



Marcegaglia Dossier: An analysis of news coverage

Report

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FOREWORD

1 - Objectives of the Research

The pilot study monitored and analysed television coverage of a case study concerning Mrs. Marcegaglia, President of Confindustria (National Association of Italian Entrepreneurs), and the investigations against Il Giornale for the “damning dossier” allegedly prepared against her. The research focused on the coverage provided by newscast of the main Italian free-to-air channels, both public and private.

This study aims at providing a scientifically-based analysis on the way different television channels covered the events. The research may also represent a baseline to develop a systematic mapping of how the main Italian channels report and frame politically sensitive events.

A number of dimensions were observed: the editorial differences in the coverage, the presence or absence of specific types of arguments or connotations in the reporting, the structuring of the news cycle as well as the explicit and implicit elements of evaluation present in the news. The study also mapped actors involved and how their role was portrayed, the thematic dimensions along which the reporting was structured, the media context where the news was produced.

2 – Sample

The research monitored and analysed day time and prime time news editions of the seven main Italian free-to-air channels:

1. Rai 1: TG1 – 01.00 PM, 08:00 PM
2. Rai 2: TG2 – 01.30 PM, 08:30 PM
3. Rai 3: TG3 – 02.20 PM, 07:00 PM
4. Rete 4: TG4 – 11.30 AM, 07:00 PM
5. Canale 5: 01.00 PM, TG5 - 08:00 PM
6. Italia 1: Studio Aperto – 12.30 PM, 06:30 PM
7. La7: TG7 13.30 PM, 08:00 PM

The period of monitoring included September and October 2010, when the key events of the case took place. All news directly or indirectly related to the Marcegaglia case was analysed.

3 – Methodology

The methodological frame included two parallel and complementary approaches:

- i. Quantitative analysis, identifying events characterising the story, the frequency of each news item, the actors involved, the framing characterising the coverage of the story and the kind of relation between actors in the story.
- ii. Qualitative analysis. This dimension focused on the analysis of elements of the coverage that could not be quantified but that contribute creating the overall sense of the narration. These include: use of language and semantic connotations, style of argumentation, logical structures and discursive rhythm used to tell the story, to support or criticise actors and points of views.

In order to provide a contextualised analysis of events and their coverage, the study included a section presenting an overview of the media houses observed, as well as of the main stakeholders involved in the case.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The case involving Marcegaglia and the alleged Dossier *Il Giornale* prepared against her can be labelled as a media affair on two main levels:

- 1) Three key social powers are the main actors of the story: the business world (Confindustria), the political sphere (the Government) and the media (*Il Giornale*). In this context, the role played by *Il Giornale* is pivotal as it evokes a plurality of media-related issues, such as the role of the press in defamatory campaigns, freedom of the press, the relation between the media and the political sphere, the connection between the economical world and the media.
- 2) The affair has a vast echo in the mainstream and niche media that cover the story in a variety of angles and approaches.

While the present analysis focuses on the second level - media coverage – the other dimension represents a crucial reference to understand and interpret the editorial approaches adopted to report on the story and the differing lines observable in relation to each news programmes.

Italian news programmes are generally characterised by differing editorial lines in terms of news selection, news making and thematic priorities. As a matter of fact, while some bulletins privilege political issues and hard news (namely TG3, TG La7, and TG2); others focus their coverage on soft news and lighter non-political topics (TG1, TG4, TG5 and Studio Aperto). Furthermore, the former usually adopt more analytical and diverse approaches in their coverage, while the latter often tend to simplify or ignore given angles or positions. In this regard, the coverage of Marcegaglia's case mirrors the traditional editorial policy pursued by each programme, thus somehow expressing the thorny nature of the overall affair. Five different models of coverage were identified on the basis of different factors: the volume of the coverage, the thematic focus, the frames adopted and the different types of connotations informing the media narrative.

1. The opponent – TG3: this news coverage focuses on aspects of the story that are problematic for the government, such as Marcegaglia's criticism and the involvement of *Il Giornale* in smear campaigns.
2. The analyst – TG La7: this approach tends to thematise and analyse the story by adopting different angles. It presents the viewer with a plurality of elements and perspectives, and it does not stick to an openly pre-established position.
3. The storyteller – TG2: this third model is based, like the second, on the systematic representation of fact and events according to a plurality of sources and perspectives, although the analytic approach is less central. The program portrays the different dimensions of the story, trying to balance voices and opinions and reconciling the controversial elements.
4. The neutralisers – TG1 and TG5: this model emphasises the uncontroversial aspects of the story while playing down those aspects that are particularly critical of the government. In this type of coverage, Marcegaglia's position is often reduced or minimised.
5. The simplifier – Studio Aperto: this approach gives limited visibility to the story, in line with the "soft news" vocation of the program. When the case is covered, the issues are simplified and dimmed. Aspects that may be critical of the government and/or supportive of Marcegaglia are not considered, or are played down.
6. The absentee – TG4: no coverage of the story.

The news cycle regarding the case can be divided into three main phases:

1. the Pre-Dossier Phase: the Criticism against the Government (5 September – 6 October),
2. the Dossier Phase: Public Disclosure of the Case (7 – 16 October) and
3. the Post-Dossier: Back to Criticism (17 October – 20 November).

During the overall period of observation there are no substantial quantitative differences in the volume of Marcegaglia's coverage before and after the opening of the Dossier phase. As a matter of fact, over the period September - October 2010, Marcegaglia's visibility presents a stable trend that sensibly increases during the public disclosure of the dossier. News programmes devote diverse levels of attention to Marcegaglia with TG La7 and TG3 offering the broadest visibility to both her censures against the Government and the alleged dossier against her. The other two RAI news bulletins (TG1 and TG2) also report the positions expressed by Confindustria's leader; Mediaset news bulletins either give her minimal attention (TG5 and Studio Aperto) or they do not cover the story (TG4).

During the Pre-Dossier phase media attention for Marcegaglia's position on the Government's economical strategies varies in the different news bulletins with TG3 and TG La7 being the programmes devoting the largest coverage to this subject. The narrative connotations informing the coverage also present editorial differences: while TG3, TG La7 and, partially TG2, tend to shape their reporting along the frame pertaining to the lack of action of the Government, TG1 and TG2 are more inclined to define their accounts in terms of the general need for economical reforms, a less controversial dimension for the Executive. As a matter of fact, this layer indirectly implies a broader spectrum of agents involved in the change – the majority, the opposition, the Parliament as an institution, the trade unions, the public administration – with the consequence of diluting Marcegaglia's attribution of responsibilities to the Government. The relational dimension between the two main actors - as openly or implicitly defined by the media narrative through comments, images, footage or associations – shows that a conflict dimension prevails on TG3 and TG La7. TG2's coverage is balanced between confrontation and cooperation between the two agents while TG5 and TG1 assign a consensual shape to the overall phase.

The news cycle during the Dossier Phase is characterised by an uneven trend of visibility: the highest peaks of attention are reached during the two first days, when both the alleged threat of a Dossier against Marcegaglia and the related judicial investigation against Il Giornale become public. The overall coverage of the story during the news cycle shows diverse levels of attention in each channel: TG La7, TG3 and TG2 are the programmes ensuring the highest visibility to the case, while TG5 and Studio Aperto devote only limited attention to it. Quantitative analysis of the frames and connotations of the coverage confirms the presence of differing clear editorial lines, in line with the models previously identified for each news programme. The main narrative angles adopted by TG3 refer to the risk of media "muddy" campaigns as a weapon to silence political dissent or criticism. TG3 makes a number of references to previous attacks Il Giornale moved against other public figures. TG La7 adopts three principal angles: the "muddy" campaign, the problems posed by the police search in terms of freedom of the press (freedom-of-the-press dimension) and the interpretation of the case as a struggle among strong powers: politics (the Government), the media (Il Giornale) and the economical world (Confindustria). Both TG5 and Studio Aperto inflect their coverage along two frames: the freedom-of-the-press dimension and the much-ado-about-nothing connotation. This angle implies a narrative whereby the reality of the threat against Marcegaglia is sized down and the overall issue is labelled either as a joke or as a misunderstanding. TG2 focuses on a plurality of frames: the "muddy" campaign is the most relevant, followed by the much-ado-about-nothing dimension and struggle-between-powers connotation. TG1 adopts four main narrative angles: the freedom-of-the-press connotation and the dimensions related to much-ado-about-nothing, the move-on and the struggle among strong powers.

The interpretation provided in relation to the reality of the threat and the existence of the Dossier is another element revealing differing editorial lines and styles. TG3 main construct refers to the reality of the threat, an approach followed. TG2 and TG La7 adopt an equidistant position, by resorting to a multi-sided type of reporting where different angles are presented and analysed. The non-existence of the Dossier and the facetious nature of the treat is rather the main feature informing the coverage of TG1, TG5 and Studio Aperto. The outcome of the mix of framing and interpretative approaches creates a narrative context where the attribution of responsibilities and the identification of the aggrieved party are not univocal. Those news programmes adopting a mix of "Dossier-joke" and "Much ado about nothing" narrative scheme tend to portray Il Giornale as the main victim of the case, searched by the police and investigated by the judiciary (TG5, Studio Aperto

and partially TG1). On the other hand, the combination of “Dossier-real” and “Muddy campaign” frames implicitly are inclined to define Marcegaglia as the victim of a broader system of de-legitimation and deteriorated political climate (TG3). The other news bulletins TG2 and TG La7 show a combination of both approaches.

The Post-Dossier phase, which closes the cycle related to Marcegaglia affair, moves the coverage back to the policy-making level. In this period, Marcegaglia and the Government reopen their confrontation with the former insisting on the need for a change and the latter defending its action in support of the economical growth. The visibility of Confindustria chairperson is comparatively similar to the previous periods and the analysis of news coverage confirms the editorial lines already observed: TG3 and TG La7 are the programmes devoting the highest coverage to Marcegaglia’s concerns and views, followed by TG2, TG1, TG5 and Studio Aperto. The main frames characterising her public portrayal and the narrative used for her coverage are those pertaining to the need for political stability as a condition to foster economical recovery, the Government’s lack of strategy and the need to open up a serious period for reforms. The coverage of the relational dimension between Marcegaglia and the Government is generally informed to a confrontation frame. Only two news programmes (TG5 and Studio Aperto) shape their narrative according to a dimension of cooperation between the two actors. In this regard, this final phase shows that, on the one hand, each news programme maintains a consistent editorial approach to Marcegaglia’s portrayal. On the other, no meaningful changes are observed in the tones and positions taken by Confindustria’s leader against the Government.

MEDIA COVERAGE: MAIN FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

1 – Background Information on the Media and Main Stakeholders in the Case

i. Media Structure

RAI

Radiotelevisione Italiana is the Italian state public service broadcaster. RAI is one of the three main television companies in Italy. RAI operates three main free to air generalist channels (RAI 1, RAI 2, RAI 3), other niche stations and three radio stations, broadcasting in analogue terrestrial, digital terrestrial and in several satellite and IPTV offerings. It is the fifth television group in Europe, operating not only in the radio and television markets but also in editorial and cinema sectors. RAI has an estimated audience share of 42%. It is a stock company participated by the Italian Ministry of Economy and Finance, controlling 99,56% of stocks. The other 0,44% is owned by SIAE (Italian Society of Artists and Editors). RAI è administered by a Board of Governors composed of 9 members: seven governors are appointed by the Commissione parlamentare di vigilanza (Parliamentary Commission for the Surveillance of Radio-TV Services in charge of RAI supervision), while two are nominated by the Ministry of Economy and Finance.

Mediaset

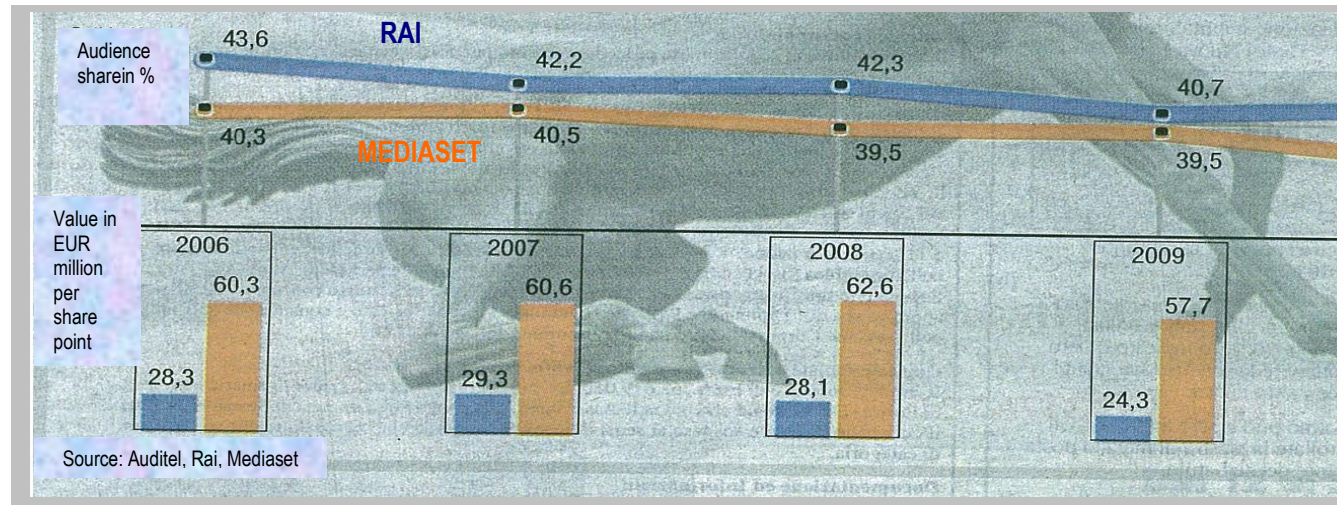
Mediaset is a private communications and production company, as well as the main competitor for RAI. It is primarily specialised in multiplatform television production and distribution (free to air, pay-tv, pay-per view), cinema production and distribution and advertising sale. Its national free to air television network includes the generalist channels Rete 4, Canale 5 and Italia 1. Its estimated audience is around 39%. It is a stock company owned by a plurality of shareholders:

Table 1 Structure of Mediaset shareholding¹

Shareholder	Share (%)
Bnp Paribas	2,09
Mackenzie Financial Corporation	3,44
Blackrock Inc.	2,29
Silvio Berlusconi	38,98
Mediaset Spa	3,80
Others	49,41

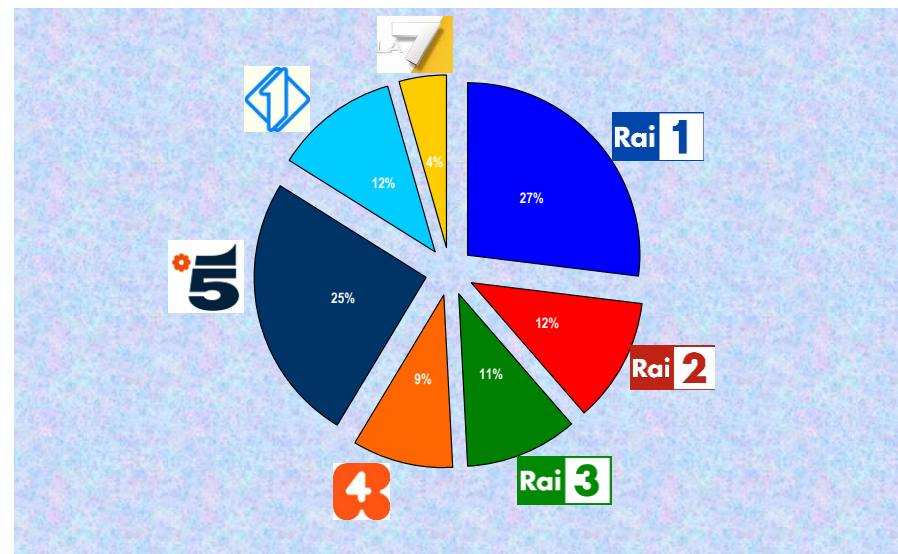
¹ Source: CONSOB - National Commission for Companies and Stock Exchange, available at http://www.consob.it/main/documenti/assetto_proprietari/semestre1-2011/135062_Az.html?hkeywords=&docid=28&page=3&hits=270&nav=false&filedate=09/05/2011&sem=/documenti/assetto_proprietari/semestre1-2011/135062_Az.html&link=Pie-chart+Capitale+ordinario=/documenti/assetto/semestre1-2011/135062_TOrdDich.html%3b+Pie-chart+Capitale+votante=/documenti/assetto/semestre1-2011/135062_TVotDich.html, accessed 10 May 2011.

Chart 1 Audience share for RAI and Mediaset and financial value per share point



La7: it is a private television channel and it is often labelled as the Third TV Pole together with the music channel MTV-Italy. In 2001 the former telecom incumbent Telecom Italia Media, also owning 51% of MTV Italy, acquired the channel. Its schedule is varied and includes talk shows, current affairs, entertainment and sports. It broadcast in analogical and digital platforms.

Chart 2 Daily audience share per channel - 2010



News programmes

The main news programmes for RAI three generalist channels are:

- 1) RAI 1: its news programme, TG1, is the most popular newscast with an estimated audience of 25,5%². Soft news³, is an important part of their agenda with an average coverage of 31% of the total number of news items⁴. As a matter of fact, since 2009 the new editor-in-chief has imparted to the programme a more “popular” tone, shifting away from the “institutional” tenor that had traditionally characterised it⁵. Its agenda focuses on crime, culture and arts, social issues (with large coverage of religion and the Vatican), environment and agriculture, human interest news, and incidents. The space traditionally devoted to politics has been progressively reduced as the space devoted to economy has.
- 2) RAI 2: TG2 is the news programme of the channel with an average audience share of 10%. Its agenda privileges a mix of soft and hard news (respectively 25% and 75% of the total news for TG2) with a relevant space provided to criminality, politics, culture and arts and economy.
- 3) RAI 3: its news programmes is TG3 with an average audience of 15%. It is characterised by a focus on hard news (86%) and particularly on internal politics that amounts to more than one quarter of the news broadcast.

The main news programmes for Mediaset three generalist channels are:

- 1) Rete 4: its news programme is TG4 with an average audience share of 11%. A combination of soft news and domestic politics represents a key feature of its agenda; as a matter of fact, while politics amounts to 19% of the total news, other more light-hearted topics such as arts and culture, environment and human interest are central in the news economy of this programme.
- 2) Canale 5: its news bulletin is TG5, the second most popular news programme with an audience share of 22%. A combination of hard and soft news marks its editorial line together with a focus on crime news (30% of the overall agenda).
- 3) Italia 1: Studio Aperto is the channel’s news programme with an average audience share of 7%. It is a news bulletin characterised by a significant focus on soft news and “apolitical” topics such as crime, human interest and environment.

La7’s news programme is TG La7 with an average audience share of 8%. The viewership of the programme has dramatically increased since August 2010 when one of the main Italian anchors, Enrico Mentana, became the editor-in-chief. Mentana has imposed a sharp change in the editorial line of TG la7 by creating a news bulletin focused on in-depth analysis of events and cases. TG La7 privileges hard news with a special attention to politics, crime and economy. A relevant topic in the agenda is also sports.

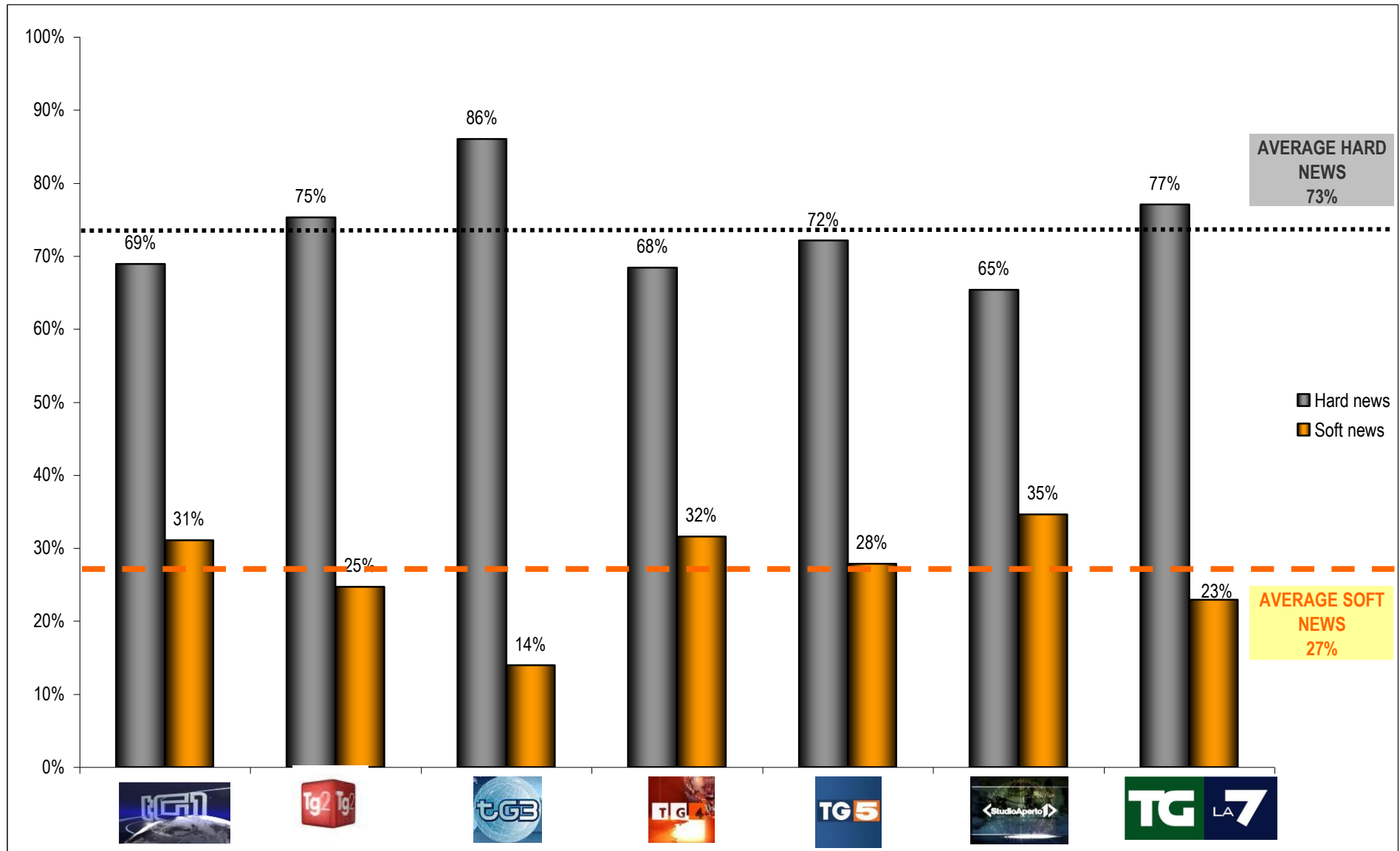
² Audience data are referred to prime time editions.

³ The category Soft news gathers all items regarding background information, entertainment or human-interest stories (arts, entertainment, lifestyles, etc.). Hard news indicates up-to-the-minute news and events that are reported immediately (politics, war, economics, crime, etc.).

⁴ Data are referred to the news agenda for the period September – December 2010, source: Osservatorio di Pavia.

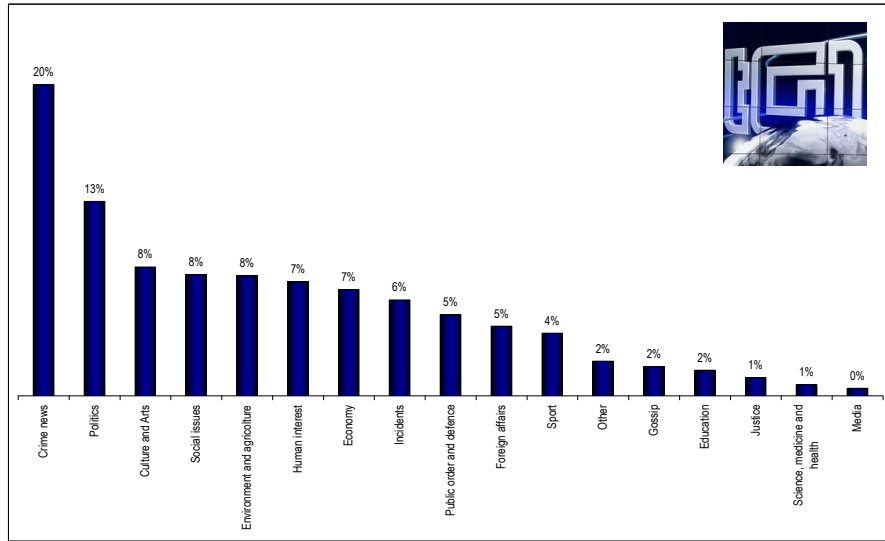
⁵ ISIMM, Cambiamenti nella linea politico-editoriale del TG1 durante la direzione Minzolini: lo spazio della cronaca, available at http://www.isimmicerche.it/Joombia/file/Focus/Focus_Tg1.pdf?0088aabeb9d3a15309cea9d6ede1af02=6ffa0fd208c37c619c0f15d4c5b2ada0, accessed 10 May 2011.

Chart 3 Type of news by news programme (Period: September – December 2010)

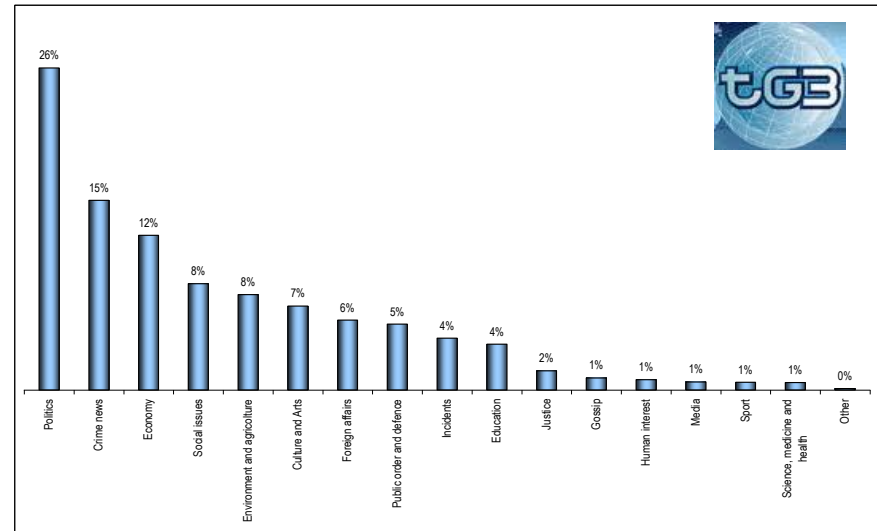


Base: 29830 cases

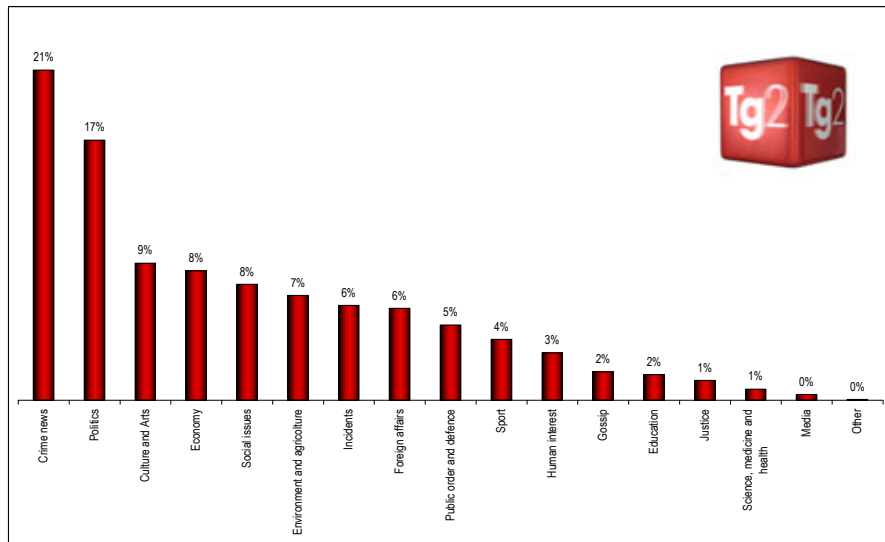
Chart 4 Topics by news programme (Period: September – December 2010)



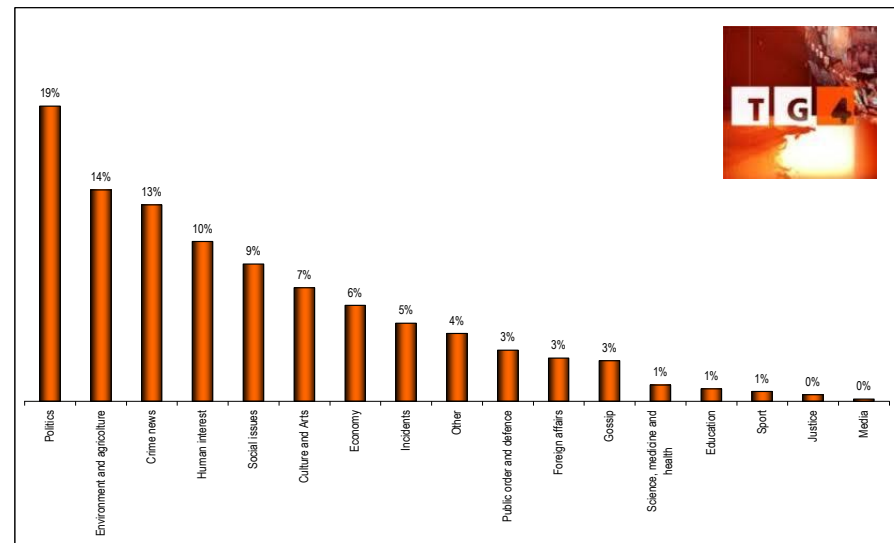
Base: 5351 cases



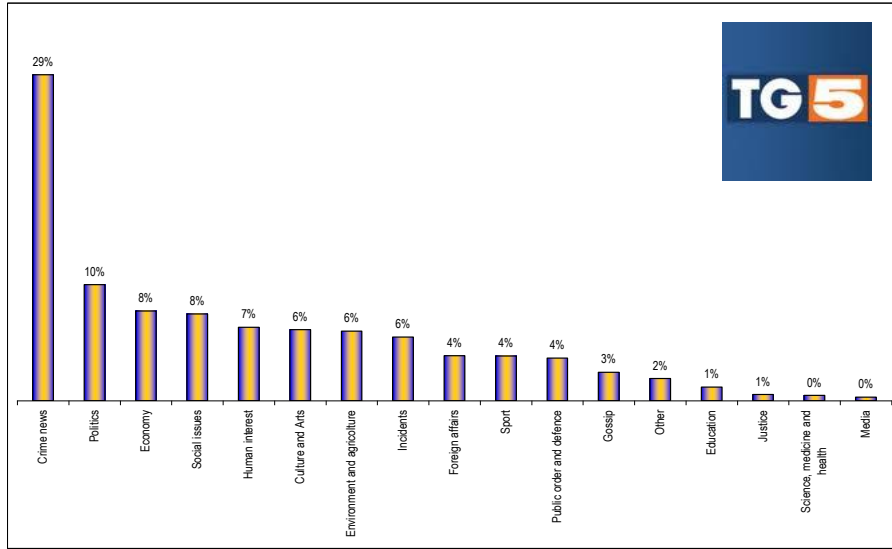
Base: 3742 cases



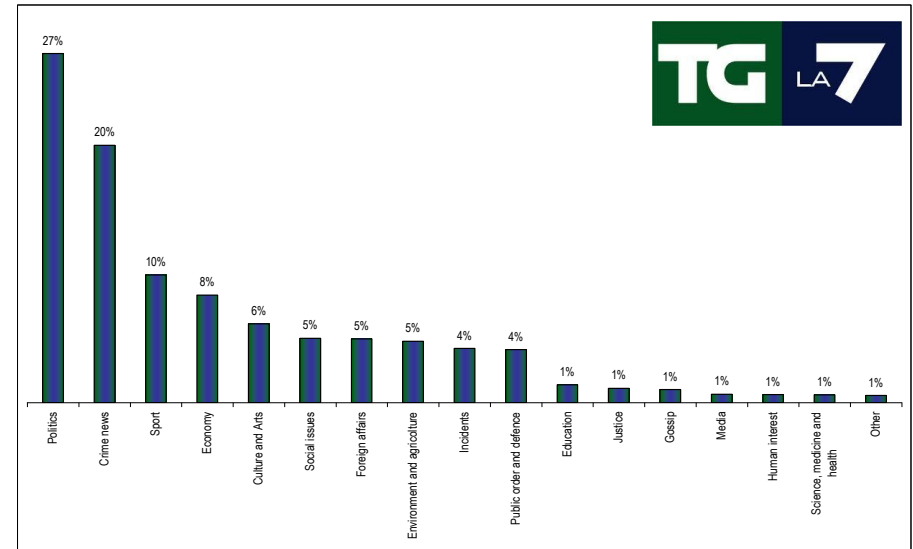
Base: 4709 cases



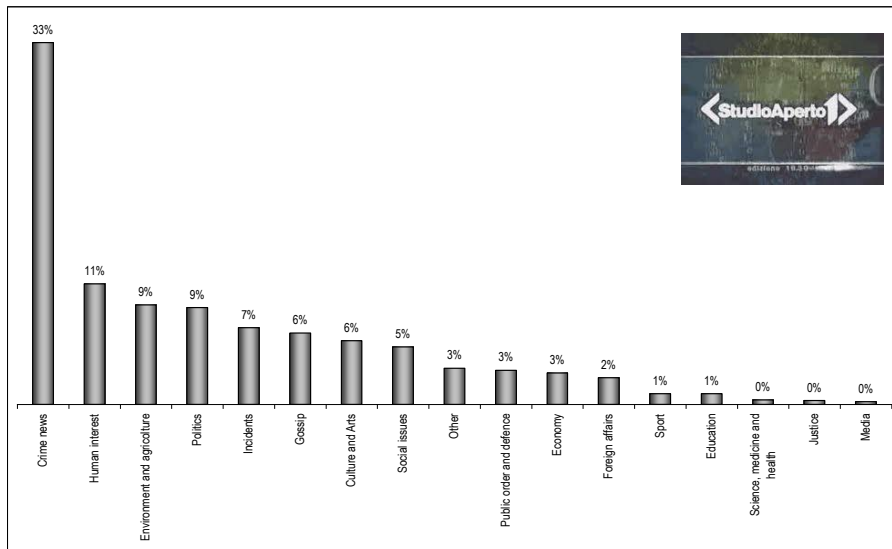
Base: 2384 cases



Base: 4897 cases



Base: 3395 cases

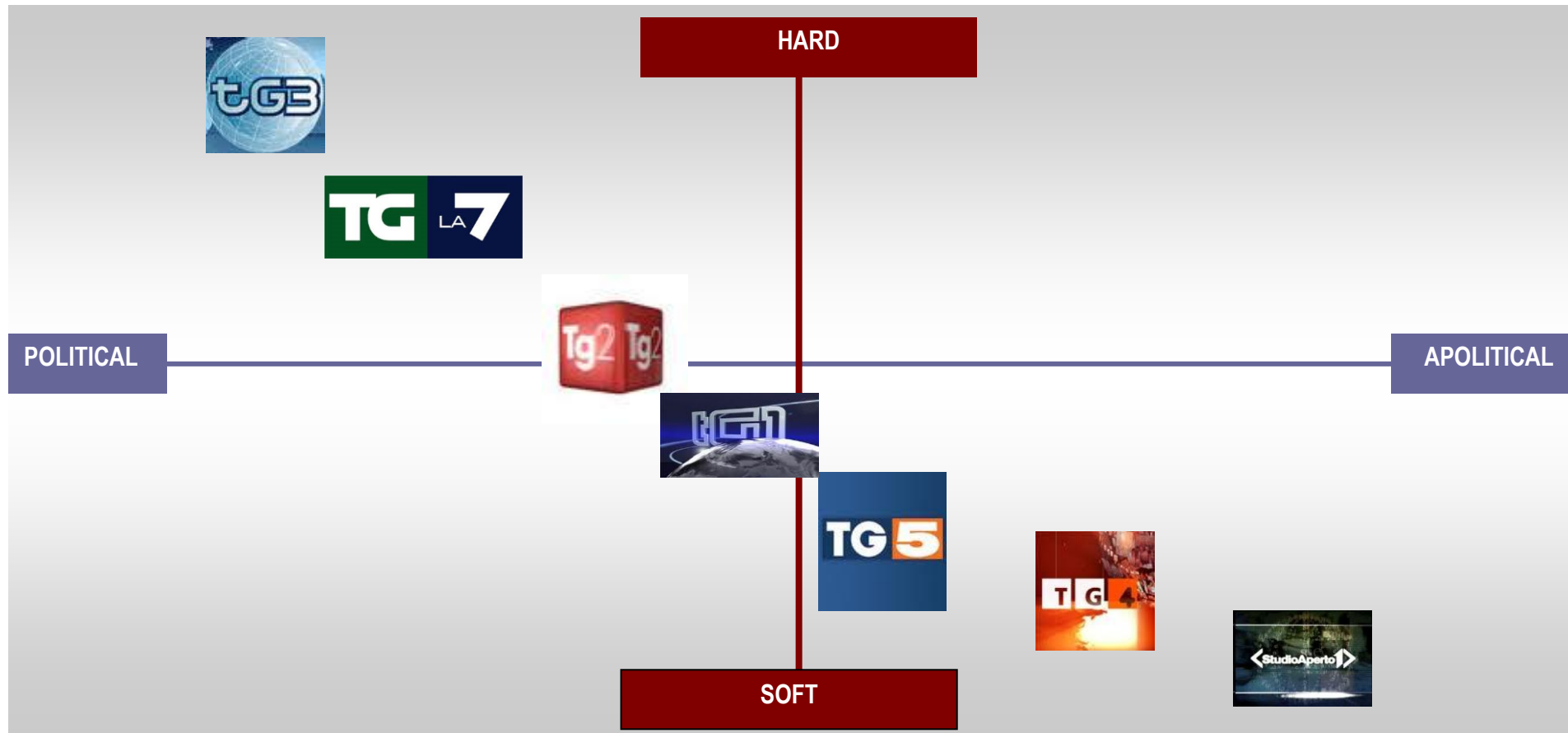


Base: 5352 cases

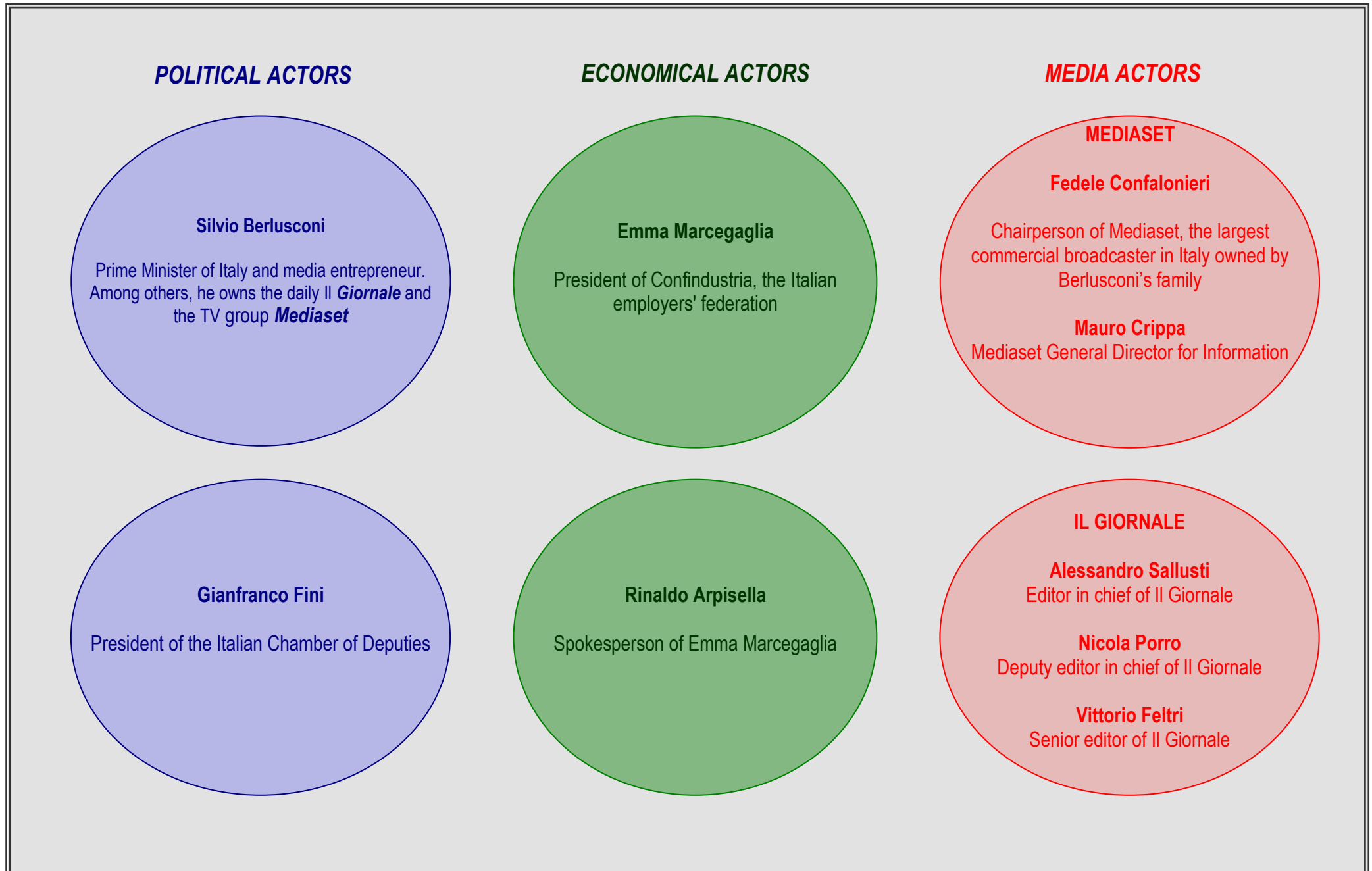
Editorial lines of the different news programmes can be then classified according to two main dimensions along which each programme can be projected:

1. the thematic priorities of news along the continuum of Political – Apolitical dimension, based in on relevance parties, government and politicians have in specific subject.
2. The significance of news in terms of information significance along the continuum Soft – Hard news.

Diagram 1 News programme editorial positioning



ii. Main Stakeholders in the Case



2 – Timeline of Real Events

The affair can be divided into 3 constitutive phases and 1 antecedent that have been then used as a structural frame for the present analysis.

16 May 2010 Antecedent	From 5 September to 6 October 2010 Phase 1	16 September	September	From 8 to 16 October 2010 Phase 2	From 17 to 30 October 2010 Phase 3
THE ANTECEDENT	THE PRE DOSSIER PHASE: CRITICISM AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT	EDITORIAL OF MR. SALLUSTI AGAINST MARCEGAGLIA	INTERNAL COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN STAKEHOLDER	THE DOSSIER PHASE: PUBLIC DISCLOSURE OF THE CASE	POST DOSSIER PHASE: BACK TO CRITICISM
<p>Mrs. Marcegaglia refuses to join Berlusconi's Government as a Minister</p> <p>Mr. Berlusconi addressed Confindustria's audience, celebrating their centenary, and he recalled of having already proposed to Emma Marcegaglia to help him by undertaking the role of Minister of Production. He said: "I need help to reduce the perimeter of the State and it is a difficult task ". But in the room, no hand was lifted. The Premier then retorted: "Then you have to stop complaining about the Government. We are just poor dudes and we have inherited a precedent situation, Governments that from 1980 to 1992 doubled the public debt". After Mr. Berlusconi let himself</p>	<p>Mrs. Marcegaglia addresses a series of critics to the political leadership of the country, in particular the Government</p> <p>"Berlusconi's executive, unlike the precedent Government led by Mr. Prodi, has a solid majority in both Parliamentary Houses and it was therefore legitimate to expect shared and reasonable reforms, in politics and economics. Reforms needed in the interest of the country, and not in favour of any specific lobby or faction. This summer was marked by polemics and quarrels and it brought us back to a situation we already lived in 2006 when the centre-left Government collapsed. The current Government (...) had a golden occasion to administer and reform this country. (...) Rather no serious political debates are presented, only personal fights, and no hold- barred</p>	<p>Excerpts: "And so, it is not that absurd to ask Confindustria to check out whether the referee of Italian politics (Mr. Fini) tried to trick with his party's houses⁶, whether he arrogantly pushed Rai to award a millionaire contract his mother-in-law⁷, a dummy for his partner and himself. Otherwise Confindustria must stop to preach on the scarce morality of politics, on free market, on the efficiency and transparency of institutions. Sometimes one can guess more what is happening and what could happen by analysing the moves of a</p>	<p>- Mr. Porro sends a SMS to Mr. Arpisells threatening a mudding dossier on Marcegaglia's family business - Arpisella calls Mr. Porro to verify whether the threat is real or it is rather a joke - Arpisella calls Mr. Crippa to ask him to call Mr. Confalonieri. Crippa tells him to call Confalonieri himself on a reserved number - Arpisella calls Cofalonieri to ask him to intercede with Mr. Feltri and block the dossier - Confalonieri calls Feltri that in turns calls Porro - Porro calls Arpisella to</p>	<p>The judiciary investigates on an alleged dossier created by il Giornale against Mrs. Marcegaglia</p> <p>Sallusti: "Violence not even used for common criminals" (referring to the police search of the newspaper's premises)</p> <p>Porro: "The alleged threats were just a joke"</p> <p>Crippa: "Nobody ever talked about jokes with me"</p> <p>Feltri: "I did not know</p>	<p>In the course of a series of event of economical and political nature Marcegaglia return to a critical position towards the Government</p> <p>The arguments used are similar to the previous phase and they can be summarised as:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) The need to start a serious economic reform 2) Italy's paralysis in economics and development 3) The need for

⁶ In August 2010, after becoming a leading critic of Berlusconi, he left the majority in Parliament to find a new party, Freedom and Future. It was then that Il Giornale, a newspaper owned by the Berlusconi family, implicated Fini with a condo in Monte Carlo. The condo was previously owned by the National Alliance political party. The party sold the condo in 2008 to an offshore company and it was leased back to the younger brother of Fini's girlfriend. According to many commentators, this was a mud campaign created along the line of the campaign mounted against Mr. Boffo, the editor-in-chief of Avvenire, the magazine of the Italian Episcopal Conference. After criticising the Government Mr Boffo appeared on the front page of Il Giornale with the accusation of having had a charge for sexual harassment in 2004. The campaign brought to the resignation of Boffo from his position.

⁷ Allegations were also published according to which Fini would have pressed the public broadcasting service Rai to award his mother-in-law's production company with a contract.

go to a joke about Mrs. Marcegaglia: "Emma, you do not like that old..."

media contests. It is sad to observe the lack of a strong project, the problems of a whole leading right wing class, that is trapped in their own internal polemics and aware of not being able to take charge of their ruling responsibilities".

Main arguments against the Government:

1. No vision and strategic planning
2. lack of realistic perspective on economical recovery for Italy
3. internal conflicts
4. paralysis of the action
5. personal attacks against members of the former majority
6. delays in the appointment of a new Minister of Productive Activities

brother-in-law rather than studying an election programme (...). And we are relieved to know that one Italian out of two has the same opinion. If Emma Marcegaglia is not among them, then we will have to cope with it".

tell him that the contact with Feltri was not the right move as Feltri was not aware of the dossier prepared - Marcegaglia signals the case to the judiciary

*anything about it. Sallusti had told me about the joke Porro made against Arpisola. I thought: what a twit is Porro enjoying this kind of things!
I told Confalonieri that Il Giornale did not plan anything against Marcegaglia. He did not make any pressures on me, his phone called was just aimed at getting information."*

Marcegaglia: "No dossier will change my assessment of the Government"

politics to regain unity and dignity

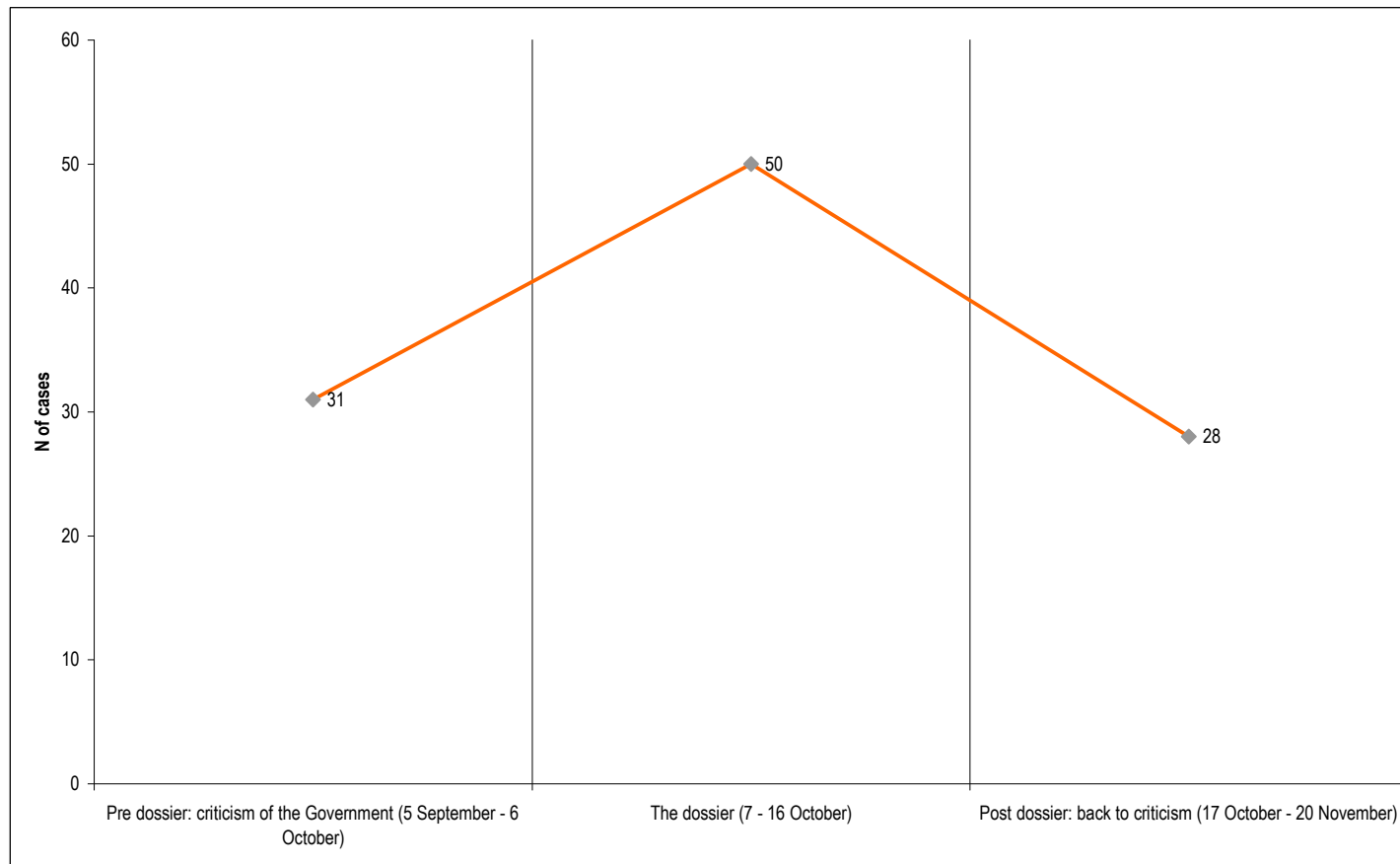
4) Stability as a key condition to promote development for Italy. This argument carries the consequence that Marcegaglia and Confindustria strongly and explicitly disfavour the possibility of early elections, in spite of their doubts on the Government's ability to promote the economical recovery of the country

3 – Media Coverage of Marcegaglia Case

i. An Overview of the General Coverage

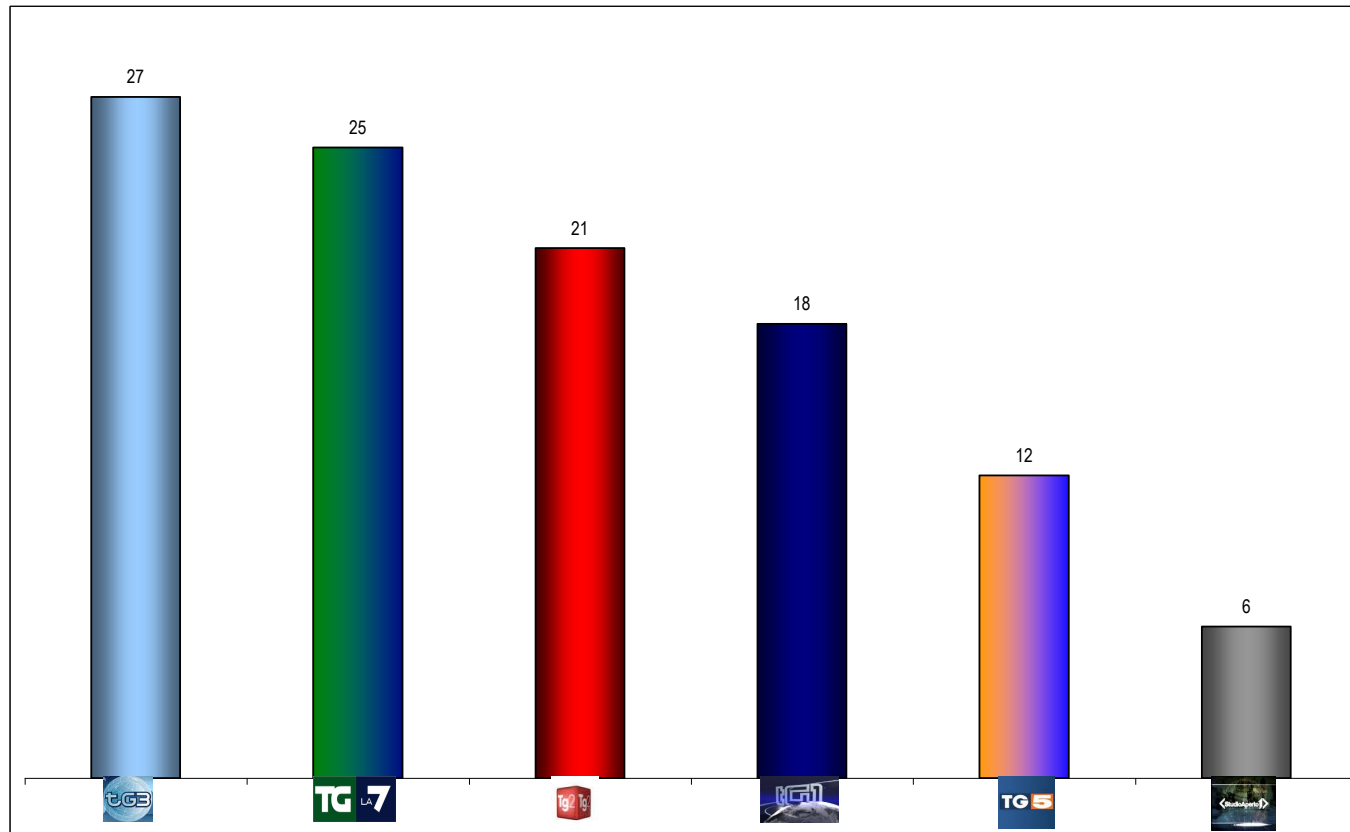
The news cycle regarding the case shows that there are no substantial quantitative differences in the volume of Marcegaglia's coverage before and after the opening of the Dossier phase. As a matter of fact, over the period September - October 2010, Marcegaglia's visibility presents a stable trend that sensibly increases during the public disclosure of the dossier. A total of 109 news items were identified during this period of which 50 touch upon the dossier while the rest involves the coverage of Marcegaglia's criticism against the Government and the Executive's reactions to Marcegaglia's remarks.

Chart 5 Marcegaglia's visibility in the period September – November 2010 (all TV channels)



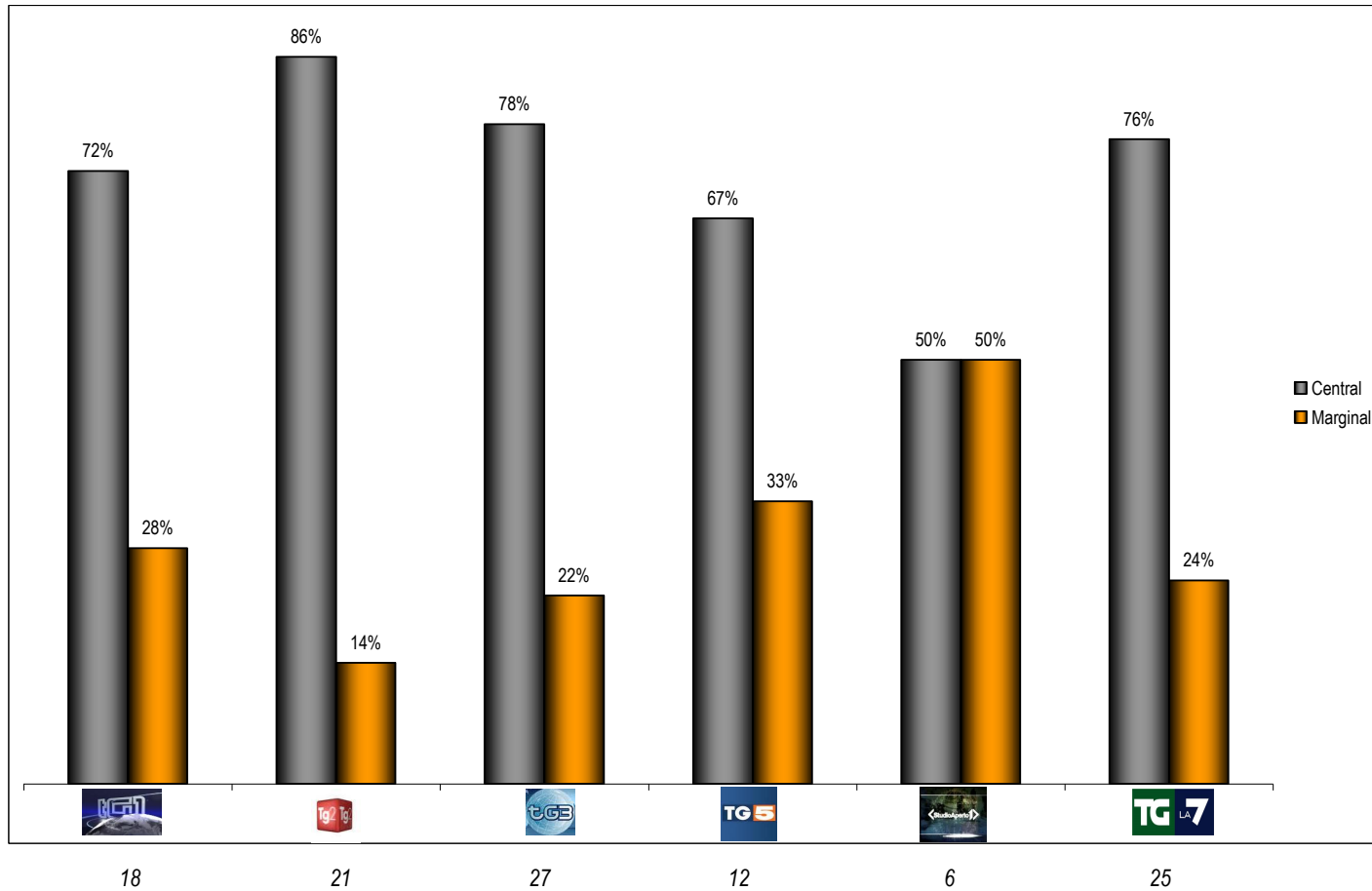
News programmes devote diverse levels of attention to Marcegaglia with TG La7 and TG3 offering the broadest visibility to both her censures against the Government and the alleged dossier against her. The other two RAI news bulletins (TG1 and TG2) also report the positions expressed by Confindustria's leader; Mediaset news bulletins either give her minimal attention (TG5 and Studio Aperto) or they do not cover Marcegaglia at all (TG4).

Chart 6 Number of news items devoted to Marcegaglia by news programme (September – November 2010)



The visibility provided to Marcegaglia is also diverse in terms of relevance: in some cases her position and weight within the news is central in the journalistic narrative of the events, while in other occasions her role is more marginal. In this context, Studio Aperto, TG5 and TG1 are the programmes showing the highest level of marginal visibility.

Chart 7 Marcegaglia's relevance in news items by news programme (September – November 2010)



Based on the analysis of the prevailing narrative frames used to portray the story and the styles adopted to define the relational dimensions among the different stakeholders involved, the different news programmes can be classified according to a continuum based on the extent to which Marcegaglia's positions and views are emphasised or rather minimised. Bulletins can be therefore positioned along this scale on the basis of their respective approaches to the news making of the case.

High Visibility



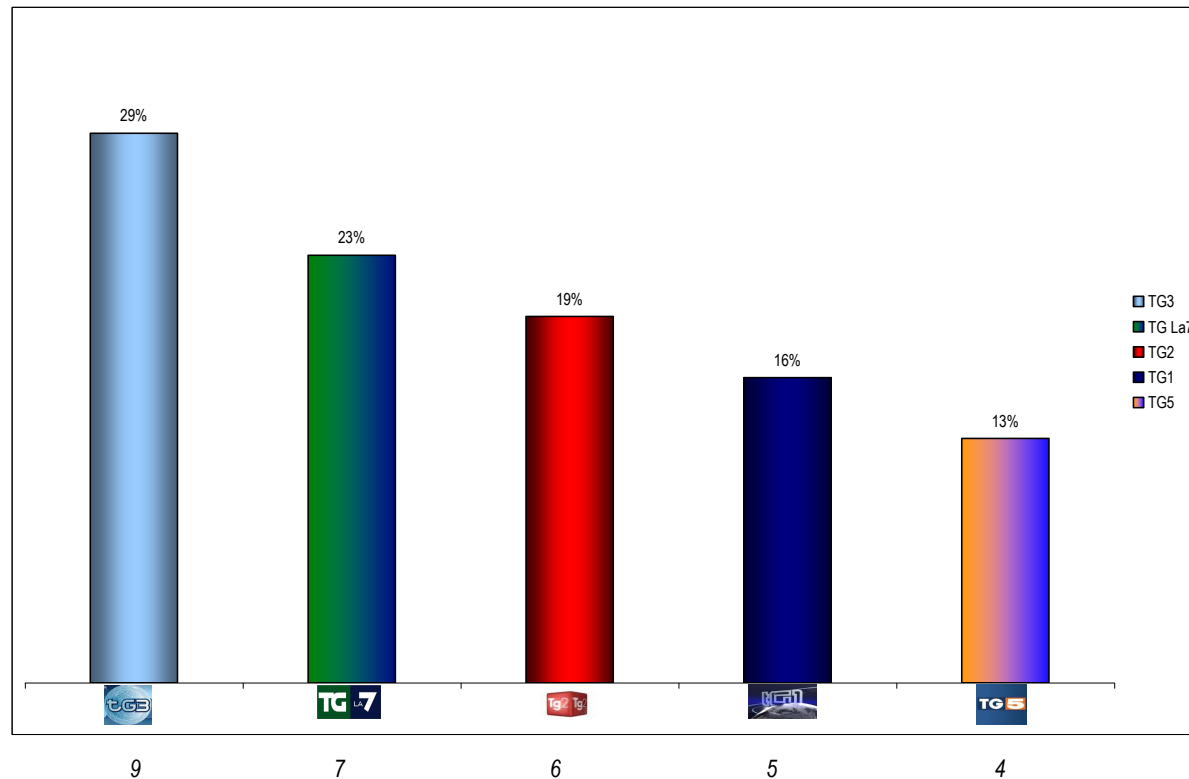
Low visibility

News programme	Model	Description
TG3	The opponent	This kind of news coverage focuses on elements that are problematic for the Government and emphasises the critical points Marcegaglia made against the majority's lack of action. During the Dossier Phase the threats to the Confindustria leader are represented as real and actual.
TG La7	The analyst	This kind of model tends to thematise and analyse the story by adopting a variety of angles and leading then the viewer to reach a conclusion justified by the elements presented. During the case, this news programme presents a number of different frames and positions thus providing a comprehensively account of facts and opinions.
TG2	The story teller	This model is based – like the previous – on the systematic representation of fact and events, although the analytical approach is less relevant. The programme portrays the different dimensions of the story while trying to balance voices and opinions.
TG1 TG5	The neutralisers	This model tends to mainly emphasise uncontroversial aspects of the story while tuning down – in terms of visibility – those features that are particularly critical of the Government. Marcegaglia's position is often downsized or softened in the media portrayal.
Studio Aperto	The simplifier	This kind of model gives limited visibility to the story, in line with its “soft news” editorial vocation. When covering the case, issues are simplified and dimmed. Features of the story that may be critical of the Government and/or supportive of Marcegaglia position are not considered or tuned down in the story narrative.
TG4	The dismissive	No coverage is provided to the story.

ii. The Pre Dossier Phase: the Criticism against the Government (5 September – 6 October)

Over this period, media attention for Marcegaglia's position on the Government's economical strategies varies in the different news bulletins with TG3 and TG La7 being the programmes devoting the largest coverage to this subject.

Chart 8 News items devoted to the criticism phase by programme



Base in absolute values
(N cases)

This first phase starts on 5 September during Ambrosetti annual meeting in Cernobbio, when Marcegaglia expresses a number of critical views regarding the work of the Government. That day four news programmes cover the event: TG3, TG La7, TG5 and TG2 with no manifest connotations in their coverage.

On 15 September, Marcegaglia takes a stronger, although not too aggressive, stand with a call to the Government: *“Personal conflicts, a Government that maybe lacks of a solid majority, all that does not help focusing on real issues such as employment, occupation and growth; stop fighting, stop being concentrated on internal rows, you should rather look after economical development, fiscal problems, employment and reduction of the bureaucracy.”*⁸

⁸ Corriere della Sera, 16 September 2010.

TG1 does not emphasise Marcegaglia's position: the information is simply read by the anchorman in the newsroom with no external newscast. Marcegaglia's words are reported by the journalist after a full report on the Government, while the passage of Marcegaglia's speech criticism of the internal divisions inside the majority is omitted. The news structure provides an overall impression of support on Marcegaglia's side – rather than criticism – for the Executive.

TG2 does not devote specific news coverage to Marcegaglia's views; rather the anchor reads the news by stressing Marcegaglia's comment on how conflicts within the ruling party do not help Italy. The general impression emerging is of a constructive criticism whereby the Confindustria's leader requests a change in the Government's line.

Also TG3 starts with a critical opening: *"The majority does not exist anymore"*. TG3 reports Marcegaglia's words: *"It is an ugly politics the one focused only on lovers and flats⁹, the majority does not exist anymore, and conflicts do not help promoting the economical growth."*

Marcegaglia's critical position is stressed by TG La7 with the headline: *"Is there a majority? Marcegaglia wonders..."* The reporting includes direct quotations of Marcegaglia's words.

The following day, only two news programmes return to the subject, TG3 and TG La7. The former focuses on Marcegaglia's request for the appointment of the Ministry of Economical Development – a position that at that time was vacant. The coverage reports her statement: *"We still are in a condition of uncertainty; a condition that, with the current level of growth, will allow us to overcome the crisis only in 2013, Germany will do that in 2011."* The journalist then states that the country Confindustria describes is in terrible conditions, on a number of levels. According to the media account, Confindustria attributes the Government and its lack of action the responsibility for the current crisis. The general impression is here of a strong and multi-layered reprisal against the Government. The newscast shows images of workers and trade unions' protest and a chart summarising the data on fiscal evasion issued by Confindustria.

TG La7's newscast is not directly framed along the conflict between Government and Confindustria: the call for the selection of a new Minister is not portrayed as a conflict but rather as a normal request on the Confindustria's side. What emerges here is the sense of a soft criticism for the Government's inability to act in support of the economical recovery rather than an open struggle between opposing fronts.

On 24 September, Marcegaglia's concerns are voiced in a more upfront and confrontational manner. All the main news programmes cover this event, although in different manners: on TG1 the coverage of the opinions Marcegaglia expresses is limited to a news item read by the anchor. It is a short note presenting the overall issue as a simple juxtaposition between two different views on the crisis: according to the frame of the reporting, Marcegaglia believes that Italy did not do better than other, while the Minister of Public Administration has an opposite opinion. The general sense, as emerging by the narrative TG1 adopts, is that no substantive contrast exists but only diverging views. No visibility is provided to Marcegaglia's political criticism of the Government's inaction.

TG2 devotes large space to the issue, by broadcasting excerpts of Marcegaglia's speech in Genoa contesting the Government's optimism. The journalist comments her words: *"There is everything but optimism in the analysis done by Confindustria chairperson. Marcegaglia's statement dismantles the optimistic assertions issued by the Government's members"*. The Minister for Public Administration, Brunetta, is given the chance to reply to Marcegaglia's words; his reply states: *"We have done better than other countries that often showed a patronising attitude to Italy."* Overall the news making gives a sense of an ongoing confrontation between the Executive and Confindustria.

TG3 launches the headline: *"Marcegaglia, Italy is not doing better than other countries."* The reporting focuses on Marcegaglia's speech in Genoa and emphasises the passages directly questioning the position of the Government. The reporter states: *"Marcegaglia distances herself from Government's optimism and criticises politics just interested into counting Parliamentary seats."* The framing of the coverage provides for a sensation of deep contrast and lack of trust between the two powers.

⁹ A clear reference to the campaign against Fini regarding the loft in Montecarlo.

TG5 opens with a milder headline: *“Work, uncertainty continues, Marcegaglia says: The worst part has gone by but insecurity lingers.”* The key focus of the coverage is the letter written by the President of the Republic, Giorgio Napolitano, to Confindustria and the strategies to pull through the crisis. Excerpts of Marcegaglia’s statement are reported: *“We are overcoming the crisis and we are going less than the European average. Everybody estimates a growth around 1-1,2% for Italy and the European average at 1,7% with Germany at 3,4%. The fact that the crisis hit Italy is an evident fact.”* The journalist also mentions that Marcegaglia wishes that the Parliament will pass the education reform as planned by the Government. The news making gives here an impression of synergy between Confindustria and the Government by somehow overturning Marcegaglia’s critical position.

TG La7 opens with the headline: *“Marcegaglia: Italy is not any better than other countries, Marcegaglia questions the Government’s optimism, and Government’s policies are against the market”*. The anchor qualifies Marcegaglia’s statement as a hard attack against Government’s policies. According the journalist, Marcegaglia’s words collide with what claimed by the Executive. Her speech during a convention in Genoa is broadcast: *“We have been harshly hit by the crisis and it is not true we are in better position than other countries.”* The coverage is largely focused on Confindustria’s analysis of the Italian economical situation and the increased divergences of positions between Confindustria and the Government.

On 25 September, Marcegaglia reiterates her dissent against the Government’s policies and choices. It is a story covered by most of news programmes, but once again, according to different angles. TG1 broadcasts an excerpt of Marcegaglia speech: *“The Government must go on, they must rule, they must do what they were called to do by voters, it needs to be done, but we warn that the whole entrepreneurial community and citizens are exhausting their patience.”* The report does not relate this passage to Marcegaglia’s criticism against the Government; rather the impatience Marcegaglia mentions is depicted as linked to the general themes of development and employment. The contraposition between Confindustria and the Government is here presented in a soft perspective and the news framing attributes the responsibilities for the lack of action to the Parliament not approving laws. The report closes with an interview to the leader of one of the main trade unions (CGIL), Epifani, complaining about Confindustria’s behaviour in relation to the national metal workers’ contract. This closing contributes to create the perception of multiple conflicts existing in the economical sphere: Government-Confindustria, Confindustria-CGIL, CGIL-Government. Overall, the sense emerging here is Marcegaglia’s discontent rather than a strong criticism of the Executive. In addition, the coverage keeps a narrative low profile on two key aspects of the story: Confindustria’s attempt to bypass the Government to open a cooperation to new social interlocutors to overcome the crisis.

TG2 openings is based on the journalist’s summary of Marcegaglia’s critics to the Government: *“Confindustria’s chair person piles it on; yesterday she dismissed the Government’s optimism on the state of economy; today she calls upon the Government again telling citizens and firms are losing their patience.”* During the report, the critical passage of Marcegaglia’s speech is broadcast: *“The Government must go on, they must rule, they must do what they were called to do by voters, it needs to be done, but we warn that the whole entrepreneurial community and citizens are exhausting their patience”*. The final speech of the Northern League leader and Minister, Bossi, sounds like very stigmatising of Marcegaglia’s position thus fostering the impression of a harsh confrontation between Confindustria and the Executive.

TG3 launches the story with a forceful opening: *“Marcegaglia: the Government must act, we are close to lose our patience.”* During the reporting the journalist says: *“Marcegaglia attacks the Government, it is time for them to rule.”* It is then broadcast the excerpts where Marcegaglia criticises the lack of action of the Executive. The journalist then continues: *“Enough of trivial politics, so Marcegaglia says, Confindustria is fed up with waiting.”* In TG3 journalistic portrayal, opinions and positions become more polarised and controversial, thus evoking the implicit impression of frontal confrontation between the economical and the political world.

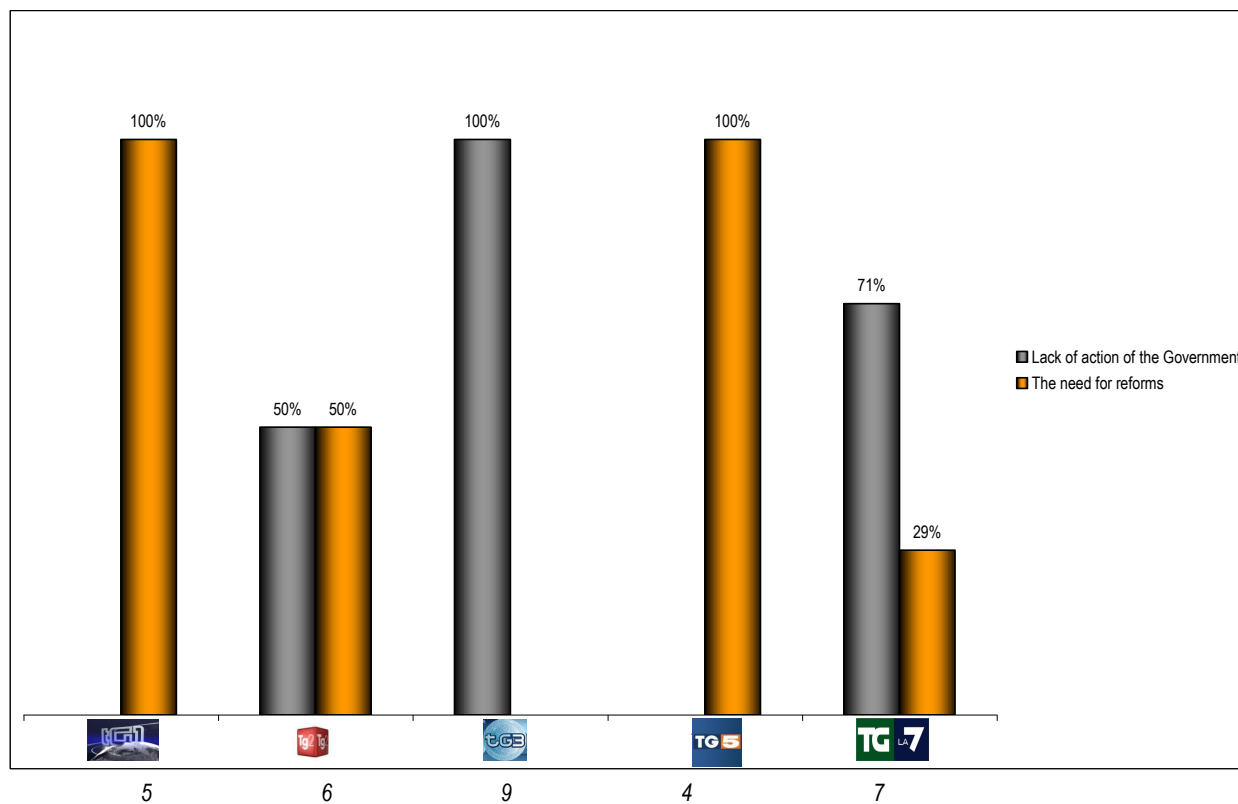
On TG5, the tenure of the coverage is different, with the opening headline immediately suggesting the news setting: *“Marcegaglia: immediately an agreement on reforms.”* There is no reference to the Government or to responsibilities Marcegaglia attributes to the ruling forces. The coverage does not include any direct access or sound bites for Marcegaglia and the entire story is based on the journalist’s narration: *“Marcegaglia states that the Government must carry on, they must rule but it must be aware that firms and citizens are losing their patience.”* Bossi’s reply follows, stating: *“It is easy to speak but the Government has demonstrated it can play its part”*. The newscast ends with the journalist’s report on Marcegaglia summoning everybody – and not only the Government to adhere to a pact to spur all politics. The overall effect is twofold: on the one hand, an offhand visibility for Marcegaglia, implicitly accused of not acknowledging the Government’s achievements

and of having a passive role in the attempt to exit the economical crisis. On the other, the responsibilities Marcegaglia attributes to the Government are either unmentioned or attributed to the whole political sphere.

TG La7 focuses on a specific excerpt of Marcegaglia speech where she states: *“This summer we stepped into a dark side of politics, a situation where the fog is getting thicker and thicker”*. In parallel, the caption appearing on screen states: *“The Government must hurry up, patience is about to finish”*. This increases the feeling of strong criticism Confindustria expresses that is also openly stressed by the journalist. Marcegaglia coverage is focused on her harsh reprisal of the majority and their lack of strategies to overcome the crisis. It is interesting to observe how at the beginning of the report the anchorman highlights the relevance of this story by stating its importance for Italians. In other words, what was only sketched through images and references to trade unions in many other news programmes becomes here explicit with a narrative emphasising Marcegaglia’s attempt to bypass the Government and open a dialogue with trade unions to overcome the crisis.

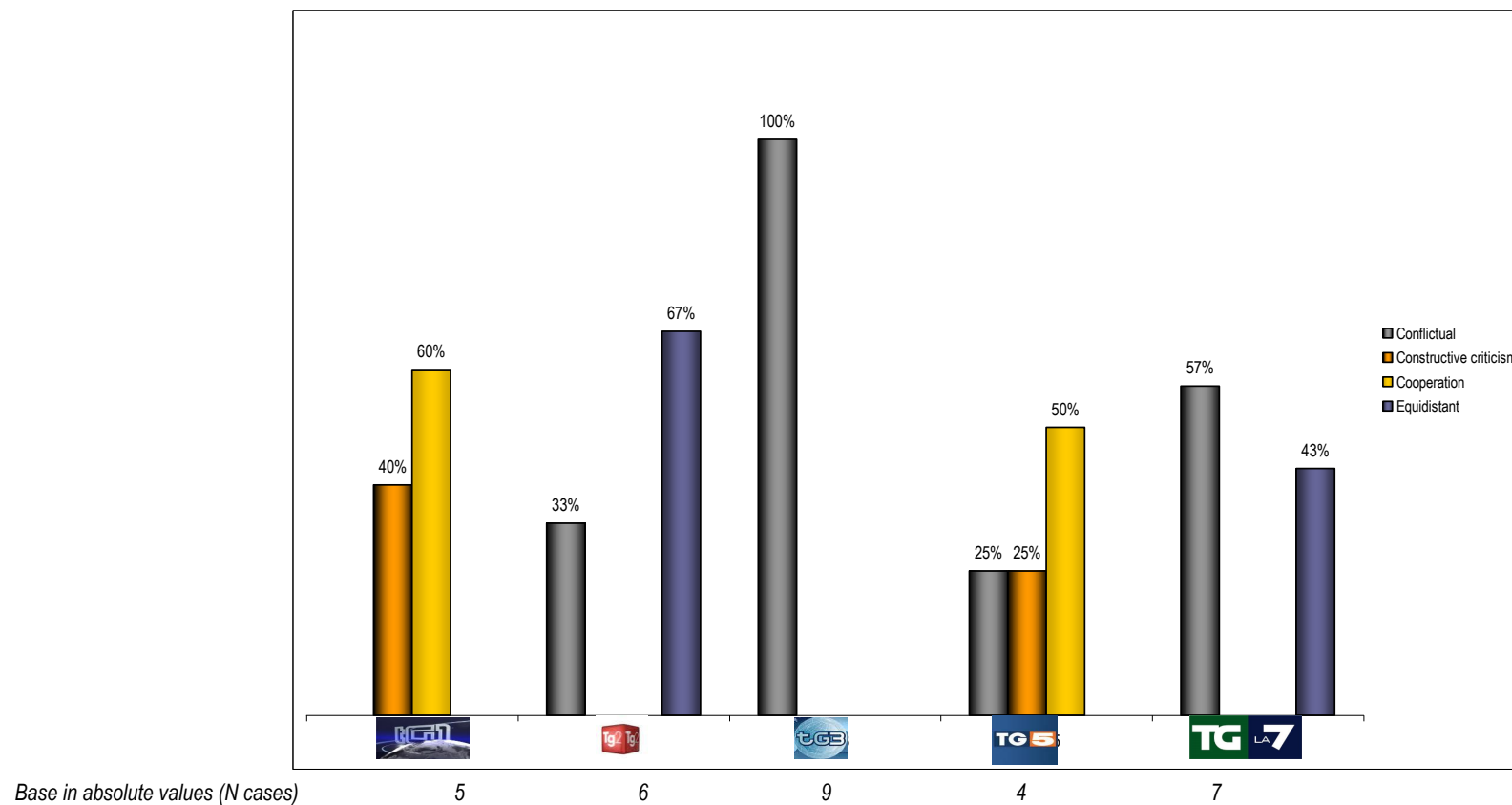
On a more general level quantitative analysis shows that the different editorial lines of each channel can be systematised according to the frames used to portray this phase as well as the consequent relational dimension between the Government and Confindustria as defined by the news making of each programme. The narrative connotations informing the coverage of each bulletin vary: while TG3, TG La7 and, partially TG2, tend to shape their reporting along the frame pertaining to the lack of action of the Government, TG1 and TG2 are more inclined to define their coverage according a more neutral and blurred dimension for the Government such as the general need for economical reforms. This layer indirectly implies a broader spectrum of agents involved in the change – the majority, the opposition, the Parliament as an institution, the trade unions, the public administration – with the consequence of diluting Marcegaglia’s attribution of responsibilities to the Executive.

Chart 9 Prevailing narrative frames by news programme



Base in absolute values (N cases)

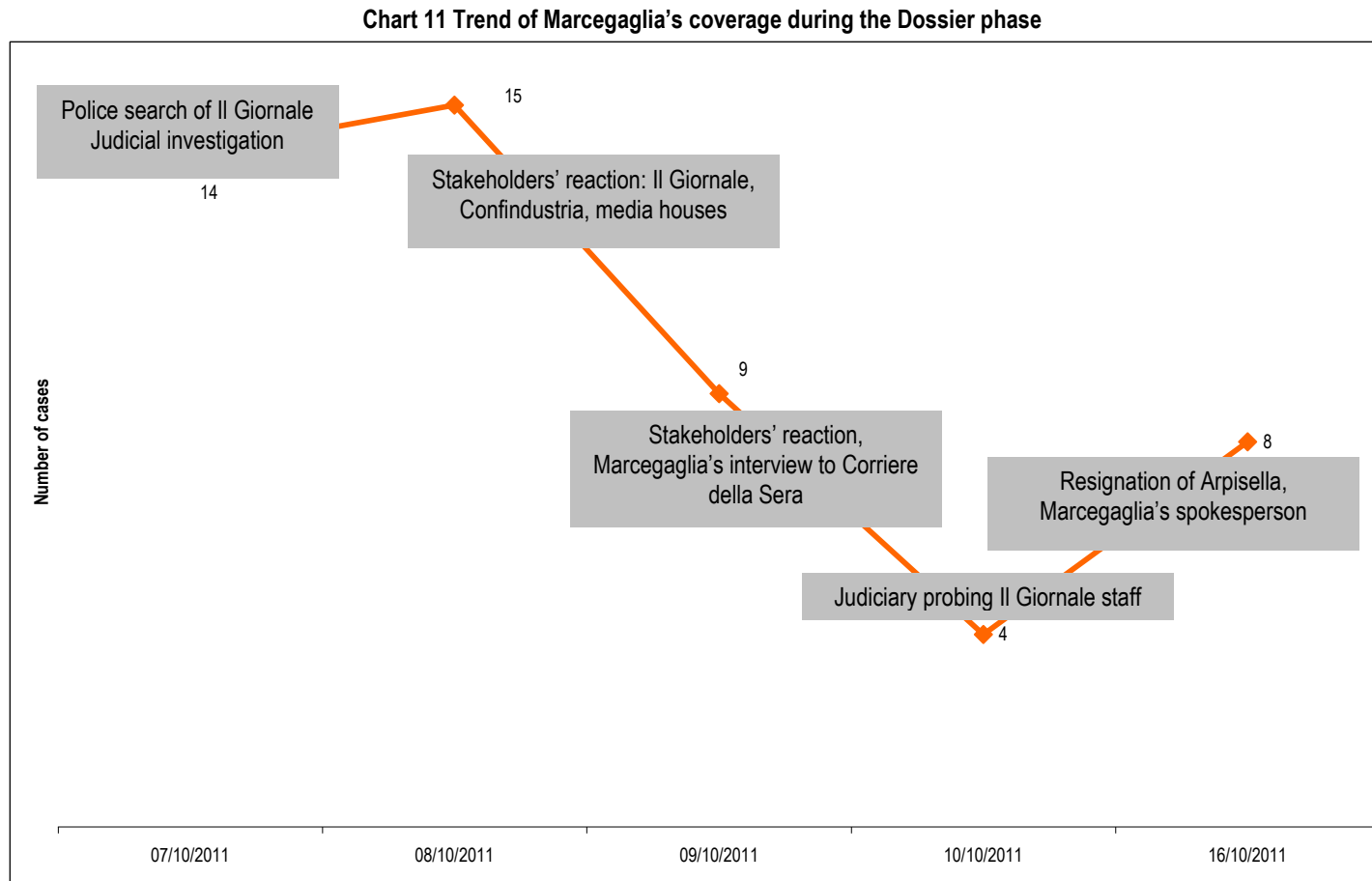
The relational dimension between the two main actors of this phase - as openly or implicitly defined by the media narrative through comments, images, footage or associations – shows that a conflict prevails on TG3 and TG La7. TG2's coverage is balanced between confrontation and cooperation between the two agents while TG5 and TG1 assign a consensual shape to the overall case.

Chart 10 Prevailing relational dimension by news programme¹⁰

¹⁰ The category Equidistant indicates those cases where the portrayal of the issue did not allow for a clearly definable relational dimension,

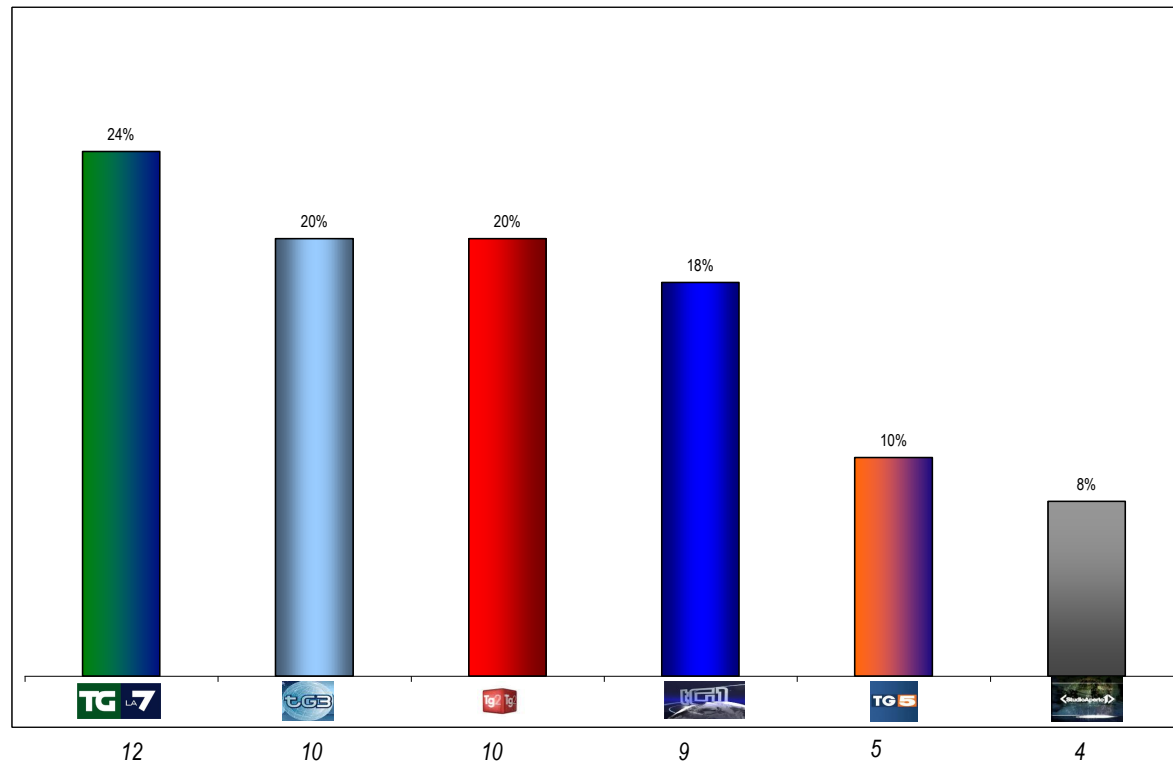
iii. The Dossier Phase: Public Disclosure of the Case (7 – 16 October)

Media coverage of this phase starts on 7 October, when the police searches the premises of Il Giornale on the ground of alleged threats against Marcegaglia. The news cycle during this phase is characterised by an uneven trend of visibility: the highest peaks of attention are reached during the two first days, when both the alleged threat of a Dossier against Marcegaglia and the related judicial investigation against Il Giornale become public.



The overall coverage of the story during the news cycle shows diverse levels of attention in each channel; this feature can be explained by the different editorial lines and vocation of each news programme as well as their general thematic approach to news making. As a matter of fact TG La7, TG3 and TG2 are the programmes ensuring the highest visibility to the case, while TG5 and Studio Aperto devote only limited attention to it. TG1 lies in the middle of the continuum with 9 news items.

Chart 12 News items devoted to the dossier phase by programme



Base in absolute values (N cases)

The coverage of the first day of the case clearly mirror the different editorial lines and imprinting each news programme will give to the story during the overall period.

On 7 October, all news programmes cover the story although in a variety of angles. TG1 patterns its coverage after the search of *Il Giornale* by giving large access to the editor-in-chief of the newspaper, Sallusti, and his attacks against the public prosecutor, Woodcock, that started the investigation. Sallusti and his deputy, Porro, consider the judicial inquiry as a form of retaliation for the articles they wrote on the failures of other cases Woodcock opened. Sallusti states: *"I do not know Marcegaglia's spokesperson and I never threatened him."* On the same line Porro: *"There is no dossier whatsoever."* The coverage mentions that the presumed Dossier may be related to the criticism against the Government Marcegaglia expressed but no images and references to Marcegaglia's opinions are included in the news item. The journalist also does not mention the tapping of conversations between Arpissella and Porro that brought to the investigation. In sum, the message passed sounds like: the alleged (an adjective repeated several times) Dossier is a blunder and an act of vengeance of the judiciary against *Il Giornale*.

TG2 devotes 3 items to the story: the first describes and analyses in detail the case. The journalist reports the main excerpts of the tapped conversation between Arpissella and Porro and presents the main elements of the case: *"Now we will have fun for 20 days, we will bother Marcegaglia. This is a fragment of the phone conversation that took place on 16 September between Porro and Arpissella. In the call Porro would have made clear that it was not a joke and that they would have moved their reporters to Mantova, where Marcegaglia's company has its headquarters. The phone call, incidentally tapped by the Public Prosecutor Office during an investigation for illegal waste disposal, was done a few minutes after Porro sent a text message to Arpissella to warn him *Il Giornale* was working on a judicial story*

on Marcegaglia's family business. According to the Public Prosecutor Office, the conversation was aimed at changing Marcegaglia's position towards the Government that she had criticised over the whole month of September. Hence, the opening of an inquiry against *Il Giornale's* editor-in-chief and his deputy that are now under investigation and the search in *Il Giornale* premises. The magistrates were prompted to start the investigation also by the statement released by Marcegaglia that said to the Public Prosecutor she clearly perceived the warning as a real risk for her person and image. Therefore she got in touch with Mediaset CEO, Confalonieri, asking him to intervene with *Il Giornale* management..." The second news item on the case provides a space to *Il Giornale's* reply to the accusations. The press conference of *Il Giornale's* management is covered where they deny the existence of any Dossier against Marcegaglia-. Sallusti words are reported: "I have been investigated but there is no tapping of conversations between Arpissella and me." Porro adds: "There is not Dossier and no reporter, the conversations was just tongue in cheek." Also Feltri is interviewed and he says: "There was not interest for Marcegaglia on behalf of *Il Giornale*." The final item focuses on the similarities of the present case with the mudding campaign *Il Giornale* launched against the former editor-in-chief of *Avvenire*, Boffo. The current *Avvenire* editor-in-chief is interviewed: he condemns the police search of *Il Giornale* as a serious problem for freedom of the press, but he also recalls: "I know that in our country the boundaries between defamation, news manipulation, media ambushes on the one hand and freedom of the press on the other have become blurred. In *Avvenire* we experimented that through the Boffo campaign; he received belated apologies months after the unfair aggression he was victim of."

TG3 covers the story in two reports. The first focuses on the facts and the details of the case and it provides the background for the events. *Il Giornale* staff is interviewed with Feltri stating: "I'd like to know what that Dossier is, nobody gave me anything." The editorial board then declares: "It is not possible that journalistic inquiries become scoops and others, which may be problematic for certain political forces, bring judicial investigations and tailing." The Public Prosecutor's staff involved in the investigations is also interviewed. The second item is based on the reactions to the police search. According to the Italian Press Federation, this is a worrying episode: searches cannot be turned into preventive controls over content published. According to Article 21, an organisation protecting freedom of the press, the source of muddy campaigns in the media can be dismantled only by tackling corrupted intelligence services and powerful lobbies. Broad space is also given to political reactions, from both the majority and the opposition. The report closes with a statement of Fini's party, Futuro and Libertà, stressing the need to carefully think over this episode as *Il Giornale* has already produced detraction campaigns in the past.

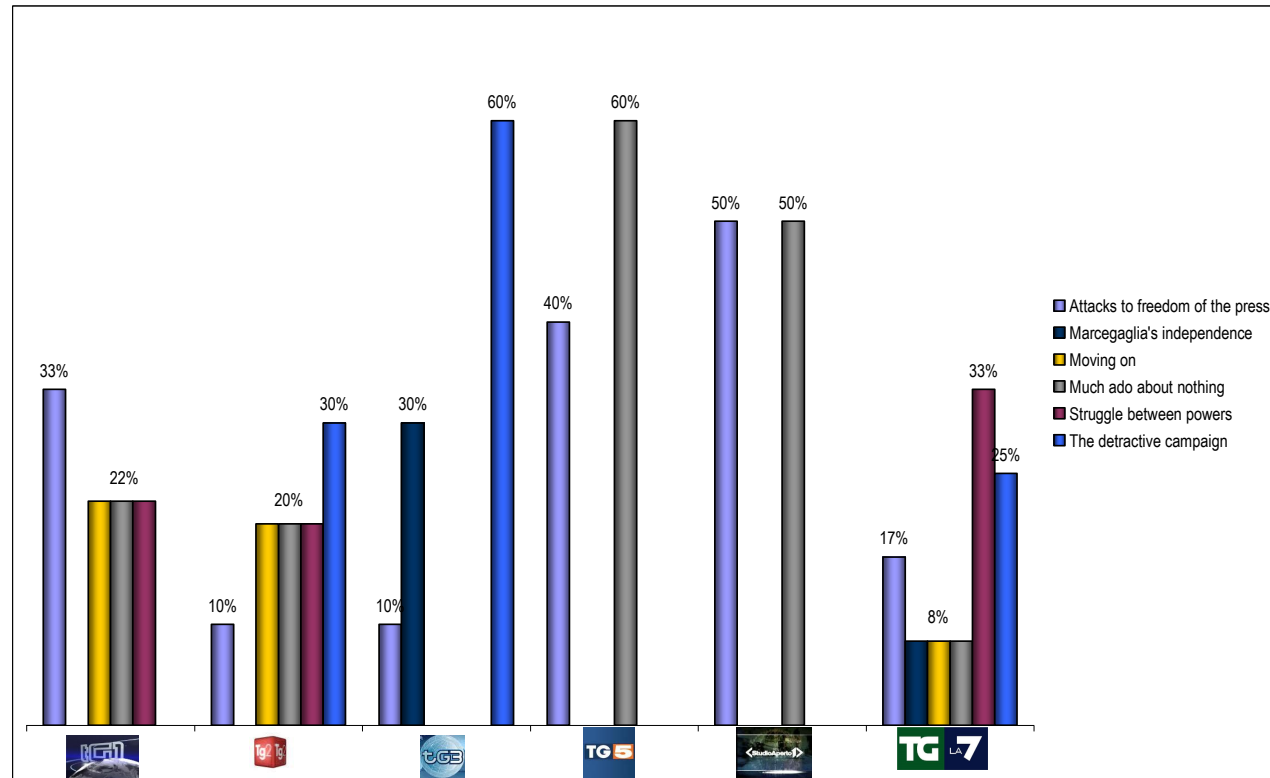
TG5 coverage does not specify the reasons that brought to the police search. Marcegaglia's criticism against the Government and the statements she made to the Public Prosecutor are not mentioned either. The story focuses on the support *Il Giornale* received for the police search and the statement made by the National Press Federation that labelled the episode as a form of preventive censorship against the press. The tenure of the coverage seems to imply a doubtful approach to the reality of the accusations: the journalist constantly uses the conditional tense when reporting on the charges against the newspaper: "Porro and Sallusti might be under investigation for the alleged threats and a possible Dossier." The journalist continues: "The representatives of the Parliamentary majority consider unacceptable this judicial initiative against *Il Giornale* and they call to stand up for freedom of the press." The report closes with a statement made by Feltri that labels the Dossier in the following terms "There is nothing weird, it looks like a mere nothing to me."

Studio Aperto does not devote a full report to the story; rather there is a short hook-up with the journalist reading the news. The item is focused on Sallusti's position: there is no threat against Marcegaglia, all this case and the overall investigation have no foundation.

Quantitative analysis of the frames and connotations of the coverage confirms the presence of differing clear editorial lines, in line with the models previously identified for each news programme. The main narrative connotation adopted by TG3 refers to the risk of media "muddy" campaigns as a weapon to silence political dissent or criticism. A number of references are made to previous attacks *Il Giornale* moved against Boffo and Fini. TG La7 adopts 3 principal angles: the "muddy" campaign, the problems posed by the police search in terms of freedom of the press (freedom-of-the-press dimension) and the interpretation of the case as a struggle among strong powers: politics (the Government), the media (*Il Giornale*) and the economical world (Confindustria). Both TG5 and Studio Aperto inflect their coverage along two frames: the freedom-of-the-press dimension and the much-ado-about-nothing connotation. This angle implies a narrative whereby the reality of the threat against Marcegaglia is sized down and the overall issue is labelled either as a joke or as a misunderstanding. TG2 focuses on a plurality of frames: the "muddy" campaign is the most relevant, followed by the much-ado-about-nothing dimension and struggle-between-powers connotation. A new frame emerges here

concerning Confindustria's will to move away from this kind of low-level issues and focus on real problems. Finally, TG1 adopts four main narrative angles: the freedom-of-the-press connotation and the dimensions related to much-ado-about-nothing, the move-on and the struggle among strong powers.

Chart 13 Prevailing narrative frames by news programme



Base in absolute values (N cases)

9

10

10

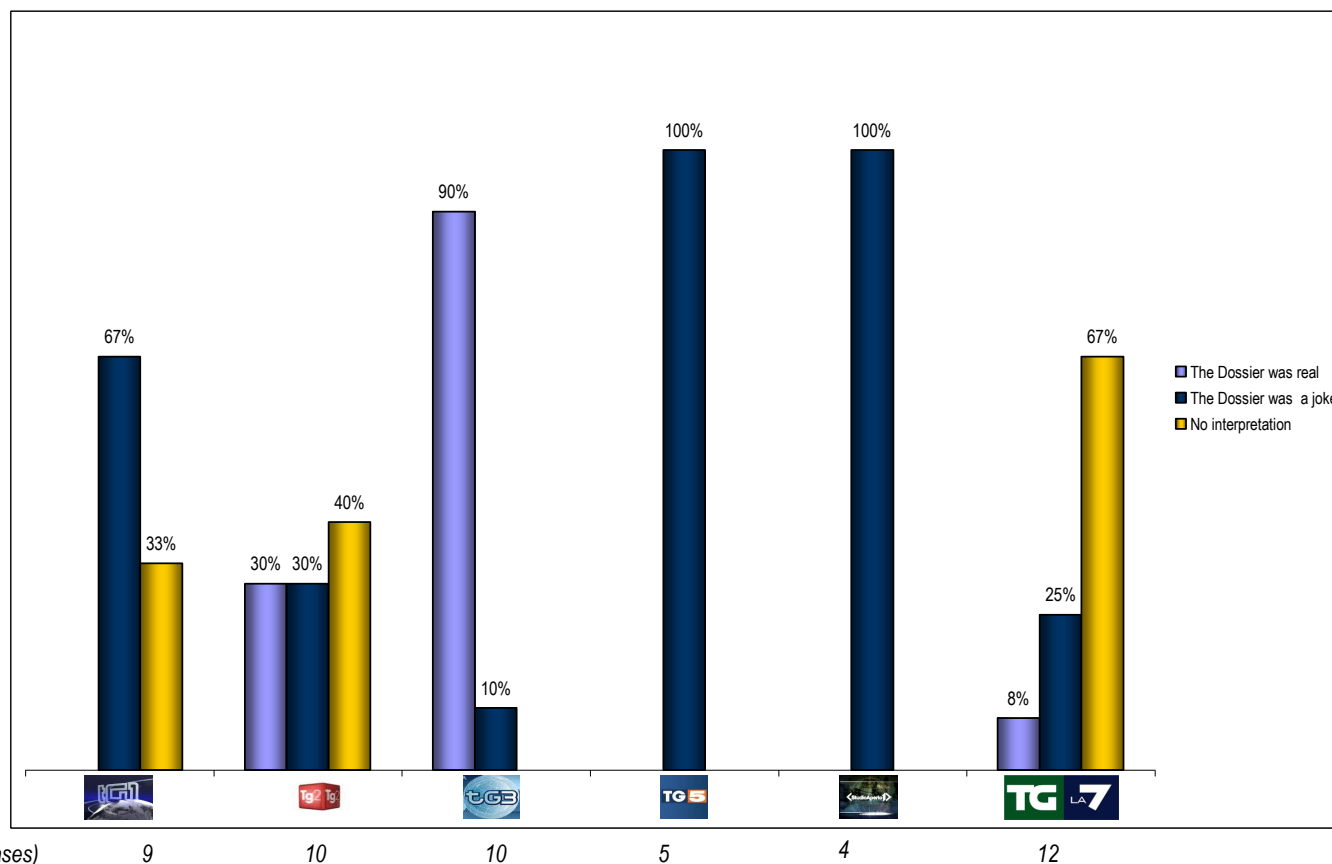
5

4

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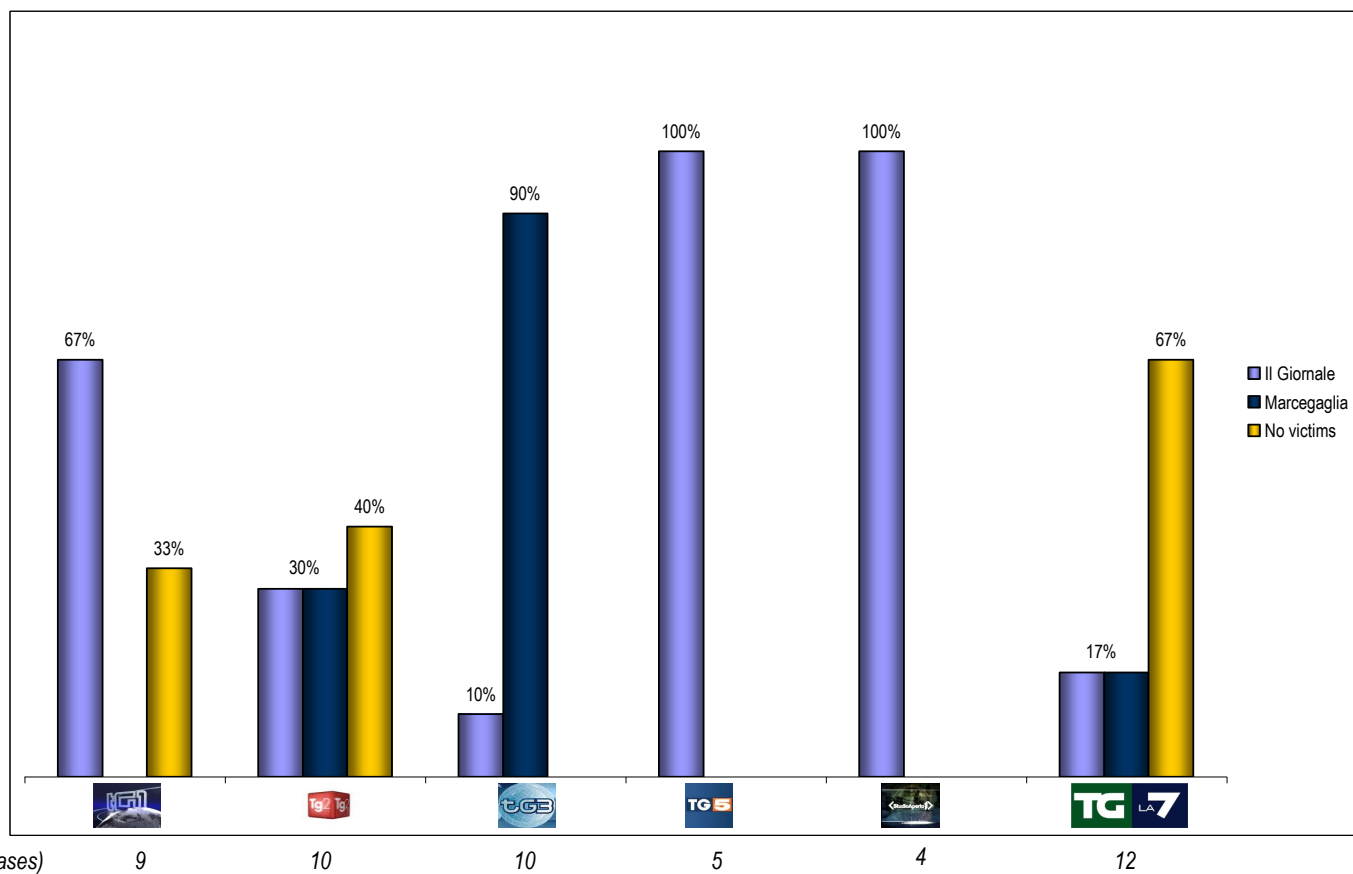
The interpretation provided in relation to the reality of the threat and the existence of the Dossier - as openly or implicitly defined by the media narrative through comments, images, footage, narrative angles or associations – is another element revealing differing editorial lines and styles. TG3 main construct refers to the reality of the threat, an approach followed, although more limitedly, by TG2 and TG La7. The latter adopts an equidistant position in any case, by resorting to a multi-sided type of reporting where different angles are presented and analysed. A similar strategy is observable in relation to TG2, even if in a less evident manner. The non-existence of the Dossier and the facetious nature of the treat is rather the main feature informing the coverage of TG1, TG5 and Studio Aperto.

Chart 14 Prevailing interpretative dimension by news programme



The outcome of the mix of framing and interpretative approaches creates a narrative context where the attribution of responsibilities and the identification of the aggrieved party are not univocal. Those news programmes adopting a mix of “Dossier-joke” and “Much ado about nothing” narrative scheme tend to portray Il Giornale as the main victim of the case, searched by the police and investigated by the judiciary (TG5, Studio Aperto and partially TG1). On the other hand, the combination of “Dossier-real” and “Muddy campaign” frames implicitly are inclined to define Marcegaglia as the victim of a broader system of de-legitimation and deteriorated political climate (TG3). The other news bulletins TG2 and TG La7 show a combination of both approaches.

Chart 15 Identification of the aggrieved party by news programme

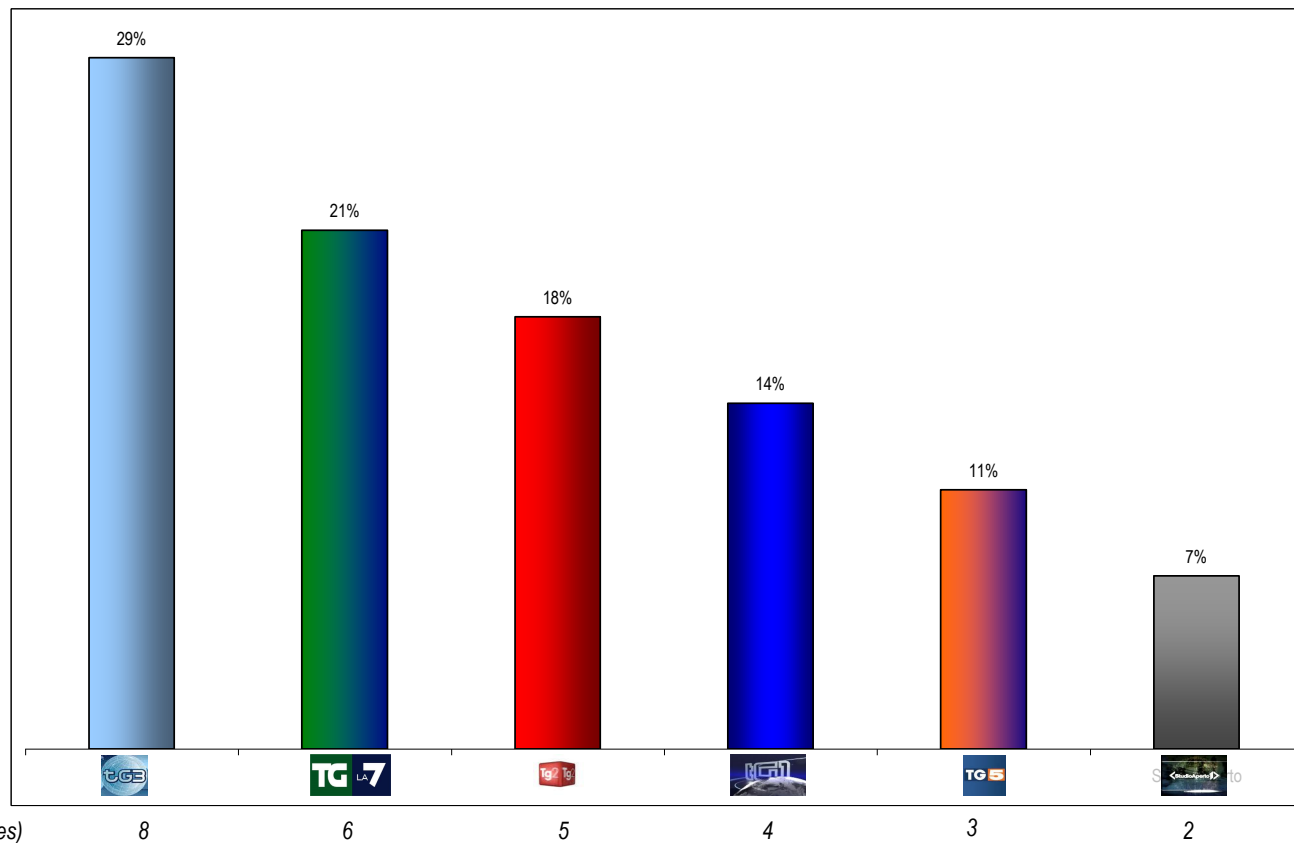


iv. Post Dossier: Back to Criticism (17 October – 20 November)

This phase closes the news cycle related to Marcegaglia case by shifting away the information focus from the personal level to the policy-making level. In this period, Marcegaglia and the Government reopen their dialects with the former insisting on the need for a change and the latter defending their action in support of the economical growth.

The visibility of Confindustria chairperson is comparatively similar to the period prior the Dossier phase. The analysis of news coverage shows the same kind of editorial lines observed in the previous phases: TG3 and TG La7 are the programmes devoting the highest coverage to Marcegaglia's concerns and views, followed by TG2, TG1, TG5 and Studio Aperto.

Chart 16 News items devoted to the post-dossier phase by programme



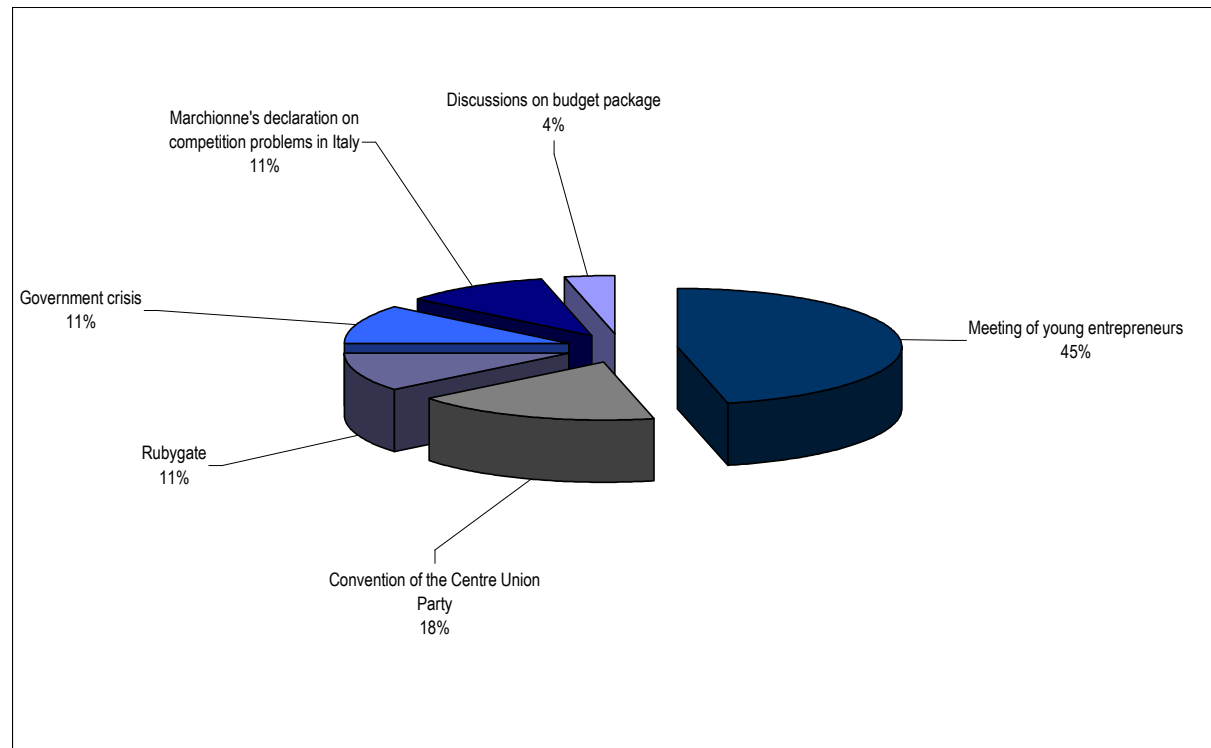
Base in absolute values (N cases)

Marcegaglia pursues her critical line of the Government while insisting on a number of key points: the urgency for a serious economic reform, Italy's paralysis in economics and development, the need for politics to regain unity and dignity, stability as a key conditions to promote development for Italy. This argument carries

the consequence that Marcegaglia and Confindustria strongly and explicitly disfavour the possibility of early elections, in spite of their doubts on the Government's ability to effectively promote the economical revitalisation of the country.

In the course of this period the leader of Confindustria is covered in a number of different events and contexts, particularly in relation to the meeting of young entrepreneurs in Prato.

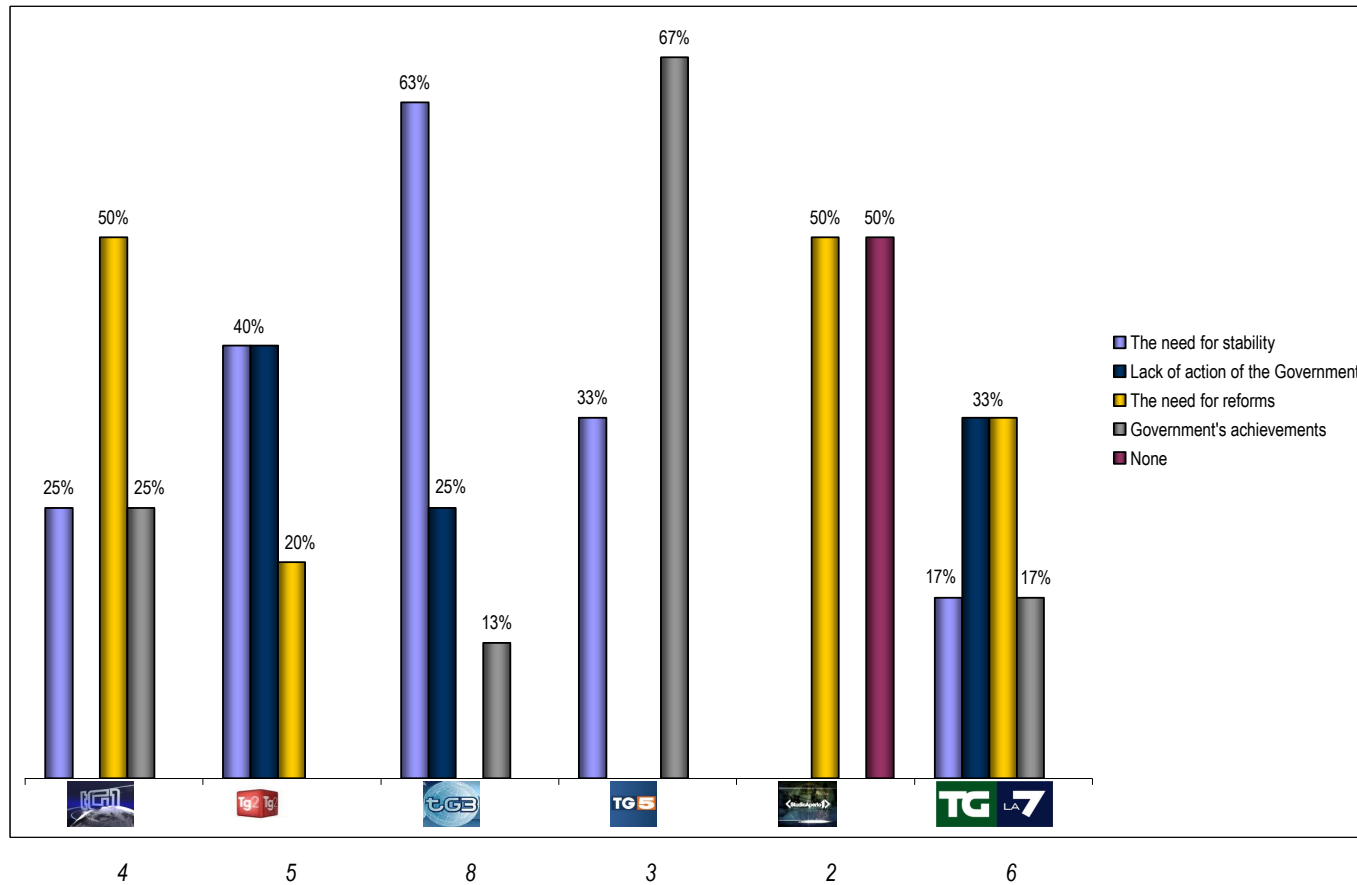
Chart 17 Events associated to Marcegaglia in the post-dossier



Base: 28 cases

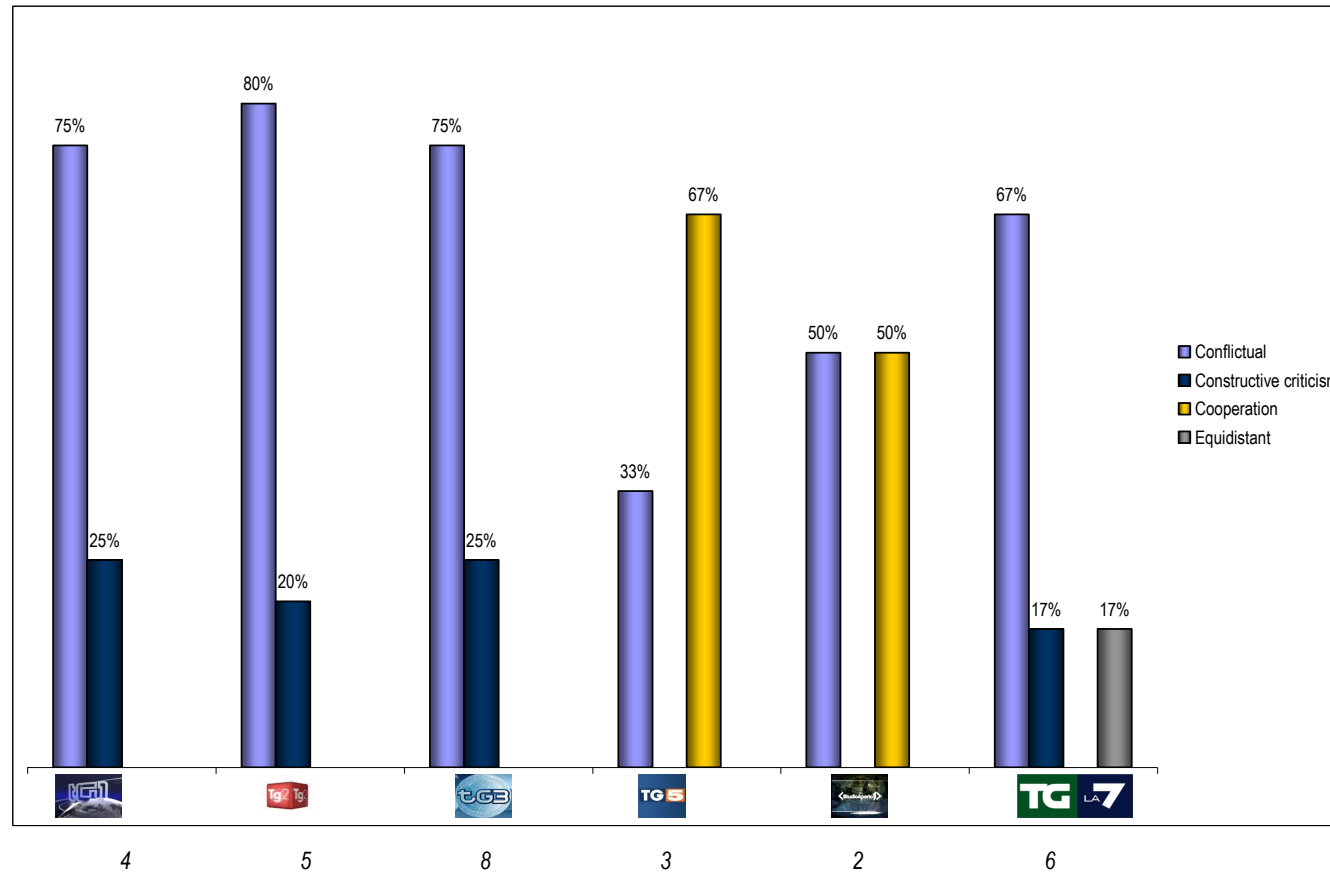
The main frames characterising her public portrayal and the narrative of her coverage echo some of the dimensions emerged during the pre Dossier phase, although tuned in a different manner: the main frame is generally the one pertaining to the need for stability, a consequence of the split between Fini's party and the ruling party. According to many, the Government may not be able to rule the country for the lack of a solid majority in Parliament and the hazard of early elections may be detrimental to economical recovery. This option is often labelled by Marcegaglia as a scenario not conducive for Italian delicate situation. The other main narrative dimension is the one referring to the Government's lack of strategy and action and the need to open up a serious period for reforms.

Chart 18 Prevailing narrative frames by news programme



Base in absolute values (N cases)

The relation between the two main actors of this phase - as openly or implicitly defined by the media narrative through comments, images, footage or associations – shows that the main dimension informing media coverage refers to an ongoing conflict of views and positions. Only two news programmes (TG5 and Studio Aperto) shape their narrative according to a dimension of cooperation between Marcegaglia and the Government. In this regard, this final phase shows that, on the one hand, each news programme maintains a consistent editorial approach to Marcegaglia coverage. On the other, no meaningful changes are observed in the tones and positions taken by Confindustria's leader against the Executive.

Chart 19 Prevailing relational dimension by news programme¹¹

¹¹ The category Equidistant indicates those cases where the portrayal of the issue did not allow for a clearly definable relational dimension,