



RAI DETAILED ANALYSIS

2024-12-17_portaaporta_Regular_December_2024

Broadcast: RAI Programme | 2024-12-17 | Analysed on: 2026-05-24 12:44

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OVERALL SCORE

6.3/10

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 partisan bias detected.

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

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

TENDENCY (L – R)

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 a centre-right coalition led by Prime Minister Giorgia Meloni (Fdi), composed of Fratelli d'Italia, Lega, Forza Italia and Noi Moderati. The main opposition is the Partito Democratico (PD), flanked by M5S, AVS, Azione, Italia Viva 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)	Pro-EU, minimum wage, ecological transition
+Europa	3,80	2	Opposition	Pro-European integration, liberal-progressive
M5S	4,20	52	Opposition	Citizens' income, anti-corruption
Azione	4,90	21	Opposition	Liberal-reformist, centre
Italia Viva	5,00	(in Az)	Opposition	Liberal-centrist
Noi Moderati	5,80	7	Government	Christian-democratic, moderate
Forza Italia	6,50	45	Government	Liberal-conservative, pro-EU Atlanticist
Lega	8,10	66	Government	Sovereignist, Eurosceptic, flat tax
Fdi	8,30	119	Government (PM)	National-conservative, European sovereignty

The main lines of political conflict in Italy concern the management of migration flows, with the governing coalition supporting naval blockades and repatriations while the opposition calls for humanitarian corridors. On the economic front, the debate centres on the flat tax and differentiated autonomy, strongly advocated by Lega and contested by the centre-left. In foreign policy, Italy's position on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and support for Ukraine generates tensions both within the coalition and between the government and the opposition. Finally, the question of political control over RAI and the so-called "lottizzazione" remains a recurring theme in the debate on freedom of information.

RAI is historically characterised by "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 RAI Board of Directors have been influenced by the governing coalition, drawing criticism from the opposition and oversight bodies. 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 — PARTISAN BIAS

Assessment by party

Party	Score (-5..+5)	Representation in the broadcast vs. programmatic position
Fdl (Fratelli d'Italia)	0	Meloni's position on Gaza (ceasefire, two peoples two states) is quoted verbatim at 00:55:28 and 01:31:23. Programmatic position: sovereignism, national security, pragmatism in foreign policy — correctly represented in the cited excerpts. No detectable distortion.
PD (Partito Democratico)	0	Not directly cited. No programmatic position addressed.
M5S (Movimento 5 Stelle)	0	Not cited. Absent from the broadcast.
Lega	0	Not cited. Absent from the broadcast.
Forza Italia	0	Not cited. Absent from the broadcast.
AVS (Alleanza Verdi Sinistra)	0	Not cited. Absent from the broadcast.

Summary of partisan bias

- Most accurate representation: Fdl (Score 0) — Meloni's statements are quoted verbatim without distortion
- Strongest distortion: No partisan distortion detectable — the broadcast does not systematically address domestic party policy positions
- Average deviation from 0: 0.0
- Conclusion: The broadcast "Porta a Porta" in this episode does not directly address the programmatic positions of Italian parties. The only explicit partisan reference concerns a statement by Meloni in Parliament on the Middle Eastern crisis, cited in a neutral manner. Partisan bias is not detectable through distortion of programmatic positions, but emerges rather through the selection of guests and thematic framing (see Steps 2 and 3).

Overall Left-Right Tendency

TENDENCY SCORE: -1.2

CLASSIFICATION: Tendency favourable to the right

Rationale: The broadcast devotes ample space to the Israeli ambassador without an equivalent Palestinian voice, and hosts Fiamma Nirenstein — a notoriously pro-Israeli commentator of conservative orientation — as the main analytical voice on the conflict. The framing of the Syrian issue privileges the Israeli security narrative. The absence of voices critical of Israeli military operations and the lack of Italian opposition representatives on foreign policy issues produce an overall tendency favourable to centre-right positions.



CHAPTER 2 — BROADCAST INFORMATION AND THEMATIC FRAMEWORK

Broadcast data

- Title: Porta a Porta
- Date (from file name): December 2024 (internal references: 14 December Ballando semi-final, attack in Moscow "this morning", fall of Assad "9 days ago" → probable date: 17 December 2024)
- Duration (estimated from transcript): approximately 93 minutes
- Host: Bruno Vespa
- Persons interviewed:

Person	Role	Party/Affiliation	Political spectrum
Milly Carlucci	RAI presenter, "Ballando con le Stelle"	RAI / no declared party affiliation	Neutral/entertainment
Paolo Belli	Musician, co-host "Ballando"	No affiliation	Neutral/entertainment
Federica Pellegrini	Olympic athlete, contestant	No affiliation	Neutral/entertainment
Tommaso Marini	Olympic fencer, contestant	No affiliation	Neutral/entertainment
Federica Nargi	Showgirl, contestant	No affiliation	Neutral/entertainment
Bianca Guaccero	Actress/presenter, contestant	No affiliation	Neutral/entertainment
Luca Barbareschi	Actor/director/former FI MP	Former FI	Centre-right (historical)
Anna Lou Castoldi	Daughter of Asia Argento and Morgan, contestant	No affiliation	Neutral/entertainment
Carolyn Smith	President of the "Ballando" jury	No affiliation	Neutral/entertainment
Giovanni Pernice	Dance master	No affiliation	Neutral/entertainment
Israeli Ambassador Yaki Peled	Ambassador of Israel to Italy	Israeli government (Likud/Netanyahu coalition)	Israeli right
Andrea Margelletti	President of the Centro Studi Internazionali (CeSI)	Independent/think tank	Analytical centre-right
Alberto Negri	Journalist, Il Manifesto	Il Manifesto	Left
Fiamma Nirenstein	Journalist, former FI MP	Former FI, pro-Israeli	Right
Francesca De Candia	RAI correspondent in Damascus	RAI	Neutral/journalism
Riyad al-Assad	Head of the Syrian Liberation Army	Syrian armed opposition	Not classifiable on Italian scale
Dario Di Marzo	RAI journalist	RAI	Neutral/journalism

Main topic



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Association suisse pour une information équilibrée
Associazione svizzera per un reporting equilibrato

The broadcast alternates a long entertainment segment dedicated to the finale of "Ballando con le Stelle" with in-depth geopolitical segments on Syria, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the attack on Russian General Kirilov in Moscow.

Context of the global debate

The conflict in Gaza has been ongoing for more than 14 months at the time of the broadcast, with a Palestinian civilian death toll exceeding 44,000 according to UN sources (contested by pro-Israeli sources). The fall of the Assad regime in Syria occurred a few days before the broadcast, opening uncertain scenarios regarding the Syrian political transition. On the Russian-Ukrainian front, the assassination of General Kirilov in Moscow represents an escalation in Ukrainian intelligence operations on Russian territory. In Italy, the Meloni government maintains a position of support for Israel while calling for a ceasefire, while the opposition calls for more incisive measures to protect Palestinian civilians.



CHAPTER 3 — 15 CRITERIA: DETAILED ANALYSIS

Hard data — measurable and scientifically verifiable

Hard facts — 9 quantifiable and scientifically verifiable techniques

1. EXPERT SELECTION

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Definition: Who speaks as an expert?

Expert 1: Fiamma Nirenstein — Journalist, former Forza Italia MP

Timestamp: 01:01:02

Statement: "a very important study has come out from the Henry Jackson Society, nothing is more reliable, which says that all the figures that have been known up to now are both from an unreliable source and also wrong"

Framing: Nirenstein is a journalist and essayist of pro-Israeli orientation, former MP for Forza Italia, resident in Jerusalem. She presents a study by the Henry Jackson Society as the definitive source on casualty figures in Gaza.

Missing opposing voice: An independent demographer, a UN representative or an expert in conflict epidemiology could have assessed the methodology of the cited study.

In-depth source verification:

(a) FUNDING: The Henry Jackson Society is a British think tank funded by private donors, including foundations linked to Atlanticist and pro-Israeli interests. Its political orientation is explicitly neoconservative and pro-Israeli.

Conflict of interest: Evident — an organisation with declared political positions cannot be presented as a neutral source on data relating to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

(b) MANDATE: The mandate of the Henry Jackson Society is explicitly political (promotion of liberal democracy, Atlanticism, support for Israel). It is not compatible with a neutral assessment of casualty data in Gaza.

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

D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — Organisation with declared pro-Israeli political positions assessing data relating to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict

D2 Personal risk: 0 — No personal risk for HJS researchers in publishing data favourable to the Israeli narrative

D3 Technical expertise: +1 — HJS has researchers with academic training, but the specific field (conflict epidemiology) is not their primary specialisation

D4 Consistency of opinions: -1 — HJS has historically produced analyses favourable to the Israeli narrative, making the direction of conclusions predictable

D5 Emotionality vs. data: -1 — Nirenstein's presentation is partially emotional ("nothing is more reliable") and does not provide verifiable methodological details

D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary source (study that reprocesses third-party data)

TOTAL: -3 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW

(c) PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE: The source is presented by Nirenstein as "absolutely" neutral ("an unsuspecting British source, absolutely that takes no side") — this statement is structurally false and constitutes a case of framing the source as neutral when it is structurally partial.

Expert 2: Andrea Margelletti — President of the Centro Studi Internazionali (CeSI)

Timestamp: 00:50:39



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Statement: "I have two feelings, the first is that a part of Gaza, let's say the most northern part [...] will for some time remain under the direct control of the Israeli armed forces"

Framing: Margelletti is an international security analyst with frequent presence in Italian media. CeSI is a private think tank with an Atlanticist orientation.

In-depth source verification:

(a) FUNDING: CeSI is funded by private and institutional sources. It is not transparent about the composition of its funders. Atlanticist and pro-Western orientation.

Conflict of interest: Moderate — the Atlanticist orientation may influence assessments on conflicts in which the USA is involved.

(b) MANDATE: International security analysis — partially compatible with neutral assessments, but with a structural Atlanticist bias.

(c) CREDIBILITY MATRIX:

- D1 Conflict of interest: -1 — Atlanticist orientation, non-transparent funders
- D2 Personal risk: 0 — No relevant personal risk
- D3 Technical expertise: +2 — Specialisation in international security consistent with the statements
- D4 Consistency of opinions: +1 — Consistent positions over time
- D5 Emotionality vs. data: +1 — Analysis predominantly based on data and scenarios
- D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary source

TOTAL: +3 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW

Expert 3: Alberto Negri — Journalist, Il Manifesto

Timestamp: 01:00:13

Statement: "well first of all I believe that Israel occupies [...] the Palestinians do the [...] but the Israeli ambassador does not acknowledge a number of streets and deaths"

Framing: Negri is a long-standing journalist specialising in the Middle East, contributor to Il Manifesto, a left-wing daily. He represents the critical voice towards Israel on the panel.

In-depth source verification:

(a) FUNDING: Il Manifesto is a left-wing cooperative daily. Declared political orientation.

Conflict of interest: Moderate — declared political orientation that may influence assessments.

(b) MANDATE: Opinion journalism — not compatible with absolute neutrality, but the declaration of orientation is transparent.

(c) CREDIBILITY MATRIX:

- D1 Conflict of interest: -1 — Declared left-wing political orientation
- D2 Personal risk: +1 — Critical positions towards Israel in a predominantly pro-Israeli media context entail a certain professional risk
- D3 Technical expertise: +2 — Decades of field experience in the Middle East
- D4 Consistency of opinions: +1 — Consistent positions over time
- D5 Emotionality vs. data: +1 — Predominantly based on data and direct observations
- D6 Source level: +1 — Source with direct field experience

TOTAL: +5 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: GREEN

Missing expert groups:

- Expert in international humanitarian law
- Representative of a humanitarian organisation (UNRWA, ICRC, MSF)
- Demographer or epidemiologist specialising in casualty counting in conflicts

Summary (matrix result per expert):

- Fiamma Nirenstein: YELLOW (-3) — source with structural conflict of interest, presented as neutral
- Andrea Margelletti: YELLOW (+3) — competent but with undeclared Atlanticist bias

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- Alberto Negri: GREEN (+5) — declared orientation, verifiable expertise, positive personal risk



2. SOURCE SELECTION

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Statements without primary source = penalty points (unverified claims check)

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

Source 1: Henry Jackson Society

Timestamp: 01:02:00

Statement: "a very important study has come out from the Harry Jackson Society, nothing is more reliable, which says that all the figures that have been known up to now are both from an unreliable source and also wrong"

- (a) Funding and structure:** British neoconservative think tank, funded by private donors with an Atlanticist and pro-Israeli orientation. It is not a peer-reviewed academic institution.
- (b) Structural conflict of interest:** HJS has an institutional interest in producing analyses favourable to the Israeli narrative, as support for Israel is part of its declared mission.
- (c) Missing opposing source:** UN/OCHA data on casualties in Gaza, the methodologies of Airwaves or of organisations such as Airwaves or of organisations such as the Lancet would have provided a verifiable alternative perspective.

Source 2: France Press (AFP)

Timestamp: 01:29:44

Statement: "according to the French news agency France Press, Ukrainian intelligence services would bear responsibility for the two killings"

- (a) Funding:** AFP is a French public news agency, partially funded by the French state.
- (b) Conflict of interest:** Moderate — France is a NATO country with pro-Ukrainian positions, but AFP maintains recognised journalistic standards.
- (c) Missing opposing source:** Independent Russian sources or official Kremlin statements would have completed the picture.

Verification of unverified claims (penalties):

Unverified claim 1:

Timestamp: 01:27:25

Statement: "a number of Christians who were received but according to the norm imposed on them were all required to go without the cross attached in front"

Linguistic marker: "are already reaching me" — unidentified, unverifiable source

Primary source available: no — penalty +1

Unverified claim 2:

Timestamp: 01:27:35

Statement: "women who already in the street have on the contrary [...] already been given an intense hood"

Linguistic marker: "are already reaching me" — unidentified source

Primary source available: no — penalty +1

Summary: The broadcast cites sources with structural conflicts of interest presenting them as neutral (Henry Jackson Society), and includes unverified statements by Fiamma Nirenstein on the situation in Syria without requesting primary sources.



3. TIME DISTRIBUTION

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Definition: Distribution of speaking time among the different positions.

Estimated speaking time:

- "Ballando con le Stelle" segment (entertainment): approx. 47 min. (50%)
- Israeli Ambassador Yaki Peled: approx. 12 min. (13%)
- Fiamma Nirenstein: approx. 10 min. (11%)
- Andrea Margelletti: approx. 6 min. (6%)
- Alberto Negri: approx. 5 min. (5%)
- Bruno Vespa (host): approx. 8 min. (9%)
- Francesca De Candia (correspondent): approx. 3 min. (3%)
- Riyadh al-Assad (interview): approx. 3 min. (3%)
- Report on Kirilov: approx. 4 min. (4%)
- Direct Palestinian voice: 0 min. (0%)

Summary: The time devoted to the Israeli perspective (ambassador + Nirenstein) is approximately 22 minutes, against 5 minutes for the critical voice (Negri) and 0 minutes for a direct Palestinian voice. This asymmetry is structurally significant in the context of an ongoing conflict.



4. SELECTIVE OMISSION

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Definition: What is not shown despite being relevant?

Omission 1:

Context: No direct Palestinian voice in the debate on the conflict in Gaza

Relevant at: 00:51:18 — start of the segment on the Israeli ambassador

Effect: The broadcast presents the conflict exclusively through the Israeli perspective and that of Western analysts, creating the impression that the Israeli narrative is the only legitimate perspective.

Omission 2:

Context: UN data on casualties in Gaza (44,000+) are called into question by the Henry Jackson Society without the UN/OCHA methodologies or the responses of humanitarian organisations being presented

Relevant at: 01:02:00 — discussion on casualty figures

Effect: The viewer receives the impression that UN data are unreliable without being able to assess the counter-arguments.

Omission 3:

Context: Israeli military operations in Syria (bombardment of Syrian arsenals, breach of the demilitarised zone of the Golan) are presented as defensive without the position of the international community or international law being cited

Relevant at: 01:22:47 — report on Israeli operations in Syria

Effect: Israeli actions on Syrian territory are normalised without legal contextualisation.

Summary: The most significant omissions systematically concern voices and perspectives critical of Israeli military operations, creating a structurally incomplete information picture.

Missing voices

- Representative of the Palestinian National Authority or Palestinian civil organisations: Would have provided the perspective of civilian victims and the Palestinian position on the peace process
- UNRWA or ICRC spokesperson: Would have responded to Israeli accusations of Hamas infiltration and provided independent data on the humanitarian situation in Gaza
- Expert in international law (e.g. university professor specialising in IHL): Would have legally framed the question of settlements, Israeli military operations in Syria and the legality of targeted assassination
- Representative of Syrian minorities (Christian, Kurdish or Druze): Would have provided direct testimony on the post-Assad situation instead of Nirenstein's anecdotal claims
- Expert on Russia/Ukraine with a perspective critical of Kyiv: Would have balanced the narrative on the assassination of Kirilov
- Representative of a human rights organisation (Amnesty International or HRW): Would have provided verified data on civilian casualties in Gaza and the West Bank
- Independent demographer or statistician: Would have neutrally assessed the controversy over the casualty figures in Gaza raised by the Henry Jackson Society
- Arab diplomat or analyst: Would have provided the perspective of regional countries on the future of Syria and the Israeli-Palestinian peace process



5. MANIPULATION OF NUMERICAL DATA

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

Definition: Selective or misleading use of statistics.

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 01:02:00

Data: "17 thousand of those killed are certainly [terrorists] [...] 5 thousand then died of natural deaths"

Dimensions: (a) absolute value shown — yes; (b) percentage shown — no; (c) trend over time — no

Missing context: No methodology is provided by which the Henry Jackson Society identified the 17,000 "terrorists". The total number of casualties according to the UN (44,000+) is not cited to allow the viewer to calculate the proportion. It is not mentioned that Western journalists have not had independent access to Gaza to verify the data.

Effect: The viewer receives the impression that the majority of casualties in Gaza are combatants or died of natural causes, without being able to assess the methodological soundness of this claim.

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 01:19:25

Data: "when the Oslo Accords were signed in 93 there were 100,000 Israeli settlers in the West Bank, now there are more than 700,000"

Dimensions: (a) absolute value shown — yes; (b) percentage shown — no; (c) trend over time — yes (comparison 1993-2024)

Missing context: No proportion is provided relative to the Palestinian population in the West Bank (approximately 3 million), nor the geographical distribution of settlements in zones A, B and C of the Oslo Accords.

Effect: The data is correct but incomplete; the lack of proportions reduces understanding of the demographic impact of the settlements.

Summary: The most serious case concerns the uncritical presentation of Henry Jackson Society data on casualties in Gaza, which are cited without verifiable methodology and without comparison with alternative sources, producing an effect of minimising the number of civilian casualties.



6. GUILT BY ASSOCIATION

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Definition: Discrediting by association with negative groups or ideas.

Association 1:

Timestamp: 01:26:57

Quote: "Al-Jolani has a bounty of 10 million dollars on his head because he is a jihadist terrorist"

Technique: Fiamma Nirenstein associates the leader of the new Syria with a category ("jihadist terrorist") that precludes any positive assessment of his current conduct, ignoring the declared political evolution of the figure.

Effect: Any openness towards the new Syrian government is discredited a priori through the label "terrorist".

Association 2:

Timestamp: 01:22:52

Quote: "the future of Syria is suspended between fear and hope for the new course [...] the jihadist leader, who with the support of Turkey has taken control of Damascus"

Technique: The journalistic report defines Ahmad al-Sharaa (Abu Mohammad al-Jolani) exclusively as "jihadist leader", without mentioning his declared political evolution or his recent statements of moderation.

Effect: The new Syrian government is associated with jihadism without distinction, making it difficult for the viewer to assess the complexity of the transition.

Verification for persons framed as "terrorists/jihadists":

For Ahmad al-Sharaa (al-Jolani):

- Works with verifiable primary sources? YES — has given interviews to international media with verifiable statements
- Are his main claims falsifiable? YES — his promises on minorities and women's rights are verifiable over time
- Personal risk: HIGH — he has abandoned the terrorist designation of HTS to seek international legitimacy, with high political risk
- Gain: HIGH — control of Syria
- Net: risk and gain equivalent — inconclusive assessment
- Tone: predominantly pragmatic in recent public statements

CATEGORY: B — borderline case (partially verified, partially speculative)

IMPORTANT: The broadcast uses the designation "jihadist terrorist" as an established fact, whereas it is a politically contested label in the context of the Syrian transition.

Summary: The broadcast systematically uses the label "jihadist/terrorist" for the new Syrian government without distinguishing between al-Jolani's past and his current statements, producing an effect of pre-emptive discrediting.



7. TIMING

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

Finding 1:

Position: 00:00:00 (beginning) — opening of the broadcast

Content: "the Israeli ambassador says we will leave control of Gaza to Italy a multinational force and the Prime Minister echoes this saying two peoples, two states"

Temporal effect: The broadcast opens with the Israeli narrative as the main point of reference, establishing the interpretive frame before any critical voice can be introduced. The association between the Israeli ambassador's position and that of Meloni in the same opening sentence creates an implicit equivalence.

Finding 2:

Position: 01:27:00 (end of the geopolitical segment)

Content: Fiamma Nirenstein introduces unverified information about Christians and women in Syria after correspondent De Candia has provided a more balanced account

Temporal effect: Nirenstein's unverified claims are positioned after the journalistic account, creating the impression of an informational supplement when they are in fact unverified anecdotal claims.

Summary: The most significant timing concerns the opening of the broadcast, which establishes the Israeli narrative as the point of reference before any critical contextualisation.



8. SELECTIVE OUTRAGE

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

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

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

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 01:26:57

Triggering event: Fiamma Nirenstein defines al-Jolani as a "jihadist terrorist" with a bounty on his head

Reaction: Bruno Vespa responds with irony ("but not even this suits you, oh my goodness") — tone of good-natured exasperation, not critical contestation

Comparison: When Alberto Negri criticises Israeli operations in the West Bank (01:14:25), Vespa intervenes more directly to moderate and limit speaking time ("Fiamma please respond", "stop there")

Asymmetry: Nirenstein's unverified claims are received with good-natured irony, while Negri's criticisms are interrupted more frequently. However, the asymmetry is not sufficiently marked to justify a high score.

Degree of outrage: 1/5

Selectivity: 2/5

Summary: No explicit outrage is recorded in the broadcast. A slight asymmetry is observed in the treatment of Nirenstein's unverified claims compared to Negri's documented criticisms, but the phenomenon does not reach the threshold of systematic selective outrage.



9. SELECTIVE OMISSION — GENERAL FRAMEWORK

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

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 00:51:18 — start of the segment on the Israeli ambassador

Missing perspective/fact: No direct Palestinian voice throughout the broadcast

Relevance: The conflict in Gaza directly concerns the Palestinian population; its total absence from the debate is a serious structural gap

Impact: The viewer receives a picture of the conflict in which one of the two main parties is completely absent, making a balanced assessment impossible.

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 01:02:00 — discussion on casualty figures

Missing perspective/fact: UN/OCHA methodology for counting casualties; response of humanitarian organisations to Israeli accusations against UNRWA

Relevance: The controversy over casualty figures is central to the international debate; presenting only the Henry Jackson Society's version without the UN response is structurally incomplete

Impact: The viewer receives the impression that UN data are unreliable without being able to assess the counter-arguments.

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 01:22:47 — Israeli military operations in Syria

Missing perspective/fact: Position of the international community and international law on the breach of the demilitarised zone of the Golan and the bombardments on Syrian territory

Relevance: Israeli military operations in Syria have been criticised by numerous countries and international organisations; this criticism is completely absent from the broadcast

Impact: Israeli actions are presented as defensive and legitimate without legal or diplomatic contextualisation.

Summary: The broadcast presents systematic gaps that concern all perspectives critical of Israeli military operations, producing a structurally incomplete information picture on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the Syrian crisis.

End of hard data — Beginning of interpretive data

Interpretive data — negotiable, not purely measurable

Share of perspectives covered

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

[A] Palestinian perspective on the conflict in Gaza (civilian casualties, international humanitarian law)

[B] Perspective of international humanitarian organisations (UNRWA, ICRC) on the situation in Gaza

[C] Perspective of Syrian minorities (Christians, Kurds, Druze, Alawites) on the post-Assad transition

[D] International legal perspective on Israeli military operations in Syria and the West Bank

[E] Russian perspective on the assassination of General Kirilov



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[F] Ukrainian perspective on the conflict and intelligence operations

[G] Perspective of human rights organisations on conditions in Gaza

[H] Perspective of international law experts on settlements in the West Bank

[I] Perspective of moderate Arab countries (Saudi Arabia, UAE) on the peace process

[J] Critical perspective towards the Israeli narrative on casualty figures in Gaza

[A] ABSENT

No Palestinian representative or direct Palestinian voice is present in the broadcast. The Palestinian perspective emerges only indirectly through Vespa's questions to the Israeli ambassador. Assessment: serious structural gap.

[B] ABSENT

International humanitarian organisations are mentioned only negatively, through Israeli accusations against UNRWA of infiltration by Hamas (01:00:13). No UNRWA, ICRC or other humanitarian organisation representative is present. Assessment: significant omission.

[C] PARTIALLY ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 01:27:25 — Quote: "a number of Christians who were received but according to the norm imposed on them were all required to go without the cross attached in front" — The perspective of minorities is evoked by Fiamma Nirenstein in an anecdotal and unverified manner, without direct representatives of the communities concerned. Assessment: partial and unbalanced treatment.

[D] ABSENT

No expert in international law is present. The question of the legality of settlements in the West Bank is touched upon in the debate between Negri and Nirenstein but without legal depth. Assessment: relevant gap.

[E] ABSENT

The Russian perspective on the assassination of Kirilov is cited only through Medvedev's statements reported in the report (01:30:46), without Russian guests or Russia experts. Assessment: absence partially justified by difficulty of access, but not compensated.

[F] PARTIALLY ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 01:29:44 — Quote: "Kyiv's security services considered General Kirilov responsible for the attacks carried out with chemical weapons" — The Ukrainian perspective emerges through the journalistic report but not through direct guests. Assessment: indirect and insufficient treatment.

[G] ABSENT

No human rights organisation (Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch) is cited or represented. Assessment: structural omission.

[H] PARTIALLY ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 01:14:25 — Quote: "in the last year alone 3,000 hectares of land have been taken from the West Bank" — Alberto Negri raises the question of settlements but without the support of legal experts. Assessment: superficial treatment.

[I] PARTIALLY ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 01:04:40 — Quote: "Saudi Arabia has expressed its own intervention [...] to be part of a possible pacification process" — Cited by Fiamma Nirenstein as agency news, without further elaboration. Assessment: marginal mention.

[J] PARTIALLY ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 01:03:06 — Quote: "I have never believed in this daily accounting that has reached 45 thousand" — Alberto Negri raises doubts about the single source of the data, but the discussion is dominated by the Henry Jackson Society narrative promoted by Nirenstein. Assessment: unbalanced treatment.



Completeness score: 3/10

Rationale: Of ten relevant perspectives, four are completely absent and four are addressed only partially or in an unbalanced manner. The broadcast systematically lacks Palestinian, humanitarian and international legal voices, while devoting ample space to the Israeli narrative through the ambassador and Fiamma Nirenstein. The entertainment segment occupies approximately 50% of the broadcast, further reducing the space for geopolitical in-depth analysis.

1. Henry Jackson Society

1. **FUNDING:** Private British think tank, funded by private donors who are not completely transparent. Declared neoconservative and Atlanticist orientation. Among the historical funders are foundations linked to pro-Israeli and Atlanticist interests.

2. **MANDATE:** Promotion of liberal democracy, Atlanticism, support for Israel. The mandate is explicitly political and not compatible with a neutral assessment of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

3. **CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** HJS has an institutional interest in producing analyses favourable to the Israeli narrative. The publication of a study that reduces the number of casualties in Gaza is consistent with its declared political mission.

4. **CREDIBILITY MATRIX:**

- D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — Declared pro-Israeli orientation on a directly relevant topic
- D2 Personal risk: 0 — No risk for researchers in producing analyses favourable to the Israeli narrative
- D3 Technical expertise: 0 — Not specialised in conflict epidemiology or demography
- D4 Consistency of opinions: -1 — Historically produces analyses favourable to the Israeli narrative
- D5 Emotionality vs. data: -1 — The study is presented without verifiable methodological details
- D6 Source level: -1 — Tertiary source (reprocesses data from others without direct access)

TOTAL: -5 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: RED

5. **OPPOSING VOICE:** UN/OCHA data, the methodologies of the Lancet or of Airwaves would have provided a verifiable alternative perspective. They are not cited.

IMPORTANT: The presentation of the Henry Jackson Society as "an unsuspecting British source, absolutely that takes no side" by Fiamma Nirenstein is factually false. It is an organisation with a declared political orientation that cannot be presented as neutral on topics directly relevant to its political mission. This statement itself constitutes a case of framing the source as neutral when it is structurally partial, in violation of the obligation of completeness of information provided for by the RAI Service Contract, Art. 6.

2. Centro Studi Internazionali (CeSI) — Andrea Margelletti

1. **FUNDING:** Italian private think tank. Funders not completely transparent. Atlanticist orientation.

2. **MANDATE:** International security analysis — partially compatible with neutral assessments, but with a structural Atlanticist bias.

3. **CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Moderate — the Atlanticist orientation may influence assessments on conflicts in which the USA and its allies are involved.

4. **CREDIBILITY MATRIX:**

- D1 Conflict of interest: -1 — Atlanticist orientation, non-transparent funders
- D2 Personal risk: 0 — No relevant personal risk
- D3 Technical expertise: +2 — Specialisation in international security consistent with the statements
- D4 Consistency of opinions: +1 — Consistent positions over time
- D5 Emotionality vs. data: +1 — Analysis predominantly based on scenarios and data
- D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary source

TOTAL: +3 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW



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Associazione svizzera per un reporting equilibrato

5. OPPOSING VOICE: An analyst with a different orientation (e.g. specialising in international law or in Global South perspectives) would have completed the picture.



Soft facts — 6 qualitative techniques

10. FRAMING

7/10

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Definition: How is the topic fundamentally framed?

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 00:00:00

Quote: "the destruction of Hezbollah, the defeat of Hamas, the fall of Assad and a new Syrian regime that for now gives reason for hope. Have they secured Israel?"

Manipulation: The first question to the Israeli ambassador frames regional events as a series of Israeli successes ("destruction", "defeat", "fall") and places the security of Israel as the main parameter for evaluating Middle Eastern events.

Why problematic: This framing excludes a priori the perspective of the civilian populations affected (Palestinians, Lebanese, Syrians) and presents Israeli security as the only legitimate yardstick for judging regional events.

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 01:08:55

Quote: "since Israel carried out this great cleansing operation against terrorism, defeating Hamas, defeating Hezbollah, now cleansing that entire Syrian area"

Manipulation: Fiamma Nirenstein uses the term "cleansing" to describe military operations that have caused tens of thousands of civilian casualties. The term has hygienic connotations that dehumanise the victims.

Why problematic: The term "cleansing" applied to military operations with a high number of civilian casualties is a euphemism that minimises violence and dehumanises the affected populations. The neutral alternative would be "military operations" or "military campaign".

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 00:50:33

Quote: "meanwhile you saw that Francesca De Candia was not wearing a veil during the interview. This already seems to me, given that it is a Muslim leader, the one being interviewed"

Manipulation: Vespa frames the absence of the veil as a "good sign" in relation to a "Muslim leader", establishing an implicit equivalence between Islam and the obligation to wear the veil that is stereotyping.

Why problematic: The framing presupposes that a Muslim leader necessarily imposes the veil on women, reducing the complexity of Islam to a stereotype. The neutral alternative would be not to comment on the journalist's clothing.

Summary: The dominant framing of the broadcast presents the Middle Eastern conflict through the lens of Israeli security, using language that normalises Israeli military operations and stereotypes Muslim leaders.



11. WORD AND TERM CHOICE

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

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 01:08:55

Quote: "this great cleansing operation against terrorism"

Manipulation: "Cleansing" is a term with hygienic and dehumanising connotations when applied to military operations against civilian populations.

Why problematic: The term implies that the affected populations are an impurity to be eliminated. Neutral alternative: "military operation against Hamas and Hezbollah".

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 01:22:52

Quote: "the jihadist leader, who with the support of Turkey has taken control of Damascus"

Manipulation: The definition of Ahmad al-Sharaa exclusively as "jihadist leader" ignores his declared political evolution and his recent statements of moderation.

Why problematic: The label "jihadist" has a strongly negative connotation in Western public discourse and precludes any neutral assessment of the figure. Neutral alternative: "leader of the Syrian rebel forces" or "Ahmad al-Sharaa, former leader of HTS".

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 01:22:52

Quote: "the bloodthirsty Assad regime"

Manipulation: The adjective "bloodthirsty" is correct in substance but is used selectively — equivalent language is not applied to Israeli military operations that have caused a comparable or greater number of civilian casualties.

Why problematic: The selective use of evaluative adjectives creates an asymmetry in the moral judgement between different actors in the conflict. Neutral alternative: "the Assad regime" or "the Assad government".

Summary: The choice of language in the broadcast is systematically asymmetric: strong and evaluative terms are applied to Israel's adversaries, while Israeli military operations are described with neutral or positive language.



12. HOST BEHAVIOUR

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

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

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 01:14:40

Triggering event: Alberto Negri states that Israel "has already practically annexed 60% of the West Bank"

Quote (host): "stop there Fiamma please stop there"

Comparison: When Fiamma Nirenstein introduces unverified claims about Christians and women in Syria (01:27:25), Vespa does not interrupt nor ask for sources.

Asymmetry: Vespa interrupts Negri to give the floor to Nirenstein, but does not interrupt Nirenstein when she introduces unverified claims. However, the interruption is formally addressed to Nirenstein ("stop there Fiamma"), not to Negri — the context suggests that Vespa is trying to moderate the debate rather than specifically silence Negri.

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 01:25:20

Triggering event: Debate on settlers in the West Bank

Quote (host): "Fiamma please respond [...] I asked all the settlers who are in the West Bank must stay there, can you answer me no only some or yes all"

Comparison: To the Israeli ambassador, Vespa does not pose equivalently direct questions on the legality of the settlements or on the number of civilian casualties in Gaza.

Asymmetry: Direct and pressing questions are addressed primarily to Nirenstein (who represents the most extreme position on the pro-Israeli panel) rather than to the ambassador, who receives softer questions. This creates an asymmetry in which the moderate pro-Israeli position (ambassador) is treated with more respect than the extreme pro-Israeli position (Nirenstein).

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 00:57:20

Triggering event: Question about children killed in Gaza

Quote (host): "But haven't too many children died?"

Comparison: The question is direct and critical towards Israel — this represents a moment of balance in the host's behaviour.

Asymmetry: Not detectable in this specific case — the question is appropriate and direct.

Summary: The host's behaviour shows a slight asymmetry: the most direct and pressing questions are addressed to guests who express extreme positions (Nirenstein) rather than to the Israeli ambassador, who receives more respectful treatment. However, Vespa also poses critical questions towards Israel, limiting the overall score.



13. ASYMMETRY IN QUESTIONS

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

Asymmetry 1:

To Ambassador Peled, 00:51:18: "The destruction of Hezbollah, the defeat of Hamas, the fall of Assad and a new Syrian regime that for now gives reason for hope. Have they secured Israel?" — soft (presupposes the legitimacy of Israeli operations)

To Alberto Negri (implicit through the debate), 01:14:25: Negri is interrupted when he states that Israel has annexed West Bank territory — Vespa's subsequent question is more direct and pressing

Comparison: The opening question to the ambassador presupposes the legitimacy of Israeli operations ("destruction", "defeat" as positive results), while Negri's critical statements are handled with more pressure.

Asymmetry 2:

To Ambassador Peled, 00:53:52: "you have thanked Italy because it delivers food aid without going through the UN. But does this reassure you?" — question that presupposes the legitimacy of the Israeli position on UNRWA

To no guest: The symmetrical question "why does Israel prevent journalists from accessing Gaza?" or "how do you respond to accusations of violating international humanitarian law?" is never posed

Comparison: Critical questions towards Israel exist ("haven't too many children died?", "you are multiplying the settlements") but are less systematic and less pressing than the questions addressed to critical guests.

Summary: An asymmetry in questions exists: the Israeli ambassador receives questions that presuppose the legitimacy of Israeli operations, while critical voices are handled with more pressure. However, Vespa also poses some critical questions towards Israel, preventing a classification of total asymmetry.



14. FALSE BALANCE

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Definition: Artificial balance despite a real imbalance.

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 01:00:13 — panel structure

Construction: The panel presents three voices (Margelletti, Negri, Nirenstein) as if they represented a balance of perspectives, but two of the three (Margelletti and Nirenstein) share a pro-Israeli orientation, while Negri alone represents the critical perspective.

Analysis: The false balance consists in presenting a 2:1 pro-Israeli panel as if it were balanced, adding the Israeli ambassador as a fourth voice that brings the ratio to 3:1. The Palestinian voice is completely absent.

Summary: The panel structure creates a false balance: the presence of Alberto Negri as a critical voice gives the impression of a balanced debate, but the actual ratio between pro-Israeli voices and critical voices is 3:1, with a total absence of Palestinian voices.



15. AGENDA-SETTING

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

Finding 1:

Established agenda item: The security of Israel as the main parameter for evaluating Middle Eastern events

Timestamp: 00:00:00 — Quote: "Have they secured Israel?"

Alternative agenda: The security of Palestinian, Lebanese and Syrian civilian populations as an equivalent parameter of evaluation

Finding 2:

Established agenda item: The Syrian transition is framed primarily as a security issue for Israel and as a jihadist risk

Timestamp: 01:22:47 — Quote: "the future of Syria is suspended between fear and hope for the new course"

Alternative agenda: The Syrian transition as an opportunity for the Syrian population after 13 years of civil war; the humanitarian needs of the population; the return of refugees

Summary: The broadcast's agenda establishes Israeli security as the dominant parameter for evaluating Middle Eastern events, marginalising the perspectives of the affected civilian populations and framing the Syrian transition primarily as a risk for Israel.



CHAPTER 4 — OVERALL ASSESSMENT

Overview of individual scores

No.	Criterion	Type	Score	Main finding (1 sentence)
1	Expert selection	C	7	Fiamma Nirenstein presented as a neutral source despite structural conflict of interest; absence of experts in international and humanitarian law
2	Source selection	C	7	The Henry Jackson Society is presented as "unsuspicious" despite its declared pro-Israeli orientation; unverified claims by Nirenstein on Syria
3	Time distribution	C	6	Pro-Israeli voices (ambassador + Nirenstein) receive approximately 22 minutes against 5 minutes for the critical voice (Negri) and 0 for Palestinian voices
4	Omissions	C	8	Total absence of direct Palestinian voices and representatives of international humanitarian organisations
5	Data manipulation	C	7	Henry Jackson Society data on casualties in Gaza are presented without verifiable methodology and without comparison with UN sources
6	Guilt by association	C	5	Al-Jolani is systematically defined as a "jihadist terrorist" without distinguishing between his past and his current statements
7	Timing	C	4	The opening of the broadcast establishes the Israeli narrative as the point of reference before any critical contextualisation
8	Selective outrage	C	3	Slight asymmetry in the treatment of Nirenstein's unverified claims compared to Negri's documented criticisms
9	Completeness	C	8	Systematic gaps on all perspectives critical of Israeli military operations
10	Framing	I	7	The Middle Eastern conflict is framed through the lens of Israeli security as the dominant parameter
11	Word choice	I	6	Asymmetric language: "cleansing" for Israeli operations, "bloodthirsty" for Assad, "jihadist" for al-Jolani
12	Host behaviour	I	6	Slight asymmetry: more pressing questions towards Nirenstein than towards the ambassador; some critical questions towards Israel present
13	Asymmetry in questions	I	6	The opening question to the ambassador presupposes the legitimacy of Israeli operations; critical questions exist but are less systematic
14	False balance	I	5	3:1 pro-Israeli panel presented as balanced thanks to the presence of Negri as the only critical voice
15	Agenda-setting	I	6	Israeli security is established as the dominant parameter for evaluating Middle Eastern events



Results

- HARD DATA SCORE (average criteria 1-9): 6.1 / 10
- INTERPRETIVE DATA SCORE (average criteria 10-15): 6.0 / 10
- OVERALL SCORE (average all 15 criteria): 6.1 / 10

Dominant techniques

The 3 strongest techniques in this broadcast:

- 1. Omissions (Score 8):** The total absence of direct Palestinian voices and representatives of international humanitarian organisations constitutes the most serious structural gap in the broadcast. In a debate of approximately 40 minutes on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the Syrian crisis, none of the directly affected parties (Palestinians, Syrian civilians) is directly represented, making the information picture structurally incomplete.
- 2. Completeness (Score 8):** The systematic gaps concern all perspectives critical of Israeli military operations: no expert in international law, no UN representative, no response to Israeli accusations against UNRWA from the organisation itself. This produces a cumulative effect of normalising the Israeli narrative.
- 3. Expert and source selection (Score 7 each):** The presentation of the Henry Jackson Society as an "unsuspicious" source and of Fiamma Nirenstein as a neutral analytical voice, without declaring their political orientations, constitutes a case of framing the source as neutral when it is structurally partial. This is the most subtle and potentially most effective mechanism of influence on viewer opinion.

Key messages of the broadcast

****MESSAGE 1 (CONTENT):** ** "Israeli military operations in the Middle East are legitimate, necessary and have produced positive results for regional security"

Technique: Framing of the opening question + expert selection + omission of critical voices — Evidence: 00:00:00, 01:08:55, 01:22:47

****MESSAGE 2 (PERSONAL):** ** "The data on casualties in Gaza provided by the UN are unreliable and inflated"

Technique: Uncritical presentation of the Henry Jackson Society as a neutral source + absence of opposing sources — Evidence: 01:02:00, 01:03:06

****MESSAGE 3 (SOCIAL):** ** "The new Syrian government is fundamentally jihadist and represents a threat, despite declarations of moderation"

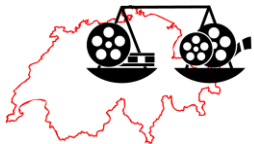
Technique: Guilt by association + word choice + unverified claims by Nirenstein — Evidence: 01:22:52, 01:26:57, 01:27:25

Classification of the degree of manipulation

Rationale: The broadcast presents a clear one-sidedness in the treatment of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the Syrian crisis, with an overall score of 6.1/10. The most serious gaps concern the total absence of Palestinian and humanitarian voices, the uncritical presentation of sources with structural conflicts of interest, and a framing that establishes Israeli security as the dominant parameter of evaluation. These elements constitute a violation of the obligations of pluralism and completeness of information provided for by the RAI Service Contract, Article 6. The entertainment segment ("Ballando con le Stelle") does not present relevant balance issues and does not significantly influence the overall score.

CONCLUSION

The episode of "Porta a Porta" of 17 December 2024 presents a clear one-sidedness in the treatment of geopolitical topics, in particular the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the Syrian crisis. The total absence of direct Palestinian voices, the uncritical presentation of the Henry Jackson Society as a neutral source, and the composition of the panel (3:1 pro-Israeli) violate the obligations of pluralism and completeness of information provided for by Article 6 of the RAI Service Contract. The dominant framing, which establishes Israeli security as the main parameter for evaluating Middle Eastern events, and the use of asymmetric language ("cleansing" for Israeli operations, "bloodthirsty" for Assad, "jihadist" for al-Jolani) produce a cumulative effect of normalising the Israeli narrative that is not compatible with the principle of impartiality required of the public broadcasting service. The broadcast does not reach the threshold of systematic imbalance (7-8) thanks to the presence of Alberto Negri as a critical voice and Vespa's



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occasionally direct questions towards the Israeli ambassador, but the score of 6.1/10 indicates a clear one-sidedness that requires corrective measures.



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	7/10	<i>Pronounced imbalance</i>
3	TIME DISTRIBUTION	6/10	<i>Significant imbalance</i>
4	SELECTIVE OMISSION	8/10	<i>Pronounced imbalance</i>
5	MANIPULATION OF NUMERICAL DATA	7/10	<i>Pronounced imbalance</i>
6	GUILT BY ASSOCIATION	5/10	<i>Significant imbalance</i>
7	TIMING	4/10	<i>Slight imbalance</i>
8	SELECTIVE OUTRAGE	3/10	<i>Slight 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	HOST BEHAVIOUR	6/10	<i>Significant imbalance</i>
13	ASYMMETRY IN QUESTIONS	6/10	<i>Significant imbalance</i>
14	FALSE BALANCE	5/10	<i>Significant imbalance</i>
15	AGENDA-SETTING	6/10	<i>Significant imbalance</i>

HARD FACTS SCORE (1-8)

6.3/10

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

SOFT FACTS SCORE (9-14)

6.3/10

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

OVERALL SCORE

6.3/10

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

Average of Hard Facts and Soft Facts



LEGEND — Meaning of scores

Individual scores per criterion (0–10)

0	No finding	No relevant anomaly detected.
1–2	Weak finding	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 public's opinion-forming potential.
6	Significant finding (threshold)	Scores equal to or greater than 6 are classified as "significant findings".
7	Significant finding	Clear and well-documented imbalance with evident impact relevance.
8–9	Serious finding	Pronounced imbalance; multiple individual findings documented under this criterion.
10	Maximum severity	Systematic and pervasive imbalance under this criterion.

Aggregate deviation index — Interpretation intervals

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

Partisan political bias (from -5 to +5)

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



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

Assessment under the RAI Service Contract, Art. 6

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

Violation 1:

Norm: Service Contract Art. 6 — obligation of pluralism of information

Facts: Total absence of direct Palestinian voices in a debate of approximately 40 minutes on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict; panel composition 3:1 pro-Israeli without representation of the directly affected parties

Evidence: 00:51:18 — start of the segment on the Israeli ambassador; no Palestinian guest or representative of international humanitarian organisations throughout the broadcast

Assessment: The lack of pluralism is structural and not occasional. The Service Contract requires that the different positions on controversial topics be represented in a balanced manner. The presence of only one critical guest (Negri) against three pro-Israeli voices (ambassador, Margelletti, Nirenstein) does not satisfy this requirement.

Violation 2:

Norm: Service Contract Art. 6 — obligation of completeness of information

Facts: Henry Jackson Society data on casualties in Gaza are presented as definitive without comparison with UN/OCHA sources or response from humanitarian organisations; Israeli military operations in Syria are presented without international legal contextualisation

Evidence: 01:02:00 — "a very important study has come out from the Harry Jackson Society, nothing is more reliable"; no citation of UN sources or humanitarian organisations in response

Assessment: The presentation of a single source on a controversial factual matter (number of casualties in Gaza) without opposing sources violates the obligation of completeness of information.

Violation 3:

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

Facts: Fiamma Nirenstein's unverified claims about Christians and women in Syria are presented in the context of an informational debate without being clearly identified as unverified opinions

Evidence: 01:27:25 — "I am already receiving reports of a number of Christians who were received but according to the norm imposed on them were all required to go without the cross attached in front" — statement without a primary source presented as information

Assessment: The failure to distinguish between verified and unverified statements violates the obligation of separation between news and commentary.

Overall assessment under the RAI Service Contract, Art. 6

The broadcast "Porta a Porta" of 17 December 2024 presents three detectable violations of the obligations provided for by Article 6 of the RAI Service Contract: lack of pluralism in the composition of the panel on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, incompleteness in the information on casualty data in Gaza, and insufficient separation between news and commentary in Fiamma Nirenstein's unverified claims on Syria. These violations are not isolated but form part of a systematic pattern that produces an information picture structurally favourable to the Israeli narrative. For the purposes of a formal legal assessment, it would be necessary to verify whether the broadcast as a whole (also considering previous and subsequent episodes) guarantees the required pluralism through compensation over time, as provided for by AGCOM practice. However, on the basis of the single episode analysed, the violations are sufficiently documented to justify a formal report to AGCOM under Article 6 of the Service Contract.



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

1. Henry Jackson Society

1. FUNDING: Private British think tank, funded by private donors who are not completely transparent. Declared neoconservative and Atlanticist orientation. Among the historical funders are foundations linked to pro-Israeli and Atlanticist interests.

2. MANDATE: Promotion of liberal democracy, Atlanticism, support for Israel. The mandate is explicitly political and not compatible with a neutral assessment of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST: HJS has an institutional interest in producing analyses favourable to the Israeli narrative. The publication of a study that reduces the number of casualties in Gaza is consistent with its declared political mission.

4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX:

D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — Declared pro-Israeli orientation on a directly relevant topic

D2 Personal risk: 0 — No risk for researchers in producing analyses favourable to the Israeli narrative

D3 Technical expertise: 0 — Not specialised in conflict epidemiology or demography

D4 Consistency of opinions: -1 — Historically produces analyses favourable to the Israeli narrative

D5 Emotionality vs. data: -1 — The study is presented without verifiable methodological details

D6 Source level: -1 — Tertiary source (reprocesses data from others without direct access)

TOTAL: -5 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: RED

5. OPPOSING VOICE: UN/OCHA data, the methodologies of the Lancet or of Airwaves would have provided a verifiable alternative perspective. They are not cited.

IMPORTANT: The presentation of the Henry Jackson Society as "an unsuspecting British source, absolutely that takes no side" by Fiamma Nirenstein is factually false. It is an organisation with a declared political orientation that cannot be presented as neutral on topics directly relevant to its political mission. This statement itself constitutes a case of framing the source as neutral when it is structurally partial, in violation of the obligation of completeness of information provided for by the RAI Service Contract, Art. 6.

2. Centro Studi Internazionali (CeSI) — Andrea Margelletti

1. FUNDING: Italian private think tank. Funders not completely transparent. Atlanticist orientation.

2. MANDATE: International security analysis — partially compatible with neutral assessments, but with a structural Atlanticist bias.

3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST: Moderate — the Atlanticist orientation may influence assessments on conflicts in which the USA and its allies are involved.

4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX:

D1 Conflict of interest: -1 — Atlanticist orientation, non-transparent funders

D2 Personal risk: 0 — No relevant personal risk

D3 Technical expertise: +2 — Specialisation in international security consistent with the statements

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

D5 Emotionality vs. data: +1 — Analysis predominantly based on scenarios and data

D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary source

TOTAL: +3 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW

5. OPPOSING VOICE: An analyst with a different orientation (e.g. specialising in international law or in Global South perspectives) would have completed the picture.

Source credibility traffic light:

Source	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	Total	Signal
Henry Jackson Society	-2	0	0	-1	-1	-1	?	?
Centro Studi Internazionali (CeSI) — Andrea Margelletti	-1	0	+2	+1	+1	0	?	?



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 falls exclusively within the competence of the relevant authorities (in particular AGCOM).
Not proof of causality	Statistical correlations must not be interpreted as proof of causal links or editorial intent. Deviation values may be influenced by the choice of topics, the 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 for the comparative recognition of patterns across thousands of broadcasts, not for the precise metric measurement of individual segments. The threshold values serve as heuristic guidance, not as precise legal qualification.



APPENDIX 1: NATIONAL LEGISLATION

Legal basis Italy — RAI

Laws

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

Relevant articles

RAI Service Contract 2023-2028

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

Legislative Decree 208/2021 (TUSMA)

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

Law 28/2000 (Par Condicio)

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

RAI Code of Ethics (2017)

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

European reference framework

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

Structural context

The "lottizzazione" — the historical allocation of RAI channels according to criteria of party proportionality — influences the structural independence of RAI to this day. The formal legal framework (Service Contract, TUSMA) is correct, but practical implementation is influenced by politics.

Supervisory authorities

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

Complaints 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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Assessments and membership of SVFAB

On SVFAB.ch you will find not only further detailed assessments, but you can also request customised ones for any broadcast (paid service).

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

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The following books are available from SVFAB

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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**



An 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 can no longer so easily have a frame chosen by someone else 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 deficiencies of public media oversight. The body that should protect citizens protects above all the system it is supposed to oversee.

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