



RAI DETAILED ANALYSIS

2021-11-01_report_Vaccine_investigation_controverse

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OVERALL SCORE

6.3/10

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

0 = balanced, 10 = strongly unbalanced/manipulative

POLITICAL SPECTRUM

Classification according to Chapel Hill Expert Survey (CHES) 2024

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

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

The overall tendency is presented on a scale from 0 to 10 (0 = strongly left-leaning, 5 = balanced, 10 = strongly right-leaning). 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)

4.8 / 10

Balanced

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 Republic has been governed since 22 October 2022 by a centre-right coalition led by Giorgia Meloni (Fdi), comprising Fratelli d'Italia, Lega, Forza Italia and Noi Moderati. The opposition is led by the Partito Democratico (PD), flanked by Movimento 5 Stelle, Alleanza Verdi Sinistra, Azione and Italia Viva. Contextual note: the episode analysed can be dated to autumn 2021, a period during which the Draghi government (national unity coalition) was in office. Matteo Renzi, leader of Italia Viva, was a senator and supported the Draghi government after having brought down the Conte II government in January 2021.

Party	CHES L-R	Seats (2022)	Government/Opposition	Key position
AVS	2,30	12	Opposition	100% renewables, ius soli, LGBTQ+ rights
PD	3,40	69	Opposition (main)	Pro-EU, minimum wage, ecological transition
+Europa	3,80	2	Opposition	European federalism, liberal-progressive
M5S	4,20	52	Opposition	Citizens' income, anti-corruption
Azione	4,90	21	Opposition	Liberal-reformist, pro-market
Italia Viva	5,00	(in Az)	Opposition	Centrist, liberal, Renzi reformism
Noi Moderati	5,80	7	Government	Christian-democratic, moderate
Forza Italia	6,50	45	Government	Liberal-conservative, guarantism
Lega	8,10	66	Government	Sovereignist, flat tax, differentiated autonomy
Fdi	8,30	119	Government (PM)	National-conservative, naval blockade

At the time of broadcast (autumn 2021), the main lines of political tension concerned: the management of the pandemic and containment measures (Green Pass, vaccine mandate), the government crisis triggered by Renzi with the withdrawal of Italia Viva from the Conte II government, and the debate on the DDL Zan (law against homotransphobia, defeated in the Senate on 27 October 2021). On the international front, the issue of relations between Italian politicians and authoritarian regimes in the Persian Gulf was emerging, with particular reference to Renzi's consultancy work for Saudi institutions.

RAI is the Italian public broadcasting service, funded by the licence fee and subject to the Service Contract with the Ministry of Economic Development, which under Art. 6 requires pluralism, completeness and impartiality of information. Historically characterised by party-based allocation (lottizzazione) (RAI 1 = DC/FI, RAI 2 = PSI, RAI 3 = PCI/PD), RAI is subject to political influence in the appointment of its leadership. Report is an investigative journalism programme on RAI 3, traditionally situated within the cultural sphere of the reformist left, with a critical vocation towards economic and political power.



CHAPTER 1 — PARTY BIAS

Assessment by party

Party	Score (-5..+5)	Representation in the episode vs. programmatic position
Fdl (Fratelli d'Italia)	0	Not directly cited; the episode can be dated to 2021, when Fdl was in opposition. No detectable distortion due to absence.
PD (Partito Democratico)	0	Not directly cited. The DDL Zan issue is treated as a "black day for the centre-left" (54:28) without any in-depth examination of PD's positions.
M5S (Movimento 5 Stelle)	0	Not cited. Absent from the narrative.
Lega	-1	54:24 "the proposal put forward by Lega and Fratelli d'Italia not to examine the text is passed" — presented as a blocking action without any space given to Lega's programmatic position on the issue. Slight distortion by omission of the motivation.
Forza Italia	0	Not directly cited.
AVS (Alleanza Verdi Sinistra)	0	Not cited. The issue of LGBTQ+ rights (a central position of AVS) is evoked in the context of the DDL Zan but without giving AVS a voice.
Italia Viva / Renzi	-3	Renzi is the main subject of the investigative report. His position is presented through an accusatory frame (Saudi consultancies, absence at the DDL Zan vote, Meridiana failure). His responses are included but systematically followed by rebuttals. The programmatic position of IV (liberal reformism, economic internationalism) is never contextualised.

Summary of Party Bias

- Most accurate representation: Fdl, PD, M5S, FI, AVS (Score 0 — absent or neutral)
- Most marked distortion: Italia Viva / Renzi (Score -3)
- Average deviation from 0: 0.57
- Conclusion: The episode is not structured as an analysis of the Italian party landscape, but rather as an investigative inquiry into a single political subject (Renzi). The distortion does not concern the representation of parties' programmatic positions in the strict sense, but the asymmetric treatment of Renzi compared to other politicians who maintain economic relations with Gulf countries. The DDL Zan is used as an accusatory contextual element without any in-depth examination of the positions of the parties involved.

Overall Left-Right Tendency

TENDENCY SCORE: +1.8

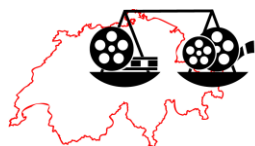
CLASSIFICATION: Left-leaning tendency

Rationale: The episode focuses on a centrist politician (Renzi/IV) with a critical frame that employs arguments typical of the progressive left (LGBTQ+ rights, relations with authoritarian regimes, critique of pharmaceutical capitalism). The segment on the DDL Zan implicitly positions the editorial team on the side of the centre-left. The segment on the Green Pass and vaccines is, by contrast, critical of government health institutions (the Draghi government, also



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supported by IV), which introduces a cross-cutting critical component. Overall, the value frame of the episode is consistent with the political culture of RAI 3 and reformist left investigative journalism.



CHAPTER 2 — EPISODE INFORMATION AND THEMATIC FRAMEWORK

Episode Data

- Title: Report (RAI 3) — episode untitled in the transcript; content identifiable as an autumn 2021 episode
- Date (from file name): Not specified in the transcript; datable to October 2021 (internal references: DDL Zan defeated on 27 October 2021; third dose launched on 27 September 2021; Pfizer-FDA agreement of 22 September 2021)
- Duration (estimated from transcript): Approximately 85-90 minutes
- Presenter/Reporter: Sigfrido Ranucci (presenter); Emanuele Bonaccorsi and Lorenzo Vendemiale (correspondents for the vaccines report); Danilo Procaccianti (correspondent for the Renzi report)

Person	Role	Party/Affiliation	Political Spectrum
Matteo Renzi	Senator of the Republic, IV leader	Italia Viva	Centre
Sigfrido Ranucci	Report presenter	RAI 3 (journalist)	N/A
Prof. Scaglione	Pharmacologist, Niguarda Hospital Milan	None	N/A
Prof. Andrea Crisanti	Microbiologist, University of Padua	None (later PD candidate 2022)	N/A
Dr. Cody Meissner	FDA member, Tufts University	FDA (USA)	N/A
Peter Doshi	Clinical trials expert, University of Maryland	Academic	N/A
Steve Ustin	Investigative journalist (USA)	Independent press	N/A
EMA representative	EMA spokesperson	European agency	N/A
CTS member (anonymous)	Member of the Technical Scientific Committee	Public institution	N/A
Senior health official (anonymous)	Health official	Public institution	N/A
Nachman Ash	Director General of Health Israel	Israeli government	N/A
Prof. Shahar	Head of vaccination campaign Israel	Israeli government	N/A
Rick Peppercorn	WHO representative for Palestinian territories	WHO	N/A
Kerry Bryant	Infected in Provincetown cluster	US citizen	N/A
Doctor at Naples hospital (Florida)	Dr. Lindner	Private hospital USA	N/A
Sant'Eugenio nurse (anonymous)	Healthcare worker	Public hospital Rome	N/A



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Sant'Andrea nurse (anonymous)	Healthcare worker	Public hospital Rome	N/A
Monza nurse (anonymous)	Healthcare worker	Public hospital Lombardy	N/A
Hatice Cengiz	Fiancée of Jamal Khashoggi	Activist	N/A
Abdullah Alaoudh	Son of imprisoned Saudi scholar	Human rights activist	N/A
Massimo Giannini	Director of La Stampa	Press	N/A
La Stampa journalist (anonymous)	Reporter	La Stampa	N/A
Roberto Ricordare	Under investigation for money laundering	Investigated subject	N/A
Arms expert (anonymous)	Researcher/analyst	Academic/NGO	N/A
Meridiana flight attendant	Former Meridiana employee	Worker	N/A
Meridiana workers' representative	Trade unionist/worker	Trade union	N/A

Main Theme

The episode is a multiple investigative inquiry addressing three distinct strands: (1) Matteo Renzi's consultancy work for Gulf financial institutions and the ethical and political implications; (2) the management of the Italian vaccination campaign and the scientific debate on the third dose; (3) a preview of an alleged 500-billion-euro money laundering scheme.

Public Debate Context

At the time of broadcast, the Italian debate was dominated by three issues: the management of the pandemic with the introduction of the mandatory Green Pass for work, the debate on the vaccine booster dose, and the political controversies linked to the Conte II government crisis (January 2021) and Renzi's role. The DDL Zan had just been defeated in the Senate (27 October 2021) by secret ballot, in a climate of strong polarisation. On the international front, the issue of relations between Western politicians and Gulf regimes was attracting growing media attention, also in connection with the Khashoggi murder (2018) and the normalisation processes of the Abraham Accords (2020).



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: Prof. Andrea Crisanti — Microbiologist, University of Padua

Timestamp: 15:17

Statement: "On no basis whatsoever. We have heard many politicians say that with the Green Pass we create safe environments. That is absolutely not true."

Framing: Crisanti is a renowned microbiologist, but at the time of the episode he was already known for his critical positions towards the government's management of the pandemic. In 2022 he would stand as a PD candidate in the general elections, revealing a political affiliation that at the time of the episode is not declared.

Missing critical voice: An epidemiologist in favour of the Green Pass as a public health tool.

In-depth source verification:

(a) FUNDING: University of Padua (public). No directly detectable financial conflict of interest at the time of the episode.

(b) MANDATE: Microbiologist with expertise in pathogens; the assessment of public health policies is partially outside his strict mandate.

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

D1 Conflict of interest: +1 — No evident financial conflict, but undeclared political orientation

D2 Personal risk: +2 — Has taken publicly critical positions towards the government in office

D3 Expertise: +1 — Competent microbiologist, but the assessment of public health policies requires broader epidemiological and public health expertise

D4 Consistency of opinions: +2 — Critical positions towards the government's management of the pandemic consistent over time

D5 Emotionality vs. data: +1 — Predominantly data-based, but with categorical statements ("they said a series of absolutely crazy nonsense")

D6 Source level: +1 — Primary source (researcher), but does not cite his own studies here

TOTAL: +8 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: GREEN

(c) PROFESSIONAL EXPERTISE: his future candidacy with PD suggests a political orientation that should have been declared.

Expert 2: Prof. Scaglione — Pharmacologist, Niguarda Hospital Milan

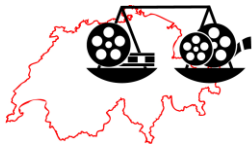
Timestamp: 12:06

Statement: "I am even more critical, in the sense that 90% of the scientific data comes from the goodwill of some researcher who sets out to produce it. There is no state-funded research."

Framing: Scaglione is directing a self-funded study on 3,000 people at Niguarda. The study is not peer-reviewed at the time of the episode. He is presented as the only systematic researcher in Italy, which artificially amplifies his weight.

Missing critical voice: A researcher from the ISS who could contextualise the Niguarda study data within the broader framework of national epidemiological surveillance.

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In-depth source verification:

(a) FUNDING: Study self-funded by Niguarda hospital. No detectable financial conflict of interest with pharmaceutical companies.

(b) MANDATE: Pharmacologist with direct expertise on the subject of vaccine antibodies.

(c) CREDIBILITY MATRIX:

D1 Conflict of interest: +2 — No detectable conflict

D2 Personal risk: +1 — Conducts research not funded by the state, critical position towards institutions

D3 Expertise: +2 — Pharmacologist with specialised laboratory, direct expertise

D4 Consistency of opinions: +1 — Not verifiable on a historical basis in the transcript

D5 Emotionality vs. data: +2 — Based on own data, technical presentation

D6 Source level: +2 — Primary source (researcher with own data)

TOTAL: +10 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: GREEN

(c) PROFESSIONAL EXPERTISE: The study on 3,000 people is presented as definitive without mention of methodological limitations (hospital sample, not representative of the general population).

Expert 3: Dr. Cody Meissner — FDA member, Tufts University

Timestamp: 35:32

Statement: "Nobody can be comfortable, but the president is not a scientist, he is a politician and we have to do our job."

Framing: Meissner is an FDA member who voted against the third dose for the entire population. He is presented as "one of the scientists who had the courage to contradict the most powerful man in the world", a heroic frame that is not neutral.

Missing critical voice: An FDA member in favour of the universal third dose.

In-depth source verification:

(a) FUNDING: FDA (US federal agency) and Tufts University (private). No detectable financial conflict of interest with pharmaceutical companies.

(b) MANDATE: Paediatrician and vaccine expert; direct expertise on the subject.

(c) CREDIBILITY MATRIX:

D1 Conflict of interest: +2 — No detectable conflict

D2 Personal risk: +2 — Has publicly contradicted the President of the United States

D3 Expertise: +2 — Vaccine expert within the FDA

D4 Consistency of opinions: +1 — Position consistent with the FDA vote of 22 September 2021

D5 Emotionality vs. data: +2 — Based on data and regulatory procedures

D6 Source level: +2 — Primary source

TOTAL: +11 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: GREEN

(c) PROFESSIONAL EXPERTISE: The frame "courage to contradict the most powerful man in the world" is an editorial valorisation that is not neutral.

Missing expert groups:

- Public health expert in favour of the Green Pass as an epidemic control tool
- AIFA representative to respond to the accusations regarding the Moderna dosage
- Parliamentary law expert on senators' consultancy work

Summary (matrix result per expert):

- Crisanti: GREEN (+8) — competent, but undeclared political orientation
- Scaglione: GREEN (+10) — reliable primary source, methodological limitations not declared
- Meissner: GREEN (+11) — reliable primary source, heroic frame not neutral



2. SOURCE SELECTION

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Statements without primary source = penalty points (rumour check)

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

Source 1: Anonymous member of the CTS (Technical Scientific Committee)

Timestamp: 15:57

Statement: "On the table there was a note from the chief of staff of the Minister of Health [...] requesting that the duration of the green certificates be extended."

(a) Funding and structure: Member of a government advisory body, not identified.

(b) Structural conflict of interest: The source is anonymous; it cannot be verified whether they have a personal interest in disclosing confidential information.

(c) Missing is a source that supports the scientific legitimacy of the CTS decision.

Rumour check (penalties):

Rumour 1:

Timestamp: 01:14:18

Statement: "In my opinion it is fairly evident that Renzi, through Carrai, is playing a lobbying and business mediation role, a link that exists between Israel and the Arab-Sunni world."

Verbal marker: "in my opinion", "fairly evident"

Primary source available: NO — this is an interpretation by director Giannini, not a document or evidence — penalty +1

Rumour 2:

Timestamp: 39:31

Statement: "Either Pfizer's managers have a crystal ball or they already knew about a possible loss of efficacy over time"

Verbal marker: "either [...] or" (speculative alternative)

Primary source available: NO — speculation without document — penalty +1

Summary: The episode makes extensive use of anonymous sources ("senior health official", anonymous CTS member, anonymous nurses) that cannot be verified. The identified sources are predominantly critical of institutions. Two statements without an identified primary source.



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

Definition: Distribution of speaking time among the different positions.

Estimated speaking time:

- Vaccines report (Bonaccorsi/Vendemiale + critical experts): approx. 35 min. (40%)
- Renzi/Saudi Arabia report (Procaccianti + critical voices): approx. 30 min. (35%)
- Renzi (direct response in studio): approx. 10 min. (12%)
- Presenter Ranucci (comments, questions, summaries): approx. 8 min. (9%)
- Money laundering report (preview): approx. 4 min. (4%)

Summary: The time devoted to voices critical of Renzi (testimonies from activists, journalists, Meridiana workers) exceeds the time given to Renzi to respond by approximately 3:1. In the vaccines segment, voices critical of health institutions account for approximately 80% of the time, with the institutional voice (ISS, EMA) reduced to brief replies.



4. SELECTIVE OMISSION

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Definition: What is not shown despite being relevant?

Omission 1:

Context: No comparison with other Italian politicians who have consultancy arrangements with foreign entities.

Relevant at: 01:17:25 — "They are former politicians, they do not influence the political life of their country. Renzi is still a Senator of the Republic"

Effect: Suggests that Renzi is a unique or exceptional case, without verifying whether other senators or former prime ministers hold analogous positions.

Omission 2:

Context: It is never mentioned that the Draghi government (supported by IV) had adopted some of the most stringent Green Pass measures in Europe, which would have complicated the "Renzi absent on rights" frame.

Relevant at: 55:37 — "on the day when it was necessary to be present in Parliament to affirm [...] Senator Renzi was instead in Riyadh"

Effect: The accusatory frame regarding the DDL Zan omits the fact that IV had nuanced positions on the bill (not simply opposed to it).

Omission 3:

Context: In the vaccines segment, the WHO's position on the safety and efficacy of mRNA vaccines is never cited, nor are global data on the reduction in mortality.

Relevant at: 20:46 — "Of particular concern are the myocarditis cases, which have a frequency that is far from negligible"

Effect: The risk of myocarditis is presented without the comparative data on the risk of myocarditis from COVID-19 infection, which is significantly higher.

Summary: The most significant omissions concern the comparative context (other politicians with foreign consultancies; risk of myocarditis from COVID vs. vaccine) and IV's position on the DDL Zan, which would have complicated the accusatory frame.

Missing voices

- Parliamentary/constitutional law expert: Could have assessed whether and to what extent a sitting senator's consultancy work for foreign entities constitutes a legally relevant conflict of interest.
- Ministry of Health spokesperson: Could have responded directly to the accusations of superficiality in the management of the third dose and the Green Pass, instead of being represented only through anonymous sources.
- Vaccinologist in favour of universal booster: Would have balanced the prevalence of critical voices on the third dose.
- Italian politician with analogous foreign consultancies: Would have allowed the Renzi case to be contextualised and verified whether it is a widespread or exceptional practice.
- Representative of Saudi Arabia or the United Arab Emirates: Right of reply on the accusations of human rights violations and on Renzi's role.
- International relations expert: Could have contextualised the role of political consultants in relations between Western countries and the Gulf.



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- AIFA representative: Could have responded directly to the accusations of a "hasty" decision on the Moderna dosage.
- Renzi's lawyer: Could have articulated the legal defence in a more structured manner compared to the senator's improvised responses in the studio.



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: 20:58

Data: "From 12 to 24 years of age, i.e. in this very specific age group, the figure ranges between 1 in 10,000 and 1 in 20,000 [myocarditis cases]."

Dimensions: (a) absolute value — provided as a range; (b) proportion — provided; (c) trend — absent

Missing context: The comparative data on the risk of myocarditis from COVID-19 infection in the same age group is not provided (estimated between 1:3,000 and 1:6,000 in young males, therefore significantly higher than the vaccine risk). This omission alters the risk-benefit ratio.

Effect: The data on vaccine-related myocarditis appears more alarming than a comparison with the risk from the disease would justify.

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 30:42

Data: "150,000 new cases per day, 80,000 hospitalisations per week, another 25,000 deaths in a month" (USA, late August 2021)

Dimensions: (a) absolute value — provided; (b) proportion — absent (out of 330 million inhabitants); (c) trend — absent

Missing context: The proportion per 100,000 inhabitants is not provided, nor is the comparison with periods prior to vaccination. The absolute figure is striking but not contextualised.

Effect: Creates a sense of emergency without allowing the viewer to assess the relative severity compared to previous waves.

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 40:48

Data: "Pfizer in the first six months of the year collected 14 billion dollars from the vaccine. Moderna 6 billion. 70% of these revenues end up as profit."

Dimensions: (a) absolute value — provided; (b) proportion — partially provided (70% as profit); (c) trend — absent

Missing context: The cost of vaccine development is not provided (estimated at 1-2 billion dollars for Pfizer, with significant public subsidies), nor is the comparison with profits in other pharmaceutical sectors or with the economic cost of the pandemic. The data is used to suggest commercial motivations without contextualisation.

Effect: Suggests that the profits are excessive or immoral without providing a benchmark for comparison.

Summary: The most significant data manipulation concerns the omission of the comparative data on the risk of myocarditis from COVID-19, which would have substantially modified the assessment of the vaccine risk-benefit ratio. The economic data on Pfizer are presented without comparative context.



6. GUILT BY ASSOCIATION

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Definition: Discrediting by association with negative groups or ideas.

Association 1:

Timestamp: 55:52

Quote: "on the day when it was necessary to be present in Parliament to affirm [...] Senator Renzi was instead in Riyadh, in Saudi Arabia, which is not exactly the homeland of LGBT rights — indeed, homosexuality is still punishable by imprisonment or flogging."

Technique: Temporal juxtaposition between Renzi's absence at the DDL Zan vote and his presence in Saudi Arabia, a country where homosexuality is criminalised. The logical connection is not demonstrated (Renzi did not vote against the DDL Zan; the vote was by secret ballot).

Effect: Suggests that Renzi is complicit in or indifferent to the persecution of homosexuals, without demonstrating a causal link.

Association 2:

Timestamp: 01:00:40

Quote: "The former prime minister in Italy calls him a great friend, but I think his great friend is a killer."

Technique: Direct transfer of moral responsibility for the Khashoggi murder to Renzi through the word "friend" used by MBS.

Effect: Implicitly equates Renzi with an accomplice in a state murder, without any evidence of direct involvement.

Association 3:

Timestamp: 01:23:32

Quote: "We will also be talking about a deviant Masonic lodge that has taken the place of P2, which has drawn in entrepreneurs, members of the security services, politicians. One of whom would be playing a fundamental role for the Quirinale."

Technique: Vague preview that associates an unnamed politician (but contextually identifiable) with P2 and a deviant Masonic lodge, without providing evidence.

Effect: Creates an association between Renzi (or another politician) and Masonic organised crime without any evidence presented.

Association chain: Renzi → Saudi Arabia → MBS → Khashoggi murder → LGBT persecution → Masonic lodge → Mafia money laundering

Summary (category assignment with matrix rationale):

- Renzi: Category B (borderline case) — some of the associations are based on documented facts (Saudi consultancies, absence at the vote), but the inferential chain leading to serious moral implications is not demonstrated with direct evidence.



7. TIMING						6/10			
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Definition: Strategic placement of information (beginning/middle/end).

Finding 1:

Position: 00:00 (beginning)

Content: The episode opens directly with Renzi in Riyadh "in the midst of the Conte government crisis", with the voice of Hatice Cengiz recalling Khashoggi.

Timing effect: The opening with Khashoggi's fiancée speaking of "state-sponsored persecution" immediately creates a negative emotional frame around Renzi before any evidence or his responses are presented.

Finding 2:

Position: 54:04 (mid-episode)

Content: The segment on the DDL Zan is inserted between the vaccines report and the return to the Renzi report, creating an implicit link between Renzi's absence at the vote and his activities in Saudi Arabia.

Timing effect: The juxtaposition creates a value-based association (LGBT rights vs. Saudi Arabia) that is not logically necessary but is emotionally powerful.

Finding 3:

Position: 01:23:32 (end of episode)

Content: The preview about the "deviant Masonic lodge" and the politician "playing a fundamental role for the Quirinale" is placed at the end, as a cliffhanger.

Timing effect: The association with P2 and organised crime is launched without evidence, leaving the viewer with an undocumented negative impression.

Summary: Timing is used strategically to maximise the negative emotional impact on Renzi: opening with Khashoggi's fiancée, insertion of the DDL Zan as a value-based contrasting element, closing with undocumented previews about Masonic lodges.



8. SELECTIVE OUTRAGE

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

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

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

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 55:37

Triggering event: Renzi's absence at the DDL Zan vote while he was in Riyadh.

Reaction: "on the day when it was necessary to be present in Parliament to affirm [...] Senator Renzi was instead in Riyadh, in Saudi Arabia, which is not exactly the homeland of LGBT rights"

Comparison: It is not verified how many other senators were absent at the DDL Zan vote (the secret ballot produced approximately 20 defectors, suggesting absences or votes against by centre-left senators). No analogous outrage towards other absentees.

Asymmetry: Documentable — the outrage is directed exclusively at Renzi without verification of the absences of other senators.

Degree of outrage: 3/5

Selectivity: 4/5

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 01:05:05

Triggering event: Renzi calls MBS "my friend" during an interview.

Reaction: "But then you call him my friend, and there are dissidents being tortured and killed there."

Comparison: It is not verified whether other Italian politicians (in government or opposition) have had relations with MBS or with other Gulf leaders. The Draghi government had diplomatic relations with Saudi Arabia; no analogous outrage towards the government.

Asymmetry: Documentable — the outrage is directed exclusively at Renzi.

Degree of outrage: 3/5

Selectivity: 3/5

Summary: The outrage in the episode is structurally selective: it focuses on Renzi without verifying whether analogous behaviour (parliamentary absences, relations with Gulf countries, foreign consultancies) is present in other Italian politicians. This does not invalidate the individual accusations, but reduces their demonstrative force.



9. SELECTIVE OMISSION — GENERAL FRAMEWORK

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

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 15:17

Missing perspective/fact: The scientific position in favour of the Green Pass as a tool for reducing transmission.

Relevance: At the time of the episode, the majority of European epidemiologists supported the Green Pass as a public health measure.

Impact: The episode creates the impression that the Green Pass is scientifically unfounded, whereas the scientific debate was more nuanced.

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 01:17:25

Missing perspective/fact: The Italian regulatory framework on parliamentarians' consultancy work for foreign entities and the comparison with other analogous cases.

Relevance: Without this context, it is impossible to assess whether the Renzi case is exceptional or representative of a widespread practice.

Impact: Renzi appears as a unique case of conflict of interest, whereas the issue could be systemic.

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 20:46

Missing perspective/fact: The data on the risk of myocarditis from COVID-19 infection compared to the risk from the vaccine.

Relevance: This data is fundamental for assessing the risk-benefit ratio of vaccination in younger age groups.

Impact: The vaccine risk appears disproportionately high compared to the risk from the disease.

Summary: The most significant omissions concern the comparative context (other politicians, COVID risk vs. vaccine) and the majority scientific position on the Green Pass. The episode is structurally incomplete in a systematic and consistent manner aligned with the accusatory thesis.

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] Official position of the Italian government on the vaccination campaign and the Green Pass
- [B] Scientific position in favour of the third dose for the entire population
- [C] Critical position on the third dose (already partially present)
- [D] Comparative context of other Italian politicians' consultancy work for foreign entities
- [E] Position of Renzi and Italia Viva on the substance of the accusations (already partially present)
- [F] Independent legal assessment of the legality of senators' consultancy work for foreign entities
- [G] Perspective of workers and companies involved in the Meridiana/Piaggio affairs
- [H] Position of Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates (right of reply)
- [I] Comparative analysis of the vaccination policies of other European countries

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[J] Ethical perspective on global vaccine equity (already partially present)

[A] PARTIALLY COVERED

Timestamp: 16:01 — Quote: "On the table there was a note from the chief of staff of the Minister of Health [...] requesting that the duration of the green certificates be extended" — Assessment: The government's position is presented through anonymous critical sources, not through a direct and articulated government voice.

[B] PARTIALLY COVERED

Timestamp: 46:36 — Quote: "The results of the third dose seem astonishing. Infections are plummeting." — Assessment: The perspective in favour of the third dose is present but mediated by the episode's critical frame; no Italian expert in favour of the third dose for the entire population is given a voice.

[C] COVERED

Timestamp: 33:57 — Quote: "at the moment there is no evidence showing the need for a third dose for everyone" — Assessment: The critical position is extensively documented with multiple sources (Meissner, Doshi, Gruber/Krauss).

[D] ABSENT

Timestamp: N/A — Quote: N/A — Assessment: It is never contextualised whether other Italian senators or politicians have analogous consultancy arrangements with foreign entities; the absence of this comparison makes the Renzi case appear apparently unique.

[E] PARTIALLY COVERED

Timestamp: 01:02:04 — Quote: "My international, personal, private activity is an activity that meets all legal requirements" — Assessment: Renzi responds but his responses are systematically followed by rebuttals or critical comments from the presenter.

[F] ABSENT

Timestamp: N/A — Quote: N/A — Assessment: A jurist or parliamentary law expert is never consulted to assess the legality or appropriateness of a sitting senator's consultancy work for foreign entities.

[G] COVERED

Timestamp: 01:20:59 — Quote: "the 1,400 workers of Eritre will all be made redundant" — Assessment: The perspective of Meridiana workers is present and documented.

[H] ABSENT

Timestamp: N/A — Quote: N/A — Assessment: No Saudi or Emirati voice is present to reply to the accusations; the right of reply is not exercised.

[I] PARTIALLY COVERED

Timestamp: 06:42 — Quote: "Tel Aviv, Israel. It is Shabbat, but the very central Habima Square is filling up" — Assessment: The comparison with Israel and the USA is present, but comparative data on other European countries (Germany, France, Spain) is lacking.

[J] COVERED

Timestamp: 47:55 — Quote: "There are countries that are already thinking about the third dose. When in other parts of the world elderly people and healthcare workers have not even seen the first." — Assessment: The ethical perspective of global vaccine equity is present through the WHO representative.

Completeness Score: 5/10

The episode adequately covers the critical perspectives towards health institutions and towards Renzi, but systematically lacks counterbalancing voices: no Italian expert in favour of the third dose for the entire population, no jurist on the legality of the consultancy work, no comparison with other Italian politicians with foreign consultancies, no direct and articulated government voice. The investigative structure privileges the accusatory thesis at the expense of informational completeness.

1. Istituto Superiore di Sanità (ISS)

1. FUNDING: Public body, funded by the Ministry of Health. Annual budget approximately 300 million euros.
2. MANDATE: Technical-scientific body of the National Health Service; mandate compatible with neutral assessments of the vaccination campaign.
3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST: Structural conflict in the assessment of its own decisions (the antibody study announced but not carried out); institutional interest in not admitting delays or errors.
4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX: D1 Conflict of interest: 0 (structural but not financial conflict); D2 Personal risk: -1 (institution self-assessing); D3 Expertise: +2; D4 Consistency: +1; D5 Emotion vs. data: +2; D6 Source level: +1 → TOTAL: +5 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: GREEN (but borderline)



5. CRITICAL VOICE: Prof. Scaglione of Niguarda provides alternative data; the episode uses them to criticise the ISS without giving the ISS adequate space to respond.

2. AIFA (Agenzia Italiana del Farmaco)

1. FUNDING: Public body, funded by the Ministry of Health and drug fees. Partial funding from the pharmaceutical industry through fees.
2. MANDATE: Drug regulation; mandate compatible with neutral assessments, but with a potential structural conflict due to partial funding from industry.
3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST: Structural conflict due to partial funding from the pharmaceutical industry; institutional interest in not admitting regulatory errors.
4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX: D1: -1 (partial funding from industry); D2: -1; D3: +2; D4: 0; D5: +1; D6: +1 → TOTAL: +2 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW
5. CRITICAL VOICE: The episode criticises AIFA for the decision on the Moderna dosage without giving AIFA adequate space to respond.

3. Pfizer

1. FUNDING: Private pharmaceutical company listed on the stock exchange. Profits from the COVID-19 vaccine: 14 billion dollars in the first six months of 2021.
2. MANDATE: Commercial company; mandate structurally incompatible with neutral assessments of the need for the third dose.
3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST: Maximum conflict of interest: Pfizer has a direct financial interest in the administration of the third dose.
4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX: D1: -2 (maximum conflict of interest); D2: -2 (profits from the third dose); D3: +2 (technical expertise); D4: -1 (inconsistency between definitive approval and request for third dose); D5: -1 (investor-oriented communication); D6: +1 → TOTAL: -3 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW (borderline red)
5. CRITICAL VOICE: The episode uses Pfizer's statements to investors as evidence of bad faith, but does not contact Pfizer for an official response.

4. Future Investment Initiative (FII) — Saudi Arabia

1. FUNDING: Funded by the Saudi Sovereign Fund (Public Investment Fund, PIF). Estimated assets: 620 billion dollars.
2. MANDATE: Promotion of investments in Saudi Arabia; mandate structurally incompatible with neutral assessments of Saudi governance.
3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST: Maximum conflict of interest: the FII has an interest in promoting a positive image of Saudi Arabia.
4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX: D1: -2; D2: -2; D3: +1; D4: -1; D5: -2; D6: 0 → TOTAL: -6 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: RED
5. CRITICAL VOICE: The episode does not contact the FII for a response to the accusations.
IMPORTANT: "Recognised" is not an objective qualification. It is a social attribution that must itself be verified.



Softfacts — 6 qualitative techniques

10. FRAMING

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Definition: How is the topic fundamentally framed?

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 00:00

Quote: "Last January 28th, in the midst of the Conte government crisis, Matteo Renzi was in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia"

Manipulation: The temporal frame "in the midst of the Conte government crisis" associates Renzi's presence in Riyadh with the government crisis, suggesting a causal link or at least a distorted priority, without demonstrating it.

Why problematic: The trip to Riyadh may have been planned independently of the government crisis; the frame suggests a deliberate choice to place Saudi interests above national ones.

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 39:54

Quote: "Either Pfizer's managers have a crystal ball or they already knew about a possible loss of efficacy over time and that this would favour the business of the third dose."

Manipulation: The frame "crystal ball vs. they already knew" presents as the only alternative Pfizer's foresight or bad faith, excluding the simpler explanation (the data on the duration of immunity were genuinely uncertain in 2020-2021).

Why problematic: Creates a corporate conspiracy frame without direct evidence of intent.

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 01:23:22

Quote: "In short, the embrace between the Arabs and the workers was a deadly embrace."

Manipulation: The metaphor of the "deadly embrace" generalises relations between Italian politicians and Arab countries as structurally harmful to Italian workers.

Why problematic: Generalises from specific cases (Meridiana, Piaggio) to an undemonstrated geopolitical thesis.

Summary: The dominant frame of the episode is that of the accusatory investigation: Renzi as a politician who places foreign economic interests above national ones and civil rights; health institutions as bureaucracies that make decisions without scientific foundations; Pfizer as a company that maximises profits at the expense of public health. These frames are not necessarily false, but are presented as certainties rather than as investigative hypotheses.



11. WORD AND TERM CHOICE

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

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 01:23:22

Quote: "the embrace between the Arabs and the workers was a deadly embrace"

Manipulation: The metaphor of the "deadly embrace" carries a connotation of deliberate betrayal and death.

Why problematic: A neutral alternative would be: "the partnerships with Gulf investors did not produce the expected results for Italian workers."

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 01:14:55

Quote: "Renzi pockets the fees from these consultancies for these conferences, and he pockets them from an institute that is in turn funded by a Saudi sovereign fund."

Manipulation: The verb "pockets" carries a connotation of easy or illicit gain, different from "receives a fee" or "receives a remuneration".

Why problematic: Neutral alternative: "Renzi receives a fee for his consultancy work at an institute funded by the Saudi sovereign fund."

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 22:16

Quote: "Translated, we are navigating blind."

Manipulation: The presenter's translation of the EMA representative's words ("Ours is a preliminary recommendation, it is not definitive") as "we are navigating blind" is a paraphrase that adds a connotation of incompetence and improvisation not present in the original words.

Why problematic: A preliminary recommendation pending data is a normal scientific practice; "navigating blind" suggests negligence.

Summary: The lexical choices of the episode are systematically oriented towards negative connotations for the subjects being criticised (Renzi, Pfizer, health institutions) and positive ones for the subjects being valorised (independent researchers, whistleblowers). This is not neutral from a journalistic standpoint.



12. PRESENTER 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 involving other guests have not produced an analogous intervention.

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 01:02:04

Triggering event: Renzi states that his activities comply with the law.

Quote (presenter): "What you do is lawful, you pay your taxes. That said, since words matter, you also work for Saudi Arabia. I cannot find another term, you tell me."

Comparison: When the EMA representative states "Ours is a preliminary recommendation" (22:14), the presenter does not insist with the same intensity on the vagueness of the response, limiting himself to commenting "Translated, we are navigating blind."

Asymmetry: Documentable — Renzi is pressed with repeated questions and aggressive reformulations; health institutions receive critical comments but not the same direct pressing.

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 01:13:21

Triggering event: Renzi does not answer the question about what he went to do in Dubai.

Quote (presenter): "But you still haven't told me what you went to do. You say it relates to your activity but you are a Senator of the Republic, in the name of transparency."

Comparison: When the ISS official does not provide details about the antibody study (14:38 — "Ah, it is a very substantial study"), the presenter does not insist with the same intensity.

Asymmetry: Documentable — Renzi's lack of transparency is repeatedly pressed; the ISS's lack of transparency is commented on critically but without the same pressing.

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 01:33:40

Triggering event: Renzi responds in an articulate manner about the nature of his consultancy work.

Quote (presenter): "I was building up to the previous question. Evidently the fact that time is running short leads me to be a little rude, but I respect you for that."

Comparison: No guest favourable to the episode's thesis is treated with this irony.

Asymmetry: Documentable — the presenter uses irony towards Renzi in a way that is not used towards other guests.

Summary: The presenter's behaviour is asymmetric: Renzi is pressed with repeated questions, aggressive reformulations and ironic comments, while health institutions and critical experts receive significantly softer treatment. This asymmetry is documentable and systematic.



13. QUESTION ASYMMETRY

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

Asymmetry 1:

To Renzi, 01:02:08: "you also work for Saudi Arabia. I cannot find another term, you tell me." — hard, with presupposed assertion

To Nachman Ash (Director of Health Israel), 49:03: "How much do you pay?" / "We buy the doses and share the data. That is all." — the evasive response is not pressed

Comparison: Renzi is pressed when he does not respond; Ash is not pressed when he provides a vague response about an agreement that the episode itself defines as "secret".

Asymmetry 2:

To Renzi, 01:13:40: "But you still haven't told me what you went to do. You say it relates to your activity but you are a Senator of the Republic, in the name of transparency." — question on transparency, repeated

To the EMA representative, 21:49: "We would have expected an assessment from you. Don't you think that this way there is a risk that each country will go its own way" — critical question but not repeated after the evasive response

Comparison: Renzi's lack of transparency is pressed; that of the EMA is commented on but not pursued with the same intensity.

Summary: The questions to Renzi are systematically harder, more repeated and more aggressive than those addressed to institutional representatives (EMA, ISS, Ash) who provide equally evasive responses. This asymmetry is documentable and systematic.



14. FALSE BALANCE

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Definition: Artificial balance despite a real imbalance.

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 46:53

Construct: "But not everyone agrees. The USA and the European Union raise doubts on the scientific level."

Analysis: The episode presents as balanced the position between those who support the third dose (Israel) and those who question it (FDA, EMA), but devotes significantly more time and more voices to the critical positions. The "not everyone agrees" is a formula of formal balance that does not correspond to the real balance of time devoted to the two positions.

Summary: False balance is present to a limited extent: the episode does not claim to be balanced, but occasionally uses formulas of formal balance ("not everyone agrees") that do not correspond to the actual distribution of time and voices. The score is moderate because the episode is explicitly investigative and does not claim to be a debate.



15. AGENDA-SETTING

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

Finding 1:

Agenda item set: The consultancy work of politicians in office for foreign entities is intrinsically problematic and requires public justification.

Timestamp: 01:17:25 — Evidence: "They are former politicians, they do not influence the political life of their country. Renzi is still a Senator of the Republic"

Alternative agenda: The issue could be addressed as a systemic problem affecting many Italian politicians, not as an individual case involving Renzi.

Finding 2:

Agenda item set: The vaccine booster dose is primarily a commercial operation by Pfizer, not a health necessity.

Timestamp: 39:54 — Evidence: "For them it is a business. That is their objective."

Alternative agenda: The third dose could be both a commercial opportunity for Pfizer and a genuine health necessity; the two things are not mutually exclusive.

Finding 3:

Agenda item set: Italian health institutions (ISS, AIFA, CTS) have made decisions without adequate scientific foundations.

Timestamp: 24:04 — Evidence: "This is because a superficiality error was made by AIFA that was replicated by default by the Ministry of Health."

Alternative agenda: Decisions made under conditions of scientific uncertainty are inevitable in a pandemic; the error on the Moderna dosage is real but is presented as emblematic of a systemic failure without verifying whether it is an isolated case.

Summary: The agenda-setting of the episode is consistent and systematic: institutions (health and political) are presented as structurally unreliable, while independent researchers and whistleblowers are presented as the only sources of truth. This frame is not neutral and orients the viewer's perception towards a generalised distrust of institutions.



CHAPTER 4 — OVERALL ASSESSMENT

Overview of Individual Scores

No.	Criterion	Type	Score	Main finding (1 sentence)
1	Expert selection	H	6	Experts predominantly critical of institutions; Crisanti's political orientation not declared.
2	Source selection	H	6	Extensive use of unverifiable anonymous sources; two statements without a primary source.
3	Time distribution	H	5	Voices critical of Renzi and health institutions account for approximately 80% of the time.
4	Omissions	H	7	Absence of comparison with other politicians with foreign consultancies; omission of the myocarditis risk from COVID.
5	Data manipulation	H	6	Data on vaccine-related myocarditis presented without the comparative data on the risk from COVID infection.
6	Guilt by association	H	7	Associative chain Renzi → MBS → Khashoggi murder → Masonic lodge not demonstrated.
7	Timing	H	6	Opening with Khashoggi's fiancée; closing with undocumented preview about Masonic lodge.
8	Selective outrage	H	6	Outrage towards Renzi without verification of analogous behaviour in other politicians.
9	Completeness	H	7	Systematic omissions consistent with the accusatory thesis.
10	Framing	S	7	Accusatory investigation frame presented as certainty rather than as an investigative hypothesis.
11	Word choice	S	6	Lexicon systematically oriented towards negative connotations for the subjects being criticised.
12	Presenter behaviour	S	7	Documentable asymmetry between the treatment of Renzi and that of health institutions.
13	Question asymmetry	S	7	Questions to Renzi systematically harder than those addressed to institutional representatives.
14	False balance	S	4	Present to a limited extent; the episode is explicitly investigative.
15	Agenda-Setting	S	7	Systematic frame of distrust in institutions; Renzi's foreign consultancies as a unique case.

Results

- HARDFACTS SCORE (average criteria 1-9): 6.2 / 10
- SOFTFACTS SCORE (average criteria 10-15): 6.3 / 10
- OVERALL SCORE (average all 15 criteria): 6.3 / 10



Dominant Techniques

The 3 strongest techniques in this episode:

- 1. Guilt by Association (Score 7):** The associative chain linking Renzi to the Khashoggi murder, to LGBT persecution in Saudi Arabia and to a Masonic lodge is not demonstrated with direct evidence but is constructed through temporal and value-based juxtapositions. The technique is particularly effective because it uses real facts (the Saudi consultancies, the Khashoggi murder) to suggest undemonstrated moral implications.
- 2. Presenter Asymmetry / Question Asymmetry (Score 7):** Presenter Ranucci applies different standards to Renzi compared to other guests: repeated questions, aggressive reformulations, ironic comments towards Renzi; critical but non-pressing questions towards institutional representatives (EMA, ISS, Ash) who provide equally evasive responses. This asymmetry is documentable and systematic.
- 3. Agenda-Setting / Framing (Score 7):** The episode constructs a frame of systematic distrust in institutions (health and political) that is presented as the result of the investigation rather than as its premise. The Renzi case is presented as unique and exceptional without comparative verification; health decisions are presented as structurally lacking scientific foundations without contextualising the inevitable uncertainty in a pandemic.

Key Messages of the Episode

****MESSAGE 1 (CONTENT):** ** "Matteo Renzi places his own economic interests with authoritarian regimes above the national interests and civil rights of Italians."

Technique: Guilt by association, timing, framing — Evidence: 00:00, 55:37, 01:00:40

****MESSAGE 2 (PERSONAL):** ** "Italian health institutions (ISS, AIFA, CTS) make decisions without adequate scientific foundations, under political and commercial pressure."

Technique: Expert selection, omissions, agenda-setting — Evidence: 15:17, 24:04, 39:54

****MESSAGE 3 (SOCIAL):** ** "Italian citizens cannot trust either their political representatives or health institutions; only independent researchers and whistleblowers tell the truth."

Technique: Framing, agenda-setting, source selection — Evidence: 13:07, 22:16, 01:17:25

Classification of the Degree of Manipulation

Rationale: The episode achieves an overall score of 6.3/10, placing it on the boundary between "clear one-sidedness" and "systematic imbalance". The most significant manipulation techniques (guilt by association, presenter asymmetry, agenda-setting) are documentable and systematic, not occasional. However, the episode includes Renzi's responses, cites identified and documented sources for the main accusations, and the vaccines segment contains scientifically relevant information. Under the RAI Service Contract Art. 6, the episode presents significant issues in terms of pluralism (absence of voices in favour of health institutions and the Green Pass), completeness (omission of the comparative context on other politicians' consultancies) and the separation between news and commentary (the presenter systematically comments on and interprets guests' responses).

CONCLUSION

The Report episode analysed presents an investigative journalistic framework with documented and publicly relevant elements (Renzi's consultancy work for Saudi institutions, the error on the Moderna dosage, the lack of systematic antibody studies), but places them within an editorial frame that systematically orients the viewer's perception towards conclusions not always demonstrated by the evidence presented. The most problematic techniques under the RAI Service Contract Art. 6 are: the asymmetry in the treatment of guests (Renzi vs. institutional representatives), the systematic omission of perspectives that would have complicated the accusatory thesis (other politicians with foreign consultancies, COVID myocarditis risk, majority scientific position on the Green Pass), and the use of unverifiable anonymous sources as narrative pillars. The episode does not violate the principles of pluralism and impartiality in an extreme manner, but falls within a zone of clear one-sidedness that requires attention from the supervisory body, particularly with regard to the separation between news and commentary (Art. 6, para. 1, lett. b of the Service Contract) and the pluralism of sources (Art. 6, para. 1, lett. a).



OVERALL ASSESSMENT OF THE 15 CRITERIA

Individual scores — All 15 criteria

No.	Criterion	Score	Classification
1	EXPERT SELECTION	6/10	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	6/10	Significant imbalance
6	GUILT BY ASSOCIATION	7/10	Pronounced imbalance
7	TIMING	6/10	Significant imbalance
8	SELECTIVE OUTRAGE	6/10	Significant imbalance
9	SELECTIVE OMISSION — GENERAL FRAMEWORK	7/10	Pronounced imbalance
10	FRAMING	7/10	Pronounced imbalance
11	WORD AND TERM CHOICE	6/10	Significant imbalance
12	PRESENTER BEHAVIOUR	7/10	Pronounced imbalance
13	QUESTION ASYMMETRY	7/10	Pronounced imbalance
14	FALSE BALANCE	4/10	Slight imbalance
15	AGENDA-SETTING	7/10	Pronounced imbalance

HARDFACTS SCORE (1-8)

6.2/10

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

SOFTFACTS SCORE (9-14)

6.3/10

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

OVERALL SCORE

6.3/10

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

Average of Hardfacts and Softfacts



LEGEND — Meaning of scores

Individual scores per criterion (0–10)

0	No finding	No relevant anomaly detected.
1–2	Weak finding	Minor 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 patterns across broadcasts; high impact relevance.
8.1 – 10	Maximum systemic partiality. Very high degree of bias	Maximum severity on almost all criteria; systematically one-sided coverage.

Political-party 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 (RAI Service Contract Art. 6)

Assessment under the RAI Service Contract Art. 6

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

Violation 1:

Norm: Service Contract Art. 6, para. 1, lett. a (pluralism of information)

Facts: The episode does not include voices from experts in favour of the Green Pass as a public health tool, nor voices from politicians or jurists who contextualise Renzi's consultancy work within the broader framework of Italian parliamentary practices.

Evidence: Timestamp 15:17 — Quote: "On no basis whatsoever. We have heard many politicians say that with the Green Pass we create safe environments. That is absolutely not true." — presented without a counterbalancing voice.

Assessment: The systematic absence of voices in favour of the institutional positions on the Green Pass and the vaccination campaign constitutes a violation of the principle of pluralism, as a significant part of Italian scientific and political opinion is not represented.

Violation 2:

Norm: Service Contract Art. 6, para. 1, lett. b (separation between news and commentary)

Facts: Presenter Ranucci systematically comments on guests' responses, paraphrases institutional statements in a pejorative manner ("Translated, we are navigating blind") and uses evaluative metaphors ("the deadly embrace") that are inseparable from the factual narrative.

Evidence: Timestamp 22:16 — Quote: "Translated, we are navigating blind." — pejorative paraphrase of an institutional statement.

Assessment: The systematic blending of factual narrative and the presenter's evaluative commentary violates the principle of separation between news and commentary, making it difficult for the viewer to distinguish established facts from editorial interpretations.

Violation 3:

Norm: Service Contract Art. 6, para. 1, lett. c (completeness of information)

Facts: The omission of the comparative data on the risk of myocarditis from COVID-19 infection compared to the risk from the vaccine, and the omission of the comparison with other Italian politicians with foreign consultancies, constitute informational gaps that alter the completeness of the picture offered to the viewer.

Evidence: Timestamp 20:46 — Quote: "Of particular concern are the myocarditis cases, which have a frequency that is far from negligible. From 12 to 24 years of age [...] the figure ranges between 1 in 10,000 and 1 in 20,000." — without the comparative data on the risk from COVID.

Assessment: The systematic omission of data that would have complicated the accusatory thesis violates the principle of completeness of information, as the viewer does not have the elements necessary to form an autonomous and informed judgement.

Overall Assessment of the RAI Service Contract Art. 6

The Report episode analysed presents three areas of concern with respect to the RAI Service Contract Art. 6: (1) violation of pluralism due to the systematic absence of voices in favour of the institutional positions on the vaccination campaign and the Green Pass; (2) violation of the separation between news and commentary due to the systematic blending of factual narrative and the presenter's editorial interpretation; (3) violation of completeness due to the omission of relevant comparative data (myocarditis risk from COVID, foreign consultancies of other politicians). These concerns do not constitute an extreme violation of the Service Contract, as the episode includes the responses of the subjects being criticised and cites documented sources for the main accusations; however, the systematic pattern of



omissions and asymmetries suggests an editorial orientation that is not compatible with full compliance with the principles of impartiality and completeness required by Art. 6. It is recommended that AGCOM assess whether the pattern documented in this episode is representative of a structural tendency of the programme, which would require formal intervention under Art. 6, para. 3, of the Service Contract.

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

1. Istituto Superiore di Sanità (ISS)

- 1. FUNDING:** Public body, funded by the Ministry of Health. Annual budget approximately 300 million euros.
- 2. MANDATE:** Technical-scientific body of the National Health Service; mandate compatible with neutral assessments of the vaccination campaign.
- 3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Structural conflict in the assessment of its own decisions (the antibody study announced but not carried out); institutional interest in not admitting delays or errors.
- 4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX:** D1 Conflict of interest: 0 (structural but not financial conflict); D2 Personal risk: -1 (institution self-assessing); D3 Expertise: +2; D4 Consistency: +1; D5 Emotion vs. data: +2; D6 Source level: +1 → TOTAL: +5 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: GREEN (but borderline)
- 5. CRITICAL VOICE:** Prof. Scaglione of Niguarda provides alternative data; the episode uses them to criticise the ISS without giving the ISS adequate space to respond.

2. AIFA (Agenzia Italiana del Farmaco)

- 1. FUNDING:** Public body, funded by the Ministry of Health and drug fees. Partial funding from the pharmaceutical industry through fees.
- 2. MANDATE:** Drug regulation; mandate compatible with neutral assessments, but with a potential structural conflict due to partial funding from industry.
- 3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Structural conflict due to partial funding from the pharmaceutical industry; institutional interest in not admitting regulatory errors.
 - D1 Conflict of interest: -1
 - D2 Personal risk: -1
 - D3 Professional expertise: +2
 - D4 Consistency of opinions: 0
 - D5 Emotionality vs. data: +1
 - D6 Source level: +1
- 5. CRITICAL VOICE:** The episode criticises AIFA for the decision on the Moderna dosage without giving AIFA adequate space to respond.

3. Pfizer

- 1. FUNDING:** Private pharmaceutical company listed on the stock exchange. Profits from the COVID-19 vaccine: 14 billion dollars in the first six months of 2021.
- 2. MANDATE:** Commercial company; mandate structurally incompatible with neutral assessments of the need for the third dose.
- 3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Maximum conflict of interest: Pfizer has a direct financial interest in the administration of the third dose.
 - D1 Conflict of interest: -2
 - D2 Personal risk: -2
 - D3 Professional expertise: +2
 - D4 Consistency of opinions: -1
 - D5 Emotionality vs. data: -1
 - D6 Source level: +1
- 5. CRITICAL VOICE:** The episode uses Pfizer's statements to investors as evidence of bad faith, but does not contact Pfizer for an official response.

4. Future Investment Initiative (FII) — Saudi Arabia

- 1. FUNDING:** Funded by the Saudi Sovereign Fund (Public Investment Fund, PIF). Estimated assets: 620 billion dollars.



2. MANDATE: Promotion of investments in Saudi Arabia; mandate structurally incompatible with neutral assessments of Saudi governance.

3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST: Maximum conflict of interest: the FII has an interest in promoting a positive image of Saudi Arabia.

- D1 Conflict of interest: -2
- D2 Personal risk: -2
- D3 Professional expertise: +1
- D4 Consistency of opinions: -1
- D5 Emotionality vs. data: -2
- D6 Source level: 0

5. CRITICAL VOICE: The episode does not contact the FII for a response to the accusations.

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

Source credibility traffic light:

Source	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	Total	Signal
AIFA (Agenzia Italiana del Farmaco)	-1	-1	+2	0	+1	+1	?	YELLOW
Pfizer	-2	-2	+2	-1	-1	+1	?	YELLOW
Future Investment Initiative (FII) — Saudi Arabia	-2	-2	+1	-1	-2	0	?	RED

Legal and methodological framework

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



APPENDIX 1: NATIONAL LEGISLATION

Legal basis Italy — RAI

Laws

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

Relevant articles

RAI Service Contract 2023-2028

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

Legislative Decree 208/2021 (TUSMA)

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

Law 28/2000 (Par Condicio)

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

RAI Code of Ethics (2017)

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

European reference framework

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

Structural context

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

Supervisory authorities

- AGCOM (Autorità per le Garanzie nelle Comunicazioni): Media regulation, sanctions
- Parliamentary supervisory committee for RAI: Parliamentary oversight

Complaint procedure

1. RAI internal complaints office
2. AGCOM



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3. Regional Administrative Court (TAR)



APPENDIX 2: SCIENTIFIC REFERENCES

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Assessments and SVFAB membership

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

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

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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 here in detail, 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**



The 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 just learn how others frame you. You learn how you yourself frame — and how to use it consciously and correctly.

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



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

Framing with style. Because the frame changes everything.



RAI receives over 1.7 billion euros per year from the mandatory licence fee. Anyone who feels treated unfairly can file a complaint. There is even a dedicated authority: AGCOM, the Autorità per le Garanzie nelle Comunicazioni.

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

This analysis lays bare the system — objectively, with precision, without polemic. Procedures, personnel, competences, costs, statistics, legal avenues. And the legal examination that demonstrates the structural shortcomings of public media oversight. The body that is supposed to 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 has yet to be built.