



## SABC DETAILED ANALYSIS

20250729\_Progress on State Capture Report / Nearly R11 billion of stolen funds recovered.en

Broadcast: SABC-Sendung | Analyzed: 2026-05-25 10:32

Version 3.0-detail | Universal 3.0-detail | Konverter 3.4 (2026-05-20) | Standard: Broadcasting Act s. 6

### OVERALL SCORE

**6.5/10**

*Serious deviation from the impartiality standard. High degree of deviation*

0 = balanced, 10 = strongly biased/manipulative

## POLITICAL SPECTRUM

Classification based on 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	EFF	MK	ANC	IFP	DA	ActionSA	PA	FF+
CHES	1.50	3.50	4.50	6.00	6.50	6.50	7.00	8.00
Spectrum	Left	Left	Center	Right	Right	Right	Right	Right

The overall tendency is presented on a 0–10 scale (0 = strongly left-favoring, 5 = balanced, 10 = strongly right-favoring). The calculation is based on the difference in average favoritism of left vs. right parties (grouping per CHES 2024).

### TENDENCY (L – R)

**3.2 / 10**

*Left-favoring*

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

← Left

Right →

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

This section provides political context and does not contribute to the overall score.



## POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

Document Classification: Court-Ready Analytical Record

Methodology Version: 3.0-detail (K11+K8 Trigger-Event Protocol)

Legal Framework: Broadcasting Act 4 of 1999, s. 6; BCCSA Code Clauses 16, 18

Language: English throughout

South Africa is governed by a Government of National Unity (GNU) formed after the 29 May 2024 general elections, in which the ANC lost its 30-year parliamentary majority for the first time. The GNU is a broad coalition led by the ANC (159 seats, 39.8%) in partnership with the DA (87 seats, 21.8%), IFP (17 seats), PA (9 seats), FF+ (6 seats), and five smaller parties, totalling approximately 287 of 400 National Assembly seats. The main opposition outside the GNU consists of MK (58 seats, 14.6%, led by Jacob Zuma), EFF (39 seats, 9.5%, led by Julius Malema), ActionSA (6 seats), and ACDP (3 seats).

Party	CHES L-R (est.)	Seats	Gov/Opposition	Core Position
EFF	1.5	39	Opposition	Far-left; land expropriation, nationalisation
PAC	2.0	1	Opposition	Left-wing Pan-Africanism
MK	3.0	58	Opposition	Left-populist; Zuma personality cult
ANC	4.0	159	Government (GNU)	Centre-left; broad church
UDM	4.5	3	Government (GNU)	Centre-left; rural base
Rise Mzansi	4.5	2	Government (GNU)	Centre-left progressive
GOOD	4.5	1	Government (GNU)	Centre-left progressive
Al Jama-ah	4.0	2	Government (GNU)	Left economics, socially conservative
DA	6.0	87	Government (GNU)	Centre-right; free market, liberal
ActionSA	6.5	6	Opposition	Centre-right; anti-immigration
IFP	6.5	17	Government (GNU)	Right-wing; Zulu nationalist
PA	7.0	9	Government (GNU)	Right-wing populist
ACDP	7.5	3	Opposition	Right-wing Christian conservative
FF+	8.0	6	Government (GNU)	Right-wing; Afrikaner interest

The ANC–DA coalition creates structural tension in media coverage, as both parties were historic rivals and now govern together. The MK and EFF opposition represents a radical populist challenge from the left, with both parties having strong incentives to highlight ANC governance failures — including state capture accountability — as electoral ammunition. The state capture legacy remains the single most politically charged accountability issue in South Africa: the Zondo Commission identified over 1,000 individuals as implicated, yet prosecutions remain minimal, creating a fault line between those demanding rapid accountability and those defending institutional pace. The GNU's internal coherence is tested by precisely these accountability questions, since the DA has consistently demanded faster prosecution while the ANC controls the executive levers of the justice system.



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The SABC is South Africa's public broadcaster, mandated under the Broadcasting Act 4 of 1999 and its own Charter to provide programming that meets the highest standards of journalism, including fairness, accuracy, and impartiality. The SABC has a documented history of political capture during the Hlauri Motsoeneng era (approximately 2012–2016), during which editorial independence was systematically compromised in favour of ANC government narratives. Post-capture reforms have improved formal independence, but structural questions about subtle ANC influence persist, making the SABC's own editorial choices a politically sensitive matter. The BCCSA Code, which governs SABC content, requires news to be reported truthfully, accurately, fairly, in correct context, and in a balanced manner (Clause 16), with opposing views presented on controversial issues of public importance (Clause 18).



## CHAPTER 1 — PARTY-POLITICAL BIAS

Scoring note: Score measures accuracy of representation of official party programme positions — not whether a party was treated positively or negatively.

Party	Score (-5..+5)	Broadcast Representation vs. Programme Position
ANC	-3	06:01 "the once glorious ANC had turned itself into a criminal enterprise" — Programme position: ANC presents itself as a reform-oriented governing party committed to anti-corruption and the Zondo implementation plan — Distorted: the ANC's own stated position on accountability (48% completion, R11bn recovered) is introduced only to be immediately dismissed; no ANC voice is present to articulate the party's programme position; the characterisation "criminal enterprise" is presented without challenge as a credible analytical framing
DA	+2	15:32 "the bills that the DA — Breytenbach — private members bills for the creation of an anti-corruption commission should be processed quickly and partly" — Programme position: DA advocates for independent anti-corruption institutions and faster prosecution — Correctly represented: the DA's institutional reform position is accurately cited, though only in passing and without a DA representative to elaborate
MK	0	Not mentioned in broadcast
EFF	0	Not mentioned in broadcast
IFP	0	Not mentioned in broadcast
PA	0	Not mentioned in broadcast
FF+	0	Not mentioned in broadcast
ActionSA	0	Not mentioned in broadcast

### Party Bias Summary

- Most Accurate Representation: DA (Score +2) — its institutional reform position is cited correctly, albeit briefly and without a party representative
- Strongest Distortion: ANC (Score -3) — the ANC's stated programme position on Zondo implementation is introduced only as a foil for criticism; the party's own framing of progress is never given space, and the characterisation "criminal enterprise" is allowed to stand unchallenged
- Average Deviation from 0: 0.6 (across all 8 parties; 6 scored 0 due to absence)
- Finding: The broadcast presents the ANC's accountability record exclusively through the lens of a single critic with a documented adversarial relationship to the ANC government. The ANC's own stated programme position — that 48% of Zondo recommendations have been completed and R11 billion recovered — is introduced by the anchor only to be immediately dismissed, with no ANC representative given the opportunity to contextualise or defend it. The DA's position is accurately cited but instrumentalised as a solution to ANC failure rather than examined on its own merits.



## CHAPTER 2 — BROADCAST INFORMATION AND THEMATIC FRAMEWORK

### Broadcast Data

- Title: SABC News — State Capture Commission Progress Report Discussion (untitled segment)
- Date: Derived from transcript context — references to "quarter 4 of 2024/2025" and "tomorrow" constitutional court hearing place this in approximately June–July 2025
- Estimated Length: Approximately 16 minutes (transcript runs [00:00]–[16:02])
- Anchor/Reporter: Leanne (surname not stated in transcript)
- Interviewed Persons:

Actors	Function	Party/Affiliation	Political Spectrum
Advocate Paul Hoffman	Director, Accountability Now	Civil society / anti-corruption advocacy; litigation record adversarial to ANC government	Centre-right to liberal-constitutionalist
Leanne (anchor)	SABC News anchor	SABC (public broadcaster)	Institutional — nominally neutral

### Main Topic

The broadcast examines the Presidency's latest progress report on implementation of the Zondo State Capture Commission recommendations, covering the period to end of Quarter 4 of the 2024/2025 financial year, including claims of 48% completion of the October 2022 response plan and recovery of nearly R11 billion in stolen public funds.

### World-Knowledge Context

The Zondo Commission of Inquiry into State Capture (formally the Judicial Commission of Inquiry into Allegations of State Capture, Corruption and Fraud in the Public Sector including Organs of State) concluded its work in 2022 after approximately four years of hearings. Chief Justice Raymond Zondo's report identified over 1,000 individuals as implicated in corruption, recommended prosecutions, and proposed institutional reforms including an independent anti-corruption body. President Ramaphosa published a formal response plan in October 2022 committing to 60 specific actions. The pace of prosecutions has been a persistent point of public and political controversy: as of mid-2025, only a handful of convictions have been secured. The Hawks (Directorate for Priority Crime Investigation) replaced the Scorpions (Directorate of Special Operations) in 2009 following legislation widely attributed to political pressure from Jacob Zuma's allies; the Constitutional Court found aspects of the Hawks' structure unconstitutional in 2011 (*Glenister v President of the Republic of South Africa*). The Madlanga Commission of Inquiry referenced in the broadcast relates to the suspension of Police Minister Senzo Mchunu and the appointment of an acting minister, which was challenged in the Constitutional Court. The R11 billion recovery figure includes settlements by international consulting firms (notably McKinsey and Bain & Company) who returned fees earned during state capture. The Daily Maverick's estimate of R1.5 trillion in total corruption proceeds is a journalistic estimate, not an audited figure.



## CHAPTER 3 — 15 CRITERIA: DETAILED ANALYSIS

### Hard Facts — 9 techniques that are countable and scientifically verifiable

#### 1. EXPERT SELECTION

8/10

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**Expert 1:** Advocate Paul Hoffman, Director, Accountability Now

Timestamp: 00:39

Statement: "I'm afraid the president's announcement is really just a counter to the unhappiness expressed by the former Chief Justice Raymond Zondo"

Classification: Hoffman is a practising advocate and director of Accountability Now, an NGO he co-founded that has litigated extensively against the South African government on anti-corruption matters, including the Glenister case referenced in the broadcast. He is not a neutral academic analyst; he is an active litigant with a documented adversarial relationship to the ANC government.

Missing Counter-Voice: A government legal advisor, NPA representative, or independent constitutional law academic would have provided a structurally different perspective.

#### Source Depth Check:

**(a) FUNDING:** Accountability Now is a non-profit civil society organisation. Its funding sources are not publicly disclosed in detail on its website. It appears to rely on donor funding and pro bono legal work. The absence of transparent funding disclosure means potential donor influence cannot be assessed. Structural interest: the organisation's institutional relevance depends on the continued salience of anti-corruption accountability failures; it has an institutional interest in emphasising the inadequacy of government progress.

**(b) MANDATE:** Accountability Now's stated mandate is to hold government accountable through litigation and advocacy. This mandate is structurally incompatible with neutral assessment of government progress — the organisation exists to find government accountability efforts insufficient.

Dimension	Score	Justification
D1 Conflict of Interest	-2	Active litigant against the government on the precise issues discussed; institutional interest in emphasising failure
D2 Personal Risk	+1	Hoffman has maintained consistent positions over many years at some professional cost; not a risk-free position in South African legal circles
D3 Subject Competence	+2	Qualified advocate with extensive constitutional law and anti-corruption litigation experience; competent on legal-institutional questions
D4 Opinion Consistency	+2	Hoffman's positions on the need for an independent anti-corruption body are long-standing and consistent across years of public commentary
D5 Emotionalisation vs. Data	-1	Mix of legal argument and rhetorical flourish; "criminal enterprise" (06:01) and "drop in the ocean" (02:44) are emotive rather than data-driven characterisations



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D6 Source Level	0	Secondary source — commenting on primary documents (Zondo report, Presidency progress report) rather than presenting original research
TOTAL	+2	

SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW (+2, range -4 to +4)

**(c) PROFESSIONAL EXPERTISE:** The anchor introduces Hoffman as "Advocate Paul Hoffman, director at Accountability Now" without disclosing that Accountability Now is an advocacy organisation that has litigated against the government on the precise issues under discussion. The framing "Advocate" (a professional title) lends an air of neutral legal authority to what is structurally a partisan advocacy position. This constitutes Technique 2 (Source Selection) — a structurally interested party is presented as a neutral expert.

*Missing Expert Groups:*

- Independent constitutional law academic (e.g., from a South African university law faculty) with no litigation interest
- NPA spokesperson or senior prosecutor with direct knowledge of state capture case management
- Government-side legal advisor or Presidency spokesperson

Summary: The broadcast relies on a single expert who is an active litigant against the government on the precise issues under discussion, introduced without disclosure of this structural conflict of interest. The source rates YELLOW on the credibility matrix, with a significant conflict-of-interest deduction (-2) that is never disclosed to viewers.



## 2. SOURCE SELECTION

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Claims without primary source = penalty points (rumour check)

### Source 1: Presidency Progress Report (Quarter 4, 2024/2025)

#### Timestamp

00:00–00:43 — Statement: "48% of the 60 actions identified in President Ramaphosa's October 2022 response plan have been completed or substantially completed"

- (a) **Funding and governance:** Official government document produced by the Presidency; publicly available
- (b) **Structural conflict of interest:** Government self-reporting on its own performance — inherent limitation acknowledged; however, this is the primary document under discussion and its inclusion is appropriate
- (c) **Missing counter-source:** An independent audit or assessment of the Presidency's claims (e.g., by the Auditor-General, an academic institution, or an independent think tank) is entirely absent

### Source 2: Former Chief Justice Raymond Zondo (cited second-hand)

#### Timestamp

01:33–02:17 — Statement: "he felt terrible when he had to swear in cabinet ministers whom he had actually identified as suspects in the state capture report"

- (a) **Funding:** Independent judiciary — no funding conflict
- (b) **Structural conflict:** Zondo has a personal and institutional stake in the implementation of his own commission's recommendations; this is a relevant contextual factor not disclosed
- (c) The source is cited second-hand through the guest, who paraphrases a Sunday Times interview; the original interview is not quoted directly

### Source 3: Chancellor of Free State University, Ponong Mahali (cited second-hand)

#### Timestamp

05:33–05:57 — Statement: "greed is at the root of the problems in South Africa and that the once glorious ANC had turned itself into a criminal enterprise"

- (a) **Funding:** University chancellor — publicly funded academic institution
- (b) **Structural conflict:** An academic speech at an award ceremony in America is cited as authoritative characterisation of the ANC as a "criminal enterprise" — this is a political opinion, not an academic finding, and is presented without that qualification
- (c) No primary source (the speech itself) is cited; this is a tertiary reference (guest citing a speech he heard about)

### Source 4: Daily Maverick (cited second-hand)

#### Timestamp

13:48–13:54 — Statement: "The Daily Maverick has gone as far as to suggest that a trillion and a half is the sum total of the proceeds of corruption in South Africa"

- (a) **Funding:** Daily Maverick is an independent online news publication funded by subscriptions and advertising; it has a documented editorial stance that is broadly anti-ANC on accountability issues
- (b) **Structural conflict:** The R1.5 trillion figure is a journalistic estimate, not an audited or peer-reviewed figure; it is presented without qualification as a credible benchmark
- (c) No primary financial forensics source is cited to verify or contextualise this figure

Rumour Check (Penalty Points):

**President:** Schläpfer, David - **Contact:** [kontakt@SVFAB.ch](mailto:kontakt@SVFAB.ch) - **Address:** SVFAB, Postfach, CH-8021 Zurich 1



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Rumour 1:

Timestamp: 13:48

Claim: "a trillion and a half is the sum total of the proceeds of corruption in South Africa"

Word marker: "has gone as far as to suggest"

Primary source present: No — this is a journalistic estimate cited second-hand without methodology disclosure — +1 penalty point

Rumour 2:

Timestamp: 13:37–13:42

Claim: "11 billion is probably about 10% of what was stolen during the state capture process"

Word marker: "probably"

Primary source present: No — this is the guest's own estimate without citation of a primary source — +1 penalty point

Summary: The broadcast draws on four sources, of which one is the primary document under discussion (appropriate), two are second-hand citations of political opinions presented as analytical findings, and one is a journalistic estimate presented as a credible financial benchmark. No independent, peer-reviewed, or audited source is used to contextualise any of the key figures. Two penalty points are added for unverified claims presented without primary source citation.



3. TIME DISTRIBUTION							7/10		
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Estimated speaking time:

- Advocate Paul Hoffman (critic of government): approximately 10 minutes 30 seconds (approx. 66%)
- Anchor Leanne (reinforcing critical framing): approximately 4 minutes 30 seconds (approx. 28%)
- Government/Presidency position (read from report, no live voice): approximately 1 minute (approx. 6%)
- Any pro-government or alternative voice: 0 minutes (0%)

Summary: The entire 16-minute broadcast allocates approximately 94% of speaking time to a single critical perspective (guest plus anchor reinforcement), with the government's position represented only through brief anchor readings from the progress report that are immediately subjected to critique. No alternative voice receives any speaking time. This distribution fails the balance standard under BCCSA Code Clause 18.



4. SELECTIVE OMISSION								8/10	
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Omission 1:										
<b>Context</b>		The methodology behind the 48% completion figure is questioned (03:14: "I really don't know what formula was used") but no attempt is made to obtain the Presidency's explanation of the methodology before or during the broadcast.								
Relevant at: 03:14–03:31										
<b>Effect</b>		The absence of the Presidency's methodological explanation allows the guest's scepticism to stand as the only analytical frame, creating the impression that the figure is inherently suspect rather than simply unexplained in the broadcast.								

Omission 2:										
<b>Context</b>		The R11 billion recovery figure is contextualised by the guest as "largely money given back by organisations like Bain" (13:03), but the full composition of the R11 billion — which includes asset forfeitures, civil recoveries, and criminal confiscations beyond consulting firm settlements — is never examined.								
Relevant at: 12:32–13:57										
<b>Effect</b>		The partial characterisation of the R11 billion as merely consulting firm settlements understates the diversity of recovery mechanisms and creates a misleadingly narrow picture of what the figure represents.								

Omission 3:										
<b>Context</b>		The guest's claim that "the ANC just cannot bring itself to obey the court order" (09:06–09:13) regarding the Glenister Constitutional Court ruling is presented as established fact, but the government's legal position — that the Hawks have been reformed to comply with the ruling — is never introduced.								
Relevant at: 08:08–09:36										
<b>Effect</b>		Viewers receive only one side of an active legal and constitutional dispute, presented as settled fact rather than contested interpretation.								

Summary: Three systematic omissions work in concert to present the government's accountability record as indefensible: the Presidency's own explanatory voice is absent, the R11 billion figure is partially mischaracterised without correction, and the government's legal position on the Constitutional Court order is never introduced. Each omission individually might be explained by time constraints; together they constitute a pattern of selective omission that systematically disadvantages the government's position.

### Missing Voices

- Presidency spokesperson / ANC government representative: Would have provided the methodology behind the 48% completion figure and the sequencing rationale for the response plan
- NPA spokesperson or senior prosecutor: Would have explained prosecutorial capacity constraints, case complexity, and the legal standards required for state capture prosecutions



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- Independent constitutional law academic: Would have provided an unaffiliated assessment of the Glenister Constitutional Court order and whether the current Hawks structure violates it
- Corruption Watch representative: Would have provided civil society accountability perspective without Accountability Now's specific litigation interests and adversarial posture toward the ANC
- Financial forensics expert (independent): Would have provided a verified assessment of the R11 billion recovery figure, the Daily Maverick's R1.5 trillion estimate, and what proportion of losses has been recovered
- Direct victim of state capture: Would have grounded the abstract accountability debate in concrete human impact
- DA parliamentary spokesperson on justice: Would have provided the GNU coalition's official position on the progress report within the coalition framework
- EFF or MK representative: Would have provided the radical opposition's assessment of accountability failures, offering a left-populist framing distinct from Accountability Now's constitutionalist framing



## 5. NUMERICAL MANIPULATION

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

### Finding 1:

Timestamp 02:20–03:12

Number: "48% of the recommendations have been attended to" / "four [convictions] in three years" / "a thousand [implicated individuals]"

Dimensions shown: (a) Absolute values — 48%, 4 convictions, 1,000 implicated

Dimensions missing: (b) Proportion — the 48% figure is not broken down by category of recommendation (legislative, institutional, prosecutorial); (c) Trend — no comparison with the pace of implementation in year 1 vs. year 3 of the response plan is provided

#### Missing context

The 60 actions in the response plan vary enormously in complexity — some are legislative (requiring parliamentary process) and some are administrative (requiring executive action); treating all 60 as equivalent units distorts the 48% figure

#### Effect

The juxtaposition of "48% complete" with "only 4 convictions from 1,000 implicated" creates a false equivalence — the 48% refers to a broad action plan, not specifically to prosecutions — suggesting the government is claiming more prosecutorial progress than it actually is

### Finding 2:

Timestamp 13:37–13:54

Number: "11 billion is probably about 10% of what was stolen" / "a trillion and a half is the sum total"

Dimensions shown: (a) Absolute value — R11 billion recovered; (b) Proportion — claimed to be 10% of total

Dimensions missing: (c) Trend — no timeline of recovery is provided; no comparison with international asset recovery benchmarks

#### Missing context

The R1.5 trillion figure is a journalistic estimate with no disclosed methodology; using it as the denominator to calculate a 10% recovery rate presents an unverified estimate as an established baseline

#### Effect

The "10% recovery" framing makes the R11 billion appear negligible, but this calculation rests entirely on an unverified denominator

### Finding 3:

Timestamp 10:48–11:00

Number: "21% of 218 state capture related investigations have reached trial or finalisation"

Dimensions shown: (a) Absolute — 21% of 218

Dimensions missing: (b) Proportion of total implicated individuals (218 investigations vs. 1,000+ implicated — the relationship is not explained); (c) Trend — no year-on-year comparison of investigation progress

#### Missing context

The relationship between "investigations" and "implicated individuals" is not clarified; 218 investigations could cover multiple implicated individuals each, or could represent a small fraction of the total caseload



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#### Effect

The anchor presents this figure as self-evidently damning ("this pace can't be defensible") without providing the contextual framework needed to assess whether 21% in three years is fast or slow by comparative standards

Summary: Three numerical findings demonstrate a consistent pattern: absolute figures are cited without proportional or trend context, unverified estimates are used as analytical baselines, and the anchor reinforces the guest's dismissive framing of government statistics without seeking independent verification. The Dreiklang test (absolute/proportion/trend) fails on all three findings.



<b>6. GUILT BY ASSOCIATION</b>									<b>5/10</b>
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<b>Association 1:</b>	
<b>Timestamp</b>	05:44–05:57
<b>Quote</b>	<i>"the once glorious ANC had turned itself into a criminal enterprise"</i>
Technique: The ANC as a governing institution is equated with organised crime through the citation of a third-party speech (Free State University chancellor). The characterisation is not attributed to the guest directly but is endorsed by him: "that is really why the president seems to think that it's quite all right that so little has been done" (06:01)	
<b>Effect</b>	The ANC government's accountability failures are reframed not as institutional dysfunction or political failure but as the deliberate conduct of a criminal organisation — a characterisation that goes significantly beyond what the Zondo Commission itself concluded

<b>Association 2:</b>	
<b>Timestamp</b>	06:10–06:32
<b>Quote</b>	<i>"appoint and even promote — one was Zizi Kodwa — was a deputy minister and he was promoted to a minister and he was even charged in between times"</i>
Technique: President Ramaphosa is associated with the promotion of a charged individual, implying personal complicity in corruption rather than institutional failure in vetting processes	
<b>Effect</b>	The association between Ramaphosa's appointment decisions and Kodwa's charges implies the President knowingly promoted a corrupt individual, without establishing what Ramaphosa knew at the time of appointment

<b>Association 3:</b>	
<b>Timestamp</b>	11:14–11:20
<b>Quote</b>	<i>"the justice system moves slowly because the ANC doesn't want it to move fast"</i>
Technique: Institutional slowness in the justice system — which has multiple structural causes including resource constraints, case complexity, and judicial independence — is attributed exclusively to ANC political will, associating the entire justice system's pace with ANC bad faith	
<b>Effect</b>	This framing associates every delay in state capture prosecutions with deliberate ANC obstruction, precluding any structural or institutional explanation

Summary: The broadcast contains three guilt-by-association instances of escalating severity: the ANC is characterised as a "criminal enterprise," the President is associated with the knowing promotion of a charged individual, and the entire justice system's pace is attributed to ANC bad faith. None of these associations is challenged by the anchor or subjected to the standard of evidence that would be required in a court of law. The guest's characterisations are presented as analytical conclusions rather than advocacy positions.



## 7. TIMING

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### Finding 1:

Position: 00:00–00:43 (Opening)

Content: The broadcast opens with the Presidency's positive framing ("significant progress," "48% completed," "R11 billion recovered") before immediately transitioning to a critic. The positive framing is introduced only to be demolished — it functions as a rhetorical setup rather than a genuine presentation of the government's position.

Timing Effect: By opening with the government's claims and immediately subjecting them to sustained critique without any government voice, the broadcast establishes a "claim vs. reality" narrative structure in which the government's position is the claim and the guest's critique is the reality. This framing is set in the first 43 seconds and is never disrupted.

### Finding 2:

Position: 15:32–15:48 (Closing)

Content: "the bills that the DA — Breytenbach — private members bills for the creation of an anti-corruption commission should be processed quickly and partly"

Timing Effect: The broadcast closes with an implicit endorsement of a specific DA legislative proposal. Placing this at the end of the segment gives it the rhetorical weight of a conclusion — the "solution" to the problems identified throughout the broadcast is a DA bill. This is the only constructive proposal offered, and it is placed in the closing position for maximum retention.

### Finding 3:

Position: 04:41–05:27 (Middle — emotional peak)

Content: The anchor reads an extended quotation from former Chief Justice Zondo about the "emotional and moral burden" of swearing in implicated cabinet ministers, then asks: "what does this tell you about the president and how seriously he's honestly taking this?"

Timing Effect: The emotional quotation from a highly respected figure (Zondo) is placed at the midpoint of the broadcast to create an emotional peak before the guest's most damaging characterisations ("criminal enterprise," 05:55). The sequencing — respected authority expresses moral anguish → guest provides analytical explanation — is a classic emotional priming technique.

Summary: The broadcast's timing structure follows a deliberate arc: government claims introduced as setup (opening) → emotional priming via Zondo quotation (middle) → "criminal enterprise" characterisation (middle) → DA solution endorsed (closing). This arc is not consistent with neutral reporting; it follows the structure of an advocacy presentation.



## 8. SELECTIVE OUTRAGE

6/10

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Outrage = bias. Selective outrage amplifies the finding. Score = outrage level (0–5) + selectivity (0–5)

*Methodological Principle (v3.0): The trigger event must be documented before each assessment. A reaction can only be assessed as selective if comparable triggers from other positions produced no analogous reaction.*

### Finding 1:

**Timestamp** 02:44–02:57

Trigger Event: Guest states that four state capture convictions in three years represents inadequate progress

Reaction: "I mean really that's a drop in the ocean. If we've had four since 2022, that's four in three years" — the anchor adopts the guest's framing and amplifies it with her own rhetorical emphasis

### Comparison

No comparable trigger event involving opposition parties (EFF, MK) or other political actors is present in the broadcast; the anchor does not apply equivalent scepticism to any other claim

Asymmetry: Confirmed — the anchor's rhetorical endorsement of the guest's critique of the ANC government is not matched by any equivalent critical scrutiny of any other political actor or institution

Outrage Level: 3/5

Selectivity: 4/5

### Finding 2:

**Timestamp** 04:41–05:27

Trigger Event: Anchor reads Zondo's statement about the "emotional and moral burden" of swearing in implicated ministers

Reaction: "You know, these are great concerns... this is coming from somebody who sat through this commission... what does this tell you about the president and how seriously he's honestly taking this?" — the anchor editorialises extensively, expressing personal concern and directing the question toward presidential culpability

### Comparison

No comparable emotional engagement is displayed when discussing structural issues (e.g., NPA capacity, case complexity) that might contextualise the slow pace of prosecutions

Asymmetry: Confirmed — the anchor's emotional engagement is exclusively directed at government failures; no equivalent concern is expressed for the complexity of the accountability challenge or for any other political actor

Outrage Level: 3/5

Selectivity: 4/5

### Finding 3:

**Timestamp** 10:04–11:13

Trigger Event: Anchor introduces the statistic that 21% of 218 state capture investigations have reached trial or finalisation

Reaction: "this pace can't be defensible. It really, really can't" — the anchor makes an editorial judgment, using repetition for emphasis ("really, really")



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### Comparison

No comparable editorial judgment is applied to any other institution or political actor in the broadcast

Asymmetry: Confirmed — the anchor's editorial condemnation is exclusively directed at the pace of government accountability; no equivalent standard is applied to any other actor

Outrage Level: 2/5

Selectivity: 4/5

Summary: The anchor displays a consistent pattern of selective outrage: editorial condemnation and emotional engagement are exclusively directed at the ANC government's accountability record, with no equivalent critical scrutiny applied to any other political actor, institution, or claim. The trigger events are real (slow prosecutions, implicated ministers appointed to cabinet) but the asymmetric emotional response — endorsing the guest's most damaging characterisations while never questioning any of his claims — constitutes a systematic departure from the impartiality standard.



## 9. SELECTIVE OMISSION — OVERALL PICTURE

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### Finding 1:

**Timestamp** 00:00–16:02 (entire broadcast)

**Missing Perspective/Fact:** The NPA's institutional perspective on prosecutorial capacity, case complexity, and the legal standards required for state capture prosecutions is entirely absent

**Relevance:** State capture cases are among the most complex criminal matters in South African legal history, involving multiple accused, extensive documentary evidence, international dimensions, and novel legal questions; the pace of prosecutions cannot be assessed without this context

#### Effect

The absence of the NPA's perspective allows the guest's claim that "the justice system moves slowly because the ANC doesn't want it to move fast" (11:14) to stand as the only explanation, converting a complex institutional question into a simple political bad-faith narrative

### Finding 2:

**Timestamp** 12:32–13:57

**Missing Perspective/Fact:** The full composition of the R11 billion recovery figure — which includes not only consulting firm settlements but also asset forfeitures, civil recoveries, and criminal confiscations — is never examined

**Relevance:** The guest's characterisation of the R11 billion as "largely money given back by organisations like Bain" (13:03) may be accurate or may be a partial characterisation; without independent verification, viewers cannot assess its accuracy

#### Effect

If the R11 billion includes a broader range of recovery mechanisms than the guest acknowledges, the broadcast has systematically understated the scope of financial accountability achieved

### Finding 3:

**Timestamp** 05:44–06:01

**Missing Perspective/Fact:** The characterisation of the ANC as a "criminal enterprise" (citing the Free State University chancellor's speech) is presented without any contextualisation of what the Zondo Commission itself actually concluded about the ANC as an institution

**Relevance:** The Zondo Commission's report made findings about specific individuals and specific institutional failures; it did not characterise the ANC as a criminal enterprise; the distinction between individual corruption and institutional criminality is legally and analytically significant

#### Effect

Viewers are left with the impression that the "criminal enterprise" characterisation has authoritative backing, when in fact it is a political opinion expressed at an award ceremony

**Summary:** The broadcast's completeness failures are systematic rather than incidental: the NPA's institutional voice, the full composition of the recovery figure, and the actual conclusions of the Zondo Commission are all absent in ways that consistently favour the guest's most damaging characterisations of the government. The completeness score of 2/10 from Step 2 is confirmed by this detailed analysis.

*Share of covered perspectives*

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*Inverted: original value measures coverage (higher = better). Shown as deviation (higher = larger gaps).*

**[A] The Presidency / ANC government:** official explanation of the 48% completion methodology, what "substantially completed" means, and the sequencing rationale for the response plan

**[B] National Prosecuting Authority (NPA):** explanation of prosecutorial capacity, case complexity, and the legal reasons for the pace of state capture prosecutions

**[C] Former Chief Justice Raymond Zondo:** his own words on the progress report (referenced but not directly quoted from the report itself)

**[D] Civil society:** pro-accountability but independent of Accountability Now: e.g., Corruption Watch, Transparency International South Africa

**[E] Legal academics specialising in constitutional law and anti-corruption frameworks:** independent assessment of the Hawks/Scorpions debate and the Constitutional Court order

**[F] Victims of state capture:** communities and individuals who suffered direct harm from SOE looting

**[G] Opposition parties (EFF, MK):** their assessment of the progress report and accountability failures

**[H] GNU coalition partners (DA, IFP):** their official positions on the progress report within the coalition framework

**[I] International comparative perspective:** how other post-corruption-commission countries have managed prosecution timelines

**[J] Financial forensics expert:** independent assessment of the R11 billion recovery figure and what proportion of total losses it represents

### Assessment: Was Each Perspective Addressed?

#### **[A] OMITTED**

Timestamp: 00:00–00:43 — The Presidency's report is introduced by the anchor but immediately handed to a critic. Quote: "The presidency says there has been significant progress made" — Assessment: The Presidency's own explanatory voice is entirely absent; its claims are introduced only as a target for critique.

#### **[B] OMITTED**

Timestamp: 11:14 — Quote: "I'm afraid the justice system moves slowly because the ANC doesn't want it to move fast" — Assessment: The NPA's institutional perspective on prosecutorial capacity, case complexity, and resource constraints is never sought; the sole explanation offered is political bad faith.

#### **[C] PARTIALLY ADDRESSED**

Timestamp: 01:33–02:17 — Quote: "he felt terrible when he had to swear in cabinet ministers whom he had actually identified as suspects in the state capture report" — Assessment: Zondo's remarks are reported second-hand through the guest; no direct quotation from Zondo's report or his full statement is provided.

#### **[D] OMITTED**

Timestamp: N/A — No independent civil society voice beyond Accountability Now is present. Assessment: Organisations such as Corruption Watch or Transparency International SA would have provided accountability-focused perspectives without Accountability Now's specific litigation interests.

#### **[E] OMITTED**

Timestamp: N/A — The Constitutional Court's 2011 Glenister ruling is cited by the guest (08:08) but no independent legal academic is consulted to assess whether the guest's interpretation of the binding order is accurate.

#### **[F] OMITTED**

Timestamp: N/A — No voice from communities or individuals directly harmed by state capture (e.g., Eskom-affected municipalities, SAA employees, PRASA communities) is present.

#### **[G] OMITTED**



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Timestamp: N/A — Neither EFF nor MK, both of which have strong stated positions on ANC accountability failures, are represented.

**[H] PARTIALLY ADDRESSED**

Timestamp: 15:32 — Quote: "the bills that the DA — Breytenbach — private members bills for the creation of an anti-corruption commission should be processed quickly" — Assessment: The DA's position is cited approvingly by the guest but no DA representative speaks directly.

**[I] OMITTED**

Timestamp: N/A — No comparative international context is provided regarding prosecution timelines in comparable post-commission environments.

**[J] PARTIALLY ADDRESSED**

Timestamp: 13:00–13:57 — Quote: "The 11 billion is actually largely money that was given back by organisations like Bain" — Assessment: The guest provides a partial contextualisation of the R11 billion figure, but no independent financial forensics expert is consulted to verify or challenge this characterisation.

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**Completeness Score: 2/10**

**Justification:** Of ten relevant perspectives identified, only two are partially addressed (C, J) and one is partially cited without direct representation (H). Seven perspectives are entirely absent. The broadcast is structured as a single-voice critique of the Presidency's progress report, with the anchor actively reinforcing the guest's framing rather than introducing alternative perspectives. This represents a fundamental failure of the completeness standard required under BCCSA Code Clause 18.



## Soft Facts — 6 qualitative techniques

### 10. FRAMING

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#### Finding 1:

##### Timestamp

00:54–01:14

##### Quote

*"the reports coming out claiming half of the president's response plan have been, you know, substantially complete or complete but public confidence doesn't seem to be any higher"*

##### Manipulation

The anchor frames the broadcast's central question as a contradiction between government claims and public confidence, establishing from the outset that the government's progress report is a "claim" to be sceptically examined rather than a document to be assessed on its merits. The word "claiming" (rather than "reporting" or "stating") signals epistemic doubt before any analysis has occurred.

##### Why problematic

This framing predetermines the analytical framework — the government is positioned as making claims that require external validation, while the guest is positioned as providing that validation. A neutral framing would have presented the progress report as a document to be assessed from multiple perspectives.

#### Finding 2:

##### Timestamp

05:23–05:29

##### Quote

*"what does this tell you about the president and how seriously he's honestly taking this?"*

##### Manipulation

The anchor frames the question of accountability implementation as a question about the President's personal honesty and commitment, shifting from institutional analysis to personal character assessment. The word "honestly" implies that the President may be dishonest.

##### Why problematic

This framing personalises a systemic institutional question and invites the guest to make character judgments about the President — which he does, citing the "criminal enterprise" characterisation — rather than analysing institutional mechanisms and constraints.

#### Finding 3:

##### Timestamp

10:04–10:30

##### Quote

*"South Africans are just getting poorer because we're paying for all these suggestions, all these commissions, all these inquiries and we're talking billions. This is taxpayers money"*

##### Manipulation

The anchor frames the accountability process itself — commissions, inquiries, legal proceedings — as a cost to taxpayers rather than as a constitutional mechanism for addressing corruption. This framing positions the accountability infrastructure as part of the problem rather than as the solution.



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**Why  
problematic**

This framing conflates the cost of accountability mechanisms with the cost of corruption itself, potentially undermining public support for the very institutions (commissions, courts, inquiries) that are necessary for accountability. It is also factually imprecise — the costs of the Zondo Commission are a fraction of the estimated losses from state capture.

Summary: The broadcast's framing is consistently adversarial toward the government: the progress report is framed as a "claim," the President's commitment is framed as a question of personal honesty, and the accountability process itself is framed as a taxpayer burden. These three framing choices work together to position the government as both dishonest and wasteful, without any countervailing frame.



<b>11. WORD CHOICE AND TERMINOLOGY</b>									<b>6/10</b>
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<b>Finding 1:</b>	
<b>Timestamp</b>	02:44
<b>Quote</b>	<i>"I mean really that's a drop in the ocean" (anchor, not guest)</i>
<b>Manipulation</b>	The anchor adopts the guest's dismissive idiom, using "drop in the ocean" to characterise four state capture convictions. This is an editorial judgment expressed in colloquial language that signals personal agreement with the guest's critique.
<b>Why problematic</b>	A neutral alternative would be: "Four convictions in three years — how does that compare with the scale of the task?" The anchor's adoption of the guest's language collapses the distinction between interviewer and advocate.

<b>Finding 2:</b>	
<b>Timestamp</b>	05:44–05:57
<b>Quote</b>	<i>"the once glorious ANC had turned itself into a criminal enterprise" (guest, unchallenged)</i>
<b>Manipulation</b>	"Criminal enterprise" is a legal term of art (used in RICO-style organised crime legislation) that implies systematic, organised criminality at an institutional level. Its use to describe the ANC as a governing party is not challenged by the anchor despite being a significant escalation beyond what the Zondo Commission concluded.
<b>Why problematic</b>	A neutral anchor would have noted that "criminal enterprise" is a specific legal characterisation that goes beyond the Zondo Commission's findings and asked the guest to justify the terminology. The failure to challenge it constitutes implicit endorsement.

<b>Finding 3:</b>	
<b>Timestamp</b>	01:27–01:30
<b>Quote</b>	<i>"the president's announcement is really just a counter to the unhappiness expressed by the former Chief Justice"</i>
<b>Manipulation</b>	"Really just a counter" frames the Presidency's progress report as a reactive political manoeuvre rather than a substantive accountability document. The word "just" is a minimising qualifier that dismisses the report's content before it is examined.
<b>Why problematic</b>	A neutral alternative would be: "The Presidency has published its progress report, which coincides with Chief Justice Zondo's recent comments." The guest's framing — adopted without challenge — predetermines the report's purpose as political rather than substantive.

Summary: The broadcast's language consistently adopts the guest's adversarial framing: the anchor uses the guest's dismissive idioms, allows legally loaded terminology ("criminal enterprise") to stand unchallenged, and the guest's minimising language ("really just a counter") is never questioned. The cumulative effect is a broadcast that speaks in the register of advocacy rather than journalism.



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## 12. MODERATION BEHAVIOUR

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*Methodological Principle (v3.0): The trigger event must be documented before each assessment. An intervention can only be assessed as asymmetric if comparable triggers from other guests produced no analogous intervention.*

### Finding 1:

**Timestamp** 02:44–02:57

Trigger Event: Guest characterises four convictions as inadequate progress

Anchor Reaction: "I mean really that's a drop in the ocean. If we've had four since 2022, that's four in three years" — the anchor does not ask a follow-up question; she makes an independent editorial statement that reinforces and amplifies the guest's claim

### Comparison

No comparable trigger event from a pro-government position is present; the anchor never makes an equivalent editorial statement endorsing any government claim

Asymmetry: Confirmed — the anchor functions as a co-advocate rather than an interviewer at this moment

### Finding 2:

**Timestamp** 04:18–05:29

Trigger Event: Anchor reads Zondo's statement about swearing in implicated ministers

Anchor Reaction: Extended editorial commentary: "You know, these are great concerns... this is coming from somebody who sat through this commission... what does this tell you about the president and how seriously he's honestly taking this?" — the anchor editorialises for approximately 70 seconds before asking a leading question

### Comparison

No comparable editorial commentary is offered when the guest makes claims that might be questioned (e.g., the "criminal enterprise" characterisation, the unverified R1.5 trillion figure)

Asymmetry: Confirmed — the anchor's editorial engagement is exclusively directed at reinforcing the critical narrative; no equivalent engagement is directed at scrutinising the guest's claims

### Finding 3:

**Timestamp** 13:00–13:57

Trigger Event: Guest characterises the R11 billion recovery as "largely money given back by organisations like Bain"

Anchor Reaction: No challenge, no follow-up question seeking verification; the anchor allows the characterisation to stand and moves to the next topic

### Comparison

The anchor does challenge the government's 48% figure (03:14: "Are they doing that in terms of value, in terms of number of recommendations?") but does not apply equivalent scepticism to the guest's unverified characterisation of the R11 billion

Asymmetry: Confirmed — the anchor applies sceptical follow-up questions to government claims but not to the guest's claims, creating a systematic asymmetry in scrutiny



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Summary: The anchor's moderation behaviour is systematically asymmetric: government claims are met with sceptical follow-up questions and editorial dismissal, while the guest's claims — including legally loaded characterisations and unverified figures — are accepted without challenge. The anchor functions at multiple points as a co-advocate rather than an impartial interviewer, in direct violation of the BCCSA Code's impartiality requirement.



### 13. QUESTION ASYMMETRY

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#### Asymmetry 1:

To Presidency (via anchor reading from report), 00:54–01:14: "the reports coming out claiming half of the president's response plan have been, you know, substantially complete or complete but public confidence doesn't seem to be any higher — how do we reconcile these two differences?" — Hard/Challenging: the government's claim is immediately juxtaposed with a contradicting metric (public confidence) before any analysis

To Advocate Hoffman, 00:43–00:46: "Advocate, thank you for joining us. It's great to have you." — Soft/Welcoming: no challenging question is posed to the guest at any point in the broadcast

Comparison: The government's position is subjected to immediate sceptical framing; the guest's position is welcomed and reinforced throughout. No challenging question is directed at the guest — not about his organisation's funding, his litigation interests, his methodology, or his most extreme characterisations.

#### Asymmetry 2:

To Presidency (implicit), 10:56–11:00: "this pace can't be defensible. It really, really can't" — the anchor makes an editorial judgment that functions as a rhetorical question implying the government has no defence

To Advocate Hoffman (implicit), 13:00–13:57: [no challenge] — the guest's characterisation of the R11 billion as "largely Bain money" is accepted without any equivalent editorial scrutiny

Comparison: The anchor applies an editorial standard of "indefensible" to government performance but applies no equivalent standard to the guest's unverified claims.

#### Asymmetry 3:

To Presidency (implicit), 05:23–05:29: "what does this tell you about the president and how seriously he's honestly taking this?" — the question invites a character judgment about the President's honesty

To Advocate Hoffman: No equivalent question about Accountability Now's funding, litigation interests, or the basis for characterising the ANC as a "criminal enterprise" is ever posed

Comparison: The President's personal honesty is questioned; the guest's institutional interests and analytical methodology are never examined.

Summary: The question asymmetry is total: the government's position is subjected to sceptical, challenging, and at times editorial framing throughout the broadcast, while the guest's position is welcomed, reinforced, and never subjected to any critical scrutiny. This asymmetry is the most direct expression of the broadcast's structural imbalance.



## 14. FALSE BALANCE

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### Finding 1:

#### Timestamp

12:39–12:50

Construct: "okay I mean that's great. I suppose one would say that's really great but critics argue that without high-profile convictions it actually means nothing"

#### Analysis

The anchor briefly acknowledges the R11 billion recovery ("that's great") before immediately dismissing it ("but critics argue"). This creates a superficial appearance of balance — the government's achievement is nominally acknowledged — while the actual analytical weight is entirely on the dismissive side. The "balance" is performative rather than substantive.

Summary: The broadcast does not attempt systematic false balance — it does not present two equally weighted sides. The single instance of nominal acknowledgment of a government achievement (R11 billion recovery) is immediately undermined, suggesting the anchor is aware of the need for some appearance of balance but does not sustain it. The false balance score is relatively low because the broadcast does not pretend to be balanced — it is openly one-sided.



## 15. AGENDA-SETTING

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### Finding 1:

Agenda Element Set: The inadequacy of the government's accountability response is treated as self-evident — the broadcast's entire structure assumes that the progress report's claims are false or insufficient, and the guest is invited to explain why rather than to assess whether.

#### Timestamp

00:54 — Evidence: "the reports coming out claiming half of the president's response plan have been, you know, substantially complete or complete but public confidence doesn't seem to be any higher"

Alternative Agenda: A balanced broadcast would have set the agenda as: "The Presidency has published a progress report — let us assess its claims from multiple perspectives, including the government's own explanation, independent expert assessment, and civil society critique."

### Finding 2:

Agenda Element Set: The need for an independent anti-corruption body (specifically the DA's Breytenbach bill) is set as the obvious solution to the accountability crisis.

#### Timestamp

15:32 — Evidence: "the bills that the DA — Breytenbach — private members bills for the creation of an anti-corruption commission should be processed quickly and partly"

Alternative Agenda: Other institutional reform proposals — including NPA capacity building, judicial reform, and international asset recovery cooperation — are not placed on the agenda; the DA's specific legislative proposal is presented as the singular solution.

### Finding 3:

Agenda Element Set: The ANC's governance failures are treated as the primary explanation for all accountability shortcomings, with no structural, institutional, or resource-based explanations placed on the agenda.

#### Timestamp

11:14–11:20 — Evidence: "the justice system moves slowly because the ANC doesn't want it to move fast. It's as simple as that."

Alternative Agenda: The complexity of state capture prosecutions — involving multiple accused, extensive documentary evidence, international dimensions, and novel legal questions — is entirely absent from the agenda, making the ANC's political will the only explanatory variable.

Summary: The broadcast's agenda-setting function is highly directive: the inadequacy of government accountability is treated as self-evident, the DA's legislative proposal is set as the obvious solution, and ANC political bad faith is set as the only explanatory variable for slow prosecutions. These three agenda-setting choices together constitute a coherent political narrative that aligns with the DA's accountability platform rather than with the SABC's mandate of impartial public interest broadcasting.



## CHAPTER 4 — OVERALL ASSESSMENT

### Results

- HARD FACTS SCORE (Average Criteria 1–9): 6.7 / 10
- SOFT FACTS SCORE (Average Criteria 10–15): 6.3 / 10

### Dominant Techniques

- 1. Expert Selection / Source Selection (Score 8/7):** The broadcast's most fundamental structural problem is the selection of a single expert — an active litigant against the government on the precise issues under discussion — without disclosure of his institutional conflict of interest and without any countervailing voice. This single choice determines the entire character of the broadcast: every subsequent analytical claim, every framing decision, and every agenda-setting choice flows from the decision to give a single adversarial advocate 66% of the broadcast's speaking time.
- 2. Moderation Behaviour (Score 8):** The anchor's departure from impartiality is systematic and multi-dimensional: she adopts the guest's dismissive idioms, makes independent editorial judgments endorsing his critique, applies sceptical follow-up questions exclusively to government claims, and never challenges any of the guest's characterisations — including legally loaded terminology and unverified figures. This transforms the broadcast from an interview into a joint advocacy presentation.
- 3. Completeness / Omission (Score 8/8):** The absence of seven of ten relevant perspectives — including the government's own explanatory voice, the NPA's institutional perspective, independent legal academics, and direct victims of state capture — is not incidental but structural. The broadcast is designed as a single-voice critique, and the omissions are the mechanism by which that design is maintained.

### Core Messages of the Broadcast

**\*\*MESSAGE 1 (SUBSTANTIVE):** \*\* "The government's state capture accountability progress is negligible and its claims of progress are dishonest."

**Technique:** Framing + Expert Selection + Omission — Timestamps: 00:54, 01:27, 02:44, 11:14

**\*\*MESSAGE 2 (PERSONAL):** \*\* "President Ramaphosa is personally responsible for the accountability failures and is not honestly committed to addressing them."

**Technique:** Question Asymmetry + Guilt by Association + Word Choice — Timestamps: 05:23, 06:01, 06:10

**\*\*MESSAGE 3 (INSTITUTIONAL):** \*\* "The ANC as an institution is a criminal enterprise that deliberately obstructs justice, and the solution is the DA's proposed anti-corruption commission."

**Technique:** Agenda-Setting + Timing + Guilt by Association — Timestamps: 05:44, 09:06, 15:32

### Manipulation Level Classification

Justification: With an overall score of 6.5/10, the broadcast falls at the upper boundary of "Clear One-Sidedness," approaching "Systematic Imbalance." The broadcast presents a single adversarial perspective on a matter of significant public importance — the government's accountability for state capture — without any countervailing voice, without disclosure of the guest's structural conflict of interest, and with an anchor who functions as a co-advocate rather than an impartial interviewer. The pattern of omissions, framing choices, and moderation behaviour is consistent and directional, indicating a structural rather than incidental departure from impartiality. Under Broadcasting Act s. 6 and BCCSA Code Clauses 16 and 18, the broadcast fails the standards of fairness, balance, and impartiality on multiple independently verifiable grounds.

### CONCLUSION

This SABC broadcast on the Presidency's Zondo Commission progress report constitutes a clear departure from the impartiality and balance standards required under Broadcasting Act 4 of 1999, s. 6, and BCCSA Code Clauses 16 and 18. The broadcast presents a single expert — an active litigant against the government with an undisclosed structural conflict of interest — as the sole analytical voice on a matter of significant public importance, allocating him 66% of speaking time with no countervailing perspective. The anchor's moderation behaviour systematically reinforces the



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guest's adversarial framing through editorial endorsements, adoption of dismissive idioms, and asymmetric application of sceptical scrutiny. Seven of ten relevant perspectives are entirely absent, including the government's own explanatory voice, the NPA's institutional perspective, and independent legal and financial experts. The cumulative effect is a broadcast that functions as an advocacy presentation for a specific political narrative — ANC institutional criminality, presidential dishonesty, and the DA's legislative solution — rather than as the impartial public interest journalism that the SABC's Charter requires. While the subject matter (state capture accountability) is of genuine and urgent public importance, and while critical scrutiny of government accountability claims is entirely legitimate, the Broadcasting Act's impartiality requirement demands that such scrutiny be applied within a framework that includes the government's own voice, independent expert assessment, and multiple civil society perspectives — none of which are present in this broadcast.



## OVERALL EVALUATION OF THE 15 CRITERIA

### Individual Scores — All 15 Criteria

No.	Criterion	Score	Rating
1	EXPERT SELECTION	8/10	<i>Pronounced imbalance</i>
2	SOURCE SELECTION	7/10	<i>Pronounced imbalance</i>
3	TIME DISTRIBUTION	7/10	<i>Pronounced imbalance</i>
4	SELECTIVE OMISSION	8/10	<i>Pronounced imbalance</i>
5	NUMERICAL MANIPULATION	6/10	<i>Significant imbalance</i>
6	GUILT BY ASSOCIATION	5/10	<i>Significant imbalance</i>
7	TIMING	5/10	<i>Significant imbalance</i>
8	SELECTIVE OUTRAGE	6/10	<i>Significant imbalance</i>
9	SELECTIVE OMISSION — OVERALL PICTURE	8/10	<i>Pronounced imbalance</i>
10	FRAMING	7/10	<i>Pronounced imbalance</i>
11	WORD CHOICE AND TERMINOLOGY	6/10	<i>Significant imbalance</i>
12	MODERATION BEHAVIOUR	8/10	<i>Pronounced imbalance</i>
13	QUESTION ASYMMETRY	7/10	<i>Pronounced imbalance</i>
14	FALSE BALANCE	3/10	<i>Slight imbalance</i>
15	AGENDA-SETTING	7/10	<i>Pronounced imbalance</i>

#### HARD FACTS SCORE (1-8)

**6.7/10**

*Serious deviation from the impartiality standard. High degree of deviation*

#### SOFT FACTS SCORE (9-14)

**6.3/10**

*Serious deviation from the impartiality standard. High degree of deviation*

#### OVERALL SCORE

**6.5/10**

*Serious deviation from the impartiality standard. High degree of deviation*

*Average of Hardfacts and Softfacts*



## KEY — Score Definitions

### Individual Scores per Criterion (0–10)

<b>0</b>	<b>No finding</b>	No relevant anomaly detected.
<b>1–2</b>	<b>Weak finding</b>	Minor anomaly without substantial impact on balance.
<b>3–4</b>	<b>Slight to moderate finding</b>	Recognizable tendency; low to moderate impact relevance.
<b>5</b>	<b>Moderate finding with impact</b>	Relevant imbalance affecting the audience's opinion-forming potential.
<b>6</b>	<b>Significant finding (threshold)</b>	Scores of 6 and above are classified as 'significant findings.'
<b>7</b>	<b>Significant finding</b>	Clear, well-documented imbalance with distinct impact relevance.
<b>8–9</b>	<b>Severe finding</b>	Pronounced imbalance; multiple documented individual findings in this criterion.
<b>10</b>	<b>Maximum severity</b>	Systematic, pervasive imbalance in this criterion.

### Aggregated Deviation Index — Interpretation Ranges

<b>0.0 – 2.5</b>	<b>Unremarkable</b>	No significant patterns detected; broadcast meets the impartiality standard.
<b>2.6 – 4.0</b>	<b>Slight imbalance</b>	Isolated anomalies; statistically visible but within tolerance range.
<b>4.1 – 6.0</b>	<b>Significant imbalance</b>	Multiple significant findings; relevant impairment of perspective diversity.
<b>6.1 – 8.0</b>	<b>Serious deviation from the impartiality standard. High degree of deviation</b>	Pronounced, cross-broadcast patterns; high impact relevance.
<b>8.1 – 10</b>	<b>Fundamental systemic one-sidedness. Very high bias degree</b>	Maximum severity across nearly all criteria; systematically one-sided reporting.

### Party-Political Bias (-5 to +5)

<b>-5 to -3</b>	<b>Strongly disadvantaged</b>	Party is significantly underrepresented in framing, airtime, or presentation.
<b>-2 to -1</b>	<b>Slightly disadvantaged</b>	Recognizable but minor disadvantage.
<b>0</b>	<b>Neutral</b>	No detectable favoritism or disadvantage.
<b>+1 to +2</b>	<b>Slightly favored</b>	Recognizable but minor favoritism.
<b>+3 to +5</b>	<b>Strongly favored</b>	Party is significantly overrepresented in framing, airtime, or presentation.



## CHAPTER 5 — LEGAL CLASSIFICATION (Broadcasting Act s. 6)

### Assessment under Broadcasting Act s. 6

Broadcasting Act 4 of 1999, Section 6 (SABC Charter) requires significant news and public affairs programming that meets the highest standards of journalism, including fairness, accuracy, and impartiality. BCCSA Code Clause 16 requires news to be reported truthfully, accurately and fairly, in the correct context and in a balanced manner. Clause 18 requires opposing views to be presented on controversial issues of public importance.

#### Violation 1:

Standard: BCCSA Code Clause 18 — Opposing views on controversial issues of public importance

Conduct: The broadcast presents a single perspective — that of an active litigant against the government — on the highly controversial question of the government's accountability for state capture, without any opposing or alternative view

Evidence: Timestamp 00:39–16:02 — The entire broadcast features only Advocate Paul Hoffman as analytical voice; no government representative, NPA spokesperson, independent academic, or alternative civil society voice is present at any point

Assessment: The question of whether the government's Zondo implementation progress is adequate is unambiguously a "controversial issue of public importance" within the meaning of Clause 18. The broadcast presents only one side of this controversy. This is a direct and unambiguous violation of Clause 18.

#### Violation 2:

Standard: BCCSA Code Clause 16 — News reported in correct context and in a balanced manner

Conduct: The broadcast presents the characterisation of the ANC as a "criminal enterprise" (05:55) and the claim that "the justice system moves slowly because the ANC doesn't want it to move fast" (11:14) without contextualisation, challenge, or balance

Evidence: Timestamp 05:44–05:57 — Quote: "the once glorious ANC had turned itself into a criminal enterprise" — presented without challenge; Timestamp 11:14–11:20 — Quote: "the justice system moves slowly because the ANC doesn't want it to move fast. It's as simple as that." — presented without challenge

Assessment: Both characterisations go significantly beyond what the Zondo Commission itself concluded and represent contested political opinions rather than established facts. Presenting them without contextualisation or challenge fails the "correct context" and "balanced manner" requirements of Clause 16.

#### Violation 3:

Standard: Broadcasting Act s. 6 — Highest standards of journalism, including fairness and impartiality

Conduct: The anchor's moderation behaviour — adopting the guest's dismissive idioms, making independent editorial judgments endorsing his critique, and applying sceptical scrutiny exclusively to government claims — departs from the impartiality standard

Evidence: Timestamp 02:44 — Anchor: "I mean really that's a drop in the ocean" (editorial endorsement of guest's characterisation); Timestamp 10:56 — Anchor: "this pace can't be defensible. It really, really can't" (independent editorial judgment); Timestamp 05:23 — Anchor: "what does this tell you about the president and how seriously he's honestly taking this?" (leading question implying presidential dishonesty)

Assessment: An impartial anchor's role is to facilitate the presentation of multiple perspectives, not to editorially endorse one perspective. The anchor's conduct in this broadcast crosses the line from facilitation to advocacy, violating the impartiality standard of Broadcasting Act s. 6.

#### Violation 4:

Standard: BCCSA Code Clause 16 — News reported accurately and in correct context



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**Conduct:** The R1.5 trillion figure cited by the guest (13:48–13:54) as the "sum total of the proceeds of corruption in South Africa" is a journalistic estimate from the Daily Maverick, not an audited or peer-reviewed figure; it is presented without qualification as a credible analytical baseline

**Evidence:** Timestamp 13:48–13:54 — Quote: "The Daily Maverick has gone as far as to suggest that a trillion and a half is the sum total of the proceeds of corruption in South Africa" — used immediately to calculate that R11 billion represents "about 10% of what was stolen"

**Assessment:** Using an unverified journalistic estimate as the denominator for a key analytical calculation, without disclosing its unverified status, fails the accuracy and correct context requirements of Clause 16.

### **Overall Assessment under Broadcasting Act s. 6**

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This broadcast contains four independently identifiable violations of the Broadcasting Act s. 6 and BCCSA Code standards: a direct violation of Clause 18 (no opposing views on a controversial issue of public importance), two violations of Clause 16 (failure of correct context and balance in presenting contested political characterisations as fact, and use of an unverified figure without qualification), and a violation of the Broadcasting Act s. 6 impartiality standard through the anchor's editorial conduct. The violations are not isolated or incidental — they form a consistent pattern across the entire 16-minute broadcast, indicating a structural rather than inadvertent departure from the SABC's statutory obligations. A formal complaint to the BCCSA would have a reasonable prospect of success on at least the Clause 18 ground, which is the most clearly established and the most directly supported by the transcript evidence.



## CHAPTER 6 — Source Depth Check

### Accountability Now

**1. FUNDING:** Accountability Now is a South African non-profit civil society organisation. Its funding sources are not publicly disclosed in detail on its website or in publicly available annual reports. It appears to rely on donor funding, pro bono legal work, and possibly foundation grants. The absence of transparent funding disclosure means potential donor influence — including from political foundations or international democracy-promotion organisations — cannot be assessed. This opacity is itself a relevant factor in assessing the organisation's independence.

**2. MANDATE:** Accountability Now's stated mandate is to hold government accountable through strategic litigation and public advocacy. This mandate is structurally incompatible with neutral assessment of government performance: the organisation exists to find government accountability efforts insufficient and to litigate against them. Its institutional relevance depends on the continued salience of accountability failures.

**3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Accountability Now has a direct institutional interest in the narrative that the government's accountability efforts are inadequate: this narrative justifies the organisation's existence, its litigation programme, and its public profile. The organisation has litigated the Glenister case (referenced in the broadcast at 08:08) and has been involved in multiple legal challenges to government accountability mechanisms. Hoffman is therefore not a neutral observer of the issues discussed — he is an active party to them.

### 4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX (Source Traffic Light, 6D, -2 to +2):

Dimension	Score	Justification
D1 Conflict of Interest	-2	Active litigant against the government on the precise issues discussed; institutional interest in emphasising failure
D2 Personal Risk	+1	Long-standing consistent positions maintained at some professional cost
D3 Subject Competence	+2	Qualified advocate with extensive constitutional law and anti-corruption litigation experience
D4 Opinion Consistency	+2	Positions on independent anti-corruption body are long-standing and consistent
D5 Emotionalisation vs. Data	-1	Mix of legal argument and rhetorical characterisation; "criminal enterprise" and "drop in the ocean" are emotive
D6 Source Level	0	Secondary source — commenting on primary documents rather than presenting original research
TOTAL	+2	

### SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW (+2)

**5. COUNTER-VOICE:** Independent counter-perspectives to Accountability Now's analysis would include: the NPA's institutional perspective on prosecutorial capacity; independent constitutional law academics assessing the Glenister compliance question; the Presidency's own explanation of the 48% methodology; and civil society organisations such as Corruption Watch that share accountability goals but do not have Accountability Now's specific litigation interests. None of these counter-perspectives is present in the broadcast.

**IMPORTANT NOTE:** The SABC's introduction of Hoffman as "Advocate Paul Hoffman, director at Accountability Now" without further contextualisation presents a professional title ("Advocate") and an organisation name as sufficient qualification for neutral expert status. "Advocate" is a professional designation, not a qualification for neutral analysis of government performance. "Accountability Now" is an advocacy organisation, not a research institution. The framing



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of Hoffman as a neutral expert is itself a journalistic choice that requires scrutiny — and that scrutiny is entirely absent from the broadcast.

*End of Analysis*

*Document prepared under Methodology Version 3.0-detail (K11+K8 Trigger-Event Protocol)*

*All quotations reproduced from transcript in original language*

*Legal framework: Broadcasting Act 4 of 1999, s. 6; BCCSA Code Clauses 16, 18*

### Legal and Methodological Notes

**No factual determination**

The results presented do not constitute factual determinations about individual persons, editorial teams, or broadcasts. They are the product of a standardized operationalization, not a finding of individual responsibility.

**No legal judgment**

The aggregated deviation index does not replace a legal assessment under Broadcasting Act s. 6. The determination of whether a specific broadcast violates legal requirements is exclusively the responsibility of the competent authorities (in particular BCCSA).

**No proof of causation**

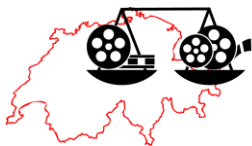
Statistical correlations are not to be interpreted as proof of causal relationships or editorial intent. Deviation values may be influenced by topic selection, news environment, political controversy, or format logic.

**No judgment of intent**

The analysis measures observable structural characteristics of broadcasts. A score of 7 means a significant imbalance was detected — not that the editorial team intended it. The methodology makes no claims about motives or strategic objectives.

**Heuristic comparison tool**

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



## APPENDIX 1: NATIONAL BROADCASTING LAW

### South Africa — Legal Framework for Broadcasting Impartiality

#### Primary Legislation

##### Broadcasting Act 4 of 1999 (as amended)

The Broadcasting Act establishes the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) as a public broadcaster and defines its Charter obligations.

Section 6 — Charter of the Corporation:

The SABC Charter mandates that the public broadcaster must:

- Provide programming that reflects South African attitudes, opinions, ideas, values and artistic creativity
- Offer a plurality of views and a variety of news, information and analysis
- Provide significant news and public affairs programming that meets the highest standards of journalism, including fairness, accuracy, and impartiality

Section 10 — Editorial Independence:

The SABC's news and current affairs programming must be independent from government or political party influence. The Board must ensure editorial policies that safeguard journalistic integrity.

##### ICASA Act 13 of 2000

The Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (ICASA) is the regulatory body responsible for broadcasting licensing and compliance.

##### Electronic Communications Act 36 of 2005

Provides the overarching regulatory framework for electronic communications, including broadcasting standards.

##### BCCSA Broadcasting Code of Conduct

The Broadcasting Complaints Commission of South Africa (BCCSA) enforces the Free-to-Air Broadcasting Code of Conduct, which includes:

Clause 16 — News:

- News must be reported truthfully, accurately and fairly
- News must be presented in the correct context and in a balanced manner
- Only verified facts may be presented as facts; opinions must be clearly identified as such

Clause 17 — Comment:

- Comment must be clearly distinguished from fact
- Comment must be an honest expression of opinion and must be presented fairly

Clause 18 — Controversial Issues of Public Importance:

- When a programme deals with a controversial issue of public importance, opposing views must be presented, either within the same programme or in a follow-up programme within a reasonable time
- This requirement applies to all broadcasting services

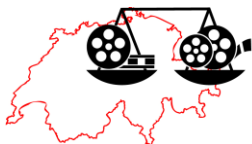
Clause 20 — Elections:

- During election periods, broadcasters must ensure equitable treatment of all political parties
- ICASA issues specific election broadcasting regulations

#### Regulatory / Complaints Bodies

Body	Role	Binding?
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**President:** Schläpfer, David - **Contact:** [kontakt@SVFAB.ch](mailto:kontakt@SVFAB.ch) - **Address:** SVFAB, Postfach, CH-8021 Zurich 1



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ICASA (Independent Communications Authority of South Africa)	Licensing, spectrum, compliance enforcement	Yes — can fine, revoke licences
BCCSA (Broadcasting Complaints Commission of South Africa)	Content complaints (bias, fairness, accuracy)	Yes — can reprimand, fine, require corrections
SABC Board	Internal editorial oversight	Internal
Parliament Portfolio Committee on Communications	Political oversight of SABC	Indirect

### Notable Enforcement

- May 2024: ICASA fined SABC R500,000 for refusing to broadcast the Democratic Alliance's election advertisement showing a burning South African flag, ruling that SABC violated the right to free political communication.
- 2016: Western Cape High Court ordered removal of COO Hlaudi Motsoeneng for systematic censorship and political interference at SABC.
- 2017: Labour Court ruled that dismissal of the "SABC 8" journalists (who protested censorship of protest footage) was unlawful.

### Equivalent to Other Countries

Country	Law	South African Equivalent
CH	Art. 4 RTVG	Broadcasting Act s. 6 (SABC Charter)
SE	Radio- och TV-lagen 5 kap.	BCCSA Code Cl. 16-18
DE	MStV §26	ICASA Act + BCCSA Code
NO	NRK-vedtektene §6	Broadcasting Act s. 10 (Editorial Independence)



## APPENDIX 2: SCIENTIFIC REFERENCES

### References

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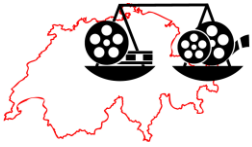
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### SVFAB Working Papers

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- 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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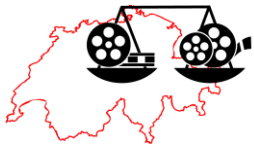
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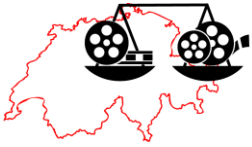
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