



YLE DETAILED ANALYSIS

2020-04-17__Suomalaiset ovat siitä outoja_ että vaatimalla vaativa

Broadcast: YLE-Sendung | 2020-04-17 | Analysed: 2026-05-22 19:38

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TOTAL SCORE

6.0/10

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 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

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

← Left

Right →

Source: Chapel Hill Expert Survey 2024 — chesdata.eu | [Jolly et al., Electoral Studies, 2022](#) | 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 the National Coalition (KOK), the Finns Party (PS), SFP/RKP and KD — a total of 108 seats out of 200. In opposition are SDP, the Centre Party, the Greens, the Left Alliance and Liike Nyt.

Note: This broadcast is clearly from 2020 (COVID-19 pandemic, Uusimaa lockdown, WHO funding debate during the Trump era). At that time, Finland had the Marin government (SDP+Centre Party+Greens+Left Alliance+SFP/RKP). The analysis is conducted according to the actual context of the broadcast, but the parties' CHES scores and structural data are up to date.

Party	CHES L-R	Seats	Government/Opposition	Core position
Left Alliance	1,6	11	Opposition (2023–)	Redistribution, climate, trade unions
SDP	3,6	43	Opposition (2023–)	Welfare state, workers' rights
Greens	3,9	13	Opposition (2023–)	Climate, liberal immigration
Centre Party	5,7	23	Opposition (2023–)	Rural areas, decentralisation, bioenergy
SFP/RKP	6,4	9	Government (2023–)	Bilingualism, liberal economy
KD	7,6	5	Government (2023–)	Family values, conservative ethics
LN	7,6	1	Opposition (2023–)	Right-wing liberalism
National Coalition	7,8	48	Government (2023–)	Tax cuts, competitiveness
Finns Party	8,2	46	Government (2023–)	Strict immigration, EU scepticism

The Finnish political landscape is clearly bipolar: three left-wing parties (Left Alliance, SDP, Greens) versus six right-wing parties, four of which are in government. During the COVID-19 crisis (2020), the key lines of tension were the scope and legal basis of restrictive measures, regional inequality (the Uusimaa lockdown), healthcare capacity and the functioning of security of supply. The balance between economic and health considerations was a central political point of contention.

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CHAPTER 1 — PARTY-POLITICAL BIAS

Note on the broadcast context: The broadcast is a podcast-style morning programme from 2020. It does not directly address party programme positions nor interview party representatives. Parties are mentioned in passing (Centre Party, Hungary as a comparison). The scores reflect how party positions are indirectly visible or remain invisible.

Party	Score (-5..+5)	Broadcast presentation vs. programme position
SDP	0	The party is not mentioned by name; the actions of the Marin government are treated neutrally — no direct connection to SDP's programme positions
National Coalition	0	No mention
Finns Party	0	No mention
Centre Party	-2	06:11 "the very purpose of the Centre Party's existence is to create an antagonism between Helsinki and the rest of Finland" — Instead of the programme position (rural policy, decentralisation), the party is presented as an instrument of identity politics; a one-sided interpretation
Greens	0	No mention
Left Alliance	0	No mention
SFP/RKP	0	No mention

Party bias summary

- Most accurate presentation: SDP (0) — no direct distortion, as the party is not addressed
- Strongest distortion: Centre Party (-2) — the party's purpose for existing is reduced to anti-Helsinki sentiment
- Average deviation from zero: 0.3
- Conclusion: The broadcast is not primarily a party-political programme, so direct party distortions are minor. The only significant exception is the characterisation of the Centre Party, which simplifies the party's role to that of a producer of urban–rural antagonism without a balancing perspective.

Left–right overall tendency

TENDENCY SCORE: +1.8

CLASSIFICATION: Favours the left

Rationale: The broadcast takes a positive stance towards the government's (at the time the Marin government, left-leaning) restrictive measures and expert-guided decision-making. Sweden's more permissive approach is presented as morally questionable ("freedom or life"), although the economic perspective is mentioned in passing. Trump's decision to cut WHO funding is condemned unequivocally without substantive treatment of right-wing criticism.



CHAPTER 2 — BROADCAST DETAILS AND TOPIC FRAMING

Broadcast details

- Title: Unnamed morning programme / podcast (likely YLE Puhe or similar)
- Date: April 2020 (lifting of the Uusimaa lockdown, reference to Wednesday — likely 15–16 April 2020)
- Estimated duration: approx. 17 minutes
- Journalist/host: Anu Partanen (host)
- Persons interviewed: Greta Karvala, Janne Saarikivi

Person	Role	Party/Affiliation	Political spectrum
Anu Partanen	Host/journalist	YLE	—
Greta Karvala	Journalist/analyst	YLE / freelance journalist	No party affiliation
Janne Saarikivi	Linguist, University of Helsinki	Academic	No party affiliation

Main topic

The lifting of the Uusimaa lockdown in April 2020, the related political process, a comparison with Sweden's COVID-19 strategy, and the failure of the National Emergency Supply Agency's mask procurement.



CHAPTER 3 — 15 CRITERIA: DETAILED ANALYSIS

Hard facts — quantifiable and scientifically verifiable

Hard facts — 9 quantifiable and scientifically verifiable techniques

1. EXPERT SELECTION

7/10

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Total score: 7/10

Definition: Who gets to speak as an expert?

Expert 1: Greta Karvala — journalist/analyst

Timestamp: 00:24

Statement: "You, Greta, analysed this very well in your piece a couple of days ago."

Positioning: A journalist with a political analysis role; not an expert in healthcare, law or economics

Missing countervoice: An epidemiologist from THL or a constitutional law expert

Source deep-check:

(a) **FUNDING:** YLE or freelance journalist — public/market-based funding; no direct institutional affiliation

(b) **MANDATE:** Political analysis is compatible with neutral assessment, but does not replace subject-matter expertise

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

D1 Conflict of interest: +1 — No obvious institutional affiliation, but YLE context

D2 Personal risk: 0 — No significant risk from statements

D3 Expertise: -1 — Political journalist commenting on health and legal issues

D4 Consistency of opinion: 0 — No information on previous statements

D5 Emotion vs. data: -1 — Several normative assessments without data

D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary source

TOTAL: -1 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW

(c) **PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE:** Karvala is presented as a political analyst, but also comments on health policy and legal issues without corresponding expertise — a structural problem.

Expert 2: Janne Saarikivi — linguist, University of Helsinki

Timestamp: 02:15 (first significant contribution)

Statement: "It sounds a bit strange to me. In my view, Finland has a tradition of decision-making..."

Positioning: A linguist commenting on political decision-making, mass psychology, economic policy and international health policy

Missing countervoice: A political scientist, economist, epidemiologist

Source deep-check:

(a) **FUNDING:** University of Helsinki — public funding; no direct affiliation



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(b) MANDATE: Professor of linguistics — the mandate is not compatible with expert assessment in epidemiology, economics or international politics

(c) CREDIBILITY MATRIX:

D1 Conflict of interest: +1 — No obvious institutional affiliation

D2 Personal risk: +1 — Academic position provides some protection

D3 Expertise: -2 — Linguist commenting on epidemiology, economic policy, mass psychology and international politics

D4 Consistency of opinion: 0 — No information

D5 Emotion vs. data: -1 — Several normative assessments ("something quite remarkable", "something quite admirable")

D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary

TOTAL: -1 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW

(c) PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE: Saarikivi is implicitly presented as a broad-ranging social analyst, even though his expertise is in the field of linguistics. This is a structural problem.

Missing expert groups:

- Epidemiologist or infectious disease physician
- Constitutional law expert or professor of administrative law
- Economist

Summary (matrix result):

- Greta Karvala: YELLOW (-1) — political journalist, comments on substantive issues
- Janne Saarikivi: YELLOW (-1) — linguist, comments broadly on social issues outside his own field



2. SOURCE SELECTION

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

Total score: 6/10

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

Source 1: THL and STM reports

Timestamp: 01:04–01:12 — Statement: "there were the STM and THL reports available, so-called ones, which dealt with the health side"

(a) Funding and governance: State-funded agencies — public funding

(b) Structural conflict of interest: State agencies assessing the necessity of state measures — institutional loyalty possible

(c) Missing counter-source: Independent epidemiological assessment or international comparison

Missing counter-source: Independent research institute or international expert

Source 2: Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment report on mask procurement

Timestamp: 11:50–12:00 — Statement: "when you read the report commissioned by the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment, it was clear that absolutely everything had gone wrong"

(a) Funding: State ministry — public funding

(b) Structural conflict of interest: The ministry is assessing the activities of an organisation within its own administrative branch — possible institutional softening or, conversely, political distancing

(c) Missing counter-source: The National Emergency Supply Agency's own report or an independent audit

Source 3: Swedish mortality statistics

Timestamp: 07:26–07:38 — Statement: "At the moment, in Sweden with just over 10 million inhabitants, more than 1,300 people have died from the coronavirus. In Finland, the population is around 5.5 million and we have had 75 deaths so far."

(a) Source not named — statistics presented without a reference

(b) Structural conflict of interest: The figures are presented as an argument against Sweden's strategy without contextualisation

(c) Missing counter-source: Sweden's own epidemiological assessment or long-term forecast

Rumour check (penalty points):

Rumour 1:

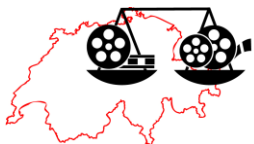
Timestamp: 12:10–12:20

Claim: "the suspicion arises as to whether things could have been botched or whether there was actually some foul play going on"

Verbal marker: "the suspicion arises", "whether there was actually some foul play going on"

Primary source: NO — speculation without evidence → +1 penalty point

Summary: Sources are mainly governmental or unnamed; independent or opposing sources are not used. One speculative claim without a primary source.



3. DISTRIBUTION OF AIRTIME

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Total score: 3/10

Definition: Distribution of airtime between different positions.

Estimated airtime:

- Janne Saarikivi: approx. 7 min. (41%)
- Greta Karvala: approx. 5 min. (29%)
- Anu Partanen (host): approx. 5 min. (29%)

Summary: Airtime is distributed among three people with similar backgrounds; no persons representing opposing views are present at all. The distribution is even among participants, but structurally one-sided.



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: Minister Haatainen's response is entirely absent

Relevant at: 13:16–13:39

Effect: The minister is criticised harshly without being given the opportunity to respond — a one-sided verdict

Omission 2:

Context: Expert defence of Sweden's strategy is absent

Relevant at: 07:26–08:15

Effect: Sweden's approach is presented as morally questionable without the Swedish experts' own perspective

Omission 3:

Context: WHO's own perspective or defence is absent

Relevant at: 15:20–16:33

Effect: WHO is criticised through Trump without WHO's own response or an independent assessment

Summary: The broadcast systematically omits the voices of those being criticised — the minister, the National Emergency Supply Agency, WHO. This creates a one-sided picture without the adversarial principle.

Missing voices

- Minister Tuula Haatainen: Could have explained what she knew about the mask procurement and when
- Representative of the National Emergency Supply Agency: Could have described the actual course of the procurement
- THL or STM expert: Could have explained the grounds on which the Uusimaa lockdown was lifted
- Swedish epidemiologist (e.g. Anders Tegnell): Could have defended Sweden's strategy from his own perspective
- Constitutional law expert: Could have assessed the legal limits of the use of the Emergency Powers Act
- Economist: Could have quantified the economic costs of the restrictive measures
- A resident of Uusimaa: Could have described the concrete experience during the lockdown
- WHO representative or international health law expert: Could have assessed WHO's actions objectively



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

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

Total score: 5/10

Definition: Selective or misleading use of statistics.

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 07:26–07:38

Figure: "in Sweden with just over 10 million inhabitants, more than 1,300 people have died from the coronavirus. In Finland, the population is around 5.5 million and we have had 75 deaths so far."

Dimensions: (a) Absolute value — presented ✓; (b) Relative proportion — presented implicitly (population ratios mentioned) ✓; (c) Trend — NOT presented X

Missing context: Stage of the epidemic (Sweden was further along), age structure, testing capacity, death recording practices

Effect: The figures create the impression of a clear failure of Sweden's strategy, even though the comparison is methodologically problematic

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 11:15–11:23

Figure: "If ordinary influenza kills 500–1,500 people per year"

Dimensions: (a) Absolute value — presented ✓; (b) Relative proportion — NOT X; (c) Trend — NOT X

Missing context: Source not named; comparison with COVID-19 is left incomplete

Effect: The figure is presented as an argument, but without methodological context

Summary: The comparison of Swedish and Finnish mortality statistics is methodologically deficient — trend data and comparability issues are left unaddressed.



6. GUILT BY ASSOCIATION (Contact guilt)

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Total score: 4/10

Definition: Discrediting by association with negative groups or ideas.

Association 1:

Timestamp: 04:26–04:30

Quote: "Whereas if you look at somewhere like Hungary, will the government there ever be held accountable for anything?"

Technique: Implicit equation of Sweden's more permissive approach or opposition to restrictions with Hungarian authoritarianism

Effect: All criticism of restrictions is indirectly associated with authoritarian governance

Association 2:

Timestamp: 16:26–16:33

Quote: "Fox News and those who are, so to speak, the voice of conservatives, have been speaking out against WHO for a long time. So Trump has probably picked that up from there."

Technique: Criticism of WHO is linked to Fox News and Trump — all WHO criticism is framed as right-wing propaganda

Effect: Substantive WHO criticism (which Saarikivi himself acknowledges as legitimate) is discredited by political association

Summary: Two clear chains of association: criticism of restrictions → Hungary/authoritarianism; WHO criticism → Fox News/Trump. Both oversimplify complex issues.



7. TIMING

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Total score: 4/10

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

Finding 1:

Position: 07:26–07:38 (in the middle of the broadcast, just before the Sweden discussion)

Content: "At the moment, in Sweden with just over 10 million inhabitants, more than 1,300 people have died from the coronavirus... we have had 75 deaths so far."

Timing effect: The figures are presented just before Saarikivi begins to defend Sweden's strategy — they frame his defence as morally questionable even before he speaks

Finding 2:

Position: 15:06–15:20 (at the end of the broadcast)

Content: Transition from mask procurement to Trump — "now that we have very little time left"

Timing effect: The Trump topic is raised at the end of the broadcast when time is short — in-depth treatment is not possible, but the negative frame remains as the last impression

Summary: Statistics are placed strategically before the defence of Sweden, and the Trump topic is raised at the end of the broadcast without sufficient time for treatment.



8. SELECTIVE INDIGNATION

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

Total score: 4/10

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 relation to other positions did not produce a corresponding reaction.

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 13:01–13:45

Triggering event: Minister Haatainen's lack of knowledge about the National Emergency Supply Agency's mask procurement

Reaction: "She really should have taken such a key organisation under her wing... political responsibility should be borne for this. If ministers never resign, they also never have to bear political responsibility."

Comparison: Comparable ignorance or evasion of responsibility by other ministers or politicians is not addressed with the same intensity

Asymmetry: Haatainen (SDP, Marin government) receives harsh criticism — other government members are not assessed by the same standard

Degree of indignation: 3/5

Selectivity: 2/5 — Criticism is directed at one minister, but it is not clear that other comparable cases would have been treated differently in the same broadcast

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 04:12–04:17

Triggering event: Citizens' demands for the continuation of restrictions

Reaction: "then there is a huge outcry asking why the government doesn't continue restricting our rights for longer. That again seems rather strange to me."

Comparison: Opponents of restrictions are not treated with the same sense of bewilderment — their position is taken as self-evident

Asymmetry: Supporters of restrictions are presented as a psychologically explicable phenomenon ("mass psychology"), opponents of restrictions as normal

Degree of indignation: 2/5

Selectivity: 2/5

Summary: Selective indignation is present, but not particularly strong. The criticism of Haatainen is the most intense, but it relates to a concrete event.



9. COMPLETENESS (Selective omission — overall picture)

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Total score: 7/10

Definition: How completely does the broadcast depict the topic?

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 11:44–13:45

Missing perspective/fact: The National Emergency Supply Agency's own view of the failure of the mask procurement

Significance: The organisation is criticised harshly without its own explanation

Effect: The listener is left with a one-sided picture of the organisation's actions

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 07:26–09:39

Missing perspective/fact: Sweden's epidemiological strategy as explained by Swedish experts

Significance: Sweden's approach is presented through the assessments of outside evaluators without the Swedish voice

Effect: Sweden's strategy appears morally questionable without a balancing expert perspective

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 15:20–16:33

Missing perspective/fact: WHO's own assessment of its actions or an independent international health policy expert

Significance: WHO is assessed through Trump's criticism without WHO's own voice

Effect: WHO criticism is automatically framed as Trump's agenda, even though the criticism also has a substantive basis

Summary: The broadcast systematically omits the voices of those being criticised — the minister, the National Emergency Supply Agency, WHO, Swedish experts. This is a structural completeness problem.

Soft facts — negotiable, not purely quantifiable



Soft facts — 6 qualitative techniques

10. FRAMING (Setting the frame of reference)

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Total score: 6/10

Definition: How is the topic fundamentally framed?

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 07:48–08:00

Quote: "it is rare that one can weigh up in such a concrete way this old philosophical problem of which is better, freedom or life."

Manipulation: Sweden's strategy is framed as a "freedom or life" dilemma — this renders Sweden's choice morally questionable from the outset

Why problematic: The frame excludes other interpretations (e.g. a different risk assessment, trust in citizens, long-term immunity) and reduces a complex epidemiological question to a moral choice

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 02:16–02:52

Quote: "In my view, Finland has a tradition of decision-making whereby whatever decision is made, it is always presented as a neutral expert matter."

Manipulation: Expert-guided decision-making is framed as a "Finnish peculiarity" — implicitly critically, yet the broadcast itself relies on experts (THL, STM)

Why problematic: Contradictory frame: expert authority is both criticisable (political responsibility disappears) and acceptable (THL's recommendation is binding)

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 10:36–11:12

Quote: "these extreme measures are justified by saying that human life has no price. But if we are rational, we understand that in all cases a price is put on human life."

Manipulation: Criticism of COVID-19 restrictions is framed as "rationality" — implicitly, supporters of restrictions are irrational

Why problematic: A normative frame is presented as an analytical truth

Summary: The broadcast uses several framing techniques that place supporters of restrictions in a morally or rationally questionable light.



11. WORD CHOICES AND CONCEPTS

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Total score: 5/10

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

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 08:23–08:39

Quote: "In Finland, people are now laughing up their sleeves that we've handled this well and the Swedes have once again messed it up completely, however it suits them."

Manipulation: "Messed it up" [ryssineet] is a colloquial expression that contains an ethnic connotation (reference to Russians); additionally, "laughing up their sleeves" creates an image of a smug Finn

A neutral alternative would be: "Sweden's strategy has so far resulted in more deaths"

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 04:44–04:50

Quote: "in my view, this trait — that in the midst of a crisis, people are glad that a leader is restricting their actions — is in my view a completely international trait, which is an interesting kind of mass psychological trait."

Manipulation: "Mass psychology" is a concept with historically negative connotations (Le Bon, totalitarianism) — supporters of restrictions are framed as a psychologically explicable mass

A neutral alternative would be: "collective risk assessment" or "collective safety-seeking behaviour"

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 15:31–15:43

Quote: "this is like everything with Trump. He always finds that grain of truth and then he takes it and turns it to his own purposes"

Manipulation: The expression "grains of truth" frames Trump's actions as manipulative from the outset — substantive WHO criticism is presented as a mere instrument

A neutral alternative would be: "Trump has raised criticism of WHO's actions that has also been voiced from other quarters"

Summary: Word choices contain several normative connotations that frame critics of restrictions and Trump negatively without a neutral alternative.



12. MODERATION BEHAVIOUR

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Total score: 4/10

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

Methodological principle (v2.2): Before each assessment, the triggering event must be documented.

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 07:39–07:47

Triggering event: The host has just presented the mortality statistics for Sweden and Finland

Quote (host): "So the situation is very different. Sweden has had a much more relaxed policy, but how does it look right now? Has it been effective?"

Comparison: Finland's strategy is not questioned in the same way — "has it been effective?"

Asymmetry: The effectiveness of Sweden's strategy is directly questioned; the effectiveness of Finland's strategy is not questioned in a corresponding way

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 01:57

Triggering event: Karvala has given a lengthy explanation of the political process

Quote (host): "No, I thought that was a really good explanation."

Comparison: Saarikivi's statements are not commented on with corresponding positivity

Asymmetry: Positive feedback to Karvala creates closeness and trust — not a neutral moderation practice

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 04:30

Triggering event: Saarikivi compares Finland to Hungary

Quote (host): "Yes."

Comparison: The Hungary comparison is accepted without a critical follow-up question

Asymmetry: The comparison is politically charged, but the host does not question it

Summary: Moderation is mainly acquiescent — the host does not critically challenge the guests' views, and Sweden's strategy receives more critical questions than Finland's.



13. QUESTION ASYMMETRY

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Total score: 5/10

Definition: Differences in the hardness/softness of questions posed to different people.

Asymmetry 1:

To Karvala, 00:29: "How would you describe the political process that has been worked through there?" — soft, open question

To Sweden's strategy (not a person), 07:47: "Has it been effective?" — critical, closed question

Comparison: Finland's strategy is not questioned in the same way — asymmetry in Finland's favour

Asymmetry 2:

To Trump (not a person), 15:20: "is it just Trump's election campaign" — a leading question that already contains the answer

To WHO (not a person): No corresponding critical question about WHO's actions is posed

Comparison: Trump is framed as an opportunist already in the question; WHO is not questioned correspondingly

Summary: Questions are softer towards the Finnish government's actions and harder towards Sweden's strategy and Trump — a structural asymmetry.



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14. FALSE BALANCE

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Total score: 3/10

Definition: Artificial balance despite actual imbalance.

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 08:39–08:54

Structure: "But I would urge some caution, because this epidemic will continue for a long time..."

Analysis: Saarikivi presents a cautious balancing comment on Sweden's strategy, but it remains isolated — the overall structure of the broadcast does not support genuine balance between the Finnish and Swedish strategies

Summary: False balance is not the main problem of this broadcast — rather, balance is not even systematically attempted.



15. AGENDA-SETTING

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Total score: 6/10

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

Finding 1:

Agenda element set: Expert-guided decision-making is the right way to manage a crisis

Timestamp: 03:37–03:42 — Evidence: "when those grounds disappear, then in my view the government is acting entirely correctly here"

Alternative agenda: Democratic decision-making, parliamentary oversight, citizen participation — these do not make it onto the agenda

Finding 2:

Agenda element set: Restrictive measures are inherently justified; the question is only one of their scope

Timestamp: 03:50–03:57 — Evidence: "of course we have to act quickly. And if it is necessary, then we close things down."

Alternative agenda: Critical assessment of the constitutionality of restrictive measures, the primacy of individual freedom — these are only addressed in passing

Finding 3:

Agenda element set: Trump is an opportunist who uses WHO criticism for political purposes

Timestamp: 15:31–16:33 — Evidence: "this is like everything with Trump"

Alternative agenda: WHO's structural problems, China's influence in WHO, reform of international health governance — these are passed over

Summary: The broadcast places expert-guided crisis management on the agenda as the norm and frames all deviations from this norm — Sweden's approach, Trump's criticism — as politically or morally questionable.



CHAPTER 4 — OVERALL ASSESSMENT

Individual scores summary

No.	Criterion	Type	Score	Main finding (1 sentence)
1	Expert selection	H	7	Two yellow-level experts comment on issues outside their own field without subject-matter experts
2	Source selection	H	6	Sources are mainly governmental or unnamed; one speculative claim without a primary source
3	Distribution of airtime	H	3	Airtime is distributed evenly among three people with similar backgrounds — opposing views are not represented
4	Omission	H	7	Those being criticised (minister, National Emergency Supply Agency, WHO) do not get to speak
5	Number manipulation	H	5	The comparison of Swedish and Finnish mortality statistics is methodologically deficient — trend data and comparability are missing
6	Guilt by association	H	4	Criticism of restrictions is linked to Hungary; WHO criticism is linked to Fox News and Trump
7	Timing	H	4	Statistics are placed strategically before the defence of Sweden; the Trump topic is raised at the end of the broadcast
8	Selective indignation	H	4	Criticism of Haatainen is the most intense; supporters of restrictions are framed as a mass psychological phenomenon
9	Completeness	H	7	The voices of those being criticised are systematically absent
10	Framing	S	6	The "freedom or life" frame renders Sweden's strategy morally questionable from the outset
11	Word choices	S	5	"Mass psychology", "messed it up", "grains of truth" — normative connotations without a neutral alternative
12	Moderation behaviour	S	4	Sweden's strategy receives more critical questions than Finland's; positive feedback to Karvala
13	Question asymmetry	S	5	Finland's strategy is not questioned in the same way as Sweden's; Trump is framed already in the question
14	False balance	S	3	No systematic false balance — rather, balance is not even attempted
15	Agenda-setting	S	6	Expert guidance is set as the norm; all deviations are framed as questionable

Results

- HARD FACTS SCORE (Criteria 1–9 average): 5.2 / 10
- SOFT FACTS SCORE (Criteria 10–15 average): 4.8 / 10
- TOTAL SCORE (average of all 15 criteria): 5.1 / 10



Dominant techniques

The three strongest techniques in this broadcast:

- 1. Omission (Score 7):** Those being criticised — Minister Haatainen, the National Emergency Supply Agency, WHO, Swedish experts — do not get to speak at all. This systematically creates a one-sided picture without the adversarial principle and is at odds with the diversity requirement of Section 7 of the Act on Yleisradio Oy.
- 2. Expert selection (Score 7):** Both guests have a journalist/linguist background and comment on epidemiology, economic policy, international politics and law outside their own area of expertise. Subject-matter experts are not interviewed at all.
- 3. Completeness (Score 7):** The broadcast systematically omits perspectives that would challenge the prevailing frame — the expert defence of Sweden's strategy, WHO's own voice, economic analysis of the costs of restrictive measures.

The broadcast's core messages

MESSAGE 1 (SUBSTANTIVE): "The Finnish government acted correctly by relying on experts, and the lifting of the Uusimaa lockdown was necessary and timely."

Technique: Framing and agenda-setting — timestamps: 03:37, 01:04

MESSAGE 2 (PERSONAL): "Minister Haatainen is politically responsible for the failure of the mask procurement and has not borne that responsibility."

Technique: Selective indignation and omission (the minister's own voice is absent) — timestamps: 13:16, 13:39

MESSAGE 3 (SOCIETAL): "Sweden's more permissive COVID-19 strategy is a morally questionable choice, and Trump's WHO criticism is mere political opportunism."

Technique: Framing, guilt by association, number manipulation — timestamps: 07:48, 16:26

Classification of degree of manipulation

Rationale: A total score of 5.1/10 falls within the range of clear one-sidedness. The broadcast does not meet the diversity requirement of Section 7 of the Act on Yleisradio Oy, because those being criticised do not get to speak, the expert selection is structurally one-sided and the framing systematically favours the government's restrictive measures. Sweden's strategy and Trump's WHO criticism receive asymmetric treatment without balancing perspectives. However, the broadcast does not reach the level of systematic bias, because individual balancing comments do appear (e.g. Saarikivi's cautious defence of Sweden, the mention of economic consequences).

CONCLUSION

The broadcast is a podcast-style morning programme in which three people with journalist/expert backgrounds discuss current issues of the COVID-19 crisis. From the perspective of Section 7 of the Act on Yleisradio Oy, the broadcast is problematic in particular in three areas: firstly, those being criticised (Minister Haatainen, the National Emergency Supply Agency, WHO, Swedish experts) do not get to speak, which violates the principle of diverse information; secondly, the expert selection is structurally one-sided, as subject-matter experts (epidemiologist, constitutional law expert, economist) are not interviewed; thirdly, the framing systematically favours the government's restrictive measures and frames alternative strategies as morally or politically questionable. However, the broadcast is not propagandistic — it also contains critical observations about the government's actions (mask procurement, political responsibility) and individual balancing comments. Overall, the broadcast represents clear one-sidedness that does not meet YLE's statutory obligation of diverse and comprehensive information.



OVERALL ASSESSMENT OF 15 CRITERIA

Individual scores — All 15 criteria

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

HARD FACTS SCORE (1-8)

6.5/10

Serious deviation from the impartiality standard. High degree of deviation

SOFT FACTS SCORE (9-14)

5.5/10

Significant imbalance

TOTAL SCORE

6.0/10

Significant imbalance

Hard facts and soft facts average



KEY — Meaning of scores

Individual scores per criterion (0–10)

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

Aggregated deviation index — Interpretation ranges

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

Party-political bias (-5 ... +5)

-5 ... -3	Strongly disadvantaged	The party is significantly underrepresented in framing, airtime or presentation.
-2 ... -1	Slightly disadvantaged	Identifiable but slight disadvantaging.
0	Neutral	No discernible favouring or disadvantaging.
+1 ... +2	Slightly favoured	Identifiable but slight favouring.
+3 ... +5	Strongly favoured	The party is significantly overrepresented 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, impartiality and the promotion of pluralism.

Violation 1:

Norm: Act on Yleisradio Oy, Section 7 — diverse information

Facts: Those being criticised do not get to speak — Minister Haatainen, the National Emergency Supply Agency, WHO, Swedish experts

Evidence: Timestamp 13:16–13:39 — Quote: "She reads about it in Suomen Kuvalehti. She really should have taken such a key organisation under her wing"

Assessment: The minister is criticised harshly without a right of reply — this violates the principle of diverse information, because the listener is not given the opportunity to assess the criticism in relation to the minister's own explanation

Violation 2:

Norm: Act on Yleisradio Oy, Section 7 — impartiality

Facts: Sweden's COVID-19 strategy is framed as a "freedom or life" dilemma without the voice of Swedish experts

Evidence: Timestamp 07:48–08:00 — Quote: "it is rare that one can weigh up in such a concrete way this old philosophical problem of which is better, freedom or life"

Assessment: The frame renders Sweden's strategy morally questionable from the outset — the impartiality requirement would demand that defenders of Sweden's strategy also be given a voice

Violation 3:

Norm: Act on Yleisradio Oy, Section 7 — promotion of pluralism

Facts: WHO criticism is framed exclusively as Trump's and Fox News's agenda, even though the criticism also has a substantive basis

Evidence: Timestamp 16:26–16:33 — Quote: "Fox News and those who are, so to speak, the voice of conservatives, have been speaking out against WHO for a long time. So Trump has probably picked that up from there."

Assessment: International expert debate on WHO's structural problems is ongoing and is not limited to conservative media — passing over this perspective violates the principle of pluralism

Violation 4:

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

Facts: The expert selection is structurally deficient — an epidemiologist, a constitutional law expert and an economist are absent

Evidence: The entire broadcast — subject-matter experts are not interviewed at all

Assessment: Comprehensive information requires that in complex matters (epidemiology, legal basis, economic impact) experts in the relevant field are heard — this requirement is not met

Overall assessment under Section 7 of the Act on Yleisradio Oy

The broadcast violates the diversity, impartiality and comprehensiveness requirements of Section 7 of the Act on Yleisradio Oy in four identifiable ways: those being criticised do not get to speak, the expert selection is structurally one-sided, Sweden's strategy is framed as morally questionable without balancing perspectives, and WHO criticism is dismissed as political opportunism. The violations are not isolated errors but structural — they reflect the broadcast's format (a studio discussion among three people with similar backgrounds without outside interviews). However, the



broadcast does not reach the level of systematic propaganda, as it also contains critical observations about the government's actions. Overall, the broadcast does not meet YLE's statutory obligation of diverse and comprehensive information.

SOURCE DEEP-CHECK (Mandatory for all cited expert institutions / civil society organisations / advisory services)

THL (Finnish Institute for Health and Welfare)

1. FUNDING: State-funded research and expert institution — administrative branch of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health; public funding

2. MANDATE: Promotion and monitoring of public health — the mandate is in principle compatible with neutral epidemiological assessment

3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST: THL assesses the necessity of the government's restrictive measures — institutional loyalty to the government possible; THL's recommendations justify the use of the Emergency Powers Act, which reinforces THL's own position in a crisis situation

4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX:

D1 Conflict of interest: 0 — State agency assessing state measures; possible institutional loyalty

D2 Personal risk: +1 — Experts bear professional responsibility for their statements

D3 Expertise: +2 — Epidemiological expertise is high

D4 Consistency: +1 — THL's line has been consistent

D5 Emotion vs. data: +2 — Statements are data-based

D6 Source level: +2 — Primary source

TOTAL: +8 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: GREEN

5. COUNTERVOICE: An independent epidemiological assessment or international comparison is absent — THL's assessment is presented as the only expert view

STM (Ministry of Social Affairs and Health)

1. FUNDING: State ministry — public funding

2. MANDATE: Steering of social and health policy — the mandate is not fully neutral, as the ministry is politically directed

3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST: STM's report justifies the government's decision — institutional interest in supporting the government's line

4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX:

D1 Conflict of interest: -1 — Ministry assessing its own administrative branch's actions

D2 Personal risk: 0 — No significant personal risk

D3 Expertise: +1 — Health policy expertise

D4 Consistency: +1 — Consistent line

D5 Emotion vs. data: +1 — Mainly data-based

D6 Source level: +1 — Primary source, but politically directed

TOTAL: +3 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW

5. COUNTERVOICE: An independent legal assessment of the necessity of using the Emergency Powers Act is absent

Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment report on mask procurement

1. FUNDING: State ministry — public funding

2. MANDATE: The ministry is assessing the activities of an organisation (National Emergency Supply Agency) within its own administrative branch — the mandate contains a structural conflict of interest

3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST: The ministry has an interest both in exposing problems (political distancing) and in softening them (institutional protection)

4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX:

D1 Conflict of interest: -1 — Ministry assessing its own administrative branch

D2 Personal risk: 0 — No significant personal risk

D3 Expertise: +1 — Administrative expertise

D4 Consistency: 0 — No information

D5 Emotion vs. data: +1 — Mainly fact-based

D6 Source level: +1 — Primary source



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TOTAL: +2 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW

5. COUNTERVOICE: The National Emergency Supply Agency's own report or an independent audit is absent — the broadcast cites only the ministry's report

IMPORTANT: "Recognised" or "praised" is not a substantive definition of competence. It is a social attribution that must itself be verified. The National Emergency Supply Agency is described in the broadcast as "praised as the crown jewel around the world" (12:49) — this is a social attribution, not a demonstration of expertise.

Legal and methodological framework

Not a verification of facts	The results 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).
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 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 bias 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 recognition across thousands of broadcasts, not precise metric measurement of individual segments. 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 / Press Council): 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
Independent complaints body	UBI (gesetzlich)	None (only JSN, self-regulatory)
Inhaltsaufsicht durch Regulator	BAKOM/UBI	No — TRAFICOM only economic matters
Editorial protection	Via RTVG	Section 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). Measuring Editorial Noise: A Retrospective Suppression Index for Public Broadcasting Content Analysis. [SSRN 6733280](#)
- Schläpfer, D. (2026). Source Traffic Light: A Six-Dimensional Credibility Framework for Systematic Source Assessment in Public Service Media. [SSRN 6733880](#)

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The following books are available from SVFAB

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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.

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