



## RAI DETAILED ANALYSIS

2025-09-16\_portaaporta\_Regular\_September\_2025

Broadcast: RAI broadcast | 2025-09-16 | Analyzed on: 2026-05-24 11:46

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

### OVERALL SCORE

**6.5/10**

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

0 = balanced, 10 = strongly unbalanced/manipulative

## POLITICAL SPECTRUM

Classification according to Chapel Hill Expert Survey (CHES) 2024

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

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

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

### TENDENCY (L – R)

**6.2 / 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](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

Italy has been governed since October 2022 by a centre-right coalition led by 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)	Minimum wage, pro-EU, ecological transition
+Europa	3,80	2	Opposition	Pro-EU, liberal-progressive
M5S	4,20	52	Opposition	Citizens' income, anti-corruption
Azione	4,90	21	Opposition	Liberal-reformist, centre
Italia Viva	5,00	(in Az)	Opposition	Centre, liberal-centrist
Noi Moderati	5,80	7	Government	Mild-right, Christian-democratic
Forza Italia	6,50	45	Government	Liberal-conservative, guarantism
Lega	8,10	66	Government	Sovereignist, Eurosceptic, flat tax
Fdi	8,30	119	Government (PM)	National-conservative, naval blockade

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict divides the governing coalition and the opposition across party lines, with differing positions on the "two peoples two states" solution. The war in Ukraine generates internal tensions within the majority, with Salvini/Lega taking softer positions towards Moscow compared to Meloni and Tajani. The debate on the "climate of hatred" following the Kirk murder further polarises public discourse, with cross-accusations between the centre-right and centre-left. The question of Azione/Calenda's positioning relative to the two poles remains unresolved and is the subject of political manoeuvring from both sides.

RAI has historically been characterised by "lottizzazione" — the allocation of channels by party quota (RAI 1 traditionally DC/FI, RAI 2 PSI, RAI 3 PCI/PD). Under the Meloni government, the management of TG1 and the Board of Directors are controlled by the governing coalition. The RAI Service Contract (art. 6) requires pluralism, completeness and impartiality of information, with separation between news and commentary.



## CHAPTER 1 — PARTISAN BIAS

Party	Score (-5..+5)	Representation in the broadcast vs. programmatic position
Fdl (Fratelli d'Italia)	+2	00:51:37 "The defence of Italian national interest, Italy's role at the European and global level, the dignity of work, the defence of the productive fabric, the centrality of the family and of birth rates" — Programmatic position: national-conservative, traditional family, national interest — correctly represented, with a favourable tone
PD (Partito Democratico)	-1	00:57:25 "every day they give us new material to attack the Meloni government" — Programmatic position: minimum wage, public investment, pro-EU — partially represented; criticism of the government is reported but without in-depth coverage of positive policy proposals
M5S (Cinque Stelle)	0	Cited marginally in the context of the "campo largo" (01:01:04 "Populist. Combative.") — Programmatic position: citizens' income, anti-corruption — not treated in a substantive manner
Lega	-2	00:42:51 "the Deputy President of the Council Salvini makes statements that essentially support Putin" — Programmatic position: sovereignism, flat tax, differentiated autonomy — represented in a partial and critical manner, without direct rebuttal from a Lega representative
Forza Italia	+2	01:07:32 "No, it is a warm welcome. I am a liberal, he is a popular liberal" — Programmatic position: liberal, guarantism, pro-EPP — correctly represented, with a favourable tone
AVS (Alleanza Verdi Sinistra)	0	01:01:08 "Honest. Generals without an army. Bold." — Programmatic position: 100% renewables, ius soli, LGBTQ+ rights — not treated in a substantive manner

### Summary of Partisan Bias

- Most accurate representation: Fdl (Score +2) and Forza Italia (Score +2)
- Strongest distortion: Lega (Score -2) — cited almost exclusively through Boschi's criticism of Salvini's positions on Putin, without a direct voice
- Average deviation from 0: 1.2
- Conclusion: The broadcast offers a representation favourable to the governing parties (Fdl, FI), while Lega is presented almost exclusively through opposition criticism. PD is represented mainly in its critical function, with no space for positive policy proposals. M5S and AVS are virtually absent from substantive debate.

### Overall Left-Right Tendency

TENDENCY SCORE: -1.2

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

CLASSIFICATION: Slightly favourable to the right

Rationale: The broadcast hosts predominantly representatives and commentators close to the centre-right (Gasparri/FI, Bocchino/Fdl, Rampini with critical analysis of the American left). The only structured opposition voice is Boschi (IV), a minor party. The report on Meloni at the UDC is presented with a neutral-positive tone, while Lega's positions on Putin are criticised by Boschi without a direct reply. The overall framing of the debate on the "climate of hatred" tends to place responsibility predominantly on the left.



## CHAPTER 2 — BROADCAST INFORMATION AND THEMATIC FRAMEWORK

### Broadcast Data

- Title: Porta a Porta
- Date (from file name): Not specified in the transcript; content attributable to the autumn 2025 period (references to Gaza City, Kirk murder, Robert Redford)
- Duration (estimated from transcript): approximately 75-80 minutes
- Host/Journalist: Bruno Vespa (host), with reports by Giovanni Battista Brunori, Paolo Milicic, Gioia Melenti, Paola Ferrazoli, Pier Durante, Mauro Gilbezzì, Pietro Guarante, Elisa Garesi, Elisa Sant'Andrea, Daniele Piervincenzi, Stefano Saraceni
- Persons interviewed (with role/party/affiliation):

Person	Role	Party/Affiliation	Political Spectrum
Maurizio Gasparri	Senator, President of the FI Senate Group	Forza Italia	Centre-right
Maria Elena Boschi	Member of Parliament	Italia Viva	Centre (opposition)
Italo Bocchino	Editorial director	Secolo d'Italia (close to FdI)	Right
Antonio Polito	Journalist, editor	Corriere della Sera	Centre
Alessandra Ghisleri	Pollster	Euromedia Research	Technical/neutral
Pier Giorgio Di Freddi (Odifreddi)	Mathematician, essayist	No party affiliation	Secular left
Federico Rampini	Journalist, correspondent	La Repubblica (USA)	Centre-liberal

### Main Topic

The broadcast addresses three macro-topics: the Israeli offensive on Gaza City and its international implications; the "climate of hatred" in Italy and the USA following the murder of Charlie Kirk; Italian domestic politics (Meloni's positioning, polls, campo largo, Calenda/FI).

### Context of the Debate

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict is in an escalation phase with the ground invasion of Gaza City; the international community is divided between support for Israel and condemnation of civilian casualties. The murder of Charlie Kirk in the USA has reignited the debate on political violence and the "climate of hatred", with resonances in the Italian debate. In Italy, the regional electoral campaign and the positioning of minor parties (Azione, UDC) are fuelling manoeuvres to realign political groupings. The Russian threat in Eastern Europe (drones in Poland) raises the issue of common European defence.



## CHAPTER 3 — 15 CRITERIA: DETAILED ANALYSIS

### Hardfacts — 9 quantifiable and scientifically verifiable techniques

#### 1. EXPERT SELECTION

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*Definition: Who speaks as an expert?*

Expert 1: Federico Rampini — Journalist/US Correspondent

Time: 00:03:01

Statement: "Let's say that the United States is not doing anything particularly effective to stop it."

Framing: Journalist with long experience in the USA, centre-liberal editorial position, critical of the American left and progressivism. No direct conflict of interest.

Missing opposing voice: An expert on American foreign policy with a different position (e.g. in favour of US diplomatic pressure on Israel) would have balanced the analysis.

In-depth source verification:

**(a) FUNDING:** Employee of La Repubblica (GEDI Group, controlled by Exor/Agnelli). Commercial interest in media visibility.

**(b) MANDATE:** Journalist-commentator, not an academic researcher. The mandate is compatible with geopolitical analysis but does not guarantee scientific neutrality.

**(c) CREDIBILITY MATRIX (Source Traffic Light, 6 dimensions):**

- D1 Conflict of interest: +1 — No evident direct conflict, but recognisable editorial position
- D2 Personal risk: +1 — Public positions consistent with his editorial line, moderate reputational risk
- D3 Competence: +2 — Long experience as a US correspondent, competence in the field
- D4 Consistency of opinions: +2 — Positions consistent with his previous editorial output
- D5 Emotionality vs. data: +1 — Predominantly analytical, with some value judgements
- D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary source (journalist-commentator, not a primary researcher)

• TOTAL: +7 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: GREEN

**(c) PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE:** Presented as a neutral analyst, but with a clear editorial line critical of the American left and of Trump. This positioning is not made explicit to the audience.

Expert 2: Pier Giorgio Odifreddi — Mathematician

Time: 00:19:31

Statement: "shooting Martin Luther King and shooting a MAGA representative, Make America Great Again, are two very different things"

Framing: Mathematician and essayist, known for secular and left-wing positions. Invited as a "guest with unconventional positions" (host's definition). No specific competence in political science, criminology or the ethics of political violence.

In-depth source verification:

**(a) FUNDING:** University professor (University of Turin), author of books. No direct conflict of interest.

**(b) MANDATE:** Mathematician. The mandate is incompatible with the ethical evaluation of political violence as an expert.



**(c) CREDIBILITY MATRIX:**

- D1 Conflict of interest: +2 — No direct conflict
- D2 Personal risk: +2 — Has faced public criticism for his statements, real reputational risk
- D3 Competence: -2 — Mathematician commenting on political ethics and violence: outside his field of competence
- D4 Consistency of opinions: +1 — Positions consistent with his public profile as a secular-progressive intellectual
- D5 Emotionality vs. data: -1 — Predominantly philosophical argumentation, not based on empirical data
- D6 Source level: -2 — Tertiary source (personal opinion of an expert in another field)

• TOTAL: 0 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW

**(c) PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE:** Presented as a "mathematician with unconventional positions" — the qualification of mathematician confers an aura of rationality on opinions that fall outside his area of competence. This is a classic case of authority transfer (halo effect).

Expert 3: Alessandra Ghisleri — Pollster

Time: 00:37:52

Statement: "the real fact is that on the one hand there is the climate that has been created, which is very animated and heated, and so we have moved from political adversary to political enemy"

Framing: Director of Euromedia Research, pollster with regular appearances on RAI and Mediaset. Technical position, but with frequent presence on centre-right broadcasts.

In-depth source verification:

**(a) FUNDING:** Euromedia Research is a private company. Clients not publicly declared. Predominant presence on channels close to the centre-right.

**(b) MANDATE:** Pollster. Competent in the analysis of opinion data, less so for the political assessments she expresses.

**(c) CREDIBILITY MATRIX:**

- D1 Conflict of interest: -1 — Predominant presence on centre-right media, possible client selection bias
- D2 Personal risk: +1 — Moderate public positions, low reputational risk
- D3 Competence: +2 — Competent in poll analysis
- D4 Consistency of opinions: +1 — Positions consistent with her public profile
- D5 Emotionality vs. data: +2 — Predominantly data-based
- D6 Source level: +1 — Primary source for polling data

• TOTAL: +6 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: GREEN

**(c) PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE:** Presented as a neutral technical figure, but her predominant presence on centre-right media is not flagged.

*Missing expert groups:*

- Expert in international humanitarian law (Gaza conflict)
- Psychologist/sociologist of radicalisation (political violence)
- Independent military expert (Russian threat)

*Summary (matrix result per expert):*

- Rampini: GREEN (+7) — Competent, but editorial positioning not made explicit
- Odifreddi: YELLOW (0) — Outside field of competence, mathematical halo effect
- Ghisleri: GREEN (+6) — Competent for data, possible client selection bias



## 2. SOURCE SELECTION

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Statements without a primary source = penalty points (claim verification)

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

Source 1: Euromedia Research polls

Time: 00:37:52 — Statement: "Well, yes only for 17.7% of the people surveyed, nearly 60% no, just under a quarter do not respond."

**(a) Funding and management:** Euromedia Research, private company. Clients not declared.

**(b) Structural conflict of interest:** The pollster is a regular guest on the broadcast; the data are presented without methodology, margin of error or comparison with other institutes.

**(c) An alternative source is missing:** Polls from other institutes (SWG, Ipsos, Demos) would have allowed cross-verification.

Source 2: Istat data on wages

Time: 00:58:15 — Statement: "during the Conte II and Draghi governments [...] inflation caused Italian wages and salaries to lose 12 points of purchasing power, according to Istat. Under the Meloni government in three years they have recovered 6 of the 12."

**(a) Funding:** Istat is a public body. Reliable primary source.

**(b) Structural conflict of interest:** The data are cited by Bocchino (close to Fdi) selectively, without the host verifying or contextualising them.

**(c) An alternative source is missing:** The specific Istat source is not cited; Boschi contests the data ("You are saying something that is completely false") without the host intervening to verify.

Verification of undocumented claims (penalties):

Undocumented claim 1:

Time: 00:57:58

Statement: "52% of young people do not leave the house for fear of being attacked"

Verbal marker: statistical claim without cited source

Primary source available: no — penalty +1

Undocumented claim 2:

Time: 01:06:11

Statement: "from tax revenues the Messaggero reported 16.4 billion more from the fight against tax evasion"

Verbal marker: newspaper citation without reference to the primary source (MEF, Agenzia delle Entrate)

Primary source available: no — penalty +1

*Summary: The broadcast relies predominantly on a single polling institute (Euromedia) and on data cited by guests without real-time verification. Two significant statistical claims lack a verifiable primary source.*



### 3. TIME DISTRIBUTION

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

Estimated speaking time:

- Gasparri (FI, government): approx. 12 min. (16%)
- Bocchino (close to FdI, government): approx. 10 min. (13%)
- Boschi (IV, opposition): approx. 8 min. (11%)
- Polito (journalist, centre): approx. 8 min. (11%)
- Rampini (journalist, centre-liberal): approx. 10 min. (13%)
- Odifreddi (intellectual, secular left): approx. 8 min. (11%)
- Ghisleri (pollster): approx. 5 min. (7%)
- Host Vespa: approx. 8 min. (11%)
- Reports/features: approx. 7 min. (9%)

*Summary: Speaking time is unbalanced in favour of centre-right voices (Gasparri + Bocchino = ~29%) compared to the opposition (Boschi/IV = ~11%). No representative of PD, M5S, AVS or Lega is directly present. The distribution reflects a structurally asymmetric panel composition.*



#### 4. SELECTIVE OMISSION

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

Omission 1:

Context: No direct voice from Lega/Salvini on the Russia-Ukraine issue

Relevant at: 00:42:51

Effect: Lega's position is presented exclusively through Boschi's criticism ("the Deputy President of the Council Salvini makes statements that essentially support Putin"), without a reply. This creates a one-sided image of the Lega's position.

Omission 2:

Context: No voice from humanitarian organisations or international law experts on the conflict in Gaza

Relevant at: 00:01:11 — 00:16:00

Effect: The debate on Gaza takes place entirely among Italian political commentators, without the contribution of those working in the field or experts in the laws of war. This impoverishes the analysis and privileges political interpretations over documented facts.

Omission 3:

Context: The Pisa episode (pro-Palestinian students at the university) is cited as an example of "rampant anti-Zionism" without a voice from those involved

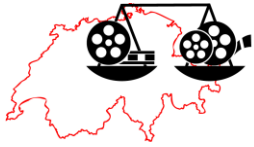
Relevant at: 00:11:44

Effect: The episode is framed one-sidedly as a manifestation of hatred, without the students being able to explain their reasons. This constitutes a partial representation of a controversial event.

*Summary: The most significant omissions concern the lack of direct voices from Lega (on Russia), independent experts (on Gaza and political violence) and the subjects being criticised (Pisa students). These omissions converge in a politically coherent direction.*

#### Missing voices

- Expert in international humanitarian law: Could have assessed the legality of Israeli operations in Gaza City under the laws of war
- Representative of a humanitarian organisation (UNRWA, MSF, Red Cross): Would have provided direct data on the conditions of the civilian population in Gaza
- Lega representative (Salvini or spokesperson): Could have responded directly to Boschi's accusations about pro-Putin positions
- PD or M5S representative: Would have brought the perspective of the main opposition on the climate of hatred and foreign policy
- Cybersecurity/military security expert: Would have examined the Russian drone threat with specific technical competence
- Representative of pro-Palestinian student movements (Pisa episode): Would have allowed their version of the cited episode to be heard
- Family member of an Israeli hostage: Would have brought the direct perspective of someone living through the hostage crisis
- Expert in the psychology of radicalisation: Would have offered a scientific analysis of the phenomenon of political violence



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**Associazione svizzera** per un reporting equilibrato



## 5. DATA MANIPULATION

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

*Definition: Selective or misleading use of statistics.*

### Finding 1:

Time: 00:58:15

Data: "inflation caused wages to lose 12 points of purchasing power [...] Under the Meloni government in three years they have recovered 6 of the 12"

Dimensions: (a) absolute value — shown; (b) share — not shown (what percentage of workers? which income bracket?); (c) trend — partially shown (comparison between governments)

Missing context: It is not specified whether the recovery applies to all workers or only certain categories; the specific Istat source is not cited; the data is not contextualised in relation to current inflation.

Effect: The statement creates the impression of a generalised improvement in wages under the Meloni government, without the necessary qualifications.

### Finding 2:

Time: 00:57:58

Data: "52% of young people do not leave the house for fear of being attacked"

Dimensions: (a) absolute value — shown; (b) share — shown (52%); (c) trend — not shown (comparison with previous years)

Missing context: No source cited; no temporal comparison; no distinction by geographical area or age group.

Effect: The data is used to support a narrative of growing insecurity without verifiable basis.

### Finding 3:

Time: 01:12:13

Data: "Fratelli d'Italia 30%, minus 0.6% compared to June. Partito Democratico 21.9%, minus 1.3%."

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

Missing context: The margin of error of the poll is not indicated; the methodology is not specified (telephone, online, CATI); no comparison with other institutes is made.

Effect: The data are presented with a precision (decimal places) that suggests a statistical certainty not justified without an indication of the margin of error.

*Summary: The broadcast uses statistical data selectively, without indicating primary sources, margins of error or comparative contexts. The data on wages and on the safety of young people are particularly problematic due to the absence of verification.*



## 6. GUILT BY ASSOCIATION

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

Association 1:

Time: 00:11:44

Quote: "what happened today in Pisa, where young people enter with Palestinian flags and pro-pal banners into the university, block the lesson and say that the teacher they label as..."

**Technique:** Pro-Palestinian demonstrators are associated with "rampant anti-Zionism" and implicitly with antisemitism, without distinguishing between criticism of Israeli policy and antisemitism.

Effect: Anyone who expresses solidarity with Palestinians is implicitly placed in a category of "hatred".

Association 2:

Time: 00:35:42

Quote: "we have that galaxy called Antifa [...] it is a world where violence is considered legitimate [...] it is no coincidence that Kirk's killer also used Bella Ciao"

**Technique:** Kirk's killer is associated with Antifa, which is associated with Italian social centres, which are associated with "Bella Ciao", which is associated with the "wicked instrumentalisation of an Italian anti-fascist partisan song". The associative chain links the Kirk murder to the entire Italian radical left.

Effect: Suggests a collective responsibility of the radical left for the Kirk murder.

Associative chain: Kirk's killer → Antifa → Italian social centres → Bella Ciao → Partisan Resistance → Radical left

Verification for Odifreddi (framed as "unconventional"):

- Does he work with verifiable primary sources? YES (academic mathematician)
- Are his statements falsifiable? YES (the understandable/justifiable distinction is semantically verifiable)
- What has he lost for his position? Public reputation, attacks on live TV
- What does he gain? Media visibility
- Net: Risk > Gain = increased credibility
- Tone: Analytical-philosophical, not apocalyptic; acknowledges uncertainties ("I wasn't even able to finish the sentence")
- CATEGORY: A — Critical intellectual with methodology (his understandable/justifiable distinction is semantically correct and academically defensible)

*Summary (category assignment with matrix rationale):*

- Odifreddi: Category A — His semantic distinction is correct; the broadcast's framing of him as "unconventional" is framing, not analysis
- Rampini (on Antifa): Category B — Partially documented analysis, but the associative chain Kirk→Antifa→Italian left is speculative



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

Finding 1:

Position: 00:00:00 (beginning)

Content: "we are perhaps not yet at the darkest hour, but there is a profound sense of unease and alarm in the world"

Timing effect: Opening with a frame of "unease and alarm" predisposes the viewer to an emotional reception of subsequent content. The initial apocalyptic tone lowers the audience's critical threshold.

Finding 2:

Position: 00:19:31 (mid-broadcast)

Content: Odifreddi is introduced as "a mathematician whom we have often had as a guest also for his positions let's say somewhat judged, well, somewhat unconventional"

Timing effect: The negative pre-qualification of the guest occurs before he speaks, orienting the audience's perception. Placed mid-broadcast, after the theme of the "climate of hatred" has already been established, his presence serves as an illustrative case of the thesis already constructed.

Finding 3:

Position: 01:13:34 (end of broadcast)

Content: Tribute to Robert Redford with the note that "he had not spared Trump criticism, calling him a dictator"

Timing effect: Closing with a tribute to Redford — presented as a critic of Trump — after a broadcast in which the American left was associated with violence, creates an implicit contrast that partially rehabilitates criticism of Trump in the viewer's final impression.

*Summary: The temporal structure of the broadcast follows a narrative logic: emotional opening → construction of the Odifreddi case as an example of "left-wing justificationism" → closing with a note of balance (Redford). This structure is not neutral.*



## 8. SELECTIVE INDIGNATION

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

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

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

Finding 1:

Time: 00:22:03

Triggering event: Odifreddi distinguishes between "understandable" and "justifiable" regarding the Kirk murder

Reaction: "I seem to understand that in a judgement you would consider this crime, let's say, with all possible mitigating circumstances" (Vespa); "my skin crawled" (Boschi); "this evening you have added aggravating circumstances" (Gasparri); "you are arming the mind and perhaps the hands of some extremist" (Boschi)

Comparison: At 00:27:43 Boschi cites the murder of a Democratic congresswoman in the USA "at the hands of a right-wing conservative extremist" — Host's reaction: no analogous indignation, no pressure on centre-right guests to condemn right-wing violence

Asymmetry: Documented — Odifreddi's semantic distinction generates a collective and prolonged indignation (approximately 15 minutes of broadcast), while the citation of a left-wing political murder by a right-wing extremist produces no comparable reaction from the host or the centre-right guests.

Degree of indignation: 4/5

Selectivity: 4/5

Finding 2:

Time: 00:24:08

Triggering event: Gasparri cites Saviano: "I cannot bring myself to join the moral chorus of those who say that any human life must be respected"

Reaction: No indignation from the host; the quote is used as an argument against the left without verification of the original context

Comparison: The same statement by Odifreddi ("understandable") generates prolonged indignation; a statement by Saviano (of the left) with potentially more radical content generates no critical reaction from the host

Asymmetry: Documented — The Saviano quote is used as a rhetorical argument without verification, while Odifreddi's words are subjected to prolonged questioning.

Degree of indignation: 2/5

Selectivity: 4/5

*Summary: Indignation in the broadcast is structurally asymmetric: Odifreddi's statements (secular left intellectual) generate a collective and prolonged reaction, while comparable or more radical statements by right-wing figures or quotes from left-wing figures used as arguments produce no analogous reactions from the host.*



## 9. SELECTIVE OMISSION — GENERAL FRAMEWORK

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*Definition: How completely does the broadcast represent the topic?*

### Finding 1:

Time: 00:11:44

Missing perspective/fact: The position of pro-Palestinian student movements (Pisa episode)

Relevance: The episode is cited as an example of "rampant anti-Zionism" without those involved being able to explain their reasons

Impact: The viewer receives a one-sided version of a controversial event, framed as a manifestation of hatred without rebuttal

### Finding 2:

Time: 00:42:51

Missing perspective/fact: Direct position of Lega/Salvini on Russia

Relevance: Lega is a governing party with positions significantly different from its allies on a national security issue

Impact: The Lega's position is presented only through opposition criticism, with no possibility of reply

### Finding 3:

Time: 00:01:11 — 00:16:00

Missing perspective/fact: Verified data on civilian casualties in Gaza, position of international humanitarian organisations

Relevance: The debate on Gaza takes place without updated and verified data on civilian casualties, without voices from those working in the field

Impact: The conflict is discussed predominantly in geopolitical and Italian political terms, without grounding in documented humanitarian reality

*Summary: The broadcast presents systematic gaps in the representation of voices critical of the government (Lega excluded from the debate on Russia), of the subjects being criticised (Pisa students, pro-Palestinian movements) and of independent experts (international law, humanitarian). These gaps converge in a politically coherent direction.*

### Share of perspectives covered

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

[A] Perspective of Palestinian civilian victims and humanitarian organisations in Gaza

[B] Perspective of the Israeli government and the reasons for the military response post-7 October

[C] Perspective of Israeli hostages and their families

[D] Perspective of international humanitarian law experts on the conflict

[E] Perspective of the Italian left (PD, AVS, M5S) on the climate of hatred and political violence

[F] Academic/psychological perspective on radicalisation and political violence

**[G] Perspective of Lega/Salvini on foreign policy (Russia/Ukraine): direct voice**

[H] Perspective of Italian pro-Palestinian movements (Pisa episode)

[I] Perspective of security experts on the Russian threat in Europe

[J] Perspective of relatives of victims of the Years of Lead on the comparison with the present



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**[A] MENTIONED**

Time: 00:01:42 — Quote: "an attack that plunges the population into panic and claims many civilian victims" — Assessment: Mentioned in the introductory report but not explored in depth with direct voices from humanitarian organisations or Palestinian witnesses.

**[B] COVERED**

Time: 00:10:56 — Quote: "on 7 October Hamas commits an incredible criminal act of terrorism" — Assessment: The Israeli perspective is present through multiple guests, albeit with critical nuances towards Netanyahu.

**[C] MENTIONED**

Time: 00:02:43 — Quote: "the families of the hostages camp outside the home of Prime Minister Netanyahu in Jerusalem" — Assessment: Cited in the report but without a direct voice from the hostages' families.

**[D] OMITTED**

Time: — — Quote: — — Assessment: No expert in international humanitarian law was invited to comment on the legality of Israeli military operations.

**[E] PARTIALLY COVERED**

Time: 00:27:43 — Quote: "as Kerk was killed, a few months ago a Democratic congresswoman was killed by a right-wing conservative extremist in the United States" — Assessment: Boschi (IV) brings an opposition perspective, but PD, AVS and M5S have no direct voice.

**[F] OMITTED**

Time: — — Quote: — — Assessment: No expert in the psychology of radicalisation or sociology of political violence was invited.

**[G] OMITTED**

Time: 00:42:51 — Quote: "the Deputy President of the Council Salvini makes statements that essentially support Putin" — Assessment: Lega's position is cited critically by Boschi but without a direct reply from a Lega representative.

**[H] MENTIONED**

Time: 00:11:44 — Quote: "what happened today in Pisa, where young people enter with Palestinian flags and pro-Palestinian banners into the university" — Assessment: Cited as an example of "rampant anti-Zionism" without a voice from the demonstrators.

**[I] COVERED**

Time: 00:39:31 — Quote: "9 Russian drones entered Polish airspace" — Assessment: The report from Poland offers a perspective on the Russian threat, with an interview with a Polish official.

**[J] COVERED**

Time: 00:33:02 — Quote: "the children of two important victims of the Years of Lead, Calabresi, son of the commissioner killed in Milan, and Benedetta Tobagi [...] said look, it has nothing to do with it" — Assessment: Cited indirectly by Polito, without a direct voice.

### Completeness Score: 4/10

**Rationale:** Four out of ten perspectives are completely omitted (international law, psychology of radicalisation, direct Lega voice, direct voice of pro-Palestinian movements). Three are only mentioned without in-depth coverage. The broadcast privileges debate among political commentators over the contribution of independent experts and directly involved voices.

**Euromedia Research (Alessandra Ghisleri)**

1. FUNDING: Private company. Clients not publicly declared. Predominant presence on RAI and Mediaset channels, historically close to the centre-right.

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



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2. **MANDATE:** Polling institute. Competent in the collection and analysis of opinion data. The mandate is compatible with the presentation of data, less so with the political assessments that Ghisleri expresses on air.
3. **CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Regular presence on "Porta a Porta" and other RAI programmes. Possible commercial interest in maintaining this presence, which could orient assessments towards positions favoured by the editorial team.
4. **CREDIBILITY MATRIX:** D1 Conflict of interest: -1 / D2 Personal risk: +1 / D3 Competence: +2 / D4 Consistency: +1 / D5 Emotion vs. data: +2 / D6 Source level: +1 → **TOTAL: +6** → **TRAFFIC LIGHT: GREEN** (for polling data; **YELLOW** for political assessments)
5. **OPPOSING VOICE:** No other polling institute is cited for cross-verification. SWG, Ipsos or Demos could have offered comparative data.

**IMPORTANT:** "Recognised" is not an objective qualification. It is a social attribution that must itself be verified. Ghisleri's regular presence on "Porta a Porta" does not constitute a guarantee of neutrality; on the contrary, the frequency of appearances on a programme with a specific editorial line is an element to be considered in assessing possible bias.



## Softfacts — 6 qualitative techniques

### 10. FRAMING

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*Definition: How is the topic fundamentally framed?*

Finding 1:

Time: 00:00:00

Quote: "we are perhaps not yet at the darkest hour, but there is a profound sense of unease and alarm in the world"

Manipulation: The initial frame of "unease and alarm" predisposes the viewer to an emotional reception. The phrase "we are perhaps not yet at the darkest hour" implicitly suggests that we might get there, amplifying the sense of threat.

Why problematic: An emotional opening of this kind lowers the audience's critical threshold and orients the reception of all subsequent content towards a narrative of crisis and danger.

Finding 2:

Time: 00:16:37

Quote: "speaking of hatred, let us move on to what happened after the murder of Charlie Kirk, this very popular American activist, very conservative, a very close friend of Trump"

Manipulation: The transition from the Gaza topic to the Kirk topic is made through the frame of "hatred", creating an implicit equivalence between the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and American political violence. Kirk is described as "very popular" and "a very close friend of Trump" — qualifications that build sympathy for him before the murder is even discussed.

Why problematic: The frame of "hatred" as the connecting thread of the broadcast orients the debate towards the search for those responsible (the left) rather than towards a structural analysis of the phenomenon.

Finding 3:

Time: 00:32:38

Quote: "hate speech is identifying categories — trans people, gay people, Black people, immigrants — as people who are ruining my life"

Manipulation: Polito offers an academic definition of "hate speech" that implicitly excludes right-wing rhetoric from the category of "hatred" discussed in the broadcast (which focuses on the left). This definition is accepted without discussion.

Why problematic: Polito's definition is partially correct but is used to defuse accusations of "hate speech" directed at the right, without the host asking whether anti-immigration or anti-LGBTQ+ rhetoric might also fall into the same category.

*Summary: The dominant frame of the broadcast is that of "hatred as a problem of the left", constructed through the emotional opening, the choice of the Odifreddi case as the central example and the definition of "hate speech" that implicitly excludes right-wing rhetoric.*



## 11. WORD AND TERM CHOICE

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

Finding 1:

Time: 00:19:39

Quote: "a mathematician whom we have often had as a guest also for his positions let's say somewhat judged, well, somewhat unconventional"

Manipulation: "Unconventional" is a negative qualification that pre-oriens the audience's perception before Odifreddi speaks. The host uses this formula to pre-emptively distance himself from the guest.

Why problematic: A neutral alternative would be: "a mathematician known for his secular and critical positions". The formula used is a pre-delegitimation.

Finding 2:

Time: 00:16:43

Quote: "this very popular American activist, very conservative, a very close friend of Trump, who was killed by a young man with a precision rifle, a thoroughly premeditated crime"

Manipulation: "Thoroughly premeditated" is a term with a strong emotional connotation that amplifies the horror of the murder. "Very popular" and "a very close friend of Trump" build sympathy for the victim before any analysis.

Why problematic: Neutral alternative: "an American conservative activist, founder of Turning Point USA, killed with a firearm in a premeditated attack".

Finding 3:

Time: 00:35:37

Quote: "the wicked instrumentalisation of an Italian anti-fascist partisan song"

Manipulation: "Wicked" is a term of strong moral condemnation that transforms a cultural analysis into an ethical judgement. The use of "instrumentalisation" implies that the partisan song has been betrayed, not that it has been used consistently with a tradition of resistance.

Why problematic: Neutral alternative: "the reference to an Italian anti-fascist partisan song". The moral evaluation should be left to the viewer.

*Summary: The broadcast's lexical choices are systematically oriented: emotionally charged terms to describe the victim Kirk and the murder, delegitimising terms for Odifreddi, terms of moral condemnation for the cultural references of the American radical left.*



## 12. HOST BEHAVIOUR

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

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

### Finding 1:

Time: 00:22:03

Triggering event: Odifreddi distinguishes between "understandable" and "justifiable"

Quote (host): "I seem to understand that in a judgement you would consider this crime, let's say, with all possible mitigating circumstances"

Comparison: At 00:24:08 Gasparri cites Saviano with a potentially more radical statement ("I cannot bring myself to join the moral chorus of those who say that any human life must be respected") — Host's reaction: no critical question, no request for clarification

Asymmetry: Documented — The host questions Odifreddi for approximately 15 minutes on his semantic distinction, while posing no critical questions to Gasparri about the Saviano quote.

### Finding 2:

Time: 00:29:53

Triggering event: Odifreddi tries to explain the understandable/justifiable distinction

Quote (host): "Professor De Fredi, may I ask you something. But what do you find understandable about the murder of a person who speaks peacefully? Tell me what you find understandable. Because in Italy it is a mental distortion if you think it is understandable."

Comparison: No comparable question is posed to Gasparri or Bocchino about their more controversial statements (e.g. comparison with the Years of Lead, Saviano quote)

Asymmetry: Documented — The host uses the term "mental distortion" to qualify Odifreddi's position, a pathologising language that is never used towards centre-right guests.

### Finding 3:

Time: 00:39:15

Triggering event: End of the debate on Odifreddi

Quote (host): "Well then, thank you to Professor Di Fredi for being with us."

Comparison: The farewell is formally courteous, but occurs after the host allowed Gasparri and Boschi to attack Odifreddi for approximately 15 minutes without intervening to ensure a balanced debate

Asymmetry: Documented — The host never interrupted Gasparri or Bocchino during their attacks on Odifreddi, while he interrupted Odifreddi several times ("Wait professor, I will give you the floor now").

*Summary: The host's behaviour is systematically asymmetric: Odifreddi is subjected to prolonged questioning with pathologising language, while centre-right guests are never questioned with the same intensity about their controversial statements. This asymmetry is documented by comparable triggering events with different reactions.*



### 13. QUESTION ASYMMETRY

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

#### Asymmetry 1:

To Odifreddi, 00:22:03: "I seem to understand that in a judgement you would consider this crime, let's say, with all possible mitigating circumstances for the other moral and social value, let's say, of the one who inspired it and of the one who shot him" — hard, with attribution of a position not declared by the guest

To Gasparri, 00:24:28: no critical question after the Saviano quote — no question

Comparison: The host attributes to Odifreddi a position ("mitigating circumstances") that he did not declare, while not asking Gasparri to clarify the out-of-context Saviano quote.

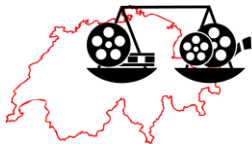
#### Asymmetry 2:

To Odifreddi, 00:29:53: "Because in Italy it is a mental distortion if you think it is understandable" — question with pathologising qualification

To Bocchino, 00:32:12: no critical question after the statement "so it was also understandable that the Red Brigades killed police officers" — no question

Comparison: The host uses a clinical term ("mental distortion") to qualify Odifreddi's position, while not intervening when Bocchino uses the same logic of "understandable" to attack Odifreddi.

*Summary: The host's questions are systematically harder towards Odifreddi (secular left) than towards centre-right guests. The difference is not justifiable by the different gravity of the statements, but reflects a structural asymmetry in the treatment of guests.*



#### 14. FALSE BALANCE

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*Definition: Artificial balance despite a real imbalance.*

##### Finding 1:

Time: 00:17:13 — Construct: "It is deplored, it is condemned, and meanwhile one ends up fuelling a climate of confrontation, increasingly violent"

Analysis: The report on the "climate of hatred" presents examples of verbal violence from both sides (Schlein booed, Zangrillo booed), creating an appearance of balance. However, the Odifreddi case (left) occupies approximately 15 minutes of broadcast, while cases of right-wing verbal violence (Vannacci, Ciriani) are briefly cited in the report without comparable in-depth coverage.

Where the false balance lies: The broadcast cites examples from both sides in the introductory report, but then devotes an enormously disproportionate amount of time to the Odifreddi case, creating the impression of balance while the substance is asymmetric.

*Summary: False balance is present in the structure of the broadcast: the introductory report cites examples from both sides, but the subsequent debate focuses almost exclusively on the Odifreddi case as an example of "left-wing justificationism", without comparable in-depth coverage of analogous right-wing cases.*



## 15. AGENDA-SETTING

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

### Finding 1:

Agenda item established: Political violence is primarily a problem of the left

Time: 00:32:40 — Evidence: "hate speech is identifying categories — trans people, gay people, Black people, immigrants — as people who are ruining my life" (Polito) — this definition implicitly excludes right-wing rhetoric from the "hate speech" agenda discussed in the broadcast

Alternative agenda: A balanced analysis should have included examples of hate speech from both political sides, with comparative data on hate speech complaints in Italy.

### Finding 2:

Agenda item established: The Meloni government is a government of stability and moderation

Time: 00:53:37 — Evidence: "having held the line on international policy [...] and on public finances [...] this does not mean that the economy then automatically goes well, but objectively..." (Polito) — this positive assessment is accepted without rebuttal

Alternative agenda: Structural criticisms of the government (social policies, civil rights, press freedom) do not enter the broadcast's agenda.

*Summary: The broadcast's agenda establishes as given facts: political violence as a predominantly left-wing problem, the Meloni government as a force of stability and moderation, the understandable/justifiable distinction as a "mental distortion". These premises are never called into question during the broadcast.*



## CHAPTER 4 — OVERALL ASSESSMENT

### Overview of Individual Scores

No.	Criterion	Type	Score	Main finding (1 sentence)
1	Expert selection	H	7	Panel skewed towards centre-right; Odifreddi invited outside his field of competence as an illustrative case
2	Source selection	H	6	Dependence on a single polling institute; two significant statistical claims without a primary source
3	Time distribution	H	6	Government voices (Gasparri+Bocchino ~29%) vs. opposition (Boschi ~11%); no PD/M5S/Lega representative
4	Omissions	H	7	No direct Lega voice on Russia; no humanitarian expert on Gaza; Pisa students without rebuttal
5	Data manipulation	H	5	Data on wages and youth safety used without primary source and without margin of error
6	Guilt by association	H	6	Associative chain Kirk→Antifa→Italian left; Pisa demonstrators associated with antisemitism
7	Timing	H	5	Emotional opening; pre-delegitimation of Odifreddi mid-broadcast; closing with a note of balance
8	Selective indignation	H	7	Prolonged indignation over Odifreddi; no analogous reaction to comparable right-wing statements
9	Completeness	H	7	Systematic gaps in voices critical of the government and in independent experts
10	Framing	S	7	Dominant frame: "hatred as a problem of the left"; Meloni government as a force of stability
11	Word choice	S	6	Emotional language for Kirk; pre-delegitimation of Odifreddi; "wicked" for Bella Ciao
12	Host behaviour	S	8	Prolonged questioning of Odifreddi with pathologising language; no analogous pressure on centre-right guests
13	Question asymmetry	S	7	Hard questions to Odifreddi with attribution of undeclared positions; no critical questions to Gasparri/Bocchino
14	False balance	S	5	Bipartisan introductory report; subsequent debate focused almost exclusively on the Odifreddi case
15	Agenda-setting	S	7	Political violence as a left-wing problem; Meloni government as stability; premises not called into question

### Results

- HARDFACTS SCORE (average criteria 1-9): 6.2 / 10
- SOFTFACTS SCORE (average criteria 10-15): 6.7 / 10



- OVERALL SCORE (average all 15 criteria): 6.4 / 10

## Dominant Techniques

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The 3 strongest techniques in this broadcast:

- 1. Host behaviour (Score 8):** Host Vespa subjects Odifreddi to a prolonged questioning of approximately 15 minutes with pathologising language ("mental distortion"), allowing Gasparri and Boschi to attack him without intervening to ensure a balanced debate. No analogous pressure is exerted on centre-right guests for comparable or more radical statements.
- 2. Selective indignation (Score 7):** Odifreddi's semantic distinction between "understandable" and "justifiable" generates a collective and prolonged indignation from all guests and the host, while the Saviano quote by Gasparri (with potentially more radical content) and the reference to the murder of a Democratic congresswoman by a right-wing extremist produce no analogous reaction. The asymmetry is documented by comparable triggering events.
- 3. Framing (Score 7):** The entire broadcast is built around the frame "hatred as a problem of the left", established in the emotional opening, consolidated through the Odifreddi case as the central example, and never called into question. The Meloni government is presented as a force of stability and moderation without structured rebuttal.

## Key Messages of the Broadcast

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**\*\*MESSAGE 1 (CONTENT):** \*\* "Political violence and the climate of hatred are primarily a problem of the left, which tends to justify violence against its political opponents."

**Technique:** Framing + Selective indignation + Agenda-setting — Evidence: 00:19:31, 00:22:03, 00:35:42

**\*\*MESSAGE 2 (PERSONAL):** \*\* "Pier Giorgio Odifreddi is an 'unconventional' intellectual who, with his philosophical distinctions, contributes to arming the minds of extremists."

**Technique:** Pre-delegitimation + Host behaviour + Guilt by association — Evidence: 00:19:39, 00:29:09, 00:29:53

**\*\*MESSAGE 3 (SOCIAL):** \*\* "The Meloni government is a force of stability, moderation and international reliability, while the opposition is fragmented and unable to offer a credible alternative."

**Technique:** Agenda-setting + Framing + Omissions — Evidence: 00:53:37, 01:06:43, 01:12:13

## Classification of the Degree of Manipulation

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Rationale: With an overall score of 6.4/10, the broadcast presents a clear structural one-sidedness. The panel is skewed towards the centre-right (Gasparri/FI, Bocchino/FdI) with only one minor opposition voice (Boschi/IV) and no representative of the main opposition parties (PD, M5S, AVS) or of Lega. The Odifreddi case is constructed as a paradigmatic example of "left-wing justificationism" through asymmetric questioning and documented selective indignation. These elements constitute a violation of the principle of impartiality enshrined in the RAI Service Contract art. 6, which requires pluralism, completeness and separation between news and commentary.

## CONCLUSION

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The "Porta a Porta" broadcast of the period under examination presents a clear structural one-sidedness that manifests itself on multiple levels: asymmetric panel composition (prevalence of centre-right voices), host behaviour systematically more critical towards the left-wing guest (Odifreddi), selective indignation documented by comparable triggering events with different reactions, and a dominant frame that places responsibility for the "climate of hatred" predominantly on the left. These characteristics, taken individually, could be justified by legitimate editorial choices; taken together, they configure a systematic pattern that violates the principle of impartiality and pluralism enshrined in the RAI Service Contract art. 6. In particular, the absence of direct voices from the main opposition parties (PD, M5S, AVS) and from Lega on issues of primary importance (Russia-Ukraine, climate of hatred) constitutes a violation of the principle of completeness of information. The host's behaviour, with the use of the term "mental distortion" towards one guest and the absence of analogous pressure towards centre-right guests, violates the principle of separation between news and commentary.



## 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	6/10	<i>Significant imbalance</i>
4	SELECTIVE OMISSION	7/10	<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 INDIGNATION	7/10	<i>Pronounced imbalance</i>
9	SELECTIVE OMISSION — GENERAL FRAMEWORK	7/10	<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	8/10	<i>Pronounced imbalance</i>
13	QUESTION ASYMMETRY	7/10	<i>Pronounced imbalance</i>
14	FALSE BALANCE	5/10	<i>Significant imbalance</i>
15	AGENDA-SETTING	7/10	<i>Pronounced imbalance</i>

#### HARDFACTS SCORE (1-8)

**6.2/10**

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

#### SOFTFACTS SCORE (9-14)

**6.7/10**

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

#### OVERALL SCORE

**6.5/10**

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

*Average of Hardfacts and Softfacts*



## LEGEND — Meaning of scores

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

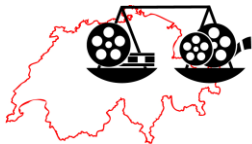
<b>0</b>	<b>No finding</b>	No relevant anomaly detected.
<b>1–2</b>	<b>Weak finding</b>	Minor anomaly with no substantial impact on balance.
<b>3–4</b>	<b>Mild-moderate finding</b>	Recognisable tendency; impact relevance from low to moderate.
<b>5</b>	<b>Moderate finding with impact</b>	Relevant imbalance 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 and cross-broadcast patterns; 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.

### Partisan political 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 mild disadvantage.
<b>0</b>	<b>Neutral</b>	No detectable favouritism or disadvantage.
<b>+1 to +2</b>	<b>Slightly favoured</b>	Recognisable but mild 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 under the RAI Service Contract art. 6

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

#### Violation 1:

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

Facts: The broadcast panel does not include representatives of the main opposition parties (PD, M5S, AVS) nor of Lega, a governing party with positions significantly different from its allies on topics covered (Russia-Ukraine). The only opposition voice is Boschi (IV), a party with 2.7% of the vote.

Evidence: 00:44:51 — "the Deputy President of the Council Salvini makes statements that essentially support Putin" — Lega's position is cited critically without a direct reply from a Lega representative.

Assessment: The lack of pluralism in the panel composition violates the principle of balanced representation of relevant political forces, enshrined in art. 6 of the Service Contract.

#### Violation 2:

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

Facts: The host uses the term "mental distortion" to qualify the position of a guest (Odifreddi), expressing a value judgement that goes beyond the role of an impartial moderator. This term is never used towards centre-right guests for comparable statements.

Evidence: 00:29:53 — "Because in Italy it is a mental distortion if you think it is understandable."

Assessment: The host's use of pathologising language towards a specific guest violates the principle of impartiality and the prohibition on personal commentary by the host enshrined in art. 6 of the Service Contract.

#### Violation 3:

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

Facts: The debate on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict takes place without the contribution of experts in international humanitarian law, without verified data on civilian casualties and without voices from humanitarian organisations working in the field. The debate on political violence takes place without experts in the psychology of radicalisation.

Evidence: 00:01:11 — 00:16:00 — The conflict in Gaza is discussed exclusively by Italian political commentators without grounding in verified primary sources.

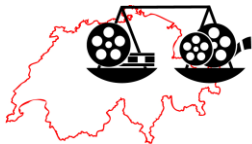
Assessment: The lack of independent experts and verified primary sources on topics of international relevance violates the principle of completeness of information enshrined in art. 6 of the Service Contract.

### Overall Assessment RAI Service Contract art. 6

The "Porta a Porta" broadcast presents three documentable violations of the RAI Service Contract art. 6: lack of pluralism in the panel composition (absence of the main opposition parties and of Lega on relevant topics), violation of the principle of impartiality by the host (use of pathologising language towards a specific guest without analogous pressure towards centre-right guests), and incompleteness of information (absence of independent experts on topics of international relevance). These violations are not episodic but configure a systematic pattern that orients the broadcast towards a narrative favourable to the centre-right government. In a context of a regional electoral campaign, as described in the broadcast itself, these violations take on particular relevance under the principle of par condicio enshrined in law 28/2000, which supplements the provisions of the RAI Service Contract.

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

Euromedia Research (Alessandra Ghisleri)



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

- 1. FUNDING:** Private company. Clients not publicly declared. Predominant presence on RAI and Mediaset channels, historically close to the centre-right.
- 2. MANDATE:** Polling institute. Competent in the collection and analysis of opinion data. The mandate is compatible with the presentation of data, less so with the political assessments that Ghisleri expresses on air.
- 3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Regular presence on "Porta a Porta" and other RAI programmes. Possible commercial interest in maintaining this presence, which could orient assessments towards positions favoured by the editorial team.
- 4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX:** D1 Conflict of interest: -1 / D2 Personal risk: +1 / D3 Competence: +2 / D4 Consistency: +1 / D5 Emotion vs. data: +2 / D6 Source level: +1 → TOTAL: +6 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: GREEN (for polling data; YELLOW for political assessments)
- 5. OPPOSING VOICE:** No other polling institute is cited for cross-verification. SWG, Ipsos or Demos could have offered comparative data.

IMPORTANT: "Recognised" is not an objective qualification. It is a social attribution that must itself be verified. Ghisleri's regular presence on "Porta a Porta" does not constitute a guarantee of neutrality; on the contrary, the frequency of appearances on a programme with a specific editorial line is an element to be considered in assessing possible bias.

### Legal and methodological framework

<b>Not a determination of facts</b>	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.
<b>Not a legal judgement</b>	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).
<b>Not proof of causality</b>	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.
<b>Not a judgement on intentionality</b>	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.
<b>Heuristic comparison tool</b>	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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"Lottizzazione" — the historical allocation of RAI channels according to criteria of party proportionality — continues to influence the structural independence of RAI to this day. The formal legal framework (Service Contract, TUSMA) is sound, 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

#### Complaint procedure

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1. RAI internal complaints office
2. AGCOM



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3. Regional Administrative Court (TAR)



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## APPENDIX 2: SCIENTIFIC REFERENCES

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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](#)

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

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

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**Unbalanced information** is the response to the halving initiative in Switzerland: the manipulation techniques are explained 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, reference, follow-up and in difficult moments



**You think you see the world.** In reality, you see the frame that someone has placed around it. Framing is the oldest and most elegant manipulation technique in the world. It does not change the facts — it changes what we make of the facts. What we feel. What we believe. How we decide. And it works — because we all participate. Every day. Unconsciously. You too. This book is not a dry manual. It is a workbook — playful, direct, full of examples from real life. You do not only learn how others frame you. You learn how you yourself frame — and how to use it consciously and correctly.

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



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

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



RAI receives over 1.7 billion euros per year from the compulsory licence fee. Anyone who feels treated unfairly can file a complaint. There is even a dedicated authority: AGCOM, the 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 primarily protects 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.