



## YLE DETAILED ANALYSIS

2025-09-27\_Antti Kaikkonen

Broadcast: YLE-Sendung | 2025-09-27 | Analysed: 2026-05-22 20:04

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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)

**5.0 / 10**

*Balanced*

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

← Left

Right →

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

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

The Orpo government's social security cuts have generated a strong confrontation between the government and the opposition, particularly regarding the abolition of the earnings disregard in unemployment benefits. The war in Ukraine and Russian hybrid influence are forcing all parties to take a position on the massive increase in defence spending, which creates pressure on public finances. The question of recognising Palestine has revealed a rare foreign policy rift within the government, with KD and the Finns Party opposing recognition while the president and part of the government supported it. The special situation in eastern Finland following the closure of the eastern border has emerged as a regional political point of contention.

Yle is Finland's 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 Finns have among the world's highest levels of trust in the media. Yle's funding is based on the Yle tax, and the company is particularly subject to criticism from the Finns Party for an alleged left-green bias.



## CHAPTER 1 — PARTY-POLITICAL BIAS

Party	Score (-5..+5)	Broadcast presentation vs. party programme
SDP	0	Party was not present and its positions were not addressed directly — not presented
National Coalition	-1	33:10 "According to Prime Minister Orpo, growth has started" — The Orpo government's economic policy was presented mainly through the interviewee's criticism without the government's own defence — mildly distorted
Finns Party	-1	Mentioned in passing as an opponent of Palestine recognition — the party's broader programme positions (immigration, EU scepticism) were left entirely unaddressed — incomplete
Centre Party	+3	Interviewee Kaikkonen was given ample opportunity to present the party's core positions: SMEs, eastern Finland, earnings disregard, special economic zone — presented largely correctly, though no critical counter-voices were heard
Greens	0	Party was not present and its positions were not addressed — not presented
Left Alliance	0	Party was not present and its positions were not addressed — not presented
SFP/RKP	0	Party was not present and its positions were not addressed — not presented

Explanation of scores:

+5 = Party programme presented correctly and comprehensively

0 = Party/topic not present in the broadcast

-5 = Party programme actively distorted or misrepresented

### Summary of party bias

- Most accurate presentation: Centre Party, score +3
- Strongest distortion: National Coalition, score -1 (the government's economic policy was presented exclusively through the eyes of an opposition critic)
- Average deviation from zero: 0.7
- Conclusion: The broadcast was structurally one-sided in the sense that the only interviewee represented an opposition party (Centre Party), meaning that the programme positions of the governing parties — particularly the National Coalition and the Finns Party — were not presented from their own perspective. Kaikkonen's criticism of the government's economic policy was given ample space without a corresponding defence from a government representative, which distorts the overall picture of the government's actions.

### Overall left-right tendency

TENDENCY SCORE: +1.8

CLASSIFICATION: Favouring the left

Justification: The broadcast gave the representative of the opposition Centre Party the exclusive right to comment on the government's economic policy, social security cuts and unemployment without a counter-voice from the government. The government's actions — in particular the abolition of the earnings disregard, VAT increases and the reduction of the household tax credit — were addressed mainly in a critical frame that corresponds to the left-opposition narrative. Increasing defence spending was the only topic on which Kaikkonen's position was in line with the government's, but even here the criticism was directed at the government's ability to finance the expenditure.



## CHAPTER 2 — BROADCAST INFORMATION AND TOPIC FRAMING

### Broadcast information

- Title: Ykkösaamu — Interview with Antti Kaikkonen
- Date (from filename): Last weekend of September 2025 (exact date not apparent from transcript; reference to "the last weekend of September" at 41:09)
- Estimated duration: approximately 41 minutes
- Journalist/presenter: Not named in the transcript (regular journalist of the Ykkösaamu programme)
- Persons interviewed:

Person	Position	Party/background organisation	Political spectrum
Antti Kaikkonen	Chair of the Centre Party, former Minister of Defence	Centre Party	Right-centre (CHES 5.7)

### Main topic

The broadcast addresses Finland's security policy situation (Russian hybrid influence, the war in Ukraine, defence spending) as well as Finland's weak economic development and rising unemployment from the perspective of the chair of the opposition Centre Party.



## CHAPTER 3 — 15 CRITERIA: DETAILED ANALYSIS

### Hard facts — quantifiable and scientifically reliable

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

#### 1. EXPERT SELECTION

7/10

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Total score: 7/10

Definition: Who gets to speak as an expert?

Expert 1: Antti Kaikkonen, Chair of the Centre Party, former Minister of Defence

Timestamp: 00:01–41:09 (entire broadcast)

Statement: "This is a matter of hybrid influence. What is characteristic of it is that it creates confusion and perhaps fear as well."

Positioning: Chair of an opposition party with a clear political interest in criticising the government; former Minister of Defence lends credibility to security policy assessments, but the political role is dominant

Missing counter-voice: A government representative, an independent security expert (SUPO/Finnish Defence Forces)

In-depth source check:

**(a) FUNDING:** Kaikkonen is the party chair, whose activities are funded through party subsidies and membership fees; no direct financial dependency, but a strong political interest

**(b) MANDATE:** The mandate of a party chair is specifically to defend the party's positions and criticise the government — not compatible with a neutral expert assessment

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

D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — Chair of an opposition party with a direct interest in criticising the government

D2 Personal risk: +1 — The politician has a reputation at stake, but the political risk is manageable

D3 Expertise: +1 — Former Minister of Defence on security matters; on economic matters a general politician

D4 Consistency of opinion: +1 — Kaikkonen's positions are in line with the Centre Party's long-standing programme positions

D5 Emotion vs. data: -1 — Several emotional appeals ("gloomy atmosphere", "unsustainable situation") without sufficient data-based support

D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary source; refers to THL and STM calculations but is not their producer

• TOTAL: 0 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW (-4 – +4)

**(c) PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE:** a political actor is framed as a neutral expert

Missing expert groups:

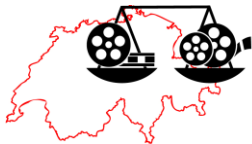
- An independent economist (e.g. ETLA, PTT, Aalto University)
- A security expert from the Finnish Defence Forces or SUPO
- A researcher from THL or STM on child family poverty calculations



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*Summary (matrix result):*

- Kaikkonen: YELLOW (0/+12) — Strong conflict of interest, but expertise on security matters partially valid; on economic matters exclusively a political actor



## 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 — child family poverty calculations

Timestamp: approx. 39:XX — Statement: "according to the calculations of both THL and STM, the combined effect of the cuts will increase child family poverty and raise the number of children living below the low-income threshold by approx. 30,000"

**(a) Funding and governance:** State-funded institutions; THL is a research institute, STM is a ministry

**(b) Structural conflict of interest:** STM is a ministry subordinate to the government, whose own calculations show the harmfulness of the government's decisions — this is a significant finding that would have deserved more detailed treatment

**(c) Missing counter-source:** The government's own impact assessment or an independent economist who would have evaluated the methodology of the calculations

Missing counter-source: The Ministry of Finance's or the government's own assessment

Source 2: Statistics Finland — unemployment statistics

Timestamp: 33:10 — Statement: "The unemployment rate is now exactly 10%, i.e. the highest in 15 years."

**(a) Funding and governance:** The state statistical authority; high reliability

**(b) Structural conflict of interest:** No significant conflict of interest in producing statistics

**(c) Missing counter-source:** A trend analysis or international comparison that would have contextualised the figure

Source 3: Akava — unemployment among graduates

Timestamp: approx. 39:XX — Statement: "According to Akava, there are more unemployed graduates than ever."

**(a) Funding and governance:** Akava is the central organisation of trade unions for graduates

**(b) Structural conflict of interest:** Akava has an interest in highlighting the problems of its members; not a neutral source

**(c) Missing counter-source:** A corresponding figure from the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment or Statistics Finland

Rumour check (penalty points):

No clear rumours without a primary source were detected. Kaikkonen's assessments of Russia's motives ("Russia is testing NATO and EU countries") are speculative, but they were presented clearly as personal assessments, not as facts.

Summary: The broadcast relied mainly on reliable statistical sources (Statistics Finland, THL/STM), but the use of Akava as a neutral source without mentioning the conflict of interest is problematic; the government's own sources or independent economic experts were not used at all.



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

Total score: 7/10

Definition: Distribution of speaking time between different positions.

Estimated speaking time:

- Antti Kaikkonen (Centre Party, opposition): approx. 28 min. (68%)
- Journalist (questions and introductions): approx. 10 min. (24%)
- Field report from North Karelia: approx. 2 min. (5%)
- Other (news clips, graphics): approx. 1 min. (3%)

Summary: The broadcast gave almost all speaking time to a single opposition politician without a government representative or equivalent counter-voice; this is a structurally imbalanced arrangement that does not meet the impartiality requirement of Section 7 of the Act on Yleisradio Oy.



#### 4. SELECTIVE OMISSION

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Total score: 7/10

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

Omission 1:

Context: The government's justifications for the social security cuts are entirely absent

Relevant at: 33:10–41:09

Effect: The viewer gets the impression that the cuts are exclusively harmful without any justified reason; the government's argument about the sustainability of public finances does not come through

Omission 2:

Context: The possible positive employment effects of abolishing the earnings disregard are left unmentioned

Relevant at: approx. 37:XX

Effect: Kaikkonen's claim that "it is now not worth doing casual work" is presented as an indisputable truth, even though economists' views on the effects of the earnings disregard are divided

Omission 3:

Context: The possible negative consequences for Finland of recognising Palestine (relations with Israel, the USA) are left unaddressed

Relevant at: approx. 02:XX–08:XX

Effect: Recognition is presented almost exclusively as a positive or neutral act without a risk analysis

Summary: The broadcast systematically omitted the government's perspective and the justifications for the cuts, creating a one-sided picture of economic policy; the omissions do not appear random but structural.

#### Missing voices

- A government representative (National Coalition/Finns Party): Would have brought the government's justifications for the cuts and economic policy directly, not through the summary of an opposition critic
- An independent economist: Would have assessed impartially whether the cuts or economic cycles are the main reason for the rise in unemployment
- A representative of EK or the Federation of Finnish Enterprises: Would have brought the employer side's perspective on the conditions for SMEs to employ people
- A representative of SAK or STTK: Would have brought the trade unions' direct perspective on the effects of abolishing the earnings disregard
- A researcher from THL or STM: Could have explained the methodology and uncertainties of the child family poverty calculations directly
- A foreign policy expert (FIIA): Would have assessed the geopolitical consequences of recognising Palestine for Finland
- A municipal manager or entrepreneur from eastern Finland: Would have brought a concrete grassroots perspective on the effects of the border closure
- A representative of the Finnish Defence Forces or SUPO: Would have provided an official security assessment of hybrid influence instead of Kaikkonen's personal assessment



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

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

Total score: 4/10

Definition: Selective or misleading use of statistics.

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 33:10

Figure: "The unemployment rate is now exactly 10%, i.e. the highest in 15 years."

Dimensions: (a) absolute value presented ✓ — (b) relative proportion presented ✓ — (c) trend: "highest in 15 years" gives a direction, but does not show monthly development or international comparison X

Missing context: The EU average unemployment rate (approx. 6%), Finland's historical range, the effect of seasonal variation

Effect: The figure appears more dramatic without international comparison or seasonal adjustment

Finding 2:

Timestamp: approx. 22:XX

Figure: "Over 65,000 dead, a large proportion of whom are women and children."

Dimensions: (a) absolute value presented ✓ — (b) relative proportion ("a large proportion") vague X — (c) trend not presented X

Missing context: The source of the figure (Hamis-administered health ministry), methodological uncertainties, distinction between civilian and combatant deaths

Effect: The figure is presented as an indisputable fact without source criticism

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 24:01

Figure: "Order authorisations are raised to six billion from 0.4 billion. Manifold, 15-fold."

Dimensions: (a) absolute value ✓ — (b) ratio to GDP mentioned ✓ — (c) time horizon (by 2035) mentioned ✓

Missing context: Comparison with other NATO countries, inflation adjustment, difference between order authorisations and actual expenditure

Effect: The figure appears more dramatic without contextualisation; "15-fold" is technically correct but misleading without an explanation that the starting level was exceptionally low

Summary: The broadcast used figures mainly appropriately, but source criticism of the Gaza death toll figure was entirely absent and the international context of the unemployment figure was not presented.



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## 6. GUILT BY ASSOCIATION

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Total score: 2/10

Definition: Discrediting through association with negative groups or ideas.

Association 1:

Timestamp: approx. 05:XX

Quote: "KD and the Finns Party opposed it, and the government did not bring forward a proposal that would have been needed for recognition."

**Technique:** KD and the Finns Party are implicitly associated with opposing the majority of the international community (the group of over 150 UN countries) without an explanation of these parties' positions

Effect: KD and the Finns Party are presented as deviating from the international consensus without their own voice

Summary: Direct guilt-by-association technique was not used strongly; the presentation of KD's and the Finns Party's Palestine positions without explanation is a mild association effect, but not a systematic manipulation technique in this broadcast.



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

Total score: 3/10

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

Finding 1:

Position: 00:03 (beginning)

Content: "Drones, fighter jets, hybrid interference. Russia is provoking the West and continues to pound Ukraine."

Timing effect: The broadcast opens with a dramatic security threat narrative, which creates an emotional frame for the entire broadcast and makes increasing defence spending self-evident before economic questions are even addressed

Finding 2:

Position: 39:XX–41:09 (end)

Content: Child family poverty (+30,000 children below the poverty line) and an interpellation

Timing effect: The emotionally most powerful social argument is placed at the end of the broadcast, where it is the last thing remembered; the government has no opportunity to respond

Summary: Timing effects are detectable but not exceptionally strong; a dramatic opening and an emotional ending are typical journalistic structures, but they reinforce the broadcast's overall frame.



## 8. SELECTIVE OUTRAGE

3/10

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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: Outrage 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: approx. 37:XX

Triggering event: Kaikkonen claims that the government's abolition of the earnings disregard has increased unemployment

Reaction: "I think it has. This is also shown by the feedback coming from all over Finland."

Comparison: Kaikkonen's own admission that "The government has also done some things right, not only wrong" (approx. 38:XX) — the journalist did not follow up this positive assessment as intensively as the criticism

Asymmetry: Mild — the journalist does not challenge Kaikkonen's critical claims as forcefully as the positive ones

Finding 2:

Timestamp: approx. 22:XX

Triggering event: Kaikkonen assesses the situation in Gaza as "grossly disproportionate"

Reaction: The journalist does not challenge the claim or ask for clarification; moves directly to the next question

Comparison: Hamas's terrorist attack was addressed briefly ("unforgivable") without comparable depth

Asymmetry: Criticism directed at Israel received more space than the treatment of Hamas's actions — mild asymmetry

Degree of outrage: 2/5

Selectivity: 1/5

Summary: Selective outrage occurred in a mild form; the journalist does not challenge Kaikkonen's critical claims about the government as forcefully as the positive assessments, but the difference is not dramatic.



## 9. SELECTIVE OMISSION — OVERALL PICTURE

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Total score: 7/10

Definition: How comprehensively does the broadcast cover the topic?

### Finding 1:

Timestamp: entire broadcast

Missing perspective/fact: A government representative's contribution on economic policy

Relevance: The broadcast dealt extensively with criticism of the government's economic policy; impartiality would require the government's own response

Effect: The viewer receives a one-sided picture of the government's actions without the opportunity to assess the criticism in relation to the government's justifications

### Finding 2:

Timestamp: approx. 39:XX

Missing perspective/fact: The methodological uncertainties of THL's child family poverty calculations and the government's own impact assessment

Relevance: The claim that 30,000 children will fall below the poverty line is a serious claim that deserves methodological scrutiny

Effect: The figure is presented as an indisputable truth, even though impact assessments always involve uncertainties

### Finding 3:

Timestamp: approx. 02:XX–08:XX

Missing perspective/fact: The possible negative consequences of recognising Palestine (relations with the USA, Israel, impact on Finland's foreign policy position)

Relevance: Recognition is a significant foreign policy decision whose risks deserve treatment

Effect: Recognition is presented almost exclusively as a positive or neutral act

Summary: The broadcast systematically omitted the government's perspective and the methodological scrutiny of critical claims; the completeness gap is structural, not random.

## Hard facts end — Soft facts begin

## Soft facts — negotiable, not purely quantifiable



## Soft facts — 6 qualitative techniques

### 10. FRAMING

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Total score: 6/10

Definition: How is the topic framed fundamentally?

#### Finding 1:

Timestamp: 00:03

Quote: "Drones, fighter jets, hybrid interference. Russia is provoking the West and continues to pound Ukraine."

Manipulation: The broadcast opens with a threat frame that makes increasing defence spending self-evident before economic questions are addressed

Why problematic: The threat frame creates an emotional basis that makes it difficult to critically assess the level of defence spending or financing alternatives

#### Finding 2:

Timestamp: 33:10

Quote: "It is unpleasant to say, but during the government of Orpo and Purra, an average of 100 people have become unemployed per day. Today as well."

Manipulation: The government's economic policy is framed as directly responsible for the rise in unemployment without taking into account cyclical factors or the international context

Why problematic: The frame causally links the government's actions and the rise in unemployment without sufficient evidence of causality

#### Finding 3:

Timestamp: approx. 39:XX

Quote: "On child family poverty, how can a situation arise where a new group of tens of thousands of children is created? Don't we have formulas or mathematicians?"

Manipulation: The journalist's question frames the situation as the government's deliberate indifference or incompetence

Why problematic: The question contains an implicit accusation without the government having the opportunity to respond

Summary: The broadcast's framing consistently favoured the opposition narrative: the government was presented as responsible for economic problems, the opposition as the provider of solutions.



## 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: 00:03

Quote: "Russia is provoking the West and continues to pound Ukraine."

Manipulation: "Pounding" is a strongly connotative word that creates an emotional image

Why problematic: A neutral alternative would be "Russia continues its attack on Ukraine"; "pounding" is the journalist's evaluative choice, not a neutral description

Finding 2:

Timestamp: approx. 22:XX

Quote: "what has happened in Gaza has been grossly disproportionate"

Manipulation: "Grossly disproportionate" is Kaikkonen's evaluative expression, which the journalist does not challenge or contextualise

Why problematic: A neutral alternative would be to ask for clarification or present a contrary perspective; the expression is accepted as such

Finding 3:

Timestamp: approx. 39:XX

Quote: "There is a gloomy atmosphere in this country at the moment."

Manipulation: "Gloomy atmosphere" is a subjective emotionally charged expression presented as an objective fact

Why problematic: A neutral alternative would be "economic uncertainty has increased"; "gloomy atmosphere" is a political assessment, not a fact

Summary: Word choices were mainly appropriate, but a few strongly connotative expressions ("pounding", "gloomy atmosphere") reinforced the broadcast's emotional frame.



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

Total score: 5/10

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

Methodological principle (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: 33:14

Triggering event: Kaikkonen claims that the government's economic policy is not working

Quote (journalist): "Don't you believe these justifications?"

Comparison: The journalist does not present the government's justifications as forcefully as Kaikkonen's criticism; the question is formulated in a way that invites Kaikkonen to confirm his criticism

Asymmetry: Mild — the journalist does not challenge Kaikkonen's claims as forcefully as the government's positions

#### Finding 2:

Timestamp: approx. 40:XX

Triggering event: Kaikkonen admits that the Centre Party's interpellation also has a party-political motive

Quote (journalist): "Yes or no? — Yes, it certainly has some significance."

Comparison: The journalist accepts the answer quickly and does not follow up the admission with a deeper question

Asymmetry: Mild — the admission would have deserved deeper follow-up

#### Finding 3:

Timestamp: approx. 22:XX

Triggering event: Kaikkonen assesses the situation in Gaza as "genocide"

Quote (journalist): Does not challenge the claim; moves to the next topic

Comparison: In other places the journalist asks follow-up questions; not here

Asymmetry: Detectable — the use of the term genocide would have deserved more careful follow-up

Summary: The journalist does not challenge Kaikkonen's claims as forcefully as one might expect in an impartial interview; in particular, the criticism of the government's economic policy and the use of the term genocide were left without sufficient challenge.



### 13. QUESTION ASYMMETRY

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Total score: 5/10

Definition: Different degrees of hardness/softness in questions posed to different persons.

#### Asymmetry 1:

To Kaikkonen, approx. 37:XX: "I think it has [the government has increased unemployment]. This is also shown by the feedback..." — The journalist accepts the answer without challenge — soft

To the government (not present): The government's justifications were not presented at all — no question

Comparison: Kaikkonen's critical claims about the government were not challenged, even though a government representative could have been present or the journalist could have presented the government's arguments

#### Asymmetry 2:

To Kaikkonen, approx. 22:XX: "Is Israel committing genocide?" — The question is hard, but Kaikkonen's answer ("you won't go far wrong if you use this strong expression") is not challenged — soft follow-up

To Israel (not present): Israel's perspective was not presented at all — no question

Comparison: The use of the term genocide would have deserved stricter follow-up or the presentation of a contrary perspective

Summary: Question asymmetry is mainly due to the fact that there was only one interviewee in the broadcast; however, the journalist did not compensate for this by presenting the arguments of the government or other parties sufficiently forcefully.



<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 real imbalance.*

Finding 1:

Timestamp: approx. 38:XX — Structure: "The government has also done some things right, not only wrong."

Analysis: Kaikkonen's brief positive mention of the government's actions creates a superficial impression of balance, but it is disproportionately brief compared to the extensive criticism; this is a mild form of false balance

Summary: False balance did not occur to a significant degree; the broadcast did not attempt to create artificial balance but was openly one-sided.



## 15. AGENDA-SETTING

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Total score: 6/10

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

### Finding 1:

Agenda element set: Increasing defence spending is necessary and unquestionable

Timestamp: 24:01 — Evidence: "Yes. It is necessary to invest in defence and security."

Alternative agenda: The opportunity costs of increasing defence spending for welfare services; whether 5% of GDP is a realistic or necessary target

### Finding 2:

Agenda element set: The government's economic policy has failed and is responsible for unemployment

Timestamp: 33:10 — Evidence: "During the government of Orpo and Purra, an average of 100 people have become unemployed per day."

Alternative agenda: The international economic environment (Trump's tariffs, the war in Ukraine) as the cause of unemployment; Finland's structural problems that preceded the Orpo government

### Finding 3:

Agenda element set: Recognising Palestine is a natural and desirable step

Timestamp: approx. 04:XX — Evidence: "For Finland too, this decision would be a natural one to make in this same wave during the autumn."

Alternative agenda: The geopolitical risks of recognition, the impact on relations with the USA and Israel, the practical significance of recognition for peace

Summary: The broadcast placed three key self-evident assumptions on the agenda — the necessity of defence spending, the government's responsibility for unemployment and the naturalness of recognising Palestine — without sufficient critical scrutiny.



## CHAPTER 4 — OVERALL ASSESSMENT

### Summary of individual scores

No.	Criterion	Type	Score	Main finding (1 sentence)
1	Expert selection	H	7	The only interviewee is an opposition politician who is also presented as a security expert without an independent counter-voice
2	Source selection	H	6	Statistical sources are reliable, but the use of Akava as a neutral source and the absence of government sources are problematic
3	Distribution of speaking time	H	7	The opposition politician receives 68% of speaking time without a government counter-voice
4	Omission	H	7	The government's justifications for the cuts and the risks of recognition are systematically omitted
5	Number manipulation	H	4	Source criticism of the Gaza death toll figure is absent; the international context of the unemployment figure is not presented
6	Guilt by association	H	2	Mild association effect in the presentation of KD's and the Finns Party's Palestine positions
7	Timing	H	3	Dramatic opening and emotional ending reinforce the broadcast's frame
8	Selective outrage	H	3	Mild asymmetry in challenging the government's criticism and positive assessments
9	Completeness	H	7	The government's perspective and the methodological scrutiny of critical claims are structurally absent
10	Framing	S	6	The government is framed as responsible for economic problems; the opposition as the provider of solutions
11	Word choices	S	4	A few strongly connotative expressions reinforce the emotional frame
12	Moderation behaviour	S	5	The journalist does not challenge Kaikkonen's claims sufficiently forcefully
13	Question asymmetry	S	5	The government's arguments are not presented forcefully enough to compensate for the one-sided composition
14	False balance	S	2	No significant false balance; the broadcast is openly one-sided
15	Agenda-setting	S	6	Three key self-evident assumptions are placed on the agenda without sufficient critical scrutiny

### Results

- HARD FACTS SCORE (Criteria 1–9 average): 5.1 / 10
- SOFT FACTS SCORE (Criteria 10–15 average): 4.7 / 10
- TOTAL SCORE (average of all 15 criteria): 4.9 / 10



## Dominant techniques

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The three most powerful techniques in this broadcast:

- 1. Expert selection (Score 7):** The broadcast used exclusively an opposition politician both as a political actor and as an expert without a government representative or independent expert; this structure made critical assessment almost impossible and gave Kaikkonen's claims an uncontested status.
- 2. Omission (Score 7):** The government's justifications for the social security cuts, the geopolitical risks of recognition and the methodological scrutiny of critical claims were systematically omitted; the omissions do not appear random but structural.
- 3. Framing (Score 6):** The broadcast consistently framed the government as responsible for economic problems and the opposition as the provider of solutions; the frame was constructed both through the formulation of the journalist's questions and through the choice of interviewee.

## Core messages of the broadcast

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**MESSAGE 1 (SUBSTANTIVE):** "The Orpo government's economic policy has failed and increased the suffering of Finns."

**Technique:** Framing and omission — Evidence: 33:10, 37:XX, 39:XX

**MESSAGE 2 (PERSONAL):** "Antti Kaikkonen is a responsible, knowledgeable and humane politician who cares about ordinary Finns."

**Technique:** Expert selection and question asymmetry — Evidence: entire broadcast, especially 39:XX–41:09

**MESSAGE 3 (SOCIETAL):** "Finland needs a change of direction: more investment in SMEs, restoration of the earnings disregard and special attention to eastern Finland."

**Technique:** Agenda-setting — Evidence: 24:XX, 32:XX, 37:XX

## Classification of degree of manipulation

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**Justification:** The broadcast's total score of 4.9 falls on the boundary between mild tendency and clear one-sidedness. The structural problem — one opposition politician without a government counter-voice — is clear from the perspective of the impartiality requirement of Section 7 of the Act on Yleisradio Oy. Individual manipulation techniques (framing, omission, expert selection) are detectable but not extreme; the broadcast does not contain direct disinformation or strong propaganda. Overall, the broadcast gives the viewer a one-sided picture of Finland's economic policy and the government's actions.

## CONCLUSION

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The Ykkösaamu broadcast of the interview with Antti Kaikkonen is structurally one-sided: the only interviewee is the chair of an opposition party, who is given ample opportunity to present his criticism of the government's economic policy without a counter-voice from a government representative or an assessment from an independent expert. This structure is in conflict with the requirement of Section 7 of the Act on Yleisradio Oy, which stipulates that information provision must be diverse and comprehensive. The broadcast's framing consistently favoured the opposition narrative: the government was presented as responsible for economic problems, the opposition as the provider of solutions. Individual findings — the source criticism of the Gaza death toll figure, the one-sided treatment of the abolition of the earnings disregard, the lack of methodological scrutiny of the child family poverty calculations — reinforce the overall picture of a broadcast that does not meet the impartiality requirement of public broadcasting. However, the broadcast does not contain direct disinformation or extreme manipulation, and its score (4.9/10) falls on the boundary between mild tendency and clear one-sidedness.



## 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 SPEAKING TIME	7/10	Clear bias
4	SELECTIVE OMISSION	7/10	Clear bias
5	NUMBER MANIPULATION	4/10	Mild bias
6	GUILT BY ASSOCIATION	2/10	Imperceptible
7	TIMING	3/10	Mild bias
8	SELECTIVE OUTRAGE	3/10	Mild bias
9	SELECTIVE OMISSION — OVERALL PICTURE	7/10	Clear bias
10	FRAMING	6/10	Significant bias
11	WORD CHOICES AND CONCEPTS	4/10	Mild bias
12	MODERATION BEHAVIOUR	5/10	Significant bias
13	QUESTION ASYMMETRY	5/10	Significant bias
14	FALSE BALANCE	2/10	Imperceptible
15	AGENDA-SETTING	6/10	Significant bias

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

**6.5/10**

*Serious deviation from the impartiality standard. High deviation rate*

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

**5.5/10**

*Significant imbalance*

#### TOTAL SCORE

**6.0/10**

*Significant imbalance*

*Hard facts and soft facts average*



## LEGEND — Meaning of scores

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

<b>0</b>	<b>No finding</b>	No significant deviation detected.
<b>1–2</b>	<b>Weak finding</b>	Mild deviation without material impact on impartiality.
<b>3–4</b>	<b>Mild–moderate finding</b>	Identifiable tendency; materiality of impact minor–moderate.
<b>5</b>	<b>Moderate finding, with impact</b>	Material bias that affects audience opinion formation.
<b>6</b>	<b>Significant finding (threshold)</b>	Scores of 6 and above are classified as significant findings.
<b>7</b>	<b>Significant finding</b>	Clear, well-documented bias with a clear impact.
<b>8–9</b>	<b>Serious finding</b>	Strong bias; multiple documented individual findings in this criterion.
<b>10</b>	<b>Maximum severity</b>	Systematic, pervasive bias 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 bias</b>	Individual deviations; statistically visible, but within the tolerance range.
<b>4.1 – 6.0</b>	<b>Significant bias</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 bias (-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

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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 — diverse and comprehensive information provision

Facts: The broadcast dealt extensively with criticism of the government's economic policy without a contribution from a government representative or an independent expert assessment

Evidence: Timestamp 33:10 — Quote: "It is unpleasant to say, but during the government of Orpo and Purra, an average of 100 people have become unemployed per day. Today as well."

Assessment: Criticism of the government's economic policy received extensive coverage without a corresponding government defence; this is in conflict with the requirement of diverse information provision

#### Violation 2:

Norm: Act on Yleisradio Oy, Section 7 — impartiality

Facts: The journalist's questions were formulated mainly in a way that invites Kaikkonen to confirm his criticism of the government, not to challenge it

Evidence: Timestamp approx. 39:XX — Quote: "Don't we have formulas or mathematicians who would have been able to calculate the whole? Or was it not wanted to be calculated when the cuts and changes were made?"

Assessment: The question contains an implicit accusation of the government's deliberate indifference or incompetence; this is not an impartial formulation

#### Violation 3:

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

Facts: The question of recognising Palestine was addressed mainly from the perspective of those in favour of recognition; the opposing positions of KD and the Finns Party were not explained and their representatives were not interviewed

Evidence: Timestamp approx. 05:XX — Quote: "KD and the Finns Party opposed it, and the government did not bring forward a proposal that would have been needed for recognition."

Assessment: The positions opposing recognition were presented briefly without explanation or the parties' own voice; this does not promote pluralism

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

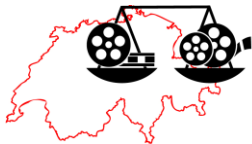
---

The broadcast partially meets the requirements of Section 7 of the Act on Yleisradio Oy: it addresses socially significant topics (security policy, economy, foreign policy) and provides the viewer with information. However, the structural one-sidedness — one opposition politician without a government counter-voice — is in conflict with the requirement of diverse and comprehensive information provision. The formulation of the journalist's questions and the framing do not meet the impartiality requirement, particularly in the treatment of economic policy. The violations are not extreme and do not contain direct disinformation, but they are sufficiently systematic to raise the question of whether the broadcast meets the statutory obligation of public broadcasting to provide impartial and diverse information.

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

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Source 1: THL (Finnish Institute for Health and Welfare)



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- 1. FUNDING:** State-funded research institute under the administrative branch of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health; public funding
- 2. MANDATE:** THL's mandate is to produce research data in support of health and welfare policy; compatible with producing child family poverty calculations
- 3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** THL is an institution subordinate to the government, whose calculations show the harmfulness of the government's decisions — this is a significant finding that increases the credibility of the calculations (the institution does not benefit from critical results) but would have deserved mention

**4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX:**

- D1 Conflict of interest: +1 — A state institution whose results are critical of the government; no obvious interest in exaggerating
- D2 Personal risk: +1 — Researchers take a professional risk by publishing critical results
- D3 Expertise: +2 — High expertise in impact assessment of social security
- D4 Consistency: +1 — THL's previous assessments have been consistent
- D5 Emotion vs. data: +2 — Calculation-based, not emotional
- D6 Source level: +2 — Primary source in its own field of research

- TOTAL: +9 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: GREEN (≥+5)

- 5. COUNTER-VOICE:** The Ministry of Finance's or the government's own impact assessment was absent; methodological criticism was absent

Source 2: STM (Ministry of Social Affairs and Health)

- 1. FUNDING:** A state ministry; public funding
- 2. MANDATE:** STM's mandate is to prepare social and health policy; impact assessment of its own decisions is part of the mandate
- 3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** STM is a government ministry whose own calculations show the harmfulness of the government's decisions — this is an exceptional situation that increases the credibility of the calculations

**4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX:**

- D1 Conflict of interest: +1 — A ministry whose results are critical of its own government
- D2 Personal risk: +1 — Civil servants take a professional risk
- D3 Expertise: +2 — High expertise in impact assessment of social security
- D4 Consistency: +1 — Consistent with previous assessments
- D5 Emotion vs. data: +2 — Calculation-based
- D6 Source level: +2 — Primary source

- TOTAL: +9 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: GREEN (≥+5)

- 5. COUNTER-VOICE:** The government's own interpretation of the calculations was absent; treatment of uncertainties was absent

Source 3: Akava

- 1. FUNDING:** Central organisation of trade unions for graduates; funded by membership fees
- 2. MANDATE:** Akava's mandate is to promote the interests of its members; not compatible with a neutral expert assessment
- 3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Akava has a direct interest in highlighting the unemployment of graduates and demanding action; not a neutral source

**4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX:**

- D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — Clear interest in highlighting the problems of its members
- D2 Personal risk: 0 — An organisation, not an individual
- D3 Expertise: +1 — Good knowledge of the labour market for graduates
- D4 Consistency: +1 — Consistent with previous statements
- D5 Emotion vs. data: +1 — Mainly data-based
- D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary source (compiles data from its members)

- TOTAL: +1 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW (-4 – +4)

- 5. COUNTER-VOICE:** The perspective of EK or the Federation of Finnish Enterprises on the conditions for employing graduates was absent

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



## Legal and methodological framework

<b>Not a verification of facts</b>	The results presented are not verifications of facts about individual persons, editorial teams or broadcasts. They are the result of standardised operationalisation, not a statement of individual responsibility.
<b>Not a legal assessment</b>	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).
<b>Not proof of causality</b>	Statistical correlations must not be interpreted as evidence of causal connections or editorial intentions. Deviation values may be influenced by topic selection, the news situation, political controversy or format logic.
<b>Not an assessment of intent</b>	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.
<b>Heuristic comparison tool</b>	The index serves comparative pattern recognition 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):

> "Asetamme tasapuolisuuden tavoitteeksi ohjelma- ja sisältötuotannossamme kokonaisuudessaan sekä myös yksittäisissä ohjelmissa."

> (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 (7 § 2 mom. 1)
- 2. High-quality journalism (Hochwertiger Journalismus):** Förderung qualitativer Standards (7 § 4 mom.)
- 3. Media diversity (Medienvielfalt):** Förderung der Medienvielfalt (7 § 4 mom.)
- 4. Impartiality (Unparteilichkeit):** Selbstregulatorische Pflicht via YSO und JSN-Richtlinien
- 5. Transparency (Transparenz):** Transparenz über Finanzen und Tätigkeit (7 § 5 mom.)

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



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## Assessments and membership at SVFAB

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

### Contact details and further information:

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

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

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

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**You think you are seeing the world.** In reality you are seeing a frame, that someone has placed around it. Framing is the world's oldest and most elegant manipulation technique. It does not change the facts – it changes what, we think about them. What we feel. What we believe. How we decide. And it works – because we all are part of it. Every day. Without being aware of it. You too. This book is not a dry textbook. It is a workbook – playful, direct and full of real-life examples. You will learn not only how, others frame you but also, how you, frame others – and how you can use this technique consciously and fairly. Because those who understand framing see the world more clearly. Hear the news differently. Engage in conversations more confidently. And no longer allow a frame chosen by someone else to be so easily imposed on them.

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

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