



## MTVA DETAILED ANALYSIS

2025-11-18\_48-perc

Programme: MTVA-Sendung (M1/Kossuth Rádió) | 2025-11-18 | Analysed: 2026-05-24 21:34  
Version 3.0-detail | Universal 3.0-detail | Konverter 3.4 (2026-05-20) | Mércé: Mttv. §83

### TOTAL SCORE

**7.9/10**

*Serious deviation from the balance requirement. High degree of deviation*

0 = balanced, 10 = strongly biased/manipulative

## POLITICAL SPECTRUM

Classification based on the Chapel Hill Expert Survey (CHES) 2024

The Chapel Hill Expert Survey (CHES) classifies parties on a left-right scale based on a survey of 609 political scientists (0 = far left, 10 = far right). We apply the Pew Research Center (2025) thresholds: <4.5 = Left, 4.5–5.5 = Centre, >5.5 = Right. This enables an objective classification of perceived party-political bias.

Party	DK	MSZP	Momentum	LMP	KDNP	Fidesz	Mi Hazánk
CHES	1.69	2.31	3.15	3.46	6.92	7.77	9.31
Spectrum	Left	Left	Left	Left	Right	Right	Right

The overall tendency is displayed on a 0–10 scale (0 = strongly left-leaning, 5 = balanced, 10 = strongly right-leaning). The calculation is based on the difference between the average advantage of left-wing and right-wing parties (grouped according to CHES 2024).

### TENDENCY (L – R)

**5.8 / 10**

**Balanced**

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

← Left

Right →

Source: Chapel Hill Expert Survey 2024 — [chesdata.eu](https://chesdata.eu) | [Jolly et al., Electoral Studies, 2022](#) | Thresholds: [Pew Research Center](#)

This section provides political context and is not included in the total score.



## POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

**Government:** Fidesz-KDNP has governed without interruption since 2010, currently holding a two-thirds parliamentary majority (135 seats out of 199). Prime Minister Orbán Viktor leads the cabinet.

**Opposition:** TISZA (Tisztelet és Szabadság Párt, led by Magyar Péter) received 29.6% in the 2024 EP elections, making it the strongest opposition force. Other parliamentary opposition parties include: DK, Momentum, Jobbik, LMP, MSZP, and the far-right Mi Hazánk (6 seats).

Party	CHES left-right	Seats (2022)	Government/Opposition	Key position
MSZP	3,00	(United Opposition)	Opposition	Social democratic, left-wing
MKKP	3,50	0 (extra-parliamentary)	Opposition	Satirical-libertarian
LMP	3,79	(United Opposition)	Opposition	Green-progressive
Momentum	4,17	(United Opposition)	Opposition	Centre-left, pro-EU
DK	4,28	(United Opposition)	Opposition	Centre-left, strongly pro-EU
TISZA	6,17	— (2024 newcomer)	Opposition (strongest)	Centre-right, anti-corruption
Jobbik	6,47	(United Opposition)	Opposition	Centre-right (moderated)
Fidesz-KDNP	8,61	135	Government (2/3)	Far right, authoritarian-nationalist
Mi Hazánk	9,29	6	Opposition	Far right, irredentist

The country's most important political fault line ahead of the 2026 parliamentary elections is the competition between the Orbán government and TISZA, defined by the war/peace narrative, the relationship with the EU, and anti-corruption discourse. Fidesz-KDNP applies the "peace vs. war" frame, projecting all domestic political issues onto a single axis. TISZA's ideological unclassifiability — Magyar Péter deliberately avoids left-right self-definition — is an independent source of tension. Access to EU funds, rule-of-law proceedings, and migration policy are also defining areas of conflict.

MTVA (M1, M2, M4, M5, Duna) operates as a de facto government media outlet; the KESMA foundation (approx. 500 media companies since 2018) has consolidated the pro-government press. The NMHH Media Council has been staffed exclusively by members close to Fidesz since 2010, leading to structural non-enforcement of formally correct legislation. Hungary ranks 85th on the RSF Press Freedom Index — the worst ranking in the EU.



## CHAPTER 1 — PARTY-POLITICAL BIAS

### Representation of parties' programme positions in the broadcast

Party	Score (-5..+5)	Representation in broadcast vs. programme position
Fidesz-KDNP	+3	03:49 "Orbán Viktor sits, and who is very firmly on the side of peace" — Programme position: sovereignism, peace narrative, EU veto policy — correct, but exclusively in a positive frame, without criticism
TISZA	-4	27:19 "they are a left-wing party" / 48:14 "the mask falls, they are a left-wing party, with a left-wing programme" — Programme position: TISZA deliberately avoids left-right self-definition, centre-right CHES classification (6.17) — actively distorted, repeatedly false classification
DK	0	Does not appear in the broadcast.
Momentum	0	Does not appear in the broadcast.
Jobbik	0	Does not appear in the broadcast.
Mi Hazánk	0	Does not appear in the broadcast.
LMP	0	Does not appear in the broadcast.
MSZP	-2	27:02 "post-communists", 36:32 "candidates in Baranya with MSZP ties" — Programme position: social democratic renewal, not a communist party — pejorative, historically misleading association

### Party bias summary

- Most accurate representation: Fidesz-KDNP (+3) — the party's own narrative is reflected almost verbatim, though without critical context
- Strongest distortion: TISZA (-4) — the party's deliberate ideological openness and centre-right CHES classification is consistently and repeatedly overridden by the broadcast as "left-wing"
- Average deviation from 0: 1.6
- Conclusion: The broadcast uncritically conveys Fidesz-KDNP's programme positions, while consistently and factually incorrectly framing TISZA as a "left-wing party" — this is not a difference of opinion, but a claim contrary to CHES data and the party's own programme. Labelling MSZP as "post-communist" also distorts its actual programme position.

### Left-right overall tendency

TENDENCY SCORE: -4.2

CLASSIFICATION: Strongly right-leaning

Justification: The broadcast's entire thematic frame, choice of guests, line of questioning, and conclusions clearly reinforce the Fidesz-KDNP government's narrative. The only opposition party (TISZA) that receives substantive coverage appears exclusively in a negative context, while the governing party's positions are presented without criticism, indeed with reinforcement. On the left-right scale, the broadcast conveys almost exclusively the position of Fidesz-KDNP, which has a CHES score of 8.61.



## CHAPTER 2 — BROADCAST DATA AND TOPIC FRAMES

### Broadcast data

- Title: 48 perc (M1, MTVA)
- Date: Inferable from context: late November 2024 (launch of TISZA's candidate nomination process, the Győr rally referenced as a weekend event)
- Estimated length: approx. 48 minutes (consists of two parts, interrupted by a news bulletin)
- Host/Reporter: Törőcsik Zsolt
- Invited guests:

Person	Function	Party/Affiliation	Political spectrum
Szabó Zsófi	Actress, TV host (Mokka), DPK ambassador	Fidesz-aligned, DPK (Digitális Polgári Körök)	Right-wing
Mráz Ágoston Samuel	Head of the Nézőpont Intézet	Fidesz-aligned think tank	Right-wing
Pindrok Tamás	Senior analyst at the Alapjogokért Központ	Fidesz-aligned think tank	Right-wing
Nagy Attila Tibor	Political analyst	Independent (partly critical of TISZA as well)	Centre-right

### Main topic

The broadcast consists of two parts: the first part evaluates the "anti-war rally" in Győr and the Fidesz peace narrative in a positive frame, while the second part analyses TISZA's candidate nomination process exclusively from a critical-negative perspective.



## CHAPTER 3 — 15 CRITERIA: DETAILED ANALYSIS

### Hard facts — countable and scientifically verifiable

### Hard facts — 9 measurable and scientifically verifiable techniques

#### 1. EXPERT SELECTION

9/10

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Total score: 9/10

Definition: Who speaks as an expert?

#### 1st expert: Mráz Ágoston Sámuel — Head of the Nézőpont Intézet

Timestamp: 05:43

Statement: "In Europe, they talk more about war and peace than here in Hungary."

Classification: The Nézőpont Intézet is a think tank closely aligned with Fidesz-KDNP government communications; it regularly publishes opinion polls and analyses supporting the government narrative.

Missing counter-opinion: An independent political scientist (e.g. from the Political Science Institute or ELTE) or a foreign analyst who would have factually presented the European public's stance on the war.

Source in-depth analysis:

**(a) FUNDING:** The Nézőpont Intézet's funding is not public; the institute regularly receives state and government-aligned commissions. Structural conflict of interest: the institute's revenues are partly dependent on government commissions, which structurally impedes the publication of analyses contrary to the government narrative.

**(b) MANDATE:** The institute's mandate is "opinion polling and political analysis" — this would formally be compatible with neutral assessment, but the published materials consistently reinforce the government's position.

D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — Government-aligned funding, structural dependency

D2 Personal risk: -1 — The institute's position depends on alignment with the government narrative

D3 Professional competence: +1 — Political science qualifications, but the analytical field is narrowly pro-government

D4 Opinion consistency: -1 — The institute consistently reinforces the government's position, which depends not on facts but on the client

D5 Emotional vs. data-based: 0 — Partly data-based, partly narrative

D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary source

**TOTAL: -3 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW**

**(c) PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE:** The broadcast presents Mráz as a "political scientist" and "analyst" without disclosing the institute's government-aligned funding background — this creates a false impression of neutral expert status. → Technique 2 (source selection)

#### 2nd expert: Pindrok Tamás — Senior analyst at the Alapjogokért Központ

Timestamp: 25:01

Statement: "I think the voters have been given a clear picture at TISZA, because I think it has become clear to everyone that they are a left-wing party."



Classification: The Alapjogokért Központ is a legal-political think tank closely aligned with Fidesz-KDNP government communications; it regularly appears on pro-government media platforms.

Source in-depth analysis:

**(a) FUNDING:** The Alapjogokért Központ is funded partly from state sources and through government-aligned foundations. Structural conflict of interest: the institute is one of the main communicators of the government's legal-political narrative.

**(b) MANDATE:** "Rights protection and constitutional analysis" — the mandate is formally neutral, but the published materials consistently reinforce the government's position.

D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — Government-aligned funding

D2 Personal risk: -1 — Institutional position depends on the government narrative

D3 Professional competence: +1 — Legal qualifications, but in the field of political analysis

D4 Opinion consistency: -2 — Consistently pro-government position

D5 Emotional vs. data-based: -1 — Strongly narrative, little data

D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary source

**TOTAL: -5 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: RED**

**(c) PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE:** The broadcast presents Pindrok as a "senior analyst" without disclosing the institute's funding background. → Technique 2

### 3rd expert: Szabó Zsófi — actress, TV host, DPK ambassador

Timestamp: 00:31

Statement: "one of the hosts of the rally, the DPK ambassador"

Classification: Szabó Zsófi is not a political analyst or expert, but the ambassador of the Fidesz-aligned Digitális Polgári Körök (DPK) and one of the organisers of the Győr rally — i.e. one of the active participants in the event under examination.

Source in-depth analysis:

**(a) FUNDING:** DPK — Fidesz-aligned civil organisation

**(b) MANDATE:** Not an analytical but an activist mandate

D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — Organiser of the event under examination

D2 Personal risk: +1 — Publicly declared position, with career risk

D3 Professional competence: -2 — No political science or security policy qualifications

D4 Opinion consistency: -1 — Recently became publicly politically active

D5 Emotional vs. data-based: -2 — Exclusively emotional-narrative

D6 Source level: -2 — Primary opinion, not analysis

**TOTAL: -8 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: RED**

**(c) PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE:** The broadcast treats her as a "guest" as if she represented an analytical perspective, whereas she is one of the organisers and active participants of the event. → Technique 2

*Missing expert groups:*

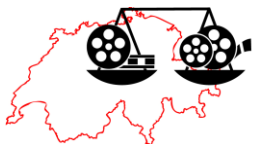
- Independent political scientist (e.g. ELTE, CEU)
- Ukrainian or NATO security policy expert
- Independent electoral lawyer to assess TISZA's candidate nomination procedure

*Summary (matrix result):*

- Mráz Ágoston Sámuel: YELLOW (-3) — government-aligned, but partly data-based
- Pindrok Tamás: RED (-5) — strongly government-aligned, narrative
- Szabó Zsófi: RED (-8) — not an expert, organiser of the event

### Source credibility overview:

Source	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	Total	Signal
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**Schweizerischer Verein** für ausgewogene Berichterstattung  
**Association suisse** pour une information équilibrée  
**Associazione svizzera** per un reporting equilibrato

expert: Mráz Ágoston Sámuel — Head of the Nézőpont Intézet	-2	-1	+1	-1	0	0	-3	<b>YELLOW</b>
expert: Pindrok Tamás — Senior analyst at the Alapjogokért Központ	-2	-1	+1	-2	-1	0	-5	<b>RED</b>
expert: Szabó Zsófi — actress, TV host, DPK ambassador	-2	+1	-2	-1	-2	-2	-8	<b>RED</b>



2. SOURCE SELECTION									9/10
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Claims without a primary source = penalty points (rumour check)

Total score: 9/10

Definition: What sources are cited? Are they varied and independent?

### 1st source: Nézőpont Intézet (Mráz Ágoston Sámuel)

Timestamp: 05:43 — Statement: "In Europe, they talk more about war and peace than here in Hungary."

- (a) **Funding:** Partly state and government-aligned commissions; non-public funding
- (b) **Structural conflict of interest:** The institute's revenues are partly dependent on government commissions
- (c) **Missing counter-source:** Independent pollster (e.g. Medián, Závecz Research) or European comparative data

Missing counter-source: Eurobarometer data on the European public's stance on the war

### 2nd source: Alapjogokért Központ (Pindrok Tamás)

Timestamp: 25:01 — Statement: "they are a left-wing party"

- (a) **Funding:** Partly state and government-aligned foundation funding
- (b) **Structural conflict of interest:** The institute is a communicator of the government's legal-political narrative
- (c) **Missing counter-source:** TISZA's own programme document, assessment by an independent political scientist

### 3rd source: Mandiner (reference)

Timestamp: 29:13 — Statement: "the Mandiner discovered one or two candidates there in Baranya"

- (a) **Funding:** KESMA foundation — government-aligned media conglomerate
- (b) **Structural conflict of interest:** Mandiner is a medium that consistently reinforces the Fidesz-KDNP narrative
- (c) **Missing counter-source:** Independent medium (e.g. Telex.hu, 444.hu) on the same topic

Rumour check (penalty points):

#### 1st rumour:

Timestamp: 44:01

Claim: "it is evidently a person caught from Brussels, who would give up the country's sovereignty"

Verbal marker: "evidently" (implicit, unsubstantiated claim)

Primary source: none — penalty point (+1)

#### 2nd rumour:

Timestamp: 41:41

Claim: "Magyar Péter is being held by Brussels"

Verbal marker: metaphorical, but framed as a factual claim

Primary source: none — penalty point (+1)

Summary: The broadcast relies exclusively on government-aligned or Fidesz-funded sources; not a single independent, opposition, or foreign source appears. Two unsubstantiated claims are made without a primary source.



3. TIME ALLOCATION								8/10	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Total score: 8/10

Definition: Distribution of speaking time between different viewpoints.

Estimated speaking time:

- Szabó Zsófi (Fidesz-aligned activist): approx. 12 minutes (25%)
- Mráz Ágoston Sámuel (Fidesz-aligned analyst): approx. 8 minutes (17%)
- Pindrok Tamás (Fidesz-aligned analyst): approx. 10 minutes (21%)
- Nagy Attila Tibor (partly critical analyst): approx. 8 minutes (17%)
- Törőcsik Zsolt (host): approx. 10 minutes (21%)

Summary: Throughout the entire broadcast, not a single opposition, Ukrainian, NATO-allied, or independent voice is given airtime. Fidesz-aligned guests account for approximately 63% of total speaking time; the partly critical Nagy Attila Tibor does not represent an opposition viewpoint either, merely disagreeing with the Fidesz-aligned analysts on certain specific points.



#### 4. SELECTIVE OMISSION

9/10

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Total score: 9/10

Definition: What is not presented, even though it would be relevant?

#### 1st omission:

Context: The perspective of Ukrainian victims of the Russo-Ukrainian war and Ukrainian sovereignty

Relevant timestamp: 00:08–00:24 (presentation of the anti-war rally)

Effect: The concept of "peace" appears exclusively within the Hungarian government's narrative frame; the complete absence of the Ukrainian perspective implies that peace is equivalent to the Fidesz-KDNP position.

#### 2nd omission:

Context: The funding background and government-aligned ties of the Nézőpont Intézet and the Alapjogokért Központ

Relevant timestamp: 05:43, 25:01

Effect: Viewers perceive the guests as "independent analysts", whereas they represent structurally government-aligned institutions.

#### 3rd omission:

Context: Presentation of TISZA's own programme and candidate nomination process from its own sources

Relevant timestamp: 24:33–48:25 (the entire second part)

Effect: TISZA is interpreted exclusively by its opponents; the party's own position is never heard, which further deepens the unbalanced picture.

Summary: The omissions are systematic and consistent: every perspective that would nuance or question the government narrative is absent. This is not a random editorial decision, but structural one-sidedness.

#### Missing voices

- Ukrainian diplomatic source or Ukrainian civil: Would have shown what "peace" means for the victims of aggression
- Independent Hungarian security policy researcher (outside NKE): Would have nuanced the assessment of "war danger" with factual analysis
- TISZA candidate or party leader: Could have presented the party's programme and candidate nomination process in their own words
- Media funding expert: Could have contextualised the institutional background of the Nézőpont Intézet and the Alapjogokért Központ
- Electoral lawyer: Could have provided a neutral legal assessment of TISZA's candidate nomination procedure
- Pollster (independent): Could have provided a data-supported picture of voter preferences
- NATO analyst or foreign policy expert: Could have provided a European security context
- Opposition politician (any party): Could have responded to the political message of the Győr rally



5. NUMBER MANIPULATION									5/10
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Complete figures include: absolute value, ratio (%) and trend

Total score: 5/10

Definition: Selective or misleading use of statistics.

### 1st finding:

Timestamp: 00:08

Figure: "thousands stood together"

Dimensions: (a) absolute number — given (vaguely); (b) ratio — not given; (c) trend — not given

Missing context: No independent verification of participant numbers; no comparison with attendance at other political events; no data on what proportion of Hungarian voters the participants represent

Effect: The "thousands" figure implies the strength of the movement without any basis for comparison.

### 2nd finding:

Timestamp: 19:14

Figure: "more than one million people have died in Ukraine, even by conservative estimates"

Dimensions: (a) absolute number — given; (b) ratio — not given; (c) trend — not given

Missing context: The number of civilian casualties documented by the UN and OHCHR up to November 2024 is approximately 12,000 confirmed civilian deaths; estimates of military casualties range between 100,000 and 300,000 on both sides. The source of the "one million" figure is not named and does not correspond to any known estimate.

Effect: The figure dramatises the war but is not factually substantiated; it is stated without a source.

### 3rd finding:

Timestamp: 20:12

Figure: "In Germany, the AfD is slowly reaching 30%"

Dimensions: (a) absolute number — given; (b) ratio — given; (c) trend — not given

Missing context: The AfD's federal-level polling result in September 2024 was approximately 18–20%; the 30% figure may refer to certain state-level results, but this is not specified. Without context, the figure overestimates the AfD's strength.

Effect: The overestimation of the AfD's strength reinforces the narrative of "patriotic forces growing stronger".

Summary: Three numerical claims are made in the broadcast, each of which appears with incomplete dimensions, without a source, or in a factually questionable form; all three reinforce the government narrative.



## 6. GUILT BY ASSOCIATION

8/10

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Total score: 8/10

Definition: Discrediting through association with negative groups/ideas.

### 1st association:

Timestamp: 26:47

Quote: "these post-communists have evidently already surrounded Magyar Péter with an expert team"

Technique: Labels TISZA and its advisers as "post-communists", thereby attaching the negative connotations of the communist dictatorship to the current opposition party.

Effect: Identifies TISZA with the communist past, even though the party was founded in 2024 and nothing of the sort appears in its programme.

### 2nd association:

Timestamp: 44:01

Quote: "it is evidently a person caught from Brussels, who would give up the country's sovereignty"

Technique: Frames Magyar Péter as an actor under foreign control, opposed to sovereignty — without substantiation.

Effect: Portrays TISZA as serving foreign interests, reinforcing the "traitor to the homeland" narrative.

### 3rd association:

Timestamp: 06:10

Quote: "whether that resource should be sent to Ukraine or not"

Technique: Juxtaposes support for Ukraine with tax exemptions for Hungarian mothers — implicit association: whoever is pro-Ukraine is against Hungarian mothers.

Effect: Frames support for Ukraine as contrary to Hungarian interests, employing moral blackmail.

Association chain: TISZA → post-communists → Gyurcsány → Brussels → loss of sovereignty → war

Summary: The broadcast consistently applies the guilt by association technique against TISZA: the party's candidates and advisers are associated with the communist past, foreign control, and pro-war sentiment, without factually substantiating these claims.



7. TIMING							7/10		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Total score: 7/10

Definition: Strategic placement of information (beginning/middle/end).

### 1st finding:

Position: 00:08 (beginning)

Content: "where thousands stood together for peace and against Europe being dragged into war"

Timing effect: The broadcast's opening sentences frame the Győr rally as a positive, mass event — this sets the interpretive frame for the entire broadcast before any critical perspective can be heard.

### 2nd finding:

Position: 23:01 (end of first part)

Content: "I say yes, more than 3 million people in Hungary certainly agree with this statement"

Timing effect: The closing sentence of the first part implies "3 million" voters behind the Fidesz narrative — this figure is unsubstantiated, but as the conclusion of the first part it leaves a particularly strong impression.

### 3rd finding:

Position: 48:14 (end)

Content: "the mask falls, they are a left-wing party, with a left-wing programme, and left-wing people, left-wing experts, candidates"

Timing effect: The broadcast's closing sentence is the sharpest negative verdict on TISZA — this is the last impression the viewer takes away.

Summary: Both the beginning and the end of the broadcast conclude with unsubstantiated claims reinforcing the Fidesz narrative; the most serious accusations regarding TISZA are strategically placed at the end of the broadcast, where they have the greatest mnemonic impact.



8. SELECTIVE OUTRAGE							7/10		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Outrage = bias. Selective outrage reinforces the finding. Score = degree of outrage (0–5) + selectivity (0–5)

Total score: 7/10

*Definition: Outrage at certain positions, but not at similar ones.*

*Methodological principle: Before each assessment, the triggering event must be documented. A reaction can only be classified as selective if a similar triggering event at another position did not produce an analogous reaction.*

### 1st finding:

Timestamp: 31:21

Triggering event: Magyar Péter announced that candidate nominees may not speak to the media until the end of November

Reaction: "This is nonsense, sorry, nonsense, because the essence of politics is communication. [...] This is absurd, this is completely anti-political behaviour, such a thing does not exist"

Comparison: Orbán Viktor regularly refuses interviews to numerous media outlets (e.g. ATV, RTL, 444.hu) — this is not mentioned in the broadcast and does not provoke similar outrage.

Asymmetry: Confirmed — in the case of the same type of media-avoidance behaviour, outrage appears exclusively towards TISZA.

Degree of outrage: 4/5

Selectivity: 4/5

### 2nd finding:

Timestamp: 40:43

Triggering event: Magyar Péter predicted a snap election in January, which did not materialise

Reaction: "Magyar Péter already announced in January that he had all his MPs, because there would be a snap election in April. In April he said it would be in September..."

Comparison: Several Fidesz-KDNP announcements (e.g. the super-hospital, to which Nagy Attila Tibor refers at 39:02) also failed to materialise — this does not provoke similar outrage in the broadcast.

Asymmetry: Confirmed — criticism of unfulfilled promises appears exclusively towards TISZA.

Degree of outrage: 3/5

Selectivity: 4/5

Summary: In the broadcast, outrage appears exclusively towards TISZA and Magyar Péter; the same type of behaviour (media avoidance, unfulfilled promises) by Fidesz-KDNP does not provoke an analogous reaction.



## 9. SELECTIVE OMISSION — OVERALL PICTURE

9/10

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Total score: 9/10

Definition: How complete is the broadcast's thematic coverage?

### 1st finding:

Timestamp: 00:08–24:07 (first part)

Missing perspective/fact: The Ukrainian perspective, the position of NATO allies, analysis of the overlap between the "peace narrative" and Russian propaganda

Relevance: A basic requirement of any balanced broadcast on the war is the presentation of the perspectives of the parties involved

Effect: The concept of "peace" appears exclusively in the Fidesz-KDNP interpretation; the question of Ukrainian sovereignty is never raised.

### 2nd finding:

Timestamp: 24:33–48:25 (second part)

Missing perspective/fact: Presentation of TISZA's candidate nomination process from its own sources; the candidates' own self-presentation

Relevance: Balanced reporting under Mttv. §83 requires that the affected party's own position also be heard

Effect: TISZA is interpreted exclusively by its opponents; the party's own narrative never appears.

### 3rd finding:

Timestamp: 05:43

Missing perspective/fact: Disclosure of the funding background of the Nézőpont Intézet and the Alapjogokért Központ

Relevance: For viewers to make an informed judgement, they need to know what institutional background the "experts" have

Effect: The government-aligned analysts appear as "independent experts", which undermines viewers' ability to form an informed opinion.

Summary: The broadcast's thematic coverage is systematically incomplete: every perspective that would nuance the government narrative is consistently omitted. This is not an editorial coincidence, but structural one-sidedness.

End of hard facts — Beginning of soft facts

### Soft facts — interpretation-dependent, not merely countable

Ahead of the 2026 Hungarian parliamentary elections, Fidesz-KDNP is applying the "peace vs. war" narrative as its main campaign message, using it to legitimise the Hungarian government's position on the Russo-Ukrainian war (pro-ceasefire, EU-critical) before the domestic public. TISZA, as the strongest opposition force, is launching its candidate nomination process, which the pro-government media space consistently frames negatively. The strengthening of European right-wing parties (AfD, RN) and the increase in defence spending by NATO member states also provide defining context. The appropriation of the concept of "peace" for political purposes — while the question of Ukrainian sovereignty recedes into the background — is one of the broadcast's fundamental framing strategies.

### Relevant perspectives for a balanced broadcast



- \* Ukrainian position: what does "peace" mean for the victims of Russian aggression?
- \* NATO allies' position: why do they consider support for Ukraine necessary?
- \* Views of independent Hungarian security policy experts on war risks
- \* The actual content of TISZA's programme — from its own sources, not in the interpretation of opponents
- \* Transparency of the funding background of the Nézőpont Intézet and the Alapjogokért Központ
- \* The organisational background of the Győr rally, independent verification of participant numbers
- \* The reaction of opposition parties to the Győr event
- \* Analysis of the "peace narrative" and its possible overlaps with Russian propaganda
- \* A positive assessment or neutral presentation of TISZA's candidate nomination process
- \* Voter research, public opinion data on the war question

### Examination: Did each perspective appear?

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[A] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: none — Assessment: The Ukrainian perspective is never heard; Ukraine appears exclusively as a financial burden and a source of corruption scandals.

[B] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: none — Assessment: The position of NATO allies is not given space; European public opinion appears only in the negative frame of "pro-war politicians".

[C] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: none — Assessment: No independent security policy expert appears; the assessment of "war danger" is heard exclusively from Fidesz-aligned sources.

[D] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: none — Assessment: Not a single TISZA source presents the party's programme; the party's position is interpreted exclusively by its opponents.

[E] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: none — Assessment: The broadcast does not disclose the funding background of the Nézőpont Intézet and the Alapjogokért Központ; they are presented as "analysts" and "political scientists".

[F] PARTIALLY ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 00:08 — Quote: "where thousands stood together for peace" — Assessment: The participant number is stated without independent verification; the organisational background is not mentioned.

[G] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: none — Assessment: Not a single opposition reaction to the Győr rally is heard.

[H] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: none — Assessment: Analysis of the "peace narrative" and its possible overlaps with Russian propaganda is entirely absent.

[I] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: none — Assessment: Not a single positive or neutral assessment of TISZA's candidate nomination process is heard; exclusively a critical-negative approach prevails.

[J] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: none — Assessment: Opinion poll data and voter preferences are not mentioned; the broadcast applies the concept of "majority" without substantiation.

### Completeness score: 1/10

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Justification: Of the ten relevant perspectives, only one appears partially (the participant number at the Győr rally), and even that without verification. The broadcast does not give voice to a single opposition, Ukrainian, NATO-allied, or independent expert. The thematic one-sidedness is systematic and consistent.



**Schweizerischer Verein** für ausgewogene Berichterstattung  
**Association suisse** pour une information équilibrée  
**Associazione svizzera** per un reporting equilibrato

*Proportion of viewpoints covered*

*Inverted: the original value measures coverage (higher = better). Displayed as deviation (higher = greater gaps).*



## Soft facts — 6 qualitative techniques

### 10. FRAMING

9/10

1

2

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8

9

10

Total score: 9/10

Definition: How is the topic fundamentally framed?

#### 1st finding:

Timestamp: 00:17

Quote: "There is a danger of war in Europe, so one must stand up and raise one's voice"

Manipulation: The danger of war is presented as a fact, not as a political assessment; the imperative "one must stand up" calls on the viewer to act in relation to a political event.

Why problematic: The public service broadcast conveys the Fidesz-KDNP campaign message as a fact, not as a political claim; this is contrary to the objectivity requirement under Mttv. §83.

#### 2nd finding:

Timestamp: 17:41

Quote: "whether Hungary will have a government that authorises Brussels to continue the war, or one that tries to organise the peace coalition"

Manipulation: Reduces the electoral decision to a "pro-war vs. pro-peace" dichotomy; voting for the opposition automatically equals "being pro-war".

Why problematic: This is a false dichotomy: none of the opposition parties openly advocates support for the continuation of the war; the framing morally burdens the voter's decision.

#### 3rd finding:

Timestamp: 48:14

Quote: "the mask falls, they are a left-wing party, with a left-wing programme, and left-wing people"

Manipulation: The "mask falls" metaphor implies that TISZA has been deceiving voters until now, and its "true" nature is only now being revealed.

Why problematic: TISZA's CHES classification is 6.17 (centre-right); the "left-wing" label is not factually substantiated, and the "mask falls" metaphor applies the dramaturgy of unmasking to a political characterisation.

Summary: The broadcast's fundamental framing is the "peace vs. war" dichotomy, within which Fidesz-KDNP stands on the side of peace and the opposition on the side of war — this frame runs throughout the entire broadcast and interprets every topic along this axis.



## 11. LANGUAGE AND CONCEPTS

8/10

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10

Total score: 8/10

Definition: What language is used? What connotations are created?

### 1st finding:

Timestamp: 26:47

Quote: "these post-communists"

Manipulation: The label "post-communist" attaches the negative connotations of the communist dictatorship to current opposition actors.

Why problematic: Neutral alternative: "persons who were active during previous left-wing governments"; "post-communist" is a political label, not a descriptive term.

### 2nd finding:

Timestamp: 29:57

Quote: "Well, it waddles like a duck. Well, it's a duck. So this is a left-wing party."

Manipulation: The animal metaphor (duck) ridicules TISZA; the verb "waddles" implies clumsiness and vulnerability.

Why problematic: Neutral alternative: "some characteristics of the party are reminiscent of left-wing parties"; the animal metaphor is mocking and belittling.

### 3rd finding:

Timestamp: 34:20

Quote: "zero-kilometre ones, completely outsider, political activists, because they've been sticking up posters until now"

Manipulation: The labels "zero-kilometre" and "poster-sticker" portray TISZA's candidates as inexperienced and unsuitable; the word "outsider" implies foreign, out-of-place persons.

Why problematic: Neutral alternative: "candidates without political experience"; "poster-sticker" is belittling and degrades the candidates' work.

Summary: The broadcast's language consistently applies negatively connotated terms towards TISZA and the opposition, while describing Fidesz-KDNP and Orbán Viktor with neutral or positive terms.



12. MODERATOR BEHAVIOUR							7/10		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Total score: 7/10

Definition: Asymmetries in follow-up questions, interruptions, expressions of sympathy.

Methodological principle: Before each assessment, the triggering event must be documented. An intervention can only be classified as asymmetric if a similar triggering event with another guest did not produce an analogous intervention.

### 1st finding:

Timestamp: 02:37

Triggering event: Szabó Zsófi formulates general thoughts about standing up and fear

Quote (host): "This kind of standing up, and the fact that more and more people are standing up like this, what is that enough for against those who are putting pressure on Hungary?"

Comparison: The host does not ask a similarly leading question about TISZA on a single occasion that would highlight the party's positive performance.

Asymmetry: Confirmed — the leading questions point exclusively in the direction of reinforcing the Fidesz narrative.

### 2nd finding:

Timestamp: 07:01

Triggering event: Mráz Ágoston Sámuel praises Fidesz-KDNP measures

Quote (host): "By the way, I think it's a great gain for the right side, Zsófi..."

Comparison: The host does not express similar sympathy towards an opposition position on a single occasion.

Asymmetry: Confirmed — the host openly identifies with the right-wing narrative.

### 3rd finding:

Timestamp: 38:11

Triggering event: Nagy Attila Tibor formulates criticism of Fidesz-KDNP governance (super-hospital)

Quote (host): [no direct interruption, but the topic is quickly closed]

Comparison: Criticisms of TISZA receive detailed elaboration; criticism of Fidesz-KDNP is quickly closed.

Asymmetry: Partly confirmed — criticism of Fidesz-KDNP does not receive the same amount of space.

Summary: The host consistently reinforces the Fidesz narrative with leading questions, openly identifies with the right-wing position, and closes criticisms of Fidesz-KDNP more quickly than those of TISZA.



### 13. QUESTION ASYMMETRY

8/10

1

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Total score: 8/10

Definition: Questions of different hardness/softness to different persons.

#### 1st asymmetry:

To Szabó Zsófi, 00:43: "Zsófi, a few months ago you stepped into this world from a completely different field. How do you see the cause you are standing up for and have stood up for growing stronger?" — soft, affirming

To TISZA (not given the floor): — no question

Comparison: The Fidesz-aligned guest receives an affirming, open question; TISZA is not given any opportunity to present its own position.

#### 2nd asymmetry:

To Mráz Ágoston Sámuel, 05:43: "Mráz Ágoston Sámuel, how does he see how much weight is being felt in Europe now?" — open, neutral

On TISZA's candidate nomination process (second part): "I think the voters have been given a clear picture at TISZA, because I think it has become clear to everyone that they are a left-wing party." — not a question, but a statement

Comparison: The Fidesz-aligned analyst receives an open question; in the part about TISZA, the host himself formulates a negative verdict.

#### 3rd asymmetry:

To Pindrok Tamás, 47:37: "Pindrok Tamás, how does he see what will decide things in the next five months?" — open, neutral

To TISZA (not given the floor): — no question

Comparison: The Fidesz-aligned analyst receives an open, future-oriented question; TISZA is not given any opportunity to respond.

Summary: Questions are consistently soft and affirming towards Fidesz-aligned guests, while TISZA is not given any opportunity to present its own position — this is the most extreme question asymmetry that can occur in a political broadcast.



<b>14. FALSE BALANCE</b>									<b>6/10</b>
<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	7	8	9	10

Total score: 6/10

Definition: Artificial appearance of balance despite actual inequality.

### 1st finding:

Timestamp: 28:42–48:25

Construct: Nagy Attila Tibor partly disagrees with Pindrok Tamás on certain specific points (e.g. the ideological unclassifiability of TISZA, the extent of the delay in candidate nomination), which gives the broadcast the appearance of "debate".

Analysis: Nagy Attila Tibor is not an opposition sympathiser and does not represent an opposition position; he shares Pindrok Tamás's position on the fundamental critical frame regarding TISZA. The debate on specific points creates the appearance of balance, while TISZA's own voice is never heard.

Summary: In the second part of the broadcast, the partial debate between the two Fidesz-aligned analysts creates a false impression of balance, whereas both guests assess TISZA within essentially the same critical frame; a genuine opposition voice is never heard.



<b>15. AGENDA SETTING</b>									<b>9/10</b>
<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>9</b>	10

Total score: 9/10

Definition: What counts as normal/self-evident? What does not make it onto the agenda?

### 1st finding:

Item placed on agenda: The Győr rally as an "anti-war" event — this is presented as self-evident, without the question of the organisers' political ties or the campaign nature of the event being raised.

Timestamp: 00:08 — Evidence: "where thousands stood together for peace and against Europe being dragged into war"

Alternative agenda: Examination of the campaign nature, organisational background, and political funding of the event

### 2nd finding:

Item placed on agenda: TISZA's "left-wing character" as an established fact — the party's ideological classification appears not as a question but as a given.

Timestamp: 27:19 — Evidence: "it has become clear to everyone, I think, that they are a left-wing party"

Alternative agenda: Presentation of TISZA's actual programme and CHES classification; presentation of the party's own ideological self-definition

### 3rd finding:

Item placed on agenda: Orbán Viktor as the only credible representative of peace in Europe — this appears as self-evident, without criticism.

Timestamp: 03:49 — Evidence: "Orbán Viktor sits, and who is very firmly on the side of peace"

Alternative agenda: Examination of the Orbán government's dependence on Russian gas, the Paks II investment, and compliance with NATO obligations in the context of the "peace" narrative

Summary: The broadcast's agenda entirely reflects Fidesz-KDNP's campaign messages: the "peace vs. war" dichotomy, TISZA's "left-wing character", and Orbán Viktor's role as "peace representative" all appear as self-evident facts that require no proof or critical examination.



## CHAPTER 4 — OVERALL ASSESSMENT

### Overview of individual scores

No.	Criterion	Type	Score	Main finding (1 sentence)
1	Expert selection	H	9	Exclusively Fidesz-aligned or Fidesz-activist guests appear; an independent expert is never heard.
2	Source selection	H	9	All sources are government-aligned; two unsubstantiated claims are made without a primary source.
3	Time allocation	H	8	Fidesz-aligned guests account for approximately 63% of total speaking time; an opposition voice is never heard.
4	Omission	H	9	The Ukrainian perspective, the position of NATO allies, and TISZA's own voice are systematically absent.
5	Number manipulation	H	5	Three numerical claims are made without a source or in a factually questionable form.
6	Guilt by association	H	8	TISZA is consistently associated with the communist past, foreign control, and pro-war sentiment.
7	Timing	H	7	Both the beginning and the end of the broadcast conclude with unsubstantiated claims reinforcing the Fidesz narrative.
8	Selective outrage	H	7	Outrage appears exclusively towards TISZA; identical Fidesz behaviour does not provoke a reaction.
9	Completeness	H	9	Of the ten relevant perspectives, only one appears partially; the gaps are systematic.
10	Framing	S	9	The "peace vs. war" dichotomy runs throughout the entire broadcast; voting for the opposition equals "being pro-war".
11	Language and concepts	S	8	Consistently negatively connotated terms towards TISZA; positive or neutral in the case of Fidesz-KDNP.
12	Moderator behaviour	S	7	The host openly identifies with the right-wing narrative; leading questions point exclusively in the Fidesz direction.
13	Question asymmetry	S	8	Soft, affirming questions for Fidesz-aligned guests; TISZA is not given any opportunity to respond.
14	False balance	S	6	The partial debate between the two Fidesz-aligned analysts creates a false impression of balance.
15	Agenda setting	S	9	The broadcast's agenda entirely reflects Fidesz-KDNP's campaign messages, without critical examination.

### Results

- HARD FACTS SCORE (average of criteria 1–9): 7.9 / 10
- SOFT FACTS SCORE (average of criteria 10–15): 7.8 / 10



- TOTAL SCORE (average of all 15 criteria): 7.9 / 10

## Dominant techniques

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The broadcast's three strongest techniques:

- 1. Agenda setting (score 9):** The broadcast treats Fidesz-KDNP's campaign messages — "peace vs. war", TISZA's "left-wing character", Orbán Viktor's role as "peace representative" — as self-evident facts that require no proof. This technique defines the interpretive frame of the entire broadcast and conditions the viewer to accept the government narrative as reality.
- 2. Expert selection and source selection (scores 9-9):** The broadcast gives voice exclusively to Fidesz-aligned or Fidesz-activist guests, presenting them as "analysts" and "political scientists" without disclosing their funding background. This technique lends scientific and expert legitimacy to the government narrative, while creating the appearance of genuine independence.
- 3. Framing (score 9):** The "peace vs. war" dichotomy runs throughout the entire broadcast; voting for the opposition automatically equals "being pro-war". This frame morally burdens the voter's decision and positions Fidesz-KDNP as the only "peace representative" — without any factual evidence to support this.

## The broadcast's core messages

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- 1. MESSAGE (CONTENT):** "Peace equals the policy of Orbán Viktor and Fidesz-KDNP; voting for the opposition will lead to Hungary being dragged into war."

Technique: Framing, agenda setting — Evidence: 00:17, 17:41, 03:49

- 2. MESSAGE (PERSONAL):** "TISZA is a left-wing, post-communist, Brussels-controlled party whose candidates are inexperienced and unsuitable."

Technique: Guilt by association, language, question asymmetry — Evidence: 26:47, 44:01, 48:14

- 3. MESSAGE (SOCIAL):** "Standing up for right-wing values is a matter of courage; the community behind Fidesz-KDNP is strong, silent, and growing."

Technique: Framing, moderator behaviour — Evidence: 10:28, 23:01, 07:01

## Manipulation level classification

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Justification: The broadcast's total score is 7.9/10, which is on the boundary between "systematic one-sidedness" and "extreme one-sidedness". From the perspective of the balance requirement under Mttv. §83, the broadcast is seriously deficient: not a single opposition, Ukrainian, NATO-allied, or independent expert voice is heard; TISZA is interpreted exclusively by its opponents; Fidesz-KDNP's campaign messages are presented as facts. The manipulation techniques — framing, guilt by association, agenda setting, selective omission — operate systematically and consistently, which is not an editorial coincidence but structural one-sidedness.

## SUMMARY

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The November 2024 episode of 48 perc seriously and systematically violates the balance requirement under Mttv. §83. The broadcast functions de facto as campaign material: the first part presents the Győr "anti-war rally" without criticism, in a positive frame, while the second part analyses TISZA's candidate nomination process exclusively from a negative perspective — without giving voice to a single opposition figure. All guests represent Fidesz-aligned institutions or are Fidesz activists; they are presented as "analysts" and "political scientists" without disclosing their funding background. The "peace vs. war" framing, the factually unsubstantiated "left-wing" characterisation of TISZA, and the complete absence of the Ukrainian perspective together produce a broadcast that does not inform but influences the viewer — this is a direct violation of Mttv. §83 (1).



## OVERALL ASSESSMENT OF THE 15 CRITERIA

### Individual scores — All 15 criteria

No.	Criterion	Score	Classification
1	EXPERT SELECTION	9/10	Systematic imbalance
2	SOURCE SELECTION	9/10	Systematic imbalance
3	TIME ALLOCATION	8/10	Pronounced imbalance
4	SELECTIVE OMISSION	9/10	Systematic imbalance
5	NUMBER MANIPULATION	5/10	Significant imbalance
6	GUILT BY ASSOCIATION	8/10	Pronounced imbalance
7	TIMING	7/10	Pronounced imbalance
8	SELECTIVE OUTRAGE	7/10	Pronounced imbalance
9	SELECTIVE OMISSION — OVERALL PICTURE	9/10	Systematic imbalance
10	FRAMING	9/10	Systematic imbalance
11	LANGUAGE AND CONCEPTS	8/10	Pronounced imbalance
12	MODERATOR BEHAVIOUR	7/10	Pronounced imbalance
13	QUESTION ASYMMETRY	8/10	Pronounced imbalance
14	FALSE BALANCE	6/10	Significant imbalance
15	AGENDA SETTING	9/10	Systematic imbalance

#### HARD FACTS SCORE (1-8)

**9.0/10**

*Fundamental systemic one-sidedness. Very high degree of bias*

#### SOFT FACTS SCORE (9-14)

**7.8/10**

*Serious deviation from the balance requirement. High degree of deviation*

#### TOTAL SCORE

**8.4/10**

*Fundamental systemic one-sidedness. Very high degree of bias*

*Average of hard facts and soft facts*



## LEGEND — Meaning of scores

### Individual scores per criterion (0–10)

<b>0</b>	<b>No finding</b>	No relevant anomaly detectable.
<b>1–2</b>	<b>Weak finding</b>	Minor anomaly without significant impact on balance.
<b>3–4</b>	<b>Mild-moderate finding</b>	Recognisable tendency; low-moderate impact relevance.
<b>5</b>	<b>Moderate finding with impact</b>	Relevant imbalance that influences the audience's opinion-forming potential.
<b>6</b>	<b>Significant finding (threshold)</b>	Scores of 6 or higher qualify as "significant findings".
<b>7</b>	<b>Significant finding</b>	Clear, well-documented imbalance with obvious impact relevance.
<b>8–9</b>	<b>Serious finding</b>	Pronounced imbalance; multiple individual findings documented for this criterion.
<b>10</b>	<b>Maximum severity</b>	Systematic and pervasive imbalance for this criterion.

### Overall deviation index — Interpretation ranges

<b>0.0 – 2.5</b>	<b>Undetectable</b>	No significant patterns detectable; the broadcast meets the balance requirement.
<b>2.6 – 4.0</b>	<b>Mild imbalance</b>	Isolated anomalies; statistically visible, but still within the tolerance range.
<b>4.1 – 6.0</b>	<b>Significant imbalance</b>	Multiple significant findings; relevant impairment of viewpoint diversity.
<b>6.1 – 8.0</b>	<b>Serious deviation from the balance requirement. High degree of deviation</b>	Pronounced, cross-broadcast patterns; high impact relevance.
<b>8.1 – 10</b>	<b>Fundamental systemic one-sidedness. Very high degree of bias</b>	Maximum severity in almost every criterion; systematically one-sided reporting.

### Party-political bias (from –5 to +5)

<b>–5 to –3</b>	<b>Strongly disadvantaged</b>	The party is significantly underrepresented in framing, speaking time, or presentation.
<b>–2 to –1</b>	<b>Mildly disadvantaged</b>	Recognisable but mild disadvantage.
<b>0</b>	<b>Neutral</b>	No preferential treatment or disadvantage detectable.
<b>+1 to +2</b>	<b>Mildly advantaged</b>	Recognisable but mild preferential treatment.
<b>+3 to +5</b>	<b>Strongly advantaged</b>	The party is significantly overrepresented in framing, speaking time, or presentation.



## CHAPTER 5 — LEGAL ASSESSMENT (Mttv. §83)

### Assessment under Mttv. §83

Mttv. §83 requires that news and information programmes provide current, objective, and balanced information, and reflect diversity of opinion.

#### 1st violation:

Norm: Mttv. §83 (1) — balance and diversity of opinion

Facts: Throughout the entire duration of the broadcast, not a single opposition, Ukrainian, NATO-allied, or independent expert voice is heard; TISZA's own position is never stated.

Evidence: Timestamp 00:08–48:25 — the entire broadcast; in particular: 24:33–48:25 (second part), where TISZA is assessed exclusively by Fidesz-aligned analysts.

Assessment: Mttv. §83 (1) requires that the public service broadcast reflect diversity of opinion. The broadcast systematically violates this requirement: the voices of one side of the political spectrum are entirely absent.

#### 2nd violation:

Norm: Mttv. §83 (1) — objectivity

Facts: TISZA is characterised as a "left-wing party", "post-communist", and "Brussels-controlled" with factually unsubstantiated claims; these claims are made without proof.

Evidence: Timestamp 27:19 — "it has become clear to everyone, I think, that they are a left-wing party"; 26:47 — "these post-communists"; 44:01 — "it is evidently a person caught from Brussels"

Assessment: The objectivity requirement demands that factual claims be based on evidence. The above claims are contrary to TISZA's CHES classification (6.17, centre-right) and the party's own programme; they are made without a source and function as political labels.

#### 3rd violation:

Norm: Mttv. §83 (1) — currency and completeness obligation

Facts: During the presentation of the Győr rally, the Ukrainian perspective, the position of NATO allies, and a critical analysis of the "peace narrative" are entirely absent; the assessment of "war danger" is heard exclusively from Fidesz-aligned sources.

Evidence: Timestamp 00:08–24:07 — the entire first part; in particular: 00:17 — "There is a danger of war in Europe" (presented as a fact, not as a political assessment)

Assessment: The currency and completeness obligation requires that the public service broadcast present the perspectives of the parties involved. The complete absence of the Ukrainian perspective and the position of NATO allies reduces the concept of "peace" exclusively to the Fidesz-KDNP interpretation.

#### 4th violation:

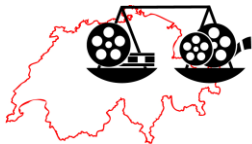
Norm: Mttv. §83 (2) — transparency of experts and sources

Facts: Representatives of the Nézőpont Intézet and the Alapjogokért Központ are presented as "analysts" and "political scientists" without their government-aligned funding background being disclosed.

Evidence: Timestamp 00:35 — "Mráz Ágoston Sámuel, head of the Nézőpont Intézet"; 25:01 — "Pindrok Tamás, senior analyst at the Alapjogokért Központ"

Assessment: Viewers' right to information requires that the broadcast disclose the institutional background and any potential conflicts of interest of the source. Concealing the funding background creates a false impression of neutrality.

### Overall assessment under Mttv. §83



The examined episode of 48 perc violates Mttv. §83 (1) and (2) on the basis of four separate sets of facts. The violations are not incidental but systematic: the entire structure of the broadcast — choice of guests, line of questioning, framing, language, timing — conveys Fidesz-KDNP's campaign messages, while opposition parties, especially TISZA, are never given the opportunity to speak in their own voice. The public service broadcast's statutory obligation is to reflect diversity of opinion and provide objective information — the examined episode does not fulfil this obligation. In the event of a complaint submitted to the NMHH Media Council, the above four sets of facts independently and collectively substantiate a finding of violation of Mttv. §83.

## **SOURCE IN-DEPTH ANALYSIS (Mandatory for every cited specialist institution / NGO / advisory body)**

### **1. Nézőpont Intézet**

- 1. FUNDING:** Not public; regular state and government-aligned commissions; transparency of funding is insufficient.
- 2. MANDATE:** Opinion polling and political analysis — formally neutral, but the published materials consistently reinforce the government narrative.
- 3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** The institute's revenues are partly dependent on government commissions; the publication of analyses contrary to the government narrative is structurally impeded.
  - D1 Interessenkonflikt: -2
  - D2 Persönliches Risiko: -1
  - D3 Fachkompetenz: +1
  - D4 Meinungskonsistenz: -1
  - D5 Emotionalisierung vs. Daten: 0
  - D6 Quellenstufe: 0**TOTAL: -3 → QUELLENAMPEL: S**
- 5. COUNTER-OPINION:** Independent polling institutes (Medián, Závecz Research) regularly publish differing results; these do not appear in the broadcast.

### **2. Alapjogokért Központ**

- 1. FUNDING:** Partly state and government-aligned foundation funding; transparency of funding is insufficient.
- 2. MANDATE:** Rights protection and constitutional analysis — formally neutral, but the published materials consistently reinforce the government's legal-political narrative.
- 3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** The institute is one of the main communicators of the government's legal-political narrative; its institutional interest lies in reinforcing the government's position.
  - D1 Interessenkonflikt: -2
  - D2 Persönliches Risiko: -1
  - D3 Fachkompetenz: +1
  - D4 Meinungskonsistenz: -2
  - D5 Emotionalisierung vs. Daten: -1
  - D6 Quellenstufe: 0**TOTAL: -5 → QUELLENAMPEL: PIROS**
- 5. COUNTER-OPINION:** Independent lawyers and constitutional scholars (e.g. authors of the Fundamentum journal) regularly publish differing legal assessments; these do not appear in the broadcast.

### **3. Digitális Polgári Körök (DPK) — Szabó Zsófi as DPK ambassador**

- 1. FUNDING:** Fidesz-aligned civil organisation; funding comes partly from government-aligned sources.
- 2. MANDATE:** Political activism in support of Fidesz-KDNP values — not compatible with neutral expert assessment.
- 3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** The DPK ambassador is one of the organisers and active participants of the event under examination (Győr rally) — maximum conflict of interest.
  - D1 Interessenkonflikt: -2
  - D2 Persönliches Risiko: +1
  - D3 Fachkompetenz: -2
  - D4 Meinungskonsistenz: -1
  - D5 Emotionalisierung vs. Daten: -2
  - D6 Quellenstufe: -2**TOTAL: -8 → QUELLENAMPEL: PIROS**



**5. COUNTER-OPINION:** Independent civil organisations (e.g. Amnesty International Hungary, Helsinki Committee) would provide a different assessment of the political context of the Győr rally; these do not appear in the broadcast.

*IMPORTANT: The label "recognised" is not a professional qualification. It is a social attribution that must itself be examined — and on the basis of the above matrix analysis, the "recognised expert" qualification is factually unsubstantiated in the case of all three institutions.*

#### Source credibility overview:

Source	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	Total	Signal
Nézőpont Intézet	-2	-1	+1	-1	0	0	-3	S
Alapjogokért Központ	-2	-1	+1	-2	-1	0	-5	RED
Digitális Polgári Körök (DPK) — Szabó Zsófi as DPK ambassador	-2	+1	-2	-1	-2	-2	-8	RED

#### Legal and methodological classification

<b>Not a finding of fact</b>	The results presented do not constitute a finding of fact regarding individual persons, editorial offices, or broadcasts. They are the results of standardised operationalisation, not a determination of individual responsibility.
<b>Not a legal judgement</b>	The overall deviation index does not replace the legal assessment under Mttv. §83. The determination of whether a given broadcast violates statutory requirements is exclusively the task of the competent authorities (in particular the Media Council).
<b>Not evidence of causality</b>	Statistical correlations must not be interpreted as evidence of causal relationships or editorial intent. Deviation values may be influenced by topic selection, the news situation, political controversy, or format logic.
<b>Not an assessment of intent</b>	The analysis measures the observable structural characteristics of broadcasts. A score of 7 means that significant imbalance has been established — not that the editorial office did so intentionally. The methodology makes no statements about motives.
<b>Heuristic comparative tool</b>	The index serves for comparative pattern recognition across thousands of broadcasts, not for precise metric measurement of individual contributions. The threshold values serve as heuristic orientation, not as precise legal classification.



## ANNEX 1: NATIONAL LEGISLATION

### Legal basis Hungary — MTVA

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#### Laws

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- Act CLXXXV of 2010 on Media Services and Mass Communication (Mttv.)
- Act CIV of 2010 on the Freedom of the Press (Smtv.)
- Fundamental Law of Hungary (2011)

#### Relevant articles

##### Mttv. (Media Act 2010)

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- §83 (1): Public service obligation — current, objective, and balanced information in news and information programmes.
- §83 (2): Information must reflect diversity of opinion.
- §12: Protection of pluralism of opinion as a fundamental principle.
- §13: Prohibition of one-sided reporting in news programmes.

##### Smtv. (Press Freedom Act 2010)

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- §4: Freedom of the press and freedom of expression.
- §10: Separation of news and opinion.
- §13: Right of correction.

#### Fundamental Law

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- Article IX: Freedom of opinion and the press, media pluralism as a state obligation of protection.

#### European reference framework

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- ECHR Article 10: Right to freedom of expression (European Convention on Human Rights)
- EU Rule of Law Report: Annual assessment, documenting systematic media freedom deficiencies since 2018
- RSF Press Freedom Index: Reporters Without Borders, annual ranking
- EMFA (European Media Freedom Act, 2024): EU-level minimum standards for media freedom

#### Special case — Structural non-enforcement

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IMPORTANT: The Mttv. contains formally correct balance obligations. The criticism is not directed at the text of the law, but at the structural non-enforcement by the government-aligned NMHH. MTVA is a broadcaster under de facto state-aligned control.

#### Supervisory authority

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- NMHH (Nemzeti Média- és Hírközlési Hatóság): National media and communications authority. Structurally government-aligned in composition since 2010.

#### Complaint procedure

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1. NMHH (formally, but structurally not independent)
2. Kúria (Supreme Court, in theory)



## ANNEX 2: ACADEMIC REFERENCES

### Literature

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### SVFAB Working Papers

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- Schläpfer, D. (2026). Systematic AI-Assisted Analysis of Public Broadcaster Impartiality: A Scalable Methodological Framework for Measuring Structural Bias in Public Service Media. [SSRN 6688478](#)
- Schläpfer, D. (2026). Measuring Editorial Noise: A Retrospective Suppression Index for Public Broadcasting Content Analysis. [SSRN 6733280](#)
- Schläpfer, D. (2026). Source Traffic Light: A Six-Dimensional Credibility Framework for Systematic Source Assessment in Public Service Media. [SSRN 6733880](#)

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