



SVFAB DETAILED ANALYSIS

2021-11-19 «Abstimmungs-Arena» zum Covid-19-Gesetz

Broadcast: SRF Tagesschau broadcast | 2021-11-19 | Analysed on: 2026-05-19 15:47

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OVERALL SCORE

6.1/10

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	<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 left-favouring, 5 = balanced, 10 = strongly right-favouring). The calculation is based on the difference in average favouring of left vs. right parties (grouping according to CHES 2024).

TENDENCY (L – R)

3.2 / 10

Left-favouring

0 1 2 **3** 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

← Left

Right →

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

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



POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

Switzerland is a consensus democracy with a seven-member Federal Council composed according to the magic formula. At the time of the broadcast (November 2021): SVP 2 seats, SP 2 seats, FDP 2 seats, Centre 1 seat. There is no classic government/opposition divide — all major parties are represented in government. Bias therefore manifests in the over- or under-representation of individual parties and positions, not in a government-vs.-opposition schema.

Party	CHES L-R	Seats NC	Government/Opposition	Core position (Covid context)
SVP	8.0	62	Government (2 FC)	Against certificate, against concentration of power in the FC
SP	2.5	41	Government (2 FC)	Pro Covid Act, pro state measures
FDP	6.5	28	Government (2 FC)	Pro Covid Act, freedom + responsibility
Centre	5.0	29	Government (1 FC)	Pro Covid Act, parliamentary oversight
Greens	2.0	23	Opposition	Pro Covid measures
GLP	4.0	10	Opposition	Pro Covid Act, critical of FC implementation
EVP	5.5	2	Opposition	Not relevant in this broadcast

The broadcast falls within the fifth Covid wave (November 2021), shortly before the vote on the amendments to the Covid Act on 28 November 2021. The central line of conflict does not run along classic left-right lines, but between proponents of measures (SP, FDP, Centre, GLP, Greens, Federal Council) and critics of measures (SVP majority, non-partisan committees). A second line of tension concerns the question of democratic oversight: how much power should the Federal Council have during a pandemic? The SVP and the referendum committees view the law as an impermissible concentration of power in the Federal Council, while proponents argue that parliament has in fact constrained the Federal Council.

SRF (Swiss Radio and Television) is Switzerland's public broadcaster, funded through reception fees (Serafe levy) and state contributions. Under Art. 4 RTVA, SRF is obliged to provide accurate representation, diversity of opinion and a balanced selection of interlocutors. As Switzerland's largest media organisation, SRF bears a particular responsibility for democratic opinion formation, especially during referendum campaigns.



CHAPTER 1 — PARTY-POLITICAL BIAS

Party	Score (-5..+5)	Broadcast portrayal vs. party programme position
SVP	-2	15:42 "it is the SVP that is [divided]" — Party programme position: SVP against certificate, for personal responsibility — portrayal emphasises internal division rather than substantive position; 40:10 Bircher is confronted with the Austria comparison, her core arguments (false sense of security, wrong strategy) are repeatedly interrupted by the moderator and the opposing side — distorted through framing as implausible
SP	0	SP not directly represented; Berset as Federal Councillor represents the government position, not explicitly the SP programme — not assessable
FDP	+2	22:43 Wasserfallen correctly introduced as liberal-minded, his position (freedom + responsibility) correctly represented — party programme position: pro bilateral path, market access, pragmatic — correctly represented
Centre	+3	12:37 Wismar-Felder correctly portrayed as a parliamentarian, her position (parliament has constrained the FC) corresponds to the Centre programme (negotiated solution, parliamentary oversight) — correctly represented
Greens	0	Not represented in broadcast — not assessable
GLP	+2	30:54 Bäumle correctly introduced, his critical stance towards FC implementation while simultaneously supporting the law corresponds to the GLP programme (pragmatic, technology-open) — correctly represented
EVP	0	Not represented in broadcast — not assessable

Party bias summary

- Most accurate portrayal: Centre (Score +3) — Wismar-Felder's position was correctly and fully represented
- Strongest distortion: SVP (Score -2) — The SVP position is weakened by emphasis on internal division and repeated interruptions of Bircher
- Average deviation from 0: 1.2 (for assessable parties)
- Conclusion: The broadcast correctly represents the positions of the pro-parties (FDP, Centre, GLP). The SVP position is weakened through framing (division, Austria comparison, dictatorship accusation). The opposing committees are subjected to greater pressure through moderation behaviour and use of fact-checking than the pro side.



CHAPTER 2 — BROADCAST INFORMATION AND THEMATIC FRAMEWORK

Broadcast data

- Title: Abstimmungsarena — Covid Act
- Date: 19.11.2021
- Moderator: Sandro Brotz
- Fact-check: Thomas Häusler (Head of Science Radio SRF), Kathrin Zöfel, Daniel Theis

Actors	Function	Party/Affiliation	Political spectrum
Alain Berset	Federal Councillor, Minister of Health	SP	Left
Josef Ender	Spokesperson referendum committee / Action Alliance of Forest Cantons	Non-partisan / critical of measures	Right-libertarian
Priska Wismar-Felder	National Councillor	Centre	Centre
Martina Bircher	National Councillor	SVP	Right
Christian Wasserfallen	National Councillor	FDP	Centre-right
Martin Bäumle	National Councillor	GLP	Centre-left
Stefan Rietiker	President of the committee Gesund und Frei, former physician, medical technology entrepreneur	Non-partisan / critical of measures	Right-libertarian
Hernani Marquez	Founder of the committee Geimpfte gegen Covid-Zertifikat, IT expert	Non-partisan / critical of measures	Difficult to classify
Thomas Häusler	Head of Science Radio SRF	SRF-internal	Institutional

Main topic

Referendum debate on the amendments to the Covid-19 Act, in particular the Covid certificate, economic relief measures and the distribution of power between the Federal Council and parliament.



CHAPTER 3 — 15 CRITERIA: DETAILED ANALYSIS

Hard facts — 9 techniques that are quantifiable and scientifically robust

1. EXPERT SELECTION

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Expert 1: Thomas Häusler, Head of Science Radio SRF

Timestamp: 02:00 / 26:01 / 33:42 / 46:51 / 48:25

Statement: "Well, the current data show that in Switzerland approximately one third of people in hospital, in the clinic, are vaccinated [...] three times more unvaccinated people are in hospital than vaccinated."

Classification: SRF-internal employee, not an external independent scientist. Presented as a neutral fact-checker.

Missing countervoice: Independent epidemiologist from a Swiss university (e.g. ETH, University of Basel) with access to primary data.

Source in-depth check:

(a) FUNDING: SRF, public broadcaster, partly state-funded. Conflict of interest: SRF has an institutional interest in legitimising state measures, as SRF itself is state-regulated and funded. Furthermore, SRF as an institution is part of the media system that has predominantly supported the measures.

(b) MANDATE: Häusler's mandate as SRF science editor is not compatible with a fully neutral assessment in a politically charged referendum broadcast of his own broadcaster. He is not an external expert assessor.

D1 Conflict of interest: -1 — SRF-internal, institutional conflict of interest

D2 Personal risk: -1 — No personal risk from his statements; career at SRF dependent on institutional line

D3 Professional competence: +1 — Science journalist, but not an epidemiologist or physician; comments on medical studies without own research experience

D4 Consistency of opinion: 0 — No comparative data available

D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: +1 — Largely data-based, but without primary source citations

D6 Source level: -1 — Secondary; cites studies without source references ("depending on the studies")

TOTAL: -1 → SOURCE INDICATOR: YELLOW

(c) PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE: Häusler is framed as a neutral "fact-check" authority, even though he is SRF-internal and corrects exclusively statements from the opposing side. This is a structurally partisan framing.

Expert 2: No external independent expert present

The broadcast dispenses entirely with external, independent scientific expertise. All "experts" are either political actors or SRF-internal.

Missing expert groups:

- Independent epidemiologist (ETH Zurich, Swiss TPH)
- Constitutional law expert (University of Bern, Zurich)
- Independent data protection expert (FDPIC or university)



Source indicator for participants:

Source	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	Total	Indicator
Thomas Häusler, Head of Science Radio SRF	-1	-1	+1	0	+1	-1	-1	YELLOW

Summary:

- Häusler: YELLOW (-1) — SRF-internal, structural conflict of interest, no primary sources
- No external experts present — serious deficiency for a referendum broadcast



2. SOURCE SELECTION

6/10

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Claims without primary source = penalty points (rumour check)

Source 1: SRG opinion poll GFS

Timestamp

28:56 — Statement: "In the most recent SRG opinion poll by the research institute GFS, there is a stable majority in favour of this law. 61% of respondents are in favour."

- (a) **Funding:** SRG-funded. GFS is a private research institute, but the poll was commissioned by SRG.
- (b) **Structural conflict of interest:** SRG as the commissioning party has an institutional interest in the poll's results. The poll is used by the moderator as an argument against the opposing side ("These people have more trust in the state than you do").
- (c) **Missing counter-source:** No alternative polls (e.g. Tamedia poll) are mentioned.

Source 2: Gastro-Swiss survey

Timestamp

29:26 / 30:36 — Statement: "81% of their members have suffered revenue losses due to the certificate" vs. "we arrive at a maximum of 10 to 15% in clarification also with the official bodies in Bern"

- (a) **Funding:** Gastro-Swiss is an industry association, funded through membership fees.
- (b) **Structural conflict of interest:** Gastro-Swiss has an interest in state aid; the survey methodology is described by Bäumle as "statistically not significant" without this being verified.
- (c) **Missing counter-source:** No independent economic study on the effects of the certificate on the hospitality sector.

Source 3: Statement by the Basel cantonal physician (cited indirectly)

Timestamp

08:19 — Statement: "The use of the booster can, and this must be stated clearly, not sufficiently slow down the current rapid rise in case numbers."

- (a) **Funding:** State (Canton of Basel).
- (b) **Structural conflict of interest:** The cantonal physician is a state actor; the statement is used by the moderator against Berset, which is unusual.
- (c) **Missing counter-source:** No contextualisation as to whether this statement is representative of cantonal physicians.

Rumour check:

Rumour 1:

Timestamp: 50:30 — Claim: "We had an article on now.ca from Austria, where it was shown that someone deliberately infected themselves in order to obtain a recovery certificate. And they then died."

Word marker: "where it was shown" (unspecific)

Primary source available: No — penalty point. The source "now.ca" is not verified, no fact-check by Häusler.

Summary: The source selection is one-sided: the SRG's own poll is used as an argument against the opposing side, external independent sources are absent. One rumour (Austrian death case) remains unverified.



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3. TIME DISTRIBUTION

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Estimated speaking time (from transcript):

- Alain Berset (proponent/FC): (21%)
- Priska Wismar-Felder (proponent/Centre): (9%)
- Christian Wasserfallen (proponent/FDP): (8%)
- Martin Bäumlé (proponent/GLP): (10%)
- Josef Ender (opponent): (11%)
- Martina Bircher (opponent/SVP): (9%)
- Stefan Rietiker (opponent): (9%)
- Hernani Marquez (opponent): (7%)
- Thomas Häusler (SRF-internal): (8%)
- Moderator Brotz: (7%)

Pro side total (incl. Berset): (48%)

Opposing side total: (37%)

SRF-internal/moderator: (15%)

Summary: The pro side has structurally more speaking time, in particular through the extensive opening interview with Berset (). Häusler's fact-check interventions (8%) benefit exclusively the pro side, which amplifies the effective asymmetry.



4. OMISSION (Selective Omission)

7/10

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Omission 1:

Context

The objections of the 376 legal scholars are mentioned, but never explored in depth or contextualised by a constitutional law expert.

Relevant at: Timestamp 17:25

Effect

The constitutional law concerns appear as mere assertions by the opposing side, without their substance being examined. Häusler does not conduct a fact-check on this.

Omission 2:

Context

The question of whether the law actually constrains or empowers the Federal Council is discussed controversially, but never clarified by an independent legal expert.

Relevant at: Timestamp 19:21 / 23:15

Effect

The moderator adopts the terminology of the pro side ("adjustments"), without treating the opposing side's term ("tightenings") equivalently. The legal question remains unresolved.

Omission 3:

Context

The question of free tests and indirect vaccine coercion is raised by Bircher (78:45), but not explored in depth.

Relevant at: Timestamp 78:45

Effect

A central argument of the opposing side (abolition of free tests = indirect vaccine coercion) is not explored through fact-checking or follow-up questions, even though it is relevant to many voters.

Summary: Central arguments of the opposing side (constitutional law, indirect vaccine coercion, legal question of concentration of power) are mentioned but not explored in depth or contextualised by independent experts. The fact-check applies exclusively to statements from the opposing side.

Missing voices

- Constitutional law expert: Could have independently assessed the question of concentration of power in the Federal Council and the objections of the 376 legal scholars
- Independent epidemiologist (not SRF-internal): Could have confirmed or refuted the effectiveness of the certificate and the measures using primary sources
- SME representative from the hospitality sector: Could have clarified the contradictory figures on revenue losses (81% vs. 10-15%) first-hand
- Data protection commissioner: Could have provided expert input on the contact tracing debate
- Intensive care physician: Could have described the hospital situation from direct experience (Rietiker is no longer a practising physician)
- Social scientist: Could have empirically contextualised the social polarisation dynamic



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- Representative of the unvaccinated without a political agenda: Could have brought in the perspective of those who are unvaccinated for medical or personal reasons
- Economist: Could have quantified the economic consequences of the law vs. rejection



5. NUMERICAL MANIPULATION

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

Finding 1:

Timestamp 37:01

Figure: "6,169 newly reported positive coronavirus cases. 46 percent more than in the previous week."

Dimensions: (a) Absolute value ✓, (b) Proportion partial (% vs. previous week), (c) Trend ✓

Missing context

No indication of the testing rate (how many tests were conducted?). Rising case numbers may also be attributable to more testing. No indication of the positivity rate.

Effect

The figures are presented without testing rate context, which heightens the sense of urgency and suggests the necessity of state measures.

Finding 2:

Timestamp 26:04

Figure: "three times more unvaccinated people are in hospital than vaccinated"

Dimensions: (a) Absolute value X (not stated), (b) Proportion ✓ (relative), (c) Trend X (not stated)

Missing context

No indication of the absolute number. No indication of the development over time. No indication of the vaccination rate by age group (older people are more heavily vaccinated and have a higher hospitalisation risk — confounding variable).

Effect

The figure suggests clear causality (vaccination protects against hospitalisation) without naming confounding variables.

Finding 3:

Timestamp 29:26 / 30:36

Figure: "81% have suffered revenue losses" vs. "at most 10 to 15%"

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

Missing context

No clarification of the methodology of either figure. No independent verification. Häusler does not conduct a fact-check.

Effect

Contradictory figures remain unresolved; the moderator allows the discrepancy to stand without resolving it.

Summary: Figures are presented without the complete triad (absolute value, proportion, trend). In particular, the hospitalisation figures lack confounding context. Contradictory economic figures are not resolved.



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

Association 1:	
Timestamp	12:28
Quote	<i>"Mr Ender, in a dictatorship, which your side does like to talk about, you certainly would not have been able to launch a referendum"</i>
Technique: The moderator associates Ender and the entire opposing side with the term "dictatorship", even though Ender himself has not used this term in the broadcast. The association is posed as an opening question.	
Effect	The opposing side is associated with extreme terms from the outset, which undermines their credibility.

Association 2:	
Timestamp	56:55
Quote	<i>"There are then gloomy videos like this one here, in which former police officers and supposedly active police officers are rising up against the state."</i>
Technique: Ender is confronted with a video he did not produce and from which he has not explicitly distanced himself. The association "vigilante group" is introduced by the moderator.	
Effect	Ender is associated with anti-state activities without a direct connection being established.

Association 3:	
Timestamp	83:59
Quote	<i>"These vaccine sceptics, I'm slowly getting fed up with them, right? [...] Just look at the tinfoil hats."</i>
Technique: Bäümle associates the opposing side with "tinfoil hats" and "vaccine sceptics". The moderator does not intervene.	
Effect	The opposing side is blanket-equated with conspiracy theorists. The moderator, who issued Rietiker a warning (47:56), does not intervene here — a clear asymmetry.

For Rietiker (described as "unqualified"):

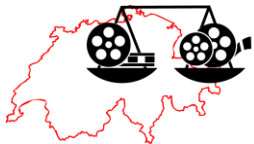
SOURCE CHECK:

- Works with verifiable primary sources? YES (monoclonal antibodies, studies on hospitalisations)
- Are core statements falsifiable? YES (empirical claims about hospitalisation rates)

RISK MATRIX:

- Lost: Professional reputation as physician/entrepreneur, public hostility
- Gained: Attention, political visibility
- Net: Risk \approx Gain — neutral

TONALITY: Analytically factual with emotional interjections (intensive care unit example)



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RESULT CATEGORY: B — Borderline case (partly substantiated, partly speculative; Sweden comparison oversimplified)

Summary: The opposing side is discredited through association with "dictatorship" rhetoric, anti-state videos and "tin foil hats". Rietiker is described as "unqualified", even though he holds a doctorate in biochemistry (Category B). The moderator does not intervene symmetrically when the opposing side is attacked.



7. TIMING

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Finding 1:

Position: 00:00 — 12:21 (beginning)

Content: Extensive opening interview with Federal Councillor Berset before the opposing side is given the floor.

Timing effect

The opening interview sets the frame of the debate. Berset can develop his position undisturbed. The opposing side must then respond to an already established narrative. This is structurally advantageous for the pro side.

Finding 2:

Position: 12:28 (immediately after Berset interview)

Content: Moderator opens with Ender: "Mr Ender, in a dictatorship, which your side does like to talk about..."

Timing effect

The first question to the opposing side is a confrontational question with negative connotation. In contrast, Berset was opened with an open question ("What did you do wrong?") that gave him room for self-presentation.

Finding 3:

Position: 54:54 — 64:22 (middle)

Content: The one-on-one interview with Ender in the "Prüfstand" — a special segment used exclusively for the opposing side.

Timing effect

The "Prüfstand" is an asymmetric segment: Ender is confronted alone, while Berset in the opening interview was also alone, but with less confrontational questions. The placement in the middle of the broadcast gives the Prüfstand maximum attention.

Summary: The timing structurally favours the pro side: Berset opens with 18 minutes of undisturbed speaking time, the opposing side is opened with confrontational questions and subjected to pressure in the "Prüfstand".



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:

Timestamp 47:56

Triggering event: Rietiker describes Häusler as "unqualified" ("He is not a doctor. He doesn't know what he's talking about.")

Reaction: "I would ask you to really not say this here any more. I hereby issue you with a formal warning for having described him as unqualified."

Comparison

Bäumle at 83:59 describes the opposing side as "tin foil hats" — moderator's reaction: no warning, no intervention.

Asymmetry: Demonstrable. Rietiker receives a formal warning for a factual (if impolite) question about qualifications. Bäumle receives no reaction for a blanket discrediting label ("tin foil hats"). The triggering event for Rietiker (question about qualifications) is less serious than the triggering event for Bäumle (blanket defamation), but the reaction is inversely proportional.

Finding 2:

Timestamp 51:50

Triggering event: Marquez uses the word "bullshit" ("That's just bullshit. Sorry.")

Reaction: "Right, I also forbid myself such expressions here. It is dangerous. But that really isn't necessary, Mr Mockes. It is dangerous. We can maintain a certain etiquette here."

Comparison

Bäumle at 83:59: "These vaccine sceptics, I'm slowly getting fed up with them, right? [...] Just look at the tin foil hats." — Reaction: none.

Asymmetry: Demonstrable. Marquez is reprimanded for colloquial language. Bäumle uses derogatory labels ("tin foil hats") without any reaction from the moderator.

Degree of outrage: 3/5

Selectivity: 3/5

Summary: The moderator intervenes when the opposing side commits violations (warning, reprimand), but not when the pro side commits comparable or more serious violations ("tin foil hats"). The asymmetry is demonstrable through direct comparison events.



9. COMPLETENESS (Selective Omission — Overall picture)

6/10

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Finding 1:

Timestamp 17:25

Missing perspective/fact: The objections of the 376 legal scholars are mentioned, but never contextualised by an independent constitutional law expert.

Relevance: The constitutional law dimension is central to the referendum question. Whether the law actually violates fundamental rights is a legal question, not a political opinion.

Impact: Without legal contextualisation, the objections appear as mere political assertions by the opposing side, not as a substantive legal question.

Finding 2:

Timestamp 78:45

Missing perspective/fact: The abolition of free tests and its impact on indirect vaccine coercion is raised by Bircher, but not explored in depth.

Relevance: The abolition of free tests is a central element of the law that effectively restricts the freedom of choice between vaccination and testing.

Impact: A key argument of the opposing side remains without fact-checking and without further exploration.

Finding 3:

Timestamp entire broadcast

Missing perspective/fact: No discussion of exit criteria: under what conditions would the measures be lifted? What is the long-term strategy?

Relevance: For voters, the question of whether the law is time-limited and what criteria apply for its repeal is central.

Impact: The broadcast discusses exclusively the current situation, not the long-term perspective. This favours the pro side, which points to the current state of emergency.

Summary: The broadcast is thematically focused on the current crisis situation and neglects structural questions (constitutional law, exit strategy, indirect vaccine coercion). This favours the pro side, which points to the immediate state of emergency.

The vote takes place during the fifth Covid wave, with sharply rising case numbers (6,169 new cases on the broadcast day, +46% compared to the previous week). Austria has shortly before announced a lockdown and a vaccine mandate. The public debate is polarised between those who regard state measures as necessary and those who fear restrictions on fundamental rights and concentration of power in the Federal Council. The Covid certificate is the central point of contention: proponents see it as an instrument for avoiding closures, opponents as an instrument of discrimination and indirect vaccine coercion.

Proportion of perspectives covered

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



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[A] Epidemiological effectiveness of the certificate: Does the certificate actually demonstrate a reduction in infections?

[B] Constitutional law concerns: Are the objections of the 376 legal scholars substantive?

[C] Economic consequences for SMEs and the hospitality sector: Does the sector benefit net from the certificate?

[D] International comparisons: Which countries have implemented similar measures with what outcome?

[E] Vaccine protection effectiveness against transmission: Current state of data on vaccinated persons as transmitters

[F] Alternative therapies and medications: Monoclonal antibodies, new antiviral medications

[G] Data protection and digital contact tracing: Technical reality vs. legal requirements

[H] Democratic legitimacy: Has parliament actually constrained or empowered the Federal Council?

[I] Social consequences of the certificate: Polarisation effects, mental health, social cohesion

[J] Long-term pandemic strategy: Endemic vs. containment, exit strategy

[A] INDICATED

Timestamp: 25:46 — Quote: "Vaccinated people spread the virus" / Häusler correction — Assessment: Only superficially addressed, no study concretely cited, Häusler remains vague ("40 to 80 percent, depending on the studies").

[B] INDICATED

Timestamp: 17:25 — Quote: "376 legal scholars... these legislative changes are dangerous" — Assessment: Mentioned, but not explored in depth; no legal scholar is given the floor, no fact-check on this.

[C] INDICATED

Timestamp: 29:26 / 30:36 — Quote: "81% have suffered revenue losses according to the hospitality sector" / "we arrive at a maximum of 10 to 15%" — Assessment: Contradictory figures, no independent economic expert.

[D] ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 35:02 / 40:53 — Quote: Sweden comparison, Austria comparison — Assessment: Addressed, but selectively; Häusler only partially confirms the Sweden comparison.

[E] ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 26:01 — Quote: Häusler fact-check on vaccinated persons in hospitals — Assessment: Addressed, but with methodological gaps (no primary source cited).

[F] ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 44:16 / 46:51 — Quote: Rietiker on monoclonal antibodies, Häusler fact-check — Assessment: Addressed, but Häusler relativises without citing specific studies.

[G] ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 60:25 / 65:50 — Quote: Certificate data, contact tracing — Assessment: Addressed in detail, but technically imprecise; no independent data protection expert.

[H] ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 19:21 / 23:15 — Quote: "precisely on this point the amendment to the law is indeed a tightening in the sense that the Federal Council has less power" — Assessment: Addressed, but moderator adopts the framing of the pro side ("adjustments" instead of "tightenings").

[I] INDICATED



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Timestamp: 36:39 — Quote: "division of society through the certificate" — Assessment: Only mentioned as an introduction, not explored in depth; no social scientists or psychologists.

[J] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: No discussion of long-term exit strategy, endemic concept or criteria for lifting the measures.

Completeness score: 6/10

Rationale: Most perspectives are at least indicated, but rarely explored in depth. The fact-check is one-sidedly directed at statements from the opposing side. Independent experts (constitutional law experts, economists, data protection experts) are entirely absent. The long-term pandemic strategy is not discussed.



Soft facts — 6 qualitative techniques

10. FRAMING (Setting the frame)

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Finding 1:

Timestamp

20:27

Quote

"You can already sense the tone. This side speaks of tightenings, this side speaks of changes, we speak of adjustments."

Manipulation

The moderator sets "adjustments" as the neutral designation, even though this is the terminology of the pro side. This establishes the framing of the pro side as officially neutral.

Why problematic

In a referendum broadcast, the terminology itself is the subject of political contestation. The moderator must not favour one side by adopting its terminology. "Adjustments" is no more neutral than "tightenings" — it is a political value judgement.

Finding 2:

Timestamp

00:10

Quote

"Does the law protect people and businesses, or is it radical and unnecessary?"

Manipulation

The opening question presents the pro position ("protects") as positive and the opposing position ("radical and unnecessary") as negative. "Radical" is a value-laden, negatively connoted term.

Why problematic

A neutral opening question could have been: "Does the law protect people and businesses, or does it disproportionately restrict fundamental rights?" — factual rather than value-laden.

Finding 3:

Timestamp

55:17

Quote

"Mr Ender, like all of us you have needs for freedom, but at the same time solidarity is also required in a crisis. But you place your own needs for freedom above everything. That is called egoism."

Manipulation

The moderator frames the position of the opposing side as "egoism" — a moral condemnation, not a factual question.

Why problematic

In a referendum broadcast, it is not the moderator's task to morally condemn the position of one side. The pro side is not confronted with comparable moral judgements (e.g. "Is it not egoistic to discriminate against the unvaccinated?").



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Summary: The framing of the broadcast favours the pro side through adoption of its terminology ("adjustments"), negative connotation of the opposing position ("radical") and moral condemnation of the opposing side ("egoism").



11. WORD CHOICE AND TERMINOLOGY

7/10

1

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Finding 1:

Timestamp

00:10

Quote

"or is it radical and unnecessary?"

Manipulation

"Radical" is a politically negatively connoted term that in Swiss politics is associated with extremism.

Why problematic

A neutral alternative would be: "or is it disproportionate and not necessary?" — factual rather than value-laden.

Finding 2:

Timestamp

55:21

Quote

"That is called egoism."

Manipulation

"Egoism" is a moral condemnation, not a factual description of a political position.

Why problematic

A neutral alternative would be: "Do you prioritise individual freedom over collective protection?" — question rather than judgement.

Finding 3:

Timestamp

20:27

Quote

"we speak of adjustments"

Manipulation

The moderator adopts the terminology of the pro side as the official designation.

Why problematic

A neutral alternative would be: "The law provides for changes that are described by proponents as a restriction on the Federal Council and by opponents as a tightening of the measures."

Summary: The moderator's word choice is systematically in favour of the pro side: "adjustments" instead of "tightenings", "radical" for the opposing position, "egoism" as a moral judgement against the opposing side.



12. MODERATION BEHAVIOUR

7/10

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Finding 1:

Timestamp 47:56

Triggering event: Rietiker describes Häusler as "unqualified" ("He is not a doctor.")

Quote (moderator) *"I would ask you to really not say this here any more. I hereby issue you with a formal warning."*

Comparison Bäumle at 83:59 describes the opposing side as "tin foil hats" — reaction: no intervention.

Asymmetry: Demonstrable. Rietiker receives a formal warning for a question about qualifications. Bäumle receives no reaction for a blanket defamation. The triggering event for Bäumle is more serious (blanket defamation of a group), yet the moderator's reaction is inversely proportional.

Finding 2:

Timestamp 55:17

Triggering event: Ender defends his position on freedom.

Quote (moderator) *"Mr Ender, like all of us you have needs for freedom, but at the same time solidarity is also required in a crisis. But you place your own needs for freedom above everything. That is called egoism."*

Comparison Berset is not confronted at any point with a comparable moral condemnation (e.g. "Is it not egoistic to discriminate against the unvaccinated?").

Asymmetry: Demonstrable. The moderator passes moral judgement on the opposing side, not on the pro side.

Finding 3:

Timestamp 06:35

Triggering event: Berset evades the question of whether he broke his promise.

Quote (moderator) *"No, no, no, no. Yes."*

Comparison Evasive manoeuvres by Ender and Bircher are also confronted, but with considerably more insistence and repetition.

Asymmetry: Partially demonstrable. The moderator confronts Berset with the promise, but allows his detailed explanation. Evasive manoeuvres by Ender and Bircher are interrupted more sharply.

Summary: The moderation behaviour shows a clear asymmetry: formal warning for the opposing side, no intervention for comparable violations by the pro side. Moral judgements apply exclusively to the opposing side.



13. QUESTION ASYMMETRY							7/10		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Asymmetry 1:	
To Berset, 03	14: "Do you read the NZZ?" / "What did you, Mr Berset, do wrong in the referendum campaign?" — soft/rhetorical (gives Berset room for self-presentation)
To Ender, 12	28: "Mr Ender, in a dictatorship, which your side does like to talk about, you certainly would not have been able to launch a referendum" — hard/confrontational (associates Ender with extremism)
Comparison	The opening question to Berset is an open question that gives him room for self-presentation. The opening question to Ender is a confrontational question with negative connotation. Asymmetry clearly demonstrable.

Asymmetry 2:	
To Ender, 55	17: "That is called egoism." — moral judgement
To Wasserfallen, 22	43: "What is suddenly causing you to abandon your liberal thinking? You have buried the concept of freedom." — critical, but without moral judgement
Comparison	Wasserfallen is questioned critically, but not morally condemned. Ender is morally condemned ("egoism"). Asymmetry demonstrable.

Asymmetry 3:	
To Bircher, 15	42: "Martina Bircher, the SVP of the canton of Aargau [...] voted Yes to this Covid Act by 48 to 47 votes, it is not society that is divided, it is the SVP." — confrontational, focused on internal division
To Wismar-Felder, 12	32: "Priska Wismar-Felder, you are at home in the countryside, so to speak." — soft, no confrontation with internal contradictions of the Centre
Comparison	Bircher is confronted with internal SVP division. Wismar-Felder is not confronted with internal contradictions of the Centre. Asymmetry demonstrable.

Summary: The questions to the opposing side are systematically more confrontational, more morally value-laden and focused on internal contradictions. The pro side receives more open questions with greater room for self-presentation.



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

Finding 1:

Timestamp 02:53

Construct: "Blue for the pro side, red for the opposing side" — speaking time measurement is presented as proof of balance.

Analysis

The speaking time measurement suggests formal balance, but conceals the qualitative asymmetry: Häusler's fact-check interventions () benefit exclusively the pro side and are not included in the speaking time measurement. Berset as Federal Councillor carries institutional weight that goes beyond his speaking time.

Summary: The speaking time measurement creates a formal false balance that conceals the qualitative asymmetry (fact-check, institutional weight of Berset, moderation behaviour). The score is moderate, as the broadcast does in fact give both sides the floor.



15. AGENDA-SETTING

6/10

1

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Finding 1:

Agenda element set: The Covid certificate is the central instrument for avoiding closures — this premise is treated as given.

Timestamp

10:49 — Evidence: "But clearly, with the certificate we can have a path where we have the best arguments and the best elements to be able to rule out closures. Without the certificate, that would be much more complicated."

Alternative agenda: The question of whether the certificate actually prevents closures (empirically substantiated?) is not treated as an open question, but set as a premise.

Finding 2:

Agenda element set: The rising case numbers are the central problem requiring state action.

Timestamp

37:01 — Evidence: Graphical presentation of case numbers without testing rate context.

Alternative agenda: The question of whether rising case numbers at a high vaccination rate still carry the same significance as at the beginning of the pandemic (hospitalisations vs. cases) is not set as an agenda element.

Summary: The broadcast sets the premises of the pro side (certificate prevents closures, rising case numbers require state action) as given and discusses only within this framework.



CHAPTER 4 — OVERALL EVALUATION

Results

- HARD FACTS SCORE (average criteria 1-9): 5.9 / 10
- SOFT FACTS SCORE (average criteria 10-15): 6.2 / 10

Dominant techniques

- 1. Moderation behaviour (Score 7):** The moderator issues the opposing side a formal warning and moral judgements ("egoism"), while comparable or more serious violations by the pro side ("tin foil hats") go without reaction. This asymmetry is demonstrable through direct comparison events and represents the most serious individual technique.
- 2. Framing and word choice (Score 7 each):** The adoption of pro-side terminology ("adjustments"), the negative connotation of the opposing position ("radical") and the moral condemnation ("egoism") set a systematic framework that discredits the opposing side from the outset. These techniques operate cumulatively and are difficult to refute, as they appear as "neutral" moderation.
- 3. Expert selection (Score 7):** The only "fact-check" expert is SRF-internal (Thomas Häusler) and corrects exclusively statements from the opposing side. External independent experts (constitutional law experts, epidemiologists, data protection experts) are entirely absent. This lends the institutional bias a scientific legitimacy.

Core messages of the broadcast

MESSAGE 1 (SUBSTANTIVE): "The Covid Act is necessary and reasonable; those who oppose it are endangering people and businesses."

Technique: Framing, agenda-setting, fact-check exclusively against opposing side — Evidence: 00:10, 26:01, 37:01

MESSAGE 2 (PERSONAL): "The opponents of the Covid Act are either extremist, egoistic or unqualified."

Technique: Guilt by association, word choice, moderation behaviour — Evidence: 12:28, 47:56, 55:17, 83:59

MESSAGE 3 (SOCIETAL): "Switzerland is a model example of democracy; those who reject the law are endangering this model."

Technique: Framing, timing (Berset opening), agenda-setting — Evidence: 17:56, 53:59, 60:10

Classification of degree of manipulation

Rationale: The overall score of 6.0/10 corresponds to a clear one-sidedness. The broadcast violates Art. 4 RTVA in several dimensions: the only fact-check expert is SRF-internal and corrects exclusively the opposing side; the moderator uses moral judgements ("egoism") and formal warnings asymmetrically; the terminology of the pro side is set as neutral. The one-sidedness cannot be attributed to individual errors, but shows a consistent pattern throughout the entire broadcast. For a referendum broadcast that explicitly serves democratic opinion formation, this pattern is particularly serious.

CONCLUSION

The Abstimmungsarena of November 2021 on the Covid Act exhibits a clear, consistent one-sidedness in favour of the pro side, substantiated by several independent indicators. Moderator Sandro Brotz uses moral judgements ("egoism"), formal warnings and confrontational opening questions exclusively towards the opposing side, while comparable or more serious violations by the pro side ("tin foil hats") go without reaction. The fact-check expert deployed, Thomas Häusler, is SRF-internal, has a structural conflict of interest and corrects throughout the entire broadcast exclusively statements from the opposing side — without a single fact-check correcting a statement from the pro side. This combination of asymmetric moderation behaviour, one-sided fact-checking and systematic adoption of pro-side terminology ("adjustments" instead of "tightenings") violates Art. 4 RTVA, which requires accurate representation, diversity of opinion and a balanced selection of interlocutors. The broadcast is formally balanced (both sides are given the floor, speaking times are measured), but qualitatively one-sided — a pattern that is harder to identify and refute than overt partisanship.



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

HARD FACTS SCORE (1-8)

5.9/10

Considerable imbalance

SOFT FACTS SCORE (9-14)

6.2/10

Serious deviation from the impartiality requirement. High degree of deviation

OVERALL SCORE

6.1/10

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 anomaly identified.
1–2	Weak finding	Minor anomaly without material impairment of balance.
3–4	Slight to moderate finding	Discernible tendency; relevance of impact low to moderate.
5	Moderate finding with relevance of impact	Relevant imbalance that influences the opinion-forming potential of the audience.
6	Considerable finding (threshold)	Scores from 6 onwards are reported as "considerable findings".
7	Considerable finding	Clear, well-substantiated imbalance with marked relevance of impact.
8–9	Serious finding	Pronounced imbalance; several substantiable individual findings within this criterion.
10	Maximum manifestation	Systematic, pervasive imbalance within 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	Considerable imbalance	Several considerable findings; relevant impairment of diversity of perspectives.
6.1 – 8.0	Serious deviation from the impartiality requirement. High degree of deviation	Pronounced, broadcast-wide patterns; high relevance of impact.
8.1 – 10	Fundamental systemic one-sidedness. Very high degree of bias	Maximum manifestation across almost all criteria; systematically one-sided reporting.

Party-political bias (-5 to +5)

-5 to -3	Strongly disadvantaged	Party is clearly disadvantaged in portrayal, 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 portrayal, 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 contested topics, balanced selection of interlocutors.

Violation 1:

Norm: Art. 4 para. 2 RTVA (diversity of opinion on contested topics)

Facts: The only fact-check expert (Thomas Häusler) is SRF-internal and corrects exclusively statements from the opposing side. Not a single fact-check corrects a statement from the pro side.

Evidence: Timestamp 26:01 — Quote: "Well, the current data show that in Switzerland approximately one third of people in hospital, in the clinic, are vaccinated [...] three times more unvaccinated people are in hospital than vaccinated." — Correction of a statement by Rietiker (opposing side). No analogous fact-check for Berset, Wasserfallen, Wismar-Felder or Bäumele.

Assessment: The one-sided application of the fact-check violates the requirement of diversity of opinion, as scientific authority is deployed exclusively to support one side. This is particularly serious, as the fact-check is presented as neutral.

Violation 2:

Norm: Art. 4 para. 2 RTVA (accurate representation) in conjunction with Art. 4 para. 4 RTVA (protection of free opinion formation)

Facts: The moderator uses moral judgements ("That is called egoism") exclusively towards the opposing side and issues a formal warning for a question about qualifications (Rietiker), while a blanket defamation of the opposing side ("tin foil hats") goes without reaction.

Evidence: Timestamp 55:17 — Quote: "That is called egoism." (to Ender); Timestamp 83:59 — Quote: "Just look at the tin foil hats." (Bäumele, no moderation reaction).

Assessment: The asymmetric moderation behaviour violates the requirement of accurate representation, as it systematically discredits the opposing side and impairs the free opinion formation of viewers.

Violation 3:

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

Facts: The terminology of the pro side ("adjustments") is set by the moderator as the official neutral designation, while the terminology of the opposing side ("tightenings") is presented as partisan.

Evidence: Timestamp 20:27 — Quote: "You can already sense the tone. This side speaks of tightenings, this side speaks of changes, we speak of adjustments."

Assessment: The adoption of pro-side terminology as "neutral" moderation language violates the requirement of balanced representation, as it presents a political value judgement as an objective fact.

Overall assessment Art. 4 RTVA

The broadcast violates Art. 4 RTVA in three demonstrable dimensions: one-sided fact-checking, asymmetric moderation behaviour and adoption of pro-side terminology as neutral. The violations cannot be attributed to individual errors, but show a consistent pattern that impairs the free opinion formation of viewers. Particularly serious is the deployment of an SRF-internal fact-check expert who corrects exclusively the opposing side and thereby uses the appearance of scientific neutrality for a one-sided presentation. For a referendum broadcast that explicitly serves democratic opinion formation and is broadcast by the public broadcaster, these patterns constitute a serious violation of the statutory mandate.



CHAPTER 6 — SOURCE IN-DEPTH CHECK

Thomas Häusler (Head of Science Radio SRF)

1. FUNDING: SRF, public broadcaster, funded through the Serafe levy and state contributions. Constellation of interests: SRF as an institution is part of the state-regulated media system; institutional interest in legitimising state measures, as SRF itself is state-regulated.

2. MANDATE: Häusler's mandate as SRF science editor is the preparation of scientific topics for a broad audience. This mandate is not compatible with the role of a neutral fact-checker in a politically charged referendum broadcast of his own broadcaster.

3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST: As an SRF employee, Häusler has an institutional interest in supporting the line of his employer. SRF as a public broadcaster has an institutional interest in legitimising state measures that also affect SRF itself (e.g. event bans affecting SRF productions).

D1 Conflict of interest: -1 — SRF-internal, structural conflict of interest

D2 Personal risk: -1 — No personal risk; career at SRF dependent on institutional line

D3 Professional competence: +1 — Science journalist, but not an epidemiologist; comments on medical studies without own research experience

D4 Consistency of opinion: 0 — No comparative data available

D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: +1 — Largely data-based, but without primary source citations ("depending on the studies")

D6 Source level: -1 — Secondary; cites studies without source references

TOTAL: -1 → SOURCE INDICATOR: YELLOW

5. COUNTERVOICE: An independent epidemiologist (e.g. Swiss TPH, ETH Zurich) could have answered the same questions with primary data and without an institutional conflict of interest. This countervoice is entirely absent.

IMPORTANT: The presentation of Häusler as a neutral "fact-check" expert is a social attribution that must itself be questioned. "Head of Science Radio SRF" is an institutional function, not a qualification as an independent scientific expert assessor. The framing as neutral conceals the structural conflict of interest.

GFS / SRG opinion poll

1. FUNDING: GFS is a private research institute; the poll was commissioned by SRG. Constellation of interests: Commissioning party SRG has an institutional interest in poll results that legitimise state measures.

2. MANDATE: GFS conducts commissioned research; the mandate is compatible with neutral research, but the client relationship with SRG creates a structural conflict of interest.

3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST: SRG as commissioning party has an institutional interest in polls that support its editorial line. The poll is used by the moderator as an argument against the opposing side ("These people have more trust in the state than you do").

D1 Conflict of interest: -1 — SRG-funded

D2 Personal risk: 0 — Neutral

D3 Professional competence: +2 — GFS is a recognised research institute

D4 Consistency of opinion: +1 — GFS regularly conducts referendum polls

D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: +2 — Data-based

D6 Source level: +1 — Primary survey

TOTAL: +5 → SOURCE INDICATOR: GREEN (with reservation: client conflict of interest)

5. COUNTERVOICE: Tamedia referendum polls or other independent surveys are not mentioned. The use of SRG's own poll as an argument against the opposing side is methodologically problematic, even if the poll itself is methodologically sound.

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.



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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 AIEP).

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 considerable imbalance has been identified — not that the editorial team intended this. The methodology makes no statements about motives or strategic objectives.

Heuristic comparison instrument

The index serves the comparative identification of patterns across thousands of broadcasts, not 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. 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 adequately expressed (diversity requirement).

Core obligations

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

Supervisory authority

- AIEP (Independent Complaints Authority for Radio and Television): Reviews complaints against broadcast programmes for violations of Art. 4 RTVA
- OFCOM (Federal Office of Communications): Regulatory and supervisory authority
- SRG ombudsman offices: First point of contact for programme complaints

Complaints procedure

1. Ombudsman office of the respective business unit (SRF, RTS, RSI, RTR)
2. AIEP (if no agreement is reached)
3. Federal Supreme Court (final 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. 15 principles are then 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 toolkit — for everyone who has a microphone in front of their face and wants 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 everyone who is exposed and wants 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 greater 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 AIEP, 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 review that shows: the AIEP 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 protects above all the system it was supposed to control.

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