



## RAI DETAILED ANALYSIS

2025-11-13\_portaaporta\_Regular\_November\_2025

Broadcast: RAI Programme | 2025-11-13 | Analysed on: 2026-05-24 11:34

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

### OVERALL SCORE

**6.9/10**

*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 thresholds of the Pew Research Center (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)

**6.8 / 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

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

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, ecological transition, pro-EU
+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	Liberal-centrist
Noi Moderati	5,80	7	Government	Christian-democratic, moderate
Forza Italia	6,50	45	Government	Liberal-conservative, Atlanticist
Lega	8,10	66	Government	Sovereignist, Eurosceptic, closed ports
Fdi	8,30	119	Government (PM)	National-conservative, naval blockade

The Italian political debate is traversed by four main fault lines: the management of irregular immigration (centres in Albania, repatriations vs. regulated reception); urban security and the relationship between repressive measures and social investment; the distribution of resources between the central state and local authorities; and the role of the judiciary in scrutinising government acts, which came to the fore in the case of the Albanian centres. The permanent electoral campaign between government and opposition makes it difficult to have a technical discussion separate from partisan exploitation.

RAI is historically characterised by the so-called "lottizzazione", i.e. the division of channels according to the logic of partisan proportionality: RAI 1 traditionally close to the DC/FI, RAI 2 to the PSI, RAI 3 to the PCI/PD. Under the Meloni government, the management of TG1 and the RAI Board of Directors were appointed with strong influence from the governing coalition. The RAI Service Contract, at Article 6, requires pluralism, completeness and impartiality of information, as well as the 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	00:03:25 — Lupi (NM, coalition) cites the "security decree" as a positive response; 00:12:10 "the Caivano model went in that direction"; 00:22:41 "today two majority parties, Fratelli d'Italia and Lega, presented bills on further security matters" — Fdl programmatic position: certainty of punishment, more law enforcement, stop irregular immigration — Representation: partially correct, but government measures are presented as ongoing solutions without critical verification of results; the "Caivano model" is cited as a success without counterargument
PD (Partito Democratico)	-1	00:06:37 — Taruffi (PD): "since six of the last seven years in the country have been governed by Lega, it seems strange to me that whoever leads Lega today keeps asking the Government for interventions as if he were in opposition"; 00:13:00 "if from 2022 to today the government has introduced 62 new specific criminal offences... and crime is increasing, perhaps it means we have a structural problem"; 00:16:06 "As Partito Democratico, this weekend, the secretary convened the first National Assembly of all mayors" — PD programmatic position: security as a multi-level issue, social investment, resources for local authorities — Representation: PD positions are set out but systematically interrupted or contradicted by Lupi; the social security proposal is reduced to an "excuse" for not addressing the problem
M5S (Movimento 5 Stelle)	0	Not present in the broadcast — M5S programmatic position: regulation of migration flows, fight against labour exploitation, anti-corruption — Representation: absent
Lega	-2	00:06:37 — Taruffi: "Lega has governed six of the last seven years, I find it strange that Salvini spends his time... continuing to ask the Government for interventions as if he were in permanent opposition"; 00:11:36 "Salvini was vice-president for six years" — Lega programmatic position: closed ports, security decrees, flat tax — Representation: Lega is cited only as a critical target of the opposition, without a Lega representative being able to defend its positions; total absence of a direct Lega voice
Forza Italia	0	Not directly present — FI programmatic position: guaranteeism, separation of magistrates' careers, pro-European — Representation: absent
AVS (Alleanza Verdi Sinistra)	0	Not present in the broadcast — AVS programmatic position: abolish security decrees, ius soli, social justice as prevention — Representation: absent

### Summary of Partisan Bias

- Most accurate representation: Fdl (Score +2) — government measures are cited without evident distortion, but with a favourable tone
- Most marked distortion: Lega (Score -2) — cited only as a critical target without its own voice
- Average deviation from 0: 0.8
- Conclusion: The broadcast hosts only one opposition representative (Taruffi, PD) against two government/coalition voices (Lupi, NM) and two commentators (Senaldi from Libero, a centre-right newspaper; Martinelli from Il Messaggero). Government positions are presented with more airtime and less contestation. The total absence of



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

M5S, AVS, Lega (as a direct voice) and FI significantly reduces the pluralism required by Art. 6 of the Service Contract.

### **Overall Left-Right Tendency**

---

TENDENCY SCORE: -1.8

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

CLASSIFICATION: Tendency towards the right

Rationale: The dominant framing of the broadcast — security as an emergency, irregular immigration as the main cause of urban decay, the need for more law enforcement and certainty of punishment — mirrors the narrative of the governing coalition. Critical voices (Taruffi) are systematically interrupted or downplayed. The segment on the Albanian centres is presented with a tone favourable to the government, with Vespa directly citing Rama as a source of legitimation. Commentator Senaldi (Libero) expresses explicitly centre-right positions without equivalent counterargument.



## CHAPTER 2 — BROADCAST INFORMATION AND THEMATIC FRAMING

### Broadcast Data

- Title: Porta a Porta
- Date (from file): Not specified in the transcript; content refers to recent events (Meloni-Rama summit, rape in Florence "a few days ago", security decree "recently converted")
- Duration (estimated from transcript): Approximately 90-95 minutes
- Host: Bruno Vespa
- Field reporters: Chiara Giannini, Carlo Antonio Cavazzocca, Maurizio Ricordari, Salvatore Cerimele, Filomena Leone, Pietro Durante, Paolo Ferrazzoli, Andrea Conte, Daniele Marzio, Silvio Timossi, Mauro Giliberti, Nadia Alese, Fabio D'Alfonso

Person	Function	Party/Affiliation	Political spectrum
Maurizio Lupi	President of Noi Moderati, former minister	NM (government coalition)	Centre-right
Igor Taruffi	PD Member of Parliament	PD (opposition)	Centre-left
Pietro Senaldi	Editor of Libero	None (journalist close to centre-right)	Right
Massimo Martinelli	Editor of Il Messaggero	None (journalist)	Centre
Augusto Caratelli	President of the Comitato Difesa Esquilino-Monti	Civic committee	Not classifiable
Eleonora Zoppo	Comitato Urbano Esquilino, shopkeeper	Civic committee	Not classifiable
"Cicalone"	Anti-pickpocketing activist (video)	None	Not classifiable
Massimo Di Gianantonio	Psychiatrist, president of the Società Italiana di Psichiatria	Academic/clinical	Neutral
Marvi Santamaria	Digital communications consultant, author	None	Neutral
Nicola Santini	Editor of Vero	None (journalist)	Not classifiable
Concita Borrelli	Journalist	None	Not classifiable
Catena Fiorello	Writer	None	Not classifiable
Federico Rampini	Corriere della Sera correspondent from New York	None (journalist)	Liberal centre-right
Cristina Bigongiani	Guest (events organiser)	None	Not classifiable
Stefano Munari	DJ, Palma de Mallorca	None	Not classifiable
Concita Modica	Spa manager, Palma de Mallorca	None	Not classifiable



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

## Main Topic

---

The broadcast addresses decay and violence in major Italian cities (Rome, Milan, Florence, Naples), linking them to irregular immigration and the alleged ineffectiveness of the judicial system, with a final segment on the Meloni-Rama summit on the Albanian centres and a long block on dating apps.

## Debate Context

---

The issue of urban security has been at the centre of Italian political debate for years, with a clear divide between those who favour repressive responses (more law enforcement, certainty of punishment, expulsions) and those who propose structural interventions (urban regeneration, social policies, integration). ISTAT data show a long-term trend of declining violent crime, with a slight increase in the last year, but the perception of insecurity has grown. The systematic link between irregular immigration and crime is contested by numerous criminological studies that distinguish between regular immigrants, irregular immigrants and Italian citizens. The case of the Albanian centres is the subject of a dispute between the government and the judiciary over the definition of "safe country".



## CHAPTER 3 — 15 CRITERIA: DETAILED ANALYSIS

### Hardfacts — 9 quantifiable and scientifically verifiable techniques

#### 1. EXPERT SELECTION

8/10

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

*Definition: Who speaks as an expert?*

Expert 1: Augusto Caratelli — President of the Comitato Difesa Esquilino-Monti

Time: 00:07:41

Statement: "Between Sinification and Islamisation. I remind everyone that the Esquilino is called the triangle of Christianity... At this moment, five mosques have been opened around the Esquilino. They are not regular because they are associations, but every Friday hundreds and perhaps thousands of people arrive."

Framing: President of a neighbourhood civic committee; no criminological, sociological or legal qualification

Missing countervoice: Migration sociologist, representative of the Islamic community, expert in the law on religious associations

In-depth source verification:

- (a) **FUNDING:** Voluntary civic committee, funding not verifiable; structurally representative of the interests of long-standing residents of the neighbourhood
- (b) **MANDATE:** The committee's mandate is to defend residents' interests, not to produce neutral analyses of crime
- (c) **CREDIBILITY MATRIX (Source Traffic Light, 6 dimensions, from -2 to +2):**
  - D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — President of a committee with a declared critical stance towards the Islamic and Chinese presence in the neighbourhood
  - D2 Personal risk: +1 — Personal testimony (mother's mugging) implies real exposure
  - D3 Technical expertise: -2 — No qualification in criminology, sociology or law; eyewitness, not expert
  - D4 Consistency of opinions: 0 — Not verifiable from transcript
  - D5 Emotionality vs. data: -2 — Strongly emotional statements ("I am a little very angry"), no verifiable data
  - D6 Source level: -1 — Tertiary source (personal testimony)

TOTAL: -6 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: RED

(c) **PROFESSIONAL EXPERTISE:** The source is presented as "committee president" without critical qualification, conferring an institutional authority it does not possess on criminological matters. Technique no. 2 (source selection).

Expert 2: Massimo Martinelli — Editor of Il Messaggero\*

Time: 00:09:43

Statement: "There is an army of people committing crimes, hundreds of people in Rome, as in Milan, Florence, Venice, Bologna, that reproduces itself."

Framing: Editor of a Roman daily newspaper; no criminological qualification

Missing countervoice: Criminologist, ISTAT researcher

In-depth source verification:



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

**(a) FUNDING:** Il Messaggero is owned by Francesco Gaetano Caltagirone, an entrepreneur with interests in the construction sector and links to the centre-right

**(b) MANDATE:** Editorial director, not a researcher; his mandate is editorial, not scientific

**(c) CREDIBILITY MATRIX:**

D1 Conflict of interest: -1 — Editorial ownership with an identifiable political orientation

D2 Personal risk: 0 — No personal risk in the statements

D3 Technical expertise: -1 — Journalistic, not criminological, expertise

D4 Consistency of opinions: 0 — Not verifiable

D5 Emotionality vs. data: -1 — Mix of observation and undocumented claims ("army of people")

D6 Source level: -1 — Secondary source (journalistic observation)

TOTAL: -4 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW

**(c) PROFESSIONAL EXPERTISE:** Presented as an authoritative voice on Roman crime by virtue of his role as editor, without his specific competence being qualified.

Expert 3: Massimo Di Gianantonio — Psychiatrist, president of the Società Italiana di Psichiatria

Time: 00:52:45

Statement: "the use of dating apps has a very high percentage, in the age groups starting from 18 to 30 and then decreasing somewhat from 30 to 50"

Framing: Psychiatrist with institutional qualification; competent on the topic of digital relationships

In-depth source verification:

**(a) FUNDING:** Academic/clinical; no evident conflict of interest

**(b) MANDATE:** President of a scientific society; mandate compatible with assessment of the psychological dynamics of apps

**(c) CREDIBILITY MATRIX:**

D1 Conflict of interest: +1 — No evident conflict

D2 Personal risk: 0 — No personal risk

D3 Technical expertise: +2 — Qualified psychiatrist, competent on the topic

D4 Consistency of opinions: +1 — Cautious and balanced statements

D5 Emotionality vs. data: +1 — Predominantly analytical approach

D6 Source level: +1 — Primary source (clinician with direct experience)

TOTAL: +6 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: GREEN

*Missing expert groups:*

- Criminologist/crime sociologist (absent for the entire security segment)
- Independent legal expert (absent for the Albania segment)
- Representative of immigrant communities (absent)

*Summary (matrix result per expert):*

- Caratelli: RED (-6) — emotional witness presented as an institutional voice
- Martinelli: YELLOW (-4) — journalist with an identifiable editorial orientation
- Di Gianantonio: GREEN (+6) — the only expert with a relevant technical qualification



## 2. SOURCE SELECTION

7/10

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

Undocumented claims = penalty points (claim verification)

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

Source 1: ISTAT (cited by Taruffi)

Time: 00:14:14 — Statement: "compared to 10 years ago crime has fallen by 15%... robberies have decreased by 35% compared to 10 years ago"

**(a) Funding and management:** National statistics institute, public funding; structurally independent

**(b) Structural conflict of interest:** None relevant for statistical data on crime

(c) Missing a source that documents the short-term trend (increase in the last year) with the same precision as the ten-year trend

Missing counterpart source: Criminological analysis distinguishing between types of crime and causal factors

Source 2: Vespa citing Edy Rama (direct source)

Time: 00:45:32 — Statement: "Adi Rama... told me today, they tried in every way to make me say whether I regretted this affair, I did not regret it at all. On the contrary, there are many European countries asking me to do as Italy did"

**(a) Funding:** Albanian Prime Minister; foreign government source with a direct interest in the agreement

**(b) Structural conflict of interest:** Rama has a direct interest in presenting the agreement as a success; his statement is reported by Vespa as confirmation of the project's merits

(c) Missing an independent source that evaluates the Albania agreement from the perspective of international law or effectiveness

Verification of undocumented claims (penalties):

Undocumented claim 1:

Time: 00:08:44

Claim: "the number of muggings, robberies, assaults on television crews, between Viareggio and Termini station is incredible"

Linguistic marker: "is incredible" (hyperbolic claim without data)

Primary source available: no — penalty +1

Undocumented claim 2:

Time: 00:30:25 — Reporter: "We meet a group of young men, they are all North African"

Linguistic marker: ethnic identification as a narrative element without supporting statistical data

Primary source available: no — penalty +1

*Summary: Statistical sources are used selectively (only when they support the prevailing narrative); anecdotal sources are treated as equivalent to scientific data; the Rama source is presented without critical qualification despite the evident conflict of interest.*



3. TIME DISTRIBUTION							7/10		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

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

Estimated speaking time (security/Albania segment, approximately 50 minutes):

- Lupi (NM, government/coalition): approx. 12 min. (24%)
- Taruffi (PD, opposition): approx. 8 min. (16%)
- Senaldi (Libero, centre-right orientation): approx. 5 min. (10%)
- Martinelli (Messaggero, centre-right): approx. 6 min. (12%)
- Vespa (host): approx. 7 min. (14%)
- Witnesses/reporters (Caratelli, Zoppo, Cicalone, Giannini): approx. 12 min. (24%)

*Summary: The ratio between voices favourable to the government (Lupi + Senaldi + selected witnesses) and critical voices (Taruffi) is approximately 3:1. Martinelli occupies a nominally neutral position but his statements are structurally aligned with the government narrative (procedural problem, not one of law enforcement; frustration of officers). Host Vespa uses his time to introduce elements favourable to the government (citation of Rama, defence of the Albanian centres).*



#### 4. SELECTIVE OMISSION

8/10

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

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

Omission 1:

Context: Data on crimes committed by Italian citizens in the same areas

Relevant at: 00:14:52 — "Irregular immigrants, 6 out of 10, despite the percentage of their presence being infinitely lower than the Italian one, 6 out of 10 people arrested are immigrants"

Effect: The statistic on foreign arrestees is presented without the mirror data on Italian arrestees in the same areas, nor the data on the percentage of crimes committed by Italians in absolute terms; the omission creates the impression that crime is predominantly foreign

Omission 2:

Context: Living conditions of irregular immigrants as a criminogenic factor

Relevant at: 00:15:29 — Taruffi: "People arrive here who nobody knows why they arrived and how they arrived, who have to survive, who have no job, who have no recognition"

Effect: Taruffi's point is immediately interrupted and not developed; the structural dimension of deviance (social exclusion, lack of documents, impossibility of working legally) is systematically marginalised

Omission 3:

Context: Actual costs and results of the Albanian centres

Relevant at: 00:46:02 — "In reality at this moment there are 13, if I remember correctly, there are 13 people in the centre"

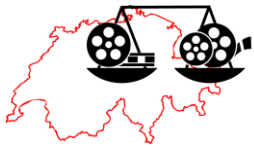
Effect: The figure of 13 people hosted against an investment of 670 million euros is cited by the opposition but not developed with a cost-benefit analysis; any independent assessment of the project's effectiveness is absent

*Summary: The most significant omissions concern the structural context of crime (poverty, social exclusion, lack of integration) and the comparative data that would relativise the narrative of the security emergency as a phenomenon predominantly linked to immigration.*

#### Missing voices

- Criminologist/crime sociologist: Would have provided scientific data on the immigration-crime nexus and on the structural factors of deviance
- Mayor of a large city (Rome, Milan, Florence): Would have illustrated the available resources, regulatory constraints and policies in place
- Trade union representative of law enforcement: Would have provided a direct assessment of operational conditions and needs
- Independent legal expert: Would have assessed the legitimacy of the security decree and the Albania protocol without a partisan position
- Representative of immigrant communities: Would have offered the perspective of those who experience urban decay as victims, not only as alleged perpetrators
- Expert in urban social policies: Would have illustrated evidence-based intervention models (not only the Giuliani/Caivano case)
- Magistrate or ANM representative: Would have explained the legal reasons for the decisions on the Albanian centres
- ISTAT researcher or demographer: Would have contextualised crime data with methodological rigour

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



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



## 5. DATA MANIPULATION

6/10

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

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

*Definition: Selective or misleading use of statistics.*

### Finding 1:

Time: 00:14:52

Data: "Irregular immigrants, 6 out of 10, despite the percentage of their presence being infinitely lower than the Italian one, 6 out of 10 people arrested are immigrants"

Dimensions: (a) absolute value — not provided; (b) percentage — provided (60% of those arrested); (c) trend — not provided

Missing context: The percentage of those arrested does not equate to the percentage of crimes committed; the source of this data is not provided; it is not specified for which types of crime; it is not compared with the data for regular immigrants (who according to Martinelli himself "commit the same crimes as Italians")

Effect: The data creates the impression that irregular immigrants are responsible for the majority of crimes, without the denominator (total number of crimes) being provided

### Finding 2:

Time: 00:14:14

Data: "compared to 10 years ago crime has fallen by 15%... robberies have decreased by 35% compared to 10 years ago"

Dimensions: (a) absolute value — not provided; (b) percentage — provided; (c) trend — partial (ten-year trend only)

Missing context: The data is cited by Taruffi but immediately relativised by Lupi ("there is a slight increase in crime" in the last year) without a complete statistical picture being presented that integrates both trends

Effect: The debate takes place on partial and selective data, with each side using the statistic most favourable to its own narrative

### Finding 3:

Time: 00:46:02

Data: "670 million over five years... that is 135 million a year"

Dimensions: (a) absolute value — provided; (b) percentage (of the state budget, of the cost per person hosted) — not provided; (c) trend — not applicable

Missing context: The cost per person actually hosted (13 people) is not calculated; no comparison is provided with the cost of alternatives (repatriations, ordinary reception)

Effect: The figure is presented as "not that much" (135 million a year) without the unit cost data that would make the inefficiency evident

*Summary: Statistical data are used in a systematically selective manner by all participants, but the structure of the broadcast favours the government narrative since critical figures (13 people hosted, unit cost) are cited by the opposition and not developed, while data favourable to the government are amplified.*



## 6. GUILT BY ASSOCIATION

7/10

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

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

Association 1:

Time: 00:08:25

Quote: "Between Sinification and Islamisation. I remind everyone that the Esquilino is called the triangle of Christianity... At this moment, five mosques have been opened around the Esquilino."

**Technique:** Association between Islamic/Chinese presence and neighbourhood decay; the terms "Sinification" and "Islamisation" imply an active and intentional process of cultural transformation perceived as a threat

Effect: The presence of mosques and Chinese communities is implicitly linked to insecurity, without any data demonstrating the causal link; Vespa does not intervene to qualify or contest the claim

Association 2:

Time: 00:29:49

Quote: "We go back into the city, heading for San Siro. We meet a group of young men, they are all North African. As soon as we drive past, they approach us and immediately show us drugs."

**Technique:** Ethnic identification as the primary narrative element in the description of drug dealers; ethnicity is presented as a relevant and identifying characteristic

Effect: The systematic association between North African ethnicity and drug dealing creates a frame of guilt by ethnic association

Association 3:

Time: 00:33:08

Quote: "We move to via Palazzuolo, where a few days ago a young woman was raped by two foreigners, who were then arrested."

**Technique:** Identification of the perpetrators' nationality as the primary narrative element; in the report on Florence, every criminal episode is associated with "foreigners" or "non-EU nationals"

Effect: The systematic repetition of the ethnic identification of perpetrators, without analogous treatment for crimes committed by Italians, constructs an implicit association between foreigners and crime

For each person framed as a "conspiracy theorist": Not applicable in this broadcast.

*Summary (category assignment with matrix rationale):*

- Caratelli: Category B (partially documented, partially speculative) — real personal testimony, but undocumented generalisations about mosques and crime
- Giannini's reports: Category C for the ethnic frame — the ethnicity-crime associations are not falsifiable in the context presented and are not contested



## 7. TIMING

5/10

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

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

### Finding 1:

Position: 00:00:00 (beginning)

Content: "Between decay, knives and drugs. As the Statistics Institute has certified, violence is growing, especially in large cities"

Temporal effect: The opening title immediately establishes the security emergency frame; the attribution to ISTAT is partially misleading (ISTAT also certifies a ten-year decline of 15%, a figure not mentioned in the opening)

### Finding 2:

Position: 00:42:57 (after the security segment, before the Albania segment)

Content: Two satirical cartoons — "Whatever you do, don't take the metro. Go through the woods." / "These transport strikes are costing us a fortune. In the end we'll have to resort to robbery."

Temporal effect: The humorous cartoons consolidate the urban insecurity frame as an established and incontestable fact before moving to the Albania segment; the satire normalises the perception of danger in cities

### Finding 3:

Position: 00:48:33 (end of Albania segment)

Content: Vespa introduces the film "No Other Land" about Palestinians as a transitional element towards the dating app segment

Temporal effect: The Palestinian film is introduced briefly and without discussion, creating an implicit contrast between the security narrative (immigration as a problem) and the humanitarian narrative (Palestinians as victims); the juxtaposition is not developed

*Summary: The temporal structure of the broadcast is constructed to maximise the emotional impact of the security emergency frame before any critical contextualisation.*



## 8. SELECTIVE OUTRAGE

6/10

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

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

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

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

Finding 1:

Time: 00:27:52

Triggering event: Martinelli describes the "Monday of violence" in which 60 officers were injured

Reaction: "Imagine what would have happened if the officers had injured 60 demonstrators. We would have talked about it for years, we would have demanded the resignation of the chief of police"

Comparison: No guest expresses comparable outrage about violence suffered by demonstrators in previous episodes; no guest is invited to comment on cases of law enforcement violence against demonstrators

Asymmetry: Documented — outrage at violence suffered by officers is amplified; that for violence suffered by demonstrators is implicitly minimised ("we would have talked about it for years" as a critique of the alleged media over-reaction)

Degree of outrage: 3/5

Selectivity: 4/5

Finding 2:

Time: 00:08:44

Triggering event: Caratelli describes the presence of unregulated mosques

Reaction: Vespa: "That is another important phenomenon that must be monitored"

Comparison: No analogous reaction from Vespa when Christian places of worship or Italian commercial activities are cited in contexts of decay

Asymmetry: Documented — the presence of Islamic places of worship is flagged as a "phenomenon to be monitored" without analogous attention being paid to other religious or cultural phenomena

Degree of outrage: 2/5

Selectivity: 3/5

*Summary: Outrage in the broadcast is structurally asymmetric: violence suffered by law enforcement and Italian residents is emotionally amplified, while the living conditions of irregular immigrants and violence suffered by demonstrators are systematically minimised or ignored.*



## 9. SELECTIVE OMISSION — GENERAL OVERVIEW

8/10

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

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

### Finding 1:

Time: 00:14:52

Missing perspective/fact: The data on the percentage of crimes committed by regular immigrants vs. irregular immigrants vs. Italians, disaggregated by type of crime and geographical area

Relevance: Fundamental for assessing whether the immigration-crime nexus is causal or correlational

Impact: The absence of this data allows the statistic "6 out of 10 arrested are immigrants" to be presented as proof of a causal link, when it could reflect bias in the arrest system (irregular immigrants are more visible and less legally protected)

### Finding 2:

Time: 00:44:04

Missing perspective/fact: The legal reasons why Italian courts have blocked transfers to Albania

Relevance: The debate on the Albanian centres is conducted without the judiciary's position being set out in an articulate manner; it is cited only as a "captious interpretation"

Impact: The public cannot assess whether the judicial decisions are based on sound legal arguments or on questionable interpretations

### Finding 3:

Time: 00:03:00 — 00:42:00 (entire security segment)

Missing perspective/fact: Any data on crimes committed by Italian citizens in the same geographical areas shown in the reports

Relevance: The reports show exclusively drug dealers and criminals identified as foreigners or North Africans; the absence of data on crimes committed by Italians creates a systematically distorted picture

Impact: The public receives the impression that urban crime is a predominantly foreign phenomenon, in contradiction with the available statistical data

*Summary: The broadcast presents a systematically incomplete picture of the urban security phenomenon, omitting the scientific, legal and social perspectives that would relativise the narrative of the immigration-crime emergency.*

## End of Hardfacts — Beginning of Softfacts

### Share of perspectives covered

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

- [A] Complete statistical data on crime (ten-year trend, distinction by type, European comparison)
- [B] Criminological position on the immigration-crime nexus (scientific studies)
- [C] Voice of mayors of large cities (local government, available resources)
- [D] Position of law enforcement (police unions)
- [E] Perspective of regular immigrants and foreign communities
- [F] Experts in social policies and urban regeneration
- [G] Position of the judiciary on the Albania case

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



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

- [H] Independent legal assessment of the security decree
- [I] International comparative data on urban security models
- [J] Voice of crime victims (not only anecdotal, but representative)

**[A] PARTIALLY COVERED**

Time: 00:14:14 — Quote: "if from 2022 to today the government has introduced 62 new specific criminal offences... and crime is increasing" / 00:14:14 "compared to 10 years ago crime has fallen by 15%" — Assessment: the data are cited but in a fragmented and instrumental manner, without systematic presentation; the ten-year trend is mentioned once by Taruffi and then abandoned

**[B] ABSENT**

Time: — — Quote: — — Assessment: no criminologist or sociologist is consulted on the immigration-crime nexus; the association is taken for granted by several guests without scientific verification

**[C] ABSENT**

Time: — — Quote: — — Assessment: no mayor of a large city is interviewed directly; their position is discussed in absentia and often critically

**[D] ANECDOTAL**

Time: 00:26:05 — Quote: "the famous police unions with whom I speak... their greatest suffering is the feeling of being abandoned by the State" — Assessment: the position of the police unions is cited by Martinelli indirectly, without a direct voice

**[E] ABSENT**

Time: — — Quote: — — Assessment: no representative of immigrant communities is consulted; immigrants appear only as subjects of crime news or as filmed drug dealers

**[F] ABSENT**

Time: — — Quote: — — Assessment: no expert in social policies or urban planning is consulted; the topic of regeneration is discussed only in political terms

**[G] ABSENT**

Time: — — Quote: — — Assessment: the judiciary's position on the Albania case is cited only as an obstacle ("captious interpretation") without a direct voice from magistrates or legal experts

**[H] ABSENT**

Time: — — Quote: — — Assessment: no independent legal assessment of the security decree or the Albania protocol

**[I] PARTIAL**

Time: 00:37:59 — Quote: "Rudolf Giuliani, who in one year, in New York there were 200,000 crimes, in one year managed to reduce them by 60% with the broken windows theory" — Assessment: the reference to Giuliani is partial and controversial; the "broken windows" theory is the subject of scientific debate not mentioned

**[J] PRESENT BUT SELECTIVE**

Time: 00:07:41 — Quote: "my mother has already been mugged three times in my presence in via Bixio while on crutches" — Assessment: victims are presented exclusively through anecdotal testimonies that emphasise the involvement of foreigners; no victim of crimes committed by Italians

Completeness Score: 2/10

The broadcast presents a strongly oriented selection of perspectives: scientific voices, independent legal voices, immigrant communities and mayors are completely absent. Statistical data are used instrumentally. The resulting picture is systematically incomplete and oriented towards a specific narrative.

**1. Comitato Difesa Esquilino-Monti (Caratelli)**

1. FUNDING: Voluntary civic committee; funding not publicly documented; structurally representative of the interests of long-standing residents of the neighbourhood
2. MANDATE: Defence of residents' interests; not compatible with neutral assessment of criminological or demographic phenomena
3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST: Institutional interest in emphasising neighbourhood decay in order to obtain public interventions; interest in identifying external causes (immigration) rather than structural ones
4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX: D1 -2 / D2 +1 / D3 -2 / D4 0 / D5 -2 / D6 -1 → TOTAL -6 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: RED
5. COUNTERVOICE: Representative of the Islamic community of the Esquilino; migration sociologist; data from the Municipality of Rome on crime by neighbourhood — none of these voices is cited



## **2. Comitato Urbano Esquilino (Zoppo)**

1. FUNDING: Civic committee; neighbourhood shopkeeper
2. MANDATE: Protection of the neighbourhood's commercial interests; not compatible with neutral assessment
3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST: Direct interest in emphasising insecurity in order to obtain public interventions
4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX: D1 -2 / D2 +2 / D3 -2 / D4 0 / D5 -1 / D6 -1 → TOTAL -4 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW
5. COUNTERVOICE: Statistical data on crimes in the Esquilino neighbourhood disaggregated by nationality of perpetrators — not cited

## **3. Società Italiana di Psichiatria (Di Gianantonio)**

1. FUNDING: Scientific society; mixed funding (membership fees, public and private contributions)
2. MANDATE: Promotion of scientific psychiatry; compatible with assessment of the psychological dynamics of apps
3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST: None relevant for the topic addressed
4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX: D1 +1 / D2 0 / D3 +2 / D4 +1 / D5 +1 / D6 +1 → TOTAL +6 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: GREEN
5. COUNTERVOICE: Not necessary; Di Gianantonio's statements are balanced and do not take a political position

**FINAL METHODOLOGICAL NOTE:** "Recognised" is not an objective qualification. It is a social attribution that must itself be verified. Caratelli is presented as "President of the Comitato Difesa Esquilino-Monti" — this title confers an institutional authority that does not correspond to a technical qualification on the subject of crime. The broadcast treats this source as equivalent to an expert, violating the principle of transparency regarding source qualifications.



## Softfacts — 6 qualitative techniques

### 10. FRAMING

8/10

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

*Definition: How is the topic fundamentally framed?*

Finding 1:

Time: 00:00:06

Quote: "Between decay, knives and drugs. As the Statistics Institute has certified, violence is growing, especially in large cities"

Manipulation: The title establishes a frame of emergency and growing violence; the attribution to ISTAT confers scientific authority on a partial reading of the data (ISTAT also certifies the ten-year decline of 15%)

Why problematic: The public enters the broadcast with the emergency frame already established; any contrary data will have to fight against this initial framing

Finding 2:

Time: 00:39:51

Quote: "These are areas removed from the control of legality, these are areas where the Italian State is absent, there is the State of the immigrants who structurally govern those areas."

Manipulation: The frame "State of the immigrants" vs. "Italian State" constructs a narrative of substitution and loss of territorial sovereignty

Why problematic: The expression "State of the immigrants" is a rhetorical construction that does not correspond to any institutional reality; it implies an organisation and intentionality that are not documented; Vespa does not intervene to qualify the claim

Finding 3:

Time: 00:34:08

Quote: "they risk being raped, accosted by these non-EU nationals who are out of control"

Manipulation: The frame "non-EU nationals out of control" constructs a narrative of systematic ethnic threat; the expression "out of control" implies a loss of public order attributed specifically to an ethnic category

Why problematic: The generalisation "these non-EU nationals" attributes the behaviour of specific individuals to an entire ethnic category; the frame is presented as journalistic testimony, not as opinion

*Summary: The dominant frame of the broadcast is that of a security emergency caused by irregular immigration and the ineffectiveness of the judicial system; this frame is established in the opening and systematically reinforced through the selection of reports, guests and questions.*



## 11. WORD AND TERM CHOICE

7/10

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

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

Finding 1:

Time: 00:08:25

Quote: "Between Sinification and Islamisation"

Manipulation: The neologisms "Sinification" and "Islamisation" imply an active and intentional process of cultural transformation perceived as a threat; the suffix "-isation" suggests an irreversible and systematic process

Why problematic: A neutral alternative would be: "the growth of the Chinese and Islamic presence in the neighbourhood"; the terms used carry connotations of cultural replacement typical of nationalist discourse

Finding 2:

Time: 00:39:51

Quote: "there is the State of the immigrants who structurally govern those areas"

Manipulation: "State of the immigrants" is a rhetorical oxymoron that attributes a parallel state structure to immigrants; "structurally govern" implies organised and permanent control

Why problematic: A neutral alternative would be: "areas where law enforcement has difficulty intervening and where criminal activities are concentrated"; the term used constructs a narrative of sovereign substitution

Finding 3:

Time: 00:30:25

Quote: "We meet a group of young men, they are all North African"

Manipulation: Ethnic identification as the primary narrative element in the description of drug dealers; ethnicity is presented as a relevant and identifying characteristic of criminal behaviour

Why problematic: A neutral alternative would be: "We meet a group of young men who offer us drugs"; ethnic identification is irrelevant for the purpose of describing the crime and constructs an implicit association

*Summary: The language of the broadcast is systematically oriented towards the construction of a frame of ethnic threat; the terms used are not neutral but carry connotations of cultural replacement and loss of territorial control.*



## 12. MODERATOR BEHAVIOUR

7/10

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

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

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

Finding 1:

Time: 00:11:08

Triggering event: Taruffi cites the 800 million for the Albanian centres as resources that could have been used for law enforcement

Quote (Vespa): "We'll talk about that later"

Comparison: When Lupi cites the "Caivano model" as a success (00:12:10), Vespa does not interrupt or defer; when Martinelli criticises the judicial system (00:10:08), Vespa comments "Without a doubt. No question about it."

Asymmetry: Documented — the opposition's criticism is interrupted and deferred; the coalition's claims are endorsed or allowed to develop

Finding 2:

Time: 00:21:08

Triggering event: Caratelli associates the presence of mosques with neighbourhood decay

Quote (Vespa): "That is another important phenomenon that must be monitored"

Comparison: No guest expressing critical positions towards law enforcement or the government receives an analogous endorsing comment from Vespa

Asymmetry: Documented — Vespa explicitly endorses the mosques-decay association without qualifying it

Finding 3:

Time: 00:45:32

Triggering event: Vespa introduces the Albania segment by directly citing Rama

Quote (Vespa): "Adi Rama... told me today, they tried in every way to make me say whether I regretted this affair, I did not regret it at all. On the contrary, there are many European countries asking me to do as Italy did"

Comparison: Vespa does not introduce the segment with a quote from a critic of the Albania project (magistrates, opposition, international law experts)

Asymmetry: Documented — the host uses his position to introduce elements favourable to the government without an equivalent for critical positions

*Summary: Vespa's behaviour is systematically asymmetric: he endorses the governing coalition's positions with explicit comments ("Without a doubt. No question about it."), interrupts or defers the opposition's criticisms, and uses his position as host to introduce elements favourable to the government.*



### 13. QUESTION ASYMMETRY

7/10

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

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

#### Asymmetry 1:

To Lupi (NM, government), 00:05:30: "Is there a qualitative leap, in your view, in the violence?" — open, non-critical question

To Taruffi (PD, opposition), 00:27:22: "What is the reason why you practically engaged in obstruction, protested against that decree?" — accusatory question that presupposes guilt

Comparison: The question to Lupi is descriptive and open; the question to Taruffi is accusatory and presupposes a defensive answer; the asymmetry is structural

#### Asymmetry 2:

To Martinelli (editor of Il Messaggero), 00:09:43: "Is there a hardening, what is happening here?" — open question inviting analysis

To Taruffi (PD), 00:17:27: "But yesterday Meloni did not reassure the mayors in this regard" — incorrect claim corrected by Taruffi ("Certainly, yesterday Meloni intervened, she reassured the mayors") — Vespa introduces an inaccurate piece of information that forces Taruffi to correct it instead of developing his own position

Comparison: Questions to centre-right commentators are open and analytical; questions to the opposition contain incorrect or accusatory presuppositions

#### Asymmetry 3:

To Vespa himself (self-citation), 00:45:32: Vespa introduces the Albania segment with a favourable quote from Rama without asking critical questions

To Taruffi, 00:45:53: "Why are you so opposed to this project that has been affirmed by the judiciary, that is evident, isn't it?" — question that presupposes the unreasonableness of the critical position

Comparison: The government is not questioned about the reason why the project has produced only 13 guests against an investment of 670 million; the opposition is questioned about the reason for its opposition

*Summary: Vespa's questions are structurally harder towards the opposition (accusatory, with incorrect presuppositions) and softer towards the governing coalition (open, analytical, with explicit endorsements).*



#### 14. FALSE BALANCE

4/10

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

*Definition: Artificial balance despite a real imbalance.*

##### Finding 1:

Time: 00:03:21 — Construction: The broadcast presents one opposition representative (Taruffi, PD) against two government/coalition voices (Lupi, NM; Senaldi, Libero) and one commentator structurally aligned with the government narrative (Martinelli)

Analysis: The presence of Taruffi creates the appearance of a balanced debate, but the numerical ratio and speaking time are systematically unbalanced; the "false balance" consists in presenting as a plural debate a discussion in which one position has three times more space than the other

*Summary: The broadcast uses the presence of a single opposition representative to create the appearance of pluralism, while the overall structure (guests, questions, host's comments, selection of reports) is systematically skewed towards the government narrative.*



## 15. AGENDA-SETTING

8/10

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

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

### Finding 1:

Established agenda item: Urban security is a growing emergency caused mainly by irregular immigration and the ineffectiveness of the judicial system

Time: 00:00:00 — Evidence: "Between decay, knives and drugs. As the Statistics Institute has certified, violence is growing"

Alternative agenda: Urban security as a multifactorial phenomenon (poverty, social exclusion, cuts to services, housing crisis) in which immigration is one of the factors, not the main one

### Finding 2:

Established agenda item: The Albanian centres are a valid project blocked by a "captious" interpretation by the judiciary

Time: 00:47:07 — Evidence: "My feeling is that the operation was stopped on a technicality, not because the law was badly written, but because of a captious interpretation of the law"

Alternative agenda: The Albanian centres as a project with structural problems of legal legitimacy and effectiveness, which merits an independent assessment

### Finding 3:

Established agenda item: Left-wing mayors are responsible for the decay of large cities through incompetence or ideology ("security is a swear word for the left")

Time: 00:13:29 — Evidence: "on one condition: that left-wing mayors do not consider security a swear word"

Alternative agenda: Urban decay as a consequence of structural cuts to local authority resources, regardless of the political colour of the administration

*Summary: The broadcast's agenda is built around three undiscussed axioms: the security emergency is real and growing; it is caused mainly by irregular immigration; the responsibility lies with left-wing mayors and the judiciary. These axioms are never called into question as such.*



## CHAPTER 4 — OVERALL ASSESSMENT

### Overview of Individual Scores

No.	Criterion	Type	Score	Main finding (1 sentence)
1	Expert selection	H	8	Emotional witnesses presented as experts; no criminologist or independent legal expert
2	Source selection	H	7	Statistical sources used selectively; Rama source presented without critical qualification
3	Time distribution	H	7	3:1 ratio between pro-government voices and opposition in the security segment
4	Omissions	H	8	Systematic absence of data on crimes committed by Italians and of structural perspectives
5	Data manipulation	H	6	Statistic "6 out of 10 arrested are immigrants" presented without context or source
6	Guilt by association	H	7	Systematic ethnicity-crime association in reports and guests' statements
7	Timing	H	5	Emergency frame established in the opening; satirical cartoons consolidate the frame
8	Selective outrage	H	6	Outrage amplified for violence suffered by officers; minimised for other victims
9	Completeness	H	8	Absence of scientific, independent legal perspectives and those of immigrant communities
10	Framing	S	8	Dominant frame: security emergency caused by immigration and the judiciary
11	Word choice	S	7	"Sinification", "Islamisation", "State of the immigrants": language of cultural replacement
12	Moderator behaviour	S	7	Vespa endorses government positions, interrupts opposition criticism
13	Question asymmetry	S	7	Accusatory questions to the opposition, open questions to the coalition
14	False balance	S	4	A single opposition representative creates the appearance of pluralism
15	Agenda-setting	S	8	Three undiscussed axioms: real emergency, cause immigration, responsibility of the left

### Results

- HARDFACTS SCORE (average criteria 1-9): 7.0 / 10
- SOFTFACTS SCORE (average criteria 10-15): 6.8 / 10
- OVERALL SCORE (average all 15 criteria): 6.9 / 10

### Dominant Techniques



The 3 strongest techniques in this broadcast:

- 1. Framing (Score 8):** The frame of the security emergency caused by irregular immigration is established in the opening and systematically reinforced through the selection of reports, guests and questions. This frame is never called into question as such, but is treated as a fact certified by ISTAT.
- 2. Omissions (Score 8):** The systematic absence of data on crimes committed by Italians, of scientific criminological perspectives, of voices from immigrant communities and of independent legal assessments creates a radically incomplete picture that supports the government narrative without the public being able to assess its partiality.
- 3. Agenda-setting (Score 8):** The broadcast establishes three undiscussed axioms (real and growing emergency; main cause: irregular immigration; responsibility: left-wing mayors and the judiciary) that structure the entire debate and make it impossible to have any discussion that calls these premises into question.

### Key Messages of the Broadcast

---

**MESSAGE 1 (CONTENT):** "Italy's major cities are in the grip of a security emergency caused by irregular immigration and the impunity guaranteed by an ineffective judicial system."

**Technique:** Framing + Omissions + Expert selection — Evidence: 00:00:06, 00:14:52, 00:39:51

**MESSAGE 2 (PERSONAL):** "The Meloni government is trying to solve the problem with appropriate tools (security decree, Caivano model, Albanian centres), but is being obstructed by the judiciary and the ideological opposition of the left."

**Technique:** Question asymmetry + Moderator behaviour — Evidence: 00:12:10, 00:45:32, 00:47:07

**MESSAGE 3 (SOCIAL):** "Italian citizens are victims of a predominantly foreign criminality that institutions are unable to control; security is a right that the left does not want to recognise."

**Technique:** Guilt by association + Word choice + Selective outrage — Evidence: 00:08:25, 00:13:29, 00:34:08

### Classification of the Degree of Manipulation

---

Rationale: The broadcast presents a systematic imbalance that manifests itself on multiple levels simultaneously: selection of guests (3:1 in favour of the government narrative), selection of reports (exclusively degraded areas with foreign protagonists), host's behaviour (explicit endorsement of government positions, interruption of criticisms), language choices (unqualified cultural replacement terms), systematic omission of independent scientific and legal perspectives. This imbalance is consistent with what is required by Art. 6 of the RAI Service Contract, which mandates pluralism, completeness and impartiality of information.

### CONCLUSION

---

The analysed broadcast presents a systematic imbalance that violates the principles of pluralism, completeness and impartiality enshrined in Art. 6 of the RAI Service Contract. The dominant frame — security emergency caused by irregular immigration, obstructed by the judiciary and the left — is established in the opening and reinforced through the selection of guests, reports, language and questions, without ever being called into question as such. The systematic absence of scientific experts (criminologists, sociologists), voices from immigrant communities, independent legal assessments and complete statistical data deprives the public of the tools necessary for an autonomous assessment. The behaviour of host Bruno Vespa is asymmetric in a documentable manner: he explicitly endorses the governing coalition's positions ("Without a doubt. No question about it."), interrupts or defers the opposition's criticisms, and uses his position to introduce elements favourable to the government (citation of Rama). These elements, considered together, constitute a violation of the obligation of impartiality and completeness of information required by the RAI Service Contract.



## OVERALL ASSESSMENT OF THE 15 CRITERIA

### Individual scores — All 15 criteria

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

#### HARDFACTS SCORE (1-8)

**7.0/10**

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

#### SOFTFACTS SCORE (9-14)

**6.8/10**

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

#### OVERALL SCORE

**6.9/10**

*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>Slight-to-moderate finding</b>	Recognisable tendency; impact relevance from low to moderate.
<b>5</b>	<b>Moderate finding with impact</b>	Relevant imbalance that influences the public'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 ranges

<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 impairment 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.

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

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



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

### Assessment under RAI Service Contract Art. 6

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

#### Violation 1:

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

Facts: The broadcast hosts only one opposition representative (Taruffi, PD) against two government/coalition voices (Lupi, NM; Senaldi, Libero) and one commentator structurally aligned with the government narrative (Martinelli); M5S, AVS, Lega (as a direct voice), FI, the judiciary, immigrant communities and scientific experts are completely absent

Evidence: 00:03:21 — Introduction of guests: "So, we are joined by Maurizio Lupi, president of Noi Moderati, Igor Tarussi, Partito Democratico, Pietro Senaldi, with Pietro Libero, Massimo Martinelli, editor of Il Messaggero"

Assessment: The composition of the panel violates the principle of pluralism; the presence of only one opposition representative out of four political guests/commentators does not guarantee the balanced representation of the different political positions required by Art. 6

#### Violation 2:

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

Facts: The topic of urban security is addressed without complete statistical data (ten-year vs. annual trend, disaggregation by type of crime and nationality of perpetrators), without scientific criminological perspectives and without the judiciary's position on the Albania case

Evidence: 00:14:52 — "Irregular immigrants, 6 out of 10, despite the percentage of their presence being infinitely lower than the Italian one, 6 out of 10 people arrested are immigrants" — data presented without source, without context and without mirror data on Italian arrestees

Assessment: The systematic omission of data and perspectives that would relativise the dominant narrative violates the principle of completeness; the public does not receive the information necessary for an autonomous assessment of the phenomenon

#### Violation 3:

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

Facts: Host Bruno Vespa explicitly endorses political positions of the governing coalition ("Without a doubt. No question about it." at 00:10:40; "That is another important phenomenon that must be monitored" at 00:21:38), introduces elements favourable to the government without a critical equivalent (citation of Rama at 00:45:32), and uses accusatory questions towards the opposition ("What is the reason why you practically engaged in obstruction" at 00:27:22)

Evidence: 00:10:40 — Vespa: "Without a doubt. No question about it." in response to Martinelli's criticism of the judicial system

Assessment: The host does not maintain the position of impartiality required by Art. 6; his explicit endorsing comments towards specific political positions violate the principle of separation between news and commentary

#### Violation 4:

Norm: RAI Service Contract Art. 6 — Impartiality of information

Facts: The journalistic reports systematically identify the ethnicity of perpetrators (North Africans, foreigners, non-EU nationals) without analogous treatment for crimes committed by Italians, constructing an implicit association between ethnicity and crime not supported by statistical data



Evidence: 00:29:49 — "We meet a group of young men, they are all North African. As soon as we drive past, they approach us and immediately show us drugs"; 00:33:08 — "a young woman was raped by two foreigners, who were then arrested"

Assessment: The systematic ethnic identification of perpetrators, in the absence of analogous treatment for crimes committed by Italians, violates the principle of impartiality and risks fuelling ethnic prejudices contrary to the principles of public service

## Overall Assessment of RAI Service Contract Art. 6

---

The analysed broadcast presents documentable violations of three of the four fundamental principles of Art. 6 of the RAI Service Contract: pluralism (unbalanced panel composition), completeness (systematic omission of relevant data and perspectives) and impartiality (host's behaviour, language of reports, ethnicity-crime association). The separation between news and commentary is violated by the host's behaviour in explicitly endorsing specific political positions. These elements, considered together and documented with precise timestamps and direct quotations, constitute a systematic violation of public service obligations that could be the subject of a complaint to AGCOM under the applicable provisions.

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

---

### 1. Comitato Difesa Esquilino-Monti (Caratelli)

- FUNDING:** Voluntary civic committee; funding not publicly documented; structurally representative of the interests of long-standing residents of the neighbourhood
- MANDATE:** Defence of residents' interests; not compatible with neutral assessment of criminological or demographic phenomena
- CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Institutional interest in emphasising neighbourhood decay in order to obtain public interventions; interest in identifying external causes (immigration) rather than structural ones
  - D1 Conflict of interest: -2
  - D2 Personal risk: +1
  - D3 Technical expertise: -2
  - D4 Consistency of opinions: 0
  - D5 Emotionality vs. data: -2
  - D6 Source level: -1
- COUNTERVOICE:** Representative of the Islamic community of the Esquilino; migration sociologist; data from the Municipality of Rome on crime by neighbourhood — none of these voices is cited

### 2. Comitato Urbano Esquilino (Zoppo)

- FUNDING:** Civic committee; neighbourhood shopkeeper
- MANDATE:** Protection of the neighbourhood's commercial interests; not compatible with neutral assessment
- CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Direct interest in emphasising insecurity in order to obtain public interventions
  - D1 Conflict of interest: -2
  - D2 Personal risk: +2
  - D3 Technical expertise: -2
  - D4 Consistency of opinions: 0
  - D5 Emotionality vs. data: -1
  - D6 Source level: -1
- COUNTERVOICE:** Statistical data on crimes in the Esquilino neighbourhood disaggregated by nationality of perpetrators — not cited

### 3. Società Italiana di Psichiatria (Di Gianantonio)

- FUNDING:** Scientific society; mixed funding (membership fees, public and private contributions)
- MANDATE:** Promotion of scientific psychiatry; compatible with assessment of the psychological dynamics of apps
- CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** None relevant for the topic addressed
  - D1 Conflict of interest: +1
  - D2 Personal risk: 0



D3 Technical expertise: +2  
 D4 Consistency of opinions: +1  
 D5 Emotionality vs. data: +1  
 D6 Source level: +1

**5. COUNTERVOICE:** Not necessary; Di Gianantonio's statements are balanced and do not take a political position

FINAL METHODOLOGICAL NOTE: "Recognised" is not an objective qualification. It is a social attribution that must itself be verified. Caratelli is presented as "President of the Comitato Difesa Esquilino-Monti" — this title confers an institutional authority that does not correspond to a technical qualification on the subject of crime. The broadcast treats this source as equivalent to an expert, violating the principle of transparency regarding source qualifications.

**Source credibility traffic light:**

Source	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	Total	Signal
Comitato Difesa Esquilino-Monti (Caratelli)	-2	+1	-2	0	-2	-1	?	RED
Comitato Urbano Esquilino (Zoppo)	-2	+2	-2	0	-1	-1	?	YELLOW
Società Italiana di Psichiatria (Di Gianantonio)	+1	0	+2	+1	+1	+1	?	GREEN

**Legal and methodological framework**

<b>Not a finding of fact</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 is exclusively the responsibility of the competent 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

---

#### 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 historic division of RAI channels according to criteria of partisan 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

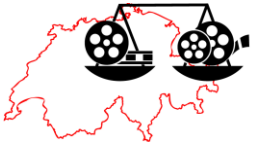
---

- 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



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

3. Regional Administrative Court (TAR)



## ANNEX 2: SCIENTIFIC REFERENCES

### Bibliography

---

- Bennett, W. L. (1990). Toward a theory of press-state relations in the United States. *Journal of Communication*, 40(2), 103–125.
- Berelson, B. (1952). *Content analysis in communication research*. Free Press.
- Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), 51–58.
- fög – Forschungszentrum Öffentlichkeit und Gesellschaft (2024). *Jahrbuch Qualität der Medien 2024*. Schwabe.
- Gilardi, F., Alizadeh, M. & Kubli, M. (2023). ChatGPT outperforms crowd workers for text-annotation tasks. *PNAS*, 120(30).
- Iyengar, S. & Kinder, D. R. (1987). *News that matters: Television and American opinion*. University of Chicago Press.
- Jolly, S. et al. (2022). Chapel Hill Expert Survey trend file, 1999–2019. *Electoral Studies*, 75, 102420.
- Krippendorff, K. (2004). *Content analysis: An introduction to its methodology* (2nd ed.). Sage.
- McCombs, M. E. & Shaw, D. L. (1972). The agenda-setting function of mass media. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 36(2), 176–187.
- Shoemaker, P. J. & Vos, T. P. (2009). *Gatekeeping theory*. Routledge.
- SVFAB (2026). *Methodenbericht v4.1: Zählbare Kriterien und Multi-Modell-Kreuzvalidierung*.
- Törnberg, P. (2023). ChatGPT-4 outperforms experts and crowd workers in annotating political Twitter messages. arXiv:2304.06588.

### SVFAB Working Papers

---

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

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

SVFAB — Swiss Association for Balanced Information | P.O. Box, 8021 Zurich 1 | [www.svfab.ch](http://www.svfab.ch) | [kontakt@svfab.ch](mailto:kontakt@svfab.ch) |  
*Methodological report March 2026 | Converter 3.4 (2026-05-20)*



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

## 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 robust, we depend on contributions from members and supporters.

### Contact and further information:

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

**Bank details:** PostFinance – POFICHBE

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

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



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

## The following books are available from SVFAB

Orders via [www.svfab.ch](http://www.svfab.ch) or [kontakt@svfab.ch](mailto:kontakt@svfab.ch)



**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 has written 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, set limits. 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.



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

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 a year from the compulsory licence fee. Those who feel they have been treated unfairly can file a complaint. There is even a dedicated authority: AGCOM, the Autorità per le Garanzie nelle Comunicazioni.

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

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

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