



RAI DETAILED ANALYSIS

2024-06-11_portaaporta_EU_elections_results

Broadcast: RAI Programme | 2024-06-11 | Analysed on: 2026-05-24 12:30

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**OVERALL
SCORE**

5.2/10

Considerable imbalance

0 = balanced, 10 = strongly imbalanced/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 party 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	<i>Left</i>	<i>Left</i>	<i>Left</i>	<i>Centre</i>	<i>Right</i>	<i>Right</i>	<i>Right</i>	<i>Right</i>

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)

6.2 / 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 that includes Fratelli d'Italia (Fdi), Lega, Forza Italia (FI) and Noi Moderati (NM). The opposition is led by the Partito Democratico (PD) as the main alternative 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, LGBTQ+ rights
PD	3,40	69	Opposition (main)	Public healthcare, minimum wage, pro-EU
+Europa	3,80	2	Opposition	Pro-EU, liberal-reformist
M5S	4,20	52	Opposition	Citizens' income, anti-corruption
Azione	4,90	21	Opposition	Liberal, reformist, centrist
IV	5,00	(in Az)	Opposition	Centrist, liberal-reformist
NM	5,80	7	Government	Christian-democratic, moderate
FI	6,50	45	Government	Liberal-conservative, EPP, Atlanticist
Lega	8,10	66	Government	Sovereignist, flat tax, differentiated autonomy
Fdi	8,30	119	Government (PM)	National-conservative, naval blockade, made in Italy

The Italian political landscape is traversed by four main fault lines. The first concerns the European positioning: the governing coalition presents articulated and sometimes divergent positions on European integration, with Fdi oriented towards European sovereignty and FI more Atlanticist and pro-EPP. The second concerns migration policy, with the government committed to a naval blockade and repatriations and the opposition proposing humanitarian corridors and ius scholae. The third line concerns the ecological transition and energy policy, with the government in favour of next-generation nuclear power and the opposition oriented towards renewables. The fourth, which emerged forcefully in the period analysed, concerns the cohesion of the so-called "third pole" (Azione, IV, +Europa), which underwent significant fragmentation in the European elections of June 2024.

RAI is historically characterised by the so-called "lottizzazione", i.e. the allocation 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 Board of Directors have been influenced by the governing coalition, sparking debates about editorial independence. The RAI Service Contract, in particular Article 6, imposes obligations of pluralism, completeness and impartiality of information, as well as the separation between news and commentary.



CHAPTER 1 — PARTY BIAS

Assessment by party

Party	Score (-5..+5)	Representation in the broadcast vs. programmatic position
Fdl (Fratelli d'Italia)	+2	00:01:05 "we trust Giorgia Meloni to conduct the negotiations" — Programmatic position: European sovereignism, defence of national interests — partially correct: Fdl's Europeanist position is presented in a more moderate way than the programme, with Donzelli emphasising Italy's constructive role in Europe; the sovereignist component is attenuated
PD (Partito Democratico)	+1	00:31:51 "The Partito Democratico has grown both in percentage terms and in absolute terms" — Programmatic position: strongly pro-European, minimum wage, public healthcare — partially correct: Braga cites the defence of public healthcare (33:08) and the Europeanist profile, but the position on welfare and decent work is almost absent; the representation is selective but not distorted
M5S	0	Party not directly mentioned in the broadcast — Programmatic position: citizens' income, anti-corruption, ecological transition — absent: no representation
Lega	-1	00:24:57 "Lega saved itself somewhat thanks to the Vannacci candidacy, which is however a candidacy that perpetuates the image of a very extremist party" — Programmatic position: flat tax, differentiated autonomy, closed ports — partially distorted: Lega is described primarily through the Vannacci candidacy and the decline in the North, without representation of its programmatic positions; the label "very extremist" (Franco) is not balanced
Forza Italia	+2	00:04:08 "the contribution in my view was to put forward a political proposal that was right for our history, that of the European People's Party" — Programmatic position: liberal-conservative, EPP, pro-European — correct: Lupi consistently represents FI's EPP and moderate positioning; electoral growth is documented with regional data
AVS (Alleanza Verdi Sinistra)	0	Party cited marginally as a force that grew alongside PD — Programmatic position: 100% renewables, ius soli, LGBTQ+ rights — absent/anecdotal: no substantial representation of programmatic positions

Summary of Party Bias

- Most accurate representation: FI (Score +2) — Lupi directly and consistently represents his party's positions
- Greatest distortion: Lega (Score -1) — described almost exclusively through the lens of electoral decline and the Vannacci candidacy, with no space for its programmatic positions
- Average deviation from 0: 1.0
- Conclusion: The broadcast favours the narrative of the governing coalition's success, particularly Fdl and FI, while M5S and AVS are almost completely absent. Lega is treated more critically than the other governing parties, with the label "very extremist" applied by Franco without rebuttal. PD is given space through Braga, but its most distinctive programmatic positions (minimum wage, welfare) are not developed.

General Left-Right Tendency

TENDENCY SCORE: -1.2

CLASSIFICATION: Tendency favourable to the right

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Rationale: The broadcast devotes the majority of political airtime to the narrative of the governing coalition's electoral success, with three centre-right representatives (Donzelli/FdI, Lupi/NM, Paita/IV as a centrist voice) against a single representative of the left-wing opposition (Braga/PD). The dominant framing is that of the "strengthened government" and "Italy counting more in Europe", while the opposition's positions are treated as reactive. The total absence of M5S and AVS, which together represent approximately 17% of the electorate, accentuates the imbalance.



CHAPTER 2 — BROADCAST INFORMATION AND THEMATIC FRAMEWORK

Broadcast Data

- Title: Porta a Porta
- Date (from file name): Not specified in the text; from the content it can be inferred as June 2024 (post-European elections of 9 June 2024, with reference to the Florence court ruling on Amanda Knox of 5 June 2024)
- Duration (estimated from transcript): Approximately 90 minutes
- Host/Journalist: Bruno Vespa (host); Paola Miletic (correspondent); Giovanna Botteri (correspondent from Paris); Mauro Giliberti and Pietro Durante (Mesagne report); Simona Eccil (Modena report); Vittoriano Arbate and Carlo Antonio Garazzocca (Knox report); Ilaria Gaudino and Giulio Menenti (Kata report)
- Persons interviewed:

Person	Role	Party/Affiliation	Political Spectrum
Giovanni Donzelli	Vice-President Copa, MP	Fdl	Right, government
Chiara Braga	Parliamentary group leader, Chamber	PD	Centre-left, opposition
Maurizio Lupi	President Noi Moderati	NM	Centre-right, government
Raffaella Paita	National coordinator	Italia Viva	Centre, opposition
Massimo Franco	Journalist	Corriere della Sera	Independent commentator
Analisa Chirico	Director	Fortune Italia	Commentator
Tommaso Cerno	Director	Il Tempo	Centre-right
Toni Matarrelli	Mayor	Mesagne (left)	Local left
Avv. Gerardini	Defence counsel Impagnatiello	—	Legal
Prof. Siracusano	Emeritus psychiatrist Tor Vergata	—	Expert
Conchita Borrelli	Journalist/commentator	—	Commentator
Massimo Lugli	Crime journalist	—	Commentator
Amanda Knox	Defendant/author	—	Party to proceedings
Marcello Sorgi	Journalist/author	—	Commentator

Main Topic

The broadcast addresses the political consequences of the European elections of 9 June 2024 for Italy, with particular attention to Meloni's positioning in the European negotiations and the crisis of the "third pole", alternating with crime news segments (Impagnatiello case, femicide in Modena, Kata case, Amanda Knox) and a tribute to Enrico Berlinguer on the fortieth anniversary of his death.

Debate Context

The European elections of 9 June 2024 confirmed Fdl as Italy's leading party with 28.8%, while PD obtained 24.1%. The so-called "third pole" suffered a significant defeat: the "Stati Uniti d'Europa" list (Renzi-Bonino) failed to cross the

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4% threshold, while Calenda's Azione obtained disappointing results. At the European level, the EPP was confirmed as the leading group, with growth among right-wing groups (ECR, ID) and a weakening of the socialists and liberals. In France, Macron dissolved the National Assembly following his party's defeat against Le Pen's Rassemblement National. The debate on the composition of the new European Commission and Italy's role in the negotiations is at the centre of the political agenda.



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: Massimo Franco, journalist Corriere della Sera

Time: 00:07:03

Statement: "Yes, it will count more. Because in fact the electoral result is a result that in my view, even more than for the majority, is positive for Giorgia Meloni."

Framing: Long-standing political commentator, presented as an authoritative and independent voice; his analyses are treated as neutral expert assessments.

Missing opposing voice: A political analyst with a different orientation (e.g. an academic political scientist) could have challenged the interpretation of the European vote as a personal strengthening of Meloni.

In-Depth Source Verification:

(a) FUNDING: Corriere della Sera is owned by RCS MediaGroup, with shareholders including Mediobanca and Fiat/Exor. No direct conflict of interest evident, but the newspaper has historically held moderate-conservative positions.

(b) MANDATE: Compatible with a political assessment, but Franco is a commentator, not a researcher with a verifiable methodology.

(c) CREDIBILITY MATRIX:

D1 Conflict of interest: 0 — No direct conflict of interest evident

D2 Personal risk: +1 — Expresses opinions that sometimes contradict the government narrative

D3 Expertise: +1 — Experienced political journalist, but not an academic political scientist

D4 Consistency of opinions: +1 — Historically consistent positions

D5 Emotionality vs. data: +1 — Predominantly analytical

D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary source (commentator)

TOTAL: +4 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW

(c) PROFESSIONAL EXPERTISE: Franco is presented as a neutral and authoritative voice ("the most eminent Massimo Franco"), but his assessments are journalistic opinions, not scientific analyses.

Expert 2: Prof. Siracusano, emeritus psychiatrist Tor Vergata

Time: 00:58:21

Statement: "He built a castle of lies. At a certain point in this castle of lies the purpose was, as he admits, to first eliminate the child."

Framing: Presented as a neutral psychiatric expert; author of the book "Perché mentiamo?".

In-Depth Source Verification:

(a) FUNDING: Public university (Tor Vergata); no direct conflict of interest.

(b) MANDATE: Clinical psychiatrist, not a forensic psychiatrist; his specific expertise on the Impagnatiello case was not verified during the broadcast.

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(c) CREDIBILITY MATRIX:

- D1 Conflict of interest: +1 — No evident conflict of interest
- D2 Personal risk: +1 — Expresses assessments on an ongoing case
- D3 Expertise: +1 — Psychiatrist, but not a specialised forensic psychiatrist
- D4 Consistency of opinions: +1 — Consistent throughout the broadcast
- D5 Emotionality vs. data: +1 — Predominantly technical
- D6 Source level: +1 — Primary source (sector expert)

TOTAL: +6 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: GREEN

(c) PROFESSIONAL EXPERTISE: The distinction between clinical psychiatrist and forensic psychiatrist is not made explicit, which could lead the audience to overestimate his specific authority on the case.

Expert 3: Tommaso Cerno, director of Il Tempo

Time: 00:13:04

Statement: "That hole in the centre, with the flop of Carlo Calenda and Matteo Renzi, opens up the real political race for the votes of the so-called moderates."

Framing: Presented as an analyst of electoral flows; Il Tempo is a centre-right oriented newspaper.

In-Depth Source Verification:

(a) FUNDING: Il Tempo is owned by Francesco Angelucci, an entrepreneur with interests in the healthcare sector; centre-right editorial orientation.

(b) MANDATE: Director of a partisan newspaper; not an independent electoral analyst.

(c) CREDIBILITY MATRIX:

- D1 Conflict of interest: -1 — Director of a centre-right newspaper analysing the defeat of the centre
- D2 Personal risk: 0 — No evident personal risk
- D3 Expertise: 0 — Journalist, not a political scientist
- D4 Consistency of opinions: 0 — Not verifiable in context
- D5 Emotionality vs. data: +1 — Presents numerical data, but with an oriented interpretation
- D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary source

TOTAL: 0 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW

(c) PROFESSIONAL EXPERTISE: Cerno is presented as a neutral analyst of electoral flows, but his editorial orientation is not declared; his analysis systematically favours the centre-right narrative.

Missing expert groups:

- Independent academic political scientist (e.g. Istituto Cattaneo, LUISS)
- Forensic psychiatrist for the Impagnatiello case
- Expert in European law for the Commission negotiations

Summary (matrix result per expert):

- Franco: YELLOW (+4) — Authoritative but not by definition neutral commentator
- Siracusano: GREEN (+6) — Competent, but clinical/forensic distinction not made explicit
- Cerno: YELLOW (0) — Editorial orientation not declared, partial analysis



2. SOURCE SELECTION

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Statements without primary source = penalty points (rumour check)

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

Source 1: Electoral flow data (Cerno/Il Tempo)

Time: 00:13:25 — Statement: "North-west from 7.8 to 9.4. North-east from 6.2 to 7. Centre from 6.5 to 7. South from 11.3 to 10.8. Islands from 10.7 to 20.4."

(a) Funding and management: Il Tempo, centre-right newspaper; the data are not attributed to a verifiable primary source (research institute, Ministry of the Interior).

(b) Structural conflict of interest: The flow analysis is presented by a partisan newspaper director, with interpretations that favour the centre-right narrative.

(c) A source offering an alternative interpretation of the same data is missing.

Missing opposing source: Istituto Cattaneo, SWG, Ipsos or another independent electoral analysis firm.

Source 2: European Court of Human Rights (Knox case)

Time: 01:16:17 — Statement: "as the European Court of Human Rights has recognised, my rights were violated"

(a) Funding: Independent international institution.

(b) Conflict of interest: None.

(c) The citation is immediately downplayed by Lugli: "Careful, the European Court does not say exactly this. It says, it reprimanded Italy for not having investigated the allegations of mistreatment more thoroughly" — this correction is partially correct but is not verified against the text of the ruling.

Missing opposing source: The full text of the ECHR ruling would have allowed for a precise verification.

Rumour check (penalties):

Rumour 1 (if present):

Time: 01:22:44

Statement: "There would apparently be a video filmed on the same day and at the same time, but from a different camera"

Linguistic marker: "would apparently be" (conditional)

Primary source present: no — penalty +1

Rumour 2:

Time: 01:23:32

Statement: "From that angle one would apparently see Cata continuing her descent"

Linguistic marker: "would apparently see" (conditional)

Primary source present: no — penalty +1

Summary: The broadcast uses unattributed sources for electoral data and systematically employs the conditional in the report on the Kata case without indicating the primary source of the footage. The base score is 3/10, with +2 penalties for unverified rumours = 5/10.



3. TIME DISTRIBUTION

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Definition: Distribution of speaking time among different positions.

Estimated speaking time (political segment, approximately 45 minutes):

- Donzelli (Fdl, government): approx. 8 min. (18%)
- Lupi (NM, government): approx. 9 min. (20%)
- Paita (IV, centrist opposition): approx. 6 min. (13%)
- Braga (PD, opposition): approx. 6 min. (13%)
- Franco (commentator): approx. 7 min. (16%)
- Vespa (host): approx. 5 min. (11%)
- Cerno (centre-right analyst): approx. 4 min. (9%)

Distribution by political camp (excluding host and commentators):

- Centre-right (government): Donzelli + Lupi = approx. 17 min. (55%)
- Opposition: Braga + Paita = approx. 12 min. (39%)
- Centre-right analyst (Cerno): approx. 4 min. (13%) — additional to the government camp

Summary: The centre-right has approximately 55% of political speaking time, compared to 39% for the opposition; if Cerno is included as a centre-right oriented voice, the imbalance increases further. The absence of M5S and AVS amplifies the gap. The distribution is not severely imbalanced but shows a systematic tendency in favour of the government camp.



4. SELECTIVE OMISSION

7/10

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

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

Omission 1:

Context: Total absence of M5S in the political debate

Relevant to: Entire political section (00:00:00 — 00:45:00)

Effect: M5S, which obtained 10% in the European elections and is the second opposition party, is never mentioned nor invited. This creates the impression that the Italian political landscape reduces to a confrontation between the centre-right and PD/third pole.

Omission 2:

Context: Absence of Calenda's voice in the debate on the third pole

Relevant to: 00:05:53 — 00:30:00

Effect: The narrative on the break-up of the third pole is constructed exclusively through the voice of Paita (IV), who attributes responsibility to Calenda. Calenda's absence creates a one-sided representation of an internal dispute.

Omission 3:

Context: Absence of structural analysis of femicide

Relevant to: 01:09:00 — 01:15:00

Effect: Femicide cases are treated as individual episodes with a psychological reading, without ever citing structural data (number of femicides, European comparison, effectiveness of protection measures), nor giving a voice to anti-violence associations.

Summary: The most significant omissions concern the systematic exclusion of M5S from the political debate and the absence of Calenda's voice in the debate on the third pole; both produce a distorted representation of the Italian political landscape.

Missing voices

- M5S representative: Would have contributed the perspective of the second opposition party on the European elections and the Commission negotiations
- Azione/Carlo Calenda representative: Would have offered his version of the break-up of the third pole, balancing the Paita/IV narrative
- Independent economist: Would have contextualised the implications of the budget law and the PNRR in the European negotiations
- Lega representative: Could have responded to the criticism of the Vannacci candidacy and the decline in the North
- Expert in European law: Would have clarified the formal mechanisms for the appointment of the Commission and the institutional constraints
- Representative of anti-violence associations: Would have offered a structural perspective on femicides, beyond the individual psychological reading
- Brussels correspondent: Would have provided a direct European perspective on the negotiations, not mediated by the Italian narrative
- +Europa/Emma Bonino representative: Would have offered her version of the failure of the "Stati Uniti d'Europa" list



5. DATA MANIPULATION

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

Definition: Selective or misleading use of statistics.

Finding 1:

Time: 00:13:38

Data: "North-west from 7.8 to 9.4. North-east from 6.2 to 7. Centre from 6.5 to 7. South from 11.3 to 10.8. Islands from 10.7 to 20.4. Total from 8.2 to 9.6."

Dimensions: (a) absolute value — shown; (b) percentage share — shown; (c) trend — shown

Missing context: The data are presented without indicating the primary source; the growth in the Islands (+9.7 points) is presented without explaining that it is largely attributable to strong local candidacies, as Cerno himself only marginally acknowledges ("thanks to the contribution of various strong candidates").

Effect: The impression is of an organic and uniform growth of FI, while the Islands figure is an outlier that distorts the national average.

Finding 2:

Time: 00:15:58

Data: "The Renzi case, he alone got 200,000 votes, and some sections are still missing, if he had stood in the north-east they would have made it"

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

Missing context: It is not indicated how many votes were missing to reach the 4% threshold nor the total votes of the list; the claim that Renzi standing in the north-east would have guaranteed the quorum is a counterfactual hypothesis presented as near-certainty.

Effect: The impression is created that the failure of "Stati Uniti d'Europa" to be elected is attributable exclusively to the choice not to stand Renzi in the north-east, oversimplifying a more complex issue.

Summary: Electoral data are presented without attribution of a primary source and with counterfactual interpretations presented as certainties; the Islands data for FI is used to inflate the success narrative without adequate context.



6. GUILT BY ASSOCIATION

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Definition: Discrediting by association with negative groups or ideas.

Association 1:

Time: 00:25:29

Quote: "Lega saved itself somewhat thanks to the Vannacci candidacy, which is however a candidacy that perpetuates the image of a very extremist party"

Technique: Franco associates Lega with the image of a "very extremist party" through the Vannacci candidacy, without defining what he means by "extremist" or providing supporting data.

Effect: The label "very extremist" is applied to Lega without rebuttal, creating an unverified negative association.

Association 2:

Time: 00:06:17

Quote: "instead the populists, the sovereignists will have more"

Technique: Paita uses the terms "populists" and "sovereignists" as negative labels to describe the parties that benefited from the failure of "Stati Uniti d'Europa" to be elected, without defining the terms.

Effect: The governing parties are implicitly associated with negative categories ("populists", "sovereignists") without the host requesting a definition or a rebuttal.

Association 3:

Time: 00:40:50

Quote: "this is the right that prevented the reading of a monologue by Scurati on Matteotti"

Technique: Braga associates the Meloni government with censorship and, implicitly, with fascism through the reference to Matteotti.

Effect: The association is immediately challenged by Donzelli and partially neutralised by Vespa, but the implicit link between the right and fascism is nonetheless established.

Summary (category assignment with matrix rationale):

- Lega (label "very extremist"): Category B — the label is partially supported by the Vannacci candidacy, but "very extremist" is an unverified value judgement
- "Populists/sovereignists" (Paita): Category B — terms used as negative labels without definition
- Right-fascism association (Braga): Category B — the reference to Matteotti is historically grounded, but the direct association with the current government is an undemonstrated logical leap



7. TIMING

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

Finding 1:

Position: 00:00:31 (beginning)

Content: "On the international level I believe that Italy, also thanks to what happened in France and Germany, will truly return to being part of the game"

Timing effect: The broadcast opens with a success narrative for the Italian government, immediately establishing the dominant frame ("Italy counts more") before any critical voice can intervene.

Finding 2:

Position: 00:45:56 (end of political section)

Content: Tribute to Enrico Berlinguer on the fortieth anniversary of his death

Timing effect: The Berlinguer segment closes the political section with a nostalgic and bipartisan tone, attenuating the tensions of the preceding debate and creating an impression of retrospective balance that does not reflect the actual content of the broadcast.

Summary: The temporal structure of the broadcast favours opening with the government success narrative and closes the political section with an element of national cohesion (Berlinguer), producing a framing effect favourable to the government.



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 only be assessed as selective if comparable events in other positions have not produced an analogous reaction.

Finding 1:

Time: 00:40:50

Triggering event: Braga raises the Scurati case (monologue on Matteotti not broadcast by RAI) as an example of authoritarian drift

Reaction: "That is an attack on Giorgia Meloni. Matteotti has nothing to do with it. Please, excuse me." (Donzelli, 00:42:08) — heated reaction, with interruption

Comparison: When Donzelli states that the opposition "speaks badly of Italy abroad" (00:40:26), Braga responds in a critical tone but is not interrupted nor does the host intervene to balance

Asymmetry: Donzelli is allowed to respond in a heated tone and interrupting Braga; when Braga raises the Scurati case, Vespa intervenes to downplay it ("the President of RAI has said that there was no censorship") without offering Braga the same space to respond

Degree of outrage: 3/5

Selectivity: 3/5

Finding 2:

Time: 00:43:03

Triggering event: Braga criticises Donzelli for what he said in Parliament on the Cospito case

Reaction: "Excuse me, why is there no freedom to speak in Parliament? This is the democracy of the left, why should I not have spoken in Parliament." (Donzelli) — very heated tone

Comparison: When Lupi criticises the "third pole" for having "wasted an opportunity" (00:18:13), no analogous reaction from the third pole representatives present

Asymmetry: Criticism of the government produces heated reactions from government representatives; criticism of the opposition does not produce equivalent reactions

Degree of outrage: 3/5

Selectivity: 2/5

Summary: A moderate asymmetry in outrage is recorded: government representatives react with greater intensity to criticism than opposition representatives, and the host tends to intervene to downplay criticism of the government (Scurati case) without doing the same for criticism of the opposition.



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:

Time: Entire political section

Missing perspective/fact: Position and result of M5S in the European elections

Relevance: M5S obtained 10% in the European elections, is the second opposition party and has a distinct position both on the future of Europe and on building a government alternative

Impact: The absence of M5S creates the impression that the opposition landscape reduces to PD and the remnants of the third pole, distorting the representation of Italian political forces

Finding 2:

Time: 00:40:50 — 00:44:00

Missing perspective/fact: Independent analysis of the Scurati case and press freedom in Italy

Relevance: The Scurati case had international resonance (also cited by Le Monde colleagues present in the studio) and directly concerns RAI as a public broadcaster

Impact: The topic is raised by Braga but immediately neutralised by Donzelli and Vespa, without an independent analysis being offered; the presence of Le Monde colleagues is used for a quip ("Let us reassure or make suspicious the colleague from Le Monde") rather than for an in-depth discussion

Finding 3:

Time: 01:09:00 — 01:15:00

Missing perspective/fact: Structural data on femicide in Italy and prevention measures

Relevance: Italy records approximately 100 femicides per year; the debate focuses exclusively on the individual psychology of the perpetrators without ever citing comparative data, the effectiveness of the Codice Rosso or the position of anti-violence associations

Impact: The episodic and psychological treatment of femicides prevents a structural understanding of the phenomenon and of possible political responses

Summary: The most significant omissions concern the exclusion of M5S, the absence of an independent analysis of the Scurati/press freedom case and the lack of a structural perspective on femicide; overall the broadcast offers a partial picture of the topics covered.

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] Italy's position in the negotiations for the European Commission and Italian candidates

[B] **Analysis of the European vote:** causes of Fdl's success and Lega's decline

[C] **Crisis of the "third pole":** responsibility of Renzi, Calenda and Bonino

[D] Prospects of the centre-left opposition and the broad coalition

[E] Political situation in France and implications for Europe

[F] Position of M5S after the European elections

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



[G] Economic implications of the European negotiations (budget law, PNRR)

[H] Issue of press freedom and RAI under the Meloni government (Scurati case)

[I] Analysis of femicide as a structural phenomenon (Modena case, Impagnatiello case)

[J] State of the investigation into the Kata case one year after the disappearance

[A] COVERED

Time: 00:10:29 — Quote: "The idea is a commissioner's seat for the internal market strengthened by the competition portfolio" — Assessment: The perspective is treated in depth through Miletić's report and the studio debate, with concrete hypotheses on names and portfolios.

[B] COVERED

Time: 00:24:24 — Quote: "I believe that in the North they did not appreciate the line followed by Matteo Salvini regarding both relations with NATO and this endemic conflict with Giorgia Meloni's government" — Assessment: Covered primarily through Franco's reading, with electoral flow data provided by Cerno; a voice from Lega itself is missing.

[C] COVERED

Time: 00:05:53 — Quote: "We suffered the break-up of the third pole by Carlo Calenda" — Assessment: Covered extensively but with a framing that privileges the Italia Viva narrative (Paita) and Cerno's critical reading; Calenda's voice is missing.

[D] ANECDOTAL

Time: 00:31:18 — Quote: "The Partito Democratico has grown both in percentage terms and in absolute terms" — Assessment: Braga has space to present PD's growth, but the perspective on building a government alternative is treated superficially.

[E] COVERED

Time: 00:37:33 — Quote: "An alliance on the right, with those who share the ideas and values of the city" — Assessment: Botteri's report covers the French situation in detail, with attention to the Ciotti-Le Pen agreement and the internal reactions within the Républicains.

[F] ABSENT

Time: — — Quote: — — Assessment: M5S, the second opposition party with 10% in the European elections, is never mentioned in the political part of the broadcast.

[G] ANECDOTAL

Time: 00:03:24 — Quote: "Giorgetti has pursued an economic policy that has been very rewarding, given the results from the rating agencies" — Assessment: The economic implications of the European negotiations (budget law, PNRR, Stability Pact) are only touched upon.

[H] COVERED (partially)

Time: 00:40:50 — Quote: "this is the right that prevented the reading of a monologue by Scurati on Matteotti" — Assessment: The topic is raised by Braga but is quickly neutralised by Donzelli and Vespa himself, without an autonomous in-depth examination of the issue.

[I] COVERED

Time: 01:09:36 — Quote: "at the moment when women above all come to be killed, they come to be killed in a way that truly wants to erase them from the face of the earth" — Assessment: Femicide as a structural phenomenon is touched upon, but in a fragmented way across the various crime news cases.

[J] COVERED

Time: 01:22:59 — Quote: "For a year these have been the last images of little Cata" — Assessment: The Kata case is covered with a dedicated report and a studio debate with experts.

Completeness Score: 6/10

The broadcast covers the main perspectives related to the European elections and Italian politics, but presents significant gaps: the total absence of M5S (second opposition party), the superficial treatment of the economic implications of the European negotiations and the lack of a voice from Calenda in the debate on the third pole reduce overall completeness. The crime news segments, while handled competently, occupy approximately 40% of the broadcast without a clear thematic thread.

1. Il Tempo (Tommaso Cerno, electoral flow analysis)

1. FUNDING: Il Tempo is owned by Francesco Angelucci, an entrepreneur in the healthcare sector; centre-right editorial orientation.

2. MANDATE: General information newspaper; not an electoral research institute.



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

3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST: Editorial orientation favourable to the centre-right; the electoral flow analysis is presented by a partisan director.

4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX: D1 Conflict of interest: -1 / D2 Personal risk: 0 / D3 Expertise: 0 / D4 Consistency: 0 / D5 Emotion vs. data: +1 / D6 Source level: 0 → TOTAL: 0 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW

5. OPPOSING VOICE: Not cited; an independent research institute (e.g. Istituto Cattaneo) would have offered a methodologically verifiable analysis.

2. European Court of Human Rights (cited by Knox and downplayed by Lugli)

1. FUNDING: International institution of the Council of Europe; public funding from member states.

2. MANDATE: Fully compatible with the assessment of human rights violations.

3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST: None.

4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX: D1: +2 / D2: +2 / D3: +2 / D4: +2 / D5: +2 / D6: +2 → TOTAL: +12 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: GREEN

5. OPPOSING VOICE: The full text of the ECHR ruling is not cited; the reduction made by Lugli ("it reprimanded Italy for not having investigated the allegations more thoroughly") is partially correct but not verified during the broadcast.

3. Psychiatric consultants in the Impagnatiello case (cited indirectly through lawyer Gerardini)

1. FUNDING: Party consultants (defence); private funding.

2. MANDATE: Defence consultants; their mandate is by definition partial.

3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST: Structural: defence consultants have an institutional interest in supporting the defence thesis.

4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX: D1: -2 (structural conflict) / D2: 0 / D3: +1 / D4: 0 / D5: 0 / D6: +1 → TOTAL: 0 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW

5. OPPOSING VOICE: The civil party consultants are cited in the introductory report but are not invited to the studio; the court-appointed expert has not yet been appointed at the time of the broadcast.

IMPORTANT: "Recognised" and "authoritative" are not objective qualifications. They are social attributions that must themselves be critically verified.



Softfacts — 6 qualitative techniques

10. FRAMING

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Definition: How is the topic fundamentally framed?

Finding 1:

Time: 00:00:31

Quote: "On the international level I believe that Italy, also thanks to what happened in France and Germany, will truly return to being part of the game"

Manipulation: The dominant frame of the broadcast is established immediately: Italy (= the Meloni government) is the winner of the European elections and now "counts more". This frame is never systematically challenged.

Why problematic: The frame excludes the possibility that FdI's success could have negative implications (e.g. isolation in the European negotiations, tensions with EPP partners) and presents electoral growth as automatically translatable into political influence.

Finding 2:

Time: 00:19:04

Quote: "for 30 years now the system has been bipolar, not bipartisan. That means there is an alternation, a proposal where there is a coalition, a political proposal, which for 30 years has been called the centre-right, and an alternative, which is called the centre-left"

Manipulation: Lupi imposes a bipolar frame that by definition excludes the possibility of an autonomous third pole, presenting bipolarity as a natural law of Italian politics.

Why problematic: The bipolar frame is presented as a fact ("it is a fact") rather than as a political choice; this frame structurally advantages the major parties and penalises centrist forces.

Finding 3:

Time: 00:39:37

Quote: "They came to see what RAI is like in a moment of joy. Thanks to Giorgia Meloni."

Manipulation: Vespa frames the presence of Le Monde colleagues as a congratulatory visit for the government's success, transforming a potential criticism (foreign journalists concerned about press freedom) into an element of celebration.

Why problematic: The ironic-celebratory frame prevents a serious debate on the concerns of foreign journalists regarding press freedom in Italy.

Summary: The dominant frame of the broadcast is that of "Italian success" post-European elections, which is established at the opening and maintained throughout the political section; alternative frames (risks for Italy in the negotiations, concerns about press freedom) are systematically downplayed or treated ironically.



11. WORD CHOICE AND TERMINOLOGY

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

Finding 1:

Time: 00:06:17

Quote: "instead the populists, the sovereignists will have more"

Manipulation: The terms "populists" and "sovereignists" are used as negative labels without definition, implicitly associating the governing parties with categories that are politically connoted negatively in Europeanist discourse.

Why problematic: A neutral alternative would be: "the Eurosceptic parties" or "the nationalist parties"; the use of "populists" and "sovereignists" as negative terms reflects a Europeanist frame that is not declared as such.

Finding 2:

Time: 00:25:29

Quote: "a very extremist party"

Manipulation: Franco applies the label "very extremist" to Lega without defining the term or providing supporting data; the host does not ask for clarification.

Why problematic: A neutral alternative would be: "a party with more radical positions on the identity level"; "very extremist" is an unverified value judgement that is presented as analysis.

Finding 3:

Time: 00:02:04

Quote: "I saw that the Luminano was in any case the result of a negotiation by Meloni that God curse it in some way"

Manipulation: Braga uses the expression "God curse it" ironically in reference to von der Leyen, then corrects herself; the host laughs and does not intervene. The expression, even if ironic, introduces an informal tone that lowers the level of the debate.

Why problematic: The expression is used in a joking manner but creates an atmosphere of familiarity that can reduce the audience's critical perception of subsequent statements.

Summary: The broadcast uses politically connoted terms ("populists", "sovereignists", "very extremist") without defining or contextualising them; this produces an implicit framing effect that is not declared as such.



12. HOST BEHAVIOUR

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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 only be assessed as asymmetric if comparable events with other guests have not produced an analogous intervention.

Finding 1:

Time: 00:41:05

Triggering event: Braga raises the Scurati case as an example of authoritarian drift

Quote (host): "I would like to point out that the President of RAI, who is not exactly an expression of Giorgia Meloni, has said that there was no censorship"

Comparison: When Donzelli states that the opposition "speaks badly of Italy abroad" (00:40:26), Vespa does not intervene to verify or downplay the statement

Asymmetry: Vespa actively intervenes to downplay the criticism of the government (Scurati case) but does not intervene to verify the government's statements (opposition speaking badly of Italy); this produces an effect of asymmetric protection of the government.

Finding 2:

Time: 00:03:41

Triggering event: Lupi begins to speak about Noi Moderati's contribution to FI's result

Quote (host): "Maurizio Lupi naturally attributes all of Forza Italia's success to himself"

Comparison: When Braga attributes PD's success to Schlein's leadership (00:33:41), Vespa makes no analogous ironic comments

Asymmetry: The host uses irony towards Lupi (government) but not towards Braga (opposition); however, the irony towards Lupi is good-natured and not critical, which reduces the severity of the asymmetry.

Finding 3:

Time: 01:07:17

Triggering event: Lawyer Gerardini does not respond to Vespa's direct questions about the line of defence

Quote (host): "So, excuse me, lawyer, before the questions are presented and explained, do you not have a line of defence?"

Comparison: When Donzelli avoids directly answering the question about authoritarian drift (00:40:03), Vespa does not insist with the same determination

Asymmetry: Vespa insists determinedly with lawyer Gerardini (non-politician) but does not use the same technique with political guests who avoid uncomfortable questions; this suggests greater deference towards political guests.

Summary: The host's behaviour shows a moderate asymmetry: he intervenes to downplay criticism of the government (Scurati case) but not to verify the government's statements; he uses irony selectively and shows greater deference towards political guests compared to non-political experts.



13. QUESTION ASYMMETRY

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

Asymmetry 1:

To Donzelli (FdI), 00:22:52: "Are you totally indifferent to the possibility that the third pole might look, let's say, in this direction?" — neutral/soft question

To Braga (PD), 00:31:05: "let us hear what the Braga Tribunal thinks of Massimo Franco's assessment that you could achieve even more important results than the current ones, but without a coalition" — question that incorporates an implicit criticism (PD does not have a coalition)

Comparison: The question to Donzelli is open and does not presuppose a criticism; the question to Braga incorporates Franco's critical assessment as a premise, putting Braga in a defensive position.

Asymmetry 2:

To Lupi (NM), 00:04:24: "Will a Europeanist go?" — open, almost rhetorical question

To Paita (IV), 00:16:30: "So, not ripaita, you saw the reprimand, to be like this, not so-and-so against so-and-so, the cannabis one, etc., but in the end if Renzi had stood everywhere, would you have made it" — question that already incorporates the expected answer and uses Cerno's "reprimand" as a premise

Comparison: The question to Lupi is open and does not presuppose a criticism; the question to Paita already incorporates a negative assessment (Cerno's "reprimand") as a premise.

Summary: A moderate asymmetry in questions is recorded: questions to government representatives tend to be more open and less presuppositional, while questions to opposition representatives more frequently incorporate critical assessments as premises.



14. FALSE BALANCE

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Definition: Artificial balance despite a real imbalance.

Finding 1:

Time: 00:45:25 — Construct: "We could have said it would have been better to show the mayor of Aspera. The mayor of Ascoli from Fratelli d'Italia who gets 73%. No! And that whoever governs well, whether on the left or on the right, is always rewarded by voters."

Analysis: Lupi uses the report on the left-wing mayor of Mesagne (95%) to construct an apparent equidistance ("it can be left or right"), but the report had been chosen by the host and the comparison with the mayor of Ascoli (Fdl, 73%) is only mentioned verbally without being shown; the balance is declared but not realised.

Summary: No serious cases of false balance are recorded; the Mesagne mayor case represents an attempt to construct an apparent equidistance that is not, however, concretely realised in the choice of reports.



15. AGENDA-SETTING

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

Finding 1:

Agenda element established: Fdl's electoral success automatically translates into greater European influence

Time: 00:00:38 — Evidence: "Italy, also thanks to what happened in France and Germany, will truly return to being part of the game"

Alternative agenda: The question of whether and how Fdl's positioning in the ECR (and not in the EPP) limits its influence in the European negotiations is never posed as a systematic question.

Finding 2:

Agenda element established: Bipolarity is a natural law of Italian politics

Time: 00:19:04 — Evidence: "for 30 years now the system has been bipolar, not bipartisan"

Alternative agenda: The possibility that the proportional electoral system (used for the European elections) produces dynamics different from bipolarity, or that bipolarity is a political choice and not a structural necessity, is never discussed.

Finding 3:

Agenda element established: Press freedom in Italy is not at risk

Time: 00:39:49 — Evidence: "We do not see this spectre of censorship. Just as we do not see authoritarian governments."

Alternative agenda: The concerns of foreign journalists (Le Monde colleagues present in the studio) are treated as a misunderstanding to be corrected, not as an issue to be explored; international data on press freedom in Italy (e.g. RSF rankings) are never cited.

Summary: The broadcast's agenda takes three elements for granted: electoral success translates into European influence, bipolarity is a natural law and press freedom in Italy is not at risk; these premises are never systematically challenged.



CHAPTER 4 — OVERALL ASSESSMENT

Overview of Individual Scores

No.	Criterion	Type	Score	Main finding (1 sentence)
1	Expert selection	H	6	Oriented commentators presented as neutral voices; absence of independent academic political scientists
2	Source selection	H	5	Electoral data without primary source; systematic use of the conditional in the Kata case without attribution
3	Time distribution	H	6	Centre-right with approximately 55% of political airtime; M5S and AVS completely absent
4	Omissions	H	7	Total absence of M5S; lack of Calenda's voice; no structural analysis of femicide
5	Data manipulation	H	4	FI Islands data used without context; counterfactual hypothesis on Renzi presented as near-certainty
6	Guilt by association	H	4	Labels "very extremist" and "populists/sovereignists" used without definition or rebuttal
7	Timing	H	3	Opening with government success frame; closing with Berlinguer as an element of cohesion
8	Selective outrage	H	5	More heated reactions from the government to criticism; host downplays criticism of the government but not of the opposition
9	Completeness	H	6	M5S absent; Scurati case neutralised; femicide treated only as an individual episode
10	Framing	S	6	Dominant frame "Italy that counts more" established at the opening and never systematically challenged
11	Word choice	S	5	Politically connoted terms used without definition; "very extremist" applied to Lega
12	Host behaviour	S	6	Asymmetric intervention on the Scurati case; greater deference towards government political guests
13	Question asymmetry	S	5	Questions to government representatives more open; questions to the opposition incorporate criticisms as premises
14	False balance	S	3	Balance declared but not realised in the report on the mayor of Mesagne
15	Agenda-Setting	S	6	Three undiscussed premises: success=European influence, natural bipolarity, press freedom not at risk

Results

- HARDFACTS SCORE (average criteria 1-9): 5.1 / 10
- SOFTFACTS SCORE (average criteria 10-15): 5.2 / 10



- OVERALL SCORE (average all 15 criteria): 5.1 / 10

Dominant Techniques

The 3 strongest techniques in this broadcast:

- 1. Omissions (Score 7):** The total absence of M5S (10% in the European elections, second opposition party) and the lack of Calenda's voice in the debate on the third pole produce a systematically distorted representation of the Italian political landscape; these omissions do not appear to be accidental but structural.
- 2. Framing (Score 6):** The "Italian success" frame is established in the first 30 seconds of the broadcast and maintained throughout the political section; alternative frames (risks in the European negotiations, concerns about press freedom) are systematically downplayed or treated ironically by the host.
- 3. Host behaviour (Score 6):** Vespa actively intervenes to downplay criticism of the government (Scurati case: "the President of RAI has said that there was no censorship") but does not use the same technique to verify the government's statements; this produces an effect of asymmetric protection of the governing coalition.

Key Messages of the Broadcast

****MESSAGE 1 (CONTENT):** ** "The Meloni government emerged strengthened from the European elections and Italy will count more in Europe."

Technique: Framing + Agenda-Setting — Evidence: 00:00:31, 00:10:36, 00:23:44

****MESSAGE 2 (PERSONAL):** ** "The third pole failed because of Calenda, not Renzi or Bonino."

Technique: Omission (absence of Calenda) + Source selection (only Paita and Cerno) — Evidence: 00:05:53, 00:16:30, 00:29:03

****MESSAGE 3 (SOCIAL):** ** "Press freedom in Italy is not at risk; the concerns of foreign journalists are the result of disinformation by the opposition."

Technique: Framing + Host behaviour — Evidence: 00:39:37, 00:40:03, 00:41:05

Classification of the Degree of Manipulation

Rationale: The broadcast presents a clear one-sidedness in the political section, with an overall score of 5.1/10. The structural omissions (M5S, Calenda), the dominant framing of government success and the asymmetric behaviour of the host produce a representation that is systematically favourable to the governing coalition. However, the presence of Braga (PD) and the treatment of critical topics (Scurati case, press freedom) prevent the broadcast from being classified as "systematic imbalance". Under the RAI Service Contract Art. 6, which requires pluralism, completeness and impartiality, moderate but documentable violations are identified, in particular regarding the completeness of the representation of political forces and the impartiality of the host's behaviour.

CONCLUSION

The episode of Porta a Porta analysed presents a clear tendency favourable to the governing coalition, documentable through structural omissions (absence of M5S, lack of Calenda's voice), a dominant framing of "Italian success" established at the opening and never systematically challenged, and host behaviour that intervenes asymmetrically to downplay criticism of the government. Under the RAI Service Contract Art. 6, which requires pluralism, completeness and impartiality of information, moderate but documentable violations are identified: completeness is compromised by the absence of relevant political forces (M5S, AVS) and critical voices (Calenda), while impartiality is called into question by the host's intervention on the Scurati case (00:41:05) and the asymmetric distribution of speaking time. The broadcast does not reach the level of "systematic imbalance" thanks to the presence of an opposition representative (Braga) and the treatment, albeit partial, of critical topics; however, the overall pattern of editorial choices (guests, framing, omissions) is consistent with a tendency favourable to the Meloni government that exceeds the limits of a slight acceptable tendency in a public service broadcaster.



OVERALL ASSESSMENT OF THE 15 CRITERIA

Individual scores — All 15 criteria

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

HARDFACTS SCORE (1-8)

5.1/10

Considerable imbalance

SOFTFACTS SCORE (9-14)

5.2/10

Considerable imbalance

OVERALL SCORE

5.2/10

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	Slight 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 audience'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-cutting 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-party bias (from -5 to +5)

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



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

Assessment under the 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: RAI Service Contract Art. 6 — Pluralism

Facts: Total absence of M5S (10% in the European elections, second opposition party) and AVS (6.8% in the European elections) from the entire political section of the broadcast

Evidence: Entire political section (00:00:00 — 00:45:00) — no substantial mention of M5S nor invitation of a representative

Assessment: The informational pluralism required by Art. 6 implies the representation of the main political forces in proportion to their electoral weight; the systematic exclusion of the second opposition party constitutes a violation of the principle of pluralism, all the more serious given that the broadcast takes place immediately after European elections in which M5S obtained 10%.

Violation 2:

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

Facts: The host actively intervenes to downplay a criticism of the government (Scurati case) by citing the position of the RAI President as an argument from authority, without offering the same space for a response to the criticism

Evidence: 00:41:05 — "I would like to point out that the President of RAI, who is not exactly an expression of Giorgia Meloni, has said that there was no censorship"

Assessment: The host assumes an editorial position in the political debate, violating the principle of separation between news and commentary; the use of the RAI President's position as an argument to neutralise a criticism of the government constitutes an interference by the host in the political debate that is not compatible with the requirement of impartiality.

Violation 3:

Norm: RAI Service Contract Art. 6 — Completeness

Facts: The topic of press freedom in Italy, raised by the presence of Le Monde colleagues and the Scurati case, is treated ironically and downplayed without an autonomous in-depth examination

Evidence: 00:39:37 — "They came to see what RAI is like in a moment of joy. Thanks to Giorgia Meloni."

Assessment: The completeness of information requires that topics of public relevance (press freedom, RAI independence) be treated with the same depth as other political topics; the ironic and reductive treatment of this topic by the host violates the requirement of completeness.

Overall Assessment RAI Service Contract Art. 6

The broadcast analysed presents moderate but documentable violations of the RAI Service Contract Art. 6 on three dimensions: pluralism (absence of M5S and AVS), impartiality (asymmetric intervention by the host on the Scurati case) and completeness (ironic and reductive treatment of the press freedom topic). The violations do not reach the level of a systematic distortion of information, but the overall pattern of editorial choices is consistent with a tendency favourable to the Meloni government that exceeds the limits of a slight acceptable tendency in a public service broadcaster funded by the licence fee. In any potential proceedings before AGCOM, the most solid documentary evidence would be the absence of M5S (quantifiable violation of pluralism) and the host's intervention on the Scurati case (verifiable violation of impartiality with a textual citation).



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

1. Il Tempo (Tommaso Cerno, electoral flow analysis)

- FUNDING:** Il Tempo is owned by Francesco Angelucci, an entrepreneur in the healthcare sector; centre-right editorial orientation.
- MANDATE:** General information newspaper; not an electoral research institute.
- CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Editorial orientation favourable to the centre-right; the electoral flow analysis is presented by a partisan director.
- CREDIBILITY MATRIX:** D1 Conflict of interest: -1 / D2 Personal risk: 0 / D3 Expertise: 0 / D4 Consistency: 0 / D5 Emotion vs. data: +1 / D6 Source level: 0 → TOTAL: 0 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW
- OPPOSING VOICE:** Not cited; an independent research institute (e.g. Istituto Cattaneo) would have offered a methodologically verifiable analysis.

2. European Court of Human Rights (cited by Knox and downplayed by Lugli)

- FUNDING:** International institution of the Council of Europe; public funding from member states.
- MANDATE:** Fully compatible with the assessment of human rights violations.
- CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** None.
D1 Conflict of interest: +2
D2 Personal risk: +2
D3 Professional expertise: +2
D4 Consistency of opinions: +2
D5 Emotionality vs. data: +2
D6 Source level: +2
- OPPOSING VOICE:** The full text of the ECHR ruling is not cited; the reduction made by Lugli ("it reprimanded Italy for not having investigated the allegations more thoroughly") is partially correct but not verified during the broadcast.

3. Psychiatric consultants in the Impagnatiello case (cited indirectly through lawyer Gerardini)

- FUNDING:** Party consultants (defence); private funding.
- MANDATE:** Defence consultants; their mandate is by definition partial.
- CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Structural: defence consultants have an institutional interest in supporting the defence thesis.
D1 Conflict of interest: -2
D2 Personal risk: 0
D3 Professional expertise: +1
D4 Consistency of opinions: 0
D5 Emotionality vs. data: 0
D6 Source level: +1
- OPPOSING VOICE:** The civil party consultants are cited in the introductory report but are not invited to the studio; the court-appointed expert has not yet been appointed at the time of the broadcast.

IMPORTANT: "Recognised" and "authoritative" are not objective qualifications. They are social attributions that must themselves be critically verified.

Source credibility traffic light:

Source	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	Total	Signal
European Court of Human Rights (cited by Knox and downplayed by Lugli)	+2	+2	+2	+2	+2	+2	?	?
Psychiatric consultants in the Impagnatiello case	-2	0	+1	0	0	+1	?	?



(cited indirectly through lawyer Gerardini)

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 under RAI Service Contract Art. 7. The assessment of whether a specific broadcast violates legal requirements is the exclusive 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 information 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 political, social, cultural and religious opinions and tendencies.

Law 28/2000 (Par Condicio)

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

RAI Code of Ethics (2017)

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

European reference framework

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

Structural context

The "lottizzazione" — the historical 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 (Autorità per le Garanzie nelle Comunicazioni): Media regulation, sanctions
- Parliamentary supervisory committee RAI: Parliamentary oversight

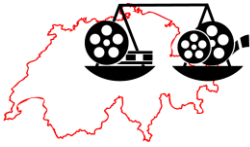
Complaint procedure

1. RAI internal complaints office
2. AGCOM



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3. Regional Administrative Court (TAR)



ANNEX 2: SCIENTIFIC REFERENCES

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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 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 being subjected to it — and start shaping it.

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



You think you see the world. In reality, you see the frame that someone has placed around it. Framing is the oldest and most elegant manipulation technique in the world. It does not change the facts — it changes what we make of the facts. What we feel. What we believe. How we decide. And it works — because we all participate. Every day. Unconsciously. You too. This book is not a dry manual. It is a workbook — playful, direct, full of examples from real life. You 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 a dedicated authority: AGCOM, the Autorità per le Garanzie nelle Comunicazioni.

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

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

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