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PRODUCING THE NATION: BORDERS, IDENTITY AND GENDER IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE NATIONAL COMMUNITY BY THE ITALIAN RADICAL RIGHT

Abstract. Over the past two decades, the rise of the radical right and the emergence of anti-gender mobilisations have become one of the principal arenas of conflict within contemporary democracies. Although the anti-gender movement encompasses a diverse range of political, religious, and civic actors, in the Italian context it is primarily radical-right and far-right political forces that have played a leading role in opposing gender mainstreaming policies, understood as the set of strategies aimed at integrating a gender perspective into decision-making processes and public policymaking. Within this framework, the defence of the nation and its purported ethnocultural identity is closely intertwined with the promotion of the traditional family and the reaffirmation of gender models regarded as foundational to the social order. Recent scholarship has highlighted the increasingly central role of gender in both the ideological development and the political communication of the contemporary radical right. Building on these considerations, this article examines a corpus of 1,314 social media posts published between February and May 2026 by four political actors occupying different positions within the Italian political and institutional field — Giorgia Meloni, Matteo Salvini, Matteo Piantedosi, and Roberto Vannacci. Using a qualitative content analysis approach, the study investigates how gender-related issues are incorporated into the broader discursive construction of the nation, identity, and the social order. The results reveal significant differentiation among the four actors in the relative weight attributed to security, border control, identity, and the construction of alterity, while gender, although quantitatively marginal, performs a strategic function in organising the overall discursive architecture.

Keywords: radical right; gender; boundaries; political communication; nativism; Italy; national identity; femonationalism

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Introduction. Over the past two decades, the electoral and institutional growth of the radical right has profoundly altered the field of political competition in Italy [1; 2]. A substantial body of literature has analysed this process by focusing on nativism, immigration, security, sovereigntism, and the construction of an opposition between a national ‘us’ and a plurality of subjects represented as external or threatening [3]. At the same time, a growing body of research has highlighted the relevance of gender issues in the political and cultural strategies of contemporary right-wing forces, with particular attention to the defence of the traditional family, motherhood, opposition to equality policies, and the selective appropriation of discursive repertoires associated with women’s emancipation [4; 5; 6]. These two lines of research,

however, are often analysed separately. On the one hand, studies of the radical right have shown how the construction of the national community proceeds through the definition of territorial, cultural, and symbolic boundaries [7; 8]. On the other hand, the literature on gender has highlighted how family, motherhood, and gender roles constitute important sites of political mobilisation [9]. Less attention has instead been devoted to the concrete ways in which these dimensions are articulated within the political communication of Italian radical-right actors and, above all, to the differences through which such articulation is produced by actors occupying different positions within the political and institutional field [10]. The interpretative hypothesis guiding the analysis is that gender does not necessarily constitute the most quantitatively significant theme in radical-right communication, but may acquire a strategic function when associated with other discursive devices [11]. In particular, the analysis examines whether family, motherhood, and gender roles are used to define forms of national belonging, or whether references to women's rights are mobilised in the representation of subjects external to the national community [12]. In the latter case, gender may assume a differentiating function: not only defining the internal order of the community, but also contributing to the construction of alterity [13]. The problem addressed by this contribution therefore concerns the way in which the communication of the Italian radical right connects the construction of the national community to the regulation of borders, the definition of alterity, and the representation of gender relations. The aim is not to assume a priori that security, identity, immigration, and gender constitute components of a single political project, but rather to examine how these dimensions are actually associated in public discourse and what functions they perform within this construction.

The analysis pursues three specific objectives. First, it identifies which dimensions are most prominent in the communication of four political leaders of the Italian right and examines how they vary in relation to the political and institutional position occupied. Second, it reconstructs the mechanisms through which border governance and the construction of the relationship between 'us' and 'them' contribute to the definition of the national community. Third, it analyses the specific role of gender issues, examining whether and how family, motherhood, and gender roles are connected to the other thematic clusters identified in the corpus. The contribution of the article therefore consists in shifting attention from a general conception of the radical right as the bearer of a given ideology towards an analysis of the discursive mechanisms through which such a project is concretely articulated. From this perspective, security, border governance, national identity, and gender are not considered simply as themes present in political communication, but as categories whose relationships are to be examined through analysis of the corpus. The aim is to show the different ways in which these dimensions are actually associated in the discursive production of the actors under consideration.

1. Radical right, nativism and the construction of the national community. The contemporary radical right constitutes a heterogeneous political universe, comprising parties, movements, and cultural actors which, despite differing in organisation, language, and strategies, share several recurring ideological cores. The literature has shown that its rise cannot be interpreted exclusively as a revival of the traditions of the radical right of the twentieth century, since these actors have progressively adapted repertoires, organisational forms, and modes of communication to transformations in the political and social system [14]. Their increasing institutionalisation

has also facilitated the entry into public debate of categories previously confined to marginal political and cultural milieus [15]. To define this political space, the distinction between the extreme right and the radical right proposed by Mudde [3] is particularly useful. Whereas the extreme right is characterised by the rejection of democracy, the radical right formally accepts democratic procedures while challenging certain principles of political liberalism, including pluralism, minority rights, and an inclusive conception of citizenship. The specificity of the radical right therefore lies in its ability to combine participation in democratic competition with a restrictive conception of the political community.

Within this configuration, nativism represents one of the principal ideological cores. According to Mudde [16], it combines nationalism and xenophobia through the assumption that the state should be inhabited predominantly by members of the nation, while subjects perceived as outsiders to the national community constitute a potential threat to its homogeneity. The nation is therefore defined not only through legal belonging, but also through cultural, identity-based, and, in some cases, ethnic criteria. This distinction is relevant to the analysis because it makes it possible to separate the concept of nation from that of border. Nativism establishes, at the ideological level, who should be regarded as belonging to the national community; border governance, by contrast, constitutes the set of practices and policies through which belonging is materially regulated. Immigration and returns therefore represent specific dimensions of this process and are not, in themselves, synonymous with nativism. Similarly, the construction of an opposition between 'us' and 'them' constitutes a further analytical level, relating to the symbolic production of belonging [17]. A particularly significant example of this dynamic is represented by the concept of remigration, progressively transferred from extremist political milieus into the language of institutional political competition. Its analytical relevance does not depend exclusively on the use of the term, but on the process through which a category originally situated at the margins is normalised and incorporated into the ordinary repertoire of public debate. From this perspective, the transformation of political language constitutes an indicator of the process through which certain conceptions of citizenship, belonging, and borders are progressively rendered legitimate. Nativism is therefore not assumed in this contribution as an abstract characteristic of the radical right, but as an analytical category through which to observe the construction of the national community. Attention thus shifts from the question of what the radical right 'is' to the question of how, within political communication, members of the community are defined, which subjects are placed outside it, and which instruments are proposed to protect or restore its borders [18].

2. Borders, security and the construction of alterity. The definition of the national community does not occur exclusively through explicit references to the nation. It is also produced through the construction of differences between subjects, groups, and institutions. Political conflict may therefore be regarded as a fundamental dimension in the production of belonging, since it makes it possible to establish an 'us' through the identification of a 'them'. From this perspective, the border does not coincide solely with a territorial line, but also assumes a symbolic dimension: it delineates what is represented as internal to the community and what is placed outside it [8]. This distinction makes it possible to separate at least three dimensions which may be connected in political communication but should not be conceptually conflated. The first is border governance, relating to the control of entry

into, residence within, and departure from the territory. The second concerns the construction of the symbolic boundary, through which cultural and moral criteria of belonging are established. The third concerns the construction of alterity, namely the representation of specific subjects as threats, outsiders, or agents responsible for processes of transformation perceived as problematic [19]. Security constitutes one of the principal devices through which these dimensions can be articulated. The literature has shown how radical-right forces tend to link perceptions of insecurity to the presence of subjects or processes external to the national community, transforming different phenomena — immigration, crime, cultural transformations, or the loss of territorial control — into manifestations of the same crisis of the social order [6]. Security thus assumes a meaning broader than that of physical protection alone: it becomes a category through which to represent the need to restore control, predictability, and cohesion.

Within this logic, the construction of ‘us’ does not necessarily concern a single social group. Alterity may be identified with immigrants, but also with supranational institutions, political and cultural elites, progressive movements, or subjects represented as responsible for transforming shared values. Conflict therefore assumes a multiple configuration and makes it possible to construct different symbolic boundaries depending on the communicative context [20].

This perspective also makes it possible to distinguish the radical right from populism, while recognising the relationship between the two phenomena. The opposition between ‘the people’ and ‘the elite’ constitutes a central element of populist logic [21], but the radical right combines this opposition with a nativist conception of the community [3]. ‘The people’ is not defined solely in political terms, but also through cultural and identity-based criteria. Consequently, the question of who belongs to the people overlaps with that of who legitimately belongs to the nation.

It is within this space that security, identity, and border governance may converge. The protection of the territory may be represented as the protection of the community; the protection of the community may be presented as the defence of its identity; and the defence of identity may be associated with the need to counter subjects represented as external or incompatible. The interest of the empirical analysis therefore lies in examining how these associations are actually constructed in the discourse of different actors, rather than assuming their existence a priori.

3. Gender, family and the national order. Gender issues constitute a further terrain through which the national community is defined. The literature has shown how, in the discourse of contemporary right-wing forces, family, motherhood, and sexual difference are not necessarily treated as exclusively private or moral issues, but may be connected to the social and symbolic reproduction of the political community [22]. The analytical point, however, is not simply to claim that radical-right forces are ‘against gender’ or in favour of the ‘traditional family’. Such formulations risk describing a general orientation without demonstrating the mechanism through which gender enters the political construction of the nation. It is more useful to ask what concrete function representations of family, motherhood, and gender roles assume within specific political narratives.

From this perspective, the family may be represented as a space in which not only affective and social ties are reproduced, but also values regarded as fundamental to the continuity of the national community. Motherhood may acquire a similar meaning when associated with birth rates, cultural transmission, or the demographic

survival of the nation. Gender roles, finally, may contribute to establishing which behaviours and forms of social organisation are regarded as consistent with the national order [11]. Gender therefore assumes a dual analytical function. On the one hand, it contributes to the definition of the internal order of the community, establishing which family relationships and social roles are considered legitimate. On the other hand, it may be used in the construction of alterity, when particular gender models are presented as distinctive characteristics of the national community and contrasted with practices attributed to external groups.

This latter dynamic has been particularly studied through the concept of femonationalism. Farris has shown how certain nationalist actors may selectively appropriate the language of women's emancipation in order to support restrictive positions towards immigration. Within this type of discursive construction, the protection of women is presented as a value belonging to the national community, while the oppression of women is attributed to culturally external groups, particularly Muslim men [12]. Femonationalism is therefore relevant not simply because it introduces gender into anti-immigration discourse, but because it demonstrates a possible functional shift in the meaning of women's rights. Emancipation may be invoked not as a universal political objective, but as a criterion through which to distinguish a national community represented as modern and liberal from an alterity described as backward or incompatible with its values [13]. This selective appropriation does not, however, imply that radical-right communication produces a single representation of gender. The literature has highlighted significant differences between formations and contexts, as well as the possibility that traditionalist positions may coexist with forms of valorisation of women's participation in public life [11]. It is therefore necessary to distinguish between the presence of women in the public sphere, claims to female autonomy, and the questioning of gender relations: the three dimensions do not necessarily coincide.

This distinction is particularly relevant in the case of female leadership within the radical right. The presence of women at the helm of parties and movements does not automatically imply a transformation of the normative framework concerning gender. The strongwoman model demonstrates the possibility that female leadership may be incorporated into a political project founded on traditional values [23]. Similarly, the categories of Alt-Feminism and righting feminism describe forms of selective appropriation of discursive repertoires associated with female autonomy and emancipation [24]. These concepts are useful not for classifying in advance the communication of the subjects analysed as 'anti-feminist' or 'femonationalist', but for empirically identifying when and how references to gender change function depending on the theme and the intended recipient of the discourse. A reference to motherhood, for example, may be used to support a normative conception of the family; a reference to female autonomy may instead be mobilised in comparisons with a cultural alterity; a reference to women's participation in the public sphere may serve to legitimise leadership [25].

4. An integrated perspective for empirical analysis. In light of this framework, the present contribution does not assume security, national identity, border governance, and gender to be components necessarily reducible to a single ideology. Rather, they are treated as distinct analytical dimensions, whose possible connections must be verified through analysis of political communication.

The first level concerns border governance, examined through references to immigration and returns. The second concerns the construction of the symbolic boundary, analysed through the opposition between 'us' and 'them' and the identification

of subjects represented as threats or forms of alterity. The third concerns the construction of the gender order, examined through references to family, motherhood, gender roles, and women's participation in the public sphere. Security and national identity constitute cross-cutting dimensions that may connect these different levels.

The distinction between these categories makes it possible to address a central question: the presence of the same theme does not necessarily imply the same discursive function. Immigration may be presented as a security problem, as a matter of border control, or as a threat to national identity; gender may be mobilised to defend the family, to support a particular conception of motherhood, or to construct a cultural opposition with external subjects. Empirical analysis must therefore focus not only on the frequency of themes, but also on the relationships that actors construct between them.

This approach also makes it possible to consider the differences between the four subjects analysed. Giorgia Meloni, Matteo Salvini, Matteo Piantedosi, and Roberto Vannacci occupy different positions within the political and institutional field and may employ different communicative repertoires. The comparison is therefore not directed towards identifying a unified message of the radical right, but towards identifying similarities, differences, and specific ways of articulating the same discursive cores.

The theoretical framework thus assumes a strictly instrumental function in relation to the analysis: nativism, symbolic boundary, security, gender, and femonationalism do not constitute anticipated conclusions, but categories through which to interpret the corpus materials. It is the analysis of the posts and public speeches that will make it possible to establish whether, how frequently, and through which linguistic formulations these dimensions are actually associated in the communication of the four actors.

5. Empirical analysis

5. 1 Corpus, observation period and selection criteria. The empirical analysis was conducted on a corpus of content published between 1 February and 31 May 2026. The research was restricted to the Facebook* platform, selected on the basis of the public nature of its content, the platform's relevance to political communication, and the possibility of obtaining, for all the actors considered, a substantial and temporally comparable set of materials. The decision to concentrate the analysis on a single platform also reflects the need to maintain homogeneous characteristics across the materials examined and to enhance the comparability of the communication strategies adopted by the different subjects.

The corpus consists of posts published on the official Facebook* profiles of Giorgia Meloni, Matteo Salvini, Matteo Piantedosi, and Roberto Vannacci. The selection of these four actors makes it possible to compare subjects occupying different positions within the Italian political and institutional field, including party leaders and figures holding institutional roles, as well as subjects characterised by different modes of exposure on identity-related and cultural issues. This heterogeneity makes it possible to examine whether and to what extent the same thematic cores are articulated through different communicative registers.

The collection produced a total of 1,314 posts. The corpus subjected to the categorisation phase was distributed among the four actors as follows: 230 posts by Giorgia Meloni, 359 by Matteo Salvini, 258 by Roberto Vannacci, and 467 by Matteo Piantedosi.

* *The Facebook in Russia is recognized as extremist and banned.*

The different sizes of the individual corpora reflect the quantity of content published by each actor during the period under consideration and were not subject to artificial equalisation. The comparison between cases therefore takes into account both absolute frequencies and, where necessary, the relative distribution of categories within each corpus.

5.2 Analytical tool and procedure. The management and coding of the corpus were carried out using NVivo, software belonging to the family of Computer-Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS). Such tools make it possible to organise, classify, code, and systematically interrogate large quantities of qualitative material, facilitating the retrieval of content associated with specific categories and the comparison of different portions of the corpus. NVivo also makes it possible to maintain links between the materials analysed and their respective codes, thereby making the categorisation process more systematic.

In the present study, NVivo was used to organise the corpus, conduct thematic coding of the posts, and subsequently retrieve and compare the content associated with the different analytical categories. The use of the software made it possible to structure the textual material systematically and to relate coded content to the respective actors.

The analysis was conducted through a thematic coding procedure, aimed at identifying the principal recurring discursive cores within the corpus. The attribution of content to categories was carried out through a systematic reading of the posts, taking into account the lexical and semantic elements present in the text and their meaning within the broader communicative context. The presence of a single term was therefore not, in itself, considered sufficient to assign content to a particular category. The procedure made it possible to move from the simple identification of thematic presence to a subsequent analysis of the ways in which themes are articulated across different items of content and, where applicable, associated with other dimensions of political discourse.

5.3 Analytical categories and coding criteria. The coding system was developed on the basis of the research questions and the theoretical framework outlined above. The categories were identified as corresponding to the principal thematic cores through which the contemporary Italian radical right constructs its political communication in relation to national identity, security, border regulation, the construction of alterity, and gender issues.

Seven analytical categories were initially identified:

- | | |
|-----------------|----------------|
| 1. Identity; | 5. Us vs Them; |
| 2. Security; | 6. Gender; |
| 3. Immigration; | 7. Other. |
| 4. Returns; | |

The categories relating to immigration and returns were subsequently brought together into a single macro-category referred to as 'Border Control'. This choice makes it possible to consider jointly the different ways in which political communication addresses the regulation of entry into, residence within, and departure from the national territory, while maintaining the original conceptual distinction between the two themes.

The 'Identity' category includes content relating to national and cultural identity, the values attributed to the national community, and the definition of the characteristics through which it is represented. The 'Security' category includes references to

citizens' security, public order, crime, territorial control, and, more generally, the representation of situations or subjects as sources of risk or threat. The macro-category 'Border Control' includes content relating to immigration and returns, encompassing both the representation of migratory flows and references to measures intended to limit or manage them, or to intervene in the residence of people considered not to belong to the national community.

The 'Us vs Them' category identifies content in which an opposition is constructed between a collective subject represented as belonging to the community and one or more subjects positioned outside it. The category was kept distinct from that concerning border control because the alterity constructed in political discourse may concern not only migrants, but also supranational institutions, political and cultural elites, progressive movements, or other subjects represented as incompatible with the identity of the national community. The 'Gender' category includes references to family, motherhood, the social roles attributed to men and women, relations between the sexes, women's rights, and, more generally, normative representations of gender and sexuality when they acquire relevance within political discourse. The 'Other' category comprises references that did not meet the criteria for assignment to any of the preceding categories.

The coding therefore made it possible to distinguish thematic dimensions that may appear within the same item of content without necessarily performing the same discursive function. In particular, the distinction between border control, identity, and 'Us vs Them' makes it possible to avoid an automatic overlap between immigration and the construction of alterity, while the identification of the gender category makes it possible to examine empirically whether, and through which mechanisms, issues relating to family, motherhood, and gender roles are associated with the construction of the national community. On the basis of this coding, the analysis of the results focuses on the distribution of the categories across the four corpora and their specific discursive articulations, with particular attention to the associations between border control, security, identity, the construction of alterity, and gender.

6. Results. The analysis of the corpus reveals a differentiated distribution of the categories considered, showing significant variation among the four actors. Across the content analysed, Giorgia Meloni presents a relatively balanced distribution between security and identity, both accounting for 17%, while 16% of the posts concern border control. The 'Us vs Them' category represents 13% of the content, while gender accounts for 4%. The remaining 33% falls within the 'Other' category.

In the case of Matteo Salvini, 22% of the content concerns border control, making it the most significant thematic category, followed by security (16%). Identity represents 10% of the posts, while the construction of 'Us vs Them' reaches 11%. The gender category accounts for 4%, while 38% of the content is classified as 'Other'.

The distribution for Matteo Piantedosi instead shows a more pronounced concentration on security and border control. The former accounts for 38% of the content, while the latter reaches 40%, representing a combined share of 78%. Identity constitutes 10% of the posts, while 'Us vs Them' represents 3% and gender 2%. The remaining 7% belongs to the 'Other' category.

Finally, Roberto Vannacci presents a distribution characterised by a greater presence of the 'Us vs Them' category, which reaches 23% of the content. Border control

accounts for 31%, identity for 15%, and security for 13%. The gender category reaches 6%, while 13% of the content is classified as 'Other'.

The distribution is summarised in Table 1, which allows comparison of the percentage distribution of the categories across the four corpora.

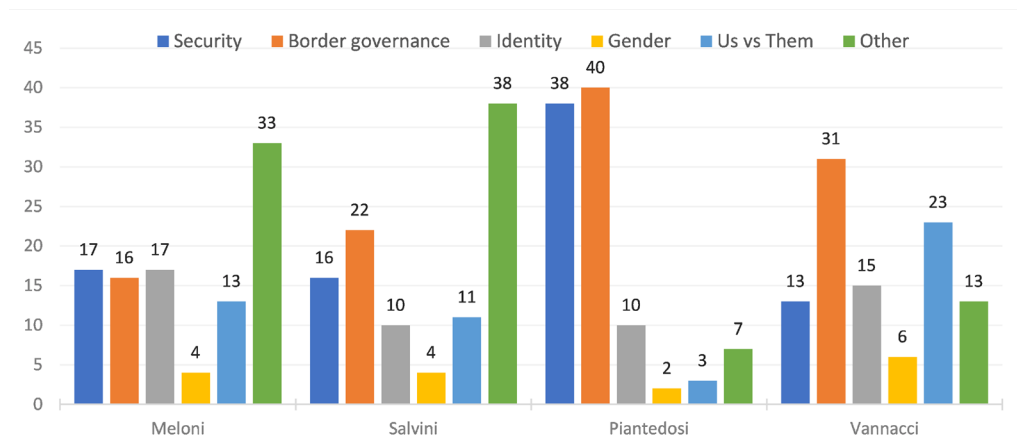


Figure 1. Distribution of analytical categories across the four corpora

The distribution first highlights a significant differentiation in the ways the four actors thematise political issues. Piantedosi presents the greatest concentration of content in the security and border-control categories, which together account for more than three quarters of his corpus. In his case, therefore, themes directly connected to security and border management assume a markedly greater weight than the other dimensions considered.

Meloni, by contrast, shows a more articulated distribution: security, identity, and border control present very similar values, while 'Us vs Them' occupies an intermediate position. Salvini presents a similar configuration with regard to the centrality of border control and security, but with a lower incidence of the identity category. In both cases, however, the distribution does not reach the strong concentration observed in Piantedosi's corpus.

The case of Vannacci stands out above all for the weight of the 'Us vs Them' category, which reaches 23%, the highest value among the four actors. Border control also has a substantial incidence (31%), while identity and security account for relatively smaller shares. The distribution therefore suggests a greater relevance of discursive modes based on the opposition between subjects and groups than that observed in the other corpora.

The gender category, by contrast, presents relatively low values in all cases, ranging from 2% for Piantedosi to 6% for Vannacci. Although it is the least represented, or among the least represented, category across the four corpora, its distribution nevertheless reveals differences between the actors, with a greater incidence in the case of Vannacci and a more limited presence in the case of Piantedosi.

Overall, the distribution of the categories highlights different communicative configurations among the four actors analysed. Piantedosi shows a marked concentration of content in the dimensions of security and border control; Meloni displays a more balanced distribution between security, identity, and border control; Salvini shows

a particularly significant incidence of border control, accompanied by a substantial presence of security; Vannacci, by contrast, is characterised by the greatest weight of the 'Us vs Them' category and by a substantial presence of border control. The data therefore show that, despite the common presence of the dimensions considered, their relative weight varies significantly according to the actor, outlining different modes of thematic organisation within the political communication analysed.

Conclusions. The results show how the anti-gender positions of the radical right are closely connected to a broader ethnocultural conception of the nation. The defence of the traditional family and gender roles does not represent merely a position on moral issues, but becomes an integral part of a political project oriented towards preserving the cultural, demographic, and symbolic continuity of the national community. Within this framework, women are predominantly represented as mothers and as guarantors of the reproduction of the nation, while the family assumes the role of the principal institution responsible for transmitting collective identity. The analysis also highlights an internal tension within radical-right discourse. While a traditionalist conception of gender roles prevails in the national context, the same references to women's emancipation are selectively mobilised when they intersect with narratives concerning immigration and religion. In these cases, women's rights are invoked not as an autonomous objective of emancipation, but as an argument serving the construction of a representation of cultural alterity as incompatible with the values of the national community. This dynamic confirms the arguments discussed in the literature on femonationalism, showing how gender is incorporated into broader discursive strategies aimed at legitimising identity-based policies. More broadly, this contribution suggests that gender constitutes one of the principal devices through which the contemporary radical right constructs its political imaginary. Far from being confined to the sphere of family policies or identity-related issues, it contributes to organising a narrative in which border protection, security, national identity, and the reproduction of the community are brought together within the same cultural and political project.

From this perspective, gender emerges as a fundamental analytical category for understanding transformations in the political communication of the contemporary radical right.

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КОНСТРУИРОВАНИЕ НАЦИИ: ГРАНИЦЫ, ИДЕНТИЧНОСТЬ И ГЕНДЕР В ФОРМИРОВАНИИ НАЦИОНАЛЬНОГО СООБЩЕСТВА ИТАЛЬЯНСКИМИ РАДИКАЛЬНО-ПРАВЫМИ СИЛАМИ

Аннотация. За последние два десятилетия усиление радикально-правых сил и антигендерная мобилизация стали одной из главных арен политического противостояния в современных демократиях. Хотя антигендерное движение объединяет широкий спектр политических, религиозных и гражданских акторов, в итальянском контексте именно радикально-правые и ультраправые политические силы сыграли ведущую роль, выступая против политики гендерного мейнстриминга — стратегии, направленной на интеграцию гендерного подхода в процессы принятия решений и разработку государственной политики. В этом контексте защита нации и её декларируемой этнокультурной идентичности тесно переплетается с продвижением традиционной семьи и укреплением гендерных моделей, составляющих фундамент социального порядка. Современные исследования всё чаще подчёркивают роль гендерной проблематики как в идеологии, так и в политической коммуникации радикально-правых сил. Исходя из этих положений, в статье анализируется эмпирический массив из 1314 публикаций в социальных сетях, размещённых в период с февраля по май 2026 года четырьмя политическими деятелями, занимающими различные позиции в итальянском политическом и институциональном поле, — Джорджией Мелони, Маттео Сальвини, Маттео Пьянтедози и Роберто Ванначчи. Используя метод качественного контент-анализа, автор рассматривает, как гендерная проблематика включается в более широкий дискурс конструирования нации, идентичности и социального порядка. Полученные результаты показывают существенные различия в том, как рассматриваемые политики расставляют тематические акценты своей публичной коммуникации между вопросами безопасности, пограничного контроля, идентичности и конструирования инаковости; при этом гендерные темы, несмотря на количественно меньшее присутствие, играют стратегическую роль в организации общей дискурсивной архитектуры.

Ключевые слова: радикально-правые силы; гендер; границы; политическая коммуникация; нативизм; Италия; национальная идентичность; фемонационализм

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