



SVFAB DETAILED ANALYSIS

2021-09-17 Zoff ums Zertifikat

Broadcast: SRF Tagesschau broadcast | 2021-09-17 | Analysed on: 2026-05-19 15:18

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

OVERALL SCORE

7.0/10

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)

2.9 / 10

Favouring the left

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 the government. Political conflicts therefore do not run along a government-opposition axis, but between the parties and within parliament.

Party	CHES L-R	Seats NC	Government/Opposition	Core position (relevant to broadcast)
SVP	8.0	62	Government (2 FC)	Against Covid certificate, personal responsibility, against pressure to vaccinate
SP	2.5	41	Government (2 FC)	Pro measures, social consensus, solidarity
FDP	6.5	28	Government (2 FC)	Economic freedom, pragmatic measures, personal responsibility
Centre	5.0	29	Government (1 FC)	Pragmatic pandemic policy, certificate as compromise
Greens	2.0	23	Opposition	Pro measures, solidarity
GLP	4.0	10	Opposition	Open to technology, pragmatic
EVP	5.5	2	Opposition	Centre position

The broadcast (autumn 2021) falls in the phase of the Covid certificate requirement in Switzerland. The central line of conflict runs between supporters of state pandemic measures (SP, Centre, parts of FDP) and critics (SVP, parts of the population). A second line concerns the question of compulsory vaccination vs. personal responsibility. Thirdly: economic damage caused by measures vs. health protection. The violent incidents of the previous evening in front of the Federal Palace form the immediate trigger for the broadcast.

SRF (Swiss Radio and Television) is the public broadcaster of Switzerland, financed through reception fees (Serafe). It is subject to Art. 4 RTVA, which requires accurate representation, diversity of opinion and balanced selection of interlocutors. As Switzerland's largest media organisation, SRF bears a special responsibility for democratic opinion formation, particularly on politically controversial topics such as pandemic policy.



CHAPTER 1 — PARTY-POLITICAL BIAS

Party	Score (-5..+5)	Broadcast representation vs. programme position
SVP	-3	02:21–02:43: Ueli Maurer is discredited through association with violent incidents, without evidence of a causal connection. Programme position (personal responsibility, criticism of measures) is represented by Reimann, but repeatedly interrupted and dismissed as "no solution" (34:04). Core position "discrimination through certificate" (01:21) is not factually refuted, but emotionally overlaid. — distorted
SP	+2	01:03–01:09: Wasserfallen is allowed to present her position (dialogue, consensus, solidarity) at length and largely unchallenged. Programme position (measures, proximity to compulsory vaccination) correctly represented. No critical follow-up questions on SP positions. — correct, favoured
FDP	0	Züllig (FDP member, not a politician) represents a pragmatic economic position. No FDP party politics explicitly addressed. Züllig is treated as a sector representative, not as a party voice. — not represented as a party
Centre	+1	00:40–00:45: Humbel is allowed to introduce certificate endorsement ("vaccination pressure is right") unchallenged. Centre position correctly represented as pragmatic middle ground. Slight favouring through moderation behaviour. — correct
Greens	0	Not represented in broadcast. — omitted
GLP	0	Not represented in broadcast. — omitted
EVP	0	Not represented in broadcast. — omitted

Party bias summary

- Most accurate representation: SP, score +2
- Strongest distortion: SVP, score -3
- Average deviation from 0: 1.0 (represented parties only)
- Conclusion: The SVP position is structurally prejudiced by the opening sequence (Maurer/violence association). Reimann's factual arguments (proportionality, personal responsibility, cost-benefit) are repeatedly dismissed by the moderator and the SP representative as "no solution", without substantive rebuttal. The SP position, by contrast, is framed as a socially responsible stance and receives more uninterrupted speaking time.



CHAPTER 2 — BROADCAST INFORMATION AND THEMATIC FRAMEWORK

Broadcast data

- Title: Arena (SRF)
- Date: 17.09.2021
- Moderator: Sandro Brotz
- Persons interviewed:

Actors	Function	Party/affiliation	Political spectrum
Ruth Humbel	National Councillor, President of the Health Committee	Centre	Centre (5.0)
Flavia Wasserfallen	National Councillor	SP	Left (2.5)
Lukas Reimann	National Councillor	SVP	Right (8.0)
Andreas Züllig	President of Hotellerie Suisse	FDP member (not as politician)	Centre-right
Claude Amann	President SFGV (fitness/health centres)	Non-partisan/sector	Neutral
Andi Benz	Co-founder Freiheitstrychler	Critic of measures	Right/libertarian
Marco Raznadovic	Office employee Zurich Airport	Audience, certificate supporter	—
Regina Göldi	Entrepreneur Toggenburg	Audience, certificate sceptic	—
Chayenne Weiss	Student ZHW, 24	Audience, reluctantly vaccinated	—
Can Derungs	IT apprentice, 16	Audience, certificate supporter	—

Main topic

The broadcast discusses the legitimacy and effectiveness of the Covid certificate in Switzerland against the backdrop of violent incidents at a demonstration by critics of measures in front of the Federal Palace.



CHAPTER 3 — 15 CRITERIA: DETAILED ANALYSIS

Hard facts — 9 techniques that are countable and scientifically robust

1. EXPERT SELECTION									7/10
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Expert 1: Ruth Humbel, National Councillor Centre, President of the Health Committee	
Timestamp	00:16
Statement	"With the Covid certificate we have vaccination pressure and that is also right."
Classification	Politician with a clear pro-measures position; institutionally involved in the measures decisions as President of the Health Committee.
Missing countervoice	Independent epidemiologist or constitutional lawyer with a critical perspective.

Source in-depth check:

(a) **FUNDING:** Public (National Councillor, state-salaried). Conflict of interest: As a member of the Health Committee, she has an institutional interest in legitimising the measures she co-decided.

(b) **MANDATE:** Political mandate — not compatible with neutral expert assessment. She is a decision-maker, not an independent expert.

D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — Direct institutional involvement in the measures she defends

D2 Personal risk: -1 — No personal risk from her position; career-conforming

D3 Professional competence: +1 — Health policy experience, but no medical/epidemiological training

D4 Opinion consistency: +1 — Consistent pro-measures stance

D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: 0 — Mix of data and appeals

D6 Source level: -1 — Secondary (cites FOPH, hospitals, without primary sources)

TOTAL: -2 → SOURCE INDICATOR: YELLOW

(c) **PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE:** Politician is presented as an expert authority.

Expert 2: Flavia Wasserfallen, National Councillor SP	
Timestamp	01:03
Statement	"The fronts in the population are hardening. What is needed now is a dialogue between the vaccinated and the unvaccinated."
Classification	SP politician with a clear pro-measures position; no medical or epidemiological expertise.
Missing countervoice	Independent sociologist on the question of social division.

Source in-depth check:



(a) **FUNDING:** Public (National Councillor). Conflict of interest: SP programme is explicitly pro state direction and measures.

(b) **MANDATE:** Political mandate — not compatible with neutral assessment.

D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — Party-political position directly congruent with endorsement of measures

D2 Personal risk: -1 — No personal disadvantages from her position

D3 Professional competence: 0 — No medical expertise; political experience

D4 Opinion consistency: +1 — Consistent SP line

D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: -1 — Frequently emotional-appellative ("the children", "the healthcare staff")

D6 Source level: -1 — Secondary

TOTAL: -4 → SOURCE INDICATOR: YELLOW (borderline)

(c) **PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE:** Is framed as a voice of dialogue and reason, although she represents a clearly partisan position.

Expert 3: Andreas Züllig, President of Hotellerie Suisse

Timestamp	00:49
Statement	"To speak of compulsory vaccination is exaggerated. Nobody has to get vaccinated."
Classification	Sector representative with an economic interest in opening; FDP member; ultimately accepting of the certificate.

Source in-depth check:

(a) **FUNDING:** Private/sector association. Conflict of interest: Economic interest in opening, but also in planning certainty through the certificate.

(b) **MANDATE:** Sector representative — partial neutrality possible on economic questions, not on health questions.

D1 Conflict of interest: -1 — Economic interest, but ambivalent (opening vs. security)

D2 Personal risk: +1 — Sector actually suffers under measures

D3 Professional competence: +1 — Economic expertise for sector questions

D4 Opinion consistency: +1 — Consistent economic perspective

D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: +1 — Predominantly factual

D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary/own experience

TOTAL: +3 → SOURCE INDICATOR: YELLOW

(c) **PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE:** Is framed as a balanced voice, although he ultimately accepts the certificate — no genuine counterweight to Humbel/Wasserfallen.

Missing expert groups:

- Independent epidemiologist/virologist (not affiliated with FOPH)
- Constitutional lawyer on the question of proportionality
- Sociologist/psychologist on the analysis of vaccine scepticism

Source indicator for participants:

Source	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	Total	Indicator
Ruth Humbel, National Councillor Centre, President of the Health Committee	-2	-1	+1	+1	0	-1	-2	YELLOW
Flavia Wasserfallen, National Councillor SP	-2	-1	0	+1	-1	-1	-4	YELLOW
Andreas Züllig, President of Hotellerie Suisse	-1	+1	+1	+1	+1	0	+3	YELLOW



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Summary:

Expert	Source indicator	Main problem
Humbel	YELLOW (-2)	Politician framed as expert authority
Wasserfallen	YELLOW (-4)	Partisan voice framed as voice of reason
Züllig	YELLOW (+3)	Business representative, ultimately accepting of certificate
Amann	YELLOW	Sector representative, more critical, but without countervoice

All four studio guests fundamentally accept or actively endorse the certificate. Reimann is the only structural counterweight — as a politician, not as an expert.



2. SOURCE SELECTION

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Claims without primary source = penalty points (rumour check)

Source 1: Five university hospitals of Switzerland (letter to the Federal Council)

Timestamp

31:35 — Statement: "The university hospitals, all five university hospitals of Switzerland, wrote a letter to the Federal Council yesterday, drawing attention to the situation."

(a) Funding: State/publicly funded hospitals. Conflict of interest: Hospitals have an institutional interest in measures that reduce their capacity burden.

(b) Structural conflict of interest: Hospitals benefit from measures that reduce hospitalisations; their letter is not a neutral document, but a declaration of interest.

(c) Missing counter-source: Independent analysis of hospital capacities; question of whether structural underfunding (bed reductions) is partly responsible.

Source 2: Epidemiologist Trosten (secondary citation by Wasserfallen)

Timestamp

31:37 — Statement: "Trosten could read, who really said that the R factor [...] is decisive and that one can slow it down and bring it below one if one has a vaccination rate of approximately two thirds."

(a) Funding: Unclear — Wasserfallen cites from media reports, no primary source.

(b) Structural conflict of interest: Not verifiable, as no primary source.

(c) Missing counter-source: Other epidemiologists with differing assessments of the herd immunity threshold.

Rumour 1:

Timestamp: 04:22

Claim: "There are also those who say it was probably more likely people from the Black Bloc."

Word markers: "probably", "those who say"

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

Rumour 2:

Timestamp: 04:37

Claim: "From the looks of it, also from the people who were observed there, it was probably not Antifa."

Word markers: "probably", "from the looks of it"

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

Source 3: Vaccination statistics FOPH

Timestamp

55:38 — Statement: "In mid-September, 61% of the Swiss population had been vaccinated at least once."

(a) Funding: State (FOPH). Conflict of interest: FOPH is the originator of the measures and has an institutional interest in their legitimisation.

(b) Structural conflict of interest: FOPH figures are factually correct, but the selection and presentation of the figures is carried out through FOPH-aligned communication.

(c) Missing counter-source: Independent verification of the figures; international comparative data on effectiveness.



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Summary: The source selection is structurally one-sided: all cited expert sources (university hospitals, FOPH, epidemiologist Trosten via secondary citation) support the endorsement of measures. Two rumours without primary sources are introduced (+2 penalty points). Not a single critical expert source on the effectiveness of the certificate or on questions of proportionality is cited.



3. TIME DISTRIBUTION						6/10			
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Estimated speaking time (from transcript analysis):

- Wasserfallen (SP, pro-measures): (19%)
- Humbel (Centre, pro-measures): (17%)
- Reimann (SVP, critical of measures): (13%)
- Züllig (FDP, accepting of certificate): (11%)
- Amann (sector, critical of certificate): (8%)
- Benz (Freiheitstrychler, critical of measures): (7%) — individual interview, not a studio guest
- Audience guests (3 pro, 1 sceptical): (11%)
- Moderator Brotz: (11%)
- Explanatory videos/inserts: (4%)

Ratio pro-measures vs. critical of measures:

- Pro-measures (Wasserfallen + Humbel + Züllig + Raznadovic + Derungs): (57%)
- Critical of measures (Reimann + Amann + Benz + Göldi + Weiss): (32%)
- Neutral/moderator: (11%)

Summary: The speaking time is structurally unbalanced: pro-measures voices receive almost twice as much time as critics of measures. Particularly striking: Wasserfallen and Humbel together (32%) vs. Reimann alone (13%) as the only explicitly measures-critical politician.



4. OMISSION (Selective Omission)

7/10

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Omission 1: Evidence of effectiveness for the certificate

Context

The certificate is presented as an effective means of combating the pandemic, without citing concrete studies on the effectiveness of the certificate (as distinct from the vaccine).

Relevant at: Timestamp 44:22 — "That is why we had to take measures"

Effect

Viewers assume the effectiveness of the certificate is scientifically proven, although this was disputed at the time of broadcast.

Omission 2: Bed reductions in the Swiss healthcare system

Context

Reimann mentions at 32:01 more investment in intensive care beds. Wasserfallen responds with staff shortages. Not mentioned is the fact that Switzerland had systematically reduced hospital beds in the years before the pandemic.

Relevant at: Timestamp 32:01 — "If one now invests more money for more intensive care beds"

Effect

The impression arises that the capacity problems were caused exclusively by the pandemic, not by structural underfunding.

Omission 3: Differentiation of the violent incidents

Context

The violent incidents of the previous evening are associated in the introduction with the critics-of-measures movement. Not mentioned is the fact that the police had not carried out a clear identification of perpetrators and the Freiheitstrychler themselves had published a distancing statement.

Relevant at: Timestamp 00:00–02:12

Effect

The entire critics-of-measures movement is associated with violence through the opening sequence, although the perpetrators had not been identified.

Summary: Three structurally significant omissions shape the overall picture: missing evidence of effectiveness for the certificate, missing context on bed reductions, and insufficient differentiation regarding the violent incidents. All three omissions favour the pro-measures position.

Missing voices

- Independent epidemiologist/virologist: Would have provided an evidence-based assessment of the actual effectiveness of the certificate on transmission rates (independent of FOPH communication).
- Constitutional lawyer: Would have legally contextualised the question of proportionality and fundamental rights restrictions through the certificate.
- Sociologist/psychologist: Would have explained why pressure measures can reduce rather than increase vaccine willingness among sceptics.
- Representative of healthcare staff: Would have described the hospital situation first-hand, rather than through Wasserfallen.



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- Representative of the cultural sector: Would have presented the specific effects of the certificate on theatres, concerts, museums.
- Data protection expert: Would have raised the question of data storage and the abuse potential of the certificate.
- Representative of a vaccine scepticism counselling centre: Would have presented differentiated reasons for vaccine hesitancy beyond "conspiracy theory".
- Police representative: Would have provided an assessment of the violent incidents and their background from a security perspective.



5. MANIPULATION OF FIGURES

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Complete figures include: absolute value, proportion (%) and trend

Finding 1: Vaccination rate Denmark

Timestamp 11:22

Figure: "Denmark [...] we have a vaccination rate of nearly 74%"

Dimensions: (a) Absolute value shown ✓ — (b) Proportion shown ✓ — (c) Trend MISSING

Missing context

Not mentioned is the fact that Denmark also had other measures (lockdowns, school closures) and that the causality between vaccination rate and the end of the pandemic is complex.

Effect

False impression that the vaccination rate alone makes the difference.

Finding 2: Intensive care unit statistics

Timestamp 13:31 — Figure: "Unvaccinated, namely 100% in hospital and 90% on ventilators"

Dimensions: (a) Absolute value MISSING — (b) Proportion shown ✓ — (c) Trend MISSING

Missing context

No indication of absolute figures; no reference to the age structure of the unvaccinated (older unvaccinated vs. younger vaccinated); no source citation.

Effect

Dramatisation without contextualisation; viewers cannot assess proportionality.

Finding 3: Vaccination rate Switzerland

Timestamp 55:38 — Figure: "In mid-September, 61% of the Swiss population had been vaccinated at least once. For those vaccinated twice, we are below this at approximately 53%."

Dimensions: (a) Absolute value shown ✓ — (b) Proportion shown ✓ — (c) Trend shown ✓ (insert)

Missing context

No comparison with countries that, despite similar vaccination rates, had not introduced a certificate requirement.

Effect

Vaccination rate appears as the only relevant variable; other factors are excluded.

Summary: Figures are used selectively to demonstrate the necessity of measures. Particularly problematic: the 100%/90% statistic (Finding 2) is presented without source citation and without absolute figures, making independent verification impossible.



6. GUILT BY ASSOCIATION								8/10	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Association 1: Ueli Maurer — violent incidents

Timestamp 02:21

Quote *"The same Ueli Maurer, who showed himself like this just a few days ago [...] At the SVP event he posed with a favourite of self-proclaimed Freiheitstrychler."*

Technique: Temporal juxtaposition: Maurer poses in a Freiheitstrychler T-shirt → violent incidents → "the same Ueli Maurer". A causal connection is suggested without being substantiated.

Effect Maurer appears as co-responsible for the violence.

Association 2: Lukas Reimann — Freiheitstrychler

Timestamp 06:41

Quote *"Lukas Reimann was on social media earlier. You too wore such T-shirts with these Freiheitstrychler."*

Technique: Direct association Reimann → Freiheitstrychler → (implicitly) violent incidents.

Effect Reimann appears as part of the movement held co-responsible for the violence.

Association 3: Andi Benz — Attila der Kluge

Timestamp 19:27

Quote *"You also have people in your circle like Attila der Kluge [...] And the same Attila der Kluge also called for disruptive actions against vaccination."*

Technique: Association Benz → Attila der Kluge → disruptive actions. Benz explicitly distances himself, but the association has already been established.

Effect Benz appears as part of a radical network.

Source check for Andi Benz (as actors implicitly framed as extremists):

- Works with verifiable primary sources? NO (no scientific sources, but also no claims that would require primary sources)
- Are his core statements falsifiable? YES — his statements (discrimination through certificate, personal responsibility, constitutional rights) are verifiable legal arguments
- Personal risk: Self-employed construction manager who publicly opposes measures — professional and social risk present
- Gain: Attention, community belonging
- Net: Risk ≈ Gain — neutral
- Tone: Predominantly factual, acknowledges uncertainties ("I actually only know Attila der Kluge superficially")
- RESULT CATEGORY: B — Borderline case (partly substantiated, partly speculative; no conspiracy ideology in the proper sense)



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Association chain: Freiheitstrychler → violent incidents → Ueli Maurer → Lukas Reimann → SVP → critics of measures in general

Summary: The broadcast establishes an association chain from violence via Freiheitstrychler to SVP politicians and critics of measures in general. This chain is not supported by evidence — the perpetrators of the violent incidents had not been identified, the Freiheitstrychler had distanced themselves. The framing of Benz as an extremist is based on association, not on his actual statements.



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

Finding 1: Opening with images of violence

Position: 00:00–02:12 (beginning)

Content: Water cannons, barriers, "militant critics", direct connection to Ueli Maurer and SVP.

Timing effect

The entire broadcast is placed under the sign of violence and radicalism by the opening sequence. All subsequent arguments of the critics of measures are received in the light of this opening. This is a classic priming technique: the first impression shapes the interpretation of all subsequent information.

Finding 2: Individual interview with Benz as representative of the opposing side

Position: 16:57–21:47 (middle)

Content: Benz is questioned as the only explicit critic of measures in an individual interview — with an explicitly announced "critical individual interview" (16:58: "My goal is really to conduct a critical individual interview with you").

Timing effect

The critics-of-measures perspective is represented by a non-politician (Benz), who is more easily attackable than a parliamentarian. The individual interview format (without a countervoice) allows harder follow-up questions that would not be possible in the studio discussion.

Finding 3: Conciliatory ending with football

Position: 72:56–75:01 (end)

Content: Broadcast ends with a football anecdote (YB–Manchester United), Wasserfallen as radiant heroine.

Timing effect

The emotional closing sequence favours Wasserfallen (SP) and creates a positive association with the pro-measures side. Reimann is marginalised as a handball fan. The conciliatory ending overlays the substantive conflicts and leaves a positive image of the supporters of measures.

Summary: The broadcast is structured through deliberate timing: images of violence at the beginning (priming against critics of measures), individual interview with the weakest representative of the opposing side in the middle, conciliatory ending with favouring of the pro-measures side. This structure is not coincidental and considerably reinforces the overall bias.



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: Outrage over Maurer T-shirt, no outrage over SP positions

Timestamp 05:56

Triggering event: Ueli Maurer wears a Freiheitstrychler T-shirt at an SVP event.

Reaction: Humbel (05:56): "When one goes around trivialising the situation in such a T-shirt, an ingratiating approach to the critics, Covid deniers through to Covid measures critics [...] I simply find that unworthy of a member of the government."

Comparison

Wasserfallen implicitly designates the unvaccinated as the cause of children's suffering (09:07: "they are primarily directed against the children") — no outrage from the moderator, no critical follow-up question.

Asymmetry: Maurer T-shirt triggers a several-minute outrage discussion; Wasserfallen's attribution of blame to the unvaccinated goes uncommented.

Finding 2: Moderator outrage towards Benz, no analogous outrage towards studio guests

Timestamp 19:00

Triggering event: Benz explains why he participates in unauthorised demonstrations.

Reaction: Brotz (19:00): "No, you are not abiding by the rule of law, Mr Benz, when you attend an unauthorised demonstration?"

Comparison

Wasserfallen claims at 13:31 "100% in hospital and 90% on ventilators" without citing a source — no critical follow-up question from the moderator.

Asymmetry: Benz is confronted on the rule of law question; unsubstantiated statistics from Wasserfallen are not questioned.

Finding 3: Outrage over Reimann's "no solution"

Timestamp 34:04

Triggering event: Reimann proposes investment in intensive care capacities as an alternative to the certificate.

Reaction: Wasserfallen (34:04): "I mean, you're not offering any solution [...] you're invoking the freedom of every individual [...] it's not a workable proposal."

Comparison

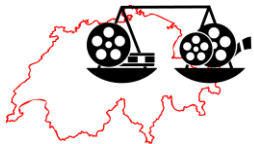
Wasserfallen's own proposals (dialogue, consensus, appeals) are not questioned as to their practicability.

Asymmetry: Reimann's proposals are dismissed as "no solution"; Wasserfallen's proposals are not critically evaluated.

Degree of outrage: 4/5

Selectivity: 3/5

Summary: The outrage in the broadcast is clearly asymmetric: actions and statements of the critics of measures (Maurer T-shirt, unauthorised demonstrations, Reimann's proposals) trigger explicit outrage, while comparable or



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stronger statements by supporters of measures (attribution of blame to the unvaccinated, unsubstantiated statistics) go uncommented.



9. COMPLETENESS (Selective Omission — Overall picture)

7/10

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Finding 1: Missing evidence on the effectiveness of the certificate

Timestamp

44:22 — Missing perspective: Studies on the actual effectiveness of the Covid certificate on transmission rates.

Relevance: The certificate is presented as an effective instrument, without its specific effectiveness (as distinct from the vaccine) being substantiated.

Impact: Viewers assume the certificate is evidence-based effective, although this was scientifically disputed at the time of broadcast.

Finding 2: Missing perspective on long-term consequences of the measures

Timestamp

09:07 — Missing perspective: Psychological and social long-term consequences of the measures (isolation, educational losses, mental health).

Relevance: Wasserfallen mentions children as those suffering because of the unvaccinated, without mentioning those suffering because of the measures themselves (children through school closures, isolation).

Impact: One-sided picture of the distribution of harm.

Finding 3: Missing differentiation of the unvaccinated

Timestamp

10:52 — Missing perspective: Systematic presentation of the various reasons for vaccine hesitancy (medical, religious, philosophical, data protection, loss of trust).

Relevance: Reimann briefly mentions at 10:52 that there are various reasons, but this is not explored further.

Impact: The unvaccinated appear as a homogeneous group of refusers, not as a heterogeneous group with different motivations.

Summary: The completeness of the broadcast is considerably limited: evidence on the effectiveness of the certificate is absent, long-term consequences of the measures are not addressed, and the heterogeneity of the unvaccinated is not presented. These omissions systematically favour the pro-measures position.

In autumn 2021, Switzerland was in the fourth Covid wave with rising hospitalisation figures. The Covid certificate (3G: vaccinated, recovered, tested) had been mandatory since September 2021 for indoor areas of restaurants, fitness centres, cultural institutions, etc. The vaccination rate was approximately 53% (double-vaccinated), significantly below the European average. At the same time, a referendum on the Covid Act was scheduled for 28 November 2021. The social polarisation between supporters and critics of measures had reached its peak, with regular demonstrations and increasing radicalisation of a small part of the movement.

Proportion of perspectives covered

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

[A] Epidemiological expert perspective: Effectiveness of the certificate in reducing transmissions (independent of FOPH)

[B] Constitutional law perspective: Proportionality of the certificate, fundamental rights restrictions



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[C] Psychological/sociological perspective: Causes of vaccine scepticism, effect of pressure on vaccine willingness

[D] Economic perspective of those affected: Concrete damage caused by the certificate requirement (fitness, gastronomy, culture)

[E] Perspective of the unvaccinated: Differentiated reasons (medical, religious, philosophical, data protection)

[F] International comparative perspective: Measures of other countries, effectiveness comparisons

[G] Perspective of healthcare staff: Burden, burnout, demands

[H] Perspective of children/young people: Effects of the measures on education and development

[I] Perspective of police/security authorities: Assessment of the violent incidents

[J] Perspective of independent scientists: Critical assessment of the evidence for measures

[A] INDICATED

Timestamp: 31:37 — Quote: "Trosten could read, who really said that the R factor [...] is decisive" — Assessment: The epidemiological perspective is only introduced through a secondary citation (Wasserfallen cites Trosten); no independent epidemiologist in the studio.

[B] INDICATED

Timestamp: 33:21 — Quote: "A citizen must prove that he is somehow not dangerous" — Assessment: Reimann introduces a constitutional argument, but it is not elaborated by a jurist and is not taken up by the moderator.

[C] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: No sociologist, no psychologist on the question of why pressure could be counterproductive; Reimann's reference to this (29:53) is dismissed.

[D] ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 49:14 — Quote: "Between 8 and 12 percent we now have a certain loss of turnover" — Assessment: Amann and Züllig introduce the economic perspective, but both are ultimately framed as accepting of the certificate.

[E] INDICATED

Timestamp: 37:21 — Quote: "I am also an opponent of vaccination [...] I can probably be in more vaccinations" — Assessment: Benz and Göldi introduce the perspective of the unvaccinated, but without systematic differentiation of the reasons.

[F] INDICATED

Timestamp: 11:22 — Quote: "There I look at Lukas Reimann, towards Denmark, which has declared the pandemic over" — Assessment: The Denmark comparison is introduced by Wasserfallen, but selectively (only vaccination rate, not differences in measures).

[G] INDICATED

Timestamp: 13:21 — Quote: "The healthcare staff, who are suffering, have simply been at the limit for 18 months" — Assessment: Only mentioned by Wasserfallen; no healthcare staff directly interviewed.

[H] INDICATED

Timestamp: 63:26 — Quote: "I am 24. I don't think I would be one who burdens the intensive care unit" — Assessment: Two young studio guests, but no systematic perspective on educational impacts.

[I] OMITTED

Timestamp: 04:31 — Quote: "We asked, incidentally also the police in Bern. They did not respond to that at all." — Assessment: Police perspective explicitly not available; no substitute.



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[J] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: No independent scientist with a critical perspective on the evidence for measures; all scientific references come from supporters of measures.

Completeness score: 4/10

Reasoning: Of 10 relevant perspectives, only 4 are indicated and 1 is addressed; 3 are completely omitted. Particularly seriously missing: independent scientists with a critical perspective, constitutional lawyers, sociologists for the analysis of vaccine scepticism. The existing perspectives are also structurally unbalanced — supporters of measures receive more space and fewer critical follow-up questions.



Soft facts — 6 qualitative techniques

10. FRAMING (Setting the frame)

8/10

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Finding 1: "Militant critics"

Timestamp	02:00
Quote	<i>"Militant critics of the coronavirus measures in front of the Federal Palace."</i>
Manipulation	The adjective "militant" is applied to all demonstrators, although the violence came from a small part and the perpetrators had not been identified.
Why problematic	"Militant" is a politically charged term that criminalises the entire critics-of-measures movement. A neutral alternative would be: "Demonstrators against the coronavirus measures."

Finding 2: "Where will this still lead with these militant coronavirus critics?"

Timestamp	00:11
Quote	<i>"Where will this still lead with these militant coronavirus critics? That is what we need to talk about."</i>
Manipulation	The broadcast question is already normatively framed: not "How do we assess the criticism of measures?" but "Where will this still lead?" — implying a threatening development.
Why problematic	The framing of the question prejudices the outcome of the discussion. Viewers are introduced to a perception of threat before the discussion begins.

Finding 3: Certificate as "key" out of the pandemic

Timestamp	24:32
Quote	<i>"Now the certificate is supposed to be the key to that."</i>
Manipulation	The metaphor "key" frames the certificate as the only solution, without naming alternatives.
Why problematic	The key metaphor conceptually excludes alternative approaches to solutions. A neutral alternative would be: "Now the certificate is supposed to be an instrument for that."

Summary: The framing of the broadcast is consistent throughout: critics of measures are framed as a threat ("militant", "where will this lead"), while the certificate is presented as the only solution ("key"). This framing shapes the entire discussion and makes a balanced debate structurally difficult.



11. CHOICE OF WORDS AND TERMS

7/10

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Finding 1: "Militant"

Timestamp	00:11 and 02:00
Quote	<i>"militant coronavirus critics" / "Militant critics"</i>
Manipulation	"Militant" implies a willingness to use violence and political extremism.
Why problematic	The term is applied to the entire movement, although only a small part had used violence. Neutral alternative: "determined" or "radical" critics; or simply "demonstrators".

Finding 2: "Covid deniers"

Timestamp	06:01
Quote	<i>"an ingratiating approach to the critics, Covid deniers through to Covid measures critics"</i>
Manipulation	"Covid deniers" is a polemical term that equates critics of measures with denial of reality.
Why problematic	Most critics of measures do not deny Covid, but criticise the proportionality of the measures. The equation is factually incorrect and discrediting. Neutral alternative: "vaccine sceptics" or "critics of measures".

Finding 3: "Conspiracy theorists"

Timestamp	10:27
Quote	<i>"These are not simply cranks and conspiracy theorists, but upstanding Swiss citizens" (Züllig, quoting Maurer)</i>
Manipulation	The term "conspiracy theorists" is introduced as a negative foil against which Züllig/Maurer distance themselves — but implicitly suggests that part of the movement is indeed to be characterised in this way.
Why problematic	The term is used without definition and without evidence. Neutral alternative: "people with differing assessments of pandemic policy".

Summary: The choice of words in the broadcast is systematically asymmetric: critics of measures are labelled with polemical terms ("militant", "Covid deniers", "conspiracy theorists"), while supporters of measures are associated with positive terms ("solidarity", "responsibility", "dialogue"). This asymmetry is not coincidental and reinforces the overall bias.



12. MODERATION BEHAVIOUR

7/10

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Finding 1: Harder follow-up questions towards Benz than towards studio guests

Timestamp 19:00

Triggering event: Benz explains his participation in unauthorised demonstrations.

Quote (moderator) *"No, you are not abiding by the rule of law, Mr Benz, when you attend an unauthorised demonstration?"*

Comparison Wasserfallen claims at 13:31 "100% in hospital and 90% on ventilators" without citing a source — Brotz does not ask for the source.

Asymmetry: Benz is confronted with a normative statement ("you are not abiding by the rule of law"), while Wasserfallen's unsubstantiated statistics remain unchecked.

Finding 2: Announcement of "critical individual interview" only for critics of measures

Timestamp 16:57

Triggering event: Introduction of Andi Benz.

Quote (moderator) *"My goal is really to conduct a critical individual interview with you."*

Comparison No studio guest (Humbel, Wasserfallen, Züllig) is confronted with the announcement of a "critical individual interview".

Asymmetry: The explicit announcement of a critical interview signals to the audience that Benz requires special scepticism — a pre-emptive discrediting.

Finding 3: Interruption of Reimann, not of Wasserfallen

Timestamp 34:04

Triggering event: Reimann proposes investment in intensive care capacities.

Quote (moderator) *Brotz allows Wasserfallen to interrupt Reimann ("But Lukas, you also can't suddenly have an orthopaedic surgeon remove a brain tumour") without intervening.*

Comparison Reimann is interrupted by the moderator at 14:02 ("May I briefly ask"), while Wasserfallen is allowed to deliver longer monologues.

Asymmetry: Reimann is interrupted more frequently and his arguments are cut off by the moderator or other guests, while Wasserfallen and Humbel receive longer uninterrupted speaking passages.

Summary: The moderation behaviour shows a clear asymmetry: critics of measures (Benz, Reimann) are confronted with harder follow-up questions, normative judgements and more frequent interruptions, while supporters of measures (Wasserfallen, Humbel) receive longer uninterrupted speaking passages and unsubstantiated statements are not questioned.



13. QUESTION ASYMMETRY

7/10

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Asymmetry 1:

To Benz, 18

21: "Are you not actually interested in the rule of law?" — hard/normative

To Humbel, 25

57: "Ruth Humbel, how often have you already shown your certificate this week and where in particular?" — soft/inviting

Comparison

Benz is confronted with a normative question that calls his commitment to the rule of law into question. Humbel is invited with an everyday question to present the certificate positively.

Asymmetry 2:

To Reimann, 14

02: "May I briefly ask, Lukas Reimann, how did you make the very personal decision [...] when it comes to vaccination?" — personal/confrontational (implies he should reveal his vaccination status)

To Wasserfallen, no analogous personal follow-up questions about her vaccination decision or about contradictions in her position.

Comparison

Reimann is questioned about his personal vaccination decision (with implicit pressure to disclose), while Wasserfallen is not questioned about personal decisions or contradictions.

Asymmetry 3:

To Benz, 20

01: "You are a patriot, aren't you, Mr Benz?" — rhetorical/ironic

To Wasserfallen, no analogous rhetorical question about her political identity.

Comparison

The question to Benz is rhetorical and implies that his claim to patriotism is incompatible with his actions. No analogous critical framing for Wasserfallen.

Summary: The questions to critics of measures (Benz, Reimann) are systematically harder, more normative and more personal than the questions to supporters of measures (Humbel, Wasserfallen). This asymmetry is consistent and cannot be explained by different triggering events.



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

Finding 1: Apparent balance through audience guests

Timestamp	35:33 — Construct: Two audience guests (Raznadovic: certificate supporter; Göldi: certificate sceptic) are presented as balanced voices.
Analysis	Of four audience guests, three are certificate supporters (Raznadovic, Weiss, Derungs) and one is a sceptic (Göldi). The apparent balance (one voice per side) conceals the actual imbalance (3:1).

Finding 2: Apparent balance through Züllig

Timestamp	00:49 — Construct: Züllig is introduced as a business representative who says "to speak of compulsory vaccination is exaggerated" — apparently a critical voice.
Analysis	Züllig fundamentally accepts the certificate and ultimately endorses it as a means of opening. He is not a genuine counterweight, but a moderate pro-measures voice that is framed as balance.

Summary: The broadcast creates an apparent balance through the inclusion of audience guests and sector representatives who superficially appear as critical voices, but ultimately accept the measures. The actual distribution is 5:1 (pro-measures vs. explicitly critical of measures in the studio).



15. AGENDA-SETTING

8/10

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

Finding 1: Violence as starting point sets the agenda

Agenda element set: Criticism of measures is connected with violence and endangerment of democracy.

Timestamp

00:00 — Evidence: "Water cannons, people who went into the barriers [...] Where will this still lead with these militant coronavirus critics?"

Alternative agenda: The broadcast could also have begun with the question: "How can we overcome the social division?" or "Is the certificate proportionate?" — without the violence association as a starting point.

Finding 2: Vaccination as the only way out is treated as given

Agenda element set: Vaccination is the only way out of the pandemic — this is not discussed, but set as a premise.

Timestamp

41:44 — Evidence: "Vaccination leads us out of this pandemic." (Wasserfallen, unchallenged)

Alternative agenda: Other ways out (natural immunity, antiviral drugs, capacity expansion, endemic acceptance) are not discussed as equivalent options.

Finding 3: Dialogue as goal sets the agenda in favour of the majority position

Agenda element set: "Dialogue" means convincing the unvaccinated to get vaccinated — not reconsidering the measures.

Timestamp

09:22 — Evidence: "How can we soften this and how can we really enter into a dialogue here, where it affects the most vulnerable."

Alternative agenda: Dialogue could also mean: reviewing the measures for their proportionality and treating the unvaccinated not as a problem, but as dialogue partners.

Summary: The agenda of the broadcast is set in three ways: criticism of measures is dangerous, vaccination is without alternative, dialogue means convincing people to vaccinate. This agenda-setting structurally excludes alternative framings and favours the pro-measures position.



CHAPTER 4 — OVERALL EVALUATION

Results

- HARD FACTS SCORE (average criteria 1-9): 6.9 / 10
- SOFT FACTS SCORE (average criteria 10-15): 7.0 / 10

Dominant techniques

- 1. Guilt by Association / Timing (Score 8):** The opening sequence with images of violence and the direct connection to Ueli Maurer and SVP establishes an association chain that shapes the entire broadcast. This technique is particularly effective because it operates before the actual discussion and makes all subsequent arguments of the critics of measures appear in the light of violence and radicalism.
- 2. Framing / Agenda-Setting (Score 8):** The broadcast sets three premises as non-negotiable: criticism of measures is dangerous, vaccination is without alternative, dialogue means convincing people to vaccinate. This agenda-setting structurally excludes alternative framings and makes a genuine debate about the proportionality of the measures impossible.
- 3. Moderation behaviour / Question asymmetry (Score 7):** The consistent asymmetry in follow-up questions, interruptions and normative judgements towards critics of measures (Benz, Reimann) vs. supporters of measures (Humbel, Wasserfallen) is the structural backbone of the bias. This asymmetry cannot be explained by different triggering events and reinforces all other techniques.

Core messages of the broadcast

MESSAGE 1 (SUBSTANTIVE): "The Covid certificate is the only proportionate means of ending the pandemic and preserving freedoms."

Technique: Framing (key metaphor), agenda-setting (vaccination as without alternative), source selection (only certificate-endorsing sources) — evidence: 24:32, 44:22, 60:04

MESSAGE 2 (PERSONAL): "Those who reject the certificate bear co-responsibility for violence, children's suffering and hospital overload."

Technique: Guilt by association (violence→critics), selective outrage (attribution of blame to unvaccinated unmentioned), choice of words ("militant", "Covid deniers") — evidence: 00:00, 09:07, 13:31

MESSAGE 3 (SOCIAL): "The SVP and its supporters are endangering social cohesion and democracy."

Technique: Timing (opening with violence→Maurer→SVP), guilt by association (association chain), moderation behaviour (harder treatment of Reimann) — evidence: 02:21, 06:41, 08:08

Reasoning: With an overall score of 6.9/10, the broadcast is at the boundary between "clear one-sidedness" and "systematic imbalance". The imbalance is not attributable to individual errors, but to a consistent pattern: opening priming with images of violence, structurally unbalanced expert selection, asymmetric moderation behaviour, selective outrage and systematic framing. This combination violates Art. 4 RTVA in several dimensions simultaneously. Particularly serious is the association of a democratically legitimised political position (SVP criticism of measures) with violence and endangerment of democracy without sufficient evidence.

CONCLUSION

The Arena broadcast from autumn 2021 exhibits a systematic imbalance in favour of the pro-measures position, produced through a consistent interplay of framing, guilt by association, asymmetric moderation behaviour and selective source selection. The opening sequence with images of violence and the direct connection to SVP politicians represents a priming technique that prejudices all subsequent arguments of the critics of measures and structurally impedes a factual debate. The expert selection is one-sided: all studio guests fundamentally accept the certificate; no independent scientist with a critical perspective is invited. The moderation behaviour of Sandro Brotz shows a consistent asymmetry: critics of measures are confronted with normative judgements, harder follow-up questions and more frequent interruptions, while supporters of measures receive longer uninterrupted speaking passages and unsubstantiated statements are not questioned. These findings substantiate a violation of Art. 4 RTVA, which requires accurate representation, diversity of opinion and balanced selection of interlocutors.



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OVERALL EVALUATION OF THE 15 CRITERIA

Individual scores — All 15 criteria

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

HARD FACTS SCORE (1-8)

6.9/10

Serious deviation from the impartiality requirement. High degree of deviation

SOFT FACTS SCORE (9-14)

7.0/10

Serious deviation from the impartiality requirement. High degree of deviation

OVERALL SCORE

7.0/10

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	Minor irregularity 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	Substantial finding (threshold)	Scores from 6 onwards are identified as "substantial findings".
7	Substantial finding	Clear, well-substantiated imbalance with marked impact relevance.
8–9	Serious finding	Pronounced imbalance; multiple substantiated individual findings in this criterion.
10	Maximum severity	Systematic, pervasive imbalance in this criterion.

Aggregated deviation index — Interpretation ranges

0.0 – 2.5	Unremarkable	No material patterns discernible; broadcast meets 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 impact relevance.
8.1 – 10	Fundamental systemic one-sidedness. Very high degree of bias	Maximum severity across almost all criteria; systematically one-sided reporting.

Party-political bias (-5 to +5)

-5 to -3	Strongly disadvantaged	Party is clearly disadvantaged in representation, speaking time or framing.
-2 to -1	Slightly disadvantaged	Discernible, but weak disadvantage.
0	Neutral	No discernible favouring or disadvantaging.
+1 to +2	Slightly favoured	Discernible, but weak favouring.
+3 to +5	Strongly favoured	Party is clearly favoured in representation, speaking time or framing.



CHAPTER 5 — LEGAL CLASSIFICATION (Art. 4 RTVA)

Assessment under Art. 4 RTVA

Art. 4 RTVA requires: accurate representation of facts and events, diversity of opinion on controversial topics, balanced selection of interlocutors.

Violation 1:

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

Facts: Association of critics of measures with violent incidents without sufficient evidence.

Evidence: Timestamp 02:21 — Quote: "The same Ueli Maurer, who showed himself like this just a few days ago [...] At the SVP event he posed with a favourite of self-proclaimed Freiheitstrychler."

Assessment: The juxtaposition of images of violence and Maurer/SVP suggests a causal connection that was not substantiated at the time of broadcast. The police had not identified the perpetrators; the Freiheitstrychler had distanced themselves. The representation is not accurate within the meaning of Art. 4 para. 2 RTVA.

Violation 2:

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

Facts: Structurally one-sided expert selection on a politically controversial topic.

Evidence: Timestamp 00:16–01:35 — All five studio guests fundamentally accept the Covid certificate; no independent scientist with a critical perspective on the effectiveness or proportionality of the certificate is invited.

Assessment: The Covid certificate requirement was a politically and scientifically controversial topic at the time of broadcast (referendum on 28 November 2021). Art. 4 para. 4 RTVA requires the representation of the essential viewpoints on such topics. The broadcast structurally presents the criticism of measures as a minority position, although the referendum reflected a considerable social division.

Violation 3:

Norm: Art. 4 para. 4 RTVA (balanced selection of interlocutors)

Facts: Asymmetric moderation behaviour towards representatives of different positions.

Evidence: Timestamp 16:57 — Quote: "My goal is really to conduct a critical individual interview with you." (only towards Benz, not towards studio guests)

Assessment: The explicit announcement of a "critical individual interview" only towards the representative of the critics of measures, combined with normative judgements ("you are not abiding by the rule of law") and more frequent interruptions, violates the requirement of balanced treatment of interlocutors pursuant to Art. 4 para. 4 RTVA.

Violation 4:

Norm: Art. 4 para. 2 RTVA (accurate representation of facts)

Facts: Presentation of unsubstantiated statistics without citing a source.

Evidence: Timestamp 13:31 — Quote: "Unvaccinated, namely 100% in hospital and 90% on ventilators" — no source citation, no absolute figures, no critical follow-up question from the moderator.

Assessment: The presentation of statistics without source citation and without critical verification by the moderator violates the requirement of accurate representation. The figures cannot be independently verified and are presented as facts.

Overall assessment Art. 4 RTVA

The broadcast violates Art. 4 RTVA in four dimensions: accurate representation (unsubstantiated violence association, unsubstantiated statistics), diversity of opinion (structurally one-sided expert selection on a controversial topic), balanced selection of interlocutors (asymmetric moderation behaviour) and proportionality of representation (priming



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through images of violence). The violations are not attributable to individual errors, but to a consistent pattern that shapes the entire broadcast structure. Particularly serious is the violation of Art. 4 para. 4 RTVA, since the Covid certificate requirement was the subject of an upcoming referendum at the time of broadcast and therefore heightened requirements for balance applied. A complaint to the Independent Complaints Authority for Radio and Television (ICA) would be substantiable on the basis of these findings.



CHAPTER 6 — SOURCE IN-DEPTH CHECK

Organisation 1: Federal Office of Public Health (FOPH)

- FUNDING:** State (federal administration). Fully financed through the federal budget.
- MANDATE:** Implementation of pandemic measures — directly incompatible with neutral assessment of its own measures.
- CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Institutional interest in legitimising its own measures; maintenance of relevance through continuation of pandemic policy.
 - D1 Conflict of interest: -2 (direct involvement in measures)
 - D2 Personal risk: -1 (no personal disadvantages from pro-measures position)
 - D3 Professional competence: +2 (epidemiological expertise available)
 - D4 Consistency: +1 (consistent communication)
 - D5 Emotion vs. data: +1 (predominantly data-based)
 - D6 Source level: +1 (primary source for Swiss data)**TOTAL: +2 → SOURCE INDICATOR: YELLOW**
- COUNTERVOICE:** Independent epidemiological assessments (e.g. Swiss National COVID-19 Science Task Force, but also critical scientists) are not cited.

Organisation 2: Five Swiss university hospitals (letter to the Federal Council)

- FUNDING:** Publicly/cantonally financed. Partly also private (supplementary insurance).
- MANDATE:** Healthcare provision — compatible with the demand for capacity relief, but not with neutral assessment of the measures.
- CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Institutional interest in measures that reduce their capacity burden; no interest in presenting structural underfunding as a contributing cause.
 - D1 Conflict of interest: -1 (interest in capacity relief)
 - D2 Personal risk: +1 (hospitals actually bear the burden of the pandemic)
 - D3 Professional competence: +2 (medical expertise)
 - D4 Consistency: +1 (consistent demands)
 - D5 Emotion vs. data: +1 (predominantly factual)
 - D6 Source level: +1 (primary source for hospital situation)**TOTAL: +5 → SOURCE INDICATOR: GREEN**
- COUNTERVOICE:** Analysis of the structural causes of the capacity bottlenecks (bed reductions, staff shortages before the pandemic) is missing.

Organisation 3: Freiheitstrychler (Andi Benz)

- FUNDING:** Private/membership contributions. No state or church funding.
- MANDATE:** Criticism of measures, constitutional rights — compatible with critical assessment of pandemic measures.
- CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Interest in attention and community building; no financial conflict of interest discernible.
 - D1 Conflict of interest: 0 (no financial conflict of interest)
 - D2 Personal risk: +1 (professional and social risk through public appearance)
 - D3 Professional competence: -1 (not a subject expert; construction manager)
 - D4 Consistency: +1 (consistent criticism of measures)
 - D5 Emotion vs. data: 0 (mix)
 - D6 Source level: -1 (no primary sources)**TOTAL: 0 → SOURCE INDICATOR: YELLOW**
- COUNTERVOICE:** Is sufficiently challenged by the moderator and studio guests — albeit with normative judgements rather than factual counter-arguments.



IMPORTANT: The framing of the Freiheitstrychler as a radical or violence-prone group by the broadcast is not evidence of this characterisation. The actual statements by Benz in the interview are predominantly factual, arguing from a constitutional perspective and not extremist. The broadcast treats him as an extremist without substantiating this through his actual statements.

Source indicator for participants:

Source	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	Total	Indicator
Federal Office of Public Health (FOPH)	-2	-1	+2	+1	+1	+1	+2	YELLOW
Five Swiss university hospitals (letter to the Federal Council)	-1	+1	+2	+1	+1	+1	+5	GREEN
Freiheitstrychler (Andi Benz)	0	+1	-1	+1	0	-1	0	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 the ICA).
No proof of causality	Statistical correlations are not to be interpreted as proof of causal relationships or editorial intentions. Deviation values may 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 for comparative pattern recognition across thousands of broadcasts, not for precise metric measurement of individual contributions. Threshold values serve as heuristic orientation, not as sharp legal qualification.



APPENDIX 1: NATIONAL LEGISLATION

Legal basis 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, 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 represent facts and events accurately, so that the audience can form its own opinion. Opinions and commentary must be recognisable as such.
- Art. 4 para. 4 RTVA: In the totality of editorial broadcasts, the diversity of events and opinions must be expressed appropriately (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

- ICA (Independent Complaints Authority for Radio and Television): Reviews 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. ICA (if no agreement)
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. After that, 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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The interview is not a conversation. It is a stage — and someone else has written the script.

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

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

For politicians, activists, entrepreneurs, whistleblowers — for all those who are exposed and want to understand how the game works. So that they stop playing along — and start shaping it.

In A5. Direct. For preparation, for reference, for follow-up and in difficult situations



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

Because those who understand framing see the world more clearly. 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 the system bare — factually, precisely, without polemic. Procedures, personnel, powers, costs, statistics, legal recourse. And the constitutional law review that shows: the ICA 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.