



SVFAB DETAILED ANALYSIS

2016-11-18 *Kapitalismus oder Klassenkampf*

Broadcast: SRF Tagesschau broadcast | 2016-11-18 | Analysed on: 2026-05-19 15:29

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

**OVERALL
SCORE**

5.1/10

Significant imbalance

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	<i>Left</i>	<i>Left</i>	<i>Left</i>	<i>Centre</i>	<i>Right</i>	<i>Right</i>	<i>Right</i>

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)

5.8 / 10

Balanced

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

← Left

Right →

Source: Chapel Hill Expert Survey 2024 — chesdata.eu | [Jolly et al., Electoral Studies, 2022](#) | 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. The Federal Council (7 seats) is filled according to the magic formula: SVP (2), SP (2), FDP (2), Centre (1). There is no classic government/opposition divide — all major parties are represented in government. Political disputes take place primarily in parliament and at popular votes, not between government and opposition.

Party	CHES L-R	Seats NC	Government/Opposition	Core position
SVP	8.0	62	Government (2 FC)	Limit migration, sovereignty, reduction of the state
SP	2.5	41	Government (2 FC)	Welfare state, redistribution, rapprochement with the EU
FDP	6.5	28	Government (2 FC)	Economic freedom, lean state, bilateral agreements
Centre	5.0	29	Government (1 FC)	Pragmatism, family relief, balance
Greens	2.0	23	Opposition	Climate protection, redistribution, disarmament
GLP	4.0	10	Opposition	Green economy, liberal-ecological
EVP	5.5	2	Opposition	Christian-social, centre

The broadcast dates from 2016 (context: Trump election, Brexit, Corporate Tax Reform III vote in February 2017, Austrian election Hofer). The dominant line of tension is the question of whether the SP can win back the working class — which has migrated to the SVP — with a new left-wing course (party programme 2016). Second line of tension: Corporate Tax Reform III (CTR III) — tax giveaways vs. securing the location. Third line: migration as an explanation for the rise of right-wing populism in Europe.

SRF (Swiss Radio and Television) is the public broadcaster of Switzerland, financed through reception fees (today the Serafe levy). It is subject to Art. 4 RTVA, which prescribes accurate representation, diversity of opinion and balanced selection of interlocutors. The Arena is SRF's most important political discussion format and is of particular importance for democratic opinion formation.



CHAPTER 1 — PARTY-POLITICAL BIAS

Party	Score (-5..+5)	Broadcast representation vs. programme position
SVP	0	Not represented as a party. Mentioned indirectly: 15:19 "43% for the SVP" (Strahm on working-class voters) — programme position on migration/sovereignty not presented — omitted (no guest, no speaker)
SP	-1	00:27 "You are pursuing the new, hard left-wing course" / 00:29 "You want to overcome capitalism" — Programme position (social justice, co-determination, welfare state) is presented by Löwra, but introduced in a distorted way through framing as "class struggle/socialism"; core positions are given a hearing, but under constant pressure to justify themselves
FDP	+1	01:17 Gössi present as president, core positions (economic freedom, SMEs, against regulation, debt brake) correctly represented — slightly favoured by the broadcast's framing (class struggle accusation supports FDP position)
Centre	0	Not represented, not mentioned — omitted
Greens	0	Not represented, not mentioned — omitted
GLP	0	Not represented, not mentioned — omitted
EVP	0	Not represented, not mentioned — omitted

Party bias summary

- Most accurate representation: FDP (score +1) — Gössi can represent core positions unimpeded
- Strongest distortion: SP (score -1) — Introductory framing ("class struggle", "Internationale") distorts the representation of SP positions before the SP president has spoken a single word
- Average deviation from 0: 0.3 (relevant with only 2 represented parties)
- Conclusion: The broadcast focuses almost exclusively on SP and FDP. SVP (largest party), Centre, Greens and GLP are not represented. The SP positions are presented substantively, but are prejudiced by the introductory framing ("class struggle", "Internationale", "What century do you live in?"). FDP positions are presented without analogous prejudice.



CHAPTER 2 — BROADCAST INFORMATION AND THEMATIC FRAMEWORK

Broadcast data

- Title: SRF Arena — SP left-wing course / Corporate Tax Reform III
- Date: 18.11.2016
- Moderator: Sandro Brotz (not named in the transcript, but inferable from context; moderator speaks in the 1st person)
- Persons interviewed:

Participants	Function	Party/affiliation	Political spectrum
Christian Löwra (Levera/Löwra)	SP president	SP	Left (2.5)
Petra Gössi	FDP president	FDP	Centre-right (6.5)
Niklaus Schär	Politician, Alternative Liste	AL (left-wing party)	Far left (~1.5)
Franz Jäger	Emeritus professor of economics	Non-partisan, economically liberal	Centre-right
Rudolf Strahm	Former National Councillor, SP critic	SP (former)	Centre-left
Tommy Versetti	Bernese dialect rapper	Marxist	Far left
Richard Fischer	Retired SME entrepreneur	Non-partisan, economically liberal	Centre-right
Werner Kraus	Audience guest	Non-partisan, economically liberal	Right
Pascal Brennise	Audience guest (IT sector)	Non-partisan	Centre-right

Main topic

Is the SP's new left-wing course (party programme 2016 with criticism of capitalism and economic democracy) the right path, and how should Switzerland deal with Corporate Tax Reform III?



CHAPTER 3 — 15 CRITERIA: DETAILED ANALYSIS

Hard facts — 9 techniques that are countable and scientifically robust

1. EXPERT SELECTION

5/10

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Expert 1: Franz Jäger, emeritus professor of economics

Timestamp	01:43
Statement	"The wealthy in Switzerland already pay a great deal of taxes today. If you fleece them even more, they will leave the country."
Classification	Positioned as economically liberal; statement already framed in the introduction as a counter-position to the SP.
Missing counter-voice	An economist specialising in inequality research (e.g. from SECO, University of Geneva, or IMF research).

Source in-depth check Franz Jäger:

(a) FUNDING: Emeritus professor HSG St. Gallen — state-funded institution, but as an emeritus without active research funding. No known conflicts of interest through third-party funding discernible from transcript.

(b) MANDATE: Professor of economics — compatible with assessment of economic policy. However: statements on social policy and distribution questions go beyond core competence.

D1 Conflict of interest: +1 — No direct financial conflict of interest discernible, but economically liberal basic stance consistent

D2 Personal risk: +1 — As an emeritus no career risk; can speak freely

D3 Professional competence: +1 — Professor of economics competent on economic questions; statements on social policy borderline

D4 Consistency of opinion: +1 — Economically liberal position consistent throughout broadcast

D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: 0 — Mix of data and normative statements ("fleece")

D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary; cites no primary sources

TOTAL: +4 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW

(c) PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE: 43) presents his position as fact ("The wealthy already pay a great deal"), not as opinion.

Expert 2: Rudolf Strahm, former National Councillor SP

Timestamp	14:00
Statement	"In social democracy there is agreement that class struggle no longer wins workers back to the party."
Classification	Former SP National Councillor, today a decided critic of the SP leadership. Framed as an "SP-internal critic" — factually a second voice against the SP course.



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Source in-depth check Rudolf Strahm:

- (a) **FUNDING:** Retired National Councillor, journalist/author — no institutional funding discernible.
(b) **MANDATE:** Structurally positioned as SP critic to weaken the SP course — not neutral towards SP leadership.

D1 Conflict of interest: 0 — No financial conflict, but institutional interest as SP critic
D2 Personal risk: +2 — Criticises own party publicly; high personal risk
D3 Professional competence: +1 — Many years of experience in economic policy
D4 Consistency of opinion: +1 — Consistent criticism of SP leadership
D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: +1 — Relies on SELECT study (15:28), data-based
D6 Source level: +1 — Cites primary source (SELECT study)

TOTAL: +6 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: GREEN

- (c) **PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE:** Strahm is framed as an "SP-internal critic", which suggests his criticism is particularly credible. In fact he reinforces the criticism of the SP course — two of five guests (Jäger + Strahm) criticise the SP course, one (Löwra) defends it.

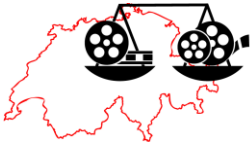
Missing expert groups:

- Trade union economist (SGB/Travail.Suisse) for wage and co-determination data
- Specialist in German co-determination law (instead of the pre-recorded segment)
- Independent tax expert for CTR III (instead of partisan representations)

Source traffic light for participants:

Source	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	Total	Traffic light
Franz Jäger, emeritus professor of economics	+1	+1	+1	+1	0	0	+4	YELLOW
Rudolf Strahm, former National Councillor SP	0	+2	+1	+1	+1	+1	+6	GREEN

Summary: Jäger (YELLOW) and Strahm (GREEN) are both positioned critically towards the SP course — two of five guests on one side, without analogous expert support for the SP position. Jäger is framed as a neutral expert, although his statements are consistently economically liberal.



2. SOURCE SELECTION

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Claims without primary source = penalty points (rumour check)

Source 1: Federal statistics on income distribution

Timestamp 30:44

Statement "The 20% of the population who earn the most have an income almost 4.5 times greater than the 20% who earn the least. [...] Switzerland is, however, at the European average."

- (a) **Funding:** Federal Statistical Office — state-funded, neutral on income statistics.
- (b) **Structural conflict of interest:** None with pure statistics.
- (c) **Missing counter-source:** The distribution of wealth (2% own 50%) is mentioned in the same segment, but not explored further with a Gini coefficient or OECD comparison.

Source 2: SELECT study (electoral research)

Timestamp 15:28

Statement "15% of those who completed an apprenticeship vote for the SP, but 43% for the SVP"

- (a) **Funding:** Academic electoral research — partly state-funded, methodologically recognised.
- (b) **Structural conflict of interest:** None.
- (c) **Missing counter-source:** No contextualisation of whether this trend is new or long-term.

Source 3: Pre-recorded segment on the German Co-determination Act

Timestamp 47:44

Statement "40 years ago the German Bundestag elevated employees to the executive level."

- (a) **Funding:** SRF editorial team — public broadcaster.
- (b) **Structural conflict of interest:** The segment supports the SP position (co-determination works in Germany). No counter-segment on weaknesses of the German model.
- (c) **Missing counter-source:** The VW scandal as a counter-example is only raised by an audience guest (61:03), not by the editorial team.

Rumour check:

Rumour 1:

Timestamp: 64:56

Claim: "The companies will not move away. That is the usual blackmail."

Word markers: No explicit markers, but unsubstantiated claim

Primary source available: No — penalty point (+1)

Rumour 2:

Timestamp: 73:05

Claim: "These are no longer companies that are simply tied and stay [...] They react primarily to the tax burden."



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Word markers: "primarily" without evidence

Primary source available: No — penalty point (+1)

Summary: The sources used (federal statistics, SELECT study) are methodologically sound. The pre-recorded segment on the German co-determination model is framed one-sidedly positively without a counter-representation. Two unsubstantiated claims regarding CTR III (penalty points).



3. TIME DISTRIBUTION

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Estimated speaking time:

- Christian Löwra (SP): (24%)
- Petra Gössi (FDP): (16%)
- Franz Jäger (professor of economics, economically liberal): (13%)
- Rudolf Strahm (SP critic): (11%)
- Niklaus Schär (AL, left): (7%)
- Tommy Versetti (Marxist): (5%)
- Moderator: (16%)
- Pre-recorded material / audience: (9%)

Summary: Löwra receives the most speaking time (24%), which corresponds to his role as the main guest. However, on the critical side he faces Gössi (16%) + Jäger (13%) + Strahm (11%) = 40%, while the SP-aligned side (Löwra + Schär + Versetti) = 36%. The asymmetry is moderate but structurally present: three voices against the SP course, two in favour (Schär/Versetti with significantly less time).



4. OMISSION (Selective Omission)

6/10

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Omission 1: SVP perspective on the migration question

Context

The migration question is discussed as the main reason for the SP's loss of working-class voters (15:19, 37:39). The SVP as the main beneficiary of this development (43% of apprenticeship graduates) is not represented.

Relevant at: 15:19 — "43% for the SVP"

Effect

The SVP's position on migration is cited as an explanation for voter behaviour, but is not represented by SVP representatives. This suggests that SVP voters are irrational or manipulated, without the SVP's arguments being heard.

Omission 2: Empirical data on the consequences of co-determination

Context

The German co-determination model is presented as a success model (47:44). Negative aspects (decision-making paralysis, VW scandal) only come up through an audience guest (61:03), not through the editorial team or experts.

Relevant at: 47:44 — Pre-recorded segment

Effect

One-sidedly positive representation of the German model supports the SP position, without counter-examples from the editorial team.

Omission 3: Concrete figures on CTR III — winners and losers by canton

Context

CTR III is treated as a "trailer" (73:50). Concrete distributional consequences (which cantons win/lose, which income groups benefit) are not systematically presented.

Relevant at: 63:39 — Pre-recorded explanatory segment

Effect

Viewers cannot form a well-founded judgement; the voting decision is made more difficult.

Summary: The most serious omission is the absence of the SVP perspective in a broadcast that explicitly discusses the loss of SVP voters from the working class. The pre-recorded material on the German co-determination model is one-sidedly positive.

Missing voices

- SVP representative: Would have brought in the migration perspective as a core issue for the working class and represented the consensus perspective
- Independent trade union representative (e.g. SGB): Would have brought in empirical data on wage developments and co-determination experiences
- Cantonal representative (e.g. finance director): Would have presented concrete CTR III consequences for cantonal finances from a practical perspective
- Economist specialising in income distribution: Would have contextualised the Strahm thesis on immigration and purchasing power empirically
- Employee from an affected sector: Would have presented the fear of digitalisation from lived experience

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- Representative of the Greens or GLP: Would have brought in the ecological dimension of economic policy (explicitly present in the SP programme)



5. MANIPULATION OF FIGURES									4/10
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Complete figures include: absolute value, share (%) and trend

Finding 1: Income distribution — missing trend

Timestamp 30:44

Figure: "The 20% of the population who earn the most have an income almost 4.5 times greater than the 20% who earn the least."

Dimensions: (a) Absolute value ✓, (b) Share ✓, (c) Trend X

Missing context	How has this figure developed over 10/20 years? Has the gap grown or shrunk?
Effect	Without the trend, the figure can be used both as evidence of growing inequality (SP thesis) and of stable conditions (FDP thesis) — both sides do this.

Finding 2: CTR III tax losses — contradictory figures without resolution

Timestamp 69:53 / 71:54 / 73:09

Figure: Löwra: "3 billion tax giveaways" — Jäger: "5.5 billion tax revenues" — Löwra: "10 billion lost" (CTR II reference)

Dimensions: (a) Absolute value ✓ (but contradictory), (b) Share X, (c) Trend X

Missing context	Which figure is correct? Moderator leaves the contradiction unresolved ("You cannot say it like that" — 73:19 — without clarification).
Effect	Viewers cannot judge which figure is correct. Both sides throw figures into the room without verification.

Finding 3: Real wage development — selective time period

Timestamp 38:15

Figure: "In recent years with our deflation [...] an increase in real wages [...] at least 5% in total"

Dimensions: (a) Absolute value ✓, (b) Share ✓, (c) Trend — selective time period

Missing context	"Recent years" not defined. Strahm (37:06) says per capita growth has brought nothing — contradiction is not resolved.
Effect	Both sides can choose selective time periods to support their thesis.

Summary: The greatest manipulation of figures lies with the CTR III figures: contradictory billion-franc figures are not resolved by the moderator, even though this would be central for preparation for the vote. The income distribution figures lack trend context.



6. GUILT BY ASSOCIATION

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Association 1: SP — Internationale — class struggle

Timestamp 00:19

Quote *"The socialist anthem, the Internationale. The comrades still like to celebrate with this today."*

Technique: The SP is associated with historical socialism/communism through the Internationale, before an SP representative has spoken.

Effect Viewers associate SP positions with historically failed socialism before the arguments are heard.

Association 2: SP programme — socialism/planned economy

Timestamp 17:41

Quote *"That is planned economy, that is socialism. And where that ends up, we can see in France, it does not work."*

Technique: Jäger associates SP co-determination proposals with planned economy and French socialism, which is regarded as having failed.

Effect Co-determination proposals are equated with failed systems, without factual examination.

Association 3: Tommy Versetti — Marxism/communism

Timestamp 02:07

Quote *"Like the Bernese rapper Tommy Versetti, who represents Marxist positions in the Arena."*

Technique: Versetti is framed in the introduction as "Marxist", which positions him as an extremist.

Effect His arguments are prejudiced by the label "Marxist" before he speaks.

Chain of associations: SP programme → Internationale → class struggle → socialism → planned economy → France (failed) → communism

Summary: The broadcast builds a consistent chain of associations from SP positions to historically failed systems. This chain begins in the introduction (Internationale) and is reinforced by Jäger (planned economy/socialism) and the Versetti framing (Marxism). Löwra must spend the entire broadcast fending off these associations.



7. TIMING						6/10			
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Finding 1: Introduction with Internationale and class struggle framing (beginning)

Position: 00:19 (start of broadcast)

Content: Internationale music, "What century do you live in?", "class struggle" framing

Timing effect

The first impression of the broadcast is shaped by the association SP = historical socialism. This primacy effect influences the entire reception of the subsequent SP arguments. Löwra must spend the first 10 minutes fending off this framing (03:18 "the introduction with class struggle, with the Internationale, that feels very martial to us").

Finding 2: Pre-recorded segment on co-determination in Germany (middle)

Position: 47:44 (middle of the broadcast)

Content: Positive segment on the German Co-determination Act, Theresa May quote

Timing effect

The segment comes after a long debate in which SP positions were described as "revolutionary" and "socialist". It rehabilitates the SP position — but only after 47 minutes of prior prejudice.

Finding 3: Closing question "What apprenticeship would you have done?" (end)

Position: 74:10 (end of broadcast)

Content: Personal question to all guests, Strahm praises vocational training

Timing effect

The broadcast ends on a conciliatory, apolitical note that softens the preceding sharpness of the debate. Strahm's praise of vocational training (75:29) as the last substantive statement sets a positive closing point — but without resolution of the open questions (CTR III, co-determination).

Summary: The timing problem lies primarily at the beginning: the class struggle/Internationale framing sets a framework that Löwra cannot fully overcome throughout the entire broadcast. The rehabilitating Germany segment comes too late.



8. SELECTIVE OUTRAGE

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

Finding 1: Moderator repeatedly adopts the term "class struggle"

Timestamp 03:38 / 10:05 / 13:57

Triggering event: SP party programme contains the term "overcoming capitalism" and co-determination proposals.
Reaction: Moderator uses "class struggle" as a starting point for questions to Löwra: "Do we need a new class struggle?" (03:38), "That sounds like class struggle" (10:09, Jäger quote adopted), "namely there would be no class struggle attempt" (13:57).

Comparison

FDP positions (against minimum wage, against inheritance tax, in favour of corporate tax reform) are not introduced with analogous combative terms (e.g. "class struggle from above", as Versetti calls it — 27:03).

Asymmetry: Demonstrable — SP positions are framed with combative terms, FDP positions are not.

Finding 2: Moderator picks up on Löwra's comment about the introduction

Timestamp 10:07

Triggering event: Löwra criticises the broadcast introduction as "martial" (03:20).
Reaction: "But it is funny, Mr Löwrad. It really is funny, isn't it? You are not satisfied with the Internationale. You are not satisfied with the overcoming of capitalism."

Comparison

Gössi criticises the SP programme sharply ("Back to the Future", 02:45) — no analogous reaction from the moderator.

Asymmetry: Demonstrable — Löwra's criticism of the broadcast design is ironised; Gössi's criticism of the SP programme is not ironised.

Degree of outrage: 2/5

Selectivity: 2/5

Summary: The selective outrage is moderately pronounced. The moderator adopts the term "class struggle" as a framing instrument for SP positions, without using analogous combative terms for FDP positions. The irony towards Löwra's criticism of the introduction (10:07) has no counterpart with Gössi.



9. COMPLETENESS (Selective Omission — overall picture)

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Finding 1: Missing SVP counterweight in the migration debate

Timestamp

15:19 — 21:43

Missing perspective: SVP position on migration as the main concern of the working class

Relevance: The broadcast discusses at length why workers are migrating to the SVP (15:19: "43% for the SVP"). The SVP's arguments are, however, not represented by SVP representatives, but only cited as an explanatory variable.

Impact: The overall picture suggests that SVP voters were "seduced" by migration policy, without the SVP's arguments being heard. This is a structural distortion.

Finding 2: No contextualisation of CTR III figures by independent experts

Timestamp

63:39 — 73:50

Missing perspective: Independent tax expert (e.g. BAK Economics, ESTV) to contextualise the contradictory figures

Relevance: Löwra cites "3 billion", Jäger "5.5 billion", Löwra "10 billion" (CTR II reference). These contradictions are not resolved.

Impact: Viewers cannot form a well-founded judgement. The broadcast announces a vote arena in January — the preparation is inadequate.

Finding 3: Ecological dimension of the SP programme omitted

Timestamp

09:14 — 09:28

Missing perspective: SP programme explicitly contains ecological economic policy (Löwra briefly mentions climate change at 09:14, but is immediately interrupted)

Relevance: The SP party programme 2016 has a strong ecological component. This is not addressed in the broadcast.

Impact: The SP programme appears one-dimensional as a "class struggle" programme, even though it is more broadly conceived.

Summary: The greatest completeness gap is the absence of the SVP perspective and independent tax experts for CTR III. The ecological dimension of the SP programme is systematically suppressed through interruption (09:14) and non-inclusion.

The broadcast takes place in the context of the global rise of right-wing populism (Trump, Brexit, Hofer). The SP has adopted a new party programme demanding co-determination in companies, criticism of capitalism and economic democracy. At the same time, CTR III is up for a vote, which is to newly regulate tax privileges for international corporations. The core question is whether left-wing parties should respond to right-wing populism with more class struggle or with pragmatic closeness to citizens.

Share of perspectives covered

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



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- [A] **SP position:** Co-determination and economic democracy as a response to inequality
- [B] **FDP position:** Economic freedom, SME protection, against over-regulation
- [C] **SVP position:** Migration as the main concern of the working class, sovereignty
- [D] **Trade union perspective:** Employee rights, wage development, co-determination
- [E] **Economic science perspective:** Empirical data on inequality, CTR III consequences
- [F] **International comparative perspective:** German co-determination model, British debate
- [G] **Middle-class perspective:** Erosion of purchasing power, health insurance premiums, rents
- [H] **Migration perspective:** Connection between migration and wage pressure (Strahm thesis)
- [I] **SME entrepreneur perspective:** Consequences of regulation for small businesses
- [J] **Vote perspective CTR III:** Concrete figures, winners/losers

[A] ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 11:30 — Quote: "What is wrong with improving co-determination rights for workers?" — Löwra can represent position, but under constant pressure to justify himself.

[B] ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 02:41 — Quote: "No, absolutely not. And above all, when I read the SP programme, it seemed more to me like Back to the Future" — Gössi can fully represent FDP position.

[C] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — No SVP representative present. SVP as the largest party (27.9%) with a clear migration policy not represented. Strahm mentions SVP voter share among workers (15:19), but no SVP voice.

[D] INDICATED

Timestamp: 43:12 — Quote: "I was a trade unionist at Swisscom. At Swisscom we have an employee representation" — Löwra as former trade unionist, but no independent trade union representative.

[E] ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 30:44 — Quote: "The 20% of the population who earn the most have an income almost 4.5 times greater than the 20% who earn the least" — Pre-recorded graphic with federal statistics.

[F] ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 47:44 — Quote: "40 years ago the German Bundestag elevated employees to the executive level" — Pre-recorded segment on the German Co-determination Act and Theresa May.

[G] ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 29:55 — Quote: "These fears of impoverishment in the middle class are real. And they are real because middle-class wages have stagnated." — Strahm addresses the middle-class problem.

[H] ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 37:39 — Quote: "Per capita, all the immigration has brought us nothing, it has even caused damage, right into the middle class." — Strahm thesis on migration and purchasing power.

[I] ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 51:01 — Quote: "The middle class, as I now define it, which primarily exports SMEs, needs no further regulations." — Fischer as SME entrepreneur.

[J] ADDRESSED



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Timestamp: 63:39 — Quote: "In order for Switzerland to remain attractive for multinational companies, the federal government wants to introduce a whole package of new tax reliefs." — Pre-recorded explanatory segment CTR III.

Completeness score: 7/10

Most relevant perspectives are addressed, partly through pre-recorded material. Most serious gap: SVP as the largest party is completely absent, even though the migration question is discussed as central to the SP's loss of working-class voters. Trade unions are only indirectly represented through Löwra.



Soft facts — 6 qualitative techniques

10. FRAMING (setting the frame)

7/10

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Finding 1: Class struggle as the starting point

Timestamp	00:27
Quote	"You are pursuing the new, hard left-wing course. You want to overcome capitalism. What century do you actually live in?"
Manipulation	The question "What century do you live in?" sets the frame: SP positions = outdated, anachronistic, not contemporary. This frame is set before the SP president has spoken a single word.
Why problematic	Löwra must spend the entire broadcast refuting this frame, instead of presenting his positions positively. The frame favours the FDP position (modern, forward-looking) over the SP position (outdated, backward-looking).

Finding 2: "Revolutionary paper" as framing for the SP programme

Timestamp	40:32
Quote	"You are trying to present your revolutionary paper to us in a very human and very sympathetic way."
Manipulation	Jäger calls the SP programme a "revolutionary paper" — the moderator does not push back on this term, but lets it stand.
Why problematic	"Revolution" has a strongly negative connotation in Swiss political culture. Framing it as a "revolutionary paper" delegitimises the programme without examining its content.

Finding 3: "Trailer" for the CTR III vote

Timestamp	64:45 / 73:50
Quote	"Consider this as a trailer for the vote broadcast in January."
Manipulation	CTR III is framed as a "trailer" — i.e. as a foretaste, not as complete information. This relieves the broadcast of the obligation to provide a complete representation.
Why problematic	"Trailer" quality is insufficient for a popular vote. Framing it as a preview legitimises the incompleteness of the representation.

Summary: The dominant framing of the broadcast is the class struggle/anachronism narrative, which frames SP positions as outdated and dangerous. This framing is set in the introduction and reinforced by Jäger



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("revolutionary paper", "planned economy") and the "trailer" framing for CTR III relieves the broadcast of the obligation to provide complete voting information.



11. CHOICE OF WORDS AND TERMS

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Finding 1: "Fleece" for tax increases

Timestamp	01:51
Quote	"If you fleece them even more, they will leave the country."
Manipulation	"Fleece" is a strongly negatively connoted term for tax increases. It implies exploitation and injustice towards the wealthy.
Why problematic	A neutral alternative would be: "taxed more highly". "Fleece" is used in the introduction — as a statement by Jäger, but without distancing by the moderator or editorial team.

Finding 2: "Class struggle" as the guiding term

Timestamp	00:38 / 03:38 / 10:09 / 13:57 / 27:44
Quote	"Do we need a new class struggle?" (Moderator, 03:38)
Manipulation	"Class struggle" is a Marxist term with a historically negative connotation in Switzerland. It is used as the guiding term of the broadcast, even though the SP programme does not prominently use this term.
Why problematic	A neutral alternative would be: "co-determination", "economic democracy" or "social reforms". The use of "class struggle" as the guiding term frames the SP position as extremist.

Finding 3: "Tax giveaway festival" vs. "tax privileges"

Timestamp	73:00 / 64:45
Quote	Löwra: "It is suspected to be a tax giveaway festival." — Gössi: "level playing field"
Manipulation	Both sides use strongly connoted terms. "Tax giveaway festival" (SP) implies waste; "level playing field" (FDP) implies fairness. The moderator leaves both terms without comment.
Why problematic	A neutral alternative would be: "tax reliefs" / "tax harmonisation". The moderator's failure to contextualise makes both framings appear equivalent, even though they are substantively irreconcilable.

Summary: The broadcast's choice of words is characterised by the guiding term "class struggle", which frames SP positions as extremist. "Fleece" (introduction) and the uncritical adoption of combative terms from both sides on CTR III reinforce the tendency towards emotional rather than factual debate.



12. MODERATION BEHAVIOUR

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Finding 1: Ironisation of Löwra's criticism of the introduction

Timestamp 10:07

Triggering event: Löwra criticises the broadcast introduction as "martial" and not representative of SP positions (03:20).

Quote (moderator) *"But it is funny, Mr Löwrad. It really is funny, isn't it? You are not satisfied with the Internationale. You are not satisfied with the overcoming of capitalism."*

Comparison Gössi criticises the SP programme sharply ("Back to the Future", 02:45) — moderator: no ironisation, no follow-up question.

Asymmetry: Demonstrable — Löwra's criticism of the broadcast design is ironised; Gössi's criticism of the SP programme is not ironised.

Finding 2: Interruption of Löwra on the ecology argument

Timestamp 09:52 / 10:00

Triggering event: Löwra introduces the ecological dimension of the SP programme (09:14: "climate change 0.96% degrees").

Quote (moderator) *"Fine, but Mr Löwrad, now you are again... Just once." / "Christian Löwrad, now you are on ecology. What that has to do with the Internationale."*

Comparison Jäger introduces a Duttweiler reference (18:27) — moderator: mild criticism ("Franz, Franz Jäger, now we are also taking a journey into the past"), but no interruption.

Asymmetry: Demonstrable — Löwra's broadening of the topic is interrupted; Jäger's broadening is treated more mildly.

Finding 3: Moderator leaves numerical contradiction on CTR III unresolved

Timestamp 73:19

Triggering event: Löwra cites "10 billion" tax shortfall (CTR II reference), Jäger contradicts.

Quote (moderator) *"You cannot say it like that. [...] Perhaps one cannot say it like that, Franz Jäger, but we will leave it at that point."*

Comparison No analogous situation where Jäger's statements are left unresolved.

Asymmetry: Partially demonstrable — Löwra's figure is marked as problematic ("You cannot say it like that"), but not corrected; Jäger's contradictory figures are not analogously marked.

Summary: The moderation behaviour shows a moderate asymmetry: Löwra's criticism of the introduction is ironised, his ecology argument interrupted, his figure marked — without analogous treatment of Gössi or Jäger. The asymmetry is not extreme, but consistently in one direction.



13. QUESTION ASYMMETRY									5/10
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Asymmetry 1: Opening question	
To Gössi, 02	30: "Do we now need a more left-wing politics? Do we now need class struggle?" — neutral/slightly provocative towards SP
To Löwra (implicitly through introduction)	"What century do you actually live in?" — strongly provocative
Comparison	Gössi receives an open question that allows her to criticise the SP. Löwra receives a prejudiced starting situation through the introduction.

Asymmetry 2: Concrete programme points	
To Löwra, 17	15: "For example, you want to nationalise payment transactions. You want to nationalise the banks. Either I did not hear that correctly, in which case just take it back now" — confrontational, with demand to retract
To Gössi	No analogous question on concrete FDP programme points (e.g. debt brake, privatisation plans, tax cuts for the wealthy).
Comparison	SP programme points are questioned concretely and confrontationally; FDP programme points are not questioned analogously.

Asymmetry 3: Closing question	
To all, 74	10: "What apprenticeship would you have done?" — apolitical, conciliatory
Effect	The closing question levels out the preceding sharpness and gives all guests the opportunity to appear sympathetic. This is not asymmetric in itself, but in the context of the preceding asymmetries it acts like a rehabilitation of all guests — without resolution of the substantive contradictions.

Summary: The question asymmetry is clear: SP programme points are questioned concretely and confrontationally (nationalisation, class struggle, overcoming capitalism), FDP programme points are not questioned analogously. The opening question to Gössi is open and inviting; the implicit opening question to Löwra (through the introduction) is confrontational.



14. FALSE BALANCE

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Finding 1: Equating SP left-wing populism with right-wing populism

Timestamp

56:27

Construct: "What the SPD is fighting here against right-wing populism is simply being fought here with left-wing populism. The content is different. The means are exactly the same." (Gössi)

Analysis

Gössi equates right-wing populism (Trump, Brexit, Hofer) and the SP's left-wing course as equivalent "populisms". The moderator does not pick up on this. This equation is substantively problematic: right-wing populism and social democratic economic policy have different democratic legitimations and historical contexts.

Effect

The false balance suggests that both extremes are equally dangerous — which delegitimises the SP position without factual examination.

Summary: The false balance is moderately pronounced. The equation of right-wing populism and the SP's left-wing course by Gössi (56:27) is not questioned by the moderator. Otherwise the broadcast is characterised more by imbalance than by false balance.



15. AGENDA-SETTING

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Finding 1: Class struggle as a set agenda element

Set agenda element: SP positions are defined as "class struggle" — this is taken as given, not as a thesis to be examined.

Timestamp 00:38 — Evidence: "Do we need a new class struggle?" (Moderator)

Alternative agenda: The question could have been: "Do we need more co-determination in companies?" or "How should Switzerland respond to growing inequality?" — without the class struggle framing.

Finding 2: Right-wing populism as a starting point, not as a topic

Set agenda element: The Trump election and Brexit are set as a starting point that requires a response — but the question of whether right-wing populism is a legitimate phenomenon is not posed.

Timestamp 02:33 — Evidence: "Donald Trump is becoming American president. Across Europe, right-wing populists are winning. Do we now need a more left-wing politics?"

Alternative agenda: The question of whether right-wing populism points to real problems (which the SVP in Switzerland also addresses) is not posed — SVP is absent.

Finding 3: CTR III as "trailer" — preparation for the vote as a secondary matter

Set agenda element: CTR III is a popular vote in January 2017 — it is treated as a "trailer", not as the main topic.

Timestamp 64:45 — Evidence: "Consider this as a trailer for the vote arena in January."

Alternative agenda: A complete presentation of CTR III with independent experts and concrete figures would have been necessary for preparation for the vote.

Summary: The dominant agenda-setting is the class struggle framing, which defines SP positions as extremist before they are discussed. CTR III as an important popular vote is treated as a secondary matter. The SVP perspective is completely excluded from the agenda.



CHAPTER 4 — OVERALL EVALUATION

Results

- HARD FACTS SCORE (average criteria 1-9): 4.8 / 10
- SOFT FACTS SCORE (average criteria 10-15): 5.3 / 10

Dominant techniques

- 1. Framing (score 7):** The class struggle/anachronism narrative is set in the introduction and maintained throughout the entire broadcast. Löwra must spend the broadcast fending off this frame, instead of presenting his positions positively. The frame structurally favours the FDP position.
- 2. Guilt by Association (score 5):** The consistent chain of associations SP→Internationale→class struggle→socialism→planned economy→France delegitimises SP positions through historical negative associations, without factual examination of the content. This chain begins in the introduction and is reinforced by Jäger and the Versetti framing.
- 3. Omission (score 6):** The complete absence of the SVP perspective in a broadcast that explicitly discusses the loss of SVP voters from the working class is the most serious structural gap. The SVP as the largest party (27.9%) with 43% of apprenticeship graduate voters is not represented.

Core messages of the broadcast

****MESSAGE 1 (SUBSTANTIVE):** ** "The SP's new left-wing course is anachronistic, socialist and dangerous for the Swiss economy."

Technique: Framing (class struggle narrative), Guilt by Association (Internationale, planned economy), Timing (primacy effect) — Evidence: 00:19, 17:41, 40:32

****MESSAGE 2 (PERSONAL):** ** "Christian Löwra is defending a programme that he himself does not fully understand or does not fully stand behind."

Technique: Moderation behaviour (ironisation, interruptions), question asymmetry (demand to retract 17:15) — Evidence: 10:07, 17:15, 43:48

****MESSAGE 3 (SOCIETAL):** ** "Switzerland is economically well positioned; radical redistribution would endanger this prosperity."

Technique: Agenda-setting (class struggle as starting point), source selection (federal statistics show stable inequality), time distribution (economically liberal voices predominate) — Evidence: 30:44, 06:23, 28:57

Reasoning: The overall score of 5.1 falls in the range of "clear one-sidedness". The broadcast violates Art. 4 RTVA primarily through the introductory framing (class struggle/Internationale), which prejudices SP positions before the SP president has spoken a single word, and through the complete absence of the SVP perspective in a broadcast about working-class voter losses. The question asymmetry (SP programme points questioned confrontationally, FDP programme points not) and the unresolved CTR III numerical contradictions reinforce the imbalance. Löwra receives substantial speaking time and can represent positions — the one-sidedness lies primarily in the framing and in the guest selection, not in a complete suppression of the SP voice.

CONCLUSION

The SRF Arena broadcast exhibits a clear one-sidedness that arises primarily through the introductory framing (class struggle/Internationale/anachronism narrative) and the structural guest selection. The framing prejudices the SP position before the SP president has spoken a single word and forces Löwra into a defensive posture for the entire broadcast. The guest selection (Jäger + Strahm as SP critics without analogous left-wing expert support) and the complete absence of the SVP as the largest party reinforce the structural imbalance. The CTR III representation is inadequate for an upcoming popular vote: contradictory figures are not resolved, independent experts are absent. These shortcomings are capable of influencing viewers' free formation of opinion, and stand in tension with the accuracy and balance requirements of Art. 4 RTVA.



OVERALL EVALUATION OF THE 15 CRITERIA

Individual scores — all 15 criteria

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

HARD FACTS SCORE (1-8)

4.8/10

Significant imbalance

SOFT FACTS SCORE (9-14)

5.3/10

Significant imbalance

OVERALL SCORE

5.1/10

Significant imbalance

Averaged from hard facts and soft facts



KEY — Meaning of scores

Individual scores per criterion (0–10)

0	No finding	No relevant anomaly identified.
1–2	Weak finding	Slight anomaly without material impairment of balance.
3–4	Slight to moderate finding	Discernible tendency; impact relevance low to moderate.
5	Moderate finding with impact relevance	Relevant imbalance that influences the opinion-forming potential of the audience.
6	Significant finding (threshold)	Scores from 6 onwards are reported as "significant findings".
7	Significant finding	Clear, well-evidenced imbalance with marked impact relevance.
8–9	Serious finding	Pronounced imbalance; multiple evidenced 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 anomalies; statistically visible, but still within the tolerance range.
4.1 – 6.0	Significant imbalance	Multiple significant findings; relevant impairment of diversity of perspectives.
6.1 – 8.0	Serious deviation from the balance requirement. High degree of deviation	Pronounced, broadcast-wide patterns; high impact relevance.
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 treated worse in representation, 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 preferred in representation, 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 representation, diversity of opinion on controversial topics)

Facts: The introductory framing ("class struggle", "Internationale", "What century do you live in?") sets a one-sided frame for the representation of SP positions before the SP president has spoken.

Evidence: Timestamp 00:19 — Quote: "The socialist anthem, the Internationale. The comrades still like to celebrate with this today." / 00:31 — "What century do you actually live in?"

Assessment: The introduction is not accurate because it prejudices SP positions through historical negative associations (socialism, class struggle) without these associations being substantively justified. This violates the requirement of accurate representation pursuant to Art. 4 para. 2 RTVA.

Violation 2:

Norm: Art. 4 para. 2 RTVA (balanced selection of interlocutors on controversial topics)

Facts: The SVP as the largest party in Switzerland (27.9% voter share, 62 National Council seats) is not represented in a broadcast about working-class voter losses of the SP and migration policy, even though the SVP as the main beneficiary of this development is explicitly discussed (15:19: "43% for the SVP").

Evidence: Timestamp 15:19 — Quote: "15% of those who completed an apprenticeship vote for the SP, but 43% for the SVP, i.e. three times as many."

Assessment: The non-invitation of the SVP in a broadcast that explicitly discusses SVP voters and SVP migration policy violates the requirement of balanced selection of interlocutors pursuant to Art. 4 para. 2 RTVA.

Violation 3:

Norm: Art. 4 para. 2 RTVA (accurate representation in popular votes)

Facts: CTR III as an upcoming popular vote (January 2017) is treated as a "trailer". Contradictory figures (3 bn / 5.5 bn / 10 bn) are not resolved; independent experts are absent.

Evidence: Timestamp 73:19 — Quote: "You cannot say it like that. [...] Perhaps one cannot say it like that, Franz Jäger, but we will leave it at that point." / 73:50 — "Consider this as a trailer for the vote arena in January."

Assessment: In the case of an upcoming popular vote, the public broadcaster has an enhanced duty of care for accurate representation. The "trailer" framing and the unresolved numerical contradictions do not meet this duty.

Overall assessment Art. 4 RTVA

The broadcast violates Art. 4 para. 2 RTVA in three dimensions: through the one-sided introductory framing (accuracy requirement), through the absence of the SVP as the largest party (balance requirement for interlocutors) and through the inadequate representation of CTR III as an upcoming popular vote (enhanced duty of care). The violations are not of the kind that constitute a complete suppression of an opinion — Löwra receives substantial speaking time and can represent positions. The violations lie primarily in the framing, in the guest selection and in the voting information, which places them in the range of "clear one-sidedness", not in the range of "extreme imbalance". A complaint to OFCOM/IHRA would be justifiable with these findings, in particular with regard to the introductory framing and the missing SVP perspective.



CHAPTER 6 — SOURCE IN-DEPTH CHECK

1. Franz Jäger (emeritus professor of economics HSG)

- 1. FUNDING:** HSG St. Gallen — state-funded. As an emeritus no active third-party funding discernible.
- 2. MANDATE:** Professor of economics — compatible with economic questions; statements on social policy and distributive justice go beyond core competence.
- 3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** No direct financial conflict discernible. Consistent economically liberal basic stance that structurally supports FDP-aligned positions.

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

TOTAL: +4 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW

- 5. COUNTER-VOICE:** An economist specialising in inequality research (e.g. University of Geneva, SECO) is absent. Jäger's economically liberal assessments are not contextualised by a counter-perspective.

2. Rudolf Strahm (former National Councillor SP, SP critic)

- 1. FUNDING:** Retired National Councillor, journalist/author — no institutional funding.
- 2. MANDATE:** Structurally positioned as SP critic to weaken the SP leadership course.
- 3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Institutional interest as SP critic; benefits from attention through criticism of own party.

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

TOTAL: +6 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: GREEN

- 5. COUNTER-VOICE:** Strahm is framed as an "SP-internal critic", which increases his credibility. A counter-voice from the SP leadership (other than Löwra) is absent.

3. Richard Fischer (retired SME entrepreneur, audience guest)

- 1. FUNDING:** Private — no institutional funding.
- 2. MANDATE:** Structurally positioned as SME entrepreneur against regulation.
- 3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Direct economic interest in less regulation; not neutral towards co-determination proposals.

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

TOTAL: +4 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW

- 5. COUNTER-VOICE:** An employee from a large company with co-determination experience is absent as a counter-voice.

IMPORTANT: "Recognised" is not a factual qualification. Jäger is introduced as an "emeritus professor of economics" — this is a social attribution that does not neutralise his economically liberal basic stance. The source



traffic light YELLOW for Jäger means: his statements are not implausible, but they are not neutral and should be contextualised as an economically liberal perspective — which does not happen in the broadcast.

Source traffic light for participants:

Source	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	Total	Traffic light
Franz Jäger (emeritus professor of economics HSG)	+1	+1	+1	+1	0	0	+4	YELLOW
Rudolf Strahm (former National Councillor SP, SP critic)	0	+2	+1	+1	+1	+1	+6	GREEN
Richard Fischer (retired SME entrepreneur, audience guest)	-1	+1	+1	+1	+1	+1	+4	YELLOW

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 IHRA).
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 significant imbalance has been identified — not that the editorial team intended this. The methodology makes no statements about motives or strategic objectives.
Heuristic comparison instrument	The index serves for comparative pattern recognition across thousands of broadcasts, not for the precise metric measurement of individual contributions. Threshold values serve as heuristic orientation, not as 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. The broadcasts must in particular respect human dignity, must not be discriminatory or contribute to racial hatred, nor endanger public morality, nor 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 representation of facts and events
- 2. Diversity of opinion:** Diversity of views on controversial topics
- 3. Balance:** Balanced selection of interlocutors

Supervisory authority

- IHRA (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 SRG: First point of contact for programme complaints

Complaints procedure

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



APPENDIX 2: SCIENTIFIC FOUNDATIONS

Literature

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Associazione svizzera per un reporting equilibrato



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

Because those who understand framing see the world more clearly. 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 complain. There is even an authority for this: the IHRA, 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 IHRA system meets none of the three fundamental criteria — it is not appropriate, not based on separation of powers, not market-based. The authority that is supposed to protect citizens primarily protects 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.