



SVFAB DETAILED ANALYSIS

2025-01-29 Tagesschau vom 29.01.2025 Hauptausgabe

Broadcast: SRF Tagesschau broadcast | 2025-01-29 | Analysed on: 2026-05-19 12:42

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OVERALL SCORE

5.5/10

Significant imbalance

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

POLITICAL SPECTRUM

Classification according to Chapel Hill Expert Survey (CHES) 2024

The Chapel Hill Expert Survey (CHES 2024) is an academic survey of 609 political scientists in 31 countries. Each party is rated on a scale from 0 (far left) to 10 (far right).

Party	Greens	SP	GLP	Centre	EVP	FDP	SVP
CHES	1.13	1.67	3.60	5.47	5.64	7.67	9.00
Spectrum	<i>Left</i>	<i>Left</i>	<i>Left</i>	<i>Centre</i>	<i>Right</i>	<i>Right</i>	<i>Right</i>

The overall tendency is presented on a 0–10 scale (0 = strongly left-favouring, 5 = balanced, 10 = strongly right-favouring). The calculation is based on the difference in the 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 feed into the overall score.



POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

Switzerland is a consensus democracy. The Federal Council consists of 7 members: SVP (2 seats: Karin Keller-Sutter, Albert Rösti), SP (2 seats: Beat Jans, Elisabeth Baume-Schneider), FDP (2 seats: Karin Keller-Sutter [Finance], Ignazio Cassis), The Centre (1 seat: Viola Amherd, vacant due to resignation). There is no classic government/opposition — all major parties are included. Opposition dynamics arise on specific issues.

Party	CHES L-R	Seats NC	Government/Opposition	Core position
SVP	8.0	62	Government (2 FC)	Immigration restriction, sovereignty, reduction of state
SP	2.5	41	Government (2 FC)	Welfare state, EU rapprochement, redistribution
FDP	6.5	28	Government (2 FC)	Economic freedom, bilateral path, lean state
Centre	5.0	29	Government (1 FC, vacant)	Pragmatism, family support, stability
Greens	2.0	23	Opposition	Climate protection, redistribution, EU rapprochement
GLP	4.0	10	Opposition	Green economy, liberal migration, innovation
EVP	5.5	2	Opposition	Christian-social, centre values

The SVP initiative against a 10-million Switzerland polarises along the axis of immigration restriction vs. the bilateral path with the EU. Federal finances are under pressure from military expansion and social expenditure (13th AHV pension), leading to distributional conflicts between left (raise revenues) and right (cut expenditure). The succession of Federal Councillor Amherd (Centre) is unresolved and generates intra-party dynamics. Internationally, the migration debate in Germany dominates — with repercussions on Swiss discourse.

SRF (Swiss Radio and Television) is the public broadcaster of German-speaking Switzerland, financed through Serafe fees. It is subject to Art. 4 RTVA, which requires accurate representation, diversity of opinion and balanced selection of interlocutors on controversial topics. As Switzerland's largest media organisation, SRF bears a special democratic responsibility in a country without a classic government/opposition divide.



CHAPTER 1 — PARTY-POLITICAL BIAS

Party	Score (-5..+5)	Broadcast representation vs. programme position
SVP	-2	02:19 "What he announced today, Mr Jans, is a token exercise" — SVP position (limit immigration, measures as ineffective) correctly reproduced, but positioned as a marginal voice after Federal Council framing; no in-depth treatment of SVP's core arguments for the initiative itself
SP	+1	02:41 "I am glad the Federal Council is combating this initiative with full clarity" — SP position (bilateral path, prosperity) correctly presented; SP criticism of accompanying measures also reflected; slightly preferred framing by reporter
FDP	0	05:29 "From the Centre and from the FDP there are plans on the one hand for a genuine counter-proposal" — FDP only as a marginal mention, no independent presentation of position; party not covered in depth in broadcast
Centre	0	05:29 brief mention of counter-proposal plans; 17:07 Amherd succession; no substantive presentation of the party's position
Greens	+1	14:51 Young Greens' environmental responsibility initiative correctly presented; 16:14 "Among the Greens, approval stands at 97%" — Greens position factually reflected
GLP	0	Not mentioned in broadcast
EVP	0	Not mentioned in broadcast

Score legend: +5 = correct/complete, 0 = not in broadcast, -5 = actively distorted

Party bias summary

- Most accurate representation: SP (score +1) — position correctly and with nuance reflected
- Strongest distortion: SVP (score -2) — core arguments of the initiative not independently elaborated; SVP voice positioned as a reaction to Federal Council framing rather than as an independent position
- Average deviation from 0: 0.6
- Conclusion: The SVP as the initiator of the main topic receives less substantive depth than the Federal Council and the SP. The initiative is framed primarily through the Federal Council's lens of rejection (01:17 "endangers prosperity"), while the SVP's core arguments in favour of the initiative — immigration restriction as a democratic concern — are not independently presented. FDP, GLP and EVP are effectively absent.



CHAPTER 2 — BROADCAST INFORMATION AND TOPIC FRAMING

Broadcast data

- Title: SRF Tagesschau
- Date: 29.01.2025
- Presenter: Not named (studio presenter)
- Reporters: Christa Gall (Federal Council/SVP initiative), Corinne Winzenz (Federal Palace analysis), Kathrin Stefani (Bundestag), Alexandra Gubser (Berlin correspondent), Georg Halter (austerity package), Raphael Vommert (environmental initiative), Maja Janik (Congo), Philipp Zahn (Turkey earthquake), Felix Münger (Adolf Muschg)

Actors	Function	Party/affiliation	Political spectrum
Beat Jans	Federal Councillor, FDJP	SP	Left
SVP spokesperson (unnamed)	Parliamentarian	SVP	Right
SP spokesperson (unnamed)	Parliamentarian	SP	Left
Centre-right spokesperson (austerity package)	Parliamentarian	Centre-right (FDP/Centre)	Centre-right
Left spokesperson (austerity package)	Parliamentarian	SP/Greens	Left
Political scientist (anonymous)	Researcher	None	Neutral (unclear)
Markus Ritter	National Councillor, farmers' president	Centre	Centre
Corinne Winzenz	SRF Federal Palace editor	SRF	—
Alexandra Gubser	SRF Berlin correspondent	SRF	—
Adolf Muschg	Author	None (left-intellectual)	Left-liberal

Main topic

The Federal Council rejects the SVP initiative against a 10-million Switzerland and presents a package of measures for immigration management, which is criticised by both polar parties.



CHAPTER 3 — 15 CRITERIA: DETAILED ANALYSIS

Hard facts — 9 techniques that are countable and scientifically robust

1. EXPERT SELECTION

6/10

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Expert 1: Corinne Winzenz, SRF Federal Palace editor

Timestamp	03:41
Statement	"What is also clear, however, is that the Federal Council and all pro-European forces absolutely want to defeat this SVP initiative, because it fundamentally also endangers the treaty package."
Classification	SRF editor, not an external expert; uses evaluative language ("pro-European forces"); no conflicts of interest in the classical sense, but institutional proximity to the Federal Palace establishment.
Missing counter-voice	Independent political scientist with critical distance from both camps.

Source in-depth check:

(a) **FUNDING:** SRF, public broadcaster, Serafe-funded. Structural conflict of interest: SRF is part of the Federal Palace ecosystem; close relationships with Bern political actors.

(b) **MANDATE:** Journalistic commentary — compatible with analysis, but not with a neutral expert role.

- D1 Conflict of interest: 0 — Institutional proximity to Bern, no direct financial conflict
- D2 Personal risk: +1 — Professional risk in the event of incorrect assessments present
- D3 Subject competence: +1 — Federal Palace journalist, field of expertise matches
- D4 Consistency of opinion: 0 — Not verifiable
- D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: -1 — "pro-European forces" is evaluative, not data-based
- D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary (observer, not a primary source)

TOTAL: +1 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW

(c) **SUBJECT COMPETENCE:** The assessment is framed as journalistic analysis, but contains normative value judgements ("pro-European" implies the SVP is "anti-European").

Expert 2: Anonymous political scientist (environmental initiative)

Timestamp	15:40
Statement	"Fundamentally, the message and the problem being addressed are broadly recognised and accepted, but people struggle with the solution."
Classification	Not named, not identifiable. No verification possible.

Source in-depth check:

(a) **FUNDING:** Unknown — no information on institution or funding.

(b) **MANDATE:** Unclear — no information on research focus.

- D1 Conflict of interest: 0 — Not verifiable



D2 Personal risk: 0 — Not verifiable
 D3 Subject competence: +1 — "Political scientist" matches the topic
 D4 Consistency of opinion: -2 — Not verifiable, as anonymous
 D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: +1 — Factual formulation
 D6 Source level: -2 — No primary source discernible
TOTAL: -2 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW (marginal)

(c) SUBJECT COMPETENCE: Anonymity prevents any verification of conflicts of interest. The statement is framed as a neutral expert assessment, but is not verifiable.

Expert 3: Alexandra Gubser, SRF Berlin correspondent

Timestamp	09:26
Statement	"It is a historic turning point. For the first time, this firewall against the right is falling."
Classification	SRF correspondent, not an external expert; strongly evaluative language.

Source in-depth check:

(a) FUNDING: SRF, public broadcaster.

(b) MANDATE: Journalistic commentary — not a neutral expert role.

D1 Conflict of interest: 0 — No direct financial conflict
 D2 Personal risk: +1 — Professional risk present
 D3 Subject competence: +1 — Germany correspondent, field of expertise matches
 D4 Consistency of opinion: 0 — Not verifiable
 D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: -2 — "historic turning point", "firewall falls" — strongly emotional, little data-based
 D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary
TOTAL: 0 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW

(c) SUBJECT COMPETENCE: The assessment uncritically adopts the interpretive authority of the German left camp ("firewall" narrative) and presents it as journalistic analysis.

Missing expert groups:

- Independent migration economist (Switzerland)
- Constitutional lawyer on the SVP initiative
- Representatives of the social partners (employers AND trade union) directly interviewed

Source traffic light for participants:

Source	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	Total	Traffic light
Corinne Winzenz, SRF Federal Palace editor	0	+1	+1	0	-1	0	+1	YELLOW
Anonymous political scientist (environmental initiative)	0	0	+1	-2	+1	-2	-2	YELLOW
Alexandra Gubser, SRF Berlin correspondent	0	+1	+1	0	-2	0	0	YELLOW

Summary:

Expert	Source traffic light	Main problem
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Winzenz (SRF)	YELLOW	Evaluative language, institutional proximity
Anonymous political scientist	YELLOW	Anonymity, not verifiable
Gubser (SRF)	YELLOW	Strongly emotionalised interpretation, adoption of left-wing narrative

All three "experts" are SRF-internal or anonymous — not a single external, independent specialist voice with a verifiable background.



2. SOURCE SELECTION

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Claims without primary source = penalty points (rumour check)

Source 1: Federal Council (Beat Jans)

Timestamp

01:43 — Statement: "It would be expected that we would have to terminate the freedom of movement and thus end the bilateral path."

(a) Funding: State — Federal Council is the executive

(b) Structural conflict of interest: The Federal Council has an institutional interest in defeating the initiative (Bilaterals III, its own negotiating position). Its assessment is not neutral.

(c) Missing counter-source: Independent legal experts on the question of whether the initiative would actually necessarily lead to the termination of freedom of movement.

Source 2: GFS Bern (survey results)

Timestamp

16:49 — Statement: "The research institute GFS Bern surveyed 15,996 eligible voters on behalf of SRG between 15 and 23 January."

(a) Funding: On behalf of SRG — i.e. SRF is reporting on a survey commissioned by its own parent organisation.

(b) Structural conflict of interest: SRG as the client of the survey, SRF as the reporter — lack of distance. GFS Bern is methodologically recognised, but the commissioning relationship is relevant.

(c) Missing counter-source: No alternative survey for comparison.

Rumour check (penalty points):

Rumour 1:

Timestamp: 04:04

Claim: "An immigration fee was also under discussion at one point."

Word marker: "was also under discussion at one point" — indefinite past, no source

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

Rumour 2:

Timestamp: 04:11

Claim: "And apparently, as if almost at the last moment, higher family allowances were in the package of measures."

Word marker: "apparently", "as if almost at the last moment"

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

Rumour 3:

Timestamp: 09:45

Claim: "Friedrich Merz claims that he did not seek this majority with the AfD, but he is knowingly accepting it."

Word marker: "knowingly accepting" — imputation of intent without evidence

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

Summary: The source selection is strongly dominated by state/institutional sources (Federal Council, SRG's own survey, SRF editors). Three rumour markers without primary sources increase the score. Independent external sources are largely absent.



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3. TIME DISTRIBUTION									5/10
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Estimated speaking time (main topic SVP initiative + Federal Council, approx. 00:00–06:17):

- Federal Council/Jans position: approx. 2:30 min. (40%) — Christa Gall's report + Jans quote + analysis
- Corinne Winzenz (SRF analysis, tendentially pro-Federal Council): approx. 2:00 min. (32%)
- SVP voice: approx. 0:20 min. (5%) — one brief quote
- SP voice: approx. 0:20 min. (5%) — one brief quote
- Centre-right voice (austerity package): approx. 0:15 min. (4%)
- Left voice (austerity package): approx. 0:20 min. (5%)
- Presenter: approx. 0:30 min. (8%)

Germany topic (06:19–11:14):

- Scholz/SPD position: approx. 0:45 min. (15%)
- Merz/CDU position: approx. 0:30 min. (10%)
- Habeck/Greens: approx. 0:20 min. (7%)
- Weidel/AfD: approx. 0:15 min. (5%)
- Alexandra Gubser (SRF, strongly anti-Merz): approx. 1:30 min. (30%)
- Kathrin Stefani (SRF): approx. 0:30 min. (10%)

Summary: On the main Swiss topic, the SVP as initiator receives only approx. 5% speaking time, while the Federal Council and SRF analysis together account for over 70%. On the Germany topic, the SRF correspondent dominates with strongly evaluative analysis (30%), while the CDU/Merz position receives significantly less space than the opposing side.



4. OMISSION (Selective Omission)

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Omission 1:

Context

The SVP initiative has concrete justifications (housing shortage, infrastructure overload, wage pressure), which are not presented in the broadcast.

Relevant at: 01:03–06:17 (entire SVP initiative block)

Effect

The initiative appears to be motivated purely by ideology and xenophobia, not as a response to real social problems. Supporters are not given a voice.

Omission 2:

Context

The safeguard clause that the Federal Council has negotiated with the EU is only briefly mentioned (05:39), without explaining what it specifically contains and whether it addresses the concerns of the initiative's supporters.

Relevant at: 05:39 — "The Federal Council has just agreed this in principle with the EU."

Effect

Viewers cannot assess whether the safeguard clause is a genuine compromise or a symbolic concession.

Omission 3:

Context

On the Germany topic, it is not mentioned that the "firewall" doctrine itself is contested — that there are arguments from democratic theory according to which parliamentary majorities should not be evaluated according to the origin of the votes.

Relevant at: 09:17–11:14

Effect

The interpretation "taboo breach" is presented as consensus, even though it is a political value judgement.

Summary: Systematic omission of the perspective of initiative supporters and their justifications; missing explanation of the safeguard clause; on the Germany topic, one-sided adoption of the "firewall" narrative without a counter-perspective.

Missing voices

- Economist/demographer: Would have contributed factual figures on population development, the housing market and infrastructure burden
- Employers' association (e.g. economiesuisse): Would have brought in the skilled labour shortage perspective and the economic consequences of a cap
- Trade union (e.g. SGB): Would have addressed the wage pressure issue and workers' interests in relation to immigration
- Constitutional lawyer: Would have contextualised the feasibility and legal limits of the initiative
- Affected population (housing shortage): Would have brought in concrete everyday experiences with the consequences of immigration



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- FDP representative: Would have brought in the economically liberal perspective on the counter-proposal and freedom of movement
- EU expert/diplomat: Would have contextualised the consequences for Bilaterals III from a European perspective
- Municipal representative: Would have brought in the local perspective on infrastructure, schools and housing



5. MANIPULATION OF FIGURES

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

Finding 1:

Timestamp 01:31

Figure: "Around 9 million people live in Switzerland and there are more and more."

Dimensions: (a) Absolute value ✓ — (b) Share X — (c) Trend X (only qualitative "more and more")

Missing context

How fast is the population growing? What share is immigration vs. natural growth? When would the 10-million mark be reached?

Effect

"There are more and more" creates a sense of urgency without factual contextualisation.

Finding 2:

Timestamp 15:26–15:40

Figure: "61% of respondents say rather or definitely no. Only 37% say rather or definitely yes. Compared to the first survey, the no camp has gained 12 percentage points."

Dimensions: (a) ✓ (b) ✓ (c) ✓ — all three present

Missing context

No indication of when the first survey was; no comparison with other initiatives at a similar stage.

Effect

Overall factual, but missing historical comparison.

Summary: No serious manipulation of figures. Finding 1 is slightly problematic (qualitative trend statement without data), Finding 2 is presented methodologically correctly. Score moderate.



6. GUILT BY ASSOCIATION									8/10
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Association 1:	
Timestamp	00:25
Quote	<i>"With votes from the AfD."</i>
Technique: This formulation appears as a standalone sentence in the topic preview — isolated, without context. The association CDU/Merz → AfD is established as a first impression before the content is explained.	
Effect	Merz is already associated with the AfD in the announcement, before his position is presented.

Association 2:	
Timestamp	10:11
Quote	<i>"other than to enhance the standing of the extreme right of the AfD, in whose ranks demonstrably right-wing extremists operate, a party whose core business is xenophobia and exclusion."</i>
Technique: Triple association: (1) Merz → AfD enhancement, (2) AfD → right-wing extremists, (3) AfD → xenophobia. This chain is presented by the SRF correspondent as analysis.	
Effect	Merz is indirectly associated with right-wing extremism and xenophobia, without this being explicitly claimed.

Association chain: Merz (CDU) → AfD majority → "extreme right" → "right-wing extremists" → "xenophobia"

For the AfD as the framed party:

SOURCE CHECK:

- Does the AfD work with verifiable primary sources? — Partially YES (parliamentary motions, electoral programmes)
- Are its core statements falsifiable? — YES (migration figures, crime statistics are verifiable)

RISK MATRIX:

- What does the AfD lose through its position? Coalition viability, social acceptance, international reputation
- What does it gain? Votes in the right-wing spectrum
- Net: Considerable institutional risk

TONALITY of broadcast representation: Emotionally apocalyptic ("core business xenophobia") — no factual analysis of AfD positions

RESULT CATEGORY: The broadcast treats the AfD as a Category C entity (conspiracy ideologue equivalent), without applying the categorisation criteria. The framing by the broadcast is not evidence for this classification.

Association 3:	
Timestamp	07:12
Quote	<i>"They are openly accepting the support of the AfD for their unlawful proposals."</i>
Technique: Scholz's statement is quoted unabridged and without commentary — "unlawful" is a political claim, not a legal finding. The broadcast adopts this framing without contextualisation.	



Effect

Merz's proposals are deemed "unlawful" — a claim not substantiated by a court ruling.

Summary:

Actors/party	Category	Justification
AfD	B (borderline case)	Parliamentary party with verifiable positions; "core business xenophobia" is a value judgement, not analysis
Merz/CDU	B (borderline case)	Association chain to the AfD without factual justification for the equation

Score 8/10 due to systematic, repeatedly applied association chain in the Germany block.



7. TIMING

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Finding 1:

Position: 00:25 (beginning — topic preview)

Content: "With votes from the AfD." — isolated sentence as teaser

Timing effect

The association CDU → AfD is established as the very first impression on the Germany topic, before content or context is explained. Priming effect: viewers process all subsequent information through this filter.

Finding 2:

Position: 10:11 (end of Germany block)

Content: "other than to enhance the standing of the extreme right of the AfD, in whose ranks demonstrably right-wing extremists operate, a party whose core business is xenophobia and exclusion."

Timing effect

The block ends with the strongest negative characterisation — "recency effect": the last piece of information remains most strongly in the memory. Merz's loss of credibility (10:51) has the last word.

Finding 3:

Position: 01:17 (early in the main topic)

Content: "According to the Federal Council, the initiative endangers prosperity, economic development and also security in Switzerland."

Timing effect

The Federal Council's rejection with maximum negative framing ("endangers prosperity, security") is set as the first substantive statement — before SVP arguments in favour of the initiative are even mentioned.

Summary: Systematic priming through negative framing at the beginning (threat to prosperity, AfD association) and recency effect at the end (Merz loses credibility, AfD as xenophobia party). Timing serves to reinforce the overall message.



8. SELECTIVE OUTRAGE

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

Methodological principle K11+K8: Document the triggering event — asymmetry only demonstrable with a comparable trigger without an analogous reaction.

Finding 1:

Timestamp 09:33–10:23

Triggering event: CDU/Merz allows vote to pass with AfD votes (parliamentary majority for migration motion)

Reaction: "It is a historic turning point. For the first time, this firewall against the right is falling. [...] Today Merz has broken his word. He thereby loses credibility."

Comparison

Analogous event — SP/Greens regularly vote with far-left groups or accept support from organisations that are democratically controversial. No comparable outrage framing in the broadcast.

Asymmetry: Demonstrable — Cooperation with the AfD is framed as a "historic turning point" and "taboo breach"; comparable cooperations on the left side are not addressed in the broadcast and would not be framed in this way according to the broadcast's logic.

Degree of outrage: 4/5 — Multiple, clear ("historic turning point", "word broken", "credibility lost")

Selectivity: 4/5 — Directed exclusively against Merz/CDU; Scholz's own credibility problems (coalition collapse, campaign promises) are not addressed

Finding 2:

Timestamp 02:19

Triggering event: SVP criticises Federal Council measures as a "token exercise"

Reaction: Quote is reproduced neutrally, no outrage from the reporter

Comparison

SP criticism (02:41) is also reproduced neutrally

Asymmetry: Not demonstrable — both party criticisms are treated similarly

Summary: Clear selective outrage in the Germany block: Merz's cooperation with the AfD is framed with moral outrage ("taboo breach", "word broken"), while comparable political compromises by other parties are not addressed. In the Swiss block, the outrage is less pronounced.



9. COMPLETENESS (Selective Omission — overall picture)

6/10

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Finding 1:

Timestamp 01:03–06:17

Missing perspective: Arguments of initiative supporters (housing shortage, infrastructure burden, wage pressure)

Relevance: The SVP initiative has 27.9% of the electorate behind it; its justifications are socially relevant

Impact: Initiative appears purely ideological, not as a response to real problems; supporters are not represented

Finding 2:

Timestamp 09:17–11:14

Missing perspective: Arguments from democratic theory for parliamentary majorities regardless of the origin of votes; Merz's own justification for his strategy

Relevance: The question of whether parliamentary majorities may be evaluated according to the origin of votes is a fundamental democratic theory debate

Impact: "Firewall" doctrine is presented as uncontested consensus; counter-positions are absent

Finding 3:

Timestamp 12:05–14:05 (austerity package)

Missing perspective: Concrete effects of the austerity measures on various population groups; independent economists for contextualisation

Relevance: 2.7–3.6 billion francs in savings affect a broad population

Impact: Debate remains limited to political reactions, without factual contextualisation of the measures

Summary: The broadcast is incomplete on all three main topics (SVP initiative, Bundestag, austerity package): supporter perspectives are absent, democratic theory counter-positions are not presented, and factual contextualisation by independent experts is absent.

The SVP initiative "No 10-million Switzerland" requires that the Swiss population does not exceed the 10-million mark by 2050 and obliges the Federal Council to take corresponding measures — which would in practice require the termination of freedom of movement with the EU. The Federal Council is caught between the pressure of the SVP (largest party, 27.9% of the electorate) and the interest in Bilaterals III, which have just been newly negotiated. The topic touches on fundamental questions: sovereignty vs. economic integration, demographic change, the labour market, the housing market, social systems.

Share of perspectives covered

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

[A] Federal Council: Rejection of the initiative, package of measures

[B] SVP: Justification of the initiative, criticism of measures as insufficient

[C] SP/Left: Rejection of the initiative, criticism of measures as misdirected

[D] FDP/Centre: Counter-proposal considerations, economic perspective



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[E] Business associations/employers: Effects on skilled labour shortage

[F] Trade unions: Effects on wage pressure, workers' rights

[G] Demographers/economists: Factual contextualisation of population development

[H] Affected population: Housing shortage, infrastructure burden

[I] EU perspective: What does the initiative mean for Bilaterals III?

[J] Constitutional lawyers: Is the initiative implementable? Legal limits?

[A] ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 01:43 — Quote: "It would be expected that we would have to terminate the freedom of movement and thus end the bilateral path." — Assessment: Federal Council position fully and prominently presented.

[B] INDICATED

Timestamp: 02:19 — Quote: "What he announced today, Mr Jans, is a token exercise." — Assessment: SVP criticism of measures reflected, but core arguments for the initiative itself (why is 10 million problematic?) not independently developed.

[C] ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 02:41 — Quote: "I am glad the Federal Council is combating this initiative with full clarity." — Assessment: SP position correctly presented, including criticism of accompanying measures.

[D] INDICATED

Timestamp: 05:29 — Quote: "From the Centre and from the FDP there are plans on the one hand for a genuine counter-proposal." — Assessment: Only as a marginal mention, no independent voice from FDP or Centre.

[E] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: Employers/business associations are not given a voice, even though the skilled labour shortage is central to the debate.

[F] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: Trade union perspective on wage pressure from immigration is completely absent.

[G] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: No demographer, no economist for factual contextualisation of population development and its consequences.

[H] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: Affected population (housing shortage, infrastructure) is not given a voice, even though this is the core motivation of many initiative supporters.

[I] INDICATED

Timestamp: 05:12 — Quote: "because it fundamentally also endangers the treaty package that has just been negotiated with the EU." — Assessment: EU dimension mentioned, but not elaborated.

[J] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: No constitutional lawyer on the question of the initiative's implementability.



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Completeness score: 4/10

Justification: Of 10 relevant perspectives, only 3 are fully addressed (A, B partially, C), 3 indicated (B, D, I) and 4 completely omitted (E, F, G, H, J). The broadcast focuses on the political reaction at federal level and neglects the social and economic depth of the topic. Particularly striking: the population perspective — i.e. those who may support the initiative — is completely absent.



Soft facts — 6 qualitative techniques

10. FRAMING (setting the frame)

7/10

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Finding 1:

Timestamp	01:17
Quote	<i>"According to the Federal Council, the initiative endangers prosperity, economic development and also security in Switzerland."</i>
Manipulation	The Federal Council's rejection is framed with three maximum negatives (prosperity, development, security) — and this as the first substantive statement on the initiative. "According to the Federal Council" is formally correct, but the choice of this formulation as an introduction sets the frame.
Why problematic	Viewers process all subsequent information through the filter "initiative = danger". The SVP's justification for the initiative comes only afterwards and receives less space.

Finding 2:

Timestamp	05:05
Quote	<i>"the Federal Council and all pro-European forces absolutely want to defeat this SVP initiative"</i>
Manipulation	"Pro-European" as a self-description of the anti-initiative camp implies that the SVP is "anti-European". This value judgement is presented by the SRF editor as neutral analysis.
Why problematic	The SVP does not describe itself as "anti-European", but as sovereignty-oriented. The journalist's adoption of the opponent's framing is a bias.

Finding 3:

Timestamp	09:17
Quote	<i>"For the first time since the founding of the Republic, a motion is being passed in the German parliament with the help of votes from the extreme right of the AfD."</i>
Manipulation	"Extreme right" is a political value judgement, not a neutral description. "Since the founding of the Republic" is historically imprecise (the Federal Republic has a complex history of parliamentary majorities). The framing "taboo breach" adopts the interpretive authority of the German left camp.
Why problematic	The AfD is a democratically elected party with 20%+ of the electorate. "Extreme right" as a standard designation is a value judgement presented as fact.

Summary: Systematic framing in two directions: SVP initiative as a threat (prosperity, security), CDU/Merz strategy as a "taboo breach" ("historic turning point"). Both framings adopt the interpretive authority of the left/Federal Council camp.



11. CHOICE OF WORDS AND TERMS							7/10		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Finding 1:	
Timestamp	05:05
Quote	<i>"pro-European forces"</i>
Manipulation	Normative loading — "friendly" implies positive; the opposing side is implicitly marked as "anti-European".
Why problematic	A neutral alternative would be: "forces that want to preserve the bilateral agreements" or "EU-oriented parties"

Finding 2:	
Timestamp	10:18
Quote	<i>"a party whose core business is xenophobia and exclusion"</i>
Manipulation	"Core business" is a commercial term used here to characterise a democratic party — implying that xenophobia is the primary purpose of the AfD.
Why problematic	A neutral alternative would be: "a party that advocates a restrictive migration policy" or "that is classified in part as right-wing extremist by the domestic intelligence service" (with source reference)

Finding 3:	
Timestamp	09:35
Quote	<i>"For the first time, this firewall against the right is falling."</i>
Manipulation	"Firewall" is a political battle term of the German left camp, adopted by SRF as a neutral term. "Against the right" implies that "the right" must per se be combated.
Why problematic	A neutral alternative would be: "For the first time, a motion was passed with AfD votes" — without the normative framing of the "firewall"

Summary: Consistent adoption of political battle terms from the left camp ("pro-European", "firewall against the right", "core business xenophobia") as supposedly neutral journalistic language. This is a structural language bias.



12. MODERATION BEHAVIOUR

3/10

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Methodological principle K11+K8: Document the triggering event.

Finding 1:

Timestamp 03:41

Triggering event: Presenter asks Corinne Winzenz for an assessment of the Federal Council measures

Quote (presenter) *"How is what the Federal Council decided today to be assessed?"*

Comparison No comparable open assessment question to an SVP-aligned voice

Asymmetry: Conditionally demonstrable — The question is openly and neutrally formulated; the asymmetry lies in the fact that only an SRF editor (not an SVP voice) is invited to give an assessment.

Finding 2:

Timestamp 09:26

Triggering event: Presenter asks Alexandra Gubser about the significance of the "taboo breach"

Quote (presenter) *"Alexandra Gubser in Berlin. What does this taboo breach mean?"*

Comparison The question already contains the value judgement "taboo breach" — the presenter adopts the framing before the correspondent answers.

Asymmetry: Demonstrable — The question is not neutral ("What happened?"), but presupposes a value judgement ("taboo breach"). A comparable evaluative question to a conservative voice is absent.

Summary: The moderation behaviour is overall not particularly conspicuous, but the question "What does this taboo breach mean?" (09:26) is a clear case of framing by the presenter himself — the value judgement is built into the question before the answer comes.



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

Asymmetry 1:	
To Corinne Winzenz (SRF), 03	41: "How is what the Federal Council decided today to be assessed?" — open, inviting
To SVP spokesperson	No direct interview, only quote from press conference (02:19)
Comparison	SVP receives no direct interview question; its position is only incorporated as a reaction quote. The SRF editor receives an open assessment question.

Asymmetry 2:	
To Alexandra Gubser (SRF), 09	26: "What does this taboo breach mean?" — presupposes value judgement
To CDU/Merz	No direct interview; Merz position only through parliamentary quote (07:50)
Comparison	Merz is given no opportunity to explain his strategy directly. The SRF correspondent receives a question that already frames his position negatively.

Summary: Systematic asymmetry: conservative positions (SVP, CDU/Merz) are presented through quotes from press conferences, while SRF's own editors are invited with open assessment questions — and these assessments consistently fall against the conservative side.



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

Finding 1:

Timestamp 02:13–03:06

Construct: "The SVP criticises that these measures would have no effect against immigration. [...] But the SP is also not satisfied. [...] The Federal Council, however, emphasised that the proposals would be supported by all social partners."

Analysis

On the surface this appears balanced (SVP criticises, SP criticises, Federal Council defends). In reality it is a false balance: SVP and SP criticise from opposite directions, but the Federal Council gets the last word with a positive statement ("concrete, implementable, broadly supported proposals"). The equation of SVP and SP criticism obscures the fact that the SVP as initiator has a structurally different role.

Summary: Moderate false balance: the equation of SVP and SP criticism ("both dissatisfied") suggests balance, but obscures the different political significance of the criticisms. Score low, as the pattern is not dominant.



15. AGENDA-SETTING

6/10

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Finding 1:

Agenda element set: The SVP initiative is primarily a problem for the bilateral agreements — not a legitimate democratic response to population growth.

Timestamp

01:39 — Evidence: "Because acceptance endangers the bilateral path with the EU."

Alternative agenda: The initiative could also be framed as a democratic response to housing shortage, infrastructure burden and wage pressure — this agenda does not appear.

Finding 2:

Agenda element set: Cooperation with the AfD is per se a "taboo breach" — not a question of democratic theory.

Timestamp

09:17 — Evidence: "For the first time since the founding of the Republic, a motion is being passed in the German parliament with the help of votes from the extreme right of the AfD."

Alternative agenda: The question of whether parliamentary majorities may be evaluated according to the origin of votes, or whether the content of the motion is factually justified, does not make it onto the agenda.

Summary: Two dominant agenda-settings: (1) SVP initiative = bilateral threat (not: democratic response to population growth); (2) AfD majority = taboo breach (not: question of democratic theory). Both settings favour the left/Federal Council camp.



CHAPTER 4 — OVERALL EVALUATION

Results

- HARD FACTS SCORE (average criteria 1-9): 5.7 / 10
- SOFT FACTS SCORE (average criteria 10-15): 5.2 / 10

Dominant techniques

- 1. Guilt by Association (score 8):** The association chain Merz→AfD→"extreme right"→"right-wing extremists"→"core business xenophobia" is presented by the SRF correspondent as journalistic analysis, but is a political value judgement. This technique is particularly effective because it does not explicitly claim that Merz is right-wing extremist, but establishes the association through proximity.
- 2. Framing (score 7):** Two parallel framings dominate the broadcast: the SVP initiative is framed as a threat to prosperity and security (Federal Council perspective), and the CDU/Merz strategy is framed as a "taboo breach" and "historic turning point" (German left narrative). Both framings are presented as neutral journalistic contextualisation.
- 3. Choice of words (score 7):** Political battle terms of the left camp ("pro-European", "firewall against the right", "core business xenophobia") are used as neutral journalistic language, without the normative loading of these terms being addressed.

Core messages of the broadcast

****MESSAGE 1 (SUBSTANTIVE):** ** "The SVP initiative is a danger to prosperity and bilateral relations — the Federal Council is right to reject it."

Technique: Framing + timing — Federal Council rejection with maximum negatives as the first statement; SVP arguments for the initiative are not independently developed.

Evidence: 01:17, 01:39, 05:05

****MESSAGE 2 (PERSONAL):** ** "Friedrich Merz has broken his word, lost credibility and damaged democracy."

Technique: Guilt by association + selective outrage + choice of words — "historic turning point", "word broken", "credibility lost" as the analytical conclusion of the SRF correspondent.

Evidence: 09:33, 10:48, 10:51

****MESSAGE 3 (SOCIETAL):** ** "Whoever cooperates with the AfD normalises right-wing extremism and xenophobia."

Technique: Association chain + agenda-setting — "firewall falls", "core business xenophobia", "taboo breach" as a societal warning.

Evidence: 09:35, 10:11, 10:18

Justification: The overall score of 5.5/10 corresponds to clear one-sidedness. The broadcast violates Art. 4 RTVA in several dimensions: the SVP initiative is treated without independent presentation of the supporters' arguments; on the Germany topic, the interpretive authority of the German left camp is uncritically adopted; political battle terms are used as neutral language. The one-sidedness is not coincidental, but shows a consistent pattern: conservative positions are framed as a threat, progressive positions as a reasonable centre. This corresponds to a structural imbalance that falls just below the threshold of "systematic imbalance".

CONCLUSION

The SRF Tagesschau of 29 January 2025 shows a clear one-sidedness that touches Art. 4 RTVA in several respects. On the main topic of the SVP initiative, Switzerland's largest party (27.9% of the electorate) as the initiator of the main topic receives only approx. 5% speaking time, while the Federal Council and SRF's own analysis account for over 70%; the justifications of the initiative's supporters are not presented. On the Germany topic, the SRF correspondent uncritically adopts the interpretive authority of the German left camp ("firewall", "historic turning point", "core business xenophobia") and presents these political value judgements as journalistic analysis. The consistent use of political battle terms from the left camp as supposedly neutral language ("pro-European", "taboo breach") is a structural language bias that impairs the accurate representation within the meaning of Art. 4 para. 2 RTVA. The broadcast is



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not grossly manipulative, but shows a consistent pattern that frames conservative positions as a threat and progressive positions as a reasonable centre — which contradicts the accuracy requirement and the diversity requirement of the RTVA.



OVERALL EVALUATION OF THE 15 CRITERIA

Individual scores — all 15 criteria

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

HARD FACTS SCORE (1-8)

5.7/10

Significant imbalance

SOFT FACTS SCORE (9-14)

5.2/10

Significant imbalance

OVERALL SCORE

5.5/10

Significant imbalance

Averaged from hard facts and soft facts



KEY — Meaning of scores

Individual scores per criterion (0–10)

0	No finding	No relevant 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	Significant finding (threshold)	Scores from 6 onwards are reported as "significant findings".
7	Significant finding	Clear, well-documented imbalance with marked impact relevance.
8–9	Serious finding	Pronounced imbalance; multiple documentable individual findings in this criterion.
10	Maximum manifestation	Systematic, pervasive imbalance in this criterion.

Aggregated deviation index — interpretation ranges

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

Party-political bias (-5 to +5)

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



CHAPTER 5 — LEGAL CLASSIFICATION (Art. 4 RTVA)

Assessment under Art. 4 RTVA

Violation 1:

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

Facts: The SVP initiative is treated without independent presentation of the supporters' arguments; the justifications of the initiative (housing shortage, infrastructure burden, wage pressure) are not presented.

Evidence: Timestamp 01:03–06:17 — The initiative is framed exclusively through the Federal Council's lens of rejection (01:17: "According to the Federal Council, the initiative endangers prosperity, economic development and also security in Switzerland."); SVP arguments for the initiative itself are absent.

Assessment: Art. 4 para. 2 RTVA requires that facts and events be accurately represented. Accurate representation of a popular initiative requires that the arguments of both sides — supporters and opponents — be presented. The one-sided presentation of the rejection arguments without an independent supporter perspective violates this requirement.

Violation 2:

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

Facts: On the Germany topic, the interpretive authority of the German left camp ("firewall", "taboo breach", "historic turning point") is presented as journalistic analysis, without the counter-perspective (arguments from democratic theory for parliamentary majorities regardless of the origin of votes) being presented.

Evidence: Timestamp 09:17–11:14 — "For the first time since the founding of the Republic, a motion is being passed in the German parliament with the help of votes from the extreme right of the AfD." (09:17); "Today Merz has broken his word." (10:48)

Assessment: Art. 4 para. 4 RTVA requires the presentation of various opinions on controversial topics. The question of whether parliamentary majorities may be evaluated according to the origin of votes is a contested question of democratic theory. The one-sided presentation as a "taboo breach" without a counter-perspective violates the diversity requirement.

Violation 3:

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

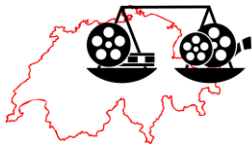
Facts: Political battle terms of the left camp ("pro-European forces", "core business xenophobia") are used as neutral journalistic language.

Evidence: Timestamp 05:05 — "the Federal Council and all pro-European forces"; Timestamp 10:18 — "a party whose core business is xenophobia and exclusion"

Assessment: Accurate representation requires neutral language. The use of battle terms from one political side as supposedly neutral description violates the accuracy requirement. "Pro-European" is a normative value judgement, not a neutral description; "core business xenophobia" is a political characterisation, not a factual contextualisation.

Overall assessment Art. 4 RTVA

The broadcast violates Art. 4 RTVA in three dimensions: accuracy requirement (one-sided presentation of the SVP initiative without supporters' arguments), diversity requirement (one-sided interpretation of the Bundestag vote without democratic theory counter-perspective) and language requirement (use of political battle terms as neutral language). The violations are not of the severity that would justify a complaint to OFCOM with a high probability of success, as they move in the borderline area between editorial freedom and the accuracy obligation. Nevertheless, they show a consistent pattern that, when considering multiple broadcasts as a whole, could be qualified as a systematic imbalance. For a legally robust complaint under Art. 4 RTVA, the Germany block (criteria 6, 8, 10, 11) would be most substantiated, as the one-sidedness is most clearly documentable there.



CHAPTER 6 — SOURCE IN-DEPTH CHECK

GFS Bern (survey institute)

1. FUNDING: GFS Bern is a private research institute; the cited survey was conducted on behalf of SRG. SRF is part of SRG. The commissioning relationship SRG→GFS Bern→SRF reporting is a relevant constellation of interests.

2. MANDATE: GFS Bern has a mandate for opinion research — compatible with neutral survey collection. The methodology (15,996 respondents, ±2.8%) is transparently and correctly stated.

3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST: GFS Bern has an institutional interest in maintaining the commissioning relationship with SRG. This could theoretically influence the formulation of questions, but is not demonstrable.

D1 Conflict of interest: -1 — Client SRG, reporter SRF (same organisation)

D2 Personal risk: +1 — Reputational risk in the event of methodological errors

D3 Subject competence: +2 — Recognised opinion research institute, field of expertise matches

D4 Consistency of opinion: +1 — GFS Bern has long-standing methodological consistency

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

D6 Source level: +2 — Primary survey

TOTAL: +7 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: GREEN

5. COUNTER-VOICE: No alternative survey cited. Methodologically, a comparison with other institutes would be desirable, but is not strictly necessary for a Tagesschau broadcast.

Conclusion GFS Bern: Methodologically sound (GREEN), but the commissioning relationship SRG→GFS Bern→SRF reporting should be made transparent. This is done correctly in the broadcast (16:49: "on behalf of SRG").

Anonymous political scientist (environmental initiative)

1. FUNDING: Unknown — no information on institution or funding.

2. MANDATE: Unclear — no information on research focus or institutional affiliation.

3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST: Not verifiable.

D1 Conflict of interest: 0 — Not verifiable

D2 Personal risk: 0 — Not verifiable (anonymous)

D3 Subject competence: +1 — "Political scientist" matches the topic

D4 Consistency of opinion: -2 — Not verifiable (anonymous)

D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: +1 — Factual formulation

D6 Source level: -2 — No primary source discernible

TOTAL: -2 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW

5. COUNTER-VOICE: No alternative specialist perspective on the environmental initiative cited.

Conclusion anonymous political scientist: YELLOW — Anonymity prevents any verification. The statement is factual and not problematic, but the lack of identification violates journalistic transparency standards. "Recognised" is not a factual qualification — it is a social attribution that must itself be questioned.

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 assessment of whether a specific broadcast violates statutory requirements is the exclusive responsibility of the competent authorities (in particular IRAB).



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No proof of causality

Statistical correlations are not to be interpreted as proof of causal relationships or editorial intentions. Deviation values can be influenced by topic selection, news situation, political controversy or format logic.

No judgement of intent

The analysis measures observable structural characteristics of broadcasts. A score of 7 means that a significant imbalance has been identified — not that the editorial team intended this. The methodology makes no statements about motives or strategic objectives.

Heuristic comparison instrument

The index serves for comparative pattern recognition across thousands of broadcasts, not for the precise metric measurement of individual contributions. Threshold values serve as heuristic orientation, not as sharp legal qualification.



APPENDIX 1: NATIONAL LEGISLATION

Legal basis Switzerland — SRG SSR

Law

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

Relevant articles

- Art. 4 para. 1 RTVA: All broadcasts of a radio or television programme must respect fundamental rights. The broadcasts must in particular respect human dignity, must not be discriminatory, 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 accurately represent facts and events so that the audience can form its own opinion. Views and comments must be recognisable as such.
- Art. 4 para. 4 RTVA: In the totality of editorial broadcasts, the diversity of events and opinions must be adequately expressed (diversity requirement).

Core obligations

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

Supervisory authority

- IRAB (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. IRAB (if no agreement)
3. Federal Supreme Court (last instance)



APPENDIX 2: SCIENTIFIC FOUNDATIONS

Literature

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SVFAB Working Papers

- Schläpfer, D. (2026). Systematic AI-Assisted Analysis of Public Broadcaster Impartiality: A Scalable Methodological Framework for Measuring Structural Bias in Public Service Media. [SSRN 6688478](#)
- Schläpfer, D. (2026). Measuring Editorial Noise: A Retrospective Suppression Index for Public Broadcasting Content Analysis. [SSRN 6733280](#)
- Schläpfer, D. (2026). Source Traffic Light: A Six-Dimensional Credibility Framework for Systematic Source Assessment in Public Service Media. [SSRN 6733880](#)

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

This book is not a media criticism book. It is a toolbox — for everyone who has a microphone in front of 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.

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