



## RAI DETAILED ANALYSIS

2023-09-01\_portaaporta\_Russia\_invasion\_day\_1

Broadcast: RAI-Sendung | 2023-09-01 | Analyzed on: 2026-05-24 12:38

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**OVERALL  
SCORE**

**5.6/10**

*Considerable imbalance*

0 = balanced, 10 = strongly biased/manipulative

## POLITICAL SPECTRUM

Classification according to Chapel Hill Expert Survey (CHES) 2024

The Chapel Hill Expert Survey (CHES) classifies political parties on a left-right scale (0 = far left, 10 = far right). We use the Pew Research Center thresholds (2025): values <4.5 = Left, 4.5–5.5 = Centre, >5.5 = Right. This allows for an objective classification of the detected partisan bias.

Party	AVS	PD	M5S	Azione	NM	FI	Lega	Fdi
CHES	1.85	3.38	3.46	5.08	5.80	6.46	8.00	8.54
Spectrum	Left	Left	Left	Centre	Right	Right	Right	Right

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

**TENDENCY (L – R)**

**4.2 / 10**

**Balanced**

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

← Left

Right →

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

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



## POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

The Italian government in office since October 2022 is a centre-right coalition led by Giorgia Meloni (Fdi), composed of Fratelli d'Italia, Lega, Forza Italia and Noi Moderati. The main opposition is the Partito Democratico (PD), flanked by M5S, AVS, Azione, Italia Viva and +Europa.

Party	CHES L-R	Seats	Government/Opposition	Key position
AVS	2,30	12	Opposition	100% renewables, ius soli, LGBTQ+ rights
PD	3,40	69	Opposition (main)	Pro-EU, minimum wage, ecological transition
+Europa	3,80	2	Opposition	Strongly pro-European, liberal
M5S	4,20	52	Opposition	Citizens' income, anti-corruption
Azione	4,90	21	Opposition	Liberal-reformist, centrist
Italia Viva	5,00	(in Az)	Opposition	Liberal-centrist
Noi Moderati	5,80	7	Government	Christian-democratic, moderate
Forza Italia	6,50	45	Government	Liberal-conservative, guarantism
Lega	8,10	66	Government	Sovereignist, flat tax, closed ports
Fdi	8,30	119	Government (PM)	National-conservative, naval blockade

Italian political conflict revolves around four main axes: military support for Ukraine (with cross-cutting divisions between and within coalitions), the management of migration flows (a clear dividing line between government and opposition), economic policy (flat tax vs. progressive taxation, citizens' income abolished by the Meloni government) and European positioning (sovereignism vs. federal integration). Public safety and juvenile crime are issues on which the government has legislated with the so-called "decreto Caivano", explicitly cited in the broadcast.

RAI is the Italian public broadcasting service, funded by the licence fee and subject to the Service Contract with the Ministry of Economy, which in Art. 6 mandates pluralism, completeness and impartiality of information, as well as separation between news and commentary. Historically characterised by partisan allocation (RAI 1 = DC/FI, RAI 2 = PSI, RAI 3 = PCI/PD), under the Meloni government the TG1 directorship and the Board of Directors have been renewed with appointments traceable to the governing coalition. AGCOM is formally independent but its appointments are politically influenced.



## CHAPTER 1 — PARTISAN BIAS

Party	Score (-5..+5)	Representation in the broadcast vs. programmatic position
Fdi (Fratelli d'Italia)	0	The "decreto Caivano" is cited neutrally (01:12:18): "the decree on juvenile hardship was born, colloquially called Caivano". The Meloni government's position on support for Ukraine is reported faithfully (00:35:40): "reaffirms to the Ukrainian leader Rome's wholehearted support in every respect, including military". No relevant distortion. Party not addressed in depth.
PD (Partito Dem.)	0	Not cited or addressed in the broadcast. Neutral score for absence.
M5S (Cinque Stelle)	-1	The citizens' income is cited instrumentally by Sandro Teti (00:15:34): "we have abolished 170,000 citizens' incomes, yet at the same time every month we pay it to 11 million Ukrainian pensioners". The M5S measure is used as a negative point of comparison without the M5S position (defence of the citizens' income) being represented. Slight distortion by contextual omission.
Lega	0	Not cited or addressed. Neutral score for absence.
Forza Italia	0	Not cited or addressed. Neutral score for absence.
AVS (Alleanza Verdi)	0	Not cited or addressed. Neutral score for absence.

### Summary of Partisan Bias

- Most accurate representation: Fdi (Score 0) — government position on the Ukrainian conflict reported correctly
- Greatest distortion: M5S (Score -1) — citizens' income cited as a point of comparison without representing the party's position
- Average deviation from 0: 0.2
- Conclusion: The broadcast does not focus on specific parties but on geopolitical and public safety issues. Direct partisan bias is limited; the main distortion operates through thematic framing (support for Ukraine as a moral imperative, juvenile crime as an emergency) rather than through the representation of party positions.

### Overall Left-Right Tendency

TENDENCY SCORE: +0.8

CLASSIFICATION: Slightly favourable to the left

Rationale: The broadcast presents military support for Ukraine as a morally necessary and indisputable position, aligning with the European Atlanticist and progressive mainstream. The critical voice (Sandro Teti, self-declared "pro-Russian") is introduced with a disqualifying preamble by the host (00:13:04: "Sandro Teti we are close to Moscow's positions"). The segment on baby gangs emphasises structural causes (poverty, institutional neglect) more than security-oriented responses, a typically left-wing orientation, while citing the decreto Caivano without explicit criticism.



## CHAPTER 2 — BROADCAST INFORMATION AND THEMATIC FRAME

### Broadcast Data

- Title: Porta a Porta
- Date (from file): Not specified in the text; content referable to October 2023 (CPE summit in Granada cited as the day's event)
- Duration (estimated from transcript): approximately 94 minutes
- Host: Bruno Vespa
- Persons interviewed:

Person	Role	Party/Affiliation	Political spectrum
Alexei Paramonov	New Russian Ambassador to Italy	Russian government / Russian Federation	Not classifiable on Italian axis
Gianluca Di Feo	Deputy Editor of Repubblica	Liberal-progressive outlet	Centre-left
Alena Gionetti	President of Centro Studi Internazionale	Not specified	Not classifiable
Sandro Teti	Publisher, Russian-speaking, self-declared "pro-Russian"	No declared affiliation	Critical position towards NATO/the West
Daniele Pervincenzi	Correspondent (outlet not specified)	Not specified	Not classifiable
Andrea Margelletti	Analyst (briefly cited)	Not specified	Not classifiable
Stefano Delfini	Senior Official of the State Police, Director of the Criminal Analysis Service	Institutional	Not classifiable
Massimo Lugli	Journalist and writer	Not specified	Not classifiable
Concita Borrelli	Not specified (guest)	Not specified	Not classifiable
Diego Willer (Guilherme)	Trapper, 30 years old	No affiliation	Not classifiable
Bruno Mazza	Head of school "Un'infanzia da vivere", former camorrista	Non-profit association	Not classifiable
Elisa Bottazzo	Mother of a baby gang victim, Bologna	Private	Not classifiable

### Main Topic

The broadcast addresses two distinct blocks: (1) the state of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict, with an exclusive interview with the new Russian ambassador to Italy and analysis of the counter-offensive; (2) the phenomenon of baby gangs in Italian suburbs, with testimonies, reports and debate on the social and cultural causes.

### Context of the Global Debate

The Russian-Ukrainian conflict, at the time of the broadcast (October 2023), had entered its twentieth month. The Ukrainian summer counter-offensive produced minimal territorial gains against heavy losses. The European Political



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Community summit in Granada reaffirmed Western support for Kyiv. On the Italian domestic front, the Meloni government approved the "decreto Caivano" in response to episodes of juvenile violence and group sexual abuse that occurred in the summer of 2023 in the Campanian municipality. The debate on baby gangs intersects with issues of immigration, social hardship, the role of social media and trap/drill music.



## CHAPTER 3 — 15 CRITERIA: DETAILED ANALYSIS

### Hardfacts — 9 quantifiable and scientifically verifiable techniques

#### 1. EXPERT SELECTION

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*Definition: Who speaks as an expert?*

Expert 1: Gianluca Di Feo — Deputy Editor of Repubblica

Timestamp: 00:23:18

Statement: "What 20 months ago began as a lightning war has now transformed into a war of attrition, in which the fight is to slowly annihilate the adversary's human and material resources."

Framing: Journalist from a liberal-progressive outlet, not a military analyst or academic in international relations. Presents geopolitical and military analyses as if they were technical expertise.

Missing opposing voice: An independent military analyst or academic in strategic studies could have provided a more technical and less narrative assessment.

In-depth source verification:

- (a) **FUNDING:** Repubblica is owned by the GEDI group (controlled by Exor/Agnelli-Elkann family). No direct conflict of interest regarding the Ukrainian conflict, but a consolidated Atlanticist and pro-European editorial orientation.
- (b) **MANDATE:** The journalistic mandate is not compatible with a neutral technical-military assessment; Di Feo is an experienced defence journalist, but not an independent analyst.
- (c) **CREDIBILITY MATRIX (Source traffic light, 6 dimensions):**
  - D1 Conflict of interest: 0 — No direct conflict, but pro-Atlanticist editorial orientation
  - D2 Personal risk: +1 — Journalist who has covered war zones, professional credibility at stake
  - D3 Technical expertise: +1 — Experienced defence journalist, but not an academic military analyst
  - D4 Consistency of opinions: +1 — Positions consistent over time
  - D5 Emotionality vs. data: 0 — Mix of data and narrative; some statements not supported by primary sources
  - D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary source (journalist interpreting)

TOTAL: +3 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW

(c) **PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE:** His analysis is presented as neutral expertise, but reflects the editorial line of Repubblica.

Expert 2: Sandro Teti — Publisher

Timestamp: 00:13:04

Statement: "Russia cannot even enter into negotiations, because Zelensky has issued a decree that prevents conducting negotiations with Russia for as long as Putin's power remains."

Framing: Publisher with knowledge of Russian, self-declared "pro-Russian" (00:14:53). Not an expert in international law or foreign policy. Introduced by the host with the disqualifying preamble "we are close to Moscow's positions".

In-depth source verification:

- (a) **FUNDING:** Private publisher, Teti publishing house. No known public funding.
- (b) **MANDATE:** No institutional mandate; speaks as a private observer with linguistic and cultural knowledge of Russia.



**(c) CREDIBILITY MATRIX:**

- D1 Conflict of interest: -1 — Self-declared "pro-Russian", potential ideological bias
- D2 Personal risk: +1 — Publicly exposes himself with unpopular positions in a pro-Ukrainian context
- D3 Technical expertise: -1 — Publisher, not an expert in international law or military strategy
- D4 Consistency of opinions: +1 — Positions consistent with his public profile
- D5 Emotionality vs. data: 0 — Mix; cites the Zelensky decree (verifiable) but also undocumented statements
- D6 Source level: -1 — Tertiary source (commentator)

TOTAL: -1 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW

**(c) PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE:** Presented as a "pro-Russian" voice rather than as an expert, which reduces his perceived credibility even before he speaks.

Expert 3: Stefano Delfini — Senior Official of the State Police

Timestamp: 00:52:43

Statement: "the number of crimes committed by minors is growing, but within a range that is still in line with what was happening before the pandemic, so the numbers are not particularly worrying."

Framing: Institutional official with access to law enforcement data. Primary source for data on juvenile crime.

In-depth source verification:

**(a) FUNDING:** Public employee, Ministry of the Interior. Potential conflict of interest in minimising or amplifying data depending on the government's political priorities.

**(b) MANDATE:** The institutional mandate is compatible with providing data, but not with an independent political assessment.

**(c) CREDIBILITY MATRIX:**

- D1 Conflict of interest: -1 — Government official; the data he presents may be selected in line with government priorities
- D2 Personal risk: 0 — Speaks in an institutional capacity, limited risk
- D3 Technical expertise: +2 — Director of the Criminal Analysis Service, direct competence
- D4 Consistency of opinions: +1 — Data consistent with available ISTAT sources
- D5 Emotionality vs. data: +2 — Data-based response, measured tone
- D6 Source level: +2 — Primary source (law enforcement data)

TOTAL: +6 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: GREEN

**(c) PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE:** His presentation is the most credible in the broadcast, but the institutional context introduces a potential data selection bias.

*Missing expert groups:*

- Academic in international relations or international law (for the Ukraine segment)
- Psychologist or criminologist specialising in juvenile deviance (for the baby gang segment)
- Representative of an international humanitarian organisation

*Summary (matrix result per expert):*

- Di Feo: YELLOW (+3) — Experienced journalist presented as a neutral analyst
- Teti: YELLOW (-1) — Critical voice disqualified from the outset by the host
- Delfini: GREEN (+6) — Institutional source with primary data, but potential government bias



## 2. SOURCE SELECTION

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Statements without a primary source = penalty points (voice verification)

*Definition: Which sources are cited? Are they diverse and independent?*

Source 1: UN declaration of January 2022 by the five permanent members of the Security Council

Timestamp: 00:43:33

Statement: "in January 2022 five members of the United Nations [...] adopted a declaration on the prevention of nuclear war"

**(a) Funding and structure:** Public UN document, verifiable. Primary source.

**(b) Structural conflict of interest:** None; it is an official multilateral document.

(c) Missing is a source that contextualises the declaration in relation to Russia's subsequent actions.

Missing opposing source: UN reports on violations of international humanitarian law in Ukraine (OHCHR), which would have balanced the citation of the nuclear declaration.

Source 2: Data from the Criminal Analysis Service (Delfini)

Timestamp: 00:53:00

Statement: "the number of crimes committed by minors is growing, but within a range that is still in line with what was happening before the pandemic"

**(a) Funding:** Ministry of the Interior, law enforcement data.

**(b) Conflict of interest:** Government data; possible selection in line with the narrative of the decreto Caivano.

(c) Missing is a comparison with independent ISTAT or Eurispes data.

Missing opposing source: ISTAT report on juvenile crime or independent university study.

Source 3: Russian and Ukrainian propaganda video footage

Timestamp: 00:40:30

Statement: "now we will see two videos sent by Russian propaganda and by Ukrainian propaganda"

**(a) Funding:** State propaganda sources from both sides.

**(b) Conflict of interest:** Both sources have an interest in presenting their own narrative.

(c) The host correctly labels them as "propaganda", but broadcasts them nonetheless without systematic critical analysis.

Missing opposing source: Analysis by independent fact-checkers (Bellingcat, OSINT) on the videos.

Verification of undocumented claims (penalties):

Undocumented claim 1:

Timestamp: 00:14:06

Statement: "Russia is ready, having both guns and butter, to continue with a long-term war of attrition" (Teti)

Linguistic marker: assertive statement without source

Primary source available: No — undocumented statement (+1 penalty point)

Undocumented claim 2:

Timestamp: 00:15:11

Statement: "every month we pay billions and billions of euros to pay doctors, nurses, teachers, soldiers, interest on the debt" (Teti)



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Linguistic marker: "billions and billions" — vague figure without source

Primary source available: No — undocumented statement (+1 penalty point)

*Summary: The broadcast mixes verifiable primary sources (UN document, Delfini data) with undocumented statements and propaganda material. The lack of academic sources or independent international organisations weakens the overall informational quality.*



### 3. TIME DISTRIBUTION

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*Definition: Distribution of speaking time among the different positions.*

Estimated speaking time:

- Bruno Vespa (host): approx. 18 min. (19%)
- Ambassador Paramonov (Russian position): approx. 14 min. (15%)
- Gianluca Di Feo (pro-Ukrainian/Atlanticist position): approx. 12 min. (13%)
- Daniele Pervincenzi (reporting/analysis): approx. 8 min. (9%)
- Sandro Teti (critical position towards NATO): approx. 6 min. (6%)
- Baby gang segment (Delfini, Lugli, Willer, Mazza, Borrelli, reports): approx. 35 min. (37%)
- Other (reports, music, links): approx. 1 min. (1%)

*Summary: In the Ukraine segment, the pro-Ukrainian/Atlanticist position (Di Feo + Pervincenzi + host) has approximately 38 cumulative minutes against 14 for the Russian ambassador and 6 for Teti. The ratio is approximately 4:1 in favour of the Atlanticist position. In the baby gang segment the distribution is more balanced.*



#### 4. SELECTIVE OMISSION

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*Definition: What is not shown despite being relevant?*

Omission 1:

Context: Data on Ukrainian and Russian civilian casualties in the conflict

Relevant at: 00:42:19 ("where hundreds of people from both armies lose their lives every day")

Effect: The broadcast cites losses in a generic manner without ever providing OHCHR or UN data on civilian casualties. This prevents the public from assessing the real human cost of the conflict and reinforces a militaristic rather than humanitarian narrative.

Omission 2:

Context: The Minsk agreements and their failure as a cause of the conflict

Relevant at: 00:04:09 (discussion on the origins of the war)

Effect: The ambassador cites 2014 as the origin of the conflict, the host responds with 2022. Neither mentions the Minsk I and II agreements (2014-2015) and the reasons for their failure, which are central to understanding the narrative of both sides. The omission artificially simplifies a complex issue.

Omission 3:

Context: European comparative data on juvenile crime

Relevant at: 00:52:43 (baby gang segment)

Effect: The baby gang phenomenon is presented as an Italian emergency without any comparison with European data. This prevents an assessment of whether Italy is actually in an exceptional situation or within the European average, amplifying the perception of an emergency.

*Summary: The most significant omissions concern the historical context of the Ukrainian conflict (Minsk agreements) and comparative data on juvenile crime. Both omissions produce a simplification effect that favours the dominant narratives of the broadcast.*

#### Missing voices

- Neutral international law expert: Could have contextualised the Russian ambassador's statements on the legality of 2014 without taking a political position
- Representative of an international humanitarian organisation (UNHCR, Red Cross): Would have brought data on civilian casualties and Ukrainian refugees
- Diplomat or analyst from a mediating country (China, India, Turkey): Would have represented the perspective of the "Global South" on the conflict
- Psychologist or criminologist specialising in juvenile deviance: Would have provided a scientific framework on the causes of juvenile crime
- Social worker or street educator: Would have brought the perspective of those who work daily in the suburbs
- Representative of the Ministry of Education or expert in school policies: Would have contextualised the role of schools in prevention
- Parent or victim of the Ukrainian conflict: Would have humanised the cost of the conflict beyond the military and geopolitical dimension
- Expert in comparative European youth policies: Would have allowed a comparison of the Italian phenomenon with other European countries



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## 5. MANIPULATION OF NUMERICAL DATA

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

*Definition: Selective or misleading use of statistics.*

### Finding 1:

Timestamp: 00:15:34

Data: "we have abolished 170,000 citizens' incomes, yet at the same time every month we pay it to 11 million Ukrainian pensioners" (Teti)

Dimensions: (a) Absolute value — 170,000 citizens' incomes abolished vs. 11 million Ukrainian pensioners; (b) Share — no percentage provided; (c) Trend — no data on evolution over time

Missing context: The monthly cost of the Italian citizens' income is not compared with the actual cost of European support for Ukrainian pensions. The figure of "11 million Ukrainian pensioners" is not documented with a source. The host neither contests nor verifies the figure.

Effect: Creates a misleading emotional equivalence between an Italian welfare measure and European support for Ukraine, without verifiable comparative basis.

### Finding 2:

Timestamp: 00:10:13

Data: "The reality is that the advance is measured in metres" (Margelletti)

Dimensions: (a) Absolute value — "metres"; (b) Share — no percentage of contested territory; (c) Trend — no data on monthly evolution

Missing context: The total area of the contested territory is not provided, nor is the rate of advance in historical comparative terms. The statement is presented as a fact without a source.

Effect: Reinforces the narrative of the failure of the Ukrainian counter-offensive without contextualisation.

### Finding 3:

Timestamp: 00:26:37

Data: "the Russians daily launch dozens of drones costing 10, 15, 20, sometimes 30 thousand dollars against the Ukrainians [...] the Ukrainians launch missiles costing 2 million, 3 million dollars" (Di Feo)

Dimensions: (a) Absolute value — unit costs; (b) Share — no cost-effectiveness ratio; (c) Trend — no data on production evolution

Missing context: Neither the source of the costs nor the total number of drones/missiles launched is provided. The cost-effectiveness ratio is presented as an argument in favour of the thesis of "economic unsustainability" without aggregate data.

Effect: Creates an impression of unsustainable economic imbalance for Ukraine, reinforcing the narrative of the necessity of Western support.

*Summary: Numerical data are used selectively to support pre-established narratives. The dimensions of share and trend are systematically absent, and primary sources are never cited.*



## 6. GUILT BY ASSOCIATION

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*Definition: Discrediting by association with negative groups or ideas.*

Association 1:

Timestamp: 00:13:04

Quote: "Sandro Teti we are close to Moscow's positions" (Vespa, introducing Teti)

**Technique:** The host pre-emptively labels Teti as "close to Moscow" before he speaks, implicitly associating him with the position of the aggressor in the conflict.

Effect: Any statement by Teti is perceived by the public as Russian propaganda, regardless of its factual soundness.

Association 2:

Timestamp: 00:14:53

Quote: "you said earlier that I am pro-Russian, yes I am pro-Russian, but above all I am pro-Italian" (Teti)

**Technique:** Teti accepts the "pro-Russian" label in response to pressure from the host, which consolidates the negative association.

Effect: The critical position towards military support for Ukraine is equated with sympathy for Russia, making it impossible to criticise foreign policy on the basis of Italian national interest.

Association 3:

Timestamp: 01:30:03

Quote: "I found Gomorra, a great masterpiece by Saviano, Gomorra transferred to the screen, I found it an absolutely dangerous thing, because it created negative heroes" (Vespa)

**Technique:** The television series Gomorra is associated with juvenile crime without causal evidence, creating an association between cultural production and deviance.

Effect: Suggests a direct causality between cultural consumption and criminal behaviour that is not supported by criminological literature.

For Sandro Teti (implicitly labelled as "pro-Russian"):

SOURCE VERIFICATION:

- Does he work with verifiable primary sources? YES — cites the Zelensky decree (verifiable), data on European financial support (partially verifiable)
- Are his main statements falsifiable? YES — his theses are empirically contestable

RISK MATRIX:

- What has he lost with this position? Public credibility in a dominant pro-Ukrainian context; risk of being labelled as a Russian propagandist
- What does he gain? Television visibility
- Net: Risk > Gain → credibility increased

TONE: Analytical, not apocalyptic; acknowledges the complexity of the situation

CATEGORY: A — Critical observer with verifiable arguments (not a propagandist)

*Summary (category assignment with matrix rationale):*

- Teti: Category A — His main statements are verifiable and the reputational risk outweighs the gain. The labelling as "pro-Russian" by the host is framing, not analysis.



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- Gomorra/trap music: Category B — The association between cultural consumption and crime is partially supported by studies (emulation effects) but not by direct causality.



## 7. TIMING

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*Definition: Strategic placement of information (beginning/middle/end).*

### Finding 1:

Position: 00:00:06 (opening)

Content: "In nuclear war there are no winners, it cannot be unleashed" — quote from the Russian ambassador used as an opening teaser

Timing effect: The broadcast opens with the Russian nuclear reassurance, which functions as an element of suspense and as a Russian "concession", creating an expectation of diplomatic openness that then fails to materialise. This initial positioning orients the public towards a reading of Russia as a rational interlocutor, only to contradict it in the course of the interview.

### Finding 2:

Position: 00:08:50 (after the first part of the ambassador's interview)

Content: "there is no kind of opening it seems to me, is there?" (Vespa, addressing the guests)

Timing effect: Immediately after the first part of the interview, the host asks the pro-Ukrainian guests to comment, creating a "tribunal" effect in which the Russian position is judged before the ambassador can complete his exposition.

### Finding 3:

Position: 01:34:02 (closing)

Content: "Well, with these wise words we thank you for being with us and wish you good night" — closing with the words of trapper Diego Willer ("music must remain music")

Timing effect: The broadcast closes on a positive and conciliatory note on the baby gang topic, leaving a final impression of optimism that contrasts with the gravity of the cases presented during the episode.

*Summary: Timing is used strategically to frame the Russian position as unacceptable (immediate comment from pro-Ukrainian guests after the first part of the interview) and to close the broadcast on a reassuring note on the topic of juvenile crime.*



## 8. SELECTIVE INDIGNATION

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Indignation = bias. Selective indignation amplifies the result. Score = degree of indignation (0–5) + selectivity (0–5)

*Definition: Indignation towards certain positions but not towards comparable ones.*

*Methodological principle (v2.2): Before each assessment, the triggering event must be documented. A reaction can only be assessed as selective if comparable events with other guests/positions did not produce an analogous reaction.*

### Finding 1:

Timestamp: 00:05:44

Triggering event: Ambassador Paramonov states that the war began with the "coup d'état" of 2014 in Kyiv

Reaction: "You say coup d'état, but that's not really how it went [...] the war began in 2022, suddenly, an overnight attack" (Vespa)

Comparison: When Di Feo states (00:25:09) that Putin has "mobilised military industries to compensate for the colossal losses and prepare to return to the attack next year" — an undocumented statement — the host does not intervene to ask for sources.

Asymmetry: The host actively contests the Russian historical narrative but does not verify the undocumented statements of the pro-Ukrainian guests.

Degree of indignation: 3/5

Selectivity: 3/5

### Finding 2:

Timestamp: 00:30:35

Triggering event: The ambassador states that Russia launched the "special military operation" to protect the Russian-speaking population of the Donbass

Reaction: "But Kyiv was attacked, not those areas. You wanted to take power over all of Ukraine. In the backpacks there were flags and dress uniforms for Ukraine. You wanted to do what was done in Belarus, put a person trusted by Moscow in place of Zelensky." (Vespa)

Comparison: When Teti states (00:17:10) "on the ground Russia will not win, it will win overwhelmingly" — an assertive undocumented statement — the host does not intervene to ask for clarification.

Asymmetry: The host uses an assertive and accusatory tone with the Russian ambassador, but does not apply the same critical standard to the statements of the pro-Ukrainian guests.

Degree of indignation: 4/5

Selectivity: 4/5

*Summary: The host's indignation is clearly asymmetric: the Russian ambassador's statements are systematically contested with an accusatory tone, while the undocumented statements of the pro-Ukrainian guests are not verified. This constitutes a relevant moderation bias within the meaning of the Service Contract Art. 6.*



## 9. SELECTIVE OMISSION — GENERAL OVERVIEW

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*Definition: How completely does the broadcast represent the topic? Are relevant perspectives, facts or actors systematically omitted?*

### Finding 1:

Timestamp: 00:09:16

Missing perspective/fact: Position of "Global South" countries (China, India, Brazil, Africa) on the Ukrainian conflict

Relevance: These countries represent the majority of the world's population and have significantly different positions from Western ones on the conflict. Their absence reduces the broadcast to a debate internal to the West.

Impact: The public receives the impression that support for Ukraine is a universal position, when in reality it is a Western position that is a minority at the global level.

### Finding 2:

Timestamp: 00:42:19

Missing perspective/fact: OHCHR data on Ukrainian and Russian civilian casualties

Relevance: The United Nations regularly publishes verified data on civilian casualties. Their absence prevents the public from assessing the real human cost of the conflict.

Impact: The conflict is discussed predominantly in military and geopolitical terms, not humanitarian ones.

### Finding 3:

Timestamp: 01:12:18

Missing perspective/fact: Critical analysis of the decreto Caivano and its implications for the rights of minors

Relevance: The decree has been criticised by children's rights organisations (Save the Children, Unicef Italia) for lowering the age of criminal responsibility and toughening penalties. This perspective is completely absent.

Impact: The decree is presented as an obvious and shared response to the emergency, without the public being able to assess the criticisms.

*Summary: The broadcast systematically omits critical perspectives towards the dominant positions: the voice of the Global South on the Ukrainian conflict, UN humanitarian data, and criticism of the decreto Caivano. These omissions produce a partial picture on both main topics.*

## End of Hardfacts — Beginning of Softfacts

### Share of perspectives covered

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

- [A] Official Russian position on the war (causes, objectives, historical narrative)
- [B] Official Ukrainian position (defence of sovereignty, request for weapons)
- [C] Position of NATO/EU countries (military support, sanctions, peace prospects)
- [D] Neutral mediation perspective (China, India, Vatican, Global South countries)
- [E] Analysis of civilian casualties and humanitarian costs of the conflict on both sides
- [F] Structural causes of juvenile crime (poverty, school dropout, family)
- [G] Institutional and legislative response (decreto Caivano, law enforcement, juvenile justice)
- [H] Role of social media and trap/drill culture in the emulation of violence



[I] Direct testimonies from victims and from those who have left crime behind

[J] Perspective of educators, psychologists, social workers operating in the suburbs

**[A] COVERED**

Timestamp: 00:02:30 — Quote: "the war was started by people, by politicians. There were politicians who came to power following the coup d'état that took place, that was organised in Kyiv in February 2014" — Assessment: The Russian position is presented directly by the ambassador, but the host repeatedly contests it without leaving room for a complete response.

**[B] COVERED**

Timestamp: 00:19:45 — Quote: "I am in Granada because our commitment is to keep Europe united" (Zelensky, reported in the report) — Assessment: The Ukrainian position is present but mediated through reports and comments from pro-Ukrainian guests, not through a direct interview with Ukrainian representatives.

**[C] COVERED**

Timestamp: 00:20:27 — Quote: "reaffirms to the Ukrainian leader Rome's wholehearted support in every respect, including military, until a just peace is achieved" — Assessment: Covered in depth, with a dedicated report on the Granada summit.

**[D] ANECDOTALLY MENTIONED**

Timestamp: 00:09:16 — Quote: "Chinese mediation has disappeared from the screens, there is this very strong attempt by the Pope" — Assessment: Briefly mentioned by Di Feo, not explored in depth. No representative of mediating countries present.

**[E] PARTIALLY COVERED**

Timestamp: 00:42:19 — Quote: "where hundreds of people from both armies lose their lives every day" — Assessment: Human losses are cited but not quantified or contextualised with UN or humanitarian organisation data. The perspective of civilian victims is absent.

**[F] COVERED**

Timestamp: 00:50:02 — Quote: "Baby gangs certainly arise from abandoned neighbourhoods [...] where perhaps community centres are lacking [...] where perhaps the mother doesn't work, the father is in prison" — Assessment: Covered in depth in the second block.

**[G] COVERED**

Timestamp: 01:12:18 — Quote: "the decree on juvenile hardship was born, colloquially called Caivano, to make even the criminal underworld understand, watch out, that these young people will become punishable" — Assessment: Cited but not critically analysed or compared with alternative measures.

**[H] COVERED**

Timestamp: 00:55:56 — Quote: "social media and this type of juvenile crime go hand in hand, they film themselves, post themselves, emulate each other" — Assessment: Covered with a dedicated report and contribution from trapper Diego Willer.

**[I] COVERED**

Timestamp: 01:04:50 — Quote: "in 2008, after a long detention, just arrested, taken to Poggio Reale, the first thing I did was enrol in school" (Bruno Mazza) — Assessment: Direct and in-depth testimony from someone who left crime behind.

**[J] PARTIALLY COVERED**

Timestamp: 00:49:58 — Quote: Diego Willer as a "tracker" close to young people — Assessment: The educational perspective is present through Delfini (police) and Willer (music), but psychologists, social workers and suburban teachers are absent.

### Completeness Score: 7/10



**Schweizerischer Verein für ausgewogene Berichterstattung**  
**Association suisse pour une information équilibrée**  
**Associazione svizzera per un reporting equilibrato**

The broadcast covers most of the relevant perspectives, but with significant imbalances: the Russian position is present but systematically contested by the host; neutral mediation perspectives and civilian victims are underrepresented; in the baby gang segment, psychologists and social workers are absent.

**1. Centro Studi Internazionale (CSI) — Alena Gionetti, President**

1. FUNDING: Not specified in the transcript. The CSI is a private Italian think tank. Funding not verifiable from the transcript.

2. MANDATE: Geopolitical analysis think tank; mandate compatible with assessments on international conflicts, but dependent on the ideological orientation of the organisation.

3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST: Not verifiable without information on funding. Private think tanks may have interests linked to their funders.

4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX:

D1 Conflict of interest: 0 — Not verifiable

D2 Personal risk: 0 — Speaks in an institutional capacity

D3 Technical expertise: +1 — President of a geopolitical think tank

D4 Consistency: 0 — Not verifiable

D5 Emotionality vs. data: +1 — Brief contribution, analytical tone

D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary source

**TOTAL: +2 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW**

5. OPPOSING VOICE: Not cited. A think tank with a different orientation could have provided an alternative assessment.

**2. Criminal Analysis Service — Stefano Delfini, Senior Official of the State Police**

1. FUNDING: Ministry of the Interior, state public funding.

2. MANDATE: Crime analysis for law enforcement; mandate compatible with providing data, but not with independent political assessments.

3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST: Government official; the data presented may be selected in line with government priorities (decreto Caivano). Institutional interest in not contradicting the government's legislative choices.

4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX: (already developed in section 1 — GREEN, +6)

5. OPPOSING VOICE: Not cited. An independent university researcher (e.g. ISTAT, Eurispes) could have provided comparative data not filtered through the government institution.

**3. Association "Un'infanzia da vivere" — Bruno Mazza, Head of school**

1. FUNDING: Non-profit association founded in 2008 in Caivano. Funding not specified in the transcript; presumably public funds (grants) and private (donations).

2. MANDATE: Social rehabilitation of at-risk minors; mandate fully compatible with the testimony provided.

3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST: No relevant conflict of interest. The association has an interest in valorising its own work, but this does not distort the personal testimony.

4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX:

D1 Conflict of interest: +1 — No relevant conflict

D2 Personal risk: +2 — Has publicly exposed his own criminal past, high reputational risk

D3 Technical expertise: +2 — Direct and documented experience in the field

D4 Consistency: +1 — Testimony consistent with public profile

D5 Emotionality vs. data: +1 — Personal testimony, not aggregate data; appropriate for the context

D6 Source level: +2 — Primary source (direct testimony)

**TOTAL: +9 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: GREEN**

5. OPPOSING VOICE: Not necessary for a personal testimony; an external assessment of the association's effectiveness would have been useful.



**Schweizerischer Verein** für ausgewogene Berichterstattung  
**Association suisse** pour une information équilibrée  
**Associazione svizzera** per un reporting equilibrato

IMPORTANT: "Recognised" is not an objective qualification. It is a social attribution that must be independently verified. In the case of Delfini, the institutional qualification is verifiable; in the case of Gionetti, it is not from the available transcript.



## Softfacts — 6 qualitative techniques

### 10. FRAME SETTING

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*Definition: How is the topic fundamentally framed?*

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 00:18:23

Quote: "the message is not getting through that if we do not help the Ukrainian people, Ukraine will disappear" (Vespa)

Manipulation: The host frames military support for Ukraine as a necessary condition for the survival of the Ukrainian state, transforming a foreign policy choice into an absolute moral imperative.

Why problematic: This framing excludes a priori any discussion of alternatives (negotiation, ceasefire, mediation), implicitly presenting them as equivalent to complicity in the elimination of Ukraine.

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 00:16:06

Quote: "the battle the Ukrainians are fighting is that of our civilisation" (Di Feo)

Manipulation: The conflict is framed as a clash of civilisations, not as a territorial or geopolitical war. This framing moralises the conflict and makes any neutral position impossible.

Why problematic: The framing "our civilisation" implies that whoever does not support Ukraine is opposing Western civilisation, excluding positions of neutrality or mediation from the field of legitimate discourse.

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 00:46:39

Quote: "Baby Gangs unleashed in Naples, youngsters aged 11 to 17 armed with knives, clubs and even firearms spreading fear in the neighbourhoods" (report)

Manipulation: The baby gang phenomenon is framed as a public safety emergency through alarmist language ("unleashed", "spreading fear") before the actual data are presented (which Delfini will describe as "not particularly worrying").

Why problematic: The emotional framing precedes the data, orienting the public towards a perception of emergency that the data themselves do not fully confirm.

*Summary: The dominant framing of the broadcast transforms foreign policy choices into moral imperatives (Ukraine) and complex social phenomena into security emergencies (baby gangs). Both framings reduce the space for alternative positions and for critical analysis.*



## 11. WORD AND TERM CHOICE

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*Definition: What language is used? What connotations are created?*

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 00:34:32

Quote: "nationalists came to power in Kyiv" (Ambassador Paramonov)

Manipulation: The term "nationalists" has a strongly negative connotation in the post-war European context, implicitly associating with Nazism.

Why problematic: The host does not contest the term nor propose a neutral alternative ("pro-European forces", "transitional government"). Neutral alternative: "pro-European transitional government".

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 00:40:32

Quote: "now we will see two videos sent by Russian propaganda and by Ukrainian propaganda" (Vespa)

Manipulation: The symmetric use of the term "propaganda" for both sides creates a false equivalence between the communication of an attacked country and that of the aggressor.

Why problematic: Equating Ukrainian communication with Russian propaganda suggests a moral symmetry that is not supported by international law. Neutral alternative: "audiovisual material disseminated by the Russian and Ukrainian armed forces".

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 00:56:57

Quote: "young Maghrebis who pickpocket" (Vespa, introducing the report on the Maranza)

Manipulation: Ethnicity is used as the primary descriptive category for a criminal phenomenon, creating an implicit association between North African origin and crime.

Why problematic: The subsequent report shows that the Maranza phenomenon is complex and cannot be reduced to ethnicity. Neutral alternative: "second-generation young people living in metropolitan suburbs".

*Summary: The choice of words produces three distinct effects: legitimisation of the Russian narrative through the unchallenged term "nationalists"; false equivalence between Russian propaganda and Ukrainian communication; implicit association between North African ethnicity and crime.*



## 12. MODERATOR BEHAVIOUR

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*Definition: Asymmetries in follow-up questions, interruptions, expressions of sympathy.*

*Methodological principle (v2.2): Before each assessment, the triggering event must be documented. An intervention can only be assessed as asymmetric if comparable events with other guests did not produce an analogous intervention.*

### Finding 1:

Timestamp: 00:31:27

Triggering event: Ambassador Paramonov explains the Russian position on the start of the conflict

Quote (Vespa): "But Kyiv was attacked, not those areas. You wanted to take power over all of Ukraine. In the backpacks there were flags and dress uniforms for Ukraine. You wanted to do what was done in Belarus, put a person trusted by Moscow in place of Zelensky. Bear with me."

Comparison: When Di Feo states (00:25:09) that Putin is preparing "to return to the attack next year" — an undocumented statement — Vespa responds with "Yes" and "And they are pressing on", without asking for sources.

Asymmetry: The host uses an accusatory and assertive tone with the Russian ambassador, presenting as established facts statements ("in the backpacks there were flags") that are contested interpretations. With the pro-Ukrainian guests he uses a collaborative tone.

### Finding 2:

Timestamp: 00:17:00

Triggering event: Teti states that "on the ground Russia will not win, it will win overwhelmingly"

Quote (Vespa): "Excuse me, you interrupted me, but you also made a statement. No, the director was speaking, I interrupted the director, you have finished speaking."

Comparison: When Di Feo interrupts Teti (00:16:57), the host does not intervene to protect Teti's speaking time.

Asymmetry: The host protects Di Feo's speaking time when he is interrupted by Teti, but does not apply the same standard when it is Teti who is interrupted.

### Finding 3:

Timestamp: 00:46:08

Triggering event: None — the host introduces the baby gang segment

Quote (Vespa): "you know very well that no one wants to destroy Russia, we love the Russian people and for this reason we are very saddened by these choices made by the Russian government"

Comparison: The host never expresses an analogous understanding of Russian security concerns, despite having listened to the ambassador expound them in detail.

Asymmetry: Closing the interview with a declaration of "love for the Russian people" and "sorrow for the government's choices" is a form of diplomatic paternalism that is not applied symmetrically to the Ukrainian position.

*Summary: The moderator's behaviour is systematically asymmetric: accusatory tone and interruptions with the Russian ambassador and with Teti, collaborative tone and absence of verification with the pro-Ukrainian guests. This asymmetry constitutes a violation of the principle of impartiality of the Service Contract Art. 6.*



### 13. QUESTION ASYMMETRY

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*Definition: Questions of different hardness/softness to different people.*

#### Asymmetry 1:

To Paramonov, 00:04:09: "but if Russia didn't start it who started that war?" — hard, rhetorical question, presupposes Russian guilt

To Di Feo, 00:25:29: "So, this confrontation, from a technical perspective, how does it work? Trenches and drones?" — open question, invites exposition

Comparison: The question to the ambassador presupposes the answer ("who started it?"), the one to Di Feo is neutral and invites analysis. The asymmetry is structural.

#### Asymmetry 2:

To Paramonov, 00:42:53: "is it possible that finding himself in difficulty President Putin might truly decide to react with the atomic bomb?" — question that presupposes the possibility of irrational behaviour on Putin's part

To Teti, no comparable question on the rationality of Ukrainian or Western choices.

Comparison: The question about the atomic bomb is legitimate but is not balanced by analogous questions about the rationality of Western choices (e.g. "is it possible that the escalation of armaments could lead to a direct NATO-Russia conflict?").

*Summary: The questions to the Russian ambassador are systematically harder, more rhetorical and more presuppositional than those addressed to the pro-Ukrainian guests. This structural asymmetry violates the principle of impartiality.*



## 14. FALSE BALANCE

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*Definition: Artificial balance despite a real imbalance.*

### Finding 1:

Timestamp: 00:40:30 — Construct: "now we will see two videos sent by Russian propaganda and by Ukrainian propaganda"

Analysis: The host creates an apparent symmetry between "Russian propaganda" and "Ukrainian propaganda", suggesting that both sides bear equal responsibility for the manipulation of information. However, in the context of international law, Russia is the aggressor and Ukraine the attacked country: equating their communication creates a false moral equivalence.

*Summary: The false balance is present but limited to this specific episode. The broadcast is not characterised by systematic artificial balance; on the contrary, it tends towards an explicit imbalance in favour of the Atlanticist position.*



## 15. AGENDA-SETTING

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*Definition: What is taken for granted? What does not enter the agenda?*

### Finding 1:

Agenda element taken for granted: Military support for Ukraine is necessary and morally obligatory

Timestamp: 00:18:23 — Evidence: "the message is not getting through that if we do not help the Ukrainian people, Ukraine will disappear. Full stop." (Vespa)

Alternative agenda: The possibility of a negotiation, a ceasefire, or a diplomatic solution is never presented as a legitimate option to explore, but only as capitulation.

### Finding 2:

Agenda element taken for granted: Baby gangs are a growing emergency requiring a security response

Timestamp: 00:46:39 — Evidence: "Baby Gangs unleashed in Naples" (opening report of the second block)

Alternative agenda: Delfini's data show that the numbers are not "particularly worrying" compared to the pre-pandemic period. This data, which would contradict the emergency framing, is cited but not developed as a central element of the debate.

*Summary: Agenda-setting operates on two levels: in the Ukraine segment, it excludes diplomatic options from the field of legitimate discourse; in the baby gang segment, it constructs a perception of emergency that the data themselves do not fully confirm.*



## CHAPTER 4 — OVERALL ASSESSMENT

### Overview of Individual Scores

N.	Criterion	Type	Score	Main finding (1 sentence)
1	Expert selection	H	6	Prevalence of pro-Atlanticist analysts; the critical voice (Teti) is pre-emptively disqualified
2	Source selection	H	5	Mix of verifiable primary sources and undocumented statements; absence of UN/humanitarian sources
3	Time distribution	H	5	4:1 ratio in favour of the Atlanticist position in the Ukraine segment
4	Omissions	H	6	Absence of the Minsk agreements, UN civilian casualty data, criticism of the decreto Caivano
5	Data manipulation	H	5	Data used selectively without primary sources or share/trend dimensions
6	Guilt by association	H	4	Teti labelled as "pro-Russian" before speaking; Gomorra associated with juvenile crime
7	Timing	H	4	Comment from pro-Ukrainian guests immediately after the first part of the ambassador's interview
8	Selective indignation	H	6	Accusatory tone with the Russian ambassador; absence of verification for pro-Ukrainian guests
9	Completeness	H	5	Systematic absence of critical perspectives towards the dominant positions
10	Framing	S	7	Support for Ukraine as a moral imperative; baby gangs as a security emergency
11	Word choice	S	6	"Nationalists" unchallenged; symmetric "propaganda"; ethnicity as a criminal category
12	Moderator behaviour	S	7	Systematic asymmetry: accusatory with Russians/Teti, collaborative with pro-Ukrainian guests
13	Question asymmetry	S	7	Rhetorical and presuppositional questions to the ambassador; open questions to pro-Ukrainian guests
14	False balance	S	3	Limited to a specific episode (Russian propaganda = Ukrainian propaganda)
15	Agenda-Setting	S	6	Diplomatic options excluded; baby gang emergency constructed beyond the data

### Results

- HARDFACTS SCORE (average criteria 1-9): 5.1 / 10
- SOFTFACTS SCORE (average criteria 10-15): 6.0 / 10
- OVERALL SCORE (average all 15 criteria): 5.5 / 10



## Dominant Techniques

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The 3 strongest techniques in this broadcast:

- 1. Moderator behaviour (Score 7):** Bruno Vespa applies radically different standards to the Russian ambassador and to the pro-Ukrainian guests — accusatory tone, interruptions and assertive statements with the former; collaborative tone and absence of verification with the latter. This asymmetry is the most pervasive manipulative technique in the broadcast.
- 2. Framing (Score 7):** Military support for Ukraine is transformed from a foreign policy choice into an absolute moral imperative ("the battle of our civilisation"), making any alternative position impossible without being implicitly accused of complicity with the aggressor. In the baby gang segment, the emergency framing precedes and orients the data, which in reality do not fully confirm the alarm.
- 3. Question asymmetry (Score 7):** The questions to the Russian ambassador are systematically rhetorical and presuppositional ("who started that war?"), while those to the pro-Ukrainian guests are open and invite exposition. This structural asymmetry produces an interrogation effect for the Russian position and a conversation effect for the Atlanticist one.

## Key Messages of the Broadcast

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**\*\*MESSAGE 1 (CONTENT):** \*\* "Military support for Ukraine is a moral and civilisational imperative; whoever questions it is pro-Russian or naive."

**Technique:** Framing + Agenda-Setting — Evidence: 00:16:06, 00:18:23, 00:19:24

**\*\*MESSAGE 2 (PERSONAL):** \*\* "The Russian ambassador is a spokesperson for an unacceptable narrative that responsible journalism must contest."

**Technique:** Moderator behaviour + Question asymmetry — Evidence: 00:13:04, 00:31:27

**\*\*MESSAGE 3 (SOCIAL):** \*\* "Italian suburbs are in a state of emergency due to baby gangs; the response must combine repression (decreto Caivano) and social rehabilitation."

**Technique:** Framing + Agenda-Setting — Evidence: 00:46:39, 01:12:18

## Classification of the Degree of Manipulation

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Rationale: With an overall score of 5.5/10, the broadcast falls within the "clear one-sidedness" range. The Ukraine segment is characterised by a systematic asymmetry in the treatment of positions (4:1 in speaking time, rhetorical vs. open questions, accusatory vs. collaborative tone) that violates the principle of impartiality of the Service Contract Art. 6. The baby gang segment is more balanced but constructs an emergency framing that exceeds the available data. The broadcast does not reach the threshold of "systematic imbalance" because the critical voice (Teti, ambassador) is present, even if systematically disadvantaged.

## CONCLUSION

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The episode of Porta a Porta analysed presents a clear one-sidedness in the treatment of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict, with a speaking time ratio of approximately 4:1 in favour of the Atlanticist position, questions systematically harder to the Russian ambassador than to the pro-Ukrainian guests, and a framing that transforms military support for Ukraine into an absolute moral imperative. These characteristics violate the principle of impartiality and pluralism enshrined in Art. 6 of the RAI Service Contract, which mandates the separation between news and commentary and the balanced representation of different positions on controversial issues. The baby gang segment is more balanced in the representation of social causes, but constructs an emergency framing that precedes and orients the data, which do not fully confirm the alarm. The presence of the Russian ambassador as the main guest is an element of formal pluralism that does not translate into substantive pluralism, given the systematic asymmetry in the treatment of his statements compared to those of the pro-Ukrainian guests.



## OVERALL ASSESSMENT OF THE 15 CRITERIA

### Individual scores — All 15 criteria

N.	Criterion	Score	Classification
1	EXPERT SELECTION	6/10	Significant imbalance
2	SOURCE SELECTION	5/10	Significant imbalance
3	TIME DISTRIBUTION	5/10	Significant imbalance
4	SELECTIVE OMISSION	6/10	Significant imbalance
5	MANIPULATION OF NUMERICAL DATA	5/10	Significant imbalance
6	GUILT BY ASSOCIATION	4/10	Slight imbalance
7	TIMING	4/10	Slight imbalance
8	SELECTIVE INDIGNATION	6/10	Significant imbalance
9	SELECTIVE OMISSION — GENERAL OVERVIEW	5/10	Significant imbalance
10	FRAME SETTING	7/10	Pronounced imbalance
11	WORD AND TERM CHOICE	6/10	Significant imbalance
12	MODERATOR BEHAVIOUR	7/10	Pronounced imbalance
13	QUESTION ASYMMETRY	7/10	Pronounced imbalance
14	FALSE BALANCE	3/10	Slight imbalance
15	AGENDA-SETTING	6/10	Significant imbalance

#### HARDFACTS SCORE (1-8)

**5.1/10**

*Considerable imbalance*

#### SOFTFACTS SCORE (9-14)

**6.0/10**

*Considerable imbalance*

#### OVERALL SCORE

**5.6/10**

*Considerable imbalance*

*Average of Hardfacts and Softfacts*



## LEGEND — Meaning of scores

### Individual scores per criterion (0–10)

<b>0</b>	<b>No finding</b>	No relevant anomaly detected.
<b>1–2</b>	<b>Weak finding</b>	Slight anomaly with no substantial impact on balance.
<b>3–4</b>	<b>Slight-to-moderate finding</b>	Recognisable tendency; impact relevance from low to moderate.
<b>5</b>	<b>Moderate finding with impact</b>	Relevant imbalance that influences the public's opinion-forming potential.
<b>6</b>	<b>Significant finding (threshold)</b>	Scores equal to or greater than 6 are classified as "significant findings".
<b>7</b>	<b>Significant finding</b>	Clear and well-documented imbalance with evident impact relevance.
<b>8–9</b>	<b>Serious finding</b>	Pronounced imbalance; multiple individual findings documented under this criterion.
<b>10</b>	<b>Maximum severity</b>	Systematic and pervasive imbalance under this criterion.

### Aggregate deviation index — Interpretation ranges

<b>0.0 – 2.5</b>	<b>No anomaly</b>	No significant pattern detected; the broadcast respects the principle of balance.
<b>2.6 – 4.0</b>	<b>Slight imbalance</b>	Isolated anomalies; statistically visible but still within the tolerance margin.
<b>4.1 – 6.0</b>	<b>Considerable imbalance</b>	Multiple significant findings; relevant compromise of the plurality of perspectives.
<b>6.1 – 8.0</b>	<b>Serious deviation from the principle of balance. High degree of deviation</b>	Pronounced and cross-cutting patterns across broadcasts; high impact relevance.
<b>8.1 – 10</b>	<b>Maximum systemic partiality. Very high degree of bias</b>	Maximum severity on almost all criteria; systematically one-sided coverage.

### Political-partisan bias (from -5 to +5)

<b>-5 to -3</b>	<b>Strongly disadvantaged</b>	The party is significantly underrepresented in framing, airtime or presentation.
<b>-2 to -1</b>	<b>Slightly disadvantaged</b>	Recognisable but slight disadvantage.
<b>0</b>	<b>Neutral</b>	No detectable favouritism or disadvantage.
<b>+1 to +2</b>	<b>Slightly favoured</b>	Recognisable but slight favouritism.
<b>+3 to +5</b>	<b>Strongly favoured</b>	The party is significantly overrepresented in framing, airtime or presentation.



## CHAPTER 5 — LEGAL FRAMEWORK (Service Contract Art. 6)

### Assessment under the RAI Service Contract Art. 6

The RAI Service Contract requires pluralism, completeness and impartiality of information, as well as separation between news and commentary.

#### Violation 1:

Norm: Service Contract Art. 6 — Impartiality of information

Facts: The host applies radically different standards to the Russian ambassador compared to the pro-Ukrainian guests: rhetorical and presuppositional questions with the former ("who started that war?"), open and collaborative questions with the latter; verification of Russian statements, absence of verification for Atlanticist statements.

Evidence: Timestamp 00:04:09 — "but if Russia didn't start it who started that war?"; Timestamp 00:31:27 — "In the backpacks there were flags and dress uniforms for Ukraine. You wanted to do what was done in Belarus"; Timestamp 00:25:29 — "So, this confrontation, from a technical perspective, how does it work? Trenches and drones?" (to Di Feo, neutral tone)

Assessment: The systematic asymmetry in the moderator's behaviour constitutes a violation of the principle of impartiality. The host does not merely ask critical questions of the ambassador (legitimate), but presents contested statements as established facts ("in the backpacks there were flags") without applying the same critical standard to the pro-Ukrainian guests.

#### Violation 2:

Norm: Service Contract Art. 6 — Separation between news and commentary

Facts: The host systematically mixes the role of moderator with that of commentator, expressing personal positions during the interview with the Russian ambassador.

Evidence: Timestamp 00:18:23 — "the message is not getting through that if we do not help the Ukrainian people, Ukraine will disappear. Full stop." (assertive statement by the host, not a question); Timestamp 00:46:06 — "you know very well that no one wants to destroy Russia, we love the Russian people and for this reason we are very saddened by these choices made by the Russian government" (personal comment by the host at the close of the interview)

Assessment: These statements are not questions or moderation, but personal comments by the host expressing a precise political position. Their placement within the interview with the Russian ambassador — and not in a separate editorial segment — violates the principle of separation between news and commentary.

#### Violation 3:

Norm: Service Contract Art. 6 — Pluralism of information

Facts: The speaking time ratio in the Ukraine segment is approximately 4:1 in favour of the Atlanticist position (Di Feo + Pervincenzi + host: approx. 38 min.; Russian ambassador + Teti: approx. 20 min.), and the critical voice (Teti) is introduced with a disqualifying preamble ("we are close to Moscow's positions").

Evidence: Timestamp 00:13:04 — "Sandro Teti we are close to Moscow's positions"; speaking time distribution estimated in section 3.

Assessment: Formal pluralism (presence of different voices) does not translate into substantive pluralism when one of the voices is systematically disadvantaged in the distribution of speaking time, in the moderator's tone and in the disqualifying introduction.

### Overall Assessment of the Service Contract Art. 6

The broadcast analysed presents three relevant violations of the RAI Service Contract Art. 6: systematic asymmetry in the moderator's behaviour (impartiality), personal comments by the host presented as moderation (news/commentary separation), and imbalance in speaking time with a disqualifying introduction of the critical voice (pluralism). These violations are particularly significant because they concern the treatment of a topic of international relevance — the



Russian-Ukrainian conflict — on which the public broadcaster has a reinforced obligation of impartiality. The presence of the Russian ambassador as the main guest constitutes an appreciable element of formal pluralism, but not sufficient to compensate for the documented substantive asymmetries. In formal proceedings before AGCOM, the documented evidence (timestamps, direct quotes, speaking time data) would be sufficient to found a challenge under Art. 6 of the Service Contract.

## **IN-DEPTH SOURCE VERIFICATION (Mandatory for all specialised bodies / NGOs / advisory centres cited)**

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### **1. Centro Studi Internazionale (CSI) — Alena Gionetti, President**

- 1. FUNDING:** Not specified in the transcript. The CSI is a private Italian think tank. Funding not verifiable from the transcript.
- 2. MANDATE:** Geopolitical analysis think tank; mandate compatible with assessments on international conflicts, but dependent on the ideological orientation of the organisation.
- 3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Not verifiable without information on funding. Private think tanks may have interests linked to their funders.
- 4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX:**
  - D1 Conflict of interest: 0 — Not verifiable
  - D2 Personal risk: 0 — Speaks in an institutional capacity
  - D3 Technical expertise: +1 — President of a geopolitical think tank
  - D4 Consistency: 0 — Not verifiable
  - D5 Emotionality vs. data: +1 — Brief contribution, analytical tone
  - D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary source

TOTAL: +2 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW

- 5. OPPOSING VOICE:** Not cited. A think tank with a different orientation could have provided an alternative assessment.

### **2. Criminal Analysis Service — Stefano Delfini, Senior Official of the State Police**

- 1. FUNDING:** Ministry of the Interior, state public funding.
- 2. MANDATE:** Crime analysis for law enforcement; mandate compatible with providing data, but not with independent political assessments.
- 3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Government official; the data presented may be selected in line with government priorities (decreto Caivano). Institutional interest in not contradicting the government's legislative choices.
- 4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX:** (already developed in section 1 — GREEN, +6)
- 5. OPPOSING VOICE:** Not cited. An independent university researcher (e.g. ISTAT, Eurispes) could have provided comparative data not filtered through the government institution.

### **3. Association "Un'infanzia da vivere" — Bruno Mazza, Head of school**

- 1. FUNDING:** Non-profit association founded in 2008 in Caivano. Funding not specified in the transcript; presumably public funds (grants) and private (donations).
- 2. MANDATE:** Social rehabilitation of at-risk minors; mandate fully compatible with the testimony provided.
- 3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** No relevant conflict of interest. The association has an interest in valorising its own work, but this does not distort the personal testimony.
- 4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX:**
  - D1 Conflict of interest: +1 — No relevant conflict
  - D2 Personal risk: +2 — Has publicly exposed his own criminal past, high reputational risk
  - D3 Technical expertise: +2 — Direct and documented experience in the field
  - D4 Consistency: +1 — Testimony consistent with public profile
  - D5 Emotionality vs. data: +1 — Personal testimony, not aggregate data; appropriate for the context
  - D6 Source level: +2 — Primary source (direct testimony)

TOTAL: +9 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: GREEN

- 5. OPPOSING VOICE:** Not necessary for a personal testimony; an external assessment of the association's effectiveness would have been useful.



*IMPORTANT: "Recognised" is not an objective qualification. It is a social attribution that must be independently verified. In the case of Delfini, the institutional qualification is verifiable; in the case of Gionetti, it is not from the available transcript.*

### Source credibility traffic light:

Source	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	Total	Signal
Centro Studi Internazionale (CSI) — Alena Gionetti, President	0	0	+1	0	+1	0	?	?
Associazione "Un'infanzia da vivere" — Bruno Mazza, Head of school	+1	+2	+2	+1	+1	+2	?	?

### Legal and methodological framework

<b>Not a finding of fact</b>	The findings presented do not constitute factual determinations about individual persons, editorial teams or broadcasts. They are the product of a standardised operationalisation, not a determination of individual responsibility.
<b>Not a legal judgement</b>	The aggregate deviation index does not replace a legal assessment under RAI Service Contract Art. 7. The assessment of whether a specific broadcast violates legal requirements falls exclusively within the competence of the relevant authorities (in particular AGCOM).
<b>Not proof of causality</b>	Statistical correlations must not be interpreted as proof of causal links or editorial intent. Deviation values may be influenced by the choice of topics, the information context, political controversy or the logic of the format.
<b>Not a judgement on intentionality</b>	The analysis measures the observable structural characteristics of broadcasts. A score of 7 means that a significant imbalance has been detected — not that the editorial team intended it. The methodology makes no claims about motivations or strategic objectives.
<b>Heuristic comparison tool</b>	The index serves the comparative recognition of patterns across thousands of broadcasts, not the precise metric measurement of individual segments. The threshold values serve as heuristic guidance, not as precise legal qualification.



## APPENDIX 1: NATIONAL LEGISLATION

### Legal basis Italy — RAI

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#### Laws

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- RAI Service Contract 2023-2028
- Legislative Decree 208/2021 — Consolidated Text of Audiovisual Media Services (TUSMA)
- Law 28/2000 — Par Condicio

#### Relevant articles

##### RAI Service Contract 2023-2028

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- Art. 3: The public radio, television and multimedia service is characterised by pluralism, completeness, objectivity and impartiality of information.
- Art. 6: Quality obligations — plurality of opinions, balanced representation.
- Art. 25: Separation between information and opinion.

##### Legislative Decree 208/2021 (TUSMA)

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- Art. 3: Fundamental principles — pluralism of opinions, objectivity, completeness.
- Art. 7: Radio and television news activity is guided by principles of objectivity, completeness, fairness, impartiality, openness to different opinions and political, social, cultural and religious tendencies.

##### Law 28/2000 (Par Condicio)

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- Art. 2: Equal access to information media during electoral campaigns.
- Art. 3: Equal treatment of all political subjects in information.
- Art. 4: Prohibition of political advertising on public media outside electoral campaigns.

##### RAI Code of Ethics (2017)

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Impartiality, fact-checking, separation of news/commentary.

#### European reference framework

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- ECHR Art. 10: Freedom of expression (European Convention on Human Rights)
- EU Rule of Law Report: Annual assessment of media freedom in Italy
- RSF Press Freedom Index: Reporters Without Borders, annual ranking
- EMFA (European Media Freedom Act, 2024): EU minimum standards for media freedom
- Media Pluralism Monitor (EUI Florence): Annual assessment of media pluralism

#### Structural context

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The "lottizzazione" — the historical allocation of RAI channels according to criteria of partisan proportionality — influences the structural independence of RAI to this day. The formal legal framework (Service Contract, TUSMA) is sound, but practical implementation is influenced by politics.

#### Supervisory authorities

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- AGCOM (Autorità per le Garanzie nelle Comunicazioni): Media regulation, sanctions
- Parliamentary RAI Supervisory Commission: Parliamentary oversight

#### Complaints procedure

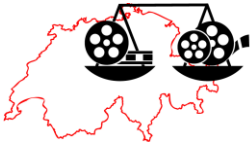
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1. RAI internal complaints office
2. AGCOM



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3. Regional Administrative Court (TAR)



## ANNEX 2: SCIENTIFIC REFERENCES

### Bibliography

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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](#)

*David Schläpfer — ORCID: 0009-0000-5671-9266*

SVFAB — Swiss Association for Balanced Information | P.O. Box, 8021 Zurich 1 | [www.svfab.ch](http://www.svfab.ch) | [kontakt@svfab.ch](mailto:kontakt@svfab.ch) |  
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## Assessments and membership of SVFAB

On SVFAB.ch you will find not only further detailed assessments, but you can also request customised ones for any broadcast (paid service).

To keep our work robust, we depend on the contributions of members and supporters.

### Contact and further information:

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

**Bank details:** PostFinance – POFICHBE

**IBAN:** CH32 0900 0000 1675 6251 1

**Beneficiary:** SVFAB, Postfach, CH-8021 Zürich 1



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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. What we feel. What we believe. How we decide. And it works — because we all participate. Every day. Unconsciously. You too. This book is not a dry manual. It is a workbook — playful, direct, full of examples from real life. You don't just learn how others frame you. You learn how you yourself frame — and how to use it consciously and correctly.

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

**Präsident:** Schläpfer, David - **Kontakt:** [kontakt@SVFAB.ch](mailto:kontakt@SVFAB.ch) - **Adresse:** SVFAB, Postfach, CH-8021 Zürich 1



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With numerous exercises and concrete examples from politics, the media and everyday life — and a smile here and there.

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



RAI receives over 1.7 billion euros per year from the compulsory licence fee. Anyone who feels treated unfairly can file a complaint. There is even a dedicated authority: AGCOM, the Autorità per le Garanzie nelle Comunicazioni.

Except that: it is not entirely independent. It has limited sanctioning powers. And in most cases the outcome is uncertain.

This analysis lays bare the system — objectively, with precision, without polemic. Procedures, personnel, competences, costs, statistics, legal avenues. And the legal examination that demonstrates the structural shortcomings of public media oversight. The body that should protect citizens protects above all the system it is supposed to oversee.

Essential reading for anyone considering a complaint — and for all those who want to understand why genuine media oversight in Italy remains yet to be built.