



## NPO DETAILED ANALYSIS

2025-10-27\_POW\_05874403

Broadcast: NPO broadcast | 2025-10-27 | Analysed on: 2026-05-23 04:06

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

### TOTAL SCORE

**3.2/10**

*Slight imbalance*

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

## POLITICAL SPECTRUM

Classification based on Chapel Hill Expert Survey (CHES) 2024

The Chapel Hill Expert Survey (CHES 2024) is an academic survey of 609 political scientists in 31 countries. Each party is assessed 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)

**4.5 / 10**

*Balanced*

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

← Left

Right →

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

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



## POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

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

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

The main political fault line concerns migration and asylum policy, with the coalition pursuing a tough approach while the left-wing opposition advocates a more humane policy. A second line of tension concerns the relationship between PVV and the democratic rule of law, with Timmermans' criminal complaint against PVV members of parliament for spreading AI-generated fake images serving as a current example. In addition, the climate and energy transition serves as a dividing line between progressive and conservative parties, and the financial sustainability of the welfare state is central to the debate on purchasing power and public spending.

The Dutch public broadcaster operates under the Media Act 2008, of which Article 2.1 requires pluriform, balanced and independent reporting across the total output. The NPO system is fragmented through broadcasting associations (BNNVARA, AVRO-TROS, KRO-NCRV and others) with their own editorial responsibility. PVV leader Wilders has repeatedly criticised the NPO as a "left-wing broadcaster", which underlines the political sensitivity of fulfilling the public service mandate.



## CHAPTER 1 — PARTY-POLITICAL BIAS

### Assessment per party

Party	Score (-5..+5)	Broadcast representation vs. party programme position
VVD	0	Not covered — Score 0: party/topic absent from broadcast
PVV	-2	00:27–01:10 "Two PVV members of parliament are said to have created these fake images of Timmermans using AI" — Party programme position: PVV emphasises freedom of expression and criticism of the political elite — Representation: factually correct but without context of PVV's position on political satire or press freedom; Wilders' apology is cited but the PVV perspective on the matter is not substantively explained — slightly distorted by one-sided framing
GL-PvdA	+1	00:27–01:10 Timmermans receives extensive speaking time and his demand for resignation is presented without rebuttal — Party programme position: GL-PvdA advocates humane policy and the rule of law — representation is factually correct but favours GL-PvdA through more speaking time and more sympathetic framing
NSC	0	Not covered — Score 0: party/topic absent from broadcast
D66	0	Not covered — Score 0: party/topic absent from broadcast
BBB	0	Not covered — Score 0: party/topic absent from broadcast
CDA	0	Not covered — Score 0: party/topic absent from broadcast
SP	0	Not covered — Score 0: party/topic absent from broadcast

### Summary Party Bias

- Most accurate representation: GL-PvdA (Score +1) — factually correct, slightly favoured by speaking time and framing
- Strongest distortion: PVV (Score -2) — the matter is reported factually correctly but the PVV perspective on the issue (e.g. political satire, press freedom) is not substantively covered; only Wilders' apology is cited
- Average deviation from 0: 0.4
- Conclusion: The broadcast covers only one politically relevant item (Timmermans' criminal complaint against PVV members of parliament). In it, GL-PvdA leader Timmermans is the only politician given speaking time and his demand for resignation is presented without rebuttal. The PVV position is conveyed solely through a cited X post by Wilders, without substantive explanation or response from the members of parliament concerned.

### Left-Right General Tendency

TENDENCY SCORE: +0.8

CLASSIFICATION: Slightly left-favouring

Reasoning: The only politically charged news item concerns a criminal complaint by a left-wing opposition leader (Timmermans, GL-PvdA) against two members of parliament from the largest governing party (PVV). Timmermans is the only politician given speaking time and his demand for resignation is presented without rebuttal. The PVV perspective is conveyed solely through a cited X post. The remaining items are politically neutral (sport, Amsterdam 750 years, Amazon, NATO security, Argentina, election logistics). The slight left-favouring tendency is limited but demonstrable in the treatment of the only party-political item.



## CHAPTER 2 — BROADCAST INFORMATION AND THEMATIC FRAMEWORK

### Broadcast details

- Title: NOS Journaal 1 pm
- Date: 27.10.2025
- Length (estimated from transcript):
- Presenter/Reporter: Not named in transcript; sports commentator not identified; on-site reporters not named
- Persons interviewed:

Person	Function	Party/Affiliation	Political Spectrum
Frans Timmermans	Party leader GL-PvdA	GL-PvdA	Left (CHES 2.4)
Geert Wilders	Party leader PVV (cited via X post)	PVV	Far right (CHES 9.2)
Expert (name not given) "Bauer"	Security expert / NATO context	Not affiliated (presumably think tank or university)	Neutral
Employee of municipality of Harderwijk	Coordinator of polling stations	Municipality	Neutral
Baker / bakery representative	Spokesperson Amsterdam 750 years cake	Commercial	Neutral
Mayor of Amsterdam	Mayor of Amsterdam	Not party-political in context	Neutral
Harrie Lavreysen	Track cyclist	Sport	Neutral

### Main theme

The broadcast is a regular afternoon news programme covering a wide range of topics, with the criminal complaint by GL-PvdA leader Timmermans against two PVV members of parliament for spreading AI-generated fake images being the only party-politically charged item.



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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:** "Bauer" — Security expert (name incomplete, function not further specified)

Timestamp: 02:40–03:26

Statement: "It concerns energy security, food security... cybersecurity. In all those areas there are dozens of examples... if not more, where you would say: Yes, it is actually rather strange if you think about it carefully."

Framing: Presented as an expert without further qualification of function, employer or background. The name "Bauer" is mentioned only once in passing by the presenter ("Bauer believes").

Missing counter-voice: An expert who assesses the current state of hybrid resilience in the Netherlands more positively, or a policymaker who explains the measures already taken.

#### Source depth check:

(a) **FUNDING:** Unknown — employer and funding source are not mentioned. No assessment of conflict of interest possible.

(b) **MANDATE:** Unknown — it is unclear whether Bauer is affiliated with a think tank, university, government institution or private party. Compatibility with neutral assessment cannot be established.

D1 Conflict of interest: 0 — Unknown; no indications of conflict but also no transparency

D2 Personal risk: +1 — Public statements about security deficiencies can be professionally sensitive

D3 Competence: +1 — Statements are substantively coherent but field of expertise not verified

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

D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: -1 — Statements are partly appellative ("strange", "not a good combination") without concrete figures

D6 Source level: -1 — Secondary; no reference to primary research data

• TOTAL: 0 → SOURCE LIGHT: YELLOW (-4 to +4)

(c) **COMPETENCE:** the social attribution "expert" replaces substantive verification.

**Expert 2:** Employee of municipality of Harderwijk (name not given)

Timestamp: 06:58–07:31

Statement: "We are of course looking every year. We are fortunate to have a large group of people who come to help us every year."

Framing: Municipal operational employee on the practical logistics of polling stations. No political or substantive expert role; functionally relevant for the item.

Missing counter-voice: Not applicable — this concerns a factual-logistical item without controversial character.

#### Source depth check:

(a) **FUNDING:** Municipality of Harderwijk (publicly funded)

(b) **MANDATE:** Compatible — employee speaks about their own area of work

D1 Conflict of interest: +1 — Limited conflict; municipality has an interest in a positive image but statements are factual

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



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D2 Personal risk: 0 — Neutral

D3 Competence: +2 — Speaks about own operational domain

D4 Consistency of opinion: 0 — Not verifiable

D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: +1 — Factual, with concrete percentages (75% volunteers)

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

• TOTAL: +5 → SOURCE LIGHT: GREEN (>=+5)

*Missing expert groups:*

- Criminal law jurist or media law expert (for the PVV/Timmermans item)
- Cybersecurity expert with transparent institutional background (for the NATO item)
- Independent economist (for the Amazon item)

### Source traffic light for participants:

Source	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	Total	Signal
"Bauer" — Security expert (name incomplete, function not further specified)	0	+1	+1	0	-1	-1	0	YELLOW
Employee of municipality of Harderwijk (name not given)	+1	0	+2	0	+1	+1	+5	GREEN

*Summary (Matrix result as structured list):*

- Bauer: SOURCE LIGHT YELLOW — insufficient transparency about background and funding; statements partly appellative
- Municipality of Harderwijk employee: SOURCE LIGHT GREEN — functionally relevant, factual, primary source



## 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:** X post by Geert Wilders

Timestamp: 00:55–01:05

Statement: "PVV leader Geert Wilders apologises on X: 'Inappropriate and outrageous. I distance myself from it. Site is offline. Apologies to colleague Timmermans.'"

**(a) Funding and ownership:** Social media (X/Twitter); primary source is Wilders himself

**(b) Structural conflict of interest:** Wilders has an interest in damage limitation; the apology is a strategic communication act, not a neutral statement

**(c) Missing counter-source:** A response from the PVV members of parliament concerned themselves, or a legal interpretation of the criminal complaint

**Source 2:** NCTV (National Coordinator for Security and Counterterrorism)

Timestamp: 03:31–03:40

Statement: "The Coordinator for Counterterrorism NCTV also... believes that more agencies and companies need to prepare for possible emergencies."

**(a) Funding and ownership:** State-funded — part of the Ministry of Justice and Security

**(b) Structural conflict of interest:** The NCTV has an institutional interest in emphasising threats (relevance, budget, mandate). This is a classic case of a state-funded institution advocating for the expansion of its own remit.

**(c) Missing counter-source:** An independent security researcher who relativises the seriousness of the threat or assesses the effectiveness of existing measures

Rumour check (penalty points): No claims without primary source found. The formulation "are said to have used AI" (00:32) is a correct journalistic qualification in the context of an ongoing criminal complaint. No penalty points.

Summary: The source selection is limited and partly structurally biased: the NCTV is a state-funded institution with an institutional interest in emphasising threats, and the X post by Wilders is a strategic communication act. Independent counter-sources are absent for both items.



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

Estimated speaking time:

- Frans Timmermans (GL-PvdA): approx. 25 seconds (approx. 3% of total broadcast)
- Geert Wilders (PVV, via citation): approx. 10 seconds (approx. 1%)
- "Bauer" (security expert): approx. 40 seconds (approx. 4%)
- Municipality of Harderwijk employee: approx. 35 seconds (approx. 4%)
- Mayor of Amsterdam: approx. 20 seconds (approx. 2%)
- Harrie Lavreysen (sport): approx. 25 seconds (approx. 3%)
- Presenter/voice-over: (approx. 80%)
- Other audio recordings (music, atmosphere): approx. 3%

Summary: The time allocation is not unusual for a broad news bulletin. Within the political item, however, Timmermans receives approx. 2.5 times more direct speaking time than Wilders (who appears solely via a cited X post). The PVV members of parliament concerned receive no speaking time. The asymmetry is limited but demonstrable.



#### 4. OMISSION (Selective Omission)

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

**Omission 1:** Response from the PVV members of parliament concerned

Context: The two PVV members of parliament who are said to have spread the AI images are not given a voice and their perspective is not represented.

Relevant at: 00:27–01:10

Effect: The viewer receives only the perspective of the complainant (Timmermans) and the party leader (Wilders via X). The persons concerned themselves are not heard, creating the impression that their conduct is uncontestedly wrong.

**Omission 2:** Legal interpretation of the criminal complaint

Context: No explanation is given of which criminal provision would apply, what the chances of success of the complaint are, or what the difference is between a complaint and a conviction.

Relevant at: 00:47–01:10

Effect: The complaint is presented as an established legal problem for the PVV members of parliament, while it remains legally entirely open.

**Omission 3:** Response from other coalition or opposition parties

Context: No other party (VVD, NSC, BBB, D66, CDA) responds to the complaint or the demand for resignation.

Relevant at: 01:06–01:24

Effect: Timmermans' demand that the members of parliament must resign is not tested against the judgement of other political actors, making it appear as though this is a widely shared position.

Summary: Selective omission is the most problematic aspect of the political reporting in this broadcast. By giving only Timmermans a voice and providing no legal interpretation, no response from those concerned and no other political voices, a one-sided picture of the matter is created.

#### Missing voices

- PVV members of parliament concerned: Could have explained their intentions and contested the legal qualification
- Criminal law jurist: Could have explained which criminal provision applies and what the chances of success of the complaint are
- Media law expert: Could have clarified the boundary between political satire and defamation/libel
- Spokesperson of the House of Representatives / Speaker of the House: Could have represented the institutional response to the conduct of the members of parliament
- Coalition spokesperson (VVD, NSC or BBB): Could have explained the position of the coalition partners on the matter
- AI expert or digital rights organisation: Could have explained the technical and legal context of AI-generated fake images



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- Victim organisation or expert on online intimidation: Could have placed the broader issue of online threats to politicians in context
- Opposition party other than GL-PvdA: Could have offered a more independent perspective on the complaint and the demand for resignation



## 5. NUMERICAL MANIPULATION

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

*Definition: Selective or misleading use of statistics.*

### Finding 1: Argentina election result

Timestamp: 03:44–03:48

Figure: "With 40% of the votes, his party has become by far the largest."

Dimensions: (a) Absolute value: 40% — shown; (b) Share: relative share compared to other parties — not shown; (c) Trend: development compared to previous elections — not shown

Missing context: What percentage did the other parties receive? Is 40% in midterm elections an increase or decrease compared to 2023? What is the turnout?

Effect: "By far the largest" suggests an overwhelming victory, but without comparative figures this cannot be assessed.

### Finding 2: Formula 1 World Championship standings Verstappen

Timestamp: 11:23–11:27

Figure: "Verstappen started in Mexico with a 40-point deficit to the top of the World Championship standings. With four races remaining, that is now 36."

Dimensions: (a) Absolute value: 36 points — shown; (b) Share: maximum points achievable in four races — not shown; (c) Trend: development per race — shown (from 40 to 36)

Missing context: How many points are still to be earned in four races? (maximum  $4 \times 26 = 104$  points, so catching up is theoretically possible but requires perfect results). This missing piece of information is relevant for assessing Verstappen's chances.

Effect: The presentation suggests that the deficit has only decreased slightly, without clarifying whether catching up is still realistic.

Summary: No serious numerical manipulation identified. The two findings concern incomplete contextualisation of figures, which in a short news bulletin is partly explainable by time pressure. The Argentina finding is slightly more problematic because "by far" is a qualitative judgement that is not supported by the figures presented.



## 6. GUILT BY ASSOCIATION

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

**Association 1:** PVV members of parliament and AI fake images

Timestamp: 00:32–00:37

Quote: "Two PVV members of parliament are said to have created these fake images of Timmermans using AI. And spread them via a web page."

**Technique:** The PVV members of parliament are directly associated with "fake images" and distribution via the internet, which carries connotations of disinformation and manipulation. The qualification "are said to have" is present but is quickly followed by factual descriptions of the images.

**Effect:** The viewer associates PVV members of parliament with deliberate disinformation, while the legal qualification has not yet been established.

**Association 2:** Munich 1972 and terrorism

Timestamp: 12:14–12:20

Quote: "In 1972, the Games in Munich were overshadowed by the hostage-taking of Israeli athletes by Palestinian terrorists."

**Technique:** Munich's candidacy for the Olympic Games is directly associated with the terrorist attack of 1972. This is historically factually correct but the placement in the context of the candidacy immediately evokes negative associations.

**Effect:** The association is factual but the framing draws a connection that places the candidacy in a negative light, while the broadcast also mentions the positive outcome of the referendum.

*No persons are labelled as "conspiracy theorists" or similar in this broadcast. The guilt by association findings are limited in severity.*

**Summary:** The association of PVV members of parliament with "fake images" is the most relevant finding, but is mitigated by the use of "are said to have". The Munich association is factually correct. The overall score is low.



<b>7. TIMING</b>									<b>3/10</b>
<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

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

**Finding 1:** Timmermans' complaint as opening item

Position: 00:12–00:14 (announcement in intro) and 00:27–01:24 (first full item)

Content: "With the criminal complaint by GroenLinks/PvdA leader Timmermans against the PVV."

Timing effect: The item is presented as the first news item, giving it the highest news value. The viewer's first impression is a negative image of PVV members of parliament. In a 15-minute broadcast, the opening item has the strongest agenda-setting effect.

**Finding 2:** Wilders' apology after description of the images

Position: 00:55–01:05 (after extensive description of the images at 00:40–00:47)

Content: First the images are described ("takes money from a white man and gives it to a Muslim couple"), then Wilders' apology.

Timing effect: The description of the images establishes a negative image before the apology is presented. The apology therefore comes across as reactive and insufficient, which is reinforced by Timmermans' immediately following rejection.

Summary: The placement of the PVV/Timmermans item as the opening item and the sequence of describing the images before Wilders' apology reinforce the negative framing of PVV. This is a demonstrable timing choice with an asymmetric effect.



## 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:** Timmermans' demand for resignation

Timestamp: 01:06–01:24

Triggering event: Spreading of AI-generated fake images of Timmermans by PVV members of parliament

Reaction: "Apologies are cheap if they are not accompanied by measures against those who perpetrated this... I cannot imagine that these two men remain members of parliament."

Comparison: There is no comparable item in this broadcast in which a right-wing politician expresses indignation about a left-wing politician, and where the presentation is equally extensive and unchallenged.

Asymmetry: The asymmetry is demonstrable within this broadcast, but is partly explainable by the fact that the item concerns a specific complaint in which Timmermans is the complainant. There is no comparable triggering incident in the broadcast that should have received different treatment. Not fully demonstrable as a systematic pattern.

Degree of indignation: 2/5 — Timmermans' indignation is cited but not reinforced or commented upon by the presenter

Selectivity: 2/5 — Asymmetry is demonstrable but partly explainable by the nature of the item

Summary: The selective indignation is limited. Timmermans' indignation is cited without rebuttal, but the presenter adds no indignation of their own. The asymmetry is partly inherent in the nature of the item (complaint by one party against another).



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

5/10

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

**Finding 1:** Missing rebuttal in the PVV/Timmermans item

Timestamp: 00:27–01:24

Missing perspective/fact: Response from the PVV members of parliament concerned, legal interpretation, response from other parties

Relevance: A criminal complaint is a one-sided legal act; without rebuttal or legal context, the viewer is incompletely informed

Consequence: The viewer gets the impression that the guilt of the PVV members of parliament is established and that the demand for resignation is widely shared

**Finding 2:** Missing context in the NATO security item

Timestamp: 02:25–03:40

Missing perspective/fact: What measures have already been taken? How does the Netherlands compare to other NATO countries? What are the concrete costs of the recommended measures?

Relevance: Without this context, the message "more attention and more money needed" cannot be assessed for proportionality

Consequence: The item creates a sense of urgency without the viewer being able to relativise the seriousness of the situation

**Finding 3:** Missing context in the Argentina item

Timestamp: 03:41–04:37

Missing perspective/fact: What are the concrete economic results of Milei's policy? How does the opposition assess the election result? Are there indications of irregularities?

Relevance: The broadcast reports that "inflation has fallen but unemployment increased" without further explanation of the social consequences

Consequence: Milei's victory is presented as a celebration without a critical note

Summary: The completeness of the broadcast is insufficient on several items. The most problematic is the absence of rebuttal in the political item about Timmermans' complaint. The other items are more acceptably incomplete for a short news bulletin, but the cumulative gaps are demonstrable.



## Soft facts — 6 qualitative techniques

### 10. FRAMING (Setting the frame)

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*Definition: How is the topic fundamentally framed?*

**Finding 1:** PVV as perpetrator, Timmermans as victim

Timestamp: 00:27–01:24

Quote: "Two PVV members of parliament are said to have created these fake images of Timmermans using AI... GroenLinks-PvdA is also filing a complaint about death threats in the comments under the images."

Manipulation: The item is framed entirely from the perspective of Timmermans as victim. The structure is: act (PVV) → harm (Timmermans) → reaction (complaint + demand for resignation). No alternative frame is offered.

Why problematic: The viewer is guided towards a moral judgement (PVV members of parliament have done something wrong) before the legal facts are established. The "perpetrator-victim" frame is a normative frame, not a factual one.

**Finding 2:** Hybrid threats as inevitable and underestimated

Timestamp: 02:40–03:40

Quote: "Strange, then, that insufficient thought is being given to this, according to Bauer."

Manipulation: The NATO security item is framed as a situation of collective failure ("insufficient thought"), with the expert setting the norm and the government implicitly falling short.

Why problematic: No frame is offered in which the current measures are assessed as adequate, or in which the costs of further measures are weighed.

**Finding 3:** Milei's victory as a celebration

Timestamp: 03:57–04:37

Quote: "The victory is being celebrated on a grand scale in the capital Buenos Aires."

Manipulation: The election victory of the conservative Milei is framed visually and textually as a festive event, with images of celebrations. The negative economic consequences (rising unemployment) are only mentioned in passing.

Why problematic: The celebration frame dominates the item, while a more balanced frame would also have highlighted the social costs of Milei's policy.

Summary: The most problematic framing concerns the PVV/Timmermans item, where the perpetrator-victim frame is normative and not factual. The other framing findings are less serious but contribute to a cumulative pattern of incomplete contextualisation.



## 11. WORD CHOICE AND TERMINOLOGY

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

**Finding 1:** "fake images"

Timestamp: 00:32

Quote: "Two PVV members of parliament are said to have created these fake images of Timmermans using AI."

Manipulation: "Fake images" is a strongly negatively charged term that implies deliberate deception. A more neutral formulation would be: "AI-generated images" or "synthetic images".

Why problematic: The term "fake" implies intentional deception, while the legal qualification has not yet been established. Neutral alternative: "AI-generated images of Timmermans".

**Finding 2:** "perpetrated"

Timestamp: 01:13

Quote: "Apologies are cheap if they are not accompanied by measures against those who perpetrated this."

Manipulation: "Perpetrated" is an informal, strongly negatively charged word that implies malicious intent. It is a quote from Timmermans, but the presenter lets it stand without comment.

Why problematic: By presenting the quote without clarification, the connotation of malicious intent is adopted into the reporting. Neutral alternative: the presenter could have clarified that this is Timmermans' characterisation.

**Finding 3:** "disastrously conducted tournament of 1972"

Timestamp: 11:57–12:01

Quote: "more than half a century after the disastrously conducted tournament of 1972."

Manipulation: "Disastrously" is a strongly negative judgement that reduces the entire 1972 Olympic Games to the terrorist attack, while the Games were also historically significant in sporting terms.

Why problematic: The qualification is understandable but one-sided. Neutral alternative: "the 1972 Games, which were overshadowed by the hostage-taking of Israeli athletes".

Summary: The word choice is normatively charged at several points, particularly in the PVV/Timmermans item. The findings are not serious enough to speak of systematic manipulation, but contribute to the slightly left-favouring tendency of the broadcast.



## 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:** No follow-up question on Timmermans' demand for resignation

Timestamp: 01:06–01:24

Triggering event: Timmermans states that the two members of parliament must resign

Quote (presenter): "What do you mean by that?" — followed by Timmermans' answer without further follow-up questioning

Comparison: There is no comparable moment in the broadcast in which a PVV representative makes a comparable demand and is not questioned further. The PVV members of parliament concerned are not given a voice.

Asymmetry: The presenter asks one follow-up question ("What do you mean by that?") but does not pose a critical follow-up question regarding the demand for resignation. There is no comparable moment with a PVV guest, meaning the asymmetry cannot be fully established. Not fully demonstrable as a systematic pattern.

**Finding 2:** No critical question to security expert Bauer

Timestamp: 02:40–03:26

Triggering event: Bauer states that "insufficient thought is being given" to hybrid threats

Quote (presenter/voice-over): No follow-up questioning visible in transcript; statements are presented as factual

Comparison: No comparable item with an expert taking an opposing position

Asymmetry: Not demonstrable as selective, but the absence of critical follow-up questioning with an unverified expert is an editorial choice.

Summary: Moderation behaviour is not seriously asymmetric, but the absence of critical follow-up questioning regarding Timmermans' demand for resignation and regarding the security expert is a demonstrable editorial choice that reinforces the one-sidedness of the reporting.



### 13. QUESTION ASYMMETRY

3/10

1

2

3

4

5

6

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10

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

**Asymmetry 1:** Timmermans vs. PVV members of parliament

To Timmermans, 01:17: "What do you mean by that?" — soft/open

To PVV members of parliament: no question — not given a voice

Comparison: Timmermans receives an open question that gives him the opportunity to clarify his position. The PVV members of parliament concerned are not interviewed and are given no opportunity to respond. This is the most significant asymmetry in the broadcast.

**Asymmetry 2:** Municipality of Harderwijk employee

To employee, 07:13: "Why is it so difficult every time to find enough volunteers?" — neutral/open

To employee, 07:54: "How much work was it to make that cake?" — soft/friendly

Comparison: Both questions are friendly and non-critical, which is appropriate for the light character of the items. No asymmetry.

Summary: The most significant question asymmetry concerns the absence of any question to the PVV members of parliament concerned, while Timmermans receives an open question that gives him the opportunity to clarify his position. This is partly explainable by the fact that the members of parliament may not have been available for comment, but this is not mentioned in the broadcast.



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

*Definition: Artificial balance despite factual imbalance.*

**Finding 1:** No false balance identified

The broadcast makes no attempt at artificial balance. The PVV/Timmermans item is one-sided (see other criteria), but this is the result of omission, not false balance. There is no case in which two unequal positions are presented as equivalent.

Summary: No relevant false balance identified. The score is 1 (not 0) because the presentation of Wilders' apology alongside Timmermans' rejection creates an appearance of balance that conceals the actual asymmetry (no speaking time for the members of parliament concerned).



## 15. AGENDA-SETTING

4/10

1

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10

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

**Finding 1:** The complaint as self-evidently legitimate

Agenda element: Timmermans' complaint is presented as a self-evident and legitimate response to the conduct of the PVV members of parliament.

Timestamp: 00:27–01:24 — Evidence: "GroenLinks-PvdA files a complaint... Timmermans does not accept the apologies."

Alternative agenda: The question of whether a complaint by a politician against members of parliament from another party also has a political dimension, or the question of whether Wilders' apology is sufficient as a political response, do not make it onto the agenda.

**Finding 2:** Hybrid threats as uncontestedly urgent

Agenda element: The urgency of hybrid threats is presented as self-evident, without the proportionality of the recommended measures being questioned.

Timestamp: 02:25–03:40 — Evidence: "More attention and more money for security is needed, according to experts."

Alternative agenda: The question of what measures have already been taken, what the costs of further measures are, and whether the threat is proportionate to the recommended response, does not make it onto the agenda.

Summary: Agenda-setting is most problematic in the PVV/Timmermans item, where the legitimacy of the complaint and the demand for resignation are presented as self-evident. The NATO security item reinforces this pattern by presenting the urgency of more government action as uncontested.



## CHAPTER 4 — OVERALL ASSESSMENT

### Overview of Individual Scores

No.	Criterion	Type	Score	Main finding (1 sentence)
1	Expert selection	H	4	Security expert "Bauer" is presented as a neutral authority without transparency about background or funding
2	Source selection	H	4	NCTV has an institutional interest in emphasising threats; Wilders' X post is a strategic communication act, not a neutral source
3	Time allocation	H	3	Timmermans receives approx. 2.5 times more direct speaking time than Wilders; PVV members of parliament concerned receive no speaking time
4	Omission	H	5	Response from PVV members of parliament concerned, legal interpretation and response from other parties are completely absent from the political item
5	Numerical Manipulation	H	2	"By far the largest" in the Argentina item is not supported by the figures presented
6	Guilt by association	H	2	PVV members of parliament are associated with "fake images" before legal facts are established
7	Timing	H	3	Timmermans' complaint as opening item gives it the highest news value; description of images before Wilders' apology reinforces negative framing
8	Selective Indignation	H	2	Timmermans' indignation is cited without rebuttal, but the presenter adds no indignation of their own
9	Completeness	H	5	Missing rebuttal in political item is most problematic; cumulative gaps across multiple items
10	Framing	S	4	Perpetrator-victim frame in PVV/Timmermans item is normative, not factual
11	Word choice	S	3	"Fake images" and "perpetrated" are normatively charged terms that imply deliberate deception
12	Moderation behaviour	S	3	No critical follow-up questioning on Timmermans' demand for resignation; no comparable moment with a PVV guest
13	Question Asymmetry	S	3	Timmermans receives an open question; PVV members of parliament concerned are not interviewed
14	False balance	S	1	No relevant false balance; appearance of balance through Wilders citation conceals actual asymmetry
15	Agenda-Setting	S	4	Legitimacy of complaint and urgency of hybrid threats are presented as self-evident

### Results



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- HARD FACTS SCORE (Average Criteria 1-9): 3.3 / 10
- SOFT FACTS SCORE (Average Criteria 10-15): 3.0 / 10
- TOTAL SCORE (Average all 15 criteria): 3.2 / 10

### Dominant Techniques

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- 1. Omission (Score 5):** The absence of a response from the PVV members of parliament concerned, legal interpretation and response from other parties in the political item is the most problematic finding. The viewer receives only the perspective of the complainant, resulting in a one-sided picture of the matter that is not in accordance with the requirements of pluriform reporting.
- 2. Completeness (Score 5):** The cumulative gaps across multiple items — the political item, the NATO security item and the Argentina item — point to a structural pattern of incomplete contextualisation. While partly explainable by the short duration of an afternoon news bulletin, the one-sidedness in the political item is not proportionate.
- 3. Framing (Score 4):** The perpetrator-victim frame in the PVV/Timmermans item is the most problematic framing aspect. Through the structure "act (PVV) → harm (Timmermans) → reaction (complaint + demand for resignation)", the viewer is guided towards a moral judgement before the legal facts are established.

### Core Messages of the Broadcast

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**MESSAGE 1 (SUBSTANTIVE):** "PVV members of parliament have done something wrong and must bear the consequences."

**Technique:** Framing (perpetrator-victim), omission (no rebuttal), timing (opening item) — Evidence: 00:27–01:24

**MESSAGE 2 (PERSONAL):** "Timmermans is a victim who is rightfully standing up for his rights."

**Technique:** Speaking time allocation, open questioning, absence of critical follow-up questioning — Evidence: 01:06–01:24

**MESSAGE 3 (SOCIETAL):** "The Netherlands is vulnerable to hybrid threats and the government is doing insufficient."

**Technique:** Agenda-setting, source selection (NCTV + unverified expert), framing (urgency as self-evident) — Evidence: 02:25–03:40

**Reasoning:** The total score of 3.2/10 indicates a slight tendency, not systematic manipulation. The broadcast is largely politically neutral (sport, Amsterdam 750 years, Amazon, election logistics). The slight tendency is concentrated in the only party-political item (Timmermans' complaint against PVV), where the omission of rebuttal, the perpetrator-victim framing and the time allocation create a demonstrably asymmetric picture. This is not in accordance with the requirements of Article 2.1 of the Media Act for pluriform and balanced reporting on politically sensitive items, but the severity is limited by the incidental nature of the findings.

### CONCLUSION

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The NOS Journaal 1 pm broadcast is for the most part a regular news bulletin with politically neutral items. The demonstrable tendency is concentrated in the treatment of GL-PvdA leader Timmermans' complaint against two PVV members of parliament, in which the members of parliament concerned are not given a voice, no legal interpretation is provided and no other political parties are heard. The perpetrator-victim framing, the placement as the opening item and the word choice ("fake images", "perpetrated") reinforce a normative judgement that is not supported by legally established facts. This is in slight conflict with the requirements of Article 2.1 of the Media Act for pluriform and balanced reporting. The total score of 3.2/10 justifies the qualification "slight tendency", not "systematic bias".



## OVERALL EVALUATION OF THE 15 CRITERIA

### Individual scores — All 15 criteria

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

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

**3.3/10**

*Slight imbalance*

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

**3.0/10**

*Slight imbalance*

#### TOTAL SCORE

**3.2/10**

*Slight imbalance*

*Average of Hard Facts and Soft Facts*



## KEY — Meaning of the scores

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

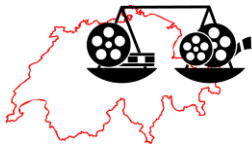
<b>0</b>	<b>No finding</b>	No relevant deviation identified.
<b>1–2</b>	<b>Weak finding</b>	Slight deviation without material impairment of balance.
<b>3–4</b>	<b>Slight to moderate finding</b>	Recognisable tendency; minor to moderate impact.
<b>5</b>	<b>Moderate finding with impact</b>	Relevant imbalance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

### Aggregated deviation index — Interpretation ranges

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

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

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



## CHAPTER 5 — LEGAL QUALIFICATION (Media Act Art. 2.1)

### Assessment on the basis of Media Act Art. 2.1

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

#### Violation 1:

Standard: Media Act Art. 2.1 — requirement of balanced reporting

Factual description: In the reporting on Timmermans' complaint against two PVV members of parliament, the members of parliament concerned are not heard, no legal interpretation is provided and no other political parties are given a voice. Only the perspective of the complainant (Timmermans) is substantively presented.

Evidence: Timestamp 00:27–01:24 — Quote: "Timmermans does not accept the apologies. He believes that the two members of parliament must resign... I cannot imagine that these two men remain members of parliament."

Assessment: The one-sided presentation of a party-political conflict, in which only one party is substantively given a voice and the other party is represented solely through a cited X post, is not in accordance with the requirement of balanced reporting. The severity is limited by the incidental nature and the short duration of the item.

#### Violation 2:

Standard: Media Act Art. 2.1 — requirement of pluriform reporting

Factual description: The security expert "Bauer" is presented without transparency about his institutional background, funding or possible conflicts of interest. The NCTV, a state-funded institution with an institutional interest in emphasising threats, is cited as a neutral authority without mention of this interest.

Evidence: Timestamp 02:40–03:40 — Quote: "More attention and more money for security is needed, according to experts."

Assessment: Presenting institutionally biased sources as neutral experts is in slight conflict with the requirement of pluriform reporting. A counter-voice or relativisation is absent.

No violation identified in:

The remaining items (sport, Amsterdam 750 years, Amazon, election logistics, Argentina, Munich) are politically neutral and meet the basic requirements of factual reporting. The incompleteness in the Argentina item and the NATO item is not of a severity that justifies a formal violation of Article 2.1 for a short news bulletin.

### Overall assessment Media Act Art. 2.1

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The broadcast largely meets the requirements of Article 2.1 of the Media Act, but shows a demonstrable shortcoming in balance in the only party-political item: the PVV members of parliament concerned are not heard, there is no legal interpretation and no other political voices are heard. This is a slight but demonstrable deviation from the requirement of pluriform and balanced reporting. The severity is insufficient for a formal enforcement procedure, but justifies an editorial recommendation to always provide rebuttal in politically sensitive items or to explicitly state why this was not possible. The total score of 3.2/10 and the qualification "slight tendency" are consistent with this assessment.



## CHAPTER 6 — Source Depth Check

### 1. "Bauer" — Security expert

- FUNDING:** Unknown — employer and funding source are not mentioned in the broadcast. No assessment possible.
  - MANDATE:** Unknown — it is unclear whether Bauer is affiliated with a think tank, university, government institution or private party.
  - CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Cannot be established due to lack of transparency. If affiliated with a security-related institution: institutional interest in emphasising threats possible.
  - CREDIBILITY MATRIX (Source light, 6D -2/+2):**
    - D1 Conflict of interest: 0 — Unknown
    - D2 Personal risk: +1 — Public statements about security deficiencies can be professionally sensitive
    - D3 Competence: +1 — Statements are substantively coherent but field of expertise not verified
    - D4 Consistency of opinion: 0 — Not verifiable
    - D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: -1 — Partly appellative ("strange", "not a good combination") without concrete figures
    - D6 Source level: -1 — Secondary; no reference to primary research data
- TOTAL: 0 → SOURCE LIGHT: YELLOW
- COUNTER-VOICE:** No expert with an opposing position is cited. The assessment of the seriousness of hybrid threats and the adequacy of existing measures is not relativised.

*IMPORTANT: "Expert" is not a substantive qualification. It is a social attribution that must itself be verified. In this broadcast, any verification of the background of "Bauer" is absent.*

### 2. NCTV (National Coordinator for Security and Counterterrorism)

- FUNDING:** State-funded — part of the Ministry of Justice and Security, funded from the national budget.
  - MANDATE:** The NCTV's task is to coordinate counterterrorism and national security. This mandate is not compatible with a fully neutral assessment of the seriousness of threats, because the organisation has an institutional interest in emphasising its own relevance.
  - CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** The NCTV has an institutional interest in emphasising threats (relevance, budget, mandate). Statements about the need for "more attention and more money" are not neutral in this light.
  - CREDIBILITY MATRIX (Source light, 6D -2/+2):**
    - D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — Strong institutional interest in emphasising threats
    - D2 Personal risk: +1 — Public statements about security deficiencies are politically sensitive
    - D3 Competence: +2 — Core domain of the organisation
    - D4 Consistency of opinion: +1 — NCTV has consistently advocated for more attention to hybrid threats
    - D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: 0 — Statements are factual but without concrete figures
    - D6 Source level: +1 — Primary source (own assessment)
- TOTAL: +3 → SOURCE LIGHT: YELLOW
- COUNTER-VOICE:** No independent security researcher who relativises the seriousness of the threat or assesses the effectiveness of existing measures is cited.

*IMPORTANT: The NCTV is a state-funded institution with an institutional interest in emphasising threats. This interest is not mentioned in the broadcast. The NCTV should be qualified as "state-funded, structural conflict of interest in assessing its own remit", not as a neutral specialist authority.*

### Source traffic light for participants:

Source	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	Total	Signal
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"Bauer" — Security expert	0	+1	+1	0	-1	-1	0	<b>YELLOW</b>
NCTV (National Coordinator for Security and Counterterrorism)	-2	+1	+2	+1	0	+1	+3	<b>YELLOW</b>

### Legal and methodological notes

<b>No factual determination</b>	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.
<b>No legal judgement</b>	The aggregated deviation index does not replace a legal assessment on the basis of Media Act 2008 Art. 2.1. The assessment of whether a specific broadcast violates statutory requirements is solely the responsibility of the competent authorities (in particular the Media Authority).
<b>No proof of causality</b>	Statistical correlations must not be interpreted as proof of causal relationships or editorial intentions. Deviation values can be influenced by topic selection, news environment, political controversiality or format logic.
<b>No judgement on intent</b>	The analysis measures observable structural characteristics of broadcasts. A score of 7 means that a significant imbalance has been identified — not that the editorial team intended this. The methodology makes no statements about motives or strategic objectives.
<b>Heuristic comparison instrument</b>	The index serves for comparative pattern recognition across thousands of broadcasts, not for precise metric measurement of individual contributions. Threshold values serve as heuristic orientation, not as sharp legal qualification.



## APPENDIX 1: NATIONAL LEGISLATION

### Legal basis Netherlands — NPO

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#### Act

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Media Act 2008

#### Relevant articles

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

#### Core obligations

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

#### Supervisory authority

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

#### Complaints procedure

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



## APPENDIX 2: SCIENTIFIC SOURCES

### Literature

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### SVFAB Working Papers

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- Schläpfer, D. (2026). Systematic AI-Assisted Analysis of Public Broadcaster Impartiality: A Scalable Methodological Framework for Measuring Structural Bias in Public Service Media. [SSRN 6688478](#)
- Schläpfer, D. (2026). Measuring Editorial Noise: A Retrospective Suppression Index for Public Broadcasting Content Analysis. [SSRN 6733280](#)
- Schläpfer, D. (2026). Source Traffic Light: A Six-Dimensional Credibility Framework for Systematic Source Assessment in Public Service Media. [SSRN 6733880](#)

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

Optionally the book is supplied with **playing cards**.

Also available as an **audiobook**.



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

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

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

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



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**Associazione svizzera** per un reporting equilibrato



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

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

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

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