



## NPO DETAILED ANALYSIS

2025-01-20\_POW\_05879117

Broadcast: NPO Broadcast | 2025-01-20 | Analysed on: 2026-05-23 00:04

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

### TOTAL SCORE

**3.7/10**

*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), SGP (3 seats), PvdD (3 seats), CU (3 seats), FvD (3 seats) and DENK.

Party	CHES L-R	Seats	Government/Opposition	Core position
SP	1,1	5	Opposition	Socioeconomically left, anti-market forces
GL-PvdA	2,4	25	Opposition (largest)	Climate, humane asylum policy, fair sharing
PvdD	2,5	3	Opposition	Animal rights, climate, left-progressive
D66	4,8	9	Opposition	Liberal-progressive, pro-EU, education
CDA	5,5	5	Opposition	Christian democratic, centre-right
NSC	5,8	20	Government	Economic security, manageable migration
CU	6,0	3	Opposition	Christian-social, centre-right
VVD	7,0	24	Government	Free market, liberal-right, restricting migration
BBB	7,5	7	Government	Agrarian-populist, farmer protection
SGP	7,8	3	Opposition	Reformed, far right
PVV	9,2	37	Government (largest)	Anti-Islam, asylum stop, national sovereignty
FvD	9,5	3	Opposition	Far-right, Baudet, anti-establishment

The main political fault line concerns migration and asylum policy, with the Schoof cabinet pursuing a strictly restrictive policy that meets fierce resistance from left-wing and progressive opposition parties. A second line of tension concerns the climate and energy transition, with the coalition seeking to scale back climate ambitions while GL-PvdA and D66 demand more far-reaching measures. Thirdly, the relationship with the rule of law and democratic institutions plays a role, partly due to PVV's criticism of the NPO and the judiciary. Finally, there is tension around the purchasing power and economic security of citizens, a theme on which NSC and left-wing parties partially overlap but fundamentally differ in approach.

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 range of programming. The NPO is composed of separate broadcasting associations (such as BNNVARA, AVRO-TROS, KRO-NCRV) with their own editorial responsibility, whereby pluralism is assessed across the total range of programming and not per individual broadcast. PVV and Wilders have repeatedly criticised the NPO as a "left-wing broadcaster", which increases the political sensitivity of media reporting in the Netherlands.



## CHAPTER 1 — PARTY-POLITICAL BIAS

The broadcast concerns an evening news programme (NOS Journaal) of 20 January 2025, focused on news facts: the inauguration of Trump, domestic news and sport. No Dutch party positions are substantively discussed or examined. Not a single Dutch party is given a voice or substantively represented.

Party	Score (-5..+5)	Broadcast representation vs. Programme position
VVD	0	Not covered — no reference to VVD positions
PVV	0	Not covered — no reference to PVV positions
GL-PvdA	0	Not covered — no reference to GL-PvdA positions
NSC	0	Not covered — no reference to NSC positions
D66	0	Not covered — no reference to D66 positions
BBB	0	Not covered — no reference to BBB positions
CDA	0	Not covered — no reference to CDA positions
SP	0	Not covered — no reference to SP positions

### Summary Party Bias

- Most accurate representation: Not applicable (no party substantively covered)
- Strongest distortion: Not applicable
- Average deviation from 0: 0.0
- Conclusion: The broadcast contains no substantive treatment of Dutch party positions. It is a factual news programme with international reporting (Trump inauguration), domestic crime reports and sport. Party-political bias at the level of programme positions is structurally not measurable in this broadcast.

### Left-Right Overall Tendency

TENDENCY SCORE: +0.3

CLASSIFICATION: Balanced (slight left tendency)

Reasoning: The broadcast contains no explicit party-political stance. A slight tendency is observable in the framing of Trump-related topics: the mention of "right-wing radical president Milei" (05:05) as a descriptive qualification without a comparable label for other leaders present points to a marginal asymmetry in word choice. The remaining reporting is factual and neutral in tone, so that the overall tendency is assessed as nearly balanced.



## CHAPTER 2 — BROADCAST INFORMATION AND THEMATIC FRAMEWORK

### Broadcast details

- Title: NOS Journaal (evening edition, presumably 20:00 broadcast)
- Date: 20.01.2025
- Length (estimated from transcript):
- Presenter/Reporter: Presenter not named in transcript; Washington correspondent: Rudy Bouma; sports reporter: Henry (surname not mentioned); weather presenter: Roosmarijn
- Persons interviewed:

Person	Function	Party/Affiliation	Political Spectrum
Rudy Bouma	NOS correspondent Washington	NOS (journalism)	Neutral/journalistic
Mayor Schouten	Mayor of Rotterdam	Local government (D66 background)	Centre-progressive
Police spokesperson (unnamed)	Amsterdam Police	Government	Neutral/institutional
School employee (unnamed)	Employee at Amsterdam school	Education	Neutral
Young person 1 (unnamed)	Student Amsterdam	None	Neutral
Young person 2 (unnamed)	Student Amsterdam	None	Neutral
PSV coach (unnamed)	Head coach PSV	Sport	Neutral
Aniek van Koot	Wheelchair tennis player	Sport	Neutral
Jiske Griffioen	Wheelchair tennis player	Sport	Neutral
Lewis Hamilton	Formula 1 driver	Sport	Neutral

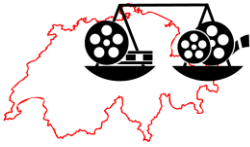
### Main theme

The broadcast covers as its main theme the inauguration and first presidential decrees of Donald Trump as 47th President of the United States, supplemented by domestic news about explosions and extortion, and sports news.



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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 speaks as an expert?*

**Expert 1:** Rudy Bouma — NOS correspondent Washington

Timestamp: 02:06

#### Statement

"He will shortly sign the executive orders... during the gathering at the Arena."

Classification: Bouma is a journalistic reporter, not an independent scientific expert. His role is factual on-the-ground reporting, not substantive analysis.

Missing counter-voice: A political scientist specialising in American constitutional law could have clarified the scope and precedent-setting effect of the decrees.

#### Source depth check:

**(a) FUNDING:** NOS is funded by the Dutch government via the public broadcaster. Structural interest in balanced reporting in accordance with the Media Act; no direct commercial interest.

**(b) MANDATE:** Mandate is journalistic reporting, not scientific analysis. Compatible with factual reporting, less suited for in-depth analysis.

D1 Conflict of interest: +1 — Publicly funded, no commercial interest, but institutional dependence on government funding

D2 Personal risk: +1 — Correspondent on location, reputational risk in case of inaccurate reporting

D3 Professional competence: +1 — Journalistic expertise, no scientific specialisation in American law or political science

D4 Consistency of opinion: +1 — NOS reporting is generally consistent in tone

D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: +2 — Predominantly factual and data-driven

D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary source (reporter, not primary researcher)

• TOTAL: +6 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: GREEN

**(c) PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE:** The reporting is framed as neutral and is largely so, but the absence of independent experts creates a structural gap in the analysis.

**Expert 2:** Mayor Schouten — Rotterdam

Timestamp: 08:43

#### Statement

"First of all by ensuring that we apprehend the people who place these explosives."

Classification: Schouten speaks as an administrator, not as an independent expert. Her position is institutional: she is responsible for public order in Rotterdam.

Missing counter-voice: A criminologist or sociologist could have analysed the background of the explosions and the effectiveness of the approach.

#### Source depth check:

**(a) FUNDING:** Municipality of Rotterdam, publicly funded. Interest in demonstrating decisiveness and effective governance.

**(b) MANDATE:** Administrative mandate, not scientific. Structural interest in presenting one's own approach as adequate.



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- D1 Conflict of interest: -1 — Institutional interest in positive image of own policy
- D2 Personal risk: 0 — Limited personal risk with these statements
- D3 Professional competence: +1 — Administrative expertise, no criminological specialisation
- D4 Consistency of opinion: +1 — Consistent with administrative line
- D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: +1 — Predominantly factual, some degree of policy rhetoric
- D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary source (administrator, not primary researcher)

• TOTAL: +2 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW

**(c) PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE:** Schouten is presented as an authoritative voice without a critical follow-up question about the effectiveness of the policy.

*Missing expert groups:*

- Political scientist/America expert for analysis of Trump decrees
- Criminologist for analysis of explosions and extortion
- Climate scientist for analysis of Trump's climate policy

**Source traffic light for participants:**

Source	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	Total	Signal
Rudy Bouma — NOS correspondent Washington	+1	+1	+1	+1	+2	0	+6	GREEN
Mayor Schouten — Rotterdam	-1	0	+1	+1	+1	0	+2	YELLOW

*Summary (Matrix result):*

- Rudy Bouma: GREEN (+6) — Reliable factual reporter, not a scientific expert
- Mayor Schouten: YELLOW (+2) — Administrator with institutional interest, not an independent expert



## 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: NOS correspondent Rudy Bouma

Timestamp: 02:06 — Statement: "He will shortly sign the executive orders... during the gathering at the Arena."

**(a) Funding and management:** NOS, publicly funded via central government.

**(b) Structural conflict of interest:** No direct commercial interest; institutional dependence on government funding can create subtle pressure.

**(c) Missing counter-source:** An independent political scientist or constitutional lawyer could have analysed the decrees.

**Missing counter-source**

Academic or independent research institution.

### Source 2: Amsterdam Police (spokesperson unnamed)

Timestamp: 10:13 — Statement: "We would like to ask them: Please do file a report."

**(a) Funding:** Central government, publicly funded.

**(b) Structural conflict of interest:** Institutional interest in encouraging the filing of reports and demonstrating decisiveness.

**(c) Missing counter-source:** An independent youth care expert or sociologist could have provided the broader context of online extortion.

### Source 3: School employee Amsterdam (unnamed)

Timestamp: 10:28 — Statement: "It is not only the fear, but also very much the shame."

**(a) Funding:** Public education, government funding.

**(b) Structural conflict of interest:** No direct interest; experiential expert perspective.

**(c) Missing counter-source:** Parent representative or youth psychologist.

Rumour check (penalty points): No claims without a primary source were found in the transcript. All factual claims are based on observable events or official statements. No penalty points.

Summary: The source selection is limited to institutional sources (government, police, NOS correspondent) without independent scientific or societal counter-voices. This leads to a one-sided institutional perspective, particularly in the Trump reporting where no independent analysis is provided whatsoever.



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

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

Estimated speaking time:

- Trump inauguration (reporting + correspondent): approx. 7 min. (29%)
- Domestic news explosions Rotterdam/The Hague/Zandvoort: approx. 1.5 min. (6%)
- Domestic news extortion Amsterdam: approx. 2 min. (8%)
- Gaza ceasefire and aid convoys: approx. 1.5 min. (6%)
- Sports news (tennis, PSV, other): approx. 7 min. (29%)
- Weather forecast: approx. 1 min. (4%)
- Other news (PostNL, wolf, Senate, Memorial Centre): approx. 2 min. (8%)
- Presenter/transitions: approx. 2 min. (8%)

Summary: The time allocation reflects the news value of the day: the Trump inauguration and sport each dominate approximately 29% of the broadcast. No political asymmetry in speaking time is demonstrable, as no political parties or conflicting positions are given a voice. The distribution is typical for an evening news programme.



#### 4. OMISSION (Selective Omission)

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

##### Omission 1:

###### Context

No reaction from the Dutch government to the inauguration of Trump.

Relevant at: 00:40 — "Trump signs dozens of presidential decrees today."

###### Effect

The viewer gets no picture of how the Dutch coalition government (in particular PVV and VVD, which have ideological affinity with Trump) assesses the inauguration. This is politically relevant for the Dutch public.

##### Omission 2:

###### Context

No analysis of the pardoning of Capitol rioters in relation to the rule of law.

Relevant at: 01:52 — "Another promise Trump has been making for a long time is to pardon the rioters who stormed the Capitol in 2021."

###### Effect

The factual mention without analysis suggests this is a routine measure, whereas it concerns a fundamental rule-of-law issue that was widely commented upon internationally.

##### Omission 3:

###### Context

No substantive analysis of the presence of Elon Musk and Mark Zuckerberg at the inauguration.

Relevant at: 05:10 — "And the very wealthiest have also been invited. Such as tech moguls Elon Musk and Mark Zuckerberg for example. They have been given a good spot."

###### Effect

The mention without context conceals the political significance of the presence of tech moguls at a presidential inauguration, including the implications for freedom of expression and platform regulation.

Summary: The broadcast systematically omits analysis at politically sensitive elements of the Trump inauguration. This is partly explainable by the factual nature of an evening news programme, but the consistent absence of context at rule-of-law-related topics is a structural pattern.

#### Missing voices

- Political scientist/America expert: Could have contextualised the significance and scope of the presidential decrees in historical and constitutional context.
- Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs: Could have explained the consequences for Dutch and European foreign policy.
- Climate scientist or environmental organisation: Could have analysed the consequences of withdrawing from climate agreements.
- Migration law expert: Could have discussed the legal and humanitarian implications of the border measures.
- Representative of American civil society: Could have represented the perspective of ordinary Americans.



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- EU official or Member of the European Parliament: Could have analysed the consequences for transatlantic relations.
- Media expert: Could have analysed the role of tech moguls at the inauguration and freedom of expression.
- Historian: Could have placed the inauguration in historical perspective, including comparison with previous presidents.



## 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: 01:11

Figure: "Around 10 decrees are expected to concern stricter border security."

Dimensions: (a) Absolute value shown (10 decrees) — (b) Share not shown (10 out of how many in total?) — (c)

Trend not shown

#### Missing context

The total number of decrees Trump was to sign is not mentioned, making it impossible to assess the relative scale of the border measures.

#### Effect

Slight overestimation of the share of border measures possible, but the impact is limited.

### Finding 2:

Timestamp: 12:15

Figure: "Yesterday 630 trucks carrying aid supplies entered Gaza. Today hundreds of trucks again crossed the border."

Dimensions: (a) Absolute value shown — (b) Share not shown (what is the need? what is the capacity?) — (c)

Trend indicated (yesterday vs. today)

#### Missing context

The daily need for aid supplies in Gaza is not mentioned, making it impossible for the viewer to assess whether 915 trucks is sufficient.

#### Effect

Possibly too positive a picture of the humanitarian situation.

Summary: There is no systematic numerical manipulation. The two findings concern incomplete contextualisation of figures, which is partly explainable in an evening news programme with limited airtime.



## 6. GUILT BY ASSOCIATION

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

### Association 1:

Timestamp: 05:05

#### Quote

*"From Argentina, the right-wing radical president Milei."*

Technique: Milei is the only leader present to be given an ideological label ("right-wing radical"). Other leaders present (Prime Minister of Italy, former presidents) receive no comparable label.

#### Effect

By qualifying Milei as "right-wing radical" and placing him in the context of the Trump inauguration, an implicit association is drawn between Trump and radicalism, without this being explicitly stated.

### Association 2:

Timestamp: 05:10

#### Quote

*"And the very wealthiest have also been invited. Such as tech moguls Elon Musk and Mark Zuckerberg for example. They have been given a good spot."*

Technique: The formulation "the very wealthiest" places Musk and Zuckerberg in a frame of plutocratic influence, without their presence being substantively analysed.

#### Effect

Implicit suggestion that the inauguration is an event for the super-rich, which has a negative connotation without this being explicitly substantiated.

Source check for persons framed as "conspiracy theorists": Not applicable in this broadcast.

### Summary (Category assignment):

- Milei: Factual label ("right-wing radical" is a common political science qualification), but applied asymmetrically relative to other leaders present. No serious guilt by association, but selective labelling.
- Musk/Zuckerberg: Framing via "the very wealthiest" without substantive analysis. Limited but present associative technique.



## 7. TIMING

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

### Finding 1:

Position: 00:03 (beginning)

Content: "President Trump immediately signs first decrees."

#### Timing effect

The broadcast opens with emphasis on the immediacy and scale of Trump's measures ("immediately", "first decrees"). This sets a tone of urgency and decisiveness, which can create a positive frame for Trump, but can also be interpreted as alarming depending on the viewer.

### Finding 2:

Position: 01:52 (early in the broadcast)

Content: "Another promise Trump has been making for a long time is to pardon the rioters who stormed the Capitol in 2021."

#### Timing effect

The pardoning of Capitol rioters is mentioned early in the broadcast but not analysed. Due to its placement before the inauguration speech fragments, it receives a relatively prominent position without substantive context.

Summary: There is no systematic timing manipulation. The order of topics follows a conventional news hierarchy (major international news first, then domestic, then sport). The two findings are marginal.



## 8. SELECTIVE OUTRAGE

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

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

*Methodological starting point (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: 05:05

Triggering event: Mention of international leaders present at the inauguration.

Reaction: "From Argentina, the right-wing radical president Milei."

### Comparison

The Prime Minister of Italy (Meloni, also right-wing nationalist) is mentioned as "the Prime Minister of Italy" without an ideological label (05:08). Former presidents are mentioned without a label.

Asymmetry: Milei receives an ideologically qualifying label ("right-wing radical"), Meloni does not, although both are considered right-wing nationalist. This is a slight asymmetry, but the term "right-wing radical" is a common qualification for Milei's position in the political science literature.

Degree of outrage: 1/5

Selectivity: 2/5

Summary: There is no systematic selective outrage in the broadcast. The only indication is the asymmetric labelling of Milei versus Meloni, which represents a slight but not serious bias.



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

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*Definition: How completely does the broadcast cover the topic?*

### Finding 1:

Timestamp: 00:40

Missing perspective/fact: Substantive analysis of the presidential decrees by an independent expert.

Relevance: The decrees have far-reaching consequences for millions of people and for international relations. An evening news programme that covers this as its main topic should contain at least one analytical voice.

#### Impact

The viewer receives a list of measures without context, making it impossible to assess their significance and scope.

### Finding 2:

Timestamp: 03:24

Missing perspective/fact: Biden's pre-emptive pardoning of, among others, Fauci and members of the Capitol investigation committee is mentioned but not analysed.

Relevance: This is an exceptional step that illustrates the tension between the two presidents and the state of the American rule of law.

#### Impact

Without analysis, the political and legal significance of this measure remains unclear to the viewer.

### Finding 3:

Timestamp: 11:14

Missing perspective/fact: The Gaza ceasefire and the humanitarian situation are covered without the perspective of humanitarian organisations or residents of Gaza.

Relevance: The humanitarian crisis in Gaza is one of the most urgent international issues; the reporting is limited to logistical facts.

#### Impact

The human dimension of the crisis remains out of view.

Summary: The broadcast is factually correct but structurally incomplete in terms of analysis and context. This is partly inherent to the format of an evening news programme, but the consistent absence of independent experts across all major topics is a pattern that limits the informative value of the broadcast.



## Soft facts — 6 qualitative techniques

### 10. FRAMING

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*Definition: How is the topic fundamentally framed?*

#### Finding 1:

Timestamp: 00:29

<b>Quote</b>	<i>"From the moment Trump campaigned, he made one promise after another. He wants to change a lot. And he is in a hurry."</i>
<b>Manipulation</b>	Trump is framed as someone who "is in a hurry" and "wants to change a lot", suggesting a frame of impatience and possible recklessness, without this being explicitly stated.
<b>Why problematic</b>	An alternative frame would be: "Trump is immediately implementing his election promises", which would colour the same facts more positively. The choice of "hurry" has a slightly negative connotation.

#### Finding 2:

Timestamp: 05:05

<b>Quote</b>	<i>"From Argentina, the right-wing radical president Milei."</i>
<b>Manipulation</b>	Milei is the only leader present to be given an ideologically qualifying label, implicitly framing the inauguration as a gathering of radical right-wing leaders.
<b>Why problematic</b>	The label "right-wing radical" is politically scientifically defensible for Milei, but the asymmetric application (Meloni receives no label) creates a selective frame.

#### Finding 3:

Timestamp: 12:01

<b>Quote</b>	<i>"The trucks, slowly winding their way past the rubble, are prey for looters."</i>
<b>Manipulation</b>	The aid operation in Gaza is framed as chaotic and vulnerable ("prey for looters"), placing the emphasis on problems in the implementation rather than on humanitarian progress.
<b>Why problematic</b>	This frame can create the impression that the aid operation is ineffective, while the main message (915 trucks) is actually positive.

Summary: There is a slight but consistent tendency towards negative framing in Trump-related reporting and in the Gaza aid operation. This is not systematic enough to qualify as serious bias, but the pattern is identifiable.



## 11. WORD CHOICE AND TERMINOLOGY

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

### Finding 1:

Timestamp: 05:05

<b>Quote</b>	<i>"From Argentina, the right-wing radical president Milei."</i>
<b>Manipulation</b>	The word "radical" has a negative connotation in Dutch language use and is generally associated with extremism.
<b>Why problematic</b>	A neutral alternative would be: "the right-wing president Milei" or "the libertarian president Milei". The addition of "radical" is a value judgement that is not consistently applied to other leaders present.

### Finding 2:

Timestamp: 00:34

<b>Quote</b>	<i>"He wants to change a lot. And he is in a hurry."</i>
<b>Manipulation</b>	"Hurry" in the context of political leadership carries a connotation of haste and lack of care.
<b>Why problematic</b>	Neutral alternative: "He wants to implement his promises quickly." The word choice "hurry" implies recklessness without this being substantiated.

### Finding 3:

Timestamp: 11:28

<b>Quote</b>	<i>"The Israeli bombardments have barely stopped and they are back again."</i>
<b>Manipulation</b>	"They are back again" refers to Hamas fighters emerging. The formulation suggests that Hamas resurfaces immediately after the bombardments cease, creating a frame of inevitability and futility of the ceasefire.
<b>Why problematic</b>	Neutral alternative: "Hamas fighters emerged after the bombardments ceased." The current formulation has a dramatising connotation.

Summary: The word choice is predominantly neutral but shows at several points a slight negative tendency in Trump-related reporting and in the description of the situation in Gaza. The most notable asymmetry is the label "right-wing radical" for Milei.



## 12. MODERATION BEHAVIOUR

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

*Methodological starting point (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: 08:43

Triggering event: Mayor Schouten explains her approach to the explosions.

#### Quote (presenter)

*[No follow-up question visible in transcript — Schouten speaks uninterrupted]*

#### Comparison

No comparable situation with another guest where follow-up questions were asked.

Asymmetry: Not demonstrable on the basis of the available transcript. Schouten is not critically questioned, but there is no comparable situation where another guest was critically questioned.

Summary: On the basis of the available transcript, no demonstrable asymmetry in moderation behaviour can be established. The broadcast contains few interactive interviews; most contributions are monologues or reporting. The absence of critical follow-up questions to Schouten is notable but not demonstrably asymmetric.



### 13. QUESTION ASYMMETRY

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

#### Asymmetry 1:

To Mayor Schouten, 08:43: [No explicit question visible in transcript — Schouten speaks in response to a question not shown] — soft/neutral

To Amsterdam Police, 10:13: [No explicit question visible in transcript — spokesperson speaks in response to a question not shown] — soft/neutral

#### Comparison

Both institutional sources are not critically questioned. There is no guest who is questioned more rigorously, making asymmetry not demonstrable.

Summary: On the basis of the available transcript, no demonstrable question asymmetry can be established. The broadcast contains no confrontational interviews where the hardness of questions can be compared. The absence of critical questions to all interviewees is a general characteristic of the broadcast, not an asymmetry.



<b>14. FALSE BALANCE</b>									<b>2/10</b>
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*Definition: Artificial balance despite factual imbalance.*

#### **Finding 1:**

Timestamp: 15:17

Construct: "The World Anti-Doping Agency will not appeal in the doping case of Swiatek."

#### **Analysis**

The reporting on Swiatek presents the outcome (no WADA appeal) as a conclusion to the case, without mentioning the broader discussion about the credibility of the doping investigation. There is no false balance in the classical sense, but the one-sided presentation of the official outcome without a critical note is notable.

Summary: There is no classical false balance in this broadcast. The broadcast does not present artificial equivalence between unequal positions. The finding regarding Swiatek is marginal and concerns a matter of completeness rather than false balance.



## 15. AGENDA-SETTING

5/10

1

2

3

4

5

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10

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

### Finding 1:

Stated agenda element: The inauguration of Trump is treated as a factual news event without political analysis for the Netherlands.

Timestamp: 00:24 — Evidence: "The United States has a new president."

Alternative agenda: The consequences of Trump's inauguration for Dutch and European politics, including the reaction of the Dutch coalition government, could have been on the agenda.

### Finding 2:

Stated agenda element: The pardoning of Capitol rioters is presented as one of many decrees, without particular emphasis on the rule-of-law implications.

Timestamp: 01:52 — Evidence: "Another promise Trump has been making for a long time is to pardon the rioters who stormed the Capitol in 2021."

Alternative agenda: The significance of this pardoning for the democratic rule of law and its precedent-setting effect could have been on the agenda.

### Finding 3:

Stated agenda element: The presence of tech moguls at the inauguration is presented as a curiosity ("They have been given a good spot").

Timestamp: 05:10 — Evidence: "And the very wealthiest have also been invited. Such as tech moguls Elon Musk and Mark Zuckerberg for example."

Alternative agenda: The political significance of the entanglement of Silicon Valley with the new government, including the implications for platform regulation and freedom of expression, could have been on the agenda.

Summary: The broadcast sets an agenda whereby the Trump inauguration is presented primarily as a spectacle and factual news event, while the political and societal implications for the Netherlands and Europe systematically remain off the agenda. This is partly explainable by the format, but the pattern is consistent.



## CHAPTER 4 — OVERALL ASSESSMENT

### Overview of Individual Scores

No.	Criterion	Type	Score	Main finding (1 sentence)
1	Expert selection	H	6	Exclusively institutional sources; no independent scientific experts in the Trump reporting
2	Source selection	H	5	Sources limited to government and NOS correspondent; no independent counter-sources
3	Time allocation	H	3	Conventional news hierarchy; no political asymmetry demonstrable
4	Omission	H	6	Systematic absence of analysis at rule-of-law-related elements of the Trump inauguration
5	Numerical manipulation	H	2	No systematic numerical manipulation; limited contextualisation of some figures
6	Guilt by association	H	4	Asymmetric labelling of Milei as "right-wing radical" without comparable label for other leaders
7	Timing	H	3	No systematic timing manipulation; conventional news order
8	Selective outrage	H	2	No systematic selective outrage; slight asymmetry in labelling of Milei
9	Completeness	H	6	Structural absence of independent analysis across all major topics
10	Framing	S	4	Slight negative framing with Trump ("hurry") and Gaza ("prey for looters")
11	Word choice	S	4	Asymmetric use of "right-wing radical" for Milei; slight negative connotations with Trump
12	Moderation behaviour	S	2	No demonstrable asymmetry; general absence of critical follow-up questions
13	Question asymmetry	S	2	No demonstrable question asymmetry; no confrontational interviews
14	False balance	S	2	No classical false balance found
15	Agenda-setting	S	5	Trump inauguration presented as spectacle; political implications for the Netherlands systematically off the agenda

### Results

- HARD FACTS SCORE (Average criteria 1-9): 4.1 / 10
- SOFT FACTS SCORE (Average criteria 10-15): 3.2 / 10
- TOTAL SCORE (Average all 15 criteria): 3.7 / 10

### Dominant Techniques

The 3 strongest techniques in this broadcast:



- 1. Expert selection (Score 6):** The broadcast makes exclusive use of institutional sources (NOS correspondent, mayor, police) without independent scientific or societal experts. For the biggest news topic of the day — the inauguration of Trump with far-reaching decrees — any form of independent analysis is absent, leaving the viewer without tools to assess the significance of the events.
- 2. Omission / Completeness (Score 6):** The broadcast systematically omits analysis at politically sensitive elements: the pardoning of Capitol rioters, the presence of tech moguls, the consequences for the Netherlands and Europe. This pattern of consistent omission of context at rule-of-law-related topics is the most notable structural characteristic of the broadcast.
- 3. Agenda-setting (Score 5):** The Trump inauguration is presented as a factual spectacle — decrees, ceremony, attendees — without placing the political and societal implications for the Netherlands and Europe on the agenda. The absence of Dutch politicians and experts as commentators is a deliberate editorial choice that determines the agenda.

## Core Messages of the Broadcast

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**MESSAGE 1 (SUBSTANTIVE):** "Trump is president and will immediately and quickly implement major changes."

**Technique:** Framing via word choice ("hurry", "immediately", "directly") — Evidence: 00:29, 00:34, 00:40

**MESSAGE 2 (PERSONAL):** "The inauguration is an event for radical leaders and the super-rich."

**Technique:** Guilt by association via selective labelling (Milei as "right-wing radical") and framing ("the very wealthiest") — Evidence: 05:05, 05:10

**MESSAGE 3 (SOCIETAL):** "The explosions and extortion in the Netherlands are serious but are being addressed by the authorities."

**Technique:** Institutional framing via exclusive use of government and police sources without critical follow-up questions — Evidence: 08:04, 10:13

**Reasoning:** The broadcast scores 3.7/10 and thus falls into the category "slight tendency". The reporting is predominantly factual and correct, but shows a consistent pattern of incomplete contextualisation, selective labelling and agenda-setting that gives the viewer a limited picture of the political significance of the topics covered. The slight negative framing in Trump-related reporting (word choice, labelling of Milei) and the systematic absence of independent analysis are the most notable characteristics. In the light of Media Act Art. 2.1, the broadcast is not in conflict with the pluralism obligation at the level of a single broadcast, but the pattern of institutional source selection and the absence of independent experts deserves attention in the context of the total range of programming.

## CONCLUSION

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The NOS Journaal broadcast of 20 January 2025 is a factually correct evening news programme covering the inauguration of Trump, domestic news and sport. The broadcast shows no serious manipulation techniques but does show a consistent pattern of structural incompleteness: for the biggest news topic of the day, independent experts, Dutch political reactions and substantive analysis of rule-of-law-related elements are absent. The slight negative framing in Trump-related reporting (word choice "hurry", asymmetric label "right-wing radical" for Milei) is identifiable but not systematic enough to qualify as serious bias. In the context of Media Act Art. 2.1, the broadcast does not in itself conflict with the pluralism obligation, but the consistent choice of institutional sources over independent experts and the absence of Dutch political context in international news with direct relevance for the Netherlands are editorial choices that limit the informative value of the broadcast. A legally sound determination of a violation of Art. 2.1 requires analysis of the total NPO programming over a longer period, not of a single broadcast.



## OVERALL EVALUATION OF THE 15 CRITERIA

### Individual scores — All 15 criteria

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

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

**4.1/10**

*Considerable imbalance*

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

**3.2/10**

*Slight imbalance*

#### TOTAL SCORE

**3.7/10**

*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 established.
<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>Considerable finding (threshold)</b>	Scores from 6 onwards are classified as 'considerable findings'.
<b>7</b>	<b>Considerable 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, ongoing imbalance in this criterion.

### Aggregated deviation index — Interpretation ranges

<b>0.0 – 2.5</b>	<b>Unremarkable</b>	No material patterns observable; 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>Considerable imbalance</b>	Multiple considerable 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 observable 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 CLASSIFICATION (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)

Factual description: The broadcast covers the inauguration of Trump — the biggest international news topic of the day with direct relevance for Dutch politics — exclusively via an NOS correspondent on location, without giving independent experts, Dutch politicians or civil society organisations a voice.

Evidence: Timestamp 02:06 — Quote: "In Washington is our correspondent Rudy Bouma." — No other voice on the Trump inauguration in the entire broadcast.

Assessment: The absence of pluriform voices on the main topic of the broadcast is an indication of limited pluriformity. At the level of a single broadcast, this is insufficient for a formal violation of Art. 2.1, which requires pluralism across the total range of programming.

Violation 2:

Norm: Media Act Art. 2.1 (balance)

Factual description: The labelling of Milei as "right-wing radical president" without a comparable label for other leaders present (Meloni) creates a slight but demonstrable asymmetry in the reporting.

Evidence: Timestamp 05:05 — Quote: "From Argentina, the right-wing radical president Milei." — Timestamp 05:08 — Quote: "And the Prime Minister of Italy is also present today." (no label)

Assessment: The asymmetric labelling is an indication of limited balance, but is in itself insufficient for a formal violation of Art. 2.1.

No violation demonstrable: The broadcast contains no demonstrable violation of the independence obligation of Art. 2.1. There are no indications of political steering of the editorial team or external pressure on the reporting.

### Overall Assessment Media Act Art. 2.1

The NOS Journaal broadcast of 20 January 2025 meets the minimum requirements of Media Act Art. 2.1 at the level of a single broadcast, but shows structural characteristics that, if repeated across the total range of programming, could lead to a violation of the pluriformity and balance requirement. The consistent choice of institutional sources over independent experts, the asymmetric labelling of political leaders and the absence of Dutch political context in international news with direct national relevance are editorial patterns that deserve further investigation in the context of the total NPO programming. A formal determination of a violation of Art. 2.1 requires analysis of a representative sample of broadcasts over a longer period, in accordance with the case law of the Commissariaat voor de Media.

### SOURCE DEPTH CHECK (Mandatory for all cited specialist bodies / NGOs / advisory bodies)

#### 1. NOS (Nederlandse Omroep Stichting)

**1. FUNDING:** Publicly funded via central government (media budget); no commercial income from advertising on NPO 1/2/3.

**2. MANDATE:** Statutory mandate for independent, pluriform and balanced reporting in accordance with Media Act Art. 2.1. Compatible with neutral reporting.

**3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Institutional interest in maintaining public funding; political pressure from PVV coalition that qualifies the NPO as a "left-wing broadcaster". Potentially subtle interest in avoiding reporting that gives rise to political criticism.

**4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX:**

D1 Conflict of interest: +1 — Publicly funded, no commercial interest, but political pressure present

D2 Personal risk: +1 — Reputational risk in case of inaccurate reporting

D3 Professional competence: +2 — Professional journalistic organisation with editorial standards

**Voorzitter:** Schläpfer, David - **Contact:** [kontakt@SVFAB.ch](mailto:kontakt@SVFAB.ch) - **Adres:** SVFAB, Postfach, CH-8021 Zürich 1



- D4 Consistency: +1 — Consistent in journalistic approach
- D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: +2 — Predominantly factual
- D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary source (journalistic organisation)

• TOTAL: +7 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: GREEN

**5. COUNTER-VOICE:** Independent media researchers (e.g. University of Amsterdam, Mediamonitor) offer a critical perspective on NOS reporting.

## 2. Municipality of Rotterdam / Mayor Schouten

- 1. FUNDING:** Publicly funded via municipal budget and central government grants.
- 2. MANDATE:** Administrative mandate for public order and safety. Not compatible with fully neutral scientific analysis of crime problems.
- 3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Institutional interest in presenting one's own approach as adequate and effective; political interest in demonstrating decisiveness.

### 4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX:

- D1 Conflict of interest: -1 — Institutional interest in positive image
- D2 Personal risk: 0 — Limited personal risk
- D3 Professional competence: +1 — Administrative expertise, no criminological specialisation
- D4 Consistency: +1 — Consistent with administrative line
- D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: +1 — Predominantly factual
- D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary source

• TOTAL: +2 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW

**5. COUNTER-VOICE:** An independent criminologist or sociologist could have analysed the effectiveness of the approach and the background of the explosions.

## 3. Amsterdam Police

- 1. FUNDING:** Central government, publicly funded.
- 2. MANDATE:** Enforcement of public order. Not compatible with fully neutral analysis of social causes of crime.
- 3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Institutional interest in encouraging the filing of reports and demonstrating effective investigation; interest in presenting one's own approach as adequate.

### 4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX:

- D1 Conflict of interest: -1 — Institutional interest in positive image
- D2 Personal risk: 0 — Limited personal risk
- D3 Professional competence: +1 — Operational expertise, no social science specialisation
- D4 Consistency: +1 — Consistent with institutional line
- D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: +1 — Predominantly factual
- D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary source

• TOTAL: +2 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW

**5. COUNTER-VOICE:** A youth care expert or sociologist could have provided the broader context of online extortion among young people.

*IMPORTANT: "Recognised" is not a substantive qualification. It is a social attribution that must itself be critically assessed. All three sources cited in this broadcast are institutional sources with a structural interest in a particular image. The absence of independent scientific sources is the most notable structural characteristic of the source selection in this broadcast.*

## Source traffic light for participants:

Source	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	Total	Signal
NOS (Nederlandse Omroep Stichting)	+1	+1	+2	+1	+2	0	+7	GREEN
Municipality of Rotterdam / Mayor Schouten	-1	0	+1	+1	+1	0	+2	YELLOW



Amsterdam Police	-1	0	+1	+1	+1	0	+2	<b>YELLOW</b>
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## 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 Commissariaat voor de Media).
<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 intent</b>	The analysis measures observable structural characteristics of broadcasts. A score of 7 means that a considerable imbalance has been established — not that the editorial team intended this. The methodology makes no statements about motives or strategic objectives.
<b>Heuristic comparison instrument</b>	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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- Commissariaat voor de Media (CvdM): Media supervision, compliance with Media Act
- NPO Ombudsman: Internal complaints body

#### Complaints procedure

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1. NPO Ombudsman
2. Commissariaat voor de Media
3. Court (administrative law)



## 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](#)

*David Schläpfer — ORCID: 0009-0000-5671-9266*

SVFAB — Swiss Association for Balanced Reporting | P.O. Box, 8021 Zurich 1 | [www.svfab.ch](http://www.svfab.ch) | [kontakt@svfab.ch](mailto:kontakt@svfab.ch) | *Methods report March 2026* | Converter 3.4 (2026-05-20)



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**Bank details:** PostFinance – POFICHBE

**IBAN:** CH32 0900 0000 1675 6251 1

**Beneficiary:** SVFAB, Postfach, CH-8021 Zürich 1



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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.

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