



## NPO DETAILED ANALYSIS

2025-10-30\_VPWON\_1360610

Broadcast: NPO broadcast | 2025-10-30 | Analysed on: 2026-05-22 18:34

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

### TOTAL SCORE

**5.7/10**

*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](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 July 2024) is an extra-parliamentary cabinet consisting of PVV, VVD, NSC and BBB, with Mark Rutte successor Dick Schoof as non-partisan prime minister. Geert Wilders' PVV is the largest governing party with 37 seats. The opposition is led by GL-PvdA (25 seats), followed by D66 (9 seats), NSC (20 seats, but a governing party), CDA, SP, PvdD, CU, SGP, FvD, DENK and Volt.

Important: The broadcast concerns an election broadcast taking place after a new election (2025), in which D66 is threatening to become the largest party. This is therefore a different political constellation from the Schoof cabinet of 2024. The analysis assesses the broadcast in the context of this new election result.

Party	CHES L-R	Seats (2023)	Government/Opposition	Core position
SP	1,1	5	Opposition	Far left, social justice
GL-PvdA	2,4	25	Opposition	Left, climate + social
PvdD	2,5	3	Opposition	Left, animal rights
D66	4,8	9	Opposition	Centre, liberal-progressive
CDA	5,5	5	Opposition	Centre-right, Christian democratic
NSC	5,8	20	Government	Centre-right, economic security
CU	6,0	3	Opposition	Centre-right, Christian
VVD	7,0	24	Government	Right, liberal
BBB	7,5	7	Government	Right, agrarian-populist
SGP	7,8	3	Opposition	Far right, Reformed
PVV	9,2	37	Government	Far right, Wilders
FvD	9,5	3	Opposition	Far right, Baudet
JA21	~8.5	n/a 2023	n/a	Right, migration-critical

The most important political fault line in the Netherlands is that between a large right-wing populist bloc (PVV, JA21, FvD) and a progressive-liberal centre (D66, GL-PvdA). A second fault line concerns the question of whether a stable cabinet is possible without the PVV or only with the PVV. The third fault line is migration policy, on which parties from left to right fundamentally disagree about numbers, procedures and integration. Finally, the question of whether social democracy (the PvdA component of GL-PvdA) can still reach its traditional base is playing an increasingly important role.

The Dutch public broadcaster (NPO) operates under the Media Act 2008, of which Article 2.1 requires pluriform, balanced and independent reporting across the total output. The NPO is made up of broadcasting associations (including BNNVARA, AVRO-TROS, KRO-NCRV) with their own editorial responsibility. Nieuwsuur is a joint production of NOS and NTR and is regarded as one of the most authoritative news programmes of the public broadcaster; Wilders' PVV 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
D66	+2	00:21–18:05: D66 is treated extensively and predominantly positively; historic victory, extensive party history, praise from guests. Party position on migration (pragmatic, European) is touched upon (32:09–32:53) but not critically questioned. Climate position (ambitious) not tested. Representation is largely correct but selectively positively framed — score slightly positively deviating from neutral representation.
PVV	-2	01:02–01:09, 36:10–37:03: PVV is primarily framed as a loser ("losing 12 seats") and as an obstacle to coalition formation. Core positions (migration stop, purchasing power, healthcare) are not substantively addressed. Wilders receives no speaking time at the table. The suggestion that a PVV-led coalition "is doomed to fail" (51:26) is an editorial judgement without substantiation. Party programme content virtually absent.
GL-PvdA	0	06:25–07:43, 26:42–35:48: GL-PvdA is treated as a loser; Timmermans' departure discussed at length. Van Boxtel (D66 guest) analyses the party. Core positions (humane asylum policy, wealth tax) are not addressed. Representation is factual but one-sidedly focused on electoral decline, not on content. Score neutral because there is no active distortion, but content is absent.
VVD	-1	07:07–08:22, 21:17–22:13: VVD is described as a party whose "moderate voters have left and more radical voters have joined" (22:06–22:11). This is an interpretation by Rooduijn that is not contrasted. VVD core positions (entrepreneurship, free market, strict but fair migration policy) are not substantively addressed. Slight negative framing.
CDA	+1	28:02–29:40: CDA is treated positively via Mirjam Sterk; Bontenbal is praised. Christian democratic core positions (stable governance, Gaza position, fireworks ban) are touched upon. Representation is predominantly correct and sympathetic, but limited in depth.
NSC	0	Barely present in the broadcast. One mention of Boomsma having switched to JA21 (30:46). No substantive treatment of NSC programme positions. Score neutral due to absence.
JA21	-1	29:46–43:01: JA21 is treated via Ronald Buyt. Party position on migration ("realistic, feasible") is touched upon but also contrasted with the suggestion that cooperation with D66 is difficult due to fundamental differences (10:38–10:45: "useful idiots of Hamas"). Slight negative framing through association with the Nanninga statement.
FvD	-1	23:01: FvD is only mentioned as a destination for dissatisfied PVV voters who "find it less important that there is a stable government." No substantive treatment of party positions. Implicit negative framing.
SP	0	Not present in the broadcast. Score neutral due to absence.
BBB	0	Not present in the broadcast. Score neutral due to absence.



## Summary Party Bias

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- Most accurate representation: CDA (Score +1) — Bontenbal and Christian democratic positions are represented reasonably correctly and sympathetically via Mirjam Sterk.
- Strongest distortion: PVV (Score -2) — The party is primarily framed as a loser and obstacle, receives no speaking time at the table, and its programme content is completely ignored.
- Average deviation from 0: 0.9
- Conclusion: The broadcast shows a clear asymmetry in favour of D66 and to the detriment of PVV. D66 receives extensive, predominantly positive attention including a historical portrait, while the PVV is treated exclusively as an electoral loser and coalition obstacle. Substantive party positions of right-wing populist parties are not seriously questioned or presented.

## Left-Right General Tendency

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TENDENCY SCORE: +1.8

CLASSIFICATION: Left-favouring

Reasoning: The broadcast structurally favours the progressive-liberal centre (D66) through extensive positive attention, a historical portrait and praise from guests. Right-wing populist parties (PVV, FvD) are primarily framed as electoral losers or coalition obstacles without substantive treatment of their programme positions. The only non-D66 guest from the right (Buyt/JA21) is confronted with the Nanninga statement about "useful idiots of Hamas," while D66 guests are not confronted with comparable controversial statements from their own circle.



## CHAPTER 2 — BROADCAST INFORMATION AND THEMATIC FRAMEWORK

### Broadcast data

- Title: Nieuwsuur — Special Election Broadcast "The Day After"
- Date: 30.10.2025
- Length (estimated from transcript):
- Presenter/Reporter: Not named in transcript; Iris (news update); Arjan Noorlander and Nynke de Zoeten as political analysts
- Persons interviewed:

Person	Function	Party/Affiliation	Political Spectrum
Arjan Noorlander	Political analyst Nieuwsuur	NOS/NTR (editorial)	Neutral (editorial)
Nynke de Zoeten	Political analyst Nieuwsuur	NOS/NTR (editorial)	Neutral (editorial)
Matthijs Rooduijn	Political scientist UvA	Academic	Neutral (academic)
Roger van Boxtel	Former minister, D66	D66	Centre, progressive-liberal
Mirjam Sterk	Provincial executive, CDA	CDA	Centre-right
Ronald Buyt	Co-founder JA21, alderman Rotterdam	JA21 / Leefbaar Rotterdam	Right
Rahma el Mouden	Entrepreneur, founder MAS	No party (D66 voter)	Progressive
Rob Jetten	Party leader D66	D66	Centre, progressive-liberal
Frans Timmermans	Former party leader GL-PvdA	GL-PvdA	Left
Geert Wilders	Party leader PVV	PVV	Far right
Dilan Yeşilgöz	Party leader VVD	VVD	Right
Jesse Klaver	Parliamentary group leader GL-PvdA	GL-PvdA	Left

### Main theme

The broadcast analyses the results of the Dutch House of Representatives elections 2025, with emphasis on the historic victory of D66 and the consequences for the coalition formation.



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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 speaks as an expert?*

**Expert 1:** Matthijs Rooduijn — Political scientist, University of Amsterdam

Timestamp: 18:05–23:26

Statement: "D66 has managed to absorb voters like a kind of sponge... In 2023, 69 percent of D66 voters were highly educated. In 2025 it is 59 percent."

Context: Rooduijn is a recognised political scientist specialising in populism and voter behaviour. His statements are based on voter research.

Missing countervoice: A political scientist specialising in right-wing populism (e.g. Cas Mudde perspective) or a researcher who analyses the PVV voter movement from a different theoretical framework.

#### Source depth check:

**(a) FUNDING:** University of Amsterdam — publicly funded via OCW. No direct commercial interests. However: academic career incentives (publications, visibility).

**(b) MANDATE:** Voter research is compatible with neutral analysis of electoral shifts. No structural mandate conflict.

D1 Conflict of interest: +1 — Publicly funded, no direct party affiliation; however, academic reputation interests.

D2 Personal risk: +1 — Academic position is not at stake with these statements.

D3 Professional competence: +2 — Voter research is his core specialism; statements fall within his field.

D4 Consistency of opinion: +1 — Rooduijn has published consistently on populism and voter behaviour.

D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: +2 — Statements are data-driven (percentages, voter flows).

D6 Source level: +1 — Refers to own research (secondary relative to raw data, but methodologically sound).

• TOTAL: +8 → SOURCE LIGHT: GREEN

**(c) PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE:** 06–22:11) is an interpretation that is not contrasted with an alternative reading.

**Expert 2:** Roger van Boxtel — Former minister D66

Timestamp: 26:18–45:15

Statement: "Rob ran an incredibly good campaign... he also has the courage to engage in conversation with a PVV voter on TV."

Context: Van Boxtel is a D66 politician, not an independent expert. He is presented as "former minister" but his D66 affiliation is structurally determinative of his perspective.

Missing countervoice: A former minister from another party (e.g. VVD or CDA) who could sketch a more critical picture of D66's chances.

#### Source depth check:

**(a) FUNDING:** No direct funding; former politician. However: D66 loyalty as a structural factor.

**(b) MANDATE:** As a D66 former minister, his mandate is not compatible with neutral analysis of D66's performance.

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- D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — Strong party affiliation; structural interest in positive D66 framing.  
D2 Personal risk: 0 — No career risk; retired politician.  
D3 Professional competence: +1 — Political experience relevant, but no academic expertise.  
D4 Consistency of opinion: +1 — Consistent D66 positions.  
D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: -1 — Predominantly appellative ("incredibly good campaign").  
D6 Source level: -1 — Personal opinion, no primary data source.

• TOTAL: -2 → SOURCE LIGHT: YELLOW

**(c) PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE: 18).** This is misleading: he is a party guest, not an independent expert.

*Missing expert groups:*

- Constitutional law expert on coalition formation law and procedures.
- Political scientist specialising in right-wing populism for analysis of PVV losses.
- Independent coalition formation expert (e.g. former informateur).

Summary: Rooduijn is a credible academic source (GREEN), but Van Boxtel is a party guest presented as a quasi-expert (YELLOW). The absence of independent experts for coalition formation analysis and right-wing populism is a structural deficiency.

**Source traffic light for participants:**

Source	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	Total	Signal
Matthijs Rooduijn — Political scientist, University of Amsterdam	+1	+1	+2	+1	+2	+1	+8	GREEN
Roger van Boxtel — Former minister D66	-2	0	+1	+1	-1	-1	-2	YELLOW



## 2. CHOICE OF SOURCES

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Claims without primary source = penalty points (rumour check)

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

### Source 1: Voter research Matthijs Rooduijn (UvA)

Timestamp: 18:05–23:26 — Statement: "In 2023, 69 percent of D66 voters were highly educated. In 2025 it is 59 percent."

**(a) Funding and sponsorship:** Publicly funded via UvA/OCW. No commercial interest.

**(b) Structural conflict of interest:** No direct conflict; academic reputation interests are limited.

**(c) Is a source offering a counter-perspective missing? Yes:** a researcher who analyses the PVV voter movement from a different framework (e.g. economic discontent rather than cultural anxiety) is absent.

### Source 2: Rahma el Mouden — Entrepreneur, D66 voter

Timestamp: 23:43–26:07 — Statement: "that we have the feeling that we are being treated as second-class citizens. And he caused that."

**(a) Funding and sponsorship:** Private entrepreneur; no institutional funding.

**(b) Structural conflict of interest:** El Mouden is a D66 voter with a personal interest in an anti-PVV framing. She is presented as representative of "Dutch people with a migration background" (23:26), which is a generalising claim.

**(c) Is a counter-source missing? Yes:** an entrepreneur with a migration background who voted for PVV or JA21 is completely absent, creating a one-sided picture.

Rumour check (penalty points):

Rumour 1:

Timestamp: 51:41–51:44

Claim: "That will clearly be Jesse Klaver. There is really no doubt about that."

Word marker: "clearly," "no doubt" — presents an unconfirmed political expectation as an established fact.

Primary source present: No — no official announcement from GL-PvdA cited. +1 penalty point.

Rumour 2:

Timestamp: 26:24–26:30

Claim: "Those are 100,000 [foreign votes]. Those are mainly diplomats who tend to vote D66."

Word marker: "tend to" — an assumption without source reference.

Primary source present: No — no research or data cited. +1 penalty point.

Summary: The choice of sources is structurally one-sided: the academic source (Rooduijn) is solid, but the only "citizen" source (El Mouden) is a D66 voter whose statements about the PVV are not contrasted. Two rumours without primary source increase the score.



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

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

Estimated speaking time:

- D66 (Van Boxtel + Jetten fragments + historical portrait): approx. 18 min. (35%)
- Analysts (Noorlander + De Zoeten): approx. 10 min. (19%)
- Rooduijn (academic): approx. 5 min. (10%)
- CDA (Sterk): approx. 6 min. (12%)
- JA21 (Buyt): approx. 4 min. (8%)
- GL-PvdA (Van Boxtel on GL-PvdA + Timmermans fragment): approx. 4 min. (8%)
- El Mouden (citizen): approx. 3 min. (6%)
- PVV (Wilders fragment): approx. 0.5 min. (1%)
- News update (Prince Andrew, Gaza, Venray): approx. 5 min. (10%)

Summary: D66 dominates the broadcast with approximately 35% of total speaking time, including an extensive historical portrait. The PVV — as the (former) largest party — receives less than 1% direct speaking time. This asymmetry is not justified by news value alone and constitutes a structural violation of the principle of balance.



#### 4. OMISSION (Selective Omission)

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*Definition: What is not shown, although relevant?*

Omission 1:

Context: PVV programme content and PVV voter perspective.

Relevant at: Entire broadcast — particularly 01:02–01:09 (PVV as loser) and 51:11–51:28 (coalition formation analysis).

Effect: The viewer receives no substantive picture whatsoever of what motivates PVV voters or what the PVV stands for in terms of content. The party is framed exclusively as an electoral loser and coalition obstacle.

Omission 2:

Context: Critical analysis of D66 programme on migration and climate.

Relevant at: 32:09–32:53 — Quote: "he launched a separate project in the run-up to the elections."

Effect: D66's migration position is positively framed by Van Boxtel (D66 guest) without critical questioning. The tension between D66's traditional pro-migration position and the new "stricter" rhetoric is not examined.

Omission 3:

Context: Economic and budgetary consequences of coalition formation.

Relevant at: 08:47–13:22 (coalition analysis).

Effect: The coalition analysis is entirely political-strategic in nature; the economic feasibility of the various scenarios is not discussed, leaving the viewer with an incomplete picture of the actual challenges.

Summary: The selective omission of PVV content and critical D66 analysis, combined with the absence of economic commentary, creates a structurally distorted picture of political reality.

#### Missing voices

- PVV voter or PVV representative: Could have explained the motivations and expectations of the largest right-wing populist voter group.
- Coalition formation expert/constitutional law expert: Could have objectively analysed the procedural possibilities and limitations of the formation.
- Economist or budget expert: Could have explained the financial-economic consequences of the various coalition scenarios.
- GL-PvdA representative (current): Could have articulated the perspective of the losing party directly rather than via a D66 guest.
- VVD representative: Could have explained the change of course of the VVD and the consequences for the formation.
- Migrant or status holder with a different political preference: Could have given a broader picture of the diversity within the group of people with a migration background.
- European policy expert: Could have explained the international context of the Dutch election result.
- Local administrator from a non-urban municipality: Could have brought in the perspective of rural areas and smaller municipalities, which is now completely absent.



## 5. MANIPULATION OF FIGURES

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

*Definition: Selective or misleading use of statistics.*

### Finding 1:

Timestamp: 29:35 — Quote: "In 2023, 69 percent of D66 voters were highly educated. In 2025 it is 59 percent."

Dimensions: (b) share shown — (a) absolute numbers absent — (c) trend shown (decline of 10 percentage points).

#### Missing context

What is the percentage of highly educated people in the total population? Without this reference point, the decline is difficult to interpret. D66 remains far above the national average at 59%.

#### Effect

The decline is presented as evidence of broadening, but without a reference point the claim is insufficiently substantiated.

### Finding 2:

Timestamp: 36:25–36:33 — Quote: "There are 50 seats on the right that want a stricter and fairer asylum policy. That is twice as large as D66 has become."

Dimensions: (a) absolute numbers shown — (b) ratio shown — (c) trend absent.

#### Missing context

The definition of "right" is not specified. Which parties are included? JA21 + PVV + FvD? Or also VVD and CDA? The claim is politically charged but methodologically unclear.

#### Effect

The suggestion that D66 stands opposite a monolithic right-wing bloc is a political framing presented as factual analysis.

Summary: Two cases of incomplete presentation of figures have been established; no active manipulation, but missing reference points create a misleading picture.



## 6. GUILT BY ASSOCIATION

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

### Association 1:

Timestamp: 10:38–10:45

#### Quote

*"Nanninga had said about people who demonstrate for the cause... that they are useful idiots of Hamas."*

Technique: The statement by Nanninga (JA21) is cited as an illustration of the "very different worldview" of JA21, directly after the question was raised of whether D66 and JA21 can cooperate. The association JA21 → Hamas sympathisers is implicitly established.

#### Effect

JA21 is associated with an extremist statement, framing the party as an unsuitable coalition partner — without comparable controversial statements by D66 politicians being cited.

### Association 2:

Timestamp: 22:24–23:04

#### Quote

*"We have a radical right-wing bloc consisting of three parties. The PVV and somewhat more moderate is JA21. Somewhat more radical is Forum for Democracy."*

Technique: PVV, JA21 and FvD are grouped together under the label "radical right-wing bloc." JA21 is thereby associated with FvD (far right), while JA21 positions itself as moderately right-wing.

#### Effect

The term "radical right" for JA21 is a politically charged qualification presented as neutral academic analysis.

### Association 3:

Timestamp: 25:26–25:28

#### Quote

*"And he caused that." (El Mouden about Wilders)*

Technique: Wilders is held personally responsible by El Mouden for the feeling of second-class citizenship among people with a migration background. This claim is not contrasted or questioned by the presenter.

#### Effect

Wilders is associated with discrimination and social exclusion without the right of reply.

Source check for "radical right" framing (Rooduijn):

- Does Rooduijn work with demonstrable primary sources? YES — voter research.
- Are his core statements falsifiable? YES — electoral data are verifiable.
- Category: A — System-critical researcher with methodology. But: the term "radical right" for JA21 is an academically contested classification presented as established fact.

Summary: Three cases of associative framing have been established: JA21 is associated with Hamas sympathy, PVV is associated with social exclusion, and the "radical right" label is applied to JA21 without nuance.



## 7. TIMING

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

### Finding 1:

Position: 00:21–00:40 (opening)

Content: "With a historic victory of D66. [...] But at the same time there is an at least equally large radical right-wing bloc."

#### Timing effect

The opening establishes D66's victory as the primary news, followed by a cautionary contrast ("but"). This frame — D66 as winner, right as threat — is established in the first 40 seconds and colours the rest of the broadcast.

### Finding 2:

Position: 23:31–26:07 (middle)

Content: Interview with Rahma el Mouden about her fear of a PVV victory and her feeling of second-class citizenship.

#### Timing effect

The interview is placed directly after the academic analysis of voter flows, so that the emotional testimony of a D66 voter "embodies" and reinforces the abstract data. The placement before the panel discussions gives the interview an agenda-setting function.

### Finding 3:

Position: 51:11–51:28 (end)

Content: "If the PVV becomes the largest... they get the first chance to form a coalition. [...] But that is doomed to fail."

#### Timing effect

The conclusion that a PVV-led coalition "is doomed to fail" is presented as a closing analysis, without counter-argument. This is the last impression the viewer receives about the PVV.

Summary: The opening establishes the D66-as-winner/right-as-threat frame, the middle reinforces this with an emotional testimony, and the end closes with a negative judgement about the PVV — a consistent narrative structure that steers the viewer in one direction.



## 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: 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: 10:38–10:45

Triggering event: Nanninga (JA21) called pro-Palestinian demonstrators "useful idiots of Hamas."

Reaction: "It is a very different worldview." (analyst, implicitly disapproving)

### Comparison

No comparable statement by a D66 or GL-PvdA politician is cited and critically commented upon in the broadcast.

Asymmetry: Demonstrable — the Nanninga statement is used as an argument against cooperation with JA21, while controversial statements by progressive politicians are not cited.

Degree of indignation: 2/5

Selectivity: 3/5

### Finding 2:

Timestamp: 43:10–43:21

Triggering event: Van Boxtel calls GL-PvdA "far left" (cited as VVD position) and adds: "which I think is nonsense."

Reaction: The presenter lets the qualification "nonsense" pass without comment.

### Comparison

The term "radical right" for PVV/JA21 (22:24) is not qualified as "nonsense" by any guest or analyst.

Asymmetry: Demonstrable — the rejection of a right-wing label for GL-PvdA is accepted, while the "radical right" label for PVV/JA21 is not challenged.

Degree of indignation: 1/5

Selectivity: 3/5

Summary: Two cases of selective indignation have been established: the Nanninga statement is used as an argument against JA21 without comparable treatment of progressive controversies, and the rejection of the "far left" label for GL-PvdA is accepted while the "radical right" label for PVV/JA21 is not challenged.



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

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

### Finding 1:

Timestamp: Entire broadcast

Missing perspective/fact: Substantive treatment of PVV programme positions.

Relevance: The PVV is (or was) the largest party in the Netherlands; its programme content is directly relevant to the coalition formation analysis.

#### Effect

The viewer receives no substantive picture whatsoever of what the PVV stands for, causing the party to be framed exclusively as an electoral and coalition formation actor.

### Finding 2:

Timestamp: 08:47–13:22

Missing perspective/fact: Economic feasibility analysis of coalition formation.

Relevance: Coalition agreements have direct budgetary consequences; without economic commentary the coalition formation analysis is incomplete.

#### Effect

The viewer receives exclusively a political-strategic picture of the formation, without insight into the substantive and financial challenges.

### Finding 3:

Timestamp: 23:43–26:07

Missing perspective/fact: Voice of people with a migration background who voted for PVV or JA21.

Relevance: Research shows that a significant minority of voters with a migration background vote for right-wing populist parties; this perspective is completely absent.

#### Effect

The picture that all people with a migration background are against the PVV is implicitly confirmed by the one-sided choice of El Mouden as the only "citizen" voice.

Summary: The broadcast is structurally incomplete on three crucial points: PVV content, economic commentary and diversity within the group of people with a migration background. This leads to a systematically distorted overall picture.

The 2025 elections take place in a polarised political climate, in which the tension between a right-wing populist bloc (PVV, JA21, FvD) and a progressive-liberal centre (D66, GL-PvdA) is central. D66 has achieved a historic result and claims to represent the political centre, while GL-PvdA is losing seats and is in internal crisis. The formation is complex because no combination of parties can easily form a majority without either D66 or the PVV. The result raises fundamental questions about the future of social democracy, the position of right-wing populism and the stability of Dutch governance.

## Relevant Perspectives for a Balanced Broadcast

- Perspective of PVV voters: why did they vote for the PVV and what do they expect from the formation?



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- Substantive analysis of the D66 programme on migration, climate and the economy — are the promises realistic?
- Perspective of GL-PvdA voters and members on the departure of Timmermans and the future of the party.
- Analysis of JA21's gains: what does this mean for the right-wing populist bloc?
- Perspective of VVD voters and members on the change of course of the party.
- Coalition formation expert or constitutional law expert on the procedural possibilities and limitations.
- Economic perspective: what do the election results mean for budgetary policy?
- Perspective of people with a migration background who voted for PVV or JA21.
- International perspective: how do European partners view the Dutch election result?
- Perspective of local administrators (municipalities, provinces) on the consequences of the result for decentralised policy.

**Check: Was each perspective addressed?**

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[A] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: PVV voters are not given a voice; their motivations are discussed exclusively via academic research (Rooduijn), without a direct voice.

[B] INDICATED

Timestamp: 32:09–32:53 — Quote: "he launched a separate project in the run-up to the elections... he said: we need to change the traditional way of tackling migration." — Assessment: D66 programme on migration is only superficially touched upon via a guest comment, not critically tested.

[C] INDICATED

Timestamp: 26:42–35:48 — Quote: "social democracy stands up for people who are struggling but it is difficult to keep them on board." — Assessment: GL-PvdA perspective is addressed via Van Boxtel (D66 guest), not via a GL-PvdA representative.

[D] INDICATED

Timestamp: 29:46–31:14 — Quote: "he held his ground two years ago... realistic plans on migration." — Assessment: JA21's gains are addressed but primarily via its own representative without critical questioning.

[E] INDICATED

Timestamp: 21:17–22:13 — Quote: "the moderate VVD voters have left and more radical voters have joined." — Assessment: VVD perspective is addressed exclusively via academic analysis; no VVD representative at the table.

[F] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: No constitutional law or coalition formation expert speaks; formation analysis is left to political analysts and party guests.

[G] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: Economic consequences of the result are completely absent.

[H] PARTIALLY ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 23:26–26:07 — Quote: "Dutch people with a migration background are watching developments at the PVV with interest." — Assessment: Only a D66-voting entrepreneur with a migration background is given a voice; PVV or JA21 voters with a migration background are absent.

[I] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: International perspective completely absent.

[J] INDICATED

Timestamp: 39:27–40:50 — Quote: "I have been a provincial executive for three and a half years... we need a cabinet that stays in office for four years." — Assessment: Local governance perspective is touched upon via Mirjam Sterk (CDA provincial executive), but limited to formation politics.

Reasoning: The broadcast addresses only three of the ten relevant perspectives substantively, and two of those only superficially. Crucial perspectives — PVV voters, coalition formation experts, economic analysis and international



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perspective — are completely absent. The emphasis is predominantly on D66's victory and the internal crisis at GL-PvdA, leaving the broader political landscape underexposed.

*Share of perspectives covered*

*Inverted: original value measures coverage (higher = better). Displayed as deviation (higher = greater gaps).*



## Soft facts — 6 qualitative techniques

### 10. FRAMING (Setting the frame)

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*Definition: How is the topic fundamentally framed?*

#### Finding 1:

Timestamp: 00:36–00:40

<b>Quote</b>	<i>"But at the same time there is an at least equally large radical right-wing bloc."</i>
<b>Manipulation</b>	The word "but" positions the right-wing bloc as a contrast and threat to D66's victory. The label "radical right-wing bloc" is a politically charged qualification presented as a neutral description.
<b>Why problematic</b>	The viewer is conditioned in the opening sentence to see the right-wing bloc as problematic, before any substantive analysis has taken place.

#### Finding 2:

Timestamp: 06:43–06:52

<b>Quote</b>	<i>"Because it could hardly go wrong. There was the most right-wing cabinet ever. Then as a left-wing opposition you should be able to achieve a great score. It didn't happen."</i>
<b>Manipulation</b>	The frame "it could hardly go wrong" presents GL-PvdA's loss as a personal failure, while alternative explanations (e.g. D66's campaign strategy, electoral volatility) are not considered.
<b>Why problematic</b>	This frame discredits GL-PvdA without offering alternative explanations and reinforces the narrative of D66 as the "real" winner of the left.

#### Finding 3:

Timestamp: 51:26–51:28

<b>Quote</b>	<i>"But that is doomed to fail."</i>
<b>Manipulation</b>	A PVV-led coalition is presented as having failed before it starts, without substantiation or counter-argument. This is an editorial judgement presented as factual analysis.
<b>Why problematic</b>	The viewer is given no space to judge for themselves the chances of a PVV-led coalition; the judgement is presented as established fact.

Summary: The broadcast employs three consistent frames: D66 as saviour of the centre, GL-PvdA as failed left, and PVV as inevitably failing coalition actor. These frames are not presented as interpretations but as neutral analyses.



## 11. WORD CHOICE AND TERMINOLOGY

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

### Finding 1:

Timestamp: 00:36

<b>Quote</b>	"radical right-wing bloc"
<b>Manipulation</b>	"Radical" has a negative connotation (extremism, unpredictability). The label is applied to a bloc that includes PVV, JA21 and FvD — parties with strongly differing positions.
<b>Why problematic</b>	Neutral alternative: "right-wing populist bloc" or "right-wing bloc." The use of "radical" as an opening label colours the rest of the broadcast.

### Finding 2:

Timestamp: 07:20

<b>Quote</b>	"Frans Timmermans had gold in his hands but failed to cash it in."
<b>Manipulation</b>	The metaphor "gold in his hands" implies that Timmermans had a certain victory that he let slip through his own failure. This is an interpretation, not a fact.
<b>Why problematic</b>	Neutral alternative: "GL-PvdA had favourable circumstances but did not achieve the expected result." The metaphor personalises the loss and discredits Timmermans.

### Finding 3:

Timestamp: 21:15

<b>Quote</b>	"You could speak of a GroenLeftification of GroenLinks PvdA."
<b>Manipulation</b>	The neologism "GroenLeftification" implies a negative process of radicalisation or narrowing. The term is used by Rooduijn as academic analysis but has a clear negative connotation.
<b>Why problematic</b>	Neutral alternative: "the base of GL-PvdA has come to resemble the traditional GroenLinks base more closely." The neologistic term suggests a problematic development.

Summary: The word choice in the broadcast is consistently negative for right-wing populist parties ("radical right-wing bloc") and for GL-PvdA ("GroenLeftification," "gold not cashed in"), while D66 is described in terms of "historic victory" and "top calibre."



## 12. MODERATION BEHAVIOUR

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

*Methodological principle: 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: 25:26–25:29

Triggering event: El Mouden states that Wilders is personally responsible for the feeling of second-class citizenship: "And he caused that."

#### Quote (presenter)

*[no reaction — the statement is not questioned]*

#### Comparison

With Buyt (JA21), 30:02–30:06, follow-up questioning does occur: "How do you explain that he did so well?" — a neutral question, but the Nanninga statement (10:38) is brought up as a critical point.

Asymmetry: Demonstrable — the unsubstantiated claim by El Mouden about Wilders' personal responsibility is not questioned, while JA21 is confronted with a controversial statement by a party member.

### Finding 2:

Timestamp: 43:10–43:21

Triggering event: Van Boxtel (D66) qualifies the VVD label "far left" for GL-PvdA as "nonsense."

#### Quote (presenter)

*[no reaction — the qualification is not questioned]*

#### Comparison

The label "radical right" for PVV/JA21 (00:36, 22:24) is not qualified as "nonsense" by any guest or analyst, and the presenter does not ask about it.

Asymmetry: Demonstrable — the rejection of a left-wing label is accepted, while the use of a right-wing label is not challenged.

### Finding 3:

Timestamp: 36:39–37:09

Triggering event: Buyt (JA21) warns D66, VVD and CDA: "watch out at the next elections."

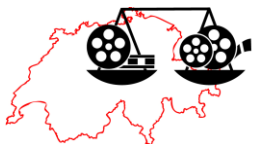
#### Quote (presenter)

*"You are warning for the last time!" (laughing)*

#### Comparison

When Van Boxtel (D66) states that a PVV-led coalition "is doomed to fail" (51:26), the presenter does not respond with a comparable relativising remark.

Asymmetry: Demonstrable — the warning of the right-wing guest is relativised with humour, while the negative judgement of the left-wing guest about the PVV remains uncommented.



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Summary: The moderation behaviour shows three demonstrable asymmetries: unsubstantiated claims by progressive guests are not questioned, the rejection of left-wing labels is accepted while right-wing labels are not challenged, and the warning of the right-wing guest is relativised with humour while the negative judgement about the PVV remains uncommented.



### 13. QUESTION ASYMMETRY

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

#### Asymmetry 1:

To Van Boxtel (D66), 26:21–26:23: "Had you thought this possible?" — soft/inviting

To Buyt (JA21), 30:02–30:06: "How do you explain that he did so well?" — neutral

#### Comparison

Both questions are open and non-confrontational. However: Van Boxtel is not confronted with D66's programmatic inconsistencies on migration, while Buyt is indirectly confronted with the Nanninga statement (10:38–10:45) via the analyst.

#### Asymmetry 2:

To Sterk (CDA), 28:19–28:23: "What feeling prevailed yesterday when the result came in?" — soft/emotional

To Buyt (JA21), 41:53–41:56: "But climate doesn't seem like an easy topic either?" — critical/sceptical

#### Comparison

Sterk (CDA) receives an emotional opening question that allows for positive answers; Buyt (JA21) receives a sceptical question about the feasibility of cooperation with D66.

Summary: The questions to D66 and CDA guests are predominantly soft and inviting, while JA21 is indirectly confronted with controversial statements and sceptical questions about coalition feasibility. The asymmetry is not extreme but consistent.



## 14. FALSE BALANCE

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*Definition: Artificial balance despite factual imbalance.*

### Finding 1:

Timestamp: 29:46–31:14 — Construction: Ronald Buyt (JA21) is presented as the "right-wing" counterweight to Van Boxtel (D66), Sterk (CDA) and the academic analysis of Rooduijn.

### Analysis

Buyt represents JA21 (right), but the table composition is 2:1 in favour of centre-left (Van Boxtel D66, Sterk CDA vs. Buyt JA21). The PVV — the largest right-wing populist party — has no representative at the table. The suggestion of "balance" through Buyt's presence masks the structural underrepresentation of the right.

Summary: The presence of one right-wing guest (Buyt/JA21) creates an appearance of balance, while the PVV — the largest party — is completely absent from the table. This is a classic case of false balance.



## 15. AGENDA-SETTING

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

### Finding 1:

Agenda element: D66's victory as the central news of the evening.

Timestamp: 00:21 — Evidence: "With a historic victory of D66."

Alternative agenda: The PVV remains (possibly) the largest party; JA21's gains are equally historically significant; the crisis at GL-PvdA is a major political story. None of these stories receives comparable attention.

### Finding 2:

Agenda element: Formation as a D66 project.

Timestamp: 11:47–12:05 — Evidence: "What will Jetten do first. He needs to wake up the Mark Rutte within himself."

Alternative agenda: The formation is a collective political process in which the Speaker of the House appoints an explorer; the framing as "Jetten's project" is an editorial choice that presents D66's central role as self-evident.

### Finding 3:

Agenda element: Right-wing populism as a threat to stability.

Timestamp: 00:36–00:40, 51:26–51:28 — Evidence: "radical right-wing bloc," "doomed to fail."

Alternative agenda: Right-wing populism as a legitimate political movement with a substantial electoral mandate; the question of why millions of Dutch people vote for PVV, JA21 and FvD does not make it onto the agenda.

Summary: The agenda is dominated by three self-evident assumptions: D66 as the central political actor, the formation as a D66 project, and right-wing populism as a threat. Alternative agendas — PVV as a legitimate coalition actor, economic commentary, international perspective — are not addressed.



## CHAPTER 4 — OVERALL ASSESSMENT

### Overview of Individual Scores

No.	Criterion	Type	Score	Main finding (1 sentence)
1	Choice of experts	H	6	Rooduijn is solid (GREEN), but Van Boxtel is a party guest presented as a quasi-expert (YELLOW).
2	Choice of sources	H	5	Structurally one-sided choice of sources: only citizen voice is a D66 voter; two rumours without primary source.
3	Time allocation	H	7	D66 dominates with approx. 35% speaking time; PVV receives less than 1% direct speaking time.
4	Omission	H	7	PVV content, economic commentary and diversity within the migrant group systematically absent.
5	Manipulation of figures	H	3	Two cases of incomplete presentation of figures; no active manipulation.
6	Guilt by association	H	5	Three cases of associative framing: JA21-Hamas, PVV-exclusion, "radical right" label.
7	Timing	H	6	Consistent narrative structure: D66-winner (opening), emotional testimony (middle), PVV-failure (end).
8	Selective indignation	H	4	Two demonstrable asymmetries: Nanninga statement vs. progressive controversies; label asymmetry.
9	Completeness	H	7	Structurally incomplete on PVV content, economic commentary and diversity of citizen voices.
10	Framing	S	7	Three consistent frames: D66-saviour, GL-PvdA-failed, PVV-doomed — presented as neutral analysis.
11	Word choice	S	6	"Radical right-wing bloc," "GroenLeftification," "gold not cashed in" — consistently negative for non-D66.
12	Moderation behaviour	S	6	Three demonstrable asymmetries: unsubstantiated claims not questioned, label asymmetry, humour as relativisation.
13	Question asymmetry	S	5	D66/CDA receive soft questions; JA21 is indirectly confronted with controversial statements.
14	False balance	S	4	Buyt (JA21) as apparent counterweight masks absence of PVV at the table.
15	Agenda-setting	S	7	Three self-evident assumptions: D66 central, formation as D66 project, right-wing populism as threat.

### Results

- HARD FACTS SCORE (average criteria 1-9): 5.6 / 10
- SOFT FACTS SCORE (average criteria 10-15): 5.8 / 10



• TOTAL SCORE (average all 15 criteria): 5.7 / 10

## Dominant Techniques

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- 1. Framing (Score 7):** The broadcast employs three consistent frames — D66 as saviour of the centre, GL-PvdA as failed left, PVV as inevitably failing coalition actor — which are presented as neutral analyses. These frames are established in the opening sentence and confirmed throughout the broadcast via word choice, guest selection and moderation behaviour.
- 2. Time allocation (Score 7):** D66 dominates the broadcast with approximately 35% of total speaking time, including an extensive historical portrait. The PVV — as the (former) largest party — receives less than 1% direct speaking time, which is a structural violation of the principle of balance under the Media Act.
- 3. Agenda-setting (Score 7):** The agenda is dominated by three self-evident assumptions that are not presented as editorial choices: D66 as the central political actor, the formation as a D66 project, and right-wing populism as a threat to stability. Alternative agendas — PVV as a legitimate coalition actor, economic commentary, international perspective — are not addressed.

## Core Messages of the Broadcast

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**MESSAGE 1 (SUBSTANTIVE):** "D66 is the legitimate leader of a new political centre that can save the Netherlands from instability."

**Technique:** Framing + time allocation + agenda-setting — Evidence: 00:21, 11:47–12:05, 13:22–14:16

**MESSAGE 2 (PERSONAL):** "Rob Jetten is the political leader the Netherlands needs — capable, unifying and courageous."

**Technique:** Word choice + guest selection (Van Boxtel as eulogist) + historical portrait — Evidence: 26:28–26:36, 34:34–38:54, 51:49–52:08

**MESSAGE 3 (SOCIETAL):** "The right-wing populist bloc is a threat to stability and to people with a migration background."

**Technique:** Guilt by association + framing + selective citizen voice (El Mouden) — Evidence: 00:36–00:40, 23:43–26:07, 51:26–51:28

Reasoning: The broadcast scores 5.7/10 based on 15 criteria, indicating clear one-sidedness. The structural dominance of D66 (35% speaking time, historical portrait, praise from guests), combined with the near-complete absence of PVV content and the consistent negative framing of right-wing populism, forms a pattern that exceeds the boundaries of balanced reporting. The broadcast does not comply with the pluriformity requirement of Media Act Art. 2.1 insofar as it concerns the treatment of the PVV and right-wing populist parties. The absence of a PVV representative at the table, combined with the editorial judgement that a PVV-led coalition "is doomed to fail," is particularly problematic for a public broadcaster that is legally obliged to provide independent reporting.

## CONCLUSION

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The Nieuwsuur election broadcast of the day after the elections shows a structural pattern of one-sidedness in favour of D66 and to the detriment of right-wing populist parties, in particular the PVV. The combination of disproportionate speaking time for D66 (approx. 35%), an extensive historical portrait, praise from a party guest presented as a quasi-expert, and the near-complete absence of PVV content and representation at the table, forms a pattern that cannot be explained by news value alone. The editorial judgement that a PVV-led coalition "is doomed to fail" (51:26), presented as factual analysis without substantiation or counter-argument, is a particularly serious violation of the principle of independence. The broadcast does not comply with the requirements of pluriformity and balance as required by Media Act Art. 2.1, particularly with regard to the treatment of the PVV and the one-sided guest selection. A total score of 5.7/10 places the broadcast in the category "considerable one-sidedness," which, if structurally repeated, could give rise to a formal complaint to the Commissariaat voor de Media.



## 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	7	●●●●
4	OMISSION (Selective Omission)	7	●●●●
5	MANIPULATION OF FIGURES	3	●●
6	GUILT BY ASSOCIATION	5	●●●
7	TIMING	6	●●●
8	SELECTIVE INDIGNATION	4	●●
9	COMPLETENESS (Selective Omission — Overall Picture)	7	●●●●
10	FRAMING (Setting the frame)	7	●●●●
11	WORD CHOICE AND TERMINOLOGY	6	●●●
12	MODERATION BEHAVIOUR	6	●●●
13	QUESTION ASYMMETRY	5	●●●
14	FALSE BALANCE	4	●●
15	AGENDA-SETTING	7	●●●●

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

**5.6/10**

*Considerable imbalance*

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

**5.8/10**

*Considerable imbalance*

#### TOTAL SCORE

**5.7/10**

*Considerable imbalance*

*Average of Hard Facts and Soft Facts*



## KEY — Meaning of the scores

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

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

### Aggregated deviation index — Interpretation ranges

<b>0.0 – 2.5</b>	<b>Unremarkable</b>	No material patterns discernible; broadcast complies with the requirement of balance.
<b>2.6 – 4.0</b>	<b>Slight imbalance</b>	Isolated deviations; statistically visible, but within tolerance range.
<b>4.1 – 6.0</b>	<b>Considerable imbalance</b>	Multiple considerable findings; relevant impairment of diversity of perspectives.
<b>6.1 – 8.0</b>	<b>Serious deviation from the requirement of balance. 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:

Norm: Media Act Art. 2.1 — Pluriformity

Factual circumstance: The PVV — as the (former) largest party in the Netherlands — has no representative at the table and receives less than 1% direct speaking time, while D66 dominates approximately 35% of the broadcast.

Evidence: Timestamp 00:21–52:14 — entire broadcast; specifically: 01:02–01:09 (PVV as loser), 51:26–51:28 ("doomed to fail").

Assessment: The disproportionate distribution of speaking time and the absence of a PVV representative at the table violate the principle of pluriformity. Pluriformity requires that the total output reflects a broad spectrum of political views; a broadcast that virtually completely ignores the largest party in the Netherlands does not comply with this.

Violation 2:

Norm: Media Act Art. 2.1 — Balance

Factual circumstance: The guest selection is structurally unbalanced: two centre-left guests (Van Boxtel/D66, Sterk/CDA), one right-wing guest (Buyt/JA21), no PVV representative. Van Boxtel is presented as "former minister" without explicit mention of his D66 background.

Evidence: Timestamp 26:18 — "Roger Van Boxtel of D66, former minister" — the D66 affiliation only becomes clear after the introduction.

Assessment: The presentation of a party guest as a quasi-independent expert, combined with the structurally unbalanced table composition, violates the principle of balance.

Violation 3:

Norm: Media Act Art. 2.1 — Independence

Factual circumstance: The editorial judgement that a PVV-led coalition "is doomed to fail" (51:26) is presented as factual analysis without substantiation, source reference or counter-argument.

Evidence: Timestamp 51:26–51:28 — Quote: "But that is doomed to fail."

Assessment: A public broadcaster that presents a political judgement about the coalition formation chances of a specific party as an established fact, without the right of reply, does not act independently within the meaning of Media Act Art. 2.1.

### Overall Assessment Media Act Art. 2.1

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The broadcast shows three demonstrable violations of Media Act Art. 2.1: a pluriformity violation through the disproportionate underrepresentation of the PVV, a balance violation through the unbalanced table composition and the presentation of a party guest as a quasi-expert, and an independence violation through the presentation of a political judgement as factual analysis. It is important to emphasise that Media Act Art. 2.1 requires pluriformity across the total output of the public broadcaster, not per broadcast; however, a single broadcast can serve as indicative evidence of a structural pattern. If this pattern is structurally repeated in Nieuwsuur broadcasts, a formal complaint to the Commissariaat voor de Media could be well-founded. The findings are based on demonstrable, timestamped facts from the transcript and are therefore suitable as substantiation in a formal complaints procedure.

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

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#### 1. Matthijs Rooduijn — Political scientist UvA

**1. FUNDING:** University of Amsterdam — publicly funded via OCW/NWO. No commercial interests.

**2. MANDATE:** Voter research and populism research — fully compatible with neutral electoral analysis.



**3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** No institutional interest in a specific outcome. Academic reputation interests are limited and not party-affiliated.

**4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX:**

- D1 Conflict of interest: +1
- D2 Personal risk: +1
- D3 Professional competence: +2
- D4 Consistency: +1
- D5 Emotion vs. data: +2
- D6 Source level: +1

• TOTAL: +8 → SOURCE LIGHT: GREEN

**5. COUNTERVOICE:** A researcher who analyses voter behaviour from an economic (rather than cultural) perspective is absent.

## 2. Roger van Boxtel — Former minister D66

**1. FUNDING:** No institutional funding; former politician.

**2. MANDATE:** D66 loyalty is not compatible with neutral analysis of D66's performance or coalition formation chances.

**3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Strong institutional interest in positive D66 framing; party loyalty as a structural factor.

**4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX:**

- D1 Conflict of interest: -2
- D2 Personal risk: 0
- D3 Professional competence: +1
- D4 Consistency: +1
- D5 Emotion vs. data: -1
- D6 Source level: -1

• TOTAL: -2 → SOURCE LIGHT: YELLOW

**5. COUNTERVOICE:** A former minister from VVD or CDA who would sketch a more critical picture of D66's coalition formation chances is absent.

## 3. Rahma el Mouden — Entrepreneur, D66 voter

**1. FUNDING:** Private entrepreneur; no institutional funding.

**2. MANDATE:** Personal testimony — no mandate for representative statements about "people with a migration background."

**3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Personal interest in anti-PVV framing as a D66 voter; her statements are presented as representative of a broader group.

**4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX:**

- D1 Conflict of interest: -2
- D2 Personal risk: +1 (personal testimony)
- D3 Professional competence: -1 (no expertise in political/social field)
- D4 Consistency: 0 (unknown)
- D5 Emotion vs. data: -2 (strongly emotional, no data)
- D6 Source level: -1 (personal opinion)

• TOTAL: -5 → SOURCE LIGHT: RED

**5. COUNTERVOICE:** An entrepreneur with a migration background who voted for PVV or JA21 is completely absent.

**IMPORTANT:** "Recognised" is not a substantive qualification. It is a social attribution that must itself be critically assessed. Van Boxtel is implicitly presented as a "recognised" political commentator through his introduction as "former minister," while his D66 party affiliation structurally limits his credibility as a neutral source. El Mouden is implicitly presented as representative of "Dutch people with a migration background," while her source light is RED due to strong emotionalisation, absent data and a clear personal interest.

### Source traffic light for participants:

Source	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	Total	Signal
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Matthijs Rooduijn — Political scientist UvA	+1	+1	+2	+1	+2	+1	+8	<b>GREEN</b>
Roger van Boxtel — Former minister D66	-2	0	+1	+1	-1	-1	-2	<b>YELLOW</b>
Rahma el Mouden — Entrepreneur, D66 voter	-2	+1	-1	0	-2	-1	-5	<b>RED</b>

## Legal and methodological notes

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



## APPENDIX 1: NATIONAL LEGISLATION

### Legal basis Netherlands — NPO

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#### Act

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Media Act 2008

#### Relevant articles

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

#### Core obligations

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

#### Supervisory authority

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

#### Complaints procedure

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



## APPENDIX 2: SCIENTIFIC SOURCES

### Literature

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- Törnberg, P. (2023). ChatGPT-4 outperforms experts and crowd workers in annotating political Twitter messages. arXiv:2304.06588.

### 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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## Evaluations and membership at SVFAB

On SVFAB.ch you will find detailed evaluations and you can also have analyses carried out for any broadcast of your choice (billed separately).

In order to guarantee the quality of our work, we depend on membership and donor contributions.

### Contact and further information:

[www.SVFAB.ch](http://www.SVFAB.ch) | [Kontakt@SVFAB.ch](mailto:Kontakt@SVFAB.ch)

**Bank details:** PostFinance – POFICHBE

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## The following books are available from SVFAB

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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 the selection of sources. Subsequently, 15 principles are explained: omission, framing, temporal framing, guilt by association, emotionalisation, removal of context and much more, illustrated with numerous examples. In addition, 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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**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 forced into 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.**