



NPO DETAILED ANALYSIS

2025-10-08_VPWON_1360588

Broadcast: NPO broadcast | 2025-10-08 | Analysed on: 2026-05-22 20:53

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

TOTAL SCORE

5.2/10

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)

4.2 / 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, VVD, NSC and BBB. Prime Minister Dick Schoof is non-partisan. The largest opposition parties are GL-PvdA (25 seats), D66 (9 seats), SP (5 seats), CDA (5 seats) and PvdD (3 seats).

Party	CHES L-R	Seats	Government/Opposition	Core position
SP	1.1	5	Opposition	Socioeconomic equality, anti-market forces
GL-PvdA	2.4	25	Opposition (largest)	Climate, humane asylum policy, fair sharing
PvdD	2.5	3	Opposition	Animal rights, climate, progressive
D66	4.8	9	Opposition	Pro-EU, liberal-progressive, education
CDA	5.5	5	Opposition	Christian democratic, centre
NSC	5.8	20	Government	Economic security, rule of law, manageable migration
CU	6.0	3	Opposition	Christian-social, centre-right
VVD	7.0	24	Government	Free market, liberal-right, entrepreneurship
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, anti-elite
FvD	9.5	3	Opposition	Far right, Baudet

The coalition is under pressure from internal tensions, particularly around the rule of law and asylum policy. The VVD finds itself in an identity crisis: the cooperation with PVV clashes with classical liberal core values. Three weeks before the Provincial Council elections (29 October, as mentioned in the broadcast), the VVD is polling low. The energy transition and grid congestion form a second major fault line, where economic feasibility clashes with climate ambitions.

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 broadcasting associations (such as BNNVARA, KRO-NCRV, AVRO) bear their own editorial responsibility. PVV leader Wilders has repeatedly criticised the NPO as a "left-wing broadcaster".



CHAPTER 1 — PARTY-POLITICAL BIAS

Assessment per party

Party	Score (-5..+5)	Broadcast representation vs. Party programme
VVD	-2	03:00 "campaign nightmare for the VVD" / 03:11 "it doesn't feel genuine" / 03:15 "That one is a bit too aggressive for me" — Party programme: VVD as a liberal party for entrepreneurship and the rule of law. Representation: internal conflict and leadership failure placed centre stage; liberal policy content virtually absent. Slightly distorted by one-sided focus on internal problems.
PVV	-3	07:00 "a party that we know for making proposals that go against democratic and rule-of-law values" / 08:09 "had proclaimed the replacement theory in the Senate" — Party programme: PVV as a party for asylum stop, purchasing power, security. Representation: framed exclusively as an anti-democratic threat; not a single substantive party position correctly represented. Distorted.
GL-PvdA	0	Not featured in broadcast.
NSC	0	Not featured in broadcast.
D66	0	Not featured in broadcast.
BBB	0	Not featured in broadcast.
CDA	0	Not featured in broadcast.
SP	0	Not featured in broadcast.

Summary Party Bias

- Most accurate representation: GL-PvdA, NSC, D66, BBB, CDA, SP (score 0 — not covered, therefore no distortion)
- Strongest distortion: PVV (score -3)
- Average deviation from 0: 0.6
- Conclusion: The broadcast covers the VVD exclusively from the perspective of internal decline and leadership failure, without correctly representing the substantive party positions. The PVV is characterised by the moderator and the guest exclusively as an anti-democratic and rule-of-law-threatening party, without PVV positions being presented or challenged substantively. This produces a structurally distorted picture of both parties.

Left-Right General Tendency

TENDENCY SCORE: +1.4

CLASSIFICATION: Left-favouring

Reasoning: The broadcast consistently portrays the VVD and PVV in a negative light — the VVD as a party in crisis that undermines the rule of law, the PVV as an anti-democratic force. Left-wing or progressive parties do not feature, but are also not criticised. The energy transition story is framed substantively in favour of climate policy, with consistent policy for the energy transition presented as the norm. The combination of negative framing of right-wing governing parties and the absence of critical questions directed at progressive alternatives results in a slightly left-favouring tendency.



CHAPTER 2 — BROADCAST INFORMATION AND THEMATIC FRAMEWORK

Broadcast details

- Title: NOS Journaal (evening broadcast, presumably 20:00 or 22:00)
- Date: 08.10.2025
- Length (estimated from transcript):
- Presenter/Reporter: Not named in transcript; Saskia Dekkers (Europe correspondent) as reporter; Jeroen (weather presenter/editor, 38:01)
- Persons interviewed:

Person	Function	Party/Affiliation	Political Spectrum
Cees van de Sanden	Senator (Senate), outgoing	VVD (departing)	Right-liberal
Saskia Dekkers	Europe correspondent NOS	NOS (editorial)	Neutral/journalistic
Mike	Homeless young person (21 years old)	None	None
Harmen	Homeless volunteer	None	None
Staff member homeless shelter Ede	Shelter worker	None	None
Alderman/municipal official Zwolle	Municipality of Zwolle	None	None
Initiator solar park Duiven	Citizens' initiative	None	None
Grid operator/energy expert	Energy sector	None	None
Richard Kampers	Neighbourhood resident Saksen Weimar	None	None
Business park representative Arnhem	Sustainable business park	None	None

Main theme

The broadcast covers three main topics: the departure of VVD senator Cees van de Sanden due to fundamental criticism of his party's direction, the growing homelessness in medium-sized Dutch municipalities, and the political crisis in France surrounding President Macron; as a fourth topic, grid congestion and the energy transition in Arnhem are covered.



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CHAPTER 3 — 15 CRITERIA: DETAILED ANALYSIS



Hard facts — 9 techniques that are countable and scientifically verifiable

1. CHOICE OF EXPERTS

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Definition: Who is given a voice as an expert?

Expert 1: Cees van de Sanden (outgoing VVD senator)

Timestamp: 01:34

Statement	"The party makes statements and supports proposals that go against the rule of law."
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Framing	Departing party member with a personal conflict with his party; lawyer by profession.
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Missing countervoice: VVD party leadership, loyal VVD senators, constitutional law expert.

Source depth check:

(a) FUNDING: Senator receives remuneration from the Senate (publicly funded). As a departing member, he no longer has a financial interest in the VVD. He does, however, have a reputational interest in justifying his departure.

(b) MANDATE: As a senator, he has a mandate for legislative scrutiny, not as a party critic. His role as a critic is personal, not institutional.

D1 Conflict of interest: -1 — Personal conflict with the party he criticises; reputational interest in justifying his decision.

D2 Personal risk: +1 — He loses his parliamentary group support and political network; some risk present.

D3 Professional competence: +1 — Lawyer, so legal knowledge relevant for rule-of-law judgements; not a political scientist.

D4 Consistency of opinion: 0 — Unclear whether he previously expressed the same criticism publicly; internally yes (08:41).

D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: 0 — Mix of legal arguments (Council of State) and personal experience ("stomach ache").

D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary source; cites Council of State but is not himself a primary source.

TOTAL: +1 → SOURCE LIGHT: YELLOW

(c) PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE: The broadcast presents Van de Sanden as a principled whistleblower without naming his personal interest in justifying his departure. This is structurally partisan framing.

Expert 2: Saskia Dekkers (NOS Europe correspondent)

Timestamp: 24:26

Statement	"Macron is incredibly unpopular. According to the latest polls, he has the support of only 14 percent of the French."
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Framing	NOS journalist, not an independent political scientist or France specialist.
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Source depth check:

(a) FUNDING: NOS, publicly funded. No direct financial interest in a particular outcome.

(b) MANDATE: Europe correspondent; mandate for reporting, not for political analysis.

D1 Conflict of interest: +1 — No direct interest; however, institutional interest in dramatisation (viewing figures).

D2 Personal risk: +1 — Journalistic reputation at stake in the event of factual errors.

D3 Professional competence: +1 — Experienced correspondent, but not a political scientist or economist.

D4 Consistency of opinion: +1 — Consistent with earlier NOS reporting on Macron.



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D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: -1 — Uses polling figures but also emotionally charged language ("knife in the back", "worrying").

D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary source; cites polls without attribution.

TOTAL: +3 → SOURCE LIGHT: YELLOW

Missing expert groups:

- Independent constitutional law expert (for assessment of rule-of-law claims)
- Independent political scientist specialising in French politics
- Housing market researcher or homelessness expert (ETHOS researchers themselves are not given a voice)

Source traffic light for participants:

Source	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	Total	Signal
Cees van de Sanden (outgoing VVD senator)	-1	+1	+1	0	0	0	+1	YELLOW
Saskia Dekkers (NOS Europe correspondent)	+1	+1	+1	+1	-1	0	+3	YELLOW

Summary:

- Van de Sanden: YELLOW (+1) — Personal interest in justifying departure; legal knowledge present but partisan in colouring.
- Dekkers: YELLOW (+3) — Experienced correspondent but not an independent expert; emotionally charged language.



2. CHOICE OF SOURCES

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Claims without a primary source = penalty points (rumour check)

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

Source 1: Council of State (via Van de Sanden)

Timestamp: 05:31 — Statement: "The Council of State has clearly given a negative opinion."

(a) Funding and management: State body, publicly funded. Independent advisory body.

(b) Structural conflict of interest: No direct interest; advisory role is institutionally independent.

(c) Missing counter-source: The Council of State opinion is not cited or shown; no verification of whether the opinion was indeed "clearly negative" or more nuanced.

Missing counter-source

The Ministry of Justice or the VVD parliamentary group could have interpreted the opinion differently.

Source 2: RTL News (anonymous VVD prominent figures)

Timestamp: 04:42 — Statement: "Party prominent figures who wish to remain anonymous say: [text not fully included in transcript]"

(a) Funding: RTL, commercial medium.

(b) Structural conflict of interest: Commercial interest in dramatising political unrest.

(c) Missing counter-source: Anonymous sources are not verifiable; no name, no function.

Rumour check (penalty points):

Rumour 1:

Timestamp: 04:44

Claim: "Party prominent figures who wish to remain anonymous say: [content not fully reproduced in transcript]"

Word marker: "wish to remain anonymous"

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

Source 3: Peilingwijzer (VVD seats)

Timestamp: 03:00 — Statement: "In the most recent Peilingwijzer, the party comes out at 13 to 17 seats."

(a) Funding: Peilingwijzer is an aggregate of multiple polling agencies; methodologically transparent.

(b) Structural conflict of interest: No direct interest.

(c) Missing counter-source: No context regarding margins of error or historical comparison.

Source 4: Homelessness research (ETHOS count)

Timestamp: 11:29 — Statement: "Researchers are trying to answer that question in the third so-called ETHOS count."

(a) Funding: Not mentioned; ETHOS is a European research framework; Dutch implementation presumably by Federatie Opvang or municipalities.



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(b) Structural conflict of interest: Shelter organisations have an interest in demonstrating growing problems (funding, relevance).

(c) Missing counter-source: No critical note on the methodology; no independent researcher given a voice.

Summary: The choice of sources is limited and partly unverifiable. Anonymous sources via RTL are adopted without verification. The ETHOS count is presented without methodological explanation or independent verification. The Council of State opinion is cited via a partisan source without primary verification.



3. TIME ALLOCATION									5/10
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Definition: Distribution of speaking time between different positions.

Estimated speaking time:

- Cees van de Sanden (VVD critic): approx. 7 min. (18%)
- Presenter/moderator: approx. 8 min. (21%)
- Saskia Dekkers (NOS correspondent): approx. 5 min. (13%)
- Homelessness story (multiple persons): approx. 8 min. (21%)
- Energy transition story (multiple persons): approx. 7 min. (18%)
- Other items (Rotterdam, Aalten, Comey, Denmark, Germany, France briefly): approx. 3 min. (8%)

Summary: The VVD crisis segment (including background report) dominates the broadcast. The VVD party leadership and the PVV receive no speaking time, while the criticism of both parties is substantial. The time allocation is therefore structurally asymmetric for the political segment.



4. OMISSION (Selective Omission)

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

Omission 1:

Context: No right of reply from the VVD party leadership (Yeşilgöz).

Relevant at: 01:39 — "We spoke to the VVD and they say they were caught off guard by your decision."

Effect: The VVD response is summarised in one sentence by the presenter; the party leadership is given no opportunity to substantively rebut Van de Sanden's accusations. This suggests that the VVD has no defence.

Omission 2:

Context: No response from the PVV to the characterisation "anti-democratic" and "replacement theory".

Relevant at: 07:00 — "The PVV is a party that we know for making proposals that go against democratic and rule-of-law values."

Effect: The PVV is characterised as a matter of fact as anti-democratic, without the party being given the opportunity to respond. This is a violation of the principle of the right of reply.

Omission 3:

Context: Opponents of the asylum seekers' centre in Aalten are given no speaking time.

Relevant at: 20:43 — "In May there were demonstrations in Aalten against an asylum seekers' centre."

Effect: Only supporters of the asylum seekers' centre are given a voice; the previously demonstrated opponents are mentioned but not heard. This creates a one-sided picture of public support.

Summary: The broadcast structurally omits the voices of parties and persons who are criticised (VVD leadership, PVV, opponents of the asylum seekers' centre). This pattern of selective omission reinforces the one-sided framing of multiple topics.

Missing voices

- VVD spokesperson or Dilan Yeşilgöz: Could have rebutted or nuanced Van de Sanden's accusations.
- PVV spokesperson: Could have responded to the characterisation "anti-democratic" and "replacement theory".
- Independent constitutional law expert: Could have assessed whether the asylum emergency measures actually violate the rule of law.
- Minister of Housing (national level): Could have explained national policy on homelessness and social housing.
- Opponent of the asylum seekers' centre in Aalten: Could have represented the perspective of the May demonstrators.
- Energy minister or grid operator Tennet: Could have explained national responsibility for grid congestion.
- Independent energy economist: Could have critically assessed the cost-benefit analysis of the energy transition.
- Homeless person with a migration background or refugee: Could have offered a different perspective on homelessness.



5. USE OF FIGURES

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

Definition: Selective or misleading use of statistics.

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 03:03

Figure: "In the most recent Peilingwijzer, the party comes out at 13 to 17 seats."

Dimensions: (a) Absolute value present (13-17 seats); (b) Share missing (% of total); (c) Trend missing (compared to current 24 seats or earlier polls)

Missing context

No comparison with current seats (24), no historical perspective on VVD polling.

Effect

The decline appears more dramatic without context; "13 to 17" sounds like a free fall without a reference point.

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 26:45

Figure: "According to the latest polls, he has the support of only 14 percent of the French."

Dimensions: (a) Absolute value present (14%); (b) Share present; (c) Trend missing (was this higher before? When?)

Missing context

No historical trend of Macron's popularity; no comparison with other French presidents in comparable situations.

Effect

"14 percent" sounds like a historic low without context.

Summary: Figures are used to amplify dramatic effects without sufficient contextualisation. The missing trend data for both VVD polling and Macron's popularity reinforces the negative framing of both topics.



6. GUILT BY ASSOCIATION

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Definition: Discrediting through association with negative groups or ideas.

Association 1:

Timestamp: 08:09

Quote

"The PVV was the largest within that cabinet and even provided a minister who had proclaimed the replacement theory in the Senate."

Technique: The PVV is associated with the "replacement theory" — a term that in public debate is strongly associated with far-right ideology and violent attacks (Christchurch). The term is presented as fact without definition or source citation.

Effect

The VVD is indirectly held co-responsible for "proclaiming" a theory that is popularly regarded as dangerous far-right ideology; the PVV is framed as inherently extremist.

Association 2:

Timestamp: 07:00

Quote

"The PVV is a party that we know for making proposals that go against democratic and rule-of-law values."

Technique: The PVV is defined as a category as anti-democratic — a qualification normally reserved for parties that actively want to abolish democracy. This is presented as an established fact, not as Van de Sanden's opinion.

Effect

Any cooperation with the PVV is implicitly framed as anti-democratic.

Association chain: VVD → cooperation with PVV → PVV = anti-democratic + replacement theory → VVD = complicit in anti-democratic forces

Summary: The PVV is framed via two association chains as inherently anti-democratic and extremist, without the party being given the opportunity to respond. The VVD is held co-responsible by association. This is a classic guilt-by-association technique that is not marked as such.



7. TIMING

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

Finding 1:

Position: 00:24 (opening)

Content: "Proud. Now he says the party's direction gives him a stomach ache, and he is stepping down."

Timing effect

The broadcast opens with the VVD crisis as the first item, positioning it as the most important news of the day. The emotional term "stomach ache" is already used in the announcement, setting the tone for the entire segment.

Finding 2:

Position: 02:49 (early in the segment)

Content: "This is a campaign nightmare for the VVD."

Timing effect

The qualification "campaign nightmare" is placed early in the background report, before the facts have been fully presented. This steers the interpretation of all subsequent information.

Finding 3:

Position: 04:05 (middle of background report)

Content: "a month and a half after the antisemitism accusation, Yeşilgöz finally issues an apology."

Timing effect

The term "antisemitism accusation" is presented as fact in an enumeration of mistakes, without context about the content of the accusation or the outcome of the legal proceedings.

Summary: The placement of negative qualifications about the VVD early in the segment and in the opening of the broadcast steers the interpretation of all subsequent information. The timing reinforces the negative framing of the VVD.



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: 04:05

Triggering event: Yeşilgöz accuses Douwe Bob of "antisemitism" and later retracts this.

Reaction: "a month and a half after the antisemitism accusation, Yeşilgöz finally issues an apology."

Comparison

No comparable case in which a left-wing politician had to retract a public accusation is covered in the broadcast.

Asymmetry: The term "antisemitism accusation" is presented as fact in a negative enumeration; no comparable critical treatment of other politicians who had to retract public accusations.

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 20:29 — 20:43

Triggering event: Residents of Aalten organise an action in favour of an asylum seekers' centre; earlier there had been demonstrations against it.

Reaction: Supporters receive extensive speaking time (three quotes); opponents are mentioned in one sentence.

Comparison

In the VVD story, the critical voice (Van de Sanden) receives extensive speaking time; the defending voice (VVD leadership) is summarised in one sentence.

Asymmetry: Consistent pattern: the voice that supports the editorial line (pro-asylum seekers' centre, pro-rule-of-law criticism) receives more space than the opposing voice.

Degree of indignation: 2/5

Selectivity: 2/5

Summary: There is a consistent but not extreme pattern of selective attention: voices that support the implicit editorial line receive more space and are framed more positively than opposing voices. The indignation is not intense but is one-sidedly directed.



9. COMPLETENESS (Selective Omission — Overall Picture)

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Definition: How completely does the broadcast portray the subject?

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 01:26

Missing perspective: Substantive assessment of the asylum emergency measures by an independent constitutional law expert.

Relevance: Van de Sanden states that the measures "are in tension with the rule of law"; this is a legal judgement that requires verification.

Effect

The claim is presented as fact; viewers are given no means to assess the legal accuracy.

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 11:29

Missing perspective: Methodological explanation of the ETHOS count and its limitations.

Relevance: The researchers themselves indicate that a reliable national picture only emerges after four counts (18:13); this considerably nuances the figures presented.

Effect

The figures (451 homeless in Ede, 600+ in Zwolle) are presented as alarming without methodological context.

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 31:25

Missing perspective: Critical analysis of the energy transition from an economic or technical perspective.

Relevance: The broadcast presents local initiatives as promising without critically analysing the costs, scalability or dependence on subsidies.

Effect

The energy transition story receives a predominantly positive tone without a critical countervoice.

Summary: The broadcast structurally lacks independent verification of central claims and critical countervoices on all three main topics. This results in an incomplete and partly one-sided picture.



Soft facts — 6 qualitative techniques

10. FRAMING (Setting the frame)

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Definition: How is the subject fundamentally framed?

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 02:47

Quote	<i>"The departure of Cees van de Sanden is a new chapter in a thriller book about the VVD, the ending of which is still uncertain."</i>
Manipulation	The VVD situation is framed as a dramatic thriller with an uncertain outcome. This is not a neutral description but a narrative that suggests tension and crisis.
Why problematic	Viewers are encouraged to see the VVD as a party in existential crisis, rather than as a party engaged in internal debate — which is normal in any democratic party.

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 07:00

Quote	<i>"The PVV is a party that we know for making proposals that go against democratic and rule-of-law values."</i>
Manipulation	This is presented as an established fact by the presenter, not as Van de Sanden's opinion. The PVV is structurally framed as anti-democratic.
Why problematic	A governing party with 37 seats is framed as inherently anti-democratic without verification, right of reply or nuance.

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 20:29

Quote	<i>"We are in favour of an asylum seekers' centre in our village. We think that voice also needs to be heard in the village alongside the voices that have been raised against an asylum seekers' centre."</i>
Manipulation	The pro-asylum seekers' centre voice is framed as the voice that "also deserves to be heard", while the anti-asylum seekers' centre voice (which previously led to the postponement of the plan) is reduced to a past that has been and gone.
Why problematic	The framing suggests that the pro-asylum seekers' centre position is the correct, inclusive position; the anti-asylum seekers' centre position is not substantively addressed.



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Summary: The broadcast consistently uses dramatising and normative framing for political topics. The VVD is framed as a party in crisis, the PVV as anti-democratic, and the pro-asylum seekers' centre position as the morally correct one. These are editorial choices that put the NPO's neutrality obligation under pressure.



11. WORD CHOICE AND TERMINOLOGY

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

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 04:05

Quote	<i>"a month and a half after the antisemitism accusation, Yeşilgöz finally issues an apology."</i>
Manipulation	"Antisemitism accusation" is an extremely charged term that suggests Yeşilgöz accused someone of antisemitism. The term is presented as fact in an enumeration of mistakes.
Why problematic	A neutral alternative would be: "after the accusation that her statements were antisemitic" or "after the controversy surrounding Douwe Bob". The chosen formulation maximises the negative connotation.

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 02:49

Quote	<i>"This is a campaign nightmare for the VVD."</i>
Manipulation	"Nightmare" is an emotionally charged term with catastrophic connotations. This is a judgement, not a description.
Why problematic	Neutral alternative: "This is a setback for the VVD during the campaign period." The chosen term steers the viewer's emotional experience.

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 08:09

Quote	<i>"had proclaimed the replacement theory in the Senate."</i>
Manipulation	"Replacement theory" is a term that in public debate is strongly associated with the far right and violent attacks. "Proclaimed" has religious connotations (preaching, dogma). The combination suggests dangerous extremism.
Why problematic	Neutral alternative: "had made statements about demographic changes" or "had cited a controversial theory". The chosen formulation maximises the negative association.

Summary: The word choice in the political segment is consistently negatively charged for the VVD and PVV. Terms such as "nightmare", "antisemitism accusation" and "replacement theory proclaimed" are not neutral descriptions but normative judgements presented as fact.



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: 07:05

Triggering event: Van de Sanden has explained why he is only leaving now despite earlier objections.

Quote (presenter)

"Why did you not think at the time: I am not going to go along with this?"

Comparison

There is no comparable case in the broadcast where a guest from the left or progressive spectrum is critically questioned about inconsistency in their positions.

Asymmetry: The question is critical and legitimate, but there is no comparable critical follow-up questioning of other guests in the broadcast. Not fully demonstrably asymmetric due to lack of comparative material.

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 08:35

Triggering event: Van de Sanden takes his seat with him upon his departure.

Quote (presenter)

"You are taking your seat with you, which is permitted under the constitution. But one could also say: People did not vote for you personally."

Comparison

No comparable case in the broadcast where a guest is critically questioned about the democratic legitimacy of their actions.

Asymmetry: The question is critical and justified, but the presenter accepts Van de Sanden's answer without further follow-up, while the question of democratic legitimacy is substantial.

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 11:09

Triggering event: Van de Sanden has explained his departure.

Quote (presenter)

"Who are you going to vote for on 29 October?" / "That won't be the VVD?"

Comparison

No comparable case.

Asymmetry: The question about voting behaviour is a soft closing that gives Van de Sanden the opportunity to confirm his distance from the VVD. This is a sympathetic closing, not a critical one.



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Summary: The moderation behaviour is predominantly facilitative towards Van de Sanden. Critical questions are asked but not pursued; the closing is sympathetic. There is no comparative material for other guests in the broadcast, which means full asymmetry cannot be demonstrated, but the tone is consistently supportive of the guest's message.



13. QUESTION ASYMMETRY

5/10

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

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

Asymmetry 1:

To Van de Sanden, 07:05: "Why did you not think at the time: I am not going to go along with this?" — critical/hard

To Van de Sanden, 01:43: "Have you received many reactions from VVD circles? What do they say?" — soft/open

Comparison

The hard question is asked but not pursued; the soft open questions dominate the interview. The VVD leadership is given no opportunity to answer hard questions.

Asymmetry 2:

To Saskia Dekkers, 30:33: "If you add it all up, including the inclination towards a strong leader and the sidelining of parliament and the unstable economic situation, that sounds very worrying, doesn't it?" — suggestive/leading

To Saskia Dekkers, 24:30: "Have these words made the situation less complicated or even more complicated?" — open/neutral

Comparison

The presenter asks a suggestive question that already contains the answer ("that sounds very worrying, doesn't it?"), which invites Dekkers to confirm rather than analyse.

Summary: The questions to Van de Sanden are predominantly open and facilitative; the single critical question is not pursued. The questions to Dekkers contain suggestive formulations that already imply the desired answers. There is no comparative material for questions directed at representatives of the criticised parties.



14. FALSE BALANCE									3/10
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Definition: Artificial balance despite factual imbalance.

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 20:29 — Construction: Pro-asylum seekers' centre residents receive three quotes; anti-asylum seekers' centre demonstrators are mentioned in one sentence.

Analysis

There is no false balance in the classical sense (presenting two equivalent sides); rather the opposite: one side receives substantially more space without this being marked as imbalanced. The broadcast implicitly suggests that the pro-asylum seekers' centre voice is the voice that "also deserves to be heard", while the anti-asylum seekers' centre voice previously influenced political decision-making.

Summary: There is no classical false balance in the broadcast; rather a structural imbalance in which one perspective is dominant. The score is low because false balance as a technique is not prominently present.



15. AGENDA-SETTING

6/10

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

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

Finding 1:

Agenda element: The energy transition is presented as inevitable and desirable; the question is not whether but how.

Timestamp: 31:25 — Evidence: "However promising these kinds of local initiatives are, they cannot do without support from the national government."

Alternative agenda: The question of whether the current energy transition targets are realistic, affordable and democratically legitimised is not addressed. Alternatives such as nuclear energy (VVD and NSC position) are not discussed.

Finding 2:

Agenda element: The VVD's cooperation with the PVV is presented as inherently problematic for the rule of law.

Timestamp: 06:39 — Evidence: "There was already a new cabinet at that point in which your party was going to cooperate with the PVV."

Alternative agenda: The question of whether PVV positions actually violate the rule of law (legal review), or the question of whether the coalition has also achieved positive results, is not addressed.

Finding 3:

Agenda element: Homelessness is presented as a growing problem that requires more government intervention.

Timestamp: 36:44 — Evidence: "From The Hague? From The Hague."

Alternative agenda: The question of whether the causes of homelessness also lie in individual choices, addiction problems or migration pressure on the housing market is not addressed.

Summary: The broadcast sets an agenda in which the energy transition, protection of the rule of law and government intervention in homelessness are presented as self-evident norms. Alternative perspectives represented by the current coalition are not placed on the agenda.



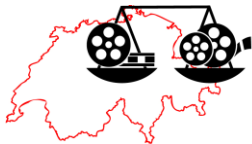
CHAPTER 4 — OVERALL ASSESSMENT

Overview of Individual Scores

No.	Criterion	Type	Score	Main finding (1 sentence)
1	Choice of experts	H	6	One-sided choice of experts: only the VVD critic is given a voice, no independent legal or political experts.
2	Choice of sources	H	5	Anonymous sources via RTL and unverified claims via Van de Sanden without primary source citation.
3	Time allocation	H	5	VVD crisis segment dominates; criticised parties (VVD leadership, PVV) receive no speaking time.
4	Omission	H	7	Structural absence of right of reply for VVD leadership, PVV and opponents of the asylum seekers' centre.
5	Use of figures	H	3	Polling figures and homelessness figures presented without trend context or methodological nuance.
6	Guilt by association	H	6	PVV framed as inherently anti-democratic via "replacement theory" and "rule of law" associations without right of reply.
7	Timing	H	5	Negative qualifications about VVD placed early in segment and in opening, steering interpretation.
8	Selective indignation	H	4	Consistent but not extreme pattern: voices that support the editorial line receive more space.
9	Completeness	H	6	Structural absence of independent verification and critical countervoices on all three main topics.
10	Framing	S	6	VVD as "thriller book", PVV as anti-democratic, energy transition as inevitable — normative frames presented as fact.
11	Word choice	S	6	"Nightmare", "antisemitism accusation", "replacement theory proclaimed" — emotionally charged terms as neutral descriptions.
12	Moderation behaviour	S	5	Facilitative towards Van de Sanden; critical questions not pursued; sympathetic closing.
13	Question asymmetry	S	5	Open and facilitative questions to Van de Sanden; suggestive questions to Dekkers; no questions to criticised parties.
14	False balance	S	3	No classical false balance; rather structural imbalance in which one perspective is dominant.
15	Agenda-setting	S	6	Energy transition, rule of law and government intervention as self-evident norms; coalition alternatives do not make it onto the agenda.

Results

- HARD FACTS SCORE (average criteria 1-9): 5.2 / 10
- SOFT FACTS SCORE (average criteria 10-15): 5.2 / 10



- TOTAL SCORE (average all 15 criteria): 5.2 / 10

Dominant Techniques

1. Omission / Selective Omission (Score 7): The broadcast structurally omits the voices of parties and persons who are criticised. The VVD leadership, the PVV and the opponents of the asylum seekers' centre receive no speaking time, while their positions are nonetheless substantively assessed. This is the most impactful technique in the broadcast.

2. Framing (Score 6): The VVD is consistently framed as a party in existential crisis ("thriller book", "nightmare"), the PVV as inherently anti-democratic, and the energy transition as inevitable. These frames are presented as fact, not as editorial choices.

3. Guilt by Association (Score 6): The PVV is associated with extremism via the terms "replacement theory" and "anti-democratic", without the party being given the opportunity to respond. The VVD is held co-responsible by association for these qualifications.

Core Messages of the Broadcast

MESSAGE 1 (SUBSTANTIVE): "The VVD has betrayed its liberal core values by cooperating with the anti-democratic PVV."

Technique: Framing, guilt by association, selective omission — Evidence: 01:26, 07:00, 08:09

MESSAGE 2 (PERSONAL): "Cees van de Sanden is a principled whistleblower who sacrifices his personal interest for the rule of law."

Technique: Choice of experts, moderation behaviour, timing — Evidence: 00:24, 02:47, 11:07

MESSAGE 3 (SOCIETAL): "Consistent climate policy and government support are necessary for the energy transition and the tackling of homelessness."

Technique: Agenda-setting, framing, selective omission — Evidence: 36:44, 37:00, 16:04

Reasoning: The broadcast scores 5.2/10, indicating clear one-sidedness. The combination of structural omission of the right of reply, normative framing of political parties and agenda-setting that ignores the current coalition agenda results in a broadcast that does not meet the pluriformity requirement of Media Act Art. 2.1. The one-sidedness is not extreme but is consistently present across multiple topics and techniques.

CONCLUSION

The broadcast displays a consistent pattern of one-sided reporting that manifests itself in multiple techniques simultaneously. The VVD segment fundamentally lacks the right of reply: the party leadership and the PVV are substantively assessed without being given the opportunity to respond, which is contrary to the journalistic norm of the right of reply and the pluriformity requirement of Media Act Art. 2.1. The word choice ("nightmare", "antisemitism accusation", "replacement theory proclaimed") is normative and emotionally charged, not neutrally descriptive. The energy transition story and the homelessness story are substantively less problematic but likewise lack critical countervoices and policy-responsible parties at national level. The total score of 5.2/10 places the broadcast in the category "clear one-sidedness", which constitutes a structural point of attention for the NPO in the context of its statutory pluriformity obligation.



OVERALL EVALUATION OF THE 15 CRITERIA

Individual scores — All 15 criteria

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

HARD FACTS SCORE (1-8)

5.2/10

Considerable imbalance

SOFT FACTS SCORE (9-14)

5.2/10

Considerable imbalance

TOTAL SCORE

5.2/10

Considerable imbalance

Average of Hard Facts and Soft Facts



KEY — Meaning of the scores

Individual scores per criterion (0–10)

0	No finding	No relevant deviation identified.
1–2	Weak finding	Minor 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 audience.
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: The PVV, the largest governing party with 37 seats, is characterised in the broadcast as a party "that we know for making proposals that go against democratic and rule-of-law values" (07:00) and as a party that "proclaimed" the "replacement theory" (08:09), without the party being given the opportunity to respond to these qualifications.

Evidence: Timestamp 07:00 — Quote: "The PVV is a party that we know for making proposals that go against democratic and rule-of-law values." Timestamp 08:09 — Quote: "had proclaimed the replacement theory in the Senate."

Assessment: Presenting normative political judgements about a governing party as established facts, without the right of reply, is contrary to the pluriformity requirement. The NPO is obliged to represent a broad spectrum of political views; framing the largest governing party one-sidedly as anti-democratic without the right of reply does not meet this requirement.

Violation 2:

Norm: Media Act Art. 2.1 — balance and independence

Factual description: The VVD segment () presents exclusively the critical voice of a departing senator, supplemented by a background report that highlights exclusively negative aspects of VVD leadership (Douwe Bob affair, polling decline, internal unrest). The VVD party leadership receives no speaking time; its response is summarised in one sentence by the presenter (01:39).

Evidence: Timestamp 01:39 — Quote: "We spoke to the VVD and they say they were caught off guard by your decision." Timestamp 02:49 — Quote: "This is a campaign nightmare for the VVD."

Assessment: The absence of the right of reply for the criticised party, combined with normative qualifications such as "campaign nightmare", is contrary to the balance requirement of Media Act Art. 2.1. This applies all the more because the broadcast is aired three weeks before elections, meaning the impact on the political opinion-forming of viewers is significant.

Violation 3:

Norm: Media Act Art. 2.1 — pluriformity

Factual description: The asylum seekers' centre segment in Aalten (20:16-21:08) presents exclusively supporters of an asylum seekers' centre. Opponents, who had previously postponed the plan through demonstrations, are mentioned in one sentence but are given no speaking time.

Evidence: Timestamp 20:43 — Quote: "In May there were demonstrations in Aalten against an asylum seekers' centre. As a result, the plan to establish an asylum seekers' centre in the town was postponed."

Assessment: Mentioning but not giving a voice to a substantial part of the population that previously exercised political influence is contrary to the pluriformity requirement. The broadcast implicitly suggests that the pro-asylum seekers' centre position is the correct position.

Overall assessment Media Act Art. 2.1

The broadcast displays shortcomings in three separate areas that are contrary to the pluriformity and balance requirement of Media Act Art. 2.1. The most serious violation concerns the absence of the right of reply for the PVV in response to serious qualifications about its democratic character, and the absence of speaking time for the VVD party leadership in response to fundamental criticism of its direction. Although individual broadcasts do not need to meet the



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full pluriformity requirement (the law assesses the total output), the pattern of one-sidedness across multiple topics in a single broadcast is an indication of structural editorial choices that put the independence requirement under pressure. The NPO must, in the context of its statutory responsibility, ensure that comparable qualifications about opposition parties or other political currents are treated with the same critical distance.



CHAPTER 6 — SOURCE DEPTH CHECK

1. Council of State (cited via Van de Sanden, 05:31)

1. FUNDING: State body, fully publicly funded by the national government. Independent advisory and judicial body.

2. MANDATE: The mandate of the Council of State is to provide independent legal advice on legislation. This is fully compatible with a neutral assessment of the asylum emergency measures.

3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST: No institutional interest in a particular political outcome. However, institutional interest in maintaining its own authority as an adviser.

4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX:

D1 Conflict of interest: +2 — No direct interest in political outcome.

D2 Personal risk: +1 — Institutional reputation at stake in the event of incorrect advice.

D3 Professional competence: +2 — Highest legal advisory body in the Netherlands; fully competent.

D4 Consistency of opinion: +1 — Consistent in reviewing legislation against rule-of-law standards.

D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: +2 — Legal opinions are data-driven and formal.

D6 Source level: -2 — In the broadcast a secondary source: cited via Van de Sanden, not primary.

TOTAL: +6 → SOURCE LIGHT: GREEN

5. COUNTERVOICE: The opinion itself is not cited or shown; Van de Sanden's interpretation ("clearly negative opinion") has not been verified. A primary quote from the opinion would have strengthened or nuanced the claim.

2. ETHOS count / homelessness research (cited 11:29)

1. FUNDING: Not mentioned in the broadcast. ETHOS (European Typology of Homelessness and Housing Exclusion) is a European framework; the Dutch implementation is presumably funded by municipalities, the national government or Federatie Opgang. Funding not made transparent.

2. MANDATE: Research into homelessness; mandate is compatible with neutral counting, but implementing organisations (shelter organisations) have an interest in demonstrating growing problems.

3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST: Shelter organisations that carry out or fund the count have an institutional interest in demonstrating growing homelessness (funding, political attention, relevance). This is a potentially structural conflict of interest.

4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX:

D1 Conflict of interest: -1 — Potential interest in demonstrating growing problems.

D2 Personal risk: +1 — Researchers risk their reputation in the event of methodological errors.

D3 Professional competence: +1 — Standardised European methodology; but local implementation varies.

D4 Consistency of opinion: +1 — Consistent with earlier ETHOS counts in other countries.

D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: +1 — Numerical, but selection of cases is emotionally charged.

D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary source; researchers themselves are not given a voice.

TOTAL: +3 → SOURCE LIGHT: YELLOW

5. COUNTERVOICE: No independent methodological assessment of the count. The researchers themselves indicate that a reliable national picture only emerges after four counts (18:13); this considerably nuances the figures presented but is not prominently emphasised.

3. Peilingwijzer (cited 03:00)

1. FUNDING: Peilingwijzer is an aggregate of multiple polling agencies (Ipsos, I&O Research, Kantar); methodologically transparent and publicly accessible.

2. MANDATE: Aggregating polls for a more reliable seat distribution; mandate is compatible with neutral representation.

3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST: No direct political interest. However, commercial interest in the visibility and use of the tool.

4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX:

D1 Conflict of interest: +2 — No political interest.

D2 Personal risk: +1 — Reputation dependent on accuracy.



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- D3 Professional competence: +2 — Standardised statistical methodology.
- D4 Consistency of opinion: +2 — Consistent in methodology.
- D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: +2 — Fully data-driven.
- D6 Source level: +1 — Aggregate of primary polls; one step removed.

TOTAL: +10 → SOURCE LIGHT: GREEN

5. COUNTERVOICE: No methodological explanation in the broadcast; margins of error not mentioned. The range "13 to 17 seats" already implies uncertainty but is not interpreted as such.

IMPORTANT: "Recognised" is not a substantive qualification. It is a social attribution that must itself be critically assessed. None of the sources cited in this broadcast are presented as "recognised", but the Council of State and the ETHOS count are implicitly treated as authoritative without their limitations being named.

Source traffic light for participants:

Source	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	Total	Signal
Council of State (cited via Van de Sanden, 05:31)	+2	+1	+2	+1	+2	-2	+6	GREEN
ETHOS count / homelessness research (cited 11:29)	-1	+1	+1	+1	+1	0	+3	YELLOW
Peilingwijzer (cited 03:00)	+2	+1	+2	+2	+2	+1	+10	GREEN

Legal and methodological explanation

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 Commissariaat voor de Media).
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 choice, 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 identified — not that the editorial team intended this. The methodology makes no statements about motives or strategic objectives.
Heuristic comparison instrument	The index serves for comparative pattern recognition across thousands of broadcasts, not for precise metric measurement of individual contributions. Threshold values serve as heuristic orientation, not as sharp legal qualification.



APPENDIX 1: NATIONAL LEGISLATION

Legal basis Netherlands — NPO

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

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

Complaints procedure

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



APPENDIX 2: SCIENTIFIC SOURCES

Literature

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- Schläpfer, D. (2026). Measuring Editorial Noise: A Retrospective Suppression Index for Public Broadcasting Content Analysis. [SSRN 6733280](#)
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