In today’s society, political and communication environment is changing. Social media and the digital public sphere are new protagonists of the media system and they impose new logics to the main actors of political communication: politicians, institutions, and citizens. As several studies has highlighted (Bentivegna, 2014; Vaccari e Valeriani, 2013; Marchetti, Ceccobelli, Gazzé, 2013), in Italy, the consolidation of a new political digital landscape began during 2013 National Elections. Within this electoral period, different phenomena characterize the new era of Italian political communication: personalization of politics, a stronger polarization of ideas, politainment and marketing techniques. Closely related with marketing strategies, political storytelling started to be one of the principle techniques adopted by italian politicians, both from right and left parties. Considering these evidences, this study is focused on the storytelling built by politicians during 2014 European Election and has 2 principle aims:

1) Understand which kind of storytelling Italian politicians are adopting during campaigns;
2) Highlight which are the purposes of political narrations: are they finalised on building relationship with citizens or are they useful just to build identity, to gain attention and to increase popularity?

Answering these questions mean to understand if politicians are interested in informing, obtaining visibility or in opening a direct dialogue with citizens. To reach the research goals, it was applied a qualitative narrative model of analysis based on Burke’s pentad model. Over 3.000 tweets were analysed manually and then processed with SPSS. To identify the stories narrated by politicians, several modes, connected with political elements and narrations, were coded. Results show that main narrations were focused on politicians themselves or on their parties and that the dimension of POP-politics was stronger than the informative or engaging one. The stories didn’t differ because of ideologies or political affiliation but more because of politicians’ individual temperament and because of their parties’ needs. The analysis of political storytelling allow to understand how politicians search for consensus in a way more emotional than rational and how they are dependent on mass media narrations. Protagonists of the political dialogue are politicians and mass media, instead of politicians and citizens.
**Introduction**

Nowadays, social media has reached a leading role in the media environment. New media play an environmental role and went from being a commodity to being a necessity (Hjarvard, 2015) within what is defined as hybrid media system (Chadwick, 2013). As previously happened with the advent of other media, also in this case the social system influences the communicative one and *vice-versa* building new media practices.

In this dimension, new communication practices have been developed. Marketing, business and journalism practices are evolving. At the same time, it has been changing the way of educating, governing and managing politics. This last element is the focus of this study. In recent years, in Italy, new communication practices have been adopted for political communication. This evolution is directly connected with the advent and development of new media. In the Fourth Era of Political Communication, (Di Fraia & Missaglia, 2014, 2015) some elements evolved and were heredity of the previous era (Blumler & Kavanagh, 1999; Mazzoleni;2004). On the other hand, completely new one started to be shaped.

2013 Italian political elections can be considered the starting point of this last political communication era (Bentivegna, 2014; Vaccari e Valeriani, 2013; Marchetti, Ceccobelli, Gazzé, 2013). During these elections, social media became central for political communication and their usage strongly highlighted some elements of mediatized politics (Mazzoleni e Schulz, 1999).

Connected with this basic elements (social media, mediatization of politics, POP-politics), the aim of this study is to analyse the evolution of the Italian political storytelling during the last Elections (2014 European Elections) to answer two research questions:

1) Understand which kind of storytelling Italian politicians are adopting during campaigns;

2) Highlight which are the purposes of political narrations: are they finalised on building relationship with citizens or are they useful just to build identity, to gain attention and to increase popularity?

Storytelling is a narrative and marketing technique which gain a central importance after the mediatization of politics. After the rise of social media, its importance keeps growing steadily and, day by day, it became a central technique of political communication.

Understanding the stories that are building the new political communication environment, means to understand in which way political communication is evolving.
Storytelling and political communication in Italy

Narration and politics have always been strongly connected. Starting from the very beginning it is possible to cite an ancient American Indian proverb which says: “Those who tell stories, they will dominate the world”. This quote well underline the relationship that elapses between, not only politics, but generally power and narration. Langellier (1999) argues that all kinds of narrations have a political function. For this reason, it could be extremely important to compare the fundamental elements of narrative with power dynamics and structures. This point of view allows to reflect about narration, storytelling techniques and political communication. Several elements contribute to build a coherent political story. It is not important only what a politician says, but also what journals say about him/her, and, nowadays, how web reacts to his/her public declarations. All runs to build politician’s image and reputation. For this reason, to have the ability of manage a complex storytelling, like the political one, could be a huge advantage for the political strategy. But when storytelling and narrative techniques have become essential for political communication?

Focusing on Italian political communication, it is possible to say that political communication followed the pattern underlined by Blumler and Kavanagh (1999) but with some peculiarities. Mazzoleni (2004) well defined all the specific traits which characterise Italian political communication evolution.

From the very beginning, narration had a fundamental role in the political communication system.

The First Era of political communication, in Italy, and generally in Europe, was also called "The Era of the Big Narrations". In this period, parties brought all the values and citizens recognised in them something to belong to. Even if in the Second Era (1960-’70-’80) narrations lost their strength, the storytelling became more important because of the evolution of the new communication tools. It is in this specific moment that Storytelling became a real protagonist of political communication. During the decades of this Era (from 60s to 80s) mass media strongly influenced political communication. These influences would lead to a new kind of political communication defined as POP-Politics (Mazzoleni and Sfardini, 2009). In this period, typical elements of mediatization started to appear, while politicians started to be more aware of mass-communication potential (Anania, 2012).

In Italy, television is the main protagonist of this moment. Some important delineated phenomena are:
I. mediatization;
II. personalization;
III. spectacularization;
IV. political advertising and political marketing;
V. permanent campaign;

These Second-Era elements allow to see the Third Era (Blumler and Kavanagh, 1999) or post-modern communication Era (Norris, 2000; Plasser e Plasser, 2002) as an evolution more than a revolution. The main communicative model remains the one-to-many and the principle media remains the television. Mass media gain more and more power and commercialization and mediatization are well defined. In the table 1.1, fundamental elements of Third-Era political communication are presented:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Communicate Politics</th>
<th>Leader’s Representation</th>
<th>Party’s Role</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Informal language</td>
<td>Private Life</td>
<td>Weak connession Party-Citizens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rapidity</td>
<td>leader/soubrette</td>
<td>Leader=Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soft news</td>
<td>Importance of Image</td>
<td>End of Big Narration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personalization</td>
<td>Emotional Communication</td>
<td>Not CENTRO AGGREGATIVO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permanent Campaign</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is in this third period, Mediatization of politics and POP-Politics (Mazzoleni and Sfardini, 2009) found their more complete and complex form. Spectacularization, personalization, political advertising, and political marketing techniques started to be fundamental element and they led to a steady use of the storytelling techniques.

Political narration became more complex but, on the other hand, less deep. It is not anymore a narration about values and purposes but more about party’s leaders habits, thoughts and private life.
Political storytelling and political narration change again during the last era of political
communication.

The Fourth Era or Era 2.0 (Di Fraia, Missaglia, 2014) is characterised by a strong evolution of the communication system. Nowadays, political communication faces a renewed media-scene. Media and politics build a new relationship. Media, politicians and citizens seem to play similar roles within the communication system (Marcinkowski e Steiner, 2014). The communication is now more complex and oriented to a one-to-one model. Fundamental element of this evolution is the birth and development of new media. Their development influence a new way of communicate and open new possibilities for bi-directional communication. As highlighted by Blumler e Coleman (2015), many scholars (Bennett e Iyengar, 2008; Blumler e Coleman, 2013; Esser e Stromback, 2014; Livingstone, 2013) recognised a paradigmatic change of political communication during the last years.

In this period, for the first time after the end of the Era of Big Narrations, politicians have the possibility to dis-intermediate their communication. They can dis-intermediate it in two ways:

I. avoiding mass media (television, press, radio) mediation;

II. avoiding party's mediation;

On the other hand, new media create an abundance of information and news. Consequently, the point of view on the political situation became more and more fragmented (Blumler e Coleman, 2015). Another fundamental element of this evolution is the perception of time. In today’s society, time is speeded. Not only because of the acceleration caused by computers, but also for the evolution brings by mobile technologies (Lovink, 2012), social media and geo-localization services. This paradigmatic change, with its acceleration and snackization of time, implies a communication paradigm change.

For news media and politicians, this change means a new way of looking at news production. If everything is quicker, also the news production needs to be continuous and rapid.

For citizens, the development of web 2.0 opens a new scenario for participation and democracy. In this new environment, people of every age, sex, ethnicity, could express their opinion and ideas. Plus, they could do this at a very lower expense and with the potential of spread their message globally (Lupia e Sin, 2003).

But what does this evolution means for political narration and political communication?

Politicians, parties and journalists, have to work in a new media system, characterised by hybridity and a new processes of agenda setting (Missaglia, 2015).
Within the new dimension of the *Hybrid Media System* (Chadwick, 2011), online media and mass media constantly produce news (Skogerbø e Krumsvik, 2014). Consequently, politicians become active or passive part of this system. With the goal of visibility, politicians need to be present and active within social media and the web. Similarly to a company, they need to advertise their *personal-brand*. The need of being *always on* also implies a speeding of the political agenda. It became what it is possible to call a *short-term agenda*. In the continuous flux of news, politicians adapt their storytelling to rapidity and no-depth narration (Blumler e Coleman, 2015).

In Italy, although with a difficult pattern (as reported by ISTAT, 2009; ISTAT, 2014; Cosenza, 2015), new media have become fundamental tools for political communication and journalism (Vaccari e Valeriani, 2013). Particularly, new media are often used as sources to build news on politicians’ activities and private life.

In this period, storytelling gains even more importance within the new media environment. *Storytelling* could be defined as a new paradigm of marketing and communication (Cacciotto, 2011) or as a narrative paradigm (Jedlowski, 1994; Smorti, 2007; Salomon, 2008). If storytelling is applied to politics, it has the fundamental goal of attract potential electors. In this sense, it can be useful because it is a strong tool to build values, to explain political ideas, and to explain politicians’ point of view. On their side, politicians became *political-narrators* and they start to focus more on emotional than on factual narrations. If in today’s scenario, political leaders represent their entire party, they need to know how to communicate their values in a memorable way and in a way that create consensus between citizens. In a moment in which *commercialization* and its consequences are evident and well defined, storytelling seems to be an efficient tool to build a following of loyal citizens/consumers.

Stories have a great power not only for politicians but for citizens too. Through narrations, citizens can feel part of a common project, they can recognise their desires in the political leader’s ones, and they can feel that their desires are satisfied through leader’s actions. Moreover, stories allow to influence reality interpretation. This fact implies a huge potential for people whom can build *interpretational frames* thanks to storytelling. About political storytelling, Andrea Fontana (Fontana e Sgreva, 2011; Fontana e Mieli, 2014) claims that storytelling could be a concrete strategy of “Community Connection”. It could help politicians’ narrations in the long run and it could be useful to highlight important issues and values. In this specific case, Fontana defines *storytelling* as a political practice typical of the XXI century as a tool useful to build what he calls a *narrative bridge*. As for company’s storytelling,
political one allows to create emotional boundaries and affiliation. The *narrative bridge*, based on sets of pre-made stories could be defined as:

"A strategic system through which organising and structuring a complex narration of a politician. This has the goal to build a coherent and efficient message for the electorate"

Fontana e Sgreva, 2011

Storytelling and narrative techniques seem to be a fundamental element in the news building routine of the contemporary politicians.

It is possible to sum up all its functions in three principle points. Storytelling could be useful to:

1) build identity --> it implies build a strong set of values, describing ideas, explaining political programs, define main issues, worries, desires and hopes.

2) build consensus --> it implies that storytelling becomes a traditional tool for propaganda. Trough emotive or factual narrations, politicians try to gain attention and to build a strong electoral base.

3) build connections and relations --> in this case, storytelling could be useful to re-build a strong relationship between citizens and politicians.† This relationship lost its strength during second and third era of political communication.

**Research Questions and Methodology**

As briefly introduced in the previous paragraph, social media and new media development bring several new elements into Italian political communication. 2013 National Election and 2014 European Election were two milestones in the use of social media within political communication. At the same time, these two electoral periods highlight how political storytelling was changing. As previously explained, if a *brand is a narration* (Salomon, 2008), and it is possible to identify certain type of politics as *branded* (Barile, 2014), it is possible to say that political narrative techniques are, nowadays, more similar to marketing storytelling techniques. For this reason, and for the great potential of new media in opening a direct

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† During second and third era of political communication, politics faced a strong and steady disaffection of citizens (Flickinger and Studlar, 2007; Fontana, Mieli 2014; Dalton, 2004; Blumler e Coleman, 2015). As highlighted by Bordignon (2014), in Italy several elements exacerbate this feeling. Among the others: a constant worsening of the economic situation, the end of Berlusconi’s government, and the consequent technocratic government of Monti, last but not least, the scandals that characterise Italian political parties, both right and left wings (Bosco e McDonnell 2012; Ceccarini, Diamanti e Lazar 2012).
dialogue, it seemed important to analyse which kind of narrations politicians are building using social media. At the same time, this analyses could allow to understand which kind of dynamics these stories are building within the new media environment. Several researches have demonstrated a mainly traditional use of new media for political communication during 2013 General Election (Bentivegna, 2014; Vaccari e Valeriani, 2013; Cosenza, 2013; Di Fraia and Missaglia, 2014). To analyse political storytelling of 2014 European Elections in Italy seems to be useful to deeply understand:

1) which kind of storytelling Italian politicians are adopting during campaigns;

2) highlight which are the purposes of political narrations: are they finalised on building relationship with citizens or are they useful just to build identity, to gain attention and to increase popularity?

To answer these research questions mean to understand if Italian politicians are interested in informing, in obtaining visibility, in building an individual, or collective identity, or in opening a direct dialogue with citizens. With the aim of building a reliable research, 3,310 tweet were analysed following a research scheme built on Burke’s pentad model of narrations (1945).

Twitter was the media analysed during the study. Twitter was chosen for several reasons. Firstly for its characteristics (140 characters message length, hashtags, mentions and replies tools). These elements made it a useful tool for collecting and cataloguing information (boyd, Golder e Lotan, 2010; Larsson and Moe, 2012; Honey e Herring, 2009). Moreover, Twitter has been fundamental for studying political storytelling. In fact, because of its structure, it is a container and a producer of stories. Twitter structure is diachronic and this is one of the golden rules of narration (Jedlowski, 2000). Without a timeline, narrations can not exist. Moreover, a story needs to create a relationship between narrator, his/her public and the discourse to exist. Twitter covers all these needs thank to its interactive nature. Particularly, it is interesting to consider that power and narration have always had a strong connection (Fontana e Sgreva, 2011). Within Twitter, minor narrations are developed (Jedlowski, 2000) but they maintain their political function (Langellier, 1999) and for this reason they can be defined as public narrations (Di Fraia, 2012).
**Political Content Analysis in Italy and Research Methodology**

Several researches in Italy focused on narrations, storytelling and contents. Antenore (2012) analyses the content of tweets produced during 2012. She applied a categorisation developed by Goldbeck, Grimes e Rogers (2010). Cosenza (2013) develops a qualitative study applying a *semiotic approach* to Twitter. Main goal of her research is to understand politicians’ styles of communication on Twitter. In 2013, Cassetta e Cobianchi analysed Regional Lombard elections applying content analysis on tweets and hashtags connected to elections or candidates. Bentivegna (2014a) develops a quantitative content analysis. She demonstrates a mainly broadcast use of Twitter; a new medium used as an old one. All these researches highlight that Italian politicians avoid direct dialogue with citizens, preferring to build relations with journalists and colleagues (Bentivegna, 2014a). On the other hand, citizens focus on minor issues (Cassetta e Cobianchi, 2013; Marchetti et. al, 2013) and pay small attention to the political ones. To develop a narrative analysis within this environment means to better understand previous research results with the aim of studying in depth the typology of the political communication produced on Twitter.

**Methodology**

To analyse political storytelling developed during 2014 European Election, a sample of 48 politicians was selected. Out of them, 41 had, at the time of the study, an active profile. Period of the study coincides with one month before the elections: from April 25 to May 25 2014 (Election Day). Total number of collected tweets is 3,310. To collect them it was firstly selected the politicians sample. It was built using a *purposive sampling method*. In building the sample main criteria of choices were: if they were party’s leaders, if they were well known politicians, and if they had important roles within their parties. After this phase, all the tweets and retweets produced by politicians were extracted using a payment version of the tool Twitonomy. Retweets were then eliminated from the sample and tweets were selected with a *systematic sample (k=3)*. Every tweet was considered as an analytical unit and analysed using the Pentad Model, built by Burke (1945) and developed by Bruner (1986)

Burke (1945) claims that every narration is composed by 5 elements: *actor, purpose, mean, scene, and action*. Every of these elements were considered as a *variable*. Every variable had from a minimum of 10 to a maximum of 17 *modes*. Modes mainly focus on politicians’ behaviours and habits, connected with electoral campaign practices.
The Study

For the second time in Italian political history, Twitter was a central tool within 2014 European Elections. Even if, usually, European Elections are considered as second order elections, during 2014 they were an important test case for the Renzi’s Government and for the pro or against Europe sentiment.

Macro-narrations were focused on important themes as immigration, Euro, the potential exit from the European Union. Moreover, political situation has been strongly changing since 2013 General Elections. During last years, Lega Nord gained more power, Matteo Renzi became Premier and Silvio Berlusconi, exited the official political scene. In the meanwhile, Beppe Grillo and the Five Stars Movement became an important part of Italian politics and one of their candidates, Virginia Raggi, has become Mayor of Rome. Within this situation, several macro-narrations took place. Without considering the variables Party or Politician, main macro-narrations of 2014 are illustrated in the Table 1:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACTOR</th>
<th>ME</th>
<th>WE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PURPOSE</td>
<td>DEVELOPE EMPATHY</td>
<td>BETTER REPUTATION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCENE</td>
<td>POLITICAL SCENE</td>
<td>SPECIFIC ZONE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEAN</td>
<td>TWITTER</td>
<td>POLITICAL STRUGGLE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACTION</td>
<td>EXPRESS AN EMOTION</td>
<td>SHARE A TOUGHT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tab. 1: Macro political narrations of 2014

First principle story is focused about ME, the politician, and tones of narrations pay lot of attention to the tool used for communication. It is possible to define this narration as: The story of the Emotive Politician. Politicians adopting this storytelling are narrating their personal experience in an engaging way. They try to build a strong emotive relationship with potential electors. It is possible to sum up this first narration in an example story:

I (the politician), within my working environment, talk about my experience through my emotions. My goal is to augmented the empathy feelings of electorate.

In this narration feeling and not facts take the central role. But empathy is not built only through positive stories. Skirmishes between politicians, for example, are one of the main
facts reported by politicians in their stories. The **stories of emotive politicians** can develop positive or negative messages. If they develop in the latter sense, they are often connected with *populist, irrational* and *extreme ideologies*. Same emotional tone of voice is used to describe *public meetings* and *actions* taken. Even in these cases, the emotional tone prevails over the factual one. An example of this narration could be this tweet produced by Claudio Borghi, a Northern League candidate, during an event called the “*Basta Euro tour*” [*The stop Euro tour*]. The politician presents a concrete fact in a totally emotional way:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>È bellissimo quando i follower ricordano a quale tappa del #bastaeuro sono venuti. Ricorda “<em>Ho servito con te a Vindobona</em>” #forzaeonore</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>It is truly beautiful when your followers remember at which “Basta Euro Tour” they were with you. Remember “<em>I served with you at Vindobona</em>” #strenghtandhonour</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Within this tweet prevails a feeling of union under the same values and the emotion of being together. The hashtag used “Strength and Honour” highlights fundamental values of the Northern League electorate.

Second macro-narration can be defined as the **Story of “Unity make us stronger”**. Within this story *commonality* and *mutual help* are the main values. Anyway, it is easy to understand that the principle aim of this narration is *propaganda*. The main actor is *We (Political Party)* and the main goal of narration is build a **better reputation** for the party itself. Particularly, the **scene** results a fundamental element. Setting of the stories is not a generic place but a specific geographic area. In these settings, political struggles are developed and it is possible to express political opinions and ideas in specific situations. Examples of this typology of tweets are tweets connected with rallies or electoral tours. During these events, politicians try to build stronger relationships with their electorate. Indicative are *Beppe Grillo’s* tweets. They are often set in squares where he is speaking and where he can easily become part of the mass. The tweet below can be a good example of this narration:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Loro riempiono le carceri. Noi le piazze! Torino adesso: <a href="http://t.co/1ge0y6sC9x">http://t.co/1ge0y6sC9x</a> Sarò lì tra un’ora! #vinciamonoi <a href="http://t.co/mV0FEbq6cS">http://t.co/mV0FEbq6cS</a></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>They are filling jails. WE are filling squares! Turin now: <a href="http://t.co/1ge0y6sC9x">http://t.co/1ge0y6sC9x</a> I’ll be there in one hour! #wewin <a href="http://t.co/mV0FEbq6cS">http://t.co/mV0FEbq6cS</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The party, *WE*, is the protagonist. The **scene** is a specific city, Turin, but more than that is the square. The concrete space is fundamental in this narration. Its function is to bring people together in a common space. To share the same space helps citizens-electors to feel part of the
party. The mean is “political struggle”. The tone of tweet is rude and the rally seems to be focused on build a better reputation for the party. The bond renewed with the territory is highlighted by the fact that “Meetings and Rallies” are the main means used to share the messages. built with the (9,5%).

Even if it is considered the variable “Party”, main actors of narrations do not change radically. Principal protagonist remain, for the most part of the parties, Me, We, Them (political opponents). Moreover, it is possible to say that the percentage of these actors are extremely similar fro the big four of the European Elections: PD (Democratic Party), FORZA ITALIA, NORTHERN LEAGUE and MOVEMENT FIVE STAR). Respectively, the four parties presented Actor Categories distributed as in the figure 1.1:

As shown in the graph, (fig. n° 1) distributions are similar. Me remains the principal actor used and communication stays focused on politicians more than on citizens. Communication is mainly emotive and focused more on express emotions than on opening a real dialogue with citizens.

M5S could be defined as an exception. Indeed, We as actor is more used as protagonist in the party’s tweets (10% higher). This fact highlights the choral dimension of the Movement. Nevertheless, the choral dimension is referred to the party and not to citizens participation. This underlines a strong self-reference through the party. The message is produced by a collective body, the party’s body, and it is directed to another collective body: the electorate.
However, the latter seems to remain more a communication target than an active actor of the communication process. The only party which total differ to the others is European Choice with 9% of tweets focused on We as citizens. At this point of the study it is fundamental consider another variable: the Action (fig. n° 2).

![Figure 2: Variable Action moste detected modes within 2014 European Elections tweets of the principle Italian Parties.](image)

If Mainstream Parties are considered, principle detected Actions are connected with Identity and Value Building. When they express an emotion or an opinion on an important happening, they try to reinforce their image. Twitter is principally used to reinforce what in marketing is called Brand Identity. It is possible to notice a different situation when Outsider Parties are considered. In this case detected Action differs from the ones of Mainstream Parties (fig. n°3).

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2 The mode We, within the research scheme, is divided in two sub-categories. First We is referred to the Party dimension and highlights a self-referenced use of Twitter. Second We is referred to citizens. This use is almost inexistent within analysed tweets. This fact highlights a weak interest in open a direct dialogue with citizens.

3 Within this study, Mainstream Parties are the well known ones with more mediatic visibility and enough money to run their campaign through all the different media (television, press, social media, radio).
Every Outsider Party presents the mode **PROMOTE EVENTS PARTICIPATION** and a strong percentage of **PUSH TO BE ENGAGED** (in the electoral campaign). This kind of usage is completely different from the one made by Mainstream Parties. These do not need Twitter to foster participation or to ask to be present to their events. On the other hand, the **Outsiders** use the social media in a more aware and proper way. During the elections, they try to use the tool to create **aggregation and participation** in the electoral campaign, and to **gain more votes**. The need of visibility showed by these parties highlights two elements:

I. **Outsider** Parties are not well represented within the traditional media system. For this reason they try to use Twitter in a **substitutive** way.

II. Twitter did not get them the visibility they need within the mass media system. Newspapers and Television Networks use politicians tweets as source for news but only if they are connected with well known politicians. In this way it is created a **media short-circuit**.
Conclusions - European Elections on Twitter: monologue or dialogue?

Narrative analysis was useful to deeply understand political communication logic within Twitter. Particularly, the study of political stories allow to understand in which way politicians are using the tool over electoral periods. Typologies of detected stories represent one of the most important result. Detected narration can be defined as mediatized stories.

Within 2014 macro-stories (The Story of emotive politicians and the Story of “Unity make us stronger”) it is possible to highlight elements of mediatized politics as of POP-politics. These elements directly connect these stories with the characteristic of Third (and only then Fourth) Era of Political Communication. It is possible to notice a strong element of personalization and a strong emotive dimension. Politicians are not looking for opening a direct dialogue but they are more focused on themselves and their image. They are basically interested in obtaining visibility and gain votes for themselves and their Party. Develop Empathy is one of the main goals of these political narrations and it is possible to connect it with personalization characteristics. This sort of personal communication do not help disintermediation. Only some Outsider Parties adopt the tool in a more participative way.

As an example, European Choice has 9% of tweets with We (citizens) as protagonist. This Actor highlights a dimension of inclusivity.

Issues connected to Europe are often a secondary element of the narrations. In this way politicians do not try to aware citizens on Europe, European politics or main issues and they do not try to open dialogues with the electorate. Often, European Issues are instrumentalized (especially by M5S, Northern League and Forza Italia) to obtain more attention. Actions differ accordingly to parties. For Mainstream Parties the main goal of their narration is Identity and Value Building (with a consequent focus on the parties themselves). Examples of these types of Parties are PD, FORZA ITALIA, NORTHERN LEAGUE and M5S. On the other hand, for Outsiders the main goal of their stories is to be visible. These Parties often tell something about the events they organise and they ask to citizens to participate. They also do propaganda, as the Mainstream Parties, but they detach from standard logics and from mainstream media. Nevertheless, these lasts ignore them for the most. Outsiders do not have a strong consideration within the mass-media system and, for them, Twitter becomes a concrete tool of communication, a substitute of the “traditional” media.

Generally, it is possible to highlight the creation of a media short-circuit. This underlines a mainly traditional use of Twitter and its potentiality as a storytelling tool (Antenore, 2012; Cosenza, 2013; Bentivegna, 2014). Even if the tool is different, politicians and parties are not able to create a dialogue and they continue to perpetrate an “old style” communication, close
to the citizens and directed more to their parties, to media, and colleagues.

To sum up, it is possible to say that political narrations are, for the most, **mediatized stories**. They are built on issues interesting for the traditional media system, they do not open a dialogue and they are focused on politicians themselves and parties and not on citizens or the electorate. New media are adopted but their logics are not deeply accepted and understood.

To use emotivity and to narrate personal stories seem to be a way to attract mass media attention, more than a way to be more transparent and open with citizens. If many tweets could be seen as good starting point for a dialogue, then it is clear that that goal is not pursued. The dialogue on Twitter is opened only in case of skirmishes and many tweets remain without replies. Politicians are the only real actors of their Twitter-play. Their tweets are parts of well built monologues which like to target a specific public composed of mass media and political system.
Bibliografia


References


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