



RAI DETAILED ANALYSIS

2023-07-10_report_Saviano_period__editorial_ten

Broadcast: RAI-Sendung | 2023-07-10 | Analyzed on: 2026-05-24 11:58

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

**OVERALL
SCORE**

5.1/10

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 detected partisan bias.

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

The overall tendency is presented on a scale from 0 to 10 (0 = strongly 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)

4.5 / 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 government in office since October 2022 is led by Prime Minister 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 represented by the Partito Democratico (PD), followed by Movimento 5 Stelle (M5S), Alleanza Verdi Sinistra (AVS), Azione (Az), Italia Viva (IV) and +Europa.

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

The Italian political landscape is traversed by four main lines of conflict. The first concerns the relationship with the European Union, with the governing coalition pushing for a confederal and sovereignist vision against the more pro-European opposition parties. The second concerns the management of immigration, with the government pursuing policies of blockade and repatriation while the opposition calls for humanitarian corridors and integration. The third line of tension is economic, with the debate between flat tax (government) and progressive taxation (opposition). The fourth, particularly relevant to this episode, concerns the issue of corruption and public ethics, with investigations involving members of the majority.

RAI has historically been characterised by the so-called "lottizzazione", i.e. the division of channels according to party proportionality: RAI 1 traditionally close to DC/FI, RAI 2 to PSI, RAI 3 to PCI/PD. Under the Meloni government, the management of TG1 and the RAI Board of Directors are controlled by the governing coalition, while AGCOM, formally independent, is subject to politically influenced appointments. The RAI Service Contract requires pluralism, completeness and impartiality of information, with separation between news and commentary (Art. 6).



CHAPTER 1 — PARTISAN-POLITICAL TENDENCY

Assessment by party

Party	Score (-5..+5)	Representation in the episode vs. programmatic position
Fdl (Fratelli d'Italia)	-3	10:06 "Daniela Santanchè appeared in the Senate to respond to the facts reported by Report" — Programmatic position: governing party, defence of ministerial conduct — The Fdl minister is systematically contradicted with documentary evidence; no Fdl voice in her defence; the party appears as a guarantor of improper conduct
PD (Partito Dem.)	0	Not directly cited in the episode — Programmatic position: anti-corruption, legality — Absent: neither attacked nor defended
M5S (Cinque Stelle)	0	Not directly cited — Programmatic position: transparency, anti-corruption — Absent from the episode
Lega	-1	46:48 reference to MEP Ciocca (Lega) who opposes the EU proposal on bagged salad packaging — Programmatic position: sovereignty, against EU constraints — Representation consistent with the programmatic position, but presented in an ironic tone
Forza Italia	-1	43:10 "You financed Forza Italia, didn't you? For 2019, 2020, 2021" — reference to Bandecchi's financing of FI — Programmatic position: liberal, pro-market — Cited in the context of potentially problematic financing
AVS (Alleanza Verdi Sinistra)	0	Not directly cited — Programmatic position: 100% renewables, stop plastic — Absent, although the packaging topic is adjacent to its positions

Summary of partisan bias

- Most accurate representation: M5S, PD, AVS (score 0 — absent, not distorted)
- Strongest distortion: Fdl (score -3) — Minister Santanchè, a member of Fdl, is the main subject of the investigation and is systematically contradicted
- Average deviation from 0: 0.8
- Conclusion: The episode focuses on a journalistic investigation into an Fdl minister, with documentary evidence contradicting her public statements. There is no explicit ideological distortion, but the editorial choice to devote considerable space to an investigation into a member of the centre-right government produces a left-leaning effect. The other political forces are almost entirely absent.

Overall Left-Right Tendency

TENDENCY SCORE: +1.8

CLASSIFICATION: Left-leaning tendency

Rationale: The episode devotes its central section (approximately 30 minutes) to an investigation into Daniela Santanchè (Fdl), a minister in the Meloni government, presenting documentary evidence that contradicts her statements to the Senate. There is no counterbalance with similar investigations into opposition figures. The segment on Bandecchi, while not directly attributable to a governing party, concerns a figure who financed FI and who aspires



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to a national political role. The tendency is not ideologically explicit but structurally skewed towards criticism of the centre-right.



CHAPTER 2 — EPISODE INFORMATION AND THEMATIC FRAMEWORK

Episode data

- Title: Report (RAI 3) — episode not explicitly titled in the transcript
- Date (from file name): Not specified in the transcript; from context (reference to the municipal elections in Terni won by Bandecchi, Christmas 2021, the Milan Prosecutor's investigation into Santanchè) it is presumably set in summer/autumn 2023
- Duration (estimated from transcript): Approximately 115 minutes
- Presenter/Journalists: Sigfrido Ranucci (presenter), Giulia Innocenzi (blue crab segment), Mottola (journalist, Santanchè investigation), Luca Bertazzoni (Bandecchi segment), Chiara De Luca (packaging segment), Emanuele Bellano (prosecco/made in Italy segment)

Person	Role	Party/Affiliation	Political spectrum
Sigfrido Ranucci	Report presenter	RAI 3 (journalist)	Neutral/left-leaning by RAI 3 tradition
Giulia Innocenzi	Report journalist	RAI 3	Neutral
Luca Bertazzoni	Report journalist	RAI 3	Neutral
Chiara De Luca	Report journalist	RAI 3	Neutral
Emanuele Bellano	Report journalist	RAI 3	Neutral
Daniela Santanchè	Minister of Tourism	FdI (Meloni government)	Right (8.30 CHES)
Stefano Bandecchi	Mayor of Terni, entrepreneur	Alternativa Popolare	Centre-right populist
Luca Bovolenta	Clam fisherman	None	Apolitical
Federica Bottiglioni	Former Visibilia employee	None	Apolitical
Legal expert (unnamed)	Consultant to the Milan PM	None	Apolitical
Accounts expert (unnamed)	Prosecutor's expert witness	None	Apolitical
Jörg Geiger	Prisecco producer (Germany)	None	Apolitical
CONAI representative	CONAI executive	None	Apolitical
EU Commission representative	EU official	None	Institutional
Unicusano student (France)	Student	None	Apolitical
Emilia-Romagna councillor	Regional councillor	Not specified	Centre-left (PD region)



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Main topic

The episode is an investigative journalism programme structured around five distinct segments: the invasion of the blue crab in the Po delta, fact-checking of Minister Santanchè's statements to the Senate, the Bandecchi case (Unicusano and conflict of interest), the protection of the Prosecco brand in Europe and the USA, and the European debate on packaging and recycling.

Public debate context

The episode comes at a time of strong political tension in Italy, with the Meloni government under pressure due to judicial proceedings involving some of its members. The Santanchè case is at the centre of parliamentary and media debate, with the minister having made statements to the Senate contested by multiple parties. The Bandecchi case represents an example of conflict of interest in Italian local politics, a recurring theme in public debate. The segments on prosecco and packaging touch on European economic and environmental policy issues, with diverging positions between Italian industry and the EU Commission. The blue crab is a real environmental and economic emergency that struck fishing communities in the Po delta in the summer of 2023.

Completeness score: 6/10

The episode covers the main perspectives of the investigative segments, but presents significant gaps: total absence of defensive voices for Minister Santanchè, lack of independent scientific experts on the blue crab, absence of ANVUR on the Unicusano case. The packaging segment is the most balanced, with voices both for and against the EU regulation.



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: Expert witness of the Milan Prosecutor's Office (unnamed)

Timestamp: 33:40

Statement: "In the public prosecutor's consultant's report, an enormous number of irregularities were found, in the sense that they carried out accounting operations essentially aimed at covering up losses."

Context: Expert witness appointed by the Milan Prosecutor's Office in the context of the investigation for false accounting regarding Visibilia.

Missing opposing voice: A defence expert witness could have offered an alternative reading of the accounts.

In-depth source verification:

(a) FUNDING: Appointed and remunerated by the Milan Prosecutor's Office (public). Institutional interest: to support the prosecution.

(b) MANDATE: The mandate of the PM's expert witness is by definition oriented towards supporting the prosecution's case; they are not a neutral expert.

(c) CREDIBILITY MATRIX (Source traffic light, 6 dimensions, from -2 to +2):

D1 Conflict of interest: -1 — Appointed by the prosecution, structurally oriented

D2 Personal risk: +1 — Signs an official expert report, exposes their own professional reputation

D3 Technical competence: +2 — Accounting/financial expert on accounting matters

D4 Consistency of opinions: 0 — Not verifiable from transcript

D5 Emotionality vs. data: +2 — Technical language, reference to specific accounts

D6 Source level: +1 — Secondary source (expert report on primary documents)

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

(c) PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE: The source is presented as neutral ("the prosecutor's expert witness"), but their mandate is structurally accusatory. This asymmetry is not made explicit by the programme.

Expert 2: Legal/accounting expert (unnamed, interviewed by Ranucci)

Timestamp: 12:44

Statement: "By entering into a shareholders' agreement with the majority shareholder, she effectively associates her stake with whoever is in control, and therefore she too is in control of Bioera. Two of them are in control."

Context: Corporate law expert, not identified by name or institution.

In-depth source verification:

(a) FUNDING: Not declared. Impossible to verify.

(b) MANDATE: Not declared. Impossible to verify whether a party consultant or independent.

(c) CREDIBILITY MATRIX:

D1 Conflict of interest: -1 — Not declared, impossible to rule out



D2 Personal risk: 0 — Partial anonymity (unnamed)
D3 Technical competence: +2 — Appropriate technical-legal language
D4 Consistency of opinions: 0 — Not verifiable
D5 Emotionality vs. data: +1 — Predominantly technical
D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary source

TOTAL: +2 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW (-4 to +4)

(c) PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE: it is not known who selected them, whether they have a party mandate or are independent. Presented as an authoritative voice without verifiable qualification.

Expert 3: Emilia-Romagna regional councillor (unnamed)

Timestamp: 08:37

Statement: "We are working on a measure that will allow our aquaculture farmers to be able to harvest this crab."

Context: Regional councillor, local institutional voice.

In-depth source verification:

- (a) FUNDING:** Regional public institution (Emilia-Romagna, PD government).
(b) MANDATE: Political-institutional; interest in demonstrating the administration's responsiveness.
(c) CREDIBILITY MATRIX:

D1 Conflict of interest: -1 — Political interest in appearing active
D2 Personal risk: 0 — Standard institutional statement
D3 Technical competence: +1 — Administrative competence, not scientific
D4 Consistency of opinions: 0 — Not verifiable
D5 Emotionality vs. data: +1 — Predominantly factual
D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary source

TOTAL: +1 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW

Missing expert groups:

- Marine biologist/ecologist specialising in invasive species
- Santanchè's defence lawyer
- ANVUR representative for university quality

Summary (matrix result per expert):

- Milan PM expert witness: GREEN (+5) — but structurally accusatory mandate not made explicit
- Anonymous legal expert: YELLOW (+2) — identity and mandate not declared
- Regional councillor: YELLOW (+1) — institutional voice with political interest



2. SOURCE SELECTION

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Statements without primary source = penalty points (voice check)

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

Source 1: Company accounts of Bioera, Key Group, Visibilia

Timestamp: 12:08 — Statement: "As shown by the 2013 balance sheet, Daniela Santanchè owned 14.9% of Bioera."

(a) Funding and management: Public documents filed with the Companies Register. Primary source.

(b) Structural conflict of interest: None — the accounts are official documents.

(c) Missing opposing source: A defence expert report could have contested the interpretation of the accounts.

In-depth source verification:

- D1 Conflict of interest: +2 — Official public document
- D2 Personal risk: +2 — Legally binding document
- D3 Technical competence: +2 — Primary accounting source
- D4 Consistency: +2 — Immutable historical document
- D5 Emotionality vs. data: +2 — Purely factual
- D6 Source level: +2 — Primary

TOTAL: +12 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: GREEN

Source 2: Testimonies from former Key Group employees (Turin and Milan)

Timestamp: 15:16 — Statement: "She repeatedly gave orders or tasks to each of us."

(a) Funding: None — spontaneous witnesses.

(b) Conflict of interest: Potential — former employees dismissed without severance pay, interest in obtaining compensation and visibility.

(c) Missing opposing source: Testimonies from satisfied employees or managers confirming Santanchè's version.

In-depth source verification:

- D1 Conflict of interest: -1 — Personal interest in compensation
- D2 Personal risk: +2 — Expose their own face and name, risk of legal retaliation
- D3 Technical competence: +1 — Direct testimony on facts in which they were involved
- D4 Consistency: +1 — Consistent with documentary evidence shown
- D5 Emotionality vs. data: 0 — Mix of emotion and concrete facts
- D6 Source level: +1 — Direct testimony (primary for the events experienced)

TOTAL: +4 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW

Source 3: Screenshots, chats, documentary photographs

Timestamp: 15:54 — Statement: "This is a screenshot dating from September 2020. It shows that Daniela Santanchè chaired online meetings due to Covid with the main agents of her sales network."

(a) Funding: None — private documents provided by sources.

(b) Conflict of interest: Depends on the origin; the specific provenance is not declared.

(c) Missing opposing source: Santanchè was not given the opportunity to comment on the individual documents.

In-depth source verification:

- D1 Conflict of interest: 0 — Digital document, but provenance not declared
- D2 Personal risk: +1 — Whoever provided the documents is exposed
- D3 Technical competence: +2 — Direct visual document
- D4 Consistency: +2 — Consistent with other elements
- D5 Emotionality vs. data: +2 — Purely factual
- D6 Source level: +2 — Primary



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TOTAL: +9 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: GREEN

Voice check (penalty points): No statements without a primary source detected in the Santanchè segment. In the Bandecchi segment, some statements about the sale of Ternana to Farmaguida are presented as "emerged in recent days" without an explicit source.

Unverified statement 1:

Timestamp: 57:22

Statement: "just in recent days he announced the sale of Ternana to Farmaguida, which belongs to entrepreneur Nicola Guida"

Linguistic marker: "in recent days" — source not cited

Primary source present: no — penalty point

Summary: The documentary sources (accounts, screenshots, chats) are solid and primary. The testimonies of the former employees are credible but with a potential conflict of interest not made explicit. One unverified statement detected in the Bandecchi segment.



3. TIME DISTRIBUTION

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Definition: Distribution of speaking time among the different positions.

Estimated speaking time:

- Report journalists (Ranucci, Innocenzi, Bertazzoni, De Luca, Bellano): approx. 45 min. (39%)
- Santanchè (Senate statements, clips): approx. 8 min. (7%)
- Critical voices towards Santanchè (former employees, experts, expert witness): approx. 15 min. (13%)
- Bandecchi (direct interviews and audio): approx. 12 min. (10%)
- Critical voices towards Bandecchi (councillors, former employees, students): approx. 10 min. (9%)
- Blue crab segment (fishermen, councillor): approx. 10 min. (9%)
- Prosecco/made in Italy segment: approx. 12 min. (10%)
- Packaging segment: approx. 14 min. (12%)
- Final updates: approx. 3 min. (3%)

Summary: In the Santanchè segment, the critical voices (15 min.) clearly exceed the time given to the minister herself (8 min. of Senate clips). There is no defensive voice from FdI or the government. In the Bandecchi segment, the subject has more direct space (12 min.) but is systematically contradicted. The prosecco and packaging segments are more balanced.



4. SELECTIVE OMISSION

6/10

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Definition: What is not shown despite being relevant?

Omission 1:

Context: No defensive voice from FdI or the government on the Santanchè affair.

Relevant at: 10:06 — start of the Santanchè fact-checking segment

Effect: The viewer receives only the accusatory version; the position of the governing party and the senators who invoked the presumption of innocence is dismissed in one sentence (39:58: "the fellow senators appealed to the presumption of innocence. The presumption of innocence has nothing to do with this") without giving space to those who support that position.

Omission 2:

Context: Absence of any assessment from ANVUR or the Ministry of Universities on the quality of Unicusano.

Relevant at: 41:00 — start of the Bandecchi/Unicusano segment

Effect: The investigation into the university is based exclusively on testimonies from former employees and one student, without the counterbalance of an independent regulatory authority. This leaves open the question of whether the problems are systemic or episodic.

Omission 3:

Context: In the blue crab segment, the role of climate change as a structural cause is not mentioned (only briefly touched upon by the councillor at 09:04), nor are long-term solutions already adopted in other countries cited.

Relevant at: 00:00 — start of episode

Effect: The problem is presented as an immediate emergency without a systemic perspective, which reduces the viewer's understanding of the phenomenon.

Summary: The most significant omissions concern the lack of defensive voices in the Santanchè segment and the absence of regulatory authorities in the Unicusano segment. These gaps produce an incomplete information picture that favours the accusatory thesis.

Missing voices

- FdI or Meloni government spokesperson: Could have provided the party's official position on the Santanchè affair and on the presumption of innocence invoked by the majority senators
- Marine biologist or ecologist: Could have scientifically contextualised the blue crab invasion, the climatic causes and possible long-term solutions
- ANVUR representative: Could have provided an institutional and independent assessment of the teaching quality at Unicusano
- Santanchè's defence lawyer: Could have illustrated the minister's legal defence strategy in a more articulated manner than her Senate statements
- Minority shareholder of Visibilia: Could have directly testified to the damage suffered from the collapse of the share price
- University law expert: Could have assessed the legitimacy of Unicusano's corporate structures and their relationship with the university's mission
- Ministry of Universities representative: Could have explained why authorisations for distance-learning universities were granted and what controls exist



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- Independent commercial law expert: Could have neutrally assessed the complexity of the corporate structures of Bioera/Key Group/Visibilia



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: 34:19

Data: "Between 2014 and 2020, the companies of the Visibilia group accumulated losses of over 20 million euros."

Dimensions: (a) absolute value ✓ — (b) share/percentage X — (c) trend over time X

Missing context: The total turnover of the group over the same period is not indicated, nor is there a comparison with similar sectors (structurally declining publishing). 20 million in losses over 6 years in a structurally declining publishing group has a very different meaning when set against turnover.

Effect: The absolute figure appears catastrophic without the relative context.

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 35:19

Data: "since January 2023 the Visibilia share has grown by 500%"

Dimensions: (a) absolute value X — (b) share ✓ (500%) — (c) trend ✓ (from 2023)

Missing context: The data is correctly contextualised by the expert (35:28: "the share has come down from 40 euros and reached 0.20. So now going from 0.20 to 0.60 it is ridiculous to say it has had a recovery of 200%"), but Santanchè's statement is first presented without this context, creating a moment of potential confusion.

Effect: The viewer might initially believe Santanchè's version before the rebuttal.

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 01:38:25

Data: "those made of cellulose, with 32.7 million tonnes, were the main packaging waste produced in Europe from 2009 to 2020"

Dimensions: (a) absolute value ✓ — (b) share X — (c) trend ✓ (2009-2020)

Missing context: The percentage share relative to total European packaging waste is not indicated, nor is there a comparison with other materials (plastic, glass, metal).

Effect: The figure appears alarming without the comparative context.

Summary: Data manipulation is not systematic but manifests in three cases where relevant dimensions for correct interpretation are missing. The most significant case is that of Visibilia's losses, presented without the context of turnover and sector.



6. GUILT BY ASSOCIATION

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Definition: Discrediting by association with negative groups or ideas.

Association 1:

Timestamp: 36:09

Quote: "Daniela Santanchè transferred her shares in Visibilia Editore S.P.A. to Luca Reale Ruffino, a former PDL member in Lombardy and defendant, later acquitted, for illegal financing of the brother of Ignazio Larussa, Romano."

Technique: Association of Santanchè with a subject who was "a defendant" (later acquitted) and with the brother of Ignazio La Russa (President of the Senate). The acquittal is mentioned but in a subordinate position.

Effect: Suggests a network of opaque relationships between Santanchè, La Russa and subjects with judicial records, even though the acquittal is made explicit.

Association 2:

Timestamp: 41:21

Quote: "Now they will say that Bandecchi, like Mussolini, does these things." (Bandecchi's own voice, picked up by the programme)

Technique: The programme includes Bandecchi's quote evoking Mussolini in a self-ironic manner, but the choice to include it in the edit creates an implicit association.

Effect: The Bandecchi-Mussolini juxtaposition, even though uttered by Bandecchi himself in an ironic tone, remains in the viewer's imagination.

Association 3:

Timestamp: 56:37

Quote: "It is a gesture that reminds us of that of the former Lega mayor Gentilini in 1997, known as the sheriff."

Technique: The removal of benches by Bandecchi is explicitly associated with a Lega mayor from the 1990s known for security-oriented policies against the homeless.

Effect: Bandecchi is placed within a right-wing populist political tradition without him having expressed such an affiliation.

Summary (classification by subject):

- Santanchè: Category B (borderline case) — the associations are partially documented but some (Reale Ruffino) exploit proximity to acquitted subjects
- Bandecchi: Category B — the associations with Mussolini and Gentilini are suggestive but not demonstrated as ideological affiliation



7. TIMING

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

Finding 1:

Position: 00:00 (beginning)

Content: The blue crab segment opens the episode with powerful images of economic and environmental devastation.

Timing effect: The emotional opening with fishermen in difficulty creates a frame of "emergency" and "victims" that predisposes the viewer to an emotional reception of the subsequent segments, including the one on Santanchè.

Finding 2:

Position: 10:02 (start of the central segment)

Content: "And now we move on to a fact-check that we had promised. Santanchè's statements after our investigation in the Senate. And the one to contradict Santanchè is Santanchè herself."

Timing effect: The title of the segment ("the one to contradict Santanchè is Santanchè herself") anticipates the conclusion before the evidence is presented, eliminating any suspense and directing the viewer towards a single reading.

Finding 3:

Position: 19:04 (middle of the Santanchè segment)

Content: Video of Santanchè celebrating Christmas with an animated village and a luxurious centrepiece, immediately followed by the testimonies of the workers dismissed without severance pay.

Timing effect: The visual and emotional contrast between the minister's celebration and the despair of the workers is deliberately constructed to maximise the negative emotional impact on Santanchè.

Summary: Timing is used strategically at three key moments: emotional opening, anticipation of the conclusion in the segment title, and deliberate visual contrast. These choices are not neutral.



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/positions have not produced a similar reaction.

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 39:58

Triggering event: The majority senators invoke the presumption of innocence following Santanchè's statements to the Senate.

Reaction: "The presumption of innocence has nothing to do with this, it is a matter of propriety."

Comparison: There is no analogous case in the episode where the presumption of innocence invoked by opposition senators is treated with the same dismissiveness.

Asymmetry: The principle of the presumption of innocence is dismissed as irrelevant when invoked by the majority, without the programme ever having tested the same principle in opposite contexts.

Degree of outrage: 3/5

Selectivity: 3/5

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 19:32

Triggering event: Santanchè celebrates Christmas with a social media video while workers are being dismissed.

Reaction: "While the senator was celebrating with an animated Christmas village as a centrepiece, most of the Key Group employees had recently been dismissed, shown the door without even their severance pay."

Comparison: In the Bandecchi segment, analogous behaviour (high remuneration while the company loses money) is not accompanied by an equivalent emotional commentary.

Asymmetry: Partial — Bandecchi is treated with irony, Santanchè with explicit moral outrage.

Degree of outrage: 4/5

Selectivity: 2/5

Summary: Outrage is present and in some cases selective, particularly in the treatment of the presumption of innocence invoked by the majority and in the emotional contrast constructed around the figure of Santanchè. The degree of outrage towards Bandecchi is comparable but expressed in a more ironic than moral tone.



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: 39:58

Missing perspective/fact: The position of the presumption of innocence as a constitutional principle.

Relevance: The principle of the presumption of innocence (presumption of innocence until final conviction) is a fundamental constitutional principle. Dismissing it as "having nothing to do with this" without a legal in-depth analysis is an oversimplification.

Impact: The viewer might conclude that the presumption of innocence is a political excuse rather than a legitimate legal principle.

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 41:00

Missing perspective/fact: Assessment by ANVUR or the MUR on the quality of Unicusano.

Relevance: An investigation into a university should include the assessment of the accreditation authority. The absence of this voice leaves the field only to negative testimonies.

Impact: The picture of Unicusano is unilaterally negative without the institutional counterbalance.

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 00:00

Missing perspective/fact: Structural solutions to the blue crab problem already adopted in other countries or proposed by the scientific community.

Relevance: The segment focuses on the emergency without offering a long-term solution perspective.

Impact: The viewer is left with a sense of helplessness without tools to assess possible political responses.

Summary: The most significant omissions concern the principle of the presumption of innocence (dismissed without in-depth analysis), the absence of regulatory authorities in the Unicusano segment, and the lack of solution perspectives in the blue crab segment.

End of Hardfacts — Start of Softfacts

Share of perspectives covered

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

- [A] Defence of Minister Santanchè by Fdl or the government
- [B] Position of the judiciary (Milan Prosecutor's Office) on the false accounting investigation
- [C] Perspective of dismissed Key Group workers (unpaid severance pay)
- [D] Perspective of minority Visibilia shareholders who suffered losses
- [E] Position of Italian industry on packaging (Confindustria, CONAI)
- [F] Scientific perspective on the environmental impact of the blue crab
- [G] Position of the Prosecco DOC Consortium on brand protection
- [H] Perspective of Unicusano students on the quality of teaching



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[I] Position of university regulatory authorities (ANVUR, MUR) on Unicusano

[J] Perspective of German "Secco" producers on the legitimacy of the brand

[A] ABSENT

No representative of Fdi or the government was given space to defend Minister Santanchè. The minister herself refused to answer the journalist's questions (21:09). Assessment: significant gap for informational balance.

[B] COVERED

Timestamp: 33:14 — Quote: "from the Milan prosecutor's office it is learned that together with her, her partner Dimitri Kunz [...] are also under investigation. All registered in the register of suspects for false accounting." — Assessment: the position of the judiciary is reported, but through the voice of the prosecutor's expert witness, not directly.

[C] COVERED

Timestamp: 19:52 — Quote: "I need to receive my severance pay, which amounts to approximately 40,000 euros." — Assessment: the dismissed workers have ample space, with direct and documentary testimonies.

[D] ANECDOTALLY MENTIONED

Timestamp: 35:08 — Quote: "before the operation with the Arab fund was launched, the share value was around 90 euros per share." — Assessment: the damage to shareholders is mentioned but not explored in depth with direct testimonies.

[E] COVERED

Timestamp: 01:45:16 — Quote: "The system proposed by the European Commission as written would in the short term cause costs to rise from 1.2 billion to at least 4 billion." — Assessment: the industry's position is present, although with less space than the pro-regulation perspective.

[F] ANECDOTALLY MENTIONED

Timestamp: 01:40:09 — Quote: "It is an alien species that comes from the coasts of North America and was probably imported to the Po delta by merchant ships." — Assessment: the scientific explanation is present but superficial; a biologist or ecologist is missing.

[G] COVERED

Timestamp: 01:21:31 — Quote: "The Consortium for the protection of Prosecco DOC turned to this office." — Assessment: the Consortium's position is present, although mediated by the journalist.

[H] COVERED

Timestamp: 01:13:01 — Quote: "I do not think that the service offered by Unicusano, also in relation to the price at which it is offered, is reasonable given the teaching quality." — Assessment: one student is interviewed, but the sample is limited to a single case.

[I] ABSENT

No voice from ANVUR (National Agency for the Evaluation of the University System) or the Ministry of Universities on the quality of Unicusano. Assessment: relevant gap for an investigation into a university.

[J] COVERED

Timestamp: 01:20:28 — Quote: "Prosecco in Germany is a medium-quality name. Our product is at a higher price point, so we have no advantage in associating prosecco with our prisecco." — Assessment: Jörg Geiger has space to express his position.

1. CONAI (Consorzio Nazionale Imballaggi)

1. FUNDING: Private non-profit consortium, financed through the environmental contribution paid by packaging producers. Structurally dependent on the packaging industry.
2. MANDATE: Management of packaging recovery and recycling. The mandate is compatible with a neutral assessment of recycling, but not with a neutral assessment of reuse (which would reduce its role and revenues).
3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST: Structural — CONAI has an institutional interest in defending recycling over reuse, because reuse reduces the flow of packaging that generates the environmental contribution on which it depends.
4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX:
 - D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — Direct interest in maintaining the recycling system
 - D2 Personal risk: 0 — Standard institutional statements
 - D3 Technical competence: +2 — Sector expert
 - D4 Consistency: +1 — Position consistent with the mandate
 - D5 Emotionality vs. data: +1 — Predominantly technical



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- D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary source

TOTAL: +2 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW

5. OPPOSING VOICE: The European Commission and Greenpeace offer an alternative perspective, present in the episode.

2. Greenpeace Italia

1. FUNDING: International NGO, financed by private donations. Independent from industry.

2. MANDATE: Environmental advocacy. The mandate is structurally oriented towards pro-regulation and anti-industry positions.

3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST: Structural — Greenpeace has an institutional interest in supporting stricter regulations, regardless of the specific scientific evidence.

4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX:

- D1 Conflict of interest: -1 — Institutional pro-regulation interest

- D2 Personal risk: +1 — Organisation that exposes itself publicly

- D3 Technical competence: +1 — Environmental competence, not economic

- D4 Consistency: +2 — Position consistent with the historical mandate

- D5 Emotionality vs. data: 0 — Mix of data and advocacy

- D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary source

TOTAL: +3 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW

5. OPPOSING VOICE: Confindustria and CONAI offer the industrial perspective, present in the episode.

3. European Commission (official interviewed)

1. FUNDING: European public institution.

2. MANDATE: Proposal for a regulation on packaging. The mandate is institutional and oriented towards waste reduction.

3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST: Institutional — the Commission has an interest in defending its own regulatory proposal.

4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX:

- D1 Conflict of interest: -1 — Defends its own proposal

- D2 Personal risk: 0 — Institutional statement

- D3 Technical competence: +2 — Regulatory sector expert

- D4 Consistency: +1 — Consistent with the institutional position

- D5 Emotionality vs. data: +2 — Predominantly technical

- D6 Source level: +1 — Primary source for the proposal

TOTAL: +5 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: GREEN (with reservation for institutional conflict)

5. OPPOSING VOICE: Italian industry present in the episode.

IMPORTANT: "Recognised" is not an objective qualification. It is a social attribution that must itself be verified. None of the sources cited in the episode is presented with a critical qualification of its own mandate and conflicts of interest, which reduces the viewer's ability to independently assess the reliability of the information received.



Softfacts — 6 qualitative techniques

10. FRAMING

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Definition: How is the topic fundamentally framed?

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 10:13

Quote: "And the one to contradict Santanchè is Santanchè herself."

Manipulation: The title of the segment anticipates the conclusion and sets the frame as "unmasking" rather than "verification". The viewer is invited to watch the segment as a confirmation of an already established thesis.

Why problematic: Eliminates the possibility of an open reading of the facts; the frame is that of a concluded trial, not an ongoing investigation.

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 40:24

Quote: "In the cradle of democracy, a journalistic investigation, Watergate, led to the resignation of the President of the United States."

Manipulation: The comparison with Watergate implicitly elevates the investigation into Santanchè to a historical-symbolic level, suggesting that the minister should resign like Nixon.

Why problematic: The comparison is disproportionate and transforms an investigation into corporate irregularities into an event of historical significance, influencing the viewer's perception of the gravity of the situation.

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 01:07:39

Quote: "television and radio are my two strengths, like a gun. I don't have to use it by force, but you should know that I have it."

Manipulation: Bandecchi's quote is used to frame his media as tools of intimidation, but the same logic could apply to any publisher who uses their own media to defend themselves. The frame does not consider this symmetry.

Why problematic: The "media as a gun" frame is applied only to Bandecchi, not to Report itself, which uses its own media to put pressure on investigated subjects.

Summary: The most problematic framing is that of the Santanchè segment, where the conclusion is anticipated in the title and the comparison with Watergate artificially raises the stakes. The framing of the Bandecchi segment is more balanced but presents an unacknowledged symmetry.



11. WORD AND TERM CHOICE

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

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 06:18

Quote: "which for the fishermen is a real nightmare"

Manipulation: "Nightmare" is an emotional term that goes beyond the factual description of the economic problem.

Why problematic: A neutral alternative would be: "which represents a serious economic threat to the fishermen". The term "nightmare" activates an emotional response that can distort the rational assessment of the problem.

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 37:22

Quote: "It is a bit of a sailor's promise that sets off, goes, moves, who knows where it docks."

Manipulation: The metaphor "sailor's promise" is a value judgement disguised as journalistic commentary. It is attributed to the expert (Bellavia), but the presenter picks it up and amplifies it.

Why problematic: A neutral alternative would be: "The promise specifies neither amount nor deadline, as the prosecutor's expert witness noted." Figurative language replaces factual analysis.

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 40:09

Quote: "After what we have seen again tonight, is Minister Santanchè still worthy of holding that office"

Manipulation: "Worthy" is a moral term that transforms a legal matter (ongoing investigations, presumption of innocence) into an ethical judgement. The presenter positions himself as the arbiter of ministerial worthiness.

Why problematic: A neutral alternative would be: "In light of what has emerged, the political question arises of the compatibility between the ongoing investigations and the ministerial role." The term "worthy" is a judgement that belongs to the electorate and the institutions, not to the journalist.

Summary: The choice of words is systematically oriented towards a negative connotation of the investigated subjects, with emotional terms ("nightmare"), devaluing metaphors ("sailor's promise") and moral judgements ("worthy") that go beyond the role of investigative journalism.



12. PRESENTER BEHAVIOUR

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Definition: Asymmetries in questions, interruptions, expressions of sympathy.

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

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 40:09

Triggering event: Conclusion of the Santanchè segment after the presentation of documentary evidence.

Quote (presenter): "After what we have seen again tonight, is Minister Santanchè still worthy of holding that office"

Comparison: In the Bandecchi segment, the presenter does not pose an analogous question about Bandecchi's "worthiness" to hold the role of mayor, despite the evidence of conflict of interest being equally documented.

Asymmetry: Partial — Bandecchi is treated with irony but not with the same explicit moral question.

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 22:59

Triggering event: The workers thank Report for giving visibility to their cause.

Quote (presenter): "It is we who thank you for showing your face, for speaking out in a context where citizens are increasingly afraid to denounce those who violate their rights."

Comparison: The presenter accepts the thanks and positions himself as a defender of workers' rights, a role that goes beyond that of a neutral journalist.

Asymmetry: There is no equivalent moment in which the presenter positions himself as a defender of subjects who may have been treated unjustly by the programme.

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 01:08:11

Triggering event: Bandecchi accuses Report of using the camera as a "machine gun".

Quote (presenter): "But I am not using it as a machine gun, that is evident, isn't it?"

Comparison: The presenter defends his own programme without acknowledging that Bandecchi's question about the symmetry of methods (hidden cameras vs. journalists outside his home) has partial legitimacy.

Asymmetry: The presenter does not apply to himself the same critical standard he applies to the investigated subjects.

Summary: The presenter's behaviour presents three significant asymmetries: the explicit moral judgement on Santanchè not replicated for Bandecchi, the self-positioning as a defender of workers, and the failure to critically reflect on his own methods when prompted by Bandecchi.



13. QUESTION ASYMMETRY

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Definition: Harder or softer questions to different people.

Asymmetry 1:

To Santanchè (via Senate clips), 10:32: The minister's statements are systematically contradicted without her being given the opportunity to respond to the specific challenges — hard/one-sided

To Emilia-Romagna regional councillor, 08:37: "We are working on a measure..." — no critical question on effectiveness or timescales — soft

Comparison: The regional councillor (PD government) is not subjected to any critical question, while the national minister (Fdl) is systematically contradicted. The asymmetry is structural.

Asymmetry 2:

To Bandecchi, 01:00:29: "How come you went, can I ask you, to the home of a colleague like yourself?" — critical and direct question

To Jörg Geiger (Prisecco producer), 01:20:28: "But is it a name quite similar to prosecco?" — neutral, almost friendly question

Comparison: Italian investigated subjects receive hard questions; foreign subjects (Geiger) receive neutral or curious questions.

Summary: The question asymmetry is structural: Italian subjects linked to the centre-right (Santanchè, Bandecchi) receive hard questions and systematic challenges, while centre-left regional institutions and foreign subjects receive neutral or soft questions.



14. FALSE BALANCE

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Definition: Artificial balance despite a real imbalance.

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 01:45:16 — Construct: The packaging segment presents both the pro-EU regulation position (Commission, Greenpeace, start-ups) and the opposing one (Confindustria, CONAI, Confcommercio).

Analysis: In this case the balancing is real and appropriate. This is not false balance but genuine balance. The segment is the most balanced in the episode.

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 10:06 — Construct: The Santanchè segment presents the minister's Senate statements and then systematically contradicts them.

Analysis: This is not false balance but an absence of balance: the minister is not given space to respond to the specific challenges. Journalist Mottola attempts to interview her (21:09) but is ignored. The structure is not "two sides equally represented" but "a thesis and its rebuttal".

Summary: False balance is not the main problem of this episode. The problem is rather the absence of balance in the Santanchè segment, where the structure is accusatory without a right of reply. The packaging segment is the only genuinely balanced one.



15. AGENDA-SETTING

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

Finding 1:

Agenda item set: Minister Santanchè lied to the Senate — taken for granted from the title of the segment.

Timestamp: 10:13 — Evidence: "And the one to contradict Santanchè is Santanchè herself."

Alternative agenda: The question of the complexity of corporate structures and the distinction between civil and criminal liability does not enter the agenda; the frame is that of deliberate lying, not of a possible different interpretation of the facts.

Finding 2:

Agenda item set: Bandecchi's conflict of interest is unresolved despite the formal resignation.

Timestamp: 52:32 — Evidence: "The conflict of interest has not been resolved. Why? Because Ternana Calcio is controlled by Unicusano."

Alternative agenda: The question of the legitimacy of formal resignation as a tool for resolving the conflict of interest is not explored legally; it is taken for granted that the resignation is insufficient without an independent legal assessment.

Finding 3:

Agenda item set: Recycling alone is not enough; reuse is needed.

Timestamp: 01:43:46 — Evidence: "Recycling alone cannot curb the increase in consumption of virgin raw materials."

Alternative agenda: The position of Italian industry (that the Italian recycling system is already virtuous and that reuse imposes disproportionate costs) is not treated as equally legitimate but as resistance to change.

Summary: The most significant agenda-setting concerns the Santanchè segment, where the conclusion (she lied) is set as a starting point rather than as a hypothesis to be verified. This transforms fact-checking into a confirmation of a pre-established thesis.



CHAPTER 4 — OVERALL ASSESSMENT

Overview of individual scores

No.	Criterion	Type	Score	Main finding (1 sentence)
1	Expert selection	H	6	Experts unidentified or structurally accusatory without defensive counterbalance
2	Source selection	H	5	Solid documentary sources but testimonies with unexplicated conflict of interest
3	Time distribution	H	5	Critical voices towards Santanchè clearly exceed the time given to the minister
4	Omissions	H	6	Total absence of Fdl defensive voices and regulatory authorities for Unicusano
5	Data manipulation	H	4	Three cases of data presented without relevant dimensions for correct interpretation
6	Guilt by association	H	5	Santanchè associated with acquitted subjects; Bandecchi juxtaposed with Mussolini and Gentilini
7	Timing	H	4	Emotional opening, anticipation of conclusion in the title, deliberate visual contrast
8	Selective outrage	H	5	The presumption of innocence invoked by the majority is dismissed without legal in-depth analysis
9	Completeness	H	6	The principle of the presumption of innocence and regulatory authorities are systematically absent
10	Framing	S	6	The comparison with Watergate artificially raises the stakes of the Santanchè segment
11	Word choice	S	5	Emotional terms ("nightmare"), devaluing metaphors ("sailor's promise"), moral judgements ("worthy")
12	Presenter behaviour	S	5	Self-positioning as defender of workers; explicit moral judgement on Santanchè
13	Question asymmetry	S	5	Hard questions to centre-right subjects, neutral ones to the PD councillor and foreign subjects
14	False balance	S	3	Not the main problem; the packaging segment is genuinely balanced
15	Agenda-Setting	S	6	The conclusion of the Santanchè segment is set as a starting point, not as a hypothesis

Results

- HARDFACTS SCORE (average criteria 1-9): 5.1 / 10
- SOFTFACTS SCORE (average criteria 10-15): 5.0 / 10



- OVERALL SCORE (average all 15 criteria): 5.1 / 10

Dominant techniques

The 3 strongest techniques in this episode:

- 1. Framing (Score 6):** The Santanchè segment is constructed as an "unmasking" with the conclusion anticipated in the title ("the one to contradict Santanchè is Santanchè herself") and amplified by the comparison with Watergate. This transforms journalistic fact-checking into a media trial with a pre-established verdict, violating the principle of separation between news and commentary.
- 2. Omissions (Score 6):** The total absence of Fdl defensive voices in the Santanchè segment and the absence of regulatory authorities (ANVUR) in the Unicusano segment produce a structurally incomplete information picture. The principle of the presumption of innocence is dismissed in one sentence without legal in-depth analysis, depriving the viewer of tools for an autonomous assessment.
- 3. Agenda-Setting (Score 6):** The conclusion of the Santanchè segment is set as a starting point rather than as a hypothesis to be verified. This mechanism, combined with the choice of words ("worthy of holding that office") and the presenter's behaviour, transforms the programme from an information tool into a tool of political pressure.

Key messages of the episode

****MESSAGE 1 (CONTENT):** ** "Minister Santanchè lied to the Senate and the documentary evidence proves it unequivocally."

Technique: Framing + anticipation of conclusion in the title + source selection — Evidence: 10:13, 17:35, 24:43

****MESSAGE 2 (PERSONAL):** ** "Bandecchi is an entrepreneur-politician who uses the media as tools of intimidation and whose conflict of interest is unresolved."

Technique: Guilt by association (Mussolini, Gentilini) + timing (internal audio) — Evidence: 41:21, 56:37, 01:07:39

****MESSAGE 3 (SOCIAL):** ** "Investigative journalism is the only tool of defence for citizens against power that lies."

Technique: Presenter self-positioning + comparison with Watergate + workers' thanks — Evidence: 22:59, 40:24, 40:48

Classification of the degree of manipulation

Rationale: The episode presents an overall score of 5.1/10, which places it in the "clear one-sidedness" category. The Santanchè segment is structurally accusatory without a right of reply, with anticipation of the conclusion, absence of defensive voices and explicit moral judgements by the presenter. These elements violate the principle of separation between news and commentary provided for in the RAI Service Contract Art. 6. The prosecco and packaging segments are more balanced and lower the overall score. The programme is not ideologically explicit but produces a systematically unfavourable effect towards the centre-right government through the choice of topics, the structure of the segments and the presenter's behaviour.

CONCLUSION

The analysed episode of Report presents investigative journalism with solid documentary foundations — the company accounts, screenshots and testimonies of former employees are verifiable primary sources — but structured in a way that produces an accusatory effect without a right of reply. The total absence of defensive voices in the Santanchè segment, the dismissal of the principle of the presumption of innocence in one sentence, the comparison with Watergate and the presenter's explicit moral judgement ("worthy of holding that office") violate the principle of separation between news and commentary provided for in the RAI Service Contract Art. 6. The overall score of 5.1/10 indicates a clear one-sidedness that, while not reaching the levels of systematic manipulation, constitutes a violation of the informational pluralism required of the public service. The segments on prosecco, packaging and the blue crab are more balanced and demonstrate that the editorial team is capable of plural journalism; the choice not to apply the same standards to the politically most sensitive segment (Santanchè) therefore appears to be a conscious editorial choice, not a structural limitation.



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	5/10	Significant imbalance
3	TIME DISTRIBUTION	5/10	Significant imbalance
4	SELECTIVE OMISSION	6/10	Significant imbalance
5	DATA MANIPULATION	4/10	Slight imbalance
6	GUILT BY ASSOCIATION	5/10	Significant imbalance
7	TIMING	4/10	Slight imbalance
8	SELECTIVE OUTRAGE	5/10	Significant imbalance
9	SELECTIVE OMISSION — GENERAL FRAMEWORK	6/10	Significant imbalance
10	FRAMING	6/10	Significant imbalance
11	WORD AND TERM CHOICE	5/10	Significant imbalance
12	PRESENTER BEHAVIOUR	5/10	Significant imbalance
13	QUESTION ASYMMETRY	5/10	Significant imbalance
14	FALSE BALANCE	3/10	Slight imbalance
15	AGENDA-SETTING	6/10	Significant imbalance

HARDFACTS SCORE (1-8)

5.1/10

Considerable imbalance

SOFTFACTS SCORE (9-14)

5.0/10

Considerable imbalance

OVERALL SCORE

5.1/10

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 without substantial impact on balance.
3–4	Slight-to-moderate finding	Recognisable tendency; impact relevance from low to moderate.
5	Moderate finding with impact	Relevant imbalance that influences the public's opinion-forming potential.
6	Significant finding (threshold)	Scores equal to or greater than 6 are classified as "significant findings".
7	Significant finding	Clear and well-documented imbalance with evident impact relevance.
8–9	Serious finding	Pronounced imbalance; multiple individual findings documented under this criterion.
10	Maximum severity	Systematic and pervasive imbalance under this criterion.

Aggregate deviation index — Interpretation ranges

0.0 – 2.5	No anomaly	No significant pattern detected; the programme 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-programme 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.

Partisan-political bias (from -5 to +5)

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



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

Assessment under the RAI Service Contract Art. 6

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

Violation 1:

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

Facts: Presenter Ranucci poses a rhetorical question of a moral and political nature ("is Minister Santanchè still worthy of holding that office") that goes beyond the role of the public service journalist and constitutes a political commentary disguised as a journalistic question.

Evidence: Timestamp 40:09 — Quote: "After what we have seen again tonight, is Minister Santanchè still worthy of holding that office"

Assessment: The question of ministerial "worthiness" is a political judgement that belongs to the electorate, Parliament and the institutions, not to the presenter of a public service programme. It violates the principle of separation between news and commentary.

Violation 2:

Norm: Service Contract Art. 6 — Pluralism and completeness of information

Facts: The segment dedicated to fact-checking Santanchè's statements (approximately 30 minutes) does not include any defensive voice from FdI, the government or the minister's lawyer. The principle of the presumption of innocence, invoked by the majority senators, is dismissed in one sentence without legal in-depth analysis.

Evidence: Timestamp 39:58 — Quote: "The presumption of innocence has nothing to do with this, it is a matter of propriety."

Assessment: The absence of defensive voices and the dismissal of the presumption of innocence without a right of reply violate the principle of pluralism and completeness of information required of the public service.

Violation 3:

Norm: Service Contract Art. 6 — Impartiality

Facts: The comparison between the investigation into Santanchè and Watergate artificially raises the stakes and constitutes a partisan frame that is not neutral.

Evidence: Timestamp 40:24 — Quote: "In the cradle of democracy, a journalistic investigation, Watergate, led to the resignation of the President of the United States."

Assessment: The comparison with Watergate is a value judgement implying that Santanchè should resign like Nixon. This is not information but political advocacy, in violation of the principle of impartiality.

Overall assessment under the RAI Service Contract Art. 6

The analysed episode presents three identifiable violations of the RAI Service Contract Art. 6: the lack of pluralism in the Santanchè segment (absence of defensive voices), the violation of the principle of separation between news and commentary (the presenter's moral judgement on ministerial "worthiness"), and the use of a partisan frame (comparison with Watergate) that transforms information into political advocacy. These violations do not concern the quality of the documentary evidence presented — which is solid and verifiable — but the editorial structure with which it is presented, which does not meet the requirements of impartiality and completeness of the public service. The segments on prosecco, packaging and the blue crab do not present significant violations and demonstrate that the editorial team is capable of respecting the standards of the Service Contract; the choice not to apply them to the politically most sensitive segment constitutes a selective and conscious violation.



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

1. CONAI (Consorzio Nazionale Imballaggi)

- 1. FUNDING:** Private non-profit consortium, financed through the environmental contribution paid by packaging producers. Structurally dependent on the packaging industry.
- 2. MANDATE:** Management of packaging recovery and recycling. The mandate is compatible with a neutral assessment of recycling, but not with a neutral assessment of reuse (which would reduce its role and revenues).
- 3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Structural — CONAI has an institutional interest in defending recycling over reuse, because reuse reduces the flow of packaging that generates the environmental contribution on which it depends.
- 4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX:**
 - D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — Direct interest in maintaining the recycling system
 - D2 Personal risk: 0 — Standard institutional statements
 - D3 Technical competence: +2 — Sector expert
 - D4 Consistency: +1 — Position consistent with the mandate
 - D5 Emotionality vs. data: +1 — Predominantly technical
 - D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary source

TOTAL: +2 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW

- 5. OPPOSING VOICE:** The European Commission and Greenpeace offer an alternative perspective, present in the episode.

2. Greenpeace Italia

- 1. FUNDING:** International NGO, financed by private donations. Independent from industry.
- 2. MANDATE:** Environmental advocacy. The mandate is structurally oriented towards pro-regulation and anti-industry positions.
- 3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Structural — Greenpeace has an institutional interest in supporting stricter regulations, regardless of the specific scientific evidence.
- 4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX:**
 - D1 Conflict of interest: -1 — Institutional pro-regulation interest
 - D2 Personal risk: +1 — Organisation that exposes itself publicly
 - D3 Technical competence: +1 — Environmental competence, not economic
 - D4 Consistency: +2 — Position consistent with the historical mandate
 - D5 Emotionality vs. data: 0 — Mix of data and advocacy
 - D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary source

TOTAL: +3 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW

- 5. OPPOSING VOICE:** Confindustria and CONAI offer the industrial perspective, present in the episode.

3. European Commission (official interviewed)

- 1. FUNDING:** European public institution.
- 2. MANDATE:** Proposal for a regulation on packaging. The mandate is institutional and oriented towards waste reduction.
- 3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Institutional — the Commission has an interest in defending its own regulatory proposal.
- 4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX:**
 - D1 Conflict of interest: -1 — Defends its own proposal
 - D2 Personal risk: 0 — Institutional statement
 - D3 Technical competence: +2 — Regulatory sector expert
 - D4 Consistency: +1 — Consistent with the institutional position
 - D5 Emotionality vs. data: +2 — Predominantly technical
 - D6 Source level: +1 — Primary source for the proposal

TOTAL: +5 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: GREEN (with reservation for institutional conflict)

- 5. OPPOSING VOICE:** Italian industry present in the episode.



IMPORTANT: "Recognised" is not an objective qualification. It is a social attribution that must itself be verified. None of the sources cited in the episode is presented with a critical qualification of its own mandate and conflicts of interest, which reduces the viewer's ability to independently assess the reliability of the information received.

Source credibility traffic light:

Source	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	Total	Signal
CONAI (Consorzio Nazionale Imballaggi)	-2	0	+2	+1	+1	0	?	?
Greenpeace Italia	-1	+1	+1	+2	0	0	?	?
European Commission (official interviewed)	-1	0	+2	+1	+2	+1	?	?

Legal and methodological framework

Not a determination of facts	The findings presented do not constitute factual determinations about individual persons, editorial teams or programmes. 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 programme violates the 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 intentions. 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 programmes. A score of 7 means that a significant imbalance has been detected — not that the editorial team intended it. The methodology makes no statements about motivations or strategic objectives.
Heuristic comparison tool	The index serves the comparative recognition of patterns across thousands of programmes, not the precise metric measurement of individual segments. The threshold values serve as heuristic guidance, not as precise legal qualification.



APPENDIX 1: NATIONAL LEGISLATION

Legal basis Italy — RAI

Laws

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

Relevant articles

RAI Service Contract 2023-2028

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

Legislative Decree 208/2021 (TUSMA)

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

Law 28/2000 (Par Condicio)

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

RAI Code of Ethics (2017)

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

European reference framework

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

Structural context

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

Supervisory authorities

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

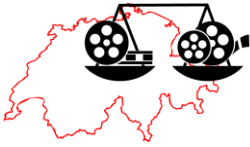
Complaints procedure

1. RAI internal complaints office
2. AGCOM



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3. Regional Administrative Court (TAR)



ANNEX 2: SCIENTIFIC REFERENCES

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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**



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

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

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

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