



RAI DETAILED ANALYSIS

2023-09-01_portaaporta_Russia_invasion_week_1

Broadcast: RAI broadcast | 2023-09-01 | Analyzed on: 2026-05-24 12:50

Version 3.0-detail | Universal 3.0-detail | Konverter 3.4 (2026-05-20) | Riferimento: Contratto di servizio RAI Art. 7

**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 partisan bias detected.

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)

5.5 / 10

Balanced

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

← Left

Right →

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

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



POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

The Italian government in office since October 2022 is led by Giorgia Meloni (Fdi) and comprises a centre-right coalition consisting of Fratelli d'Italia (the largest party with 119 seats), Lega (66 seats), Forza Italia (45 seats) and Noi Moderati (7 seats). The main opposition is the Partito Democratico (69 seats), followed by Movimento 5 Stelle (52 seats), Azione (21 seats), Alleanza Verdi Sinistra (12 seats) and +Europa (2 seats). The governing coalition controls the parliamentary majority and has expressed its political line on immigration, the economy, energy and foreign policy in a manner consistent with sovereigntist and national-conservative positions.

Party	CHES L-R	Seats	Government/Opposition	Key position
AVS	2,30	12	Opposition	100% renewables, ius soli, anti-fascism
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	Sovereigntist, flat tax, closed ports
Fdi	8,30	119	Government (PM)	National-conservative, naval blockade

The main lines of political conflict in Italy concern: (1) the management of migration flows and the crackdown on NGOs, with the Meloni government having adopted restrictive measures contested by the opposition and the European Commission; (2) economic policy, with the debate over the citizens' income that was abolished and replaced with alternative measures; (3) support for Ukraine, on which there is cross-party consensus but with different nuances between the government and the opposition; (4) the reform of the justice system and the separation of magistrates' careers, strongly desired by FI and contested by PD and M5S.

RAI is the Italian public radio and television service, funded by the licence fee and subject to the Service Contract with the Ministry of Enterprises and Made in Italy, which in art. 6 imposes pluralism, completeness and impartiality of information. Historically characterised by partisan "lottizzazione" (RAI 1 DC/FI area, RAI 2 PSI area, RAI 3 PCI/PD area), under the Meloni government RAI has seen the appointment of editorial executives close to the governing coalition, with criticism from press freedom organisations. The programme Porta a Porta, hosted by Bruno Vespa on RAI 1, is one of the flagship talk shows of Italian public television, with a long history of interviews with political and institutional figures.



CHAPTER 1 — PARTISAN BIAS

The episode does not directly address Italian domestic party politics, but deals with topics (the war in Ukraine, youth gangs, security) on which the parties' positions diverge. The assessment therefore concerns the implicit representation of programmatic positions through the framing of the topics.

Party	Score (-5..+5)	Representation in the episode vs. programmatic position
Fdi (Fratelli d'Italia)	+1	00:20:31 "Today's first meeting at the CPE for Meloni is with Zelensky. She reaffirms to the Ukrainian leader Rome's wholehearted support in every respect" — Programmatic position: support for Ukraine, national security — Representation: correct, neutral-positive tone
PD (Partito Dem.)	0	Not directly mentioned — Programmatic position: strongly pro-European, support for Ukraine — Not addressed
M5S (Cinque Stelle)	-1	00:15:04 Teti implicitly cites the citizens' income as an alternative to support for Ukraine: "We have abolished 170,000 citizens' income payments, yet at the same time every month we pay 11 million Ukrainian pensioners" — M5S programmatic position: defence of the citizens' income — The quote is used instrumentally without representing the M5S position
Lega	0	Not directly mentioned — Programmatic position: sovereigntism, closed ports — Not addressed
Forza Italia	0	Not directly mentioned — Not addressed
AVS (Alleanza Verdi)	0	Not mentioned — Not addressed

Summary of Partisan Bias

- Most accurate representation: Fdi (Score +1) — Meloni's support for Ukraine is reported factually
- Greatest distortion: M5S (Score -1) — the citizens' income is cited as a counterweight to support for Ukraine without representing the party's position
- Average deviation from 0: 0.3
- Conclusion: The episode does not directly address domestic party politics, but the framing of support for Ukraine as a moral and civic imperative tends to implicitly marginalise critical positions (M5S, part of Lega) without giving them a voice. The citation of the citizens' income as an alternative to support for Ukraine is instrumental and does not faithfully represent the Italian political debate.

Overall Left-Right Tendency

TENDENCY SCORE: -0.5

CLASSIFICATION: Slightly favourable to the centre-right

Rationale: The episode presents support for Ukraine as a shared and morally necessary position, in line with the Meloni government's stance. The report on Meloni in Granada is presented in a neutral-positive tone. On the topic of youth gangs, the framing privileges family and individual responsibility over structural-state responsibility, in line with the centre-right narrative. No critical voices towards the government emerge.



CHAPTER 2 — EPISODE INFORMATION AND THEMATIC FRAMEWORK

Episode Data

- Title: Porta a Porta
- Date: October 2023 (from context: Granada summit, references to "20 months" since the start of the Ukrainian conflict = February 2022, therefore October 2023)
- Estimated duration: approximately 94 minutes (from transcript: 00:00:00 — 01:34:07)
- Host: Bruno Vespa
- Persons interviewed:

Person	Role	Party/Affiliation	Political Spectrum
Alexei Paramonov	Russian Ambassador to Italy	Russian Government / Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the RF	Official Russian position
Gianluca Di Feo	Deputy Editor of Repubblica	Journalism (La Repubblica)	Centre-left
Alena Gionetti	President of the Centro Studi Internazionale	Think tank	Not identifiable with certainty
Sandro Teti	Publisher, Russia expert	Independent publishing	Critical position towards the West
Daniele Pervincenzi	Correspondent (RAI)	RAI Journalism	Neutral/professional
Stefano Delfini	Senior Official of the State Police, Director of the Criminal Analysis Service	Law enforcement	Institutional
Massimo Lugli	Journalist and writer	Journalism	Neutral/professional
Annunzia De Girolamo	Politician, TV presenter	FI (former)	Centre-right
Concita Borrelli	Journalist	Journalism	Not identifiable
Diego Willer	Trapper, 30 years old	Music	No affiliation
Bruno Mazza	Head of the association "Un'infanzia da vivere", former camorrista	Third sector	No affiliation
Elisa Bottazzo	Mother of a youth gang victim (Bologna)	Citizen	No affiliation

Main Topic

The episode addresses two macro-topics: (1) the state of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict, with an exclusive interview with Russian Ambassador Paramonov and military analysis; (2) the phenomenon of youth gangs in Italy, with reports from Naples, Bologna, Pavia and contributions from experts, witnesses and a trap artist.

Context of the Global Debate



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

The Russian-Ukrainian conflict, at the time of the episode, had entered its twentieth month. The Ukrainian summer counter-offensive had produced limited results, with advances measured in metres. The European Political Community summit in Granada reaffirmed Western support for Ukraine. On the Italian domestic front, the phenomenon of youth gangs had gained media prominence following violent incidents in Naples (murder of Giovanbattista Cutolo), Caivano (group sexual violence) and in several cities in the north. The Meloni government responded with the "decreto Caivano" (D.L. 123/2023), which toughens penalties for crimes committed by minors. The debate is divided between those who favour a repressive approach and those who favour a preventive-educational one.



CHAPTER 3 — 15 CRITERIA: DETAILED ANALYSIS

Hardfacts — 9 quantifiable and scientifically verifiable techniques

1. EXPERT SELECTION

6/10

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

Definition: Who speaks as an expert?

Expert 1: Sandro Teti — Publisher, "close to Moscow's positions" (host's definition)

Time: 00:13:09

Statement: "Russia is ready, having both guns and butter, to continue with a war of attrition"

Framing: Publisher specialising in Russia, presented as an expert in Russian geopolitics. The host explicitly introduces him as "close to Moscow's positions".

Missing opposing voice: An independent strategic analyst or a European security expert would have balanced the perspective.

In-depth source analysis:

(a) FUNDING: Private publisher (Teti Editore), specialising in Russian and Soviet texts. No identifiable public funding. Commercial interest in the dissemination of Russian culture in Italy.

(b) MANDATE: Not compatible with a neutral assessment of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict, given the editorial specialisation and the declared closeness to Russian positions.

(c) CREDIBILITY MATRIX (Source traffic light, 6 dimensions):

D1 Conflict of interest: -1 — Editorial interest in the Russian narrative

D2 Personal risk: 0 — No identifiable professional risk

D3 Expertise: 0 — Publisher, not a military or geopolitical analyst

D4 Consistency of opinions: +1 — Consistent positions over time

D5 Emotionality vs. data: -1 — Assertive statements without sources ("Russia will win by a landslide")

D6 Source level: -1 — Tertiary source (publisher, not researcher)

TOTAL: -2 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW

(c) PROFESSIONAL EXPERTISE: The presentation as "close to Moscow's positions" is an admission of partiality, but does not prevent his statements from being treated as expert analysis.

Expert 2: Gianluca Di Feo — Deputy Editor of Repubblica

Time: 00:23:27

Statement: "it is the paradox of the Ukrainian war. On one hand we truly have the First World War [...] on the other hand [...] high-technology drones"

Framing: Journalist with expertise in defence and security, with long experience in the sector.

In-depth source analysis:

(a) FUNDING: La Repubblica, GEDI group (Exor/Agnelli ownership). Centre-left, Atlanticist, pro-EU editorial orientation.

(b) MANDATE: Journalist, not an independent military analyst. Recognised expertise in the defence sector.

(c) CREDIBILITY MATRIX:



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

- D1 Conflict of interest: -1 — Pro-Atlanticist editorial orientation
- D2 Personal risk: +1 — Journalist who has covered conflict zones
- D3 Expertise: +2 — Recognised specialisation in defence and security
- D4 Consistency of opinions: +1 — Consistent positions over time
- D5 Emotionality vs. data: +1 — Predominantly based on verifiable facts
- D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary source (journalist)

TOTAL: +4 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW (borderline green)

(c) PROFESSIONAL EXPERTISE: Presented as a neutral analyst, but with an identifiable editorial orientation.

Expert 3: Stefano Delfini — Senior Official of the State Police, Director of the Criminal Analysis Service

Time: 00:49:21

Statement: "the number of crimes committed by minors is growing. However, 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 direct access to law enforcement data.

In-depth source analysis:

(a) FUNDING: Ministry of the Interior, state funding.

(b) MANDATE: Compatible with crime analysis, but with a possible institutional interest in not causing excessive alarm or in justifying government policies.

(c) CREDIBILITY MATRIX:

- D1 Conflict of interest: -1 — Government official, possible interest in supporting government policies
- D2 Personal risk: -1 — No personal risk in affirming the institutional line
- D3 Expertise: +2 — Direct access to data, recognised specialisation
- D4 Consistency of opinions: +1 — Consistent institutional positions
- D5 Emotionality vs. data: +2 — Based on law enforcement data
- D6 Source level: +1 — Primary source (institutional data)

TOTAL: +4 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW (borderline green)

(c) PROFESSIONAL EXPERTISE: His statement that "the numbers are not particularly worrying" contrasts with the alarmist framing of the episode, but is not followed up by the host.

Missing expert groups:

- Independent military analyst (not affiliated with media with an identifiable editorial orientation)
- Expert in international law to assess the Russian ambassador's statements
- Academic criminologist specialising in juvenile crime

Summary (matrix result per expert):

- Teti: YELLOW (-2) — Partial source, presented as expert
- Di Feo: YELLOW (+4) — Competent source but with editorial orientation
- Delfini: YELLOW (+4) — Institutional source with possible conflict of interest



2. SOURCE SELECTION

6/10

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

Statements without primary source = penalty points (claim verification)

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

Source 1: Russian Ambassador Alexei Paramonov

Time: 00:01:18 — Statement: "the war was started by the people, by the politicians of Ukraine, by the politicians who came to power following the coup d'état that took place, that was organised in Kyiv in February 2014"

(a) Funding and structure: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation. Official source of the Russian government.

(b) Structural conflict of interest: Official representative of one of the parties to the conflict. His statements are by definition the official Russian position, not an independent analysis.

(c) Missing balancing source: A Ukrainian diplomat, an expert in international law, or a UN representative would have balanced the perspective.

Source 2: Sandro Teti — statement on the costs of support for Ukraine

Time: 00:15:04 — Statement: "every month we pay 11 million Ukrainian pensioners. We Europeans pay the pensions"

(a) Funding: Private publisher

(b) Conflict of interest: No source cited for this statement

(c) Missing opposing source: An economist or an EU official could have verified or refuted this figure

Claim verification (penalties):

Claim 1:

Time: 00:15:04

Statement: "every month we pay 11 million Ukrainian pensioners. We Europeans pay the pensions"

Verbal marker: assertive statement without source

Primary source available: no — penalty +1

Claim 2:

Time: 00:17:11

Statement: "One thing is certain, that on the ground Russia will not win, it will win by a landslide."

Verbal marker: "is certain" — assertive statement

Primary source available: no — penalty +1

Summary: The episode relies primarily on institutional sources (Russian ambassador, police official) and journalistic sources (Di Feo, Pervincenzi), with little diversification. Teti's statements on the economic costs of support for Ukraine are unverified. The absence of direct Ukrainian sources and independent experts weakens the informational balance.



3. TIME DISTRIBUTION

5/10

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

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 (military analysis, pro-Ukraine orientation): approx. 10 min. (11%)
- Sandro Teti (critical position towards the West): approx. 8 min. (9%)
- Daniele Pervincenzi (front-line reporting): approx. 5 min. (5%)
- Youth gang segment (various guests): approx. 35 min. (37%)
- Video reports and music: approx. 8 min. (9%)

Summary: The segment on the war in Ukraine devotes approximately 40% of the time to the Russian position (ambassador + Teti) and approximately 16% to pro-Ukrainian analysis (Di Feo + Pervincenzi). The direct Ukrainian position is absent. The youth gang segment is the longest but fragmented among many guests, with little systematic in-depth coverage.



4. SELECTIVE OMISSION

7/10

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

Definition: What is not shown, even though it is relevant?

Omission 1:

Context: No direct Ukrainian voice in the segment on the war

Relevant at: 00:01:18 — 00:46:48 (entire Ukraine segment)

Effect: The episode presents the Russian position (ambassador) and the Western position (Di Feo, Vespa), but not the Ukrainian one. This creates a structural asymmetry: the aggrieved party has no direct voice.

Omission 2:

Context: No critical assessment of the decreto Caivano by experts in juvenile law

Relevant at: 01:12:16 — "the decree on youth hardship, colloquially known as the Caivano decree, was born"

Effect: The decree is presented as an obvious and shared response, without the criticisms of jurists, pedagogists and children's rights associations being discussed.

Omission 3:

Context: Delfini's data relativising the alarm about youth gangs are not followed up

Relevant at: 00:53:39 — "the numbers are not particularly worrying"

Effect: The police official's statement that the numbers are not alarming contrasts with the episode's framing, but is neither discussed nor followed up. The host does not ask for clarification.

Summary: The most significant omissions concern the absence of a direct Ukrainian voice and the failure to critically assess the decreto Caivano. Both omissions tend to reinforce the dominant framing of the episode.

Missing voices

- Expert in juvenile law: Would have assessed the impact of the decreto Caivano on the rights of minors and the effectiveness of the criminal justice response
- Representative of the Ukrainian government: Would have provided the direct Ukrainian perspective on the conflict and the counter-offensive
- International mediator (e.g. Turkish or Chinese diplomat): Would have illustrated the prospects for negotiation
- Criminologist specialising in juvenile crime: Would have provided comparative data and systematic analysis
- Educator or pedagogist: Would have discussed preventive policies with efficacy data
- Economist: Would have verified the data on the costs of support for Ukraine cited by Teti
- Representative of NGOs active with at-risk minors: Would have brought the perspective of fieldwork
- Expert in cybersecurity or social media: Would have explored in depth the role of platforms in the spread of youth violence



5. DATA MANIPULATION

6/10

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

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

Definition: Selective or misleading use of statistics.

Finding 1:

Time: 00:15:04

Data: "every month we pay 11 million Ukrainian pensioners. We Europeans pay the pensions"

Dimensions: (a) absolute value — cited; (b) share — not cited; (c) trend — not cited

Missing context: No source is cited. The data is presented as an established fact. In reality, the EU has provided macro-financial support to Ukraine, but the mechanism for financing Ukrainian pensions is more complex and not directly comparable to a direct European transfer.

Effect: Creates the impression that European taxpayers directly pay Ukrainian pensions, which is a misleading simplification.

Finding 2:

Time: 00:53:39

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

Dimensions: (a) absolute value — cited; (b) share — not cited; (c) trend — partially cited

Missing context: No absolute data are provided, nor is there a comparison with other European countries. The statement that the numbers are not alarming is not followed up.

Effect: The police official's relativisation contrasts with the alarmist framing of the episode, but is not discussed.

Finding 3:

Time: 00:26:44

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

Dimensions: (a) absolute value — cited; (b) share — not cited; (c) trend — not cited

Missing context: No source is cited for this data. The cost-effectiveness ratio is presented as an argument in favour of Russia without verification.

Effect: Reinforces the narrative of Russian economic superiority without verified data.

Summary: The economic data cited by Teti on the costs of support for Ukraine are unverified and presented in a misleading manner. The data on juvenile crime provided by Delfini, which relativise the alarm, are not followed up.



6. GUILT BY ASSOCIATION

3/10

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

Definition: Discrediting by association with negative groups or ideas.

Association 1:

Time: 00:56:59

Quote: "Maranza, who are young North Africans who pickpocket and then get into fights"

Technique: The term "Maranza" is explicitly associated with ethnic origin ("young North Africans"), creating an association between ethnicity and criminal behaviour.

Effect: Suggests that North African origin is a determining factor in juvenile crime, without data to support this correlation.

Association 2:

Time: 00:58:26

Quote: "In nightlife areas, 90% of assaults are their doing."

Technique: Unverified statistic attributed to "Maranza" (young people of North African origin) without a source.

Effect: Reinforces the ethnicity-crime association with an unverified figure.

Summary (category assignment with matrix rationale):

- The term "Maranza" and its association with "young North Africans" constitutes an ethnicity-crime association unsupported by data. This is not a "conspiracy theory" but an ethnic framing of juvenile crime that warrants flagging. Category: B (partially problematic, not systematic).



7. TIMING

4/10

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

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

Finding 1:

Position: 00:00:06 (beginning)

Content: "In a nuclear war there are no winners, it cannot be unleashed."

Temporal effect: The episode opens with the citation of the Russian position on nuclear war, which is presented as reassuring. This creates an initial frame favourable to the Russian position even before the ambassador speaks.

Finding 2:

Position: 00:17:11 (middle of the Ukraine segment)

Content: "One thing is certain, that on the ground Russia will not win, it will win by a landslide."

Temporal effect: Teti's most extreme statement is placed after the host has already established a frame of support for Ukraine, creating a contrast that is not resolved.

Summary: The initial placement of the Russian quote on nuclear war creates a reassuring frame that could attenuate the perception of Russian aggressiveness. This is not a systematic manipulation, but an editorial choice with effects on framing.



8. SELECTIVE OUTRAGE

5/10

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

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

Definition: Outrage towards certain positions but not towards comparable ones.

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

Finding 1:

Time: 00:05:47

Triggering event: The Russian ambassador describes 2014 as a "coup d'état" organised in Kyiv

Reaction: "There were elections, I don't want to say how it went, one dictator arrived in place of another, there were elections [...] you say coup d'état, but the thing really didn't go quite like that"

Comparison: When Teti states (00:17:11) "on the ground Russia will not win, it will win by a landslide" — no analogous challenge from the host

Asymmetry: The host challenges the Russian narrative of the "coup d'état" but does not challenge Teti's more extreme statements favourable to Russia. However, it should be noted that Vespa also challenges Teti at other moments (00:16:10).

Degree of outrage: 2/5

Selectivity: 3/5

Finding 2:

Time: 00:30:38

Triggering event: The ambassador states that Russia defended the Russian-speakers of the Donbass

Reaction: "But Kyiv was attacked. Not those areas. You wanted to take power over all of Ukraine."

Comparison: When Di Feo states (00:16:21) "the battle the Ukrainians are fighting is that of our civilisation" — no challenge

Asymmetry: The host challenges the Russian ambassador's statements more vigorously than he does the more assertive statements of the pro-Ukrainian guests.

Degree of outrage: 3/5

Selectivity: 3/5

Summary: The host shows a tendency to challenge the Russian ambassador's statements more vigorously than those of guests with pro-Western positions. However, Vespa also challenges Teti at some moments, which reduces the overall selectivity.



9. SELECTIVE OMISSION — GENERAL OVERVIEW

7/10

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Definition: How completely does the episode represent the topic?

Finding 1:

Time: 00:01:18 — 00:46:48

Missing perspective/fact: Direct Ukrainian voice

Relevance: The Russian-Ukrainian conflict is the main topic of the first segment. The aggrieved party has no direct voice.

Impact: The debate takes place between the Russian position (ambassador), the Western position (Di Feo, Vespa) and the position critical of the West (Teti), without Ukraine being able to express its own perspective.

Finding 2:

Time: 01:12:16

Missing perspective/fact: Critical assessment of the decreto Caivano

Relevance: The decree is the government's main political response to the youth gang phenomenon. Its assessment by experts in juvenile law is essential for complete information.

Impact: The decree is presented as a shared and obvious response, without discussion of the criticisms.

Finding 3:

Time: 00:53:39

Missing perspective/fact: Follow-up on Delfini's data relativising the alarm

Relevance: The police official states that the juvenile crime figures "are not particularly worrying". This statement contrasts with the alarmist framing of the episode.

Impact: The relativisation is not discussed, creating an internal inconsistency in the episode that is not resolved.

Summary: The episode presents significant gaps both in the segment on the war (absence of the Ukrainian voice) and in the one on youth gangs (absence of a critical assessment of the decreto Caivano). These omissions tend to reinforce the dominant framing.

Share of perspectives covered

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

- [A] Official Ukrainian position on the conflict and the counter-offensive
- [B] Independent military analysis (not embedded with either party)
- [C] Position of mediating countries (China, Turkey, India) on the conflict
- [D] Humanitarian impact of the conflict on the Ukrainian and Russian civilian population
- [E] Economic costs of the conflict for Italy and Europe (verified data)
- [F] Peace and negotiation prospects: minimum acceptable conditions for both parties
- [G] Structural causes of youth gangs: poverty, social exclusion, failure of the education system
- [H] Preventive and rehabilitative approaches to youth gangs (efficacy data)
- [I] Impact of the decreto Caivano: assessments by experts in juvenile law
- [J] Role of social media and digital platforms in the spread of youth violence
- [A] MENTIONED



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

Time: 00:19:31 — Quote: "I am in Granada because our commitment is to keep Europe united, Zelensky's words." — Assessment: The Ukrainian position is cited only through Zelensky's statements in Granada, without direct in-depth coverage.

[B] COVERED

Time: 00:23:27 — Quote: "War remnants and high-technology ordnance, swarms of remote-controlled aircraft and hand-to-hand combat in the trenches." — Assessment: Di Feo offers competent military analysis, but with a clearly pro-Ukraine orientation.

[C] MENTIONED

Time: 00:09:19 — Quote: "Chinese mediation has disappeared from the screens." — Assessment: Cited only as an absence, without analysis of the reasons or the positions of the mediators.

[D] MENTIONED

Time: 00:42:23 — Quote: "hundreds of people per day from both armies" — Assessment: Human losses are mentioned but not followed up with verified data.

[E] PARTIALLY COVERED

Time: 00:15:04 — Quote: "every month we pay 11 million Ukrainian pensioners" — Assessment: The economic costs are cited by Teti in a polemical and unverified manner, without sources.

[F] MENTIONED

Time: 00:08:49 — Quote: "It seems to me that the current conflict scenario knows no paths to mediation." — Assessment: Peace prospects are mentioned as absent, without analysis of the minimum conditions.

[G] COVERED

Time: 00:49:59 — Quote: "Youth gangs certainly arise from neglected neighbourhoods compared to perhaps more affluent ones." — Assessment: The structural causes are discussed, but in a fragmented and non-systematic manner.

[H] MENTIONED

Time: 01:16:39 — Quote: "in Caivano a Fiamme Oro gym will be opened, precisely to offer these young people an opportunity" — Assessment: Preventive approaches are cited but not assessed with efficacy data.

[I] MENTIONED

Time: 01:12:16 — Quote: "the decree on youth hardship, colloquially known as the Caivano decree, was born to make the criminal underworld understand that these young people will become punishable" — Assessment: The decree is cited without critical assessment by experts in juvenile law.

[J] COVERED

Time: 00:55:57 — Quote: "social media and this type of juvenile crime go hand in hand. They film themselves, post themselves, emulate each other." — Assessment: The role of social media is discussed in depth.

Completeness Score: 5/10

The episode covers some relevant perspectives but in a fragmented manner. On the Ukrainian conflict, direct Ukrainian voices, international mediators and verified data on costs are missing. On the youth gang topic, experts in juvenile law, assessments of the decreto Caivano and international comparative data are missing.



Softfacts — 6 qualitative techniques

10. FRAMING

6/10

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

Definition: How is the topic fundamentally framed?

Finding 1:

Time: 00:16:10

Quote: "the battle the Ukrainians are fighting is that of our civilisation"

Manipulation: The Russian-Ukrainian conflict is framed as a clash of civilisations, not as a territorial or geopolitical war. This framing excludes any possibility of understanding the Russian reasons and makes any position of neutrality impossible.

Why problematic: A "clash of civilisations" framing polarises the debate and makes it difficult to discuss the conditions for a negotiation. It excludes the positions of non-aligned countries (India, China, Africa) that do not recognise themselves in this framework.

Finding 2:

Time: 00:18:37

Quote: "if we do not help the Ukrainian people, Ukraine disappears"

Manipulation: Support for Ukraine is presented as a necessary condition for the survival of the Ukrainian state, without nuance. This framing makes any critical position towards military support equivalent to wanting "Ukraine to disappear".

Why problematic: Excludes discussion of alternative forms of support (diplomatic, humanitarian) and possible conditions for negotiation.

Finding 3:

Time: 00:46:41

Quote: "Now we see two films sent by Russian propaganda and Ukrainian propaganda to emphasise their respective territorial claims."

Manipulation: The films of both parties are defined as "propaganda", but Di Feo's subsequent commentary is clearly oriented in favour of Ukraine ("this fusion of the technologies of tomorrow and the worst of our past").

Why problematic: The symmetrical definition of "propaganda" creates a false equivalence, while the subsequent commentary breaks this symmetry.

Summary: The dominant framing of the episode frames the Ukrainian conflict as a clash of civilisations and support for Ukraine as a moral imperative. This framing excludes alternative positions and makes it difficult to discuss conditions for negotiation.



11. WORD AND TERM CHOICE

5/10

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

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

Finding 1:

Time: 00:56:59

Quote: "Maranza, who are young North Africans who pickpocket and then get into fights"

Manipulation: The term "Maranza" is defined through ethnicity ("young North Africans"), creating a linguistic association between ethnic origin and criminal behaviour.

Why problematic: Neutral alternative: "second-generation young people" or "young people of North African origin" without the automatic association with crime.

Finding 2:

Time: 00:03:58

Quote: "the war was started by the people, by the politicians of Ukraine, by the politicians who came to power following the coup d'état"

Manipulation: The term "coup d'état" to describe the events of 2014 in Kyiv is the official Russian terminology. The host challenges it, but the fact that it is spoken live without being immediately qualified gives it an implicit legitimacy.

Why problematic: Neutral alternative: "the Euromaidan protests" or "the political crisis of 2014".

Finding 3:

Time: 00:16:53

Quote: "They prefer the citizens' income to support for Ukraine."

Manipulation: The citizens' income is contrasted with support for Ukraine as if they were incompatible alternatives, with a negative connotation towards those who prefer the former.

Why problematic: Neutral alternative: discuss social policies and defence policies separately without creating a false dichotomy.

Summary: The choice of terms in the episode tends to reinforce the dominant framing: "Maranza" associated with ethnicity, "coup d'état" for 2014, citizens' income contrasted with support for Ukraine.



12. HOST BEHAVIOUR

6/10

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

Definition: Asymmetries in questions, interruptions, expressions of sympathy.

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

Finding 1:

Time: 00:30:38

Triggering event: The Russian ambassador states that Russia defended the Russian-speakers of the Donbass

Quote (host): "But Kyiv was attacked. Not those areas. You wanted to take power over all of Ukraine. In the backpacks. The flags and dress uniforms for the parade. You wanted to do what was done in Belarus."

Comparison: When Di Feo states (00:16:21) "the battle the Ukrainians are fighting is that of our civilisation" — no analogous challenge

Asymmetry: The host vigorously challenges the Russian ambassador with assertive statements ("You wanted to take power over all of Ukraine") that are not challenged when they come from pro-Western guests.

Finding 2:

Time: 00:45:59

Triggering event: End of the interview with the Russian ambassador

Quote (host): "Ambassador, as you well know, I lived in Italy for five years as Consul General Miran, 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 that the Russian government has made."

Comparison: No analogous declaration of "love" or "sorrow" towards the Ukrainian people or towards Ukrainian civilian victims

Asymmetry: The host expresses empathy towards the Russian people (distinguishing them from the government) but does not express analogous empathy towards the Ukrainian people during the episode.

Finding 3:

Time: 00:50:56

Triggering event: Diego Willer begins to explain the economic causes of juvenile crime

Quote (host): "Yes but Diego, don't now send the message that these young people steal and commit criminal acts in order to then go and buy an outfit to go to a job interview."

Comparison: When Delfini states that the numbers are not alarming (00:53:39), the host does not intervene to challenge

Asymmetry: The host interrupts Willer when his explanation risks attenuating the individual responsibility of young people, but does not intervene when Delfini relativises the alarm.

Summary: The host shows a tendency to challenge the Russian ambassador's positions and structural explanations of juvenile crime more vigorously, while allowing the more assertive statements of pro-Western guests and institutional relativisations to pass without challenge.



13. QUESTION ASYMMETRY

6/10

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

Definition: Harder or softer questions to different people.

Asymmetry 1:

To Paramonov (Russian ambassador), 00:04:09: "But if Russia didn't start it, who started that war?" — hard, direct
To Di Feo (pro-Western analyst), 00:25:32: "So, this confrontation, from a technical point of view, how does it work? Trenches and drones?" — neutral, descriptive

Comparison: The host poses challenging questions to the Russian ambassador and descriptive questions to the pro-Western guests.

Asymmetry 2:

To Paramonov, 00:42:49: "Is it possible that, finding himself in difficulty, President Putin might really decide to react with the atomic bomb?" — hard, hypothetical

To Teti, 00:13:09: "Sandro Teti, you are close to Moscow's positions, there seems to be no possibility of a truce, right?" — soft, almost rhetorical

Comparison: The question about the atomic bomb is posed to the Russian ambassador in a hypothetical and potentially destabilising manner; the question to Teti is almost a confirmation of his position.

Summary: The questions to the Russian representative are systematically harder and more challenging than those posed to guests with pro-Western positions. This asymmetry is understandable in an interview with a diplomat from a country at war, but contributes to the overall framing of the episode.



14. FALSE BALANCE

5/10

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

Definition: Artificial balance despite a real imbalance.

Finding 1:

Time: 00:40:40

Construct: "Now we see two films sent by Russian propaganda and Ukrainian propaganda to emphasise their respective territorial claims."

Analysis: The films are presented as equivalent ("propaganda" from both sides), but Di Feo's subsequent commentary is clearly oriented in favour of Ukraine. The formal symmetry ("Russian propaganda" and "Ukrainian propaganda") conceals a substantive asymmetry in the commentary.

Summary: The false balance in the episode manifests itself primarily in the symmetrical definition of "propaganda" for the films of both parties, while the subsequent commentary breaks this symmetry. This is not a systematic false balance, but an editorial inconsistency.



15. AGENDA-SETTING

6/10

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

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

Finding 1:

Agenda item established: Support for Ukraine as a moral and civic imperative

Time: 00:18:37 — Evidence: "if we do not help the Ukrainian people, Ukraine disappears from the map. Full stop."

Alternative agenda: Discussion of the conditions for a negotiation, the positions of non-aligned countries, the human costs of prolonging the conflict does not enter the agenda.

Finding 2:

Agenda item established: Youth gangs as a social and security emergency

Time: 00:46:41 — Evidence: Entire structure of the second segment, with reports from Naples, Bologna, Pavia, Milan

Alternative agenda: Delfini's data relativising the alarm (00:53:39) are not followed up. Long-term preventive policies do not enter the agenda.

Summary: The episode establishes two dominant agendas: support for Ukraine as a moral imperative and youth gangs as an emergency. Both agendas exclude alternative perspectives that could have complicated the picture.



CHAPTER 4 — OVERALL ASSESSMENT

Overview of Individual Scores

N.	Criterion	Type	Score	Main finding (1 sentence)
1	Expert selection	H	6	Presence of Teti as an "expert" with a declared partial position; absence of independent analysts
2	Source selection	H	6	Unverified economic claims by Teti; absence of direct Ukrainian sources
3	Time distribution	H	5	Russian position (ambassador + Teti) occupies approximately 24% of the time in the Ukraine segment; Ukrainian voice absent
4	Omissions	H	7	Absence of the direct Ukrainian voice and failure to critically assess the decreto Caivano
5	Data manipulation	H	6	Teti's unverified economic data; Delfini's data not followed up
6	Guilt by association	H	3	"Maranza"-North African ethnicity association without supporting data
7	Timing	H	4	Opening with Russian quote on nuclear war creates a reassuring frame
8	Selective outrage	H	5	More vigorous challenging of the Russian ambassador compared to pro-Western guests
9	Completeness	H	7	Significant gaps: Ukrainian voice, assessment of decreto Caivano, comparative data
10	Framing	S	6	Conflict framed as "clash of civilisations"; support for Ukraine as a moral imperative
11	Word choice	S	5	"Maranza" associated with ethnicity; "coup d'état" for 2014 not immediately qualified
12	Host behaviour	S	6	Harder questions to the Russian ambassador; interruption of Willer on the structural explanation
13	Question asymmetry	S	6	Challenging questions to the Russian representative, descriptive ones to pro-Western guests
14	False balance	S	5	Symmetrical definition of "propaganda" with asymmetric commentary
15	Agenda-setting	S	6	Support for Ukraine and youth gangs as emergencies; alternative perspectives excluded

Results

- HARDFACTS SCORE (average criteria 1-9): 5.4 / 10
- SOFTFACTS SCORE (average criteria 10-15): 5.7 / 10
- OVERALL SCORE (average all 15 criteria): 5.5 / 10

Dominant Techniques



The 3 strongest techniques in this episode:

- 1. Omissions (Score 7):** The absence of the direct Ukrainian voice in the segment on the war and the failure to critically assess the decreto Caivano in the youth gang segment constitute the most significant omissions. Both tend to reinforce the dominant framing of the episode without alternative perspectives being able to be discussed.
- 2. Completeness (Score 7):** The episode presents systematic gaps that are not coincidental: missing are the voices of international mediators, experts in juvenile law, economists who could have verified Teti's data. These gaps create an incomplete informational picture that favours the dominant narratives.
- 3. Framing (Score 6):** The Ukrainian conflict is framed as a "clash of civilisations" and support for Ukraine as a moral imperative, making any discussion of the conditions for a negotiation difficult. The youth gang topic is framed as a security emergency, marginalising structural explanations.

Key Messages of the Episode

****MESSAGE 1 (CONTENT):** ** "Support for Ukraine is a moral and civic imperative: those who do not support it choose surrender to barbarism."

Technique: Framing as a clash of civilisations, omission of alternative perspectives — Evidence: 00:16:10, 00:18:37

****MESSAGE 2 (PERSONAL):** ** "Russia is an unreliable interlocutor that chose war for reasons of power, not security."

Technique: Question asymmetry, vigorous challenging of the ambassador — Evidence: 00:30:38, 00:37:19

****MESSAGE 3 (SOCIAL):** ** "Youth gangs are a security emergency requiring immediate responses; responsibility lies primarily with families and individuals."

Technique: Agenda-setting, omission of critical assessment of the decreto Caivano — Evidence: 01:12:16, 00:50:56

Classification of the Degree of Manipulation

Rationale: The episode presents a clear one-sidedness in the segment on the war in Ukraine, where the Ukrainian voice is absent and the framing favours the pro-Western narrative. In the youth gang segment, the absence of a critical assessment of the decreto Caivano and the marginalisation of structural explanations constitute a significant omission. These elements, combined with the question asymmetry and the host's behaviour, configure a clear one-sidedness that does not, however, reach the level of systematic imbalance, as some critical voices (Teti, Delfini) find space. Pursuant to the RAI Service Contract art. 6, which imposes pluralism, completeness and impartiality, the episode presents significant shortcomings, in particular for the absence of the direct Ukrainian voice and the failure to critically assess government policies on youth gangs.

CONCLUSION

The episode of Porta a Porta analysed presents an overall score of 5.5/10, placing it in the "clear one-sidedness" range. The most significant shortcomings concern the absence of the direct Ukrainian voice in the segment on the war, the failure to verify Teti's economic claims, and the failure to critically assess the decreto Caivano in the youth gang segment. The dominant framing — Ukrainian conflict as a clash of civilisations, youth gangs as a security emergency — excludes alternative perspectives that would have enriched the debate. The host's behaviour shows an asymmetry in questions and challenges, with more critical treatment of the Russian ambassador compared to pro-Western guests. Pursuant to the RAI Service Contract art. 6, which imposes pluralism, completeness and impartiality of information, the episode presents documentable shortcomings that do not, however, reach the level of systematic violation, as some critical voices find space and the host also challenges guests with extreme positions.



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	6/10	Significant imbalance
3	TIME DISTRIBUTION	5/10	Significant imbalance
4	SELECTIVE OMISSION	7/10	Pronounced imbalance
5	DATA MANIPULATION	6/10	Significant imbalance
6	GUILT BY ASSOCIATION	3/10	Slight imbalance
7	TIMING	4/10	Slight imbalance
8	SELECTIVE OUTRAGE	5/10	Significant imbalance
9	SELECTIVE OMISSION — GENERAL OVERVIEW	7/10	Pronounced imbalance
10	FRAMING	6/10	Significant imbalance
11	WORD AND TERM CHOICE	5/10	Significant imbalance
12	HOST BEHAVIOUR	6/10	Significant imbalance
13	QUESTION ASYMMETRY	6/10	Significant imbalance
14	FALSE BALANCE	5/10	Significant imbalance
15	AGENDA-SETTING	6/10	Significant imbalance

HARDFACTS SCORE (1-8)

5.4/10

Considerable imbalance

SOFTFACTS SCORE (9-14)

5.7/10

Considerable imbalance

OVERALL SCORE

5.6/10

Considerable imbalance

Average of Hardfacts and Softfacts



LEGEND — Meaning of scores

Individual scores per criterion (0–10)

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

Aggregate deviation index — Interpretation ranges

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

Partisan political bias (from -5 to +5)

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



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

Assessment pursuant to RAI Service Contract Art. 6

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

Violation 1:

Norm: RAI Service Contract Art. 6 — Pluralism and completeness of information

Facts: Absence of the direct Ukrainian voice in the segment on the war in Ukraine

Evidence: Time 00:01:18 — 00:46:48 — The entire segment on the war takes place without a Ukrainian representative (diplomatic, military, civilian) being able to express their perspective. The Ukrainian position is cited only indirectly through Zelensky's statements in Granada (00:19:31: "I am in Granada because our commitment is to keep Europe united").

Assessment: In a conflict in which Ukraine is the aggrieved party, the absence of its direct voice in an episode that hosts the Russian ambassador constitutes a violation of the principle of pluralism. The Service Contract requires that all relevant parties to a conflict have the opportunity to express their position.

Violation 2:

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

Facts: Unverified statements by Teti presented as expert analysis

Evidence: Time 00:15:04 — "every month we pay 11 million Ukrainian pensioners. We Europeans pay the pensions" — Assertive statement without source, presented in the context of expert analysis without the host requesting verification.

Assessment: The Service Contract requires the distinction between verified facts and opinions. The presentation of unverified statements as facts in the context of expert analysis violates this principle.

Violation 3:

Norm: RAI Service Contract Art. 6 — Completeness of information

Facts: Failure to critically assess the decreto Caivano

Evidence: Time 01:12:16 — "the decree on youth hardship, colloquially known as the Caivano decree, was born to make the criminal underworld understand that these young people will become punishable" — The decree is presented as a shared response without the criticisms of jurists, pedagogists and children's rights associations being discussed.

Assessment: The Service Contract requires completeness of information, which includes the presentation of critical positions towards government policies. The absence of critical voices towards the decreto Caivano in an episode dedicated to the youth gang topic constitutes a lack of completeness.

Overall Assessment pursuant to RAI Service Contract Art. 6

The episode analysed presents documentable shortcomings with respect to the obligations of pluralism, completeness and impartiality imposed by the RAI Service Contract art. 6. The most significant violations concern the absence of the direct Ukrainian voice in the segment on the war, the presentation of unverified statements as expert analysis, and the failure to critically assess the decreto Caivano. These shortcomings do not constitute a systematic and intentional violation of the Service Contract, but represent documentable editorial omissions that reduce the informational quality of the episode below the standards imposed by the regulations. In a public service context, where RAI is required to guarantee plural and complete information on topics of national and international relevance, these shortcomings merit attention from the competent supervisory bodies (AGCOM, Parliamentary RAI Supervisory Commission).

IN-DEPTH SOURCE ANALYSIS (Mandatory for all cited instances)



For each instance, NGO, research centre or "recognised authority" cited in the episode:

1. Centro Studi Internazionale (Alena Gionetti, president)

- FUNDING:** Not identifiable from the transcript. Private structure.
- MANDATE:** International policy think tank. Compatibility with neutral assessment: to be verified based on editorial orientation.
- CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Not identifiable without further information on the structure and funders.
- CREDIBILITY MATRIX:** D1 (0) / D2 (0) / D3 (+1) / D4 (0) / D5 (0) / D6 (0) → TOTAL: +1 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW
- OPPOSING VOICE:** Not cited in the episode.

IMPORTANT: "Recognised" is not an objective qualification. It is a social attribution that must be verified.

2. Servizio Analisi Criminale (Stefano Delfini, director)

- FUNDING:** Ministry of the Interior, state funding.
- MANDATE:** Crime analysis for law enforcement. Compatible with assessment of juvenile crime data.
- CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Government official. Possible interest in supporting government policies (decreto Caivano) or in not causing excessive alarm.
- CREDIBILITY MATRIX:** D1 (-1) / D2 (-1) / D3 (+2) / D4 (+1) / D5 (+2) / D6 (+1) → TOTAL: +4 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW (borderline green)
- OPPOSING VOICE:** An independent academic criminologist could have verified or challenged the data.

3. Association "Un'infanzia da vivere" (Bruno Mazza, school head)

- FUNDING:** Third-sector association, founded in 2008. Funding not identifiable from the transcript.
- MANDATE:** Recovery of at-risk minors in Caivano. Compatible with direct testimony, not with systematic analysis.
- CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Institutional interest in the visibility of the association and in public support for its activities.
- CREDIBILITY MATRIX:** D1 (-1) / D2 (+2) / D3 (+1) / D4 (+1) / D5 (+1) / D6 (+2) → TOTAL: +6 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: GREEN
- OPPOSING VOICE:** Not necessary for direct testimony.

Legal and methodological framework

This is not a determination of facts

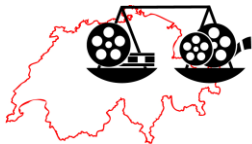
The findings presented do not constitute factual determinations about individual persons, editorial teams or broadcasts. They are the product of a standardised operationalisation, not a determination of individual responsibility.

This is not a legal judgement

The aggregate deviation index does not replace a legal assessment pursuant to 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).

This is not proof of causality

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 informational context, political controversy or the logic of the format.



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

**This is not a
judgement on
intentionality**

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.

**Heuristic
comparison tool**

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

Laws

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

Relevant articles

RAI Service Contract 2023-2028

- 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.

D.Lgs. 208/2021 (TUSMA)

- 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)

- 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)

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

European reference framework

- 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

The "lottizzazione" — the historical division 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 correct, but practical implementation is influenced by politics.

Supervisory authorities

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

Complaint procedure

1. RAI internal complaints office
2. AGCOM



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

3. Regional Administrative Court (TAR)



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

APPENDIX 2: SCIENTIFIC REFERENCES

Bibliography

- Bennett, W. L. (1990). Toward a theory of press-state relations in the United States. *Journal of Communication*, 40(2), 103–125.
- Berelson, B. (1952). *Content analysis in communication research*. Free Press.
- Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), 51–58.
- fög – Forschungszentrum Öffentlichkeit und Gesellschaft (2024). *Jahrbuch Qualität der Medien 2024*. Schwabe.
- Gilardi, F., Alizadeh, M. & Kubli, M. (2023). ChatGPT outperforms crowd workers for text-annotation tasks. *PNAS*, 120(30).
- Iyengar, S. & Kinder, D. R. (1987). *News that matters: Television and American opinion*. University of Chicago Press.
- Jolly, S. et al. (2022). Chapel Hill Expert Survey trend file, 1999–2019. *Electoral Studies*, 75, 102420.
- Krippendorff, K. (2004). *Content analysis: An introduction to its methodology* (2nd ed.). Sage.
- McCombs, M. E. & Shaw, D. L. (1972). The agenda-setting function of mass media. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 36(2), 176–187.
- Shoemaker, P. J. & Vos, T. P. (2009). *Gatekeeping theory*. Routledge.
- SVFAB (2026). *Methodenbericht v4.1: Zählbare Kriterien und Multi-Modell-Kreuzvalidierung*.
- Törnberg, P. (2023). ChatGPT-4 outperforms experts and crowd workers in annotating political Twitter messages. arXiv:2304.06588.

SVFAB Working Papers

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

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

SVFAB — Swiss Association for Balanced Information | P.O. Box, 8021 Zurich 1 | www.svfab.ch | kontakt@svfab.ch |
Methodological report March 2026 | Converter 3.4 (2026-05-20)



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

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 | Kontakt@SVFAB.ch

Bank details: PostFinance – POFICHBE

IBAN: CH32 0900 0000 1675 6251 1

Beneficiary: SVFAB, Postfach, CH-8021 Zürich 1



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

The following books are available from SVFAB

Orders via www.svfab.ch or kontakt@svfab.ch



Unbalanced information is the response to the halving initiative in Switzerland: here the manipulation techniques are illustrated in detail, starting from the selection of personnel and sources. 15 principles are then illustrated: omission, framing, temporal framing, guilt by association, emotionalisation, decontextualisation and many others, with numerous examples. You also discover where we ourselves apply these techniques — which promotes not only awareness but also empathy.

Optionally the book includes **playing cards**

Also available as an **audiobook**



An interview is not a conversation. It is a stage — and someone else wrote the script.

Those who don't know this provide material. Good quotes badly cut. Correct statements in the wrong context. Sincere answers framed as confessions.

This book is not a media criticism book. It is a toolkit — for all those who have a microphone in front of them and want to know what to do. 7 chapters. 7 tools: What an interview really is. The 7 most common traps. The three fundamental principles of sovereignty — anchor, reframe, set limits. Preparation in one hour. Body and voice. What to do when something goes wrong. And what counts after the interview. For politicians, activists, entrepreneurs, whistleblowers — for all those who are exposed and want to understand how the game works. To stop being subjected to it — and start shaping it.

In A5 format. Direct. For preparation, consultation, follow-up and in difficult moments



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 allow a frame chosen by someone else to be so easily imposed on them.



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

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. Those who feel they have been 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 primarily protects 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.