



## ORF DETAILED ANALYSIS

2026-04-30\_ZIB Magazin- Wie frei sind Medien weltweit\_

Broadcast: ORF broadcast | 2026-04-30 | Analysed on: 2026-05-21 10:34

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

**OVERALL  
SCORE**

**5.3/10**

*Significant 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 displayed 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](https://chesdata.eu) | [Jolly et al., Electoral Studies, 2022](#) | Thresholds: [Pew Research Center](#)

This section serves for political classification and does not feed into the overall score.



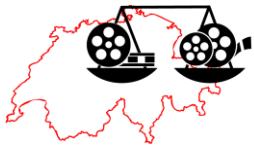
## POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

Since February 2025, Austria has been governed by a coalition of FPÖ and ÖVP under Federal Chancellor Herbert Kickl (FPÖ). The FPÖ is the strongest force in the National Council with 57 seats; the ÖVP is the junior partner with 51 seats. The opposition consists of SPÖ (41 seats), NEOS (18 seats) and Greens (16 seats).

Party	CHES L-R	Seats	Government/Opposition	Core position
FPÖ	8.5	57	Government (chancellor's party)	Remigration, EU scepticism, neutrality, social benefits for Austrians
ÖVP	6.0	51	Government (junior partner)	Business location, strict asylum policy, openness to technology
SPÖ	3.0	41	Opposition	Wealth tax, workers' rights, social climate policy
NEOS	5.5	18	Opposition	Radical-liberal, education reform, pro-European
Greens	2.5	16	Opposition	Climate neutrality, humane asylum policy, Green Deal

The dominant line of conflict runs between the FPÖ-led government and the established media establishment, with the FPÖ historically classifying the ORF as politically left-leaning and having sought an ORF reform. A second line of tension concerns the question of Austrian neutrality in the context of the Ukraine war and the European rearmament debate. The third line of conflict is migration policy, on which the government and opposition hold fundamentally different positions. The structural closeness between the ÖVP and the ORF Foundation Board has been the subject of public criticism for years.

The ORF is Austria's public broadcaster and is subject to the requirements of objectivity, impartiality and balance pursuant to §4 of the ORF Act. §10 para. 7 ORF-G requires adequate consideration of all parties represented in the National Council. Funding is provided primarily through the ORF contribution (formerly GIS), which creates a structural dependency on political framework conditions.



## CHAPTER 1 — PARTY-POLITICAL BIAS

Preliminary note: The broadcast covers the international press freedom ranking by "Reporters Without Borders". Austrian party positions are not explicitly addressed. The assessment therefore relates to implicit representational effects, particularly with regard to the framing of media freedom and democracy.

Party	Score (-5..+5)	Broadcast portrayal vs. programme position
FPÖ	-2	Not mentioned by name. The broadcast frames media criticism by politicians (Trump clips 02:38–02:51) as a threat to democracy — a framing that implicitly also affects FPÖ positions on ORF criticism. FPÖ programme positions (ORF reform, media criticism as a legitimate political instrument) are not presented. Distortion through analogy framing.
ÖVP	0	Not mentioned. No portrayal, no distortion.
SPÖ	0	Not mentioned. No portrayal, no distortion.
Greens	0	Not mentioned. No portrayal, no distortion.
NEOS	0	Not mentioned. No portrayal, no distortion.

### Party bias summary

- Most accurate portrayal: ÖVP / SPÖ / Greens / NEOS (Score 0 — not addressed, no distortion)
- Strongest distortion: FPÖ (Score -2 — implicit negative framing through Trump analogy)
- Average deviation from 0: 0.4
- Conclusion: The broadcast does not explicitly address Austrian party positions. However, the implicit effect is relevant: the framing of media criticism by government politicians as a threat to democracy (Trump clips, Hausjell statement 04:11) structurally affects the FPÖ, which as the governing party includes ORF criticism as a programme item. This analogy is not drawn explicitly, but is suggested by the dramaturgy of the broadcast.



## CHAPTER 2 — BROADCAST INFORMATION AND THEMATIC FRAMEWORK

### Broadcast data

- Title: ZIB Magazine — Press Freedom Ranking "Reporters Without Borders"
- Date: 30.04.2026
- Presenter / Reporter: Not named (subtitle: J. Russ, 00:18)
- Persons interviewed:

Actors	Function	Party/affiliation	Political spectrum
Fritz Hausjell	Communications expert (media scholar, University of Vienna)	No party; academic, active in media policy	Left-liberal / media reform spectrum
Isaias Afewerki	President of Eritrea	PFDJ (single party)	Authoritarian
Donald Trump	US President (archive material)	Republican Party	Right-populist
Unnamed China expert	Not identifiable from transcript	Not assignable	Not determinable

### Main topic

The broadcast presents the annual press freedom ranking by "Reporters Without Borders" with a focus on the bottom-ranked countries (Eritrea, North Korea, China), the USA under Trump, and Austria's improvement by three places.



## CHAPTER 3 — 15 CRITERIA: DETAILED ANALYSIS

### Hard facts — 9 techniques that are countable and scientifically verifiable

#### 1. EXPERT SELECTION

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**Expert 1:** Fritz Hausjell, "communications expert"

Timestamp: 03:12–04:16

Statement: "For us, it was particularly bitter to register that last year [...] Today one has the feeling that it might now be necessary from Europe to say: people, democracy needs a well-functioning journalistic system as its foundation. Otherwise, we will one day wake up in a dictatorship."

Classification: Fritz Hausjell is a media scholar at the University of Vienna, known for his media-political engagement in the left-progressive spectrum. He is a member of the board of trustees of the press freedom organisation and has repeatedly expressed criticism of right-wing media policies.

Missing counter-voice: A media scholar with a conservative or libertarian background (e.g. a representative of the Hayek tradition on media freedom as market freedom) or a politician who defends media criticism as a legitimate instrument.

#### Source in-depth check:

**(a) FUNDING:** University of Vienna (state-funded). Additionally: Hausjell is active in media-political networks that are partly funded through public funds and foundations. Conflict of interest: As a media scholar, he has an institutional interest in the interpretive authority over media quality and press freedom.

**(b) MANDATE:** University research is in principle compatible with neutral assessment. However, Hausjell's public media-political engagement goes beyond academic neutrality — he is advocacy-active.

D1 Conflict of interest: 0 — State-funded, but advocacy-active; no direct financial conflict of interest, but institutional bias possible.

D2 Personal risk: +1 — As a university professor, he bears a certain reputational risk for public statements.

D3 Subject expertise: +2 — Media studies is his core field; statements on press freedom are professionally relevant.

D4 Consistency of opinion: +1 — Hausjell has consistently held these positions.

D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: -1 — The statement "waking up in a dictatorship" (04:11) is appellative, not data-based.

D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary source; he interprets the RSF ranking, does not cite his own primary data.

**TOTAL: +3 → SOURCE INDICATOR: YELLOW**

**(c) SUBJECT EXPERTISE:** 12), although he represents a clearly positioned media-political stance. This corresponds to Technique No. 2 (source selection): an advocacy-active voice is presented as a neutral expert authority.

*Missing expert groups:*

- Media scholars with a conservative/libertarian background
- RSF representatives to explain the methodology
- Economist for media market structures

#### Source indicator for participants:

**Präsident:** Schläpfer, David - **Kontakt:** [kontakt@SVFAB.ch](mailto:kontakt@SVFAB.ch) - **Adresse:** SVFAB, Postfach, CH-8021 Zürich 1



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Source	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	Total	Indicator
Fritz Hausjell, "communications expert"	0	+1	+2	+1	-1	0	+3	<b>YELLOW</b>

*Summary:*

- Hausjell: SOURCE INDICATOR YELLOW (+3/12) — Professionally competent, but advocacy-active and appellative; presented as neutral, although he represents a clearly positioned stance.
- Only expert: No counter-voice present; structural one-sidedness through mono-expertise.



## 2. SOURCE SELECTION

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Claims without primary source = penalty points (rumour check)

### Source 1: "Reporters Without Borders" (RSF)

Timestamp: 00:03–00:29 — Statement: "This is shown by the annual ranking of 'Reporters Without Borders', in which countries around the world are compared."

**(a) Funding and sponsorship:** RSF is an international NGO headquartered in Paris. Funding through membership fees, donations, public grants (including EU, French government, various foundations). The exact funding structure is publicly accessible but is not mentioned in the broadcast.

**(b) Structural conflict of interest:** RSF is an advocacy organisation whose institutional mandate is the promotion of press freedom according to a specific (Western-liberal) understanding. The ranking is not a scientifically neutral measuring instrument, but an advocacy tool. RSF has an institutional interest in emphasising press freedom problems (maintaining relevance, fundraising).

**(c) Missing counter-source:** No methodological criticism, no alternative ranking list (e.g. Freedom House, V-Dem), no scientific contextualisation of the measurement methodology.

### Source 2: Archive material Trump

Timestamp: 02:36–02:51 — Statement: "You are the worst reporter! CNN has no ratings because of people like you. You are so bad! No wonder your channel has poor ratings! She is a young woman, I have never seen her smile."

**(a) Funding:** Archive material, no funding question.

**(b) Structural conflict of interest:** The selection of these specific clips (Trump's most aggressive statements towards journalists) is editorially selective. Trump's media criticism also has substantive dimensions (error reporting, bias allegations) that are not presented.

**(c) Missing counter-source:** No presentation of cases in which US media actually made errors or in which Trump's media criticism was factually justified.

Rumour check:

Rumour 1:

Timestamp: 03:00–03:05

Claim: "Such statements by the president could have contributed to this."

Word marker: "could" (subjunctive as a hedge without evidence)

Primary source available: NO — No study, no RSF document and no causal proof is cited. The causal claim (Trump statements → USA ranking) is an unsubstantiated inference. +1 penalty point.

Summary: The broadcast uses RSF as its sole source without identifying its advocacy character; the causal claim Trump → ranking deterioration is an unsubstantiated subjunctive; archive material is selectively limited to the most aggressive clips.



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

Estimated speaking time:

- Presenter/commentary (ORF): 30 sec. (approx. 57%)
- Fritz Hausjell (expert, left-progressive): approx. 55 sec. (approx. 21%)
- Afewerki (Eritrea, archive): approx. 25 sec. (approx. 10%)
- Trump (archive, negatively framed): approx. 15 sec. (approx. 6%)
- China expert (not identified): approx. 15 sec. (approx. 6%)

Summary: The only living expert given a voice is Hausjell with approx. 21% speaking time; no counter-voice receives speaking time. Trump archive material (negatively framed) and Hausjell (critical of Trump) are the only positions on the USA question — structurally one-sided, but quantitatively of limited significance for a 4-minute broadcast.



<b>4. OMISSION (Selective Omission)</b>								<b>8/10</b>	
<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>8</b>	9	10

#### Omission 1:

**Context** RSF methodology and conflict of interest of the organisation

Relevant at: 00:03–00:29 (introduction of the ranking)

**Effect** The ranking is presented as objective truth. Viewers receive no indication that RSF is an advocacy organisation whose ranking is based on subjective surveys and is methodologically contested. This creates false epistemic certainty.

#### Omission 2:

**Context** Austria's own media problems

Relevant at: 00:07–00:10 (Austria mention)

**Effect** Austria is mentioned positively (top 20, improvement), without the well-known structural problems of the Austrian media system (advertising corruption, ORF Foundation Board, political influence) being addressed. This creates a distorted self-image.

#### Omission 3:

**Context** Legitimate media criticism as a democratic instrument

Relevant at: 03:00–04:16 (Trump framing and Hausjell statement)

**Effect** The entire broadcast frames media criticism by politicians as a threat. The counter-position — that media themselves have bias problems and criticism of them is legitimate — is completely omitted. This is a structural one-sidedness on a question that is central to democratic politics.

Summary: The three central omissions (RSF methodology, Austrian media problems, legitimate media criticism) together create a picture that makes the broadcast's core thesis — media criticism by politicians is a threat to democracy — appear self-evident, without allowing counter-arguments.

### Missing voices

- RSF methodology critic (media scholar): Would have explained the ranking's measurement methodology and highlighted its limitations.
- American media scholar (conservative/libertarian): Would have provided a more nuanced view of the USA's placement and pointed to private media concentration as an independent problem.
- Austrian media politician (FPÖ/ÖVP): Would have introduced the perspective that media criticism by politicians is legitimate and does not automatically endanger press freedom.
- RSF representative: Would have directly explained the methodology and criteria of the ranking.
- Chinese media scholar or journalist: Would have provided a more differentiated insider perspective on the Chinese media landscape.
- Economist for media financing: Would have introduced structural factors (press subsidies, ownership concentration) as an explanation for ranking differences.
- Representative of alternative democratic theories: Would have questioned whether the RSF ranking universalises Western conceptions of democracy.



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## 5. MANIPULATION OF FIGURES

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

### Finding 1:

**Timestamp** 00:07–00:10

Figure: "Austria has improved by three places and is in the top 20."

Dimensions:

- (a) Absolute value: ✓ (three places, top 20)
- (b) Proportion: X (no ratio to 180 countries, no comparison with prior-year trend)
- (c) Trend: X (no long-term development for Austria)

#### Missing context

What exact place? What has the development been over the last 5 years? What are the specific reasons?

#### Effect

Austria appears broadly positive, without viewers being able to verify the classification.

### Finding 2:

**Timestamp** 02:29–02:36

Figure: "The USA, on the other hand, is in 57th place, behind Sierra Leone and ahead of Gambia."

Dimensions:

- (a) Absolute value: ✓ (place 57)
- (b) Proportion: X (no ratio: place 57 of 180 = upper third — not mentioned)
- (c) Trend: ✓ (02:55: "Slipped by two places")

#### Missing context

Place 57 of 180 means that the USA is in the upper third of all countries — a context that would relativise the dramatising effect of the comparison with Sierra Leone and Gambia.

#### Effect

The comparison with Sierra Leone and Gambia is rhetorically designed to discredit the USA, without stating the overall context (upper third of 180).

Summary: The figures are used selectively: Austria is presented positively without context, the USA is discredited through a rhetorically effective country comparison (Sierra Leone, Gambia) without stating the overall context (place 57 of 180 = upper third).



## 6. GUILT BY ASSOCIATION

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### Association 1:

**Timestamp** 00:33–01:30 → 02:29–03:05

**Quote** *"The superpowers are anything but positively conspicuous." [followed by Eritrea, North Korea, China] → then: "The USA, on the other hand, is in 57th place..."*

Technique: Dramaturgical sequence: Eritrea (place 180) → North Korea (place 179) → China (place 178) → USA (place 57). Through the narrative sequence, the USA is placed in proximity to the most authoritarian regimes in the world, even though there is an enormous qualitative difference between place 178 and place 57.

**Effect** Viewers associate the USA with Eritrea, North Korea and China, even though the USA is in place 57 of 180, in the upper third.

### Association 2:

**Timestamp** 03:06–04:16

**Quote** *"Trump's treatment of the media has a negative impact not only in his own country." → Hausjell: "Otherwise, we will one day wake up in a dictatorship."*

Technique: Trump's media criticism is placed in proximity to authoritarian regimes (Eritrea, North Korea, China) through Hausjell's dictatorship warning — regimes that were previously presented as the bottom-ranked countries.

**Effect** Media criticism by Trump (and implicitly by other politicians who criticise the media) is associated with dictatorship — an extreme association without evidence.

Chain of association: Eritrea/North Korea/China (dictatorships) → USA (place 57) → Trump (media criticism) → "waking up in a dictatorship"

Summary: The broadcast constructs a narrative chain of association from authoritarian regimes via the USA to Trump's media criticism and implicitly to any form of media criticism by politicians. This chain is dramaturgically effective but factually unjustified: place 57 of 180 is not an indicator of dictatorship.



## 7. TIMING

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### Finding 1:

Position: 00:00–00:15 (opening)

Content: "Austria has improved by three places and is in the top 20."

#### Timing effect

The positive Austria news is used as an opening before the negative examples (Eritrea, North Korea, China, USA) follow. This creates a contrast effect: Austria = good, others = bad. The Austria information is not elaborated upon, but serves as an emotional anchor for Austrian viewers.

### Finding 2:

Position: 04:11–04:16 (conclusion)

Content: Hausjell: "Otherwise, we will one day wake up in a dictatorship."

#### Timing effect

The most dramatic and appellative statement of the broadcast comes at the end — classic use of the primacy-recency effect. The last impression viewers take away is the dictatorship warning. This is the most emotionally effective placement for a message that is factually unsubstantiated.

### Finding 3:

Position: 02:29–02:55 (middle)

Content: USA placement with Sierra Leone/Gambia comparison, immediately followed by Trump clips

#### Timing effect

The numerical information (place 57) is immediately reinforced by emotional Trump clips before viewers can contextualise the figure. The emotional reaction to the Trump clips overlays the rational contextualisation of the placement.

Summary: The broadcast uses timing strategically: positive Austria information as an opening anchor, emotional Trump clips to reinforce the numerical information, dictatorship warning as the final impression.



## 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 is only demonstrable with a comparable trigger without an analogous reaction.*

### Finding 1:

#### Timestamp

02:36–03:05

Triggering event: Trump's statements towards a CNN journalist (archive material): "You are the worst reporter! CNN has no ratings because of people like you."

Reaction: Commentary (03:00–03:05): "Such statements by the president could have contributed to this." — implicitly evaluative; Hausjell statement follows with dictatorship warning.

#### Comparison

Analogous event — Austrian politicians (FPÖ, ÖVP) have repeatedly criticised the ORF sharply. No archive material, no commentary, no expert assessment on Austrian media criticism by politicians.

Asymmetry: Demonstrable. Trump's media criticism is accompanied by commentary and an expert warning; Austrian media criticism by politicians is not addressed, even though the broadcast explicitly mentions Austria (00:07). The triggering event (media criticism by government politicians) is structurally comparable.

Degree of outrage: 2/5 (implicitly evaluative, not openly outraged)

Selectivity: 3/5 (clear asymmetry: Trump is commented on, Austrian media criticism is not)

Summary: The broadcast comments on Trump's media criticism with implicit evaluation and an expert warning, but does not address comparable Austrian media criticism by politicians — a demonstrable asymmetry with a structurally comparable triggering event.



## 9. COMPLETENESS (Selective Omission — Overall Picture)

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### Finding 1:

**Timestamp** 00:03–00:29

Missing perspective/fact: RSF methodology and advocacy character of the organisation

Relevance: The RSF ranking is not a scientifically neutral measuring instrument. It is based on surveys of journalists and experts who are themselves subject to bias effects. Without this information, viewers cannot contextualise the ranking.

Impact: The ranking appears as objective truth; its normative and methodological constructedness remains invisible.

### Finding 2:

**Timestamp** 02:29–03:05

Missing perspective/fact: Structural media power of private corporations in the USA as an independent press freedom problem

Relevance: The USA's placement at rank 57 has multiple causes, including media concentration, economic pressure on journalists and owner influence — factors that exist and existed independently of Trump.

Impact: The causality Trump → ranking is suggested; structural, cross-party factors are excluded.

### Finding 3:

**Timestamp** 00:07–00:10

Missing perspective/fact: Austria's own media problems (advertising corruption, ORF Foundation Board, political influence)

Relevance: Despite its top-20 placement, Austria has well-known structural media problems that are documented in international comparisons.

Impact: Austria appears as a model example of press freedom; self-reflection is completely absent.

Summary: The broadcast systematically omits all perspectives that would relativise or question the core thesis (media criticism by politicians = threat to press freedom); the overall picture is structurally incomplete.

Press freedom is an internationally recognised fundamental right (Art. 10 ECHR, Art. 19 UN Human Rights Covenant), whose measurement by NGOs such as "Reporters Without Borders" (RSF) is methodologically contested. RSF itself is an advocacy organisation with its own political agenda, whose ranking methodology (surveys, subjective assessments) is critically discussed by media researchers. The debate on press freedom is increasingly polarised in Western democracies: while progressive camps frame media criticism by politicians as a threat, conservative and right-wing camps argue that established media themselves have bias problems. The placement of the USA at rank 57 under Trump is highly politically charged.

#### *Proportion of perspectives covered*

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

**[A] Methodological criticism of the RSF ranking:** How is it measured? Who is surveyed? What distortions arise?

**[B] RSF as an organisation:** Funding, political orientation, conflicts of interest

**[C] Austria's improvement:** Specific reasons, what has improved?



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- [D] **USA place 57:** Specific evidence for restrictions vs. structural media power of private corporations
- [E] Difference between state censorship and private media power/concentration
- [F] Media criticism as a legitimate democratic instrument (counter-position to Hausjell)
- [G] **Austrian media landscape:** ORF funding, Foundation Board, political influence
- [H] **Scandinavian countries:** Why at the top? Structural factors (press subsidies, ownership structures)
- [I] **China reporting:** Differentiation between state control and social reality
- [J] **Global trend:** Has press freedom improved or deteriorated worldwide? Long-term trend

**[A] OMITTED**

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: The methodology of the RSF ranking is not questioned or explained at any point; the ranking is presented as objective fact.

**[B] OMITTED**

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: RSF is treated as a neutral authority; the organisation's funding, political orientation and conflicts of interest are not addressed.

**[C] INDICATED**

Timestamp: 00:07 — Quote: "Austria has improved by three places and is in the top 20." — Assessment: Only stated as a fact, no explanation of the reasons.

**[D] INDICATED**

Timestamp: 02:55–03:05 — Quote: "The USA has slipped by two places compared to the previous year. Such statements by the president could have contributed to this." — Assessment: Causality is suggested, not substantiated; structural factors (media concentration, ownership structures) are absent.

**[E] OMITTED**

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: The difference between state censorship (Eritrea, North Korea) and private media concentration (USA) is not addressed — a distinction central to understanding the ranking.

**[F] OMITTED**

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: The position that media criticism by politicians can be a legitimate democratic instrument is not presented; only the counter-position (Hausjell) is given a voice.

**[G] OMITTED**

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: Austria's own media problems (ORF Foundation Board, advertising corruption, media funding) are not addressed despite the mention of Austria.

**[H] OMITTED**

Timestamp: 02:21–02:28 — Quote: "The Scandinavian countries, such as Norway, Sweden, Finland and Denmark, occupy the top places." — Assessment: Only stated as a fact, no structural explanation.

**[I] INDICATED**

Timestamp: 01:36–01:46 — Quote: "The new world power China comes in third from last. Media reporting follows the directives of the Communist Party." — Assessment: Highly simplified, no differentiation.

**[J] OMITTED**

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: No long-term trend, no global development perspective.

**Completeness score: 2/10**



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**Reasoning:** Of ten relevant perspectives, only three are touched upon to any degree, none fully addressed. The broadcast limits itself to an illustrative presentation of the ranking with a selective choice of countries and a single expert who confirms the broadcast's core thesis. Methodological criticism, counter-positions and structural explanations are completely absent.



## Soft facts — 6 qualitative techniques

### 10. FRAMING (Setting the frame)

7/10

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#### Finding 1:

Timestamp	00:33–00:36
Quote	<i>"The superpowers are anything but positively conspicuous."</i>
Manipulation	The framing of "superpowers" (USA, China) as problem cases sets a normative framework that associates power with press freedom problems. The USA is thereby placed in the same category as China, even though their placements (57 vs. 178) are fundamentally different.
Why problematic	Viewers are led to perceive the USA and China as equivalent problem cases, which is factually unjustified.

#### Finding 2:

Timestamp	03:51–04:16
Quote	<i>"Today one has the feeling that it might now be necessary from Europe to say: people, democracy needs a well-functioning journalistic system as its foundation. Otherwise, we will one day wake up in a dictatorship."</i>
Manipulation	The framing "waking up in a dictatorship" sets a catastrophe framework for the question of media freedom. This framework excludes any nuanced discussion of media criticism — anyone who criticises the media is implicitly framed as a precursor to dictatorship.
Why problematic	The dictatorship framework is a rhetorical extreme position that is not substantiated factually and prevents nuanced discussion.

#### Finding 3:

Timestamp	00:21–00:29
Quote	<i>"Where are freedom of opinion and press freedom respected, and where are they not? This is shown by the annual ranking of 'Reporters Without Borders'."</i>
Manipulation	RSF is framed as the sole and authoritative answer to the question of press freedom. The question "where is press freedom respected" implies that RSF can answer this question objectively — which is not the case methodologically.
Why problematic	Viewers are led to accept RSF as a neutral arbiter of truth, without knowing the advocacy nature of the organisation.

Summary: The broadcast operates within three frames: (1) superpowers as problem cases, (2) media criticism as a precursor to dictatorship, (3) RSF as an objective arbiter of truth. All three frames are normatively set and are not questioned.



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<b>11. CHOICE OF WORDS AND TERMS</b>									<b>6/10</b>
<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	7	8	9	10

<b>Finding 1:</b>	
<b>Timestamp</b>	01:36
<b>Quote</b>	<i>"The new world power China comes in third from last, just like that."</i>
<b>Manipulation</b>	"Just like that" is colloquially dismissive and suggests outrage. The formulation is not neutral reporting, but evaluative.
<b>Why problematic</b>	A neutral alternative would be: "China occupies place 178 of 180." The chosen formulation sets an emotional connotation that goes beyond the presentation of facts.

<b>Finding 2:</b>	
<b>Timestamp</b>	01:30–01:32
<b>Quote</b>	<i>"Even in second-to-last place, North Korea, there is only choreographically orchestrated approval."</i>
<b>Manipulation</b>	"Choreographically orchestrated" is a literary formulation with a strongly negative connotation. While factually accurate for North Korea, the linguistic elaborateness signals editorial evaluation.
<b>Why problematic</b>	A neutral alternative would be: "In North Korea, public approval is state-organised." The chosen formulation is rhetorically charged.

<b>Finding 3:</b>	
<b>Timestamp</b>	04:11
<b>Quote</b>	<i>"Otherwise, we will one day wake up in a dictatorship."</i>
<b>Manipulation</b>	"Waking up in a dictatorship" is an apocalyptic metaphor that equates a gradual process (erosion of press freedom) with a binary catastrophe scenario (dictatorship).
<b>Why problematic</b>	A neutral alternative would be: "Restrictions on press freedom can weaken democratic structures in the long term." The chosen formulation is appellative and not analytical.

Summary: The broadcast's choice of words is consistently slightly evaluative (China: "just like that", North Korea: "choreographically orchestrated") and culminates in Hausjell's apocalyptic dictatorship metaphor; neutral formulations would have been possible in all cases.



## 12. MODERATION BEHAVIOUR

3/10

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

*Methodological principle K11+K8: Document the triggering event.*

### Finding 1:

**Timestamp** 03:12–04:16

Triggering event: Hausjell makes a far-reaching political statement (dictatorship warning) that is factually unsubstantiated.

**Quote (presenter)** *No follow-up question, no interruption, no critical counter-question documented in the transcript.*

**Comparison** No guest with a counter-position present — asymmetry not fully demonstrable structurally, as no comparable case exists.

Asymmetry: Demonstrable to a limited extent. The absence of a critical follow-up question to Hausjell's dictatorship warning is notable, but cannot be assessed as asymmetric, since no guest with a counter-position is present who could have prompted an analogous reaction.

Note: In a 4-minute broadcast with a single expert, the assessment of moderation behaviour is structurally limited. The absence of critical follow-up questions to Hausjell's dictatorship warning is a finding, but not a demonstrable asymmetry in the sense of methodological principle K11+K8.

Summary: The moderation behaviour shows no demonstrable asymmetry in the technical sense (no comparable case), but the absence of a critical follow-up question to Hausjell's unsubstantiated dictatorship warning is a journalistic quality deficit.



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

<b>Asymmetry 1:</b>	
<b>To <b>Afewerki (Eritrea)</b>, 00</b>	56–01:25: "When will the next elections take place in Eritrea? The ones scheduled for 2001 did not take place." — <b>hard/confrontational</b>
<b>To <b>Hausjell</b>, 03</b>	12–04:16: No question documented in the transcript; Hausjell speaks without a discernible moderator question. — <b>no question / uncritical</b>
<b>Comparison</b>	Afewerki is questioned confrontationally (archive material); Hausjell receives no critical question. However, this is structurally conditioned: Afewerki is an authoritarian head of state, Hausjell is an expert. The asymmetry is therefore partly factually justified, but the absence of a critical follow-up question to Hausjell remains a deficit.

Note: In a 4-minute broadcast with only one living expert, the question asymmetry analysis is structurally limited. The score reflects the absence of critical follow-up questions, not a demonstrable systematic asymmetry.

Summary: The question asymmetry is structurally conditioned (archive material vs. live expert) and therefore only to a limited extent to be assessed as a manipulation technique; the absence of a critical follow-up question to Hausjell nevertheless remains a journalistic deficit.



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

<b>Finding 1:</b>	
<b>Timestamp</b>	00:07–00:10 — Construct: "Austria has improved by three places and is in the top 20."
<b>Analysis</b>	The brief mention of Austria could be interpreted as an attempt to introduce a positive note. However, it is too brief and lacking in context to constitute genuine balance. False balance in the classical sense (two equally presented but unequal positions) is not present in this broadcast — the broadcast makes no attempt to present counter-positions.

Summary: False balance in the classical sense is not present; the broadcast does not present artificial balance, but is openly one-sided. Score 1 for the marginal mention of Austria as the only positive element.



## 15. AGENDA-SETTING

7/10

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

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10

### Finding 1:

Agenda element set: RSF ranking as an objective standard for press freedom

#### Timestamp

00:21–00:29 — Evidence: "Where are freedom of opinion and press freedom respected, and where are they not? This is shown by the annual ranking of 'Reporters Without Borders!'"

Alternative agenda: The question of whether RSF is the right standard, whether there are alternative measurements, and what press freedom actually means does not make it onto the agenda.

### Finding 2:

Agenda element set: Media criticism by politicians = threat to press freedom

#### Timestamp

03:06–04:16 — Evidence: "Trump's treatment of the media has a negative impact not only in his own country." + Hausjell: "Waking up in a dictatorship."

Alternative agenda: The question of whether media themselves have quality problems and whether criticism of them is legitimate does not make it onto the agenda.

### Finding 3:

Agenda element set: Scandinavian countries as a model

#### Timestamp

02:21–02:28 — Evidence: "The Scandinavian countries, such as Norway, Sweden, Finland and Denmark, occupy the top places."

Alternative agenda: Why are Scandinavian countries at the top? Structural factors (state press subsidies, ownership structures, societal homogeneity) are not addressed — the placement appears as a natural outcome, not as the product of specific political decisions.

Summary: The broadcast sets three agenda elements as self-evident: RSF as an objective authority, media criticism as a threat, Scandinavia as a model — all three without questioning or contextualisation.



## CHAPTER 4 — OVERALL EVALUATION

### Results

- HARD FACTS SCORE (average criteria 1–9): 6.2 / 10
- SOFT FACTS SCORE (average criteria 10–15): 4.3 / 10

### Dominant techniques

- 1. Omission / Selective Omission (Score 8):** The broadcast systematically omits all perspectives that would relativise the core thesis — RSF methodology, Austrian media problems, legitimate media criticism. This is the most effective technique because it remains invisible: viewers do not know what they are not seeing.
- 2. Completeness / Selective Omission overall picture (Score 8):** Closely related to criterion 4, but referring to the overall picture: of ten relevant perspectives, only three are indicated, none fully addressed. The broadcast constructs a closed worldview that admits no contradictions.
- 3. Framing (Score 7):** Three unexamined frames (RSF as arbiter of truth, media criticism as a precursor to dictatorship, superpowers as problem cases) structure the entire broadcast and make nuanced perception difficult. The dictatorship frame is particularly effective because it makes any contradiction appear as sympathy for dictatorship.

### Core messages of the broadcast

**MESSAGE 1 (SUBSTANTIVE):** "Press freedom is threatened worldwide, and the RSF ranking objectively shows where things stand well and where they do not."

**Technique:** Agenda-setting + source selection — RSF is framed as a neutral arbiter of truth, without methodological criticism. — Evidence: 00:21–00:29, 00:03–00:07

**MESSAGE 2 (PERSONAL):** "Politicians like Trump who criticise the media endanger democracy and pave the way to dictatorship."

**Technique:** Guilt by association + framing + timing — Trump clips are linked to the dictatorship warning; Hausjell's statement comes at the end as the final impression. — Evidence: 02:36–02:51, 04:11–04:16

**MESSAGE 3 (SOCIETAL):** "Europe must defend democracy against authoritarian tendencies — including against allies such as the USA."

**Technique:** Framing + choice of words — Hausjell's statement about Europe as the new guardian of democracy (03:51–04:05) sets a geopolitical framework that implicitly positions the USA as the problem and Europe as the solution. — Evidence: 03:51–04:16

**Reasoning:** The broadcast achieves an overall score of 5.5/10, which corresponds to a clear one-sidedness. The dominant techniques — omission, framing and guilt by association — together produce a closed narrative that admits no counter-perspectives. Pursuant to §4 of the ORF Act, balance in programming is required; the broadcast does not fulfil this requirement, as it presents a single normative position (media criticism by politicians = threat to democracy) without any counter-representation. The hard facts score of 6.2 shows that the one-sidedness is anchored not only in interpretation but in measurable structural characteristics (expert selection, source selection, omission).

### CONCLUSION

The broadcast presents the RSF press freedom ranking as objective truth, without addressing the advocacy nature of the organisation or the methodology of the ranking. The narrative structure — from Eritrea and North Korea via China to the USA and finally to the dictatorship warning — constructs a chain of association that is factually unjustified: the USA at place 57 of 180 is not a dictatorship candidate. The only expert (Hausjell) is advocacy-active and is framed as neutral; a counter-voice is completely absent. Pursuant to §4 of the ORF Act, which requires objectivity, impartiality and diversity of opinion, the broadcast is problematic in several respects: the one-sided expert selection, the systematic omission of counter-perspectives and the unsubstantiated causal claim (Trump statements → ranking deterioration) do not correspond to the statutory requirement of balance. The broadcast is to be classified as clear one-sidedness, not as systematic imbalance, since the short broadcast length ( ) structurally limits the scope for manipulation.



## 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	4	••
4	OMISSION (Selective Omission)	8	••••
5	MANIPULATION OF FIGURES	5	•••
6	GUILT BY ASSOCIATION	6	•••
7	TIMING	6	•••
8	SELECTIVE OUTRAGE	5	•••
9	COMPLETENESS (Selective Omission — Overall Picture)	8	••••
10	FRAMING (Setting the frame)	7	••••
11	CHOICE OF WORDS AND TERMS	6	•••
12	MODERATION BEHAVIOUR	3	••
13	QUESTION ASYMMETRY	2	•
14	FALSE BALANCE	1	•
15	AGENDA-SETTING	7	••••

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

**6.2/10**

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

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

**4.3/10**

*Significant imbalance*

#### OVERALL SCORE

**5.3/10**

*Significant imbalance*

*Averaged from hard facts and soft facts*



## KEY — Meaning of scores

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

<b>0</b>	<b>No finding</b>	No relevant irregularity identified.
<b>1–2</b>	<b>Weak finding</b>	Minor irregularity without material impairment of balance.
<b>3–4</b>	<b>Slight to moderate finding</b>	Discernible tendency; relevance of impact low to moderate.
<b>5</b>	<b>Moderate finding with relevance of impact</b>	Relevant imbalance that influences the opinion-forming potential of the audience.
<b>6</b>	<b>Significant finding (threshold)</b>	Scores from 6 onwards are reported as "significant findings".
<b>7</b>	<b>Significant finding</b>	Clear, well-substantiated imbalance with marked relevance of impact.
<b>8–9</b>	<b>Serious finding</b>	Pronounced imbalance; multiple substantiable individual findings in this criterion.
<b>10</b>	<b>Maximum severity</b>	Systematic, pervasive imbalance in this criterion.

### Aggregated deviation index — interpretation ranges

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

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

<b>-5 to -3</b>	<b>Strongly disadvantaged</b>	Party is clearly treated worse in portrayal, speaking time or framing.
<b>-2 to -1</b>	<b>Slightly disadvantaged</b>	Discernible but weak disadvantage.
<b>0</b>	<b>Neutral</b>	No discernible preference or disadvantage.
<b>+1 to +2</b>	<b>Slightly favoured</b>	Discernible but weak preference.
<b>+3 to +5</b>	<b>Strongly favoured</b>	Party is clearly treated better in portrayal, speaking time or framing.



## CHAPTER 5 — LEGAL CLASSIFICATION (§4 ORF Act)

### Assessment pursuant to §4 ORF Act

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#### Violation 1:

Norm: §4 para. 1 no. 1 ORF Act (objectivity and impartiality of reporting)

Facts: The causal claim that Trump's statements contributed to the deterioration of the USA's position in the RSF ranking is presented as a subjunctive without a source reference.

Evidence: Timestamp 03:00–03:05 — Quote: "Such statements by the president could have contributed to this."

Assessment: An unsubstantiated causal claim that holds a sitting head of state responsible for a ranking deterioration, without a primary source or evidence, violates the requirement of objectivity. The subjunctive does not provide protection against the objectivity requirement when no basis for the claim is stated.

#### Violation 2:

Norm: §4 para. 1 no. 3 ORF Act (consideration of diversity of opinion)

Facts: The broadcast presents exclusively one normative position (media criticism by politicians = threat to democracy) without any counter-representation.

Evidence: Timestamp 03:12–04:16 — Quote: "Otherwise, we will one day wake up in a dictatorship." — Only expert, no counter-voice.

Assessment: The requirement of diversity of opinion demands that controversial political questions — and the question of whether media criticism by politicians is a threat to democracy is highly controversial — be presented with multiple perspectives. The mono-expertise violates this requirement.

#### Violation 3:

Norm: §4 para. 1 no. 5 ORF Act (balance of programming)

Facts: RSF is presented as a neutral authority, without addressing its advocacy character, funding or methodology.

Evidence: Timestamp 00:21–00:29 — Quote: "Where are freedom of opinion and press freedom respected, and where are they not? This is shown by the annual ranking of 'Reporters Without Borders'."

Assessment: The uncritical adoption of an advocacy organisation as an objective arbiter of truth violates the requirement of balance, as viewers are given no basis for critically contextualising the ranking.

### Overall assessment pursuant to §4 ORF Act

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The broadcast violates §4 of the ORF Act in three dimensions: objectivity (unsubstantiated causal claim), diversity of opinion (mono-expertise without counter-voice) and balance (uncritical adoption of RSF). The violations are not to be classified as serious in the sense of systematic political influence — the short broadcast length and the international topic limit the immediate political impact. However, they are to be assessed as structural quality deficits that could be invoked in a complaint before the ORF Audience Council or KommAustria as a violation of the statutory mandate. In particular, the implicit analogy between Trump's media criticism and Austrian media policy (FPÖ-ORF criticism) without explicit presentation and without a counter-voice is problematic in the context of the current Austrian media landscape.



## CHAPTER 6 — SOURCE IN-DEPTH CHECK

### Reporters Without Borders (RSF)

- 1. FUNDING:** RSF is an international NGO headquartered in Paris. Funding through membership fees, private donations, public grants (including the European Union, the French Foreign Ministry, various foundations such as the Open Society Foundations). The funding structure is publicly accessible but is not mentioned in the broadcast.
- 2. MANDATE:** RSF has the explicit mandate to promote and defend press freedom. This mandate is by definition not compatible with a neutral, scientific measurement of press freedom — RSF is an advocacy organisation, not a research institute.
- 3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** RSF has an institutional interest in emphasising press freedom problems (maintaining relevance, fundraising, political influence). The ranking is an advocacy tool that gives RSF visibility and influence. A ranking that shows no problems would undermine RSF's raison d'être.
- 4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX (RSF as an organisation):**
  - D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — Structural conflict of interest: RSF benefits from emphasising press freedom problems.
  - D2 Personal risk: +1 — RSF staff are genuinely exposed to risks in authoritarian countries.
  - D3 Subject expertise: +1 — RSF has expertise in press freedom matters, but no scientific methodology.
  - D4 Consistency of opinion: +1 — RSF is consistent in its advocacy position.
  - D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: -1 — The ranking combines data with subjective surveys; the presentation is often appellative.
  - D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary source; RSF aggregates information, does not collect primary data in the scientific sense.**TOTAL: 0 → SOURCE INDICATOR: YELLOW**

- 5. COUNTER-VOICE:** There are several academic critiques of the RSF ranking (including from media scholars who point to the subjective survey methodology and Western bias). These are not cited in the broadcast.

**IMPORTANT:** "Recognised" is not a substantive qualification. RSF is a recognised organisation — this means it has broad institutional support, not that its ranking is methodologically neutral. Recognition itself is a social attribution that is to be critically questioned in the context of RSF's advocacy character.

### Fritz Hausjell (communications expert)

*(Full in-depth check already documented under criterion 1 — source indicator YELLOW, +3/12)*

Summary: Hausjell is professionally competent (D3: +2), but advocacy-active and appellative (D5: -1); his assessment is framed as neutral, even though he represents a clearly positioned media-political stance. The source indicator YELLOW signals: usable, but with identification of his positioning.

*Analysis prepared in accordance with Methodological Principle K11+K8 (Version 3.0-detail). All findings are based exclusively on the transcript provided. Timestamps refer to the time markers indicated in the transcript.*

### Legal and methodological classification

#### No finding of fact

The results presented do not constitute findings of fact regarding 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-G. The determination of whether a specific broadcast violates statutory requirements is the exclusive responsibility of the competent authorities (in particular KommAustria).



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**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 finding of intent**

The analysis measures observable structural characteristics of broadcasts. A score of 7 means that a significant 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 items. Threshold values serve as heuristic orientation, not as sharp legal qualification.



## APPENDIX 1: NATIONAL LEGISLATION

### Legal basis Austria — ORF

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#### Law

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

#### Relevant articles

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- 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 distinguished 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

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

#### Supervisory authority

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- KommAustria (Communications Authority Austria): media regulatory authority
- Federal Communications Senate: appeals body
- Audience Council: representation of listeners and viewers

#### Complaints procedure

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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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### SVFAB Working Papers

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

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

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This book is not a media criticism book. It is a toolbox — for everyone who has a microphone in front of their face and wants to know what they can do about it. 7 chapters. 7 tools: What an interview 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.

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**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 greater confidence. And can no longer so easily have a frame imposed on them that someone else has chosen.



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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 lodge a complaint. There is even a body for this: the IGAC, the Independent Complaints Authority for Radio and Television.

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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 adequate, not based on separation of powers, not market-oriented. The authority that is supposed to protect citizens primarily protects the system it was supposed to control.

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