



RAI DETAILED ANALYSIS

2026-02-17_portaaporta_Regular_February_2026

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OVERALL SCORE

5.5/10

Considerable imbalance

0 = balanced, 10 = strongly biased/manipulative

POLITICAL SPECTRUM

Classification according to Chapel Hill Expert Survey (CHES) 2024

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

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

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

TENDENCY (L – R)

6.2 / 10

Favourable to the right

0 1 2 3 4 5 **6** 7 8 9 10

← Left

Right →

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

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



POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

The Italian government in office since October 2022 is led by Giorgia Meloni (Fdi) and consists of a centre-right coalition formed by Fratelli d'Italia (Fdi), Lega, Forza Italia (FI) and Noi Moderati (NM). The main opposition is the Partito Democratico (PD), flanked by Movimento 5 Stelle (M5S), Alleanza Verdi Sinistra (AVS), Azione, Italia Viva (IV) and +Europa.

Party	CHES L-R	Seats	Government/Opposition	Key position
AVS	2,30	12	Opposition	100% renewables, ius soli, LGBTQ+ rights
PD	3,40	69	Opposition (main)	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
IV	5,00	(in Az)	Opposition	Liberal-centrist
NM	5,80	7	Government	Christian-democratic, moderate
FI	6,50	45	Government	Liberal-conservative, guarantism
Lega	8,10	66	Government	Sovereignist, flat tax, closed ports
Fdi	8,30	119	Government (PM)	National-conservative, zero immigration

The main axis of conflict concerns the constitutional referendum on the separation of careers in the judiciary (scheduled for 22-23 March), which sharply divides the government and the opposition. A second front concerns foreign policy and the relationship with the Trump administration, in particular Italy's participation in the Board of Peace on Gaza. The third axis of tension is the structural conflict between the Meloni government and part of the judiciary on the issue of immigration and deportations, with mutual accusations of politicisation.

RAI is the Italian public broadcasting service, subject to the Service Contract which imposes pluralism, completeness and impartiality of information. Historically characterised by partisan "lottizzazione" (RAI 1 = DC/FI, RAI 2 = PSI, RAI 3 = PCI/PD), under the Meloni government the TG1 directorship and the Board of Directors have been appointed with the influence of the governing coalition. The current Service Contract, in article 6, explicitly requires the separation between news and commentary and the plural representation of political positions.



CHAPTER 1 — PARTISAN BIAS

Party	Score (-5..+5)	Representation in the broadcast vs. programmatic position
Fdl (Fratelli d'Italia)	+2	00:12:37 "an irregular Algerian citizen in Italy who has 23 convictions behind him [...] will not be able to be held in a CPR" — Programmatic position: naval blockade, deportations, stop irregular immigration — Meloni's position is broadcast in full and without factual challenge from the host; the clip is introduced with a neutral-favourable tone. Partially correct, but with selective amplification.
PD (Partito Democratico)	+1	00:02:44 "after more than 70 thousand deaths and a real genocide, denied by many, including our majority" — Programmatic position: humanitarian corridors, regulated reception, pro-EU — Boccia is able to express the PD's position, but is repeatedly interrupted and put under pressure on technical matters (constitutional articles), while Fdl's positions do not receive the same treatment. Representation partially correct but asymmetric in treatment.
M5S	0	Not present as an active subject in the broadcast. Cited marginally in polling data (00:18:42: "there is a lot of attention in the world of indecision [...] especially from Movimento 5 Stelle"). Programmatic position not addressed.
Lega	0	Cited only marginally: 00:41:14 "Matteo Salvini defended the Minister of Justice" in the report on financing for the No Committee. No representative present, programmatic position not developed.
Forza Italia	0	Cited in the report on financing (00:38:04: "a Forza Italia MP, Enrico Costa") as the promoter of the parliamentary question. No representative present, programmatic position not developed.
AVS (Alleanza Verdi Sinistra)	0	Absent from the broadcast. Not cited either as a party or as a position.

Summary of partisan bias

- Most accurate representation: PD (Score +1), with the direct presence of Boccia who can express the party's positions
- Strongest distortion: M5S, Lega, FI, AVS (Score 0), completely absent or marginal
- Average deviation from 0: 0.5
- Conclusion: The broadcast focuses almost exclusively on the Fdl/government vs. PD/opposition confrontation, systematically excluding the other political forces. The Meloni clip is broadcast without factual rebuttal, while Boccia is subjected to technical pressure on the constitutional text. The government's position on the Board of Peace and on the judiciary receives a more favourable narrative frame through the structure of the debate.

Overall Left-Right Tendency

TENDENCY SCORE: -1.2

CLASSIFICATION: Tendency favourable to the right

Rationale: The broadcast structurally favours government positions through three mechanisms: (1) the Meloni clip on the judiciary is broadcast in full and introduced with a neutral tone, without the host challenging its factual premises; (2) Bignami (Fdl) is allowed to develop technical arguments without interruptions comparable to those reserved for



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Boccia; (3) the narrative frame of the Board of Peace is set as "better to be there than not to be there", a position coinciding with the government's, before the debate even begins.



CHAPTER 2 — BROADCAST INFORMATION AND THEMATIC FRAME

Broadcast data

- Title: Porta a Porta
- Date (from file name): Not specified in the transcript; content referable to a period prior to the referendum on the separation of careers (22-23 March), with updated polling data
- Duration (estimated from transcript): approximately 80-90 minutes
- Host: Bruno Vespa
- Persons interviewed (with function/party/affiliation):

Person	Function	Party/Affiliation	Political spectrum
Galeazzo Bignami	President of the FdI Deputies	FdI (government)	Right, national-conservative
Francesco Boccia	President of the PD Senators	PD (opposition)	Centre-left
Annalisa Chirico	Director of "Sport in Italia", journalist	Independent, liberal-guarantist tendency	Centre-right
Claudio Cerasa	Director of "Il Foglio"	Independent, liberal	Centre
Alessandra Ghisleri	Pollster, "All in Numbers"	Independent	Neutral/technical
Francesco Landi	Director, Dept. of Ageing Sciences, Policlinico Gemelli	Academic	Neutral
Sergio Harari	Professor of Internal Medicine, University of Milan	Academic	Neutral
Salvatore Trifirò	Labour law expert, 94 years old	Independent	Neutral
Silvio Garattini	Pharmacologist, 97 years old	Independent	Neutral
Licia Maria Baroni	Centenarian guest (105 years old)	None	Neutral
Nicola Santini	Director of "Velo"	Journalist	Neutral
Concita Borrelli	Journalist	Independent	Neutral
Lia Levi	Writer, 94 years old	Independent	Neutral
Luciana Castellina	Former MP, journalist, 96 years old	Historic left	Left

Main topic

The broadcast addresses three distinct topics: Italy's participation in the Board of Peace on Gaza promoted by Trump; the constitutional referendum on the separation of careers in the judiciary with polling data and political debate; an in-depth segment on longevity with medical experts and centenarian guests.

Context of the debate

The Board of Peace is an initiative of the Trump administration for the post-conflict management of Gaza, which has caused divisions in Italy between those who consider it a diplomatic opportunity and those who see it as a legitimisation of a non-inclusive process. The referendum on the separation of careers in the judiciary is a

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constitutional reform sought by the Meloni-Nordio government that provides for the division between the prosecuting and judging branches of the judiciary, with two separate CSMs and a new disciplinary High Court; the opposition considers it a weakening of the independence of the judiciary. The government-judiciary conflict is a structural theme of Italian politics, with roots in Berlusconiism and now reactivated by the case of the Algerian migrant with 23 convictions released by a judge.



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: Claudio Cerasa — Director of "Il Foglio"

Timestamp: 00:08:08

Statement: "the substantive issue is that the Board of Peace as it was born and as it is taking shape represents, let's say, a somewhat ridiculous story objectively from my point of view [...] being there however as observers does not seem to me to be a scandal"

Framing: Cerasa is the director of a liberal centre daily, generally critical of populism but not hostile to the Meloni government on certain issues. He is presented as an "independent" voice but expresses a position that in effect supports the government's choice to participate in the Board of Peace as observers.

Missing opposing voice: An expert in international law or a diplomat could have analysed the issue without the mediation of a newspaper director with his own editorial positions.

In-depth source verification:

(a) FUNDING: Il Foglio is a private daily, founded with contributions from Silvio Berlusconi, today independent but with a liberal-conservative editorial line. No direct conflict of interest, but the editorial line is structurally closer to the centre-right than to the centre-left.

(b) MANDATE: Cerasa is a political commentator, not an expert in international law or foreign policy. His mandate is editorial, not technical.

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

D1 Conflict of interest: 0 — No direct conflict, but oriented editorial line

D2 Personal risk: +1 — Expresses positions critical of Trump while supporting the government's choice

D3 Competence: 0 — Political journalist, not an expert in international law or foreign policy

D4 Consistency of opinions: +1 — Position consistent with Il Foglio's line

D5 Emotionality vs. data: +1 — Analytical tone, not emotional

D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary source (commentator)

• TOTAL: +3 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW (-4 to +4)

(c) PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE: The presentation of Cerasa as an "independent" voice obscures the fact that he expresses a structured editorial position, not a neutral technical assessment.

Expert 2: Alessandra Ghisleri — Pollster

Timestamp: 00:18:05

Statement: "the battle is becoming increasingly political [...] there is a lot of attention in the world of indecision about whether to go and vote or not, especially from Movimento 5 Stelle"

Framing: Ghisleri is a professional pollster, regularly present on Porta a Porta. Her presence is technically justified for the presentation of polling data.

In-depth source verification:



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(a) FUNDING: "All in Numbers" is a private research institute. Ghisleri is a regular presence on Porta a Porta, which creates a proximity relationship with the broadcast.

(b) MANDATE: Compatible with the presentation of polling data; less compatible with political interpretations.

(c) CREDIBILITY MATRIX:

- D1 Conflict of interest: +1 — No evident conflict
- D2 Personal risk: +1 — Stable professional position
- D3 Competence: +2 — Expert in her specific field
- D4 Consistency: +1 — Position consistent with the professional role
- D5 Emotionality vs. data: +2 — Data-based presentation
- D6 Source level: +1 — Primary data (own polls)

• TOTAL: +8 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: GREEN (>=+5)

(c) PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE: Ghisleri is the most credible source in the broadcast in her specific function.

Expert 3: Annalisa Chirico — Journalist, Director of "Sport in Italia"

Timestamp: 00:36:13

Statement: "I notice on the part of certain sections of the judiciary a somewhat self-destructive tendency, that is, conveying the idea that everything is fine, madama la Marchesa"

Framing: Chirico is a journalist with publicly critical positions towards the judiciary and favourable to judicial reform. She is presented as an "independent" voice but expresses positions structurally aligned with the government on the issue of the judiciary.

In-depth source verification:

(a) FUNDING: Independent journalist, director of a sports publication. No direct financial conflict.

(b) MANDATE: She is not an expert in constitutional law or judicial reform; her contribution is journalistic-commentative in nature.

(c) CREDIBILITY MATRIX:

- D1 Conflict of interest: 0 — No direct conflict, but known editorial positions
- D2 Personal risk: +1 — Has expressed critical positions towards the judiciary in the past
- D3 Competence: -1 — Not an expert in constitutional law
- D4 Consistency: +1 — Position consistent with her previous public statements
- D5 Emotionality vs. data: 0 — Mix of analysis and commentary
- D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary source

• TOTAL: +1 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW

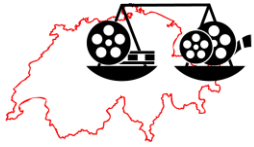
(c) PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE: Chirico is treated as an "independent" voice but her positions on the judiciary are structurally aligned with those of the government, without this being made explicit.

Missing expert groups:

- Independent constitutional law expert (none of those present has technical competence in constitutional law)
- Expert in international law for the Board of Peace
- Magistrate with a technical position on the reform (not political)

Summary (matrix result per expert):

- Cerasa: YELLOW (+3) — Political commentator presented as an independent voice
- Ghisleri: GREEN (+8) — Credible source in her specific field
- Chirico: YELLOW (+1) — Journalist with known positions presented as an independent voice



2. SOURCE SELECTION

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

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

Source 1: Parliamentary clip of Foreign Minister Tajani

Timestamp: 00:00:56

Statement: "Italy's absence from a table at which peace, security and stability in the Mediterranean are being discussed would be not only politically incomprehensible, but also contrary to the letter and spirit of article 11 of our Constitution itself"

(a) Funding and structure: Direct government source. The Foreign Minister is part of the government that made the decision.

(b) Structural conflict of interest: Tajani defends a decision of the government of which he is a member; he is not a neutral source on the matter.

(c) Missing opposing source: An expert in international law or an independent diplomat could have assessed the compatibility with article 11 of the Constitution without being a party to the matter.

Source 2: Giorgia Meloni clip on the case of the Algerian migrant

Timestamp: 00:12:37

Statement: "an irregular Algerian citizen in Italy who has 23 convictions behind him [...] will not be able to be held in a CPR [...] the Ministry of the Interior will have to compensate him with 700 euros"

(a) Funding and structure: Direct government source. Meloni is the President of the Council commenting on a specific judicial case.

(b) Structural conflict of interest: Meloni has a direct political interest in presenting this case as emblematic of a "politicised" judiciary.

(c) Missing opposing source: The reasoning of the judge who released the individual is not cited; neither the defence's position nor the complete legal context is presented.

Unverified claims check (penalties):

Unverified claim 1:

Timestamp: 00:03:51

Statement: "of the 20, 22, it is not yet known how many countries there are, 11 are dictatorships"

Verbal marker: "it is not yet known"

Primary source available: no — penalty

Unverified claim 2:

Timestamp: 00:16:21

Statement: "who let in 800 thousand migrants when you were in government"

Verbal marker: undocumented assertion in context

Primary source available: no — penalty

Summary: The broadcast relies predominantly on direct government sources (Tajani and Meloni clips) without being balanced by independent sources; two relevant statements are made without primary documentation.



3. TIME DISTRIBUTION

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Definition: Distribution of speaking time among the different positions.

Estimated speaking time:

- Bignami (Fdl/government): approx. 12 min. (approx. 22%)
- Boccia (PD/opposition): approx. 10 min. (approx. 18%)
- Cerasa (centre/independent): approx. 8 min. (approx. 15%)
- Chirico (centre-right tendency): approx. 5 min. (approx. 9%)
- Ghisleri (technical/neutral): approx. 6 min. (approx. 11%)
- Vespa (host): approx. 9 min. (approx. 16%)
- Government clips (Tajani + Meloni): approx. 5 min. (approx. 9%)

Summary: The distribution of time is formally almost balanced between Bignami and Boccia, but the government clips add approximately 5 minutes of time not counterbalanced by opposition clips; Chirico, tendentially aligned with government positions on the judiciary, adds further weight to the government side.



4. SELECTIVE OMISSION

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Definition: What is not shown despite being relevant?

Omission 1:

Context: The legal reasoning of the judge who released the Algerian migrant and ordered the 700 euro compensation is never cited.

Relevant at: 00:12:37

Effect: The public receives only the government's version of the case; the judicial decision appears arbitrary and politically motivated without the legal reasons that determined it being presented.

Omission 2:

Context: No empirical data on the efficiency of the Italian justice system is presented in the debate on the referendum (average length of proceedings, statute of limitations rate, European comparison).

Relevant at: 00:23:00 — 00:33:00

Effect: The debate remains on a purely political-ideological level without being anchored to verifiable data, favouring the more assertive positions (government) over the more technical ones (opposition).

Omission 3:

Context: The structure of the Board of Peace, its statutes, the conditions of participation and the international legal implications are never analysed by an independent source.

Relevant at: 00:00:40 — 00:11:00

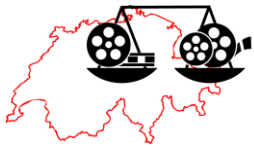
Effect: The debate is reduced to a political government-opposition clash without the public being able to independently assess the nature of the body in question.

Summary: The most relevant omissions concern the legal context of the Algerian migrant case and the absence of empirical data on the functioning of the Italian justice system; both omissions structurally favour the government narrative.

Missing voices

- Independent constitutional law expert: Could have provided a neutral technical analysis of the constitutional articles amended by the reform, without being a party to the political debate
- ANM representative on the substance of the reform: Could have expressed the technical reasons for the opposition to the separation of careers, not just the controversy over financing
- Expert in international law on deportations: Could have legally contextualised the case of the Algerian migrant and the legal limits on deportations
- Representative of M5S or AVS: Would have broadened the spectrum of political positions on the opposition to the Board of Peace and the referendum
- Diplomat or foreign policy expert: Could have analysed the Board of Peace independently of the government-opposition polarisation
- Magistrate in favour of the reform: Would have balanced the ANM's position with an internal voice from the judiciary in favour of the separation of careers
- Victim of crimes committed by irregular migrants with prior convictions: Would have given voice to the human dimension of the case cited by Meloni
- Expert in migration policies: Could have contextualised the case of the Algerian migrant within the broader framework of deportation policies and their effectiveness

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5. DATA MANIPULATION

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

Definition: Selective or misleading use of statistics.

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 00:12:27

Data: "23 conviction sentences handed down between 1999 and 2023"

Dimensions: (a) absolute value — presented; (b) share — not presented (how many convictions for which offences, what severity); (c) trend — not presented (was the subject committing crimes in an increasing or decreasing manner?)

Missing context: The nature of the 23 convictions (minor vs. serious offences, custodial vs. financial penalties) is not specified; the data is used as a political argument without disaggregation.

Effect: The number "23 convictions" produces maximum emotional impact without the public being able to assess its overall real severity.

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 00:43:30

Data: "Fratelli Italia 29.3 [...] PD which falls to 22.6 [...] Total of the centre-right is 47.4 [...] Total of the broad field is 44"

Dimensions: (a) absolute value — presented; (b) share — presented; (c) trend — partially presented ("loses half a point")

Missing context: The margin of error of the poll and the sampling methodology are not specified; the distinction between "centre-left" (30.4%) and "broad field" (44%) is not explained to the public.

Effect: The polling data is presented with an apparent precision (decimal places) that suggests unjustified statistical certainty.

Summary: The most relevant manipulation concerns the "23 convictions" data used without disaggregation as a political argument; the polling data presents minor but not negligible methodological problems.



6. GUILT BY ASSOCIATION

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Definition: Discrediting by association with negative groups or ideas.

Association 1:

Timestamp: 00:04:13

Quote: "the Constitution comes before the cultural MAGA adherence, which Giorgia Meloni has decided to make her beacon and her ideological polar star"

Technique: Boccia associates Meloni with Trump's MAGA movement, with its connotations of extremism and authoritarianism, without documenting this ideological affiliation.

Effect: Suggests that Meloni's foreign policy choices are determined by an ideological adherence to Trump rather than by assessments of national interest.

Association 2:

Timestamp: 00:03:36

Quote: "a board of directors made up of autocrats, that is, some regime and some country [...] 11 are dictatorships"

Technique: The Board of Peace is associated with "autocrats" and "dictatorships" without providing the complete list of participating countries or an independent verification of the classification.

Effect: Any Italian participation in the Board is implicitly associated with the legitimisation of authoritarian regimes.

Association 3:

Timestamp: 00:41:50

Quote: "You for example used them to finance conferences with the accused together with Annun, to ask for example, to hold conferences for Al Fatah"

Technique: Bignami associates the PD with "accused" individuals and with "Al Fatah" (Palestinian organisation) without documenting the claims.

Effect: Suggests a connection between the PD and criminal subjects or controversial organisations without evidence.

Summary (category assignment with matrix rationale):

- Boccia on Meloni-MAGA: Category B (partially documented — Meloni does indeed have relations with Trump, but "MAGA cultural adherence" is an interpretation, not a fact)
- Boccia on Board of Peace-dictatorships: Category B (partially documented — some countries in the Board are indeed classified as non-democratic, but the figure "11 dictatorships" is not verified)
- Bignami on PD-accused-Al Fatah: Category C (undocumented statement, not falsifiable in the context of the broadcast)



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

Finding 1:

Position: 00:00:40 (beginning)

Content: The broadcast opens with the parliamentary clip of Tajani defending participation in the Board of Peace, before the debate has even begun.

Timing effect: The public first receives the government's position, which becomes the reference point against which the opposition's positions are evaluated as "critical" or "contrary".

Finding 2:

Position: 00:12:37 (middle of first part)

Content: The Meloni clip on the Algerian migrant is introduced by Vespa with: "tonight a piece of news has personally struck me", signalling the host's emotional involvement before even showing the clip.

Timing effect: The host's emotional pre-assessment orients the public's reception of the clip before they can form an independent opinion.

Finding 3:

Position: 00:37:01 (end of first part, before the commercial break)

Content: The report on financing for the No Committee is placed immediately before the commercial break, with a framing that suggests opacity on the part of the ANM.

Timing effect: The pre-break placement maximises the impact of the negative information about the ANM, which remains in the public's memory during the commercials.

Summary: The timing systematically favours government positions through the privileged placement of government clips at the beginning and the host's emotional pre-assessment.



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, the triggering event must be documented. A reaction can only be assessed as selective if comparable events in other guests/positions have not produced an analogous reaction.

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 00:11:18

Triggering event: Vespa introduces the case of the Algerian migrant with "tonight a piece of news has personally struck me"

Reaction: Vespa expresses personal emotional involvement before showing the Meloni clip

Comparison: No analogous expression of personal emotional involvement is expressed by Vespa when Boccia cites "more than 70 thousand deaths and a real genocide" in Gaza (00:02:44)

Asymmetry: Documented — the host expresses empathy for the story of the police officer and the judicial case, but not for the victims of the conflict in Gaza

Degree of indignation: 3/5

Selectivity: 3/5

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 00:14:53

Triggering event: Boccia defines the Meloni clip as a "propaganda spot"

Reaction: Vespa intervenes: "let's keep it at a distance please" — calling Boccia to moderation

Comparison: When Bignami uses expressions such as "nonsense" (00:15:27) referring to Boccia's positions, Vespa does not intervene with an analogous reprimand

Asymmetry: Documented — the host intervenes to moderate the language of the opposition but not that of the majority

Degree of indignation: 2/5

Selectivity: 4/5

Summary: Selective indignation manifests itself primarily through the host's emotional involvement in the case of the Algerian migrant (not balanced by analogous empathy for the victims of Gaza) and through asymmetric moderation interventions.



9. SELECTIVE OMISSION — OVERALL PICTURE

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

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 00:12:37 — 00:16:39

Missing perspective/fact: The legal reasoning behind the decision of the judge who released the Algerian migrant and ordered the compensation

Relevance: Without the judge's reasoning, the public cannot assess whether the decision was legally well-founded or not; the one-sided presentation transforms a complex judicial case into a tool of political propaganda

Impact: The overall picture suggests an arbitrarily government-hostile judiciary, without the legal reasons that might justify the decision being presented

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 00:23:00 — 00:33:00

Missing perspective/fact: Empirical data on the efficiency of the Italian justice system and the correlation between the separation of careers and improvement in judicial performance

Relevance: The debate on the referendum takes place entirely on a political-ideological level without comparative data being presented (e.g. European countries with separation of careers vs. countries without)

Impact: The public cannot assess whether the proposed reform has an empirical basis for improving the efficiency of justice

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 00:00:40 — 00:11:00

Missing perspective/fact: Independent analysis of the legal structure and composition of the Board of Peace

Relevance: The debate is reduced to a political clash without the public receiving verifiable information on the nature of the body

Impact: The public cannot form an informed opinion on the matter; it must rely on the political interpretations of the participants

Summary: The most serious omissions concern the legal context of the Algerian migrant case and the absence of empirical data on the functioning of justice; both omissions produce a picture that is systematically favourable to the government narrative.

Share of perspectives covered

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

[A] The Italian government's position on participation in the Board of Peace (constitutional and diplomatic motivations)

[B] The opposition's position on participation in the Board of Peace (criticism of the non-democratic structure of the body)

[C] The position of the international community and the EU on the Board of Peace

[D] Technical arguments in favour of the separation of careers (independence of the judge, factions within the judiciary)

[E] Technical arguments against the separation of careers (risk of weakening the autonomy of the judiciary)



[F] The position of the ANM and the judiciary on the referendum

[G] Empirical data on the efficiency of the Italian justice system and correlation with the proposed reform

[H] The case of the Algerian migrant: complete factual reconstruction and legal context

[I] The position of the victims of the crimes committed by the subject in question

[J] The perspective of fundamental rights and international law on deportations

[A] ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 00:01:00 — Quote: "Italy's absence from a table at which peace, security and stability in the Mediterranean are being discussed would be not only politically incomprehensible, but also contrary to the letter and spirit of article 11 of our Constitution itself" — Assessment: The government's position is presented in full through the parliamentary clip of Tajani.

[B] ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 00:02:44 — Quote: "within the statute of a board of directors, because that is what this is, a board of directors made up of autocrats" — Assessment: The opposition's position is expressed by Boccia, but with less argumentative space than the government's position.

[C] MISSING

Timestamp: 00:06:20 — Quote: "To call the President of the European Council second-tier, to call the EU Commissioner for the Mediterranean second-tier" — Assessment: The EU position is cited only instrumentally by Bignami to refute Boccia; it is not developed independently.

[D] ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 00:30:44 — Quote: "the power of the factions is indisputable, and I believe no one dares to question it" — Assessment: The argument about factions within the judiciary is developed by Vespa and Bignami with relative completeness.

[E] MISSING

Timestamp: 00:23:42 — Quote: "we contest the fact that the balance between the powers of the State is being undermined" — Assessment: Boccia attempts to develop this perspective but is repeatedly interrupted with requests to cite specific articles, preventing a complete argumentative development.

[F] MISSING

Timestamp: 00:37:04 — Quote: "The clash ahead of the referendum on the separation of careers has slipped onto delicate ground, money" — Assessment: The ANM's position is addressed mainly in the context of the controversy over financing, not as an autonomous technical position on the substance of the reform.

[G] ABSENT

No empirical data on the efficiency of the Italian justice system (average length of proceedings, conviction rate, European comparison) is presented in the debate. Relevant absence.

[H] PARTIALLY ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 00:12:11 — Quote: "an Algerian migrant aged 56 [...] was subject to two expulsion orders [...] 23 conviction sentences" — Assessment: The data is presented one-sidedly through the Meloni clip; neither the judge's reasoning nor the legal context of the case is provided.

[I] ABSENT

No voice from the victims of the crimes committed by the subject is included. Relevant absence for informational balance.

[J] ABSENT

No perspective from international law or fundamental rights on the legal limits to deportations is presented. Relevant absence.

Completeness score: 4/10

The broadcast covers the main political positions on the Board of Peace and the referendum, but systematically lacks empirical data, independent legal perspectives, voices from the judiciary on the substance of the reform and complete factual context on the case of the Algerian migrant. The longevity segment is thematically separate and does not present completeness problems.



Organisation 1: ANM (Associazione Nazionale Magistrati)

1. **FUNDING:** Professional association of Italian magistrates, financed by the membership fees of registered magistrates. No direct public funding.
2. **MANDATE:** Protection of the interests of the category of magistrates; not compatible with a neutral assessment of reforms that directly concern the structure of the judiciary.
3. **CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** The ANM has a direct institutional interest in maintaining the current structure of the judiciary; its opposition to the reform is structurally motivated by category interests, not only by technical assessments.
4. **CREDIBILITY MATRIX:**
 - D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — Direct interest in the matter
 - D2 Personal risk: +1 — The ANM's public position exposes its leaders to political criticism
 - D3 Competence: +2 — High technical competence in judicial matters
 - D4 Consistency: +1 — Position consistent with the ANM's historical statements
 - D5 Emotionality vs. data: 0 — Mix of technical and category arguments
 - D6 Source level: +1 — Primary source for the positions of the judiciary
 - TOTAL: +3 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW
5. **OPPOSING VOICE:** Magistrates in favour of the reform (e.g. Di Matteo, cited in the broadcast) represent an internal voice within the judiciary that contradicts the ANM's official position; this voice is cited but not developed as an autonomous technical position.

Organisation 2: "All in Numbers" (Alessandra Ghisleri)

1. **FUNDING:** Private research institute; Ghisleri is a regular presence on Porta a Porta, which creates a proximity relationship with the RAI broadcast.
2. **MANDATE:** Polling research; compatible with the presentation of data, less compatible with political interpretations.
3. **CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** The proximity relationship with Porta a Porta could create an incentive to present data in a manner compatible with the editorial line of the broadcast; not documentable but to be kept in mind.
4. **CREDIBILITY MATRIX:**
 - D1 Conflict of interest: 0 — No directly documentable conflict
 - D2 Personal risk: +1 — Stable professional position
 - D3 Competence: +2 — Expert in her specific field
 - D4 Consistency: +1 — Position consistent with the professional role
 - D5 Emotionality vs. data: +2 — Data-based presentation
 - D6 Source level: +1 — Primary data (own polls)
 - TOTAL: +7 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: GREEN
5. **OPPOSING VOICE:** A second polling institute with different data could have balanced the presentation; the presence of only one pollster does not allow for verification of the data presented.

Organisation 3: Policlinico Gemelli / Università Cattolica (Prof. Francesco Landi)

1. **FUNDING:** Private Catholic university institution with mixed funding (private, public, ecclesiastical).
2. **MANDATE:** Medical and clinical research; compatible with assessments on longevity and ageing.
3. **CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** No relevant conflict of interest for the topics addressed in the longevity segment.
4. **CREDIBILITY MATRIX:**
 - D1 Conflict of interest: +1 — No relevant conflict
 - D2 Personal risk: +1 — Stable academic position
 - D3 Competence: +2 — Expert in the specific field (geriatrics, ageing)
 - D4 Consistency: +1 — Position consistent with the scientific literature
 - D5 Emotionality vs. data: +2 — Presentation based on scientific evidence
 - D6 Source level: +2 — Primary source (researcher in the field)



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

- TOTAL: +9 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: GREEN

5. OPPOSING VOICE: Not necessary for the longevity segment, which does not present relevant scientific controversies.

IMPORTANT: "Recognised" is not an objective qualification. It is a social attribution that must be independently verified. In the case of Cerasa and Chirico, the implicit qualification of "independent voices" obscures the fact that both express structured editorial positions on politically controversial topics.



Softfacts — 6 qualitative techniques

10. FRAME-SETTING

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Definition: How is the topic fundamentally framed?

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 00:02:01

Quote: "Senator Boccia, interpreting I would say the entire opposition, in some way says that for Meloni this means kneeling before the critic Trump"

Manipulation: Vespa summarises the opposition's position in a simplified and slightly caricatured manner ("kneeling"), while the government's position is summarised more neutrally ("it is better to be there than not to be there")

Why problematic: The host's asymmetric framing orients the public towards a pre-formed assessment of the two positions before the protagonists even speak

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 00:11:11

Quote: "tonight a piece of news has personally struck me [...] you will remember the robo-bomb?"

Manipulation: The host introduces the case of the Algerian migrant with a personal emotional frame ("has struck me") and with a reference to a previous case of violence, creating an emotional context before the presentation of the facts

Why problematic: The emotional frame pre-oriens the reception of the Meloni clip as a legitimate response to an injustice, not as political communication to be assessed critically

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 00:09:49

Quote: "Trump has taken note of the paralysis of the United Nations [...] the United Nations, both in Ukraine and in the Middle East, can no longer manage international crises"

Manipulation: Cerasa presents the paralysis of the UN as an indisputable fact, implicitly legitimising Trump's initiative as a necessary response to an institutional vacuum

Why problematic: The "paralysis of the UN" is a controversial political assessment, not a fact; presenting it as an indisputable premise orients the debate towards the legitimisation of the Board of Peace

Summary: The framing of the broadcast tends to present government positions as pragmatic and realistic, while the opposition's positions are framed as ideological or unrealistic.



11. WORD CHOICE AND TERMINOLOGY

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

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 00:12:11

Quote: "there was a gentleman, a migrant, an Algerian migrant aged 56"

Manipulation: The repetition of "a migrant, an Algerian migrant" emphasises nationality and migrant status as central elements of the subject's identity, before even presenting the facts of the case

Why problematic: The repetition creates a negative connotation associated with the category "Algerian migrant"; neutral alternative: "a 56-year-old man, an Algerian citizen"

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 00:13:24

Quote: "despite a politicised part of the judiciary continuing to obstruct every action aimed at combating mass illegal immigration"

Manipulation: The term "politicised" applied to the judiciary is a political assessment presented as fact in the Meloni clip, which Vespa broadcasts without challenge

Why problematic: "Politicised" implies an ideological motivation in judicial decisions, which is a controversial and undocumented thesis in context; neutral alternative: "a part of the judiciary that has interpreted the rules differently"

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 00:15:27

Quote: "I listened to three minutes of a political speech, a lot of nonsense"

Manipulation: Bignami uses the term "nonsense" to define Boccia's positions; the host does not intervene to request more respectful language, unlike what he does when Boccia uses the term "propaganda spot"

Why problematic: The host's failure to intervene normalises a denigrating language towards the opposition that is not applied symmetrically

Summary: The word choice in the broadcast tends to negatively charge the positions of the opposition and the judiciary, while government positions are presented with more neutral terminology.



12. HOST BEHAVIOUR

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

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

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 00:26:31

Triggering event: Boccia states that the reform expands the executive's powers over the judiciary

Quote (host): "Which article extends the powers of the executive? [...] I note that you have not answered"

Comparison: When Bignami states that the Board of Peace "is the only path that leads to a peace process" (00:07:43), Vespa does not ask what the factual basis for this statement is

Asymmetry: Documented — Vespa requires of Boccia a technical precision (citing the specific article) that he does not require of Bignami for equally assertive statements

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 00:14:53

Triggering event: Boccia defines the Meloni clip as a "propaganda spot"

Quote (host): "let's keep it at a distance please"

Comparison: When Bignami uses the term "nonsense" (00:15:27) to define Boccia's positions, Vespa does not intervene with an analogous reprimand

Asymmetry: Documented — the host intervenes to moderate the language of the opposition but not that of the majority

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 00:22:18

Triggering event: Boccia develops a technical argument on the constitutional reform

Quote (host): "Now let's hear the honourable President for a moment" — interrupting Boccia to give the floor to Bignami

Comparison: When Bignami develops technical arguments (00:27:52 — 00:32:10), Vespa does not interrupt him to give the floor to Boccia

Asymmetry: Documented — the host's interruptions predominantly affect the opposition guest

Summary: The host's behaviour shows a systematic asymmetry: he requires technical precision from Boccia that he does not require from Bignami, intervenes to moderate the language of the opposition but not that of the majority, and predominantly interrupts the opposition guest.



13. QUESTION ASYMMETRY

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

Asymmetry 1:

To Boccia, 00:26:31: "Which article extends the powers of the executive?" — hard, technical, with repeated follow-up ("I note that you have not answered")

To Bignami, 00:07:43: no analogous question on the factual basis of the statement "it is the only path that leads to a peace process"

Comparison: The technical question is posed only to the opposition guest; the government guest is not subjected to analogous factual verification

Asymmetry 2:

To Boccia, 00:06:01: "So, why then do you go there?" — rhetorical question that presupposes a contradiction in the opposition's position

To Bignami, no analogous question on the contradiction between participation in the Board of Peace and Italian criticism of the non-democratic structure of the body

Comparison: Rhetorical questions are posed predominantly to the opposition

Asymmetry 3:

To Boccia, 00:40:17: "I would like to know whether it is true that the Fratelli d'Italia parliamentary group supported the Yes campaign in the country" — question posed by Boccia, not by the host; Vespa does not pose analogous questions to Bignami on the financing of the Yes Committee

Comparison: The issue of financing for the Yes Committee is raised by the opposition guest, not by the host; Vespa does not independently develop this line of inquiry

Summary: The hardest and most technically demanding questions are posed predominantly to the opposition guest; government positions are not subjected to analogous factual verification.



14. FALSE BALANCE

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Definition: Artificial balance despite a real imbalance.

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 00:30:44

Construction: "we will see it again hearing also unsuspected people, well, such as Roberti, who is the PD MEP, and Di Matteo, who is the most heavily guarded magistrate in Italy"

Analysis: Vespa cites a PD MEP and an anti-mafia magistrate as supporters of the reform, creating the impression of cross-party consensus; however, the context of their statements is not specified, nor whether this constitutes support for the reform as a whole or only for certain specific aspects.

Summary: False balance is present but is not the dominant mechanism of the broadcast; the main problem is rather the asymmetry in the treatment of guests than a false equivalence between positions.



15. AGENDA-SETTING

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

Finding 1:

Agenda item set: The Italian judiciary is "politicised" and obstructs the government

Timestamp: 00:13:24 — Evidence: "despite a politicised part of the judiciary continuing to obstruct every action aimed at combating mass illegal immigration"

Alternative agenda: The question of the independence of the judiciary as a constitutional guarantee, and the cases in which the judiciary has protected citizens' rights against abuses of executive power, do not enter the agenda

Finding 2:

Agenda item set: The Board of Peace is the only available alternative for peace in Gaza

Timestamp: 00:07:43 — Evidence: "today whether you like it or not it is the only path that leads to a peace process"

Alternative agenda: The multilateral alternatives (UN, EU, Arab League) and the reasons why they might be preferable do not enter the agenda as concrete options

Finding 3:

Agenda item set: The referendum on the separation of careers is primarily a political government-opposition clash

Timestamp: 00:33:46 — Evidence: "this referendum will in any case be experienced as a referendum on the government"

Alternative agenda: The technical substance of the reform and its impact on the efficiency of justice for ordinary citizens do not enter the agenda as a central issue

Summary: The agenda-setting of the broadcast tends to present as indisputable facts certain premises favourable to the government narrative (politicised judiciary, Board of Peace as the only alternative), excluding from the agenda the perspectives that could call these premises into question.



CHAPTER 4 — OVERALL ASSESSMENT

Overview of individual scores

No.	Criterion	Type	Score	Main finding (1 sentence)
1	Expert selection	H	5	The "independent" experts have positions structurally aligned with the government without this being made explicit
2	Source selection	H	6	The direct government sources (Tajani and Meloni clips) are not balanced by independent sources
3	Time distribution	H	5	The government clips add time not counterbalanced by opposition clips
4	Omissions	H	7	The legal reasoning of the judge in the case of the Algerian migrant is never presented
5	Data manipulation	H	4	The "23 convictions" figure is used without disaggregation as a political argument
6	Guilt by association	H	4	Undocumented associations from both sides, with asymmetry in the host's treatment
7	Timing	H	5	Government clips are strategically placed at the beginning and with the host's emotional pre-assessment
8	Selective indignation	H	6	The host expresses emotional involvement in the migrant case but not for the victims of Gaza
9	Completeness	H	7	Systematic absence of empirical data on justice and legal context on the migrant case
10	Framing	S	6	Government positions are framed as pragmatic, those of the opposition as ideological
11	Word choice	S	5	The terminology negatively charges the positions of the opposition and the judiciary
12	Host behaviour	S	7	Systematic asymmetry in interruptions, moderation reprimands and requests for technical precision
13	Question asymmetry	S	6	Technically demanding questions are posed predominantly to the opposition guest
14	False balance	S	3	Present but not dominant; the main problem is the asymmetry in treatment
15	Agenda-Setting	S	6	Premises favourable to the government narrative are presented as indisputable facts

Results

- HARDFACTS SCORE (average criteria 1-9): 5.4 / 10
- SOFTFACTS SCORE (average criteria 10-15): 5.5 / 10



• OVERALL SCORE (average all 15 criteria): 5.5 / 10

Dominant techniques

The 3 strongest techniques in this broadcast:

- 1. Host behaviour (Score 7):** Vespa shows a systematic and documentable asymmetry in the treatment of guests: he requires technical precision from Boccia (citing the specific article) that he does not require from Bignami for equally assertive statements; he intervenes to moderate the language of the opposition ("let's keep it at a distance") but not that of the majority ("nonsense"); he predominantly interrupts the opposition guest. This asymmetry is the most relevant bias mechanism in the broadcast.
- 2. Omissions (Score 7):** The broadcast systematically omits information that could balance the government narrative: the legal reasoning of the judge in the case of the Algerian migrant, empirical data on the efficiency of the Italian justice system, independent analysis of the structure of the Board of Peace. These omissions produce an incomplete informational picture that structurally favours government positions.
- 3. Completeness (Score 7):** The overall informational picture is systematically incomplete on all three main topics of the broadcast: the Board of Peace is discussed without independent analysis of its structure; the referendum is discussed without empirical data on justice; the case of the Algerian migrant is presented without the legal reasoning behind the contested decision. In all three cases, the incompleteness favours the government narrative.

Key messages of the broadcast

****MESSAGE 1 (CONTENT):** ** "The Italian judiciary is politicised and systematically obstructs the policies of the government elected by citizens"

Technique: Framing + Omissions + Agenda-Setting — Evidence: 00:12:37, 00:13:24, 00:14:00

****MESSAGE 2 (PERSONAL):** ** "Boccia and the opposition do not have solid technical arguments to oppose the justice reform"

Technique: Host behaviour + Question asymmetry — Evidence: 00:26:31, 00:29:57

****MESSAGE 3 (SOCIAL):** ** "Participating in the Board of Peace is a pragmatic and responsible choice; the opposition is ideological and offers no alternatives"

Technique: Framing + Agenda-Setting + Timing — Evidence: 00:07:43, 00:09:49, 00:02:01

Classification of the degree of manipulation

Rationale: The broadcast presents a clear structural one-sidedness that manifests itself through multiple and documentable mechanisms: the asymmetric behaviour of the host, the systematic omissions of information that would balance the government narrative, and the framing that presents government positions as pragmatic and those of the opposition as ideological. These mechanisms are not occasional but recurrent and consistent in their orientation. Under the RAI Service Contract, article 6, which requires pluralism, completeness and impartiality of information as well as separation between news and commentary, the broadcast presents relevant profiles of non-compliance, in particular for the absence of separation between the host's commentary and the presentation of facts (case of the Algerian migrant) and for the systematic incompleteness of the informational picture.

CONCLUSION

The episode of Porta a Porta analysed presents a structural tendency favourable to government positions that manifests itself through multiple and documentable mechanisms, not attributable to isolated individual episodes. The most relevant mechanism is the asymmetric behaviour of host Bruno Vespa, who applies different standards to government guests and those of the opposition in a systematic and verifiable manner. The most serious omissions concern the legal context of the case of the Algerian migrant and the absence of empirical data on the functioning of the Italian justice system, both omissions that produce an incomplete informational picture favourable to the government narrative. Under the RAI Service Contract, article 6, which requires pluralism, completeness and impartiality of information, the broadcast presents relevant profiles of non-compliance, in particular for the failure to separate the host's personal commentary from the presentation of facts, and for the systematic incompleteness of the informational picture on all three main topics addressed. The overall score of 5.5/10 places the broadcast in the "clear one-sidedness" category, with a left-right tendency of -1.2 (favourable to the right/government).



OVERALL ASSESSMENT OF THE 15 CRITERIA

Individual scores — All 15 criteria

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

HARDFACTS SCORE (1-8)

5.4/10

Considerable imbalance

SOFTFACTS SCORE (9-14)

5.5/10

Considerable imbalance

OVERALL SCORE

5.5/10

Considerable imbalance

Average of Hardfacts and Softfacts



LEGEND — Meaning of scores

Individual scores per criterion (0–10)

0	No finding	No relevant anomaly detected.
1–2	Weak finding	Slight anomaly with no substantial impact on balance.
3–4	Slight-to-moderate finding	Recognisable tendency; impact relevance from low to moderate.
5	Moderate finding with impact	Relevant imbalance that influences the public's opinion-forming potential.
6	Significant finding (threshold)	Scores equal to or greater than 6 are classified as "significant findings".
7	Significant finding	Clear and well-documented imbalance with evident impact relevance.
8–9	Serious finding	Pronounced imbalance; multiple individual findings documented under this criterion.
10	Maximum severity	Systematic and pervasive imbalance under this criterion.

Aggregate deviation index — Interpretation ranges

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

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

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



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

Assessment under Service Contract Art. 6

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

Violation 1:

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

Facts: The host introduces the case of the Algerian migrant with "tonight a piece of news has personally struck me", expressing a personal value judgement before the presentation of the facts, and broadcasts the Meloni clip without factual challenge or presentation of the judge's legal reasoning

Evidence: Timestamp 00:11:11 — Quote: "tonight a piece of news has personally struck me [...] you will remember the robo-bomb?"

Assessment: The host's personal commentary ("has struck me") precedes and orients the presentation of the fact, violating the principle of separation between news and commentary; the failure to present the judge's legal reasoning violates the principle of completeness of information

Violation 2:

Norm: Service Contract Art. 6 — obligation of pluralism and balanced representation of positions

Facts: The host's asymmetric behaviour in the treatment of government guests and those of the opposition (requests for technical precision, interruptions, moderation reprimands) produces a systematic effect of disadvantaging the opposition guest

Evidence: Timestamp 00:26:31 — Quote: "Which article extends the powers of the executive? [...] I note that you have not answered" — compared with the absence of analogous questions to Bignami

Assessment: The documentable asymmetry in the host's behaviour violates the principle of pluralism and balanced representation of political positions

Violation 3:

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

Facts: The broadcast systematically omits information relevant to the understanding of the topics addressed: the judge's legal reasoning in the case of the Algerian migrant, empirical data on the efficiency of the Italian justice system, independent analysis of the structure of the Board of Peace

Evidence: Timestamp 00:12:37 — 00:16:39 — total absence of the legal reasoning behind the decision contested by Meloni

Assessment: The systematic omissions produce an incomplete informational picture that does not allow the public to form an informed opinion, violating the principle of completeness of information

Overall assessment Service Contract Art. 6

The broadcast presents three relevant profiles of non-compliance under the RAI Service Contract, article 6: (1) failure to separate the host's personal commentary from the presentation of facts in the case of the Algerian migrant; (2) asymmetric behaviour of the host in the treatment of government guests and those of the opposition, documentable through specific comparisons; (3) systematic omissions of relevant information that produce an incomplete informational picture favourable to the government narrative. None of these violations is in itself extreme, but their recurrence and consistency in orientation constitutes a pattern of structural non-compliance that exceeds the threshold of "slight tendency" and falls into the category of "clear one-sidedness". In a context of an active referendum campaign (referendum on the separation of careers scheduled for 22-23 March), the relevance of these non-compliances is amplified by the potential impact on the formation of public opinion on a matter of constitutional significance.



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

Organisation 1: ANM (Associazione Nazionale Magistrati)

- 1. FUNDING:** Professional association of Italian magistrates, financed by the membership fees of registered magistrates. No direct public funding.
 - 2. MANDATE:** Protection of the interests of the category of magistrates; not compatible with a neutral assessment of reforms that directly concern the structure of the judiciary.
 - 3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** The ANM has a direct institutional interest in maintaining the current structure of the judiciary; its opposition to the reform is structurally motivated by category interests, not only by technical assessments.
 - 4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX:**
 - D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — Direct interest in the matter
 - D2 Personal risk: +1 — The ANM's public position exposes its leaders to political criticism
 - D3 Competence: +2 — High technical competence in judicial matters
 - D4 Consistency: +1 — Position consistent with the ANM's historical statements
 - D5 Emotionality vs. data: 0 — Mix of technical and category arguments
 - D6 Source level: +1 — Primary source for the positions of the judiciary
- TOTAL: +3 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW
- 5. OPPOSING VOICE:** Magistrates in favour of the reform (e.g. Di Matteo, cited in the broadcast) represent an internal voice within the judiciary that contradicts the ANM's official position; this voice is cited but not developed as an autonomous technical position.

Organisation 2: "All in Numbers" (Alessandra Ghisleri)

- 1. FUNDING:** Private research institute; Ghisleri is a regular presence on Porta a Porta, which creates a proximity relationship with the RAI broadcast.
 - 2. MANDATE:** Polling research; compatible with the presentation of data, less compatible with political interpretations.
 - 3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** The proximity relationship with Porta a Porta could create an incentive to present data in a manner compatible with the editorial line of the broadcast; not documentable but to be kept in mind.
 - 4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX:**
 - D1 Conflict of interest: 0 — No directly documentable conflict
 - D2 Personal risk: +1 — Stable professional position
 - D3 Competence: +2 — Expert in her specific field
 - D4 Consistency: +1 — Position consistent with the professional role
 - D5 Emotionality vs. data: +2 — Data-based presentation
 - D6 Source level: +1 — Primary data (own polls)
- TOTAL: +7 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: GREEN
- 5. OPPOSING VOICE:** A second polling institute with different data could have balanced the presentation; the presence of only one pollster does not allow for verification of the data presented.

Organisation 3: Policlinico Gemelli / Università Cattolica (Prof. Francesco Landi)

- 1. FUNDING:** Private Catholic university institution with mixed funding (private, public, ecclesiastical).
 - 2. MANDATE:** Medical and clinical research; compatible with assessments on longevity and ageing.
 - 3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** No relevant conflict of interest for the topics addressed in the longevity segment.
 - 4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX:**
 - D1 Conflict of interest: +1 — No relevant conflict
 - D2 Personal risk: +1 — Stable academic position
 - D3 Competence: +2 — Expert in the specific field (geriatrics, ageing)
 - D4 Consistency: +1 — Position consistent with the scientific literature
 - D5 Emotionality vs. data: +2 — Presentation based on scientific evidence
 - D6 Source level: +2 — Primary source (researcher in the field)
- TOTAL: +9 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: GREEN



5. OPPOSING VOICE: Not necessary for the longevity segment, which does not present relevant scientific controversies.

IMPORTANT: "Recognised" is not an objective qualification. It is a social attribution that must be independently verified. In the case of Cerasa and Chirico, the implicit qualification of "independent voices" obscures the fact that both express structured editorial positions on politically controversial topics.

Source credibility traffic light:

Source	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	Total	Signal
ANM (Associazione Nazionale Magistrati)	-2	+1	+2	+1	0	+1	?	?
"All in Numbers" (Alessandra Ghisleri)	0	+1	+2	+1	+2	+1	?	?
Policlinico Gemelli / Università Cattolica (Prof. Francesco Landi)	+1	+1	+2	+1	+2	+2	?	?

Legal and methodological framework

This is not a fact-finding	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.
This is not a legal judgement	The aggregate deviation index does not replace a legal assessment under RAI Service Contract Art. 7. The assessment of whether a specific broadcast violates legal requirements falls exclusively within the competence of the relevant authorities (in particular AGCOM).
This is not proof of causality	Statistical correlations must not be interpreted as proof of causal links or editorial intent. Deviation values may be influenced by the choice of topics, the informational context, political controversy or the logic of the format.
This is not a judgement on intentionality	The analysis measures the observable structural characteristics of broadcasts. A score of 7 means that a significant imbalance has been detected — not that the editorial team intended it. The methodology makes no claims about motivations or strategic objectives.
Heuristic comparison tool	The index serves the comparative recognition of patterns across thousands of broadcasts, not the precise metric measurement of individual segments. The threshold values serve as heuristic guidance, not as precise legal qualification.



APPENDIX 1: NATIONAL LEGISLATION

Legal basis Italy — RAI

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

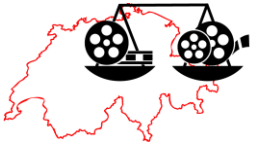
"Lottizzazione" — the historic allocation of RAI channels according to criteria of partisan proportionality — influences the structural independence of RAI to this day. The formal legal framework (Service Contract, TUSMA) is correct, but practical implementation is influenced by politics.

Supervisory authorities

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

Complaint procedure

1. RAI internal complaints office
2. AGCOM



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3. Regional Administrative Court (TAR)



ANNEX 2: SCIENTIFIC REFERENCES

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

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The following books are available from SVFAB

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Unbalanced information is the response to the halving initiative in Switzerland: the manipulation techniques are illustrated in detail here, starting from the selection of personnel and sources. 15 principles are then illustrated: omission, framing, temporal framing, guilt by association, emotionalisation, decontextualisation and many others, with numerous examples. You also discover where we ourselves apply these techniques — which promotes not only awareness but also empathy.

Optionally the book includes **playing cards**

Also available as an **audiobook**



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

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

This book is not a media criticism book. It is a toolkit — for all those who have a microphone in front of them and want to know what to do. 7 chapters. 7 tools: What an interview really is. The 7 most common traps. The three fundamental principles of sovereignty — anchor, reframe, delimit. Preparation in one hour. Body and voice. What to do when something goes wrong. And what counts after the interview. For politicians, activists, entrepreneurs, whistleblowers — for all those who are exposed and want to understand how the game works. To stop being subjected to it — and start shaping it.

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



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

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

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

Framing with style. Because the frame changes everything.



RAI receives more than 1.7 billion euros per year from the compulsory licence fee. Those who feel they have been treated unfairly can file a complaint. There is even a dedicated authority: AGCOM, the Autorità per le Garanzie nelle Comunicazioni.

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

This analysis lays bare the system — objectively, with precision, without polemic. Procedures, personnel, competences, costs, statistics, legal avenues. And the legal examination that demonstrates the structural shortcomings of oversight of public media.

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.