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**BEYOND THEORY: COMPARING THE POLITICAL
COMMUNICATION AND LEGAL PERSPECTIVES
OF MADE IN ITALY AND CULTIVATED MEAT**

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«Il muratore va
E non si fermerà
A creare nuovi muri di disparità
E mura la natura
E mura la cultura
E mura tutto ciò che fa paura
Ma il pensiero non lo puoi murare
Perché il pensiero vola, è cielo puro
E sta di qua e di là dal muro
La gente si muove, la musica cresce, e ancora un altro muro viene
giù»

Lorenzo Jovanotti

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Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to analyse the communication of the current Ministry of Agriculture, Food Sovereignty and Forestry (MAFSF) and of Minister Francesco Lollobrigida regarding Made in Italy and Cultured Meat, to compare it with the legislative aspects currently in force in Italy and in Europe, and to understand the extent to which citizens are influenced by it, by means of a questionnaire addressed to a random sample. I will begin by analysing the specific meaning of political communication and its verbal and non-verbal characteristics. I will explain who MAFSF and Minister Francesco Lollobrigida are and what the legal references are to understand the issues of Made in Italy and Cultured Meat, referring to the principle of free movement of goods and the rules regulating novel foods. I will continue with the statements made by Minister Lollobrigida at the Council of Ministers no. 26 of the current legislature and the parliamentary questioning that took place on 11/17/2022; finally, I will analyse the answers to the questionnaire in order to understand whether there is a direct and/or indirect influence between the Ministry's communication and the citizens.

Introduction

Since ancient Greece, political communication has been a means of persuading audiences with rhetoric, i.e. the set of verbal and non-verbal means of persuasion used in public discourse with the aim of manipulating and reorganising the power relations between citizens and politicians.

With mass communication and the development of digital technologies over the last few centuries, the relationship between citizens and politicians has changed and the power of the media, both as a medium and as a producer of persuasive content, has established itself alongside them.

The second half of the 20th century also saw the birth of the European Union, based on the principle of the free movement of goods, services, people and capital, a pillar of 'Made in', a concept that applies to all goods circulating on the continent. In addition, in 1997, the definition of 'novel food' was introduced, which defines and lists the foods that must undergo the strict controls of the EFSA (European Food Safety Authority) before they can be marketed in Europe.

In this complex context of regulations, communication and new technologies, in Italy the Ministry of Agriculture, Food Sovereignty and Forests, headed by Minister Francesco Lollobrigida, has issued a law that prohibits and punishes the production, marketing and importation of cultured meat, even though it is a food that is not currently subject to EFSA controls because no company has applied to market it in Europe. This decision was justified based on the precautionary principle enshrined in Article 7 of Regulation (EC) No 178/2002. In parallel with this regulation, which entered into force on 1 December 2002, Minister Lollobrigida made a series of speeches in which she referred to cultured meat as "synthetic" meat and underlined the opposition of the Ministry and the government to the marketing of this product, considering it to be a health hazard and a risk to the community. Given the persuasive potential of political speeches, I sought feedback through a questionnaire aimed at citizens to understand whether and to what extent they are influenced by this type of communication.

Before doing so, in the first chapter I looked at the history of political communication, its aims and the means used to achieve them: non-verbal means

such as physical appearance, clothing, posture and gestures; and verbal means such as the use of cheers and boos, rhetorical figures, adverbs and expressive formulae. Finally, I mentioned the history of the Ministry and that of Minister Francesco Lollobrigida.

In the second chapter I have analysed in detail the legislative aspect of the concept of 'Made in', how the acquisition of origin takes place and in which case a food product can be defined as '100% Made in Italy'. The third chapter deals with the bureaucratic procedures and the current status of cultured meat in Italy and Europe, with reference to the TRIS procedure, the procedure that Member States must follow to enact a law that affects the free movement of goods, as happened in Italy with the law of 12/01/2023.

In the fourth chapter I analysed the communicative dimension of Minister Francesco Lollobrigida through the speech he gave during the parliamentary questioning on 11/17/2022 and the press conference of the Council of Ministers no. 26, the website of the Ministry and a post on his Instagram page. Finally, in the fifth chapter, I reported the questions from the questionnaire and analysed the answers, dividing them into two samples: the one made up of respondents who said they followed the news from the MAFSF and Minister Lollobrigida, and those who said they did not.

1. Political communication: definition, methods and persuasiveness

The word ‘communication’ comes from the Latin *communicationem*: the act of sharing, discussing, debating. Politics is all that concerns the State and its administration, public life and affairs, the government of a country or its people; so political communication, refers to debates, public speeches, election campaigns, newspapers, press conferences and all other means of expressing political life.

From ancient Greece to the present day, political communication has been at the heart of political life, expressed through the use of language, although its nature has changed, evolved and in some cases regressed. Indeed, political communication can be described as what is found in democracies: authoritarian regimes, such as monarchies, most often use coercion to get citizens to do what is required of them. In these two realities, authoritarian regimes and democracies, it is possible to distinguish the will to persuade from the will to manipulate the audience.

Citizens, politicians and media are the three actors in political life, but first it may be important to take a step back to better understand the history of political communication. (Mazzoleni, 2021)

1.1. History of political communication

The first forms of political communication date back to the life of the *póleis* in ancient Greece. During that period, Greek philosophers began to analyse the relationship between authority, power and democracy. The philosophers Plato and Aristotle turned their attention to public debates as a moment of formation and negotiation of power relations between citizens and other social classes. In contrast to armed confrontation, these moments of public life constitute a civilised form of political interaction that follows the rules of rhetoric, i.e. the art of persuasion.

From the end of the Roman Republic until the seventeenth century, the aim of political communication was mostly to manipulate people, not to persuade them. Only northern European cities and Italian communes were characterised by non-violent communication.

In the century of the Enlightenment, with the American and French revolutions, libertarian and democratic values returned, freeing journalism from absolutist regimes and the control of power. In the nineteenth century, the emergence of new

forms of absolutism slowed, but did not completely stop, the process of democratising communication.

Many newspapers were created during this period and these, together with public speeches and political life, began the process of modernising political communication, which would change again in 1900.

Apart from the two world wars and the Cold War, which were marked by propaganda, manipulation and systemic violence, the twentieth century witnessed dizzying population growth, the development of mass media and numerous political changes. Television, films and radio became ubiquitous media in the lives of all citizens, who received their news through programmes selected by editors.

Furthermore, the end of the twentieth century saw the beginning of a new revolution, the digital revolution. The media became the metaphorical place where citizens also had their say, and a vehicle for ever-faster, ever-changing information. Today, there is also the sharing of content at the same time as events are taking place; this happens also in the political sphere, as what occurred with the attack on Congress by Donald Trump's supporters. (Mazzoleni, 2021)

1.2 The three actants

In this new form of political communication, there are three actors: the politicians, the media and the citizens.

The political system includes the set of political institutions, such as the government, the parliament and the head of state, as well as non-institutional and pressure groups, like parties, leaders and movements, which aim to defend demands and gain power in the name of freedom of expression.

The media include press, film, radio, books, music and the Internet. These are not only a 'medium' but also producers of content that construct and convey political messages.

Finally, there is the citizen-voter, who collectively forms public opinion and the electorate. Citizens are not just listeners, but active participants in political life as *producers*: users and producers. (Mazzoleni, 2021)

The acceleration of communication turns the messages sent by politicians through the media into a kind of instant messaging, made up of fleeting meanings that take the form of a manifesto of values, symbols and ideas close to those of the reader. As Antonelli argued (Baldi, 2021) the modus operandi of political discourse has shifted from a position of superiority to one of mirroring, that is to say from the attempt to demonstrate one's own powers of persuasion to the attempt to appear like citizens in the cultural and value heritage one displays.

1.3 Persuasiveness: the aim of political communication

According to Baldi (pg 33, Baldi, 2021):

Political communication contributes to the creation of beliefs and ways of representing reality, establishing a link between those who produce the message and the recipients on whom it exerts a progressive change. This reinforces the relationship of trust and consensus that reflects power relations; it is not by chance that the media can be seen as instruments for creating an audience, i.e. for identifying recipients who are homogeneous with the interests of the systems that control the media.

The aim of political language is to persuade through a narrative that is capable of building trust in the audience. The aim of political language is to persuade through a narrative that is capable of building trust in the audience. The most common way to do this is to use enunciative procedures that assume that the values, ideas, expectations and goals underlying the discourse are the same between the speaker and the audience. This common ground reduces the importance of rationality and truthfulness of arguments in achieving the intended impact on the audience, or rather the perlocutionary effect, in this case persuasion.

The issuer seeks to evoke an idea of authority, commitment to just and shareable ideals, and manipulates the relationship with the recipient by giving relevance to the elements with which they identify. As seen above, however, it should be remembered that the audience opens the door to persuasion: it is not a passive listener, but it is influenced by pre-existing individual, emotional and contextual factors in interpreting the words it hears.

A speech designed and delivered with the aim of creating an imaginary in the audience does not only make use of the instrumentalization of the proposed arguments, but also of numerous acoustic, physical, rhetorical and textual devices.

1.4 How rhetoric works

Persuasive language conveys evaluations, positive or negative, about the object of the discourse. The evaluation of a message can be implicit, when it is taken for granted that the values, ethics and ideas underlying the discourse are shared by the audience; and at the same time it can be explicit, when linguistic, grammatical and textual devices are used to achieve the persuasive effect. (Partington, Taylor, 2017)

As theorised by Watzlawick et al. (Baldi, 2021), the first axiom of communication states that it is impossible not to communicate. This implies that the totality of verbal and non-verbal messages must be considered and examined.

1.4.1 The non-verbal dimension of political language

The non-verbal dimension of language includes physical appearance and dress, proxemics, gestures, gaze, facial expression, posture, intonation and voice modulation.

Clothing and physical appearance represent the political body, which is distinguished from the natural body by stylistic choices such as the use of a jacket and tie, the wearing of a shirt or, for example, jeans, like Bettino Craxi's choice in 1979, which was criticised by Sandro Pertini for lacking the usual institutional decorum. (Baldi, 2021)

Vocality is related to rhythm, phonetic characteristics and intonation. The vocal aspect places particular emphasis on the emotional component, which can be analysed by considering the melodic pattern, the tone of the voice and the intensity of the airflow. According to Scherer and Oshinsky (Baldi, 2021), when you experience joy during a speech, you can perceive slight variations in the amplitude of the sound waves and stronger variations in the tonal contour. (Baldi, 2021)

Another element to be analysed is gesture, which includes deictic gestures, such as pointing; emblems (non-verbal gestures that substitute for linguistic expressions, such as fist raising, obscene gestures, etc.); metaphorical gestures (which illustrate what has been said, emphasise words and phrases, indicate objects, describe spatial or causal relationships, etc.); iconic gestures (used to spatially represent aspects of linguistic meaning). (Baldi, 2021)

1.4.2 The verbal aspect of political language

The verbal aspect of discourse can make use of different argumentation strategies.

One can appeal to an external authority to support the thesis one is arguing for, or one can compare and highlight the differences between two topics, evaluating as positive the characteristics that relate to the message one wants to convey. The juxtaposition between two topics can be conceptual, geographical or historical, but in any case, the ultimate aim is to bring out a positive evaluation of the instance presented.

Another strategy is that of the problem-solution: in this case, a problem is identified and immediately a solution is proposed, i.e. the one that is considered to be right and relevant to one's values. This strategy can also be implemented by first identifying the problem and then presenting two solutions, the first of which is presented as negative because it is the one that political opponents would choose, and the second of which is presented as the most appropriate and in line with the political ideas being expressed. (Partington, Taylor, 2017)

By exploiting the mechanism of association, then it is possible to use what is pejoratively called 'image politics', for example, using visual, sound or everyday symbols such as clothing to refer to a particular reality. Finally, speakers may present cases in the form of hypotheses by providing evidence, and then offer two different solutions: the first will be negative and contrary to the speaker's value heritage, the second will be presented as incontrovertibly valid and sound for the purpose of solving the problem. (Partington, Taylor, 2017)

The use of these discursive strategies very often serves to appeal to the emotions of the audience rather than to their rationality. In fact, there is often no real connection between what is said and what happens, especially due to vague or dichotomous formulas and ill-defined concepts. People are persuaded by dichotomous, binary oppositions and gradable, complementary or converse antonyms. (Partington, Taylor, 2017)

An expressive formula for attracting the attention of interlocutors is to use 'hooray words' and 'boo words', i.e. words that have a positive or negative connotation. The purpose of their use is to elicit a reaction from the audience in accordance with the words used. The most used hooray words are natural, authentic, sustainable, efficiency, etc., but it is not easy to include them in a finite set, since what is a hooray word for one speaker may be a boo word for another, depending on the perspective from which one is speaking. (Partington, Taylor, 2017)

Finally, the purpose of the discourse to be delivered calibrates the distance between the 'I' (of the speaker) and the 'you' (of the people). This is done by using a competence face or an affective face. In the first case, an authoritative and competent, rational pose is used, which tries to convince the audience through the truthfulness of its statements, even if this is very often only apparent. The affective face, on the other hand, tries to persuade the audience through emotions. It very often appeals to feelings of patriotism, faith or compassion, to the will of creating a 'we' to fight for and for which the people can do something by electing the talking politician. (Partington, Taylor, 2017)

The status displayed by the politician can therefore change, placing him or her at the level of a citizen, or as a member of a religion, as a man or a woman, a leader. (Partington, Taylor, 2017)

1.4.3 The rhetorical figures in political discourse

Sentences structure can also be arranged to create rhetorical figures.

The most used rhetorical figure is the metaphor, i.e. the attribution of an image or quality to a subject, object or other thing that is not usually characterised by it. Using the metaphor, the listener can get closer to a level that otherwise would be unimaginable. According to Lakoff and Johnson (Baldi, 2021), metaphors involve *understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another*. Although it is a common stylistic choice, it is particularly important in political discourse because it manages to refer to concepts not explicitly mentioned by the speaker. In this way, the literal content is extended by combining the implications weakly induced by the speech with the interpretation of the listener.

Then similes can be used, which find an analogy between very different arguments, using an explicit lexicon for comparison.

The other most commonly used rhetorical figures are the metonyms and the oxymorons. According to the Collins Dictionary, a metonymy is *the substitution of a word referring to an attribute for the thing meant, as in the use of the crown to refer to a monarch*¹. Oxymorons, instead, combine two words, phrases or epigrams in a single word, such as the word bittersweet.

Sometimes the use of rhetorical figures can overlap, as often happens between metaphor and metonymy.

1.4.4 The grammar aspect in the political communication

The final aspect to consider is the grammar of a politician's speech. The elements to look out for are as follows:

- the use of comparisons, such as richer/poorer than, better/worse, etc;
- vocabulary, counting grammar words (determiners, linking words and prepositions) and content words (nouns, adjectives, adverbs and verbs);
- the transitivity of a text, i.e. who is the doer and who is the receiver of an action;
- textual evaluation, the order of themes, words and alternatives in the text.

1.5 MASFS and the Minister Francesco Lollobrigida



Logo of the Ministry of Agriculture, Food Sovereignty and Forestry.

This dissertation analyses the political language of the "Made in Italy" and "synthetic meat" cases managed by the Ministry of Agriculture, Food Sovereignty and Forestry (MAFSF), headed by Minister Francesco Lollobrigida.

¹ <https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/metonymy>

The Ministry was created in 1860 as the Ministry of Agriculture, Industry and Trade. The need to improve agricultural conditions in the years before the First World War led to the creation of a special Ministry of Agriculture, separate from the others, which became the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry and issued the numerous laws between the First and Second World War.

From the post-war period until the current legislature, its name has always referred to agricultural and forestry policy, while the name of the current Ministry was assigned in 2022. Decree-Law No. 173 of November 2022, indeed, decreed the change of name from the "Ministry of Agricultural, Food and Forestry Policies" to the "Ministry of Agriculture, Food Sovereignty and Forests".

This ministry is now headed by Minister Francesco Lollobrigida, a law graduate from the University of Niccolò Cusano. In addition to his intense political activity in youth movements in the early 2000s, his most important roles have been that of Provincial Councillor for the Province of Rome in 1998, Councillor for Sport, Culture and Tourism for the Municipality of Ardea in 2005, Regional Councillor for Lazio in 2006 and Councillor for Mobility Policy and Public Transport in 2010.

He describes himself as “one of the founders of the 'Fratelli d'Italia’” party, a right-wing party, of which he was national leader from 2013 to 2018. He took office on 22 October 2022, when he was sworn in by the President of the Republic, Sergio Mattarella.²

The information channels used by the Ministry are social media, such as Instagram, Facebook and X, and the official website³, where all information about past and future events and news from the Ministry can be found.

The political guidelines of the Minister Lollobrigida, i.e. all the measures and objectives planned for this parliamentary term, have been published on the website. The first two points concern the protection of "Made in Italy" products and the achievement of food sovereignty, which is described as «the right of a nation to choose and defend its own food system and to decide on its own

² <https://www.politicheagricole.it/flex/cm/pages/ServeBLOB.php/L/IT/IDPagina/172>

³ <https://www.politicheagricole.it/flex/cm/pages/ServeBLOB.php/L/IT/IDPagina/8>

production model, as an alternative to global food standardisation and synthetic food»⁴.

From these words it is possible to deduce the position of the political leader on key issues of this work such as 'made in Italy' and so-called 'synthetic meat'.

⁴ <https://www.politicheagricole.it/flex/cm/pages/ServeBLOB.php/L/IT/IDPagina/18935>

2. The ‘Made in’ concept

2.1 ‘Made in’ and legal perspective;

The free movement of goods is one of the pillars of the European Union, along with the free movement of services, persons and capital. This principle is enshrined in Article 26 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU), which states:

Article 26 (ex Article 14 TEC)

- 1. The Union shall adopt measures with the aim of establishing or ensuring the functioning of the internal market, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Treaties.*
- 2. The internal market shall comprise an area without internal frontiers in which the free movement of goods, persons, services and capital is ensured in accordance with the provisions of the Treaties.*
- 3. The Council, on a proposal from the Commission, shall determine the guidelines and conditions necessary to ensure balanced progress in all the sectors concerned.⁵*

In particular, the free movement of goods is regulated by Articles 28 to 37 of the TFEU.

Article 28 establishes the prohibition of customs duties on goods imported and exported between Member States in order to achieve the customs union and provides for the adoption of a common customs tariff in trade relations with third countries (Rusconi, 2017).

It is on the basis of this principle that the concept of "Made in" is constructed, an indication of origin which is used to determine whether a product should be subject to duty on the basis of its place of manufacture and/or processing (Rusconi, 2017).

⁵ <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=legissum:4301854>

The 'Made in' concept is not intended to emphasise the link between the geographical origin of the product and its nutritional and organoleptic characteristics, as is the case of the PDO (Protected Designation of Origin) (Rusconi, 2017).

In fact, the regulation of 'Made in' is delegated to the Community Customs Code, which, as the European Commission website reports, is «The Community Customs Code compiles the rules, arrangements and procedures applicable to goods traded between the European Community (EC) and non-member countries. The Code is a single act covering the scope, definitions, basic provisions and content of Community customs law».

This code, in the form of a regulation, is currently Reg. 952/2013, which regulates the acquisition of origin in Art. 60:

Acquisition of origin.

1. Goods wholly obtained in a single country or territory shall be regarded as having their origin in that country or territory. 2. Goods the production of which involves more than one country or territory shall be deemed to originate in the country or territory where they underwent their last, substantial, economically-justified processing or working, in an undertaking equipped for that purpose, resulting in the manufacture of a new product or representing an important stage of manufacture.⁶

In Italy, Art. 4, paragraphs 49 and 49-bis of Law 250/2003 establishes the criminal protection of 'Made in Italy' by referring to Article 517 of the Criminal Code (Rusconi, 2017).

In addition to "Made in Italy", there is also the possibility of indicating "100% Made in Italy" products, which are distinguished by the fact that the design, planning, processing and packaging are carried out exclusively on Italian territory (Rusconi, 2017).

Finally, the origin of the raw material is not particularly relevant here either. This concept takes on a particular importance when we look more closely at the communication associated with the Made in Italy label.

⁶ <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/IT/TXT/?uri=LEGISSUM%3A111010>

3. Cultivated meat: legal aspects and the Italian law

3.1 The legal aspects of cultured meat;

Cultured meat is developed from cultures of animal cells using bioreactors to allow them to proliferate, with the aim of creating a product that looks similar to traditionally consumed meat⁷. Nowadays, the consumption of cultured meat is not permitted in Europe, but around the world several start-ups are engaged in research to understand its possible future development, its sustainability and its positive and negative aspects in human consumption. Thanks to the start-up company “Good Meat”⁸, cultured meat is being sold in some restaurants in the US and Singapore. Since May 2024, it has also been available at a butcher's shop in Singapore, Huber's Butchery.

In the European Union, cultured meat has not yet been placed on the market and according to Art. 3 of Reg. 2283/2015, it would be defined as a novel food. Below is the text referred to:

For the purposes of this Regulation, the definitions laid down in Articles 2 and 3 of Regulation (EC) No 178/2002 apply. 2. The following definitions also apply: (a) ‘novel food’ means any food that was not used for human consumption to a significant degree within the Union before 15 May 1997, irrespective of the dates of accession of Member States to the Union, and that falls under at least one of the following categories:⁹

Point (vi) of the list of products that can be defined as novel foods also states that this is «*food consisting of, isolated from or produced from cell culture or tissue culture derived from animals, plants, micro-organisms, fungi or algae;*»¹⁰

As such, in order to be placed on the market, cultured meat must be subject to the control of the European Food Safety Authority (EFSA), an authority established by EC Reg. No. 178/2002 to provide independent scientific advice on food safety.

⁷ <https://www.eufic.org/it/produzione-alimentare/articolo/carne-coltivata-in-laboratorio-come-viene-prodotta-e-quali-sono-i-pro-e-i-contro>

⁸ <https://www.goodmeat.co/>

⁹ <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/IT/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A32015R2283>

¹⁰ *ibidem*

3.1.1 Cultured meat in Italy

In Italy, the Minister of Agriculture, Food Sovereignty and Forestry, Francesco Lollobrigida, has banned in advance the marketing and production of cultured meat, dubbed 'synthetic meat'. The law imposing this ban is No. 172 of 1 December 2023, Article 2 of which states:

1. *On the basis of the precautionary principle referred to in Article 7 of Regulation (EC) No 178/2002 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 28 January 2002, it is prohibited for food business operators and feed business operators to use in the preparation of food, drink and feed, to sell, hold for sale, import, produce for export, administer or distribute for food consumption, or to promote for such purposes, food or feed consisting of, isolated or produced from cell cultures or tissues derived from vertebrate animals.*¹¹

One of the effects of this law is to restrict the free movement of goods, which, as seen above, is one of the foundations of the European single market. EU Directive 2015/1535¹² establishes the TRIS (Technical Regulations Information System) procedure. It stipulates that if a Member State wishes to enact a law that affects the free movement of goods, it must give the European Union three months to give its opinion, known as the *status quo* period, before approving it. During this period, the proposing State suspends the adoption of the law to allow the European Commission and the Member States to prepare their opinions. In the event of a conflict with European law, they can send a detailed opinion. However, in the case analysed, the European Commission informed Italy on 29 January that it had infringed Directive 2015/1535 by failing to respect the timeframe required by the TRIS procedure: the bill was voted in Parliament on 16 November, became law and entered into force on 2 December 2023.¹³

¹¹ <https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/eli/id/2023/12/01/23G00188/sg>

¹² <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:32015L1535>

¹³ <https://www.ilsole24ore.com/art/carne-coltivata-tutta-storia-una-legge-ostacoli-e-l-ultimo-rebus-pronuncia-ue-AFF245ZC>

4. Analisi della comunicazione del Ministro: la carne coltivata ed il Made in Italy

Le scelte comunicative del Ministero dell'Agricoltura, della sovranità alimentare e delle foreste saranno analizzate attraverso interventi tenuti dal ministro Lollobrigida in occasione dell'interrogazione parlamentare e del Consiglio dei ministri n. 26; inoltre, si prenderà in considerazione la condivisione tramite social trattante i temi del made in Italy e la carne, cosiddetta, sintetica. L'analisi terrà conto della dimensione verbale del linguaggio e di quella non verbale, secondo i punti precedentemente approfonditi.

4.1 L'interrogazione parlamentare

In occasione dell'interrogazione parlamentare svoltasi in data 17/11/2022¹⁴ il Ministro Lollobrigida è stato interrogato a proposito del cibo soprannominato come "sintetico".

La risposta del ministro è stata la seguente:

«Signor Presidente, ringrazio i colleghi per aver sollevato un problema e un pericolo gravissimo come quello della diffusione del cibo sintetico. Desidero sgombrare il campo da equivoci: il Governo è contrario al cibo artificiale, come dimostrato anche dal presidente del Consiglio Giorgia Meloni, che ha espresso la sua contrarietà formalmente. (Applausi). Come Ministro dell'agricoltura, della sovranità alimentare e delle foreste è mia ferma intenzione quella di contrastare in ogni sede questo tipo di produzioni che rischia di spezzare il legame millenario tra agricoltura e cibo. (Applausi). Ritengo che il cibo sintetico rappresenti un mezzo pericoloso per distruggere ogni legame del cibo con la produzione agricola, con i diversi settori, cancellando ogni distinzione culturale, spesso millenaria, nell'alimentazione umana, e proponendo un'unica dieta omologata con gravissime ricadute sociali sui piccoli agricoltori. Il nostro Paese, culla della dieta mediterranea, patrimonio dell'UNESCO, sarà in prima linea per difendere il cibo naturale, che è uno dei punti di forza del made in Italy. Quest'anno, secondo le

¹⁴

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tdDT8kUHF34&list=PL_TU4_jPCIP3zVS5GOraMJlq_RmSelUKI&index=3&t=2s

previsioni del Ministero, raggiungeremo la soglia record di esportazione di oltre 60 miliardi di euro: un valore che dobbiamo proteggere e rafforzare da tutti i tentativi di omologazione di cui il cibo sintetico rappresenta l'apice e la forma più estrema. La nostra contrarietà è dal punto di vista ambientale, tenuto conto degli impatti negativi e delle forti emissioni prodotte dai bioreattori; dal punto di vista sociale, visto che rischiamo la desertificazione produttiva dei nostri territori, dove allevamenti e imprese agricole rappresentano la prima forma di presidio e di custodia del territorio, anche rispetto al dissesto idrogeologico; dal punto di vista sanitario, visto che non esistono studi consolidati sugli effetti del cibo sintetico sulla salute. La minaccia è concreta e attuale, lei lo ha richiamato, considerato che il bioreattore per latte sintetico, come citato dagli interroganti, è in costruzione in Danimarca. Il nostro modello produttivo è totalmente diverso: puntiamo sulle filiere di qualità, che siamo pronti a supportare ancora meglio. È nostra intenzione investire anche in ricerca, promuovendo, attraverso il Consiglio per la ricerca in agricoltura e l'analisi dell'economia agraria, lo studio delle nostre culture nazionali per proteggerle dai rischi climatici. La sostenibilità per noi è centrale, e proprio per questo siamo coerenti nel rifiutare modelli artificiali che vogliono sostituire la natura. Colgo l'occasione per fare gli auguri all'Istituto tecnico agrario «Giuseppe Garibaldi» di Roma, che ho visitato oggi, il più antico istituto agrario d'Italia, che compie centocinquant'anni. Garantisco che, finché saremo al Governo, sulle tavole degli italiani non arriveranno cibi creati in laboratorio.»

In questo intervento il Ministro manifesta immediatamente la contrarietà verso il cibo “sintetico”. Sostiene che, così come afferma la presidentessa Giorgia Meloni, rappresenti una minaccia nei confronti del rapporto uomo-cibo, della cultura gastronomica italiana e verso i piccoli agricoltori.

Il discorso non presenta una spiegazione esaustiva di cosa sia la carne coltivata, né nei suoi aspetti scientifici, né burocratici; utilizza, però, una serie di parole che fanno evincere la presenza di due mondi apparentemente opposti: quello del cibo naturale e quello del cibo artificiale. Come visto precedentemente queste rappresentano, rispettivamente, una *hooray word* ed una *boo word*, perché evocano nell'ascoltatore l'immaginario di un alimento non sofisticato ed uno preparato in laboratorio e “chimico”, un aggettivo che ha assunto un'accezione negativa.

Il discorso presenta dunque una dicotomia tra ciò che è naturale, e dunque vicino all'uomo e al suo rapporto "millenario" con la terra, e ciò che rappresenta un rischio per la salute. Nello specifico il cibo "sintetico" viene definito come *pericolo gravissimo, minaccia concreta ed attuale*, un rischio per l'omologazione dell'alimentazione dei cittadini che si presenterebbe se fosse commercializzato. Questo rischio, secondo Lollobrigida, traspare in seguito alla costruzione di un *bioreattore per latte sintetico*, che è in procinto di essere costruito da una start up israeliana in Danimarca.

Il cibo naturale, inoltre, viene considerato come elemento di forza del Made in Italy, paragonato, implicitamente, ad una gamma di produzioni prive di modifiche.

L'aspetto verbale dell'intervento si presenta dunque fortemente impregnato di contenuti ideologici, portando la tesi che il cibo "sintetico" sia un nemico da combattere a causa delle conseguenze negative che comporterebbe in ambito ambientale, sociale e sanitario, senza però aggiungere nessuna prova medico-scientifica.

Inoltre, è interessante notare che lo stesso ministro, in seguito, riconosce che non vi siano evidenze scientifiche a favore del prodotto, indicando la motivazione sanitaria tra quelle concorrenti alla scelta di osteggiare il commercio di cibo "artificiale" in Italia.

Le figure retoriche che contribuiscono a rafforzare la tesi portata avanti dal ministro sono

- Iperbole, utilizzata per enfatizzare il pericolo e l'urgenza del problema attraverso espressioni come rischia di spezzare il legame millenario tra agricoltura e cibo", "unica dieta omologata con gravissime ricadute sociali", "forma più estrema", "la minaccia è concreta e attuale";
- Metafora, quando afferma che "La sostenibilità per noi è centrale, e proprio per questo siamo coerenti nel rifiutare modelli artificiali che vogliono sostituire la natura": la sostituzione della natura con il cibo artificiale costituisce, metaforicamente, la sostituzione del modello agricolo tradizionale con uno artificiale.
- L'enfasi per mostrare l'impegno nella causa, asserendo che "finché saremo al Governo, sulle tavole degli italiani non arriveranno cibi creati in laboratorio".

4.2 Conferenza stampa del Consiglio dei ministri n. 26

La conferenza stampa¹⁵ risale al 28 marzo 2023. Il Ministro Lollobrigida, affiancato dal Ministro Schillaci, ministro della Salute, presenta il disegno di legge discusso con lo scopo di vietare la carne coltivata in Italia.

Si esprime in questo modo:

«A livello internazionale l'Italia è la prima Nazione che dice no alla cosiddetta Carne sintetica e lo fa con un atto formale ed ufficiale. Crediamo sia un risultato importante che raccoglie da una parte l'appello di quasi 2000 amministrazioni comunali della gran parte delle regioni che avevano votato nelle loro assemblee degli ordini del giorno proposti in gran parte sulla base di una raccolta di firme di Coldiretti e che chiedeva un impegno a vietare sul nostro territorio la produzione, la commercializzazione e l'importazione di cibi sintetici. Ovviamente la norma parte da alcune considerazioni che sono di natura sanitaria, principalmente, e poi naturalmente il collega Schillaci potrà approfondirle, sulla base del diritto di Precauzione, sancito anche dai regolamenti europei che prevedono di normare qualora l'ambiente e la salute possano essere messi a rischio o non si abbia una certezza sugli effetti di alcuni prodotti che vengono immessi nel mercato o che rischiano di arrivare sul mercato o al consumo. È evidente che noi da molti punti di vista guardiamo alla tutela della nostra collettività, e abbiamo ragionato affrontando il tema della qualità. Prodotti da laboratorio non garantiscono a nostro avviso qualità, non garantiscono benessere, non garantiscono quella tutela anche, diciamo con orgoglio, della nostra cultura e della nostra tradizione, che anche all'enogastronomia e alle nostre produzioni agricole lega un pezzo della nostra civiltà e del nostro modello. Riteniamo poi che questo fenomeno, se dovesse riuscire ad imporsi sui mercati, cioè la produzione all'interno di bioreattori, più simile a fabbriche che a stalle o a luoghi nei quali si coltiva, produrrebbe evidentemente maggiore disoccupazione, anche perché sarebbe, ovviamente, più conveniente per alcuni, magari produrre in luoghi dove non si rispetta l'ambiente né il diritto dei lavoratori. Ci sarebbero più rischi per la biodiversità, mi sembra evidente, che sarebbe meno conveniente investire ANCHE sull'allevamento e la possibilità di sviluppare alcune culture ed alcune attività proprie dell'uomo nell'allevamento. E poi noi vediamo anche un rischio di ingiustizia sociale, un'ingiustizia sociale che in alcune società già esiste con riferimento all'alimentazione, società nelle quali i

¹⁵ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ELBX_jbvgA0

ricchi mangiano bene e i più poveri, invece, mangiano cibo di pessima qualità, risentendone anche in termini di salute. Abbiamo una norma che prevede 6 articoli, sancisce il divieto di vendita, di commercializzazione, di produzione, di importazione, e ovviamente quelle che sono le sanzioni, anche molto rigide, per chi dovesse violare queste norme. Non c'è da parte nostra, evidentemente, alcun tipo di atteggiamento persecutorio, ma c'è un atteggiamento di forte volontà di tutela dei cittadini e delle persone che consumano. Abbiamo personale esperto, i nostri carabinieri, l'ispettorato del controllo qualità e della repressione frodi, la guardia di finanza e l'agenzia delle dogane e i monopoli, che attenzioneranno tutte le violazioni e le eventuali disapplicazioni di questo intervento normativo, che tutela, ripeto, la salute; che tutela la nostra produzione, che tutela il nostro ambiente e che tutela evidentemente anche un modo di vivere del quale continuiamo ad essere orgogliosi e che connette la produzione del cibo nel rapporto tra uomo, lavoro, territorio e allevamento. Questo tipo di definizione pone questa legge all'avanguardia, a nostro avviso, verso un mondo che resti civile ed in linea con quello che è stato lo sviluppo dell'umanità.»

Il Ministro esordisce sottolineando che l'Italia è stata la prima Nazione che si accinge a vietare la produzione, la commercializzazione e l'importazione della carne coltivata.

COLDIRETTI SOSTIENE UNA RAPIDA APPROVAZIONE DELLA LEGGE SUL DIVIETO DI PRODUZIONE, COMMERCIALIZZAZIONE E USO DEL CIBO SINTETICO IN ITALIA

FIRMA ANCHE TU!

DA CHE PARTE STAI?

CIBO NATURALE vs **CIBO SINTETICO**

SI AL CIBO NATURALE | **NO AL CIBO SINTETICO**

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ È FATTO DALLE PERSONE PER LE PERSONE USANDO BENE TECNOLOGIA E INNOVAZIONE ✓ TUTELA L'AMBIENTE E LO STRAORDINARIO PAESAGGIO RURALE ✓ UNISCE GUSTO, SALUTE, IDENTITÀ E STORIA ✓ LA DIETA MEDITERRANEA È UNO STILE DI VITA E PATRIMONIO DELL'UMANITÀ UNESCO ✓ È IL PRIMO VETTORE DI PROSSIMITÀ CHE CREA LEGAME CON IL TERRITORIO E COESIONE SOCIALE ✓ SOSTIENE LA BIODIVERSITÀ E LA VALORIZZAZIONE DELLE RISORSE NATURALI 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✗ È PRODOTTO IN UN BIOREATTORE DA CELLULE IMPAZZITE ✗ È DANNOSO PER L'AMBIENTE; CONSUMA PIÙ ENERGIA E INQUINA DI PIÙ ✗ È RISCHIOSO PER LA SALUTE UMANA ✗ LIMITA LA LIBERTÀ DEI CONSUMATORI E OMOLOGA LE SCELTE SUL CIBO ✗ FAVORISCE GLI INTERESSI DI POCHI CHE VOGLIONO MONOPOLIZZARE L'OFFERTA DI CIBO NEL MONDO ✗ SPEZZA LO STRAORDINARIO LEGAME CHE UNISCE CIBO E NATURA
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DATA _____ NOME E COGNOME _____ FIRMA _____

Figura 4a

A favore di questa scelta porta la raccolta firme effettuata da Coldiretti (Figura 4a), che rappresenta, a suo parere, la richiesta dei cittadini di emanare questo divieto. Fa infatti riferimento alla tutela della collettività, che sarebbe perseguita anche attraverso questa norma.

Il Ministro giustifica la necessità di emanare questa legge basandosi sul principio di precauzione¹⁶, attenuante utilizzata anche dal ministro Schillaci, che afferma:

«Ribadiamo che si basa sul principio di precauzione. Questo è molto importante perché oggi non ci sono evidenze scientifiche sui possibili effetti dannosi dovuti al consumo di cibi sintetici, e disciplina poi le possibili violazioni. È importante e significativo ribadire il massimo livello di tutela della salute dei cittadini e anche preservare il patrimonio agroalimentare della nostra nazione. Il ministero della salute ha un'attenzione costante alla sicurezza degli alimenti, alla sana ed equilibrata nutrizione e all'adeguatezza alimentare. Permettetemi anche in questa sede di ribadire come l'Italia vanta una cultura agroalimentare che si basa sulla dieta mediterranea che io amo definire italiana. Una dieta che apporta in maniera sana, equilibrata, bilanciata, tutti i nutrienti e protegge anche dall'insorgere di molte malattie, diminuisce i fenomeni infiammatori, riduce i marker di stress ossidativo e di rischio cardiovascolare. Grazie.»

Come è riportato dal sito dell'Unione Europea, però, il principio di precauzione può essere invocato solo in caso di rischio potenziale e non può mai essere utilizzato per giustificare decisioni arbitrarie.

Il Ministro Lollobrigida continua il suo intervento facendo nuovamente riferimento a due immaginari opposti, quello del cibo naturale e quello del cibo artificiale: in particolare rafforza l'immagine negativa della carne coltivata descrivendola come *produzione all'interno di bioreattori, più simile a fabbriche che a stalle o a luoghi nei quali si coltiva* e come una delle possibili cause di ingiustizia sociale, che amplierebbe il divario tra ricchi e poveri, considerati, rispettivamente, come coloro che mangiano bene e coloro che mangiano male.

Conclude il discorso con un'affermazione forte, che utilizza la *hooray word* sostenendo che la legge sia all'"avanguardia", perché garantisce che il mondo resti

¹⁶ «Il principio di precauzione è un approccio alla gestione del rischio per cui, qualora sia possibile che una determinata politica o azione possa arrecare danno ai cittadini o all'ambiente e qualora non vi sia ancora un consenso scientifico sulla questione, la politica o l'azione in questione non dovrebbe essere perseguita.»
<https://eur-lex.europa.eu/IT/legal-content/glossary/precautionary-principle.html#:~:text=il%20principio%20di%20precauzione%20%C3%A8,in%20questione%20non%20dovrebbe%20essere>

“civile” ed in linea con lo sviluppo dell’umanità. Implicitamente, dunque, paragona l’eventuale sviluppo della carne coltivata ad una civiltà che retrocede e il mantenimento delle tradizioni e del contatto con la terra ad una civiltà che avanza.

Si notano, inoltre, avverbi ripetuti come “evidentemente”, “ovviamente”, “principalmente”, “naturalmente”, che agevolano la creazione di un pensiero e una realtà comune tra parlante ed ascoltatori, contribuiscono a rendere evidente, anche senza alcun tipo di supporto teorico o pratico, che le parole che vengono pronunciate non sono disattese.

Infine, le figure retoriche che mirano a rafforzare le tesi portate sono le seguenti:

- La metafora, perché le “fabbriche” e le “stalle” sono usate per rappresentare il cibo “artificiale” e quello “naturale”;
- La *climax* ascendente, nel momento in cui elenca tutto ciò che riesce a tutelare questo divieto, ovvero la salute, la produzione, l’ambiente e il modo di vivere;
- Il parallelismo, nella ripetizione della struttura sintattica “non garantiscono”, che rende un messaggio più incisivo;
- La personificazione, considerando il “fenomeno” del cibo “sintetico” come qualcosa che potrebbe riuscire ad “imporsi sul mercato” a scapito della volontà dei cittadini, quindi rafforzando l’idea di una minaccia ingestibile.

4.3 Il sito ministeriale

Il sito ufficiale del Ministero elenca le linee programmatiche del ministro, attraverso un discorso scritto in prima persona. Si evince da questa presentazione il legame tra cibo, cosiddetto, naturale, e Made in Italy. In seguito, ne è riportato un estratto:

Tutela del made in Italy

«L’omologazione alimentare, il cibo sintetico, sistemi di etichettatura fuorvianti, i numerosi tentativi di imitazione, se non addirittura di contraffazione, del cibo di qualità sono alcune delle minacce oggi più ricorrenti. L’Italia deve rimanere presidio di eccellenza e di sostenibilità, difendendo, come

già detto, con convinzione i principi della dieta mediterranea e mantenendo intatta la grande varietà qualitativa e produttiva che ci contraddistingue nel mondo.

Da questo punto di vista dobbiamo promuovere un vero cambio di mentalità a livello europeo: dobbiamo promuovere la consapevolezza dell'utilità di una produzione di qualità che rappresenta uno degli elementi culturali del nostro continente, oltre che garanzia di crescita economica nel rispetto della salute e della sostenibilità ambientale. La difesa dei prodotti europei di eccellenza vede ovviamente primeggiare la produzione italiana ed è oggi necessaria un'azione sinergica con le altre nazioni europee finalizzata a fare fronte comune rispetto a chi considera questo valore un fatto secondario.

[...]

Come ho già avuto modo di rappresentare in altre sedi istituzionali, il Governo è fermamente contrario al cibo artificiale, sintetizzato in laboratorio. Come Ministro dell'Agricoltura, della sovranità alimentare e delle foreste è mia ferma intenzione quella di contrastare in ogni sede questo tipo di produzioni, che rischia di spezzare il legame millenario tra agricoltura e cibo. Il nostro Paese sarà in prima linea per difendere il cibo naturale, che è uno dei punti di forza del Made in Italy. Confermo quindi il mio personale impegno nel ribadire in ogni sede questa posizione.»¹⁷

Il discorso risulta quasi nella sua interezza corrispondente a quelli precedentemente analizzati. Emerge in modo esplicito, in questo caso, che il made in Italy viene considerato una soluzione alle minacce che si dicono essere derivanti dalla produzione e commercializzazione della carne coltivata.

¹⁷ <https://www.politicheagricole.it/flex/cm/pages/ServeBLOB.php/L/IT/IDPagina/18935>

4.4 La pagina Instagram del Ministro Francesco Lollobrigida

Questa immagine (*Figura 4b*) è stata pubblicata dal Ministro Lollobrigida sul social network Instagram il giorno 22 febbraio 2024. La didascalia dell'immagine è la seguente:



«L'Italia è la Patria della qualità, delle indicazioni geografiche, del legame millenario tra prodotti, produttori e territorio.

Siamo stati la prima Nazione a vietare la produzione e la commercializzazione di cibo sintetico, per tutelare la salute dei cittadini, le nostre tradizioni e il nostro modello produttivo.

Un primato cui oggi la maggioranza delle Nazioni europee, e non solo, guarda come esempio.»

Figura 4b

Nonostante i termini utilizzati per descrivere la carne coltivata siano i medesimi di quelli precedentemente esaminati, questa immagine risulta utile per osservare che la comunicazione del Ministero dell'agricoltura, della sovranità alimentare e delle foreste e del Ministro Francesco Lollobrigida rafforza e ripropone la propria tesi in ogni modalità comunicativa intrapresa.

Per concludere, è possibile notare come in ognuno dei suoi interventi, in presenza e online, il Ministro si presenti attraverso dei vestiti considerati istituzionali, ovvero indossando giacca e cravatta. Questo vestiario conferisce l'idea di autorevolezza e formalità per l'incarico ricoperto.

Il Ministro Lollobrigida non si espone al pubblico attraverso una comunicazione ricca di gesti deittici oppure di toni elevati, ma le argomentazioni esposte sono ricche di significati impliciti e non approfonditi che possono far leva sulle credenze pregresse dei cittadini a scapito della realtà fattuale. È possibile a questo punto del lavoro vedere come l'aspetto legislativo del Made in Italy e della carne coltivata sia estraneo alla narrazione proposta dal Ministro. Dopo aver analizzato l'attante politico e i media attraverso cui si esprime, nel prossimo capitolo verrà analizzato il terzo gruppo di attanti della comunicazione politica: quello che comprende i cittadini.

5. The research

5.1 Objectives, method and study sample

In order to investigate the relationship between the communication of the MAFSF and its impact on the population, I projected a questionnaire using the Google forms platform. The survey consisted of a number of questions ranging from 15 to 21, depending on the answers given, and was promoted through social networks such as Instagram and Facebook, as well as posters placed in public and university spaces.

Respondents were asked the following questions:

Respondents were asked the following questions:

1. What is your age group?
2. What is your qualification?
3. Province of residence
4. Keeping up with the latest livestock, farming and food news?
5. Follow the latest news from the Ministry of Agriculture, Food Sovereignty and Forestry (MAFSF) and the Minister, Francesco Lollobrigida?

People who answered 'yes' to this question were asked how often and by what means they get information.

6. All respondents were asked to give a score from 0 to 5 or state that they were not familiar with the following topics: cultured meat, insect meal, alcohol-free wine, Made in Italy, PDO certification and PGI certification.
7. Is 'Made in Italy' a real quality guarantee?
8. In your opinion, is the ban on the marketing and production of synthetic meat a step forward for Italy?

At this point in the questionnaire, some previously analysed statements by Minister Lollobrigida were reported. This was followed by a question to the respondents:

On the basis of these statements, do you believe that...

9. ...is there a difference between nature and science and between natural and artificial foods?
10. ...Made in Italy is made of natural and genuine products that are 100% born in Italy?
11. ...is 'synthetic' food dangerous food?

12. They were shown the Coldiretti petition poster and asked: "Have you ever been presented with this initiative?"

13. Those who answered 'yes' were asked if they had signed and why.

In order to understand the reasons for the opinions for or against 'made in Italy' and 'synthetic' meat, people were told about the legislative aspects and were asked the following questions:

14. Given this, do you still think that cultured meat is a food that should be banned?

15. Why?

16. Given this definition, do you think that Made in Italy is also a guarantee of quality?

17. Why?

The sample consists of 257 people. Of these, 82 stated that they had been informed of the news from MAFSF and Minister Lollobrigida, and 175 that they had not. For reasons of space and brevity, the questionnaire will be analysed by considering the most important questions for the purposes of the research, separately for the first and second groups.

The final number was 257 replies from all over Italy, with a higher percentage coming from Veneto (36.58%), Campania (23.35%), Lombardy (8.95%), Trentino-Alto Adige (5.84%) and, to a lesser extent, from Lazio, Liguria, Sicily, Emilia-Romagna, Friuli-Venezia Giulia, Tuscany, Puglia, Sardinia, Marche, Molise, Calabria, Abruzzi, Piedmont and Basilicata. Of the 257 respondents, 82 said they had been informed about news from MAFSF and Minister Lollobrigida and 175 said they had not. The questionnaire is analysed in terms of the most important questions for the purposes of the research, separately for the first and second groups.

5.2 First sample: people who follow the news from the MAFSF and from Minister Lollobrigida

The sample of 82 people who said they were aware of the news from MAFSF and Minister Lollobrigida consisted of 74.40% of people aged 18-30, 7.30% of people aged 31-40 and finally 6.10% of people aged 41-50, 6.10% of people aged 51-60 and 6.10% of people aged over 60.

The qualifications of the respondents were as follows: 4.88% had a secondary education, 42.68% a high school diploma, 28.05% a bachelor's degree, 21.95% a master's degree and 2.44% a doctorate.

The main media used are the Internet, social networks, TV and radio, followed by printed newspapers and, to a lesser extent, podcasts, Telegram and newsletters, which are used by 1.22% of respondents for information purposes.

Figure 5a

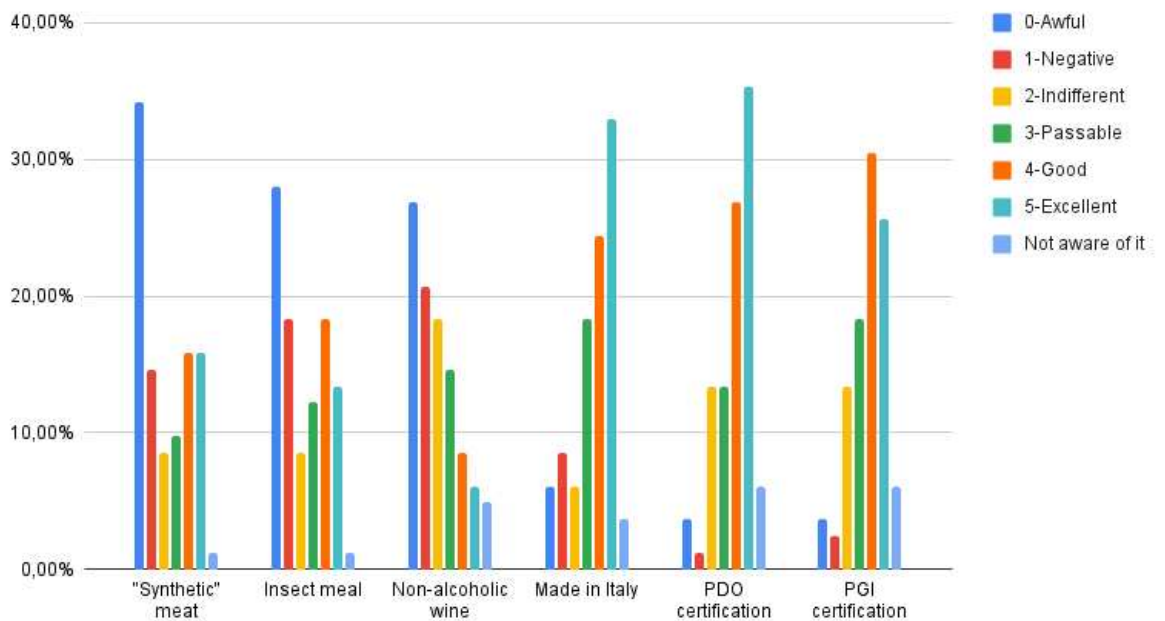


Figure 5a shows the scores given to the most debated issues in the Italian and European food and wine policy landscape in recent years. It is important to note that more than 30% of respondents gave 'synthetic' meat a score of 0, i.e. they considered it 'awful', while 15% gave it a score of 4 or 5, i.e. they considered it 'good' or 'excellent'.

Made in Italy, on the other hand, was considered 'excellent' by more than 30% of respondents, 'good' by around 25% and 'awful' by 6%.

There is also a general tendency to prefer quality brands such as Made in Italy, PDO and PGI, and to dislike poorly marketed or unmarketed foods such as alcohol-free wine, insect meal and cultured meats.

In response to the question "Is 'Made in Italy' a real guarantee of quality?", 42.7% of respondents answered in the affirmative, and the percentage drops to 25.71% after the regulatory aspects of this certification are explained. The main reasons given for the appreciation of "Made in Italy" are

1. International recognition;

2. The ability to promote Italian history and gastronomic culture;
3. Production is considered to take place in 'known areas' and is therefore better because it is Italian;
4. The greater control that people believe these products have undergone compared to non-certified products.

Then, when asked "Do you think the ban on the marketing and production of 'synthetic meat' is a step forward for Italy?", 34.5% of respondents answered in the affirmative and 65.5% in the negative. However, after explaining the process by which novel foods enter Europe, the percentage of responses in favour of the ban rises to 40%. Respondents were then asked why, and the following reasons were given:

1. Cultured meat is seen as a manipulation of nature, an 'artificial' food;
2. The lack of sufficient studies, standards or controls;
3. The fear that once cultivated meat is marketed, it will fetch such a low price that it will be difficult to supply farmed meat;
4. The association of animals with Italian territory, culture and traditions.

Finally, Coldiretti's petition was presented to only 14.63% of respondents, of whom only 8.33% signed it, saying they were in favour because they "agree with Minister Lollobrigida's words that 'synthetic' meat consumes more energy and does not have the same benefits that agriculture brings to the landscape and to communities".

5.3 Second sample: people who do not follow the news from the MAFSF and from Minister Lollobrigida

The sample of citizens interviewed who said they did not follow the news from MAFSF and Minister Lollobrigida is represented by 1.14% of those under 18 years of age, 73.14% of those between 18 and 30 years of age, 9.71% of those between 31 and 40 years of age and 9.1%, 4.57% and 2.28% of those between 41 and 50 years of age, 51 and 60 years of age and over 60 years of age respectively.

The qualifications of the respondents were as follows: 5.14% of respondents had a secondary education, 50.28% had a high school diploma, 28.57% a bachelor's degree, 14.29% a master's degree and 1.71% a PhD.

Figure 5b

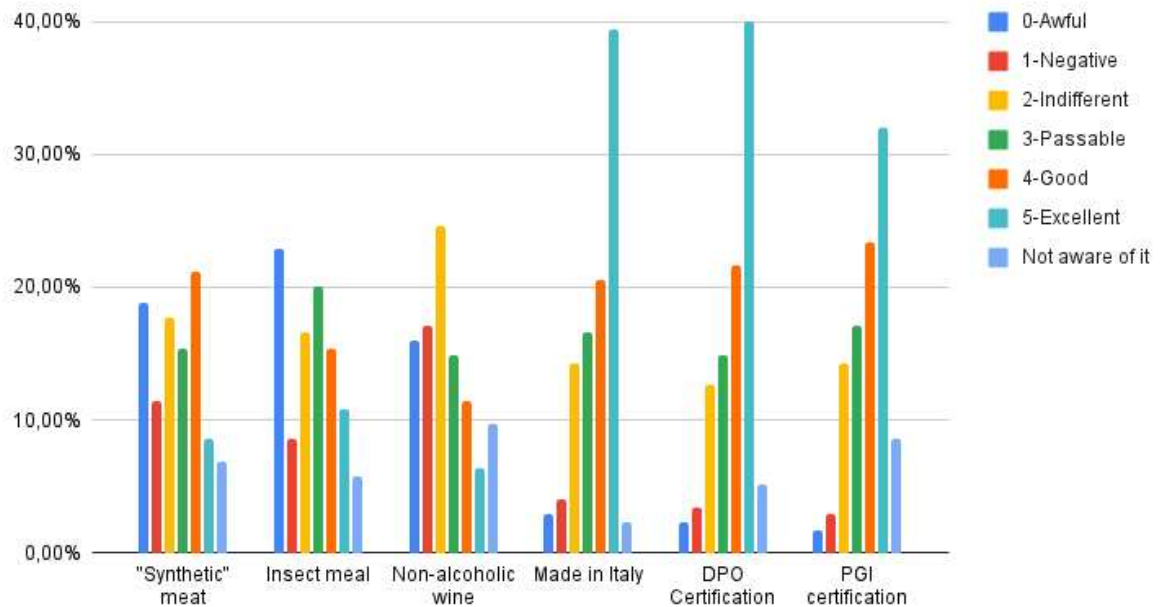


Figure 5b shows that again a high percentage of respondents, between 30 and 40 per cent, consider quality labels such as Made in Italy, PDOs and PGIs to be 'good' or 'excellent'.

However, unlike the graph analysed in the previous section, in this case there is a lower percentage of people who consider cultured meat, non-alcoholic wine and insect meal to be 'very bad', a higher percentage of people who do not know them or who consider 'synthetic' meat to be 'passable' or 'good'.

51.15% of the sample analysed considered 'Made in Italy' to be a guarantee of quality, but when asked whether it was still a guarantee of quality in terms of the regulatory aspect of this certification, the percentage fell to 28.92%.

Nevertheless, the reasons for this part of the respondents can be summarised as follows:

1. It is better to be sure that the final processing of the product takes place in Italy than to have it all done abroad;

2. Made in Italy is considered to be subject to more controls;
3. It is believed that Made in Italy products do not involve the use of pesticides and antibiotics;
4. The quality is different and better because it is Italian.

On the other hand, only 19.08% of respondents consider the ban on synthetic meat to be a step forward for Italy, a percentage that remains unchanged after explaining the legal roots of this choice. The percentage in favour of the ban gives the following reasons:

1. It is an artificial food, not a natural one;
2. The problem could be solved by improving the conditions of animals on farms;
3. People could stop eating meat;
4. There are not enough studies to be sure;
5. There is no transparency in the production chain of cultured meat.

In this case, only 4.60% of respondents were asked about Coldiretti's initiative. None of them signed the petition.

5.4 The results

From the study samples A and B, it is possible to hypothesise a lack of knowledge of European and Italian food regulations, given the difference in responses after explaining the regulatory aspects of 'Made in Italy' and 'Cultured Meat'.

Nevertheless, Group A has a greater aversion to cultured meat and unfamiliar foods in Italy, while Group B has less aversion to them, although they are less aware of what they might be. This may indicate that the Ministry's communication may be one of the few means by which citizens become aware of these issues and may have a negative influence on the listeners.

The marketing and production of synthetic meat is opposed mainly by Group A, although all those in favour of a ban, in both groups, show a general fear of the lack of control and transparency or of the significance that this novel food would have for Italy.

Finally, although the Coldiretti initiative was presented and signed by only a very small percentage of the two samples, consumers still have a dichotomous view of the difference between natural and artificial, on which the poster is based, a distinction that appears repeatedly in the open-ended responses and in the public speeches of Minister Lollobrigida.

Conclusions

Considering the media, legal analysis and feedback from a small sample of citizens on the political communication of MAFSF and the Ministry of Agriculture, the following conclusions can be drawn.

The contents extracted and analysed from the parliamentary question, the press conference of the Council of Ministers no. 26, the Ministry's website and the post on the Instagram page show a partial, distorted and manipulated narrative of Made in Italy and Cultivated Meat, which, through the use of devices, especially verbal ones, deprives citizens of complete information on the subject, favouring a protectionist, identity-based and nationalist vision of reality.

In fact, the regulatory aspect analysed here paints a different picture from the one that is being told: Made in Italy is not a quality label that guarantees the link between a food product and its territory of origin, and cultured meat has not yet been legitimised on the EU market. For the time being, it does not represent a potential risk, which is why the precautionary principle seems to be a deterrent to justify arbitrary decisions such as banning its marketing on Italian territory.

Nevertheless, and even though the sample identified is not representative of the entire Italian population, citizens seem to be more influenced by Minister Lollobrigida's narrative if they actively follow it, and less influenced, or not at all, if they do not. However, it cannot be excluded that this conditioning is due to previous factors and/or factors external to the current legislature.

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