# LINGUISTIC GENDERED BIASES
# IN THE REPRESENTATIONS OF POPULIST
# AND NONPOPULIST ITALIAN LEADERS.
# NAMING STRATEGIES AND PSYCHOLINGUISTIC
# MARKERS ON THE FACEBOOK COMMENTS
# OF THEIR FOLLOWERS

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Studies on journalistic communication highlighted systematic gendered biases when naming women politicians compared to their men colleagues. These biases manifested in fewer references to women's political offices, often opting for their first name or both first name and surname. Conversely, for men, there was a preference for using solely their surname. Experimental research has shown the negative consequences of these biases for women. With our study, we have shifted the attention to common-sense conveyed by Facebook. Between September 2019 and February 2021, we analyzed 43,796 comments from followers of two pairs of Italian politicians (one right-wing populist, the other center-left nonpopulist) during the Italian Conte II cabinet. VOSPEC method of the textual statistical software SPAD-T allowed the identification of the most significant lemmas for the followers of each leader. The outputs also enabled a qualitative study of the discursive context of these lemmas. We discussed the results focusing on persistent androcentrism in politics.

Social psychology has an established tradition of researching the relationship between language and gender issues (see Freed, 2003; Menegatti & Rubini, 2017). This tradition also focuses on the social and psychological implications of using linguistic sexism (Prewitt-Freilino et al., 2012). It has been shown that the role of specific linguistic categories and forms, such as the generic masculine (a form of masculine used for both men and women), can promote and reinforce gender stereotypes, prejudices, and sexist attitudes (Cacciari & Padovani, 2007; Sczesny et al., 2015; Stahlberg et al., 2007; Wasserman & Weseley, 2009). Experimental research has shown the negative consequences of using this sexist form. It undermines

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women's motivation, professional performance, self-esteem, and effectiveness by threatening their sense of belonging (e.g., Briere & Lanktree, 1983; Cameron, 1998; Cralley & Ruscher, 2005; Gaucher et al., 2011; McConnell & Fazio, 1996; Merkel et al., 2012; Mucchi-Faina, 2005; Sczesny et al., 2016). These results not only experimentally show the negative consequences of the use of this linguistic form on women themselves (e.g., Bem & Bem, 1973; Crawford & English, 1984; Crawford & Unger, 2004; Gastil, 1990) but also highlight how they contribute to creating widespread androcentric representations that make women invisible in social reality (e.g., Ng, 2007; Stahlberg et al., 2007).

In the political field, studies have been predominantly descriptive and developed according to different theoretical perspectives involving both mainstream and critical approaches. In the latter case, we can cite the contribution of Romaniuk and Ehrlich (2018), published in The Routledge handbook of language and politics (Wodak & Forchtner, 2018, pp. 514-527). The two scholars start from the consideration that a masculine culture characterizes the political world due to the predominance of one gender, the masculine one, and to the idea that men and not women are best placed for the electoral offices. This creates a situation in which women engaged in a political career are forced to oscillate between the norms of femininity (stereotypical) and those of competence (counter-stereotypical) to respond to leadership models culturally based on masculinity (Sensales & Prislei, in press). This leads women[1] politicians to juggle these conflicting norms, which generate what is referred to in the literature as the "double bind," a problematic situation in which unpleasant outcomes cannot be avoided, no matter what action is taken. Studies on gendered speech and political leadership show a complex reality in which women face these difficulties by discursively constructing their identities to overcome the essentialist point of view relating to gendered speech styles. These styles lead feminine identity back to a polarized model based on the persistence of a "biological sex," which ends up being a barrier to women's entry into politics as it is unbalanced on the communal dimension and poorly suited to political leadership. Alongside this type of analysis, cited by Romaniuk and Ehrlich (2018), others have been developing, bringing attention to the mainstream and social media world to study how language contributes to crystallizing or overcoming the reality that penalizes women who undertake political careers.

A series of research linked to the Austro-German critical tradition of political linguistics (politolinguistik; Cedroni, 2014; Reisigl, 2008; Reisigl & Wodak, 2000; Wodak, 2015; Wodak & de Cillia, 2006; Wodak et al., 1999; Wodak & Forchtner, 2018) have focused on the study of semantics, hermeneutics, pragmatics of discourse and linguistic acts of politicians and more generally of people with an essential role in the media and other relevant cultural fields. This approach was mainly based on qualitative analyses, with particular reference to critical discourse analysis. It subsequently developed integrated models using quantitative and statistical text analysis methods (Baker, 2012; Baker et al., 2008, 2013; Gabrielatos et al., 2012).

A second critical approach concerns the theory of social representations (SRT), which has studied gender issues with different methodological perspectives (Arruda, 2003), starting from the pioneering work of Kruse and colleagues (1988). In that study, the analysis of lexical style in various media texts revealed the traditional stereotypes at work in gender representations, highlighting how men appeared more frequently active and with the role of logical subject, while women were described as more passive and emotional with roles of victims and the weak. Empirical investigations on language and gender have thus established themselves (Aebischer, 1985; Dal Secco et al., 2010; Duveen, 1993; Sensales & Chirumbolo, 2004; Sensales & Pisilli, 2006). In this tradition, a line of research centered on studying linguistic gender bias in representations of politics at the common-sense[2] level and in mass media communication and political institutions (for an overview, see Sensales et al., 2018).

Our contribution fits into this line of research by proposing a hybridization between quantitative and qualitative analyses. In our case, the focus is not on the communication styles of politicians but on how

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followers represent the politicians through their comments on Facebook. This is an area often overlooked by the literature and yet of great interest because it allows us to verify in the field how the language of common-sense people confirms or contrasts political gender stereotypes. The study is of exploratory type aimed at analyzing the possible linguistic differences between the comments of the followers of two couples (woman/man) of political leaders, two right-wing populists, and two center-left nonpopulists. Our general objective is to determine whether any linguistic differences are linked to the leader's gender and whether they are stereotyped or counter-stereotypical, verifying any consistency with what is stated in the literature. When interpreting the results, we also considered the communication styles (populist vs. nonpopulist) to control their role in the detected linguistic differences. First of all, the linguistic indicators of naming strategies were noted with particular reference to the use of the name only, the surname only, the title of political office ("Deputy," "Senator," etc.), and the title of personal identity ("Mr," "Ms," etc.). References to the agentic and communal dimensions and the affective expressions of followers toward their leader were also monitored. These data were analyzed with quantitative textual analysis techniques on followers' comments, to which qualitative insights were added regarding the context of using the different linguistic data.

## Gender, SRT, Language, and Mass Media

Under the influence of the linguistic turn in social psychology, which began with the discursive approach (Potter & Wetherell, 1987), the SRT assumes that language contributes to constructing rather than reflecting reality. Naming something establishes its objective existence. In this way, possible differences between categories of populations, once present in verbal communication, acquire objectivity and influence on people's conduct and thinking. In line with this current of thought in SRT, the media are considered nonneutral tools for constructing information, fundamental for the diffusion of representations (Moscovici, 2001; Moscovici & Marková, 1998).

According to this perspective, ideologies focused on specific groups, elites, and world regions are confirmed, produced, reproduced, or refuted in media discourse (van Dijk, 1998). So, for example, van Dijk (1998) notes that more information is provided by and about men rather than about women or other minorities, spreading and confirming social norms that systematically discriminate against specific groups. The SRT argues that language is far from neutral. It is a symbolic repertoire capable of producing, reproducing, or refuting shared norms and ideologies by activating specific sociopsychological processes in the speakers and the communication recipients. This way, language influences how people think, behave, evaluate, and create expectations. This process is made possible by the opacity of language, which implies its ability to mask power relations.

Concerning gender issues, circularity can be considered between the conceptualization of gender and the linguistic expressions that guide it (Bazzanella, 2010) according to a trend that makes it difficult to change the sexist attitudes present in society. Overcoming this difficulty requires a level of awareness capable of breaking the penalizing automatisms that act in language to make it possible to redefine gender-oriented relationships to achieve greater symmetry. This redefinition can redeem the role of women, freeing them from the gray area in which they have been relegated until today with the complicity of the mass media, too often oriented toward confirming gender stereotypes rather than counteracting them, crystallizing the gap in favor of men, rather than trying to overcome it.

Compared to the world of politics, which is by definition androcentric, the mass media play an even more critical role. In 1997, the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) — a permanent international forum that for

decades has monitored the presence of women in various political fields by promoting actions to overcome gender discrimination — underlined the need for the mass media to become agents of change in the way of representing women in the political sphere, rather than simply reflecting prevailing sociocultural models (IPU, 1997). In reality, the literature that has analyzed the role of the mass media in political communication has shown how this objective is still far from being achieved, even if, in recent decades, there are signs of a trend in the media toward less discrimination against women involved in politics (see Sensales et al., 2018). In this context, social media, which are in discontinuity concerning the mainstream media, deserve a separate discussion.

## SOCIAL MEDIA, POPULIST AND NONPOPULIST POLITICAL COMMUNICATION

Social networks are particularly attractive for political communication in general and for populist communication in particular. The latter is a form of communication that reflects the peculiarities of populism: its being based on a Manichean and highly polarized and conflictual vision of reality (Di Cicco et al., 2023; Hawks & Uzunoğlu, 2019; Mazzoleni & Bracciale, 2018; Wettstein et al., 2016). This vision translates into a highly simplified and emotional style well suited to social media logic (Blassnig et al., 2020; Bobba, 2019). It is a logic based on horizontality and disintermediation, allowing populist leaders to interface directly with their followers, giving voice to the ordinary people (Engesser et al., 2017). According to Ostiguy (2009), in the populist style, the break with traditional politics results in slang usage, peculiar gestures, "bad manners," and affectionate language (the "high/low axis" of populist vs. nonpopulist language). The literature on populist style in social media is now extensive, while studies comparing populist with nonpopulist communication remain infrequent (for Italy, see, for example, Bertero & Scaduto, 2023; Bracciale & Cepernich, 2018; Prislei et al., 2022, 2023).

In particular, Prislei and colleagues (2022, 2023) conducted a linguistic analysis of Facebook communication on immigration by five Italian political leaders (populist and nonpopulist) and their followers. The results showed the syntonic characterization between leaders and followers, both populist and nonpopulist. At the thematic level, a demarcation was highlighted between populists and nonpopulists in posts and comments. Right-wing populist leaders used arguments that denounced a sense of emergency and feelings of anger and intolerance toward migrants. In contrast, center-left nonpopulist leaders privileged inclusive terms and denounced the unfavorable conditions in which migrants find themselves. Followers responded to these posts with an affinity for themes and feelings. Those on the right with comments that express anger, anxiety, and fear toward migrants and patriotic expressions that strengthen the sense of identity along with informal terms of support toward their leader. Those from the center-left contain words that refer to the willingness of followers to help migrants by expressing criticism of the xenophobic attitudes and showing less emotionally charged comments. Overall, the results highlighted a strategic use of linguistic markers capable of conveying the contents and the expressive aspects of communication.

## NAMING STRATEGIES

Empirical studies have demonstrated the importance of naming strategies. Atir and Ferguson (2018) have highlighted, both descriptively and experimentally, how these strategies are gendered-biased, contributing to the maintenance of gender inequality in favor of men in different professions. The two scholars have underlined how gender influences how people talk about professionals. Analyzing different sources — from

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archival materials and radio broadcasts to students' evaluations of their professors — they revealed how people generally refer to men rather than women professionals by their surname alone in different fields. The results showed that, on average, people are more than twice as likely to refer to men professionals by their last name than women professionals. In one of the experimental situations, participants writing about a fictional man scientist were more likely to refer to him by his last name than participants writing about a woman scientist. Experimental evidence then demonstrated the consequences of this bias: men scientists, referred to by their surname, were judged to be more famous and illustrious, of a higher status, more likely to win an award for their work, and more deserving of prestigious prizes and associated funding. Additional studies have indicated that using the full name of fictitious scientists leads to them being rated as less well-known and eminent than scientists named by their surname alone. Other experimental results have shown that referring to a woman by name or without a formal title produces an image of inferiority in the public (Sebastian & Bristow, 2008; Takiff et al., 2001).

In the political field, in the absence of experimental research, reference must be made to descriptive investigations that confirm the above trends. In particular, Atir and Ferguson (2018) cite the case of the 2008 Democratic primaries in the United States, in which television journalists were more inclined to refer to Barack Obama rather than Hillary Clinton by surname. In this case, however, the result could depend on Hillary Clinton herself choosing to use her name to distinguish herself from her husband. Falk (2008a) and Uscinski and Goren (2011) compared the newspaper coverage of Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama's announcements to run for the United States presidential office, demonstrating how, for Clinton, her title of Senator had been omitted 15% more than Obama. In general, empirical investigations have highlighted a greater use of names for women (Falk, 2008b; Uscinski & Goren, 2011), while men are more frequently referred to only by surnames (Carlin & Winfrey, 2009).

The results in the Italian context align with these trends, illustrating the asymmetric use of the name and the first and last name, especially for women (Sabatini, 1987; Sensales et al., 2016). In a study of 591 newspaper headlines on the representations of three pairs of men/women Presidents of the Chamber and the Senate of the Italian Parliament in 1979, 1994, and 2013 (Sensales et al., 2016), there was a greater use of surnames for men. In 1979, only the use of the name of Nilde Jotti, a woman of the Italian Communist Party and Speaker of the House, was not recorded. The only first name was recalled in 1994 for Irene Pivetti, a woman from the Northern League (center-right) and Speaker of the House. Such usage was absent for men in Senate Presidents in 1979 and 1994. In contrast, in 2013, there was a rare reference to the name alone for the woman Speaker of the House and the man President of the Senate, both center-left members. The scholars explained these results as a signal of proximity between leaders and electors underlined in the headlines. In another study relating to the representations of eight pairs of men and women ministers of the 2014 center-left government explored 332 newspaper titles, Sensales and Areni (2017) confirmed the general overuse of the surname for men ministers and references to the name and surname only for women ministers. These results confirm what has been stated in the international literature and show how their different political orientations do not strongly affect how leaders are appointed.

Alongside these studies centered on mainstream mass media, investigations have recently been developed on social media. Thus, for example, Mertens and colleagues (2019), based on messages addressed to politicians, highlighted how tweets differed along the gender axis, with women politicians targeted with more personal than professional language. Marjanovic and colleagues (2022) examined conversations about men and women politicians via Reddit[3] between 2018 and early 2020 using subreddits (areas divided by interest) dedicated to politics for 10 million comments. The results of their investigation confirm those of the mainstream media. Their first names or full names more frequently address women politicians. In particular, in right-wing

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subreddits, women politicians are twice as likely to be mentioned by their first name compared to left-wing subreddits. They are then described about their body, clothes, or family. By contrast, men politicians are more likely to be professionally appointed than women politicians. Scholars comment on these results in light of the literature that underlines how professionals see their perceived authority and credibility diminished in this way, widening the existing gender gap (Atir & Ferguson, 2018; Margot, 2020).

AGENCY AND COMMUNALITY AS GENDERED DIMENSIONS

The agentic and communal traits of the theory of gender stereotypes, according to which there are specific attributes for each of the two genders, have been studied. Women, historically and culturally "other-oriented" in their family care activities, are characterized by "communal expressive" traits (e.g., kindness, warmth, support). Men, due to their projection into the world of work, are "power-oriented" and therefore characterized by "agentic-instrumental" traits (e.g., self-affirmative, competitive, dominant). This type of stereotype originates from the gender-based division of labor that demarcates social roles into the family-oriented (for women) and professional-oriented (for men) (Clow & Ricciardelli, 2011; Eagly & Diekman, 2006; Eagly & Mitchell, 2004; Eagly et al., 2000). In this way, gender stereotypes are normatively linked to gender roles by defining appropriate behavior for women and men (see Eagly's role congruity theory, 1987). Consequently, a definite behavior is expected when describing feminine and masculine traits. In case of deviation from these expectations, there is a social sanction, more evident for women than for men (see the "backlash effect" described by Rudman & Glick, 1999, 2001, 2008).

While a few years ago these stereotypes were considered stable across time and cultures (Eagly & Wood, 1999; Eagly et al., 2000; Wood & Eagly, 2002), more recently it has been discovered that they can be more flexible, malleable, and dynamic compared to the past, responding to social changes (Diekman & Eagly, 2000; Eagly & Sczesny, 2009; Garcia-Retamero et al., 2011; López-Zafra & Garcia-Retamero, 2012; March et al., 2016). In particular, a study by Diekman and Eagly (2000) demonstrated that women are perceived with increased masculine attributes, while the attributes are more stable for men.

The literature on stereotypes and gender roles in the political sphere reflects this type of path, highlighting how women political leaders use different rhetorical strategies to try as much as possible to bypass the "double bind" which would still see them penalized when they choose to adopt or contrast the prescriptions of gender roles (Pettersson & Saki, in press; Romaniuk & Ehrlich, 2018). This creates a reality that seeks to overcome the binary logic of opposition between men and women in the name of an idea of gender fluidity.

Compared to this framework, the mass media only partially grasp these innovations since political leaders' descriptions appear anchored to the dichotomy/distinction between the agentic and communal dimensions rather than overcoming it. In particular, until the 1990s, the media used communication-based on the most consolidated gender stereotypes (Braden, 1996; Carroll & Schreibeer, 1997; Norris, 1997), presenting men politicians as characterized by agentic traits (leadership, competence, tirelessness, strength, effectiveness), all traits considered successful for political leadership. On the contrary, women were described as having communal traits (compassion, kindness, honesty, fragility, and friendliness), which penalizes successful leadership. This characterization persists even in more recent years in which political leadership is associated with masculinity according to the most consolidated gender stereotypes (Hayes & Lawless, 2016; Kittilson & Fridkin, 2008; Koenig et al., 2011; Van der Pas & Aaldering, 2020). In Italy, the framework appears consistent with the cited literature, showing how these processes are trans-culturally valid (Sensales & Areni, 2017; Sensales et al., 2012, 2013).

## OBJECTIVES

We explored the interaction between followers and two pairs of leaders of different political orientations to find a confirmation of the results presented in previous research. The aims of our study are descriptive. The analysis proposed consents to identify and describe trends in the data. These trends are compared with the literature in this field.

The two pairs of politicians are:

Giorgia Meloni, woman leader of the right-wing populist "Fratelli d'Italia" (FdI) [Brothers of Italy] party; Matteo Salvini, man leader of the right-wing populist "Lega" [League] party; Laura Boldrini, a woman member of the Parliamentary Group of the "Partito Democratico" (PD) [Democratic Party], a left-wing nonpopulist party, served as an independent and former Speaker of the House; Nicola Zingaretti, man leader and secretary of the Democratic Party.

The selection of these four leaders was made intentionally to ensure a balanced representation of both gender and political orientation, as well as to capture variations in populist versus nonpopulist leadership styles. Specifically, we aimed to analyze one man and one woman leader from the right-wing populist spectrum (Meloni and Salvini), and one man and one woman leader from the nonpopulist left-wing spectrum (Boldrini and Zingaretti). These leaders were chosen because they were, respectively, the most active man and woman right-wing populist leaders, and the most active man and woman nonpopulist left-wing leaders on Facebook during the period under analysis (September, 2019/February, 2021) (Cianfanelli, 2020).

The classification of Giorgia Meloni and Matteo Salvini as populist and Laura Boldrini and Nicola Zingaretti as nonpopulist is supported by dictionary-based measurements of populist communication, as outlined by Gründl (2022) and Pauwels (2017). These frameworks provide objective criteria for distinguishing between populist and nonpopulist discourse, which aligns with the communication styles observed in the Facebook comments analyzed. Moreover, this choice is supported by previous research (e.g., Di Cicco et al., 2024) who analyzed the Facebook communication of the Italian populist leaders.

Monitoring the language of followers has made it possible to verify whether it tends to maintain gender stereotypes, contributing to perpetuating the perception of a "kernel of truth" at the basis of such stereotypes (see Newman et al., 2008), or whether it pushes overcoming these stereotypes contributing to social change. The three points under observation are illustrated below:

1) *Linguistic indicators of the naming strategy*:

1a) name only, expected higher for women versus men leaders (see Falk, 2008b; Uscinski & Goren, 2011) for both pairs;

1b) last name only, expected higher for men versus women leaders (see Carlin & Winfrey, 2009) for both pairs;

1c) title of office — "Deputy," "Senator," and so forfh — expected higher for men versus women leaders (see Falk, 2008a; Uscinski & Goren, 2011) for both pairs;

1d) personal title — "Mr" and "Ms" — expected higher for women versus men leaders (see Falk, 2008a; Uscinski & Goren, 2011) for both pairs.

2) *Importance of the stereotypical agentic or communal dimensions* relating respectively to men or women leaders for both pairs (see Abele, 2003; Eagly & Karau, 1991; Fiske & Stevens, 1993).

3) *Affective expressions of populist versus nonpopulist followers and vocative phrases* that express direct and warm disintermediate contact ("Good morning," "Dear," "Merry Christmas," etc.) toward their leader (see the low vs. high language delineated by Ostiguy, 2009).

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For each of the three points, examples of their context of use are presented by extrapolating them from the short and long sentences that the VOSPEC[4] method produces, considering the particularly significant ones of each grouping (the examples are translated into English in the article, while the Appendix presents the original Italian comments). In this way, we combined quantitative and qualitative analysis. The "Discussion and Conclusion" section will comment on the examples. The results relating to these three points are then discussed about the different political orientations according to which the followers of center-right leaders are expected to be more anchored to gender stereotypes than those of the center-left and to the populist/nonpopulist orientations, according to which a greater use of affective expressions is expected in followers of populist leaders compared to followers of nonpopulist leaders.

METHODOLOGY

Material under Analysis

The textual units (users' comments) under analysis are referred to right-wing populists Georgia Meloni and Matteo Salvini and left-wing nonpopulists Laura Boldrini and Nicola Zingaretti. Between 05-09-2019 and 13-02-2021 (Conte II cabinet), we retrieved 43,796 comments to 10,949 posts (the four higher-ranked comments for each post) using Facebook API.

Operational Path

During the preprocessing phase, we removed stop words such as the articles "il," "lo, " la," "i," "gli," and "le" (in English, "the"). After the statistical processing, the linguistic markers of the naming strategies were detected (Point 1 of the Objectives). Two experts, independent raters (Cohen's k > .85; see Cohen, 1960), after being trained on the dictionary developed by Pietraszkiewicz et al. (2019) that compiles terms related to the concepts of agency and communion, conducted a content analysis on the VOSPEC results of the characteristic words of each leader's followers to identify the linguistic categories attributable to the dimension of agency and communality (Point 2 of the Objectives) and to affective expressions (Point 3 of the Objectives). When a discrepancy was found between the judgment of the two raters, a third expert judge was consulted to evaluate the value attributed to each word. In these cases, the value attributed by two out of three evaluators was accepted as the final evaluation. The difference in corpus size was addressed by normalizing the word frequencies using a type/token ratio, allowing for a more balanced comparison across the leaders. This method ensures that the linguistic trends identified are not skewed by the unequal number of comments for each leader.

Data Analysis

We used the VOSPEC (Vocabulaire Spécifique) method available in the SPAD-T software (see Lébart et al., 1989, 1997) to identify specific words and segments within comments related to the followers of each pair of leaders. This analysis focused on determining the characteristic elements of language used by followers of Giorgia Meloni versus Matteo Salvini, and Laura Boldrini versus Nicola Zingaretti. VOSPEC

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identifies characteristic elements — individual words, lemmas, or repeated segments — by evaluating their frequency within specific sections of the corpus compared to the entire corpus. This approach uses a hypergeometric distribution to calculate the probability of a given frequency of an element occurring within a specific part of the corpus, assuming a random distribution of words. If the calculated probability falls below a predetermined threshold, the element is classified as a positive (unusually frequent) or negative (unusually rare) characteristic feature. Through this approach, VOSPEC quantifies the association strength of words with different corpus sections, revealing distinctive vocabulary and stylistic markers of each group's comments. This provides a more nuanced understanding of language patterns and themes that might not emerge from simple frequency comparisons or traditional chi-square analyses. In this way, VOSPEC calculates internal word frequency relative to corpus size and evaluates the significance of differences between internal and global word frequencies. In other words, VOSPEC identifies the words that are distinctly associated with a leader's followers, underlining their "typicality" due to the notable differences in intragroup frequency compared to the global one (PROB. $< .05$).

RESULTS

Metric Characteristics of the Corpora under Analysis

Comments retrieved show Giorgia Meloni with 12,936 comments, Matteo Salvini with 21,952 comments, Laura Boldrini with 1,424 comments, and Nicola Zingaretti with 7,484 comments. Table 1 illustrates the metric characteristics of the four corpora.

TABLE 1
Illustration of metric characteristics of the corpora of the followers' comments

| Metrics | | Populist<br>Giorgia Meloni<br>Matteo Salvini | Nonpopulist<br>Laura Boldrini<br>Nicola Zingaretti |
|---|---|---|---|
| Corpus size (N) | Total number of words | 517,137 | 154,232 |
| Vocabulary size (V) | Number of distinct words | 49,386 | 23,772 |
| Lexical density (V/N*100) | Proportion of distinct words | 9.55 | 15.41 |
| Root type token ratio (V/√N) | Guiraud, 1954 | 68.68 | 60.53 |
| Hapax | Words with frequency = 1 | 23,160 | 12,132 |

*Note*. Thousands are separated by commas, and decimals are indicated by dots.

In Table 1, we can see the number of distinct words ("vocabulary size"), that is, the number of words present in the comments published by the followers, but "merging" the terms used multiple times (so, for example, if the word "politics" appears 50 times, in the count of distinct words it will be considered as published only once). Furthermore, lexical density denotes the proportion of distinct words to the total words, and hapax words represent those that appear only once. In comparison, the corpus linked to populist leaders'

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followers demonstrates lower lexical density compared to the nonpopulist corpus, indicating a less complex articulation of language. However, the root type token ratio score (Guiraud, 1954) shows an opposite trend.

## Naming Strategies

Naming strategies employed in the comments to the four leaders show differentiated trends illustrated in Figure 1.
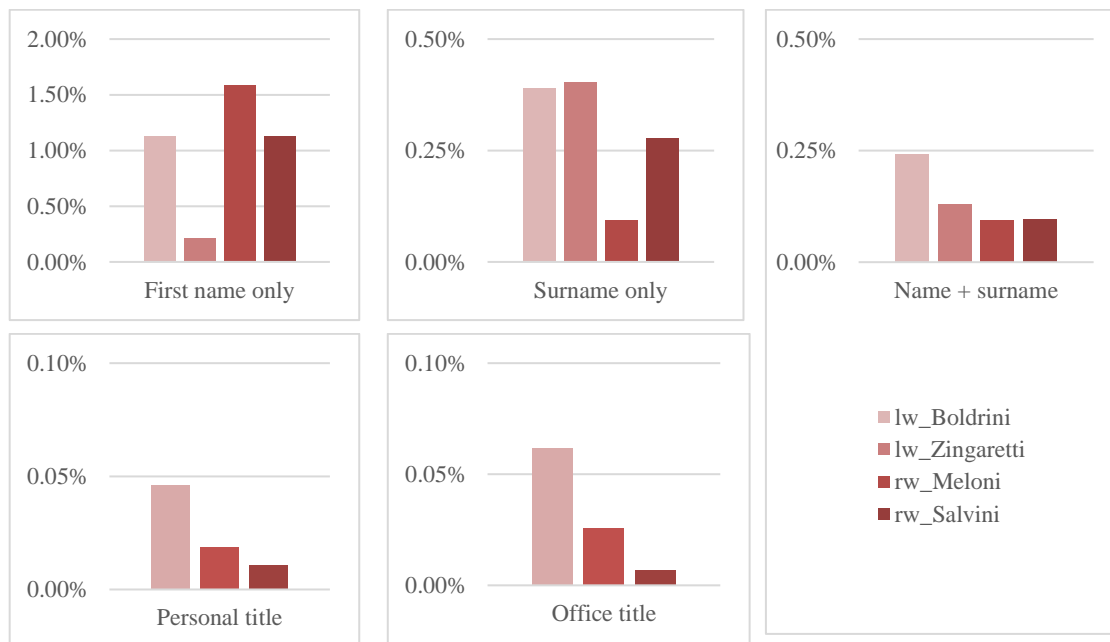


Figure 1
Naming strategies of their leader's followers.
The values indicate the frequencies of occurence of the words scaled according
to the size of the respective corpus

The results show that naming strategies confirm the stereotypical tendencies highlighted in the literature. Comparing the frequencies within each pair, we can note that the two women leaders are called by their first name more frequently than their men colleagues, while the last name alone is more frequent for the two men leaders. In this last case, however, the differences are apparent for the populist pair and decidedly nuanced for the nonpopulist pair. For using the name and surname, the only real difference markedly concerns Laura Boldrini, in front of Zingaretti. Regarding the forms of address, counter-stereotypical trends can be seen only for the populist couple, with Meloni called with her institutional political position more than Salvini. However, Meloni is at the same time the most stereotypically named with a personal form of address, compared to Salvini. Below are examples of comments relating to the forms of address for the four leaders.

For Giorgia Meloni: (1) "great president giorgia meloni"; (2) "nothing to say, the honorable Meloni is of rare intelligence..."; (3) "ma'am please!!! these posts are slogans from the worst bars and she is still a politician."

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For Matteo Salvini: (4) "go, secretary! your commitment is exemplary!!"; (5) "honorable, good evening from calabria! Come back soon, hoping to thank you in person for everything you've done"; (6) "go matteo, as always you are a gentleman, you will win big in umbria, and i'm waiting for you in Emilia Romagna to free it!!!"; (7) "the greatest captain in Italian history. #istandwithsalvini".

For Laura Boldrini: (8) "great, laura, always with you and on the side of women!!!"; (9) "thank you laura boldrini for what you have done for the rights of the most needy and for what you represent in our society. We increasingly need examples like hers. Thank you"; (10) "what has boldrini done to you? are you mad because she is beautiful and intelligent?"

For Nicola Zingaretti: (11) "you are changing the party. thank you secretary"; (12) "❗ president zingaretti, stop the school competitions!"; (13) "thank you president, we are losing the left-wing electorate once again. let's try to talk about lowering taxes and costs... you are killing small and medium-sized businesses and with them thousands of employees... the rest is blah blah..."; (14) "i don't like non è l'arena[5] and giletti at all... you were a gentleman!!! congratulations...".

### Agentic and Communal Dimensions

#### The Center-Right Populist People: Meloni's Followers versus Salvini's Followers

The investigation into the language used by Giorgia Meloni and Matteo Salvini's followers revealed emergent patterns concerning the perception of leadership attributes in alignment with gender stereotypes. Contrary to entrenched expectations, followers displayed deviations from traditional gender-associated linguistic markers.

The linguistic analysis of the discourse among Giorgia Meloni's followers unveiled a recurrent emphasis on attributes conventionally linked to agentic traits typically ascribed to men leaders. The frequent use of words like "prepared" ($n = 139$, $p = .00$), "intelligent" ($n = 149$, $p = .00$), and "action" ($n = 80$, $p = .00$) underscored Meloni's perceived intelligence, self-confidence, and independence, which are central to agentic orientation (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Madera et al., 2009, 2024).

Moreover, the repeated mention of "clarity" ($n = 41$, $p = .00$) and "determination" ($n = 66$, $p = .00$) highlighted her assertiveness and resolute decision-making, qualities often associated with men leadership archetypes. Indeed, leaders who communicate with clarity are often seen as being in control and assertive, qualities that align closely with an agentic orientation (Abele et al., 2016). Similarly, determination is explicitly linked to assertiveness, persistence, and goal-directed behavior, traits that are consistently categorized as agentic in leadership research (Eagly & Johannesen-Schmidt, 2001). At the same time, words associated with communal engagement were discernible in the comments (e.g., "community," $n = 7$, $p = .00$; "allies," $n = 39$, $p = .00$; "assistance," $n = 32$, $p = .00$). Their relative scarcity hinted at a comparatively lesser emphasis on communal attributes, highlighting predominant attention toward agentic traits in the discourse surrounding Meloni populist leader.

This observation challenges the conventional notion of communal attributes exclusively linked to women in leadership positions. Instead, Meloni's supporters notably emphasized qualities such as assertiveness, decisiveness, and strength in their language, traits traditionally attributed to men leaders. This counter-stereotypical trend suggests a divergence from ingrained gender expectations regarding leadership characteristics among Meloni's followers.

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On the other hand, in contrast to the expected emphasis on agentic traits associated with men leaders, Salvini's supporters displayed a particular attention to communal linguistic markers. The language used by Salvini's followers notably highlighted attributes traditionally linked with communal traits, such as empathy, compassion, and warmth, which are typically aligned with women's leadership qualities. In this vein, for example, words such as "care" ($n = 186$, $p = .00$), "embrace" ($n = 135$, $p = .00$), and "patience" ($n = 68$, $p = .001$) appear with statistically significant frequency.

In terms of agentic expressions among Salvini's followers, recurrent phrases such as "go matteo" ($n = 27$, $p = .00$) or "full steam ahead captain" ($n = 27$, $p = .00$) were prominently featured. These expressions reinforce a sense of encouragement and support and depict Salvini as a leading figure or a "captain" steering the course. Conversely, in the context of Meloni, while there is a focus on agentic traits, the expressions often highlight individual qualities like intelligence, preparation, and determination. In other words, while both sets of agentic expressions highlight leadership qualities, those for Salvini concentrate more on collective action and support under his guidance. In contrast, Meloni's agentic expressions emphasize individual capabilities and readiness.

Below are examples of comments relating to the two leaders' agentic and communal dimensions.

For Giorgia Meloni: (15) "precise and punctual!"; (16) "finally an intelligent person, I think the only one at this point"; (17) "illustrious giorgia, you are intelligent, prepared, determined... our fortune!"; (18) "There's nothing else to say, ms. meloni possesses a rare intelligence, communicates with clarity, and is always prepared for action. It's an honor to have such a strong and capable woman in italy".

For Matteo Salvini: (19) "beautiful my captain and everything he says and does. Don't give up dear you are all of us honest and loyal citizens"; (20) "great matteo. more and more aware of your strength and goodness"; (21) "wonderful afternoon with you, you are an exceptional, kind and polite person! congratulations and don't give up, we are with you!"; (22) "it is touching how sensitive matteo is with people with disabilities, the elderly, and children. a great minister...".

### The Center-Left Nonpopulist People: Boldrini's Followers versus Zingaretti's Followers

The observed results reveal a noteworthy disparity between the followers of Laura Boldrini and Nicola Zingaretti in their emphasis on leadership dimensions. Boldrini's followers demonstrate attention to agentic and communal dimensions, reflecting a nuanced perception encompassing qualities from both spheres. This balanced approach suggests a departure from rigid gender stereotypes, acknowledging diverse leadership attributes irrespective of gender.

About communal expressions, Boldrini's followers frequently employ words such as "tolerance" ($n = 15$, $p = .00$), "sensitivity" ($n = 10$, $p = .00$), and "empathy" ($n = 5$, $p = .005$) in their discourse. These terms emphasize communal attributes associated with inclusivity, emotional understanding, and compassion. At the same time, Boldrini's followers also use words like "self-proclaim" ($n = 3$, $p = .003$), "resilience" ($n = 3$, $p = .003$), and "battle" ($n = 17$, $p = .005$) in their discussions, highlighting attributes aligned with determination and self-assertion. Using such terms alongside communal expressions indicates a multifaceted perception of Boldrini's leadership. While acknowledging communal traits, there is also a recognition of qualities linked with assertiveness and resilience, showcasing a dynamic view of leadership that combines communal and agentic dimensions.

Conversely, the followers of Nicola Zingaretti display a distinct focus solely on the agentic dimension, aligning with a gender-stereotypical view of their leader. Expressions such as "work" ($n = 78$, $p = .00$),

"result" ($n = 10$, $p = .019$), and similar words are notably prevalent. Such expressions signal a preference for a leader who embodies assertiveness, decisiveness, and effectiveness, reinforcing a perception aligned with traditional agentic leadership attributes. This one-dimensional emphasis indicates a perception rooted in conventional expectations, wherein leadership attributes associated with masculinity are prioritized, possibly reinforcing traditional gender-based norms.

Below are examples of comments relating to the two leaders' agentic and communal dimensions.

For Laura Boldrini: (23) "best wishes to this outspoken and tenacious woman. let's go!!!"; (24) "you are a woman of extraordinary human and civil sensitivity, laura. thank you for the commitment and passion you put into carrying out important battles"; (25) "thank you for your continued commitment and solidarity!!!".

For Nicola Zingaretti: (26) "with the satisfied mood of the wise leader who is fully aware that he has led an entire community to an excellent result. it is a starting point for a journey"; (27) "congratulations secretary for your sobriety and political achievements."; (28) "bravo secretary, there are those who sow division and rancour and those who unite in good projects for the common good 👍"; (29) "always clear, lucid, simple, direct! thank you and good work".

### Affective Expressions

The results related to the affective expressions the followers use toward their leader are presented in Figure 2.
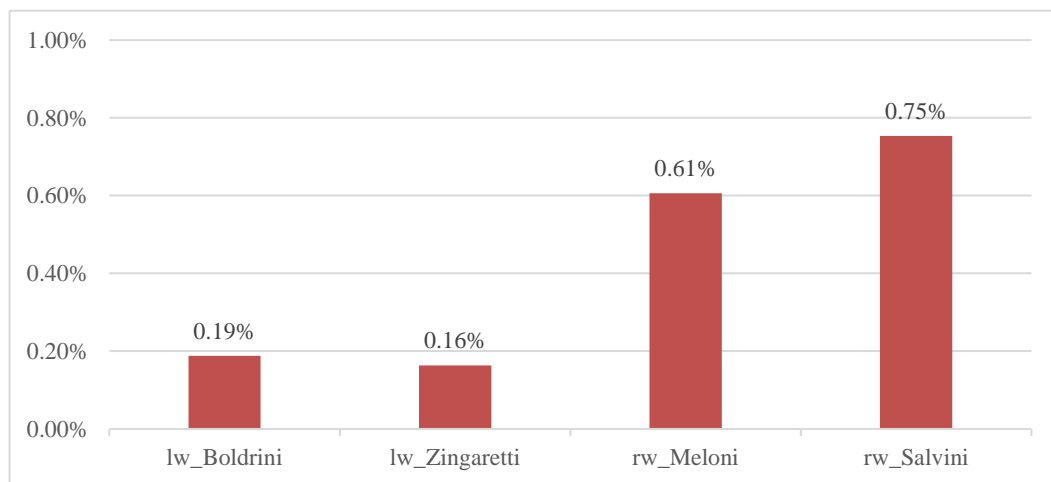


Figure 2
Affective expressions by the followers toward their leader.
Values indicate words occurrence frequencies scaled by the size of the respective corpus

Affective expressions appear to be linked to the political area rather than gender. Comments to populist leaders are more inclined toward these expressions than left-wing nonpopulist leaders. This main difference shows counter-stereotypical trends in Salvini's followers, who favor affection more than Meloni's followers. In the nonpopulist pair, there is a slight difference in favor of Boldrini's followers

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compared to Zingaretti's followers. Below are some examples of affective expressions used by the followers of the four leaders.

For Giorgia Meloni: (30) "very, very good giorgia ♡"; (31) "come on giorgia!!! good job great woman ❤❤❤"; (32) "beautiful giorgia, little one... but... immense giorgia..."

For Matteo Salvini: (33) "come on matteo!"; (34) "great captain"; (35) "great matteo I'm proud to have you as a leader."

For Laura Boldrini: (36) "great laura always with you and on the side of women!!!!!"; (37) "beautiful laura, i admire you very much!"; (38) "thank you very much laura, for being a light in the midst of so much darkness... ♡"

For Nicola Zingaretti: (39) "go secretary!"; (40) "w zingaretti, a hug secretary!"

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Our exploratory investigation, focused on Facebook comments made by followers of two pairs of leaders, prompts reflections on the role of naming strategies and linguistic markers associated with agency, communality, and affectivity dimensions in reinforcing or challenging gender stereotypes prevalent in the political sphere. Thanks to quantitative and qualitative textual analysis, these reflections intersect with considerations about populist and nonpopulist communicative styles and political orientations, which influence gendered representations of the four leaders differently. In this way, language shows its nonneutrality by opaquely constructing a reality with contradictory aspects.

Sometimes, these representations align with those presented in mainstream media, confirming our expectations. For example, references to solely the first name for women and solely the surname for men are favored by followers. Experimental evidence illustrates the outcome of these naming biases that disadvantage women, portraying them as less significant and constructing an image of inferiority while rewarding and valorizing the men's role (Atir & Ferguson, 2018; Sebastian & Bristow, 2008; Takiff et al., 2001).

Regarding political orientation, our findings partially support the trend Marjanovic and colleagues (2022) highlighted about a strong bias toward using only the first name for women among right-wing followers compared to those of the left-wing. In our results, such bias exists but is less pronounced. In this regard, it can be recalled that in Italy, even on the left, there is a custom of using only the first name. Sensales and colleagues (2016) showed that the first name was used mainly for women on the right and left. In the case of the center-left, however, this use had also extended to men. In particular, the researchers showed how the left-wing newspaper l'Unità used the first name for Laura Boldrini and Pietro Grasso when they were, respectively, President of the Chamber and President of the Senate. The analysis of the context of using this form of nominalization showed that it served to underline the closeness of the two center-left leaders to the citizens, thus fighting the cliché denouncing the distance of politics from the people. The idea that politics must be close to the citizens could explain why the naming strategy referring to only the first name is shared on the right and left. With a difference: for right-wing populists, it is the sign of an "anti-politics" that makes Giorgia [Meloni] feel different from mainstream politicians and, therefore, closer to the people. For center-left followers, it could be a sign of "good politics" that makes Laura [Boldrini] feel close to the problems and lives of citizens.

For personal titles, the results align with our expectations and the literature for the Meloni-Salvini pair. In contrast, for the other pair, Boldrini-Zingaretti, only the latter is addressed with a personal and office title. However, this occurs significantly more in both cases than in the right-wing leader pair. Concerning Zingaretti's office title, it is essential to note that the overuse of these references is likely due to his dual roles:

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the political role as secretary of the Democratic Party and the institutional role as President of the Lazio region. References to these two positions are not always positive, as observed even in negative contexts by detractors, as in the cited case (13): "thank you president, we are losing the left-wing electorate once again. let's try to talk about lowering taxes and costs... you are killing small and medium-sized businesses and with them thousands of employees... the rest is blah blah..." From other examples of comment excerpts, it is noticeable how the context of using references to the personal title is gender-marked: sometimes negative for the right-wing populist leader, almost always positive for the two men leaders. In the case of Giorgia Meloni, the personal title is evoked negatively as in the cited case (3): "ma'am please!!! these posts are slogans from the worst bars and she is still a politician", while for Zingaretti, and also for Salvini, the term "signore" (sir) is almost always employed appreciatively. For Salvini, see the comment (6), "go matteo, as always you are a gentleman, you will win big in umbria, and i'm waiting for you in emilia romagna to free it!!!", and for Zingaretti (14) "I don't like non è l'arena and giletti at all.... you were a gentleman!!! congratulations..."

Instead, it significantly contrasts with our expectations, the more counter-stereotypical reference to the institutional political position of Giorgia Meloni compared to Matteo Salvini. The latter, in turn, is counter-stereotypically characterized more by affective expressions than Giorgia Meloni. This result might stem from a resonance between Salvini's followers and their leader's communication, which other studies have shown to be firmly defined by the emotional and affective dimension (Prislei et al., 2023; Sensales et al., 2018; Sensales & Di Cicco, 2024). In these latter cases, the differences between the two nonpopulist leaders, much less distinguished by affective expressions, confirm our expectation of the general tendency of populist communication via social media to favor a "low" language compared to nonpopulist communication (Ostinguy, 2009).

Regarding the agentic and communal dimensions, our results show even more pronounced discontinuities compared to the gender stereotypes prevalent in mainstream media. In the case of social media, ordinary individuals interacting with their leader highlights a deviation from what the literature has emphasized. This is particularly true for the Meloni-Salvini pair, where Meloni appears counter-stereotypically characterized by agentic leadership traits and, in a nuanced manner, communal characteristics. The latter, however, are primarily attributed to Salvini, accompanied by more nuanced references to agentic traits. Even though this trend might seem counterintuitive from a gender perspective, it can be understood within the framework of populist communication, which is frequently marked by its inherent ambiguity and adaptability, with populist movements strategically projecting varied, and sometimes contradictory, messages to appeal to a broad spectrum of followers (Rivera Pichardo et al., 2024). In this vein, the perception of Meloni as embodying strong agentic traits appears to align with the demands of populist leadership, where qualities like decisiveness, strength, and authority are highly valued (Mudde, 2004). This perception likely reflects her supporters' expectations for a leader who can demonstrate control and act decisively, particularly during crises like the COVID-19 pandemic, which unfolded during the period under analysis. Accordingly, research shows that during periods of uncertainty — such as those caused by global health threats — populist attitudes tend to be amplified (Molinario, Di Cicco, Prislei, et al., 2024; Molinario, Di Cicco, Sensales, et al., 2024; Molinaro et al., in press) and individuals gravitate toward leaders who project dominance, control, and autocratic decision-making, as these traits are seen as providing stability and security (Forgas & Crano, 2021; Hogg, 2021, in press; Rast et al., 2013). On the other hand, Salvini's political image is predominantly shaped by affective and communal traits, reflecting the literature on populist rhetoric that underscores the importance of emotional and direct communication with "the people" (Cedroni, 2014). Although this outcome is counter-stereotypical from a gender perspective, it aligns seamlessly with Salvini's political brand, which emphasizes his capacity to empathize with and mobilize his supporters through emotional appeals and commitments to protection and

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support (Di Cicco & Sensales, 2019; Prislei et al., 2022; Sensales et al., 2021). This pattern of populist men leaders using emotional and communal traits is not unique to Italy; similar dynamics can be observed on a global scale. For example, Donald Trump's political persona is often shaped by what has been termed "communal charismatic rhetoric," where he seeks to promote a sense of unity and shared identity with his followers (Ghazal Aswad, 2019). On the other hand, populist women leaders are increasingly adopting a communication style that blends agency with communal traits, creating a resonance with their followers. For instance, Geva (2020) analysis of the French populist leader Marine Le Pen and her followers shows how "gendered symbolism" — that allowed to portray herself both as a "daughter," "mother," and a "warrior," "captain" — allowed her to be perceived as a representative of "the people." This multifaceted portrayal helped her followers see her not only as a nurturing "mother of the nation" but also as a powerful and decisive leader, blending traditional feminine qualities with those typically associated with masculine authority.

Concerning the other pair, Boldrini-Zingaretti, the trends show a relative balance for Boldrini between references to agentic and communal characteristics. In contrast, Zingaretti's leadership vision is oriented toward the agentic. These results are particularly interesting as they demonstrate a departure from typical conservative right-wing feminine traits (Hershey & Sullivan, 1977). They appear consistent with the representations of Italian women ministers from the center-right in daily newspapers, where they were attributed greater agency compared to center-left ministers (Sensales et al., 2013). In our case, Meloni appears much more distinctly characterized by agentic traits than Boldrini. For the two men leaders, however, the more counter-stereotypical communal traits are attributed to Salvini, whereas for Zingaretti, a completely stereotypical attribution prevails, prompting reflection on the rootedness of gender stereotypes in a left-wing culture that should be more open to overcoming them.

The overall findings stimulate thinking on the evolution of gender as an increasingly fluid concept, capable of transcending, even among ordinary individuals, the conventional role prescriptions associated with a binary view founded on a contrast between masculine and feminine. It is a contrast that feminist literature has long deemed harmful and sought to overcome, as it's based on a fictional naturalization of differences that solidifies them into an essentialist view of gender (Ehrlich, 2008a, 2008b; Freed, 2003). Our results depict how a changing reality asserts itself even at the level of ordinary understanding. Through language, followers, in their comments, relate to leaders with an idea of gender that oscillates between stereotypical and counter-stereotypical modes, both in naming strategies and in using linguistic markers related to agency, communality, and affectivity. From this perspective, social media communication presents innovative elements aimed at surpassing traditional gender biases. The hope is that mainstream media can also embrace this trend, making political representations more open to valuing women's contributions.

Limits and Future Developments

This study's focus on right-wing populists and left-wing nonpopulists reflects the specific political landscape during the Conte II cabinet. However, we recognize that future studies should examine left-wing populist and right-wing nonpopulist figures to test whether the effects observed are attributable to political orientation, populism, or both. Moreover, our sample size is limited to two men and two women leaders, which restricts the generalizability of our findings in terms of gender. The small sample size may not capture the full range of linguistic biases that exist in a larger and more diverse population. Additionally, our study primarily employs a descriptive approach using SPAD-T software, which is effective for identifying and describing trends in the data but does not include inferential statistical analyses. The numbers concerning

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agentic and communal words, affective expressions, and naming strategies are presented as descriptive proportions and frequencies, respectively, without testing for statistical significance or interaction effects.

Given the constraints of our investigation, it is worth noting that it is focused solely on comments, preventing us from verifying harmony/dissonance with the leaders' posts. Consequently, we could not explore the impact of posts on follower comments. To overcome this limitation, analyzing the posts of the two pairs of leaders is planned, enabling a comparison with their followers' comments. Additionally, it is desirable to extend the study to other political leaders to validate the consistency of our results, as the generalizability of the results appears modest at the moment, being focused only on the comments of two pairs of politicians. Additionally, the conflicting results in terms of language diversity highlighted by Girauld's score indicate that the relationship between lexical diversity in the two corpora is complex and requires further investigation. Although SPAD-T provided valuable insights for this study, newer techniques such as topic modeling and computational linguistic tools offer additional analytical depth.

Future research could benefit from incorporating these methods, as outlined in recent works by Sterling and colleagues (2019). It should aim to include a more prominent and representative sample of leaders and employ inferential statistics to test for significant differences and interactions. Furthermore, our study focuses on Facebook comments, a specific type of social media interaction, and the linguistic biases observed may differ in other contexts. For that, future research should explore the representation of leaders in different media to provide a more comprehensive understanding of linguistic gendered biases. Finally, building upon these descriptive studies, experimental research could be implemented to study the role of naming strategies in politicians' evaluations, thus enriching the field of inquiry.

## NOTES

1. In the text, we use the term women/men instead of females/males (e.g., female politicians) to emphasize the social dimension versus the biological one. Indeed, women/men refer to gender, socially and culturally constructed, while female/male relates to sex, biologically founded, and therefore alluding to essentialist natural and immutable characteristics.
2. The term *common-sense* is internal to the tradition of studies on social representations and refers to the familiar, everyday thinking that people rely on to understand their social environment.
3. Established in 2005, Reddit functions as a social news and entertainment platform, enabling registered users to create posts open for comments and ratings from other users.
4. In the "Data Analysis" section, we present the statistical logic involved in the VOSPEC method.
5. "Non è l'arena" was a political and social current affairs TV program (from 2017 to 2023), and Gilletti was its host.

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APPENDIX

## Italian Original Extracts of the Comments Produced Using the VOSPEC Method

(1) "grande presidente giorgia meloni"; (2) "niente da dire, l'onorevole meloni è di una intelligenza rara…"; (3) "signora la prego!!! questi post sono slogan da peggio bar e lei è pur sempre una politica"; (4) "forza segretario! il tuo impegno è esemplare!!"; (5) "onorevole buonasera dalla calabria torni presto giù con la speranza di poterla ringraziare di persona per tutto quello che ha fatto"; (6) "vai matteo, come sempre sei un signore, stravincerete in umbria e vi aspetto in emilia romagna per liberarla!!!"; (7) "il più grande capitano della storia italiana. #iostoconsalvini"; (8) "grande laura sempre con te e dalla parte delle donne!!!!!"; (9) "grazie laura boldrini per ciò che ha fatto per i diritti dei più bisognosi e per quello che lei rappresenta nella nostra società. abbiamo sempre più bisogno di esempi come il suo. grazie"; (10) "cosa vi ha fatto la boldrini? rosicate perché è bella e intelligente?"; (11) "stai cambiando il partito. grazie segretario"; (12) "❗presidente zingaretti, fermi i concorsi della scuola!"; (13) "grazie presidente che così perdiamo un'altra volta l'elettorato di sx.  proviamo a parlare di abbassare le tasse e il costo... state uccidendo la piccola e media impresa e con loro migliaia di dipendenti...  il resto è bla bla..."; (14) "non è l'arena e giletti non li amo affatto... lei è stato un signore!!!! complimenti..."; (15) "precisa e puntuale!"; (16) finalmente una persona intelligente, credo l'unica a questo punto; (17) "illustre giorgia sei intelligente, preparata, determinata... la nostra fortuna!"; (18) "niente da dire, l'onorevole meloni è di una intelligenza rara, si fa capire in modo semplice ed è sempre preparata, è un onore avere una donna così forte e in gamba in Italia"; (19) "bellissimo il mio capitano e tutto quello che dice e che fa. non arrenderti caro sei tutti noi onesti e leali cittadini"; (20) "grande matteo.  sempre più consapevole della tua forza e bontà"; (21) "pomeriggio meraviglioso insieme a te, sei una persona eccezionale, gentile ed educatissima! complimenti e non mollare, noi siamo con te!"; (22) "è commovente come matteo sia sensibile con le persone disabili, anziani, e bambini... un grande ministro..."; (23) "i migliori auguri a questa donna schietta e tenace. forza!!!!"; (24) "sei una donna di straordinaria sensibilità umana e civile, laura. grazie per l'impegno e la passione che metti per portare avanti battaglie importanti"; (25) "grazie per continuo impegno e solidarietà!!!"; (26) "con l'aria soddisfatta del leader saggio che ha piena consapevolezza di aver portato un'intera comunità ad un risultato eccellente.  è un punto di partenza per un percorso"; (27) "complimenti segretario per la tua sobrietà e i risultati politici raggiunti"; (28) "bravo segretario, c'è chi semina divisione e rancore e chi unisce in ottimi progetti per il bene comune 👍"; (29) "sempre chiaro, lucido, semplice, diretto! grazie e buon lavoro"; (30) "bravissima giorgia 🤍"; (31) "forza giorgia!! buon lavoro grande donna! 🖤🖤🖤"; (32) "bellissima giorgia, piccolina... ma... immensa giorgia..."; (33) "forza matteo!"; (34) "grande capitano"; (35) "grande matteo sono orgoglioso di averti come leader"; (36) "grande laura sempre con te e dalla parte delle donne!!!!!"; (37) "bella laura, ti ammiro molto!"; (38) "grazie di cuore laura, per essere una luce in mezzo a tanto buio... 🤍"; (39) "vai segretario!"; (40) "w zingaretti, un abbraccio segretario!"