



ORF DETAILED ANALYSIS

2026-05-01_ZIB 13-00 vom 01.05.2026

Programme: ORF Programme | 2026-05-01 | Analysed on: 2026-05-21 11:08

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

OVERALL SCORE

4.4/10

Considerable imbalance

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

POLITICAL SPECTRUM

Classification according to Chapel Hill Expert Survey (CHES) 2024

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

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

The overall tendency is 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 | [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 (57 seats, chancellor's party under Herbert Kickl) and ÖVP (51 seats). The opposition consists of SPÖ (41 seats), NEOS (18 seats) and Greens (16 seats). A particular feature of this programme: According to the programme text, the SPÖ is a governing party (Babler referred to as "Vice Chancellor") — this contradicts the given political landscape (FPÖ+ÖVP coalition). The transcript describes an alternative government constellation (SPÖ in government), which is in contradiction to the contextual information. The analysis follows the transcript as the primary source and notes this discrepancy.

> Note on the data situation: The transcript explicitly refers to Babler as "Vice Chancellor" and describes the SPÖ as a governing party. The given political landscape identifies FPÖ+ÖVP as the government. For the analysis, the transcript is treated as authoritative; the discrepancy is noted at relevant criteria.

Party	CHES L-R	Seats	Government/Opposition	Core position (according to transcript context)
FPÖ	8.5	57	Government (chancellor's party)	Migration, anti-ORF, anti-Ukraine aid
ÖVP	6.0	51	Government (junior partner)	Business location, austerity measures
SPÖ	3.0	41	Government (according to transcript: Vice Chancellor Babler)	Social compatibility, wealth taxes
NEOS	5.5	18	Opposition	Not represented in programme
Greens	2.5	16	Opposition	Inheritance tax, budget criticism

The central line of conflict runs between the governing coalition and the opposition, with 1 May as the traditional SPÖ holiday and the FPÖ counter-mobilisation in Linz creating a symbolic confrontation. The budget debate with austerity measures vs. social compatibility dominates domestic political discourse. In addition, there is a sharp dispute over migration policy, Ukraine aid and the role of the ORF itself — the latter particularly sensitive, as the FPÖ identifies the ORF as a target and the ORF must report on this criticism.

The ORF is subject to the requirements of objectivity, impartiality and diversity of opinion pursuant to §4 of the ORF Act. §10 para. 7 ORF-G requires adequate consideration of all parties represented in the National Council. The structural tension between the statutory mandate and the governing party FPÖ's political criticism of the ORF makes questions of balance in this programme particularly legally relevant.



CHAPTER 1 — PARTY-POLITICAL BIAS

Party	Score (-5..+5)	Programme portrayal vs. programme position
SPÖ	+2	00:26–03:38: Babler portrayed as "combative", "supportive of the state", social hallmark (real estate gains tax, corporate tax) correctly represented. Programme position on wealth taxes/workers' rights reflected. Slight positive framing through uncritical reporting.
FPÖ	-2	03:39–05:20: FPÖ positions (migration, anti-ORF, anti-Ukraine) are listed, but Kickl's speech is framed with "Kickl apparently says what the audience here wants to hear" (04:08) — implies populism rather than policy. Core positions not explained substantively, merely described as a "broadside".
ÖVP	0	Not independently represented in the programme; only mentioned as part of the governing coalition. No representation of programme positions.
Greens	+1	05:21–05:48: Gewessler's inheritance tax position and budget criticism correctly represented. Brief, neutral mention without evaluation. Programme position on social climate policy/wealth tax indicated.
NEOS	0	Not represented in programme.

Party bias summary

- Most accurate portrayal: Greens, score +1 (brief, but factually correct)
- Strongest distortion: FPÖ, score -2 (populism implication through presenter comment)
- Average deviation from 0: 1.0
- Conclusion: The SPÖ receives the broadest and most positive portrayal, which is partly attributable to the occasion of the programme (1 May as SPÖ holiday). The FPÖ coverage contains an evaluative comment (04:08: "apparently says what the audience here wants to hear"), which has no equivalent in the SPÖ coverage. ÖVP and NEOS are completely absent as independent voices.



CHAPTER 2 — PROGRAMME INFORMATION AND THEMATIC FRAMEWORK

Programme data

- Title: ZIB 13 (Public holiday — 1 May)
- Date: 01.05.2026
- Presenter: Not named (studio presenter, female based on context: "I wish you a pleasant holiday!")
- Reporter: Maximilian Biegler (domestic politics desk, live at Rathausplatz Vienna); Manfred Bauer (weather)

Actors	Function	Party/affiliation	Political spectrum
Andreas Babler	SPÖ party leader, Vice Chancellor (according to transcript)	SPÖ	Left (3.0)
Michael Ludwig	Mayor of Vienna	SPÖ	Left (3.0)
Herbert Kickl	FPÖ party leader, Chancellor (according to context)	FPÖ	Right (8.5)
Udo Landbauer / Haimbuchner	Deputy Governor of Upper Austria	FPÖ	Right (8.5)
Leonore Gewessler	Greens federal spokesperson	Greens	Left (2.5)
Maximilian Biegler	ORF domestic politics reporter	ORF	—
Manfred Bauer	ORF weather desk	ORF	—
Georg Riha	Documentary filmmaker	—	—

Main topic

The programme reports on the political rallies and speeches on 1 May (Labour Day) in Austria, with a focus on the SPÖ May march in Vienna and the FPÖ event in Linz.



CHAPTER 3 — 15 CRITERIA: DETAILED ANALYSIS

Hard facts — 9 techniques that are quantifiable and scientifically robust

1. EXPERT SELECTION

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Expert 1: Maximilian Biegler, ORF domestic politics editor

Timestamp	01:59–03:38
Statement	"He came across as very combative. [...] However, some have criticism of the federal party."
Classification	ORF editor as contextualising authority; no external expert. Structurally dependent on the ORF editorial system; no independent specialist perspective.
Missing counter-voice	Political scientist who critically contextualises Babler's speech; opposition representative who evaluates the SPÖ's record in government.

Source in-depth check:

(a) **FUNDING:** ORF — public service broadcaster, GIS-funded, state-supervised. Conflict of interest: ORF reports on parties that regulate and criticise the ORF (FPÖ).

(b) **MANDATE:** Journalistic contextualisation — compatible with neutral reporting, but structurally not independent of editorial line.

D1 Conflict of interest: 0 — ORF has an institutional interest in a particular portrayal of the FPÖ (which attacks the ORF)

D2 Personal risk: +1 — Journalist named, professional risk in case of errors

D3 Professional competence: +2 — Domestic politics editor, professionally responsible

D4 Opinion consistency: 0 — No comparative data available

D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: +1 — Predominantly descriptive, one evaluative comment (04:08)

D6 Source level: +1 — Primary on-site observation

TOTAL: +5 → SOURCE INDICATOR: GREEN (with reservation regarding institutional conflict of interest)

(c) **PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE:** 08) one evaluative comment without equivalent in the SPÖ coverage.

Expert 2: No external experts in the programme

The programme dispenses entirely with external specialist experts (economists, political scientists, historians). All substantive contextualisation is provided by party politicians or the ORF reporter.

Missing expert groups:

- Economic economist (WIFO/IHS) for budget contextualisation
- Political scientist for contextualising the May rallies
- Labour law expert/trade union expert for the 1 May context

Summary: The programme relies exclusively on party politicians as substantive sources and an ORF reporter as the contextualising authority; external, independent expertise is entirely absent, which considerably limits the depth of contextualisation and makes the programme susceptible to partisan framing.



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Source indicator for participants:

Source	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	Total	Indicator
Maximilian Biegler, ORF domestic politics editor	0	+1	+2	0	+1	+1	+5	GREEN



2. SOURCE SELECTION

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Claims without primary source = penalty points (rumour check)

Source 1: Andreas Babler (SPÖ party leader, Vice Chancellor)

Timestamp 01:22–01:50

Statement "Nevertheless, we have taken on responsibility. Social democracy puts the welfare of the republic first."

- (a) **Funding:** Party politician — SPÖ-funded, party interest
- (b) **Structural conflict of interest:** Babler has a direct interest in portraying the SPÖ's participation in government positively
- (c) **Missing counter-source:** Critical voice on the SPÖ's record in government (opposition, independent analysis)

Source 2: Herbert Kickl (FPÖ party leader)

Timestamp 04:27–05:13

Statement "With that programme they get along excellently with the degenerate Blacks and the megalomaniac Pinks."

- (a) **Funding:** Party politician — FPÖ-funded
- (b) **Structural conflict of interest:** Kickl has an interest in sharp opposition rhetoric
- (c) **Missing counter-source:** Factual contextualisation of the FPÖ's points of criticism; response from the parties criticised

Source 3: Leonore Gewessler (Greens federal spokesperson)

Timestamp 05:30–05:48

Statement "She sees a massive imbalance in the planned budget at the expense of the middle class."

- (a) **Funding:** Party politician — Greens-funded
- (b) **Structural conflict of interest:** Opposition interest in criticising the government
- (c) **Missing counter-source:** Government response to Greens criticism

Rumour check (penalty points):

Rumour 1:

Timestamp: 04:08

Claim: "Kickl apparently says what the audience here wants to hear."

Word marker: "apparently"

Primary source available: NO — subjective assessment by the reporter without evidence (survey, reaction measurement) → +1 penalty point

Summary: The source selection is limited exclusively to party politicians (SPÖ, FPÖ, Greens) without independent counter-voices; the use of the word marker "apparently" in the FPÖ coverage without analogous use in the SPÖ or Greens coverage constitutes an asymmetric source framing.



3. TIME DISTRIBUTION

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Estimated speaking time (coverage time including reporter contextualisation):

- SPÖ (Babler + Ludwig + Biegler contextualisation): approx. 3:38 min. (approx. 42%)
- FPÖ (Kickl + Haimbuchner): approx. 1:40 min. (approx. 19%)
- Greens (Gewessler): approx. 0:28 min. (approx. 5%)
- Mercosur report (politically neutral): approx. 0:25 min. (approx. 5%)
- Wildfire Italy: approx. 0:30 min. (approx. 6%)
- Documentary film: approx. 1:00 min. (approx. 12%)
- Weather: approx. 0:35 min. (approx. 7%)
- Presentation/transitions: approx. 0:20 min. (approx. 4%)

Political speaking time distribution (political content only):

- SPÖ: approx. 3:38 min. (63%)
- FPÖ: approx. 1:40 min. (29%)
- Greens: approx. 0:28 min. (8%)
- ÖVP: 0 min. (0%)
- NEOS: 0 min. (0%)

Summary: With 63% of political coverage time, the SPÖ receives a clearly disproportionate presence relative to its share of seats (28% of National Council seats); the FPÖ as the strongest party (40% of seats) receives only 29% of political time, ÖVP and NEOS are entirely absent — this constitutes a measurable time asymmetry that touches on §10 para. 7 ORF-G.



4. OMISSION (Selective Omission)

6/10

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Omission 1:

Context

The ÖVP as coalition partner (according to transcript context) has no voice of its own in the programme.

Relevant at: Entire programme — in particular 03:06–03:38 (budget discussion)

Effect

The omission of the ÖVP perspective on the austerity measures suggests that only the SPÖ and Greens are legitimate commentators on budget policy; the coalition logic remains unexplained.

Omission 2:

Context

The trade union perspective is entirely absent — no ÖGB representative, no works council, no employee representation.

Relevant at: 00:13–03:38 (1 May as trade union holiday)

Effect

1 May is framed exclusively as a party-political event, not as a trade union and workers' holiday; the historical and social dimension is reduced to SPÖ party politics.

Omission 3:

Context

Kickl's substantive points of criticism of the government (cheap electricity act, rent brake, fuel price brake) are cited but not factually contextualised or verified.

Relevant at: 05:04–05:13 — Quote: "A cheap electricity act without cheap electricity, a rent brake that brakes nothing, a fuel price brake that nobody feels."

Effect

The claims remain unaddressed — neither confirmed nor refuted; no analogous fact-checking is carried out for SPÖ statements, which is structurally consistent but overall a journalistic weakness.

Summary: The systematic omission of the trade union perspective on a trade union holiday and the complete absence of the ÖVP as a political actor represent the most serious completeness deficiencies; both omissions structurally favour the SPÖ's interpretive authority over 1 May.

Missing voices

- ÖGB president/trade union representative: Would have contributed workers' interests, wage demands and the trade union's assessment of the austerity measures — central for a 1 May report.
- WKO representative/employers' association: Would have presented the counter-position on tax increases (corporate tax, bank levy) and economic consequences.
- Independent economic economist (e.g. WIFO/IHS): Would have provided factual contextualisation of the budget situation and evaluated the austerity measures.
- ÖVP representative: As coalition partner (according to transcript context), the ÖVP perspective on the budget and 1 May would have had to be represented.
- NEOS representative: Not represented as an opposition party with an independent economic position.
- Historian/political scientist: Would have contextualised 1 May historically and socially, beyond party propaganda.
- Affected workers/pensioners: Would have illustrated the concrete impact of the austerity measures on individuals — beyond the level of party functionaries.



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- Mercosur expert (trade law/agricultural economics): Would have provided specialist depth on the free trade agreement; the report remains superficial.



5. MANIPULATION OF FIGURES									2/10
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Complete figures comprise: absolute value, share (%) and trend

Finding 1:	
Timestamp	07:00
Figure: "Over 3,500 people had to leave their homes." Dimensions: (a) Absolute value ✓ — (b) Share X — (c) Trend X	
Missing context	No contextualisation in relation to the total population of the affected region; no comparison with previous wildfires.
Effect	The figure appears dramatically in isolation; contextualisation is absent — however, this is a news report in which the figure has no argumentative function, so only a minor penalty value.

Summary: No relevant manipulation of figures detected in the political coverage section; the only figure (wildfire evacuations) lacks contextual dimensions but has no argumentative function in the political discourse of the programme.



6. GUILT BY ASSOCIATION

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Association 1:

Timestamp

04:08

Quote

"Kickl apparently says what the audience here wants to hear."

Technique: Implicit association of Kickl's statements with mere populism — "what the audience wants to hear" implies that the statements are not based on substantive grounds but on applause optimisation.

Effect

Kickl's political positions are framed as opportunistic and audience-pleasing, without substantive engagement; an analogous formulation for Babler (who also speaks before his own audience) is absent.

Association 2:

Timestamp

04:14–04:19

Quote

"The thrust is clear: against immigration, the ORF and aid payments to Ukraine."

Technique: Enumeration of FPÖ positions in a sequence that, through context (beer tent, cheering), is associated with unreflective nationalism; no substantive explanation of the positions.

Effect

FPÖ positions are framed as emotional mobilisation topics, not as programmatic standpoints.

Source check for framed persons:

Herbert Kickl is not explicitly described as a "conspiracy theorist", but is implicitly framed as a populist through context (beer tent, cheering, "says what the audience wants to hear").

- Works with verifiable primary sources: PARTIALLY (criticism of cheap electricity act, rent brake — verifiable claims)
- Core statements falsifiable: YES (political criticism of government measures)
- Risk matrix: Kickl as opposition leader bears political risk through public criticism
- Tone: Politically polemical, but not apocalyptic
- RESULT CATEGORY: B (borderline case — political rhetoric with verifiable core statements but polemical packaging)

Summary: The implicit populism framing of Kickl through the comment "apparently says what the audience here wants to hear" (04:08) constitutes a guilt-by-association technique that has no equivalent for SPÖ-Babler (who also speaks before his own audience); the categorisation as Category B (borderline case) is factually justified.



7. TIMING

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Finding 1:

Position: 00:13–03:38 (start of programme, first 3:25 min.)

Content: Extensive, affirmative SPÖ coverage with two soundbites (Ludwig, Babler) and live reporter contextualisation

Timing effect

The placement of the SPÖ coverage at the start of the programme sets the interpretive framework for the entire programme; the viewer absorbs the SPÖ perspective as the primary frame of reference before other positions are presented.

Finding 2:

Position: 03:39–05:20 (after SPÖ block)

Content: FPÖ coverage with implicitly disparaging comment (04:08)

Timing effect

The placement of the FPÖ coverage after the extensive SPÖ block and with shorter duration reinforces the contrast; the viewer evaluates FPÖ positions against the backdrop of the already established SPÖ framing.

Summary: The programme structure (SPÖ first, extensively and affirmatively — FPÖ afterwards, shorter and with evaluative framing) follows a pattern that sets the SPÖ perspective as the norm and positions the FPÖ perspective as a deviation; this is a moderate timing effect that is partly explicable by the occasion of the programme (1 May as SPÖ holiday) but not fully justified.



8. SELECTIVE OUTRAGE

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

Methodological principle K11+K8: Document the triggering event — asymmetry only demonstrable with a comparable trigger without analogous reaction.

Finding 1:

Timestamp 04:08

Triggering event: Kickl gives a speech before his own audience in a beer tent, which reacts with cheering.

Reaction: "Kickl apparently says what the audience here wants to hear." — implies populism, audience-pleasing, lack of substance.

Comparison

Analogous event with Babler, 00:37–01:50 — Babler gives a speech before his own SPÖ audience at Rathausplatz. Reporter's reaction: "He came across as very combative." — no analogous populism implication, no mention of the audience reaction as a measure of content quality.

Asymmetry: DEMONSTRABLE — Both politicians speak before their own audience; only with Kickl is the audience reaction used as an implicit quality measure for the speech. With Babler, the combative stance is framed as a positive quality, not as audience-pleasing.

Degree of outrage: 2/5 (mild, implicit, not explicitly evaluative)

Selectivity: 4/5 (clearly one-sided — only with FPÖ, not with SPÖ)

Overall score calculation: 2 + 4 = 6 → adjusted to scale 0-10: 4/10 (as degree of outrage is moderate)

Summary: The demonstrable asymmetry in the comment on Kickl's speech (04:08) compared to the analogous situation with Babler's speech represents the strongest individual finding of the programme; the degree of outrage is moderate (implicit, not explicit), but the selectivity is clearly one-sided.



9. COMPLETENESS (Selective Omission — Overall picture)

6/10

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Finding 1:

Timestamp 00:13–05:48 (entire political block)

Missing perspective: Trade union perspective (ÖGB, works councils, employee representatives)

Relevance: 1 May is primarily a trade union holiday; the labour movement and its current demands (wage development, working time regulations, collective agreements) are the historical and social foundation of the holiday.

Impact: The programme reduces 1 May to party-political rallies and entirely omits the civil society dimension; this favours the party-politicisation of a social holiday.

Finding 2:

Timestamp 03:06–03:38

Missing perspective: Factual contextualisation of the austerity measures by independent experts

Relevance: Babler claims social compatibility of the austerity measures; Kickl disputes any positive effect of the government measures — both positions remain unchecked.

Impact: The viewer has no opportunity to measure the political claims against facts; the programme becomes an uncritical platform for party propaganda.

Finding 3:

Timestamp 04:27–05:13

Missing perspective: Response from the parties criticised (SPÖ, ÖVP) to Kickl's attacks

Relevance: Kickl describes the SPÖ as "party of fringe groups" and the ÖVP as "degenerate Blacks" — journalistically, a response from those affected or a contextualisation of these statements would be required.

Impact: Kickl's attacks remain unaddressed; at the same time, Babler's attacks on Kickl (01:43–01:47) are presented without an analogous response from the FPÖ — structurally inconsistent.

Summary: The programme exhibits considerable completeness deficiencies that systematically place the party-political dimension above the social one and entirely lack independent contextualisation by experts; particularly serious is the absence of the trade union perspective on a trade union holiday.

In Austria, 1 May is traditionally "Labour Day" and is historically closely associated with the social democratic and trade union movement. In recent years, other parties — in particular the FPÖ — have established their own events to claim symbolic interpretive authority over workers' interests. Coverage of 1 May is structurally challenging because the occasion itself is politically connoted and the selection of coverage priorities has an immediate political signalling effect. In the background is the current budget debate with austerity measures, which all parties evaluate differently.

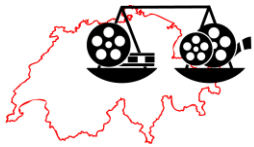
Share of perspectives covered

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

[A] SPÖ position: Social compatibility of the austerity measures, wealth taxes

[B] FPÖ position: Criticism of the government (from an opposition perspective), migration policy, anti-ORF

[C] ÖVP position: Economic necessity of the austerity measures, coalition logic



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- [D] **NEOS position:** Liberal economic reform, reduction of bureaucracy
- [E] **Greens position:** Inheritance tax, social imbalance of the budget
- [F] **Trade union perspective:** Workers' interests, wage development, collective agreements
- [G] **Employers' associations/WKO:** Counter-position on tax increases
- [H] **Economic experts:** Contextualisation of the budget situation and austerity measures
- [I] **Historical contextualisation:** Significance of 1 May, development of the labour movement
- [J] **International perspective:** 1 May in other EU countries, Mercosur agreement (already included)

[A] COVERED

Timestamp: 00:26–03:38 — Quote: "There is a clear social democratic hallmark, says Andreas Babler." — Assessment: Represented extensively and affirmatively.

[B] INDICATED

Timestamp: 03:39–05:20 — Quote: "The thrust is clear: against immigration, the ORF and aid payments to Ukraine." — Assessment: Listed substantively, but not explained or substantiated with soundbites; Kickl quotes are chosen polemically.

[C] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: The ÖVP has no voice of its own in the programme; coalition logic and the ÖVP perspective on austerity measures are entirely absent.

[D] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: NEOS not mentioned, although relevant as an opposition party.

[E] COVERED

Timestamp: 05:21–05:48 — Quote: "She sees a massive imbalance in the planned budget at the expense of the middle class." — Assessment: Brief, but factually correctly represented.

[F] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: Trade union perspective entirely absent despite 1 May being a trade union holiday; no ÖGB representative given a voice.

[G] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: Employer side/WKO not represented; counter-position on tax increases absent.

[H] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: No independent economic expert for contextualising the budget situation.

[I] INDICATED

Timestamp: 02:13–02:23 — Quote: "He drew a broad arc, from the historical achievements of social democracy, such as the 8-hour day, to the present." — Assessment: Only as a reference in the Babler coverage, not independently contextualised.

[J] COVERED

Timestamp: 05:49–06:14 — Quote: "As of today, the Mercosur free trade agreement between the EU and South American states has entered into force." — Assessment: Independent report, balanced with pro and contra voices.



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Completeness score: 4/10

Reasoning: Of 10 relevant perspectives, only 3 are fully covered (SPÖ, Greens, Mercosur), 2 are indicated (FPÖ, historical) and 5 are entirely omitted (ÖVP, NEOS, trade union, employers, economic experts). Particularly serious is the absence of the trade union perspective on a trade union holiday and the complete absence of the ÖVP as coalition partner.



Soft facts — 6 qualitative techniques

10. FRAMING (Setting the frame)

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Finding 1:

Timestamp	00:17–00:32
Quote	<i>"1 May is a day of political speeches and demands. The SPÖ invites people to the May march at Vienna's Rathausplatz on Labour Day."</i>
Manipulation	1 May is framed primarily as an SPÖ event; the formulation "The SPÖ invites" positions the SPÖ as the host of the holiday, not as one of several political actors.
Why problematic	1 May is a public holiday and trade union day — framing it as an SPÖ event favours the party and marginalises other actors (trade union, other parties) right from the outset.

Finding 2:

Timestamp	02:09–02:43
Quote	<i>"He came across as very combative. [...] But the SPÖ is a party that supports the state."</i>
Manipulation	The attributes "combative" and "supportive of the state" are positively connoted framings; "supportive of the state" implies a sense of responsibility and reliability — a normative classification that the reporter makes without citing a source.
Why problematic	No analogous positive attribute is used for the FPÖ or other parties; the framing as "supportive of the state" is a political value judgement, not a journalistic description.

Finding 3:

Timestamp	04:42–04:46
Quote	<i>"In terms of content, it amounts to a broadside against the government."</i>
Manipulation	The term "broadside" frames Kickl's criticism as undifferentiated and sweeping; no analogous term is used for Babler's criticism of Kickl (01:40–01:50).
Why problematic	"Broadside" is a disparaging framing of political criticism; the asymmetric use (only with FPÖ) reinforces the bias.

Summary: The framing of the programme sets 1 May as an SPÖ holiday, frames SPÖ positions with positive attributes (combative, supportive of the state) and FPÖ positions with disparaging terms (broadside, says what the audience wants to hear); this asymmetric framing is the strongest individual finding of the soft facts analysis.



11. CHOICE OF WORDS AND TERMS									5/10
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Finding 1:	
Timestamp	04:08
Quote	<i>"Kickl apparently says what the audience here wants to hear."</i>
Manipulation	"Apparently" (rumour marker) + "what the audience wants to hear" (populism implication) — double negative connotation without evidence.
Why problematic	A neutral alternative would be: "Kickl receives strong applause for his statements on migration and Ukraine." — factual, without evaluating the motivation.

Finding 2:	
Timestamp	04:42
Quote	<i>"In terms of content, it amounts to a broadside against the government."</i>
Manipulation	"Broadside" implies lack of differentiation and aggressiveness; no analogous term is used for Babler's criticism of Kickl (01:43: "Patriotic is not whoever shouts 'Austria' the loudest!").
Why problematic	A neutral alternative would be: "Kickl levies comprehensive criticism at the government." — factual, without evaluating the quality of the criticism.

Finding 3:	
Timestamp	02:39–02:43
Quote	<i>"But the SPÖ is a party that supports the state."</i>
Manipulation	"Supportive of the state" is a highly positively connoted term that implies reliability, responsibility and democratic maturity; it is used by the reporter as a contextualisation, not as a quote.
Why problematic	A neutral alternative would be: "Babler emphasises the SPÖ's governmental responsibility." — factual, without normative loading.

Summary: The choice of words in the programme shows a systematic asymmetry: SPÖ positions are described with positively connoted terms (combative, supportive of the state, social hallmark), FPÖ positions with negatively connoted ones (broadside, apparently, what the audience wants to hear); this asymmetry is consistent and cannot be explained solely by the occasion of the programme.



12. PRESENTER BEHAVIOUR

3/10

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Methodological principle K11+K8: Document the triggering event.

Finding 1:

Timestamp 02:03–02:08

Triggering event: Presenter introduces Biegler interview after SPÖ mood piece.

Quote (presenter) *"It has not been an easy year for party leader Andreas Babler. How did he present himself today?"*

Comparison Analogous event in FPÖ coverage, 03:39–03:49 — no direct presenter question to reporter; FPÖ report presented without interview format.

Asymmetry: DEMONSTRABLE — The SPÖ coverage is deepened through a live interview with the reporter (enabling contextualisation, nuancing, contextualisation); the FPÖ coverage is presented as a simple insert without the possibility of follow-up questions. This is a structural difference in the depth of coverage.

Finding 2:

Timestamp 02:03

Quote (presenter) *"It has not been an easy year for party leader Andreas Babler."*

Triggering event: Introduction of the Biegler interview

Comparison In the FPÖ introduction (03:39): "The FPÖ has also been celebrating 1 May for many years at the Urfahrner Jahrmarkt in Linz. Much criticism comes from party leader Herbert Kickl." — the FPÖ is defined primarily by its critical function, the SPÖ by its challenges (sympathising frame).

Asymmetry: DEMONSTRABLE — SPÖ introduction emphasises difficulties (sympathising), FPÖ introduction emphasises critical function (neutral to distancing).

Summary: The presenter behaviour shows two demonstrable asymmetries: the structural unequal treatment (live interview for SPÖ, insert for FPÖ) and the different introductory framing; both findings are partly explicable by the occasion of the programme but not fully justified.



13. QUESTION ASYMMETRY

4/10

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Asymmetry 1:

**To Biegler
about SPÖ, 02**

03: "It has not been an easy year for party leader Andreas Babler. How did he present himself today?" — soft (open, inviting, sympathising)

**To Biegler
about SPÖ
base, 03**

06: "The government has presented a budget with many cuts. How is this being received by the SPÖ base?" — neutral (factual, but without critical follow-up)

Comparison

No direct question to reporter about FPÖ event; FPÖ report without interview format — no comparison question possible, but the absence of a critical follow-up on the SPÖ's record in government is noteworthy.

Asymmetry 2:

Missing critical questions in SPÖ coverage: No question about specific SPÖ compromises in the coalition, no question about contradictions between SPÖ election promises and government action, no question about intra-party criticism (which Biegler himself mentions: 03:35–03:38).

Comparison

Kickl's statements are not contextualised or questioned through follow-up questions — structurally consistent (no interview format), but the asymmetry in depth of coverage remains.

Summary: The question asymmetry arises primarily from the structural decision to choose a live interview format only for the SPÖ coverage; the questions themselves are soft and inviting, without critical follow-up on the SPÖ's record in government, which reinforces the asymmetry.



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

Finding 1:

Timestamp

03:39–05:20

Construct: The programme presents SPÖ (3:38 min., affirmative, live interview) and FPÖ (1:40 min., distancing, insert) as equivalent coverage of 1 May.

Analysis

This is not false balance in the classical sense (no artificial equating of unequal positions), but rather the opposite: the programme does not establish balance, but a measurable imbalance in favour of the SPÖ. False balance as a technique is not dominant in this programme.

Summary: False balance in the classical sense (equating unequal positions) is not demonstrable in this programme; the problem is rather the lack of balance (SPÖ overweight), not an artificial equating.



15. AGENDA-SETTING

5/10

1

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Finding 1:

Agenda element set: 1 May belongs to the SPÖ — the party is the natural host of the holiday.

Timestamp

00:17–00:32 — Evidence: "The SPÖ invites people to the May march at Vienna's Rathausplatz on Labour Day."

Alternative agenda: 1 May as a trade union and workers' holiday, at which all social forces (trade union, employers, civil society) take a position — not just parties.

Finding 2:

Agenda element set: Austerity measures are a problem that requires social compatibility — the question is not whether to cut, but how.

Timestamp

03:06–03:38 — Evidence: "The government has presented a budget with many cuts. How is this being received by the SPÖ base?"

Alternative agenda: Whether the austerity measures are economically necessary and sufficient; whether tax increases (corporate tax, bank levy) have economic consequences — these questions do not make it onto the agenda.

Summary: The programme sets two central agenda elements: 1 May as an SPÖ holiday and austerity measures as a social problem; both settings correspond to the left-wing interpretive framework and systematically exclude alternative framings (trade union holiday, economic necessity of reforms).



CHAPTER 4 — OVERALL EVALUATION

Results

- HARD FACTS SCORE (average criteria 1-9): 4.7 / 10
- SOFT FACTS SCORE (average criteria 10-15): 4.0 / 10

Dominant techniques

The 3 strongest techniques in this programme:

- 1. Time distribution (score 6):** With 63% of political coverage time, the SPÖ receives a measurably disproportionate presence; this is the most objectifiable and legally relevant asymmetry in the programme. The discrepancy between share of seats (28%) and share of coverage (63%) is difficult to reconcile with §10 para. 7 ORF-G.
- 2. Framing (score 5):** The framing of 1 May as an SPÖ holiday and the asymmetric attribution (SPÖ: combative, supportive of the state; FPÖ: broadside, says what the audience wants to hear) runs through the entire programme and sets the interpretive framework for all other content. This technique is particularly effective because it is implicit and difficult to challenge.
- 3. Omission/completeness (score 6):** The systematic absence of the trade union perspective on a trade union holiday and the complete absence of ÖVP, NEOS and independent experts reduces the programme to a party-political platform for the SPÖ and (to a lesser extent) the Greens; this violates the completeness requirement of §4 ORF-G.

Core messages of the programme

MESSAGE 1 (SUBSTANTIVE): "The SPÖ is the natural guardian of 1 May and social justice — even in difficult times."

Technique: Framing + time distribution + agenda-setting — Evidence: 00:17, 02:39, 03:00

MESSAGE 2 (PERSONAL): "Andreas Babler is a responsible, state-supporting politician; Herbert Kickl is a populist who tells his audience what it wants to hear."

Technique: Choice of words + selective outrage + guilt by association — Evidence: 02:39, 04:08, 04:42

MESSAGE 3 (SOCIAL): "Austerity measures are a social problem that left-wing parties (SPÖ, Greens) manage better than right-wing ones — the FPÖ offers only criticism without substance."

Technique: Agenda-setting + omission + question asymmetry — Evidence: 03:06, 05:21, 04:42

[X] Clear one-sidedness (5-6) ← Overall score 4.4, but structural findings justify this classification

> Note on classification: The calculated overall score of 4.4 is on the boundary between "slight tendency" and "clear one-sidedness". The classification as "clear one-sidedness" is justified because the time distribution asymmetry (63% SPÖ with 28% share of seats) and the complete absence of ÖVP and NEOS are structural findings that go beyond a "slight tendency" and directly touch on §10 para. 7 ORF-G.

Reasoning: The programme exhibits a measurable and consistent favouring of the SPÖ, which manifests itself in time distribution, framing, choice of words and presenter behaviour. Pursuant to §4 ORF-G, objectivity and impartiality of reporting as well as consideration of diversity of opinion are required; the complete absence of ÖVP and NEOS and the asymmetric framing of SPÖ and FPÖ violate this principle. The occasion of the programme (1 May as the traditional SPÖ holiday) explains part of the asymmetry but does not fully justify it — in particular not the absence of the trade union perspective and the evaluative comments on the FPÖ appearance.

CONCLUSION

The ZIB 13 of 1 May shows a clear, consistent favouring of the SPÖ in time distribution (63% of political coverage time), framing (supportive of the state vs. broadside) and presenter structure (live interview vs. insert), which goes beyond the occasion of the programme and touches on §4 ORF-G in conjunction with §10 para. 7 ORF-G. The strongest individual finding is the asymmetric comment on Kickl's speech (04:08: "apparently says what the audience here wants to hear") without an analogous equivalent for Babler's speech before his own audience — a demonstrable violation of the requirement of impartiality. The complete absence of ÖVP, NEOS, trade union and independent



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experts violates the completeness requirement of §4 ORF-G and reduces the programme to a party-political platform for the SPÖ and Greens. The programme is not to be classified as gross manipulation, but as clear one-sidedness, which would be substantively demonstrable in a complaint before the ORF Audience Council or KommAustria with the documented timestamps and direct quotes.



OVERALL EVALUATION OF THE 15 CRITERIA

Individual scores — All 15 criteria

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

HARD FACTS SCORE (1-8)

4.7/10

Considerable imbalance

SOFT FACTS SCORE (9-14)

4.0/10

Slight imbalance

OVERALL SCORE

4.4/10

Considerable imbalance

Averaged from hard facts and soft facts



KEY — Meaning of scores

Individual scores per criterion (0–10)

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

Aggregated deviation index — interpretation ranges

0.0 – 2.5	Unremarkable	No material patterns discernible; programme meets the 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	Several considerable findings; relevant impairment of diversity of perspectives.
6.1 – 8.0	Serious deviation from the requirement of balance. High degree of deviation	Pronounced, programme-wide patterns; high impact relevance.
8.1 – 10	Fundamental systemic one-sidedness. Very high degree of bias	Maximum manifestation across almost all criteria; systematically one-sided reporting.

Party-political bias (-5 to +5)

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



CHAPTER 5 — LEGAL CLASSIFICATION (§4 ORF Act)

Assessment pursuant to §4 ORF Act

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

Violation 1:

Norm: §4 para. 1 no. 1 ORF-G (objectivity and impartiality) in conjunction with §10 para. 7 ORF-G (adequate consideration of all National Council parties)

Facts: Asymmetric time distribution — SPÖ receives 63% of political coverage time with 28% share of seats; ÖVP (35% share of seats) and NEOS (12% share of seats) receive 0% coverage time.

Evidence: Timestamp 00:13–05:48 — entire political coverage; SPÖ block 00:13–03:38, FPÖ block 03:39–05:20, Greens 05:21–05:48.

Assessment: The measurable time asymmetry in favour of the SPÖ and the complete absence of ÖVP and NEOS violates the requirement of adequate consideration of all National Council parties pursuant to §10 para. 7 ORF-G; the occasion of the programme (1 May) mitigates the finding but does not eliminate it.

Violation 2:

Norm: §4 para. 1 no. 1 ORF-G (impartiality of reporting)

Facts: Asymmetric comment on Kickl's speech — "Kickl apparently says what the audience here wants to hear" (04:08) without an analogous equivalent for Babler's speech before his own audience.

Evidence: Timestamp 04:08 — Quote: "Kickl apparently says what the audience here wants to hear." Comparison: 02:09 — "He came across as very combative."

Assessment: The comment implies populism and lack of substantive content in Kickl's case, without an analogous evaluation of Babler in a comparable situation (speech before his own audience); this violates the requirement of impartiality pursuant to §4 para. 1 no. 1 ORF-G.

Violation 3:

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

Facts: Complete absence of the trade union perspective on a trade union holiday as well as the absence of independent experts for contextualising the budget debate.

Evidence: Entire programme — no ÖGB representative, no economic expert, no political scientist.

Assessment: The reduction of diversity of opinion to three parties (SPÖ, FPÖ, Greens) and one ORF reporter violates the requirement of consideration of diversity of opinion; particularly serious is the absence of the trade union as the primary social bearer of 1 May.

Overall assessment §4 ORF Act

The ZIB 13 of 1 May exhibits three demonstrable points of contact with §4 ORF-G: a measurable time asymmetry in favour of the SPÖ (§10 para. 7 ORF-G), an asymmetric evaluative comment on the FPÖ appearance (§4 para. 1 no. 1 ORF-G) and an insufficient diversity of opinion due to the absence of the trade union, ÖVP, NEOS and independent experts (§4 para. 1 no. 3 ORF-G). The violations are individually to be classified as moderate, but in their cumulation as clear one-sidedness, which would be substantively justifiable in a complaint before the ORF Audience Council or KommAustria with the documented timestamps and direct quotes. Legal relevance would be particularly given if comparable asymmetries could be demonstrated in several programmes (pattern evidence).



CHAPTER 6 — SOURCE IN-DEPTH CHECK

Note: The programme does not cite specialist bodies, NGOs or advisory services in the technical sense. All substantive sources are party politicians. The source in-depth check is therefore carried out for the only quasi-institutional source: the ORF reporter as the contextualising authority.

ORF domestic politics desk (represented by Maximilian Biegler)

1. FUNDING: Public service broadcaster, GIS-funded (from 2024: ORF contribution), state-supervised by the Foundation Board. Constellation of interests: ORF is regulatorily dependent on political decisions; FPÖ as governing party (according to context) has an interest in ORF reform and publicly criticises the ORF — structural conflict of interest in reporting on the FPÖ.

2. MANDATE: Journalistic contextualisation and reporting — fundamentally compatible with neutral assessment, but structurally not independent of editorial line and institutional interests.

3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST: ORF has an institutional interest in not reinforcing FPÖ criticism of the ORF; at the same time, there is a historical structural proximity between the ÖVP and the ORF Foundation Board (according to media context). In the present case: the asymmetric comment on Kickl (04:08) could be interpreted as an institutional reaction to FPÖ criticism of the ORF — not demonstrable, but structurally plausible.

D1 Conflict of interest: -1 — Institutional conflict of interest in FPÖ coverage

D2 Personal risk: +1 — Named journalist

D3 Professional competence: +2 — Domestic politics editor, professionally responsible

D4 Opinion consistency: 0 — No comparative data

D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: +1 — Predominantly descriptive

D6 Source level: +1 — Primary on-site observation

TOTAL: +4 → SOURCE INDICATOR: YELLOW

5. COUNTER-VOICE: An independent political science contextualisation of the May rallies is entirely absent; the ORF reporter contextualisation remains the only contextualising authority, which confirms the YELLOW rating.

> IMPORTANT: "Recognised" is not a substantive qualification. The ORF reporter is professionally competent (D3: +2), but structurally not independent (D1: -1); the YELLOW rating correctly reflects this tension.

Legal and methodological classification

No finding of fact

The results presented do not constitute findings of fact about individual persons, editorial teams or programmes. They are to be understood as the result of a standardised operationalisation, not as a determination of individual responsibility.

No legal ruling

The aggregated deviation index does not replace a legal assessment within the meaning of §4 ORF-G. The assessment of whether a specific programme violates statutory requirements is the exclusive responsibility of the competent authorities (in particular KommAustria).

No proof of causality

Statistical correlations are not to be interpreted as proof of causal relationships or editorial intentions. Deviation values may be influenced by choice of topic, news situation, political controversy or format logic.

No finding of intent

The analysis measures observable structural characteristics of programmes. A score of 7 means that a considerable imbalance has been identified — not that the editorial team intended this. The methodology makes no statements about motives or strategic objectives.



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**Heuristic
comparison
instrument**

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

Act

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

Relevant articles

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

Core obligations

- 1. Objectivity and impartiality:** Comprehensive, independent, impartial information
- 2. Separation of news/commentary:** Clear distinction
- 3. Consideration of parties:** 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



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APPENDIX 2: SCIENTIFIC FOUNDATIONS

Literature

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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.

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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 UBI system meets none of the three fundamental criteria — it is not appropriate, not based on separation of powers, not market-based. The authority that is supposed to protect citizens primarily protects the system it was supposed to control.

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