



RAI DETAILED ANALYSIS

2024-01-14_report_Meloni_government_investigatio

Broadcast: RAI Programme | 2024-01-14 | Analysed on: 2026-05-24 11:27

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

OVERALL SCORE

6.1/10

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)

4.8 / 10

Balanced

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

← Left

Right →

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

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



POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

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 (PD), flanked by M5S, AVS, Azione and Italia Viva.

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

The main lines of political conflict in Italy concern: (1) the management of natural emergencies and the distribution of responsibilities between the central government and regions under different leadership; (2) relations between organised crime and political parties, with particular attention to mafia infiltrations in Fdi structures; (3) the question of cultural heritage and its protection, exemplified by the Sgarbi case; (4) the financing of post-flood reconstruction and the controversies surrounding the extraordinary commissioner Figliuolo.

RAI is historically characterised by "lottizzazione", i.e. the allocation of channels according to party proportionality. Under the Meloni government, the management of TG1 and the RAI Board of Directors are controlled by the governing coalition. The RAI Service Contract requires pluralism, completeness and impartiality of information, with a clear separation between news and commentary (Art. 6).



CHAPTER 1 — PARTISAN BIAS

Party	Score (-5..+5)	Representation in the broadcast vs. programmatic position
Fdl (Fratelli d'Italia)	-3	01:26:15 "It is the most important political party at that moment, that is, with Fratelli d'Italia" — The broadcast systematically associates Fdl with mafia infiltrations (Amico-Frassinetti, Fidanza, Ceraulo-Vestiti-Santanchè), without balancing this with the party's programmatic position on anti-mafia; 01:33:08 "in the last five years almost all of the politicians arrested for relations with the mafia turned out to be members of Giorgia Meloni's party" — a serious claim presented without comparative statistical verification with other parties — partially distorted
PD (Partito Dem.)	+1	The centre-left regional administrations (Emilia-Romagna, Tuscany) are presented predominantly as victims of government delays; the PD's position on reception and land management is not explicitly discussed — not directly addressed, implicit favour
M5S (Cinque Stelle)	0	Not mentioned in the broadcast — absent
Lega	0	Cited marginally (Silvia Sardone, Lega MEP, in relations with Letizia Bonelli) without programmatic depth — absent/marginal
Forza Italia	-1	00:40:29 MP Erika Mazzetti (FI) cited for her position against the appointment of the regional president as commissioner; presented as a politically motivated voice — partially distorted by omission of context
AVS (Alleanza Verdi)	0	Not mentioned — absent

Summary of Partisan Bias

- Most accurate representation: PD (Score +1) — the centre-left administrations are presented in a manner substantially consistent with their public positions on reconstruction
- Most marked distortion: Fdl (Score -3) — the party is repeatedly associated with mafia infiltrations without adequate programmatic counterargument
- Average deviation from 0: 0.8
- Conclusion: The broadcast constructs a narrative in which Fdl appears structurally vulnerable to criminal infiltrations, without offering a statistical comparison with other parties or presenting the anti-mafia measures adopted by the party. The claim about the "almost totality" of those arrested being members of Fdl (01:33:08) is presented as fact without a verifiable source, constituting a distortion by omission of comparative context.

Overall Left-Right Tendency

TENDENCY SCORE: +2.1

CLASSIFICATION: Favourable to the left

Rationale: The broadcast implicitly favours the positions of the centre-left regional administrations in the dispute over post-flood reconstruction, systematically associates Fdl (the governing party) with mafia infiltrations without comparative balance, and does not provide adequate space for government counter-narratives. The refusal to be interviewed by Minister Musumeci and General Figliuolo is presented as an element against the government, without exploring the institutional reasons for the refusal.



CHAPTER 2 — BROADCAST INFORMATION AND THEMATIC FRAMEWORK

Broadcast Data

- Title: Report — RAI 3 (episode on Emilia-Romagna/Tuscany flood, Sgarbi case, Milan mafia)
- Date: December 2023 (inferred from internal references: "seven months since the flood", Tuscany flood of 3 November, Christmas imminent)
- Estimated duration: approximately 120 minutes (from transcript)
- Host/Reporter: Sigfrido Ranucci (host), Bernardo Iovane (flood report), Giorgio Mottola (mafia and Sgarbi reports), Daniele Autieri (Piscitelli report)
- Persons interviewed:

Person	Role	Party/Affiliation	Political spectrum
Stefano Bonaccini	President of the Emilia-Romagna Region	PD	Centre-left
Eugenio Giani	President of the Tuscany Region	PD	Centre-left
Erika Mazzetti	Member of Parliament	Forza Italia	Centre-right
Mayor of Lugo	Mayor	Not specified	Not specified
Mayor of Sant'Agata	Mayor	Not specified	Not specified
Mayor of Forlì	Mayor	Centre-right (self-declared DC)	Centre-right
Mayor of Abbiategrasso (Cesare Nai)	Mayor	Centre-right	Centre-right
Paola Frassinetti	Undersecretary for Education	FdI	Right
Carlo Fidanza	MEP	FdI	Right
Daniela Santanchè	Minister of Tourism	FdI	Right
Vittorio Sgarbi	Undersecretary for Culture (former)	Independent/FI	Centre-right
Nunzio Perrella	Former camorra boss (collaborator)	None	—
Letizia Bonelli	Entrepreneur/publisher	None	—
Giovanni Bosco	Lawyer	Civic list (former)	Centre-right
Alessandro Bagnoli	Art historian	None	—
Gianfranco Mingardi	Restorer	None	—
Samuele De Pietri	Entrepreneur (G-Lab)	None	—
Various flood victims	Citizens/entrepreneurs	None	—



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Main Topic

The broadcast addresses three distinct topics: the management of post-flood reconstruction in Emilia-Romagna and Tuscany with delays in compensation payments; the Sgarbi case and the alleged illicit trafficking of artworks; the new morphology of the mafia in Milan as an inter-organisational consortium with infiltrations into the political and business fabric.

Public Debate Context

The May 2023 flood in Emilia-Romagna caused estimated damages of 8.5 billion euros, triggering a political dispute between the Meloni government and the centre-left regional administrations over the quantification of damages and the appointment of the extraordinary commissioner. The Sgarbi case fits into the debate on the protection of Italian cultural heritage and the conflicts of interest of public officials. The topic of the mafia in Milan reflects a broader debate on the evolution of criminal organisations towards entrepreneurial forms and their capacity to infiltrate politics.



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: Stefano Bonaccini — President of the Emilia-Romagna Region (PD)

Timestamp: 00:21:17

Statement: "That is where the famous ATM controversy started when we presented the list of 8.5 billion euros in damages"

Framing: Partisan politician (PD, opposition to the Meloni government), directly involved in the dispute over funds; presented as an authoritative source on the management of reconstruction without making the political conflict of interest explicit

Missing opposing voice: Commissioner Figliuolo or a government representative could have offered the opposing perspective

In-Depth Source Verification:

(a) FUNDING: Regional public institution; public funding; structural conflict of interest in the dispute with the central government over funds

(b) MANDATE: The mandate of regional president is incompatible with a neutral assessment of the government-region dispute

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

D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — Direct party in the political dispute over funds

D2 Personal risk: +1 — Exposes his own region to criticism

D3 Technical expertise: +1 — Competent on regional management, not neutral on the political dispute

D4 Consistency of opinions: +1 — Position consistent with the PD's public stance

D5 Emotionality vs. data: 0 — Mix of data and political arguments

D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary source (politician, not technical expert)

• TOTAL: +1 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW

(c) PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE: The broadcast presents Bonaccini as an authoritative source on the management of reconstruction without making explicit that he is a party to the political dispute → Technique no. 2 (source selection)

Expert 2: Alessandro Bagnoli — Art historian

Timestamp: 00:50:23

Statement: "This painting really seems to me to be an autograph work by Valentin de Boulogne"

Framing: Presented as a neutral expert; any relations with RAI or the parties involved are not declared

Missing opposing voice: A defence expert for Sgarbi or a second independent art historian

In-Depth Source Verification:

(a) FUNDING: Academic, presumably public university funding; no evident conflict of interest



(b) MANDATE: Compatible with technical assessment of the work

(c) CREDIBILITY MATRIX:

- D1 Conflict of interest: +1 — No evident declared conflict
- D2 Personal risk: +1 — Expresses a public technical opinion
- D3 Technical expertise: +2 — Art historian, competent on the period
- D4 Consistency of opinions: +1 — Not verifiable from transcript
- D5 Emotionality vs. data: +1 — Technical assessment based on direct observation
- D6 Source level: +2 — Primary source (direct viewing of the work)

• TOTAL: +8 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: GREEN

(c) PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE: The assessment is correctly presented as an expert opinion, not as an absolute certainty

Expert 3: Nunzio Perrella — Former camorra boss, justice collaborator

Timestamp: 01:41:54

Statement: "Then at a distance they saw the photo and I saw that it was him, Meloni's father"

Framing: Presented as a direct witness; his status as a justice collaborator with potential incentives to provide statements useful to the prosecution is not made explicit

In-Depth Source Verification:

(a) FUNDING: Justice collaborator, potentially benefiting from protection and sentence reduction

(b) MANDATE: Incompatible with neutrality; has a structural interest in providing information useful to the authorities

(c) CREDIBILITY MATRIX:

- D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — Justice collaborator with structural incentives
- D2 Personal risk: +2 — Has already served sentences; the risk of new retaliation is real
- D3 Technical expertise: +1 — Direct witness to the narrated events
- D4 Consistency of opinions: 0 — Not verifiable; the 1992 statements did not mention the surname
- D5 Emotionality vs. data: -1 — Anecdotal narrative without documents
- D6 Source level: +1 — Primary source (direct witness), but not documentary

• TOTAL: +1 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW

(c) PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE: The broadcast presents Perrella as a credible source without making explicit the structural limitations of his testimony → Technique no. 2

Missing expert groups:

- Criminal law experts to contextualise the charges
- Anti-mafia historians for comparative data on infiltrations in parties
- Hydrogeological technicians for the assessment of responsibilities in the maintenance of embankments

Summary (matrix result per expert):

- Bonaccini: YELLOW (+1) — politically involved source, presented as authoritative
- Bagnoli: GREEN (+8) — credible technical source
- Perrella: YELLOW (+1) — justice collaborator with structural incentives, presented without adequate caveats



2. SOURCE SELECTION

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Claims without primary source = penalty points (rumour check)

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

Source 1: Telephone intercepts from the Milan Prosecutor's Office

Timestamp: 01:07:15 — Statement: "There is no Camorra, mafia, Ndrangheta, and so on and so forth. How do they want to make it understood? There is only one word, and it is mafia."

(a) Funding and management: Public judicial source; the intercepts are procedural acts

(b) Structural conflict of interest: The intercepts represent the prosecution's thesis; the defence of those under investigation is not cited systematically

(c) A balancing source is missing: The defence briefs of those under investigation or the assessments of the GIP who denied some arrests

Source 2: Statements by the GIP of the Milan Court

Timestamp: 01:11:53 — Statement: "A thesis that the GIP of the Milan Court did not believe, who denied the PMs the arrest of Errante Parrino because in his view there would be no convincing evidence of his mafia affiliation"

(a) Funding: Public judicial institution

(b) Conflict of interest: None evident

(c) This opposing source is cited but minimised in the overall narrative context

Source 3: Document from Sgarbi's secretariat (email of 24 February 2020)

Timestamp: 00:54:07 — Statement: "from the address of his secretariat, on 24 February 2020, an email containing the expertise of the painting was sent to Gianni Filippini"

(a) Funding: Private document obtained from an anonymous source ("a source who worked with Sgarbi")

(b) Conflict of interest: The source is anonymous; it is not possible to verify the authenticity of the document nor the motivations of the source

(c) Missing: Independent verification of the document's authenticity; response from Sgarbi's secretariat

Rumour check (penalties):

Rumour 1:

Timestamp: 01:33:08

Claim: "in the last five years almost all of the politicians arrested for relations with the mafia turned out to be members of Giorgia Meloni's party"

Linguistic marker: "almost all" — quantitative claim without cited source

Primary source available: NO — penalty +1

Rumour 2:

Timestamp: 01:04:06

Claim: "Mrs Bonelli, certainly not because of her responsibilities, she is not under investigation, let us remember that, but because she helps us understand the transformation of the mafia"

Linguistic marker: "helps us understand" — undocumented causal inference

Primary source available: PARTIAL — the intercepts exist but the inference is editorial



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Summary: The broadcast relies predominantly on judicial sources (intercepts, procedural acts) that represent the prosecution's thesis, without systematic balancing with the defence positions; a serious statistical claim (almost all of those arrested being members of Fdl) is presented without a verifiable source.



3. TIME DISTRIBUTION									5/10
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Definition: Distribution of speaking time among the different positions.

Estimated speaking time:

- Flood victims (citizens/entrepreneurs): approx. 18 min. (15%)
- Bonaccini/Giani (centre-left administrations): approx. 12 min. (10%)
- Mayors (various orientations): approx. 8 min. (7%)
- Mottola/Iovane/Autieri (reporters): approx. 25 min. (21%)
- Ranucci (host, comments): approx. 15 min. (13%)
- Investigated/involved subjects (Sgarbi, Bonelli, Parrino, etc.): approx. 20 min. (17%)
- FdI politicians (Frassinetti, Fianza, Santanchè, Meloni): approx. 10 min. (8%)
- Mazzetti (FI), others: approx. 3 min. (3%)
- Technical experts (Bagnoli, etc.): approx. 5 min. (4%)
- Central government (Meloni clips, citations): approx. 4 min. (3%)

Summary: The central government (Meloni, Musumeci, Figliuolo) has less than 5% of speaking time, while the centre-left regional administrations and reporters critical of the government occupy more than 50% of the time. FdI politicians are present mainly in a defensive or accusatory position.



4. SELECTIVE OMISSION

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Definition: What is not shown despite being relevant?

Omission 1:

Context: Comparative data on mafia infiltrations in all Italian parties

Relevant at: 01:33:08

Effect: The claim about the "almost totality" of those arrested being members of FdI creates the impression that the phenomenon is exclusive to that party, whereas historically mafia infiltrations have affected all major Italian parties (DC, PSI, PD, Lega, etc.)

Omission 2:

Context: Responsibilities of the Emilia-Romagna and Tuscany regions in the preventive maintenance of embankments and hydrogeological planning

Relevant at: 00:06:10 — 00:38:35

Effect: The narrative attributes the damages almost exclusively to delays by the central government, without examining regional responsibilities in prevention; the issue of nutria (00:06:10) is treated as a curiosity, not as a matter of management responsibility

Omission 3:

Context: Institutional reasons for the refusal to be interviewed by Musumeci and Figliuolo

Relevant at: 00:19:20

Effect: The refusal is presented as an element against the government ("We asked Minister Musumeci for an interview, but it was not possible") without exploring whether there are procedural or legal reasons for the refusal during an active investigation/reconstruction phase

Summary: The most significant omissions concern the comparative context on mafia infiltrations in parties and regional responsibilities in hydrogeological prevention; both omissions favour the critical narrative towards the centre-right government.

Missing voices

- Minister Musumeci: Could have explained the institutional reasons for the delays and the overall government strategy
- General Figliuolo: Could have illustrated the criteria for resource allocation and the progress of reconstruction
- Independent criminal law expert: Could have contextualised the charges against Sgarbi within the current legal framework
- Anti-mafia historian: Could have provided comparative data on mafia infiltrations in all Italian parties from 1990 to the present
- Sgarbi defence expert: Could have offered an alternative assessment of the authenticity of the works
- Insurance representative: Could have explained why movable property is not covered by reconstruction funds
- Hydrogeology expert: Could have technically assessed the responsibilities for the failure to maintain the embankments
- Representative of the Tuscan regional government on prevention: Could have responded to Musumeci's accusations of insufficient preventive activity



5. DATA MANIPULATION

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

Definition: Selective or misleading use of statistics.

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 00:12:59 — 00:13:12

Data: "The estimated damages for private individuals amount to approximately 4 billion euros. So far the government has allocated 639 million euros plus 700 in tax credits."

Dimensions: (a) absolute value shown; (b) proportion shown implicitly (639 out of 4 billion = 16%); (c) trend over time NOT shown

Missing context: It is not indicated that funds are disbursed progressively and that the instantaneous comparison between total damages and funds already disbursed is methodologically incorrect; the multi-year disbursement plan is not shown

Effect: Creates the impression of 16% coverage when in reality the funds are disbursed in multiple tranches

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 00:23:07 — 00:23:10

Data: "At this moment just over 4 billion euros have actually arrived"

Dimensions: (a) absolute value shown; (b) proportion relative to the 8.5 billion in damages shown; (c) trend NOT shown

Missing context: The reference period is not specified, nor is there a comparison with the disbursement timelines of previous post-disaster reconstructions

Effect: The figure appears insufficient without the temporal and comparative context

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 01:33:08

Data: "in the last five years almost all of the politicians arrested for relations with the mafia turned out to be members of Giorgia Meloni's party"

Dimensions: (a) no absolute value; (b) no proportion; (c) no trend

Missing context: No source cited; no comparative data with other parties; no definition of "almost all"

Effect: Serious statistical claim presented as fact without any verification

Summary: The broadcast uses financial data on the flood in a partial manner (instantaneous rather than progressive comparison) and presents a serious statistical claim about mafia infiltrations in FdI without any verifiable source.



6. GUILT BY ASSOCIATION

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Definition: Discrediting by association with negative groups/ideas.

Association 1:

Timestamp: 01:41:54

Quote: "Then at a distance they saw the photo and I saw that it was him, Meloni's father"

Technique: Giorgia Meloni's father is associated with mafia boss Michele Senese through the testimony of a former camorra boss; the broadcast then clarifies that "the President of the Council and her sister Arianna have nothing to do with the father's activities", but the association has already been constructed

Effect: Creates an implicit association between the President of the Council and organised crime through the father, despite the necessary clarification

Association 2:

Timestamp: 00:57:59 — 01:04:04

Quote: "the name of Letizia Bonelli appears in numerous investigations by various Italian anti-mafia prosecutors, without ever appearing as a defendant"

Technique: Bonelli is associated with the mafia through her acquaintances, despite being explicitly not under investigation; the broadcast constructs an associative chain (Bonelli → Fidanzati → Cosa Nostra; Bonelli → Favara → Bellocco; Bonelli → Cangemi → De Stefano) that places her in the mafia's orbit

Effect: Discredits Bonelli and, by extension, the politicians she associated with (Silvia Sardone, Lega)

Associative chain:

Amico → Frassinetti (Fdl) → healthcare contracts → Fidanza (Fdl) → electoral campaign → Vestiti → Santanchè (Fdl) → Ceraulo → Fdl parliamentary candidacy

Verification for each person framed as colluding:

Letizia Bonelli:

- Works with primary documentary sources? PARTIAL (intercepts exist, but she is not a defendant)
- Are her main claims falsifiable? YES
- Personal risk: HIGH (public exposure, potential reputational damage)
- Gain: LOW (no evident advantage from exposure)
- Tone: Defensive, not apocalyptic
- CATEGORY: B — Borderline case (documented acquaintances, but no conviction or indictment)

Nunzio Perrella (as source):

- Works with primary sources? YES (direct testimony)
- Claims falsifiable? YES (photo of Franco Meloni can be compared)
- Personal risk: MEDIUM (already a justice collaborator)
- Gain: MEDIUM (maintenance of collaborator status)
- CATEGORY: B — Borderline case (partially documented testimony, structural incentives)



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Summary: The broadcast constructs associative chains linking non-indicted subjects (Bonelli) or relatives of politicians (Meloni's father) to organised crime; the clarification that such subjects are not under investigation is present but insufficient to neutralise the associative effect.



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

Finding 1:

Position: 01:41:54 (end of broadcast)

Content: Perrella's statement about Giorgia Meloni's father as a drug trafficker for Michele Senese

Temporal effect: Placed in the final part of the long section on the Milan mafia, after having built for over 40 minutes the narrative of the mafia consortium and its infiltrations in FdI; the association with the President of the Council arrives when the viewer has already absorbed a picture of FdI as a party permeable to the mafia, amplifying the effect

Finding 2:

Position: 00:00:00 (opening)

Content: Images of flood victims, destroyed homes, furniture in landfills

Temporal effect: The emotional opening with the victims' testimonies creates an empathetic frame that predisposes the viewer to evaluate negatively anyone perceived as responsible for the delays; this emotional frame precedes any presentation of government positions

Finding 3:

Position: 00:42:45 — 00:56:36 (middle of broadcast)

Content: Sgarbi case — seizure of paintings, intercepts, testimonies

Temporal effect: The Sgarbi case is placed between the flood report and the mafia report, creating a narrative continuum of governmental "wrongdoing" that connects three distinct stories

Summary: The temporal structure of the broadcast constructs a progressive frame of governmental responsibility: first the flood victims (emotion), then the Sgarbi case (cultural corruption), then the mafia in FdI (organised crime), with the reference to Meloni's father as the final climax.



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 in other positions have not produced a similar reaction.

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 00:12:52

Triggering event: Commissioner Figliuolo offers 40,000 euros to companies with damages in the millions

Reaction: "A pittance. When it arrives, that is. Because there are delays." — sarcastic tone from the reporter

Comparison: The same critical tone is not applied to the Sfinge platform of the Emilia-Romagna Region, operational only from 16 November (two months after the commissioner's ordinance), despite being a comparable regional delay

Asymmetry: DOCUMENTED — the regional delay is mentioned (00:23:40) but without a sarcastic tone

Degree of outrage: 3/5

Selectivity: 3/5

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 00:19:06

Triggering event: Statement by the Mayor of Sant'Agata: "We were accused of using the State as an ATM"

Reaction: The reporter presents Musumeci's statement as an "unfortunate phrase, an offensive phrase" through the voice of the Mayor of Forlì (00:20:51); Musumeci's version is not offered

Comparison: When Bonaccini uses equally polemical tones towards the government (00:25:15 "You know that after that famous meeting in which he told us that the government was not a bank, Matt, I never heard from Minister Musumeci again"), the same critical scrutiny is not applied

Asymmetry: DOCUMENTED

Degree of outrage: 3/5

Selectivity: 3/5

Summary: The broadcast applies a critical and sarcastic tone to the delays and statements of the central government, while the delays and responsibilities of the centre-left regional administrations are presented with a sympathetic or neutral tone.



9. SELECTIVE OMISSION — GENERAL FRAMEWORK

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Definition: How completely does the broadcast represent the topic?

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 01:33:08

Missing perspective/fact: Historical data on mafia infiltrations in all Italian parties

Relevance: The claim about the "almost totality" of those arrested being members of Fdl is presented as fact; without comparative historical context, the viewer cannot assess whether this is a new phenomenon or a continuation of a pattern that has affected all parties

Impact: Creates the impression that Fdl is structurally more vulnerable to the mafia than other parties, without comparative evidence

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 00:35:21 — 00:35:28

Missing perspective/fact: Independent technical assessment of regional responsibilities in hydrogeological prevention

Relevance: Musumeci accuses the regions of "insufficient prevention activity on the territory" (00:35:21); this accusation is neither verified nor refuted with independent technical data

Impact: The viewer cannot assess the validity of the government's accusation nor the regional response

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 01:45:13 — 01:46:12

Missing perspective/fact: Independent verification of Perrella's credibility as a source on Meloni's father

Relevance: Perrella is a former camorra boss and justice collaborator; his 1992 statements did not mention the surname Meloni; the identification occurs only after the publication of photos in Spanish newspapers

Impact: The testimony is presented as credible without adequate contextualisation of the structural limitations of a source with incentives to cooperate with the authorities

Summary: The most serious omissions concern the comparative context on mafia infiltrations in parties and the independent verification of Perrella's credibility; both omissions reinforce the critical narrative towards Fdl and the government.

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 central government (Meloni, Musumeci, Figliuolo) on the management of reconstruction
- [B] Regional responsibilities in hydrogeological prevention and embankment maintenance
- [C] Historical comparison with the management of previous floods (e.g. 2012 earthquake)
- [D] Comparative data on mafia infiltrations in all political parties
- [E] Position of Sgarbi's defence and of the persons involved in the paintings case
- [F] Independent technical assessment of the authenticity of the artworks
- [G] Role of the Soprintendenza in the failure to secure the embankments at Campi Bisenzio
- [H] Economic impact of the flood on national GDP and recovery prospects



- [I] Anti-mafia control mechanisms in political parties and their comparative effectiveness
- [J] Voice of flood victims in Tuscany in a manner symmetrical to those in Emilia-Romagna

[A] ANECDOTAL/PARTIAL

Timestamp: 00:23:14 — Quote: "If I am not mistaken I am making a rough estimate we are at 6.5 billion euros" — Assessment: The government's position is presented through a clip of Meloni and Bonaccini's critical response, without a direct interview with the government; the refusal of an interview by Musumeci and Figliuolo is mentioned but not explored in its institutional reasons.

[B] ANECDOTAL

Timestamp: 00:35:08 — Quote: "Musumeci, who arrived after the flood, pointed the finger at the fragility of the embankments and the uncompleted flood retention basins" — Assessment: Regional responsibility in preventive maintenance is touched upon but not developed systematically; Musumeci's position is cited without counterargument.

[C] ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 00:41:48 — Quote: "in history from 2000 to today almost all commissioners for floods corresponded to the figure of the regional president" — Assessment: The historical comparison is present but limited to the commissioner issue, not to the overall management of funds.

[D] OMITTED

Timestamp: none — Quote: none — Assessment: No comparative data on mafia infiltrations in other parties is offered; the claim about the "almost totality" of those arrested being members of FdI is neither verified nor historically contextualised.

[E] PARTIAL

Timestamp: 00:51:37 — Quote: "Sgarbi however denies that the painting is original and also that it is his property" — Assessment: Sgarbi's defence is presented but immediately refuted by the broadcast; a defence lawyer is not consulted.

[F] ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 00:50:23 — Quote: "This painting really seems to me to be an autograph work by Valentin de Boulogne" — Assessment: Professor Bagnoli offers a technical assessment, but he is the only expert consulted; a counter-expert assessment is missing.

[G] ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 00:40:08 — Quote: "the Soprintendenza denies any obstacle even for the past" — Assessment: The Soprintendenza issue is addressed, with the institution's response included.

[H] ANECDOTAL

Timestamp: 00:27:48 — Quote: "alone in 2022 it had produced 38 billion euros of wealth, that is to say alone 2.2% of national GDP" — Assessment: The figure is cited but not developed in terms of economic recovery prospects.

[I] OMITTED

Timestamp: none — Quote: none — Assessment: The effectiveness of anti-mafia control mechanisms in political parties in general is not discussed; the focus is exclusively on FdI.

[J] PARTIAL

Timestamp: 00:28:13 — Quote: "Tuscany where on 3 November last a flood brought to its knees..." — Assessment: Tuscany is addressed but with less depth than Emilia-Romagna; the voices of Tuscan victims are fewer and less articulated.

Completeness Score: 4/10

The broadcast covers in depth the suffering of flood victims and the alleged governmental responsibilities, but systematically omits comparative perspectives (other parties and the mafia, regional responsibilities in prevention, historical data on infiltrations). The report on the Milan mafia is investigatively solid but lacks political balance.

1. Milan Prosecutor's Office (magistrates Cerreti and Dolci)

1. FUNDING: Public state institution; public funding
2. MANDATE: Compatible with anti-mafia investigations; incompatible with neutrality in the assessment of evidence (prosecutorial function)
3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST: Institutional interest in supporting the prosecution's thesis; the cited intercepts are procedural acts of the prosecuting party



4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX: D1 -1 (prosecutorial function) / D2 +2 (high institutional risk) / D3 +2 (technical competence) / D4 +1 (institutional consistency) / D5 +1 (based on documentary evidence) / D6 +2 (primary source) → TOTAL +7 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: GREEN for the existence of the intercepts; YELLOW for their interpretation

5. OPPOSING VOICE: The GIP who denied some arrests is cited (01:11:53) but minimised in the narrative context

2. Emilia-Romagna Region (Bonaccini)

1. FUNDING: Regional public institution; public funding

2. MANDATE: Incompatible with neutrality in the government-region dispute

3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST: Direct party in the dispute over funds; political interest in presenting the government as non-compliant

4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX: D1 -2 / D2 +1 / D3 +1 / D4 +1 / D5 0 / D6 0 → TOTAL +1 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW

5. OPPOSING VOICE: The central government is cited through clips of Meloni, not through a direct interview

3. Soprintendenza (written response)

1. FUNDING: Public state institution; public funding

2. MANDATE: Compatible with technical assessment of constraints on cultural heritage

3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST: Institutional interest in defending its past decisions

4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX: D1 -1 / D2 +1 / D3 +2 / D4 +1 / D5 +1 / D6 +1 → TOTAL +5 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: GREEN

5. OPPOSING VOICE: The Soprintendenza's response is included (00:40:08), but the narrative context presents it as defensive

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



Softfacts — 6 qualitative techniques

10. FRAMING

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Definition: How is the topic fundamentally framed?

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 00:27:02 — 00:27:11

Quote: "It is a fact that what Premier Meloni had promised when she went among the flood victims, namely that they would be compensated 100%, well, this will never happen."

Manipulation: The host presents as "fact" a future prediction ("will never happen") that is by definition unverifiable at the time of the broadcast; the frame is that of the "broken promise"

Why problematic: Transforms a political statement in the process of implementation into a certainty of failure, without considering that funds are disbursed progressively

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 00:27:46 — 00:28:08

Quote: "But stopping a machine like this just for political squabbles is like hitting yourself with a hammer. [...] In short, it is suicide not to put this machine in a position to restart immediately."

Manipulation: The frame of "political squabbles" attributes responsibility for the delays exclusively to the political conflict between government and regions, without considering the objective bureaucratic and procedural complexities

Why problematic: Simplifies a complex situation into a narrative of unilateral political responsibility

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 01:04:29 — 01:04:43

Quote: "The fight against the mafia, Paolo Borsellino used to say, is a cultural matter [...] but how can you smell this stench if it mixes with the perfume of the elite, of professionals, entrepreneurs, politicians."

Manipulation: The use of Borsellino's quote as a frame to introduce the report on the Milan mafia creates a powerful emotional association between the anti-mafia struggle and the critical narrative towards FdI that will follow

Why problematic: The quote of an anti-mafia martyr is used as a rhetorical device to legitimise a politically oriented narrative

Summary: The dominant frame of the broadcast is that of the "broken promise" (flood) and of "the mafia camouflaged within the elite" (mafia), both constructed in a way that orients the viewer's assessment towards a critical reading of the centre-right government.



11. WORD AND TERM CHOICE

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

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 00:03:58 — 00:04:00

Quote: "a contribution of 40,000 euros is offered. A pittance."

Manipulation: The term "pittance" (pejorative diminutive of "tip") is a value judgement presented as an objective description

Why problematic: A neutral alternative would be: "a contribution of 40,000 euros, which the companies consider insufficient relative to the damages suffered"

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 00:12:52 — 00:12:59

Quote: "in the face of the administration and the bureaucracy which instead is grappling with the ambiguity of the calculations"

Manipulation: The expression "in the face of" is a colloquial expression of contempt; "ambiguity of the calculations" attributes bad faith without proof

Why problematic: Neutral alternative: "while the administration faces the procedural complexities of quantifying the damages"

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 01:03:35 — 01:03:51

Quote: "She must really also be very good at the subject of the right to be forgotten, if it is true that despite being related to men linked to the Cosa Nostra clan, despite having had meetings with representatives of the Ndrangheta, and despite having had an important relationship with a prominent member of the Bellocco clan, Ndrangheta, in short all those who sit on that sofa we point it out to them."

Manipulation: The sarcastic tone ("she must really also be very good") transforms a journalistic analysis into an ironic comment; the structure "despite... despite... despite" constructs a rhetorical accumulation that suggests guilt in the absence of indictment

Why problematic: Neutral alternative: "Bonelli's name appears in several anti-mafia investigations, without her ever having been indicted"

Summary: The broadcast systematically uses negatively connotated language to describe the actions of the government and subjects associated with the right, while using more neutral or empathetic language for the centre-left regional administrations and flood victims.



12. HOST 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: 00:25:36 — 00:25:40

Triggering event: Bonaccini criticises the government for delays in appointing the commissioner

Quote (host/reporter): "But you see, here too. This ping-pong you are playing with the government also creates uncertainty."

Comparison: When Bonaccini responds defensively (00:25:42 "I am not creating the ping-pong, we are not creating it"), the reporter does not insist; whereas when Fdl politicians respond defensively, the reporter insists with further questions (e.g. 01:28:09 with Frassinetti)

Asymmetry: PARTIALLY DOCUMENTED — the critical question to Bonaccini exists, but the follow-up is less insistent than with Fdl politicians

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 01:27:03 — 01:28:33

Triggering event: Frassinetti denies having had significant relations with Amico

Quote (reporter): "Technically you did, however, Honourable Member." / "You should be more careful, however, in choosing the people you invite to sit at your table"

Comparison: When Bonaccini denies regional responsibilities for the delays in the Sfinge platform, the reporter does not use the same assertive tone

Asymmetry: DOCUMENTED — the reporter uses a more assertive and accusatory tone with Fdl politicians than with centre-left politicians

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 01:41:26 — 01:43:26

Triggering event: Giorgia Meloni is contacted regarding Perrella's statement about her father

Quote (reporter): "A source told us that your father, Franco Meloni, transported marijuana for Michele Senese."

Comparison: The question is put to the President of the Council directly and without preamble; the same opportunity for an articulated response that is given to other subjects is not offered (e.g. Bonaccini has ample space to explain his position)

Asymmetry: DOCUMENTED — the question to Meloni is formulated more directly and with less space for a response

Summary: The host and reporters show an asymmetry in tone and persistence of questions: more assertive and insistent with Fdl politicians, more accommodating with centre-left politicians.



13. QUESTION ASYMMETRY

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Definition: Questions that are differently tough/soft to different people.

Asymmetry 1:

To Bonaccini, 00:25:36: "This ping-pong you are playing with the government also creates uncertainty." — NEUTRAL/SOFT (critical but without insistent follow-up)

To Frassinetti, 01:27:22: "You had dinner with him in 2020, I believe you talked about contracts in the sanitation sector." — TOUGH (statement presented as fact, not as a question)

Comparison: The question to Frassinetti presupposes guilt; the one to Bonaccini leaves room for defence

Asymmetry 2:

To Mayor of Forlì (centre-right), 00:20:10: "What kind of administration are you?" — NEUTRAL

To Mayor of Forlì, 00:20:46: "But listen, these citizens were also told that they wanted to use the government as an ATM, Matt." — TOUGH (recalls a controversial statement)

Comparison: The tough question is put to the centre-right mayor who criticises the government; an equivalently tough question about regional responsibilities is not put to the centre-left mayors

Asymmetry 3:

To Giani (Tuscany, PD), 00:35:50: "But do you feel held back by Rome?" — SOFT (open question that invites criticism of the government)

To Mazzetti (FI), 00:40:55: "The MP is quite explicit. It remains to be seen whether she would say the same things if a party colleague were governing the region." — CRITICAL COMMENT BY THE HOST (not a question, but an editorial judgement)

Comparison: Questions to centre-left politicians invite criticism of the government; responses from centre-right politicians are followed by critical comments from the host

Summary: Questions to FdI and centre-right politicians are systematically tougher and presuppose guilt, while questions to centre-left politicians are more open and invite criticism of the government.



14. FALSE BALANCE

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Definition: Artificial balance despite a real imbalance.

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 00:19:20 — 00:19:29

Construction: "We asked Minister Musumeci for an interview, but it was not possible. So we wrote to General Figliuolo, who replied that he is currently not giving interviews."

Analysis: The mention of the attempt to contact the government creates an appearance of balance, but the refusal to be interviewed is presented as an element against the government without exploring the institutional reasons; the "false balance" consists in presenting the attempt as sufficient to guarantee equal treatment

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 01:45:13 — 01:45:26

Construction: "We state this clearly. The President of the Council and her sister Arianna have nothing to do with the father's activities, with whom they have always said they have had no relations in the last 30 years."

Analysis: The clarification is necessary but insufficient to neutralise the effect of the association constructed in the preceding minutes; the "false balance" consists in presenting the clarification as a guarantee of impartiality after having constructed the association

Summary: The broadcast uses false balance mainly through the mention of attempts to contact the government (presented as a guarantee of impartiality) and the clarifications on the legal status of the subjects involved (presented as a guarantee of correctness), without these elements effectively neutralising the narrative imbalances.



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 centre-right government is structurally responsible for the delays in post-flood reconstruction

Timestamp: 00:27:02 — Evidence: "It is a fact that the political squabbles between the centre-right government and the left-wing administrations have in some way complicated things"

Alternative agenda: The bureaucratic complexity of post-disaster reconstruction is a structural Italian problem independent of the political colour of the government; a comparison with the post-earthquake reconstruction of 2009 (L'Aquila, Berlusconi government) or 2016 (Renzi government) would have contextualised the phenomenon

Finding 2:

Agenda element set: Fdl is the party most permeable to mafia infiltrations

Timestamp: 01:33:08 — Evidence: "in the last five years almost all of the politicians arrested for relations with the mafia turned out to be members of Giorgia Meloni's party"

Alternative agenda: Mafia infiltrations in political parties are a cross-cutting and historical phenomenon in Italy; the alternative agenda would have included a comparative analysis of all parties and an analysis of the structural causes (rapid electoral growth, weak control mechanisms, etc.)

Finding 3:

Agenda element set: The protection of cultural heritage is incompatible with the presence of Sgarbi as undersecretary

Timestamp: 00:56:23 — Evidence: "Sgarbi, let us remember, should also protect the cultural heritage code, the one that would prevent the illicit export of artworks"

Alternative agenda: The question of the separation between public function and private activity concerns many public officials of all political persuasions; the alternative agenda would have included a systematic analysis of conflicts of interest in the management of cultural heritage

Summary: The broadcast's agenda is constructed in a way that presents as facts three politically oriented premises: governmental responsibility for post-flood delays, Fdl's permeability to the mafia, and Sgarbi's incompatibility with his institutional role; all three premises lack the comparative context necessary for a balanced assessment.



CHAPTER 4 — OVERALL ASSESSMENT

Overview of Individual Scores

No.	Criterion	Type	Score	Main finding (1 sentence)
1	Expert selection	H	6	Bonaccini presented as an authoritative source without making the political conflict of interest explicit; Perrella as a credible witness without adequate caveats
2	Source selection	H	6	Prevalence of accusatory sources (intercepts); serious statistical claim about FdI without verifiable source
3	Time distribution	H	5	The central government has less than 5% of speaking time; centre-left administrations and critical reporters over 50%
4	Omissions	H	7	Absence of comparative data on mafia infiltrations in all parties; regional responsibilities in prevention not examined
5	Data manipulation	H	6	Instantaneous comparison of funds/damages methodologically incorrect; statistical claim about FdI without source
6	Guilt by association	H	7	FdI-mafia associative chain systematically constructed; Meloni's father associated with a mafia boss
7	Timing	H	5	Progressive structure: victims → corruption → mafia → Meloni's father; final climax maximises emotional impact
8	Selective outrage	H	6	Sarcastic tone towards government delays; sympathetic tone towards regional delays
9	Completeness	H	7	Missing comparative context on mafia infiltrations and independent verification of Perrella's credibility
10	Framing	S	7	Frame of the "broken promise" and "mafia within the elite" constructed to orient assessment towards the government
11	Word choice	S	6	"Pittance", "in the face of", systematic sarcastic tone towards the government
12	Host behaviour	S	6	More assertive tone with FdI politicians; more accommodating with centre-left politicians
13	Question asymmetry	S	6	Questions presuppose guilt for FdI; open questions for centre-left
14	False balance	S	4	Mention of attempts to contact the government presented as a guarantee of impartiality
15	Agenda-setting	S	7	Three politically oriented premises presented as facts without comparative context

Results

- HARDFACTS SCORE (average criteria 1-9): 6.1 / 10
- SOFTFACTS SCORE (average criteria 10-15): 6.0 / 10



- OVERALL SCORE (average all 15 criteria): 6.1 / 10

Dominant Techniques

The 3 strongest techniques in this broadcast:

- 1. Guilt by association (Score 7):** The broadcast systematically constructs associative chains linking Fdl to organised crime through intermediary figures (Amico-Frassinetti, Vestiti-Santanchè, Fidanza-Amico), culminating in the association of the President of the Council's father with a mafia boss. Despite the necessary legal clarifications, the cumulative effect is to present Fdl as structurally permeable to the mafia.
- 2. Agenda-setting (Score 7):** The broadcast presents as facts three politically oriented premises — governmental responsibility for post-flood delays, Fdl's permeability to the mafia, Sgarbi's incompatibility with his role — without the comparative context necessary for a balanced assessment. The absence of historical data on mafia infiltrations in all parties is the most serious gap.
- 3. Omissions (Score 7):** The most significant omissions concern the comparative context on mafia infiltrations in parties (which would have relativised the claim about the "almost totality" of those arrested being members of Fdl) and regional responsibilities in hydrogeological prevention (which would have balanced the critical narrative towards the central government).

Key Messages of the Broadcast

MESSAGE 1 (CONTENT): "The Meloni government has betrayed the promises made to flood victims, prioritising political squabbles with the left-wing administrations over reconstruction"

Technique: Framing of the "broken promise" + omission of regional responsibilities — Evidence: 00:27:02, 00:27:46

MESSAGE 2 (PERSONAL): "Fdl is the party most permeable to mafia infiltrations, with connections reaching as far as the family of the President of the Council"

Technique: Guilt by association + agenda-setting — Evidence: 01:33:08, 01:41:54

MESSAGE 3 (SOCIAL): "The new mafia has transformed itself into a business consortium that infiltrates the political, economic and cultural elite, making the boundary between legality and illegality invisible"

Technique: Framing + source selection — Evidence: 01:04:29, 01:06:16

Classification of the Degree of Manipulation

Rationale: The broadcast presents an overall score of 6.1/10, placing it in the category of "clear one-sidedness". The most problematic techniques — guilt by association, agenda-setting and omissions — converge systematically towards a critical narrative of the centre-right government and of Fdl in particular. The claim about the "almost totality" of those arrested being members of Fdl (01:33:08) is presented without a verifiable source and without comparative context, in violation of the principles of completeness and impartiality. The association of the President of the Council's father with organised crime, despite the necessary clarification about Meloni's non-involvement, is constructed in a way that maximises emotional impact. Pursuant to the RAI Service Contract Art. 6, which requires pluralism, completeness and impartiality, the broadcast presents documentable violations in source selection, distribution of speaking time and the absence of comparative context.

CONCLUSION

The Report broadcast under analysis presents a clear one-sidedness (score 6.1/10) that manifests itself through three main mechanisms: the systematic construction of associative chains between Fdl and organised crime without adequate comparative context; the presentation of the critical narrative towards the government as fact through agenda-setting; and the omission of regional responsibilities in hydrogeological prevention and of historical data on mafia infiltrations in all parties. The claim about the "almost totality" of those arrested being members of Fdl is presented without a verifiable source, in violation of Art. 6 of the RAI Service Contract which requires completeness and impartiality of information. The temporal structure of the broadcast — from the flood victims to the Sgarbi case, through to the Milan mafia and Meloni's father — constructs a progressive frame of governmental responsibility that orients the viewer's assessment before the government's positions are presented. While acknowledging the investigative value of some sections (Sgarbi case, Milan mafia consortium), the broadcast does not meet the requirements of pluralism and impartiality set out in the RAI Service Contract Art. 6.



OVERALL ASSESSMENT OF THE 15 CRITERIA

Individual scores — All 15 criteria

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

HARDFACTS SCORE (1-8)

6.1/10

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

SOFTFACTS SCORE (9-14)

6.0/10

Considerable imbalance

OVERALL SCORE

6.1/10

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 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 broadcast respects the principle of balance.
2.6 – 4.0	Slight imbalance	Isolated anomalies; statistically visible but still within the tolerance margin.
4.1 – 6.0	Considerable imbalance	Multiple significant findings; relevant compromise of the plurality of perspectives.
6.1 – 8.0	Serious deviation from the principle of balance. High degree of deviation	Pronounced and cross-cutting 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 under-represented 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 over-represented in framing, airtime or presentation.



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

Assessment pursuant to 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 completeness

Facts: Serious statistical claim without verifiable source

Evidence: Timestamp 01:33:08 — Quote: "in the last five years almost all of the politicians arrested for relations with the mafia turned out to be members of Giorgia Meloni's party"

Assessment: The claim is presented as fact without citing any verifiable source, without providing absolute figures, without offering a comparative context with other parties. This violates the principle of completeness of information and the requirement of separation between news (verifiable data) and commentary (editorial assessment).

Violation 2:

Norm: Service Contract Art. 6 — Pluralism and right of reply

Facts: Systematic absence of the government's voice

Evidence: Timestamp 00:19:20 — Quote: "We asked Minister Musumeci for an interview, but it was not possible. So we wrote to General Figliuolo, who replied that he is currently not giving interviews."

Assessment: The government's refusal to be interviewed is presented as an element against the executive, without exploring the institutional reasons for the refusal or seeking alternatives (public statements, parliamentary acts, official press releases). The principle of pluralism requires that the broadcast make every reasonable effort to include the government's position, not merely to document the refusal.

Violation 3:

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

Facts: Evaluative comments presented as factual descriptions

Evidence: Timestamp 00:27:02 — Quote: "It is a fact that what Premier Meloni had promised when she went among the flood victims, namely that they would be compensated 100%, well, this will never happen."

Assessment: The statement "this will never happen" is an editorial prediction presented as "fact"; the separation between news and commentary required by Art. 6 requires that editorial assessments be clearly identified as such.

Violation 4:

Norm: Service Contract Art. 6 — Completeness and impartiality

Facts: Association of the President of the Council's father with organised crime through an inadequately contextualised source

Evidence: Timestamp 01:41:54 — Quote: "Then at a distance they saw the photo and I saw that it was him, Meloni's father"

Assessment: Perrella's testimony is presented without adequate contextualisation of his status as a justice collaborator with structural incentives; the clarification about Meloni's non-involvement is insufficient to guarantee the impartiality required by Art. 6, since the association is narratively constructed before the clarification.

Overall Assessment of Service Contract Art. 6

The broadcast presents four documentable violations of the RAI Service Contract Art. 6: a serious statistical claim without a verifiable source (impartiality and completeness); the systematic absence of the government's voice presented as an element against the executive (pluralism); evaluative comments presented as facts



(news/commentary separation); and the association of the President of the Council's father with organised crime through an inadequately contextualised source (impartiality). The violations are systematic and convergent towards a politically oriented narrative, not episodic or marginal. In the context of public broadcasting, these violations constitute an editorial alignment that exceeds the limits of legitimate investigative journalism and that could be subject to formal challenge before AGCOM.

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

1. Milan Prosecutor's Office (magistrates Cerreti and Dolci)

- FUNDING:** Public state institution; public funding
- MANDATE:** Compatible with anti-mafia investigations; incompatible with neutrality in the assessment of evidence (prosecutorial function)
- CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Institutional interest in supporting the prosecution's thesis; the cited intercepts are procedural acts of the prosecuting party
 - D1 Conflict of interest: -1
 - D2 Personal risk: +2
 - D3 Technical expertise: +2
 - D4 Consistency of opinions: +1
 - D5 Emotionality vs. data: +1
 - D6 Source level: +2
- OPPOSING VOICE:** The GIP who denied some arrests is cited (01:11:53) but minimised in the narrative context

2. Emilia-Romagna Region (Bonaccini)

- FUNDING:** Regional public institution; public funding
- MANDATE:** Incompatible with neutrality in the government-region dispute
- CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Direct party in the dispute over funds; political interest in presenting the government as non-compliant
 - D1 Conflict of interest: -2
 - D2 Personal risk: +1
 - D3 Technical expertise: +1
 - D4 Consistency of opinions: +1
 - D5 Emotionality vs. data: 0
 - D6 Source level: 0
- OPPOSING VOICE:** The central government is cited through clips of Meloni, not through a direct interview

3. Soprintendenza (written response)

- FUNDING:** Public state institution; public funding
- MANDATE:** Compatible with technical assessment of constraints on cultural heritage
- CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Institutional interest in defending its past decisions
 - D1 Conflict of interest: -1
 - D2 Personal risk: +1
 - D3 Technical expertise: +2
 - D4 Consistency of opinions: +1
 - D5 Emotionality vs. data: +1
 - D6 Source level: +1
- OPPOSING VOICE:** The Soprintendenza's response is included (00:40:08), but the narrative context presents it as defensive

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

Source credibility traffic light:

Source	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	Total	Signal
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Milan Prosecutor's Office (magistrates Cerreti and Dolci)	-1	+2	+2	+1	+1	+2	?	GREEN
Emilia-Romagna Region (Bonaccini)	-2	+1	+1	+1	0	0	?	YELLOW
Soprintendenza (written response)	-1	+1	+2	+1	+1	+1	?	GREEN

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 pursuant to RAI Service Contract Art. 7. The assessment of whether a specific broadcast violates legal requirements is the exclusive competence of the relevant authorities (in particular AGCOM).
Not proof of causality	Statistical correlations must not be interpreted as proof of causal links or editorial intent. Deviation values may be influenced by the choice of topics, the information context, political controversy or the logic of the format.
Not a judgement on intentionality	The analysis measures the observable structural characteristics of broadcasts. A score of 7 means that a significant imbalance has been detected — not that the editorial team intended it. The methodology makes no claims about motivations or strategic objectives.
Heuristic comparison tool	The index serves 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 party proportionality criteria — 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 (Authority for Communications Guarantees): Media regulation, sanctions
- Parliamentary RAI Supervisory Commission: Parliamentary oversight

Complaint procedure

1. RAI internal complaints office
2. AGCOM



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3. Regional Administrative Court (TAR)



APPENDIX 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 solid, we depend on the contributions of members and supporters.

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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**

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

Framing with style. Because the frame changes everything.



RAI receives 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 Authority for Communications Guarantees.

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 deficiencies 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 has yet to be built.