

A Discourse Analysis of Giorgia Meloni's Femonationalist Political Communication

by Laurenz Otto Vitali

Department of Nationalism Studies
In partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Masters of Arts
Supervisor: Prof. Ruth Wodak
Central European University
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Abstract

This paper explores Giorgia Meloni's participation in a broader Femonationalist trend in far-right politics. The cooptation of women's rights to promote an exclusionary and xenophobic dynamic regarding migration is at the core of such a trend. In an attempt to enlarge the current political coalitions for far-right parties and increase the sense of normality around these being in government in Europe, parties such as Fratelli d'Italia have been utilizing new communicative and discursive practices to change the rules of the game. The usage of feminist language to portray themselves as the guarantors of women's rights is enough to convince many that, stereotypically sexually active and violent outsiders will endanger the gains made by feminist battles in the last century. These fears are at the core of the Femonationalist project. This research will analyze in detail the communicative practices of Giorgia Meloni and how exactly she attempts to achieve this goal, something that had seemed far out of sight for farright parties some decades ago.

Introduction

Giorgia Meloni, a far-right¹ Prime Minister in one of Europe's largest countries, has shaken up the world of Italian politics being the most right-of-center government since the end of World War II. Her party's success in the 2022 General Election has raised the question of how this could happen due to her status as a relatively small player within the broader system. With her party Fratelli d'Italia (FdI) improving its share of the final vote by around 22 percentage points, from 4.35% to about 26% between 2018 and 2022². This research will be focused on extrapolating her communicative formula and its changes throughout time to observe how changes and discursive/strategic adaptations have shaped her campaign as well as her transition into government and her role as a leader. This research is further made salient due to her role within the stereotypically male-dominated space of far-right parties³ in which she has been able to cement her leadership within her party as well as with the Italian public whilst invoking the protection of women's rights which seems to be at odds with the fundamental ideological makeup of her party⁴. Female leaders of far-right parties are not a

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¹ For the purposes of this research, the terminology *Far-right* will be strictly tied to Mudde's (2019) definition given in his work *The Far Right Today*. This term, which encompasses a wide range of political movements on the right which display "anti-system" tendencies (to discern from the conservative and/or liberal "mainstream right") and which are hostile to the status quo of liberal democratic values. This far-right is further divided into the *extreme right* (which rejects core democratic values such as popular sovereignty and majority rule) and the *radical right* (whose issues lie with fundamentals of *liberal* democracy, namely the separation of powers, the rule of law and minority right) (Cas Mudde, *The Far Right Today* (Cambridge, UK; Medford, MA: Polity, 2019), 5–6.)

² Diego Garzia, "The Italian Parliamentary Election of 2022: The Populist Radical Right Takes Charge," *West European Politics*, November 24, 2022, 6, https://doi.org/10.1080/01402382.2022.2148603.

³ Alessia Donà, "What's Gender Got to Do with Populism?," *European Journal of Women's Studies* 27, no. 3 (August 2020): 287, https://doi.org/10.1177/1350506820929222.

⁴ Daria Colella, "Femonationalism and Anti-Gender Backlash: The Instrumental Use of Gender Equality in the Nationalist Discourse of the Fratelli d'Italia Party," *Gender & Development* 29, no. 2–3 (September 2, 2021): 269–89, https://doi.org/10.1080/13552074.2021.1978749.

novelty⁵, yet the relationship between female leaders and the often misogynistic and gender traditionalist far-right movements is tense. Sara Farris' *In the Name of Women's Rights: The Rise of Femonationalism* encapsulates much of the discussion regarding the state of tension within the right-wing populist party landscape and their use of gendered language to aid in fueling anti-Muslim exclusionary narratives, in particular when this leader is a woman⁶. These tensions stem from the belief that parties of this kind espouse traditional gender roles, sexism and misogyny whilst, at the same time, paradoxically fielding – such as FdI in Italy – female leaders as well as starting to appeal to "European values of gender-equality and emancipation". This, in Farris' eyes, is used to create a reproduction of gendered and sexist attitudes towards non-Western societies by framing "Islam as a quintessentially misogynistic religion" leading then to enhancing pre-existing anti-Muslim sentiments and thereby successfully creating an exclusionary narrative which utilizes discourse which usually would go against the parties' patriarchal and misogynistic views⁹.

The nature of Meloni's party, and its fascist roots, is deeply tied to the need to study her leadership since the party has re-imagined itself with Meloni at the helm, turning more mainstream and in the party's eyes "post-fascist". Since then, she has managed to steer the party to being the largest in Italy and achieving the Prime Minister position in the weeks after

⁵ Marion Löffler, Russell Luyt, and Kathleen Starck, "Political Masculinities and Populism," *NORMA* 15, no. 1 (January 2, 2020): 1, https://doi.org/10.1080/18902138.2020.1721154; Dorit Geva, "A Double-Headed Hydra: Marine Le Pen's Charisma, between Political Masculinity and Political Femininity," *NORMA* 15, no. 1 (January 2, 2020): 26–42, https://doi.org/10.1080/18902138.2019.1701787; Donà, "What's Gender Got to Do with Populism?," 287.

⁶ Sara R. Farris, *In the Name of Women's Rights: The Rise of Femonationalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2017).

⁷ Löffler, Luyt, and Starck, "Political Masculinities and Populism," 1.

⁸ Farris, In the Name of Women's Rights, 4.

⁹ Farris, 36.

¹⁰ Alessia Donà, "The Rise of the Radical Right in Italy: The Case of Fratelli d'Italia," *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 27, no. 5 (October 20, 2022): 781, https://doi.org/10.1080/1354571X.2022.2113216.

the 2022 General Election held on September 25th. These came about due to the fall of the Draghi government in July after the Movimento 5 Stelle (or 5 Star Movement, M5S), a member of this cross-cutting coalition, initiated a government crisis and was later joined by the Lega Nord and Forza Italia in ending their support for the government¹¹. The shift from opposition to campaigning allowed Meloni's party to capitalize on an Italian political landscape in which voters are disillusioned and parties are "organizationally fragile and thus unable to establish or maintain social roots, as well as to build lasting political alliances" 12. Nevertheless, as her party has changed and mutated throughout the years, so has its communication style. The 4 years preceding the 2022 elections were characterized by a process of refinement of the political style of communication, an increase in populist rhetoric and the power of online memes which turned one of her most famous 2019 speeches into a widespread and viral clip which garnered over 13 Million views. In this clip, she states her key identities as a person: "I am Giorgia, I am a woman, I am a mother, I am Italian, I am Christian, and no one is going to take that away from me!"13. These identities are at the core of who Giorgia Meloni is and the transformation of her style of communicating has also fluctuated throughout, becoming first more populist and antiestablishment and then becoming more moderate on issues such as LGBTQ+ rights during the campaign (as we will see) and her positioning as an anti-Putin force, particularly when it comes to their international positioning and their support for the Western efforts to aid Ukraine after the Russian invasion in February 2022¹⁴. These fluctuations in communication style are important when trying to understand the shift from oppositional and campaign rhetoric to one

¹¹ Garzia, "The Italian Parliamentary Election of 2022," 3.

¹² Alessandro Chiaramonte et al., "Radical-Right Surge in a Deinstitutionalised Party System: The 2022 Italian General Election," *South European Society and Politics*, January 13, 2023, 2, https://doi.org/10.1080/13608746.2022.2160088.

¹³ Gianfranco Baldini, Filippo Tronconi, and Davide Angelucci, "Yet Another Populist Party? Understanding the Rise of Brothers of Italy," *South European Society and Politics*, January 10, 2023, 9, https://doi.org/10.1080/13608746.2022.2159625.

¹⁴ Baldini, Tronconi, and Angelucci, 15.

of leadership and government. Particularly as the first Italian female Prime Minister, it is interesting to see how she navigates the often-patriarchal ranks of a far-right populist party in terms of gender as well as how she utilizes political masculinities and femininities to her advantage to push her xenophobic, nativist and populist rhetoric.

Attempting to highlight the changes in her communicative style and habitus as female leader will be achieved by analyzing her campaign speeches during the height of the campaign (1st September – 22nd September 2022), comparing these with speeches from her past, and demonstrating what strategies she uses to describe herself and her program stating how her opponents do not represent idea which are meaningful solutions to the country's innumerate problems. The question which poses itself is whether this style is continued with the formation of her government after October 25, 2022; or if in her role as prime minister had to change and in which way...This will be done by – first – focusing on a literature review of the nexus between populism and gender, approaches to far-right leadership models (particularly by female leaders) as well as research regarding the utilization of political masculinities and femininities in leadership and campaigning, and – second – engaging in an in-depth analysis of her campaign speeches and speeches she has held in the past utilizing the Discourse-Historical Approach¹⁵, thereby focusing on the discursive shifts that might appear throughout the development and transformation of Giorgia Meloni and her party. The choice to look at speeches from her campaign prior to election is strongly tied to the amount of campaign platforms and messaging there has been. If social media and other speeches would have been taken, the ability of this analysis would be greatly compromised due to the immense amounts of data to be processed (e.g., party programs, political posters, etc.).

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¹⁵ Martin Reisigl and Ruth Wodak, "The Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA)," *METHODS OF CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS*, 2017.

Italy and the Far-Right

Italy, as one of Europe's largest and richest countries, is of absolute importance to the study of politics in the 21st century. In order to fully understand and research the populist phenomenon one must look at the peninsula for the contributions its Italian origin story might have for the wider field.

Italy's right-wing fascist past is most often associated with the roughly two decades of Benito Mussolini's rule and the ushering in of the Italian Fascist regime. This totalitarian, extremist and violent political response to a perceived socialist revolution after the Great War came out of the post-war crises that arose in the social, economic and political realm on the peninsula¹⁶. To not overly deviate from the aims of this research project, it is important to state one of the most important legacies which Fascism left Italy with, namely 'anti-Fascism'¹⁷. This concept is what united the entirety of the Italian political system since the end of the Second World War and was an alliance of major parties which fought in the resistance against Mussolini's regime. This group of parties was the *Comitato di Liberazione Nazionale* (transl. National Liberation Committee, or CLN) and included Christian Democrats, Communists, Socialists, Liberals and many more¹⁸. The new Italian constitution in 1946 had made the reforming of a Fascist party illegal even when the Cold-War tensions of the late 1940s and early 1950s were increasingly leading to anti-communist political coalitions after the period of dissolution of the CLN¹⁹.

Regarding the legacy of Fascism in party-political terms, the most significant party was born on 3rd December 1946. After Italy's involvement in World War II and the defeat of

¹⁶ Philip Morgan, *Italian Fascism*, 1915 - 1945, 2. ed, The Making of the 20th Century (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 233.

¹⁷ Morgan, 234.

¹⁸ Adalberto Baldoni, *Storia Della Destra: Dal Postfascismo al Popolo Della Libertà*, I Saggi (Firenze: Vallecchi, 2009), 1.

¹⁹ Morgan, *Italian Fascism*, 1915 - 1945, 235.

Mussolini's Fascist regime, the Movimento Sociale Italiano (*transl*. Italian Social Movement) (MSI) was created by supporters of the old fascist regime. This party, in the post-war Italian First Republic, was preaching for an autonomous Italy, free from foreign influence, and with its borders intact and uncompromised (including its colonies lost)²⁰, whilst – at the same time – maintaining the image of being the de-facto successor of Fascism. This attention to the past has always been a fundamental part of the MSI and its successors which will be described later in this section. Although the party's best result came in 1972, gaining 9% of the votes in the general election, it was always an 'excluded pole' and completely marginalized by the rest of the political apparatus due to their right-wing extremism²¹.

After the fall of the "First Republic" and the passage to a "Second Republic" ²², between 1992 and 1994, the political landscape suffered an unprecedented implosion. Out of this chaos the political landscape of today was formed, marked by a plurality of populist forces vying for power in, what Roberto Biorcio (2015) claims as "the laboratory of populism" ²³. In almost 30 years Italy went from a country in which grand ideologies (e.g., Capitalism versus Communism) clashed against eachother to the only country in the world where the political party landscape is dominated by anti-establishment forces and political communication is marked throughout by populist styles and tones ²⁴. The 1992-94 *Tangentopoli* scandal jumpstarted a shift from 'political society' ²⁵ in which the dialogue between society and politics was managed by large and ideologically driven parties, to a populist haven characterized by

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²⁰ Baldoni, Storia Della Destra, 4.

²¹ Gregorio Sorgonà, "The Italian Right-Wing and the European Integration Process: The Case of the Italian Social Movement," *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 27, no. 3 (May 27, 2022): 384, https://doi.org/10.1080/1354571X.2022.2044646.

²² Manuel Anselmi, *Populism: An Introduction* (Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon; New York, NY: Routledge, 2018), 66.

²³ Roberto Biorcio, *Il Populismo Nella Politica Italiana: Da Bossi a Berlusconi, Da Grillo a Renzi*, Passato Prossimo, Presente Italiano (Milano: Mimesis, 2015), 1.

²⁴ Anselmi, *Populism*.

²⁵ Anselmi, 66.

"anti-politics, distrust of representation mechanisms, glorification of 'civil society' and the search for a direct validation of political action"26. This consequential political crisis was tied to the meticulously finetuned system of political bribes and political party funding which characterized the Italian political system during the Cold War years and existed to fundamentally impede the Italian Communist Party (PCI) to democratically win elections in the country (with strong US support)²⁷. The subsequent Mani Pulite trial on corruption and illegal party finances was felt by almost every political force in the country, demonstrating the embeddedness of corruption within the Italian institutions, political class as well as political culture, something which persists to this day²⁸ and further fuels the pre-existing Italian qualunquismo (transl. 'whoever-ism'/political indifference/political apathy) mentality born after the fall of Fascism²⁹. During this time, the small agglomeration of northern-Italian regionalist parties Lega Nord, which unified into one coherent confederal alliance on 4th December 1989 after garnering a 1.8% election result in the European Elections of June 1989 while running as a more informal 'Northern Alliance'30. This party, which based its ideas on the secession of Northern Italy from the economically impoverished South was characterized by strong ethno-regionalist ideology and the support of interclass interests championed by Umberto Bossi's simple, direct, offensive and informal communicative style³¹. In 1992, during the year in which the prosecutors of mani pulite finalized the decapitation of the Italian political

²⁶ Anselmi, 66–67.

²⁷ Martin Rhodes, *Tangentopoli—More than 20 Years On*, ed. Erik Jones and Gianfranco Pasquino (Oxford University Press, 2015), 320,

https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199669745.013.24.

²⁸ Rhodes, 321.

²⁹ Marco Tarchi, *Italia Populista: Dal Qualunquismo a Beppe Grillo*, Contemporanea (Bologna: Il mulino, 2014), 210.

³⁰ Anna Cento Bull and Mark Gilbert, *The Lega Nord and the Northern Question in Italian Politics* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave, 2001), 20–21.

³¹ Ilvo Diamanti, *Il Male Del Nord: Lega, Localismo, Secessione*, Interventi 33 (Roma: Donzelli, 1996).

élite, the Lega Nord's success at the general elections (8.7% in 1992³²) made it so that the prosecutors were careful with challenging this political power and left the party to itself. This made the LN the biggest winner from the *Tangentopoli* scandal with some even questioning whether it could morph into a DC-substitute, namely a more centrist and conservative catchall party to rule the country³³. Yet, change for the party did not come during these years and this innovative ethno-regionalist, post-ideological and interclass political messaging was maintained³⁴ until the later years of Matteo Salvini, who took over the party in 2013 after a scandal involving the founding member of the party, Umberto Bossi³⁵. With its utopian ideals of a secession seemingly politically unattainable, this switch in leadership meant a profound rethinking of the party itself³⁶, opting from this point onwards on turning the party into a national extreme right-wing populist party³⁷ poised to, in Salvini's eyes, "represent both the 'animal spirits' of northern capitalism, and the social classes impoverished by the [2008-09 financial] crisis (the 'left-behind')" and the social classes impoverished by the left-behind')" and the social classes impoverished by the left-behind').

One of the most significant political events to come out of the years following the corruption scandals of the early 1990s was the rise of Silvio Berlusconi. His appearance in 1994 signified the true start of the Italian (neo-)populist phenomenon³⁹. His forte was his wealth. As a businessman and owner of major Italian media companies he used this domination

³² Cento Bull and Gilbert, *The Lega Nord and the Northern Question in Italian Politics*, 28.

³³ Cento Bull and Gilbert, 29–30.

³⁴ Anselmi, *Populism*, 67.

³⁵ Daniele Albertazzi, Arianna Giovannini, and Antonella Seddone, "'No Regionalism Please, We Are *Leghisti*!' The Transformation of the Italian Lega Nord under the Leadership of Matteo Salvini," *Regional & Federal Studies* 28, no. 5 (October 20, 2018): 645–46, https://doi.org/10.1080/13597566.2018.1512977.

³⁶ Gianluca Passarelli and Dario Tuorto, "From the Lega Nord to Salvini's League: Changing Everything to Change Nothing?," *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 27, no. 3 (May 27, 2022): 3, https://doi.org/10.1080/1354571X.2022.2044649.

³⁷ Paul Blokker and Manuel Anselmi, eds., *Multiple Populisms: Italy as Democracy's Mirror* (London; New York: Routledge, taylor & Francis Group, 2020), 222.

³⁸ Passarelli and Tuorto, "From the Lega Nord to Salvini's League," 9.

³⁹ Anselmi, *Populism*, 67.

to promote his message, with researchers coining this style of populist communication telepopulism⁴⁰. His election in that same year to the position of Prime Minister ushered in a new era in Italian politics, one where the establishment of a true identification with the leader of a party was as important as the direct link between political communication and the electorate through mass media owned by that same leader⁴¹. This leadership format allowed Berlusconi to model his Forza Italia party into "an agile, business-like, highly top-down party organization"42 marked by a significant liberal-conservative and populist component aided by a simple communication style meant to be easily understood by Italians⁴³. The party largely coincided with the broad concept of the 'center-right', so much so that it was able to assimilate even right-wing parties such as the MSI's successor⁴⁴, Alleanza Nazionale (AN), in 2008 to form Popolo delle Libertà (transl. People of Freedom, PdL)⁴⁵. After these two parties split in 2012 over leadership disagreements, Fratelli d'Italia was officially founded later that year. This new party selected Giorgia Meloni as its leader, a politician which was Minister of Youth Policy in the 4th Berlusconi Government46. This change in leadership turned Fratelli d'Italia into a party which espouses economically nativist, authoritarian and populist ideology⁴⁷, changing from a party which was not classified as populist under its prior iteration (AN) due to the lack of people-centered and anti-establishment rhetoric⁴⁸ to a media savvy radical right populism spearheaded by Giorgia Meloni herself⁴⁹.

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⁴⁰ Tanguieff, 2002, as cited in Blokker and Anselmi, *Multiple Populisms*, 223.

⁴¹ Blokker and Anselmi, 223–24.

⁴² Anselmi, *Populism*, 68.

⁴³ Blokker and Anselmi, *Multiple Populisms*, 224.

⁴⁴ Anselmi, *Populism*, 68.

⁴⁵ Baldini, Tronconi, and Angelucci, "Yet Another Populist Party?," 5.

⁴⁶ Baldini, Tronconi, and Angelucci, 5.

⁴⁷ Otjes et al., 2018, as cited in Baldini, Tronconi, and Angelucci, 10.

⁴⁸ Baldini, Tronconi, and Angelucci, 5.

⁴⁹ Paul Taggart and Andrea L. P. Pirro, "European Populism before the Pandemic: Ideology, Euroscepticism, Electoral Performance, and Government Participation of 63 Parties in 30 Countries," *Italian Political Science Review/Rivista Italiana Di Scienza Politica* 51, no. 3 (November 2021): 300, https://doi.org/10.1017/ipo.2021.13.

In the modern day, after the MSI's dissolution and after Alleanza Nazionale re-formed into the party we see today, the desire to claim the MSI's (and Fascism's) legacy has not waned. It is important to understand how Giorgia Meloni managed to attract nostalgic supporters of the prior movements whilst, at the same time, creating a net divide between its predecessors and itself⁵⁰. A successful rebrand, to all extents and purposes. But who is this new leader which is at the helm of the Italian government since October 2022?

Giorgia Meloni and Prior Communication

The rapid rise of Giorgia Meloni and her party Fratelli d'Italia since 2018, reached its first (but likely not last) apex on September 25th. With the Italian general elections on that day, Meloni managed to dethrone her male counterparts within the right-wing coalition of FdI, Salvini's Lega Nord (LN) and Silvio Berlusconi's Forza Italia (FI) becoming the largest party within the coalition as well as in the nation⁵¹. The clear numerical advantage on her colleagues made her position as the coalition's candidate for the Premiership clear, with her party garnering 26% of the vote with her partners only reaching 8.77% (LN) and 8.11% (FI)⁵². As the head of the largest party, she was requested to form a government by Italy's President and Head of State Sergio Mattarella⁵³.

Elected as the youngest ever Italian female member of the Chamber of Deputies in 2006 at only 29 years of age and became, in 2008, the youngest female Minister in Italy's history in charge of Youth Policy, all of this at 31 years of age⁵⁴. Being a MSI political activist since the

⁵⁰ Elisabetta De Giorgi and Filippo Tronconi, "The Center-Right in a Search for Unity and the Re-Emergence of the Neo-Fascist Right," *Contemporary Italian Politics* 10, no. 4 (November 27, 2018): 331, https://doi.org/10.1080/23248823.2018.1544350.

⁵¹ Garzia, "The Italian Parliamentary Election of 2022."

⁵² Garzia, 6.

⁵³ Alessandro Chiaramonte, "Italy at the Polls. Four Lessons to Learn from the 2022 General Election," *Contemporary Italian Politics* 15, no. 1 (January 2, 2023): 75–87, https://doi.org/10.1080/23248823.2022.2163453.

⁵⁴ Baldini, Tronconi, and Angelucci, "Yet Another Populist Party?," 7.

age of 15 she has had years of experience when it comes to the political organization of the farright. Organizer (since 1998) of the *Atreju* festival, once a youth event now an annual political event, she climbed the ladder of the party joining FdI together with her 'gabbiani' (*transl.* 'seagulls') group, effectively AN's Rome splinter known for its anti-communist and, notably, anti-US sentiments underlined by far-right stances⁵⁵. The addition of Giorgia Meloni's splinter group gave FdI a sense of community and an increased feeling of ambiguity towards the country's fascist heritage. Meloni has done this by underlining that exactly this constituted the "emotional heritage, the 'family album', the irrational, yet conscious first mover of (their) political activism"⁵⁶.

Becoming the first female Italian Prime Minister as a leader of a far-right populist and national conservative party, a space deeply marked by masculine culture is only a telling sign of her perseverance and ability in navigating the hostile and instable Italian political waters⁵⁷. Understanding the issues relating to women which are promoted by her as in favors of Italian women's best interests is crucial to the understanding of her gendered political communication. Meloni has never been shy about espousing anti-abortion stances substantiated by her Catholic faith and own experience (although her party adopts a rather more moderate stance). Furthermore, her political opposition to new complex gender issues is often woven into discourse opposing the European Union for disregarding "issues such as family, natality, and children's education" as well as arguing that "Western civilization is under attack and its pillars, from the traditional family to motherhood, would be the target of 'gender ideology'"⁵⁸.

⁵⁵ Leonardo Puleo and Gianluca Piccolino, "Back to the Post-Fascist Past or Landing in the Populist Radical Right? The Brothers of Italy Between Continuity and Change," *South European Society and Politics*, September 26, 2022, 3–4,

https://doi.org/10.1080/13608746.2022.2126247; Baldini, Tronconi, and Angelucci, "Yet Another Populist Party?," 7–8.

⁵⁶ Baldini, Tronconi, and Angelucci, "Yet Another Populist Party?," 8.

⁵⁷ Baldini, Tronconi, and Angelucci, 8.

⁵⁸ De Giorgi, Cavalieri, and Feo, 111.

Her opposition to the L.G.B.T.+ community is fundamentally based on her belief that this 'sexual' minority is threatening the very existence of the traditional (Christian) family⁵⁹.

Overall, in recent years, the literature has been growing in tandem with the growing importance of issues such as gender equality, 'gender ideology' and their usage to spread anti-Muslim and anti-migrant sentiments. Although not new phenomena, these have increased in saliency over the last decade, particularly in countries like Italy who now have one of these exponents as its leader. Incredibly insightful literature on the far-right political party scene, the ever-important strategic and ideological reasons behind the increased gendered discourses all over Europe, and the research done on Italian case prove to be extremely helpful for the overall writing of this piece. This research will be studying the gap which exist within this literature which pertains to her time as a campaigner on a clear trajectory towards an electoral victory as well as analyzing the very beginning of a particular era in European politics: Giorgia Meloni's Prime Minister-ship.

In order to observe how Giorgia Meloni utilizes gendered language and communication as well as how she has shifted in recent years on these positions it is important, for this research project, to set out Research Questions in order to frame the research.

Research Questions

RQ1. How are Giorgia Meloni's speeches preceding the 2022 Italian general election conveying her femonationalist and gendered politics?

RQ1.1 How does she present herself and the others/her opponents?

RQ1.2 How and in what ways has Giorgia Meloni's communicative style changed since the fall of the Draghi Government?

RQ1.3 How has governing impacted Giorgia Meloni's communicative style?

⁵⁹ Donà, "The Rise of the Radical Right in Italy," 787.

Chapter 1: Theoretical Framework

The Far-right and Gender: State of the Art

The literature related to gender and the far-right cannot be understood without looking at the literature on populism as a whole. Amidst the highly diverse definitions of such parties and movements Cas Mudde and Cristobal Rovira Kaltwasser provide us with some clarity by stating – in their proposed ideational approach – that populism is a "thin-centered ideology that considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogenous and antagonistic camps, 'the pure people' versus 'the corrupt elite', and which argues that politics should be an expression of the *volonté générale* (general will) of the people"60. Some define it as a strategy⁶¹, some as a communicative style⁶² and some believe that populists can be defined also as "taboo breakers and fighters against political correctness"63. When investigating Fratelli d'Italia, all of these definitions would seem to apply as the party's dichotomous vision of society is frequently applied by Giorgia Meloni to communicate her disregard for the 'elites' who espouse politically correct language and promote differing sexual/gender identities⁶⁴. The gender politics within the far-right sphere of populism must be explored due to its relatively marginal role within the academic scene⁶⁵. Nevertheless, in recent years this literature has only increased in importance with the surging relevance of debates about gender politics in political life and discourse.

⁶⁰ Cas Mudde and Cristobal Rovira Kaltwasser, *Populism: A Very Short Introduction* (New York City: Oxford University Press, 2017), 6.

Kurt Weyland, "Clarifying a Contested Concept: Populism in the Study of Latin American Politics," *Comparative Politics* 34, no. 1 (October 2001), https://doi.org/10.2307/422412.
 Jan Jagers and Stefaan Walgrave, "Populism as Political Communication Style: An Empirical Study of Political Parties' Discourse in Belgium," *European Journal of Political Research* 46, no. 3 (May 2007): 319–45, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-6765.2006.00690.x.
 Mudde, 2004, as cited in Baldini, Tronconi, and Angelucci, "Yet Another Populist Party?,"

⁶⁴ Baldini, Tronconi, and Angelucci, 3.

⁶⁵ Mudde and Rovira Kaltwasser, 2017, as cited in Donà, "What's Gender Got to Do with Populism?," 285.

The main body of literature regarding gender and the far-right has been focused on going beyond the simplistic – and now disproven⁶⁶ – idea that these parties are *Männerparteien*⁶⁷ (men's parties) as well as the idea of representation of women in these parties, both in terms of electorate but also in terms of leadership⁶⁸. The literature which pertains to the importance and influence of gender within politics, such as research conducted by Tjitske Akkerman, Susi Meret, Birgit Sauer and Dorit Geva allow for the exploration of more complex issues around gender which are salient to this research, in particular how gender can be utilized in political communication. Thus, I chose to delve into the literature on Femonationalism and the hijacking of the rights and interests of women for political purposes, consolidated by Sara Farris in her previously mentioned work. She is aided in this by Gabriele Dietze's exploration of the attraction between women with the far-right, as well as Eszter Kováts' focus on the relationship between women, the far-right and what some call 'gender ideology'⁶⁹. Authors such as Daria Colella, Elisabetta de Giorgi et. al. and Elia Arfini et. al. bring this discussion back to Italian politics and specifically, to Giorgia Meloni and her party to underline her importance within this broader femonationalist trend.

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⁶⁶ Löffler, Luyt, and Starck, "Political Masculinities and Populism," 3.

⁶⁷ Helga Amesberger and Brigitte Halbmayr, eds., *Rechtsextreme Parteien, Eine Mögliche Heimat Für Frauen?* (Opladen: Leske + Budrich, 2002).

⁶⁸ Cas Mudde and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, "Vox Populi or Vox Masculini? Populism and Gender in Northern Europe and South America," Patterns of Prejudice 49, no. 1–2 (March 15, 2015): 16–36, https://doi.org/10.1080/0031322X.2015.1014197; Susi Meret, Birte Siim, and Etienne Pingaud, "Men's Parties with Women Leaders: A Comparative Study of the Right-Wing Populist Leaders Pia Kjærsgaard, Siv Jensen and Marine LePen," in Understanding the Populist Shift: Othering in a Europe in Crisis, ed. Gabriella Lazaridis and Giovanna Campani, 1st ed., Routledge Research in Extremism and Democracy (London; New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2016); Niels Spierings and Andrej Zaslove, "Gendering the Vote for Populist Radical-Right Parties," Patterns of Prejudice 49, no. 1–2 (March 15, 2015): 135–62, https://doi.org/10.1080/0031322X.2015.1024404.

The research on far-right populist political parties has long assumed that the demographics of such formations were predominantly male, a phenomenon labeled as "the radical right gender gap"⁷⁰. Years passed and an increasing amount of research illustrates that this gap in voting behavior between men and women had been overestimated⁷¹. According to Niels Spierings and Andrej Zaslove (2015), the fundamental reason why these parties are elected is their opposition to immigration. Any methodological process to observe cross-country patterns when it comes to the gender of the voter did not hold as the researchers could not find consistent cross-country patterns. After many different studies they concluded that women might demonstrate a higher voting propensity of far-right parties by women whilst admitting to the action less than their male counterparts. This is tied to women's increased interest in issues of nativism and anti-immigration issues⁷². Since then, the unexpected rise of female leaders within these stereotypically male parties and movements has opened a whole discussion regarding female leadership within far-right populist parties.

The salient relationship between the supporters and leaders of populist parties is exemplified by Paul Taggart's statement that "populism requires the most extraordinary individuals to lead the most ordinary people". Often, the qualities which are needed to form this bond between populist supporters and leaders have been associated to 'male attributes', strong men with vigorous and authoritarian (discursive) tendencies who form, in the minds of many, a "stereotypical image of the charismatic and macho male leader". The notion that these far-right populist parties have been heavily described as sexist and misogynist have been undercut by the mere existence of female leaders. Parties of this kind espouse anti-feminist,

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⁷⁰ Donà, "What's Gender Got to Do with Populism?," 287.

⁷¹ Donà, 287.

⁷² Spierings and Zaslove, "Gendering the Vote for Populist Radical-Right Parties," 157.

⁷³ Paul A. Taggart, *Populism*, Concepts in the Social Sciences (Buckingham [England]; Philadelphia: Open University Press, 2000), 1.

⁷⁴ Donà, "What's Gender Got to Do with Populism?," 287.

anti-gender equality measures, oppose same-sex marriages and are against gender studies⁷⁵. The contrast between these values and the presence of female leaders has broadened the field of discussion as the slow shattering of these male stereotypes of far-right populist party leaders become more noticeable throughout Europe in particular (e.g., Meloni, LePen, Petry, Weidel, etc.). Noticeably, it is clear that this emerging trend does not contradict patriarchy as parties such as this do not attempt to challenge the patriarchal order in any significant way⁷⁶. In Susi Meret's work Charismatic female leadership and gender: Pia Kjærsgaard and the Danish People's Party she stressed the inaccuracies when solely thinking of charisma in a purely masculine manner even in these far-right parties. Her research proved that the leader of the Danish People's Party, Pia Kjærsgaard, clearly and deliberately overemphasized female gendered elements in the party literature such as being "motherly, ordinary, over-emotional and straightforward"⁷⁷. This image of her private life was in stark contrast with the despotic and harsh (masculine) leadership style she displayed in public political life⁷⁸. It is this interplay between masculine and feminine attributes which obviously allow for a balanced and more powerful charismatic profile. Research on this interplay has been spearheaded by Dorit Geva, whose research on the political masculinities and femininities of Marine LePen have enriched the field. Indeed, she states that LePen's "charismatic extra-ordinariness could be signified by masculine virility, authority, and her size"79 and was "balanced by her political femininity which celebrated her as a beautiful and caring woman"80. Albeit not embodying fully feminine

⁷⁵ Löffler, Luyt, and Starck, "Political Masculinities and Populism," 1.

⁷⁶ Gabriele Dietze, "Why Are Women Attracted to Right-Wing Populism? Sexual Exceptionalism, Emancipation Fatigue, and New Maternalism," in *The Palgrave Handbook of Populism*, ed. Michael Oswald (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2022), 150, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-80803-7_16.

⁷⁷ Susi Meret, "Charismatic Female Leadership and Gender: Pia Kjærsgaard and the Danish People's Party," *Patterns of Prejudice* 49, no. 1–2 (March 15, 2015): 101, https://doi.org/10.1080/0031322X.2015.1023657.

⁷⁸ Meret, 101.

⁷⁹ Geva, "A Double-Headed Hydra," 39.

⁸⁰ Geva. 39.

traits, these female far-right leaders claim to represent the "real" interests of women regardless of the party's stance on gender issues⁸¹.

Within the far-right, but also beyond, issues such as gender equality, are used to justify anti-Muslim sentiments⁸². Within an overall xenophobic rhetoric, the invocation of Islam as "a fundamentalist religion that severely discriminates against women"⁸³ is used to justify restrictive and exclusionary policies towards non-Western, non-white, non-Christian people. This heterogeneous anti-Islamic feminist front perceives Muslim communities as sexist whilst western countries are defined as "sites of 'superior' gender relations"⁸⁴. On a similar note, contributions by Birgit Sauer and Sieglinde Rosenberger give us a glimpse into how 'progressive' and self-proclaimed 'multicultural' societies such as the Netherlands or France allow, in the case of the veil for Muslim women, for exclusion and "othering". They state that "it is remarkable to what extent culturally constructed norms, values and representations of the imagined 'other' are in place, while liberal values based on universal rights accessible for all people are placer peripherally"⁸⁵.

Within the research on women, gender and the far-right Sara Farris is a pivotal researcher. Her coining of the term Femonationalism has given a name to a phenomenon which has been of ever-increasing importance and popularity amongst far-right movements in France, Italy and the Netherlands in particular⁸⁶. Her efforts in disentangling feminism from the exclusionary policies which it is used to promote, seem to demonstrate a gap in our

⁸¹ De Giorgi, Cavalieri, and Feo, "From Opposition Leader to Prime Minister.", 108-109

⁸² Farris, In the Name of Women's Rights, 1.

⁸³ Tjitske Akkerman, "Gender and the Radical Right in Western Europe: A Comparative Analysis of Policy Agendas," *Patterns of Prejudice* 49, no. 1–2 (March 15, 2015): 56, https://doi.org/10.1080/0031322X.2015.1023655.

⁸⁴ Sara Farris and Catherine Rottenberg, "Introduction: Righting Feminism," *New Formations* 91, no. 91 (April 1, 2017): 6, https://doi.org/10.3898/NEWF:91.INTRODUCTION.2017.

⁸⁵ Sieglinde Rosenberger and Birgit Sauer, eds., *Politics, Religion and Gender: Framing and Regulating the Veil*, Routledge Studies in Religion and Politics (New York: Routledge, 2011), 90.

⁸⁶ Farris, In the Name of Women's Rights.

understanding of this phenomenon. One of these exclusionary impulses being the western supremacist mindset which essentially sees the non-Western body as inferior⁸⁷. To understand what lies at the core of such an exclusionary turn within these feminist movements one must understand the shift in mentality described by Farris. Namely, the shift from worrying about the man within the home, to one outside of it. In addition, one could argue that the focus on sexually dangerous men rather than sexually inappropriate women has further cemented this general shift⁸⁸. Farris delves deeper into this uncomfortable relationship by observing Western European integration policies for non-Western (and often Muslim) women. Much of these are designed to include migrants into the societies of various countries by ascertaining their mastery of the national language, its history, cultural particularities and, more crucially, the values which lie at the core of their host nation, especially values pertaining to gender equality, which are often presented as "civilizationally advanced"⁸⁹.

The notion of a binary subdivision of oppressor and victim is instrumentally projected and generalized to the relationship between non-Western men and Western women, a notion enforced by stereotypical representations of the Global South. These are the same notions which were employed during colonial times to justify the racial hierarchy necessary for Europeans to maintain control over local populations⁹⁰. More generally, Farris argues that the dichotomy between non-Western men as "dangerous others" and Western women as "victims to be rescued" follows a political-economic logic. Particularly in countries with aging populations, such as Italy, this discursive practice is used to push non-western migrant women as workers in sectors such as domestic work and caretaking roles as this cheap form of labor has become crucial to the continuation of Western societies and economies⁹¹. This economic

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⁸⁷ Farris and Rottenberg, "Introduction," 8.

⁸⁸ Farris and Rottenberg, 8.

⁸⁹ Farris, In the Name of Women's Rights, 2–3.

⁹⁰ Farris, 4–5.

⁹¹ Farris, 20.

imperative, in Italy, has acted to strengthen and upkeep these dynamics and discourses. Fundamentally, it would be naïve to assume that feminist political actors are being actively coopted into practicing xenophobic politics. The history in which these feminists are brought up has shaped western supremacist perspectives which are then reproduced through Femonationalist means. This imparting of emancipatory language and attempts to liberate women within integration processes is channeling these migrant women "towards the very sphere (domestic, low paying, and precarious jobs) from which the feminist movement had historically tried to liberate women" Birgit Sauer further notes how 'gender' can act as an "empty signifier" which has the ability to combine aspects of far-right populist ideas of an ideal society (e.g., natural inequality, exclusion and authoritarianism) to create new political formations. Hence, she says, "gender' becomes a catalyst in the movement of a masculinist identity politics to restore traditional gender regimes but also to push forward an anti-democratic project" All very concerning.

In Gabriele Dietze's work *Why Are Women Attracted to Right-wing Populism?* she observes the presence of three distinct phenomena which are tied to the fascination if women and the far-right, which are used to create a new modernity without the stress of the individualized emancipatory neoliberal one⁹⁴: firstly, she delves into concepts of emancipation, its paradoxes and how far-right female supporters are interpreting these (*emancipation fatigue*). Second, she analyzes how linkages are formed between anti-Muslim sentiments and women (*sexual exceptionalism*). Finally, connecting the claims of far-right populists for heteronormative family politics with the state of some countries' demographic difficulties (e.g.,

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⁹² Farris and Rottenberg, "Introduction," 9–10.

⁹³ Birgit Sauer, "Authoritarian Right-Wing Populism as Masculinist Identity Politics. The Role of Affects," in *Right-Wing Populism and Gender*, ed. Gabriele Dietze and Julia Roth (transcript Verlag, 2020), 34, https://doi.org/10.1515/9783839449806-002.

⁹⁴ Dietze, "Why Are Women Attracted to Right-Wing Populism? Sexual Exceptionalism, Emancipation Fatigue, and New Maternalism," 160.

Italian natality) (new maternalism)⁹⁵. At the core of these assumptions, she posits that a new gender order promoted by far-right populist parties "unburdens, authorizes and cherishes their supposedly 'female' ways of living, caring and loving". Emancipation fatigue is understood as the phenomenon through which some women with children feel as if they are left alone with the burden of motherhood whilst, at the same time, being evaluated (by 'emancipated' women) in a condescending way. This has emphasized the attractiveness of the nuclear family based around a sole male breadwinner, which plays perfectly into the worldview of far-right populist parties⁹⁷. Sexual exceptionalism allows for progressively positioned feminists to think about white women as potential victims of migrant men and their sexual self-determination at risk by these same players. This has the obvious consequence that these outsiders must be rejected or excluded in order to save whatever was gained by the past Western feminist movements 98. Lastly, New Maternalism posits young white women at the center of ethno-national population growth and rewards these with the recognition that emancipation cannot deliver99. Fundamentally, "it is no longer feasible to ignore the empowering effects participation in the right-wing project can have for women. In fact, it can be argued that women support for rightwing projects can serve as an alternative model of empowerment and advancement for women who do not find the neoliberal feminist proposal appealing" 100. Giorgia Meloni seems to embody and communicate all of these elements of feminist discourse, her focus on the natural family as well as pushing for anti-immigration policies. Dietze further states that at the core of far-right communication lays not "a feminization of politics but a politicization of femininity"

⁹⁵ Dietze, 147.

⁹⁶ Dietze, 160.

⁹⁷ Dietze, 159.

⁹⁸ Dietze, 159.

⁹⁹ Dietze, 159.

¹⁰⁰ Elisa Gutsche, *Triumph of the Women? The Female Face of the Populist & Far Right in Europe*, First edition (Berlin: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Forum Politik und Gesellschaft, 2018), 89.

as the imaginary "motherly, female self-image [is] in need of protection against foreign threats" ¹⁰¹.

To complete this section, it is necessary to delve into the recent trends of far-right parties to include gender within their political messaging, particularly how these have been extremely antagonistic to the feminist concepts of 'gender ideology' and the broader LGBTQ+ community. Eszter Kovàts describes 'gender ideology' as one of the reasons for the sharp rise in popularity of far-right political parties throughout the last decade. This term has been utilized increasingly by the far-right as a proxy to re-define liberal democracy and where 'gender ideology' is associated with progressive political actors and a 'fight between values' rather than an obstacle to more deeply understanding the structural re-alignment of politics with the farright¹⁰². She utilizes Chantal Mouffe's 2005 critique of the established hegemony of consensus which attempt to explain that if no agonistic forms of confrontation are allowed within liberal democracy then "[t]he danger arises that the democratic confrontation will therefore be replaced by a confrontation between essentialist forms of identification or non-negotiable moral values. When political frontiers become blurred, disaffection with political parties sets in and one witnesses the growth of other types of collective identities, around nationalist, religious or ethnic forms of identification" ¹⁰³. Kovàts argues, that this is exactly what is happening today. The re-politicization of women's rights, LGBTQ+ rights and xenophobia have turned politics into a battle between culturally defined binaries shoving aside previously presupposed consensuses¹⁰⁴. The Italian case is not much different; Giorgia Meloni's focus on femonationalist issues, issues of 'gender ideology' and typical far-right discursive practices are crucial to understanding the political communication style of the 2022 Italian general elections.

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¹⁰¹ Dietze, "Why Are Women Attracted to Right-Wing Populism? Sexual Exceptionalism, Emancipation Fatigue, and New Maternalism," 161.

¹⁰² Kováts, "Questioning Consensuses," 8.

¹⁰³ Chantal Mouffe, 2005, as cited in Kováts, 8–9.

¹⁰⁴ Kováts, "Questioning Consensuses."

The crucial aspects of the analysis of the far-right's use of Femonationalism and 'gender ideology' as a proxy converge in Italy, where the stigmatization of Black and People of Color migrant populations is deeply tied interdiscursively to the discourse of women's rights and gender equality. The reinforcing of social and cultural hierarchies is ultimately the goal of farright parties such as Fratelli d'Italia¹⁰⁵.

The Case of Italy and Giorgia Meloni

In Italy the instrumentalization of a discourse integrating topics of Femonationalism is evident in the political communication of Giorgia Meloni and her FdI party. In prior years, Italy was seen as one of the countries in which this Femonationalism seemed more apparent, alongside France and the Netherlands ¹⁰⁶. The research by Arfini et. al. analyzes the topic of women's issues within the Italian right-wing sphere, from neoliberal to conservative. Giorgia Meloni is featured in this research and the analysis of her published work reveals the relationship between the ideas of feminism, sexuality and their political utilization ¹⁰⁷. Meloni's relationship with feminism presupposes her support for the ideas of first-wave feminism, namely socio-political emancipation and anything from the right to vote to maternity leave ¹⁰⁸. When it comes to the ideas of second-wave feminism her support wavers. She considers the modern feminist project as an ideological tool against right-wing political ideas rather than a discourse which favors women. In her eyes, her distancing from feminism does not hinder her stating that she positions herself as a "person for women" ¹⁰⁹. Regarding this, Arfini et. al. adds Meloni's own insights regarding these points as she claims that: "I'm not a feminist, and I never

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¹⁰⁵ Colella, "Femonationalism and Anti-Gender Backlash," 271.

¹⁰⁶ Farris, In the Name of Women's Rights.

¹⁰⁷ Elia Arfini, Rossella Ghigi, and Sveva Magaraggia, "Can feminism be right? A content analysis of discourses about women by female Italian right-wing politicians," *Rassegna Italiana di Sociologia*, no. 4 (2019): 693–719, https://doi.org/10.1423/96112.

¹⁰⁸ Elia Arfini, Rossella Ghigi, and Sveva Magaraggia, 701.

¹⁰⁹ Elia Arfini, Rossella Ghigi, and Sveva Magaraggia, 702.

have been. I am a person who has always thought about how to guarantee women a better future, who has fought against discrimination against women. I have never believed in a political position that pushes women to homogeneity, but rather in one that believes in the specificity of women, The usage of this language of feminist origin is, in the eyes of Daria Colella, a typical aspect of actors who see gender (Femonationalism and anti-gender backlash) as a sort of 'symbolic glue'. It is through this mechanism that "any existential threat to the rights and well-being of women, gender justice advocates and the oppressed" can be utilized to identify threats to the overall feminist project. To be clear, in this case this threat is seen as being the non-white migrant man¹¹². The instrumental usage of gender, she adds, has been enriched by the traditional feminization of the land to counter fears of the loss of territorial control. Thanks to Colella and her academic contributions, it is common to observe borders and boundaries as points of difference between the inside and outside, where the women on the inside act as boundary makers and the 'degenerate' male outsider as the aggressor to a culture. Ideas of de-generation tied to the arrival of outside groups have been utilized during the colonial period in order to secure and maintain the racial boundaries necessary for control 1113.

In Italy this can be observed through the "process of renaturalization of the racial and sexual boundaries of the nation and the tendency to link the nationalist agenda to the alleged defence of women's rights"¹¹⁴. Albeit not crucial to Giorgia Meloni's political communication, gender remains an important or 'trivotal' issue for her and her party. De Giorgi et. al. state that "it is not at the core of their agenda, but it is pivotal as a core social relation that they try to exploit to articulate their nativist, conservative, and populist ideology"¹¹⁵.

¹¹⁰ Elia Arfini, Rossella Ghigi, and Sveva Magaraggia, 703.

¹¹¹ Piscopo and Walsh, 2020, 276, as cited in Colella, "Femonationalism and Anti-Gender Backlash," 272.

¹¹² Colella, 272.

¹¹³ Colella, 273–74.

¹¹⁴ Garbagnoli, 2018, as cited in Colella, 275.

¹¹⁵ De Giorgi, Cavalieri, and Feo, "From Opposition Leader to Prime Minister," 116.

Furthermore, the necessary strategic aspect of such positioning towards gender issues are deeply connected to two issues. First, it is the inherent competition between her party and her right-wing competitors (now allies), setting herself apart from the rest in order to stand out. Second, the crisis of the Italian bread-winner model which needs to be adapted to the reality of dual-income households within Italian society¹¹⁶. Overall, FdI and Giorgia Meloni aim to reassert traditional boundaries to avoid the cultural decay or 'contagion' of Italian society by preserving the gender binary as well as an ethno-nationalist idea of racial purity¹¹⁷. This imperative is further strengthened by the importance that is given by Meloni and FdI to the decaying birthrates and the claims that this is a prime indicator for the disadvantaged state of the Italian woman. This feminization of the right is making it more and more appealing, especially for female voters, to espouse such ideas, particularly when it comes to the sense of physical unsafety promoted by Femonationalists ¹¹⁸. Larger coalitions, larger consensus, higher support among groups which have long been thought to be far away from this, this seems to be the wider implication to understanding this phenomenon fully. These possible coalitions spanning from neoliberal center to identitarian right might be possible with a focus on 'gender', particularly through the ideas of Great Replacement theory 119, an emerging force within the political playground. So far, the literature might suggest that these might only be positionings pertaining to the oppositional persona of Giorgia Meloni¹²⁰. Whether issues of gender and its instrumental use appear in the official campaign strategy and/or when inaugurated is the primary component of this research.

¹¹⁶ De Giorgi, Cavalieri, and Feo, 115–16.

¹¹⁷ Colella, "Femonationalism and Anti-Gender Backlash," 276.

¹¹⁸ Elia Arfini, Rossella Ghigi, and Sveva Magaraggia, "Can feminism be right?," 725.

^{119 &}quot;Italian Minister Sparks Outrage by Speaking of 'Ethnic Replacement," *Le Monde.Fr*, April 20, 2023, https://www.lemonde.fr/en/europe/article/2023/04/20/italian-minister-sparks-outrage-by-speaking-of-ethnic-replacement_6023659_143.html; Elia Arfini, Rossella Ghigi, and Sveva Magaraggia, "Can feminism be right?" 120 De Giorgi, Cavalieri, and Feo, "From Opposition Leader to Prime Minister," 116.

Overall, the literature is, in recent years, been growing together with the growing importance of issues such as gender equality, 'gender ideology' and their usage to spread anti-Muslim and anti-migrant sentiments. Although not new phenomena, these have increased in saliency over the last decade, particularly in countries like Italy who now have one of these exponents as its leader. Incredibly insightful literature on the far-right political party scene, the ever-important strategic and ideological reasons behind the increased gendered discourses all over Europe, and the research done on Italian case prove to be extremely helpful for the overall writing of this piece. This research will be studying the gap which exist within this literature which pertains to her time as a campaigner on a clear trajectory towards an electoral victory as well as analyzing the very beginning of a particular era in European politics: Giorgia Meloni's Prime Minister-ship.

Analyzing Discourses of the Far-right

To conclude the section on the state of the literature necessary to complete this research project one cannot omit the body of work pertaining to the analysis of discourse which will be utilized in the later sections. Many scholars contribute to the study of Critical Discourse Studies and, in particular, the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA). Particularly when investigating the far-right, Ruth Wodak's contributions to the field seem particularly apparent ¹²¹. Particularly

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¹²¹ Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer, eds., *Methods of Critical Discourse Studies*, 3rd edition (London; Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE, 2016); Ruth Wodak, *The Politics of Fear: The Shameless Normalization of Far-Right Discourse*, 2nd edition (Los Angeles: SAGE, 2021); Ruth Wodak, *The Discourse of Politics in Action: Politics as Usual* (Basingstoke [England]; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); Ruth Wodak, *Critical Discourse Analysis* (1 Oliver's Yard, 55 City Road, London EC1Y 1SP United Kingdom: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2013), https://doi.org/10.4135/9781446286289; Markus Rheindorf and Ruth Wodak, "Genre-Related Language Change: Discourse- and Corpus-Linguistic Perspectives on Austrian German 1970–2010," *Folia Linguistica* 53, no. 1 (April 26, 2019): 125–67, https://doi.org/10.1515/flin-2019-2006; Ruth Wodak and Markus Rheindorf, *Identity Politics Past and Present: Political Discourses from Post-War Austria to the Covid Crisis* (Exeter, UK: University of Exeter Press, 2022).

when it comes to launching, applying and elaborating the DHA, Wodak and Reisigl contributed to this field (see *The Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA)*¹²²), within a larger publication concerning the different theoretical approaches of Critical Discourse Studies. This chapter provides the necessary theoretical and methodological knowledge to correctly analyze and interpret far-right rhetoric and discursive practices. For the analysis of far-right parties and the empirical research section of this project in particular, Wodak's *The Politics of Fear: The Shameless Normalization of Far-right Discourse*¹²³ proves to be salient. In this work, she points her lens at various examples of far-right discourse and how this has become mainstream in many European countries. Furthermore, this book contains much analysis on these topics which is ever helpful in conceptualizing and executing this research. More specifically, I will benefit greatly from Wodak's contributions to the deconstruction of discursive practices of far-right leaders, examples that are given and lists of useful patterns which can be observed across the political landscape.

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¹²² Wodak and Meyer, Methods of Critical Discourse Studies.

¹²³ Wodak, The Politics of Fear.

Chapter 2: Methodology and Methods

As for the methodological section of this research I have chosen to utilize the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) within the broader field of critical discourse studies. The DHA provides the research with precise methods to deconstruct in detail how right-wing populist politicians utilize language and political communication to their advantage and thereby expand their political base. In particular, the specific focus on "text in context" by applying Wodak's four-level model of contextualization¹²⁴ is of paramount importance when analyzing political texts in detail. This contextualizing process includes 1) the socio-political/historical context of the party/subject at hand, 2) the current literature discussing this/these actor(s), 3) the analysis of the specific text(s), as well as 4) the intertextual and interdiscursive relations which are related to the text(s) at hand and are relevant to analyze specific discursive practices at work¹²⁵. In this specific case, the decoding of gendered discourse and the *femonationalist*¹²⁶ tendencies incorporated in current far-right discourse regarding women and gender¹²⁷. These allow understanding and interpreting how feminist talking points and ideology is being co-opted by political entrepreneurs to spread anti-Islamic/anti-migration attitudes and belief systems across Europe. This literature provides a contextual background and theoretical framework which allows juxtaposing what has been observed in the past with the analysis below. Combined with the Discourse Historical Approach's analysis of argumentation schemes, for example, this allows for deconstructing relevant discursive practices as well as uncovering and deconstructing latent meanings. I will focus on the analysis of topoi, namely "search formulas which tell you how and where to look for arguments" ¹²⁸. Utilizing topoi is useful due to their

¹²⁴ Wodak, 73.

¹²⁵ Wodak, 73.

¹²⁶ Farris, In the Name of Women's Rights.

¹²⁷ Colella, "Femonationalism and Anti-Gender Backlash."

¹²⁸ Keinpointner, 2011, 265, as cited in Wodak, The Politics of Fear, 74.

appeal to past collective experiences as well as narratives which affect the common-sense of the listeners ¹²⁹. These *topoi* may be formal or content-related and encompass knowledge that is accepted or commonly believed by a wide array of people ¹³⁰ (e.g., societies, etc.). Analyzing Giorgia Meloni's argumentation schemes by investigating her usage of *topoi* will allow deconstructing how de- and re-contextualization are utilized in the Femonationalist and farright discursive practices and communicative strategies of her 2022 electoral campaign. Furthermore, Wodak contributes to the different *habitus* which a leader of the far-right can inhabit whether they are in opposition to a government or part of it. This *oppositional habitus* and *governmental habitus* dictate how parties and leaders will react. When in opposition, these parties attempt to advertise themselves, gain political control and change the attitudes and ideas of their listeners to their advantage. On the other hand, when in governmental positions, these parties are more focused on the maintaining and molding of public attitudes ¹³¹.

Regarding electoral speeches, Reisigl gives us a methodology on how to analyze such speeches by focusing also on location, occasion, time, audience, purpose, content, form, genre, etc. On the basis of these criteria, electoral speeches, according to him, are pertaining to the field of action relating to the formation of public attitudes, opinions and will¹³². These speeches have the inherent function of inclusion and exclusion of any "in-" or "out-group" by, on one hand, being "socially integrative by contributing to the formation of transindividual identity and to the formation of group solidarity" and on the other hand "they can fulfill disintegrative and destructive functions by mobilizing addressees to social exclusion and, at worst, to violent attacks against those excluded"¹³³.

¹²⁹ Wodak, 55.

¹³⁰ Wodak, 75.

¹³¹ Wodak, 69.

¹³² Martin Reisigl, "11. Rhetoric of Political Speeches," in *Handbook of Communication in the Public Sphere*, ed. Ruth Wodak and Veronika Koller (Mouton de Gruyter, 2008), 248–51, https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110198980.3.243.

¹³³ Reisigl, 251.

In this case the speeches will be analyzed according to the parameters of inclusion and exclusion which depend on gender and issues of Femonationalism. Both electoral and inaugural speeches present different imperatives and audiences, as well as different methods which orators utilize to convey particular messages ¹³⁴. For example, election speeches attempt to mobilize potential voters or even party supporters to channel a dissent-oriented message towards the current political establishment. These speeches tend to contain explicit emotional tones by attacking different political "enemies" to ultimately gain power at their expense ¹³⁵. Inaugural addresses, on the other hand, address as primary audience the parliament but are nonetheless observed by the extra-parliamentarian public, among which are the people of that country but also foreign countries. This makes it imperative that the neo-elected Prime Minister displays a strong connection to the field of political administration by promoting a vibrant corporate identity of her government ¹³⁶. This distinction between the speeches within their broader genre helps one to understand the general structure and purpose of such speeches, making them easier to analyze on a macro-level.

The 14 electoral speeches between September 1st and September 22nd have been chosen as the main bulk of the research due to the relatively short nature of the campaign towards the end of the summer of 2022. Furthermore, to provide some comparison to her time as Prime Minister, I will analyze her inauguration speech from 25 October 2022 to investigate whether trends from her past, her campaign and her first official appearance point to discursive shifts and changes in positioning on gendered issues.

Her 14 campaign speeches and her inauguration speech are transcribed, analyzed for gender-related *topoi* and discursive practices, and translated in the relevant parts. The parts pertaining to gender and its sub-topics (e.g., family, women, LGBTQ+ issues, children, care,

¹³⁴ Reisigl, 247–53.

¹³⁵ Reisigl, 253.

¹³⁶ Reisigl, 252.

etc.) are carved out of the larger speeches and only these sequences included in the Appendix of this paper. In addition, I decided to outsource the process to an automatic transcription service (app.transcriptor.com). Beyond the occasional correction and revision of the interested parts, this tool has made the research much easier as a whole.

Chapter 3: Analysis

Campaign Speeches

The collection of Giorgia Meloni's September 2022 campaign speeches gives us an opportunity to delve past the theoretical concepts and apply these in the real case of the past general election's communicative style. As mentioned prior, the concept of topos has been incredibly useful in identifying what discursive practices are at play when it comes to Giorgia Meloni. During the research I have encountered a plethora of formal and content-related *topoi* tied to the rhetoric espoused by the orator in question. These *topoi* are (in no particular order): the topos of threat or danger¹³⁷ (the identification of certain threats or dangers which need to be resolved), the topos of finance¹³⁸ (if X costs too much money or is unsustainable, then actions should be taken to reduce that burden), the topos of burden or weighing down¹³⁹ (when a country is perceived to be burdened by an issue it must do away with the issue to diminish those burdens), the topos of cause¹⁴⁰ (if X continues to exist, then X will ruin our country. If there is no X, then our country is saved) as well as the overarching theme of meritocracy (we live in a just world, our enemies cannot guarantee this, therefore they are opposed to us and what we stand for). In this coming section, the reader will be able to see how Giorgia Meloni utilizes gender to touch upon many issues, from neoliberal feminist emancipatory ideas to farright ideas of 'great replacement' and the inherent danger to Western women. Her narrative structure will be laid bare and analyzed using selected sections of her campaign speeches¹⁴¹.

In Giorgia Meloni's speeches, the focus on gender pertains to women's interests such as family, women themselves and equality between genders. She positions herself clearly as a

¹³⁷ Wodak, *The Politics of Fear*, 76.

¹³⁸ Wodak, 76.

¹³⁹ Wodak, 76.

¹⁴⁰ Wodak, 75.

¹⁴¹ See Appendix, Speeches 1-14

defender of women's rights and women's bodies vis-à-vis several threats such as the gender wage gap, dangerous migrants and the "left" (the intended enemy of all Italians, but women more in particular). To start, the basis of the rhetorical scheme is laid out in the first sections of each speech, where Giorgia Meloni tackles the issues of meritocracy and equality. In many of her campaign speeches she makes this point by invoking a strategic use of these issues by painting the "left" as the real enemies of equality.

"The left told us in practice for years that equality was the enemy of merit, no? And that, therefore, merit was to be suppressed because otherwise the people would have been all the same. But that's nonsensical. Equality and merit go together. I have to guarantee everyone the same opportunities, but at the starting position nobody should be discriminated against based on the city they are born in or based on the family they are born into. Everyone on the same starting line. But where you end up? Well, that depends on you." 142

This usage of (neo)liberal ideas of meritocracy are fundamentally used to create a positive self-representation¹⁴³ and paint the "Left" as an entity that has little to do with the working people of Italy. As Arfini et al. mentioned in their research the increasing phenomenon of the intersection between neoliberalism and right-wing politics is played out as she "individualises the risks and inequalities without recognizing the existence of a patriarchal structure" ¹⁴⁴. It is interesting to note that in many speeches she invokes the family as a core element of this discourse ¹⁴⁵, most likely to invoke the "Left" as an enemy of families and as a discriminatory force whilst denying their own prejudice and legitimizing their discourse ¹⁴⁶. In her speeches Giorgia Meloni transitions from her discourse on meritocracy not being tied to the family one is born into, to a discourse of the family as being in trouble and threatened. She posits the family at the center of her political interest and tells us that it is at the core of societal importance by stating that:

¹⁴² See Appendix, Speech 3, Lines 106-111

¹⁴³ Wodak, *The Politics of Fear*, 82.

¹⁴⁴ Elia Arfini, Rossella Ghigi, and Sveva Magaraggia, "Can feminism be right?," 704.

¹⁴⁵ See Appendix, Speech 8, Line 253-255

¹⁴⁶ Wodak, The Politics of Fear, 82.

Look, this is what I'm interested in, helping families. Helping to put back children on this earth is a big topic. The family has become some sort of enemy right? Everything that defines us today is an enemy, but for me it's a friend. I simply consider it the biggest societal suspension system that we have and we have to support it, and it's good to support it. 147

The central and gendered concept of family which is attributable to a feminine sphere of competence is used to introduce the main aspects of how she utilizes gender in her political communication. She invokes the *topos* of danger and threat that during these times of economic and political crisis many families have suffered and that "we have to increase social help because who isn't in the condition to work should not be scared" 149 as well as stating that in the past "the help was not enough" 150 thereby positioning herself as the protector of the family, easing the stress many of these are feeling in this moment and attacking the prior governments/the status-quo to imply a mismanagement of the economic situation of the country. By mixing a narrative of caritas or care with a strong and optimistic solutionoriented approach, this aids overall in her positive self-representation and in the negative representation of whatever enemy she deems is the culprit. Giorgia Meloni utilizes the concept of the family to introduce one of the most salient part of every speech, namely her discussion regarding the state of Italian natality data. Here the role of gender takes up a more pivotal role. Since Italy is facing difficult issues regarding natality and an aging population¹⁵¹, politicians like Giorgia Meloni have been utilizing this to provide the electorate with an existential threat to the Italian way of life, its civilizational contributions and its current culture. Here Giorgia Meloni transitions from framing the issues of the family from a purely economic to a mixed economic and existential node of political focus:

"Also because, ladies and gentlemen, we have a demographic problem, it's about time we realized. 400.000 children were born last year in Italy, this isn't a demographic

¹⁴⁷ See Appendix, Speech 10, Lines 378-382

¹⁴⁸ Wodak, *The Politics of Fear*, 76.

¹⁴⁹ See Appendix, Speech 13, Lines 546-547

¹⁵⁰ See Appendix, Speech 10, Line 545

¹⁵¹ Donà, "The Rise of the Radical Right in Italy," 787.

winter, it's a demographic ice-age. Italy is a country destined to perish and our welfare system will not hold. Because going forward we'll have an aging population, we'll have more and more people to sustain and less and less people to sustain them. It's easy, we could do all the pension reforms that you want, but we will not have money to pay for those, if we don't start making children, if we don't start recovering demographically." 152

Here the *topos* of threat or danger as well as the *topos* of finance are evoked. Firstly, the threat being presented as dooming. Italy's culture as being "destined to perish" is likely to evoke strong emotional responses due to the importance of Italian culture to Italians. In some other speeches she turns to a more personal appeal to the Italian people, to her listeners. She personally doesn't "want this nation to disappear" possibly seeming more personally invested in what is happening. Interestingly, she also mentions that the Italian system of welfare in the country might be financially impossible in the "medium-term" 154 as Italy would not be able to "pay for our pensions because we have a rising age expectancy" 155 as well as the fact that "there will be more and more people to maintain but less and less people who can work to sustain them" 156. These further render the financial aspect of an aging population more salient and could act on the listener as something to take more seriously due to the importance of the national economy. Furthermore, the metaphors used in this segment serve the same purpose, comparing Italy's demographic state to a literal "ice-age" might make the threat seem more real, tangible and vastly more dramatic. The solution to the *topos* of threat and danger comes with the 'simple' task of making more children, as the now-Prime Minister proposed some policy proposals in her campaign to help stem the tide and not let Italy be destined for this fate. Another dimension of this discourse is the ideas tied to 'great replacement', a now mainstream conspiracy among the far-right in the West which sees migration as organized by large

¹⁵² See Appendix, Speech 8, Lines 296-302

¹⁵³ See Appendix, Speech 5, Line 172

¹⁵⁴ See Appendix, Speech 11, Line 450

¹⁵⁵ See Appendix, Speech 11, Lines 450-451

¹⁵⁶ See Appendix, Speech 11, Lines 451-452

concentrations of multinational corporations for the purpose of replacing Western Whites with non-white population from the Global South¹⁵⁷. As Giorgia Meloni says: "I don't think that we can resolve the problem of demographics simply by letting in immigrants. I would like that the children were born from Italians, don't hate me for this, ok?"¹⁵⁸. So far, her discourse on migration is not present but it is clear that migration and the procreation of Italians are linked. In many of these speeches she mentions the detailed plans that her and her party have when it comes to issues regarding promoting natality and increasing the number of Italian babies being born. Among many proposals the most salient ones are collected in this speech segment:

"So, what do we want to do? We want to increase from the beginning by 50% the single check on having a child in this country, because that's the income you need, the one you need to raise your child, that's an income that your child needs because it cannot work, it needs to be maintained and that's why we have to support families. And then the kindergartens open also until the offices are open, because there are people with varying job times. Also parental leave and the contribution to maternity has to be paid by the State." 159

Increasing the single check to having children as well as the policy changes regarding kindergartens are working in tandem with resolving the problem of women in child-bearing age being less attractive from a business perspective. Therefore, there needs to be a two-fold solution to tackling the issue of women's occupation in Italy. First, the State should change things regarding women's employment when it comes to making the hiring of women in "fertile" age more financially beneficial because as she puts it "in a scenario where a man and a woman in child-bearing age [apply for a job], even in the same conditions, the business will always choose the man. Because you are scared that the woman will go into maternity leave [..] you have to pay a lot" 160. This government stimulation and economic attempt to push things

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¹⁵⁷ Anchal Vohra, "Italy Now Has Conspiracy Theory as National Policy," *Foreign Policy* (blog), May 8, 2023, https://foreignpolicy.com/2023/05/08/italy-meloni-great-replacement-conspiracy-theory-immigration/.

¹⁵⁸ See Appendix, Speech 1, Lines 49-50

¹⁵⁹ See Appendix, Speech 12, Lines 502-508

¹⁶⁰ See Appendix, Speech 12, Lines 509-511

towards gender equality coincides with the assessment from De Giorgi et al. in which she also signifies the importance of issues of female labour, their recognition of their rights and the guarantee of their welfare protections within broader narratives of the family in Giorgia Meloni's speeches from the past¹⁶¹. Second, similarly to what has been mentioned by Gabriele Dietze, there is an attempt to change the perception of motherhood by promoting the glory and strength of women having children. New Maternalism coupled with this 'care-racism' follows exclusionary goals as it seeks to outnumber the births of migrants in a certain country by advocating for "the presence and participation of women in the political sphere precisely because of their supposed ability to care. In the context of a national-conservative ideology, such a 'caring' though 'strong' femininity is propagated" 162. It is exactly this re-imagination of the role of mothers which is noticeable in many of these campaign speeches analyzed. For example, in her Speech in Bari she mentioned that:

"We are screwed, children are the most precious thing we have, we have to put young people, families, mothers in the conditions to not think about children as a luxury good. We have to put women in the condition to not have to choose between being mothers or have a job. We have to combat discrimination of women. Dear friends on the left, who have talked of women at conferences, but in the end it is us who has made the difference. Not the quotas but equality, rights, opportunities to measure oneself, kindergardens. Women that possess, and not because of the concessions of a man, like often happens in many places." ¹⁶³

When looking at this section one might be confused to see that this is not a feminist writing this but by adopting second-wave feminist terminology and goals 164 Meloni is able to tap into long-standing issues of women's rights. By invoking this terminology, she clearly posits herself as a defender of women's rights which is often utilized to tell the "Left" that they do not have that role anymore. Beyond an instrumental and politico-strategic usage of this rhetoric of

¹⁶¹ De Giorgi, Cavalieri, and Feo, "From Opposition Leader to Prime Minister," 113.

¹⁶² Dietze, "Why Are Women Attracted to Right-Wing Populism? Sexual Exceptionalism, Emancipation Fatigue, and New Maternalism," 157.

¹⁶³ See Appendix, Speech 10, Lines 386-392

¹⁶⁴ Elia Arfini, Rossella Ghigi, and Sveva Magaraggia, "Can feminism be right?," 715.

positive self-representation and the negative representation of her political enemies, it is clear from her other performances that this quest for equal rights is meant to transition the speaker (herself) to other issues, in this case safety and security. By uniting her prior meritocracy narratives and acting as a defender of the weakest sections of society she states that:

"Safety is not a thing that rich people need. It is not a thing that people that can defend themselves need, not something that people that live in nice neighborhoods need, not something that people who put expensive anti-theft systems in their house need. Safety is a pre-condition of freedom, especially for common people, for the girls that have to be able to cross parks in daylight without having the fear of being raped, for the elderly who have to be able to go collect their pension check without the fear of getting mugged, for the people who live in council homes who shouldn't be scared of leaving the house and it gets stolen from them." 165

In this case, Giorgia Meloni knowingly utilizes the narrative of safety and security to evoke women's bodies, in particular together with an example of rape which is significant. Utilizing this example might be purposefully used to provoke a strong emotional reaction as these acts tend to manifest in many. A *topos* of threat is started, one in which the threat and its possible solution are not yet identified. This is the moment in which, in most speeches, Giorgia Meloni pivots to her discourse on migration. With remarkable consistency she starts this section of her speeches by invoking the images of Ukrainian migrants fleeing the war. She says:

"Let's make an easy example, did you see the images of the ukrainian refugees? Did you see the women and children which flee the war? And don't those images seem different than the ones we have seen of the boats full of men, alone and working-age, coming to our shores these last decades?" ¹⁶⁶

This comparison between White Ukrainian migrants portrayed as only comprised of "women and children" as opposed to the boats which, to this day, keep reaching the shores of the Italian peninsula from Tunisia and Libya¹⁶⁷. The choice for this comparison is two-fold. First, the

¹⁶⁵ See Appendix, Speech 10, Lines 394-401

¹⁶⁶ See Appendix, Speech 7, Lines 239-243

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¹⁶⁷ "Mediterranean: More Arrivals to Italy and More Deaths at Sea as Tunisia Grows Increasingly Dangerous for Migrants, Malta Continues Non-Response Tactics and Facilitation of Returns to Libya | European Council on Refugees and Exiles (ECRE)," accessed June 8, 2023, https://ecre.org/mediterranean-more-arrivals-to-italy-and-more-

comparison between a White population fleeing war is contrasted with non-White populations comprised of mostly young men which, in Giorgia Meloni's past, have been seen as the main threat facing young White Italian women, mainly tied to issues of gender-based violence. It is exactly this narrative which is at the core of Femonationalist discourse. The supposed inability of these migrants to properly integrate, the stereotypes of these as sexually dangerous as well as being part of cultures which are seen as oppressive to women, all contribute to the notion that some migrants are good (white) and some are bad (non-white)¹⁶⁸. A fallacy of difference¹⁶⁹ can also be found in the portraying of Ukrainian vs. non-European migrants, enhancing their difference, making it clear that these are not the same phenomena. Meloni then further sows doubts regarding the nature of these migrants, stressing that refugees and migrants are something completely different and that refugees should be accepted whilst economic migrants should clearly not. It is clearly within the sphere of 'great replacement' that she utilizes the arrival of these people to blame the "left" for the supposed shortcomings of Italy's past failures when it comes to migration policy.

"But now let's explain one thing to these nice people from the left, lets explain to them something that in theory they should be explaining to us if they were actually from the left but now have capitulated in the face of large economic powers and therefore have an identity issue. To you who were told that migrants are needed to do the jobs that Italians don't want to do. The truth is that they do the work in conditions that Italians would never accept. That means that illegal mass migration is first and foremost a tool in the hands of large concentrations of financial power to create a race to the bottom (competition) between workers. To lower the rights of workers. Understood? Dear friends on the left who are for uncontrolled migration which favors large financial speculation owned by George Soros and all your dear friends." 170

Now that Meloni has fully transitioned to the theme of migration, the full scope of her conspiratorial ideas regarding the 'great replacement' of White Italians by migrants lured to

deaths-at-sea-as-tunisia-grows-increasingly-dangerous-for-migrants-malta-continues-non-response-tactics-and-facilitation-of-returns-to-libya/.

¹⁶⁸ Colella, "Femonationalism and Anti-Gender Backlash," 281.

¹⁶⁹ Wodak, *The Politics of Fear*, 77.

¹⁷⁰ See Appendix, Speech 7, Lines 270-277

Italy by the "left". She positions the latter as being in cahoots with popular target of conspiracy theories, namely George Soros, fallaciously targeted for years by the far-right as a strawman symbolizing anti-Semitic ideas of deep-state cabals who control the world's financial system¹⁷¹. Painting her enemies on the left as allied with these forces of "evil" is astute and further cements the fact that the far-right has been consolidating its support with some Italian workers who's anti-establishment and anti-immigrant sentiments¹⁷² are a fertile ground for many of these conspiratorial ideas, like in Meloni's rhetoric. The *topos* of danger which was started some paragraphs ago is completed here, painting the ultimate danger to the interests of workers (and Italians in general) as migration, and in particular non-White "*illegal mass migration*"¹⁷³. The obvious consequence of this *topos* is the stopping of migration of economic migrants altogether. Furthermore, a *topos* of cause can be found as the implications of the migrant "issue" remaining would imply further decline whilst if a solution is found then this decline can be thwarted. In this case Meloni proposes a more international solution, namely a European solution. In Rome, as with many other speeches, she mentions that:

"We will do what every European country does, defending the Italian borders, and our European borders. We will ask Europe for a mission to negotiate with the nations of North Africa, stopping the departures of the boats, opening hotspots in Africa managed by the international community, evaluate in Africa who has the right to be a refugee and divide those equally between the EU27 countries. The others will have to be sent back, because if you want to come to Italy the first rule is that you come in by following the rules." 174

This, more moderate, and seemingly rational solution to these problems still do not mean that migration will continue to come to Italy as she clearly states that she intends to "send back the

¹⁷¹ "Why Is Billionaire George Soros a Bogeyman for the Hard Right?," *BBC News*, September 6, 2019, sec. Stories, https://www.bbc.com/news/stories-49584157.

¹⁷² Take Sipma, Marcel Lubbers, and Niels Spierings, "Working Class Economic Insecurity and Voting for Radical Right and Radical Left Parties," *Social Science Research* 109 (January 1, 2023): 1, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2022.102778.

¹⁷³ See Appendix, Speech 2, Line 103

¹⁷⁴ See Appendix, Speech 14, Lines 607-612

rest***175 based on criteria which she does not specify. This clear line starting from Giorgia Meloni's appeals to meritocracy and a (neo)liberal idea regarding the importance of work lead into discursive uses of gender to introduce and render more salient issues pertaining to security and migration, with gender always acting as the connector between larger themes in her campaign speeches. As we have seen, Meloni is an able orator, capable of attacking her political opponents whilst, at the same time, heralding herself as a leader who could solve the deep and serious issues that are plaguing Italy and Italians. The purpose and effect of these speeches clearly coincides with what Reisigl mentioned in the prior section of this paper. The attacking of her political enemies being at the forefront of her efforts during this campaign, with extremely emotional and strong language targeted at the uniform bloc of her "Leftist" enemies. Now we will see how different Meloni's Presidential inauguration speech changed things relating to the overall themes of this research.

Inauguration Speech

The inauguration speech on October 25 2022, a month after the general election, contains fewer and more isolated examples of the usage of gender specifically. Nevertheless, what remains is the deep focus of Meloni on the economic state of the Italian family vis-à-vis the economic crisis brought about by the Russian invasion of Ukraine and the subsequent issues which the family is subjected to. She starts by stating that:

"The war made the situation worse regarding the price of energy and fuels. Unsustainable costs for many businesses which will be forced to let go of its workers, and for milions of families that today are not able to cope with the increase in bill prices. But the ones who believe that Ukraine's freedom with our tranquillity are very wrong. Falling for Putin's blackmail on energy will not solve the issue, it would make it worse by opening a road for more blackmail, with future rises in price of energy being even bigger than the ones we have been seeing." 176

¹⁷⁵ See Appendix, Speech 9, Lines 370-371

¹⁷⁶ See Appendix, Speech 15, Lines 593-599

By stating this, Meloni is constructing a rhetorical space in which the image of the Italian family seems to be in deep trouble, necessitating larger ideas and policies to combat these issues. The instrumentalization of the family as seemingly affected larger socio-cultural dynamics is utilized by Meloni as a way to sound more moderate and concerned for common people. Particularly to ease the worry of many European leaders which might have an issue with her right-wing tendencies this could play well as it is not explicitly far-right in stance. This is crucial as prior to her election many leaders had been worried due to Meloni's unclear stance on the conflict and her allies' clear pro-Russian tendencies¹⁷⁷, this speech would have probably been seen as an ultimate confirmation of what her government's stance would look like. After enumerating more economic issues regarding the family she transitions to the most significant gender-related section of this speech, namely the section pertaining to the importance of the family as a core nucleus of Italian society. She states that:

"It is the family, the core part of our society, in the crib of affection and the place where our identity is shaped. We want to support her and protect her. With this comes the management of low birth-rates which, in 2021 reached the lowest since Italian unification. To leave this demographic ice-age and turn to the future we need an imposing plan, economic but also cultural, to rediscover the beauty of parenthood and putting the family back into the center of society. It is, therefore, our assignment, taken during the campaign, that of increasing the universal single check and on helping young couples get a mortgage for their first house, to work progressively towards an introduction of a family quotient. And since the family projects go hand in hand with jobs, we want to incentivize, in any way, female occupation, rewarding businesses that adopt politics that give efficient solutions to improve the work-life" balance and helping the Comuni to guarantee free kindergarden spots open until the closing time of businesses and offices". ¹⁷⁸

In this paragraph she describes everything regarding the family positively and with language, which is soft, touches the listener and describes the family as an integral part of everyone's lives. The transition into the crisis is not as harsh as during the campaign but yet the issues

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¹⁷⁷ Angela Giuffrida, "Cracks Show over Russia as Italy's Far-Right Alliance Heads for Election Win," *The Guardian*, September 9, 2022, sec. World news, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/sep/09/cracks-show-in-meloni-salvini-alliance-over-russia-sanctions-italy.

¹⁷⁸ See Appendix, Speech 15, Lines 611-622

behind Italy's dwindling demographic prospects are omnipresent and extremely important for Giorgia Meloni. The metaphor of the demographic ice-age carries perfectly from the prior section to this one, two completely different situations and types of speeches. Noticeably, suffering from this amelioration of tone from the campaign to the inauguration, migration noticeably was limited to language limiting the topic to safety and legality. She mentions that Italy should act to enforce its laws on migration as the prior years were riddled with "incompetency in finding correct solutions to these migratory crises" The findings in this section prove that a trepidation of the attacks on her enemies comply with a general change towards looking at the future, with fewer negative themes being discussed. This, in tandem with the watchful eye of European leaders and people could have swayed her to adopt a more conciliatory and statesman-like approach.

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¹⁷⁹ See Appendix, Speech 15, Lines 635-636

Discussion & Conclusion

This research has attempted to decipher the recent Femonationalist trends embodied by Giorgia Meloni and her party during the 2022 general election campaign, how these might or might not have changed with her transition into government, what these might mean for the state of European politics today as well as a deeper understanding of the implications of an increasing saliency of gender in political life. Throughout this research I have observed the importance that gender has in current political far-right movements, and its ever-increasing discursive and rhetoric potential to expand current defined political coalitions to fundamentally benefit ideologies based on exclusion in particular of non-white, non-European, non-Christian "others". In this section of the paper, I will attempt to gather all of the findings and frameworks in order to provide answers to the main research question and the three sub-questions contained within it. These are: 1) How are Giorgia Meloni's speeches preceding the 2022 Italian general election conveying her femonationalist and gendered politics? 1.1) How does she present herself and the others/the opponents? 1.2) How and in what ways has Giorgia Meloni's communicative style changed since the fall of the Draghi Government? 1.3) How has governing impacted Giorgia Meloni's communicative style?

First, Giorgia Meloni's Femonationalism conforms to Farris' definition of the phenomenon if one looks at the effects of her discursive practices as a whole in the selected speeches. When one looks at the structure exemplified in Chapter 3 to observe how she utilizes gender to create a dichotomy between the white/Italian "us" and the non-white/non-European/migrant "them". Giorgia Meloni's utilization of feminist terminology and her outspoken support for gender equality in the workplace and in society in general is evidently a strategy to position herself as a guarantor of women's rights and best interests, useful for demonstrating overlapping values and political priorities to many parties on the political

spectrum. To support all this this, she attempts to paint a picture of meritocracy and equality which have been, in her eyes, been deteriorating in recent years due to the governmental influence of the Italian left (mainly the Democratic Party). Out of this discourse on meritocracy, Meloni often ties in the idea of family stating that every family ought to have the same opportunities due to the harsh economic state of the quintessential Italian family in these trying times. She uses family to pivot and shift towards her more concrete grievances with the current state of politics. Her and her party's support for the traditional family is clear from her past years of political activity 180, therefore painting herself as the metaphorical protector of the family ultimately implies a defence of the traditional/Italian/white family. Through mostly topoi of threat, Meloni constructs a scenario in which this traditional family is threatened by the extremely low natality numbers that Italy has seen in the last years. This, in her eyes, is incompatible in the medium-term with the Italian welfare system and in the long-term with the entire pension system. As these are topics that strike at the heart of many Italians' worries this proves to be effective in stoking fears of a danger and threat looming over the peninsula. Meloni then uses these issues to proceed to the supposed wrong solution, the one that her political enemies have attempted to construct in the last decades. The conspiracy that she utilizes to connect the family with migratory phenomena is 'great replacement'. She utilizes this to paint the "Left" as having been coopted by a large cabal of large economic and financial conglomerates which want to substitute white Europeans with non-white migrants in order to sabotage workers' rights, the cultures of various countries (in this case Italy) and undermine previously achieved economic development of small-medium businesses and families. She openly states that her wish is for Italian families to have more babies in order to counter the vanishing of Italian culture and civilization, thereby attempting to reinforce traditional forms of motherhood, where the number of children returns to the fore. These attempts, whilst

¹⁸⁰ De Giorgi, Cavalieri, and Feo, "From Opposition Leader to Prime Minister," 115.

advocating for equal rights in the working sphere seem to suggest some degree of a *calculated ambivalence* in order to catch voters either supportive of more feminist ideals and/or more traditional women, tired of emancipation and in need of economic support. After this, migration is now fully the center of the conversation. She mentions the difference between Ukrainian refugees (white/European) importantly mentioning that these are mostly women and children (something to protect), and migrants reaching Italy by boat from Tunisia and Libya (non-white/non-European) which are importantly described as only single young working-age men (something to protect Italy from). All throughout, themes of safety are placed between issues of gender and migration, as the risk of possible raping of Italian girls is seemingly made worse through migration further underlining the non-Western men's sexual dangers to something that has a lot of value in the eyes of Giorgia Meloni. Albeit not extremely straight-forward one should be able to see the attempts to utilize gender as a glue, attach to it dangers and threats to the presupposed gender rights that Western women have fought so hardly for, in order to paint a picture which causes the exclusion of migrants, and in particular non-white, non-Christian migrants, mostly coming from sub-Saharan Africa and the Middle East.

Second, Giorgia Meloni after making all of these things clear always finds a way to blame her opponents. She intelligently utilizes every opportunity to criticize the "Left" starting from the aforementioned concept of meritocracy. She utilizes this to paint her opponents as a corrupt conglomerate, only interested in altering the hard-working nature of the Italian people and spreading lies about their true aspirations. The attacks become larger when issues of family come up, as Meloni fundamentally posits the "left" as an enemy of the traditional family and of women's and workers' rights by tying in the conspiracy relating to 'great replacement'. This has the strategic outcome that the "left" seems to be lost, without an identity, corrupt, betraying the country and in the hands of their historical enemies, namely large concentrations of capital. Using a leftist lingo against them is extremely interesting, particularly when in some speeches

she mentions conversing with leftists: "I met a lot of left-wing people who told me that they have an identity crisis because I voted left all my life and now, I vote Fratelli d'Italia. I always say that they don't have an identity crisis, it's the left who doesn't say anything to you anymore"¹⁸¹. Fundamentally, at every turn Giorgia Meloni paints herself as the protector of Italian values, civilization, the traditional family, whilst painting her opponents as exactly the opposite. This seems to be typical and effective for a far-right populist party such as Giorgia Meloni's. It has obviously been effective in swaying many voters towards her side, tired of the politics of the last decades.

Third, since the fall of the Draghi government her campaign has been interesting to analyze. This campaign one can notice clear moderation when it comes to, for example, LGBTQ+ rights and 'gender ideology' last discourses which are completely absent in every single speech that she gives during her month-long campaign. This seemed very unusual to me at first, yet it seemed clear that Giorgia Meloni had to adopt a slight shift in priorities. As gender rights pertaining to LGBTQ+ individuals have been closely under the watch of European Union institutions, particularly in Poland and other countries last, this has probably been a calculated omission. The trajectory of Giorgia Meloni's campaign was always to be directed towards a Premiership, and therefore a *calculated ambivalence* between attracting the more radical supporters as well as voters that were scared of the party's past was imperative. Furthermore, when one extends that and includes Europe, it is clear that Meloni felt the need to focus on more specific issues about Italian politics and women's rights/interests. This might have also

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¹⁸¹ See Appendix, Speech 11, Lines 491-493

¹⁸² Elia Arfini, Rossella Ghigi, and Sveva Magaraggia, "Can feminism be right?," 112–13.

¹⁸³ "Poland Breaches EU Obligations Over LGBT, Women's Rights," *Human Rights Watch* (blog), February 24, 2021, https://www.hrw.org/news/2021/02/24/poland-breaches-eu-obligations-over-lgbt-womens-rights.

been influenced by the fact that Italy is in need of the Next Generation EU funds¹⁸⁴, therefore keeping a good and cooperative relationship with other European countries and the Union is of paramount political importance for Giorgia Meloni and the legitimacy of her government. Overall, the post-Draghi period was a period of refinement, of a switch from being a tiny insignificant opposition party to one of government. This can be seen as her speeches seem to demonstrate a sarcastic and almost fun undertone when discussing political enemies, seriousness when discussing pressing matters and the rhetorical skills to render Meloni one Prime Minister to watch in the future.

Last, Giorgia Meloni's inaugural speech contributed to the overall process of transformation of Meloni and her party, from small to now the biggest. It is clear that, in front of parliament, her rhetoric would shift to a more presidential one. Focusing a lot more on the positives of her coming government, yet also emphasizing some of the issues touched upon in her campaign. These are pertaining to the issues that the Italian demographics are having as well as the poor economic state of the Italian family due to Putin's invasion of Ukraine. Interestingly, this is the speech that hypothetically every European leader might tune into (unlike the campaign speeches). Therefore, I believe that dropping conspiracies, moderating her language regarding migration, maintaining the omission of the dangers of LGBTQ+ individuals and 'gender ideology' supporters were all key to ensuring the tentative support of many across the political spectrum, both in Italy and outside of it. Meloni also completely drops the sarcastic and almost comical tones which she utilized in her campaign, opting instead for a more serious and concerned tone. This is not surprising in the slightest.

Overall, this research could have been far more extensive, looking at more speeches, comparing directly speeches from her past campaigns and of her current outings as Prime

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¹⁸⁴ "Meloni's Main Problem with the EU Is Spending Its Cash," *POLITICO* (blog), May 2, 2023, https://www.politico.eu/article/melonis-main-problem-with-the-eu-is-spending-its-cash/.

Minister. Due to the limited scope of this research project this was all that felt doable within the space that was available. This does not make it perfect by any means, yet it was an attempt at observing something that has been noted by others in a more current and data-based way. I sincerely hope that this contribution is appreciated especially since most of the literature on this specific topic is not based on research consisting of textual analysis and detailed attention to discursive practices. That, I would say, is the biggest contribution to the field of the research on Femonationalism.

To conclude, this research has been exploring the gap that exists between the theory describing the rise of Femonationalist trends across far-right parties in Europe and up-to date research backed by data on the matter. Thanks to Critical Discourse Analysis, I was able to observe and decipher many of the communicative strategies that appear in the literature, but on an up-to-date case example, the one of Giorgia Meloni. Gender is not the main topic she discusses in every speech, yet – as Daria Colella concludes – it has proven to be a sort of "glue stick" with which she has attempted to fuse together political projects that seem to be at odds with values of equality on which she has campaigned on 185. This symbolic glue is being utilized to carefully expand the political coalitions in Italy¹⁸⁶, slowly but surely coopting the neoliberal center and positioning it against the danger to equality and female emancipation, namely the non-white, non-Western migrant. This feminization of the right is going to be instrumental in the expansion of these stereotypically male parties into the more mainstream sphere of the female world, increasing their female voter base 187 and capitalize on the sense of sexual superiority felt towards the Western world and the images of gender backwardness outside of it. Understanding how to decouple ideas of exclusion from ideas of emancipation and fully understanding how to resolve gender inequalities will have to go hand in hand, both in Italy

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¹⁸⁵ Colella, "Femonationalism and Anti-Gender Backlash," 284.

¹⁸⁶ Colella, 272.

¹⁸⁷ Elia Arfini, Rossella Ghigi, and Sveva Magaraggia, "Can feminism be right?," 715.

but also in the entirety of Europe. We are starting to see new strategies utilized by parties of this nature and the road to democratic backsliding is almost palpable. Consider it a gentle warning.

Appendix

1. Speech 01.09.2022 - Perugia

Lo dico perché io lo sto proponendo al governo e alle altre forze politiche, anche se siamo in campagna elettorale. Qui ci sono delle bollette. Che non sono sostenibili. Non sono sostenibili per molte famiglie, non sono sostenibili per moltissime imprese che rischiano di chiudere e non penso che ci possiamo permettere di far chiudere altre imprese.

- 1 I'm saying this because i'm proposing this to the government and the other political forces,
- 2 although we are in a political campaign. Here we have bills that are not sustainable. They
- 3 arent sustainable for many families, they aren't sustainable for many of the businesses that
- 4 are at risk of closing and I don't thing that we can allow ourselves to let these businesses
- 5 close.

Il fondamento della scuola pubblica, cioè tutti hanno le stesse possibilità di studiare, indipendentemente dalla famiglia dalla quale provengono, viene meno. Perché ci sarà per forza un ragazzo che ha migliori condizioni per studiare e uno che ne ha che ne ha minori.

- 6 The foundation of the public school system is that everyone has the same opportunity to
- 7 study, independently of the family from which they come from. Because there will, for sure,
- 8 be one youngster that has better conditions to study than one that does not.

Questa è una città. Che soffre particolarmente. La denatalità no, il tema della denatalità? Lo scorso anno in Italia sono nati 400.000 bambini. Non è l'inverno demografico, è una glaciazione. Cioè questa nazione è destinata a scomparire, chiaro? E non solo. Il tema è che io so che amo questa mia nazione e la civiltà che si porta dietro, non vorrei vederla scomparire, ma è anche economico. Perché più la società invecchia e più il sistema di welfare non regge. Se noi andiamo avanti così, noi avremo sempre più persone anziane da mantenere e sempre meno persone che lavorano per mantenerle.

Certo, oggi fare i figli è un lusso. È un lusso per tantissime coppie, per tantissime donne che devono scegliere ancora tra mettere al mondo un bambino e poter avere un posto di lavoro, ma anche questo si può combattere con una tassazione dedicata, con incentivi a chi assume le neo mamme e le donne con strumenti come gli asili nido aperti fino all'orario di chiusura di negozi aperti il sabato aperti l'estate a rotazione che ti consentano di organizzarti con strumenti che incentivino gli imprenditori ad assumere donne in età fertile invece di discriminarli.

- 9 This is a city that suffers in particular with negative birthrates. The subject of low birthrates
- 10 no? In Italy last year 400.000 children were born. It's not a demographic winter, it's a
- 11 demographic ice-age. Basically this country is set to disappear, is that clear? And not only
- 12 that. The thing is that I love my nation and the civilization that it is carrying with it, I
- 13 wouldn't want to see it disappear, but the reason is also economic.
- 14 Of course, today making children is a luxury. It's a luxury for many couples, for many women
- 15 that need to choose between bringing a child to this world or having a job. But this can also
- be tackled with a special tax, with incentives for the hiring of new moms and other women,
- 17 with institutions such as kindergartens which are open until the closing time of the shops on
- saturday and in summer (on rotation) to fully allow you to organize yourself. These all

- 19 incentivize businessmen to hire women in childbearing age instead of discriminating against
- 20 *them.*

Io non penso che si risolva il problema della demografia semplicemente facendo arrivare gli immigrati. Vorrei che i figli facessero gli italiani, non non mi odiate per questo, OK? Vorrei che gli italiani potessero tornare a vivere la libertà di mettere al mondo dei bambini. L'immigrazione, la sicurezza. Ora anche qui e vado verso la conclusione, immigrazione. Qui io ovviamente a Meloni e razzista, vergognati. A me fanno tanto ridere. Tentiamo di spiegare anche il punto di vista sull'immigrazione. Vi hanno raccontato un sacco di baggianate.

- 21 I don't think that we can resolve the problem of demographics simply by letting in
- immigrants. I would like that the children were born from Italians, don't hate me for this, ok?
- 23 I would like Italians to go back to living freely and to give birth to children.
- 24 Migration, safety. Now here I will get to a conclusion on migration. "Here I am, Meloni,
- obviously racist, shame on you". They make me laugh a lot. Let's try to clear things up on the
- 26 issue of immigration. They told you a lot of lies.

Perché in questi anni loro hanno sovrapposto il tema dei profughi con il tema dell'immigrazione, ma sono due cose completamente diverse, sono governati da norme completamente diverse.

- 27 Because in these years they have tried to overlap the problems of asylum seekers with the
- 28 issue of migration, but these are two completely different things, they are governed by
- 29 completely different norms.

Avete visto le immagini dei profughi ucraini? Donne e bambini che scappano dalla guerra. Le immagini dei profughi ucraini non vi sembrano un po distoniche rispetto alle immagini dei barconi pieni di uomini in età da lavoro che noi abbiamo visto arrivare in questi anni? Perché io è qualche anno che tento di spiegare che mediamente quando la gente scappa da una guerra è più facile che vedi arrivare donne e bambini, perché gli uomini stanno a combattere, mentre se ti arrivano sono uomini. Forse non stanno scappando dalla guerra, a meno che non abbiano lasciato donne e bambini a combattere, cosa che escludo.

- 30 Did you see the images of the ukrainian migrants? Women and children who flee the war.
- 31 Don't these images of these ukrainian migrants not seem different from the images of the
- 32 boats full of men in working age that we have seen arriving here in the last few years?
- 33 Because I have been trying to explain this fact for years, normally when people escape from
- war it is easier to see women and children arrive, because the men stay and fight. If you are
- 35 receiving only men, then maybe these are not fleeing war, unless they left the women and
- 36 *children to fight, something that I exclude.*

Dopodiché ti dicono, Eh, ma la solidarietà e la solidarietà però non c'entra niente. Secondo perché a voi hanno detto che gli immigrati servivano perché fanno lavori che gli italiani non vogliono fare? Ma la verità è che gli immigrati li fanno a condizioni che gli italiani non sono disposti ad accettare e quindi la tua cara immigrazione illegale di massa è uno strumento nelle mani delle grandi concentrazioni economiche per rivedere al ribasso i diritti dei lavoratori e il vantaggio della speculazione. Serve alla speculazione. Interrogatevi su perché la speculazione internazionale, la grande speculazione finanziaria, finanzi spesso le organizzazioni non governative, non è filantropia e immettere centinaia di migliaia di disperati nel sistema per creare competizione al ribasso come la vedo io la vedo che se fai entrare qualcuno qui non lo

tieni. All'angolo, a spacciare la droga se fai entrare qualcuno qui le donne non le lasci a prostituirsi, come sono costrette a fare. Perché li avete fatti arrivare qui? Spesso portate le donne con i riti voodoo che gli faceva la mafia nigeriana e poi li avete abbandonati. Invece secondo me, quando qualcuno lo fa entrare, gli devi dare una vita dignitosa. Da italiano, da cittadino chiaro. Però per farlo devi governare i flussi, devi governare i flussi sennò la situazione ti scappa di mano e accade quello che abbiamo visto accadere, che loro non vedono. Però nelle periferie delle grandi città metropolitane, che dove hanno stipato tutti questi problemi li vedono e creano problemi di sicurezza. Perché si ci sono anche problemi di sicurezza, poi a loro non glielo puoi dire, perché ovviamente loro sono solidali con le violenze nei confronti delle donne. Anche qui la sicurezza. Serve più deboli. La sicurezza serve alle ragazze che devono poter camminare il pomeriggio in un parco senza avere paura di incappare in qualcuno di sbagliato. Ai bambini che devono poter giocare, agli anziani che non devono essere scippati, è una condizione che se ne va più deboli e io voglio costruire una nazione nella quale le persone possano essere sicure difese.

After that they tell you: "Yeah, but solidarity" although solidarity doesn't have anything to do with this. Why do you think that they told you that migrants are needed because they do the jobs that Italians won't do? Because the truth is that immigrants do these jobs at conditions which Italians would never accept and therefore your dear illegal mass immigration if just a tool in the hands of large concentrations of money to lower the wages and rights of the workers in favour of market speculation. But think it through, ask yourself why these international speculation institutions fund NGOs. It is not philanthropy, it is adding hundreds of thousands of desperate people into the system to create competition to push wages down.

How i see it, if you let someone come in, you don't put that person on the street corner to sell drugs, if you let someone in you don't let the women sell their bodies (prostitution) how they are often forced to do. Because you made them arrive here, women brought here with Voodoo rituals done by the Nigerian mafia and then you abandoned them. Instead, in my opinion if you let someone in you give them a dignified life, an Italian life, the life of a citizen. But nevertheless you have to govern these streams of people, otherwise the situation gets out of hand and the things that are happening right now happen. But in the periphery of many metropolitan cities people see these issues and they create problems of safety. Because if there are issues of safety you cannot tell them (the left), because obviously they sympathize with the violence on women. Also here, safety helps the weakest. Safety is needed by girls who have to be able to walk in the afternoon in a park without the fear of meeting the wrong person. Safety is needed by the kids who need to be able to play, the pensioners that shouldn't

Perché in uno Stato normale lo Stato che ti difende e non ti chiede di farlo da solo e questo si deve fare anche potenziando e aiutando le forze dell'ordine, che ringraziamo per il lavoro che fanno in condizioni di estrema difficoltà.

Because in a normal country, the State defends you and nobody should ever ask explicitly for it. And this needs to be done by making police more powerful and helping them. We thank them for doing their job with these extreme difficulties.

be mugged. I want to build a nation in which people feel safe and secure.

Siamo pronti a tutelare i risparmi degli italiani, a difendere le famiglie e il ceto medio, a combattere la povertà. Siamo pronti ad aiutare chi vuole lavorare, pronti a rendere sicure le nostre città, a garantire uno Stato giusto con chi è onesto e fermo, con chi non lo è. Siamo

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pronti a tutelare i risparmi degli italiani, a difendere le famiglie e il ceto medio, a combattere la povertà. Siamo pronti a far rispettare l'Italia all'estero come merita. E voi siete pronti?

We are ready to safeguard the savings of Italians, defend the families and the middle-class

and fight against poverty. We are ready to help whoever wants to work, the ones ready to

64 make our streets safe, to guarantee a just State with whomever is honest and whoever isn't.

We are ready to safeguard the savings of Italians, defend the families and the middle-class

and fight against poverty. We are ready for Italy to be respected abroad as it should be. And

you? Are you ready?

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2. Speech 02.09.2022 - Cagliari

Le immagini dei profughi ucraini vi raccontano di prevalentemente donne e bambini che scappano dalla guerra. Non mi sembrano un margine un po diverse da quelle dei barconi pieni di uomini in età da lavoro che sono arrivati da noi in questi anni, perché io ho tentato di spiegare per qualche anno, guardate che è difficile che queste persone siano scappando da una guerra, mediamente quando c'è la guerra gli uomini combattono e scappano. Le donne e i bambini o hanno lasciato le donne, i bambini a combattere sono scappati loro escludo. Ma loro? Mescolavano le due cose volutamente adesso vi dico perché? Perché è il risultato. ad Assisi chiacchiera, è il risultato, adesso è che noi rischiamo di non poter dare adeguata protezione a chi effettivamente sta scappando dalla guerra, perché abbiamo dato priorità a gente che dalla guerra non scappava. Sapete perché serve l'immigrazione illegale di massa? Ve lo siete chiesto perché serve a voi, dicono gli immigrati servono perché fanno lavori che gli italiani non vogliono fare. È falso. E vero che li fanno a condizioni che gli italiani non sono disposti ad accettare. Quindi, cari amici rivoluzionari, questa immigrazione illegale di massa è uno strumento nelle mani dei grandi poteri forti e delle grandi concentrazioni economiche. Per rivedere al ribasso. Dritti dai lavoratori, ma non eravate di sinistra? Ma la sinistra non era mica dei lavoratori. Pure su questo vi siete persi. Credete proprio più niente? Perché quello è il tema. Il tema è ovviamente che più tu crei competizione al ribasso.

The images of the ukrainian migrants mostly tells you that mainly women and children flee the war. Don't these seem like different images than the ones of the boats filled with workingage men that have arrived on our shores in these last years? Because I tried to explain for years "look it is hard that all of these people are fleeing a war". Normally when there is a war do the men fight or flee? I exclude the possibility that the men left their countries and left the women and children to fight. Now the risk is that we cannot give adequate help to the people fleeing war because they told us that the people that didn't flee a war needed to be prioritized. And you all know why we need mass illegal migration? They told you that they are needed because they do the jobs that Italians won't do. That is false! The truth is that they do the jobs in conditions that Italians would not accept. That is why, my dear revolutionary friends, this mass illegal immigration is a tool in the hands of powerful forces and of large concentrations of capital/money to suppress wages and workers' rights. Weren't you all leftists? Because fundamentally the left was for the workers, even this you guys lost. Do you even believe in anything anymore? Because that's the important thing.

Io penso che se tu fai entrare qualcuno in Italia, lo devi fare entrare con la garanzia che gli darai una vita dignitosa, perché è un'altra cosa che non ho capito, ragazzi. E se sia solidarietà a far entrare questa gente in Italia e poi tenerla? Gli angoli delle nostre strade a spacciare

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droga. O le donne a prostituirsi mentre le cooperative si arricchiscono certo. Eh beh ragazzi. La solidarietà però mi consentirete è proprio un'altra cosa. Decreti flussi nelle nazioni servono, io posso far entrare tot persone quest'anno perché sono le persone che posso ricomprendere alle quali possono garantire che faranno una vita come tutti gli altri cittadini italiani, proprio perché non li consideriamo diversi. Non li consideriamo inferiori. Li consideriamo persone che devono avere una vita dignitosa come tutte le altre, questi siamo noi. Quello che fa la sinistra l'abbiamo visto in questi anni, si sono occupati di. Così di utilizzare questo tema anche lì, per ragioni ideologici o ideologiche, perché loro fanno sempre così, non si può mai parlare seriamente con loro.

82 I think that if you let someone into Italy, you have to do it by giving the guarantee that you

83 will give them a dignified life, because there is something else that I did not get you guys. Is it

84 solidarity to let them come and keep them here on the corners of our streets selling drugs? Or

85 their women being forced to become prostitutes while the cooperatives enrich themselves?

86 *Solidarity is something completely different.*

87 Migration regularization is needed, I can make a certain amount of people come in because

these are the people to which I can guarantee that they will live a life of other Italian citizens,

89 exactly because we don't want to consider them as different. We don't consider them inferior.

We consider them people that need to have a dignified life like everybody else, this is who we

are. What the left has done we have seen in the last years, they have tried using this topic for

92 ideological reasons, you can never talk seriously about this with them.

Devo potermi fidare delle istituzioni, come mi fido dei miei genitori, no di mia madre, di mio padre che anche quando fanno cose che io preferirei non facessero. Beh, so che lo fanno per il mio bene. So che lo fanno per amore. Questo è il tema, l'amore è quello che può cambiare le sorti di questa nazione, l'amore che ci Lega la consapevolezza di quello che siamo, del ruolo che abbiamo nel mondo, della nostra forza, della nostra, di come veniamo percepiti.

93 *I need to be able to trust institutions how I trust my parents. They do it for my wellbeing.*

They do it for love. This is the main thing, love is what can change the fate of this country, the

95 love that ties us together and gives us certainty in what we are, our role in the world, our

96 power and how we are perceived.

Ovviamente le famiglie, la centralità della famiglia, nucleo fondante fondamentale della nostra civiltà, la natalità. Noi non facciamo più figli. E non è solo un problema di continuità, questa è un'azione destinata a scomparire. È anche un problema economico, perché più invecchia la popolazione è più tu avrai persone da mantenere, ma non persone che lavorano per mantenerle. Non reggerà il sistema del welfare, puoi fare tutte le riforme delle pensioni che vuoi, bisogna tornare a mettere al mondo dei figli e si può fare anche questo con un po di buon senso, un po di intelligenza, un po di risorse messe bene, un po di strumenti per le donne, per consentire loro di lavorare e di non dover scegliere per forza. Tra essere madre, avere un posto di lavoro, i congedi, gli asili si possono fare tante cose.

Obviously the families, the centrality of the family as a fundamental part of our society. Low

98 birth rates. We aren't making any more children. It is not only a problem of the continuity of

99 this country, but we will disappear completely. It is also an economic problem because the

more the population ages, the more people you need to sustain but less people to sustain

101 them. The welfare system won't hold. You can do all the pension reforms you want but

fundamentally we have to give birth to children again and we can do this with some common-

sense, some intelligence and some well-placed resources. Some tools for women to allow

them to work and not choose between being a mother and having a job. Maternity leave, kindergartens, we can do a lot of things.

3. Speech 07.09.2022 - L'Aquila

La sinistra ci ha detto in pratica per anni che l'uguaglianza era nemica del merito, no, e che quindi il merito andava soffocato perché altrimenti le persone non sarebbero state tutte uguali. Ma è una stupidaggine. Uguaglianza e merito camminano insieme. Io devo garantire a tutti le stesse opportunità, ma nel punto di partenza nessuno deve essere discriminato per la città nella quale nasce, per la famiglia nella quale nasce, per la persona che è per niente. Tutti sulla stessa linea di partenza, però poi dove arrivi? Beh, quello dipende da te.

The left told us in practice for years that equality was the enemy of merit, no? And that, therefore, merit was to be suppressed because otherwise the people would have been all the same. But that's nonsensical. Equality and merit go together. I have to guarantee everyone the same opportunities, but at the starting position nobody should be discriminated against based on the city they are born in or based on the family they are born into. Everyone on the same starting line. But where you end up? Well, that depends on you.

Era una cosa molto semplice quella che stavo dicendo che bisogna cambiare. Il paradigma del rapporto tra Stato e cittadino. Perché noi usciamo da anni in cui i cittadini sono stati considerati dei sudditi. In cui lo Stato impone, decide, pretende di sostituirsi a tutte le tue libertà e tu? Muto. Invece Io credo che lo Stato debba essere un alleato dei cittadini, alleato delle famiglie, alleato delle imprese.

- 112 The paradigm of the relationship between State and citizen. Because the last few years have
- demonstrated that the citizens are considered subjects to the State. Where it imposes, decides,
- and pretends to substitute itself with all your freedoms. And you? You must be silent. Instead,
- 115 I believe that the State should be allied with its citizens, allied with the families and allied
- 116 with businesses.

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Allora si possono fare un sacco di cose sensate in questo in 1000 altri ambiti si può sostenere la famiglia e chi mette al mondo dei figli che oggi è un problema economico. Guardate. Noi nell'ultimo anno in Italia sono nati 400.000 bambini, non è un inverno demografico, è una glaciazione chiaro. Andando avanti così, non solo l'Italia e tutta l'Europa finirà per estinguersi, ma nell'immediato, nel breve termine a noi non tiene il sistema di welfare. Ma se tu hai sempre più persone da mantenere perché la società continua e sempre meno persone che lavorano per mantenerle, tu le pensioni tra un po le devi abolire. È chiaro, perché non hai i soldi per pagarle, salvo che tu torni a costruire attenzione sulla famiglia, salvo che i figli non siano più considerati un bene di lusso, salvo che le donne non debbano scegliere tra mettere al mondo un bambino e poter avere un posto di lavoro, salvo che ci siano gli asili nido. Avere qualcuno che si prende cura di questi bambini quando le mamme devono lavorare, salvo che spendi un po di soldi in cose intelligenti e la gente torna a fare dei figli che poi cresceranno e lavoreranno per mantenere chi invecchierà.

- We could do a lot of good things in this, and one-thousand other fields. We could help the
- family and the ones that bring children to light, because this is an economic issue nowadays.
- Look, in the last year 400.000 babies were born in Italy, it's not a demographic winter, its
- clearly an ice-age. If we keep going like this, not only in Italy but also Europe, will be

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- extinguished. In the immediate future our welfare will not hold. If you have more and more
- 122 people you need to sustain due to aging and less people are able to work to sustain them,
- we'll have to scrap pensions in a short time. It's clear, it's because you don't have the money
- 124 to pay, unless you bring back the attention to the family, unless you stop thinking that
- children are a luxury, unless women don't have to choose between bringing a child to light or
- entering the job market, unless there are kindergardens. We need having someone who takes
- care of these children when the moms are at work. Then people will go back and have
- children which then will grow up, work and sustain the old section of the population.

Ma loro lo facevano volutamente. E qual è il risultato? Il risultato è che tu oggi rischi di non poter dare adeguata protezione a chi ha diritto a quella protezione perché sei oberato di gente che non aveva quel diritto, perché l'immigrazione è un'altra cosa, l'immigrazione non è un diritto inalienabile dell'essere umano, l'immigrazione, una scelta del paese che ti ospita, è il paese che ti ospita, la fa di solito con un documento che si chiama decreto flussi, stabilendo chi fa entrare.

- But they did it on purpose. And what's the result? The result is that today you are at risk of
- 130 not being adequately protected because the people that do not have that same refugee right.
- 131 Immigration is something else. Migration isn't a universal human right, migration is the
- choice of the country that houses you, it's usually done with the regulation of the migration
- 133 flow, deciding how many can come in.

La sinistra non ha voluto gestire e noi ci siamo ritrovati con centinaia di migliaia di persone che infatti qui non avevano molte opportunità e ci vengono a spiegare che è tanto buono far entrare centinaia di migliaia di persone e poi tenere gli uomini a spacciare droga e le donne a prostituirsi. Ma io ho un'altra idea di cosa sia la bontà e l'accoglienza. Ho completamente un'altra idea e vi dico di più. Perché non c'entra molto la bontà. Attenzione, perché vedete a voi, a voi dicono che. Gli immigrati servono perché fanno i lavori che gli italiani non vogliono fare. È falso, quello che è vero è che loro sono disposti a fare spesso quei lavori a condizioni che gli italiani non sono disposti ad accettare. Il che significa, banalmente, che l'immigrazione illegale di massa è uno strumento nelle mani dei grandi poteri economici, delle grandi concentrazioni economiche per costruire una competizione al ribasso tra diritti dei lavoratori. Lo vuoi fare questo lavoro a 400 € guarda 400 €, mi pare poco, va bene, lo farà lui? E quindi si abbassano i diritti.

134 The left did not want to deal with these issues and so we found ourselves with hundreds of

thousands of people that don't have many opportunities here. They come tell us how nice it is

to make these hundreds of thousands of people come here and keep them selling drugs and

the women to have to become prostitutes. But I have a different idea of kindness and

hospitality. I have a completely different idea from them. Because kindness has nothing to do

with this. Pay attention!! Because they tell you that the migrants are needed because they do

the jobs that Italians don't want to do. That's false. What is true is that they are willing to do

141 those jobs in conditions that Italians won't accept. That means that illegal mass migration is

a tool in the hands of powerful economic forces, of the large concentrations of capital/money

to create a race to the bottom (competition) of workers' wages and rights. "You want to do

144 this job for 400 Euros? 400 is a bit low for me, so he will do it". And therefore your rights

145 decrease.

4. Speech 08.09.2022 - Firenze

Prendete il tema delle bollette. Che sta impazzando e chiaramente rischia di far chiudere tante aziende che rischia di mettere in difficoltà tante famiglie. Io sostengo il tema di un tetto al prezzo del gas.

146 Take the issue of bills. It is going crazy and clearly risks the closure of many businesses

which will make it hard for many families. I support the cap on gas prices.

Cominciamo da un approccio meritocratico in questa nazione.

A tutti i livelli, fammi vedere quello che vali perché guardate, ci hanno raccontato un sacco di idiozie. Questa roba dell'uguaglianza che era nemica del merito, a partire dalla scuola progressista che ha fatto diventata una macchina enorme di diseguaglianze, uguaglianza in merito camminano insieme. Uno Stato giusto crea uguaglianza nel punto di partenza e mette tutti sulla stessa linea, perché nessuno deve essere discriminato in base alla famiglia nella quale nasce, alla città nella quale nasce, alla realtà dalla quale proviene, nessuno discriminato in base a chi è tutti sulla stessa linea di partenza, ma poi dove arrivi...quello deve dipendere da te.

148 Let's start from the meritocratic approach of this nation. On all levels, show me what you are

149 worth because you see, they told us a lot of stupid things. This equality stuff is the enemy of a

meritocratic system, beginning from the progressive school system which have made this

151 country into a huge machine of inequality. Equality and merit go hand in hand. A just State

creates equality at the starting line and puts everyone on that line, because nobody should be

discriminated on the basis of the family they are born in, the city they are born in, what

reality they come from, nobody discriminated because of who they are. Everyone on the same

starting line, but where you arrive...well, that is up to you.

Non so che cosa la sinistra non capisca. Diritto d'asilo e immigrazione sono due cose completamente diverse sono governate da norme diverse e devono essere gestite in modo diverso. La sinistra in questi anni ve la raccontate come se fossero la stessa cosa l'ha fatto volutamente, non l'ha fatto per incompetenza, lo ha fatto perché voleva farlo perché aveva un'altro obiettivo. E qual era l'obiettivo della sinistra? È stato presto chiaro. Enrico Letta dice, qualche mese fa, beh, se noi non facciamo entrare gli immigrati, poi nei campi chi ci lavora, che questa è la loro idea. Di solidarietà. A voi dicono a noi gli immigrati servono perché fanno lavori che gli italiani non vogliono fare. Ma la verità è un'altra, la verità è che quegli immigrati fanno lavori a condizioni che gli italiani non sono disposti ad accettare, il che significa che la grande immigrazione di massa è uno strumento nelle mani dei grandi poteri del grande capitale per creare al ribasso una competizione tra lavoratori ed abbassare i diritti dei lavoratori. La solidarietà non c'entra niente. Se tu vuoi solidarietà allora devi organizzare le cose in modo decente.

156 I don't know what the left doesn't understand. Right to asylum and migration are two

157 completely different things. They are governed by completely different norms and, therefore,

have to be governed in two different ways. The left, in these last years, told you the same

thing, knowingly not because they are incompetent, but because they have another motive.

What is this motive? It was precise and clear, Enrico Letta said a couple of months ago "If

- we don't let the migrants in then who will work in the fields?". This is their idea of solidarity.
- 162 They tell you that we need migrants because they do jobs that Italians don't want to do. But
- 163 the truth is something else, the truth is that those migrants do jobs in conditions that Italians
- would not be willing to accept, meaning that the illegal mass migration is a tool in the hands
- of the large powers of concentrated capital/money to create a race to the bottom, a
- 166 competition between workers to be able to decrease their rights. Solidarity has nothing to do
- with this. If you want solidarity you have to organize things in a different way.

Siamo pronti a tutelare i risparmi degli italiani, a difendere le famiglie e il ceto medio, a combattere la povertà. Siamo pronti a far rispettare l'Italia all'estero come merita

- We are ready to safeguard the savings of Italians, to defend the families and the middle-class
- in order to combat poverty. We are ready for Italy to be respected abroad as it should.

5. Speech 10.09.2022 - Mestre

Sono tante altre cose da fare, ci sono anche tante altre cose da fare, sostenere le famiglie, la natalità, incentivarle. Perché guardate, questa nazione è destinata a scomparire. OK, 400.000 nati nello scorso anno, non solo un inverno demografico, sono una glaciazione. Io non voglio che questa nostra nazione scompaia. Non voglio che la nostra cultura scompaia. Non pensi che il problema si debba risolvere dicendo facciamo entrare gli immigrati, tanti figli fanno loro, penso che dobbiamo aiutare gli italiani a mettere al mondo dei bambini. Le donne che devono scegliere se lavorare o essere madri. La Difesa della famiglia, difendere i confini così. Le stupidaggini che abbiamo sentito in questi anni, le stupidaggini, la sovrapposizione voluta. Tra il tema dell'immigrazione e quello dei profughi, che però sono due materie completamente diverse, governate da norme completamente diverse, che deve affrontare in due modi completamente diversi. Le avete viste le immagini dei profughi ucraini? Donne e bambini in prevalenza che scappano dalla guerra. Non vi sembrano immagini diverse da quelle che avete visto in questi anni di barconi stipati di uomini soli, letali, di lavoro che arrivavano sulle nostre coste? Beh, io ho provato a spiegare per anni, guardate che a occhio queste non sono profughi, perché quando c'è una guerra di solito scappano le donne, i bambini e gli uomini rimangono a combattere ogni state dicendo che hanno lasciato le donne ai bambini a combattere.

- 170 There are a lot of things to do. Help families and falling birth rates recover, incentivize them.
- 171 Because look, this nation is destined to vanish, ok?. 400.000 births last year, not just a
- demographic winter, a proper ice-age. I don't want this nation to disappear. I don't want
- that our culture disappears. Don't think that the problem needs to be resolved by bringing in
- immigrants, and say that they will have a lot of children, I think we have to help Italians
- bring children to light. I want to help women not have to choose between having a job and
- being mothers. The defence of the family, defending our borders so the stupid things we have
- 177 heard, the clear and wrongful overlapping of issues of migration and refugees, which are two
- 178 completely different things and need to be solved completely differently.
- 179 Did you see the images of the ukrainian refugees? Women and children flee war mostly.
- Don't they look different to you than the images we have seen these last few years with boats
- full of men who are alone, of working age that arrive on our coasts? Well, I have been saying
- for years that these are not refugees, because when there is a war usually the women and
- children flee and the men remain to fight. Are you saying that they left the women and
- 184 *children to fight? That they fled instead?*

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Le famiglie vanno difese, sono un nucleo centrale della nostra società. Non dobbiamo avere paura a difenderla. Ok, non bisogna avere paura a dire cose di buon senso, perché in questa nazione quello che manca esattamente il buon senso.

- 185 Families need to be defended. They are the central nucleus of our society. We needn't have
- 186 fear in defending it, ok? We don't have to be scared to say common-sensee things, because
- 187 this is a nation that is lacking exactly that.

6. Speech 10.09.2022 - Trento

Far entrare centinaia di migliaia di persone e poi tenerli agli angoli delle nostre strade, a spacciare droga o le donne a prostituirsi perché io ho un'idea diversa di cosa sia l'accoglienza.

- Letting hundreds of thousands of people in and then keeping them on the corners of our
- streets to sell drugs and the women to prostitute themselves. I have a different idea of
- 190 hospitality.

7. Speech 11.09.2022 - Milano

La famiglia, abbiamo un'enorme piano in testa per incentivare la natalità, per sostenere la maternità 400.000 nati nell'ultimo anno in Italia, non è un inverno demografico. Signori, è una glaciazione, è chiaro, questa nazione è destinata a scomparire. E io non voglio che questa nazione scompaia. Non penso che il problema della denatalità si possa risolvere facendo entrare gli immigrati, come dice la sinistra. Io voglio che i figli li facciano le nostre famiglie. Voglio che non siano un bene di lusso. Voglio che le donne non debbano scegliere tra essere madri, avere un posto di lavoro. Voglio che non vengano discriminate nei salari. Voglio una reazione che dica quando metti il mondo un figlio, mi stai facendo una cortesia. Non solo non te lo farò pagare, ma ti ringrazierò per questo. Altrimenti, banalmente, il nostro welfare non regge, Eh. Perché noi andando avanti così avremo una società sempre più vecchia, avremo sempre più persone da mantenere e sempre meno persone che lavorano per mantenerle. Hai voglia a fare riforme delle pensioni tra qualche anno le pensioni non le puoi pagare più, per cui è un tema anche economico che va affrontato in maniera intelligente e immediata.

The family. We have a huge plan in mind to incentivize natality, to support maternity. 400.000 births last year in Italy, it's not a demographic winter. Ladies and gentlemen, this is an ice-age. This nation is destined to disappear and I don't want that to happen. I don't think the issue can be resolved by letting in immigrants like the left has been saying. I want that the children are birthed by our families. I don't want children to be a luxury good. I don't want women to have to choose between being mothers or having a job. I don't want women to be discriminated economically (wage gap). I want that when a child is born my reaction is "thank you for this courtesy". Not only will I pay you for it, I will also thank you. Otherwise our welfare will not hold. Because if we keep going like this we will have an ever-older population, we will have more and more people to sustain and less and less people to support them. If you keep doing pension reforms in a couple of years the pensions you won't be able

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to pay anymore. Thats why this is also an economic topic that needs to be faced immediately and intelligently.

Offrire a una donna che magari decide di abortire perché ritiene di non avere delle alternative. Quella alternativa significa garantire diritti, non privare diritti. Facile. Facil. Ho scelte diverse, farò la mia scelta ma ho scelte diverse. E loro, siccome chiaramente a questi dibattiti non ci stanno perché sanno che dire si devono inventare un sacco di falsità? Perché è il loro modo per scappare dal diba. Siccome sanno bene come risponderti, allora dicono, Ah no, tu sei razzista, tu sei omofoba, tu sei fascista. Sei un mostro impresentabile, quindi io con te non ci parlo, perché se ci parlo temo di non sapere come risponderti. E qui arriviamo al tema dell'immigrazione, perché vedete che cos'è che non torna nella vicenda migratoria? Che abbiamo visto in questi anni non torna. La sovrapposizione tra i profughi e gli immigrati. Perché il diritto d'asilo e immigrazione sono due cose completamente diverse, gestite da norme completamente diverse che si affrontano in maniera completamente diversa. Facciamo un esempio facile, l'avete viste le immagini dei profughi ucraini? Voi avete visto donne e bambini che scappano dalla guerra. E quelle immagini non mi sembrano un po diverse da quei barconi pieni di uomini soli in età da lavoro che abbiamo visto arrivare sulle nostre coste in questi decenni. È che io ho tentato un paio di volte di dire, guardate ragazzi, che è difficile che così a spanne, ancora prima di fare le verifiche mi sembra un po difficile che possano essere profughi perché a meno che non abbiano lasciato le donne e i bambini a combattere, siano scappati loro ragione per la quale comunque non li accoglierei. Questi sono i migranti economici ed è una cosa diversa dai profughi. Ok, allora come si gestiscono questi fenomeni? La mia idea continua ad esso. Che il modo più efficace è una missione europea. Che tratti con la Libia per fermare le partenze dei barconi? Gli scafisti non prendono più una lira, si aprono gli hotspot in Africa, si valuta in Africa chi ha diritto a essere rifugiato, si distribuiscono solo i rifugiati equamente nei 27 paesi dell'Unione europea e gli altri si rimandano indietro.

Offering a woman that might want to abort a pregnancy because she feels like she has no alternative that alternative means guaranteeing rights, not taking them away. Easy, I have multiple choices and I will make my own choice, but you will have that choice. And since they clearly don't want to debate this because they know they will have to say a lot of lies, then they tell you: "you are racist, homophobic, you are a fascist, you are a monster. So I won't talk to you because if i talk to you I won't know how to answer". And here we arrive at the topic of migration. Because you see, there is something that doesn't make sense here. The purposeful comparison and overlapping of immigrants and refugees. Let's make an easy example, did you see the images of the ukrainian refugees? Did you see the women and children which flee the war? And don't those images seem different than the ones we have seen of the boats full of men, alone and working-age, coming to our shores these last decades? I tried telling everyone a couple of times that all of these are don't seem to be refugees, because it seems weird that these are refugees because they left their women and children to fight. One reason why I wouldn't accept them. These are economic migrants, and thats a different thing than refugees. Ok how do we face these phenomena then? My idea is that we have to have a European mission that deals with Libya to stop the departures of the boats. The smugglers won't get any money anymore, we open hotspots in Africa, we evaluate in Africa and whoever has the right to be a refugee we divide them between the 27 EU countries, the rest we send back.

Ogni anno il governo dice quanta immigrazione diciamo così posso ricomprendere quante persone posso far venire qui che trovano un posto di lavoro, che hanno una vita dignitosa, che si possono integrare nella società, queste sono queste, faccio entrare. Rispettando le regole, la

notizia che vi voglio dare è che negli ultimi anni i governi hanno praticamente azzerato i decreti flussi, perché tutte le quote di immigrazione erano coperte, la chi entrava illegalmente, cioè questa nazione, ha detto al cospetto del mondo, se vuoi entrare in Italia rispettando le regole non lo puoi fare per entrare in Italia, devi dare i soldi agli scafisti e violare le leggi italiane. Una nazione così non può pretendere di essere rispettata da nessuno, le nazioni esistono se hanno dei confini, i confini si difendono, in Italia non si entra illegalmente. Anche perché? Anche perché in questa gestione non c'è niente di umano. Non c'è niente di umano. Perché vedete una cosa che tu? Consente alle persone di arrivare qui, di avere un posto di lavoro, di vivere dignitosamente. Una cosa è quello che noi abbiamo visto accadere in questi anni, perché i compagni, loro e mica si sono preoccupati del fatto che queste centinaia di migliaia di persone che arrivavano da noi poi finivano agli angoli delle nostre strade, a spacciare droga o le donne a doversi prostituire? Che gliene frega a loro? Eh? La solidarietà è un'altra cosa.

Every year the government says how much migration there can be, so I can understand how many people can come here that can get a job, live a dignified life, that can integrate into society. I let them in by following the rules. The news I want to give you all is that in the last years the government has practically eliminated the flow decrees because all the quotas of migration were covered by all the illegal migrants. This nation told the world that if you want to get into Italy legally you can't but if you pay money to smugglers and break Italian laws. A nation like this cannot be respected by anyone, nations exist if they have borders, the borders ought to be defended, in Italy you don't enter illegally. Also because, also because in this managing of migrants there is nothing humane. Nothing humane. Because you see, one thing that allows people the come here is something that we have seen happen in these years because the comrades did not worry themselves with these hundreds of thousands of people that arrive here and then ended up on the corners of our streets selling drugs or their women to have to become prostitutes. What do they care? Solidarity is something else.

E sfatiamo un'altro mito. A voi dicono. Gli immigrati servono perché fanno lavori che gli italiani non vogliono fare, è falso. È falso, la verità è che li fanno a condizioni che gli italiani non sono disposti ad accettare. Sì, sì, ma fateli parlare. E occhio a me. OA me se non gliela date vinta, questi si divertono. Così hanno finito le vacanze, sono scesi dallo yacht di papà e sono venuti a rompere le scatole alle nostre manifestazioni.

Let's debunk another myth. They tell you that immigrants are needed because they do jobs that Italians don't want to do. That's false. That's false and the truth is that they are willing to do them in conditions that Italians would not accept. Yes, yes, let them speak but keep an eye out on me, if you don't make me win these people will be laughing. So much so that these people ended their vacations, left their father's yacht and came to disrupt our demonstrations [talking about the crowd].

Però adesso spieghiamo una cosa anche a questi simpatici signori di sinistra, gli spieghiamo una cosa che in teoria dovrebbero spiegare loro a noi, se fossero davvero di sinistra, ma ormai si sono consegnati ai grandi poteri economici e quindi hanno un problema di identità. A voi dicono che gli immigrati servono perché fanno lavori che gli italiani non vogliono fare. La verità è che li fanno a condizioni che gli italiani non sono. Possiamo accettare il che cosa significa? Significa che l'immigrazione illegale di massa è soprattutto uno strumento nelle mani dei grandi poteri economici e finanziari per creare al ribasso una competizione tra lavoratori. Per abbassare i diritti dei lavoratori. Capito? Cari amici di sinistra che siete invece per una immigrazione incontrollata che favorisce la grande speculazione finanziaria di

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Giorgio Soros e tutti questi vostri cari amici, il Povero Carlo Marx si starà rivoltando oggettivamente nella tomba, ma questo è un'altro. Allora? Basta fare un po di cose di buon senso, OK?

242 But now let's explain one thing to these nice people from the left, lets explain to them something that in theory they should be explaining to us if they were actually from the left but 243 244 now have capitulated in the face of large economic powers and therefore have an identity 245 issue. To you who were told that migrants are needed to do the jobs that Italians don't want 246 to do. The truth is that they do the work in conditions that Italians would never accept. That 247 means that illegal mass migration is first and foremost a tool in the hands of large 248 concentrations of financial power to create a race to the bottom (competition) between 249 workers. To lower the rights of workers. Understood? Dear friends on the left who are for 250 uncontrolled migration which favors large financial speculation owned by George Soros and 251 all your dear friends. Poor Karl Marx (Carlo Marx) is probably turning in his grave, but 252 that's another thing. Let's do some common-sense things alright?

8. Speech 13.09.2022 - Torino

Non verrai discriminato per la famiglia nella quale nasci, per la città nella quale nasci, per le condizioni economiche di partenza, per chi sei, per il gene, per niente, tu non avrai discriminazioni, però poi dove arrivi? Beh, quello dipende da te.

- 253 You will not be discriminated based on the family you were born in, for the city you were
- born in and for your starting economic conditions, for who you are, for nothing, you won't be
- 255 discriminated. But where you will arrive? Well that depends on you.

La sicurezza è una precondizione di libertà per le persone comuni, per le ragazze che attraversano un parco in mezzo alla strada e non devono avere paura di essere violentate, per gli anziani che vanno a prendere la pensione non devono avere paura di essere scippati per le persone, per le famiglie che devono vedere i loro figli uscire senza avere paura che siano avvicinati dagli spacciatori che stanno sempre lì, eccetera eccetera eccetera.

Security is a precondition for freedom for the common people, for the girls that cross a park and don't have to be afraid to be raped, for the elderly that go pick up their pension (check) and don't have to be afraid to be mugged, for the families that have to see their children leave the house without fearing that a drug dealer will come near them, because they are always around, etc. etc. etc.

È una precondizione di libertà per i più deboli, per i cittadini comuni, per quello va costruita. Perché guardate, io ho difeso la legittima difesa, scusatemi il gioco di parole, lo sapete bene, è una battaglia che abbiamo fatto, ma io considero una sconfitta. Che lo Stato ti dica che ti devi difendere da solo perché in uno stato normale e lo Stato che ti difende non ti costringe a difenderti da solo. È una situazione nella quale non ti dovresti trovare. Ma sono cose che non si possono dire, ovviamente. In Italia che c'è un problema di sicurezza? No che c'è un problema di spaccio? No, c'è un problema di aumento delle violenze? No. Brava ci arrivo e che vuoi fare? Comizi al posto?

It's the necessary condition for freedom of the weakest, for the common citizens, that's why it needs to be built up. Because look, I defended self-defence, sorry for the word play, you know

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it well, it's a battle we have fought but I consider it a defeat. That the State tells you that you have to defend yourself alone, because in a normal country it's the State that defends you, it doesn't force you to defend yourself. It's a situation you shouldn't find yourself in. But these are things that nobody can tell you, obviously. In Italy do we have a safety issue? No. Is there a problem with drug dealing? No. Is there a problem with increased violence? No. Good and what do we want to do about that.

Non si può dire anche perché Eh, che vuoi andare a dire che, per esempio i reati sono aumentati anche perché non è stata gestita adeguatamente l'immigrazione irregolare? No, non si può dire Stai scherzando? E razzismo, se lo dici dati del Viminale. Andatevi a guardare i dati del Viminale, ma perché anche qui non perché qualcuno sia più bravo e qualcuno sia meno bravo, perché se tu fai una politica surreale per la quale dici che fai entrare qui centinaia di migliaia di persone che ovviamente non puoi ricomprendere adeguatamente in questa società, cioè non sono persone alle quali tu sei in condizione di dare una vita dignitosa, un posto di lavoro dignitoso, una casa, una possibilità.

You can't say it, also because you can't even say crime has gone up because illegal migration was mishandled? No, you can't say that are you joking? That's racism if you state data from the Viminale (Ministry of the Interior), but because also here you do surreal politics for which you say that you let hundreds of thousands of people in who you are obviously not going to be able to take care of in this society, basically these are not people you can give a dignified life to, a dignified job to, a home, a chance.

Quelle persone finiranno inevitabilmente molto spesso nelle maglie della criminalità organizzata o piuttosto per quello che riguarda le donne a prostituirsi. È per questo che a me non mi convincono, con l'idiozia della solidarietà, perché non è solidarietà a far entrare la gente e metterla a spacciare droga agli angoli della strada. E non è solidarietà, guardate anche per un'altra ragione che io cerco di spiegare da tempo. A voi dicono gli immigrati ci servono perché fanno lavori che gli italiani non vogliono fare. A parte, che fa un po ridere, no? Che vuol dire? Quali sono i lavori che gli italiani non vorrebbero fare? A parte votare il Pd si intende, ma quello secondo me manco gli immigrati, per cui un tema su cui diciamo siamo tutti d'accordo. Dopodiché non è vero. Che la ragione per cui servono e che fanno lavori che gli italiani non vogliono fare la ragione per cui servono ad alcuni e che fanno quei lavori a condizioni che gli italiani non sono disposti ad accettare, il che significa che la grande immigrazione di massa è uno strumento nelle mani delle grandi concentrazioni economiche per creare al ribasso una competizione tra i lavoratori per abbassare le tutele dei lavoratori. Cari amici della sinistra. Cari amici della sinistra. Ed è la ragione per la quale io invece credo che le tue questioni vadano completamente distinte, profughi, immigrati nelle nazioni normali funziona così. I profughi si accolgono, gli immigrati, si fa il decreto flussi e si gestisce l'immigrazione che arriva

Those people will invariably end up in the hands of organized crime groups or for the women, prostitution. It's for this reason that they are not convincing, with idiocy and solidarity, because it is not solidarity letting people in and forcing them to sell drugs. It is not solidarity also because of another reason. They tell you migrants will do the jobs that Italians don't want to do. Apart from the fact that it is a bit funny, no? What does that even mean? Which ones are the jobs that Italians supposedly wouldn't want to do? Apart from voting for the PD of course, but even the migrants won't do that, that is something we agree on. After that, it is not true that the reason that they are needed and that they do jobs that Italians don't want to do, is that they do jobs in conditions that Italians are not willing to accept.

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Which means that the mass migration is a tool in the hands of the great wealth
concentrations to create competition to lower workers' rights. Dear friends on the left. Dear
friends on the left. This is the reason why I think we have to distinguish between refugees and
migrants, because in normal countries it works like this. Refugees are let in, migrants need to
be regulated.

Qualsiasi persona di buon senso la lo capisce che la cosa è stata gestita male e quindi per non dover fare quel confronto come sui temi, diciamo etici la vicenda e della 194 adesso gira tutta questa fake news. Noi vogliamo abolire il diritto all'aborto, cosa che non ha mai detto nessuno. Abbiamo detto un'altra cosa banale anche qui, e cioè che la 194 va applicata tutta anche nella parte che riguarda la prevenzione, perché si. Sì. Il diritto di abortire va garantito, ma anche il diritto di fare un'altra scelta se non vuoi abortire, se non vuoi abortire ho visto tante donne che quella scelta non c'è l'avevano. Le posso aiutare? Le aiuterò. Anche perché, signori, noi abbiamo un problema sulla demografia, il caso che ne rendiamo conto, Eh. 400.000 bambini nati nell'ultimo anno in Italia non è inverno demografico, è una glaciazione. L'Italia è una nazione destinata a scomparire e ancora, altro sistema di welfare non reggerà. Perché noi andando avanti avremo una società che continua a invecchiare. Avremo sempre più persone da mantenere, sempre meno persone che lavorano per mantenerle. È facile, possiamo fare tutte le riforme delle pensioni che volete, ma non avremo i soldi per pagarle, se non ci rimettiamo a fare dei figli, se non ci rimettiamo a far partire i dati sulla demografia, noi abbiamo un piano molto articolato da questo punto di vista, che parte da anche qui è il tema dei servizi, delle possibilità, della della, della sostituzione di maternità. Cioè tutti si lamentano perché dicono, Ah, le donne non vengono assunte a parità di condizioni. È vero, però non vengono assunte perché secondo il nostro sistema rischiano di pesare di più se vanno in maternità. Io mi devo pagare la sostituzione di maternità, mi devo pagare i contributi della sostituzione maternità. Per la sostituzione di maternità non avrai nessuna di differenza e quindi assumi anche le donne che oltretutto di solito oppure un po più veloci non me ne vogliate. Sto scherzando? Scherzo. Gli asili qui in Regione Piemonte, io sono molto fiera della squadra di Fratelli d'Italia in Regione Piemonte, ha fatto un sacco di cose straordinarie, tra cui la possibilità per i comuni di estendere l'orario degli asili nido a costo zero per la famiglia.

Every person with common-sense will understand that this whole mess was managed terribly and therefore we don't need to do a comparison. On the issues of Law 194 (Abortion) because now there is a lot of fake news going around. We don't want to abolish the right, we never said that. We just said something simple, something that nobody has ever said. We said that Law 194 needs to be applied fully, also the part which cites prevention, because yes, you have the right to abort, but also the right to have a choice if you don't want to do that, and if you don't want to abort I have seen a lot of women that did not have that choice. Can I help them? I will help them. Also because ladies and gentlemen, we have a demographic problem, it's about time we realized, 400.000 children were born last vear in Italy, this isn't a demographic winter, it's a demographic ice-age. Italy is a country destined to perish and our welfare system will not hold. Because going forward we'll have an aging population, we'll have more and more people to sustain and less and less people to sustain them. It's easy, we could do all the pension reforms that you want, but we will not have money to pay for those, if we don't start making children, if we don't start recovering demographically. We have a detailed plan from this point of view, that starts from services, the possibilities and the rethinking of maternity. Everyone complains because they say "oh, hiring women means applying different criteria". It's true, because in our system they risk weighing down the economy if they become pregnant. You have to pay out the maternity contributions. For this

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businesses won't see the difference and therefore you will hire women because they are a bit faster anyways. I'm joking, it's a joke. I would like to thank the Fratelli d'Italia fraction in Piemonte, they did a lot of extraordinary things. Like the chance for some Comuni to extend the times of kindergardens for free for families.

9. Speech 14.09.2022 - Genova

Sulle imprese, sul lavoro, sulla famiglia, anche qui. Si diceva, no, ecco prima diceva le donne, il tempo di una donna, io continuo a leggere delle ricostruzioni surreali. Di donne che dicono no, appello alle donne. Non votate Fratelli d'Italia e Giorgia Meloni, perché Giorgia Meloni, che eventualmente potrebbe essere il primo Presidente del Consiglio donna d'Italia, toglierebbe un sacco di diritti alle donne. Però nessuno mi dice quali. Qual è esattamente il diritto che noi, che nel programma di Fratelli d'Italia, è previsto che venga tolto alle donne italiane? Merito all'aborto? No, abbiamo sempre detto il contrario. Abbiamo semmai detto che vogliamo aggiungere il diritto per quelle donne che in che pensano che l'aborto sia l'unica scelta che hanno di fare una scelta diversa, se vogliono fare una scelta diversa e quindi siamo aggiungendo un diri. Senza toccare niente di quello che già succede. Non lo so. Diritto al lavoro? No, perché nel nostro programma c'è un'infinità di provvedimenti che dicono che vogliamo raggiungere l'obiettivo per cui una donna non debba più scegliere, per esempio tra mettere al mondo un bambino e poter avere un posto di lavoro. Che ci siano decenti congedi estesi, che non costi di più alle aziende, assumere una donna che le donne non vengano discriminate sul piano salariale, quindi siamo anche lì, aggiungendo diritti.

311 On businesses, on jobs, on the family, also here. Women were saying "don't vote for Fratelli

312 d'Italia and Giorgia Meloni, because Giorgia Meloni, which eventually could be the first

313 female President of the Council (Prime Minister) of Italy, would remove a lot of rights from

314 women". Yet, nobody ever says which ones. What exactly are the rights that we, in our party

315 program, want to remove from Italian women? Abortion? No we always said the opposite.

316 We just want to add a right in which women who think that abortion is the only choice, can

317 make a different choice if they want. Without touching anything that is happening already

318 right now. The right to work? No because in our program there is an infinite amount of ideas

319 that say that we want to reach the objective for which a women won't have to choose, for

320 example, between giving birth to a child and having a job. That there be ample and 321 prolonged maternity leave that won't have to be paid by businesses. Ideas about hiring

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women and that these won't be discriminated on the basis of salary. That's why we are right

323 there, adding rights.

> L'immigrazione, la sicurezza. Ne abbiamo parlato prima, sull'immigrazione. Guardate anche qui abbastanza facile, OK? Ci hanno raccontato un sacco di cavolate. Soprattutto loro hanno sovrapposto in questi anni due temi che erano completamente diversi, che sono il tema del diritto d'asilo e il tema dell'immigrazione. Le due cose sono governate da norme diverse, si gestiscono in maniera completamente diversa, con intelligenza.

324 Migration and security. We talked about it before, about migration. Look, also here things

325 are pretty easy, ok? They told us many lies and moreover they have been, for years,

326 overlapping themes that are completely different, the right to asylum and the topic of

327 migration. The two things are governed by different norms, they are handled in a completely

328 different way, with intelligence.

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Per quello che riguarda Fratelli d'Italia Io credo che sia evidente a tutti, quando abbiamo visto le foto dei profughi ucraini, donne e bambini che scappavano dalla guerra, quanto quelle foto fossero distanti dai barconi pieni di uomini soli in età da lavoro, che abbiamo visto arrivare. Le nostre coste in questi anni? Perché qualcuno tentava di spiegare che è di era difficile che scappassero dalla guerra, a meno che non avessero lasciato le loro mogli e i loro bambini a combattere, fossero scappati loro, cosa per la quale in ogni caso io non li avrei accolti. Se devo dire come la penso, quindi non erano profughi e infatti questo, dicono i dati, le due cose sono diverse.

On behalf of Fratelli d'Italia, I believe that it is evident for everyone when we saw the pictures of the Ukrainian refugees. Women and children who were fleeing the war, when those pictures were of boats full of working-age lonely men that we saw arriving on our coasts these past years. Someone (Herself) was trying to say that it was hard that these migrants were fleeing war, unless they left their wives and children to fight, that they left themselves which is also something that I would not let them in for. If i have to tell you how I feel about it these were not refugees, the data proves it, the two things are different.

Che cosa vuole fare Fratelli d'Italia? Una cosa normale, una missione europea. Quindi chiedere all'Europa di dare una mano sulla difesa dei confini esterni, perché noi governiamo confini esterni dell'Unione europea. All'Europa e ci dà una mano a trattare con i governi del Nord Africa. Segnatamente è prevalentemente la Libia fermare la partenza dei barconi, perché io non voglio continuare ad arricchire gli scafisti schiavisti del terzo millennio, fermare la partenza dei barconi, aprire in Africa gli hotspot, valutare in Africa chi ha diritto a essere rifugiato, di distribuire equamente nei 27 paesi dell'Unione europea solo rifugiati, rispedire indietro gli altri.

What does Fratelli d'Italia want to do? A normal thing, a European mission. Therefore, we want to ask Europe to help out with the defence of our external borders, because we are defending the outer borders of the European Union. We want to ask Europe if it's going to help us negotiating with governments in Northern Africa. Clearly focusing on Libya and the stopping of these boats, because I don't want to finance the smuggler slavists of the third millennium, stop the leaving of the boats, open hotspots in Africa, evaluate in Africa who has the right to be a refugee, divide these up in the 27 EU states, only the refugees, send back the rest.

Perché l'immigrazione è un'altra cosa. L'immigrazione è un'altra cosa, come si governa l'immigrazione, l'immigrazione si governa con il decreto flussi, cioè il governo all'inizio dell'anno dice quanti immigrati posso fare? Entrare in Italia ai quali posso dare una vita dignitosa che mi servono per alcuni settori del mercato del lavoro che possono avere una casa e una famiglia, perché voglio dire, non mi convincete, che è solidarietà a far entrare 700.000 persone e poi tenerle agli angoli delle strade, a spacciare droga o a prostituirsi. Ho un'altra idea della solidarietà. Solidarietà e se alle persone le puoi trattare come cittadini? Cittadini. E questo si fa con un'immigrazione che va governata e quindi tu stabilisci i numeri, tu stabilisci le regole e soprattutto se vuoi entrare in Italia lo fai rispettando le leggi dello Stato italiano. in Italia non si entra illegalmente. In Italia si entra legalmente. Mentre in questi anni noi abbiamo azzerato i decreti flussi, perché tutte le nostre quote di immigrazione erano coperte da chi entrava illegalmente, che è una follia, perché tu stai dicendo a tutto il mondo, vuoi vuoi rispettare le regole, vuoi venire a lavorare qui? Non puoi, se vuoi venire in Italia devi dare i soldi agli scafisti e ci facciamo fare la selezione in ingresso da loro. Beh, non mi pare una politica molto intelligente, se posso dire come la penso. È normale che poi la gente abbia

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difficoltà? A rispettarti e non vi fate guardate, prendere in giro? Ah no, perché l'immigrazione ci serve perché? Il l'emigrazione illegale di massa ci serve perché gli immigrati fanno lavori che gli italiani non vogliono fare falso. Falso. Li fanno a condizioni che gli italiani non sono disposti ad accettare, che è un'altra cosa. Vuol dire che l'immigrazione illegale di massa è uno strumento nelle mani delle grandi concentrazioni economiche. Per rivedere al ribasso i diritti dei lavoratori e competizione al ribasso. E non è un caso che venga molto spesso, diciamo così, sostenuta e finanziata dai grandi, dalla dalla speculazione no, dai grandi gruppi perché è un gioco chiaramente ad abbassare il livello dei diritti. Mi fa piacere che la sinistra non se ne renda conto, ma non è l'unica cosa di sinistra che hanno smesso di dire in effetti un problema di identità cel'ha.

Because migration is something else. Migration is something else, how do you govern migration, migration is governed with regulation on the flows, basically the government at the start of the year tells you how many migrants can come to Italy. Only if the government can ensure that these migrants can have a dignified life, can live in certain market sectors and that can have a home and a family. Because you are not convincing me that solidarity means letting seven-hundred-thousand people in to then keeping them on the corner of the streets to sell drugs or become prostitutes. I have another idea of solidarity. Solidarity is treating people like citizens. Citizens!! And with this we will do with controlled migration where you decide on the numbers, you decide on the rules, and most of all if you want to come to Italy you have to follow the rules of the Italian nation. In Italy you don't enter illegally. In Italy you enter legally. But these years the regulation on the flows maxed out because all the quotas on migration were covered by the illegal migrants. Which is crazy. Because you are telling the whole world that if you want to follow the rules, if you want to come work legally in Italy, that this is not possible. You are saying that these people need to pay smugglers who decide who they let in and who they don't. Well, it doesn't seem like good politics to me if i can say that. It's normal that people have issues then. Don't let them make fun of you though. "Ah no but we need migration because, we need illegal mass migration because they do the jobs Italians don't want to do". False! They do them in conditions that Italians just arent willing to accept. To sell out workers' rights and compete towards the bottom. And it's not random that this is supported financially by the speculation, of large groups because the game is lowering workers' rights. I am pleased that the left realizes, but it is not the only thing the left stopped saying, they are having a identity crisis.

Perché se tu non non risolvi a Monte il problema della speculazione, cioè tetto al prezzo del gas o disaccoppiamento, non è che ti basteranno 30 miliardi eh, te ne serviranno 50102100 e sono soldi che io dovrei togliere ai miei figli. Per regalarli ai grandi speculatori dei player dell'energia? No grazie signori, no grazie. I soldi di mia figlia così non li regalo in giro.

Because if you don't solve the problem at the root, the issue of speculation, the cap on the price of gas or the decoupling, 30 billion won't be enough, we will need [a lot more] and those are not sums that I want to take away from my children to give them to the speculators and the big energy players. No thank you gentlemen, no thank you. My daughter's money won't be given around like this.

10. Speech 17.09.2022 - Bari

Il lavoro è la cosa più dignitosa che la politica ti possa dare. Dipendere da te stesso quando puoi farlo chiaramente quando puoi farlo dipendere da quello che tu vali, da quello che hai

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dimostrato, indipendentemente dalla condizione, dalla quale arrivi, indipendentemente dalla città nella quale nascita la famiglia nella quale nasci. Io voglio una Italia del merito, dove tutti vengono messi sulla stessa linea di partenza. Tutti hanno le stesse opportunità, le stesse occasioni, ma poi dove arrivi? Beh, quello deve dipendere da te, perché invece la sinistra ci ha livellato nel punto d'arrivo e ci ha detto che l'uguaglianza era nemica del merito. Uguaglianza nel punto d'arrivo del di partenza, merito nel punto d'arrivo, quella è la sfida.

Working is the most dignified thing politics can give you. It depends on you when you can do it, it depends on you how much you are worth, what you demonstrate, independently from the conditions from which you come from, independently from the city you come from or the family in which you are born in. I want an Italy of meritocracy, where everyone is put on the same starting line. Everyone has the same opportunities. But where do you arrive? Well that has to depend on you, because the left has levelled the arrival line and told us that equality is the enemy of merit.

Guardate, questo è quello che interessa a me, aiutare le famiglie. Aiutare a rimettere al mondo i figli questo è un'altro grande tema, vedi tu già, c'hai pensato? È un'altro grande tema, guardate adesso la famiglia è diventata una specie di nemico, no? Tutto, tutto quello che ci definisce oggi è un nemico, ma io lo considero un amico. Lo considero banalmente più grande ammortizzatore sociale che abbiamo e lo dobbiamo incentivare ed è giusto incentivarlo, è giusto incentivare la natalità perché signori, nell'ultimo anno abbiamo fatto 400.000 figli, non è un inverno demografico, questa è una glaciazione fra qualche anno l'Italia scompare tra molto meno. Noi non pagheremo più le pensioni perché avremo sempre più persone. Visto che si allunga la l'aspettativa di vita, sempre più persone da mantenere e sempre meno persone che lavorano per mantenerle siamo spacciati, i figli sono la cosa più preziosa che abbiamo, dobbiamo mettere i giovani, le famiglie, le mamme nella condizione di non considerare i figli un bene di lusso. Dobbiamo mettere le donne nella condizione di non dover scegliere, se non vogliono farlo, tra essere madri e avere un posto di lavoro. Dobbiamo combattere le discriminazioni delle donne. Cari amici della sinistra, che sulle donne state ancora a fare i convegni, ma alla fine la differenza l'abbiamo fatta noi. No, le quote, le quote, le quote, uguaglianza, diritti, opportunità per misurarsi, asili nido. Asili nido, donne che abbiano anche lì per quello che valgono e non per concessione di un maschio, come accade spesso da altre parti. Questo e si può fare, tutto si può difendere la sicurezza. Si può difendere la sicurezza delle nostre città anche qui. La sicurezza non è una cosa che serve a chi è ricco, a chi si può difendere da solo, a chi c'ha la macchina blindata, a chi vive nei quartieri bene, a chi può mettere gli antifurti super costosi dentro casa, Eh. La sicurezza è una precondizione di libertà, soprattutto per le persone comuni, per le ragazze che devono poter attraversare un parco in pieno giorno senza temere di essere stuprate, per gli anziani che devono poter andare a prendere la pensione senza paura di essere scippati per le persone che vivono nelle case popolari, che non devono avere il terrore di uscire da quelle case perché gli vengono occupate. E poi lo Stato se ne frega se vivono dentro una macchina. Cose normali. Cose normali, si può fare, si può fare, ovviamente mettendo intanto le forze dell'ordine in condizione di lavorare meglio. E facciamo un applauso alle nostre forze dell'ordine per le condizioni atroci nelle quali lavorano, perché anche qui? L'abbiamo visto troppe volte il lavoro che i carabinieri, la polizia e compagnia fanno magari per assicurare alla giustizia lo spacciatore di turno e poi, dopo tre giorni se lo ritrovano a spacciare esattamente allo stesso posto e capisco l'umiliazione e capisco l'umiliazione. Che produce anche per noi in sicurezza, ma non si può dire manco questo, certo perché non puoi trattare il tema dell'insicurezza, perché a un certo punto sei costretto a dire che anche l'immigrazione irregolare di massa non è che ci abbia proprio aiutato. Da questo punto di vista a garantire sicurezza no? E quindi non

si può dire perché sennò diventi razzista Eh, perché si siamo solidali con le, con le donne vittime di violenza. Però se poi insomma chi fa la violenza è un richiedente ah. Ah. Ah, facciamo finta di niente? No? Perché anche lì c'è un gioco di priorità. Allora anche sull'immigrazione provo a fare un ragionamento. Sensato, OK, qual è il problema di come è stata gestita l'immigrazione a casa nostra e che la sinistra ha volutamente sovrapposto due cose completamente diverse? Il il diritto d'asilo e l'immigrazione sono governati da norme diverse, sono due cose completamente diverse, vanno gestite in maniera diversa. Allora noi abbiamo trattato tutti alla stessa maniera. Vi faccio un esempio facile, avete visto le immagini dei profughi ucraini? Prevalentemente donne e bambini. Donne e bambini che scappano dalla guerra quanto sono distanti quelle immagini dai barconi pieni di uomini soli in età da lavoro che abbiamo visto arrivare sulle nostre coste in questi anni? Perché non è che ci volesse un genio, no? Io tento di spiegare qualche anno, guarda che se sono tutti maschi difficilmente stanno scappando da una guerra, a meno che non abbiano lasciato a combattere le donne e i bambini, cosa per la quale comunque non li accoglierei. Ma questo è un'altro te. Oppure non stanno scappando dalla guerra, ma sono migranti economici. Il punto però è che tu, i migranti economici, noi puoi trattare come se fossero dei profughi, facendo finta che siano dei profughi, perché intanto anche li colpisci il più debole, magari i profughi non riescono ad arrivare perché non hanno 3.000 € da dare agli scafisti e ti arrivano quelli che hanno i 3.000 € da dare agli scafisti, OK? Allora, che cosa si fa secondo me?Secondo me si deve fare una missione europea. Cioè parlare con le altre nazioni europee per andare in Nordafrica, segnatamente in Libia e non solo in Libia, a trattare con le autorità locali per fermare le partenze dei barconi. Perché io non voglio più che gli schiavisti del terzo millennio si arricchiscano sulla pelle di gente disperata. Non mi faccio fare la selezione di ingresso dagli scafisti. Si ferma la partenza dei barconi, si aprono in Africa gli hotspot gestiti dalla comunità internazionale. Si valuta chi ha diritto a essere rifugiato lì, chi ha diritto a essere rifugiato si distribuisce equamente nei 27 paesi dell'Unione europea e gli altri vengono rispediti indietro perché l'immigrazione è un'altra cosa. Come si gestisce l'immigrazione, l'immigrazione si gestisce con un documento che si chiama decreto flussi. Ogni anno il governo decide quanta immigrazione posso far entrare a quante persone posso dare un lavoro, una vita dignitosa. La casa, una capacità di inserirsi nella società nella quale ben queste persone vengono accolte, quelli entreranno rispettando le regole, perché due cose voglio dire la prima. In Italia non si entra illegalmente, se vuoi entrare in Italia, la prima cosa che devi fare è rispettare le regole italiane per entrare qui. Secondo, non mi pare che fosse grande solidarietà. Cari amici della sinistra, far entrare centinaia di migliaia di persone e poi tenerli agli angoli, a spacciare droga o le donne a prostituirsi. Quella non è solidarietà. Quella non e solidarietà per cui anche gestendo meglio il problema dell'immigrazione si possono risolvere un sacco di problemi che riguardano la nostra sicurezza.

Look, this is what I'm interested in, helping families. Helping to put back children on this earth is a big topic. The family has become some sort of enemy right? Everything that defines us today is an enemy, but for me it's a friend.

I simply consider the biggest societal suspension system that we have and we have to support it, and it's good to support it, it's right to incentivize natality because, ladies and gentlemen,

last year we had 400.000 children born here, it's not a demographic winter, it's a

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demographic ice-age. In a couple of years Italy will be gone. Since life expectancy is going up, more and more people need to be sustained but with less and less people to do that with.

We are screwed, children are the most precious thing we have, we have to put young people,

families, mothers in the conditions to not think about children as a luxury good. We have to

put women in the condition to not have to choose between being mothers or have a job. We

389 have to combat discrimination of women. Dear friends on the left, who have talked of women

390 at conferences, but in the end it is us who has made the difference. Not the quotas but 391 equality, rights, opportunities to measure oneself, kindergardens. Women that possess, and 392 not because of the concessions of a man, like often happens in many places. This can be done, 393 everything relating to safety can be defended here, also here in our cities. 394 Safety is not a thing that rich people need. It is not a thing that people that can defend 395 themselves need, not something that people that live in nice neighborhoods need, not

396 something that people who put expensive anti-theft systems in their house need. Safety is a 397 pre-condition of freedom, especially for common people, for the girls that have to be able to 398 cross parks in daylight without having the fear of being raped, for the elderly who have to be 399 able to go collect their pension check without the fear of getting mugged, for the people who live in council homes who shouldn't be scared of leaving the house and it gets stolen from

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And then the State doesn't care if they live in a car. Usual things. Normal things, it can be done, it can be done, obviously we have to be putting the police in the condition to work better. Let's clap for our police, for the terrible conditions they are forced to work in. Because here, we saw it too many times, the work of the Carabinieri (Military Police), the police and company are used to bring to justice a drug dealer and then after three days he will be back on the same corner of the street. I understand their humiliation, I understand it. Which also creates insecurity for us, but you can't even say this because you cannot talk about the issue of safety without saying that illegal mass migration did not really help us, right? And therefore you cannot say this, because then you are racist. Because we have solidarity with the women who have been victims of violence. But then if the violent act was done by an asylum seeker then "ah, let's pretend it's nothing". Because also there it is a game of priorities. So then, I will try to make some logical points about migration. Ok so, the problem with how migration has been handled here is that the left has purposefully been overlapping two things that have little to do with eachother. Right to asylum and migration are governed by completely different rules, they are two completely different things, they have to be handled in a completely different way. Ok well, we have treated everyone the

I will give you a simple example. Did you see the images of the Ukrainian refugees? Mostly women and children. Women and children who fled the war, how far away are those images to the ones of the boats full of working-age men that we have seen arriving on our coasts these past years? Because it's not like you need to be a genius to see it, if they are all men it is hard that these are fleeing a war, unless they have left the women and children there to fight, something which I would exclude them entering for in general. But that's another thing. But maybe they are not escaping war, they are economic migrants. The point, though, is that the economic migrants cannot be treated like refugees, pretending that these are refugees, because there you hurt the weakest of them. Maybe the refugees won't be able to arrive because they don't have the three-thousand Euros to give the smugglers and those who come are the ones that have the money.

Ok then what do we do in my opinion? In my opinion we have to start an European mission. Basically talk with other European nations and go to North Africa, particularly Libya, but

432 not only in Libya, and negotiate with the local authorities to stop the leaving of these boats. 433 Because i don't want the slave holders of the third millennium to get rich off desperate 434 people. I won't let the smugglers decide who comes or not. We'll stop the leaving of these

435 boats, we'll open hotspots in Africa organized and run by the international community, and 436

whoever has the right to come can come and they will be equally distributed in the 27 EU

437 countries, the rest will be sent back, because migration is something else. How do you

438 regulate migration? Migration is regulated by the government deciding how many migrants 439 are allowed in. This is based on the capacity of them being able to integrate into society in

- 440 which these are taken in, the ones that follow the rules. I have two things to say, first in Italy
- 441 you won't enter illegally, because if you want to come to Italy you have to follow our rules.
- 442 Second, it doesn't seem like solidarity to me. Dear friends on the left, letting hundreds of
- 443 thousands of migrants in and then keeping them on the corners of our roads to sell drugs and
- their women to have to become prostitutes. That is not solidarity. That is not solidarity that's 444
- 445 why regulating this migration issue will be solving many problems relating to safety for us.

11. Speech 18.09.2022 - Matera

Assumere più gente è l'unico modo per distribuire la ricchezza, per avere una società normale, una società che sia giusta, per cui sono piccole grandi cose che possono cambiare il mondo, la famiglia. Sostenere la natalità. Guardate è una grandissima questione anche economica. 400.000 bambini nati nell'ultimo anno non è un inverno demografico, è una glaciazione. L'Italia è una nazione destinata a scomparire chiaro e nel medio termine noi non potremmo pagare le pensioni perché abbiamo l'aspettativa di vita che sale sempre più persone da mantenere, sempre meno, persone che lavorano per mantenerle. I figli sono una questione di futuro. Aumentare l'assegno unico, mettere le donne nella condizione di non dover scegliere tra avere un posto di lavoro e fare un figlio, i figli non possono essere un bene di lusso, strumenti, asili nido, congedi parentali, incentivi alle aziende che assumono, neomamme, i diritti che vogliamo che garantire, aumentare i diritti in questa società, alla faccia di una sinistra che non è stata capace. Questo è il tema, fare cose normali, fare cose di buon senso, fare cose giuste. Basta con uno Stato che fa il forte con i deboli e il debole con i forti. Serve uno Stato giusto.

447 society. There are small and big things that can change the world, the family. Support natality. Look, it's a huge economic issue. 400.000 babies born last year is not a 448 449 demographic winter, it's a demographic ice-age. Italy is a nation destined to vanish, and in 450 the medium-term we won't be able to pay for our pensions because we have a rising age 451 expectancy, there will be more and more people to maintain but less and less people who can 452 work to sustain them. Children are crucial to the concept of future. Increase the single check 453 [on babies being born] and putting women in the condition to not have to choose between

Hiring more people is the only way to redistribute wealth, to have a normal society, a just

454 having a job or a child, children cannot be a luxury good, we need instruments,

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455 kindergartens, paid leave, incentives for businesses that hire new moms, the rights that we 456

want to guarantee, we want to increase rights in our society, something that the left has not

457 been able to do. This is the main thing, doing common-sense/normal things. Let's stop the

458 State being strong with the weak and weak with the strong. We need a just State.

Quest'idea che l'uguaglianza non deve essere nel punto di arrivo, ma secondo loro, ma nel punto nel punto di partenza, ma nel punto d'arrivo. Che il merito è un nemico. E invece io penso che tu devi costruire pari dignità per tutti nel punto di partenza, nessuno deve essere discriminato, ma poi dove arrivi? Beh, quello deve dipendere da te, dipende da quanto tu ci metti, dipende da quanto tu vali. Dipende dalla tua disponibilità al sacrificio, dal tuo valore. Uno non vale uno nel punto d'arrivo, uno vale uno nel punto di partenza. Guardate cose di buon senso che si possono fare, garantire la sicurezza nelle nostre città che è una precondizione di libertà per i più deboli. Guardate la sicurezza, non è che serve a quelli che c'hanno la macchina blindata che vivono nei quartieri? No, serve alle persone normali e alle ragazze che devono poter attraversare un parco senza avere paura di essere stuprate, agli anziani che devono poter andare a prendere la pensione senza avere paura di essere scippati a

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chi vive in una casa popolare non deve avere il terrore di uscire di casa perché gliela occupano. E poi lo Stato non si presenta per ridargli casa loro cose normali. Cose normali. Una gestione normale dei flussi migratori perché i profughi sono una cosa, gli immigrati sono un'altra cosa e si gestiscono in modo diverso, per cui si devi fermare le partenze perché a me non piace che si continui ad arricchire la mafia del terzo millennio degli scafisti amici della sinistra? Devi fermare le partenze, devi aprire in Africa gli hotspot, devi valutare in Africa chi è rifugiato, devi distribuire i rifugiati nei 27 paesi europei e devi rispedire gli altri indietro, perché l'immigrazione è un'altra cosa, l'immigrazione si fa con il decreto flussi, lo Stato italiano decide all'inizio dell'anno. Quanti immigrati? Io posso fare entrare per dare loro una vita dignitosa, perché si amici miei, non era solidarietà a far entrare centinaia di migliaia di persone e poi tenerle a spacciare agli angoli delle strade. O a prostituirsi? La solidarietà è un'altra cosa, la solidarietà è far entrare qualcuno che può diventare cittadino. Non metterò le mani della criminalità organizzata. Fa il decreto flussi, fai entrare le persone alle quali puoi dare una vita dignitosa e gestisci anche il fenomeno immigrazione che non è il fenomeno dei profughi. Anche perché, attenzione signori, a voi vanno detto immigrati ci servono perché fanno lavori che gli italiani non vogliono fare. Non è esattamente così e che li fanno a condizioni che gli italiani non sono disposti ad accettare. Quindi un'altra cosa che va spiegata a questi amici buonisti della sinistra e che l'immigrazione illegale di massa è uno strumento nelle mani delle grandi concentrazioni economiche. Per rivedere al ribasso i diritti dei lavoratori. Cari amici della sinistra, che una volta difendeva i lavoratori e adesso vi siete schierati con le grandi concentrazioni economiche e con la speculazione finanziaria? E poi dice, perché a sinistra ci votano, a noi ti credo. Incontro un sacco di gente di sinistra che mi dice Senti, ho una crisi di identità perché io ho votato tutta la vita a sinistra. Adesso voto A voto per Fratelli d'Italia. Io dico sempre no, guarda crisi niente non c'hai, te c'ha proprio la sinistra che non ha più niente da dire.

This idea of equality that has to be the point of arrival, but in their opinion, it should be at the point of arrival. That merit is an enemy. I, on the other hand, thing that you have to guarantee equal dignity at the starting line, nobody should be discriminated, but then where you arrive? Well, that should be up to you, it depends on how much you put in, it depends on how much you are worth. It depends on your willingness to sacrifice, on your worth. One is not worth one at the arrival line, one is worth the same on the starting line. Look, how many common-sense things we can do. Guaranteeing security in our cities, which is a precondition of freedom for the weakest. Look at safety, it is not needed by the people with armoured cars that live in the nice neighborhoods. No, the weakest need it, and the girls need it because they should be able to cross a park in broad daylight without the fear of getting raped, and the elderly need it because they should be able to go collect their pension check without the risk of getting mugged or who lives in a council home and is scared to leave the house because otherwise they will occupy it and the State won't do anything about it. Common-sense things. Common-sense approaches to regulating migratory flows, because refugees are one thing and migrants are something else and should be regulated in different ways. I don't like the third millennium mafias, friends of the left, to get rich. We have to regulate the departures. You have to open hotspots in Africa, you have to evaluate in Africa who can come and who can't, you have to distribute the refugees between all EU27 countries and the rest you have to send back. You regulate migration through the regulation of the flows that the Italian government decides at the start of every year. How many migrants? As many as I can give a dignified life to, because my friends, it's not solidarity to let hundreds of thousands of people in and then forcing them to sell drugs or to go into prostitution. Solidarity is something else, solidarity is letting someone in and making them become citizens. I won't let them enter the world of the Mafia. Let's regulate the migrant flow, let's

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483 let in as many as we can give a dignified life to and regulate migration, which is not related 484 to refugees. Also because ladies and gentlemen, they told you that the migrants are needed because they do jobs that Italians don't want to do. It's not exactly like that, it's because they 485 486 do the jobs in conditions that Italians would never accept. That's why, another thing needs to 487 be told to our leftist friends, that illegal mass migration is a tool in the hands of large 488 economic concentrations. To create a race to the bottom when it comes to workers' rights. 489 Dear friends on the left, that they once used to protect workers and now you side yourself 490 with capital concentrations and financial speculation. And then they ask why they vote us on 491 the left. I met a lot of left-wing people who told me that they have an identity crisis because I 492 voted left all my life and now I vote Fratelli d'Italia. I always say that they don't have an 493 identity crisis, it's the left who doesn't say anything to you anymore.

12. Speech 19.09.2022 - Caserta

Gli over 60 senza reddito, pensionati, famiglie senza reddito, con minori a carico disabili, le pensioni di invalidità ferme a 270 € sono una vergogna. Le pensioni minime. Come a 500 € sono una vergogna. Il livello dell'assistenza deve salire, ma per chi è in condizioni di lavorare noi crediamo che si possano mettere in piedi condizioni per garantire la dignità del lavoro.

The people over 60 without income, pensioners, families without income with minors maybe with disabilities, the disability pensions stuck at 270 Euros are a shame. The minimum pensions at 500 Euros are a shame. The level of assistance needs to go up, but for who is working-age we believe that we can create the conditions to guarantee dignity of a job.

Noi viviamo in una società nella quale ormai moltissimi non possono permettersi di essere una famiglia monoreddito, anche per il livello dei salari, però viviamo contemporaneamente in una società nella quale i figli sono beni di lusso. Le madri sono ancora costrette a scegliere tra mettere al mondo un bambino e avere un posto di lavoro e questo non è più tollerabile. Lo dico in questa regione, lo dico a Caserta, a Napoli, dove il livello di capienza degli asili nido è vergognoso. Penso vergognoso. Allora che cosa vogliamo fare, aumentare da subito del 50% l'assegno unico per i figli perché quello è un reddito che ti serve, quello che ti serve a crescere tuo figlio, quello è un reddito che ti serve perché quel bambino non può lavorare, va mantenuto e quindi sì che va data una mano alle famiglie e poi gli asili nido aperti anche l'ora oltre l'orario no di degli uffici perché c'è gente che ha altri orari di lavoro aperto a rotazione, l'estate aperto il sabato, un punto di riferimento.

Dei congedi e la sostituzione di maternità deve essere a carico, deve essere a carico dello Stato per i contributi perché altrimenti è ovvio che a parità di condizioni, tra assumere un maschio o assumere una donna in età fertile si sceglierà sempre il maschio. Perché hai paura che la donna ti va in maternità e ti costa molto di più? Non è che ti puoi lamentare, devi cercare delle soluzioni. Quindi sì, la famiglia è al centro, il più grande ammortizzatore sociale che abbiamo. E poi guardate, noi siamo destinati a scomparire. 400.000 bambini sono nati in Italia nell'ultimo anno. Mado a te ti amiamo, a te damo una medaglia, una medaglia, ti diamo un grande. Ma con la stessa signora. Tanta stima per la signora, davvero quattro, tanto bravissimi, bravissimi, Facciamo un applauso alla nostra famiglia numero uno.

We live in a society in which so many cannot afford being a single-earner household, also because of the wage levels. At the same time we live in a society in which children are a luxury good. Women are still forced to choose between having children and having a job. This cannot be tolerated. I'm telling you in exactly this region, I'm telling you in Caserta and

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Naples, where the level of kindergarten spots is shameful. I think shameful. So what do we want to do? We want to increase from the beginning by 50% the single check on having a child in this country, because that's the income you need, the one you need to raise your child, that's an income that your child needs because it cannot work, it needs to be maintained and that's why we have to support families. And then the kindergartens open also until the offices are open, because there are people with varying job times. Also parental leave and the contribution to maternity has to be paid by the State, because obviously in a scenario where a man and a woman in child-bearing age, even in the same conditions, the business will always choose the man. Because you are scared that the woman will go into maternity leave and you have to pay a lot. You can't complain though, you have to find solutions. That's why, yes, the family is at the core, it's the biggest social suspension system we have. And look, we are destined to vanish. 400.000 babies where born in Italy last year. [talking to a woman in the crowd] Wow we love you, we'll give you a medal, a medal, we'll give you a big one. But with the same guy? Much love for the woman, really? Four [children]? That's a lot, very good, very good. Let's clap for our number one family here.

Noi rischiamo di scomparire nel lungo termine, né io penso che si risolva la questione, come propone la sinistra. Vabbè, facciamo entrare gli immigrati che i figli li fanno loro. Io vorrei che facessero gli italiani, insomma, senza avercela con. Sarei un po gelosa della mia cultura, della mia identità, della mia civiltà. Dopodiché però, ancora prima di scomparire nel medio termine, il nostro welfare non regge. Noi abbiamo l'aspettativa di vita che continua a salire, avremo sempre più persone da mantenere, le pensioni sempre meno persone che lavorano per mantenerle possiamo fare tutte le riforme delle pensioni che volete, ma noi tra qualche anno le pensioni non abbiamo più soldi per pagarle, se non ci rimettiamo a fare i figli, capito? Quindi è un tema economico, è quello di incentivare e di costruire un sistema che dica a chi mette al mondo dei figli. Grazie. Lo Stato è con te, ti dà una mano. E una cosa che serve allo Stato prima ancora di servire a quelle famiglie e poi la sicurezza. Altro tema al quale siamo molto legati, anche qui non pensate che la sicurezza serva? Ai ricchi, ai potenti, a quelli che c'hanno la macchina blindata, l'antifurto che vivono nei guartieri. Bene, questi qua. La sicurezza serve. Alle persone normali, ai più fragili, ai più deboli. Serve alle ragazze che devono poter attraversare un parco senza temere di essere violentate. Serve agli anziani che devono poter andare a prendere la pensione senza paura di essere scippati. Servono a chi vive nelle case popolari che non devono avere il terrore di uscire dalla Casa popolare perché poi gli viene occupata e lo Stato non si presenta per sgomberarla alle persone normali. Alle persone comuni. Ed è una sicurezza che va garantita, investendo di più sulle forze dell'ordine, che ringraziamo per il lavoro che fanno in condizioni di estrema difficoltà. Aumentare le dotazioni, migliorare gli stipendi. E combattere l'immigrazione irregolare che non si può dire in Italia perché sennò ti dicono il razzista. Però basta leggere i dati del Viminale su quanto incide l'immigrazione sui reati. Semplice, perché? Perché se tu fai entrare centinaia di migliaia di persone alle quali poi non ti preoccupi, perché non ti puoi, non c'è la fai di dare una vita dignitosa, un posto di lavoro, una casa, eccetera. Quella gente la Stai mettendo ai margini della società, cioè quello che la sinistra ha fatto finta di non vedere e che non è che fosse esattamente solidarietà. Far entrare centinaia di migliaia di persone e poi tenerle agli angoli delle strade, a spacciare droga o se erano donne a prostituirsi. La solidarietà è un'altra cosa.

We are destined to vanish in the long term. The solutions of the left don't convince me. "Ok,

let's let in immigrants so they can have the children". I would like that it is the Italians who

519 make the babies. I would be jealous of our culture, our identity and our civilization. After that

520 though, even before vanishing the medium-term will see us unable to sustain our welfare

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521 system. We have an aging population, we'll have more and more people to sustain the 522 pensions but less and less working people to contribute to that. We can do all the pension 523 reforms that you want but in a few years we won't have money to pay those pensions 524 anymore. Unless we start making children again, understood? That's why it's an economic 525 discussion, we have to incentivize and create a system that tells you that you should create more babies. Thank you! The State is with you, it'll give you a hand. Even before that we 526 527 need to talk about security. Another topic that we are very attached to, also because who do 528 you think needs safety the most? The rich, powerful and the ones that have armoured cars, 529 have anti-theft systems and live in nice neighborhoods? Well, safety is needed by the common 530 people, the fragile and the weakest in society. Young girls need it because they shouldn't be scared to cross a park and be afraid that they will get raped. The elderly need it who have to 531 532 be able to go collect their pension check without the fear of getting mugged. They are needed 533 by the people who live in council homes and are terrified of leaving the house because 534 otherwise it would get squatted and the State wouldn't do anything about it. Safety needs to 535 be guaranteed, by investing more into the police, who we thank dearly because of the terrible 536 conditions they do their jobs in. Increase the pay and fight illegal migration, but you can't 537 say that otherwise you are racist. One just needs to read the data from the Viminale [Ministry 538 of the Interior] on how much migration influences crime. Easy, why? Because if you let 539 hundreds of thousands of people into the country and then cannot guarantee them a dignified 540 life, a job, a home, etc. You are putting those people on the edges of society, basically what the left pretended not to see, and it is what they call solidarity. Letting hundreds of thousands 541 542 of people in and then keeping them on the street corners to sell weed, and if they are women 543 forcing them into prostitution. Solidarity is something else.

13. Speech 20.09.2022 - Palermo

Il risultato è che per chi non è in condizioni di lavorare, disabili, anziani, famiglie senza reddito, con figli a carico, l'assistenza era inadeguata.

The result is that the people not able to work, disabled people, the elderly, families without

income with children, the help was not enough.

Si deve alzare l'assistenza perché non è in condizione di lavorare perché nessuno deve avere paura. Con Fratelli d'Italia guardatevi indietro e guardate chi le ha fatte in questi anni le battaglie sociali. Sulle famiglie meno abbienti, su chi aveva dei figli e non sapeva come arrivare alla fine del mese, potendo dare a quei bambini una vita dignitosa.

We have to increase social help because who isn't in the condition to work should not be scared. With FdI look back, look who fought the social battles in these last few years. On less well-off families, on who had children and didn't know how to get to the end of the month,

being able to give these children a dignified life.

A partire dalla scuola, perché si la scuola della sinistra. È stata un'enorme macchina di disuguaglianza. Con questi vermi livellamento doveva essere nel punto d'arrivo e non nel punto di partenza. No? E in merito era nemico dell'uguaglianza. Merito e uguaglianza camminano insieme, la sfida di qualsiasi nazione degna.

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- 550 Starting from the school, because it's of the left. It was a huge machine of inequalities. With
- these worms the leveling should be at the point of arrival not at the point of starting, no? And
- 552 that merit is the enemy of inequality. Merit and equality walk together, that's the challenge of
- 553 every dignified country.

Che sta a fianco dei più fragili e la sfida di prendere tutti, indipendentemente dalla condizione dalla quale provengono, dalla famiglia dalla quale nascono, dalla città nella quale nascono, mentre li tutti sulla stessa riga di partenza, tutti con le stesse opportunità.

- Who is on the side of the more fragile and the challenge to bring everyone in, independently
- of the conditions from which they come from, from the family they are born in, from the cities
- 556 they are born in, putting all of them on the same starting line, with the same opportunities.
- 557 But then how you arrive that should depend only on you.

Non vi ha citato il tema delle famiglie, per esempio. Perché Io credo che noi ci dobbiamo prendere conto del fatto che se non ricominciamo a mettere al mondo dei figli, siamo spacciati. 400.000 nati nell'ultimo anno, non è un inverno demografico, signori, è una glaciazione. l'Italia è una nazione destinata a scomparire nel lungo periodo. Nel medio periodo il nostro welfare non regge, che vuol dire? Noi abbiamo la società che continua a invecchiare. Sempre più persone da mantenere, sempre meno persone che lavorano per mantenerle possiamo fare tutte le riforme delle pensioni che volete, ma fra qualche anno noi non abbiamo più soldi per pagarle le pensioni. Manco proprio quelle da 200 €. Se non mettiamo la gente a lavorare, se non torniamo a fare i figli e quindi, per esempio, tra i primi punti del programma di Fratelli d'Italia c'è il raddoppio al 50%, cioè aumento il 50% dell'assegno unico, cioè se metti al mondo un figlio che lo devi crescere, il figlio non è un bene di lusso, quindi sì che lì lo Stato ti deve dare una mano. E poi congedi parentali e gli asili, gli asili, perché le donne non debbano due scegliere tra essere madri, avere un posto di lavoro.

I didn't mention families yet for example. Because I think that we have to realize that if we don't start putting children to light, we are doomed. 400.000 babies born last year, this is not a demographic winter, it's a demographic ice-age. Italy is a country destined to perish in the long terms. In the medium-term our welfare won't be sustainable. What does that mean? We have a society that keeps getting older. More and more people to maintain, less and less people to maintain them. We can do all the pension reforms you want but in a few years we won't have money to pay those pensions anymore. Not even the 200 Euro ones. If we don't put people to work, if we don't start making children again. For example in one of the points of Fratelli d'Italia we want to increase by 50% the single check if you have a baby, because it shouldn't be a luxury good, that's why the State should give you a hand. And then maternity leave, and then kindergartens, kindergartens, because women should not have to choose between being mothers or having a job.

Fermare la partenza dei barconi, basta far fare i miliardi agli schiavisti del terzo millennio. Gli schiavisti noi, noi li arricchiamo. Si fermano i barconi con una missione europea, dialogando con i governi del Nord Africa si aprono in Africa.

- 570 Stopping the departure of the boats, stopping the slavers of the third millennium making
- 571 billions. We are enriching the slavers. We have to halt the boats with a European mission,
- 572 being in dialogue with the governments of North Africa.

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14. Speech 22.09.2022 - Roma

Le ragazze che non devono avere paura ad attraversare un parco in pieno giorno. E magari essere stuprata. Le madri che non devono avere paura a fare uscire i loro figli immaginando che incontreranno uno spacciatore a ogni angolo di strada. Serve agli anziani che devono poter prendere la pensione senza paura di essere scippati, serve a chi vive in una casa popolare, non deve essere terrorizzato di uscire da quella casa perché gliela occuperanno e lo Stato non gliela libererà.

- 573 Girls that shouldn't be scared of crossing a park in full daylight and maybe be raped. The
- mothers that shouldn't be scared of letting their children out imagining that they will meet a
- 575 drug dealer on every corner of the street. It helps elderly people who have to go pick up their
- 576 pension check without the fear of getting mobbed, it is needed by people who live in council
- 577 homes and shouldn't be scared to leave the house and on their arrival that someone has
- 578 taken it from them and the State won't do anything about it.

Noi faremo quello che fanno tutti i paesi europei, difenderemo i confini italiani e difenderemo i confini europei. Chiederemo all'Europa una missione per trattare con le Nazioni del Nord Africa, fermare la partenza dei barconi, aprire in Africa gli hotspot gestiti dalla comunità internazionale, valutare in Africa chi ha diritto a essere rifugiato, distribuire solamente i rifugiati nei 27 paesi dell'Unione europea. E gli altri verranno spediti indietro, perché se vuoi entrare in Italia la prima regola è che entri rispettando le regole dello Stato italiano.

- We will do what every European country does, defending the Italian borders, and our
- 580 European borders. We will ask Europe for a mission to negotiate with the nations of North
- Africa, stopping the departures of the boats, opening hotspots in Africa managed by the
- 582 international community, evaluate in Africa who has the right to be a refugee and divide
- 583 those equally between the EU27 countries. The others will have to be sent back, because if
- you want to come to Italy the first rule is that you come in by following the rules.

Perché l'Italia è migliore dei governi di sinistra che ha avuto. In questi anni sono migliori le sue famiglie, sono migliori i suoi lavoratori sono migliori, le sue imprese sono migliori, le sue giovani, i suoi giovani e le sue donne sono migliori, i suoi corpi, i suoi corpi intermedi. La sinistra sta lì e a blaterare che. Hanno paura, hanno paura i mercati. Hanno paura l'Europa, hanno paura a livello internazionale, hanno paura i cittadini, gli unici che hanno paura sono loro. Gli unici che hanno paura sono loro perché hanno capito che sta per finire il loro sistema di potere. Non ha paura l'Italia. Della gente perbene. Non ha paura, l'Italia produttiva non ha paura, l'Italia di chi vuole lavorare non ha paura. l'Italia delle donne che non chiedevano quote in ogni ambito, ma chiedevano servizi e meritocrazia.

Because Italy is better than the leftist governments it has had in these last years. Families were better, its workers were better, its businesses were better, its youth and its women were better. The left keeps talking, but they are scared, scared of the markets, scared of Europe, scared on the international level, scared of the citizens, the only ones who are scared are them. They are scared because they understand that their system of power is about to change. Italy is not scared. The productive Italy is not scared, the Italy that would like to work is not scared, the Italy of the women that didn't ask for quotas in every sector but asked for services and meritocracy is not scared.

15. Speech 25.10.2022 - Inauguration

La guerra ha aggravato la situazione già molto difficile causata dagli aumenti del costo dell'energia e dei carburanti. Costi insostenibili per molte imprese, che potrebbero essere costrette a chiudere e a licenziare i propri lavoratori, e per milioni di famiglie che già oggi non sono più in grado di fare fronte al rincaro delle bollette. Ma sbaglia chi crede sia possibile barattare la libertà dell'Ucraina con la nostra tranquillità. Cedere al ricatto di Putin sull'energia non risolverebbe il problema, lo aggraverebbe aprendo la strada ad ulteriori pretese e ricatti, con futuri aumenti dell'energia ancora maggiori di quelli che abbiamo conosciuto in questi mesi.

- The war made the situation worse regarding the price of energy and fuels. Unsustainable costs for many businesses which will be forced to let go of its workers, and for milions of families that today are not able to cope with the increase in bill prices. But the ones who believe that Ukraine's freedom with our tranquillity are very wrong. Falling for Putin's blackmail on energy will not solve the issue, it would make it worse by opening a road for more blackmail, with future rises in price of energy being even bigger than the ones we have been seeing.
 - "Anche per questo, sarà necessario mantenere e rafforzare le misure nazionali a supporto di famiglie e imprese, sia sul versante delle bollette sia su quello del carburante. Un impegno finanziario imponente che drenerà gran parte delle risorse reperibili, e ci costringerà a rinviare altri provvedimenti che avremmo voluto avviare già nella prossima legge di bilancio.
- Also becuase of this, it will be necessary to maintain and reinforce national measures to support families and businesses, both on the bill issue but also on that of fuel. A financial obligation that will drain many of the available resources, this will force us to move some plans which we had planned to put into this budget.
 - Oltre al caro energia, le famiglie italiane si trovano a dover fronteggiare un livello di inflazione che ha raggiunto l'11,1% su base annua e ne sta erodendo inesorabilmente il potere d'acquisto, nonostante una parte di questi aumenti sia stata assorbita dalle aziende.
- 604 Other than the energy prices, Italian families are finding themselves confronted with a level 605 of yearly inflation which reached 11.1% and that is eroding its purchasing power even 606 though a part of these increases are being absorbed by businesses.
 - Diversi studi dimostrano come, oggi, chi vive in una famiglia agiata abbia una chance in più per recuperare le lacune di un sistema scolastico appiattito al ribasso, mentre gli studenti dotati di minori risorse vengono danneggiati da un insegnamento che non premia il merito, perché quelle lacune non vengono colmate da nessuno.
- Different studies demonstrate that, today, if you live in a wealthy family you have a higher change to recover from the shortcomings in the education system, flattened towards worse conditions, while students that have limited resources are hurt by an education which does not value merit, but where those shortcomings are not filled by anyone.

Ed è la famiglia. Nucleo primario delle nostre società, culla degli affetti e luogo nel quale si forma l'identità di ognuno di noi. Intendiamo sostenerla e tutelarla; e con questa sostenere la natalità, che nel 2021 ha registrato il tasso di nascite più basso dall'Unità d'Italia ad oggi. Per uscire dalla glaciazione demografica e tornare a produrre quegli anni di futuro, quel Pil demografico di cui abbiamo bisogno, serve un piano imponente, economico ma anche culturale, per riscoprire la bellezza della genitorialità e rimettere la famiglia al centro della società. È allora un nostro impegno, preso anche in campagna elettorale, quello di aumentare gli importi dell'assegno unico e universale e di aiutare le giovani coppie ad ottenere un mutuo per la prima casa, lavorando progressivamente per l'introduzione del quoziente famigliare. E visto che i progetti familiari vanno di pari passo con il lavoro, vogliamo incentivare in ogni modo l'occupazione femminile, premiando quelle aziende che adottano politiche che offrono soluzioni efficaci per conciliare i tempi casa-lavoro e sostenendo i Comuni per garantire asili nido gratuiti e aperti fino all'orario di chiusura di negozi e uffici.

611 It is the family, the core part of our society, in the crib of affection and the place where our 612 identity is shaped. We want to support her and protect her. With this comes the management 613 of low birth-rates which, in 2021 reached the lowest since Italian unification. To leave this demographic ice-age and turn to the future we need an imposing plan, economic but also 614 615 cultural, to rediscover the beauty of parenthood and putting the family back into the center of 616 society. It is, therefore, our assignment, taken during the campaign, that of increasing the universal single check and on helping young couples get a mortgage for their first house, to 617 618 work progressively towards an introduction of a family quotient. And since the family 619 projects go hand in hand with jobs, we want to incentivize, in any way, female occupation, 620 rewarding businesses that adopt politics that give efficient solutions to improve the work-life 621 balance and helping the Comuni to guarantee free kindergarden spots open until the closing 622 time of businesses and offices.

L'Italia ha bisogno di una nuova alleanza intergenerazionale, che abbia nella famiglia il suo pilastro e rafforzi il legame che unisce i figli con i nonni e i giovani con gli anziani, che vanno protetti, valorizzati e sostenuti perché rappresentano le nostre radici e la nostra storia.

Italy is in need of a new intergenerational alliance, that has the family as its principal column and that reinforces the bond that exists between our children with their grandparents, young people with the elderly, who need to be protected, valued and supported because they represent the roots of our history.

Ho conosciuto giovanissima il profumo della libertà, l'ansia per la verità storica e il rigetto per qualsiasi forma di sopruso o discriminazione proprio militando nella destra democratica italiana. Una comunità di uomini e donne che ha sempre agito alla luce del sole e a pieno titolo nelle nostre istituzioni repubblicane, anche negli anni più bui della criminalizzazione e della violenza politica, quando nel nome dell'antifascismo militante ragazzi innocenti venivano uccisi a colpi di chiave inglese.

I learned when i was young the smell of freedom, the anxiety of the historical truth and the rejection of whatever form of discrimination exactly while being a militant member of our democratic Italian right-wing. A community of men and women who always played in the light of day within the institutions of our republic, even in the darker years of the criminalization and of the political violence, when children were killed with wrenches in the name of militant anti-fascism.

"Sicurezza e legalità, certo, riguardano anche una corretta gestione dei flussi migratori. Secondo un principio semplice: in Italia, come in qualsiasi altro Stato serio, non si entra illegalmente, si entra solo attraverso i decreti flussi. In questi anni di terribile incapacità nel trovare le giuste soluzioni alle diverse crisi migratorie, troppi uomini e donne, e bambini, hanno trovato la morte in mare nel tentativo di arrivare in Italia.

Safety and legality are tied to a correct administration of the flow of migrants. According to a simple principle: in Italy, like in every other serious country, you enter only through these policies which allow people to come in. In these years, the terrible incompetency in finding correct solutions to these migratory crises, too many men, women and children died in their attempts to come to Italy.

E allora mancherà un'ultima cosa da fare, forse la più importante: rimuovere le cause che portano i migranti, soprattutto i più giovani, ad abbandonare la propria terra, le proprie radici culturali, la propria famiglia per cercare una vita migliore in Europa. Ecco, credo che l'Italia debba farsi promotrice di un "piano Mattei" per l'Africa, un modello virtuoso di collaborazione e di crescita tra Unione Europea e nazioni africane, anche per contrastare il preoccupante dilagare del radicalismo islamista, soprattutto nell'area sub-sahariana. Ci piacerebbe così recuperare, dopo anni in cui si è preferito indietreggiare, il nostro ruolo strategico nel Mediterraneo.

And then the last thing to do, maybe the most important: removing the causes that bring migrants here, especially the young ones, to abandon their land, their cultural roots, their family to look for a better life in Europe. There, I think Italy needs to promote a new "Mattei plan" for Africa, a virtuous model of collaboration and of growth between the European Union and African nations, also to contrast the worrying expansion of radical islamism, especially in the sub-saharan region. We would like to, in this manner, recover our strategic role in the Mediterranean.

Sono la prima donna incaricata come presidente del Consiglio dei ministri nella storia d'Italia, provengo da un'area culturale che è stata spesso confinata ai margini della Repubblica, e non sono certo arrivata fin qui fra le braccia di un contesto familiare e di amicizie influenti. Rappresento ciò che gli inglesi chiamerebbero l'underdog. Lo sfavorito, per semplificare, che per affermarsi deve stravolgere tutti i pronostici. Intendo farlo ancora, stravolgere i pronostici, con l'aiuto di una valida squadra di ministri e sottosegretari, con la fiducia e il lavoro dei parlamentari che voteranno favorevolmente, e con gli spunti che arriveranno dalle critiche di coloro che voteranno contro.

645 I am the first woman given the role of President of the Council of Ministers in the history of Italy, I come from a cultural area which has often been pushed to the corners of the Republic, 646 647 and I certainly did not get here thanks to a context of rich family and influential friends. I 648 represent what the English would call the underdog. The unfavoured, to make it easier, who -649 in order to make it - needed to go against all the expectations. I intend to do this again, go against the thoughts people have of me, with a team of competent ministers and 650 651 undersecretaries, with the belief and the work of the parliamentarians who will vote in 652 favour, and with all the critiques that will vote against them.

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