

## *English Summaries*

(in alphabetical order)

E. Amaturio, G.M. Padricelli, G. Punziano, *Faces and Words: New frontiers in the disintermediation of politics* (I volti e le parole: nuove frontiere nella disintermediazione della politica)

The aim of this work is to shed light on the current configuration of the process of disintermediation of politics that provides for a direct construction of relations between politicians and voters, and does not use the traditional mechanisms of mediation by third parties. This objective was achieved by highlighting the characteristic aspects of the interpretative schemes built into the political agendas for the 2022 parliamentary elections. The analysis of the content, centered on both textual and audiovisual elements, has allowed to highlight the reciprocity of the narrative built on Facebook and Twitter and the self-presentation built in Instagram and TikTok.

P. Borioni, M. Gavrila, A. Pranovi, *Coalitions and leadership between electoral platforms and media representations* (Coalizioni e leadership tra programmi elettorali e rappresentazioni mediiali)

This contribution is aimed at analyzing some of the trends that characterized the campaign for the Italian parliamentary elections of 2022. In particular it investigates the platforms of the main sides and the relative representations provided by the media.

In the first part, the main reasons that made the 2022 vote unique in the Italian political landscape are illustrated, including data useful for comparison with previous elections and with some international cases. The focus of the article is, however, on the presence of leaders on TV talk shows and the presence and treatment of issues in election platforms and television appearances, addressing issues such as the central figure of Giorgia Meloni and analyzing the topics most present and those that were omitted from the debate.

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E.D. Calò, V. Capozza, *Words to the Vote. An analysis of social language tactics in the election campaign* (Parole al voto. Un'analisi delle tattiche linguistiche social in campagna elettorale)

The ballot call of 25 September 2022 was preceded by a month of intense electoral campaigning, during which the parties contended with each other using different communication strategies and programmatic lines. The growing disintermediation and the «platformization» of propaganda fostered a political narrative on social media focused on the trivializing lexicon and content, the continuous appeal to emotions and on the presumed expressive capacity of the leaders. The statistical-textual analyses presented here – carried out starting from the 3,777 posts published on the Facebook pages of the eight main political parties – is aimed at establishing the weight of these elements in the strategies of social influence.

M. Cilento, M. Gavrilă, C. Rumi, *Politics, and Female Politicians. Women candidates in the 2022 election talk shows* (La politica, le politiche. Le candidate donne nei talk show elettorali del 2022)

Starting from an exploration of the presence and the results obtained by female candidates in the 2022 parliamentary elections, this study addresses their television portrayal, in particular in talk shows during the election campaigns. The analysis of the presence of these candidates in the programs under investigation reveals a complex picture, characterized by dynamics of under-representation and micro-aggression, but also by the affirmation of new leadership models. The figure of Giorgia Meloni fits in this perspective and a reflection on this could open the way to a renewed way of understanding politics and leadership to women.

M.P. Faggiano, *From shouts to «forbearance:» the words of the right. Focus on digital campaigns 2018-2022* (Da urlate a «ben temperate»: le parole della destra. Focus sulle digital campaign 2018-2022)

This article is aimed at reconstructing the long-term strategy of the Italian right, where electoral loyalty stems from a winning mixture of choices, including the transition from language that was originally a shouting match to one of «forebearance». To check the hypothesis of the change of register, we focus on the digital campaigns launched during the 2018 and 2022 Italian parliamentary elections by the main forces in the field. The social platform of reference is that of Facebook and the research tool used to make systematic comparisons between data over time, looking both at the text in the strict sense, both its visual and audiovisual equipment, is a form of analysis of the content as inquiry. We take a closer look at Fratelli d'Italia (Brothers of Italy) the political party that was a «driving force» in the evolutionary path of political discourse of the Italian right.

M.P. Faggiano, E.D. Calò, *Being there or not? The role of political finesse in activating the participatory process* (Esserci o non esserci? Il ruolo della sofisticazione politica nell'attivazione del processo partecipativo)

Faced with a complex and varied participatory phenomenon, this contribution is aimed at achieving two macro-objectives, where political finesse plays a key role. On the one hand, we focus on voting intentions, according to the level of political finesse and cognitive shortcuts activated (in combination with the individual electoral path and the location of the interviewee along the right-left axis). On the other hand, we proceed, again in the light of political finesse, with a reading of political participation in general, considering, through a multivariable logic, numerous indicators – associations of social commitment, involvement in political discussion networks, etc. – including electoral behavior.

A. Ferrara, *Electoral geographies: design and criticality in the application of the regulatory framework* (Geografie elettorali: disegno e criticità nell'applicazione del quadro normativo)

Over time the electoral laws that presently provide for a mixed system (the present one) have changed the proportion of seats to be elected into single-member districts, reduced the number of MPs, changed the demographic range of constituencies defined in the same district, etc. All this has had a major impact on the formation of voting geographies. In a singular way, however, lawmakers have not considered revising the criteria and defining principles for the formation of electoral colleges, which have remained substantially unchanged since 1992. This study proposes a descriptive review of the parameters and the relative difficulties of application, to guarantee adherence to the law.

P. Laurano, L. Barbanera, *Voters at the polls: mistrust and resentment* (Elettori alle urne tra sfiducia e risentimento)

Starting from a survey carried out soon after the 2022 parliamentary elections, this paper focuses on the confidence and resentment expressed by voters as possible determinants of voting intentions. The work uses a web survey involving about 700 cases. The analysis shows the continuing lack of trust in the institutions and the most important social categories. At the same time, resentment is a nullifying factor, especially as an expression of a wider discontent linked to real life. In this sense, deprivation and existential insecurity give the electorate a specific attitude. As the empirical analyses suggest, this stance plays a significant role on the ideological level and, consequently, in voting choices.

M. Mongiardo, M. Palmieri, *An unequal challenge. Territories and voters in the 2022 general election* (Una sfida impari. Territori ed elettorati nelle elezioni politiche del 2022)

Starting from the assumption that the nature of the regional areas contributes to the orientation of voting choices, this study investigates the lines of continuity and discontinuity in the electoral behavior of Italians by comparing the 2018-2022 election results.

Taking into account the sociological dimension of the various regions of Italy, regarding the economic and socio-demographic aspects of the constituencies, and the electoral dimension, regarding voting behavior and political supply, the question arises: «Did the 2022 general elections act in continuity with a tripolar dynamic that became rooted in 2013 or trigger a new electoral dynamic?».

S. Nobile, *From benches to altars. Italian politics between sacred and profane* (Dai banchi agli altari. La politica italiana tra sacro e profano)

This article proposes a reading of the main evidence of the 2022 parliamentary elections: the strong abstention, the great success of the right (and, consequently, the failure of the left and the decline of the 5 Star Movement). Abstentionism and the victory of the right are interpreted as the two faces of a process that, on the one hand, led to the desacralization of politics, while – on the other – has emphasized the potential radicalization of identity that has underscored the dimension of the sacred.

S. Nobile, L. Sabetta, *The silent storm: the clash of values between left and right at times of abstention* (La tempesta silenziosa: lo scontro dei valori tra destra e sinistra ai tempi dell’astensionismo)

The article analyzes the profile of the Italian electorate in the light of the 2022 elections, focusing on the aspects of abstention and populism. The data show a significant increase in abstention and the predominance of populist parties of different political orientation. Research shows that abstentionism and populism are two sides of the same coin, fueled by the electorate’s mistrust of the political class and dissatisfaction with democratic devices. The work concludes that the contradiction between right and left has not been overcome and that the Italian electorate is positioned on a range of diversified cultural and political values.

C. Ruggiero, L. Calabresi, *What the copy does not say. The necessary integration between image and text in the analysis of political communication via social* (Quello che i copy non dicono. La necessaria integrazione tra immagine e testo nell’analisi della comunicazione politica via social)

The contribution aims to examine the contribution of digital data in research in political communication with reference to production of social content in election

campaigns. It will argue for the need to integrate text-based analysis with research strategies able to capture information from the iconographic apparatus of posts. This hypothesis is tested by a sample of the contents posted by the major leaders in the running in the Italian parliamentary elections of 2022 on different platforms (Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, TikTok), from which emerge strategies that can exploit the multimodal nature of content spread via social.

B. Sonzogni, D. Germani, *The discrepancy of the Green vote. A study on the variation of ecological support between Europe and Italy* (La discrasia dei voti Verdi. Uno studio sulla variazione del sostegno ecologista tra Europa e Italia)

The central nature of the theme of sustainability both at the public institutional and private level is undisputed. It is at the heart of international and national intervention policies and people feel increasingly involved, such that individual sensitivity to these issues is increasingly developed and also found in concrete changes of people's focus and lifestyles. Starting from this framework, this paper aims to investigate the gap – by comparing Europe and Italy – and the coherence of the widespread feeling of sensitivity towards environmental issues on the part of citizens and the electoral consensus of the Green parties with their tradition of paying greater attention to these issues. The analysis was carried out empirically analyzing Italy through the construction of a dataset characterized by context variables of the single regions, thus deepening the coherence between the trends in terms of sensitivity towards green issues and the political support to parties that champion such issues. The picture that emerges raises significant questions about the reasons, dynamics and factors underlying the variation in support of the Green parties between the different contexts under consideration.

F.G. Truglia, *Differences with repetitions in electoral consensus. General elections 1992-2022* (Differenze con ripetizioni nel consenso elettorale. Elezioni politiche 1992-2022)

The long history of the first Republic concluded in the two-year period 1992-1994, at least in journalistic parlance. This was the beginning of a new tendency that, at least until now, seems more concerned with the modalities of political communication, aimed primarily at the creation of electoral consensus, than the development of a project of wide-ranging reforms.

In this study, since the nine elections that took place between 1992 and 2022, an attempt was made to investigate, in a long-term longitudinal perspective, whether the transition from the first to the second Republic and from this to the third and possibly to the fourth corresponds to a different configuration of electoral consent. The focus, therefore, is not so much on the results of each election, but on the effects that they have produced, in terms of stability/change, in the matrix structure of the consensus.

For empirical analyses, through which we have tried at least to account for these electoral dynamics, some three-way multivariate instruments known in the literature have been used as multiway procedures that allow the simultaneous processing of the nine matrices of electoral data.