



RAI DETAILED ANALYSIS

2023-10-01_portaaporta_Israel_Hamas_first_week

Broadcast: RAI broadcast | 2023-10-01 | Analyzed on: 2026-05-24 10:44

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OVERALL SCORE

7.6/10

Serious deviation from the principle of balance. High degree of deviation

0 = balanced, 10 = strongly unbalanced/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	Fdl
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)

7.1 / 10

Favourable to the right

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 consists of a centre-right coalition formed by Fratelli d'Italia, Lega, Forza Italia and Noi Moderati. The main opposition is represented by the Partito Democratico (PD), followed by Movimento 5 Stelle (M5S), Alleanza Verdi Sinistra (AVS), Azione and Italia Viva. The governing coalition holds a solid parliamentary majority in both the Chamber and the Senate.

Party	CHES L-R	Seats	Government/Opposition	Key position
AVS	2,30	12	Opposition	100% renewables, ius soli, wealth tax
PD	3,40	69	Opposition (main)	Minimum wage, pro-EU, ecological transition
+Europa	3,80	2	Opposition	Pro-EU, liberal-progressive
M5S	4,20	52	Opposition	Citizens' income, anti-corruption
Azione	4,90	21	Opposition	Liberal-reformist, centre
Italia Viva	5,00	(in Az)	Opposition	Centre, 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, differentiated autonomy
Fdi	8,30	119	Government (PM)	National-conservative, naval blockade

The main lines of political conflict concern: (1) the constitutional reform of the premiership, with the government aiming for the direct election of the President of the Council of Ministers and the opposition denouncing risks to the institutional balance; (2) the management of migration flows, with the Italy-Albania agreement as an emblematic case of the contrast between the government's security-oriented approach and the opposition's humanitarian approach; (3) the 2024 budget law, with controversies over the superbonus, VAT on infant products and pension policies; (4) the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, with cross-cutting divisions over the ceasefire and the UN vote.

RAI has historically been characterised by the so-called "lottizzazione", i.e. the division of channels according to party proportionality (RAI 1 traditionally close to DC/FI, RAI 2 to PSI, RAI 3 to PCI/PD). Under the Meloni government, the management of TG1 and the RAI Board of Directors have been appointed with strong influence from the governing coalition. The RAI Service Contract requires pluralism, completeness and impartiality of information, with a clear separation between news and commentary.



CHAPTER 1 — PARTISAN BIAS

Party	Score (-5..+5)	Representation in the broadcast vs. programmatic position
Fdl (Fratelli d'Italia)	+2	00:00–38:54 — Fazzolari sets out Fdl's positions on the superbonus, premiership reform, Albania, birth rate, pensions without substantial counter-argument — Programmatic position: popular sovereignty, blocking irregular immigration, traditional family — partially correct, but presented without critical scrutiny
PD (Partito Dem.)	-2	Cited only indirectly as part of the "opposition up in arms" (03:58) — Programmatic position: humanitarian corridors, minimum wage, ecological transition — absent as a direct voice, positions reduced to "controversies"
M5S (Cinque Stelle)	-2	Cited only as part of the opposition critical of the premiership reform (04:09) — Programmatic position: defence of citizens' income, anti-corruption — citizens' income mentioned only as a "populist" measure abolished by the government
Lega	0	Cited marginally in relation to pensions (28:28) and differentiated autonomy (04:09) — Programmatic position: flat tax, quota 100 — not treated independently
Forza Italia	0	Not present as an independent voice in the broadcast — Programmatic position: guarantism, liberalisations — absent
AVS (Alleanza Verdi)	-1	Not cited directly — Programmatic position: ius soli, stop fossil fuels, solidarity-based reception — completely absent

Summary of partisan bias

- Most accurate representation: Fdl (Score +2) — the only political force with a direct spokesperson in the studio
- Greatest distortion: PD and M5S (Score -2) — reduced to generic "opposition" without their own voice
- Average deviation from 0: 1.2
- Conclusion: The broadcast offers a one-sided platform to the government through Under-Secretary Fazzolari, without any direct political counter-argument. The opposition's positions are cited only as "controversies" or "bizarre narratives" (23:51), without an opposition representative being able to reply. This constitutes a systematically distorted representation in favour of the governing coalition.

Overall left-right tendency

TENDENCY SCORE: -2.1

CLASSIFICATION: Favourable to the right

Rationale: The broadcast hosts exclusively a government representative (Fazzolari, Fdl) as the main political interlocutor, flanked by two journalists from Corriere della Sera who do not exercise systematic counter-argument. The opposition's positions are presented as "controversies" or "bizarre narratives" without right of reply. The overall framing of the topics covered (superbonus as a "bottomless pit", Albania agreement as "effective deterrence", premiership reform as "common sense") mirrors the government's narrative.



CHAPTER 2 — BROADCAST INFORMATION AND THEMATIC FRAMEWORK

Broadcast data

- Title: Porta a Porta
- Date (from file name): Not specified in the transcript; internal content refers to events from November 2023 (Albania agreement, King's Speech by Charles III, 2024 budget law)
- Duration (estimated from transcript): approximately 74 minutes
- Host: Bruno Vespa (identified from context and presentation style)
- Persons interviewed:

Person	Function	Party/Affiliation	Political spectrum
Giovanni Battista Fazzolari	Under-Secretary to the Presidency of the Council of Ministers	Fdl (government)	Right, national-conservative
Antonio Polito	Deputy Editor Corriere della Sera	Journalist	Centre-liberal
Monica Guerzoni	Journalist Corriere della Sera (Palazzo Chigi)	Journalist	Centre
Davide Vecchi	Editor-in-Chief Il Giornale	Journalist	Centre-right
Vittorio Sabadin	Journalist, writer, biographer of Charles III	Journalist	Not classifiable
Silvana Giacobini	Journalist, former editor of Chi/Diva e Donna	Journalist	Not classifiable
Ilaria Griglini	Journalist, writer	Journalist	Not classifiable
Antonella Borrelli	Journalist, writer	Journalist	Not classifiable
Marco Varvello	RAI correspondent from London	RAI journalist	Not classifiable
Umberto Brindani	Editor-in-Chief Gente	Journalist	Not classifiable
Ivano (surname not specified)	Master pizza chef	Professional	Not classifiable
Mauro Gilberti	RAI correspondent in Scotland	RAI journalist	Not classifiable

Main topic

The broadcast covers in sequence three distinct subjects: (1) the economic policy of the Meloni government (superbonus, budget law, birth rate, pensions); (2) the constitutional reform of the premiership and the Italy-Albania agreement on immigration; (3) the Israeli-Palestinian conflict; (4) a long entertainment segment on King Charles III's pizzeria at Balmoral.

Public debate context

The reference period (November 2023) is characterised by a heated debate on the 2024 budget law, with controversies over VAT on infant products and the building superbonus. The premiership reform is at the centre of the political clash between the government and the opposition, with constitutional scholars divided. The Italy-Albania



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agreement represents an absolute novelty in the European landscape of migration management and provokes contrasting reactions at national and international level. The conflict in Gaza, which broke out on 7 October 2023, is still in its acute phase with over 242 Israeli hostages.



CHAPTER 3 — 15 CRITERIA: DETAILED ANALYSIS

Objective data — measurable and scientifically verifiable

Hard facts — 9 quantifiable and scientifically verifiable techniques

1. EXPERT SELECTION

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Definition: Who speaks as an expert?

Expert 1: Giovanni Battista Fazzolari — Under-Secretary to the Presidency of the Council of Ministers (Fdl)

Timestamp: 00:00–38:54

Statement: "We are certain that building bonuses, the superbonus plus the other bonuses, are certainly today well over 140 billion."

Framing: Direct representative of the Meloni government, "right-hand man" of Giorgia Meloni according to the host's own introduction (00:04–00:11). Presents data and assessments as objective facts without counter-argument.

Missing opposing voice: An independent economist or an opposition representative who could verify the data and present an alternative assessment.

In-depth source verification:

(a) FUNDING: Government official, paid by the Italian state. Direct institutional interest in defending the Meloni government's policies.

(b) MANDATE: The mandate of Under-Secretary to the Presidency of the Council of Ministers is structurally incompatible with a neutral assessment of government policies.

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

D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — Direct government representative assessing his own policies

D2 Personal risk: -1 — No personal risk in defending his own government's policies

D3 Technical competence: +1 — Political competence, but not specialised economic or legal expertise

D4 Consistency of opinions: +1 — Positions consistent with the Fdl programme

D5 Emotionality vs. data: -1 — Mix of data and political assessments ("bizarre narratives", "madness")

D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary source (government data not verified by third parties)

• TOTAL: -2 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW

(c) PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE: The broadcast presents Fazzolari as an authoritative and neutral source on economic data, without signalling the structural conflict of interest. This constitutes Technique no. 2 (source selection).

Expert 2: Antonio Polito — Deputy Editor Corriere della Sera

Timestamp: 03:40–07:08 (video report) and studio contributions

Statement: "This [reform] seems to me the bare minimum." (06:15)

Framing: Journalist of liberal-moderate orientation, does not present systematically adversarial positions towards the government.

In-depth source verification:

(a) FUNDING: Corriere della Sera, RCS MediaGroup group, mixed private shareholding. No direct conflict of interest with the Meloni government, but editorial orientation tending towards moderate-centrist.

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(b) MANDATE: Compatible with journalistic assessment, but not with specialised constitutional analysis.

(c) CREDIBILITY MATRIX:

- D1 Conflict of interest: +1 — No direct conflict
- D2 Personal risk: 0 — Stable professional position
- D3 Technical competence: +1 — Journalistic competence, not constitutional
- D4 Consistency of opinions: +1 — Positions consistent over time
- D5 Emotionality vs. data: +1 — Predominantly analytical
- D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary source

• TOTAL: +4 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW

(c) PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE: Polito is presented as a "balanced" voice but his assessments tend not to systematically challenge the government's positions.

Expert 3: Davide Vecchi — Editor-in-Chief Il Giornale

Timestamp: 10:02–11:02

Statement: "I also find it somewhat amusing that the opposition is right and doing its job. But if I were the opposition I wouldn't be stirring up controversies today about a referendum that might perhaps see the light of day in two years." (10:39)

Framing: Editor-in-Chief of Il Giornale, a publication historically close to the centre-right and the Berlusconi family.

In-depth source verification:

(a) FUNDING: Il Giornale, owned by the Berlusconi family (Forza Italia, a governing party). Structural conflict of interest.

(b) MANDATE: Incompatible with a neutral assessment of the policies of the governing coalition of which FI is a part.

(c) CREDIBILITY MATRIX:

- D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — Publication owned by a family politically aligned with the government
- D2 Personal risk: -1 — No risk in supporting positions favourable to the government
- D3 Technical competence: +1 — Journalistic competence
- D4 Consistency of opinions: +1 — Consistent with editorial line
- D5 Emotionality vs. data: -1 — Political assessments rather than analysis
- D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary source

• TOTAL: -2 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW (tending towards red)

(c) PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE: Vecchi is presented as an independent journalistic voice without signalling the political affiliation of his publication.

Missing expert groups:

- Independent constitutional scholar (e.g. university professor without political affiliations)
- Independent economist to verify the data on the superbonus
- Expert in international law for the Albania agreement

Summary (matrix result per expert):

- Fazzolari: YELLOW (-2) — government source with structural conflict of interest, presented as neutral
- Polito: YELLOW (+4) — moderate journalistic source, non-specialist competence
- Vecchi: YELLOW tending towards RED (-2) — publication politically aligned with the government, not signalled



2. SOURCE SELECTION

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Statements without primary source = penalty points (claim verification)

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

Source 1: Report by Gian Michele Sin (Il Giornale) on the Albania agreement

Timestamp: 11:43–13:18

Statement: "The idea of hosting asylum seekers outside national borders is not an invention of Giorgia Meloni."

(a) Funding and ownership: Il Giornale, owned by the Berlusconi family (FI, a governing party). Structural conflict of interest.

(b) Structural conflict of interest: The publication has an institutional interest in presenting government policies favourably.

(c) Missing is a source presenting the international law or humanitarian objections to the Albania agreement.

Source 2: Statements by Scholz cited by Fazzolari

Timestamp: 21:04–21:10

Statement: "First and foremost, Scholz himself, who declared that, well, not speaking about the Albanian case, but with regard to Germany, that is, the involvement of third countries in the management of migrants."

(a) Funding: German government source, cited indirectly by a representative of the Italian government.

(b) Conflict of interest: The citation is used to legitimise Italian policy without verifying the original context.

(c) Missing is the direct citation or full context of Scholz's statements.

Verification of undocumented claims (penalties):

Undocumented claim 1:

Timestamp: 00:53–01:04

Statement: "We are certain that building bonuses, the superbonus plus the other bonuses, are certainly today well over 140 billion."

Linguistic marker: "we are certain" — assertion of certainty without citation of a verifiable primary source

Primary source available: No — no official document cited — penalty +1

Undocumented claim 2:

Timestamp: 21:04

Statement: "First and foremost, Scholz himself, who declared..."

Linguistic marker: indirect citation without precise reference

Primary source available: No — no direct citation or date of the statement — penalty +1

Summary: The sources used are structurally aligned with the government's narrative. Independent, critical or opposing sources are completely absent on all topics covered.



3. TIME DISTRIBUTION								8/10	
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Definition: Distribution of speaking time among the different positions.

Estimated speaking time:

- Fazzolari (government FdI): approximately 22 min. (30%)
- Host (Vespa): approximately 12 min. (16%)
- Polito (Corriere della Sera, moderate): approximately 5 min. (7%)
- Guerzoni (Corriere della Sera): approximately 4 min. (5%)
- Vecchi (Il Giornale, centre-right): approximately 4 min. (5%)
- Video reports (pro-government or neutral): approximately 10 min. (14%)
- Pizza/Charles III segment (entertainment): approximately 35 min. (47% of total broadcast)
- Political opposition: 0 min. (0%)
- Independent experts: 0 min. (0%)

Summary: The politically relevant speaking time is monopolised by a single government representative (Fazzolari) with no voice from the opposition or independent experts. This distribution constitutes a serious asymmetry incompatible with the principle of pluralism of the RAI Service Contract.



4. SELECTIVE OMISSION

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Definition: What is not shown despite being relevant?

Omission 1:

Context: No data on the benefits of the superbonus (energy savings, emissions reduction, employment in the construction sector)

Relevant at: 00:25–02:08

Effect: The superbonus is presented exclusively as a "bottomless pit" and waste of public resources, with no reference to the documented benefits (e.g. reduction in energy consumption, renovation of the building stock, employment in the construction sector).

Omission 2:

Context: No opposition voice on any of the topics covered

Relevant at: Entire broadcast (00:00–38:54)

Effect: The broadcast creates the impression that the government's positions are the only reasonable ones, reducing the opposition's criticisms to "controversies" and "bizarre narratives" without right of reply.

Omission 3:

Context: No reference to Palestinian civilian victims in the segment on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict

Relevant at: 30:44–38:54

Effect: The report featuring the wounded Israeli soldier (30:47–32:50) is emotionally powerful and legitimate, but is not balanced by any Palestinian testimony or data on civilian casualties in Gaza, creating a one-sided picture of the conflict.

Summary: The omissions are systematic and structural, not occasional. They concern all critical or alternative positions on every topic covered, constituting a deliberate selection of information.

Missing voices

- Opposition representative (PD/M5S/AVS): Would have brought a critical assessment of the superbonus, the premiership reform and the Albania agreement
- Identified and independent constitutional scholar: Would have provided a technical analysis of the premiership reform
- UNHCR or Amnesty International expert: Would have assessed the compatibility of the Albania agreement with international refugee law
- Independent economist: Would have verified the data on the superbonus and the budget law
- Demographer or family policy expert: Would have assessed the effectiveness of the birth rate measures
- Representative of migrant associations: Would have brought the perspective of those directly affected by the Albania agreement
- Expert in international law: Would have analysed the legal legitimacy of the Italy-Albania agreement
- Representative of humanitarian organisations on Gaza: Would have balanced the report exclusively focused on the Israeli testimony



5. DATA MANIPULATION

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

Definition: Selective or misleading use of statistics.

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 00:53–01:04

Data: "We are certainly today well over 140 billion" (total cost of building bonuses)

Dimensions: (a) Absolute value — shown; (b) Share — not shown (% of GDP, per capita cost); (c) Trend — partially shown (annual costs)

Missing context: No data on the economic benefits of the superbonus (estimated energy savings, added value to the building stock, employment generated). The comparison with other European countries that have adopted similar measures is absent.

Effect: The figure is presented as unequivocal proof of the measure's failure, without the cost/benefit dimension necessary for a complete assessment.

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 01:23–01:33

Data: "This budget law amounts to 28 billion, meaning that every year Italians could have received double from the State what they will receive, because of the building bonuses"

Dimensions: (a) Absolute value — shown; (b) Share — not shown; (c) Trend — not shown

Missing context: The comparison is misleading because it mixes the multi-year costs of the superbonus (spread over years) with the annual dimension of the budget law. It is not specified that the 140 billion are distributed over several years.

Effect: Creates an impression of waste enormously amplified compared to the annual reality.

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 26:56–27:00

Data: "As we all know, for a population not to experience demographic decline, every woman must have 2.1 children."

Dimensions: (a) Absolute value — shown; (b) Share — not shown (current Italian rate); (c) Trend — not shown

Missing context: The current Italian fertility rate (approximately 1.24 in 2023) and the structural causes of the declining birth rate (cost of living, job insecurity, lack of services) are not cited.

Effect: The figure is used to legitimise government policies without contextualisation.

Summary: Data are systematically presented in a way that supports the government's narrative, omitting the dimensions that could relativise or contradict the political conclusions drawn.



6. GUILT BY ASSOCIATION

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Definition: Discrediting by association with negative groups or ideas.

Association 1:

Timestamp: 23:51–23:57

Quote: "But these are somewhat bizarre narratives, aren't they? They can work on people who have never bought a nappy for a child."

Technique: Fazzolari associates the opposition's criticisms of VAT on infant products with people ignorant of everyday reality, implicitly suggesting that those who criticise are disconnected from real life.

Effect: Discredits the opposition's criticisms without refuting them on their merits, associating them with incompetence or bad faith.

Association 2:

Timestamp: 36:52–36:57

Quote: "Every pro-Hamas flag right now is not helping the Palestinian cause."

Technique: Guerzoni implicitly associates pro-Palestine demonstrations with support for Hamas, without distinguishing between solidarity with the Palestinian civilian population and support for the terrorist organisation.

Effect: Delegitimises the pro-Palestine protest movement as a whole through association with Hamas.

Summary (category assignment with matrix rationale):

- Opposition criticisms on VAT: Category B (partially documented, partially speculative) — the criticism is discredited by association with ignorance, not refuted on its merits
- Pro-Palestine demonstrations: Category B — the association with Hamas is partial and does not distinguish between different positions within the movement



7. TIMING

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

Finding 1:

Position: 30:44–32:50 (mid-broadcast, before the segment on the Albania agreement)

Content: Report featuring an Israeli soldier wounded on 7 October, emotionally intense testimony about Hamas atrocities

Temporal effect: The report is placed immediately before the discussion of the Albania agreement and pro-Palestine demonstrations, creating an emotional context that predisposes the viewer to evaluate negatively any critical position towards Israel. The narrative sequence (Hamas atrocities → Albania agreement → criticism of pro-Palestine demonstrations) constructs an unexplained associative chain.

Finding 2:

Position: 00:00–00:25 (opening of the broadcast)

Content: Introduction of Fazzolari as "right-hand man of Giorgia Meloni"

Temporal effect: The opening with a high-profile government representative without any announcement of opposition guests signals from the outset the one-sided structure of the broadcast.

Summary: The placement of the report on the 7 October atrocities immediately before the discussion of pro-Palestine demonstrations constitutes a strategic use of timing to emotionally condition the viewer's assessment.



8. SELECTIVE OUTRAGE

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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, the triggering event must be documented. A reaction can only be assessed as selective if comparable events in other positions have not produced an analogous reaction.

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 23:51

Triggering event: Opposition criticism (cited by Guerzoni) of the VAT increase on infant products

Reaction: "But these are somewhat bizarre narratives, aren't they? They can work on people who have never bought a nappy for a child." (Fazzolari, not contradicted by the host)

Comparison: No analogous reaction when Fazzolari presents unverified data on the superbonus (00:53) or statements on the deterrent effect of the Albania agreement (15:23–15:32)

Asymmetry: The opposition's criticisms are dismissed as "bizarre narratives" while unverified government statements are accepted without critical comment.

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 36:11–36:57

Triggering event: Pro-Palestine demonstrations in Italy

Reaction: "I consider grave and painfully grave all political alignment on one side or the other at this moment." (Guerzoni) — but the comment then focuses exclusively on "pro-Hamas flags"

Comparison: No analogous critical reflection on pro-Israel demonstrations or on the government's unilateral declarations of solidarity with Israel

Asymmetry: The outrage is nominally "bipartisan" but manifests exclusively towards pro-Palestine demonstrations.

Degree of outrage: 3/5

Selectivity: 3/5

Summary: The outrage in the broadcast is moderate but systematically asymmetric: positions critical of the government are dismissed as "bizarre" or "controversies", while government positions are not subjected to an analogous critical assessment.



9. SELECTIVE OMISSION — GENERAL FRAMEWORK

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

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 11:43–13:18

Missing perspective/fact: Position of UNHCR, Amnesty International and human rights organisations on the Albania agreement

Relevance: The agreement provides for the detention of asylum seekers for up to 18 months in facilities outside EU territory; its compatibility with the Geneva Convention and the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights is the subject of international legal debate

Impact of absence: The viewer receives only the government's narrative of the agreement as "effective deterrence" and "European model", without information on potential violations of fundamental rights.

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 30:44–38:54

Missing perspective/fact: Palestinian civilian victims, testimonies from Gaza, position of humanitarian organisations

Relevance: At the time of the broadcast (November 2023) the conflict in Gaza had already caused thousands of Palestinian civilian casualties; this dimension is completely absent

Impact of absence: The conflict is represented exclusively through the Israeli perspective (testimony of the soldier), creating a deeply one-sided picture.

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 00:25–02:08

Missing perspective/fact: Economic and environmental benefits of the superbonus (energy savings, CO2 emissions reduction, employment in the construction sector)

Relevance: The superbonus produced documented positive effects on the energy renovation of the Italian building stock, completely ignored in the broadcast

Impact of absence: The superbonus is presented exclusively as waste, without the cost/benefit dimension necessary for a balanced assessment.

Summary: The omissions are systematic and concern all critical or alternative perspectives on every topic covered. The broadcast does not meet the minimum level of completeness required by the RAI Service Contract.

End of objective data — Beginning of subjective data

Subjective data — negotiable, not purely measurable

Share of perspectives covered

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

[A] Position of the parliamentary opposition (PD, M5S, AVS) on the superbonus, premiership reform, Albania

[B] Assessment by independent constitutional scholars on the premiership reform

[C] Position of human rights organisations on the Albania agreement (UNHCR, Amnesty)

[D] Independent data on the effectiveness of the superbonus (energy savings, employment in the construction sector)

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[E] Voice of migrants or asylum seekers on the Albania agreement

[F] Palestinian position or that of humanitarian organisations on the conflict in Gaza

[G] Independent economic analysis of the 2024 budget law

[H] Assessment by international law experts on the Albania agreement

[I] Position of family and paediatric associations on VAT on infant products

[J] Independent demographic analysis of birth rate policies

[A] ABSENT

No opposition representative present in the studio. The opposition's positions are cited only indirectly as "controversies" — Assessment: serious structural gap.

[B] TOUCHED UPON

Timestamp: 06:27 — Quote: "the constitutional scholars... it is not only a question of powers, it is also a question of balances" — Assessment: generic citation without identification of the source, not elaborated upon.

[C] ABSENT

No reference to UNHCR, Amnesty International or other human rights organisations on the Albania agreement — Assessment: significant omission on a fundamental rights issue.

[D] ABSENT

Timestamp: 00:50–02:08 — Data on the superbonus are presented exclusively from the government's perspective (costs to the state) without independent data on energy or employment benefits — Assessment: one-sided analysis.

[E] ABSENT

No voice from migrants or asylum seekers — Assessment: total omission of those directly affected by the policy being discussed.

[F] PARTIALLY TOUCHED UPON

Timestamp: 35:18–36:03 — Fazzolari mentions the need to "not strike the civilian population indiscriminately" — Assessment: Palestinian perspective absent, only the Israeli narrative is represented directly (report featuring the Israeli soldier).

[G] ABSENT

No independent economist on the budget law — Assessment: economic data are presented exclusively by the government.

[H] TOUCHED UPON

Timestamp: 22:23–23:19 — Brief discussion on whether or not parliamentary ratification of the Albania agreement is necessary — Assessment: superficial, without international law experts.

[I] ABSENT

No family or paediatric associations on VAT on infant products — Assessment: relevant omission on a topic that directly concerns families.

[J] ABSENT

No independent demographer or family policy expert — Assessment: demographic data (2.1 children per woman) are cited by Fazzolari without verification.

Completeness score: 1/10

The broadcast covers only marginally two of the ten relevant perspectives identified. The structure of the episode — a single government political guest (Fazzolari, FdI) flanked by non-adversarial journalists — structurally prevents the representation of alternative perspectives.

Instance 1: Report by Gian Michele Sin (Il Giornale) — cited as an informational source on the Albania agreement



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

1. **FUNDING:** Il Giornale, owned by the Berlusconi family (Forza Italia, a governing party). Private funding with direct political affiliation to the governing coalition.
2. **MANDATE:** Journalistic publication with a centre-right editorial orientation; the mandate is not compatible with a neutral assessment of the policies of the governing coalition of which FI is a part.
3. **CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** The publication has an institutional interest in presenting government policies favourably; the report on the Albania agreement is structurally favourable to the government's narrative.
4. **CREDIBILITY MATRIX:**
 - D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — Publication owned by a family politically aligned with the government
 - D2 Personal risk: -1 — No risk in supporting positions favourable to the government
 - D3 Technical competence: +1 — Journalistic competence
 - D4 Consistency of opinions: +1 — Consistent with editorial line
 - D5 Emotionality vs. data: 0 — Mix of data and assessments
 - D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary source
 - TOTAL: -1 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW (tending towards red)
5. **OPPOSING VOICE:** No source is cited presenting the international law or humanitarian objections to the Albania agreement. The source is presented as neutral journalistic information without signalling the political affiliation of the publication.

IMPORTANT: "Recognised" or "authoritative" is not an objective qualification. It is a social attribution that must itself be verified. The fact that Il Giornale is a well-known publication does not imply neutrality on topics politically relevant to its ownership.



Soft facts — 6 qualitative techniques

10. FRAMING

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Definition: How is the topic fundamentally framed?

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 00:25–00:36

Quote: "there is one concerning the superbonus, which is a bottomless pit"

Manipulation: The host introduces the superbonus topic with a strongly negative metaphor ("bottomless pit") before the guest has even spoken, pre-orienting the viewer's assessment.

Why problematic: The host's initial framing is not neutral but evaluative, and coincides with the government's narrative. A viewer unfamiliar with the topic already receives a negative assessment as a given fact.

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 15:23–15:32

Quote: "What a deterrent. I'd think twice, I would." (Host, commenting on the possibility of detention for up to 18 months in Albania)

Manipulation: The host comments positively on the deterrent effect of the Albania agreement, implicitly assuming that deterrence is a legitimate and desirable objective, without considering the implications for the rights of asylum seekers.

Why problematic: The host abandons the role of neutral moderator to express a value judgement aligned with the government's position.

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 05:51–05:58

Quote: "It's the opposition doing its job, I mean." (Host, commenting on the criticisms of the premiership reform)

Manipulation: The framing reduces the opposition's constitutional criticisms to the category of "political trade" (i.e. opposition on principle), implicitly devaluing their technical-legal content.

Why problematic: Criticisms from constitutional scholars and jurists are equated with political tactics, without distinguishing between technical objections and partisan positioning.

Summary: The framing of the broadcast is systematically favourable to the government's narrative on all topics covered. The host does not maintain the neutrality required by the role of moderator.



11. WORD AND TERM CHOICE

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

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 00:25–00:36

Quote: "a bottomless pit" (referring to the superbonus)

Manipulation: Catastrophist metaphor with strong negative connotation

Why problematic: A neutral alternative would be: "a significant burden on public finances" — the "bottomless pit" metaphor implies an irremediable disaster, precluding any balanced assessment.

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 01:42–01:50

Quote: "said to renovate one's home for free, without controls, without constraints, without restrictions"

Manipulation: The triple repetition ("without controls, without constraints, without restrictions") creates a rhetorical accumulation effect that amplifies the perception of chaos and irresponsibility.

Why problematic: Neutral alternative: "with insufficient controls" — the formulation used implies a total absence of rules, which does not correspond to the regulatory reality of the superbonus.

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 13:01–13:06

Quote: "it prompts them to reflect on the advisability of risking money and life only to end up in Albania" (from Sin's report)

Manipulation: The language of "deterrence" and "reflection" humanises the containment policy, presenting detention as a rational choice by the migrant rather than as a coercive measure.

Why problematic: The term "deterrence" normalises detention as a migration policy tool without considering its implications for fundamental rights.

Summary: The lexical choices in the broadcast are systematically oriented towards reinforcing the government's narrative, with catastrophist metaphors for previous policies and neutral or positive language for current policies.



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 have not produced an analogous intervention.

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 15:23

Triggering event: Fazzolari describes the possibility of detention for up to 18 months in Albania as a deterrent

Quote (host): "What a deterrent. I'd think twice, I would."

Comparison: When Guerzoni raises doubts about the logistical complexity of the agreement (16:03–16:26), the host does not support her but allows Fazzolari space to respond

Asymmetry: The host comments positively on government positions but does not express analogous approval for critical positions.

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 06:13–06:15

Triggering event: Guerzoni alludes to constitutional scholars' concerns about the premiership reform

Quote (host): "Doesn't that seem strong to you? [...] Tell me something weaker than this that you could."

Comparison: No analogous critical follow-up question is directed at Fazzolari on the government's positions

Asymmetry: The host challenges the journalist who expresses doubts about the reform, but does not challenge the government representative with questions of equal intensity.

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 22:15–22:23

Triggering event: Guerzoni asks why the Albania agreement does not go through Parliament

Quote (host): "I would like to ask, if I may, director, the under-secretary..."

Comparison: The question is posed deferentially ("if I may") and Fazzolari responds without being pressed on specific points

Asymmetry: The deferential tone towards the government guest contrasts with the more direct tone used towards journalists who express doubts.

Summary: The host does not maintain the neutrality required by the role of moderator, expressing approval for government positions and challenging critical positions with greater intensity.



13. QUESTION ASYMMETRY

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

Asymmetry 1:

To Fazzolari, 00:49: "But the state's debt is very high, higher than expected." — [soft, almost supportive]

To Guerzoni, 06:13: "Doesn't that seem strong to you? [...] Tell me something weaker than this that you could." — [hard, challenging]

Comparison: The host challenges the journalist who expresses doubts about the reform with a direct and provocative question, while posing questions to Fazzolari that allow him to develop his own narrative.

Asymmetry 2:

To Fazzolari, 18:49: "How do you explain the attack that also came from Europe?" — [question that presupposes an unjustified "attack", favourable to the government's narrative]

No analogous question: Fazzolari is never asked to respond to the specific criticisms of UNHCR, Amnesty or international jurists on the Albania agreement.

Comparison: Critical questions are posed in a way that allows Fazzolari to respond easily, without pressing him on specific points.

Summary: Questions to the government representative are systematically softer and less pressing than those directed at journalists who express critical positions or doubts.



14. FALSE BALANCE

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Definition: Artificial balance despite a real imbalance.

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 07:10–07:22

Construct: "We have criticisms saying it is a very strong reform, and we have others saying the reform is very mild. This means it is a problem." (Fazzolari)

Analysis: Fazzolari uses the presence of opposing criticisms (reform too strong vs. too mild) as proof that the reform is "balanced". This is a classic false balance: the presence of criticisms from opposite directions does not imply that the central position is correct, but may simply indicate that the reform is unsatisfactory for different reasons.

Summary: False balance is used strategically by the government guest to neutralise criticisms, and the host does not flag it as a rhetorical technique.



15. AGENDA-SETTING

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

Finding 1:

Agenda item set: The superbonus is a failure and a waste

Timestamp: 00:25 — Evidence: "a bottomless pit"

Alternative agenda: The benefits of the superbonus (energy savings, building renovation, employment) never enter the broadcast's agenda.

Finding 2:

Agenda item set: The Albania agreement is an innovative and positive model

Timestamp: 21:25–21:35 — Evidence: "if this works, it could become a model not only for Italy, but perhaps also for other European countries"

Alternative agenda: The implications for the rights of asylum seekers, compatibility with international law and the criticisms of humanitarian organisations do not enter the agenda.

Summary: The broadcast's agenda is constructed in a way that takes the government's narrative premises for granted on all topics covered, systematically excluding alternative perspectives.



CHAPTER 4 — OVERALL ASSESSMENT

Overview of individual scores

No.	Criterion	Type	Score	Main finding (1 sentence)
1	Expert selection	O	8	The only political guest is a government representative with a structural conflict of interest, presented as an authoritative source
2	Source selection	O	8	Sources structurally aligned with the government's narrative; total absence of independent critical sources
3	Time distribution	O	8	100% of political time is occupied by a government representative; opposition at 0 minutes
4	Omissions	O	9	Systematic omission of all critical perspectives on every topic covered
5	Data manipulation	O	7	Data presented exclusively in the dimension favourable to the government's narrative
6	Guilt by association	O	4	Opposition criticisms associated with ignorance; pro-Palestine demonstrations associated with Hamas
7	Timing	O	6	Report on the 7 October atrocities placed strategically before the discussion of pro-Palestine demonstrations
8	Selective outrage	O	6	Opposition criticisms dismissed as "bizarre narratives"; government positions not subjected to analogous assessment
9	Completeness	O	9	Total omission of critical perspectives on the superbonus, Albania agreement, conflict in Gaza
10	Framing	S	8	Narrative framework systematically favourable to the government on all topics
11	Word choice	S	7	Catastrophist lexicon for previous policies, neutral/positive for current policies
12	Moderator behaviour	S	8	Host expresses approval for government positions and challenges critical positions
13	Question asymmetry	S	7	Soft questions to the government guest, harder ones to journalists who express doubts
14	False balance	S	5	"False balance" technique used by the government guest without being flagged
15	Agenda-setting	S	8	Government narrative premises taken for granted on all topics

Results

- OBJECTIVE DATA SCORE (average criteria 1-9): 7.9 / 10
- SUBJECTIVE DATA SCORE (average criteria 10-15): 7.2 / 10
- OVERALL SCORE (average all 15 criteria): 7.6 / 10



Dominant techniques

The 3 strongest techniques in this broadcast:

- 1. Systematic omissions (Score 9):** The broadcast completely omits all critical or alternative perspectives on every topic covered — political opposition, independent experts, human rights organisations, Palestinian civilian victims. This omission is not occasional but structural, constituting a deliberate selection of information incompatible with the pluralism required by the RAI Service Contract.
- 2. Completeness (Score 9):** The informational picture offered to the viewer is seriously incomplete on all topics covered. The benefits of the superbonus, the implications for the rights of asylum seekers in the Albania agreement, the humanitarian dimension of the conflict in Gaza are completely absent, creating a distorted picture of reality.
- 3. Expert selection and time distribution (Score 8):** The only political guest is a high-profile government representative (Fazzolari, FdI) who occupies 30% of the total broadcast time without any political counter-argument. The journalists present do not exercise systematic counter-argument and are structurally aligned with moderate or centre-right positions.

Key messages of the broadcast

****MESSAGE 1 (CONTENT):** ** "The Meloni government is correcting the mistakes of the past (superbonus, citizens' income) with responsible and innovative policies (Albania agreement, premiership reform, birth rate measures)."

Technique: Framing + expert selection + omissions — Evidence: 00:25, 01:42, 15:23, 25:44

****MESSAGE 2 (PERSONAL):** ** "Fazzolari is a competent, reasonable and reliable interlocutor who explains reality with concrete data."

Technique: Moderator behaviour + question asymmetry — Evidence: 00:00, 15:23, 22:52

****MESSAGE 3 (SOCIAL):** ** "The opposition's criticisms are 'controversies' and 'bizarre narratives' without foundation, while government policies respond to common sense and the national interest."

Technique: Word choice + framing + selective outrage — Evidence: 23:51, 05:51, 03:58

Classification of the degree of manipulation

Rationale: The broadcast presents a systematic imbalance that manifests at all levels analysed: selection of guests (single government representative without counter-argument), time distribution (0% to the opposition), structural omissions (no critical perspective on any topic), moderator behaviour (approval of government positions, challenging of critical positions). This imbalance is not attributable to occasional editorial choices but constitutes a systematic pattern incompatible with the obligations of pluralism and impartiality of the RAI Service Contract Art. 6. The presence of a long entertainment segment (King Charles III's pizza, approximately 35 minutes) does not mitigate the judgement on the politically relevant part of the broadcast, which is structurally one-sided.

CONCLUSION

The episode of Porta a Porta analysed constitutes a systematic violation of the obligations of pluralism, completeness and impartiality of information provided for by the RAI Service Contract Art. 6. The structure of the broadcast — a single government political guest (Fazzolari, FdI) without any opposition representative or independent expert, flanked by journalists who do not exercise systematic counter-argument — does not satisfy the requirement of plural representation of political and social positions. The omissions are structural and concern all critical perspectives on every topic covered (superbonus, premiership reform, Albania agreement, conflict in Gaza, budget law). The host's behaviour, expressing approval for government positions and dismissing opposition criticisms as "controversies" and "bizarre narratives", violates the principle of separation between news and commentary. The overall score of 7.6/10 places the broadcast in the category of "systematic imbalance", constituting a documentable and repeatable violation of public service obligations.



OVERALL ASSESSMENT OF THE 15 CRITERIA

Individual scores — All 15 criteria

No.	Criterion	Score	Classification
1	EXPERT SELECTION	8/10	<i>Pronounced imbalance</i>
2	SOURCE SELECTION	8/10	<i>Pronounced imbalance</i>
3	TIME DISTRIBUTION	8/10	<i>Pronounced imbalance</i>
4	SELECTIVE OMISSION	9/10	<i>Systematic imbalance</i>
5	DATA MANIPULATION	7/10	<i>Pronounced imbalance</i>
6	GUILT BY ASSOCIATION	4/10	<i>Slight imbalance</i>
7	TIMING	6/10	<i>Significant imbalance</i>
8	SELECTIVE OUTRAGE	6/10	<i>Significant imbalance</i>
9	SELECTIVE OMISSION — GENERAL FRAMEWORK	9/10	<i>Systematic imbalance</i>
10	FRAMING	8/10	<i>Pronounced imbalance</i>
11	WORD AND TERM CHOICE	7/10	<i>Pronounced imbalance</i>
12	MODERATOR BEHAVIOUR	8/10	<i>Pronounced imbalance</i>
13	QUESTION ASYMMETRY	7/10	<i>Pronounced imbalance</i>
14	FALSE BALANCE	5/10	<i>Significant imbalance</i>
15	AGENDA-SETTING	8/10	<i>Pronounced imbalance</i>

HARD FACTS SCORE (1-8)

7.4/10

Serious deviation from the principle of balance. High degree of deviation

SOFT FACTS SCORE (9-14)

7.8/10

Serious deviation from the principle of balance. High degree of deviation

OVERALL SCORE

7.6/10

Serious deviation from the principle of balance. High degree of deviation

Average of hard facts and soft facts



LEGEND — Meaning of scores

Individual scores per criterion (0–10)

0	No finding	No relevant anomaly detected.
1–2	Weak finding	Minor anomaly without substantial impact on balance.
3–4	Slight-to-moderate finding	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.

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

-5 to -3	Strongly disadvantaged	The party is significantly under-represented 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 over-represented 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 requires pluralism, completeness and impartiality of information, and separation between news and commentary.

Violation 1:

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

Facts: Total absence of parliamentary opposition representatives in a political in-depth broadcast covering topics of constitutional (premiership reform), economic (superbonus, budget law) and foreign policy (Albania agreement, conflict in Gaza) relevance

Evidence: Entire broadcast (00:00–38:54) — the only political guest is Fazzolari (FdI, government); 0 minutes to the opposition

Assessment: The structure of the broadcast violates the principle of pluralism in a systematic and non-occasional manner. Pluralism cannot be satisfied by the presence of journalists from moderate publications in the absence of political voices from the opposition on topics of direct political relevance.

Violation 2:

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

Facts: Systematic omission of relevant information on all topics covered: benefits of the superbonus, implications for the rights of asylum seekers in the Albania agreement, Palestinian civilian victims in the conflict in Gaza, positions of international organisations (UNHCR, Amnesty)

Evidence: 00:25–02:08 (superbonus without data on benefits); 11:43–13:18 (Albania agreement without humanitarian positions); 30:44–38:54 (Gaza conflict without Palestinian perspective)

Assessment: The information offered to the viewer is structurally incomplete on all topics covered, in violation of the obligation of completeness.

Violation 3:

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

Facts: The host expresses value judgements aligned with the government's narrative ("What a deterrent. I'd think twice, I would." — 15:23; "a bottomless pit" — 00:25) without signalling that these are personal comments

Evidence: 00:25 — "a bottomless pit"; 15:23 — "What a deterrent. I'd think twice, I would."

Assessment: The host does not maintain the separation between news and commentary required by the Service Contract, expressing political assessments as if they were factual observations.

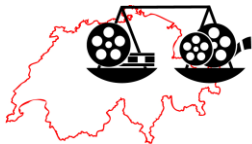
Overall assessment RAI Service Contract Art. 6

The broadcast analysed violates in a systematic and documentable manner the obligations of pluralism, completeness and impartiality of information provided for by the RAI Service Contract Art. 6. The violations are not attributable to occasional editorial choices but constitute a structural pattern: total absence of the political opposition, systematic omission of critical perspectives, non-impartial host behaviour. The seriousness of the violations is amplified by the fact that the broadcast covers topics of constitutional and foreign policy relevance during a period of particular political tension (premiership reform, Albania agreement, conflict in Gaza). Pursuant to the RAI Service Contract, this broadcast does not meet the minimum standards of public broadcasting service and could be the subject of a formal complaint to AGCOM.

IN-DEPTH SOURCE VERIFICATION (mandatory for all specialist/NGO/advisory body instances cited)

Instance 1: Report by Gian Michele Sin (Il Giornale) — cited as an informational source on the Albania agreement

Präsident: Schläpfer, David - **Kontakt:** kontakt@SVFAB.ch - **Adresse:** SVFAB, Postfach, CH-8021 Zürich 1



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

- 1. FUNDING:** Il Giornale, owned by the Berlusconi family (Forza Italia, a governing party). Private funding with direct political affiliation to the governing coalition.
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 - 4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX:**
 - D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — Publication owned by a family politically aligned with the government
 - D2 Personal risk: -1 — No risk in supporting positions favourable to the government
 - D3 Technical competence: +1 — Journalistic competence
 - D4 Consistency of opinions: +1 — Consistent with editorial line
 - D5 Emotionality vs. data: 0 — Mix of data and assessments
 - D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary source
- TOTAL: -1 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW (tending towards red)
- 5. OPPOSING VOICE:** No source is cited presenting the international law or humanitarian objections to the Albania agreement. The source is presented as neutral journalistic information without signalling the political affiliation of the publication.

IMPORTANT: "Recognised" or "authoritative" is not an objective qualification. It is a social attribution that must itself be verified. The fact that Il Giornale is a well-known publication does not imply neutrality on topics politically relevant to its ownership.

Legal and methodological framework

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.
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).
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.
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 statements 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
- Legislative Decree 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.

Legislative Decree 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 historic division of RAI channels according to criteria of party 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 (Authority for Communications Guarantees): Media regulation, sanctions
- Parliamentary RAI Supervisory Commission: Parliamentary oversight

Complaint procedure

1. RAI internal complaints office
2. AGCOM



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Associazione svizzera per un reporting equilibrato

3. Regional Administrative Court (TAR)



ANNEX 2: SCIENTIFIC REFERENCES

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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:

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Unbalanced information is the response to the halving initiative in Switzerland: the manipulation techniques are illustrated in detail here, 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**



The 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, reference, 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. Anyone who feels treated unfairly can file a complaint. There is even a dedicated authority: AGCOM, the Authority for Communications Guarantees.

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 controversy. 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.