



ORF DETAILED ANALYSIS

2026-04-28_Report vom 28.04.2026

Broadcast: ORF broadcast | 2026-04-28 | Analysed on: 2026-05-21 10:28

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

OVERALL SCORE

6.1/10

Serious deviation from the impartiality requirement. High degree of deviation

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)

2.9 / 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 for political classification and does not factor into the overall score.



POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

Analysis system: Version 3.0-detail | Methodological principle K11+K8 active

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 SPÖ, as the strongest opposition party, is particularly relevant — it is simultaneously a governing party at the state level in several federal states and, according to the transcript, provides a State Secretary in the Interior Ministry as well as a parliamentary club chairman in the National Council.

Special feature of this broadcast: The SPÖ appears here in a dual role — as an opposition party in the National Council (Kucher) and as a governing party at the federal level (State Secretary for Intelligence Services). This is analytically relevant for the assessment of impartiality.

Party	CHES L-R	Seats	Government/Opposition	Core position
FPÖ	8.5	57	Government (chancellor's party)	Migration/remigration, EU scepticism, national sovereignty
ÖVP	6.0	51	Government (junior partner)	Economic location, strict asylum policy, openness to technology
SPÖ	3.0	41	Opposition (federal level) / Government (states)	Workers' rights, wealth tax, social security
NEOS	5.5	18	Opposition	Liberal economic policy, transparency, EU integration
Greens	2.5	16	Opposition	Climate protection, humane asylum policy, social security

The dominant line of conflict is budget consolidation: the FPÖ-ÖVP government must reduce a massive deficit, while the SPÖ as an opposition party criticises austerity measures on pensions and social benefits — even though, according to the transcript, it was itself involved in the budget agreement (Kucher speaks of "we"). A second line of tension is the question of security in parliament and the FPÖ's relationship with the Identitarian Movement, which is prominently addressed in this broadcast. Third line of conflict: energy policy and climate change using the example of Kaunertal, where security of supply is weighed against natural hazards and environmental protection.

The ORF is Austria's public broadcaster and is subject to the ORF Act, in particular §4 (objectivity, impartiality, diversity of opinion) and §10 para. 7 (adequate consideration of all National Council parties). The FPÖ under Kickl has historically classified the ORF as politically left-leaning and is pursuing an ORF reform, which increases the institutional tension between the governing party and the public broadcaster. The structural proximity between the ÖVP and the ORF Foundation Board has been the subject of public criticism for years.



CHAPTER 1 — PARTY-POLITICAL BIAS

Party	Score (-5..+5)	Broadcast portrayal vs. programme position
ÖVP	-1	02:29 "The ÖVP receives the most with 76.5 million euros" — programme position transparency/frugality: correctly portrayed, but the ÖVP party congress is framed as a cost factor without analogous treatment of other parties. 08:08 ÖVP podcast with "rather benevolent questions" — slightly negatively connoted, but factually correct. Overall: slightly distorted by selective focus on ÖVP expenditure in the party funding segment.
SPÖ	+2	09:32–19:12 Kucher interview: SPÖ positions (bank levy, childcare, pension protection, broad shoulders) are correctly and extensively portrayed. Kucher receives a platform without a comparable countervoice from the government. Programme position "wealth tax/broad shoulders" correctly reflected. Score slightly positive due to platform advantage.
FPÖ	-4	19:12–33:08 Identitarian segment: FPÖ programme position (remigration as legitimate migration policy) is framed exclusively by opponents. 27:04 Kickl quote "start remigration" is immediately linked to Weidinger's statement "ethnic cleansing". FPÖ's refusal of an interview is emphasised multiple times (31:10, 33:13). No FPÖ voice on its own position. Programme position "national sovereignty, remigration" is framed as far-right, not presented as a party position.
Greens	+1	37:24 Gebi Mair receives extensive speaking time in the Kaunertal segment. Green core position (climate protection, critical infrastructure review) correctly portrayed. Slightly positive through uncommented platform.
NEOS	0	04:57–06:03 JUNOS demand for halving party funding correctly portrayed. NEOS contradiction (in government, but no implementation) is addressed. Balanced.

Party bias summary

- Most accurate portrayal: NEOS, score 0
- Strongest distortion: FPÖ, score -4
- Average deviation from 0: 1.6
- Conclusion: The broadcast shows a clear asymmetric treatment of the FPÖ: while SPÖ positions are presented without comment and in detail, the FPÖ is treated exclusively in the context of far-right extremism allegations. The FPÖ's core position "remigration" is not defined as a party position, but through the expert framework as "ethnic cleansing" — without the party itself being given a voice. This is a structural distortion that touches on §4 of the ORF Act.



CHAPTER 2 — BROADCAST INFORMATION AND THEMATIC FRAMEWORK

Broadcast data

- Title: ORF Report
- Date: 28.04.2026
- Presenter / Reporter: H. Nüchtern, A. Neumayr (subtitle indication); field reporter: Emanuel Liedl (named at 31:55)
- Persons interviewed:

Actors	Function	Party/affiliation	Political spectrum
Philip Kucher	SPÖ parliamentary club chairman	SPÖ	Left (3.0)
Florian Hiegelsberger	Upper Austria state executive director ÖVP	ÖVP	Centre-right (6.0)
Sophie Wotschke	JUNOS federal chairwoman, NEOS parliamentarian	NEOS	Centre-liberal (5.5)
Barbara Sommerer	Expert assessor Court of Audit (National Council election 2024)	Independent/subject expert	Neutral
Bernhard Weidinger	DÖW (Documentation Centre of Austrian Resistance)	NGO, partly state-funded	Left-progressive
Andreas Mölzer	FPÖ-affiliated publicist	FPÖ environment	Right (8.0)
Andreas Hanger	ÖVP member of parliament	ÖVP	Centre-right (6.0)
SPÖ State Secretary (name not mentioned)	State Secretary for Intelligence Services	SPÖ	Left (3.0)
Wilfried Haerberli	Swiss permafrost expert	Science/WWF client	Technically neutral, but commissioned by WWF
Maximilian Frey	WWF representative	NGO (environment)	Left-green
Gebi Mair	Head of Tyrolean Greens	Greens	Left (2.5)
Michael Holzmann	TIWAG dam manager	Project operator	Economically neutral
Anita Hofmann	Kaunertal resident, project opponent	Civil society/against project	Not classifiable
Christian Kalsberger	Mayor of Kaunertal	Municipal politics	Pro-project
Governor of Tyrol (not interviewed)	Governor	ÖVP	Centre-right

Main topic



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

The broadcast covers three thematic blocks: (1) party funding in the context of budget consolidation, (2) parliamentary staff of the FPÖ with connections to the Identitarian Movement, (3) the controversial Kautertal power plant project.



CHAPTER 3 — 15 CRITERIA: DETAILED ANALYSIS

Hard facts

Hard facts — 9 techniques that are countable and scientifically robust

1. EXPERT SELECTION

7/10

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Expert 1: Bernhard Weidinger, DÖW

Timestamp: 22:58–25:10 and 27:24–27:49

Statement: "What is special about the Identitarian Movement [...] is that it dresses the same demands in more palatable packaging." / "The remigration project, which is basically nothing other than a programme of ethnic cleansing."

Classification: Weidinger is an employee of the DÖW, which has been producing the state report on right-wing extremism since 2020. The DÖW is institutionally oriented towards the documentation and combating of right-wing extremism — that is its mandate and its raison d'être.

Missing countervoice: An independent political scientist without an institutional mandate to combat right-wing extremism; a constitutional lawyer on the question of distinguishing legal party work from extremism.

Source in-depth check Weidinger:

(a) FUNDING: The DÖW is funded to a considerable extent from public funds (federal government, Vienna). Since 2020, it has had a state mandate for the right-wing extremism report of the Interior and Justice Ministries.

Conflict of interest: The DÖW has an institutional interest in presenting right-wing extremism as a significant and growing problem — this secures relevance and funding. When assessing the question "How dangerous are the Identitarians?", this is a structural conflict of interest.

(b) MANDATE: The DÖW has an explicit mandate to document and combat right-wing extremism. This is not compatible with a neutral assessment of the question of whether a particular movement is right-wing extremist — that is the core question on which Weidinger is consulted as an expert.

D1 Conflict of interest: -1 — Institutional interest in maintaining the relevance of the topic; state client is simultaneously a political actor

D2 Personal risk: +1 — Weidinger risks little professionally with this assessment; it corresponds to his mandate

D3 Professional competence: +2 — Long-term observation of the Identitarians since 2012; relevant publications

D4 Consistency of opinion: +2 — Consistent assessment over years

D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: 0 — Mix of factual presentation and evaluative terms ("ethnic cleansing")

D6 Source level: +1 — Primary observation, but institutionally filtered

TOTAL: +5 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: GREEN (just)

(c) PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE: YES — "has been observing the Identitarian Movement since 2012" and "responsible for the right-wing extremism report" sounds like independent expertise, but conceals the structural conflict of interest. This is technique no. 2 (source selection).

Expert 2: Barbara Sommerer, Court of Audit expert assessor

Timestamp: 06:17–07:51



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

Statement: "Parties spend 50 to 80% of their total annual turnover on advertising, marketing and PR in election years."

Classification: Sommerer has produced expert reports for the Court of Audit on the 2024 National Council election. The Court of Audit is an independent supervisory authority.

Missing countervoice: A party representative who explains the necessity of election campaign expenditure; a media economist on the question of whether the comparison with corporate marketing is appropriate.

Source in-depth check Sommerer:

(a) FUNDING: Court of Audit is state-funded, but institutionally independent.

Conflict of interest: Low — Court of Audit has no direct interest in a particular political assessment.

(b) MANDATE: Compatible — Court of Audit expert report on party financing is exactly her area of expertise.

D1 Conflict of interest: +1 — Institutionally independent

D2 Personal risk: +1 — Expert assessor without political agenda

D3 Professional competence: +2 — Direct professional competence through Court of Audit expert reports

D4 Consistency of opinion: +1 — No contrary statements known

D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: +2 — Data-based (concrete percentages)

D6 Source level: +2 — Primary source (own expert reports)

TOTAL: +9 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: GREEN

(c) PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE: Correctly framed as a subject expert. No framing problem.

Expert 3: Wilfried Haerberli, permafrost expert

Timestamp: 34:23–35:57 and 45:14–45:49

Statement: "TIWAG has dealt professionally with the present, but not with the future."

Classification: Haerberli is a recognised Swiss permafrost scientist. However, his study was commissioned by the WWF — an environmental NGO that opposes the Kaunertal project.

Missing countervoice: An independent permafrost expert without a WWF mandate; an expert assessor from TIWAG or the authorities.

Source in-depth check Haerberli:

(a) FUNDING: Study commissioned by the WWF — an environmental NGO that opposes the project.

Conflict of interest: The client has a clear interest in a particular result. This does not mean that the study is wrong, but it is a relevant conflict of interest.

(b) MANDATE: Technically compatible (permafrost expertise), but commissioned research for an advocacy organisation.

D1 Conflict of interest: -1 — WWF client with clear project-rejection position

D2 Personal risk: +1 — Renowned scientist who risks his reputation

D3 Professional competence: +2 — Worldwide recognition in the permafrost field

D4 Consistency of opinion: +2 — Consistent scientific position

D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: +1 — Predominantly data-based

D6 Source level: +1 — Own research, but in a commissioned context

TOTAL: +6 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: GREEN

(c) PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE: Framed as a neutral scientist, without mentioning the WWF commissioned context. This is a framing problem.

Missing expert groups:

- Constitutional lawyer on the question of security vetting of parliamentary staff
- Independent political scientist (without DÖW mandate) on the FPÖ/Identitarian question
- Independent permafrost expert without WWF mandate

Source traffic light for participants:

Präsident: Schläpfer, David - **Kontakt:** kontakt@SVFAB.ch - **Adresse:** SVFAB, Postfach, CH-8021 Zürich 1



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

Source	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	Total	Traffic light
Bernhard Weidinger, DÖW	-1	+1	+2	+2	0	+1	+5	GREEN
Barbara Sommerer, Court of Audit expert assessor	+1	+1	+2	+1	+2	+2	+9	GREEN
Wilfried Haerberli, permafrost expert	-1	+1	+2	+2	+1	+1	+6	GREEN

Summary:

Expert	Source traffic light	Main problem
Weidinger (DÖW)	GREEN (just, +5)	Structural conflict of interest not disclosed; framed as a neutral authority
Sommerer (CA)	GREEN (+9)	No problem
Haerberli (WWF commission)	GREEN (+6)	WWF commissioned context not mentioned



2. SOURCE SELECTION

7/10

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

Claims without primary source = penalty points (rumour check)

Source 1: "well-informed security circles"

Timestamp

22:01 — Statement: "This concerns 10 to 20 persons, as we have learned from well-informed security circles."

(a) Funding and sponsorship: Anonymous — no identification possible.

(b) Structural conflict of interest: Security circles can be politically motivated; the information could originate from the Interior Ministry, which is co-managed by the SPÖ (State Secretary).

(c) Missing source that would substantiate a contrary view: YES — an official statement from the Constitutional Protection Office or the Interior Ministry.

Rumour check:

Rumour 1:

Timestamp: 22:01

Claim: "This concerns 10 to 20 persons, as we have learned from well-informed security circles."

Word marker: "as we have learned from well-informed security circles" — classic anonymous source without primary source

Primary source available: NO — penalty point +1

Rumour 2:

Timestamp: 00:00 (caption) — Claim: "We don't find it and try our luck in parliament."

Word marker: Context unclear, no primary source

Primary source available: NO — penalty point +1

Source 2: DÖW (Documentation Centre of Austrian Resistance)

Timestamp

22:58 — Statement: Weidinger as expert on right-wing extremism

(a) Funding: Public (federal government, Vienna), since 2020 state mandate for right-wing extremism report.

(b) Structural conflict of interest: DÖW has an institutional interest in maintaining the relevance of the topic of right-wing extremism. When assessing whether a movement is right-wing extremist, this is a conflict of interest.

(c) Missing counter-source: Independent political scientist without an institutional mandate.

CHURCH/STATE-FUNDED BODIES: DÖW is partly state-funded and has a state mandate → To be identified as "partly state-funded, structural conflict of interest in assessing the dangerousness of right-wing extremism". Not identified as such in the broadcast.

Source 3: WWF (Maximilian Frey)

Timestamp

40:38 — Statement: "Through the changed mode of operation, through the expansion, the hazard potential is increased."

(a) Funding: NGO, donation-funded, internationally networked.

(b) Structural conflict of interest: WWF is institutionally opposed to large-scale projects in nature conservation areas — clear advocacy position.

(c) Missing counter-source: Independent energy expert; TIWAG expert assessor.



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

NGO/advocacy organisation: WWF is an advocacy organisation with a clear project-rejection position. In the broadcast it is not framed as a partisan voice, but as a specialist perspective.

Summary: The source selection is systematically one-sided: anonymous security circles (not verifiable), DÖW (state-funded, institutional mandate against right-wing extremism) and WWF (advocacy NGO against the project) are framed as neutral specialist sources, without disclosing their structural conflicts of interest. Two rumours without a primary source were identified (+2 penalty points).



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

Estimated speaking time (thematic block 2 — Identitarians/FPÖ, approx. 19:12–33:08, ~14 min.):

- Weidinger (DÖW, critical of FPÖ): approx. 3.5 min. (25%)
- Hanger (ÖVP, critical of FPÖ): (7%)
- Hammer (Greens, critical of FPÖ): approx. 1.5 min. (11%)
- SPÖ State Secretary (critical of FPÖ): (7%)
- Mölzer (FPÖ-affiliated publicist, not a party representative): approx. 0.5 min. (4%)
- Reporter/narration (framed as critical of FPÖ): approx. 6.5 min. (46%)
- FPÖ directly: 0 min. (0%)

Estimated speaking time (thematic block 1 — budget/party funding, approx. 00:00–19:12, ~19 min.):

- Kucher (SPÖ): (37%)
- Sommerer (Court of Audit): approx. 1.5 min. (8%)
- Wotschke (NEOS/JUNOS): (5%)
- Hiegelsberger (ÖVP): approx. 0.5 min. (3%)
- Reporter/narration: (47%)
- FPÖ: 0 min. (0%)
- Government representatives (FPÖ/ÖVP federal level): 0 min. (0%)

Estimated speaking time (thematic block 3 — Kaunertal, approx. 33:19–46:09, ~13 min.):

- Haerberli (WWF client, sceptical of project): (23%)
- Frey (WWF, opposed to project): approx. 1.5 min. (12%)
- Mair (Greens, opposed to project): (15%)
- Hofmann (project opponent): (8%)
- Holzmann (TIWAG, in favour of project): (8%)
- Kalsberger (mayor, pro-project): approx. 0.5 min. (4%)
- Reporter/narration: (31%)

Summary: The time distribution is asymmetric in all three thematic blocks in favour of critical/left-wing positions. In the Identitarian segment, the FPÖ as the affected party receives zero speaking time, while four different critics are given a voice. In the budget segment, the SPÖ opposition politician dominates, while the governing parties (FPÖ, ÖVP federal level) are not represented.



4. OMISSION (Selective Omission)

7/10

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Omission 1: Comparative perspective on extremism connections of other parties

Context

The Identitarian segment deals exclusively with FPÖ staff with connections to a far-right movement. It is not asked whether other parties have similar connections to left-wing extremist or other extreme movements.

Relevant at: 19:12–33:08

Effect

The omission suggests that the problem lies exclusively with the FPÖ, which creates a structural partiality.

Omission 2: FPÖ government position on the budget

Context

The budget segment deals extensively with budget consolidation, but exclusively through the SPÖ opposition politician Kucher. The FPÖ as the chancellor's party, which is responsible for the budget, is not given a voice.

Relevant at: 09:32–19:12

Effect

The omission creates the impression that the SPÖ is commenting on budget policy without the responsible governing party being able to present its position.

Omission 3: WWF commissioned context of the Haeberli study

Context

Haeberli is presented as an independent scientist. The fact that his study was commissioned by the WWF — an organisation that opposes the project — is not mentioned.

Relevant at: 34:23

Effect

The omission creates the false impression of an independent scientific assessment.

Summary: The omissions follow a consistent pattern: information that would relativise the critical framing of the FPÖ or the Kaunertal project is systematically omitted. This is not coincidental, but a structural pattern.

Missing voices

- FPÖ parliamentary club chairman or secretary general: Would have directly presented the party's position on staff and Identitarians — instead only documentation of refusal.
- Constitutional lawyer: Would have contextualised the legal limits of security vetting of parliamentary staff and the constitutional dimension of party funding.
- Representatives of other parties on extremism connections: Would have enabled a comparative perspective (e.g. left-wing extremist connections at other parties).
- Independent economic expert on the budget: Would have contextualised the Fiscal Council assessment independently of Kucher's portrayal.
- TIWAG board or energy expert: Would have presented the energy policy dimension of the Kaunertal project beyond natural hazards.
- Governor of Tyrol (ÖVP): Would have represented the political decision-making level on the Kaunertal project — refusal is documented, but is no substitute.
- Independent geologist without WWF mandate: Would have independently assessed the Haeberli study.



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

- Pensioners' representative: Would have brought in the perspective of those affected by pension cuts, which is only dealt with abstractly in the Kucher interview.



5. MANIPULATION OF FIGURES

4/10

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

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

Finding 1: Party funding Germany-Austria comparison

Timestamp 10:47

Figure: "Germany, which is ten times larger, spends less in absolute figures."

Dimensions:

- (a) Absolute value: shown (266 million Austria vs. less Germany)
- (b) Share/per capita: NOT shown — Germany has ~84 million inhabitants, Austria ~9 million. The per capita comparison would be the relevant benchmark.
- (c) Trend: NOT shown

Missing context

Germany also funds parties through other channels (foundations, parliamentary group funds). The comparison is methodologically problematic.

Effect

Suggests that Austria is extremely wasteful by international comparison, without mentioning the methodological limitations of the comparison.

Finding 2: 10 to 20 persons under Constitutional Protection surveillance

Timestamp 22:01

Figure: "This concerns 10 to 20 persons"

Dimensions:

- (a) Absolute value: shown (but with a wide range: 10–20)
- (b) Share: NOT shown — How many parliamentary staff does the FPÖ have in total? How many do all parties have together?
- (c) Trend: NOT shown

Missing context

Without the total number of FPÖ parliamentary staff, the figure of 10–20 cannot be contextualised.

Effect

The figure sounds large and threatening, without any ratio being established.

Summary: Two relevant manipulations of figures through selective dimensional presentation: the Germany comparison lacks the per capita dimension, the Constitutional Protection figure lacks the share dimension. Both omissions reinforce the critical framing.



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

Association 1: Kickl quote → "ethnic cleansing"	
Timestamp	27:04–27:49
Quote	<i>Kickl: "Stop population replacement, start remigration" / immediately afterwards Weidinger: "The remigration project, which is basically nothing other than a programme of ethnic cleansing."</i>
Technique: Direct cut sequence: Kickl original audio → Weidinger assessment. No commentary, no distancing, no countervoice. The association is established through the editing.	
Effect	Kickl's use of the term "remigration" is directly equated with "ethnic cleansing" through the cut sequence — without Kickl or the FPÖ having the opportunity to contest this equation.

Association 2: FPÖ staff → Identitarians → Christchurch attacker	
Timestamp	25:20–25:43
Quote	<i>"In mid-March 2019, a right-wing extremist killed 51 Muslims [...] in Christchurch. A problem for the Identitarians, because the attacker had donated to their spokesman Martin Sellner."</i>
Technique: Chain of association: FPÖ staff → Identitarians → Sellner → Christchurch attacker. The chain is not explicitly drawn, but implied through the narrative structure.	
Effect	FPÖ parliamentary staff are placed in a chain of association with a mass murderer.

Chain of association: FPÖ parliamentary staff → Identitarians → Sellner → Christchurch attacker (donation)

Association 3: Remigration → National Socialism	
Timestamp	23:34–23:50
Quote	<i>"Terms that are negatively connoted, that are associated with National Socialism, such as 'Umvolkung' [ethnic replacement], are replaced. One does not say 'Überfremdung' [over-foreignisation], one says 'great replacement'. One does not demand mass deportations, but remigration."</i>
Technique: Semantic equation: remigration = mass deportations (just differently packaged). Since remigration is an official term in the FPÖ programme, the FPÖ's programme is implicitly equated with NS terminology.	
Effect	FPÖ government programme is framed as semantically disguised National Socialism.

For Weidinger as "expert" — categorisation:

- Works with verifiable primary sources: YES (documentation archive)
- Core statements falsifiable: PARTIALLY (factual presentation yes, value judgements such as "ethnic cleansing" are normative assertions)
- Personal risk: LOW (corresponds to institutional mandate)
- Gain: Institutional relevance, state mandate
- Net: Risk < Gain → reduced credibility for normative value judgements
- CATEGORY: B — Borderline case: factual presentation documented, normative value judgements ("ethnic cleansing") are not falsifiable and correspond to the institutional mandate.



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

Summary: The broadcast systematically uses guilt-by-association techniques: Kickl is associated with "ethnic cleansing" through a cut sequence, FPÖ parliamentary staff are placed in a chain of association with the Christchurch attacker, and the term "remigration" is framed as a semantically disguised NS term. These techniques are particularly problematic because the FPÖ is given no opportunity to contest the associations.



7. TIMING

5/10

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

Finding 1: Identitarian segment after Kucher interview

Position: 19:12 (after the SPÖ interview)

Content: Immediately after the benevolent SPÖ interview, the critical FPÖ segment follows.

Timing effect

The contrast between the constructive SPÖ appearance (Kucher explains budget policy) and the subsequent FPÖ segment (right-wing extremism allegations) is reinforced by the placement. The viewer unconsciously compares: SPÖ = responsible governing partner, FPÖ = security risk.

Finding 2: Christchurch reference in the middle of the segment

Position: 25:20 (middle of the Identitarian segment)

Content: The Christchurch attack is introduced as historical context before the current parliamentary staff connections are presented.

Timing effect

The emotional charge through the mass murder reference occurs before the presentation of the actual facts (parliamentary staff with Identitarian connections). This maximises the emotional impact of the subsequent facts.

Summary: The timing of the Identitarian segment is strategic: it follows the constructive SPÖ interview and begins with emotional charging (Christchurch) before the factual presentation. This reinforces the impact of the criticism of the FPÖ.



8. SELECTIVE OUTRAGE

6/10

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

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

Finding 1: Outrage over FPÖ staff/Identitarians — no comparison with other parties

Timestamp: 26:26–27:49

Triggering event: FPÖ parliamentary staff have connections to the Identitarian Movement.

Reaction: Hanger (ÖVP): "These are potential threats to the state. This gives me great cause for concern." / Hammer (Greens): "If enemies of democracy are working at the heart of democracy, then we have a problem."

Comparison: There is no broadcast sequence in which parliamentary staff of other parties with connections to extreme movements (e.g. left-wing extremist connections) are treated with comparable outrage. No analogous event at other parties in this broadcast.

Asymmetry: Demonstrably present — The outrage is directed exclusively at FPÖ staff. A comparative perspective is completely absent.

Degree of outrage: 4/5 — Multiple voices, clear formulations ("threats to the state")

Selectivity: 5/5 — Only one party affected, no comparative perspective

Finding 2: Outrage over ÖVP party congress costs — no comparison with SPÖ party congress

Timestamp: 01:29–02:19

Triggering event: ÖVP party congress in Linz with high costs, state executive director refuses to disclose costs.

Reaction: Reporter: "The financial outlay for the event is enormous" / "Money that comes to a large extent from public subsidies, i.e. taxpayers' money."

Comparison: 09:00 — SPÖ Vienna held its party congress on the same weekend. Reaction: Neutral mention, no critical questioning of costs, no outrage framing.

Asymmetry: Demonstrably present — ÖVP party congress is framed as a cost problem, SPÖ party congress is mentioned neutrally. Comparable triggering event (party congress with costs), no analogous reaction.

Degree of outrage: 2/5 — Implicit, through framing

Selectivity: 3/5 — Clear asymmetry between ÖVP and SPÖ

Summary: Two demonstrable selective outrage instances: (1) FPÖ staff/Identitarians are treated with a strong outrage framing, without a comparative perspective on other parties; (2) ÖVP party congress is framed as a cost problem, SPÖ party congress mentioned neutrally — despite a comparable triggering event.



9. COMPLETENESS (Selective Omission — Overall picture)

7/10

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Finding 1: Missing FPÖ counterweight in the Identitarian segment

Timestamp 19:12–33:08

Missing perspective: FPÖ party position on staff and Identitarians; legal classification of actual prohibitions; comparative perspective on other parties.

Relevance: 14 minutes of broadcast time about a party, without that party being given a voice, violates the basic principle of impartiality.

Impact: The overall picture is one-sided: FPÖ = security risk, without the possibility of a rebuttal.

Finding 2: Missing government weight in the budget segment

Timestamp 09:32–19:12

Missing perspective: FPÖ chancellor's party and ÖVP federal level on budget policy.

Relevance: The budget is the most important government decision of the period. The responsible governing party is not given a voice.

Impact: Budget policy is commented on exclusively by the opposition politician Kucher, who simultaneously acts as a governing partner at the state level — a structurally distorted perspective.

Finding 3: Missing energy policy dimension in the Kaunertal segment

Timestamp 33:19–46:09

Missing perspective: Economic and energy policy analysis of the project; cost-benefit comparison with alternatives.

Relevance: The segment deals extensively with natural hazards, but barely with the energy policy necessity of the project.

Impact: The overall picture is: project = dangerous and unnecessary, without a balanced assessment.

Summary: The broadcast shows systematic completeness deficiencies in all three thematic blocks: The FPÖ as the chancellor's party is not given a voice in any segment, while critics are given extensive speaking time. This is a structural pattern that touches on §4 of the ORF Act.

Soft facts

The broadcast appears in a context of massive budget consolidation (5 billion euros in savings required), a new FPÖ-ÖVP government and an ongoing social debate about the boundaries between a legitimate right-wing party and right-wing extremism. The Identitarian segment touches on one of the most sensitive political questions in Austria: the question of whether the FPÖ as a governing party maintains a structural connection to movements hostile to the constitution. The Kaunertal segment is set in the context of the European energy crisis (the Iran war is mentioned) and the climate change debate about natural hazards in the high mountains.

Share of perspectives covered

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

Thematic block 1 — Party funding:



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

[A] Comparative international perspective: Why is high party funding in some democracies conceived as protection against oligarch influence?

[B] FPÖ position on party funding (governing party, biggest winner of the election)

[C] ÖVP position on party funding (governing party)

[D] Constitutional perspective: Limits of reducibility

[E] Historical perspective: Development of party funding in Austria

Thematic block 2 — FPÖ/Identitarians:

[F] FPÖ statement on its own personnel policy (was refused, but refusal is itself a finding)

[G] Legal classification: What is actually prohibited, what is not?

[H] Comparative perspective: Are there similar connections at other parties to extreme movements?

[I] Constitutional perspective: Limits of security vetting of parliamentary staff

Thematic block 3 — Kaunertal:

[J] Governor of Tyrol (has refused interviews: relevant as a finding)

[K] Economic perspective: Cost-benefit of the project for energy supply

[L] Technical counter-perspective to the Haeberli study (TIWAG expert assessor)

[A] INDICATED

Timestamp: 11:16 — Quote: "I don't want American conditions. That major donors can exert influence on politics."
— Assessment: Only indicated by Kucher (SPÖ), no independent analysis.

[B] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: FPÖ as chancellor's party and biggest election winner is not given a voice on party funding.

[C] INDICATED

Timestamp: 01:38–02:12 — Quote: "I will not comment on the figures." — Assessment: ÖVP state executive director refuses to provide information; no ÖVP federal level voice.

[D] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: No constitutional classification of the limits of party funding cuts.

[E] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: Historical development completely absent.

[F] INDICATED

Timestamp: 31:10 — Quote: "We would have tried to get you for an interview." — Assessment: Refusal is documented, but FPÖ position only represented by Mölzer (publicist, not a party representative).

[G] INDICATED

Timestamp: 29:58 — Quote: "The FPÖ would say the Identitarians are not banned. That is an NGO from the right." — Assessment: Presented as a hypothetical FPÖ position by the reporter, not by the FPÖ itself.

[H] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: No comparative perspective on other parties and their connections to extreme movements.

[I] INDICATED

Timestamp: 32:25 — Quote: "I would say that the staff members should be security-vetted." — Assessment: Only SPÖ State Secretary, no constitutional classification.



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

[J] INDICATED

Timestamp: 37:16 — Quote: "We would have liked to have questioned the Governor about this, but he turned down several interview requests." — Assessment: Refusal documented, but no statement.

[K] INDICATED

Timestamp: 36:53–37:06 — Quote: "It would be one of the biggest construction sites in Europe for 10 years." — Assessment: Economic dimension is mentioned, but not analysed.

[L] ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 36:01 — Quote: "There are currently no indications that such a scenario can occur in the near future." — Assessment: TIWAG representative is given a voice, but significantly less time than critics.

Completeness score: 4/10

Justification: Of 12 relevant perspectives, only 2 are fully addressed, 6 are indicated and 4 are completely omitted. Particularly serious is the absence of the FPÖ voice in the Identitarian segment (despite 14 minutes of broadcast time about the party) and the absence of a comparative perspective on other parties. The Kaunertal segment is somewhat more balanced, but suffers from the absence of the Governor.



Soft facts — 6 qualitative techniques

10. FRAMING (setting the frame)

7/10

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

Finding 1: Remigration = ethnic cleansing

Timestamp

23:46–23:51

Quote

"One does not demand mass deportations, but remigration."

Manipulation

The term "remigration" — an official term in the FPÖ government programme — is framed as a semantic disguise for "mass deportations". This defines FPÖ government policy as disguised extremism.

Why problematic

"Remigration" is a politically controversial, but legal term. The equation with "mass deportations" is a normative value judgement, not a factual presentation. However, it is presented as expert opinion, not as an opinion.

Finding 2: Identitarians = "arrived at the centre of democracy"

Timestamp

19:48–19:56

Quote

"The Identitarian Movement — hostile to the constitution, hostile to democracy and yet arrived at the centre of democracy."

Manipulation

The introduction of the segment sets the frame: a movement hostile to the constitution has infiltrated parliament. This is a conclusion that would first need to be substantiated by the subsequent facts — here it is set as a premise.

Why problematic

The claim "hostile to the constitution" is a legal classification that is not substantiated by a court ruling. The Identitarian Movement is not banned in Austria. The framing exceeds the factual basis.

Finding 3: Kaunertal — "Kaunertal residents left alone with their concerns"

Timestamp

43:48–43:53

Quote

"While the Kaunertal residents are left alone with their concerns..."

Manipulation

The population is framed as abandoned and defenceless, politics as indifferent. However, the mayor has spoken out in favour of the project — he is also a Kaunertal resident.

Why problematic

The framing ignores the fact that the local population is divided (mayor pro, Hofmann contra). The simplification to "Kaunertal residents vs. politics" is misleading.

Summary: The framing of the broadcast is consistent across all three thematic blocks: FPÖ = security risk/extremism, large-scale project = danger/indifference towards the population. These framings are presented as facts, but are normative assertions.



11. CHOICE OF WORDS AND TERMS

6/10

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

Finding 1: "Budget disaster" by Kucher without comment

Timestamp	14:44
Quote	<i>"It was not easy to take responsibility for such a budget disaster."</i>
Manipulation	The term "budget disaster" is a political value judgement by the SPÖ, which holds the previous governments (ÖVP-led) responsible. It is not questioned by the presenter.
Why problematic	A neutral alternative would be: "budget deficit" or "budget situation". "Disaster" is a political battle term that is left uncommented.

Finding 2: "Symbiotic" as a characterisation of FPÖ/Identitarians

Timestamp	24:43
Quote	<i>"The Documentation Archive describes the relationship between the right-wing extremist Identitarians and the FPÖ as 'symbiotic'."</i>
Manipulation	"Symbiotic" implies mutual benefit and close entanglement. The term is presented as a DÖW assessment, but treated as a fact through the broadcast structure.
Why problematic	A neutral alternative would be: "The DÖW sees connections between the FPÖ and the Identitarians." The adoption of the DÖW term without distancing makes it a broadcast statement.

Finding 3: "Campaign journalism" — FPÖ allegation without contextualisation

Timestamp	31:27–31:37
Quote	<i>"the FPÖ accuses us of campaign journalism"</i>
Manipulation	The FPÖ allegation is cited, but immediately relativised by Hafenecker's statement ("things that go back ten years"). The question of whether the allegation is justified is not raised.
Why problematic	An allegation of campaign journalism against the ORF is a relevant statement that would require journalistic self-reflection. Instead, it is framed as an FPÖ diversionary manoeuvre.

Summary: The broadcast's choice of words consistently adopts the language of FPÖ critics ("budget disaster", "symbiotic", "ethnic cleansing") without distancing, while FPÖ's own terms ("remigration") are framed as euphemisms for extremism.



12. MODERATION BEHAVIOUR

6/10

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

Finding 1: Follow-up question to Kucher on party funding — no comparison with governing parties

Timestamp: 11:58–12:05

Triggering event: Kucher evades the question about concrete cuts.

Quote (presenter): "I hear a contribution, adjust to inflation, but I don't hear cuts."

Comparison: There is no analogous segment in which an FPÖ or ÖVP representative is asked about concrete cuts to party funding.

Asymmetry: Partially demonstrable — The follow-up question is journalistically correct, but it is only asked of Kucher (SPÖ), not of government representatives. This is a structural asymmetry through absence, not through different treatment.

Finding 2: No follow-up question on Kucher's "budget disaster" statement

Timestamp: 14:44–15:04

Triggering event: Kucher describes the budget as a "disaster" and shifts responsibility to previous governments.

Quote (presenter): No follow-up question — presenter moves on to the next topic.

Comparison: On the question of breaking one's word on pensions (14:22), Kucher is directly confronted. On the politically charged "disaster" statement, there is no follow-up question.

Asymmetry: Demonstrably present — Critical follow-up questions occur on factual contradictions (pensions), but not on political value judgements (budget disaster).

Finding 3: No confrontation with FPÖ position in the Identitarian segment

Timestamp: 19:12–33:08

Triggering event: 14-minute segment about FPÖ and Identitarians without an FPÖ voice.

Quote (presenter/reporter): "We would have liked to have spoken with someone from the FPÖ about this research. [...] Unfortunately we only received refusals."

Comparison: In the Kaunertal segment, the Governor's refusal (ÖVP) is also documented (37:16), but the segment is significantly more balanced (TIWAG is given a voice).

Asymmetry: Demonstrably present — The FPÖ's refusal leads to a completely one-sided segment; the Governor's refusal leads to a more balanced segment. The editorial response to refusals is asymmetric.

Summary: The moderation behaviour shows a structural asymmetry: critical follow-up questions are asked of Kucher (SPÖ) on factual contradictions, but political value judgements remain un-commented. In the Identitarian segment, the FPÖ's refusal is not compensated by alternative FPÖ voices, while in the Kaunertal segment the ÖVP's refusal is offset by TIWAG representatives.



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

Asymmetry 1: Kucher vs. Hiegelsberger	
To Kucher (SPÖ), 09	36: "Will politics save on itself, on party funding?" — neutral/soft
To Kucher (SPÖ), 14	22: "Is that not a breach of one's word?" — hard (direct confrontation)
To Hiegelsberger (ÖVP), 01	46: "How much does such a party congress cost?" — neutral
To Hiegelsberger (ÖVP), 04	04: "But how much does the party congress cost?" — follow-up after refusal
Comparison	Kucher is questioned both softly (party funding) and hard (breach of word). Hiegelsberger is only questioned on costs, not on political positions. The asymmetry lies in the depth: Kucher is confronted with political contradictions, Hiegelsberger only with figures.

Asymmetry 2: SPÖ State Secretary vs. FPÖ (not present)	
To SPÖ State Secretary, 32	18: "He could imagine that in future parliamentary staff would also be security-vetted." — no critical follow-up question about his own role as State Secretary for Intelligence Services
To FPÖ	No interview possible (refusal)
Comparison	The SPÖ State Secretary is not asked why, as the responsible State Secretary, he has not already taken measures. The question of whether he benefits politically from the situation is not raised.

Summary: The question asymmetry is structural: SPÖ representatives are confronted with political contradictions (which is journalistically correct), but also given soft questions. FPÖ representatives are not given a voice at all. The SPÖ State Secretary is not questioned about his own responsibility.



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

Finding 1: Mölzer as FPÖ "countervoice"

Timestamp 22:21–22:51

Construct: Andreas Mölzer is presented as an FPÖ-affiliated voice defending the employment of Identitarian-affiliated staff.

Analysis

Mölzer is an FPÖ-affiliated publicist, not a party representative. His statement ("That must be possible in a free country") is a weak defence that is easy to refute. The choice of a publicist instead of a party representative creates a false balance: it looks as if the FPÖ has a voice, but the chosen voice is the weakest possible defence.

Effect

Apparent balance that reinforces rather than offsets the criticism.

Summary: The broadcast uses a weak form of false balance in the Identitarian segment: Mölzer as an FPÖ-affiliated voice creates the impression of balance, but is not an adequate substitute for a party statement. This is more problematic than having no countervoice at all, because it simulates balance.



15. AGENDA-SETTING

7/10

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

Finding 1: FPÖ = security risk as a set agenda element

Set agenda element: The FPÖ as a governing party is a security risk for democracy.

Timestamp

19:48 — Evidence: "The Identitarian Movement — hostile to the constitution, hostile to democracy and yet arrived at the centre of democracy."

Alternative agenda: The FPÖ as a governing party that was democratically elected and bears governmental responsibility; the question of whether security vetting should apply to all parliamentary staff of all parties.

Finding 2: Party funding = scandal as a set agenda element

Set agenda element: The high level of party funding is a scandal that cannot be justified in times of budget consolidation.

Timestamp

01:04 — Evidence: "But does politics also save on itself? For example on party funding? That is very high in Austria."

Alternative agenda: The question of whether public party financing has a democratic protective function; the constitutional limits of cuts; the question of whether private financing would actually be better.

Finding 3: Kaunertal project = dangerous and unnecessary as a set agenda element

Set agenda element: The Kaunertal project is dangerous (natural hazards) and unnecessary (alternatives exist).

Timestamp

45:03 — Evidence: "A project that might come in 20 years is no use to us!"

Alternative agenda: The energy policy necessity of the project for security of supply; the EU classification as an important energy transition project; the economic consequences of failure.

Summary: The broadcast sets three consistent agenda elements: FPÖ = security risk, party funding = scandal, Kaunertal = dangerous. These agendas are treated as self-evident, without presenting the counter-arguments on an equal footing.



CHAPTER 4 — OVERALL EVALUATION

Results

- HARD FACTS SCORE (average criteria 1-9): 6.3 / 10
- SOFT FACTS SCORE (average criteria 10-15): 5.8 / 10

Dominant techniques

- 1. Guilt by Association (score 8):** The broadcast links FPÖ government policy (remigration) through cut sequences and expert framing with "ethnic cleansing" and the Christchurch mass murder, without the FPÖ being given the opportunity to contest these associations. This is the most impactful technique of the broadcast, because it defines the governing party as structurally extremist.
- 2. Agenda-Setting (score 7):** The broadcast sets three consistent agendas (FPÖ = security risk, party funding = scandal, Kaunertal = dangerous) as self-evident premises, without treating the counter-arguments on an equal footing. These agendas are consistently reinforced through expert selection, source selection and framing.
- 3. Completeness/Omission (score 7):** The FPÖ as the chancellor's party is not given a voice in any of the three thematic blocks. This is not a coincidental omission, but a structural pattern: the party that governs the country is portrayed exclusively through its critics.

Core messages of the broadcast

MESSAGE 1 (SUBSTANTIVE): "The FPÖ as a governing party is a security risk for Austrian democracy, because it maintains structural connections to movements hostile to the constitution."

Technique: Guilt by Association, Agenda-Setting, completeness deficiency — Evidence: 19:48, 24:43, 27:04–27:49

MESSAGE 2 (PERSONAL): "Politics saves on citizens, but not on itself — and the ÖVP is particularly unconvincing in this regard."

Technique: Selective outrage, framing, time distribution — Evidence: 01:29, 09:00, 10:47

MESSAGE 3 (SOCIETAL): "Large infrastructure projects like Kaunertal are dangerous and unnecessary — the population is left alone by politics."

Technique: Framing, source selection (WWF/Greens dominate), agenda-setting — Evidence: 43:48, 45:03, 37:16

Justification: The overall score of 6.1 is at the boundary between "clear one-sidedness" and "systematic imbalance". The classification as "systematic imbalance" is justified because the one-sidedness cannot be attributed to individual errors, but follows a consistent pattern: the FPÖ as the chancellor's party is not given a voice in any of the three thematic blocks, while its critics are given extensive speaking time. This violates §4 of the ORF Act (objectivity, impartiality, diversity of opinion) in multiple respects. Particularly serious is the Identitarian segment, in which 14 minutes of broadcast time are devoted to a party without that party being given an adequate opportunity to make a statement. The FPÖ's refusal of interviews does not relieve the ORF of the obligation to present the party's position through other means (archive material, written statements, party representatives at other levels).

CONCLUSION

The broadcast shows a systematic imbalance that is consistent across all three thematic blocks: the FPÖ as the chancellor's party is portrayed exclusively through its critics, while the SPÖ as an opposition party receives an extensive and comparatively benevolent platform. The dominant techniques — guilt by association, agenda-setting and structural completeness deficiencies — cannot be attributed to individual editorial decisions, but follow a recognisable pattern. Particularly problematic is the Identitarian segment: the linking of FPÖ government policy (remigration) with "ethnic cleansing" and the Christchurch mass murder through cut sequences and expert framing, without the FPÖ being adequately given a voice, violates §4 of the ORF Act (objectivity, impartiality) in a manner that could be legally relevant. The FPÖ's refusal of interviews mitigates this finding, but does not negate it — the ORF has an obligation to ensure balanced reporting even when interviews are refused. The broadcast does not fulfil this obligation.



OVERALL EVALUATION OF THE 15 CRITERIA

Individual scores — All 15 criteria

No.	Criterion	Score	Classification
1	EXPERT SELECTION	7	••••
2	SOURCE SELECTION	7	••••
3	TIME DISTRIBUTION	6	•••
4	OMISSION (Selective Omission)	7	••••
5	MANIPULATION OF FIGURES	4	••
6	GUILT BY ASSOCIATION	8	••••
7	TIMING	5	•••
8	SELECTIVE OUTRAGE	6	•••
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	6	•••
14	FALSE BALANCE	3	••
15	AGENDA-SETTING	7	••••

HARD FACTS SCORE (1-8)

6.3/10

Serious deviation from the impartiality requirement. High degree of deviation

SOFT FACTS SCORE (9-14)

5.8/10

Considerable imbalance

OVERALL SCORE

6.1/10

Serious deviation from the impartiality requirement. High degree of deviation

Averaged from hard facts and soft facts



KEY — Meaning of scores

Individual scores per criterion (0–10)

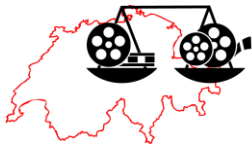
0	No finding	No relevant anomaly identified.
1–2	Weak finding	Slight anomaly without significant impairment of balance.
3–4	Slight to moderate finding	Recognisable tendency; impact relevance low to moderate.
5	Moderate finding with impact relevance	Relevant imbalance that influences the opinion-forming potential of the audience.
6	Considerable finding (threshold)	Scores from 6 are reported as "considerable findings".
7	Considerable finding	Clear, well-documented imbalance with significant impact relevance.
8–9	Serious finding	Pronounced imbalance; multiple documented 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 significant patterns recognisable; broadcast corresponds to the requirement of factual accuracy.
2.6 – 4.0	Slight imbalance	Isolated anomalies; statistically visible, but still within the tolerance range.
4.1 – 6.0	Considerable imbalance	Multiple considerable findings; relevant impairment of diversity of perspectives.
6.1 – 8.0	Serious deviation from the impartiality requirement. High degree of deviation	Pronounced, broadcast-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 disadvantaged in portrayal, speaking time or framing.
-2 to -1	Slightly disadvantaged	Recognisable, but weak disadvantage.
0	Neutral	No discernible preference or disadvantage.
+1 to +2	Slightly favoured	Recognisable, but weak preference.
+3 to +5	Strongly favoured	Party is clearly favoured in portrayal, speaking time or framing.



CHAPTER 5 — LEGAL CLASSIFICATION (§4 ORF Act)

Assessment under §4 ORF Act

Violation 1:

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

Facts: In the Identitarian segment (19:12–33:08), the FPÖ as the chancellor's party is portrayed for 14 minutes exclusively through critics. The only FPÖ-affiliated voice (Mölzer, publicist) is not an adequate substitute for a party statement. The linking of FPÖ government policy with "ethnic cleansing" through a cut sequence (27:04–27:49) without a rebuttal violates the requirement of impartiality.

Evidence: Timestamp 27:04 — Kickl quote "start remigration" / immediately afterwards 27:24 — Weidinger: "The remigration project, which is basically nothing other than a programme of ethnic cleansing."

Assessment: The cut sequence represents an editorial decision that equates FPÖ government policy with a term that has criminal law connotations ("ethnic cleansing" = crime against humanity). Without an adequate FPÖ rebuttal, this violates §4 para. 1 of the ORF Act.

Violation 2:

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

Facts: The FPÖ as the strongest party in the National Council (57 seats, chancellor's party) is not given a voice in any of the three thematic blocks of the broadcast. In the budget segment, budget policy is commented on exclusively by the SPÖ opposition politician Kucher. In the Identitarian segment, the FPÖ is portrayed exclusively through critics.

Evidence: Timestamp 09:32–19:12 — Kucher interview without government representatives; timestamp 33:13 — "Unfortunately we only received refusals."

Assessment: The FPÖ's refusal of interviews does not relieve the ORF of the obligation of adequate consideration. The ORF could and should have presented the FPÖ's position through archive material, written statements or representatives at other levels (state level, other members of parliament).

Violation 3:

Norm: §4 para. 1 ORF Act (objectivity) — obligation to disclose sources

Facts: Weidinger (DÖW) is presented as a neutral specialist authority, without disclosing his structural conflict of interest (state mandate for right-wing extremism report, institutional interest in maintaining relevance). Haeberli is presented as an independent scientist, without mentioning the WWF commissioned context.

Evidence: Timestamp 23:09 — "For five years the Documentation Archive has also been responsible for the annually published right-wing extremism report of the Interior and Justice Ministries." (state mandate is mentioned, conflict of interest is not); timestamp 34:23 — Haeberli without mention of the WWF commission.

Assessment: The requirement of objectivity demands the disclosure of conflicts of interest in cited experts. The concealment of the WWF commission in the case of Haeberli and the incomplete presentation of the DÖW conflict of interest violates this requirement.

Overall assessment §4 ORF Act

The broadcast violates §4 of the ORF Act in three dimensions: (1) The impartiality of reporting is violated by the Kickl/Weidinger cut sequence and the complete absence of the FPÖ voice in the Identitarian segment. (2) The diversity of opinion is violated by the structural absence of the chancellor's party in all three thematic blocks. (3) Objectivity is violated by the concealment of conflicts of interest in cited experts. The FPÖ's and the Tyrolean Governor's refusal of interviews mitigates the finding, but does not negate it — the ORF has an active obligation to balanced reporting that goes beyond the mere documentation of interview refusals. A complaint to KommAustria under §36 of the ORF Act would be justifiable on the basis of these findings.



CHAPTER 6 — SOURCE IN-DEPTH CHECK

Organisation 1: DÖW — Documentation Centre of Austrian Resistance

- FUNDING:** Public (federal government, City of Vienna, further public bodies). Since 2020, state mandate for the annual right-wing extremism report of the Interior and Justice Ministries.
- MANDATE:** Documentation and combating of right-wing extremism, National Socialism and related phenomena. The mandate is not compatible with a neutral assessment of the question of whether a particular movement is right-wing extremist — that is the core question on which the DÖW is consulted.
- CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** The DÖW has an institutional interest in presenting right-wing extremism as a significant and growing problem. This secures relevance, funding and the state mandate. When assessing the dangerousness of the Identitarians, this is a structural conflict of interest.
 - D1 Conflict of interest: -1 — State mandate, institutional interest in maintaining relevance
 - D2 Personal risk: +1 — Weidinger risks little; statements correspond to mandate
 - D3 Professional competence: +2 — Long-term primary observation since 2012
 - D4 Consistency: +2 — Consistent assessment over years
 - D5 Emotion vs. data: 0 — Mix; "ethnic cleansing" is a normative value judgement
 - D6 Source level: +1 — Primary observation, institutionally filtered**TOTAL: +5 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: GREEN (just)**
- COUNTERVOICE:** An independent political scientist without an institutional mandate to combat right-wing extremism could have provided a different assessment of the dangerousness of the Identitarians. Not cited.

Organisation 2: WWF Austria (Maximilian Frey)

- FUNDING:** International NGO, donation-funded, membership fees, project grants (partly public).
- MANDATE:** Nature conservation and environmental protection. The mandate is not compatible with a neutral assessment of large infrastructure projects — the WWF is institutionally opposed to such projects in nature conservation areas.
- CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** The WWF has an institutional interest in preventing the Kaunertal project. It commissioned the Haeberli study. It is a party to the proceedings (request for emergency plans, court proceedings). This is a clear conflict of interest.
 - D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — Clear advocacy position against the project; client of the counter-study
 - D2 Personal risk: 0 — Corresponds to institutional mandate
 - D3 Professional competence: +1 — Environmental NGO with specialist knowledge, but not a technical expert
 - D4 Consistency: +1 — Consistent project-rejection position
 - D5 Emotion vs. data: 0 — Mix of data and advocacy
 - D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary source (cites the Haeberli study, which it commissioned itself)**TOTAL: 0 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW**
- COUNTERVOICE:** An independent energy expert or a TIWAG expert assessor would have questioned the WWF position. TIWAG is given a voice, but significantly less time.

Organisation 3: JUNOS (Sophie Wotschke)

- FUNDING:** Youth organisation of NEOS, funded through NEOS party funding and own resources.
- MANDATE:** Political youth organisation of NEOS — not a neutral mandate, but political advocacy.
- CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** JUNOS/NEOS have a political interest in the demand for cuts to party funding — it is a profile-building topic. At the same time, NEOS is in government and is not implementing the demand.
 - D1 Conflict of interest: -1 — Political party organisation
 - D2 Personal risk: +1 — Public demand against coalition partner
 - D3 Professional competence: 0 — Political actor, not a subject expert
 - D4 Consistency: +1 — Consistent NEOS position
 - D5 Emotion vs. data: 0 — Mix
 - D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary (cites no own studies)**TOTAL: +1 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW**



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

5. COUNTERVOICE: An FPÖ or ÖVP voice on party funding would have contextualised the JUNOS position. Completely absent.

IMPORTANT: "Recognised" is not a substantive qualification. The DÖW is "recognised" as a documentation archive — this does not mean that its normative value judgements ("ethnic cleansing") may be treated as facts. The social attribution "recognised" does not replace a substantive examination of conflicts of interest.

Source traffic light for participants:

Source	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	Total	Traffic light
DÖW — Documentation Centre of Austrian Resistance	-1	+1	+2	+2	0	+1	+5	GREEN
WWF Austria (Maximilian Frey)	-2	0	+1	+1	0	0	0	YELLOW
JUNOS (Sophie Wotschke)	-1	+1	0	+1	0	0	+1	YELLOW

Legal and methodological classification

No finding of fact	The results presented do not constitute findings of fact about individual persons, editorial teams or broadcasts. 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 assessment of whether a specific broadcast 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 can be influenced by topic selection, news situation, political controversy or format logic.
No judgement of intent	The analysis measures observable structural characteristics of broadcasts. 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 for comparative pattern recognition across thousands of broadcasts, not for 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, Federal Law Gazette 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 truth and origin; news and commentary must be clearly separated from each other.
- ORF-G §4 para. 5a: In the totality of programmes, diversity and balance must be ensured.
- 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:** Adequately consider 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



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

APPENDIX 2: SCIENTIFIC FOUNDATIONS

Literature

- Bennett, W. L. (1990). Toward a theory of press-state relations in the United States. *Journal of Communication*, 40(2), 103–125.
- Berelson, B. (1952). *Content analysis in communication research*. Free Press.
- Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), 51–58.
- fög – Research Centre Public Sphere and Society (2024). *Yearbook Quality of the Media 2024*. Schwabe.
- Gilardi, F., Alizadeh, M. & Kubli, M. (2023). ChatGPT outperforms crowd workers for text-annotation tasks. *PNAS*, 120(30).
- Iyengar, S. & Kinder, D. R. (1987). *News that matters: Television and American opinion*. University of Chicago Press.
- Jolly, S. et al. (2022). Chapel Hill Expert Survey trend file, 1999–2019. *Electoral Studies*, 75, 102420.
- Krippendorff, K. (2004). *Content analysis: An introduction to its methodology* (2nd ed.). Sage.
- McCombs, M. E. & Shaw, D. L. (1972). The agenda-setting function of mass media. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 36(2), 176–187.
- Shoemaker, P. J. & Vos, T. P. (2009). *Gatekeeping theory*. Routledge.
- SVFAB (2026). *Methods report v4.1: Countable criteria and multi-model cross-validation*.
- Törnberg, P. (2023). ChatGPT-4 outperforms experts and crowd workers in annotating political Twitter messages. arXiv:2304.06588.

SVFAB Working Papers

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

David Schläpfer — ORCID: 0009-0000-5671-9266

SVFAB — Swiss Association for Balanced Reporting | P.O. Box, 8021 Zurich 1 | www.svfab.ch | kontakt@svfab.ch | *Methods report March 2026* | Converter 3.4 (2026-05-20)



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

Evaluations and membership at SVFAB

At SVFAB.ch you not only receive further detailed evaluations, but can also have them produced for any broadcasts you choose (we charge for this).

To make our work solid, we depend on membership and patron contributions.

Contact and further information:

www.SVFAB.ch | Kontakt@SVFAB.ch

Bank details: PostFinance – POFICHBE

IBAN: CH32 0900 0000 1675 6251 1

Recipient: SVFAB, P.O. Box, CH-8021 Zurich 1



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

You can obtain the following books from SVFAB

Orders via www.svfab.ch or kontakt@svfab.ch



Unbalanced reporting is the response to the halving initiative in Switzerland: here the manipulation techniques are explained in detail, starting with the selection of staff and source selection. Then 15 principles are explained: omission, framing, temporal framing, guilt by association, emotionalisation, context removal and many more, illustrated with many examples. In addition, it becomes apparent where we ourselves apply these techniques — this promotes not only insight but also empathy.

Optionally the book comes with **playing cards**

Also available as an **audiobook**



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

Those who do not know this provide material. Good quotes that are cut incorrectly. Correct statements that end up in the wrong context. Honest answers that are framed as confessions.

This book is not a media criticism book. It is a toolbox — for all those who have a microphone in front of their face and want to know what they can do about it. 7 chapters. 7 tools: What an interview really is. The 7 most common traps. The three basic principles of sovereignty — anchoring, reframing, setting boundaries. Preparation in one hour. Body and voice. What to do when things go wrong. And what counts after the interview.

For politicians, activists, entrepreneurs, whistleblowers — for all those who are exposed and want to understand how the game works. So that they stop playing along — and start shaping it.

In A5. Direct. For preparation, for reference, for follow-up and in difficult situations



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

Because those who understand framing see the world more clearly. Listen to the news differently. Conduct conversations with more confidence. And can no longer so easily have a frame imposed on them that someone else has chosen.



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

With many exercises and concrete examples from politics, media and everyday life — and the occasional smile.

Framing with style. Because the frame changes everything.



The SRG collects 1.56 billion francs per year — compulsorily, from every household. Those who feel unfairly treated can complain. There is even a body for this: the IBOA, 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 examination that shows: the IBOA system fulfils none of the three fundamental criteria — it is not appropriate, not based on separation of powers, not market-based. The body that is supposed to protect citizens protects above all 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.