acronym: ANTICORRP
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