



SCUOLA  
NORMALE  
SUPERIORE



centre on  
social movement  
studies

# Italian politics, 2023

*Disenchantment,  
dealignment, distrust.*



Lorenzo Zamponi  
Naples, September 2023

- The emergence of Giorgia Meloni as representative of an interesting combination between radical-right populism and mainstream neoliberalism
- The opposition to Meloni's government, including Elly Schlein's Democratic Party, Giuseppe Conte's Five Star Movement and grassroots movements

- No exceptionalism (“sick man of Europe” rhetoric)
- Italian political trajectory is a peculiar form of phenomena characterizing European politics
  - Dealignment
  - New political cleavages
  - Crisis of representation
  - Crisis of social-democracy
  - Tension between redistribution and austerity
  - Populism and radicalisation of the right

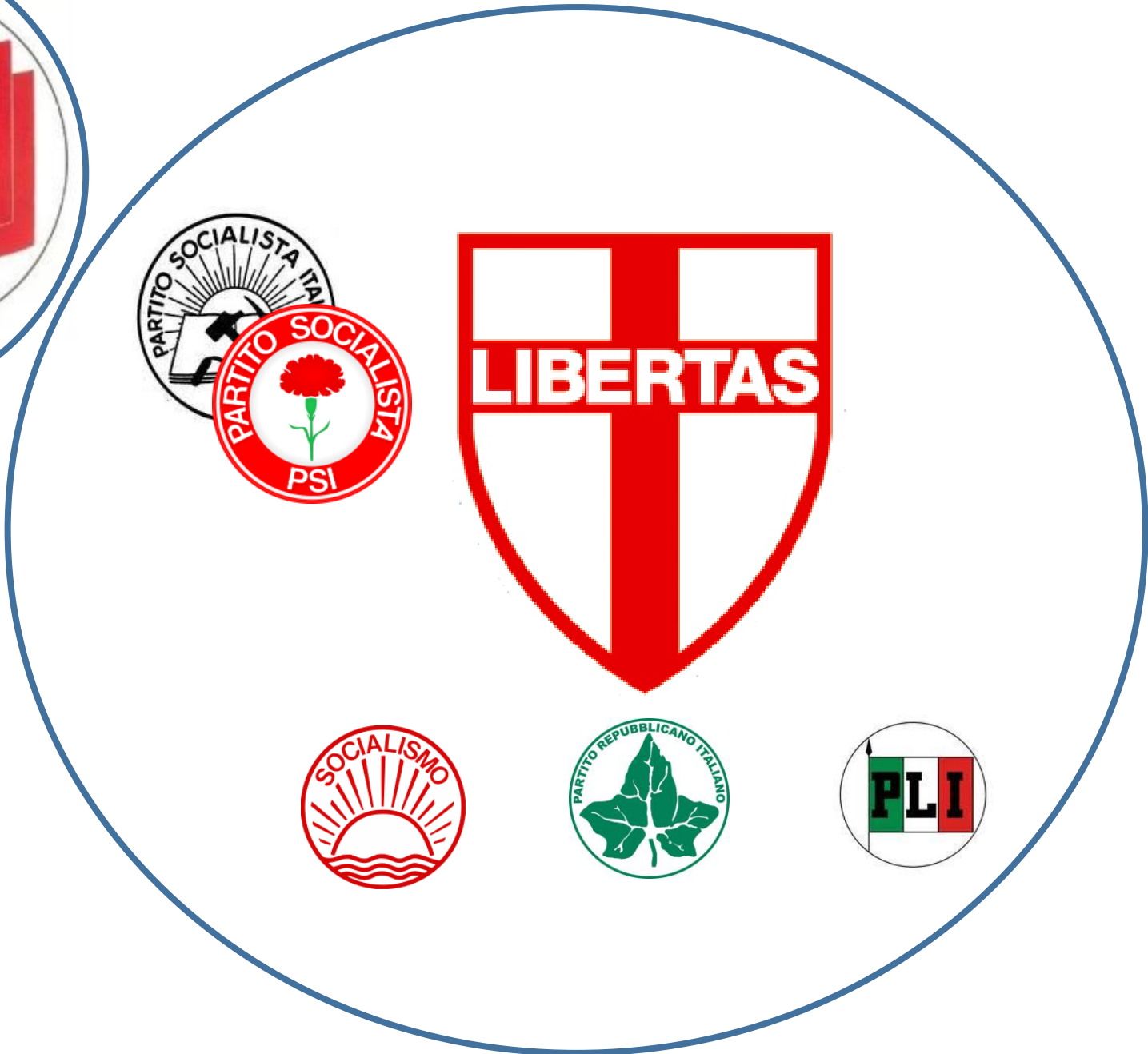
# Giorgia Meloni

- 1<sup>st</sup> radical right prime minister of the Italian Republic
- 1<sup>st</sup> heir of the fascist tradition prime minister of the Italian Republic
- 1<sup>st</sup> female prime minister of the Italian Republic
- 2<sup>nd</sup> prime minister of the Italian Republic without a university degree
- 3<sup>rd</sup> youngest prime minister of the Italian Republic (45)
- 1<sup>st</sup> lower-middle-class-born prime minister of the Italian Republic





**How did we get here?**







**MSI**

**Italian Social Movement**



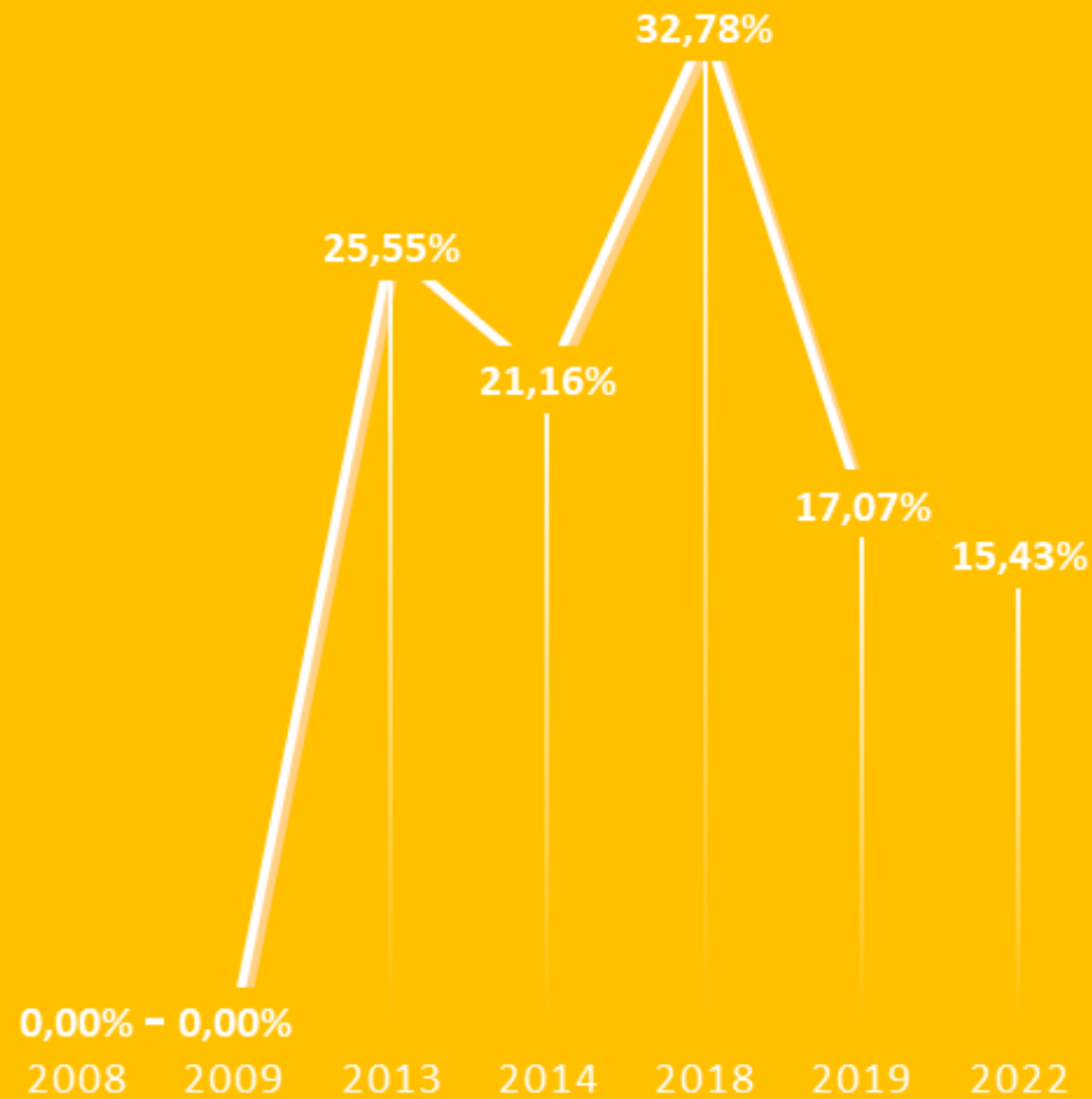


**Then, the economic crisis...**





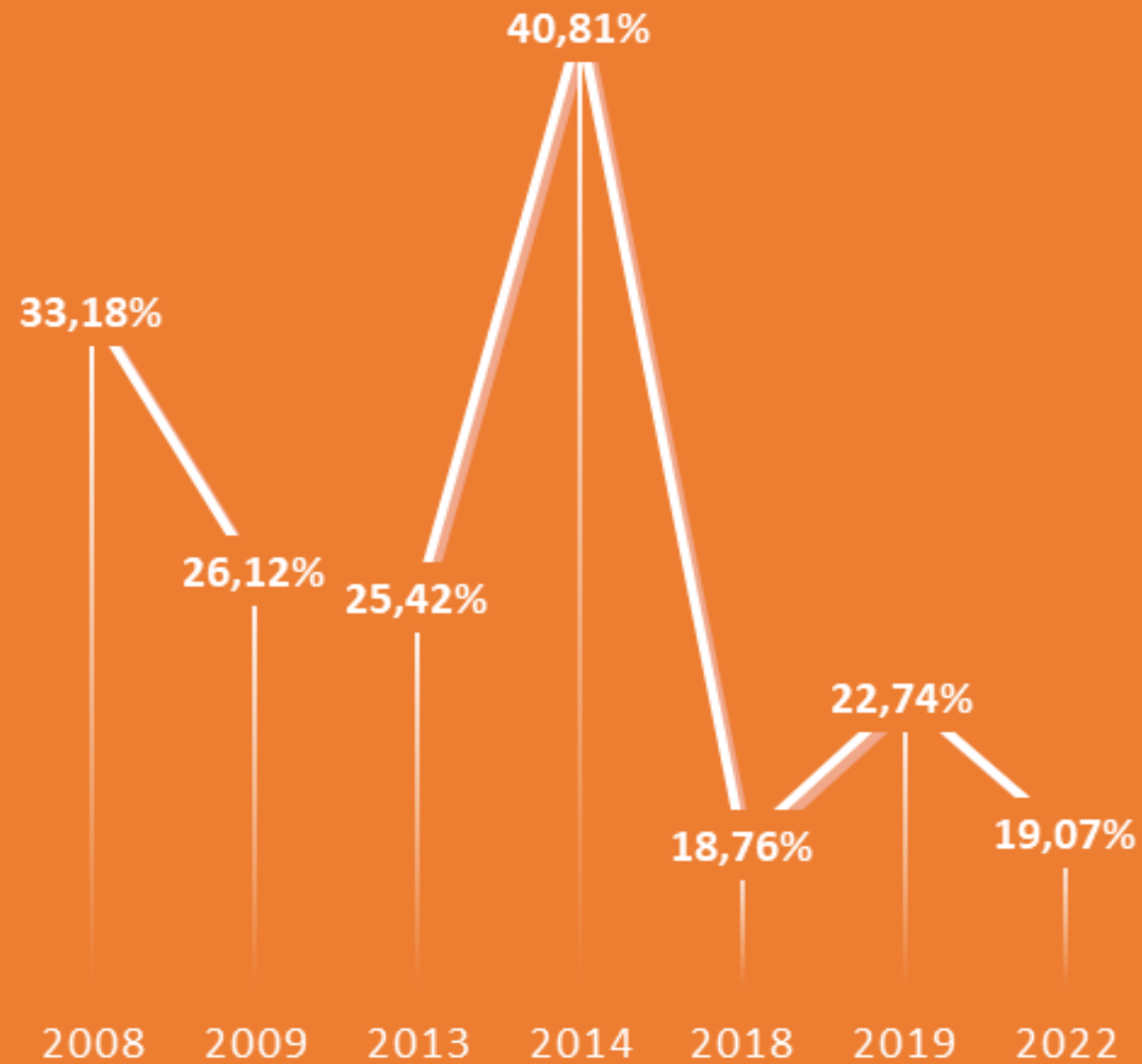
# FIVE STAR MOVEMENT







## DEMOCRATIC PARTY

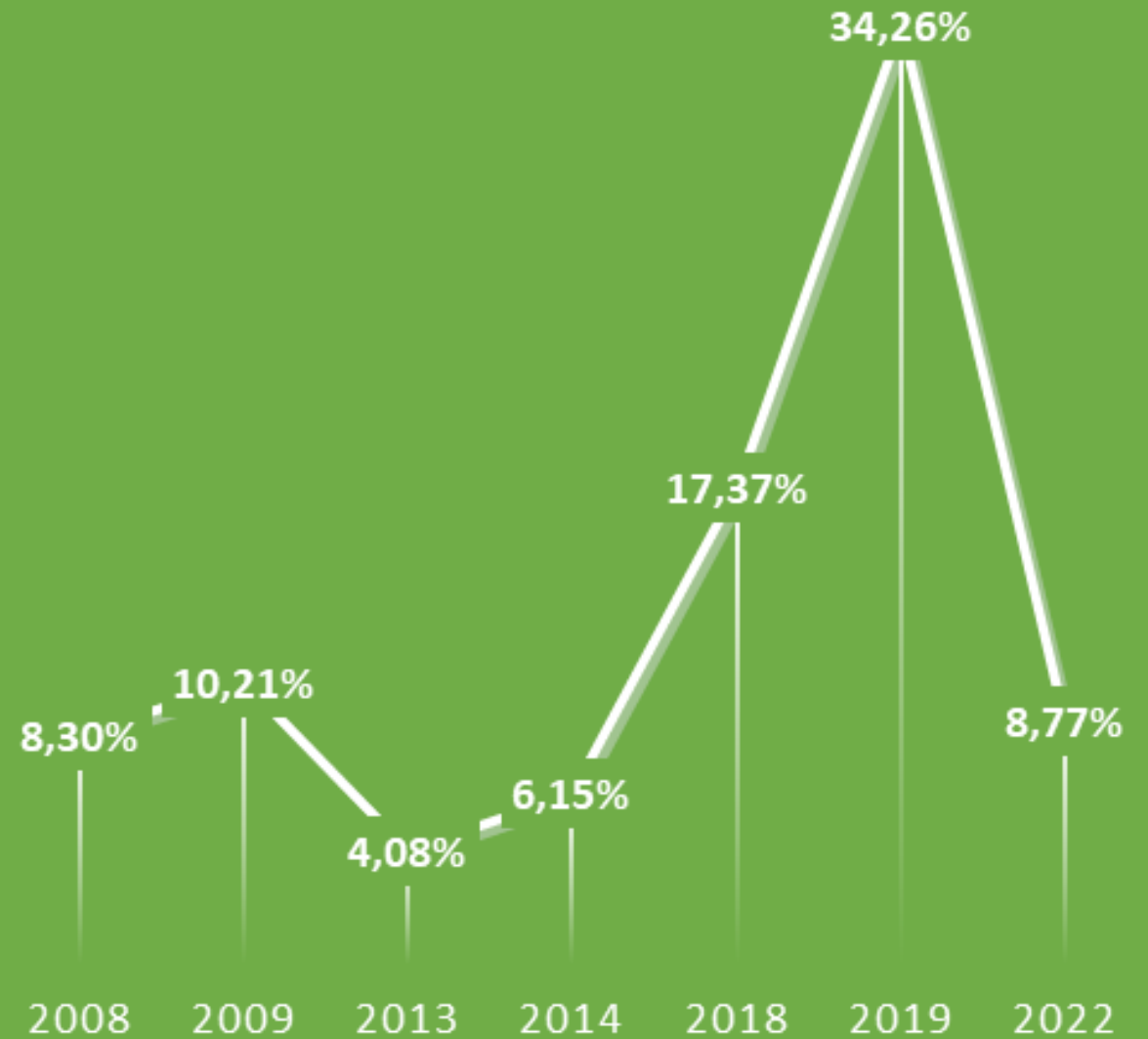








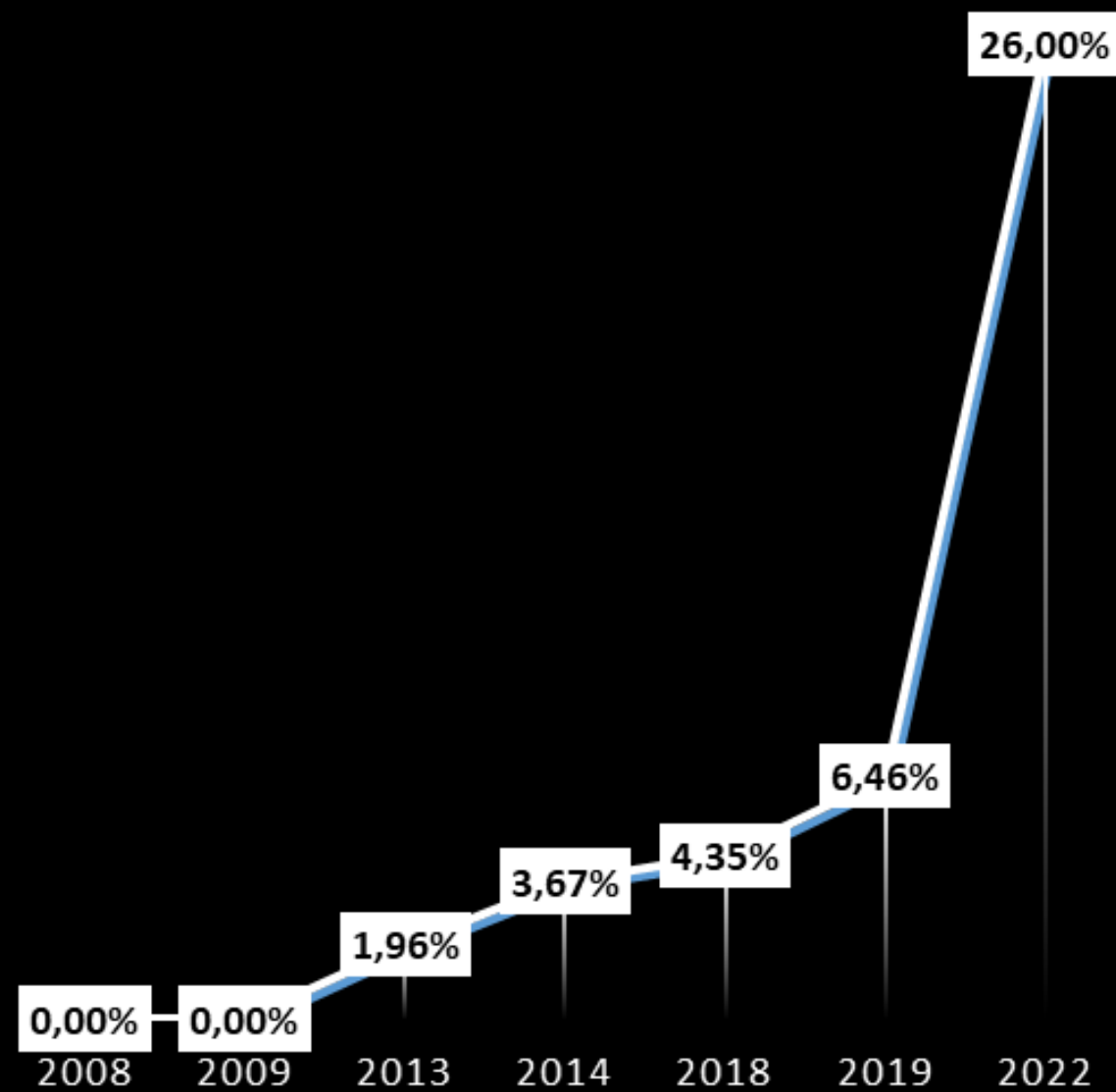
## (NORTHERN) LEAGUE







## BROTHERS OF ITALY



# 2018-2022

- 2018-2019: Conte I government => M5S+Lega
  - Sovereignism-immigration-EU
- 2019-2021: Conte I government => M5S+PD+Left
  - Pandemic
- 2021-2022: Draghi government => M5S+PD+centre+FI+Lega
  - Only Brothers of Italy in the opposition



a risollevarre l'Ita



Pr



VIPERISSIMA  
TRASH

RIMANIAMO DISTANTI OGGI



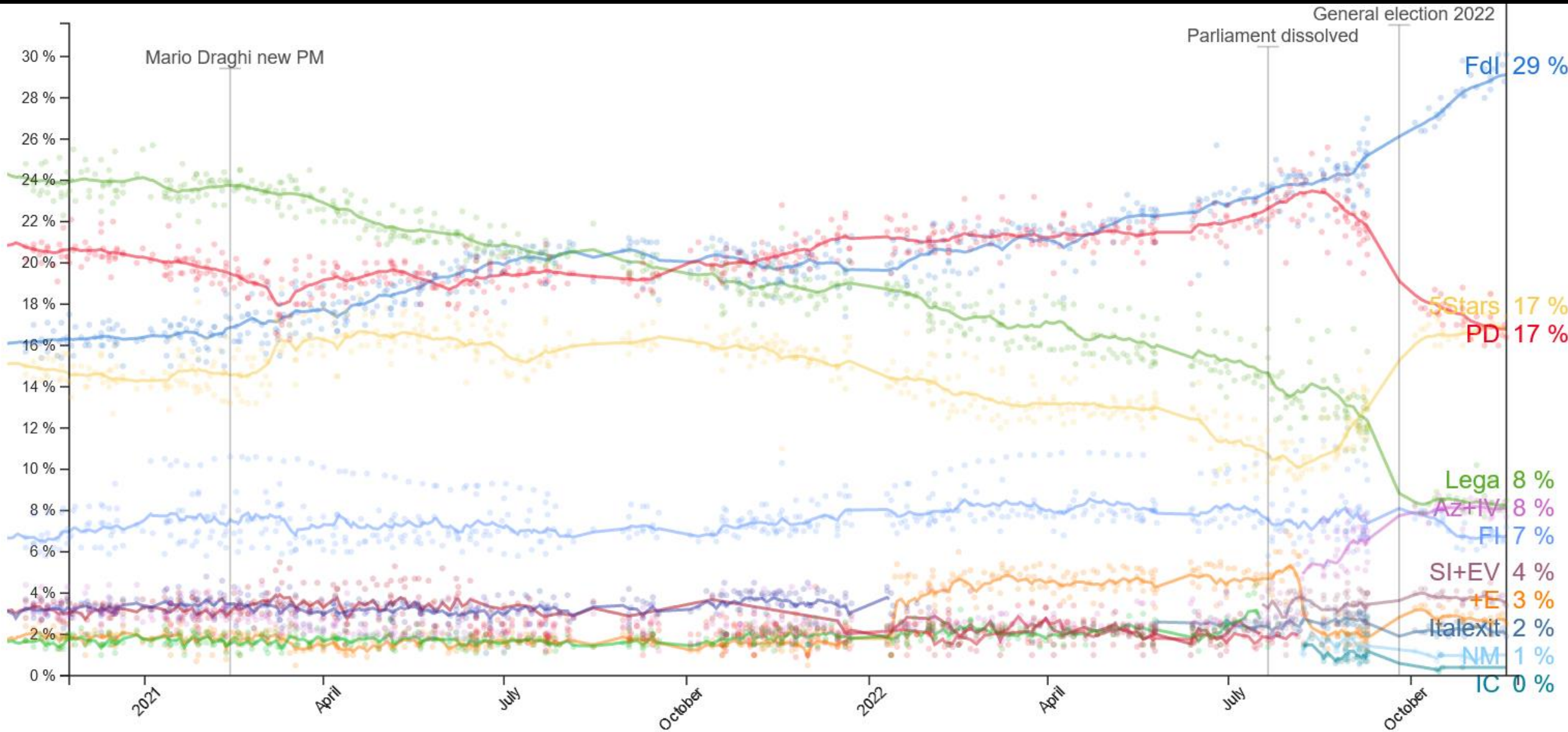
**È UNA DITTATURA!**





VIPERISSIMA  
TRASH

LET  
**BURATTINI**



Two contingencies favouring Meloni's rise:

- Decline of other right-wing leaderships (B., Salvini)
- Only significant opposition to Draghi government

The «responsible radical-right populist»

## ANTONIETTA BENEDETTI

(Candidato uninominale)



1. Antonietta Benedetti
2. Daniele Nottegar
3. Anca Mihaela Pasare
4. Francesco Vaccaro

## LUIGI D'AGOSTO

(Candidato uninominale)



1. Giovanna Coricciati
2. Davide Visigalli
3. Lucia Marta Nardo
4. Daniele Butturini

## FEDERICA FOGLIA

(Candidato uninominale)



1. Anna-Lisa Nalin
2. Lorenzo Dalai
3. Marina Sorina
4. Enrico Migliaccio



1. Alessia Rotta
2. Diego Zardini
3. Barbara Ferro
4. Giuseppe Mazza

## SIMONE BRIZZI

(Candidato uninominale)



1. Andrea Donaggio
2. Lina Manuali
3. Simone Brizzi
4. Cristina Rizzi



1. Mattia Fantinati
2. Marta Grande
3. Saverio Boggi
4. Raffaella Cuomo



1. Luana Zanella
2. Fabio Salandini
3. Rosa Mancuso
4. Federico Guarelli

## ANNALISA BEGALI

(Candidato uninominale)



1. Renate Holzeisen
2. Domenico D'Amico

## DAVIDE BENDINELLI

(Candidato uninominale)



1. Elena Bonetti
2. Davide Bendinelli
3. Mariafrancesca Salzani
4. Stefano Cesari

## CIRO MASCHIO

(Candidato uninominale)



1. Lorenzo Fontana
2. Lara Fadini
3. Roberto Turri
4. Vania Valbusa



1. Flavio Tosi
2. Maria Paola Boscaini
3. Matteo Destri
4. Nadia Maschi

## GIUSEPPE QUAINI detto TIZIANO

(Candidato uninominale)



1. Angela Manganotti detta Katia
2. Oreste Veronesi
3. Elisabetta Muraro detta Betty
4. Nicola Zamboni



1. Martina Semenzato
2. Giuliano Occhipinti
3. Cristiana Emanuela Morganti
4. Mattia Galbero



1. Ciro Maschio
2. Maddalena Morgante
3. Marco Padovani
4. Maria Cristina Sandrin



15,4%  
52 seats



1,2%  
no seats



2,83%  
2 seats



19,1%  
69 seats



1,9%  
no seats



0,6%  
1 seat



3,6%  
12 seats



0,7%  
no seats



7,8%  
21 seats



8,8%  
66 seats



8,1%  
45 seats



1,4%  
no seats

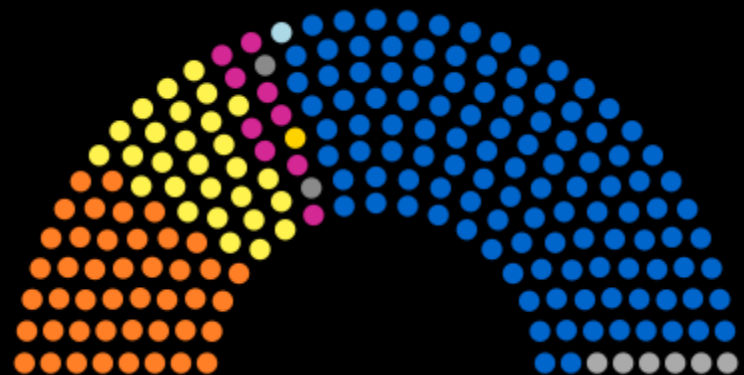
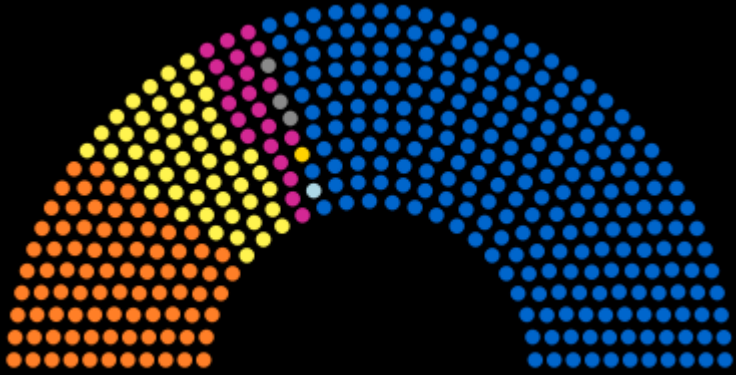


0,9%  
7 seats



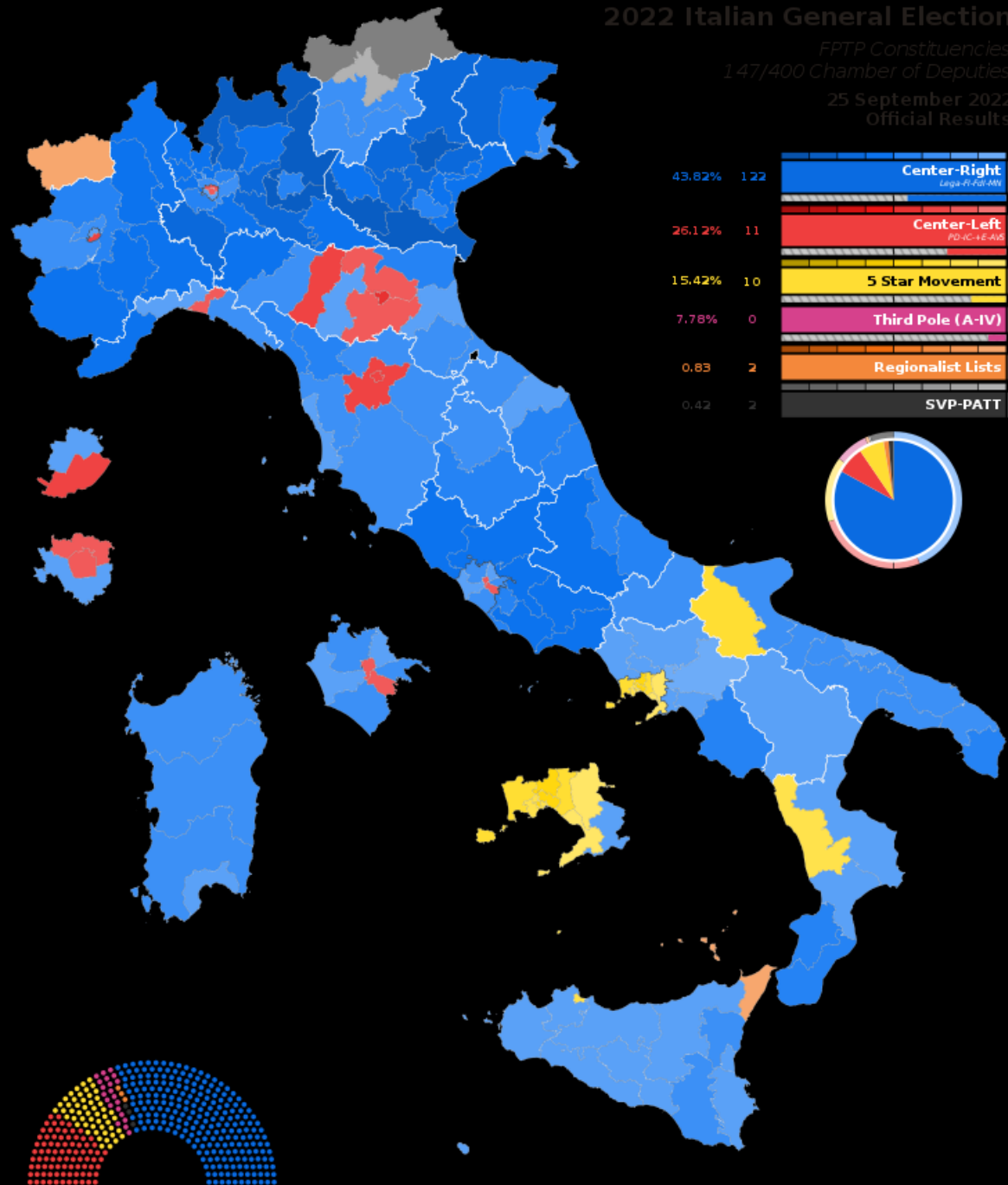
26,0%  
119 seats





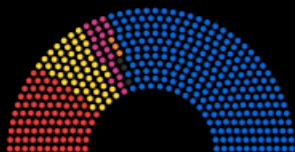
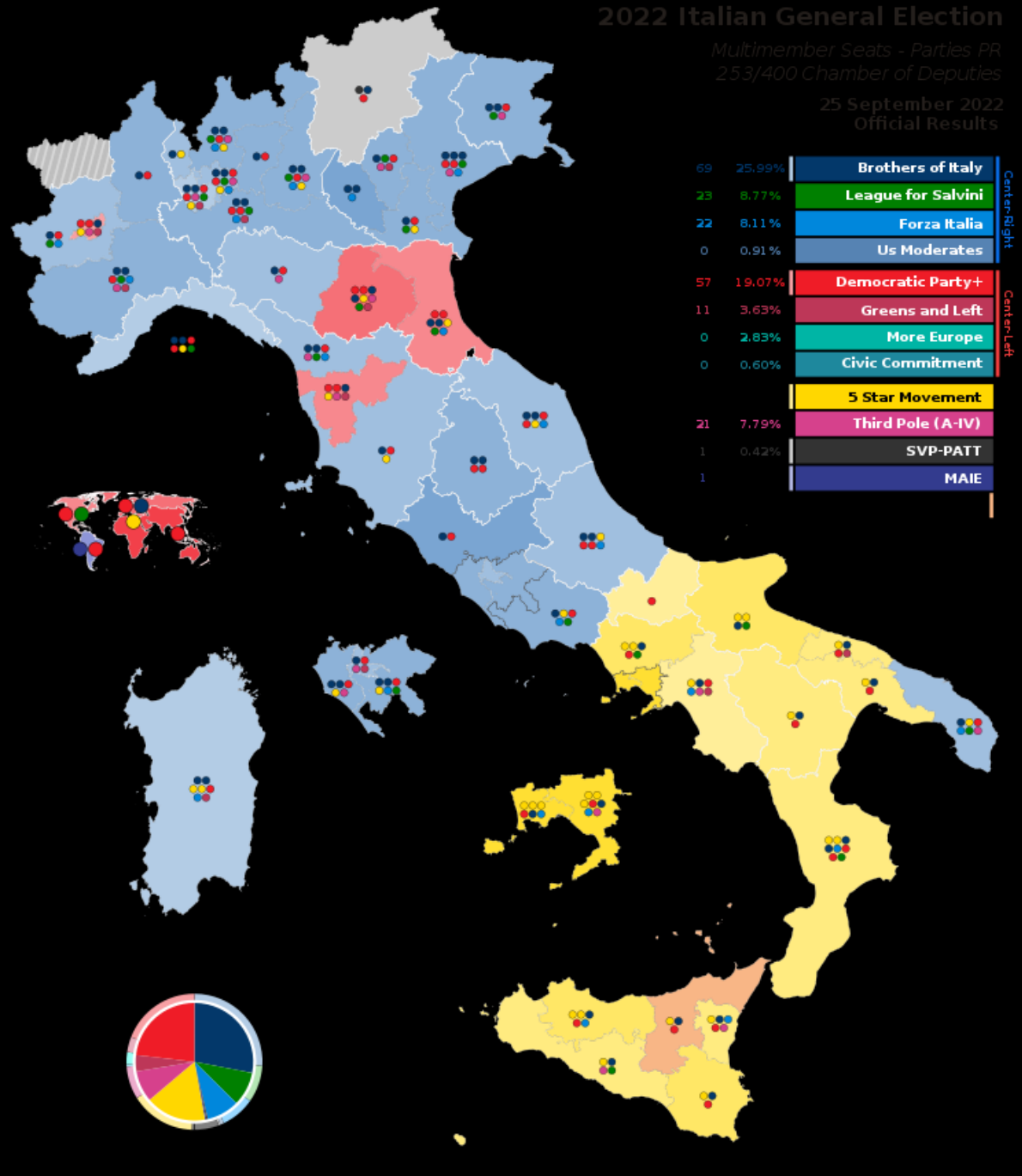
## 2022 Italian General Election

FPTP Constituencies  
147/400 Chamber of Deputies  
25 September 2022  
Official Results



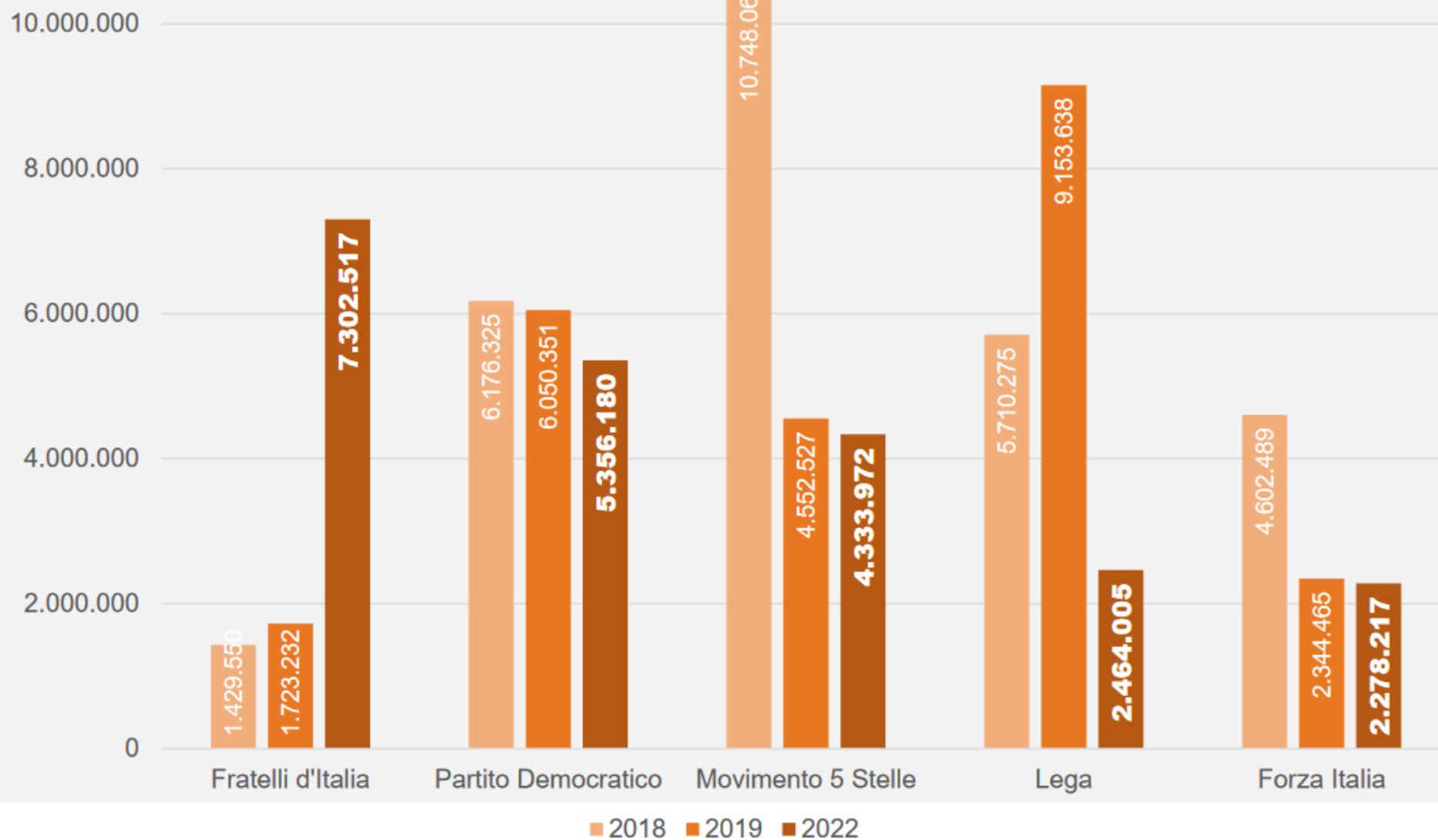
## 2022 Italian General Election

Multimember Seats - Parties PR  
253/400 Chamber of Deputies  
25 September 2022  
Official Results

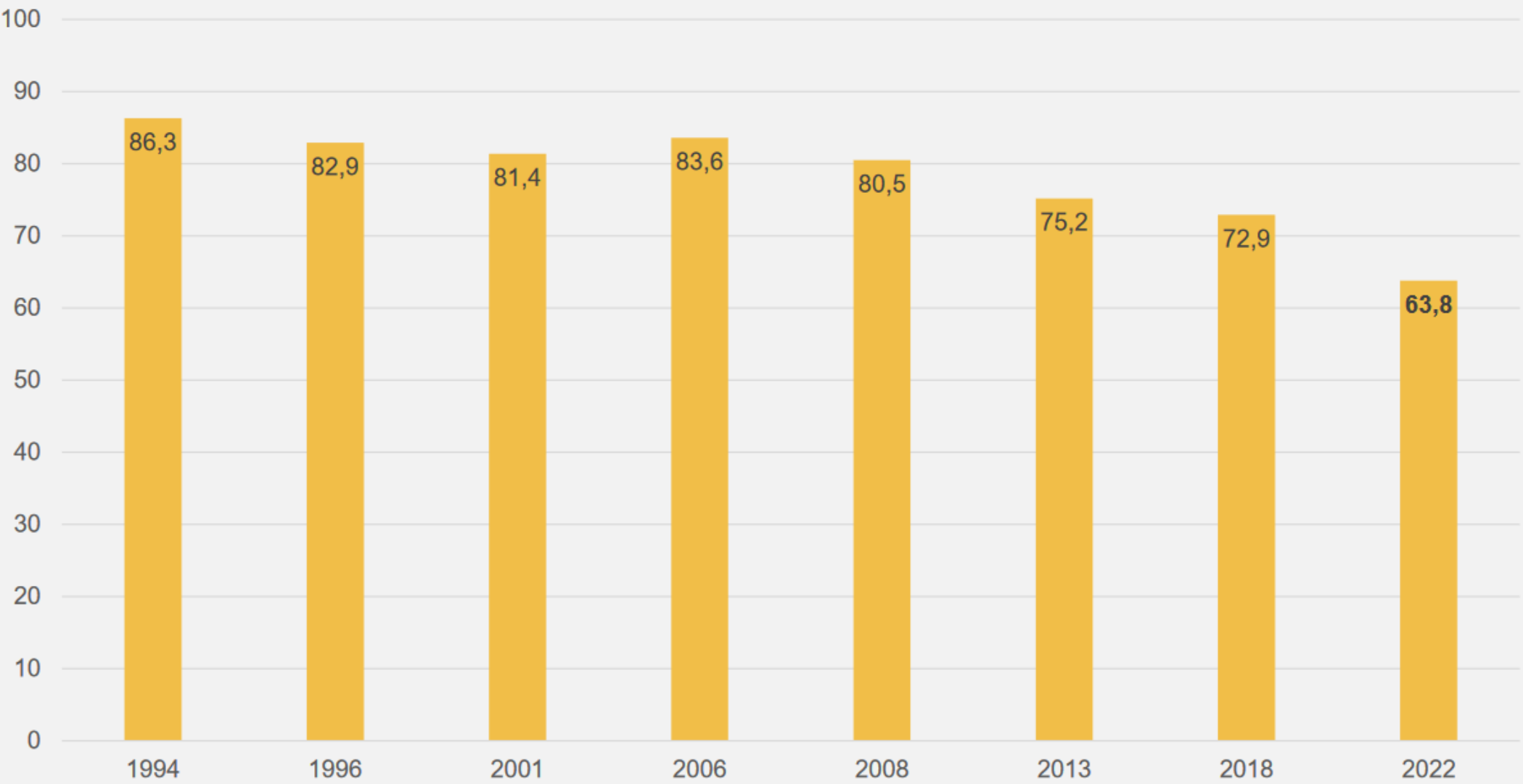


Center-Right  
Center-Left

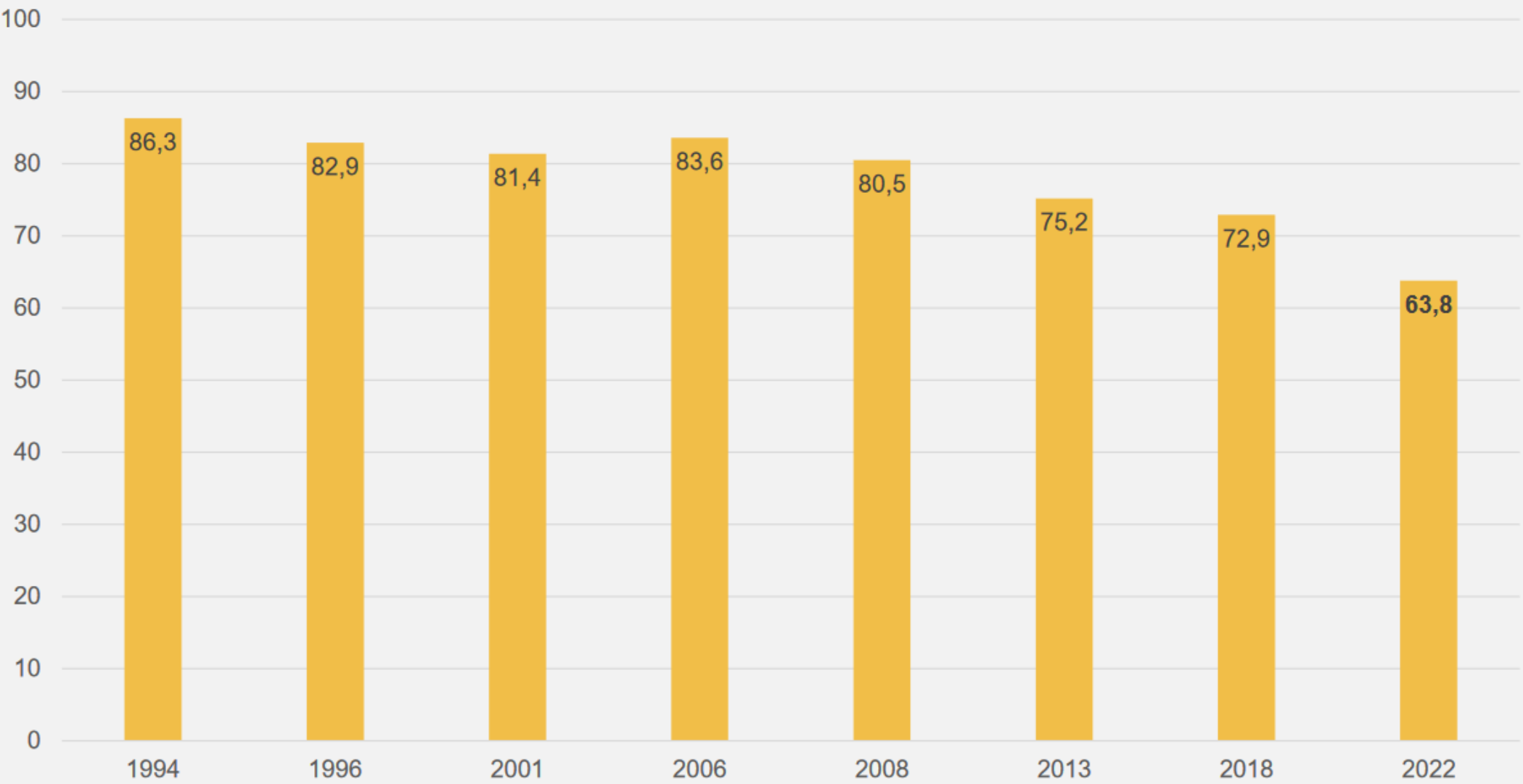
# NUMERO DI VOTI OTTENUTI PER PARTITO - TREND



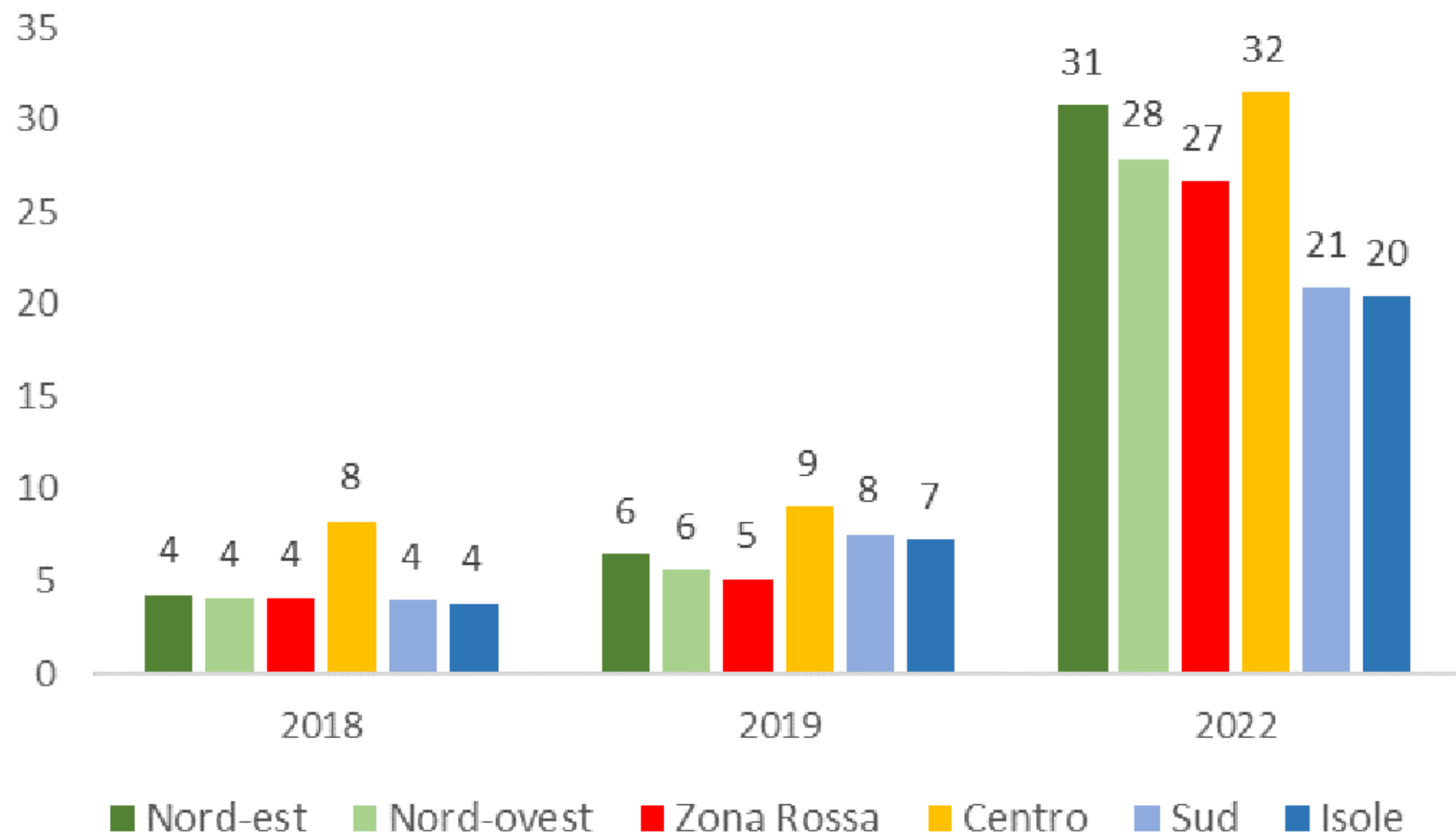
# L'AFFLUENZA VALORI PERCENTUALI - TREND

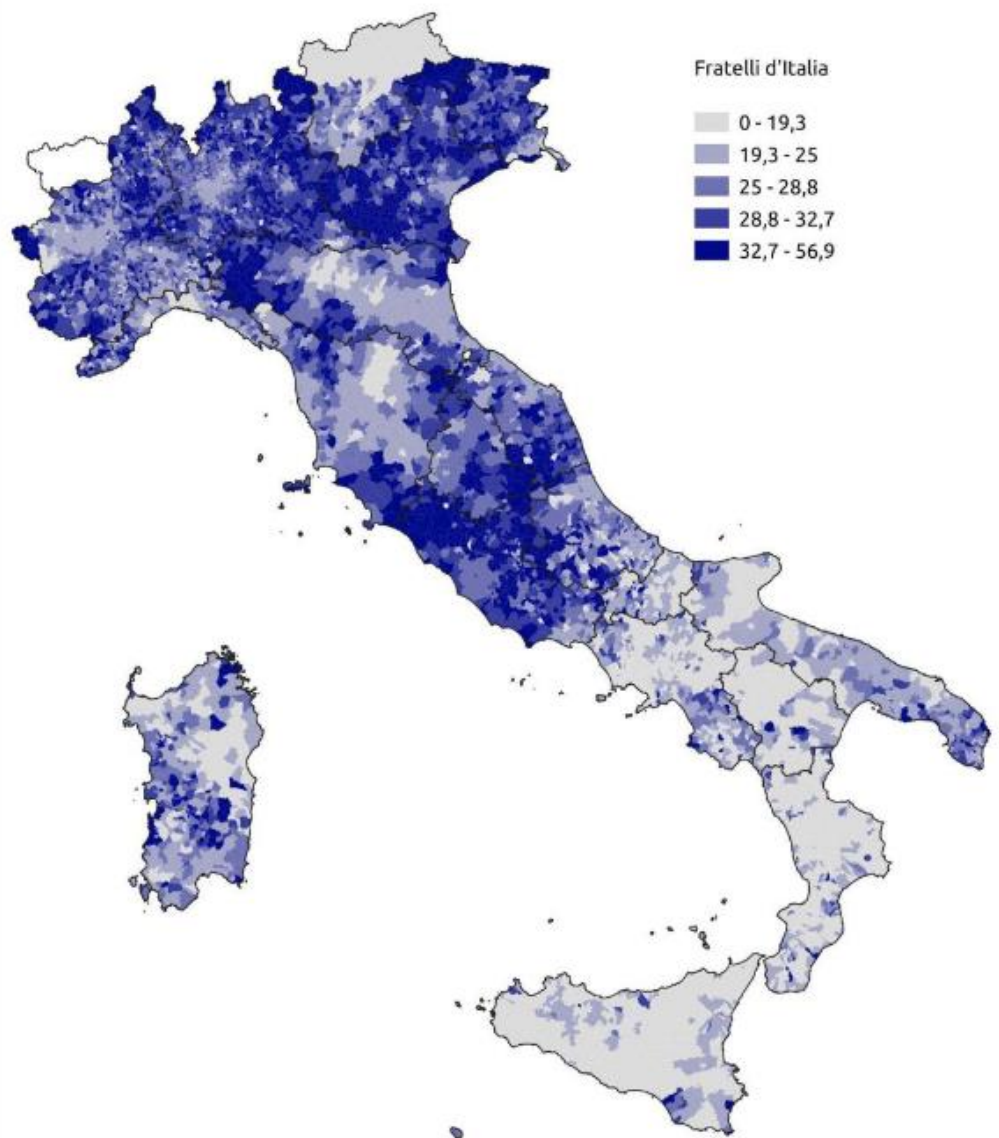


# L'AFFLUENZA VALORI PERCENTUALI - TREND



## Percentuale di voti al FDI per zona





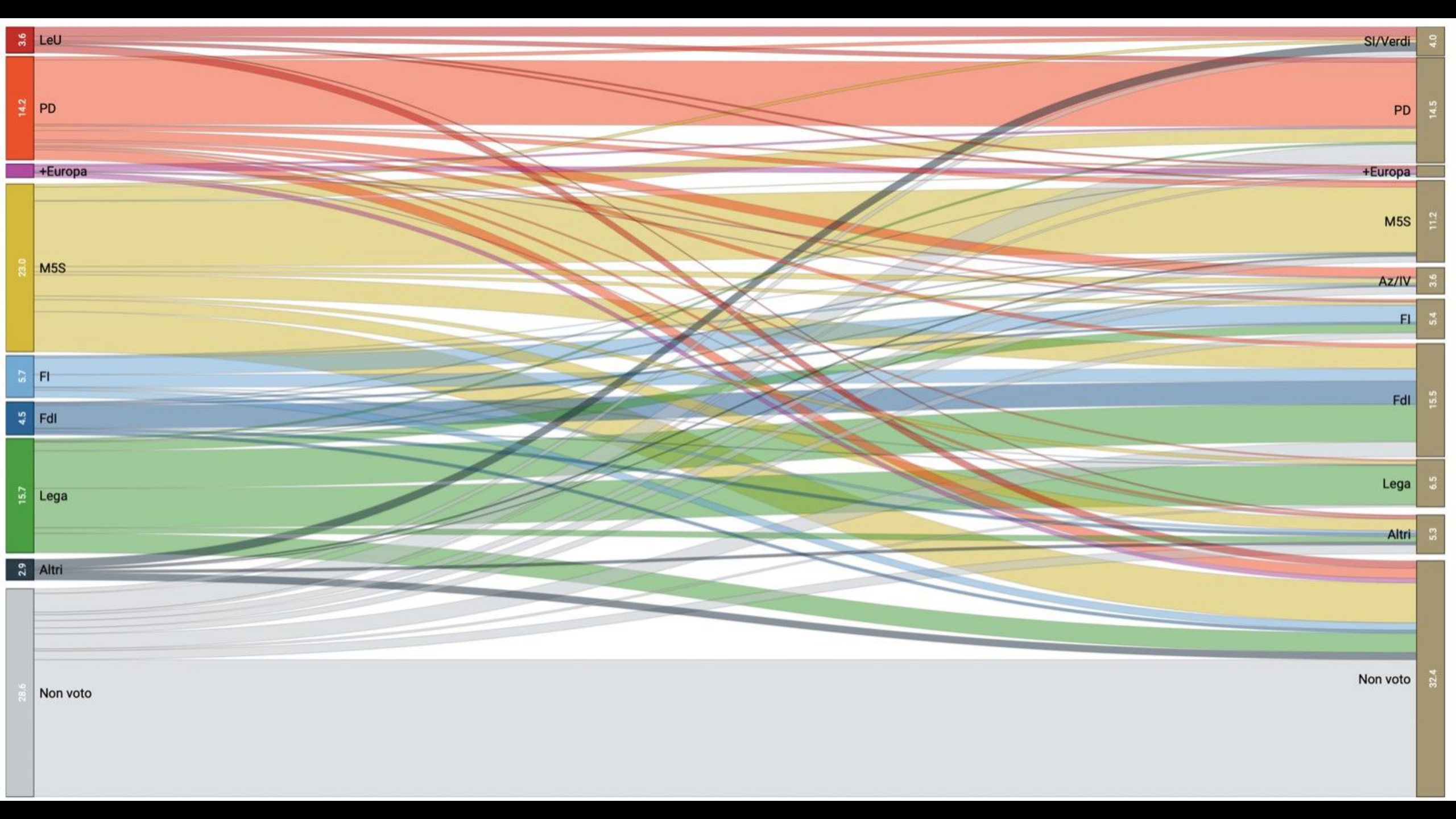
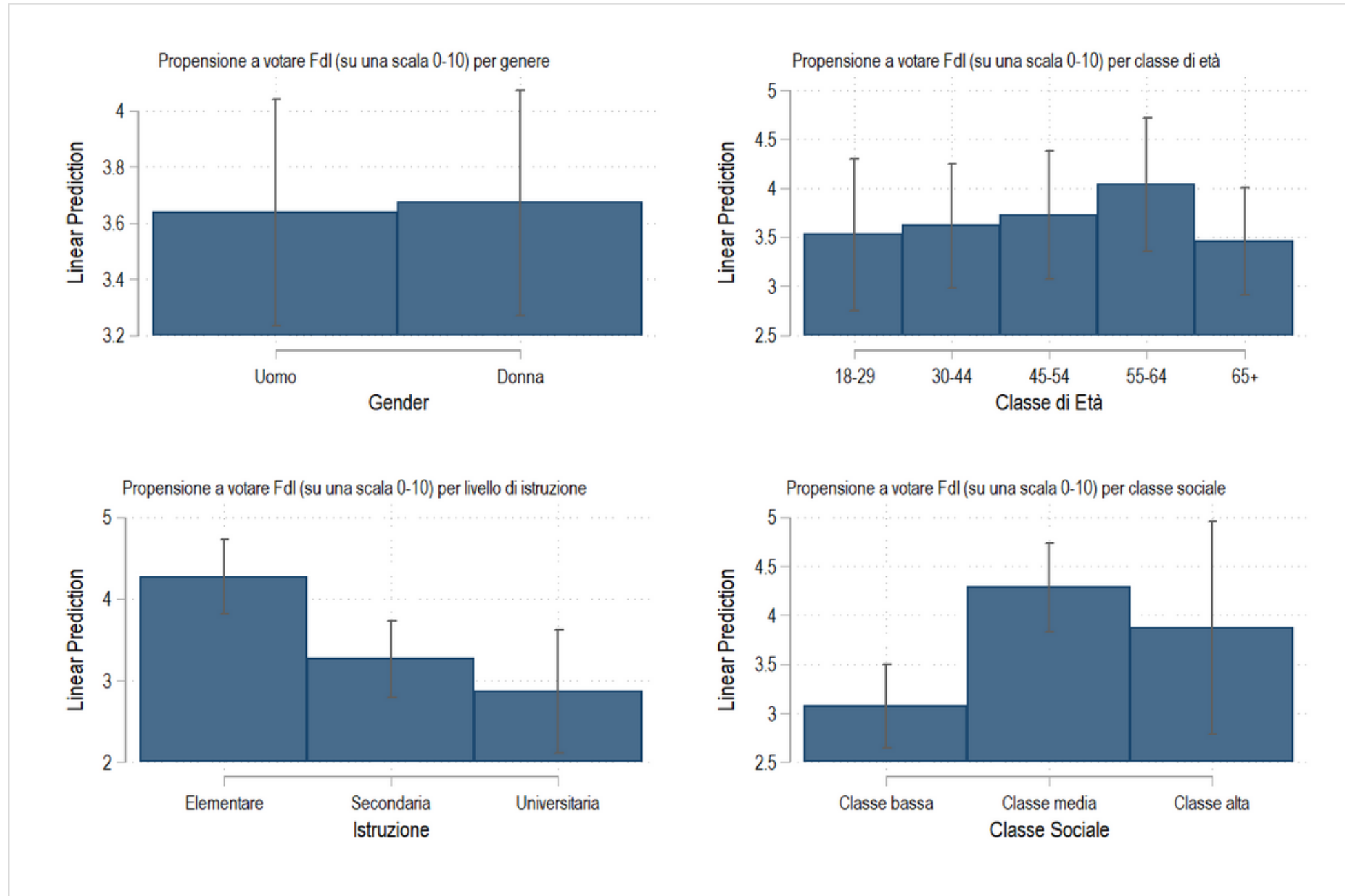




Figura 1 – Profilo degli elettori di Fdl





- Small circle of loyalty
  - Culture war
- Neoliberalism on steroids
- Isolated attempts of economic populism
  - International «responsibility»
  - Confrontation/negotiation with the EU
- Mainstreaming of the international radical right



- Attempt to both innovate and push to the left the PD
- Relying on mainstream centrist currents within the party
- Stereotypically portrayed as «radical chic», «out of touch», «focusing on individual civil rights and not on socio-economic issues»



- Repositioning M5S as a credible centre-left force
- Competing with PD both on the left and on the right

**SALARIO  
MINIMO  
SUBITO**

**Metti la tua firma** a supporto  
di una retribuzione giusta  
e per il **salario minimo!**







**TUTTO SULLE NOSTRE SPALLE. SEMPRE SULLA NOSTRA PELLE.**  
**CASA REDDITO SALARIO**

**CIVUOLEUNREDDITO**  
LA LOTTA DEL 2019



- Weak and scattered grassroots response
  - Attempts of «convergence»
    - Divided union front

## To wrap up:

- Meloni's emergence is the result of short-term contingencies but also of a long-term process of mainstreaming of the radical right and of a long chain of governments that failed in keeping together responsibility and representativeness
- Her government is mostly based on culture war + neoliberalism, and aims to reproduce this axis at the international level
- Both parliamentary and grassroots opposition are divided, with potentially fruitful attempts of convergence

Thanks!