



MTVA DETAILED ANALYSIS

2025-12-02_48-perc

Programme: MTVA-Sendung (M1/Kossuth Rádió) | 2025-12-02 | Analysed: 2026-05-24 21:27

Version 3.0-detail | Universal 3.0-detail | Konverter 3.4 (2026-05-20) | Mércé: Mttv. §83

TOTAL SCORE

8.2/10

Fundamental systemic one-sidedness. Very high degree of bias

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). Thresholds from the Pew Research Center (2025) are applied: <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 | [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

In Hungary, Fidesz-KDNP has governed without interruption since 2010, currently holding a two-thirds parliamentary majority (135 seats out of 199). The most significant opposition force since 2024 is TISZA (the Respect and Freedom party led by Magyar Péter), which received 29.6% in the 2024 EP elections. Other parliamentary opposition parties include: DK, Momentum, Jobbik, LMP, MSZP (who ran as the United Opposition in 2022), and Mi Hazánk (6 seats, far right). MKKP is an extra-parliamentary satirical-libertarian party.

Party	CHES left-right	Seats (2022)	Government/Opposition	Base position
MSZP	3,00	(Unit. Opp.)	Opposition	Social democratic, left
MKKP	3,50	0	Extra-parliamentary	Satirical-libertarian, left
LMP	3,79	(Unit. Opp.)	Opposition	Green-progressive, left
Momentum	4,17	(Unit. Opp.)	Opposition	Centre-left, pro-EU, urban
DK	4,28	(Unit. Opp.)	Opposition	Centre-left, strongly pro-EU
TISZA	6,17	— (new 2024)	Opposition (strongest)	Centre-right, anti-corruption, pro-EU
Jobbik	6,47	(Unit. Opp.)	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 most important political fault line runs between the Fidesz-KDNP government and the opposition — particularly TISZA — centred on access to EU funds, the rule of law, and corruption. As the 2026 parliamentary elections approach, TISZA's economic policy programme (the debate surrounding the so-called "austerity package") has become the sharpest point of contention. Migration policy, demographic issues, and the independence of the media system are also constant sources of conflict. In Fidesz's narrative, the opposition is a "servant of Brussels" and an advocate of austerity, while TISZA campaigns against government corruption and the media monopoly.

MTVA (M1, M2, M4, M5, Duna TV) operates as a public service media provider that functions de facto as a government mouthpiece: the NMHH Media Council has been staffed exclusively by individuals close to Fidesz since 2010, and the KESMA foundation (approximately 500 media companies since 2018) has consolidated the pro-government press. Independent media outlets (Telex.hu, 444.hu, RTL, ATV) operate in an increasingly restricted space. Hungary ranks worst among EU member states on the Reporters Without Borders press freedom index (85th place, 2024).



CHAPTER 1 — PARTY-POLITICAL BIAS

Party	Score (-5..+5)	Portrayal in the programme vs. party programme position
Fidesz-KDNP	+3	22:03 "Well, isn't it a shared success if we build a [...] Puskás Arena [...] Duna Arena" — Programme position: economic achievements, family policy, infrastructure — accurate, but one-sidedly positive, without criticism
TISZA	-5	23:50–58:12 entire second part: TISZA's programme is treated exclusively as an "austerity package", Magyar Péter's denial is presented as lacking credibility, not a single TISZA representative or expert is given a voice — Programme position: anti-corruption, EU-compliant economic policy, transparency — actively distorted, falsely portrayed
DK	0	Not featured in the programme
Momentum	0	Not featured in the programme
Jobbik	0	Not featured in the programme
Mi Hazánk	0	Not featured in the programme
LMP	0	Not featured in the programme
MSZP	0	Not featured in the programme

Party bias summary

- Most accurate portrayal: Fidesz-KDNP (+3) — the positive elements of the government's performance are presented, albeit without criticism
- Strongest distortion: TISZA (-5) — the party's programme is discussed exclusively within an adversarial narrative, without the involvement of a single TISZA source
- Average deviation from 0: 2.0
- Conclusion: The second part of the programme is built exclusively on a negative presentation of TISZA's economic plan, while the Fidesz-KDNP government's performance is celebrated without criticism in the first part. TISZA's programme positions (anti-corruption, EU-compliant reforms, transparency) are not presented at all; instead, the "austerity package" narrative is reinforced by three exclusively pro-government guests.

Left-right overall tendency

TENDENCY SCORE: -4.2

CLASSIFICATION: Strongly right-leaning

Justification: In both parts of the programme — both in the Áder János interview and in the analysis of the TISZA package — the Fidesz-KDNP government narrative prevails. The first part celebrates the former president of the republic (a Fidesz nominee) without criticism; the second part critiques the strongest opposition party's programme exclusively with pro-government experts. Not a single opposition voice, TISZA representative, or independent economist is given a platform.



CHAPTER 2 — PROGRAMME DATA AND TOPIC FRAMING

Programme data

- Title: 48 perc
- Date (from filename): not specified; based on internal references, December 2024 (Christmas period, post-EP election context, preparation for the 2026 elections)
- Estimated length: approx. 58 minutes (based on transcript)
- Host/Reporter: Töröcsik Zsolt
- Guests:

Person	Function	Party/Affiliation	Political spectrum
Áder János	Former President of the Republic (2012–2022)	Fidesz-KDNP	Far right / pro-government
Dezse Zelenka Dóra	Journalist, vlogger	Pro-government (self-declared Fidesz voter)	Right
Sebestyén Géza	Head of the MCC Economic Policy Workshop	MCC (Fidesz-affiliated institute)	Right / pro-government
Lentner Csaba	Professor of Economics, NKE	NKE (state institution, Fidesz-affiliated)	Right / pro-government

Main topic

The programme consists of two parts: in the first part, the ten-year tenure of former President of the Republic Áder János is celebrated in connection with a volume of interviews; in the second part, the TISZA party's alleged "austerity package" is criticised exclusively by pro-government guests.

Ideological context

Since TISZA's success in the 2024 EP elections (29.6%), one of the main elements of Fidesz-KDNP's communication has been framing the opposition's economic programme as "austerity". The authenticity of the document published by Index was disputed by Magyar Péter; the debate therefore primarily concerns the extent to which an internal working document can be considered the party's official programme. Demographic policy, the pension system, and healthcare reform are genuine public policy issues on which no professional consensus exists. The programme discusses these issues exclusively within the government's narrative framework.



CHAPTER 3 — 15 CRITERIA: DETAILED ANALYSIS

Hard facts — quantifiable and scientifically grounded

Hard facts — 9 measurable and scientifically verifiable techniques

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

Total score: 9/10

Definition: Who speaks as an expert?

Expert 1: Sebestyén Géza — Head of the MCC Economic Policy Workshop

Timestamp: 23:43

Statement: "I was at Index this morning, and I held all three bundles of documents in my hands, and if they had fallen on my foot, it would have hurt me too."

Classification: MCC (Mathias Corvinus Collegium) is a foundation endowed by the Fidesz-KDNP government in 2020 with assets worth 1.7 billion euros; its institutional mandate is the scientific legitimisation of the government's narrative.

Missing counter-opinion: Independent macroeconomist (e.g. KRTK, Budapest Corvinus University, CEU)

Source in-depth analysis:

(a) FUNDING: Hungarian state — transfer of assets worth 1.7 billion euros in 2020; structural conflict of interest with regard to criticising government policy

(b) MANDATE: The MCC's mandate is to strengthen "Christian-conservative values" — not compatible with neutral economic analysis

D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — The institutional funder is the government; criticising the package coincides with institutional interest

D2 Personal risk: -1 — Criticising the government would pose a career risk; the current position is risk-free

D3 Professional competence: +1 — An economics qualification is probable, but the specific field of expertise is not verified

D4 Opinion consistency: 0 — Previous statements cannot be verified from the transcript

D5 Emotional vs. data-based: -1 — "If they had fallen on my foot, it would have hurt me too" — anecdotal, not data-based

D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary (based on Index article)

TOTAL: -3 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW

(c) PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE: The programme frames him as a neutral expert under the title "head of an economic policy workshop", while the institution is structurally pro-government.

Expert 2: Lentner Csaba — Professor of Economics, NKE

Timestamp: 24:49

Statement: "This is a compilation report of what Simonomics András, Felcsuti Péter and other left-wing economists have been saying in recent times."

Classification: The National University of Public Service was re-established by the Fidesz-KDNP government in 2012; the institution specialises in training the public administration and military elite, with strong ties to the government.



Source in-depth analysis:

- (a) **FUNDING:** Hungarian state — NKE is entirely state-funded; structural conflict of interest
- (b) **MANDATE:** Public service training — not compatible with neutral criticism of government policy
- D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — State employee; criticising the government poses a career risk
 - D2 Personal risk: -2 — Risk of losing state position if critical
 - D3 Professional competence: +2 — Professor of economics, the field is relevant
 - D4 Opinion consistency: +1 — Consistent pro-government stance based on previous statements
 - D5 Emotional vs. data-based: -1 — "This is a completely insane idea" — evaluative, not data-based
 - D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary
- TOTAL: -2 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW**

(c) **PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE:** The programme frames him as a neutral expert under the title "professor of economics", while the institutional affiliation represents a structural bias.

Expert 3: Dezse Zelenka Dóra — journalist, vlogger

Timestamp: 24:38

Statement: "although it is not my doing, I am almost one of the biggest beneficiaries of this entire current government family support programme"

Classification: By her own admission, a beneficiary of the current government system; not an economist, not an expert — she shares personal experiences.

Source in-depth analysis:

- (a) **FUNDING:** Unknown; vlogger income, possibly media market ties
- (b) **MANDATE:** Has no professional mandate for economic policy analysis
- D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — By her own admission, a beneficiary of the current system; direct financial interest in maintaining the system
 - D2 Personal risk: -1 — Public appearance, but no institutional risk
 - D3 Professional competence: -2 — Not an economist; personal experience ≠ expert analysis
 - D4 Opinion consistency: 0 — Not verifiable
 - D5 Emotional vs. data-based: -2 — Exclusively personal narrative, zero data
 - D6 Source level: -2 — Tertiary (personal experience)
- TOTAL: -9 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: RED**

(c) **PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE:** The programme introduces her as "journalist, vlogger", but in practice treats her as a personal witness — while framing her presence as part of an expert debate.

Missing expert groups:

- Independent macroeconomist (KRTK, CEU, Corvinus)
- Health economist or hospital manager
- Demographer

Summary (matrix result):

- Sebestyén Géza: YELLOW (-3) — pro-government institution, anecdotal argumentation
- Lentner Csaba: YELLOW (-2) — state employee, evaluative language
- Dezse Zelenka Dóra: RED (-9) — not an expert, direct conflict of interest, zero data

Source credibility overview:

Source	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	Total	Signal
expert: Sebestyén Géza — Head of the MCC Economic Policy Workshop	-2	-1	+1	0	-1	0	-3	YELLOW



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expert: Lentner Csaba — NKE Professor of Economics	-2	-2	+2	+1	-1	0	-2	YELLOW
expert: Dezse Zelenka Dóra — journalist, vlogger	-2	-1	-2	0	-2	-2	-9	RED



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?

Source 1: Index.hu — the TISZA package document

Timestamp: 23:50

Statement: "The complete draft austerity package developed by the experts of the Tisza party was published yesterday by Index"

(a) Funding and owner: Index came under the control of pro-government owners in 2020 (investors linked to the circle of Mészáros Lőrinc); its editorial independence has been disputed ever since.

(b) Structural conflict of interest: The leaking and publication of the document reinforces the government's narrative; the programme does not examine the credibility of the source.

(c) Missing counter-source: TISZA's own statement, a detailed presentation of Magyar Péter's rebuttal, independent journalistic verification of the document's authenticity.

Rumour check (penalty points):

Rumour 1:

Timestamp: 24:16

Claim: "which would withdraw 1,300 billion forints from families, and 3,700 from businesses"

Verbal marker: "which [...] would withdraw" — conditional mood, the question of the document's authenticity remains open

Primary source: none — the authenticity of the document was disputed by Magyar Péter; the programme does not examine this → +1 penalty point

Rumour 2:

Timestamp: 33:56

Claim: "the Bokros package, and Gyurcsány's people had some kind of improving indicator anyway"

Verbal marker: "anyway" — rhetorical question, without data

Primary source: none — without specific statistical reference → +1 penalty point

Summary: The programme's sole source is the Index article of disputed credibility; TISZA's own position, independent analyses, and verification sources are entirely absent. Two rumour-level claims 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 among different viewpoints.

Estimated speaking time:

- Áder János (Fidesz-KDNP, part 1): approx. 18 minutes (31%)
- Dezse Zelenka Dóra (pro-government): approx. 8 minutes (14%)
- Lentner Csaba (pro-government): approx. 7 minutes (12%)
- Sebestyén Géza (pro-government): approx. 6 minutes (10%)
- Törőcsik Zsolt (host): approx. 19 minutes (33%)
- TISZA / opposition voice: 0 minutes (0%)

Summary: Not a single opposition or TISZA-affiliated voice is heard in the entire programme. 100% of speaking time goes to pro-government or government-aligned individuals; this represents a complete absence of the balance required under Mtv. §83.



4. SELECTIVE OMISSION

9/10

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Total score: 9/10

Definition: What is left out, even though it would be relevant?

Omission 1:

Context: The question of the authenticity of the TISZA programme document

Relevant timestamp: 23:50–24:31

Effect: Magyar Péter's denial is mentioned in a single sentence but not examined; the viewer is left with the impression that the document is authentic and an official TISZA programme, even though this is disputed.

Omission 2:

Context: The negative indicators of the current Fidesz-KDNP economic policy

Relevant timestamp: 27:54–39:52 (entire economic debate)

Effect: During the debate, Hungary's current budget deficit (approx. 6% of GDP), inflation, real wage decline, or the EU funds blockade are never mentioned — without these, the critique of the TISZA package lacks context.

Omission 3:

Context: A European comparison of progressive taxation

Relevant timestamp: 37:00–39:52

Effect: The programme implies that progressive taxation is inherently harmful and unusual, while the majority of EU member states operate progressive tax systems — this comparison is entirely absent.

Summary: The three most important omissions together result in the viewer receiving a distorted picture: TISZA's programme appears credible and dangerous, while the problems of the current government's economic policy and the European comparison remain invisible.

Missing voices

- TISZA spokesperson or representative: Would have presented the party's actual position on the authenticity and content of the document
- Independent macroeconomist (e.g. KRTK, CEU): Would have provided an objective analysis of the package's expected effects
- Healthcare expert/doctor: Would have presented the real problems of the current system and the need for reform
- Demographer: Would have provided a data-based picture of the real causes of the decline in birth rates
- Pension expert: Would have assessed the long-term consequences of the 2010 liquidation of the private pension fund system
- Business interest representation (VOSZ, MKIK): Would have conveyed genuine business opinion on the planned tax changes
- Social policy researcher: Would have presented the real effectiveness and shortcomings of the current family support system
- The author of the Index article: Would have presented the circumstances of obtaining the document and the verification of its authenticity



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

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

Total score: 7/10

Definition: Selective or misleading use of statistics.

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 24:21

Figure: "1,300 billion forints would be withdrawn from families, and 3,700 from businesses"

Dimensions: (a) absolute value — present; (b) ratio (% of GDP, per capita) — missing; (c) trend (comparison over time) — missing

Missing context: What is the current budget deficit? What is the current tax burden as a proportion of GDP? How does this compare to the EU average?

Effect: Large absolute figures appear alarming without context; the viewer cannot assess whether this is truly drastic.

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 35:06

Figure: "by 2010 [unemployment] was 12.4%"

Dimensions: (a) absolute value — present; (b) ratio (compared to EU average, context of the 2008 crisis) — missing; (c) trend — partially present, but framed only as a negative consequence of the Bokros package

Missing context: The impact of the 2008 global financial crisis, the EU average during the same period

Effect: The 12.4% unemployment rate is presented exclusively as a consequence of left-wing economic policy, while the role of the global crisis remains invisible.

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 35:50

Figure: "approximately 300,000 children who were not born from 1995"

Dimensions: (a) absolute value — present; (b) methodology (how was it calculated?) — missing; (c) comparison with other countries — missing

Missing context: The European trend in declining birth rates during the same period; the source and calculation methodology of the figure

Effect: The figure sounds like a scientific fact, but without a source and methodology it is unverifiable; the effect is the demonisation of the Bokros package.

Summary: The figures in the programme consistently appear as absolute values, without ratios or trends, serving exclusively to negatively frame the TISZA package and previous left-wing governments.



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.

Association 1:

Timestamp: 29:36

Quote: "This is a compilation report of what Simonomics András, Felcsuti Péter and other left-wing economists have been saying in recent times."

Technique: The authors of the TISZA package are identified as "left-wing economists" and then linked to the Bokros package and the Gyurcsány-Bajnai era — thereby tying TISZA to the negatively connoted tradition of left-wing economic policy.

Effect: TISZA (which scores 6.17 on the CHES scale, i.e. a centre-right party) is presented as left-wing, which is a deliberate distortion of its programme positions.

Association 2:

Timestamp: 31:29

Quote: "This was the case with Bokros Lajos, this was the case with the Gyurcsány Bajnai package, this is a recurring recipe"

Technique: The TISZA package is explicitly paralleled with the Bokros package (1995) and the Gyurcsány-Bajnai austerity measures (2006–2010) — both of which carry strongly negative connotations in public discourse.

Effect: TISZA's programme is automatically placed within the narrative of "austerity" and "left-wing economic failure", without examining the substantive differences.

Association 3:

Timestamp: 27:05

Quote: "not because I am a Fidesz member, or a Fidesz voter" (Dezse Zelenka Dóra)

Technique: The denial itself creates an association — in the viewer's mind, the Fidesz voter identity and the enjoyment of government benefits become linked.

Effect: The implicit message of the personal testimony is: someone who benefits from the current system is not necessarily a Fidesz voter — but the system is still good.

Summary: TISZA is consistently linked to the negatively connoted tradition of left-wing economic policy, while the party actually occupies a centre-right position. This is deliberate programme distortion through association.



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).

Finding 1:

Position: 00:09–23:46 (beginning of programme, first part)

Content: Celebration of former President of the Republic Áder János, positive presentation of the Fidesz-KDNP government's performance

Timing effect: The first third of the programme is filled exclusively with a positive Fidesz narrative; this sets the viewer's interpretive frame for the second part, in which TISZA is criticised. The positive image of Fidesz and the negative image of TISZA reinforce each other.

Finding 2:

Position: 23:50 (opening sentence of the second part)

Content: "The complete draft austerity package developed by the experts of the Tisza party was published yesterday by Index, so the document whose existence Magyar Péter denies can now be read in its entirety"

Timing effect: The first sentence of the second part immediately begins with the discrediting of TISZA (Magyar Péter "denies"), before any substantive analysis has begun — this creates prejudice.

Finding 3:

Position: 51:02–58:12 (end of programme)

Content: Humorous discussion of a dog and cat tax

Timing effect: The programme closes with the most trivial and easily ridiculed element of the TISZA package, which is the viewer's last impression — this frames the entire package as ridiculous.

Summary: The structure of the programme is deliberately constructed: positive image of Fidesz → discrediting of TISZA → ridiculing of the TISZA package. This three-phase timing maximises the manipulative effect.



8. SELECTIVE OUTRAGE

8/10

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

Total score: 8/10

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 other positions did not produce an analogous reaction.

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 50:29

Triggering event: The TISZA package's plans regarding children's healthcare

Reaction: "Well, I was quite outraged by it, just as I was by the whole package. You cannot measure our children's health in money"

Comparison: The problems of the current Hungarian healthcare system (waiting lists, doctor shortages, gratitude payments) — do not provoke outrage at any point between 0:00 and 58:12

Asymmetry: Confirmed — TISZA's planned measures provoke outrage, while the same or more serious problems of the current system do not

Degree of outrage: 4/5

Selectivity: 4/5

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 51:54

Triggering event: The TISZA package's proposed dog and cat tax

Reaction: "This is cruel. It would be a cruel thing if this were to happen." (Lentner Csaba)

Comparison: The special taxes introduced by the current government (bank levy, retail special tax, advertising tax) — never provoke similar outrage

Asymmetry: Confirmed — TISZA's planned taxes are "cruel", while the current special taxes are not mentioned

Degree of outrage: 3/5

Selectivity: 5/5

Summary: Outrage is directed exclusively at TISZA's planned measures; the same or more serious elements of current government policy do not provoke any critical reaction. This is clear selective outrage.



9. SELECTIVE OMISSION — OVERALL PICTURE

9/10

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Total score: 9/10

Definition: How complete is the presentation of the topic? Are relevant viewpoints, facts, or actors systematically omitted?

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 23:50–58:12

Missing viewpoint/fact: TISZA's own position on the document

Relevance: The programme discusses a document of disputed authenticity; giving the floor to the document's authors or the party's representatives is a basic journalistic requirement

Effect: The viewer receives a one-sided picture; the real content and intent of TISZA's programme remains invisible

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 27:54–39:52

Missing viewpoint/fact: The negative indicators of the current Fidesz-KDNP economic policy

Relevance: The critique of the TISZA package is only meaningful if the current situation is also presented as a basis for comparison

Effect: The viewer is left with the impression that the current economic situation is problem-free, and only the TISZA package would make it worse

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 40:01–50:15

Missing viewpoint/fact: The real state of the current Hungarian healthcare and pension system

Relevance: An objective presentation of the current system is indispensable for assessing the need for healthcare and pension reform

Effect: TISZA's reform plans appear unjustified and dangerous, while the problems of the current system (waiting lists, doctor shortages, real value of pensions) remain invisible

Summary: The programme systematically omits TISZA's position, criticism of current government policy, and the basis for comparison — this is not an accidental editorial decision, but deliberate one-sidedness.

End of hard facts — Beginning of soft facts

Soft facts — interpretation-dependent, not purely quantifiable

Proportion of viewpoints covered

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

- [A] Position of a TISZA representative or spokesperson on the authenticity and content of the document
- [B] Assessment by an independent economist of the package's macroeconomic effects
- [C] Criticism of the current Fidesz-KDNP economic policy (debt, inflation, real wages)
- [D] Comparison with the tax systems of other EU member states (European context of progressive taxation)



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- [E] An objective, data-based assessment of the Bokros package and the Gyurcsány-Bajnai period
- [F] Opinion of a demographic expert on the real causes of the decline in birth rates
- [G] Healthcare expert on the state of the current Hungarian healthcare system
- [H] Pension expert on the consequences of the 2010 liquidation of the private pension fund system
- [I] Journalistic verification of the source and authenticity of the document
- [J] The genuine opinion of affected citizens (young parents, pensioners, entrepreneurs)

[A] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: Not a single TISZA representative spoke; the party's position was presented exclusively by opponents.

[B] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: Every invited expert is affiliated with a pro-government institution; no independent economist appeared.

[C] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: The current government's economic policy (budget deficit, inflation, real wage decline) is not mentioned at all.

[D] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: A European comparison of progressive taxation is not presented; the programme implies that progressive taxation is inherently harmful.

[E] PARTIALLY ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 34:36–36:46 — Quote: "In the short term there was a balancing effect, a financial equilibrium-improving effect, but in the longer term there was not." — Assessment: One-sided, exclusively negative assessment, without data.

[F] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: The structural causes of the decline in birth rates (housing, labour market, standard of living) are not discussed.

[G] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: The real state of the current Hungarian healthcare system (waiting lists, doctor shortages, emigration) is not mentioned.

[H] PARTIALLY ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 42:10–43:08 — Quote: "This is a completely insane idea." — Assessment: The consequences of the 2010 liquidation of the private pension fund system are not examined objectively.

[I] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: Journalistic verification of the document's authenticity does not take place; the Index source is accepted without criticism.

[J] PARTIALLY ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 24:53–27:43 — Quote: Dezse Zelenka Dóra shares her own experiences — Assessment: Non-representative, one-sidedly positive personal narrative, not a genuine citizen opinion.

Completeness score: 2/10

Justification: Of the ten relevant viewpoints, only two appear partially, and even those are presented within a one-sided, pro-government frame. TISZA's position, independent expert opinion, and comparative European context are entirely absent. The programme makes no effort to present the topic from multiple angles.



Soft facts — 6 qualitative techniques

10. DEFINITION OF INTERPRETIVE FRAME

9/10

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Total score: 9/10

Definition: How does the programme fundamentally frame the topic?

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 23:50

Quote: "The complete draft austerity package developed by the experts of the Tisza party was published yesterday by Index"

Manipulation: The term "austerity package" is the sole interpretive frame from the very first sentence of the programme; the document is never referred to as a "reform plan", "economic policy programme", or "proposal"

Why it is problematic: The word "austerity" carries strongly negative connotations in Hungarian public discourse (Bokros package, Gyurcsány-Bajnai period); the frame predetermines the viewer's assessment

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 00:09–23:46

Quote: "Well, isn't it a shared success if we build a [...] Puskás Arena [...] Duna Arena [...] Várker Bazár"

Manipulation: The first part is built exclusively on a positive framing of the Fidesz-KDNP government's performance; the former president of the republic lists achievements without criticism

Why it is problematic: The positive Fidesz frame and the negative TISZA frame reinforce each other; for the viewer, the difference between the two parties is presented in a clearly evaluative frame

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 34:36

Quote: "This was the case with Bokros Lajos, this was the case with the Gyurcsány Bajnai package, this is a recurring recipe"

Manipulation: The interpretive frame of the TISZA package is the historical narrative of "left-wing austerity"; the party's centre-right position is disregarded

Why it is problematic: The frame deliberately distorts TISZA's political identity and programme

Summary: The programme applies two parallel frames: it frames Fidesz-KDNP's performance as a "shared success" and TISZA's programme as "austerity" — this is a fundamental violation of the balance requirement under Mttv. §83.



11. LANGUAGE AND TERMINOLOGY

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Total score: 8/10

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

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 23:50

Quote: "austerity package"

Manipulation: The exclusive and consistent use of the word "austerity" for TISZA's programme

Why it is problematic: Neutral alternatives: "tax reform proposal", "economic policy programme", "fiscal consolidation plan" — "austerity" is an evaluative, not a descriptive term

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 29:36

Quote: "left-wing economists"

Manipulation: The authors of the TISZA package are identified as "left-wing", while the party occupies a centre-right position

Why it is problematic: Neutral alternatives: "the developers of the package", "TISZA's economic advisers" — the "left-wing" label is a deliberate political classification

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 43:06

Quote: "This is a completely insane idea."

Manipulation: The restoration of the private pension fund system is characterised as an "insane idea"

Why it is problematic: Neutral alternatives: "a debatable approach", "a risky reform" — "insane" is an emotional, not an analytical characterisation, which precludes objective debate

Summary: The programme's language is consistently evaluative and one-sided: TISZA's programme is described using negatively connoted terms, while Fidesz-KDNP's performance is discussed in neutral or positive language.



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

Total score: 8/10

Definition: Asymmetries in follow-up questions, interruptions, and 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.

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 14:02–16:52

Triggering event: Áder János defends his signing of the "slave law" and other contested legislation

Quote (host): "Did you manage to ease the debates surrounding this" — then allows Áder to elaborate at length

Comparison: During the discussion of the TISZA package (23:50–58:12), the host does not ask a single critical follow-up question of the pro-government guests

Asymmetry: Confirmed — Áder János is given the opportunity to elaborate at length; the critics of the TISZA package also speak without follow-up questions; TISZA itself is not given a platform at all

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 24:53

Triggering event: Dezsé Zelenka Dóra begins listing government benefits

Quote (host): [does not interrupt, allows her to continue]

Comparison: The host does not leave a single element of the TISZA package unchallenged — but never questions the claims of the pro-government guests

Asymmetry: Confirmed — the pro-government narrative prevails without follow-up questions

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 51:02

Triggering event: Discussion of the dog and cat tax

Quote (host): "Do you have dogs, cats? [...] Have you already calculated how much you would have to pay for them?"

Comparison: No similar question is asked about the current government's special taxes (bank levy, retail special tax)

Asymmetry: Confirmed — TISZA's planned taxes are discussed in a humorous-critical frame, while the current taxes are not

Summary: The host consistently displays asymmetric behaviour: the Fidesz-KDNP narrative and the claims of pro-government guests are left unchallenged, while every element of the TISZA package is discussed in a negative frame.



13. QUESTION ASYMMETRY

8/10

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Total score: 8/10

Definition: Questions of varying hardness/softness directed at different individuals.

Asymmetry 1:

To Áder János, 05:09: "Did you feel as though you were being put out to pasture?" — [soft, personal, non-confrontational]

To Dezse Zelenka Dóra, 24:53: "Who would be hurt most by this package? How do you see it, Dóra?" — [directed, initiating the desired narrative]

Comparison: Not a single question is asked about any potentially positive elements of the TISZA package, the problems of the current system, or the authenticity of the document — the questions exclusively reinforce the negative narrative

Asymmetry 2:

To Lentner Csaba, 29:19: "Csaba, what do you see as the most surprising, or the most unreasonable, or even the most cynical element of this package?" — [strongly directed, with three negative qualifying terms]

To Áder János, 09:40: "What exactly happened, and how much did you manage to anger him?" — [narrative, personal, non-confrontational]

Comparison: In the case of the TISZA package, the question already contains the expected answer ("most cynical"); in Áder's case, the question is open and empathetic

Summary: The questions are consistently asymmetric: open, empathetic questions are asked of Áder János and the pro-government guests; when discussing the TISZA package, the questions already contain the negative assessment.



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

Total score: 7/10

Definition: Artificial appearance of balance despite actual inequality.

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 23:43–23:52

Construction: The programme presents three "experts" to analyse the TISZA package — this format creates the appearance of balance (multiple viewpoints, debate)

Analysis: All three guests are affiliated with pro-government institutions (MCC, NKE, pro-government vlogger); the "debate" is in reality a mutually reinforcing monologue by three individuals sharing the same viewpoint. There is a false balance between the form (three guests) and the content (a single viewpoint).

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 14:02

Construction: The host mentions that Áder János objected to 45 laws — this creates the appearance of a critical voice

Analysis: The discussion of the 45 objected laws immediately turns into a critique of "those who make noise" and a retrospective justification of the laws; the critical element appears formally but is neutralised in substance

Summary: The programme creates the appearance of balance at the formal level (multiple guests, mention of critical questions), while in substance only a single viewpoint prevails — this is a classic false balance.



15. AGENDA-SETTING

9/10

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Total score: 9/10

Definition: What is taken for granted? What does not make it onto the agenda?

Finding 1:

Item placed on agenda: The TISZA package as "austerity" and "danger"

Timestamp: 23:50 — Evidence: "draft austerity package [...] which would withdraw 1,300 billion forints from families"

Alternative agenda: The sustainability of the current Fidesz-KDNP economic policy, the budget deficit, the impact of the EU funds blockade — these are not placed on the agenda at all

Finding 2:

Item placed on agenda: The Fidesz-KDNP government's performance as a "shared success"

Timestamp: 22:03 — Evidence: "Well, isn't it a shared success if we build a [...] Puskás Arena"

Alternative agenda: The financing of stadium construction, the shortfall in healthcare and education investment, corruption cases — these are not placed on the agenda

Summary: The programme's agenda clearly reflects the Fidesz-KDNP narrative: the government's performance is self-evidently positive, TISZA's programme is self-evidently dangerous — facts and viewpoints that contradict this are not placed on the agenda.



CHAPTER 4 — OVERALL ASSESSMENT

Results

- HARD FACTS SCORE (average of criteria 1–9): 8.2 / 10
- SOFT FACTS SCORE (average of criteria 10–15): 8.2 / 10
- TOTAL SCORE (average of all 15 criteria): 8.2 / 10

Dominant techniques

The three strongest techniques in the programme:

- 1. Agenda-setting (9/10):** The programme's agenda entirely reflects the Fidesz-KDNP narrative — the government's performance is self-evidently positive, TISZA's programme is self-evidently dangerous. The facts that contradict this (current economic problems, EU funds blockade, healthcare crisis) are not placed on the agenda at all, which fundamentally distorts the viewer's picture of reality.
- 2. Framing (9/10):** The "austerity package" frame prevails from the first sentence to the last; TISZA's programme is never referred to as a reform plan or economic policy proposal. In parallel, Fidesz-KDNP's performance is framed as a "shared success" — the two frames together predetermine the viewer's assessment.
- 3. Expert selection (9/10):** All three invited guests are affiliated with pro-government institutions (MCC, NKE, pro-government vlogger); no independent economist, TISZA representative, or opposition voice appears at all. This source structure in itself precludes the possibility of balanced reporting.

The programme's messages

- 1. MESSAGE (SUBSTANTIVE):** "TISZA's economic programme is austerity that will harm everyone — especially families, entrepreneurs, and pensioners."

Technique: Framing + guilt by association (Bokros package, Gyurcsány-Bajnai parallel) — Evidence: 23:50, 31:29, 34:36

- 2. MESSAGE (PERSONAL):** "Magyar Péter is lying — he denies the existence of a document developed by his own party."

Technique: Discrediting + selective omission (Magyar Péter's rebuttal is not examined) — Evidence: 24:16, 27:33

- 3. MESSAGE (SOCIAL):** "The Fidesz-KDNP government's performance is a shared success that everyone can enjoy — including opposition supporters."

Technique: Timing + framing (the positive Fidesz image in the first part lays the groundwork for the TISZA critique in the second part) — Evidence: 22:03, 22:31

Classification of manipulation level

Justification: The programme's total score of 8.2/10 indicates systematic one-sidedness. During the discussion of the TISZA package, not a single opposition voice, independent expert, or TISZA representative is heard — this in itself violates the balance requirement under Mttv. §83. The mutually reinforcing narrative of the three pro-government guests, the consistent application of the "austerity" frame, and the complete omission of current government problems together paint a one-sided picture that does not meet the statutory requirements for public service reporting. The first part (Áder interview) and the second part (critique of the TISZA package) together constitute a deliberately constructed programme serving the Fidesz-KDNP narrative.

SUMMARY

The examined episode of 48 perc seriously violates the requirements of balance and objectivity under Mttv. §83. The programme consists of two parts: the first part celebrates the former president of the republic, elected as a Fidesz-KDNP nominee, without criticism; the second part critiques the economic programme of the strongest opposition party (TISZA) exclusively with pro-government experts, while not a single TISZA representative is given a platform. The consistent application of the "austerity package" frame, the association with the Bokros package and the Gyurcsány-Bajnai period, and the complete omission of the problems of the current government's economic policy together result in one-sided reporting that is capable of deliberately influencing the viewer's political opinion. The programme does



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not comply with the reporting obligation under Mttv. §83 (1), which requires a clear separation of facts and opinions, the presentation of authoritative opinions, and balanced reporting.



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	7/10	Pronounced imbalance
6	GUILT BY ASSOCIATION	8/10	Pronounced imbalance
7	TIMING	7/10	Pronounced imbalance
8	SELECTIVE OUTRAGE	8/10	Pronounced imbalance
9	SELECTIVE OMISSION — OVERALL PICTURE	9/10	Systematic imbalance
10	DEFINITION OF INTERPRETIVE FRAME	9/10	Systematic imbalance
11	LANGUAGE AND TERMINOLOGY	8/10	Pronounced imbalance
12	HOST BEHAVIOUR	8/10	Pronounced imbalance
13	QUESTION ASYMMETRY	8/10	Pronounced imbalance
14	FALSE BALANCE	7/10	Pronounced imbalance
15	AGENDA-SETTING	9/10	Systematic imbalance

HARD FACTS SCORE (1-8)

8.0/10

Serious deviation from the balance requirement. High degree of deviation

SOFT FACTS SCORE (9-14)

8.2/10

Fundamental systemic one-sidedness. Very high degree of bias

TOTAL SCORE

8.1/10

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)

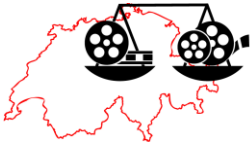
0	No finding	No relevant anomaly detectable.
1–2	Weak finding	Minor anomaly without material effect on balance.
3–4	Mild-to-moderate finding	Recognisable tendency; low-to-moderate impact relevance.
5	Moderate finding with impact	Relevant imbalance that influences the audience's opinion-forming potential.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

Aggregate deviation index — Interpretation ranges

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

Party-political bias (–5 to +5)

–5 to –3	Strongly disadvantaged	The party is significantly under-represented in framing, speaking time, or portrayal.
–2 to –1	Mildly disadvantaged	Recognisable, but mild disadvantage.
0	Neutral	No preference or disadvantage detectable.
+1 to +2	Mildly advantaged	Recognisable, but mild preference.
+3 to +5	Strongly advantaged	The party is significantly over-represented in framing, speaking time, or portrayal.



CHAPTER 5 — LEGAL ASSESSMENT (Mttv. §83)

Assessment under Mttv. §83

Mttv. §83 requires that the reporting in news programmes and information programmes be current, objective, and balanced; reflect the diversity of opinions; and clearly separate facts from opinions.

Violation 1:

Norm: Mttv. §83 (2) — balance

Facts: TISZA's economic programme is criticised exclusively by three pro-government guests; not a single TISZA representative, spokesperson, or independent expert familiar with the programme is given a platform

Evidence: Timestamp 23:43 — "My guests are Dezse Zelenka Dóra, journalist, vlogger [...] Sebestyén Géza, head of the economic policy workshop of the Matthias Corvinus Collegium [...] and Lentner Csaba, professor of economics at the National University of Public Service"

Assessment: The programme formally frames the second part as a debate, but in substance only a single viewpoint prevails — this is a direct violation of the balance requirement under Mttv. §83 (2)

Violation 2:

Norm: Mttv. §83 (1) — objectivity, separation of facts and opinions

Facts: The document of disputed authenticity (whose existence Magyar Péter denied) is treated as fact; the evaluative term "austerity" is used as a descriptive term

Evidence: Timestamp 23:50 — "The complete draft austerity package developed by the experts of the Tisza party was published yesterday by Index, so the document whose existence Magyar Péter denies can now be read in its entirety"

Assessment: The sentence simultaneously treats the disputed document as fact and Magyar Péter's denial as lacking credibility — this violates the requirements of objectivity and the separation of fact from opinion

Violation 3:

Norm: Mttv. §83 (2) — diversity of opinions

Facts: Throughout the entire programme (58 minutes), not a single opposition voice, TISZA representative, or independent expert is heard; 100% of speaking time goes to pro-government individuals

Evidence: Timestamp 00:09–58:29 — based on the complete transcript

Assessment: The requirement of diversity of opinion under Mttv. §83 (2) is entirely violated; the programme conveys a single political narrative

Violation 4:

Norm: Mttv. §83 (1) — objectivity

Facts: The figure of "300,000 children not born" cited by Lentner Csaba is presented without a source or methodology, and is included in the programme as fact

Evidence: Timestamp 35:50 — "approximately 300,000 children who were not born from 1995"

Assessment: Presenting an unverified, sourceless statistical claim as fact violates the requirement of objectivity

Overall assessment under Mttv. §83

The examined programme systematically violates Mttv. §83 (1) and (2) on multiple counts. The violations are not accidental or the result of editorial errors, but follow from the entire structure of the programme: the choice of guests, the framing of questions, the framing of the topic, and the allocation of time together produce one-sided reporting that is capable of deliberately influencing the viewer's political opinion. As a public service media provider, MTVA has a statutory obligation to provide balanced and objective reporting — this obligation is not fulfilled by the examined



episode. Given the severity and systematic nature of the violations, proceedings may be initiated before the NMHH Media Council under Mttv. §181.

IN-DEPTH SOURCE ANALYSIS (Mandatory for every cited expert body / NGO / advisory organisation)

1. MCC — Mathias Corvinus Collegium (institution of Sebestyén Géza)

1. FUNDING: Hungarian state — in 2020, the Fidesz-KDNP government transferred assets worth 1.7 billion euros (real estate, shares) to MCC; since then, the institution has become one of the best-funded conservative think tanks in the world. Structural conflict of interest: the institution's survival and funding depend on Fidesz-KDNP governance.

2. MANDATE: According to MCC's founding charter, its aim is to strengthen "Christian-conservative values" and represent "national interests" — this is not compatible with neutral economic analysis.

3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST: MCC's institutional interest is the scientific legitimisation of the Fidesz-KDNP narrative; criticising the TISZA package coincides with the institutional interest.

D1 Interessenkonflikt: -2

D2 Persönliches Risiko: -1

D3 Fachkompetenz: +1

D4 Meinungskonsistenz: 0

D5 Emotionalisierung vs. Daten: -1

D6 Quellenstufe: 0

TOTAL: -3 → QUELLENAMPEL: S

5. COUNTER-OPINION: Independent economists (e.g. KRTK, CEU) would give a different assessment of the effects of the TISZA package — these are not mentioned.

2. NKE — National University of Public Service (institution of Lentner Csaba)

1. FUNDING: Hungarian state — NKE is entirely state-funded; Fidesz-KDNP re-established it in its current form in 2012. Structural conflict of interest: the institution and its faculty are state employees.

2. MANDATE: Training of the public service and military elite — not compatible with neutral criticism of government policy.

3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST: State employee status; criticising the government poses a career risk.

D1 Interessenkonflikt: -2

D2 Persönliches Risiko: -2

D3 Fachkompetenz: +2

D4 Meinungskonsistenz: +1

D5 Emotionalisierung vs. Daten: -1

D6 Quellenstufe: 0

TOTAL: -2 → QUELLENAMPEL: S

5. COUNTER-OPINION: Independent professors of economics (e.g. Corvinus University, CEU) would give a different assessment — these are not mentioned.

IMPORTANT NOTE: The designation "recognised expert" or "professor" is not a neutral qualification — it is a social attribution that must itself be examined. In the case of both institutions, the institutional affiliation represents a structural bias that the programme does not disclose to the viewer.

Source credibility overview:

Source	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	Total	Signal
MCC — Mathias Corvinus Collegium (institution of Sebestyén Géza)	-2	-1	+1	0	-1	0	-3	S
NKE — National University of Public Service (institution of Lentner Csaba)	-2	-2	+2	+1	-1	0	-2	S

Legal and methodological classification



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Not a finding of fact

The results presented do not constitute a finding of fact regarding individual persons, editorial offices, or programmes. They are the results of standardised operationalisation, not a determination of individual responsibility.

Not a legal judgement

The aggregate deviation index does not replace the legal assessment under Mttv. §83. Whether a given programme violates statutory requirements is exclusively a matter for the competent authorities (in particular the Media Council).

Not evidence of causality

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.

Not an assessment of intent

The analysis measures the observable structural characteristics of programmes. A score of 7 means that significant imbalance has been found — not that the editorial team did so deliberately. The methodology makes no statements about motives.

Heuristic comparative tool

The index serves for comparative pattern recognition across thousands of programmes, 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

Laws

- 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)

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

Smtv. (Freedom of the Press Act 2010)

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

Fundamental Law

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

European reference framework

- 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

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

Supervisory authority

- NMHH (National Media and Infocommunications Authority): National media and communications authority. Structurally pro-government in composition since 2010.

Complaints procedure

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



ANNEX 2: ACADEMIC REFERENCES

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Orders at www.svfab.ch or by email at kontakt@svfab.ch.



Unbalanced reporting as a response to the Swiss halving initiative: This book describes manipulation techniques in detail, starting with the selection of staff and sources. It then outlines 15 principles: omission, framing, temporal framing, guilt by association, emotionalisation, removal of context, and many more, illustrated with numerous examples. It also reveals where we ourselves apply these techniques — fostering not only understanding but also empathy.

Optionally, playing cards are also available to accompany the book.

Also available as an audiobook.



The interview is not a conversation. It is a stage — and someone else wrote the script.

Those who do not understand this provide material. Good quotes that were poorly edited. Correct statements placed in the wrong context. Honest answers framed as confessions.

This book is not a media criticism book. It is a toolkit — for everyone who has a microphone in front of their face and wants to know what they can do about it. 7 chapters. 7 tools: What an interview actually is. The 7 most common pitfalls. The three principles of control — anchoring, framing, and setting boundaries. Preparation in one hour. Body and voice. What to do when things go wrong. And what matters after the interview.

For politicians, activists, entrepreneurs, whistleblowers — for everyone who is in the public eye and wants to understand how the game works. So they stop being drawn in — and start shaping it.

In A5 format. Easy to use. For preparation, as a reference, for follow-up, and when things get difficult.



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Associazione svizzera per un reporting equilibrato



You think you see the world. In reality, you see the frame that someone has placed around it. Framing is the world's oldest and most elegant manipulation technique. It does not change the facts — it changes what we think about them. How we feel. What we believe. How we decide. And it works — because we all participate in it. Every day. Unconsciously. You too. This book is not a dry textbook. It is a workbook — playful, direct, full of real examples. You will not only learn how others frame you. You will learn how to frame yourself — and how to use it consciously and fairly.

Because those who understand framing see the world more clearly. They hear the news differently. They conduct conversations with greater confidence. And they are no longer so easily influenced by frames chosen by someone else.

With numerous exercises and concrete examples from politics, the media, and everyday life — and a few chuckles along the way.

Stylish framing. Because the frame changes everything.