



## SVFAB DETAILED ANALYSIS

2015-12-23 Rundschau – das Politmagazin

Broadcast: SRF Tagesschau broadcast | 2015-12-23 | Analysed on: 2026-05-19 14:49

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

### OVERALL SCORE

**6.2/10**

*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).

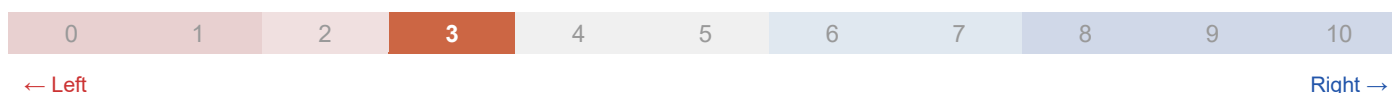
Party	Greens	SP	GLP	Centre	EVP	FDP	SVP
CHES	1.13	1.67	3.60	5.47	5.64	7.67	9.00
Spectrum	Left	Left	Left	Centre	Right	Right	Right

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)

**3.2 / 10**

**Left-favouring**



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

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



## POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

Switzerland is a consensus democracy with a seven-member Federal Council composed according to the so-called magic formula: SVP (2 seats), SP (2 seats), FDP (2 seats), The Centre (1 seat). There is no classic government-opposition dichotomy — all major parties are represented in the executive. Opposition dynamics play out primarily in the National Council and in popular referendums.

Party	CHES L-R	Seats NC	Government/Opposition	Core position (Islam/migration)
SVP	8.0	62	Government	Limit immigration, tighten asylum law, sovereignty
SP	2.5	41	Government	Open migration policy, promote integration
FDP	6.5	28	Government	Orderly immigration, skilled workers, combating abuse
Centre	5.0	29	Government	Pragmatic migration policy, integration and management
Greens	2.0	23	Opposition	Solidarity-based reception, promotion of integration
GLP	4.0	10	Opposition	Liberal migration policy, pragmatic integration
EVP	5.5	2	Opposition	Centre position, Christian-social

The broadcast dates from 2015 (context: Paris attacks January and November 2015, refugee crisis). The central lines of conflict are: (1) Islamism vs. integration — how much religious autonomy is tolerable in a liberal democracy? (2) Security vs. openness — how does Europe respond to Islamist terror without blanket condemnation? (3) Criticism of religion vs. protection from discrimination — may Islam as a system be criticised without stigmatising Muslims? (4) Refugee policy — reception vs. capacity limits, particularly relevant in the context of the persecution of Christians by IS.

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 reflect a diversity of opinions on controversial topics and to select interlocutors in a balanced manner. As a political magazine with an explicit claim to opinion-forming, Rundschau bears a particular responsibility for compliance with these principles, as it engages in opinion formation among a broad audience.



## CHAPTER 1 — PARTY-POLITICAL BIAS

Preliminary remark: This broadcast from 2015 deals primarily with a religious-social topic (Islam, radicalisation, integration) and not directly with party politics. Party positions are not explicitly cited. The assessment is therefore based on the implicit agreement or divergence of the broadcast's statements with party programmes.

Party	Score (-5..+5)	Broadcast portrayal vs. programme position
SVP	-2	No direct mention. The SVP position (limit immigration, tighten asylum law, Islam criticism as legitimate) is partially mirrored implicitly through Kelek's statements, but is never named or contextualised as a political position. The broadcast frames Islam-critical positions as individual-intellectual rather than as politically and democratically anchored — which renders the SVP electorate (27.9%) invisible. Programme position: Islam criticism and migration management as core topics — omitted.
SP	0	Not directly mentioned. The SP position (open migration policy, promotion of integration, combating discrimination) is mirrored in substance through Lamja Kador's statements on discrimination (04:11–04:25) and through Tariq Ramadan's social criticism (09:04–09:15), without being named as a political position. Neither correctly nor distortedly portrayed — simply absent.
FDP	0	Not mentioned. The FDP position (orderly immigration, skilled workers, pragmatic EU relationship) is peripheral to the broadcast's topic. No portrayal, no distortion.
Centre	0	Not mentioned. The Centre position (pragmatic migration policy, integration and management) could have been introduced as a balanced voice, but is entirely absent.
Greens	0	Not mentioned. The Greens position (solidarity-based reception, climate migration, promotion of integration) would have been relevant to the refugee topic (Kurdistan reportage), but is absent.
GLP	0	Not mentioned. No relevant portrayal or distortion.
EVP	0	Not mentioned. Noteworthy: the EVP as a Christian-social party could have been a natural voice on the question of "Christians vs. Muslims" and on the Kurdistan reportage. Entirely omitted.

### Party bias summary

- Most accurate portrayal: SP (score 0) — substantive proximity through the discrimination theme, but not explicit
- Strongest distortion: SVP (score -2) — Switzerland's largest party with an explicit Islam-critical position is rendered invisible by the non-mention of its democratic legitimacy
- Average deviation from 0: 0.3
- Conclusion: The broadcast operates largely outside the party-political framework — which is problematic for a socio-political topic such as Islam and integration. The SVP as Switzerland's largest party with explicit positions on migration and Islam is not made visible as a political actor. At the same time, left-wing interpretive patterns (discrimination as a cause of radicalisation, Islamophobia narrative) are presented as social consensus without any party-political classification.



## CHAPTER 2 — BROADCAST INFORMATION AND THEMATIC FRAMEWORK

### Broadcast data

- Title: Rundschau — "Islam: A Contentious Religion. Has Coexistence Failed?"
- Date: 23.12.2015
- Presenter: Sandro Brotz
- Reporters: Samira Zingaro, Thomas Vogel (Germany/France/Switzerland reportage), Cornelis van Groesen (USA reportage), Michael Perikone (Kurdistan reportage)

Actors	Function	Party/affiliation	Political spectrum
Sandro Brotz	Presenter SRF Rundschau	SRF (public broadcaster)	Neutral (formal)
Necla Kelek	German-Turkish sociologist, Islam critic	No party, active as publicist	Centre-right to liberal-conservative
Lamja Kador	Islamic studies teacher, author, liberal Muslim	No party	Left-liberal
Tariq Ramadan	Islamic scholar, Swiss citizen	No party, proximity to Muslim Brotherhood (disputed)	Left-Islamist (disputed)
Burim Luscha	Prospective engineer, Muslim student at University of Zurich	No party	Religiously conservative
Naim Czerny	Islamic Central Council of Switzerland, association member	Islamic Central Council	Islamically conservative
Jens Petzold	Christian monk, refugee pastor Kurdistan	Christian	Religiously humanitarian
Gabriel Jakob	Christian refugee from Iraq	None	Victim perspective
Asad Nawabi	Spokesperson Muslim community Kentucky	None	Moderately Muslim
Chuck McAllister	US preacher, weapons raffles	Evangelical-conservative	Right-religious (USA)

### Main topic

The broadcast examines whether coexistence between Muslims and non-Muslims in Europe has failed, and in doing so sheds light on the causes of radicalisation, Islam-critical positions, religious practice and the fate of Christian refugees in Iraq.



## CHAPTER 3 — 15 CRITERIA: DETAILED ANALYSIS

### Hard facts — 9 techniques that are countable and scientifically robust

#### 1. EXPERT SELECTION

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#### Expert 1: Necla Kelek, sociologist

Timestamp: 13:44–23:29

Statement: "I hold the Quran responsible for calling for the world to be divided into believers and unbelievers and for containing clearly violent passages" (00:55–01:11)

Classification: Kelek is a publicly active Islam critic with an academic background (sociology). She is not an Islamic studies scholar and not a theologian. Her theses are disputed in the academic community; she is regarded by some as an important voice, by others as a populist.

#### Source in-depth check:

**(a) FUNDING:** Kelek finances herself primarily through book sales and lecture fees. No institutional affiliation with state or church bodies. Conflict of interest: her career is based on Islam-critical positions — structural incentive towards sharpening her positions.

**(b) MANDATE:** As a sociologist, her mandate is social analysis. Theological statements about the Quran (e.g. "over 100 passages", 18:16) lie outside her core competence.

D1 Conflict of interest: -1 — Career based on Islam-critical positioning

D2 Personal risk: +2 — Has received threats and experienced social exclusion due to her positions

D3 Professional competence: 0 — Sociologist, but not an Islamic studies scholar; Quran statements without theological training

D4 Consistency of opinion: +2 — Has consistently held the same positions for years

D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: -1 — Mix of analysis and normative sharpening ("combat manual", "dictatorship")

D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary source (own interpretation of primary sources)

**TOTAL: +2 → SOURCE INDICATOR: YELLOW**

**(c) PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE:** 49) — this is a social attribution, not a factual qualification. The framing as an extreme position ("hardest") is itself a framing element.

#### Expert 2: Lamja Kador, Islamic studies teacher and author

Timestamp: 03:11–10:13

Statement: "You simply know that you are disadvantaged when you are perhaps a migration-background teacher with darker hair, a darker type, perhaps even called Ahmed. Then it is clear that life here is at least somewhat harder for you." (04:11–04:22)

Classification: Kador is an Islamic studies teacher and author. She represents a liberal Muslim position and explains radicalisation primarily through social discrimination.

#### Source in-depth check:

**(a) FUNDING:** Employed by the state as a teacher (NRW). Conflict of interest: as a Muslim woman wearing a headscarf, she has a personal interest in a particular interpretation of the Islam debate.

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**(b) MANDATE:** As a pedagogue, her mandate is integration and education. Her statements on the causes of radicalisation are opinions, not empirically substantiated research findings.

- D1 Conflict of interest: -1 — Personal involvement as a Muslim woman wearing a headscarf
- D2 Personal risk: +1 — Public position as a liberal Muslim woman in Germany
- D3 Professional competence: +1 — Pedagogical practice, but not a radicalisation researcher
- D4 Consistency of opinion: +1 — Consistent liberal position
- D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: -1 — "Statistically speaking, definitely" without citing a source (04:25)
- D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary source

**TOTAL: +1 → SOURCE INDICATOR: YELLOW**

**(c) PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE:** 24) introduced — social attribution without evidence.

**Expert 3: Tariq Ramadan, Islamic scholar**

Timestamp: 07:06–09:55

Statement: "Stop with this compulsive separation of state and religion in all areas." (09:09–09:15)

Classification: Ramadan is one of the most controversial figures in the European Islam debate. He is described by critics as a "wolf in sheep's clothing" (07:20), which the broadcast itself mentions. In 2017 he was arrested on rape charges (not yet known at the time of broadcast in 2015). His proximity to the Muslim Brotherhood is documented.

**Source in-depth check:**

**(a) FUNDING:** At the time of broadcast, professor at the University of Oxford. Earlier funding by the Qatar Foundation documented. Conflict of interest: structural proximity to Islamist networks.

**(b) MANDATE:** As an Islamic scholar, his mandate is academic analysis. His political demands ("Stop with this compulsive separation of state and religion") go far beyond academic assessments.

- D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — Documented proximity to the Muslim Brotherhood, Qatar funding
- D2 Personal risk: 0 — Academic position protects him
- D3 Professional competence: +1 — Islamic scholar, but with an ideological agenda
- D4 Consistency of opinion: +1 — Consistent positions, but double-speak documented (07:54: "Moderate in interview, sharper in front of audience")
- D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: -2 — Emotionally appellative in front of audience ("We have had enough. Enough.", 09:15–09:17)
- D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary source

**TOTAL: -2 → SOURCE INDICATOR: YELLOW (borderline)**

**(c) PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE:** 54–08:07), but nonetheless cites him as an expert without addressing this limitation in the moderation.

*Missing expert groups:*

- Islamic studies scholars without a conflict of interest (e.g. Gudrun Krämer, Tilman Nagel)
- Radicalisation researchers with empirical data (e.g. Oliver Roy, Olivier Bobineau)
- Swiss security expert (NDB, Fedpol)

**Source indicator for participants:**

Source	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	Total	Indicator
Necla Kelek, sociologist	-1	+2	0	+2	-1	0	+2	YELLOW
Lamja Kador, Islamic studies teacher and author	-1	+1	+1	+1	-1	0	+1	YELLOW
Tariq Ramadan, Islamic scholar	-2	0	+1	+1	-2	0	-2	YELLOW



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*Summary:*

- Kelek: YELLOW (+2) — Sociologist with personal risk, but outside her area of competence regarding Quranic exegesis
- Kador: YELLOW (+1) — Pedagogue with conflict of interest, claims without evidence
- Ramadan: YELLOW (-2) — Islamic scholar with documented conflict of interest and double-speak, nonetheless presented as an expert



## 2. SOURCE SELECTION

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Claims without a primary source = penalty points (rumour check)

### Source 1: Islamic Central Council of Switzerland

**Timestamp** 02:00–02:07; 11:11–12:30

**Statement** "The Islamic Central Council claims to be conducting precisely this debate in Switzerland." (11:11–11:17)

- (a) **Funding and sponsorship:** Membership fees, donations from the Islamic sphere. Exact sources of funding not publicly known. Structural proximity to Salafist currents documented.
- (b) **Structural conflict of interest:** The Islamic Central Council has an institutional interest in being recognised as a legitimate representative of Swiss Muslims. The broadcast mentions that the federal prosecutor's office is investigating an association member (11:31–11:33), without addressing this as a problem of source qualification.
- (c) **Missing counter-source:** No voice from Muslims who reject the Islamic Central Council as non-representative (e.g. FIDS — Federal Service for Combating Racism, or liberal Muslim associations).

Rumour 1:

Timestamp: 12:37–12:50

Claim: "In private conversation, conspiracy theories emerge. Not the extremists, but Western intelligence services had deliberately seduced young, confused Muslims into killing."

Verbal marker: "emerge" (implicit: "it is said")

Primary source available: No — penalty point. The claim is reproduced as an anonymous voice from the audience, without identification of the source.

### Source 2: Burim Luscha, Muslim student at the University of Zurich

**Timestamp** 05:12–06:10

**Statement** "In Switzerland, 1,350 people actually die every year due to alcohol consumption. And in Germany it's 70,000. And I think those are the kinds of things that should actually frighten people much more." (05:50–05:57)

- (a) **Funding:** Student, no institutional affiliation.
- (b) **Structural conflict of interest:** As a practising Muslim, he has a personal interest in relativising the perception of the Islamist threat.
- (c) **Missing counter-source:** No voice classifying the alcohol-Islam comparison as categorically false (terrorism is intentional violence, death from alcohol is not).

### Source 3: Naim Czerny, Islamic Central Council

**Timestamp** 11:25–12:30

**Statement** "What can these assimilated gentlemen do? Because young people who already have one foot in this ideological propaganda — what can they still trigger in these young people?" (12:08–12:22)

- (a) **Funding:** Islamic Central Council (see above)
- (b) **Structural conflict of interest:** Czerny is here justifying contact with a jihadist leader — a position that the federal prosecutor's office regards as problematic.



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**(c) Missing counter-source:** No voice from de-radicalisation experts refuting Czerny's logic.

Summary: The source selection is structurally one-sided: Islamic voices dominate (Central Council, Ramadan, Kador, Luscha), while critical counter-voices from within the Islamic sphere are absent. An unsubstantiated rumour is reproduced without identification of the source. The Islamic Central Council is presented as an interlocutor despite an ongoing federal prosecutor's investigation, without its legitimacy as a source being questioned.



3. TIME DISTRIBUTION									5/10
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Estimated speaking time:

- Necla Kelek (Islam criticism): (22%)
- Lamja Kador (liberal Muslim woman, integration perspective): (12%)
- Tariq Ramadan (Euro-Islam, Islamic perspective): (7%)
- Islamic Central Council / Naim Czerny: (5%)
- Muslim students University of Zurich: (5%)
- Kurdistan reportage (refugees, monk Petzold): (24%)
- US weapons reportage (McAllister, Nawabi): (15%)
- Presenter Brotz (introduction, transitions): (10%)

Summary: The time distribution is structurally unbalanced: Islam-critical positions (Kelek: 22%) receive considerable airtime, but are relativised by the presenter's framing. Muslim voices in total (Kador + Ramadan + Central Council + students) receive approx. 29% — more than Kelek alone. Security policy, legal and political perspectives receive 0%. The US weapons reportage (15%) is thematically peripheral and serves primarily the implicit equation of Christian and Islamic readiness for violence.



4. OMISSION (Selective Omission)								7/10	
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Omission 1:									
<b>Context</b>		The Paris attacks are cited as the trigger for the broadcast (00:37–01:30; 02:20–02:28), but no victim perspective is introduced.							
Relevant at: 00:37–01:30									
<b>Effect</b>		The broadcast treats Islamist terror as an abstract social problem, not as a concrete crime with victims. This shifts the focus from perpetrator responsibility to social causes.							

Omission 2:									
<b>Context</b>		The Islamic Central Council of Switzerland is presented as an interlocutor (02:00–02:07; 11:11–12:30), without its controversial standing within the Swiss Muslim community being addressed. Many Swiss Muslims reject the Central Council as non-representative.							
Relevant at: 11:11–12:30									
<b>Effect</b>		The Islamic Central Council appears as a legitimate voice of Swiss Muslims, even though it represents a minority position within the Muslim community.							

Omission 3:									
<b>Context</b>		Tariq Ramadan's proximity to the Muslim Brotherhood and his Qatar funding are not mentioned, even though the broadcast itself points to his double-speak (07:54–08:07).							
Relevant at: 07:06–09:55									
<b>Effect</b>		Ramadan appears as a critically scrutinised but ultimately legitimate expert, without his structural conflicts of interest being disclosed.							

Summary: The broadcast systematically omits information that would complicate the picture of the Islamic interlocutors (Central Council legitimacy, Ramadan funding), while at the same time marking Kelek's extreme position through the presenter's framing. This asymmetric omission favours Islamic voices over Islam-critical ones.

### Missing voices

- Swiss domestic intelligence/NDB representative: Would have contributed empirical data on radicalisation in Switzerland, the number of jihadists who have left the country and prevention measures.
- Islamic reform theologian (e.g. Bassam Tibi, Abdel-Hakim Ourghi): Would have represented the intra-Islamic reform debate and contextualised Kelek's theses theologically.
- Survivors of the Paris attacks: Would have introduced the victim perspective, which is entirely absent from the broadcast.
- Swiss constitutional lawyer: Would have objectively classified the legal dimension of headscarf bans, burqa bans and mosque closures.
- SVP or FDP politician: Would have represented the democratically legitimised Islam-critical position, which is supported by 40%+ of the Swiss electorate.



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- Federal/cantonal integration commissioner: Would have provided empirical data on Swiss integration policy and its successes/failures.
- Muslim woman without a headscarf: Would have introduced the perspective of secular Muslim women, represented by neither Kelek nor the headscarf-wearing female students.
- Islamic studies scholar without a conflict of interest: Would have contextualised Ramadan's controversial positions and provided a neutral academic perspective.



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

Finding 1:	
<b>Timestamp</b>	05:50–05:57
Figure: "In Switzerland, 1,350 people actually die every year due to alcohol consumption. And in Germany it's 70,000."	
Dimensions: (a) Absolute value — shown. (b) Proportion — not shown. (c) Trend — not shown.	
<b>Missing context</b>	The figure is used as a relativising argument for Islamist terror. Missing: (1) Death from alcohol is not an intentional crime — a categorical difference from terrorism. (2) Proportion of alcohol deaths in the total population vs. proportion of terror victims. (3) No source cited for the figures.
<b>Effect</b>	The viewer receives the impression that Islamist terror is statistically irrelevant compared to alcohol — a categorically false equation made possible by the lack of contextualisation.

Finding 2:	
<b>Timestamp</b>	04:11–04:25
Figure: "Statistically speaking, definitely" (Kador on discrimination against migrants)	
Dimensions: (a) Absolute value — not shown. (b) Proportion — not shown. (c) Trend — not shown.	
<b>Missing context</b>	The claim "statistically speaking, definitely" is made without any citation of a source, without a study, without a figure. The presenter does not challenge this.
<b>Effect</b>	An unsubstantiated claim acquires the appearance of scientific backing through the word "statistically".

Finding 3:	
<b>Timestamp</b>	02:52–02:57
Figure: "Two years ago, at least a dozen young people from here set off to Syria for jihad."	
Dimensions: (a) Absolute value — shown ("at least a dozen"). (b) Proportion — not shown (proportion of the Muslim population of Dinslaken). (c) Trend — not shown.	
<b>Missing context</b>	Without a proportional figure (e.g. 12 out of 5,000 Muslims = 0.24%), the viewer cannot assess whether this is a systemic or a singular problem.
<b>Effect</b>	The absolute figure suggests a larger problem than the proportion would indicate.

Summary: The broadcast uses figures selectively and without contextualisation. Particularly problematic is the alcohol-terror comparison (05:50–05:57), which enables a categorically false equation through missing dimensions. The claim "statistically speaking, definitely" without citing a source is a classic example of an unsubstantiated appeal to authority.



## 6. GUILT BY ASSOCIATION

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### Association 1:

#### Timestamp

09:40–09:51

#### Quote

*"Because I count Pegida supporters among them, I count some Salafists among them, I count right-wing extremists among them, I count a great many people among them who seem to have completely lost their capacity for democracy."*

Technique: Ramadan places Pegida supporters, Salafists and right-wing extremists in one category ("those who have lost their capacity for democracy"). The presenter does not challenge this equation.

#### Effect

Islam-critical citizens (Pegida) are equated with terrorists (Salafists) and right-wing extremists. This statement by a controversial expert is left without comment.

### Association 2:

#### Timestamp

23:42–23:57

#### Quote

*"Of course they will say, because murder is not committed in the name of the Bible. True, yet believing in God and carrying a weapon is at least not considered a contradiction in the God-fearing south-east of the USA."*

Technique: Immediately after the Kelek interview, the broadcast establishes a connection between Islamist terror and the Christian gun culture in the USA. The transition "Yes, when the Quran becomes a weapon. But is it really any different with the Bible?" (23:32–23:38) suggests an equivalence.

#### Effect

Islamist terror (mass murder) is equated with US gun culture (legal, democratic). This relativises Islamist terror and discredits Kelek's Islam criticism through implicit equation with Christian extremism.

### Association 3:

#### Timestamp

00:30–00:36

#### Quote

*"They live right among us. They are fighting our system. And they kill in the name of Allah."*

Technique: The introduction uses "they" without clear demarcation — referring to Islamists, but the formulation "right among us" suggests a diffuse threat from Muslims in general.

#### Effect

Muslims in general are associated with terrorists before the broadcast introduces this distinction.

For Ramadan (as actors implicitly framed as a "wolf in sheep's clothing"):

#### SOURCE CHECK:

- Does Ramadan work with verifiable primary sources? YES (academic publications)
- Are his core statements falsifiable? PARTIALLY (political demands are normative, not falsifiable)

#### RISK MATRIX:

- What has he lost? Academic reputation through controversies
- What does he gain? Influence in Muslim communities, book sales



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- Net: risk  $\approx$  gain — ambivalent

TONALITY: Emotionally appellative in front of audience ("We have had enough. Enough."), moderate in interview — double-speak documented by the broadcast itself

RESULT CATEGORY: B — Borderline case (partly substantiated, partly ideological, double-speak documented)

*Summary:*

- Ramadan: Category B — borderline case, presented by the broadcast as an expert despite documented double-speak
- Pegida-Salafist equation: Not challenged, even though categorically false
- Introduction: Suggests a diffuse threat from Muslims in general



## 7. TIMING

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### Finding 1:

Position: 00:30–00:36 (beginning — first seconds of the broadcast)

Content: "They live right among us. They are fighting our system. And they kill in the name of Allah."

#### Timing effect

The broadcast begins with a threat framing that marks Muslims in general as potential enemies ("right among us"). This framing sets the emotional tone for the entire broadcast before differentiating voices are given the floor.

### Finding 2:

Position: 23:32–23:57 (immediately after the Kelek interview — middle of the broadcast)

Content: "Yes, when the Quran becomes a weapon. But is it really any different with the Bible? [...] This is how ultra-right Christians protect themselves with Bible verses on their rifles."

#### Timing effect

The transition from the Kelek interview to the US weapons reportage is strategically placed to immediately undercut Kelek's Islam-critical statements through a relativisation ("really any different with the Bible?"). The viewer leaves the Kelek interview with the impression: "Christians are just as bad."

### Finding 3:

Position: 29:16–40:22 (end of the broadcast)

Content: Kurdistan reportage on Christian refugees

#### Timing effect

The conciliatory Kurdistan reportage at the end of the broadcast ("coexistence between the religions is not only preached but is lived reality", 29:28–29:33) serves as an emotional conclusion that relativises the critical statements of the first half of the broadcast and ends on a positive note.

Summary: The timing is structurally manipulative: threat framing at the beginning, relativisation of Islam-critical statements through the immediate transition to the Bible-weapons reportage in the middle, conciliatory conclusion at the end. This structure creates an emotional arc for the viewer from threat through relativisation to reconciliation — without the central questions being answered.



## 8. SELECTIVE OUTRAGE

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

### Finding 1:

**Timestamp** 06:10

Triggering event: Burim Luscha compares Islamist terror with alcohol deaths ("In Switzerland, 1,350 people actually die every year due to alcohol consumption [...] And I think those are the kinds of things that should actually frighten people much more.")

Reaction: Presenter Brotz comments: "A bold comparison." (06:10) — a mild, almost amused reaction without follow-up or contradiction.

### Comparison

Kelek, 16:04–16:08 — Triggering event: Kelek says "Islam has failed as a religion." Reaction of the presenter: "Are you not using an absolute choice of words there, if not even a populist one?" — a noticeably harder reaction, direct confrontation.

Asymmetry: Demonstrable. A categorically false comparison (terror vs. alcohol deaths) by a Muslim student is commented on with "bold comparison". A pointed but arguable thesis by a sociologist is described as "populist". The reaction to Islam-critical statements is noticeably harder than to Islam-relativising statements.

Degree of outrage: 2/5

Selectivity: 3/5

### Finding 2:

**Timestamp** 09:40–09:51

Triggering event: Ramadan places Pegida supporters, Salafists and right-wing extremists in one category.

Reaction: No reaction from the presenter — the statement is left without comment.

### Comparison

Kelek, 23:17–23:23 — Triggering event: Kelek calls for mosque closures. Reaction: "But is that tolerant of you?" (22:07) — direct confrontation.

Asymmetry: Demonstrable. Ramadan's equation of democratic citizens with terrorists is not challenged. Kelek's demand for mosque closures is immediately confronted with a question about tolerance.

Degree of outrage: 2/5

Selectivity: 3/5

Summary: The broadcast shows a clear asymmetric reaction structure: Islam-critical statements are directly confronted by the presenter ("populist", "tolerant?"), while Islam-relativising or Islamist statements (Ramadan, Czerny) go without comment or are mildly commented on ("bold comparison"). This asymmetry is methodologically demonstrable through the comparison of analogous triggering events.



## 9. COMPLETENESS (Selective Omission — Overall Picture)

7/10

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

### Finding 1:

**Timestamp** 00:37–01:30

**Missing perspective/fact:** The Paris attacks are cited as the trigger, but the perpetrators' biographies, the planning structure and the role of IS as an organisation are not addressed.

**Relevance:** For a broadcast about the causes of radicalisation, a concrete analysis of the perpetrators (Bataclan, Charlie Hebdo) would be central — were they actually socially marginalised, or did they come from the middle class?

**Impact:** The broadcast cannot empirically verify the discrimination thesis (Kador) because the concrete perpetrator biographies are absent.

### Finding 2:

**Timestamp** 11:11–12:30

**Missing perspective/fact:** The Islamic Central Council of Switzerland is presented as an interlocutor without its representativeness for Swiss Muslims being addressed. According to various sources, it represents only a small portion of Swiss Muslims.

**Relevance:** For a broadcast about "Muslims in Switzerland", the question of who legitimately speaks for them is central.

**Impact:** The Central Council appears as the voice of Swiss Muslims, even though it represents a minority position.

### Finding 3:

**Timestamp** 07:06–09:55

**Missing perspective/fact:** Ramadan's proximity to the Muslim Brotherhood and his Qatar funding are not mentioned. The broadcast does point to his double-speak (07:54), but without naming the structural reasons for it.

**Relevance:** For the classification of Ramadan's statements, his institutional embedding is central.

**Impact:** Ramadan appears as a critically scrutinised but ultimately legitimate expert.

**Summary:** The broadcast systematically omits information that would complicate the picture of the Islamic interlocutors, while relativising Islam-critical positions through the presenter's framing. The overall picture is structurally incomplete: perpetrator biographies are absent, questions of representativeness are not raised, conflicts of interest of Islamic sources are not disclosed.

The broadcast was produced in the context of the Paris attacks of January 2015 (Charlie Hebdo) and November 2015 (Bataclan) as well as the largest refugee movement to Europe since the Second World War. The social debate was divided between those who saw Islamist terror as a systemic problem of Islam and those who interpreted it as a reaction to social exclusion and Western foreign policy. In Switzerland, the Islam debate was additionally shaped by the minaret ban (2009) and the SVP popular initiative on the deportation of criminal foreigners. The Islamic Central Council of Switzerland was controversial in 2015 due to its proximity to Salafist currents.

*Proportion of perspectives covered*

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

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**[A] Islam-critical position from a democratic-liberal perspective (Kelek: present, but framed as an extreme position)**

**[B] Integration policy perspective:** What works, what does not? (Kador — partially present)

**[C] Security policy perspective:** Intelligence services, police, domestic security

**[D] Muslim reform movements:** Liberal Muslims actively advocating for reforms

**[E] Victim perspective of Islamist terror:** Survivors, relatives

**[F] Legal perspective:** Freedom of religion vs. security law, constitutional lawyers

**[G] Sociological perspective:** Empirical data on integration, radicalisation research

**[H] Political perspective:** Swiss parties and their positions on the Islam debate

**[I] Islamic theology:** Quranic exegesis, intra-Islamic reform debate

**[J] Historical perspective:** Islam in Europe, integration successes and failures over decades

#### **[A] ADDRESSED**

Timestamp: 13:44–23:29 — Quote: "I hold the Quran responsible for calling for the world to be divided into believers and unbelievers" — Assessment: Present, but marked as populist/extreme through the presenter's framing.

#### **[B] INDICATED**

Timestamp: 03:44–04:46 — Quote: "How do I raise children who are born in Germany in the third generation, fourth generation, who are Muslim" — Assessment: Integration perspective present, but narrowed to the discrimination narrative.

#### **[C] OMITTED**

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: No representative of intelligence services, police or domestic security is given the floor, even though the broadcast addresses radicalisation and terrorism.

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

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: No Muslim reformers actively advocating for Quranic reform or secularisation (Kelek is no longer a practising Muslim).

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

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: No survivors or relatives of the Paris attacks, even though these are cited as the trigger for the broadcast.

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

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: No constitutional lawyers or jurists on the question of freedom of religion vs. security law (relevant regarding headscarves, burqa bans, mosque closures).

#### **[G] INDICATED**

Timestamp: 04:11–04:25 — Quote: "Statistically speaking, definitely" (Kador on discrimination) — Assessment: Empirical data are claimed but not substantiated or contextualised.

#### **[H] OMITTED**

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: No Swiss politicians are given the floor, even though the topic is explicitly related to Switzerland.

#### **[I] INDICATED**

Timestamp: 16:57–18:09 — Quote: "So when the Quran states that whoever engages with Allah is a traitor and must be murdered" — Assessment: Quranic exegesis is addressed by Kelek, but no Islamic counter-perspective on the interpretation of the text.



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**[J] OMITTED**

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: No historical contextualisation of the history of Islam in Europe, no examples of successful integration across generations.

**Completeness score: 3/10**

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**Rationale:** Of ten relevant perspectives, only two are fully addressed (A, B), two are indicated (G, I) and six are entirely omitted (C, D, E, F, H, J). The broadcast concentrates on three main perspectives (Kelek, Kador/Ramadan, Kurdistan refugees) and systematically neglects security policy, legal, political and historical dimensions. For a broadcast that explicitly asks "Has coexistence failed?", this level of completeness is insufficient.



## Soft facts — 6 qualitative techniques

### 10. FRAMING (Setting the frame)

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#### Finding 1:

Timestamp	00:30–00:44
Quote	<i>"They live right among us. They are fighting our system. And they kill in the name of Allah. On the day before Christmas Eve, we are addressing the radical effects of Islam in this broadcast."</i>
Manipulation	The introduction frames Muslims in general as a potential threat ("right among us") before the broadcast distinguishes between extremists and moderates. "Radical effects of Islam" (not: "of Islamism") suggests that Islam itself is the problem.
Why problematic	The viewer is led into the broadcast with a threat framing that filters all subsequent statements through this lens. The distinction between Islam and Islamism is not made in the title or in the introduction.

#### Finding 2:

Timestamp	23:32–23:38
Quote	<i>"Yes, when the Quran becomes a weapon. But is it really any different with the Bible?"</i>
Manipulation	The transition to the US weapons reportage frames Islamist terror and Christian gun culture as equivalent phenomena. The rhetorical question ("really any different?") suggests an answer without providing one.
Why problematic	Islamist terror (intentional mass murders) and US gun culture (legal, democratic, without comparable deaths from religious motivation) are categorically different. The framing relativises Islamist terror through false equivalence.

#### Finding 3:

Timestamp	13:44–13:51
Quote	<i>"I still have a few questions. For a woman who does not find Islam perfect at all. And who, as a Muslim woman, criticises her own religion as harshly as hardly anyone else does."</i>
Manipulation	Kelek is framed as an extreme case ("hardly anyone else does") before she is given the floor. This marks her position as an outlier, not as a legitimate opinion.
Why problematic	The framing as "hardest Islam critic" (00:49) and "hardly anyone else" (13:51) delegitimises Kelek's position before the viewer can assess it.



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Summary: The framing of the broadcast is structurally asymmetric: Islam-critical positions are framed as extreme ("hardest", "hardly anyone else", "populist"), while Islam-relativising positions are presented as normal. The equivalence framing Islam/Bible relativises Islamist terror through false equation.



11. CHOICE OF WORDS AND TERMINOLOGY						6/10			
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Finding 1:	
Timestamp	00:49
Quote	<i>"I will be speaking later with a woman who has distinguished herself as the hardest Islam critic."</i>
Manipulation	"Hardest Islam critic" is a value-laden attribution that marks Kelek's position as extreme.
Why problematic	A neutral alternative would be: "Islam critic Necla Kelek" or "sociologist Necla Kelek". The superlative "hardest" suggests extremism, not objectivity.

Finding 2:	
Timestamp	16:06–16:08
Quote	<i>"Are you not using an absolute choice of words there, if not even a populist one?"</i>
Manipulation	The term "populist" is a political fighting word that delegitimises Kelek's statement without refuting it on its merits.
Why problematic	A neutral alternative would be: "Is that not a very far-reaching thesis?" or "How do you substantiate that?" The term "populist" implies that Kelek is appealing to base instincts rather than arguing objectively.

Finding 3:	
Timestamp	06:44–06:55
Quote	<i>"But these radicals are challenging Europe. Non-Muslims and Muslims alike. They are the Salafists. More and more young people are joining these ultra-religious individuals."</i>
Manipulation	"Ultra-religious" is a euphemistic term for Salafists, who in many cases support or engage in terrorism. The term emphasises the religious dimension and obscures the political-ideological one.
Why problematic	A neutral alternative would be: "Salafists" or "Islamist extremists". "Ultra-religious" suggests that the problem is too much religion, not a specific political ideology.

Summary: The broadcast's choice of words is asymmetric: Islam-critical positions are labelled with delegitimising terms ("hardest", "populist"), while Islamist extremists are referred to euphemistically as "ultra-religious". This choice of words structurally influences the viewer's perception in favour of Islamic positions.



## 12. PRESENTER BEHAVIOUR

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### Finding 1:

**Timestamp** 16:04–16:08

Triggering event: Kelek says: "Islam has actually failed as a religion, because Islam does not present itself as a religion but as a social system, namely as a dictatorship."

**Quote (presenter)** *"Are you not using an absolute choice of words there, if not even a populist one?"*

**Comparison** Ramadan, 09:09–09:15 — Triggering event: "Stop with this compulsive separation of state and religion in all areas." — Reaction: No direct confrontation, no follow-up question.

Asymmetry: Demonstrable. Kelek's thesis (Islam as dictatorship) is immediately confronted as "populist". Ramadan's demand for the abolition of the separation of state and religion — a thesis at least equally far-reaching in a democratic constitutional state — is not challenged.

### Finding 2:

**Timestamp** 22:07–22:09

Triggering event: Kelek says: "That must absolutely come [burqa ban]. Because wearing a burqa and saying that is my religious freedom must not be tolerated."

**Quote (presenter)** *"But is that tolerant of you?"*

**Comparison** Naim Czerny, 12:08–12:22 — Triggering event: Czerny justifies contact with a jihadist leader. — Reaction: No direct confrontation with the question of whether that is tolerant or responsible.

Asymmetry: Demonstrable. Kelek's demand for a burqa ban (democratically debatable) is confronted with a question about tolerance. Czerny's justification of contact with a jihadist (with an ongoing federal prosecutor's investigation) is not confronted with an analogous question.

### Finding 3:

**Timestamp** 23:25–23:29

Triggering event: End of the Kelek interview

**Quote (presenter)** *"Ms Kelek, many thanks for these clear, impressive words here on Rundschau."*

**Comparison** End of the Ramadan interview — no comparable acknowledgement documented in the transcript.

Asymmetry: Partially demonstrable. The farewell to Kelek with "clear, impressive words" is a striking closing formula after an interview in which the presenter repeatedly confronted her statements as "populist" and "intolerant". It can be read as pro-forma courtesy, but also as an attempt to neutralise the critical moderation.

Summary: The presenter's behaviour shows a clear asymmetry: Islam-critical statements (Kelek) are directly confronted ("populist", "tolerant?"), while Islam-relativising or Islamist statements (Ramadan, Czerny) go without



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comment or are treated mildly. This asymmetry is methodologically demonstrable through the comparison of analogous triggering events.



13. QUESTION ASYMMETRY							7/10		
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Asymmetry 1:	
To Kelek, 16	04: "Are you not using an absolute choice of words there, if not even a populist one?" — <b>**hard/confrontational**</b>
To Ramadan, 07	25–07:32: (no direct question documented in the transcript — Ramadan speaks largely without being questioned) — <b>**soft/non-confrontational**</b>
Comparison	Kelek is directly confronted about her choice of words. Ramadan, who represents a thesis at least equally far-reaching (abolition of the state-religion separation), is not confronted with an analogous question.

Asymmetry 2:	
To Kelek, 22	07: "But is that tolerant of you?" — <b>**confrontational, normative**</b>
To Czerny, 11	50–12:30: (no confrontational question about the justification of jihadist contact) — <b>**non-confrontational**</b>
Comparison	Kelek's democratically debatable demand (burqa ban) is confronted with a question about tolerance. Czerny's justification of contact with a jihadist during an ongoing federal prosecutor's investigation is not confronted with an analogous question.

Asymmetry 3:	
To Kelek, 20	05–20:08: "I have understood that you are criticising the structures, but there is always a slight implication that you mean Muslims in general." — <b>**suggestive, insinuating**</b>
To Ramadan, 09	40–09:51: (Ramadan's equation of Pegida supporters with Salafists and right-wing extremists is not confronted with an analogous question: "Do you mean all Islam critics in general?") — <b>**no follow-up**</b>
Comparison	Kelek is insinuated to mean Muslims in general (even though she explicitly differentiates). Ramadan is not asked whether he means Islam critics in general (even though he explicitly does not differentiate).

Summary: The question asymmetry is the strongest measurable bias dimension of this broadcast. Islam-critical statements are systematically confronted with confrontational, normative and suggestive questions, while Islam-relativising or Islamist statements go unchallenged. This asymmetry is methodologically clearly demonstrable.



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

<b>Finding 1:</b>	
<b>Timestamp</b>	23:32–23:57 — Construct: "Yes, when the Quran becomes a weapon. But is it really any different with the Bible? [...] This is how ultra-right Christians protect themselves with Bible verses on their rifles."
<b>Analysis</b>	The broadcast constructs a false balance between Islamist terror (mass murders in Paris, Syria, Iraq) and US gun culture (legal, democratic, without comparable religiously motivated deaths). This "balance" is categorically false: the comparators are not equivalent. Islamist terror claimed hundreds of victims in Europe in 2015; Christian weapons blessings in Kentucky have produced no comparable deaths.

<b>Finding 2:</b>	
<b>Timestamp</b>	01:14–01:30
	Construct: "Violence or reform — that is ultimately what the Islam debate is about. But we also show in this broadcast that coexistence between the religions is entirely possible."
<b>Analysis</b>	The broadcast constructs a balance between "violence" and "reform" as the two poles of the Islam debate. This is a false simplification: there are many positions between these poles (secularisation, parallel society, integration without reform, etc.).

Summary: The broadcast constructs two false balances: (1) Islamist terror = Christian gun culture (categorically false), (2) violence vs. reform as the only poles of the Islam debate (oversimplifying). These false balances structurally serve to relativise Islamist terror.



## 15. AGENDA-SETTING

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### Finding 1:

Agenda element set: Radicalisation is primarily a reaction to social discrimination.

#### Timestamp

04:11–04:46 — Evidence: "You simply know that you are disadvantaged [...] This discrimination is a gift to Islamists."

Alternative agenda: Radicalisation as an ideological problem (Islamism as a political movement), as a funding problem (Saudi Arabian money for mosques), as a security problem (failure of intelligence services).

### Finding 2:

Agenda element set: The central question is "Has coexistence failed?" — not "How do we combat Islamism?"

#### Timestamp

00:13–00:16; 01:38–01:44 — Evidence: "Has coexistence failed?" / "Violence or reform — that is ultimately what the Islam debate is about."

Alternative agenda: The question "How do we effectively combat Islamism?" would bring security policy, de-radicalisation programmes and international terrorism financing into focus — topics entirely absent from the broadcast.

### Finding 3:

Agenda element set: Islam criticism is an extreme position ("hardest Islam critic", "populist").

#### Timestamp

00:49; 16:06 — Evidence: "hardest Islam critic" / "populist"

Alternative agenda: Islam criticism as a legitimate democratic position shared by a considerable portion of the Swiss population (SVP: 27.9%, FDP: 14.3%) without being considered extreme.

Summary: The broadcast sets an agenda that frames Islamism as a social integration problem (not a security problem), marks Islam criticism as an extreme position and places the question of coexistence (not the combating of terror) at the centre. This agenda-setting structurally favours left-wing interpretive patterns and obscures security policy and democratic Islam-critical perspectives.



## CHAPTER 4 — OVERALL EVALUATION

### Results

- HARD FACTS SCORE (average criteria 1-9): 6.0 / 10
- SOFT FACTS SCORE (average criteria 10-15): 6.3 / 10

### Dominant techniques

- 1. Question asymmetry (score 7):** The strongest and methodologically most clearly demonstrable technique of this broadcast. Islam-critical statements (Kelek) are systematically confronted with confrontational, normative and suggestive questions ("populist?", "tolerant?", "do you mean Muslims in general?"), while Islam-relativising or Islamist statements (Ramadan, Czerny) go unchallenged. This asymmetry is methodologically substantiated through direct comparison of analogous triggering events.
- 2. Framing (score 7):** The broadcast frames Islam-critical positions as extreme ("hardest Islam critic", "hardly anyone else") and Islam-relativising positions as normal. The transition to the US weapons reportage constructs a false equivalence between Islamist terror and Christian gun culture, which immediately relativises Kelek's Islam criticism after the interview.
- 3. Omission (score 7):** The broadcast systematically omits information that would complicate the picture of Islamic interlocutors: Ramadan's conflicts of interest, the lack of representativeness of the Islamic Central Council, the victim perspective of the Paris attacks. At the same time, 6 out of 10 relevant perspectives are entirely omitted.

### Core messages of the broadcast

**MESSAGE 1 (SUBSTANTIVE):** "Islamist terror is primarily an integration problem arising from social discrimination — not an ideological or security policy problem."

**Technique:** Agenda-setting, expert selection (Kador as the main voice on radicalisation), omission (no security experts) — evidence: 04:11–04:46, 07:33–08:07

**MESSAGE 2 (PERSONAL):** "Islam criticism is an extreme, populist position that does not withstand more nuanced scrutiny."

**Technique:** Framing ("hardest Islam critic"), presenter behaviour ("populist?", "tolerant?"), timing (immediate relativisation through the Bible-weapons reportage) — evidence: 00:49, 16:06, 23:32–23:57

**MESSAGE 3 (SOCIAL):** "Christians and Muslims are equivalent in their readiness for violence — whoever criticises Islam must also criticise Christianity."

**Technique:** False balance, timing, framing — evidence: 23:32–23:57, 27:03–27:22

Rationale: With an overall score of 6.1/10, the broadcast sits at the boundary between "clear one-sidedness" and "systematic imbalance". The broadcast does not fully comply with Art. 4 RTVA: it does present an Islam-critical voice (Kelek), but frames this as an extreme position through presenter behaviour, framing and timing. Islam-relativising and Islamist voices (Ramadan, Czerny) are presented without analogous critical confrontation. The question asymmetry is methodologically clearly demonstrable and constitutes the most serious individual finding. The broadcast violates the requirement of a balanced selection of interlocutors (Art. 4 para. 2 RTVA) through the structural preference for Islam-relativising voices and the underrepresentation of security policy, legal and democratic Islam-critical perspectives.

### CONCLUSION

The SRF Rundschau of 23 December 2015 addresses a socially highly relevant topic — Islamist terror and integration — with a structural imbalance that violates Art. 4 RTVA in several dimensions. The broadcast formally presents an Islam-critical voice (Kelek), but delegitimises it through asymmetric presenter behaviour, framing as an extreme position and immediate relativisation through the Bible-weapons reportage. Islam-relativising and Islamist voices (Ramadan, Czerny) are presented without analogous critical confrontation, even though their conflicts of interest and the ongoing federal prosecutor's investigation against the Islamic Central Council are known. The question asymmetry is the strongest and methodologically most clearly substantiated finding: Islam-critical statements are systematically confronted with confrontational questions, while Islam-relativising ones go unchallenged. The broadcast sets an agenda that frames Islamism as an integration problem and systematically obscures security policy, legal and



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democratic Islam-critical perspectives — which contradicts the requirement of accurate presentation and diversity of opinion under Art. 4 RTVA.



## 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	5	●●●
4	OMISSION (Selective Omission)	7	●●●●
5	MANIPULATION OF FIGURES	5	●●●
6	GUILT BY ASSOCIATION	6	●●●
7	TIMING	6	●●●
8	SELECTIVE OUTRAGE	5	●●●
9	COMPLETENESS (Selective Omission — Overall Picture)	7	●●●●
10	FRAMING (Setting the frame)	7	●●●●
11	CHOICE OF WORDS AND TERMINOLOGY	6	●●●
12	PRESENTER BEHAVIOUR	7	●●●●
13	QUESTION ASYMMETRY	7	●●●●
14	FALSE BALANCE	4	●●
15	AGENDA-SETTING	7	●●●●

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

**6.0/10**

*Considerable imbalance*

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

**6.3/10**

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

#### OVERALL SCORE

**6.2/10**

*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)

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

### Aggregated deviation index — interpretation ranges

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

### Party-political bias (-5 to +5)

<b>-5 to -3</b>	<b>Strongly disadvantaged</b>	Party is clearly treated worse in portrayal, airtime or framing.
<b>-2 to -1</b>	<b>Slightly disadvantaged</b>	Discernible but weak disadvantage.
<b>0</b>	<b>Neutral</b>	No discernible preference or disadvantage.
<b>+1 to +2</b>	<b>Slightly favoured</b>	Discernible but weak preference.
<b>+3 to +5</b>	<b>Strongly favoured</b>	Party is clearly treated better in portrayal, airtime or framing.



## CHAPTER 5 — LEGAL CLASSIFICATION (Art. 4 RTVA)

### Assessment under Art. 4 RTVA

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#### Violation 1:

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

Facts: The broadcast addresses a socially highly controversial topic (Islam, Islamism, integration) without a balanced presentation of the relevant positions. Security policy, legal and democratic Islam-critical perspectives are entirely absent. Of 10 relevant perspectives, 6 are entirely omitted.

Evidence: Timestamp 00:37–41:29 — overall structure of the broadcast: no security experts, no constitutional lawyers, no Swiss politicians, no Muslim reformers.

Assessment: The broadcast violates the requirement of diversity of opinion by structurally preferring Islam-relativising positions and framing Islam-critical positions as extreme positions, without reflecting the democratically legitimised breadth of the Islam debate.

#### Violation 2:

Norm: Art. 4 para. 1 RTVA (accurate presentation of facts)

Facts: The alcohol-terror comparison (05:50–05:57) is left without categorical classification. The claim "statistically speaking, definitely" (04:25) is presented without citing a source. Ramadan's conflicts of interest (Qatar funding, proximity to the Muslim Brotherhood) are not disclosed, even though the broadcast itself points to his double-speak.

Evidence: Timestamp 05:50–05:57 — Quote: "In Switzerland, 1,350 people actually die every year due to alcohol consumption [...] And I think those are the kinds of things that should actually frighten people much more." — No contradiction from the presenter.

Assessment: The broadcast violates the requirement of accurate presentation by leaving unsubstantiated claims and categorically false comparisons without comment and omitting relevant background information about interlocutors.

#### Violation 3:

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

Facts: The question asymmetry between Islam-critical and Islam-relativising interlocutors is methodologically demonstrable. Kelek is confronted with confrontational, normative questions ("populist?", "tolerant?"), while Ramadan and Czerny receive no analogous questions. This violates the requirement of balanced treatment of interlocutors.

Evidence: Timestamp 16:04–16:08 — Quote: "Are you not using an absolute choice of words there, if not even a populist one?" (to Kelek) vs. Timestamp 09:09–09:15 — Ramadan's demand for the abolition of the state-religion separation without analogous confrontation.

Assessment: The asymmetric treatment of interlocutors violates Art. 4 para. 2 RTVA, as it creates a structural preference for Islam-relativising positions.

### Overall assessment Art. 4 RTVA

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The broadcast violates Art. 4 RTVA in three dimensions: (1) Diversity of opinion — 6 out of 10 relevant perspectives are entirely absent; (2) Accuracy — unsubstantiated claims and categorically false comparisons are presented without comment; (3) Balance of interlocutors — Islam-critical voices are structurally disadvantaged through asymmetric presenter behaviour. The violations cannot be attributed to individual errors, but show a consistent pattern pointing to a structural editorial tendency. A complaint to the Independent Complaints Authority for Radio and Television (ICA) would be justifiable on the basis of these findings, in particular with regard to the question asymmetry (criterion 13) and the systematic omission of relevant perspectives (criterion 9).



## CHAPTER 6 — SOURCE IN-DEPTH CHECK

### Organisation 1: Islamic Central Council of Switzerland

- FUNDING:** Membership fees, donations. Exact sources of funding not publicly known. Possible funding from the Arab world not excluded.
- MANDATE:** Representation of Muslim interests in Switzerland. Not compatible with a neutral assessment of Islamism-related questions, as there is an institutional interest in interpretive authority.
- CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Strong institutional interest in being recognised as a legitimate representative of Swiss Muslims. At the time of broadcast, an ongoing federal prosecutor's investigation against an association member (11:31–11:33).
  - D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — Structural conflict of interest in assessing Islamism
  - D2 Personal risk: -1 — Institutional position provides protection
  - D3 Professional competence: 0 — Religious organisation, not a research institution
  - D4 Consistency of opinion: 0 — Insufficient data basis
  - D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: -1 — Normative statements without empirical basis
  - D6 Source level: -2 — Interest group, not a primary source**TOTAL: -6 → SOURCE INDICATOR: RED**
- COUNTER-VOICE:** No voice from Muslims who reject the Central Council as non-representative is cited.

### Organisation 2: Muslim Student Association University of Zurich

- FUNDING:** Membership fees, possibly university support. No public information.
- MANDATE:** Religious and social support for Muslim students. Not compatible with a neutral assessment of Islamism-related questions.
- CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Institutional interest in a positive portrayal of Islam and Muslim students.
  - D1 Conflict of interest: -1 — Personal involvement
  - D2 Personal risk: +1 — Public statements as Muslims in Switzerland
  - D3 Professional competence: -1 — No professional competence on radicalisation
  - D4 Consistency of opinion: 0 — No data basis
  - D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: -1 — Normative statements
  - D6 Source level: -2 — Interest group**TOTAL: -4 → SOURCE INDICATOR: YELLOW (borderline)**
- COUNTER-VOICE:** No secular Muslim students or ex-Muslims are cited.

### Organisation 3: Christian NGOs "Aid to the Church in Need" / "Cupmate" (Kurdistan reportage)

- FUNDING:** Church-funded (Aid to the Church in Need: Catholic relief organisation). Donation-based.
- MANDATE:** Aid for persecuted Christians worldwide. Not compatible with a neutral assessment of inter-religious questions, as there is a structural interest in portraying the persecution of Christians.
- CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Institutional interest in fundraising through the portrayal of Christian persecution. As a church-funded body: structural conflict of interest in assessing questions that touch on Christian interests.
  - D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — Church-funded, structural conflict of interest
  - D2 Personal risk: +1 — Work in crisis areas
  - D3 Professional competence: +1 — Humanitarian experience on the ground
  - D4 Consistency of opinion: +1 — Consistent humanitarian position
  - D5 Emotionalisation vs. data: -1 — Emotional portrayal of refugee fates
  - D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary source**TOTAL: 0 → SOURCE INDICATOR: YELLOW**
- COUNTER-VOICE:** No secular relief organisation (e.g. UNHCR, ICRC) is cited for the Kurdistan reportage.

*IMPORTANT: "Recognised" is not a factual qualification. It is a social attribution that must itself be questioned.*



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The Islamic Central Council of Switzerland is implicitly accorded the status of a "recognised" voice of Swiss Muslims in this broadcast, even though its representativeness is disputed and at the time of broadcast a federal prosecutor's investigation against an association member is ongoing. This social attribution is not factually justified and violates the requirement of accurate presentation under Art. 4 para. 1 RTVA.

**Source indicator for participants:**

Source	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	Total	Indicator
Islamic Central Council of Switzerland	-2	-1	0	0	-1	-2	-6	RED
Muslim Student Association University of Zurich	-1	+1	-1	0	-1	-2	-4	YELLOW
Christian NGOs "Aid to the Church in Need" / "Cupmate" (Kurdistan reportage)	-2	+1	+1	+1	-1	0	0	YELLOW

**Legal and methodological classification**

<b>No finding of fact</b>	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.
<b>No legal ruling</b>	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).
<b>No proof of causality</b>	Statistical correlations are not to be interpreted as proof of causal relationships or editorial intentions. Deviation values may be influenced by topic selection, news situation, political controversy or format logic.
<b>No finding of intent</b>	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.
<b>Heuristic comparison instrument</b>	The index serves the purpose of comparative pattern recognition across thousands of broadcasts, not the precise metric measurement of individual items. Threshold values serve as heuristic orientation, not as sharp legal qualification.



## APPENDIX 1: NATIONAL LEGISLATION

### Legal basis Switzerland — SRG SSR

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#### Act

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

#### Relevant articles

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- 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. Views and comments must be recognisable as such.
- Art. 4 para. 4 RTVA: In the totality of editorial broadcasts, the diversity of events and opinions must be adequately expressed (diversity requirement).

#### Core obligations

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

#### Supervisory authority

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- 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

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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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### SVFAB Working Papers

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

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SVFAB — Swiss Association for Balanced Reporting | P.O. Box, 8021 Zurich 1 | [www.svfab.ch](http://www.svfab.ch) | [kontakt@svfab.ch](mailto:kontakt@svfab.ch) | *Methods report March 2026* | Converter 3.4 (2026-05-20)



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At SVFAB.ch you will not only receive further detailed evaluations, but can also have them produced for any broadcasts of your choice (we charge for this).

In order to make our work solid, we depend on membership and patron contributions.

### Contact and further information:

[www.SVFAB.ch](http://www.SVFAB.ch) | [Kontakt@SVFAB.ch](mailto:Kontakt@SVFAB.ch)

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## The following books are available from SVFAB

Orders via [www.svfab.ch](http://www.svfab.ch) or [kontakt@svfab.ch](mailto:kontakt@svfab.ch)



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

Optionally the book comes with **playing cards**

Also available as an **audiobook**



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

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

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

For politicians, activists, entrepreneurs, whistleblowers — for everyone who is exposed and wants to understand how the game works. So that they stop playing along — and start shaping it.

In A5. Direct. For preparation, for reference, for follow-up and in difficult situations



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

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

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

**Framing with style. Because the frame changes everything.**



The SRG collects 1.56 billion francs per year — compulsorily, from every household. Those who feel unfairly treated can lodge a complaint. There is even an authority for this: the 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 — objectively, 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 adequate, not based on separation of powers, not market-based. The authority that is supposed to protect citizens primarily protects the system it was supposed to control.

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