

Hungary¹

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I. Abstract

Nine interviews were conducted and 37 questionnaires were analyzed. A secondary analysis of empirical data collected in former years by various researchers was also included. Labor relations in general are regulated by the Labor Code which quite recently has seen two major changes. One was the abolition of ad hoc employment contracts requiring journalists to pay their own taxes. The other modification was the introduction of the so-called simplified public burden undertaking support, a simplified taxation method applicable to journalists, editors and others in creative professions. Despite these modifications, freelancers are still vulnerable due to their working conditions.

Typically hired employees usually worked for one media outlet only while freelancers worked for at least two. The overwhelming majority of both types worked more than 40 hours per week. Although 86% of typically hired staff had to work more than 40 hours, just 38% felt it was a violation of their rights. More than half the freelancers said that they worked more than 40 hours per week and as a rule were free to decide when to work. The overwhelming majority did not receive fringe benefits. As for determining issues to cover, 30% of both regular staff and freelance journalists said it was the employer who decided.

Nearly all journalists suffered some kind of censorship on the premises of their media outlets. Of the respondents who were regular staff members, 65% mentioned that their superiors censored their work while 86% of freelance journalists had had similar experiences, although two thirds of them only occasionally.

There is only one trade union for journalists, namely the Press Union (Sajtószakszervezet). It has some 3000 members and was founded under state socialism. Respondents suggested that even if they were members the union would likely not protect them in the event their rights were infringed. The trade union is inefficient, and the journalists feel their situations are insecure. A major journalists' association was founded before the transition called Hungarian Journalists National Association (Magyar Újságírók Országos Szövetsége or MÚOSZ) to protect the interests of member journalists in case of any kind of offense, but the respondents didn't have much faith in its effectiveness.

II. Overview

Research was conducted in July and August 2007 and included both a quantitative survey and a series of qualitative interviews with journalists. It also included a secondary analysis of empirical data collected in former years by various researchers. Questionnaires were sent to over 250 potential respondents but only 37 (18%) were returned. Nine interviews were conducted. Those surveyed or personally interviewed included radio, television, print and on-line staff and freelance journalists from both the public and the private sectors on the national as well as the regional levels (Table 1).

¹ Special thanks to Péter Bajomi-Lázár and Miklós Sükösd for their valuable remarks.

Table 1: Research Participants

	Typically hired journalists	Atypically hired journalists
Print	14	6
Television	10	-
Radio	7	2
On-line	10	4
News agency	2	1

Those who worked for several media outlets of different types were indicated in all the relevant cells.

This sample is by no means representative of the entire Hungarian journalism community; however, it does allow us to draw some general conclusions. The secondary analyses included in this paper are mainly based on research carried out by Hungarian sociologist Mária Vásárhelyi who conducted representative surveys among Hungarian journalists in 1992, 1997, 2000 and 2006. The most comprehensive data were collected in the year 2000.

The data provided by Ms Vásárhelyi reveal that the vulnerability of Hungarian journalists increased significantly from 1992 to 2000, and that. "...the number of full-time journalists decreased every year" (Vásárhelyi 2000). Because of the Hungarian tax system, one out of three journalists was a freelancer in 2000. This implies insecurity because unlike full-time journalists, freelancers were not entitled to fringe benefits (social insurance, etc.) or severance pay in the event they lost their jobs. The introduction of a special tax called "simplified public burden undertaking support (SPBS)" was intended to alleviate this situation.

Many journalists, especially freelancers, worked for two or even three media outlets simultaneously, albeit they would have preferred to work for but one had that one employer paid them a decent salary. This research project in 2007 confirmed Ms Vásárhelyi's findings.

There was a salary gap between journalists in the capital and those in the countryside though this is not unusual in Hungary.² It also needs to be noted that the costs of living are significantly higher in Budapest than in the rest of the country, although consumer goods are more expensive in the countryside due to the lack of supply. In addition to this, Ms Vásárhelyi found a salary gap between male and female journalists (which also is the case for other professions³). In general,

The journalists working for the commercial television channels have the highest net salary, then the associates of the nationwide daily newspapers and journalists of

² According to research by András Kilinger, the average salary in Budapest is 172% more than the average in the countryside (Kilinger, 2006).

³ Research shows that men earn 30–40% more than women with identical qualifications. (Women are still earning less <http://www.mfor.hu/cikk.php?article=19419>, last accessed 28/08/2007.)

commercial radio stations and regional dailies earn the lowest wages (Vásárhelyi 2000).

For details on the distribution of journalists' income, see Table 2. (The average net salary among Hungarians was 110,000 forint⁴ in 2006⁵, but when comparing these data, inflation must also be considered.)

Table 2: Monthly Net Salary of Journalists in 1997 and 2000

Monthly net income (forint)	1997	2000
20,000 or less	5%	2%
20,000–39,900	20	6
40,000–59,000	25	10
60,000–79,000	18	17
80,000–99,000	10	12
100,000–119,000	8	14
120,000–149,000	5	12
150,000–199,000	3	10
200,000–299,000	2	10
300,000–499,000	1	5
500,000 and above	1	2
Total	100%	100%

Source: Vásárhelyi (2000)

The 2000 survey reveals that journalists earned more than others in creative professions which, however, does not imply that they earned enough—a finding that both the 2000 survey and the 2007 research confirm.

Regarding the number of working hours, in 2000 journalists at the commercial television channels worked 10 hours per day on average. Journalists with regional dailies, editors-in-chief and senior journalists worked 8.4 hours per day in 2000.

Journalists' satisfaction with their jobs in 2000 as measured by indicators such as working conditions, career opportunities, wages, working climate and workplace democracy scored 61 points on a 100-point scale. Those with the nationwide dailies and the commercial television channels were significantly more satisfied than those with the regional dailies and the public service television channels. The journalists working for Hungarian public service television (Magyar Televízió, MTV) were especially uncomfortable with their working conditions noting such problems as the lack of democratic decision making in the newsroom, an uneasy working climate and professionally unfit managers. The most satisfied with their working conditions were senior male journalists working for a national daily or a commercial television channel while the least satisfied were the youngest journalists in general as well as journalists with regional dailies and, as mentioned already, those with the public television channel.

⁴ 1 euro = 250 florint; 110,000 florint = 440 euros

⁵ The average Hungarian earned 110,000 florint in 2006 (<http://hrportal.hu/index.phtml?page=article&id=58449> (last accessed, 28/08/2007))

When asked to elaborate on their professional vulnerability, 40% of respondents in 2000 named their relationship with the owner of their respective media outlets as a key problem area. In this respect, the employees of the public service television channels whose owners were actually the political elites were in the most troublesome situation. Twenty-nine percent felt unprotected when in conflict with their superiors. Fifteen percent said that they were never allowed to determine the issues they were to cover and another 35% said that they were more or less free to do so. In our 2007 research about determining issues to cover 30% of both staff and freelance journalists said it was the employer who decided.

Regarding professional autonomy, 56% of respondents in 2000 said that they could not ignore the business interests of the owner of their respective media outlets, and 42% mentioned the interests of advertisers as taboo issues. Twenty-one percent believed that, "...newsroom decisions were biased in favor of the incumbent government" and another 13% mentioned bias in favor of other political parties. Journalists with regional dailies, with monthly magazines and with commercial radio stations were more likely to refer to pressure by owners and advertisers while those with the commercial television channels and the public service radio station (Magyar Rádió) mentioned pressure by the government and the various political parties.

The research done in 2000 revealed that as many as 49% of journalists had experienced attempts to withdraw completed articles or programs under political pressure (in 1997 only 38% had). These attempts were the most successful with the regional dailies and the public service broadcasters where two-thirds of such attempts were not rejected by the editorial boards. Forty-nine percent had faced pressure by business groups to withdraw completed programs or articles (in 1997 44% had); 70% of those attempts were reported to have succeeded. Forty-four percent of media outlets had actually been threatened because of the planned airing or publication of programs or articles, and 29% of journalists interviewed had faced such threats.⁶

Before the political transformation in 1989–90, journalism education was the monopoly of the state socialist regime. Today, universities and colleges graduate hundreds of media and communications students every year, many of whom seek employment as journalists. Theoretically, anyone can be a journalist or launch a new publication (1986. II. Act on the Press, amended in 1990 and 1996, paragraphs 7, 8, 12). After the fall of state socialism, new publications mushroomed, and only the funds of consumers and advertisers limited the further expansion of the market. The supply then was diverse, but shortly thereafter many of the new publications disappeared. On the whole, women's magazines are the most popular as 40.5% of all print media sold belong to this category (Szakács 2007). New publications continue to appear, and old publications continue to disappear every year.

⁶ However, physical violence against journalists is very rare. An exception to this rule may have been the recent attack on investigative journalist Irén Kármán in June, 2007. This case, however, is largely contradictory, and it is too early to say as yet if the attack was related to her work. (see also <http://www.budapestsun.com/cikk.php?id=26743> and http://www.budapesttimes.hu/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=116&Itemid=1, last accessed, 28/08/2007)

Investigative journalism is sporadic. Indeed, analysts tend to describe the Hungarian version of the genre as “dossier-journalism” or “clan-journalism”:

Whenever any journalist obtains a secret or confidential document from any authority—regardless of who leaked the papers and what kind of intentions lay behind the act of leaking information—both the representatives of the profession and the public start to say that this was a journalistic investigation. It is harmful for all the actors involved and for democracy overall, because investigative journalism—based on the Anglo-Saxon methodology and practice—should contain the journalist’s original work and investigation instead of relying on somebody else’s work (even if the source is an authority that has been established to reveal corruption or abuse of power) (Gálik 2004).

Or, as László Majtényi, newsroom ombudsman for *Népszabadság*, the high circulation nationwide quality daily said in an interview: “What makes the Hungarian media move is laziness. If someone touches the telephone, that is already regarded as an act of serious investigative journalism.”⁷ One may add, even when an investigative article is published, consequences are an exception, not the rule.

The reason for the lack of investigative journalism in the Anglo-Saxon sense of the term lies with the lack of financial resources. Few if any media outlets can afford to cover the costs and wages of a journalist or team of journalists working several weeks or months on a single issue. In order to make up for this shortcoming, newspapers and broadcasters tend to publicize unverified, one-sided information (Sükösd 2000). Political parties and other invisible power centers use the media as a special communication channel. When one intends to harm another, they mail compromising information to the press and media which will likely publicize it. One wonders if this is journalism at all, or something completely different. The poor professional performance of the Hungarian press and media is no doubt a reason for the low social prestige of the industry: on a scale of 100 for perfect trust, journalists got 43 points, politicians got 13 and medical doctors got 87.⁸

III. Legislation Regulating Labor Relations in the Media

Labor relations in general are regulated by the Labor Code which quite recently has seen two major changes. One was the abolition of ad hoc employment contracts; now media outlets have to employ their journalists as typically hired staff. Previously, the contracts were fictitious: in order to have journalists pay their own taxes, employers concluded ad hoc assignment contracts with them rather than long-term, individual work contracts. As of June 30, 2006,⁹ the tax authority (Hungarian Tax and Financial Control Administration) considered

⁷ Bitá, Dániel: I am not aggrieved, László Majtényi about liberalism and democracy (Nem vagyok kárvallott, Majtényi László liberalizmusról és demokráciáról), 168 óra, 2007.07.02., nr 26.

⁸ <http://www.gfk.hu/sajtokoz/fr6.htm> (last accessed: 28/08/2007)

⁹ Sham employment contract, http://www.magyarorszag.hu/english/keyevents/a_alpolg/a_munka/a_munszerz20050805/a_szinleltmunkasz20061215.html?highlight (last accessed, 14/08/2007)

ad hoc contracts a form of tax evasion and may oblige both the employer and the employee to pay the tax arrears.

The other modification was the introduction of the SPBUS,¹⁰ a simplified taxation method applicable to journalists, editors and others in creative professions. SPBUS was introduced by Act CXX of 2005 and states:

...who, in connection with any activity in the tax year—from an employment relationship, under the title of entrepreneur's withdrawal as a private entrepreneur, under the title of the valuable remuneration for personal cooperation as a member of a partnership, or on the basis of entrepreneurial contract or contract of commission as a private individual not constituting a private entrepreneur under the force of the personal income tax law—obtains revenue the fulfillment of the public burden obligations on which takes place according to the general regulations.¹¹

The employee pays 15% (11% personal income tax and 4% pension contribution unless the employee is a pensioner) of the base of the revenue for SPBUS which is deductible if the private individual pays value-added tax. The employer pays 20% (11% health insurance and 9% pension insurance) for SPBUS on the SPBUS base which is the gross salary itself.

The length of the working day is regulated by the Labor Code XXII of 1992 (paragraph 117/B). It is legally 8 hours per day and 40 hours per week. The Code stipulates that people can work more if they have to be “on the alert” meaning that the employee needs to be on call during a certain period of time which, however, cannot exceed 168 hours a month.

Journalists can be employed either as regular staff members or as freelancers. In the former case, the journalists have individual work contracts under which they dedicate their time to their employers, i.e., the media outlets. The working hours and locations are determined by the employer, and the income is fixed. The employee must be available on the premises of the media outlet. In the latter case, there is a commission contract for each program or article; the employee determines when and where to work and the remuneration covers their expenses and service fees, but is usually not fixed. The employee does not necessarily need to be available on the premises of the media outlet.

IV. The Implementation of the Legislation in Practice

For this current research project, surprisingly few freelance journalists (9) responded possibly because of the legal ban on ad hoc employment contracts. Our research showed that typically hired employees usually worked for one media outlet only while freelancers worked for at least two. The overwhelming majority of both types worked more than 40 hours per week. Most of the freelancers who responded worked for private, nationwide media outlets. As for regular staff, nearly half of the respondents worked for private nationwide companies.

¹⁰ Simplified public burden undertaking support, http://www.magyarorszag.hu/english/keyevents/a_alpolg/a_adoilletekvam/a_szja20050804/a_ekho20070207.html?highlight (last accessed, 10/08/2007)

¹¹ Ibid. paragraph 2 (last accessed, 14/08/2007)

The main problems mentioned in the questionnaires and the interviews were the following.

For freelancers:

- “The commission did not even cover my expenses;”
- insecurity;
- not an officially announced (i.e., unrecognized by the tax authority) job;
- the commission is not pegged to the inflation rate;
- delays in payment;
- vulnerability;
- “There is no permanent contract; the possibility of dismissal is like Damocles’ sword;”
- “as a freelancer, I must accept every single kind of job, or else I cannot make a living;”
- “the SPBUS tax payment method maintains vulnerability as some employers pay the social insurance on the basis of the minimum salary¹² as a result of which suffering an accident, being ill or becoming a pensioner implies a serious income drop;”
- “...forced enterprise, (self) censorship, political and economical influence.”

For typically hired staff members:

- working hours regularly exceeding 40 hours per week;
- the lack of a working association to help journalists;
- the lack of ethical standards for the profession.

Typically hired staff with public service broadcasters also mentioned the following problems:

- shortcomings of the 1996 Broadcasting Act;¹³
- arbitrary decisions by the National Radio and Television Board (Országos Rádió és Televízió Testület);¹⁴
- the structure of the media landscape;
- the lack of modernization;
- financial problems with the institution;
- low wages;
- dependence on the owner (i.e., the state);
- dismissals policy;¹⁵
- “quantitative coerce due to lack of staff”
- the company is like a hospice, only those who cannot establish a career stay;
- colleagues aren’t motivated by interesting cases;
- journalists don’t speak foreign languages; it is common throughout the profession;
- “There will not be a need for independent journalists soon. We are walking towards a de facto dual parliamentary system; the press is moving in parallel realities.” (In Hungary all quality dailies are thought to be loyal servants of a party.)

¹² As of January 1, 2007, the minimum wage has been HUF 65,500 HUF (262 EUR) by statutory order 316/2005 (XII. 25) http://www.afeh.hu/print/adoinfo/jarulek/minimalber_valtozas.html (last accessed: 28/08/2007)

¹³ i.e. the definition of “public”, it is not clear what programs public broadcasters have to produce and broadcast, the commercial channels can easily ignore the statements of the law because of long legal procedures. To change the Broadcasting Act, two-thirds of Parliament must agree. There have been many debates but no changes.

¹⁴ When cases are similar, the Board does not necessarily reach the same decision.

¹⁵ Since the rise of commercial television in 1997, i.e., the loss of MTV’s monopoly, the public service broadcaster has undergone major financial difficulties.

Typically Hired Workers

There were slightly more male than female respondents; their average age was 38. They had been working for one or more media outlets for 11 years on average. The majority (86%) worked at the premises of their respective media outlets. Eight percent said that they did not have any contracts at all as they were trainees. When they finished training they expected to be contracted, provided that both parties agreed. Those with contracts were employed for an undetermined period of time. Half of them said that the contract provided them with protection from unjustified sanctions and dismissal; the rest said it did not or that they did not know if it did. One respondent added that the contract “does not make any sense.” Only 8% had stipulations in their contracts regarding a conscience clause; one respondent added, “disagreement is not recommended.”

Concerning violations of rights, the majority said that their salaries were paid regularly; only four reported that sometimes their salaries were not transferred. Regarding violations of working terms and conditions, 18% recalled such incidents happening on a regular basis and 11% said such events occurred sometimes; most importantly, the majority had not had any such experiences. Although 86% had to work more than the 40 hours stipulated by the Labor Code of 1992, just 38% felt it was a violation of their rights. In 43% of all such cases, working the extra hours was their own decision while the rest were assigned to do so. Twenty-seven percent of the respondents said that the employer had violated their right to rest time. The answers to the question regarding violations of annual professional holidays revealed that 14% of the respondents had encountered that problem. Nearly one-third of the respondents had had job-related activities imposed on them that were not stipulated in their individual work contracts although more than the half of them said that occurred infrequently. Two respondents mentioned gender discrimination. Of those two, one added. “...just positive (discrimination) as during the clashes,¹⁶ only male editors were assigned to report from the streets.” The other respondent complained about ambiguous remarks on the premises of her media outlet.

Thirty-eight percent of respondents were satisfied with their salaries, but the rest were not (see also the data provided by Vásárhelyi above). One respondent added that in comparison with Western Europe, the salaries were too low. Two-thirds of the respondents answered the question about how their salaries compared to the average in Hungary, more than the half of them did say that their salaries were either higher than the average or equal, and one third said that theirs was below the average.

Half of the respondents received some kind of welfare benefit, and 11% were members of some kind of trade union. One of them said that membership would not protect her against unjustified sanctions although journalists would win in the court against the employer if supported by the trade union. Many of those who said that they were not members of any kind of journalists' association added that the trade union would not protect them anyway.

Fifty-four percent had experienced financial sanctions by their employers. Forty-two percent had been officially reprimanded on the premises and 62% had witnessed dismissal as a

¹⁶ In September and October, 2006, a series of anti-government street demonstrations was held on the streets of Budapest. Some of them turned violent; several demonstrators and policemen were wounded.

punishment for an error. One journalist working for a public service broadcaster said that she had suffered “frequent verbal reprimands” at her workplace.

Seventy percent of regular staff journalists said that they themselves determined the subjects that they covered. Twenty-seven percent declared that they definitely felt their copyrights were protected; 22% felt that “as a rule, yes”; 13% could not answer this question and the rest (38%) did not feel secure as to their copyrights. Nineteen percent felt their authors’ rights were completely unprotected.

Their most frequently mentioned problems included the following:

- inadequate information from management;
- emphasis on sensationalism;
- low salaries (especially in comparison with Western European salaries);
- the lack of career opportunities;
- unqualified or unfit fellow workers;
- professional jealousy;
- problems with readers’ reading habits and capabilities;
- corruption in finances and hiring;
- pressure by political parties and business groups;
- the division of media coverage among political parties;
- the premises of the employer is not well equipped
- “They do not provide fine working conditions; extra hours are not paid;”
- “Journalists are not sole entrepreneurs by their own decisions but because of coercion;”
- “The employer pays less for the job, the payment is not by results which is unusual as this would be normal, the media outlet depends on payments from the local government and on money won on tender;”
- “ There is no chance for a rise in salary;”
- “There are no serious problems.”

Atypically Hired Workers

As mentioned before, there were quite a few (nine) respondents who considered themselves as atypically hired worker. Their average age was 30, and they had been working for their respective media outlets for 7 years on average. There were slightly more female than male respondents among them. They worked for more than two media outlets; one person worked for more than six (print and online media). Most of them worked for private, nationwide companies and at home. Just one third said it was their employer who decided where they were to work. A little more than half had a contract, and it was for an undetermined period of time. Only one of them said it meant protection from unjustified sanctions and dismissal; another respondent said, “I presume it does.” Our respondents typically held ad hoc commission contracts. To all questions regarding the violation of the workers’ rights (payment of salary, working conditions, length of the working day, rest time, annual professional holiday), our respondents replied that violations occurred every now and then. One respondent had experienced an “inappropriate tone” at her workplace. One respondent had a clause regarding conscience in his contract.

Regarding working hours, more than half said that they worked more than 40 hours per week, 22% worked exactly 40 hours per week, and the rest of them worked less than the normal

quota. Freelancers as a rule were free to decide when to work. More than the half were satisfied with their salaries while the rest were not stating that their salaries were lower than the national average. The overwhelming majority (two thirds) did not receive fringe benefits.

The majority of respondents did not know about any kinds of sanctions by their employers; 55% mentioned financial sanctions, and one third mentioned dismissals. None of them could give any examples of a reimbursement for damages caused to the media outlet either because it had never happened or because they were unaware of it. In most cases, they said that it was up to them to decide what to cover. The majority (55%) did not feel that their copyrights were protected; just one respondent said it was.

Their main problems included the following:

- lack of teamwork;
- lack of human and financial resources and information from the company;
- “newsworthiness subordinated to a favor for someone;”
- lack of democratic decision making in the newsroom.

V. Censorship and Self-censorship as an Effect of Labor Relations

Of the respondents who were regular staff members at media outlets, 65% mentioned that their superiors censored their work while 86% of freelance journalists had had similar experiences, although two thirds of them only occasionally. The research done in 2000 by Vásárhelyi found that politicians and businesses were trying to influence the press, sometimes successfully. This was even more frequent in regional media outlets where due to the small market and the “everybody knows everybody” attitude and social networking, there were many favors exchanged and the press was also involved. One of our respondents said, that at his media outlet, “There is no censorship, but I know the expectations.”

Self-censorship is also common, sometimes because they know what they have to produce or because they would like to save time and not have to rewrite the article. Some simply will not work on a story because it harms various interests (owner, advertiser, mayor). Table 3 presents trends in journalists’ perceptions of press freedom in the country.

Table 3: Press Freedom in Hungary in 1992, 1997 and 2006

	1992 (%)	1997 (%)	2006 (%)
Total press freedom	45	27	38
Partial press freedom	51	69	58
There is no press freedom	4	4	4
Total	100	100	100

Source: Press release of the research of Mária Vásárhelyi in 2006

Miklós Sükösd conducted informal personal interviews with freelancers who had not published investigative material for fear that their employers either would not have protected them if they were sued or would not have hired a good lawyer for them. Once again, there is a demand for investigative journalism, yet the material is rarely published partly because of

the threats journalists and their employers encounter every now and then and partly because of a lack of financial resources.¹⁷

VI. Journalists' Trade Unions: Existence and Effectiveness

There is only one trade union for journalists in Hungary, namely the Press Union (Sajtószakszervezet). It has some 3000 members and was founded under state socialism. However, as mentioned already, only one of our respondents was a member—an indication of the association's low prestige in the community. "The trade union is inefficient, one does better if one consults a lawyer independently in case of any kind of problem," one respondent said. Furthermore, our respondents suggested that, even if they were members of such organizations, those would likely not protect them in the event their rights were infringed.

In addition, a major journalists' association was founded before the transition called Hungarian Journalists National Association (Magyar Újságírók Országos Szövetsége or MÚOSZ) which defines itself as, "an independent organization of cultural and advocacy issues related to professional journalism."¹⁸ The association has an estimated 5,000 members. The main goal of MÚOSZ is to protect the interests of member journalists in case of any kind of offense, but one respondent complained about MÚOSZ:

There is no place, any kind of workshop for journalists, and they cannot be proud of their profession. The journalists' society has fallen apart, they have become redundant and there is nowhere to belong. Journalists have lost their authenticity. They missed a good opportunity after the political transition.¹⁹

Apart from MÚOSZ, there are half a dozen other associations which indicates the divisions in the journalism community. Only two respondents (freelancers) said that they were members of a journalists' association, but one of them could not answer the question as to whether the association would protect him from any kind of unjustified sanction imposed by his employer; the other respondent said it definitely could not.

VII. Conclusions and Recommendations

Despite the recent abolition of ad hoc contracts, many employed journalists still work on the basis of commissions that do not provide them with benefits nor with any protection from violations of their rights or from pressure from interest groups. More intense control by the Hungarian Tax and Financial Control Administration could possibly diminish the number of these contracts.

Additional recommendations include the following.

¹⁷ There was a publication titled *Manager Magazin* that frequently published investigative articles revealing corruption cases. The former editor in chief and the former deputy editor in chief are both recognized journalists. They are both former employees because the whole staff of the editorial room quit when the publisher wanted to reduce the number of the employees because the magazine was operating at a loss.

¹⁸ See <http://www.muosz.hu/english.php> (last accessed: 28/08/2007)

¹⁹ There were a few cases mentioned. See Juhász, Gábor (2005): Print media. In: Hungarian media history from late Kádár-era until the millenium pg. 113-132.

- Abolish the influence of lobbies (political and financial, local government, advertisers, owners)
- Provide better education at universities focusing on practical knowledge so trainees do not enter the labor market without any experience.
- The trade union should function like a workshop and offer an intellectual background for the journalists' society; it should represent the interests of the journalists' society.
- Abolish coercion, give all journalists contracts with stipulations respecting their rights and providing security for them.

All these changes could return integrity to the profession of journalism and to media consumers also.

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