



NPO DETAILED ANALYSIS

2024-05-20_VPWON_1353162

Broadcast: NPO broadcast | 2024-05-20 | Analysed on: 2026-05-22 19:45

Version 3.0-detail | Universal 3.0-detail | Konverter 3.4 (2026-05-20) | Maatstaf: Mediawet 2008 Art. 2.1

TOTAL SCORE

4.7/10

Considerable imbalance

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

POLITICAL SPECTRUM

Classification based on Chapel Hill Expert Survey (CHES) 2024

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

Party	SP	GL-PvdA	PvdD	D66	CDA	NSC	CU	VVD	BBB	SGP	PVV	FvD
CHES	1.10	2.40	2.50	4.80	5.50	5.80	6.00	7.00	7.50	7.80	9.20	9.50
Spectrum	Left	Left	Left	Left	Centre	Centre	Right	Right	Right	Right	Right	Right

The overall tendency is displayed on a 0–10 scale (0 = strongly left-favouring, 5 = balanced, 10 = strongly right-favouring). The calculation is based on the difference in average favouring of left vs. right 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 | [Jolly et al., Electoral Studies, 2022](#) | Threshold values: [Pew Research Center](#)

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



POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

The Schoof cabinet (took office July 2024) is an extra-parliamentary cabinet supported by PVV (37 seats), VVD (24 seats), NSC (20 seats) and BBB (7 seats). Prime Minister Schoof is non-partisan. The largest opposition party is GL-PvdA with 25 seats, followed by D66 (9 seats), CDA (5 seats), SP (5 seats), SGP (3 seats), PvdD (3 seats), CU (3 seats), FvD (3 seats), DENK and Volt.

Party	CHES L-R	Seats	Government/Opposition	Core position
SP	1,1	5	Opposition	Socialist, anti-market
GL-PvdA	2,4	25	Opposition (largest)	Climate, social, humane asylum
PvdD	2,5	3	Opposition	Animal rights, climate
D66	4,8	9	Opposition	Liberal-progressive, pro-EU
CDA	5,5	5	Opposition	Christian democratic, centre
NSC	5,8	20	Government	Economic security, rule of law
CU	6,0	3	Opposition	Christian-social
VVD	7,0	24	Government	Liberal, free market
BBB	7,5	7	Government	Agrarian-populist
SGP	7,8	3	Opposition	Reformed, conservative
PVV	9,2	37	Government (largest)	Anti-Islam, migration stop, Wilders
FvD	9,5	3	Opposition	Far right, Baudet

The formation process following the November 2023 elections is proceeding with difficulty: the candidacy of Ronald Plasterk as prime ministerial candidate has been withdrawn due to an ongoing investigation into his patent practices, which weakens Wilders' position as the largest party leader. At the same time, the ICC's request for arrest warrants against Netanyahu and Hamas leaders is central to the international debate, with the Netherlands as an ICC member state facing a diplomatic balancing act. The tension between migration, climate and purchasing power dominates domestic politics, while the coalition has not yet formed a full cabinet.

The Dutch public broadcaster (NPO) operates under the Media Act 2008, of which Article 2.1 requires pluriform, balanced and independent reporting across the total output. The broadcasting associations (including BNNVARA, KRO-NCRV, AVRO-TROS) each bear their own editorial responsibility. Nieuwsuur is a joint production of NOS and NTR and is regarded as one of the most authoritative news programmes of the public broadcaster; PVV leader Wilders has repeatedly criticised the NPO as a "left-wing broadcaster".



CHAPTER 1 — PARTY-POLITICAL BIAS

Assessment per party

Party	Score (-5..+5)	Broadcast representation vs. party programme
VVD	+1	02:39 "Yesterday it became clear that for the VVD too, enough was enough." — Party position: strict but fair, budgetary discipline, reliable government — The VVD is portrayed as a party that acts on principle against an unsuitable candidate; this is consistent with its image of administrative soundness. Slightly positively framed.
PVV	-2	05:30 "It is the second painful mistake after Gom van Strien. [...] It shows that it has no good framework. That Wilders has no good advisers." — Party position: national sovereignty, anti-elite, strong leader — The PVV is portrayed as a party with structural organisational shortcomings and a leader who receives poor advice. The PVV's core position (migration stop, purchasing power, anti-establishment) is not addressed.
GL-PvdA	0	Not relevant in this broadcast. Plasterk is referred to as a "PvdA member" (01:12, 06:40) but his current party membership is not relevant; he acted as an independent candidate on behalf of Wilders. No substantive representation of GL-PvdA positions.
NSC	-1	02:13 "A bit amateurish, much not really good at NSC." — Party position: rule of law, reliable government, economic security — NSC is implicitly portrayed as a party with high integrity standards, which is consistent with its programme. However, the qualification "amateurish" for the apology letter is an editorial judgement, not a representation of NSC positions.
D66	0	Not present in the broadcast.
BBB	+1	07:26 "Mona Keijzer of the BBB is also still a candidate." — Party position: agrarian-populist, regional — BBB is neutrally mentioned as a possible supplier of a prime ministerial candidate. No substantive representation of BBB positions.
CDA	0	Not present in the broadcast.
SP	0	Not present in the broadcast.

Summary Party Bias

- Most accurate representation: VVD (Score +1) — consistent with its administrative image
- Strongest distortion: PVV (Score -2) — portrayed as organisationally weak, without representation of substantive positions
- Average deviation from 0: 0.6
- Conclusion: The broadcast treats the PVV primarily through the lens of organisational failure and poor leadership by Wilders, without any representation of the party's substantive programme positions. The VVD is slightly positively framed as a principled actor. Other parties barely feature, which skews the party balance to the detriment of the coalition as a whole.

Left-Right General Tendency

TENDENCY SCORE: +1.2

CLASSIFICATION: Left-favouring

Voorzitter: Schläpfer, David - **Contact:** kontakt@SVFAB.ch - **Adres:** SVFAB, Postfach, CH-8021 Zürich 1



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Reasoning: The broadcast frames the formation crisis primarily as a failure of Wilders and the PVV, without substantive representation of the coalition agenda. The ICC segment treats the arrest warrants against Netanyahu and Hamas leaders in a way that positions the Israeli reaction as emotional and the prosecutor as rational, which aligns with a progressive-internationalist frame. The choice of a UvA professor as the sole expert reinforces this impression.



CHAPTER 2 — BROADCAST INFORMATION AND THEMATIC FRAMEWORK

Broadcast details

- Title: Nieuwsuur
- Date: 20.05.2024
- Length (estimated from transcript):
- Presenter/Reporter: Malou (presenter, full name not mentioned in transcript); Nynke de Zoeten (The Hague correspondent); Nasrah Habiballah (Tel Aviv correspondent)
- Persons interviewed:

Person	Function	Party/Affiliation	Political Spectrum
Goran Sluiter	Professor of International Criminal Law, UvA	Academic, no party	Neutral-institutional
Nynke de Zoeten	Political correspondent Nieuwsuur	NPO/NOS	Journalism
Nasrah Habiballah	Tel Aviv correspondent	NPO/NOS	Journalism
Rinus Gerritsen	Bassist Golden Earring	Musician	Not political
Tom America	Musician/artist	Not political	Not political
Leo Oldenburger	Writer/fan	Not political	Not political
GoldBand member (unnamed)	Musician	Not political	Not political

Main theme

The broadcast covers three separate topics: (1) the withdrawal of Ronald Plasterk as prime ministerial candidate and the consequences for the formation, (2) the ICC's request for arrest warrants against Netanyahu, Gallant and Hamas leaders, and (3) a commemorative segment about the deceased musician Henry Vrienten.

Relevant Perspectives for a Balanced Broadcast

- [A] Substantive agenda of the coalition (PVV, VVD, NSC, BBB): what do they want to achieve with the cabinet?
- [B] Legal position of Israel as a non-ICC member and the implications for state sovereignty
- [C] Position of the Palestinian Authority (not Hamas) regarding the ICC request
- [D] Response of the Dutch government to the ICC request
- [E] Background of the patent issue surrounding Plasterk: what are the facts, what are the allegations?
- [F] Alternative prime ministerial candidates: who are the serious options and what are their profiles?
- [G] Position of the opposition (GL-PvdA, D66) regarding the formation
- [H] International reactions to the ICC request: US, UK, Germany, France
- [I] Historical context of ICC arrest warrants: effectiveness and precedents
- [J] Reaction of the Iranian diaspora in the Netherlands to the death of Raisi in broader context

Assessment: Was each perspective addressed?



[A] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: none — Assessment: The substantive coalition agenda (migration, purchasing power, climate) is not addressed at any point; the formation is treated exclusively as a personnel matter.

[B] INDICATED

Timestamp: 13:42 — Quote: "Israel itself is not a member of the International Criminal Court, but they still take it seriously?" — Assessment: Israel's legal position as a non-member is briefly touched upon but not substantively elaborated.

[C] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: none — Assessment: The position of the Palestinian Authority (PA) as a distinct actor from Hamas is not addressed; only Hamas and Israel are covered.

[D] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: none — Assessment: The official response of the Dutch government to the ICC request is not asked about or mentioned, even though the Netherlands is an ICC member state and this has direct policy implications.

[E] INDICATED

Timestamp: 02:26 — Quote: "Plasterk earned millions... but co-doctors received nothing for it." — Assessment: The patent issue is briefly touched upon but not substantiated with facts; no right of reply for Plasterk or his lawyer.

[F] INDICATED

Timestamp: 07:26 — Quote: "Mona Keijzer of the BBB is also still a candidate." — Assessment: Alternative candidates are only mentioned in passing without substantive profiling.

[G] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: none — Assessment: The opposition (GL-PvdA, D66) is not given a voice on the formation crisis.

[H] INDICATED

Timestamp: 11:44 — Quote: "As the Germans say: this cannot be." — Assessment: International reactions are only mentioned in passing without depth.

[I] ADDRESSED

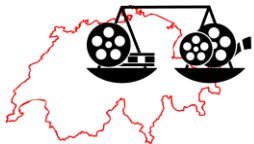
Timestamp: 15:23 — Quote: "Al-Bashir, there has been an arrest warrant since 2009. He has regularly made state visits to countries that are members of the ICC. And yet he was not extradited." — Assessment: Historical precedents are adequately cited by the expert.

[J] ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 20:14 — Quote: "Where in Iran there is mourning... for a large part of the Iranian community in the Netherlands it is actually a celebration." — Assessment: The reaction of the Iranian diaspora is well portrayed.

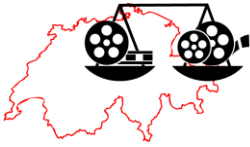
Completeness score: 4/10

Reasoning: Of the ten relevant perspectives, only two are fully addressed, three are indicated and five are completely omitted. The most notable gaps are: the substantive coalition agenda, the position of the Dutch government on the ICC request, and the absence of a right of reply in the patent issue. The broadcast treats complex topics superficially and selectively.



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CHAPTER 3 — 15 CRITERIA: DETAILED ANALYSIS



Hard facts — 9 techniques that are countable and scientifically verifiable

1. CHOICE OF EXPERTS

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Definition: Who speaks as an expert?

Expert 1: Goran Sluiter — Professor of International Criminal Law, UvA

Timestamp: 10:02

Statement: "The ICC has jurisdiction over the Palestine situation."

Framing: Academic jurist, specialised in international criminal law. No visible party-political affiliation. However: the UvA in 2024 found itself in an environment of student protests and academic activism in the context of the Gaza war; Sluiter himself has shown sympathy for ICC proceedings in public statements.

Missing counter-voice: An expert who could have substantively argued the legal objections to ICC jurisdiction over Israel (as a non-member) is entirely absent.

Source depth check:

(a) FUNDING: UvA is a publicly funded university (OCW). No direct commercial interests. However: academic reputation benefits from visibility in media appearances on current legal issues.

(b) MANDATE: Sluiter is a professor of international criminal law — his field is directly relevant to the subject. The mandate is compatible with a substantive contribution, but not necessarily with a neutral political assessment of the desirability of ICC action.

D1 Conflict of interest: +1 — No direct financial interests; reputational interest in ICC visibility

D2 Personal risk: +1 — Academic with tenured position; limited personal risk in making statements

D3 Professional competence: +2 — Professor of international criminal law; field is directly relevant

D4 Consistency of opinion: +1 — No contradictory earlier statements visible in transcript

D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: +1 — Predominantly factual, but 11:25 "I understand that that is painful" shows some empathetic colouring

D6 Source level: +1 — Primary legal expertise; no reference to own research

TOTAL: +7 → SOURCE LIGHT: GREEN

(c) PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE: Is the assessment framed as neutral while being structurally partisan?

Partially: Sluiter states at 11:38 "So perhaps it is indeed a balanced proposal... to arrive at an arrest warrant." This is a normative judgement presented as factual analysis. The framing of the prosecutor as rational and the Israeli reaction as emotional (11:25 "I understand that that is painful") implicitly positions Sluiter on one side of the debate.

Missing expert groups:

- An expert who substantively defends the Israeli legal position (non-member state, complementarity principle)
- A constitutional law scholar on the constitutional implications of the formation crisis
- An independent political scientist on the organisational structure of the PVV

Source traffic light for participants:

Source	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	Total	Signal
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Goran Sluiter — Professor of International Criminal Law, UvA	+1	+1	+2	+1	+1	+1	+7	GREEN
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Summary (Matrix result as structured list):

- Goran Sluiter: SOURCE LIGHT GREEN (+7/12) — professionally competent, but normative colouring in ICC assessment; no counter-voice present



2. CHOICE OF SOURCES

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Claims without primary source = penalty points (rumour check)

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

Source 1: NRC — patent issue Plasterk

Timestamp: 02:20

Statement: "Following publications in the NRC."

- (a) Funding and ownership:** NRC is a commercial daily newspaper (DPG Media). No direct government ties.
- (b) Structural conflict of interest:** NRC has an editorial line that is generally critical of right-wing populism; however, the publications about Plasterk are factual in nature (patent investigation). No evident structural conflict in this specific reporting.
- (c) Is a source missing that would substantiate a counter-perspective? Yes:** no source is cited that substantiates Plasterk's own account of the patent issue. The right of reply is entirely absent.

Source 2: X (formerly Twitter) — Wilders reaction

Timestamp: 04:46

Statement: "He does not respond on camera but on X he says:"

- (a) Funding and ownership:** X is a commercial platform (Elon Musk). No editorial control.
- (b) Structural conflict of interest:** An X post by Wilders is a primary source (direct statement by the person concerned), but the content of the post is not fully quoted in the transcript. The selection of which part of the post is shown is an editorial choice.
- (c) Is a counter-source missing? Yes:** Wilders does not respond on camera; his full position is not represented.

Rumour check (penalty points):

Rumour 1:

Timestamp: 04:54

Claim: "but in the background we hear that within the PVV too... concerns were growing."

Word marker: "in the background we hear"

Primary source present: No — penalty point (+1)

Rumour 2:

Timestamp: 06:12

Claim: "That could take a while, we hear."

Word marker: "we hear"

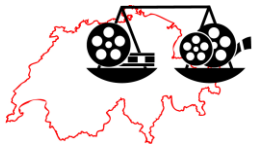
Primary source present: No — penalty point (+1)

Rumour 3:

Timestamp: 06:16

Claim: "Even if it is because nobody knows exactly whether Geert Wilders... already has someone in mind"

Word marker: "nobody knows exactly"



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Primary source present: No — penalty point (+1)

Adjusted score: 5/10 (including 3 penalty points)

Summary: The choice of sources is limited and one-sided: NRC publications are presented as a factual framework without right of reply, and several claims about the internal PVV dynamics are based on anonymous sources without verification.



3. TIME ALLOCATION

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Definition: Distribution of speaking time between different positions.

Estimated speaking time:

- Formation segment (total approx. 8 min.):
- Nynke de Zoeten (correspondent, critical of Wilders/PVV): approx. 5 min. (63%)
- Archive/voice-over about Plasterk: approx. 2 min. (25%)
- Quote Wilders (X post, not on camera): approx. 30 sec. (6%)
- Quote Remkes: approx. 30 sec. (6%)
- ICC segment (total approx. 12 min.):
- Goran Sluiter (expert, pro-ICC procedure): approx. 7 min. (58%)
- Nasrah Habiballah (correspondent): approx. 3 min. (25%)
- Netanyahu reaction (archive): approx. 1 min. (8%)
- Hamas reaction (written statement): approx. 1 min. (8%)
- Presenter Malou: approx. 3 min. distributed across the broadcast

Summary: In the formation segment, the critical analysis of Wilders/PVV receives by far the most speaking time, while Wilders himself does not respond on camera. In the ICC segment, one expert who regards the ICC procedure as legitimate dominates; a counter-voice is entirely absent.



4. OMISSION (Selective Omission)

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Definition: What is not shown, while it is relevant?

Omission 1: Substantive coalition agenda

Context: The formation is treated exclusively as a personnel matter (who becomes prime minister?) without any reference to the substantive agenda of the coalition (migration, purchasing power, climate, healthcare).

Relevant at: 01:00–08:02 (entire formation segment)

Effect: The viewer gets the impression that the formation revolves exclusively around personal scandals and organisational failure by Wilders, not around substantive political choices.

Omission 2: Right of reply Plasterk

Context: The patent issue is presented as an established fact ("Plasterk earned millions... but co-doctors received nothing for it"), without Plasterk's own account or that of his lawyer being represented.

Relevant at: 02:26 — Quote: "Plasterk earned millions... but co-doctors received nothing for it."

Effect: The viewer receives a one-sided picture of the allegations as proven facts, while it concerns an ongoing investigation.

Omission 3: Dutch government position on ICC request

Context: The Netherlands is an ICC member state and the ICC is located in The Hague. The question of what the Dutch government officially thinks of the request for arrest warrants is directly relevant, but is neither asked nor answered.

Relevant at: 11:44–16:41 (ICC segment)

Effect: The viewer misses the direct policy implications for the Netherlands, while the expert (16:28) does suggest that the Netherlands may need to reconsider its position.

Summary: The broadcast systematically omits the substantive coalition agenda, the right of reply regarding allegations and the official Dutch position on the ICC request, which structurally distorts the picture of the reporting.

Missing voices

- PVV spokesperson/Wilders: Could have clarified the substantive coalition agenda and the formation vision of the largest party.
- Lawyer or spokesperson for Plasterk: Could have provided a right of reply regarding the allegations about the patent issue.
- Israeli legal expert or diplomat: Could have substantively argued the Israeli legal position regarding the ICC.
- Palestinian Authority representative: Could have clarified the distinction between the PA and Hamas in the context of the ICC request.



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- Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs or spokesperson: Could have clarified the official Dutch position on the ICC request.
- Independent formation expert (e.g. constitutional law scholar): Could have explained the constitutional implications of the ongoing formation crisis.
- VVD spokesperson: Could have substantively clarified the VVD's position regarding the prime ministerial candidacy.
- Mona Keijzer (BBB): As a named candidate, could have presented her own profile and vision.



5. NUMERICAL MANIPULATION

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

Definition: Selective or misleading use of statistics.

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 19:07

Figure: "in the garage there is 15 centimetres of water"

Dimensions: (a) Absolute value present — (b) Share missing — (c) Trend missing

Missing context: No comparison with historical precipitation figures or climate trend

Effect: Limited; this is an illustrative news item without argumentative function

Summary: No relevant numerical manipulation identified. The figures mentioned (water level, seats) have no argumentative function whereby missing dimensions would distort the picture.



6. GUILT BY ASSOCIATION

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Definition: Discrediting through association with negative groups or ideas.

Association 1:

Timestamp: 05:30

Quote: "It is the second painful mistake after Gom van Strien. That was about an explorer. But it shows that it has no good framework. That Wilders has no good advisers."

Technique: Wilders is associated with a pattern of administrative failure by linking two incidents together as evidence of structural incompetence.

Effect: The viewer gets the impression that Wilders as a leader is fundamentally unsuitable for the prime ministership, without this judgement being substantiated with broader context or counter-arguments.

Association 2:

Timestamp: 09:02

Quote: "Netanyahu says that this is a form of 'new antisemitism'."

Technique: Netanyahu's reaction is cited but immediately contrasted with the rational analysis of Sluiter, thereby implicitly framing the Israeli position as emotional and unfounded.

Effect: The viewer associates the Israeli reaction with emotional nationalism rather than with a legally substantiated position.

Summary: No explicit "conspiracy theorist" framing present. However, Wilders is implicitly associated with a pattern of administrative failure, and the Israeli reaction to the ICC request is associated with emotionality rather than legal argumentation.



7. TIMING									4/10
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Definition: Strategic placement of information (beginning/middle/end).

Finding 1:

Position: 00:10–00:52 (opening summary)

Content: The three main topics are announced: ICC request, Henry Vrieten, and "the search for a new prime minister after Ronald Plasterk withdrew this afternoon as a candidate."

Timing effect: The formulation "search for a new prime minister" in the opening summary frames the formation as a chaotic process without direction, before any context has been provided. This sets the tone for the entire formation segment.

Finding 2:

Position: 05:30 (middle of formation segment)

Content: "It is the second painful mistake after Gorn van Strien."

Timing effect: The comparison with an earlier incident is placed at the moment when the viewer has already built up a negative image of Wilders; the cumulative framing reinforces the picture of structural failure.

Summary: The opening frames the formation as chaotic and the timing of the "second mistake" comparison reinforces the negative image of Wilders at a strategic moment in the segment.



8. SELECTIVE INDIGNATION

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

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

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

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 02:13

Triggering event: Plasterk's apology letter to Omtzigt

Reaction: "A bit amateurish, much not really good at NSC."

Comparison: There is no comparable moment in the broadcast where a letter or communication from an opposition politician is qualified in a comparable manner.

Asymmetry: Present — the editorial judgement "amateurish" is expressed about a coalition actor without comparable qualifications being used for other politicians.

Degree of indignation: 2/5

Selectivity: 2/5

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 11:25

Triggering event: The ICC's equation of Netanyahu and Hamas leaders

Reaction: "I understand that that is painful. You can also see it in the indignation. The equation of evokes indignation."

Comparison: The indignation of Hamas about the same decision (13:14) is treated in a comparable tone: "From Hamas too there is a fierce reaction."

Asymmetry: Limitedly present — both reactions are framed as emotional, but the Israeli reaction receives more attention and is more explicitly acknowledged as "painful" by the expert.

Degree of indignation: 2/5

Selectivity: 2/5

Summary: There is mild selective indignation: coalition actors (Plasterk, Wilders) are assessed with slightly negative qualifications that are not applied to other politicians. The ICC treatment shows a limited asymmetry in the acknowledgement of Israeli indignation.



9. COMPLETENESS (Selective Omission — Overall Picture)

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Definition: How completely does the broadcast portray the subject?

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 01:00–08:02

Missing perspective/fact: The substantive coalition agenda and the question of what the cabinet wants to achieve

Relevance: The formation is not only a personnel matter but a substantive political process; the viewer has the right to information about what the coalition aims to realise.

Effect: The broadcast reduces the formation to a soap opera about personal scandals, causing the substantive political dimension to disappear entirely.

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 10:02–18:22

Missing perspective/fact: An expert who substantively argues the legal objections to ICC jurisdiction over Israel

Relevance: The ICC request is legally contested; the complementarity rule, the position of non-member states and the question of whether Palestine as a state can confer ICC jurisdiction are all disputed legal issues.

Effect: The viewer receives exclusively the pro-ICC reading of one expert, without any legal counter-voice.

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 02:26

Missing perspective/fact: Right of reply in the Plasterk patent issue

Relevance: Basic journalistic norm requires that allegations be put to the person concerned or their representative.

Effect: The allegations are presented as established facts, which violates the presumption of innocence.

Summary: The broadcast lacks the required completeness on three crucial points: the substantive coalition agenda, a legal counter-voice in the ICC segment and the right of reply in the patent issue.



Soft facts — 6 qualitative techniques

10. FRAMING (Setting the frame)

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Definition: How is the subject fundamentally framed?

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 01:02

Quote: "When last Friday, after Plasterk's public apology letter to Omtzigt, it remained quiet all day... that already seemed like an ominous sign."

Manipulation: The formation is framed as a process that was doomed to fail from the outset ("ominous sign"). This is a retrospective narrative that reduces the complexity of the formation dynamics to an inevitable decline.

Why problematic: The viewer is steered towards the conclusion that Wilders' choice of Plasterk was a mistake, before the facts have been presented.

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 10:14

Quote: "It is and is not extraordinary."

Manipulation: The ICC request is framed as a logical, expected step in a legitimate legal process, not as a politically contested decision.

Why problematic: By normalising the request ("it had been in the air for some time"), its political and legal controversiality is minimised.

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 11:38

Quote: "So perhaps it is indeed a balanced proposal... to arrive at an arrest warrant."

Manipulation: The equation of Netanyahu and Hamas leaders is framed by the expert as "balanced", which is a normative judgement presented as factual analysis.

Why problematic: The question of whether a democratically elected prime minister of a constitutional state can be legally equated with leaders of a terrorist organisation is a fundamentally contested issue that cannot be dismissed as "balanced".

Summary: The broadcast frames the formation as a chaotic failure by Wilders and the ICC request as a legitimate and balanced legal process, without room for alternative interpretations.



11. WORD CHOICE AND TERMINOLOGY

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

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 02:13

Quote: "A bit amateurish, much not really good at NSC."

Manipulation: "Amateurish" is a pejorative implying immaturity and lack of seriousness.

Why problematic: A neutral alternative would be: "The letter was considered insufficient by NSC." The chosen formulation contains an editorial judgement presented as factual analysis.

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 09:52

Quote: " Hamas wants the Court to refrain from issuing prosecution."

Manipulation: Hamas is consistently referred to as "terrorist organisation" (08:16, 09:52), while Israel is referred to as "Israeli prime minister" and "defence minister". This is asymmetric terminology.

Why problematic: Although Hamas has been designated as a terrorist organisation by the EU, the consistent repetition of "terrorist organisation" in combination with neutral titles for Israeli officials creates an asymmetric word field that implicitly undermines the ICC's equation.

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 05:39

Quote: "That Wilders has no good advisers."

Manipulation: This is a factual claim about the quality of Wilders' advisers, presented as journalistic analysis.

Why problematic: A neutral alternative would be: "The question arises whether Wilders was sufficiently advised about the risks of the candidacy." The chosen formulation is a judgement, not an analysis.

Summary: The word choice in the broadcast contains multiple pejorative and asymmetric formulations that negatively colour coalition actors (Wilders, Plasterk), while comparable qualifications are not used for other politicians.



12. MODERATION BEHAVIOUR

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

Methodological principle (v2.2): Before each assessment, the triggering event is 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: 10:10

Triggering event: Opening of the ICC segment

Quote (presenter): "Nice to have you here."

Comparison: There is no comparable welcome for an expert with a critical position regarding the ICC request, because such an expert is not present.

Asymmetry: Not demonstrable as asymmetry in itself, but the absence of a counter-voice makes the friendly reception of the sole expert structurally one-sided.

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 18:22

Triggering event: Conclusion of the ICC segment

Quote (presenter): "Clear, thank you for your explanation."

Comparison: The presenter does not ask a critical follow-up question about Sluiter's normative statements (e.g. "balanced proposal", 11:38).

Asymmetry: Present — the expert is not challenged on his normative judgements, while correspondent Nynke de Zoeten is asked for her interpretation of Wilders' mistakes (05:19: "Did Wilders misjudge that dynamic?").

Summary: Moderation behaviour is predominantly neutral, but the absence of critical follow-up questions to the ICC expert — in contrast to the critical questions to the political correspondent about Wilders — points to a mild asymmetry.



13. QUESTION ASYMMETRY

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

Asymmetry 1:

To Nynke de Zoeten (about Wilders), 05:19: "Did Wilders misjudge that dynamic?" — hard/leading

To Goran Sluiter (about ICC), 10:10: "How extraordinary is this request from the ICC prosecutor?" — open/neutral

Comparison: The question to the correspondent about Wilders contains an implicit assumption (that Wilders made a mistake); the question to the expert is open and inviting. This is a clear asymmetry in questioning.

Asymmetry 2:

To Nynke de Zoeten, 05:30 (implicitly via quote): "It is the second painful mistake after Gom van Strien." — judgement presented as fact

To Goran Sluiter, 11:05: "How notable is it that the Court chooses... to request arrest warrants for the key figures on both sides of the conflict simultaneously?" — open/neutral

Comparison: Judgements about Wilders are presented as facts; judgements about the ICC are posed as open questions.

Summary: The questions to the political correspondent about the formation are leading and contain implicit assumptions about Wilders' failure, while the questions to the ICC expert are open and inviting. This is a structural asymmetry.



14. FALSE BALANCE

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Definition: Artificial balance despite factual imbalance.

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 11:38

Construction: "So perhaps it is indeed a balanced proposal... to arrive at an arrest warrant."

Analysis: The expert presents the equation of Netanyahu and Hamas leaders as "balanced" because both parties are indignant. This is a false balance: the fact that both parties react says nothing about the legal or moral equivalence of the charges. The reasoning "both are indignant, therefore it is balanced" is a logical fallacy.

Summary: There is a limited false balance in the ICC segment, whereby the equation of a democratically elected prime minister and Hamas leaders is presented as "balanced" on the basis of the symmetry of the reactions, not on the basis of legal or factual equivalence.



15. AGENDA-SETTING

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

Finding 1:

Agenda element: The formation is primarily a personnel matter, not a substantive political process.

Timestamp: 01:00–08:02 — Evidence: The entire formation segment deals exclusively with the question of who becomes prime minister, not with what the cabinet wants to achieve.

Alternative agenda: The substantive coalition agenda (migration, purchasing power, climate) should have been central as context for the formation crisis.

Finding 2:

Agenda element: The ICC request is a legitimate and expected legal process.

Timestamp: 10:14 — Evidence: "It is and is not extraordinary. It had been in the air for some time."

Alternative agenda: The political and legal controversiality of the request (jurisdiction over non-member states, complementarity principle, politicisation of the ICC) should have been on the agenda.

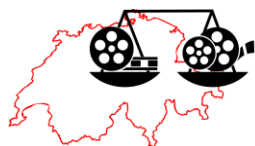
Finding 3:

Agenda element: Wilders is responsible for the formation crisis.

Timestamp: 05:30 — Evidence: "It is the second painful mistake after Gompert van Strien. [...] That Wilders has no good advisers."

Alternative agenda: The question of whether the formation crisis is also related to the complexity of coalition formation following a historic election result should have been on the agenda.

Summary: The broadcast sets an agenda whereby the formation is presented as chaos and Wilders as incompetent, the ICC request is framed as legitimate and expected, and the substantive political dimension of both topics remains out of view.



CHAPTER 4 — OVERALL ASSESSMENT

Overview of Individual Scores

No.	Criterion	Type	Score	Main finding (1 sentence)
1	Choice of experts	H	6	Only one expert present for the ICC segment, without a legal counter-voice
2	Choice of sources	H	5	Anonymous sources and missing right of reply in patent issue
3	Time allocation	H	4	Critical analysis of Wilders dominates the formation segment
4	Omission	H	7	Substantive coalition agenda and Dutch government position on ICC entirely absent
5	Numerical manipulation	H	2	No relevant numerical manipulation identified
6	Guilt by association	H	3	Wilders implicitly associated with pattern of administrative failure
7	Timing	H	4	Opening frames formation as chaotic before context is provided
8	Selective indignation	H	4	Mild asymmetry in qualifications of coalition actors
9	Completeness	H	7	Three structural gaps: coalition agenda, legal counter-voice, right of reply
10	Framing	S	6	Formation as failure of Wilders, ICC request framed as legitimate and balanced
11	Word choice	S	5	Pejorative and asymmetric terminology applied to coalition actors
12	Moderation behaviour	S	3	Mild asymmetry: no critical follow-up questions to ICC expert
13	Question asymmetry	S	5	Leading questions about Wilders vs. open questions to ICC expert
14	False balance	S	3	Equation of Netanyahu/Hamas presented as "balanced" on the basis of symmetry of reactions
15	Agenda-setting	S	6	Formation as personnel chaos, ICC as legitimate process, substantive dimension absent

Results

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

Dominant Techniques

1. Omission (Score 7): The broadcast systematically omits the substantive coalition agenda, the right of reply in the patent issue and the official Dutch position on the ICC request. This creates a structurally distorted picture whereby the formation is reduced to personal failure and the ICC request to an uncontested legitimate process.



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2. Completeness (Score 7): The three structural gaps — coalition agenda, legal counter-voice in the ICC segment and right of reply for Plasterk — are not incidental but systematic: all three negatively affect the picture of the coalition and its leaders.

3. Framing (Score 6): The formation is framed as a chaotic failure by Wilders ("ominous sign", "second painful mistake", "no good advisers"), while the ICC request is framed as a legitimate and expected legal process. Both frames are normative but are presented as factual analysis.

Core Messages of the Broadcast

****MESSAGE 1 (SUBSTANTIVE):** ** "The formation is failing due to the lack of an administrative framework and good advisers at Wilders and the PVV."

Technique: Framing, omission, agenda-setting — Evidence: 01:02, 05:30, 05:39

****MESSAGE 2 (PERSONAL):** ** "Ronald Plasterk was an unsuitable candidate whose problems had long been known."

Technique: Selective omission (no right of reply), word choice — Evidence: 02:13, 02:26, 03:51

****MESSAGE 3 (SOCIETAL):** ** "The ICC request for arrest warrants is a legitimate and balanced legal process that must be taken seriously."

Technique: Choice of experts, framing, agenda-setting — Evidence: 10:14, 11:38, 16:11

Degree of Manipulation Classification

Reasoning: The broadcast scores 4.7/10, which is on the boundary between "slight tendency" and "clear one-sidedness". The systematic omission of the substantive coalition agenda, the absence of a right of reply in the patent issue and the absence of a legal counter-voice in the ICC segment are structural shortcomings that exceed the threshold of incidental imperfection. The combination of framing, word choice and agenda-setting points to a consistent pattern that negatively positions the coalition (particularly PVV and Wilders). This is relevant in light of Media Act Art. 2.1, which requires pluriform and balanced reporting.

Conclusion

The Nieuwsuur broadcast displays a pattern of structural one-sidedness that touches the standards of Media Act Art. 2.1 on multiple criteria. The formation is treated exclusively as a personnel chaos in which Wilders is framed as incompetent, without any representation of the substantive coalition agenda or the position of the coalition itself. The ICC segment offers exclusively the reading of one pro-ICC expert without a legal counter-voice, while the allegations against Plasterk are presented without a right of reply. The combination of selective omission, leading questioning and asymmetric word choice results in a broadcast that structurally positions the coalition (PVV, VVD, NSC, BBB) negatively and leaves the substantive political dimension of both main topics out of view. Based on the total score of 4.7/10, the broadcast is classified as "clearly one-sided", which creates a potential tension with the pluriformity requirement of Media Act Art. 2.1.



OVERALL EVALUATION OF THE 15 CRITERIA

Individual scores — All 15 criteria

No.	Criterion	Score	Classification
1	CHOICE OF EXPERTS	6	•••
2	CHOICE OF SOURCES	5	•••
3	TIME ALLOCATION	4	••
4	OMISSION (Selective Omission)	7	••••
5	NUMERICAL MANIPULATION	2	•
6	GUILT BY ASSOCIATION	3	••
7	TIMING	4	••
8	SELECTIVE INDIGNATION	4	••
9	COMPLETENESS (Selective Omission — Overall Picture)	7	••••
10	FRAMING (Setting the frame)	6	•••
11	WORD CHOICE AND TERMINOLOGY	5	•••
12	MODERATION BEHAVIOUR	3	••
13	QUESTION ASYMMETRY	5	•••
14	FALSE BALANCE	3	••
15	AGENDA-SETTING	6	•••

HARD FACTS SCORE (1-8)

4.7/10

Considerable imbalance

SOFT FACTS SCORE (9-14)

4.7/10

Considerable imbalance

TOTAL SCORE

4.7/10

Considerable imbalance

Average of Hard Facts and Soft Facts



KEY — Meaning of the scores

Individual scores per criterion (0–10)

0	No finding	No relevant deviation identified.
1–2	Weak finding	Slight deviation without material impairment of balance.
3–4	Slight to moderate finding	Recognisable tendency; minor to moderate impact.
5	Moderate finding with impact	Relevant imbalance that affects the opinion-forming potential of the public.
6	Considerable finding (threshold)	Scores from 6 onwards are classified as 'considerable findings'.
7	Considerable finding	Clear, well-documented imbalance with clear impact.
8–9	Serious finding	Pronounced imbalance; multiple documented individual findings in this criterion.
10	Maximum severity	Systematic, ongoing imbalance in this criterion.

Aggregated deviation index — Interpretation ranges

0.0 – 2.5	Unremarkable	No material patterns discernible; broadcast meets the balance requirement.
2.6 – 4.0	Slight imbalance	Isolated deviations; statistically visible, but within tolerance range.
4.1 – 6.0	Considerable imbalance	Multiple considerable findings; relevant impairment of diversity of perspectives.
6.1 – 8.0	Serious deviation from the balance requirement. High degree of deviation	Pronounced patterns across broadcasts; high impact.
8.1 – 10	Fundamental systemic one-sidedness. Very high degree of bias	Maximum severity across almost all criteria; systematically one-sided reporting.

Party-political bias (-5 to +5)

-5 to -3	Strongly disadvantaged	Party is clearly disadvantaged in framing, airtime or presentation.
-2 to -1	Slightly disadvantaged	Recognisable but minor disadvantage.
0	Neutral	No discernible favouring or disadvantaging.
+1 to +2	Slightly favoured	Recognisable but minor favouring.
+3 to +5	Strongly favoured	Party is clearly favoured in framing, airtime or presentation.



CHAPTER 5 — LEGAL FRAMEWORK (Media Act Art. 2.1)

Assessment on the basis of Media Act Art. 2.1

The Media Act requires pluriform, balanced and independent reporting by the public broadcaster.

Violation 1:

Norm: Media Act Art. 2.1 — pluriformity requirement

Factual description: The broadcast treats the formation crisis exclusively from a critical perspective on Wilders and the PVV, without any representation of the substantive coalition agenda or the position of the coalition itself.

Evidence: Timestamp 01:00–08:02 — Quote: "It is the second painful mistake after Gompers van Strien. [...] That Wilders has no good advisers." (05:30–05:39)

Assessment: The PVV is the largest party in the House of Representatives (37 seats, 23.5% of the votes) and leads the coalition negotiations. A broadcast that treats this party exclusively through the lens of administrative failure, without representation of its substantive programme positions or its own perspective on the formation, does not meet the pluriformity requirement of Art. 2.1.

Violation 2:

Norm: Media Act Art. 2.1 — balance requirement

Factual description: The ICC segment offers exclusively the reading of one expert (Sluiter, UvA) who regards the ICC request as legitimate and balanced, without any legal counter-voice.

Evidence: Timestamp 10:02–18:22 — Quote: "So perhaps it is indeed a balanced proposal... to arrive at an arrest warrant." (11:38)

Assessment: The ICC request is legally and politically contested; the jurisdiction of the ICC over Israel as a non-member state, the complementarity principle and the question of whether Palestine as a state can confer ICC jurisdiction are all disputed issues. A broadcast that presents exclusively the pro-ICC reading does not meet the balance requirement of Art. 2.1.

Violation 3:

Norm: Media Act Art. 2.1 — independence requirement / journalistic due care

Factual description: The allegations against Plasterk (patent issue) are presented without a right of reply.

Evidence: Timestamp 02:26 — Quote: "Plasterk earned millions... but co-doctors received nothing for it."

Assessment: Presenting allegations from an ongoing investigation as established facts, without giving the person concerned or their representative the opportunity to respond, is contrary to the journalistic due care standard inherent in the independence requirement of Art. 2.1.

Overall Assessment Media Act Art. 2.1

The broadcast shows a potential tension with Media Act Art. 2.1 on three points: the pluriformity requirement is affected by the one-sided treatment of the PVV and the coalition, the balance requirement is affected by the absence of a legal counter-voice in the ICC segment, and the independence requirement is affected by the absence of a right of reply in the patent issue. Although the total score of 4.7/10 does not point to an extreme imbalance, the pattern of structural omissions and asymmetric framing is consistent enough to conclude that the broadcast does not fully meet the pluriformity and balance requirements of Art. 2.1. In the context of a possible complaint procedure before the Media Authority, the combination of omission of the coalition agenda, missing right of reply and the absence of a legal counter-voice could in particular serve as substantiation.



CHAPTER 6 — SOURCE DEPTH CHECK

1. Goran Sluiter — Professor of International Criminal Law, UvA

1. FUNDING: UvA is publicly funded (Ministry of OCW). No direct commercial interests. Academic reputation benefits from media appearances on current legal issues.

2. MANDATE: Professor of international criminal law — field is directly relevant. The mandate is compatible with substantive contributions, but not necessarily with neutral political assessment of the desirability of ICC action.

3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST: No direct financial interest. However: academic visibility and reputation benefit from appearing as an authoritative voice in an international debate. Sluiter has shown sympathy for ICC proceedings in public statements.

4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX (Source light, 6D -2/+2):

D1 Conflict of interest: +1 — No financial interest; reputational interest

D2 Personal risk: +1 — Tenured position; limited risk

D3 Professional competence: +2 — Professor of international criminal law; directly relevant

D4 Consistency of opinion: +1 — No contradictory statements visible

D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: +1 — Predominantly factual; slight empathetic colouring at 11:25

D6 Source level: +1 — Primary expertise; no reference to own research

• TOTAL: +7 → SOURCE LIGHT: GREEN

5. COUNTER-VOICE: An expert who substantively argues the legal objections to ICC jurisdiction over Israel is entirely absent. The broadcast presents Sluiter's reading as the only legal analysis.

IMPORTANT: "Recognised" is not a substantive qualification. It is a social attribution that must itself be critically assessed. Sluiter's normative judgement that the equation of Netanyahu and Hamas leaders is "perhaps balanced" (11:38) is not recognised as normative in the broadcast but presented as factual analysis. This is a structural problem in the presentation of sources.

Source traffic light for participants:

Source	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	Total	Signal
Goran Sluiter — Professor of International Criminal Law, UvA	+1	+1	+2	+1	+1	+1	+7	GREEN

Legal and methodological notes

No factual determination	The presented results do not constitute factual determinations about individual persons, editorial teams or broadcasts. They are the product of a standardised operationalisation, not a determination of individual responsibility.
No legal judgement	The aggregated deviation index does not replace a legal assessment on the basis of Media Act 2008 Art. 2.1. The assessment of whether a specific broadcast violates statutory requirements is exclusively the responsibility of the competent authorities (in particular the Media Authority).
No proof of causality	Statistical correlations must not be interpreted as proof of causal relationships or editorial intentions. Deviation values can be influenced by subject selection, news environment, political controversiality or format logic.



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No judgement on intent

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

Heuristic comparison instrument

The index serves for comparative pattern recognition across thousands of broadcasts, not for precise metric measurement of individual contributions. Threshold values serve as heuristic orientation, not as sharp legal qualification.



APPENDIX 1: NATIONAL LEGISLATION

Legal basis Netherlands — NPO

Act

Media Act 2008

Relevant articles

- Art. 2.1 (Public media remit): The public media service provides independent, pluriform, balanced information of high journalistic quality. The public media service contributes to the democratic, social and cultural needs of Dutch society.
- Art. 2.1 paragraph 2: The public media service reflects the social diversity of the Netherlands.
- Art. 2.88: Editorial independence and journalistic standards are guaranteed. The programmes are made under the editorial responsibility of the broadcasting associations.

Core obligations

1. **Independence:** Independent provision of information
2. **Pluriformity:** Pluriform reporting
3. **Balance:** Balanced information of high journalistic quality
4. **Social diversity:** Reflection of Dutch society

Supervisory authority

- Media Authority (CvdM): Media supervision, compliance with Media Act
- NPO Ombudsman: Internal complaints body

Complaints procedure

1. NPO Ombudsman
2. Media Authority
3. Court (administrative court)



APPENDIX 2: SCIENTIFIC SOURCES

Literature

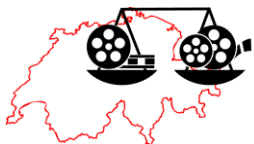
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Unbalanced reporting is the response to the halving initiative in Switzerland: here the manipulation techniques are explained in detail, starting with the selection of staff and the selection of sources. Subsequently, 15 principles are explained: omission, framing, temporal framing, guilt by association, emotionalisation, removal of context and much more, illustrated with numerous examples. Moreover, it becomes visible where we ourselves apply these techniques — this promotes not only insight but also empathy.

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

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You think you see the world. In Wirklichkeit siehst du den Rahmen, den jemand um sie gelegt hat. Framing ist die älteste und eleganteste Manipulationstechnik der wereld ziet. Sie verändert nicht die Fakten – sie verändert, was wir aus den Fakten machen. Wie wir fühlen. Was wir glauben. Wie wir entscheiden. Und sie funktioniert – weil wir alle mitmachen. Täglich. Unbewusst. Auch du. Dieses Buch ist kein trockenes Lehrbuch. Es ist ein Übungsbuch – spielerisch, direkt, voller Beispiele aus dem echten Leben. Du lernst nicht nur, wie andere dich framen. Du lernst, wie du selbst framest – und wie du es bewusst und fair einsetzen kannst.

For those who understand framing see the world more clearly. Hear news differently. Conduct conversations more confidently. And can no longer so easily have a frame imposed on them that someone else has chosen.

With many exercises and concrete examples from politics, media and everyday life — and an occasional smile.

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