



SABC DETAILED ANALYSIS

20260514_President Cyril Ramaphosa answers oral questions in the National Assembly.en

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OVERALL SCORE

4.0/10

Slight imbalance

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	<i>Left</i>	<i>Left</i>	<i>Center</i>	<i>Right</i>	<i>Right</i>	<i>Right</i>	<i>Right</i>	<i>Right</i>

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)

5.8 / 10

Balanced

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

← Left

Right →

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

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



POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

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 since 1994. 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, collectively holding 287 of 400 seats. The main opposition outside the GNU consists of MK (58 seats, 14.6%), EFF (39 seats, 9.5%), 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	GNU	Left-wing Pan-Africanist
MK	3.0	58	Opposition	Left-populist, Zuma personality cult
ANC	4.0	159	GNU (lead)	Centre-left, broad church
Al Jama-ah	4.0	2	GNU	Left economics, socially conservative
UDM	4.5	3	GNU	Centre-left, rural base
Rise Mzansi	4.5	2	GNU	Centre-left progressive
GOOD	4.5	1	GNU	Centre-left progressive
DA	6.0	87	GNU	Centre-right, free market, liberal
ActionSA	6.5	6	Opposition	Centre-right, anti-immigration
IFP	6.5	17	GNU	Right-wing, Zulu nationalist
PA	7.0	9	GNU	Right-wing populist
ACDP	7.5	3	Opposition	Right-wing Christian conservative
FF+	8.0	6	GNU	Right-wing, Afrikaner interest

The GNU coalition between the ANC and DA — historically bitter rivals — creates constant internal tension, with each party seeking to claim credit for governance successes while distancing itself from failures. The MK and EFF opposition represents a radical populist challenge from the left, frequently disrupting parliamentary proceedings and contesting the legitimacy of the GNU arrangement. The legacy of state capture under the Zuma era (Zondo Commission findings) continues to shape accountability debates, with the SAPS commissioner suspension and cabinet minister removal in this very session illustrating ongoing governance integrity challenges. Youth unemployment exceeding 45% and structural economic concentration remain the dominant socioeconomic fault lines.

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 BCCSA Code (Clauses 16 and 18) requires news and public affairs content to be reported truthfully, accurately, fairly, in correct context, and in a balanced manner, with opposing views presented on controversial matters of public importance. The SABC's history of political capture during the Hlengiwe Mkhonto era (2012–2016) means its editorial independence remains a live political issue, with ongoing scrutiny of whether ANC-aligned editorial tendencies persist in subtler forms.



CHAPTER 1 — PARTY-POLITICAL BIAS

Score measures ACCURACY OF REPRESENTATION of party programme positions — not positive/negative treatment.

Party	Score (-5..+5)	Broadcast Representation vs. Programme Position
ANC	+1	33:01 "It is false. It is lies and it is just a slogan" (re: BEE criticism) — Programme position: ANC supports BEE as core transformation policy — Largely correct framing; however, the president's defence of BEE is presented without challenge, slightly favouring ANC narrative framing
DA	+1	30:31 "South Africa's domestic investment rate has collapsed from 24% in 2009 to 14% in 2025" — Programme position: DA advocates free-market reform, opposes BEE as investment barrier — Position stated but immediately rebutted at length by president without equivalent DA counter-response time
MK	0	00:50–12:00 MK members raise points of order and are removed — Programme position: MK opposes GNU legitimacy, demands impeachment proceedings — Procedural disruption shown but substantive MK policy positions not engaged; party shown primarily as disruptive
EFF	0	Not substantively present in broadcast; no EFF member poses questions — Programme position: land expropriation, nationalisation — Absent from broadcast entirely
IFP	0	Not identifiably present in question-and-answer exchanges — Programme position: traditional values, Zulu nationalist — Not represented
PA	+1	71:56 PA Chief Whip makes light interjection about "campaign voice" — Programme position: right-wing populist, anti-immigration — No substantive policy position represented; only procedural/social interaction shown
FF+	+2	92:34 "The Freedom Front Plus welcomes your decision to release the Minister of Social Development" and 100:14 question on transparency criteria — Programme position: accountability, transparency, Afrikaner interests — Positions represented accurately and fairly within available time
ActionSA	0	Not present in broadcast — Programme position: centre-right, anti-immigration — Absent
ACDP	+2	86:13 "The ACDP welcomed the SNDF's deployment... Sadly, many community leaders have criticized the military presence as short-term band-aid solution" — Programme position: Christian conservative, law and order — Position represented accurately and with nuance
Rise Mzansi	0	Not identifiably present — Absent
GOOD	0	Not identifiably present — Absent

Party Bias Summary



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- Most Accurate Representation: FF+ (Score +2), ACDP (Score +2) — both parties' questions were substantive and their positions clearly articulated
- Strongest Distortion: MK (Score 0) — shown almost exclusively as a disruptive procedural actor; substantive policy positions (impeachment demand, constitutional court ruling implications) not engaged on their merits
- Average Deviation from 0: 0.7
- Finding: The broadcast is a live parliamentary session recording, which structurally limits party representation to those parties that posed questions. The ANC's position benefits from the president's extended, uncontested responses. The MK party's substantive constitutional argument (that the house should address the Constitutional Court ruling before proceeding) is procedurally dismissed without substantive engagement, meaning their policy position — that the president faces an impeachment process — is framed as disorder rather than legitimate parliamentary concern.



CHAPTER 2 — BROADCAST INFORMATION AND THEMATIC FRAMEWORK

Broadcast Data

- Title: Questions to the President — South African National Assembly (SABC Parliamentary Coverage)
- Date: Derived from transcript content — references to "sixth South African Investment Conference" (March 2026), "2025" QLFS data, Operation Prosper deployment, SAPS Commissioner suspension, Minister of Social Development removal — estimated broadcast date: April–May 2026
- Estimated Length: Approximately 124 minutes (transcript runs from 00:20 to 124:04)
- Presiding Officer: Madam Speaker (National Assembly Speaker)
- Persons Present (with function/party/alignment):

Actors	Function	Party/Alignment	Political Spectrum
President Cyril Ramaphosa	President of the Republic	ANC	Centre-left (4.0)
MK Chief Whip (unnamed)	Chief Whip, MK Party	MK	Left-populist (3.0)
Honorable Zungula	MK Member	MK	Left-populist (3.0)
Honorable Tulie / Honorable Julie	ANC Member (question 1)	ANC	Centre-left (4.0)
Honorable RWT Chance	DA Member	DA	Centre-right (6.0)
Dr. Ma Mayan	Opposition Member (likely DA)	DA	Centre-right (6.0)
Honorable JS Peterson	DA Member	DA	Centre-right (6.0)
Honorable BM Manelli	ANC Member	ANC	Centre-left (4.0)
Miss EJ Spiss	DA Member	DA	Centre-right (6.0)
Honorable Guanga	ANC/GNU Member	ANC	Centre-left (4.0)
Honorable Jimmy Malakis	DA Member (newly elected DA parliamentary leader)	DA	Centre-right (6.0)
Honorable WM3 (Meshoe)	ACDP Member	ACDP	Right-wing Christian (7.5)
Honorable Faden	FF+ Member	FF+	Right-wing (8.0)
Honorable N Sharif	Rise Mzansi / GNU Member	Rise Mzansi	Centre-left (4.5)
Honorable De James	ActionSA / GNU Member	ActionSA	Centre-right (6.5)
Honorable Kabo	ANC Member	ANC	Centre-left (4.0)
Honorable Had	GNU Member (unidentified party)	Unknown	Unknown
Honorable ZB	GNU Member (unidentified party)	Unknown	Unknown
Honorable SNM Guundi	MK Member	MK	Left-populist (3.0)
Honorable Dr. Do	GNU Member	Unknown	Unknown



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PA Chief Whip	Chief Whip, Patriotic Alliance	PA	Right-wing populist (7.0)
Honorable TP Munay	ANC Member	ANC	Centre-left (4.0)

Main Topic

A live parliamentary session in which President Ramaphosa responds to questions from members of the National Assembly on investment and employment, youth skills development, Operation Prosper (crime), cabinet accountability (Minister of Social Development removal), student debt, and SAPS Commissioner suspension.

World-View Context

South Africa's parliamentary question-and-answer sessions are a constitutionally mandated accountability mechanism under Section 92 of the Constitution, requiring ministers (including the president) to answer questions in the National Assembly. This session occurs against a backdrop of: (1) a Constitutional Court ruling on parliamentary processes related to presidential accountability; (2) the removal of the Minister of Social Development on the same day as the session; (3) the precautionary suspension of the SAPS National Commissioner; (4) persistently high unemployment (approximately 32–33% broad definition, 45%+ youth unemployment); (5) the sixth South African Investment Conference having secured R890 billion in pledges; and (6) Operation Prosper — a joint SAPS/SANDF deployment in crime hotspots — facing contested effectiveness assessments. The session is politically charged because MK is attempting to use the Constitutional Court ruling to force an impeachment debate, while GNU parties are seeking to demonstrate governance accountability through the minister's removal.



CHAPTER 3 — 15 CRITERIA: DETAILED ANALYSIS

Hard Facts — 9 techniques that are countable and scientifically verifiable

1. EXPERT SELECTION

3/10

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Expert 1: President Cyril Ramaphosa

Timestamp	14:04 onwards (throughout broadcast)
Statement	"Laborintensive investments in global business services and financial services generate approximately 3,900 jobs per 1 billion that is invested. However, capital intensive sectors such as renewable energy infrastructure and data centers, they generate between 13 and 249 jobs per 1 billion of investments."
Classification	Head of government presenting government data; structural conflict of interest as the person being held accountable is also the primary information source
Missing counter-voice	Independent economist from SAIRR, Wits School of Economics, or IMF/World Bank South Africa desk

Source Depth Check:

(a) **FUNDING:** State-funded; the president's office and Invest SA generate the investment conference data. Structural interest in presenting pledges favourably.

(b) **MANDATE:** The president's mandate is governance and policy implementation — not neutral economic analysis. His role is inherently advocacy for government policy.

D1 Conflict of Interest: -2 — President is directly accountable for the policies being assessed; strong institutional interest in positive framing

D2 Personal Risk: -1 — Faces political consequences for poor economic performance; incentive to present optimistically

D3 Subject Competence: +1 — Has access to government data and briefings; however, presents data selectively (see Criterion 5)

D4 Opinion Consistency: +1 — Consistent with previous investment conference messaging

D5 Emotionalisation vs. Data: 0 — Mix of data and rhetorical framing (BEE defence is largely anecdotal)

D6 Source Level: 0 — Secondary source (government-compiled data, not primary research)

TOTAL: -1 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW

(c) **PROFESSIONAL EXPERTISE:** The president is framed throughout as the authoritative source on economic data, employment statistics, and legal processes — areas where his institutional interest in positive framing is significant. This is not flagged by the broadcast.

Expert 2: Honorable RWT Chance (DA)

Timestamp	30:31
Statement	"South Africa's domestic investment rate has collapsed from 24% in 2009 to 14% in 2025... Our economy has lost 345,000 jobs in the last quarter."



Classification	Opposition politician; cites QLFS (Quarterly Labour Force Survey) data — a Statistics South Africa publication, which is a credible primary source
Missing counter-voice	No independent economist to verify or contextualise either the DA's or the president's figures

Source Depth Check:

(a) FUNDING: DA is a political party funded through parliamentary allocations and private donations; political interest in negative framing of ANC governance

(b) MANDATE: Opposition politician — mandate is to hold government accountable, not neutral analysis

D1 Conflict of Interest: -1 — Political interest in negative economic framing

D2 Personal Risk: 0 — Standard political risk

D3 Subject Competence: +1 — Cites Statistics South Africa data (QLFS), which is credible

D4 Opinion Consistency: +1 — DA has consistently raised investment collapse as a policy failure

D5 Emotionalisation vs. Data: +1 — Data-led question with specific figures

D6 Source Level: +1 — References Statistics South Africa (primary statistical authority)

TOTAL: +3 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW

(c) PROFESSIONAL EXPERTISE: The DA's statistics are not independently verified within the broadcast; the president disputes the framing without engaging the underlying Statistics South Africa data.

Missing Expert Groups:

- Independent macroeconomist (to assess investment pledge conversion rates and growth projections)
- Constitutional law expert (to assess SAPS suspension process legality)
- Independent security analyst (to assess Operation Prosper effectiveness)

Source Credibility Overview:

Source	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	Total	Signal
President Cyril Ramaphosa	-2	-1	+1	+1	0	0	-1	YELLOW
Honorable RWT Chance (DA)	-1	0	+1	+1	+1	+1	+3	YELLOW

Summary (Matrix Result):

- President Ramaphosa: **YELLOW (-1)** — Structural conflict of interest as primary information source; presented as authoritative without qualification
- DA's Chance: **YELLOW (+3)** — Cites credible primary data but with political framing; not independently verified



2. SOURCE SELECTION

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Claims without primary source = penalty points (rumour check)

Source 1: Invest SA / South African Investment Conference data

Timestamp

17:06 — Statement: "The sixth South African Investment Conference that we held in March secured a total of 890 billion rand in investment commitments."

- (a) **Funding and governance:** Invest SA is a government agency within the Presidency; funded by the state
- (b) **Structural conflict of interest:** Invest SA's mandate is to attract and promote investment; institutional interest in presenting conference outcomes positively; no independent verification of pledge-to-implementation conversion rates is cited
- (c) **Missing counter-source:** World Bank or IMF South Africa country report; independent economic research (SAIRR, Bureau for Economic Research)

Source 2: Statistics South Africa — Quarterly Labour Force Survey (QLFS)

Timestamp

30:54 — Statement: "The most recent quarterly labor survey has confirmed that the devastating consequences of lack of investment into the country are dire. Our economy has lost 345,000 jobs in the last quarter."

- (a) **Funding:** Stats SA is a government statistical agency, but operates under a mandate of statistical independence
- (b) **Structural conflict of interest:** Stats SA data is generally regarded as credible and independent; however, the president does not engage with this data directly — he pivots to infrastructure investment without addressing the 345,000 job loss figure
- (c) **Missing counter-source:** The president's response does not cite any independent verification of his own employment programme outcomes

Source 3: Presidential assertion on BEE/mining sector

Timestamp

33:26 — Statement: "Pre-1994 the mining industry in our country was just controlled by six mega companies... Today, many black people are now in the mining industry."

- (a) **Funding:** Presidential office
- (b) **Structural conflict of interest:** Anecdotal evidence presented as policy proof; no citation of independent research on BEE's net economic impact
- (c) **Missing counter-source:** Academic research on BEE's impact on investment, employment, and economic concentration (e.g., National Treasury economic papers, World Bank South Africa reports)

Rumour Check (Penalty Points):

No explicit rumour markers ("reportedly," "sources say," "allegedly") identified in the broadcast. The broadcast is a live parliamentary session with direct statements from identified speakers. No penalty points applied.

Summary: The broadcast relies almost exclusively on government-generated data (Invest SA, presidential assertions) and opposition political claims (DA citing QLFS). No independent academic, civil society, or international institutional sources are cited or present. The absence of source diversity is a structural feature of the parliamentary format but represents a significant limitation for public affairs broadcasting purposes.



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3. TIME DISTRIBUTION

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Estimated speaking time:

- President Ramaphosa (ANC): approximately 65–70 minutes (52–56% of total broadcast time)
- DA members (Chance, Malakis, Mayan, Peterson, Spiss): approximately 15–18 minutes (12–14%)
- ANC/GNU-aligned members (Tulie, Manelli, Kabo, Munay, Guanga): approximately 10–12 minutes (8–10%)
- MK members (Chief Whip, Zungula, Guundi): approximately 8–10 minutes (6–8%) — predominantly procedural disruption, not substantive questions
- FF+ (Faden): approximately 3–4 minutes (2–3%)
- ACDP (Meshoe/WM3): approximately 2–3 minutes (2%)
- Rise Mzansi (Sharif): approximately 1–2 minutes (1%)
- ActionSA (De James): approximately 1–2 minutes (1%)
- PA Chief Whip: approximately 1 minute (procedural/social)
- Speaker (procedural): approximately 10–12 minutes (8–10%)

Summary: The structural format of "questions to the president" inherently allocates the majority of speaking time to the president. However, the ratio of approximately 52–56% to the president versus 12–14% to the largest opposition party (DA) means that the president's framing of every issue dominates. ANC-aligned supplementary questions (Tulie, Manelli, Kabo, Guanga) function as opportunities for the president to elaborate positively rather than as genuine accountability challenges, effectively extending ANC speaking time. MK's time is almost entirely consumed by procedural disruption rather than substantive policy engagement.



4. SELECTIVE OMISSION

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Omission 1: The Constitutional Court ruling's substantive content

Context

MK members repeatedly reference a Constitutional Court ruling that they argue has direct implications for the president's position and an impeachment process. The Speaker dismisses this as a procedural matter. The actual content of the ruling — what it found, what it requires parliament to do, and what the timeline is — is never explained to viewers.

Relevant at: 00:50–12:00

Effect

Viewers cannot assess whether MK's demand is legitimate or merely disruptive. The framing defaults to "disorder" without substantive engagement with the constitutional question.

Omission 2: The content of the report on the Minister of Social Development

Context

The president announces he has removed the Minister of Social Development based on a report she submitted and discussions he had with her. He explicitly refuses to disclose the report's contents (91:18: "The president is never required to disclose the reasons why they appoint or disappoint"). The nature of the allegations — what she actually did — is never stated clearly.

Relevant at: 90:53–100:10

Effect

Viewers are told a minister was fired for unspecified reasons; the accountability narrative is presented as a positive governance story without the factual basis being established. The phrase "serious allegations" (90:55) is used without specification.

Omission 3: Historical pledge-to-implementation conversion rates from previous investment conferences

Context

The president cites R890 billion in investment pledges from the sixth conference. A supplementary question (23:33) raises that the 2018 conference pledged R290 billion while unemployment has since risen. The president does not provide data on what percentage of previous pledges were actually implemented and what jobs were actually created.

Relevant at: 17:06–23:25

Effect

The R890 billion figure is presented as a success metric without the context of whether previous pledges delivered on their employment projections. This creates a misleading impression of policy effectiveness.

Summary: Three significant omissions shape the broadcast's overall impression: the Constitutional Court ruling's content is suppressed in favour of procedural framing; the minister's removal is presented as accountability without the underlying facts; and investment pledge data is presented without historical implementation context. Each omission benefits the government's narrative.

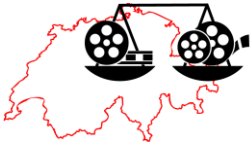
Missing Voices

- Independent economist: Would have assessed whether R890 billion in investment pledges historically converts to projected job numbers, and whether the 3% growth target is realistic given global conditions



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- Labour union representative (COSATU/SAFTU): Would have contextualised the 345,000 job losses and assessed government employment programmes from a worker rights perspective
- Student organisation representative (SASCO/NSFAS beneficiary): Would have provided lived experience of the 23 billion rand student debt crisis and the "missing middle" funding gap
- Community leader from Cape Flats/Westbury: Would have provided ground-level assessment of Operation Prosper's impact beyond statistics
- Independent constitutional law expert: Would have assessed the president's claim that the SAPS Commissioner's consent to suspension negated the Section 8/9 process requirements
- Anti-corruption civil society organisation (Corruption Watch/OUTA): Would have assessed whether the minister's removal is sufficient accountability and what the undisclosed report contains
- Independent security analyst: Would have assessed Operation Prosper's R823 million cost against contested crime statistics without political framing
- BEE/transformation researcher: Would have provided evidence-based assessment of BEE's actual impact on investment and employment, beyond the president's anecdotal mining sector defence



5. NUMERICAL MANIPULATION									5/10
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Complete figures include: absolute value, proportion (%) and trend

Finding 1: Investment pledge figures without implementation context

Timestamp 17:06

Figure: "890 billion rand in investment commitments... 415 billion of that total came from private sector companies"
 Dimensions shown: (a) Absolute value — YES (R890bn total, R415bn private sector)
 Dimensions missing: (b) Proportion — what percentage of previous conference pledges were implemented? (c) Trend — unemployment has risen since the 2018 conference despite R290bn in pledges

Missing context The president does not cite the implementation rate of previous conferences. The 2018 conference pledged R290bn; unemployment has since increased. The ratio of pledges to actual job creation is not provided.

Effect The R890bn figure creates an impression of unprecedented economic success without the context that previous pledges did not prevent unemployment from rising.

Finding 2: Job creation projections from 53 companies

Timestamp 18:12

Figure: "These 53 investments are projected by the companies themselves to create approximately 230,000 direct permanent jobs."
 Dimensions shown: (a) Absolute value — YES (230,000 jobs)
 Dimensions missing: (b) Proportion — 230,000 jobs against a backdrop of 345,000 jobs lost in a single quarter; (c) Trend — these are projections, not outcomes; the president notes "not all... were at the time able to submit the tally"

Missing context 230,000 projected jobs from 53 companies over an unspecified medium-to-long-term period, against 345,000 jobs lost in a single quarter, represents a net negative. This arithmetic is not performed in the broadcast.

Effect The 230,000 figure sounds substantial in isolation; in context of the QLFS data cited by DA (345,000 jobs lost in one quarter), it represents less than one quarter's job losses.

Finding 3: Operation Prosper statistics — contested figures

Timestamp 78:23 vs. 82:32

Presidential figure: "More than 1,000 arrests have been affected and most notably 550 were in the Western Cape and 238 in the Eastern Cape... over 38,000 coordinated actions"
 DA counter-figure: "During the week of 23 February to 1 March, gang violence across the Cape Flats claimed 36 lives... the figure has gone up from 20 to 23 [illegal firearm cases in Mitchell's Plain]... the price tag is 823 million rand"
 Dimensions shown by president: (a) Absolute arrest numbers — YES; (b) Proportion of crime reduction — NO; (c) Trend — NO (claims "too early to draw definitive conclusions")
 Dimensions shown by DA: (a) Absolute death toll — YES; (b) Cost — YES; (c) Trend — YES (crime has increased, not decreased)



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**Missing
context**

Neither set of figures is independently verified. The president's figures measure inputs (arrests, coordinated actions); the DA's figures measure outcomes (deaths, crime rates). These measure different things and are not reconciled.

Effect

The broadcast presents two incompatible statistical narratives without resolution, but the president's figures are presented first and at greater length, creating an anchoring effect.

Summary: Three significant instances of numerical manipulation are identified, all involving the presentation of absolute figures without proportional or trend context. The most consequential is the investment pledge figure (R890bn) presented without historical implementation rates, and the 230,000 projected jobs figure presented without comparison to the 345,000 jobs lost in a single quarter.



6. GUILT BY ASSOCIATION

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Association 1: MK party framed as constitutional disorder

Timestamp

09:18–12:00

Quote

"PROTECTING A CONSTITUTION DELINQUENT. HONORABLE MEMBER COULD BE A CRIMINAL." (MK member shouting at Speaker)

Technique: MK members' own language ("constitution delinquent," "criminal") is broadcast without contextualisation of the underlying constitutional argument. The association between MK and disorder is established through their own conduct, not through editorial framing.

Effect

MK is associated with parliamentary chaos rather than constitutional principle; however, this association arises from MK members' own behaviour, not from editorial manipulation.

Association 2: BEE critics implicitly associated with apartheid-era racial exclusion

Timestamp

36:54–37:08

Quote

"I think those who say it's a hold back for economic growth should hang their heads in shame because if they say so it means that they wanted white people only to continue controlling the economy of our country."

Technique: The president associates criticism of BEE with a desire to maintain white economic dominance. This is a guilt-by-association argument: BEE critic → wants white-only economy → apartheid sympathiser.

Effect

DA's policy position (BEE as investment barrier) is reframed as racial motivation rather than economic argument. This is a significant rhetorical move that is not challenged by the moderator.

Source Check for persons framed as making problematic claims:

The DA's Chance is not framed as a conspiracy theorist but as making a policy argument. The president's rebuttal uses guilt-by-association rather than engaging the economic evidence. The DA's position is based on citable economic data (investment rate collapse from 24% to 14%); the president's rebuttal is anecdotal (mining sector example) and associative (BEE critics = apartheid sympathisers).

Summary: The most significant guilt-by-association finding is the president's equation of BEE criticism with racial motivation (Score 2/10 overall because this is a single instance and is a political argument rather than editorial framing). The broadcast does not independently challenge this association.



7. TIMING

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Finding 1: MK disruption placed at the opening

Position: 00:20–12:00 (opening segment)

Content: MK members raise points of order, are warned, and are eventually removed from the chamber. The session only proceeds to substantive questions after approximately 12 minutes of disorder.

Timing Effect: The broadcast opens with MK disorder, establishing a frame of MK as disruptive before any substantive content is presented. Viewers who tune in late miss the MK constitutional argument entirely and see only the disorder. The constitutional substance of MK's position is buried in the procedural chaos.

Finding 2: Minister of Social Development removal announced mid-session

Position: 90:53 (approximately 73% through the broadcast)

Content: "I have decided to remove the minister from the position of minister of social development."

Timing Effect: The announcement is made in response to a pre-submitted question, meaning it was known in advance. Placing this announcement mid-session, after investment and employment questions, means it receives significant attention but is not the opening frame. The positive accountability narrative (president fires corrupt minister) is positioned after the more difficult economic questions, providing a narrative uplift in the second half of the broadcast.

Finding 3: SAPS Commissioner suspension question placed last

Position: 116:35–123:33 (final question of the session)

Content: MK's Guundi raises the most technically complex legal challenge of the session — whether the SAPS Commissioner's suspension bypassed mandatory statutory procedures.

Timing Effect: The most legally substantive challenge to the president's conduct is placed last, when attention is lowest and time is shortest. The president's response is brief and the question receives no follow-up from other parties.

Summary: The timing structure of the broadcast — disorder at the opening, positive accountability narrative in the middle, complex legal challenge at the end — creates a narrative arc that moves from chaos to competence. This may reflect the parliamentary order paper rather than editorial manipulation, but the effect is consistent with a favourable framing of the president's performance.



8. SELECTIVE OUTRAGE

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

Methodological Standard (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: Speaker's response to MK disorder vs. other procedural challenges

Timestamp 06:25–12:00

Trigger Event: MK members shout, refuse to sit, and one member shouts "PROTECTING A CONSTITUTION DELINQUENT. HONORABLE MEMBER COULD BE A CRIMINAL" at the Speaker.

Reaction: Speaker warns MK members, threatens removal, and ultimately has them escorted out by Serjeant-at-Arms.

Comparison

DA's Malakis at 43:55 raises a point of order that the president did not answer his EV question — Speaker accommodates this and asks the president to respond. DA's De James at 98:01 uses language the Speaker flags ("Ben 10") but is not threatened with removal.

Asymmetry: The asymmetry is partially explained by the severity of MK's conduct (shouting, refusing to sit, calling the Speaker a criminal) versus DA's procedural points. The trigger events are not comparable in severity.

Asymmetry not fully established — MK's conduct was objectively more disruptive. However, the Speaker's accommodation of DA's procedural requests (EV question follow-up, language correction without sanction) versus MK's removal suggests a differential threshold that may reflect the political alignment of the parties.

Outrage Level: 2/5

Selectivity: 1/5

Finding 2: No outrage expressed at president's BEE critics = apartheid sympathisers claim

Timestamp 36:54–37:08

Trigger Event: President states that those who say BEE holds back economic growth "should hang their heads in shame because if they say so it means that they wanted white people only to continue controlling the economy."

Reaction: Applause from ANC benches; no challenge from Speaker or moderating intervention.

Comparison

DA's De James at 98:01 is corrected by the Speaker for using the term "Ben 10" and for calling the minister by name without the "honorable" prefix.

Asymmetry: The president's imputation of racial motivation to BEE critics (a form of improper motive attribution under Rule 85, which was invoked against MK at 05:49) is not challenged. An ANC member invoked Rule 85 against MK for imputing improper motives to the president; the same rule is not invoked when the president imputes improper motives to BEE critics. Asymmetry established.

Outrage Level: 1/5

Selectivity: 3/5

Summary: The most significant selective outrage finding is the non-application of Rule 85 (improper motive imputation) to the president's BEE defence, despite the same rule being invoked against MK for similar conduct. The MK removal is justified by the severity of their conduct and is not a clear case of selective outrage.



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9. SELECTIVE OMISSION — OVERALL PICTURE

6/10

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Finding 1: No independent verification of any government claim

Timestamp Throughout (14:04–123:33)

Missing Perspective/Fact: No independent economist, statistician, or policy analyst is present to verify or contextualise the president's figures on investment pledges, job creation projections, NSFAS coverage, or Operation Prosper outcomes.

Relevance: The broadcast presents contested economic and security data without any independent verification mechanism. The QLFS data cited by DA is credible (Stats SA), but the president's Invest SA data and employment programme claims are unverified.

Effect Viewers receive a political debate between government and opposition without the factual grounding that independent expert commentary would provide.

Finding 2: The Constitutional Court ruling's content is never explained

Timestamp 00:50–12:00

Missing Perspective/Fact: The specific findings of the Constitutional Court ruling that MK argues requires parliamentary action is never explained. The Speaker says "people should not jump the gun in terms of those processes" (05:27) without specifying what the ruling found.

Relevance: This is the most constitutionally significant issue raised in the broadcast — whether the president faces an impeachment process — and it is the least substantively addressed.

Effect Viewers cannot assess the legitimacy of MK's demand or the Speaker's ruling without knowing what the Constitutional Court actually decided.

Finding 3: No voice from affected communities on Operation Prosper

Timestamp 78:23–90:41

Missing Perspective/Fact: The debate on Operation Prosper's effectiveness is conducted entirely between the president and DA politicians. No community leader, resident of the Cape Flats, Westbury, or other affected area, and no civil society organisation working in those communities is heard.

Relevance: The question of whether Operation Prosper is working is ultimately an empirical question about community safety, which is best answered by those living in affected areas.

Effect The debate is framed as a political contest between government success metrics (arrests, coordinated actions) and opposition failure metrics (deaths, cost), without the human dimension that community voices would provide.

Summary: The broadcast's completeness is significantly limited by three systematic omissions: absence of independent expert verification, non-explanation of the Constitutional Court ruling, and absence of community voices on Operation Prosper. These omissions collectively favour the government's narrative by removing the most effective challenges to its claims.



Share of covered perspectives

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

- [A] The president's perspective — government is making progress on investment, employment, and accountability
 - [B] Opposition (DA) perspective — structural policy failures (BEE, cadre deployment, SOE bailouts) are the root cause of investment collapse and unemployment
 - [C] Radical opposition (MK/EFF) perspective — the GNU lacks legitimacy; the Constitutional Court ruling has direct implications for the president's position; the session should not proceed as normal
 - [D] Civil society / community perspective — Operation Prosper's effectiveness as experienced by affected communities (Cape Flats, Westbury)
 - [E] Labour/worker perspective — the 345,000 jobs lost in the last quarter represent real human consequences beyond statistics
 - [F] Student/youth perspective — the 23 billion rand student debt crisis and the "missing middle" funding gap as lived experience
 - [G] Independent economic analysis perspective — whether R890 billion in investment pledges translates to actual job creation; historical pledge-to-implementation conversion rates
 - [H] Legal/constitutional perspective — the lawfulness of the SAPS Commissioner's suspension process and the acting appointment
 - [I] Accountability/anti-corruption perspective — whether the minister's removal is sufficient; what the report contains; whether criminal charges will follow
 - [J] Defense/security perspective — whether Operation Prosper's R823 million cost is justified given contested crime statistics
- ### Assessment: Was Each Perspective Addressed?

[A] ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 14:04–23:25, 25:01–30:25, 39:19–43:54, etc.

Quote: "I am confident that we will reach the target that we have set and we will continue showing more and more economic growth in our economy."

Assessment: The president's perspective dominates the broadcast by structural design; it is comprehensively represented across all question topics.

[B] ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 30:31–31:34

Quote: "South Africa's domestic investment rate has collapsed from 24% in 2009 to 14% in 2025... These are outcomes of bad ANC policies such as triple-B, bailing out failed SOEs and cadre deployment amongst others."

Assessment: DA perspective is stated but receives no follow-up time after the president's extended rebuttal; the structural asymmetry limits effective representation.

[C] ANECDOTED / PARTIALLY ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 00:50–12:00

Quote: "We cannot continue today as business as usual while we have a president in front of us who is continuously living under the shadow and facing impeachment processes."

Assessment: MK's constitutional argument is raised but procedurally dismissed; the substantive legal question (what the Constitutional Court ruling means for the president) is never engaged on its merits.

[D] PARTIALLY ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 82:32–83:29

Quote: "During the week of 23 February to 1 March, gang violence across the Cape Flats claimed 36 lives."

Assessment: Community impact is raised by DA's Malakis but only through statistics; no community voices or civil society organisations are heard directly.

[E] PARTIALLY ADDRESSED



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Timestamp: 30:54–31:06

Quote: "Our economy has lost 345,000 jobs in the last quarter. Not mere job opportunities, not temporary jobs or training schemes, but real tangible jobs."

Assessment: The human dimension is raised by DA but not developed; no worker or union voice is present.

[F] ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 101:21–116:23

Quote: "This student debt reaches approximately 23 billion rand in 2024."

Assessment: Student debt is addressed substantively across multiple supplementary questions; however, no student organisation representative is heard.

[G] PARTIALLY ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 23:33–24:58

Quote: "As the first conference that was in 2018, the investment pledges were within the range of about 290 billion and at the time the level of unemployment was at the level slightly below where we are today."

Assessment: The pledge-to-implementation gap is raised but not independently verified; no economist or independent analyst is present.

[H] ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 116:35–123:33

Quote: "The National Commissioner of the South African Police Service, General Fari Masimula, consented to being suspended. As a result, there was no need to engage the process in section 8 and nine of the SAPS act."

Assessment: The legal question is raised by MK's Guundi and answered by the president; however, no independent legal expert assesses the answer's accuracy.

[I] PARTIALLY ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 91:18–100:10

Quote: "The president is never required to disclose the reasons why they appoint or disappoint... I intend to stick by that convention and practice."

Assessment: Accountability questions are raised by FF+, Rise Mzansi, and ActionSA members but the president declines to provide the report; no independent accountability body perspective is present.

[J] ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 78:23–90:41

Quote: "The situation has actually gotten worse and the price tag is 823 million rand."

Assessment: Cost-effectiveness is challenged by DA's Malakis; the president defends the operation; no independent security analyst is present.

Completeness Score: 5/10

Reasoning: The broadcast is a live parliamentary session, which structurally limits the range of voices to elected members and the president. All ten identified perspectives are at least touched upon, but none outside the president's own responses receive sustained, uncontested development. The absence of independent expert voices, civil society, community representatives, students, workers, and legal analysts means the broadcast presents a political debate rather than a fully contextualised public affairs programme. The structural format — where the president always has the last word — systematically limits completeness.



Soft Facts — 6 qualitative techniques

10. FRAMING

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Finding 1: Investment conference as success story

Timestamp	17:06
Quote	<i>"This is the very first time that any of our investment conferences have clocked up a huge number like this."</i>
Manipulation	The investment conference is framed as an unprecedented success ("very first time," "huge number") before any contextualisation of what the pledges mean for actual employment. The frame is established before the critical supplementary questions can reframe it.
Why problematic	Viewers who do not follow the subsequent exchange receive only the success frame. The frame is reinforced by the Speaker's procedural management, which gives the president the opening statement on each question.

Finding 2: BEE debate framed as racial justice vs. economic pragmatism

Timestamp	33:01–37:15
Quote	<i>"It is false. It is lies and it is just a slogan... if they say so it means that they wanted white people only to continue controlling the economy of our country."</i>
Manipulation	The economic policy debate about BEE's impact on investment is reframed as a racial justice debate. The DA's argument (BEE as investment barrier) is not engaged on its economic merits but is reframed as racial motivation.
Why problematic	This framing makes it impossible to have a neutral economic debate about BEE's effectiveness. Any criticism of BEE is pre-emptively associated with racial motivation, which shuts down legitimate policy analysis.

Finding 3: Minister's removal framed as presidential accountability in action

Timestamp	91:18–95:57
Quote	<i>"I have decided to remove the minister from the position of minister of social development... an announcement to this effect was made by my office earlier today."</i>
Manipulation	The removal is framed as decisive presidential accountability. The Rise Mzansi member (95:16) reinforces this: "By agreeing with the leader of the Democratic Alliance and firing [the minister], you have taken decisive action in cleaning up cabinet." The frame of "accountability" is established without the underlying facts (what the minister did, what the report found) being disclosed.
Why problematic	Accountability without transparency is not accountability — it is the appearance of accountability. The framing rewards the president for an action whose justification is withheld from the public.



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Summary: The broadcast's dominant frames — investment success, BEE as racial justice, presidential accountability — all favour the government's narrative. These frames are established through the structural advantage of the president speaking last and at greatest length on every topic.



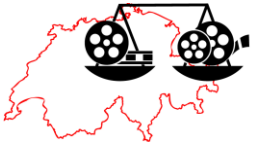
11. WORD CHOICE AND TERMINOLOGY								4/10	
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Finding 1: "Lies and slogans" applied to BEE criticism	
Timestamp	33:12
Quote	<i>"It is false. It is lies and it is just a slogan."</i>
Manipulation	The president characterises the DA's policy argument as "lies" — a term that implies deliberate deception rather than policy disagreement. "Slogan" implies the argument lacks substance.
Why problematic	Neutral alternative would be: "I disagree with that assessment" or "the evidence does not support that conclusion." The use of "lies" is a rhetorical escalation that forecloses policy debate. It is not challenged by the Speaker or the broadcast.

Finding 2: "His Excellency the Honorable President" used by ANC/MK members	
Timestamp	06:47, 93:46, 94:41
Quote	<i>"With respect to his excellency the president that he doesn't respect the constitution" (ANC member invoking Rule 85); "What has his excellency the honorable president would have done to maintain and restore public confidence" (ANC member Munay)</i>
Manipulation	The honorific "His Excellency" is not a standard South African parliamentary form of address for the president; it is typically reserved for heads of state in diplomatic contexts. Its use elevates the president's status beyond the parliamentary norm.
Why problematic	The repeated use of "His Excellency" by ANC-aligned members creates a deferential register that is inconsistent with the accountability function of parliamentary questions. Neutral alternative: "the President" or "the Honorable President."

Finding 3: "Journey to Greatness" — uncritical adoption of government branding	
Timestamp	67:21, 86:51, 87:22
Quote	<i>"Cabinet approved recently SANDF's long-term force evolution strategy journey to greatness aimed at modernizing, rebuilding and reforming the defense force."</i>
Manipulation	The government's marketing term "Journey to Greatness" is used by multiple speakers, including opposition members, without quotation marks or critical distance. This normalises government branding as neutral description.
Why problematic	Neutral alternative would be: "the SANDF's long-term force evolution strategy" or "what the government calls the 'Journey to Greatness' strategy." Uncritical adoption of government branding is a subtle form of editorial endorsement.

Summary: Word choice in the broadcast generally reflects the parliamentary register, but three instances of loaded terminology — "lies and slogans," "His Excellency," and uncritical adoption of "Journey to Greatness" — create a slightly deferential tone toward the president and government.



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12. MODERATION BEHAVIOUR

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Methodological Standard (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: Speaker congratulates DA's Malakis on his election as DA parliamentary leader

Timestamp 77:35

Trigger Event: Malakis is called to pose a supplementary question.

Quote (Speaker) *"Honorable Mikakis, I would like to congratulate you for having been elected now the leader of the democratic alliance in parliament for me."*

Comparison No comparable congratulatory remark is made to any MK, EFF, or other opposition member during the session. ANC members are not congratulated on any achievements.

Asymmetry: The Speaker's congratulation of the DA parliamentary leader — in the middle of a parliamentary session — is a social gesture that signals positive regard for the DA. No comparable gesture is made toward MK or EFF members. Asymmetry established, though the trigger (a recent election) is specific to Malakis and may not have a direct comparable.

Finding 2: Speaker accommodates DA's request for EV question follow-up

Timestamp 43:55–44:19

Trigger Event: DA's Mayan raises a point of order that the president did not answer his question about electric vehicles.

Quote (Speaker) *"Yes, I understand. And I was going to say maybe when president responds to the question by Mr. Anduli, he can then respond to that part of your question if you would allow."*

Comparison MK's request to debate the Constitutional Court ruling (00:50–12:00) is dismissed as not arising. MK's substantive constitutional concern is treated as procedurally improper; DA's substantive policy concern (EV question not answered) is accommodated.

Asymmetry: The trigger events differ in procedural legitimacy — MK was seeking to add an item to the order paper, while DA was seeking a complete answer to an existing question. However, the differential treatment reinforces the perception of asymmetric Speaker behaviour toward GNU versus opposition parties. Partial asymmetry established.

Finding 3: Speaker does not challenge president's "lies and slogans" characterisation

Timestamp 33:01–33:18

Trigger Event: President characterises DA's BEE argument as "false," "lies," and "just a slogan."

Quote (Speaker) *[No intervention]*

Comparison At 05:49, an ANC member invokes Rule 85 against MK for imputing improper motives to the president. The Speaker sustains this point of order. The president's characterisation of DA's argument as "lies" is a stronger imputation of improper motive (deliberate deception) than MK's claim that the president "does not respect the constitution."



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Asymmetry: Rule 85 is applied asymmetrically — sustained against MK, not invoked against the president.
Asymmetry established.

Summary: Three instances of asymmetric moderation behaviour are identified: the Speaker's congratulation of the DA leader, differential accommodation of DA versus MK procedural requests, and non-application of Rule 85 to the president's characterisation of DA's argument as "lies." The most significant asymmetry is the Rule 85 non-application.



13. QUESTION ASYMMETRY

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Asymmetry 1: ANC supplementary questions function as elaboration opportunities

To ANC's Tulie (supplementary), 23:33: "We would like the president to explain to the South Africans how should they retain a strong confidence in these initiatives in the light of the fact that the levels of unemployment are increasing."

To ANC's Manelli, 59:14: "Could the president provide specific details on how these programs are being scaled across different departments and what measurable outcomes have been achieved so far?"

To ANC's Kabo (supplementary), 106:19: "Does the government regard this crisis as a matter requiring additional national intervention?"

Comparison

These questions invite the president to elaborate on government programmes and express confidence in government initiatives. They are structurally soft — they invite positive responses.

To DA's Chance, 30:31: "Between these failed policies, Mr. President, which one will you scrap first in order to restore investment confidence?"

To DA's Malakis, 82:32: "Can you look the mothers who lost children killed on the flats... in the eye and say to them too that it is working?"

To DA's Spiss, 63:44: "Can the president therefore indicate what percentage of participants in existing government funded skills programs have ultimately been absorbed into real jobs?"

Assessment

DA questions are structurally harder — they demand specific accountability, cite contradictory data, and invoke human consequences. ANC supplementary questions are structurally softer — they invite elaboration and positive framing. This asymmetry is inherent in the opposition/government dynamic but is not moderated by the broadcast.

Asymmetry 2: MK's legal question receives the shortest presidential response

To MK's Guundi, 116:35: A technically detailed question about the lawfulness of the SAPS Commissioner's suspension process, citing specific statutory provisions (SAPS Act sections 8 and 9, PFMA section 86).

Presidential response: 118:01–119:48 — approximately 1 minute 47 seconds, citing the commissioner's consent as negating the statutory process.

Comparison

The president's response to the investment conference question (14:04–23:25) runs approximately 9 minutes. The most legally complex and potentially most damaging question receives the shortest response.

Assessment

The brevity of the response to the most legally substantive question, combined with its placement as the final question, means it receives the least scrutiny. ****Asymmetry established.****

Summary: Question asymmetry operates on two levels: ANC-aligned supplementary questions are structurally soft (elaboration invitations) while opposition questions are structurally hard (accountability demands); and the most legally substantive question (MK's SAPS suspension challenge) receives the shortest response and least follow-up.



14. FALSE BALANCE

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Finding 1: Operation Prosper statistics presented as equally contested

Timestamp

78:23 vs. 82:32

Construct: The broadcast presents the president's statistics (1,000+ arrests, 38,000 coordinated actions) and DA's statistics (36 deaths in one week, crime rates up) as two equally valid competing narratives.

Analysis

These statistics measure different things — inputs (arrests) versus outcomes (deaths, crime rates). Presenting them as equally valid competing claims creates a false balance: the president's input metrics and the DA's outcome metrics are not comparable. Outcome metrics (deaths, crime rates) are more directly relevant to the question of whether Operation Prosper is "working" than input metrics (arrests, coordinated actions). The false balance obscures this methodological distinction.

Assessment

This is a mild false balance finding (Score 2/10) because the competing statistics are at least both presented; the problem is the absence of independent analysis to resolve the methodological question.

Summary: One instance of false balance is identified — the presentation of input metrics and outcome metrics for Operation Prosper as equally valid competing claims. The broadcast does not provide the analytical framework to resolve this apparent contradiction.



15. AGENDA-SETTING

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Finding 1: Investment conferences as the primary job creation mechanism

Agenda Element Set: The South African Investment Conference is treated as the central instrument of job creation policy. The question (13:10) and the president's response both accept this frame.

Timestamp

13:10 — Evidence: "Given that the South African Investment Conference 2026... secured 415 billion in investment pledges... What is the envisage growth in employment that is anticipated investment will bring?"

Alternative Agenda: The role of labour market reform, collective bargaining structures, the National Minimum Wage, COSATU's influence on employment policy, and the structural barriers created by the dual labour market (formal/informal) are not on the agenda. The question of whether investment conferences are an effective job creation mechanism — as opposed to, say, direct public employment or labour market deregulation — is not raised.

Finding 2: BEE as settled policy, not contested economic question

Agenda Element Set: The president's response treats BEE as a settled success story (mining sector example) and frames any challenge as motivated by racial bias.

Timestamp

33:01 — Evidence: "It is false. It is lies and it is just a slogan."

Alternative Agenda: The economic literature on BEE's impact on investment, employment, and economic concentration is not on the agenda. The World Bank and IMF's comments on South Africa's economic concentration (cited by the president himself at 28:39) could equally be read as a critique of BEE's failure to create genuine competition — this reading is not on the agenda.

Finding 3: Presidential accountability as a binary (fire/don't fire) rather than systemic

Agenda Element Set: The minister's removal is treated as the accountability question. Whether the removal is sufficient, whether criminal charges will follow, whether the department's systemic failures will be addressed, and whether the report will be made public are treated as secondary or not on the agenda.

Timestamp

91:18 — Evidence: "I have decided to remove the minister from the position of minister of social development."

Alternative Agenda: Systemic accountability — what institutional changes will prevent the next minister from doing the same thing — is not on the agenda. The accountability frame is individualised (one minister removed) rather than systemic.

Summary: The broadcast's agenda-setting systematically narrows the frame of accountability to individual actions (minister fired, commissioner suspended) rather than systemic failures; treats investment conferences as the primary job creation mechanism without questioning this assumption; and treats BEE as a settled racial justice question rather than a contested economic policy.



CHAPTER 4 — OVERALL EVALUATION

Results

- HARD FACTS SCORE (Average Criteria 1–9): 4.0 / 10
- SOFT FACTS SCORE (Average Criteria 10–15): 4.0 / 10

Dominant Techniques

The three strongest techniques in this broadcast:

- 1. Omission (Score 6):** Three systematic omissions — the Constitutional Court ruling's content, the minister's report, and investment pledge implementation rates — all operate in the same direction, suppressing information that would complicate the government's narrative. The cumulative effect is that viewers receive a version of events in which the president is accountable, investment is succeeding, and constitutional challenges are merely procedural disorder.
- 2. Completeness (Score 6):** The absence of independent expert voices, community representatives, and legal analysts means that every contested claim — from Operation Prosper's effectiveness to BEE's economic impact to the lawfulness of the SAPS suspension — is resolved by political assertion rather than evidence. The broadcast presents a political debate where a public affairs programme should present an evidenced discussion.
- 3. Framing (Score 5):** The three dominant frames — investment conference as success story, BEE as racial justice, presidential accountability as decisive action — are established through the structural advantage of the president speaking last and at greatest length on every topic. These frames are not challenged by the broadcast's editorial choices.

Core Messages of the Broadcast

****MESSAGE 1 (CONTENT):** ** "South Africa's economy is on a positive trajectory under the GNU, with record investment pledges, active employment programmes, and decisive accountability action."

Technique: Framing + Time Distribution — Belege: 17:06, 91:18, 22:50

****MESSAGE 2 (PERSONAL):** ** "President Ramaphosa is a competent, accountable, and decisive leader who addresses challenges directly and takes action when required."

Technique: Agenda-Setting + Timing — Belege: 91:18, 70:00, 83:32

****MESSAGE 3 (SOCIETAL):** ** "Criticism of BEE and transformation policy is motivated by a desire to maintain white economic dominance, and those who make such arguments should be ashamed."

Technique: Guilt by Association + Framing — Belege: 33:01, 36:54, 37:04

Manipulation Degree Classification

Reasoning: The broadcast scores 4.0/10 overall, placing it at the upper boundary of "slight tendency." The structural format — live parliamentary questions to the president — inherently creates asymmetries that are not the result of editorial manipulation but of the format itself. However, three factors elevate the score above pure format effects: (1) the systematic omission of information that would complicate the government's narrative; (2) the absence of independent expert voices that would verify or challenge contested claims; and (3) the non-application of Rule 85 to the president's characterisation of DA's argument as "lies," which represents an asymmetric application of parliamentary rules that the broadcast does not flag. Under Broadcasting Act Section 6, the SABC's mandate to provide programming that meets the highest standards of journalism, including fairness and impartiality, requires more than the broadcast of a parliamentary session without editorial contextualisation.

CONCLUSION

This broadcast is a live recording of a South African National Assembly "Questions to the President" session, which by its nature gives the president structural advantages in framing, time, and the last word on every topic. The overall manipulation score of 4.0/10 reflects a slight but consistent tendency toward government-favourable framing that goes beyond the inherent structural asymmetries of the format. The most significant findings are: (1) three systematic omissions that suppress information challenging the government's narrative (Constitutional Court ruling content,



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minister's report, pledge implementation rates); (2) the absence of independent expert verification for any contested claim; and (3) the asymmetric application of parliamentary Rule 85, which was sustained against MK for imputing improper motives to the president but not invoked when the president characterised DA's BEE argument as "lies." Under Broadcasting Act 4 of 1999, Section 6, and BCCSA Code Clauses 16 and 18, the SABC's obligation to provide fair, accurate, and impartial public affairs programming requires that live parliamentary coverage be accompanied by editorial contextualisation — independent expert commentary, fact-checking of contested statistics, and explanation of constitutional background — that this broadcast does not provide. The broadcast is not systematically manipulative, but its editorial choices consistently favour the government's narrative through omission, framing, and the uncritical transmission of contested claims.



OVERALL EVALUATION OF THE 15 CRITERIA

Individual Scores — All 15 Criteria

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

HARD FACTS SCORE (1-8)

4.0/10

Slight imbalance

SOFT FACTS SCORE (9-14)

4.0/10

Slight imbalance

OVERALL SCORE

4.0/10

Slight imbalance

Average of Hardfacts and Softfacts



KEY — Score Definitions

Individual Scores per Criterion (0–10)

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

Aggregated Deviation Index — Interpretation Ranges

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

Party-Political Bias (-5 to +5)

-5 to -3	Strongly disadvantaged	Party is significantly underrepresented in framing, airtime, or presentation.
-2 to -1	Slightly disadvantaged	Recognizable but minor disadvantage.
0	Neutral	No detectable favoritism or disadvantage.
+1 to +2	Slightly favored	Recognizable but minor favoritism.
+3 to +5	Strongly favored	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: Broadcasting Act s. 6 / BCCSA Code Clause 16 (correct context)

Conduct: Investment pledge figures (R890 billion) are presented without the context of historical pledge-to-implementation conversion rates from previous conferences, and the 230,000 projected jobs figure is presented without comparison to the 345,000 jobs lost in a single quarter (QLFS data cited at 30:54).

Evidence: Timestamp 17:06 — Quote: "This is the very first time that any of our investment conferences have clocked up a huge number like this." / Timestamp 18:12 — Quote: "These 53 investments are projected by the companies themselves to create approximately 230,000 direct permanent jobs."

Assessment: Presenting investment pledge figures without historical implementation context, and job creation projections without comparison to concurrent job losses, fails the requirement to report in the correct context. The omission creates a misleading impression of economic progress that is not supported by the full available data.

Violation 2:

Standard: Broadcasting Act s. 6 / BCCSA Code Clause 18 (opposing views on controversial issues)

Conduct: The president's characterisation of BEE criticism as "false," "lies," and motivated by a desire to maintain white economic dominance (33:01–37:15) is broadcast without challenge, editorial contextualisation, or the presentation of independent economic research on BEE's actual impact on investment and employment.

Evidence: Timestamp 33:01 — Quote: "It is false. It is lies and it is just a slogan." / Timestamp 36:54 — Quote: "I think those who say it's a hold back for economic growth should hang their heads in shame because if they say so it means that they wanted white people only to continue controlling the economy of our country."

Assessment: BEE's economic impact is a controversial issue of public importance on which there are legitimate opposing views supported by economic research. The broadcast presents only the president's characterisation without independent economic analysis or the presentation of the opposing view on its merits. This fails the Clause 18 requirement.

Violation 3:

Standard: Broadcasting Act s. 6 / BCCSA Code Clause 16 (accuracy and correct context)

Conduct: The Constitutional Court ruling referenced by MK members throughout the opening segment (00:50–12:00) is never explained to viewers. The Speaker's ruling that "people should not jump the gun in terms of those processes" (05:27) is broadcast without any explanation of what the Constitutional Court actually found or what parliamentary processes it requires.

Evidence: Timestamp 04:36 — Quote: "This is the first time the house is meeting after the constitutional court ruling. The first thing you should do is to inform South Africans that the president is effectively charged he's going to be subjected to an impeachment process." / Timestamp 05:27 — Quote: "I think people should not jump the gun in terms of those processes."

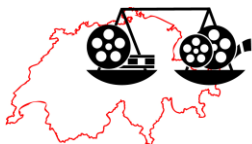
Assessment: Broadcasting a parliamentary dispute about a Constitutional Court ruling without explaining the ruling's content to viewers fails the requirement to report in the correct context. Viewers cannot assess the legitimacy of either MK's demand or the Speaker's ruling without knowing what the court decided.

Overall Assessment under Broadcasting Act s. 6



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The broadcast, as a live transmission of a parliamentary session, is not in violation of the Broadcasting Act's requirements in its most fundamental sense — it accurately records what occurred in parliament. However, the SABC's obligation under Section 6 extends beyond accurate transmission to the provision of public affairs programming that meets the highest standards of journalism. Three specific failures are identified: the presentation of investment statistics without historical context (Clause 16); the broadcast of the president's characterisation of BEE criticism as racially motivated without independent economic analysis or the presentation of opposing views (Clause 18); and the failure to explain the Constitutional Court ruling's content to viewers (Clause 16). These failures are not individually severe enough to constitute clear statutory violations, but cumulatively they represent a pattern of editorial choices that consistently favour the government's narrative and fall short of the impartiality standard required by Section 6. A fully compliant broadcast would include editorial contextualisation — independent expert commentary, fact-checking of contested statistics, and explanation of constitutional background — either within the broadcast or in accompanying programming.



CHAPTER 6 — Source Depth Check

Organisation 1: Invest SA (Investment and Infrastructure Office of the Presidency)

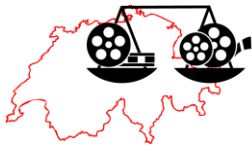
- FUNDING:** State-funded; part of the Presidency of the Republic of South Africa. Funded through the national budget.
- MANDATE:** Invest SA's mandate is to attract, facilitate, and retain investment in South Africa. This mandate is inherently promotional — it is not a neutral analytical body.
- CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Invest SA has a direct institutional interest in presenting investment conference outcomes positively. Its data on pledge amounts and projected job creation is generated by the same office that organises the conferences and reports to the president who chairs them.
- CREDIBILITY MATRIX:**
 - D1 Conflict of Interest: -2 — Direct institutional interest in positive framing of investment conference outcomes
 - D2 Personal Risk: -1 — Officials face career consequences for negative assessments
 - D3 Subject Competence: +1 — Has access to company-submitted data; however, data is self-reported by companies
 - D4 Opinion Consistency: +1 — Consistently positive framing across all conferences
 - D5 Emotionalisation vs. Data: 0 — Data-led but selectively presented (pledges, not implementation rates)
 - D6 Source Level: -1 — Secondary source (company self-reported data, not independently verified)**TOTAL: -2 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW (borderline RED)**
- COUNTER-VOICE:** The Bureau for Economic Research (BER), South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR), or World Bank South Africa country team would provide independent assessment of pledge-to-implementation conversion rates. None is cited.

Organisation 2: Statistics South Africa (Stats SA) — Quarterly Labour Force Survey

- FUNDING:** State-funded; however, Stats SA operates under a statutory mandate of statistical independence (Statistics Act 6 of 1999).
- MANDATE:** Stats SA's mandate is to produce official statistics for South Africa. Its independence is protected by statute.
- CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Minimal — Stats SA's institutional interest is in statistical accuracy, not in any particular political outcome. The QLFS is a well-regarded primary statistical source.
- CREDIBILITY MATRIX:**
 - D1 Conflict of Interest: +1 — Statutory independence; no direct interest in political outcomes
 - D2 Personal Risk: +1 — Statistician General has faced political pressure historically; independence is institutionally protected
 - D3 Subject Competence: +2 — Primary statistical authority for South African labour market data
 - D4 Opinion Consistency: +2 — Consistent methodology across surveys
 - D5 Emotionalisation vs. Data: +2 — Purely data-driven
 - D6 Source Level: +2 — Primary source (direct survey data)**TOTAL: +10 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: GREEN**
- COUNTER-VOICE:** Not required — Stats SA is the primary source. The president's failure to engage with QLFS data (345,000 jobs lost) is the problem, not the source's credibility.

Organisation 3: National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS)

- FUNDING:** State-funded; NSFAS is a statutory body funded through the national budget via the Department of Higher Education and Training.
- MANDATE:** NSFAS's mandate is to provide financial aid to eligible students. It has an institutional interest in demonstrating the effectiveness of its programmes.
- CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** NSFAS has faced significant governance failures and audit findings in recent years. The president's claim that NSFAS-supported students "should graduate from institutions of higher learning with no debt" (103:24) is presented without reference to NSFAS's own governance challenges or the gap between policy intent and implementation.
- CREDIBILITY MATRIX:**
 - D1 Conflict of Interest: -1 — Institutional interest in positive programme framing



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- D2 Personal Risk: -1 — NSFAS leadership has faced accountability challenges
- D3 Subject Competence: +1 — Primary administrator of student financial aid
- D4 Opinion Consistency: 0 — NSFAS has faced contradictory assessments of its effectiveness
- D5 Emotionalisation vs. Data: 0 — Data available but selectively cited
- D6 Source Level: 0 — Secondary source (administrative data, not independent research)

TOTAL: -1 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW

5. COUNTER-VOICE: Student organisations (SASCO, NSFAS beneficiary groups) and independent higher education researchers (Council on Higher Education) would provide a more complete picture of NSFAS's actual effectiveness. None is cited.

IMPORTANT NOTE: "Recognised" or "established" is not a substantive qualification. It is a social attribution that must itself be examined. Invest SA is "recognised" as the government's investment promotion agency — this recognition does not make it a neutral analytical source. Stats SA is "recognised" as the primary statistical authority — this recognition is substantiated by its statutory independence and methodological rigour. The distinction matters.

Source Credibility Overview:

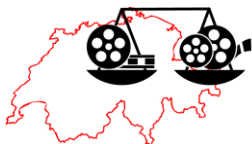
Source	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	Total	Signal
Invest SA (Investment and Infrastructure Office of the Presidency)	-2	-1	+1	+1	0	-1	-2	YELLOW
Statistics South Africa (Stats SA) — Quarterly Labour Force Survey	+1	+1	+2	+2	+2	+2	+10	GREEN
National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS)	-1	-1	+1	0	0	0	-1	YELLOW

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.



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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

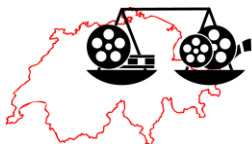
Clause 20 — Elections:

- 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 - **Address:** SVFAB, Postfach, CH-8021 Zurich 1



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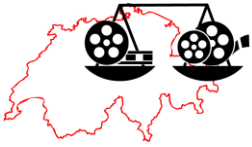
ICASA (Independent Communications Authority of South Africa)	Licensing, spectrum, compliance enforcement	Yes — can fine, revoke licences
BCCSA (Broadcasting Complaints Commission of South Africa)	Content complaints (bias, fairness, accuracy)	Yes — can reprimand, fine, require corrections
SABC Board	Internal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

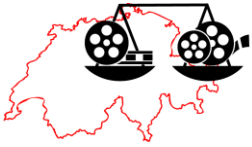
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SVFAB Working Papers

- 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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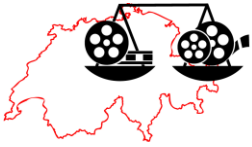
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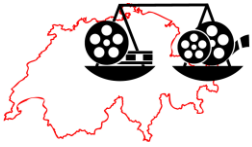
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