



SVFAB DETAILED ANALYSIS

2026-01-22 Wo-wo-Wohnungsnot

Broadcast: SRF Tagesschau broadcast | 2026-01-22 | Analysed on: 2026-05-19 16:31

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

OVERALL SCORE

6.1/10

Serious deviation from the impartiality requirement. High degree of deviation

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

POLITICAL SPECTRUM

Classification according to Chapel Hill Expert Survey (CHES) 2024

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

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

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

TENDENCY (L – R)

2.2 / 10

Left-favouring

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

← Left

Right →

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

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



POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

Switzerland is a consensus democracy. The Federal Council (7 seats) is filled according to the magic formula: SVP 2, SP 2, FDP 2, Centre 1. There is no classic government/opposition divide — all major parties are represented in the executive. Bias therefore does not manifest in government-vs-opposition terms, but in the over- or under-representation of individual parties and positions relative to their share of the vote.

Party	CHES L-R	Seats NC	Government/Opposition	Core position Housing
SVP	8.0	62	Government (2 FC)	Personal responsibility, market, against regulation; immigration as cause
SP	2.5	41	Government (2 FC)	Tenant protection, single-fund analogy, state direction, cooperatives
FDP	6.5	28	Government (2 FC)	Market-based solutions, building rather than regulating, personal responsibility
Centre	5.0	29	Government (1 FC)	Pragmatic regulation, family relief, cost containment
Greens	2.0	23	Opposition	Strong state direction, land law, cooperatives, redistribution
GLP	4.0	10	Opposition	Liberal solutions with guardrails, densification, market with corrections
EVP	5.5	2	Opposition	Social responsibility, support for families

The housing crisis in Swiss cities is one of the central domestic political fault lines. Left-green parties call for state intervention, land law reforms and expansion of cooperative housing; centre-right parties emphasise market solutions, densification through construction and warn against over-regulation. The immigration question is closely linked to the housing crisis and is weighted differently depending on political camp. The question of land speculation and property rights touches on fundamental value conflicts between freedom of ownership and social equity.

SRF (Swiss Radio and Television) is the public broadcaster of Switzerland and is subject to the RTVA (Radio and Television Act). Art. 4 RTVA obliges SRF to present facts accurately, to ensure diversity of opinion on controversial topics and to make a balanced selection of interlocutors. As Switzerland's largest media organisation, financed by licence fees, SRF bears special responsibility for political balance.



CHAPTER 1 — PARTY-POLITICAL BIAS

Party	Score (-5..+5)	Broadcast portrayal vs. programme position
SVP	-3	No direct SVP voice. The SVP position (immigration as cause, market solutions, property rights) is briefly hinted at by a tenant at 09:11 ("One reason for the housing shortage is also immigration"), but immediately relativised. The SVP's core position "protect property rights, market instead of state" is not represented as a legitimate position. Programme position: personal responsibility, market, immigration restriction — omitted/distorted.
SP	+2	SP-aligned positions (tenant protection, cooperatives, state direction, land law) dominate the broadcast. Badran (SP National Councillor, 17:02ff.) receives extensive speaking time and is not questioned critically. Programme position: tenant protection, cooperatives, state direction — correctly and preferentially portrayed.
FDP	-1	FDP is mentioned at the end (38:21) as the party that launched the referendum against income limits. Its position (building rather than regulating) is briefly represented by Florian Utz (FDP municipal councillor, 37:04ff.), but in a debate in which he appears as a counterpart to left-wing positions. Programme position: market solutions, construction — indicated, but under-represented.
Centre	0	Not represented in broadcast.
Greens	+2	Green-aligned positions (land law, state direction, displacement criticism) are structurally favoured. David Garcia (Alternative List, green-left) receives extensive coverage (31:41ff.). Programme position: state direction, land law — correctly portrayed.
GLP	0	Not represented in broadcast.
EVP	0	Not represented in broadcast.

Party bias summary

- Most accurate portrayal: SP (score +2) — SP positions are correctly and extensively represented
- Strongest distortion: SVP (score -3) — SVP core positions on property rights and market solutions are not introduced as a legitimate perspective
- Average deviation from 0: 1.1
- Conclusion: The broadcast structurally favours left-green positions (land law, state direction, tenant protection) and largely omits centre-right perspectives (freedom of ownership, market solutions, immigration control). The SVP as the largest party is not represented. The FDP position is briefly introduced, but not treated on equal terms.



CHAPTER 2 — BROADCAST INFORMATION AND THEMATIC FRAMEWORK

Broadcast data

- Title: SRF Reportage — Housing Crisis Zurich (Letzigarten / Saugushäuser / Land Law)
- Date: 22.01.2026
- Presenter/Reporter: Not named in the transcript; off-commentary throughout
- Persons interviewed:

Actors	Function	Party/Affiliation	Political spectrum
Julia Schramm	Tenant, Letzigarten	None	Neutral/Affected
Balz Halter	Chairman of the Board, Halter Group	None (property developer)	Right/Business
Fili Agousi	Tenant, Saugushäuser	None	Neutral/Affected
Karin Athanasiu	Tenant, Saugushäuser, vocational school teacher	None	Neutral/Affected
Urs Hausmann	Real estate economist	None (academic/consultant)	Economically liberal with state-critical elements
Jacqueline Badran	National Councillor	SP	Left
David Garcia	Municipal Councillor	Alternative List (AL)	Left
Florian Utz	Municipal Councillor	FDP	Centre-right
Neti Mati Sundaramurti	Tenant, 71 years old	None	Neutral/Affected
Unidentified expert	Tenancy law specialist (Germany/Austria comparison)	Not identified	Unclear
Unidentified spatial planner	Spatial planning	Not identified	Unclear
Tenants' lawyer	Legal representative of tenants	None	Tenants' side

Main topic

The broadcast examines the housing crisis in Zurich using the example of two mass terminations (Letzigarten/Halter and Saugushäuser/Bachmann) and discusses structural causes (land speculation, inner densification, return-on-investment logic) as well as political approaches to solutions.



CHAPTER 3 — 15 CRITERIA: DETAILED ANALYSIS

Hard facts

Hard facts — 9 techniques that are countable and scientifically robust

1. EXPERT SELECTION

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Expert 1: Urs Hausmann, real estate economist

Timestamp	14:46, 19:04, 24:11, 26:43, 47:56
Statement	"For me it is a land crisis." / "That is in feudal conditions, in which a bailiff can say..." / "Hausmann's vision. The entire land would belong to the city of Zurich"
Classification	Hausmann is presented as a neutral economist, but represents a clearly interventionist position (land nationalisation based on the Singapore model). According to the transcript he is "former chairman of the board of Wüst+Partner real estate consultancy" (47:56) — a conflict of interest is not addressed.
Missing counter-voice	An economist with a market-liberal perspective (e.g. from Avenir Suisse or a university with a different focus) is entirely absent.

Source in-depth check Hausmann:

(a) FUNDING: Not explicitly stated. Former chairman of the board of a real estate consultancy; current funding unclear. No obvious institutional client identifiable.

(b) MANDATE: As a freelance economist/consultant compatible with neutral assessment — however, he represents a specific political vision (land nationalisation) that goes beyond pure technical analysis.

D1 Conflict of interest: 0 — Former representative of the real estate industry, now critical of the industry; direction of conflict unclear

D2 Personal risk: +1 — Represents a politically unusual position (land nationalisation) as a former industry representative

D3 Professional competence: +2 — Real estate economist, statements within his field

D4 Opinion consistency: 0 — Not verifiable from transcript

D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: +1 — Predominantly data-based, but "feudal conditions" is emotional

D6 Source level: +1 — Own calculations, but not presented as a primary study

TOTAL: +5 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: GREEN (marginally)

(c) PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE: Is framed as a neutral economist, although he represents a specific political vision (land nationalisation) — this is a partial concealment of his normative position.

Expert 2: Jacqueline Badran, SP National Councillor

Timestamp	17:02, 17:21, 17:47, 18:03
Statement	"If you want to understand why something happens, it is always advisable to follow the money. Follow the money." / "Every year without any effort, without her having worked for it in any way. 1.5 million."



Classification	Badran is an SP National Councillor and well-known tenancy law activist. She is not introduced as a politician with a party interest; instead her statements are presented as analysis. Her calculations (1.5 million annual additional income) are not questioned.
Missing counter-voice	A representative of the homeowners' association (HEV) or a property rights lawyer is absent.

Source in-depth check Badran:

(a) FUNDING: SP National Councillor, funded by the party and parliamentary mandate. Clear structural conflict of interest: SP has a programmatic interest in tenant protection and state housing policy.

(b) MANDATE: Explicitly partisan — SP programme calls for tenant protection, cooperatives, state direction. Not compatible with neutral assessment.

D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — Clear party interest (SP), well-known tenancy law activist

D2 Personal risk: +1 — Represents consistent party position, no personal risk

D3 Professional competence: +1 — Economics degree, long-standing engagement with tenancy law

D4 Opinion consistency: +2 — Consistent SP position over years

D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: -1 — "Follow the money" is rhetorical, calculations not verified

D6 Source level: -1 — Own calculations without documented methodology

TOTAL: 0 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW

(c) PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE: Badran is not introduced as an SP politician with a party interest; instead her statements are presented as factual analysis. This is a concealment of her normative/political position — technique no. 2 (source selection).

Expert 3: Unidentified tenancy law specialist

Timestamp	05:06
Statement	"Swiss tenancy law is very weak by international comparison. We conducted a study on the tenancy law situation in Germany and Austria."
Classification	Person not identified by name. Study not cited. The statement that Swiss tenancy law is "very weak" is a normative assessment, not a neutral finding.
Missing counter-voice	A tenancy law specialist with the opposite assessment (Swiss tenancy law is already strong by international comparison) is absent.

Source in-depth check:

(a) FUNDING: Unknown — person not identified

(b) MANDATE: Unknown

D1 Conflict of interest: 0 — Unknown

D2 Personal risk: 0 — Unknown

D3 Professional competence: +1 — Claims professional competence (study)

D4 Opinion consistency: 0 — Unknown

D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: +1 — References a study

D6 Source level: -1 — Study not cited

TOTAL: +1 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW

(c) PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE: Unidentified person with an uncited study is presented as an expert authority.

Missing expert groups:

- Economist with a market-liberal perspective (Avenir Suisse, University of St. Gallen)
- Representative of the homeowners' association HEV
- Constitutional lawyer on property rights (Art. 26 FC)



Source traffic light for participants:

Source	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	Total	Traffic light
Urs Hausmann, real estate economist	0	+1	+2	0	+1	+1	+5	GREEN
Jacqueline Badran, SP National Councillor	-2	+1	+1	+2	-1	-1	0	YELLOW
Unidentified tenancy law specialist	0	0	+1	0	+1	-1	+1	YELLOW

Summary:

- Hausmann: GREEN (marginally, +5) — Professionally competent, but normative vision is framed as analysis
- Badran: YELLOW (0) — Clear party interest, not introduced as a politician
- Unknown tenancy law specialist: YELLOW (+1) — Not identified, study not cited

The expert selection is one-sided: all experts represent interventionist positions. Not a single expert with a market-liberal or property rights perspective is consulted.



2. SOURCE SELECTION

6/10

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Claims without primary source = penalty points (rumour check)

Source 1: ETH Zurich (displacement study)

Timestamp

03:09, 11:16

Statement

"Here it shows where the most people were displaced between 2013 and 2022 according to ETH Zurich. A total of over 6,100 persons." / "The new tenants have a household income that is at the median almost CHF 3,200 per month. Or almost 70% higher, according to ETH Zurich."

(a) Funding: ETH Zurich is state-funded. No direct conflict of interest in housing research.

(b) Structural conflict of interest: Low — ETH research is methodologically independent, but the selection of this specific study (displacement) without a counter-study is selective.

(c) Missing counter-source: A study quantifying the positive effects of inner densification (more housing, better infrastructure) is absent.

Source 2: Association of Housing Cooperatives

Timestamp

27:21

Statement

"One calculates with the historical land value, a residual value for the old building... according to the Association of Housing Cooperatives."

(a) Funding: Association of Housing Cooperatives — an interest group representing cooperatives and advocating their expansion.

(b) Structural conflict of interest: Clear — the association has an institutional interest in presenting the cooperative model as superior. It is not identified as an interest group.

(c) Missing counter-source: Homeowners' association HEV or real estate association is absent as a counter-voice.

Source 3: Uncited study on tenancy law

Timestamp

05:06

Statement

"We conducted a study on the tenancy law situation in Germany and Austria."

(a) Funding: Unknown

(b) Structural conflict of interest: Unknown — study not identified

(c) Missing counter-source: Studies showing that Swiss tenancy law is already strong (e.g. compared to Anglo-Saxon countries) are absent.

Rumour check:

Rumour 1:

Timestamp: 14:32

Claim: "After renovation, each house would be worth around CHF 50 million, says the real estate economist."

Word marker: "says the real estate economist" — estimate without primary source

Primary source available: No — estimate without documented methodology — penalty point



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Rumour 2:

Timestamp: 15:09

Claim: "According to media reports, after the complete renovation she wants to..."

Word marker: "according to media reports" — secondary source without primary source

Primary source available: No — penalty point

Rumour 3:

Timestamp: 17:21

Claim: "Badran makes an assumption. After renovation, a 4-room apartment could cost around CHF 2,400."

Word marker: "makes an assumption", "could"

Primary source available: No — politician's assumption without verification — penalty point

Score increase through penalty points: +3 → overall score 6/10

Summary: The source selection is one-sidedly interventionist (ETH displacement study, cooperative association, SP politician). Counter-voices from owners' associations or market-liberal research institutes are absent. Several claims are presented without a primary source.



3. TIME DISTRIBUTION						6/10			
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Estimated speaking time:

- Affected tenants (Julia, Fili, Karin, Neti and others): (27%) — emotional, victim-perspective
- Jacqueline Badran (SP): (6%) — political analysis, uncritical
- Urs Hausmann (economist, interventionist): (10%) — technical analysis, interventionist
- Balz Halter (property developer): (8%) — questioned critically
- David Garcia (AL): (6%) — political, uncritical
- Florian Utz (FDP): (4%) — political, positioned as counterpart
- Off-commentary/moderation: (24%) — consistently framed as interventionist
- Unidentified experts/spatial planners: (6%)
- Tenants' lawyer: (4%)
- Other: (6%)

Summary: Tenants and interventionist voices (Badran, Hausmann, Garcia) together receive approximately 49% of speaking time. The only clearly centre-right representative (Utz/FDP) receives approximately 4%. Balz Halter receives 8%, but is questioned critically throughout. The time distribution is clearly asymmetric in favour of interventionist positions.



4. OMISSION (Selective Omission)

7/10

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Omission 1: Positive effects of inner densification

Context

The broadcast presents inner densification (SPA 2014) as a cause of displacement, without presenting the positive effects (protection of the landscape, more housing in the urban area, better use of infrastructure) on equal terms.

Relevant at: 03:30 — "When building new housing, further urban sprawl is avoided. But too little thought was given to the social consequences."

Effect

Suggests that inner densification is primarily a social problem, not a necessary trade-off.

Omission 2: Immigration as the main cause of housing demand

Context

The broadcast briefly mentions immigration (09:11), but does not analyse it as a quantitatively significant cause of the housing shortage. Switzerland has one of the highest net immigration rates in Europe; this factor is not substantiated with figures.

Relevant at: 09:11 — "One reason for the housing shortage is also immigration."

Effect

Suggests that speculation and return-on-investment logic are the main causes, not demographic demand.

Omission 3: Property rights as a constitutional value

Context

The broadcast discusses land nationalisation (47:56) and state intervention, without addressing Art. 26 FC (property guarantee) or the constitutional limits of such interventions.

Relevant at: 47:56 — "The solution is to change the entire basic system... to nationalise the land."

Effect

Land nationalisation appears as a technical option, not as a fundamental encroachment on constitutional rights.

Omission 4: Regulatory failure as a cause

Context

The broadcast mentions that Art. 49b (affordable housing in densification) has not been implemented for 11 years (31:11), without analysing why — namely because left-wing parties blocked implementation (dispute over income limits). This connection is only presented late and incompletely.

Relevant at: 31:11 — "The Zurich electorate adopted Article 49b eleven years ago. But it has not been implemented to this day."

Effect

Suggests that regulatory failure lies on the owners' side, not on the political side.

Summary: Systematic omissions concern the positive effects of densification, the quantitative significance of immigration, property rights as a constitutional value and political failure on the left side. These omissions reinforce the narrative of "market failure/greed" and weaken the narrative of "regulatory failure/demand pressure".



Missing voices

- SVP politician: Would have introduced the perspective that limiting immigration and deregulation could solve the housing crisis; property rights as a constitutional value
- Pension fund representative: Would have explained why institutional investors need to generate returns (retirement provision for insured persons) and what regulatory consequences threaten
- Business association/employers: Would have explained the connection between skilled worker immigration and housing demand
- Constitutional lawyer: Would have presented the limits of state intervention in property rights (Art. 26 FC)
- Cooperative critic: Would have addressed access problems, waiting lists and inefficiencies of the cooperative model
- Urban developer with market perspective: Would have explained why regulation prevents new construction and exacerbates the housing shortage
- Migration economist: Would have objectively contextualised the quantitative relationship between immigration and housing demand
- Owners' association HEV: Would have represented the perspective of private owners and their rights



5. MANIPULATION OF FIGURES

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

Finding 1: Land price increase 345-fold

Timestamp 23:47

Figure: "To a market value of around CHF 10,000 per square metre according to the real estate economist — 345 times more."

Dimensions:

- (a) Absolute value: ✓ shown (CHF 18 → CHF 10,000)
- (b) Share: X not shown — no comparison with general inflation (national index), no comparison with other asset classes over the same period
- (c) Trend: X not shown — no time series, only start and end point

Missing context

General inflation since 1938 amounts to approximately a factor of 10–15; the real price increase would therefore be approximately 23–35-fold, not 345-fold. This context is entirely absent.

Effect

Suggests extraordinary speculation, without enabling an inflation-adjusted comparison.

Finding 2: CHF 1.5 million annual additional income (Badran calculation)

Timestamp 17:47

Figure: "With 105 apartments, Regina Bachmann would earn CHF 1.5 million annually in this way."

Dimensions:

- (a) Absolute value: ✓ shown
- (b) Share: X not shown — no information on renovation costs, return on capital, equity employed
- (c) Trend: X not shown

Missing context

Renovation costs for 105 apartments can amount to CHF 20–50 million; the return on capital employed would therefore be significantly lower than suggested. Badran's calculation is not verified.

Effect

Suggests effortless income without taking investment risk into account.

Finding 3: 19% more apartments in Letzigarten

Timestamp 41:53

Figure: "In the new Letzigarten development, 19% more apartments are being created."

Dimensions:

- (a) Absolute value: X not shown — absolute figures (320 → 380) are mentioned earlier, but not in the context of this statement
- (b) Share: ✓ shown (19%)
- (c) Trend: X not shown

Missing context

19% more apartments alongside 50% more living space (07:00) means larger apartments — this connection is not explained.



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Effect

19% sounds modest; the context (more living space, more family apartments) is absent.

Summary: Figures are consistently presented in a way that supports the narrative of "speculation and greed". Inflation adjustment, capital return context and absolute figures are systematically absent where they would relativise the picture.



6. GUILT BY ASSOCIATION

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Association 1: Halter — "greed" and "return greed"

Timestamp 30:23

Quote *"The city needs new tools and weapons so that it can counter the rampant return greed."*

Technique: The term "return greed" is used in the off-commentary and placed directly in the context of the Halter Group. "Greed" is a moral judgement, not a factual description.

Effect Halter is associated with the concept of "greed" without this being substantiated. Legal entrepreneurial conduct is morally discredited.

Association 2: Regina Bachmann — "social fraud"

Timestamp 15:25

Quote *"That is wishful thinking, CHF 200 million. I would say that is social fraud."*

Technique: An unidentified speaker describes Regina Bachmann's conduct as "social fraud" — a term with criminal law connotations. This statement is not questioned or contextualised.

Effect Regina Bachmann is associated with a criminal law term, without any criminal offence being present or substantiated.

Association 3: Airbnb rental — "pure greed"

Timestamp 43:49

Quote *"That is simply greed, pure greed."*

Technique: Karin Athanasiu describes the Airbnb rental as "pure greed". This statement is not contextualised or relativised; it stands uncommented.

Effect Legal Airbnb rental is equated with the moral term "greed".

Summary: Multiple use of the term "greed" (directly and in the off-commentary) to morally discredit private owners. The term "social fraud" is left standing without contextualisation. These associations are not factually substantiated and violate the requirement of accurate presentation.



7. TIMING

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Finding 1: Emotional opening with affected persons

Position: 00:00–02:30 (beginning)

Content: The broadcast begins with emotional statements from affected persons ("Having to leave after 40 years is not entirely easy") and protest scenes ("Oh, oh, oh!").

Timing effect

The emotional opening sets the interpretive frame for the entire broadcast. Viewers are emotionally drawn to the side of the tenants before factual information is presented. This is a classic priming technique.

Finding 2: Land nationalisation proposal at the end

Position: 47:56 (end)

Content: "The solution is to change the entire basic system... to nationalise the land."

Timing effect

The most radical political proposal (land nationalisation) is placed at the end, after the viewer has been prepared by 47 minutes of emotional stories from affected persons and criticism of private owners. The solution thus appears as a logical consequence, not as a radical intervention.

Finding 3: Positive resolution for Julia at the end

Position: 39:40–46:01 (end)

Content: Julia finds a new apartment in Schlieren, is satisfied. "So just before despair I simply got lucky."

Timing effect

The positive resolution for Julia softens the impression of the crisis, without resolving the structural problems. At the same time, the narrative "Zurich is too expensive, the agglomeration is the solution" is implicitly confirmed — which contradicts the left-wing demand for more housing in the city.

Summary: Emotional opening (priming), radical solution at the end (anchoring after preparation) and positive individual resolution (relief without structural solution) are strategically placed and reinforce the overall narrative.



8. SELECTIVE OUTRAGE

6/10

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

Finding 1: "Return greed" in the off-commentary

Timestamp 30:23

Triggering event: Portrayal of the Halter Group as a beneficiary of densification policy

Reaction: "The city needs new tools and weapons so that it can counter the rampant return greed."

Comparison In the portrayal of the left-wing parties that prevented 400 SBB apartments (37:34), no analogous outraged commentary in the off.

Asymmetry: Demonstrably present — outrage over private returns, no outrage over political blocking of housing construction.

Finding 2: "Social fraud" left uncommented

Timestamp 15:25

Triggering event: Speculation about Regina Bachmann's renovation plans

Reaction: "That is wishful thinking, CHF 200 million. I would say that is social fraud." — Statement is not contextualised or relativised.

Comparison In the case of David Garcia (AL), who lives in a subsidised foundation apartment despite having voted against wealthy people receiving such apartments (33:39), the criticism ("preaching water and drinking wine") is indeed raised, but Garcia is given ample opportunity to justify himself.

Asymmetry: Demonstrably present — "social fraud" against the owner remains uncommented; "preaching water" against the politician is relativised through follow-up questioning.

Finding 3: "Greed, pure greed" uncommented

Timestamp 43:49

Triggering event: Airbnb rental of vacant apartments by Bachmann's partner

Reaction: "That is simply greed, pure greed." — Statement by a tenant, adopted without comment.

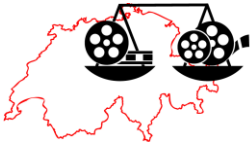
Comparison No analogous outrage in the portrayal of tenants (like Julia) claiming more living space than necessary (41:48: "Julia moves alone into the 100m² apartment. We consume too much living space.") — this finding is presented factually, not with outrage.

Asymmetry: Demonstrably present — outrage at owner behaviour, factual contextualisation of tenant behaviour.

Degree of outrage: 4/5

Selectivity: 4/5 (directed exclusively against private owners)

Summary: Outrage is consistently directed against private owners and investors. Political failure (blocking of housing construction by left-wing parties) and tenant behaviour (above-average space consumption) are commented on factually or not at all. The asymmetry is clearly demonstrable.



9. COMPLETENESS (Selective Omission — Overall picture)

7/10

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Finding 1: Left-wing blocking of housing construction

Timestamp 37:34

Missing perspective: "Behind the Zugushäuser, the SBB wanted to build almost 400 new apartments, two thirds of them affordable. This had been agreed with the city. But the left demanded that all apartments must be affordable. The SBB did not build."

Relevance: This is a concrete example of how left-wing maximalist positions have prevented housing construction. It is briefly mentioned, but not analysed as a structural problem.

Impact: The overall picture of "market prevents housing construction" is not balanced by the picture of "regulation prevents housing construction".

Finding 2: Pension funds as housing providers

Timestamp 29:15

Missing perspective: Pension funds are criticised as market drivers, without explaining that they must generate returns for the retirement provision of millions of insured persons. Regulating pension fund returns would have direct consequences for retirement provision.

Relevance: This connection is central to a complete portrayal of the housing crisis.

Impact: Pension funds appear as pure speculators, not as trustees of retirement savings.

Finding 3: Cooperative model — access problems

Timestamp 27:04, 48:45

Missing perspective: The cooperative model is consistently portrayed positively. Waiting lists (sometimes 10+ years), access problems for newcomers and the question of scalability are not addressed.

Relevance: If cooperatives are the solution, their limitations must be presented.

Impact: Cooperatives appear as an easily scalable solution, which they are not.

Summary: Systematic omissions concern political failure on the left side, the retirement provision function of institutional investors and the limitations of the cooperative model. These omissions reinforce the narrative of "market failure" and weaken alternative explanations.

Soft facts

The housing crisis in Swiss cities is a real, well-documented problem with rising rents, displacement and housing shortages. The causes are, however, politically contested: left-wing parties emphasise market failure, speculation and lack of regulation; right-wing parties emphasise over-regulation, immigration and insufficient new construction. The inner densification policy (SPA 2014) is a compromise that had unintended social consequences. Cooperative housing is already widespread in Zurich (approximately 25% of the stock), but politically contested with regard to access criteria.

Share of perspectives covered

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

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- [A] Tenants/affected persons:** Personal experiences with displacement and housing search
- [B] Private owners/investors:** Economic logic, return expectations, legal framework conditions
- [C] Left-wing politics:** State solutions, land law, cooperatives, regulation
- [D] Centre-right politics:** Market solutions, deregulation, property rights, construction as solution
- [E] Spatial planning/urban development:** Technical aspects of densification, SPA consequences
- [F] Tenancy law experts:** Legal framework conditions, protection against eviction
- [G] Economists:** Supply/demand, immigration effects, market mechanisms
- [H] Pension funds/institutional investors:** Role as housing providers, return logic
- [I] Immigration perspective:** Demographic demand, need for skilled workers vs. housing pressure
- [J] Cooperative representatives:** Model, access criteria, scalability

[A] ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 03:50, 10:25, 15:40, 49:21 — Quote: "Having to leave after 40 years is not entirely easy" —
Assessment: Addressed extensively and emotionally, forms the main part of the broadcast.

[B] INDICATED

Timestamp: 06:28 — Quote: "That is no fun, that is clear. But it is a necessity if we want to densify" —
Assessment: Balz Halter is given a voice, but is questioned critically throughout and positioned as a counterpart; his position is not treated on equal terms.

[C] ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 17:02, 30:16, 34:30, 47:56 — Quote: "If you want to understand why something happens, it is always advisable to follow the money" — Assessment: SP/AL positions are presented extensively and largely uncritically.

[D] INDICATED

Timestamp: 37:04 — Quote: "Our goal is to build, build, build and not to prevent" — Assessment: FDP position is briefly introduced, but in a debate in which it appears as a counterpart; no independent presentation.

[E] ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 03:30, 41:48 — Quote: "Since 2014 it has applied nationwide: no new houses on greenfield sites" —
Assessment: Spatial planning is explained, but one-sidedly framed as a cause of displacement.

[F] ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 05:06, 43:10 — Quote: "Swiss tenancy law is very weak by international comparison" —
Assessment: Tenancy law is addressed, but exclusively from the tenant perspective.

[G] INDICATED

Timestamp: 09:11, 11:37 — Quote: "One reason for the housing shortage is also immigration" — Assessment:
The immigration effect is briefly mentioned, but not analysed as an independent cause; the economist's perspective on supply/demand is largely absent.

[H] INDICATED

Timestamp: 29:15 — Quote: "Pension funds also invest in real estate. They are under criticism for driving up the market" — Assessment: Only mentioned as a point of criticism, no pension fund voice.

[I] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Assessment: The demographic demand side (immigration, household shrinkage, urbanisation) is not systematically analysed; no voice from employers or business associations on the need for skilled workers.



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[J] INDICATED

Timestamp: 27:04, 48:45 — Quote: "A cooperative that has owned the land for 90 years would charge only around half as much rent" — Assessment: The cooperative model is portrayed positively, but access problems and scaling questions are not critically examined.

Completeness score: 5/10

Reasoning: The broadcast addresses affected persons, left-wing politics and tenancy law extensively. Centre-right perspectives (property rights, market solutions, deregulation), the demographic demand side and institutional investor voices are absent as equal positions. The selection of perspectives addressed follows a recognisable pattern: victims and state solutions are favoured, market perspectives are marginalised.



Soft facts — 6 qualitative techniques

10. FRAMING (Setting the frame)

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Finding 1: "Concrete to gold" — housing as capital investment as a problem

Timestamp	02:49
Quote	<i>"Forward to Zurich's Paradeplatz. Everyone needs a roof over their head. But in Zurich, concrete turns to gold. Capital is being extracted from the basic need of housing."</i>
Manipulation	The off-commentary sets the frame: housing as a capital investment is inherently problematic. "Extracting capital" has a negative connotation. "Paradeplatz" (banking centre) as a destination suggests that financial interests are causing the housing crisis.
Why problematic	This frame excludes from the outset the possibility that capital investment in housing can also have positive effects (new construction, maintenance, financing of retirement provision). The viewer is prepared for a good-versus-evil schema.

Finding 2: "Feudal conditions" — historical analogy

Timestamp	28:31
Quote	<i>"That is in feudal conditions, in which a bailiff can say that he should pay such and such an amount of money in order to be able to live there."</i>
Manipulation	Hausmann compares the current rental relationship with feudalism. This historical analogy is factually incorrect (tenants have freedom of contract, protection against eviction, legal recourse) and is not questioned.
Why problematic	The feudalism analogy delegitimises the entire right of ownership and sets an extreme frame that makes factual discussion more difficult. It is presented as an expert statement, not as a political opinion.

Finding 3: "Follow the money" — criminalisation frame

Timestamp	17:02
Quote	<i>"If you want to understand why something happens, it is always advisable to follow the money. Follow the money."</i>
Manipulation	"Follow the money" is a term from crime reporting (Watergate, corruption). Its use in the context of legal real estate transactions suggests criminal intent.
Why problematic	Legal entrepreneurial conduct is placed in a criminal frame. Badran is not introduced as an SP politician; instead her statement is presented as factual analysis.



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Summary: The framing of the broadcast is consistent: housing as capital investment = problem, private owners = feudal lords/criminals, state solutions = necessity. This frame is constructed through off-commentary, expert statements and choice of words, and is never questioned.



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

Finding 1: "Return greed" in the off-commentary	
Timestamp	30:23
Quote	<i>"The city needs new tools and weapons so that it can counter the rampant return greed."</i>
Manipulation	"Return greed" is a value-laden term that equates the pursuit of returns with the vice of greed. "Rampant" suggests an epidemic. "Weapons" is a war metaphor.
Why problematic	A neutral alternative would be: "The city needs new instruments to secure affordable housing." The language used is politically activist, not journalistically neutral.

Finding 2: "Displaced" as a guiding term	
Timestamp	03:02, 06:44, 11:07, 30:16
Quote	<i>"The losers in this game are long-standing tenants who have to move" / "Foreign tenants are disproportionately affected by displacement"</i>
Manipulation	"Displaced" implies active, intentional harm. "Having to move" due to renovation/new construction is legally and economically a different process from "displacement" in the sociological sense.
Why problematic	A neutral alternative would be: "Tenants have to move out due to renovation or new construction." "Displacement" presupposes a perpetrator and is a political term.

Finding 3: "Effortless" and "unearned"	
Timestamp	18:03, 18:20
Quote	<i>"Every year effortlessly, without her having worked for it in any way." / "That is really unearned, so to speak."</i>
Manipulation	"Effortless" and "unearned" are normative judgements about capital returns. They imply that only earned income is legitimate. These statements are not contextualised as political opinion.
Why problematic	A neutral alternative would be: "That corresponds to a return on capital of X%." The terms used come from the political discourse of the left (capitalism criticism) and are presented as factual description.

Summary: The choice of words in the broadcast — "return greed", "displaced", "effortless", "unearned", "feudal conditions", "follow the money" — is consistently politically activist and comes from left-wing political discourse. Neutral journalistic language would avoid these terms or identify them as quotations.



12. MODERATION BEHAVIOUR

6/10

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Finding 1: Critical follow-up question to Halter, no analogous follow-up to Badran

Timestamp 06:44 (Halter), 17:02 (Badran)

Triggering event with Halter: Halter explains that demolition is necessary for densification.

Quote (reporter) *"But the displacement would not have been necessary. You could renovate and add floors while the building is occupied."*

Triggering event with Badran: Badran presents calculations on Bachmann's additional income.

Reaction: No critical follow-up question. Badran's assumptions (rental prices after renovation, number of apartments) are not questioned.

Asymmetry: Demonstrably present — Halter is confronted with concrete counter-arguments; Badran's calculations are adopted without scrutiny.

Finding 2: "Preaching water and drinking wine" — question to Garcia, but with an escape route

Timestamp 33:39

Triggering event: Garcia lives in a subsidised foundation apartment, although he voted against income limits for such apartments.

Quote (reporter) *"If I were to say to a critic, preaching water and drinking wine... Mr Garcia?"*

Comparison The question is asked, but Garcia is given ample opportunity to justify himself (33:46–34:22). The answer is not further questioned.

Asymmetry: Partially demonstrable — the question is asked (positive), but the follow-up is less persistent than with Halter.

Finding 3: No follow-up question on Badran's party interest

Timestamp 17:02

Triggering event: Badran presents political analysis and calculations.

Quote (reporter) *No identification as SP politician, no question about party interest.*

Comparison With Halter, his economic interest is explicitly addressed (07:00: "Halter benefits from the city wanting to densify in Altstetten").

Asymmetry: Demonstrably present — Halter's economic interest is explicitly addressed; Badran's political interest (SP) is not mentioned.

Summary: Moderation behaviour is asymmetric: private owners are questioned critically and their economic interest is explicitly addressed. Politicians with a clear party interest (Badran/SP) are not asked about their party interest and their statements are not questioned.



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

Asymmetry 1:	
To Balz Halter, 06	44: "But the displacement would not have been necessary. You could renovate and add floors while the building is occupied." — hard/confrontational
To Jacqueline Badran, 17	02: No critical question about her calculations or her party interest. — no question / uncritical
Comparison	Halter is confronted with a concrete counter-argument; Badran is not questioned. Clear asymmetry.

Asymmetry 2:	
To Balz Halter, 28	46: "Would it not be fair to calculate with the historical land value of CHF 29 that you additionally received as a gift? Could you set a good example and offer affordable apartments?" — hard/morally charged
To David Garcia, 33	39: "If I were to say to a critic, preaching water and drinking wine..." — soft/with escape route
Comparison	Halter is confronted with a morally charged question ("fair", "set a good example"). Garcia receives a softer formulation and sufficient room for justification.

Asymmetry 3:	
To Balz Halter, 20	51: "As a major developer and owner, do you not find it problematic to extract capital from the existential need of housing?" — hard/normative
To Urs Hausmann, 47	56: "What do you say as an economist and former chairman of the board of Wüst+Partner real estate consultancy? You are advocating for expropriation along Marxist lines." — neutral/contextualising
Comparison	Halter is confronted with a normative question ("not problematic?"). Hausmann's radical proposal (land nationalisation) is contextualised factually, not questioned normatively.

Summary: Questions to private owners are consistently harder, more morally charged and more confrontational than questions to left-wing politicians and interventionist experts. This asymmetry is demonstrable throughout the entire broadcast.



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

Finding 1: Florian Utz (FDP) as token counter-position

Timestamp 37:04

Construct: Florian Utz (FDP) is introduced as a representative of the "construction" position, but in a debate in which he already appears as a counterpart to a dominant left-wing majority. His position is briefly presented, then countered by Badran's counter-argument ("Nobody needs more apartments that cost CHF 8,000 per month").

Analysis

The inclusion of Utz creates the appearance of balance without establishing actual balance. Utz receives speaking time compared to Badran/Garcia combined.

Summary: The broadcast creates an appearance of balance through the inclusion of Florian Utz (FDP), without establishing actual balance. The structural dominance of interventionist positions remains unchanged. The score is moderate because the false balance is deployed not systematically, but at specific points.



15. AGENDA-SETTING

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Finding 1: Land speculation as a self-evident cause

Agenda element set: The broadcast takes it as given that land speculation and return-on-investment logic are the main causes of the housing crisis.

Timestamp

02:49 — Evidence: "But in Zurich, concrete turns to gold. Capital is being extracted from the basic need of housing."

Alternative agenda: Immigration, regulatory failure, household shrinkage and urbanisation as equally weighted causes should have been placed on the agenda.

Finding 2: Land nationalisation as a legitimate option

Agenda element set: The broadcast places land nationalisation on the agenda as a discussable, legitimate option.

Timestamp

47:56 — Evidence: "The solution is to change the entire basic system... to nationalise the land."

Alternative agenda: The constitutional limits (Art. 26 FC), the political feasibility and international experiences with land nationalisation should have been critically discussed.

Finding 3: Cooperatives as an uncontested solution

Agenda element set: Cooperative housing is established as a superior model without discussing its limitations.

Timestamp

27:04, 48:45 — Evidence: "A cooperative that has owned the land for 90 years would charge only around half as much rent"

Alternative agenda: Waiting lists, access problems, scaling limits and the question of who is allowed to live in cooperatives (Garcia debate) should have been systematically discussed.

Summary: The broadcast sets a clear agenda: land speculation is the problem, state solutions (cooperatives, regulation, land nationalisation) are the answer. Alternative explanations and solutions are not placed on the agenda as equally valid options.



CHAPTER 4 — OVERALL EVALUATION

Results

- HARD FACTS SCORE (average criteria 1-9): 6.1 / 10
- SOFT FACTS SCORE (average criteria 10-15): 6.0 / 10

Dominant techniques

- 1. Selective outrage (score 8):** Outrage is directed consistently and exclusively against private owners ("return greed", "social fraud", "pure greed"), while political failure on the left side (blocking of 400 SBB apartments) and tenant behaviour (above-average space consumption) are commented on factually or not at all. The asymmetry is demonstrable throughout the entire broadcast and violates the requirement of accurate presentation.
- 2. Framing / Agenda-setting (score 7 / 7):** From the outset the broadcast sets a consistent frame: housing as capital investment is inherently problematic, private owners are feudal lords/speculators, state solutions are the only answer. This frame is constructed through off-commentary, expert selection and choice of words, and is never questioned. Alternative explanations (immigration, regulatory failure) are not placed on the agenda as equally valid options.
- 3. Expert selection / Source selection (score 7 / 6):** All experts represent interventionist positions; not a single expert with a market-liberal or property rights perspective is consulted. Jacqueline Badran (SP) is not introduced as a politician with a party interest; instead her statements are presented as factual analysis. The Association of Housing Cooperatives is not identified as an interest group.

Core messages of the broadcast

MESSAGE 1 (SUBSTANTIVE): "The housing crisis in Zurich is a consequence of land speculation and the return-on-investment logic of private owners, not of regulatory failure or demographic demand pressure."

Technique: Framing, agenda-setting, expert selection — Evidence: 02:49, 19:04, 30:23

MESSAGE 2 (PERSONAL): "Private owners who generate returns from residential property are acting in a morally reprehensible manner ('greed', 'effortless', 'feudal')."

Technique: Choice of words, guilt by association, selective outrage — Evidence: 17:02, 28:31, 30:23, 43:49

MESSAGE 3 (SOCIETAL): "The solution to the housing crisis lies in state direction: cooperatives, regulation and in the long term land nationalisation are legitimate and necessary answers."

Technique: Timing (land nationalisation at the end), source selection (only interventionist experts), completeness (cooperative limitations omitted) — Evidence: 27:04, 47:56, 48:45

Reasoning: With an overall score of 6.1/10, the broadcast falls in the range of "clear one-sidedness". The broadcast violates Art. 4 RTVA in several dimensions: the expert selection is one-sidedly interventionist, without a single market-liberal or property rights counter-voice. The choice of words ("return greed", "effortless", "feudal conditions") is politically activist and not journalistically neutral. The selective outrage — exclusively against private owners, not against political failure — violates the requirement of accurate presentation. The topic of the housing crisis is politically contested; Art. 4 para. 4 RTVA expressly requires diversity of opinion on such topics, which is not guaranteed here.

CONCLUSION

The analysed SRF reportage on the housing crisis in Zurich exhibits a clear and consistent one-sidedness in favour of interventionist, left-green positions, which is incompatible with the accuracy requirement and the diversity requirement of Art. 4 RTVA. The broadcast presents the housing crisis exclusively as a consequence of market failure and private greed, without treating alternative explanations (immigration, regulatory failure, demographic change) on equal terms. Centre-right positions (property rights, market solutions, deregulation) are absent as independent voices; the SVP as the largest party is not represented. The use of politically activist language ("return greed", "feudal conditions", "follow the money") in the off-commentary and the uncritical adoption of SP politician Badran's calculations without contextualising her party interest reinforce the one-sidedness. According to Art. 4 para. 2 RTVA, editorial broadcasts must present facts and events accurately; according to Art. 4 para. 4 RTVA, diversity of opinion must be guaranteed on contested topics — neither requirement is fulfilled in this broadcast.



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OVERALL EVALUATION OF THE 15 CRITERIA

Individual scores — All 15 criteria

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

HARD FACTS SCORE (1-8)

6.1/10

Serious deviation from the impartiality requirement. High degree of deviation

SOFT FACTS SCORE (9-14)

6.0/10

Considerable imbalance

OVERALL SCORE

6.1/10

Serious deviation from the impartiality requirement. High degree of deviation

Averaged from hard facts and soft facts



KEY — Meaning of scores

Individual scores per criterion (0–10)

0	No finding	No relevant irregularity identified.
1–2	Weak finding	Minor irregularity without material impairment of balance.
3–4	Slight to moderate finding	Recognisable tendency; relevance of impact low to moderate.
5	Moderate finding with relevance of impact	Relevant imbalance that influences the opinion-forming potential of the audience.
6	Considerable finding (threshold)	Scores from 6 onwards are reported as "considerable findings".
7	Considerable finding	Clear, well-substantiated imbalance with marked relevance of impact.
8–9	Serious finding	Pronounced imbalance; several substantiable individual findings in this criterion.
10	Maximum manifestation	Systematic, pervasive imbalance in this criterion.

Aggregated deviation index — interpretation ranges

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

Party-political bias (-5 to +5)

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



CHAPTER 5 — LEGAL CLASSIFICATION (Art. 4 RTVA)

Assessment under Art. 4 RTVA

Violation 1:

Norm: Art. 4 para. 2 RTVA (Accurate presentation)

Facts: Use of politically activist language in the off-commentary ("return greed", "rampant") and uncritical adoption of the term "social fraud" without contextualisation.

Evidence: Timestamp 30:23 — Quote: "The city needs new tools and weapons so that it can counter the rampant return greed." / Timestamp 15:25 — Quote: "That is wishful thinking, CHF 200 million. I would say that is social fraud."

Assessment: The off-commentary of a news broadcast must be factual and neutral. "Return greed" is a value-laden term that implies a moral condemnation, which is not the task of journalism. "Social fraud" is a term with criminal law connotations that is left standing without contextualisation. Both cases violate the accuracy requirement.

Violation 2:

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

Facts: The housing crisis is a politically contested topic. The broadcast presents exclusively interventionist positions (land nationalisation, cooperatives, regulation) without equally weighted counter-positions (property rights, market solutions, deregulation).

Evidence: Timestamp 47:56 — Quote: "The solution is to change the entire basic system... to nationalise the land." — No counter-voice from a constitutional lawyer, HEV or market-liberal economist.

Assessment: Art. 4 para. 4 RTVA expressly requires diversity of opinion on contested topics. The broadcast presents land nationalisation as a discussable option, without critically discussing the constitutional limits (Art. 26 FC), the political feasibility or international experiences. This violates the diversity requirement.

Violation 3:

Norm: Art. 4 para. 2 RTVA (Accurate presentation) in conjunction with transparency requirement

Facts: Jacqueline Badran (SP National Councillor) is not introduced as a politician with a party interest; her statements are presented as factual analysis. Her party interest (SP programme: tenant protection, state direction) is not disclosed.

Evidence: Timestamp 17:02 — Quote: "If you want to understand why something happens, it is always advisable to follow the money. Follow the money." — No identification as SP politician.

Assessment: Accurate presentation requires that sources with a recognisable party interest be identified as such. The concealment of Badran's party interest while simultaneously explicitly addressing Halter's economic interest is an asymmetric treatment that violates the accuracy requirement.

Violation 4:

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

Facts: The SVP as the largest party (27.9% share of the vote) is not represented. No representative of the homeowners' association HEV, no market-liberal economist, no constitutional lawyer on property rights.

Evidence: Entire broadcast — no SVP voice, no HEV representative, no market-liberal economist.

Assessment: Art. 4 para. 4 RTVA requires a balanced selection of interlocutors. The complete absence of centre-right voices on a politically contested topic violates this requirement.

Overall assessment Art. 4 RTVA

The broadcast violates Art. 4 RTVA in four demonstrable dimensions: accuracy requirement (politically activist language in the off-commentary, uncritical adoption of "social fraud"), diversity requirement (exclusively interventionist



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positions, land nationalisation without counter-voice), transparency requirement (Badran's party interest not disclosed) and balance requirement (SVP, HEV, market-liberal economists not represented). The violations are not limited to individual statements, but run through the entire broadcast as a structural pattern, which indicates an editorial stance that is incompatible with the statutory mandate of public broadcasting. A complaint to the Independent Complaints Authority for Radio and Television (ICA) would be justifiable on the basis of these findings.



CHAPTER 6 — SOURCE IN-DEPTH CHECK

1. ETH Zurich (displacement study)

- FUNDING:** State (federal government). No direct interest tie to housing policy.
- MANDATE:** Research mandate compatible with neutral assessment — however, the selection of this specific study (displacement) without a counter-study is selective.
- CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Low — ETH has no institutional interest in a particular housing policy.
- CREDIBILITY MATRIX:** D1 Conflict of interest: +1 / D2 Personal risk: +1 / D3 Professional competence: +2 / D4 Consistency: +1 / D5 Emotion vs. data: +2 / D6 Source level: +2 → TOTAL: +9 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: GREEN
- COUNTER-VOICE:** An ETH study on the positive effects of densification (more housing, better use of infrastructure) is absent.

2. Association of Housing Cooperatives

- FUNDING:** Member-funded (housing cooperatives). Clear interest group.
- MANDATE:** Explicitly partisan — the association represents the interests of cooperatives and advocates their expansion.
- CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** High — the association has an institutional interest in presenting the cooperative model as superior. It is not identified as an interest group in the broadcast.
- CREDIBILITY MATRIX:** D1 Conflict of interest: -2 / D2 Personal risk: 0 / D3 Professional competence: +1 / D4 Consistency: +2 / D5 Emotion vs. data: +1 / D6 Source level: 0 → TOTAL: +2 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW
- COUNTER-VOICE:** Homeowners' association HEV or real estate association as a counter-voice is entirely absent.

3. Unidentified tenancy law specialist (05:06)

- FUNDING:** Unknown — person not identified.
- MANDATE:** Unknown.
- CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Unknown — the statement "Swiss tenancy law is very weak by international comparison" is normative and indicates a tenant-friendly orientation.
- CREDIBILITY MATRIX:** D1 Conflict of interest: 0 / D2 Personal risk: 0 / D3 Professional competence: +1 / D4 Consistency: 0 / D5 Emotion vs. data: +1 / D6 Source level: -1 → TOTAL: +1 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW
- COUNTER-VOICE:** A tenancy law specialist who assesses Swiss tenancy law as already strong (e.g. compared to Anglo-Saxon countries) is absent.

4. Urs Hausmann (real estate economist) — already addressed in criterion 1

SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: GREEN (marginally, +5) — Professionally competent, but normative vision (land nationalisation) is framed as analysis.

5. Jacqueline Badran (SP National Councillor) — already addressed in criterion 1

SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW (0) — Clear party interest, not introduced as a politician.

IMPORTANT: "Recognised" is not a factual qualification. The broadcast presents Badran and Hausmann as factual authorities, without disclosing their normative/political positions. This is a social attribution of neutrality that must itself be questioned and is not justified in the present case.

Legal and methodological classification



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No finding of fact

The results presented do not constitute findings of fact about individual persons, editorial teams or broadcasts. They are to be understood as the result of a standardised operationalisation, not as a determination of individual responsibility.

No legal ruling

The aggregated deviation index does not replace a legal assessment within the meaning of Art. 4 RTVA. The determination of whether a specific broadcast violates statutory requirements is the exclusive responsibility of the competent authorities (in particular the ICA).

No proof of causality

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

No judgement of intent

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

Heuristic comparison instrument

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



APPENDIX 1: NATIONAL LEGISLATION

Legal basis Switzerland — SRG SSR

Law

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

Relevant articles

- Art. 4 para. 1 RTVA: All broadcasts of a radio or television programme must respect fundamental rights. In particular, broadcasts must respect human dignity, must not be discriminatory, must not contribute to racial hatred, must not endanger public morality, and must not glorify or trivialise violence.
- Art. 4 para. 2 RTVA: Editorial broadcasts with informational content must present facts and events accurately, so that the audience can form its own opinion. Opinions and commentary must be recognisable as such.
- Art. 4 para. 4 RTVA: In the totality of editorial broadcasts, the diversity of events and opinions must be adequately expressed (diversity requirement).

Core obligations

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

Supervisory authority

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

Complaints procedure

1. Ombudsman office of the respective business unit (SRF, RTS, RSI, RTR)
2. ICA (if no agreement is reached)
3. Federal Supreme Court (last instance)



APPENDIX 2: SCIENTIFIC FOUNDATIONS

Literature

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Unbalanced reporting is the response to the halving initiative in Switzerland: here the manipulation techniques are explained in detail, starting with the selection of staff and source selection. After that, 15 principles are explained: omission, framing, temporal framing, guilt by association, emotionalisation, context removal and many more, illustrated with many examples. In addition, it becomes apparent where we ourselves apply these techniques — this promotes not only insight but also empathy.

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The interview is not a conversation. It is a stage — and someone else has written the script.

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

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

Because those who understand framing see the world more clearly. Listen to the news differently. Conduct conversations with more confidence. And can no longer so easily have a frame imposed on them that someone else has chosen.

With many exercises and concrete examples from politics, media and everyday life — and the occasional smile.

Framing with style. Because the frame changes everything.



The SRG collects CHF 1.56 billion per year — compulsorily, from every household. Those who feel unfairly treated can lodge a complaint. There is even an authority for this: the ICA, the Independent Complaints Authority for Radio and Television.

Only: it is not independent. It has no sanctioning powers. And in 99.6% of all cases it decides: nothing.

This analysis lays bare the system — factually, precisely, without polemic. Procedures, personnel, powers, costs, statistics, legal recourse. And the constitutional law review that shows: the ICA system meets none of the three fundamental criteria — it is not appropriate, not subject to separation of powers, not market-based. The authority that is supposed to protect citizens protects above all the system it was supposed to control.

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