



RAI DETAILED ANALYSIS

2024-04-23_portaaporta_Post_Scurati_fallout

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**OVERALL
SCORE**

6.0/10

Considerable imbalance

0 = balanced, 10 = strongly biased/manipulative

POLITICAL SPECTRUM

Classification according to Chapel Hill Expert Survey (CHES) 2024

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

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

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

TENDENCY (L – R)

6.4 / 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.



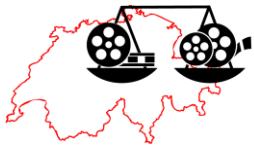
POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

The Italian government in office since October 2022 is led by Prime Minister Giorgia Meloni (Fdi) and consists of a centre-right coalition formed by Fratelli d'Italia (Fdi), Lega, Forza Italia (FI) and Noi Moderati (NM). The opposition is led by the Partito Democratico (PD) as the main opposition force, flanked by Movimento 5 Stelle (M5S), Alleanza Verdi Sinistra (AVS), Azione, Italia Viva (IV) and +Europa.

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)	Ecological transition, minimum wage, pro-EU
+Europa	3.80	2	Opposition	Strongly pro-European, liberal-progressive
M5S	4.20	52	Opposition	Citizens' income, anti-corruption, public healthcare
Azione	4.90	21	Opposition	Liberal-reformist, centre, pro-market
Italia Viva	5.00	(in Az)	Opposition	Centre, liberal-centrist, reformist
Noi Moderati	5.80	7	Government	Centre-right, Christian-democratic
Forza Italia	6.50	45	Government	Liberal-conservative, guarantism, pro-EU Atlanticist
Lega	8.10	66	Government	Sovereignist, flat tax, differentiated autonomy
Fdi	8.30	119	Government (PM)	National-conservative, naval blockade, European sovereignty

The Italian political landscape is crossed by four main fault lines. The first concerns the management of immigration, with the government pursuing a naval blockade and repatriation policy, while the left-wing opposition proposes humanitarian corridors and integration. The second concerns economic policy, with the debate between the flat tax and progressive taxation, and the Superbonus issue as a direct battleground between government and opposition. The third fault line concerns the positioning of the moderate centre (Azione/IV), which oscillates between the two camps and represents a swing factor both at regional and national level. The fourth concerns the construction of the so-called centre-left "campo largo", with tensions between PD, M5S and centrist forces making it difficult to build a cohesive alternative.

RAI is historically characterised by "lottizzazione", i.e. the allocation of channels according to party proportionality (RAI 1 traditionally DC/FI, RAI 2 PSI, RAI 3 PCI/PD). Under the Meloni government, the TG1 editorial management and the RAI Board of Directors are controlled by the governing coalition, with documented political influence on editorial policy. The RAI Service Contract imposes obligations of pluralism, completeness and impartiality of information pursuant to Art. 6, which constitutes the normative reference parameter for this analysis.



CHAPTER 1 — PARTISAN BIAS

Assessment by party

Party	Score (-5..+5)	Representation in the broadcast vs. programmatic position
Fdl (Fratelli d'Italia)	+2	00:28 "victory of a broad centre-right" — Programmatic position: effective government, concrete results — Senator Malan (Fdl) presents the government's results in a positive light (employment at record highs, reduced inflation): substantially accurate representation of official positions, with adequate space for the defence of the government's work.
PD (Partito Dem.)	-1	13:59 "Schlein will have to reflect, or whoever acts in her place will have to" — Programmatic position: reformism, pro-EU, rights — PD is represented primarily through the lens of its internal difficulties and the risk of losing votes; MP Guerra intervenes on the AI topic in a constructive manner, but the political narrative about PD is predominantly critical of its organisational weaknesses.
M5S (Cinque Stelle)	-2	18:38 "It was the worst result historically" — Programmatic position: anti-corruption, citizens' income, public healthcare — M5S is represented almost exclusively through the electoral collapse in Basilicata; Patuanelli is given space to respond but the dominant framing is that of decline. The Superbonus, M5S's flagship measure, is presented as a "disaster" without adequate counter-argument.
Lega	0	05:39 "Lega Salvini Basilicata 7.81 with 2 seats" — Programmatic position: flat tax, differentiated autonomy, closed ports — Lega is mentioned marginally in the electoral data; it is treated neither positively nor negatively in any significant way. Almost total absence of in-depth coverage.
Forza Italia	+2	24:16 "the real surprise is Forza Italia" — Programmatic position: liberal-conservative, guarantism — FI is presented as the great positive surprise of the elections, with Tajani described as a capable "weaver". Favourable representation consistent with the role of a moderate governing party.
AVS (Alleanza Verdi)	0	06:04 "Alleanza Verdi Sinistra 5.79" — Programmatic position: 100% renewables, ius soli, wealth tax — AVS is cited only in the electoral data, with no in-depth coverage of its programmatic positions. Total absence.

Summary of Partisan Bias

- Most accurate representation: Fdl and FI (Score +2 each)
- Strongest distortion: M5S (Score -2), with the Superbonus presented as a "disaster" without adequate counter-argument
- Average deviation from 0: 1.2
- Conclusion: The broadcast offers privileged space to the governing forces, in particular to Fdl (through Malan) and FI (through the narrative of Tajani's "renaissance"). M5S is represented predominantly through the prism of electoral decline, while the Superbonus — a central measure of the M5S programme — is defined as a "disaster" by the host himself (32:03) without a structured counter-argument being offered. AVS and Lega are substantially absent from the political debate.

Overall Left-Right Tendency

TENDENCY SCORE: -1.4



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CLASSIFICATION: Favourable to the centre-right

Rationale: The broadcast structurally favours centre-right positions through three converging mechanisms: the narrative of the victory in Basilicata as confirmation of the soundness of the national government; the presentation of the Meloni government's economic data in positive terms by the host himself; and the framing of the centre-left "campo largo" as a chaotic project lacking leadership. Senator Malan (Fdi) receives the most extensive space to defend the government's work, while the opposition's criticisms (Patuanelli/M5S) are systematically downplayed or followed by the host's replies favourable to the majority.



CHAPTER 2 — BROADCAST INFORMATION AND THEMATIC FRAMEWORK

Broadcast Data

- Title: Porta a Porta
- Date (from file name): Not specified in the text; content referable to spring 2024 (Basilicata regional elections, AI bill approved in Council of Ministers)
- Duration (estimated from transcript): Approximately 70 minutes
- Host/Journalist: Bruno Vespa (main host); Barbara Gallavotti (via link from Zurich); Vittoriana Abate (correspondent in Basilicata); Antonio Pulito (Corriere della Sera); Vladimiro Polchi and Giulio Menetti (reports)

Person	Role	Party/Affiliation	Political spectrum
Luca Malan	President of the FdI Senate Group	FdI	Right (8.30)
Stefano Patuanelli	President of the M5S Senate Group	M5S	Centre-left (4.20)
Daniele Zettini	Director of Quotidiano Nazionale (Giorno/Carlino/Nazione)	None	Mainstream press
Mario Aiello	Editorialist at Il Messaggero	None	Mainstream press
Vito Bardi	President of the Basilicata Region (re-elected)	FdI/Centre-right	Right
Alessio Butti	Undersecretary of the PCM for Innovation	FdI	Right (8.30)
Maria Cecilia Guerra	PD Labour Policy Spokesperson	PD	Centre-left (3.40)
Paolo Benanti	President of the AI Commission for Information, Franciscan, Gregorian University	None (Catholic)	Neutral/Catholic
Gianmatteo Manghi	CEO of Cisco Italia	Cisco (multinational)	Private industry
Ruben Razzante	Lecturer at the Università Cattolica, author of a book on AI	None (Catholic)	Neutral/Catholic
Barbara Gallavotti	Science journalist (via link)	None	Neutral
Antonio Pulito	Journalist at Corriere della Sera	None	Mainstream press

Main Topic

The broadcast addresses two distinct macro-topics: the political analysis of the regional elections in Basilicata (centre-right victory with Bardi) and the implications of the government's bill on artificial intelligence approved by the Council of Ministers.



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Context of the Public Debate

The regional elections in Basilicata are part of a regional electoral cycle preceding the European elections of June 2024, with both camps interpreting local results as indicators of national trends. The centre-left "campo largo" — an alliance between PD, M5S and minor forces — is at the centre of the Italian political debate as a possible alternative to the Meloni government, but suffers from internal tensions related to leadership and the positioning of centrist forces (Azione/IV). On the artificial intelligence front, Italy is positioning itself as the first country to adopt national legislation following the approval of the European AI Act (March 2024), with the government presenting the bill as a strategic initiative of European primacy. The debate on AI intersects issues of employment, workers' rights, child safety and technological sovereignty.



CHAPTER 3 — 15 CRITERIA: DETAILED ANALYSIS

Hardfacts — 9 quantifiable and scientifically verifiable techniques

1. EXPERT SELECTION

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Definition: Who speaks as an expert?

Expert 1: Alessio Butti — Undersecretary of the PCM for Innovation (Fdl)

Timestamp: 40:23

Statement: "this is a text which, according to the government, is very important, strongly desired by the President of the Council"

Framing: A government member presenting and defending a government measure; structurally unable to offer a neutral assessment.

Missing opposing voice: An academic expert critical of the bill, or an opposition representative with specific expertise on the topic.

In-depth source verification:

(a) FUNDING: Funded by the Italian State as Undersecretary; his institutional mandate is to promote government policies.

(b) MANDATE: Incompatible with a neutral assessment of the AI bill, being the political proposer of the measure.

(c) CREDIBILITY MATRIX (Source Traffic Light, 6 dimensions, from -2 to +2):

D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — He is the political proposer of the measure he is assessing

D2 Personal risk: -2 — No personal risk in supporting his own measure

D3 Technical expertise: +1 — Has institutional competence on the innovation topic

D4 Consistency of opinions: +1 — Position consistent with the government mandate

D5 Emotionality vs. data: 0 — Mix of data and political arguments

D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary source (politician, not researcher)

• TOTAL: -2 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: RED

(c) PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE: he is the political proposer of the bill, not a neutral assessor. The broadcast treats him as a technical authority when he is a political actor.

Expert 2: Paolo Benanti — President of the AI Commission for Information, Franciscan, Gregorian University

Timestamp: 40:39

Statement: "absolutely yes, because it is a first step...it is a necessary step, which in my opinion comes at the right moment"

Framing: Franciscan friar, lecturer at a pontifical university, president of a government commission on AI. Triple affiliation: religious, Catholic academic, governmental institutional.

Missing opposing voice: A secular expert or a researcher from a public university with critical positions on the bill.

In-depth source verification:

(a) FUNDING: Gregorian University (pontifical, ecclesiastical funding); Government commission (government appointment). Dual funding: ecclesiastical and state.



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(b) MANDATE: The presidency of a government commission creates a structural conflict of interest in the assessment of the bill that the commission itself helped to draft.

(c) CREDIBILITY MATRIX (Source Traffic Light, 6 dimensions, from -2 to +2):

- D1 Conflict of interest: -1 — President of a government commission assessing the bill derived from that commission
- D2 Personal risk: 0 — Consolidated institutional position
- D3 Technical expertise: +2 — Recognised competence in AI ethics
- D4 Consistency of opinions: +1 — Consistent positions over time
- D5 Emotionality vs. data: +1 — Predominantly argumentative
- D6 Source level: +1 — Primary source on AI ethics

• TOTAL: +4 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW

(c) PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE: he is president of the commission that helped to develop the AI strategy incorporated into the bill.

Expert 3: Gianmatteo Manghi — CEO of Cisco Italia

Timestamp: 40:51

Statement: "we have been working on artificial intelligence long before it became front-page news"

Framing: Representative of an American multinational (Cisco) with direct commercial interests in the expansion of the AI market in Italy.

Missing opposing voice: A representative of Italian SMEs or an expert critical of technology multinationals.

In-depth source verification:

(a) FUNDING: Cisco Systems Inc. (American multinational listed on the stock exchange, revenue ~57 billion USD). Direct commercial interest in the expansion of the AI market.

(b) MANDATE: Incompatible with a neutral assessment: Cisco directly benefits from regulation favourable to the expansion of AI.

(c) CREDIBILITY MATRIX (Source Traffic Light, 6 dimensions, from -2 to +2):

- D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — Direct commercial interest in the expansion of the AI market
- D2 Personal risk: -2 — No personal risk in supporting the expansion of AI
- D3 Technical expertise: +2 — Operational competence in the sector
- D4 Consistency of opinions: +1 — Position consistent with corporate interests
- D5 Emotionality vs. data: +1 — Predominantly based on corporate data
- D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary source (market operator)

• TOTAL: 0 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW

(c) PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE: Manghi is presented as a sector expert without declaring Cisco's commercial conflict of interest in the expansion of the Italian AI market.

Expert 4: Ruben Razzante — Lecturer at the Università Cattolica

Timestamp: 41:04

Statement: "the greatest risks concern precisely the replacement of humans by machines...which are wisely addressed also by the government bill approved"

Framing: Lecturer at a Catholic university, author of a book on the topic. Indirect ecclesiastical affiliation.

In-depth source verification:

(a) FUNDING: Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore (mixed funding: ecclesiastical and state). Author of a book on the topic under discussion: interest in media visibility.

(b) MANDATE: Partially compatible with neutral assessment, but the Catholic affiliation and the promotional interest of the book create potential distortions.

(c) CREDIBILITY MATRIX (Source Traffic Light, 6 dimensions, from -2 to +2):

- D1 Conflict of interest: -1 — Promotional interest of the book; Catholic affiliation
- D2 Personal risk: 0 — Consolidated academic position
- D3 Technical expertise: +1 — Competence in media law and communication
- D4 Consistency of opinions: +1 — Consistent positions
- D5 Emotionality vs. data: +1 — Predominantly argumentative
- D6 Source level: +1 — Primary source in his field

• TOTAL: +3 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW

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Missing expert groups:

- Researchers from secular public universities critical of the AI bill
- Trade union representatives on the employment impact of AI
- Privacy and digital rights experts (e.g. the Privacy Authority)

Summary (matrix result per expert):

- Butti: RED (-2) — political proposer presented as a neutral expert
- Benanti: YELLOW (+4) — undeclared institutional conflict of interest
- Manghi: YELLOW (0) — undeclared commercial conflict of interest
- Razzante: YELLOW (+3) — undeclared promotional interest



2. SOURCE SELECTION

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

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

Source 1: Basilicata electoral data (presented by the host)

Timestamp: 05:28 — Statement: "Fratelli Italia is at 17.39 with 4 seats, Forza Italia 13% with 3 seats"

(a) Funding and management: Official data from the Ministry of the Interior; reliable primary source.

(b) Structural conflict of interest: None for the raw data; the problem lies in the selection and commentary.

(c) Missing is a source that contextualises the data in relation to abstentionism (50%+).

Source 2: Economic data cited by Malan (Fdl)

Timestamp: 31:11 — Statement: "inflation was 11.8%, among the highest in Europe when this government was chosen"

(a) Funding: Source not specified; data presented by a government politician without citation of the primary source.

(b) Structural conflict of interest: Malan has a direct interest in presenting the data in a manner favourable to the government.

(c) Missing is the primary source (Istat, Eurostat) and the comparison with the data cited by Patuanelli.

Verification of undocumented claims (penalties):

Undocumented claim 1:

Timestamp: 31:34

Claim: "We have employment at historic highs, with record highs month after month"

Verbal marker: "we have" (political claim without source citation)

Primary source present: No — penalty +1

Undocumented claim 2:

Timestamp: 34:46

Claim: "Inflation in Italy is the lowest in Europe apart from Denmark"

Verbal marker: claim without source citation

Primary source present: No — penalty +1

Summary: 2 claims without a primary source; the host does not request source citations from either of the two parties in the economic debate.



3. TIME DISTRIBUTION

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Definition: Distribution of speaking time among the different positions.

Estimated speaking time:

- Luca Malan (Fdl, government): approx. 8 min. (11%)
- Stefano Patuanelli (M5S, opposition): approx. 7 min. (10%)
- Vito Bardi (centre-right, regional government): approx. 5 min. (7%)
- Alessio Butti (Fdl, government): approx. 8 min. (11%)
- Maria Cecilia Guerra (PD, opposition): approx. 6 min. (8%)
- Paolo Benanti (expert): approx. 5 min. (7%)
- Gianmatteo Manghi (Cisco): approx. 7 min. (10%)
- Ruben Razzante (expert): approx. 3 min. (4%)
- Barbara Gallavotti (science journalist): approx. 5 min. (7%)
- Bruno Vespa (host): approx. 12 min. (17%)
- Reports/features: approx. 4 min. (6%)

Summary: The distribution of time appears superficially balanced between government (Malan+Butti+Bardi = ~21 min.) and opposition (Patuanelli+Guerra = ~13 min.). However, the host (17%) systematically intervenes in favour of government positions, effectively amplifying the time actually devoted to centre-right positions. The experts in the AI segment are all substantially in favour of the government bill.



4. OMISSIONS (Selective Omission)

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Definition: What is not shown despite being relevant?

Omission 1:

Context: Abstentionism exceeding 50% in Basilicata

Relevant at: 05:28 (presentation of electoral results)

Effect: Bardi's victory with 56.6% is presented as a strong popular mandate, without emphasising that this is 56.6% of less than half of those entitled to vote. The actual figure for popular support is therefore significantly lower than suggested by the narrative.

Omission 2:

Context: Criticism of the AI bill from experts and academics

Relevant at: 40:23 (presentation of the bill by Butti)

Effect: The host briefly mentions (45:29) that "there are university lecturers and many experts who believe that the requirements of necessity and urgency...are not exactly something far from the mark", but does not invite any of these critical experts. The broadcast creates the impression of unanimous consensus on the bill.

Omission 3:

Context: The context of the Beccaria prison — political and systemic responsibility

Relevant at: 36:28 (report on the Beccaria prison)

Effect: The report on the torture at Beccaria is presented as a news item without any analysis of political responsibility (Ministry of Justice, government) or of the context of prison overcrowding as a structural factor. The topic is quickly closed with satirical cartoons.

Summary: The most significant omissions concern abstentionism as an indicator of the weakness of real consensus and the absence of critical voices on the AI bill. Both omissions produce an effect of amplification of government positions.

Missing voices

- PD representative for the analysis of the vote in Basilicata: Could have offered a reading of the defeat different from that of Patuanelli (M5S)
- Trade union representative (CGIL/CISL/UIL): Would have brought the workers' perspective on the impact of AI on employment
- Expert critical of the AI bill: Would have balanced the chorus of approval from the invited experts
- Representative of Italian SMEs: Would have offered a perspective different from that of an American multinational like Cisco
- Sociologist or political scientist on abstentionism: Would have explored the figure of 50%+ abstention in Basilicata in depth
- AVS or Lega representative: Would have completed the party picture in the analysis of the regional vote
- Labour law expert: Would have explored the implications of the AI bill for workers' rights in depth
- University researcher critical of the AI Act: Would have offered an independent academic perspective on the bill



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: 31:11

Data: "inflation was 11.8%, among the highest in Europe when this government was chosen"

Dimensions: (a) absolute value shown ✓; (b) share/partial comparison ✓; (c) trend over time X

Missing context: The trend of inflation in subsequent months is not shown, nor is the comparison with the European average in the same period. The data is used as a political argument without the necessary temporal context.

Effect: Suggests that the Meloni government inherited an exceptionally difficult situation, without showing that high inflation was a generalised European phenomenon.

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 38:29

Data: "61,371 people against a regulatory capacity of 50,000...overcrowding index is 130.05%"

Dimensions: (a) absolute value ✓; (b) share ✓; (c) trend over time X

Missing context: The historical trend of overcrowding is not shown, nor is the comparison with previous governments. The data is presented as a neutral fact without analysis of the causes.

Effect: The data on prison overcrowding is presented in a decontextualised manner, without exploring political responsibility.

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 25:26

Data: "Pittella, with 7 thousand preferences, brings 35% of Azione's votes. That is, we are talking about these numbers. Because out of 20 thousand, 7 thousand, that is the percentage"

Dimensions: (a) absolute value ✓; (b) share ✓; (c) trend X

Missing context: The calculation presented ($7,000/20,000 = 35\%$) is correct but is used to support the thesis that Pittella "brought" Azione's votes, without considering that part of those votes may have been attracted by Bardi's programme independently of Pittella.

Effect: Amplifies the narrative of Pittella's "betrayal" of the centre-left.

Summary: Economic data is used selectively by both sides without the host requesting primary sources or adequate contextualisation. The main problem is the systematic absence of the temporal dimension (trend) in the data presented.



6. GUILT BY ASSOCIATION (Contamination by Contact)

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Definition: Discrediting by association with negative groups or ideas.

Association 1:

Timestamp: 14:40

Quote: "with a blind obedience to the red-yellow scheme, without debate"

Technique: The expression "blind obedience" associates PD with irrational and dogmatic behaviour, without argumentation.

Effect: Suggests that PD is guided by ideology rather than political pragmatism.

Association 2:

Timestamp: 21:56

Quote: "Rejected by the campo largo of Schlein and Conte and increasingly radicalised to the left"

Technique: Pulito's report (Corriere della Sera) associates the campo largo with a "radicalisation to the left" without supporting data.

Effect: Suggests that the centre-left is shifting towards extreme positions, making it more difficult to build moderate alliances.

Summary: Negative associations are present but not systematic; they are concentrated mainly on PD and the "campo largo" as a chaotic and radicalised political project.



7. TIMING									5/10
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Definition: Strategic positioning of information (beginning/middle/end).

Finding 1:

Position: 00:28 (beginning)

Content: "victory of a broad centre-right"

Timing effect: The broadcast opens with the celebration of the centre-right victory, immediately establishing the dominant narrative frame. The celebratory tone of the opening conditions the reading of all subsequent data.

Finding 2:

Position: 38:57 (end of the political segment)

Content: Satirical cartoons by Osho on Renzi/Calenda and Schlein/Conte

Timing effect: The political segment closes with cartoons that ridicule the opposition forces (Schlein/Conte on peace in Ukraine) and celebrate the centre-right ("when we of the centre-right present ourselves united, we win"). The satirical closing consolidates the narrative frame favourable to the centre-right.

Summary: The celebratory opening and the satirical closing of the political segment create a "sandwich" effect that frames the entire discussion in a narrative favourable to the centre-right.



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 it is necessary to document the triggering event. A reaction can be assessed as selective only if comparable events in other positions have not produced an analogous reaction.

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 32:03

Triggering event: Patuanelli defends the Superbonus as "a good idea badly managed"

Reaction: "Pure cruelty. It eliminated the good that the government had done" (Vespa, 01:05:23) — the host intervenes with a sarcastic comment on Guerra's criticism of the government

Comparison: When Malan presents economic data favourable to the government (31:11), the host does not intervene with analogous critical comments.

Asymmetry: Documented — the host uses sarcasm towards the opposition's criticisms but not towards the government's claims.

Degree of outrage: 2/5

Selectivity: 2/5

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 26:31

Triggering event: Patuanelli criticises Pittella's behaviour ("it is somewhat horrifying")

Reaction: Vespa intervenes: "So he should have committed suicide, what was he supposed to do?" — the host defends Pittella against Patuanelli's criticisms

Comparison: When Malan criticises the M5S Superbonus (32:03), the host does not defend M5S with analogous energy.

Asymmetry: Documented — the host intervenes in defence of a politician who chose the centre-right, but not in defence of M5S positions.

Degree of outrage: 2/5

Selectivity: 2/5

Summary: Selective outrage is present but not systematic; it manifests itself mainly through the host's interventions that defend centre-right positions and downplay the opposition's criticisms.



9. COMPLETENESS (Selective Omission — General Framework)

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Definition: How completely does the broadcast represent the topic?

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 05:28

Missing perspective/fact: Abstentionism exceeding 50% as a central datum of the vote in Basilicata

Relevance: An abstention rate exceeding 50% means that Bardi won with the consent of less than 30% of those entitled to vote; this datum is fundamental for assessing the real scope of the "victory of the broad centre-right".

Impact: The absence of this datum produces a distorted representation of the strength of popular support for the centre-right.

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 40:23

Missing perspective/fact: Critical voices on the government AI bill

Relevance: The host himself mentions (45:29) that "university lecturers and many experts" have critical positions on the bill, but does not invite any of them. All the experts present express favourable positions.

Impact: The broadcast creates the impression of unanimous expert consensus on the government bill, which does not correspond to the actual debate.

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 36:28

Missing perspective/fact: Analysis of political and systemic responsibility in the Beccaria case

Relevance: Prison overcrowding (130%) and the structural conditions of Italian prisons are factors that contribute to violence; the political responsibility of the government (Ministry of Justice) is not explored.

Impact: The Beccaria case is treated as an isolated news item, without connection to the prison policies of the current government.

Summary: The most significant omissions concern electoral abstentionism, the absence of critical voices on the AI bill and the failure to analyse political responsibility in the Beccaria case. All three omissions produce an effect of amplification of government positions.

End of Hardfacts — Beginning of Softfacts

Share of perspectives covered

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

[A] Independent critical analysis of the electoral results in Basilicata (abstentionism at 50%+)

[B] Centre-left opposition (PD) voice on the analysis of the defeat in Basilicata

[C] Workers' and trade unions' perspective on the impact of AI on employment

[D] Experts critical of the government AI bill (not only supporters)

[E] Analysis of abstentionism as a structural political phenomenon

[F] Perspective of Italian SMEs on AI (not only multinationals like Cisco)

[G] Voice of AVS and minor parties on the analysis of the vote in Basilicata

[H] Comparative analysis with other European countries on AI legislation



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[I] Perspective of young people and students on AI in education

[J] Critical analysis of the funding of the AI bill (origin of the one billion euros)

[A] MENTIONED

Timestamp: 27:02 — Quote: "where less than 50% of the electorate voted" — Assessment: Abstentionism is mentioned by Patuanelli but not structurally explored by the host.

[B] COVERED

Timestamp: 28:07 — Quote: "we lack that capacity to offer a possible alternative to the disasters this government is causing" — Assessment: Patuanelli (M5S) offers a critical perspective, but no PD representative is present for the analysis of the vote in Basilicata.

[C] MENTIONED

Timestamp: 47:58 — Quote: "avoid a use that calls into question the dignity of the worker" — Assessment: Guerra (PD) touches on the topic but no trade union representative is present.

[D] ABSENT

Timestamp: N/A — Quote: N/A — Assessment: All the experts invited on the AI bill express substantially favourable positions; no expert critical of the government text is present.

[E] ABSENT

Timestamp: N/A — Quote: N/A — Assessment: Abstentionism exceeding 50% in Basilicata is not analysed as an autonomous topic of political reflection.

[F] ABSENT

Timestamp: N/A — Quote: N/A — Assessment: The only industrial voice is that of Cisco, an American multinational; no Italian SME is represented.

[G] ABSENT

Timestamp: N/A — Quote: N/A — Assessment: AVS, Lega and other minor parties have no voice in the analysis of the vote.

[H] MENTIONED

Timestamp: 41:31 — Quote: "In line with the European regulation of last March" — Assessment: The European context is cited but not explored comparatively in depth.

[I] MENTIONED

Timestamp: 04:09 — Quote: "I am struck by my daughters who risk doing their homework not with their own intelligence, but with artificial intelligence" — Assessment: The topic is raised anecdotally but not explored in depth with education experts.

[J] MENTIONED

Timestamp: 01:04:04 — Quote: "that billion was a billion that was already in the PNRR...was earmarked for digitalisation" — Assessment: Guerra (PD) raises the point but is quickly interrupted and the topic is not explored further.

Completeness Score: 3/10

The broadcast covers most of the relevant perspectives only superficially. The political segment is dominated by the analysis of the centre-right victory without structured critical voices; the AI segment presents exclusively experts in favour of the government bill, with the only critical voice (Guerra/PD) being systematically downplayed.

Abstentionism, a central phenomenon of the vote in Basilicata, is not analysed as an autonomous topic.

1. AI Commission for Information (chaired by Father Benanti)

1. FUNDING: Government commission (state appointment and funding); Benanti is also a lecturer at the Gregorian University (pontifical ecclesiastical funding).
2. MANDATE: The commission contributed to developing the AI strategy incorporated into the bill; its mandate is not compatible with a neutral assessment of the measure it itself helped to build.
3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST: Direct institutional interest in supporting the bill as confirmation of the relevance of its own work; interest in the continuity of the government mandate.
4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX: D1 Conflict of interest: -1 / D2 Personal risk: 0 / D3 Competence: +2 / D4 Consistency: +1 / D5 Emotion vs. data: +1 / D6 Source level: +1 → TOTAL: +4 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW
5. OPPOSING VOICE: Not cited; there are AI ethics experts with critical positions on the bill who were not invited.

2. Cisco Italia (represented by Gianmatteo Manghi)



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

1. **FUNDING:** Cisco Systems Inc. (American multinational, revenue ~57 billion USD); direct commercial interest in the expansion of the AI market in Italy.
2. **MANDATE:** Incompatible with a neutral assessment: Cisco directly benefits from regulation favourable to the expansion of AI and from public investment in the sector.
3. **CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Direct commercial interest; the protocol with the Vatican mentioned in the broadcast is also an institutional marketing tool.
4. **CREDIBILITY MATRIX:** D1 Conflict of interest: -2 / D2 Personal risk: -2 / D3 Competence: +2 / D4 Consistency: +1 / D5 Emotion vs. data: +1 / D6 Source level: 0 → **TOTAL: 0 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW**
5. **OPPOSING VOICE:** Not cited; representatives of Italian SMEs or experts critical of technology multinationals would have offered a different perspective.

3. Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore (through Ruben Razzante)

1. **FUNDING:** Mixed funding: ecclesiastical (Italian Episcopal Conference) and state (public contributions). Razzante is the author of a book on the topic under discussion: interest in media visibility.
2. **MANDATE:** Partially compatible with neutral assessment; the Catholic affiliation may influence positions on ethical issues related to AI (centrality of the person, human dignity).
3. **CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Promotional interest of the book; affiliation with an institution with specific ethical positions on AI (consistent with the Vatican protocol cited in the broadcast).
4. **CREDIBILITY MATRIX:** D1 Conflict of interest: -1 / D2 Personal risk: 0 / D3 Competence: +1 / D4 Consistency: +1 / D5 Emotion vs. data: +1 / D6 Source level: +1 → **TOTAL: +3 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW**
5. **OPPOSING VOICE:** Not cited; experts from secular public universities with critical positions on the ethical-religious approach to AI would have balanced the perspective.

IMPORTANT NOTE: The presence of three experts with Catholic or para-Catholic affiliation (Benanti/Gregoriana, Razzante/Cattolica, Manghi/Vatican protocol) in the AI segment is not declared as such by the broadcast. This concentration of voices with a specific ethical vision of AI (centred on human dignity in the Catholic sense) constitutes a further form of lack of pluralism that should have been declared to the public.



Softfacts — 6 qualitative techniques

10. FRAMING (Frame Setting)

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Definition: How is the topic fundamentally framed?

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 00:35

Quote: "we will deal later, in a moment, after the political news digest and all the things that this victory of a broad centre-right has brought"

Manipulation: The host immediately frames the electoral result as a "victory" without qualifications, establishing the celebratory frame that will dominate the entire first part of the broadcast.

Why problematic: A neutral frame could have been "the result of the regional elections in Basilicata" or "the confirmation of the centre-right in Basilicata"; the use of "victory" with a celebratory tone prejudices the critical reading of the data.

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 21:01

Quote: "At the origin is the political mess made by Schlein and Conte"

Manipulation: Pulito's report (Corriere della Sera) frames the centre-left defeat as the result of a "mess" by the leaders, without considering structural factors (abstentionism, territorial entrenchment of the centre-right, the Pittella effect).

Why problematic: The "mess" frame reduces a complex political dynamic to a personal management error, excluding structural analyses.

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 28:07

Quote: "we lack that capacity to offer a possible alternative to the disasters this government is causing"

Manipulation: When Patuanelli uses the word "disasters", the host responds immediately (28:28): "And then Malan will also respond on the disasters" — the host's ironic tone signals to the audience that Patuanelli's assessment is exaggerated.

Why problematic: The host does not use the same ironic tone when Malan presents data favourable to the government, creating an asymmetry in the treatment of political assessments.

Summary: The dominant framing of the broadcast is that of the "centre-right victory" as confirmation of the soundness of the national government, with the centre-left "campo largo" framed as a chaotic project lacking leadership. This frame is established at the opening and consolidated in the satirical closing.



11. WORD CHOICE AND TERMINOLOGY

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

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 32:03

Quote: "That is indeed a disaster, the Superbonus which still costs 20 billion this year"

Manipulation: The host uses the word "disaster" to describe the Superbonus, adopting the government's terminology instead of a neutral formulation.

Why problematic: A neutral alternative would have been: "the Superbonus has generated significant costs". The use of "disaster" by the host — not by a political guest — constitutes a value judgement that violates the principle of impartiality.

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 11:53

Quote: "As I said yesterday, it is a one-night dance"

Manipulation: The editorialist Aiello uses a romantic/ephemeral metaphor to describe the Azione/IV alliance with the centre-left, suggesting that it lacks political substance.

Why problematic: The metaphor is negatively connoted and is not balanced by an alternative assessment of the alliance.

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 21:56

Quote: "Rejected by the campo largo of Schlein and Conte and increasingly radicalised to the left"

Manipulation: The term "radicalised" has negative connotations (extremism) and is applied to the centre-left without supporting data.

Why problematic: A neutral alternative would have been: "the campo largo led by Schlein and Conte". The addition "increasingly radicalised to the left" is an undocumented value judgement.

Summary: The choice of words systematically reflects a frame favourable to the centre-right: the Superbonus is a "disaster" (the host's word), the centre-left alliance is "a one-night dance", the campo largo is "radicalised". No analogous terminology is used to describe the policies or alliances of the centre-right.



12. HOST BEHAVIOUR

7/10

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

Methodological principle (v2.2): Before each assessment it is necessary to document the triggering event. An intervention can be assessed as asymmetric only if comparable events with other guests have not produced an analogous intervention.

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 01:05:23

Triggering event: Guerra (PD) criticises the government for having eliminated rules on algorithmic transparency in the decree of 1 May

Quote (host): "Pure cruelty"

Comparison: When Malan (Fdi) presents economic data favourable to the government (31:11), the host does not intervene with analogous ironic or critical comments.

Asymmetry: Documented — the host uses sarcasm towards the opposition's criticisms but not towards the government's claims.

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 26:16

Triggering event: Patuanelli criticises the treatment reserved for Pittella by the centre-left

Quote (host): "But Pittella ended up where you had shot all the candidates"

Comparison: The host does not use analogously aggressive language ("shot") towards the centre-right when describing its alliance choices.

Asymmetry: Documented — the host uses more aggressive language towards the opposition than towards the government.

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 11:29

Triggering event: Discussion on the Azione/IV alliance with the centre-right in Basilicata

Quote (host): "It's not as if you decide when to win and when to lose"

Comparison: The host does not direct analogously challenging questions to Malan on the consistency of the centre-right's alliances.

Asymmetry: Documented — challenging questions are directed predominantly at the opposition.

Summary: The host shows a systematic asymmetry in behaviour: uses sarcasm and aggressive language towards opposition positions, while treating government positions with greater respect. This pattern is consistent with the dominant narrative frame of the broadcast.



13. QUESTION ASYMMETRY

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

Asymmetry 1:

To Patuanelli (M5S), 18:38: "It was the worst result historically, you yourself did not acknowledge it" — hard/accusatory

To Malan (Fdl), 30:43: "You have it [the programme] and manage to carry it forward despite the setbacks" — soft/affirmative

Comparison: The host poses a question to Patuanelli that forces him to admit a failure, while offering Malan a favourable premise that facilitates the response.

Asymmetry 2:

To Guerra (PD), 46:56: "Can we delude ourselves about a bipartisan path on such a demanding terrain?" — neutral/sceptical

To Butti (Fdl), 44:15: "We are the first State, as you recalled, to produce legislation of this kind. In concrete terms, what are the first objectives?" — soft/celebratory

Comparison: The question to Guerra contains an element of scepticism ("delude ourselves"), while the question to Butti is constructed as an opportunity to present the government's successes.

Summary: Questions to the government are predominantly constructive and celebratory, while questions to the opposition contain elements of challenge or force admissions of failure. This asymmetry is systematic and consistent with the dominant narrative frame.



14. FALSE BALANCE

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Definition: Artificial balance despite a real imbalance.

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 40:23 — Construction: The broadcast presents the AI bill as the subject of bipartisan debate by inviting Butti (government) and Guerra (opposition), but all the technical experts (Benanti, Manghi, Razzante, Gallavotti) express positions substantially in favour of the bill.

Analysis: The false balance consists in presenting an apparently balanced discussion (government vs. opposition) while the chorus of experts is unanimously in favour of the government measure. The only structured critical voice is that of Guerra, which is systematically downplayed.

Summary: False balance is present mainly in the AI segment, where the presence of an opposition representative (Guerra) creates the appearance of a balanced debate, while the selection of technical experts produces an artificial consensus in favour of the government bill.



15. AGENDA-SETTING

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

Finding 1:

Established agenda item: The centre-right victory in Basilicata as confirmation of the soundness of the national government

Timestamp: 00:35 — Evidence: "victory of a broad centre-right"

Alternative agenda: A critical analysis of abstentionism as a signal of generalised distrust in politics, regardless of the winning side.

Finding 2:

Established agenda item: The AI bill as an initiative of European primacy for Italy

Timestamp: 44:15 — Evidence: "We are the first State, as you recalled, to produce legislation of this kind"

Alternative agenda: A critical analysis of the bill in relation to European standards and the positions of critical experts; the question of the origin of the one billion in funding (PNRR already earmarked).

Finding 3:

Established agenda item: The centre-left "campo largo" as a chaotic project lacking leadership

Timestamp: 29:53 — Evidence: "a serious discussion of the campo largo will not begin...until the forces in the field have found a foreign pope"

Alternative agenda: An analysis of the structural difficulties of the Italian electoral system in favouring broad coalitions, regardless of the political side.

Summary: The broadcast's agenda is built around three axes favourable to the centre-right: the victory in Basilicata as national confirmation, the AI bill as a government success, and the campo largo as a failed project. These axes are established at the opening and consolidated through the selection of guests and the host's behaviour.



CHAPTER 4 — OVERALL ASSESSMENT

Overview of Individual Scores

No.	Criterion	Type	Score	Main finding (1 sentence)
1	Expert selection	H	7	All experts on the AI bill are in favour of the government measure; the political proposer (Butti) is presented as a neutral expert.
2	Source selection	H	6	Economic data presented without primary sources; claims by both sides not verified by the host.
3	Time distribution	H	6	The government receives more effective time by adding the host's contribution to government positions.
4	Omissions	H	7	Abstentionism exceeding 50% in Basilicata is not analysed; no critical voice on the AI bill.
5	Data manipulation	H	5	Economic data used selectively without the temporal dimension (trend).
6	Guilt by association	H	3	Negative associations present but not systematic; concentrated on PD and the "campo largo".
7	Timing	H	5	Celebratory opening and satirical closing create a "sandwich" favourable to the centre-right.
8	Selective outrage	H	4	The host uses sarcasm towards the opposition's criticisms but not towards the government's claims.
9	Completeness	H	7	Three structural omissions: abstentionism, critical voices on the AI bill, political responsibility in the Beccaria case.
10	Framing	S	7	Dominant frame: "centre-right victory" as national confirmation; "campo largo" as a chaotic project.
11	Word choice	S	6	The host uses "disaster" for the Superbonus; "radicalised" for the centre-left; no analogous term for the centre-right.
12	Host behaviour	S	7	Systematic asymmetry: sarcasm towards the opposition, respect towards the government.
13	Question asymmetry	S	7	Celebratory questions to the government, challenging questions to the opposition.
14	False balance	S	4	Presence of Guerra (PD) creates the appearance of balance while the chorus of experts is unanimously in favour of the bill.
15	Agenda-setting	S	7	Three agenda axes favourable to the centre-right: victory in Basilicata, AI bill as success, campo largo as failure.

Results

- HARDFACTS SCORE (Average criteria 1-9): 5.6 / 10
- SOFTFACTS SCORE (Average criteria 10-15): 6.3 / 10



- OVERALL SCORE (Average all 15 criteria): 5.9 / 10

Dominant Techniques

The 3 strongest techniques in this broadcast:

- 1. Framing (Score 7):** The narrative frame of the "centre-right victory" as national confirmation is established at the opening and consolidated through the selection of guests, the host's behaviour and the satirical closing. This frame conditions the reading of all data presented in the broadcast.
- 2. Expert selection (Score 7):** In the AI segment, all the technical experts invited express positions in favour of the government bill; the political proposer (Butti/FdI) is presented as a neutral expert without declaration of the conflict of interest. The only structured critical voice (Guerra/PD) is systematically downplayed by the host.
- 3. Host behaviour (Score 7):** The host shows a systematic and documented asymmetry: uses sarcasm ("Pure cruelty"), aggressive language ("shot all the candidates") and challenging questions towards the opposition, while treating government positions with respect and constructive questions. This pattern is consistent and recurrent throughout the entire broadcast.

Key Messages of the Broadcast

****MESSAGE 1 (CONTENT):** ** "The centre-right governs well and wins elections; the centre-left is divided, chaotic and lacking leadership."

Technique: Framing + Agenda-setting — Evidence: 00:35, 21:01, 29:53

****MESSAGE 2 (PERSONAL):** ** "The Meloni government is competent and innovative (AI bill); the opposition criticises without proposing valid alternatives."

Technique: Expert selection + Question asymmetry — Evidence: 40:23, 44:15, 01:05:23

****MESSAGE 3 (SOCIAL):** ** "Italy is a country that knows how to govern the challenges of the future (AI) thanks to a capable government; the opposition forces are too divided to offer a credible alternative."

Technique: Framing + Omissions — Evidence: 44:15, 28:07, 38:57

Classification of the Degree of Manipulation

Rationale: The broadcast presents a clear structural one-sidedness that manifests itself through the convergence of multiple techniques: the celebratory framing of the centre-right victory, the selection of experts unanimously in favour of the government bill, the asymmetric behaviour of the host and the systematic omission of data and voices that could have balanced the narrative (abstentionism, critics of the AI bill, political responsibility in the Beccaria case). This one-sidedness is not the result of isolated individual episodes but of a consistent and recurrent pattern throughout the entire broadcast, which constitutes a violation of the principle of impartiality enshrined in Art. 6 of the RAI Service Contract. The overall score of 5.9/10 places the broadcast in the "clear one-sidedness" band, with the softfacts (6.3) showing a more pronounced tendency compared to the hardfacts (5.6), indicating that the manipulation occurs predominantly through mechanisms of framing, language and host behaviour rather than through direct factual falsifications.

CONCLUSION

The episode of Porta a Porta analysed presents a clear tendency favourable to the centre-right that manifests itself through structural and systematic mechanisms, not reducible to individual episodes. The host Bruno Vespa adopts a celebratory narrative frame of the centre-right victory in Basilicata from the very opening of the broadcast, uses negatively connoted terminology for opposition positions ("disaster" for the Superbonus, "radicalised" for the campo largo), and shows a documented asymmetry in behaviour towards government guests compared to opposition guests. In the artificial intelligence segment, the selection of experts unanimously in favour of the government bill — including the political proposer Butti presented as a neutral expert — violates the principle of informational pluralism enshrined in Art. 6 of the RAI Service Contract. The systematic omission of relevant data (abstentionism exceeding 50% in Basilicata, critical voices on the AI bill, political responsibility in the Beccaria case) produces an incomplete informational picture that structurally advantages government positions. These elements, considered as a whole, constitute a violation of the principle of impartiality and completeness of information provided for in Art. 6 of the RAI Service Contract, which requires RAI to guarantee pluralism, completeness and separation between news and commentary.



OVERALL ASSESSMENT OF THE 15 CRITERIA

Individual scores — All 15 criteria

No.	Criterion	Score	Classification
1	EXPERT SELECTION	7	●●●●
2	SOURCE SELECTION	6	●●●
3	TIME DISTRIBUTION	6	●●●
4	OMISSIONS (Selective Omission)	7	●●●●
5	DATA MANIPULATION	5	●●●
6	GUILT BY ASSOCIATION (Contamination by Contact)	3	●●
7	TIMING	5	●●●
8	SELECTIVE OUTRAGE	4	●●
9	COMPLETENESS (Selective Omission — General Framework)	7	●●●●
10	FRAMING (Frame Setting)	7	●●●●
11	WORD CHOICE AND TERMINOLOGY	6	●●●
12	HOST BEHAVIOUR	7	●●●●
13	QUESTION ASYMMETRY	7	●●●●
14	FALSE BALANCE	4	●●
15	AGENDA-SETTING	7	●●●●

HARDFACTS SCORE (1-8)

5.6/10

Considerable imbalance

SOFTFACTS SCORE (9-14)

6.3/10

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

OVERALL SCORE

6.0/10

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 without substantial impact on balance.
3–4	Mild-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 patterns across broadcasts; 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 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 (Service Contract Art. 6)

Assessment pursuant to RAI Service Contract Art. 6

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

Violation 1:

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

Facts: The host uses the word "disaster" to describe the Superbonus (an opposition measure) and comments with "Pure cruelty" on the opposition's criticisms of the government, mixing the role of host with that of political commentator.

Evidence: Timestamp 32:03 — "That is indeed a disaster, the Superbonus which still costs 20 billion"; Timestamp 01:05:23 — "Pure cruelty"

Assessment: The host of a public service programme cannot use politically connoted evaluative terminology without violating the principle of separation between news and commentary. The use of "disaster" by the host — not by a political guest — constitutes a value judgement that structurally advantages government positions.

Violation 2:

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

Facts: In the artificial intelligence segment, all the technical experts invited express positions in favour of the government bill; the host himself mentions the existence of critical experts (45:29) but does not invite any of them.

Evidence: Timestamp 45:29 — "there are, for example, university lecturers and many experts who believe that the requirements of necessity and urgency at this moment with artificial intelligence are not exactly something far from the mark"

Assessment: Awareness of the existence of critical voices, combined with the deliberate choice not to invite them, constitutes a violation of the principle of pluralism: the broadcast artificially creates unanimous expert consensus on a controversial government measure.

Violation 3:

Norm: Service Contract Art. 6 — Completeness of information

Facts: Abstentionism exceeding 50% in Basilicata — a fundamental datum for assessing the real scope of the "centre-right victory" — is not analysed as an autonomous topic, despite being mentioned in passing by Patuanelli (27:02).

Evidence: Timestamp 27:02 — "where less than 50% of the electorate voted, which I also think is a reflection we should try to make together"

Assessment: The omission of a structural datum such as abstentionism exceeding 50% produces incomplete information that advantages the narrative of the centre-right "victory", in violation of the principle of completeness of information.

Overall Assessment pursuant to RAI Service Contract Art. 6

The broadcast analysed presents documentable violations of Art. 6 of the RAI Service Contract on three distinct levels: the separation between news and commentary (use of evaluative terminology by the host), the pluralism of information (selection of experts unanimously in favour of the government bill with the conscious exclusion of critical voices) and the completeness of information (systematic omission of relevant data such as abstentionism exceeding 50%). These violations are not episodic but constitute a systematic and consistent pattern that produces an effect of structural amplification of government positions at the expense of those of the opposition. In the context of public broadcasting, where RAI is contractually required to guarantee the impartiality of information, this pattern constitutes a violation of public service obligations that could be the subject of a complaint to AGCOM pursuant to the provisions in force on par condicio and informational pluralism.



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

1. AI Commission for Information (chaired by Father Benanti)

- FUNDING:** Government commission (state appointment and funding); Benanti is also a lecturer at the Gregorian University (pontifical ecclesiastical funding).
- MANDATE:** The commission contributed to developing the AI strategy incorporated into the bill; its mandate is not compatible with a neutral assessment of the measure it itself helped to build.
- CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Direct institutional interest in supporting the bill as confirmation of the relevance of its own work; interest in the continuity of the government mandate.
- CREDIBILITY MATRIX:** D1 Conflict of interest: -1 / D2 Personal risk: 0 / D3 Competence: +2 / D4 Consistency: +1 / D5 Emotion vs. data: +1 / D6 Source level: +1 → TOTAL: +4 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW
- OPPOSING VOICE:** Not cited; there are AI ethics experts with critical positions on the bill who were not invited.

2. Cisco Italia (represented by Gianmatteo Manghi)

- FUNDING:** Cisco Systems Inc. (American multinational, revenue ~57 billion USD); direct commercial interest in the expansion of the AI market in Italy.
- MANDATE:** Incompatible with a neutral assessment: Cisco directly benefits from regulation favourable to the expansion of AI and from public investment in the sector.
- CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Direct commercial interest; the protocol with the Vatican mentioned in the broadcast is also an institutional marketing tool.
- CREDIBILITY MATRIX:** D1 Conflict of interest: -2 / D2 Personal risk: -2 / D3 Competence: +2 / D4 Consistency: +1 / D5 Emotion vs. data: +1 / D6 Source level: 0 → TOTAL: 0 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW
- OPPOSING VOICE:** Not cited; representatives of Italian SMEs or experts critical of technology multinationals would have offered a different perspective.

3. Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore (through Ruben Razzante)

- FUNDING:** Mixed funding: ecclesiastical (Italian Episcopal Conference) and state (public contributions). Razzante is the author of a book on the topic under discussion: interest in media visibility.
- MANDATE:** Partially compatible with neutral assessment; the Catholic affiliation may influence positions on ethical issues related to AI (centrality of the person, human dignity).
- CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Promotional interest of the book; affiliation with an institution with specific ethical positions on AI (consistent with the Vatican protocol cited in the broadcast).
- CREDIBILITY MATRIX:** D1 Conflict of interest: -1 / D2 Personal risk: 0 / D3 Competence: +1 / D4 Consistency: +1 / D5 Emotion vs. data: +1 / D6 Source level: +1 → TOTAL: +3 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW
- OPPOSING VOICE:** Not cited; experts from secular public universities with critical positions on the ethical-religious approach to AI would have balanced the perspective.

IMPORTANT NOTE: The presence of three experts with Catholic or para-Catholic affiliation (Benanti/Gregoriana, Razzante/Cattolica, Manghi/Vatican protocol) in the AI segment is not declared as such by the broadcast. This concentration of voices with a specific ethical vision of AI (centred on human dignity in the Catholic sense) constitutes a further form of lack of pluralism that should have been declared to the public.

Legal and methodological framework

This is not a finding of fact

The results presented do not constitute factual findings 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



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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 intentions. Deviation values may be influenced by the choice of topics, the informational context, political controversy or the logic of the format.

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
- 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

"Lottizzazione" — the historical allocation of RAI channels according to party proportionality criteria — 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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3. Regional Administrative Court (TAR)



ANNEX 2: SCIENTIFIC REFERENCES

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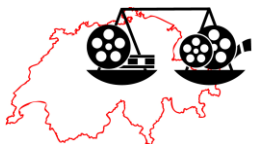
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To make our work solid, we depend on the contributions of members and supporters.

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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 do not 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, delimit. 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 enduring 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 do not only 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.



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

Framing with style. Because the frame changes everything.



RAI receives over 1.7 billion euros per year from the compulsory licence fee. Those who feel they have been treated unfairly can file a complaint. There is even an authority responsible for this: 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 polemic. Procedures, personnel, competences, costs, statistics, legal avenues. And the legal examination that demonstrates the structural deficiencies 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.