



## YLE DETAILED ANALYSIS

2025-05-28\_Kestääkö ammattikoulutus leikkaukset\_

Broadcast: YLE-Sendung | 2025-05-28 | Analysed: 2026-05-22 19:44

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### TOTAL SCORE

**5.0/10**

*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).

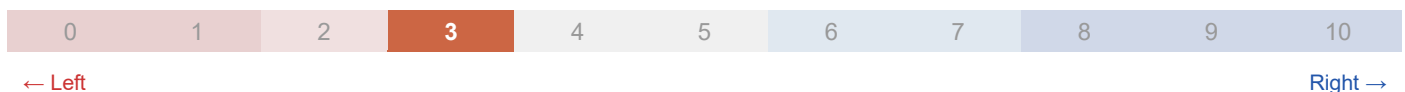
Party	Left Alliance	Greens	SDP	Centre Party	KD	National Coalition	Finns Party
CHES	1.50	2.60	3.50	5.60	6.80	7.20	8.40
Spectrum	<i>Left</i>	<i>Left</i>	<i>Left</i>	<i>Centre</i>	<i>Right</i>	<i>Right</i>	<i>Right</i>

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 in the average favouring of left-wing and right-wing parties (grouping according to CHES 2024).

### TENDENCY (L – R)

**3.6 / 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, consisting of four parties: National Coalition (NCP), Finns Party (PS), Swedish People's Party (SFP/RKP) and Christian Democrats (KD). The coalition holds 108 seats in the 200-seat parliament. The opposition is formed by 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, workers' rights
Greens	3,9	13	Opposition	Climate policy, liberal immigration
Centre Party	5,7	23	Opposition	Rural areas, decentralisation, agriculture
SFP/RKP	6,4	9	Government	Bilingualism, economic liberalism
KD	7,6	5	Government	Traditional family, Christian values
Movement Now	7,6	1	Opposition	Right-wing liberalism
National Coalition	7,8	48	Government (PM Orpo)	Tax cuts, competitiveness
Finns Party	8,2	46	Government	Strict immigration policy, EU scepticism

The Orpo government's austerity programme has generated a strong confrontation between the government and the opposition, particularly in education, social and labour market policy. The Finns Party's EU-critical stance and strict immigration line are the subject of ongoing public debate. Left-wing parties criticise the government's savings policy as an erosion of the welfare state, while the governing parties justify the cuts on grounds of fiscal sustainability. Education cuts — particularly in vocational education — have emerged as a central point of contention.

Yleisradio (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 media enjoys a high level of public trust. However, YLE's impartiality has been called into question, particularly by the Finns Party, and the company is subject to political scrutiny.



## CHAPTER 1 — PARTY-POLITICAL BIAS

Party	Score (-5..+5)	Broadcast presentation vs. programme position
SDP	+2	07:45 "We did major work in the last term to restore industrial peace in the education system by increasing permanent funding at all levels of education" — Programme position: permanent increase in funding, support for learning — presented largely correctly, Andersson's views were given ample space without significant challenge
National Coalition	0	No direct representation; Minister of Education Adlercreutz (SFP/RKP) represents the government — National Coalition's position not separately presented
Finns Party	0	Not mentioned in the broadcast
Centre Party	0	Not mentioned in the broadcast
Greens	0	Not mentioned in the broadcast
Left Alliance	+1	Li Andersson appears in the role of MEP and former Minister of Education; Left Alliance's broader programme position is not presented, but Andersson's education policy views correspond to the party line and are presented in a factual manner
SFP/RKP	-1	02:10 "I wouldn't put it that way. I have heard of similar observations." — Adlercreutz cautiously acknowledges the problems; SFP/RKP's programme position (economic liberalism, bilingualism) is not presented; the government's defence remains thin compared to the opposition's criticism

### Explanation of scores:

- +5 = Programme positions presented correctly and comprehensively
- 0 = Party/topic not in the broadcast
- -5 = Programme positions actively distorted or misrepresented

### Party bias summary

- Most accurate presentation: SDP / Left Alliance (Li Andersson), scores +2/+1
- Strongest distortion: SFP/RKP, score -1 (government's defence remains thin)
- Average deviation from zero: 0.6
- Conclusion: The broadcast treats vocational education primarily as an education policy issue rather than a party-political one. Li Andersson's (Left Alliance/opposition) views receive more space and depth than Minister of Education Adlercreutz's (SFP/RKP/government) responses. The government's cuts of 120 million euros are framed as inherently problematic, while the opposition era's funding decisions are presented in a positive light.

### Left-right overall tendency

TENDENCY SCORE: +1.4

CLASSIFICATION: Favouring the left

Justification: The broadcast gives the opposition representative (Li Andersson, Left Alliance) more speaking time and more in-depth questions than the government representative (Adlercreutz, SFP/RKP). The government's cuts are framed as a problem requiring explanation, while the opposition era's actions are presented as a solution. The journalist's questions are more critical towards the government representative than towards the opposition representative.



## CHAPTER 2 — BROADCAST DETAILS AND TOPIC FRAMING

### Broadcast details

- Title: A-studio
- Date: Ascension Day (inferable from the broadcast; exact date not in the transcript)
- Estimated duration: approx. 38 minutes (transcript ends at 38:40)
- Journalist/presenter: Vaaherkumpu (mentioned in the transcript at 07:20)
- Persons interviewed:

Person	Role	Party/Background organisation	Political spectrum
Anders Adlercreutz	Minister of Education, chair of SFP/RKP	SFP/RKP	Right (6.4)
Li Andersson	MEP, former Minister of Education	Left Alliance	Left (1.6)
Patrik Tanner	Chair of Sakki ry	Student organisation	Non-partisan
Juha-Pekka Sillanpää	Lecturer (mother tongue and arts subjects)	Vocational institution	Non-partisan
Maxim Fedorov	Journalist, Kyiv	YLE	Non-partisan
Sinikukka Saari	Researcher, FIIA	Finnish Institute of International Affairs	Expert
Juhana Aunesluoma	Professor of political history	University	Expert

### Main topic

The quality and resources of vocational education in Finland and the effects of the government's 120 million euro cuts; as a secondary topic, Ukrainian President Zelensky's visit to Germany and European security policy.



## CHAPTER 3 — 15 CRITERIA: DETAILED ANALYSIS

### Hard facts — quantifiable and scientifically reliable

#### Hardfacts — 9 quantifiable and scientifically verifiable techniques

##### 1. EXPERT SELECTION

5/10

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Total score: 5/10

Definition: Who gets to speak as an expert?

Expert 1: Li Andersson, MEP, former Minister of Education (Left Alliance)

Timestamp: 07:00

Statement: "The messages of the doctoral thesis are familiar and the problem description is familiar. This is the reason for the policy decisions made during the Rinne and Marin governments."

Positioning: A Left Alliance politician with a direct interest in presenting her own government term's actions as successful and the current government's cuts as erroneous.

Missing countervoice: An education economist or independent evaluation body (e.g. the Finnish Education Evaluation Centre FINEEC) would have provided an impartial perspective.

In-depth source check:

**(a) FUNDING:** MEP, publicly funded; Left Alliance party-political affiliation.

Conflict of interest: Direct political interest in criticising the current government and defending her own government term.

**(b) MANDATE:** As a politician, she has no mandate for impartial assessment; the role is openly political.

**(c) CREDIBILITY MATRIX (Source traffic light, 6 dimensions, -2 – +2):**

- D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — Direct political interest
- D2 Personal risk: +1 — Politician's reputation is at stake, but there is also a party-political advantage
- D3 Expertise: +2 — Former Minister of Education, genuine subject matter expertise
- D4 Consistency of opinion: +1 — Line has been consistent
- D5 Emotion vs. data: -1 — Combines data and political rhetoric
- D6 Source level: +1 — First-hand experience from ministerial period (secondary)
- TOTAL: +2 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW

**(c) PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE:** Presented as an expert and with the authority of a former minister, even though the role is openly political. The journalist does not explicitly remind viewers of the political affiliation.

Expert 2: Anders Adlercreutz, Minister of Education, chair of SFP/RKP

Timestamp: 02:10

Statement: "I wouldn't put it that way. I have heard of similar observations."

Positioning: As the incumbent Minister of Education, he has a direct interest in defending government policy.



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Missing countervoice: An independent education researcher could have assessed the situation without political affiliation.

In-depth source check:

**(a) FUNDING:** Minister, publicly funded; SFP/RKP party-political affiliation.

Conflict of interest: Defends the government's austerity policy.

**(b) MANDATE:** As minister, responsible for policy, not for impartial assessment.

**(c) CREDIBILITY MATRIX:**

- D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — Defends his own policy
- D2 Personal risk: +1 — Reputation at stake
- D3 Expertise: +2 — Minister of Education, subject matter expertise
- D4 Consistency of opinion: +1 — Consistent government line
- D5 Emotion vs. data: +1 — Largely factual
- D6 Source level: +1 — First-hand experience (secondary)
- TOTAL: +4 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW

**(c) PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE:** Presented as a government representative, which is transparent. However, he is given less space than Andersson.

Expert 3: Sinikukka Saari, researcher, FIIA

Timestamp: 28:30

Statement: "First and foremost, it is certainly strategic communication. Russia is seeking to signal that they are in Zaporizhzhia to stay."

Positioning: A researcher at the Finnish Institute of International Affairs with expertise in Russia-related issues.

Missing countervoice: The Russian or Chinese perspective is entirely absent (though this is understandable in a Western context).

In-depth source check:

**(a) FUNDING:** FIIA is a state-funded research institute (under the administrative branch of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

Conflict of interest: As a state-funded institution, there may be a tendency to support official foreign policy.

**(b) MANDATE:** Research mandate is compatible with impartial assessment.

**(c) CREDIBILITY MATRIX:**

- D1 Conflict of interest: -1 — State funding, but academic independence
- D2 Personal risk: +1 — Academic reputation at stake
- D3 Expertise: +2 — Expert in Russia studies
- D4 Consistency of opinion: +1 — Consistent line
- D5 Emotion vs. data: +2 — Analytical, data-driven
- D6 Source level: +1 — Expert assessment (secondary)
- TOTAL: +6 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: GREEN

*Missing expert groups:*

- FINEEC (Finnish Education Evaluation Centre): An independent evaluation body would have provided an impartial perspective on the quality of education.
- Education economist: The economic effects of the cuts are overshadowed by political rhetoric.
- Representative of an employers' organisation (EK, SAK): The link between vocational education and the labour market.

*Summary (matrix result):*



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- Li Andersson: YELLOW (+2) — political interest, subject matter expertise
- Anders Adlercreutz: YELLOW (+4) — political interest, subject matter expertise
- Sinikukka Saari: GREEN (+6) — expert, state funding noted
- Juhana Aunesluoma: no complete matrix, but academic position suggests GREEN



## 2. SOURCE SELECTION

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

Total score: 4/10

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

Source 1: Penni Pietilä's doctoral thesis

Timestamp: 01:30 — Statement: "The author of the doctoral thesis, Penni Pietilä, feels that teachers are not expected to teach."

**(a) Funding and background organisation:** Academic doctoral thesis; funder not mentioned in the broadcast.

**(b) Structural conflict of interest:** The doctoral researcher has no apparent political interest, but the data was collected in 2018–2019, which is a relevant limitation.

**(c) Is a counter-source missing? Yes — FINEEC:** more recent data from FINEEC or another evaluation body is missing.

Source 2: Sakki ry (Finnish Vocational Students' Association for Culture and Sport)

Timestamp: 11:00 — Statement: "We think this direction is wrong."

**(a) Funding:** Student organisation, partly publicly funded.

**(b) Structural conflict of interest:** The student organisation has an interest in advocating for students' interests, which means more resources and better teaching — in line with the opposition.

**(c) Is a counter-source missing? Yes —** the direct voice of employers' organisations or education providers is absent.

Rumour check (penalty points): No clear rumours without a primary source. Pietilä's doctoral thesis is referenced, but the researcher herself is not interviewed — this is a problem with the use of the source, not an actual rumour.

*Summary: Sources are mostly identifiable but one-sided: doctoral thesis (critical), student organisation (critical), opposition politician (critical). Independent sources supporting the government's line are absent.*



### 3. DISTRIBUTION OF SPEAKING TIME

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Total score: 5/10

Definition: Distribution of speaking time between different positions.

Estimated speaking time (vocational education section, approx. 0–22 min):

- Li Andersson (opposition/Left Alliance): approx. 7 min. (32%)
- Anders Adlercreutz (government/SFP/RKP): approx. 5 min. (23%)
- Patrik Tanner (Sakki ry): approx. 4 min. (18%)
- Juha-Pekka Sillanpää (teacher): approx. 3 min. (14%)
- Journalist: approx. 3 min. (14%)

Ukraine section (approx. 22–38 min):

- Sinikukka Saari: approx. 5 min. (33%)
- Juhana Aunesluoma: approx. 5 min. (33%)
- Maxim Fedorov: approx. 3 min. (20%)
- Journalist: approx. 2 min. (13%)

Summary: In the vocational education section, the opposition representative receives more speaking time than the government representative (32% vs. 23%). In addition, the critical voices of Sakki ry and the teacher reinforce the opposition's line. In the Ukraine section, speaking time is more evenly distributed.



#### 4. SELECTIVE OMISSION

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Total score: 6/10

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

Omission 1:

Context: Technical analysis of the targeting of the government's cuts to adult students is missing.

Relevant at: 22:30 — "We are aiming to target it at those who already have a first qualification"

Effect: The viewer receives no information on whether the targeting is practically feasible, leaving Adlercreutz's claim without critical scrutiny — except through Andersson's political response.

Omission 2:

Context: The effects of the previous government's (Marin government) 80 million euro temporary funding remain unclear.

Relevant at: 25:00 — "The 80 million temporary investment in teachers, which vanished into thin air"

Effect: Adlercreutz's claim about the disappearance of the temporary funding is left without independent verification; Andersson disputes it, but the journalist does not bring in a third, independent view.

Omission 3:

Context: Doctoral researcher Penni Pietilä herself is absent from the broadcast.

Relevant at: 01:30 — Pietilä's research is referenced in the opening of the broadcast

Effect: The methodology of the research and the limitations of the data cannot be assessed, as the researcher is not present to respond to criticism.

*Summary: Key facts — particularly regarding the targeting of the cuts and the effects of the previous government's funding decisions — are not independently verified, leaving the political debate without a factual anchor.*

#### Missing voices

- School management/principals: Could have explained how the cuts practically affect day-to-day decisions and personnel management.
- Employers directly: A representative of the business community could have explained concretely what deficiencies are observed in the competence of graduates.
- Doctoral researcher Penni Pietilä: The author of the research herself could have clarified the methodology and responded to criticism of the age of the data.
- Students directly: Young people studying in vocational education would have brought the everyday experience that is now conveyed only through the organisation.
- Education providers (joint municipal authorities): A representative of the 133 education providers could have explained how the cuts are implemented in practice.
- Finnish National Agency for Education expert: Could have provided an administrative and statistical perspective without political affiliation.
- Labour market organisations (SAK, EK): The link between vocational education and the labour market and the skills shortage would have received a more concrete background.



## 5. NUMBER MANIPULATION

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

Total score: 4/10

Definition: Selective or misleading use of statistics.

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 22:30

Figure: "120 million euros" (cut from vocational education)

Dimensions: (a) Absolute value presented ✓ — (b) Share of total funding missing X — (c) Development over time missing X

Missing context: What is the total funding for vocational education? What percentage is 120 million? How does it relate to previous cuts or increases?

Effect: The absolute figure sounds large without being put in relation to the total budget.

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 26:00

Figure: "66,000 student years of those pursuing a second or third qualification — the number is to be reduced to 55,000"

Dimensions: (a) Absolute value ✓ — (b) Share of all students missing X — (c) Development missing X

Missing context: What proportion of all vocational education students are pursuing a second or third qualification? What is the share of those subject to compulsory education?

Effect: The figures are presented as the government's justification, but their relation to the whole remains unclear.

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 08:00

Figure: "50 million permanent additional funding" (measure of the Marin government)

Dimensions: (a) Absolute value ✓ — (b) Share of total funding missing X — (c) Relation to previous cuts missing X

Missing context: How much had been cut from vocational education before the Marin government? Did the 50 million restore funding fully or only partially?

Effect: The figure is presented as an achievement without historical context.

*Summary: The broadcast uses several monetary figures as political arguments without putting them in relation to total funding or historical development. This makes it difficult for viewers to assess the validity of the claims.*



## 6. GUILT BY ASSOCIATION

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Total score: 1/10

Definition: Discrediting through association with negative groups/ideas.

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 05:50

Quote: "The data was collected in 2018–2019 in the midst of a major change. Then came a new government term, and now we are already in a third government term."

**Technique:** Adlercreutz attempts to indirectly associate the research findings with an outdated situation, which may implicitly associate the research with being politically motivated.

**Effect:** The credibility of the research is indirectly called into question without methodological criticism.

Summary: No actual guilt by association occurs in the broadcast. Adlercreutz's comment on the currency of the research is a mild example, but does not meet the criteria for actual guilt by association.



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

Total score: 4/10

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

Finding 1:

Position: 00:00–01:30 (beginning)

Content: The broadcast opens with the critical findings of the doctoral research: "The minimum requirement level has become the maximum requirement level" and "teachers' time is spent assessing already acquired competence."

Timing effect: The critical frame is set before the government or opposition representatives get to speak. The viewer first receives a negative picture of vocational education, which frames the entire discussion.

Finding 2:

Position: 33:00–34:00 (end)

Content: The journalist's final question to Adlercreutz: "Do you promise that this will change?" — the government representative is forced to respond in the form of a promise.

Timing effect: The broadcast ends with the government representative's "promise", which makes him accountable for future developments. No equivalent accountability question is put to the opposition representative.

Summary: The broadcast's opening with a critical frame and its ending with the accountability of the government representative create an asymmetric structure that favours a critical perspective on government policy.



## 8. SELECTIVE INDIGNATION

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

Total score: 3/10

*Definition: Indignation at certain positions, but not at comparable others.*

*Methodological principle (v2.2): Before each assessment, the triggering event must be documented. A reaction can only be assessed as selective if comparable triggering events in other positions did not produce an analogous reaction.*

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 24:00

Triggering event: Adlercreutz mentions the previous government's "peculiar solution" — the 80 million temporary investment.

Reaction: The journalist interrupts: "I must ask Li again. The Marin government made a permanent investment, 50 million euros." — Andersson is immediately given the opportunity to correct Adlercreutz's claim.

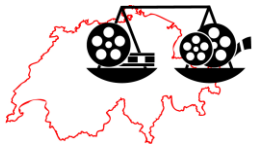
Comparison: When Andersson criticises the government's cuts (23:10), the journalist does not offer Adlercreutz an equivalent immediate opportunity to correct the claim.

Asymmetry: Mild — the journalist offers Andersson the opportunity to correct more quickly than Adlercreutz.

Degree of indignation: 1/5

Selectivity: 2/5

*Summary: No actual strong selective indignation occurs. A mild asymmetry is visible in that the opposition representative is offered the opportunity to correct the government's claims more quickly than vice versa.*



## 9. SELECTIVE OMISSION — OVERALL PICTURE

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Total score: 6/10

Definition: How completely does the broadcast depict the topic?

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 01:30

Missing perspective/fact: Doctoral researcher Penni Pietilä herself is absent.

Relevance: The methodology of the research, the limitations of the data and the researcher's own conclusions are central to the broadcast's main argument.

Effect: The research is referenced as an authority, but its author is not present to defend or clarify the findings.

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 16:20

Missing perspective/fact: The direct voice of employers is absent.

Relevance: The quality of vocational education is ultimately measured by how well graduates perform in working life.

Effect: The employers' perspective is conveyed only through the student organisation, which is an indirect and potentially selective source.

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 22:30

Missing perspective/fact: Independent economic analysis of the targeting of the cuts.

Relevance: Both the government and the opposition present contradictory claims about the targeting of the cuts; independent analysis is absent.

Effect: The viewer is unable to assess which politician's claim is closer to the truth.

*Summary: The broadcast covers the political debate well, but leaves out independent experts, the researcher's own voice and the direct perspective of employers, which weakens the reliability of the overall picture.*

**Hard facts end — Soft facts begin**

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



## Softfacts — 6 qualitative techniques

### 10. FRAMING

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Total score: 6/10

Definition: How is the topic fundamentally framed?

#### Finding 1:

Timestamp: 00:00

Quote: "What if those graduating with a vocational qualification cannot read or calculate properly? What are the consequences of cutting vocational education?"

Manipulation: The broadcast opens with two rhetorical questions that frame vocational education as a crisis and the cuts as its cause — before a single expert has been heard.

Why problematic: The causal relationship (cuts → poor competence) is set as a starting point, even though that is precisely what the broadcast should be investigating.

#### Finding 2:

Timestamp: 17:30

Quote: "The government is now cutting 120 million euros from vocational education. In the studio are two Ministers of Education. What message would you have for them?"

Manipulation: The journalist frames the question so that the field representatives (teacher and student organisation) send "greetings" to the ministers — placing the minister in a defensive position in relation to criticism from the field.

Why problematic: The frame assumes that the criticism from the field is justified and that the minister's task is to respond to it, not to question the criticism.

#### Finding 3:

Timestamp: 33:00

Quote: "Do you promise that this will change?"

Manipulation: The journalist asks the government representative to make a promise — a frame that is not applied to the opposition representative.

Why problematic: Asking for a promise makes the government representative accountable for future developments in a way that does not apply to the opposition representative.

*Summary: The broadcast frames vocational education as a crisis caused by cuts and places the government representative in a defensive position in relation to criticism. This frame is present from the beginning to the end of the broadcast.*



## 11. WORD CHOICES AND CONCEPTS

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Total score: 4/10

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

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 00:00

Quote: "What are the consequences of cutting vocational education?"

Manipulation: The word "cutting" is negatively loaded; a more neutral alternative would be "adjustment" or "change in funding".

Why problematic: A neutral alternative would be: "What are the consequences of changes to vocational education funding?"

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 14:50

Quote: "Education can no longer afford to be cut." (Tanner)

Manipulation: The journalist does not challenge this normative claim, even though it is a political statement, not a fact.

Why problematic: The claim is presented as a truth, even though it is a value judgement; a neutral journalist could have asked: "On what basis?"

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 24:00

Quote: "The 80 million temporary investment in teachers, which vanished into thin air." (Adlercreutz)

Manipulation: The expression "vanished into thin air" is strongly negatively loaded and contentious; Andersson disputes it.

Why problematic: The journalist does not challenge the expression before Andersson does — a neutral journalist could have asked for clarification immediately.

Summary: Word choices favour a critical frame towards government policy; "cutting" recurs throughout the broadcast without a more neutral alternative.



## 12. MODERATION BEHAVIOUR

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Total score: 5/10

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

Methodological principle (v2.2): Before each assessment, the triggering event must be documented. An intervention can only be assessed as asymmetric if comparable triggering events with other guests did not produce an analogous intervention.

### Finding 1:

Timestamp: 24:00

Triggering event: Adlercreutz claims that the previous government's 80 million funding "vanished into thin air."

Quote (journalist): "I must ask Li again."

Comparison: When Andersson makes critical claims about the government's cuts (23:10), the journalist does not interrupt to give Adlercreutz an immediate opportunity to respond.

Asymmetry: The journalist offers Andersson the opportunity to correct Adlercreutz's claim more quickly than vice versa.

### Finding 2:

Timestamp: 25:30

Triggering event: The journalist asks Adlercreutz: "Why did you settle for that? It was not enough."

Quote (journalist): "Why did you settle for that amount of money?"

Comparison: Andersson is not asked an equivalent critical question about why the opposition government term's actions were not sufficient to resolve the problems.

Asymmetry: The government representative is asked more critical "why didn't you do more" questions than the opposition representative.

### Finding 3:

Timestamp: 07:20

Triggering event: The journalist (Vaaherkumpu) comments on Adlercreutz's response: "Always the same message."

Quote (journalist): "Always the same message."

Comparison: No equivalent comment is made about Andersson's repeated critical claims.

Asymmetry: The journalist's comment is an indirect criticism of the government representative; no equivalent is directed at the opposition representative.

Summary: The journalist shows mild asymmetry: more critical follow-up questions and comments are directed at the government representative than at the opposition representative. The asymmetry is not dramatic, but it is consistent.



### 13. QUESTION ASYMMETRY

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Total score: 5/10

Definition: Different degrees of hardness/softness in questions put to different individuals.

#### Asymmetry 1:

To Adlercreutz, 25:30: "Why did you settle for that amount of money? It was not enough. The problems have continued." — hard

To Andersson, 07:00: "Does the everyday life of vocational students reach as far as Brussels?" — soft

Comparison: Adlercreutz is asked why he did not do more; Andersson is asked whether she is aware of the problems. The latter is a considerably softer starting point.

#### Asymmetry 2:

To Adlercreutz, 33:00: "Do you promise that this will change?" — accountability-seeking, future-oriented

To Andersson: No equivalent accountability-seeking question is put — e.g. "Why did you not resolve the problems during your own government term?"

Comparison: The government representative is asked for a promise; the opposition representative is not asked for equivalent accountability for past decisions.

Summary: The question framing is asymmetric: harder, more accountability-seeking questions are put to the government representative than to the opposition representative. This is consistent throughout the vocational education section.



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<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: 02:00 — Structure: "Good evening, Minister of Education, chair of SFP/RKP Anders Adlercreutz — and former Minister of Education, MEP Li Andersson."

Analysis: Formally, the broadcast presents two "Ministers of Education" as equals, but in reality Adlercreutz is the incumbent minister (responsible for policy) and Andersson is a former minister (in opposition). This is not an actual false balance, as the difference is apparent to viewers.

*Summary: No actual false balance occurs to any significant degree. The broadcast does not present marginal views as equal to the mainstream. Scores are low.*



## 15. AGENDA-SETTING

6/10

1

2

3

4

5

6

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: Problems in vocational education are caused by cuts — this is presented as an almost self-evident starting point.

Timestamp: 00:00 — Evidence: "What are the consequences of cutting vocational education?"

Alternative agenda: Structural problems (reform design, requirements for self-direction, combining young people and adults) are present, but presented as secondary alongside the cuts.

### Finding 2:

Agenda element set: The government's cuts are a problem requiring a solution.

Timestamp: 17:30 — Evidence: "The government is now cutting 120 million euros from vocational education. What message would you have for them?"

Alternative agenda: The efficiency of funding, the quality of qualifications in relation to funding, or international comparison do not make it onto the agenda.

Summary: The broadcast sets the agenda as cuts being a problem and the government as the responsible actor. Structural problems that existed before the current government are relegated to secondary importance.



## CHAPTER 4 — OVERALL ASSESSMENT

### Individual scores summary

No.	Criterion	Type	Score	Main finding (1 sentence)
1	Expert selection	H	5	Political experts dominate; independent experts are absent.
2	Source selection	H	4	Sources are predominantly critical of government policy; balancing sources are absent.
3	Distribution of speaking time	H	5	The opposition representative receives more speaking time than the government representative.
4	Omission	H	6	The researcher herself, employers and independent economic analysis are absent.
5	Number manipulation	H	4	Monetary figures are presented without being put in relation to total funding.
6	Guilt by association	H	1	No significant guilt by association.
7	Timing	H	4	Critical frame at the beginning, accountability of the government at the end.
8	Selective indignation	H	3	Mild asymmetry in offering opportunities for correction.
9	Completeness	H	6	Political debate comprehensive, but independent voices are absent.
10	Framing	S	6	Cuts are framed as the cause of the crisis from the beginning to the end of the broadcast.
11	Word choices	S	4	"Cutting" recurs instead of more neutral alternatives.
12	Moderation behaviour	S	5	Mild asymmetry: harder follow-up questions for the government representative.
13	Question asymmetry	S	5	More accountability-seeking questions for the government representative than for the opposition representative.
14	False balance	S	2	No significant false balance.
15	Agenda-setting	S	6	Cuts are set as the agenda as a problem without structural context.

### Results

- HARD FACTS SCORE (Criteria 1–9 average): 4.2 / 10
- SOFT FACTS SCORE (Criteria 10–15 average): 4.7 / 10
- TOTAL SCORE (average of all 15 criteria): 4.4 / 10

### Dominant techniques

The three strongest techniques in this broadcast:



- 1. Framing (Score 6):** The broadcast opens with rhetorical questions that set the cuts as the cause of the crisis before a single expert has been heard. This frame persists throughout the broadcast and guides viewers' interpretation.
- 2. Omission (Score 6):** The doctoral researcher herself, the direct voice of employers and independent economic analysis are absent, leaving the political debate without a factual anchor and favouring a critical perspective.
- 3. Agenda-setting (Score 6):** The government's cuts are set as the agenda as a problem, the solution to which is requested from the government representative in the form of a promise. Structural problems that existed before the current government are relegated to secondary importance.

### Core messages of the broadcast

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**MESSAGE 1 (SUBSTANTIVE):** "The problems in vocational education are caused by the government's cuts."

**Technique:** Framing and agenda-setting — Evidence: 00:00, 17:30

**MESSAGE 2 (PERSONAL):** "The government representative is responsible for the problems and must promise improvements."

**Technique:** Question asymmetry and timing — Evidence: 25:30, 33:00

**MESSAGE 3 (SOCIETAL):** "The previous (left-wing government's) education policy was heading in the right direction; the current government has reversed the development in the wrong direction."

**Technique:** Source selection and distribution of speaking time — Evidence: 07:00, 08:00

### Classification of degree of manipulation

---

Justification: The broadcast's total score (4.4/10) falls on the boundary between mild tendency and clear one-sidedness. The broadcast is not openly propagandistic, but it shows consistent asymmetry: harder questions are put to the government representative, the opposition representative is given more speaking time, and the framing favours a critical perspective on government policy. The diversity and impartiality required by Section 7 of the Act on Yleisradio Oy are partially fulfilled, but not fully: independent experts are absent, and the question framing is asymmetric. Individual findings are not glaring, but their consistency throughout the broadcast forms a whole that tilts in favour of the opposition's perspective.

### CONCLUSION

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The A-studio broadcast on vocational education shows a mild but consistent tendency that favours the opposition's (particularly Left Alliance's Li Andersson's) perspective over the government's (SFP/RKP's Adlercreutz's) perspective. The diverse and comprehensive information provision required by Section 7 of the Act on Yleisradio Oy is partially fulfilled: the political debate is comprehensive, but independent experts (FINEEC, education economists, employers directly) are absent. The impartiality requirement is not fully met: framing, question framing and the distribution of speaking time consistently favour a critical perspective on government policy. Individual findings are mild, but their consistency throughout the broadcast forms a whole that is in conflict with the impartiality requirement of Section 7. The broadcast does not meet the threshold for flagrant violations, but it shows structural asymmetry that is documentable and assessable.



## OVERALL ASSESSMENT OF 15 CRITERIA

### Individual scores — All 15 criteria

No.	Criterion	Score	Classification
1	EXPERT SELECTION	5/10	Significant skew
2	SOURCE SELECTION	4/10	Mild skew
3	DISTRIBUTION OF SPEAKING TIME	5/10	Significant skew
4	SELECTIVE OMISSION	6/10	Significant skew
5	NUMBER MANIPULATION	4/10	Mild skew
6	GUILT BY ASSOCIATION	1/10	Imperceptible
7	TIMING	4/10	Mild skew
8	SELECTIVE INDIGNATION	3/10	Mild skew
9	SELECTIVE OMISSION — OVERALL PICTURE	6/10	Significant skew
10	FRAMING	6/10	Significant skew
11	WORD CHOICES AND CONCEPTS	4/10	Mild skew
12	MODERATION BEHAVIOUR	5/10	Significant skew
13	QUESTION ASYMMETRY	5/10	Significant skew
14	FALSE BALANCE	2/10	Imperceptible
15	AGENDA-SETTING	6/10	Significant skew

**HARDFACTS SCORE (1-8)**

**4.5/10**

*Significant imbalance*

**SOFTFACTS SCORE (9-14)**

**5.5/10**

*Significant imbalance*

**TOTAL SCORE**

**5.0/10**

*Significant imbalance*

*Hardfacts and Softfacts 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 skew affecting 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 skew with a clear impact.
<b>8–9</b>	<b>Serious finding</b>	Strong skew; multiple documented individual findings in this criterion.
<b>10</b>	<b>Maximum severity</b>	Systematic, pervasive skew 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 skew</b>	Individual deviations; statistically visible, but within tolerance range.
<b>4.1 – 6.0</b>	<b>Significant skew</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 skew (-5 ... +5)

<b>-5 ... -3</b>	<b>Strongly disadvantaged</b>	Party is significantly under-represented 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 over-represented in framing, airtime or presentation.



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

### Assessment under 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 — impartiality and diversity

Facts: The question framing is asymmetric: accountability-seeking questions are put to the government representative ("Do you promise that this will change?", "Why did you settle for that amount of money?") that are not put to the opposition representative.

Evidence: Timestamp 25:30 — "Why did you settle for that amount of money? It was not enough. The problems have continued." / Timestamp 33:00 — "Do you promise that this will change?"

Assessment: The asymmetric question framing violates the impartiality requirement, as it places the government representative in a defensive position in a way that is not applied to the opposition representative. This is a documentable asymmetry that is in conflict with Section 7.

#### Violation 2:

Norm: Act on Yleisradio Oy, Section 7 — comprehensive information provision and pluralism

Facts: Independent experts (FINEEC, education economists, employers directly, the doctoral researcher herself) are absent from the broadcast, leaving the political debate without a factual anchor.

Evidence: Timestamp 01:30 — Pietilä's research is referenced, but the researcher is not interviewed. Timestamp 16:20 — The employers' perspective is conveyed only through the student organisation.

Assessment: The requirement for comprehensive information provision is not fully met when key independent voices are absent and political actors dominate the expert role.

#### Violation 3:

Norm: Act on Yleisradio Oy, Section 7 — impartiality

Facts: The journalist's comment "Always the same message" (07:20) is an indirect criticism of the government representative; no equivalent comment is made about the opposition representative's repeated claims.

Evidence: Timestamp 07:20 — "(Vaaherkumpu:) Always the same message."

Assessment: The journalist's spontaneous comment violates the impartiality requirement, as it expresses indirect criticism of the government representative without equivalent criticism of the opposition representative.

### Overall assessment under Section 7 of the Act on Yleisradio Oy

The broadcast partially meets the requirements of Section 7 of the Act on Yleisradio Oy: it addresses a socially significant topic, presents both the government's and the opposition's perspective, and also gives voice to field representatives. However, the impartiality requirement is not fully met: the question framing is asymmetric, the journalist's comment "Always the same message" violates impartiality, and the absence of independent experts weakens comprehensiveness. Individual violations are not flagrant, but their consistency throughout the broadcast forms a whole that is documentably contrary to Section 7. It would be advisable for equivalent broadcasts to ensure symmetric question framing for both political parties, the inclusion of independent experts (e.g. FINEEC), and the journalist's refraining from spontaneous comments that can be interpreted as a political statement.

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

#### Sakki ry (Finnish Vocational Students' Association for Culture and Sport)



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- 1. FUNDING:** Student organisation; funding partly public (Ministry of Education and Culture), partly membership fees. Public funding creates a dependency relationship with education policy decisions.
- 2. MANDATE:** Advocacy for students — not compatible with impartial assessment in questions of education resources.
- 3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** The organisation has an institutional interest in advocating for more resources for vocational education; this is in line with the opposition's position.
- 4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX:**
  - D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — Direct interest in additional resources
  - D2 Personal risk: +1 — Organisation's reputation at stake
  - D3 Expertise: +1 — Knowledge of students' everyday life
  - D4 Consistency of opinion: +1 — Consistent line
  - D5 Emotion vs. data: 0 — Combines experiences and statements
  - D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary (conveys students' experiences)
  - TOTAL: +1 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW
- 5. COUNTERVOICE:** The perspective of education providers (e.g. Amke ry) or employers' organisations is absent.

### **Finnish Institute of International Affairs (FIIA) — Sinikukka Saari**

- 1. FUNDING:** State-funded research institute (under the administrative branch of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs); budget mainly public.
- 2. MANDATE:** Foreign and security policy research — compatible with impartial assessment in Ukraine-related questions.
- 3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Due to state funding, there may be a tendency to support official foreign policy; however, academic independence is institutionally protected.
- 4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX:**
  - D1 Conflict of interest: -1 — State funding, but academic independence
  - D2 Personal risk: +1 — Academic reputation at stake
  - D3 Expertise: +2 — Expert in Russia and security studies
  - D4 Consistency of opinion: +1 — Consistent analytical line
  - D5 Emotion vs. data: +2 — Analytical, data-driven
  - D6 Source level: +1 — Expert assessment (secondary)
  - TOTAL: +6 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: GREEN
- 5. COUNTERVOICE:** The Russian or Chinese perspective is absent, but this is understandable in a Western context.

*IMPORTANT: "Recognised" is not a substantive qualification. It is a social attribution that must itself be verified.*

### **Legal and methodological framework**

#### **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 determination of individual responsibility.

#### **Not a legal assessment**

The aggregated deviation index does not replace a legal assessment under 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).



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**Not proof of  
causality**

Statistical correlations should not be interpreted as evidence of causal connections or editorial intentions. Deviation values may be influenced by topic selection, the news situation, political contentiousness 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 skew was detected — not that the editorial team intended it. The methodology makes no claims about motives or strategic objectives.

**Heuristic  
comparison tool**

The index serves comparative pattern identification across thousands of broadcasts, not precise metric measurement of individual parts. Threshold values serve 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):

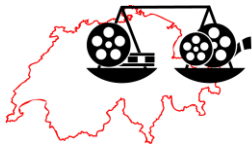
> "We set impartiality as a goal in our overall programme and content production as well as in individual programmes."

> (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



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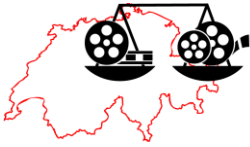
- Parliamentary Administrative Council (Parlamentarischer Verwaltungsrat): Max. 21 vom Parlament gewählte Mitglieder. Überwacht die Erfüllung des öffentlich-rechtlichen Auftrags nach 7 §. Erstattet jährlich Bericht ans Parlament.
- TRAFICOM (Finnish Transport and Communications Agency): Regulierungsbehörde. 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	Only self-regulatory (YSO/JSN)
Meinungsvielfalt	Gesetzlich	Implicit ("diverse information, opinions")
Unparteilichkeit	Gesetzlich	Only self-regulatory (JSN)
Politische Balance	Abgeleitet	Not mentioned
Unabhängige Beschwerdeinstanz	UBI (gesetzlich)	None (only JSN, self-regulatory)
Inhaltsaufsicht durch Regulator	BAKOM/UBI	No — TRAFICOM only economics
Redaktioneller Schutz	Via RTVG	6d § (new 2025): Schutz vor Entlassung wegen redaktioneller Entscheide



## APPENDIX 2: SCIENTIFIC SOURCES

### Literature

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### SVFAB Working Papers

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

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