



RAI DETAILED ANALYSIS

2024-02-18_report_Regular_spring_2024

Broadcast: RAI Programme | 2024-02-18 | Analysed on: 2026-05-24 12:18

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.

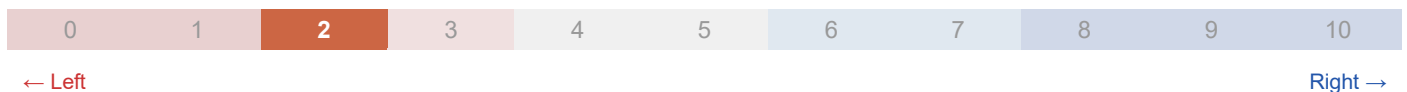
Party	AVS	PD	M5S	Azione	NM	FI	Lega	Fdi
CHES	1.85	3.38	3.46	5.08	5.80	6.46	8.00	8.54
Spectrum	Left	Left	Left	Centre	Right	Right	Right	Right

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)

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

The Italian government in office since October 2022 is led by Giorgia Meloni (Fdi) and comprises a centre-right coalition formed by 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, LGBTQ+ rights, ius soli
PD	3,40	69	Opposition (main)	Pro-EU, minimum wage, ecological transition
+Europa	3,80	2	Opposition	Pro-European integration, liberal-progressive
M5S	4,20	52	Opposition	Citizens' income, anti-corruption, public water
Azione	4,90	21	Opposition	Liberal-reformist, centrist
Italia Viva	5,00	(in Az)	Opposition	Centrist, liberal-reformist
Noi Moderati	5,80	7	Government	Christian-democratic, moderate
Forza Italia	6,50	45	Government	Liberal-conservative, pro-EU Atlanticist
Lega	8,10	66	Government	Sovereignist, flat tax, differentiated autonomy
Fdi	8,30	119	Government (PM)	National-conservative, European sovereignism

The Italian political landscape is traversed by four main lines of conflict. The first concerns the Ponte sullo Stretto di Messina, Salvini's and Lega's flagship project, contested by opposition parties and independent experts on grounds of costs, transparency and technical feasibility. The second concerns the management of public contracts and systemic corruption, with investigations involving figures close to the governing coalition. The third line concerns energy and climate policy, with the government in favour of nuclear power and critical of European green policies. The fourth is the issue of food sovereignty and the quality of Italian products, a topic on which the government has shown political sensitivity, as demonstrated by Minister Lollobrigida's reaction to the investigation into wine.

RAI is historically characterised by the so-called «lottizzazione», i.e. the allocation of channels according to party proportionality. Under the Meloni government, the TG1 editorial management 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, obligations that constitute the normative reference parameter for this analysis.



CHAPTER 1 — PARTISAN BIAS

Party	Score (-5..+5)	Representation in the broadcast vs. programmatic position
Fdl (Fratelli d'Italia)	-2	The broadcast does not directly address Fdl positions; the Meloni government appears as an uncritical continuation of problematic appointments (Simonini confirmed as commissioner despite investigations): 01:12:17 "Massimo Simonini was appointed by the Draghi government and then confirmed by the Meloni government, when he was already under investigation" — Fdl's programmatic position on legality and anti-corruption: partially contradicted without right of reply — partially distorted
PD (Partito Dem.)	0	PD is not mentioned as a main actor; cited marginally at 01:00:08 in relation to railway appointments ("The name of many people who are from PD also comes up") — Programmatic position: not addressed — absent/neutral
M5S (Cinque Stelle)	+1	M5S senator Barbara Florida is presented positively as the victim of a sexist post for having requested transparency on the bridge project: 02:06:03 "the senator of the Movimento 5 Stelle, Barbara Florida, was the victim of a friendship post" — M5S programmatic position on transparency and anti-corruption: correctly represented — substantially correct
Lega	-4	Lega is the main subject of negative investigations: Salvini cited repeatedly in relation to the Bridge (job figures contradicted), the Verdinis, Rixi. 01:05:22 "Minister Matteo Salvini is the uninvited guest in this story." — Lega's programmatic position on legality and certainty of punishment: not mentioned as a contrast — strongly distorted by omission of right of reply
Forza Italia	0	Not mentioned in the broadcast — absent
AVS (Alleanza Verdi Sinistra)	0	Not directly mentioned — absent

Summary of Partisan Bias

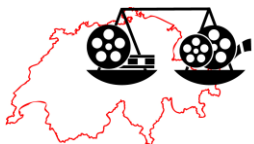
- Most accurate representation: M5S (Score +1)
- Strongest distortion: Lega (Score -4)
- Average deviation from 0: 1.5
- Conclusion: The broadcast concentrates its critical attention almost exclusively on figures and parties of the governing coalition, in particular on Lega and Minister Salvini, without offering a structured right of reply or representing the programmatic positions of the parties involved. The investigations are journalistically grounded in documents and wiretaps, but the thematic selection produces an effect of systematic bias against the governing coalition, in the absence of comparable critical attention towards the opposition.

Overall Left-Right Tendency

TENDENCY SCORE: +2.1

CLASSIFICATION: Favourable to the left

Rationale: The broadcast dedicates three of the four main reports to investigations that directly target representatives and policies of the centre-right coalition (Lega/Salvini, Verdinis, Ponte sullo Stretto, ANAS). The report on wine, while



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not politically oriented, includes an implicit criticism of Minister Lollobrigida (FDI). There is no critical report on opposition parties or representatives. The selection of experts and sources favours voices critical of the government.

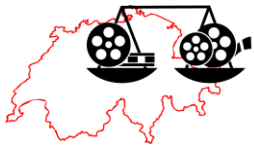


CHAPTER 2 — BROADCAST INFORMATION AND THEMATIC FRAMEWORK

Broadcast Data

- Title: Report (RAI 3)
- Date (from file name): Not specified in the transcript; content attributable to the 2023-2024 season (references to European elections June 2024, ANAS investigations 2022-2023)
- Duration (estimated from transcript): Approximately 125 minutes
- Presenter/Reporter: Sigfrido Ranucci (presenter), Danilo Procaccianti (lead reporter), Emanuele Bellano, Chiara D'Ambros, Antonella Signarale

Person	Role	Party/Affiliation	Political Spectrum
Sigfrido Ranucci	Report presenter	None	Neutral/journalist
Danilo Procaccianti	Reporter	None	Neutral/journalist
Riccardo Cotarella	Oenologist, president of Assoenologi	None	Technical
Piero Riccardi	Natural wine producer, author	None	Industry critic
EURAC Bolzano researcher	Snow/climate researcher	None	Scientific
Monterosa Ski manager	Ski resort manager	None	Private sector
Tecnoalpin manager	Snow cannon company manager	None	Private sector
Fabio Pileri	Under investigation, Inver partner	None (under arrest)	—
Tommaso Verdini	Under investigation, Inver partner	Former Lega-affiliated	Right
Federico Freni	Undersecretary MEF	Lega	Right
Edoardo Rixi	Deputy Minister of Infrastructure	Lega	Right
Massimo Simonini	Former CEO ANAS, commissioner	None (technical)	—
Pietro Ciucci	CEO Società Stretto di Messina	None (technical)	—
Engineer De Miranda	Suspension bridge expert	None	Critical technical
Engineer Ettore Pagani	Bridge designer 2011	None	Technical
Giovanni Mollica	Former Eurolink consultant, Rotary	None	Pro-bridge lobbyist
Armando Siri	Former undersecretary	Lega	Right
Pietro Salini	Entrepreneur, CEO WeBuild	None	Private sector
Mayor of Messina	Mayor	Not specified	Institutional



Mayor of Villa San Giovanni	Mayor	Not specified	Institutional
Senator Barbara Floridaia	Senator	M5S	Left-centre
Senator Nino Germanà	Senator, rapporteur of bridge law	Lega	Right
Prof. Prestininzi	Coordinator of Scientific Committee	None (technical)	—
Eng. Claudio Borri	Member of Scientific Committee	None (technical)	—
Anonymous source Oltrepò Pavese	Former cellar worker	None	—
Anonymous source Veneto	Former cellar worker	None	—
Abruzzo winery owner	Natural wine grower	None	—
Former footballer (Colli Euganei)	Wine grower	None	—

Main Theme

The broadcast addresses four distinct topics: (1) snow farming and artificial snow at Alpine ski resorts; (2) oenological practices in the Italian wine industry and Minister Lollobrigida's response; (3) the corrupt system in ANAS contracts through the Verdinis' company Inver; (4) the critical issues surrounding the Ponte sullo Stretto di Messina project.

Conceptual Framework Context

The implicit common thread of the broadcast is the denunciation of opacity, conflicts of interest and systemic corruption in strategic sectors of the Italian economy, with particular attention to the connections between political power (Lega/Salvini) and private economic interests. The wine report fits into a context of responding to criticism received by Minister Lollobrigida following a previous investigation. The snow report introduces the theme of climate change as a structural challenge for the mountain economy. The ANAS-Verdini and Bridge investigations constitute the main investigative core, with direct implications for the credibility of the Meloni government and in particular of Lega.



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: EURAC Bolzano researcher (snow/climate)

Timestamp: 00:11:43

Statement: "What is being observed increasingly frequently and is also expected in relation to climate change is that snow will continue to fall, but will fall in a more irregular manner."

Framing: Researcher from a South Tyrolean public research centre specialising in Alpine sciences.

Missing critical voice: A climatologist sceptical of long-term projections or an expert in the economic adaptation of ski resorts.

In-depth source verification:

(a) FUNDING: EURAC Research is funded primarily by the Autonomous Province of Bolzano (public funds). No direct conflict of interest detectable on the snow/climate topic.

(b) MANDATE: Compatible with neutral assessment; the institutional mandate is applied scientific research in the Alps.

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

D1 Conflict of interest: +2 — No direct economic interest in the ski sector

D2 Personal risk: +1 — Stable institutional position, moderate risk

D3 Expertise: +2 — Field directly relevant (glaciology, Alpine hydrology)

D4 Consistency of opinions: +1 — Position in line with IPCC scientific consensus

D5 Emotionality vs. data: +2 — Statements based on observational data

D6 Source level: +2 — Primary source (direct research)

• TOTAL: +10 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: GREEN

(c) PROFESSIONAL EXPERTISE: The source is presented as neutral and is structurally so. No detectable distortion.

Expert 2: Riccardo Cotarella (oenologist, president of Assoenologi)

Timestamp: 00:20:53

Statement: "This is a horror film. [...] Are you kidding, mixing two denominations and then calling each one by its own name. Unless someone is a criminal, but more than a criminal they are stupid."

Framing: President of the Italian Association of Oenologists, oenologist responsible for over 100 wineries worldwide, has a winery bearing his own name.

In-depth source verification:

(a) FUNDING: Cotarella is a private professional with direct commercial interests in the wine sector. He is president of Cantina Citra (large bottler) and has a personal winery.



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(b) MANDATE: The mandate as president of Assoenologi is not compatible with a neutral assessment of industrial oenological practices, as it represents the category of oenologists, including those who adopt the criticised practices.

(c) CREDIBILITY MATRIX:

- D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — Direct commercial interests in the sector; category president
- D2 Personal risk: -1 — Consolidated position, low risk
- D3 Expertise: +2 — Maximum technical expertise in the sector
- D4 Consistency of opinions: +1 — Public position consistent with defence of quality
- D5 Emotionality vs. data: 0 — Mix of technical data and emotional statements ("horror film")
- D6 Source level: +1 — Secondary source (professional experience)

• TOTAL: +1 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW

(c) PROFESSIONAL EXPERTISE: Cotarella is presented as an authoritative and neutral voice, but his structural conflict of interest (category president, sector entrepreneur) is not made explicit by the broadcast. His condemnation of illegal practices implicitly serves to legitimise the legal practices that the broadcast criticises.

Expert 3: Piero Riccardi (natural wine producer, author)

Timestamp: 00:39:13

Statement: "This mechanism is spreading whereby a Sauvignon produced in Australia or produced in France or produced in Sicily turns out to be absolutely identical."

Framing: Natural wine producer and author of books on wine; structurally opposed position to the conventional wine industry.

In-depth source verification:

(a) FUNDING: Independent natural wine producer; direct economic interest in promoting natural wine over industrial wine.

(b) MANDATE: Not compatible with neutral assessment; he is a market actor with interests opposed to the industry he criticises.

(c) CREDIBILITY MATRIX:

- D1 Conflict of interest: -2 — Direct economic interest in criticising the conventional industry
- D2 Personal risk: +1 — Niche position, moderate reputational risk
- D3 Expertise: +1 — Practical, not academic expertise
- D4 Consistency of opinions: +2 — Position consistent with his production activity
- D5 Emotionality vs. data: -1 — Prevalence of value judgements over empirical data
- D6 Source level: 0 — Secondary source (sector experience)

• TOTAL: +1 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW

(c) PROFESSIONAL EXPERTISE: Riccardi is presented as an independent critical expert, but his conflict of interest (natural wine producer criticising industrial wines) is not explicitly declared.

Missing expert groups:

- Independent food technologists (universities) on oenological practices
- Structural engineers in favour of the Bridge with verifiable credentials
- Independent economists on the cost-benefit analysis of the Bridge

Summary (matrix result per expert):

- EURAC Bolzano: GREEN (+10) — reliable source, correctly presented
- Cotarella: YELLOW (+1) — undisclosed conflict of interest, presented as neutral
- Riccardi: YELLOW (+1) — undisclosed conflict of interest, presented as independent expert



2. SOURCE SELECTION

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Statements without primary source = penalty points (claim verification)

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

Source 1: Telephone wiretaps (Guardia di Finanza / Rome Prosecutor's Office)

Timestamp: 00:53:25 — Statement: "At that price I win the tenders with the marshals. I've just won the important framework agreement too, 60 million for tunnels."

(a) Funding and management: Public judicial source; wiretaps are procedural acts.

(b) Structural conflict of interest: None direct; however the selection of wiretaps to cite is editorial and may be partial.

(c) Missing contrary source: The wiretaps are presented without the full procedural context (status of investigations, any partial dismissals).

Source 2: Internal company documents (Losito e Guarini, Ripa della Volta)

Timestamp: 00:27:43 — Statement: "This is an internal document in which the owner notes the creation of a homogeneous mass."

(a) Funding: Private company documents obtained by the editorial team.

(b) Conflict of interest: None direct for the source; the selection of documents is editorial.

(c) Missing contrary source: The cited companies were not able to present their own documented version in an articulated manner.

Source 3: Pesticide Action Network study (2008) and UK Ministry of Health data (2022)

Timestamp: 00:49:11 — Statement: "In 2022 the data were updated by the UK Ministry of Health, which found an increase in pesticides in wines more than tripled compared to 2016."

(a) Funding: Pesticide Action Network is an advocacy NGO with a structurally critical position towards pesticides. The UK Ministry of Health is a government source.

(b) Conflict of interest: PAN has an institutional interest in denouncing pesticides; it is not a neutral source.

(c) Missing contrary source: No study from the industry or from EFSA (European Food Safety Authority) is cited to contextualise the data.

Verification of undocumented claims (penalties):

Undocumented claim 1:

Timestamp: 01:09:10

Statement: "Matteo gave us carte blanche."

Linguistic marker: Pileri wiretap — attributed to Salvini without direct corroboration

Primary source available: No — the broadcast itself defines it as "boasting until proven otherwise" but includes it in the narrative — penalty +1

Undocumented claim 2:

Timestamp: 01:38:12

Statement: "Bear in mind that the first meeting at the Ministry was held in Cancun. The Meloni government hadn't even been sworn in yet."

Linguistic marker: Anonymous source ("an important technician") — unverifiable

Primary source available: No — unidentified anonymous source — penalty +1



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Summary: The broadcast uses solid documentary sources (wiretaps, internal documents), but also includes statements from anonymous sources and third-party wiretaps that attribute statements to non-investigated subjects (Salvini, Rixi, Freni) without direct corroboration. The selection of sources is systematically oriented towards criticism of the investigated subjects.



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

Estimated speaking time:

- Ranucci (presenter, commentary): approximately 25 min. (20%)
- Procaccianti and other reporters (questions + narration): approximately 30 min. (24%)
- Sources critical of government/industry (experts, witnesses, anonymous sources): approximately 40 min. (32%)
- Investigated/criticised subjects (Pileri, Verdini, Simonini, Ciucci, Salini, Siri, Rixi, Freni, Germanà): approximately 20 min. (16%)
- Neutral/institutional sources (EURAC, mayors, technicians): approximately 10 min. (8%)

Summary: Speaking time is distributed asymmetrically: voices critical of the investigated subjects occupy over 50% of total time (reporters + critical experts), while the criticised subjects have limited and predominantly defensive space. Neutral and institutional voices are marginal.



4. SELECTIVE OMISSION

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Definition: What is not shown despite being relevant?

Omission 1:

Context: Lack of historical context on corruption in Italian public contracts

Relevant at: 00:52:28 — 01:03:05 (ANAS-Verdini investigation)

Effect: Corruption in ANAS contracts is presented as a phenomenon associated with Lega/Meloni government, without mentioning that analogous phenomena have characterised all Italian governments of recent decades, including centre-left ones.

Omission 2:

Context: Procedural status of investigations and presumption of innocence

Relevant at: 01:00:04 — 01:20:28 (ANAS appointments, Simonini, Mandosi)

Effect: The Prosecutor's Office's accusatory hypotheses are presented as established facts; the distinction between suspect, defendant and convicted person is not systematically maintained, creating an impression of guilt not yet legally established.

Omission 3:

Context: Documented economic benefits of the Ponte sullo Stretto for southern regions

Relevant at: 01:24:42 — 02:03:10 (Bridge investigation)

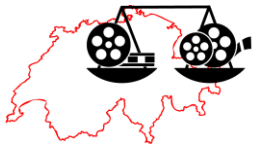
Effect: The Bridge investigation focuses exclusively on critical issues (costs, conflicts of interest, environmental impact, expropriations), without presenting any independent assessment of the potential economic and infrastructural benefits for Sicily and Calabria.

Summary: The most significant omissions concern the historical context of systemic Italian corruption (not limited to Lega), the rigorous distinction between accusatory hypotheses and established facts, and the absence of any documented voice in favour of the Ponte sullo Stretto.

Missing voices

- Ministry of Infrastructure (official spokesperson): Could have provided the government's documented position on the Bridge and ANAS appointments, distinguishing between accusations and established facts.
- Engineers in favour of the Bridge (independent): Could have offered a balanced technical assessment of the project's feasibility, counterbalancing the critical voices.
- Wine sector trade associations (Federvini, UIV): Could have contextualised the denounced practices within the European regulatory framework and international practices.
- Seasonal workers in the ski sector: Could have illustrated the social impact of artificial snowmaking practices on mountain communities.
- Judiciary (Rome prosecutor's office): An official statement on the status of the ANAS investigations would have increased the legal precision of the reconstruction.
- ANAC (direct interview): Could have clarified its position on the Bridge and ANAS contracts in a more articulated manner than the indirect citation.
- European public procurement law experts: Could have independently assessed the legality of the Bridge law with respect to EU directives.
- Consumers and consumer associations: Could have represented the impact of the denounced wine practices on public health and consumer rights.

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5. DATA MANIPULATION

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

Definition: Selective or misleading use of statistics.

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 01:49:22 — 01:53:12

Data: Comparison between Salvini's statements on jobs (from 40,000 to 120,000) and the data from Società Stretto di Messina (4,300 workers/year)

Dimensions: (a) Absolute value — shown ✓; (b) Share — not shown X; (c) Trend — not shown X

Missing context: The methodological difference between direct construction site jobs and indirect/induced jobs in the entire economic supply chain is not explained; the comparison with the Øresund Bridge (1,300 workers) does not take into account the different scale of the project.

Effect: The impression is that Salvini is deliberately lying, whereas the difference could be methodological (direct vs. induced employment).

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 01:08:16 — 01:08:56

Data: Inver turnover correlated with Lega's presence in government

Dimensions: (a) Absolute value — shown ✓; (b) Share — not shown X; (c) Trend — partially shown ✓

Missing context: The absolute turnover values are not provided, only the relative variation ("doubled", "zeroed", "explodes"). The possibility that the 2020 collapse was due to the COVID-19 pandemic rather than the change of government is not considered.

Effect: The turnover/government correlation is presented as causality without excluding alternative explanations (pandemic, market).

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 01:59:23 — 02:02:04

Data: Bridge costs (from 3.9 billion in 2005 to 14 billion in 2024)

Dimensions: (a) Absolute value — shown ✓; (b) Share — not shown X; (c) Trend — shown ✓

Missing context: Inflation over the period 2005-2024 (approximately 40-50% increase in construction prices) is not considered, nor is the fact that the project has been significantly expanded compared to the original. The comparison is not correct without deflation.

Effect: The cost increase appears exclusively as waste or corruption, without considering structural economic factors.

Summary: The broadcast uses real data but presents it systematically without the dimensions necessary for correct interpretation, producing misleading impressions about causality (Inver turnover/government) and comparability (Bridge costs without deflation).



6. GUILT BY ASSOCIATION

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Definition: Discrediting by association with negative groups or ideas.

Association 1:

Timestamp: 01:05:22

Quote: "Minister Matteo Salvini is the uninvited guest in this story. Among the founders of Inver, the consultancy firm at the heart of the possible corruption, is his partner Francesca Verdini, who transferred her shares in 2021."

Technique: Salvini is associated with corruption through his partner (Francesca Verdini) and her brother (Tommaso Verdini), despite not being under investigation.

Effect: The minister is implicitly placed at the centre of a corrupt system without there being direct evidence of his involvement.

Association 2:

Timestamp: 01:26:44

Quote: "The project, signed by the convicted engineer, is then subjected to a technical review that should be independent, carried out by an American company, Parsons, of which we have however found a trace in Julian Assange's cables."

Technique: The company Parsons is associated with Kissinger and the Wikileaks cables, creating an aura of international conspiracy around the Bridge.

Effect: An engineering company is discredited by association with diplomatic documents from the 1970s, without demonstrating a causal link with current practices.

Association 3:

Timestamp: 01:20:28

Quote: "We do not know whether it is thanks to friendships with the Verdinis, but it is a fact that in the end Mandosi is appointed head of human resources of the Società Stretto di Messina."

Technique: Mandosi's appointment is associated with his conversations with the Verdinis while explicitly admitting not knowing whether a causal link exists.

Effect: The broadcast creates the impression of a causal link that it itself declares unproven.

Verification for subjects framed as problematic:

Engineer Ettore Pagani (bridge designer 2011):

- Works with verifiable primary sources? YES (2011 final design)
- Are his main statements falsifiable? YES
- Personal risk: convicted at first instance for bid rigging (offence different from the bridge project)
- Gain: professional contract
- Net: risk > gain for statements on asbestos
- Tone: wiretaps show cynicism ("Who cares?") — not speculative but ethically problematic
- CATEGORY: B — Borderline case (conviction for different offence, statements on asbestos concerning but not falsified)

Giovanni Mollica (former Eurolink consultant):

- Works with primary sources? NO (non-scientific study, self-declared)

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- Statements falsifiable? Partially
- Personal risk: minimal (retired)
- Gain: visibility, political relations
- Net: gain > risk
- Tone: admits wanting to "disguise" the political issue as technical
- CATEGORY: C — Lobbyist with declared conflict of interest, not a scientific source

Main association chain: Francesca Verdini → Tommaso Verdini → Denis Verdini → Inver → ANAS → Salvini

Summary: The broadcast constructs a chain of associations linking Salvini to ANAS corruption through his partner and her family, while explicitly acknowledging at multiple points that the statements of those under investigation could be "boasting". This technique is journalistically problematic because it creates an impression of guilt not supported by direct evidence.



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

Finding 1:

Position: 00:14:08 (beginning — after the snow report)

Content: "Now let us stay on climate change and how it affects instead a sector, that of wine, which when we covered it infuriated the minister of food sovereignty."

Timing effect: The transition from the snow topic (neutral) to the wine topic is constructed through Minister Lollobrigida's emotional reaction, immediately positioning the government as the antagonist before even presenting the investigation's content.

Finding 2:

Position: 01:05:09 (middle — after the reconstruction of the Inver system)

Content: "Well, but even if he had known, we imagine it would have been complicated to turn down a meeting request from the man who is the father of the partner of the party secretary and minister of infrastructure."

Timing effect: Ranucci's ironic comment about Salvini is inserted after a long sequence of compromising wiretaps, amplifying the negative effect at the moment of maximum viewer attention.

Finding 3:

Position: 02:06:17 (end — final sequence of the Bridge report)

Content: "the senator has not lost the habit, because to the WWF, which was expressing concerns about birds migrating in the strait area, he responded like this: all they can do is grab onto the bird."

Timing effect: The broadcast closes with a sexist/vulgar anecdote by Senator Germanà (Lega), leaving the viewer with a strongly negative final impression of Lega, regardless of the technical content of the investigation.

Summary: Timing is used strategically to maximise the negative impact of information on the criticised subjects, placing the most compromising statements at the opening and closing moments of the reports.



8. SELECTIVE OUTRAGE

6/10

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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 an analogous reaction.

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 00:14:16

Triggering event: Minister Lollobrigida was furious about the previous investigation into wine.

Reaction: "We would be the enemies, so the minister had been furious after we had carried out an investigation last December."

Comparison: There is no case in the broadcast where an opposition representative was furious about a Report investigation and the reaction was treated with analogous critical irony.

Asymmetry: The minister's reaction is presented as proof of his bad faith, while there is no point of comparison with analogous reactions from opposition representatives.

Degree of outrage: 3/5

Selectivity: 4/5

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 01:05:09

Triggering event: Freni admits to having met Denis Verdini under house arrest.

Reaction: "Well, but even if he had known, we imagine it would have been complicated to turn down a meeting request from the man who is the father of the partner of the party secretary and minister of infrastructure."

Comparison: There is no case in the broadcast where an opposition representative met subjects under house arrest and the reaction was analogous.

Asymmetry: Ranucci's ironic comment is directed exclusively towards Lega representatives; there is no verifiable point of comparison in the same broadcast.

Degree of outrage: 3/5

Selectivity: 4/5

Summary: The broadcast's outrage is structurally selective: it manifests exclusively towards representatives of the governing coalition (Lega, FdI), without comparable events involving the opposition producing analogous reactions. This does not mean that the investigations are false, but that the selection of targets is systematically one-sided.



9. SELECTIVE OMISSION — GENERAL FRAMEWORK

7/10

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Definition: How completely does the broadcast represent the topic?

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 00:52:28 — 01:20:28

Missing perspective/fact: Historical context of corruption in Italian public contracts

Relevance: Corruption in ANAS contracts is a phenomenon documented for decades, cutting across all governments. Presenting it as a phenomenon associated with Lega/Verdini without this context is misleading.

Impact: The viewer receives the impression that corruption in public contracts is a phenomenon specific to the current government, not a systemic Italian problem.

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 01:24:42 — 02:05:15

Missing perspective/fact: Independent assessment of the benefits of the Ponte sullo Stretto

Relevance: An infrastructural project of this scale has qualified technical and economic supporters; their total absence from the broadcast renders the picture incomplete.

Impact: The viewer receives an exclusively negative picture of the Bridge, without being able to independently assess the cost-benefit ratio.

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 00:14:08 — 00:52:20

Missing perspective/fact: European regulations on oenological practices and international comparison

Relevance: Many of the denounced practices (rectified must, selected yeasts) are legal and widespread throughout Europe; a comparison with EU regulations would have correctly contextualised the phenomenon.

Impact: The viewer receives the impression that the denounced practices are specifically Italian and particularly serious, without being able to compare them with European standards.

Summary: The broadcast is systematically incomplete: it omits the comparative historical context, voices in favour of the criticised subjects and the European regulatory framework. These omissions produce a distorted picture that does not allow the viewer to form an informed and autonomous opinion.

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] Government position on the management of ANAS contracts and anti-corruption measures adopted
- [B] Official and documented response of Minister Salvini on the accusations relating to the Bridge
- [C] Technical position in favour of the Bridge from independent pro-construction engineers
- [D] Complete economic data on the expected benefits of the Bridge (employment, GDP, time savings)
- [E] Historical context of corruption in Italian public contracts (not limited to Lega)
- [F] Position of the trade associations of industrial wine producers
- [G] Updated scientific data on the impact of climate change on ski resorts
- [H] Perspective of workers in the ski and wine sectors on the denounced practices



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[I] Position of ANAC and supervisory authorities on ANAS contracts

[J] International comparison on oenological practices and European wine regulations

[A] MENTIONED

Timestamp: 00:54:54 — Quote: "They are just boasts, there is absolutely no basis in truth." — Assessment: The government's position is gathered only in brief defensive statements from individual representatives, without space for an articulated response.

[B] MENTIONED

Timestamp: 01:27:27 — Quote: "Minister, just one question about the Ponte sullo Stretto... I've already answered you." — Assessment: Salvini does not respond on the merits; the broadcast does not offer alternative space for his documented position.

[C] OMITTED

Timestamp: Not present — Quote: Absent — Assessment: No engineer in favour of the Bridge project is interviewed in depth; Ciucci and Borri are presented as reticent, not as argued technical supporters.

[D] PARTIALLY ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 01:52:49 — Quote: "Roughly counted, 50,000 jobs created." — Assessment: Salvini's data are systematically dismantled, but no independent and documented alternative estimate of the economic benefits is offered.

[E] OMITTED

Timestamp: Not present — Quote: Absent — Assessment: The historical context of corruption in Italian public contracts, cutting across all governments, is never mentioned, making the phenomenon appear exclusively attributable to Lega.

[F] MENTIONED

Timestamp: 00:16:56 — Quote: "Calling us little chemists is an outrage." — Assessment: Cotarella partially represents the industry's position, but the trade associations are not cited systematically.

[G] ADDRESSED

Timestamp: 00:11:43 — Quote: "What is being observed increasingly frequently and is also expected in relation to climate change is that snow will continue to fall, but will fall in a more irregular manner." — Assessment: The climate topic is addressed with EURAC data, albeit not in depth.

[H] OMITTED

Timestamp: Not present — Quote: Absent — Assessment: The perspective of workers in the ski and wine sectors is completely absent.

[I] MENTIONED

Timestamp: 01:37:40 — Quote: "the president of ANAC, not I, says that you have been given a great gift." — Assessment: ANAC is cited as an authoritative critical source, but is not interviewed directly.

[J] OMITTED

Timestamp: Not present — Quote: Absent — Assessment: The comparison with European oenological regulations and international practices is completely absent.

Completeness Score: 4/10

The broadcast covers the critical perspectives towards the investigated subjects in depth, but systematically omits favourable voices, the comparative historical context and articulated institutional positions. The investigative structure privileges denunciation over the informational completeness required by the Service Contract.

1. EURAC Research Bolzano

Präsident: Schläpfer, David - **Kontakt:** kontakt@SVFAB.ch - **Adresse:** SVFAB, Postfach, CH-8021 Zürich 1



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1. **FUNDING:** Funded primarily by the Autonomous Province of Bolzano (public funds). No direct conflict of interest detectable on the snow/climate topic.
2. **MANDATE:** Compatible with neutral assessment; institutional mandate is applied scientific research in the Alps.
3. **CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** None detectable on the specific topic.
4. **CREDIBILITY MATRIX:** D1 +2 / D2 +1 / D3 +2 / D4 +1 / D5 +2 / D6 +2 → TOTAL +10 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: GREEN
5. **CONTRARY VOICE:** Not cited; a climatologist with different positions would have enriched the picture.

2. Pesticide Action Network (PAN)

1. **FUNDING:** International NGO funded by private foundations and donations; structurally critical position towards pesticides.
2. **MANDATE:** Not compatible with neutral assessment on the pesticide topic; the institutional mandate is the campaign against pesticides.
3. **CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Institutional interest in denouncing pesticides; it is not a neutral source.
4. **CREDIBILITY MATRIX:** D1 -2 / D2 +1 / D3 +1 / D4 +2 / D5 -1 / D6 0 → TOTAL +1 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW
5. **CONTRARY VOICE:** Not cited; EFSA (European Food Safety Authority) could have contextualised the data.

3. Assoenologi (through Cotarella)

1. **FUNDING:** Trade association of Italian oenologists; funded by members' association fees.
2. **MANDATE:** Not compatible with neutral assessment of oenological practices; represents the category of oenologists.
3. **CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Institutional interest in defending the category's reputation; Cotarella also has direct commercial interests.
4. **CREDIBILITY MATRIX:** D1 -2 / D2 -1 / D3 +2 / D4 +1 / D5 0 / D6 +1 → TOTAL +1 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: YELLOW
5. **CONTRARY VOICE:** Not cited systematically; consumer associations could have offered an alternative perspective.

4. ANAC (National Anti-Corruption Authority)

1. **FUNDING:** Independent public authority, funded by the State.
2. **MANDATE:** Compatible with neutral assessment of public contracts; institutional mandate is oversight of transparency.
3. **CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** None detectable; however the appointment of the president is politically influenced.
4. **CREDIBILITY MATRIX:** D1 +1 / D2 +1 / D3 +2 / D4 +1 / D5 +1 / D6 +1 → TOTAL +7 → TRAFFIC LIGHT: GREEN
5. **CONTRARY VOICE:** Not interviewed directly; cited only indirectly as a critical source towards the Bridge.

IMPORTANT: "Recognised" is not an objective qualification. It is a social attribution that must itself be verified. Cotarella is "recognised" as the foremost oenological expert, but this does not eliminate his structural conflict of interest as category president and sector entrepreneur.



Softfacts — 6 qualitative techniques

10. FRAMING

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Definition: How is the topic fundamentally framed?

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 00:14:16

Quote: "We would be the enemies, so the minister had been furious after we had carried out an investigation last December."

Manipulation: The term "enemies" (used by the minister) is taken up and ironically reversed, framing Report as the victim of a government hostile to press freedom.

Why problematic: This framing positions the broadcast as a champion of truth against a hostile political power, making any criticism of the broadcast itself apparently an act of censorship.

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 01:02:12

Quote: "ANAS distributes contracts worth billions of euros of public money. It is impossible that it would not be targeted by a system that is a sick system, a body with a pathology accustomed to living with it to the point of considering it normal."

Manipulation: The ANAS contracts system is framed as a pathological and corrupt organism by definition, without distinguishing between established illegal practices and questionable but legal ones.

Why problematic: The medical framing ("sick system", "pathology") naturalises corruption as a structural characteristic of the institution, making any defence by the subjects involved impossible.

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 01:48:29

Quote: "What is certain, however, is that in this affair transparency is lacking."

Manipulation: The lack of transparency is presented as implicit proof of bad faith, without considering that the confidentiality of documents in the preliminary investigation phase is legally provided for.

Why problematic: The framing equates legitimate confidentiality with deliberate concealment, prejudicing the viewer's assessment.

Summary: The dominant framing of the broadcast is that of investigative journalism as a counterpower against a corrupt and opaque system. This framing, while legitimate in principle, is applied in a systematically one-sided manner, making any alternative reading of the presented facts impossible.



11. WORD CHOICE AND TERMINOLOGY

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

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 01:02:19

Quote: "a sick system, a body with a pathology accustomed to living with it to the point of considering it normal. This no longer has antibodies and the judiciary must intervene, as usual."

Manipulation: Medical metaphor applied to a public institution; "as usual" implies that the judiciary must always compensate for the incapacity of the political system.

Why problematic: A neutral alternative would be: "The ANAS contracts system has structural vulnerabilities that the ongoing investigations are seeking to establish."

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 02:00:42

Quote: "We are now authorising the State to draw on these resources like a cash machine for these wicked projects."

Manipulation: "Wicked" is a term of absolute moral judgement applied to an infrastructural project still under evaluation.

Why problematic: A neutral alternative would be: "projects whose usefulness and economic sustainability are the subject of debate." The term "wicked" prejudices any objective assessment.

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 01:57:01

Quote: "I call them the two new Iphigenias, Villa San Giovanni and Messina. Sacrificed, sacrificial victims, in the name of interests that overwhelm them."

Manipulation: The mythological reference to Iphigenia (ritual sacrifice) frames the local communities as victims of a deliberate sacrifice, with connotations of violence and oppression.

Why problematic: A neutral alternative would be: "The communities of Villa San Giovanni and Messina will suffer significant impacts from the construction of the Bridge, with expropriations and demolitions requiring adequate compensation."

Summary: The broadcast systematically uses emotionally charged language (medical metaphors, absolute moral terms, mythological references) that prejudices the objective assessment of the facts and steers the viewer towards predetermined conclusions.



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: 01:05:09

Triggering event: Freni admits to having met Denis Verdini under house arrest.

Quote (Ranucci): "Well, but even if he had known, we imagine it would have been complicated to turn down a meeting request from the man who is the father of the partner of the party secretary and minister of infrastructure."

Comparison: There is no case in the broadcast where Ranucci comments with analogous irony on the personal relationships of opposition representatives.

Asymmetry: The ironic comment is directed exclusively towards Lega representatives; there is no point of comparison in the same broadcast.

Finding 2:

Timestamp: 01:19:10

Triggering event: Ranucci presents the wiretaps in which Pileri cites Salvini.

Quote (Ranucci): "Now for us these are, until proven otherwise, boasts."

Comparison: The qualifier "boasting" is applied to statements involving Salvini, but not with the same systematicity to statements involving other subjects (e.g. Simonini, Mandosi).

Asymmetry: Epistemic caution is applied selectively, to protect the most politically exposed subject (Salvini), but not uniformly.

Finding 3:

Timestamp: 01:48:36

Triggering event: Ciucci defends the confidentiality of the updated Bridge project.

Quote (Ranucci): "It will by definition be confidential, as Pietro Ciucci says, but there is a problem."

Comparison: Ciucci's response is immediately disqualified with a "but there is a problem"; there is no case in the broadcast where a response from a subject critical of the government is treated with analogous immediate disqualification.

Asymmetry: The presenter applies a more stringent verification standard to the statements of criticised subjects compared to those of critical sources.

Summary: The presenter's behaviour is asymmetric: the statements of criticised subjects are systematically disqualified or commented on ironically, while the statements of critical sources are accepted without analogous verification. This asymmetry is structural and not limited to individual episodes.



13. QUESTION ASYMMETRY

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

Asymmetry 1:

To Riccardo Cotarella, 00:21:23: "Wines of different denominations, for example DOC, IGP, different from each other, etc., can they be combined and mixed in the same tank and then labelled with different labels?" — open question, not aggressive

To Luca Cedrone (ANAS manager under investigation), 00:58:50: "Did you hand over this USB drive or not?" — direct question, repeated, pressing

Comparison: Questions to investigated subjects are systematically more aggressive and repeated compared to those to critical experts, who receive open and uncontested questions.

Asymmetry 2:

To Pietro Salini (WeBuild entrepreneur), 01:39:06: "Listen, a simple question. When will you renounce the litigation?" — technical question, relatively neutral

To Federico Freni (Lega undersecretary), 01:28:28: "When you meet Denis Verdini who is under house arrest... You said you didn't know, but it is serious." — question with incorporated judgement ("it is serious")

Comparison: Questions to Lega political representatives incorporate value judgements ("it is serious"), while questions to entrepreneurs are more technical and less evaluative.

Summary: The question asymmetry is systematic: subjects politically close to Lega receive more aggressive questions with incorporated judgements, while critical experts and entrepreneurs receive more open questions. This asymmetry is not necessarily incorrect in an investigative context, but produces a perceptible bias effect.



14. FALSE BALANCE

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Definition: Artificial balance despite a real imbalance.

Finding 1:

Timestamp: 01:19:10 — Construct: "Now for us these are, until proven otherwise, boasts. Just as the relations with the other deputy minister Rixi are boasted. Until proven otherwise we were saying, but then there are the facts."

Analysis: The broadcast introduces a qualifier of caution ("until proven otherwise") that creates an appearance of balance, but the structure of the sentence ("but then there are the facts") immediately annuls this caution, producing a false balance: it pretends to suspend judgement while expressing it.

Summary: False balance is present but is not the dominant technique of the broadcast. The broadcast prefers selective omission to artificial balance. The most relevant case is the formula "until proven otherwise... but then there are the facts" which simulates epistemic caution without applying it.



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: Corruption in public contracts is a phenomenon associated with Lega and the Meloni government.

Timestamp: 01:02:12 — Evidence: "ANAS distributes contracts worth billions of euros of public money. It is impossible that it would not be targeted by a system that is a sick system."

Alternative agenda: Corruption in Italian public contracts is a cross-cutting and historical phenomenon; a balanced agenda would have included the historical and comparative context.

Finding 2:

Agenda element set: The Ponte sullo Stretto is a politically motivated and technically problematic project.

Timestamp: 01:24:42 — Evidence: "Because the bridge is Matteo Salvini's obsession, who never misses an opportunity to talk about it ahead of the European elections in June."

Alternative agenda: The Bridge is an infrastructural project debated for decades with both favourable and contrary technical and economic arguments; a balanced agenda would have presented both positions.

Summary: The broadcast's agenda-setting is systematically oriented towards criticism of the centre-right government, in particular of Lega. Topics are selected and framed in a way that confirms the narrative of a corrupt and opaque government, without space for alternative narratives.



CHAPTER 4 — OVERALL ASSESSMENT

Overview of Individual Scores

No.	Criterion	Type	Score	Main finding (1 sentence)
1	Expert selection	H	6	Experts with undisclosed conflicts of interest presented as neutral sources.
2	Source selection	H	6	Solid documentary sources but supplemented with unverifiable anonymous statements.
3	Time distribution	H	5	Voices critical of the investigated subjects occupy over 50% of total time.
4	Omissions	H	7	Systematic absence of historical context, favourable voices and European regulatory framework.
5	Data manipulation	H	6	Real data presented without the dimensions necessary for correct interpretation.
6	Guilt by association	H	7	Salvini associated with corruption through his partner without direct evidence.
7	Timing	H	5	Most compromising information strategically placed at opening and closing.
8	Selective outrage	H	6	Outrage structurally directed towards the governing coalition, never towards the opposition.
9	Completeness	H	7	Systematically incomplete picture: favourable voices and comparative context are missing.
10	Framing	S	7	Journalism-as-counterpower framing applied one-sidedly against the government.
11	Word choice	S	6	Emotionally charged language ("wicked", "sacrificial victims", "sick system").
12	Presenter behaviour	S	6	Systematic asymmetry: statements of criticised subjects disqualified, critical sources accepted.
13	Question asymmetry	S	6	More aggressive questions with incorporated judgements towards Lega representatives.
14	False balance	S	4	Present but not dominant; formula "until proven otherwise... but then there are the facts".
15	Agenda-Setting	S	7	Agenda systematically oriented towards criticism of the centre-right government.

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. Selective omissions (Score 7):** The broadcast systematically omits the historical context of Italian corruption, the technical voices in favour of the Bridge and the European regulatory framework on oenological practices, producing a distorted picture that does not allow the viewer to form an informed and autonomous opinion.
- 2. Guilt by Association (Score 7):** Salvini is associated with ANAS corruption through his partner and her family, despite not being under investigation; the company Parsons is associated with Kissinger and the Wikileaks cables without demonstrating a causal link with current practices.
- 3. Agenda-Setting (Score 7):** The entire broadcast is built around the narrative of a corrupt and opaque government, without space for alternative narratives; topics are selected and framed in a way that confirms this narrative, systematically excluding any element that could contradict it.

Key Messages of the Broadcast

****MESSAGE 1 (CONTENT):** ** "The Meloni government, and in particular Salvini's Lega, is connected to a corrupt system that permeates public contracts and the Ponte sullo Stretto project."

Technique: Guilt by association, agenda-setting — Evidence: 01:05:22, 01:20:28

****MESSAGE 2 (PERSONAL):** ** "Salvini is a minister who lies about data, protects his family interests and does not answer journalists' questions."

Technique: Framing, word choice, timing — Evidence: 01:29:56, 01:52:49

****MESSAGE 3 (SOCIAL):** ** "The Italian food industry (wine) and the public contracts system are corrupt and opaque; only investigative journalism can defend citizens."

Technique: Journalism-as-counterpower framing, selective omissions — Evidence: 00:14:16, 01:02:12

Classification of the Degree of Manipulation

Rationale: The broadcast presents journalistic investigations grounded in real documents (wiretaps, internal documents, procedural acts), but the thematic selection, framing, systematic omissions and guilt by association technique produce an overall one-sided picture. The score of 6.1/10 reflects a clear one-sidedness that does not reach systematic imbalance, as the broadcast maintains a verifiable documentary anchor. However, the absence of any voice favourable to the criticised subjects, the lack of comparative historical context and the systematic use of emotional framing techniques constitute a violation of the principles of pluralism and completeness provided for by RAI Service Contract Art. 6.

CONCLUSION

The Report broadcast of 18 February 2024 (2023-2024 season) presents documented journalistic investigations on topics of significant public interest (corruption in ANAS contracts, critical issues of the Ponte sullo Stretto, industrial oenological practices, snow farming). However, the systematically one-sided selection of topics, sources and experts, combined with emotional framing techniques, structural omissions and guilt by association, produces an informational picture that does not satisfy the requirements of pluralism, completeness and impartiality provided for by RAI Service Contract Art. 6. In particular, the broadcast repeatedly associates Minister Salvini and Lega with a corrupt system without direct evidence of their involvement, systematically omits the historical context of corruption in Italian public contracts and offers no technical voice in favour of the Ponte sullo Stretto. These elements, considered together, constitute a clear one-sidedness that, while not reaching the level of extreme manipulation, is incompatible with RAI's public service mandate.



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 CHOICE AND TERMINOLOGY	6/10	Significant imbalance
12	PRESENTER 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)

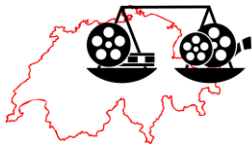
0	No finding	No relevant anomaly detected.
1–2	Weak finding	Minor anomaly without substantial impact on balance.
3–4	Slight-to-moderate finding	Recognisable tendency; impact relevance from low to moderate.
5	Moderate finding with impact	Relevant imbalance that influences the public's opinion-forming potential.
6	Significant finding (threshold)	Scores equal to or above 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 in this criterion.
10	Maximum severity	Systematic and pervasive imbalance in 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 compromise of the plurality of perspectives.
6.1 – 8.0	Serious deviation from the principle of balance. High degree of deviation	Pronounced patterns cutting 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.

Partisan political bias (from -5 to +5)

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



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

Assessment pursuant to RAI Service Contract Art. 6

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

Violation 1:

Norm: RAI Service Contract Art. 6 — Pluralism of information

Facts: The broadcast dedicates four main reports to investigations critical of the governing coalition (Lega, FdI), without any critical report on opposition parties or representatives.

Evidence: Timestamp 00:14:08 — "Now let us stay on climate change and how it affects instead a sector, that of wine, which when we covered it infuriated the minister of food sovereignty." — The thematic selection is systematically oriented towards criticism of the government.

Assessment: The lack of pluralism in thematic selection violates the principle of balanced representation of different political positions required by the Service Contract.

Violation 2:

Norm: RAI Service Contract Art. 6 — Completeness of information

Facts: The broadcast systematically omits the historical context of corruption in Italian public contracts, the technical voices in favour of the Bridge and the European regulatory framework on oenological practices.

Evidence: Timestamp 01:02:12 — "ANAS distributes contracts worth billions of euros of public money. It is impossible that it would not be targeted by a system that is a sick system." — The system is presented as pathological without comparative historical context.

Assessment: The systematic omission of relevant informational elements violates the principle of completeness of information, preventing the viewer from forming an informed and autonomous opinion.

Violation 3:

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

Facts: Presenter Ranucci inserts evaluative and ironic comments in the course of the narration of facts, without clearly distinguishing between the presentation of documentary evidence and his own editorial judgement.

Evidence: Timestamp 01:05:09 — "Well, but even if he had known, we imagine it would have been complicated to turn down a meeting request from the man who is the father of the partner of the party secretary and minister of infrastructure." — Ironic comment inserted in the narration of facts.

Assessment: The systematic mixing of narration of facts and editorial commentary violates the principle of separation between news and commentary provided for by the Service Contract.

Violation 4:

Norm: RAI Service Contract Art. 6 — Impartiality of information

Facts: The broadcast repeatedly associates Minister Salvini and Lega with a corrupt system through the guilt by association technique, without direct evidence of their involvement and without offering adequate space for reply.

Evidence: Timestamp 01:05:22 — "Minister Matteo Salvini is the uninvited guest in this story. Among the founders of Inver, the consultancy firm at the heart of the possible corruption, is his partner Francesca Verdini." — Implicit association without direct evidence.

Assessment: The systematic association of a serving minister with a corrupt system without direct evidence of his involvement, and without adequate space for reply, violates the principle of impartiality of information.

Overall Assessment RAI Service Contract Art. 6



The analysed Report broadcast presents structural violations of four of the fundamental principles of RAI Service Contract Art. 6: pluralism (systematically one-sided thematic selection), completeness (structural omissions of context and alternative voices), separation between news and commentary (evaluative comments inserted in the narration of facts) and impartiality (association of political subjects with corrupt systems without direct evidence). These violations do not concern individual episodes but characterise the overall structure of the broadcast, constituting a systematic pattern of one-sidedness incompatible with RAI's public service mandate. It must however be acknowledged that the broadcast maintains a verifiable documentary anchor (wiretaps, internal documents, procedural acts) that distinguishes it from pure disinformation; the violations concern selection, framing and completeness, not the falsification of the presented facts.

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

1. EURAC Research Bolzano

- 1. FUNDING:** Funded primarily by the Autonomous Province of Bolzano (public funds). No direct conflict of interest detectable on the snow/climate topic.
- 2. MANDATE:** Compatible with neutral assessment; institutional mandate is applied scientific research in the Alps.
- 3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** None detectable on the specific topic.
 - D1 Conflict of interest: +2
 - D2 Personal risk: +1
 - D3 Professional expertise: +2
 - D4 Opinion consistency: +1
 - D5 Emotionality vs. data: +2
 - D6 Source level: +2
- 5. CONTRARY VOICE:** Not cited; a climatologist with different positions would have enriched the picture.

2. Pesticide Action Network (PAN)

- 1. FUNDING:** International NGO funded by private foundations and donations; structurally critical position towards pesticides.
- 2. MANDATE:** Not compatible with neutral assessment on the pesticide topic; the institutional mandate is the campaign against pesticides.
- 3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Institutional interest in denouncing pesticides; it is not a neutral source.
 - D1 Conflict of interest: -2
 - D2 Personal risk: +1
 - D3 Professional expertise: +1
 - D4 Opinion consistency: +2
 - D5 Emotionality vs. data: -1
 - D6 Source level: 0
- 5. CONTRARY VOICE:** Not cited; EFSA (European Food Safety Authority) could have contextualised the data.

3. Assoenologi (through Cotarella)

- 1. FUNDING:** Trade association of Italian oenologists; funded by members' association fees.
- 2. MANDATE:** Not compatible with neutral assessment of oenological practices; represents the category of oenologists.
- 3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** Institutional interest in defending the category's reputation; Cotarella also has direct commercial interests.
 - D1 Conflict of interest: -2
 - D2 Personal risk: -1
 - D3 Professional expertise: +2
 - D4 Opinion consistency: +1
 - D5 Emotionality vs. data: 0
 - D6 Source level: +1
- 5. CONTRARY VOICE:** Not cited systematically; consumer associations could have offered an alternative perspective.

4. ANAC (National Anti-Corruption Authority)



1. **FUNDING:** Independent public authority, funded by the State.
2. **MANDATE:** Compatible with neutral assessment of public contracts; institutional mandate is oversight of transparency.
3. **CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** None detectable; however the appointment of the president is politically influenced.
 - D1 Conflict of interest: +1
 - D2 Personal risk: +1
 - D3 Professional expertise: +2
 - D4 Opinion consistency: +1
 - D5 Emotionality vs. data: +1
 - D6 Source level: +1
5. **CONTRARY VOICE:** Not interviewed directly; cited only indirectly as a critical source towards the Bridge.

IMPORTANT: "Recognised" is not an objective qualification. It is a social attribution that must itself be verified. Cotarella is "recognised" as the foremost oenological expert, but this does not eliminate his structural conflict of interest as category president and sector entrepreneur.

Source credibility traffic light:

Source	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	Total	Signal
EURAC Research Bolzano	+2	+1	+2	+1	+2	+2	?	GREEN
Pesticide Action Network (PAN)	-2	+1	+1	+2	-1	0	?	YELLOW
Assoenologi (through Cotarella)	-2	-1	+2	+1	0	+1	?	YELLOW
ANAC (National Anti-Corruption Authority)	+1	+1	+2	+1	+1	+1	?	GREEN

Legal and methodological framework

Not a factual determination	The results 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 falls exclusively within the competence of the relevant authorities (in particular AGCOM).
Not proof of causality	Statistical correlations must not be interpreted as proof of causal links or editorial intentions. Deviation values may be influenced by the choice of topics, the informational 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 statements about motivations or strategic objectives.



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**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

The «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 correct, 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)



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 solid, we depend on contributions from members and supporters.

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The following books are available from SVFAB

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

Optionally the book includes **playing cards**

Also available as an **audiobook**



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

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

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

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



You think you see the world. In reality, you see the frame that someone has placed around it. Framing is the oldest and most elegant manipulation technique in the world. It does not change the facts — it changes what we make of the facts. What we feel. What we believe. How we decide. And it works — because we all participate. Every day. Unconsciously. You too. This book is not a dry manual. It is a workbook — playful, direct, full of examples from real life. You do not 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, 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 an authority responsible for this: 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 shortcomings of public media oversight. The body that should protect citizens protects above all the system it is supposed to oversee.

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