



NPO DETAILED ANALYSIS

2025-05-15_VPWON_1360449

Broadcast: NPO broadcast | 2025-05-15 | Analysed on: 2026-05-23 03:52

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

TOTAL SCORE

4.9/10

Considerable imbalance

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

POLITICAL SPECTRUM

Classification based on Chapel Hill Expert Survey (CHES) 2024

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

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

The overall tendency is displayed on a 0–10 scale (0 = strongly left-favouring, 5 = balanced, 10 = strongly right-favouring). The calculation is based on the difference in average favouring of left vs. right parties (grouping according to CHES 2024).

TENDENCY (L – R)

5.0 / 10

Balanced

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

← Left

Right →

Source: Chapel Hill Expert Survey 2024 — chesdata.eu | [Jolly et al., Electoral Studies, 2022](#) | Threshold values: [Pew Research Center](#)

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



POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

The Schoof cabinet (since July 2024) is an extra-parliamentary cabinet consisting of 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), PvdD (3 seats), CU (3 seats), SGP (3 seats), FvD (3 seats), DENK and Volt.

Party	CHES L-R	Seats	Government/Opposition	Core position
SP	1.1	5	Opposition	Socialist, anti-market
GL-PvdA	2.4	25	Opposition (largest)	Climate, humane asylum, wealth distribution
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-right
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, firm but fair migration
BBB	7.5	7	Government	Agrarian-populist, farmers' interests
SGP	7.8	3	Opposition	Reformed, traditional
PVV	9.2	37	Government (largest)	Anti-Islam, asylum stop, Nexit debate
FvD	9.5	3	Opposition	Far-right, Baudet

The migration debate dominates Dutch politics: the Schoof cabinet is implementing the strictest asylum policy ever, while opposition parties such as GL-PvdA and D66 advocate for a more humane policy. The war in Ukraine and the role of Trump create a second line of tension between Atlantic solidarity and national sovereignty. The conflict in Gaza divides society deeply: municipalities such as Amsterdam and Utrecht are openly taking a stance against cabinet policy, putting the relationship between local and national government under pressure. Finally, the rule of law is under pressure due to the tension between the PVV agenda and judicial rulings on asylum and return policy.

The NPO is the public broadcaster of the Netherlands and falls under the Media Act 2008. Article 2.1 obliges the public broadcaster to provide pluriform, balanced and independent reporting across its entire output. The NPO system is fragmented: broadcasting associations such as BNNVARA, KRO-NCRV and AVROTROS have their own editorial responsibility. PVV leader Wilders has repeatedly criticised the NPO as a "left-wing broadcaster", which increases the political pressure on the public broadcaster.



CHAPTER 1 — PARTY-POLITICAL BIAS

Assessment per party

Party	Score (-5..+5)	Broadcast representation vs. party programme position
VVD	+2	16:26 "VVD member Malik Azmani... rapporteur, the chief negotiator" — Party programme position: firm but fair migration, regulation — correctly represented as a constructive negotiator; his centre-seeking strategy (22:13) is described neutrally without distortion
PVV	-1	21:32 "Of the PVV. Of the PVV" — Party programme position: asylum stop, strict return policy — PVV position is only mentioned in passing as part of a right-wing European faction; substantive PVV positions on return are not addressed; the party is given no speaking time of its own
GL-PvdA	+1	19:36 "Tineke Strik of GroenLinks/PvdA sees the return hubs as a shifting of responsibilities" — Party programme position: humane asylum policy, voluntary return — position correctly represented; Strik is given space for her arguments
NSC	0	Not present in the broadcast — Party programme position: manageable migration, economic security — no representation, no distortion
D66	0	Not present in the broadcast — Party programme position: European asylum policy, pragmatic — no representation
BBB	0	Not present in the broadcast — Party programme position: asylum stop, farmers' interests — no representation
CDA	+2	19:02 "A supporter of the return hubs is the CDA" — Party programme position: centre-right, pragmatic migration policy — CDA spokesperson is given space to defend position (19:08-19:32); representation is correct
SP	0	Not present in the broadcast — Party programme position: socialist, anti-market — no representation

Summary Party Bias

- Most accurate representation: VVD (Score +2) and CDA (Score +2) — both parties are correctly represented with their own speaking time
- Strongest distortion: PVV (Score -1) — the largest governing party is given no speaking time of its own and is only mentioned as part of a right-wing European faction
- Average deviation from 0: 0.75
- Conclusion: The broadcast shows a slight asymmetry: GL-PvdA and CDA are given substantive speaking time for their migration positions, while the PVV — as the largest governing party and driving force behind the return policy — is given no spokesperson of its own. Minister Faber (PVV) is discussed but not interviewed, meaning her position is conveyed exclusively through the reporter and critics.

Left-Right Overall Tendency

TENDENCY SCORE: +1.2

CLASSIFICATION: Left-favouring



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Reasoning: The broadcast gives more speaking time and substantive space to critics of the return policy (GL-PvdA, refugee lobbyists, migration expert Beirens) than to supporters. Minister Faber is discussed but not interviewed, while her opponents are given a platform. The framing of the return policy as "expensive", "vague" and potentially "inhumane" (24:34, 23:49) reflects a left-critical angle that is not balanced by an equally extensive defence from within the coalition.



CHAPTER 2 — BROADCAST INFORMATION AND THEMATIC FRAMEWORK

Broadcast details

- Title: Nieuwsuur
- Date: 15.05.2025
- Length (estimated from transcript):
- Presenter/Reporter: Presenter not named; reporters: Gert-Jan Dennekamp (Ukraine), Nynke de Zoeten (The Hague/migration)

Persons interviewed:

Person	Function	Party/Organisation	Political Spectrum
Gert-Jan Dennekamp	War correspondent NPO	NPO/Nieuwsuur	Neutral (journalist)
Malik Azmani	MEP, rapporteur return regulation	VVD	Right-liberal
Hanne Beirens	Expert European migration legislation	Not specified (academic/NGO context)	Non-partisan, critical of strict policy
CDA spokesperson	MEP	CDA	Centre-right
Tineke Strik	MEP	GL-PvdA	Left
IOM employee	Employee voluntary return	IOM (UN organisation)	Neutral/humanitarian
Mosque board member Utrecht	Board member Ulu Mosque, former PvdA councillor	PvdA background	Left
Nynke de Zoeten	Reporter The Hague	NPO/Nieuwsuur	Neutral (journalist)
Knoops	Lawyer/jurist (ICC)	Non-partisan	Neutral/rule of law
Brekelmans	Minister of Defence	VVD	Right-liberal
Pieter Jeroense	Researcher international municipal policy	Academic	Neutral
Utrecht mayor	Mayor of Utrecht	Not specified	Progressive
Arnhem municipal spokesperson	Municipal spokesperson Arnhem	Not specified	Progressive

Main theme

The broadcast covers three main topics: (1) the failed peace negotiations between Russia and Ukraine in Istanbul, (2) the European return regulation for rejected asylum seekers and the Dutch position therein, and (3) the support of Dutch municipalities for the call by Mayor Halsema to hold Israel to account over Gaza.



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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: Hanne Beirens — Expert European migration legislation

Timestamp: 17:02

Statement: "The member states and governments that have been pushing very hard for stricter immigration policy have really pulled hardest on this rope."

Framing: Critical of the return regulation; her statement implies that the regulation is the result of political pressure from right-wing governments, not of policy necessity.

Missing counterpoint: An expert who defends the effectiveness or legality of stricter return policy.

Source depth check:

(a) FUNDING: Not mentioned in the broadcast. Based on her name and expertise, presumably affiliated with an academic institution or policy think tank (Migration Policy Institute or similar). Funding source not made transparent.

(b) MANDATE: Her expertise in European migration legislation is relevant, but her statement has a clearly normative character ("pulled hardest on this rope" implies criticism of the process).

D1 Conflict of interest: 0 — No demonstrable direct interest, but institutional context unclear

D2 Personal risk: +1 — Academic position offers some protection for critical statements

D3 Professional competence: +2 — Expertise in European migration legislation is relevant to the statement

D4 Consistency of opinion: 0 — No previous statements available for comparison

D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: +1 — Statement is analytical but normatively coloured

D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary analysis of legislative process

• TOTAL: +4 → SOURCE LIGHT: YELLOW

(c) PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE: The broadcast presents Beirens as a neutral expert ("expert in European migration legislation") while her statement has a clearly critical-normative character with respect to the policy of right-wing governments. This is a case of Technique 2 (source selection as framing).

Expert 2: Pieter Jeroense — Researcher international municipal policy

Timestamp: 35:41

Statement: "Yes, and that says something. It says that this is a very deep feeling in society."

Framing: Jeroense legitimises Halsema's call as an expression of a broad social feeling, without weighing the counter-arguments (interference in foreign policy) equally.

Missing counterpoint: An expert in constitutional law or foreign policy who explains the limits of municipal competences.

Source depth check:

(a) FUNDING: Academic researcher; institution not mentioned. Presumably university-funded.

(b) MANDATE: His expertise in international municipal policy is relevant, but his normative interpretation ("that says something") exceeds his analytical role.

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D1 Conflict of interest: +1 — No demonstrable direct interest

D2 Personal risk: +1 — Academic position

D3 Professional competence: +2 — Expertise in municipal international policy is relevant

D4 Consistency of opinion: 0 — Not verifiable

D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: 0 — Partly analytical, partly normative

D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary analysis

• TOTAL: +4 → SOURCE LIGHT: YELLOW

(c) PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE: Jeroense is presented as a neutral researcher but his statements legitimise Halsema's call without weighing the institutional objections equally.

Missing expert groups:

- A legal expert who defends the legality of return hubs (only critical legal voices present)
- An expert in constitutional law on the limits of municipal competences in foreign policy
- A security expert on the effectiveness of return policy as a deterrent

Summary (Matrix result):

- Hanne Beirens: YELLOW (+4) — Relevant but normatively coloured; presented as neutral
- Pieter Jeroense: YELLOW (+4) — Relevant but legitimises Halsema's call without counterweight
- Both experts are critical of cabinet policy; an expert with a defensive position is entirely absent.

Source traffic light for participants:

Source	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	Total	Signal
Hanne Beirens — Expert European migration legislation	0	+1	+2	0	+1	0	+4	YELLOW
Pieter Jeroense — Researcher international municipal policy	+1	+1	+2	0	0	0	+4	YELLOW



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: IOM (International Organisation for Migration)

Timestamp: 11:45 — Statement: "The IOM helps illegal migrants who want to leave the Netherlands voluntarily."

(a) Funding and governance: IOM is an intergovernmental organisation, funded by member states and the UN. Its mandate is humanitarian and focused on orderly migration.

(b) Structural conflict of interest: IOM has an institutional interest in emphasising voluntary return as an effective instrument; forced return would marginalise its role.

(c) Missing counter-source: An organisation that substantiates the effectiveness of forced return.

Source 2: BBC and Sky News (on hospital bombing Gaza)

Timestamp: 33:25 — Statement: "But BBC and Sky News now say they have evidence that these claims by Israel are incorrect."

(a) Funding: BBC is publicly funded (UK), Sky News is commercial (Comcast/News Corp).

(b) Structural conflict of interest: Both media have editorial independence but are not primary sources; their verification is secondary.

(c) Missing counter-source: The Israeli military or an independent verification organisation (e.g. Bellingcat) that assesses the claims of the Israeli military.

Source 3: Refugee lobbyists (not named)

Timestamp: 16:48 — Statement: "We have very many concerns from our organisation about what is in that regulation."

(a) Funding: Not mentioned. Refugee organisations are typically funded by governments, the EU and private donors.

(b) Structural conflict of interest: Refugee organisations have an institutional interest in a generous asylum policy; their position is by definition partisan.

(c) Missing counter-source: An organisation representing the interests of receiving communities or the effectiveness of return policy.

Rumour check (penalty points):

Rumour 1:

Timestamp: 26:57 — Claim: "Or she will go there soon but that has not yet been confirmed."

Word marker: "not yet confirmed"

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

Rumour 2:

Timestamp: 30:03 — Claim: "According to NATO sources, the United States would be opposed to Zelensky coming to The Hague."



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Word marker: "According to NATO sources", "would"

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

Summary: The source selection is structurally unbalanced: refugee organisations and critical experts dominate the migration debate, while sources that substantiate cabinet policy are absent. 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:

- Critical of return policy (Strik GL-PvdA, Beirens, refugee lobbyists, IOM employee): approx. 6 min. (approx. 25%)
- Supporter of return policy (CDA spokesperson, Azmani VVD): approx. 3 min. (approx. 12%)
- Minister Faber (PVV) — via reporter, not directly: approx. 3 min. (approx. 12%)
- Ukraine/Russia segment (Dennekamp, neutral reporting): approx. 10 min. (approx. 40%)
- Gaza/Israel segment: approx. 5 min. (approx. 20%)
- Presenter/reporters: approx. 8 min. (approx. 32%)

Summary: In the migration debate, critics of the return policy receive significantly more direct speaking time than supporters. Minister Faber, as the primary person responsible for the policy, does not speak herself, meaning her position is conveyed exclusively through the reporter — a structural asymmetry.



4. OMISSION (Selective Omission)

7/10

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

Omission 1: Minister Faber not interviewed

Context

Minister Faber is the primary person responsible for the return policy and the return hubs. She is discussed at length but not interviewed.

Relevant at: 23:02 — "This cabinet is for the strictest asylum policy ever"

Effect

Faber's own argumentation for the policy is absent; her position is conveyed exclusively through a critical reporter and opponents, creating a one-sided picture.

Omission 2: Effectiveness data for forced return

Context

The reporter states that the deterrence argument has "never been proven" (25:25), but presents no data that prove or nuance the contrary.

Relevant at: 25:25 — "According to Faber it has a deterrent effect, but that has never been proven."

Effect

The claim that the deterrence argument has "never been proven" is presented as fact without citing a source, while the contrary has also not been proven.

Omission 3: Israeli perspective on hospital bombing

Context

BBC and Sky News refute the Israeli claims about the hospital, but Israel is given no opportunity to respond to this refutation.

Relevant at: 33:25 — "BBC and Sky News now say they have evidence that these claims by Israel are incorrect."

Effect

The broadcast presents the refutation as definitive without applying the right of reply, which is contrary to basic journalistic standards.

Summary: The structural omission of Minister Faber as a direct interlocutor and the absence of the Israeli perspective are the most significant gaps; both create a one-sided picture on crucial parts of the broadcast.

Missing voices

- Minister Faber (PVV): Could have defended the policy logic of return hubs and the deterrence argument from her own perspective
- NSC spokesperson: Could have explained the coalition's vision on manageable migration as a centrist party
- Ugandan government representative: Could have given the perspective of the destination country on return agreements
- Israeli spokesperson or embassy: Could have clarified the Israeli position on the hospital bombing claims
- Legal expert pro return hubs: Could have defended the legality of return hubs within international law



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- Municipalities that do not support Halsema's call: Could have represented the counterpoint on municipal involvement in foreign policy
- Russian delegation Istanbul: Could have directly explained the Russian position on the negotiations
- Residents of nuisance areas: Could have broadened the citizen perspective on undocumented persons and safety



5. STATISTICAL MANIPULATION

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

Definition: Selective or misleading use of statistics.

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 13:00

Figure: "According to the Ministry of Asylum and Migration, around 2,000 people returned to their country of origin with the help of organisations such as the IOM."

Dimensions: (a) Absolute value shown — 2,000 persons; (b) Share NOT shown — what percentage of the total number of rejected asylum seekers is this?; (c) Trend NOT shown — is this more or less than in previous years?

Missing context

The total number of rejected asylum seekers in the Netherlands is not mentioned, making it impossible to put 2,000 in perspective.

Effect

The viewer cannot assess whether 2,000 voluntary returnees is a lot or a little; the figure floats without a frame of reference.

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 20:22

Figure: "But yes, one in five returns now."

Dimensions: (a) Share shown — 20%; (b) Absolute value NOT shown — how many persons does this concern?; (c) Trend NOT shown — has this percentage risen or fallen?

Missing context

The source of this percentage is not mentioned; it is unclear whether this concerns voluntary or forced return.

Effect

The percentage of 20% is used as an argument for the necessity of stricter policy, but without citing a source or trend data, the evidential value is limited.

Summary: Two relevant figures are presented without a complete three-dimensional framework, preventing the viewer from forming an adequate judgement about the scale and development of the return problem.



6. GUILT BY ASSOCIATION

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Definition: Discrediting through association with negative groups/ideas.

Association 1:

Timestamp: 06:04

Quote

"The ideologue of the Kremlin, he is called."

Technique: The Russian delegation leader Medinski is characterised as "ideologue of the Kremlin" — a term with negative connotations that associates him with Putin's propaganda apparatus.

Effect

The viewer is primed to distrust everything Medinski says; his statements are discredited in advance.

Association 2:

Timestamp: 21:42

Quote

"This is the group of the PVV and of Rassemblement National, Vlaams Belang."

Technique: The PVV is mentioned in the same breath as Rassemblement National and Vlaams Belang — parties that are regarded as far-right in the European context. This creates an association that marginalises the PVV position in advance.

Effect

The PVV's position in the European Parliament is framed as part of a far-right minority, not as the position of the largest Dutch governing party.

Summary: The association of the PVV with Rassemblement National and Vlaams Belang is the most politically relevant guilt by association in this broadcast; the characterisation of Medinski as "Kremlin ideologue" is journalistically understandable but contributes to a one-sided framing of the Russian position.



7. TIMING

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

Finding 1:

Position: 23:49 (middle of the migration segment)

Content: "So not the strictest but the most expensive asylum policy ever."

Timing effect

This summary by the reporter — who reformulates cabinet policy as "most expensive" rather than "strictest" — is placed after the presentation of the critical perspectives and before the questions about return hubs. It functions as a framing conclusion that takes the viewer into the next section with a negative judgement about the policy.

Finding 2:

Position: 34:57 (beginning of the Gaza/municipalities segment)

Content: "The destruction of Gaza must stop, the starvation must stop, the killing of Palestinians must stop."

Timing effect

The Gaza segment opens with the most emotionally charged quote from Mayor Halsema, emotionally positioning the viewer before the analytical interpretation follows. This is a classic emotional primer.

Summary: The timing of the reporter's conclusion about the "most expensive asylum policy" and the emotional opening of the Gaza segment are the most significant timing effects; both steer the viewer in a particular direction before the analysis is presented.



8. SELECTIVE INDIGNATION

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

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

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

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 25:34

Triggering event: MP states that the return proposal is "inhumane"

Reaction: "How much support does the Netherlands have for this inhumane proposal?" — the reporter cites the term "inhumane" without distancing or quotation marks in the oral presentation

Comparison

In the description of the nuisance caused by undocumented persons (12:33 — "Death threats. Knives pulled from their jacket pockets") no comparable emotional qualification is used by the reporter

Asymmetry: The term "inhumane" for cabinet policy is adopted without distancing; the term "nuisance" for the consequences of the non-return policy is kept factual. This is an asymmetry.

Degree of indignation: 2/5

Selectivity: 2/5

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 09:36

Triggering event: Trump says he understands Putin's absence

Reaction: "Zelensky is left looking foolish... that is how it is interpreted in Kyiv."

Comparison

The Russian position (Putin stays in Moscow) is described as "ignores the invitation" (02:17) without comparable emotional colouring from a Russian perspective

Asymmetry: Trump's support for Putin is emotionally coloured through the Kyiv perspective; the Russian position is described more factually. Slight asymmetry.

Degree of indignation: 2/5

Selectivity: 2/5

Summary: The selective indignation is present but not extreme; the most significant asymmetry is the adoption of the term "inhumane" for cabinet policy without comparable qualifications for the consequences of the non-return policy.



9. COMPLETENESS (Selective Omission — Overall Picture)

7/10

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Definition: How completely does the broadcast portray the subject?

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 23:02

Missing perspective/fact: The policy logic of the cabinet for return hubs is not explained from within the coalition itself

Relevance: The Schoof cabinet has an explicit mandate for the strictest asylum policy ever; the argumentation for this policy deserves as much space as the criticism of it

Consequence: The viewer receives a predominantly critical picture of the return policy without the policy substantiation from within the coalition

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 33:25

Missing perspective/fact: Israeli response to the refutation by BBC and Sky News

Relevance: The right of reply is a basic principle of journalism; the refutation of Israeli claims is presented as definitive

Consequence: The viewer gets the impression that the Israeli claims are demonstrably incorrect, while the verification by BBC and Sky News is itself also secondary

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 36:55

Missing perspective/fact: Municipalities that do not support Halsema's call are not given a voice

Relevance: Of the 19 major municipalities, 8 support the call; the 11 that did not respond or do not support it represent a significant counterpoint

Consequence: The impression arises that there is broad municipal consensus for Halsema's call, while the majority of the municipalities contacted did not respond

Summary: The broadcast shows a structural pattern of incompleteness on three fronts: cabinet policy is not defended from within the coalition, the Israeli perspective is absent in the Gaza reporting, and the counterpoint to the Halsema call is not heard.



Soft facts — 6 qualitative techniques

10. FRAMING (Setting the frame)

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Definition: How is the subject fundamentally framed?

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 23:49

Quote	<i>"So not the strictest but the most expensive asylum policy ever."</i>
Manipulation	The reporter reformulates cabinet policy from "strictest" to "most expensive" — a framing that presents the policy as inefficient and wasteful rather than effective and necessary.
Why problematic	This is a normative judgement by the reporter, not a cited opinion; it is presented as a factual conclusion while it is an interpretation.

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 11:10

Quote	<i>"to expel rejected asylum seekers and other people without the right to remain from the country."</i>
Manipulation	The word "expel" has a harsher connotation than "send back" or "allow to return"; the frame of "expelling" suggests violence or coercion as the standard.
Why problematic	The broadcast consistently uses the harsher "expel" for cabinet policy, while softer terms are used for voluntary return ("help", "voluntary").

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 34:10

Quote	<i>"to sharply condemn the human rights violations in Gaza."</i>
Manipulation	The term "human rights violations" is presented as an established fact in the description of Halsema's call, not as her assertion.
Why problematic	Whether human rights violations are occurring is legally and politically contested; the broadcast adopts Halsema's qualification as a factual description.

Summary: The framing of the return policy as "expensive" and "expelling" and the adoption of the term "human rights violations" for Gaza are the most significant framing choices; both steer the viewer in a critical-progressive direction.



11. WORD CHOICE AND TERMINOLOGY

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

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 06:04

Quote	"The ideologue of the Kremlin, he is called."
Manipulation	"Ideologue of the Kremlin" is a pejorative term that associates Medinski with propaganda and unreliability.
Why problematic	A neutral alternative would be: "adviser to Putin and former Minister of Culture" — factual and without negative connotation.

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 25:34

Quote	"How much support does the Netherlands have for this inhumane proposal?"
Manipulation	The reporter cites the term "inhumane" from a parliamentary debate without distancing, making it appear as though the reporter themselves qualifies the proposal as inhumane.
Why problematic	A neutral alternative would be: "for this proposal, which is qualified as inhumane by the opposition" — with explicit attribution.

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 35:02

Quote	"the killing of Palestinians must stop."
Manipulation	The word "killing" implies intentional and unlawful killing; this is a legally and politically contested qualification that is presented as a quote from Halsema but is not distanced from by the broadcast.
Why problematic	A neutral alternative would be: "the killing of Palestinians" or "the civilian casualties" — factual without legal qualification.

Summary: The word choice in the broadcast shows a pattern of pejorative terms for right-wing positions (Kremlin ideologue, inhumane, expel) and empathetic terms for left-wing positions (voluntary, help, refugees); this contributes to a structural tonal asymmetry.



12. MODERATION BEHAVIOUR

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

Methodological principle (v2.2): Before each assessment, the triggering event is documented. An intervention can only be assessed as asymmetric if comparable triggering events with other guests did not produce an analogous intervention.

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 14:52

Triggering event: IOM employee says that his assistance is "voluntary and non-binding", also for people without lawful residence

Quote (presenter)

"But actually these people do have to go back."

Comparison

With Tineke Strik (GL-PvdA, 19:36), her claim that return hubs "shift responsibility" is not challenged in a comparable way

Asymmetry: The IOM employee is questioned further on the tension between his humanitarian approach and the legal reality; Strik is not questioned further on the tension between her position and the nuisance problem. Slight asymmetry.

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 24:51

Triggering event: Faber says that return hubs must remain "nice"

Quote (reporter)

"It must remain nice according to you. What does that mean?"

Comparison

With Strik (19:41), her claim that return hubs are "cleaning your own plate" is not questioned in a comparable way on the practical implications

Asymmetry: Faber's word choice ("nice") is critically questioned; Strik's metaphor ("cleaning your plate") is not challenged in a comparable way. Slight asymmetry.

Summary: The moderation behaviour shows a slight asymmetry whereby supporters of the return policy are more frequently questioned on inconsistencies than opponents; the asymmetry is present but not extreme.



13. QUESTION ASYMMETRY

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Definition: Different hard/soft questions to different persons.

Asymmetry 1:

To CDA spokesperson, 19:06: "Do you find this kind of return hub decent?" — hard, normatively loaded

To Tineke Strik (GL-PvdA), 19:36: No direct question; her position is introduced as "sees the return hubs as a shifting of responsibilities" — her standpoint is presented without critical follow-up questioning

Comparison

The CDA spokesperson must defend his position on a normatively loaded question ("decent?"); Strik is given space to present her position without comparable challenge.

Asymmetry 2:

To Nynke de Zoeten about Faber, 23:41: "Why does the cabinet not focus on that?" (about voluntary return) — critical question about cabinet policy

To Nynke de Zoeten about the opposition, 23:32: "Voluntary return works much better according to the opposition." — the opposition standpoint is presented as fact, not as a claim that is questioned further

Comparison

Cabinet policy is critically questioned; the opposition standpoint is presented as a given.

Summary: The question asymmetry is most visible in the migration debate: supporters of the return policy are questioned normatively ("decent?", "why not?"), while opponents can present their positions without comparable challenge.



14. FALSE BALANCE

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Definition: Artificial balance despite factual imbalance.

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 22:09

Construction: "So despite the VVD in the Netherlands cooperating with the PVV, Azmani is seeking a majority in Europe via the centre and the left."

Analysis

This remark suggests a contradiction between the Dutch coalition logic (VVD+PVV) and Azmani's European negotiation strategy. This is factually correct but is presented as a remarkable inconsistency, while it is a normal political reality that national and European coalitions differ.

Summary: False balance is present to a limited extent in this broadcast; the most relevant finding is the suggestion of inconsistency in Azmani's position, which is factually correct but normatively coloured.



15. AGENDA-SETTING

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

Finding 1:

Stated agenda element: Return hubs are by definition problematic and require justification

Timestamp: 19:06 — Evidence: "Do you find this kind of return hub decent?"

Alternative agenda: The question of whether the current policy of non-return is decent for receiving communities and for the rule of law could equally have been on the agenda.

Finding 2:

Stated agenda element: Halsema's call is a legitimate and broadly supported signal

Timestamp: 34:04 — Evidence: "Amsterdam is not alone in this."

Alternative agenda: The question of whether municipalities are competent to involve themselves in foreign policy and what the constitutional limits are could have been more central on the agenda.

Finding 3:

Stated agenda element: Israeli claims about the hospital have been refuted

Timestamp: 33:25 — Evidence: "BBC and Sky News now say they have evidence that these claims by Israel are incorrect."

Alternative agenda: The question of what Hamas does with civilian infrastructure and how this influences military decision-making does not make it onto the agenda.

Summary: The agenda-setting in this broadcast consistently places the return policy, the Halsema call and the Gaza reporting in a critical-progressive framework; alternative agendas that place the cabinet positions or the complexity of the Gaza conflict more centrally do not feature.



CHAPTER 4 — OVERALL ASSESSMENT

Overview of Individual Scores

No.	Criterion	Type	Score	Main finding (1 sentence)
1	Expert selection	H	6	Both experts are critical of cabinet policy; a defending expert is absent
2	Source selection	H	6	Refugee organisations and critical experts dominate; two rumours without a primary source
3	Time allocation	H	5	Critics of the return policy receive significantly more direct speaking time than supporters
4	Omission	H	7	Minister Faber not interviewed; Israeli perspective absent in Gaza reporting
5	Statistical manipulation	H	4	Two relevant figures presented without a complete three-dimensional framework
6	Guilt by association	H	3	PVV associated with Rassemblement National and Vlaams Belang without nuance
7	Timing	H	4	Reporter's conclusion "most expensive asylum policy" and emotional opening of Gaza segment steer the viewer
8	Selective indignation	H	4	Term "inhumane" for cabinet policy adopted without distancing
9	Completeness	H	7	Structural pattern of incompleteness on three fronts: coalition, Israel, counterpoint to Halsema
10	Framing	S	6	"Most expensive asylum policy", "expel" and "human rights violations" as self-evident frames
11	Word choice	S	5	Pejorative terms for right-wing positions; empathetic terms for left-wing positions
12	Moderation behaviour	S	4	Supporters of return policy more frequently questioned on inconsistencies than opponents
13	Question asymmetry	S	5	Normatively loaded questions to supporters; positions of opponents presented as given
14	False balance	S	3	Present to a limited extent; suggestion of inconsistency in Azmani's position
15	Agenda-setting	S	6	Return policy, Halsema call and Gaza consistently placed in a critical-progressive framework

Results

- HARD FACTS SCORE (Average Criteria 1-9): 5.1 / 10
- SOFT FACTS SCORE (Average Criteria 10-15): 4.8 / 10
- TOTAL SCORE (Average all 15 criteria): 5.0 / 10



Dominant Techniques

- 1. Omission (Score 7):** The most dominant technique is the structural absence of Minister Faber as a direct interlocutor and the absence of the Israeli perspective in the Gaza reporting. This creates a systematically one-sided picture on the two most politically sensitive subjects of the broadcast.
- 2. Completeness (Score 7):** The broadcast shows a pattern of selective completeness: critics of cabinet policy are given extensive space, while the policy substantiation from within the coalition is absent. This applies to both the migration debate and the Gaza reporting.
- 3. Framing (Score 6):** The return policy is consistently framed as "expensive", "vague" and potentially "inhumane", while the policy necessity and the nuisance problem are framed less prominently. The adoption of the term "human rights violations" for Gaza without distancing is a second significant framing choice.

Core Messages of the Broadcast

MESSAGE 1 (SUBSTANTIVE): "The cabinet's return policy is not only strict but also expensive, vague and possibly inhumane."

Technique: Framing + Omission — Policy is negatively framed through reporter conclusions and critical experts without defence from within the coalition.

Evidence: 23:49, 25:25, 24:28

MESSAGE 2 (PERSONAL): "Minister Faber has no answers to the critical questions about her policy."

Technique: Omission + Moderation behaviour — Faber is not interviewed; her position is conveyed exclusively through a critical reporter who presents her answers as incomplete.

Evidence: 23:02, 26:11, 28:02

MESSAGE 3 (SOCIETAL): "There is broad social and municipal consensus that the cabinet must take a harder stance against Israel over Gaza."

Technique: Agenda-setting + Selective completeness — Halsema's call is presented as a broadly supported signal; municipalities that do not support it are not given a voice.

Evidence: 34:04, 35:48, 39:02

Reasoning: The broadcast shows a consistent pattern of clear one-sidedness on multiple fronts. The structural absence of Minister Faber as a direct interlocutor, the dominance of critical experts and refugee lobbyists in the migration debate, the adoption of normative qualifications such as "inhumane" and "human rights violations" without distancing, and the absence of the Israeli perspective in the Gaza reporting together form a pattern that exceeds the threshold of incidental editorial choices. In light of Media Act Art. 2.1, the pluriformity of the output in this broadcast is insufficient: the perspectives of the largest governing party and its minister are not directly represented, while opposition perspectives and NGO positions are given ample coverage.

CONCLUSION

This broadcast of Nieuwsuur shows a pattern of clear one-sidedness that is measurable on multiple criteria. The most significant finding is the structural absence of Minister Faber (PVV) as a direct interlocutor in a broadcast that is largely about her policy; her position is conveyed exclusively through a critical reporter and opponents, which is contrary to the principle of the right of reply. The Gaza reporting lacks the Israeli perspective in the refutation of Israeli claims, constituting a comparable journalistic gap. The word choice ("inhumane", "expel", "killing of Palestinians") and the framing of the return policy as "most expensive asylum policy ever" are normative choices that cross the boundary between reporting and commentary. In light of Media Act Art. 2.1, which requires pluriform and balanced reporting, this broadcast falls short in the area of pluriformity: the perspectives of the coalition — and in particular the largest governing party PVV — are structurally underrepresented compared to opposition and NGO perspectives.



OVERALL EVALUATION OF THE 15 CRITERIA

Individual scores — All 15 criteria

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

HARD FACTS SCORE (1-8)

5.1/10

Considerable imbalance

SOFT FACTS SCORE (9-14)

4.8/10

Considerable imbalance

TOTAL SCORE

4.9/10

Considerable imbalance

Average of Hard Facts and Soft Facts



KEY — Meaning of the scores

Individual scores per criterion (0–10)

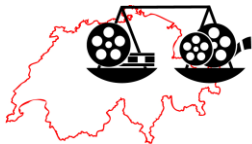
0	No finding	No relevant deviation established.
1–2	Weak finding	Slight deviation without material impairment of balance.
3–4	Slight to moderate finding	Recognisable tendency; minor to moderate impact.
5	Moderate finding with impact	Relevant imbalance that affects the opinion-forming potential of the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

Aggregated deviation index — Interpretation ranges

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

Party-political bias (-5 to +5)

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



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

Assessment on the basis of Media Act Art. 2.1

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

Violation 1:

Norm: Media Act Art. 2.1 — Pluriformity and balance

Factual description: Minister Faber (PVV), the primary person responsible for the return policy that is central to the broadcast, is not interviewed. Her position is conveyed exclusively through a critical reporter and opponents, while critics of the policy (GL-PvdA, refugee lobbyists, migration expert) are given extensive coverage.

Evidence: Timestamp 23:02 — "This cabinet is for the strictest asylum policy ever" (reporter about Faber, not Faber herself); timestamp 25:25 — "According to Faber it has a deterrent effect, but that has never been proven."

Assessment: The absence of the minister as a direct interlocutor in a broadcast that is largely about her policy is a violation of the principle of balance. The pluriformity of the output is insufficient when the largest governing party and its minister are not directly represented.

Violation 2:

Norm: Media Act Art. 2.1 — Independence and balance

Factual description: The reporter uses normative qualifications ("not the strictest but the most expensive asylum policy ever", 23:49) as factual conclusions, not as cited opinions. This crosses the boundary between reporting and commentary.

Evidence: Timestamp 23:49 — "So not the strictest but the most expensive asylum policy ever."

Assessment: The use of normative qualifications by the reporter without attribution or distancing is contrary to the independence principle of Media Act Art. 2.1; the reporter adopts a political position that is presented as a factual conclusion.

Violation 3:

Norm: Media Act Art. 2.1 — Pluriformity

Factual description: In the Gaza reporting, the refutation of Israeli claims by BBC and Sky News is presented as definitive without applying the right of reply to Israel. The term "human rights violations" is presented as an established fact in the description of Halsema's call.

Evidence: Timestamp 33:25 — "BBC and Sky News now say they have evidence that these claims by Israel are incorrect."; timestamp 34:10 — "to sharply condemn the human rights violations in Gaza."

Assessment: The absence of the right of reply in the refutation of Israeli claims and the presentation of "human rights violations" as an established fact are contrary to the pluriformity principle of Media Act Art. 2.1.

Overall Assessment Media Act Art. 2.1

This broadcast of Nieuwsuur does not fully meet the requirements of Media Act Art. 2.1 in the area of pluriformity and balance. The structural absence of Minister Faber as a direct interlocutor, the dominance of critical perspectives in the migration debate, the use of normative qualifications by the reporter as factual conclusions, and the absence of the right of reply in the Gaza reporting together form a pattern that exceeds the threshold of incidental editorial choices. Although the Media Act requires pluriformity across the entire output and not per broadcast, the pattern of one-sidedness in this broadcast is sufficiently consistent to constitute a signal for the editorial team to reconsider the balance of its reporting. A complaint to the Media Authority on the basis of Media Act Art. 2.1 could be admissible on the basis of the established findings, in particular with regard to the absence of the right of reply in the Gaza reporting and the use of normative qualifications by the reporter.



CHAPTER 6 — Source Depth Check

1. IOM — International Organisation for Migration

- FUNDING:** Intergovernmental organisation, funded by member states (including the Netherlands) and the UN. Publicly funded.
 - MANDATE:** Mandate is focused on orderly and humane migration; institutional interest in voluntary return as an instrument.
 - CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** IOM has an institutional interest in emphasising voluntary return; forced return would marginalise its role. This is a structural conflict of interest in the assessment of return policy.
 - CREDIBILITY MATRIX:**
 - D1 Conflict of interest: -1 — Institutional interest in voluntary return
 - D2 Personal risk: +1 — Intergovernmental organisation with stable funding
 - D3 Professional competence: +2 — Direct operational experience with return
 - D4 Consistency: +1 — Consistent mandate
 - D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: +1 — Predominantly factual
 - D6 Source level: +2 — Primary operational source
- TOTAL: +6 → SOURCE LIGHT: GREEN
- COUNTER-VOICE:** An organisation that substantiates the effectiveness of forced return is not cited.

2. Hanne Beirens — Expert European migration legislation

- FUNDING:** Not mentioned in the broadcast; presumably academic or policy think tank. Funding source not made transparent.
 - MANDATE:** Expertise in European migration legislation is relevant; however, her statements have a normative character that exceeds her analytical role.
 - CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Not demonstrably direct, but institutional context unclear; her statements are consistently critical of stricter migration policy.
 - CREDIBILITY MATRIX:**
 - D1 Conflict of interest: 0 — No demonstrable direct interest
 - D2 Personal risk: +1 — Academic position
 - D3 Professional competence: +2 — Expertise in European migration legislation
 - D4 Consistency: 0 — Not verifiable
 - D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: +1 — Analytical but normatively coloured
 - D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary analysis
- TOTAL: +4 → SOURCE LIGHT: YELLOW
- COUNTER-VOICE:** An expert who defends the effectiveness or legality of stricter return policy is not cited.

3. Refugee lobbyists (not named)

- FUNDING:** Not mentioned. Refugee organisations are typically funded by governments, the EU and private donors.
- MANDATE:** Explicit advocacy mandate for refugee rights; by definition partisan in the assessment of return policy.
- CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Structural conflict of interest: organisations have an institutional interest in a generous asylum policy and in blocking return hubs.
- CREDIBILITY MATRIX:**
 - D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — Structural interest in generous asylum policy
 - D2 Personal risk: 0 — Organisational position
 - D3 Professional competence: +1 — Operational knowledge of refugee situations
 - D4 Consistency: +1 — Consistent position
 - D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: -1 — Partly appellative
 - D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary advocacy



• TOTAL: -1 → SOURCE LIGHT: YELLOW

5. COUNTER-VOICE: An organisation representing the interests of receiving communities is not cited.

IMPORTANT: "Recognised" is not a substantive qualification. It is a social attribution that must itself be critically assessed. In this broadcast, refugee lobbyists are presented as legitimate interlocutors for MEPs, without their partisan position being made explicit to the viewer. This is a case of source selection as framing (Technique 2).

Source traffic light for participants:

Source	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	Total	Signal
IOM — International Organisation for Migration	-1	+1	+2	+1	+1	+2	+6	GREEN
Hanne Beirens — Expert European migration legislation	0	+1	+2	0	+1	0	+4	YELLOW
Refugee lobbyists (not named)	-2	0	+1	+1	-1	0	-1	YELLOW

Legal and methodological notes

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

Law

Media Act 2008

Relevant articles

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

Core obligations

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

Supervisory authority

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

Complaints procedure

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



APPENDIX 2: SCIENTIFIC SOURCES

Literature

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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.

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

Framing with style. Because the frame changes everything.