



## YLE DETAILED ANALYSIS

2025-05-27\_Kiista paperittomien terveyspalveluista

Broadcast: YLE-Sendung | 2025-05-27 | Analysed: 2026-05-22 18:14

Version 3.0-detail | Universal 3.0-detail | Konverter 3.4 (2026-05-20) | Mittapuu: Laki Yleisradio Oy:stä 7 §

### TOTAL SCORE

**5.5/10**

*Significant imbalance*

0 = impartial, 10 = strongly biased

## POLITICAL SPECTRUM

Classification according to Chapel Hill Expert Survey (CHES) 2024

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

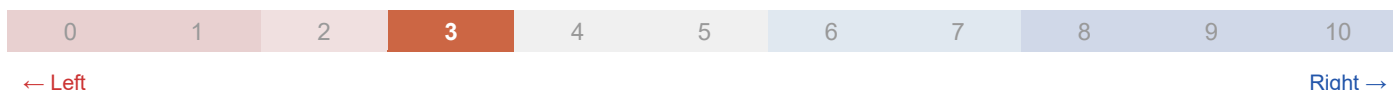
Party	Left Alliance	Greens	SDP	Centre Party	KD	National Coalition	Finns Party
CHES	1.50	2.60	3.50	5.60	6.80	7.20	8.40
Spectrum	<i>Left</i>	<i>Left</i>	<i>Left</i>	<i>Centre</i>	<i>Right</i>	<i>Right</i>	<i>Right</i>

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

### TENDENCY (L – R)

**3.2 / 10**

*Favouring the left*



Source: Chapel Hill Expert Survey 2024 — [chesdata.eu](https://chesdata.eu) | [Jolly et al., Electoral Studies, 2022](#) | Threshold values: [Pew Research Center](#)

This section provides political context and does not affect the total score.



## POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

Finland has had the Orpo government since June 2023, comprising National Coalition (KOK), Finns Party (PS), SFP/RKP and KD — a total of 108 seats out of 200. In opposition are SDP, Centre Party, Greens, Left Alliance and Movement Now.

Party	CHES L-R	Seats	Government/Opposition	Core position
Left Alliance	1,6	11	Opposition	Redistribution, open asylum policy
SDP	3,6	43	Opposition	Welfare state, trade unions
Greens	3,9	13	Opposition	Climate, liberal immigration policy
Centre Party	5,7	23	Opposition	Rural areas, decentralisation
SFP/RKP	6,4	9	Government	Bilingualism, liberal economy
KD	7,6	5	Government	Family values, conservative ethics
Movement Now	7,6	1	Opposition	Right-liberal
National Coalition	7,8	48	Government (PM)	Tax cuts, competitiveness
Finns Party	8,2	46	Government	Strict immigration, EU scepticism

The Orpo government's austerity policy has generated strong polarisation, particularly in the areas of social and health services and immigration policy. The restriction of healthcare services for undocumented persons is one of the most concrete points of contention, where the government's right-wing conservative majority clashes with the left-wing opposition. In addition, the trade dispute between the EU and the USA directly affects Finnish export industry and has become a key foreign policy issue. The funding of wellbeing services counties and the level of social and health services are a subject of ongoing dispute between the government and the opposition.

Yle is a public broadcasting company whose operations are regulated by the Act on Yleisradio Oy, in particular Section 7, which obliges it to provide diverse, comprehensive and impartial information and to promote pluralism. Finland regularly ranks at the top of RSF's Press Freedom Index, and the general level of trust in the media is high by international standards. However, YLE has been the target of criticism from the Finns Party and right-wing parties over an alleged left-green editorial line.



## CHAPTER 1 — PARTY-POLITICAL BIAS

Party	Score (-5..+5)	Broadcast presentation vs. party platform
SDP	+1	16:01 "I was previously in the Marin government working on the proposal that introduced this still-valid right to more extensive services." — Party platform: humanitarian obligation, integration through employment — presented in a positive light through Forsgrén, no direct criticism of SDP's previous line — partly correct, partly incomplete
National Coalition	0	Party does not appear directly in the broadcast — not addressed
Finns Party	-2	17:13 "Is the proposal purely about communication to Finns Party voters?" — Party platform: strict immigration, national interest — the question frames the Finns Party's policy as mere communication strategy without a corresponding critical question to the opposition — distorted
Centre Party	0	Does not appear in the broadcast — not addressed
Greens	-1	03:40 "The lack of empathy is the most central issue." — Party platform: liberal asylum policy, solidarity-based reception — Forsgrén represents the Greens and receives extensive speaking time without corresponding critical challenging — partly distorted through framing
Left Alliance	0	Does not appear in the broadcast — not addressed
SFP/RKP	0	Does not appear in the broadcast — not addressed

### Party bias summary

- Most accurate presentation: SDP (score +1) — previous government role mentioned neutrally
- Strongest distortion: Finns Party (score -2) — party's policy framed as mere voter communication
- Average deviation from zero: 0.6
- Conclusion: The broadcast does not directly distort party programmes, but the rhetorical question directed at the Finns Party (17:13) calls the governing party's motives into question without a corresponding critical examination of the opposition party's arguments. Forsgrén's position within the Greens is not framed in party-political terms, even though she represents a clear opposition line.

### Left–right overall tendency

TENDENCY SCORE: +1.8

CLASSIFICATION: Favouring the left

Justification: The broadcast gives the opposition representative (Forsgrén/Greens) more room to argue without corresponding critical challenging, while the government minister Juuso (Finns Party) is directly asked a question that calls her motives into question (17:13). The interview with the head of the City of Helsinki structurally supports the opposition's position without an expert to balance the government's view. The tariffs section is relatively balanced and does not significantly affect the overall tendency.



## CHAPTER 2 — BROADCAST DETAILS AND TOPIC FRAMEWORK

### Broadcast details

- Title: A-studio
- Date: Not directly stated in the transcript; based on content, May 2025 (reference to Trump's 50% tariffs and their cancellation)
- Estimated duration: approximately 28 minutes
- Journalist/presenter: Unnamed presenter (name not mentioned in the transcript)
- Persons interviewed:

Person	Role	Party/Background organisation	Political spectrum
Kaisa Juuso	Minister of Social Affairs and Health	Finns Party	Right (8.2)
Bella Forsgrén	Member of Parliament, Deputy Chair of the Greens	Greens	Left (3.9)
Juha Jolkkonen	Head of Helsinki's social, health and rescue services	City of Helsinki (not a party)	Administrative
Timo Vuori	Head of trade policy at the Confederation of Finnish Industries	Confederation of Finnish Industries	Employers' organisation
Hannele Muilu	Brussels correspondent	Yle	Journalist

### Main topic

The broadcast covers two separate topics: the government's proposal to restrict healthcare services for undocumented persons, and the trade dispute between the EU and the USA.



## CHAPTER 3 — 15 CRITERIA: DETAILED ANALYSIS

### Hard facts — quantifiable and scientifically reliable

### Hard facts — 9 quantifiable and scientifically verifiable techniques

#### 1. EXPERT SELECTION

6/10

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Total score: 6/10

Definition: Who gets to speak as an expert?

Expert 1: Juha Jolkkonen, Head of Helsinki's social, health and rescue services

Timestamp: 10:52

Statement: "We have long experience since 2018 in also providing essential services."

Positioning: A City of Helsinki official whose organisation has already decided to continue providing services to undocumented persons regardless of the legislative amendment — a clear institutional position in relation to the issue being discussed.

Missing countervoice: For example, an official from the Finnish Immigration Service or the Ministry of the Interior, who could have presented an administrative perspective on the actual number and profile of undocumented persons.

In-depth source check:

**(a) FUNDING:** City of Helsinki — public funding. The city has already announced that it will continue to provide services, so it has an institutional interest in defending its current practice.

**(b) MANDATE:** Jolkkonen's role is to lead Helsinki's social and health services — not to assess national legislation impartially.

**(c) CREDIBILITY MATRIX:**

D1 Conflict of interest: -1 — The City of Helsinki has already taken a public position on the matter

D2 Personal risk: +1 — Civil servant, not a political actor

D3 Expertise: +2 — Direct experience of services for undocumented persons since 2018

D4 Consistency of opinion: +1 — The city's line has been consistent

D5 Emotion vs. data: +2 — Presents concrete figures and experiences

D6 Source level: +1 — First-hand experience, but local rather than national

• TOTAL: +6 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: GREEN

**(c) PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE:** Jolkkonen's view is presented almost as neutral expert knowledge, even though he represents an organisation that has already taken a clear position against the government's proposal. This institutional position is not made clearly explicit.

Expert 2: Timo Vuori, Head of trade policy at the Confederation of Finnish Industries

Timestamp: 21:20

Statement: "The EU and the USA account for 43% of world GDP and 30% of goods trade."

Positioning: A representative of the Confederation of Finnish Industries — an employers' organisation whose interest is in free trade and securing the operating conditions of businesses.



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

Missing countervoice: A representative of trade unions or consumer organisations, who could have assessed the impact of the tariff dispute on wage earners and consumers.

In-depth source check:

**(a) FUNDING:** Confederation of Finnish Industries — employers' organisation, private funding. A clear interest in free trade and business-friendly trade policy.

**(b) MANDATE:** The Confederation of Finnish Industries' role is to promote the interests of business — not to assess trade policy from the perspective of all social groups.

**(c) CREDIBILITY MATRIX:**

D1 Conflict of interest: -1 — The Confederation of Finnish Industries has a clear interest in a particular type of trade policy

D2 Personal risk: 0 — Representative of an organisation, no personal risk

D3 Expertise: +2 — Trade policy expert

D4 Consistency of opinion: +1 — The Confederation of Finnish Industries' line is consistent

D5 Emotion vs. data: +2 — Presents concrete figures

D6 Source level: +1 — Insider knowledge of the sector

• TOTAL: +5 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: GREEN

**(c) PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE:** Vuori is presented as a neutral trade policy expert, even though the Confederation of Finnish Industries represents the employer side. The perspective of trade unions or consumers is entirely absent from the tariffs section.

*Missing expert groups:*

- Constitutional law expert (rights of undocumented persons)
- Representative of a human rights organisation
- Trade union representative (tariff dispute)

*Summary:*

Expert	Source traffic light	Institutional position
Jolkkonen	GREEN (+6)	City of Helsinki — has already taken a position
Vuori	GREEN (+5)	Confederation of Finnish Industries — employers' organisation



## 2. SOURCE SELECTION

5/10

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

Claims without a primary source = penalty points (rumour check)

Total score: 5/10

Definition: What sources are cited? Are they diverse and independent?

Source 1: Experts (unnamed)

Timestamp: 03:46 — Statement: "reads consultation feedback and observations from experts"

**(a) Funding and governance:** Experts are not named — funding or conflicts of interest cannot be assessed.

**(b) Structural conflict of interest:** Unnamed "experts" serve to support Forsgrén's argument without the viewer being able to assess their background.

**(c) Missing countersource:** Experts or studies supporting the government's proposal are not mentioned.

Source 2: EU's own reports

Timestamp: 10:05 — Statement: "we know from research and the EU's own reports that costs do not decrease by restricting access to care"

**(a) Funding and governance:** EU — public funding. The EU has an institutional interest in broader service provision.

**(b) Structural conflict of interest:** EU reports are not neutral with respect to member states' immigration policies.

**(c) Missing countersource:** The studies mentioned in the government's proposal, referred to at 07:01, are not elaborated on in more detail.

Notable — vague references (penalty points):

Vague reference 1:

Timestamp: 03:46

Claim: "consultation feedback and observations from experts"

Word marker: "experts" (generalisation without naming)

Primary source: no — penalty point

Vague reference 2:

Timestamp: 10:05

Claim: "from research and the EU's own reports"

Word marker: "from research" (generalisation)

Primary source: no — penalty point

Vague reference 3:

Timestamp: 07:01

Claim: "The proposal refers to studies according to which healthcare is not a significant factor in the choice of destination country."

Word marker: "to studies" (generalisation)

Primary source: no — penalty point



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

*Summary: The broadcast repeatedly relies on unnamed "experts" and generalised "studies" without concrete references, which undermines the verifiability of the claims.*



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

Total score: 4/10

Definition: Distribution of speaking time between different positions.

Estimated speaking time:

- Bella Forsgrén (Greens/opposition): approximately 7 min. (25%)
- Kaisa Juuso (Finns Party/government): approximately 5 min. (18%)
- Juha Jolkkonen (Helsinki): approximately 3 min. (11%)
- Timo Vuori (Confederation of Finnish Industries): approximately 5 min. (18%)
- Hannele Muilu (Yle): approximately 2 min. (7%)
- Presenter: approximately 6 min. (21%)

Summary: Forsgrén receives significantly more speaking time than Juuso in the section dealing with undocumented persons. The voice defending the government's proposal is underrepresented relative to the critical voices (Forsgrén + Jolkkonen).



#### 4. OMISSION (Selective omission)

7/10

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

Total score: 7/10

Definition: What is not shown, even though it would be relevant?

Omission 1:

Context: The position of the other governing parties (National Coalition, SFP/RKP, KD) on the proposal is entirely absent.

Relevant at: 01:43 — presentation of the government's proposal

Effect: The viewer gets the impression that the proposal is solely a Finns Party initiative, even though it is the entire government's joint line.

Omission 2:

Context: The actual number, profile and geographical distribution of undocumented persons remains unclear.

Relevant at: 02:00 — "In Finland there are a few thousand people who do not leave."

Effect: "A few thousand" is an imprecise expression; more precise information would have enabled a better assessment of the proposal's effects.

Omission 3:

Context: The legal basis of the government's proposal and its relationship to the constitution and international treaties (e.g. the UN International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights) is left entirely unaddressed.

Relevant at: the entire section dealing with undocumented persons

Effect: The viewer receives no information about whether the proposal is legally problematic or not.

*Summary: The broadcast systematically omits the voice of the government's coalition partners, the legal dimension and the perspective of undocumented persons themselves, which skews the overall picture.*

#### Missing voices

- Constitutional law expert: Would have assessed the proposal's relationship to Section 19 of the Constitution and international human rights treaties
- Representative of an organisation supporting undocumented persons (e.g. Global Clinic): Would have highlighted the concrete situation and service needs of undocumented persons
- Member of Parliament from National Coalition or SFP/RKP: Would have represented the views of the other governing parties on the proposal
- Healthcare professional (doctor or nurse): Would have assessed the practical challenges of drawing the line between urgent and non-urgent care
- Representative of the City of Tampere or Turku: Would have offered a comparative perspective from outside Helsinki
- Representative of the UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR) or Amnesty International: Would have assessed the proposal's relationship to international obligations
- CEO of a Finnish export company: Would have made the effects of the tariff dispute concrete at the company level
- Representative of the Finnish Immigration Service (Migri): Would have clarified the actual number and profile of undocumented persons



## 5. NUMBER MANIPULATION

4/10

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

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

Total score: 4/10

Definition: Selective or misleading use of statistics.

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 09:55

Figure: "The proposal's savings target was approximately half a million euros."

Dimensions: (a) absolute value presented — (b) relative share of total budget missing — (c) development over time missing

Missing context: Half a million euros in relation to the total funding of wellbeing services counties (billions of euros) is a negligibly small sum — this relationship is not explained.

Effect: The figure sounds significant without context, but in relation to the total budget it is marginal.

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 13:07

Figure: "We are talking about an annual cost of a few hundred thousand euros."

Dimensions: (a) absolute value presented — (b) relationship to Helsinki's total budget missing — (c) development over time missing

Missing context: Not compared to the total volume of Helsinki's social and health budget.

Effect: The figure is presented in isolation, making it difficult to assess its significance.

Summary: The broadcast presents savings figures without contextualising them against the total budget, making it difficult to assess their true significance.



## 6. GUILT BY ASSOCIATION (Contact guilt)

3/10

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

Total score: 3/10

Definition: Discrediting through association with negative groups or ideas.

Association 1:

Timestamp: 17:13

Quote: "Is the proposal purely about communication to Finns Party voters?"

**Technique:** The presenter associates the government's proposal with populist voter communication without asking a corresponding question to the opposition representative.

Effect: The question implies that the Finns Party's policy is inauthentic and calculated.

Association 2:

Timestamp: 14:33

Quote: "It is an interesting solution that Helsinki wants to generously provide all services to people residing in the country illegally."

**Technique:** Minister Juuso uses the word "generously", associating Helsinki's policy with irresponsible waste of resources.

Effect: Helsinki's decision is framed as irrational without its justifications being addressed substantively.

Summary: The association technique is used in both directions, but the presenter's question (17:13) is structurally more problematic because it comes from a journalist rather than a political actor.



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

Total score: 3/10

Definition: Strategic placement of information (beginning/middle/end).

Finding 1:

Position: 00:44 (beginning — before the presenter's introduction)

Content: "Finland's job is not to act as the social welfare office for the whole world. How many times does this need to be said? We must not arrange services for people residing in the country illegally. The only service that needs to be arranged is a plane ticket back to their home country."

Timing effect: The broadcast begins with Juuso's forceful statement, immediately followed by Forsgrén's forceful counter-argument (01:03). This sets the debate at a high emotional charge right from the start, but Juuso's statement is presented without context or moderator comment.

Finding 2:

Position: 17:13 (near the end — just before the debate is concluded)

Content: "Is the proposal purely about communication to Finns Party voters?"

Timing effect: The most critical question about the government's motives is posed just before the debate is concluded, leaving Juuso only a short time to respond and no opportunity to return to the matter.

Summary: Timing has a mild effect: the broadcast begins with a forceful statement without context and ends with a question that calls the government's motives into question.



## 8. SELECTIVE INDIGNATION

4/10

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

Anger = bias. Selective anger reinforces the observation. Score = degree of anger (0–5) + selectivity (0–5)

Total score: 4/10

*Definition: Indignation towards certain positions but not towards corresponding others.*

*Methodological principle (v3.0): Before each assessment, the triggering event must be documented. A reaction can only be assessed as selective if corresponding triggering events in relation to other positions did not produce an analogous reaction.*

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 17:13

Triggering event: Minister Juuso defends the government's proposal and states that it is the entire government's joint line.

Reaction: "Is the proposal purely about communication to Finns Party voters?"

Comparison: Forsgrén uses strong expressions ("petty, shameless", 01:03) and value-laden arguments ("lack of empathy", 03:40) — the presenter does not ask a corresponding question that calls her motives into question.

Asymmetry: The government representative's motives are directly called into question; the opposition representative's motives are not.

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 06:53

Triggering event: Minister Juuso presents a logical argument about the logic of the residence permit system.

Reaction: "This logic will certainly have been clear to viewers." (ironic comment)

Comparison: Forsgrén's arguments are not commented on with corresponding irony.

Asymmetry: The presenter uses irony towards the government representative's argument, but not towards the opposition representative's arguments.

Degree of indignation: 2/5

Selectivity: 2/5

*Summary: The indignation is mild but detectable: the presenter's ironic comments and questions that call motives into question are directed exclusively at the government representative.*



**9. COMPLETENESS (Selective omission — overall picture)**

**7/10**

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

*Total score: 7/10*

*Definition: How completely does the broadcast depict the topic?*

**Finding 1:**

Timestamp: the entire section dealing with undocumented persons

Missing perspective: The voice and experience of undocumented persons themselves

Relevance: This is a key decision for their health and rights.

Effect: Undocumented persons are presented as passive objects of action, not as active agents.

**Finding 2:**

Timestamp: the entire section dealing with undocumented persons

Missing perspective: The position of the other governing parties (National Coalition, SFP/RKP, KD)

Relevance: The proposal is shared by the entire government, but is represented solely by the Finns Party minister.

Effect: The viewer receives an incorrect picture of the political backing behind the proposal.

**Finding 3:**

Timestamp: the entire section dealing with undocumented persons

Missing perspective: The legal and constitutional dimension

Relevance: The proposal's relationship to the constitution and international treaties is a central question.

Effect: The viewer receives no information about whether the proposal is legally sound.

*Summary: The broadcast systematically omits three key perspectives, which significantly skews the overall picture.*

**Soft facts — negotiable, not purely quantifiable**



## Soft facts — 6 qualitative techniques

### 10. FRAMING (Setting the frame of reference)

6/10

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

Total score: 6/10

Definition: How is the topic fundamentally framed?

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 01:28

Quote: "The government is thus proposing to restrict essential healthcare services away from undocumented persons."

Manipulation: The presenter frames the proposal as "restricting away" — a negative frame — rather than using a more neutral expression such as "amend" or "revise".

Why problematic: The frame places the government's proposal in a fundamentally negative light before the minister has been given the floor.

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 03:40

Quote: "The lack of empathy is the most central issue."

Manipulation: Forsgrén's response frames the entire government proposal as a manifestation of moral deficiency, and the presenter does not challenge this framing.

Why problematic: The empathy frame shifts the discussion from political and legal assessment to moral judgement.

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 16:07

Quote: "It sets an example showing that humane and empathetic policy is possible in Finland."

Manipulation: Forsgrén frames Helsinki's decision as "humane and empathetic" — implicitly, the government's policy is inhumane and lacking in empathy.

Why problematic: The presenter does not challenge this value-laden framing.

Summary: The broadcast's framing favours the opposition's perspective: the government's proposal is presented as "restriction" and "lack of empathy", while the opposition's position is framed as "humanity".



## 11. WORD CHOICES AND CONCEPTS

5/10

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

Total score: 5/10

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

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 01:03

Quote: "This proposal is petty, shameless and poorly justified."

Manipulation: Strongly value-laden adjectives ("petty", "shameless") are presented without comment or challenge from the presenter.

Why problematic: A neutral alternative would be: "In my view, this proposal is unjustified and disproportionate."

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 13:50

Quote: "Interior Minister Rantanen has already had time to criticise this on the messaging service X. He hinted that Helsinki is breaking the law."

Manipulation: The word "hinted" implies that Rantanen's claim is indirect or dishonest, rather than that he "stated" or "assessed".

Why problematic: A neutral alternative would be: "Rantanen assessed that Helsinki may be breaking the law."

Finding 3:

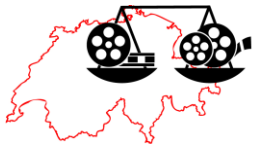
Timestamp: 16:38

Quote: "This is a sleight of hand."

Manipulation: Forsgrén directly accuses the government of deception, and the presenter does not challenge this claim.

Why problematic: A neutral alternative would be: "In my view, this is misleading."

Summary: The broadcast allows the opposition representative to use strongly value-laden language without challenge, while the government representative's language is commented on ironically.



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

Total score: 5/10

Definition: Asymmetries in follow-up questions, interruptions, expressions of sympathy.

Methodological principle (v3.0): Before each assessment, the triggering event must be documented. An intervention can only be assessed as asymmetric if corresponding triggering events in relation to other guests did not produce an analogous intervention.

#### Finding 1:

Timestamp: 06:53

Triggering event: Minister Juuso presents an argument about the logic of the residence permit system.

Quote (presenter): "This logic will certainly have been clear to viewers."

Comparison: Forsgrén's arguments are not commented on with corresponding irony at any point in the broadcast.

Asymmetry: The presenter uses irony towards the government representative's argument — this is a detectable asymmetry.

#### Finding 2:

Timestamp: 17:13

Triggering event: Minister Juuso states that the proposal is the entire government's joint line.

Quote (presenter): "Is the proposal purely about communication to Finns Party voters?"

Comparison: Forsgrén is not asked a corresponding question, such as "Is your opposition purely about communication to Greens voters?"

Asymmetry: Clear — the government representative's motives are called into question; the opposition representative's are not.

#### Finding 3:

Timestamp: 16:53

Triggering event: Juuso attempts to correct Forsgrén's claim about the government's cuts.

Quote (presenter): "Let's not go into the broader social and health services discussion."

Comparison: Forsgrén's broader claims about the government's cuts (16:24) are allowed without a corresponding restriction.

Asymmetry: The presenter restricts Juuso's right of reply, but not Forsgrén's attack.

Summary: There are detectable asymmetries in the moderator's behaviour: ironic comments and questions that call motives into question are directed at the government representative, and Juuso's right of reply is cut off after Forsgrén's attack.



### 13. QUESTION ASYMMETRY

5/10

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

Total score: 5/10

Definition: Different hard/soft questions for different individuals.

#### Asymmetry 1:

To Juuso, 17:13: "Is the proposal purely about communication to Finns Party voters?" — hard, calling motives into question

To Forsgrén, 03:32: "What is the problem with the proposal?" — soft, open

Comparison: Juuso is asked a question that calls her motives into question; Forsgrén is given an open opportunity to criticise.

#### Asymmetry 2:

To Juuso, 07:08: "Why is the government convinced that this would get them to leave?" — challenging, sceptical

Forsgrén is not asked a corresponding question, such as "Why are you convinced that more extensive services do not increase undocumented status?"

Comparison: The government's burden of proof is called into question; the opposition's is not.

Summary: Juuso is asked clearly harder and more motive-questioning questions than Forsgrén, creating a structural asymmetry in the debate.



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

*Total score: 2/10*

*Definition: Artificial balance despite actual imbalance.*

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 01:12 — Structure: One government minister (Finns Party) vs. one opposition MP (Greens) + head of the City of Helsinki

Analysis: Formally this is a debate, but structurally the government's position is represented by one person, while there are two critical voices (Forsgrén + Jolkkonen). This is not false balance in the traditional sense, but it creates an asymmetric setup.

*Summary: No actual false balance occurs, but the structure of the debate numerically favours the critical voices.*



<b>15. AGENDA-SETTING</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

Total score: 6/10

Definition: What is normal/self-evident? What does not make it onto the agenda?

Finding 1:

Agenda element set: The restriction of healthcare services for undocumented persons is inherently problematic.

Timestamp: 01:28 — Evidence: "The government is thus proposing to restrict essential healthcare services away from undocumented persons."

Alternative agenda: Why are there undocumented persons in Finland? How does the residence permit system work? What is the actual profile of undocumented persons?

Finding 2:

Agenda element set: Experts are unanimously against the government's proposal.

Timestamp: 10:41 — Evidence: "That is why experts do not support this."

Alternative agenda: Are there also views among experts that support the proposal? Which expert bodies have given statements?

*Summary: The broadcast sets as its agenda that the government's proposal is problematic and opposed by experts, without this underlying assumption being systematically challenged.*



## CHAPTER 4 — OVERALL ASSESSMENT

### Individual scores summary

No.	Criterion	Type	Score	Main finding (1 sentence)
1	Expert selection	H	6	Both experts represent an institutionally critical position towards the government's proposal.
2	Source selection	H	5	Repeated unnamed "experts" and "studies" without concrete references.
3	Distribution of speaking time	H	4	Forsgrén receives more speaking time than Juuso in the section dealing with undocumented persons.
4	Omission	H	7	The position of the other governing parties, the legal dimension and the voice of undocumented persons themselves are absent.
5	Number manipulation	H	4	Savings figures are presented without contextualising them against the total budget.
6	Contact guilt	H	3	The presenter's question (17:13) associates the Finns Party's policy with mere voter communication.
7	Timing	H	3	The most critical question about the government's motives is posed just before the debate is concluded.
8	Selective indignation	H	4	Ironic comments and questions that call motives into question are directed exclusively at the government representative.
9	Completeness	H	7	Three key perspectives are systematically absent.
10	Framing	S	6	The government's proposal is framed as "restriction" and "lack of empathy".
11	Word choices	S	5	Value-laden language is permitted for the opposition without challenge.
12	Moderator behaviour	S	5	Ironic comments and restrictions are directed at the government representative.
13	Question asymmetry	S	5	Juuso is asked harder and more motive-questioning questions.
14	False balance	S	2	No actual false balance occurs; the structure of the debate is mildly asymmetric.
15	Agenda-setting	S	6	The broadcast sets as its agenda the problematic nature of the government's proposal without systematic challenge.

### Results

- HARD FACTS SCORE (criteria 1–9 average): 4.8 / 10
- SOFT FACTS SCORE (criteria 10–15 average): 4.8 / 10
- TOTAL SCORE (average of all 15 criteria): 4.8 / 10



## Dominant techniques

---

- 1. Omission (score 7):** The broadcast systematically omits three key perspectives — the position of the other governing parties, the legal dimension and the voice of undocumented persons themselves. This creates a structural imbalance that favours the opposition's position without any individual statement being directly misleading.
- 2. Completeness (score 7):** The broadcast covers the topic one-sidedly: there are two critical voices (Forsgrén + Jolkkonen), while the government's position is represented by one person without the support of coalition partners. This creates the impression of a broader consensus against the government's proposal than actually exists.
- 3. Framing (score 6):** The government's proposal is consistently framed negatively ("restriction away", "lack of empathy", "sleight of hand") without the presenter challenging these framings. Correspondingly, the opposition's position is framed as "humanity" and "empathy".

## The broadcast's core messages

---

**MESSAGE 1 (SUBSTANTIVE):** "The government's proposal to restrict healthcare services for undocumented persons is opposed by experts, economically irrational and humanitarily problematic."

**Technique:** Framing + omission — Evidence: 03:40, 10:41, 12:04

**MESSAGE 2 (PERSONAL):** "The Finns Party's policy is calculated voter communication, not genuine policy."

**Technique:** Motive-questioning question + contact guilt — Evidence: 17:13, 06:53

**MESSAGE 3 (SOCIETAL):** "Helsinki sets an example of humane policy that the government is unable or unwilling to implement."

**Technique:** Agenda-setting + framing — Evidence: 16:07, 13:43

## Classification of degree of manipulation

---

Justification: The broadcast's total score (4.8/10) falls on the boundary between mild tendency and clear one-sidedness. Individual findings — particularly omission (7/10), completeness (7/10) and framing (6/10) — indicate structural skewing that is not random but consistent. The diversity and impartiality required by Section 7 of the Act on Yleisradio Oy are not fully realised: voices critical of the government's proposal are overrepresented relative to voices defending it, and the presenter's rhetorical choices (irony, motive-questioning question) are directed asymmetrically at the government representative. The tariffs section is relatively balanced and does not significantly affect the overall assessment.

## CONCLUSION

---

The A-studio broadcast on healthcare services for undocumented persons shows structural skewing, which is manifested particularly in expert selection, omission and moderator behaviour. The diverse and comprehensive information provision required by Section 7 of the Act on Yleisradio Oy is not fully realised: voices critical of the government's proposal (Forsgrén, Jolkkonen) receive more speaking time and less critical challenging than the government representative (Juuso). Particularly problematic is the presenter's question at 17:13, where the government's motives are directly called into question without a corresponding critical examination of the opposition representative — this is a detectable asymmetry that does not meet the requirement of impartiality. However, the broadcast does not cross the threshold of systematic skewing: individual statements are factually correct, and the government representative is given the floor. Overall, the broadcast falls within the area of clear one-sidedness, which requires editorial review to ensure compliance with Section 7 of the Act on Yleisradio Oy.



## OVERALL ASSESSMENT OF 15 CRITERIA

### Individual scores — All 15 criteria

No.	Criterion	Score	Classification
1	EXPERT SELECTION	6/10	Significant skewing
2	SOURCE SELECTION	5/10	Significant skewing
3	DISTRIBUTION OF SPEAKING TIME	4/10	Mild skewing
4	OMISSION (Selective omission)	7/10	Clear skewing
5	NUMBER MANIPULATION	4/10	Mild skewing
6	GUILT BY ASSOCIATION (Contact guilt)	3/10	Mild skewing
7	TIMING	3/10	Mild skewing
8	SELECTIVE INDIGNATION	4/10	Mild skewing
9	COMPLETENESS (Selective omission — overall picture)	7/10	Clear skewing
10	FRAMING (Setting the frame of reference)	6/10	Significant skewing
11	WORD CHOICES AND CONCEPTS	5/10	Significant skewing
12	MODERATOR BEHAVIOUR	5/10	Significant skewing
13	QUESTION ASYMMETRY	5/10	Significant skewing
14	FALSE BALANCE	2/10	Imperceptible
15	AGENDA-SETTING	6/10	Significant skewing

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

**5.5/10**

*Significant imbalance*

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

**5.5/10**

*Significant imbalance*

**TOTAL SCORE**

**5.5/10**

*Significant imbalance*

*Hard facts and soft facts average*



## LEGEND — Meaning of scores

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

<b>0</b>	<b>No finding</b>	No significant deviation detected.
<b>1–2</b>	<b>Weak finding</b>	Mild deviation without material impact on impartiality.
<b>3–4</b>	<b>Mild–moderate finding</b>	Identifiable tendency; materiality of impact minor–moderate.
<b>5</b>	<b>Moderate finding, with impact</b>	Material skewing that affects audience opinion formation.
<b>6</b>	<b>Significant finding (threshold)</b>	Scores of 6 and above are classified as significant findings.
<b>7</b>	<b>Significant finding</b>	Clear, well-documented skewing with a clear impact.
<b>8–9</b>	<b>Serious finding</b>	Strong skewing; multiple documented individual findings in this criterion.
<b>10</b>	<b>Maximum severity</b>	Systematic, cross-cutting skewing in this criterion.

### Aggregated deviation index — Interpretation ranges

<b>0.0 – 2.5</b>	<b>Imperceptible</b>	No significant patterns detected; broadcast meets the impartiality requirement.
<b>2.6 – 4.0</b>	<b>Mild skewing</b>	Individual deviations; statistically visible, but within the tolerance range.
<b>4.1 – 6.0</b>	<b>Significant skewing</b>	Multiple significant findings; material weakening of diversity of perspectives.
<b>6.1 – 8.0</b>	<b>Serious deviation from the impartiality requirement. High deviation rate</b>	Strong patterns crossing broadcast boundaries; high materiality of impact.
<b>8.1 – 10</b>	<b>Fundamental systematic one-sidedness. Extremely high degree of bias</b>	Maximum severity in almost all criteria; systematically one-sided reporting.

### Party-political skewing (-5 ... +5)

<b>-5 ... -3</b>	<b>Strongly disadvantaged</b>	Party is significantly underrepresented in framing, airtime or presentation.
<b>-2 ... -1</b>	<b>Mildly disadvantaged</b>	Identifiable but mild disadvantaging.
<b>0</b>	<b>Neutral</b>	No detectable favouring or disadvantaging.
<b>+1 ... +2</b>	<b>Mildly favoured</b>	Identifiable but mild favouring.
<b>+3 ... +5</b>	<b>Strongly favoured</b>	Party is significantly overrepresented in framing, airtime or presentation.



## CHAPTER 5 — LEGAL ASSESSMENT (Act on Yleisradio Oy, Section 7)

### Assessment pursuant to Section 7 of the Act on Yleisradio Oy

Section 7 of the Act on Yleisradio Oy requires diverse and comprehensive information provision, impartiality and the promotion of pluralism.

#### **Violation 1:**

Norm: Act on Yleisradio Oy, Section 7 — diversity and comprehensiveness

Facts: Voices critical of the government's proposal (Forsgrén + Jolkkonen) are numerically and temporally overrepresented relative to voices defending it (Juuso alone). The position of the other governing parties (National Coalition, SFP/RKP, KD) is entirely absent, even though the proposal is shared by the entire government.

Evidence: Timestamp 01:43–17:38 — the entire section dealing with undocumented persons

Assessment: The requirement of diversity is not met when the voice of the government's coalition partners is entirely absent and there are two critical voices relative to one defending voice.

#### **Violation 2:**

Norm: Act on Yleisradio Oy, Section 7 — impartiality

Facts: The presenter makes an ironic comment about the government representative's argument (06:53: "This logic will certainly have been clear to viewers") and directly calls the government's motives into question (17:13: "Is the proposal purely about communication to Finns Party voters?") without a corresponding critical examination of the opposition representative.

Evidence: Timestamps 06:53 and 17:13

Assessment: The presenter's rhetorical choices violate the requirement of impartiality: irony and a motive-questioning question are directed asymmetrically at the government representative.

#### **Violation 3:**

Norm: Act on Yleisradio Oy, Section 7 — comprehensiveness

Facts: The legal status of undocumented persons in relation to the constitution and international human rights treaties is left entirely unaddressed, even though it is a central question in assessing the proposal.

Evidence: The entire section dealing with undocumented persons — the legal dimension is absent

Assessment: The requirement of comprehensiveness is not met when a key legal dimension is entirely bypassed.

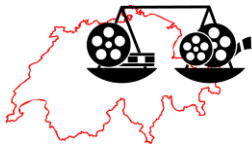
### Overall assessment pursuant to Section 7 of the Act on Yleisradio Oy

The broadcast partially meets the requirements of Section 7 of the Act on Yleisradio Oy: it gives the floor to both the government representative and the opposition, and factual claims are largely correct. However, three detectable violations — the absence of the voice of the government's coalition partners, the presenter's asymmetric rhetorical choices and the bypassing of the legal dimension — indicate that the requirements of diversity, impartiality and comprehensiveness are not fully met. The violations are not so serious as to cross the threshold of systematic skewing, but they are sufficiently consistent to require editorial review. In particular, the presenter's ironic comments and motive-questioning questions (06:53, 17:13) are the most concrete and legally significant findings, as they demonstrate the journalist's own value position in a manner that is incompatible with the requirement of impartiality.

### **IN-DEPTH SOURCE CHECK (Mandatory for all cited expert bodies / organisations / advisory services)**

#### **Juha Jolkkonen — Head of Helsinki's social, health and rescue services**

**1. FUNDING:** City of Helsinki — public funding. The city has already publicly announced that it will continue to provide services to undocumented persons regardless of the legislative amendment.



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

**2. MANDATE:** Jolkkonen's role is to lead Helsinki's social and health services — not to assess national legislation impartially. The mandate is not compatible with fully neutral assessment.

**3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** The City of Helsinki has an institutional interest in defending its current practice and demonstrating its effectiveness. Jolkkonen's statements support the decision already made by the city.

**4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX:**

D1 Conflict of interest: -1 — The city has already taken a position

D2 Personal risk: +1 — Civil servant, not a political actor

D3 Expertise: +2 — Direct experience since 2018

D4 Consistency of opinion: +1 — Consistent line

D5 Emotion vs. data: +2 — Presents concrete figures

D6 Source level: +1 — First-hand experience, local

• TOTAL: +6 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: GREEN

**5. COUNTERVOICE:** The view of other cities (Tampere, Turku, Oulu) or the Finnish Immigration Service is absent — it is not known whether Helsinki's experience is generalisable nationally.

### **Timo Vuori — Head of trade policy at the Confederation of Finnish Industries**

**1. FUNDING:** Confederation of Finnish Industries — employers' organisation, private funding. The Confederation of Finnish Industries' members are large companies with an interest in free trade.

**2. MANDATE:** The Confederation of Finnish Industries' role is to promote the interests of business — not to assess trade policy from the perspective of all social groups.

**3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** The Confederation of Finnish Industries has a clear interest in a particular type of trade policy (free trade, business-friendly regulation). Vuori's statements are in line with the Confederation of Finnish Industries' interests.

**4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX:**

D1 Conflict of interest: -1 — Confederation of Finnish Industries' interest in free trade

D2 Personal risk: 0 — Representative of an organisation

D3 Expertise: +2 — Trade policy expert

D4 Consistency of opinion: +1 — Confederation of Finnish Industries' line consistent

D5 Emotion vs. data: +2 — Presents concrete figures

D6 Source level: +1 — Insider knowledge of the sector

• TOTAL: +5 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: GREEN

**5. COUNTERVOICE:** The perspective of trade unions (SAK, STTK) or consumer organisations is entirely absent from the tariffs section.

### **Unnamed "experts" (referred to multiple times)**

**1. FUNDING:** Unknown — experts are not named.

**2. MANDATE:** Unknown.

**3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Cannot be assessed.

**4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX:**

D1 Conflict of interest: 0 — unknown

D2 Personal risk: 0 — unknown

D3 Expertise: 0 — unknown

D4 Consistency of opinion: 0 — unknown

D5 Emotion vs. data: 0 — unknown

D6 Source level: -2 — tertiary reference

• TOTAL: -2 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW

**5. COUNTERVOICE:** Because the experts are not named, the viewer cannot assess whether the expert consensus is genuine or selective.

*IMPORTANT: "Experts" is a social attribution, not substantive competence. Referring to unnamed experts without concrete sources is a journalistic weakness that undermines the verifiability of claims and the comprehensiveness required by Section 7 of the Act on Yleisradio Oy.*

### **Legal and methodological framework**



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

**Not a verification of facts**

The findings presented are not verifications of facts about individual persons, editorial teams or broadcasts. They are the result of standardised operationalisation, not a statement of individual responsibility.

**Not a legal assessment**

The aggregated deviation index does not replace a legal assessment pursuant to Section 7 of the Act on Yleisradio Oy. The assessment of whether a particular broadcast violates statutory requirements falls exclusively within the competence of the relevant authorities (in particular Traficom).

**Not proof of causality**

Statistical correlations must not be interpreted as evidence of causal connections or editorial intentions. Deviation values may be influenced by topic selection, the news situation, political controversy or format logic.

**Not an assessment of intent**

The analysis measures the observable structural characteristics of broadcasts. A score of 7 means that a significant skewing was detected — not that the editorial team intended it. The methodology makes no claims about motives or strategic objectives.

**Heuristic comparative tool**

The index serves for comparative pattern identification across thousands of broadcasts, not for precise metric measurement of individual parts. Threshold values serve as heuristic orientation, not precise legal classification.



## APPENDIX 1: NATIONAL LEGISLATION

### Legal basis Finland — YLE (Yleisradio Oy)

#### Act

Act on Yleisradio Oy (1380/1993), zuletzt geändert 27.6.2025/412

#### Relevant articles

- Section 7(2)(1) (Special tasks of public service programming): Public service programming shall in particular support democracy and the opportunities for participation of all by providing diverse information, opinions and discussions as well as opportunities for interaction.

*(Die öffentlich-rechtliche Programmtätigkeit soll insbesondere die Demokratie und die Teilhabemöglichkeiten aller unterstützen, indem sie vielfältige Informationen, Meinungen und Debatten sowie Interaktionsmöglichkeiten anbietet.)*

- Section 7(4) (inserted 27.6.2025/412): The company shall through its activities promote freedom of expression, high-quality journalism and media diversity.

*(Das Unternehmen soll durch seine Tätigkeit die Meinungsfreiheit, hochwertigen Journalismus und Medienvielfalt fördern.)*

- Section 7(5) (inserted 27.6.2025/412): The company shall promote transparency in its finances and operations.

*(Das Unternehmen soll die Transparenz seiner Finanzen und seiner Tätigkeit fördern.)*

#### Structural difference from Switzerland

Wichtig: Das finnische Gesetz definiert den öffentlich-rechtlichen AUFTRAG (Demokratie, Kultur, Bildung, Sprachen, Minderheiten), schreibt aber NICHT explizit vor, WIE Journalismus zu betreiben ist. Anders als Art. 4 RTVG (Sachgerechtigkeit, Meinungsvielfalt, Ausgewogenheit) gibt es keine gesetzliche Verpflichtung zu:

- Impartiality (Unparteilichkeit) — only self-regulatory (YSO)
- Factual accuracy (Sachgerechtigkeit) — only self-regulatory (JSN)
- Political balance (Politische Balance) — not mentioned anywhere explicitly

Die Unparteilichkeitspflicht kommt aus YLEs internen Ethikrichtlinien (YSO):

> "We set impartiality as a goal in our overall programme and content production as well as in individual programmes."

> (Wir setzen uns Unparteilichkeit als Ziel in unserer gesamten Programm- und Inhaltsproduktion sowie auch in einzelnen Sendungen.)

#### Core obligations (Act + Self-regulation)

1. **Diversity (Vielfalt):** Vielfältige Informationen, Meinungen und Debatten (Section 7(2)(1))
2. **High-quality journalism (Hochwertiger Journalismus):** Förderung qualitativer Standards (Section 7(4))
3. **Media diversity (Medienvielfalt):** Förderung der Medienvielfalt (Section 7(4))
4. **Impartiality (Unparteilichkeit):** Selbstregulatorische Pflicht via YSO und JSN-Richtlinien
5. **Transparency (Transparenz):** Transparenz über Finanzen und Tätigkeit (Section 7(5))

#### Supervisory authority



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

- Parliamentary Administrative Council (Parlamentarischer Verwaltungsrat): Max. 21 vom Parlament gewählte Mitglieder. Überwacht die Erfüllung des öffentlich-rechtlichen Auftrags nach 7 §. Erstattet jährlich Bericht ans Parlament.
- TRAFICOM (Finnish Transport and Communications Agency): Regulierungsbehörde. Überwacht NUR wirtschaftliche Aspekte (7c §, 8 §, 12 §) — NICHT den redaktionellen Inhalt.
- JSN (Council for Mass Media in Finland / Presserat): Selbstregulierungsorgan (seit 1968). Behandelt Beschwerden gegen journalistische Inhalte. KEIN gesetzliches Mandat — Entscheide sind nicht rechtsverbindlich, müssen aber publiziert werden. ~700 Beschwerden/Jahr, ~75 Entscheide.

### Complaints procedure

1. YLE customer feedback system (YLE-Publikumsfeedback)
2. JSN (Council for Mass Media in Finland) — Beschwerde innert 3 Monaten, kostenlos
3. Allgemeine Gerichte (keine spezialisierte Beschwerdeinstanz wie die Schweizer UBI)

### Comparison CH — FI

Aspect	Switzerland (Art. 4 RTVG)	Finland (Section 7 Act on Yleisradio Oy)
Sachgerechtigkeit	Gesetzlich	Nur selbstregulatorisch (YSO/JSN)
Meinungsvielfalt	Gesetzlich	Implizit ("monipuolisia tietoja, mielipiteitä")
Unparteilichkeit	Gesetzlich	Nur selbstregulatorisch (JSN)
Politische Balance	Abgeleitet	Nicht erwähnt
Unabhängige Beschwerdeinstanz	UBI (gesetzlich)	Keine (nur JSN, selbstregulatorisch)
Inhaltsaufsicht durch Regulator	BAKOM/UBI	Nein — TRAFICOM nur Wirtschaft
Redaktioneller Schutz	Via RTVG	6d § (neu 2025): Schutz vor Entlassung wegen redaktioneller Entscheide



## APPENDIX 2: SCIENTIFIC SOURCES

### Literature

---

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

### SVFAB Working Papers

---

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

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

SVFAB — Swiss Association for Fair Reporting | PO Box, 8021 Zürich 1 | [www.svfab.ch](http://www.svfab.ch) | [kontakt@svfab.ch](mailto:kontakt@svfab.ch) | *Methods report March 2026* | Converter 3.4 (2026-05-20)



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

## Assessments and membership at SVFAB

At SVFAB.ch you can find detailed assessments and you can also order analyses of any broadcast (billed separately).  
To ensure the quality of our work we are dependent on membership and supporter fees.

### Contact details and further information:

[www.SVFAB.ch](http://www.SVFAB.ch) | [Kontakt@SVFAB.ch](mailto:Kontakt@SVFAB.ch)

**Bank details:** PostFinance – POFICHBE

**IBAN:** CH32 0900 0000 1675 6251 1

**Payee:** SVFAB, Postfach, CH-8021 Zürich 1



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

## The following books are available from SVFAB

Orders at [www.svfab.ch](http://www.svfab.ch) or [kontakt@svfab.ch](mailto:kontakt@svfab.ch)



**Unbalanced reporting** is a response to the Swiss halving initiative: manipulation techniques are explained in detail, from personnel selection to source selection. 15 principles are then explained: omission, framing, temporal framing, guilt by association, emotionalisation, removal of context and much more, illustrated with numerous examples. In addition, it becomes visible where we ourselves apply these techniques — which promotes not only awareness but also empathy.

Optionally, the book comes with **playing cards**.

Also available as an **audiobook**.



An interview is not a conversation. It is a stage – and someone else has written the script.

Those who are unaware of this unknowingly deliver material. Good quotes, that are cut wrongly. Correct statements, that end up in the wrong context. Honest answers, that are framed as admissions.

This book is not a media criticism book. It is a toolkit – for everyone, who has a microphone in front of them and who wants to know, what can be done about it. 7 chapters. 7 tools: What an interview really is. The 7 most common traps. The three fundamental principles of sovereignty – anchoring, reframing, delimiting. Preparation in one hour. Body and voice. What to do when things go wrong. And what matters after the interview.

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

In A5 format. Straightforward. For preparation, as a reference work, for follow-up and for difficult situations



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



**You think you are seeing the world.** In reality you are seeing the frame, that someone has placed around it. Framing is the world's oldest and most elegant manipulation technique. It does not change the facts – it changes what, we think about them. What we feel. What we believe. How we decide. And it works – because we all are part of it. Every day. Without being aware of it. You too. This book is not a dry textbook. It is a workbook – playful, direct and full of real-life examples. You will learn not only how, others frame you but also, how you, frame others – and how – ja you can use this technique consciously and ja fairly.

Because those who understand framing see the world more clearly. Hear the news differently. Engage in conversations more confidently. And no longer allow a frame chosen by someone else to be so easily imposed on them.

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

**Framing with style. Because the frame changes everything.**