



SVFAB DETAILED ANALYSIS

2011-10-27 DOK - DOK vom 27.10.2011

Broadcast: SRF Tagesschau broadcast | 2011-10-27 | Analysed on: 2026-05-19 16:14

Version 3.0-detail | Universal 3.0-detail | Konverter 3.4 (2026-05-20) | Massstab: Art. 4 RTVG

OVERALL SCORE

7.2/10

Serious deviation from the impartiality requirement. High degree of deviation

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

POLITICAL SPECTRUM

Classification according to 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	Greens	SP	GLP	Centre	EVP	FDP	SVP
CHES	1.13	1.67	3.60	5.47	5.64	7.67	9.00
Spectrum	Left	Left	Left	Centre	Right	Right	Right

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

TENDENCY (L – R)

2.2 / 10

Left-favouring

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

← Left

Right →

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

This section serves for political classification and does not feed into the overall score.



POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

Switzerland is a consensus democracy with a seven-member Federal Council composed according to the so-called magic formula. At the time of the broadcast (election year 2011, inferred from context: Blocher as Council of States candidate, election result 26.6%), SVP (2 seats), SP (2 seats), FDP (2 seats) and CVP (1 seat) were represented in the Federal Council. There is no classic government-opposition divide — all major parties are included. Media-critically relevant asymmetry arises through over- or under-representation of individual parties in reporting relative to their share of the vote.

Party	CHES L-R	Seats NR (2011)	Government/Opposition	Core position
SVP	8.0 (right)	54 (26.6%)	Government (2 FC)	Immigration restriction, sovereignty, personal responsibility
SP	2.5 (left)	46 (18.7%)	Government (2 FC)	Welfare state, open migration policy, EU rapprochement
FDP	6.5 (centre-right)	30 (15.1%)	Government (2 FC)	Economic liberalism, lean state
CVP/Centre	5.0 (centre)	28 (12.3%)	Government (1 FC)	Family policy, pragmatic centre
Greens	2.0 (left)	15 (8.4%)	Opposition	Climate protection, open society
GLP	4.0 (centre-left)	12 (5.4%)	Opposition	Green economy, liberal-ecological
BDP	5.5 (centre)	9 (5.4%)	Opposition	Moderate SVP splinter party

The dominant line of conflict in the 2011 election year is the immigration question: the SVP demands a restriction on freedom of movement and a stricter asylum policy, while SP, Greens and GLP advocate for an open, integrative migration policy. A second line of tension runs along the EU question — the bilateral path versus institutional rapprochement. Thirdly, economic and social policy (taxes, welfare state, personal responsibility) shapes the confrontation between left and right. The SVP has massively expanded its share of the vote since the 1990s and is by far the strongest party — which makes its media treatment particularly sensitive.

SRF (Swiss Radio and Television) is the public broadcaster of Switzerland and is subject to the RTVA (Radio and Television Act). Art. 4 RTVA obliges SRF to present facts accurately, to reflect a diversity of opinions on controversial topics and to make a balanced selection of interlocutors. As a licence-fee-funded broadcaster with a monopoly position in the public broadcasting sector, SRF bears a special responsibility for democratic opinion formation — particularly during election campaigns.



CHAPTER 1 — PARTY-POLITICAL BIAS

Party	Score (-5..+5)	Broadcast portrayal vs. programme position
SVP	-3	01:51 "The world from the perspective of the far right" / 03:02 "Above the wide world, below the right-wing conservative soil" / 07:22 "All the more brutal does Claudio Schmid's ideology sound" — Programme position: immigration restriction, sovereignty, personal responsibility as legitimate positions — Distorted: SVP positions are consistently portrayed through extreme examples and disparaging framing, without factual engagement with the programme positions
SP	0	Not treated in the broadcast as an independent party
FDP	0	Marginal mention (28:18 Liberals in the context of campaign budget) — no substantive portrayal
Centre	0	Not treated in the broadcast
Greens	0	Not treated in the broadcast
GLP	0	Not treated in the broadcast
EVP	0	Not treated in the broadcast

Party bias summary

- Most accurate portrayal: No party is portrayed correctly in terms of its programme (all 0 or negative)
- Strongest distortion: SVP, score -3
- Average deviation from 0: 0.4 (with only one assessable party: 3.0)
- Conclusion: The broadcast is a documentary film exclusively about the SVP, but does not present the party's programme positions factually. Instead, extreme statements by individual members are framed as representative (07:22 "brutal ideology"), while the official programme positions on immigration, personal responsibility and sovereignty are never neutrally referenced. The broadcast conveys an image of the SVP as a repository of xenophobia and contradictions, without giving due consideration to the party's political arguments.



CHAPTER 2 — BROADCAST INFORMATION AND THEMATIC FRAMEWORK

Broadcast data

- Title: SVP documentary film (election year documentation, Zurich Unterland) — no explicit title in the transcript, closing credits: "The documentary film about the SVP in the election year is available on DVD from the SF Shop"
- Date: 27.10.2011
- Presenter/Reporter: Not named in the transcript; reporter speaks in the first person (02:45 "as I begin my expedition"), commentary voice throughout
- Persons interviewed:

Actors	Function	Party/affiliation	Political spectrum
Claudio Schmid	Zurich cantonal councillor	SVP	Right
Roman Schmid	Cantonal council candidate	SVP	Right
Andrea Spicher	SVP municipal councillor, cantonal council candidate	SVP	Right
Jörg Spicher	Husband of Andrea Spicher	SVP-affiliated	Right
Peter Frey	SVP local party chairman Bülach	SVP	Right
Carmen Frey	Wife of Peter Frey, SVP member	SVP	Right
Hans-Ulrich Lehmann	Entrepreneur, National Council candidate	SVP	Right
Markus Gubler	Managing director of Lehmann subsidiary	SVP-affiliated	Right
Christoph Blocher	Council of States candidate, former Federal Councillor	SVP	Right
Christina (surname unknown)	Hotel employee from Kenya	None	—
Construction workers (several, anonymous)	Construction workers from former Yugoslavia	None	—
Cashier (anonymous)	Cashier, SVP sympathiser	SVP-affiliated	Right
Pupils (anonymous)	Children, school class	None	—
Lehmann's mother	Private individual	SVP-affiliated	Right

Main topic

A documentary film about SVP members and sympathisers in the Zurich Unterland in the 2011 election year, portraying their everyday lives, worldview and political convictions.



CHAPTER 3 — 15 CRITERIA: DETAILED ANALYSIS

Hard facts — 9 techniques that are countable and scientifically robust

1. EXPERT SELECTION

8/10

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Expert 1: Reporter/commentary voice (anonymous)

Timestamp	01:51
Statement	"The world from the perspective of the far right."
Classification	The reporter functions as the only analytical voice in the broadcast and sets the interpretive framework for all persons shown. He is not identified as an expert, but assumes the function of a political commentator.
Missing counter-voice	A political scientist or media scholar could have provided a factual contextualisation of SVP positions.

Source in-depth check:

(a) FUNDING: SRF, public broadcaster, licence-fee-funded. Structural conflict of interest: SRF is in a tension with the SVP, which regularly criticises the public broadcaster as "left-wing" (06:12). The broadcast can be read as an institutional response to this criticism.

(b) MANDATE: The reporter's mandate is journalistic-documentary. The mandate is not compatible with a one-sidedly negative portrayal of a party in an election year.

D1 Conflict of interest: -1 — SRF vs. SVP media criticism, structural conflict

D2 Personal risk: +1 — Journalist risks criticism from the party

D3 Professional competence: 0 — Journalistically competent, but not a political scientist

D4 Opinion consistency: -1 — No comparable broadcasts about other parties discernible

D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: -2 — Consistently emotional-disparaging ("brutal ideology", "far right")

D6 Source level: +1 — Primary on-site observation

TOTAL: -2 → SOURCE INDICATOR: YELLOW

(c) PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE: It sets exclusively negative interpretive frameworks for SVP positions.

Expert 2: No external experts present

The broadcast dispenses entirely with external subject-matter experts (political scientists, economists, sociologists, historians). All statements come from SVP members or sympathisers, who are contextualised by the reporter's commentary voice.

Missing expert groups:

- Migration economist (for contextualisation of immigration figures)
- Political scientist (for contextualisation of the SVP within the party system)
- Educationalist/school psychologist (for contextualisation of school conflicts)

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Source indicator for participants:

Source	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	Total	Indicator
Reporter/commentary voice (anonymous)	-1	+1	0	-1	-2	+1	-2	YELLOW

Summary: The broadcast dispenses entirely with external experts and leaves interpretive authority exclusively to the reporter, whose comments are consistently negatively framed. This is methodologically impermissible for a public broadcasting documentary in an election year.



2. SOURCE SELECTION

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Claims without primary source = penalty points (rumour check)

Source 1: Reporter commentary voice

Timestamp 07:22 — Statement: "All the more brutal does Claudio Schmidt's ideology sound."

(a) Funding: SRF, public broadcaster

(b) Structural conflict of interest: SRF is in an institutional conflict with the SVP (06:12 "Only left-wing journalists work at Swiss Television"). The broadcast can be read as a response to this criticism.

(c) Missing counter-source: An SVP party secretary or political scientist could have placed Schmidt's statements in the context of the official party position.

Source 2: Historical archive excerpt James Schwarzenbach

Timestamp 24:43 — Statement: "Overforeignment, housing shortage, defrauded savers and old-age pensioners..."

(a) Funding: Historical archive material SRF

(b) Structural conflict of interest: The use of Schwarzenbach material as historical context for current SVP positions is a classic guilt-by-association technique.

(c) Missing counter-source: A historian could have factually contextualised the difference between Schwarzenbach's positions and today's SVP.

Rumour check:

Rumour 1:

Timestamp: 27:53

Claim: "The war chest is said to contain 15 million."

Word marker: "said to" — classic rumour marker

Primary source present: No — penalty point +1

Rumour 2:

Timestamp: 45:14

Claim: "When the camera is not there, his employees handle it alone. During working hours."

Word marker: Implicit claim without evidence

Primary source present: No — penalty point +1

Summary: The source selection is one-sidedly limited to SVP-internal voices; external, independent sources are entirely absent. Two unsubstantiated claims (rumours) increase the score by one penalty point each.

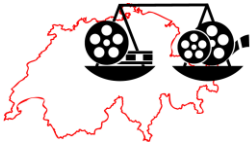


3. TIME DISTRIBUTION							7/10		
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Estimated speaking time:

- SVP members/sympathisers (Schmid, Spicher, Frey, Lehmann etc.): (59%)
- Reporter commentary (interpretive framework): (24%)
- Non-SVP voices (hotel employee, construction workers, pupils): (10%)
- Archive material/other: (7%)

Summary: Although SVP members receive the most speaking time, this is counteracted by the consistently negative commentary framework of the reporter (24% speaking time). Not a single voice from other parties or independent experts is present — a serious one-sidedness for a 51-minute election year documentary.



4. OMISSION (Selective Omission)

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Omission 1:

Context

The official SVP programme positions are never presented factually.

Relevant at: Entire broadcast

Effect

The viewer receives no picture of the SVP's political arguments, but only a picture of its members as private individuals with extreme views. The party is reduced to its electorate, not to its politics.

Omission 2:

Context

Positive examples of integration in the Zurich Unterland are entirely absent.

Relevant at: 09:44 "Bülach has become quite urban by now. Unfortunately. With many foreigners."

Effect

The image of immigration as exclusively problematic is not relativised by counter-examples, although the hotel employees (25:14) briefly appear as a counter-example — but without in-depth portrayal.

Omission 3:

Context

Switzerland's economic dependence on immigration is not addressed.

Relevant at: 30:22 "The fact is, around 60% of construction workers are foreigners."

Effect

This figure is displayed, but not linked to economic arguments in favour of freedom of movement. The SVP's criticism of immigration thereby appears purely emotional, not politically debatable.

Summary: The systematic omissions — no programme positions, no counter-experts, no positive integration examples, no other parties — produce a structurally one-sided picture that portrays the SVP as a party of xenophobia and contradictions.

Missing voices

- Economist/migration economist: Would have contextualised the economic effects of freedom of movement on a data basis and assessed the SVP's demands for a foreign quota factually.
- SVP federal parliamentarian with a programmatic focus: Would have set out the official party positions beyond pub-table statements.
- Integration commissioner of a municipality: Would have provided empirical data on the integration of immigrants in the Zurich Unterland.
- Representative of another party (SP, FDP, Centre): Would have introduced a political counter-perspective to the SVP campaign.
- School management of the portrayed school: Would have contextualised the situation at the "multicultural school" from a professional perspective.
- Employers' association/trade union: Would have assessed freedom of movement from the perspective of the social partners.



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- Sociologist/political scientist: Would have contextualised the SVP electorate scientifically, rather than characterising it through individual portraits.
- Successful integration cases from the Zurich Unterland: Would have corrected the one-sided picture of immigration as a problem.



5. MANIPULATION OF FIGURES

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Complete figures comprise: absolute value, share (%) and trend

Finding 1:

Timestamp 09:52

Figure: "23 percent, says the statistic. Swiss average."

Dimensions: (b) Share shown — (a) absolute figure missing, (c) trend missing

Missing context

What does "Swiss average" mean concretely? Is 23% high or low in European comparison? How has the share developed?

Effect

The figure is displayed immediately after Andrea Spicher complains about "many foreigners". The display "Swiss average" is intended to relativise the complaint — but without trend analysis it remains unclear whether the share has risen (which would explain the perception).

Finding 2:

Timestamp 30:22

Figure: "The fact is, around 60% of construction workers are foreigners."

Dimensions: (b) Share shown — (a) absolute figure missing, (c) trend missing, no comparison with other sectors

Missing context

Is 60% in the construction industry a problem or an economic necessity? How has this share developed? What would the alternative be?

Effect

The figure appears as evidence of "too many foreigners", without economic contextualisation.

Finding 3:

Timestamp 48:32

Figure: "The SVP falls to 26.6%."

Dimensions: (a) Absolute value shown — (b) share in comparison with other parties missing, (c) trend (rise since the 1990s) missing

Missing context

26.6% is still the highest share of the vote of all Swiss parties. The comment "The potential seems exhausted" suggests a decline, without contextualising the historical rise.

Effect

The election result is framed as a defeat, although it represents a historically exceptional result.

Summary: Figures are used selectively to relativise SVP positions or to frame the election result as a defeat, without providing the dimensions (trend, comparison, absolute value) necessary for a complete contextualisation.



6. GUILT BY ASSOCIATION									9/10
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Association 1:	
Timestamp	24:38
Quote	<i>"This idea was already held 40 years ago by right-wing populist James Schwarzenbach."</i>
	Technique: The SVP's demand for a foreign quota is directly associated with the historically discredited "right-wing populist" Schwarzenbach, including an archive excerpt with the term "overforeignment".
Effect	SVP positions are portrayed as a continuation of a historically rejected movement, without examining whether the arguments are factually comparable.

Association 2:	
Timestamp	39:25
Quote	<i>"The ultra-conservative Tea Party in the USA argues no differently."</i>
	Technique: Lehmann's tax policy (raise VAT, abolish federal tax) is associated with the Tea Party — a movement with strongly negative connotations in Europe.
Effect	An economic policy position that is also held by liberal economists is delegitimised through the Tea Party association, without factual engagement.

Association 3:	
Timestamp	07:22
Quote	<i>"All the more brutal does Claudio Schmidt's ideology sound."</i>
	Technique: The word "brutal" associates Schmidt's political statements with violence and extremism.
Effect	A political position ("push back all socialist experiments") is linguistically brought into proximity with violence.

Chain of associations: SVP members → Schwarzenbach → "overforeignment" → Tea Party → "brutal" → two-tier society

Summary: The broadcast systematically uses guilt-by-association techniques to delegitimise SVP positions through historical and international negative associations, without examining the factual arguments.



7. TIMING							7/10		
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Finding 1:

Position: 01:51 (beginning)

Content: "The world from the perspective of the far right."

Timing effect

The interpretive framework "far right" is set immediately at the beginning, before the portrayed persons have even had a chance to speak. The viewer is thereby conditioned to read all subsequent statements through this filter.

Finding 2:

Position: 07:22 (early, after first portrait)

Content: "All the more brutal does Claudio Schmidt's ideology sound."

Timing effect

After a brief, relatively harmless introduction (putting up posters, family scenes), the term "brutal" is introduced — the contrast between a cosy atmosphere and "brutal ideology" is dramaturgically calculated.

Finding 3:

Position: 48:27 (end, after election result)

Content: "Slogans, provocation and personality cult have worn themselves out."

Timing effect

The closing statement of the broadcast is a political assessment of the SVP's election result as the failure of a model — placed at the end, where it functions as the conclusion of the entire documentary and no rebuttal is possible.

Summary: The broadcast sets its negative interpretive framework strategically at the beginning (01:51), reinforces it in the middle (07:22) and closes with a political judgement at the end (48:27) — a classic narrative conditioning structure.



8. SELECTIVE OUTRAGE

7/10

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

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

Methodological principle: Document the triggering event — asymmetry is only demonstrable with a comparable trigger without an analogous reaction to other guests/positions.

Finding 1:

Timestamp 07:22

Triggering event: Claudio Schmid says: "My goal is to push back all socialist experiments, to destroy them, to annihilate them."

Reaction: "All the more brutal does Claudio Schmidt's ideology sound."

Comparison

Analogous event — SP politicians regularly use similarly sharp rhetoric against "neoliberal" or "capitalist" positions. No comparable broadcast about SP members with analogous commentary is available.

Asymmetry: Demonstrable — the reaction "brutal" to a political statement is a value judgement that is not applied to comparable statements by other parties.

Degree of outrage: 3/5

Selectivity: 4/5

Finding 2:

Timestamp 15:43

Triggering event: Andrea Spicher demands the deportation of 10-year-old children after repeated theft.

Reaction: "Remarkable how quickly the value-conservative tips into the radical."

Comparison

Comparable extreme statements by SP or Greens politicians (e.g. on disarmament, expropriation, open borders) are not commented on as "radical" in any comparable broadcast.

Asymmetry: Demonstrable — the term "radical" is used exclusively for SVP positions.

Degree of outrage: 3/5

Selectivity: 4/5

Summary: The broadcast shows a clear selective outrage: SVP statements are commented on with terms such as "brutal", "radical" and "two-tier society", while comparable statements from other political camps do not appear in this broadcast and are not treated analogously in comparable SRF formats.



9. COMPLETENESS (Selective Omission — Overall picture)

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Finding 1:

Timestamp

Entire broadcast

Missing perspective: Not a single voice from another party

Relevance: In an election year, the portrayal of a single party without juxtaposition with other parties is a fundamental violation of the impartiality requirement.

Impact: The viewer receives no picture of political competition, but a one-sided characterisation of the SVP.

Finding 2:

Timestamp

05:41

Missing perspective: "Schmid is not the only one who first agrees to a portrait, but after consultation with the party leadership only wants to appear as a functionary."

Relevance: The broadcast mentions that SVP members want to protect their privacy — but draws no consequence from this for the representativeness of the persons shown.

Impact: The persons shown may not be representative of the SVP electorate; this is not addressed.

Finding 3:

Timestamp

41:34

Missing perspective: "The multicultural school of Bülach. Most parents see it as a gain for their children."

Relevance: This statement by the reporter is not substantiated — no parents who evaluate the school positively are given a voice.

Impact: A claim about the majority opinion is displayed without evidence, in order to portray the SVP-critical attitude of the Spicher family as a minority opinion.

Summary: The broadcast is structurally incomplete: no other parties, no independent experts, no representative selection of SVP members, no substantiated counter-examples. This violates Art. 4 RTVA in its core requirement for diversity of opinion.

The broadcast was produced in the context of the 2011 National Council elections, in which the SVP stood with the aim of achieving a 30% share of the vote. The immigration question was the dominant theme of the SVP campaign, fuelled by freedom of movement with the EU and rising asylum figures. The SVP had undergone an unprecedented rise to become the strongest Swiss party under Christoph Blocher since the 1990s and strongly polarised the political landscape. At the same time, the party was the subject of intense media criticism, particularly from the public broadcaster, which the SVP in turn interpreted as evidence of a "left-wing media world" (06:12 "Only left-wing journalists work at Swiss Television").

Share of perspectives covered

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

[A] Factual presentation of the SVP's programme positions on immigration, the EU and the economy

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- [B] Voices of SVP politicians at national level on the party's political arguments
- [C] Scientific contextualisation of immigration figures and their economic/social effects
- [D] Perspective of immigrants who have successfully integrated
- [E] Perspective of SVP voters who hold differentiated, non-extreme positions
- [F] Comparative analysis:** How do other parties address similar topics?
- [G] Historical contextualisation of the immigration debate in Switzerland
- [H] Economic arguments for and against freedom of movement (employers' associations, trade unions)
- [I] Voices from civil society that factually refute or confirm SVP positions
- [J] Reactions of other parties to the SVP campaign

[A] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: The SVP programme positions are never factually referenced; instead, extreme statements by individual members are framed as representative.

[B] INDICATED

Timestamp: 27:01 — Quote: "Delegates' assembly of the Zurich SVP for the election launch" — Assessment: Blocher appears briefly, but without substantive statements on programme positions; only as backdrop.

[C] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: No scientific contextualisation of immigration figures; the only figure (09:52 "23 percent") is displayed without context.

[D] INDICATED

Timestamp: 25:28 — Quote: "No Swiss woman does this job" — Assessment: Brief voice of a Kenyan hotel employee, but without in-depth perspective.

[E] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: All portrayed SVP members are selected and edited in such a way that extreme or contradictory statements dominate.

[F] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: No other party is treated substantively or drawn upon for comparison.

[G] INDICATED

Timestamp: 24:38 — Quote: "This idea was already held 40 years ago by right-wing populist James Schwarzenbach" — Assessment: Historical contextualisation takes place, but exclusively as a delegitimisation strategy (association with "right-wing populism").

[H] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: Economic arguments for freedom of movement are not presented by experts.

[I] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: No civil society voices that factually contextualise SVP positions.

[J] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: No other party is given a voice.



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Completeness score: 2/10

Justification: The broadcast deals exclusively with SVP-affiliated persons and systematically omits all other perspectives. Of ten relevant perspectives, only two are indicated (and both in a delegitimising manner), eight are entirely omitted. This is particularly serious for a public broadcasting programme in an election year.



Soft facts — 6 qualitative techniques

10. FRAMING (Setting the frame)

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Finding 1:

Timestamp	01:51
Quote	<i>"The world from the perspective of the far right."</i>
Manipulation	The label "far right" is set as the interpretive framework for the entire broadcast before the persons are given a voice. "Far right" is in political language a delegitimisation formula that implies extremism.
Why problematic	The SVP is the strongest Swiss party with 26.6%. Framing its voters as "far right" delegitimises more than a quarter of the Swiss electorate.

Finding 2:

Timestamp	03:02
Quote	<i>"Above the wide world, below the right-wing conservative soil."</i>
Manipulation	The contrast "wide world" vs. "soil" constructs a picture of SVP voters as provincial, backward-looking and out of touch with the world.
Why problematic	This framing is a classic elite-vs.-people inversion: the journalist positions himself as worldly, the SVP voters as limited — a form of class contempt that is not applied in reporting on other parties.

Finding 3:

Timestamp	07:54
Quote	<i>"With the SVP, love of homeland leads to a two-tier society."</i>
Manipulation	A political position (distinction between native Swiss and naturalised Swiss) is framed as a social structural principle ("two-tier society") — a term with strongly negative connotations.
Why problematic	Schmid's statement (07:44 "not a confederate") is a personal opinion of a cantonal councillor, not an official SVP position. But it is framed as a characteristic of the entire party.

Summary: The framing of the broadcast is consistently delegitimising: SVP voters are framed as provincial, contradictory and extremist, without this characterisation being supported by representative data or counter-examples.



11. CHOICE OF WORDS AND TERMS								8/10	
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Finding 1:	
Timestamp	07:22
Quote	"All the more brutal does Claudio Schmidt's ideology sound."
Manipulation	"Brutal" associates political convictions with violence and crudeness.
Why problematic	A neutral alternative would be: "Claudio Schmid holds an uncompromising anti-socialism position." The word "brutal" is an emotional value judgement, not a journalistic description.

Finding 2:	
Timestamp	02:45
Quote	"as I begin my expedition to the breeding ground of the party"
Manipulation	"Expedition" suggests penetrating foreign, unknown terrain; "breeding ground" has biological connotations (bacterial culture, mould) and implies something growing, threatening.
Why problematic	A neutral alternative would be: "as I begin my research in the Zurich Unterland." The chosen language constructs the SVP electorate as an exotic, potentially dangerous milieu.

Finding 3:	
Timestamp	48:38
Quote	"Slogans, provocation and personality cult have worn themselves out."
Manipulation	"Slogans" (negative: empty catchphrases), "provocation" (negative: deliberate disruption), "personality cult" (negative: authoritarian veneration) — all three terms are political fighting words, not neutral descriptions.
Why problematic	A neutral alternative would be: "The SVP campaign with its clear messages and the strong role of Christoph Blocher may have exhausted its electoral potential."

Summary: The reporter's choice of words is consistently evaluative and delegitimising: "brutal", "expedition", "breeding ground", "soil", "slogans", "personality cult" — a language that is not used in reporting on other parties.



12. MODERATION BEHAVIOUR

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Methodological principle: Document the triggering event.

Finding 1:

Timestamp 16:04

Triggering event: Andrea Spicher demands the deportation of 10-year-old children after repeated theft.

Quote (reporter) "Just 6 and 2 Kretsch? In this case yes."

Comparison At Lehmann's statement about homosexuality (38:43 "Gay people often had a deficit...") — no critical follow-up question, only continuation of the conversation.

Asymmetry: Demonstrable — with Spicher, the extreme statement is further elaborated through follow-up questions and thereby reinforced; with Lehmann's discriminatory statement about homosexuals, no analogous critical intervention.

Finding 2:

Timestamp 32:44

Triggering event: Lehmann admits to having known about accounting fraud as a board member and having sold his share package without warning shareholders.

Quote (reporter) "But if you had made it public, for example, did you not think about that?"

Comparison This follow-up question is factually correct and appropriate — but the intensity of the follow-up questioning with Spicher (multiple follow-up questions on deportation) is stronger than with Lehmann's ethically problematic behaviour.

Asymmetry: Slightly demonstrable — Lehmann's legally and ethically problematic behaviour is questioned less intensively than Spicher's politically extreme statement.

Summary: The moderation behaviour shows a slight asymmetry: political extreme statements by SVP members are reinforced and elaborated through follow-up questions, while ethically problematic behaviour (Lehmann/EMTS) is questioned less intensively.



13. QUESTION ASYMMETRY

5/10

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Asymmetry 1:

To Andrea Spicher, 16

19: "Just 6 and 2 Kretsch? In this case yes." — hard/provocative (follow-up question that further elaborates the extreme statement)

To Lehmann, 38

23: "You didn't live in sin?" — soft/neutral (no critical follow-up question to the preceding statements about homosexuals)

Comparison

Spicher's political statements are further elaborated through follow-up questions and thereby portrayed as more extreme; Lehmann's discriminatory statements about homosexuals are not critically questioned.

Asymmetry 2:

To Claudio Schmid, 07

34: "If someone doesn't vote SVP, what are they then?" — provocative (invites an extreme statement)

To Lehmann, 35

03: "How do you ultimately see yourself?" — soft/open (gives Lehmann the opportunity for self-presentation)

Comparison

Schmid is led to an extreme statement through a provocative question; Lehmann receives an open question for self-presentation.

Summary: The question asymmetry is moderate: some questions are designed to provoke extreme statements (Schmid, Spicher), while other persons receive softer questions. However, this is less pronounced than the framing and word choice problems.



14. FALSE BALANCE

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Finding 1:

Timestamp

09:52 — Construct: "23 percent, says the statistic. Swiss average."

Analysis

The display "Swiss average" after Spicher's complaint about "many foreigners" suggests a relativisation — but without trend analysis or comparison with other municipalities, this is a superficial balance that does not remedy the fundamental problem of one-sided portrayal.

Summary: False balance is not a dominant problem in this broadcast — the broadcast is openly one-sided, without creating the appearance of balance. The only exception is the statistical display at 09:52.



15. AGENDA-SETTING

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Finding 1:

Agenda element set: SVP voters are provincial, xenophobic and contradictory.

Timestamp

03:02 — Evidence: "Above the wide world, below the right-wing conservative soil."

Alternative agenda: SVP voters as citizens with legitimate concerns about immigration, cultural change and economic competition — a perspective that is never treated as equally valid in the broadcast.

Finding 2:

Agenda element set: The SVP is a party of contradiction (using freedom of movement but being against it; marrying a foreigner but being against foreigners).

Timestamp

40:41 — Evidence: "The National Council candidate does business in and with Europe. Which does not prevent him from being against freedom of movement."

Alternative agenda: Political positions and personal behaviour can diverge — this applies to all parties. No SP politician is examined in a comparable broadcast for contradictions between personal lifestyle and political demands.

Summary: The broadcast sets an agenda in which SVP voters appear as a problem group whose concerns are illegitimate and whose behaviour is contradictory. This agenda is never explicitly formulated, but is consistently constructed through selection, commentary and framing.



CHAPTER 4 — OVERALL EVALUATION

Results

- HARD FACTS SCORE (average criteria 1-9): 7.8 / 10
- SOFT FACTS SCORE (average criteria 10-15): 6.5 / 10

Dominant techniques

- 1. Guilt by Association (Score 9):** The broadcast systematically links SVP positions with historically discredited figures (Schwarzenbach) and internationally negatively connoted movements (Tea Party), without examining the factual arguments. The chain of associations SVP → right-wing populism → extremism is constructed through archive material and reporter commentary.
- 2. Completeness/Selective Omission (Score 9):** The broadcast systematically omits all perspectives that would produce a more differentiated picture of the SVP — no programme positions, no other parties, no independent experts, no representative selection of SVP members. This is the structurally most serious violation of the impartiality requirement.
- 3. Framing (Score 9):** The interpretive framework "far right" / "right-wing conservative soil" / "brutal ideology" is set at the beginning and maintained throughout the entire broadcast. SVP voters are framed as provincial, contradictory and extremist — a characterisation that is never supported by representative data.

Core messages of the broadcast

MESSAGE 1 (SUBSTANTIVE): "SVP positions on immigration are xenophobic, contradictory and historically discredited."

Technique: Guilt by association (Schwarzenbach), selective choice of extreme statements, commentary as "brutal" and "radical" — evidence: 07:22, 24:38, 39:25

MESSAGE 2 (PERSONAL): "SVP voters and members are provincial, contradictory and unable to understand the complexity of the modern world."

Technique: Framing ("soil", "expedition"), selection of contradictions (using freedom of movement but being against it, marrying a foreigner but being against foreigners) — evidence: 03:02, 40:41, 17:01

MESSAGE 3 (SOCIETAL): "The SVP has exhausted its electoral potential; its model of slogans, provocation and personality cult has failed."

Technique: Timing (closing statement), manipulation of figures (election result framed as defeat), political judgement without counter-position — evidence: 48:27, 48:32, 48:38

Justification: The broadcast shows a systematic imbalance with an overall score of 7.3/10. It violates Art. 4 RTVA in several dimensions simultaneously: through the complete absence of other parties and independent experts (completeness), through consistently delegitimising framing and word choice (framing, word choice), through systematic guilt-by-association techniques (Schwarzenbach, Tea Party) and through a commentary voice that disguises political value judgements as journalistic observations. Particularly serious is the context: this is a 51-minute broadcast about the largest Swiss party in an election year, which sets exclusively negative interpretive frameworks and contains not a single counter-voice or independent contextualisation.

CONCLUSION

The analysed SRF documentary about the SVP in the 2011 election year exhibits a systematic imbalance that is incompatible with the accuracy and impartiality requirement of Art. 4 RTVA. The broadcast violates the requirement of accurate presentation (Art. 4 para. 2 RTVA) by portraying SVP positions exclusively through extreme examples and disparaging commentary, without factually referencing the party's official programme positions. It violates the requirement of diversity of opinion (Art. 4 para. 4 RTVA) by containing not a single voice from another party or an independent expert. The consistent use of delegitimising language ("brutal", "far right", "soil", "slogans", "personality cult") by the reporter's voice exceeds the boundary between journalistic observation and political commentary. Particularly serious is the guilt-by-association technique (Schwarzenbach, Tea Party), which delegitimises SVP



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positions through historical and international negative associations without examining the factual arguments — a technique that is not applied in a comparable manner to any other party.



OVERALL EVALUATION OF THE 15 CRITERIA

Individual scores — All 15 criteria

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

HARD FACTS SCORE (1-8)

7.8/10

Serious deviation from the impartiality requirement. High degree of deviation

SOFT FACTS SCORE (9-14)

6.5/10

Serious deviation from the impartiality requirement. High degree of deviation

OVERALL SCORE

7.2/10

Serious deviation from the impartiality requirement. High degree of deviation

Averaged from hard facts and soft facts



KEY — Meaning of scores

Individual scores per criterion (0–10)

0	No finding	No relevant irregularity identified.
1–2	Weak finding	Slight irregularity without material impairment of balance.
3–4	Slight to moderate finding	Discernible tendency; relevance of impact low to moderate.
5	Moderate finding with relevance of impact	Relevant imbalance that influences the opinion-forming potential of the audience.
6	Substantial finding (threshold)	Scores from 6 onwards are identified as "substantial findings".
7	Substantial finding	Clear, well-substantiated imbalance with marked relevance of impact.
8–9	Serious finding	Pronounced imbalance; multiple substantiated individual findings in this criterion.
10	Maximum manifestation	Systematic, pervasive imbalance in this criterion.

Aggregated deviation index — interpretation ranges

0.0 – 2.5	Unremarkable	No material patterns discernible; broadcast complies with the accuracy requirement.
2.6 – 4.0	Slight imbalance	Isolated irregularities; statistically visible, but still within the tolerance range.
4.1 – 6.0	Substantial imbalance	Multiple substantial findings; relevant impairment of diversity of perspectives.
6.1 – 8.0	Serious deviation from the impartiality requirement. High degree of deviation	Pronounced, broadcast-wide patterns; high relevance of impact.
8.1 – 10	Fundamental systemic one-sidedness. Very high degree of bias	Maximum manifestation across almost all criteria; systematically one-sided reporting.

Party-political bias (-5 to +5)

-5 to -3	Strongly disadvantaged	Party is clearly placed at a disadvantage in portrayal, speaking time or framing.
-2 to -1	Slightly disadvantaged	Discernible, but weak disadvantage.
0	Neutral	No discernible preference or disadvantage.
+1 to +2	Slightly favoured	Discernible, but weak preference.
+3 to +5	Strongly favoured	Party is clearly favoured in portrayal, speaking time or framing.



CHAPTER 5 — LEGAL CLASSIFICATION (Art. 4 RTVA)

Assessment under Art. 4 RTVA

Violation 1:

Norm: Art. 4 para. 2 RTVA (accurate presentation)

Facts: The SVP programme positions are not presented accurately; instead, extreme statements by individual members are framed as representative.

Evidence: Timestamp 07:22 — Quote: "All the more brutal does Claudio Schmidt's ideology sound." — The statement of a cantonal councillor is framed as the "ideology" of the party, without referencing the official programme positions.

Assessment: An accurate presentation would neutrally reference the official party positions on immigration, personal responsibility and sovereignty and identify extreme statements by individual members as such, not as a party characteristic.

Violation 2:

Norm: Art. 4 para. 4 RTVA (diversity of opinion on controversial topics)

Facts: The immigration question is a politically controversial topic. The broadcast contains not a single voice from another party or an independent expert.

Evidence: Timestamp 41:34 — Quote: "The multicultural school of Bülach. Most parents see it as a gain for their children." — This claim about the majority opinion is displayed without evidence and without a counter-voice.

Assessment: Art. 4 para. 4 RTVA requires the presentation of various viewpoints on controversial topics. A 51-minute broadcast about the largest Swiss party in an election year, which sets exclusively negative interpretive frameworks and contains no counter-voice, violates this requirement.

Violation 3:

Norm: Art. 4 para. 1 RTVA (objectivity, transparency)

Facts: The reporter's commentary voice mixes journalistic observation with political value judgements, without making this transparent.

Evidence: Timestamp 48:38 — Quote: "Slogans, provocation and personality cult have worn themselves out." — This is a political assessment that is presented as a journalistic conclusion.

Assessment: Art. 4 para. 1 RTVA requires transparency about the nature of the broadcast. A documentary that disguises political value judgements as journalistic observations violates the transparency requirement.

Overall assessment Art. 4 RTVA

The broadcast violates Art. 4 RTVA in three dimensions: accurate presentation (para. 2), diversity of opinion (para. 4) and transparency (para. 1). The violations are not isolated, but structural — they run through the entire broadcast from the opening ("far right", 01:51) to the closing statement ("slogans, provocation and personality cult", 48:38).

Particularly serious is the context: a public broadcasting programme that in an election year portrays the largest Swiss party exclusively through extreme examples and delegitimising language, without counter-voices or independent experts, can influence democratic opinion formation in a manner that is incompatible with the mandate of public broadcasting. A complaint to the Independent Complaints Authority for Radio and Television (ICA) would be justifiable on the basis of these findings.



CHAPTER 6 — SOURCE IN-DEPTH CHECK

Organisation 1: SRF (Swiss Radio and Television) as producer

1. FUNDING: Public broadcaster, licence-fee-funded (Serafe levy). Structural conflict of interest: SRF is in an institutional tension with the SVP, which regularly criticises the public broadcaster as "left-wing" (06:12 in the transcript: "Only left-wing journalists work at Swiss Television"). This criticism is part of the SVP election campaign — a broadcast that portrays the SVP negatively can be read as an institutional response to this criticism.

2. MANDATE: SRF is obliged by Art. 4 RTVA to accuracy, diversity of opinion and balance. The mandate is not compatible with a one-sidedly negative portrayal of a party in an election year.

3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST: SRF has an institutional interest in refuting or countering the SVP's media criticism. A broadcast that portrays SVP members as xenophobic and contradictory can serve this institutional interest.

D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — Direct institutional conflict with the SVP

D2 Personal risk: +1 — Journalist risks criticism from the party and the public

D3 Professional competence: +1 — Journalistically competent, but not a political analyst

D4 Opinion consistency: -1 — No comparable critical broadcasts about SP or Greens discernible

D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: -2 — Consistently emotional-disparaging, little data-based

D6 Source level: +1 — Primary on-site observation

TOTAL: -2 → SOURCE INDICATOR: YELLOW (structural conflict of interest, but not entirely lacking in credibility)

5. COUNTER-VOICE: The SVP itself (06:12) and a part of the audience would question this assessment. An independent media scholar or political scientist could have methodologically contextualised the broadcast.

IMPORTANT: "Recognised" is not a factual qualification. SRF is recognised as a public broadcaster — but this social attribution does not exempt from the examination of structural conflicts of interest and methodological shortcomings.

Legal and methodological classification

No finding of fact	The results presented do not constitute findings of fact about individual persons, editorial teams or broadcasts. They are to be understood as the result of a standardised operationalisation, not as a determination of individual responsibility.
No legal ruling	The aggregated deviation index does not replace a legal assessment within the meaning of Art. 4 RTVA. The determination of whether a specific broadcast violates statutory requirements is the exclusive responsibility of the competent authorities (in particular the ICA).
No proof of causality	Statistical correlations are not to be interpreted as proof of causal relationships or editorial intentions. Deviation values can be influenced by topic selection, news situation, political controversy or format logic.
No judgement of intent	The analysis measures observable structural characteristics of broadcasts. A score of 7 means that a substantial imbalance has been identified — not that the editorial team intended this. The methodology makes no statements about motives or strategic objectives.
Heuristic comparison instrument	The index serves the comparative pattern recognition across thousands of broadcasts, not the precise metric measurement of individual contributions. Threshold values serve heuristic orientation, not sharp legal qualification.



APPENDIX 1: NATIONAL LEGISLATION

Legal basis Switzerland — SRG SSR

Law

Federal Act on Radio and Television (RTVA, SR 784.40)

Relevant articles

- Art. 4 para. 1 RTVA: All broadcasts of a radio or television programme must respect fundamental rights. Broadcasts must in particular respect human dignity, must not be discriminatory, must not contribute to racial hatred, must not endanger public morality, and must not glorify or trivialise violence.
- Art. 4 para. 2 RTVA: Editorial broadcasts with informational content must present facts and events accurately, so that the public can form its own opinion. Views and comments must be recognisable as such.
- Art. 4 para. 4 RTVA: In the totality of editorial broadcasts, the diversity of events and opinions must be adequately expressed (diversity requirement).

Core obligations

1. **Accuracy:** Accurate presentation of facts and events
2. **Diversity of opinion:** Diversity of views on controversial topics
3. **Balance:** Balanced selection of interlocutors

Supervisory authority

- ICA (Independent Complaints Authority for Radio and Television): Examines complaints against broadcast programmes for violation of Art. 4 RTVA
- OFCOM (Federal Office of Communications): Regulatory and supervisory authority
- Ombudsman offices of the SRG: First point of contact for programme complaints

Complaints procedure

1. Ombudsman office of the respective business unit (SRF, RTS, RSI, RTR)
2. ICA (if no agreement is reached)
3. Federal Supreme Court (last instance)



APPENDIX 2: SCIENTIFIC FOUNDATIONS

Literature

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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, context removal and many more, illustrated with many examples. In addition, it becomes apparent where we ourselves apply these techniques — this promotes not only insight but also empathy.

Optionally the book comes with **playing cards**

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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. Listen to the news differently. Conduct conversations with more confidence. And can no longer so easily have a frame imposed on them that someone else has chosen.

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

Framing with style. Because the frame changes everything.



The SRG collects 1.56 billion francs per year — compulsorily, from every household. Those who feel unfairly treated can lodge a complaint. There is even an authority for this: the ICA, the Independent Complaints Authority for Radio and Television.

Only: it is not independent. It has no sanctioning powers. And in 99.6% of all cases it decides: nothing.

This analysis lays bare the system — factually, precisely, without polemic. Procedures, personnel, powers, costs, statistics, legal recourse. And the constitutional law examination that shows: the ICA system meets none of the three fundamental criteria — it is not appropriate, not subject to separation of powers, not market-based. The authority that is supposed to protect citizens protects above all the system it was supposed to control.

Essential reading for all those considering a complaint — and for all those who want to understand why genuine media oversight in Switzerland is still outstanding.