



RAI DETAILED ANALYSIS

2023-11-12_report_Post_ACER_energy_coverage

Broadcast: RAI Programme | 2023-11-12 | Analysed on: 2026-05-24 12:05

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

OVERALL SCORE

6.8/10

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

0 = balanced, 10 = strongly unbalanced/manipulative

POLITICAL SPECTRUM

Classification according to Chapel Hill Expert Survey (CHES) 2024

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

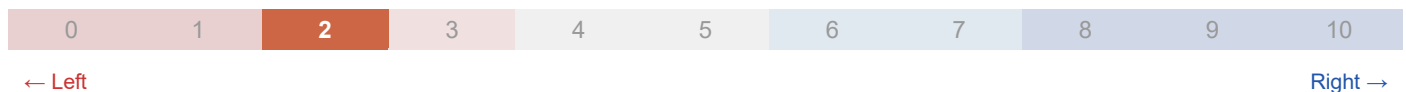
Party	AVS	PD	M5S	Azione	NM	FI	Lega	Fdi
CHES	1.85	3.38	3.46	5.08	5.80	6.46	8.00	8.54
Spectrum	Left	Left	Left	Centre	Right	Right	Right	Right

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

TENDENCY (L – R)

2.9 / 10

Favourable to the left



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

Italy has been governed since October 2022 by a centre-right coalition led by Giorgia Meloni (Fdi), composed of Fratelli d'Italia, Lega, Forza Italia and Noi Moderati. The main opposition is the Partito Democratico, flanked by M5S, AVS, Azione, Italia Viva and +Europa.

Party	CHES L-R	Seats	Government/Opposition	Key position
AVS	2,30	12	Opposition	100% renewables, ius soli, wealth tax
PD	3,40	69	Opposition (main)	Ecological transition, minimum wage, pro-EU
+Europa	3,80	2	Opposition	Pro-EU, liberal-progressive
M5S	4,20	52	Opposition	Citizens' income, anti-corruption
Azione	4,90	21	Opposition	Liberal-reformist, centre
Italia Viva	5,00	(in Az)	Opposition	Centre, liberal-centrist
Noi Moderati	5,80	7	Government	Mild-right, Christian democratic
Forza Italia	6,50	45	Government	Liberal-conservative, pro-EU Atlanticist
Lega	8,10	66	Government	Sovereignist, differentiated autonomy
Fdi	8,30	119	Government (PM)	National-conservative, European sovereignism

The main lines of political conflict in Italy concern: (1) the management of PNRR funds and the remodulation proposed by the Meloni government, contested by the opposition and municipalities; (2) the relationship between central government and local autonomies, with Lega's differentiated autonomy reform; (3) migration policy and the security decrees; (4) the energy transition and the role of nuclear power. The La Russa affair, the subject of this episode of Report, fits into the broader debate on conflicts of interest and the transparency of right-wing ruling classes.

RAI is the Italian public broadcasting service, subject to the Service Contract which imposes pluralism, completeness and impartiality of information. Historically characterised by partisan "lottizzazione" (RAI 1 = DC/FI, RAI 2 = PSI, RAI 3 = PCI/PD), under the Meloni government the TG1 editorial management and the Board of Directors have been oriented by the governing coalition. Report is an investigative journalism programme on RAI 3, traditionally associated with the centre-left area in the lottizzazione logic.



CHAPTER 1 — PARTISAN BIAS

Party	Score (-5..+5)	Representation in the broadcast vs. programmatic position
Fdl (Fratelli d'Italia)	-4	00:09:24 "The affairs of the La Russa family" — Programmatic position: national-conservative, legality, certainty of punishment — The broadcast systematically associates Fdl/La Russa with opaque call centres, 'ndrangheta, P2, neo-fascist violence: strongly negative representation, without adequate right of reply; programmatic positions of the party completely absent
PD (Partito Dem.)	0	Not directly cited in the broadcast — Programmatic position: not addressed — absent
M5S (Cinque Stelle)	0	Not directly cited — absent
Lega	0	00:11:02 cited marginally as internal opponent within the Formigoni regional government regarding the call centre in Paternò — Programmatic position: not addressed — neutral/absent
Forza Italia	+1	00:09:47 Formigoni (former FI/DC) cited as president of the Lombardy regional government that approved the call centre — partially negative representation but historically contextualised — slightly distorted by omission of context
AVS (Alleanza Verdi)	0	Not cited — absent

Summary of Partisan Bias

- Most accurate representation: Lega (Score 0) — marginal and contextualised citation
- Strongest distortion: Fdl (Score -4) — systematically negative representation, no party voice for programmatic positions, no structured right of reply
- Average deviation from 0: 0.8
- Conclusion: The broadcast focuses almost exclusively on Fdl/the La Russa family with a thesis-driven investigative narrative. The programmatic positions of the governing party are never addressed. Senate President La Russa is associated with 'ndrangheta, P2 and neo-fascist violence through a chain of indirect connections, without being offered a direct and structured right of reply within the broadcast itself.

Overall Left-Right Tendency

TENDENCY SCORE: +2.1

CLASSIFICATION: Favourable to the left

Rationale: The broadcast dedicates the entire main investigative block (approximately 40 minutes) to a negative historical-political reconstruction of the La Russa family/Fdl, without any structured right of reply from representatives of the governing party. The block on the peripheries (Scampia, Torbella Monaca, Corviale) implicitly criticises Minister Fitto's (Fdl) proposed PNRR remodulation, giving voice exclusively to residents' committees and centre-left local administrators. The total absence of government voices on both main topics constitutes a systematic tendency favourable to the opposition.



CHAPTER 2 — BROADCAST INFORMATION AND THEMATIC FRAMEWORK

Broadcast Data

- Title: Report
- Date (from file): Not specified in the transcript; internal content refers to events from 2023/2024
- Duration (estimated from transcript): approximately 130 minutes
- Presenter/Journalists: Sigfrido Ranucci (presenter), Antonella Cignarale (electronic cigarettes), Giorgio Mottola (La Russa family), Bernardo Iovane (peripheries), Giulio Valesini and Cataldo Ciccolella (nickel/electric cars)
- Persons interviewed:

Person	Role	Party/Affiliation	Political spectrum
Luciano Ruggia	Director of the Swiss Association for Tobacco Prevention	None	Neutral/technical
Romano La Russa	Regional Councillor of Lombardy	FdI/ex AN	Right
Marco Osnato	President of the Finance Committee of the Chamber	FdI	Right
Ignazio La Russa	President of the Senate	FdI	Right
Patrizio Argenterio	Entrepreneur from Brescia	None	Neutral
Monica Rizzi	Former regional councillor of Lombardy	Lega	Right
Tommaso Staiti di Cudia	Former MSI parliamentarian (deceased 2017)	MSI	Historical right
Maurizio Murelli	Former neo-fascist militant, publisher	None	Historical far right
Fabio Granata	Former PDL parliamentarian	Ex AN/PDL	Centre-right
Paolo Cirino Pomicino	Former DC minister	DC	Historical centre-right
Danilo Coppe	Explosives expert	None	Neutral/technical
Nicola Franco	President of Municipality XV Rome	Centre-right	Centre-right
ATER Rome Commissioner	Commissioner of public housing authority	None	Neutral/technical
Omero (spokesperson Comitato Vele)	Citizens' committee spokesperson	None	Neutral/civic
Assessore Lieto (Naples)	Councillor of the Municipality of Naples	Centre-left (Manfredi administration)	Centre-left

Main Topic

The broadcast addresses four distinct blocks: (1) health risks of disposable electronic cigarettes; (2) alleged conflicts of interest and opaque connections of the La Russa family with call centres, 'ndrangheta and neo-fascist history; (3)

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the state of degraded Italian peripheries and the use of PNRR funds for regeneration; (4) the environmental impact of the nickel supply chain for electric car batteries.

Public Debate Context

The block on the La Russa family fits into a heated political debate on the transparency of Italian institutional leadership, with Ignazio La Russa holding the position of second highest office of the State. The PNRR/peripheries block is directly linked to Minister Fitto's proposal to remodulate PNRR funds allocated to municipalities, contested by mayors and committees. The topic of electronic cigarettes is the subject of European and national regulatory debate. The nickel supply chain for electric cars is at the centre of the debate on the sustainability of the energy transition.



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: Luciano Ruggia — Director of the Swiss Association for Tobacco Prevention

Timestamp: 00:08:08

Statement: "In a 3,000-puff disposable cigarette he found non-negligible concentrations of lead already in the liquid. And also in the inhaled aerosol."

Framing: Expert in tobacco prevention; his association has an institutional mandate oriented towards reducing the consumption of tobacco and related products

Missing opposing voice: An independent toxicologist without a prevention mandate, or a pharmaceutical industry expert studying smoking cessation

In-depth source verification:

(a) FUNDING: The Swiss Association for Tobacco Prevention is funded primarily by Swiss public funds (Federal Office of Public Health) and private foundations. Structural interest: demonstrating the danger of alternative smoking products reinforces the mandate and relevance of the organisation.

(b) MANDATE: The prevention mandate is partially incompatible with a neutral assessment: the organisation has an institutional interest in highlighting risks rather than comparative benefits relative to traditional cigarettes.

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

D1 Conflict of interest: -1 — Prevention mandate creates structural interest in emphasising risks

D2 Personal risk: +1 — Public critical stance towards a powerful industry entails a certain reputational risk

D3 Technical expertise: +2 — Recognised expert in the field, has conducted own analyses

D4 Consistency of opinions: +1 — Position consistent with the institutional mandate

D5 Emotionality vs. data: +1 — Presents analytical data, not only emotional appeals

D6 Source level: +1 — Primary source (own analyses)

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

(c) PROFESSIONAL EXPERTISE: The broadcast presents Ruggia as a neutral expert without mentioning the prevention mandate of his organisation, omitting the potential institutional conflict of interest.

Expert 2: Tommaso Staiti di Cudia — Former MSI parliamentarian (posthumous interview from 2011)

Timestamp: 00:33:00

Statement: "They pushed hard for Ignazio La Russa, Romano La Russa, to call a major rally in Milan on 12 April."

Framing: Internal political opponent of La Russa within the MSI; his testimony is presented as "unpublished" and as evidence of the accusations

Missing opposing voice: A witness favourable to La Russa from the same MSI environment, or an academic historian who assesses the credibility of the testimony

In-depth source verification:



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(a) FUNDING: No relevant funding; posthumous testimony collected by journalists in 2011

(b) MANDATE: No institutional mandate; personal testimony of a declared political opponent

(c) CREDIBILITY MATRIX:

D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — Declared political opponent of La Russa within the MSI; documented personal conflict

D2 Personal risk: +1 — Gave the testimony in 2011, six years before his death, with no evident benefits

D3 Technical expertise: +1 — Direct witness to the narrated events

D4 Consistency of opinions: 0 — Not verifiable across multiple sources

D5 Emotionality vs. data: -1 — Narrative testimony without supporting documentation

D6 Source level: -1 — Tertiary source (posthumous oral testimony)

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

(c) PROFESSIONAL EXPERTISE: The broadcast presents Staiti di Cudia as a "relevant historical memory" without mentioning the personal conflict with La Russa, treating his testimony as objective evidence rather than as a partial source.

Expert 3: Maurizio Murelli — Former neo-fascist militant, publisher

Timestamp: 00:42:46

Statement: "In my car there were the three RSCM, my revolver and those of two others I had given a lift to."

Framing: Convicted for the death of police officer Marino; today publishes books by Alexander Dugin and neo-fascist authors

Missing opposing voice: A witness to the same events with a different reconstruction of La Russa's role

In-depth source verification:

(a) FUNDING: Independent publisher of neo-fascist literature

(b) MANDATE: No institutional mandate; personal testimony of a convicted person

(c) CREDIBILITY MATRIX:

D1 Conflict of interest: -1 — Potential interest in redistributing political responsibilities for his own conviction

D2 Personal risk: +2 — Has already served his sentence; the testimony entails no additional legal risks but reputational risks

D3 Technical expertise: +2 — Direct witness and protagonist of the events

D4 Consistency of opinions: 0 — Not verifiable across multiple independent sources

D5 Emotionality vs. data: 0 — Factual narrative but undocumented

D6 Source level: -1 — Secondary source (oral testimony)

TOTAL: +2 → SOURCE TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW

(c) PROFESSIONAL EXPERTISE: The broadcast does not mention that Murelli today publishes books by Dugin and neo-fascist authors, which could indicate an ideological continuity that makes his testimony about La Russa potentially instrumental.

Missing expert groups:

- Academic historians of Italian neo-fascism (e.g. Piero Ignazi, Marco Tarchi)
- Independent toxicologists without a prevention mandate for electronic cigarettes
- Legal experts on Raspagliesi's judicial position

Summary (matrix result per expert):

- Ruggia: GREEN (+5) — presented as neutral, undeclared institutional conflict
- Staiti di Cudia: YELLOW (-2) — declared political opponent, presented as "historical memory"
- Murelli: YELLOW (+2) — direct witness but with potential interests, presented without current ideological contextualisation



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: Istituto Superiore di Sanità (ISS)

Timestamp: 00:02:42 — Statement: "it is not possible to assert that the consumption of electronic cigarettes is 95% less harmful"

(a) Funding and management: Italian public body, funded by the Ministry of Health

(b) Structural conflict of interest: Institutional interest in regulatory caution; position consistent with the public health protection mandate

(c) Missing: a source presenting studies favourable to electronic cigarettes as a smoking cessation tool (e.g. Public Health England, which estimated a 95% reduction in harm compared to traditional cigarettes — the same study cited by importers is dismissed without analysis)

Source 2: Telephone intercepts from the Milan Prosecutor's Office

Timestamp: 00:25:17 — Statement: "On several occasions he explains that Raspagliesi is Ignazio La Russa's brother-in-law, a family relationship which according to Ruffino would have allowed for greater resources."

(a) Funding: Public judicial source

(b) Structural conflict of interest: None direct; however the intercepts report statements by Ruffino (subsequently convicted of aiding the 'ndrangheta) which have not been judicially verified with respect to La Russa

(c) Missing judicial contextualisation: Ruffino was convicted, La Russa was not investigated; the broadcast uses Ruffino's statements as if they were established facts

Rumour check (penalties):

Rumour 1:

Timestamp: 00:17:08

Claim: "And it would also serve to gather consensus for politicians close to La Russa. This at least according to testimonies we have gathered on the ground."

Verbal marker: "at least according to testimonies we have gathered on the ground"

Primary source available: no — penalty (+1)

Rumour 2:

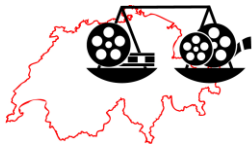
Timestamp: 00:21:26

Claim: "according to his testimony during the negotiations he would have received promises of contracts from Minister La Russa"

Verbal marker: "would have received promises"

Primary source available: no (Argenterio's testimony not judicially verified) — penalty (+1)

Summary: The broadcast mixes verified judicial sources (judgements, intercepts) with unverified testimonies and anonymous rumours, without clearly distinguishing the level of reliability of each source.



3. TIME DISTRIBUTION

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1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Definition: Distribution of speaking time among different positions.

Estimated speaking time:

- Report journalists (narration, questions): approx. 35 min. (27%)
- Witnesses critical of La Russa/Fdl (Staiti, Murelli, Argenterio, Rizzi, Granata, Pomicino): approx. 25 min. (19%)
- Periphery residents and committees: approx. 20 min. (15%)
- Technical experts (Ruggia, Coppe, ATER commissioner, architects): approx. 15 min. (12%)
- Accused/questioned persons (La Russa, Romano La Russa, Osnato): approx. 8 min. (6%) — almost exclusively refusals to answer
- Local administrators (councillor Lieto, municipal president Franco): approx. 10 min. (8%)
- Students/young people on electronic cigarettes: approx. 5 min. (4%)
- Industry (vaping fair, importers): approx. 5 min. (4%)
- Other: approx. 7 min. (5%)

Summary: Speaking time is strongly unbalanced in favour of voices critical of La Russa/Fdl. The accused persons have less than 6% of the total time, almost entirely composed of refusals to answer which are presented as implicit confirmation of the accusations.



4. SELECTIVE OMISSION

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Definition: What is not shown despite being relevant?

Omission 1:

Context: The Public Health England study (2015) estimating a 95% reduction in harm from electronic cigarettes compared to traditional ones is cited by importers but dismissed with "we don't know how reliable this is" without analysis

Relevant at: 00:02:37

Effect: The viewer cannot independently assess the scientific robustness of the estimate; they are led to believe that no studies favourable to electronic cigarettes exist

Omission 2:

Context: The broadcast does not mention that Raspagliesi was not investigated in the Future/Bellocco affair, and that the judges wrote in the judgement that his testimony was "contradictory" but drew no criminal consequences against him

Relevant at: 00:31:10

Effect: The viewer is led to believe that Raspagliesi had an established criminal role, when the final judgement did not hold him criminally responsible

Omission 3:

Context: The technical and political reasons for Minister Fitto's proposed PNRR remodulation are never presented; the proposal is described only as "tearing up the funds"

Relevant at: 01:27:45

Effect: The viewer cannot assess whether the remodulation has legitimate motivations (e.g. difficulty in meeting European deadlines, redefinition of priorities) or is purely political

Summary: The most serious omissions concern the investigative block on the La Russa family, where elements that could mitigate the accusations are systematically omitted, and the PNRR block, where the government's position is completely absent.

Missing voices

- Defence lawyers of the La Russa family: They could have contested the factual reconstructions and provided alternative documentation
- Academic historians of the MSI and Italian neo-fascism: They would have provided scientific contextualisation of the Giovedì Nero and La Russa's role
- Minister Fitto or a government spokesperson on the PNRR: They would have explained the technical and political reasons for the proposed remodulation
- Criminal law experts on Raspagliesi's position: They would have clarified why he was not investigated and what the cited judgement means
- Representatives of the European automotive industry on the nickel supply chain: They would have presented the due diligence measures adopted
- International housing policy experts: They would have provided comparisons with European experiences of periphery regeneration
- Magistrates or investigators who followed the cited affairs: They could have clarified the judicial status of the narrated events



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- Anafe Confindustria representatives with their own scientific data: They would have balanced the narrative on electronic cigarettes



5. DATA MANIPULATION

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

Definition: Selective or misleading use of statistics.

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 00:00:25

Data: "in 2022 in Italy out of 30 million units, more than 29 million were sold with nicotine"

Dimensions: (a) absolute value — shown; (b) share — shown (97%); (c) trend — absent

Missing context: No trend over time is provided (is the market growing or declining?), nor a comparison with other European countries, nor the share of adult vs. underage consumers

Effect: The figure is impressive in its absolute size but does not allow assessment of whether the phenomenon is growing or stabilising

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 00:04:49

Data: "out of 9,000 middle and high school students, compared to traditional cigarettes and heated tobacco products, the electronic cigarette is the most widely used product among 11 to 13 year olds"

Dimensions: (a) absolute value — sample of 9,000; (b) share — not provided (what % of 11-13 year olds use electronic cigarettes?); (c) trend — absent

Missing context: The absolute percentage of consumers among 11-13 year olds is not provided; "most widely used" compared to traditional cigarettes does not necessarily mean high use in absolute terms

Effect: The data suggests an epidemic among the very young without providing the actual scale of the phenomenon

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 00:16:46

Data: "in a short time it manages to turn over up to 5 million euros"

Dimensions: (a) absolute value — shown; (b) share — absent (market share? margins?); (c) trend — partially shown (then losses)

Missing context: No context is provided for the call centre sector at that time; 5 million in turnover for a company with 371 employees is a modest figure (approximately 13,000 euros per employee per year)

Effect: The figure is presented as evidence of illicit enrichment, without sectoral contextualisation

Summary: The broadcast uses data selectively, privileging impressive absolute values and omitting the percentage shares and trends that would allow a more balanced assessment.



6. GUILT BY ASSOCIATION

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Definition: Discrediting by association with negative groups or ideas.

Association 1:

Timestamp: 00:22:57

Quote: "Blue Call... is a pillar of the history of the Lombard 'Ndrangheta."

Technique: Blue Call is associated with the 'ndrangheta, then Raspagliesi is associated with Blue Call through the negotiation for Future SRL, then La Russa is associated with Raspagliesi as his brother-in-law

Effect: The associative chain suggests a connection between La Russa and the 'ndrangheta without any direct evidence or conviction existing

Association 2:

Timestamp: 00:35:29

Quote: "Michelangelo Virgilito suddenly became rich after the introduction of the racial laws in 1938, when a Jewish entrepreneur entrusted him with his wealth and shortly afterwards disappeared at the hands of the Nazis."

Technique: Virgilito is associated with the appropriation of Jewish assets during the racial laws, then La Russa's father is associated with Virgilito as his collaborator, then La Russa is associated with his father

Effect: The associative chain suggests a connection between La Russa and the persecution of Jews without any evidence of direct responsibility

Association 3:

Timestamp: 00:36:29

Quote: "behind those financial takeovers of that corporate group was the hand of Michele Sindona, the P2 mafia banker accused and convicted of the murder of banker Ambrosoli"

Technique: Sindona is associated with Virgilito, Virgilito with La Russa's father, La Russa's father with Ignazio La Russa

Effect: The associative chain links La Russa to the P2, the mafia and a murder through four indirect steps

Associative chain:

La Russa → Raspagliesi (brother-in-law) → Future SRL → Bellocco ('ndrangheta)

La Russa → father Antonino → Virgilito → Jewish assets → Sindona (P2/mafia)

La Russa → Giovedì Nero → Murelli/Loi → death of police officer Marino

Verification for each person framed as problematic:

Raspagliesi:

- Works with verifiable primary sources? NO — oral testimonies not judicially verified
- Are his claims falsifiable? PARTIALLY — some verifiable through corporate records
- Risk vs. gain: not investigated = low risk
- CATEGORY: B — Borderline case (partially documented, partially speculative)

Ignazio La Russa:

- Direct involvement judicially documented? NO — no investigation, no conviction
- Are the accusations falsifiable? PARTIALLY



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- CATEGORY: B — Borderline case (indirect connections documented, direct responsibility not proven)

Summary: The broadcast systematically constructs associative chains linking La Russa to 'ndrangheta, P2, Jewish assets and neo-fascist violence through multiple indirect steps, without any evidence of direct responsibility existing. This technique is the most serious detected in the broadcast.



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

Finding 1:

Position: 00:00:00 (beginning)

Content: The block on electronic cigarettes opens the broadcast with images of children and adolescents smoking

Timing effect: The emotional opening with minors creates an alarm frame that predisposes the viewer to an uncritical reception of subsequent content

Finding 2:

Position: 00:32:14 (middle)

Content: "And after having called us disgusting slanderers, despite never having received a conviction for slander, the second highest office of the State concludes his intervention with this sentence."

Timing effect: La Russa's emotional reaction ("disgusting slanderers") is strategically placed after the presentation of the accusations, suggesting that the reaction itself is a confirmation of guilt

Finding 3:

Position: 02:10:40 (end)

Content: The block on nickel and electric cars is placed at the end, after the more controversial blocks

Timing effect: The final block, which criticises the ecological transition (typically a right-wing position), could be interpreted as an attempt at superficial balance after a broadcast strongly oriented against the government

Summary: The temporal structure of the broadcast privileges the initial emotional impact and the strategic placement of the accused persons' reactions as implicit confirmation of the accusations.



8. SELECTIVE INDIGNATION

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

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

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

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 00:32:14

Triggering event: La Russa calls Report journalists "disgusting slanderers" on another programme

Reaction: "And after having called us disgusting slanderers, despite never having received a conviction for slander, the second highest office of the State concludes his intervention with this sentence."

Comparison: When Romano La Russa says to the journalist "You're a wretch" (00:14:03), the journalist's reaction is neutral ("Thank you"); when La Russa calls the journalists "disgusting slanderers", the broadcast emphasises it and adds the clarification "despite never having received a conviction for slander"

Asymmetry: La Russa's reaction is treated as an institutional scandal; Romano La Russa's insults to the journalist are treated as an anecdote

Degree of indignation: 3/5

Selectivity: 3/5

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 01:27:45

Triggering event: Minister Fitto's proposal to remodulate PNRR funds for the peripheries

Reaction: "after Minister Fitto's proposal to tear up the funds allocated to municipalities and peripheries from the PNRR"

Comparison: The difficulties in managing PNRR funds on the part of municipalities (delays, lack of census, illegal occupations) are treated with empathetic understanding; the government's remodulation proposal is treated with implicit indignation through the term "tear up"

Asymmetry: Local responsibilities for delays are attenuated; government responsibility is emphasised

Degree of indignation: 2/5

Selectivity: 3/5

Summary: Selective indignation is present but not dominant; it manifests primarily in the difference in treatment between the reactions of the accused (presented as confirmation of the accusations) and local management difficulties (presented with empathy).



9. SELECTIVE OMISSION — GENERAL FRAMEWORK

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

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 00:31:10

Missing perspective/fact: The final judgement did not investigate or convict Raspagliesi; the judges wrote that his testimony was "contradictory" but drew no criminal consequences

Relevance: Fundamental for assessing the weight of the accusations

Impact of omission: The viewer is led to believe that Raspagliesi had an established criminal role, when the judicial reality is more complex

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 00:40:19

Missing perspective/fact: The broadcast states that Antonino La Russa allegedly suggested Sindona's candidacy within the MSI in 1976, based exclusively on the posthumous testimony of Staiti di Cudia; no archival documentation or independent confirmation is provided

Relevance: Serious accusation (connection with P2 and the mafia) based on a single source with a declared conflict of interest

Impact of omission: The broadcast presents as established fact what is an unverified testimony from a declared political opponent

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 01:43:01

Missing perspective/fact: The technical reasons for the Meloni government's proposed PNRR remodulation are never presented; the proposal is described only through the negative reactions of residents and local administrators

Relevance: Essential for a balanced assessment of government policy

Impact of omission: The viewer receives only the critical perspective towards the government, without being able to assess the reasons for the proposal

Summary: The most serious omissions concern the lack of judicial documentation contextualising the accusations against Raspagliesi and La Russa, and the total absence of the government's position on the PNRR.

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] Position of the La Russa family/Fdl on the specific accusations, with documentation

[B] Position of the Meloni government on the PNRR remodulation and the technical reasons for the proposal

[C] Position of the electronic cigarette industry with its own scientific data

[D] Position of Italian health authorities (ISS, Ministry of Health) on electronic cigarettes

[E] Position of independent experts on the nickel supply chain and available alternatives

[F] Raspagliesi's position on the specific accusations

[G] Marco Osnato's position on the specific accusations



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[H] Complete historical context of the MSI and the Giovedì Nero, with academic historians

[I] Position of ATER and the Lazio Region on the management of Corviale

[J] International comparative data on public housing and regeneration policies

[A] PARTIALLY ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 00:22:17 — Quote: "I categorically exclude having even spoken with anyone about this alleged Difesa project" — Assessment: La Russa's response is presented as a video message, without direct right of reply; the specific accusations regarding Raspagliesi receive no documented response

[B] ABSENT

Timestamp: 01:27:45 — Quote: "after Minister Fitto's proposal to tear up the funds allocated to municipalities and peripheries from the PNRR" — Assessment: The government's position on the PNRR remodulation is never presented with its own arguments; the term "tear up" is already a negative framing

[C] PARTIALLY ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 00:01:27 — Quote: "It's not a report, it's a programme, it's not a list in Italy" — Assessment: The industry is approached but refuses the interview; no favourable sector studies are presented

[D] ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 00:02:42 — Quote: "what the Istituto Superiore di Sanità thinks, which says it is not possible to assert that the consumption of electronic cigarettes is 95% less harmful" — Assessment: ISS position correctly cited

[E] PARTIALLY ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 02:10:40 — Quote: "How sustainable is the electric car supply chain" — Assessment: Only the critical perspective is presented; voices from the automotive industry and experts favourable to the transition are absent

[F] ABSENT

Timestamp: 00:31:24 — Quote: "neither Raspagliesi nor the President of the Senate saw fit to give us their point of view" — Assessment: Raspagliesi does not respond; the broadcast does not document repeated and structured contact attempts

[G] PARTIALLY ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 00:19:50 — Quote: "It has no bearing on my political activity" — Assessment: Osnato refuses the interview; the broadcast does not present his version of the facts

[H] PARTIALLY ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 00:43:37 — Quote: "They pushed hard for Ignazio La Russa, Romano La Russa, to call a major rally in Milan on 12 April" — Assessment: The historical reconstruction is based almost exclusively on Staiti di Cudia and Murelli; independent academic historians are absent

[I] ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 02:07:37 — Quote: "On lifts we spend 300 thousand euros a year" — Assessment: The ATER commissioner is interviewed and offers a critical perspective on the project

[J] ABSENT

No timestamp — Assessment: No international comparative data on public housing is presented

Completeness Score: 4/10

The broadcast adequately covers only 3-4 of the 10 relevant perspectives. The investigative block on the La Russa family is structurally devoid of right of reply: the accused persons refuse interviews, but the broadcast does



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not document systematic contact attempts nor present their written positions in a balanced manner. The PNRR/peripheries block completely lacks the government's voice.

1. Istituto Superiore di Sanità (ISS)

1. FUNDING: Italian public body, funded by the Ministry of Health; annual budget approximately 700 million euros
2. MANDATE: Public health protection; mandate partially incompatible with neutral assessment of alternative smoking products (institutional interest in regulatory caution)
3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST: Institutional interest in emphasising the risks of smoking products to justify regulatory interventions
4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX: D1 -1 (protection mandate) / D2 +1 (public position) / D3 +2 (recognised technical expertise) / D4 +2 (consistent position over time) / D5 +2 (data-based) / D6 +2 (primary source) → TOTAL +8 → GREEN LIGHT
5. OPPOSING VOICE: Public Health England (now UKHSA) estimated a 95% reduction in harm; this source is not cited in the broadcast

2. Swiss Association for Tobacco Prevention (Luciano Ruggia)

1. FUNDING: Swiss public funds (FOPH) and private foundations
2. MANDATE: Tobacco prevention; mandate oriented towards reducing consumption, not towards neutral assessment of alternative products
3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST: Institutional interest in demonstrating the danger of electronic cigarettes to maintain the relevance of the prevention mandate
4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX: D1 -1 / D2 +1 / D3 +2 / D4 +1 / D5 +1 / D6 +1 → TOTAL +5 → GREEN LIGHT (borderline)
5. OPPOSING VOICE: Harm reduction experts who support electronic cigarettes as a smoking cessation tool (e.g. Cochrane Review 2022); not cited in the broadcast

3. Posthumous testimony of Tommaso Staiti di Cudia

1. FUNDING: None relevant
2. MANDATE: No institutional mandate; personal testimony of a declared political opponent
3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST: Documented personal conflict with La Russa within the MSI; interest in diminishing La Russa's political role
4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX: D1 -2 / D2 +1 / D3 +1 / D4 0 / D5 -1 / D6 -1 → TOTAL -2 → YELLOW LIGHT
5. OPPOSING VOICE: No witness favourable to La Russa from the same MSI environment is cited; no academic historian assesses the credibility of the testimony

IMPORTANT: "Relevant from the point of view of the situation of the social movement" (as defined in the broadcast) is not an objective qualification. It is a social attribution that must itself be verified. The broadcast presents Staiti di Cudia as a "relevant historical memory" without mentioning the personal conflict with La Russa, transforming a partial source into an authoritative source through an unverified label.



Softfacts — 6 qualitative techniques

10. FRAME SETTING

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Definition: How is the topic fundamentally framed?

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 00:09:24

Quote: "The affairs of the La Russa family. Economic, political and financial power."

Manipulation: The title of the investigative block frames the La Russa family as an entity of opaque power even before the evidence is presented; the term "affairs" has a negative connotation in this context

Why problematic: The viewer is predisposed to interpret every subsequent piece of information as confirmation of a system of illicit power, even when the connections are indirect or unproven

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 00:32:32

Quote: "And after having called us disgusting slanderers, despite never having received a conviction for slander, the second highest office of the State concludes his intervention with this sentence."

Manipulation: The frame "second highest office of the State" is used to amplify the scandal of La Russa's emotional reaction; the clarification "despite never having received a conviction for slander" suggests that Report's accusations are well-founded without having to prove it

Why problematic: It reverses the burden of proof: it is La Russa who must prove that Report is lying, not Report that must prove its accusations

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 01:27:45

Quote: "after Minister Fitto's proposal to tear up the funds allocated to municipalities and peripheries from the PNRR"

Manipulation: The term "tear up" is a strongly negative frame to describe a remodulation proposal that could have legitimate technical motivations

Why problematic: The viewer already receives a negative assessment of the government proposal before knowing its content

Summary: The framing is systematically oriented to present FdI/La Russa as a system of opaque power and the government as an enemy of the peripheries, through lexical and structural choices that predispose the viewer to negative interpretations.



11. WORD AND TERM CHOICE

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

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 00:09:24

Quote: "The affairs of the La Russa family"

Manipulation: "Affairs" in the Italian investigative context carries a connotation of illegality or opacity

Why problematic: A neutral alternative would be: "The economic and political activities of the La Russa family"

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 00:17:03

Quote: "And it would also serve to gather consensus for politicians close to La Russa."

Manipulation: "Would serve" is a conditional that attributes an intention without proving it; "gather consensus" suggests a clientelistic use of the call centre

Why problematic: A neutral alternative would be: "According to some testimonies, the call centre could also have had a function of territorial entrenchment for local political figures"

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 02:09:07

Quote: "It's good news to know that the 130 million euros allocated to Corviale will be wasted."

Manipulation: The presenter uses irony to present as established fact ("will be wasted") what is the ATER commissioner's opinion

Why problematic: A neutral alternative would be: "The ATER commissioner expresses scepticism about the effectiveness of the intervention"

Summary: The lexical choices are systematically oriented to emphasise negative connotations for Fdl/government and to present opinions as facts through the use of implicit conditionals and irony.



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 with other guests have not produced an analogous intervention.

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 00:13:57

Triggering event: Romano La Russa says to the journalist "You don't have a minimum of dignity, do you?"

Quote (journalist): "The dignity of a journalist would normally be to ask questions."

Comparison: When Argenterio (entrepreneur accused of having overpaid for Midica) tells his version, the journalist does not interrupt him or challenge him

Asymmetry: The accused persons are pressed with repeated questions even after explicit refusals; witnesses favourable to the investigative thesis are never challenged

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 02:09:11

Triggering event: The ATER commissioner expresses scepticism about the effectiveness of the intervention at Corviale

Quote (presenter): "It's good news to know that the 130 million euros allocated to Corviale will be wasted. Well, that at least is the opinion of Commissioner Dell'Ate. Whom we thank for his frankness. Not everyone does that."

Comparison: No other expert critical of the government is thanked with irony for their "frankness"

Asymmetry: The presenter uses irony to undermine the position of the ATER commissioner (appointed by the government) while presenting it as "frankness"

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 00:31:24

Triggering event: The broadcast concludes the La Russa block

Quote (presenter): "On this, neither Raspagliesi nor the President of the Senate saw fit to give us their point of view."

Comparison: When other subjects refuse interviews (e.g. Vapor Art, electronic cigarette importers), the presenter merely records the refusal without emphasis

Asymmetry: La Russa's refusal is presented as implicit confirmation of the accusations; the electronic cigarette industry's refusals are presented as an obstacle to transparency

Summary: The presenter's behaviour is asymmetric: the accused persons are pressed and their refusals are presented as implicit confirmations; witnesses favourable to the investigative thesis are never challenged.



13. QUESTION ASYMMETRY

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

Asymmetry 1:

To Romano La Russa, 00:12:23: "Is it true that it is thanks to you that that call centre was opened down in Paternò?" — hard, direct, with implicit presupposition of responsibility

To Argenterio (entrepreneur who paid 3.4 million for a company that "was worth nothing"), 00:18:58: "But the company wasn't worth anything?" — open question, not pressing

Comparison: La Russa is pressed with questions that presuppose guilt; Argenterio, who participated in the same operation, is treated as a neutral witness

Asymmetry 2:

To Marco Osnato, 00:20:44: "I wanted to ask you what your role was with respect to the QE call centre." — direct question

To Fabio Granata (former AN, witness critical of La Russa), no follow-up questions about his motivations or his conflict with La Russa — treated as a neutral source

Asymmetry 3:

To Romano La Russa, 00:15:19: "Listen, why did your brother-in-law Gaetano Raspagliesi open another Midica call centre in exactly the same period." — question that presupposes an illicit connection

To the ATER commissioner, 02:08:21: "Listen, so you would have been in favour of demolition?" — open question, not pressing, despite the critical position towards the government project

Summary: Questions to persons associated with Fdl/government are systematically harder and presuppose guilt; questions to witnesses favourable to the investigative thesis are open and non-pressing.



14. FALSE BALANCE

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Definition: Artificial balance despite a real imbalance.

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 00:01:39 — Construct: "It is a point of view that however has no health basis."

Analysis: The journalist contrasts the importer's claim ("this is less dangerous than cigarettes") with the ISS position, creating an apparent balance between "industry opinion" and "science". However, the Public Health England study (which supports the industry's position) is never cited as an alternative scientific source, creating a false balance between "opinion" and "science" when in reality a genuine scientific debate exists.

Summary: False balance is present but not dominant; it manifests primarily in the block on electronic cigarettes, where the scientific debate is presented as resolved in favour of the critical position.



15. AGENDA-SETTING

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

Finding 1:

Agenda element set: The La Russa family as a system of opaque and potentially illicit power is presented as a given fact, not as an investigative hypothesis

Timestamp: 00:09:24 — Evidence: "The affairs of the La Russa family. Economic, political and financial power."

Alternative agenda: An analysis of the power networks of political families of different orientations (e.g. families linked to PD or M5S) would have contextualised the phenomenon

Finding 2:

Agenda element set: The Meloni government's PNRR remodulation is presented as an attack on the peripheries, not as a debatable political choice with arguments for and against

Timestamp: 01:27:45 — Evidence: "after Minister Fitto's proposal to tear up the funds allocated to municipalities and peripheries from the PNRR"

Alternative agenda: An analysis of the difficulties in implementing the PNRR on the part of municipalities (documented in the same broadcast) could have contextualised the government proposal

Finding 3:

Agenda element set: The degradation of the peripheries is presented as a consequence of political choices (lack of funds, PNRR remodulation) rather than as a multifactorial structural problem

Timestamp: 01:37:01 — Evidence: "if the State itself does not first demonstrate that it loves public property, it is into that void that Gomorra slips"

Alternative agenda: An analysis of local responsibilities (vandalism, illegal occupations, 65% rent arrears, organised crime) would have balanced the narrative

Summary: Agenda-setting is the second most relevant mechanism in the broadcast: topics are framed in a way that makes a critical reading towards the government and Fdl appear natural, without this reading ever being explicitly declared as a thesis.



CHAPTER 4 — OVERALL ASSESSMENT

Overview of Individual Scores

No.	Criterion	Type	Score	Main finding (1 sentence)
1	Expert selection	H	7	Experts with undeclared conflicts of interest presented as neutral sources
2	Source selection	H	7	Judicially unverified testimonies mixed with primary sources without distinction
3	Time distribution	H	6	Less than 6% of time given to the accused persons, almost exclusively for refusals to answer
4	Omissions	H	8	Systematic omission of elements that would mitigate the accusations and of the government's position on the PNRR
5	Data manipulation	H	5	Data presented without percentage shares and trends that would allow independent assessment
6	Guilt by association	H	9	Four-step associative chains link La Russa to 'ndrangheta, P2 and neo-fascist violence
7	Timing	H	6	Emotional opening with minors and strategic placement of the accused persons' reactions
8	Selective indignation	H	6	La Russa's reaction treated as institutional scandal; Romano La Russa's insults as an anecdote
9	Completeness	H	8	Serious accusations based on single unverified sources; government PNRR position completely absent
10	Framing	S	8	Systematic frame of "opaque power system" applied to Fdl/La Russa before the presentation of evidence
11	Word choice	S	7	Systematically negative lexicon for Fdl/government; implicit conditionals present opinions as facts
12	Presenter behaviour	S	6	Asymmetry between pressing the accused and not challenging witnesses favourable to the thesis
13	Question asymmetry	S	7	Questions presuppose guilt for Fdl; open questions for witnesses favourable to the thesis
14	False balance	S	4	Present in the electronic cigarettes block; not dominant
15	Agenda-setting	S	8	Topics framed to make critical reading towards government appear natural without declaring it as a thesis

Results

- HARDFACTS SCORE (average criteria 1-9): 6.9 / 10
- SOFTFACTS SCORE (average criteria 10-15): 6.7 / 10
- OVERALL SCORE (average all 15 criteria): 6.8 / 10



Dominant Techniques

The 3 strongest techniques in this broadcast:

- 1. Guilt by association (Score 9):** The broadcast systematically constructs four-step associative chains linking La Russa to 'ndrangheta, P2, Jewish assets and neo-fascist violence without any evidence of direct responsibility existing. This technique is the most serious because it creates in the audience an impression of guilt that is not supported by any final judgement.
- 2. Agenda-setting (Score 8):** Topics are framed in a way that makes a critical reading towards the government and Fdi appear natural without this reading ever being declared as a thesis. The proposed PNRR remodulation is presented as "tearing up the funds" without ever presenting the government's reasons.
- 3. Omissions (Score 8):** The broadcast systematically omits elements that would mitigate the accusations (Raspagliesi not investigated, scientific debate on electronic cigarettes, government reasons on the PNRR) and presents as established facts what are unverified testimonies from declared political opponents.

Key Messages of the Broadcast

****MESSAGE 1 (CONTENT):** ** "The La Russa family is a system of opaque power with connections to 'ndrangheta, P2 and neo-fascist violence that has used politics to enrich itself."

Technique: Guilt by association + framing + agenda-setting — Evidence: 00:09:24, 00:22:57, 00:36:29

****MESSAGE 2 (PERSONAL):** ** "Ignazio La Russa, second highest office of the State, is unfit for his institutional role due to his family's history and his emotional reactions."

Technique: Framing + word choice + timing — Evidence: 00:32:14, 00:43:37

****MESSAGE 3 (SOCIAL):** ** "The Meloni government is sabotaging the regeneration of Italian peripheries by cutting PNRR funds, condemning the most vulnerable to degradation."

Technique: Agenda-setting + omissions + framing — Evidence: 01:27:45, 01:43:01

Classification of the Degree of Manipulation

Rationale: The broadcast achieves an overall score of 6.8/10, placing it on the boundary between "clear one-sidedness" and "systematic imbalance". The investigative block on the La Russa family presents a systematic imbalance (scores 8-9 on guilt by association, omissions, framing) that constitutes a violation of the principle of impartiality of the RAI Service Contract. The peripheries block presents a clear one-sidedness in the presentation of the government's proposed PNRR remodulation. The blocks on electronic cigarettes and nickel present a more moderate tendency. The overall average of 6.8 reflects the coexistence of blocks with different degrees of imbalance.

CONCLUSION

The episode of Report analysed presents a systematic imbalance in the investigative block on the La Russa family, where the technique of guilt by association is applied extensively to link the second highest office of the State to 'ndrangheta, P2 and neo-fascist violence through chains of indirect connections not supported by final judgements. The principle of completeness and impartiality enshrined in Art. 6 of the RAI Service Contract is violated in at least three areas: (1) absence of structured right of reply with the accused persons; (2) presentation of testimonies from declared political opponents as neutral sources; (3) systematic omission of the government's position on the PNRR remodulation. The broadcast does not respect the distinction between news and commentary required by the Service Contract, mixing documented facts, unverified testimonies and editorial assessments without clearly signalling the boundary between the three levels.



OVERALL ASSESSMENT OF THE 15 CRITERIA

Individual scores — All 15 criteria

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

HARDFACTS SCORE (1-8)

6.9/10

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

SOFTFACTS SCORE (9-14)

6.7/10

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

OVERALL SCORE

6.8/10

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 intervals

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

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



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

Assessment under RAI Service Contract Art. 6

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

Violation 1:

Norm: Service Contract Art. 6 — principle of impartiality and completeness

Facts: The broadcast presents serious accusations against the second highest office of the State (connections with 'ndrangheta, P2, neo-fascist violence) based on testimonies from declared political opponents (Staiti di Cudia, La Russa's internal opponent within the MSI) without independent archival documentation and without structured right of reply

Evidence: Timestamp 00:40:19 — Quote: "In 1976 early general elections it had been floated, on the suggestion of Antonino La Russa, that Michele Sindona be put forward as a candidate in a safe P2 Senate constituency in Sicily."

Assessment: The broadcast presents as established fact what is the posthumous testimony of a declared political opponent, without any archival documentation or independent confirmation; this violates the principle of completeness and impartiality

Violation 2:

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

Facts: The presenter uses irony to present as established fact the ineffectiveness of the government intervention at Corviale, mixing editorial commentary and news

Evidence: Timestamp 02:09:07 — Quote: "It's good news to know that the 130 million euros allocated to Corviale will be wasted."

Assessment: The presenter's irony transforms the ATER commissioner's opinion into an established fact, violating the principle of separation between news and commentary

Violation 3:

Norm: Service Contract Art. 6 — principle of pluralism

Facts: The Meloni government's proposed PNRR remodulation is presented exclusively through the negative reactions of residents and local administrators, without ever presenting the government's position

Evidence: Timestamp 01:27:45 — Quote: "after Minister Fitto's proposal to tear up the funds allocated to municipalities and peripheries from the PNRR"

Assessment: The total absence of the government's voice on a relevant public policy topic violates the principle of pluralism; the term "tear up" constitutes an editorial commentary presented as news

Violation 4:

Norm: Service Contract Art. 6 — principle of completeness

Facts: The broadcast omits that Raspagliesi was not investigated in the Future/Bellocco affair, presenting his position as that of a subject involved in criminal activities

Evidence: Timestamp 00:31:10 — Quote: "In the end Ruffino was convicted of aiding the 'ndrangheta. Carlo Longo, the Bellocco man, was sentenced to 10 years and Raspagliesi was not investigated."

Assessment: Although mentioning that Raspagliesi was not investigated, the broadcast does so marginally after having spent 15 minutes constructing a narrative associating him with the 'ndrangheta; this violates the principle of completeness

Overall Assessment of Service Contract Art. 6



The broadcast analysed presents four identifiable violations of RAI Service Contract Art. 6. The most serious violations concern the principle of impartiality (presentation of testimonies from political opponents as neutral sources) and the principle of pluralism (total absence of the government's position on relevant public policy topics). The technique of guilt by association, applied systematically in the investigative block on the La Russa family, constitutes a structural violation of the principle of completeness, as it creates in the audience an impression of guilt not supported by final judgements. The failure to separate news from commentary, evidenced by the presenter's use of editorial irony, constitutes a formal violation of the Service Contract. Overall, the broadcast is positioned on the boundary between "clear one-sidedness" and "systematic imbalance" according to the assessment criteria adopted, with an overall score of 6.8/10.

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

1. Istituto Superiore di Sanità (ISS)

- 1. FUNDING:** Italian public body, funded by the Ministry of Health; annual budget approximately 700 million euros
- 2. MANDATE:** Public health protection; mandate partially incompatible with neutral assessment of alternative smoking products (institutional interest in regulatory caution)
- 3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Institutional interest in emphasising the risks of smoking products to justify regulatory interventions
 - D1 Conflict of interest: -1
 - D2 Personal risk: +1
 - D3 Technical expertise: +2
 - D4 Opinion consistency: +2
 - D5 Emotionality vs. data: +2
 - D6 Source level: +2
- 5. OPPOSING VOICE:** Public Health England (now UKHSA) estimated a 95% reduction in harm; this source is not cited in the broadcast

2. Swiss Association for Tobacco Prevention (Luciano Ruggia)

- 1. FUNDING:** Swiss public funds (FOPH) and private foundations
- 2. MANDATE:** Tobacco prevention; mandate oriented towards reducing consumption, not towards neutral assessment of alternative products
- 3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Institutional interest in demonstrating the danger of electronic cigarettes to maintain the relevance of the prevention mandate
 - D1 Conflict of interest: -1
 - D2 Personal risk: +1
 - D3 Technical expertise: +2
 - D4 Opinion consistency: +1
 - D5 Emotionality vs. data: +1
 - D6 Source level: +1
- 5. OPPOSING VOICE:** Harm reduction experts who support electronic cigarettes as a smoking cessation tool (e.g. Cochrane Review 2022); not cited in the broadcast

3. Posthumous testimony of Tommaso Staiti di Cudia

- 1. FUNDING:** None relevant
- 2. MANDATE:** No institutional mandate; personal testimony of a declared political opponent
- 3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Documented personal conflict with La Russa within the MSI; interest in diminishing La Russa's political role
 - D1 Conflict of interest: -2
 - D2 Personal risk: +1
 - D3 Technical expertise: +1
 - D4 Opinion consistency: 0
 - D5 Emotionality vs. data: -1
 - D6 Source level: -1
- 5. OPPOSING VOICE:** No witness favourable to La Russa from the same MSI environment is cited; no academic historian assesses the credibility of the testimony



IMPORTANT: "Relevant from the point of view of the situation of the social movement" (as defined in the broadcast) is not an objective qualification. It is a social attribution that must itself be verified. The broadcast presents Staiti di Cudia as a "relevant historical memory" without mentioning the personal conflict with La Russa, transforming a partial source into an authoritative source through an unverified label.

Source credibility traffic light:

Source	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	Total	Signal
Istituto Superiore di Sanità (ISS)	-1	+1	+2	+2	+2	+2	?	?
Swiss Association for Tobacco Prevention (Luciano Ruggia)	-1	+1	+2	+1	+1	+1	?	?
Posthumous testimony of Tommaso Staiti di Cudia	-2	+1	+1	0	-1	-1	?	?

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 topic selection, the information context, political controversy or format logic.
Not a judgement on intentionality	The analysis measures the observable structural characteristics of broadcasts. A score of 7 means that a significant imbalance has been detected — not that the editorial team intended it. The methodology makes no claims about motivations or strategic objectives.
Heuristic comparison tool	The index serves the comparative recognition of patterns across thousands of broadcasts, not the precise metric measurement of individual segments. The threshold values serve as heuristic guidance, not as precise legal qualification.



APPENDIX 1: NATIONAL LEGISLATION

Legal basis Italy — RAI

Laws

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

Relevant articles

RAI Service Contract 2023-2028

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

Legislative Decree 208/2021 (TUSMA)

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

Law 28/2000 (Par Condicio)

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

RAI Code of Ethics (2017)

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

European reference framework

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

Structural context

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

Supervisory authorities

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

Complaints procedure

1. RAI internal complaints office
2. AGCOM



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3. Regional Administrative Court (TAR)



ANNEX 2: SCIENTIFIC REFERENCES

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Assessments and membership of SVFAB

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

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

Optionally the book includes **playing cards**

Also available as an **audiobook**



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

Those who don't 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 don't 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 primarily protects the system it is supposed to oversee.

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