



ORF DETAILED ANALYSIS

2026-04-26_Hohes Haus vom 26.04.2026

Programme: ORF Programme | 2026-04-26 | Analysed on: 2026-05-21 11:35

Version 3.0-detail | Universal 3.0-detail | Konverter 3.4 (2026-05-20) | Massstab: §4 ORF-G

OVERALL SCORE

5.6/10

Considerable imbalance

0 = balanced, 10 = strongly one-sided/manipulative

POLITICAL SPECTRUM

Classification according to Chapel Hill Expert Survey (CHES) 2024

The Chapel Hill Expert Survey (CHES 2024) is an academic survey of 609 political scientists in 31 countries. Each party is rated on a scale from 0 (far left) to 10 (far right).

Party	Greens	SPÖ	NEOS	ÖVP	FPÖ
CHES	2.13	3.08	5.40	6.73	8.83
Spectrum	<i>Left</i>	<i>Left</i>	<i>Centre</i>	<i>Right</i>	<i>Right</i>

The overall tendency is presented on a 0–10 scale (0 = strongly left-favouring, 5 = balanced, 10 = strongly right-favouring). The calculation is based on the difference in the average favouring of left vs. right parties (grouping according to CHES 2024).

TENDENCY (L – R)

3.2 / 10

Left-favouring

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 serves the purpose of political classification and does not feed into the overall score.



POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

Since February 2025, Austria has been governed by a coalition of FPÖ (chancellor's party, 57 seats) and ÖVP (junior partner, 51 seats) under Federal Chancellor Herbert Kickl. The opposition consists of SPÖ (41 seats), NEOS (18 seats) and Greens (16 seats). The FPÖ achieved the strongest result at the 2024 National Council election with 29.2%.

Party	CHES L-R	Seats	Government/Opposition	Core position
FPÖ	8,5	57	Government (chancellor's party)	Remigration, EU scepticism, neutrality, anti-sanctions
ÖVP	6,0	51	Government (junior partner)	Business location, strict asylum policy, pro-EU subsidiarity
SPÖ	3,0	41	Opposition	Wealth tax, workers' rights, pro-EU social
NEOS	5,5	18	Opposition	Radically liberal, pro-EU, education reform
Greens	2,5	16	Opposition	Climate neutrality, humane asylum policy, pro-EU Green Deal

The dominant line of conflict runs between the FPÖ-ÖVP government and the three opposition parties, with ORF reform and media policy being particularly contentious, as the FPÖ has historically classified the ORF as politically left-leaning. A second line of tension concerns EU policy: the governing parties — in particular the FPÖ — are sceptical of further EU integration, while the SPÖ, NEOS and Greens are pro-European in orientation. The third line of conflict is budget consolidation, where municipal financing and structural reforms are politically contested.

The ORF is Austria's public broadcaster and is subject, pursuant to §4 of the ORF Act, to the requirements of objectivity, impartiality and diversity of opinion. §10 para. 7 of the ORF Act requires adequate consideration of all parties represented in the National Council. The structural proximity between the ÖVP and the ORF Foundation Board has been the subject of political criticism for years, while the FPÖ as the chancellor's party is pursuing a comprehensive ORF reform.



CHAPTER 1 — PARTY-POLITICAL BIAS

Party	Score (-5..+5)	Portrayal in programme vs. programme position
FPÖ	-2	01:52 "The ORF is degenerating from a leading medium into a media disgrace" — FPÖ position on ORF reform correctly reproduced; however, FPÖ scepticism regarding Orbán's removal from office (05:40–06:09) is framed as mere audacity-criticism without substantive contextualisation. The EU-sceptical core position (national sovereignty, veto rights) is treated structurally as a counter-position in the interview with Waitz, without allowing an FPÖ representative to speak. Programme position on EU scepticism: omitted.
ÖVP	+1	03:13 Desire for early DG election correctly presented; 05:08 jubilation over Magyar's election victory correctly reproduced. ÖVP position on the EU (pro-European, subsidiarity) is implicitly framed positively. Slight distortion through Green criticism (04:47 "quickly install an ÖVP DG"), which goes unchallenged.
SPÖ	+1	02:44 SPÖ media spokesperson correctly presented with criticism of FPÖ/ÖVP contradiction; 06:51 welcoming of the change of government in Hungary correctly reproduced. SPÖ state councillor Grossmann (17:50) factually integrated. Programme position largely correctly presented.
Greens	+2	04:28 Green media spokesperson with criticism of SPÖ/ÖVP correctly presented. Studio guest Thomas Waitz (Greens EP delegation leader) receives approx. 8 minutes of uninterrupted speaking time to present Green EU positions (Green Deal, unanimity, Orbán succession). Green core positions on EU integration, Green Deal and climate policy are presented fully and framed positively.
NEOS	+1	03:49 NEOS parliamentary club chairman with demand to abolish the Foundation Board correctly presented; 06:10 NEOS jibes against FPÖ correctly reproduced. Programme position on EU integration implicitly framed positively.

Party bias summary

- Most accurate portrayal: Greens, score +2
- Strongest distortion: FPÖ, score -2
- Average deviation from 0: 1.4
- Conclusion: The programme presents the Greens most strongly and most completely through the privileged studio guest slot. The FPÖ position on EU scepticism and national veto rights is briefly mentioned in the parliamentary report (06:03), but is treated structurally as a counter-position in the subsequent interview, without an FPÖ representative being given the floor. The portrayal of the ÖVP, SPÖ and NEOS is largely correct, if selective.



CHAPTER 2 — PROGRAMME INFORMATION AND THEMATIC FRAMING

Programme data

- Title: Hohes Haus
- Date: 26.04.2026
- Presenter: Not named in the transcript (closing remarks refer to "Rebekka Salzer" as responsible next week — current presenter unknown from transcript; subtitles: J. Wibmer)
- Persons interviewed:

Actors	Function	Party/affiliation	Political spectrum
Thomas Waitz	MEP, delegation leader Greens Austria	Greens	Left (2.5)
FPÖ media spokesperson	Member of the National Council	FPÖ	Right (8.5)
Media minister	Federal minister	FPÖ/ÖVP government	Centre-right
SPÖ media spokesperson	Member of the National Council	SPÖ	Centre-left (3.0)
ÖVP representative (ORF debate)	Member of the National Council	ÖVP	Centre-right (6.0)
NEOS parliamentary club chairman	Parliamentary club chairman	NEOS	Centre-liberal (5.5)
Green media spokesperson	Member of the National Council	Greens	Left (2.5)
Political scientist (anonymous)	Scientist	None	Neutral (academic)
Elisabeth Grossmann	Former SPÖ state councillor Styria	SPÖ	Centre-left
Juliane Bogner-Strauß	Former ÖVP state councillor Styria	ÖVP	Centre-right
Hannes Heide	MEP, Committee on Culture	SPÖ	Centre-left
Marcus Blecha-Stippl	ORF reporter	ORF	Editorial

Main topic

The programme reports on three thematic complexes: the parliamentary debate on ORF reform, the European hour on the change of government in Hungary with a subsequent studio interview with Thomas Waitz (Greens), as well as a report on municipal financing and mergers in Austria, supplemented by a cultural report on the art collection of the European Parliament.



CHAPTER 3 — 15 CRITERIA: DETAILED ANALYSIS

Hard facts — 9 techniques that are countable and scientifically robust

1. EXPERT SELECTION

7/10

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Expert 1: Thomas Waitz, MEP Greens

Timestamp: 07:14–15:35

Statement: "There is a broad understanding: if Europe wants to assert its interests, its democratic values and the upholding of international law in the world, we must stand together." (07:40)

Assessment: Active politician of the Greens, delegation leader in the European Parliament. Represents decidedly pro-European, pro-Green Deal and anti-sovereignist positions. No conflict of interest in the classical sense, but clear party-political affiliation. No opposing voice in the studio.

Missing opposing voice: An FPÖ EU spokesperson or independent EU political scientist would have introduced the sovereignist counter-position.

Source deep-check:

(a) FUNDING: Waitz is funded as an MEP from EU funds. Institutional interest in positive portrayal of EU integration and the European Parliament.

(b) MANDATE: As an active politician, his mandate is explicitly partisan — not compatible with a neutral assessment of European policy questions.

D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — Active Greens politician with a clear pro-EU agenda

D2 Personal risk: -1 — No personal disadvantages from his statements; consistent with his party line

D3 Professional competence: +2 — Long-standing EP experience (>10 years), direct knowledge of EU institutions

D4 Consistency of opinion: +1 — Consistent with previous Greens positions

D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: 0 — Mix of factual arguments and normative appeals (14:49: "our beautiful Europe")

D6 Source level: +1 — Primary source as directly involved, but partisan

TOTAL: +1 → SOURCE INDICATOR: YELLOW

(c) PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE: 14) — the framing as a knowledgeable expert conceals his party-political function. He is not interviewed as a Greens politician, but as an EU expert — this is structurally partisan.

Expert 2: Political scientist (anonymous, municipal report)

Timestamp: 17:03–17:42

Statement: "The larger a municipality, the lower the voter turnout. Small municipalities create proximity." (17:09)

Assessment: Not named, not assigned to an institution. No verification of funding or mandate possible.

Source deep-check:

(a) FUNDING: Unknown — no information in the transcript. Serious deficiency for legally sound classification.

(b) MANDATE: Unclear — cannot be assessed without institutional assignment.

D1 Conflict of interest: 0 — Unknown

D2 Personal risk: 0 — Unknown

D3 Professional competence: +1 — Title "political scientist" suggests professional competence, but not verifiable



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D4 Consistency of opinion: 0 — Unknown

D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: +1 — References voter turnout data, factual

D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary source (interprets data)

TOTAL: +2 → SOURCE INDICATOR: YELLOW

(c) PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE: The anonymisation of the expert prevents any independent verification of his statements and interests.

Missing expert groups:

- EU-sceptical political scientist or constitutional lawyer on the unanimity question
- Economic expert on Green Deal regulatory density
- Independent media scientist on ORF governance

Source indicator for participants:

Source	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	Total	Indicator
Thomas Waitz, MEP Greens	-2	-1	+2	+1	0	+1	+1	YELLOW
Political scientist (anonymous, municipal report)	0	0	+1	0	+1	0	+2	YELLOW

Summary:

- Thomas Waitz: **YELLOW (+1)** — Party-politically affiliated, framed as expert
- Anonymous political scientist: **YELLOW (+2)** — Factual, but not verifiable

The expert selection is structurally one-sided: the only studio guest is an active Greens politician who is presented as a knowledgeable EU expert. No opposing voice from the sovereigntist or economically critical camp.



2. SOURCE SELECTION

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Claims without primary source = penalty points (rumour check)

Source 1: Thomas Waitz (Greens EP)

Timestamp: 07:14 — Statement: "It will be easier to find common ground and compromises." (08:31)

- (a) **Funding:** EU parliamentary funds, Greens party
- (b) **Structural conflict of interest:** Institutionally benefits from positive portrayal of EU integration
- (c) **Missing counter-source:** FPÖ EU spokesperson, independent EU political scientist

Source 2: Elisabeth Grossmann (former SPÖ state councillor)

Timestamp: 17:50 — Statement: "Many who feared or suffered a loss of status stirred up sentiment against mergers in the municipalities." (17:56)

- (a) **Funding:** SPÖ politician, public funds
- (b) **Structural conflict of interest:** As a co-responsible party for the merger policy, she has an interest in a positive retrospective assessment
- (c) **Missing counter-source:** Mayor of a merged municipality who describes negative experiences

Source 3: Juliane Bogner-Strauß (former ÖVP state councillor)

Timestamp: 22:26 — Statement: "In retrospect, almost everyone sees it positively." (20:34)

- (a) **Funding:** ÖVP politician, public funds
- (b) **Structural conflict of interest:** Co-responsible for the merger policy — interest in a positive assessment
- (c) **Missing counter-source:** Critical voice from affected municipalities

Rumour check:

Rumour 1:

Timestamp: 20:34

Claim: "In retrospect, almost everyone sees it positively."

Word marker: "almost everyone" — unspecific generalisation without source reference

Primary source available: No — no survey or study cited — +1 penalty point

Rumour 2:

Timestamp: 19:01

Claim: "The migration crisis was probably also a voting motive."

Word marker: "probably" — speculation without evidence

Primary source available: No — no electoral analysis cited — +1 penalty point

Summary: The source selection is structurally oriented towards pro-European and pro-merger positions. Both former state councillors have an institutional interest in a positive retrospective assessment of the merger policy. Two unsubstantiated generalisations increase the score by one penalty point each.



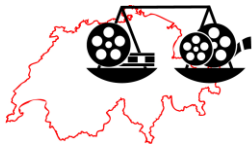
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3. TIME DISTRIBUTION						6/10			
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Estimated speaking time:

- Thomas Waitz (Greens): approx. 7.5 min. (approx. 26%)
- Parliamentary report ORF debate (all parties): (approx. 10%)
- Parliamentary report European hour (all parties): (approx. 7%)
- Municipal report (political scientist, Grossmann, Bogner-Strauß): (approx. 21%)
- Art report European Parliament: (approx. 24%)
- Presenter: (approx. 10%)

Summary: The only studio guest is a Greens politician who receives the largest individual speaking time at approx. 26% of the total broadcast time. No representative of the governing parties FPÖ or ÖVP receives comparable speaking time in the studio. The time distribution structurally favours the Greens position.



4. OMISSION (Selective Omission)

7/10

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Omission 1:

Context

FPÖ position on EU scepticism and national sovereignty in the context of the Orbán debate

Relevant at: 07:14–15:35 (entire studio interview)

Effect

The interview with Waitz addresses EU integration, unanimity and the Green Deal exclusively from a pro-European perspective. The position of the governing party FPÖ — which advocates for national veto rights and against further EU centralisation — is not introduced. The viewer receives a one-sided picture of the European policy debate.

Omission 2:

Context

Economic criticism of the Green Deal by affected companies and workers

Relevant at: 13:01–15:07

Effect

Waitz's statement (14:17) that the Green Deal is being attacked "primarily by companies that make their money from fossil energy" goes unchallenged. The broad economic criticism — including from non-fossil industries — is not presented. The viewer receives the impression that Green Deal criticism is primarily lobbying by the fossil fuel sector.

Omission 3:

Context

Negative experiences of citizens in merged municipalities

Relevant at: 16:00–22:10

Effect

Both former politicians interviewed assess the mergers positively in retrospect. No direct citizen voice from merged municipalities describing negative experiences. The report suggests that the mergers are generally accepted in retrospect.

Summary: The programme systematically omits those perspectives that would call into question the dominant pro-European and pro-merger narrative. Particularly serious is the complete absence of an FPÖ voice in the studio discussion on EU policy.

Missing voices

- FPÖ EU spokesperson: Would have introduced the sovereigntist position on veto rights and EU centralisation from a government perspective
- Hungarian political expert (pro-Orbán or neutral): Would have provided the Hungarian internal perspective on the change of government
- Industry representative/Chamber of Commerce: Would have introduced empirical data on the Green Deal burden on Austrian companies
- Mayor of a merged municipality: Would have described the practical experience of municipal mergers first-hand
- Independent media scientist: Would have contextualised the ORF governance debate without party-political affiliation
- Neutrality law expert: Would have assessed the constitutional implications of abolishing unanimity in EU security policy for Austria



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- Representative of municipal citizens from Styria: Would have directly introduced the citizens' perspective on the 2015 mergers
- EU economic economist: Would have empirically contextualised Waitz's claims on EU economic strength and Green Deal impact



5. MANIPULATION OF FIGURES

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

Finding 1:

Timestamp 18:58

Figure: "Together they lost 18 percentage points" (SPÖ and ÖVP at the 2015 state election)

Dimensions: (a) Absolute value ✓ — (b) Share: not stated (from which baseline?) — (c) Trend: not embedded in longer-term development

Missing context

Baseline values of SPÖ and ÖVP before 2015 are missing; it is unclear whether 18 percentage points are to be understood as applying to both parties together or separately

Effect

The figure appears dramatic without the viewer knowing the baseline value

Finding 2:

Timestamp 13:26

Figure: "We have high economic output in the EU." (Waitz)

Dimensions: (a) No absolute value — (b) No share — (c) No trend

Missing context

No GDP data, no growth rates, no comparative values with other economic areas

Effect

Normative claim is presented as fact without empirical basis

Summary: Two findings with missing contextual dimensions, but no active manipulation of figures in the strict sense. The score is moderate, as the figures are not used in a deliberately misleading manner, but important contextual dimensions are missing.



6. GUILT BY ASSOCIATION									5/10
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Association 1:	
Timestamp	05:49
Quote	<i>"Because you sat in the same EP parliamentary group as Viktor Orbán and FIDESZ for more than 13 years. Back then, nothing bothered you."</i>
Technique: FPÖ MP associates ÖVP with Orbán through shared group membership — cited in the parliamentary report but not commented upon	
Effect	ÖVP is discredited through proximity to Orbán; the statement is left standing without contextualisation

Association 2:	
Timestamp	06:03
Quote	<i>"With this change, Europe loses a last strong voice against the abolition of national veto rights."</i>
Technique: FPÖ position is implicitly associated with defending Orbán — the programme leaves this statement without a counter-representation, while the subsequent reporting (Waitz interview) extensively supports the anti-Orbán position	
Effect	FPÖ sovereigntism is structurally equated with Orbán apologetics

Association 3:	
Timestamp	06:10
Quote	<i>"The NEOS are taking jabs at the FPÖ because of their proximity to Orbán."</i>
Technique: Editorial framing — the formulation "proximity to Orbán" presented as fact, not as a political claim	
Effect	FPÖ is associated with Orbán without any source reference; "proximity" is a value judgement, not a neutral description

Summary: The programme contains several chains of association linking FPÖ and ÖVP to Orbán. Particularly problematic is the editorial formulation "proximity to Orbán" (06:10) as fact. The FPÖ statement on defending veto rights (06:03) is structurally framed as Orbán apologetics by the subsequent Waitz interview, without the FPÖ being able to reject this association.



7. TIMING

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Finding 1:

Position: 00:20–00:26 (teaser, start of programme)

Content: "On the agenda of the National Council were the ORF and the end of the Orbán era."

Timing effect

The formulation "end of the Orbán era" in the teaser sets the normative framework for the entire programme. "End" implies conclusion and overcoming — a value-laden formulation that shapes the subsequent reporting before the viewer can form their own assessments.

Finding 2:

Position: 07:14 (after parliamentary report, before municipal report)

Content: Studio interview with Thomas Waitz (Greens) as the only studio guest

Timing effect

The interview follows immediately after the parliamentary report on the European hour and deepens exclusively the pro-European position. The placement after the parliamentary report — in which all parties briefly have their say — suggests that the interview offers a balanced deepening, although it is one-sided.

Finding 3:

Position: 15:37–22:18 (after Waitz interview)

Content: Municipal report with positive retrospective assessment of mergers

Timing effect

The report ends with the statement (22:05): "The political risk of municipal mergers is high" — a qualifying closing statement that softens the previously dominant positive assessment of the mergers. The placement at the end of the report mitigates the critical impression.

Summary: The teaser sets a normative framework with "end of the Orbán era" that shapes the entire programme. The placement of the Waitz interview as the only studio conversation after the parliamentary report structurally reinforces the pro-European tendency.



8. SELECTIVE OUTRAGE

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

Methodological principle K11+K8: Document the triggering event — asymmetry only demonstrable with a comparable trigger without an analogous reaction from other guests/positions.

Finding 1:

Timestamp 06:10

Triggering event: NEOS MP takes jabs at FPÖ because of "proximity to Orbán"

Reaction: Editorial formulation "This causes interjections" (06:14) — neutrally descriptive

Comparison FPÖ criticism of ÖVP because of Orbán group membership (05:49) — likewise neutrally descriptive

Asymmetry: Not demonstrable at the level of editorial description; both reactions are described neutrally

Finding 2:

Timestamp 14:17

Triggering event: Presenter asks about Green Deal criticism (13:46: "Industry and large companies are relocating")

Reaction: Waitz responds (14:17): "primarily by companies that make their money from fossil energy" — implicit delegitimation of the critics

Comparison No analogous follow-up question as to whether Waitz's statement on EU economic strength (13:26) is substantiated

Asymmetry: Presenter follows up on economically critical questions, but not on Waitz's unsubstantiated counter-claims — slight asymmetry demonstrable

Degree of outrage: 1/5

Selectivity: 2/5

Summary: No pronounced selective outrage in the classical sense. A slight asymmetry is demonstrable on the Green Deal topic: the presenter asks critical questions about the EU economy, but does not follow up when Waitz dismisses these with sweeping counter-claims.



9. COMPLETENESS (Selective Omission — Overall picture)

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Finding 1:

Timestamp 07:14–15:35

Missing perspective: Sovereigntist EU position (FPÖ, governing party)

Relevance: The governing party FPÖ pursues a decidedly different EU policy than Waitz — this position is highly relevant for Austrian viewers, as it represents the current government line

Impact: The viewer receives the impression that the pro-European integration position is the Austrian mainstream position, even though the governing party pursues a different line

Finding 2:

Timestamp 13:01–15:07

Missing perspective: Empirical economic data on the impact of the Green Deal

Relevance: Waitz's claims on EU economic strength and Green Deal criticism remain unsubstantiated; no data on company relocation, energy prices or regulatory costs

Impact: The viewer cannot contextualise or verify Waitz's statements

Finding 3:

Timestamp 16:00–22:18

Missing perspective: Direct citizen voices from merged municipalities

Relevance: The report relies exclusively on former politicians who co-responsible for the mergers — no independent citizen perspective

Impact: The positive retrospective assessment of the mergers is not verified by independent voices

Summary: The programme exhibits systematic gaps regarding sovereigntist EU positions, empirical economic data and independent citizen voices. These gaps are not coincidental, but follow a consistent pattern of favouring pro-European and pro-institutional perspectives.

The change of government in Hungary (removal of Orbán) is a European policy event of considerable significance for EU dynamics. In Austria, this topic is particularly sensitive, as the governing party FPÖ maintained close ideological ties with Orbán and pursues a sovereigntist EU policy. The ORF reform is highly sensitive in domestic politics, as the FPÖ as the chancellor's party is seeking a structural redesign of public broadcasting. Municipal financing affects all Austrian federal states and is currently relevant in the context of budget consolidation under Finance Minister Marterbauer.

Share of perspectives covered

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

[A] Sovereigntist/EU-sceptical perspective: Arguments for maintaining national veto rights and against further EU centralisation (FPÖ position)

[B] Economically critical perspective on the Green Deal: Arguments from industry, companies and workers burdened by Green Deal regulation

[C] Hungarian internal perspective: Voices from Hungary itself — both Orbán supporters and Magyar supporters



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[D] Neutrality policy perspective: Austria's constitutional neutrality in the context of EU security policy and the abolition of unanimity

[E] Mayor perspective on municipal mergers: Those directly affected from merged municipalities

[F] FPÖ perspective on ORF reform: Substantive justification of the reform demands beyond the parliamentary quote

[G] Independent media science on the ORF debate: External assessment of the governance question

[H] Economic expert perspective on EU regulatory density: Empirical data on relocation and competitiveness

[I] Citizens' perspective on municipal mergers: Affected citizens from merged municipalities

[J] Russia/Ukraine perspective in the EU context: Differentiated assessment of EU sanctions policy and its impact

[A] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: The sovereigntist perspective is briefly indicated in the parliamentary report through an FPÖ quote (06:03), but is treated structurally as a counter-position in the studio interview with Waitz, without a representative of this position being given the floor.

[B] INDICATED

Timestamp: 13:46 — Quote: "The number of regulations is very high. Industry and large companies are relocating." — Assessment: The presenter poses the question, but Waitz dismisses it (14:17: "primarily by companies that make their money from fossil energy") — no independent voice from the business sector.

[C] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: No Hungarian internal perspective, neither pro-Magyar nor pro-Orbán; the debate is conducted exclusively from an Austrian-European viewpoint.

[D] INDICATED

Timestamp: 12:24 — Quote: "it must be ensured that neutral states can act in accordance with their constitutional neutrality" — Assessment: Waitz mentions neutrality, but as an exception within his pro-integration argumentation — no independent neutrality policy voice.

[E] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: No serving mayor of a merged or non-merged municipality is given the floor.

[F] INDICATED

Timestamp: 01:52 — Quote: "It is time for the ORF to undergo a reform." — Assessment: FPÖ position is quoted in the parliamentary report, but not deepened or discussed in the studio.

[G] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: No independent media scientist on the ORF governance question.

[H] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: No empirical economic data on EU regulatory density; Waitz's statement (13:57) remains unsubstantiated.

[I] INDICATED

Timestamp: 17:09 — Quote: "The larger a municipality, the lower the voter turnout." — Assessment: Political scientist speaks on behalf of citizens, but no direct citizen voice from affected municipalities.

[J] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: EU sanctions policy towards Russia is not addressed, even though it would be highly relevant in the context of the Orbán debate and Austrian neutrality policy.



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Completeness score: 3/10

Justification: Of ten relevant perspectives, four are indicated (B, D, F, I) and six are completely omitted (A, C, E, G, H, J). The programme concentrates structurally on pro-European, pro-Green Deal and pro-integration positions, without anchoring the politically relevant counter-positions — in particular those of the governing party FPÖ — in the studio discussion. The municipal merger report is thematically broader, but likewise lacks direct citizen voices and FPÖ perspectives.



Soft facts — 6 qualitative techniques

10. FRAMING (Setting the frame)

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Finding 1:

Timestamp

00:22

Quote

"the end of the Orbán era"

Manipulation

The formulation "end of the era" is a normative value judgement that frames Orbán's removal from office as a historical conclusion and implicitly as a positive event. A neutral formulation would be: "the change of government in Hungary" or "the removal of Viktor Orbán".

Why problematic

The viewer is already primed in the teaser towards a particular assessment of the event before they can form their own judgements.

Finding 2:

Timestamp

08:10

Quote

"Orbán long thwarted and obstructed that, wherever he could."

Manipulation

Waitz's statement about Orbán is not contextualised as the political opinion of a Greens politician, but presented as a factual description. The presenter does not contradict and asks no counter-question.

Why problematic

A political value judgement is treated as fact; the viewer receives no contextualisation that this is the perspective of a political opponent of Orbán.

Finding 3:

Timestamp

14:17

Quote

"primarily by companies that make their money from fossil energy"

Manipulation

Green Deal criticism is framed as interest politics of the fossil fuel sector. Broad economic criticism — including from non-fossil industries, small and medium-sized enterprises and workers — is thereby delegitimised.

Why problematic

The framing reduces a complex economic policy debate to a good-versus-evil schema (climate protectors vs. fossil fuel lobby).

Summary: The dominant framing of the programme presents the change of government in Hungary as a positive European event and frames EU scepticism and Green Deal criticism as backward-looking or interest-driven. This framing is structurally reinforced by the selection of the studio guest and the moderation style.



11. CHOICE OF WORDS AND TERMS									6/10
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Finding 1:	
Timestamp	00:22
Quote	<i>"the end of the Orbán era"</i>
Manipulation	"Era" implies a concluded, historically significant epoch; "end" implies overcoming. Connotation: Orbán's government was an anomaly that has now been ended.
Why problematic	A neutral alternative would be: "the change of government in Hungary" — without normative value judgement.

Finding 2:	
Timestamp	06:10
Quote	<i>"The NEOS are taking jobs at the FPÖ because of their proximity to Orbán."</i>
Manipulation	"Proximity to Orbán" is presented as an editorial fact, not as a political claim by NEOS. "Taking jobs" is a pejorative formulation for political criticism.
Why problematic	A neutral alternative would be: "The NEOS criticise the FPÖ because of their earlier cooperation with Orbán." — without setting the claim as fact.

Finding 3:	
Timestamp	14:49
Quote	<i>"our beautiful Europe, wanting to hand over our countries to the next generation in good condition"</i>
Manipulation	Emotionalisation through possessive formulations ("our", "our") and normative appeals. Waitz's political argumentation is reinforced through emotional language, without the presenter contextualising this.
Why problematic	Political argumentation is framed as a moral duty through emotional language — critical distance is absent.

Summary: The choice of words in the programme — both in editorial formulations and in uncommented guest quotes — favours pro-European and anti-sovereigntist connotations. Particularly problematic is the editorial adoption of political value judgements as fact.



12. MODERATION BEHAVIOUR

6/10

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Methodological principle K11+K8: Document the triggering event.

Finding 1:

Timestamp 13:46

Triggering event: Presenter confronts Waitz with an economically critical position (company relocation, regulatory density)

Quote (presenter) *"Industry and large companies are relocating. How is any decent growth supposed to emerge from that?"*

Comparison Waitz responds with a sweeping counter-claim (14:01: "the advantage of European industry is quality") — no follow-up question asking for empirical evidence

Asymmetry: Presenter asks a critical question, but does not follow up when Waitz responds without evidence. A critical counter-voice would presumably have been asked for evidence. Slight asymmetry demonstrable.

Finding 2:

Timestamp 15:03

Triggering event: Presenter asks about Green Deal reform

Quote (presenter) *"Watering down the Green Deal, rethinking it — is that out of the question for you?"*

Comparison Waitz responds in a differentiated manner (15:08: "No, there is certainly a need for reform in some areas") — presenter accepts the answer without follow-up

Asymmetry: The question is correctly posed, but the follow-up is missing: which specific reforms? What timeframes? A more critical guest would presumably have been pressed further.

Finding 3:

Timestamp 27:14 (art report)

Triggering event: Hannes Heide (SPÖ MEP) assesses Austrian art purchases positively

Quote *"I am satisfied. Those involved did good work."*

Comparison No critical follow-up question on costs, selection criteria or democratic legitimacy of the art purchases

Asymmetry: Not demonstrable — the art report is not a politically controversial topic; missing follow-up here less problematic

Summary: The moderation behaviour shows a slight asymmetry: critical questions are asked, but not deepened with follow-up questions when Waitz gives counter-answers. A sovereigntist or economically critical guest would presumably have received harder follow-up questions.



13. QUESTION ASYMMETRY									5/10
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Asymmetry 1:	
To Thomas Waitz, 08	27: "Will it be easier from your perspective without Orbán?" — soft/confirmatory
To Thomas Waitz, 13	46: "Industry and large companies are relocating. How is any decent growth supposed to emerge from that?" — medium/confrontational
Comparison	The more confrontational question (13:46) is resolved by Waitz's answer without follow-up. The soft question (08:27) invites confirmation. No comparison guest available who would have received harder questions.

Asymmetry 2:	
To Thomas Waitz, 15	03: "Watering down the Green Deal, rethinking it — is that out of the question for you?" — medium
Comparison	No analogous question to a Green Deal critic who would have had to defend their position. The question is correctly posed, but without a counter-voice it remains structurally one-sided.

Summary: The question asymmetry is moderate: the presenter does ask critical questions of Waitz, but does not follow up on his answers. Since no comparison guest is available, the asymmetry can only be demonstrated to a limited extent — the structural deficiency lies in the absence of a counter-guest, not in the moderation style alone.



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

Finding 1:

Timestamp 01:33–04:55 (parliamentary report ORF debate)

Construct: All five parties have their say with brief quotes — suggests balance

Analysis

The quotes are very brief (approx. 20–30 seconds each) and are not deepened. The subsequent programme structure gives only a Greens politician space for elaboration. The apparent balance in the parliamentary report contrasts with the structural one-sidedness of the studio section.

Finding 2:

Timestamp 16:00–22:18 (municipal report)

Construct: Two former politicians (SPÖ and ÖVP) have their say — suggests balance between the parties

Analysis

Both politicians co-responsible for the merger policy and assess it positively. The apparent party diversity (SPÖ + ÖVP) conceals the substantive one-sidedness (both pro-merger).

Summary: The programme creates the impression of balance through brief parliamentary quotes and the inclusion of politicians from different parties, without establishing this substantively. The false balance is particularly structural in the municipal report: two parties, one position.



15. AGENDA-SETTING

7/10

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Finding 1:

Agenda element set: Orbán's removal from office as a positive European event

Timestamp 00:22 — Evidence: "the end of the Orbán era"

Alternative agenda: The question of whether the change of government in Hungary actually represents an improvement for EU democracy, or whether Magyar will pursue a different but not necessarily better policy, does not make it onto the agenda.

Finding 2:

Agenda element set: EU integration as self-evidently positive

Timestamp 07:40 — Evidence: "we must stand together — across all political differences"

Alternative agenda: The question of whether more EU integration is actually in Austria's interest — in particular from the perspective of the governing party FPÖ — does not make it onto the agenda.

Finding 3:

Agenda element set: Green Deal as fundamentally correct policy that only needs to be reformed in details

Timestamp 15:08 — Evidence: "there is certainly a need for reform in some areas"

Alternative agenda: The question of whether the Green Deal has failed in its basic conception or needs to be fundamentally revised does not make it onto the agenda.

Summary: The programme sets a pro-European, pro-Green Deal and anti-sovereigntist agenda as a self-evident framework. Alternatives to this framework — in particular the position of the Austrian governing party — are not treated as legitimate agenda elements.



CHAPTER 4 — OVERALL EVALUATION

Results

- HARD FACTS SCORE (average criteria 1–9): 5.4 / 10
- SOFT FACTS SCORE (average criteria 10–15): 5.8 / 10

Dominant techniques

- 1. Expert selection / framing (score 7):** The only studio guest is an active Greens politician who is presented as a knowledgeable EU expert. This combination of expert selection and framing produces the strongest bias in the programme, as Waitz can present pro-European positions as factual assessments without being challenged.
- 2. Omission / completeness (score 7):** The systematic omission of the FPÖ EU position in the studio discussion, the economic Green Deal criticism and direct citizen voices produces a structurally incomplete picture. Particularly serious is the absence of the governing party perspective in a public broadcasting format.
- 3. Agenda-setting (score 7):** The programme sets a pro-European, pro-Green Deal agenda as a self-evident framework, without treating alternatives as legitimate positions. This occurs both through editorial formulations and through the structure of the studio discussion.

Core messages of the programme

****MESSAGE 1 (SUBSTANTIVE):** ** "The removal of Orbán is a positive event for Europe that clears the way for more EU integration and joint action."

Technique: Framing in the teaser + unchallenged Waitz statements — evidence: 00:22, 08:10, 08:31

****MESSAGE 2 (PERSONAL):** ** "Thomas Waitz is a knowledgeable, balanced EU expert whose assessments can be regarded as representative of the European perspective."

Technique: Expert framing without contextualisation of party-political affiliation — evidence: 07:14, 07:23

****MESSAGE 3 (SOCIETAL):** ** "EU scepticism and Green Deal criticism are primarily interest politics of backward-looking individuals and fossil fuel corporations — whoever loves Europe supports integration and climate policy."

Technique: Framing + guilt by association + agenda-setting — evidence: 06:03, 14:17, 15:08

Justification: With an overall score of 5.6/10, the programme falls within the range of clear one-sidedness. The structural favouring of pro-European positions through the selection of the only studio guest (Greens politician), the systematic omission of the governing party perspective and the normative framing of the Orbán topic violate the requirement of balance pursuant to §4 of the ORF Act. The one-sidedness is not limited to individual statements, but is structurally embedded in the programme concept. Pursuant to §4 of the ORF Act, which requires objectivity, impartiality and diversity of opinion, the programme is not balanced in its overall conception.

CONCLUSION

The programme "Hohes Haus" exhibits a structural one-sidedness that arises primarily from the selection of the only studio guest — the Greens MEP Thomas Waitz — and the associated omission of the governing party perspective (FPÖ). The topic "Europe after the change of government in Hungary" is treated exclusively from a pro-European, pro-integrationist perspective, without the sovereigntist position of the Austrian governing party being represented in the studio. This violates §4 of the ORF Act, which requires objectivity, impartiality and consideration of diversity of opinion — in particular, since the FPÖ as the chancellor's party represents one of the strongest political forces in Austria. In addition, the municipal report exclusively interviews former politicians who co-responsible for the merger policy, without incorporating independent citizen voices. The programme is not suitable for providing the audience with a balanced basis for forming opinions, as required by §4 of the ORF Act.



OVERALL EVALUATION OF THE 15 CRITERIA

Individual scores — All 15 criteria

No.	Criterion	Score	Classification
1	EXPERT SELECTION	7	●●●●
2	SOURCE SELECTION	6	●●●
3	TIME DISTRIBUTION	6	●●●
4	OMISSION (Selective Omission)	7	●●●●
5	MANIPULATION OF FIGURES	3	●●
6	GUILT BY ASSOCIATION	5	●●●
7	TIMING	5	●●●
8	SELECTIVE OUTRAGE	3	●●
9	COMPLETENESS (Selective Omission — Overall picture)	7	●●●●
10	FRAMING (Setting the frame)	7	●●●●
11	CHOICE OF WORDS AND TERMS	6	●●●
12	MODERATION BEHAVIOUR	6	●●●
13	QUESTION ASYMMETRY	5	●●●
14	FALSE BALANCE	4	●●
15	AGENDA-SETTING	7	●●●●

HARD FACTS SCORE (1-8)

5.4/10

Considerable imbalance

SOFT FACTS SCORE (9-14)

5.8/10

Considerable imbalance

OVERALL SCORE

5.6/10

Considerable imbalance

Averaged from hard facts and soft facts



KEY — Meaning of scores

Individual scores per criterion (0–10)

0	No finding	No relevant anomaly identified.
1–2	Weak finding	Slight anomaly without material impairment of balance.
3–4	Slight to moderate finding	Discernible tendency; impact relevance low to moderate.
5	Moderate finding with impact relevance	Relevant imbalance that influences the opinion-forming potential of the audience.
6	Considerable finding (threshold)	Scores from 6 onwards are reported as "considerable findings".
7	Considerable finding	Clear, well-evidenced imbalance with marked impact relevance.
8–9	Serious finding	Pronounced imbalance; several evidenced individual findings in this criterion.
10	Maximum manifestation	Systematic, pervasive imbalance in this criterion.

Aggregated deviation index — Interpretation ranges

0.0 – 2.5	Unremarkable	No material patterns discernible; programme meets the factual accuracy requirement.
2.6 – 4.0	Slight imbalance	Isolated anomalies; statistically visible, but still within the tolerance range.
4.1 – 6.0	Considerable imbalance	Several considerable findings; relevant impairment of diversity of perspectives.
6.1 – 8.0	Serious deviation from the balance requirement. High degree of deviation	Pronounced, programme-wide patterns; high impact relevance.
8.1 – 10	Fundamental systemic one-sidedness. Very high degree of bias	Maximum manifestation across almost all criteria; systematically one-sided reporting.

Party-political bias (-5 to +5)

-5 to -3	Strongly disadvantaged	Party is clearly placed at a disadvantage in terms of portrayal, speaking time or framing.
-2 to -1	Slightly disadvantaged	Discernible, but weak disadvantage.
0	Neutral	No discernible favouring or disadvantaging.
+1 to +2	Slightly favoured	Discernible, but weak favouring.
+3 to +5	Strongly favoured	Party is clearly favoured in terms of portrayal, speaking time or framing.



CHAPTER 5 — LEGAL CLASSIFICATION (§4 ORF Act)

Assessment pursuant to §4 ORF Act

§4 ORF Act requires: objectivity and impartiality of reporting, consideration of diversity of opinion, balance of programmes.

Violation 1:

Norm: §4 para. 1 ORF Act (objectivity and impartiality)

Facts: The only studio guest is an active politician of the Greens (Thomas Waitz), who presents pro-European positions as factual assessments, without a counter-voice — in particular from the governing party FPÖ — being incorporated.

Evidence: Timestamp 07:14–15:35 — Quote: "There is a broad understanding: if Europe wants to assert its interests [...] we must stand together." (07:40)

Assessment: The framing of an active party politician as a knowledgeable EU expert without contextualising his party-political affiliation and without a counter-voice violates the requirement of impartiality. The programme creates the impression that the pro-European position is the factually required one, while the sovereigntist position of the governing party is not given the floor.

Violation 2:

Norm: §4 para. 5 ORF Act in conjunction with §10 para. 7 ORF Act (adequate consideration of all National Council parties)

Facts: The FPÖ as the chancellor's party receives no speaking time in the studio discussion. Its EU-sceptical position is briefly quoted in the parliamentary report (06:03), but is treated structurally as a counter-position in the subsequent interview, without an FPÖ representative being able to respond.

Evidence: Timestamp 06:03 — Quote: "With this change, Europe loses a last strong voice against the abolition of national veto rights." — followed by: Waitz interview without FPÖ counter-voice

Assessment: Adequate consideration of the FPÖ as the strongest party and chancellor's party is not ensured. The studio discussion addresses EU topics exclusively from the perspective of an opposition party.

Violation 3:

Norm: §4 para. 1 ORF Act (objectivity)

Facts: The editorial formulation "the end of the Orbán era" (00:22) and "proximity to Orbán" (06:10) as facts sets normative value judgements as objective descriptions.

Evidence: Timestamp 00:22 — Quote: "the end of the Orbán era" / Timestamp 06:10 — Quote: "The NEOS are taking jabs at the FPÖ because of their proximity to Orbán."

Assessment: Political value judgements are presented as editorial facts. "Proximity to Orbán" is a political claim by NEOS, not an objective description — the editorial adoption as fact violates the objectivity requirement.

Overall assessment §4 ORF Act

The programme "Hohes Haus" exhibits three demonstrable violations of §4 of the ORF Act: the structural favouring of an opposition party (Greens) in the studio discussion while simultaneously omitting the governing party (FPÖ), the framing of an active party politician as a neutral expert, and the editorial adoption of political value judgements as objective descriptions. These violations are not limited to individual formulations, but are structurally embedded in the programme concept. A legally sound complaint would be based in particular on §4 para. 1 (objectivity and impartiality) and §10 para. 7 (adequate consideration of all National Council parties).



CHAPTER 6 — SOURCE DEEP-CHECK

Thomas Waitz (Greens, MEP)

- 1. FUNDING:** EU parliamentary funds (allowances, group funds of the Greens/EFA group), Greens Party Austria
- 2. MANDATE:** Active politician — mandate is explicitly partisan; not compatible with a neutral assessment of European policy questions
- 3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Institutional interest in positive portrayal of EU integration, the European Parliament and the Green Deal; personal interest in establishing a profile as an EU expert
 - D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — Active Greens politician with a clear pro-EU agenda
 - D2 Personal risk: -1 — No personal disadvantages from his statements
 - D3 Professional competence: +2 — >10 years EP experience, direct institutional knowledge
 - D4 Consistency of opinion: +1 — Consistent with Greens positions
 - D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: 0 — Mix of factual arguments and normative appeals
 - D6 Source level: +1 — Primary source as directly involved, but partisan**TOTAL: +1 → SOURCE INDICATOR: YELLOW**
- 5. COUNTER-VOICE:** Not cited. An FPÖ EU spokesperson or independent EU political scientist would have introduced a counter-perspective.

Anonymous political scientist (municipal report)

- 1. FUNDING:** Unknown — no information in the transcript
- 2. MANDATE:** Unclear — cannot be assessed without institutional assignment
- 3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Cannot be assessed
 - D1 Conflict of interest: 0 — Unknown
 - D2 Personal risk: 0 — Unknown
 - D3 Professional competence: +1 — Title suggests professional competence, not verifiable
 - D4 Consistency of opinion: 0 — Unknown
 - D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: +1 — References voter turnout data
 - D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary source**TOTAL: +2 → SOURCE INDICATOR: YELLOW**
- 5. COUNTER-VOICE:** Not cited. A political scientist with a different assessment of the democracy question regarding municipal size would have introduced a counter-perspective.

Elisabeth Grossmann (former SPÖ state councillor Styria)

- 1. FUNDING:** SPÖ politician, public funds (pension/remuneration)
- 2. MANDATE:** As a co-responsible party for the merger policy, not compatible with a neutral assessment
- 3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Institutional interest in a positive retrospective assessment of the merger policy in which she was involved
 - D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — Co-responsible for the policy being assessed
 - D2 Personal risk: -1 — No personal disadvantages from a positive assessment
 - D3 Professional competence: +1 — Direct political experience with the topic
 - D4 Consistency of opinion: 0 — Unknown
 - D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: +1 — Factual
 - D6 Source level: +1 — Primary source as directly involved**TOTAL: 0 → SOURCE INDICATOR: YELLOW**
- 5. COUNTER-VOICE:** Not cited. A mayor of a merged municipality with negative experiences would have introduced a counter-perspective.

Juliane Bogner-Strauß (former ÖVP state councillor Styria)

- 1. FUNDING:** ÖVP politician, public funds
- 2. MANDATE:** As a co-responsible party for the merger policy, not compatible with a neutral assessment
- 3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Institutional interest in a positive retrospective assessment of the merger policy
 - D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — Co-responsible for the policy being assessed
 - D2 Personal risk: -1 — No personal disadvantages from a positive assessment
 - D3 Professional competence: +1 — Direct political experience



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D4 Consistency of opinion: 0 — Unknown
D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: +1 — Factual
D6 Source level: +1 — Primary source as directly involved
TOTAL: 0 → SOURCE INDICATOR: YELLOW

5. COUNTER-VOICE: Not cited. Analogous assessment to Grossmann — both pro-merger, both co-responsible.
Hannes Heide (SPÖ, MEP, Committee on Culture)

1. FUNDING: EU parliamentary funds, SPÖ

2. MANDATE: Active politician; as a member of the Committee on Culture directly involved with the assessed topic (EP art purchases)

3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST: Institutional interest in positive portrayal of the EP art programme in which he participates as a committee member

D1 Conflict of interest: -1 — Member of the assessing body
D2 Personal risk: -1 — No personal disadvantages from a positive assessment
D3 Professional competence: +1 — Committee on Culture member
D4 Consistency of opinion: 0 — Unknown
D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: +1 — Factual
D6 Source level: +1 — Primary source as directly involved

TOTAL: +1 → SOURCE INDICATOR: YELLOW

5. COUNTER-VOICE: Not cited — less problematic for the art report, as it is not a politically controversial topic.

IMPORTANT: "Recognised" is not a factual qualification. It is a social attribution that must itself be questioned. All persons presented in this programme as experts or knowledgeable voices are active or former politicians with party-political affiliation and an institutional interest in certain assessments. Not a single source receives the source indicator GREEN. All sources are YELLOW — structurally partisan, but not entirely lacking in credibility.

Legal and methodological classification

No finding of fact	The results presented do not constitute findings of fact regarding individual persons, editorial teams or programmes. They are to be understood as the result of a standardised operationalisation, not as a determination of individual responsibility.
No legal ruling	The aggregated deviation index does not replace a legal assessment within the meaning of §4 ORF Act. The determination of whether a specific programme violates statutory requirements is the exclusive responsibility of the competent authorities (in particular KommAustria).
No proof of causality	Statistical correlations are not to be interpreted as proof of causal relationships or editorial intentions. Deviation values may be influenced by topic selection, news situation, political controversy or format logic.
No judgement of intent	The analysis measures observable structural characteristics of programmes. A score of 7 means that a considerable imbalance has been identified — not that the editorial team intended this. The methodology makes no statements about motives or strategic objectives.
Heuristic comparison instrument	The index serves the purpose of comparative pattern recognition across thousands of programmes, not the precise metric measurement of individual contributions. Threshold values serve as heuristic orientation, not as sharp legal qualification.



APPENDIX 1: NATIONAL LEGISLATION

Legal basis Austria — ORF

Law

ORF Act (ORF-G, BGBl. No. 379/1984 as amended)

Relevant articles

- ORF-G §4 para. 5: Information must be comprehensive, independent, impartial and objective. All news and reports must be carefully checked for accuracy and origin; news and commentary must be clearly separated from one another.
- ORF-G §4 para. 5a: The totality of programmes must ensure diversity and balance.
- ORF-G §10 para. 7: Adequate consideration of all parties represented in the National Council.
- ORF-G §4 para. 1: Mandate for a differentiated overall programme that is comprehensive, independent, impartial and objective.

Core obligations

- 1. Objectivity and impartiality:** Comprehensive, independent, impartial information
- 2. Separation of news/commentary:** Clear distinction
- 3. Consideration of parties:** Adequate consideration of all National Council parties
- 4. Overall programme diversity:** Diversity and balance across all programmes

Supervisory authority

- KommAustria (Communications Authority Austria): Media regulatory authority
- Federal Communications Senate: Appeals body
- Audience Council: Representation of listeners and viewers

Complaints procedure

1. ORF Audience Council
2. KommAustria
3. Federal Communications Senate
4. Administrative Court



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APPENDIX 2: SCIENTIFIC FOUNDATIONS

Literature

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The SRG collects 1.56 billion francs per year — compulsorily, from every household. Those who feel unfairly treated can lodge a complaint. There is even a body for this: the IGAC, the Independent Complaints Authority for Radio and Television.

Only: it is not independent. It has no sanctioning powers. And in 99.6% of all cases it decides: nothing.

This analysis lays bare the system — factually, precisely, without polemic. Procedures, personnel, powers, costs, statistics, legal recourse. And the constitutional law review that shows: the IGAC system meets none of the three fundamental criteria — it is not appropriate, not based on separation of powers, not market-based. The authority that is supposed to protect citizens primarily protects the system it was supposed to control.

Essential reading for all those considering a complaint — and for all those who want to understand why genuine media oversight in Switzerland is still outstanding.