



## NPO DETAILED ANALYSIS

2024-12-10\_POW\_05760402

Broadcast: NPO broadcast | 2024-12-10 | Analysed on: 2026-05-22 22:03

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

### TOTAL SCORE

**3.9/10**

*Slight 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](https://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 has been in office since July 2024 as an extra-parliamentary cabinet, supported by PVV (37 seats), VVD (24 seats), NSC (20 seats) and BBB (7 seats). Prime Minister Dick 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), ChristenUnie (3 seats), PvdD (3 seats), SGP (3 seats) and FvD (3 seats).

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
FvD	9.5	3	Opposition	Far right, sovereignty

The main political fault line concerns migration policy: the Schoof cabinet is implementing the strictest asylum legislation in decades, while opposition parties and rule-of-law institutions such as the Council of State and the Council for the Judiciary warn of unworkability. A second line of tension concerns integration policy, where the VVD motion on recording the cultural and religious norms of Dutch people with a migration background caused widespread public controversy. Thirdly, the question of the role of the rule of law versus the executive branch is at play, with judicial bodies increasingly coming into conflict with cabinet plans.

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 NPO system is fragmented: broadcasting associations such as BNNVARA, KRO-NCRV and AVROTROS each bear their own editorial responsibility. PVV leader Geert Wilders has repeatedly criticised the NPO as a "left-wing broadcaster", which underlines the political sensitivity of public broadcasting in the current political climate.



## CHAPTER 1 — PARTY-POLITICAL BIAS

### Assessment per party

Party	Score (-5..+5)	Broadcast representation vs. party programme
VVD	+1	17:09 "For the integration debate it is important to be able to base it on facts" — Party position: fact-driven integration policy, regulation of migration — representation largely correct, but the controversy surrounding the motion dominates the framing without fully contextualising the VVD position
PVV	0	Not directly given the floor; party position on asylum stop and migration stop not explicitly addressed — party absent from broadcast
GL-PvdA	0	Not given the floor; party position on humane asylum policy not addressed — party absent
NSC	+1	18:02 "We think it is sensible that the investigation takes place" — Party position: manageable migration, rule of law — representation correct but limited
D66	0	Not given the floor; party position not addressed — party absent
BBB	0	Not given the floor; party position not addressed — party absent
CDA	+1	16:34 "today the CDA and the ChristenUnie followed" — Party position: centre, bridging — representation correct: CDA withdraws support due to pain felt by population groups, consistent with Christian democratic bridging role
SP	+1	16:30 "The SP did it last Saturday" — Party position: anti-discrimination, social justice — representation correct: SP withdraws support, consistent with programme

Score explanation: Score 0 = party/topic not in broadcast; positive scores indicate that the representation of the party position that does appear is largely correct.

### Summary Party Bias

- Most accurate representation: CDA and SP (score +1), both correctly represented in their decision to no longer support the motion
- Strongest distortion: PVV (score 0 due to absence) — as the largest governing party and initiator of the broader migration debate completely absent, while the asylum policy of Minister Faber (PVV) is central
- Average deviation from 0: 0.5
- Conclusion: The broadcast addresses the migration debate without giving the floor to the PVV — the party most directly responsible for asylum policy. Minister Faber (PVV) briefly appears via a quote (20:34), but the PVV as a party and its programmatic underpinning of the policy are not independently presented. The VVD motion receives relatively much attention, with the controversy and the withdrawing parties given more space than the substantive defence of the motion.

### Left-Right General Tendency

TENDENCY SCORE: +1.2

CLASSIFICATION: Left-favouring

Justification: The broadcast devotes relatively more attention to criticism of the VVD motion (social media controversy, pain felt by population groups, withdrawing parties) than to its substantive defence. The warnings from the Council of



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State and the Council for the Judiciary about asylum policy are presented extensively, while Minister Faber's rebuttal remains brief. The framing of the integration debate as "toxic" (17:31, spoken by a VVD MP herself, but without a countervoice from the right) and the emphasis on "pain felt by groups of Dutch people" positions the broadcast slightly to the left of centre.



## CHAPTER 2 — BROADCAST INFORMATION AND THEMATIC FRAMEWORK

### Broadcast details

- Title: NOS Journaal (evening edition)
- Date: 10.12.2024
- Length (estimated from transcript):
- Presenter/reporter: Presenter not named in transcript; reporters Edwin van den Berg (The Hague), Daisy Mohr (Syria/Damascus)
- Persons interviewed:

Person	Function	Party/Affiliation	Political spectrum
Chief of Police The Hague (unnamed)	Chief of Police	None	Neutral/institutional
Furniture shop owner (unnamed)	Entrepreneur/victim	None	Neutral
Forensic specialist NFI (unnamed)	Forensic expert	None	Neutral
Daisy Mohr	NOS correspondent	NOS	Neutral/journalistic
Bente Becker	Member of Parliament	VVD	Right (CHES 7.0)
NSC spokesperson (unnamed)	Member of Parliament	NSC	Centre-right (CHES 5.8)
CDA spokesperson (unnamed)	Member of Parliament	CDA	Centre-right (CHES 5.5)
Fleur Agema / Marjolein Faber (quote)	Minister of Asylum and Migration	PVV	Far right (CHES 9.2)
Council of State spokesperson (unnamed)	Legal adviser	Institutional	Neutral
Council for the Judiciary spokesperson	Judicial body	Institutional	Neutral
Public Prosecutor (unnamed)	Public Prosecution Service	None	Neutral/institutional
Hostage-taking victim Ede	Victim	None	Neutral
Weather presenter Peter	NOS meteorologist	NOS	Neutral

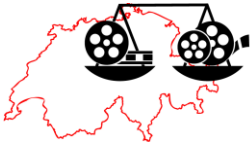
### Main topic

The broadcast covers five separate news topics: the explosion in The Hague with three arrests, the situation in Syria following the fall of Assad, the court case surrounding the hostage-taking in Ede, the political controversy surrounding the VVD motion on cultural registration, and the warning from the Council of State about Minister Faber's asylum policy.



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## CHAPTER 3 — 15 CRITERIA: DETAILED ANALYSIS



## Hard facts — 9 techniques that are countable and scientifically verifiable

### 1. EXPERT SELECTION

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*Definition: Who is given the floor as an expert?*

**Expert 1:** Council of State spokesperson (unnamed)

Timestamp: 19:55

#### Statement

"What it will mean in practice is an overload of the IND, many more cases at the courts and at the Council of State."

#### Framing

The Council of State is the highest administrative law advisory body in the Netherlands and has an institutional interest in safeguarding the workability of legislation. The Council advises the government but is also a judge in administrative law cases — a dual role that is not explained.

Missing countervoice: An implementation expert from the IND or a migration scientist who could test the Council of State's projections.

#### Source depth check:

**(a) FUNDING:** The Council of State is a state body, funded from the national budget. Institutional interest: the Council has an interest in keeping its workload manageable; this creates a structural interest in signalling overload.

**(b) MANDATE:** The Council of State, as adviser to the government, has a legitimate mandate to signal workability problems. This mandate is compatible with a neutral assessment, but not entirely free of institutional self-interest.

D1 Conflict of interest: 0 — Institutional interest in manageable workload, but also formal advisory task

D2 Personal risk: +1 — Institution takes a risk by publicly warning against cabinet policy

D3 Competence: +2 — Highest administrative law body, direct expertise

D4 Consistency of opinion: +1 — Council of State more often warns of workability problems

D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: +1 — Predominantly factual, concrete workload projections

D6 Source level: +1 — Primary institutional source (own analysis)

• TOTAL: +6 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: GREEN

**(c) COMPETENCE:** The Council of State is presented as a neutral institutional voice, which is largely justified, but the institutional self-interest (workload management) is not mentioned.

**Expert 2:** Council for the Judiciary spokesperson (unnamed)

Timestamp: 20:08

#### Statement

"And the judiciary is already so busy. We have a shortage of judges. So the reality is that more immigration cases... a judge can only be deployed once."

#### Framing

The Council for the Judiciary represents the judiciary and has a direct institutional interest in signalling capacity problems.

Missing countervoice: An expert who argues that stricter asylum legislation actually leads to fewer cases through deterrence (the argument of Minister Faber).

#### Source depth check:



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(a) **FUNDING:** State body, funded from the national budget. Institutional interest in sufficient judicial capacity.

(b) **MANDATE:** Legitimate mandate to signal capacity problems; not entirely free of institutional self-interest.

D1 Conflict of interest: -1 — Direct institutional interest in more judicial capacity

D2 Personal risk: +1 — Publicly going against cabinet policy

D3 Competence: +2 — Direct expertise on judicial capacity

D4 Consistency of opinion: +1 — Consistent signal about capacity shortage

D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: +1 — Factual, concrete capacity arguments

D6 Source level: +1 — Primary institutional source

• TOTAL: +5 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: GREEN

(c) **COMPETENCE:** Here too, the institutional self-interest is not mentioned.

Missing expert groups:

- Migration scientist/sociologist who can assess the empirical basis of the VVD motion
- IND implementation expert on the practical consequences of the new asylum legislation
- International law expert (UNHCR, EU asylum law) on the treaty law dimension

Summary (Matrix result):

- Council of State: GREEN (+6) — Legitimate institutional source, but institutional self-interest not mentioned
- Council for the Judiciary: GREEN (+5) — Legitimate institutional source, but institutional self-interest not mentioned
- Both experts are institutionally coloured in the same direction (critical of cabinet policy); an expert who substantiates the cabinet position is entirely absent.

#### Source traffic light for participants:

Source	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	Total	Signal
Council of State spokesperson (unnamed)	0	+1	+2	+1	+1	+1	+6	GREEN
Council for the Judiciary spokesperson (unnamed)	-1	+1	+2	+1	+1	+1	+5	GREEN



## 2. SOURCE SELECTION

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Claims without primary source = penalty points (rumour check)

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

### Source 1: Council of State and Council for the Judiciary

Timestamp: 19:04 — Statement: "The Council of State, the advisory body of the government... and the Council for the Judiciary, which speaks on behalf of the judges... come with a warning: With these asylum laws you are bringing the entire system to a standstill."

**(a) Funding and governance:** Both are state bodies, funded from the national budget.

**(b) Structural conflict of interest:** Both bodies have an institutional interest in manageable workload; this is not mentioned.

**(c) Missing counter-source:** An implementation expert who substantiates Minister Faber's deterrence argument, or a comparative study from countries with comparable asylum policy.

### Source 2: Social media (anonymous)

Timestamp: 17:04 — Statement: "On social media there was incomprehension and people spoke of racism."

**(a) Funding and governance:** Anonymous social media reactions, no identifiable source.

**(b) Structural conflict of interest:** Social media reactions are not representative; selection is editorially determined.

**(c) Missing counter-source:** Social media reactions that defended the motion are not cited.

Rumour check (penalty points):

Rumour 1:

Timestamp: 17:04

Claim: "On social media there was incomprehension and people spoke of racism."

Word marking: "people spoke of" — anonymous, non-verifiable source

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

Rumour 2:

Timestamp: 08:41

Claim: "Syrian security sources report that the Israeli army has advanced to approximately 25 kilometres from Damascus."

Word marking: "security sources report" — anonymous sources

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

Summary: The source selection is one-sidedly institutionally critical of cabinet policy; social media are presented as evidence of public controversy without a representativeness check; two rumours without a primary source increase the score by 2 penalty points.



### 3. TIME ALLOCATION

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*Definition: Distribution of speaking time between different positions.*

Estimated speaking time:

- Explosion The Hague (news/forensic): approx. 5 min. (19%)
- Syria (correspondent/refugees): approx. 7 min. (27%)
- Hostage-taking Ede (court case): approx. 3 min. (12%)
- VVD motion (political debate): approx. 3 min. (12%)
- Asylum policy Faber/Council of State: approx. 3 min. (12%)
- Other (Netanyahu, Philippines, weather): approx. 4 min. (15%)
- Presenter/transitions: approx. 1 min. (4%)

Within the political segment (VVD motion + asylum policy, approx. 6 min.):

- Criticism of motion/policy (SP, CDA, CU, Council of State, Council for the Judiciary): approx. 3.5 min. (58%)
- Defence of motion/policy (VVD Becker, NSC, Minister Faber): approx. 2.5 min. (42%)

Summary: The time allocation across the broadcast as a whole is reasonably balanced across the news topics. Within the political segment there is a slight imbalance to the detriment of the defenders of the motion and asylum policy: critical voices receive slightly more space than the defenders, and the institutional criticism (Council of State, Council for the Judiciary) is presented more extensively than the cabinet position.



#### 4. OMISSION (Selective Omission)

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*Definition: What is not shown, although relevant? (Involve Step 2)*

##### Omission 1:

###### Context

The VVD motion calls for keeping track of "cultural and religious norms and values of Dutch people with a migration background" via anonymous surveys. The substantive question of whether this is scientifically meaningful and legally permissible is not addressed.

Relevant at: 17:09 — "For the integration debate it is important to be able to base it on facts."

###### Effect

The viewer is given no means to assess whether the motion is substantively defensible; the discussion is reduced to political controversy versus political defence.

##### Omission 2:

###### Context

The historical context of registration of population groups in the Netherlands — including the role of personal registration during the Second World War — is not mentioned, while this explains the social sensitivity of the motion.

Relevant at: 17:03 — "Indignation arose."

###### Effect

The viewer does not understand why the motion is so sensitive; the indignation therefore seems exaggerated or incomprehensible.

##### Omission 3:

###### Context

Minister Faber's argument that stricter asylum legislation leads to fewer cases through deterrence is presented in only one sentence (20:34) without any empirical substantiation or counter-check. Comparative data from countries with comparable policy (e.g. Denmark) are absent.

Relevant at: 20:34 — "She thinks that her policy is so deterrent that there will actually be less pressure on the asylum chain."

###### Effect

The cabinet position is presented as an opinion without a factual basis, while the criticism of the Council of State is extensively substantiated.

Summary: The broadcast systematically omits the substantive underpinning of cabinet policy, while the institutional criticism is presented extensively. This creates a structurally unbalanced picture of the asylum and integration debate.

#### Missing voices

- Dutch people with a migration background: Could have responded directly to the VVD motion and the question of whether they feel discriminated against by the registration of cultural norms.
- UNHCR spokesperson: Could have outlined the international legal framework for the new asylum legislation and the question of whether the Netherlands is meeting its treaty obligations.
- Integration scientist (university): Could have assessed the empirical basis of the VVD motion and explained whether such registration is scientifically meaningful.



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- IND spokesperson: Could have explained first-hand what the new asylum legislation means for the implementing organisation.
- Syrian refugee in the Netherlands: Could have spoken about the trade-off between return and residence from a Dutch perspective.
- Mayor of an asylum reception municipality: Could have explained the local perspective on the workability of asylum policy.
- Legal expert on constitutional/anti-discrimination law: Could have assessed whether the VVD motion is in conflict with the prohibition of discrimination in Article 1 of the Constitution.



## 5. MANIPULATION OF FIGURES

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

*Definition: Selective or misleading use of statistics.*

### Finding 1:

Timestamp: 21:50

Figure: "3000 cubic metres per second... while the actual maximum is 800."

Dimensions: (a) Absolute value ✓ — (b) Ratio ✓ (3000 vs. 800) — (c) Trend X (no historical comparison with previous floods)

#### Missing context

How does this compare to previous floods in Valencia? Was this an exceptional peak or a structural problem?

#### Effect

The figures are correct but incomplete; the trend dimension is missing, so the question of whether climate change is increasing the frequency is not answered.

### Finding 2:

Timestamp: 19:31

Figure: Temporary residence permit "that will soon only last three years" — no comparison with current duration or European average.

Dimensions: (a) Absolute value ✓ — (b) Ratio X — (c) Trend X

#### Missing context

What is the current duration? What is the EU average? How does this compare to other EU countries?

#### Effect

The measure appears more far-reaching than it possibly is in a European context.

Summary: Use of figures is limited and largely correct, but the trend dimension is missing for the Valencia floods and the asylum legislation lacks comparative context. The manipulation is not systematic but is present.



<b>6. GUILT BY ASSOCIATION</b>									<b>2/10</b>
<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

*Definition: Discrediting through association with negative groups/ideas.*

**Association 1:**

Timestamp: 17:42

**Quote**

*"It is of course also because we see that in recent times migrants have often been used as a scapegoat for all problems in the Netherlands."*

Technique: A CDA spokesperson implicitly associates the VVD motion with the use of migrants as a scapegoat, without stating this explicitly. The association is not contradicted by the presenter.

**Effect**

The VVD motion is indirectly associated with scapegoating, without this connection being substantively underpinned or contested.

Summary (Category assignment):

- No persons are explicitly framed as "conspiracy theorists" in this broadcast.
- The implicit association of the VVD motion with discrimination/racism (via social media quote and CDA spokesperson) is present but not systematic. Score remains low because the technique is not dominant.



## 7. TIMING

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

### Finding 1:

Position: 17:03 (middle)

Content: "On social media there was incomprehension and people spoke of racism."

#### Timing effect

The social media reaction is presented before the substantive defence of the motion by Bente Becker (17:09). This places the motion first in a negative frame (racism) before the defence is addressed, which influences the viewer's perception.

### Finding 2:

Position: 20:34 (late in the segment)

Content: Minister Faber's rebuttal ("She thinks that her policy is so deterrent...") comes after extensive presentation of the criticism from the Council of State and the Council for the Judiciary.

#### Timing effect

The cabinet position is presented as a closing piece, after the criticism has already been extensively laid out. This weakens the impact of the rebuttal.

Summary: The timing of the social media reaction before the substantive defence and the cabinet position as a closing piece after extensive institutional criticism create a slightly asymmetric narrative to the detriment of cabinet policy.



## 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 must be 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: 17:03

Triggering event: The VVD motion on recording the cultural and religious norms of Dutch people with a migration background is adopted.

Reaction: "On social media there was incomprehension and people spoke of racism." — The public indignation is presented as a news fact.

### Comparison

At the announcement of the asylum legislation by Minister Faber (19:27), no comparable public indignation from refugee organisations or human rights groups is presented, although this was demonstrably present.

Asymmetry: Present — the indignation about the VVD motion receives explicit attention; the indignation about asylum policy does not.

Degree of indignation: 2/5

Selectivity: 2/5

Summary: The selective indignation is present but not dominant. The broadcast presents the social media controversy about the VVD motion as a news fact, while comparable public reactions to asylum policy are not mentioned. The asymmetry is slight but measurable.



## 9. COMPLETENESS (Selective Omission — Overall Picture)

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*Definition: How completely does the broadcast portray the topic? Are relevant perspectives, facts or actors systematically omitted?*

### Finding 1:

Timestamp: 17:00–18:50 (VVD motion segment)

Missing perspective/fact: Dutch people with a migration background do not themselves speak about the motion that directly concerns them.

Relevance: The motion concerns the recording of their cultural and religious norms; their perspective is the most directly relevant.

#### Effect

The discussion is conducted about a population group, not with that population group; this reinforces the paternalistic frame of the debate.

### Finding 2:

Timestamp: 19:00–21:05 (asylum policy segment)

Missing perspective/fact: No international legal perspective (UNHCR, EU asylum law) on the new asylum legislation.

Relevance: The Netherlands is bound by international treaties; the question of whether the new legislation conflicts with these is legally and politically crucial.

#### Effect

The viewer is given no means to assess whether cabinet policy is tenable under international law.

### Finding 3:

Timestamp: 05:50–13:26 (Syria segment)

Missing perspective/fact: The new Syrian rulers (HTS/Jolani) are not substantively characterised; their background as a former jihadist organisation and the question of whether Syria is safe for return are not addressed.

Relevance: This is directly relevant to the Dutch discussion about the return of Syrian refugees.

#### Effect

The Syria segment creates a more optimistic picture of the security situation than is justified.

Summary: The broadcast systematically omits the perspectives that could substantiate or nuance cabinet policy, while the institutional criticism is presented extensively. The Syria segment lacks crucial context about the new rulers.



## Soft facts — 6 qualitative techniques

### 10. FRAMING (Setting the frame)

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*Definition: How is the topic fundamentally framed?*

#### Finding 1:

Timestamp: 19:12

<b>Quote</b>	<i>"With these asylum laws you are bringing the entire system to a standstill. It is not workable, they say."</i>
<b>Manipulation</b>	The presenter paraphrases the warning of the Council of State and the Council for the Judiciary in the strongest possible terms ("bringing the entire system to a standstill") without marking this as a quote or nuancing it.
<b>Why problematic</b>	The viewer cannot distinguish whether this is a literal quote or an editorial paraphrase; the formulation is more dramatic than the actual statements of the bodies concerned justify.

#### Finding 2:

Timestamp: 17:31

<b>Quote</b>	<i>"It is so toxic."</i>
<b>Manipulation</b>	VVD MP Bente Becker characterises the integration debate as "toxic" — a negative qualification that is not challenged or contextualised by the presenter.
<b>Why problematic</b>	The term "toxic" implies that the debate itself is problematic, not the specific positions within it. This frame discourages substantive discussion about integration.

#### Finding 3:

Timestamp: 22:07

<b>Quote</b>	<i>"But that this could ever happen was actually already known."</i>
<b>Manipulation</b>	The Valencia segment is framed as an avoidable disaster due to government failure, without addressing the complexity of climate adaptation and administrative decision-making.
<b>Why problematic</b>	The frame of "this was known and could have been prevented" implies administrative failure without sketching the political and financial context.

Summary: The dominant frame of the broadcast is that government policy — both asylum policy and climate adaptation policy — is insufficient and leads to problems. This frame is not systematically challenged.



## 11. WORD CHOICE AND TERMINOLOGY

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

### Finding 1:

Timestamp: 19:12

<b>Quote</b>	"With these asylum laws you are bringing the entire system to a standstill."
<b>Manipulation</b>	"Bringing the entire system to a standstill" is a dramatic formulation with strong negative connotations.
<b>Why problematic</b>	A neutral alternative would be: "leads to considerably increased workload for the judiciary and the IND." The chosen formulation suggests total system collapse.

### Finding 2:

Timestamp: 17:42

<b>Quote</b>	"Migrants have been used as a scapegoat for all problems in the Netherlands."
<b>Manipulation</b>	The term "scapegoat" carries a strong moral charge and implies that the accusation is unjustified.
<b>Why problematic</b>	A neutral alternative would be: "migration has been used as an explanatory factor for social problems." The chosen formulation disqualifies the migration debate as such.

### Finding 3:

Timestamp: 08:22

<b>Quote</b>	"The Israeli government is taking advantage of the chaotic situation to seriously weaken Syria militarily."
<b>Manipulation</b>	"Taking advantage of" has an opportunistic connotation; "seriously weaken" is a value judgement.
<b>Why problematic</b>	A neutral alternative would be: "The Israeli government is carrying out air strikes on Syrian military infrastructure." The chosen formulation implies opportunism and aggression.

Summary: The word choice is connotatively loaded at several points to the detriment of cabinet policy (asylum) and Israel, while neutral alternatives were available.



## 12. MODERATION BEHAVIOUR

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*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: 18:25

Triggering event: NSC spokesperson defends the VVD motion and says that a small textual change could have prevented misunderstandings.

#### Quote (presenter)

*"We are now looking for example at the CDA, the ChristenUnie. They say: 'Yes, we see how people have been hurt. And with that in mind we think that we can no longer support this motion.' Do you understand that, that they say that?"*

#### Comparison

The CDA spokesperson who withdraws support is not asked whether he understands that the VVD substantively defends the motion.

Asymmetry: Present — the defender of the motion is asked whether he understands the critics; the critics are not asked whether they understand the defenders.

### Finding 2:

Timestamp: 20:33

Triggering event: Minister Faber defends her asylum policy.

#### Quote (presenter, paraphrase)

*"She is not worried. She thinks that her policy is so deterrent that there will actually be less pressure on the asylum chain."*

#### Comparison

The statements of the Council of State and the Council for the Judiciary are not paraphrased in a comparable way with a distancing formulation ("they think that...").

Asymmetry: Present — the cabinet position is presented as an opinion ("she thinks"), while the institutional criticism is presented as fact.

Summary: The moderation behaviour shows a slight asymmetry: defenders of cabinet policy are asked whether they understand the critics, while critics are not asked whether they understand the defenders. The cabinet position is presented as an opinion, the institutional criticism as fact.



### 13. QUESTION ASYMMETRY

4/10

1

2

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10

*Definition: Different hard/soft questions to different persons.*

#### Asymmetry 1:

To NSC spokesperson, 18:25: "Do you understand that, that they say that?" [challenging — asks for understanding of the critics]

To CDA spokesperson (implicitly via quote), 18:19: No comparable challenging question as to whether they understand the defenders of the motion.

#### Comparison

The defender of the motion is challenged to understand the critics; the critics are not challenged to understand the defenders. This is asymmetric questioning.

#### Asymmetry 2:

To Minister Faber (via paraphrase), 20:33: Her position is presented as an expectation ("she thinks") without follow-up question.

To Council of State/Council for the Judiciary, 19:55: Their position is presented as a factual warning without comparable distancing.

#### Comparison

The cabinet position is presented as an opinion; the institutional criticism as fact. This is an asymmetric presentation that does not concern direct questioning but does concern the framing of the answers.

Summary: The question asymmetry is present but not extreme. The defender of the VVD motion is challenged to understand the critics, while the critics are not challenged to understand the defenders. The cabinet position is presented as an opinion, the institutional criticism as fact.



## 14. FALSE BALANCE

2/10

1

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*Definition: Artificial balance despite factual imbalance.*

### Finding 1:

Timestamp: 18:45 — Construction: "Meanwhile a majority of parties therefore remains in favour of the motion. And the cabinet says that actually little will change."

### Analysis

The presenter mentions that a majority supports the motion, but the broadcast has devoted more attention to the parties withdrawing their support than to the majority supporting the motion. This is not false balance in the classical sense (presenting two equivalent positions as equally strong), but rather the opposite: the minority receives more attention than the majority.

Summary: False balance in the classical sense is not dominantly present in this broadcast. The broadcast tends rather towards the opposite: the critical minority receives more attention than the supporting majority. Score remains low.



## 15. AGENDA-SETTING

5/10

1

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

### Finding 1:

Established agenda element: The warnings of the Council of State and the Council for the Judiciary are presented as the primary reference point for the assessment of asylum policy.

Timestamp: 19:04 — Evidence: "The Council of State, the advisory body of the government... and the Council for the Judiciary... come with a warning: With these asylum laws you are bringing the entire system to a standstill."

Alternative agenda: The question of whether current asylum policy is sustainable (influx, reception capacity, public support) could have served as the reference point.

### Finding 2:

Established agenda element: The public controversy about the VVD motion (social media, "racism") is presented as the primary reference point for the assessment of the motion.

Timestamp: 17:03 — Evidence: "On social media there was incomprehension and people spoke of racism."

Alternative agenda: The substantive question of whether the motion is scientifically meaningful and legally permissible could have served as the primary reference point.

Summary: The agenda-setting places institutional criticism and public controversy as primary reference points for the assessment of cabinet policy, while the substantive underpinning of the policy and the question of the sustainability of current policy are not on the agenda.



## CHAPTER 4 — OVERALL ASSESSMENT

### Overview of Individual Scores

No.	Criterion	Type	Score	Main finding (1 sentence)
1	Expert selection	H	5	Both experts are institutionally coloured in the same direction; an expert who substantiates the cabinet position is absent
2	Source selection	H	4	Social media as anonymous source for "racism" qualification; two rumours without primary source
3	Time allocation	H	4	Slight imbalance within the political segment to the detriment of cabinet policy defenders
4	Omission	H	6	Substantive underpinning of cabinet policy and historical context of VVD motion systematically omitted
5	Manipulation of figures	H	3	Trend dimension missing for Valencia figures; asylum legislation lacks comparative European context
6	Guilt by association	H	2	Implicit association of VVD motion with scapegoating via CDA spokesperson, not systematic
7	Timing	H	3	Social media controversy before substantive defence; cabinet position as closing piece after extensive criticism
8	Selective indignation	H	3	Controversy about VVD motion presented as news fact; comparable controversy about asylum policy not mentioned
9	Completeness	H	6	Dutch people with migration background, international legal perspective and HTS context systematically omitted
10	Framing	S	5	Dominant frame: government policy is insufficient and leads to problems; not systematically challenged
11	Word choice	S	4	"Bringing the system to a standstill", "scapegoat", "taking advantage of" — connotatively loaded to the detriment of cabinet policy and Israel
12	Moderation behaviour	S	3	Defenders asked whether they understand critics; cabinet position as opinion, institutional criticism as fact
13	Question asymmetry	S	4	Asymmetric questioning: defender challenged, critics not; cabinet position presented as opinion
14	False balance	S	2	Not dominantly present; rather the opposite: critical minority receives more attention than supporting majority
15	Agenda-setting	S	5	Institutional criticism and social media controversy as primary reference points; substantive underpinning of policy not on agenda

### Results

- HARD FACTS SCORE (Average criteria 1-9): 4.0 / 10
- SOFT FACTS SCORE (Average criteria 10-15): 3.8 / 10



• TOTAL SCORE (Average all 15 criteria): 3.9 / 10

## Dominant Techniques

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- 1. Omission (Score 6):** The broadcast systematically omits the substantive underpinning of cabinet policy, while the institutional criticism is presented extensively. Crucial voices — Dutch people with a migration background, international law experts, scientists — are entirely absent, causing the debate to be framed one-sidedly.
- 2. Completeness (Score 6):** The Syria segment lacks crucial context about the new rulers (HTS/Jolani); the asylum policy segment lacks an international legal perspective; the VVD motion segment lacks the perspective of the affected population group itself. This pattern of systematic omission reinforces the dominant frame.
- 3. Framing (Score 5):** The dominant frame of the broadcast — government policy is insufficient and leads to problems — is not systematically challenged. The paraphrase "With these asylum laws you are bringing the entire system to a standstill" and the presentation of the social media controversy as a news fact reinforce this frame without a countervoice.

## Core Messages of the Broadcast

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**MESSAGE 1 (SUBSTANTIVE):** "Minister Faber's asylum policy is unworkable and will overburden the legal system."

**Technique:** Framing + Omission — Evidence: 19:12, 20:34 (cabinet position as opinion, institutional criticism as fact)

**MESSAGE 2 (PERSONAL):** "The VVD motion has caused pain to population groups and is politically untenable."

**Technique:** Timing + Selective Indignation — Evidence: 17:03, 17:31, 18:19

**MESSAGE 3 (SOCIETAL):** "Syria offers hope for refugees, but the situation is complex and return is still uncertain."

**Technique:** Framing + Completeness — Evidence: 06:07, 13:18 (optimistic frame without HTS context)

Justification: The broadcast scores 3.9/10, indicating a slight but measurable tendency. The tendency is not the result of gross manipulation, but of a pattern of selective omission, asymmetric framing and institutional source selection that consistently point in the same direction: critical of cabinet policy on asylum and integration. The broadcast largely meets the requirements of the Media Act Art. 2.1, but shows at specific points a lack of pluriformity: the perspective of the affected population group (Dutch people with a migration background) is absent, the cabinet position is presented as an opinion while institutional criticism is presented as fact, and the substantive underpinning of the policy is systematically omitted.

## CONCLUSION

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The NOS Journaal broadcast of 10 December 2024 shows a slight but measurable left-favouring tendency (score +1.2 on the left-right scale; total score 3.9/10) that primarily stems from selective omission and asymmetric framing, not from gross manipulation. The broadcast presents the institutional criticism of Minister Faber's asylum policy more extensively and more factually than the cabinet position, omits crucial perspectives (Dutch people with a migration background, international law experts), and uses connotatively loaded language to the detriment of cabinet policy. In light of Media Act Art. 2.1 — which requires pluriform, balanced and independent reporting — there are indications of a limited violation of the balance principle, particularly in the asylum policy segment and the VVD motion segment. The broadcast is not systematically manipulative, but the cumulative effects of the identified shortcomings create a structurally unbalanced picture of the migration debate.



## OVERALL EVALUATION OF THE 15 CRITERIA

### Individual scores — All 15 criteria

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

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

**4.0/10**

*Slight imbalance*

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

**3.8/10**

*Slight imbalance*

#### TOTAL SCORE

**3.9/10**

*Slight imbalance*

*Average of Hard Facts and Soft Facts*



## KEY — Meaning of the scores

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

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

### Aggregated deviation index — Interpretation ranges

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

### Party-political bias (-5 to +5)

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

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

Violation 1:

Norm: Media Act Art. 2.1 — balance principle

Factual description: The asylum policy segment presents the institutional criticism of the Council of State and the Council for the Judiciary extensively and factually, while the cabinet position is paraphrased as an opinion ("She thinks that her policy is so deterrent...") without comparable factual substantiation or follow-up question.

Evidence: Timestamp 19:55 — "What it will mean in practice is an overload of the IND, many more cases at the courts and at the Council of State." vs. timestamp 20:34 — "She thinks that her policy is so deterrent that there will actually be less pressure on the asylum chain."

Assessment: The asymmetric presentation of institutional criticism as fact and cabinet position as opinion is in conflict with the balance principle of Art. 2.1. A balanced broadcast would have presented both positions in a comparable manner, with comparable empirical substantiation or comparable distancing.

Violation 2:

Norm: Media Act Art. 2.1 — pluriformity principle

Factual description: The VVD motion segment addresses the motion that concerns Dutch people with a migration background without this group itself being given the floor. The discussion is conducted about a population group, not with that population group.

Evidence: Timestamp 17:00–18:50 — not a single quote from a Dutch person with a migration background about the motion that directly concerns them.

Assessment: The absence of the perspective of the directly affected population group is in conflict with the pluriformity principle of Art. 2.1. A pluriform broadcast would have given at least one representative of this group the floor.

Violation 3:

Norm: Media Act Art. 2.1 — independence principle (source selection)

Factual description: Anonymous social media reactions are presented as evidence of public controversy ("On social media there was incomprehension and people spoke of racism") without a representativeness check or primary source reference.

Evidence: Timestamp 17:04 — "On social media there was incomprehension and people spoke of racism."

Assessment: The use of anonymous, non-verifiable social media reactions as a news fact, without a representativeness check, undermines the independence and reliability of the reporting within the meaning of Art. 2.1.

### Overall assessment Media Act Art. 2.1

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The broadcast largely meets the requirements of Media Act Art. 2.1, but shows at three specific points indications of violation of the balance and pluriformity principles. The identified shortcomings are not of such a nature as to justify a formal complaint procedure with the Media Authority on the basis of this broadcast alone; the Media Act assesses pluriformity across the total output of the public broadcaster, not per individual broadcast. However, if a pattern of comparable shortcomings in multiple broadcasts can be demonstrated, a complaint to the Media Authority on the basis of Art. 2.1 could have a reasonable chance of success. The most vulnerable points are the asymmetric presentation of the cabinet position versus the institutional criticism, and the absence of the perspective of the directly affected population group in the VVD motion segment.



## CHAPTER 6 — SOURCE DEPTH CHECK

### 1. Council of State

- FUNDING:** State body, funded from the national budget (approx. €70 million per year). No private funding.
- MANDATE:** Dual role as adviser to the government and as highest administrative court. The mandate as adviser is compatible with signalling workability problems; the mandate as judge creates an institutional interest in manageable workload.
- CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** The Council of State has a direct institutional interest in signalling overload: more asylum cases means more work for the Council. This interest is not mentioned in the broadcast.
- CREDIBILITY MATRIX:** D1 Conflict of interest: 0 / D2 Personal risk: +1 / D3 Competence: +2 / D4 Consistency: +1 / D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: +1 / D6 Source level: +1 → TOTAL: +6 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: GREEN
- COUNTERVOICE:** An implementation expert who empirically substantiates Minister Faber's deterrence argument is absent.

### 2. Council for the Judiciary

- FUNDING:** State body, funded from the national budget. Represents the judiciary.
- MANDATE:** Mandate to represent the interests of the judiciary, including capacity problems. Not entirely free of institutional self-interest.
- CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Direct institutional interest in sufficient judicial capacity; more asylum cases means more pressure on the judiciary. This interest is not mentioned in the broadcast.
- CREDIBILITY MATRIX:** D1 Conflict of interest: -1 / D2 Personal risk: +1 / D3 Competence: +2 / D4 Consistency: +1 / D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: +1 / D6 Source level: +1 → TOTAL: +5 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: GREEN
- COUNTERVOICE:** An expert who argues that stricter asylum legislation leads to fewer cases through deterrence is absent.

IMPORTANT: "Recognised" is not a substantive qualification. It is a social attribution that must itself be tested. Both bodies are legitimate institutional sources (GREEN), but their institutional self-interest in signalling overload is not mentioned in the broadcast. This is an editorial omission that creates the appearance of complete neutrality, while both bodies have a structural interest in a particular outcome of the debate.

### Legal and methodological notes

<b>No factual determination</b>	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.
<b>No legal judgement</b>	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).
<b>No proof of causality</b>	Statistical correlations must not be interpreted as proof of causal relationships or editorial intentions. Deviation values can be influenced by topic selection, news environment, political controversiality or format logic.
<b>No judgement on intention</b>	The analysis measures observable structural characteristics of broadcasts. A score of 7 means that a significant imbalance has been identified — not that the editorial team intended this. The methodology makes no statements about motives or strategic objectives.



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**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

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#### Act

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Media Act 2008

#### Relevant articles

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- 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

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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

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

#### Complaints procedure

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



## 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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**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 source selection. 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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The interview is not a conversation. It is a stage — and someone else has written the script.

Those who do not know this provide material. Good quotes that are cut incorrectly. Correct statements that end up in the wrong context. Honest answers that are framed as confessions.

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 boundaries. Preparation in one hour. Body and voice. What to do when things go wrong. And what counts after the interview.

For politicians, activists, entrepreneurs, whistleblowers — for everyone who is in the spotlight and wants to understand how the game works. So that they stop playing along — and start shaping it. In A5 format. Direct. For preparation, for reference, for debriefing and in difficult situations



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**You think you see the world.** In reality you see the frame that someone has placed around it. Framing is the oldest and most elegant manipulation technique in the world. It does not change the facts — it changes what we make of the facts. How we feel. What we believe. How we decide. And it works — because we all participate. Daily. Unconsciously. You too. This book is not a dry textbook. It is a workbook — playful, direct, full of examples from real life. You learn not only how others frame you. You learn how you yourself frame — and how you can use it consciously and fairly.

Because those who understand framing see the world more clearly. Hear news differently. Conduct conversations more confidently. And no longer let themselves be so easily imposed a frame that someone else has chosen.

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

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