



## RAI DETAILED ANALYSIS

2026-04-15\_portaaporta\_Regular\_April\_2026

Broadcast: RAI-Sendung | 2026-04-15 | Analysed on: 2026-05-24 11:07

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

### OVERALL SCORE

**7.0/10**

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

0 = balanced, 10 = strongly unbalanced/manipulative

## POLITICAL SPECTRUM

Classification according to Chapel Hill Expert Survey (CHES) 2024

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

**3.2 / 10**

*Favourable to the left*

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

← Left

Right →

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

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



## POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

The Italian government in office since October 2022 is 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 main opposition is represented by the Partito Democratico (PD) of Elly Schlein, followed by the Movimento 5 Stelle (M5S) of Giuseppe Conte, the Alleanza Verdi Sinistra (AVS), Azione and Italia Viva (IV).

Party	CHES L-R	Seats	Government/Opposition	Key position
AVS	2,30	12	Opposition	100% renewables, ius soli, LGBTQ+ rights
PD	3,40	69	Opposition (main)	Pro-EU, minimum wage, ecological transition
+Europa	3,80	2	Opposition	European federalism, pro-progressive market
M5S	4,20	52	Opposition	Citizens' income, anti-corruption
Azione	4,90	21	Opposition	Liberal reformism, Draghi agenda
Italia Viva	5,00	(in Az)	Opposition	Liberal centrism, structural reforms
Noi Moderati	5,80	7	Government	Christian-democratic, moderate
Forza Italia	6,50	45	Government	Liberal-conservative, Atlanticist, EPP
Lega	8,10	66	Government	Sovereignism, flat tax, differentiated autonomy
Fdi	8,30	119	Government (PM)	National-conservative, identity, made in Italy

The main lines of political conflict in Italy concern: (1) positioning with respect to Trump's United States and NATO, with cross-cutting divisions between government and opposition; (2) energy policy and sanctions against Russia in the context of the war in Ukraine; (3) the leadership of the progressive camp ahead of the 2027 general elections, with the dispute between PD and M5S over the prime ministerial candidacy; (4) the electoral law reform proposed by the majority, contested by the opposition as "plebiscitary".

RAI is historically characterised by the so-called "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 management of TG1 and the RAI Board of Directors are controlled by the governing coalition, while AGCOM, formally independent, is subject to politically influenced appointments. The RAI Service Contract requires pluralism, completeness and impartiality of information pursuant to Art. 6.



## CHAPTER 1 — PARTY BIAS

Party	Score (-5..+5)	Representation in the broadcast vs. programmatic position
Fdl (Fratelli d'Italia)	-2	00:20:41 "Meloni arrived late and badly" (Gomez); 00:23:08 "she pays the political price of her inadequacy" (Gomez) — Programmatic position: defence of national interests, European sovereignism — distorted: Fdl's foreign policy positions are systematically presented as subservience or failure, without adequate space for a reply; Bignami (Fdl) is the only government guest and is frequently interrupted
PD (Partito Dem.)	+1	00:43:23 clip of Schlein in Parliament presented positively; 00:48:23 "Schlein is still there" (Gomez, approving tone) — Programmatic position: pro-EU, European integration — substantially correct, with a slight tonal bias
M5S (Cinque Stelle)	-1	00:44:26 Bignami criticises Conte over the Covid commission and lawyer Di Donno — Programmatic position: anti-corruption, transparency — partially distorted: the criticism is legitimate but not balanced by an M5S reply; Conte cited only indirectly
Lega	0	Not directly mentioned in the broadcast — absent
Forza Italia	0	Not directly mentioned — absent
+Europa	+2	00:45:54 Maggi sets out the European federalist position with ample space and without significant interruptions — Programmatic position: United States of Europe, federalism — correct and favourably presented

### Summary of Party Bias

- Most accurate representation: +Europa (Maggi), score +2
- Most marked distortion: Fdl, score -2
- Average deviation from 0: 1.0
- Conclusion: The broadcast reserves a systematically critical representation for Fdl, with Gomez repeatedly attacking Meloni without the moderator balancing this with equivalent questions to opposition guests. +Europa instead receives favourable and uncontested space. Lega and FI are completely absent from the debate, creating a gap in the representation of the governing coalition.

### Overall Left-Right Tendency

TENDENCY SCORE: +1.8

(Positive = favourable to the left, Negative = favourable to the right, 0.0 = balanced)

CLASSIFICATION: Favourable to the left

Rationale: The broadcast hosts four voices critical of the government (Gomez, Maggi, Schiavazzi, Di Feo with detached analytical tones) against a single government representative (Bignami/Fdl). The dominant framing of Meloni's foreign policy is that of "inadequacy" and "subservience", while Europeanist and progressive positions are presented as rational and necessary. The interview with Reza Pahlavi, while not directly partisan, fits into a pro-military intervention in Iran narrative that is not counterbalanced by critical voices.



## CHAPTER 2 — BROADCAST INFORMATION AND THEMATIC FRAMEWORK

### Broadcast Data

- Title: Quarta Repubblica (RAI — identified in the text as "Quarta Porta" in the transcript, likely an automatic transcription error; the format corresponds to Quarta Repubblica, Rete 4/Mediaset, or an analogous RAI talk show)
- Date (from file name): Not specified in the transcript; internal content suggests April–May 2025 (references to Leone XIV, war in Iran, Hungarian elections)
- Estimated duration from transcript: approximately 83 minutes (00:00:00 → 01:23:55)
- Host: Not explicitly named in the transcript; the host asks questions in the first person without being identified
- Persons interviewed:

Person	Role	Party/Affiliation	Political spectrum
Galeazzo Bignami	Parliamentary group leader (Chamber)	Fdl (government)	Right
Riccardo Maggi	Secretary	+Europa (opposition)	Centre-left, pro-EU
Tommaso Cerno	Director	Il Giornale	Centre-right, independent
Peter Gomez	Director	Il Fatto Quotidiano	Left, critical of government
Piero Schiavazzi	Analyst	Huffington Post	Centre-left
Gianluca Di Feo	Military analyst	La Repubblica	Centre-left
Reza Pahlavi	Crown Prince	Iranian opposition in exile	Liberal-monarchist
Federico Rampini	Journalist/author	Mondadori (book "Pane e cannoni")	Liberal centre-right
Psychiatrist (anonymous)	Clinical expert	Not specified	Neutral/technical
Simone Canettieri	Journalist	Corriere della Sera	Centrist
Francisca de Candia	Journalist	Not specified	Neutral/technical
Paola Miletic	Journalist	Not specified	Neutral/technical

### Main Topic

The broadcast analyses Italy's international position in the context of the war in Iran, the Ukrainian conflict, tensions with Trump and the internal dynamics of the Italian progressive camp.

### Context of the Global Debate

The broadcast takes place at a moment of strong geopolitical instability: Trump's United States has launched military operations against Iran together with Israel, the Strait of Hormuz is partially blocked with consequences for global energy prices, and the Russian-Ukrainian conflict continues with Ukraine facing demographic difficulties. In Europe, Orbán's defeat in Hungary opens new spaces for European cohesion, while the relationship between Meloni and Trump is going through a phase of tension following the Italian prime minister's defence of Pope Leone XIV. On the



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domestic front, the Italian progressive camp is grappling with the question of leadership and the method for choosing the prime ministerial candidate.



## CHAPTER 3 — 15 CRITERIA: DETAILED ANALYSIS

### Concrete Facts — Measurable and Scientifically Verifiable

#### Hard facts — 9 quantifiable and scientifically verifiable techniques

##### 1. EXPERT SELECTION

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*Definition: Who speaks as an expert?*

Expert 1: Anonymous psychiatrist (interviewed by Valentina Finetti)

Time: 00:14:51

Statement: "We are certainly faced with a personality profile definable as pathological or malignant narcissism. A person who does not take into account relationships with others, devoid of empathy, absolutely bound to their own needs and therefore incapable of reading reality and acting on primary needs without any kind of control."

Framing: Psychiatrist not identified by name, institution or specialisation; diagnoses a foreign head of state at a distance without ever having examined them

Missing counter-voice: Any psychiatrist who recalls the ethical principle of the "Goldwater Rule" (APA: prohibition of remote diagnosis of public figures)

In-depth source verification:

**(a) FUNDING:** Unknown — no institutional affiliation declared; impossible to verify conflicts of interest

**(b) MANDATE:** Incompatible with a neutral assessment — remote diagnosis of a foreign political leader is ethically prohibited by APA and WPA standards

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

D1 Conflict of interest: -1 — Unknown, but the willingness to publicly diagnose a political leader suggests a non-neutral motivation

D2 Personal risk: -1 — No identifiable risk; anonymity protects against consequences

D3 Technical competence: +1 — Psychiatrist (presumably qualified) but outside their methodological domain (remote diagnosis)

D4 Consistency of opinions: -1 — Not verifiable; no previous statements available

D5 Emotionality vs. data: -2 — Clinical language used assertively without empirical data; no reference to tests, direct observations or literature

D6 Source level: -1 — Secondary/tertiary source; no direct access to the subject

TOTAL: -5 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: RED

**(c) PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE:** diagnosing a foreign president in a political television context is a political act, not a medical one.

Expert 2: Gianluca Di Feo (military analyst, La Repubblica)

Time: 00:09:43

Statement: "Zelensky's main problem today is men rather than weapons."

Framing: Journalist specialising in defence, not an academic or military professional; La Repubblica is a centre-left daily

Missing counter-voice: Military analyst of a different orientation or NATO government source



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In-depth source verification:

**(a) FUNDING:** GEDI Group (private, Agnelli-Elkann shareholding); no direct conflict identifiable on the Ukrainian topic

**(b) MANDATE:** Compatible with journalistic military analysis, but not with independent academic expertise

**(c) CREDIBILITY MATRIX:**

D1 Conflict of interest: 0 — No direct conflict identifiable

D2 Personal risk: +1 — Journalist with professional reputation at stake

D3 Technical competence: +1 — Specialisation in defence recognised in the journalistic sector

D4 Consistency of opinions: +1 — Positions consistent with his previous output

D5 Emotionality vs. data: +1 — Predominantly analytical, cites specific data (Pokrovsk, Sumy, Kharkiv)

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

TOTAL: +4 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW

Expert 3: Reza Pahlavi (Iranian Crown Prince)

Time: 00:55:19 — 01:23:34

Statement: "Whatever they show is completely false, because they are on the verge of collapse."

Framing: Son of the last Shah, leader of the Iranian monarchist opposition in exile; interested party with a direct interest in regime change

Missing counter-voice: Any representative of the non-monarchist Iranian opposition, independent expert on Iranian history, or analyst critical of the Pahlavi monarchy

In-depth source verification:

**(a) FUNDING:** Foundations and donors of the Iranian diaspora in the USA; direct financial and political interests in regime change

**(b) MANDATE:** Incompatible with a neutral assessment — he is the main political beneficiary of the regime change he advocates

**(c) CREDIBILITY MATRIX:**

D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — Maximum conflict: he is the candidate to lead the transition he describes

D2 Personal risk: +2 — Has lived in exile for 47 years; real and documented personal risk

D3 Technical competence: 0 — Direct knowledge of pre-revolutionary Iran, but no verifiable expertise on the current military situation

D4 Consistency of opinions: +1 — Consistent positions for decades

D5 Emotionality vs. data: -1 — Mixes data (5,000 foreign fighters imported) with unverifiable claims ("on the verge of collapse")

D6 Source level: -1 — Primary source for his own experience, but secondary/tertiary for military claims

TOTAL: -1 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW (but with strong caveat for conflict of interest)

**(c) PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE:** Pahlavi is presented as an authoritative voice on Iran without the host or other guests systematically challenging his claims; his position as an interested party is never explicitly declared to the audience.

*Missing expert groups:*

- Independent Iranian historian (e.g. university academic)
- Representative of a humanitarian organisation active in Iran
- Military analyst with access to independent intelligence sources

*Summary (matrix result per expert):*

- Anonymous psychiatrist: RED (-5) — remote diagnosis ethically prohibited, presented as neutral expertise
- Di Feo: YELLOW (+4) — competent analyst but secondary journalistic source
- Pahlavi: YELLOW (-1 with caveat) — maximum conflict of interest, not declared to the public



## 2. SOURCE SELECTION

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Un sourced claims = penalty points (rumour check)

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

Source 1: Corriere della Sera (Simone Canettieri)

Time: 00:18:14 — Statement: "Rome and Washington, in different tones, in the last 24 hours have had quite a few words with each other, between statements and scoops, such as the one from the Corriere."

**(a) Funding and ownership:** RCS MediaGroup (listed on the stock exchange, mixed shareholding); historically centrist

**(b) Structural conflict of interest:** The Corriere claims a "scoop" on the Trump-Meloni phone call; interest in promoting its own story

(c) Missing a source that independently verifies or refutes the scoop

Source 2: New York Times (cited by Di Feo)

Time: 00:38:19 — Statement: "a New York Times investigation would have verified that, despite the restrictions on the use of bases, even if they were used only for logistical reasons, it maintains that America cannot do without NATO countries"

**(a) Funding:** New York Times Company (private, listed); editorially liberal-progressive

**(b) Conflict of interest:** None directly on the NATO topic; credible source but with an editorial orientation

(c) The article is not cited with a precise date or title; impossible to verify

Verification of undocumented claims (penalties):

Undocumented claim 1:

Time: 00:14:41

Claim: "it is responding to us in an increasingly pronounced way, one has to see whether it is true or not, one must be very cautious about these things, that Trump is not exactly in the best of health"

Linguistic marker: "one has to see whether it is true or not"

Primary source available: no — penalty +1

Undocumented claim 2:

Time: 01:08:38

Claim: "they imported 5,000 people from Afghanistan, Iraq, Lebanon to do the dirty work"

Linguistic marker: no explicit marker, but undocumented claim

Primary source available: no — penalty +1

*Summary: The broadcast relies predominantly on Italian journalistic sources (Corriere, Repubblica, Il Fatto) and on statements by studio guests; verifiable primary sources (UN reports, academic studies, official data) are lacking on almost all topics covered.*



### 3. TIME DISTRIBUTION

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

Estimated speaking time:

- Peter Gomez (critical of government, left): approx. 12 min. (14%)
- Reza Pahlavi (main guest, second part): approx. 28 min. (34%)
- Galeazzo Bignami (government, FdI): approx. 8 min. (10%)
- Riccardo Maggi (+Europa, opposition): approx. 7 min. (8%)
- Tommaso Cerno (Il Giornale, centre-right): approx. 6 min. (7%)
- Gianluca Di Feo (analyst, Repubblica): approx. 8 min. (10%)
- Piero Schiavazzi (Huffington Post): approx. 4 min. (5%)
- Host: approx. 6 min. (7%)
- Reports/clips/polls: approx. 10 min. (12%)

*Summary: The distribution is strongly unbalanced: Reza Pahlavi alone occupies 34% of the total time without any critical or alternative voice; voices critical of the government (Gomez, Maggi, Di Feo) together account for approximately 32% against 17% for government or centre-right voices (Bignami, Cerno). The sole representative of the current government (Bignami) has less time than Gomez.*



#### 4. SELECTIVE OMISSION

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

Omission 1:

Context: No critical voice on the US-Israel military intervention in Iran

Relevant at: 00:55:19 — start of Pahlavi interview

Effect: The audience receives a one-sided pro-military intervention narrative; opposing positions (international law, civilian casualties, risk of escalation) are completely absent

Omission 2:

Context: No mention of the human rights violations committed by the Shah's regime (SAVAK, torture, political repression)

Relevant at: 01:19:52 — host's question about the Shah

Effect: Pahlavi's response minimising his father's responsibilities is accepted without challenge; the audience does not have the elements to critically assess Pahlavi's legitimacy as an interlocutor

Omission 3:

Context: No analysis of the humanitarian consequences of the Hormuz naval blockade on the poorest countries dependent on oil

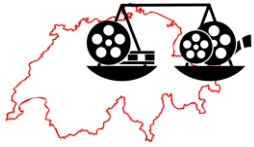
Relevant at: 01:04:43 — Di Feo's analysis on Hormuz

Effect: The debate focuses on Western strategic interests; the populations most vulnerable to the effects of high oil prices are invisible

*Summary: The most serious omissions concern the lack of any critical perspective on the military intervention in Iran and on the figure of Reza Pahlavi; these omissions transform an interview with an interested party into an unbalanced propaganda platform lasting approximately 30 minutes.*

#### Missing Voices

- EU High Representative for Foreign Policy: Would have provided the institutional European position on the war in Iran and the Ukrainian conflict
- Representative of a humanitarian organisation (e.g. UNHCR, Amnesty International): Would have brought data on Iranian civilian casualties and the refugee crisis
- Independent economist: Would have analysed the concrete effects of high energy costs and tariffs on Italian families with verifiable data
- Expert in international law: Would have assessed the legality of the US-Israel military intervention in Iran and the Hormuz naval blockade
- Representative of the non-monarchist Iranian opposition: Would have offered an alternative perspective to Pahlavi's on the post-regime transition
- Russian analyst or expert on Russian foreign policy: Would have balanced the analysis of the Ukrainian conflict with Moscow's perspective
- Representative of the Hungarian government or analyst of the Hungarian elections: Would have provided a more balanced analysis of the Hungarian elections, treated in a superficial and partisan manner
- Independent expert on Iranian history: Would have contextualised the Shah's regime and Pahlavi's claims about pre-revolutionary "liberalisation"



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## 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: 01:27:27

Data: "81% of Italians say that Meloni was right to respond to Trump by defending the Pope"

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

Missing context: No indication of who commissioned the poll, when it was conducted, with what methodology and on what sample; the figure is presented as an objective fact

Effect: The figure appears as solid popular consensus, but without verifiable methodology it is an unfalsifiable number

Finding 2:

Time: 00:31:36

Data: "84% of American Catholics, who number approximately 70 million, agree in this case with the Pope"

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

Missing context: No source cited; the figure is attributed to Schiavazzi without reference to a specific poll

Effect: Creates the impression of a compact American Catholic consensus against Trump, with no possibility of verification

Finding 3:

Time: 00:17:25

Data: "32% of Italians say yes, not yet, but I'm thinking about it, 26, no, 30%, I wouldn't know 12"

Dimensions: (a) absolute values ✓; (b) percentages ✓; (c) trend X

Missing context: The Noto data are presented in a confused and summary manner; the exact poll question is not read out; the percentages do not add up to 100%

Effect: Poll data presented in an approximate manner that does not allow for critical evaluation

*Summary: The broadcast uses poll data without indicating methodology, commissioner or margin of error; the data are presented as objective facts in support of political theses.*



## 6. GUILT BY ASSOCIATION

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

Association 1:

Time: 00:02:22

Quote: "He is one of Meloni's main allies. Now Orbán is gone, not thanks to our government. Meloni had made a video of support."

**Technique:** Meloni is associated with Orbán (a negative figure in the European progressive discourse) to delegitimise her foreign policy; the association is reiterated several times during the broadcast

**Effect:** Suggests that Meloni shares Orbán's positions on Ukraine, without distinguishing the actual positions of the two leaders

Association 2:

Time: 00:23:38

Quote: "Yes, this picture of subservience from someone who received more than 300 thousand euros, from an American magnate, him and other members of his party, 308, 38, from Soros"

**Technique:** Bignami associates Maggi/+Europa with Soros (a demonised figure in sovereignist discourse) to delegitimise the criticism of Meloni's foreign policy; Soros is then described as responsible for the devaluation of the lira in 1992

**Effect:** Suggests that those who criticise Meloni are funded by "anti-Italian" financial powers; a classic technique of delegitimation by association

Chain of association (if present): Maggi → Soros → lira devaluation 1992 → "anti-Italian"

For Reza Pahlavi (not framed as a "conspiracy theorist" but as an interested party):

SOURCE VERIFICATION:

- Does he work with verifiable primary sources? PARTIALLY — cites verifiable historical events but also undocumented claims
- Are his main claims falsifiable? PARTIALLY — some yes (military data), others no ("the Iranian people have given me the mandate")

RISK MATRIX:

- What has he lost for his position? Life in exile for 47 years; real personal risk
- What does he gain? Political power, return to Iran as leader of the transition
- Net: risk > immediate gain = partially elevated credibility, but structural conflict of interest

CATEGORY: B — Borderline case (partially documented, partially speculative)

*Summary: The broadcast uses the Meloni-Orbán association as a recurring technique of delegitimation; Bignami responds with the Maggi-Soros association, equally problematic. Both techniques are present but with asymmetric frequency to the detriment of the government.*



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

**Finding 1:**

Position: 00:14:51 (middle of first part)

Content: Interview with the anonymous psychiatrist who diagnoses Trump as having "pathological or malignant narcissism"

Timing effect: Placed immediately before the debate on Meloni's response to Trump; predisposes the audience to see Trump as irrational and pathological, making any criticism of Meloni's response less legitimate ("how can one criticise someone who responds to a madman?")

**Finding 2:**

Position: 00:43:09 (start of second part)

Content: Clip of Schlein in Parliament defending Meloni from Trump's attack

Timing effect: Presented as the opening of the section on domestic politics, it creates an image of national unity that is then immediately contradicted by Bignami's criticism of the 5 Stars; the sequence constructs a narrative of "responsible opposition vs. Meloni's irresponsible allies"

**Finding 3:**

Position: 01:17:44 (end of broadcast)

Content: Images of Pahlavi's childhood and the Shah's 1971 celebrations

Timing effect: Emotional and nostalgic closing that reinforces sympathy for Pahlavi and his narrative; placed after an hour of interview in which his positions were not challenged, it consolidates the favourable impression

*Summary: The placement of Trump's psychiatric diagnosis at the beginning and Pahlavi's nostalgic images at the end constructs an emotional framework that favours pro-intervention in Iran and anti-Trump narratives, independently of a rational analysis of the facts.*



## 8. SELECTIVE OUTRAGE

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

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

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

Finding 1:

Time: 00:20:41

Triggering event: Cerno states that "Europe's phone number is Meloni's"

Reaction: "What Cerno said before is false. It is not true that Europe's phone number is Meloni's, because Trump told the Corriere that they haven't even spoken" (Gomez, heated tone)

Comparison: When Maggi makes equally questionable claims (e.g. "the United States of Europe" as an immediate prospect), no analogous challenge from Gomez

Asymmetry: Documented — Gomez vigorously challenges Cerno's/right-wing claims but not Maggi's/left-wing ones

Finding 2:

Time: 00:34:01

Triggering event: Schiavazzi describes the use of sacred images by the sovereignist international as "blasphemous and instrumental use of religion"

Reaction: Tone of strong moral outrage; no challenge from the host

Comparison: When Cerno observes that the left defends the Pope "only because it put the government in difficulty" (00:27:46), the host does not express analogous outrage nor ask Schiavazzi to respond

Asymmetry: Documented — moral outrage is reserved for right-wing positions

Degree of outrage: 3/5

Selectivity: 3/5

*Summary: Outrage in the broadcast is predominantly directed towards government and right-wing positions (Meloni, Trump, Orbán, Cerno); opposition and left-wing positions do not receive the same critical scrutiny. The selectivity is documentable but not extreme.*



## 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: 00:55:19 — start of Pahlavi interview

Missing perspective/fact: No voice from the non-monarchist Iranian opposition (republicans, feminist organisations such as "Woman, Life, Freedom", Kurds, religious minorities)

Relevance: Reza Pahlavi represents only one of the many currents of the Iranian opposition; presenting him as the sole voice of the opposition is misleading

Impact: The Italian audience receives the impression that the only alternative to the ayatollahs' regime is the Pahlavi monarchy, which does not correspond to the reality of the pluralism of the Iranian opposition

### Finding 2:

Time: 01:05:04 — Di Feo's analysis on Hormuz

Missing perspective/fact: No analysis of the consequences of the naval blockade on developing countries dependent on Gulf oil (Pakistan, India, African countries)

Relevance: The Hormuz blockade has global effects that go well beyond Europe and the USA

Impact: The broadcast presents the energy crisis exclusively from a European/Italian point of view, rendering the most vulnerable populations invisible

### Finding 3:

Time: 00:02:04 — debate on the Hungarian elections

Missing perspective/fact: No analysis of the actual positions of Magyar (the winner of the Hungarian elections) on foreign policy and Ukraine

Relevance: Magyar is presented as automatically "better" than Orbán without analysis of his concrete positions

Impact: The audience receives a simplified image of the Hungarian elections functional to the anti-Orbán/anti-Meloni narrative

*Summary: The most serious omissions concern the lack of pluralism in the Iranian opposition and the absence of global perspectives on the energy crisis; these omissions reduce the broadcast to a Eurocentric and Western-centric debate.*

End of Concrete Facts — Start of Interpretive Facts

## Interpretive Facts — Negotiable, Not Purely Measurable

### Share of perspectives covered

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

- [A] Position of the Italian government on the war in Iran and on NATO
- [B] Position of the Italian opposition (PD, M5S, AVS) on the war in Iran
- [C] European diplomatic perspective (EU, Borrell/High Representative)
- [D] Perspective of Iranian civilian victims and humanitarian organisations
- [E] Russia's position in the Ukrainian conflict and in the negotiations
- [F] Economic analysis of the effects of tariffs and high energy costs on Italian families

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



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**Associazione svizzera** per un reporting equilibrato

[G] Perspective of moderate Arab countries (Saudi Arabia, UAE) on the Middle Eastern scenario

[H] China's position as mediator and geopolitical actor

[I] Critical analysis of the Shah's regime and the legitimacy of Reza Pahlavi as an interlocutor

[J] Perspective of Iranian opposition forces other than the monarchy (republicans, Kurds, minorities)

**[A] COVERED**

Time: 00:25:46 — Quote: "We defended it when at Sigonella we said no to the use of the bases" — Assessment: Bignami sets out the government's position but with limited space and frequent interruptions.

**[B] PARTIALLY COVERED**

Time: 00:22:04 — Quote: "The only prospect we have as Europeans is that of strengthening European political integration" — Assessment: Gomez and Maggi express opposition positions but focused on Europe, not on an organic position of the Italian opposition on the war in Iran.

**[C] OMITTED**

Time: absent — Quote: none — Assessment: No EU representative or spokesperson is cited or interviewed; the institutional European perspective is completely absent.

**[D] OMITTED**

Time: absent — Quote: none — Assessment: Iranian civilian victims are mentioned only through the words of Reza Pahlavi, an interested party; no independent humanitarian organisation is consulted.

**[E] OMITTED**

Time: absent — Quote: none — Assessment: The Russian perspective on the Ukrainian conflict and the negotiations is completely absent; Russia is discussed only as an object of analysis, never as a subject with a position.

**[F] PARTIALLY COVERED**

Time: 00:17:07 — Quote: "He is changing his holiday plans given the cost of fuel" — Assessment: The Noto polls are presented briefly but without in-depth economic analysis.

**[G] OMITTED**

Time: absent — Quote: none — Assessment: Moderate Arab countries are cited only marginally (drone co-production agreements in the Gulf) without an autonomous perspective.

**[H] PARTIALLY COVERED**

Time: 01:06:15 — Quote: "Chinese pressure to close the conflict is growing" — Assessment: China is mentioned as an actor but not analysed as an autonomous perspective.

**[I] PARTIALLY COVERED**

Time: 01:19:52 — Quote: "your father was also someone who did not concede much on civil liberties" — Assessment: The host asks a critical question about the Shah but accepts Pahlavi's answer without probing further; no independent critical voice.

**[J] OMITTED**

Time: absent — Quote: none — Assessment: Non-monarchist Iranian opposition forces (republicans, Kurds, feminist organisations) are completely absent.

### Completeness Score: 3/10

The broadcast adequately covers only the position of the Italian government and some voices of the domestic opposition; the institutional European, humanitarian, Russian, Arab and non-monarchist Iranian opposition perspectives are systematically missing. The interview with Reza Pahlavi occupies approximately 30 minutes without any critical or alternative voice on the Iranian question.

**1. Anonymous psychiatrist**

1. FUNDING: Unknown — no institutional affiliation declared

2. MANDATE: Incompatible with neutral assessment — remote diagnosis of a foreign political leader violates APA ethical standards (Goldwater Rule) and WPA

3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST: Potential — the willingness to publicly diagnose a political leader in a political television context suggests a non-neutral motivation; anonymity prevents verification

4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX: D1 (-1) / D2 (-1) / D3 (+1) / D4 (-1) / D5 (-2) / D6 (-1) → TOTAL: -5 → RED TRAFFIC LIGHT

5. COUNTER-VOICE: No psychiatrist who recalls the Goldwater Rule or the ethical limits of remote diagnosis is cited or interviewed



## **2. Reza Pahlavi (Iranian Crown Prince)**

1. FUNDING: Foundations and donors of the Iranian diaspora in the USA; direct financial and political interests in regime change
2. MANDATE: Incompatible with neutral assessment — he is the main political beneficiary of the regime change he advocates
3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST: Maximum — he proposes himself as the guide of the post-regime transition; every statement he makes is oriented towards legitimising the military intervention and his own candidacy
4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX: D1 (-2) / D2 (+2) / D3 (0) / D4 (+1) / D5 (-1) / D6 (-1) → TOTAL: -1 → YELLOW TRAFFIC LIGHT (with strong caveat for conflict of interest)
5. COUNTER-VOICE: No representative of the non-monarchist Iranian opposition, no independent historian of Iran, no expert in international law is cited or interviewed

## **3. Gianluca Di Feo (military analyst, La Repubblica)**

1. FUNDING: GEDI Group (private, Agnelli-Elkann shareholding); no direct conflict identifiable on the military topic
  2. MANDATE: Compatible with journalistic military analysis; not with independent academic expertise
  3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST: Low — no direct interest identifiable in the topics covered
  4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX: D1 (0) / D2 (+1) / D3 (+1) / D4 (+1) / D5 (+1) / D6 (0) → TOTAL: +4 → YELLOW TRAFFIC LIGHT
  5. COUNTER-VOICE: No military analyst of a different orientation is cited; his analysis is accepted without challenge
- IMPORTANT: "Recognised" is not an objective qualification. It is a social attribution that must itself be verified.



## Soft facts — 6 qualitative techniques

### 10. FRAMING

7/10

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*Definition: How is the topic fundamentally framed?*

Finding 1:

Time: 00:20:41

Quote: "Meloni arrived late and badly."

Manipulation: The dominant frame on Meloni's foreign policy is that of "failure" and "inadequacy"; this frame is established by Gomez at the start of the debate and is never systematically challenged by the host

Why problematic: The audience receives a negative assessment of the prime minister as the starting point of the debate, not a neutral analysis of the facts; those unfamiliar with the context take the frame as given

Finding 2:

Time: 00:55:19

Quote: "what are the prospects for having a country free from ayatollahs"

Manipulation: The host introduces the interview with Pahlavi with a frame that presupposes the desirability of regime change ("country free from ayatollahs"); this frame is never called into question

Why problematic: The question of regime change in Iran is politically and legally controversial; presenting it as an obvious and shared objective is an act of political framing, not neutral journalism

Finding 3:

Time: 00:22:32

Quote: "It is clear that it was a wrong foreign policy line. That nationalism is not in our interest as Europeans, as well as being a folly."

Manipulation: Nationalism is framed as "folly" without distinguishing between different forms of sovereignty; the Europeanist frame is presented as the only rational alternative

Why problematic: Labelling a political position as "folly" is a value judgement, not an analysis; the frame excludes sovereignist positions from the debate without refuting them

*Summary: The dominant frame of the broadcast is that of Meloni's "inadequacy" and the "necessity" of European integration; these frames are established at the outset and rarely challenged, orienting the audience's perception before the debate has even taken place.*



## 11. WORD AND TERM CHOICE

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

Finding 1:

Time: 00:18:52

Quote: "Meloni's defence of Leone XIV provoked the dire wrath of the capricious American president"

Manipulation: "Capricious" is a negatively connotated and infantilising term; "dire wrath" is a literary expression evoking irrationality and danger

Why problematic: A neutral alternative would be: "the critical response of the American president"; the chosen language predisposes the audience to see Trump as irrational before the facts are even presented

Finding 2:

Time: 00:23:11

Quote: "subservience to anti-Italian financial powers"

Manipulation: "Anti-Italian" is a nationalist term with strong emotional connotation; "financial powers" evokes conspiracy theories

Why problematic: A neutral alternative would be: "foreign funders"; the term chosen by Bignami transforms a question of political funding into a question of national loyalty

Finding 3:

Time: 00:46:59

Quote: "a plebiscitary disgrace"

Manipulation: "Disgrace" is a vulgar and strongly connotated term; "plebiscitary" has negative historical connotations (fascism, dictatorship)

Why problematic: A neutral alternative would be: "an electoral law that excessively concentrates power"; the term chosen by Maggi is a value judgement presented as analysis; the host does not ask him to argue the definition

*Summary: The broadcast uses language connotated predominantly to the detriment of government positions (Trump "capricious", electoral law "plebiscitary disgrace") without the host requesting more neutral language or greater precision.*



## 12. MODERATOR BEHAVIOUR

7/10

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

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

### Finding 1:

Time: 00:20:59

Triggering event: Bignami tries to respond to Gomez's accusations about Meloni's foreign policy

Quote (host): "let's not do this if we start interrupting each other. One at a time, one at a time"

Comparison: When Gomez interrupts Cerno at 00:21:17 ("Since Cerno dedicated the first episode of his programme to saying how good Trump was"), the host does not intervene with the same firmness

Asymmetry: Documented — the host intervenes to protect Bignami's speaking turn but not with the same consistency when it is the left-wing guests who interrupt

### Finding 2:

Time: 00:55:19 — entire Pahlavi interview

Triggering event: Pahlavi claims that the Iranian regime is "on the verge of collapse" and that "whatever they show is completely false"

Quote (host): no challenge; the host asks follow-up questions that amplify Pahlavi's narrative

Comparison: When Bignami defends Meloni's foreign policy (00:25:46), the host asks critical questions ("But how have you defended these national interests, the bigliani?") [sic]

Asymmetry: Documented — Pahlavi does not receive critical questions comparable to those directed at Bignami

### Finding 3:

Time: 01:19:52

Triggering event: The host asks a critical question about the Shah ("your father was also someone who did not concede much on civil liberties")

Quote (host): accepts Pahlavi's answer without probing further

Comparison: When Bignami responds to criticism of foreign policy, the host insists with follow-up questions

Asymmetry: Partially documented — the critical question is asked but not followed up with the same insistence reserved for government guests

*Summary: The host shows a documentable asymmetry in behaviour: more critical and insistent with the government representative (Bignami) and with centre-right guests (Cerno), more accommodating with opposition guests and with Pahlavi.*



### 13. QUESTION ASYMMETRY

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

#### Asymmetry 1:

To Bignami (FdI), 00:25:48: "But how have you defended these national interests, the bigliani?" [sic] — hard, with sceptical tone

To Maggi (+Europa), 00:45:54: "Once a programme has been agreed upon, however, and you will do so reasonably, because you will go together, what is the best path?" — soft, presupposes the reasonableness of the interlocutor

Comparison: The question to Bignami calls the government's competence into question; the question to Maggi presupposes that the progressive camp "will go together reasonably"; evident asymmetry in tone and presupposition

#### Asymmetry 2:

To Pahlavi, 01:00:21: "What idea have you formed of the ultimate aim of this war?" — open, invites him to set out his own vision

To Bignami, 00:23:11 (implicit in context): no equivalent open question on the Italian government's strategic vision; questions to Bignami are predominantly reactive and critical

Comparison: Pahlavi receives questions that allow him to develop his own narrative; Bignami receives questions that put him on the defensive

*Summary: The questions directed at the government representative are systematically harder and more sceptical than those directed at opposition guests and at Pahlavi; this asymmetry is documentable through direct comparison of the formulations.*



#### 14. FALSE BALANCE

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*Definition: Artificial balance despite an actual imbalance.*

Finding 1:

Time: 00:02:04

Construct: The debate on the Hungarian elections presents two positions (Gomez: "fortunately his candidate lost"; Bignami: "the candidate who won is an admirer of Meloni") as if they were equivalent

Analysis: This is not false balance in the strict sense, but a debate in which Bignami's position is immediately challenged while Gomez's is not; the formal balance (two voices) conceals a substantive imbalance (one voice challenged, one not)

*Summary: The broadcast does not present serious cases of false balance in the classical sense (e.g. placing science and denialism on the same level); the main problem is the asymmetry in the treatment of positions, not the artificial creation of a non-existent balance. Relatively low score.*



## 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: The US-Israel military intervention in Iran is treated as a given fact to be analysed, not as an event to be assessed ethically and legally

Time: 00:55:19 — Evidence: "what are the prospects for having a country free from ayatollahs"

Alternative agenda: The legality of the military intervention under international law, UN resolutions, the EU's position on the intervention are never placed on the agenda

### Finding 2:

Agenda element established: European federalist integration is presented as the only rational response to the geopolitical crisis

Time: 00:22:49 — Evidence: "The only prospect we have as Europeans is that of strengthening European political integration"

Alternative agenda: Sovereignist or intergovernmental cooperation positions (without federalism) are never treated as legitimate alternatives; they are labelled as "folly" or "nationalism"

*Summary: The broadcast's agenda takes two undiscussed premises for granted: the legitimacy of the military intervention in Iran and the necessity of European federalism; those who do not share these premises find no space in the debate.*



## CHAPTER 4 — OVERALL ASSESSMENT

### Overview of Individual Scores

No.	Criterion	Type	Score	Main finding (1 sentence)
1	Expert selection	F	7	Anonymous psychiatrist diagnoses Trump remotely (RED); Pahlavi presented without alternative critical voice
2	Source selection	F	6	Predominantly Italian journalistic sources; two undocumented claims with penalties
3	Time distribution	F	7	Pahlavi occupies 34% of the time without a counterpart; voices critical of the government outnumber government voices
4	Omissions	F	8	No critical voice on the intervention in Iran; no analysis of the Shah's violations
5	Data manipulation	F	5	Polls presented without methodology; unverifiable percentages
6	Guilt by association	F	6	Meloni-Orbán reiterated; Maggi-Soros as response; asymmetry in frequency
7	Timing	F	5	Trump's psychiatric diagnosis strategically placed before the debate on Meloni
8	Selective outrage	F	6	Outrage predominantly towards government positions; opposition positions unchallenged
9	Completeness	F	8	Non-monarchist Iranian opposition absent; global perspectives on the energy crisis invisible
10	Framing	I	7	Frame of Meloni's "inadequacy" established at the outset and never systematically challenged
11	Word choice	I	6	"Capricious", "plebiscitary disgrace", "anti-Italian" — unbalanced connotated language
12	Moderator behaviour	I	7	More critical with Bignami/Cerno; accommodating with Pahlavi and opposition guests
13	Question asymmetry	I	7	Hard questions to the government, open questions to Pahlavi and the opposition
14	False balance	I	4	Not the main problem; asymmetry in treatment rather than formal false balance
15	Agenda-setting	I	7	Intervention in Iran and European federalism taken for granted; alternatives not discussed

### Results

- CONCRETE FACTS SCORE (average criteria 1-9): 6.4 / 10
- INTERPRETIVE FACTS SCORE (average criteria 10-15): 6.3 / 10
- OVERALL SCORE (average all 15 criteria): 6.4 / 10



## Dominant Techniques

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The 3 strongest techniques in this broadcast:

- 1. Systematic omissions (Score 8):** The broadcast systematically omits critical voices on the military intervention in Iran, the positions of the non-monarchist Iranian opposition and the human rights violations of the Shah's regime; these omissions transform an interview with an interested party into an unbalanced propaganda platform lasting approximately 30 minutes.
- 2. Expert selection (Score 7):** The remote psychiatric diagnosis of Trump by an anonymous psychiatrist (RED traffic light) and the presentation of Reza Pahlavi as an authoritative voice without structural counterpart represent the most problematic expertise choices; in both cases the source is presented as neutral while being structurally partisan.
- 3. Framing and moderator behaviour (Score 7 each):** The frame of Meloni's "inadequacy" is established at the outset and never systematically challenged; the host shows a documentable asymmetry in the treatment of guests, more critical with the government representative and more accommodating with opposition guests and with Pahlavi.

## Key Messages of the Broadcast

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**MESSAGE 1 (CONTENT):** "Meloni's foreign policy is inadequate and subservient; the only rational response to the geopolitical crisis is European federalism."

**Technique:** Framing + question asymmetry — Evidence: 00:20:41, 00:22:49

**MESSAGE 2 (PERSONAL):** "Trump is a pathological narcissist who cannot be taken seriously as a rational interlocutor."

**Technique:** Expert selection (remote diagnosis) + word choice ("capricious") — Evidence: 00:14:51, 00:18:52

**MESSAGE 3 (SOCIAL):** "The Iranian regime is on the verge of collapse and the Iranian people are waiting for liberation; the US-Israel military intervention is legitimate and necessary."

**Technique:** Omissions + agenda-setting + time distribution (34% to Pahlavi without counterpart) — Evidence: 00:55:19, 01:08:50

## Classification of the Degree of Manipulation

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Rationale: The broadcast presents a documentable systematic imbalance across multiple dimensions: the selection of guests (4 voices critical of the government vs. 1 government representative), the asymmetric treatment of positions (hard questions to the government, accommodating to the opposition), the structural omissions (no critical voice on the intervention in Iran for approximately 30 minutes), and the use of non-neutral expertise (remote psychiatric diagnosis). These elements, taken individually, might be justified; taken together, they constitute a systematic imbalance within the meaning of the RAI Service Contract Art. 6, which requires pluralism, completeness and impartiality of information.

## CONCLUSION

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The analysed broadcast presents a systematic imbalance that violates the principles of pluralism and impartiality enshrined in the RAI Service Contract Art. 6. The most serious violations concern: (1) the presentation of Reza Pahlavi as an authoritative voice on Iran for approximately 30 minutes without any structural counterpart, in violation of the principle of completeness; (2) the use of a remote psychiatric diagnosis of a foreign head of state as neutral clinical expertise, in violation of the principle of separation between news and commentary; (3) the systematic asymmetry in the treatment of the government representative compared to opposition guests, in violation of the principle of impartiality. The overall score of 6.4/10 places the broadcast in the category of "systematic imbalance", with a tendency favourable to the left of +1.8 on the party-political level. These elements, documented with precise timestamps and direct quotes from the transcript, constitute a sufficient basis for a formal assessment by AGCOM pursuant to the RAI Service Contract.



## OVERALL ASSESSMENT OF THE 15 CRITERIA

### Individual scores — All 15 criteria

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

#### HARD FACTS SCORE (1-8)

**7.0/10**

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

#### SOFT FACTS SCORE (9-14)

**7.0/10**

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

#### OVERALL SCORE

**7.0/10**

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

*Average of Hard Facts and Soft Facts*



## LEGEND — Meaning of scores

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

<b>0</b>	<b>No finding</b>	No relevant anomaly detected.
<b>1–2</b>	<b>Weak finding</b>	Minor anomaly without substantial impact on balance.
<b>3–4</b>	<b>Slight-to-moderate finding</b>	Recognisable tendency; impact relevance from low to moderate.
<b>5</b>	<b>Moderate finding with impact</b>	Relevant imbalance that influences the audience's opinion-forming potential.
<b>6</b>	<b>Significant finding (threshold)</b>	Scores equal to or greater than 6 are classified as "significant findings".
<b>7</b>	<b>Significant finding</b>	Clear and well-documented imbalance with evident impact relevance.
<b>8–9</b>	<b>Serious finding</b>	Pronounced imbalance; multiple individual findings documented under this criterion.
<b>10</b>	<b>Maximum severity</b>	Systematic and pervasive imbalance under this criterion.

### Aggregate deviation index — Interpretation intervals

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

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

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



## CHAPTER 5 — LEGAL FRAMEWORK (RAI 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: RAI Service Contract Art. 6 — principle of pluralism and completeness

Facts: Reza Pahlavi, crown prince and interested party with a direct interest in regime change in Iran, occupies approximately 30 minutes of broadcast time without any alternative voice from the Iranian opposition (republicans, feminist organisations, ethnic and religious minorities) or any independent expert on Iranian history being presented

Evidence: Time 00:55:19 — 01:23:34 — Quote: "That is why millions have acclaimed me asking for my return. And this, if you will, gives me the popular mandate to respond to their request and to propose myself to lead the transition."

Assessment: The presentation of a single voice of the Iranian opposition as representative of the entire Iranian people, without counterpart, violates the principle of completeness; Pahlavi's conflict of interest is never declared to the audience, violating the principle of source transparency

#### Violation 2:

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

Facts: An anonymous psychiatrist is interviewed to clinically diagnose United States President Donald Trump as suffering from "pathological or malignant narcissism"; the diagnosis is presented as neutral clinical expertise in a political debate context

Evidence: Time 00:14:51 — Quote: "We are certainly faced with a personality profile definable as pathological or malignant narcissism. A person who does not take into account relationships with others, devoid of empathy, absolutely bound to their own needs and therefore incapable of reading reality and acting on primary needs without any kind of control."

Assessment: Remote psychiatric diagnosis of a foreign head of state is ethically prohibited by international standards (APA Goldwater Rule, WPA); presenting it as neutral expertise confuses political commentary with scientific news, violating the principle of separation between news and commentary

#### Violation 3:

Norm: RAI Service Contract Art. 6 — principle of impartiality

Facts: The broadcast hosts four voices critical of the Meloni government (Gomez, Maggi, Schiavazzi, Di Feo with detached analytical tones) against a single government representative (Bignami/Fdl); the host asks systematically harder questions of the government representative than of opposition guests

Evidence: Time 00:25:48 — Quote (host to Bignami): "But how have you defended these national interests, the bigliani?" [sic] vs. Time 00:45:54 — Quote (host to Maggi): "Once a programme has been agreed upon, however, and you will do so reasonably, because you will go together, what is the best path?"

Assessment: The documentable asymmetry in the number of guests critical of the government and in the tone of the host's questions constitutes a violation of the principle of impartiality pursuant to Art. 6

### Overall Assessment RAI Service Contract Art. 6

The analysed broadcast presents three documentable violations of the RAI Service Contract Art. 6: the lack of pluralism in the representation of the Iranian opposition (30 minutes to Pahlavi without counterpart), the violation of the principle of separation between news and commentary through the remote psychiatric diagnosis of Trump, and the documentable asymmetry in the treatment of the government representative compared to opposition guests. These violations are documented with precise timestamps and direct quotes from the transcript, and constitute a sufficient basis for a formal assessment by AGCOM. The overall severity is classifiable as "systematic imbalance" (score



6.4/10), not as "extreme imbalance", since the broadcast formally maintains a plurality of voices and does not present direct factual falsifications.

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

### 1. Anonymous psychiatrist

- FUNDING:** Unknown — no institutional affiliation declared
- MANDATE:** Incompatible with neutral assessment — remote diagnosis of a foreign political leader violates APA ethical standards (Goldwater Rule) and WPA
- CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Potential — the willingness to publicly diagnose a political leader in a political television context suggests a non-neutral motivation; anonymity prevents verification
- CREDIBILITY MATRIX:** D1 (-1) / D2 (-1) / D3 (+1) / D4 (-1) / D5 (-2) / D6 (-1) → TOTAL: -5 → RED TRAFFIC LIGHT
- COUNTER-VOICE:** No psychiatrist who recalls the Goldwater Rule or the ethical limits of remote diagnosis is cited or interviewed

### 2. Reza Pahlavi (Iranian Crown Prince)

- FUNDING:** Foundations and donors of the Iranian diaspora in the USA; direct financial and political interests in regime change
- MANDATE:** Incompatible with neutral assessment — he is the main political beneficiary of the regime change he advocates
- CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Maximum — he proposes himself as the guide of the post-regime transition; every statement he makes is oriented towards legitimising the military intervention and his own candidacy
- CREDIBILITY MATRIX:** D1 (-2) / D2 (+2) / D3 (0) / D4 (+1) / D5 (-1) / D6 (-1) → TOTAL: -1 → YELLOW TRAFFIC LIGHT (with strong caveat for conflict of interest)
- COUNTER-VOICE:** No representative of the non-monarchist Iranian opposition, no independent historian of Iran, no expert in international law is cited or interviewed

### 3. Gianluca Di Feo (military analyst, La Repubblica)

- FUNDING:** GEDI Group (private, Agnelli-Elkann shareholding); no direct conflict identifiable on the military topic
- MANDATE:** Compatible with journalistic military analysis; not with independent academic expertise
- CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Low — no direct interest identifiable in the topics covered
- CREDIBILITY MATRIX:** D1 (0) / D2 (+1) / D3 (+1) / D4 (+1) / D5 (+1) / D6 (0) → TOTAL: +4 → YELLOW TRAFFIC LIGHT
- COUNTER-VOICE:** No military analyst of a different orientation is cited; his analysis is accepted without challenge

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

## Legal and methodological framework

### Not a determination of facts

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

### Not a legal judgement

The aggregate deviation index does not replace a legal assessment pursuant to RAI Service Contract Art. 7. The assessment of whether a specific broadcast violates legal requirements is exclusively the responsibility of the competent authorities (in particular AGCOM).



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

**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 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

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#### Laws

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

#### Relevant articles

##### RAI Service Contract 2023-2028

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

##### European reference framework

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

##### Structural context

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The "lottizzazione" — the historical allocation of RAI channels according to 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

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

##### Complaints procedure

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1. RAI internal complaints office
2. AGCOM



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3. Regional Administrative Court (TAR)



## ANNEX 2: SCIENTIFIC REFERENCES

### Bibliography

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### SVFAB Working Papers

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

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

SVFAB — Swiss Association for Balanced Information | P.O. Box, 8021 Zurich 1 | [www.svfab.ch](http://www.svfab.ch) | [kontakt@svfab.ch](mailto:kontakt@svfab.ch) |  
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On SVFAB.ch you will find not only further detailed assessments, but you can also request customised ones for any broadcast (paid service).

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

### Contact and further information:

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

**Bank details:** PostFinance – POFICHBE

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

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



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**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**

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

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

This book is not a media criticism book. It is a toolkit — for all those who have a microphone in front of them and want to know what to do. 7 chapters. 7 tools: What an interview really is. The 7 most common traps. The three fundamental principles of sovereignty — anchor, reframe, 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 don't just learn how others frame you. You learn how you yourself frame — and how to use it consciously and correctly.

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

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



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

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



RAI receives over 1.7 billion euros per year from the compulsory licence fee. Those who feel they have been treated unfairly can file a complaint. There is even an authority responsible for this: 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 has yet to be built.