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*Environmental Realities versus Public Narratives:
A Comparative Analysis of Sensor Data and Political Discourse.*

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*Al mio piccolo Luigi,
la mamma ti augura di realizzare
tutti i tuoi sogni.
Grazie per avermi insegnato cos'è
l'amore puro.
Sei luce.*

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Abstract

Nel presente studio viene esaminato il complesso intreccio tra linguaggio politico, discorso ambientale e percezioni pubbliche in Italia, analizzando il periodo che va dal 2008 a oggi. L'obiettivo principale è comprendere come le rappresentazioni linguistiche contribuiscano alla costruzione di una visione collettiva delle sfide ecologiche. In un contesto globale in cui le questioni ambientali occupano una posizione di rilievo, la ricerca adotta un approccio multidisciplinare che integra ecolinguistica, *Critical Discourse Analysis* (CDA), *Frame Analysis*, didattica delle lingue e digital humanities. L'indagine si concentra su programmi elettorali, discorsi politici, articoli di stampa e materiali prodotti da apprendenti di italiano L2, inclusi questionari e dati del gruppo d'italiano L1, al fine di mettere in luce le dinamiche linguistiche, ideologiche ed educative che caratterizzano il discorso ambientale italiano.

Uno degli aspetti centrali dello studio è lo sviluppo di uno schema preliminare di un'ontologia denominata ClimaNet, progettata per rappresentare le connessioni tra temi ambientali e discorso politico in Italia. ClimaNet integra tre livelli di analisi – politico, mediatico ed educativo – con l'obiettivo di fornire una comprensione più approfondita delle dinamiche sociali e ambientali. Seguendo la prospettiva di Stibbe (2015, 2017), il linguaggio non è interpretato solo come strumento descrittivo, ma anche come elemento attivo nella costruzione della realtà, capace di connettere contesti nazionali e internazionali e di rivelare le complessità delle relazioni tra società, ambiente e politica.

La ricerca si articola su due direttrici principali. La prima esamina le strategie linguistiche e ideologiche adottate dai partiti politici italiani per affrontare le questioni ambientali, evidenziando come il linguaggio mediatore possa costruire consenso e rappresentare la sostenibilità. Tali discorsi politici sono confrontati con i dati empirici forniti dall'ISPRA, rivelando significative discrepanze tra retorica e realtà. La seconda direttrice esplora la ricezione, reinterpretazione e rielaborazione di questi discorsi in contesti didattici internazionali. Attraverso la progettazione di due unità di apprendimento e l'analisi dei questionari prodotti da studenti ungheresi di italiano L2 e dal gruppo d'italiano L1, lo studio indaga come il linguaggio politico italiano contribuisca alla costruzione di rappresentazioni ambientali in contesti transculturali.

Grazie al suo approccio interdisciplinare, questa ricerca offre un contributo significativo alla comprensione del discorso politico e ambientale italiano e propone modelli metodologici innovativi, replicabili in contesti transnazionali. In particolare, la struttura metodologica del

questionario rappresenta un elemento di originalità, offrendo un modello applicabile per validare la *Frame Analysis* e indagare come i frame ideologici e le strategie retoriche siano percepiti da parlanti d'italiano L1 e L2. L'introduzione di ClimaNet come strumento analitico e didattico infine apre nuove prospettive per future ricerche, dimostrando come il linguaggio non si limiti a comunicare, ma agisca come forza trasformativa per affrontare le sfide globali del cambiamento climatico.

Introduction

The debate over environmental issues has become one of the main challenges of the 21st century, with implications that extend far beyond the boundaries of traditional environmental policies (Stibbe, 2015, 2017). In Italy, the political discourse on the environment is intertwined with electoral and media rhetoric and with public perceptions and language education, in a complex web of meanings that shape Italians' understanding of ecological challenges. This research aims to offer a specific, integrated and detailed view of the relationship between political discourse, the environment, and public perception in Italy from 2008 to the present, demonstrating how linguistic and media representations contribute to shaping the understanding of environmental challenges. The analysis of political language and its reflections in the media highlights the rhetorical and ideological dynamics employed by political parties and the press. This perspective is essential to understand power relations within public discourse and for analysing how such discourse influences learners of Italian as a second language (L2), particularly in international contexts, as students internalise narrative frames related to environmental issues through mediated language. This process illustrates how the Italian political discourse is capable of crossing both cultural and linguistic boundaries, and its analysis is fundamental to enriching our intercultural understanding of the issue (Fairclough, 1992; Van Dijk, 1993, 2008).

One main objective of this research is to design an ontology (ClimaNet) to describe the relationship between the environment and politics in Italy from 2008 to the present, connecting the various levels of discourse – from political to educational discourse, to mainstream media – to offer a deeper and more comprehensive understanding of Italian social and environmental dynamics. Language does not merely describe reality: it actively contributes to constructing it, connecting national and international contexts and revealing the inherent complexities of the relationship between society, the environment, and politics (Stibbe, 2012, 2015).

This doctoral research is positioned at the intersection of digital humanities, applied linguistics, ecolinguistics, and modern language teaching, with a specific focus on the crucial role of political language in the electoral programmes of Italian political parties concerning environmental issues, as well as on the perceptions connected to such discourse in mass media and in the teaching of Italian as a second language (L2). The primary aim is to deepen the linguistic analysis of electoral programmes and political speech by adopting different approaches and new investigative tools to fully leverage their application within ecolinguistics. Ecolinguistics explores the interactions between language and the environment: Tomasi

discusses how knowledge systems, such as archives and libraries, are organised to cater to diverse audiences: «Propongono nuovi modelli di organizzazione della conoscenza in un sistema di archivi, biblioteche e comunicazione, organismi dotati di quel comune obiettivo che è la realizzazione di nuove istanze esperienziali per un pubblico vasto ed eterogeneo». (Tomasi, 2022: 165)

The field of ecolinguistics, as defined by the International Ecolinguistics Association (IEA)¹, studies «the role of language in the interactions that sustain the lives of humans, other species, and the physical environment». This discipline, which emerged following Michael Halliday's pioneering article titled *New ways of analysing meaning: A challenge to applied linguistics* (1992), examines the interaction between the environment, languages, and the contexts in which language is used. This branch of applied linguistics considers how language is embedded within sociocultural, political, economic, and ecological contexts. As Halliday (1990 and 1992) argues, social structure is a manifestation of language; this means that social organisations are shaped by and upon linguistic structures.

To illustrate this, Halliday highlights the concept of “economic growth”, emphasising the semantic gap between the typically positive lexicon used to describe it (excellent, good, vital, etc.) and the negative impact this lexicon has on sustainability, as exemplified by the sentence: «La crescita del PIL è vitale per l'economia italiana» (GDP growth is vital for the Italian economy) [my translation]. Moreover, Halliday underscores the importance of language studies as they provide a precise, organised, and, above all, conscious representation of the pressing issues of the 21st century.

In Italy there has been little research on applying ecolinguistics to political discourse and electoral programmes². Therefore, this research aims to explore in detail the complex relationship between political communication and the environment in Italian electoral programmes and political speech, also considering narrative texts produced by learners of Italian as a second language. The wide linguistic spectrum considered in this research provides an opportunity for enriching our understanding of linguistic nuance, highlighting cultural and linguistic variations in expressions related to environmental themes.

An important theoretical foundation for this research is Fernand Braudel's (1949) concept of *histoire de la longue durée*, which encourages the analysis of historical continuities over extended periods. This approach will guide the investigation of historical debates,

¹ For more information, see: <https://www.ecolinguistics-association.org>. [last consulted in 04/04/2024]

² Cf. Chapter 2.

environmental laws, natural disasters, and human-induced calamities, interpreting these as key elements for understanding the evolution of the relationship between humanity and the environment in the Italian political context.

To conduct this study, I have identified two working hypotheses. The first, based on different debates in public newspapers over the years, suggests that right-wing political parties view the environment from a predominantly economic perspective (e.g., reopening factories), while left-wing parties take a more anthropocentric view (preserving the environment to improve quality of life). This difference is often reflected in discussions about workers' rights (e.g., factory work and deaths related to dangerous substances such as coal or asbestos) or in accusations against the right for failing to act during environmental disasters. However, none of the Italian parties seem to perceive the environment as an entity in its own right. For instance Matteo Salvini, leader of the right-wing populist party *Lega Nord*, argues: «Quelli che vogliono che si giri tutti in auto, bici e monopattino elettrico sappiano che in Cina per produrre le batterie usano carbone e nucleare. Quindi noi rischiamo di massacrare il sistema dell'auto in Italia per risparmiare una parte delle 0,19 delle emissioni di CO₂ in Italia contribuendo a un mega- inquinamento in Cina che inquina il quadruplo» (12 gennaio 2022)³.

Similarly, Paul Ginsborg comments on how specific natural disasters may have been avoided if appropriate urban planning laws had been passed: «Tutte e tre queste “calamità naturali” avrebbero potuto essere evitate, se solo il centro-sinistra avesse approvato adeguate leggi sulla pianificazione urbanistica e sulla difesa dei suoli [ma] il governo rispose con una “legge ponte” Mancini del 1967, l'ennesimo provvedimento-tampone preso in attesa di una riforma organica che non avrebbe mai visto la luce» (Ginsborg, 2006: 378-379).

Additionally, Mario Ruzzenenti discusses the value of involving workers in raising awareness about the harmful conditions they face: «Un valore straordinario per la stessa cultura e pratica ambientalista: quella metodologia metteva gli stessi operai nelle condizioni di prendere coscienza della nocività e del rischio di cui soffrivano, dei possibili danni alla salute, delle misure da adottare; si trattava insomma di un'impostazione che valorizzava la partecipazione e la lotta dei lavoratori» (Ruzzenenti, 1994: 138).

The second hypothesis this research will be testing stems from the assumption that stories shape our lives, habits, modes of expression, and behaviours (Stibbe, 2017); young Italians and Europeans, as well as adults, may view the environment through political lenses. But is this

³ For the full text: <https://energiaoltre.it/le-ricette-della-lega-per-il-caro-bollette-piu-gas-italiano-e-nucleare/>. [last consulted in 07/01/2024]

actually the case? For example, environmental activist Greta Thunberg has been campaigning for years to protect the planet and address climate change, urging governments to reduce CO₂ emissions. As she says: «All this while the world is literally burning on fire». (Ponton and Raimo, 2024a). How do Europeans behave and express themselves regarding the environment? Do they perceive it as an entity or merely as a place to be saved for their future? Do they agree with the discourse of environmental activists?

Based on these two working questions, this thesis will be structured across different chapters, each contributing to a clear examination of the complex topic under investigation. The opening chapter sets the foundation by tracing the historical evolution of environmental policies at both the global and Italian level. This historical overview but aims to highlight key moments and policies that have shaped the political discourse on the environment in Italy. By focusing on developments from 1995 to 2022, the chapter contextualises the environmental challenges that have influenced the Italian political language, thus providing the necessary background to understand the ideological shifts and rhetorical strategies employed by different political figures.

The second chapter offers a critical review of the current state of research on political language and ecolinguistics, particularly in the Italian context. Although an increasing amount of scientific literature examines the intersection between political discourse and environmental issues on a global scale, the Italian context remains significantly underexplored. This section will identify a significant gap in the current scientific literature, particularly concerning the specific linguistic strategies used within the Italian political discourse on the environment.

The methodological framework outlined in the third chapter specifies the research questions and the approach employed, integrating both qualitative and quantitative techniques. The integration of discourse analysis and empirical data enables a more nuanced investigation of the political language related to environmental issues.

The fourth and fifth chapter delve into the core of the analysis by examining the political language used in Italian electoral programmes and public speeches. A detailed discourse analysis reveals how different political parties frame environmental issues, highlighting the ideological divisions between right-wing and left-wing environmental approaches. This section examines key terms and frames to identify the linguistic choices that reveal each party's stance on environmental sustainability, economic growth, and social justice.

In continuation of the analysis, the Sixth chapter explores the role of the media in shaping the public perception of environmental issues by examining newspaper articles from *The Post*

Internazionale (TPI) to understand how political discourse on the environment is framed by the press. This section will investigate whether media representations align with, or diverge from, the political narratives presented by Italian parties, and how these representations influence the public's understanding of environmental issues.

In Chapter 7, the focus shifts to a different linguistic context, with an exploration of L2 Italian texts produced by Hungarian learners and L1 Italian students (native group). This chapter aims to examine how Italian environmental issues are conceptualised and understood by non-native speakers. Through the introduction of a didactic module centred on ecological language in Italian politics, written texts were collected from students at Pázmány Péter Catholic University after reading Italian electoral programmes and attending a lesson on Italian politics and the environment⁴. These texts, included in the appendix, will not be subject to formal or linguistic analysis; however, they will serve as a useful example to illustrate how environmental concepts are received and reworked by L2 Italian students.

The final chapter described the design of the ClimaNet ontology, which represents the connections between environmental themes and political discourse in the Italian context. The chapter provides an account of how the conceptual frames identified in earlier analyses are organised within the ontology, with particular attention to their evolution over time in response to shifting social and ecological contexts. By incorporating tools from semantic analysis and digital humanities, the ClimaNet ontology offers a structured framework that can be employed in future studies of political language and ecolinguistics.

The chapter also considers the potential educational applications of this ontology, especially in the context of language teaching. It explores how such a resource might assist learners in engaging complex socio-political issues, offering a practical dimension to be added to the broader theoretical investigation.

In summary, this study constitutes an original and innovative contribution to the field of Italian linguistic studies, as it represents the first comprehensive exploration of environmental themes in electoral programmes and speeches delivered at the *Conferences of the Parties* (COP). Despite the increasing prominence of environmental discourse, the intersection between political language and ecological issues has received limited scholarly attention in Italy, particularly regarding the application of *Critical Discourse Analysis* (CDA) and *Frame Analysis*. These methodologies, while widely developed in international contexts, remain underutilised in Italian research.

⁴ Cf. Chapter 3 and Appendix.

The adoption of these analytical frameworks enables the study to uncover the rhetorical and ideological dynamics underpinning political discourse on the environment. By extending its scope from electoral programmes to media narratives and the linguistic reinterpretations of L2 Italian learners, the research offers a multidisciplinary perspective that bridges the political, media, and educational dimensions, thus enriching our understanding of the interplay between language, environment, and society.

This research is further distinguished by its integration of empirical data and digital tools into discourse analysis, demonstrating how innovative methodologies can yield nuanced insights into environmental issues. In particular, the use of Frame Analysis facilitates the identification of conceptual frameworks shaping political and media discourse, highlighting both ideological divisions between the right and left and potential discrepancies between discursive representations and empirical realities.

Another unique aspect of this research is the inclusion of texts produced by Hungarian learners of Italian as a second language. These texts provide a rare intercultural perspective on how environmental issues are perceived and reworked in international contexts, illustrating the importance of language learning as a medium for education and social transformation.

Ultimately, this study is not limited to addressing a significant gap in the Italian literature but proposes a methodological model that could be replicated in future analyses of political discourse on global challenges. Through its diachronic and interdisciplinary approach, the research seeks to make a meaningful contribution not only to applied linguistics and ecolinguistics but also to debates on environmental policy and modern language education.

1. Historical Evolution of Environmental Policies at the Global and Italian Levels

Awareness of environmental impacts has existed for a considerable period, with the adoption of concrete measures to mitigate the structural imperfections of the capitalist system (Bevilacqua, 2011). As Bevilacqua (2011) notes, the antagonist of environmental protection is the capitalist system of production, which is driven by the relentless exploitation of natural resources. This approach is destined to exacerbate existing historical contradictions, deepening the disparity not only between capital and labour but, more significantly, between humanity and nature. This chapter examines the historical evolution of environmental policies, both globally and in Italy, through a structured approach divided into five sections. It begins with an analysis of international milestones, focusing on the United Nations Climate Change Conferences and the Kyoto Protocol (1.2). Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, however, there was a noticeable lack of effective actions aimed at reducing carbon emissions. Even after the implementation of the Kyoto Protocol, environmental policies did not fully meet the expectations placed upon them.

The discussion then moves onto the 2030 Agenda and the Paris Agreement (1.3), which reflect a shift toward collective international efforts to address environmental challenges. This is followed by an examination of current policies and the outcomes of the 27th Conference of the Parties to the UNFCCC (1.4). The final sections are dedicated to environmental policies in Italy (1.5) and to the country's regulatory framework for environmental protection (1.6).

Amid these developments, the idea of a new form of sustainable capitalism gradually gained global support, culminating in what has been termed the Third Revolution, also known as the Green Revolution.

1.2 United Nations Climate Change Conference (COP) and the Kyoto Protocol

The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), commonly known as the Rio Accords⁵, is an international environmental treaty resulting from the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) that took place in 1992 in Rio de Janeiro, famously referred to as the Earth Summit. Its primary objective was to mitigate greenhouse gas emissions, which had been recognised as the main cause of global warming

⁵ For more information, see Angelini and Pizzuto 2007: 149.

(D'Amato 2012). Initially, the treaty did not enforce binding commitment on national limits on emissions, but did allow for the development of additional protocols.

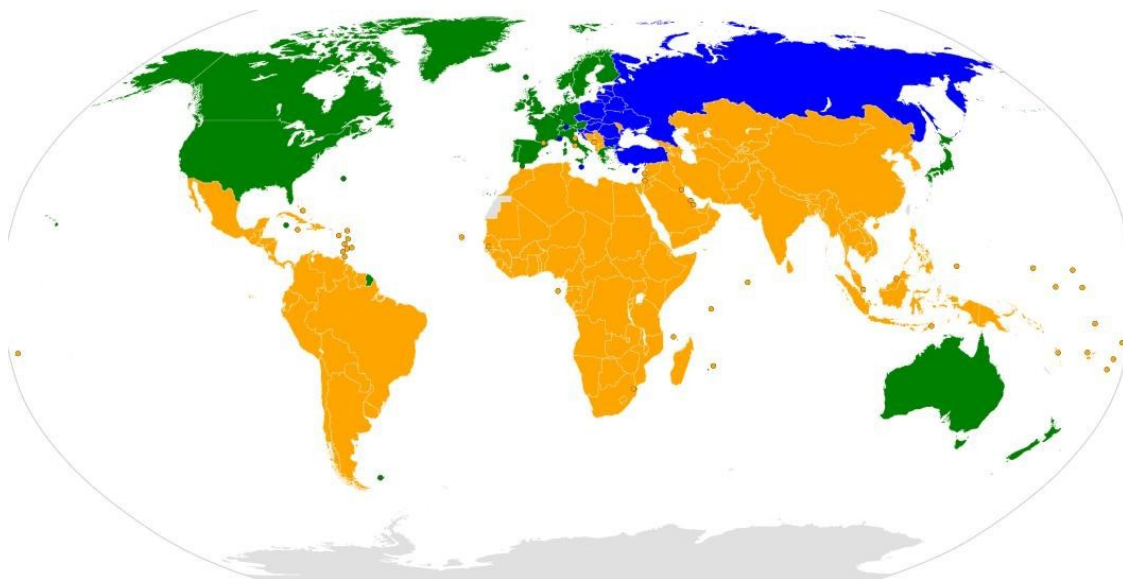
The UNFCCC, opened for ratification in 1992, came into force in 1994, with the stated goal of stabilising greenhouse gas concentrations in the atmosphere at a level that was thought to be low enough to prevent harmful anthropogenic interference with the climate system⁶. Every year, the signatory parties would meet at gatherings known as the United Nations Climate Change Conferences (COPs), which, starting from 2005, included negotiations on binding commitments under the Kyoto Protocol (CMP). Since 2016, these conferences have also included discussions related to the Paris Agreement (CMA).

The first COP, held in Berlin in 1995⁷, expressed concerns about the ability of states to meet their obligations as stated in the Convention. These concerns led to the creation of the *Berlin Mandate*, a ministerial declaration from the United Nations, which initiated two years of analysis and research to negotiate a comprehensive set of actions. The *Berlin Mandate* exempted non-Annex I countries (see the image below) from further binding obligations, following the principle of «common but differentiated responsibilities» established by the UNFCCC⁸. The Kyoto Protocol, formalised in 1997 at COP-3, gained more prominence than the UNFCCC itself.

⁶ For the full text of the convention: (<https://unfccc.int/resource/docs/convkp/conveng.pdf>).

⁷ <https://unfccc.int/cop3/fccc/info/backgrod.htm>

⁸ The signatory states of the UNFCCC are mainly divided into three groups: Annex I countries (industrialised countries and former socialist economies in transition: 40 countries and the European Union), Annex II countries (24 industrialised nations), and developing countries, Image sourced from Wikipedia: https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Convenzione_quadro_delle_Nazioni_Unite_sui_cambiamenti_climatici.



MAP 1: PARTIES TO THE UNFCCC: IN GREEN ANNEX I COUNTRIES, YELLOW FOR ANNEX II, AND GREEN FOR ANNEX III COUNTRIES.

The Kyoto Protocol⁹, ratified in 1997, represents the first international agreement to concretely address the threat of climate change. Its primary goal was to reduce greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions by 5% compared to 1990 levels. To achieve this, alongside national measures such as Land Use, Land-Use Change and Forestry (LULUCF), which involved agricultural and forestry actions aimed at absorbing GHG, the Protocol introduced three flexible mechanisms: the Clean Development Mechanism (CDM), Joint Implementation (JI), and International Emission Trading (IET). The CDM allowed the 43 Annex I countries to implement environmental projects in developing nations, earning tradeable emission credits (CERs). Joint Implementation facilitated project implementation between Annex I countries, obligating them to share the credits derived from such projects (ERUs). As Gerbati (2015) notes, the trading system is rooted in the theories of Ronald Coase (1960)¹⁰ and John Dales (Knox-Hayes 2010), arguing that well-defined property rights can assign a price to harmful emissions, thereby overcoming the problem of negative externalities associated with them.

This approach reflects the solution proposed by Pigou (1920)¹¹, which aims to resolve inefficiency through the internalisation of the Social Cost of Carbon (SCC). The SCC represents

⁹ See Carpani, Cecchetti, Groppi, Siniscalchi and Carli 2008.

¹⁰ According to the Coase Theorem, if property rights over goods are well defined and made transferable, and if the transaction costs are not prohibitive, then the market will lead to an efficient allocation, regardless of the initial distribution. Coase argues that public intervention is unnecessary to correct externalities, as private negotiation between parties will lead to socially efficient solutions, irrespective of who initially holds the property rights. (Coase, 1960; Rosen and Gayer 2014)

¹¹ The Pigouvian solution, named after Professor Arthur Cecil Pigou, involves imposing a unit tax on emissions to internalise the external costs of pollution.

the economic cost caused by an additional tonne of carbon dioxide emissions. However, instead of imposing a direct tax, this objective is pursued by establishing a market (Rosen and Gayer 2014). The result of decarbonisation has been termed by Newell and Paterson (2010: 1) as “climate capitalism”, a new capitalist paradigm that seeks to reconcile economic growth with a deep transformation of carbon-intensive industries by leveraging the action of markets and private property rights. This transition is perceived by many as a critical turning point for the global economy, while others see it simply as an attempt at commodifying nature and lacking the capacity to prevent environmental collapse due to its inherent contradictions (Böhm et al. 2012).

The debate around sustainable capitalism gained significant attention following the adoption of the Kyoto Protocol, particularly towards the end of its first phase (2008–2012). After creating new emission permits known as AAUs (Assigned Amount Units: quotas equivalent to one tonne of carbon dioxide under the IET system), the public sector was expected to rely on the market for the efficient allocation of such permits. Countries with a surplus in emission reductions could profitably sell their exceeding quotas on the market, while others, bound by the same targets but unable to meet them, might find it advantageous to purchase them.

Uncertainties surrounding this point, along with a lack of transparency in the use of the CDM, further amplified doubts about the effectiveness of this economic instruments in fighting climate change. One of the main reasons for the inadequacy of the Kyoto mechanisms was low demand in the market, partly due to the United States’ refusal to ratify the treaty, making them a key buyer, and partly due to the difficulties in stabilising carbon prices following the global financial crisis of 2008. Lengthy procedures and high transaction costs were compounded by Canada’s withdrawal and the refusal of Russia, Japan, and New Zealand to commit to new targets for the second phase (2013–2020), further hampering the Treaty’s objectives¹².

The most frequent criticism, however, did not stem from government mismanagement of supply or from the high level of bureaucratic complexity, but rather from the fundamental basis of the system. In the early 1990s, parties to the UNFCCC approved in 1992, had a choice of approaches to tackle climate change: removing national and international subsidies for fossil fuel extraction, promoting energy savings, and supporting the development of less polluting technologies. However, the authors of the Kyoto Protocol maintained some harmful practices and overlooked other possibilities (Lohmann, 2005), encouraging projects that were difficult to

¹²“*Convenzione quadro delle Nazioni Unite sui cambiamenti climatici*” (2012): [https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/protocollo-di-kyoto_\(Lessico-del-XXI-Secolo\)/](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/protocollo-di-kyoto_(Lessico-del-XXI-Secolo)/)

measure and potentially exacerbated global inequalities. The CDM's credit system required *real and measurable* emission reductions (Kyoto Protocol, Article 12, Paragraph 5, UNFCCC 1998), however the “savings” from an offset project – that is, the amount of GHG not emitted due to the project – by definition, cannot be observed but only hypothesised. As the Transnational Institute pointed out: «When the incentive to reduce emissions is profit and cost- effectiveness, there is incredible pressure to cheat by overestimating reductions, while underestimating emissions» (Dale, 2008).

This dynamic extended to activities such as afforestation, reforestation, and deforestation prevention (LULUCF), which were incentivised with additional credits known as RMUs (Removal Units: The Protocol provided RMU credits for LULUCF activities, Article 3, Paragraphs 3 and 4) to offset new pollution. These projects, later expanded in the EU for the period 2020–2030, were oriented towards forest protection as a natural and essential “carbon sink”¹³. However, they were subject to the same evaluation problems that plagued other CDM activities, which required ongoing monitoring of absorption rates to avoid storage excesses and potentially risked being reversible and unstable. Fossil fuels contained in terrestrial ecosystems are moreover vulnerable to natural disturbances such as fires and pests, as well as anthropogenic practices like land-use changes, which could lead to the partial or total loss of carbon stocks, thus negating any environmental benefit gained with sequestration (UNFCCC).

These mechanisms, while not intending to eradicate injustice or poverty in developing nations, faced criticism for their alleged contribution to the amplification of global disparities. Paprocki (2018) and other scholars (Sovacool et al., 2019), criticised how these “North-South” projects were imposed coercively to less industrialised nations. Industrial elites frequently sought to establish their production and experimental activities without the consent of local communities, through forced land expropriations, causing harm to disadvantaged populations. Regarding the redistributive effects of these measures, Gilbertson (Böhm et al., 2009) mentioned an intriguing CDM project in Thailand that focused on using rice husks as a renewable raw material. Historically used as a natural fertiliser by Thai farmers, rice husks became a highly valuable and expensive commodity due to their use by large industrial enterprises in energy production and their importance in the system of “emission credits”. This forced local communities to buy chemical fertilisers, which were not only more expensive, but also more dangerous for the environment.

¹³ A “carbon sink” is any process, activity, or mechanism that removes GHGs from the atmosphere, as defined by the UNFCCC.

Despite the good intentions, it is undeniable that the first attempt to establish climate capitalism met with only partial success. While the predetermined targets were met, it became clear later in the process that this system incentivised major polluters to relocate their activities, while the real costs of climate change continued to increase, disproportionately harming vulnerable populations (Storm, 2017). The Kyoto Protocol stands as a clear example of how economic instruments considered efficient can prove “socially undesirable” and produce differentiated consequences for nations or even for distinct actors. According to Storm (2017), the Protocol may have contributed to widening the global gap between «first-class and second-class passengers»¹⁴.

1.2 The 2030 Agenda and the Paris Agreement

In 2007 the idea of a green revolution destined to bring about a profound transformation of the American economy was introduced for the first time in the international political landscape. Pulitzer Prize-winning author Thomas L. Friedman, writing in the *New York Times*, highlighted the need for a new kind of economic stimulus, a “Green New Deal,” inspired by the famous reform plan proposed by Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Although this new climate policy gained traction between 2008 and 2009, the actions of the British Green New Deal Group, the German Green Party, and the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP 2009) were insufficient to bring it fully into practice (Friedman, 2019).

While the concept of a “Green Deal” remained in abeyance, in September 2015 193 UN member states signed the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. This agenda, with its 17 interconnected and indivisible goals (A/RES/70/1 UN 2015), encourages bold and transformative steps to safeguard the planet. This programme, which merges the fight against climate change with social commitments against discrimination, inequality, and poverty, provides a guideline for preserving and sustainably using oceans, soil, and forests, protecting biodiversity, ecosystems, and wildlife, and eradicating extreme poverty by 2030. In particular, discussions over the Kyoto Protocol enabled countries to emphasize the importance of the twelfth goal, which not only calls for the elimination of environmentally harmful subsidies but

¹⁴ The principle of efficiency minimises waste but presents a limitation in its ability to compare alternative Pareto-efficient allocations, which may be characterised by different distributions of individual welfare. This principle assumes that individual utilities are non-comparable. Consequently, an economically efficient state could be characterised by extreme disparities between individuals enjoying luxury and those living in extreme poverty.

also seeks to consider the specific needs and conditions of developing countries, minimising negative impacts on their development and protecting the most vulnerable communities¹⁵.

Two months after the adoption of the 2030 Agenda, during the COP21 (Conference of the Parties to the UNFCCC) held in Paris in December 2015, the Paris Agreement was adopted. This was the first universally and legally binding agreement aimed at limiting global warming and it came into force on 4 November 2016. The Paris Agreement commits to keeping the global average temperature rise well below 2°C above pre-industrial levels, with a more ambitious goal of limiting the increase to 1.5°C, to avoid «dangerous anthropogenic interference with the climate system» (Paris Agreement, Article 2.1 (a)). It requires signatories to reach the global emissions peak as soon as possible, align financial flows with sustainable pathways, and promote climate resilience. A particular focus is placed on offering incentives and economic benefits to support the conservation and sustainable management of forests (Article 5).

The European Union played a key role in implementing the Paris Agreement. In June 2017, the European Council reaffirmed the importance of the Agreement, stating that it remained a cornerstone for effectively tackling climate change and was not subject to renegotiation. The EU has committed to fully implementing the Agreement, including climate finance targets, leading the global transition towards clean energy sources. The strategy of the EU, initially aimed at reducing greenhouse gas emissions by 2020; however, analysis from the European Environment Agency suggests that additional policies and adaptation efforts are necessary to reach the 40% reduction target by 2030¹⁶. The Paris Agreement marked a crucial step in the fight against climate change, engaging the international community in a global action plan to ensure environmental sustainability and to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. Its implementation requires coordinated efforts at both the global and national levels, involving all sectors of society to effectively address the climate challenge, as the issue of climate change affects everyone (Tørstad, 2018).

The need to limit the temperature increase to 1.5°C, as highlighted by the IPCC (2018), extends beyond the climate goal itself, embracing broader objectives such as seeking climate-resilient development pathways. These pathways must enable ambitious mitigation and adaptation efforts while simultaneously addressing commitments to fight poverty and inequality. This

¹⁵ Full text of the Kyoto Protocol:

https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/api/files/document/print/it/memo_03_154/MEMO_03_154_IT.pdf.

¹⁶ For more information, see:

<https://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/it/headlines/society/20180208STO97442/ridurre-le-emissioni-di-gas-serra-obiettivi-nazionali-per-il-2030>.

represents an ambitious and challenging goal that urges global governments to invest in the transition. However, this commitment risked being undermined by the announcement of the United States' withdrawal in 2017, which took effect in November 2020 and was subsequently reversed with the inauguration of new President Joe Biden in 2021 (Rampini, 2020). Currently, what initially seemed to be the starting point for a *redemption* from Kyoto remains far from achieving the goal of «consigning poverty to history» (A/RES/70/1 UN 2015). According to the World Poverty Clock, over 716 million people globally live in extreme poverty, with projections indicating over 570 million by 2030¹⁷. Meanwhile, the Global Environment Outlook (UN 2019) underscores how the cost of climate change continues to fall predominantly on the shoulders of the most vulnerable¹⁸.

1.3 Current Policies and the 27th Conference of the Parties to the UNFCCC

The 27th Conference of the Parties to the UNFCCC (COP27), held in Sharm el-Sheikh, Egypt, from 6 to 20 November 2022, was a globally significant event. The conference included the 27th Conference of the Parties to the UNFCCC, the Conference of the Parties to the Kyoto Protocol, and the Conference of the Parties to the Paris Agreement.

The selection of Egypt as the host nation was influenced by Africa's vulnerability to climate change. At the same time, the global geopolitical landscape was marked by Russia's invasion of Ukraine and by the resulting international tensions, which affected energy dynamics in Europe.

The year 2022 saw extreme climate events such as droughts, floods, and glaciers melting, significantly impacting agriculture, river navigation, and energy production in various parts of the world. COP27 set out key objectives, focusing on mitigation, adaptation, finance, and collaboration in the fight against climate change.

The Sharm el-Sheikh Action Plan was at the heart of the negotiations, addressing issues such as science, mitigation, adaptation, and finance. However, international tensions, highlighted by gas supply disruptions and diplomatic deadlock, have influenced global climate strategies (Fraïoli, 2022a and 2022b). Extreme weather events, such as those in Nigeria and Italy in 2022, have also highlighted the impacts of climate change on human life. In Europe, October 2022 was the hottest on record, and unprecedented CO₂ levels were reported in the atmosphere. The report on the state of climate services has underscored the risk to global energy production, emphasising the need to double renewable energy production by 2030. On the other hand, the

¹⁷ See Crespo Cuaresma, Fengler, Kharas et al. (2018).

¹⁸ For more information, see: <https://www.unep.org/resources/global-environment-outlook-6>.

Emissions Gap Report 2022 revealed the extent of the gap between current policies and the need to reduce greenhouse gas emissions (UNEPCCC 2022)¹⁹.

The rapid loss of glacier mass, reported by UNESCO and the IUCN, has been accompanied by the cancellation of sporting events such as the 2022/23 Alpine Ski World Cup due to a lack of snow. Financially, the OECD report highlighted the failure to meet funding commitments for developing countries. Corporate sponsorships, such as the involvement of Coca-Cola in COP27, were criticised for contributing to “greenwashing”. At the same time, the city of Sharm el-Sheikh adopted sustainable measures, with “green” certified hotels and infrastructure powered by renewable energy (Klein, 2014, 2022).

The leaders’ summit in Sharm el-Sheikh saw the participation of 102 heads of state and government, with some global leaders making significant commitments. However, the absence of key figures, such as the presidents of China, Russia, and India, raised concerns about the global prospects for the fight against climate change. Italy and the European Union’s commitments to reducing greenhouse gas emissions by 2030 and achieving net-zero emissions by 2050 were highlighted. At the same time, global efforts to reduce methane emissions and phase out coal were stressed. The Egyptian presidency of COP27 promoted initiatives aimed at transforming agri-food systems, integrating climate responses with peace and security, and improving the quality of life for vulnerable populations in Africa by 2030.

The outcome of the 27th Conference of the Parties (COP27) saw the approval of the final document that detailed an implementation plan, which underscored the imperative of effectively addressing the phenomenon of climate change. In terms of mitigation strategies, the conference recognised the need for deep and sustained reductions – 43% of global greenhouse gas emissions compared to 2019 levels by 2030 – to limit global temperature increases to 1.5°C. There was also a call for accelerating the development, deployment, and dissemination of low-emission technologies, along with the adoption of policies conducive to the transition towards less high-emission energy systems.

Regarding adaptation, COP27 emphasised the role of specific funding to support developing countries, including the Least Developed Countries Fund (LDCF) and the Special Climate Change Fund (SCCF), urging developed countries to honour their funding commitments.

¹⁹ «This report tells us in cold scientific terms what nature has been telling us, all year, through deadly floods, storms and raging fires: we have to stop filling our atmosphere with greenhouse gases, and stop doing it fast» said Inger Andersen, Executive Director of UNEP. «We had our chance to make incremental changes, but that time is over. Only a root-and-branch transformation of our economies and societies can save us from accelerating climate disaster.» - Emissions Gap Report 2022: *The closing window*, UNEPCCC 2022: <https://unepccc.org/emissions-gap-report-2022/>.

Moreover, a fund for loss and damage was established to assist countries that are particularly vulnerable to the adverse effects of climate change, which was accompanied by the creation of a technical committee tasked with outlining the rules for its implementation. The conference highlighted the urgent need to fill the gaps in the global climate observation system, with particular attention to developing countries, where one-third of the world's population – including the entire African continent – lacks access to early warning systems and climate information. Regarding financial matters, an investment of approximately \$4 trillion per year in renewable energy by 2030 was identified as necessary to achieve net-zero emissions by 2050. However, concerns were raised about the growing gap between the needs of developing countries and the financial support available to implement their Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs).

In Italy, there was a 168% increase in renewable energy sources in the first half of 2022. Nevertheless, bureaucratic obstacles continued to hinder progress in renewable energy development²⁰. The environmental impact of extreme climate change was evident in Europe, with the severe drought in August 2022 negatively affecting agriculture and increasing the risk of wildfires. Unrecorded extreme weather events in Africa raised concerns about the global impacts of climate change. The *Global Carbon Budget 2022* report highlighted the world's deviation from the Paris Agreement's goals, noting a 1.0% increase in global carbon dioxide emissions from fossil fuels and cement in 2022, reaching a new record of 36.6 billion tonnes of CO₂ (GtCO₂; Talignani, 2022b). Despite the notable absence of key figures such as Xi Jinping and Narendra Modi, COP27 captured the attention of global leaders. Environmental activist Greta Thunberg publicly criticised COP27, deeming it “greenwashing” and choosing not to attend, sparking significant discussions on environmental activism and global climate justice (Talignani, 2022a). However, countries like Brazil expressed their active commitment to the fight against climate change.

During the conference, international cooperation was emphasised in the speeches by political leaders such as President Emmanuel Macron, Mia Mottley, and Prime Minister NOME? Meloni. The European Union reiterated its commitment to the Paris Agreement and stressed the importance of maintaining a global agenda on climate action. Environmental policy assessments and their impacts vary widely, also considering Europe is commonly recognised as a continent characterised by high environmental awareness (Franzini, 2017). Financial and

²⁰ For more information, see: [https://www.ansa.it/canale_ambiente/notizie/energia/2022/09/14/energia-168-di-rinnovabili-in-italia-nel-primo-semester_0164a44e-83a8-4620-aff6-0f0ee8204620.html#:~:text=Nel%20primo%20semester%20del%202022,l'idroelettrico%20\(%2B72%25\)](https://www.ansa.it/canale_ambiente/notizie/energia/2022/09/14/energia-168-di-rinnovabili-in-italia-nel-primo-semester_0164a44e-83a8-4620-aff6-0f0ee8204620.html#:~:text=Nel%20primo%20semester%20del%202022,l'idroelettrico%20(%2B72%25).).

environmental commitments included the launch of the Italian Climate Fund to support climate action, as well as calls for non-state actors to meet their net-zero emissions commitments. The *Global Mangrove Alliance* report highlighted the crucial role of mangroves in mitigating climate change and the need for global conservation efforts.

Youth activism and involvement, as seen in events like Youth4Climate²¹, were key features of the summit, highlighting the importance of incorporating younger generations' perspectives into climate action. Controversies surrounding the absence of several world leaders, scepticism about the summit's effectiveness, and financial and economic concerns presented the meeting with significant challenges. Ultimately, the summit reflected divergent perspectives, ranging from optimism to scepticism about the future of global climate action. Discussions during the conference underscored the need for continued global commitment to address the complexity of climate change.

The 27th Conference of the Parties also saw the launch of several key initiatives, such as ENACT, to enhance nature-based solutions, and the *Accelerating to Zero Coalition* to speed up the transition to zero-emission vehicles. The conference faced challenges related to its proposed interventions and difficulties of negotiations, with disruptions from activists and accusations of war crimes made by some delegations.

Despite these challenges, COP27 led to historic results. The European Union endorsed the COP27 compromise, reaffirming its commitment to the Paris Agreement and to the protection of vulnerable people from climate change. Additionally, countries renewed their commitment to further support the *Global Environment Facility* fund, to better contribute to climate adaptation. However, it was highlighted that developing countries will need substantial financial support – approximately \$6 trillion by 2030 – to cover 40% of their Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs). In summary, the results of COP27 highlighted the urgency of addressing climate challenges through concrete action and the need for a reinforced global commitment to ensure a sustainable future for the planet (Fraiori, 2022b).

²¹ *Youth4Climate* is a global initiative jointly launched by the Government of Italy and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in 2022, with the aim of empowering youth-led climate action. Through its annual Call for Solutions, the programme provides direct funding – up to USD 30,000 per project – to support innovative, youth-driven proposals addressing urgent environmental challenges. The 2025 edition prioritizes six thematic areas: sustainable energy, food and agriculture, climate and health, digital innovation, climate security, and nature-based solutions. In addition to financial support, *Youth4Climate* offers a dedicated engagement platform and organizes international events to ensure that young voices are integrated into global climate governance.

1.4 Environmental Policies in Italy

The 1980s marked a significant turning point in the history of Italian environmentalism, characterised by growing public awareness and by an increasingly evident political influence of environmental issues (Corona, 2015: IV, 1). The year 1986 proved to be pivotal, with the establishment of the Ministero dell'Ambiente (Ministry of the Environment) and the formation of the *Federazione nazionale delle liste verdi* (National Federation of Green Lists). The latter, born from a process that began in 1981 with the *Arcipelago Verde* (Green Archipelago) in Bologna, brought together pro-environment and nonviolent forces, becoming a key reference point in the environmental movement.

The Chernobyl disaster in 1986 triggered a global reflection on the ecological crisis, leading to the abandonment of nuclear energy in Italy following a referendum held in November 1987. That year also saw the entry of Italian environmentalists into Parliament²², marking a significant step forward.

The period between 1987 and the tenure of Environment Minister Edo Ronchi (1996–2000) was characterised by important legislative changes. Crucial laws, such as those on soil conservation, renewable energy sources, and the framework dealing with protected areas, transformed the ideals of eco-conscious movements into concrete measures. In 1992, law 257 banned the use of asbestos, followed by regulations restricting hunting, regulating water usage, and the establishment of the *Agenzia Nazionale per la Protezione dell'Ambiente* (APAT)²³. As discussed in section 1.1, the 1990s saw environmental issues take on a transnational dimension, with international agreements such as the Climate and Biodiversity Conventions in Rio de Janeiro of 1992 and the Kyoto Protocol of 1997.

Italian political environmentalism also experienced this kind of dissemination, with green parties emerging in various regions (Corona 2015, IV, 1). Italian civil society responded to environmental challenges through citizen-led initiatives, ranging from beach cleanups to campaigns against pesticides. The World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) contributed to wildlife

²² In fact, the *Verdi* managed to obtain 2.5% in the *Camera*, with 13 deputies elected (see: <https://elezionistorico.interno.gov.it/index.php?tpel=C&dtel=14/06/1987&tpa=I&tpe=A&lev0=0&levsut0=0&es0=S&ms=S>) and 2% in the *Senato*, with one senator elected (see: <https://elezionistorico.interno.gov.it/index.php?tpel=S&dtel=14/06/1987&tpa=I&tpe=A&lev0=0&levsut0=0&es0=S&ms=S>). The first *Capogruppo dei Verdi* in the *Camera* was Gianni Mattioli, known for leading anti-nuclear campaigns.

²³ In 2008, it was dissolved and absorbed by the *Istituto Superiore per la Protezione e la Ricerca Ambientale* (ISPRA), which was established by law no. 133/2008. APAT was incorporated along with the *Istituto Centrale per la Ricerca Scientifica e Tecnologica Applicata al Mare* (ICRAM) and the *Istituto Nazionale per la Fauna Selvatica* (INFS).

conservation by reintroducing endangered species. Environmentalist literature also had a significant impact, with seminal works such as *In nome del popolo inquinato* by Gianfranco Amendola in 1987 and *La società dei rifiuti* by Giorgio Nebbia in 1990. Periodic reports from Istituto Ambiente Italia and the Osservatorio Ambiente e Legalità of Legambiente provided crucial data on the environmental situation. This period was characterised by a deep and diversified engagement in environmental sustainability, integrating global actions with local initiatives. The connection between international environmental policies and local realities in Italy was highlighted, outlining a complex yet integrated picture of the evolution of political environmentalism in the country.

In the first fifteen years of the 2000s, Italian environmentalism went through a phase of political decline, although it maintained a strong presence in scientific and cultural debates (Corona, 2015: IV, 2). The *Partito Verde* (green party) or *Verdi* retained a share of votes between 2.5% and 3% in the 1992, 1994, and 1996 elections, but this support significantly decreased in subsequent elections, culminating in their defeat in 2008 (Paolini, 2008). Some environmentalist figures joined *Ecodem*, the environmentalist wing of the *Partito Democratico*. During this period, environmental laws were limited in both number and scope. In 2000, a framework law on wildfires was approved, followed in 2001 by the introduction of the crime of illegal waste trafficking. In 2004, the new Cultural and Landscape Heritage Code, known as the *Urbani Code*, was promulgated, along with a law against animal cruelty. In 2006, legislative decree 152 was issued, which reorganized environmental regulations (Della Porta and Diani, 2004; Della Valentina, 2011).

The *Partito Verde* in Italy struggled to define a cohesive and stable political form, as internal divisions and the lack of clarity between the ideas of a movement and a party weakened its electoral strength (Paolini, 2008). Italian environmentalism was criticised for adopting positions that were not proactive and too defensive, often described as *ambientalismo del no* (naysayer environmentalism). The lack of a broad vision and the difficulty in positioning themselves on environmental issues within a general project of social transformation contributed to its decline (Corona, 2015: IV, 2).

The crisis of political environmentalism may reflect the broader «great political depression» (Mastropaolo, 2005) that has characterised Italian society, where democratic forces seem unable to address the new challenges of a rapidly changing society, creating a void in traditional political categories. Green issues have been inherited by local committees and citizen-led movements that respond to the kind of needs and demands for participation that are no longer

represented by traditional politics (Della Porta and Diani, 2004; Della Valentina, 2011). This broad universe of local committees, land defence committees, and other movements, often characterised by a general antipathy toward the state, has inherited environmental issues without always demonstrating a strong interest in political solutions. The challenge for Italian environmentalism today lies in its ability to redefine its identity and find more effective and inclusive forms of political participation.

The current Italian environmental landscape is marked by significant dichotomies and contradictions (Corona, 2015). On the one hand, public policies are unable to curb land consumption, illegal building, hydrogeological instability, and to adequately manage urban and industrial waste. On the other hand, Italy stands out positively at the European and global levels in several areas (Palmieri, 2012).

According to Duccio Bianchi²⁴, Italy has undergone an unconscious transformation in key economic sectors, revealing a shift toward the green economy, with reduced resource consumption, energy use, and carbon dioxide emissions. Renewable energy, particularly wind, solar, biomass, hydroelectric, and geothermal power, accounts for nearly 30% of the country's electricity needs, with the regions of Lombardy and Puglia leading the way.

Italy ranks among the top 10 countries globally in terms of organically farmed land, with over 40 municipalities hosting more than 100 organic farms each. The diversity of agriculture and territories, combined with an ancient history of rural landscapes, represents an important sustainable economic resource that is often underestimated in public policies.

The country excels in food and wine tourism, with an extraordinary variety of specialities, leading the world in sectors such as wine, pasta, seafood, and cured meats. Furthermore, Italy leads the recycling industry, recovering a wide range of materials and ranking first in Europe for the tonnes of materials recovered in 2010. Despite these successes, the green economy is not at the centre of the national political agenda, with many obstacles and resistance that is evident at both the local and central government level. The transition to more sustainable forms of production would require significant changes, such as steering the automotive industry towards zero-emissions, the widespread use of recyclable materials, and investments in “green” sectors. These challenges face resistance from major economic actors and, at times, from the population itself.

²⁴ For more information, consult the annual report by *Legambiente: Ambiente in Europa. Economia verde: Italia-Germania è sempre 4 a 3?* (2014).

The current dilemma lies in balancing environmental protection with wealth production, ensuring jobs for all, and maintaining political consensus. Education is key, with the need to inform the public about ecosystem mechanisms, the serious consequences of environmental alterations, and the economic value of conservation. Current choices will influence the future in terms of quality of life, wealth production, and the well-being of present and future generations.

1.5 Environmental Law in Italy: Regulatory Framework for Environmental Protection

Environmental Law, also known as *Diritto Ambientale*, is a specific branch of the Italian legal system dedicated to the protection of the environment at the supranational, national, and regional levels. This discipline relies on a constantly evolving body of legislation, reflecting the growing environmental challenges.

The main Italian laws on environmental matters include: Royal Decree No. 3267 of 1923, concerning the reform of legislation on forest and mountain areas; Law No. 394 of 1991, known as the *Framework Law on Protected Areas*; Law No. 150 of 1992, related to crimes connected to the application in Italy of the *Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES)*, signed in Washington on 3 March 1973; and Regulation (EEC) No. 3626/82, along with its subsequent amendments, including rules governing the trade and possession of live specimens of mammals and reptiles that may pose a threat to public health and safety (Corona, 2015). Other examples of binding legislation include: Presidential Decree (D.P.R.)²⁵ No. 357 of 1997, which implements *European Directive 92/43/EEC* on the conservation of natural and semi-natural habitats, as well as wild fauna and flora, establishing the *Natura 2000* network in Europe; Law No. 352 of 2000, the *Framework Law on Forest Fires*; Legislative Decree (D.Lgs.)²⁶ No. 227 of 2001 on *Guidance and Modernisation of the Forestry Sector*; Legislative Decree No. 42 of 2004, concerning the *Cultural Heritage and Landscape Code*; Legislative Decree No. 152 of 2006, known as the *Environmental Code*; Legislative Decree No. 155 of 2010, which concerns the implementation of *European Directive 2008/50/EC* on air quality and cleaner air for Europe; Legislative Decree No. 121 of 2011, implementing *European Directive 2008/99/EC* on the protection of the environment through criminal law; and Directive 2009/123/EC, amending Directive 2005/35/EC on marine

²⁵ In Italian is 'Decreto del Presidente della Repubblica'.

²⁶ In Italian is 'Decreto Legislativo'.

pollution caused by ships and the introduction of sanctions for infringements. This law introduces new environmental crimes into the Italian criminal law system and establishes the liability of legal persons for environmental offenses.

Additionally, the *Codice dell'Ambiente* (Environmental Code) and the *Codice dei beni culturali e del paesaggio* (Cultural Heritage and Landscape Code) form the pillars of the regulatory framework. Alongside binding laws, there are voluntary environmental regulations. However, when these technical standards are explicitly referenced in legislative provisions, they acquire binding status, becoming mandatory for both businesses and competent authorities. The violation of technical standards can lead to legal liability, with the *Cassazione penale* (Supreme Court of Cassation, Criminal Section) clarifying that such violations may constitute a civil offence.

Technical standards, not being mandatory by law, are not binding in themselves. Their obligatory nature exists only through explicit legislative reference in a state law. These standards play a crucial role as a tool for mediating conflicting interests, such as seeking to balance industrial needs with environmental requirements. In Italy, the *Ente Nazionale Italiano di Unificazione* (UNI) and the *Comitato Elettrotecnico Italiano* (CEI) act as national standardisation bodies. Technical standards are developed with the involvement of a wide range of stakeholders, including industry, consumers, public administrations, trade unions, and scientific research bodies. The environmental technical standard UNI EN ISO 14001 serves as a concrete example of this system. Companies that voluntarily adopt it are subject to evaluation by external certifying bodies, ensuring compliance with environmental standards.

At the level of EU law, the Aarhus Convention recognises access to environmental information as a subjective right. Public access to such information is governed by European Directive 2003/4/EC, emphasising the importance of transparency and public participation in environmental matters.

2. Italian Political Discourse and Ecolinguistics

This second chapter provides a detailed exploration of Italian political discourse focusing on Italian political language and its relationship with ecolinguistics. It is structured into five sections, each addressing a specific aspect of the topic.

The first section (2.1) defines political discourse and political language, drawing on key scholarly contributions to outline their characteristics and functions. The second section (2.2) examines the historical evolution of Italian political language, highlighting its distinctive features and major transformations over time, with attention to how socio-political changes have shaped linguistic practices.

The third section (2.3) reviews significant studies on contemporary Italian political discourse, categorising them by thematic focus and methodological approach and offering a comprehensive overview of the current state of research. This is followed by an analysis of online corpora dedicated to Italian political language (2.4), discussing their strengths and limitations as resources for studying political communication.

The chapter concludes with a focus on ecolinguistics (2.5), exploring its theoretical foundations and relevance to political discourse. This section also addresses the lack of research on environmental themes in Italian political communication, underscoring the importance of bridging this gap through the integration of ecolinguistics.

2.1 Definition of Political Discourse

Political discourse, as defined by Raffaella Petrilli (2015), is a complex and multifaceted form of communication that takes place within specific institutional and social contexts. As specialists in the field highlight, «Nello studio del linguaggio politico bisognerebbe partire delimitando con cura il contesto in cui si produce comunicazione politica, osservando che «la comunicazione politica può emanare sia da istituzioni di carattere pubblico, come il governo o le altre istituzioni amministrative, sia da istituzioni semipubbliche come i partiti o le rappresentanze di interessi» (Mancini, 1996: 42) (*In the study of political language, one should start by carefully delimiting the context in which political communication occurs, observing that 'political communication can emanate either from public institutions, such as government or other administrative bodies, or from semi-public institutions such as political parties or interest groups*)²⁷.

²⁷ This translation is provided by the author.

Furthermore, it is important to recognise that «i discorsi della politica sono tipologicamente diversi gli uni dagli altri, anche di molto, dato che le attività politiche sono molte e varie: un congresso di partito, un comizio elettorale, un intervento parlamentare, un'intervista televisiva, radiofonica o a stampa» (Petrilli, 2015: 12) (*The discourses of politics are typologically diverse, often markedly so, given that political activities are numerous and varied: a party congress, an electoral rally, a parliamentary intervention, a television, radio, or press interview*)²⁸. This variety of discourses reflects the different situations in which political language is used. Consequently, it becomes necessary to distinguish between the various genres of political discourse.

Petrilli also highlights a crucial point: «Non sempre parlare di politica impone lo scontro verbale, o l'oscurità ricercata di concetti e argomenti. Non sempre il linguaggio politico deve essere ricondotto, puramente e semplicemente, all'idea negativa racchiusa nella parola politichese» (Petrilli, 2015: 12) (*Speaking about politics does not always require verbal confrontation or the deliberate obscurity of concepts and arguments. Political language should not always be reduced, purely and simply, to the negative connotations associated with the term 'politichese'*)²⁹. The term *politichese* is not synonymous with political communication; instead, the idea of political communication, although the latter is often aimed at the “*ricerca del consenso*” (search for consensus), should not be limited by negative connotations.

As Dell'Anna (2004: 39) observes: «Il consenso è l'obiettivo fondamentale del linguaggio politico da sempre» (*Consensus has always been the fundamental objective of political language*)³⁰. This statement allows for a broad definition of political discourse as *discorso persuasivo* (persuasive discourse). However, such a definition is too general unless further refined. Political discourse is unique in that «la comunicazione è politica quando cerca consenso su proposte che riguardano 'argomenti di interesse generale'» (Mancini, 1996: 14) (*Communication is political when it seeks consensus on proposals concerning 'matters of general interest'*)³¹.

In conclusion, political discourse can be defined as the set of linguistic and discursive strategies used to build consensus on issues of collective importance. This can take different forms, ranging from electoral programmes to public speeches at events like COP conferences.

²⁸ This translation is provided by the author.

²⁹ This translation is provided by the author.

³⁰ This translation is provided by the author.

³¹ This translation is provided by the author.

Nevertheless, the central goal remains persuasion, which is the core element of political communication.

2.2 Italian Political Discourse

Within the realm of specialised languages, political language emerges as a key element; its configuration and dissemination is influenced by a diverse set of contingent variables, including national and international contexts, socio-economic conditions, and political dynamics (Desideri and Marcarino, 1980; Cortelazzo and Paccagnella, 1981). Contrary to the universal principles governing speech acts, political language is characterised by intrinsic rules, both internal to the structure of the text and external, subject to specific modes of production, circulation, and reception of messages. It employs sophisticated strategies to rationally persuade and emotionally convince.

With its complex integration of linguistic levels and semiotic processes, political discourse uses phonetic, intonational, morpho-syntactic structures, and rhetorical figures to ensure adherence and support for political content (Bentivegna, 2002). In addressing citizens, intricate textual paths are traced, which employ key terms, neologisms, and evocative formulas, particularly during electoral campaigns, to consolidate bonds of trust. Types of political texts encompass a wide range of forms, from parliamentary oratory to interviews, from the speeches given rallies and press conferences to newspaper articles and official party statements. A defining feature of contemporary Italian political communication is the systematic use of metaphors, particularly in the domains of sports (*playing defensively, being on the attack*) and military strategy (*electoral battle, political trench*). These metaphors contribute to the increasing spectacle of political discourse and reinforce the polarisation of public opinion by framing political narratives in a combative and highly emotive manner (Fredianelli, 2007). The dissemination of political speech occurs through various oral and written channels, exploiting the mass media and political spectacle, and is supported by new communication technologies.

Although the evolution of the Italian political vocabulary has its roots in the Jacobin revolutionary period (1796-1799) and the post-unification era, it was during the Fascist era that political rhetoric reached its peak. Supported by Gabriele D'Annunzio's propaganda tied to the *First World War* and the Fiume experience, Mussolini's language was marked by its persuasive power, employing emphatic slogans, concise phrases, exaggerated adjectivisation, cumulative linguistic structures, a simplified syntax, and a polemical and apologetic style (Lazzari, 1975; Desideri, 1984; Simonini, 1987).

From the early 1920s, the Duce employed persuasive and manipulative strategies to engage the masses and consolidate totalitarianism. His speeches were aimed at establishing a relationship of trust, emphasising a shared identity of ideals, patriotism, religion, and culture. His style relied on rhetorical questions directed at the crowd, suggestive gestures, and on a rhetoric infused with symbolic values, all intended to promote uncritical and devoted adherence to the charismatic figure of the leader.

After the fall of the Fascist regime and the proclamation of the republic on 18 June 1946, the 1948 election period was marked by the political confrontation between Alcide De Gasperi and Palmiro Togliatti, the leaders of the two major mass parties, *Democrazia Cristiana* (DC) and the *Partito Comunista Italiano* (PCI). The linguistic styles of the two leaders emerged with greater severity and clarity of exposition. The style of Alcide De Gasperi, a politician from the region of Trentino and heir to the ideas of Don Luigi Sturzo, was characterised by sobriety and moderation. Guided by the need to reconcile a country fractured by World War II and the Resistance, his language, though enriched by emotional appeals aimed at uniting citizens in the defence of democratic principles, was based on the assumption of *responsabilità* (responsibility) and the exaltation of politics as *servizio* (service), *impegno* (commitment), and even a *missione* (mission) (Desideri, 1984: 24-30). De Gasperi favoured didactic and prescriptive maxims, used to make his statements engaging, accompanied by metaphorical translations of biblical-evangelical origin, giving his speeches an almost sacred aspect.

On the other hand, the PCI leader Palmiro Togliatti often adopted harsh and incisive polemical tones, especially when responding to accusations and challenging political opponents. A constant element in Togliatti's style is the use of a well-structured argumentative framework, an almost juridical *dispositio* of elements, and a coherent logical scheme enriched by classical, philosophical, and literary quotations. These elements adorned an often dry and precise presentation, aimed at demonstrating the validity of his theses through the use of a rhetoric characterised by short questions followed by long answers containing unequivocal statements. In these enunciative spaces, the strategic repetition of a key word or phrase, which serves as a leitmotif of the guiding concept, allows the speaker to take a position, refute counterarguments, and guide the audience in the interpretation of political speeches (Paccagnella, 1975; Desideri, 1998a: 72-76).

Another prominent voice in post-war politics was that of Pietro Nenni of the *Partito Socialista Italiano* (PSI), whose language favoured sharp tones and direct attacks, particularly suited to rally rhetoric, a communicative practice in which the PSI leader always excelled. Nenni, also

known for his journalistic skills, often coined new expressions that later became part of political language, such as *stanza dei bottoni* (the room of the buttons), *politica delle cose* (politics of things), and *vento del nord* (wind of the north) – the latter metaphor was later adopted by the early *Lega Nord*. Moreover, he frequently drew on foreign terms from French, German, and especially Anglo-American, thus contributing to an original modernisation of the austere language typical of the early years of the First Republic (a significant example is the bold suffixation of *Stato chiesastico* to describe the idea of an ecclesiastical state).

In subsequent decades, political languages became increasingly initiatory and almost incomprehensible, characterised by what is known as *politichese* (political jargon). In this context, the linguistic styles of states people and leaders of the First Republic became particularly complex, reflecting deeply different ideologies and adapting to the changing landscape of Italian politics.

The analysis now turns to the discursive peculiarities of some of the main Italian political figures active between the 1960s and 1980s. Among these, noteworthy figures include Aldo Moro, Enrico Berlinguer, Bettino Craxi, Marco Pannella, Giorgio Almirante, Umberto Bossi, Silvio Berlusconi, and Gianfranco Fini. During this period, television, gradually entering the homes of the Italian people, began to play an increasingly influential role, contributing to the effects of propaganda broadcasts.

Aldo Moro's style is widely regarded as the quintessential model of *politichese*, known for the famous oxymoron, *convergenze parallele* (parallel convergences) (Desideri, 1998b), which became an example of obscurity and ambiguity in Italian political language. This enigmatic phrase is accompanied by other cryptic neologisms such as *equilibri bilanciati* (balanced equilibriums), *cauta sperimentazione* (cautious experimentation), *pace creativa* (creative peace), *progresso nella continuità* (progress in continuity), *flessibilità costruttiva* (constructive flexibility), *alleanze organiche* (organic alliances), *accordo programmatico* (programmatic agreement), and *strategia dell'attenzione* (strategy of attention). These formulas represent the most conspicuous and cryptic linguistic hallmark of the style of Moro, from 1946 until the tragedy of 1978.

Moro, deeply attentive to lexical choices and to the semantic-pragmatic relationship between word and referents, accompanied his lengthy speeches with glosses and metalinguistic clarifications. These were necessary to express the often contradictory realities of the country.

His speeches, veering towards mediation and negotiation, make extensive use of the rhetoric of mitigation, with euphemisms and especially *litotes*³², the figure for easing conflicts.

Enrico Berlinguer, on the other hand, following the Marxist tradition, adopted a straightforward and unadorned style, dominated by the use of the impersonal form and characterised by a marked absence of interactive and emotional tones. The PCI secretary presented his theses through his controlled use of technical-scientific argumentation, with a cause-and-effect sequence and a vocabulary rich in key terms such as *analisi* (analysis), *solidarietà* (solidarity), *rigore morale* (moral rigour), and *intelligenza delle cose* (intelligence of things).

Bettino Craxi, by contrast, introduced an innovative political language characterised by original semantic choices, pragmatic strategies, and peculiar rhetorical tactics (Desideri, 1987). As Sergio (2007) highlights, Craxi's PSI was among the first to fully adopt a marketing-driven approach to political communication, treating parties as 'brands' that needed to be appealing to the electorate. His use of slogans such as «Italia socialista: la via dell'ottimismo» (*Socialist Italy: the path of optimism*)³³ was not just ideological but also strategically crafted to attract an 'opinion electorate' rather than a strictly partisan one (Sergio, 2007: 6). He was the first to fully exploit the resources of television, crafting a political persona aligned with the 'common man'. His informal and colloquial language drew heavily on proverbs, sayings, and popular expressions, avoiding the grandiose tones of traditional political oratory.

Another precursor of televised spectacle was the radical Marco Pannella, who introduced the strategy of silence during the *Tribuna politica*³⁴ of the 1978 referendum, provocatively breaking the rule of making an appeal to voters (Cortelazzo, 1981; Desideri, 1989: 14-15). His prophetic and apocalyptic language, with a tendency towards excess and dramatization, employed an impactful vocabulary with words like *truffa* (fraud), *sfascio* (ruin), and *ammucchiata* (jumble). Giorgio Almirante, secretary of *Movimento Sociale-Destra Nazionale*, delivered polemical political speeches using irony and sarcasm to express dissent towards the institutional framework and to highlight the differences between his party and the remaining political landscape. At a pragmatic-enunciative level, the pronominal opposition *noi / loro* (we / they) was a recurring pattern underlining the presence of contrasting ideological-political visions.

³² It is a rhetorical figure that affirms something by denying its opposite, often to soften or understate a point – for example, saying “not uncommon” to mean “fairly frequent”.

³³ This translation is provided by the author.

³⁴ *Tribuna politica* was a television programme focused on political issues. It was broadcast by Rai starting in 1961.

By the late 1980s, with the political earthquake caused by investigations into *Tangentopoli*³⁵ and the judicial phase of *Mani Pulite*³⁶, the old party system began to collapse. Numerous prominent figures of the traditional *partitocrazia* (party-based system) disappeared from the political scene, and almost all traditional parties modified their identities through new alliances. The most significant phenomenon was the emergence of new movements and new leaderships, bringing with them innovative languages (Antonelli, 2000; Dell'Anna and Lala, 2004; Gualdo, Dell'Anna and Lala, 2004), especially two: *Lega Nord* and *Forza Italia*, with their respective charismatic leaders, Umberto Bossi and Silvio Berlusconi.

The 1994 general elections saw both the strengthening of *Lega Nord* and the *discesa in campo* (literally *taking to the field*, a much-used football metaphor) of the Cavaliere (Berlusconi). These communicative styles immediately revealed both the *antipolitichese* (anti-political jargon) nature of the new political entities and their enormous media power, similar to advertising, which favoured charismatic leadership in the electoral competition.

Umberto Bossi, founder of *Lega Nord* but who had been known as the voice of Northern Italy's anti-state protest since the 1980s, acted as the supreme custodian of the ethnic-autonomist values of so-called *Padania* (a term used to refer to the northern regions of Italy). His approach to political communication, especially through posters, was radically different from the polished promotional style adopted by other parties. As noted by Sergio (2007), the Lega rejected professional advertising consultants, instead producing posters that were simple to the point of being crude, direct to the point of being offensive, reflecting the movement's grassroots and anti-establishment stance (Sergio, 2007: 8). He employed a language of aggregation and mobilisation, framed through a series of striking, colourful slogans (the most famous being «Roma ladrona / la Lega non perdona» [*Rome's thief / the League doesn't forgive*]³⁷) and fundamental semantic dichotomies (we / they, slaves / masters, autonomy / statism, productivity / parasitism). However, it was mainly at the rallies in Pontida that, with a transgressive lexicon inclined towards verbal irreverence and profanity, the leader of the *Carroccio* (another name for *Lega Nord*) launched his most vehement attacks against Roman political parties, not sparing

³⁵ The term *Tangentopoli* (literally *Bribesville*) emerged in the early 1990s to describe a widespread system of political corruption in Italy. It encapsulates the culture of bribes (*tangenti*) paid to politicians and public officials in exchange for public contracts and other favors. The term underscores the pervasiveness of corruption within Italian politics and its institutions, marking a watershed moment in the nation's political history.

³⁶ The *Mani Pulite* (*Clean Hands*) operation was a judicial investigation launched in Milan in 1992, spearheaded by a group of magistrates aiming to expose and dismantle the systemic corruption revealed during the *Tangentopoli* scandal. It led to the indictment of numerous political and business figures, precipitating the collapse of Italy's post-war political system. *Mani Pulite* is often seen as a critical turning point in Italian political and judicial history, sparking debates about transparency, accountability, and the role of the judiciary in political reform.

³⁷ This translation is provided by the author.

the Head of State, whom he addressed with climactic epithets and frequent threats. Once *Lega* became a governing party, Bossi gradually softened his language, only to return to his coarse gestures and characteristic *celodurismo* (a term referring to his macho posturing) when political tensions arose, to both re-rally his electorate and target his adversaries.

Berlusconi's language at the beginning of 1994 represented a sort of newspeak that demonstrated the powerful communicative effectiveness of the *Forza Italia* founder, whose rhetoric was closer to the world of business and advertising than to politics. Berlusconi's campaign also marked a turning point in the use of political posters, as Sergio (2007: 10) notes: «per la prima volta in Italia, enormi manifesti prendono a ricoprire intere facciate di palazzi e a campeggiare, alti e imponenti, su impalcature prima riservate ai soli cartelloni di pubblicità commerciali» (*For the first time in Italy, enormous posters covered entire building facades, occupying spaces previously reserved for commercial advertising*)³⁸. This visual dominance reinforced the leader's presence in the public eye, effectively merging political communication with the strategies of corporate marketing. Incitement strategies and emphatic appeals were ever-present in Berlusconi's oratory (Forconi, 1997; Amadori, 2002 and 2003; Bolasco, Galli de' Paratesi and Giuliano, 2006; Desideri, 2006: 186-189), which was dominated by clever linguistic constants. Berlusconi's language includes features such as the obsessively self-celebratory use of the pronoun *io* (I), aimed at presenting himself as a kind of warrior-chief saviour, the use of short sentences devoid of subordinate clauses, more similar to advertising slogans, and an exaggerated and pathetic emotional lexicon (*l'Italia è il paese che amo* [Italy is the country I love]; *partito dell'amore* [party of love]), the exaltation of his own total commitment (*la politica del fare* [the politics of doing] *versus* *la politica delle parole* [the politics of words]), the frequent ridiculing of his opponents (labelled *professionisti della politica* [professional politicians], *politicanti senza mestiere* [politicians without skills]), and of magistrates, and journalists, viewed as his personal enemies and enemies of the imaginary *Azienda Italia* (the Italy Corporation).

Berlusconi's media-driven rhetoric, with its reliance on slogans and direct appeals, anticipated many of the strategies now dominant in digital political communication. An analysis of party websites and political blogs suggests that online communication has largely inherited the features of traditional political discourse, while simultaneously adapting to the interactive and informal nature of digital platforms. However, the impact of digital media has not led to a radical linguistic transformation, as the political language used online remains fundamentally

³⁸ This translation is provided by the author.

consistent with that employed in print journalism and television broadcasts (Ghenó, 2007; Faraoni, 2007).

The 2013 electoral competition in Italy also revealed intriguing linguistic and communicative aspects, marking, according to Cortelazzo (2013, 2024), the emergence of a sort of *Terza Repubblica* (Third Republic, Aini, 2019). At that time, the election campaign gave rise to various phenomena, including a dispersion of styles, facilitated by the extensive use of different communication channels, with clear preferences among multiple parties. This led to the breakdown of communicative bipolarism even before political bipolarism became apparent.

Multiple linguistic choices emerged from the leading figures of the election campaign, both winners and losers, ranging from the traditional *politichese* of Gianfranco Fini to the extremisation of certain techniques of media-driven and spectacularised politics. A striking example was the use of vulgar language, offensive nicknames, and the predominance of informal discourse, evident for instance in the frequent use of the informal *tu* (you) by Beppe Grillo. The latter communicative strategy proved to be successful, similar to what had happened previously with Berlusconi and his spectacularisation, as well as with Bossi and his aggressiveness (Cortelazzo, 2013).

2.3 Studies on Political Language in Italy in Recent Years

This section presents and groups some of the major studies on contemporary Italian political language by thematic area, highlighting methodologies of analysis and research objectives. The studies that have been selected offer a rich and nuanced overview of the issue at stake, as the authors examine various aspects of public discourse, from migration to political leaders. These corpora can only be accessed through print sources and are not available online.

Marco Binotto and Marco Bruno's study, *Confini e nemici. Immaginario e frame delle migrazioni nel discorso pubblico Italiano* (2021), provides a significant contribution to the analysis of migration language, drawing from cartoons found on social networks like Facebook and Twitter. The authors use pragmatic analysis to examine the argumentative, lexical, and metaphorical constructs that shape immigration discourse. Specific frames emerge that portray immigration in polarised terms, as either a threat or a resource. This approach allows for a better understanding of how framing devices shape the public perception of immigration, emphasising the crucial role of social media in disseminating these representations. The pragmatic analysis highlights the interactive dynamics in this context, underlining the importance of images and iconic language that accompany the cartoons, which are viewed as key elements in the creation and spread of stereotypes.

Similarly, Michele Cortelazzo, in *Il linguaggio della politica* (2016), offers a broad rhetorical analysis tracing the evolution of Italian political language from the Fascist era to the digital age. By identifying lexical and semantic regularities, he examines how political leaders adapt their language to different times and physical contexts, from physical squares to digital platforms like Twitter. The author identifies recurring rhetorical elements, such as the use of repetition, antithesis, and delegitimisation strategies against opponents—tools used to construct a persuasive and direct discourse, especially in the fragmented environment of digital media. Cortelazzo also focuses on the techniques leaders use to emotionally connect with the electorate, such as employing colloquial expressions and accessible language to create an apparent closeness between the politician and the citizen.

In the context of linguistic analysis of contemporary political leaders, Arianna Di Foggia's *Matteo Salvini: una Lega tutta sua* (2021) focuses on Salvini's language, examining the lexicon and profanity in his speeches. The rhetorical-thematic approach adopted by the author highlights how the systematic use of crude and direct language, featuring many insults and strong expressions, serves to polarise the debate and consolidate Salvini's electorate's identity. For example, the repeated use of terms such as *buonista* (do-gooder) or *radical chic* represents a strategy of simplifying discourse, reducing the complexity of political issues into clear-cut dichotomies and relying on an ideological contrasts easily understood by voters. This kind of language, combined with its widespread dissemination via social media, allows Salvini to position himself as an outsider from the traditional political elites.

A similar focus on political language in social media is offered by Silvia Ferrari in her study *Di Maio, Renzi, Salvini: la lingua social dei leader politici* (2021). The author uses the TaLTaC2 software to analyse the frequently used words in these leaders' social media posts, comparing how leaders construct their own representation of reality. Through a rhetorical-thematic approach, Ferrari examines how political leaders use language to build persuasive narratives and portray themselves as close to their electorates. For instance, Matteo Renzi's repeated use of words like *gente* (people), *lavoro* (work), and *futuro* (future) builds a rhetoric focused on progress and hope, while Salvini's use of terms such as *sicurezza* (security) and *invasione* (invasion) creates a frame of fear and control that is best suited to a communicative strategy centred on protecting national borders.

In the field of euphemisms and dysphemisms, Nora Galli de' Paratesi, in her study *Eufemismo e disfemismo nel linguaggio politico e nell'italiano di oggi* (2009), investigates how the use of these rhetorical figures has changed over the past fifteen years. Specifically, through an analysis

of Silvio Berlusconi's speeches, Paratesi highlights a significant increase in dysphemisms, marking a progressive lowering of the linguistic register and a growing reliance on informal and provocative language. Such syntactic simplification and the use of less sophisticated language bring the politician closer to the public, exploiting linguistic proximity to achieve greater emotional resonance.

Diego Giannone and Adriano Cozzolino, in their work *La costruzione dell'Europa nella narrazione del Presidente della Repubblica* (2021), use pragmatic analysis and *Critical Discourse Analysis* to examine the New Year's speeches of Italian Presidents from 1949 to 2019. The authors focus on how the concept of Europe has been progressively incorporated into presidential rhetoric, observing an increasing use of value-laden frames that emphasise European integration as a tool for progress and stability. This symbolic narrative of Europe is constructed through specific lexical and syntactic choices that position Italy as an integral part of a collective project, often in contrast to the populist or nationalist movements emerging in other political contexts.

On the other hand, Nicola Guerra, in his study *Il linguaggio degli opposti estremismi negli anni di piombo* (2020), adopts a linguistic-lexical analysis to examine the violent slogans used during street demonstrations in the *Anni di piombo* (Years of Lead)³⁹. Through an analysis of co-occurrences, Guerra identifies a common substratum of political hatred driven by violence, shared by both the radical left and the neo-fascist far right. For example, the frequent use of terms like *lotta* (struggle), *rivoluzione* (revolution), or *traditori* (traitors) shows how street language was strongly oriented towards the construction of an ideological enemy, legitimising violence as a tool of political action.

These studies represent a diverse range of methodologies for analysing political language and share a common interest in discursive strategies and their impact on shaping public opinion and power dynamics. None of the authors examined, however, have specifically addressed how environmental issues are treated in the discourse enacted by Italian politicians. For this reason, it is necessary to conduct an analysis on how Italian politicians address environmental themes in their electoral programmes and public speeches.

2.4 Online Corpora of Political Discourse in Italy

Currently, only three significant corpora are available online for the study of Italian political language, each offering unique perspectives for analysing political discourse.

³⁹ It is a term commonly used in Italy for the period of socio-political turmoil and terrorism spanning the late 1960s to the early 1980s, marked by violent clashes between far-left and far-right groups.

The first corpus, known as *PoliModalCorpus* and developed by Daniela Trotta (2018) for her doctoral thesis, represents an innovative resource within the landscape of Italian linguistic studies, as it is the first multimodal corpus dedicated to the political domain. This corpus includes transcriptions of 59 interviews from the political talk show *In mezz'ora in più*, conducted between 2017 and 2018. The distinctive feature of *PoliModalCorpus* lies in its ability to integrate both verbal and non-verbal aspects, thereby providing a comprehensive view of political communication dynamics. The transcriptions have been annotated using the TEI Guidelines and Natural Language Processing (NLP) methodologies, allowing for a detailed and precise analysis not only of the words but also of the non-verbal signals accompanying political discourse. In their study, the author drew upon the methodologies of Bray (1997) and Lenci, Montemagni, and Pirrelli (2005).

The second corpus, titled *Discorsi Parlamentari*, was curated by Accademia della Crusca in collaboration with the University of Rome La Sapienza. This corpus, or more accurately the blog *paroladileader.com* curated by Luca Giuliano, spans a long period from 1948 to 2011. The blog contains a vast number of stenographic reports from Italian parliamentary sessions. The analysis focuses primarily on lexical and syntactic variables, providing an empirical foundation to study the evolution of political language within Parliament. The goal of the corpus and its related database is to enable a better understanding of the political language used in Parliament, highlighting how this has been transformed over time to better reflect the cultural, social, and political changes in Italian society. Through the analysis of approximately 10,000 stenographic reports from the Chamber of Deputies and 30,000 reports from parliamentary commissions, the project aims to show how political leaders have used language to influence, persuade, and communicate with the public and among themselves within the institutional context.

The third corpus, called *IMPAQTS* (Cominetti et al., 2022), was designed to collect and analyse political speeches delivered between 1946 and 2022. This corpus stands out for its focus on such as vagueness and presuppositions to examine the manipulative use of political language. The detailed annotation of speeches, now totalling 477, allows for an exploration of the way in which Italian politicians employ manipulative techniques to subtly influence public opinion. The *IMPAQTS* corpus follows a critical-discourse approach, inspired by the theories of Van Dijk (1993, 2008), allowing for an investigation of the linguistic strategies used to convey implicit and manipulative messages in the Italian political context (Cominetti et al., 2022). The results from this corpus have not yet been made publicly available online.

PoliModalCorpus and *IMPAQTS* are the only multimodal corpora. It is also important to note that none of these corpora specifically contains speeches about the environment. This highlights a gap in the online resources that are currently available, underscoring the need for further studies dedicated to environmental issues in the context of Italian political discourse.

2.5 Ecolinguistics and Political Discourse

The analysis of political language in Italy highlights the complexities of the discursive and rhetorical dynamics that characterise political communication. With the rise of environmental issues as a central element in public discourse, it is necessary to delve deeper into the intersection between Italian political language and ecolinguistics. This discipline, which integrates the perspectives of linguistic, ecological, and critical discourse analysis, allows for deconstructing the way in which political discourse not only represents but also shapes perceptions and ideologies concerning the environment.

Ecolinguistics, as previously noted, is an emerging discipline that focuses on the role of language in shaping perceptions, ideologies, and actions related to environmental issues. The concept of an *ecology of language* was first introduced by the American linguist Einar Haugen, who defined it as «the study of interactions between any given language and its environment». (Haugen, 1972: 325) Haugen claimed that language existed only in the minds of its users its function being to relate users to one another and to nature, emphasising the social and natural environment as its true ecological context. (Eliasson, 2015) His work laid the foundation for ecolinguistics as a field, which expanded this perspective to analyze the ideological and discursive dimensions of environmental communication. By integrating linguistics, ecology, semiotics, and *Critical discourse analysis*, this discipline examines how public discourse, including the political, influences the collective understanding of, and the response to, ecological problems.

A central premise of ecolinguistics is that language does not merely reflect reality but actively constructs it. Michael Halliday played a foundational role in the emergence of ecolinguistics as a new paradigm in linguistics, particularly through his work *New Ways of Meaning: the Challenge to Applied Linguistics* (1990), which provided the initial stimulus for scholars to consider the ecological consequences of language. Halliday observed that «language does not passively reflect reality; language actively creates reality» (Halliday and Matthiessen, 1999), emphasising how linguistic structures shape both individual perceptions and broader discourses on ecological issues. His critique of the linguistic representation of economic growth highlighted how the English lexicon and grammar tend to frame growth as inherently positive,

using terms such as *large*, *increasing*, *high*, and *good* to describe expansion, while failing to account for its environmental consequences. This linguistic bias contributes to an ideological framework that prioritises economic expansion over ecological sustainability.

Halliday also identified three main problematic spheres in language that impact environmental discourse: the presence of linguistic planning, the register of scientific discourse, and the relationship between language and prejudice. The latter aspect includes ideological biases such as sexism, racism, and growthism – the uncritical promotion of economic growth – which influence how nature is perceived and discussed. Additionally, he highlighted how Western languages, and especially English, encode an anthropocentric worldview, positioning nature as a passive entity rather than an autonomous agent. Halliday ([1990] 1992: 85) stated that «the language makes it hard for us to take seriously the notion of inanimate nature as an active participant in events». This is evident in grammatical constructions that limit nature's agency while framing destruction in active terms, as in «the earthquake destroyed the city» (Halliday, 1992: 85). The implications of such linguistic patterns extend beyond grammar and shape environmental narratives and policies, reinforcing an instrumentalist view of nature as subordinate to human interests.

Internationally, several researchers have contributed to outlining a detailed framework of the interactions between political language and the environment, emphasising the importance of narratives, metaphors, and frames in shaping environmental policies. Among the most significant contributions are the works of John S. Dryzek, Norman Fairclough, Arran Stibbe, Brendon Larson, George Lakoff, Paul Chilton, Natalia Bozhenkova, and Raisa Bozhenkova, who have provided essential tools for understanding how environmental discourses can both promote and hinder ecological sustainability. However, this perspective remains largely unexplored in Italy, leaving a significant gap in our understanding of the way in which political language influences environmental perceptions and policies in the Italian context.

One of the most significant contributions related to interactions between political language and the environment comes from John S. Dryzek in his influential work *The Politics of the Earth: Environmental Discourses* (2013). Dryzek analyses environmental discourse as a social construction that profoundly influences the perception and responses to ecological problems. He identifies four main environmental discourses: ecological compensation, sustainability, ecological stewardship, and green radicalism. These discourses offer different responses to environmental problems, ranging from technical risk management to radical societal transformation. For example, in the context of climate policies, the sustainability discourse

attempts to balance economic growth with environmental protection. However, as Dryzek observes, this approach «masks the inherent contradictions between economic development and ecological conservation» (Dryzek, 2013), often perpetuating unsustainable practices. A notable case is the promotion of renewable energy, which, while representing a step in the right direction, does not address the broader issue of resource consumption. This can lead to continued environmental degradation under new forms, a problem that becomes evident when developed nations advocate for green growth policies that maintain the consumption paradigm. Similarly, Norman Fairclough's *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language* (2013) provides an essential theoretical framework for understanding how political language reinforces existing power structures, including in the environmental realm. Fairclough explores how different types of climate change discourse are often constructed to justify inaction or to promote solutions that maintain the status quo. For example, the language of *risk management* is frequently used to reduce the complexity of the climate crisis to a technical issue, thus avoiding its political and economic implications (Fairclough, 2013). This phenomenon is particularly evident in political debates, where the emphasis on climate adaptation rather than mitigation serves to protect entrenched economic interests. Risk management policies adopted by developed countries often focus on protecting infrastructure without addressing the root causes of climate change. For instance, many governmental contexts prefer to speak of *resilience* rather than *sustainability*, a terminological shift that minimises the need for structural changes. Fairclough highlights how this kind of technical language can be used to depoliticise environmental issues, presenting them as a series of manageable problems rather than as a systemic crisis requiring radical change.

Arran Stibbe, in his book *Ecolinguistics: Language, Ecology and the Stories We Live By* (2015), introduces the concept of *positive ecolinguistics*, which not only offers a critique of harmful discourses but also suggests alternative narratives capable of inspiring positive change. Stibbe explores how the stories and metaphors used in political and media discourse shape our understanding of the environment. A significant example of Stibbe's perspective is the representation of nature as a *web of life* rather than a *resource*, which promotes a more respectful and sustainable attitude towards the environment. These alternative narratives are crucial for shifting the public perception from an exploitative approach to one that values ecological interconnection. Terms like *biodiversity* and *interconnected ecosystems*, increasingly present in political discourse, reflect a holistic view of nature. Stibbe demonstrates how such linguistic shifts have a tangible impact on the formulation of environmental policy, encouraging greater

attention to ecosystem conservation rather than merely managing the environment as a resource. A practical example of this transformation can be seen in policies that promote the conservation of rainforests, which are no longer viewed solely as economic resources but as a vital component of an interconnected ecological system.

Brendon Larson, with his study *Metaphors for Environmental Sustainability: Redefining Our Relationship with Nature* (2014), contributed to the debate centring on the use of metaphors in public discourse concerning the environment. Larson explores how metaphors profoundly influence the perception of environmental issues, shaping political decisions and collective actions. For example, describing the Earth as a *mother* or a *living organism* evokes a sense of responsibility and protection, while representations like *resource* or *machine* can justify exploitation (Larson, 2014). The metaphor of *Mother Earth* in environmental campaigns, for instance, aims to strengthen an emotional bond with the environment, promoting more responsible and protective behaviours towards nature. Larson highlights that these metaphors, far from being mere rhetorical figures, shape our perceptions and, consequently, our actions. A practical example can be seen in conservation policies, where the metaphor of the ecosystem as a *living organism* has led to a greater concern with the restoration of natural habitats, considered essential for the planet's overall *health*. This linguistic transformation has contributed to shifting the political focus on the environment from mere resource conservation to ecological regeneration, as evidenced by the growing interest in rewilding and ecological restoration practices in various national contexts.

George Lakoff, in his book *Don't Think of an Elephant!* (2004), underscores the importance of frames in political discourse, including those related to the environment. Lakoff argues that mental frames determine how we interpret the world and respond to information (Lakoff, 2004). In the context of environmental discourse, frames can profoundly influence the perception of climate change. For instance, the frame centring on the “war on carbon” transforms the fight against emissions into a moral battle, channelling resources and public attention towards aggressive measures to reduce emissions. However, Lakoff warns that this frame can polarise the debate, making it difficult to find collaborative solutions. Another significant example is the use of the term *climate change* instead of *climate crisis*, where the former tends to normalise the phenomenon, reducing perceived urgency, while the latter emphasises the severity and need for immediate action. Lakoff illustrates how these frames not only influence environmental policy but have a direct impact on public awareness campaigns, shaping how media and non-governmental organisations construct their narratives. Another example of the power of frames

is the term *clean energy*, often used to describe renewable energy sources. This positive frame tends to minimise the environmental costs associated with renewable energy production, such as the extraction of raw materials for batteries or the ecological impact of large hydroelectric dams, creating a narrative that pushes for a generally uncritical acceptance of *green* technologies.

Paul Chilton, in his work *Analysing Political Discourse: Theory and Practice* (2004), examines the persuasive power of metaphors and frames in the context of environmental discourse. Chilton emphasises how metaphors of *limits* and *thresholds* are often used in climate policy debates to suggest that humanity is at a critical point beyond which consequences will be irreversible. These rhetorical figures function as powerful persuasive tools, creating a sense of urgency and directing public opinion towards the adoption of stricter policies. For example, the term *point of no return* is frequently used in public discourse to describe the climate crisis, embodying this metaphor and often being used to call for immediate action. Chilton notes that these metaphors are not neutral but are charged with ideological implications that can steer public debate towards immediate action or passive acceptance of environmental consequences. Beyond the United States and the United Kingdom, where the field of ecolinguistics has seen significant expansion in recent years, important studies have also been conducted that explore the interaction between language and environmental policies. A noteworthy example comes from Russia, where Natalia Bozhenkova and Raisa Bozhenkova (2019) offer an in-depth analysis of Russian political discourse through an ecolinguistic lens. This work examines how the language used by Russian politicians describes environmental issues while playing a crucial role in shaping public perceptions and influencing political decisions. The authors adopt a qualitative approach, focusing on speeches delivered by the Russian political elite. The methodology combines content analysis with discourse analysis, both representing essential tools to identify how language represents ecological and political issues. This approach highlights how political discourse, through its lexical choices and discursive structures, functions not only as a means of communication but also as a tool for control and manipulation, contributing to the construction of a political *linguistic reality* (Parshina, 2005). Among the examples analysed, the scholars cite speeches by Russian political leaders and awareness campaigns that use strategic language choices to evoke emotions and mobilise public opinion. They argue that effective political communication must integrate ecological awareness by adopting language that promotes sustainability and respect for the environment. The analysis concludes with a call to reflect on current linguistic practices, emphasising the importance of

developing language that not only describes environmental issues but also promotes concrete, sustainability-oriented solutions, thereby enhancing the effectiveness of political communication.

Another significant example of how political language can shape the perception of environmental issues is Stéphanie Bonnefille's study, *When green rhetoric and cognitive linguistics meet: President G. W. Bush's environmental discourse in his State of the Union Addresses* (2008). The study aims to delineate how environmental issues were presented and what rhetorical devices were used to influence the perception of the American public. Using the theoretical framework of cognitive linguistics, Bonnefille (2008) focuses her analysis on key concepts such as metaphors, metonymies, conceptual frames, and narrative structures. These theoretical tools, derived from the foundational works of Lakoff and Johnson (1980) on conceptual metaphors and metonymies, Lakoff (1996, 2004a, and 2004b) on conceptual frames, and Johnson (1993) and Turner (1996) on narrative structure, provide the basis for examining how environmental issues were conceptualised and communicated in presidential speeches. The analysis reveals how these rhetorical devices were strategically used to activate specific frames and metaphors, thereby shaping the public perception of environmental issues. Bonnefille (2008) combines a statistical approach, aimed at obtaining an overall view of the speeches, with techniques derived from cognitive linguistics for a detailed exploration of environmental communication. In this context, the concept of *greenwashing* as defined by Greer and Bruno (1996) and Pearsall (1999) emerges as a key element in understanding how green rhetoric can be employed to mask less sustainable practices, revealing the intention to manipulate public opinion.

The importance of ecolinguistics in the context of environmental conservation policies has been well exemplified by these studies, and in recent years it has gained increasing momentum. A final example is a study conducted by Muhammad Kiki Wardana and Hidayati (2024), which explores how the language used to describe and promote mangrove conservation affects public perception and attitudes towards these ecosystems. Using a qualitative approach particularly suited to ecolinguistics, the researchers collected extensive data between December 2022 and March 2023, analysing texts from online media and the Bahasa Indonesia Corpus. The analysis is structured in three phases: open coding, to identify significant units of information; axial coding, to link codes and identify recurring patterns; and selective coding, to develop a central theoretical framework that synthesises the results. The authors emphasise the fact that language plays a crucial role in shaping the public perception of, and education about, the mangrove

ecosystem. The use of certain terms and metaphors can influence the development of emotional connections and awareness of the importance of these ecosystems: «Using metaphors and symbolism can evoke emotions and create connection between individuals and the environment. Metaphors and symbolism such as describing mangroves as the ‘lungs of the ocean’ or the ‘guardian of the coast’, can help to create a sense of connection and stewardship towards mangroves» (Wardana & Hidayati, 2024: 240).

A recent contribution exemplifying the growing interest in the intersection of language and environmental discourse is Margherita Bonaldo’s Master’s thesis *Communicating Climate Change: The Importance of Parties’ Language Choices and Social Perception of the Phenomenon* (2023). This study analyses climate change through the lens of political discourse, focusing on cognitive frames and metaphors as tools that shape the public’s understanding and perception of the phenomenon. Bonaldo’s comparative analysis of the election programmes of Italian centre-left and centre-right parties for the European elections, supported by text mining techniques, reveals contrasting rhetorical strategies, with centre-left parties prioritising *sustainability* and *ecological transition*, while centre-right narratives highlight *energy security* and *economic feasibility*.

Furthermore, Bonaldo (2023) investigates social perception through questionnaires, underscoring the effectiveness of metaphors such as «the planet as a patient» and «climate change as a ticking time bomb» in mobilising public opinion. Her findings underscore the pivotal role of language in shaping environmental debates, offering valuable perspectives on how communication strategies influence public and political responses in the context of climate change. These studies collectively illustrate how the intersection between language, politics, and environmental discourse provides critical insight into how public attitudes and policy directions are shaped, underscoring the need for further research in this burgeoning field, particularly in regard to the Italian context.

3. Methodological Framework

In this chapter, the main methodological tools adopted for the analysis of environmental political discourse are presented. The discussion begins with the formulation of research questions (3.1) and the description of the process of data collection (3.2), which provide the foundation for the study. The chapter proceeds by introducing the integration of *Critical Discourse Analysis* and *Frame Analysis* (3.3.1) as the central methodological approach. This framework enables a detailed examination of linguistic and rhetorical structures within political texts. The application of frame analysis is explored through quantitative methods (3.4.1), including automatic semantic analysis and the interpretation of results across corpora in Italian and English. These findings are contextualized through comparative analysis, offering insights into recurring patterns and linguistic choices that characterize the political framing of environmental issues. The focus then shifts to the semantic and qualitative analysis of two key frames: *Sustainability and Climate Policies* and *Economic and Financial Strategies* (3.5.1). These analyses provide insight into the lexical and conceptual structures that underpin political discourse and shape public perceptions.

This section concludes with data triangulation (3.6.2), which provides a comprehensive and multidimensional interpretation of the findings. This approach enhances the reliability of the identified frames and deepens their broader theoretical and practical implications of the research.

3.1 Research Questions

As outlined in the introduction, this study aims to discover how environmental issues are represented in political discourse – specifically, in the electoral programmes of Italian political parties and in speeches delivered at COP conferences – and in public opinion. This research adopts an ecolinguistics approach, integrated with tools from Digital Humanities, to analyse political discourse on environmental issues (Poole, 2022). Specifically, a mixed-methods approach is applied, combining qualitative methodologies such as *Critical Discourse Analysis* (CDA) (Fairclough, 2013; Fill and Penz, 2018) and *Frame Analysis* (Goffman, 1974; Spina, 2012; Ponton and Raimo, 2024 a) with quantitative methods, including occurrence analysis conducted using the Python and R programming languages. Research questions are structured hierarchically:

1. *How are environmental issues presented in Italian political discourse from 2008 to the present? What kind of environmental vision(s) emerge from political discourse in Italy?*

The primary research question focuses on analysing how Italian political parties have constructed and framed environmental issues in their public discourse and electoral programmes starting from 2008. Particular attention is given to the linguistic and rhetorical strategies used to communicate these topics to the electorate.

In this research, the term *electoral programmes* refers to the official documents published by political parties that outline their policy positions and commitments, including environmental issues. These are structured, formal texts designed to present the party's stance to the electorate clearly and systematically. On the other hand, 'public political discourse' during international events such as the COP also encompasses personal speeches delivered by party leaders or representatives, often in more flexible and spontaneous contexts such as rallies or media events. These speeches reflect personal interpretations of the party's ideology, meant to engage the public in real time.

The analysis of these two types of texts – electoral programmes and public discourse – hinges on their parallel functions in shaping political communication. These two *corpora* offer complementary insight into the ideological construction of environmental issues. While electoral programmes represent the party's official, institutional perspective, public discourse provides a more personal articulation of these ideas by individual politicians. Comparing these sources allows us to assess whether there is consistency or divergence between the party's formal line and the personal views expressed by its leaders, offering a more nuanced understanding of the party's environmental ideology.

This study is especially relevant in the Italian context, where research on the intersection of electoral promises and public political rhetoric, especially regarding environmental issues, is scarce. Addressing this gap, this research investigates how Italian political parties approach environmental topics in their electoral programmes and public speeches.

The period starting from 2008 is significant for several reasons. Firstly, it marks a sharp increase in the use of digital platforms by Italian political parties to disseminate their electoral programmes, particularly concerning environmental issues. The internet emerged as a crucial tool for reaching an increasingly connected electorate, allowing parties to communicate their agendas more directly and comprehensively. This shift from traditional to digital

communication dramatically influenced how environmental issues were presented and debated. This period coincides with the rapid expansion of internet access and digital content consumption in Italy, which played a key role in raising public awareness about global issues, including environmental challenges (i.e. *ItalianClimateNetwork* on YouTube⁴⁰). Lastly, although the 2015 Paris Agreement represents a pivotal moment in the global ecological discourse, the negotiations and discussions leading to this outcome had already gained momentum in previous years, following the Rio Agreements (1992).

To answer this question, *Critical discourse analysis*, developed by Fairclough (1992) and later expanded by Van Dijk (2008), will be employed alongside *Frame Analysis*, initially proposed by Goffman (1974) and later revisited by Hajer (1995). CDA allows for the analysis of political discourse as a social process where language is used to sustain and legitimise power structures, highlighting the rhetorical strategies that emerge in the electoral programmes of Italian political parties. On the other hand, *Frame Analysis* will be used to identify the main rhetorical frames through which environmental issues are presented, such as the *crisis frame* or the *economic frame*, as discussed by Hulme (2009).

The combined use of CDA and *Frame Analysis* is justified by the need to explore both the linguistic strategies and the underlying narrative structures, thus uncovering not only the hidden contents of discourse but also the ways in which the latter is specifically organised to shape public opinion. Previous studies, such as Dryzek (2013), demonstrate that discourse on climate change can be manipulated to promote policies that appear to be oriented towards sustainability while failing to address underlying structural inequalities. These types of discourse, often centred on concepts such as the *green economy* or *sustainable development*, tend to promote technical and economic solutions that obscure deep social and economic disparities linked to environmental resource management.

1.1 *What are the most frequently used words and expressions employed by Italian politicians when discussing environmental issues?*

This sub-question focuses on the linguistic and lexical choices adopted by Italian politicians when addressing environmental issues. The analysis of recurrent terms and expressions helps to identify dominant themes and rhetorical strategies, particularly by highlighting the presence of specific frames within discourse. The analysis has been conducted using quantitative

⁴⁰ For more information: <https://www.youtube.com/@ItalianClimateNetwork>.

linguistic analysis tools, including the AntConc software and Python's NLP library, to extract a controlled vocabulary and identify the most frequent words and expressions in political discourse concerning the environment. These quantitative data are then integrated with CDA in order to understand the underlying ideological meaning of specific linguistic and lexical choices. Quantitative analysis helps identify recurring terms, while CDA decodes the ideological and rhetorical content of these expressions, as demonstrated by Wodak (2001, 2009) and Van Dijk (2015). This mixed approach will help reveal how certain words or metaphors (frames) convey specific political visions or, on the other hand, are capable of obscuring responsibilities.

1.1.1 *How consistent is the representation of actual data on environmental pollution?*

This question, comparing political discourse with real data on environmental pollution, attempts to assess the extent to which public discourse and electoral programmes reflect or diverge from factual evidence. As is often the case, politicians introduce environmental topics to divert attention from other issues or in moments of urgency, to shift the focus to unrelated matters. To address this, political discourse will be compared with scientific data collected from sources such as *Istituto superiore per la protezione e la ricerca ambientale* (ISPRA). This approach will allow for an assessment of the accuracy of political claims against real data on pollution. As CDA can reveal the discursive strategies used to mask or distort social realities (Van Dijk, 2008), comparing political discourse and scientific data will make it possible to identify any discrepancies and understand whether and how environmental discourse is sometimes instrumentalised to justify policies that are not consistent with facts.

1.2 *How do journalists represent environmental issues related to politics, and how does this contribute to shaping public opinion?*

This sub-question investigates how political language addressing environmental issues is represented and interpreted in articles published by *The Post Internazionale* (TPI), with the aim of determining whether environmental topics are integrated into political reporting or treated as separate themes, thereby examining how journalistic practices influence public opinion about these issues.

The analysis involves developing a controlled vocabulary of key terms related to environmental and political discourse, which will be used to statistically compare the content of articles from the *Environment* (Ambiente) and *Politics* (Politica) sections in TPI. The objective is to identify patterns of intersection and divergence between the two areas, providing an assessment of how frequently and in what contexts environmental issues are discussed within political reporting. By quantifying these overlaps, this study seeks to highlight the extent to which environmental concerns are framed within political narratives and made accessible to the public.

The selection of TPI as a case study is based on an analysis carried on by NewsGuard's⁴¹ 2022, emphasizing the newspaper's credibility and significant engagement with younger audiences. As a digital-first platform covering national and international news, TPI offers a relevant case to understand how contemporary media engages with and disseminates environmental and political discourse.

This methodology provides a systematic approach to analysing journalistic practices and their role in shaping public perceptions of environmental issues. By focusing on the frequency and context of environmental language in political coverage, the research contributes to a deeper understanding of how media narratives mediate the relationship between political discourse and public opinion.

1.3 How do Hungarian L2 Italian students perceive environmental issues in Italian political discourse?

The aim here is to examine how Hungarian students of Italian as a second language⁴² perceive and interpret environmental issues within Italian political discourse, focusing on electoral programs and public speeches. To complement this analysis, a group of Italian students of L1 of the same age was included. This allows for a comparative perspective, highlighting differences and similarities between native and non-native speakers in their reception and understanding of Italian political discourse concerning environmental issues.

⁴¹ NewsGuard is an independent organisation that evaluates the credibility and transparency of news websites, providing trust ratings to help users navigate online information. For more, see: <https://www.newsguardtech.com/it/chi-siamo/perche-puoi-fidarti-di-noi/> and <https://it.ejo.ch/digitale/newsguard-disinformazione-europa>

⁴² In this case, it can also be referred to as a *foreign language* because they are learning Italian as their third or fourth language.

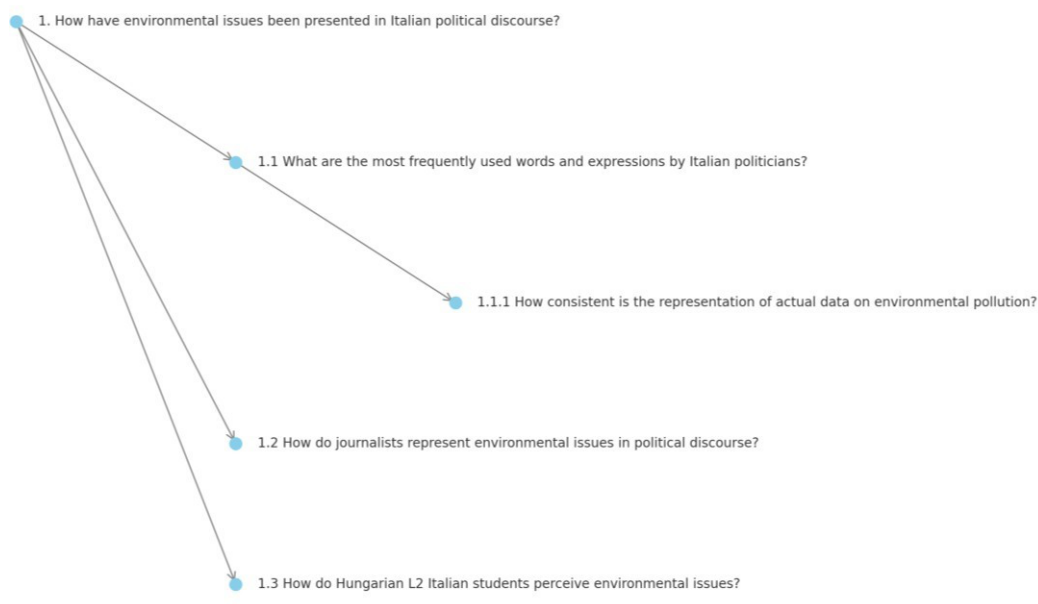
To facilitate this investigation, a thematic learning module titled *La politica italiana e l'ambiente* (Ecological Language in Italian Politics, see *Appendix*) was designed and implemented with Hungarian students. The module aimed to enhance their understanding of environmental topics addressed in Italian politics, adopting a pedagogical framework based on Balboni's (2015) model of globalisation, analysis, synthesis, reflection, and verification.

Following the module, both the Hungarian students and the Italian L1 group participated in an online questionnaire designed to evaluate their perceptions of Italian political discourse on environmental issues. The inclusion of this questionnaire introduces an innovative and experimental dimension to the study. Although *Frame Analysis* rarely employs questionnaires as a validation tool, their integration into this research aligns with recent examples where they have been successfully utilised to investigate linguistic perceptions. This methodological choice not only complements the pedagogical framework but also expands the potential for questionnaires to support the empirical validation of conceptual frames. The questionnaire, structured with closed-ended questions (e.g., Yes/No and multiple choice), assessed students' understanding of key lexical items, rhetorical strategies, and ideological frames, as well as their overall impressions of the clarity, coherence, and persuasiveness of discourse.

The inclusion of the Italian L1 group provides a baseline for interpreting the results, allowing for a direct comparison between native and non-native speakers. By analysing responses from both groups, this study explores whether linguistic and cultural differences influence the reception of Italian political language, or whether certain rhetorical and ideological frames are universally comprehensible.

In the synthesis phase of the module, Hungarian students were also asked to produce written reflections on the ecological language used in Italian political discourse. These texts, alongside the questionnaire results, are included as supplementary data to illustrate the pedagogical and analytical outcomes of the study. The findings from the questionnaire and the written reflections will inform the final commentary, shedding light on the effectiveness of the activity in promoting both linguistic and environmental awareness.

This approach enriches the study by combining pedagogical application with empirical analysis, demonstrating how political discourse resonates with both native and non-native audiences, and providing insight into the role of education in fostering critical engagement with ecological and political narratives.



GRAPH2: HIERARCHICAL REPRESENTATION OF RESEARCH QUESTIONS IN ENVIRONMENTAL POLITICAL DISCOURSE

3.2 Corpora and Data Collection

The first corpus consists of electoral programmes covering the period from 2008 to 2023. This corpus includes a total of 14 programmes: 4 belong to the centre-right coalition, 3 to *Movimento 5 Stelle*, and 7 to left-wing parties. The analysis has focused exclusively on the sections of the electoral programmes that dealt with environmental issues or the protection of territory, as the documents were too lengthy to examine in full.

This corpus allows for the analysis of linguistic and rhetorical dynamics in Italian electoral campaigns over the past fifteen years, with particular attention to recurring themes and linguistic variations across different political groups.

The second corpus gathers speeches and interviews from Italian Presidents and Ministers at the Conferences of the Parties (COP) from 2010 to the present. The choice of this period is due to the lack of available texts or videos⁴³ from earlier COPs, as no official speeches from Italy at COP14 (2008) and COP16 (2009) were found on YouTube or in the UNFCCC digital archive. This is also the case for COP24 (2018) and COP25 (2019). In total, this corpus consists of 12 public speeches and 4 interviews.

This collection of texts in both Italian (7) and English (9) allows for a contrastive analysis. The decision to include texts in both languages reflects the reality that, although English is widely

⁴³ Although video recordings are mentioned, the analysis focuses exclusively on the official transcriptions of the speeches and interviews. Non-verbal features – such as gestures, facial expressions, or prosody – are not examined in this study. The official transcriptions are in the *Appendix*.

used in international forums, there is no formal requirement for participants to speak English during COP events. Linguistic variation provides grounds for contrastive analysis, as it enables a comparison of how Italian vs international institutional and political language adapt across linguistic contexts. By examining these speeches in their original languages, the corpus allows for a nuanced exploration of how Italian political discourse on climate change and environmental policies evolves when used in an international context, especially in settings where both Italian and English are employed.

The third corpus consists of newspaper articles published between July 2022 and December 2024. The articles were sourced from the ‘Environment’ and ‘Politics’ sections of the online newspaper TPI, with 931 and 2,109 entries respectively. All articles were initially reviewed in full, and a manual selection was subsequently conducted based on a close reading. The final selection is included in the Appendix and was analysed using a controlled vocabulary, also provided therein.

The fourth corpus consists of two pedagogical proposals and the responses to a questionnaire administered to ten students of Italian as a second language (L2) and a group of Italian L1 (ten university PhD students or researcher). The data were collected during a study period abroad at Pázmány Péter Catholic University, in collaboration with Professor Domokos Gyorgy. Both the pedagogical proposal and the questionnaire responses, included in the appendix, aim to explore how L2 Italian learners and native speakers perceive environmental issues as presented in Italian political discourse.

The questionnaire, composed of closed-ended questions, facilitates a comparative analysis of the two groups. It examines their understanding of key lexical items, rhetorical strategies, and ideological frames, shedding light on how the political frames employed by Italian politicians are interpreted by non-native and native audiences alike.

This corpus is not subjected to formal linguistic analysis but instead serves as an illustrative example of how different audiences engage with and interpret the environmental concepts conveyed in Italian electoral programs. These findings contribute to a broader reflection on the effectiveness of the pedagogical activity in enhancing linguistic competence and environmental awareness, while fostering critical engagement with the Italian political language.

3.3 Methodology for the Analysis of Texts

To thoroughly comprehend the discursive mechanisms that shape environmental political discourse, it is crucial to integrate automatic semantic analysis with *Frame Analysis*. These two methodologies not only complement each other but also provide a more nuanced and

comprehensive understanding of how political language constructs reality, shapes public opinion, and advances specific political agendas. Fairclough (1992), a leading figure in CDA, posits that language is intrinsically linked to power and ideology, functioning as a medium through which power relations are constructed, sustained, and contested. By combining automatic linguistic analysis with *Frame Analysis*, it is possible to identify the specific frames and terms used and understand how these terms are embedded within broader discursive frames and narratives.

3.3.1 Critical discourse analysis and Frame analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis is based on the premise that language is a tool through which power relations are maintained and challenged. According to Fairclough (1992), CDA is particularly well-suited to studying how environmental discourse is used to promote specific political agendas. Language is not neutral: the lexical, syntactic, and rhetorical choices in political speeches can either reinforce or challenge dominant ideologies. As Van Dijk (2008) notes, the linguistic construction of an issue can assign or obscure responsibility to certain actors. An example of CDA in Italian political discourse on the environment is represented by the use of passive constructions such as *emissions have been reduced* which hides the agent, presenting climate action as inevitable or automatic, without mentioning the actors behind it. This strategy helps avoid conflicts over political or industrial responsibility.

In contrast, *Frame Analysis* as developed by Goffman (1974) is essential for understanding how environmental issues are structured within political discourse. Frames are interpretative schemes that politicians use to guide public opinion towards specific interpretations of events. Frames are not merely descriptive; they shape how issues are perceived, determining which aspects should be highlighted and which should be downplayed. In this study, the *frame* is defined as the interpretative structure through which linguistic meaning is organized and understood. As Goffman (1974) explains: «Frame is the word I use to refer to such of these basic elements as I am able to identify». (Goffman, 1974: 11) This establishes the foundation for examining how events are subjectively organized in discourse. Goffman further remark that frames shape our understanding of reality, making it possible for one situation to be reinterpreted as something entirely different (as it happens in jokes or misunderstandings). This illustrates how frames operate dynamically, structuring perception in ways that often guide public interpretations without explicit acknowledgment. In political discourse, framing

becomes a tool to influence which aspects of a topic are emphasized, subtly shaping the narrative and public opinion.

Similarly, Fillmore (2006) defines frames as «any system of concepts related in such a way that to understand any one of them you have to understand the whole structure in which it fits [...] a system of categories structured in accordance with some motivating context». (371, 381) This underscores how frames are complex cognitive structures that shape interpretation within specific communicative contexts.

Hulme (2009) identified three key frames in the discourse on climate change: *crisis frame*, *economic frame*, and *moral frame*. In the Italian context, an example of the frames employed in Environmental Discourse can be seen in the work of politicians such as Matteo Renzi, who have used the crisis frame to justify ambitious environmental policies, describing climate change as an *existential threat* that requires immediate action. Conversely, the economic opportunity frame portrays climate change as a chance for developin a new *green economy*, legitimising sustainability-oriented economic policies.

To analyse the use of environmental frames in political discourse, the media, and Hungarian students' outputs, three frames from the texts are constructed.

3.4 Selections of *Frame Analysis*

The selection of frames was carried out through the analysis of occurrences within each corpus. First, quantitative analyses were conducted using Python. Following this, further analyses were performed using a semantic analysis (Van Dijk, 2008). Finally, a *Frame Analysis* was conducted, according to the approach proposed by Blackmore and Holmes (2013).

3.4.1 Quantitative analysis in Python

In this subsection, the code used to collect, process, and interpret the three corpora created for the analysis of Italian politicians' speeches on the environment will be presented. The central aim of the code is to automatically identify recurring semantic fields, thereby eliminating any element of subjectivity. Indeed, the automated analysis of natural language allows for the construction of a more objective and replicable interpretative framework. These semantic fields serve as the foundation for constructing “conceptual frames,” which are interpretative structures that serve the purpose of organizing the representation of the information in the speeches.

To achieve this goal, the probabilistic model known as Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA) is employed, which has been widely recognised for its effectiveness in identifying latent themes within large text corpora.

For example, the study *Public Discourse and Sentiment during the COVID-19 Pandemic: Using Latent Dirichlet Allocation for Topic Modeling on Twitter* (Xue *et al.*, 2020), published in PLOS ONE, demonstrated how LDA can reveal dominant themes and latent patterns in wide-ranging contexts, such as public discourse. In this case, LDA enabled researchers to track the evolution of key themes over time, showing the model's ability to manage and analyse large datasets, and identify relevant communicative trends: «LDA helped to uncover latent topics and revealed patterns in public discourse during the pandemic, showing its ability to process large datasets and highlight prevalent themes in online communication».

Similarly, the article *Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA) and Topic Modeling: models, applications, a survey* (Jelodar *et al.*, 2018) provides a comprehensive overview of LDA applications, including those in the field of political discourse analysis. The study highlights how LDA is an indispensable tool for extracting coherent themes from large corpora, making it particularly useful for identifying topics that are not immediately evident: «LDA and topic modelling allow researchers to extract coherent topics from massive corpora, making it a valuable tool in fields such as political discourse analysis where the topics are not always immediately apparent».

The use of LDA in this context allows not only for the identification of significant lexical patterns but also for the analysis of the probabilistic distribution of themes within the corpus. This facilitates the identification of relevant conceptual frames in political speeches on the subject of the environment. This approach ensures greater objectivity and depth in interpreting the dynamics of discourse.

3.4.1.1 Process of Automatic Semantic Analysis

1. Loading the Libraries

To conduct the analysis, the Python code uses several libraries, each playing a specific and essential role in the process.

```
In [1]: pip install pandas nltk scikit-learn gensim pyLDAvis openpyxl
```

- **nltk** (Natural Language Toolkit): this library enables pre-processing operations on the text, such as normalisation (converting text to lowercase), removing *stopwords*, and

tokenizing. These steps are crucial for eliminating noise and improving data quality by minimising irrelevant information.

- **scikit-learn**: this is used for data analysis and modelling. In the context of text analysis, it assists with vectorization, classification, and clustering of textual data.
- **gensim**: this provides tools for topic modelling, including implementing the LDA model. The LDA algorithm assumes that each document is a combination of latent themes, each represented by a set of terms. This is useful for identifying recurring lexical patterns in political discourse, the meanings of which can be interpreted contextually.
- **pyLDAvis**: this library allows for the interactive visualisation of the results supplied by the LDA model, providing a graphical representation of the extracted topics and of their distribution across documents. The visualisation facilitates data interpretation and makes it easier to link topics to relevant terms.
- **openpyxl**: this library is used to save the results in an Excel file, ensuring that the data is organised and can be shared for further analysis or used in presentations.

2. Loading and Pre-processing the Corpus

The first operational phase involves loading and preparing the textual data. The code imports the files containing political speeches and combines them into a single corpus.

```
In [33]: import os

# Percorso alla cartella "Corpus 1" sul Desktop
desktop_path = os.path.join(os.path.expanduser("~"), "Desktop", "Corpus 1")

# Lista dei file .txt dalla cartella "Corpus 1"
file_list1 = [os.path.join(desktop_path, f) for f in os.listdir(desktop_path) if f.endswith(".txt")]

# Leggi e unisci il testo da tutti i file
text_data1 = []
for file in file_list1:
    with open(file, 'r', encoding='utf-8') as f:
        text_data1.append(f.read())

text_data1 = " ".join(text_data1)
```

Pre-processing is essential to make the text analysable by the LDA model.

```
In [35]: import re

# Rimuovi le parole precedenti l'apostrofo e l'apostrofo stesso
words_ITA_text_data1 = re.sub(r".*?'", "", text_data1)

# Rimuovi eventuali spazi vuoti all'inizio e alla fine
words_ITA_cleaned1 = words_ITA_text_data1.strip()

# Rimuovi l'apostrofo finale se presente
words_ITA_cleaned1 = re.sub(r"'|'", "", words_ITA_cleaned1)

# Rimuovi la punteggiatura mantenendo gli accenti
words_ITA_cleaned1 = re.sub(r"[^a-zA-ZÀ-ÿ\s]", "", words_ITA_cleaned1)

# Converti il testo in minuscolo
words_ITA_words_cleaned1 = words_ITA_cleaned1.lower()
```

- Removal of extra characters: punctuation, apostrophes, and unnecessary white spaces are removed using Python string methods and regular expressions. This step improves text representation by removing elements that could confuse the model.
- Lowercase normalisation: transforming all text into lowercase using `str.lower()` ensures that words like *Ambiente* and *ambiente* are not treated as separate entities, guaranteeing greater uniformity in the data.
- Stopword removal: functional words that do not add semantic meaning (such as articles and conjunctions) are removed using NLTK's predefined *stopword list*, allowing the model to focus on key terms relevant to the thematic analysis.

```
In [37]: import os
import pandas as pd

# Percorso al Desktop
desktop_path = os.path.join(os.path.expanduser("~"), "Desktop")

# Percorso completo del file stopwords
stopwords_file_path = os.path.join(desktop_path, "stopwords_italiano_python.xlsx")

# Carica le stopwords dal file Excel
stopwords_italiano_python = pd.read_excel(stopwords_file_path)['Stopwords'].tolist()

print(stopwords_italiano_python)
```

3. Creation of the Document-Term Matrix (DTM)

The Document-Term Matrix (DTM) is a crucial tool in text mining analysis. The DTM is built using Gensim's Dictionary and corpora modules, where each row represents a document, and each column represents a term present in the papers. The cells contain the frequency of each term within each document.

This numerical representation is essential for the functioning of the LDA model, which uses term frequencies to identify latent topics. The DTM enables the text corpus to be structured quantitatively, preparing it for subsequent analysis.

```
In [41]: # Tokenizzazione del testo
tokens = word_tokenize(words_ITA_cleaned1)

# Rimozione delle stopwords
cleaned_tokens = [word for word in tokens if word not in stopwords_italiano_python]

# Unisci i token per formare il testo pulito
cleaned_text = " ".join(cleaned_tokens)

# Crea la Document-Term Matrix (DTM) usando il testo pulito
vectorizer = CountVectorizer()
dtm1 = vectorizer.fit_transform([cleaned_text])

# Visualizza la matrice
print(dtm1.toarray())
```

4. Latent Dirichlet Allocation

The LDA model is applied to the DTM using Gensim's LdaModel to identify latent topics within the corpus. LDA is a probabilistic model that assumes each document is a combination of multiple topics, each represented by a distribution of terms. In this case, the number of latent topics is set to four (`num_topics = 4`), assuming that political discourse on the environment can be broken down into four main macro-topics.

```
In [43]: from gensim.models.ldamodel import LdaModel
from gensim import corpora

# Crea il dizionario e la matrice documento-termine per gensim
tokens_list = [tokens] # Gensim richiede una lista di token per documento
dictionary = corpora.Dictionary(tokens_list)
corpus = [dictionary.doc2bow(text) for text in tokens_list]

# Applica LDA con k = 4
lda_model1 = LdaModel(corpus, num_topics=4, id2word=dictionary, passes=15, random_state=1234)

# Visualizza i termini principali per ogni tema
top_terms = lda_model1.show_topics(num_words=20)
print(top_terms)
```

LDA is particularly suitable for political discourse analysis because:

- It helps to identify recurring lexical patterns across various documents, facilitating the identification of *conceptual frames*.
- It provides a probabilistic representation of topics, assisting in interpreting textual content through the distribution of terms.


```
In [59]: import numpy as np

# Estrai le probabilità dei termini sui temi ( $\phi$ )
beta = np.exp(lda_model1.get_topics())
beta /= beta.sum(axis=1, keepdims=True)

# Estrai le probabilità dei documenti sui temi ( $\theta$ )
theta = [doc_topics for doc_topics in lda_model1.get_document_topics(corpus)]
```

5. Visualisation of Results with pyLDAvis

The interactive visualisation of results with pyLDAvis is fundamental for a proper interpretation of the identified topics. pyLDAvis allows users to explore the relationships between topics and associated terms, analyse the distribution of topics across documents, and assess the relative importance of each topic. This visual aid simplifies the analysis of results and enables the identification of correlations between topics that may not be evident through traditional textual analysis.

```
In [61]: import pyLDAvis.gensim as gensimvis
import pyLDAvis

# Creazione del file JSON per la visualizzazione con LDAvis
lda_display = gensimvis.prepare(lda_model1, corpus, dictionary)
pyLDAvis.save_html(lda_display, 'LDAvis_corpus1.html')
```

6. Calculation of Thematic Coherence

Thematic coherence is a key measure used to assess the quality of the topics identified by the LDA model. In Python, this can be calculated using Gensim's CoherenceModel. Thematic coherence is a measure of the degree of semantic relatedness among the terms within a given topic. High coherence indicates that the terms within a topic share a common meaning, strengthening the validity of the model. If coherence is low, it may be necessary to reconsider the number of topics or to apply further improvements to the pre-processed data.

```
In [63]: from gensim.models.coherencemodel import CoherenceModel

# Calcolo della coerenza del topic
coherence_model_lda = CoherenceModel(model=lda_model1, texts=tokens_list, dictionary=dictionary, coherence='c_v')
coherence_lda = coherence_model_lda.get_coherence()
print(f"Coerenza media dei temi per k = 4: {coherence_lda}")
```

7. Saving the Results

Saving the results in an Excel file represents the final step of the process, which allows for further review and definition of the analysis.


```
In [83]: # Crea un nuovo file Excel e salva i dati
wb = Workbook()
wb.remove(wb.active) # Rimuove il foglio predefinito

# Aggiungi i vari fogli
add_sheet(wb, "text_data", text_data1)
add_sheet(wb, "words_ITA_cleaned", words_ITA_cleaned1)
add_sheet(wb, "stopwords_italiano_python", stopwords_italiano_python) # Scrive ogni stopwords su una riga
add_sheet(wb, "dtm1", dtm1.toarray()) # Scrive la matrice DTM
add_sheet(wb, "top_terms", top_terms) # Scrive i termini principali

# Salva il file Excel
output_file_path = os.path.join(os.path.expanduser("~"), "Desktop", "output_text_data.xlsx")
wb.save(output_file_path)

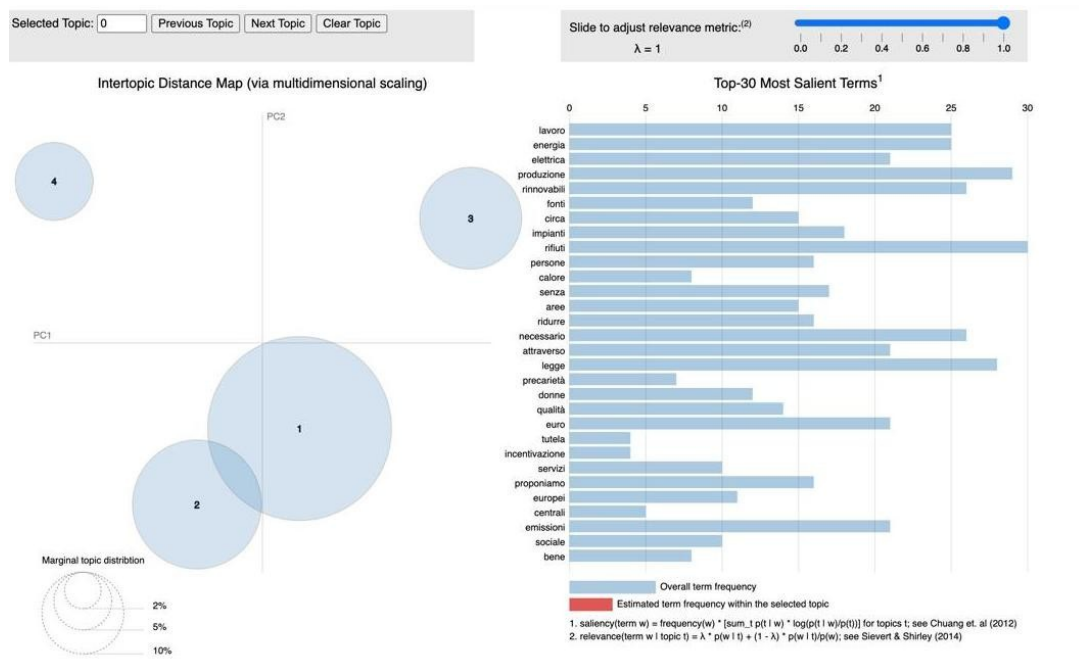
print(f"File Excel salvato in: {output_file_path}")
```

The following elements are saved using openpyxl:

- The pre-processed textual data.
- The Document-Term Matrix (DTM).
- The results of the LDA model, include the main terms of each topic and the distribution of documents across topics.
- The average thematic coherence provides a measure of the quality of the analysis.

This process ensures that the analyses can be tracked and facilitates the replication of results for future research or for use in presentations.

3.4.1.2 Frame's Results of First Corpus



The visualisation presented is the result of an LDA analysis, a useful tool for extracting latent themes in a textual corpus.

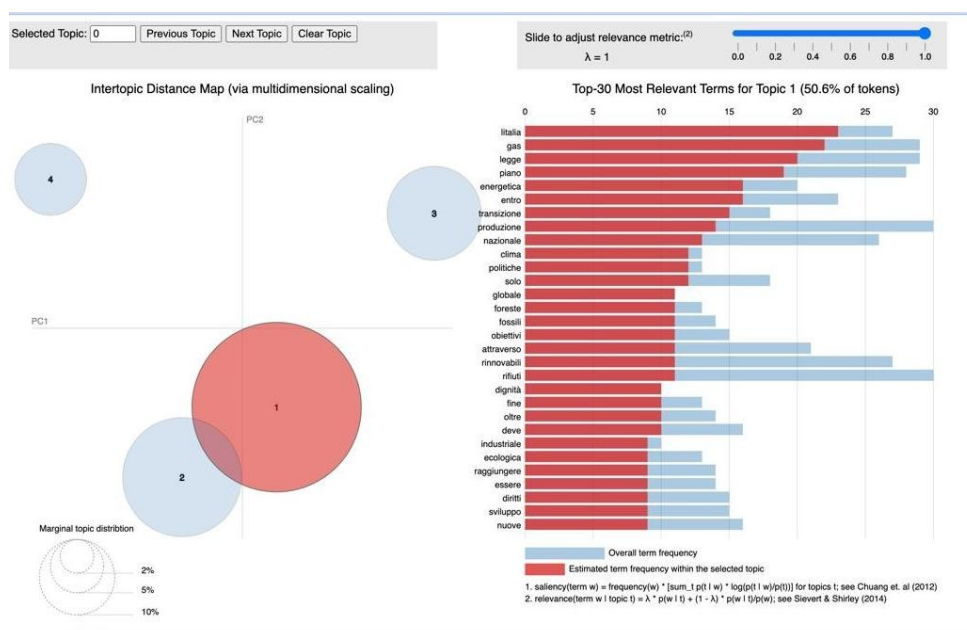
LDA is based on a probabilistic approach that allows the discovery of sets of words that tend to co-occur in documents, thus revealing hidden thematic topics within a text. From a linguistic perspective, this analysis enables us to understand the main areas of discourse and the semantic dynamics that emerge from the corpus.

The map on the left illustrates the semantic relationship between the various themes identified by the LDA algorithm. Each circle corresponds to a theme. The size of the circles indicates the relative significance of each theme within the corpus: a larger circle, as seen in the case of Theme 1, indicates that this topic is highly represented in the documents, whereas smaller circles, such as Theme 4, suggest that the theme is encountered less frequently or is covered in a smaller portion of the corpus.

Another crucial feature is the distance between themes: circles that are closer together represent themes that are more similar in terms of lexical and semantic content, while distant circles indicate that the themes are more distinct. In this visualisation, we observe that Theme 1 is close to Theme 2, suggesting semantic correlation, likely due to the presence of common terms in both sets. Conversely, theme 4 appears separate from the others, indicating that the documents containing this theme address a significantly different topic or use a specific vocabulary not shared with other themes.

3.4.1.2.1 The first circle

The first circle indicates that the theme covers approximately 50.6% of the tokens in the entire corpus. This means that over half of the words in the texts that have been analysed belong to this theme, making it the most significant compared to others. On the right, there is a chart that displays the 30 most salient terms of the selected theme. These terms, shown in descending order of importance, are those that most characterise the theme.



From a semantic perspective, theme 1 can be considered the discursive focal point or the primary thematic frame around which the discussions in the documents revolve.

In terms of distance from the other themes, we observe that theme 1 is close to theme 2, with some degree of overlap, suggesting a thematic correlation between the two. It is likely that documents addressing theme 1 share certain elements or topics with those addressing theme 2, while they remain more distinct from other themes, such as theme 4, which appears separate. On the right side of the visualisation, the 30 most relevant terms for theme 1 are listed, ordered by their salience. Among the most frequent terms are *Italia* (Italy), *gas*, *legge* (law), *piano* (plan), *energetica* (energy) and *entro* (by). These terms frequently appear and suggest that theme 1 refers to issues related to energy policies, likely in the Italian political or economic context.

The use of the word *Italia* (Italy) indicates that much of the discourse is focused on national policies, while *gas* and *energetica* (energy) suggest discussions about energy sources, transition plans, and reforms related to gas supply or alternative energy sources. The presence of the term *legge* (law) reinforces the idea that this theme addresses legislation or regulations, while words like *piano* (plan) and *produzione* (production) imply a discussion about energy strategies.

In terms of estimated frequency, we observe that many of these terms have red-coloured bars, indicating that they are frequent throughout the entire corpus and not just distinctive to this theme. Words such as *Italia*, *gas*, and *energetica* appear prominently across the corpus but are particularly prominent within theme 1.

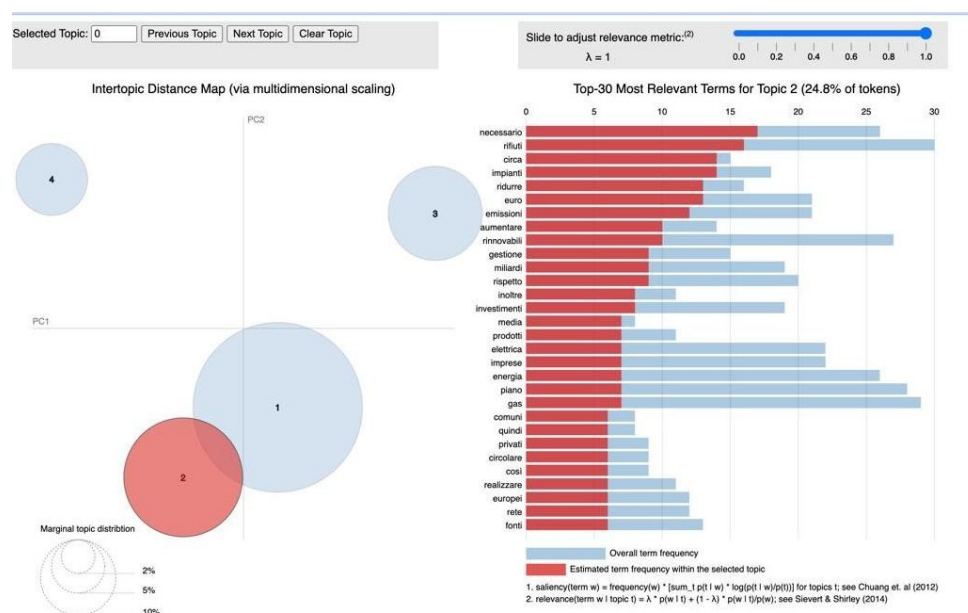
On the other hand, terms like *attraverso* or *fossili*, are more specific to this theme and show greater prevalence here compared to other contexts.

From a linguistic perspective, theme 1 can be interpreted as a discursive frame related to Italian national policies focusing on energy and legislative reforms. The lexicon, with terms such as *transizione*, *piano*, and *energetica*, suggests discourse likely associated with ecological transition policies or national energy plans. It refers to issues surrounding energy production, gas as a resource, and possibly the debate on renewable energy or fossil fuels.

The frequency and prominence of words related to laws and national plans suggest that the theme may as well include references to international political action in the environmental field, given the presence of terms like *globale* (global).

3.4.1.2.2 The second circle

The second circle represents another significant theme within the corpus, covering 24.8% of the total tokens, according to the data displayed on the right. This indicates that nearly a quarter of the words in the corpus belong to theme 2. Although smaller in size compared to theme 1, the circle still suggests that theme 2 holds substantial relevance within the corpus.



Looking at the chart on the right, we can observe the 30 most relevant terms for theme 2, listed in order of salience. Among the most frequent terms are *necessario* (necessary), *rifiuti* (waste), *circa* (about), *impianti* (plants), and *ridurre* (reduce).

These terms suggest that theme 2 revolves around issues related to waste management, energy production, and to either improving efficiency or reducing emissions.

Words like *impianti* (plants) and *ridurre* (reduce) may indicate a discussion concerning the need to improve energy plants or reduce emissions through more efficient infrastructure. The prominence of the term *rifiuti* (waste) suggests that a significant portion of the discourse is

focused on waste management, possibly linked to the concept of renewable energy or the circular economy, given the presence of the term *circolare* (circular).

It is also noteworthy that words such as *miliardi* (billions) and *investimenti* (investments) suggest that the discourse addresses economic or financial aspects related to these transformations. Terms like *media* and *elettrica* (electric) may indicate that the theme also encompasses discussions on how the media addresses energy issues or how *energia elettrica* (electricity) is central to economic development strategies.

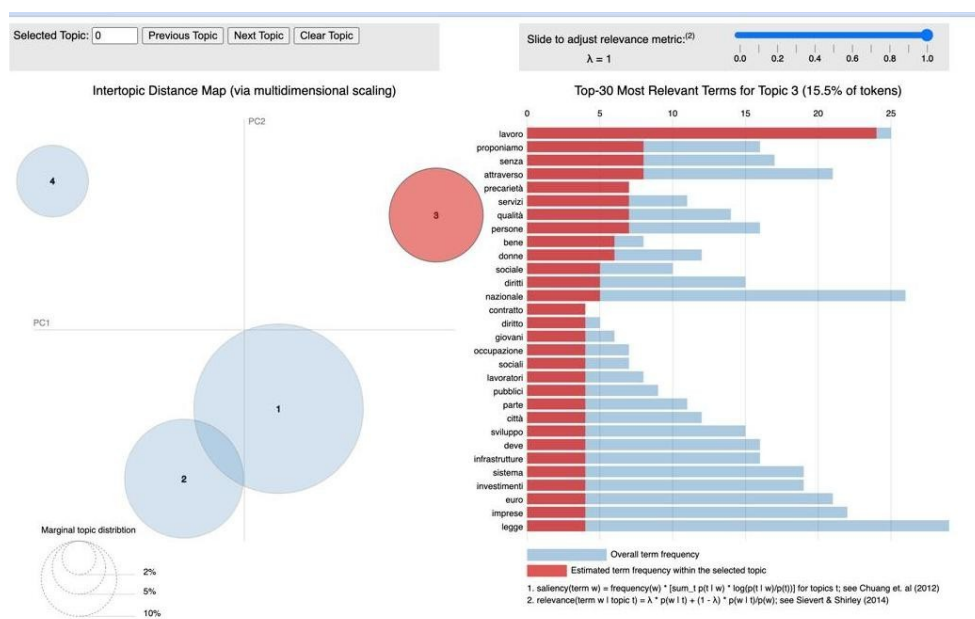
Observing the visual representation of the bars, it is possible to see that many of the key terms display predominantly red bars, indicating that these terms are frequent in the overall corpus and not solely distinctive of theme 2. However, several words like *impianti*, *rinnovabile*, and *elettrica* show more pronounced blue bars, suggesting that these terms more specific and significantly characterise this theme compared to others.

Words like *necessario*, *rifiuti*, and *emissioni* are frequent throughout the corpus but hold salience in theme 2, reinforcing the notion that this theme concerns emission reduction policies and waste management, likely with a focus on the transition to more sustainable energy sources. Theme 2 seems to focus on issues related to environmental management and renewable energy, with particular emphasis on the need to reduce emissions and improve the efficiency of energy plants. Words like *ridurre*, *impianti*, and *rinnovabile* indicate that the discourse may relate to sustainability policies or to adopting more advanced technologies to reduce environmental impact.

An interesting element is the presence of terms related to the economy and investments, such as *miliardi* and *investimenti*, which indicate that the discourse is not limited to technical or environmental aspects but also touches on the financial side and includes discussion about political decisions concerning investments required to improve infrastructure or promote renewable technologies.

3.4.1.2.3 The third circle

As seen in the visualisation below, the third circle represents theme 3, which covers 15.5% of the tokens within the corpus. Although less prominent than themes 1 and 2, theme 3 plays a significant role in the corpus, focusing on a series of specific topics, as we will see from the analysis of its most relevant terms. The smaller size of the circle, compared to themes 1 and 2, indicates that this topic is present, but appears less frequently than others.



In terms of its position, theme 3 is located somewhat apart from themes 1 and 2. This suggests that the content associated with theme 3 addresses distinct and relatively isolated subjects, indicating a certain level of discursive independence.

By examining the chart on the right, we can observe the 30 most relevant terms for theme 3 and their salience. The most significant terms include words such as *lavoro* (work), *proponiamo* (we propose), *senza* (without), *attraverso* (through), *precarietà* (precariousness), and *servizi* (services). This lexicon suggests that theme 3 is focused on issues related to employment, social policies, and likely to problems connected to the labour market and job insecurity.

The term *lavoro* is undoubtedly salient, indicating that theme 3 is heavily focused on labour issues. Furthermore, words such as *precarietà*, *servizi*, *qualità* (quality), and *persone* (people) reinforce the idea that this theme addresses social conditions and the right to work.

The presence of terms such as *nazionale* (national), *sociale* (social), and *diritti* (rights) also suggests a connection to broader political and institutional discussions related to workers' rights and quality of life. Other words, such as *bene* (good), *donne* (women), and *giovani* (young people), may indicate that theme 3 also deals with issues concerning specific social groups, such as gender equality and youth policies.

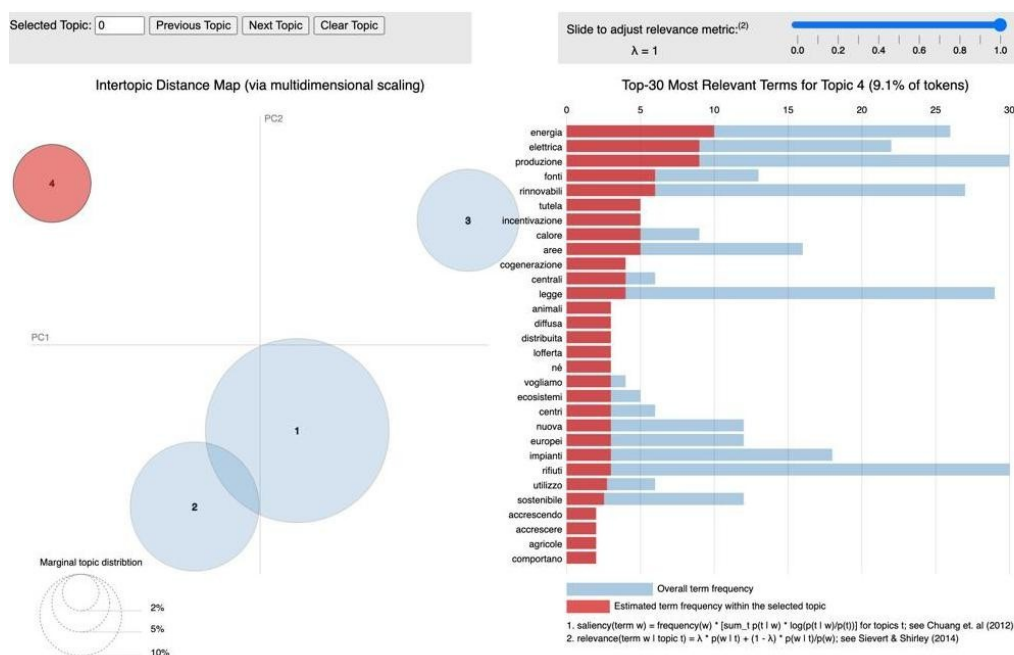
The red bars next to the terms indicate that many of these words are frequently used throughout the corpus. Words such as *lavoro* (work), *proponiamo* (we propose), *senza* (without), and *precarietà* (precariousness) appear prominently across the entire corpus but have particular significance in theme 3. Terms, like *contratto* (contract), *giovani* (young people), *pubblici*

(public), and *sociale* (social), show greater frequency within this specific theme, indicating that these topics are particularly distinctive to theme 3. A term like *nazionale* (national), which is also present in other themes, suggests that references to national policies emerge in the discourse, particularly about labour and social rights.

From a linguistic perspective, theme 3 represents a discursive frame primarily concerned with social policies and labour market issues. Keywords such as *lavoro* (work), *precarietà* (precariousness), *diritti* (rights), and *contratto* (contract) indicate that the discourse may revolve around topics such as job quality, employment security, and precarious working conditions. Focusing on this point, this theme is likely to be associated with debates on labour market reforms, access to public services, welfare policies, and social inequalities. The presence of terms such as *giovani* (young people), *donne* (women), and *sociale* (social) strengthens the idea that the theme touches on topics related to inclusion policies, gender equality, and support for vulnerable social groups. Moreover, terms like *proponiamo* (we propose) suggest that the discourse within theme 3 might include political proposals or action plans regarding labour and social issues. This indicates that the theme may refer to political interventions or programmatic speeches aimed at improving working and social conditions.

3.4.1.2.4 The fourth circle

The plot of the fourth circle represents theme 4, which covers 9.1% of the tokens in the corpus. If we consider its positioning, theme 4 is distant from the other circles, particularly from themes 1 and 2. This suggests that theme 4, like theme 3, deals with subjects that are thematically isolated from the main discussion points represented in the corpus.



Looking at the right-hand side of the visualisation, we can see that the 30 most salient terms in theme 4 are dominated by words such as *energia* (energy), *elettrica* (electric), *produzione* (production), *fonti* (sources), and *rinnovabili* (renewables). These terms indicate that theme 4 focuses on energy-related issues, particularly regarding energy production from renewable sources and debates surrounding the energy transition.

Other terms, such as *tutela* (protection), *incentivazione* (to incentivize), *calore* (heat), and *aree* (areas), suggest that this theme also includes discussions on regulation and incentives for the energy sector, with particular attention to specific geographical areas or economic sectors. The presence of the term *cogenerazione* (co-generation) implies that the discourse encompasses specific technologies, such as combined heat and power production, a technical aspect often associated with energy efficiency.

Words like *sostenibile* (sustainable) and *utilizzo* (usage) indicate references to sustainability practices and responsible resource management. The use of *impianti* (implants) and *nuova* (new) suggest that the discourse revolves around new energy infrastructures or development projects, focusing on advanced technologies and on the modernisation of energy networks.

Many terms in theme 4 are primarily represented by red bars, indicating that these terms are relatively common throughout the corpus but hold particular importance within this theme. Words such as *energia* (energy), *elettrica* (electricity), *produzione* (production), and *fonti* (sources) are also widely used in other contexts, but they are central in theme 4.

Words like *cogenerazione* (cogeneration), *diffusa* (diffuse), and *sostenibile* (sustainable) appear less frequently across the corpus but are distinctive of theme 4, highlighting that the discourse here is specific, technical, and most of all linked to specific aspects of the energy transition and to sustainable practices.

From the linguistic perspective, theme 4 appears to be closely tied to issues of renewable energy and environmental sustainability. The lexicon used includes terms belonging to the technical language of the energy sector, with references to incentive policies, new energy technologies, and sustainable management practices.

It is noteworthy that terms related to protection and regulation such as *tutela* (protection), *legge* (law), and *incentivazione* (to incentivize) suggest that part of the discourse may concern government policies or regulations within the renewable energy sector. Additionally, the presence of terms like *aree* (areas) and *impianti* (facilities) implies discussions on the geographical location of energy plants and their impact.

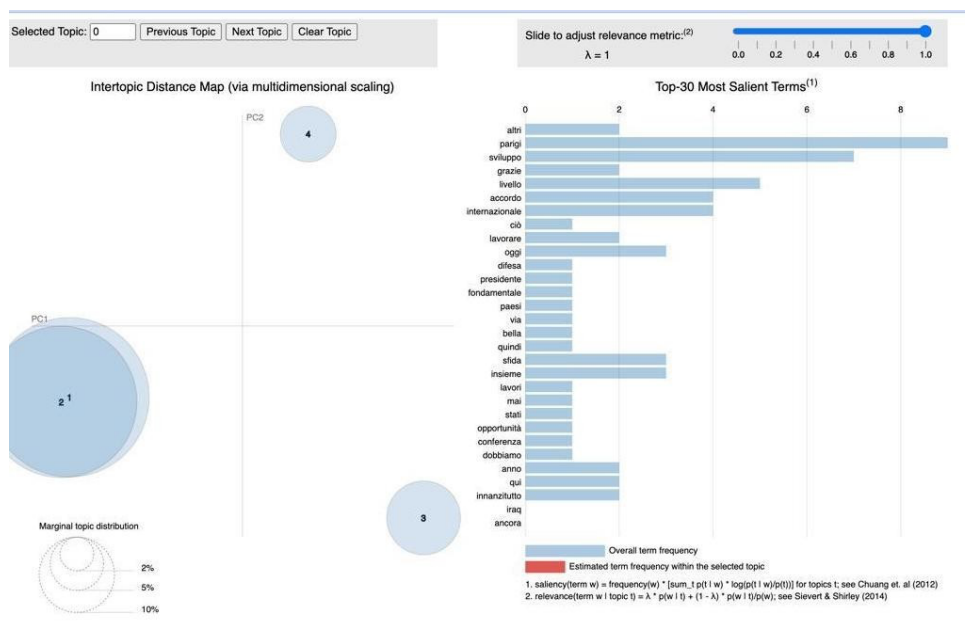
It is worth noting that this analysis identifies four themes that together help paint a picture of a discursive frame. Each theme focuses on specific aspects of energy, social, and environmental policies. The key terms highlight the conceptual structures that shape political discourse in these areas. Theme 1 focuses on national energy policies. Theme 2 addresses environmental issues and resource management. Theme 3 discusses social policies and labour rights. Theme 4 explores the energy transition and the sustainable use of resources.

The table below illustrates the themes to highlight the main key terms for each theme. It presents the themes with a brief description and their associated key terms.

THEMES	DESCRIPTIONS	KEY TERMS
<i>1. Energy Policies and National Plans</i>	Centred on Italian energy policies, the discussion highlights the energy transition, and the implementation of national plans aimed at reducing reliance on fossil fuels and promoting renewable sources of energy. Political and institutional vocabulary is employed, underscoring the need for government action to address energy challenges at the national level.	<i>gas, legge, piano, energia, transizione, fossili, obiettivi</i>
<i>2. Waste Management and Renewable Energy</i>	With a focus on waste management and renewable energy, this section emphasises the need to reduce emissions and improve resource management. It fits within a broader environmental discourse, which stresses the promotion of sustainable practices to tackle environmental challenges.	<i>rifiuti, emissioni, ridurre, gestione, impianti, rinnovabile, investimenti</i>
<i>3. Social Policies and Labour Rights</i>	Concentrating on social policies and workers' rights, the discourse addresses job insecurity and working conditions. It explores employment contracts, job precarity, and the necessity of improving social conditions, while also considering issues of gender equality and social inclusion.	<i>lavoro, precarietà, servizi, diritti, contratto, giovani, donne</i>
<i>4. Energy Transition and Sustainable Development</i>	The focus here is on the energy transition and environmental sustainability, particularly in the production and distribution of electricity from renewable sources. The discourse takes a more technical approach, referencing specific technologies such as co-generation and stressing the importance of expanding renewable energy as part of sustainability efforts.	<i>energia, elettrica, produzione, fonti, rinnovabili, cogenerazione, sostenibile</i>

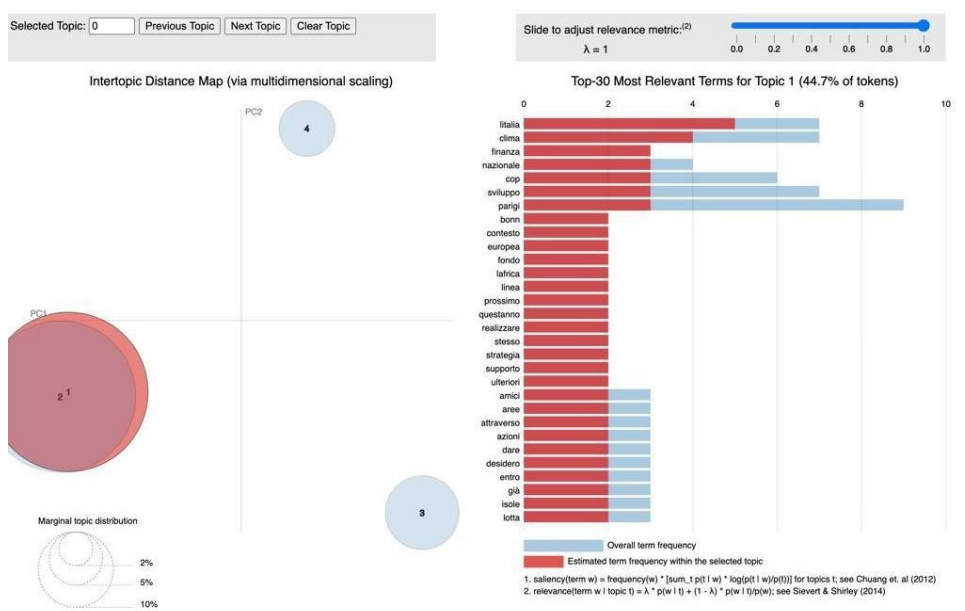
3.4.1.3 Frame's Results of Second Corpus (Italian)

Corpus 2 (Italian) comprises Italian speeches delivered by Italian politicians at the COP meetings. As with Corpus 1, this analysis aims to identify the latent themes emerging from political discourse using the LDA algorithm. The processes followed to conduct this analysis are identical to those used for Corpus 1 (see 3.6.1.1).



The results of the LDA analysis applied to Corpus 2 are plotted above. On the left side of the plot, a representation of the latent themes identified within the corpus is given, with each theme represented by a circle. Meanwhile, on the right side, the visualisation presents the 30 most significant terms for the selected theme.

3.4.1.3.1 The first circle



The circle size indicates that theme 1 is the most represented in the corpus, covering a significant percentage of the tokens (in this case, 44.7% of the total tokens). This means that almost half of the texts in the corpus discuss or reference this theme, suggesting that this is a central topic within the overall discourse. The most prominent terms in theme 1 are: *Italia*

(Italy), *clima* (climate), *COP*, *Parigi* (Paris), and *sviluppo* (development), which immediately suggest that this theme is centred around international climate policies. The references to the COP and Paris, the location of the Paris Agreement, reinforce the notion that the discourse is focused on themes of international cooperation in addressing climate change.

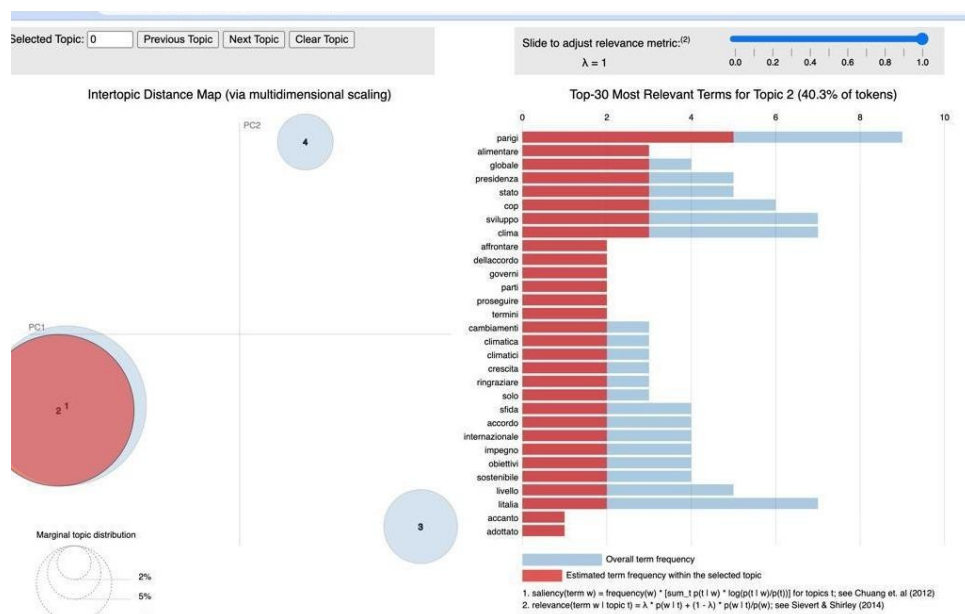
The use of terms such as *sviluppo* (development) and *finanza* (finance) indicates that the theme extends beyond the environmental domain and includes discussion of economic issues, particularly the integration of climate policies with sustainable development strategies. The discourse likely touches on how Italy, alongside other countries, is attempting to balance its economic growth and environmental sustainability, in an effort connected with the objectives of the Paris Agreement.

Words such as *strategia* (strategy), *realizzare* (achieve), and *contesto* (context) suggest a structured discourse centered on the need for action, and for specific planning at both the national and international level. The theme of fighting climate change, reflected in the word *lotta* (fight), is accompanied by a series of actions that must be taken within the broader framework of global cooperation.

From a linguistic perspective, theme 1 presents itself as a highly structured discourse focused on global climate issues, with particular emphasis on international commitments and on the actions necessary to fight against climate change. The frequent use of terms related to finance and development highlights the importance of integrating climate policies with economic strategies. In other words, the discourse does not merely emphasise the need for an ecological transition but focuses on how this transition should be achieved through financial means and strategic planning.

Another significant aspect is the use of words that suggest collaboration and cooperation, such as *supporto* (support), *realizzare* (achieve), and *insieme* (together). These terms underline Italy's role in building a global cooperative approach to the climate crisis. This is not an isolated discourse, nor is it nationally limited, but rather represents a narrative that positions the country within its broader European and international context, where global decisions can directly influence national actions.

3.4.1.3.2 The second circle



Comparing circle 1 to circle 2, the last one is slightly smaller in size, implying that this theme is less dominant but still highly relevant, covering 40.3% of the total tokens in the corpus.

This theme is linked to the issue of climate change and to the global policies that address it. Words such as *Parigi* (Paris), *COP*, *sviluppo* (development), *clima* (climate), and *accordo* (agreement) provide a clear picture of the subject being addressed.

The discourse is situated in the context of international cooperation, with strong references to climate agreements and to the role of governments in taking concrete measures to fight against climate change.

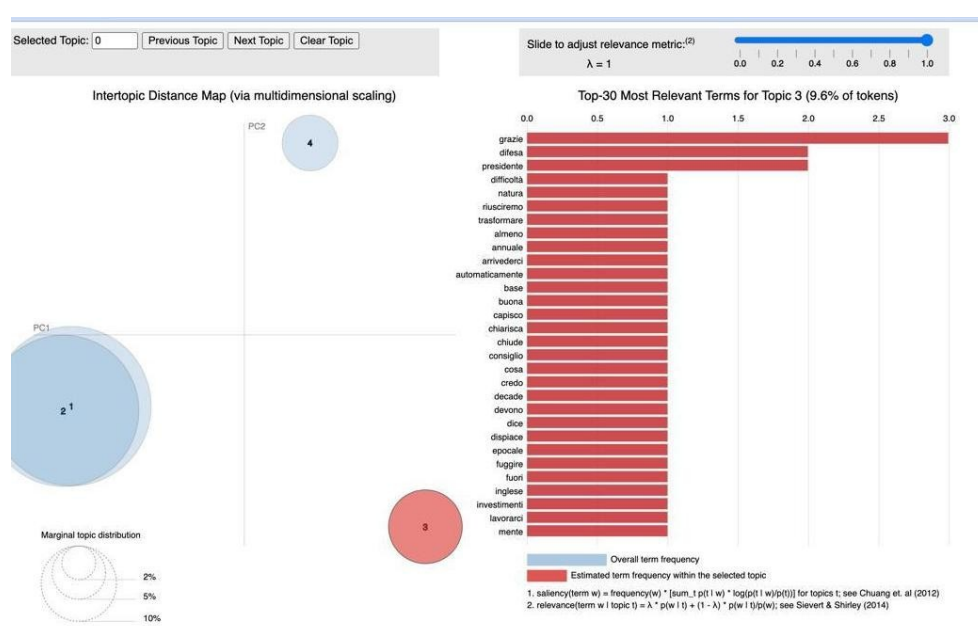
A recurring term is *alimentare* (food-related), which suggests that the discourse does not focus solely on climate policies in a strict sense but also considers related issues such as food security and the global impact of climate change on food supply and production. This interweaving of themes highlights the multidimensionality of environmental discourse: climate change is addressed not only as an ecological issue but also in its economic, social, and political aspects. The discourse in theme 2 is characterised by active and operational language. Words such as *affrontare* (to tackle), *proseguire* (to continue), *azioni* (actions), and *impegno* (commitment) indicate the necessity of continuing already initiated policies and moving forward with the path laid out by the Paris agreement. There is an emphasis on the urgency of implementing concrete measures, with clear reference to the role of governments and international leaders in guiding this global challenge.

The term *governi* (governments) frequently appears, highlighting the importance of leadership and international institutions in promoting and facilitating agreements between states. A discursive structure based on multilateral collaboration is evident and deemed necessary to achieve sustainability goals.

The frequent presence of adjectives like *sostenibile* (sustainable), *climatica* (climate-related), and *globale* (global) reinforces the idea that the discourse is not limited to the environmental dimension alone but rather embraces a broader and integrated vision of climate policies linking both economic and social aspects. This kind of language reflects the complexity of climate change, where different sectors must collaborate constructively to achieve global solutions.

The strength of this theme lies in its focus on the future, with a perspective on sustainable development and coordinated international action. The language reflects a progressive and proactive vision, in which the fight against climate change is seen not only as a challenge but also as an opportunity to rethink economic and social models, painting the picture of a world that must adapt to new climate conditions.

3.4.1.3.3 The third circle



The smaller size of circle 3 indicates that this theme covers a smaller portion of the text compared to the first two themes: specifically, it represents only 9.6% of the total tokens in the corpus. Despite this, the theme has its own discursive identity, as will become clear when examining the most relevant terms.

Unlike previous themes, this one does not seem to be directly related to climate issues or global politics. The 30 salient terms that emerge are of a more discursive and colloquial nature, suggesting a different communicative context—likely less formal and more related to rhetoric or the closing remarks of a political speech.

Among the most prominent words are *grazie* (thank you), *difesa* (defence), *presidente* (president), *difficoltà* (difficulty), *riusciremo* (we will succeed), *trasformare* (transform), *natura* (nature), and *buona* (good). These terms suggest that the discourse associated with theme 3 is linked to the rhetorical closure of a speech, possibly a formal political address in which the speaker expresses gratitude, e.g. thanking the audience or asking for their attention to find solutions to specific problems.

The presence of words such as *grazie* (thank you), *arrivederci* (goodbye), *capisco* (I understand), and *buona* (good) suggests that this theme may relate to the concluding stages of a political speech, where the speaker directly addresses the audience to express thanks or bid farewell.

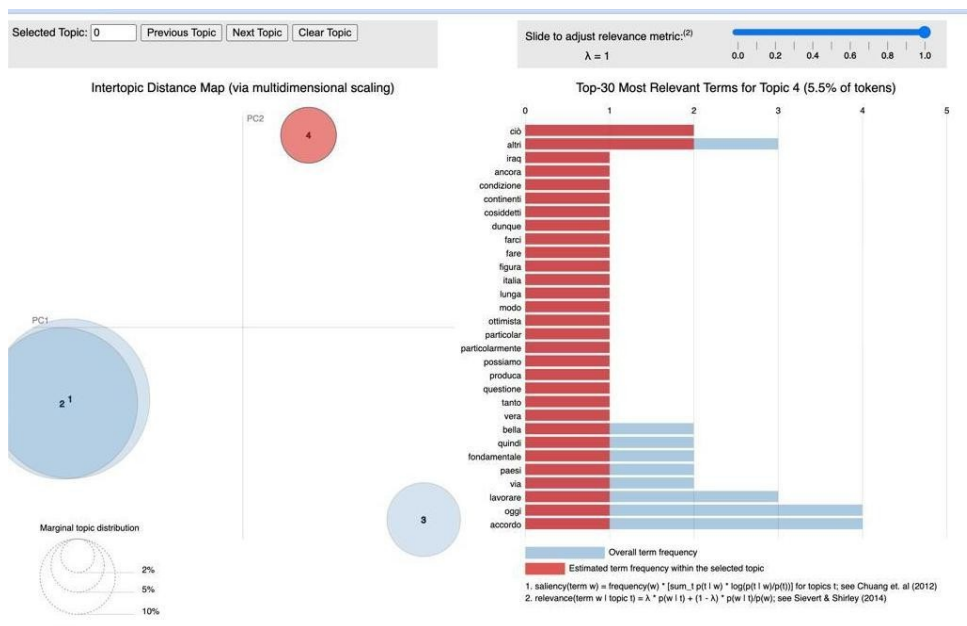
This lexical usage may be associated with political communication aimed at rhetorically closing a discussion, while also highlighting achievements or outlining the next steps.

In this theme, we also observe verbs such as *trasformare* (transform), *riusciremo* (we will succeed), *affrontare* (to tackle), and *lavorarci* (to work on it), indicating a discourse centered on promises of future action or future obstacles. Words like *difficoltà* (difficulty) and *natura* (nature) may refer to specific challenges discussed in the corpus, perhaps related to the socio-political or economic contexts that need to be transformed or resolved.

Theme 3 thus appears to represent a kind of closing and reflective discourse, where the speaker focuses on promises of change and offers an optimistic vision for the future. The use of terms such as *riusciremo* (we will succeed) and *trasformare* (to transform) suggests a proactive tone, where the speaker commits to resolving the difficulties discussed, with an implicit invitation to take an optimistic view of the future.

Additionally, the presence of words like *investimenti* (investments), *menti* (minds), and *lavorarci* (to work on it) suggests that the discourse may also include references to economic or social initiatives that need long-term development, confirming that the theme has a pragmatic and forward-looking component.

3.4.1.3.4 The fourth circle



In terms of size, circle 4 is significantly smaller than the others, covering only 5.5% of the tokens in the corpus. This suggests that theme 4 is less prominent and represents a secondary or even marginal topic within the overall corpus.

On the right side of the image, the 30 most salient terms for theme 4 are visible. These terms provide crucial clues to understanding the nature of the discourse emerging from this theme. The most relevant terms include *cibo* (food), *altri* (others), *Iraq*, *condizione* (condition), *continenti* (continents), and *fare* (to do). From these terms, it can be inferred that the theme may address geopolitical or humanitarian issues, potentially related to food security, geopolitics, or crises in certain countries or regions of the world.

The term *Iraq* clearly refers to an international and political context, which could be linked to discussions on conflicts, international interventions, or crises. Some words like *continenti* and *condizione* suggest a broad, global discourse that might deal with issues related to living conditions in certain geographical areas or inequalities across continents.

The lexicon characterizing this theme has a strongly rhetorical component, as indicated by words such as *dunque* (therefore), *figura* (figure), *fare* (to do), *possiamo* (we can), and *vero* (true). These terms suggest that the discourse in theme 4 may be argumentative or persuasive, with a focus on proposals or solutions to address the challenges that are presented. The use of words like *fare* (to do) and *produrre* (to produce) indicates a discourse oriented towards concrete actions and practical solutions.

The appearance of words like *condizione* (condition), *fondamentale* (fundamental), *oggi* (today), and *accordo* (agreement) suggests that the theme might deal with contemporary challenges that require urgent solutions, possibly through international cooperation or the drafting of agreements between nations.

Theme 4 seems to address geopolitical or humanitarian issues, focusing on Iraq and on different continents, suggesting a reflection on problems affecting different places of the world. The presence of terms like *cibo* (food), *condizione* (condition), and *fare* (to do) points to a discourse aimed at global challenges related to food security or addressing the socio-economic conditions in certain areas of the planet.

Furthermore, the use of terms like *vero* (true), *fondamentale* (fundamental), and *quindi* (therefore) indicates that the theme is also reflective or argumentative, emphasising key ideas that need to be addressed and resolved.

The discourse suggests a need for concrete actions to solve these challenges, as evidenced by the presence of words such as *fare* (to do), *lavorare* (to work), and *accordo* (agreement).

To illustrate these themes more clearly, a table can be used to highlight the main key terms for each theme. This table presents the themes with a brief description and their associated key terms.

THEMES	DESCRIPTIONS	KEY TERMS
<i>1. International Climate Policies and the Paris Agreement</i>	This theme addresses global cooperation in fighting climate change, concerning the Paris Agreement and the Conference of the Parties. The emphasis is on both national and international initiatives to promote sustainability.	<i>Italia, clima, finanza, nazionale, COP, sviluppo, Parigi, sostenibilità, strategia, azioni, lotta, isole, Europa</i>
<i>2. Political Role and Global Commitment to Climate</i>	The second theme focuses on the role of governments in climate policies. It discusses sustainable development strategies and the importance of honouring international commitments to fight against climate change.	<i>Parigi, alimentare, globale, presidenza, sviluppo, clima, governi, crescita, cambiamenti climatici, sostenibile</i>
<i>3. Rhetorical Conclusion and Future Commitment</i>	This theme represents a closing speech, typical of political rhetoric, where the speaker thanks the audience, acknowledges difficulties, and promises to tackle future challenges with determination. The tone is optimistic and future oriented.	<i>Grazie, difesa, presidente, difficoltà, riusciremo, trasformare, natura, arrivare, consiglio, lavorarci, investimenti</i>
<i>4. Geopolitical Challenges and Food Security</i>	The fourth theme focuses on geopolitical and humanitarian issues, with specific references to countries such as Iraq. It addresses global concerns such as food security and resource	<i>Cibo, Iraq, continenti, condizione, fare, oggi, fondamentale, accordo, produrre,</i>

	management within a complex international context. The discourse takes a pragmatic approach, seeking concrete solutions to tackle these challenges on a global scale. The theme highlights how food production and international cooperation are central to ensuring a more stable future for many nations.	<i>questione, paesi, lavorare, via</i>

3.4.1.4 Frame's Results of Second Corpus (English)

Corpus 2 (English) comprises English speeches delivered by Italian politicians at the COP meetings. As with corpus 1 and corpus 2 (Italian), this analysis aims to identify the latent themes emerging from political discourse. The processes followed to conduct this analysis are identical to those used for corpus 1 (see 3.6.1.1), with a change in the *stopwords* package used.

```
In [9]: import os
import pandas as pd
import nltk
from nltk.corpus import stopwords
from gensim import corpora
from gensim.models import LdaModel
from nltk.tokenize import word_tokenize
import pyLDAvis.gensim_models
import json

# Assicurati di avere i file delle stopwords scaricati
nltk.download('punkt')
nltk.download('stopwords')

# 1. Carica i file .txt dalla cartella "Corpus 2 EN"
file_listEN = [os.path.join("Corpus 2 EN", f) for f in os.listdir("Corpus 2 EN") if f.endswith('.txt')]

# Leggi e unisci il testo da tutti i file
text_dataEN = ''
for file in file_listEN:
    with open(file, 'r', encoding='utf-8') as f:
        text_dataEN += f.read() + ' '

# 2. Importazione del testo e pre-elaborazione
# Rimuovi le parole precedenti l'apostrofo e l'apostrofo stesso
words_text_dataEN = text_dataEN.split("'")[-1]

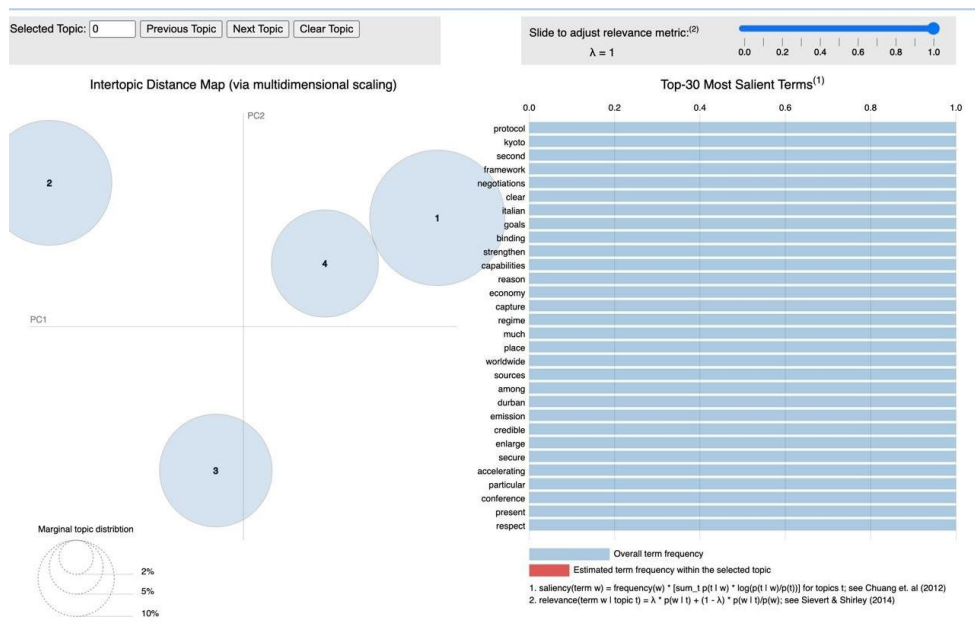
# Rimuovi eventuali spazi vuoti all'inizio e alla fine
words_cleanedEN = words_text_dataEN.strip()

# Rimuovi l'apostrofo finale se presente
words_cleanedEN = words_cleanedEN.replace("'", "").replace("'", "")

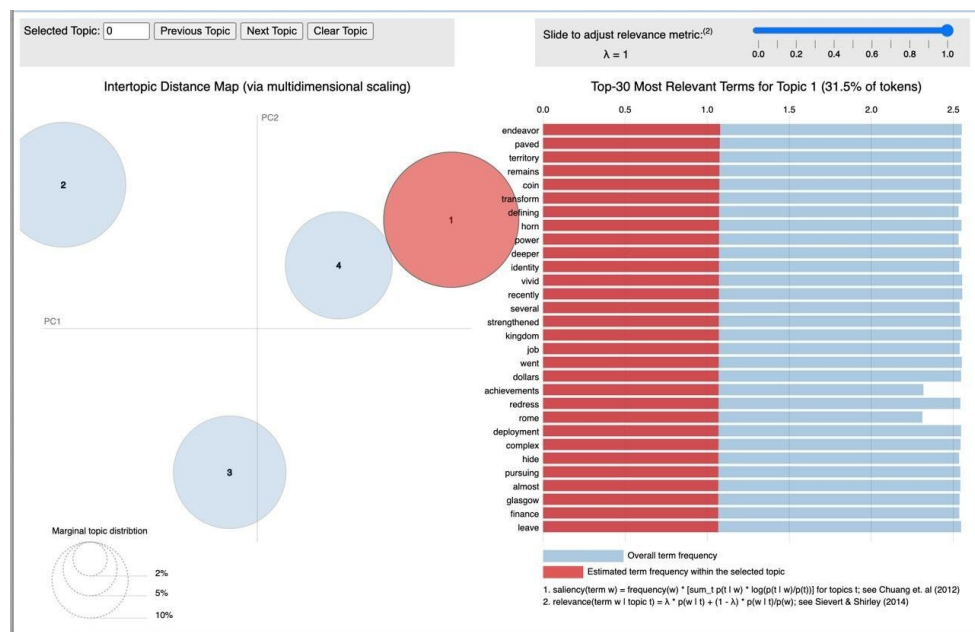
# Funzione per rimuovere la punteggiatura mantenendo gli accenti
words_cleanedEN = ''.join(char for char in words_cleanedEN if char.isalnum() or char.isspace())

# Converti il testo in minuscolo
words_cleanedEN = words_cleanedEN.lower()
```

The visualisation below presents the results of the LDA analysis conducted on corpus 2.



3.4.1.4.1 The first circle



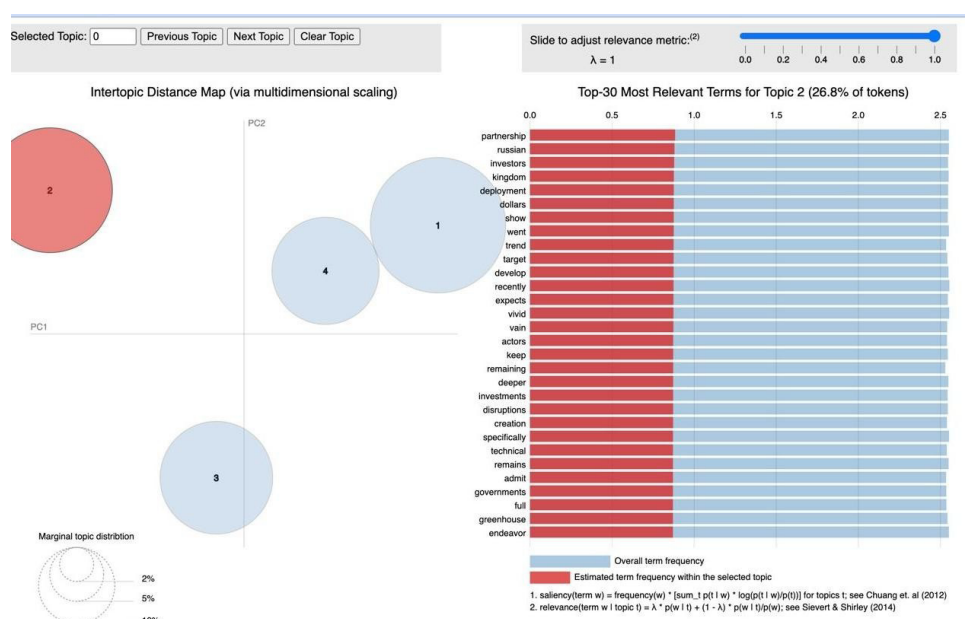
Theme 1 in the second corpus (English), represented by the largest circle in the intertopic distance map, is the most prominent, covering 31.5% of the total tokens. The key terms that emerge, such as *endeavor*, *territory*, *transform*, *identity*, *kingdom*, and *achievements*, indicate that the discourse focuses on themes related to territoriality and national identity, possibly within a broader geopolitical context.

The term *endeavor* suggests a significant effort, likely a mission or large-scale undertaking. This, alongside *transform* and *territory*, points to discussions around territorial transformation

or the redefinition of boundaries. The term *identity* introduces the notion of national or territorial identity, while *kingdom* may refer to issues of sovereignty or governance. These terms together indicate a kind of discourse oriented towards power, sovereignty, and territorial reorganization. Other words, such as *achievements*, *finance*, and *deployment*, suggest a focus on the economic and political dimension of this process. *Finance* likely refers to the role of economy in these changes, while *achievements* relates to past successes in economic or diplomatic goals. *Deployment* may hint at military or strategic initiatives connected to this context, possibly relating to national defence or to specific territorial objectives.

Additional words like *redress* and *complex* indicate that the discourse may also involve historical or geopolitical complexities requiring nuanced solutions. Furthermore, references to specific locations such as *Rome*, *Glasgow*, and *kingdom* suggest that international agreements or negotiations may also play a role in this theme.

3.4.1.4.2 The second circle



The second circle in the intertopic distance map of the second corpus represents theme 2, which covers 26.8% of the total tokens. It is the second most prominent theme in the corpus, and, as shown in the map, it is positioned slightly apart from the other themes but still close to theme 1, suggesting a degree of semantic closeness between the two.

An analysis of the most relevant words reveals that the discourse centers around international investments, economic collaborations, and technological development. Terms like *partnership* and *investors* indicate a context in which foreign investments and international cooperation are

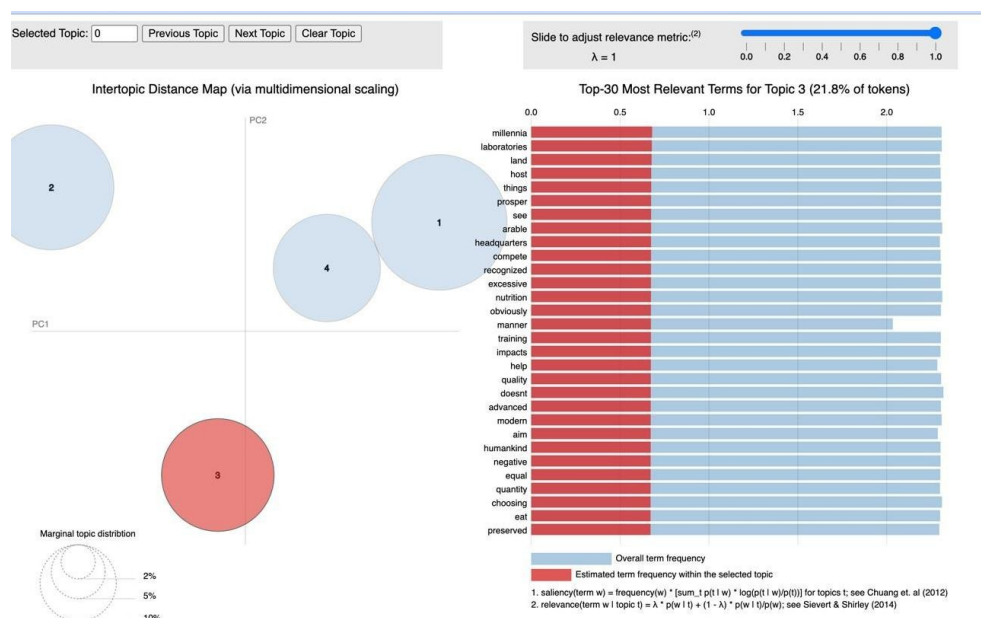
the key elements of discourse. In this context, the presence of terms like *dollars* and *deployment* indicates that the discussion revolves around large-scale economic projects that require substantial funding and strategic implementation.

The term *deployment* not only indicates the implementation phase of these projects but also emphasises the practical aspects of building advanced infrastructure or technologies.

Similarly, words like *target* and *develop* indicate a focus on strategic development goals, likely linked to economic growth and technological progress. The discussion appears to center on the planning of these projects and on their potential economic and social impact, both nationally and internationally.

Another significant aspect concerns environmental issues, as highlighted by the presence of the term *greenhouse*, referring to greenhouse gas emissions. This suggests that theme 2 extends beyond economics and investments to include considerations related to environmental sustainability. This attention to environmental matters may relate to projects aimed at reducing emissions, in line with global climate policies. The appearance of terms like *governments* and “actors” indicates that governments and other international political actors are deeply involved in these decision-making processes, where they seek to balance economic development and environmental responsibility.

3.4.1.4.3 The third circle



The third circle in the second corpus indicates theme 3. This theme covers 21.8% of the total tokens. Its position is distant from the other themes, suggesting that theme 3 might address different issues and that it might deal different topics compared to the other clusters.

Key terms associated with theme 3 provide clear insights into its content. Words like *millennia*, *land*, *host*, *arable*, *training*, and *nutrition* suggest that this theme might deal with topics related to agriculture, nutrition, and possibly to training in the agricultural or scientific fields. The term *land* specifically points to discussions about the use of arable land or natural resource management, possibly with a focus on preservation and sustainability.

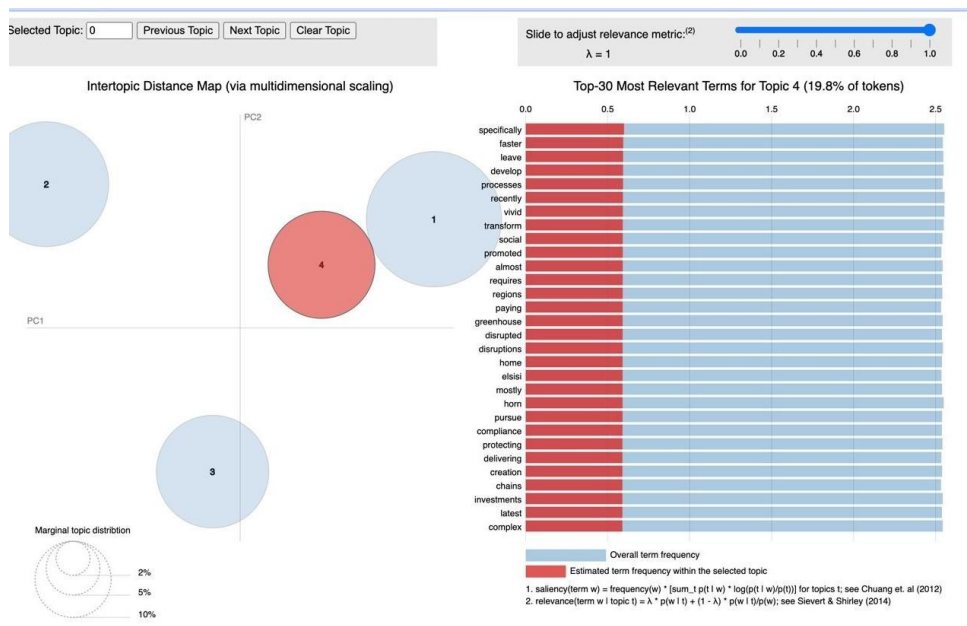
The term *millennia* may refer to the long history of agriculture and natural resource use, while words like *prosper* and *quality* imply a discussion about the importance of quality food and sustainable food practices for human progress.

The term *nutrition* further highlights the emphasis on health and diet, in a discourse that likely explores the balance between technological developments and natural resources.

Words such as *advanced*, *training*, and *recognized* suggest that the theme also touches on issues related to education and technological innovation, possibly in agricultural or scientific domains. This indicates that there is a discussion on how modern agriculture can be improved through advanced technologies and the training of skilled professionals in this field.

Theme 3 thus appears to focus on topics related to land and natural resources, with a particular emphasis on nutrition, sustainable agriculture, and technological advancement in these areas. The presence of terms related to quality and training suggests a discourse aimed at balancing advanced technological development with the need to maintain high standards of food sustainability and resource management. The term *humankind* may point to a global perspective, indicating the broader impact of these issues on the entire world population and stressing the importance of finding sustainable solutions that benefit the whole of humanity.

3.4.1.4.4 The fourth circle



The fourth circle in the second corpus, here represented in red, corresponds to theme 4, which covers 19.8% of the total tokens. Its similarity to theme 1 suggests that there may be references to similar concepts; however theme 4 focuses more on the social dimension and future transformative implications. Words like “social” and “promoted” reinforce this interpretation, as they may suggest that the theme addresses issues related to promoting social change through initiatives or policies aimed at encouraging technological adaptation.

Terms such as *faster*, *requires*, and *regions* indicate attention to geographical dynamics and the pace of change, likely considering specific places or areas that require rapid interventions to address the challenges posed by these transformations. The term *greenhouse* suggests a focus on environmental issues, possibly concerning greenhouse gas emissions and their impact at a regional and global level. The presence of words like *disruptions*, *protecting*, and *compliance* implies a discussion about the challenges and obstacles that arise during this transformation. The protection of resources and of social and environmental interests appears to be a relevant topic, with emphasis on ensuring compliance with standards and regulations throughout the transformation.

Also, the technological aspect is evident with terms like *chains*, *creation*, and *investments* suggesting that the theme may address the role of supply chains and investments in developing new technologies or infrastructures. Words like *latest* and *complex* indicate discussions around cutting-edge technologies or complex projects that require a high degree of planning and management.

To illustrate the themes, a summary table is shown to reveal the main key terms for each theme. This table shows the themes through a brief description and associated key terms.

THEMES	DESCRIPTIONS	KEY TERMS
<i>1. Political Strategy and Policy</i>	This theme examines issues of political and financial strategy, particularly as they relate to global challenges such as climate change.	<i>climate, finance, strategy, global, development, action, support</i>
<i>2. International Economic Collaborations</i>	This theme focuses on international partnerships and investments, highlighting the importance of strategic alliances.	<i>partnership, investors, kingdom, trend, deployment, investments</i>
<i>3. Sustainability and Nutrition</i>	The theme explores agricultural and nutritional concerns, with a strong emphasis on sustainability and innovation.	<i>nutrition, land, arable, training, prosper, humankind, preserved</i>
<i>4. Social and Technological Transformation</i>	This theme analyses the transformative processes within society and technology, with a particular focus on sustainability and innovation at a regional level.	<i>transform, social, faster, regions, disruptions, compliance, greenhouse</i>

3.4.1.5 Comparison of Frames

The frameworks present in all three tables are only two:

Sustainability and Climate Policies

All three tables refer to sustainability, climate change, and the policies associated with these issues:

- ❖ **Table 1:** themes 1, 2, and 4 discuss energy policies, waste management, and the energy transition, with terms such as *sostenibile* (sustainable), *rinnovabile* (renewable), and *transizione* (transition).
- ❖ **Table 2:** themes 1 and 2 focus on global climate policies and sustainability, using terms like *sostenibilità* (sustainability) and *clima* (climate).
- ❖ **Table 3:** themes 1 and 3 emphasise sustainability in the context of agriculture and global challenges, with terms such as *sustainability* and *climate*.

Economic and Financial Strategies

Economic and financial issues are addressed in all three tables:

- ❖ **Table 1:** themes 1 and 2 discuss investments and national plans, employing terms such as *investimenti* (investments) and *piano* (plan).

- ❖ **Table 2:** themes 1 and 4 include discussions of finance and international agreements, with terms such as *finanza* (finance) and *accordo* (agreement).
- ❖ **Table 3:** themes 1 and 2, which correspond to the corpora in Italian, focus on global finance and investments, with terms such as *finance*, *investments*, and *strategy*.

3.5 Semantic Analysis of Corpora

In this section, the semantic analysis follows Van Dijk's (2015) critical discourse approach, which highlights how meaning is structured through the cognitive and social dimensions of discourse. Van Dijk talks about the importance of understanding discourse as a form of social practice that influences and is influenced by power relations and ideologies within society.

As he points out, *semantic macrostructures* often serve to reinforce social hierarchies and power dynamics (Van Dijk, 2015). This theoretical perspective allows for a deeper exploration of how certain words used in political discourse have explicit meanings and activate implicit social ideologies and cognitive frameworks.

In Italian electoral programmes, some specific words activate implicit meanings that help construct well-defined interpretative frames, influencing public perception and response. From automatic analysis of the most frequent frames (cf. 3.6.1.2), two main ways of representing climate change emerge. Each word, as we shall see, activates semantic implications, guiding the discourse toward different intervention perspectives.

The first is *Sustainability and Climate Policies* (Cf. 3.7.1.1) and the second is *Economic and Financial Strategies* (Cf. 3.7.1.2)

3.5.1 Qualitative analysis of frames

The analysis in this section has been conducted using the methodology of Blackmore and Holmes (2013). They propose a methodology structured around a series of key questions (Blackmore and Holmes, 2013: 42):

What values does the frame embody?
Is a response necessary?
Can the frame be challenged? If so, how?
Can (and should) a new frame be created?

A central aspect of Blackmore and Holmes' approach, later adopted by Stibbe (2017), is to consider how specific frames evoke either intrinsic or extrinsic values about environmental

behavior. Intrinsic values refer to such values as those that are connected with altruism, such as a concern for the well-being of others, often promoting behaviors that benefit the environment. These values are crucial because they encourage individuals to act out of a sense of moral responsibility and empathy and to act for the common good. On the other hand, extrinsic values are related to self-interest, emphasizing personal gain, status, or profit. These values are typically linked to behaviors that can be detrimental to ecological sustainability, as they prioritize individual benefits over collective environmental responsibility.

For example, Blackmore and Holmes (2013) identify frames focused on intrinsic values, such as the *discovery* frame, which promotes curiosity and a deeper connection with nature, or the *working together* frame, which highlights cooperation in achieving environmental goals. These frames encourage a mindset of shared responsibility and reverence for the natural world. (Stibbe, 2017) In contrast, extrinsic frames, such as the *commercial transaction* frame, reduce environmental protection to an economic exchange, where safeguarding nature is only justified if it leads to profit or economic benefit. Similarly, the *ecosystems services* framework assigns a monetary value to the benefits of nature, viewing ecological systems primarily in terms of the services they provide in relation to human consumption or economic benefit. This commodification of nature risks undermining its intrinsic worth and can lead to unsustainable practices.

3.5.1.1 Frame: *Sustainability and Climate Policies*

After conducting a lexical analysis, several semantic fields can be identified. These fields facilitate the construction of two main themes, which were defined as frames. Blackmore and Holmes's methodology (2013: 42) is used for analysing environmental frames in the language of Italian politicians.

SUSTAINABILITY AND CLIMATE POLICIES	
<i>What values does the frame embody?</i>	This frame embodies values of environmental protection, sustainability, global cooperation, and the need for urgent action. It focuses on addressing climate change through policy initiatives that emphasize reducing emissions, promoting renewable energy, and transitioning to sustainable practices. It also focusses on shared global responsibility and collective efforts in fighting against climate-related challenges.
<i>Is a response necessary?</i>	A response is necessary and urgent. The climate crisis requires immediate and coordinated efforts from both national and international actors. The frame stresses the fact that sustainability policies are

	not optional but imperative to prevent further environmental degradation and to create a healthier planet for future generations.
<i>Can the frame be challenged? If so, how?</i>	The frame may be challenged by those who prioritize economic growth over environmental concerns or by those who view sustainability measures as costly and restrictive. Some stakeholders may argue for less aggressive climate policies, focusing instead on gradual transitions or minimal regulatory interventions, especially if short-term economic impacts are perceived as severe.
<i>Can (and should) a new frame be created?</i>	A new frame could be created that emphasizes the co-benefits of sustainability, such as health improvements, economic opportunities in green industries, and enhanced resilience to climate impacts. This new frame could also highlight the importance of local and community-led initiatives, ensuring that policies are not only top-down but also supported by grassroots efforts.

This framework activates intrinsic values, such as collective responsibility and the urgent need to act for the common good. At the same time, it draws on extrinsic values, including the avoidance of economic or social disasters by mitigating environmental risks.

3.5.1.2 Frame: *Economic and Financial Strategies*

ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL STRATEGIES	
<i>What values does the frame embody?</i>	This frame highlights economic growth, innovation, and the importance of financial planning in addressing global challenges. It embodies values of economic stability and job creation, and underlines the role of technological advancements in driving sustainable growth. The frame also stresses the need for investments and strategic national and international financial policies to support the transition to a green economy. Key values include job creation and the adoption of renewable resources as a means of driving economic success.
<i>Is a response necessary?</i>	Yes, though the response is often framed as strategic rather than urgent. The emphasis is on ensuring that economic and financial policies support long-term sustainability goals while simultaneously fostering economic progress. Action is seen as necessary to align economic growth with climate-friendly practices, ensuring that the transition to sustainability also produces economic benefits.
<i>Can the frame be challenged? If so, how?</i>	The frame can be challenged by those who argue that the financial costs of transitioning to a green economy are too high or by those who doubt the economic benefits of sustainability measures.

	Sceptics may also question whether technological innovation and green finance can truly drive growth, especially in industries heavily reliant on fossil fuels or other non-sustainable practices.
<i>Can (and should) a new frame be created?</i>	A new frame could be developed to emphasize economic inclusivity and social equity in financial strategies. This frame could focus on how green investments and policies can create jobs, reduce inequalities, and ensure that the economic benefits of the green transition are shared across all sectors of society. It could also focus on the importance of ensuring that economic and financial policies are designed to support both environmental sustainability and economic justice.

This framework activates extrinsic values such as profit and economic success, which are closely tied to the adoption of green technologies. At the same time, some intrinsic values, such as sustainability and responsibility to future generations, are also activated.

3.5.1.3 Key Terms of the Frame

The key terms, presented below along with the two identified frames, will guide the analysis from this point onward. As outlined, this method will focus on the recurring linguistic choices found in speeches and policies related to environmental sustainability and economic-financial strategies.

<i>SUSTAINABILITY AND CLIMATE POLICIES</i>	<i>ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL STRATEGIES</i>
<i>Sostenibilità</i> (sustainability)	<i>Investimenti</i> (investments)
<i>Clima</i> (climate)	<i>Piani nazionali</i> (national plans)
<i>Rinnovabile</i> (renewable)	<i>Finanza</i> (finance)
<i>Transizione</i> (transition)	<i>Strategia</i> (strategy)
<i>Emissioni</i> (emissions)	<i>Accordi internazionali</i> (international agreements)
<i>Gestione dei rifiuti</i> (waste management)	<i>Partnership</i> (partnership)
<i>Energia</i> (energy)	<i>Crescita economica</i> (economic growth)
<i>Sviluppo sostenibile</i> (sustainable development)	<i>Innovazione tecnologica</i> (technological innovation)
<i>Accordi internazionali</i> (international agreements)	<i>Economia verde</i> (green economy)
<i>Cambiamenti climatici</i> (climate change)	

From the above table, the lexicon associated with the two main frames, *Sustainability and Climate Policies* and *Economic and Financial Strategies*, has emerged in greater depth. Within the range of words, semantic and pragmatic differences are already noticeable. Firstly, there is a clear terminological distinction between environmental and economic-financial vocabulary. Indeed, the lexicon employed within the *Sustainability and Climate Policies* frame is strongly rooted in the scientific and environmental context. Terms such as *sustainability*, *climate*, *renewable*, *emissions*, and *climate change* reflect the urgency of protecting the environment and reducing the anthropogenic impact on climate. These words evoke the need for a collective and global approach to mitigate the risks associated with climate change, as highlighted by Lakoff (2010), who emphasises how linguistic framing in environmental discourse activates intrinsic values such as responsibility and collective ethics. Expressions like *sustainable development* and *international agreements* call to mind the idea of global cooperation, which is essential in addressing problems that transcend national borders.

In contrast, in the *Economic and Financial Strategies* frame, the vocabulary is more oriented towards economic management and strategic planning. Terms such as *investments*, *national plans*, *finance*, and *strategy* suggest a narrative focused on long-term growth and economic stability, even within the context of transitioning towards more sustainable practices. This use of financial terminology in the political discourse related to climate change demonstrates how such lexicon seeks to legitimise the adoption of green policies through perspectives of economic growth and technological innovation (Stibbe, 2015).

The tone emerging from the two sets of words also differs, urgent vs strategic.

The tone adopted by the two frames differs significantly. In *Sustainability and Climate Policies*, the language is charged with urgency. Terms like *transition*, *emissions*, and *climate change* convey the notion of an imminent crisis requiring immediate intervention. This lexical approach reflects the concept of *crisis*, as analysed by Reboul-Touré (2021) in his study of the Covid-19 pandemic, where urgent language serves to mobilise immediate action and justify drastic policies to address situations that are perceived as emergencies.

Conversely, in the *Economic and Financial Strategies* frame, the tone is more calculated and strategic. Words like economic growth and technological innovation highlight long-term planning, where the energy transition is seen not so much as a crisis to be solved but as an opportunity to promote economic development. This language reflects a more cautious

approach, where change is considered gradual, aimed at minimising economic impacts and maximising the benefits over time.

Another fundamental difference can be observed in how the focus on resources and transitions are presented in the two frames.

In fact, the emphasis on resource management differs considerably between the two frames. *Sustainability and Climate Policies* focuses on the responsible use of natural resources and the transition towards renewable energy sources. Terms like *waste management* and *energy* imply the need for a structural change in how resources are managed and consumed, with a clear emphasis on sustainable practices that can reduce waste and greenhouse gas emissions.

In contrast, in *Economic and Financial Strategies*, the focus is more on the management of financial resources. Words like investments and partnerships reflect an approach whereby the transition to a green economy requires significant economic commitment and international collaboration, and that views climate change as an opportunity for economic growth. As observed by Stibbe (2015), political discourse often portrays technological innovation as a long-term solution rather than an immediate obligation.

Finally, another relevant difference can be seen between environmental internationalism and economic collaboration.

The *Sustainability and Climate Policies* frame emphasises international cooperation in addressing climate change, with references to international agreements and to the city of Paris, evoking the Paris Agreement as both a symbolic and concrete commitment. This lexicon reflects a global dimension of the problem, with the need for a coordinated and unified response from governments and international institutions. Studies by Dryzek (2013) confirm how globalist environmental rhetoric tends to stimulate values related to collective responsibility, favouring a shared approach to solving the climate crisis.

In *Economic and Financial Strategies* the focus shifts to international economic collaboration, with terms like *partnerships* and *international agreements* highlighting the role of strategic alliances and shared investments. Here, the focus is on the interaction between states and investors to maximise the economic benefits of adopting green technologies, a view supported by economic analyses like those of Stern (2007), which highlight how the transition to a low-carbon economy may also double as a growth strategy.

This leads to a different perspective on how the transition should occur.

In fact, in the *Sustainability and Climate Policies* frame, the transition to renewable energy sources is described as an imperative to reduce emissions and fight climate change. The term

transition underscores a necessary and inevitable shift towards an ecologically sustainable system, one that must occur swiftly to limit environmental damage. This view is supported by claims during COP - Greta Thunberg in Ponton and Raimo (2024a), which stress that the speed of this transition is crucial for keeping global temperature rise below 2°C.

In contrast, in the *Economic and Financial Strategies* frame, the transition is viewed as an opportunity for investment and economic growth. It is not merely presented as an obligatory change, but rather as a process that can be strategically planned to achieve long-term economic benefits, minimising initial costs while capitalising on the opportunities provided by technological innovation.

These lexical differences profoundly influence how political action and intervention strategies are perceived and communicated. Indeed, they create two distinct visions, neither of which fully aligns with the genuine interests of the environment.

3.6 Analysis of the texts with CDA

The next step in the analysis, as outlined at the beginning of the methodology, is the use of *Critical Discourse Analysis* (Fairclough, 1992) through its three levels: *micro*, *meso*, and *macro*.

1. Micro-level (Lexical and Textual Analysis):

Description: This level focuses on individual words, phrases, or short sentences, analysing lexical, grammatical, and syntactic choices. The vocabulary used in speeches reflects the underlying ideological frame. As Fairclough (1992) notes, «Texts are produced within and help to reproduce systems of social relationships and ideologies».

Example: The use of terms such as *green economy*, *sustainable development*, or *valorisation* in electoral programmes suggests the ideological orientation of the speaker. Terms like “energy transition” may indicate a frame focused on technological innovation and gradual progress.

2. Meso-level (Discursive Practices):

Description: This level examines how discourse is produced, distributed, and received. Analysing discursive practices allows us to understand how institutions (political parties, media) use and disseminate certain frames. Van Dijk (2001) explains that «Discourses are shaped by the institutions that produce them, and in turn, they shape public opinion and policies».

Example: Speeches promoting the *green economy* may be disseminated by governments and the media to support moderate ecological policies that combine economic growth with environmental protection.

3. Macro-level (Socio-cultural and Ideological Context):

Description: Finally, at this level, discourse is analysed within its broader socio-cultural and ideological context. Discourse is never neutral but reflects dominant power structures and ideologies. Wodak (2001) highlights that discourses contribute to the construction of social identities and the reproduction of power relations.

Example: Discourse promoting Prometheanism or Cornucopianism (Dryzek, 2013) reflect an industrial capitalist perspective, which prioritises economic growth and technology as solutions to environmental problems, without questioning fundamental economic structures.

LEVEL OF ANALYSIS	DESCRIPTION OF ANALYSIS LEVEL
<i>Micro</i>	Analysis of key words and phrases that reflect the underlying ideology.
<i>Meso</i>	Analysis of discursive practices and the dissemination of discourse by political and media institutions.
<i>Macro</i>	Analysis of the socio-cultural context and power structures influencing discourse.

TABLE STRUCTURE FOR LEVELS OF ANALYSIS

3.6.1 Data Triangulation

In this part of the study, data triangulation was employed to systematically compare political discourse, particularly electoral programmes, with empirical evidence on pollution and international environmental directives. This approach aims to validate or challenge the frames identified within political texts. As Creswell (2014) emphasises, triangulation is a critical methodological tool for ensuring the credibility and robustness of research findings by integrating diverse data sources.

A central element of this analysis is the inclusion of empirical data provided by ISPRA. These data sets serve as an objective benchmark against which the claims and commitments articulated in political programmes can be assessed. By comparing the frames present in political discourse with concrete environmental realities, it becomes possible to identify potential discrepancies. For instance, if a programme frequently emphasises goals such as *reducing pollution* or *achieving renewable energy targets*, these statements were cross-

referenced with the findings of ISPRA to determine whether they align with measurable trends and outcomes.

The first step in this process involved reviewing and restructuring the textual corpus to facilitate analysis. Simultaneously, the empirical data corpus was curated, integrating ISPRA reports as a key reference. Notably, this study does not confine its analysis of political speeches to specific geographic areas. This methodological choice reflects the fact that many political discussions on environmental issues transcend regional boundaries, addressing national or even global challenges. For example, themes such as renewable energy adoption or CO₂ reduction policies often have implications that extend far beyond localised contexts.

After identifying and evaluating the frames within the political texts, they were systematically compared with the empirical data. This comparison sought to answer a fundamental question: *Is there alignment or divergence between the representations in political narratives and the realities indicated by ISPRA data?* Such an approach not only reveals whether political frames are grounded in factual evidence but also offers information on whether they are strategically employed to pursue specific political objectives or genuinely address environmental concerns. Finally, the findings from this triangulation have been synthesised and presented at the end of Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, where the results and their broader implications are discussed in detail.

3.7 Analysing Public Discourse: Methodology for TPI Articles

This section of the methodology outlines the process undertaken to analyse articles published on TPI journal in relation to environmental themes. The work began with the creation of a controlled vocabulary, developed around key terms from environmental discourse, which served as the foundation for the subsequent stages of analysis. The structure of the website URLs was then examined to systematically extract content from the relevant pages. The collected articles (see 3.2 Corpora) were processed to remove irrelevant elements, such as special characters, numerical values and *stopwords* to isolate principal words. The controlled vocabulary was subsequently applied to the cleaned texts to identify occurrences of environmentally relevant terms. Finally, the findings were compared to assess whether, and to what extent, environmental issues were addressed in the political discourse presented by the publication.

3.7.1 Creation of the Controlled Vocabulary

The main objective of this phase was the extraction and processing of a set of keywords from the document titled *Lessico e nuvole: le parole del cambiamento climatico* (Latini, Bagliani and

Orusa, 2020), published by the University of Turin and Frida. The goal was to create a controlled vocabulary, which will serve as the foundation for the semantic analysis of newspaper articles, enabling an examination of the usage and meaning of the keywords within the context of public and political discourse.

3.7.2 Document Reading and Preprocessing

The cleaned document⁴⁴, *Lessico e nuvole: le parole del cambiamento climatico*, was uploaded and read using the Python library `python-docx`, which allows for text extraction from .docx files. Initially, the content was gathered by iterating through all paragraphs and concatenating them into a single string to facilitate further analysis. Subsequently, the total number of characters and words in the text was calculated, providing an initial quantitative measure of the document's size.

Installation of Python packages:

```
In [ ]: !pip install python-docx
        !pip install nltk
        !pip install stop_words
```

Libraries used:

- `python-docx`: for working with Word documents (`.docx`).
- `nltk`: Natural Language Toolkit for natural language processing.
- `stop\_wds`: provides *stopwords* (common words like *e, il, a* [“and”, “the”, “a”]) in different languages.

Loading the .docx:

```
In [ ]: from docx import Document
        document = Document('file_ripulito.docx')
```

Extracting and printing the text of the first paragraph from the .docx:

```
In [ ]: first_paragraph = document.paragraphs[0]
        print(first_paragraph.text)
```

Concatenating the entire .docx into a single text string:

⁴⁴ The document is stripped of images, punctuation, footnote numbers, and notes, leaving only the text.

```
In [ ]: text = ""
        for paragraph in document.paragraphs:
            text += paragraph.text
```

Control output, the total number of characters and words is counted and printed:

```
In [ ]: print("Lettere totali nel documento: %d " % len(text))
        print("Parole totali nel documento: %d " % len(text.split()))

        print(text)

        text = text.replace(".", ".\n")
        print(text)
```

3.7.3 Document Processing and Controlled Vocabulary Construction

The text was split into tokens, where each token corresponds to a single word. This tokenisation phase is crucial for the creation of the vocabulary, which contains all the unique words present in the document. The vocabulary serves as the foundation for further analysis, such as the construction of the Bag of Words (BoW) model and the calculation of the TF-IDF (Term Frequency-Inverse Document Frequency) measure.

Splitting the text into tokens (words) and constructing a unique vocabulary:

```
In [ ]: def corpus_tokenizer(text):
        tokens = [sent.split() for sent in text]
        return tokens

        def build_vocab(text_tokens):
            vocab = set({})
            for tokens in text_tokens:
                for token in tokens:
                    vocab.add(token)
            return list(vocab)

        def bag_of_words(text):
            text_tokens = corpus_tokenizer(text)
            vocab = build_vocab(text_tokens)
            text_bow = []
            for tokens in text_tokens:
                sent_bow = []
                for word in vocab:
                    sent_bow.append(tokens.count(word))
                text_bow.append(sent_bow)
            return text_bow, vocab
```

TF-IDF:

To deepen the analysis of word relevance within the document, TF-IDF was calculated. This index combines a word's frequency in a document with the inverse of the word's frequency in a corpus, allowing for the determination of the importance of a word relative to the document itself. The TF-IDF was calculated for each word in the vocabulary, providing a weighted measure of its significance.

Calculating TF-IDF:

```
In [ ]: def tf_idf(corpus):  
        corpus_tokens = corpus_tokenizer(corpus)  
        vocab = build_vocab(corpus_tokens)  
        # ... (resto del calcolo del TF-IDF)  
        return tf_idf, vocab
```

Using NumPy:

```
In [ ]: import numpy as np  
        def np_tf_idf(text):  
            corpus_tokens = corpus_tokenizer(text)  
            # ... (resto del calcolo del TF-IDF con NumPy)  
            return tf_idf, index_to_word
```

The 'numpy' library was used to optimise and speed up the calculation of TF-IDF by employing matrices and vector operations.

Removal of Stop Words:

To further refine the vocabulary, stopwords — those frequent words that do not add significant semantic value (e.g., articles and prepositions) — were removed. This process was performed using the 'nltk' library for tokenisation and 'stop_words' for the list of stop words in the Italian language.

```
In [ ]: from nltk.tokenize import word_tokenize  
        from stop_words import get_stop_words  
        def remove_stopwords_from_text(tokens, stop_words):  
            text_without_stopwords = list()  
            for token in tokens:  
                if token not in stop_words:  
                    text_without_stopwords.append(token)  
            return text_without_stopwords
```

This process applied natural language processing (NLP) techniques to a Word document, where the text was extracted, tokenised, the BoW and TF-IDF were calculated, stop words were removed, and finally, a controlled vocabulary was constructed.

3.7.4 Refinement and Analysis of Word Occurrences in Text

After processing the list of keywords extracted from the document *Lessico e nuvole: le parole del cambiamento climatico*, further analysis was conducted. This analysis, combined with the list obtained from the code, allowed for the refinement of the controlled vocabulary. The process involved analysing word occurrences and frequency in the text using the AntConc software, with the *N-grams function* to search for repeated word combinations of specific lengths (such as bigrams, trigrams, and quadrigrams).

The analysis of the cleaned text provided the following general parameters:

- Number of characters (including spaces): 153,429
- Number of characters (excluding spaces): 127,303
- Number of words: 22,532
- Number of sentences: 747
- Number of syllables: 51,051

Screening Criteria for the Formation of the Controlled Vocabulary:

Four main criteria based on word occurrences were used to form the controlled vocabulary:

- *Occurrences of quadrigrams*: Identifying phrases made up of four words to show specific lexical combinations.
- *Occurrences of trigrams*: Analysing three-word phrases, useful for identifying clusters of related terms.
- *Occurrences of bigrams*: Identifying frequent word pairs that may represent key concepts in climate discourse.
- *Occurrences of a particular word*: Focusing on single words relevant to the controlled vocabulary.

Manual Qualitative Selection of Words for the Controlled Vocabulary:

During the analysis process, it became apparent that some keywords, despite having a lower frequency, held important semantic relevance. For example, the phrase *vapore acqueo* (water vapour), although less frequent compared to other combinations, was included in the controlled vocabulary due to its importance in the scientific context of climate change.

Examples of two-word phrases that displayed different levels of relevance include:

- *cambiamento climatico* (climate change) with 38 occurrences;
- *gas serra* (greenhouse gas) with 21 occurrences;
- *vapore acqueo* (water vapour) with 13 occurrences.

Despite their relatively low frequency, terms like *vapore acqueo* (water vapour) were included due to their scientific significance, reflecting the need for a balanced approach between quantitative and qualitative analysis.

The analysis revealed how certain words within the controlled vocabulary, such as *adattamento* (adaptation), *dato* (data), *territorio* (territory), and *sviluppo* (development), exhibit remarkable semantic flexibility, shifting their meanings depending on the context in which they are used. This variability is particularly evident when comparing their usage in environmental discourse and political language, where the same terms can acquire significantly different connotations.

For example, *dato* can denote scientifically measurable information in environmental studies, such as: «I dati raccolti sulle emissioni di CO₂ mostrano un aumento significativo nell'ultimo decennio» (*The data collected on CO₂ emissions show a significant increase over the past decade*)⁴⁵. In contrast, in political rhetoric, it often appears in a figurative sense, implying an established fact or widely accepted truth: «È un dato di fatto che le elezioni anticipate influenzino l'instabilità governativa» (*It is a fact that early elections influence governmental instability*).

The term *territorio* also demonstrates a shift in meaning across domains. In environmental discourse, it frequently refers to a geographical area, with an emphasis on natural resources or ecological management, as in: «La gestione sostenibile del territorio è fondamentale per preservare la biodiversità» (*Sustainable land management is essential for preserving biodiversity*). In political speech, however, it often has a geopolitical or administrative focus, as in: «Il territorio nazionale deve essere protetto da minacce esterne attraverso una strategia di difesa coordinata» (*The national territory must be protected from external threats through a coordinated defence strategy*).

Lastly, *sviluppo* showcases similar semantic adaptability. In the context of environmentalism, it typically signifies progress that integrates ecological considerations, as in: «Lo sviluppo sostenibile promuove l'uso di energie rinnovabili e la riduzione dei rifiuti» (*Sustainable*

⁴⁵ All translations from the original are by the author.

development promotes the use of renewable energies and waste reduction). In political discourse, the same word leans towards economic growth and strategic planning, as exemplified in: «Lo sviluppo economico del paese dipende da riforme strutturali e investimenti esteri» (*The country's economic development depends on structural reforms and foreign investments*).

These words have been retained in the controlled vocabulary due to their relevance across multiple domains. However, their inclusion comes with a caveat: each time they are encountered, their usage will be carefully reviewed to account for the potential ambiguity of their meaning.

This approach ensures that the controlled vocabulary remains comprehensive and adaptable, capturing the nuances of terms that may hold significant importance in different contexts, while also allowing for careful contextual verification to maintain analytical precision.

3.7.5 Selection and Extraction of Articles from TPI and application of Controlled Vocabulary

This section illustrates the methodology used to extract and analyse TPI journal articles, focusing on the evaluation of environmental and political discourse. Rstudio IDE (integrated development environment for R) was used for this analysis. The code and the results of the analysis are presented in Chapter 6, while the complete list of URLs and article titles is given in the Appendix to allow for verification and replication. The extraction process began with a thorough analysis of the structural design of the website, particularly the organisation's URLs. This investigation revealed consistent patterns that enabled systematic navigation and efficient content scraping. Using the R programming language, the methodology was tested on the homepage, retrieving article titles and associated URLs. Once the titles were collected, the text of each article was extracted, and word occurrences were checked to provide a preliminary assessment of the relevance of the content for the study. Based on this, the methodology was extended to include all articles in the *Politics* section of the site; the time frame of the analysis ran from July 2022 to December 2024.

1. Estrazione dei link degli articoli tramite la funzione create

WHY IS THIS IN ITALIAN?

```
extract_links <- function(base_url, keyword = NULL) {  
  webpage <- tryCatch(read_html(base_url), error = function(e) return(NULL))  
  if (is.null(webpage)) return(NULL)  
  links <- webpage %>%  
    html_nodes("a") %>%  
    html_attr("href")  
  links <- links[!is.na(links)]  
  if (!is.null(keyword)) {  
    links <- links[grepl(keyword, links)] } # Filtra per parola chiave  
  return(unique(links)) } # Rimuove duplicati  
url_politica <- https://www.tpi.it/politica/ # Base URL per politica  
valid_links_politica <- extract_links_with_page(url_politica, 1, 94)
```

2. Estrazione dei titoli degli articoli con la funzione creata

```
extract_title <- function(link) {  
  webpage <- tryCatch(read_html(link), error = function(e) return(NULL))  
  if (is.null(webpage)) return(NA)  
  title <- webpage %>% html_nodes("title") %>% html_text(trim = TRUE) return(title) }  
valid_links_politica$Titolo <- sapply(valid_links_politica$Link, extract_title)
```


4. Calcolo delle frequenze delle parole

```
calculate_word_frequencies <- function(text) {  
  if (is.na(text) || text == "") {  
    # Restituisci un data frame vuoto WHY ARE ALL COMMENTS IN ITALIAN?  
    return(data.frame(Word = character(0), Frequency = numeric(0))) }  
  # Pulisce il testo  
  words <- tolower(gsub("[[:punct:]]", "", text)) # Rimuove la punteggiatura  
  words <- gsub("[0-9]", "", words) # Rimuove i numeri  
  words <- gsub("\\s+", "", words) # Rimuove spazi multipli  
  word_list <- unlist(strsplit(words, "\\s+")) # Divide in parole  
  word_list <- word_list[word_list != ""] # Rimuove stringhe vuote  
  # Verifica che ci siano parole valide  
  if (length(word_list) == 0) { return(data.frame(Word = character(0), Frequency =  
numeric(0)))}  
  # Calcola la frequenza delle parole  
  word_freq <- table(word_list)  
  freq_df <- as.data.frame(word_freq, stringsAsFactors = FALSE)  
  colnames(freq_df) <- c("Word", "Frequency")  
  return(freq_df) }  
# Controlla per valori NA o stringhe vuote  
invalid_texts <- which(is.na(valid_links_politica$Testo) | valid_links_politica$Testo ==  
"")  
# Rimuovi righe con testi invalidi  
valid_links_politica <- valid_links_politica[!is.na(valid_links_politica$Testo) &  
valid_links_politica$Testo != "", ]  
word_frequencies_politics <- lapply(valid_links_politica$Testo,  
calculate_word_frequencies)
```

5. Combina tutte le frequenze

```
combined_frequencies_pol <- do.call(rbind, lapply(seq_along(word_frequencies_politics),
function(i) {
  if (is.null(word_frequencies_politics[[i]]) || nrow(word_frequencies_politics[[i]]) == 0)
return(NULL)
df <- word_frequencies_politics[[i]]
df$Page <- valid_links_politica$Page[i]
df$Article_Link <- valid_links_politica$Link[i]
return(df) })))
```

6. Calcola la somma delle frequenze per ogni parola e concatena le pagine -> salva in Excel.

```
final_results_pol <- combined_frequencies_pol %>%
group_by(Word) %>%
summarise(
  Frequenza_Totale = sum(Frequency),
  Pagine = paste(unique(Page), collapse = ", ") # Combina tutte le pagine in cui appare la
parola
) %>% arrange(desc(Frequenza_Totale))
```

After data extraction, a rigorous cleaning process was conducted: this step involved removing irrelevant elements such as stopwords, special characters and numerical values to isolate lexically significant terms.

```
filter_by_glossary <- function(freq_df, glossary_words) {
  freq_df <- freq_df[freq_df$Word %in% glossary_words, ] return(freq_df) }
```

The cleaned dataset was then cross-referenced with the controlled vocabulary previously constructed, allowing for the identification and quantification of key terms. For a comparative perspective, the same procedure was applied to the *Environment* section of the website, allowing for an exploration of environmental topics in two distinct but interconnected domains. This analysis provided critical insights into the framing of environmental themes and their presence in articles; the results were displayed graphically in a Lollipop Plot to illustrate the prominence of environmental discourse in the *Politic* and *Environment* sections. This visualization, described in Chapter 6, reveals how environmental issues are integrated into political narratives and represented in broader public discourse. The comparison underlines the importance of environmental issues in the political arena, the central theme of this thesis.

Libraries used: `library(rvest)`, `library(dplyr)`, `library(ggplot2)`, `library(openxlsx)`, `library(readxl)`, `library(ggpubr)`, `library(readxl)`, `library(jsonlite)`.

3.8 Pedagogical Design of the Learning Unit

The concept of the *Unità di apprendimento* (UdA) (Learning Unit) is one of the most established and significant models in contemporary language teaching, especially in the teaching of a second language (Balboni and Gray, 2008). This methodological framework, introduced and extensively developed by Paolo Balboni (2008, 2015), provides an operational structure that organises the language learning process into a sequence of teaching phases, each designed to progressively develop learners linguistic and communicative skills.

The UdA functions as a micro-learning pathway, guiding learners consistently and gradually toward achieving their specific communicative objectives. Unlike more traditional approaches, which are focused on the transmission of grammatical rules, the UdA emphasises the authentic use of language in real contexts, promoting experiential and situated learning. The learner is placed at the centre of the process, where their emotional and cognitive engagement is essential for effective language acquisition based on active participation.

According to Balboni (2008), the UdA is divided into a sequence of well-defined phases: motivation, globality, analysis, synthesis, and reflection. These phases mirror the natural cognitive process of language learning, guiding learners from a global exploration of the text to a metalinguistic reflection of linguistic structures. This organisation makes the UdA a highly flexible teaching tool, adaptable to various contexts and types of learners, and particularly effective in the teaching of Italian as a second language (L2).

In addition to Balboni's model, there are other operational approaches to teaching Italian as an L2 that reflect different methodological and pedagogical visions. Among these, the models proposed by Massimo Vedovelli and Pierangela Diadori share some fundamental principles, such as the importance of texts and communication, while exhibiting distinctive characteristics. The *Unità Didattica Centrata sul Testo* (UDt) (Text-Centred Didactic Unit), developed by Massimo Vedovelli, places the text at the centre of the learning process, as the key tool for developing linguistic skills. The teaching process revolves around interaction with the text, which is first understood globally and then reworked. Vedovelli emphasises the synthesis phase, where students re-elaborate the content and verify linguistic hypotheses through communicative activities. This phase is crucial for developing communicative competence through an individual and collective reworking of the text (Vedovelli, 2002: 141).

Compared to Balboni's model, Vedovelli's approach is more text-centred, with less emphasis on metalinguistic reflection and inductive activities. Focusing on how language works, the

analysis and reflection are less explicit, as the focus is primarily on the direct comprehension and reworking of the text.

The *Unità di Lavoro* (UdL) (Work Unit), proposed by Pierangela Diadori, is distinguished by its procedural and operational structure, divided into three main phases: introduction, development, and conclusion. Diadori places particular emphasis on the introductory phase, during which interpersonal relationships are stimulated, and prior knowledge is activated to prepare the learner for the text. This model is particularly useful in educational contexts that require a more structured teaching pathway, with a clear organisation that facilitates instruction. Unlike Balboni's model, which favors a more inductive and flexible approach, Diadori's UdL presents a more rigidly structured sequence of activities. This can be less suitable in contexts that require greater learner autonomy, as is the case with Balboni's model, which encourages the autonomous discovery of linguistic rules through the practical use of the text.

<i>UNITÀ DIDATTICA COME RETE DI UNITÀ DI APPRENDIMENTO UDA (BALBONI, 2015) O DI UNITÀ DI ACQUISIZIONE (BALBONI, 2015)</i>	<i>UNITÀ DIDATTICA CENTRATA SUL TESTO UDT (VEDOVELLI, 2002, 2010)</i>	<i>UNITÀ DI LAVORO UdL (DIADORI, 2009, 2015)</i>
<i>Motivazione</i>	<i>Contestualizzazione</i>	<i>Introduzione</i>
<i>Globalità</i>	<i>Verifica della comprensione</i>	<i>Svolgimento</i>
<i>Analisi</i>	<i>Attività di comunicazione sul testo</i>	
<i>Sintesi</i>	<i>Attività di comunicazione dal testo</i>	
<i>Riflessione</i>	<i>Attività metalinguistica e metacomunicativa</i>	
	<i>Attività esercitativa di rinforzo</i>	<i>Conclusione</i>
<i>Controllo</i>	<i>Output comunicativo e/o Verifica in uscita</i>	

3.8.1 Phases of the Learning Unit

As shown in the table above, there are various ways to approach the Learning Unit, and these will now be presented in detail.

The *Motivation/Contextualisation/Introduction* (Motivazione, Contestualizzazione, Introduzione) phase is crucial, as the teacher engages the students and introduces them to the textual universe they will encounter, whether written, audio, video, or non-verbal. This phase

aims to activate expectancy grammar, that is, the learner's ability to formulate hypotheses about the content of the text based on prior knowledge and contextual clues (Balboni 2008: 12). Motivation is essential to promote active interaction and facilitate language acquisition through a meaningful context.

In the *Globality/Comprehension Check phase* (Analisi/Attività di comunicazione sul testo), students progressively explore the text, starting with an analysis of the paratext (titles, images, visual structure), and then move on to the text itself. Balboni (2008) highlights the importance of techniques such as skimming and scanning, which allow for a global understanding of the text before focusing on specific details (Balboni, 2008: 21). As Swaffar (1983) observes, these techniques help learners navigate the text systematically, first establishing what the text is about and then retrieving specific information.

In the *Analysis/Text Communication Activities* (Analisi/Attività di comunicazione sul testo) phase, students explore linguistic, lexical, and grammatical structures. The inductive approach allows students to discover linguistic regularities through text manipulation, stimulating active reflection on linguistic elements and leading them to formulate generalisations (Balboni, 2008: 30).

During the *Synthesis/Text-Based Communication Activities* (Sintesi/Attività di comunicazione dal testo) phase, students practice what they have learned, using their linguistic skills in authentic communicative contexts. According to Vedovelli (2002), this phase allows for the reinforcement of competencies through interactive activities that engage students in elaborating textual content and in verifying previously formulated hypotheses (Vedovelli, 2002: 141).

The *Reflection/Metalinguistic Activities* (Riflessione/ Attività metalinguistica e metacomunicativa) phase concludes the cycle, encouraging students to reflect on the linguistic structures they have learned. Balboni (2008) claims that this phase marks a shift from traditional deductive methods, as the reflection arises from the use of the text, fostering a deeper and more autonomous understanding.

Finally, *Reinforcement Exercises* (Attività esercitativa di rinforzo) allow for consolidation of what has been learned, while *Control/Verification Activities* (Controllo/Output comunicativo e/o Verifica in uscita) enable the testing of acquired skills in real contexts, as Vedovelli (2010) notes, without the constant support of the teacher (Vedovelli, 2010: 145).

Despite the strengths of other models, Balboni's model stands out for its flexibility and ability to coherently integrate communicative, metalinguistic, and reflective activities.

Its structure allows for progressive and natural learning, guiding the learner from interaction with the text to linguistic reflection, making it particularly suitable for educational contexts that require a personalised teaching pathway. In the teaching of Hungarian students, which focuses on complex topics such as political and environmental language, Balboni's model, with its balance between inductive learning and metalinguistic reflection, proves to be the ideal tool to ensure an effective and learner-centered teaching experience.

3.8.2 Target Audience

The first lesson was held in Hungary in May 2024 at Pázmány Péter Catholic University, under the supervision of Professor Gyorgy Domokos. The second lesson took place in December 2024, again at Pázmány Péter Catholic University, and was similarly conducted under the supervision of Professor Domokos.

Target audience: L2 Italian students aged 19 to 30 (first lesson) and 20 to 60 (second lesson).

Linguistic level: B1/B1.2 of the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (CEFR).

Prerequisites: A2 of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR).

Number of students: 8 participants (first lesson) and 10 participants (second lesson) with Hungarian as their L1 and English as their L2, a number that facilitates effective group work and interaction during activities.

Linguistic objectives: To acquire the necessary skills for reading, understanding, and analysing political texts, particularly on environmental issues, while developing linguistic awareness of specialised vocabulary and of the argumentative structures typical of political discourse.

Social objectives: To enhance the ability to discuss political issues related to the environment in Italian, encouraging debate on different ideological positions and strengthening the ability to actively participate in discussions on current topics, with particular emphasis on raising awareness of Italian environmental policies.

Duration of the lesson: 90 minutes, divided into activities that follow a logical and pedagogically effective sequence, in which text comprehension, idea development, and discussion are interwoven to ensure dynamic learning.

Type of course: A conversation course within a three-year *Romanistik* (first lesson) and *Syntax* (second lesson) programme, focusing on enhancing oral and written skills through dialogue and critical analysis of cultural and political topics, with a student-centred communicative approach that addresses their real learning needs.

3.8.3 The first Lesson

The first lesson (Cf. *Appendix, Lezione Ambientale e politica italiana*) is designed to follow the stages of the learning unit according to Balboni's model (2008, 2015), with a progressive and inductive approach, where each stage addresses specific educational objectives, fostering linguistic and communicative learning through targeted activities.

1. Motivation

The motivation phase captures students' interest and activates their prior knowledge on the topic to be discussed, in this case, environmental politics in Italy. This phase helps create a meaningful learning context.

Exercise 1.1: Watch the video

- **Description:** Students watch an introductory video on the environmental policies of *Fratelli d'Italia*.
- **Connection to the motivation phase:** The video draws the students' attention to a current and relevant topic, stimulating interest in environmental political discourse. Audiovisual material makes the content immediately accessible, activating students' prior knowledge about the environment, politics, and Italian social dynamics.

Exercise 1.2: Read the video transcript

- **Description:** Students read the video transcript to improve comprehension.
- **Connection to the motivation phase:** Reading the transcript reinforces motivation, allowing students to delve deeper into the text they listened to, facilitating comprehension of specific vocabulary and the complex elements of political discourse.

2. Globalisation

The globalisation phase aims to provide a general overview of the content, highlighting the main ideas without focusing on specific details. At this stage, the goal is to gain a broad understanding of the text.

Exercise 1.3: Answer the questions

1. "What did you understand from this video? What are the perspectives of the Italian left and right on environmental issues?"
2. "What environmental policies do you know from your country? Does your country use renewable energy?"

- **Connection to the globalisation phase:** Answering the questions allows students to focus on the overall meaning of the video and the discourse. Here, the aim is to identify key concepts, such as the differences between conservative and progressive approaches to environmental policies. This encourages a general understanding of the topic without delving into specific details.

3. Analysis

The analysis phase focuses on the detailed study of the text, both linguistically and content-wise. In this phase, students explore vocabulary, grammar, and syntax, as well as key concepts discussed in the text.

Exercise 2.1: Review the electoral programmes and highlight the most interesting parts

- **Description:** Students review electoral programmes, focusing on key points.
- **Connection to the analysis phase:** In the 2.1 exercise, students engage with the vocabulary and linguistic structures introduced in the video (transcript)⁴⁶ and programmes. They critically examine topics related to environmental sustainability and politics, identifying the key distinctions between political ideologies. This reflection prepares them to understand how language shapes political discourse on environmental issues.

4. Synthesis

The synthesis phase focuses on applying acquired knowledge in authentic or simulated communicative contexts. Students must produce a concrete outcome that reflects what they have learned in the previous phases.

Exercise 2.2: Create an electoral programme

- **Description:** Students, divided into two groups (Left and Centre-Right), create an electoral programme with at least five points.
- **Connection to the synthesis phase:** In this exercise, students move from analysis to production, using the vocabulary and structures they have studied to develop their own political programme. They synthesise the political and environmental terms in a practical context, demonstrating their understanding of the different ideological approaches by producing a structured and coherent output.

⁴⁶ The transcript refers to the written version of the spoken content in the video, used here as a support for language analysis.

5. Reflection

The reflection phase is dedicated to metalinguistic and metacommunicative deepening. Students reflect on what they have learned, focusing on the linguistic structures and evaluating their level of understanding and competence.

Exercise 3.2: Presentation of the electoral programme (Structured debate and metalinguistic reflection)

- **Description:** Students present the electoral programme developed by their group and participate in a debate. After presenting the programme, students engage in a debate where they respond to the opposing group's arguments.
- **Connection to the reflection phase:** This activity represents the active application of the acquired skills. Students use political and environmental language to present their proposals and engage with the other group in a simulated electoral debate. This phase consolidates linguistic skills through the production and presentation of content that requires critical and argumentative reflection. The ability to communicate effectively and persuasively is tested, along with the capacity to respond to counterarguments.

6. Control

The verification phase aims to assess whether the linguistic and communicative objectives have been achieved. Students demonstrate their ability to use vocabulary, grammatical structures, and communicative strategies autonomously and competently.

Exercise 4: Analysis of electoral programmes (Homework)

- **Description:** Students analyse Italian electoral programmes from 2008 to 2022, comparing the proposals of at least two parties and evaluating their impact.
- **Connection to the verification phase:** This task represents the final assessment of skill acquisition. Through the critical analysis of electoral programmes, students demonstrate their ability to apply the knowledge they have gained in an autonomous context. They must analyse, compare, and critically evaluate the environmental policies of different parties, using specific vocabulary and structures. This exercise allows for the verification of students' ability to conduct a detailed and critical analysis, consolidating their learning through a complex and independent activity.

3.8.4 The second Lesson

This second lesson, titled *The Syntax of Persuasion in Italian Political Speeches* (Cf. Appendix, "La sintassi come strumento di persuasione nei discorsi politici italiani"), follows Balboni's

model (2008, 2015) to provide a structured and progressive learning experience. The lesson adopts an inductive approach, fostering linguistic awareness and critical thinking. Through targeted activities, students explore how syntactic structures enhance rhetorical effectiveness in political discourse, particularly focusing on Italian political speeches addressing climate change.

1. Motivation

The motivation phase introduces students to the emotional and persuasive power of syntax, aiming to stimulate curiosity and activate prior knowledge about the relationship between language and political persuasion.

Exercise 1.1: Emotional impact of a sentence

- **Description:** Students analyze the statement: «Come politici, siamo chiamati a realizzare un capolavoro, a realizzare la scena dove i nostri figli vivranno».
- **Questions:**
 - What emotions does this sentence evoke?
 - Do you find it effective? Why or why not?
- **Connection:** This activity introduces the idea that syntactic choices can elicit emotional responses, demonstrating how political rhetoric is often intertwined with evocative language to engage the audience. It prepares students for a deeper exploration of rhetorical and syntactic strategies.

Exercise 1.2: Reflection on syntax

- **Description:** Students discuss whether syntax is merely a grammatical structure or also plays a role in influencing emotions and decisions. The discussion is contextualized within their knowledge of environmental policies.
- **Questions:**
 - What do you know about environmental policies in Italy?
 - Are there environmental policies in Hungary that resonate with these ideas?
- **Connection:** By connecting syntax to tangible issues like environmental policies, this exercise bridges abstract linguistic concepts with real-world contexts, encouraging students to see syntax as a dynamic tool in political discourse.

2. Globalisation

The globalisation phase provides students with a general understanding of rhetorical strategies in selected political speeches. The focus is on recognizing how syntax and rhetoric work together to construct persuasive messages.

Exercise 2.1: Identifying rhetorical strategies

- **Description:** Students, divided into groups, analyze excerpts from speeches by Gian Luca Galletti (COP22), Matteo Renzi (COP21), and Mario Draghi (COP26).
- **Tasks:**
 - Identify two rhetorical figures (e.g., metaphors, anaphora) and two key syntactic choices (e.g., passive constructions, ellipsis).
 - Discuss their effect on the audience.
- **Connection:** This activity equips students with tools to identify and interpret how syntactic choices contribute to the construction of persuasive arguments. By engaging with authentic political discourse, students gain insight into the strategic use of language in shaping public perception.

3. Analysis

The analysis phase deepens students' understanding of syntactic and rhetorical choices through the detailed examination of the texts. This stage emphasizes critical engagement with language.

Exercise 3.1: Group presentations

- **Description:** Each group presents their observations in a structured four-minute presentation, highlighting their findings on rhetorical figures and syntactic choices.
- **Connection:** This exercise enhances students' analytical and communicative skills, encouraging them to articulate their understanding of how syntax operates in persuasive contexts. Collaborative exploration fosters diverse perspectives on the material.

4. Synthesis

The synthesis phase challenges students to apply their understanding creatively, using the rhetorical and syntactic strategies explored earlier to craft original content.

Exercise 4.1: Crafting a mini speech

- **Description:** Groups are tasked with creating a mini speech on *Sustainability in Hungary*. Each speech must include:
 - One rhetorical figure (e.g., metaphor, anaphora).
 - A nominal sentence (e.g., *Una priorità urgente*).
 - An ellipsis (e.g., *Agire subito, senza esitazioni*).
 - A passive construction (e.g., *Le risorse devono essere protette*).
- **Connection:** This activity consolidates students' learning by requiring them to synthesize linguistic and rhetorical knowledge in a practical task. It highlights the role of syntax in constructing persuasive and coherent arguments.

5. Reflection

The reflection phase promotes metalinguistic awareness, allowing students to evaluate their work and consider the role of syntax in persuasion.

Exercise 5.1: Peer voting and collaborative revision

- **Description:** Students vote on the most persuasive mini speech, justifying their choice based on linguistic and rhetorical effectiveness. In pairs, they revise one of the speeches, focusing on improving its syntactic choices for greater impact.
- **Connection:** This phase emphasizes the iterative nature of rhetorical refinement, encouraging students to critically engage with their work and their peers' contributions. The activity reinforces the importance of precision in syntactic and rhetorical choices.

6. Control

The verification phase evaluates whether students have achieved the linguistic and communicative objectives set out in the lesson. This stage involves independent application and critical analysis of the skills acquired.

Exercise 6.1: Analysis and comparison of political statements

- **Description:** Students work in pairs to analyze and compare selected excerpts from the corpus, focusing on:

- Identifying syntactic structures (e.g., passive voice, nominal sentences, ellipsis).
- Evaluating rhetorical effectiveness in terms of persuasion.
- Comparing two versions of a statement (original and rephrased) to decide which is more impactful and why.
- **Connection to the verification phase:** This task enables students to independently apply their analytical skills, demonstrating their competence in evaluating the interplay between syntax and rhetoric. By comparing and critiquing different versions of political statements, students consolidate their understanding of how syntactic choices influence persuasive effectiveness.

3.8.5 Questionnaire

The questionnaire was designed to investigate the perception of frames and metaphors in Italian political discourse. Its primary objectives are to analyze how environmental issues are understood and interpreted by Hungarian learners of Italian as a second language (L2) and a L1 Italian group, and to evaluate the validity of the linguistic frames identified during the research. The questionnaire employed to investigate the perceptions in the L1 Italian group and the L2 Italian group represents an innovative and experimental component of this study. While *Frame Analysis* does not frequently utilise tools such as questionnaires for validation purposes, there are notable examples, such as Bonaldo (2023), where this methodology has been employed to examine linguistic perceptions. The integration of the questionnaire to validate the findings of *Frame Analysis* holds the potential to open new avenues for future research. In this regard, it would be particularly beneficial to design a more targeted and calibrated tool for studying frames, capable of providing precise data while eliminating the risk of subjective interpretations. This structure supports a comprehensive exploration of how linguistic choices in political communication influence cognitive and evaluative responses.

The questionnaire is divided into four sections, each focused on collecting specific data. The first section, *Background Information*, gathers demographic and linguistic details, such as age, gender, and languages spoken. Although these data are collected anonymously, they provide essential context for interpreting responses and identifying potential correlations between sociolinguistic variables and frame perception.

The second section, *Association of Key Terms with Frames*, forms the analytical core of the questionnaire. Key terms were selected following an analysis of Italian political speeches and

electoral programs, ensuring a balanced representation of two primary frames: *Sustainability and Climate Policies* and *Economic and Financial Strategies*. The first frame relates to environmental protection, sustainability, and global cooperation, while the second emphasizes economic growth, technological innovation, and financial planning. Participants are asked to associate each term with the frame they consider most relevant. This helps test the coherence and clarity of the proposed frames, while also identifying any ambiguities in their interpretation. The third section, *Metaphors and Frames*, focuses on metaphors used in Italian political discourse, selected from electoral programs and speeches delivered at the Conferences of the Parties (COP). Participants reflect on the meaning of these metaphors and assign them to one of the two frames. This analysis examines how metaphors activate specific cognitive and evaluative responses and highlights whether their interpretation varies between native and non-native speakers. The responses also provide insight into whether the selected metaphors are culturally specific or broadly intelligible.

The final section, *Conclusion*, invites participants to share reflections on the Italian political language regarding environmental issues. These open-ended responses offer qualitative insights that complement the quantitative data from earlier sections, providing a more detailed understanding of the findings.

The questionnaire was designed to accommodate the linguistic abilities of L2 learners by using clear and precise language. Its structure and inclusion of operational definitions aim to reduce potential misunderstandings and ensure consistent responses.

The full questionnaire, including all questions and instructions, is provided in the *Appendix* (see *Questionario: La percezione dei frame e delle metafore nel discorso politico Italiano*) to ensure transparency and reproducibility.

3.8.6 Evaluation and Validation of Text Analysis

The final stage of this methodological framework, as outlined in the previous section, ensures scientific rigor by employing a questionnaire as an evaluation tool. This approach enhances the validity of the findings and minimizes subjective bias by systematically collecting feedback from multiple evaluators. As Miles and Huberman (1994) argue, incorporating structured methods for evaluation ensures reproducibility of results and minimizes the risk of individual interpretations skewing the analysis.

The evaluations will be conducted using the questionnaire described in Section 3.8.5. Students (Italian native speakers and Italian L2 learners) with expertise in Italian and English linguistics

will complete the questionnaire, providing their insights into the clarity, consistency, and applicability of the frames that have been identified. The questionnaire will include both closed-ended questions, such as Likert-scale items, and open-ended questions, to capture detailed qualitative feedback. This combination ensures a comprehensive evaluation of the coding methodology.

To facilitate the evaluation process, data will be organized in structured Microsoft Excel sheets. Each sheet will include columns for the identified frames, evaluators' responses, and additional notes to document any ambiguities or issues encountered. A controlled vocabulary will be supplied to ensure consistency in the categorization and comparability across evaluations. This structured format allows evaluators to focus on specific aspects of the coding process, ensuring their feedback is both targeted and actionable.

Once the questionnaires are collected, the data will be analysed using Microsoft Excel to assess the level of agreement among evaluators. Observed patterns of agreement and divergence will help identify areas requiring clarification or revision in the coding instructions. Where disagreements occur, qualitative feedback provided in the notes section will guide adjustments to the frames or their definitions.

This iterative process, supported by systematic feedback and a clear organizational structure in Excel, ensures that the identified frames are robust, well-defined, and consistently applied.

4. Analysis of Electoral Programmes on Environmental Issues and ISPRA Data

This section presents the analysis of the first corpus, *Electoral Programmes from 2008 to the Present* (see *Appendix*), using the CDA methodology discussed in the methodological chapter (3.5.1).

Before proceeding with the detailed analysis, it is important to highlight a key aspect regarding the placement and significance of environmental issues in the electoral programmes under examination. In the documents of *Sinistra Arcobaleno* (2008), *Sinistra Ecologia Libertà* (2013), and *Alleanza Verdi Sinistra* (2022), environmental topics occupy a prominent position, underscoring their thematic priority. In contrast, other electoral programmes relegate environmental concerns to the middle or final sections of the text – something that can also be inferred from the original thematic numbering (see *Appendix: Electoral Programmes Corpus 2008–2022*), which has been preserved in this analysis.

Another distinctive element emerges in the programmes of the *Movimento 5 Stelle* and the *Centro-Destra Coalition*, where the discussion of environmental issues is notably limited. It often consists of brief lists of proposed interventions or actions, without a detailed or structured argumentation. This variation not only highlights differing political priorities but also reflects distinct communicative strategies and discursive organisation within the programmes.

4.1 Micro-Level Analysis

At the first level of analysis, are examined individual words, expressions, metaphors, morphology, and sentences considered most significant and representative of the selected frames *Sustainability and Climate Policies* and *Economic and Financial Strategies* (3.6.1.5)

4.1.1 Frame: *Sustainability and Climate Policies*

To ensure a comprehensive and well-structured analysis, political parties have been grouped by political alignment. This organisation facilitates a clear understanding of the evolution of the language used and of the lexical and morphosyntactic transformations over time.

The first section focuses on the analysis of the *Centro-Destra Coalition*, followed by the centre-left parties, environmentalist movements, and finally, the *Movimento 5 Stelle*, also referred to as the *people's movement*, which positions itself outside the traditional left-right dichotomy.

4.1.1.1 *Centre-Right Coalition (2008 to 2022)*

The first electoral programme in the corpus is from the *Centre-Right Coalition* (2008), which dedicates an entire section to environmental issues, titled simply *Ambiente* (Environment). This deliberately generic title reflects a lexical choice favouring immediacy and simplicity, avoiding technical terms or evocative slogans. The structure of the section is organised as a bullet-point list, giving the text a practical and operational character while forgoing more complex narratives or argumentative constructions. Although the list effectively communicates concrete objectives, it reduces the emotional engagement of the reader, privileging a technical and administrative representation of environmental themes. Consequently, this style conveys an impression of formality and detachment, which may influence perceptions of the urgency and importance of the issue.

One notable proposal among the centre-right programmes is the «legge obiettivo per il recupero, la salvaguardia e la valorizzazione del patrimonio culturale e la tutela del paesaggio» (*target law for the recovery, safeguarding, and enhancement of cultural heritage and landscape protection*⁴⁷). This more complex and articulated phrase introduces a technical linguistic register, with terms such as *recupero* (recovery), *salvaguardia* (safeguarding), and *valorizzazione* (enhancement) evoking both conservative and proactive interventions. The lexicon combines a static dimension (*safeguarding*) with a dynamic one (*enhancement*), creating a balance between protection and development. However, the specification «nel rispetto delle autonomie territoriali» (*in respect of territorial autonomies*) reflects a political rather than environmental concern, shifting the focus to the role of regional authorities. This element aligns with a vision of the *Sustainability and Climate Policies* frame that prioritises local management over a global perspective.

The conclusion of this proposal, which mentions the «demolizione degli ecomostri» (*demolition of eco-monstrosities*) and the «risanamento degli scempi arrecati al paesaggio italiano» (*restoration of the damage inflicted on the Italian landscape*), adds an emotional and visual tone to the discourse. The term *ecomostri* (eco-monstrosities) is a highly evocative metaphor denoting buildings or infrastructure perceived as symbols of environmental and cultural degradation. This lexical choice immediately captures the reader's attention and mobilises a shared imagery of *eyesores* to be eliminated, imparting a sense of immediate and necessary action to the programme.

⁴⁷ All translations from the original are by the author.

Another noteworthy point is the «promozione di azioni coordinate di valorizzazione del territorio attraverso la programmazione negoziata con le Regioni» (*promotion of coordinated actions to enhance the territory through negotiated programming with the Regions*). Here, bureaucratic and administrative language emerges, with expressions like «azioni coordinate» (*coordinated actions*) and «programmazione negoziata» (*negotiated programming*) emphasising institutional cooperation and resource optimisation. However, terms such as «valorizzazione del territorio» (*enhancement of the territory*) and «beni culturali» (*cultural heritage*) remain vague and open to interpretation.

The proposal concerning the «realizzazione di strumenti di tutela del suolo e delle acque» (*implementation of tools for soil and water protection*) finally introduces a direct reference to natural resources. Yet, the chosen lexicon remains technical and administrative: «realizzazione di strumenti» (*implementation of tools*) is an expression lacking concreteness and does not specify the practical interventions to be undertaken. The stated goals, such as «razionalizzazione della gestione delle risorse» (*rationalisation of resource management*) and «prevenzione dei disastri idrogeologici» (*prevention of hydrogeological disasters*), represent a crucial point for sustainability. However, the language is more descriptive than persuasive, failing to convey a sense of urgency or innovation. Again, the emphasis on regional competencies limits the discourse to a localised and fragmented perspective.

Finally, the «aggiornamento della Legge 157/92 secondo gli indirizzi europei in materia di attività venatoria» (*update of Law 157/92 in line with European guidelines on hunting activities*) closes the section with a reference to hunting — a topic that, although related to environmental management, seems out of place within the programme's general narrative. Terms like *aggiornament* (update) and *indirizzi europa* (European guidelines) emphasise regulatory alignment but do not provide insights into a broader vision of sustainability.

The overall lexical construction of this section reveals an approach to environmental issues focused primarily on administrative management and addressing specific problems. The frequent use of technical and bureaucratic terms such as *programmazione negoziata* (negotiated programming), *razionalizzazione della gestione* (rationalisation of management), *tutela* (protection), and *valorizzazione* (enhancement) contributes to the pragmatic tone of the discourse. However, this lacks elements capable of conveying a sense of urgency or opportunity related to the ecological transition. Instead, the *Sustainability and Climate Policies* frame is presented conservatively and locally, without clear references to global cooperation or international climate challenges.

The lexical choices clearly reflect the political priorities of the *Centre-Right Coalition*, which places greater emphasis on territorial management and on the recovery of degraded local environment rather than on innovation or long-term prevention. The absence of terms highlighting the severity of the climate crisis, such as *emergenze* (emergencies), *rischi globali* (global risks), or *transizione ecologica* (ecological transition), suggests a misalignment with the global narrative on sustainability.

In 2013, the Centre-Right Coalition titled its section on environmental themes: «Ambiente, green economy e qualità della vita» (*Environment, Green Economy, and Quality of Life*). This title represents an evolution from 2008. Lexically, the term *green economy* introduces vocabulary evoking a vision of modernisation and development. However, the morphosyntactic structure employs simple coordination, placing the environment on an equal footing with other priorities and failing to highlight its urgency.

A key example is the proposal to «realizzare cicli integrati regionali di smaltimento, con l'obiettivo dell'autosufficienza» (*establish integrated regional waste disposal cycles, with the goal of self-sufficiency*). In the sentence, *cicli integrati* (*integrated cycles*) denotes a systemic approach, but the specification *regionali* (*regional*) limits the discourse to a local dimension. Syntactically, the phrase employs a final subordinate clause («con l'obiettivo di» – *with the goal of*), which clarifies the purpose of the action, yet the language remains predominantly descriptive, failing to convey a sense of urgency.

Another distinctive feature of the 2013 programme is the introduction of the concept of *smart cities*. Phrases such as «dare impulso allo sviluppo delle città intelligenti, coinvolgendo capitali privati e utilizzando stimoli fiscali» (*promote the development of smart cities by involving private capital and using fiscal incentives*) reflect vocabulary oriented towards technological innovation.

In contrast, the 2018 programme's title shifts focus further: «Più tecnologie, cultura e turismo. Tutela dell'ambiente. Efficientamento energetico» (*More Technology, Culture, and Tourism. Environmental Protection. Energy Efficiency*). The title suggests an increasing emphasis on technological innovation. The environment is relegated to a secondary role, as demonstrated by the coordination that places it among other priorities. This lexical and syntactic structure diminishes the impact of environmental concerns, embedding them within a broader narrative of modernisation.

Examples such as *efficientamento energetico* (energy efficiency), *risparmio energetico* (energy savings), and *sicurezza degli approvvigionamenti* (supply security) highlight technical and

sector-specific language. The morphosyntax employs abstract nouns that emphasise efficiency, but the discourse lacks explicit references to concepts such as *ecological transition*.

Another notable feature is the inclusion of terms such as *digitalizzazione della Pubblica amministrazione* (digitalisation of public administration) and *piena diffusione delle infrastrutture immateriali* (full deployment of intangible infrastructure). While these expressions reflect a modern approach, they fail to construct a coherent narrative around environmental sustainability. Syntactically, the sentences are descriptive, with few subordinate clauses providing concrete details.

Finally, in 2022, the title «L’Ambiente, una priorità» (*The Environment, a Priority*) marks a departure from previous programmes by explicitly prioritising environmental issues. This lexical choice places the environment at the forefront of the discourse, contrasting with earlier titles where it was subordinated to other concerns. From the morphosyntactic point of view, the title uses an assertive construction, reinforcing the impression of a shift in perspective.

Expressions such as «rispettare e aggiornare gli impegni internazionali assunti dall’Italia per contrastare i cambiamenti climatici» (*respect and update the international commitments made by Italy to combat climate change*) introduce a direct reference to climate change. This lexical choice represents significant alignment with global narratives.

The inclusion of phrases like «salvaguardia della biodiversità» (*safeguarding biodiversity*) and «promozione dell’educazione ambientale» (*promotion of environmental education*) further expands the semantic scope. However, the absence of terms such as *climate justice* or *ecological transition* reveals a discourse still centred on technical and administrative solutions.

From a syntactic perspective, the programme continues to employ coordinated sentences listing specific objectives. However, the absence of explanatory subordinate clauses reduces the depth of the general discourse. Terms such as *piantumazione di alberi* (tree planting) and *mobilità urbana sostenibile* (sustainable urban mobility) suggest a practical and operational approach but fail to construct a narrative that emphasises the urgency of the climate crisis.

Overall, the lexicon used in the *Centre-Right Coalition*’s electoral programmes between 2008 and 2022 demonstrates an evolution in addressing the *Sustainability and Climate Policies* frame. Initially local and conservative, the approach gradually incorporates references to global and innovative themes. Nevertheless, it retains a predominantly technical and administrative focus. The proposed narrative remains anchored in a pragmatic and operational perspective, unable to convey the sense of urgency required to tackle contemporary climate challenges effectively.

From a morphosyntactic viewpoint, the frequent use of nominal and descriptive structures lends coherence and stability to the discourse. However, it limits its dynamism and, as noted earlier in this analysis, its emotional impact. While terms like *green economy* and *economia circolare* (circular economy) enrich the vocabulary, the absence of references to fundamental concepts such as *climate justice* or *social equity* diminishes the transformative potential of the proposals. This omission allows a vision to emerge that prioritises continuity over structural change. Despite recognising the importance of environmental protection, the texts fail to construct a narrative that fully balances the values of sustainability and that conveys the necessary urgency to address contemporary climate challenges.

4.1.1.2 Partito Democratico, Potere al Popolo, Italia Viva (2008 - 2022)

In 2008, the *Partito Democratico* (PD) presented a programme that integrated environmental sustainability into a framework closely tied to economic efficiency and infrastructural development. Terms such as *qualità ambientale* (environmental quality) and *meccanismi di premio* (reward mechanisms) represent lexical choice favouring a technical and administrative register that emphasise the need for operational tools to incentivise virtuous behaviour. These terms contribute to a narrative that positions sustainability as a technological and industrial opportunity rather than as a moral or climatic imperative. The expression «leadership tecnologico-industriale» (*technological-industrial leadership*) further underscores this vision, subordinating sustainability to the primary goal of economic development.

From a textual perspective, the discourse is articulated through complex sentences and final subordinate clauses. For example, the phrase «finanziando con adeguate premialità target misurabili in campi come acqua, istruzione di base, servizi di cura» (*financing measurable targets with appropriate rewards in fields such as water, basic education, and care services*) provides precise and detailed programmatic objectives. This syntactic structure offers a clear representation of expected outcomes. However, the focus on measurability and control, evident in the emphasis on *target misurabili* (measurable targets) and *premialità* (rewards), gives the text a bureaucratic tone. This reduces its emotional engagement and persuasive impact. Moreover, the absence of explicit references to the climate crisis or its global implications further limits the impact of this kind of discourse, confining it to a predominantly technical and local perspective.

It is worth noticing how the adoption of an administrative register shapes the construction of the frame. Sustainability is presented as a transversal criterion useful for improving the quality of

life and public services but not as a categorical imperative. This is evident, for instance, in the statement: «la piena integrazione del criterio della sostenibilità e della qualità ambientale in tutte le politiche pubbliche» (*the full integration of the criterion of sustainability and environmental quality into all public policies*). The morphology of the term *integrazione* (integration) implies a gradual and inclusive process but simultaneously suggests that sustainability is an accessory element. The decision to subordinate sustainability to economic growth is further apparent in the assertion: «senza crescita, non c'è politica redistributiva che tenga» (*without growth, no redistributive policy can stand*), where the primacy of the economy is explicitly stated.

The overall effect of these linguistic and structural choices is the creation of discourse that, while mentioning sustainability, positions it as instrumental. Sustainability is not the ultimate goal but a means to achieve economic and social development objectives. Moreover, the language fails to convey the urgency of climate action or the interconnectedness of environmental challenges with global systems.

In 2013, the PD's language marked a significant evolution from 2008, shifting the focus from sustainability as a technical criterion to a strategic element for revitalising the Italian economy. The introduction of expressions such as «politica industriale integralmente ecologica» (*entirely ecological industrial policy*) reflects an attempt to integrate technological innovation with sustainability. This term, lexically, suggests a holistic and inclusive vision, but it also retains a technocratic connotation, highlighting a rational rather than emotional approach. The idea of «mobilità sostenibile» (*sustainable mobility*) fits into this framework as a concrete example of a key sector, demonstrating how sustainability can act as a driver for infrastructural modernisation.

The programme employs terms like *qualità* (quality) and *tipicità* (typicality) to connect sustainability to Italy's cultural and industrial heritage, reinforcing a sense of national identity. This association between sustainability and traditional values builds a bridge between past and future, positioning the concept within a positive and constructive narrative. For instance, in the phrase «valorizzare la carta più importante che possiamo giocare nella globalizzazione, quella del saper fare italiano» (*make the most of the strongest card we can play in globalisation: Italian craftsmanship*), the discourse shifts away from a technical register to adopt more inspirational tones, while remaining rooted in an economic vision. However, this emphasis on Italian specificity, while effective in constructing a narrative identity, tends to downplay global themes such as climate justice or international cooperation, which remain secondary.

From a syntactic perspective, the 2013 language is more articulated than that of 2008. Explanatory subordinate clauses, as in «una politica industriale che individui grandi aree d'investimento, di ricerca, di innovazione verso le quali orientare il sistema delle imprese» (*an industrial policy that identifies major areas of investment, research, and innovation towards which to orient the business system*), allow for more detailed proposals, highlighting the link between sustainability and strategic sectors. These syntactic constructions lend a richer narrative character to the text, fostering a comprehensive and coherent vision of the political project. However, this increased articulation does not necessarily translate into greater communicative urgency. The language lacks clear evocations of the immediate impact of the climate crisis, such as terms related to *emergenze* (emergencies) or *catastrofi* (catastrophes).

A notable omission is the lack of explicit references to the Paris Agreement, which would only feature in subsequent programmes. This omission places the 2013 programme in a transitional phase, where sustainability begins to be recognised as a strategic lever but has not yet assumed a central role in the global political narrative. For example, while terms like *innovazione tecnologica* (technological innovation) and *efficienza energetica* (energy efficiency) construct an optimistic narrative about the potential of sustainability, the language fails to acknowledge the interdependencies between the climate crisis, economy, and social justice.

In conclusion, the 2013 programme reflects a conceptual shift, where sustainability transitions from an accessory element to a strategic resource for the Italian economy. However, this transition is not yet accompanied by full awareness of the climate emergency or the global dimension of the challenge, limiting the language's ability to resonate with the pressing concerns of the time.

In 2018, the PD stands out for a lexicon that evolves towards a more innovative and forward-looking narrative. Terms such as *economia circolare* (circular economy) and *decarbonizzazione* (decarbonisation) indicate a strategic shift towards a language integrating sustainability and technology, aligning with an international context increasingly focused on the ecological transition. Expressions like «reti di colonnine elettriche» (*networks of electric charging stations*) and «sostituzione delle auto blu con auto verdi» (*replacement of government cars with green vehicles*) highlight a vision that aims to reduce emissions and simultaneously promotes infrastructural change affecting the entire transport system. These examples denote a technical and pragmatic register, appealing to an audience sensitive to innovation and efficiency.

From a textual standpoint, the use of nominal phrases such as «creazione di nuovi posti di lavoro grazie all'economia verde» (*creation of new jobs through the green economy*) contributes to a

clear and concise presentation of proposals. However, this textual simplification reduces argumentative depth, sacrificing a more detailed explanation of the processes required to achieve the stated goals. For instance, the proposals lack explicit connections to their potential long-term effects, leaving the reader with a declarative rather than demonstrative impression. Furthermore, the insistence on an optimistic narrative, as in the phrase «le grandi opportunità dell'economia circolare saranno colte senza incertezze» (*the great opportunities of the circular economy will be seized without hesitation*), leaves little room to acknowledge the concrete challenges that such a transition entails.

In sharp contrast, *Potere al Popolo* adopts a militant language rooted in a profound and structural critique of the dominant economic system. Expressions like «devastazione ambientale» (*environmental devastation*) and «logica del profitto» (*logic of profit*) convey an oppositional vision in which the climate crisis is interpreted as a direct consequence of predatory and unsustainable capitalism. This vocabulary, rich in negatively connoted terms, constructs a discourse seeking to mobilise the electorate through a strong emotional charge. The phrase «la devastazione ambientale è anche questione di classe» (*environmental devastation is also a class issue*) introduces a socio-political analysis that underscores global inequalities, linking environmental degradation to social injustices and pointing to privileged perpetrators.

From a morphosyntactic perspective, *Potere al Popolo* employs complex structures, with coordinated and subordinate clauses that enrich the discourse but potentially reduce accessibility. For example, the construction «programmazione, pianificazione e gestione partecipate e trasparenti fondate su obiettivi di interesse collettivo» (*participatory and transparent programming, planning, and management based on collective interest objectives*) demonstrates an intention to elaborate proposals, though the length and density of the sentence may hinder immediate comprehension. Additionally, the use of explanatory subordinate clauses, such as «una nuova politica energetica che parta dal calcolo del fabbisogno reale» (*a new energy policy starting from the calculation of actual needs*), illustrates a more elaborate argumentative approach, though it often lacks clear indications of practical means to implement these ideas.

From a lexical perspective, while the PD employs language that emphasises opportunity and progress, *Potere al Popolo* adopts a strongly value-driven lexicon, including terms such as *beni comuni* (common goods) and *democrazia dei territori* (territorial democracy), highlighting a focus on dynamics of collective participation. However, the lack of concrete operational details

in proposals such as «moratoria sui nuovi progetti estrattivi» (*a moratorium on new extraction projects*) undermines the practical effectiveness of its discourse, leaving it rooted in an ideological framework.

The contrast between these approaches reveals an intriguing dichotomy: on one hand, the PD favours a technical, market-oriented language, aiming to construct an optimistic and reassuring narrative. On the other, *Potere al Popolo* employs a language of denunciation, stressing the need for a radical systemic change. Both programmes, however, show limitations. The former risks being overly vague in its operational details, while the latter, despite its strong value-driven stance, lacks practicality in defining solutions. This polarisation reflects the parties' differing priorities and communicative strategies but also highlights a shared difficulty in balancing vision and practicality within the political discourse on environmental sustainability. In 2022, the Democratic Party's language further evolves, incorporating terms that underscore both the immediacy and complexity of the climate crisis. Expressions such as «transizione ecologica e digitale» (*ecological and digital transition*) and «neutralità climatica entro il 2050» (*climate neutrality by 2050*) introduce a technical-scientific vocabulary. This narrative emphasises the synergy between economic progress and collective responsibility. Phrases like «FitFor55» and «strumenti capaci di garantire una transizione socialmente equa» (*tools capable of ensuring a socially equitable transition*) reveal an intent to intertwine sustainability with social inclusion, insisting on the need for systemic change.

Syntactically, the frequent use of final subordinate clauses, as in «per costruire un modello che guardi agli interessi della comunità nel suo complesso» (*to build a model that considers the interests of the community as a whole*), provides a complex structure that seeks to connect various facets of the proposed policies. However, this narrative remains anchored in an institutional register that risks alienating non-specialist readers, despite attempts to make the language more accessible through concrete references such as «reti di colonnine elettriche» (*networks of electric charging stations*) and «obiettivi climatici realistici ma ambiziosi» (*realistic but ambitious climate goals*).

In contrast, *Italia Viva* adopts an approach marked by distinctly technical language, focused on specific and immediate solutions. Sentences such as «raggiungere l'indipendenza dal gas russo» (*achieve independence from Russian gas*) and «sistemi di cattura e stoccaggio della CO₂» (*CO₂ capture and storage systems*) highlight an operational and pragmatic stance aimed at addressing current issues with targeted tools. References to the *price cap* not only denote technical

competence but also suggest a market-oriented vision that seeks to balance cost reduction with the transition to a sustainable economy.

Textually, the prevalence of coordinated and nominal phrases, such as «rafforzare la strategia sulle energie rinnovabili» (*strengthen the strategy on renewable energy*), contributes to a direct and incisive discourse. However, this approach sacrifices greater argumentative depth, leaving the narrative focused on feasibility but lacking a value-based framework connecting the proposals to a comprehensive and shared vision of sustainability.

In stark contrast, *Potere al Popolo* continues to employ language heavily imbued with ideological and critical values, emphasising themes such as social justice and environmental protection. Expressions like «rinaturazione delle sponde fluviali» (*restoration of riverbanks*) and «legge nazionale per portare a zero il consumo di suolo» (*a national law to eliminate soil consumption*) reflect a radical perspective that critiques the inequalities inherent in the dominant economic model. The lexicon, enriched with terms like «beni comuni» (*common goods*) and «democrazia dei territori» (*territorial democracy*), constructs a narrative aiming to mobilise the public with strong ethical and political overtones.

Syntactically, the adoption of complex sentences with explanatory subordinate clauses, such as «una nuova legge urbanistica adeguata alla crisi climatica e ai fenomeni di espansione urbana disordinati» (*a new urban planning law adapted to the climate crisis and disorganised urban expansion*), adds depth to the discourse but partially compromises its readability. Unlike the Democratic Party and *Italia Viva*, which strive to integrate strategic vision and operational feasibility, *Potere al Popolo* focuses predominantly on the structural roots of the crisis, often without providing practical details on how to implement its proposals.

Comparing the three parties reveals a plurality of communicative approaches that reflect their distinct priorities. The Democratic Party articulates a technical-scientific narrative that seeks to reconcile sustainability and economic growth, building on an institutional and multilateral framework like *FitFor55*. *Italia Viva*, with its technocratic language, emphasises operational solutions at the expense of a broader and more inclusive vision. Finally, *Potere al Popolo* stands out for its militant and ideological language, oriented towards critiquing the capitalist system but often lacking actionable details.

4.1.1.3 Sinistra Arcobaleno, Sinistra Ecologia Libertà, Alleanza Verdi Sinistra (2008 - 2022)

The 2008 programme of *Sinistra Arcobaleno* stands out for its use of language that balances a technical approach with political idealism, aiming to construct a compelling narrative around

the sustainability frame. Expressions such as «riconversione ecologica della società e dell'economia» (*ecological reconversion of society and the economy*) and «nuovo paradigma dello sviluppo» (*a new paradigm of development*) indicate a perspective that consciously diverges from traditional quantitative growth models, proposing a structural shift toward quality. These key terms anchor the discourse to values such as social and environmental justice while conveying a sense of urgency and pragmatism. In this context, specific references to *fonti rinnovabili* (renewable sources), *efficienza energetica* (energy efficiency), and the *Protocollo di Kyoto* (Kyoto Protocol) provide a clear technical grounding, emphasising the intention to link the narrative to tangible, measurable objectives.

From a lexical perspective, the frequent use of terms like *clima* (climate), *energia* (energy), and *emissioni* (emissions) establishes a coherent semantic field, reinforcing the centrality of climate issues within the programme. Expressions such as «la questione del clima è questione generale, politica, economica e sociale» (*the climate issue is a general, political, economic, and social issue*) strategically intertwine multiple perspectives, broadening the scope of the discourse. Phrases like «senza adeguate misure, alle sanzioni si aggiungeranno rischi certi per la salute delle popolazioni» (*without adequate measures, sanctions will be compounded by certain risks to public health*) underline not only the urgency of action but also the tangible consequences of inaction, forging both emotional and rational connections with the reader.

The syntactic structure of the programme favours complex sentences, where causal, final, and relative clauses deepen and expand the argumentation. For example, in the clause «per raggiungere questi obiettivi è necessario un profondo cambiamento del nostro sistema energetico e ambientale» (*to achieve these objectives, a profound change in our energy and environmental system is necessary*), the causal link is explicitly stated, lending logical coherence to the proposals. Similarly, the use of relative clauses, as in «il gas naturale come combustibile di transizione verso lo sviluppo delle fonti rinnovabili» (*natural gas as a transitional fuel towards the development of renewable sources*), demonstrates an ability to elaborate on content without fragmenting the discourse.

Textually, the programme adopts a narrative structure alternating between descriptive and prescriptive sections, making the text both informative and propositional. Descriptions of global climate issues, such as the statement that climate variations «colpiscono tutti ed in particolare i più poveri del mondo» (*affect everyone, especially the world's poorest*), are followed by operational proposals, including «un grande piano energetico nazionale fondato sulle fonti rinnovabili» (*a major national energy plan based on renewable sources*). This textual

alternation seeks to engage the reader by offering a comprehensive view of the problem and potential solutions. However, the inclusion of technical terms such as *truffa del CIP/6* (the CIP/6 scam) or references to *Conto energia* (Energy Account) may present a communication barrier for audiences unfamiliar with the sector, potentially limiting the message's impact on a generalist audience.

The narrative unfolds with an assertive and optimistic tone, leveraging keywords such as *priorità* (priority), *innovazione* (innovation), and *qualità* (quality). The clear objective is to position the party as both a visionary and pragmatic actor in the political landscape. This intent is further reflected in the use of specific data, such as «20% di energia primaria da fonti rinnovabili entro il 2020» (*20% of primary energy from renewable sources by 2020*), which lends credibility to the discourse and underscores a measurable and concrete approach.

In 2013, the programme of *Sinistra Ecologia Libertà* represents a significant evolution from 2008, placing greater emphasis on the integration of environmental sustainability with socio-economic dimensions, particularly employment. The term *conversione ecologica* (ecological transition), which serves as the central focus of the discourse, is repeatedly employed to underline the need for systemic transformation. Environmental policies are no longer seen as standalone objectives but as a means to revitalise the economic and social fabric. The expression «Piano Verde per il lavoro» (*Green Plan for Employment*) is emblematic of this approach, as it links the ecological transition to a concrete plan for tackling unemployment and job insecurity. This is achieved through targeted interventions such as «riqualificazione urbana» (*urban regeneration*) and «messa in sicurezza del territorio» (*securing the territory*).

From a lexical perspective, the programme's language blends technical terms, such as «mitigamento delle conseguenze dei cambiamenti climatici» (*mitigation of the consequences of climate change*) and «efficientamento energetico degli immobili» (*energy efficiency of buildings*), with evocative expressions that convey a sense of opportunity and hope. One of the programme's most effective strategies is the use of metaphors, such as in the phrase «un modello urbano in grado di far crescere l'albero delle nuove professioni verdi» (*an urban model capable of growing the tree of new green professions*). This image of a tree not only makes the concept more accessible to readers but also suggests growth, vitality, and a future rooted in sustainability. Similarly, expressions like «difesa del suolo» (*soil defence*) and «cura del paesaggio» (*landscape care*) reinforce the idea of a deep connection between the environment and quality of life, establishing an emotional bond with the audience.

Syntactically, the programme is characterised by the frequent use of explanatory and relative subordinate clauses, which allow for detailed and sequential articulation of the relationships between problems, solutions, and expected outcomes. For instance, in the sentence «una grande campagna per la difesa del suolo, la prevenzione del rischio sismico, il mitigamento delle conseguenze dei cambiamenti climatici» (*a major campaign for soil defence, seismic risk prevention, and mitigation of the consequences of climate change*), the organised listing and subordinate clauses create a syntactic structure that highlights the interconnections between the proposed interventions and their objectives. This syntactic approach gives the text a narrative quality, making the message more immediate and engaging compared to the more bureaucratic language of 2008.

Textually, the programme alternates between descriptions of systemic problems and operational proposals, achieving a balance between strategic vision and practicality. The use of data and figures, such as the estimated investment required to implement the plan (forty billion euros over ten years), adds credibility and precision to the narrative. However, this data is integrated into a smoother and less fragmented discourse compared to 2008, making the text accessible even to a less specialised audience. The narrative structure is supported by an inclusive and optimistic tone that seeks to mobilise readers around the idea that environmental policies represent an opportunity rather than a burden.

Furthermore, the 2013 programme distinguishes itself by contextualising environmental policies within a broader fight against social inequalities. Expressions such as «sostenibilità sociale e ambientale» (*social and environmental sustainability*) are intertwined to convey that climate change is not an isolated issue but one that demands integrated solutions. This is reflected in the emphasis on «creazione di città sostenibili» (*creation of sustainable cities*), which not only concerns reducing environmental impact but also building urban contexts that promote inclusion, quality of life, and new employment opportunities.

In 2022, the programme of *Alleanza Verdi Sinistra* represents a further refinement of discursive and lexical strategies compared to previous iterations. It reflects a language that blends the use of scientific technicalities with value-oriented terminology. Expressions such as «neutralità climatica entro il 2045» (*climate neutrality by 2045*) and «democrazia energetica» (*energy democracy*) not only outline specific objectives but also introduce a vision of profound renewal in energy policies, rooted in principles of equity and inclusion. The term *democrazia energetica*, in particular, encapsulates a transformative approach. It opposes the concentration of energy

resources in the hands of a few, instead promoting a decentralised and participatory model, with explicit references to the concept of the *sharing economy*.

From a lexical perspective, the programme extensively employs specialist terms, such as *batterie al litio* (lithium batteries), *pompaggi idroelettrici* (hydroelectric pumping), and *energia solare termodinamica* (thermodynamic solar energy), grounding its discourse in a technological and scientific dimension. These technicalities are balanced by the use of value-laden language, such as *bene comune* (common good) and *giustizia climatica* (climate justice), aiming to bridge the complexity of proposed policies with the reader's sense of urgency and social justice. This interplay of lexical registers not only enhances the programme's credibility but also creates an inclusive narrative that resonates with both experts and the general public.

From a morphosyntactic standpoint, the text is characterised by an articulated and logical structure, with frequent use of final and causal subordinate clauses to clarify the connections between objectives, strategies, and anticipated outcomes. A representative example is the sentence: «per garantire l'uscita dalla generazione a gas nel sistema elettrico entro il 2035, è necessario un piano che definisca tempi e quantità per il definitivo abbandono del gas metano» (*to ensure the phase-out of gas-based electricity generation by 2035, a plan that specifies timelines and quantities for the complete abandonment of methane gas is required*). This construction not only makes the correlation between the various elements of the proposal explicit but also underscores the importance of planning as a tool for achieving ambitious goals. Such syntactic structures lend the discourse logical coherence, guiding the reader through the argumentative steps clearly and sequentially.

Textually, the programme effectively alternates between narrative, descriptive, and prescriptive sections. For instance, the narrative sections provide an overview of the global climate situation, employing scientific data such as: «il mondo si trova su una strada che va verso un aumento della temperatura globale di 2,7 gradi entro la fine del secolo» (*the world is on a path towards a global temperature increase of 2.7 degrees by the end of the century*). These data points are integrated into a narrative that aims to raise awareness of the severity of the climate crisis, making it both tangible and urgent. The prescriptive sections, on the other hand, offer concrete and detailed solutions, such as the goal to «installare 15 GW all'anno di energie rinnovabili» (*install 15 GW of renewable energy annually*), reinforcing the impression of pragmatism and feasibility in the proposals.

The overall narrative is constructed around a dual register: on one hand, scientific evidence lends credibility and authority to the discourse. On the other hand, the use of value-oriented

terminology and evocative imagery maintains an emotional connection with the reader. For example, the statement «l'energia deve diventare un bene comune» (*energy must become a common good*) not only emphasises the importance of the energy transition but also evokes ideals of equity and inclusion. This makes the technical concept accessible and meaningful to a broader audience.

Moreover, the emphasis on the urgency of climate action is reinforced through the use of temporal expressions that delineate the milestones of the transition, such as «entro il 2030» (*by 2030*) or «nei prossimi otto anni» (*in the next eight years*). These temporal markers create a sense of immediacy, mobilising the reader towards shared commitment. Simultaneously, terms like *neutralità climatica* (climate neutrality) and *transizione resiliente* (resilient transition) construct an image of long-term planning, suggesting that today's efforts are indispensable for ensuring a sustainable future.

Finally, the programme makes extensive use of analogies and metaphors that render technical concepts more accessible. For example, the reference to the sun as the largest «reattore a fusione nucleare» (*nuclear fusion reactor*) already available for renewable energy production is an image that effectively conveys the potential of natural energy sources, making the discourse immediately comprehensible even for a less specialised audience.

Between 2008 and 2022, the language of Italian environmentalist parties has progressively evolved, becoming more technical and enriched with scientific references, while maintaining the centrality of urgency and the importance of environmental sustainability. In 2008, the discourse focused on an alternative vision of economic growth; by 2013, it had expanded to include a more socially inclusive narrative. By 2022, the language became increasingly specific and technical, reflecting the evolution of climate policies and the complexity of global challenges. However, this shift towards greater technicality risks making the message less accessible to a broader audience and reducing environmental protection to economic logic.

While the urgency of climate action is consistently reiterated, the discourse remains tied to anthropocentric and quantitative paradigms, neglecting a cultural perspective that acknowledges the intrinsic value of ecosystems.

4.1.1.4 Movimento 5 Stelle (2013 – 2022)

The 2013 electoral programme of the *Movimento 5 Stelle* (Five Star Movement) stands out for its language, which is strongly oriented towards the description of technical and regulatory solutions, reflecting a pragmatic and efficiency-driven approach. Terms and expression such as

«riduzione delle emissioni di CO₂» (*reduction of CO₂ emissions*), «certificazione energetica degli edifici» (*energy certification of buildings*), and «co-generazione diffusa» (*distributed co-generation*) are key examples of a technical and specific lexicon aimed at consolidating adherence to European standards. The use of expressions like «direttiva europea 76/93» (*European Directive 76/93*) or «normativa prevista dai decreti sui certificati di efficienza energetica» (*regulations under decrees on energy efficiency certificates*) underscores an intent to align with international norms, positioning the programme as compliant with global standards.

Phrases such as «riduzione di almeno il 10 per cento in cinque anni dei consumi energetici del patrimonio edilizio degli enti pubblici» (*a reduction of at least 10% in five years of the energy consumption of public buildings*) highlight an administrative approach prioritising measurable objectives. By specifying percentages and clear timeframes, the programme reinforces a sense of concreteness and urgency. However, the language remains predominantly technical, leaving little room for a narrative that emotionally engages the reader.

For instance, the expression «legalizzazione e incentivazione della produzione di biocombustibili» (*legalisation and incentivisation of biofuel production*) introduces an innovative concept, but it is treated in an operational and descriptive manner without elaborating on its broader environmental or economic benefits. Similarly, phrases like «incremento della sostanza organica nei suoli» (*increase in organic matter in soils*) fit within a technical discourse that emphasises specific actions over a systemic vision.

From a morphosyntactic perspective, the programme frequently employs bullet-point lists to outline proposals, such as in the section dedicated to «incentivazioni alla produzione distribuita di energia elettrica» (*incentives for distributed electricity production*). This structure ensures clarity and readability but fragments the discourse, reducing narrative fluidity. These lists present precise and specific actions, such as «potenziamento e riduzione dell'impatto ambientale delle centrali termoelettriche esistenti» (*enhancement and reduction of the environmental impact of existing thermoelectric plants*) or «estensione della possibilità di riversare in rete e di vendere l'energia elettrica anche agli impianti di micro-cogenerazione» (*extension of the possibility to feed electricity into the grid and sell it even from micro-co-generation plants*). While these convey a sense of organisation, they lack narrative cohesion, though this is not always required in an electoral programme.

Final clauses, as in «riduzione di almeno il 10 per cento in cinque anni dei consumi energetici» (*a reduction of at least 10% in five years of energy consumption*) or «legalizzazione della

produzione di biocombustibili vincolando all'incremento della sostanza organica nei suoli» (*legalisation of biofuel production, tied to increasing organic matter in soils*), structure the discourse with a clear goal orientation. However, excessive syntactic fragmentation may hinder the text's ability to construct an integrated and systemic vision of environmental policies.

A noteworthy feature of the programme is its focus on local and specific interventions, as evidenced by the proposal to establish «classe C della provincia di Bolzano come livello massimo di consumi per la concessione delle licenze edilizie» (*Class C in the Province of Bolzano as the maximum consumption level for granting building permits*). This example reflects an intention to promote virtuous local models but fails to build a narrative connecting these actions to a global perspective. The lack of references to international dynamics or coordinated European policies limits the discourse's impact.

Despite including terms related to renewable energy and biofuels, the 2013 programme does not construct a narrative that integrates these elements into a global and systemic vision. For example, the proposal for the «incentivazione della produzione di biogas dalla fermentazione anaerobica dei rifiuti organici» (*incentivisation of biogas production from the anaerobic digestion of organic waste*) is treated as an isolated measure, with no explicit links to a comprehensive circular economy strategy. Similarly, the phrase «incentivazione della produzione distribuita di energia termica con fonti rinnovabili» (*incentivisation of distributed thermal energy production using renewable sources*) focuses on technical, targeted interventions without exploring the transformative potential of these policies in the context of a broader ecological transition.

The 2018 programme marks a significant evolution within the *Sustainability and Climate Policies* frame, introducing quantitative objectives that render the discourse more concrete compared to 2013. Phrases such as «200mila posti di lavoro da economia del riciclo rifiuti» (*200,000 jobs from the waste recycling economy*) and «17mila nuovi posti di lavoro per ogni miliardo di euro investito» (*17,000 new jobs for every billion euros invested*) denote an approach based on measurable data, emphasising the tangible impact of proposed policies. The use of specific figures, particularly when drawn from validated public surveys (e.g., ISTAT), conveys a sense of reliability and pragmatism, reinforcing the perception of structured and feasible plans.

By explicitly linking environmental policies to economic benefits and job creation, the 2018 programme aligns with a broader narrative that frames sustainability as a driver of economic regeneration and social stability. This approach represents an attempt to integrate

environmental imperatives into a framework that appeals to both technical and public audiences. From a lexical perspective, the programme introduces terms that reflect a futuristic and ambitious outlook. Phrases such as «uscita dal petrolio entro il 2050» (*exit from oil by 2050*) and «un milione di auto elettriche» (*one million electric cars*) form central elements of a narrative that directly links climate policies to a sustainable future. The expression «Italia 100% rinnovabile» (*Italy 100% renewable*) further broadens the semantic scope, representing an idealistic and symbolic goal intended to inspire. However, the absence of specific details, such as surveys or plans for achieving this transition, including the necessary infrastructure or intermediate timelines, undermines the practical credibility of the discourse.

The morphosyntax remains predominantly descriptive, favouring nominal constructions that highlight final outcomes rather than the processes leading to them. For instance, the phrase «un milione di auto elettriche» (*one million electric cars*) does not include subordinate clauses explaining the operational steps required to reach this target, such as battery production, the expansion of charging networks, or economic incentives. While this lexical construction is effective in conveying clear objectives, it risks appearing more aspirational than pragmatic.

Another noteworthy example is the use of «17mila nuovi posti di lavoro per ogni miliardo di euro investito» (*17,000 new jobs for every billion euros invested*), which underscores the economic efficiency of the proposed policies. However, the lack of causal or conditional clauses to clarify the necessary conditions for achieving these outcomes diminishes the programme's perceived feasibility.

Despite adopting a more modern and visionary lexicon, the 2018 discourse still lacks references to key themes such as climate justice or social inclusion. For instance, expressions like «economia del riciclo rifiuti» (*waste recycling economy*) focus on the technical and economic aspects of sustainability but fail to address the implications for local communities or disadvantaged social groups. The absence of such connections limits the ability to construct a narrative linking environmental sustainability to equitable and inclusive progress.

Compared to the 2013 programme, the 2018 language shows significant progress in integrating sustainability with economic development. The introduction of quantitative objectives, such as «200mila posti di lavoro» (*200,000 jobs*) and «uscita dal petrolio entro il 2050» (*exit from oil by 2050*), marks a step towards greater specificity and a forward-looking narrative. However, the discourse lacks a systemic framework that addresses ecological transition holistically, integrating social, economic, and environmental dimensions.

The 2022 programme represents a further advancement, employing language that seeks to integrate environmental sustainability, economic strategies, and long-term objectives. The section title, «Dalla parte dell’ambiente: per la transizione energetica, ecologica e la tutela della biodiversità» (*On the side of the environment: for energy and ecological transition and biodiversity protection*), explicitly conveys a strong commitment, placing environmental issues at the forefront. Terms such as *transizione energetica* (energy transition) and *tutela della biodiversità* (biodiversity protection) not only expand the lexicon compared to previous programmes but also suggest a more structured approach aimed at comprehensive solutions.

From a lexical perspective, the programme introduces expressions that mark a significant shift from earlier approaches. Terms such as *società 2000 watt* (2000-watt society) reference international models of sustainable energy consumption, reflecting an openness to global perspectives. The phrase «riduzione del consumo delle risorse naturali» (*reduction in the consumption of natural resources*) expands the semantic field, moving the focus from the mere reduction of emissions (a central theme in 2013) to a more comprehensive and sustainable management of resources. Additionally, references to *riciclo dei rifiuti* (waste recycling) and *economia rigenerativa* (regenerative economy) signal an ambition to go beyond the concept of a circular economy, incorporating elements of social and environmental regeneration.

However, the language remains heavily technical, as demonstrated by phrases such as «realizzazione di impianti innovativi e sostenibili» (*development of innovative and sustainable facilities*). While such phrasing effectively communicates specificity and feasibility, it risks diminishing the reader’s emotional engagement by focusing on tools rather than providing context or detailing the broader impacts of these initiatives.

From a morphosyntactic perspective, the 2022 programme favours the use of coordinated sentences and nominal constructions, such as in «rimboschimento e piantumazione di alberi sull’intero territorio nazionale» (*reforestation and planting of trees across the entire national territory*). While this structure enhances clarity and readability, it fragments the discourse into a series of discrete objectives, limiting its narrative depth. For instance, the phrase «stabilizzazione delle agevolazioni edilizie per permettere la pianificazione degli investimenti sugli immobili» (*stabilisation of building incentives to enable investment planning for properties*) reflects a focus on describing tools rather than constructing a comprehensive vision. Another notable example is the expression «superbonus energia imprese» (*energy superbonus for businesses*), which explicitly links economic incentives to environmental policies. While the term underscores the synergy between economic growth and sustainability, the absence of

explanatory subordinate clauses constrains the text's ability to elucidate the operational mechanisms or the broader social and environmental benefits of such initiatives.

Compared to previous programmes, the 2022 programme stands out for introducing expressions that enrich the discourse with both value-oriented and educational dimensions. Terms such as *salvaguardia della biodiversità* (biodiversity protection) and *educazione ambientale* (environmental education) add depth to the text. They highlight the importance of shared values and foster greater collective awareness. These elements represent a clear advancement over the predominantly technical and quantitative language observed in earlier programmes.

Despite these advancements, some critical gaps remain, as also noted in the programmes of the *Coalizione di centro destra* and the *Partito Democratico*. The absence of explicit references to concepts such as *giustizia climatica* (climate justice) or *inclusione sociale* (social inclusion) undermines the effectiveness of the discourse in constructing a systemic and inclusive narrative. For instance, while the 2022 programme mentions *economia rigenerativa* (regenerative economy), it fails to specify how this could address economic inequalities or social disparities. This omission leaves the connection between sustainability and equity incomplete.

4.1.2 Frame: *Economic and Financial Strategies*

To conduct a more detailed analysis of the *Economic and Financial Strategies* frame, political parties have been organised by alignment. This categorisation allows for tracing the linguistic evolution within the programmes, highlighting the key lexical and textual features of each electoral manifesto. Particular attention is given to the use of technical terminology, morphosyntactic constructions, and the coherence between economic and environmental proposals.

4.1.2.1 *The Centre-Right Coalition (2008 – 2022)*

In the 2008 electoral programme of the *Coalizione di centro destra*, the first proposal mentions the «introduction of a 5 per mille allocation for the environment» (*l'introduzione della destinazione di un 5 per mille per l'ambiente*). This phrase intertwines fiscal mechanisms with environmental objectives, presenting a proposal that positions the environment as a recipient of public economic resources. The term *5 per mille*, a well-established fiscal mechanism familiar to citizens, lends the proposal an air of practicality and tangibility. However, this lexical choice reveals a primarily economic-administrative perspective: the environment is not portrayed as a dynamic or strategic actor but rather as a passive beneficiary of resources. The use of the word

destinazione (allocation) reinforces this static image, suggesting a mere transfer of funds rather than an active process of transformation or innovation.

Another notable feature emerges in the use of terms such as *fondi europei* (European funds), *programmazione negoziata* (negotiated planning), and *razionalizzazione* (rationalisation). These terms, which carry a distinctly technical-administrative connotation, construct a narrative focused on the efficient management of resources rather than promoting structural or innovative change. The term *fondi europei* highlights a supranational dimension, underlining the role of the European Union in providing economic support for local initiatives. However, the reliance on language tied to mere *programmazione negoziata* suggests a bureaucratic approach devoid of visionary ambition. The frequent use of *razionalizzazione*, often associated with cost containment and optimisation strategies, further reinforces a vision of the environment as a domain to be efficiently managed rather than transformed into an opportunity for generating economic value.

The absence of terms that convey a forward-looking and progressive vision is also reflected in expressions such as *recupero* (recovery), *salvaguardia* (safeguarding), and *valorizzazione* (enhancement). While these terms carry positive connotations, they construct a narrative centred on conservative and incremental improvements to existing resources rather than expansive or transformative change. For example, the expression «valorizzazione del territorio» (*enhancement of the territory*) lends itself to various interpretations but appears, in this context, to be more aligned with economic exploitation rather than an integrated vision of sustainable development. Linking this enhancement to «utilizzo dei fondi europei» (*use of European funds*) consolidates the image of an economic approach focused on pre-existing resources, without indicating how such funds could stimulate innovation or long-term investments.

Further evidence of the conservative approach lies in the language chosen, which reflects a prioritisation of efficiency and administrative continuity while relegating the transformative potential of environmental policies in fostering economic growth and value creation to the background.

A particularly illustrative example of this approach is the proposal to «realizzazione di strumenti di tutela del suolo e delle acque per una razionalizzazione della gestione delle risorse e per la prevenzione dei disastri idrogeologici» (*creation of tools for soil and water protection to rationalise resource management and prevent hydrogeological disasters*). The term *strumenti* (tools) suggests a technical and operational approach, yet lacks concrete details on how such tools could generate economic benefits. The phrase «razionalizzazione della gestione

delle risorse» (*rationalisation of resource management*) prioritises waste reduction and efficiency improvement but fails to establish a direct link between these actions and goals such as economic growth or innovation. Here too, the absence of terms associated with technological innovation or the green transition undermines the discourse's ability to position the environment as an engine of economic development.

The overall lexical choices in the programme, while reflecting a clear focus on the economic and administrative management of resources, fail to construct a narrative that fully balances the values of economic growth and environmental sustainability. Terms such as *fondi europei* (European funds) and *programmazione negoziata* (negotiated planning) evoke an approach centred on efficiency and accountability but do not advance a vision that places the environment at the heart of a national or international economic strategy. The emphasis on administrative management, although consistent with the coalition's political priorities, restricts the text's capacity to inspire a sense of opportunity linked to sustainability.

In the 2013 electoral programme, the language becomes more nuanced with the introduction of terms such as *green economy* and *eco-innovazione* (eco-innovation), marking an evolution from 2008. The section title, «Ambiente, green economy e qualità della vita» (Environment, green economy, and quality of life), underscores an expansion of priorities, integrating technological innovation as a strategic tool for development. This lexical choice reflects an attempt to align with a more contemporary global narrative, where sustainability is linked to economic opportunities. However, the overall approach remains technical and administrative, with a strong focus on operational proposals, such as the «realizzazione di cicli integrati regionali di smaltimento» (*implementation of integrated regional disposal cycles*). The term *cicli integrati* (integrated cycles) demonstrates attention to organised and systemic management, yet the specification *regionali* (regional) confines the proposal's scope to a local context, lacking aspirations for national or international coordination.

The expression «leva fiscale per favorire nuove imprese e occupazione» (*fiscal leverage to promote new businesses and employment*) represents an attempt to link sustainability with economic growth. This connection between environment and economy is reinforced by the syntactic structure, which incorporates purpose clauses, such as in «con l'obiettivo dell'autosufficienza» (*with the goal of self-sufficiency*), clarifying the objectives of the proposed actions. This syntax helps construct an image of control and rational management, emphasising the effectiveness of the measures proposed. However, the discourse remains

anchored in a pragmatic and managerial perspective, falling short of advancing more transformative visions.

A significant step forward is the introduction of the concept of *smart cities*, which enriches the lexicon with expressions such as *capitali privati* (private capital) and *stimoli fiscali* (fiscal incentives). These terms suggest modernity and innovation but also reveal a shift in focus towards the economic dimension. The narrative prioritises growth and the creation of economic value, relegating environmental issues to a secondary, instrumental role. Morphosyntactically, the sentence describing smart cities is constructed with a descriptive main clause followed by instrumental complements, such as *coinvolgendo* (involving) and *utilizzando* (using), which give the discourse an operational tone. However, this tone lacks emotional resonance or inspirational momentum.

The phrase «valorizzare il sistema dei parchi e delle aree protette attraverso l'uso della leva fiscale» (*enhancing the system of parks and protected areas through the use of fiscal leverage*) establishes an additional link between the environment and the economy. The use of the term *leva fiscale* (fiscal leverage) highlights the intention to employ economic tools to support sustainability. However, the technical language employed fails to significantly engage the reader. Once again, nominal constructions prevail, contributing to a static discourse that diminishes dynamism and communicative effectiveness.

The 2018 programme reveals a marked shift towards technological innovation, as suggested by the title «Più tecnologie, cultura e turismo. Tutela dell'ambiente. Efficientamento energetico» (*More technologies, culture, and tourism. Environmental protection. Energy efficiency*). In this formulation, the placement of *tutela dell'ambiente* (environmental protection) in an intermediate and subordinate position relative to other priorities suggests a hierarchy where environmental issues, while present, are not the focal point of the discourse. This lexical choice confirms a pragmatic orientation that integrates environmental concerns into a broader narrative dominated by goals of modernisation and technological development.

Terms such as *efficientamento energetico* (energy efficiency) and *risparmio energetico* (energy savings) consolidate an efficiency-oriented approach, emphasising the optimisation of resource use rather than structural transformations. These highly technical terms convey a sectoral vision of sustainability, where proposed actions are limited to targeted interventions in specific areas. Syntactically, the prevalence of coordinated lists, as in «sicurezza degli approvvigionamenti» (*supply security*) and «produzione energetica nell'industria» (*energy production in industry*),

underscores a descriptive and fragmented narrative. This approach does not construct a unified and systemic vision of environmental policies.

A noteworthy novelty is the introduction of expressions such as «sostegno alle start-up innovative» (*support for innovative start-ups*) and «semplificazione del crowdfunding» (*simplification of crowdfunding*). These proposals indicate an openness to innovative and participatory economic models. However, the vocabulary used does not integrate these concepts with environmental sustainability, revealing a perspective that once again prioritises economic efficiency over genuine synergy between innovation and ecological transition. Similarly, the syntactic construction employs purpose clauses, such as in «per favorire la crescita delle imprese» (*to promote business growth*), which reinforce a practical and concrete tone but limit the discourse's ability to inspire systemic change.

The proposal to «sostegno alle energie rinnovabili» (*support for renewable energies*) represents progress compared to the 2013 programme, demonstrating greater recognition of the importance of alternative sources. However, the absence of direct references to the climate crisis reduces the impact of this proposal, which is presented as an isolated measure rather than part of an integrated strategy. Additionally, terms such as *produzione energetica* (energy production) and *consumi nell'edilizia, nell'industria e nei trasporti* (consumption in construction, industry, and transport) continue to reflect a sectoral and fragmented approach, failing to address the systemic causes of environmental issues.

The 2022 programme represents a turning point in the political narrative of the *Centre-right Coalition*, marked by the title «L'Ambiente, una priorità» (*The Environment, a Priority*), which explicitly assigns central importance to environmental issues. The use of the term *priorità* (priority) suggests a formal recognition of the environment's significance, reflecting an effort to align with globally recognised urgencies. This shift is further underscored by the inclusion of expressions such as «rispettare e aggiornare gli impegni internazionali assunti dall'Italia per contrastare i cambiamenti climatici» (*respect and update the international commitments undertaken by Italy to combat climate change*). Here, the lexicon is enriched with direct references to the climate crisis, an element absent in previous programmes, demonstrating an alignment with the international discourse.

Among the most noteworthy proposals is the «piano strategico nazionale di economia circolare» (*national strategic plan for the circular economy*), which introduces a new lexical paradigm through terms such as «riduzione del consumo delle risorse naturali» (*reduction in the consumption of natural resources*) and «riciclo dei rifiuti» (*waste recycling*). These terms

indicate a more systemic approach to resource management, moving beyond the fragmented vision of earlier programmes. However, as is typical in electoral programmes, the structure remains descriptive and schematic, with nominal phrases listing specific objectives without delving into operational strategies. The need for conciseness inherently excludes explanatory subordinates or causal conjunctions, limiting the ability to present a dynamic and detailed vision.

The inclusion of terms such as *biodiversità* (biodiversity) and *educazione ambientale* (environmental education) further enriches the discourse, broadening the semantic field and indicating a greater awareness of the complexity of environmental challenges. Nonetheless, the absence of references to concepts such as *giustizia climatica* (climate justice) or *equità sociale* (social equity) reveals a perspective still anchored in technical solutions rather than profound cultural and social transformations.

Another noteworthy element is the focus on actionable proposals, such as «mobilità urbana sostenibile» (*sustainable urban mobility*) and «piantumazione di alberi» (*tree planting*), which introduce tangible and easily comprehensible initiatives. While these expressions reflect a practical approach, the language remains dominated by a technical register, as evidenced by nominal constructions such as «realizzazione di impianti innovativi e sostenibili» (*construction of innovative and sustainable facilities*). These formulations reinforce the image of a discourse geared towards administrative planning but limit emotional engagement and the ability to inspire urgency.

The reference to «resilienza delle aree a rischio dissesto idrogeologico» (*resilience of areas at risk of hydrogeological instability*) marks further evolution, integrating the concept of adaptation to climate change. However, even here, the lack of explicit connections between resilience and inclusive economic development limits the narrative potential of the text. While the programme demonstrates clear progress compared to previous years, it remains devoid of a genuinely integrated vision placing the environment at the heart of a transformative economic and social strategy.

The electoral programmes of the centre-right coalition analysed here, while grounded in values of efficiency and economic responsibility, exhibit limited integration of environmental sustainability as a strategic component of national economic policy. Nature is portrayed primarily as a tool rather than an intrinsic value. Furthermore, the absence of an ambitious vision capable of leveraging the transformative potential of green investments and sustainable policies confines the discourse to a predominantly technical and administrative dimension.

Despite lexical advancements over time, such as the introduction of terms like *green economy*, *smart cities*, and *economia circolare* (circular economy), the overall approach remains rooted in sectoral management, lacking explicit references to systemic concepts such as climate justice or social equity. This persistent limitation undermines the innovative potential of the proposals, failing to inspire a sense of collective and inclusive transformation.

Nonetheless, the inclusion of concepts such as *mobilità sostenibile*, *educazione ambientale*, and *resilienza* in the 2022 programme indicates progress toward a more nuanced and forward-looking vision. These developments suggest an openness to a more inclusive narrative capable of addressing contemporary challenges. However, the continued dominance of a technical approach diminishes the discourse's ability to establish a meaningful connection between sustainability, innovation, and social justice.

4.1.2.2 Partito Democratico, Potere al Popolo, Italia Viva (2008 – 2022)

In the 2008 programme of the PD, the language centres on a pragmatic and balanced vision that combines economic development with sustainability. The use of terms such as *efficienza economica* (economic efficiency) and *qualità ambientale* (environmental quality) indicates an attempt to integrate environmental considerations into public policies without detaching them from economic objectives. These terms not only outline a comprehensive vision but also construct a discourse where sustainability is presented as a fundamental requirement for economic and social progress rather than an accessory or optional goal.

The expression *meccanismi di premio* (reward mechanisms) introduces a technical lexicon, suggesting a logic oriented towards administrative management and the accountability of economic actors through tangible incentives. This aspect is reinforced by the predominantly coordinated syntax and final subordinates that provide clarity and precision to the text. This can be seen in the clause, «finanziando con adeguate premialità target misurabili in campi come acqua, istruzione di base, servizi di cura per infanzia e anziani» (*funding measurable targets in areas such as water, basic education, childcare, and elderly care with appropriate rewards*). Here, the use of verbs such as *finanziare* (fund) and nouns like *target misurabili* (measurable targets) builds a discourse focused on efficiency and the possibility of control, reflecting values of transparency and economic rationality.

However, despite the rigorous structure and clear exposition, the lexicon remains anchored to traditional concepts of development, without expanding into more innovative areas such as the circular economy or renewable energy. The absence of terms like *energie pulite* (clean energy)

or *green economy* limits the modernity of the discourse, revealing a perspective that, although attentive to the environment, remains confined to a linear rather than transformative approach to development. This stance is also reflected in the treatment of sustainability, which is primarily framed as a transversal criterion rather than the focal point of a broader economic strategy.

From a morphosyntactic perspective, the prevalence of coordinated sentences, such as «riduzione degli incentivi finanziari a vantaggio degli investimenti sul capitale sociale» (*reducing financial incentives in favour of investments in social capital*), contributes to creating a discourse that emphasises the concreteness of the proposals. However, while this structure facilitates comprehension, it may lack engagement, avoiding more narrative or persuasive constructions. The technical-administrative register, evident in terms such as «riduzione del gap infrastrutturale» (*reduction of the infrastructure gap*) or «obiettivi-standard» (*standard objectives*), reinforces the image of a programme focused on measurability and control but limits the emotional appeal that could enhance the message's reach.

Finally, the focus on infrastructure, with expressions like «mobilità: strade, ferrovie, porti, aeroporti e autostrade del mare» (*mobility: roads, railways, ports, airports, and maritime highways*), highlights a pragmatic orientation that prioritises material interventions. However, the dimension related to ecological transition and decarbonisation remains underdeveloped. In this context, sustainability functions more as a framework within which to operate than as an objective in itself. While the discourse is coherent and well-structured, it falls short of proposing a narrative that fully balances economic and environmental needs within an innovative and transformative perspective.

In the 2013 programme of the *Centre-Left Coalition*, a significant advancement in linguistic elaboration is evident compared to 2008, with a clear emphasis on sustainability as a central driver of economic and productive development. The use of the expression «politica industriale integralmente ecologica» (fully ecological industrial policy) signals a paradigm shift, suggesting a holistic approach that integrates ecological and industrial dimensions. This lexicon, which includes terms such as *mobilità sostenibile* (sustainable mobility) and *risparmio energetico* (energy saving), enriches the discourse with references to sustainable practices and a strategic vision for the future.

The language employed in the electoral programme aims to merge economic growth and technological innovation through choices that prioritise environmental sustainability. The emphasis on terms such as *qualità e tipicità* (quality and distinctiveness) highlights a focus on

the valorisation of local resources and Italian excellence. This aspect not only differentiates the programme but also constructs a narrative rooted in national identity. Such lexical choices suggest that Italian competitiveness could be strengthened by combining tradition with sustainable innovation.

From a morphosyntactic perspective, the programme utilises more intricate constructions compared to previous editions, including explanatory subordinate clauses that render the discourse more narrative and complex. Sentences like «una politica industriale che individui grandi aree d'investimento» (*an industrial policy that identifies major investment areas*) establish a direct connection between strategic vision and practical implementation, indicating a planned, results-oriented process. This syntactic approach adds depth to the discourse, allowing for the delineation of not only objectives but also the means to achieve them. However, the absence of operational details or quantitative indicators, such as percentages or numerical estimates, limits the programme's persuasive effectiveness, making it appear more aspirational than pragmatic.

Another significant feature is the adoption of terms that evoke a sense of technological innovation, such as *ricerca* (research) and *digitalizzazione* (digitalisation). These words enrich the semantic field of the discourse, suggesting a connection between economic development, technological progress, and sustainability. Nevertheless, the prevalent use of abstract nouns such as *efficienza* (efficiency) and *investimenti* (investments) risks flattening the discourse, maintaining it within a primarily technical register that is less emotionally engaging.

From a textual standpoint, the programme is structured coherently and systematically, with a focus on key sectors such as industry, agriculture, and services. The integration of these domains within an ecological framework suggests a broad, strategic vision. However, the lack of explicit references to financial instruments or monitoring mechanisms leaves the feasibility of the proposals in question. For instance, while the programme emphasises the need to «orientare il sistema delle imprese verso l'innovazione» (*guide the business system towards innovation*), it does not specify concrete steps to incentivise or support this orientation.

In summary, the 2013 programme introduces a richer and more inclusive lexicon compared to 2008, with a clear focus on sustainability as a central value. The narrative is more nuanced, with explanatory subordinate clauses that add greater depth to the discourse. However, the lack of quantitative and operational details limits the concreteness of the proposals, leaving the discourse more focused on strategic vision than on practical implementation.

In 2018, two electoral programmes emerged: one from the *Partito Democratico* and the other from *Potere al Popolo*. The PD's programme adopts a language that intertwines sustainability and technological innovation, emphasising the economic potential of the green economy. Expressions such as *economia circolare* (circular economy) and *reti di colonnine elettriche* (networks of electric charging stations) denote a lexicon centred on modernity and technological efficiency. The phrase «scommettere sulla decarbonizzazione» (*betting on decarbonisation*) introduces a visionary perspective. However, the choice of a term like *scommettere* (betting) reflects a narrative that remains cautious and distant from a categorical commitment. At the same time, references to *auto verdi* (green cars) and «sostituzione delle infrastrutture obsolete» (*replacement of obsolete infrastructure*) expand the semantic field towards a perspective of technological renewal, focusing on an economically sustainable future. The language employed in the electoral programme seeks to combine economic growth and technological innovation through choices that prioritise environmental sustainability. The focus on terms such as *qualità e tipicità* (quality and distinctiveness) underscores a commitment to the valorisation of local resources and Italian excellence, building a narrative rooted in identity. This lexical choice implies that Italy's competitiveness could be strengthened by blending tradition with sustainable innovation.

From a syntactic perspective, the text predominantly employs nominal and coordinated clauses to enumerate proposals, as seen in the section dedicated to the «creazione di nuovi posti di lavoro grazie all'economia verde» (*creation of new jobs thanks to the green economy*). While this choice ensures the text is fluent and accessible, it limits the depth of analysis and the explanation of the operational steps required to achieve the stated objectives. The narrative structure focuses on desired outcomes rather than processes, resulting in a technical-administrative approach that might be less engaging for an audience seeking concrete solutions. In contrast, the programme of *Potere al Popolo* is characterised by an openly critical and militant language that directly challenges traditional economic logics. Terms such as *devastazione ambientale* (environmental devastation) and *logica del profitto* (logic of economic profit) form a lexicon steeped in denunciation, emphasising systemic inequalities and injustices. Expressions like «moratoria sui progetti estrattivi» (*moratorium on extractive projects*) and «eliminazione dei sussidi alle fonti fossili» (*elimination of fossil fuel subsidies*) articulate a categorical rejection of conventional economic policies, instead proposing participatory planning as a structural alternative. This militant lexicon supports a narrative that goes beyond

proposing specific interventions, aiming instead to redefine the entire model of economic development.

Morphosyntactically, *Potere al Popolo*'s programme features complex and often elaborate sentences, with coordinated and subordinate clauses linking concepts and proposals. For instance, the phrase «programmazione, pianificazione e gestione partecipate e trasparenti» (*participatory and transparent programming, planning, and management*) reflects inclusive and systemic language, highlighting a long-term vision rooted in collective participation. However, the absence of quantitative indicators or measurable objectives reduces the proposals' concreteness, anchoring them in ideological and aspirational realms.

A key distinction between the two programmes lies in their approach to technical lexicon. While the PD employs terms such as *infrastrutture tecnologiche* (technological infrastructure) and *reti integrate* (integrated networks) to construct a narrative of progress, *Potere al Popolo* favours expressions that evoke urgency and radical change, such as «stop alle grandi opere» (*halt to large infrastructure projects*) or «pianificazione democratica» (*democratic planning*). This semantic divergence reflects contrasting approaches to the frame: the former seeks to balance technological innovation with economic sustainability, while the latter focuses on a structural critique of the existing economic system.

In 2022, the PD adopted language that intertwines ecological and digital transitions with a narrative emphasising the economic opportunities arising from these transformations. Expressions such as «neutralità climatica entro il 2050» (*climate neutrality by 2050*) and «rafforzare il grande potenziale delle nostre imprese» (*strengthen the great potential of our enterprises*) underline a technical-scientific and pragmatic lexicon aimed at linking sustainability with innovative economic growth. The use of the term *transizione ecologica e digitale* (ecological and digital transition) highlights the connection between two fundamental transformative processes, suggesting a synergy between environmental sustainability and technological modernisation. This language reflects an optimistic and forward-looking register, seeking to position Italy as a leader in a European and global context.

From a morphosyntactic aspect, the discourse frequently employs final subordinate clauses, such as «per garantire una transizione socialmente equa» (*to ensure a socially equitable transition*), which give the text a structured and nuanced tone. This choice enhances the impression of a well-planned programme oriented towards specific objectives. However, despite the detailed attention, there is no direct reference to themes such as climate justice, which diminishes the programme's moral impact and restricts its perspective to a

predominantly technical one. While the sentences are well-constructed, they tend to focus more on instruments than on the long-term social and economic benefits, leaving little room for a more inclusive vision.

Italia Viva, by contrast, adopts an even more technical and pragmatic approach. Expressions such as «raggiungere l'indipendenza dal gas russo» (*achieve independence from Russian gas*) and «sistemi di cattura e stoccaggio della CO₂» (*CO₂ capture and storage systems*) introduce a lexicon that emphasises operational and immediate solutions, signalling a clear orientation towards efficiency and practicality. The introduction of terms such as *price cap* and *Prosumer* demonstrates a strong inclination towards economic-financial language, situating environmental issues within a market-oriented framework. These terms, often borrowed from international contexts, highlight an effort to position the programme within a globalised and technically advanced framework.

From a syntactic perspective, *Italia Viva*'s text favours coordinated and nominal phrases, such as «rafforzare la strategia sulle energie rinnovabili e valorizzare l'idroelettrico» (*strengthen the strategy for renewable energy and enhance hydropower*), which make the discourse smooth but less in-depth. While this structural simplicity facilitates readability, it limits narrative complexity and audience engagement, offering a cursory description of the proposed strategies without delving into the operational steps. Moreover, the technical language, while effective in conveying precision, risks alienating a less specialised audience, reducing the programme's ability to garner broader support.

In sharp contrast, *Potere al Popolo* maintains a militant and value-driven language, presenting a narrative that directly challenges the dominant economic model. Expressions such as «piano straordinario per la rinaturazione delle sponde fluviali» (*extraordinary plan for the renaturation of riverbanks*) and «tutela del reddito degli agricoltori» (*protection of farmers' income*) underscore a lexicon centred on concrete actions and a redistributive vision. The phrase «una nuova legge urbanistica adeguata alla crisi climatica» (*a new urban planning law suited to the climate crisis*) demonstrates a commitment to structural reform, employing language that highlights the necessity of radical and systemic change. However, while the lexicon is elaborate and rich in ideological meaning, it frequently lacks operational details, leaving room for vague interpretations and diminishing the perceived feasibility of its proposals.

From a morphosyntactic perspective, *Potere al Popolo*'s discourse is characterised by the use of complex and coordinated sentences, as seen in «programmazione, pianificazione e gestione partecipate e trasparenti» (*participatory and transparent programming, planning, and*

management). This choice reflects an inclusive language that seeks to represent a plurality of actors and interests but risks appearing diffuse. The narrative construction is less oriented towards pragmatism than those of other parties, instead prioritising a value-driven and ideological perspective.

Between 2008 and 2022, the language employed by left-wing parties demonstrates a progressive evolution. It transitions from an administrative and technical approach to a more complex narrative that integrates innovation into discussions on environmental issues. In 2008, the PD emphasised economic efficiency and the quality of development through a primarily technical lens. By 2018, the discourse expanded to include references to circular economy and decarbonisation.

By 2022, the programmes became even more differentiated. The PD favoured a technocratic approach, focusing on blending ecological and digital transitions within a framework of economic growth. *Italia Viva* adopted a pragmatic and operational tone, concentrating on immediate, implementable solutions. Conversely, *Potere al Popolo* adhered to a critical and value-based vision, reflecting the ideological and strategic tensions that characterise contemporary left-wing politics.

This linguistic diversification mirrors the broader ideological divides within left-wing politics. Each party's discourse reflects not only its distinct priorities but also its attempt to engage different segments of the electorate, illustrating the challenges of unifying environmental and economic goals within a cohesive and persuasive narrative.

4.1.2.3 *Sinistra Arcobaleno, Sinistra Ecologia Libertà, Alleanza Verdi Sinistra (2008 – 2022)*

The 2008 programme of *Sinistra Arcobaleno* employs language rich in technical terminology and lexical choices aimed at underscoring the necessity of a radical shift in the relationship between economy and environment. Expressions such as «riconversione ecologica della società e dell'economia» (*ecological reconversion of society and the economy*) and «nuovo paradigma dello sviluppo» (*new development paradigm*) not only signal a decisive break from traditional economic models but also highlight a forward-looking dimension. Sustainability is placed at the heart of the discourse as a quality measure for life and economic decisions. The repeated emphasis on *qualità* (quality), in opposition to *quantità* (quantity), reflects a deliberate ideological stance: growth should no longer be measured in terms of production and consumption but rather in relation to environmental balance and collective wellbeing.

From a morphosyntactic perspective, the programme favours complex sentence structures, with frequent use of causal, final, and conditional subordinate clauses to construct a logical and consequential discourse. For instance, the sentence «per raggiungere questi obiettivi è necessario un profondo cambiamento del nostro sistema energetico e ambientale» (*to achieve these objectives, a profound transformation of our energy and environmental system is necessary*) exemplifies this tendency. The use of causal-final structures reinforces the correlation between the proposed means and ends, making the interdependence between suggested changes and expected outcomes explicit. Moreover, explanatory subordinate clauses play a crucial role in making the proposals more tangible and detailed, as seen in numerical targets such as «il 20% di energia primaria da fonti rinnovabili» (*20% of primary energy from renewable sources*) or «il 20% di risparmio energetico» (*20% energy savings*). These quantitative data aim to lend solidity and credibility to the discourse, offering an impression of operational concreteness.

Textually, the narrative alternates between descriptive and prescriptive sections. The former outlines the context and problems to be addressed, often employing ideologically charged terms such as *truffa del CIP/6* or *priorità*, which introduce a polemical tone. These terms not only underline a firm stance against past policies but also aim to engage the reader emotionally, eliciting an active and participatory response. Conversely, the prescriptive sections delineate actions to be taken with precision, often adopting more technical and neutral language. This is evident in the articulation of national energy plans based on renewable sources or in the promotion of solar energy through the *Conto energia* (Energy Account).

The lexical analysis reveals a strong polarity between ideologically charged terms and technical-scientific vocabulary. Words such as *combustibili fossili* (fossil fuels) and *fonti rinnovabili* (renewable sources) are not only used to describe energy alternatives but also to construct a dichotomous narrative of past versus future, errors versus solutions. The technical-scientific register is evident in specific terms like *efficienza energetica* (energy efficiency), *pannelli solari* (solar panels), and *gas naturale come combustibile di transizione* (natural gas as a transition fuel). These lexical choices seek to imbue the discourse with authority, positioning it as grounded in concrete data and a deep understanding of energy issues.

However, the textual and morphosyntactic articulation presents certain challenges. The complexity of sentences and the abundance of technical terms may prove less accessible to a non-expert audience. For instance, descriptions of measures such as the elimination of *CIP/6* or the proposal of «priorità per un grande piano energetico nazionale» (*priorities for a major*

national energy plan) could be difficult to follow without prior knowledge of the legislative or technical context. Furthermore, while the polemical tone has the potential to emotionally engage the reader, it risks alienating those seeking a more neutral and pragmatic approach.

The 2013 programme of *Sinistra Ecologia Libertà* reflects significant maturity compared to 2008, presenting a more nuanced intertwining of environmental sustainability and economic development. Central expressions such as «conversione ecologica dell'economia» (*ecological conversion of the economy*) mark a paradigm shift. They not only highlight the value of environmental sustainability but position it as a cornerstone for the nation's economic and social revitalisation. The choice of the term «Piano Verde per il lavoro» (*Green Plan for Employment*) is particularly noteworthy, as it directly links ecological transition to the creation of employment opportunities. This suggests an integrated perspective that views the environment and labour as two sides of the same coin.

Lexically, the term *qualità del lavoro* (quality of work) recurs frequently, distinguishing the party's approach from traditional policies. This expression is not used neutrally; rather, it carries a value-laden connotation that emphasises respect for workers' dignity in opposition to the precarious conditions criticised elsewhere in the text. Similarly, sentences like «riqualificazione urbana» (*urban regeneration*) and «nuove professioni verdi» (*new green professions*) reinforce the idea that sustainability is not a sacrifice but an opportunity for innovation and economic renewal. The presence of technical terms such as *efficientamento energetico* (energy efficiency improvement) and *bio-architetti* (bio-architects) makes the discourse more concrete, outlining specific areas of intervention prioritised by the party.

Morphosyntactically, the programme features an articulated construction, favouring explanatory and relative subordinate clauses that expand the discourse and provide detailed logical connections. For instance, in the sentence «una grande campagna per la difesa del suolo, la prevenzione del rischio sismico, il mitigamento delle conseguenze dei cambiamenti climatici» (*a major campaign for soil protection, seismic risk prevention, and mitigation of the consequences of climate change*), the proposals are interlinked to emphasise their interconnectedness. This creates a cohesive discourse, demonstrating the complexity of the challenges addressed and the solutions proposed. While this syntactic structure adds depth to the text, it also increases its informational density, potentially making it less accessible to readers without specialised knowledge.

Textually, the programme balances strategic vision with practical elements. It alternates between general descriptions and specific proposals, striking a balance between conceptual and

operational levels. Keywords such as *precarietà* (precarity) and *diritti sociali* (social rights) are used strategically. They establish an emotional connection with the reader, anchoring the discourse in tangible real-world issues. Meanwhile, terms like *efficienza energetica* (energy efficiency) and *riqualificazione energetica* (energy redevelopment) convey a clear focus on the technical specifics of the proposed policies.

This dual focus not only enriches the discourse but also aligns the environmental narrative with socio-economic imperatives, thus positioning the programme as a credible and forward-looking political agenda.

The programme integrates quantitative data and practical descriptions to enhance the credibility of its proposals. For instance, the statement «40 miliardi di euro nei prossimi dieci anni consentiranno di rimettere in sesto il nostro bene comune più prezioso: il territorio in cui viviamo» (*40 billion euros over the next ten years will allow us to restore our most precious common asset: the territory in which we live*) employs precise figures to underpin the feasibility of its policies and conveys a sense of long-term planning. However, this density of information may prove challenging for a less specialised audience, especially given the use of technical language. While necessary in this context, such language risks appearing distant or inaccessible. Moreover, the text seeks to be inclusive by presenting *major works* not as material infrastructures but as sustainable interventions aimed at improving quality of life and creating new employment opportunities. The inclusion of concrete examples such as *orti urbani* (urban gardens), *trasporti dolci* (soft mobility), and *spazi a misura dei bambini* (child-friendly spaces) is not merely decorative but serves to make the proposals tangible. This approach stimulates the reader's imagination, illustrating how these ideas could translate into visible, everyday changes. However, the complexity of the proposals and the length of the sentences may pose barriers to the full comprehension of the text by a broader audience. Sentences such as «il sistema di welfare italiano manifesta una struttura ormai inadeguata nel rispondere alle nuove domande, alle nuove e crescenti diseguaglianze e povertà, all'esclusione dei giovani, all'invecchiamento delle persone» (*the Italian welfare system has a structure that is now inadequate in addressing new demands, growing inequalities and poverty, the exclusion of young people, and the ageing of the population*) are dense with concepts. While such sentences reinforce the programme's argumentative depth, they may require significant effort to decode, potentially diminishing the text's communicative effectiveness.

The 2022 programme of *Alleanza Verdi Sinistra* reflects a notable shift, adopting a language characterised by a heightened sense of urgency and practicality in addressing the climate crisis. Expressions such as «neutralità climatica entro il 2045» (*climate neutrality by 2045*) and «democrazia energetica» clearly illustrate an effort to blend technical and value-driven elements. This narrative underscores the necessity for swift action to secure a sustainable future. The expression *neutralità climatica* does not merely describe an abstract goal but evokes an ambitious, measurable target, highlighting the interplay between economic development and environmental responsibility.

The lexical choices are particularly rich in technical terminology, which aims to lend authority to the discourse. Words such as *energie rinnovabili* (renewable energy), *pompaggi idroelettrici* (hydroelectric pumping systems), and *batterie al litio* (lithium batteries) position the programme within a technical-scientific register. This demonstrates the party's competence in proposing practical and innovative solutions. However, while these linguistic choices enhance perceptions of reliability, they may also create a communicative gap with an audience less familiar with specialised language. Terms such as *piano nazionale integrato energia e clima* (national integrated energy and climate plan) and *povertà energetica* (energy poverty) highlight the systemic aspects of the ecological transition. However, their comprehension demands a familiarity with the intricacies of national and international energy policies.

The morphosyntax of the programme is intricate and detailed, reflecting its intent to tackle complex issues with precision and rigour. Final subordinate clauses frequently connect objectives with operational strategies, as in the sentence «per garantire l'uscita dalla generazione a gas nel sistema elettrico entro il 2035» (*to ensure the phase-out of gas generation in the electricity system by 2035*). Such syntactic structures not only organise the discourse logically but also reinforce the programme's emphasis on thorough planning. Conditional clauses, such as «se a questo si aggiungono i risparmi energetici connessi all'aumentata capacità di riciclare i materiali» (*if energy savings associated with increased recycling capacity are added to this*), introduce hypotheses outlining potential scenarios, adding both flexibility and foresight to the discourse.

Textually, the programme adheres to a highly organised structure, divided into thematic sections addressing key aspects of the climate crisis and potential solutions. The narrative alternates between scientific data and practical proposals, offering the reader a comprehensive and balanced perspective. For example, the scientific observation «il mondo si trova su una strada che va verso un aumento della temperatura globale di 2,7 gradi entro la fine del secolo»

(*the world is on a path towards a global temperature increase of 2.7 degrees by the end of the century*) is immediately followed by operational proposals such as «incrementare l'installazione di energie rinnovabili fino a 15 GW all'anno» (*increasing the installation of renewable energy to 15 GW per year*). This method not only enhances the credibility of the discourse but also roots it in a pragmatic vision that links identified problems to suggested solutions.

A particularly significant aspect of the 2022 programme is the narrative tension between technical-scientific language and value-driven messaging. Expressions such as *democrazia energetica* and *bene comune* (common good) introduce an emotional element that contrasts with the clinical precision of technical data. This strategy seeks to forge a stronger connection with the reader. While this approach makes the programme more inclusive and accessible, it necessitates careful balance to prevent the discourse from becoming overly fragmented.

Despite these challenges, the programme's combination of urgency, technical detail, and value-based messaging represents a meaningful advancement. It signals a commitment to tackling the climate crisis with both scientific rigour and an appeal to shared societal values, aiming to resonate with diverse audiences while maintaining its credibility.

In summary, the electoral programmes reveal a shift from a value-driven and visionary narrative towards a greater focus on practicality and operational measures. However, the persistent morphosyntactic complexity and reliance on technical terminology remain a constant feature. While these aspects lend precision and authority to the discourse, they may simultaneously hinder its accessibility for a broader audience.

4.1.2.4 Movimento 5 Stelle (2013 – 2022)

In the 2013 programme of the Five Star Movement, the lexicon reflects a transitional phase where sustainability begins to be integrated into a more structured economic vision. The introduction of the term *green economy*, borrowed from English, represents an innovation in Italian political language at the time, indicating an increasing openness to the international discourse on sustainability. The association of efficiency with sustainable development highlights a lexical strategy aimed at portraying sustainability not merely as an ethical goal but as a driver of economic competitiveness.

Expressions such as *certificazione energetica* (energy certification) and *riduzione delle emissioni di CO₂* (reduction of CO₂ emissions) demonstrate a lexicon closely tied to regulatory compliance and international directives, such as the *Kyoto Protocol*. These terms not only

construct a technical discourse but also underscore the urgency of aligning with European and global standards. References to *classe energetica C* (energy class C), *certificati di efficienza energetica* (energy efficiency certificates), and *co-generazione diffusa* (distributed cogeneration) delineate a highly specialised discourse that presumes a level of technical understanding among the readership or electorate.

A central narrative theme is the focus on proposing operational and regulatory solutions, exemplified by the inclusion of the concept of *metodo ESCO* (energy service company method). This approach, whereby investments in energy efficiency are repaid through the savings they generate, reflects a synthesis of environmental sustainability and pragmatic economics. However, the narrative structure prioritises a descriptive register over an explanatory one, presenting a list of objectives and methods without exploring their systemic impact. For instance, the statement «riduzione di almeno il 10% in cinque anni dei consumi energetici» (*a reduction of at least 10% in energy consumption over five years*) employs a nominal construction that strengthens the image of a structured plan but limits the potential for a more engaging or visionary narrative.

From a morphosyntactic perspective, the programme predominantly employs nominal phrases and final clauses, as seen in «riduzione di almeno il 10% in cinque anni dei consumi energetici». These contribute to a sense of concreteness and rigour. However, while effective in conveying specific objectives, this structure appears static and less suited to inspiring a long-term vision. Particular attention is paid to biofuels and renewable energies, themes that foreshadow central issues in subsequent programmes. The term *biocombustibili* (biofuels), linked to the increase of organic matter in soils, highlights a systemic approach to resource management, although the economic impact of these strategies remains unexplored. Similarly, *energie rinnovabili* (renewable energies) signifies a shift towards a more sustainable energy vision, yet the lack of explicit references to concepts such as *economia circolare* (circular economy) or *transizione ecologica* (ecological transition) limits the scope of the discourse.

The inclusion of the concept of distributed cogeneration is another example of how the programme seeks to combine economic efficiency with sustainability. Statements like «utilizzo del potenziale energetico del combustibile fino al 97%» (*utilising up to 97% of the energy potential of fuel*) reflect a focus on measurable outcomes. However, the technical language employed diminishes the accessibility of the message for a non-specialist audience.

A notable limitation of the 2013 programme is the absence of references to systemic concepts such as the circular economy or climate justice. While the discourse addresses operational and

regulatory aspects in depth, it lacks a narrative that connects economic objectives to a holistic vision of sustainable development. For instance, terms like *razionalizzazione* (rationalisation) and *certificazione energetica* reinforce an image of administrative control but fail to convey a sense of opportunity or transformation.

In the 2018 programme, the language underwent a significant transformation compared to previous years, marked by the introduction of quantitative targets that more precisely defined the economic and environmental ambitions of the Movement. Expressions such as «200mila posti di lavoro da economia del riciclo dei rifiuti» (*200,000 jobs from the waste recycling economy*) and «17mila nuovi posti di lavoro per ogni miliardo di euro investito» (*17,000 new jobs for every billion euros invested*) framed a discourse aimed at consolidating the credibility of the programme through concrete and measurable data. This lexical choice highlighted a clear intention to link environmental policies to tangible economic benefits, diverging from the predominantly qualitative approach of 2013.

From a morphosyntactic perspective, the use of nominal phrases accompanied by numerical specifics reinforced the pragmatic tone of the discourse. For example, the construction «per ogni miliardo di euro investito» (*for every billion euros invested*) introduced a final clause that directly connected political action to its expected outcomes. This causal logic enhanced the immediacy and persuasiveness of the discourse.

Another notable feature was the introduction of expression such as «uscita dal petrolio entro il 2050» (*exit from oil by 2050*) and «un milione di auto elettriche» (*one million electric cars*). These expressions delineated a long-term vision that had not been emphasised to the same extent in previous programmes. The temporal reference «entro il 2050» (*by 2050*) underscored the necessity of strategic planning, while the target of «un milione di auto elettriche» (*one million electric cars*) expanded the semantic field related to sustainable mobility. However, while evocative, this vocabulary lacked operational details, leaving the reader without concrete guidance on how these goals might be achieved.

The inclusion of the concept «Italia 100% rinnovabile» (*100% renewable Italy*) marked a significant expansion in the Movement's political vocabulary, emerging as an ambitious slogan encapsulating the commitment to energy transition. Nevertheless, the absence of elaboration on implementation—such as infrastructure, timelines, and funding—diminished the persuasive strength of the discourse, relegating it to a symbolic rather than a practical dimension.

Compared to 2013, the 2018 programme demonstrated a clear evolution in the semantic field related to sustainability, with the introduction of new lexical categories such as *economia del*

riciclo (recycling economy), *mobilità elettrica* (electric mobility), and *rinnovabili* (renewables). These terms signalled greater attention to innovative and technological themes, with particular emphasis on energy transition. However, despite this lexical expansion, references to more systemic concepts such as *economia circolare* or *giustizia climatica* were still absent, representing a missed opportunity to further enrich the discourse.

In the 2018 programme, the syntactic structure predominantly adopts a descriptive register, characterised by lists and coordinated phrases. For instance, in the statement «200mila posti di lavoro da economia del riciclo dei rifiuti; 17mila nuovi posti di lavoro per ogni miliardo di euro investito» (200,000 jobs from the recycling economy; 17,000 new jobs for every billion euros invested), the use of punctuation to separate elements creates a clear and linear sequence. However, this approach lacks explanatory depth. While it reinforces the pragmatic nature of the text, it fails to elicit critical reflection or emotional engagement from the reader.

The use of temporal and final subordinate clauses, such as *entro il 2050* and *per ogni miliardo di euro investito* (for every billion euros invested), helps establish the programme's operational framework, instilling a sense of organisation and planning. Nevertheless, the prevalence of nominal constructions, including *economia del riciclo* (recycling economy) and *mobilità elettrica* (electric mobility), diminishes the dynamism of the discourse. This leaves the processual aspects of the proposed policies in the background.

Despite lexical and syntactic advancements, the 2018 programme continues to exhibit significant limitations in terms of systemic vision. Although terms such as *rinnovabili* and *riciclo dei rifiuti* (recycling of waste) signal a commitment to sustainability, explicit connections between the proposed economic strategies and broader themes such as social equity or climate justice are absent. This omission highlights a partial perspective that does not fully integrate environmental sustainability as part of a comprehensive societal transformation.

The 2022 programme represents a further evolution in the linguistic approach of the *Movimento 5 Stelle*, distinguished by greater lexical variety and thematic complexity. The title itself, «Dalla parte dell'ambiente: per la transizione energetica, ecologica e la tutela della biodiversità» (*On the side of the environment: for energy transition, ecology, and biodiversity conservation*), illustrates an expansion of the semantic field and a deeper commitment to a global narrative on environmental challenges. Compared to previous programmes, this iteration presents a more integrated vision, linking environmental, energy, and natural heritage conservation themes.

A distinctive feature is the introduction of the concept of *società 2000 watt* (2,000 watt society), a term borrowed from international discourse. It proposes a model of responsible and

sustainable energy consumption, enriching the political vocabulary with a technical but evocative term that connects national policies to a global framework. From a morphosyntactic perspective, the phrase «tendere a un modello sostenibile di consumo energetico» (*moving towards a sustainable model of energy consumption*) employs a progressive verbal construction that emphasises the idea of a gradual yet inevitable process, suggesting an ongoing transition. Another key element is the reference to building bonuses, such as «Superbonus e altri bonus edilizi strutturali» (*Superbonus and other structural building bonuses*), which consolidates a lexicon closely tied to fiscal and administrative policy. The expression «stabilizzazione delle agevolazioni edilizie» (*stabilisation of building incentives*) denotes long-term planning, aiming to link energy savings with economic incentives. This lexical choice underscores a commitment to promoting a sustainable economy through concrete fiscal tools.

Syntactically, these proposals often rely on nominal constructions to outline specific objectives, as seen in «completamento della carta geologica» (*completion of the geological map*) and «incentivazione della produzione di biogas» (*promotion of biogas production*). While this structure provides clarity and precision, it reduces the dynamism of the text and limits its emotional resonance with the reader. The emphasis on descriptive and technical terms reinforces the programme's operational focus but risks appearing distant and inaccessible.

Terms such as *economia rigenerativa* (*regenerative economy*) and *vuoto a rendere* (*deposit return scheme*) mark a significant evolution compared to previous programmes. *Economia rigenerativa* introduces a perspective that transcends the traditional paradigm of economic growth, incorporating concepts of social, territorial, and consumption regeneration. This lexicon expands the semantic scope of sustainability, suggesting an innovative vision that integrates environmental responsibility with social inclusion.

The phrase *vuoto a rendere*, on the other hand, references circular economy practices already established in other international contexts, highlighting an increasing focus on sustainable models. However, even here, the discourse lacks operational details, such as implementation mechanisms or monitoring systems, which limits the persuasive potential of the proposals.

A central element of the programme is the «sburocratizzazione per favorire la creazione di impianti di energia rinnovabile» (*streamlining bureaucracy to promote the creation of renewable energy plants*). This term points to regulatory simplifications aimed at accelerating the energy transition, but its technical and administrative vocabulary diminishes the emotional impact of the discourse. Similarly, expressions such as «stop a nuove trivellazioni e inceneritori» (*halt to new drilling and incinerators*) reflect a commitment to a sustainable

transition. Yet, the absence of references to systemic strategies renders some proposals conceptually incomplete.

The use of terms such as *economia rigenerativa*, *vuoto a rendere*, and *mobilità urbana sostenibile* (sustainable urban mobility) reinforces the idea of an integrated energy transition. However, the lack of explicit references to climate justice or social equity once again highlights a limitation in the overall vision.

The analysis of the *Movimento 5 Stelle*'s electoral programmes from 2013 to 2022 reveals a progressive evolution in both lexicon and thematic priorities within the *Economic and Financial Strategies* frame. While the 2013 programme predominantly focuses on technical and regulatory measures, subsequent programmes introduce quantitative objectives (2018) and broader concepts such as *transizione energetica* and *economia rigenerativa* in 2022.

From a lexical perspective, the increasing use of anglicisms, such as *green economy* and *smart cities*, reflects a growing globalisation of discourse and alignment with international narratives. However, the prevalence of nominal and technical constructions limits the emotional impact and reader engagement.

The programmes demonstrate significant progress towards greater integration between economy and sustainability, yet they continue to prioritise a technical and administrative approach. The persistent absence of systemic references, such as climate justice, represents a constant limitation to the transformative potential of these proposals. Nonetheless, the 2022 programme marks a notable advancement, introducing a more inclusive and forward-looking narrative while still leaving room for further development.

4.2 Meso-Level Analysis

The meso-level analysis focuses on the discursive practices employed by political parties, which serve to define, consolidate, and disseminate specific interpretative frames (see 3.8). Electoral programmes, as products of institutional frameworks, influence their recipients by shaping public opinion, particularly through slogans. As in the micro-level analysis, the decision was made to continue dividing political parties into four groups: the *Centro-Destra Coalition*, Centre-left parties, environmentalist movements, and the *Movimento 5 Stelle*. This categorisation ensures a comprehensive and well-structured examination of the discursive practices employed by each group to communicate their environmental agendas.

4.2.1 Frame: *Sustainability and Climate Policies*

At the meso-level, the analysis of the *Sustainability and Climate Policies* frame focuses on the discursive strategies adopted by political parties to communicate their environmental agendas. This section examines how these strategies are embedded in electoral programmes, with particular attention to the use of slogans, repetition, and thematic structuring to reinforce the sustainability narrative.

4.2.1.1 *Centre-Right Coalition (2008 – 2022)*

An analysis of the centre-right coalition's electoral programmes in Italy from 2008 to 2022 reveals a progressive evolution in linguistic and discursive strategies used to address environmental issues. This examination highlights how language has been employed to build consensus, emphasise priorities, and adapt to shifting political and social contexts.

A distinctive feature of the 2008 programme is the ambiguity and vagueness characterising many of its key expressions. Terms such as *recupero* (restoration), *salvaguardia* (safeguarding), *tutela* (protection), and *valorizzazione* (enhancement) are generic and open to multiple interpretations. These terms convey a reassuring and familiar message but avoid specifying the means by which these goals will be achieved. For instance, in the phrase «legge obiettivo per il recupero, la salvaguardia e la valorizzazione del patrimonio culturale e la tutela del paesaggio» (*targeted legislation for the restoration, safeguarding, and enhancement of cultural heritage and the protection of the landscape*), the reader finds no details about which interventions will be prioritised, who will implement them, or with what resources. This type of vagueness allows the discourse to appeal to a broad audience but risks undermining perceptions of commitment and specificity.

This strategy of employing vague and non-specific language appears to reflect a deliberate choice to avoid alienating diverse constituencies within the coalition's base. However, it also limits the ability of the programme to engage the electorate through a clear and actionable vision, potentially reducing its credibility and resonance among more critical or policy-aware audiences.

The use of metaphors and symbols is particularly prominent in the proposal to «demolire gli ecomostri e risanare gli scempi arrecati al paesaggio italiano» (*demolish environmental monstrosities and restore the damage inflicted on the Italian landscape*). The term *ecomostri* serves as a powerful visual metaphor, representing infrastructures perceived as invasive and harmful to the environment and the landscape. This expression not only evokes a sense of

tangible threat but also constructs a narrative that juxtaposes environmental degradation (embodied by the *ecomostri*) with the aesthetic and cultural value of the Italian landscape. The metaphor creates an immediately comprehensible image and mobilises emotions, enabling the discourse to garner support without resorting to technical details or complex arguments.

Another frequent discursive practice is tautology, manifested through conceptual repetitions that add no substantive content. For example, the emphasis on *recupero*, *salvaguardia e valorizzazione* (restoration, safeguarding, and enhancement) juxtaposes terms with overlapping meanings. This strategy creates the impression of an elaborate and multifaceted commitment but lacks additional specificity. While this approach strengthens the rhetorical message, it remains relatively unconvincing from an operational perspective.

The programme's language also employs persuasive rhetorical techniques, particularly by constructing a narrative that blends emotional appeal with pragmatism. The phrase «risanamento degli scempi arrecati al paesaggio italiano» (*restoration of the damage inflicted on the Italian landscape*) uses emotionally charged terms such as *scempi* (ravages), underscoring a sense of harm and injustice. This approach captures the reader's attention while positioning the *Centre-right coalition* as a problem-solver capable of reversing environmental degradation. However, the language avoids rhetorical excesses such as hyperbole or dramatic appeals, favouring a measured tone intended to appear credible and authoritative.

An intriguing aspect of the discourse is the absence of explicit polarisation. While the term *ecomostri* might suggest a collective antagonist, the programme refrains from creating an explicit dichotomy of *us* versus *them*. Instead, it seeks to present policies as the product of shared consensus, avoiding direct confrontation with opposing or critical viewpoints. This strategy reflects an inclusive approach, aligning more closely with the concept of *cotton language* (Huyghe, 1991; Steiner, 2002: 202) rather than *wooden language* (or *langue de bois*) (Steiner, 2002: 199-201). The discourse prioritises a moderate and inclusive register, emphasising cooperative and non-confrontational solutions.

Elements of *wooden language* emerge in certain passages, particularly in phrases containing institutional expressions such as «nel rispetto delle autonomie territoriali» (*in respect of territorial autonomy*) or «programmazione negoziata con le Regioni» (*negotiated planning with the Regions*). While technically accurate, these formulations appear vague and disconnected from the tangible realities of climate policies. Their primary function is to bolster the institutional legitimacy of the discourse, but they risk appearing hollow if not accompanied by detailed operational proposals.

The emphasis on numbers and data is less pronounced compared to other political programmes. For example, there is an absence of statistics quantifying the impact of proposals or conveying a sense of concreteness and reliability. However, the mention of «fondi europei relativi ai beni culturali e al recupero dei centri storici» (*European funds for cultural heritage and the restoration of historic centres*) exemplifies how references to financial resources can lend authority to the discourse. While generic, this reference suggests a focus on efficiency and economic optimisation, though it fails to specify how such funds will be allocated or monitored. The discourse frequently appeals to values to legitimise its positions. Terms such as *patrimonio culturale* (cultural heritage) and *paesaggio italiano* (Italian landscape) evoke deeply ingrained national values, forging an emotional connection between political proposals and the country's cultural traditions. This appeal to values is particularly effective within the frame of *Sustainability and Climate Policies*, as it integrates environmental protection with a sense of national pride and identity.

The narrative avoids explicit emotional storytelling, instead relying on evocative imagery created through metaphors. The absence of personal anecdotes or concrete success stories makes the discourse less engaging on an emotional level but preserves its formal and institutional tone.

The use of neologisms and framing is limited, though expressions such as *ecomostri* represent an attempt to redefine complex concepts in more accessible and visually impactful terms. However, there are no references to more innovative and globally recognised terms like *transizione ecologica* or *economia circolare*, which could have positioned the discourse within a more contemporary and international context.

The register is highly formal and codified, characteristic of institutional lexicon. Phrases such as «realizzazione di strumenti di tutela» (*implementation of protective tools*) and «razionalizzazione della gestione delle risorse» (*rationalisation of resource management*) employ technical-administrative language that underscores seriousness and competence. However, this language can appear distant and difficult to grasp for the general reader. While effective in consolidating the authority of the message, it risks alienating those unfamiliar with technical jargon.

Repetition is another notable feature, evident in the recurrence of key terms such as *salvaguardia*, *tutela*, and *valorizzazione*. This strategy facilitates memorability and reinforces the core message but reduces the perceived diversity and richness of the political proposals.

The 2013 electoral programme adopts a narrative that places greater emphasis on concepts of modernity and innovation, aiming to attract an electorate interested in sustainability and technological progress. This approach is primarily reflected in the adoption of inclusive and pragmatic language that balances aspirational ideals with an apparent commitment to concrete objectives.

A salient feature is the use of *cotton language*, evident in the introduction of terms such as *smart cities* and *mobilità sostenibile*. These expressions not only evoke progress and modernity but also avoid polarising the discourse, presenting an image of openness to advanced technologies and innovative solutions. The term *smart cities* goes beyond a technological description, suggesting a vision of future urban environments that integrate sustainability and innovation to enhance quality of life. This type of narrative is strategically designed to gain broad-based support, appealing to both environmental advocates and technological innovators. Tautology is another significant characteristic. Expressions such as «incentivare la raccolta differenziata e ridurre la produzione dei rifiuti» (*promote waste sorting and reduce waste production*) juxtapose seemingly obvious concepts, reinforcing the idea of commitment but without providing operational details on how these objectives will be achieved. While this approach ensures accessibility, it leaves room for ambiguous interpretations, risking a perception of rhetoric over practicality.

Pragmatism also features prominently, as seen in the proposal for «cicli integrati regionali di smaltimento» (*integrated regional waste disposal cycles*). While this idea lacks specifics regarding implementation methods or monitoring criteria, it conveys an organisational and functional vision. Despite its vagueness, the message manages to position itself as realistic and feasible, appealing to an audience that values rational resource management.

The appeal to values is further strengthened through the inclusion of animal protection as an ethical theme. Expressions such as «tutela degli animali da compagnia e affezione» (*protection of companion and affectionate animals*) and measures against their abandonment resonate with voter groups who view such policies as reflections of compassion and social justice. This element broadens the programme's scope, engaging segments of the electorate that are traditionally less concerned with climate policies.

Finally, the programme demonstrates an evolution in its use of metaphors, introducing terms like *green economy* to create an innovative framework for discussing sustainability. This expression positions environmental sustainability as an economic opportunity rather than a

sacrifice, emphasising the potential for creating new businesses and jobs through green investments.

In the 2018 programme, the *Centre-right coalition* makes a significant step forward from the vagueness of previous years, adopting language focused on efficiency and concreteness. Concepts such as *efficientamento energetico* (energy efficiency) and *risparmio energetico* (energy saving) become central, conveying a message of pragmatism and tangible commitment. These terms are not chosen arbitrarily; they evoke a technical and measurable vision of the proposed policies, suggesting that electoral promises can be tracked through concrete results. A key example of this concreteness is the emphasis on numbers and data. Phrases linking energy efficiency to construction and transport outline seemingly quantifiable objectives, positioning the discourse as realistic and actionable. However, clear explanations of how these results will be achieved or verified are often absent, leaving questions about the feasibility of the proposals. Despite this gap, the use of numerical references enhances the programme's credibility and reinforces its image of seriousness.

Technical metaphors are another distinctive feature of the 2018 discourse. Expressions like «digitalizzazione della Pubblica Amministrazione» (*digitalisation of public administration*) and «piena diffusione delle infrastrutture immateriali» (*widespread deployment of intangible infrastructure*) evoke images of modernity and technological progress. These metaphors not only suggest innovation but also construct a sense of inevitability, presenting the proposals as necessary responses to contemporary challenges. The highly technical language balances the idea of progress with a vision of inclusivity, seeking to involve all sectors of society.

The inclusion strategy is evident in the diversity of proposals presented. The programme seeks to appeal to a broad electorate, addressing areas ranging from tourism to environmental protection. The mention of initiatives for innovative start-ups and the simplification of crowdfunding, for instance, reflects sensitivity to younger generations and emerging sectors, consolidating an image of openness and modernity. This holistic approach integrates economic growth and sustainability, presenting them as complementary and interconnected objectives.

Persuasive rhetoric in the 2022 programme is articulated through expressions such as «sicurezza degli approvvigionamenti» (*security of supply*) and «più efficienza della produzione energetica» (*greater energy production efficiency*). These phrases blend pragmatism and urgency, suggesting that the coalition is not only aware of the current challenges but also capable of addressing them through responsible and secure resource management. This

language contributes to portraying the coalition as a reliable political entity capable of guiding the country through a balanced transition toward sustainability.

In the 2022 programme, the language reflects an adaptation to the most pressing global challenges, emphasising the urgency of action and the necessity of collective responsibility. Expressions such as «piano strategico nazionale di economia circolare» (*national strategic plan for a circular economy*) and «promozione dell'educazione ambientale» (*promotion of environmental education*) mark a paradigm shift toward a participatory approach, aiming to actively involve citizens, institutions, and international communities.

Despite the apparent clarity of the objectives, terms such as «tutela delle risorse idriche» (*protection of water resources*) and «resilienza delle aree a rischio dissesto idrogeologico» (*resilience of areas at hydrogeological risk*) lack operational details. While this vagueness facilitates broader political and social acceptance, it risks undermining the perception of concrete commitment. Nonetheless, this strategy ensures the message remains accessible to a wide audience, avoiding the alienation of specific segments of the electorate.

Evocative metaphors are a hallmark of the 2022 programme. Expressions like «rimboschimento e piantumazione di alberi» (*reforestation and tree planting*) evoke imagery of renewal and regeneration, while terms such as «salvaguardia della biodiversità» (*safeguarding biodiversity*) highlight an emotional connection to the protection of ecosystems. These symbols not only mobilise emotional support among the electorate but also construct a narrative intertwining sustainability with hope for the future.

Conceptual repetition is evident in formulations like «ridurre il consumo delle risorse naturali e aumentare il livello qualitativo e quantitativo del riciclo dei rifiuti» (*reducing the consumption of natural resources and increasing the qualitative and quantitative levels of waste recycling*). While these tautologies reinforce the central message, they risk appearing redundant in the absence of specific details.

A distinctive feature is the use of rhetorical techniques to underscore urgency and responsibility. Phrases such as «trasformare il rifiuto in energia rinnovabile attraverso la realizzazione di impianti innovativi e sostenibili» (*transforming waste into renewable energy through the development of innovative and sustainable plants*) emphasise the necessity of immediate action, positioning the coalition as a promoter of innovative solutions. The use of *pathos* is evident in implicit imagery of climate catastrophes, which elicit an emotional response and motivate action.

The language of the 2022 programme avoids stark polarisation, instead prioritising consensus and collaboration. Expressions like «piano straordinario di resilienza» (*extraordinary resilience plan*) and «promozione dell'educazione ambientale» (*promotion of environmental education*) emphasise dialogue and collective involvement, fostering a shared identity that encompasses diverse segments of the population.

References to universal values, such as the protection of biodiversity, permeate the discourse, legitimising proposals through an emotional connection with shared ethical principles. The mention of «zone colpite da incendi» (*areas affected by wildfires*) not only raises awareness among the electorate but also reinforces the notion of interventions that could restore life to devastated territories. This implicit storytelling enriches the discourse, making it more engaging and memorable.

The language of the programme adopts neologisms such as *economia circolare* (circular economy) and *resilienza*, which redefine the sustainability debate in terms of innovation and adaptation. These terms create a narrative framework that positions the coalition as a promoter of modern, forward-thinking solutions.

The formal register, typical of the institutional context, is enhanced by a selective use of technical terms that lend authority to the discourse. Phrases such as «implementazione di politiche integrate» (*implementation of integrated policies*) highlight the complexity and seriousness of the proposals. The repetition of key terms like *sostenibilità*, *resilienza*, and *biodiversità* strengthens the main message and aids memorability, although it can sometimes be redundant.

In summary, the frame *Sustainability and Climate Policies* in the electoral programmes of the *centre-right Coalition* employs a combination of discursive strategies to build consensus and convey a sense of shared responsibility. However, the language often remains generic and lacks urgency, favouring a reassuring and moderate approach that emphasises institutional collaboration and national values, without directly addressing the global and innovative challenges associated with sustainability.

4.2.1.2 Partito Democratico, Potere al Popolo, Italia Viva (2008 – 2022)

The analysis of the electoral programmes of Italian centre-left parties (2008-2022) presents a complex picture of the discursive strategies employed to build consensus and promote shared responsibility in climate policies.

A central element is the use of ambiguity and vagueness, which allows for multiple interpretations and appeals to a heterogeneous audience. For example, the PD's 2008 programme introduces the concept of «sostenibilità e qualità ambientale» (*sustainability and environmental quality*) as an integrated criterion in all public policies, without providing specific details on how these integrations should occur. Similarly, in the 2013 programme, expressions such as «saper fare italiano» (*Italian know-how or Italian way*) and «progetto integrale ecologico» (*comprehensive ecological project*) remain deliberately vague, suggesting an inclusive approach without setting overly rigid boundaries.

The use of metaphors and symbols becomes particularly significant in more recent texts. In 2018, the PD employs imagery such as «la lotta contro tutte le forme di inquinamento» (*the fight against all forms of pollution*), evoking a narrative of heroic, collective struggle that facilitates emotional identification. *Potere al Popolo*, in the same year, describes the «modello capitalistico predatorio» (*predatory capitalist model*) as a force that «devasta i territori» (*devastates the territories*), polarising the discourse through a clear opposition between the forces of progress and those of decline.

Tautologies are another recurring device used to consolidate the political message. For example, in the 2022 programme, it states: «La transizione ecologica non è solo una necessità, ma un'opportunità di cambiamento positivo» (*The ecological transition is not only a necessity, but also an opportunity for positive change*). Here, the repetition strengthens the idea of a moral obligation that aligns with a practical benefit. Similar phrases appear in the 2013 programme, where «la qualità e la tipicità» (*quality and uniqueness*) become pillars for relaunching the «sistema Italia» (*Italy system*).

Persuasive rhetoric is expressed with rhetorical questions, anaphora, and hyperboles. In the 2018 PD programme, phrases like «Possiamo davvero permetterci di ignorare i segnali che il pianeta ci sta inviando?» (*Can we really afford to ignore the signals that the planet is sending us?*) invite emotional and intellectual engagement. *Potere al Popolo*, in the same year, opts for a more direct, militant style: «Non possiamo più accettare compromessi che sacrificano il nostro futuro sull'altare del profitto» (*We can no longer accept compromises that sacrifice our future on the altar of profit*).

Polarisation is particularly evident in the programmes of *Potere al Popolo*, which constructs a stark dichotomy between *noi* (us) and *loro* (them). In 2018, the programme denounces the *Grandi Opere* (Large Works) as symbols of misguided development, contrasting them with a vision of «partecipativa e trasparente» (*participatory and transparent*) development. The PD,

while adopting a more moderate tone, uses the opposition between past and future: «Rallentare sul fronte della transizione ecologica significa accettare l'arretratezza» (*Slowing down on the ecological transition means accepting backwardness*).

Wooden language manifests particularly in institutional texts. The 2022 PD programme asserts: «Puntiamo a garantire una transizione socialmente equa attraverso politiche integrate e sostenibili» (*We aim to ensure a socially equitable transition through integrated and sustainable policies*). While it lends authority, this language risks appearing distant and abstract. The emphasis on numbers and data strengthens the authority of the political discourse. In 2022, the Democratic Party highlights that «the FitFor55 package calls for a 55% reduction in emissions by 2030», while *Potere al Popolo* stresses public spending on energy conversion projects, using figures to underline the tangible impact of its proposals.

Appeals to universal values are constant throughout the programmes, with references to justice, equity, and freedom. In 2008, the PD underscores: «Where one citizen thrives, an enterprise thrives too», linking individual well-being with collective welfare. By 2022, the discourse evolves into a more global narrative, invoking *shared responsibility* in the fight against climate change.

Storytelling adds an emotional dimension to the discourse. In 2018, the PD states: Heatwaves and extreme droughts clearly show how our future depends on bold choices today. *Potere al Popolo* includes testimonies from communities affected by the environmental crisis, strengthening the idea of a politics grounded in the real needs of people.

Neologisms and linguistic framing are powerful tools for shaping public perception. In 2022, the PD introduces terms such as *economia circolare* and *neutralità climatica* (climate neutrality), which evoke innovation and progress. *Potere al Popolo*, on the other hand, uses critical expressions like *business dell'emergenza* (business of emergency) to denounce economic practices deemed opportunistic.

The repetitiveness of slogans and key phrases reinforces the political message. In the PD's programmes, expressions such as «Lavoro, dignità, futuro» (*Work, dignity, future*) are repeated to facilitate memorisation and create a thematic cohesion effect. *Potere al Popolo* adopts a similar approach, emphasising words like *ripubblicizzazione* (republicisation) and *salvaguardia* to solidify the identity of its electorate.

From the analysis of the electoral programmes, a vision of the environment emerges that operates on multiple levels. The PD emphasises sustainability as an opportunity for innovation

and growth, once again balancing pragmatism and urgency. *Potere al Popolo* adopts a more radical approach, placing the environment at the centre of a critique of the dominant economic model and promoting a social transformation. Both parties agree on the importance of immediate action, but they diverge in tone and ideological priorities. Even in these programmes, following the lexical analysis, the environment is seen as a resource and never as an entity.

4.2.1.3 Sinistra Arcobaleno, Sinistra Ecologia Libertà, Alleanza Verdi Sinistra (2008 - 2022)

The analysis of the electoral programmes of Italian environmentalist parties from 2008 to 2022 reveals a consistent evolution in the discursive strategies employed to address issues related to the climate crisis and sustainability. The texts exhibit a range of linguistic, rhetorical, and persuasive approaches aimed at mobilising consensus on environmental matters, underscoring the growing importance of the green agenda in the national political landscape.

In the 2008 *Sinistra Arcobaleno* programme, a complex construction of narratives emerges, focused on the urgency for change. The use of ambiguity is evident in expressions such as «riconversione ecologica della società e dell'economia» (*ecological conversion of society and the economy*) and «nuovo paradigma dello sviluppo» (*new paradigm of development*), which, while evocative, remain open to various interpretations. This strategy allows for the inclusion of a heterogeneous audience, leaving space for multiple implementation models. The metaphor of the *pianeta* (planet) as a vulnerable entity, threatened by the *economie attuali* (current economies), is central to the text, creating a dichotomy between an unsustainable past and a potentially regenerated future. The tautology «Contrastare gli effetti dei cambiamenti climatici è fondamentale per garantire una speranza di futuro» (*Countering the effects of climate change is essential to ensure a future of hope*) reinforces the moral message, emphasising the inevitability of shared commitment.

The discursive strategies also incorporate the emphasis on numbers and data to support the credibility of the proposals. The goal of reducing emissions by 20% by 2020, associated with public investments in solar panels and the creation of 100,000 jobs, is complemented by an appeal to universal values of equity and social justice. The technical language, such as expressions like *regime di tutela* (regulatory regime) or *piano energetico nazionale* (national energy plan), is balanced by a more accessible lexicon, including concrete images such as «pannelli solari su tutti i tetti delle case» (*solar panels on all house rooftops*).

In 2013, *Sinistra Ecologia Libertà* adopts a more immediate-action-oriented tone, placing emphasis on *conversione ecologica* (ecological conversion) as a necessity to overcome the

economic and social crisis. The language is less abstract compared to 2008, but it retains rich symbolism, such as the image of *nuove professioni verdi* (new green professions) growing from *alberi* (trees) cultivated in sustainable cities. The appeal to values intertwines with references to intergenerational justice, while the use of emotional narratives – such as references to women and young people affected by precariousness – humanises the discourse, making it more immediately relevant.

Ambiguity remains prevalent in this context, with terms like *grandi opere* (big works) being deliberately undefined to allow for broader consensus. At the same time, the use of polarisation is evident in contrasting the *veri grandi opere* (real big works), associated with territorial protection, with the *opere devastanti* (devastating works) of the past. The use of repetition, such as «precarietà durante il lavoro, precarietà nell'ingresso al lavoro, precarietà quando si esce dal lavoro» (*precarity during work, precariousness upon entering work, precariousness when exiting work*), reinforces the idea of a systemic crisis that demands radical solutions.

In 2022, *Alleanza Verdi Sinistra* presents a more structured and scientifically grounded discourse, with greater reliance on quantitative data and direct references to international agreements such as the Glasgow Climate Pact. The metaphor of the *Sole* (Sun) as «il più grande reattore a fusione nucleare» (*the largest nuclear fusion reactor*) introduces an element of symbolic innovation, while the reference to *democrazia energetica* emphasises collective participation as a cornerstone of the ecological transition. This language seeks to forge an emotional connection with the electorate, highlighting the concept of community.

Tautologies continue to be used, as in the statement «Senza una forte accelerazione nelle politiche per il clima, non saremo in grado di limitare il surriscaldamento globale entro la soglia di sicurezza» (*Without a strong acceleration in climate policies, we will not be able to limit global warming within the safety threshold*), reinforcing the urgency of action. The emphasis on numerical data – such as the need to install 15 GW of renewable energy per year or reduce emissions by 70% by 2030 – is balanced by references to human stories, such as the impact of extreme weather events on vulnerable communities.

Polarisation is more pronounced in the 2022 programme compared to previous ones, contrasting us, the promoters of ecological transition, with them, the defenders of fossil fuels and the status quo. Expressions such as «Stop a nuove trivelle» (*Stop new drilling*) or «No al nucleare» (*No to nuclear energy*) take on a categorical tone, while the repetition of slogans like «Italia rinnovabile» (*Renewable Italy*) and «Italia a rifiuti zero» (*Zero waste Italy*) consolidates the movement's identity.

Another distinguishing feature of the 2022 programme is the use of neologisms and technical terms to define new interpretative frameworks. Concepts like *democrazia energetica* and «piano salva foreste» (*save the forests plan*) represent examples of linguistic framing that steer the public debate toward a progressive and inclusive vision. This approach is further reinforced by the inclusion of an explicitly international agenda, linking national policies to global challenges, such as the commitment to climate diplomacy and environmental justice.

From the overall analysis of the environmentalist parties' programmes, an evolving vision of the environment emerges. Initially, in 2008, the discourse is focused on sustainability as both a moral and practical challenge, with a strong appeal to universal values. In 2013, the focus shifts towards creating job opportunities and improving social conditions through ecological transition. By 2022, the language becomes more technical and ambitious, emphasising measurable goals and integrated strategies to tackle the climate crisis. In this way, there seems to be a gradual shift from a vision of the environment as an end in itself, intrinsically linked to moral and cultural values, to a more instrumental conception that reduces it to a resource.

4.2.1.4 Movimento 5 Stelle (2013 – 2022)

The analysis of the electoral programmes of the *Movimento 5 Stelle* from 2013 to 2022 highlights a series of discursive strategies aimed at building consensus and shared responsibility concerning climate policies and energy sustainability. These texts stand out for their technical language, concrete proposals, and rhetoric often oriented towards radical change.

A notable feature is the use of ambiguity and vagueness, which allows the movement to attract a broad and diverse audience. In the 2013 programme, for instance, it states: «Una politica energetica finalizzata alla riduzione delle emissioni di CO₂ deve articolarsi nei seguenti punti» (*An energy policy aimed at reducing CO₂ emissions must be structured in the following points*), followed by a detailed list. Although the initial statement is generic, the subsequent list reinforces the perception of a structured approach. Similarly, the 2018 programme includes the concept of *Green Economy* without explicitly defining it, leaving room for multiple interpretations. By 2022, ambiguity is reduced, but expressions like «Rigenerazione sociale, del territorio, dei consumi» (*Social, territorial, and consumption regeneration*) suggest a broad and inclusive vision without delving into operational details.

The use of metaphors and symbols is evident throughout the analysed proposals. In 2013, reference is made to the «potenziale energetico del combustibile» (*energy potential of fuel*) to underscore the importance of energy efficiency. In 2018, the movement adopts a more explicit

metaphor: «Italia 100% rinnovabile», which becomes a symbolic slogan for a total transformation. By 2022, the concept of «Società 2000 Watt» (*2000 Watt Society*) invokes an ideal model of energy consumption, evoking a sustainable and technologically advanced future. Tautologies are used to reinforce the political message. In 2013, the programme declares: «Per accrescere l'offerta di energia elettrica non è necessario costruire nuove centrali, di nessun tipo» (*To increase the supply of electricity, it is not necessary to build new power plants, of any kind*). The repetition strengthens the idea that efficiency should precede any new construction. In 2018, it states: «L'uscita dal petrolio entro il 2050» (*Exit from oil by 2050*), a formulation that, while definitive, is supported by concrete data. In 2022, the phrase «Per permettere alle imprese di investire a costo zero» (*To allow businesses to invest at no cost*), linked to the *superbonus*, emphasises the simplicity and immediacy of the proposed measures.

Persuasive rhetoric is a distinguishing feature of the *Movimento's* programmes. In 2013, implicit questions are employed: «È accettabile sprecare risorse quando il necessario viene tolto a chi ne ha bisogno?» (*Is it acceptable to waste resources when the essentials are taken from those who need them?*). This structure appeals to moral engagement. In 2018, hyperboles such as «Un milione di auto elettriche» (*One million electric cars*) project an ambitious goal. By 2022, persuasive rhetoric intensifies with statements like «Contrastare il caro bollette significa salvare famiglie e imprese» (*Fighting high energy bills means saving families and businesses*), which directly links energy policies to everyday well-being.

Polarisation is clearly expressed in the 2013 programme, where Italy's inefficiency is contrasted with more virtuous European countries, such as Germany. In 2018, the *trivellazioni* (drilling system) is openly criticised, emphasising a divide between sustainability and old industrial models. In 2022, polarisation is expressed through the slogan «Stop a nuove trivellazioni e inceneritori» (*Stop new drilling and incinerators*), positioning itself against practices perceived as outdated and harmful.

Wooden language is present but mitigated by the use of concrete examples. In 2013, expressions like «Riduzione di almeno il 10% in cinque anni dei consumi energetici» (*A reduction of at least 10% in energy consumption over five years*) maintain a formal tone but are balanced by practical details. In 2018, a more direct language is introduced with phrases such as «200mila posti di lavoro da economia del riciclo rifiuti» (*200,000 jobs from the waste recycling economy*). In 2022, technical language is accompanied by operational proposals, such as the «Superbonus energia imprese» (*Energy Superbonus for businesses*), which makes the discourse accessible while maintaining authority.

Emphasis on numbers and data characterises each programme. In 2013, precise data on the reduction of diesel consumption per square metre is cited, while in 2018, the employment impact of renewable energies is calculated: «17mila nuovi posti di lavoro per ogni miliardo di euro investito» (*17,000 new jobs for every billion euros invested*). In 2022, quantity is integrated with quality, proposing the completion of the geological map to prevent hydrogeological risks. The appeal to universal values is consistent throughout the programmes. In 2013, the *Movimento 5 Stelle* emphasises the importance of environmental justice: «It is not acceptable to take what is necessary from those who need it». In 2018, the concept of a *Green Economy* is introduced as an element of social and environmental justice. By 2022, the appeal expands to global values, such as *the protection of biodiversity* and *regenerative economy*.

Storytelling is used to connect the proposed policies to everyday experiences. In 2013, the issue of energy inefficiency is described with concrete references to both public and private buildings. In 2018, the narrative shifts to the future, with imagery of *electric cars* and *waste recycling*, while in 2022, storytelling is linked to the *superbonus*, described as an immediate solution for families and businesses in difficulty.

Neologisms and linguistic framing are powerful tools. In 2013, terms like *cogenerazione diffusa* (distributed cogeneration) and *micro-cogenerazione* (micro-cogeneration) reflect technical language that introduces innovative concepts. In 2018, «Italia 100% rinnovabile» becomes a symbol of radical change; finally, in 2022, *economia rigenerativa* (regenerative economy) represents a further step forward, redefining the relationship between consumption and sustainability.

The repetition of slogans and key concepts consolidates the message. In 2013, emphasis is placed on *efficienza energetica* as the central theme. In 2018, *rinnovabili* and *riciclo* become key words. By 2022, the slogan «Stop a tecnologie obsolete» (*Stop obsolete technologies*) is repeated to emphasise the need for radical change.

From the analysis of the programmes, a vision of the environment emerges, oriented towards concrete action and structural change. The *Movimento 5 Stelle* stands out for its pragmatic approach, supported by data and operational proposals. In the 2013 programme, the focus is on energy efficiency and waste reduction; in 2018, the emphasis is on job creation through renewable energies; finally, in 2022, the vision expands to include the circular economy and social regeneration. In all the programmes, the urgency of addressing climate challenges is combined with the promise of tangible benefits, consolidating a political discourse aimed at a sustainable and inclusive future.

4.2.2 Frame: *Economic and Financial Strategies*

At this level of analysis, the discursive practices and rhetorical strategies present in the electoral programmes of Italian parties are examined. The analysis focuses on how the *Economic and Financial Strategies* frame is constructed through specific linguistic and stylistic tools, highlighting the evolution of language and rhetorical priorities over the years, from 2008 to the most recent elections.

4.2.2.1 *Centre-Right Coalition* (2008 – 2022)

The analysis of the discursive practices within the *Economic and Financial Strategies* frame of the *Centre-Right Coalition*'s electoral programme (2008) highlights a strategic use of language aimed at balancing administrative pragmatism and public reassurance, with the goal of consolidating consensus and credibility. Technical and bureaucratic lexicon dominates the discourse, reflecting a view of environmental sustainability as an area of economic management and optimisation. However, the narrative approach shows limitations in constructing a transformative and innovative vision, revealing a lack of emotional elements or storytelling that could broaden public engagement.

Ambiguity and vagueness characterise many of the expressions used, such as «programmazione negoziata (*negotiated programming*)» and «razionalizzazione della gestione delle risorse» (*rationalisation of resource management*). These terms, while evoking a structured and collaborative approach, lack specificity and detail. «Programmazione negoziata con le Regioni» (*negotiated programming with the Regions*) suggests a coordination process between various levels of government, but it does not specify how this dialogue will be implemented or what tools will be used to ensure its effectiveness. This type of vagueness allows the message to be adapted to a wide range of institutional interlocutors, leaving room for interpretation that can be filled according to political needs. However, the lack of clarity reduces the perceived concreteness of the proposals, risking weakening the general public's engagement.

The use of metaphors and symbols is more limited compared to other political programmes, but the expression «valorizzazione del territorio» (*enhancement of the territory*) is a potent symbol that invokes an imagery of development and conservation. While generic, this term evokes an idea of economic and aesthetic improvement that can be easily shared by different segments of the population. Similarly, the reference to *fondi europei* serves as a symbol of institutional legitimacy, reinforcing the idea that the proposed policies are supported by supranational

financial resources, and therefore credible. However, the absence of more powerful and visually evocative metaphors, such as «transizione ecologica» or «rivoluzione verde» (*green revolution*), limits the persuasive potential of the discourse, keeping it on a predominantly technical level.

The presence of tautologies is evident in the pairing of seemingly distinct but essentially redundant terms, such as in «recupero, salvaguardia e valorizzazione del patrimonio culturale» (*recovery, preservation, and enhancement of cultural heritage*). While this formulation enriches the discourse rhetorically, it does not add new content, instead reinforcing the impression of a well-structured and detailed proposal. The tautology serves here as a persuasive tool to consolidate the programme's credibility, masking the lack of operational details through a seemingly logical and coherent repetition.

Persuasive rhetoric is manifested through the use of terms that convey pragmatism and responsibility, such as *strumenti di tutela* (tools for protection) and «*prevenzione dei disastri idrogeologici*» (prevention of hydrogeological disasters). These concepts emphasise the need for targeted and rational interventions, promoting the image of a political party capable of addressing environmental challenges in a methodical and effective manner. Nevertheless, the technical-administrative language diminishes the emotional impact of the discourse, depriving it of the motivational energy that could stem from hyperbolic expressions or direct appeals. The absence of rhetorical questions or pathos figures indicates a conscious choice to maintain an institutional tone, but it limits the ability of the discourse to inspire concrete actions or emotionally engage the public.

Polarisation is kept to a minimum, reflecting an approach that prioritises consensus over conflict. For example, the phrase «promozione di azioni coordinate» (*promotion of coordinated actions*) emphasises collaboration among various institutional actors, avoiding explicit opposition with adverse positions. This inclusive language aims to create a sense of unity and shared responsibility, but risks appearing overly neutral and lacking a strong, distinctive vision. The absence of sharp dichotomies, such as that between supporters and opponents of the proposed policies, diminishes the discourse's capacity to mobilise a collective identity around the theme of sustainability.

The use of wooden language is evident in expressions such as «fatte salve le competenze regionali» (*subject to regional competences*) and «indirizzi europei» (*European guidelines*). These formulations, while adhering to the formal requirements of institutional discourse, appear abstract and detached from the concrete actions proposed. The highly codified and bureaucratic

language strengthens the programme's authority, but it risks alienating a portion of the public who might perceive it as artificial or inauthentic.

The emphasis on numbers and data is relatively limited; the reference to «fondi europei relativi ai beni culturali e al recupero dei centri storici» (*European funds for cultural heritage and the recovery of historic centres*) suggests an implicit quantitative dimension but does not provide specific figures or statistics that could strengthen the discourse's credibility. The absence of concrete data limits the programme's ability to convey a sense of concreteness and reliability, leaving the message suspended in a predominantly qualitative dimension.

Appeals to values are central in constructing the *Economic and Financial Strategies* frame. Terms like *valorizzazione del territorio* (enhancement of the territory) and *patrimonio culturale* (cultural heritage) evoke universal principles of development and conservation, legitimising the proposals through an emotional connection to the shared values of the Italian population. This approach allows the integration of the economic dimension with an identity-driven narrative, reinforcing the sense of national pride and belonging.

The use of emotional appeal and storytelling is reduced, with a preference for technical and institutional language. However, the reference to *ecomostri* introduces an emotional element, evoking strong images of environmental and cultural degradation. This lexical choice, while limited, represents one of the programme's most effective tools for creating a direct connection with the public, eliciting an emotional response without abandoning the formal tone.

Neologisms and framing are sparsely represented in the discourse. While terms such as *razionalizzazione* (rationalisation) and *programmazione negoziata* (negotiated programming) reflect an attempt to redefine policies in terms of efficiency and collaboration, references to more innovative concepts, such as *green economy* or *transizione ecologica*, are lacking. This gap reduces the programme's capacity to position itself as a spokesperson for a modern and progressive vision of environmental sustainability.

The register used is characterised by a high degree of formality and codification, as demonstrated by the use of technical and institutional expressions. This approach consolidates the image of competence and authority in the programme but may seem distant and inaccessible to a public less familiar with political and administrative language.

Repetition is evident through the repeated use of terms like *valorizzazione*, *razionalizzazione*, and *fondi europei*. This strategy reinforces the central message of the discourse, but risks appearing redundant and diminishing the perception of diversity within the political proposals.

In summary, the *Economic and Financial Strategies* frame in the *Centre-Right Coalition*'s 2008 programme utilises a combination of discursive strategies that favour pragmatism and inclusivity. However, it lacks a transformative and innovative vision capable of emotionally engaging the public and positioning the environment as a central driver of economic and social development.

In 2013, the discourse of the *Centre-Right Coalition*, as seen in the micro-level analysis, introduces the concept of "green economy" for the first time, marking a significant step forward compared to previous programmes. The adoption of this term demonstrates a willingness to align with international trends and to redefine environmental issues in a modern context. However, despite the use of innovative terms such as *eco-innovazione* (eco-innovation) or *mobilità sostenibile* (sustainable mobility), the language continues to favour a technical register, as evidenced by expressions like «cicli integrati regionali di smaltimento» (*integrated regional waste disposal cycles*). These references, while suggesting a coordinated and rational approach to waste management, do not provide details that could make the impact of the proposed policies immediately tangible.

The reference to *smart cities* introduces an evocative image of technological progress and modernity. Although used superficially, this phrase implies a comparison with traditional urban models and positions the coalition as a promoter of innovation. However, this proposal lacks an emotional narrative that could enhance public engagement, limiting itself to stating technical objectives without contextualising them within a broader, more compelling framework.

With the 2018 programme, technology and innovation assume a central role in the environmental discourse. The coalition shifts its focus to tools such as energy efficiency, highlighting a language that seeks to combine sustainability and economic progress. Expressions like «risparmio energetico ed efficientamento della rete» (*energy savings and network efficiency*) underline the importance of optimising available resources. However, the absence of operational details or quantifiable objectives reduces the concreteness of the proposals, creating a perceptual gap between the political discourse and the everyday needs of citizens.

From a rhetorical perspective, the 2018 programme shows greater emphasis on technical authority than emotional impact. Formulations like «piano di ristrutturazione delle tecnostrutture» (*plan for restructuring the technostructures*) reinforce the coalition's image of competence but risk being inaccessible to an electorate less familiar with bureaucratic language. Nevertheless, the inclusion of concepts such as digitalisation and support for innovative start-

ups seeks to attract a younger audience, more attuned to technological prospects. Yet, this approach fails to fully integrate the economic, social, and environmental dimensions into a coherent and inclusive discourse.

In the 2022 programme, there is a significant shift in the representation of the environment, which takes a central position as a strategic priority. The language is enriched with evocative terms and concrete imagery, as seen in «rimboschimento e piantumazione di alberi» (*reforestation and tree planting*) or «salvaguardia della biodiversità» (*biodiversity conservation*). These references introduce a narrative dimension aimed at mobilising the electorate through an imagery of regeneration and protection. Unlike previous programmes, the 2022 discourse combines technical pragmatism with emotional storytelling, better integrating the two registers.

The emphasis on circular economy and environmental education marks further progress compared to earlier programmes. Terms like «resilienza delle aree a rischio dissesto idrogeologico» (*resilience of areas at risk of hydrogeological instability*) and «promozione di politiche di mobilità urbana sostenibile» (*promotion of sustainable urban mobility policies*) reflect a more articulated approach that seeks to position the environment as a cross-cutting theme, influencing various aspects of social and economic life. However, despite the greater sophistication of the discourse, there remains some tension between technicality and accessibility. Expressions like «efficientamento delle reti idriche» (*water supply network optimisation*) suggest a rational and well-structured intent, but lack an emotional component that could strengthen the connection with the public.

Polarisation is more evident in the 2022 programme compared to earlier ones. Phrases such as «stop alle trivellazioni» (*stop to drilling*) position the coalition as a clear alternative to development models perceived as outdated, consolidating the Centre-Right's political identity. This approach, while effective in creating an image of discontinuity from the past, risks exacerbating ideological divisions and reducing the inclusive scope of the discourse.

A significant aspect of the 2022 programme is the appeal to universal values, such as the protection of natural resources and quality of life. These references help to legitimise the proposals by establishing an emotional connection with principles shared by the population. However, the lack of strong storytelling limits the programme's ability to inspire a sense of belonging and emotional involvement, leaving a narrative that, although articulated, remains predominantly technical.

In summary, the evolution of the environmental discourse in the *Centre-Right Coalition*'s programmes from 2008 to 2022 shows how the environment continues to be predominantly represented as a rhetorical tool, often linked to economic and administrative objectives, rather than as an entity intrinsically respected and valued.

4.2.1.2 Partito Democratico, Potere al Popolo, Italia Viva (2008 – 2022)

The analysis of discursive practices in the electoral programmes of Italian left-wing parties reveals a strategic use of language aimed at balancing environmental sustainability and economic growth. Through the adoption of rhetorical and lexical techniques, these political parties construct narratives that seek to consolidate consensus and convey a sense of shared responsibility. Specifically, we can observe how these strategies have evolved over time, adapting to socio-political contexts and the electoral goals of each party.

In the 2008 programme of the PD, the use of generic terms such as *qualità dello sviluppo* (quality of development) reflects a tendency towards ambiguity, allowing for multiple interpretations and appealing to a broad range of voters. This language leaves ample room for interpretation, avoiding alienating potential supporters with overly specific statements. Similarly, in 2013, the *Centre-Left Coalition* adopts expressions like «politica industriale integralmente ecologica» (*fully ecological industrial policy*), emphasising an innovative approach without providing operational details. These lexical choices, while seemingly inclusive, can appear vague and lacking in concreteness, especially in a historical period characterised by growing demands for immediate climate action.

The evolution of discursive strategies is evident in the PD's 2018 programme, which introduces powerful metaphors such as «lotta contro il cambiamento climatico» (*fight against climate change*). This expression constructs a vivid image of conflict, evoking an epic narrative that facilitates emotional engagement. In parallel, in 2022, *Italia Viva* presents ecological transition as a «grandissima occasione» (huge opportunity), directly linking sustainability to economic development opportunities. These examples demonstrate how parties use metaphors to simplify complex issues and generate optimism among voters.

A central aspect is the use of *cotton language*, characterised by a soft and inclusive tone, particularly evident in *Italia Viva*'s 2022 programme. Expressions such as «favorire la transizione 4.0 in uno scenario che coniughi innovazione, concorrenza e sostenibilità» (*fostering the 4.0 transition in a scenario combining innovation, competition, and sustainability*) convey a message of consensus and cooperation, avoiding polarising positions.

However, the absence of direct references to practical measures could make this language seem overly diluted, weakening its persuasive impact. This strategy is combined with the frequent use of soft metaphors, such as «trasformare la crisi in opportunità» (*turning the crisis into an opportunity*), which aim to build a proactive narrative without alienating sensitive economic sectors.

In contrast, *wooden language* emerges clearly in the 2008 and 2022 programmes of the PD. Propositions such as «criterio della sostenibilità e della qualità ambientale» (*criterion of sustainability and environmental quality*) or «governance inclusiva per affrontare le sfide globali» (*inclusive governance to tackle global challenges*) are characterised by abstract formalism, conveying authority but at the risk of appearing distant and lacking in concrete substance. This linguistic choice can alienate more pragmatic voters who are looking for clear, actionable details. For instance, in the 2008 programme, the expression «intervento diretto dello Stato, attraverso meccanismi di premio» (*direct intervention by the state, through reward mechanisms*) remains vague, not specifying which sectors would benefit from such rewards or how they would be implemented.

Another significant discursive strategy is the use of tautologies, which appear in various forms in the electoral programmes. In 2013, the PD proposes the statement «Lavoriamo per un futuro migliore, perché il futuro deve essere migliore del passato» (*We work for a better future because the future must be better than the past*). This repetitive construction reinforces the message without providing new information, creating a sense of consistency and determination. Similarly, in 2018, we read: «Siamo orgogliosi di aver firmato l'Accordo di Parigi, perché è un impegno per il futuro del pianeta» (*We are proud to have signed the Paris Agreement, because it is a commitment for the future of the planet*). These propositions, although evocative, risk appearing redundant if not accompanied by concrete content. Moreover, the repetitive use of language also relates to the attempt to emphasise shared values, such as *responsabilità* (responsibility) and *solidarietà* (solidarity), without necessarily anchoring them to practical measures.

From an emotional persuasion standpoint, the 2022 programmes highlight a marked use of rhetoric. The PD underscores the climate emergency with phrases like «Dobbiamo agire subito» (*We must act now*), followed by concrete references to extreme events such as *ondate di calore* (heatwaves) and *alluvioni* (floods). This type of narrative, supported by vivid imagery, aims to invoke a sense of urgency and responsibility. *Italia Viva*, on the other hand, emphasises the risk of inaction with hyperbolic statements such as «Rallentare sul fronte della transizione

ambientale non è un'opzione» (*Slowing down on environmental transition is not an option*). This language amplifies the gravity of the situation and strengthens the call to action. However, the risk of overly emotional rhetoric is that it could discourage a more rational electorate, who might perceive the hyperbole as excessive.

A key element is the polarisation, which is evident in the 2018 programme of *Potere al Popolo*. The adopted lexicon constructs a clear dichotomy between *noi* (we), identified as supporters of environmental justice, and *loro* (they), perceived as defenders of a «modello capitalistico predatorio» (*predatory capitalist model*). This rhetoric, while mobilising ideologically aligned supporters, risks excluding less radical segments of the electorate. For example, the statement «non c'è 'economia verde' che tenga, se non si mette in discussione la logica del profitto» (*there is no 'green economy' that holds, if the logic of profit is not questioned*) represents a rigid stance that leaves no room for compromise, limiting the potential for dialogue with other political forces.

Finally, the analysis highlights the emphasis on the use of numbers and data, particularly relevant in the more recent programmes. PD in 2018 states that «il nostro piano ridurrà le emissioni di carbonio del 30% entro il 2030» (*our plan will reduce carbon emissions by 30% by 2030*), but without detailing how these results will be achieved. In 2022, *Italia Viva* includes more detailed proposals, such as «aumentare la costruzione di metropolitane da 14,2 km a 20 km annui» (*increase the construction of subways from 14.2 km to 20 km annually*), adding credibility to the plan through concrete data. However, the lack of an explicit link between these figures and the environmental benefits risks limiting the effectiveness of the discourse. The use of numbers, while authoritative, can appear instrumental if not accompanied by explanations that contextualise their real impact.

The use of discursive practices in the electoral programmes of left-wing Italian parties shows an evolution that reflects changing political and social needs. Through ambiguity, metaphors, persuasive rhetoric, and other linguistic tools, the parties aim to balance sustainability and economic growth, adapting their language to engage various categories of voters. Nevertheless, there is a general tendency to treat the environmental issue more as a rhetorical tool than as an entity that is respected in itself. The challenge remains in effectively combining the environment and the economy.

4.2.1.3 *Sinistra Arcobaleno, Sinistra Ecologia Libertà, Alleanza Verdi Sinistra* from (2008 – 2022)

In the electoral programmes of environmentalist parties, a rich and multifaceted use of linguistic strategies emerges to promote environmental sustainability and advocate for a radical change in the economic and social system. The programmes of *Sinistra Arcobaleno* (2008), *Sinistra Ecologia Libertà* (2013), and *Alleanza Verdi Sinistra* (2022) represent an evolutionary continuity in the construction of an ecologist narrative that combines ideological principles with concrete proposals.

In *Sinistra Arcobaleno*'s 2008 programme, the use of ambiguity and vagueness is a clear rhetorical strategy aimed at building broad consensus. Expressions such as «nuovo paradigma dello sviluppo non più basato sull'idea quantitativa della crescita, ma sulla qualità» (*new paradigm of development no longer based on the quantitative idea of growth, but on quality*) appear inclusive but leave room for multiple interpretations. This ambiguity allows the message to adapt to a heterogeneous electorate, but it risks appearing lacking in operational specificity. Similarly, the phrase «contrastare gli effetti dei cambiamenti climatici è fondamentale per garantire una speranza di futuro» (*countering the effects of climate change is essential to ensure a future of hope*) emphasises the urgency of the environmental crisis without outlining specific measures. In 2022, this indeterminacy is reduced, with more defined goals such as «Ridurre le emissioni del 70% entro il 2030» (*Reduce emissions by 70% by 2030*), though some issues remain open-ended.

Simultaneously, there is a significant use of metaphors and symbols. In 2008, «riconversione ecologica» (*ecological conversion*) is described as a *strategia* (strategy), a metaphor that evokes a complex and organised action plan. The image of transformation it evokes gives the discourse an evocative force that facilitates collective identification with the goal. In the 2022 programme, *Alleanza Verdi Sinistra* strengthens this approach with expressions such as «Il Sole è il più grande reattore a fusione nucleare già disponibile» (*The Sun is the largest nuclear fusion reactor already available*), a scientific metaphor that associates sustainability with accessible and natural technological progress. The language helps build an optimistic, future-oriented narrative, engaging the electorate both emotionally and intellectually.

Cotton language is central in the programmes analysed, particularly in *Sinistra Ecologia Libertà*'s 2013 programme. Phrases like «La sostenibilità ambientale e sociale devono diventare inscindibili» (*Environmental and social sustainability must become inseparable*) promote a narrative of cohesion and collaboration. This approach stands out for its ability to

convey a positive and reassuring message, but it risks appearing overly diluted and less impactful when not supported by detailed proposals. In the 2022 programme, *cotton language* evolves into rhetoric that aims to integrate environmental and social issues, such as in the statement «La transizione ecologica è una questione di giustizia sociale» (*Ecological transition is a matter of social justice*). However, in some sections, such as «Una legge sul clima entro i primi 100 giorni» (*A climate law within the first 100 days*), a sense of urgency is perceived, reducing the conciliatory effect typical of this register.

On the other hand, *wooden language* manifests in the 2008 and 2013 programmes. Phrases like «garantire la governance inclusiva per affrontare le sfide globali» (*ensure inclusive governance to tackle global challenges*) (2008) or «implementare politiche basate su evidenze scientifiche» (“implement policies based on scientific evidence») (2013) display technical formalism that, while conveying authority, risks alienating more pragmatic voters. These expressions, although useful for building institutional credibility, may appear distant from citizens’ everyday perceptions. Interestingly, in the 2022 programme, this register is used more sparingly, favouring more direct and inclusive language.

The use of tautologies emerges in the 2013 and 2022 programmes. In *Sinistra Ecologia Libertà’s* 2013 programme, it is possible to read: «Non si esce dalla crisi senza innovazione e cambiamento» (*You cannot exit the crisis without innovation and change*), a statement that, while rhetorically effective, does not add new informational content. Similarly, in 2022, the statement «La scienza ci dice che possiamo e dobbiamo dimezzare le emissioni nei prossimi otto anni» (*Science tells us that we can and must halve emissions in the next eight years*) repeats a well-known concept, emphasising it without specifying how to achieve the goal. This strategy, while useful in reinforcing the idea of scientific consensus, risks appearing redundant to a more discerning audience.

From the perspective of emotional persuasion, the analysed programmes effectively use storytelling and appeals to values. In 2008, *Sinistra Arcobaleno* frames the climate issue as a «general, political, economic, and social issue», creating a universal framework that links the environment to all aspects of human life. In the 2022 programme, *Alleanza Verdi Sinistra* emphasises the severity of the climate crisis with phrases like «L’Italia rischia di diventare invivibile» (*Italy risks becoming uninhabitable*), integrating statistical data to strengthen the dramatic effect. This narrative, supported by vivid images of heatwaves and droughts, stimulates urgency and emotional participation from the electorate. Additionally, references to

personal stories, such as the difficulties faced by families impacted by extreme climate events, add a human touch, making the message more immediate.

Polarisation is a significant discursive strategy in the 2013 and 2022 programmes. In the *Sinistra Ecologia Libertà* programme, a dichotomy is created between a sustainable economic model and a system based on exploitation. The statement «Non esiste giustizia sociale senza giustizia ambientale» (*There is no social justice without environmental justice*) defines a clear boundary between *us* (the supporters of ecological transition) and *them* (the defenders of the status quo). In 2022, *Alleanza Verdi Sinistra* strengthens this polarisation with the expression «L'economia fossile è il nostro principale nemico» (*The fossil economy is our main enemy*). This language can mobilise more radical supporters but risks alienating more moderate voters. However, this confrontation is balanced by an appeal for global cooperation, as evidenced by proposals for international climate alliances.

Another central element is the use of numbers and data. In 2008, *Sinistra Arcobaleno* committed to reaching specific targets, such as «by 2020, at least 20% of primary energy should be produced from renewable sources», providing a clear and measurable benchmark. In the 2022 programme, the emphasis shifts to more ambitious goals, such as «Achieving climate neutrality by 2045». While these references are authoritative, they sometimes lack an explicit link to strategies for achieving them, reducing their persuasive effectiveness. Including data on emissions and the economic impact of the climate crisis, however, is an effective tool for building credibility and urgency.

The environment in the programmes of the ecological parties emerges as a central entity, but the way it is interpreted and represented varies significantly depending on political objectives and historical context. On one hand, the programmes attribute intrinsic value to the environment, highlighting its importance for collective well-being and social justice. On the other hand, the ecologist narrative often uses the environment as a tool to mobilise consensus or strengthen political identity.

While metaphors and emotional narratives make the discourse powerful and accessible, the lack of concrete operational details (given the length of the texts, uncommon in an electoral programme) or the tendency to emphasise the severity of the crisis without providing pragmatic solutions risks weakening the actual impact of the proposals. The environment, therefore, does not always appear respected as an autonomous entity worthy of intrinsic consideration but is sometimes subordinated to other political and social priorities. This approach may compromise

the credibility of the ecological parties in the eyes of an electorate seeking concrete answers to real problems.

4.2.1.4 *Movimento 5 Stelle* (2013 – 2022)

The electoral programmes of the *Movimento 5 Stelle* from 2013 to 2022 reveal a significant evolution in language and discursive strategies, aimed at positioning the environment as a central theme in political debate.

In the 2013 programme, technical language predominates. Proposals such as the rigorous application of Law 10/91 and the promotion of energy co-generation highlight a discourse centred around technical expertise. Phrases like «Il rendimento medio delle centrali termoelettriche dell'Enel si attesta intorno al 38%» (*The average efficiency of Enel's thermoelectric plants is around 38%*) effectively use data to enhance credibility. The comparison with German regulations and the Province of Bolzano positions Italy as lagging behind European standards, generating a sense of urgency and the need for intervention. This approach is further supported by morally charged terms such as «non è accettabile di per sé togliere il necessario a chi ne ha bisogno» (*it is unacceptable to take what is necessary from those who need it*), emphasising the ethical duty for sustainable resource use.

However, the technical language, although detailed, risks addressing a limited audience already sensitised to environmental issues. For instance, the proposal to incentivise micro-cogeneration through complex regulations might not be immediately understandable to a less experienced electorate. This tension between technical depth and accessibility emerges as a key challenge in the *Movimento 5 Stelle's* communicative strategy in 2013.

In the 2018 programme, the language simplifies and shifts more towards slogans and concrete promises. Phrases like «200mila posti di lavoro da economia del riciclo rifiuti» or «17mila nuovi posti di lavoro per ogni miliardo di euro investito nelle rinnovabili» (*17,000 new jobs for every billion euros invested in renewables*) effectively summarise economic and environmental benefits. The narrative becomes more inclusive, emphasising the positive impact of the proposed policies on citizens' daily lives. The use of precise numbers lends authority, but also introduces a rhetoric of polarisation, as seen in the statement «uscita dal petrolio entro il 2050» (*exit from oil by 2050*), which clearly distinguishes *Movimento 5 Stelle* from other parties.

An interesting example is the integration of the green economy as a central theme. The discourse goes beyond technical perspectives and extends to an imagery of progress and innovation, appealing to young and progressive voters. However, the lack of operational details

to achieve ambitious goals risks leaving room for criticism regarding the feasibility of the proposals. For example, the emphasis on «un milione di auto elettriche» is not accompanied by a concrete plan for infrastructure or incentives.

In the 2022 programme, the discourse evolves further, integrating elements of emotional storytelling alongside technical rationality. Terms like «Società 2000 Watt» and «Economia rigenerativa» represent a strategic use of neologisms to redefine the public debate on sustainability. These phrases introduce an innovative frame that encourages the reader to imagine a sustainable, participatory future. The use of metaphors like «Rigenerazione sociale» (*social regeneration*) and «Vuoto a rendere» (*deposit return system*) creates evocative images that link environmental policies to concepts of collective rebirth.

A distinctive aspect of the 2022 programme is the strong integration of environmental policies with social justice. Proposals like the «Superbonus energia imprese» (*Energy Superbonus for businesses*) and «Contrasto al carobollette» (*Fighting high energy bills*) aim to reduce inequalities, making the ecological transition accessible to less affluent segments of the population. The emphasis on phrases like «permettere alle imprese di investire a costo zero nel risparmio energetico» (*allowing businesses to invest at no cost in energy savings*) combines inclusive language with the promise of tangible benefits. This approach appears to address the criticism of elitism often directed at the movement, aiming to broaden its electoral base.

From a lexical perspective, the 2022 programme is rich in memorable slogans and concise formulas. Expressions like «Stop a nuove trivellazioni e a nuovi inceneritori» (*Stop new drilling and new incinerators*) distil complex messages into direct, easily understandable phrases. The strategy is clearly aimed at consolidating *Movimento 5 Stelle's* image as an innovative political force focused on change. However, some proposals, like completing the geological map to prevent hydrogeological risks, suggest a return to more technical language, highlighting the ongoing tension between accessibility and depth.

An additional interesting element is the use of storytelling techniques. For instance, the narrative on the climate crisis is constructed through dramatic data and powerful imagery: «Il mondo si trova su una strada che va verso un aumento della temperatura globale di 2,7 gradi entro la fine del secolo» (*The world is on a path towards a 2.7°C rise in global temperature by the end of the century*). This strategy not only informs but also emotionally mobilises the electorate, emphasising the need for immediate action.

Finally, the use of polarisation is evident in the construction of an *otherness* in relation to traditional parties. Phrases like «Stop a tecnologie obsolete per i rifiuti» (*Stop obsolete waste*

technologies) or «Promozione del vuoto a rendere» (*Promotion of the returnable system*) position *Movimento 5 Stelle* as the sole true advocate for change, constructing an image of antagonism against a system perceived as stagnant and inefficient.

From the analysis of *Movimento 5 Stelle*'s electoral programmes, a complex and evolving representation of the environment emerges. At times, the environment is treated as an autonomous entity deserving of intrinsic respect, while in other instances, it becomes a rhetorical tool for promoting social justice, employment, and technological innovation. This dual representation reflects both the desire to position the party as a leader in the environmental debate and the necessity to attract a heterogeneous electorate. However, the credibility of the proposals is sometimes questioned due to the lack of operational details, especially when ambitious goals are presented without sufficient articulation. Ultimately, the environment emerges as a central element of the *Movimento 5 Stelle*'s political identity, but its representation appears to oscillate between authenticity and instrumentalisation, depending on the needs of the political context and the target audience.

4.3 Macro-level analysis

At this level, the electoral programmes have been examined within their socio-cultural and ideological context. The programmes reflect and reproduce power structures and dominant worldviews. This allows for an understanding of how specific frames may privilege one perspective over others. As in the previous levels of analysis, the political parties have once again been divided into four groups — the *Centro-Destra Coalition*, centre-left parties, environmentalist movements, and the *Movimento 5 Stelle*.

4.3.1 Frame: *Sustainability and Climate Policies*

The analysis of the *Sustainability and Climate Policies* frame focuses on the relationship between the language used and the ideologies it underpins. Special attention is given to the representation of climate issues in relation to political visions of sustainable development. Each political faction has been examined to identify differences and similarities in the discursive strategies they have adopted.

4.3.1.1 Centre-Right Coalition (2008 - 2022)

In the 2008 programme of the *Centre-Right Coalition*, as previously observed, language was employed that, while evoking environmental protection and sustainable development, fits

within a conservative and administrative ideological context. This approach, rooted in conservatism, favours a local and managerial view of the environment, avoiding direct and systematic engagement with the global challenges posed by the climate crisis.

A central element is the language chosen to describe the environment as a cultural and identity-related resource. Expressions such as «recupero, salvaguardia e valorizzazione del patrimonio culturale e la tutela del paesaggio» (*recovery, safeguarding, and enhancement of cultural heritage and landscape protection*) reveal a clear intent to associate the environment with the aesthetic and identity values of the Italian nation. This type of rhetoric evokes a sense of collective belonging, using the landscape as a symbol of cultural continuity and tradition. However, this approach narrows the scope of the discourse to a local dimension, overlooking the global context in which the main climate issues unfold.

The use of terms like *patrimonio culturale* (cultural heritage) and *paesaggio italiano* (Italian landscape) underscores the importance of preserving the environment not so much for its intrinsic value or to address climate emergencies, but rather to maintain it as an element of national identity. This perspective, consistent with a conservative ideology, emphasises the maintenance of the status quo and responsible resource management. However, there is no explicit reference to global issues such as the climate crisis, ecological transition, or the need for a radical shift in environmental management policies. This ideological silence reflects a reassuring rhetoric, avoiding engagement with the urgency and complexity of global environmental issues.

Another relevant aspect is the use of technical and formal language, which emphasises the administrative management of the environment. The proposal for a «legge obiettivo per il recupero, la salvaguardia e la valorizzazione del patrimonio culturale e la tutela del paesaggio» (*targeted law for the recovery, safeguarding, and enhancement of cultural heritage and landscape protection*) serves as a prime example. The term *legge obiettivo* (targeted law) suggests a planned and focused approach, giving the discourse an apparent neutrality and scientific air. However, the absence of operational details or a concrete intervention plan reduces the persuasive effectiveness of the proposal, leaving it open to generic or symbolic interpretations. This type of technical-administrative language aims to consolidate political credibility but risks alienating the general public, who might perceive it as distant or inaccessible.

The frame is also characterised by the representation of the environment as a static and unchanging reality, to be protected from perceived destructive intrusions. The proposal for the

«demolizione degli ecomostri e risanamento degli scempi arrecati al paesaggio italiano» (*demolition of eyesores and remediation of the damage caused to the Italian landscape*) uses highly evocative language to describe invasive and visually unpleasant infrastructure interventions. The term *ecomostri*, coined to represent these structures, serves a powerful rhetorical function by creating a common enemy against which to rally. The metaphor builds consensus through a moralistic narrative that identifies a clear and tangible threat to the landscape and cultural identity. However, this rhetoric avoids addressing the economic and social causes that led to the construction of the eyesores, ignoring the systemic dynamics that generate environmental degradation. The discourse limits itself to offering an aesthetic and localized solution without questioning the broader implications of environmental policies.

In 2013, the programme introduced a language more focused on modernisation, marking a partial evolution from 2008. The section dedicated to “environment, green economy, and quality of life” reflects an attempt to broaden the scope of the environmental discourse, integrating it with themes of technological innovation and economic development. The inclusion of the term *green economy* is significant, as it suggests a more proactive approach, considering environmental sustainability as a lever for economic growth. This linguistic shift signals a greater awareness of the opportunities provided by the green economy, while maintaining a pragmatic focus on national dimensions.

Among the proposals, the «new plan for the hydrogeological restructuring of the country» and the «securing of the real estate heritage» stand out, both presented through technical language that reinforces the idea of a scientific and planned approach. However, the discourse remains rooted in targeted and sector-specific interventions, without a systemic vision of environmental policies. The idea of enhancing parks and protected areas through tax incentives, while interesting, focuses on the economic and employment aspects, reducing the environment to a functional element for development. Similarly, the reference to *smart cities* introduces a highly relevant theme, but lacks operational details to clarify how it will be implemented.

In 2018, the programme focused on *energy efficiency* and the promotion of innovative technologies, with even more technical and specialised language. Environmental sustainability is treated primarily as a tool to improve the efficiency and competitiveness of the economic system. Phrases like “greater efficiency in energy production and consumption in buildings, industry, and transport” underline the pragmatic orientation of the discourse, which favours sectoral and targeted interventions. However, the absence of explicit references to the climate crisis or biodiversity highlights a limited integration of global environmental issues into the

programme. This approach suggests a view of the environment as a resource to be managed, rather than as a central element of an integrated sustainability policy.

The 2022 programme represents a significant turning point, with a programme that defines the environment as *a priority* and adopts a more inclusive and forward-looking language. The reference to “the international commitments undertaken by Italy to combat climate change” demonstrates a greater awareness of the global dimension of environmental issues. This shift is also reflected in the introduction of themes such as *circular economy* and *sustainable urban mobility*, which highlight a more systemic and innovative vision.

The proposal for a «national strategic plan for the circular economy» represents an attempt to integrate environmental sustainability with economic development through targeted interventions aimed at reducing the consumption of natural resources and promoting recycling. This lexical choice suggests a more ambitious approach compared to previous programmes, which focused primarily on the administrative management of resources. Similarly, the promotion of reforestation and biodiversity reflects an increasing focus on protecting ecosystems, although there are still no operational details explaining how these measures will be implemented.

The language used in 2022 is more evocative and geared towards consensus-building, as demonstrated by expressions such as «extraordinary plan for the protection and safeguarding of water quality» and «promotion of environmental education». These terms create a positive and inclusive frame, aiming to engage a wider audience and convey a sense of urgency and collective responsibility. Despite the emphasis on resilience and ecological transition, the discourse remains largely focused on the national dimension, with limited involvement in global sustainability strategies.

4.3.1.2 *Partito Democratico, Potere al Popolo, Italia Viva (2008 – 2022)*

In the 2008 electoral programme of the PD, the integration of sustainability criteria across all public policies is presented not merely as an environmental goal but as a lever for promoting technological and industrial leadership. This approach emphasises the centrality of the state, which acts through “mechanisms of reward” to incentivise virtuous behaviour, without creating new bodies. Sustainability here is not portrayed as a value in itself, but as a means to achieve economic growth and technological progress, in line with a reformist ideology aiming for the country’s modernisation.

The decision to focus on infrastructure in southern Italy, aiming to halve the gap with the central-northern regions by 2013, links the environmental theme to territorial equity. The reference to «improving the quality of essential public services» such as water and energy, within an environmental sustainability framework, shows an attempt to tie the discourse of sustainability to social justice. However, this vision is influenced by the global economic dynamics of the time, characterised by the need to attract investment and efficiently use EU funds. Environmental sustainability here seems subordinate to the need for economic development and modernisation, reflecting an ideological tension typical of ecological neoliberalism.

The 2013 programme of the *Centre-left coalition* further develops the sustainability discourse by proposing an “integrally ecological” industrial policy. This expression is significant as it suggests a holistic approach, aiming to integrate sustainability into every sector, from agriculture to services. The concept of the «progetto-Paese» (*Country Project*) is presented as a response to the challenges of globalisation, focusing on creativity, technology, and Italian tradition. The programme highlights sustainable mobility and energy efficiency, linking these themes to national cultural identity. This connection between sustainability and *Italian-ness* is a distinctive feature of the centre-left political discourse, seeking to combine environmental respect with the enhancement of cultural and industrial heritage.

In the historical context of 2013, marked by the global economic crisis and its impact on the Italian production system, the programme reflects a tension between technological innovation and the preservation of traditional sectors. The emphasis on the need to «restore centrality to production» and on using innovation to relaunch small and medium-sized enterprises shows how sustainability is also used as a strategy to address economic difficulties. However, this narrative does not explicitly challenge global economic structures, remaining anchored in a development model based on competitiveness and integration into international markets.

The 2018 programme of the PD marks a significant shift in the representation of the *Sustainability and Climate Policies* frame. The statement «L’ambiente non è un tema da citare perché va di moda, ma è la sfida cruciale per il futuro dei nostri figli» (*The environment is not a topic to mention because it’s fashionable, but it is the crucial challenge for the future of our children*) reveals a change in tone, with a more emotional and long-term orientation. Adherence to the Paris Agreement is placed at the centre of the strategy, emphasising Italy’s international responsibility and its active role in the fight against climate change. This approach reflects the

global context of 2018, characterised by growing attention to the climate crisis and international pressure to implement the commitments made under the Agreement.

The promotion of the circular economy and the emphasis on creating green jobs show an attempt to reconcile sustainability with economic growth. However, the language of the programme also reveals some ideological ambiguity. The insistence on the *valorisation of the fight against all forms of pollution* and on technological improvement of infrastructures suggests a trust in technological solutions but downplays structural issues such as reducing global inequalities or changing consumption models. This reflects a vision that, while recognising the urgency of the climate crisis, remains anchored in a traditional economic development paradigm.

The 2018 programme of *Potere al Popolo* presents a radically different approach to the *Sustainability and Climate Policies* frame. The environmental issue is described as *amplified by a predatory capitalist model*, highlighting an explicit critique of global economic structures. The idea that environmental destruction is “also a question of class” introduces a social justice element missing in the PD’s programmes. This radical perspective is reflected in the programme’s language, using terms like *devastation*, *profit*, and *oppressed* to underline the connections between the environmental crisis and social inequalities.

The programme proposes democratic planning based on environmental safeguarding and the remediation of damage caused by the misuse of resources. This approach explicitly opposes the *so-called green economy*, criticised for its inability to question the logic of profit. The proposals include halting major infrastructure projects like the TAV and TAP, as well as imposing a moratorium on extractive projects. These measures reflect a vision that places collective interest above market dynamics, emphasising the need for structural change.

The PD’s 2022 programme adopts a more integrated and systemic view of sustainability, linking the ecological transition to the digital one. The language becomes more explicit in identifying climate change as a global crisis requiring a *paradigm shift*. The emphasis on international cooperation and the importance of the European FitFor55 package demonstrates a greater awareness of global dynamics and the need for collective actions. However, the programme continues to show strong confidence in technological solutions and the role of businesses, as seen in its focus on investment in innovation and sustainability.

Regarding *Italia Viva*’s programme, one of the central themes is independence from Russian gas, defined as a *matter of national security*. This priority reflects the urgent climate of the period and positions the party as a proponent of practical short-term solutions. Among the

proposals are the construction of floating regasification plants and the strengthening of national gas production plants, seeking to balance the immediate need for energy supply with a long-term commitment to decarbonisation.

Italia Viva's electoral programme demonstrates a clear confidence in technological solutions, such as hydrogen development and the enhancement of hydroelectric power. This aspect reflects an ideology that could be described as *technocratic*, in which technological progress is seen as the key to addressing climate challenges without necessarily challenging existing economic structures. For example, the proposal to develop CO₂ capture and storage plants shows a willingness to invest in advanced technological innovations while keeping traditional thermoelectric plants in operation.

However, it is in the medium and long term that *Italia Viva* shows greater commitment to the *Sustainability and Climate Policies* frame. The goal of reducing CO₂ emissions by 55% by 2030 and achieving climate neutrality by 2050 is accompanied by the proposal to include nuclear power in the national energy mix. This proposal represents a distinctive element compared to other left-wing parties, many of which oppose nuclear power for ideological or environmental reasons. Renzi and *Italia Viva* adopt a pragmatic language, arguing that nuclear power, combined with renewables, is necessary to ensure the energy transition without compromising the country's energy security.

Another interesting aspect of the programme is the emphasis on the role of the *prosumer* (producer-consumer), which aims to involve families, communities, and industrial districts in the production of renewable energy. This proposal ties into the concept of *democratising energy*, suggesting a decentralised production model that could reduce inequalities and increase energy resilience. However, the language of the programme remains predominantly technical and economic, leaving little room for broader considerations of environmental or social justice. Unlike parties such as *Potere al Popolo*, *Italia Viva* has adopted a more radical perspective, questioning global economic structures and proposing systemic change, focusing on pragmatic and technological solutions. However, despite the innovative proposals and long-term vision, the language of the programme reveals a tension between the need for immediate action and the complexity of structural challenges. For example, the proposal to relaunch domestic gas production could appear to contradict the decarbonisation goal, raising questions about the programme's coherence.

The historical context of 2022, marked by the energy crisis, has clearly influenced the language of all three programmes. In particular, the PD uses concrete examples like the collapse of the

Marmolada glacier to highlight the urgency of the ecological transition. However, the narrative remains anchored in a development model that seeks to balance sustainability and economic competitiveness, without fully addressing the tensions between these two dimensions.

Comparing the programmes of the Italian left-wing parties from 2008 to 2022 reveals a significant evolution. In fact, while the early programmes focused on sustainability as a tool for promoting economic modernisation, the more recent programmes adopt a broader and more integrated vision, but continue to show tensions between discursive ambitions and structural realities. *Potere al Popolo*'s programme stands as an exception, proposing a radical critique of existing economic and social structures and placing social justice at the heart of environmental sustainability.

4.3.1.3 *Sinistra Arcobaleno, Sinistra Ecologia Libertà, Alleanza Verdi Sinistra (2008 - 2022)*

The 2008 programme of *Sinistra Arcobaleno* stands out for introducing a key concept: ecological conversion as the foundation of a new economic and social vision for Italy. The core of the discourse focuses on the need to abandon a quantitative model of development in favour of a qualitative one, capable of addressing not only climate challenges but also the demands for social justice. This paradigm shift is clearly reflected in the language used, positioning climate as a general, political, economic, and social issue, calling for urgent and coordinated action. The global dimension of the climate crisis is consistently intertwined with the local context, with frequent references to the Kyoto Protocol and European objectives for emission reductions, energy savings, and renewable energy promotion. However, the international perspective never detaches from the Italian reality; on the contrary, the programme aims to integrate global commitments with concrete national actions, such as eliminating fossil fuels and rejecting nuclear energy.

A strength of the discourse lies in its ability to integrate technical and social aspects, making the ecological transition not only necessary but also advantageous for the economy and employment. For instance, the proposal to install solar panels on all Italian rooftops is not presented merely as a step towards energy sustainability but also as an opportunity to create around one hundred thousand new jobs, thus emphasising the transformative potential of the ecological transition. This combination of technological efficiency and social impact reinforces the message of a change that is possible and beneficial for all. The chosen lexicon, rich in terms like *innovation*, *research*, and *quality*, underscores the aspiration for a better future rooted in a positive view of technological progress.

In addition to energy, another crucial theme is water as a common good. Here, the language becomes more political and value-laden, presenting water as a fundamental right that must be guaranteed to all, especially in areas at risk of desertification, like Southern Italy. The proposal to re-nationalise water services and invest in improving water networks demonstrates a commitment to equitable and sustainable management of natural resources. This commitment also extends to territorial protection, with calls to fight building abuse and land consumption, highlighting the need for urban policies that respect the environment and promote participatory planning.

In 2013, with *Sinistra Ecologia Libertà's* programme, the discourse evolves toward greater integration between environmental sustainability and social rights. The ecological conversion of the economy is presented as the key to addressing not only the climate crisis but also the employment crisis, with a strong emphasis on creating skilled and stable jobs. The lexicon reflects this dual concern, introducing terms like *social justice*, *quality of work*, and *inclusion*, emphasising the centrality of the human being in the transition process. The proposal for a Green Plan for employment, with public investments in territorial safety, energy efficiency, and urban regeneration, is a concrete example of how sustainability can become a driver of economic and social development. This vision also translates into particular attention to younger generations, with the proposal of a guaranteed minimum income and increased support for women, recognising the link between job precariousness and gender inequalities.

In the 2022 programme of *Alleanza Verdi Sinistra*, the approach becomes even more ambitious and structured, with a language combining detailed scientific analysis and a clear political perspective. The goal of a *renewable Italy* is based on a coordinated plan to abandon fossil fuels and achieve climate neutrality by 2045. The rhetoric here becomes more direct and imperative, with phrases like “science must be heard” and *we must act now*, emphasising the urgency of immediate intervention. The emphasis on *energy democracy* introduces an innovative dimension, proposing a decentralised system of energy production and consumption, based on energy communities and collective self-consumption. This approach not only redefines the relationship between citizens and resources but also promotes a vision of active participation and sharing, in stark contrast to traditional centralised models.

The strategy proposed in 2022 also stands out for its attention to fiscal policies, with the abolition of fossil fuel subsidies and the creation of an energy tax system that ensures social equity and environmental sustainability. The criticism of nuclear energy, already present in previous programmes, is enriched with technical arguments and a direct reference to the popular

will expressed in referendums. The narrative becomes more inclusive and participatory, calling for the need to listen to citizens' voices and involve them in decision-making processes. The insistence on transparency and inclusion is further embodied in the proposal to create an independent scientific committee and citizen assemblies to monitor and evaluate climate policies.

Another distinctive element is the attention to the global context, with frequent references to international commitments such as the Glasgow Climate Pact and the European Fit for 55 package. The programme highlights the importance of international cooperation, positioning Italy as a leader in climate diplomacy and in promoting partnerships for the ecological transition. This global vision is intertwined with a strong focus on local issues, such as managing hydrogeological instability and adapting to climate change, with specific proposals like the Forest Protection Plan and the Sea Protection Plan.

Overall, the programmes of the environmentalist parties show a consistent and progressive evolution, beginning with the definition of an alternative vision of development and moving towards an integrated and detailed strategy for addressing the current climate and social challenges. Although sustainability emerges not only as a political objective but also as a guiding principle for rethinking the entire economic, social, and institutional system, the environmental issue once again remains, in this context, a tool.

4.3.1.4 *Movimento 5 Stelle* (2013 – 2022)

The 2013 electoral programme of the *Movimento 5 Stelle* is situated within a historical context in which Italy was under pressure to meet the international commitments of the Kyoto Protocol, with increasing sanctions for non-compliant countries. The rhetoric of the programme focuses on the need to adhere to European directives and prioritises the reduction of CO₂ emissions. A significant example is the proposal to rigorously apply the energy certification of buildings, already mandated by European legislation, with the aim of aligning Italy with more advanced standards, such as those of the Province of Bolzano, where the maximum allowed consumption per square metre was drastically lower than the Italian average.

The use of technical details, such as the comparison between the efficiency of Enel's thermal power plants (38%) and that of newer generation plants (up to 97% with widespread cogeneration), is not incidental. These technical data serve to build a discursive authority that positions the *Movimento* as a proponent of a modern and scientifically informed vision. At the same time, this rhetoric reflects an ideological confidence in the ability of technology to solve

environmental problems without necessarily challenging global economic structures, a hallmark of ecological neoliberalism. The criticism of the inefficiencies of thermal power plants and the emphasis on widespread cogeneration demonstrate how the programme seeks to legitimise itself through the promotion of practical and morally justified technological solutions, without proposing radical structural changes.

The socio-historical period, marked by growing public awareness of climate change, clearly influences the language and priorities of the programme. The focus on sustainability fits into a landscape where the European Union was pushing for a more rigorous energy transition, but the national debate was often dominated by economic concerns. The *Movimento 5 Stelle* thus positions itself as an alternative force, advocating for a *technical-moral* approach, denouncing energy waste as not only inefficient but also ethically unacceptable, as evidenced by the phrase: «It is not acceptable in itself to take away what is necessary from those who need it, but if it is then wasted, it is inconceivable». This rhetorical choice highlights the intersection between social justice and environmental sustainability, while remaining within a logic of compromise with existing economic structures.

The 2013 programme also reveals tensions between sustainability and existing social structures, particularly in its reference to incentives for energy renovations. The proposal to facilitate ESCO (Energy Service Company) contracts highlights an attempt to reconcile the need for energy interventions with the economic constraints of families and small businesses. However, while this proposal aims for a fairer transition, it leaves unresolved the issues linked to structural economic disparities, which represent an obstacle to universal sustainability.

Moving to the 2018 programme, a significant evolution is observed in how the *Movimento 5 Stelle* addresses the frame of Sustainability and Climate Policies. In this context, the language becomes more ambitious and oriented towards long-term goals, as demonstrated by the promise of achieving a 100% renewable Italy by 2050. This linguistic shift reflects a change in the socio-cultural landscape, characterised by increased environmental activism both globally, with movements like Fridays for Future, and nationally, with a growing media focus on climate issues. The emphasis on jobs derived from the green economy, such as 200,000 jobs from the waste recycling economy, reveals a discursive strategy that seeks to integrate sustainability with economic well-being, attempting to overcome the traditional opposition between economic growth and environmental protection.

However, the 2018 approach continues to show elements of ideological tension. On one hand, the programme emphasises the need for a radical energy transition, such as the exit from oil by

2050 and the promotion of one million electric cars. On the other hand, these proposals remain anchored in a vision where technology and the market play a central role, avoiding a challenge to global power structures or addressing issues of environmental justice on a larger scale. This ambivalence is reflected in the lack of concrete proposals to address global inequalities related to the distribution of energy resources, a topic that is increasingly relevant in international discourse on sustainability.

The historical context of 2018, marked by the Paris Agreement and the growing public pressure for more effective climate policies, clearly influences the rhetoric of the programme. The insistence on renewable energy and energy efficiency responds to the expectations of a more conscious and active electorate, but raises questions about the real capacity to implement such measures within a complex economic and political framework. The promise of creating jobs through the green economy, while convincing, raises concerns about the long-term sustainability of a model that still relies heavily on significant private sector investments.

In the 2022 programme, the frame of *Sustainability and Climate Policies* reaches a new level of complexity and integration. The language becomes more sophisticated and oriented towards an idea of sustainability that goes beyond mere emissions reduction, embracing concepts such as social and environmental regeneration. The proposal for a *2000 Watt society*, which aims for a sustainable energy consumption model, represents a paradigm shift compared to previous policies, marking a transition from a technical and regulatory approach to a more systemic and cultural vision. Such linguistic evolution reflects increasing discursive maturity and an attempt to address the criticisms of greenwashing often directed at the Movement.

The historical context of 2022, marked by the energy crisis and the aftermath of the COVID-19 pandemic, clearly influenced the programme's priorities. The proposal for a new Superbonus Energy Enterprises, based on the circulation of tax credits, shows an attempt to combine sustainability with economic resilience, responding to the immediate needs of Italian businesses and families. However, this emphasis on tax credits raises questions about the long-term sustainability of a model that depends on state incentives and the availability of public resources. The final programme also introduces new themes, such as the geological map to prevent hydrogeological risks, reflecting an increasing awareness of the risks linked to climate change. However, despite the programme's apparent completeness, ideological tensions persist between sustainability and economic growth. The proposal to stop new drilling and incinerators demonstrates a commitment to a more radical ecological transition, but it leaves open questions

about how to balance these measures with the energy and industrial needs of a country like Italy.

By comparing the electoral programmes of the *Movimento 5 Stelle* from 2013 to 2022, a significant evolution emerges in the way the frame of *Sustainability and Climate Policies* has been integrated into political rhetoric. While the 2013 programme was characterised by a technical-normative approach, the 2018 programme adopted a more ambitious, long-term vision. The 2022 programme, in turn, sought to integrate sustainability, resilience, and social justice into a broader, more complex framework.

However, in every phase from 2013 to 2022, tensions emerge between the *Movimento*'s discursive ambitions and the socio-economic and political realities that influence the implementation of the proposed policies. Despite progress in developing a more inclusive and systemic language, there remain limitations tied to the reliance on technological solutions and the failure to address the structural inequalities that characterise both the global and national contexts. A critical reflection on the *Movimento 5 Stelle*'s electoral programmes thus reveals how the *Sustainability and Climate Policies* frame reflects the power dynamics and ideologies of the time, but also highlights the need for a more radical and inclusive approach to address the challenges of climate change in a truly transformative way.

4.3.2 Frame *Economic and Financial Strategies*

The *Economic and Financial Strategies* frame has been analysed across the four political groups, considering the interaction between political language and sustainable economics. The electoral programmes have been examined to identify how the concepts of investment, growth, and innovation have been linked to environmental strategies. This analysis helps to understand the underlying economic priorities behind the political narrative.

4.3.2.1 *Centre-right Coalition (2008 – 2022)*

In 2008, the electoral programme of the *Centre-right coalition* emerged during a period of profound economic and political instability globally, marked by the financial crisis that would reach its peak in the following months. This context influenced the vision expressed in the programme, which adopts a pragmatic and conservative approach, reflecting the ideology of ecological neoliberalism. The decision to introduce a *5 per mille* (a form of voluntary tax contribution) for the environment and an objective law for the recovery of the country's landscape heritage highlights a strategy that avoids challenging the global economic system,

instead focusing on specific interventions. Phrases such as *demolition of ecomonsters* and *remediation of the environmental damage to the landscape* reflect a vision in which the environment is seen primarily as an aesthetic and cultural value, rather than an ecological system to be protected. The centrality of negotiated planning with the Regions further indicates a belief in administrative decentralisation, but raises questions about the coherence and effectiveness of the environmental policies implemented.

This period is characterised by the belief that local solutions may be sufficient to address environmental challenges, an approach that reflects the tendency at the time to not fully recognise the global scope of the climate crisis. Trust in international relations is limited, and the programme does not include significant references to multilateral initiatives. The lack of articulated financial strategies to support sustainability suggests a disconnect between environmental proposals and the broader economic framework.

In 2013, the *Centre-right coalition* expanded its focus to include the *green economy* and placed greater emphasis on economic and financial strategies. The shift in perspective is set within the context of the consequences of the global economic crisis and increasing pressure to address Italy's territorial vulnerabilities, exacerbated by recurring natural disasters. The new plan for the country's hydrogeological restructuring reflects greater awareness of the risks related to land management, while the safeguarding of real estate heritage is presented as an opportunity to stimulate the economy through tax benefits and favourable financing.

Phrases such as *incentivising waste sorting* and *creating integrated regional waste management cycles* show an attempt to promote sustainable management models, but these remain grounded in a local dimension, without fully addressing the systemic implications of the environmental crisis. The concept of *green economy*, with its four strategic sectors – eco-innovation, renewable energy sources, waste recycling, and sustainable mobility – shows a trust in technological solutions and green capitalism. However, the programme avoids questioning existing economic structures, maintaining an approach that integrates sustainability into the dominant economic system rather than transforming it.

The historical-social context of this period, characterised by growing scepticism towards European institutions and the need to relaunch the internal economy, strongly influences the narrative. While the programme recognises the importance of international relations, it lacks an organic vision that connects Italy's climate policies with global objectives.

In 2018, the centre-right discourse became more ambitious and technology-driven, reflecting a period of acceleration in the adoption of digital technologies and an increasing awareness of

climate challenges. The programme places a strong emphasis on energy efficiency and digitalisation, using expressions such as *better use of resources* and *support for innovative start-ups*. This reflects almost complete confidence in technological solutions as tools to address environmental challenges. The focus on energy savings and the security of supply indicates a growing concern for economic resilience, also influenced by global geopolitical tensions.

However, the programme still shows significant limitations in its ability to address social and territorial inequalities. The lack of an explicit reference to the impacts of climate change on vulnerable communities highlights a disconnect between the proposed policies and social needs. This reflects a tension between sustainability and pre-existing economic and social structures, a tension that the programme fails to resolve.

In 2022, the *Centre-right coalition*'s programme marks further development, finally recognising the environment as a priority. This shift is influenced by the increase in climate emergencies and the growing international pressure for the implementation of effective climate policies. The proposal for a national circular economy strategic plan represents an attempt to integrate sustainability into economic strategies, aiming to reduce the consumption of natural resources and landfill waste. Expressions like *realisation of innovative and sustainable facilities* and *promotion of environmental education* show an evolution in the narrative, which now includes an educational and cultural dimension.

The programme also addresses territorial resilience through an extraordinary plan for hydrogeological instability and targeted reforestation interventions. However, confidence in technological and financial solutions remains dominant, as demonstrated by the emphasis on sustainable urban mobility and digital infrastructure. While the programme includes more explicit references to global challenges, such as climate change, it remains anchored to a vision that does not challenge existing economic structures. This is particularly evident in the absence of a systemic approach to social and territorial inequalities.

When comparing the *Centre-right coalition*'s programmes from 2008 to 2022, a trajectory emerges that reflects a progressive adaptation to global challenges and international pressures. The evolution is characterised by a constant tension between sustainability and pre-existing economic structures. While the language becomes more inclusive and ambitious over time, the programme continues to favour technological and financial solutions, avoiding a critical confrontation with dominant ideologies. The faith in ecological neoliberalism and green capitalism is evident in all proposals, which attempt to integrate sustainability without challenging the global economic system.

In terms of respecting the environment as an autonomous entity, the programmes of the centre-right coalition show a gradual openness but remain limited by their adherence to economic and technological logics. The environment is often represented as a resource to be managed rather than a system to be protected, reflecting a vision that prioritises utilitarianism over intrinsic sustainability.

4.3.2.2 *Partito Democratico, Potere al popolo, Italia Viva (2008 – 2022)*

In 2008, the PD placed a particular emphasis on economic efficiency and the quality of development. The programme outlined a detailed project with ten key pillars, one of which was the integration of sustainability and environmental quality criteria into all public policies. This vision highlighted the necessity of direct state intervention in the environmental sector, avoiding the creation of new agencies or companies. The rhetoric used in the programme underscored a strong emphasis on technological and industrial development, with the dual aim of improving productivity and addressing environmental challenges. The programme also promoted an infrastructural approach for the South and the Mediterranean, with particular attention to improving the quality of essential public services. This commitment aimed at reducing the infrastructural gap between the North and South, emphasizing the importance of measurable and controllable objectives. Expressions like *laying the groundwork to create a context conducive to economic development* reflect a pragmatic vision that sought to combine economic growth with environmental sustainability.

In 2013, the *Centre-left coalition* introduced a more integrated vision, defining sustainable development as the ability to enhance *Italian know-how*. This programme recognised the crucial role of Italian quality and traditions, proposing a national project oriented towards technological innovation and sustainability in strategic sectors such as industry, agriculture, and services. The rhetoric became more ambitious, emphasising the need for a *completely ecological industrial policy* and a digital agenda to improve energy efficiency and sustainable mobility. However, the programme showed a tension between the need for structural transformation and the immediate challenges of the Italian production system. The phrase *change the script and restore centrality to production* expressed an attempt to redefine the economic model in sustainable terms, but without sacrificing competitiveness.

In 2018, the PD's programme marked a qualitative leap in the awareness of environmental challenges. The party's involvement in drafting the Paris Agreement was a point of pride, emphasising the importance of fighting pollution and transitioning to a circular economy. The

programme promoted the idea that environmental sustainability could become a driver of economic development and job creation. The rhetoric used emphasised the importance of technology and innovation, as demonstrated by the commitment to *creating the most widespread network of European charging stations* and replacing official cars with green ones. This approach demonstrated a greater balance between environmental concerns and the desire to provide economic opportunities, showing an evolution from previous programmes.

In contrast, the *Potere al Popolo* movement presented a radically different approach in 2018, focusing on the links between environmental destruction and social inequalities. The criticism of the “predatory capitalist model” was central to the narrative, highlighting how the costs of the environmental crisis were inequitably distributed, penalising the most vulnerable groups. Proposals such as halting large infrastructure projects and imposing a moratorium on new extractive projects reflected a strongly critical vision of traditional policies. Expressions like *a democratic planning at both national and international levels* highlighted a perspective that emphasised participation and social justice. However, the polarising rhetoric of the programme risked limiting its appeal to a broader audience, focusing primarily on critiques of the existing system rather than on constructive and detailed proposals.

With the rise of *Italia Viva*, led by Matteo Renzi, in 2022, a more pragmatically economic approach emerged, balancing sustainability objectives with technological modernisation. In a context marked by the energy crisis exacerbated by the war in Ukraine, *Italia Viva*’s programme prioritised independence from Russian gas through the construction of floating regasification terminals and the strengthening of renewable energy sources. The use of expressions like *energy independence as a matter of national security* showcased a narrative focused on urgency and the resilience of the national system. However, this pragmatic vision coexisted with openness to diversifying the energy mix, including the reintroduction of nuclear energy, highlighting a controversial choice that sparked significant public debate in Italy. Social issues related to the rising energy costs were addressed through incentives for self-consumption and support measures for families and businesses.

In 2022, the PD’s programme demonstrated a more mature understanding of sustainability and ecological transition. The concept of *ecological and digital transitions* as a pillar of sustainable development reflected an awareness of the interconnections between the environment, economy, and technology. The programme acknowledged the challenges posed by global crises such as climate change and the pandemic, proposing a strategy that combined innovation and social inclusion. The rhetoric became more concrete, with specific references to the European

FitFor55 package and the United States' Inflation Reduction Act. Phrases like *the ecological transition represents a tremendous opportunity to modernise Italy* highlighted an optimistic, future-oriented approach.

The proposals for sustainable mobility, agriculture, and waste management demonstrated a commitment to systemic transformation, supported by infrastructural investments and tax incentives. However, some tensions remained between ambition and realism, particularly regarding the feasibility of the proposed measures and their practical implementation. The PD's 2022 vision represented a balance between idealism and pragmatism, aiming to position itself as a political force capable of leading an equitable and sustainable transition.

Comparing the programmes from 2008, 2013, 2018, and 2022 reveals both continuities and significant differences. The centrality of environmental sustainability is a constant, but it evolves from a predominantly technical and regulatory perspective in 2008 to a more integrated and social outlook in 2022. The emphasis on social justice and the inclusion of vulnerable groups is particularly evident in the more recent programmes, which attempt to address structural inequalities through innovative environmental policies.

In conclusion, the environmental issue in left-wing parties appears to remain subordinated to other political and economic priorities. Even in the most advanced programmes, the environment is often treated as a means to improve the quality of life and economic development, rather than as an end in itself. This approach reflects a persistent tension between idealism and pragmatism, highlighting the challenges in balancing ecological ambitions with feasibility constraints.

4.3.2.3 *Sinistra Arcobaleno, Sinistra Ecologia Libertà, Alleanza Verdi Sinistra (2008 - 2022)*

In 2008, the *Sinistra Arcobaleno* programme placed the ecological conversion of society and the economy at its core. During a period dominated by the emerging climate crisis and the strengthening of European environmental policies, Sinistra Arcobaleno proposed a new development paradigm based on quality rather than quantity. The commitment to the full implementation of the Kyoto Protocol and adherence to the European 20-20-20 targets underscored a strong alignment with EU directives. This approach reflected a political vision that saw climate issues as cross-cutting, touching on political, economic, and social aspects. Phrases like *design and implement the gradual phase-out of fossil fuel use* and *promote a major national energy plan based on renewable sources* demonstrate a clear transformative vision,

supported by concrete proposals such as installing solar panels on all rooftops and creating 100,000 new jobs.

This programme also emphasised the protection of common goods such as water and soil, considering them fundamental rights. The proposal to re-publicise water services and halt land consumption was part of a logic focused on environmental protection and the promotion of legality, in response to a context marked by illegal building practices and violations of EU regulations. However, the *Sinistra Arcobaleno* vision was still rooted in a predominantly local and national perspective, with few references to a global governance of environmental challenges.

In 2013, the *Sinistra Ecologia Libertà* (SEL) programme introduced the concept of the *ecological conversion of the Italian economy and society* as a prerequisite for overcoming the economic and social crisis. The programme distinguished itself by integrating environmental sustainability with social issues, such as youth and female unemployment. The proposal for a €50 billion *Green Jobs Plan* aimed at creating good, qualified employment, linked interventions for territorial safety and energy efficiency of buildings with social and employment goals. The rhetoric, exemplified in phrases like *investing in cities as common goods*, emphasised the need for a sustainable urban model that combined social and environmental sustainability. SEL highlighted the importance of a *major project* not linked to urban expansion but rather to seismic risk prevention and the mitigation of the effects of climate change. This vision reflected an ideology that challenged traditional large-scale infrastructure projects, instead proposing targeted interventions to improve quality of life and reduce social inequalities. However, the programme showed limited trust in technological solutions, favouring an approach based on social innovation and collective participation.

The 2022 programme of *Alleanza Verdi Sinistra* represents a further step forward in the complexity and ambition of environmental proposals. In a period marked by the climate crisis and the economic and social consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic, this programme integrates a global and local vision of sustainability. The goal of *climate neutrality by 2045* and the proposal to reduce emissions by 70% by 2030 compared to 1990 levels reflect a strong commitment to international agreements, such as the Glasgow Climate Pact. The rhetoric, based on scientific urgency, is evident in phrases like *science must be heard: without a strong acceleration in climate policies, we will not be able to limit global warming to the safe threshold of 1.5 degrees*.

Alleanza Verdi Sinistra places particular emphasis on *energy democracy* and the self-production of renewable energy, proposing a decentralized and inclusive model. The vision of energy as a *common good* is supported by concrete proposals, such as the creation of energy communities and the implementation of storage systems to ensure the stability of the electrical grid. This approach aligns with an eco-socialist perspective that seeks to combine social and environmental justice.

The transition towards a circular economy and sustainable mobility represents another cornerstone of the programme. Proposals such as *the national waste management plan* and *an extraordinary plan for local public transport* demonstrate a commitment to reducing environmental impact and promoting responsible consumption models. The rhetoric of *Alleanza Verdi Sinistra* remains ambitious, but sometimes vague in its operational details, highlighting a tension between vision and feasibility.

When comparing the programmes of 2008, 2013, and 2022, significant continuities and differences emerge. The centrality of environmental sustainability is a constant, but it evolves from a predominantly technical and regulatory vision in 2008 to a more integrated and social perspective in 2022. The emphasis on social justice and the inclusion of the most vulnerable groups is particularly evident in the more recent programmes, which seek to address structural inequalities through innovative environmental policies.

Despite these evolutions, internal tensions remain within the programmes. The trust in technology as the main solution, evident in the 2022 programme, clashes with concerns about the social and economic implications of the proposed policies. Likewise, the emphasis on ambitious goals, such as total decarbonisation by 2035, risks being perceived as unrealistic without a detailed plan for their implementation.

In conclusion, the electoral programmes of Italy's environmentalist parties reflect a progressive broadening of the ecological vision, integrating environmental sustainability, social justice, and economic innovation. This perspective could represent a more effective and inclusive response to the challenges of our time, though it still does not align with a vision of the environment as an entity.

4.3.2.4 *Movimento 5 Stelle* (2013 – 2022)

In the electoral programmes of the *Movimento 5 Stelle* from 2013 to 2022, it is possible to explore how the socio-cultural and ideological context influenced the movement's political

proposals, reflecting tensions between sustainability, technology, and the dominant economic structure.

The 2013 programme is set within a period of deep global economic crisis and growing distrust towards traditional institutions. Emerging as a populist force, the *Movimento 5 Stelle* articulates a discourse that emphasizes energy efficiency and waste reduction as top priorities. This perspective is represented through technical and pragmatic language, reflecting a strongly technocratic view of sustainability. For example, the statement *The average efficiency of Enel's thermoelectric power plants is around 38% [...] It is unacceptable, both technologically, economically, and morally* clearly criticizes the inefficiency of the Italian energy system, alongside a concrete proposal to improve the performance of existing plants. The use of the word “morally” suggests an attempt to give an ethical dimension to the technical issue, yet this remains confined to a market logic. The programme does not go beyond denouncing waste, avoiding engagement with the structural inequalities or social implications related to the environmental crisis.

In continuity with this technocratic vision, the 2013 programme introduces proposals that emphasize energy efficiency and compliance with European regulations, such as *the strict application of the energy efficiency certificates decrees*. This approach reflects trust in technical and regulatory solutions as tools to tackle the climate crisis. However, the lack of references to a structural transformation of global economic dynamics limits the discourse's ambition, confining it to technical pragmatism. The focus on widespread cogeneration, described as a solution that *allows the energy potential of fuel to be used up to 97%*, further confirms this logic. The emphasis on numbers and percentages suggests a rhetorical strategy aimed at building technical credibility, but it risks alienating an audience less familiar with technical language.

The shift to the 2018 programme marks a significant evolution in the rhetoric of the *Movimento 5 Stelle*, which adopts a broader and more inclusive language to describe environmental challenges. In a period characterized by the Paris Agreements and global discussions on energy transition, the movement openly embraces the green economy narrative. The introduction of proposals such as *200,000 jobs from the waste recycling economy* and *exit from oil by 2050* reflects an optimistic view of the opportunities offered by environmental sustainability. The choice to emphasize job creation suggests a rhetorical strategy aimed at integrating environmental goals with the economic and social concerns of the population.

However, even in this case, trust in technological progress as a driver of change remains central. The idea that *one million electric cars* could represent an effective solution to the climate crisis underscores a reliance on technological solutions to address complex problems. Although this perspective is consistent with green capitalism, it risks perpetuating systemic inequalities, as it does not address the social and economic implications of the energy transition. The proposal to exit from oil by 2050, for example, is ambitious but lacks operational details on how to achieve this goal, highlighting a tension between vision and feasibility.

The analysis of the 2022 programme reveals another shift in the rhetoric of the *Movimento 5 Stelle*, which integrates new concepts such as *regenerative economy* and *social sustainability* into its discourse. This change reflects the influence of global energy crises and the growing awareness of the interconnections between the environment, society, and economy. The proposal for a *superbonus energy for businesses*, based on the circulation of tax credits, highlights an attempt to link environmental sustainability with support for businesses, promoting zero-cost investments in energy savings. This approach shows a greater focus on social and economic justice, but it remains grounded in market logic.

The introduction of the concept of *regenerative economy* represents an attempt to move beyond the logic of infinite growth, proposing a system that integrates both social and environmental regeneration. However, its practical implementation is limited by a lack of details on how to turn this vision into concrete policies. The language used, such as in the phrase *stop to obsolete waste technologies*, suggests a critique of the current system but does not address the structural causes that perpetuate the environmental crisis. Similarly, the proposal for *bureaucratic simplification to favor the creation of renewable energy plants* reflects a trust in reducing administrative barriers as a solution, avoiding a broader discussion of the power dynamics that influence climate policies.

Comparing the three programmes, an ideological progression emerges, moving from a technocratic and pragmatic approach in 2013 to a broader, more integrated vision in 2022. However, this evolution is not without internal tensions. While the 2022 language introduces elements of social justice and regeneration, the *Movimento 5 Stelle* remains tied to ecological neoliberalism, where the market and technology are central in addressing environmental crises. This approach reflects a vision that integrates sustainability into the logic of the dominant economic system, without challenging its foundations.

The role of technology and finance in the proposed solutions highlights a constant ambivalence. On the one hand, trust in technological solutions is presented as a pragmatic and rational

response to climate challenges; on the other, it risks perpetuating global inequalities and ignoring the social dimensions of the environmental crisis. For example, the proposal to incentivize renewable energy and biofuels production is described in technical and administrative terms, but lacks reflection on the ethical and social implications of such policies. The relationship with international relations is also significant. In the *Movimento 5 Stelle* programmes, adherence to European regulations and the Paris Agreement is used as a tool to legitimize the proposed policies, but there is a lack of a broader vision of Italy's global responsibilities in tackling the climate crisis. However, the absence of explicit references to concepts such as *climate justice* or *climate neutrality* suggests a reluctance to embrace a more ambitious and transformative narrative.

Finally, the tension between sustainability and existing economic structures emerges clearly in the electoral proposals. While the *Movimento 5 Stelle* promotes an energy transition and a regenerative economy, the emphasis on the market and economic growth limits the transformative potential of the discourse. The view of the environment as an economic resource, rather than as an entity to be respected for its intrinsic value, remains dominant. This approach, while consistent with the ideologies of ecological neoliberalism, risks perpetuating the same dynamics that fuel the climate crisis.

In conclusion, the analysis of environmental issues in the electoral programmes shows that the *Movimento*'s discourse is still largely anchored in market logic and trust in technological progress.

4.4 Data triangulation

Data triangulation is a pivotal methodology in evaluating the coherence between political discourse and empirical evidence. It enables the identification of consistencies and discrepancies between the commitments articulated in electoral programs and the data provided by authoritative sources like ISPRA (Italian National Institute for Environmental Protection and Research). This method becomes particularly significant when analysing trends in greenhouse gas emissions in Italy from 2008 to 2021. By juxtaposing political rhetoric with statistical evidence, researchers can assess whether political promises align with measurable environmental outcomes or whether notable gaps persist.

The primary data used for these analyses are available via the National Emissions Inventory, a comprehensive database hosted on the ISPRA website. The *National Inventory Report 2024*, for instance, offers detailed insights into emissions spanning 1990 to 2021, with specific

emphasis on the energy and transport sectors. This resource serves as a cornerstone for constructing accurate visual representations of emission trends. Moreover, the report titled *National Greenhouse Gas Emissions – Transport Sector – 2021* delves deeper into emissions from transport, an area identified as particularly challenging due to its sustained emission levels despite broader reductions elsewhere. Together, these documents provide a robust foundation for generating graphs and analyses that juxtapose emission trends against political narratives, thereby facilitating an evaluation of the effectiveness of policies aimed at sustainability and economic strategies.

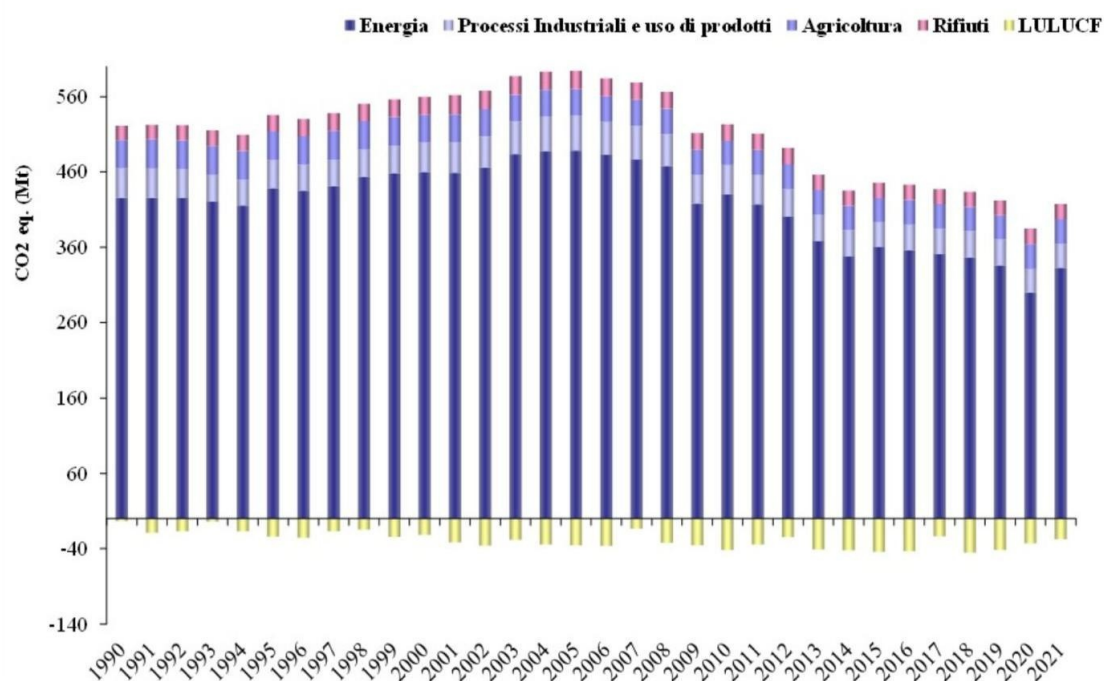
4.4.1 ISPRA Data

ISPRA's data reveal significant shifts in Italy's greenhouse gas emissions over recent decades. Between 1990 and 2021, total emissions decreased by approximately 20%, reflecting substantial progress, particularly in the energy sector. This positive trend has been largely attributed to an increased reliance on renewable energy sources and improvements in energy efficiency. Policies encouraging solar and wind energy adoption, coupled with energy-saving technologies, have played a critical role in driving these reductions. The European Commission's *State of the Energy Union Report* corroborates these findings, noting Italy's advancements in renewable energy integration within the EU framework.

However, a closer examination of the 2008–2022 period reveals a more nuanced picture. During this timeframe, the reduction in emissions was less pronounced compared to the preceding decade. Two key factors contribute to this trend:

- **Economic Recovery Post-2008 Financial Crisis:** The resurgence of industrial and economic activities led to increased energy consumption and corresponding emissions.
- **Transport Sector Challenges:** Emissions from road transport have shown minimal improvement, partly due to rising vehicle numbers and delayed transitions to electric mobility.

Such observations raise critical questions about the efficacy of policies promoted during COP conferences, where metaphors like “quantum leap” frequently underscore the urgency of transformative action. This rhetoric often conveys a vision of rapid, decisive progress, yet the empirical data suggest a more complex and uneven reality.



GRAPH 3: GREENHOUSE GAS EMISSION TRENDS IN ITALY (1990–2021) BY ISPRA⁴⁸

Graph 3 illustrates the trends in total greenhouse gas emissions in Italy, segmented by key sectors such as energy and transport. Several critical insights emerge:

- **Significant Decline Up to 2020:** Total emissions display a steady decrease, with notable progress in the energy sector, reflecting effective policy measures and technological advancements.
- **Gradual Reduction in 2021:** Despite the overall decline, the rate of reduction slowed, with some emissions even increasing marginally in specific sectors.

Sectoral Disparities: While the energy sector achieved marked reductions, transport emissions remained stubbornly high, highlighting the need for targeted interventions.

The graph underscores periods of stagnation, potentially linked to economic recovery phases or lapses in the implementation of robust climate policies. These findings are consistent with analyses from the International Energy Agency's (IEA) Global Energy Review 2022, which similarly note uneven progress across sectors in various nations, including Italy.

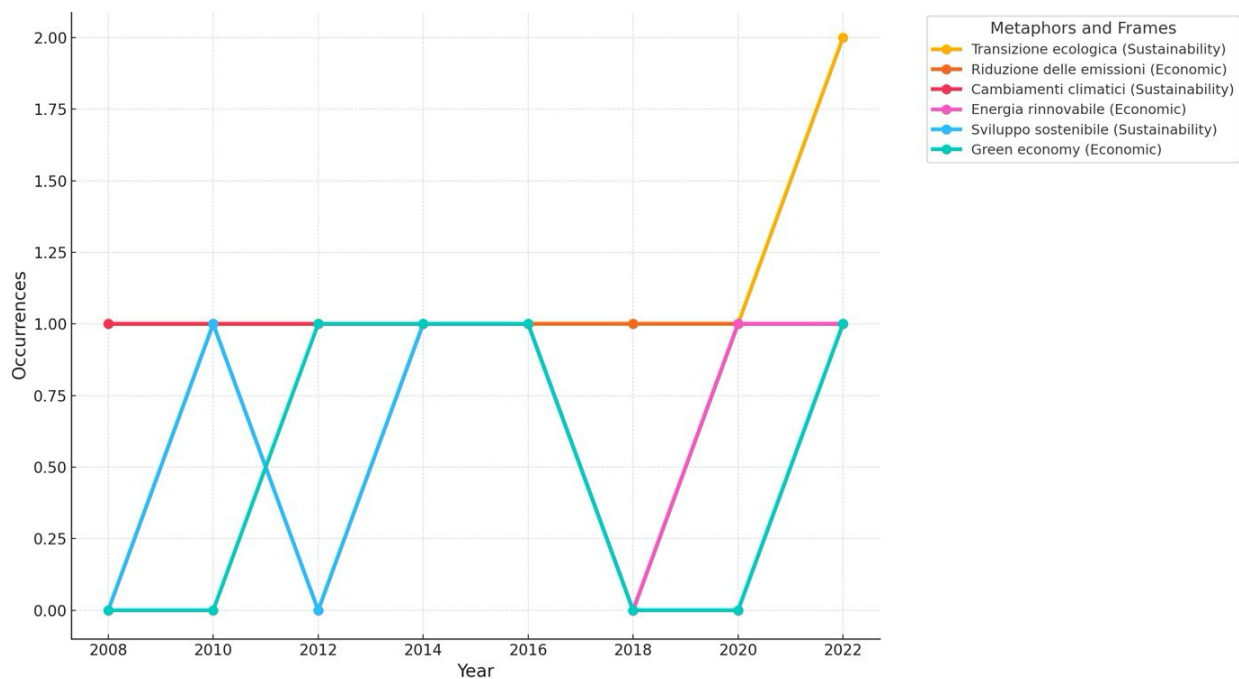
In conclusion, while Italy has made commendable strides in reducing greenhouse gas emissions, particularly in the energy sector, challenges remain, especially in the transport

⁴⁸ See: <https://www.isprambiente.gov.it/it/attivita/cambiamenti-climatici/landamento-delle-emissioni>

sector. The disparity between political rhetoric and actual progress underscores the need for more effective and targeted policies to achieve the desired environmental outcomes.

4.4.2 Selected Metaphors in the Corpus of Electoral Programs (2008-2022)

The analysis of Italian electoral programs from 2008 to 2022 underscores the strategic deployment of metaphors to shape narratives within the frames of Sustainability and Climate Policies and Economic and Financial Strategies. Building on observations from written electoral texts, where metaphors like *transizione ecologica* and *riduzione delle emissioni* convey optimism and ambition, these documents similarly utilize such language to simplify complex concepts and align their narratives with societal and international goals, including those set by the Paris Agreement. Nonetheless, as ISPRA data reveal, the idealistic tone of these metaphors frequently contrasts with inconsistent advancements, especially in areas such as road transport, highlighting a disconnect between ambitious declarations and measurable achievements.



GRAPH 4: FREQUENCY OF KEY METAPHORS IN ELECTORAL PROGRAMS (2008–2022⁴⁹)

⁴⁹ The data for the graph were extracted from Corpus 1 through a targeted manual analysis aimed at identifying the presence of key metaphors (Renewable Energy, Sustainable Development, Energy Transition, Quantum Leap). For each year from 2008 to 2022, the frequency of each metaphor was recorded, ensuring an accurate mapping of their recurrence over time. The collected information was then organised into a structured table, allowing for a clear and coherent synthesis of the data. The graph was created using Python, employing the Matplotlib library to visualise the temporal evolution of the metaphors. This approach was designed to highlight narrative trends within

This graph analyses the use and recurrence of the most common metaphors. The graph presents the frequency of four key metaphors in Electoral Programs:

- ***Transizione ecologica* (ecological transition):** 9 occurrences – SUSTAINABILITY AND CLIMATE POLICIES
- ***Riduzione delle emissioni* (emission reduction):** 8 occurrences – ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL STRATEGIES
- ***Cambiamenti climatici* (climate change):** 7 occurrences – SUSTAINABILITY AND CLIMATE POLICIES
- ***Energia rinnovabile* (renewable energy):** 5 occurrences – ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL STRATEGIES
- ***Sviluppo sostenibile* (sustainable development):** 4 occurrences – SUSTAINABILITY AND CLIMATE POLICIES
- ***Green economy*:** 4 occurrences – ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL STRATEGIES

The first metaphor *transizione ecologica* demonstrates its significance throughout the period, with a notable increase in 2022. This metaphor encapsulates a vision of systemic transformation, addressing energy production, consumption, and resource management, and resonates with the public through its collective and aspirational tone. Its prominence reflects the increasing political focus on sustainability, particularly following the COVID-19 pandemic.

In contrast, *riduzione delle emissioni* conveys a more pragmatic approach, emphasizing measurable commitments and accountability. Its steady recurrence underscores its role in framing discussions of policy outcomes, though its less dynamic nature suggests a limited ability to inspire broader public engagement.

Cambiamenti climatici, while critical to sustainability discourse, exhibits fluctuations, with an absence in 2018 before resurging in later years. This pattern may indicate shifts in political priorities or public sentiment. The metaphor often underscores the urgency of the climate crisis, contrasting with the optimism conveyed by *transizione ecologica*.

“**Energia rinnovabile**” and “**green economy**” highlight the economic and technological dimensions of climate action. These metaphors emphasize innovation and growth, framing

Italian political speeches at COP conferences, offering insights into the shifting rhetorical strategies over the analysed period.

environmental initiatives as drivers of economic progress. However, their sporadic usage suggests a narrower role in electoral narratives compared to broader sustainability metaphors.

The post-2015 period, coinciding with the Paris Agreement, marks a shift toward integrating these metaphors more dynamically into political discourse. This evolution reflects the growing alignment of Italian electoral language with global sustainability narratives, responding to heightened societal awareness and international pressures.

The temporal distribution of these metaphors, as visualized in Graph 4, reveals distinct trends that shed light on the evolving priorities and strategies of Italian political parties. From 2008 to 2015, the use of metaphors was sporadic and less integrated, reflecting a period when environmental issues were framed primarily in technical or economic terms. This phase coincides with a broader tendency in Italian political discourse to address climate-related topics through narrowly defined policy lenses, often neglecting the broader societal implications.

A noticeable shift occurs post-2015, coinciding with the adoption of the Paris Agreement. This period marks a transition toward more dynamic and aspirational language, with metaphors like *transizione ecologica* and *cambiamenti climatici* gaining prominence. This linguistic evolution aligns with heightened international focus on climate action and the growing recognition of sustainability as a central pillar of governance. The increasing salience of these metaphors reflects efforts to align Italian political narratives with global standards and to mobilize public support for ambitious climate initiatives.

The post-pandemic period (2020–2022) represents a further intensification of this trend. The prominence of metaphors such as *transizione ecologica* during this time underscores a renewed emphasis on sustainability as a cornerstone of recovery strategies. Events like COP26 and mounting public pressure for decisive climate action contributed to this linguistic shift, prompting political actors to adopt language that conveys both urgency and optimism. The peak in metaphor usage in 2022 suggests that environmental narratives have become increasingly central to electoral strategies, reflecting broader societal demands for accountability and leadership in addressing the climate crisis.

The contrast between the dynamism of sustainability-related metaphors and the stability of economic metaphors highlights important discursive dynamics. Metaphors tied to *Sustainability and Climate Policies* exhibit greater variability and responsiveness to external factors, suggesting that they are more closely attuned to shifts in public sentiment and global discourse. In contrast, metaphors linked to Economic and Financial Strategies maintain a steadier presence, reflecting their entrenched role in discussions of policy feasibility and

outcomes. This divergence underscores the dual challenge faced by political actors: crafting narratives that inspire public engagement while maintaining credibility through measurable and practical commitments.

The evolution of these metaphors also reveals broader insights into the stratification of political discourse. The prominence of sustainability-related metaphors in recent years indicates a growing recognition of environmental issues as a defining feature of contemporary governance. However, the persistent framing of these issues within economic and technological contexts reflects an enduring anthropocentric perspective. Metaphors like *green economy* and *energia rinnovabile* exemplify this trend, emphasizing the instrumental value of environmental initiatives in driving economic growth and innovation. While such framing enhances the appeal of environmental policies to diverse audiences, it risks marginalizing the intrinsic value of sustainability and the broader ethical imperatives associated with climate action.

5. Analysis of Public Speeches on Environmental Issues in COP and ISPRA data

In this section, an analysis of the second corpus titled *Public Speeches and Press Briefings by Italian Politicians at the COP from 2010 to the Present Day* (see *Appendix*) is conducted using the *Critical Discourse Analysis* methodology outlined in the methodological chapter (3.5.1). The study focuses on how Italian politicians frame environmental issues in international addresses, employing rhetorical and linguistic strategies to balance global commitments with domestic priorities.

The analysis is structured into three levels. At the micro-level (5.1), the study investigates lexical choices, grammatical structures, and metaphorical language used to articulate key frames such as Sustainability and Climate Policies and Economic and Financial Strategies. The meso-level (5.2) explores the broader discursive practices, including how institutional contexts and political affiliations influence the framing of environmental concerns. At the macro-level (5.3), the speeches are analysed within their socio-cultural and ideological contexts, revealing how they reflect and reproduce dominant narratives and power dynamics.

The final section (5.4) integrates ISPRA data to evaluate the alignment between rhetorical claims and Italy's environmental performance. This includes a comparative assessment of selected metaphors and their effectiveness in shaping public perception, offering a critical perspective on the consistency between political discourse and empirical evidence.

5.1 Micro Level of Analysis

The first level of analysis examines individual words, expressions, metaphors, morphology, and phrases deemed most significant and representative of the selected frames: *Sustainability and Climate Policies* and *Economic and Financial Strategies* (3.6.1.5).

5.1.1 Frame: *Sustainability and Climate Policies*

The first speech in the second corpus was delivered by Minister of the Environment and Protection of Land and Sea, Stefania Prestigiacomo, at COP16 in 2010. Her language appears to aim at constructing a coherent narrative that invites global cooperation and shared commitment. This theme is common across all speeches in the second corpus. Particularly notable is the use of the expression *quantum leap*, which represents a concept of radical and swift progress. The phrase «this positive thinking and the vigorous leadership of the Mexican presidency will give us a chance to make a quantum leap towards a global commitment in the

fight against climate changes» not only introduces a metaphor borrowed from physics but also crafts an image suggesting an immediate and revolutionary change. Lexically, the use of the term *quantum* paired with *leap* evokes the idea of a significant jump that transcends gradual progress. The adjective *quantum* intensifies the noun *leap*, implying that the desired action is not incremental but rather drastic and transformative.

Morphologically, the expression *quantum leap* employs a noun (*leap*) preceded by a qualifier (*quantum*) which emphasizes its revolutionary scope. This lexical construction highlights the intent to convey a sense of urgency requiring the implementation of a concrete and decisive action plan. The verb phrase *will give*, conjugated in the simple future tense, conveys an idea of certainty and confidence regarding the attainment of a global commitment. The selection of the future tense suggests inevitability, while the active form of the verb *give* directly involves the subject *us*, underscoring the collective participation of nations.

The lexicon employed in Minister Prestigiacomo's speech thus seems to underline the necessity of rapid changes linked to the idea of progress and technological innovation, suggesting an approach oriented towards practical solutions and tangible advances. For this reason, the metaphor *quantum leap* will also relate to the frame *Economic and Financial Strategies*.

The same metaphor was echoed by Mario Draghi at COP26 in 2021: «quantum leap in our fight against climate change». The use of the verb *fight* associated with the expression *quantum leap* further reinforces the idea of a decisive and immediate intervention. Here, the term *fight* lends the speech a bellicose dimension, conjuring the image of a battle that requires a concerted and determined effort. The combination of *quantum leap* and *fight* creates an intriguing contrast: while the former suggests innovation and progress, the latter evokes effort and resistance, uniting the concepts of rapid change and proactive struggle. In this way, climate change becomes a war to be won in the near term.

Prestigiacomo's discourse continues with adjectives that evoke concepts of balance and sharing, as seen in the phrase: «balanced and shared commitments for all». The adjective *balanced* is used to communicate a sense of fairness, while *shared* underscores the necessity of collective effort. Syntactically, the sentence structure highlights the idea that responsibilities should be equitably distributed. The implicit verb *to share* suggests a common commitment aimed at overcoming inequalities between developed and developing countries, promoting an inclusive narrative. This focus on global cooperation with the term *balanced* is also reflected in the speeches of Corrado Clini, Stefania Prestigiacomo's successor, in his interventions at COP17 and COP18.

Clini uses the verb *secure* in close proximity to the concept of *balanced* in phrases such as: «it's the time to use this conference to secure a fair basis for a fair, balanced, credible, and global climate change regime» (Clini, COP17). The verb *secure* plays a crucial role, as it conveys the notion of consolidating a solid and lasting agreement. The choice of adjectives such as *fair*, *balanced*, and *credible* emphasizes the necessity of guaranteeing an inclusive and reliable climate regime. During the subsequent COP18, Clini employs the verb *commit* to urge tangible commitment: «we need them to clearly commit to a global framework which has to be inclusive and equitable while reflecting evolving responsibilities and capabilities». This verb indicates that the promises made must be translated into measurable actions, while the verb *reflect* implies that policies need to be adaptable and sensitive to varying national capacities. The morphosyntactic structure of the sentence is designed to highlight the flexibility required in climate policies, reflecting an adaptive approach.

Another significant lexical choice is the term *responsibility* used by Prestigiacomo in the phrase: «I think it's clear to everybody that the winning approach is not to be found in demagogy, but rather in a sense of responsibility, accountability and concreteness that was missing last year and that finally seems to be our guiding light here in Cancun». The minister makes a targeted lexical choice to emphasize the need for collective and responsible actions on the part of the participating countries. The noun *responsibility*, used in a context explicitly contrasting with *demagogy*, becomes pivotal in urging participants to adopt a serious and proactive stance.

Lexically, the noun *responsibility* is accompanied by *accountability and concreteness*, creating a triadic sequence that strengthens the emphasis on concrete action. The absence of conjunctions in the asyndetic coordination gives the sentence a brisk and assertive rhythm. This stylistic choice accelerates the speech's flow and underscores the urgency of moving from words to deeds. *Accountability* suggests a level of oversight and verification beyond mere responsibility, introducing a dimension of transparency in environmental policies, implying that the effectiveness of actions should be measurable and subject to review.

The noun “concreteness” completes the lexical picture, indicating that merely stating good intentions is insufficient; tangible actions are essential. Morphosyntactically, the sequence *responsibility, accountability and concreteness* is structured to attribute equal importance to each element, suggesting all three are essential for successful climate policies. The presence of a modal verb like *seems* in the final clause *seems to be our guiding light* softens the emphasis, introducing a nuance of uncertainty that implicitly acknowledges previous difficulties.

The term *responsibility* reappears in Clini's speeches at COP17 and COP18: «in line with the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capabilities» (Clini, COP17). In this phrase, a nominal phrase encapsulates an oxymoron: *common but differentiated responsibilities*. This expression aims to balance the universality of the required commitment with the awareness of socio-economic differences among various countries. Syntactically, the use of a relative clause «which has to be inclusive and equitable» further specifies the characteristics of the required framework, suggesting an inclusive model that recognizes different national capacities.

The verb *reflect* in the phrase «while reflecting evolving responsibilities and capabilities» introduces a dynamic component to the discourse, suggesting that policies must adapt to changes in the global context. Here, the verb is not used in a static sense but implies a continuous adaptation to evolving circumstances. The sentence structure is enriched by modal verb forms like *need*, emphasizing the necessity of a clear and resolute commitment, transforming a simple request into a true moral imperative.

Minister Andrea Orlando, Clini's successor at the Ministry of Environment and Protection of Land and Sea, also employs the term *responsibility* during COP19 to promote an idea of political convergence. The proposition «Each Party has the responsibility to not only express its position, but also to make an effort to converge to a common denominator» presents a complex construction that pairs two distinct actions: *express* and *converge*. Their coordination suggests that declaring one's positions is insufficient; an active effort is necessary to find common ground. The use of the modal verb *has*, followed by the infinitive *to express*, establishes a formal obligation, implying the requested action is non-negotiable.

Regarding texts in Italian, the term *responsibility*, translated as *responsabilità* in Italian, appears only in Prime Minister Matteo Renzi's speech at COP21 in the phrase «Abbiamo una grande responsabilità: siamo chiamati a disegnare il futuro del mondo tutti insieme» (*We bear a great responsibility: we are called upon to shape the future of the world together*). Here, the passive verb *siamo chiamati* (we are called) introduces a sense of collective duty that goes beyond mere voluntariness, almost suggesting that the action is an unavoidable mandate. The verb *disegnare* (to draw or to shape) is used metaphorically, implying that the future is a blank canvas on which everyone can contribute to shaping the world. Morphosyntactically, the sentence structure, which combines a main clause with a final subordinate clause, imparts a sense of urgency and inevitability to the entire discourse. The syntactic construction also highlights language that seeks to unify the message's recipients, promoting a sense of shared unity and purpose.

Another central theme in Prestigiacomo's and other Italian politicians' speeches presented here is the construction of a sense of urgency, explicitly expressed by the minister in the phrase: «Humanity is playing for high stakes here, we can't afford to fail again». The lexical choice of *high stakes* introduces a metaphor borrowed from the language of gambling, suggesting the idea of a situation where much is at risk. Morphosyntactically, the use of the present progressive tense (*is playing*) accentuates the idea of an ongoing action, reinforcing the immediacy of the situation. The employment of the negative form «we can't afford to fail again» creates a sense of urgency, emphasizing the inevitability of success as the only viable option. Lexical analysis further reveals how Prestigiacomo's language aims to evoke an imagery laden with tension and collective responsibility, where failure is not contemplated. The use of negations (*can't afford, fail again*) contributes to creating an emphatic effect, which, according to Stibbe (2015), tends to reinforce negative associations, highlighting the risks linked to inaction.

In his interventions at COP17 and COP18, Clini, like Prestigiacomo before him, evokes a sense of collective responsibility, deliberately avoiding any references to past tensions or non-compliance with previous agreements. His language frequently employs expressions like *global cooperation* and *legally binding framework* to instil a global and collaborative dimension in the discourse. This communicative strategy aims to transcend the traditional distinctions between developed and developing nations. The use of the term *cooperation* particularly highlights the need for a joint effort between industrialised and developing countries, fostering a sense of equity and solidarity among nations. Meanwhile, the noun *framework* suggests a normative and operational reference structure that can serve as a basis for coordinated actions. For Clini, the success of climate policies largely hinges on the existence of legally binding agreements.

This vision is equally reflected in the minister's morphosyntactic choices: the systematic use of the future tense projects a perspective of change, as exemplified in the phrase, «This will go along with the promotion of adaptation of developing countries to climate change effects». Here, the simple future tense functions performatively, not merely describing but establishing concrete expectations for action. Particularly significant is the employment of assertive constructions such as «there is no excuse for not approving a roadmap here in Durban». The syntactic structure, through the negation «there is no excuse», obliterates any potential justification for inaction, highlighting the urgency of intervention. The term *roadmap* itself is emblematic, suggesting not merely an action plan but a well-defined strategy requiring concrete and precise commitment, reminiscent of a map outlining the routes to follow. This strategy is further reinforced by the use of modal verbs, as seen in the phrase, «we need them to clearly

commit to a global framework». The modal *need* transcends mere practical necessity to adopt a moral imperative, while the infinitive “commit” underscores the indispensability of the action required for the successful implementation of climate policies. The explanatory subordinate clause («which has to be inclusive and equitable») further specifies the framework’s characteristics, imparting greater precision and overall coherence to the discourse.

The term *cooperation*, translated into Italian as *cooperazione*, also appears in the speeches of Galletti, Cingolani, and in press briefings. Galletti uses this noun with a dual significance, highlighting both its strategic dimension, linked to climate diplomacy, and its solidarity aspect, aimed at the most vulnerable areas of the planet. At COP22, the reference to the G7 table, over which Italy was set to hold the Presidency in 2017, positions cooperation as a bridge between national and international contexts, integrating the climate challenge into the political agendas of major global gatherings: «And our efforts will not be limited to international cooperation activities. It will indeed be our precise commitment to bring the climate challenge to the G7 table, over which Italy will hold the Presidency in 2017».

In this passage, the term serves to construct an image of Italy as an active protagonist capable of guiding international dialogue on environmental matters. The use of the future tense («will indeed be our precise commitment») denotes determination and a projection towards a possible leadership role, while the specification of the context (*G7 table*) links local action to a broader multilateral framework. In this setting, *cooperation* becomes not just a diplomatic tool but also a distinctive element of Italy’s political positioning on the global stage, highlighting its membership among the seven most industrialised countries in the world (Canada, France, Germany, Japan, United Kingdom, and United States).

At COP23, however, Galletti adopts a slightly more empathetic and humanitarian tone, emphasising the role of bilateral cooperation in addressing global inequalities: «Our continuous support, even through bilateral cooperation, is aimed at reducing vulnerabilities, especially in the poorest areas of the planet». Here, *cooperation* is configured as a shared responsibility towards countries in greater difficulty, reinforcing a frame of equity and climate justice. The choice of the term *vulnerabilities* calls to mind a sense of urgency and fragility, while the adjective *bilateral* adds an element of concreteness and practicality, emphasising the direct nature of the interventions. This discourse not only promotes collective action but also seeks to consolidate Italy’s image as a nation that is supportive and aware of its ethical role.

In Roberto Cingolani’s address at COP26, the concept of *cooperation* is articulated through a technological and financial lens, reflecting a pragmatic and future-oriented perspective: «It has

already become very clear today that everyone had great expectations on the fact that this period of transformation, which should lead us to 1.5 instead of 2, cannot rely only on global sustainable finance but must also account for cooperation on technological innovation». In this context, *cooperation* is no longer limited to dialogue between state entities but becomes the fulcrum for promoting technological innovation and ensuring progress towards climate objectives. The term is associated with a framework of epochal transformation, where technological advancement becomes the key to overcoming global challenges. The use of the phrase «must also account for» emphasizes the interdependence among countries, while the addition of “on technological innovation” shifts the focus towards a dimension of operational concreteness. In this perspective, *cooperation* assumes a strategic value, essential to combining environmental sustainability and economic growth.

Unlike Stefania Prestigiacomo’s discourse, which predominantly features terms such as *responsibility* and *shared commitments*, Corrado Clini’s language at COP17 and COP18 introduces a register more focused on technological innovation and systemic change. Terms like *emission*, *reduction*, *transition*, *sustainable development*, and *climate change* outline a lexicon that combines pragmatism and long-term vision, reflecting an approach based on concrete and structural interventions.

The term *transition* is particularly meaningful, used in various contexts to evoke the idea of a progressive and inevitable shift towards a more sustainable economy. For instance, in his speech at COP17, Clini states: «It has to represent the transition towards a framework that allows us to strengthen and enlarge cooperation for emission reduction and for accelerating a worldwide transition towards a green economy». Here, the choice of *transition* is significant. Semantically, it points to a complex and articulated path necessitating a structural shift towards a radically different economic and energy model. The use of the verb *accelerating* reinforces the urgency of this change, while the association with “green economy” seems to add a positive and innovative dimension to the process. Additionally, the term is reiterated at COP18, where Clini notes: «The finalization and adoption of a second commitment period of the Kyoto Protocol has to be considered a transition towards a framework applicable to all». In this context, *transition* relates to the normative framework, indicating that the transition involves not just a technical process but also an institutional change requiring binding agreements. The phrase *applicable to all* strengthens the notion of inclusivity and global cooperation, central elements in the minister’s language.

Parallely, *emission reduction* is another lexical pillar in Clini's discourse. This term is distinguished by its operational and measurable focus. At COP17, Clini declares: «We need a strategy for long-term technology innovation so that emission reduction will not focus only on existing technologies but also on the promotion of new technologies towards the decarbonization of our economies». In this sentence, *emission reduction* is a concrete goal directly linked to technological innovation. The term *promotion* emphasizes the proactive character of the proposed strategy, which aims to encourage the development of new technological solutions.

In the subsequent COP18, Clini emphasizes the importance of *emission reduction* within a multilateral framework, asserting: «A clear, stable, and international framework is needed to avoid fragmentation of individual actions. For this reason, we need to strengthen and enlarge cooperation for emission reductions and for accelerating the worldwide transition towards a green economy». Here, the phrase *emission reductions* is associated with *cooperation*, creating a semantic link that underscores the necessity of collective action to achieve global outcomes. The concept of *sustainable development* occupies a prominent place in Clini's addresses, forming a conceptual framework that integrates sustainability and economic progress. During COP17, the minister states: «Our view on the future of the protocol is clear. It has to represent the transition towards a framework that allows us to promote sustainable development and contributes to poverty eradication around the world». In this context, *sustainable development* is presented as a global objective balancing environmental and social needs. The use of the verb *promote* suggests an active and inclusive approach, while the association with *poverty eradication* adds an ethical and humanitarian dimension to the narrative. At COP18, Clini revisits the term in a more specific context: «Italy, as a Member State of the EU, is committed to accept the second commitment period of the Kyoto Protocol, but it is firmly convinced that a long-term perspective is needed to effectively protect the global climate while promoting sustainable development». Here, the adjective *long-term* reinforces the idea that sustainability requires sustained and strategic commitment, positioning the concept of sustainable development as a guide for future policies.

Climate change represents the semantic core of Clini's discourse, used to define the global crisis and suggest shared solutions. Unlike Stefania Prestigiacomo, who mentions it only once in her speech, Clini uses it eight times, including three times at COP17 and five times at COP18. At COP17, Clini declares: «We are confident that here in Durban we can take another step forward in our common fight against global climate change». The use of the metaphor *common*

fight evokes an image of unity and cooperation, casting climate change as a common adversary to be faced collectively in a *war* for human well-being. The expression is further elaborated at COP18: «Recent events have largely reconfirmed that mitigation actions after 2020 alone will not be sufficient to manage climate change risks, and that substantial efforts prior to 2020 are essential». In this passage, the association between *climate change* and *risks* emphasizes the seriousness of the situation, reinforcing the urgency of immediate interventions. The term *substantial efforts* adds a quantitative dimension, suggesting that only significant actions can mitigate the effects of climate change.

Besides Minister Clini, the expression *climate change* is also employed by Andrea Orlando, Mario Draghi, and Giorgia Meloni in speeches delivered in different contexts, unified by the goal of defining the climate crisis as a global and shared challenge.

Andrea Orlando, similar to Prestigiacomo, utilizes the expression only once with the sentence: «In fact, a new track of negotiations on the future regime is started. Unfortunately, this year has also provided a clear demonstration of how dangerous and challenging climate change is both for developed and developing countries alike», offering significant insights for a linguistic analysis on the lexical level, highlighting the centrality of the expression and its rhetorical role within the discourse. Lexically, *climate change* is employed as a semantic fulcrum to represent a universal threat. The association with the adjectives *dangerous* and *challenging* amplifies the scope of the climate crisis, characterizing it both as a concrete danger (*dangerous*) and as a complex challenge (*challenging*). This dual semantic attribution underscores the multidimensional nature of the problem, encompassing both tangible effects, such as natural disasters, and structural obstacles, such as economic and social difficulties in addressing it.

The addition «both for developed and developing countries alike» frames climate change within a global context, emphasizing its universal scope. Linguistically, the use of *alike* underscores the notion of equity in experiencing the consequences of climate change, while implicating a problematic symmetry between countries with different resources and responsibilities. This lexical formulation contributes to building a sense of collective responsibility without ignoring existing disparities.

The placement of *climate change* after the introductory clause «this year has also provided a clear demonstration» emphasizes the concept through a delayed introduction of the theme. This positioning reinforces the semantic weight of the expression, creating anticipation that captures the audience's attention. The use of *clear demonstration* invokes an almost empirical register,

as if climate change were now indisputably demonstrated by recent events. This lexical construction removes any margin of doubt about the problem's existence or urgency.

Finally, the phrase «a new track of negotiations on the future regime is started» positions *climate change* within a context of political and diplomatic action. Although the use of the expression is not directly linked to a technical reference, the lexicon implicitly delineates a narrative where climate change becomes the catalyst for new diplomatic and structural negotiations. This reinforces the role of the expression as a converging point for international policies.

Mario Draghi, in his speech at COP26, uses the expression five times. For example, in the sentence: «The projected rise in global temperatures is set to dramatically affect life on our planet, from the catastrophic fires and floods we've already seen, to the bleaching of coral reefs, to the loss of biodiversity. The impact of climate change is already all too evident, and its cost is rising fast, especially for the poorer nations», *climate change* anchors the discourse to the reality of an impending and concrete crisis. The syntactic construction emphasizes the urgency of the situation by accumulating tangible examples like *catastrophic fires, floods, and loss of biodiversity*. Lexically, the association with *cost* introduces an economic dimension that presents climate change not only as an environmental problem but also a question of global equity, highlighted by the specification *especially for the poorer nations*.

In another instance, Draghi underscores the geopolitical implications of climate change, stating: «Climate change also has serious repercussions on global peace and security. It can deplete natural resources, worsen social tensions, lead to new migration flows, and contribute to terrorism and organized crime. Climate change can tear us apart». Here, the expression is connected to a semantic field that includes *peace, security, and social tensions*, broadening the scope of the climate crisis and portraying it as a multidimensional threat. Rhetorically, the repetition of the term at the beginning of successive sentences («Climate change also has serious repercussions [...] Climate change can tear us apart») enhances the emotional impact and constructs a sense of inevitability. The metaphor *tear us apart* evokes a visual image of fragmentation and conflict, positioning climate change as a destabilizing global agent.

Draghi then ties climate change to the progress achieved through international cooperation, declaring: «Thanks to constant dialogue and cooperation, we have made good progress in addressing climate change». In this instance, the expression is framed within optimism and pragmatism. The use of the present perfect tense (*we have made good progress*) suggests that despite the gravity of the situation, collective action has led to tangible, though not definitive,

results. This passage balances the narrative by highlighting the possibility of success through continuous and coordinated commitment.

Draghi uses «climate change» to signify an epochal transformation, stating: «This COP26 must be the start of new momentum, a quantum leap in our fight against climate change, and our youth must be at the center of this process». Here, the expression is central to a sentence evoking both urgency (with the use of *must*) and the necessity for transformative action, represented by the metaphor *quantum leap*. The association with our fight establishes a narrative framework of shared struggle, underscoring the collective commitment required to address climate change. Mentioning youth as *at the center of this process* introduces an ethical and intergenerational perspective, suggesting that sustainability depends on the ability to engage younger generations. Similarly, Giorgia Meloni employs the term *climate change* four times, each within a lexical context that reflects strategies focused on highlighting urgency, generational involvement, and the need for collective action. Lexically, the use of this expression is characterized by the diversity of semantic fields in which it is inserted, adjusting the meaning according to the context.

In the sentence «We are at a decisive moment in the fight against climate change», climate change is framed in a context of conflict, underscored by the expression *fight against*. The noun *fight* conjures an image of a struggle, portraying climate change as a common adversary to be overcome. The adjective *decisive* temporally positions the discourse, accentuating the urgency of action and implying that the current moment is crucial in determining the future. This construction associates climate change with a dimension of collective action and determination. In a second example, Meloni states: «As a partner of the United Kingdom for COP26, we promoted the Youth for Climate events in order to involve young generations in the decision-making processes on climate change». Here, climate change is employed in a context of participation and inclusivity. The association with *decision-making processes* makes explicit the idea that climate change requires solutions crafted through institutional and democratic mechanisms. The expression *young generations* broadens the lexicon associated with climate change, evoking a shared responsibility with new generations. Lexically, the discourse emphasizes the importance of active and structured involvement, invoking concepts of governance and participation.

In the third instance, Meloni introduces a financial and economic dimension: «Italy has also significantly increased its contribution to climate finance. We have almost tripled our financial commitment to 1.4 billion dollars for the next five years, including 840 million euros through

the new Italian Climate Fund. This is the first Italian investment platform specifically dedicated to the deployment of clean technologies and to adaptation to climate change in developing countries». Here, *climate change* is associated with *adaptation* and *clean technologies*, placing it in a technical and pragmatic semantic field. The term *Italian Climate Fund* serves as a specifying element, highlighting Italy's concrete commitment to targeted projects. From a lexical standpoint, the addition of terms like *adaptation* and *deployment* reinforces the idea of an operational and practical approach to the climate issue.

President Meloni uses *climate change* to call for global cooperation: «Fighting climate change is a common endeavor that requires the full engagement of all countries and pragmatic cooperation among all major global actors. Unfortunately, we have to admit that this is not happening». In this sentence, climate change is situated within a semantic field that includes terms like *common endeavor* and *pragmatic cooperation*, underscoring the importance of a collaborative and realistic approach. The opposition created by *this is not happening* introduces a critical reflection, reinforcing the urgency for a shift in crisis management.

Even in speeches delivered in Italian, the expression *climate change* is used, as in the case of Matteo Renzi, who states: «Con la nuova legge di stabilità, con la nuova legge di bilancio, abbiamo messo quattro miliardi di euro sul climate change da qui al 2020» (*With the new Stability Law, with the new Budget Law, we have allocated four billion euros to tackle climate change between now and 2020*). The choice of an anglicism like *climate change* in an official Italian discourse is significant from a lexical perspective for at least three reasons. The terminology is instantly recognizable and shared at an international level, signaling a desire to align with global discourse. The term is used as a standard label in technical-scientific and diplomatic language, enhancing its authority and neutrality compared to translations like *cambiamento climatico*, which might be perceived as more informal or localized.

Secondly, *climate change* conveys a dimension of technicality that contributes to imparting a veneer of modernity and expertise to Renzi's speech. Using the anglicism instead of the Italian translation indicates a willingness to present the concept as an integral part of a shared technical-scientific language, without attempting to simplify or adapt it for the Italian audience. This lexical choice implicitly positions the topic within an international and institutional framework, emphasizing connections with global policies like the Paris Agreement.

The association of *climate change* with the phrase «abbiamo messo quattro miliardi di euro» (*we have allocated four billion euros*) is particularly intriguing. The preference for the verb *messo* (allocated), rather than terms like *investito* (invested) or *destinato* (committed or

earmarked), introduces a more colloquial and direct register, rendering the discourse accessible to a wider audience. However, using *nesso* with *climate change* creates an unusual combination that recalls a somewhat informal semantic structure. Linguistically, this formulation emphasizes a concrete and immediate action but risks oversimplifying the message, reducing the specificity of the described economic commitment.

An additional element to examine is the temporal specification «da qui al 2020» (by 2020), which situates the commitment within a defined temporal frame. Such a lexical addition strengthens the idea of a precise and time-bound project, making the message more focused and tangible. However, the absence of details on how the allocated funds will be used leaves the term *climate change* in a relatively abstract semantic position, suggesting a lack of concreteness regarding specific actions.

In contrast to the expression *climate change*, Minister Gian Luca Galletti prefers to use the expression *sfida climatica* (climate challenge) three times in speeches given at COP22 and COP23. Unlike Renzi, who opts to use the English expression in an Italian speech, Galletti chooses a lexical solution that favors the national language, crafting a discourse that resonates more closely with the Italian audience. In the phrase: «Desidero innanzitutto ringraziare la Presidenza Marocchina della COP22 per aver organizzato questo incontro che ci offre l'occasione di proseguire il comune cammino che abbiamo tracciato a Parigi attraverso un accordo ambizioso, inclusivo, bilanciato e che riteniamo in grado di affrontare la sfida climatica» (*First of all, I would like to thank the Moroccan Presidency of COP22 for organizing this meeting, which offers us the opportunity to continue along the shared path we set out in Paris through an ambitious, inclusive, and balanced agreement—one that we believe is capable of addressing the climate challenge*), the term *sfida* (challenge) serves as the main semantic nucleus. Lexically, *sfida* belongs to a semantic field that evokes the idea of competition, confrontation, and the need to overcome obstacles. The adjective *climatica* specifies the context of the challenge, narrowing the meaning to environmental themes and giving the term a precise thematic value. The morphosyntactic construction *affrontare la sfida climatica* (to face the climate challenge) emphasizes the dynamic and active aspect of the issue, portraying it as an action that must be undertaken. The verb *affrontare* (to face) is semantically linked to *sfida*, reinforcing the image of a crisis to be managed through concrete engagement.

In the second example: «E i nostri sforzi non saranno limitati alle attività di cooperazione internazionale. Sarà infatti nostro preciso impegno quello di portare la sfida climatica anche al tavolo del G7, di cui l'Italia avrà la Presidenza nel 2017» (*And our efforts will not be limited to*

international cooperation activities. We are firmly committed to bringing the climate challenge to the G7 table as well, which Italy will chair in 2017), the expression *sfida climatica* is placed within a syntactic context that enhances its operational functionality. The morphosyntactic structure “portare la sfida climatica” (to bring the climate challenge) associates the term with concrete action, suggesting a perspective of movement and integration.

Finally, in the sentence: «Oggi più che mai, siamo convinti che la strada che abbiamo scelto a Parigi è l’unica risposta possibile alla sfida climatica» (*Today more than ever, we are convinced that the path we chose in Paris is the only viable response to the climate challenge*), *sfida climatica* is positioned at the end of the sentence structure, conferring it with conclusive emphasis. Here, the noun *sfida* once again maintains its meaning as a test to be faced, while the adjective *climatica* provides the thematic detail without altering the general nature of the term. The preposition *alla* (to the) governs the phrase and creates a dependency relationship with *risposta possibile* (possible response), suggesting the solution lies in directly addressing this challenge. The lexical cohesion between *sfida* (challenge) and *risposta* (response) strengthens the centrality of the term within the discourse.

The lexicon related to the natural world appears only in select speeches of the second corpus. For instance, Prestigiacomo mentions *forests* in the context of «indigenous people who have kept with forests a virtuous relationship for thousands of years». This lexical choice is significant for several reasons. Lexically, *forests* is a term intimately associated with the natural world, symbolizing biodiversity, sustainability, and ecological interdependence. *Forests* aren’t merely depicted as natural resources but as sites of harmonious interaction between indigenous communities and the environment, emphasizing their pivotal role in both climate regulation and the preservation of human culture. Placed within a phrase highlighting *a virtuous relationship* with forests, the term gains ethical and idealistic value, reinforcing the notion that forests are not just environmental assets, but examples of sustainability practiced over millennia. This association implicitly underscores the urgency to preserve these ecosystems not only for climate reasons but also to respect and support the traditional cultures that depend on them.

The lexical choices of Galletti, Renzi, and Draghi reflect distinct yet complementary approaches in emphasizing the centrality of the natural world, thereby contributing to a narrative that links environmental sustainability to ethical, symbolic, and scientific values. Through terms like *ecosystems*, *nature*, and *biodiversity*, these leaders highlight different nuances of the relationship between humanity and the environment, crafting language that balances political urgency with moral inspiration.

Galletti speaks of “*ecosystems*”: «È nostro preciso impegno contribuire a una cooperazione internazionale che sia realmente efficace per la salvaguardia degli ecosistemi globali» (*It is our precise commitment to contribute to international cooperation that is truly effective for safeguarding global ecosystems*). This semantic choice is significant for several reasons. Lexically, *ecosystems* is a scientific term referring to the complex interactions between living organisms and their physical environment. However, the term transcends merely representing a natural entity to include dynamics such as resilience and balance, indicating that their preservation is crucial for global stability. The adjective *global* expands the term’s scope, emphasizing that ecosystems are not confined to a single territory but are part of an interconnected system whose balance is essential for addressing planetary climate challenges. This lexical preference highlights the interdependence between ecosystems and international policies, underscoring the need for an integrated and coordinated approach.

Renzi, on the other hand, uses the term “*nature*” in a different register: «Attenzione però: non c’è simbolo ed esempio più grande di quello della natura» (*However, be aware that there is no greater symbol or example than that of nature*). The terminological choice is significant because lexically, *nature* is a universal term that evokes the entirety of the world’s physical and biological elements. However, in this context, the term takes on a symbolic and exemplary connotation. The hyperbolic structure «non c’è simbolo ed esempio più grande» elevates nature to an ideal model, reinforcing its role as a moral and cultural paradigm. The absence of modifiers or specifications universalizes *nature*, transforming it into an abstract, absolute concept, detached from any specific or contextual dimension. This gives the word an evocative and inspirational value, positioning it as an ethical guide for tackling global challenges.

Finally, Draghi chooses to talk about *biodiversity*: «The projected rise in global temperatures is set to dramatically affect life on our planet, from the catastrophic fires and floods we’ve already seen, to the bleaching of coral reefs, to the loss of biodiversity». Here too, the lexical choice is relevant. *Biodiversity* is a scientific term that emphasizes the richness and variety of natural ecosystems. Situated in a sentence that includes other potent images like *catastrophic fires* and *bleaching of coral reefs*, the term underscores the urgency of the discourse, evoking an imagery of irreversible damage and systemic threats to life on Earth. However, *biodiversity* also implies a deeper meaning: the loss of variety in ecosystems jeopardizes not just nature itself but also human survival and well-being. This highlights the interdependence between humans and the environment, suggesting that ecosystem degradation is not an isolated issue but a systemic crisis requiring collective response. Morphosyntactically, the use of *biodiversity* in a cumulative

structure «from the catastrophic fires and floods [...], to the bleaching of coral reefs, to the loss of biodiversity» creates an effect of escalation, emphasizing the severity and gravity of the loss in relation to other climate change impacts.

The term *agreement* serves as a central element in political discourse on climate change, employed by various speakers to evoke both the negotiation process and the ultimate goal. However, its usage varies significantly depending on the speaker, reflecting different political priorities, historical contexts, and linguistic strategies. This variability manifests not only in lexical selection but also in the morphosyntactic constructions surrounding the term, shaping its meaning within specific rhetorical and operational contexts.

Prestigiacomo, for example, employs *agreement* in a projective and descriptive manner, emphasizing its procedural and incomplete nature. The phrase «We must all leave Cancun with the overarching architecture of a partially defined agreement» uses the adjective *partially defined* to indicate that the agreement is still under construction. This lexical specification highlights an ongoing negotiation framework, reinforced by the metaphor *architecture*, which conjures a visual image of a complex and collective structure yet to be completed. Furthermore, the projective syntax, expressed through «we'll be committed to sign», underscores the idea of a shared future commitment, creating a rhetorical perspective that seeks to engage the audience in the notion of progress. Similarly, in the phrase «Our future agreement must also incorporate the low carbon development option for developing countries», the word is accompanied by the adjective *future*, broadening the temporal horizon and projecting the agreement as a desirable yet unattained goal. This choice conveys an optimistic and idealized view of the negotiation. In contrast, Clini adopts a pragmatic and implementation-oriented register, emphasizing immediate action and continuity with existing agreements. The phrase «Our duty here is not to lose the opportunity provided by the Durban agreement, and building on such agreement, take decisive actions» is a clear example. Using *Durban agreement* as a proper noun specifies a concrete reference to an already existing agreement, while the phrase «building on such agreement» introduces an operational sequence, indicating that the agreement is a foundation to be further consolidated and developed. This construction reinforces an idea of progressive, non-isolated action. Moreover, the use of the infinitive subordinate «to ensure that the agreement in 2015» demonstrates how *agreement* is embedded in a temporal and programmatic process, highlighting specific deadlines and defined objectives. Lexically, the association with action verbs like *building* and *ensure* denotes a concrete, result-oriented approach, contrasting sharply with Prestigiacomo's idealistic and projective approach.

Orlando, on the other hand, distinguishes himself by introducing a qualitative and normative dimension in the use of *agreement*. In the phrase «the agreement contains a sufficient level of ambition and transparency», the term is modified by descriptive elements like *ambition* and *transparency*, qualifying its content and reinforcing its ethical and political significance. This lexical construction underlines that an agreement's effectiveness depends not only on its existence but also on its intrinsic characteristics. Additionally, the explanatory subordinate «to REACH an agreement in Paris in 2015 which allows all Parties to commit and take concrete action» highlights the agreement's inclusiveness as a tool to mobilize involved parties towards concrete commitments. The choice of syntax, combining the infinitive *to REACH* with an explanatory relative, emphasizes the link between the negotiation process and its practical realization.

Galletti emphasizes the agreement's maturity and evolution, adopting an iterative and participatory perspective. The proposition «a Party owned, more mature and balanced version of the draft text of the agreement» qualifies *agreement* as an entity in a refinement phase, emphasizing through the adjectives *mature* and *balanced* the need for equilibrium among the involved parties. The association with *draft text* suggests that the agreement is a preliminary document requiring revision and collective consensus. Furthermore, the construction «Last but certainly not least, we need to reach an agreement» reiterates the negotiating urgency, positioning the agreement as the result of a multilateral and participatory process. This lexical and morphosyntactic choice underscores the agreement's value not only as a goal but also as a tool for international cooperation.

Finally, Meloni uses *agreement* with a historical and normative perspective, referencing significant moments in climate diplomacy. The phrase «in full compliance with the goals of the Paris Agreement» situates Italy in continuity with past commitments, giving the term a connotation of legitimacy and adherence to global principles. The reference to the Paris Agreement, associated with expressions like *full compliance*, emphasizes the need for rigorous alignment with established objectives. Moreover, the plural use in «paved the way for the agreements in Glasgow» reflects the complexity and fragmentation of the negotiation process, highlighting how achieving climate goals requires intermediate stages and diverse tools.

The term “*agreement*,” translated in Italian as *accordo*, features prominently in the speeches of Minister Galletti. In the sentence «Desidero innanzitutto ringraziare la Presidenza Marocchina della COP 22 per aver organizzato questo incontro che ci offre l'occasione di proseguire il comune cammino che abbiamo tracciato a Parigi attraverso un accordo ambizioso, inclusivo,

bilanciato e che riteniamo in grado di affrontare la sfida climatica» (*I wish to first of all thank the Moroccan Presidency of COP 22 for organizing this meeting which offers us the opportunity to continue the shared path we charted in Paris through an ambitious, inclusive, and balanced agreement which we consider able to tackle the climate challenge*), *accordo* is emphasized by a series of qualifying adjectives – ambitious, inclusive, balanced – which highlight its ethical and multilateral significance. These adjectives not only characterize the term but also suggest an ideal function, presenting it as the result of responsible and progressive diplomacy. The expression «proseguire il comune cammino» (*continue the shared path*) places the agreement within a temporal and collective dimension, evoking the image of a shared and evolving process. Moreover, the phrase «in grado di affrontare la sfida climatica» (*able to tackle the climate challenge*) adds an operational and concrete value, underscoring that the agreement is not an end in itself but a tool for resolving global issues. Syntactically, the use of the relative clause «che riteniamo in grado di affrontare» (*which we consider able to tackle*) highlights a subjective evaluation that reinforces the political commitment to ambitious climate goals.

Another significant example is found in the sentence «A Parigi, abbiamo forgiato un Accordo che rappresenta una fonte di ispirazione per azioni concertate a livello internazionale, nazionale e locale» (*In Paris, we forged an Agreement that represents a source of inspiration for concerted actions at the international, national, and local levels*). Here, the verb *forgiato* (forged) introduces an artisanal metaphor that evokes the idea of a deliberate and careful process, where the agreement is seen as a work shaped through negotiation and cooperation. The expression *fonte di ispirazione* (source of inspiration) attributes a symbolic and visionary dimension to the term, emphasizing its role as a guide for future actions. The tripartite division *international, national, and local* expands the operational context, suggesting that the agreement extends beyond the diplomatic sphere to various levels of governance, necessitating a multi-level approach to tackle the climate crisis.

The Paris Agreement is often associated with specific objectives, as seen in the phrase «la successiva adozione dell'Accordo di Parigi ha definitivamente cristallizzato un'architettura in materia di clima che punta a limitare la crescita della temperatura globale al di sotto dei 2°C rispetto ai livelli pre-industriali e assicurare al contempo uno sviluppo delle nostre economie che miri a ridurre le vulnerabilità soprattutto nelle aree più povere del pianeta» (*the subsequent adoption of the Paris Agreement has definitively crystallized a climate architecture aimed at limiting the global temperature increase to below 2°C above pre-industrial levels while ensuring the development of our economies that aims to reduce vulnerabilities especially in the*

poorest areas of the planet). The use of the verb *cristallizzato* (crystallized) evokes a sense of stability and durability, while the metaphor *architettura* (architecture) conjures a visual image of complexity and interconnection, suggesting that the agreement represents a solid normative and operational structure. The explicit objectives, like limiting global temperature increase and ensuring economic development, highlight the agreement's dual focus on environmental sustainability and economic growth. The sentence construction, with the subordinate clause «che punta a limitare» (*aimed at limiting*) and the complement «al di sotto dei 2°C rispetto ai livelli pre-industriali» (*to below 2°C above pre-industrial levels*), lends precision and concreteness to the discourse, linking the agreement to measurable and scientific parameters. A distinctive element is the attribution of the agreement to specific leadership, as observed in the phrase «la loro leadership, fondamentale per dare vita all'accordo di Parigi, a cui abbiamo affidato la nostra lotta ai cambiamenti climatici» (*their leadership, fundamental to bringing the Paris Agreement to life, to which we have entrusted our fight against climate change*). Here, the verb *affidato* (entrusted) introduces a nuance of trust and dependence, positioning the agreement not only as an operational reference point but as a central element of Italy's strategy to combat climate change. Syntactically, the relative clause «a cui abbiamo affidato la nostra lotta» (*to which we have entrusted our fight*) establishes a cause-effect relationship, highlighting the crucial role of the agreement in catalyzing political and institutional commitment.

Ultimately, the idea of continuity between past and future emerges clearly in the sentence «Alla COP21, abbiamo posto le basi per un nuovo Accordo globale che operi attraverso azioni concertate a livello internazionale, nazionale e locale» (*At COP21, we laid the groundwork for a new global Agreement that operates through concerted actions at international, national, and local levels*). The expression «posto le basi» (*laid the groundwork*) underscores the foundational character of COP21, while the adjective *globale* (global) amplifies the geographic scope of the agreement, suggesting a commitment that transcends national borders. The relative subordinate clause «che operi attraverso azioni concertate» (*that operates through concerted actions*) introduces an element of functionality, specifying that the agreement is not a static goal but a dynamic tool for international coordination.

The word *agreement* exemplifies the convergence of the frames *Sustainability and Climate Policies* and *Economic and Financial Strategies* in this corpus. Lexically, as analyzed, the term evokes multilateral cooperation and global consensus, which are fundamental attributes for both climate policies and sustainable economic strategies. Within the first frame, *agreement* is associated with objectives like emission reduction and climate adaptation, often qualified by

terms like *global* and *binding*, reinforcing its universal and obligatory nature. In the second frame, as will be discussed in the subsequent subsection, the term links to economic concepts like *low carbon development* or *climate finance*, highlighting the role of climate policies in redefining growth models.

The word *agreement* embodies a lexical and conceptual convergence, making it crucial for defining the limits and possibilities of an international discourse that intertwines sustainability and economic growth. However, this convergence is not without ambiguity. Rather than representing a radical approach to deep ecology as suggested by Arne Næss (1989, 1995), the term tends to reinforce the link between nature and the economy, assimilating the former into a functional element within global economic dynamics. This perspective risks reducing sustainability to an instrumental concept, subordinating it to the logic of profit and efficiency rather than intrinsic ecological value preservation. In this sense, the word *agreement* reflects a compromise between divergent interests and simultaneously embodies a vision of nature as a manageable resource integrated into existing economic models, diverging from an ecocentric ethic that values nature for its intrinsic, non-utilitarian worth.

5.1.2 Frame: *Economic and Financial Strategies*

In Prestigiacomo's speech, lexical and morpho-syntactic choices reveal a focused attention on constructing a narrative that intertwines climate urgency with economic pragmatism. This highlights a view of climate change as a global challenge to be addressed with tangible and measurable tools. Terms such as *mitigation*, *adaptation*, and *low carbon development option* underscore an approach centered on practical solutions that consider international economic and political needs.

The expression «low carbon development option for developing countries» not only emphasizes the inclusion of developing countries in the ecological transition process but also positions economic growth as a non-negotiable element of this path. Lexically, «low carbon development» represents an effective synthesis of sustainability and progress, suggesting that emission reductions can be compatible with economic expansion. Morphosyntactically, the structure «for developing countries» adds a distributive value, clarifying that climate strategies must consider the specificities and needs of each national context, avoiding uniform and generalized solutions.

In Clini and Orlando's speeches, the expression *low carbon* takes on a different connotation, focusing on a more strictly national and operational domain. At COP18, Clini states: «In such

respect Italy is enhancing its strategy to put its economy on a low carbon pathway». Here, the term *low carbon pathway* represents an image of linear and planned progress towards decarbonization. Lexically, the word *pathway* differs from *development* due to its focus on a specific and already mapped path, suggesting a structured plan. The verb *enhancing* indicates incremental improvement, reinforcing the idea that Italy is building on existing policies to intensify its efforts. The infinitive construction «to put its economy on a low carbon pathway» explicitly connects the environmental and economic dimensions, showing a clear integration of sustainability and economic development.

Orlando uses the same language during COP19, stating: «Italy is enhancing its strategy to put its economy on a low carbon pathway». Although identical in form, this phrase fits into a slightly different context, as the minister emphasizes the international dimension of the ecological transition more strongly. The repetition of the expression across the two speeches underscores programmatic continuity, but the absence of additional specifications highlights a pragmatic and implementation-focused approach. Again, *pathway* evokes an orderly and coordinated progression, reinforcing the notion that addressing climate change requires not only vision but also structured and planned actions.

Morphosyntactically, the infinitive constructions used by both Clini and Orlando (*to put its economy on a low carbon pathway*) express a clear and concrete objective, in stark contrast to the relative clauses and additional details present in Prestigiacomo's speech. The difference between *pathway* and *development* is crucial: while the term used by Prestigiacomo suggests broader, future-oriented progress, the one employed by Ministers Clini and Orlando emphasizes a delineated path, making the attention to the practical realization of climate policies apparent. A direct comparison of the speeches thus highlights a marked distinction in linguistic and syntactic choices. Prestigiacomo uses *low carbon development* in an inclusive and global narrative, as demonstrated by the expression *for developing countries*, which broadens the audience and emphasizes international cooperation. In contrast, Clini and Orlando adopt a more national and strategic approach, in which *low carbon pathway* is presented as part of an internal policy aimed at ensuring Italy's economic competitiveness within the context of an ecological transition.

Lexically, the association between *low carbon* and economy is therefore central in these speeches, but the way it is articulated reflects different priorities and perspectives. For Prestigiacomo, the goal is to position the ecological transition as an opportunity to promote global equity and progress in developing countries. In Clini and Orlando's speeches, on the

other hand, the emphasis is on the need to integrate sustainability into national economic models, presenting it as a competitive advantage. This difference is clearly reflected in the syntactic constructions: Prestigiacomo uses relative clauses and additional qualifications to expand the context, whereas Clini and Orlando opt for more direct and action-oriented infinitive constructions.

As analyzed, Prestigiacomo uses the term *development* in close proximity to *low carbon*. This word appears three more times in her speech. Lexically, *development* presents itself as a broad and flexible concept that Prestigiacomo qualifies differently to adapt it to specific discursive contexts, highlighting its complexity and multidimensionality.

In the first phrase, «Our future agreement must also incorporate the low carbon development option for developing countries: a solution strongly supported and promoted by the industrialized world», *development* is closely associated with the qualifying adjective *low carbon*, which delineates its semantic field within a sustainable perspective.

The second occurrence of *development* is found in «We've made some undeniable progress in some key areas of what tomorrow could turn out to be the global and legal agreement on climate and sustainable development». Here, *development* is qualified by the adjective *sustainable*, which narrows its meaning to compatibility with environmental and regulatory objectives. The expression *sustainable development* alludes to a concept well-established in climatic and political lexicon, but its use in the context of *global and legal agreement* underscores the importance of a regulated and shared approach. Lexically, the addition of *sustainable* confers an ethical value to the term, while the construction «of what tomorrow could turn out to be» introduces a potential and prospective dimension, broadening the semantic field of *development* towards a desirable but not yet realized future.

The third occurrence is in the phrase «The cooperation framework for the fight against deforestation is equally important and will be instrumental in the reduction of global emissions, but also in the preservation and development of indigenous people who have kept with forests a virtuous relationship for thousands of years». In this context, *development* assumes a social and cultural connotation, directly linking to the valorization of indigenous communities. Lexically, the term shifts away from its economic connotation to include an idea of human progress that respects the historical and virtuous interactions between local populations and the natural environment. The syntactic construction «preservation and development of indigenous people» closely associates *development* with *preservation*, suggesting that progress must accompany conservation, emphasizing a balance between tradition and modernity.

In another phrase, «A good funding mechanism for adaptation is a prerequisite for an exhaustive development strategy and for the definition of a long term financial architecture to guarantee a substantial increase of resources, a sustainable flow of action and to ensure the effectiveness of all the present and future initiatives», *development* is embedded in a complex context that highlights its strategic role within an integrated system of economic and climatic planning. The expression «exhaustive development strategy» emphasizes the need for a comprehensive and well-structured approach, while the connection with terms like «long term financial architecture» and «sustainable flow of action» highlights the financial and operational dimensions of the term. Morphosyntactically, the use of *prerequisite for* positions *development* as a necessary condition to ensure the effectiveness of climate policies, reinforcing its programmatic value. The term *development* appears significantly in the speeches of both Prestigiacomo and Clini, occurring four times each, yet its use varies according to the narrative and strategic priorities of each speaker. Both politicians incorporate the term within a context that connects economic, social, and environmental dimensions but with distinct approaches and emphases that are evident from lexical and morpho-syntactic analysis.

In Clini's speech, *development* is often placed within a perspective of structural change and economic transition. For example, in the sentence «It has to represent the transition towards a framework that allows us to strengthen and enlarge cooperation for emission reduction and for accelerating a worldwide transition towards a green economy that, in addition to climate protection, promotes sustainable development and contributes to poverty eradication around the world», *development* is qualified as *sustainable* and embedded in a complex construction that underscores the concept's multidimensionality. Lexically, *sustainable development* evokes a vision of progress compatible with climate protection and poverty alleviation, but the global context (worldwide transition, green economy) expands its scope. Morphosyntactically, the word is part of an explanatory subordinate clause («that [...] promotes sustainable development»), which specifies the framework's goals, giving the term an explanatory and normative function.

A similar approach, but with a more pronounced economic focus, emerges in the sentence «In Europe, we are facing a terrible crisis, and we know that to overcome the crisis, we have to build a new development – to build a new development based on the efficient use of natural resources and energy sources. And this is the way out of the present crisis». Here, *development* is presented as a programmatic construction linked to resolving the European economic crisis. The repetition of the expression “to build a new development” emphasizes the innovative and

structural nature of the term, which is associated with resource and energy efficiency. Lexically, the adjective *new* delimits the term to unprecedented and necessary progress, while syntactically, the structure *based on* introduces the foundational elements of the proposed economic model, reinforcing its operational concreteness.

Another example of the use of *development* in Clini's speech is found in the sentence «I want to say that the cooperation, the international cooperation, and the protection of the global environment have to be framed in a way to offer opportunities to all countries, regardless of the structure of their economy and their level of development». Here, the word is not qualified but is an integral part of a construction that emphasizes the universality of opportunities offered by cooperation policies. From a lexical perspective, *development* retains its broad and flexible connotation, while syntactically, the construction «regardless of the structure of their economy and their level of development» highlights the inclusivity of the discourse, removing barriers between rich and poor countries.

In Clini's 2012 speech, the term takes on an even broader and more articulated connotation, as seen in the phrase «Italy, as a Member State of the EU, is committed to accept the second commitment period of the Kyoto Protocol, but it is firmly convinced that a long-term perspective is needed to effectively protect the global climate while promoting sustainable development, contributing to poverty eradication around the world and enhancing climate resilience of our society». The association with *sustainable* is reinforced by a cumulative construction that links the term to a series of objectives, such as poverty eradication and improving climate resilience. Morphosyntactically, the term is part of a subordinate clause «while promoting sustainable development», which underscores its continuity and integration with other climate and social goals.

In Draghi's speech, the term *development* appears twice, embedded in contexts closely tied to multilateral finance and public-private collaboration. The sentence «We need, first and foremost, for all multilateral development banks, and especially the World Bank, to co-share with the private sector the risks that the private sector alone cannot bear» uses *development* in association with *multilateral banks*, emphasizing the role of financial institutions in stimulating investments for sustainable development. Lexically, *development* is here linked to an institutional and economic framework, highlighting a strategic rather than normative function. The morpho-syntactic construction uses «to co-share with the private sector» to describe bilateral cooperation, while the complement «the risks that the private sector alone cannot bear»

specifies the role of development banks in mitigating financial risks, underscoring a dynamic of support and partnership.

In the second occurrence, «We need country-based platforms where the World Bank and other multilateral development banks can actually co-share and make all this money usable to good effect», *development* maintains its association with multilateral financial instruments. The sentence introduces the idea of *country-based platforms*, or national contexts that facilitate the concrete implementation of development goals. Lexically, *development* assumes an operational dimension, linked to the effectiveness of economic resources, while the complement «make all this money usable to good effect» emphasizes the need to translate funding into tangible results. The explanatory subordinate clause introduces a direct link between multilateral financial actors and the actual impact of their actions, bolstering the image of planned and pragmatic development.

In Meloni's speech, *development* appears twice in similar contexts, but with a more sustainability-oriented perspective and integration of value chains. The phrase «This will stimulate green growth, job creation, and the development of sustainable value chains» qualifies *development* with the adjective *sustainable*, placing it within a semantic field closely tied to ecological transition. Lexically, *development* is here associated with *value chains*, suggesting a vision of development that is not only economic but also systemic and integrated, where each element of the production chain contributes to a coordinated progress. Morphosyntactically, *development* is part of a coordinated construction («green growth, job creation, and the development»), positioning development as one of the three pillars of a comprehensive strategy. In the second occurrence, «To do so, we must bring together governments, private investors, and multilateral development banks to co-share investments and risks to accelerate a just energy transition», *development* is again associated with multilateral banks, but the context places greater emphasis on a fair energy transition. The expression «multilateral development banks» directly recalls Draghi's speech, but Meloni expands its meaning by linking it to co-share investments and risks, highlighting the role of these institutions as intermediaries facilitating risk sharing. Lexically, *development* maintains its strategic connotation, but the specification “to accelerate a just energy transition” introduces an ethical and social justice dimension, enriching the term's semantic context.

The term *technologies* appears prominently in the speeches of Politicians Prestigiacomo, Clini, and Meloni, signifying innovation, modernization, and progress. It is central to strategies addressing climate and economic challenges. Lexically, technologies evoke advancement,

while morpho-syntactically, the term is often paired with adjectives or constructions that clarify its operational or strategic role.

In Minister Prestigiacomo's speech, the phrase «I am thinking about the establishment of a mechanism for the dissemination and transfer of those new technologies that are so important not only to decarbonize our respective economies but also to foster a sustainable social and economic growth» associates technologies with an international context of dissemination and transfer. Lexically, the adjective *new* delimits the term's semantic scope, emphasizing its link to innovation. The construction «not only [...] but also» highlights the dual role of technologies: decarbonizing economies and fostering sustainable economic and social growth. Morpho-syntactically, the subordinate «that are so important» explicitly evaluates the critical role of technologies, while “to foster a sustainable social and economic growth” ties the term to global development goals, expanding its meaning.

Clini uses the term similarly, but with a stronger focus on innovation and long-term planning. In «On the contrary, we need a strategy for long-term technology innovation so that emission reduction will not focus only on existing technologies but also on the promotion of new technologies towards the decarbonization of our economies», *technologies* are qualified by both *existing* and *new*, creating a contrast that underscores the need to surpass the status quo by adopting innovative technologies. The construction «so that emission reduction will not focus only [...] but also» emphasizes the progressive approach, highlighting that technological advancement should accompany existing technologies. Lexically, *promotion* and *innovation* reinforce the idea that technologies are not just operational tools but catalysts for structural change. Morpho-syntactically, the term is in a hypothetical-intentional context («so that emission reduction will...»), projecting the discourse into a future-oriented dimension.

Meloni, on the other hand, adopts a more direct and operational approach. In the sentence «This is the first Italian investment platform specifically dedicated to the deployment of clean technologies and to adaptation to climate change in developing countries», *technologies* are qualified by the adjective *clean*, narrowing the focus to those solutions that promote environmental sustainability. The construction «dedicated to the deployment of clean technologies» highlights the practical and implementation-focused aspect of the term, while the complement «in developing countries» adds a global and redistributive dimension. Lexically, *deployment* indicates concrete application, shifting attention from mere innovation to the effective use of technologies.

Comparing the three speeches, significant similarities and differences emerge. Prestigiacomo emphasizes the international transfer of technologies as a tool for global justice, linking the term to both environmental and social goals. Clini prioritizes a vision geared towards innovation and strategic planning, highlighting technologies' role as drivers of structural change. Meloni focuses on the operational aspect and the direct connection to environmental sustainability in developing countries.

The term *economic* in Prestigiacomo's speech is used to qualify growth as a crucial element of an integrated vision between economic development and environmental sustainability. In the sentence «I am thinking about the establishment of a mechanism for the dissemination and transfer of those new technologies that are so important not only to decarbonize our respective economies but also to foster a sustainable social and economic growth in the yet too many parts of the world having the right to improve its living standards and conditions», *economic* is closely associated with the adjective *social*, creating a semantic unity that emphasizes the nexus between economic progress and social welfare. Lexically, the term directly recalls the semantic field of production, trade, and resource distribution, highlighting a material dimension of progress.

The expression *economic growth* in the sentence is qualified by the adjective *sustainable*, which confines its meaning within an ecologically responsible framework. The placement of *economic* next to *social* reflects a desire to integrate two often opposing aspects: improving economic conditions and social progress. Lexically, this association expands the term's meaning, linking it not only to productivity and profit but also to social justice and redistribution. Morpho-syntactically, *economic growth* is part of a parallel structure introduced by «not only [...] but also», which gives the sentence a dual perspective: on the one hand, decarbonization, and on the other, sustainable economic and social growth. This parallelism reinforces the complementarity between economic and environmental objectives, preventing one from overshadowing the other. Additionally, the subordinate construction «in the yet too many parts of the world having the right to improve its living standards and conditions» explicitly expands the discourse's global dimension, connecting the term *economic* to a narrative of equity and inclusion.

The term *economic* also appears in the speeches of Clini, Orlando, and Meloni, but with different nuances. In Clini's speech, *economic* is used to contextualize the global reality and highlight the interconnection between economic conditions and climate policies. In the sentence «In a challenging economic scenario like the present one, the certainties of a long-term binding

Protocol applicable to all and able to capture the evolving reality, can provide us the means needed to strengthen and enlarge cooperation for emission reductions and for accelerating the worldwide transition towards a green economy», *economic* is tightly coupled with the adjective *challenging*, which emphasizes the complexity and difficulties of the current economic context. Lexically, *economic scenario* invokes a systemic dimension, suggesting that the economy is not merely a backdrop but an implicit actor directly influencing climate policies.

Morpho-syntactically, *economic scenario* is part of a prepositional construction introduced by «In a challenging», which situates the economic condition as a premise for the subsequent reasoning. The construction «like the present one» strengthens the connection to the current context, creating a temporal reference that grounds the argument in the present. This choice places the discourse within a frame of urgency and realism, where the economic context becomes the starting point for justifying the need for a long-term binding Protocol.

The use of the term *economic* by Clini indeed differs significantly from Prestigiacomo's application of it. While Prestigiacomo associates *economic* with *growth*, framing a narrative of progress and global inclusion, Clini uses it to outline a problematic and challenging landscape where economic uncertainties necessitate multilateral and long-term solutions. The association with *scenario* suggests a dynamic view, portraying the economy as an evolving context that must be addressed and managed through normative instruments like the Protocol.

Lexically, the adjective *challenging* imparts a negative connotation to *economic scenario*, introducing a narrative tension that is resolved by the proposal of a «long term binding Protocol». The construction «can provide us the means needed» adds an operational and practical dimension, directly linking the normative certainties of the protocol to the capability of addressing economic and climatic challenges. Finally, the phrase «for accelerating the world-wide transition towards a green economy» completes the argument by introducing the related term *green economy*, emphasizing the necessity of transitioning towards a sustainable economic model.

Regarding the use of *economic* in Orlando's speech, it appears in two distinct yet connected contexts, reflecting an approach that integrates economic challenges with climate solutions. In the sentence «In a challenging economic scenario like the present one, the certainties of a long-term binding Protocol applicable to all and able to reflect the evolving reality, can provide us with the tools needed to strengthen and extend cooperation on emissions reduction and a rapid world-wide transition towards a green economy», the use of *economic* is closely linked to the adjective *challenging*, creating an image of a difficult and dynamic context necessitating

articulated and multilateral responses. Lexically, as analyzed with Clini, *economic scenario* represents a systemic framework where economic variables are crucial for understanding global challenges. The association with *challenging* accentuates the complexity of the situation, reinforcing the urgency of finding concerted solutions.

From a morpho-syntactic perspective, *economic scenario* is part of a construction introduced by «In a challenging», functioning as a frame for the entire argument. The specification «like the present one» creates a direct reference to the current context, anchoring the discourse in a precise temporal dimension. This choice underscores the immediacy and relevance of economic challenges, presented as a prerequisite for the effectiveness of climate policies. The subordinate structure “can provide us with the tools needed to strengthen and extend cooperation” connects the economic framework to the necessity for normative tools and international cooperation, highlighting the interdependence between economy and climate.

In the second part of Orlando’s speech, *economic* is used concerning growth and sustainability. The proposition «economic growth and sustainability are not mutually exclusive» explicitly states the compatibility between two concepts often perceived as opposing. Lexically, *economic growth* evokes material and productive progress, while *sustainability* adds an ethical and environmental dimension. The choice of the copulative verb *are not* and the adjective *mutually exclusive* constructs a direct and antithetical argument, challenging the traditional narrative that views economy and sustainability as irreconcilable.

The subsequent sentence «I believe that we must cut harmful emissions cost-efficiently and cost-effectively decarbonize our economies» further integrates the term *economic* into an operational proposal. The expression «cost-efficiently and cost-effectively» qualifies the proposed action, emphasizing the need to balance sustainability and optimization of economic resources. Lexically, the use of *economies* in the plural indicates a broad and inclusive perspective, considering diverse global economic structures. Morpho-syntactically, the subordinate construction introduced by «I believe that we must» strengthens the urgency and personal commitment of the speaker, while the parallel verbs *cut* and *decarbonize* create a rhetorical rhythm that highlights the required actions.

In Giorgia Meloni’s speech, the term *economic* is used within a conceptual triad linking environmental, economic, and social sustainability. In the period «In doing so, we will have to keep people at the heart and transform accordingly, combining environmental, economic, and social sustainability», *economic* is indicated as one of the three pillars of sustainability, underscoring its importance in a systemic transformation process.

Lexically, *economic* recalls the semantic field of resources, production, and financial management, but its juxtaposition with *environmental* and *social* places it within a broader and integrated framework. The use of the term in this context does not isolate the economy as an independent element but presents it as part of an overall balance that must include environmental and social considerations. This lexical choice reflects a holistic vision where the economy is not an end but a means to achieve broader well-being.

Morpho-syntactically, *economic* is part of a coordinated construction introduced by the verb *combining*, implicating an active process of integration among the three mentioned elements. The positioning of *economic* at the center of the triad, between *environmental* and *social*, is significant: this lexical placement reinforces the role of the economy as a connecting point between environmental and social sustainability, suggesting that economic dynamics can serve as a bridge between ecological and human needs. Furthermore, the subordinate clause «we will have to keep people at the heart and transform accordingly» introduces a programmatic commitment that places individuals at the center of decision-making processes, implicitly linking the economy to human well-being.

Compared to other politicians like Prestigiacomo and Orlando, Meloni's use of *economic* stands out for its inclusivity and emphasis on coordinated transformation. While Prestigiacomo associates the term with concepts such as sustainable growth in a predominantly global and redistributive context, and Orlando links it to issues of efficiency and decarbonization, Meloni adopts a more integrated approach, where economic sustainability is part of a systemic vision. Additionally, the use of the verb *transform* highlights a dynamic of active change, contrasting with more normative or descriptive narratives from other politicians.

In the Italian corpus, both *economic* and its Italian counterparts, *economico* and *economica*, appear prominently in the speeches of Renzi and Galletti, illustrating their distinct narrative strategies. Matteo Renzi uses *economy* to emphasize the interconnection between sustainable development and economic dynamics, as if to align and elevate them to the same level. In the phrase «Siamo all'avanguardia in tanti settori della green economy, dalla geotermia: abbiamo il 43 per cento di energie rinnovabili nella produzione elettrica. [...] È una questione finanziaria, economica» (*We are at the forefront in many sectors of the green economy, from geothermal: we have 43 percent renewable energies in electricity production. [...] It is a financial, economic matter*), the *economy* is highlighted as central to ecological transition, framed within technological and innovative leadership.

From a lexical perspective, the term *green economy* evokes a semantic field that bridges economic growth with environmental sustainability. The adjective *green* qualifies *economy*, confining its meaning to an ecologically oriented approach. This lexical choice underscores sustainability's value as an economic progress driver and Italy's role as a positive example on the global stage. The association between the green economy and specific sectors like geothermal energy strengthens the message of a sustainable economy rooted in technical capabilities and concrete innovations.

Morpho-syntactically, the phrase «Siamo all'avanguardia in tanti settori della green economy» (*We are at the forefront in many sectors of the green economy*) uses an emphatic construction, with «siamo all'avanguardia» positioning Italy as a leader, crafting a narrative that underscores national primacy. The specification *dalla geotermia* (from geothermal) introduces a concrete example, strengthening the argument through direct linkage to a recognized technological sector. The use of the complement *nella produzione elettrica* (in electricity production) further clarifies the application scope, demonstrating how the sustainable economy relates to tangible and measurable outcomes.

The subsequent statement «È una questione finanziaria, economica» (*It's a financial, economic matter*) shifts focus from the technological to the systemic aspect, broadening the discourse to include financial and structural implications. The coordinated nominal complement *finanziaria, economica* establishes a direct link between finance and economy, suggesting that the success of the green economy depends not only on technical innovation but also on appropriate financial policies and economic models. Lexically, the juxtaposition of these two terms reinforces the idea that ecological transition requires synergy between investments and economic strategies. In Gian Luca Galletti's speech, *economica* is used within a context integrating economic growth with environmental and social sustainability, stressing the need for a comprehensive and intersectoral approach. In the sentence «Abbiamo adottato a New York una serie di obiettivi di sviluppo sostenibile da raggiungere entro il 2030, tra cui alcuni fortemente legati ai cambiamenti climatici, saldando insieme l'azione a favore del clima, il sostegno alla crescita economica, la cura degli aspetti sociali e ambientali a livello globale» (*We adopted a series of sustainable development goals in New York to be achieved by 2030, including some strongly linked to climate change, binding together climate action, support for economic growth, and care for social and environmental aspects globally*), *economica* is part of a complex framework tightly linking economy, climate, and society.

Considered in terms of its semantic resonance, *economica* links to the field of productivity and development. Yet, its juxtaposition with *sociali* (social) and *ambientali* (environmental) broadens its scope, embedding it within a systemic and sustainable perspective. The noun *crescita* (growth), paired with the adjective *economica* underscores a focus on material progress, while its integration with «cura e azione a favore del clima» (*care and climate action*) suggests that this growth must be balanced by ethical and environmental objectives. The term *saldando insieme* (binding together) is particularly significant, as it reinforces the image of intersectoral unity, where economic, social, and environmental goals are not treated separately but as interconnected parts of a single system.

Morpho-syntactically, the coordinated construction «il sostegno alla crescita economica, la cura degli aspetti sociali e ambientali» uses a parallel structure that provides balance and symmetry to the discourse, placing the three elements on equal footing. This parallelism creates an inclusive narrative, where the economy is just one of the necessary pillars for tackling global challenges. The relative subordinate «da raggiungere entro il 2030» (*to be achieved by 2030*) introduces a temporal constraint that adds urgency and concreteness to the objectives, tying the discourse to a precise normative and programmatic context. Compared to other ministers like Prestigiacomo, Galletti's use of *economica* stands out for its explicit integration with social and environmental aspects, seeking to unite the two concepts and present a positive vision. This way, listeners envisage an economy and environment as intertwined and even complementary elements in the shared task of building a sustainable future.

Meanwhile, Prestigiacomo, Orlando, and Meloni use the term *decarbonizes* differently. In Prestigiacomo's discourse, the phrase «I am thinking about the establishment of a mechanism for the dissemination and transfer of those new technologies that are so important not only to decarbonizes our respective economies but also to foster a sustainable social and economic growth in the yet too many parts of the world having the right to improve its living standards and conditions» employs the word transitively, indicating a direct and operative action on national economies. Lexically, *decarbonizes* belongs to the semantic field of sustainability and innovation, evoking the process of reducing or eliminating carbon emissions, with both technological and economic implications. The association with *our respective economies* suggests a universal application but also a shared responsibility among countries. Morpho-syntactically, *decarbonizes* is part of a parallel construction introduced by «not only [...] but also», emphasizing the need to reduce emissions while promoting sustainable growth. This structure creates a rhetorical balance between two interconnected goals, reinforcing the idea

that decarbonization is not an isolated aim but part of a broader project of global development. The relative clause «having the right to improve its living standards and conditions» adds an ethical dimension, extending the meaning of *decarbonizes* toward a perspective of global equity.

Minister Orlando takes a more direct and pragmatic approach, as seen in the phrase «I believe that we must cut harmful emissions cost-efficiently and cost-effectively decarbonize our economies». Here, *decarbonize* is an infinitive verb that immediately follows a parallel construction («cost-efficiently and cost-effectively»), highlighting the importance of reducing emissions with both cost and resource efficiency. Lexically, the term maintains an operational connotation, emphasizing specific and targeted action on national economies. Morpho-syntactically, the inclusion of *decarbonize* within an infinitive construction stresses the programmatic and forward-looking aspect of the proposed action. The use of the parallel verbs *cut* and *decarbonize* creates a rhetorical rhythm that enhances the clarity and urgency of the discourse, while the specification *our economies* suggests an inclusive and collective perspective, yet with a particular focus on national interests.

In the discourse of Prime Minister Meloni, the term *decarbonization* assumes a nominal form, as observed in the phrase «Italy remains strongly committed to pursuing its decarbonization pathway in full compliance with the goals of the Paris Agreement». Lexically, *decarbonization* is distinguished by its use as a noun, emphasising a structured and continuous process rather than a specific action. The association with *pathway* introduces a metaphor suggestive of a progressive journey, indicating a planned strategy towards sustainability. From a morpho-syntactic perspective, the construction «committed to pursuing its decarbonization pathway» employs a prepositional object complement to describe a concrete, long-term commitment. The adjective *its* endows the term with national specificity, linking decarbonization to Italy's political and economic objectives. The subordinate clause «in full compliance with the goals of the Paris Agreement» adds a normative and international reference, broadening the context of decarbonization to a multilateral level.

Comparing the uses by the three politicians, significant differences emerge. Indeed, Prestigiacomo presents *decarbonizes* as part of a global and inclusive discourse, highlighting the necessity of an equitable and sustainable transition. Orlando adopts language focused on economic efficiency, while Meloni situates *decarbonization* within a normative narrative, underscoring Italy's role in adhering to international commitments. Both, however, once again tend to establish a direct link between nature and economy, implicitly associating emission

reduction processes with economic and productive strategies. This association reveals a view of nature as functional to economic progress.

Another key element in Prestigiacomo's discourse is the use of the metaphor *financial architecture*, which is described as essential for supporting a transition towards a sustainable economy. The expression «long term financial architecture» evokes an image of complexity and solidity, highlighting the need for systemic planning that links economic resources to long-term climate objectives. Lexically, the choice of *architecture* is significant: the term suggests a well-structured and interconnected project, which is not limited to the distribution of resources but anticipates a durable and functional organization. From a morpho-syntactic perspective, the adjective *long term* introduces a temporal dimension that reinforces the idea of continuity and stability, emphasising that financial commitment must extend beyond immediate solutions to ensure sustainable results over time. This lexical and syntactic construction places the economic dimension at the heart of climate policies, reinforcing the image of climate change as a manageable challenge through adequate financial instruments. The metaphor primarily focuses on the role of economic resources, implicitly reducing nature to a variable subordinate to human and financial control. The use of economic language, combined with images of planning and investment, demonstrates a vision in which nature is not an end, but a means. Climate solutions, while central, are subordinate to a logic of economic efficiency and control, where the value of nature is measured in terms of tangible benefits for the global economy.

The word *financial* also appears in the English speeches of Clini, Orlando, and Meloni. In Clini's phrase «The strategy includes also financial resources needed to implement urgent actions estimated in about 2,5 billion euros per year for the next 15 years», the term modifies *resources*, circumscribing the type of resources needed to economic ones. Lexically, *financial* sits within the semantic field of monetary management and economic support, implying that the realisation of climate strategies depends directly on the availability of capital. The use of *needed* reinforces the urgency and non-negotiability of these resources, suggesting that without adequate financial support, climate actions would remain unimplemented.

From a morpho-syntactic viewpoint, the construction «financial resources needed to implement urgent actions» closely ties *financial* to the notion of operativeness, highlighted by the infinitive *to implement*. The adjective *urgent* underscores the immediacy of the required actions, while the temporal specification «for the next 15 years» adds a long-term perspective, indicating that financial commitment cannot be episodic but must be systematic and continuous. The figure

«2.5 billion euros per year» introduces an element of concreteness, anchoring the discourse in precise and quantifiable data.

Orlando builds on Clini's language by adding further details to contextualise the role of financial resources: «The strategy includes also financial resources needed to implement urgent actions estimated at about 2,5 billion euros per year for the next 15 years, both from public and private sectors». Lexically, *financial* maintains its focus on the economic nature of resources, but the additional specification «both from public and private sectors» expands the semantic field, indicating collaboration between governmental and private entities.

Morpho-syntactically, Orlando's sentence is distinguished by the use of «both [...] and», which creates a parallelism between the two sectors, emphasising the need for a sharing of financial burdens. This construction reinforces the idea of a multi-level strategy, where sustainability is not only a public responsibility but a shared goal among different economic actors. The use of «estimated at about» introduces a nuance of approximation, suggesting that the exact amount of resources required may vary but remains substantial.

In Giorgia Meloni's speech, the term *financial* is used three times. In the first instance, «Italy has also significantly increased its contribution to climate finance. We have almost tripled our financial commitment to 1.4 billion dollars for the next five years, including 840 million euros through the new Italian Climate Fund», *financial* is closely associated with *commitment*, indicating a formal and measurable economic pledge. Lexically, *financial* belongs to a semantic field connecting sustainability with dimensions of responsibility and economic planning. The adjective *significantly* enhances the emphasis on the extent of the commitment, while the figure *1.4 billion dollars* introduces an element of concreteness, grounding the discourse in tangible data. From a morpho-syntactic perspective, the construction «We have almost tripled our financial commitment» uses the present perfect to indicate a recent and completed action, simultaneously projecting a temporal continuity into the future. The subordinate clause «including 840 million euros through the new Italian Climate Fund» specifies a significant detail, attributing a central role to the Climate Fund as a tool for the distribution and management of financial resources.

In the second sentence, «Italy is proud to be part of the Just Energy Transition Partnership, an ambitious G7 initiative that will provide substantial financial resources and technical assistance to partner countries», *financial resources* is situated in an international perspective, highlighting Italy's participation in a global partnership. Lexically, *substantial* emphasizes the magnitude of the resources, while the association with *technical assistance* broadens the context, suggesting

that economic support is integrated with technical expertise. From a morpho-syntactic viewpoint, the use of the future tense *will provide* introduces a prospective dimension, underscoring that the economic commitment is part of a continuing and long-term plan.

In the third proposition, «Italy is therefore balancing its financial support to both priorities. In 2020, 56 percent of our overall climate finance was devoted to adaptation measures, while the remaining 44 percent went towards mitigation», *financial support* is used in a context of balance and distribution. Lexically, *balancing* emphasizes a strategic and considered approach to resource management, suggesting particular attention to equity between adaptation and mitigation efforts.

The distribution of financial resources between adaptation measures and mitigation reinforces the idea of an integrated strategy, where allocations are systematically organized to address various climate priorities. In Galletti's Italian addresses, the term appears as *finanza* (finance) on three occasions. In the initial sentence, «Il nostro impegno però ha un orizzonte mondiale. L'Italia, insieme agli altri Stati Membri dell'Unione Europea, è tra i principali donatori della finanza per il clima per realizzare azioni di mitigazione e adattamento nei paesi in via di sviluppo, maggiormente esposti ai danni derivanti dalle variazioni del clima» (*Our commitment, however, has a global horizon. Italy, together with other European Union Member States, is among the leading donors of climate finance to carry out mitigation and adaptation actions in developing countries, most exposed to damage from climate variations*), the term *finanza* is qualified by *per il clima* (for the climate), which directs it towards a semantic field associated with environmental sustainability. Lexically, «finanza per il clima» underscores that economic resources are dedicated exclusively to climate goals, such as mitigation and adaptation. The use of the complement «nei paesi in via di sviluppo» (*in developing countries*) introduces an ethical and redistributive dimension, highlighting the responsibility of industrialised nations to support the more vulnerable countries. From a morpho-syntactic standpoint, the construction «per realizzare azioni di mitigazione e adattamento» (*to carry out mitigation and adaptation actions*) directly links finance to the implementation of concrete interventions, emphasising a causal relationship between economic availability and the capacity for action. The relative clause «maggiormente esposti ai danni derivanti dalle variazioni del clima» (*most exposed to damage from climate variations*) adds an element of urgency and specificity, highlighting the need for targeted interventions to address the consequences of climate change.

In the subsequent proposition, «Non è un caso infatti che l'Italia collabora e riconosce il ruolo chiave del Fondo per l'Adattamento in questo campo ed è con questo stesso spirito che desidero

annunciare la nostra intenzione di continuare nel prossimo futuro a sostenere finanziariamente e operativamente il Fondo con ulteriori 7 milioni di euro» (*It is no coincidence that Italy collaborates and recognises the key role of the Adaptation Fund in this field, and it is with this same spirit that I wish to announce our intention to continue in the near future to support the Fund financially and operationally with an additional 7 million euros*), the term *finanziariamente* (financially) modifies the verb *sostenere* (to support), reinforcing the idea of a specific economic commitment. Lexically, *finanziariamente* highlights the centrality of economic resources as a tool for operational support. The figure *7 million euros* introduces an element of concreteness, which positions the discourse in a tangible and verifiable context. From a morpho-syntactic perspective, the use of the future tense «desidero annunciare la nostra intenzione di continuare» (*I wish to announce our intention to continue*) projects the financial commitment into a broader temporal horizon, suggesting that economic support is not an isolated action but part of a continuous and programmatic strategy. The conjunction *e operativamente* (and operationally) reinforces the discourse, indicating that Italian contribution extends beyond monetary resources, including practical involvement.

In the third statement, «L'Italia è fortemente impegnata nel supporto della costruzione della Rete dei Centri Finanziari Verdi, per dare ulteriori strumenti alla finanza per il clima, così come, insieme agli amici tedeschi, al rafforzamento organizzativo degli uffici del Vice Segretario Generale delle Nazioni Unite in materia di finanza per lo sviluppo sostenibile» (*Italy is strongly committed to supporting the construction of the Network of Green Financial Centres, to provide further tools to climate finance, as well as, together with German friends, to strengthening the organizational capacity of the Deputy Secretary-General's Office of the United Nations on sustainable development finance*), the phrase *finanza per il clima* is used again to underline the significance of dedicated financial infrastructure. The adjective *verdi* (green) qualifies the financial centres, evoking imagery associated with sustainability. Simultaneously, «finanza per lo sviluppo sostenibile» (*finance for sustainable development*) broadens the context to include global social and economic issues. From a morpho-syntactic viewpoint, the use of «per dare ulteriori strumenti» (*to provide further tools*) emphasises a functional relationship, wherein finance is presented to expand the operational capacity for climate intervention. The construction «così come, insieme agli amici tedeschi» (*as well as, together with German friends*) introduces a collaborative dimension, reinforcing the discourse on the importance of international partnerships.

The frequent and specific use of *finanza* in the speeches of Meloni and Galletti identifies nature not as an independent entity but as a system to be supported and safeguarded through economic interventions. Nature is treated as a component of a broader ecosystem dominated by financial structures and human economic policies. Specifically, Galletti employs the word *finanza* in a context that tightly links economic support to climate action and sustainable development. He emphasizes creating financial infrastructures and distributing resources to developing countries. Expressions like «finanza per il clima» (*climate finance*) and «finanza per lo sviluppo sostenibile» (*finance for sustainable development*) reveal an approach that integrates sustainability within a multilateral economic framework. However, nature is portrayed as a vulnerable reality to be protected through fund mobilisation. The establishment of green financial centres and the allocation of 7 million euros highlight that Galletti's approach is heavily focused on financial and organisational solutions.

On the other hand, Meloni further layers the economic dimension over sustainability, with intensive use of the term *finanza*. Phrases such as *climate finance* and *financial support* delineate a framework in which sustainability is subordinate to the success of financial mechanisms and strategic investments. The emphasis on percentages and distributions (such as *56 percent devoted to adaptation*) reinforces a perspective where nature is conceived as an element to be managed rationally and integrated into global economic policies. This systematic financial language reduces nature to a functional entity, reliant on human resources and tools for its preservation.

In their speeches, beyond words, metaphors such as *high stakes* in climate finance (Meloni) are notable. Prestigiacomo's metaphorical language underscores economic urgency. In the phrase «Humanity is playing for high stakes here, we can't afford to fail again», the metaphor *high stakes*, borrowed from gambling terminology, suggests that the climate crisis presents an existential challenge with irreversible consequences. The addition «we can't afford to fail again» creates an emphatic construction where the negation strengthens the inevitability of action.

Prestigiacomo's discourse further highlights concreteness with the use of *concreteness*, emphasizing realistic and tangible climate policies. Such lexical choices align with the idea of avoiding empty and unattainable promises, reinforcing a narrative of responsibility and pragmatism. The inclusion of «undeniable progress in some key areas» contributes to an optimistic narrative that balances urgency with a positive outlook, showcasing that, albeit limited, progress has already been made and can be further developed.

A pivotal aspect of Prestigiacomo's speech is the integration of economic and environmental considerations. Phrases like «a mechanism for the dissemination and transfer of those new technologies that are so important not only to decarbonize our respective economies but also to foster a sustainable social and economic growth» illustrate how decarbonization is positioned not as an obstacle but as an opportunity to stimulate economic growth. Lexically, terms like *dissemination* and *transfer* highlight the importance of international cooperation and technological innovation, while *foster* introduces a proactive element linking climate action to social and economic improvement. Morpho-syntactically, the construction «not only [...] but also» reinforces the idea that environmental sustainability and economic development are complementary and interconnected objectives.

In the end, lexically and morpho-syntactically analysed, Prestigiacomo and other politicians construct a narrative oscillating between pragmatism and urgency, inevitably anchored in an overly anthropocentric perspective; hence, the environment is considered merely a resource to be managed for the global community's benefit.

5.2 Meso Level of Analysis

At this level, discursive practices have been analysed, highlighting how politicians, as members of political parties, contribute to defining, consolidating, and disseminating specific interpretative frames (see 3.8). In this way, speeches are not viewed as isolated elements but rather as products of an institutional framework that influences their audience, shaping and steering public opinion.

5.2.1 Frame: *Sustainability and Climate Policies*

The discursive and persuasive strategies adopted by Minister Stefania Prestigiacomo and other politicians within the corpus reveal a carefully crafted rhetoric aimed at consolidating a frame of sustainability and shared climate policies. A meso-level analysis highlights key mechanisms such as the use of rhetorical devices like anaphora, tautologies, and polarisation, alongside persuasive metaphors and diplomatic rhetoric characteristic of *langue de bois* and *cotton language*.

One of the primary features evident in Prestigiacomo's speech is the systematic use of repetition, which helps to establish thematic coherence and reinforce the central concepts of the frame. Terms such as *agreement*, *commitment*, and *cooperation* recur frequently, forming semantic pillars around which the entire speech revolves. For instance, the sentence, «We must all leave Cancun with the overarching architecture of a partially defined agreement that we'll

be committed to sign next year in South Africa», is particularly significant. Here, the repetition of *agreement* and *commitment* strengthens the notion of inevitable global consensus. The cumulative structure of the sentence contributes to a sense of progression and necessity. This discursive strategy, which can be interpreted as a form of thematic anaphora, makes the message more memorable and reinforces the perception of shared and unavoidable action.

Repetition is also employed by Mario Draghi, notably through the expression *we must*, which functions as rhetorical anaphora – a stylistic device that amplifies the perception of a shared and unavoidable commitment. For example, in the statement, «We must limit the rise in global temperature to 1.5 degrees for the first time and committed to achieving zero emissions by or around mid-century», Draghi sets a clear and concrete goal, using *we must* to underscore the imperative nature of the action. This rhetorical device is further extended to subsequent contexts, such as «We must strengthen our efforts in the realm of climate finance», where repetition highlights the necessity of greater engagement and cooperation at the financial level. Linguistically, *we must* functions not only as a stylistic device but also as a modal marker, signifying obligation and necessity. This usage positions Draghi's discourse on an ethical and collective plane, assigning moral responsibility to governments and international actors in combating climate change. However, this repetition is accompanied by a degree of vagueness, as *we must* often lacks operational details, leaving implicit how these objectives are to be achieved. For instance, in the sentence, «We must involve them, listen to them, and above all, learn from them», the reference to young people and their centrality remains abstract, without concrete indications of how this inclusivity might be translated into tangible actions.

Another significant aspect is that the repetition of *we must* not only reinforces key concepts but also helps construct a narrative of urgency and determination. The sentence, «This COP26 must be the start of new momentum, a quantum leap in our fight against climate change», employs repetition to stress the necessity of a new beginning while evoking a historic turning point. The addition of expressions such as *quantum leap* amplifies the emphasis on the epochal significance of the moment, framing COP26 as a watershed event in the fight against climate change.

The repetition of *we must* intertwines with another discursive strategy: the use of collective and inclusive imagery, which strengthens the sense of shared responsibility. Statements such as «We must bring together the public and private sectors in new ways» and «We must involve them, listen to them, and above all, learn from them» construct an image of a global community acting concertedly to address common challenges. This inclusive approach is further reinforced

by the use of the personal pronoun *we*, which transcends national boundaries to encompass a wide range of actors, from international financial institutions to young activists.

As analysed, the choice of the pronoun *we* in political speeches, including those of Mario Draghi, reflects a discursive strategy aimed at emphasizing collectivity and shared responsibility. This usage is also evident in the speeches of Prestigiacomo, Galletti, Meloni, and other politicians, where the systematic adoption of *we* almost entirely replaces *I* or *you*. This lexical choice is not incidental but is deliberately intended to construct an inclusive narrative in which political actions are presented as the result of collective will rather than individual initiatives.

The use of *we* serves to mask the implicit hierarchies within decision-making processes, shifting attention from individual leaders to institutions or the global community. In climate discourse, this pronoun particularly aims to involve all actors – governments, citizens, international organisations, and businesses – in a shared sustainability project. However, this construction can be problematic as it tends to dilute individual or specific power group responsibilities, portraying climate change as a challenge affecting everyone equally. In reality, there are significant inequalities in emission contributions and mitigation capacities, which discourse centred around *we* often fails to directly address.

Galletti, too, makes notable use of repetition, particularly the construct *we need*. Similar to Draghi's use of *we must* in his speeches, this phrase aims to reinforce the sense of urgency and collective action. However, in Galletti's case, *we need* assumes a slightly different role, focusing not only on the necessity to act but also on defining specific priorities and a shared strategy to achieve climate goals. The repetition of *we need* three times in the context of his COP20 speech underscores the importance of clarity in negotiation processes and multilateral consensus as tools to ensure the success of the 2015 Paris Conference.

In the statement, «Firstly, we need a Party owned, more mature and balanced version of the draft text of the agreement that we are to adopt in Paris», Galletti uses *we need* to emphasise the urgency of revising the draft agreement, stressing qualities such as maturity and balance. The choice of the adjective *Party owned* evokes a rhetoric of inclusiveness and collective participation, suggesting that the agreement should be perceived as representative and legitimate by all parties involved. The repetition of *we need* at the start of sentences creates a rhythmic cadence that guides the listener through the key points of the speech, constructing a logical and easily memorable argumentative structure.

The second occurrence, «Secondly, we need clarity on the information required to ensure that Parties' proposed contributions are transparent and understandable», strengthens the focus on transparency and mutual understanding. Here, *we need* introduces a technical but essential requirement – the definition of clear criteria for the proposals of participating countries. The use of the verb *ensure* implies a commitment to creating conditions conducive to open and verifiable dialogue, reducing the risk of ambiguity or conflict. Additionally, terms such as *clarity* and *transparent* evoke values like honesty and accountability, central to the *Sustainability and Climate Policies* frame.

The final iteration, «Last but certainly not least, we need to reach an agreement on how we can continue to further work together to enhance mitigation ambition before 2020», shifts attention to a more operational goal, namely reaching a concrete agreement to heighten mitigation efforts. Here, *we need* acts as a connector linking the preceding discourse to future action, underscoring the necessity of continuous and collective commitment. The expression «to further work together» once again invokes the idea of global collaboration, while *enhance mitigation ambition* introduces technical language that, while urgent in tone, remains relatively abstract and open to varying interpretations.

The insistence on *we* and *need* appears to mask the complexity of underlying power dynamics, avoiding direct engagement with unequal responsibilities between developed and developing countries. While Draghi employs *we must* to evoke a moral and historical necessity, Galletti adopts *we need* with a more pragmatic, almost administrative focus, centred on the negotiation process and the implementation of operational strategies. Both, however, rely on language that avoids overly specific references, maintaining discourse within a consensual and potentially inclusive framework, albeit at the risk of vagueness and ambiguity. The rhetorical construction that emerges ultimately reinforces a vision of climate change as a matter of global governance. In the context of the Italian speeches by Renzi and Galletti, the systematic use of terms and repeated structures, such as *siamo* (we are) and *abbiamo* (we have) combined with participles, as well as keywords like *oggi* (today) and *accordo* (agreement), highlights a linguistic strategy aimed at reinforcing the sense of collectivity and shared action. This lexical and syntactic repetitiveness contributes to creating a narrative that emphasises responsibility and Italy's role in a global context.

In Renzi's speech, the term *oggi* (today) is particularly significant, recurring three times at strategic points to underscore the urgency of action. The repetition appears in three distinct semantic contexts: «Oggi una risposta globale, collettiva ed efficace» (*Today, a global,*

collective, and effective response), «Oggi è tempo di agire» (*Today, it is time to act*), and «Oggi sono innanzitutto degli economisti che ci dicono che è il momento di fare la nostra parte» (*Today, it is primarily economists who tell us it is time to do our part*). This discursive construction situates political action in a critical temporal moment, drawing the audience's attention to the need not to delay crucial decisions. The persistent use of *oggi* creates a tension between the present and the future, with an implicit warning about the consequences of inaction: «Pagheranno i nostri nipoti, forse addirittura i nostri figli» (*Our grandchildren, or even our children, may pay the price*).

Similarly, Renzi employs the verbs *siamo* and *abbiamo* to build a narrative that highlights Italy's achievements and future contributions in climate policies. The statement «Siamo all'avanguardia in tanti settori della green economy» (*We are at the forefront in many sectors of the green economy*) places Italy in a leadership position, while «Abbiamo il 43 per cento di energie rinnovabili nella produzione elettrica» (*We have 43 per cent of renewable energy in electricity production*) reinforces this image with specific data. This approach not only enhances Italy's role but also creates a sense of national confidence and competence, contrasting with the urgency represented by *oggi*. The alternation between expressions of urgency and declarations of success constructs a rhetorical dynamic that engages the audience, prompting them to view climate change as a manageable challenge if the right strategies and the right political party continue to be supported.

In Galletti's speeches, the term *accordo* (agreement) takes centre stage, repeatedly referencing the Paris Agreement as a symbolic and operational benchmark. The repetition of *accordo* in phrases such as «Abbiamo forgiato un Accordo che rappresenta una fonte di ispirazione» (*We have forged an Agreement that represents a source of inspiration*) and «La strada che abbiamo scelto a Parigi» (*The path we chose in Paris*) links Italian policies to an international framework, highlighting the importance of collective, multi-level commitment. The use of the past participle *forgiato* (forged) in relation to the agreement evokes an image of solidity and craftsmanship, suggesting that Italy played an active and decisive role in shaping the future of global climate policies. This language contributes to constructing a narrative in which Italy emerges as a key player capable of connecting environmental challenges with global economic and social dynamics.

In both speeches, the pronoun *noi* (we) and collective verbal forms such as *siamo chiamati* (we are called) or *abbiamo intrapreso* (we have undertaken) reinforce the image of a national community acting in unison. However, this narrative construction often obscures the

complexities and inequalities that characterise the international dynamics of climate change. For example, in Galletti's 2017 speech, the statement «Siamo chiamati a portare avanti quel lavoro che abbiamo iniziato a Parigi» (*We are called to carry forward the work we began in Paris*) suggests temporal continuity and linear commitment but avoids addressing the specific challenges hindering the full implementation of the Paris Agreement.

The repetition of the verb *abbiamo* (we have) is particularly significant in the speeches of both politicians. In Galletti's case, «Abbiamo adottato a New York una serie di obiettivi di sviluppo sostenibile» (*We have adopted a series of sustainable development goals in New York*) and «Abbiamo riaffermato l'esigenza di connettere l'attuazione dell'Agenda 2030» (*We have reaffirmed the need to connect the implementation of Agenda 2030*) emphasise Italy's proactive role in global initiatives. This lexical pattern constructs an image of continuity and coherence, presenting Italy as a country that not only participates but leads in climate and social policies. However, the repetition of these verbs and the insistence on *abbiamo* and *siamo* risk diluting the focus on concrete actions and measurable outcomes, keeping the discourse predominantly celebratory.

The use of the present tense in the speeches, particularly in verbs like *siamo* and *abbiamo*, signals a current and immediate commitment while avoiding references to past failures or future difficulties. This temporal choice reinforces the image of an Italy actively engaged and already partially successful in the fight against climate change, without delving into the systemic challenges that could impede the achievement of declared goals.

Regarding the *langue de bois* (or wooden language), numerous examples can be found in Corrado Clini's 2011 speech. For instance, phrases such as *a fair, balanced, credible, and global climate change regime* are rhetorically well-constructed but lack clear and specific operational content. Here, Clini relies on formal language that avoids delving into the details of how such commitments could be implemented. This kind of language reflects one of the characteristics of the *langue de bois* identified by Françoise Thom (1987): abstraction and avoidance of the concrete. General expressions offer few tangible details on how the stated goals will be achieved. The use of terms such as *fair* and *balanced* contributes to creating a consensual atmosphere but simultaneously avoids specifying how fairness and balance should be achieved, leaving room for ambiguous interpretations.

Tautologies such as «balanced and fair commitments» recur throughout the speech, repeating similar concepts without adding operational detail. This lexical redundancy, characteristic of the *langue de bois*, serves to convey a sense of agreement and consensus while failing to provide

concrete elements about the intended course of action. Clini employs such formulations to maintain a level of diplomacy that appeals to all parties without delving into technical details that could provoke disagreement.

Vagueness is another recurrent strategy in the speeches of Prestigiacomo and other politicians. It is used to focus on broad, inclusive objectives while avoiding the specifics of policy measures. Expressions such as *sustainable development*, *emissions reduction*, and *low carbon development option* evoke universally positive and agreeable concepts but allow for multiple interpretations. For example, in the statement, «Our future agreement must also incorporate the low carbon development option for developing countries», the term *low carbon development* suggests a balance between sustainability and economic progress. However, the term remains ambiguous, as it does not specify which technologies or strategies will be employed to achieve this goal. This ambiguity keeps the discourse within a consensual framework, avoiding controversies that might arise from more detailed or divisive proposals.

The term *emissions* also conveys a sense of vagueness, appearing frequently in speeches by Clini (2011 and 2012), Orlando, Draghi, and Meloni. Although the term is technically defined within the context of climate policies, it is employed in a way that keeps the discourse broad and agreeable, avoiding specific operational measures for reducing emissions. For instance, when Clini states, «emission reduction will not focus only on existing technologies but also on the promotion of new technologies towards the decarbonization of our economies», the term *emission reduction* is embedded in a narrative that invokes technological innovation and economic progress. Yet, it avoids specifying which industrial sectors or policies should be prioritised to achieve these goals.

Similarly, in Orlando's statement, «we must cut harmful emissions cost-efficiently and cost-effectively decarbonize our economies», the term *emissions* is paired with adjectives such as *cost-efficiently* and *cost-effectively*. This shifts the focus to economic efficiency, sidestepping a direct confrontation with the sacrifices or structural changes required. Here, ambiguity is both semantic and pragmatic: the discourse avoids addressing the political and social complexities of ecological transition, instead emphasising a conflict-free vision of progress.

Draghi's speech demonstrates similar vagueness in the use of *emissions* as part of a narrative that underscores international consensus while avoiding specific national responsibilities. The phrase, «we must limit the rise in global temperature to 1.5 degrees for the first time and committed to achieving zero emissions by or around mid-century», highlights a global commitment. However, the expression *zero emissions* remains deliberately vague, refraining

from defining how or through which mechanisms this objective will be achieved. This linguistic construction allows for an inclusive rhetoric while avoiding highlighting inequalities in global emissions contributions or differentiated responsibilities between developed and developing nations.

Meloni, on the other hand, employs the term *emissions* in a similar context but with a tone that emphasises the contrast between nations committed to emissions reductions and those perceived as less responsible. In the statement, «we cannot hide the fact that the nations that are most committed to these goals risk paying a price to the advantage of those that today are mostly responsible for CO₂ emissions on the planet», the term *emissions* is used to construct a moral dichotomy between virtuous nations and delinquent ones. Nevertheless, the term remains ambiguous, avoiding details of the specific measures Italy or the European Union intends to adopt to achieve climate targets.

This vagueness in the use of the term *emissions* is closely tied to the strategic repetition of the term itself. In the speeches analysed, repetition serves to reinforce the thematic focus on climate change and the need for urgent action. However, it simultaneously diverts attention from operational details. In other words, repetition creates a discursive framework that appears cohesive and focused but remains open to multiple interpretations. Thus, it remains vague, abstract, and ultimately elusive. This approach facilitates broad and transversal consensus, avoiding positions that might prove divisive or polarising.

A significant example can be found in Clini's speech, where the expression *emission reduction* recurs multiple times, often associated with concepts such as *cooperation* and *green economy* (linked to the second frame). The phrase, «we need a strategy for long-term technology innovation so that emission reduction will not focus only on existing technologies», repeats the term *emission* to underscore the centrality of the issue without directly addressing the operational modalities or associated costs. This rhetorical use of repetition further reinforces the notion of a shared commitment while avoiding in-depth consideration of the practical implications of political choices.

Orlando adopts a similar strategy, combining the repetition of the term *emissions* with language that persistently but vaguely emphasises economic efficiency and compatibility. The statement, «we must cut harmful emissions cost-efficiently and cost-effectively decarbonize our economies», uses the term *emissions* to anchor the discourse to the sustainability frame. However, repetition also serves to avoid discussing the political and social costs of ecological

transition. Here, repetition functions as a textual cohesion device, reinforcing the narrative without adding substantive content.

In Draghi's speech, the repetition of the term *emissions* is particularly evident in the context of global discussions. The statement, «the G20 accounts for around 75 percent of global greenhouse gas emissions», uses the term to connect Italy's commitment to an international perspective. Yet, the repetition also serves to dilute Italy's specific responsibility within a broader framework. This approach emphasises the country's role in a multilateral context while avoiding addressing the specificities of national policies.

Ultimately, Meloni uses the term *emissions* to construct a contrast between the most committed and the less responsible nations. The statement, «*we cannot hide the fact that the nations that are most committed to these goals risk paying a price to the advantage of those that today are mostly responsible for CO₂ emissions*», employs the term *emissions* to highlight a dynamic of inequality. Yet, it avoids detailing how Italy plans to address these asymmetries within the context of climate policies. Once again, the repetition of the term reinforces the thematic coherence of the discourse while maintaining a degree of operational vagueness.

A central feature of the discourse is the use of metaphors (previously analysed in sub-section 5.1), which serve to render complex concepts more tangible and accessible. For instance, the metaphor of *architecture* in the phrase «the overarching architecture of a partially defined agreement» is particularly effective in portraying the climate agreement as a collective and progressive construction. This image suggests a solid yet incomplete structure requiring the contributions of all parties to be finalised. Similarly, the expression *quantum leap* in the opening of Prestigiacomo's speech and Draghi's discourse evokes an image of sudden and significant progress, lending the speech a tone of optimism and urgency.

In Galletti's speech, another noteworthy metaphor appears in the phrase «the road to Paris starts here in Lima». This serves as a powerful spatial metaphor, highlighting a linear and progressive journey towards a defined goal, fostering a sense of continuity and connection between the two events. This metaphor effectively consolidates the perception of a shared and ongoing commitment towards a common, well-defined objective, with an emphasis on continuous collaboration.

Meloni's speech also features two significant metaphors related to the frame under discussion. The metaphor of a *common home* invokes a familiar and accessible image, reinforcing the concept of shared belonging to the Earth and the collective responsibility to protect it. This metaphor suggests that the climate issue is, at its core, a domestic and personal matter, evoking

a sense of care and responsibility for the environment. Another compelling metaphor is *two sides of the same coin*, used to describe the relationship between mitigation and adaptation. This visual analogy conveys the idea that both measures are complementary and indispensable, addressing different aspects of the same climate challenge. The metaphor underscores that mitigation and adaptation are part of an integrated strategy requiring collaboration among the parties involved.

From a rhetorical perspective, Prestigiacomo frequently employs expressions that evoke emotions and urgency, such as in the phrase, «Humanity is playing for high stakes here, we can't afford to fail again». This hyperbole, framing climate change as an existential challenge, aims to capture the audience's attention and create a sense of collective responsibility. The pathos generated by such expressions is further reinforced by terms like *shared commitments* and *global agreement*, which emphasise the need for international cooperation. However, this emphasis on cooperation is often accompanied by *langue de bois*, characterised by vague and formal expressions that avoid directly addressing complex issues. Phrases such as «We must all show a common commitment towards a common goal» are typical examples of this language. While evoking universal values like justice and equity, they lack concrete and operational details. Other politicians adopt a similar approach, focusing on collective actions (as noted in the analysis of the pronoun *we*).

Another interesting aspect to analyse is how nature is represented in the discourse. While terms like *sustainability* and *climate* are central, the environment is often subordinated to economic and political objectives. For instance, in Prestigiacomo's statement, «not only to decarbonize our respective economies but also to foster a sustainable social and economic growth», nature is presented as a means to achieve economic and social growth rather than as an intrinsic value to be protected. This instrumental perspective aligns with the frequent use of terms like *development* and *technologies*, which closely link environmental sustainability to strategies for economic growth and innovation. While this narrative can be interpreted as an attempt to integrate the environment into economic policies, it raises questions about the extent to which the discourse truly promotes an autonomous ecological vision, independent of economic priorities.

Finally, polarisation emerges as a strategy to reinforce collective identity and create divisions. The phrase, «I am sure that nobody will back down from a solution that foresees balanced and shared commitments for all, and I say ALL, the countries», constructs an implicit dichotomy between nations committed to sustainability and those that are not. This type of rhetoric,

dividing the world into virtuous and non-virtuous actors, contributes to a heightened sense of urgency and collective responsibility. However, it risks oversimplifying complex issues. At the same time, Prestigiacomo employs inclusive and diplomatic language, as seen in the statement, «We have tried our best to facilitate dialogue and to reconcile different positions», which seeks to project a positive and cooperative image of Italy on the international stage.

This analysis of discursive and persuasive strategies reveals, once again, how the environment is represented not as an intrinsic entity but as a means to pursue political and economic objectives. As will be explored in the next sub-section, this highlights a persistent tension between ecological rhetoric and political pragmatism.

5.2.2 Frame: *Economic and Financial Strategies*

A recurrent element, also observed in the frame *Sustainability and Climate Policies*, is the use of repetition and tautology to reinforce key concepts. Terms such as *commitment*, *finance*, and *resources* are repeated throughout Prestigiacomo's speech in various contexts to create thematic coherence. For instance, in the sentence «Italy has firstly fulfilling its commitment within the fast start finance», the repetition of *commitment* and *finance* underscores Italy's dedication to meeting financial goals. The cumulative structure of the sentence suggests a continuous and progressive process. This rhetorical strategy not only strengthens the impression of consistency and reliability but also portrays Italy as a key player on the international stage. However, while repetition is effective persuasively, it is also susceptible to criticism for lacking specific details – a hallmark of *langue de bois*. Similar expressions are used by other politicians.

The repetition of terms like *economy* and *economic* in the speeches of Stefania Prestigiacomo, Corrado Clini, and Andrea Orlando plays a significant role in reinforcing the core concepts of the *Economic and Financial Strategies* frame. In Prestigiacomo's speech, *economy* is repeated twice, both in contexts linking ecological transition to economic growth. For example, in the phrase «not only to decarbonize our respective economies but also to foster a sustainable social and economic growth», the repetition highlights the dual objectives of decarbonisation and development. This reiteration creates a sense of strategic balance, presenting the economy as not merely compatible with sustainability but as a driving force behind it. However, the use of generic terms like *sustainable growth* introduces vagueness, avoiding operational specifics and reinforcing a *langue de bois* aimed at broad consensus.

Clini amplifies the use of *economy* in his speeches, positioning ecological transition as integral to global economic renewal. In his 2011 speech, the term appears five times, often associated with concepts such as *green economy* and *low-carbon growth*. For instance, the phrase «the

transition towards a green economy» articulates an optimistic vision of the future where sustainability is not a limitation but an opportunity to innovate economic systems. The repetition constructs a dichotomy between the past – represented by *high-carbon systems* – and the future, symbolised by *low-carbon growth*. This contrast, reinforced by reiteration, renders the ecological transition not only inevitable but desirable.

In his 2012 speech, Clini uses *economy* three times, this time to emphasise the need for an economic strategy supporting climate transition. For example, in the statement «Italy is enhancing its strategy to put its economy on a low-carbon pathway», the repetition of the term across different contexts highlights Italy's national commitment, positioning it as a leader in transitioning to a sustainable economic model. The repeated use of *economy* is accompanied by adjectives such as *low-carbon*, reinforcing the association between economic innovation and environmental sustainability.

Andrea Orlando employs *economy* three times, focusing on the complementarity between economic growth and sustainability. In the phrase «building a competitive economy while tackling climate change is one of the most pressing challenges», the repetition of *economy* underscores the idea that economic development and climate action are not conflicting goals. Here, repetition serves as a rhetorical tool to counter the perception that sustainability imposes costs on the economy, instead framing it as an opportunity to enhance competitiveness.

In Giorgia Meloni's speech, the repetition of economic terminology is evident in phrases such as *financial commitment*, *green growth*, and *Just Energy Transition Partnership*, which highlight the importance of structured, long-term investments to support energy transition. The term *finance* appears multiple times in key contexts: *climate finance*, *financial commitment*, *investment platform*, and *financial resources*. This lexicon underscores the critical role of planning and financial support in combating climate change. For example, «Italy has also significantly increased its contribution to climate finance» and «We have almost tripled our financial commitment to 1.4 billion dollars» demonstrate the strategic use of repetition to emphasise Italy's commitment. This rhetorical strategy positions the country as a proactive and responsible leader in managing financial resources for climate action.

The concept of *green growth* represents a significant thematic repetition, used to underscore the connection between economic development and environmental sustainability. The phrase «This will stimulate green growth, job creation, and the development of sustainable value chains» illustrates how the economy is portrayed as a positive instrument for promoting sustainability. The repetition of related ideas, such as *job creation* and *development of*

sustainable value chains, reinforces the notion that economic growth can align with environmental protection.

Another notable repetition involves «transition» and «just energy transition». These terms appear in statements like «We intend to pursue a just transition to support the affected communities and leave no one behind» and «To do so, we must bring together governments, private investors, and multilateral development banks to co-share investments and risks to accelerate a just energy transition». This repetition reinforces the idea that energy transition must be equitable and inclusive, highlighting the importance of global and cross-sector collaboration.

The term *commitment* recurs throughout the discourse, underscoring the importance of financial and political dedication. Expressions such as «our financial commitment to 1.4 billion dollars» and «our commitment to protecting the environment as part of our identity» demonstrate how the repetition of *commitment* is used to create coherence and reinforce the perception of responsible leadership.

A relevant example of tautologies can be observed in Corrado Clini's speeches, such as his use of *balanced and fair commitments*. These kinds of phrases recur throughout his discourse, reiterating similar concepts without providing operational details. This lexical redundancy, typical of *langue de bois*, serves to convey a sense of agreement and consensus while avoiding concrete indications of how the objectives will be achieved. Clini employs this strategy to maintain a level of diplomacy that appeals to all parties, without delving into technical specifics that might provoke disagreements.

Moreover, Clini uses poor metaphors, such as *epicenter*. While this term evokes a sense of centrality and importance, it can seem overly forced in the context of climate change discussions. The metaphor fails to clarify the complex dynamics of combating global warming and risks appearing as an excessive simplification.

Another notable characteristic of *langue de bois* in Clini's speech is manichaeism, where issues are presented in a binary manner. Clini sharply contrasts *high-carbon* economic systems with a future *low-carbon* economy. This simplification, although rhetorically effective, reduces the complexity of the debate, framing the transition as a choice between good and evil rather than a gradual and multifaceted process involving numerous economic and social challenges. In this sense, *langue de bois* emerges as a strategy to avoid direct confrontation or disagreement, particularly in a multilateral context where countries have divergent interests. By using abstract

and symbolic language, Clini involves all parties while avoiding the technical details that could cause divisions.

The use of economic metaphors, or those implying economic themes, is another distinctive feature of politicians' speeches at COP conferences. In Stefania Prestigiacomo's speech, as previously discussed, the metaphor «long-term financial architecture» suggests that climate transition must be underpinned by systemic and enduring financial planning. Another metaphor employed by Prestigiacomo, *high stakes*, conjures the image of a high-stakes gamble, reinforcing the notion that climate change is an existential challenge requiring immediate and bold decisions. These expressions shift the audience's focus, accentuating the negative imagery of climate change. Indeed, as noted by Stibbe (2015), the use of negative expressions and negations intensifies associations with negativity.

In Clini's speech, a relevant metaphor is the opposition between «high-carbon global systems» and «low-carbon growth». Here, Clini constructs a dichotomy between the past and the future: high-carbon systems represent an outdated and unsustainable economic model, while low-carbon growth is presented as the economic model of the future. This juxtaposition underscores the necessity for change and offers an optimistic vision of the transition as an opportunity to improve current economic systems. In essence, the message is that economic progress can benefit the environment, making economic interest a positive force.

Similarly, in Orlando's speech, metaphors play a significant role, such as the use of *escape* in the phrase: «it will be like, quoting an Italian saying, - to shut the stable door after the cows escaped». This expression, referring to the Italian proverb «chiudere la stalla quando i buoi sono scappati» (*to close the stable door after the cows have escaped*), effectively conveys the idea that delaying climate action would be futile and disastrous. The metaphor highlights the urgency of taking action before it is too late, creating a strong emotional connection with the audience. Another notable example is Giorgia Meloni's 2022 metaphor, «prosper on its own resources», which evokes an image of economic autonomy and self-sufficiency. This metaphor situates the discourse on climate change within a narrative emphasising the value of independence, both at the national and international levels. The notion of *prospering* evokes positive and sustainable economic growth, while *on its own resources* underscores the crucial role of local resources, as opposed to reliance on external sources. This rhetorical approach is not neutral: it reflects an ideology promoting economic self-sufficiency as a strategic response to global challenges,

implicitly suggesting that managing internal resources could address both environmental and economic issues.

From a linguistic perspective, the metaphor constructs an image of progress grounded in resilience and autonomy. The verb *prosper*, with its strongly positive connotation, conveys growth and success in a way that avoids direct references to specific policies or the economic implications of ecological transition. The addition of «on its own resources» creates a direct link to the sustainability frame while maintaining a degree of vagueness, leaving the boundaries of what constitutes *own resources* undefined. This vagueness allows the metaphor to accommodate multiple interpretations, making it suitable for a broad and diverse political context.

Moreover, this metaphor aligns seamlessly with the ideological discourse of the Italian political right, which often emphasises national sovereignty and independent resource management as core principles. The idea of «prospering on its own resources» is not merely a call to action but also an ideological statement linking environmental sustainability with an economic model that values national autonomy. In a geopolitical context marked by energy crises and instability, this metaphor gains additional relevance, as it can be interpreted as an implicit response to dependency on foreign energy sources. On the one hand, the metaphor promotes a vision of progress that values sustainability and innovation; on the other, it risks reducing the complexity of climate challenges to a matter of local resource management, sidestepping the need for global, collective commitment.

From a rhetorical perspective, these economic metaphors help make abstract concepts, such as financial sustainability, more accessible and understandable to a diverse audience. Consequently, they foster the perception that sustainability aligns with economic interests.

Tautologies represent another recurring element in political speeches, contributing, as highlighted in the preceding subsection, to reinforcing key concepts without necessarily adding substantive content. For instance, in the phrase by Prestigiacomo, «We must all show a common commitment towards a common goal», the repetition of *common* serves to emphasise the idea of unity and global consensus but introduces no new information. This type of rhetorical construction is typical of institutional language, aiming to create a sense of solidarity and inevitability while maintaining a degree of vagueness.

Prestigiacomo's speech, along with those of other ministers, is characterised by the use of *langue de bois*, manifesting through vague and abstract expressions such as «a sustainable flow of action» and «a substantial increase of resources». These terms, while evoking progress and

commitment, avoid providing specific details on how such objectives will be achieved; there is no concrete proposal. For example, in the sentence «A good funding mechanism for adaptation is a prerequisite for an exhaustive development strategy», the term *funding mechanism* remains undefined, leaving open the interpretation of which financial instruments will be implemented. This kind of language, typical of *langue de bois*, allows the discourse to remain within a consensual framework, avoiding potential conflicts or criticism.

Persuasive rhetoric also emerges clearly through the use of *pathos*, rhetorical questions, and hyperbole. Prestigiacomo's statement, «Humanity is playing for high stakes here, we can't afford to fail again», is a clear example of how she employs *pathos* to evoke a sense of urgency and collective responsibility. The image of *high stakes* evokes a game of chance in which failure would have catastrophic consequences. This type of language, combined with the implicit hyperbole in the reference to *humanity*, aims to emotionally engage the audience, urging them to recognise the importance of immediate action. However, the use of *pathos* is balanced by technical and formal language, which lends the speech an authoritative tone, typical of *langue de bois*.

Regarding speeches in Italian, a particularly relevant example is offered by Matteo Renzi, whose rhetoric is distinguished by his effective use of *pathos* and evocative imagery designed to emotionally engage the audience and highlight the urgency of climate issues. The phrase «Oggi una risposta globale, collettiva ed efficace non sta fallendo soltanto la nostra generazione; sta fallendo un intero sistema di sviluppo. Pagheranno i nostri nipoti, forse addirittura i nostri figli» (*Today, a global, collective, and effective response is not only failing our generation; it is failing an entire development system. Our grandchildren, perhaps even our children, will pay the price*) is paradigmatic. Renzi constructs an image of systemic crisis, amplified by the use of terms such as *fallendo* (failing) and the repetition of the concept of *generation*, which underscores the temporal continuity of the problem and its impact on multiple levels. The hyperbole, «our grandchildren, perhaps even our children», further intensifies the sense of urgency, shifting the focus from abstract implications to personal and immediate ones, making the climate crisis both a collective and a familial concern.

The use of the pronoun *noi* (we) in the sentence «Vi porto la voce di un Paese, l'Italia, che ha le carte in regola» (*I bring you the voice of a country, Italy, that is ready and qualified*) is another key element of Renzi's speech. The pronoun includes the audience in a cohesive national community, reinforcing a sense of collective identity. The metaphor «ha le carte in regola» (*is ready and qualified*) evokes an image of legitimacy and competence, positioning

Italy as a virtuous example on the international stage. This language not only builds authority but also conveys a sense of national pride, strengthening the country's commitment to combating climate change.

In the phrase «E allora, noi, care amiche e cari amici, abbiamo una grande responsabilità: siamo chiamati a disegnare il futuro del mondo tutti insieme. È un grande privilegio allestire la scena in cui i nostri figli e le nostre figlie vedranno la loro vita» (*So, we, dear friends, have a great responsibility: we are called to shape the future of the world together. It is a great privilege to set the stage where our sons and daughters will see their lives*), Renzi combines *pathos* and *ethos*, balancing collective responsibility with a sense of privilege. The expression *grande responsabilità* (great responsibility) evokes an ethical and moral dimension, while *disegnare il futuro del mondo* (shape the future of the world) employs a visual metaphor that emphasises planning and control. The repetition of «nostri figli e nostre figlie» (*our sons and daughters*) again highlights the intergenerational impact of present actions, while the theatrical image of «allestire la scena» (*setting the stage*) evokes a creative and deliberate endeavour, strongly emphasising unity and collaboration.

These rhetorical strategies are not accidental but respond to a precise persuasive intent. The use of familiar and accessible metaphors, combined with language alternating between institutional formality and colloquial expressions such as «care amiche e cari amici» (*dear friends*), allows Renzi to establish a direct relationship with the audience, making the message both inclusive and authoritative. In this context, Renzi's rhetoric stands out for its ability to mobilise the public through a balance between emotion and rationality.

Within the speeches of Prestigiacomo, as well as those of Clini (2012) and Meloni (2023), clear elements of *cotton language* emerge. This rhetorical strategy favours soft and diplomatic language, avoiding direct engagement with divisive issues or assigning precise responsibilities. This technique is particularly evident in Clini's statement, «We are ready to do our part». While the assertion communicates willingness and commitment, it does not specify which concrete actions will be undertaken, leaving room for multiple interpretations. This vagueness allows the discourse to remain within a consensual framework, avoiding direct criticism or the risk of alienating stakeholders with divergent interests.

Clini (2012) adopts an inclusive and reassuring tone that contributes to constructing an image of global cooperation. However, this tone can also be interpreted as a strategy to minimise Italy's responsibilities or evade operational details. Phrases such as «the transition should end with a legally binding framework, including education commitments» reinforce this ambiguity:

while they emphasise the importance of binding regulatory frameworks, they do not clearly delineate Italy's role in achieving these objectives. This use of *cotton language* not only reduces the risk of polarisation but also creates a diplomatic discourse suited to the multilateral context of COP conferences, where consensus among nations with often conflicting priorities is paramount.

Similarly, Meloni's speech (2023) reveals rhetorical awareness oriented towards balancing expectations without compromising strategic relationships. A significant example is the phrase «adequate risorse devono ovviamente essere dedicate» (*adequate resources must, of course, be allocated*). The use of *adequate risorse* (adequate resources) implies the necessity of financial commitment but avoids specifying the extent or origin of these resources, maintaining neutrality that prevents conflicts with more powerful nations or those with divergent economic interests. Moreover, Meloni refrains from openly criticising nations most responsible for emissions, such as the United States or China, instead adopting language that emphasises the importance of collective cooperation.

The sentence «We must bring together governments, private investors, and multilateral development banks to co-share investments and risks to accelerate a just energy transition» is particularly significant in this context. Although it stresses the urgency of a just energy transition, the language remains deliberately vague regarding individual responsibilities, focusing instead on the idea of shared effort. This strategy not only avoids accusations of imbalance but also positions Italy as a facilitator capable of promoting dialogue and inclusion rather than a dominant or polarising actor. This rhetorical strategy is particularly effective in a multilateral context such as COP conferences, where the need to avoid tensions among stakeholders is critical.

In this framework of apparent inclusivity, a different rhetorical approach emerges clearly in Prestigiacomo's speech, particularly through the implicit dichotomy she introduces between countries actively engaging in the fight against climate change and those remaining indifferent or inert. The statement, «In order for this global commitment to be really effective, China and the USA must be part of the picture», positions these two countries as indispensable actors whose participation is described as crucial to the success of global efforts. While this approach may initially appear inclusive, the explicit appeal to China and the USA, coupled with the repeated use of the term *commitments*, subtly shifts the greater responsibilities onto these nations. This creates an implicit hierarchy that contrasts with the apparent horizontality of the preceding discourse.

Another significant element is the emphasis on economic and strategic values, which is evident in terms such as *finance*, *resources*, and *investments*. For instance, Prestigiacomo's phrase, «the establishment of a mechanism for the dissemination and transfer of those new technologies that are so important not only to decarbonize our respective economies but also to foster a sustainable social and economic growth», highlights how environmental sustainability is closely tied to economic growth. Here, nature is not represented as an intrinsic value but rather as a means to achieve broader economic and social goals. This approach, characteristic of the Economic and Financial Strategies frame, reflects an instrumental view of the environment, where sustainability is subordinate to the logic of progress and innovation.

From the perspective of international partnerships, Prestigiacomo, like other politicians, emphasises the importance of global cooperation on economic issues through expressions such as «a solution strongly supported and promoted by the industrialized world». This type of language, as previously noted, underscores the leadership role of industrialised countries while also reinforcing the idea of shared responsibility. However, it maintains a focus on power dynamics that privilege advanced economies. The use of terms like *mechanism* and *framework* suggests a highly structured and institutionalised approach, framing climate finance as a matter of international governance.

The formal style and codified nature of the speech are distinctive traits, adopting an institutional linguistic register to confer authority and legitimacy to the message. Technical terms such as *mechanism*, *framework*, and *architecture* are employed to describe complex concepts, emphasising the necessity of systemic and coordinated planning. While this language is accessible to a specialised audience, it risks being distant or incomprehensible to a broader audience, reflecting the inherent tension between the need for technical precision and public engagement.

Finally, the use of numbers and statistics, although limited, contributes to enhancing the authority of the speech. However, these are often general figures rather than specific data, as will be further examined in Chapter 6. For instance, references to figures like *7 million euros* and *2.5 billion euros per year* in the section on funding reinforce the impression of concrete and measurable commitments. Yet, the context in which these figures are presented often remains vague. This rhetorical strategy seeks to balance the vagueness of formal language with an appearance of precision, thereby increasing the credibility of the speech without compromising interpretative flexibility.

COP speeches serve as emblematic examples of how rhetoric constructs an environmental vision closely tied to economic and financial logics. Through discursive and rhetorical strategies, the environment is embedded in a narrative that emphasises its role as a functional resource for human progress and economic development, subordinating its intrinsic value to utility and management logics.

The rhetoric employed by politicians, such as the repetitions used to reinforce the message of shared and necessary commitment, typical of *langue de bois*, creates an effect of inclusivity and consensus. However, it avoids addressing operational issues or delineating precise responsibilities. Ambiguity also emerges in expressions like *low carbon development option*, which suggest a synthesis between economic progress and sustainability while leaving the details of the necessary actions – and the role of nature – undefined.

In summary, at the meso level, these speeches continue to construct an environmental vision that subordinates nature to economic and strategic interests, using rhetoric to promote a narrative of consensus and cooperation. However, this representation risks downplaying the urgency of the environmental crisis, transforming sustainability into a means to ensure economic growth rather than a primary goal. Once again, the environment is portrayed as a resource rather than an entity in its own right.

5.3 Macro Level of Analysis

At this level, the speeches were examined within their socio-cultural and ideological contexts. They reflect and reproduce dominant power structures and worldviews (Wodak, 2001), offering insight into how specific frames may privilege one perspective over others.

5.3.1 Frame: *Sustainability and Climate Policies*

The global financial crisis of 2008 marked a turning point for environmental policies worldwide. This event had a devastating impact on the international socio-economic system, highlighting the interconnectedness of global economies and the internal challenges faced by individual states. Europe, and particularly Italy, grappled not only with an economic crisis but also with employment and social emergencies that placed significant strain on resources allocated to sustainability. In this context, the fight against climate change risked being marginalised in favour of austerity policies and public spending cuts. Nonetheless, some countries, including Italy, sought to support the green economy as a response to economic

difficulties, aiming to combine economic growth with emissions reduction and technological innovation.

Italian political discourse at COP conferences from 2010 to 2016 reflects a tension between the need to invest in environmental initiatives and the economic crisis context. Sustainability was reframed as an opportunity to drive technological innovation and economic competitiveness, treating the environment as a springboard for economic recovery. Climate policies were no longer seen merely as obligations but as necessary adaptations to emerging economic challenges. During this period, political speeches on sustainability increasingly served as vehicles to promote economic transition towards the green market, framing climate change as a challenge that could drive development through innovation.

Another significant historical milestone influencing COP rhetoric was the 2015 Paris Agreement. This landmark international coalition against climate change set ambitious goals, including limiting global temperature increases to below 2°C above pre-industrial levels. However, the negotiations occurred against a backdrop of growing economic and political inequalities between developed and developing nations. Emerging economies such as China and India advocated for differentiated treatment, arguing that developed countries bore historical responsibility for greenhouse gas emissions. This perspective significantly shaped the negotiations and influenced the rhetoric of global solidarity present in speeches by world leaders, including Italian representatives.

In Italy, political discourse sought to reconcile the principles of climate justice with global responsibility. Italian politicians at COP conferences underscored the necessity of collective action while also emphasising that wealthier nations should shoulder greater responsibility in combating climate change. This included transferring financial resources and technologies to developing countries. This approach aimed to position Italy as a key player in global negotiations, committed not only to environmental protection but also to reducing global inequalities through a model of cooperation that recognised existing economic and political disparities.

Climate change was increasingly linked to forced human displacement, driven by conflicts and environmental disasters. As the refugee crisis became a prominent geopolitical issue, Italy, as a frontier country, faced mounting pressure in managing migrant flows. Italian speeches at COP conferences reflected these internal political challenges, intertwining refugee management with environmental policies. Climate change, seen as a key multiplier of geopolitical crises, prompted Italy to adopt a language of international solidarity alongside shared responsibility

for addressing global environmental challenges. Thus, the climate crisis was framed not only as an ecological issue but as a central element of international security and social justice.

Italy played a significant role in climate change negotiations, advocating ambitious emission reduction policies and investing in renewable energy. The country continued promoting the green economy, striving to honour international commitments despite the negative domestic impact of the global economic crisis. Italian governments from 2010 to 2021 faced the challenge of balancing sustainability policies with the need to stimulate economic growth and address public debt. Consequently, COP speeches emphasised the necessity of cooperative international policies to combat climate change while acknowledging the difficulties of implementing effective environmental policies amidst economic recession.

A significant example is Stefania Prestigiacomo's speech at COP16 (2010), which presented sustainability as a collective responsibility shared between developed and vulnerable countries. The minister stressed the importance of international cooperation in addressing deforestation and global climate challenges, advocating an approach that linked environmental protection to social justice, particularly the defence of indigenous populations.

The historical context of 2010, as previously mentioned, was dominated by growing global awareness of the climate crisis and the economic-financial crisis, profoundly influencing the content and tone of speeches. It is unsurprising, then, that Prestigiacomo emphasised the need to build an *overarching architecture* to address climate challenges, using language that underscored the centrality of a collaborative and consensual approach. Terms such as *shared commitments* and *common goal* reflect an attempt to position Italy as an international mediator capable of fostering dialogue among parties without asserting autonomous leadership. This aligns with a broader ideological framework in which industrialised nations seek to safeguard their economic interests while avoiding binding commitments that could undermine their competitiveness.

Concepts such as *sustainable development* and *low carbon development* underscore a vision of sustainability that aligns closely with the logic of global capitalism. These expressions, while signalling a commitment to sustainability, avoid questioning the structural foundations of the contemporary economy, offering only incremental solutions. For example, the phrase «Our future agreement must also incorporate the low carbon development option for developing countries» highlights the necessity of including developing countries in the ecological transition process. However, it does so from a perspective that reinforces these nations' dependence on the technologies and resources of industrialised countries. This paternalistic approach, while

presented as a form of support, reproduces the power dynamics characterising the global economic system, assigning the Global North the role of moral and technological leader.

Another central element of the speech is the emphasis on international cooperation, evident in repeated references to *shared commitments* and *global commitment*. However, this consensual rhetoric is accompanied by a vagueness that avoids specifying the concrete responsibilities and commitments of different nations. For example, the statement «We must all leave Cancun with the overarching architecture of a partially defined agreement» highlights the importance of a global agreement, but the qualifier *partially defined* reflects a deliberate strategy to keep the discourse within an inclusive framework, avoiding alienation of potential allies or the generation of conflicts.

From an ideological perspective, Prestigiacomo's speech embodies an anthropocentric view of sustainability, where nature is primarily seen as a resource to be managed responsibly to ensure human well-being and economic stability. This approach is clearly evident in the phrase «to foster a sustainable social and economic growth in the yet too many parts of the world having the right to improve its living standards and conditions». Here, sustainability is not presented as an end in itself but as a means to promote growth and progress. Nature, therefore, is not regarded as an entity inherently worthy of respect but rather as a functional tool for achieving human objectives.

The reference to a «cooperation framework for the fight against deforestation» further illustrates this perspective. While the stated goal is the reduction of global emissions, the mention of «preservation and development of indigenous people» suggests a narrative linking environmental protection to the improvement of human living conditions. This discourse ties environmental protection to social justice, with particular emphasis on defending vulnerable populations, especially indigenous communities. Deforestation is thus framed as an issue not only affecting the global ecosystem but also impacting the living conditions of populations directly dependent on natural resources. Prestigiacomo's approach highlights the inseparability of sustainability from ecological justice: protecting natural resources must go hand in hand with safeguarding human rights. Ecological justice here transcends mere resource management, emphasising that environmental protection must be equitable and accessible to all.

Prestigiacomo's ideology appears deeply rooted in a solidaristic perspective that views sustainability as a shared global responsibility, where developed countries are called upon to support more vulnerable nations, both financially and technologically. In this vision, environmental protection is not merely an ecological matter but a pressing social and economic

necessity that demands collective commitment. Consequently, international cooperation becomes the only practical tool to effectively address global challenges.

Corrado Clini's speech at COP18 (2012) reinforces this vision of sustainability as a collective goal, with international cooperation playing a crucial role in supporting vulnerable countries:

«Italy is committed to continue and strengthen bilateral cooperation — to continue and strengthen the bilateral cooperation with the developing countries, in particular, the Least Developed Countries and the small Pacific Islands, as well as the multilateral programs with the U.N. agencies, and the joint projects already in place on technology innovation in clean energy with China, Brazil, Mexico, Morocco, Indonesia, and Egypt». (COP18, 2012)

In this instance, Italy commits to bolstering cooperation with developing countries, particularly small Pacific Islands, and promotes the transfer of clean technologies as a tool for reducing greenhouse gas emissions. This approach represents a clear application of the concept of climate justice. It is not merely an ecological issue but a global and collective goal where environmental protection must be pursued through international solidarity. Sustainability is thus conceived as a shared responsibility among nations, regardless of their differing economic capacities.

The emphasis on technology and innovation as key tools for addressing the climate crisis represents another fundamental aspect of the discourse. Terms such as «mechanism for the dissemination and transfer of those new technologies» and «low carbon development» underscore an implicit trust in the capacity of scientific progress to solve complex problems without requiring significant changes to production and consumption models. This approach, known as Prometheanism, is typical of ideologies that prioritise technical solutions over structural transformations. However, the focus on technological innovation can also be interpreted as an attempt to avoid more controversial discussions on topics such as consumption reduction or climate justice.

Similar themes emerge in other speeches from COP conferences, highlighting the central role of technology and innovation in the ecological transition. Clini's speech at COP17 (2011) exemplifies how sustainability is framed as a global opportunity to develop new technologies: «Our view on the future of the protocol is clear. It has to represent the transition towards a framework that allows us to strengthen and enlarge cooperation for emission reduction and for accelerating a worldwide transition towards a green economy that, in addition to climate protection, promotes sustainable development and contributes to poverty eradication around the world». (COP17, 2011)

In this passage, Clini emphasises that the green economy should not only be viewed as a response to climate challenges but also as an opportunity for global development, where technology plays a fundamental role in promoting sustainable development and combating poverty. Technological innovation is thus presented as the key to addressing economic and social issues simultaneously. Here, sustainability is not merely an ecological goal but an opportunity to stimulate social progress and improve the living conditions of vulnerable populations.

This approach reflects a progressive ideology seeking to combine social justice with technological innovation, viewing technology as a means to achieve global objectives. The green economy is not just an economic model but a process of global transformation where the environment is seen as a resource to optimise for economic development benefiting all, including vulnerable populations.

Clini's vision of technology aligns closely with conservationist ideology, albeit heavily influenced by neoliberal thinking, which regards technology as a pragmatic solution to the climate crisis. However, it is worth noting that the idea of green technology is not without contradictions: while it facilitates ecological transition, it also risks commodifying the environment, treating sustainability as a functional goal for economic progress and global competitiveness rather than an intrinsic value to be preserved.

The concept of sustainability as a pillar of global equity emerges as a key element in COP speeches, especially in the context of climate justice. Ecological transition must not only ensure environmental well-being but also be balanced and inclusive, taking into account the differing capacities of nations. Gian Luca Galletti's speech at COP22 (2016) clearly expresses this vision of global solidarity and cooperation: «Italy is strongly committed to supporting the construction of the Green Financial Centers Network, to provide further tools for climate finance».

In this statement, Galletti underscores the importance of international financial cooperation and Italy's support for constructing the Green Financial Centers Network as a tool for financing ecological transition in vulnerable countries. Financial cooperation is thus seen as a fundamental mechanism for addressing the climate crisis on a global scale. However, it is equally essential that such cooperation be rooted in the principles of climate justice.

The creation of green financial instruments suggests that sustainability is not solely a concept tied to environmental protection but also to the equitable distribution of resources. This approach is founded on the idea that developed countries bear the responsibility of contributing to the reduction of global inequalities by providing financial resources and technologies to more

vulnerable nations. Here, sustainability is seen not only as an ecological principle but as a moral and social imperative that cannot be separated from social justice.

This perspective reflects an interventionist ideology situated within the framework of social justice, where environmental protection becomes a collective goal supported by policies addressing global inequalities. Sustainability, in this context, is not just an ecological issue but a global right that must be equitably guaranteed to all nations. International solidarity thus becomes a fundamental principle, and environmental protection evolves into an issue of distributive justice, implying a shared global responsibility.

The ideological analysis emerging from these speeches connects to various philosophical currents in environmentalism. The vision proposed by Italian politicians at COP conferences reflects a blend of conservationism, social environmentalism, and neoliberal green economy. On one hand, there is a clear reference to the conservationism of Gifford Pinchot, who advocated for the prudent and sustainable use of natural resources. The idea that sustainability must be scientifically managed to ensure resource availability for future generations aligns with the Italian speeches, where sustainability is viewed as a resource management mechanism to foster economic growth. However, compared to traditional conservationism, the Italian approach integrates market elements, framing sustainability as an economic objective and a means to stimulate global competitiveness.

On the other hand, the emphasis on ecological justice and international solidarity relates to social environmentalism and climate justice, as reflected in the theories of Robert D. Bullard (1990 and 1994) and ecofeminist organisations like the Green Belt Movement. Nevertheless, despite commitments to supporting vulnerable countries, there is not always a direct critique of the neoliberal economic model that, while addressing inequalities, does not challenge the system that perpetuates them.

The green economy, while presented as a solution to climate challenges, risks reducing sustainability to an instrument for economic growth. The environment remains treated as an economic asset to be exploited and optimised for profit maximisation, rather than as an entity to be preserved for its ecological, spiritual, and cultural values.

Another relevant element is how the discourse engages with the geopolitical tensions of the period. Prestigiacomo's statement, «In order for this global commitment to be really effective, China and the USA must be part of the picture», highlights awareness of the power dynamics shaping climate negotiations. However, this appeal to China and the USA also reflects Italy's relatively weak position, presenting itself as a mediator rather than a leader. This approach

aligns with Italy's role within the European Union, where the country often positions itself as a supporter of community policies rather than an independent policy initiator.

From a socio-cultural perspective, the discourse aligns with an Italian context where sustainability is still primarily perceived as a technical and administrative matter rather than an ethical or political one. This is reflected in the use of formal, technocratic language, emphasising terms such as *funding mechanism* and *financial architecture* to convey an image of competence and professionalism. However, this formality may also be interpreted as a strategy to avoid broader debates on the social and cultural implications of the climate crisis. Moreover, the discourse reflects a view of climate change as a challenge manageable through economic and financial tools. The statement «a good funding mechanism for adaptation is a prerequisite for an exhaustive development strategy» illustrates how sustainability is closely interwoven with economic planning and resource management. While pragmatic, this approach risks reducing the complexity of the climate crisis to a series of technical problems, neglecting its social and political dimensions.

Ultimately, Stefania Prestigiacomo's speech at COP16 reflects a socio-cultural and ideological context dominated by a moderate and anthropocentric view of sustainability. While it emphasises international cooperation and technological innovation, it avoids addressing the structural contradictions underpinning the climate crisis. The speech remains within a framework that prioritises maintaining the economic and political status quo. This approach, while attempting to balance economic needs with environmental goals, limits the scope of proposed solutions, leaving many fundamental issues related to climate justice and long-term sustainability unresolved.

5.3.2 Frame: *Economic and Financial Strategies*

In Stefania Prestigiacomo's first speech at COP16, the Economic and Financial Strategies frame is deeply rooted in the socio-cultural and ideological context of Italy and the international landscape of 2010. This historical period was marked by growing awareness of the challenges posed by climate change, coupled with the necessity to balance these priorities against overcoming the global economic crisis that began in 2008. This backdrop profoundly influenced Prestigiacomo's language and thematic choices, which embraced a narrative centred on promoting economic and financial solutions as the primary tools to address the climate crisis. This approach reflects an anthropocentric and neoliberal vision.

In 2010, Italy, under the centre-right government led by Silvio Berlusconi, occupied a complex position on the international stage. While formally committed to multilateral climate processes,

Italy's environmental policies were often subordinated to other priorities, such as economic growth and reducing public debt. This context is evident in Prestigiacomo's speech, where she consistently emphasises the need for financial mechanisms to support climate actions. For example, the statement «A good funding mechanism for adaptation is a prerequisite for an exhaustive development strategy and for the definition of a long-term financial architecture» underscores the importance of a structured and long-term approach. However, it avoids questioning the foundations of the dominant economic system, instead presenting markets and finance as indispensable solutions.

This positioning aligns with what could be termed environmental neoliberalism, where sustainability is integrated into political and economic discourse without significantly altering market logic. The emphasis on financial and technological tools, rather than structural changes or significant resource redistribution, reflects an attempt to adapt the ecological transition to the needs of global capitalism. For instance, the statement «mechanism for the dissemination and transfer of those new technologies» demonstrates how Prestigiacomo places technological progress at the heart of climate change responses, reflecting a moderate right-wing trust in innovation as a driver of economic growth and sustainability.

From a socio-cultural perspective, Prestigiacomo's speech also mirrors the priorities and power dynamics of industrialised countries. The phrase «a solution strongly supported and promoted by the industrialized world» positions developed nations as moral and technological leaders in the ecological transition, emphasising their role in providing solutions for developing countries. However, this narrative obscures structural inequalities between the Global North and South, portraying less developed countries as passive beneficiaries rather than autonomous actors. This paternalistic approach reflects the geopolitical mindset of the time, where industrialised nations sought to maintain control of global decision-making processes through technology and financial resource transfers, often on their terms.

Another significant element is the international economic context, shaped by the 2008 financial crisis and its repercussions on European countries. In this scenario, the concept of a *green economy* emerged as a strategy to reconcile economic growth with environmental sustainability. Prestigiacomo leverages this narrative, as seen in the phrase «to foster a sustainable social and economic growth», which frames sustainability not as an independent goal but as a means to promote economic growth. This language reflects a utilitarian view of nature, treating the environment primarily as a resource to be managed for ensuring human progress and economic stability.

The ideology underlying Prestigiacomo's speech is further reinforced by the emphasis on international cooperation as a tool to address climate challenges. Yet, even here, the language tends to reproduce rather than challenge existing power dynamics. The repetition of expressions like *shared commitments* and *common goal* creates an image of global unity but avoids addressing the historical responsibilities of industrialised nations in the climate crisis. This consensual approach reflects a rhetorical strategy aimed at maintaining the support of major global actors without imposing binding obligations, as evidenced by the statement: «We must all leave Cancun with the overarching architecture of a partially defined agreement».

From a socio-cultural standpoint, the speech also reflects a tension between national and international dimensions. While Prestigiacomo highlights Italy's role in multilateral processes, as in the phrase «Italy has firstly fulfilled its commitment within the fast start finance», the speech lacks specific references to national policies that would substantiate this commitment. This approach reflects a common political strategy in countries attempting to balance their international roles with domestic pressures for economic growth and political stability.

In later years, Andrea Orlando's speech at COP19 (2013) continued to describe the green economy as a growth driver, positioning ecological transition as not only an environmental necessity but also an economic opportunity. Orlando states: «Italy is enhancing its strategy to put its economy on a low carbon pathway. Renewable energy sources and energy efficiency policies and measures, not to mention incentives, are key to reach this goal».

Orlando speaks of how Italy is developing an economic strategy leveraging the green economy as a growth tool. Sustainability is treated as an economic resource through adopting green technologies and energy efficiency policies aimed at reinventing Italy's industrial system. However, the green economy is not merely a mechanism for reducing emissions and protecting the environment; it is a growth strategy integrating the environment as an investment object. In this context, the environment is reduced to a tool for stimulating economic competitiveness. Sustainability is no longer a moral or ecological matter but an objective to make the economy more competitive. This approach reflects a neoliberal ideology that views the environment as an economic asset to be managed and exploited for growth.

This vision aligns with neoliberal economic logic, which positions the market as the only effective means to address the ecological crisis, subordinating the environment to profit. Sustainability transforms into a marketing strategy, where green policies are proposed as incentives for creating new industrial sectors without addressing the underlying causes of the

economic model that led to the environmental crisis. In this sense, the environment is not an entity to be preserved for its own sake but becomes a means for economic expansion, to be used sustainably so that resources last as long as possible to maximise profit.

Another example reinforcing this ideology emerges in Mario Draghi's speech at COP26 (2021), where the concept of green finance becomes a key element of economic sustainability: «We need to bring together the public and private sectors in new ways. The private sector alone cannot bear all the risks. We need multilateral development banks to co-share with the private sector the risks that the private sector alone cannot bear».

In this passage, green finance is treated as a necessary tool to address the climate crisis, with an emphasis on public-private collaboration as a central element. Sustainability is subordinated to the necessity of investments from the private sector, without ever challenging the dominant economic logic. The environment continues to be viewed as a means to achieve economic gains, with the market playing a pivotal role in implementing ecological transition. The promotion of public-private cooperation is not aimed at improving ecosystems or protecting natural resources but rather at sharing the risks of an economic operation that may not deliver the expected benefits.

In this ideology, the environment is treated as an object to be managed rather than as an entity with intrinsic value. Instead, it is framed as an economic resource to be optimised for enabling economic growth. Environmental sustainability, therefore, becomes a mechanism serving economic dynamics, acknowledging the need to resolve ecological crises but always through the lens of profit and competitiveness.

Draghi's speech at COP26 reiterates the importance of mobilising private capital for ecological transition, treating the environment as an object of economic management: «We need to bring together the public and private sectors in new ways. The private sector alone cannot bear all the risks. We need multilateral development banks to co-share with the private sector the risks that the private sector alone cannot bear». (COP26, 2021)

This statement reflects the underlying ideology of green finance, which integrates the market and sustainability as two sides of the same coin. Sustainability is financed through international cooperation between the public and private sectors, with the environment becoming an investment object intended to yield economic benefits. Within this vision, the environment is treated as a resource to be exploited, and its protection is conditional on the ability to manage it through private capital. This approach reflects a neoliberal ideology, where sustainability is an economic objective rather than an ethical end.

Green finance is positioned as an economic tool to solve ecological problems, but always within a framework where the environment is not valued as an entity with intrinsic worth but as a resource to be optimised. Draghi's vision highlights the importance of international cooperation to manage economic risks associated with the environment but does not propose a fundamental shift in viewing the environment as an object manipulated for profit. In other words, the concept of sustainability is reduced to an economic strategy, where the environment is managed to generate profits rather than to preserve vital ecosystems for the planet's future.

In Gian Luca Galletti's speech at COP22 (2016), Italy commits to building a green financial network to help vulnerable countries finance their ecological transition: «Italy is strongly committed to supporting the construction of the Green Financial Centers Network, to provide further tools for climate finance».

This statement suggests that international cooperation is essential to ensure vulnerable countries can access the resources needed to tackle the climate crisis. However, as with other Italian political statements, the environment is treated as an economic object to be financed through a network of investments aimed at mitigating and adapting to climate change. Sustainability is thus subordinated to the need to fund projects managing the environment rather than preserving it comprehensively.

Similarly, the green finance vision presented does not aim to solve ecological problems through structural changes to the socioeconomic system but rather to manage risks and allocate resources toward financial solutions that mitigate negative impacts on the global market. Within this logic, the environment once again becomes an object to be handled rather than an entity to be intrinsically respected.

The dominant economic ideology in COP speeches also emerges in the representation of nature and the proposed solutions for the climate crisis. For instance, in Prestigiacomo's speech, nature is consistently subordinated (and rarely mentioned explicitly) to economic and productive logics, as highlighted in micro-level analyses of frequently used expressions such as *sustainable economic growth* and *low carbon development*. These terms, while ostensibly aimed at sustainability, reflect a vision where the environment is valued primarily for its utility to humans. This approach diverges sharply from ecocentric or biocentric ideologies, which attribute intrinsic value to nature independently of its economic exploitation.

Furthermore, the language used in Prestigiacomo's and other politicians' speeches reflects implicit trust in the ability of international institutions and markets to address the climate crisis. The phrase «a roadmap to reach in one year a global agreement» emphasises the importance of

planning and multilateral agreements but avoids considering the potential limitations of these instruments in a context of global inequalities and divergent interests. This approach aligns with the ideology of moderate conservatism, which favours incremental, consensus-based solutions rather than radical reforms or structural transformations.

The speeches in the second corpus ultimately present a utilitarian view of the environment, treating nature as a means to achieve economic results. Sustainability is subordinated to the demands of economic growth, with the environment reduced to a resource to be managed, optimised, and monetised. This approach reflects a green capitalism model, where the environment is seen as a commodity to exploit rather than as an entity to protect for its intrinsic ecological and social values. Within this vision, nature holds no inherent value but serves primarily as an economic object whose main purpose is to contribute to profit and global competitiveness.

From these two frames, it becomes evident once more that the environment is treated as an object to be managed and optimised to serve economic purposes, becoming a tool to maximise profits and ensure global economic competitiveness. While the ecological and social aspects of sustainability are recognised as important, they fail to surpass the overarching necessity of integrating the environment into an economic model that views it solely as a resource. In this context, environmental protection appears subordinated to the push for economic growth, exemplifying how sustainability is effectively reduced to an economic development tool rather than a value to protect in its own right.

5.4 Data Triangulation Between Political Discourse and Empirical Evidence

Data triangulation represents a fundamental methodology for analysing the consistency between political discourse and the empirical evidence provided by ISPRA regarding trends in greenhouse gas emissions in Italy from 2008 to 2021. This approach enables an assessment of whether the promises and commitments articulated in the speeches of political representatives at COP conferences are supported by actual data or whether significant discrepancies emerge. The information used for the graphical representations is accessible via the *National Emissions Inventory*, available on the website⁵⁰. The National Inventory Report 2024 provides comprehensive details on emissions from 1990 to 2021, with specific insights into the energy and transport sectors⁵¹.

⁵⁰ See: https://emissioni.sina.isprambiente.it/inventario-nazionale/?utm_source=chatgpt.com.

⁵¹ This document can be consulted here: https://emissioni.sina.isprambiente.it/inventario-nazionale/?utm_source=chatgpt.com.

Additionally, the report titled *National Greenhouse Gas Emissions - Transport Sector - 2021* offers a detailed analysis of emissions within the transport sector for the year 2021, highlighting current trends and challenges⁵².

These reports provide data that can be utilised to generate detailed graphs and analyses of emissions across various sectors, enabling a comparison of emission trends with political narratives. This facilitates an evaluation of the effectiveness of sustainability policies and economic strategies that have been implemented.

5.4.1 ISPRA Data

As outlined in Section 4.4, ISTAT data align with ISPRA's findings, highlighting a 20% reduction in Italy's greenhouse gas emissions from 1990 to 2021. This progress is particularly evident in the energy sector, driven by increased adoption of renewable energy sources and energy efficiency measures. These trends underscore the impact of policies promoting solar and wind energy and the integration of sustainable practices within the EU framework.

However, the period between 2008 and 2022 presents a more nuanced narrative. Emissions reductions slowed compared to the prior decade, influenced by factors such as economic recovery following the 2008 financial crisis and persistent challenges in the transport sector. Notably, road transport emissions showed limited improvement, reflecting delays in transitioning to electric mobility and rising vehicle usage.

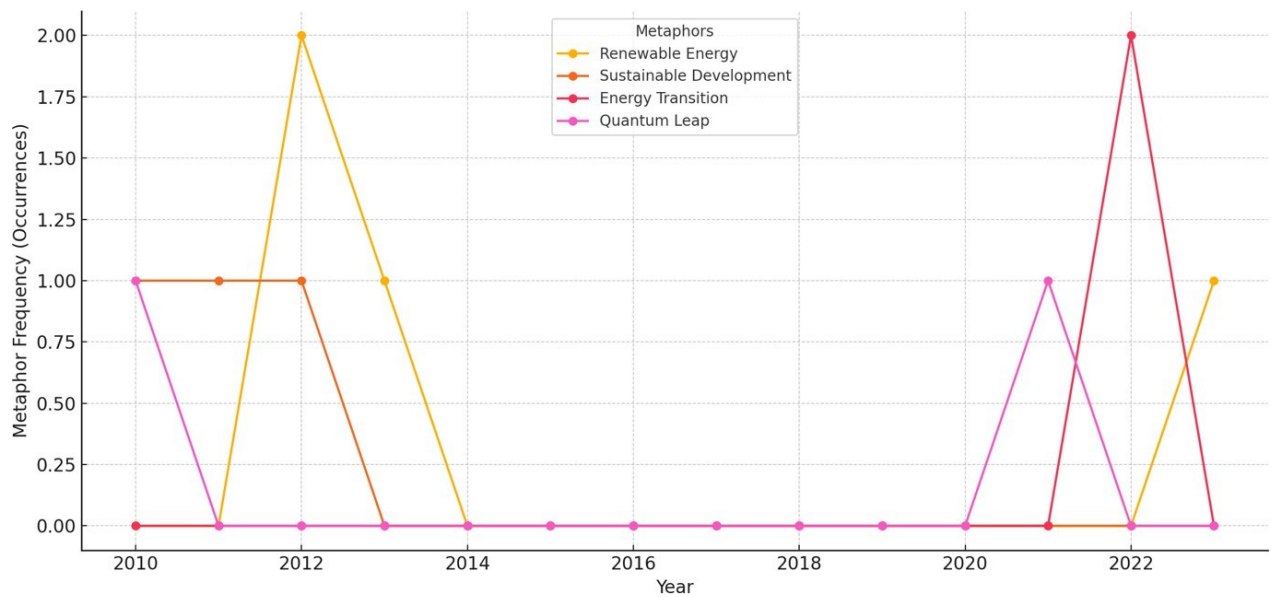
As seen in 4.4, these observations reveal a dissonance between the ambitious rhetoric of transformative action – often encapsulated in metaphors – and the uneven realities of progress across sectors. This contrast emphasizes the ongoing need for more precise and effective policy measures to align Italy's environmental goals with practical outcomes.

5.4.2 Selected Metaphors in the Corpus of Public Speeches

The use of metaphors such as *quantum leap* and *balanced commitments* in political speeches conveys an optimistic and forward-looking perspective. However, ISPRA data reveal that progress during the 2008–2023 period does not always align with the urgency and radical change suggested by this language.

For instance, promises of *responsibility* and *accountability* are not fully consistent with the rise in emissions from sectors such as road transport.

⁵²The document is available at the following link: https://emissioni.sina.isprambiente.it/wp-content/uploads/2023/04/Emissioni-Trasporti-Anno-2021_def.pdf?utm_source=chatgpt.com.



GRAPH 5: EVOLUTION OF METAPHOR FREQUENCY IN ITALIAN POLITICAL SPEECHES AT COP CONFERENCES (2010–2023)

This graph analyses the use and recurrence of the most common metaphors⁵³. The graph presents the frequency of four key metaphors in Italian political speeches at the Conferences of the Parties (COP) between 2010 and 2023:

- *Renewable Energy* (4 occurrences)
- *Sustainable Development* (3 occurrences)
- *Energy Transition* (2 occurrences)
- *Quantum Leap* (2 occurrences)

The graph indicates an overall increase in the use of selected metaphors, with a marked progression beginning in 2015. This suggests that the Paris Agreement represented a pivotal moment for Italian political language, prompting leaders to employ metaphors that communicate commitment and action in addressing the climate crisis. Far from being mere stylistic devices, these metaphors serve as interpretive tools, rendering complex climate-related concepts more accessible and memorable.

⁵³ As with *Graph 4* (Section 4.4.2), the metaphors for *Graph 5* were extracted from the corpus – specifically, *Corpus 2* – through a targeted manual analysis designed to identify key metaphors, including *Renewable Energy*, *Sustainable Development*, *Energy Transition*, and *Quantum Leap*. These metaphors were tracked annually from 2010 to 2023 and systematically organized into a structured table to present the findings coherently. The graph itself was generated using Python’s Matplotlib library, showcasing the temporal evolution of these metaphors. This approach, as in the analysis of Italian political speeches at COP conferences, effectively highlights the evolving rhetorical strategies employed over the period under study.

Prior to 2015, the use of metaphors appears sporadic and limited, reflecting a period in which Italian political discourse did not yet prioritise evocative language to address climate issues. During this time, climate topics were primarily approached in technical terms, with less attention to communication strategies aimed at emotionally engaging or sensitising the public. The language of this era was therefore more neutral and less strategic in building consensus around environmental policies.

From 2015 onwards, a clear shift occurs. The Paris Agreement marks a turning point, encouraging the adoption of metaphors that convey ambitious messages and long-term visions. Political language aligns more closely with international narratives, emphasising the need for collective commitment and decisive actions. Among these, metaphors such as *Renewable Energy* and *Sustainable Development* take on a central role, becoming cornerstones of political communication consistent with global commitments and international expectations.

In the post-pandemic period (2020–2022), climate issues gain even greater prominence. COP26 in 2021 emerges as a particularly intense moment, during which the use of metaphors reaches its peak. This reflects a context in which Italian leaders capitalise on the event to strengthen their climate commitments and bolster the country's credibility on the international stage. Language becomes a tool to demonstrate leadership and determination in steering the ecological transition.

Differences in metaphor intensity also reveal intriguing dynamics. *Renewable Energy* stands out as the dominant metaphor, with steady and regular growth indicative of a well-defined political priority tied to concrete and verifiable initiatives. Conversely, *Energy Transition* and *Quantum Leap* appear less frequently, reflecting a more selective and strategic use, likely linked to specific contexts or moments of heightened symbolic significance. These less pervasive metaphors suggest a deliberate approach, employed to underscore major themes or emphasise decisive turning points in political discourse.

Overall, the graph illustrates how Italian political language has progressively adapted to global pressures and the challenges posed by climate change. The evolution in metaphor usage reflects a shift from more technical and neutral communication to narratives capable of engaging audiences emotionally and aligning with international standards. This adaptation underscores a growing awareness of the role language plays in building consensus, defining priorities, and supporting political commitments in the face of a global crisis.

Although environmental issues, as the analysis highlights, are not yet treated as autonomous entities, it is evident that they continue to be framed primarily as tools in service of broader

goals. This approach is clearly reflected in the metaphors used in political speeches, which tend to subordinate environmental concerns to economic, technological, or social themes. For example, expressions such as *Renewable Energy* and *Sustainable Development* illustrate how environmental issues are often embedded within narratives linking them to economic growth, energy security, or poverty reduction, rather than being regarded as intrinsic values or independent priorities.

This instrumentalisation of environmental discourse reflects a strongly anthropocentric vision, where the importance of sustainability is assessed in terms of its impact on humanity and economic systems. Even references to *Energy Transition* focus on technological progress and the investments required for systemic transformation but rarely grant the environment a central role as a subject with inherent rights or as a fundamental component of human life.

5.4.3 Comparison Between Empirical Reality and Political Discourse

The comparison between emission graphs provided by ISPRA and the political narratives represented by the frequency of themes in COP speeches highlights a clear discrepancy between empirical reality and political rhetoric. As shown in the first graph, total greenhouse gas emissions, particularly in the energy sector, have followed a generally declining trend, aligning with the progress claimed in speeches. However, 2021 marked a reversal, with a slight increase in emissions. This contradicts political assertions that portrayed 2021 as a year of continued progress in emission reductions. The rhetoric, therefore, does not accurately reflect actual trends, underscoring an inconsistency between optimistic declarations and practical outcomes. The second graph, which analyses the frequency of metaphors used in COP political speeches, reveals a steady rise in references to themes such as *Renewable Energy* and *Sustainable Development*, suggesting an increasing commitment to sustainability and ecological transition. However, this narrative growth does not always translate into effective policies, as evidenced by the slight uptick in emissions in 2021. Political narratives emphasise global cooperation and the urgency of change, yet operational realities, especially in critical sectors like transport, fail to demonstrate commensurate progress. The lack of integration between political promises and the implementation of sectoral and local policies highlights a significant gap that needs to be addressed.

This discrepancy between narrative and operational reality underscores the necessity for a more integrated and targeted approach. The two primary frames analysed – *Sustainability and Climate Policies* and *Economic and Financial Strategies* – should be utilised not merely to

reinforce overarching climate goals but to guide tangible structural interventions. A key example is the transport sector, where emissions remain critical and largely unaffected by political rhetoric. Bridging this gap requires the development of specific, measurable policies capable of transforming climate narratives into tangible outcomes.

In conclusion, the triangulation of data reveals a disconnect between the optimistic vision conveyed in political speeches and empirical evidence. While significant progress has been achieved in sectors such as energy production, critical areas requiring greater attention persist. Addressing these gaps will necessitate a shift from rhetorical commitments to actionable, effective strategies that align with the realities of the climate crisis.

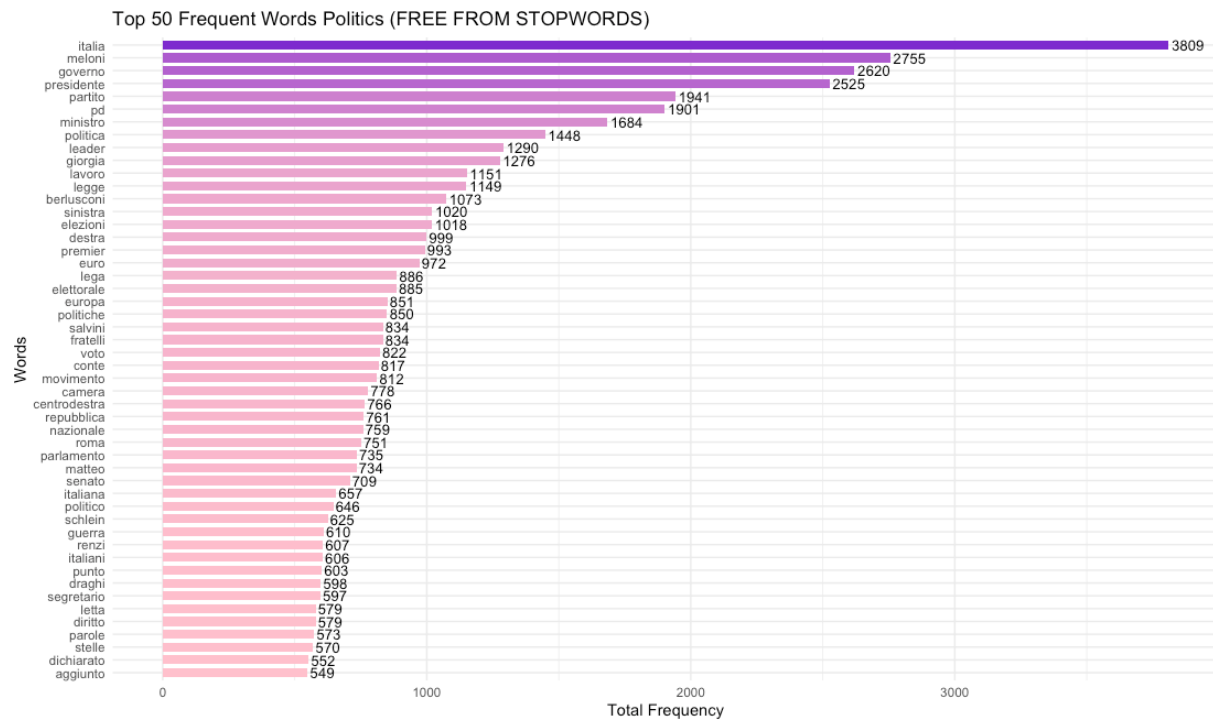
6. Analysis of TPI Articles

In this chapter, articles published by the Italian newspaper TPI are analysed using a controlled vocabulary (as outlined in the methodological chapter) in combination with basic statistical tools and close-reading techniques. The investigation is structured into three parts: Section 6.1 focuses on political discourse (*Politic*), Section 6.2 examines explicitly environmental content (*Environment*), and Section 6.3 provides a cross-sectional manual verification of thematic relevance across both corpora. The corpus covers the period from July 2022 to December 2024. This timeframe allows for an examination of the role attributed to environmental issues within the context of Italian politics and in shaping public opinion, during a historically significant period marked by critical climate challenges.

The primary aim of this section is to assess the extent to which environmental topics are given prominence and to evaluate whether, and how, political language influences media narratives on this fundamental issue. Consistent with the findings discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, the hypothesis is that environmental issues are often framed primarily as resources instrumental to human life and the development of renewable energy, or as rhetorical devices to divert attention, rather than as intrinsic values to be preserved.

6.1 Politic Section

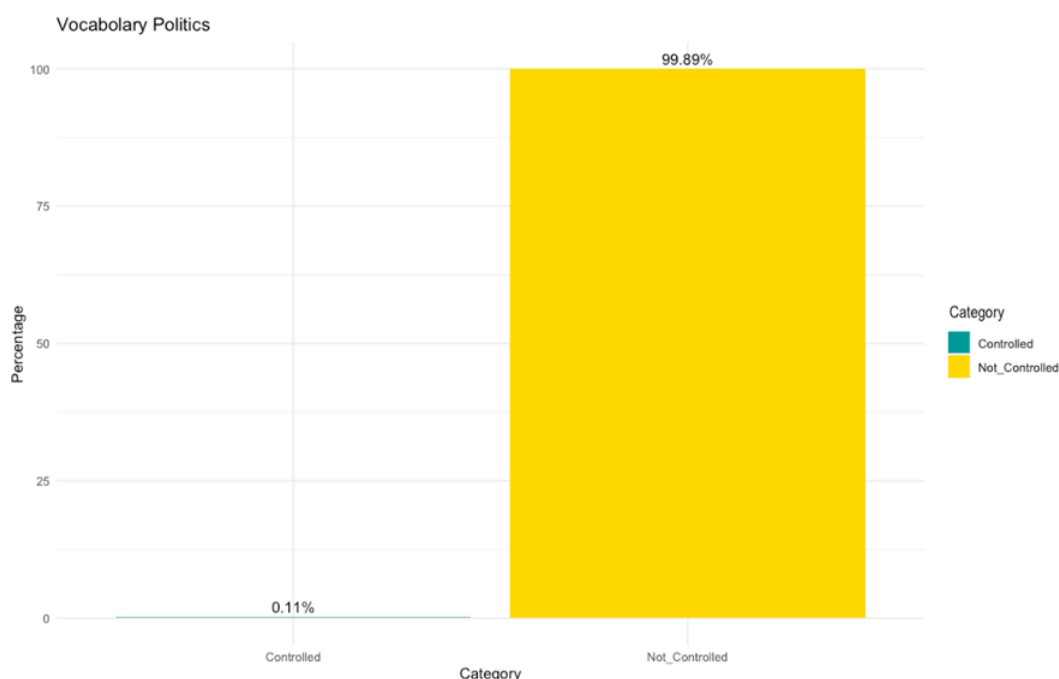
The analysis was carried out on 2019 articles, comprising a total of 42,262 words. After removing numbers and stopwords (632), the corpus was reduced to 41,575 words, making the dataset more meaningful. These are the top 50 most frequent words ('cleaned data'), which represent the most recurrent lexical items (x-axis: Words) in the articles from the *Politics* section of the Italian newspaper TPI. Their frequencies are displayed on the y-axis (Total Frequency).



GRAPH 6: TOP 50 FREQUENT WORDS IN POLITICAL DISCOURSE (EXCLUDING STOPWORDS)

The words identified are closely associated with Italian political discourse, including proper nouns (e.g., *Meloni*, *Berlusconi*, *Salvini*), institutions (*governo*, *parlamento*), and political concepts (*elezioni*, *politiche*, *economia*). The terms are presented in descending order of frequency, arranged from the most common (at the top) to the least common (at the bottom), as reflected in the gradient colour change of the bars (from purple to pink). For example, *Italia* is the most frequent word, appearing 3,809 times, while *aggiunto* is the least frequent of this top 50, with 549 occurrences.

The high frequency of terms such as *Italia*, *Meloni*, *governo*, *presidente*, and *partito* underscores the prominence of references to the national context and political leaders. The presence of specific names, such as *Meloni*, *Berlusconi*, *Salvini*, and *Renzi*, signals an emphasis on contemporary political figures. Furthermore, words like *governo*, *legge*, *parlamento*, and *elezioni* highlight the institutional orientation of the corpus, focusing on governance, legislation, and electoral processes.



GRAPH 7: CONTROLLED VS. NON-CONTROLLED VOCABULARY IN POLITICAL DISCOURSE: PERCENTAGE BREAKDOWN

The top 50 words were extracted from a total of 41,575 cleaned words, and of these, only 47 words matched the terms in the controlled glossary. In this new barplot:

- The green bar (Controlled) represents the words that correspond to the controlled glossary, i.e., the terms included in the predefined lexicon. This category accounts for a mere 0.11% of the total.
- The yellow bar (Not_Controlled) represents the words that do not match the controlled glossary. These constitute the overwhelming majority, comprising 99.89% of the total.

The 99.89% indicates that nearly all the words in the corpus fall outside the controlled glossary, highlighting the breadth and diversity of political vocabulary, which extends well beyond the predefined terms in the glossary. Conversely, the 0.11% (Controlled) demonstrates that the controlled glossary has limited coverage in relation to the political language used in the analysed texts. In summary, only a small portion of the vocabulary is covered by the glossary, whereas most words lie outside its scope. This underscores the rich and varied nature of political language, suggesting that the glossary may need to be expanded to better capture the lexicon used in contemporary political discourse.

When examining the *Controlled* category from the previous barplot in greater detail, the top 10 terms presented in the table provide a breakdown of the most frequent words (absolute

frequency) and their corresponding rounded percentages within the total set of *controlled* words.

Word	Frequency	Percentage
dato (15.89%)	450	15.889831
energia (7.45%)	211	7.450565
gas (7.13%)	202	7.132768
rischio (6.96%)	197	6.956215
territorio (6.07%)	172	6.073446
area (5.4%)	153	5.402542
mare (4.94%)	140	4.943503
ambiente (4.41%)	125	4.413842
terra (3.92%)	111	3.919492
clima (3.67%)	104	3.672316

TABLE 8: TOP 10 WORDS IN CONTROLLED VOCABULARY FOR POLITICAL DISCOURSE: FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE

Specifically, the table consists of the following columns:

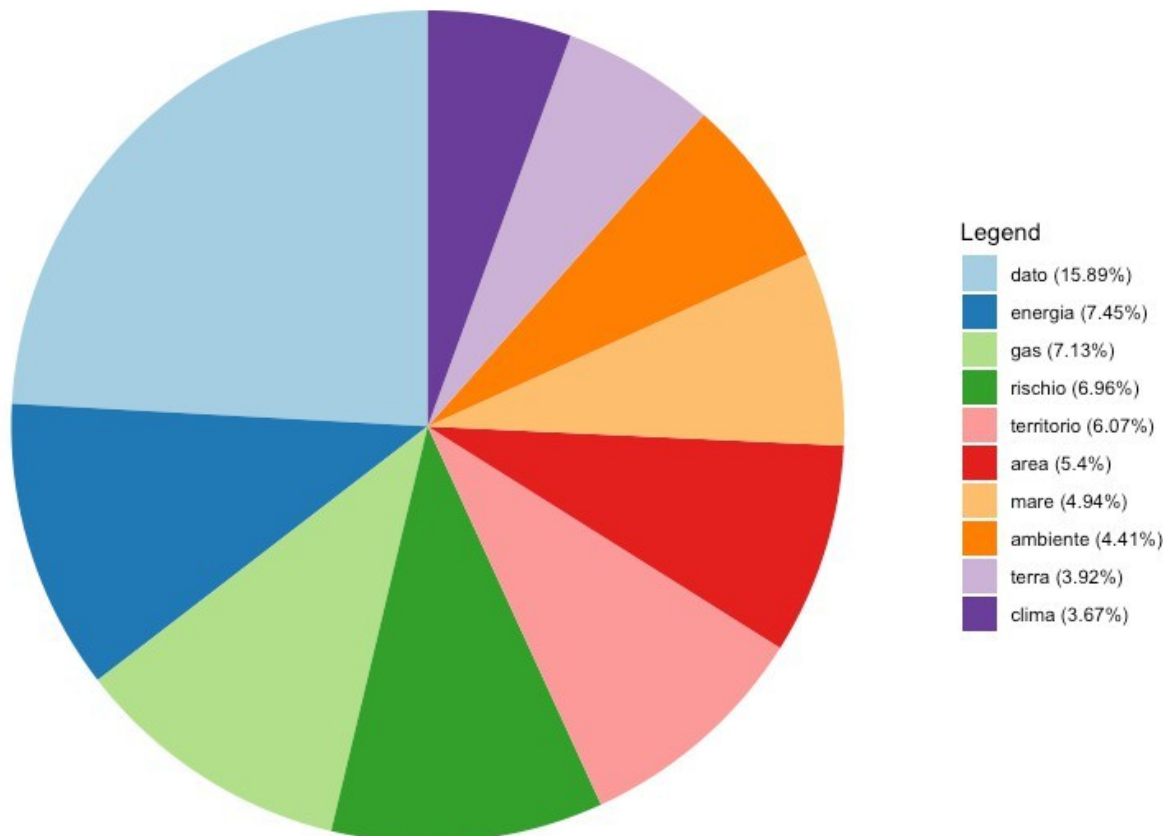
- Word: Lists the 10 most frequent terms that are part of the controlled glossary.
- Frequency: Displays the exact number of occurrences for each term.
- Percentage: Indicates the proportion that each term contributes to the total of controlled words, expressed as a percentage.

From this analysis, we can observe that the word *Dato* dominates the list with 450 occurrences, accounting for 15.89% of the total controlled words. Terms such as *energia* (7.45%), *gas* (7.13%), and *rischio* (6.96%) rank among the top positions, highlighting their significance in political discourse. Conversely, more specific terms like *clima* (3.67%) and *terra* (3.92%) – while relevant in the environmental context – appear less frequently compared to the more generic terms.

It is worth noting, however, that some of the more frequent terms, such as *Dato* and *territorio*, do not always specifically refer to environmental contexts. This observation raises an important reflection on the extent to which environmental topics might be underrepresented within this section of TPI. The relatively low frequency of more explicitly environmental terms could indicate that the environmental theme receives less emphasis in the discourse analysed.

The pie chart provides a visual representation of the same distribution detailed in the table. The largest segment corresponds to the term *Dato*, followed by *energia* and *gas*, which are the same terms identified in the table as having the highest frequency and percentage. The visual format reinforces the prominence of these key terms and complements the numerical data.

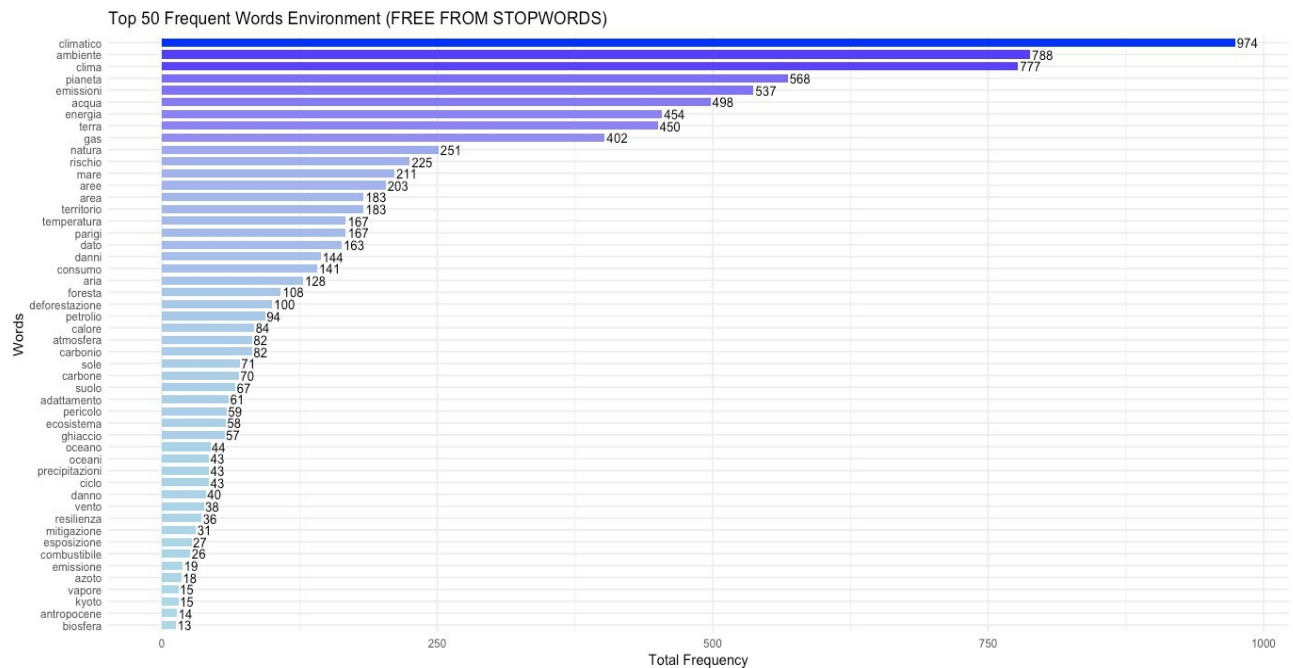
Top 10 Controlled Vocabulary Words Politics - Percentage



GRAPH 9: TOP 10 CONTROLLED VOCABULARY TERMS IN POLITICAL DISCOURSE: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION

6.2 Environment Section

A similar analysis was conducted on the *Environment* section of the same newspaper, with the primary objective of determining whether this section contained a higher percentage of terms matching the controlled glossary, given its specific focus on environmental topics.



GRAPH 10: TOP 50 FREQUENT WORDS IN ENVIRONMENTAL DISCOURSE (EXCLUDING STOPWORDS)

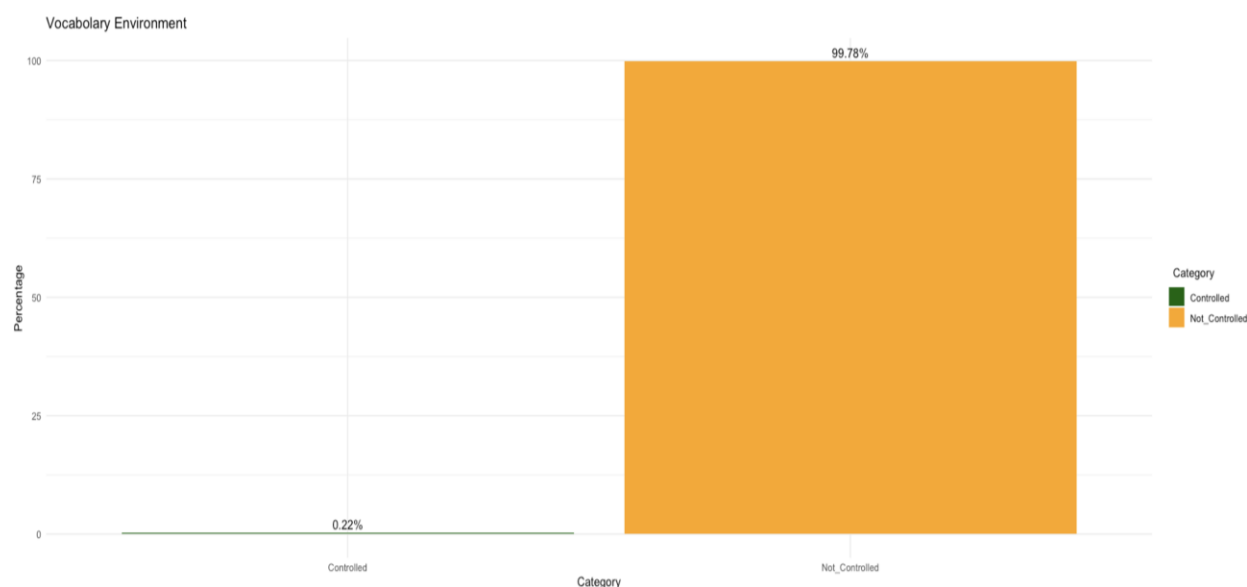
The analysis was carried out on 931 articles, comprising a total of 30,512 words. After removing numbers and stopwords (632), the corpus was reduced to 28,207 words, making the dataset more meaningful. The 50 most frequent words were ordered in descending absolute frequency, from the most common (*climatico*, with 974 occurrences) to the least common (*biosfera*, with 13 occurrences). The bars in varying shades of blue visually represent the frequency, with longer bars indicating higher usage.

This analysis reveals that terms closely related to environmental topics, such as *climatico* (974 occurrences), *ambiente* (788), *clima* (777), *pianeta* (568), and *emissioni* (537), dominate the graph. Other relevant terms, including *acqua*, *energia*, *terra*, and *gas*, are strongly associated with debates on climate change and sustainability. Additionally, more specific terms such as *deforestazione*, *oceano*, and *mitigazione* appear, albeit with lower frequencies compared to more generic terms.

The presence of terms such as *climatico*, *emissioni*, *rischio*, and *deforestazione* demonstrates that the lexicon in this section is consistent with the environmental theme, reflecting a more specialised vocabulary compared to the *Politics* section. There is a stronger focus on climate change, natural resources, and sustainability. This result aligns with expectations, given the section's dedicated emphasis on ecological and climate-related issues.

When compared to the *Politics* section, the *Environment* section shows a greater alignment with the controlled glossary, as many frequent terms are integral to discussions on environmental

topics. However, the presence of more generic terms such as *dato* and *territorio* suggests that some aspects of the discourse may not be strictly focused on environmental themes, leaving room for further exploration of the coherence between the section's stated focus and its actual linguistic representation.



GRAPH 11: CONTROLLED VS. NON-CONTROLLED VOCABULARY IN ENVIRONMENTAL DISCOURSE: PERCENTAGE BREAKDOWN

The corpus consists of 28,207 words, obtained after the removal of numbers and stopwords (with 637 stopwords eliminated). Among these, only 63 words match the terms included in the controlled glossary.

The dark green bar (Controlled) represents the words that coincide with the controlled glossary, i.e., those recognised as relevant terms within the predefined lexicon. This category accounts for only 0.22% of the total. Conversely, the orange bar (Not_Controlled) represents the words that do not match the controlled glossary, comprising the vast majority at 99.78%.

It is worth noting that, despite the *Environment* section being specifically dedicated to topics such as climate change, only a small proportion of the overall vocabulary (0.22%) aligns with the controlled glossary. This indicates a very limited coverage of the glossary when compared to the lexical variety present in the analysed texts. However, when compared to the *Politics* section, the *Environment* section shows a slightly higher percentage of terms matching the controlled glossary (0.22% versus 0.11%). While this increase is marginal, it could reflect the complexity of environmental discourse, which includes specialized and interdisciplinary terms not captured by the current glossary. At the same time, this result might suggest that

environmental topics are not necessarily the primary focus of a section labelled *Environment*, raising questions about the coherence between the section’s stated theme and its linguistic representation.

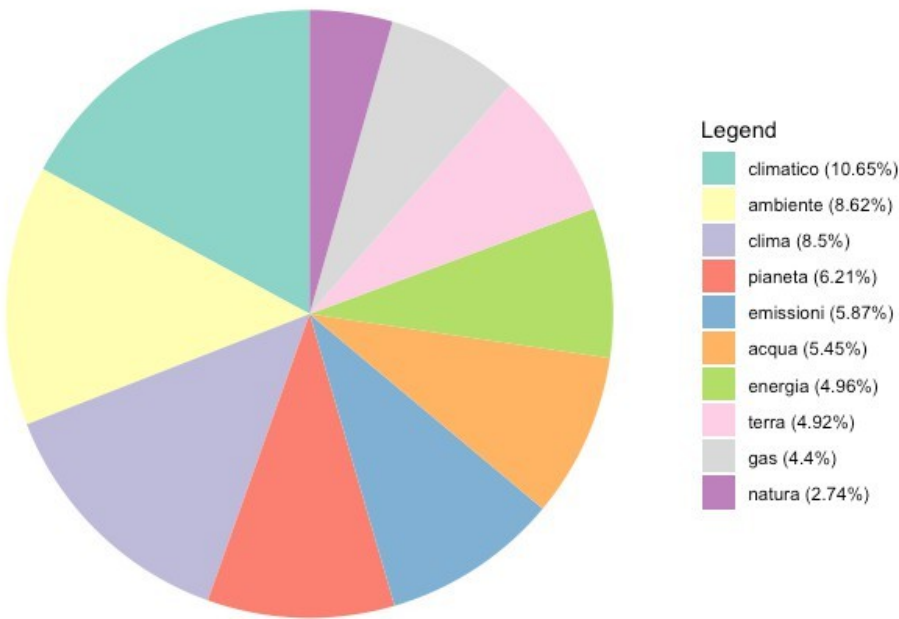
Word	Frequency	Percentage
climatico (10.65%)	974	10.649464
ambiente (8.62%)	788	8.615788
clima (8.5%)	777	8.495517
pianeta (6.21%)	568	6.210365
emissioni (5.87%)	537	5.871419
acqua (5.45%)	498	5.445003
energia (4.96%)	454	4.963919
terra (4.92%)	450	4.920184
gas (4.4%)	402	4.395364
natura (2.74%)	251	2.744369

TABLE 12: TOP 10 WORDS IN CONTROLLED VOCABULARY FOR ENVIRONMENTAL DISCOURSE: FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE

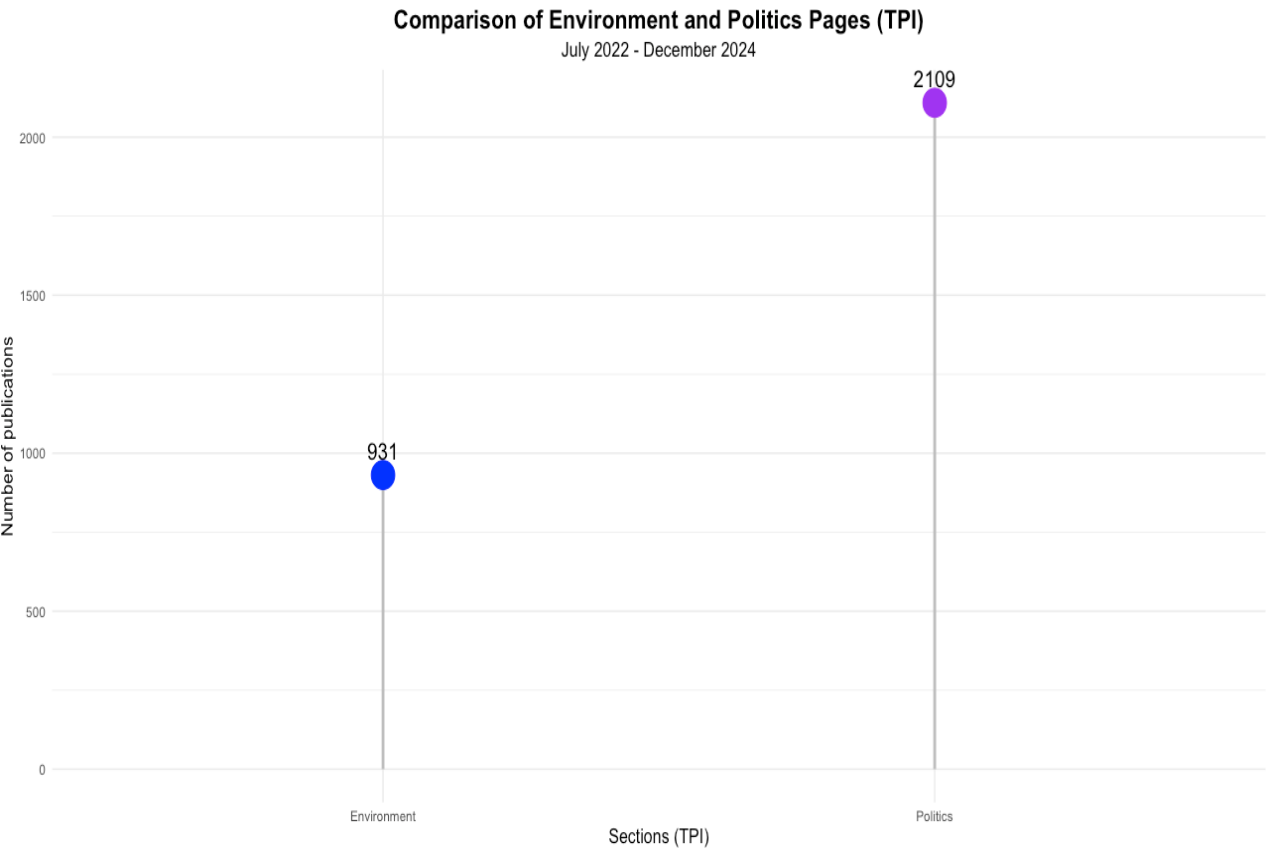
Examining the *Controlled* category from the previous barplot in greater detail, the top 10 terms listed in the table provide a breakdown of the most frequent words and their corresponding rounded percentages. The term *climatico* dominates the list with 974 occurrences, accounting for 10.65% of the total controlled words. This is followed by terms such as *ambiente* (8.62%), *clima* (8.5%), *pianeta* (6.21%), and *emissioni* (5.87%), all of which are closely tied to environmental and climate-related themes. Other relevant terms include *acqua*, *energia*, *terra*, *gas*, and *natura*, with percentages ranging from 5.45% to 2.74%.

This analysis confirms that the most frequent terms in the *Controlled* category of the *Environment* section reflect a lexicon focused on environmental themes, with particular emphasis on climate change and sustainability. However, the distribution of percentages also reveals a hierarchy within the topics discussed, with greater attention given to key issues such as *climate* and *emissions* compared to other terms like *gas* and *natura*. The pie chart serves as a visual representation of the tabular data, providing an intuitive overview of the proportional contributions of each term to the total controlled words.

Top 10 Controlled Vocabulary Words Environment - Percentage



GRAPH 13: TOP 10 CONTROLLED VOCABULARY TERMS IN ENVIRONMENTAL DISCOURSE: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION



GRAPH 14: COMPARISON OF PUBLICATIONS ON ENVIRONMENT AND POLITICS SECTIONS (TPI): JULY 2022–DECEMBER 2024

This lollipop plot (scatter plot) has been designed to indicate, on the horizontal axis (*Sections TPI*), the two sections: *Environment* and *Politics*. The vertical axis (*Number of Publications*) shows the total number of articles published in each section. The blue point corresponds to the *Environment* section, with 931 articles, while the purple point represents the *Politics* section, with 2,109 articles.

A comparison of the articles from the *Environment* and *Politics* sections in TPI from July 2022 to December 2024 reveals that the ratio of articles between the two sections is: Politics Articles / Environment Articles = 2.26.

This indicates that there are approximately 2.26 times more articles in the *Politics* section than in the *Environment* section. In other words, the number of articles in the *Politics* section is more than double that of the *Environment* section. The significantly higher number of articles in the *Politics* section suggests that TPI devotes more space and resources to political coverage than to environmental issues, reflecting an editorial priority.

It is worth emphasising that, despite the growing importance of environmental topics, they receive considerably less editorial attention compared to political issues. This discrepancy may also help explain the differences observed in the lexical comparison between the two sections.

6.3 Controlled Vocabulary and Thematic Accuracy: A Manual Verification

While the preceding sections relied on automated processing and frequency analysis using Python and R libraries, this final phase adopts a manual approach to assess the thematic coherence of the material under investigation. Each of the 931 articles categorised under the *Environment* section of TPI was individually reviewed to determine whether it substantively engaged with environmental issues. The verification process was conducted using a structured Excel spreadsheet, which facilitated the systematic documentation of inclusion criteria as well as the annotation of ambiguous or borderline cases⁵⁴.

This close reading revealed that only 831 of the articles – approximately 89% – could be considered genuinely relevant to environmental themes. The remaining 100, although formally placed within the *Environment* section, addressed topics only marginally related – or entirely unrelated – to environmental discourse. These included articles concerned with political or

⁵⁴ The first row of the Excel sheet contained the following categories: *Link (to the article)*, *page*, *title*, *text*, *question: Is the environmental theme present?*

A practical example will be shown on the following page, using the *Politics* section.

economic developments, cultural events, or opinion pieces with limited ecological significance, where references to environmental matters were merely incidental⁵⁵.

A comparable manual review was carried out on the *Politics* section, which comprises 2,109 articles published between July 2022 and December 2024. Of these, only 27 texts made substantive reference to environmental issues – representing just 1.28% of the total. Strikingly, even within this already limited subset, references to the environment were typically confined to the coverage of natural disasters, such as the floods in Bologna or the landslides in Ischia, which resulted in the loss of nine lives. In such cases, the environment emerges not as a subject of political deliberation or sustained policy debate, but rather as a passive backdrop to moments of emergency.

The marginal presence of environmental discourse within the political domain underscores a broader thematic imbalance. Despite the increasing urgency of the climate crisis, ecological concerns receive scant attention in political journalism. These findings lend weight to the hypothesis that the environment, far from being conceptualised as a central and intrinsic political priority, is often relegated to a rhetorical device or omitted altogether⁵⁶.

This manual verification followed an initial automated extraction of articles based on predefined keywords drawn from a controlled vocabulary. While this method proved effective in assembling a preliminary corpus, certain terms – such as *natura* (which may refer to nature, but also to human behaviour or character), *ambiente* (environment, but also physical or social setting), – frequently occur in metaphorical or otherwise non-environmental contexts within Italian media discourse. Such semantic ambiguity necessitated a second phase of qualitative analysis via close reading, in order to assess the contextual relevance of each article and ensure that only substantively grounded references to environmental issues were retained.

Rather than serving as a correction of the automated process, this second stage constitutes a vital complement to it – bringing together the computational breadth of digital methods with the interpretive nuance of human judgement.

⁵⁵ For example, the articles discussed rankings of the most beautiful beaches or cities.

⁵⁶ Only one article, reporting a speech by President Mattarella, was explicitly focused on environmental issues as such.

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
1	https://www.tg3.it/politica/	page_1	Politica ultime news Politica Ultima Ora oggi Elezioni, sondaggi, governo	In Italia esistono diversi partiti: di destra, sinistra e centro. A questi negli ultimi anni si è aggiunto un Movimento: il Movimento 5 Stelle che ha raccolto elettori sia da destra che da sinistra. Un partito politico, così come definito dall'articolo 49 della Costituzione della Repubblica Italiana, rappresenta un'associazione libera di cittadini i quali detengono il diritto di amministrare democraticamente la vita politica. Ma quali sono i partiti in Italia? Vediamo insieme l'elenco dei principali. Il Governo della Repubblica Italiana è un organo del sistema politico italiano, composto dal presidente del Consiglio dei ministri e dai ministri, che formano il Consiglio dei ministri, che costituisce il vertice del potere esecutivo. In genere fanno parte del governo anche dei sottosegretari di Stato, ad alcuni dei quali può essere conferito il titolo di viceministri. Il governo attuale è il Governo Conte II (o bis), che è entrato in carica il 5 settembre 2019, frutto di un accordo tra Movimento 5 Stelle, Partito Democratico e Liberi e Uguali, in seguito anche appoggiato da Italia Viva e il MAIE. Il Parlamento della Repubblica Italiana è l'organo costituzionale che, all'interno del sistema politico italiano, è titolare del potere legislativo e del rapporto di fiducia col Governo. L'ordinamento italiano prevede un bicameralismo perfetto: il Parlamento è formato da due camere, la Camera dei deputati e il Senato della Repubblica. Poiché il Presidente del Senato, come sancito dall'articolo 86 della Costituzione, può essere chiamato a ricoprire il ruolo di Presidente supplente qualora il Presidente della Repubblica sia impossibilitato a svolgere le proprie funzioni (per dimissioni, malattia o morte), il Senato è tradizionalmente considerato la camera alta, la Camera dei deputati è ritenuta la camera bassa. Le Camere del Parlamento italiano godono di particolari prerogative, a garanzia della propria autonomia rispetto agli altri poteri dello Stato.	no					
2	https://www.tg3.it	page_1	Concerto di Capodanno, Gualtieri: "Invitare Tony Effe è stato un errore"	Il sindaco di Roma Roberto Gualtieri ammette che invitare Tony Effe al concerto di Capodanno che doveva tenersi al Circo Massimo è stato un errore. Mentre il rapper va verso il sold out con il suo concerto privato previsto per il 31 dicembre sempre a Roma, ma al Palafur, il primo cittadino della Capitale, facendo mea culpa, spiega perché il rapper è stato escluso dall'evento. Intervistato da Fuori Tg del Tg3, Gualtieri ha dichiarato: "Le donne che gestiscono i nostri centri antiviolenza e che fanno un lavoro sul campo mi hanno scritto: sono state loro che ci hanno spinto a fare questo passo indietro". "Mi hanno scritto: abbiamo difficoltà a fare il nostro lavoro contro il linguaggio violento e sessista se poi con i soldi pubblici il Campidoglio fa cantare esattamente le cose che noi diciamo essere sbagliate" ha aggiunto il sindaco. Gualtieri, poi, aggiunge: "Io li ho riconosciuto l'errore che abbiamo fatto e ho detto: non voglio mettere in difficoltà le persone che sul campo lavorano contro la violenza sulle donne. Allora ho chiesto scusa al cantante, che ha subito un torto, e gli abbiamo detto: canta dove ti pare ma nel nostro concerto preferiamo avere un altro tipo di contenuti per Tony Effe nessuna censura, tanto è vero che farà un suo concerto privato in un luogo e noi abbiamo subito detto assolutamente sì. Noi non abbiamo mai valutato censurare nessuno perché la libertà di espressione è sacra. Cosa diversa è l'organizzazione di quel concerto". Intanto, il concerto di Capodanno al Circo Massimo rischia di saltare. Dopo l'esclusione di Tony Effe e la conseguente rinuncia da parte degli altri due artisti previsti per la serata, Mahmood e Mara Sattei, infatti, l'evento è rimasto senza ospiti. Secondo quanto scrive La Repubblica, infatti, "fin qui la ricerca di alternative alla tripletta annunciata alla stampa una settimana fa non ha dato esito positivo". A	0					

FIGURE 1: EXCERPT FROM MANUAL VERIFICATION SPREADSHEET – POLITICS SECTION

This figure displays an extract from the Excel spreadsheet employed during the manual verification of the *Politics* section. Each article was evaluated for the presence of contextually meaningful references to environmental issues, moving beyond keyword occurrence to assess substantive thematic relevance. The spreadsheet records essential metadata.

The analysis conducted in this chapter reveals a clear imbalance in the presence and treatment of environmental discourse across the two sections examined. The *Environment* section includes a significant number of articles that engage meaningfully with ecological themes, whereas the *Politics* section contains very limited references to environmental issues, which are mostly confined to reports on natural disasters or extreme weather events. From a linguistic perspective, terms related to the environment appear infrequently in political discourse and are often used in generic, economic or metaphorical contexts. Overall, the findings suggest that environmental topics, while present in the newspaper, are not consistently integrated into political reporting and tend to be framed as peripheral rather than central to political narratives.

7. Evaluation of Environmental Perspectives in Italian Political Discourse: L2 Learners and Native Speakers

This chapter provides a detailed analysis of the responses gathered through a questionnaire administered to Hungarian students of Italian as a second language (L2). The aim is to examine their perceptions of environmental representations and climate policies as portrayed in Italian electoral programs. The chapter is structured into four sections, each addressing a specific aspect of the study.

The first section (7.1) presents the responses of both the L2 Italian students and the Italian L1 group (native speakers), focusing on the three parts of the questionnaire. These include general participant information (7.1.1), the interpretation of key terms related to the identified frames (7.1.2), and the comprehension of selected metaphors from Italian political discourse (7.1.3). The second section (7.2) evaluates the textual analysis of responses, comparing how the two groups associate the linguistic elements with the frames Sustainability and Climate Policies and Economic and Financial Strategies. This analysis provides insights into the differences and similarities in their perceptions.

7.1 Responses from L2 Italian Students and the L1 Italian group

In the following paragraph, the comparative analyses of the responses provided by two groups of participants are introduced: the group of learners of Italian as L2 and Italian as L1 (native speakers). The aim is to explore the differences and similarities in the perception and interpretation of Italian political language related to environmental issues.

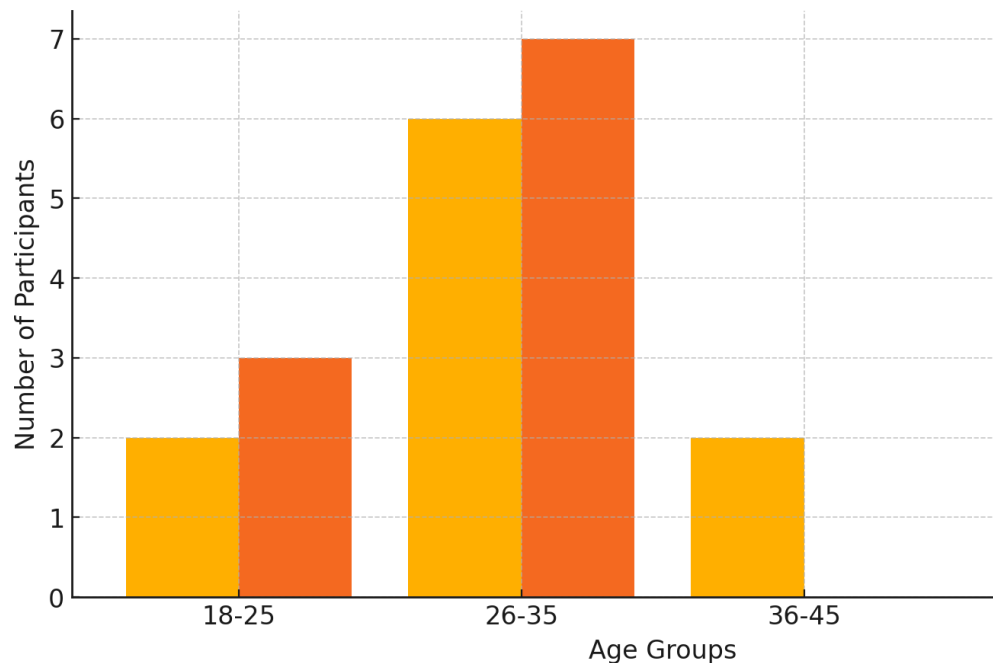
The section is structured into three parts. First, it examines general information about the participants, including their age, gender, and linguistic competencies. This is followed by an analysis of the associations between key terms and the main frames. Finally, it concludes with the interpretation of metaphors found in political discourse.

This tripartite structure enables a deeper understanding of how linguistic and cultural variables influence the comprehension of political messages and their conceptual implications.

7.1.1 Participant Information

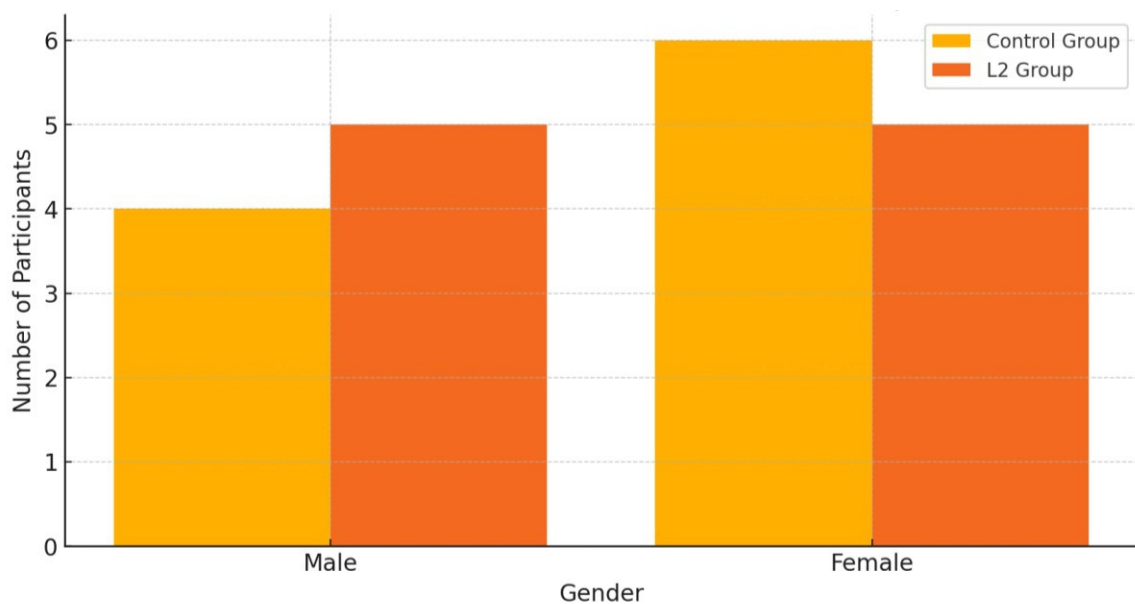
In the first section of the questionnaire, general information about the participants was collected, including data on age, gender, and linguistic competencies.

The age distribution, as illustrated in the graph below, reveals a predominance of individuals in the 26–35 age group across both cohorts. This reflects a young adult profile, typically associated with greater exposure to contemporary political discourse. The presence of this older age category is an intriguing factor. It may be linked to greater interpretative maturity or a more critical approach to political language.



GRAPH 15: AGE DISTRIBUTION ACROSS CONTROL (IN YELLOW) AND L2 GROUPS (IN ORANGE)

The gender distribution is balanced in both groups. In the L1 Italian group, as shown in the graph below, six participants are women, and four are men. In contrast, the L2 group exhibits a perfectly equal distribution, with five women and five men. This equilibrium ensures a diverse representation, with no significant gender-related differences emerging in the responses to the subsequent sections.



GRAPH 16: GENDER DISTRIBUTION ACROSS L1 AND L2 GROUPS

The majority of participants reported being proficient in at least three languages, including Italian, English, and a third language (often Hungarian in the L2 Italian group, though in some cases also French or Spanish). This finding reflects a high level of multilingualism, characteristic of an academic or professional context.

7.1.2 Interpretation of Key Terms

This section presents the responses of the L2 Italian group and the Italian L1 group for each word.

1. Sostenibilità (Sustainability)

L1 Italian group: Eight out of ten participants associated the term with the frame *Sustainability and Climate Policies*, while two placed it within the frame *Economic and Financial Strategies*.

L2 Italian group: Seven participants linked the term to the frame *Sustainability and Climate Policies*, while three associated it with the frame *Economic and Financial Strategies*.

Both groups show a predominant tendency to associate *sostenibilità* (sustainability) with the environmental frame, indicating a shared understanding of the term as connected to ecological values. However, the L2 group exhibits a slightly higher percentage of participants associating it with the economic frame. This discrepancy could stem from the perception of the term through a different linguistic and cultural lens, where political discourse often emphasises the connection between sustainability and economic growth.

2. Clima (Climate)

L1 Italian group: Seven participants associated the term with the frame *Sustainability and Climate Policies*, while three placed it within the frame *Economic and Financial Strategies*.

L2 Italian group: Six participants linked the term to the frame *Sustainability and Climate Policies*, while four associated it with the frame *Economic and Financial Strategies*.

Both groups recognise the primary connection between *clima* (climate) and sustainability. However, the L2 group demonstrates a greater tendency to interpret the term through an economic lens. While the majority of participants understand *clima* as part of a discourse related to sustainability and environmental protection, some associate it with the economic frame. This reflects the intrinsic ambivalence of the term, which, in political language, is often used to justify economic initiatives such as investments in “green” technologies or sustainable growth policies. It highlights how the climate crisis is sometimes subordinated to economic goals, both in Italy and potentially in Hungary (if instances of linguistic and cultural transfer are at play).

3. Rinnovabile (Renewable)

L1 Italian group: Nine participants associated the term with the frame *Sustainability and Climate Policies*, while one placed it within the frame *Economic and Financial Strategies*.

L2 Italian group: Eight participants linked the term to the frame *Sustainability and Climate Policies*, while two associated it with the frame *Economic and Financial Strategies*.

The difference between the groups is minimal, with both predominantly associating the term with sustainability. However, the slightly higher number of associations with the economic frame in the L2 group suggests a subtle influence of Italian political discourse. This discourse often portrays renewable energy as a driver of technological and economic growth.

4. Gestione dei rifiuti (Waste Management)

L1 Italian group: Eight participants associated the term with the frame *Sustainability and Climate Policies*, while two placed it within the frame *Economic and Financial Strategies*.

L2 Italian group: Eight participants linked the term to the frame *Sustainability and Climate Policies*, while two associated it with the frame *Economic and Financial Strategies*.

The two groups exhibit an almost identical perception of the term as primarily related to sustainability. This suggests that waste management is regarded as a predominantly environmental issue from both perspectives, with limited influence from the economic discourse.

The minority that associates the term with the economic frame reflects a pragmatic, financial view, where waste management is also considered an issue of cost and resource optimisation. This finding highlights how political discourse can shape public perception, framing sustainability as a matter of economic efficiency rather than environmental responsibility.

5. Sviluppo sostenibile (Sustainable Development)

L1 Italian group: Six participants associated the term with the frame *Sustainability and Climate Policies*, while four placed it within the frame *Economic and Financial Strategies*.

L2 Italian group: Five participants linked the term to the frame *Sustainability and Climate Policies*, while five associated it with the frame *Economic and Financial Strategies*.

The equal distribution within the L2 group highlights greater ambivalence compared to the L1 Italian group. This could indicate increased exposure to Italian political discourse, where the term is strategically employed to reconcile economic and environmental goals, often blurring the priorities.

This dualism reflects the strategic use of the term in political rhetoric, where sustainability is frequently portrayed as a secondary component of economic projects rather than as a primary objective. Such an approach risks diluting the term's original meaning, reducing it to a superficial rhetorical device.

6. Investimenti (Investments)

L1 Italian group: All ten participants associated the term with the frame *Economic and Financial Strategies*.

L2 Italian group: All ten participants associated the term with the frame *Economic and Financial Strategies*.

Both groups unanimously recognise the explicitly economic nature of the term, reflecting a clear and shared understanding of its connotation. This unanimity confirms the effectiveness of political discourse in presenting investments as a priority over environmental issues.

7. Energia (Energy)

L1 Italian group: Nine participants associated the term with the frame *Sustainability and Climate Policies*, while one placed it within the frame *Economic and Financial Strategies*.

L2 Italian group: Seven participants linked the term to the frame *Sustainability and Climate Policies*, while three associated it with the frame *Economic and Financial Strategies*.

The L2 group displays a greater inclination toward the economic frame compared to the L1 Italian group. This could be attributed to a pragmatic perception of the term, influenced by political narratives that emphasise the role of energy as a strategic driver for innovation and economic growth.

8. Finanza (Finance)

L1 Italian group: All ten participants associated the term with the frame *Economic and Financial Strategies*.

L2 Italian group: All ten participants associated the term with the frame *Economic and Financial Strategies*.

Once again, both groups share a unanimous perception of the term as part of the economic frame, highlighting that *finanza* (finance) is exclusively associated with financial strategies.

9. Crescita economica (Economic Growth)

L1 Italian group: All participants associated the term with the frame *Economic and Financial Strategies*.

L2 Italian group: All ten participants associated the term with the frame *Economic and Financial Strategies*.

The unanimous perception of the term as part of the economic frame in both groups underscores the connotative power of *crescita economica* (economic growth) in Italian political discourse, where it is positioned as an unquestionable priority. A common example is the way economic growth is linked to technological innovation in the renewable energy sector, promoting the idea that ecological transition can occur without compromising economic progress.

However, this approach often reduces the ambition of climate policies, favouring compromises that prioritise industrial and financial sectors. Moreover, it suggests that political language might use environmental issues as a tool to legitimise economic policies rather than treating them as an end in themselves.

10. Innovazione tecnologica (Technological Innovation)

L1 Italian group: All participants associated the term with the frame *Economic and Financial Strategies*.

L2 Italian group: All ten participants associated the term with the frame *Economic and Financial Strategies*.

Once again, the unanimous perception of this term as part of the economic frame highlights the centrality of technological innovation in political narratives, particularly in relation to development and growth policies.

11. Economia verde (Green Economy)

L1 Italian group: Six participants associated the term with the frame *Economic and Financial Strategies*, while four linked it to the frame *Sustainability and Climate Policies*.

L2 Italian group: Six participants associated the term with the frame *Economic and Financial Strategies*, while four linked it to the frame *Sustainability and Climate Policies*.

Both groups share a similar perception of the term, with a slight predominance of the economic frame. This ambivalence is significant: the green economy is often presented as a win-win solution that promises to combine economic growth with environmental protection. However, there is a risk that this term is used to legitimise policies that, while *green* in form, remain profit-oriented and fail to address the root causes of the climate crisis. The predominant association with the economic frame suggests that participants recognise this instrumental tendency in political language.

The comparison between the two participant groups reveals significant similarities in their perception of key terms but also highlights minor, though notable, differences within the L2 Italian student group. This group tends to interpret certain terms through a more economic lens compared to the L1 Italian group, a tendency that could be attributed to their status as non-native speakers. This status seems to lead them to focus more on pragmatic and strategic aspects of political discourse rather than purely environmental ones. This predisposition may be influenced by the need to understand Italian political language through a different cultural and linguistic filter, which amplifies the weight of economic elements.

The analysis of responses to the key terms in Section 2 highlighted a clear dualism in how participants perceive political discourse on environmental issues. Terms such as *crescita economica* (economic growth), *investimenti* (investments), and *finanza* (finance) were universally recognised by both groups as belonging to the economic frame. This unanimity suggests a shared and unequivocal understanding of their explicitly economic connotation, reflecting the effectiveness of political discourse in associating these concepts with prioritised growth strategies.

Conversely, terms such as *sostenibilità* (sustainability) and *rinnovabile* (renewable) were predominantly associated with the environmental sustainability frame, particularly within the L1 Italian group. However, the L2 group exhibited a greater tendency to place these terms within the economic frame, indicating a more nuanced and pragmatic perception. This outcome may stem from the frequent presentation of these concepts in Italian political discourse as tools to promote technological innovation and economic development, rather than as ends in themselves.

A particularly significant aspect concerns the ambivalence observed with terms like *economia verde* (green economy) and *sviluppo sostenibile* (sustainable development). Both groups demonstrated difficulty in situating these terms within a specific frame, highlighting the polysemic nature of these concepts and their strategic use in political discourse. Italian political language tends to blur the boundaries between economic and environmental frames, creating an illusion of synergy between sustainability and economic growth. This strategic use contributes to an ambiguous perception that, while enhancing interpretative flexibility, risks obscuring genuine environmental priorities.

The participants' critical awareness of discursive strategies clearly emerges from these responses. Both groups seem to recognise how environmental themes are often used rhetorically to advance economic agendas. However, the L2 group appears more influenced by this dynamic, likely due to their more recent and mediated exposure to Italian political language. This is particularly evident in their greater tendency to associate ambivalent terms such as *economia verde* (green economy) with economic strategies rather than sustainability policies. Italian political discourse appears to have a more pronounced impact on L2 students, underscoring the need for clearer and less ambiguous language in communicating environmental policies. The necessity of clearly distinguishing between environmental and economic objectives is crucial not only to facilitate comprehension by non-native speakers but also to promote greater transparency and accountability in public policy.

7.1.3 Analysis of Metaphors

The third part of the questionnaire focuses on the interpretation of selected metaphors used in Italian electoral programs and public speeches related to environmental issues. These metaphors represent a crucial element of political discourse, as they allow for the evocation of complex concepts and guide public perception towards specific interpretative frames.

The analysis of responses aims to highlight how participants associate the metaphors with the two main frames (*Sustainability and Climate Policies* and *Economic and Financial Strategies*) and how these metaphors shape their understanding of environmental issues.

1. Transizione ecologica (Ecological Transition)

L1 Italian group: Six out of ten participants perceive this metaphor as evocative of a necessary change to protect the environment, while four do not find it sufficiently concrete. Six participants associated it with the frame *Sustainability and Climate Policies*, and four with the frame *Economic and Financial Strategies*.

L2 Italian group: Five out of ten participants perceive this metaphor as indicative of necessary change, while the other five find the term unclear. Four participants associated it with the frame *Sustainability and Climate Policies*, and six with the frame *Economic and Financial Strategies*. Both groups reveal a polarisation in their perception of *transizione ecologica* (ecological transition). However, the L2 group shows a higher prevalence of associations with the economic frame compared to the L1 Italian group. This suggests that non-native speakers may be more influenced by political narratives emphasising the link between ecological transition and economic growth.

The difficulty experienced by both groups in grasping the operational concreteness of the term reflects the vagueness with which this metaphor is employed in political discourse. These finding underscores how political language leverages *transition* more as a narrative of economic progress than as a genuine commitment to sustainability.

2. Riduzione delle emissioni (Emission Reduction)

L1 Italian group: Eight out of ten participants find the metaphor clear and comprehensible, while two struggle to situate it within a political context. Seven participants associated it with the frame *Sustainability and Climate Policies*, and three with the frame *Economic and Financial Strategies*.

L2 Italian group: Seven out of ten participants find the metaphor clear and comprehensible, while three consider it somewhat abstract. Five participants associated it with the frame *Sustainability and Climate Policies*, and five with the frame *Economic and Financial Strategies*.

While both groups find the metaphor relatively clear, the L2 group exhibits an equal distribution between the two frames. This balance may reflect greater exposure to the economic representation of emission reduction, tied to mechanisms such as carbon credits and taxation, which emphasise the economic dimension over environmental responsibility. In contrast, the Italian L1 group demonstrates a predominant association with the sustainability frame. This could be because native Italian speakers, having frequently encountered this metaphor, perceive it more directly and concretely due to its immediate connection with specific environmental goals. Nevertheless, the association with the economic frame by a small minority in the Italian L1 group suggests that this metaphor is occasionally instrumentalised to justify market-driven policies, such as carbon credits or emission taxes. This highlights that, while the metaphor is generally effective, its use in political discourse risks being reductive, focusing on economic solutions rather than systemic interventions.

3. Cambiamenti climatici (Climate Change)

L1 Italian group: Seven out of ten participants perceive a sense of urgency in this metaphor, while three do not. Eight participants associated it with the frame *Sustainability and Climate Policies*, and two with the frame *Economic and Financial Strategies*.

L2 Italian group: Eight out of ten participants perceive a sense of urgency, while two do not recognise this characteristic. Seven participants associated it with the frame *Sustainability and Climate Policies*, and three with the frame *Economic and Financial Strategies*.

The metaphor of “cambiamenti climatici” (climate change) effectively conveys a sense of urgency in both groups, with greater uniformity in the L2 group. However, the minority that does not perceive this urgency reflects the risk of the term becoming naturalised in public discourse, potentially diminishing its communicative impact. Both groups predominantly associate the term with the sustainability frame, demonstrating that this metaphor retains its primarily environmental connotation.

4. Energia rinnovabile (Renewable Energy)

L1 Italian group: Eight out of ten participants view this metaphor as a symbol of technological innovation and economic progress, while two do not share this perspective. Six participants associated it with the frame *Economic and Financial Strategies*, and four with the frame *Sustainability and Climate Policies*.

L2 Italian group: Six out of ten participants view this metaphor as a symbol of technological innovation and economic progress, while four disagree. Four participants associated it with the frame *Sustainability and Climate Policies*, and six with the frame *Economic and Financial Strategies*.

Both groups recognise the connection between *energia rinnovabile* (renewable energy) and technological innovation, but the L2 group places greater emphasis on the economic frame. This could suggest an understanding shaped by political narratives that depict renewable energy as a driver of economic growth. Such a representation risks overshadowing the ecological dimension, shifting the focus from reducing consumption to economic progress.

5. Sviluppo sostenibile (Sustainable Development)

L1 Italian group: Seven out of ten participants believe the metaphor suggests a balance between economy and environment, while three do not share this perception. Eight participants associated it with the frame *Economic and Financial Strategies*, and two with the frame *Sustainability and Climate Policies*.

L2 Italian group: Six out of ten participants perceive a balance between economy and environment, while four do not. Seven participants associated it with the frame *Economic and Financial Strategies*, and three with the frame *Sustainability and Climate Policies*.

In both groups, the metaphor of *sviluppo sostenibile* (sustainable development) is predominantly linked to the economic frame, highlighting the strong influence of political discourse. This term, often presented as a compromise between sustainability and growth, risks losing its original environmental connotation. Instead, it becomes an argument to justify economic development policies that may fail to adequately address climate challenges.

6. Quantum Leap (Salto Quantico)

L1 Italian group: Five out of ten participants perceive the metaphor as evocative of rapid and revolutionary progress, while the other five do not. Six participants associated it with the frame *Economic and Financial Strategies*, and four with the frame *Sustainability and Climate Policies*.

L2 Italian group: Four out of ten participants find the metaphor evocative, while six do not recognise this characteristic. Six participants associated it with the frame *Economic and Financial Strategies*, and four with the frame *Sustainability and Climate Policies*.

The metaphor *salto quantico* (quantum leap) is less well understood by the L2 group, with the majority unable to grasp its transformative potential. This may be attributed to its highly abstract nature, which is less concrete than other metaphors. Both groups predominantly associate the metaphor with the economic frame, reflecting a perception of progress as synonymous with technological innovation rather than structural change.

The analysis of responses to the metaphors highlights how Italian political language strategically employs metaphors to guide public perception towards an apparent balance between environmental sustainability and economic progress. This tendency emerged clearly in the comparison between the two groups. While both groups demonstrate awareness of the intrinsic ambiguity of many metaphors, the group of L2 Italian learners appears more inclined to interpret them through an economic lens. This tendency could be attributed to their status as non-native speakers, which leads them to focus on the pragmatic and strategic aspects of political language, often emphasised in educational and media contexts.

Metaphors such as *energia rinnovabile* (renewable energy) and *sviluppo sostenibile* (sustainable development) show a strong association with the frame *Economic and Financial Strategies* in both groups, though this association is more prevalent among the L2 students. This reflects a rhetorical use that highlights the economic benefits of these metaphors, often at the expense of genuine attention to environmental goals. Conversely, more concrete expressions like *riduzione delle emissioni* (emission reduction) and *cambiamenti climatici* (climate change) maintain a predominant association with the frame *Sustainability and Climate Policies*, demonstrating greater effectiveness in communicating urgency and environmental responsibility.

A distinctive element from the analysis is the L2 group's difficulty in comprehending more abstract metaphors such as *salto quantico* (quantum leap) and *transizione ecologica* (ecological transition). This illustrates how the complexity and abstraction of certain expressions can reduce their communicative effectiveness, particularly for a non-native audience. The prevalence of the economic frame for these metaphors suggests that Italian political language often leverages their evocative potential to legitimise growth-oriented policies rather than sustainability-focused initiatives.

The ambivalence observed in terms such as *sviluppo sostenibile* (sustainable development) and *energia rinnovabile* (renewable energy) underscores the need for clearer and less ambiguous political language. The blending of economic and sustainability frames risks

creating confusion in public perception, presenting sustainability as a subsidiary element of economic agendas rather than as a primary goal. For L2 learners, this clarity is especially crucial to foster a critical understanding of political discourse, reducing the risk of perceiving metaphors as rhetorical tools rather than as expressions of genuine commitment to sustainability.

The use of metaphors in Italian political discourse serves a dual purpose: on the one hand, it facilitates the understanding of complex concepts; on the other, it risks being manipulated to support economic agendas.

7.2 Comparative Evaluation of Texts

The analysis of the responses collected in the second and third sections of the questionnaire, examined in this chapter and compared between the native speakers (Italian L1) and the group of L2 Italian students, fully confirms the conclusions reached in Chapters 4 and 5. The data highlights how environmental representation in Italian political discourse is often instrumentalised, with the language of sustainability strategically employed to legitimise economic priorities.

This dynamic becomes particularly evident in the distribution of frames associated with key terms and metaphors, revealing a functional integration of environmental issues into growth-oriented political narratives.

Specifically, terms such as *sostenibilità* (sustainability) and *clima* (climate), while predominantly associated with the frame *Sustainability and Climate Policies* in both groups, show a stronger tendency among the L2 group to interpret them through an economic lens. This inclination suggests that Italian political discourse, often ambivalent and rhetorical, has a more significant impact on non-native speakers, who seem to perceive environmental issues as instrumentally linked to economic growth.

A particularly notable finding is the unanimity in both groups when associating terms such as *finanza* (finance), *crescita economica* (economic growth), and *investimenti* (investments) with the economic frame. This confirms how political language positions these concepts as central to economic strategies, relegating environmental goals to a secondary role. However, in the case of ambivalent terms such as *sviluppo sostenibile* (sustainable development) and *economia verde* (green economy), the participants' perceived ambivalence reflects the dualism of Italian political discourse. This discourse deliberately blurs the boundaries between sustainability and profit, creating an illusion of balance.

The third section, focusing on metaphors, further reinforces this conclusion. While some more concrete metaphors, such as *riduzione delle emissioni* (emission reduction) and *cambiamenti climatici* (climate change), are perceived as closely tied to the sustainability frame, others, such as *transizione ecologica* (ecological transition) and *energia rinnovabile* (renewable energy), exhibit a strong connection to the economic frame, particularly among the L2 group. This suggests that political language uses metaphors not only to simplify complex concepts but also to steer public perception towards the legitimisation of economic policies.

The questionnaire responses thus confirm that environmental issues are frequently employed as rhetorical tools in Italian political discourse. Terms and metaphors that could evoke genuine commitment to sustainability are often redirected towards an economic frame, reflecting a discursive strategy that prioritises economic growth over environmental protection.

8. ClimaNet

Chapter 8 introduces the preliminary structure of ClimaNet, envisioned as a conceptual model for analysing Italian political discourse on environmental issues. Section 8.1 examines the theoretical and methodological foundations for constructing this proposed ontology, referencing Gangemi et al. (2005) and Stibbe (2015) to underscore how language actively shapes environmental narratives across political, media, and educational domains. Building on this foundation, the methodology of eXtreme Design (XD), as detailed by Blomqvist, Hammar, and Presutti (2016), provides an iterative framework for ensuring that the ontology aligns with competency questions established during the planning phase. This approach enhances the scalability and adaptability of ClimaNet.

In the state-of-the-art, the EREON ontology, as described by Camporeale et al. (2015), is noteworthy for its use of semantic rules to simulate future scenarios, supporting strategic planning for a low-carbon society.

Our ClimaNet ontology adopts (a) a dual strategy by comparing Italian political discourse to empirical climate data, such as ISPRA reports, and (b) a pragmatic design method by leveraging Ontology Design Patterns (ODPs) to structure complex relationships (Gangemi, 2005).

Section 8.1 describes the basic requirement of ClimaNet, based on XD.

Section 8.2 situates ClimaNet within its broader theoretical landscape by exploring the role of ontologies in interdisciplinary research. Drawing on examples such as Wu et al. (2021) and Camporeale et al. (2015), this section highlights how similar frameworks have effectively linked linguistic structures to empirical data and complex systems, providing valuable insights for the development of ClimaNet.

Sections 8.3 and 8.4 outline the initial steps of implementing ClimaNet using Protégé and the Web Ontology Language (OWL). This preliminary structure defines essential classes, relationships, and attributes, serving as a “skeleton” rather than a complete system. Protégé’s integrated tools, including reasoners like HermiT, are employed to verify the consistency and coherence of the ontology axioms, ensuring its logical soundness during development. By offering a foundation for future refinement and application, this conceptual model paves the way for further interdisciplinary investigation into the intersection of political discourse and environmental realities.

The construction of an ontology, as Gangemi et al. (2005) underline, is an essential tool for organising and formalising complex knowledge, ensuring interoperability and clarity. In the ecological domain, Stibbe (2015) highlights how language is not neutral but actively contributes

to the construction of narrative realities that influence both policies and social perceptions. Political lexicon, therefore, does not merely describe a pre-existing reality but actively shapes it, moulding collective perceptions, priorities, and behaviours. Stibbe articulates this concept by stressing that language is a powerful narrative tool, capable of shaping both social and ecological dynamics. ClimaNet further benefits from methodologies such as XD (Presutti et al., 2009; Blomqvist et al., 2010), which emphasize iterative design and domain-specific refinement, making it a robust framework for analysing the interplay between language and environmental realities.

ClimaNet aligns with this interdisciplinary perspective, aiming to create a semantic model that captures the complexity of Italian environmental discourse and its social, political, and ecological implications.

8.1 Foundations of ClimaNet: Competency-Based Design and Ontological Structure

ClimaNet is designed to develop an ontological representation that encapsulates the intricacies of Italian political discourse on the environment, integrating empirical data with educational perceptions. This project transcends the simple cataloguing of concepts, aspiring instead to model the semantic and pragmatic relationships that connect various levels of discourse: political, media, and educational.

To ground this ontology in practical relevance, ClimaNet is informed by competency-based design principles, as emphasized in the eXtreme Design (XD) methodology (Blomqvist, Hammar, & Presutti, 2016). This iterative approach ensures that the ontology's structure aligns with its intended analytical objectives by addressing key questions that frame its development. These questions include e.g.: How do Italian political actors frame environmental issues? How consistent are their claims with empirical data? How do educational and cultural factors shape the reception of political discourse? By answering these questions, ClimaNet seeks to provide a nuanced understanding of the interplay between political language, environmental realities, and educational perceptions.

ClimaNet aims to logically integrate linguistic analysis with empirical data, providing a robust framework for exploring political claims, their empirical validity, and their reception in educational contexts. For instance, ISPRA data on CO₂ emissions can be mapped to corresponding claims in *PoliticalDiscourse* classes such as *ElectoralProgramme* and *COPDiscourse*, revealing potential discrepancies between political rhetoric and environmental realities. By organising linguistic and empirical elements into a coherent ontology, ClimaNet

will enable future interdisciplinary investigations into the dynamic interplay between political discourse, environmental data, and educational insights.

Key Questions for ClimaNet:

- How do Italian political actors frame environmental issues in electoral programmes and international contexts such as COP speeches?
- What are the key semantic and pragmatic differences between these communicative settings?
- How consistent are political claims with empirical environmental data, such as those provided by ISPRA?
- How do learners of Italian as a second language perceive and interpret Italian political discourse on the environment?
- What are the connections between political discourse, environmental challenges, and social perceptions in educational contexts?

By addressing these questions, ClimaNet aims to provide a comprehensive framework for understanding the intersections between political language, environmental realities, and educational perspectives.

8.2 Theoretical Context

The design of ClimaNet is situated within a broader body of research that demonstrates the versatility of ontologies as tools for representing interdisciplinary domains. Wu et al. (2021) propose an ontological model for analysing climate data, emphasising the importance of converting relational data into RDF to enhance interoperability. Following a similar approach, ClimaNet could integrate environmental data from ISPRA to compare political statements with empirical realities, thereby providing a transparent representation of discrepancies between language and facts.

Another noteworthy contribution is the work of Camporeale et al. (2015), which describes the EREON ontology, designed to manage data from the European Union Emissions Trading System (EU-ETS). This study demonstrates how ontologies can represent environmental data while also supporting the management of strategic scenarios for a low-carbon society. In particular, the incorporation of semantic rules for simulating future scenarios offers a practical model for integrating data analysis with political and economic planning. This approach

resonates with ClimaNet's aim to evaluate the alignment between Italian political strategies and internationally declared sustainability goals.

The adoption of Ontology Design Patterns (ODPs), as introduced by Gangemi (2005) in Ontology design patterns for semantic web content, provides reusable templates for structuring complex relationships. These patterns enhance both the scalability and consistency of ClimaNet, making them indispensable for representing intricate connections between political discourse, empirical data, and educational contexts.

Moreover, the eXtreme Design (XD) methodology, described by Blomqvist, Hammar, and Presutti (2016) in Engineering ontologies with patterns—the eXtreme design methodology, offers a robust framework for iterative ontology development. This methodology, grounded in competency questions, ensures that the ontology remains aligned with its analytical objectives throughout the design process. Foundational works for XD, such as Presutti et al. (2009) and Blomqvist et al. (2010), underscore the value of iterative refinement and domain-specific requirements, further affirming XD's relevance to ClimaNet.

Ultimately, the approach to semantic relationships between political agents, as presented by Laufer et al. (2018), offers further insights for ClimaNet. This study proposes a set of ontologies designed to characterise relationships among political agents, focusing on abstract concepts such as political influence and decision-making hierarchies. Adopting a similar model in ClimaNet would allow for the representation of not only political discourse itself but also the interconnections between the actors involved, highlighting dynamics of power and responsibility concerning environmental issues.

Finally, the OnToMap project provides a significant example of using ontologies to represent territorial knowledge, integrating environmental, urban, cultural, and social components. OnToMap illustrates how an ontology can be constructed to reflect the complexity of a territory by linking different but interrelated aspects. In the context of ClimaNet, a similar approach could be employed to represent the relationships between local and global issues, illustrating how Italian political language on the environment responds to (or contributes to) specific territorial challenges.

8.2.1 Ontology Planning

Before beginning the construction of the ontology, it is essential to devote time to careful planning. Gangemi et al. (2005) stress the importance of a well-defined initial design to ensure consistency and reusability. The primary objective of ClimaNet is to represent political

discourse on the environment in Italy from 2008 to the present, with particular attention to the interactions between political, media, and educational discourse. This representation is grounded in the competency questions formulated during the planning phase, which guide the selection of classes, properties, and relationships to ensure the ontology meets its intended analytical goals.

The planning phase involves identifying the domain's key concepts and their relationships. This process, as highlighted by Gangemi et al. (2005), requires starting with competency questions, which frame the questions the ontology must address and ensure alignment between its structure and its practical applications. For instance, the concept of Political Discourse (PoliticalDiscourse) encompasses COP speeches and electoral programmes, while Environmental Problem (EnvironmentalProblem) categorises ecological issues. Dati Ambientali (EnvironmentalData) integrates empirical information, and EducationalDiscourse models student perceptions. This hierarchical structure evolves as new details and connections are added. The decision to subdivide PoliticalDiscourse into Electoral Programme (ElectoralProgramme) and COP Discourse (COPDiscourse) reflects not only a thematic distinction but also a substantive difference in communicative strategies. Electoral programmes focus on technical terms, such as decarbonizzazione (decarbonisation), which emphasise measurable goals. In contrast, COP speeches adopt a more evocative language, employing expressions like giustizia climatica (climate justice) aimed at building international consensus. This planning stage is crucial for conceptualising the ontology's framework, which will be organised into a hierarchical structure of classes and subclasses. The ontology can be envisioned as a network, where each node represents a concept and each edge signifies a relationship. This network is not static; it evolves as additional details are incorporated and new connections are established.

8.3 Creating the project in Protégé

Protégé is the standard tool for ontology modelling, renowned for its intuitive interface and advanced support for the Web Ontology Language (OWL). When creating a new project, it is crucial to define a meaningful Internationalized Resource Identifier (IRI), such as <http://www.ontologiaClimaNet.it>. This identifier ensures the ontology's uniqueness and interoperability. Once the IRI is established, the project is saved under a representative name, such as ClimaNet.owl.

During the project creation process, the system prompts the user to define an IRI, which serves as the unique identifier for the ontology. It is essential to select an IRI that clearly reflects the

domain and purpose of the project. For instance, <http://www.ontologiaClimaNet.it> effectively represents the focus and scope of this initiative. This identifier will be used to reference terms defined within the ontology and guarantees its uniqueness in international contexts.

After setting the IRI, the project must be saved with an appropriate name, such as *ClimaNet.owl*. Regularly saving the project during the construction phase is crucial to prevent data loss in case of technical issues.

8.3.1 Defining Classes

The definition of classes is one of the most critical stages in constructing an ontology, as it is through these classes that the primary concepts of the domain of interest are formalised. In Protégé, classes are not merely containers of information; they are semantic structures that organise knowledge in a hierarchical and relational manner. The predefined root class, *Thing*, plays a fundamental role as the starting point from which all other classes derive.

The main classes in *ClimaNet* include:

- *PoliticalDiscourse*: Subdivided into *ElectoralProgramme* and *COPDiscourse*.
- *EnvironmentalProblem*: Includes subclasses such as *GreenhouseGasEmissions* and *Deforestation*.
- *EnvironmentalData*: Represents empirical data on emissions and pollution.
- *EducationalDiscourse*: Models educational perceptions, including subclasses like *HungarianPerception* and *ItalianPerception*.
- *PoliticalActor*: Represents political parties and leaders.

This hierarchy facilitates detailed analyses, highlighting semantic and pragmatic differences among concepts.

8.3.2 The Hierarchy of Main Classes and Properties

In the ontology related to political discourse on the environment, the main classes represent the most general and inclusive concepts within the domain. Each of these classes is added starting from the *Thing* root class by right-clicking and selecting “Add Subclass.” It is essential to assign clear and unique names, using standardised terminology that ensures the ontology is easily interpretable by other researchers.

PoliticalDiscourse

The *PoliticalDiscourse* class encompasses all forms of political communication related to the environment. It can be further subdivided into subclasses reflecting specific aspects of the domain:

ElectoralProgramme: Represents official documents prepared by political parties during elections. These texts are typically formal and programmatic, articulating political intentions concerning the environment.

COPDiscourse: Represents speeches delivered by political leaders during the Conferences of the Parties (COP), an international context requiring specific rhetoric. These speeches often aim to build consensus and promote a positive national image on the global stage.

This hierarchical organisation distinguishes different types of political discourse based on their purposes and audiences, enabling more detailed analyses.

EnvironmentalProblem

The *EnvironmentalProblem* class categorises the main environmental issues addressed in political discourse. It can also be subdivided into subclasses, such as:

GreenhouseGasEmissions: Represents issues related to CO₂ and other pollutant emissions.

Deforestation: Models the phenomenon of forest cover loss.

Pollution: A more general category that may include atmospheric, water, and soil pollution.

This hierarchical structure connects political discourse to specific environmental issues, providing a clear and organised representation of semantic relationships.

EnvironmentalData

The *DatiAmbientali* class is essential for integrating empirical information that can either support or contradict political claims. For instance, this class may include data from institutions such as ISPRA (*Istituto Superiore per la Protezione e la Ricerca Ambientale*, Institute for Environmental Protection and Research), covering greenhouse gas emissions or pollution levels. The combination of empirical data and political discourse enables an evaluation of the consistency between language and reality.

EducationalDiscourse

The *EducationalDiscourse* class represents the perceptions and interpretations of students in educational contexts. This level is particularly valuable for analysing how political discourse is

received and reinterpreted by learners of Italian as a second language (L2), such as Hungarian students. This class can be linked to questionnaires completed by students to express their opinions and interpretations.

The *EducationalDiscourse* class is a distinctive feature of ClimaNet, as it incorporates student perceptions, connecting them to political discourse and empirical data. It provides an invaluable tool for exploring how political language is received in diverse educational and cultural contexts. For instance, ClimaNet could investigate cultural variations in the reception of political language. Italian and Hungarian students, for example, may attribute different meanings to *transizione ecologica* (ecological transition) due to varying exposure to national media debates or lexical translations that emphasise different aspects. This level of analysis highlights the potential of ontology as a pedagogical instrument for fostering critical and intercultural reflection.

Modelling the differences between *PercezioneUngherese* (HungarianPerception) and *PercezioneItaliana* (ItalianPerception) allows for the analysis of:

Understanding of key terms: Students with differing linguistic competencies may interpret concepts such as ecological transition differently, depending on their cultural and linguistic familiarity.

Impact of political metaphors: Expressions like green economy or climate justice may evoke different images for students from distinct cultural backgrounds.

This analysis is enriched through questionnaires designed to evaluate:

- The perceived clarity of political language.
- The consistency between political messaging and environmental data.
- Ideological interpretations attributed to political discourse.

A concrete example is the use of ClimaNet to design interactive teaching exercises where students analyse the consistency between political claims and empirical data provided by sources such as ISPRA. This approach not only promotes critical understanding of political language but also raises awareness of environmental challenges.

PoliticalActor

The *AttorePolitico* class represents the entities producing political discourse, such as political parties, leaders, or institutional representatives. This class links political speeches to their authors, adding another layer of context to the analysis.

8.3.2.1 Creation of Properties

Once classes have been defined, the next step involves creating properties, which play a critical role in structuring the ontology. Properties define the relationships between classes (*object properties*) and describe the attributes of classes (*data properties*). As Laufer et al. (2018) suggest, this inferential dynamic is essential for representing complex interactions between political actors and environmental contexts.

8.3.2.1.1 Object Properties

Object properties link two classes and describe the relationships between them. For example: *concerns*: Links a PoliticalDiscourse to a EnvironmentalProblem. This property models the discourse content, indicating which environmental issues are addressed.

expresses Links a Questionnaire to StudentPerception. This relationship represents students' opinions about the analysed political discourse.

hasCompleted: Links a Student to the Questionnaire they completed. This property highlights the connection between students and the collected data.

To create an object property in Protégé, navigate to the “Object Properties” tab, click “Add Object Property,” and define the property name. Next, specify the domain (the starting class) and the range (the target class) of the relationship.

8.3.2.1.2 Data Properties

Data properties describe the intrinsic attributes of classes. For example:

date: An attribute of COPDiscourse that specifies the date of the speech.

CO₂Quantity: An attribute of EnvironmentalData that represents numerical values related to emissions.

Similar to object properties, data properties are created in the “Data Properties” tab, where the data type (e.g., string, integer, or float) for each attribute can be specified.

The subdivision into subclasses is not a mere classificatory exercise but reflects profound differences in communicative contexts and objectives. In the context of *PoliticalDiscourse*,

dividing it into subclasses such as *ElectoralProgramme* and *COPDiscourse* is not solely descriptive. It mirrors fundamental distinctions in the functions and communicative aims of these types of discourse.

An *ElectoralProgramme* represents highly structured and formal communication designed for a broad and diverse audience. It is a programmatic document that outlines party commitments, using technical language oriented towards measurable goals. Conversely, a speech delivered during a Conference of the Parties (COP) is intended for an international audience. It must balance technical content with a diplomatic and persuasive tone, aiming to build consensus and enhance the country's global image.

This distinction enables detailed analyses, such as:

- Terminological differences: The use of technical keywords in electoral programmes compared to evocative metaphors in public speeches.
- Rhetorical strategies: The employment of *pathos* in COP speeches versus *logos* in electoral programmes.
- Internal consistency: Evaluating the alignment between commitments in electoral programmes and public declarations in international contexts, identifying potential discrepancies or overlaps.

This articulation not only enriches the ontology but also provides an analytical framework for studying the intersections between politics and the environment across various communicative settings.

Similarly, the *EnvironmentalProblem* class gains depth when articulated into subclasses such as *GreenhouseGasEmissions*, *Deforestation*, and *Pollution*. Each subclass represents a distinct aspect of environmental issues, allowing for more focused and detailed analyses.

For instance:

EmissioniGasSerra are central to the global climate change debate, receiving significant attention from international institutions such as the IPCC (*Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change*).

Deforestazione is a more localised issue, often tied to specific geographic and cultural contexts, such as the Amazon or Southeast Asian tropical forests.

Inquinamento can be further divided into categories such as air, water, and soil pollution, reflecting the complexity and multidimensional nature of this problem.

The subdivision into subclasses allows for:

- Analysis of which environmental themes are prioritised or marginalised in political discourse.
- Examination of geographic and cultural variations in the representation of these themes.
- Exploration of connections between political discourse and empirical data, comparing political claims with real-world data on each issue.

Properties are used to connect instances of classes, providing relational expressivity.

Object Properties:

concerns: Links *PoliticalDiscourse* to *EnvironmentalProblem*, modelling the content of discourse by indicating which environmental issues are addressed.

expresses: Links *Questionnaire* to *StudentPerception*, representing students' opinions and interpretations of political discourse.

Data Properties:

date: An attribute of *COPDiscourse* indicating the date of the speech. This is crucial for diachronic analyses of how political language evolves over time.

CO₂Quantity: An attribute of *EnvironmentalData* representing numerical values related to greenhouse gas emissions. This enables comparisons between political claims and empirical data, highlighting inconsistencies or alignments.

The *EducationalDiscourse* class facilitates the exploration of how political discourse is received in diverse cultural and linguistic contexts. Using questionnaires, ClimaNet analyses:

Understanding of key terms: For instance, how learners interpret *transizione ecologica* (ecological transition) depending on their linguistic and cultural background.

Impact of political metaphors: Metaphors such as *economia verde* (green economy) or *giustizia climatica* (climate justice) may evoke different images in distinct cultural settings. This analysis supports the development of interactive teaching exercises, fostering a critical understanding of political language and its environmental implications.

The true potential of ClimaNet lies in combining subclasses and properties to create a dynamic semantic network that represents complex and evolving relationships. However, the effectiveness of this ontology depends on evaluating its design through structured

methodologies like eXtreme Design (XD), which emphasise iterative refinement based on competency questions and domain analysis. For example:

Subclasses of *PoliticalDiscourse* distinguish between national (electoral programmes) and international (COP speeches) communicative contexts.

Properties such as *riguarda* link these discourses to environmental issues, identifying political priorities.

Subclasses of *EducationalDiscourse* and properties like *esprime* incorporate educational and cultural dimensions, demonstrating how student perceptions contribute to a broader understanding of political discourse.

Constructing an ontology such as ClimaNet involves integrating theoretical knowledge with practical skills. A clear definition of concepts, careful planning of relationships, and the accurate application of tools like Protégé are fundamental steps in developing a model suited to analysing environmental political discourse in Italy.

ClimaNet serves as more than a tool for organising knowledge. It provides a valuable framework for examining how political language shapes social and environmental realities. Expanding the ontology with additional data or adapting it for international contexts would enhance its applicability and establish it as a key resource for comparative studies on political language and environmental issues.

8.4 The ClimaNet Ontology in Protégé

The ClimaNet ontology (the full code is included in the *Appendix*) is designed to represent and analyze the complex relationships between environmental themes and Italian political discourse from 2008 to the present. Developed using the eXtreme Design (XD) methodology, ClimaNet aims to provide a structured framework for interdisciplinary research in ecolinguistics, digital humanities, and political science. The ontology facilitates the integration of diverse data sources, including political programs, COP speeches, media articles, and empirical environmental data.

Core Concepts and Classes

ClimaNet organizes its domain knowledge into a set of key classes, arranged hierarchically to capture both general and specific concepts:

- **PoliticalDiscourse:** This is the root class for any form of political communication related to environmental topics. It is specialized into:
 - **ElectoralProgramme:** Represents the official policy documents of political parties (e.g., `climanet:ElectoralProgramme2008_Right`).
 - **COPDiscourse:** Represents speeches delivered at international climate conferences (e.g., `climanet:COP21_Renzi`).
- **EnvironmentalProblem:** This class categorizes various environmental issues, with subclasses including:
 - **GreenhouseGasEmission:** For emissions of gases like CO₂ (linked to `climanet:Italy_emissions_2021`).
 - **Deforestation:** For the clearing of forests.
 - **Pollution:** A broader category with further subclasses like `climanet:AirPollution` and `climanet:WaterPollution`.
 - **EcologicalTransition:** Represents the shift towards a more sustainable economic system.
- **EnvironmentalData:** This class represents empirical measurements and observations, refined into subclasses like `CO2EmissionData`.
- **DataSet:** Groups related `EnvironmentalData` points, enabling representation of trends (e.g., emissions over time).
- **UnitOfMeasure:** Specifies the units used for `EnvironmentalData` (e.g., `climanet:GtCO2`).
- **PoliticalActor:** Represents entities involved in political activities, with subclasses:
 - **PoliticalParty:** For political organizations (e.g., `climanet:PartitoDemocratico`).
 - **Politician:** For individual political figures (e.g., `climanet:Renzi`).
- **MediaCoverage:** Represents media articles and reports.
- **MediaOutlet:** Represents the source of media coverage (e.g., `climanet:ThePostInternazionale`).
- **Sentiment:** Categorizes the emotional tone of discourse, with subclasses `climanet:PositiveSentiment`, `climanet:NegativeSentiment`, and `climanet:NeutralSentiment`.
- **EthicalPrinciple:** Represents moral values or principles invoked in the discourse, such as `climanet:SocialJustice` or `climanet:EconomicEfficiency`.
- **PoliticalStrategy:** Classifies the persuasive techniques employed, like `climanet:EmotionalAppeal` or `climanet:RhetoricalAmbiguity`.

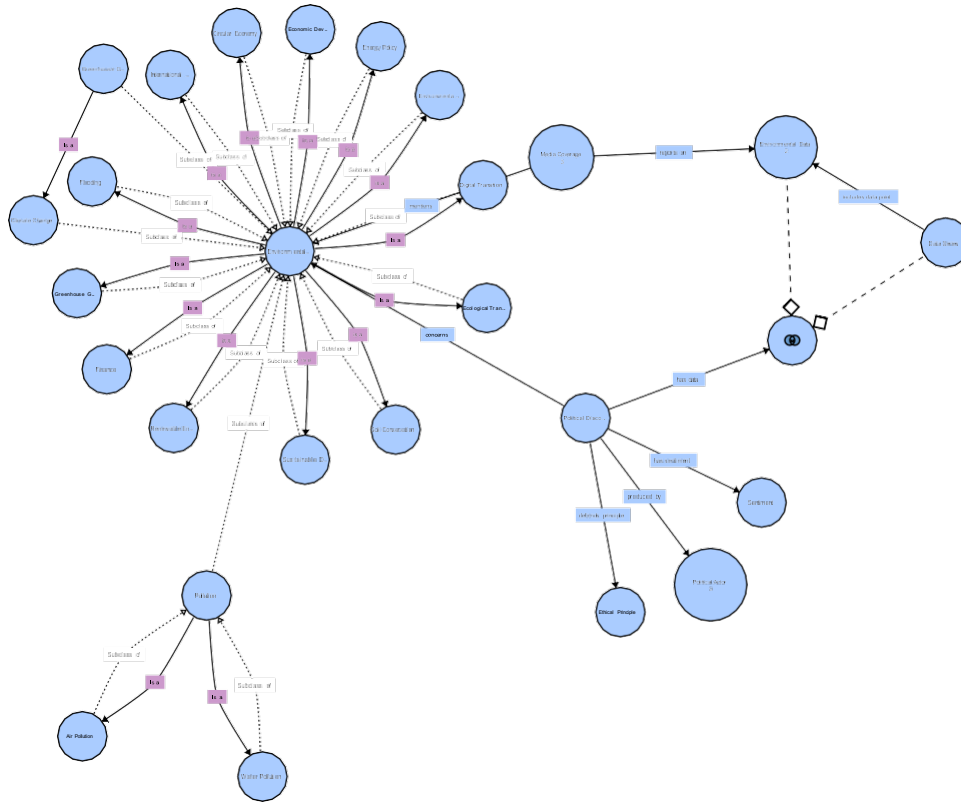


FIGURE 1: CORE PATTERN ONTOLOGY

Relationships and Properties

ClimaNet uses object properties to define relationships between classes and data properties to specify attributes:

- **Object Properties:**

- `climanet:concerns`: Links `PoliticalDiscourse` to `EnvironmentalProblem`.
- `climanet:produced_by`: Links `PoliticalDiscourse` to `PoliticalActor`.
- `climanet:has_data`: Links `PoliticalDiscourse` to `DataSeries`.
- `climanet:mentions`: Links `MediaCoverage` to `EnvironmentalProblem`.
- `climanet:reports_on`: Links `MediaCoverage` to `DataSeries`.
- `climanet:hasSentiment`: Links `PoliticalDiscourse` or `MediaCoverage` to `Sentiment`.
- `climanet:defendsPrinciple`: Links `PoliticalDiscourse` to `EthicalPrinciple`.
- `climanet:employsStrategy`: Links `PoliticalDiscourse` to `PoliticalStrategy`.
- `climanet:includesDataPoint`: Links `DataSeries` to `EnvironmentalData`.

- **Data Properties:**

- climanet:date: For the date of a discourse or article.
- climanet:title: For the title of a discourse or article.
- climanet:value: For numerical values in EnvironmentalData.
- climanet:co2Quantity: For CO₂ emission values.

Examples of Ontology Usage

- To represent the claim that the 2008 Centre-Right Coalition's program addressed soil and water conservation:

climanet:ElectoralProgramme2008_Right climanet:concerns climanet:SoilConservation,
climanet:WaterConservation .

- To link a news article to a data series on emissions:

climanet:TPI_Article_FloodReport climanet:reports_on climanet:Italy_emissions_2023 .

- To express the sentiment and political strategy of a speech:

climanet:COP21_Renzi climanet:hasSentiment climanet:PositiveSentiment ;
climanet:employsStrategy climanet:EmotionalAppeal .

SPARQL Unit Tests

Here are some SPARQL queries based on the competency questions from the original draft report, demonstrating how ClimaNet can be used to retrieve information:

- **Q1: Which electoral programs discuss renewable energy?**

PREFIX rdfs: <http://www.w3.org/2000/01/rdf-schema#>

PREFIX climanet: <<http://www.ClimaNet.org/>>

SELECT ?programmeLabel

WHERE {

 ?programme a climanet:ElectoralProgramme ;

rdfs:label ?programmeLabel ;

climanet:concerns climanet:RenewableEnergy }

- **Q2: What is the sentiment of the COP26 Draghi speech?**

PREFIX rdfs: <http://www.w3.org/2000/01/rdf-schema#>

PREFIX climanet: <http://www.ClimaNet.org/>

SELECT ?sentimentLabel

WHERE {

climanet:COP26_Draghi climanet:hasSentiment ?sentiment .

?sentiment rdfs:label ?sentimentLabel }

- **Q3: Which article reports on Italy's 2023 emissions and what was the emission value?**

PREFIX rdfs: <http://www.w3.org/2000/01/rdf-schema#>

PREFIX climanet: <http://www.ClimaNet.org/>

SELECT ?articleLabel ?emissionValue

WHERE {

?article a climanet:MediaCoverage ;

rdfs:label ?articleLabel ;

climanet:reports_on climanet:Italy_emissions_2023 .

climanet:Italy_emissions_2023 climanet:value ?emissionValue }

Number of Competency Questions

Based on the current structure of ClimaNet, the ontology is designed to address at least the following types of competency questions, directly derived from the research questions outlined in the report:

1. How are environmental issues framed in different types of political discourse (e.g., electoral programs vs. COP speeches)?

2. What are the key differences in the language and rhetorical strategies employed by different political actors (e.g., political parties, politicians) when discussing environmental issues?
3. How do political narratives align with or diverge from empirical environmental data (e.g., emissions data)?
4. How do media outlets portray and interpret political discourse on the environment, and what impact does this have on public perception?
5. How do different audiences (e.g., native vs. non-native speakers) understand and interpret key terms and metaphors used in environmental communication?
6. How do ethical principles and values influence the framing of environmental policies and debates?
7. What are the dominant political strategies employed to promote or contest specific environmental agendas?

These questions can be further refined and expanded as ClimaNet evolves.

Conclusions

This doctoral research offers a unique comparative perspective on Italian environmental communication. By addressing two central hypotheses, this study has provided a comprehensive examination of the ideological and linguistic dynamics that characterise Italian environmental discourse.

Firstly, it has demonstrated how right-wing and left-wing parties in Italy differ in their framing of environmental issues, with the former prioritising economic pragmatism and sovereignty and the latter advocating for sustainability as a means to achieve social justice. Secondly, the research has shown how political narratives shape public perceptions of the environment and are reinterpreted in transcultural contexts, as evidenced by the critical engagement of Hungarian L2 learners of Italian.

Stibbe (2012, 2015) emphasises the transformative potential of language to foster sustainable worldviews. This research builds on his framework by examining the role of political discourse in shaping public perceptions and addressing ideological divides. It focuses on electoral programmes and public speeches at the Conferences of the Parties (COP) to provide a methodological and analytical framework that connects linguistic, cultural, and ecological perspectives. By applying *Critical Discourse Analysis* and *Frame Analysis*, the study uncovers how environmental issues are constructed linguistically and how they reflect broader political ideologies.

The detailed analysis of political discourse has revealed that language plays a crucial role in framing environmental issues, often serving to align these topics with specific ideological agendas. The study of the Democratic Party's electoral programs, for instance, demonstrated a recurring emphasis on sustainability, framed as a pathway to social justice. Key terms such as *transizione energetica* (energy transition) and *economia circolare* (circular economy) were deployed to conjure up ideas of progress and innovation. However, these terms have been shown to carry inherent ambiguities that complicate their interpretation. *Transizione energetica*, while signifying a shift towards renewable energy, was frequently associated with vague expressions like *innovazione sostenibile* (sustainable innovation), a choice that masked a lack of concrete policy measures. Similarly, *economia circolare* was celebrated as a forward-looking ideal but lacked the detailed implementation strategies necessary to translate rhetoric into action. These lexical choices underscore the tension between aspirational language and practical commitments, a tension that is reflected in the perception of these terms by Hungarian L2 learners.

In contrast, the *Lega*'s programmes often foregrounded economic growth, prioritizing phrases like *rilancio industriale* (industrial revival) and *sicurezza energetica* (energy security). These terms emphasized pragmatism and sovereignty, with *sicurezza energetica* framing energy independence as a means to strengthen national control over resources. This linguistic framing often justified reliance on controversial energy sources, such as natural gas, that were presented as necessary compromises. This ideological divide between left- and right-wing rhetoric has revealed how environmental issues have been selectively appropriated to support broader political narratives, a dynamic that became even more pronounced in the context of COP speeches.

The examination of COP speeches has added a performative dimension to the analysis, highlighting how political actors use language to project national priorities onto the global stage. Matteo Renzi's address at COP21 in Paris exemplified this dynamic, as he framed Italy as a leader in green innovation through phrases like *la rivoluzione verde italiana* (the Italian green revolution) and «un futuro sostenibile per le nuove generazioni» (*a sustainable future for new generations*). These aspirational statements underscore a strategic use of language in order to construct a narrative of progress, even as practical limitations – such as delays in achieving renewable energy targets – remained unresolved. Similarly, Stefania Prestigiacomo's speech at COP16 illustrated the rhetorical balancing act required to reconcile economic growth with environmental commitments. Her use of terms like *sviluppo sostenibile* (sustainable development) alongside *competitività economica* (economic competitiveness) created a narrative of equilibrium aimed at deflecting scrutiny of Italy's policy shortcomings.

From a methodological perspective, this research broke new ground by adapting CDA to a multilingual and comparative context. This approach was particularly significant in the analysis of COP speeches, where linguistic hybridity is reflected in broader geopolitical dynamics. For instance, the English term *climate justice* was rendered in Italian as *giustizia climatica*, a translation that carried distinct cultural and political connotations. While “climate justice” in English emphasized equity and accountability within global climate policies, its Italian counterpart often took on a narrower focus, addressing local socio-political concerns rather than issues of global solidarity. This divergence highlighted the interplay between language and ideology in shaping environmental discourse across cultural contexts, demonstrating the versatility of CDA as a tool for capturing these dynamics.

Frame Analysis further deepened the investigation by uncovering the rhetorical structures that underpin the public understanding of environmental issues. Recurring frames such as

Sustainability and Climate Policies and *Economic and Financial Strategies* revealed how political actors strategically use language to mediate between conflicting priorities. As Panagia (2019) argues, the political ontology of the dispositive highlights the intricate interplay between power structures and the language used to sustain them. This aligns with the findings of this research, where linguistic framing communicates policy objectives while reinforcing specific ideological agendas.

For example, the frame of *Economic and Financial Strategies* often prioritized market-based solutions, as seen in the metaphor «motori dell'economia verde» (*engines of the green economy*). However, the emphasis on economic incentives frequently obscures the structural changes necessary to address environmental degradation. Terms like *Green Economy* and *transizione ecologica* (ecological transition), while central to political rhetoric, have emerged as specifically ambiguous. *Green Economy* was often associated with job creation and technological innovation, yet the focus on the economy risked sidelining the deeper ecological transformations that are required to achieve it. Similarly, *transizione ecologica* was celebrated as a visionary goal but lacked specificity, leaving its practical implications open to interpretation. These ambiguities were particularly evident in the written reflections of Hungarian L2 learners, who frequently questioned the concrete meaning of these terms. One student described *transizione ecologica* as a term that «promises change without explaining how», in a definition that encapsulates the gap between rhetorical aspiration and substantive policy.

From a methodological perspective, this research introduced an experimental approach by incorporating a questionnaire into the analysis of *Frame Analysis*, a method traditionally focused on textual and discursive data. The questionnaire has facilitated an empirical exploration of how ideological frames and rhetorical strategies are perceived by both L1 and L2 speakers, offering valuable insights into the reception and interpretation of political discourse. By building on previous developments, such as Bonaldo (2023), this study highlights the potential of questionnaires to enhance the validation process and broaden the methodological scope of *Frame Analysis*.

Future research could benefit from the development of more refined and targeted questionnaires tailored specifically to the study of frames in political discourse. Such tools would enable the collection of precise and consistent data, helping to minimise subjective interpretations and fostering a more systematic analysis of linguistic framing.

The integration of ISPRA data in this research revealed critical inconsistencies between political rhetoric and environmental realities. For instance, while numerous electoral programs praised significant reductions in greenhouse gas emissions, ISPRA data often attributed these reductions to external economic factors, such as recessions, rather than proactive environmental policies. Schulz (2017) emphasizes the need for a critical re-evaluation of ecological narratives to challenge dominant paradigms that often obscure the complexity of environmental governance. This perspective resonates with the findings of this research, particularly in highlighting the instrumental use of terms like *decarbonizzazione* (decarbonization), which project an image of progress while masking systemic inaction.

This disjunction is particularly evident in the use of terms like *decarbonizzazione* (decarbonization), which were frequently employed to project an image of commitment to sustainability. However, ISPRA data contradicted such claims, showing minimal progress in transitioning away from fossil fuels. This highlights the instrumental use of environmental language as a strategic tool to create an illusion of progress, obfuscating the lack of substantive action. Future research could benefit from deeper integration of such empirical analyses to evaluate the alignment – or lack thereof – between policy goals and real-world outcomes.

The analysis of media coverage, particularly articles from *The Post Internazionale*, has highlighted the role of journalism in framing environmental discourse. Environmental issues were often subsumed within broader political narratives, with limited standalone coverage. For example, TPI's reporting on Matteo Salvini's criticism of electric mobility framed the debate as a clash between pragmatism and idealism, emphasizing the use of the term *ipocrisia ecologista* (environmentalist hypocrisy). This framing amplifies ideological conflicts while shaping public perceptions by selectively highlighting certain aspects of the discourse. Such journalistic practices underscored the media's dual role as both a reflector and a shaper of political narratives, complicating efforts to foster a nuanced understanding of environmental challenges.

The pedagogical dimension of this research provides additional insight into how environmental discourse is perceived and reinterpreted by learners of Italian as a second language (L2). Hungarian students, through their engagement with Italian electoral programs and public speeches, demonstrated a capacity to identify and critique the rhetorical strategies employed by Italian politicians. Ponton and Raimo (2024b) highlight the strategic role of emotions, particularly anger, in environmental advocacy, noting how it can both mobilize audiences and conversely risks alienating certain demographics. While emotions such as anger can galvanize

movements, they also raise ethical questions about their strategic deployment. As Ponton and Raimo (2024b) caution, overly emotional appeals may alienate audiences that perceive such expressions as immature or confrontational, underscoring the need for balanced rhetorical strategies in environmental advocacy. This reflects the findings of this study, where Hungarian L2 learners critically engaged with the emotionally charged rhetoric in the Italian political discourse, questioning its sincerity and effectiveness in promoting genuine ecological change. Their written reflections revealed an acute awareness of the instrumentalization of environmental issues, often questioning the sincerity of political commitments. For instance, some students noted the use of vague or overly technical language as a means of deflecting accountability. This critical engagement underscores the potential of language education to foster not only linguistic competence but also socio-political awareness. When compared to their Italian peers, Hungarian L2 learners offered a unique perspective on the cultural and ideological dimensions of environmental discourse. While native speakers tend to focus on the alignment of political rhetoric with national identity and priorities, L2 learners have approached the discourse with a global perspective, often drawing parallels with environmental debates in their own contexts. This intercultural dimension highlights the importance of integrating environmental topics into language education, as this enables learners to engage critically with global challenges while developing a deeper understanding of the target language and culture. The development of ClimaNet as a digital ontology further enhances the analytical and pedagogical contributions of this research. By organizing and visualizing the connections between political, media, and educational discourses, ClimaNet provides a structured framework for understanding the evolution of environmental narratives in Italy. As demonstrated by Colace and De Santo (2009), ontologies can effectively structure knowledge and personalize learning experiences in educational contexts, offering a model for organizing complex information. Building on this foundation, Colace, De Santo, and Greco (2011) explored the integration of ontologies with Slow Intelligence System approaches, demonstrating how advanced frameworks can adapt dynamically to user needs. These methodologies provide inspiration for future developments of ClimaNet, envisioning its application not only as an analytical tool but also as an interactive resource to foster interdisciplinary learning in ecolinguistics and environmental discourse analysis. This tool not only facilitates the identification of key frames and linguistic strategies but also serves as a resource for future interdisciplinary studies. Its potential applications extend beyond academia, offering a practical means of fostering the public's engagement with environmental issues.

The findings of this research invite an exciting expansion into transnational contexts, utilizing tools like ClimaNet to analyse environmental discourse across diverse cultural and linguistic settings. Such comparative studies could reveal how different countries frame climate challenges, adapt global narratives, and prioritize local socio-political realities. For instance, the Italian term *transizione ecologica* (ecological transition) carries specific cultural connotations, which might differ from the framing of analogous concepts in French (*transition écologique*) or German (*ökologische Wende*). By integrating these diverse linguistic and cultural perspectives, ClimaNet could evolve into a comprehensive resource for understanding global environmental narratives. The incorporation of multilingual and multimedia data would enhance its analytical capabilities and help foster a richer, more inclusive dialogue on sustainability. This global perspective is essential for addressing the shared yet contextually distinct challenges of climate change.

In reflecting on the broader implications of this research, it becomes evident that the intersection of language and the environment represents a fertile and underexplored field of inquiry, one that holds significant potential for expanding our understanding of the social and political dimensions of sustainability. The findings of this study show that linguistic strategies are not merely tools for communication but are deeply embedded in the processes that shape public perceptions of environmental issues. These strategies often reinforce existing power structures and ideological divisions, as seen in the selective framing of environmental topics in the Italian political discourse. As Stibbe (2015) points out, ecolinguistics emphasizes not only the descriptive role of language but also its potential as a transformative force for fostering sustainable worldviews. This aligns with the findings of this research, which underscores the importance of critically evaluating how language constructs environmental realities and shapes public engagement with ecological challenges. For instance, terms like *transizione ecologica* (ecological transition) and *Green Economy* have been shown to serve dual purposes: while they suggest ideas of progress and innovation, they also mask the underlying complexities and ambiguities of environmental governance. Such linguistic constructs underscore the need for a new critical engagement with environmental discourse, particularly in an era where the language of sustainability is increasingly commodified and instrumentalized.

One of the key contributions of this research to our knowledge of the connections between language and environment lies in its exploration of how political discourse both reflects and shapes broader socio-political realities. The comparative analysis of electoral programs and COP speeches has revealed that environmental issues are often appropriated to serve

ideological agendas. While left-wing parties in Italy frequently frame sustainability as an extension of social justice, right-wing parties emphasize issues of economic pragmatism and sovereignty. These ideological divisions were exemplified in the language used by Matteo Renzi at COP21, where terms like *rivoluzione verde* (green revolution) constructed a narrative of progress and leadership, in stark contrast to Stefania Prestigiacomo's more cautious rhetoric at COP16, which highlighted the economic constraints of environmental commitments. These examples illustrate how political actors deploy language strategically to navigate the tensions between ecological responsibility and economic imperatives, often resulting in a narrative that privileges certain perspectives while marginalizing others.

The role of the media in shaping the discourse on the environment further highlights the importance of examining the interplay between language, power, and perception. The analysis of articles from *The Post Internazionale* demonstrated how journalistic practices mediate the relationship between political rhetoric and public understanding. For instance, TPI's coverage of Matteo Salvini's critique of electric mobility framed the debate as a clash between pragmatism and idealism, thereby amplifying ideological conflicts while obscuring the nuances of the underlying policy issues. This selective framing underscores the media's dual role as both a mirror and a shaper of political narratives, a dynamic that warrants further investigation across diverse cultural and linguistic contexts.

The pedagogical implications of this research are equally significant. By integrating environmental topics into language education, this study has demonstrated the transformative potential of ecolinguistics as a tool for fostering critical awareness and global citizenship. Hungarian L2 learners of Italian, through their engagement with electoral programmes and COP speeches, developed a nuanced understanding of the rhetorical strategies employed by Italian politicians. Their reflections revealed a capacity to question the sincerity and coherence of political commitments, with several students identifying terms like *sostenibilità* (sustainability) and *transizione ecologica* (green transition) as examples of empty words that lacked substantive policy backing. Such critical engagement highlights the importance of equipping learners with the analytical tools necessary to navigate the complexities of environmental discourse, enabling them to participate more actively in the global conversation on sustainability.

Looking beyond the Italian context, the potential for comparative studies of environmental discourse across different linguistic and cultural settings offers a promising avenue for future research. Future studies could explore how key frames and narratives are adapted to align with local socio-political realities, shedding more light on the universality and variability of

environmental communication. For instance, while the term *climate justice* has become a central motif in English-speaking contexts, its equivalents in other languages, such as *giustizia climatica* in Italian, often carry distinct connotations that reflect specific cultural and political histories. Examining these linguistic divergences could provide valuable insights into the global dynamics of environmental discourse, particularly in the context of transnational challenges like climate change.

The development of digital tools like ClimaNet represents another critical area for future exploration. Although this study presented only the skeletal framework of an ontology, due to the time constraints associated with data collection, the potential applications of ClimaNet are potentially both vast and significant. By organizing and visualizing the connections between political, media, and educational discourses, ClimaNet offers a structured framework for analyzing the evolution of environmental narratives. Future iterations of this tool could incorporate multilingual and multimedia material, enabling researchers to compare linguistic strategies across different languages and media platforms. Inspired by Colace et al. (2009, 2011), ClimaNet could be expanded to include pedagogical applications, fostering the kind of interdisciplinary learning that bridges ecolinguistics, digital tools, and public engagement. Such an approach would allow future researchers to analyze not only political and media discourses but also their educational implications. Additionally, integrating empirical data from sources such as ISPRA would enhance the tool's capability to assess the consistency between rhetorical claims and environmental realities, providing a more robust basis for critical analysis.

Longitudinal studies examining shifts in political and media discourse over extended periods also hold significant promise. By tracing the evolution of key terms and frames, such studies could uncover deeper patterns in the construction and dissemination of environmental narratives. For instance, an analysis of how terms like “Green Economy” have been deployed over the past two decades would reveal how changing socio-political contexts influence the language of sustainability. Similarly, examining the role of emerging technologies, such as artificial intelligence and social media, in shaping environmental discourse would provide valuable insights into the future trajectory of this field.

The findings of this study underscore the importance of interdisciplinary approaches in addressing the complex interplay between language, environment, and society. This study demonstrates how ecolinguistics can serve as a bridge between theoretical insights and practical applications. For instance, integrating the findings from political discourse analysis into digital tools like ClimaNet could foster not only academic advancements but also broader societal

engagement with sustainability challenges. By bridging the domains of political discourse, media representation, and language education, this study highlights the interconnectedness of the linguistic, cultural, and ecological dimensions. For example, the integration of Hungarian L2 learners' perspectives enriched the analysis while illustrating the value of intercultural dialogue in fostering a more inclusive and comprehensive understanding of environmental challenges. This intercultural dimension may be further expanded through collaborative research initiatives that engage learners and educators from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds, promoting a more global approach to language education and sustainability.

Ultimately, this research demonstrates the critical role of language in shaping the way we understand and address the environmental challenges of the 21st century. By uncovering the rhetorical strategies and ideological frames that underpin environmental discourse, it provides a foundation for more informed and impactful communication on sustainability. At the same time, it highlights the transformative potential of language education in equipping individuals with the critical tools necessary to engage with these issues, fostering a more active and informed model of global citizenship.

This research provides valuable insights into the Italian political and environmental discourse, demonstrating the interconnectedness of language, society, and ecological priorities. By exploring the intricate ways linguistic strategies influence perceptions and policies, it contributes to a broader understanding of how language shapes our responses to environmental challenges. The study establishes a solid foundation for future investigations, particularly in comparative and transnational contexts, and highlights the importance of linguistic analysis in addressing such global phenomenon as climate change.

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*Ciao faccia bella,
gioia più grande.
Il tuo destino è
l'amore.
Sempre.
Nient'altro.
Nient'altro
nient'altro.*

Mariangela Gualtieri

APPENDIX

The ClimaNet Ontology in Protégé

@prefix : <http://www.ClimaNet.org/> .

@prefix owl: <http://www.w3.org/2002/07/owl#> .

@prefix rdf: <http://www.w3.org/1999/02/22-rdf-syntax-ns#> .

@prefix xml: <http://www.w3.org/XML/1998/namespace> .

@prefix xsd: <http://www.w3.org/2001/XMLSchema#> .

@prefix rdfs: <http://www.w3.org/2000/01/rdf-schema#> .

@prefix climanet: <http://www.ClimaNet.org/> .

@base <http://www.ClimaNet.org/> .

<http://www.ClimaNet.org/> rdf:type owl:Ontology ;

rdfs:comment ""

ClimaNet is an OWL ontology designed to represent and analyze Italian political discourse on environmental issues.

It covers data and concepts from 2008 to the present.

The ontology was developed using the eXtreme Design (XD) methodology, focusing on an iterative approach driven by competency questions.

Key classes include PoliticalDiscourse (with subclasses ElectoralProgramme and COPDiscourse), EnvironmentalProblem, EnvironmentalData (with subclasses), DataSeries, UnitOfMeasure, PoliticalActor, MediaCoverage, Sentiment, EthicalPrinciple, and PoliticalStrategy.

Object properties define relationships between these classes (e.g., concerns, expresses, hasSentiment, defendsPrinciple, employsStrategy, reports_data), while data properties capture attributes (e.g., date, title, value).

The design facilitates the integration of linguistic analysis with empirical data (e.g., ISPRA data) and the study of how environmental concepts are perceived in various contexts."" ;

owl:versionInfo "Preliminary version" .

#####

Datatypes

#####

http://www.w3.org/2001/XMLSchema#date

xsd:date rdf:type rdfs:Datatype .

#####

Object Properties

#####

http://www.ClimaNet.org/concerns

climanet:concerns rdf:type owl:ObjectProperty ;

rdfs:domain climanet:PoliticalDiscourse ;

rdfs:range climanet:EnvironmentalProblem ;

rdfs:comment "Links a political discourse to an environmental problem."@en ;

rdfs:label "concerns"@en ,

"riguarda"@it .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/data_source

climanet:data_source rdf:type owl:ObjectProperty .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/defendsPrinciple

climanet:defendsPrinciple rdf:type owl:ObjectProperty ;

rdfs:domain climanet:PoliticalDiscourse ;

rdfs:range climanet:EthicalPrinciple ;

rdfs:comment "Links a discourse to the ethical principle it defends"@en ;

rdfs:label "defends principle"@en ,

"difende principio"@it .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/employsStrategy

climanet:employsStrategy rdf:type owl:ObjectProperty ;

rdfs:domain climanet:PoliticalDiscourse ;

rdfs:range climanet:PoliticalStrategy ;

rdfs:comment "Links a discourse to the political strategy it employs"@en ;

rdfs:label "employs strategy"@en ,

"impiega strategia"@it .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/expresses

```

climanet:expresses rdf:type owl:ObjectProperty ;
    rdfs:domain climanet:Questionnaire ;
    rdfs:range climanet:EducationalDiscourse ;
    rdfs:comment "Links a questionnaire to student perceptions."@en ;
    rdfs:label "esprime"@it ,
        "expresses"@en .

```

```

#### http://www.ClimaNet.org/hasSentiment

```

```

climanet:hasSentiment rdf:type owl:ObjectProperty ;
    rdfs:domain climanet:PoliticalDiscourse ;
    rdfs:range climanet:Sentiment ;
    rdfs:comment "Links a discourse or media coverage to its overall
sentiment"@en ,
        "Links a discourse to its overall sentiment"@en ;
    rdfs:label "ha sentimento"@it ,
        "has sentiment"@en .

```

```

#### http://www.ClimaNet.org/has_data

```

```

climanet:has_data rdf:type owl:ObjectProperty ;
    rdfs:domain climanet:PoliticalDiscourse ;
    rdfs:range [ rdf:type owl:Class ;
        owl:unionOf ( climanet:DataSeries
            climanet:EnvironmentalData
        )
    ] ;
    rdfs:comment "Links a political discourse to a series of environmental data
points."@en ,
        "Links a political discourse to environmental data."@en ;
    rdfs:label "ha dati"@it ,
        "has data"@en .

```

```

#### http://www.ClimaNet.org/includesDataPoint

```

```

climanet:includesDataPoint rdf:type owl:ObjectProperty ;
    rdfs:domain climanet:DataSeries ;
    rdfs:range climanet:EnvironmentalData ;
    rdfs:comment "Links a data series to individual data points"@en ;
    rdfs:label "include punto dati"@it ,
        "includes data point"@en .

```

```

### http://www.ClimaNet.org/measuredIn
climanet:measuredIn rdf:type owl:ObjectProperty ;
    rdfs:range climanet:UnitOfMeasure .

```

```

### http://www.ClimaNet.org/mentions
climanet:mentions rdf:type owl:ObjectProperty ;
    rdfs:domain climanet:MediaCoverage ;
    rdfs:range climanet:EnvironmentalProblem ;
    rdfs:comment "Links a media article to the environmental problem it
discusses"@en ;
    rdfs:label "mentions"@en ,
        "menziona"@it .

```

```

### http://www.ClimaNet.org/produced_by
climanet:produced_by rdf:type owl:ObjectProperty ;
    rdfs:domain climanet:PoliticalDiscourse ;
    rdfs:range climanet:PoliticalActor ;
    rdfs:comment "Links a political discourse to the actor who produced it."@en ;
    rdfs:label "prodotto da"@it ,
        "produced by"@en .

```

```

### http://www.ClimaNet.org/reports_on
climanet:reports_on rdf:type owl:ObjectProperty ;
    rdfs:domain climanet:MediaCoverage ;
    rdfs:range climanet:EnvironmentalData ;

```

```

rdfs:comment "Links a media article to the environmental data it reports"@en ;
rdfs:label "reports on"@en ,
        "riferisce su"@it .

```

```
#####
```

```
# Data properties
```

```
#####
```

```
### http://www.ClimaNet.org/co2Quantity
```

```

climanet:co2Quantity rdfs:type owl:DatatypeProperty ;
    rdfs:domain climanet:EnvironmentalData ;
    rdfs:comment "The quantity of CO2 emissions."@en ;
    rdfs:label "CO2 Quantity"@en ,
        "Quantità di CO2"@it .

```

```
### http://www.ClimaNet.org/date
```

```

climanet:date rdfs:type owl:DatatypeProperty ;
    rdfs:domain climanet:PoliticalDiscourse ;
    rdfs:comment "The date of the discourse or article."@en ,
        "The date of the political discourse."@en ;
    rdfs:label "data"@it ,
        "date"@en .

```

```
### http://www.ClimaNet.org/title
```

```

climanet:title rdfs:type owl:DatatypeProperty ;
    rdfs:domain climanet:PoliticalDiscourse ;
    rdfs:comment "The title of the discourse or article."@en ,
        "The title of the political discourse."@en ;
    rdfs:label "title"@en ,
        "titolo"@it .

```

```
### http://www.ClimaNet.org/value
```

```
climanet:value rdfs:type owl:DatatypeProperty ;
```

```

    rdfs:domain climanet:EnvironmentalData ;
    rdfs:comment "The numerical value of the environmental data."@en ;
    rdfs:label "valore"@it ,
        "value"@en .

#####

#   Classes

#####

### http://www.ClimaNet.org/AirPollution
climanet:AirPollution rdf:type owl:Class ;
    rdfs:subClassOf climanet:Pollution .

### http://www.ClimaNet.org/BalancedReporting
climanet:BalancedReporting rdf:type owl:Class ;
    rdfs:subClassOf climanet:RhetoricalStrategy .

### http://www.ClimaNet.org/CO2EmissionData
climanet:CO2EmissionData rdf:type owl:Class ;
    rdfs:subClassOf climanet:EnvironmentalData .

### http://www.ClimaNet.org/COPDiscourse
climanet:COPDiscourse rdf:type owl:Class ;
    rdfs:subClassOf climanet:PoliticalDiscourse ;
    rdfs:comment "Speeches delivered at the Conferences of the Parties
(COP)."@en ,
        "Speeches delivered at the United Nations Climate Change Conferences
(COPs)."@en ;
    rdfs:label "COP Discourse"@en ,
        "Discorso COP"@it .

### http://www.ClimaNet.org/CircularEconomy
climanet:CircularEconomy rdf:type owl:Class ;

```

rdfs:subClassOf climanet:EnvironmentalProblem .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/ClimateChange

climanet:ClimateChange rdf:type owl:Class ;

rdfs:subClassOf climanet:EnvironmentalProblem .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/CrisisFraming

climanet:CrisisFraming rdf:type owl:Class ;

rdfs:subClassOf climanet:RhetoricalStrategy .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/DataProvider

climanet:DataProvider rdf:type owl:Class ;

rdfs:comment "Organization or entity providing the data, e.g., ISPRA"@en ;

rdfs:label "Data Provider"@en ,

"Fornitore di Dati"@it .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/DataSeries

climanet:DataSeries rdf:type owl:Class ;

rdfs:comment "A collection of related data points, e.g., emissions over time"@en

;

rdfs:label "Data Series"@en ,

"Serie di Dati"@it .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/Deforestation

climanet:Deforestation rdf:type owl:Class ;

rdfs:subClassOf climanet:EnvironmentalProblem ;

rdfs:comment "The clearing of forests for other land uses."@en ;

rdfs:label "Deforestation"@en ,

"Deforestazione"@it .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/DigitalTransition

climanet:DigitalTransition rdf:type owl:Class ;

rdfs:subClassOf climanet:EnvironmentalProblem .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/DiplomaticLanguage

climanet:DiplomaticLanguage rdf:type owl:Class ;

rdfs:subClassOf climanet:RhetoricalStrategy .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/EcologicalTransition

climanet:EcologicalTransition rdf:type owl:Class ;

rdfs:subClassOf climanet:EnvironmentalProblem .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/EconomicDevelopment

climanet:EconomicDevelopment rdf:type owl:Class ;

rdfs:subClassOf climanet:EnvironmentalProblem .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/EconomicEfficiency

climanet:EconomicEfficiency rdf:type owl:Class ;

rdfs:subClassOf climanet:EthicalPrinciple .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/EducationalDiscourse

climanet:EducationalDiscourse rdf:type owl:Class ;

rdfs:comment "Perceptions and interpretations of political discourse in educational contexts."@en ;

rdfs:label "Discorso Educativo"@it ,

"Educational Discourse"@en .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/ElectoralProgramme

climanet:ElectoralProgramme rdf:type owl:Class ;

rdfs:subClassOf climanet:PoliticalDiscourse ;

rdfs:comment "Official documents published by political parties that outline their policy positions and commitments."@en ;

rdfs:label "Electoral Programme"@en ,

"Programma Elettorale"@it .


```
### http://www.ClimaNet.org/EmotionalAppeal
climanet:EmotionalAppeal rdf:type owl:Class ;
    rdfs:subClassOf climanet:RhetoricalStrategy .
```

```
### http://www.ClimaNet.org/EnergyPolicy
climanet:EnergyPolicy rdf:type owl:Class ;
    rdfs:subClassOf climanet:EnvironmentalProblem .
```

```
### http://www.ClimaNet.org/EnvironmentalData
climanet:EnvironmentalData rdf:type owl:Class ;
    rdfs:comment "Empirical data related to environmental conditions, e.g.,
emissions levels."@en ;
    rdfs:label "Dati Ambientali"@it ,
        "Environmental Data"@en .
```

```
### http://www.ClimaNet.org/EnvironmentalProblem
climanet:EnvironmentalProblem rdf:type owl:Class ;
    rdfs:comment "Environmental issues addressed in political discourse."@en
;
    rdfs:label "Environmental Problem"@en ,
        "Problema Ambientale"@it .
```

```
### http://www.ClimaNet.org/EnvironmentalQuality
climanet:EnvironmentalQuality rdf:type owl:Class ;
    rdfs:subClassOf climanet:EnvironmentalProblem .
```

```
### http://www.ClimaNet.org/EthicalPrinciple
climanet:EthicalPrinciple rdf:type owl:Class ;
    rdfs:comment "Moral principles or values discussed"@en ;
    rdfs:label "Ethical Principle"@en ,
        "Principio Etico"@it .
```

http://www.ClimaNet.org/Finance

climanet:Finance rdf:type owl:Class ;

rdfs:subClassOf climanet:EnvironmentalProblem .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/Flooding

climanet:Flooding rdf:type owl:Class ;

rdfs:subClassOf climanet:EnvironmentalProblem .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/GreenhouseGasEmission

climanet:GreenhouseGasEmission rdf:type owl:Class ;

rdfs:subClassOf climanet:EnvironmentalProblem ;

rdfs:comment "Emissions of greenhouse gases, such as CO2 and methane."@en ;

rdfs:label "Emissione di Gas Serra"@it ,

"Greenhouse Gas Emission"@en .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/GreenhouseGasEmissionReduction

climanet:GreenhouseGasEmissionReduction rdf:type owl:Class ;

rdfs:subClassOf climanet:EnvironmentalProblem .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/HungarianPerception

climanet:HungarianPerception rdf:type owl:Class ;

rdfs:subClassOf climanet:EducationalDiscourse ;

rdfs:comment "Perceptions of Hungarian L2 learners of Italian."@en ;

rdfs:label "Hungarian Perception"@en ,

"Percezione Ungherese"@it .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/IntergenerationalEquity

climanet:IntergenerationalEquity rdf:type owl:Class ;

rdfs:subClassOf climanet:EthicalPrinciple ;

rdfs:comment "Fairness to future generations"@en ;

rdfs:label "Equità Intergenerazionale"@it ,
"Intergenerational Equity"@en .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/InternationalCooperation
climanet:InternationalCooperation rdf:type owl:Class ;
rdfs:subClassOf climanet:EnvironmentalProblem .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/ItalianPerception
climanet:ItalianPerception rdf:type owl:Class ;
rdfs:subClassOf climanet:EducationalDiscourse ;
rdfs:comment "Perceptions of native Italian speakers."@en ;
rdfs:label "Italian Perception"@en ,
"Percezione Italiana"@it .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/MediaCoverage
climanet:MediaCoverage rdf:type owl:Class ;
rdfs:comment "Articles and reports in the media"@en ;
rdfs:label "Copertura Media"@it ,
"Media Coverage"@en .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/MediaOutlet
climanet:MediaOutlet rdf:type owl:Class ;
rdfs:comment "Newspapers, websites, etc."@en ;
rdfs:label "Media Outlet"@en ,
"Testata Giornalistica"@it .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/NationalInterest
climanet:NationalInterest rdf:type owl:Class ;
rdfs:subClassOf climanet:EthicalPrinciple .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/NegativeSentiment
climanet:NegativeSentiment rdf:type owl:Class ;

rdfs:subClassOf climanet:Sentiment .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/NeutralSentiment

climanet:NeutralSentiment rdf:type owl:Class ;

rdfs:subClassOf climanet:Sentiment .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/PoliticalActor

climanet:PoliticalActor rdf:type owl:Class ;

rdfs:comment "Entities involved in political discourse, such as parties and politicians."@en ;

rdfs:label "Attore Politico"@it ,

"Political Actor"@en .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/PoliticalDiscourse

climanet:PoliticalDiscourse rdf:type owl:Class ;

rdfs:comment "The set of linguistic and discursive strategies used to build consensus on issues of collective importance."@en ;

rdfs:label "Discorso Politico"@it ,

"Political Discourse"@en .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/PoliticalParty

climanet:PoliticalParty rdf:type owl:Class ;

rdfs:subClassOf climanet:PoliticalActor ;

rdfs:comment "A political organization that endorses candidates for elections"@en ;

rdfs:label "Partito Politico"@it ,

"Political Party"@en .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/PoliticalStrategy

climanet:PoliticalStrategy rdf:type owl:Class ;

rdfs:comment "Political approaches used in the discourse"@en ,

"Techniques used to persuade or influence"@en ;

rdfs:label "Political Strategy"@en ,

"Strategia Politica"@it .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/Politician

climanet:Politician rdf:type owl:Class ;
 rdfs:subClassOf climanet:PoliticalActor ;
 rdfs:comment "An individual involved in politics"@en ;
 rdfs:label "Politician"@en ,
 "Politico"@it .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/Pollution

climanet:Pollution rdf:type owl:Class ;
 rdfs:subClassOf climanet:EnvironmentalProblem ;
 rdfs:comment "Contamination of the environment (air, water, soil)."@en ,
 "Contamination of the environment."@en ;
 rdfs:label "Inquinamento"@it ,
 "Pollution"@en .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/PositiveFraming

climanet:PositiveFraming rdf:type owl:Class ;
 rdfs:subClassOf climanet:RhetoricalStrategy .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/PositiveSentiment

climanet:PositiveSentiment rdf:type owl:Class ;
 rdfs:subClassOf climanet:Sentiment .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/PrecautionaryPrinciple

climanet:PrecautionaryPrinciple rdf:type owl:Class ;
 rdfs:subClassOf climanet:EthicalPrinciple .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/ProblemSolutionFraming

climanet:ProblemSolutionFraming rdf:type owl:Class ;
 rdfs:subClassOf climanet:RhetoricalStrategy .

```
### http://www.ClimaNet.org/Progress
climanet:Progress rdf:type owl:Class ;
    rdfs:subClassOf climanet:EthicalPrinciple .
```

```
### http://www.ClimaNet.org/Questionnaire
climanet:Questionnaire rdf:type owl:Class .
```

```
### http://www.ClimaNet.org/RenewableEnergy
climanet:RenewableEnergy rdf:type owl:Class ;
    rdfs:subClassOf climanet:EnvironmentalProblem .
```

```
### http://www.ClimaNet.org/RhetoricalAmbiguity
climanet:RhetoricalAmbiguity rdf:type owl:Class ;
    rdfs:subClassOf climanet:RhetoricalStrategy .
```

```
### http://www.ClimaNet.org/RhetoricalStrategy
climanet:RhetoricalStrategy rdf:type owl:Class ;
    rdfs:comment "Techniques used to persuade or influence"@en ;
    rdfs:label "Rhetorical Strategy"@en ,
        "Strategia Retorica"@it .
```

```
### http://www.ClimaNet.org/Sentiment
climanet:Sentiment rdf:type owl:Class ;
    rdfs:comment "The expressed opinion or feeling"@en ;
    rdfs:label "Sentiment"@en ,
        "Sentimento"@it .
```

```
### http://www.ClimaNet.org/SocialJustice
climanet:SocialJustice rdf:type owl:Class ;
    rdfs:subClassOf climanet:EthicalPrinciple .
```

```

### http://www.ClimaNet.org/SoilConservation
climanet:SoilConservation rdf:type owl:Class ;
    rdfs:subClassOf climanet:EnvironmentalProblem .

### http://www.ClimaNet.org/SustainableDevelopment
climanet:SustainableDevelopment rdf:type owl:Class ;
    rdfs:subClassOf climanet:EnvironmentalProblem .

### http://www.ClimaNet.org/TechnicalLanguage
climanet:TechnicalLanguage rdf:type owl:Class ;
    rdfs:subClassOf climanet:RhetoricalStrategy .

### http://www.ClimaNet.org/UnitOfMeasure
climanet:UnitOfMeasure rdf:type owl:Class ;
    rdfs:comment "The unit used to measure the data, e.g., tons, degrees
Celsius"@en ;
    rdfs:label "Unit of Measure"@en ,
        "Unità di Misura"@it .

### http://www.ClimaNet.org/WaterPollution
climanet:WaterPollution rdf:type owl:Class ;
    rdfs:subClassOf climanet:Pollution .

#####
#  Individuals
#####
### http://www.ClimaNet.org/AirPollution
climanet:AirPollution rdf:type owl:NamedIndividual ,
    climanet:Pollution .

### http://www.ClimaNet.org/BalancedReporting
climanet:BalancedReporting rdf:type owl:NamedIndividual .

```

```

### http://www.ClimaNet.org/COP16_Prestigiacomo
climanet:COP16_Prestigiacomo rdf:type owl:NamedIndividual ,
    climanet:COPDiscourse ;
    climanet:concerns climanet:ClimateChange ,
        climanet:GreenhouseGasEmissionReduction ,
        climanet:InternationalCooperation ;
    climanet:defendsPrinciple climanet:SharedResponsibility ;
    climanet:employsStrategy climanet:DiplomaticLanguage ;
    climanet:hasSentiment climanet:NeutralSentiment ;
    climanet:produced_by climanet:Prestigiacomo ;
    climanet:date "2010-01-01"^^xsd:date ,
        "2010-12-09"^^xsd:date ;
    rdfs:label "Discorso COP16 Stefania Prestigiacomo"@it ,
        "Stefania Prestigiacomo COP16 Speech"@en .

```

```

### http://www.ClimaNet.org/COP21_Renzi
climanet:COP21_Renzi rdf:type owl:NamedIndividual ,
    climanet:COPDiscourse ;
    climanet:concerns climanet:ClimateChange ,
        climanet:EconomicDevelopment ,
        climanet:RenewableEnergy ;
    climanet:defendsPrinciple climanet:NationalInterest ,
        climanet:Progress ;
    climanet:employsStrategy climanet:EmotionalAppeal ;
    climanet:hasSentiment climanet:PositiveSentiment ;
    climanet:produced_by climanet:Renzi ;
    climanet:date "2015-12-01"^^xsd:date ;
    rdfs:label "Discorso COP21 Matteo Renzi"@it ,
        "Matteo Renzi COP21 Speech"@en .

```

```

### http://www.ClimaNet.org/COP26_Draghi

```


climanet:COP26_Draghi rdf:type owl:NamedIndividual ,
 climanet:COPDiscourse ;
 climanet:concerns climanet:ClimateChange ,
 climanet:Finance ,
 climanet:TechnologicalInnovation ;
 climanet:defendsPrinciple climanet:EconomicEfficiency ,
 climanet:GlobalCooperation ;
 climanet:employsStrategy climanet:ProblemSolutionFraming ;
 climanet:hasSentiment climanet:PositiveSentiment ;
 climanet:produced_by climanet:Draghi ;
 climanet:date "2021-11-01"^^xsd:date ;
 rdfs:label "Discorso COP26 Mario Draghi"@it ,
 "Mario Draghi COP26 Speech"@en .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/CdR_2008

climanet:CdR_2008 rdf:type owl:NamedIndividual ,
 climanet:PoliticalActor ,
 climanet:PoliticalParty ;
 rdfs:label "Centre-Right Coalition (2008)"@en ,
 "Coalizione di Centro-Destra (2008)"@it .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/CdR_2022

climanet:CdR_2022 rdf:type owl:NamedIndividual ,
 climanet:PoliticalActor ,
 climanet:PoliticalParty ;
 rdfs:label "Centre-Right Coalition (2022)"@en ,
 "Coalizione di Centro-Destra (2022)"@it .

<http://www.ClimaNet.org/CentreRightCoalition>

climanet:CentreRightCoalition rdf:type owl:NamedIndividual ,
 climanet:PoliticalActor ;
 rdfs:label "Centre-Right Coalition"@en ,

"Coalizione di Centro-Destra"@it .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/CentreRightCoalition_2008
climanet:CentreRightCoalition_2008 rdf:type owl:NamedIndividual ,
climanet:PoliticalActor ;
rdfs:label "Centre-Right Coalition (2008)"@en ,
"Coalizione di Centro-Destra (2008)"@it .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/CentreRightCoalition_2022
climanet:CentreRightCoalition_2022 rdf:type owl:NamedIndividual ,
climanet:PoliticalActor ;
rdfs:label "Centre-Right Coalition (2022)"@en ,
"Coalizione di Centro-Destra (2022)"@it .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/CircularEconomy
climanet:CircularEconomy rdf:type owl:NamedIndividual ,
climanet:EnvironmentalProblem .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/ClimateChange
climanet:ClimateChange rdf:type owl:NamedIndividual ,
climanet:GreenhouseGasEmission .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/CrisisFraming
climanet:CrisisFraming rdf:type owl:NamedIndividual .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/DigitalTransition
climanet:DigitalTransition rdf:type owl:NamedIndividual ,
climanet:EnvironmentalProblem .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/DiplomaticLanguage
climanet:DiplomaticLanguage rdf:type owl:NamedIndividual .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/Draghi
climanet:Draghi rdf:type owl:NamedIndividual ,
climanet:PoliticalActor ,
climanet:Politician ;
rdfs:label "Mario Draghi"@en ,
"Mario Draghi"@it .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/EcologicalTransition
climanet:EcologicalTransition rdf:type owl:NamedIndividual ,
climanet:EnvironmentalProblem .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/EconomicDevelopment
climanet:EconomicDevelopment rdf:type owl:NamedIndividual ,
climanet:EnvironmentalProblem .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/EconomicEfficiency
climanet:EconomicEfficiency rdf:type owl:NamedIndividual .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/EconomicFeasibility
climanet:EconomicFeasibility rdf:type owl:NamedIndividual .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/EconomicGrowth
climanet:EconomicGrowth rdf:type owl:NamedIndividual .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/EconomicPragmatism
climanet:EconomicPragmatism rdf:type owl:NamedIndividual .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/ElectoralProgramme2008_PD
climanet:ElectoralProgramme2008_PD rdf:type owl:NamedIndividual ,
climanet:ElectoralProgramme ;
climanet:concerns climanet:EnvironmentalQuality ,
climanet:SustainableDevelopment ;

climanet:defendsPrinciple climanet:InternationalCooperation ,
 climanet:SocialEquity ;
 climanet:employsStrategy climanet:FutureOrientedLanguage ;
 climanet:produced_by climanet:PartitoDemocratico ;
 climanet:date "2022-09-25"^^xsd:date ;
 rdfs:label "Democratic Party Electoral Programme 2022"@en ,
 "Programma Elettorale Partito Democratico 2022"@it .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/ElectoralProgramme2022_Right

climanet:ElectoralProgramme2022_Right rdf:type owl:NamedIndividual ,
 climanet:ElectoralProgramme ;
 climanet:concerns climanet:CircularEconomy ,
 climanet:RenewableEnergy ;
 climanet:defendsPrinciple climanet:EconomicGrowth ,
 climanet:TechnologicalInnovation ;
 climanet:employsStrategy climanet:PositiveFraming ;
 climanet:produced_by climanet:CdR_2022 ,
 climanet:CentreRightCoalition_2022 ;
 climanet:date "2022-09-25"^^xsd:date ;
 rdfs:label "Centre-Right Coalition Electoral Programme 2022"@en ,
 "Programma Elettorale Coalizione Centro-Destra 2022"@it .

<http://www.ClimaNet.org/EmotionalAppeal>

climanet:EmotionalAppeal rdf:type owl:NamedIndividual .

<http://www.ClimaNet.org/EnergyPolicy>

climanet:EnergyPolicy rdf:type owl:NamedIndividual ,
 climanet:EnvironmentalProblem .

<http://www.ClimaNet.org/EnvironmentalQuality>

climanet:EnvironmentalQuality rdf:type owl:NamedIndividual ,
 climanet:EnvironmentalProblem .

<http://www.ClimaNet.org/Finance>
climanet:Finance rdf:type owl:NamedIndividual ,
climanet:EnvironmentalProblem .

<http://www.ClimaNet.org/FloodData2022>
climanet:FloodData2022 rdf:type owl:NamedIndividual .

<http://www.ClimaNet.org/Flooding>
climanet:Flooding rdf:type owl:NamedIndividual ,
climanet:EnvironmentalProblem .

<http://www.ClimaNet.org/FutureOrientedLanguage>
climanet:FutureOrientedLanguage rdf:type owl:NamedIndividual .

<http://www.ClimaNet.org/GlobalCooperation>
climanet:GlobalCooperation rdf:type owl:NamedIndividual .

<http://www.ClimaNet.org/GreenhouseGasEmissionReduction>
climanet:GreenhouseGasEmissionReduction rdf:type owl:NamedIndividual ,
climanet:EnvironmentalProblem .

<http://www.ClimaNet.org/GtCO2>
climanet:GtCO2 rdf:type owl:NamedIndividual .

<http://www.ClimaNet.org/ISPRA>
climanet:ISPRA rdf:type owl:NamedIndividual .

<http://www.ClimaNet.org/InternationalCooperation>
climanet:InternationalCooperation rdf:type owl:NamedIndividual ,
climanet:EnvironmentalProblem .

```

### http://www.ClimaNet.org/Italy_emissions_2008
climanet:Italy_emissions_2008 rdf:type owl:NamedIndividual ,
                                climanet:CO2EmissionData ;
                                climanet:data_source climanet:ISPRA ;
                                climanet:measuredIn climanet:GtCO2 ;
                                climanet:value 400.0 ;
                                rdfs:label "Emissioni italiane nel 2008"@it ,
                                "Italy's emissions in 2008"@en .

```

```

### http://www.ClimaNet.org/Italy_emissions_2021
climanet:Italy_emissions_2021 rdf:type owl:NamedIndividual ,
                                climanet:CO2EmissionData ,
                                climanet:EnvironmentalData ;
                                climanet:data_source climanet:ISPRA ;
                                climanet:measuredIn climanet:GtCO2 ;
                                climanet:co2Quantity 36.6 ;
                                climanet:value 36.6 ;
                                rdfs:comment "Total carbon dioxide emissions from fossil fuels and
cement in 2022 (GtCO2)"@en ;
                                rdfs:label "Emissioni italiane nel 2021"@it ,
                                "Italy's emissions in 2021"@en .

```

```

### http://www.ClimaNet.org/Italy_emissions_2022
climanet:Italy_emissions_2022 rdf:type owl:NamedIndividual ,
                                climanet:CO2EmissionData ;
                                climanet:data_source climanet:ISPRA ;
                                climanet:measuredIn climanet:GtCO2 ;
                                climanet:value 36.8 ;
                                rdfs:label "Emissioni italiane nel 2022"@it ,
                                "Italy's emissions in 2022"@en .

```

```

### http://www.ClimaNet.org/Italy_emissions_2023

```

```

climanet:Italy_emissions_2023 rdf:type owl:NamedIndividual ,
                                climanet:CO2EmissionData ,
                                climanet:EnvironmentalData ;
climanet:data_source climanet:ISPRA ;
climanet:measuredIn climanet:GtCO2 ;
climanet:co2Quantity 35.8 ;
climanet:value 35.8 ;
rdfs:comment "Total carbon dioxide emissions from fossil fuels and
cement in 2023 (GtCO2)"@en ;
rdfs:label "Emissioni italiane nel 2023"@it ,
           "Italy's emissions in 2023"@en .

```

```

### http://www.ClimaNet.org/NationalInterest
climanet:NationalInterest rdf:type owl:NamedIndividual .

```

```

### http://www.ClimaNet.org/NegativeSentiment
climanet:NegativeSentiment rdf:type owl:NamedIndividual .

```

```

### http://www.ClimaNet.org/NeutralSentiment
climanet:NeutralSentiment rdf:type owl:NamedIndividual .

```

```

### http://www.ClimaNet.org/PartitoDemocratico
climanet:PartitoDemocratico rdf:type owl:NamedIndividual ,
                              climanet:PoliticalActor ,
                              climanet:PoliticalParty ;
rdfs:label "Democratic Party"@en ,
           "Partito Democratico"@it .

```

```

### http://www.ClimaNet.org/PositiveFraming
climanet:PositiveFraming rdf:type owl:NamedIndividual .

```

```

### http://www.ClimaNet.org/PositiveSentiment

```


climanet:PositiveSentiment rdf:type owl:NamedIndividual .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/PrecautionaryPrinciple

climanet:PrecautionaryPrinciple rdf:type owl:NamedIndividual .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/Prestigiacomo

climanet:Prestigiacomo rdf:type owl:NamedIndividual ,

climanet:PoliticalActor ,

climanet:Politician ;

rdfs:label "Stefania Prestigiacomo"@en ,

"Stefania Prestigiacomo"@it .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/ProblemSolutionFraming

climanet:ProblemSolutionFraming rdf:type owl:NamedIndividual .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/Progress

climanet:Progress rdf:type owl:NamedIndividual .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/RenewableEnergy

climanet:RenewableEnergy rdf:type owl:NamedIndividual ,

climanet:EnvironmentalProblem .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/Renzi

climanet:Renzi rdf:type owl:NamedIndividual ,

climanet:PoliticalActor ,

climanet:Politician ;

rdfs:label "Matteo Renzi"@en ,

"Matteo Renzi"@it .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/RhetoricalAmbiguity

climanet:RhetoricalAmbiguity rdf:type owl:NamedIndividual .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/SharedResponsibility
climanet:SharedResponsibility rdf:type owl:NamedIndividual .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/SocialEquity
climanet:SocialEquity rdf:type owl:NamedIndividual .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/SocialJustice
climanet:SocialJustice rdf:type owl:NamedIndividual .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/SoilConservation
climanet:SoilConservation rdf:type owl:NamedIndividual ,
climanet:EnvironmentalProblem .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/SustainableDevelopment
climanet:SustainableDevelopment rdf:type owl:NamedIndividual ,
climanet:EnvironmentalProblem .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/TPI_Article_CircularEconomy
climanet:TPI_Article_CircularEconomy rdf:type owl:NamedIndividual ,
climanet:MediaCoverage ;
climanet:defendsPrinciple climanet:TechnologicalInnovation ;
climanet:employsStrategy climanet:FutureOrientedLanguage ;
climanet:hasSentiment climanet:PositiveSentiment ;
climanet:mentions climanet:CircularEconomy ,
climanet:WasteManagement ;
climanet:date "2023-10-27"^^xsd:date ;
rdfs:label "Articolo TPI: Innovazione Economia Circolare"@it ,
"TPI Article: Circular Economy Innovation"@en .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/TPI_Article_FloodReport
climanet:TPI_Article_FloodReport rdf:type owl:NamedIndividual ,
climanet:MediaCoverage ;

climanet:defendsPrinciple climanet:PrecautionaryPrinciple ;
 climanet:employsStrategy climanet:CrisisFraming ;
 climanet:hasSentiment climanet:NegativeSentiment ;
 climanet:mentions climanet:ClimateChange ,
 climanet:Flooding ;
 climanet:reports_on climanet:FloodData2022 ,
 climanet:Italy_emissions_2023 ;
 climanet:date "2022-05-15"^^xsd:date ,
 "2023-05-15"^^xsd:date ;
 rdfs:label "Articolo TPI: Rapporto Alluvione"@it ,
 "TPI Article: Flood Report"@en .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/TPI_Article_PolicyDebate
 climanet:TPI_Article_PolicyDebate rdf:type owl:NamedIndividual ,
 climanet:MediaCoverage ;
 climanet:defendsPrinciple climanet:EconomicFeasibility ;
 climanet:employsStrategy climanet:BalancedReporting ;
 climanet:hasSentiment climanet:NeutralSentiment ;
 climanet:mentions climanet:EnergyPolicy ,
 climanet:RenewableEnergy ;
 climanet:date "2024-03-20"^^xsd:date ;
 rdfs:label "Articolo TPI: Dibattito Politico"@it ,
 "TPI Article: Policy Debate"@en .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/TechnicalLanguage
 climanet:TechnicalLanguage rdf:type owl:NamedIndividual .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/TechnologicalInnovation
 climanet:TechnologicalInnovation rdf:type owl:NamedIndividual .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/ThePostInternazionale
 climanet:ThePostInternazionale rdf:type owl:NamedIndividual ,

climanet:MediaOutlet ;
rdfs:label "The Post Internazionale"@en ,
"The Post Internazionale"@it .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/WasteManagement
climanet:WasteManagement rdfs:type owl:NamedIndividual .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/WaterConservation
climanet:WaterConservation rdfs:type owl:NamedIndividual .

http://www.ClimaNet.org/WaterPollution
climanet:WaterPollution rdfs:type owl:NamedIndividual ,
climanet:Pollution .

#####

Annotations

#####

climanet:AirPollution rdfs:label "Air Pollution"@en ,
"Inquinamento dell'aria"@it .

climanet:BalancedReporting rdfs:comment "Presenting multiple perspectives fairly"@en ;
rdfs:label "Balanced Reporting"@en ,
"Reportistica Equilibrata"@it .

climanet:CircularEconomy rdfs:comment "Production and consumption model that involves
reusing materials for as long as possible to reduce waste"@en ;
rdfs:label "Circular Economy"@en ,
"Economia Circolare"@it .

climanet:ClimateChange rdfs:comment "Long-term shifts in temperatures and weather
patterns."@en ;
rdfs:label "Cambiamento climatico"@it ,

"Climate Change"@en .

climanet:CrisisFraming rdfs:comment "Presenting a situation as urgent and critical"@en ;

rdfs:label "Crisis Framing"@en ,

"Inquadramento della Crisi"@it .

climanet:DigitalTransition rdfs:comment "The integration of digital technologies into various aspects of society and the economy"@en ;

rdfs:label "Digital Transition"@en ,

"Transizione Digitale"@it .

climanet:DiplomaticLanguage rdfs:comment "Language used to maintain positive relations"@en ;

rdfs:label "Diplomatic Language"@en ,

"Linguaggio Diplomatico"@it .

climanet:EcologicalTransition rdfs:comment "A shift towards an economy that minimises environmental impact"@en ,

"A shift towards an economy that minimizes environmental impact"@en ;

rdfs:label "Ecological Transition"@en ,

"Transizione Ecologica"@it .

climanet:EconomicDevelopment rdfs:comment "Economic growth and development policies"@en ;

rdfs:label "Economic Development"@en ,

"Sviluppo Economico"@it .

climanet:EconomicEfficiency rdfs:comment "Maximizing benefits while minimizing costs"@en ;

rdfs:label "Economic Efficiency"@en ,

"Efficienza Economica"@it .

climanet:EmotionalAppeal rdfs:comment "Using language to evoke emotions"@en ;

rdfs:label "Appello Emozionale"@it ,
"Emotional Appeal"@en .

climanet:EnergyPolicy rdfs:comment "Government policies related to energy production and consumption"@en ;

rdfs:label "Energy Policy"@en ,
"Politica Energetica"@it .

climanet:EnvironmentalQuality rdfs:comment "Quality of the environment"@en ;

rdfs:label "Environmental Quality"@en ,
"Qualità Ambientale"@it .

climanet:Finance rdfs:comment "Financial strategies and investments related to environmental issues"@en ;

rdfs:label "Finance"@en ,
"Finanza"@it .

climanet:Flooding rdfs:comment "Inundation of normally dry land areas"@en ;

rdfs:label "Alluvione"@it ,
"Flooding"@en .

climanet:GreenhouseGasEmissionReduction rdfs:comment "Activities aimed at reducing greenhouse gas emissions"@en ;

rdfs:label "Greenhouse Gas Emission Reduction"@en ,
"Riduzione delle Emissioni di Gas Serra"@it .

climanet:InternationalCooperation rdfs:comment "Collaborative efforts between countries to address environmental issues"@en ;

rdfs:label "Cooperazione Internazionale"@it ,
"International Cooperation"@en .

climanet:NationalInterest rdfs:comment "Prioritizing the well-being of the nation"@en ;

rdfs:label "Interesse Nazionale"@it ,

"National Interest"@en .

climanet:NegativeSentiment rdfs:comment "Expressing disapproval or pessimism"@en ;
rdfs:label "Negative Sentiment"@en ,
"Sentimento Negativo"@it .

climanet:NeutralSentiment rdfs:comment "Expressing a neutral viewpoint"@en ;
rdfs:label "Neutral Sentiment"@en ,
"Sentimento Neutro"@it .

climanet:PositiveFraming rdfs:comment "Presenting information in a positive light"@en ;
rdfs:label "Inquadramento Positivo"@it ,
"Positive Framing"@en .

climanet:PositiveSentiment rdfs:comment "Expressing approval or optimism"@en ;
rdfs:label "Positive Sentiment"@en ,
"Sentimento Positivo"@it .

climanet:PrecautionaryPrinciple rdfs:comment "Taking preventive action even if cause and effect relationships are not fully established"@en ;
rdfs:label "Precautionary Principle"@en ,
"Principio di Precauzione"@it .

climanet:ProblemSolutionFraming rdfs:comment "Defining a problem and proposing a solution"@en ;
rdfs:label "Inquadramento Problema-Soluzione"@it ,
"Inquadramento per la soluzione di problemi"@it ,
"Problem-Solution Framing"@en .

climanet:Progress rdfs:comment "Belief in societal advancement"@en ;
rdfs:label "Progress"@en ,
"Progresso"@it .

climanet:RenewableEnergy rdfs:comment "Production and use of energy from renewable sources"@en ;

 rdfs:label "Energia Rinnovabile"@it ,
 "Renewable Energy"@en .

climanet:RhetoricalAmbiguity rdfs:comment "Intentional use of unclear language"@en ;

 rdfs:label "Ambiguità Retorica"@it ,
 "Rhetorical Ambiguity"@en .

climanet:SocialJustice rdfs:comment "Fairness and equity in the distribution of environmental benefits and burdens"@en ;

 rdfs:label "Giustizia Sociale"@it ,
 "Social Justice"@en .

climanet:SoilConservation rdfs:comment "Activities aimed at protecting soil"@en ;

 rdfs:label "Conservazione del suolo"@it ,
 "Soil Conservation"@en .

climanet:SustainableDevelopment rdfs:comment "Development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs."@en ;

 rdfs:label "Sustainable Development"@en ,
 "Sviluppo Sostenibile"@it .

climanet:TechnicalLanguage rdfs:comment "Use of specialized terminology"@en ;

 rdfs:label "Linguaggio Tecnico"@it ,
 "Technical Language"@en .

climanet:WaterPollution rdfs:label "Inquinamento dell'acqua"@it ,

 "Water Pollution"@en .

Corpus 1: I programmi elettorali dal 2008 al 2022 (*Electoral Programmes from 2008 to the Present*)⁵⁸

2008

Coalizione del centro destra

3. Ambiente

- Introduzione della destinazione di un “5 per mille” per l’ambiente;
- legge obiettivo per il recupero, la salvaguardia e la valorizzazione del patrimonio culturale e la tutela del paesaggio, nel rispetto delle autonomie territoriali, attraverso la demolizione degli ecomostri e il risanamento degli scempi arrecati al paesaggio italiano;
- promozione di azioni coordinate di valorizzazione del territorio attraverso la programmazione negoziata con le Regioni, anche per ottimizzare l’utilizzo dei fondi europei relativi ai beni culturali e al recupero dei centri storici;
- realizzazione di strumenti di tutela del suolo e delle acque per una razionalizzazione della gestione delle risorse e per la prevenzione dei disastri idrogeologici, fatte salve le competenze regionali;
- aggiornamento della Legge 157/92 secondo gli indirizzi europei in materia di attività venatoria.

Partito Democratico

2a – L’Efficienza economica e la qualità dello sviluppo

Il progetto del PD deve assumere l’aumento della ricchezza nazionale come obiettivo principale. Non è un obiettivo confinato nella sfera economica: l’aumento della produttività (del lavoro e dei fattori) è frutto di una strategia a 360 gradi, abbraccia la cultura, la qualità dell’ambiente e l’educazione tanto quanto la riforma della Pubblica Amministrazione. E, senza crescita, non c’è politica redistributiva che tenga.

[...]

3 – IL PROGETTO: DIECI PILASTRI E UN METODO

9. La piena integrazione del criterio della sostenibilità e della qualità ambientale in tutte le politiche pubbliche.

L’intervento diretto dello Stato, attraverso meccanismi di premio, e non con nuovi enti/società, nel settore dell’ambiente, sul quale costruire una nuova frontiera di leadership tecnologico-industriale.

[...]

10. SUD E MEDITERRANEO: puntare tutto sulle infrastrutture materiali e immateriali e sul miglioramento della qualità dei servizi pubblici

Per far ripartire il Sud e renderlo una opportunità-Paese bisogna ricordare, innanzitutto, che dove sta bene un cittadino sta bene un’impresa. Ciò significa riduzione degli incentivi finanziari a vantaggio degli investimenti sul capitale sociale e, in particolare, significa dare rilevanza strategica agli obiettivi di servizio, finanziando con adeguate premialità target misurabili in

⁵⁸ Tutti i programmi del 2018 e del 2022 sono stati presi dal sito del governo: <https://dait.interno.gov.it/elezioni/trasparenza?page=1>. Mentre gli altri programmi elettorali sono stati presi dalle pagine dei partiti, come ad esempio i programmi del *Partito Democratico*, i quali erano dei pdf non modificabili e li ho modificati tramite OCR e poi ricontrollandoli a mano.

campi come acqua, istruzione di base, servizi di cura per infanzia e anziani, così da restituire una cittadinanza piena agli individui attraverso l'acquisizione di diritti e mettere le basi per creare un contesto favorevole allo sviluppo economico. Lo stesso vale per il tema della sicurezza, sulla quale è giusto convogliare consistenti risorse della politica regionale, nazionale e comunitaria.

Occorre una drastica revisione dei programmi, e un altrettanto drastico accentramento delle risorse su pochi obiettivi, quantificabili e controllabili. Il nostro obiettivo è quello di portare entro il 2013 la rete delle infrastrutture e dei servizi per i cittadini, le imprese e le istituzioni del Mezzogiorno a dimezzare il gap accumulato rispetto al Centro-Nord. Si tratta, in primo luogo, delle infrastrutture della mobilità: strade, ferrovie, porti, aeroporti e autostrade del mare. Almeno il 50% delle risorse comunitarie sarà impegnato su questi progetti. E poi, servizi pubblici essenziali, per i quali vanno stabiliti obiettivi-standard: dal servizio idrico all'ambiente, dall'energia alla scuola, dalla giustizia alle università. Per realizzare questa strategia – spendere i fondi comunitari sulle effettive priorità e spenderli con un sistema di valutazione e di premialità basato sulla qualità dei servizi e non più sulla velocità della spesa – è indispensabile rafforzare il ruolo di coordinamento e di indirizzo del Governo nazionale. Le Regioni del Mezzogiorno non devono essere lasciate sole, ma non devono neppure rifiutare un aiuto, sempre più necessario, per migliorare la qualità, la competenza e la verificabilità dei risultati dell'intervento pubblico, in aree e in contesti in cui le istituzioni e la legalità vanno protette e salvaguardate come il primo bene pubblico.

Sinistra Arcobaleno

AMBIENTE, TERRITORIO, BENI COMUNI, MOBILITÀ TUTELA DEI CONSUMATORI

La riconversione ecologica della società e dell'economia è la strategia che informa il programma de La Sinistra l'Arcobaleno. È oggi necessaria per declinare un nuovo paradigma dello sviluppo non più basato sull'idea quantitativa della crescita, ma sulla qualità. Il clima determina le condizioni di vita sul Pianeta, le sue variazioni causate dalle attuali economie, colpiscono tutti ed in particolare i più poveri del mondo. La questione del clima è dunque questione generale, politica, economica e sociale. Contrastare gli effetti dei cambiamenti climatici è fondamentale per garantire una speranza di futuro. Senza adeguate misure, alle sanzioni da parte della Commissione Europea, si aggiungeranno i rischi certi per la salute delle popolazioni e per l'ambiente. La Sinistra l'Arcobaleno è impegnata per la piena e completa attuazione delle misure previste dal Protocollo di Kyoto, che è per noi la base di partenza per raggiungere gli obiettivi posti dall'Unione Europea per contrastare gli effetti del cambiamento climatico: entro il 2020 almeno il 20% dell'energia primaria dovrà essere prodotta con fonti rinnovabili, le emissioni in atmosfera dovranno essere ridotte di un altro 20% e ancora un 20% è il risparmio di energia da ottenere attraverso un ampio recupero di efficienza energetica. Per raggiungere questi obiettivi è necessario un profondo cambiamento del nostro sistema energetico e ambientale che, partendo dalla conferma del no al nucleare, progetti e realizzi la progressiva fuoriuscita dall'uso dei combustibili fossili, a partire dal carbone e dal petrolio, usando il gas naturale come combustibile di transizione verso lo sviluppo delle fonti rinnovabili. La Sinistra l'Arcobaleno si propone di eliminare definitivamente la truffa del CIP/6 e il tentativo in atto di continuare a finanziare gli inceneritori con le risorse destinate alle fonti rinnovabili. Al contrario propone di affrontare una priorità: un grande piano energetico nazionale fondato sulle fonti rinnovabili, in particolare promuovendo il solare, anche attraverso il proseguimento del Conto energia, e sostenendo la ricerca e gli interventi a favore delle fonti rinnovabili e del risparmio energetico. Proponiamo una grande investimento pubblico: pannelli solari su tutti i

tetti delle case e dei condomini. Un grande piano che permetterebbe risparmio energetico, diminuzione dell'inquinamento, qualità nell'uso delle tecnologie avanzate, nella ricerca e nell'innovazione, con la creazione di circa 100mila nuovi posti di lavoro. Anche la lotta agli inquinamenti atmosferico luminoso e acustico è una priorità per la prossima legislatura, aggiornando norme, piani e misure.

1. L'ACQUA COME BENE COMUNE

L'acqua è un bene comune e un diritto fondamentale per la vita e la salute di tutti gli esseri viventi. La Sinistra l'Arcobaleno propone che sia davvero gestita come pubblica. Sono necessari importanti investimenti nei controlli degli usi, nell'ammodernamento delle reti, nel garantire l'accesso a tutti, in particolar modo nel Mezzogiorno e nelle aree a rischio di desertificazione. Proponiamo perciò la ripubblicizzazione dei servizi idrici ed investimenti adeguati per la messa in efficienza e la manutenzione della rete, in particolare nel Mezzogiorno e nelle aree a rischio desertificazione. Per questo La Sinistra l'Arcobaleno condivide la proposta di legge di iniziativa popolare depositata in Parlamento e presentata dai movimenti per l'acqua pubblica e la sosterrà nella prossima legislatura. Punto ineludibile sarà il conseguimento di obiettivi certi di risparmio idrico.

2. RISPETTARE IL TERRITORIO, I CITTADINI E LA LEGALITÀ

La sicurezza dei cittadini passa innanzitutto per la sicurezza del territorio e la difesa del suolo. Vogliamo promuovere la democrazia ecologica, attraverso una corretta pianificazione pubblica e una legge che garantisca la partecipazione dei cittadini alle scelte. La Sinistra l'Arcobaleno propone una legge quadro sul governo del territorio che abbia come obiettivo di fermare il consumo del suolo secondo gli indirizzi definiti nella proposta già depositata nella scorsa legislatura. Per una efficace lotta all'abusivismo vogliamo realizzare un corretto assetto del territorio e bandire definitivamente i condoni edilizi. Proponiamo, inoltre, una decisa politica di conservazione e ripristino del paesaggio, che è la più grande risorsa a rischio del nostro Paese. I tantissimi comitati presenti nel territorio richiedono rispetto dell'ambiente e della legalità, spesso violata, come dimostra il record negativo di infrazioni alle direttive europee.

3. TUTELA DELLA BIODIVERSITÀ

L'Italia è il paese europeo con la maggiore biodiversità, ma rischia di perderla per l'azione dell'uomo e per i cambiamenti climatici. La Sinistra l'Arcobaleno propone una Strategia nazionale di attuazione della Convenzione sulla Diversità biologica. In particolare, chiediamo la piena applicazione delle Direttive comunitarie Habitat e Uccelli e della legge 157 del 1992 con l'estensione del regime di tutela alle specie in diminuzione.

4. IL MARE E LA MONTAGNA

Proponiamo di rilanciare la difesa del mare e una legge a tutela delle coste. La salvaguardia degli ecosistemi montani e delle economie non invasive che li hanno garantiti è parte integrante di un consapevole agire sugli equilibri di ciclo delle acque e del clima.

2013

Coalizione di centro destra

14. Ambiente, green economy e qualità della vita

- Nuovo piano per il riassetto idrogeologico del Paese
- Messa in sicurezza del patrimonio immobiliare, da realizzare attraverso benefici fiscali e finanziamenti agevolati
- Rifiuti: realizzare cicli integrati regionali di smaltimento, con l'obiettivo dell'autosufficienza; incentivare la raccolta differenziata e la riduzione della produzione dei rifiuti
- Valorizzare il sistema dei parchi e delle aree protette, attraverso l'uso della leva fiscale, per favorire nuove imprese e occupazione

- Green economy: puntare su quattro settori strategici: eco-innovazione, fonti rinnovabili, riciclo dei rifiuti e mobilità sostenibile
- Tutela degli animali da compagnia e affezione e cancellazione delle spese relative agli stessi dal redditometro
- Misure contro gli abbandoni degli animali come strumento di lotta al randagismo
- Smart Cities: dare impulso allo sviluppo delle città “intelligenti”, coinvolgendo capitali privati e utilizzando stimoli fiscali
- Nuovo rapporto sinergico ambiente-turismo

Movimento 5 Stelle

ENERGIA

Se venisse applicata rigorosamente la legge 10/91, per riscaldare gli edifici si consumerebbero 14 litri di gasolio, o metri cubi di metano, al metro quadrato calpestabile all'anno. In realtà se ne consumano di più. Dal 2002 la legge tedesca, e più di recente la normativa in vigore nella Provincia di Bolzano, fissano a 7 litri di gasolio, o metri cubi di metano, al metro quadrato calpestabile all'anno il consumo massimo consentito nel riscaldamento ambienti. Meno della metà del consumo medio italiano. Utilizzando l'etichettatura in vigore negli elettrodomestici, nella Provincia di Bolzano questo livello corrisponde alla classe C, mentre alla classe B corrisponde a un consumo non superiore a 5 litri di gasolio, o metri cubi di metano, e alla classe A un consumo non superiore a 3 litri di gasolio, o metri cubi di metano, al metro quadrato all'anno. Nel riscaldamento degli ambienti, una politica energetica finalizzata alla riduzione delle emissioni di CO₂, anche per evitare le sanzioni economiche previste dal trattato di Kyoto nei confronti dei Paesi inadempienti, deve articolarsi nei seguenti punti:

- Applicazione immediata della normativa, già prevista dalla legge 10/91 e prescritta dalla direttiva europea 76/93, sulla certificazione energetica degli edifici.
- Definizione della classe C della provincia di Bolzano come livello massimo di consumi per la concessione delle licenze edilizie relative sia alle nuove costruzioni, sia alle ristrutturazioni di edifici esistenti.
- Riduzione di almeno il 10 per cento in cinque anni dei consumi energetici del patrimonio edilizio degli enti pubblici, con sanzioni finanziarie per gli inadempienti.
- Agevolazioni sulle anticipazioni bancarie e semplificazioni normative per i contratti di ristrutturazioni energetiche col metodo esco (energy service company), ovvero effettuate a spese di chi le realizza e ripagate dal risparmio economico che se ne ricava.

• Elaborazione di una normativa sul pagamento a consumo dell'energia termica nei condomini, come previsto dalla direttiva europea 76/93, già applicata da altri Paesi europei. Il rendimento medio delle centrali termoelettriche dell'Enel si attesta intorno al 38%. Lo standard con cui si costruiscono le centrali di nuova generazione, i cicli combinati, è del 55/60%.

La co-generazione diffusa di energia elettrica e calore, con utilizzo del calore nel luogo di produzione e trasporto a distanza dell'energia elettrica, consente di utilizzare il potenziale energetico del combustibile fino al 97%. Le inefficienze e gli sprechi attuali nella produzione termoelettrica non sono accettabili né tecnologicamente, né economicamente, né moralmente, sia per gli effetti devastanti sugli ambienti, sia perché accelerano l'esaurimento delle risorse fossili, sia perché comportano un loro accaparramento da parte dei Paesi ricchi a danno dei Paesi poveri. Non è accettabile di per sé togliere il necessario a chi ne ha bisogno, ma se poi si spreca, è inconcepibile. Per accrescere l'offerta di energia elettrica non è necessario costruire nuove centrali, di nessun tipo. La prima cosa da fare è accrescere l'efficienza e ridurre gli sprechi delle centrali esistenti, accrescendo al contempo l'efficienza con cui l'energia prodotta

viene utilizzata dalle utenze (lampade, elettrodomestici, condizionatori e macchinari industriali). Solo in seguito, se l'offerta di energia sarà ancora carente, si potrà decidere di costruire nuovi impianti di generazione elettrica. Nella produzione di energia elettrica e termica, una politica energetica finalizzata alla riduzione delle emissioni di CO₂ anche accrescendo l'offerta, deve articolarsi nei seguenti punti:

- Potenziamento e riduzione dell'impatto ambientale delle centrali termoelettriche esistenti.
- Incentivazione della produzione distribuita di energia elettrica con tecnologie che utilizzano le fonti fossili nei modi più efficienti, come la co-generazione diffusa di energia elettrica e calore, a partire dagli edifici più energivori: ospedali, centri commerciali, industrie con processi che utilizzano calore tecnologico, centri sportivi ecc.
- Estensione della possibilità di riversare in rete e di vendere l'energia elettrica anche agli impianti di micro- cogenerazione di taglia inferiore ai 20 kW.
- Incentivazione della produzione distribuita di energia elettrica estendendo a tutte le fonti rinnovabili e alla micro- cogenerazione diffusa la normativa del conto energia, vincolandola ai kW riversati in rete nelle ore di punta ed escludendo i chilowattora prodotti nelle ore vuote.
- Applicazione rigorosa della normativa prevista dai decreti sui certificati di efficienza energetica, anche in considerazione dell'incentivazione alla produzione di energia elettrica da fonti rinnovabili che essi comportano.
- Eliminazione degli incentivi previsti dal CIP6 alla combustione dei rifiuti in base al loro inserimento, privo di fondamento tecnico-scientifico, tra le fonti rinnovabili.
- Legalizzazione e incentivazione della produzione di biocombustibili, vincolando all'incremento della sostanza organica nei suoli le produzioni agricole finalizzate a ciò.
- Incentivazione della produzione distribuita di energia termica con fonti rinnovabili, in particolare le biomasse vergini, in piccoli impianti finalizzati all'autoconsumo, con un controllo rigoroso del legno proveniente da raccolte differenziate ed escludendo dagli incentivi la distribuzione a distanza del calore per la sua inefficienza e il suo impatto ambientale.
- Incentivazione della produzione di biogas dalla fermentazione anaerobica dei rifiuti organici.

Coalizione di centro sinistra

Sviluppo sostenibile

Sviluppo sostenibile per noi vuol dire valorizzare la carta più importante possiamo giocare nella globalizzazione, quella del saper fare italiano. Se una chance abbiamo, è quella di una Italia che sappia fare l'Italia. Da sempre la forza è stata quella di trasformare con il gusto, la duttilità, la tecnica e la creatività, materie prime spesso acquistate all'estero.

Il decennio appena trascorso è stato particolarmente pesante per il nostro sistema produttivo. L'ingresso nell'euro e la fine della svalutazione competitiva hanno prodotto, con la concorrenza della rendita finanziaria, una caduta degli investimenti in innovazione tecnologica e nella capitalizzazione delle imprese, con l'aumento dell'esportazione di capitali. Anche in questo caso è tempo di cambiare spartito e ridare centralità alla produzione. Una politica industriale "integralmente ecologica" è la prima e più rilevante di queste scelte.

Noi immaginiamo un progetto-Paese che individui grandi aree d'investimento, di ricerca, di innovazione verso le quali orientare il sistema delle imprese, nell'industria, nell'agricoltura e nei servizi. La qualità e le tipicità, mobilità sostenibile, risparmio ed efficienza energetica, le tecnologie legate alla salute, alla cultura, all'arte, ai beni di valore storico e alla nostra tradizione, l'agenda digitale. Bisogna inoltre dare più forza e prospettiva alle nostre piccole e

medie imprese aiutandole a collegarsi fra loro, a capitalizzarsi, ad accedere alla ricerca e alla internazionalizzazione.

Sinistra ecologia libertà

Al Governo per la conversione ecologica dell'economia e della società italiana

Primo, il lavoro

Il lavoro è la leva dello sviluppo della persona, la chiave di accesso alla cittadinanza, l'espressione più reticolare della democrazia. Una cittadinanza senza lavoro è priva sia di reddito che di partecipazione alla produzione della ricchezza nazionale.

Non si esce dalla crisi, non si rimette in moto un grande paese come l'Italia senza conversione ecologica dell'economia, senza investimenti in istruzione e ricerca, senza innovazione e cambiamento del modello di specializzazione, senza qualità del lavoro. Servono 50 miliardi di euro da investire per creare nuova occupazione. In questi anni invece si è imboccata la strada contraria, verso l'ambiente come verso il lavoro, riducendo diritti sociali, occupazione, in particolar modo giovanile e femminile, retribuzioni. La precarietà permea ormai di sé un intero ordine sociale e investe tutta una generazione. Soprattutto le giovani donne su cui agisce una doppia esclusione: generazionale e di genere. La disoccupazione giovanile è pari al 37% della popolazione e al sud arriva fino al 50%. Noi proponiamo un Piano Verde per il lavoro che crei occupazione buona e qualificata, con investimenti pubblici capaci di stimolare quelli privati per la messa in sicurezza del territorio, delle scuole, per l'efficientamento energetico degli immobili, per la cura del nostro paesaggio e la riqualificazione urbana delle città. Una grande campagna per la difesa del suolo, la prevenzione del rischio sismico, il mitigamento delle conseguenze dei cambiamenti climatici: sono questioni vitali attraverso cui passa una revisione strategica e innovativa del concetto delle vere "grandi opere" che servono all'ammodernamento del nostro paese. Quaranta miliardi di euro nei prossimi dieci anni consentiranno di rimettere in sesto il nostro bene comune più prezioso: il territorio in cui viviamo. E al contempo questi interventi innescheranno la creazione di decine di migliaia di nuovi posti di lavoro, specie per i giovani, in ogni parte d'Italia. Un'altra "grande opera" che proponiamo è la "costruzione" di città sostenibili, per interrompere il devastante ciclo di espansione edilizia e di consumo del suolo (ben 70 ettari al giorno negli ultimi dieci anni), investendo viceversa sulla città come bene comune, città nelle quali sostenibilità sociale e sostenibilità ambientali diventino inscindibili. Passa per questa via quel nuovo modello urbano in grado di far crescere l'albero delle nuove professioni verdi (i bio-architetti, gli esperti di mobilità sostenibile, di riqualificazione energetica, di recupero dei centri storici) e dei nuovi stili di vita (dagli orti urbani ai trasporti "dolci", dagli spazi a misura dei bambini ai luoghi animal-friendly). Oggi l'85% delle assunzioni avviene con contratti precari. Il supermercato delle forme di assunzione ha peggiorato la vita delle persone, ha abbassato la produttività delle imprese, allontanato gli investimenti in formazione e innovazione. Noi proponiamo di combattere la precarietà nell'ingresso al lavoro, riducendo alle necessità vere, delle persone e dei processi produttivi, le tipologie di contratti possibili. Chi fa un lavoro stabile deve avere un contratto stabile, chi fa un lavoro subordinato deve avere un contratto subordinato e chi fa lo stesso lavoro deve avere la stessa retribuzione oraria. Va combattuto radicalmente il lavoro nero, forma assoluta di precarietà, anche attraverso il ripristino degli indici di congruità, rivelatori dell'esistenza di occupazione in nero. Si stima (dati Istat) che l'economia sommersa valga 275 miliardi di euro, cioè il 17,5% dell'intera ricchezza (Pil) prodotta dal paese. I lavoratori irregolari sono stimati nell'ordine di 2,5 milioni. Noi proponiamo di combattere la precarietà durante il lavoro attraverso l'abrogazione della norma (articolo 8 della Legge 138 del luglio 2011) che consente la deroga ai contratti sulla base di accordi locali e determina quindi lo svuotamento del contratto

nazionale e dello Statuto dei Lavoratori; il ripristino dell'articolo 18 (sui licenziamenti senza giusta causa e giustificato motivo) e la sua estensione alle aziende al di sotto dei quindici dipendenti; una legge efficace contro le dimissioni in bianco e l'estensione dei diritti fondamentali a tutti i rapporti di lavoro, dal diritto di voto, a quello di sciopero, alla malattia; una legge quadro per la democrazia sindacale, per il diritto di voto delle persone sugli accordi sindacali e la legge sulla rappresentanza sindacale per il diritto di ciascun lavoratore di eleggere propri rappresentanti. Ai lavoratori indipendenti con partite Iva va favorito l'accesso al credito e ai finanziamenti per progetti d'impresa con agevolazioni fiscali ad hoc. Chi oggi perde il lavoro, sia temporaneamente che in via definitiva, viene tutelato diversamente a seconda dei settori produttivi in cui lavora e del tipo di contratto di lavoro. Questa disuguaglianza non solo non è stata risolta con i provvedimenti assunti dal ministro Fornero ma anzi essi hanno creato una nuova situazione drammatica per le persone che, espulse dai processi produttivi, non hanno ancora raggiunto l'età della pensione. Migliaia di donne e uomini senza reddito alcuno dopo una vita spesa lavorando, definiti con lo sgradevole termine di "esodati". Noi proponiamo di combattere la precarietà quando si esce dal lavoro, attraverso l'estensione in senso universale degli ammortizzatori sociali a tutte le tipologie dei rapporti di lavoro e di affrontare in modo strutturale il problema degli esodati applicando loro le condizioni previdenziali esistenti al momento dell'uscita dal lavoro. Il lavoro precario determina, insieme alle strutturali carenze del nostro sistema di welfare, forme di vera e propria precarietà esistenziale che finisce per lasciare da sole le persone e addossare alle donne l'intero peso dell'assenza di servizi sociali adeguati. Il sistema di welfare italiano, in parte lavoristico (dove i diritti sono riconosciuti in base al lavoro svolto e finanziati attraverso il versamento di contributi da parte di lavoratori e di imprese) e in parte universalistico (dove i diritti riguardanti la sanità, l'istruzione, l'assistenza vengono finanziati dalla fiscalità generale) manifesta una struttura ormai inadeguata nel rispondere alle nuove domande, alle nuove e crescenti disuguaglianze e povertà, all'esclusione dei giovani, all'invecchiamento delle persone. Noi proponiamo di investire sullo stato sociale: esso prima di tutto non è un costo, bensì una condizione essenziale allo sviluppo e alla coesione sociale. Per consentire alle ragazze e ai ragazzi l'autonomia e la libertà di sottrarsi al ricatto della precarietà proponiamo il reddito minimo garantito di 600 euro. Per garantire un futuro previdenziale ai giovani, oggi negato, proponiamo una riforma del sistema previdenziale che rivaluti le pensioni; che definisca età pensionabili differenti a seconda dei differenti lavori; che riconosca contributi figurativi per la cura dei figli e l'assistenza alle persone. L'aumento dell'occupazione femminile è in grado di determinare un aumento del PIL fino al 7%, come sostiene la Banca d'Italia. Occorre per questo investire in infrastrutture sociali come gli asili nido, istituire congedi di paternità obbligatori di due settimane, dare sostegno fiscale alle imprese che aiutano la condivisione delle responsabilità familiari tra donne e uomini per mezzo della flessibilità degli orari di lavoro, fornire incentivi all'occupazione delle donne ed estendere l'indennità di maternità obbligatoria. Perché uscire dalla crisi e da questa lunga stagione recessiva dell'economia è possibile prima di tutto con il lavoro delle donne.

2018

Coalizione di centro destra

10 Più tecnologie, cultura e turismo. Tutela dell'ambiente. Efficientamento energetico.
Più tecnologie innovative applicate all'efficientamento energetico;
Sviluppo e promozione di cultura e turismo;
Tutela dell'ambiente;
Piena diffusione delle infrastrutture immateriali;
Digitalizzazione della Pubblica amministrazione;

Piano di ristrutturazione delle tecnostutture e migliore utilizzo delle risorse per le nuove tecnologie per tutto il sistema delle imprese, con particolare riferimento alle piccole e medie;
Sostegno alle start-up innovative, anche attraverso la semplificazione del crowdfunding;
Risparmio energetico ed efficientamento della rete;
Sicurezza degli approvvigionamenti;
Più efficienza della produzione energetica e dei consumi nell'edilizia, nell'industria e nei trasporti;
Sostegno alle energie rinnovabili.

Partito Democratico

5 La svolta ambientale

Siamo orgogliosi di aver partecipato da protagonisti alla stesura e alla firma dell'Accordo di Parigi. L'ambiente non è un tema da citare perché va di moda ma è la sfida cruciale per il futuro dei nostri figli. Confermiamo gli impegni assunti a Parigi, impegnandoci a valorizzare la lotta a tutte le forme di inquinamento a cominciare dalla plastica.

Vogliamo che le grandi opportunità dell'economia circolare siano colte dall'Italia senza incertezze.

Assicuriamo gli investimenti nel settore energetico, anche alla luce degli obiettivi della Strategia energetica nazionale (Sen). Poniamo particolare riguardo alle possibilità di creazione di nuovi posti di lavoro grazie all'economia verde e all'economia circolare in uno sguardo sull'ambiente che sia anche economico e non solo ideologico. Incoraggiamo la sostituzione e il miglioramento tecnologico di tutte le infrastrutture operanti nel settore delle rinnovabili, anche alla luce delle notevoli innovazioni tecnologiche, e lavoriamo per realizzare la più diffusa rete di colonnine elettriche europee per migliorare la qualità della trasformazione automobilistica in corso. Puntiamo alla totale sostituzioni delle auto blu, di rappresentanza, in auto verdi, ecologiche. Particolare attenzione verrà destinata al processo di riconversione in corso delle ex centrali (prioritariamente quelle da ripensare dopo la scelta di scommettere sulla decarbonizzazione).

Nel solco tracciato dal successo di Expo e dal record di export agroalimentare vogliamo proseguire nel percorso di tutela del nostro territorio e dei nostri prodotti. La riduzione delle tasse al mondo agricolo è solo un primo passo nella direzione di una rinnovata centralità dell'agricoltura e del mondo alimentare. Vogliamo lavorare sulla tutela della trasparenza dell'origine dei prodotti, ma vogliamo insistere sulla tutela del reddito degli agricoltori, dei pescatori, dei produttori, dell'equa distribuzione del valore nelle filiere: garantire la dignità di chi lavora è elemento imprescindibile di qualsiasi strategia in questo settore.

Potere al popolo

13. L'ambiente

La questione ambientale è al centro di migliaia di vertenze su tutto il territorio nazionale. È amplificata da un modello capitalistico predatorio che provoca rotture sempre più profonde nel rapporto tra l'uomo, le altre specie animali, il resto della natura, accumulando enormi problemi che il pianeta e le generazioni future avranno sempre più difficoltà a risolvere. La devastazione ambientale è anche questione di classe, di cui pagano le conseguenze assai più gli oppressi e gli esclusi che i ricchi e privilegiati. Un intero continente, quello africano, fa i conti non solo con le guerre ma anche con siccità, desertificazione, inquinamento, mentre nei paesi del primo mondo continuiamo a sprecare risorse. I paesi dominanti non riescono però più a confinare i danni globali: l'inquinamento, lo stravolgimento climatico, la crisi idrica, gli incendi ci

colpiscono sempre più al cuore e ci impongono un urgente e radicale ripensamento del modello di produzione e consumo.

Anche nel nostro Paese da anni contrastiamo una costante devastazione dei territori in nome del profitto (si pensi a “Grandi Opere” come la TAV, il progetto TAP, le trivellazioni petrolifere, l’eolico selvaggio, i siti contaminati, la cementificazione...). Non c’è “economia verde” che tenga, se non si mette in discussione la logica del profitto. C’è bisogno di una pianificazione democratica su scala nazionale e internazionale incentrata sulla salvaguardia dell’ambiente e il risanamento dei danni connessi al cattivo uso delle risorse. Anche in questo campo l’omologazione tra centrodestra e centrosinistra ha portato all’approvazione di una serie di “riforme” che hanno stravolto conquiste precedenti, di cui va rivendicata l’abrogazione immediata: dallo Sblocca Italia alla riforma Madia che cancella il ruolo delle Sovrintendenze, alla neutralizzazione della valutazione di impatto ambientale all’aggressione ai parchi nazionali, ecc.

Per questo lottiamo per:

- la messa in sicurezza e salvaguardia preventiva dei territori, la tutela del paesaggio e dei beni comuni, del patrimonio storico e architettonico, programmazione, pianificazione e gestione partecipate e trasparenti fondate su obiettivi di interesse collettivo in alternativa al business dell’emergenza ambientale e a quello della cosiddetta green economy;
- lo stop alle ed. “Grandi Opere”, a partire dalla TAV in Val di Susa, alla TAP in Salento, al MOSE, all’eolico selvaggio, col riorientamento degli investimenti verso un grande piano per la messa in sicurezza idrogeologica e sismica del Paese;
- una nuova politica energetica che parta dal calcolo del fabbisogno reale e dalla radicale messa in discussione della Strategia Energetica Nazionale, raccogliendo le rivendicazioni dei movimenti NO TRIV e dei comitati NO EOLICO SELVAGGIO e la richiesta di democrazia dei territori contro un modello centralizzato orientato da interessi multinazionali;
- la moratoria sui nuovi progetti estrattivi riguardanti combustibili fossili e lo stop a ogni progetto di estrazione non convenzionale, l’eliminazione dei sussidi pubblici alle fonti fossili ambientalmente dannose (16 miliardi annui) da utilizzare per la creazione diretta di posti di lavoro nell’efficienza energetica, nelle energie rinnovabili, in ricerca e innovazione tecnologica; l’uscita totale dal carbone come fonte di produzione energetica entro il prossimo decennio, l’uso delle biomasse solo da scarti, la pianificazione degli impianti eolici con criteri di tutela paesaggistica e faunistica, lo stop a infrastrutture energetiche come il TAP e Poseidon;
- una legge seria per lo stop al consumo di suolo che obblighi i comuni a localizzare i nuovi interventi nel territorio urbanizzato e non in quello non urbanizzato una legge urbanistica che ponga fine alla stagione della deregulation a favore dei privati, l’aumento delle dotazioni pubbliche (verde, servizi, trasporti non inquinanti), lo stop alla cementificazione delle coste e il recupero ambientale delle spiagge (il 75,4% della fascia entro 200 m. dalla costa è edificato);
- un piano nazionale per la bonifica dei siti inquinati fondato sul principio “chi inquina paga” e il monitoraggio e la tutela delle condizioni di salute delle popolazioni delle aree interessate;
- un piano di investimenti per la mobilità sostenibile e il trasporto pubblico (dalle ferrovie al trasporto urbano) fondato sui reali bisogni delle classi popolari e sul rispetto dell’ambiente, che superi la prevalenza dei sistemi di trasporto su gomma, potenziando il traffico merci su ferro e via mare;
- un radicale potenziamento della ciclabilità, con una politica di investimenti pubblici id stop all’ingresso delle navi da crociera nella Laguna di Venezia, sostenendo le proposte alternative del comitato NOGrandiNavi;
- una nuova politica dei rifiuti, che indirizzi la produzione delle merci verso la recuperabilità, disincentivando i prodotti non riciclabili e usa e getta;

- la gestione pubblica dell'impiantistica e del ciclo di smaltimento, la messa al bando dell'incenerimento attraverso l'eliminazione degli incentivi, investimenti su raccolta differenziata, recupero, riuso, riciclo, riduzione, realizzando la strategia elaborata dal Movimento "Legge Rifiuti Zero":
- la ripubblicizzazione dell'acqua bene comune, e più in generale dei servizi pubblici, cancellando il modello di gestione attraverso soggetti di diritto privato come le SPA, nel rispetto della volontà popolare espressa nel Referendum del 2011.

Movimento 5 Stelle

16 GREEN ECONOMY: ITALIA 100% RINNOVABILE

- 200mila posti di lavoro da economia del riciclo rifiuti;
- 17mila nuovi posti di lavoro per ogni miliardo di euro investito nelle rinnovabili e nell'efficienza energetica;
- Uscita dal petrolio entro il 2050;
- Un milione di auto elettriche.

2022

Coalizione di centro destra

12. L'Ambiente, una priorità

Rispettare e aggiornare gli impegni internazionali assunti dall'Italia per contrastare i cambiamenti climatici;

- Definizione ed attuazione del piano strategico nazionale di economia circolare in grado di ridurre il consumo delle risorse naturali, aumentare il livello qualitativo e quantitativo del riciclo dei rifiuti, ridurre i conferimenti in discarica, trasformare il rifiuto in energia rinnovabile attraverso la realizzazione di impianti innovativi e sostenibili;
- Piano straordinario per la tutela e la salvaguardia della qualità delle acque marittime e interne ed efficientamento delle reti idriche per limitare il fenomeno della dispersione delle acque;
- Programma straordinario di resilienza delle aree a rischio dissesto idrogeologico con interventi mirati;
- Salvaguardia della biodiversità, anche attraverso l'istituzione di nuove riserve naturali;
- Promozione dell'educazione ambientale e al rispetto della fauna e della flora;
- Rimboschimento e piantumazione di alberi sull'intero territorio nazionale, in particolare nelle zone colpite da incendi o calamità naturali;
- Incentivare l'utilizzo del trasporto pubblico e promuovere e favorire politiche di mobilità urbana sostenibile.

Partito Democratico

1. Sviluppo sostenibile e transizioni ecologica e digitale

Il primo pilastro è quello che raggruppa lo sviluppo sostenibile e le transizioni, digitale e verde. L'Italia è stata investita da 5 grandi crisi negli ultimi 15 anni: quella economico-finanziaria e dei debiti sovrani, quella dei migranti, la pandemia, la guerra di Putin con le sue conseguenze economiche ed energetiche, la crisi climatica. Tutte cesure che ci hanno fatto vivere anni di emergenza permanente che hanno inevitabilmente impoverito e reso più fragile il nostro Paese. La transizione ecologica rappresenta una grandissima occasione per ammodernare l'Italia e reindirizzare la traiettoria di sviluppo in uno scenario di sostenibilità. La sfida della lotta al

cambiamento climatico non deve essere combattuta in chiave difensiva. Dobbiamo al contrario avere la forza di operare un cambio di paradigma, per costruire un modello che guardi agli interessi non solo dei singoli attori economici, ma della comunità nel suo complesso, di oggi e delle future generazioni.

Dobbiamo agire subito. Lo dimostrano le immagini di questa estate: le ondate di calore e la siccità estrema mostrano chiaramente come il futuro del nostro Pianeta, del nostro benessere sociale e della nostra economia siano indissolubilmente legati. Rallentare sul fronte della transizione ambientale (o peggio ancora fermarsi), non è un'opzione. Perché significherebbe accettare impotenti l'aumento di catastrofi ambientali, quali quelle già vissute in questi anni, dal crollo del ghiacciaio della Marmolada alle alluvioni dell'autunno scorso. Perché significherebbe trasformare tante aree del nostro Paese, a partire dalle aree più cementificate delle grandi città, in posti invivibili. Perché significherebbe condannare all'arretratezza tantissime imprese che già oggi soffrono i danni del cambiamento climatico o la concorrenza di Paesi esteri più avanti sul fronte dell'innovazione verde.

Il pacchetto europeo FitFor55, con il suo obiettivo di ridurre le emissioni nette di gas a effetto serra di almeno il 55% entro il 2030 e di raggiungere la neutralità climatica entro il 2050, ha indicato chiaramente qual è il percorso da intraprendere. Dobbiamo fissare obiettivi climatici realistici ma ambiziosi, mettendo in campo strumenti capaci di garantire una transizione socialmente equa e di rafforzare l'innovazione e la competitività della nostra industria.

Vogliamo portare avanti i nostri obiettivi nel solco di un rafforzato impegno internazionale, perché quella climatica è una sfida globale. Se negli ultimi anni si è riuscito a ottenere un cambio di passo, in Italia e nel mondo, è perché l'Accordo di Parigi sui cambiamenti climatici ha fornito un quadro comune di azione, all'interno del quale governi, imprese e investitori hanno potuto orientarsi. La recente approvazione, da parte del Senato americano dell'Inflation Reduction Act proposto dal Presidente Biden, prevede un investimento di oltre 370 miliardi di dollari in programmi per il clima e l'energia e consentirà agli USA di tagliare del 40% le emissioni di gas serra entro il 2030 rispetto ai livelli del 2005. Si tratta di una decisione storica per gli Stati Uniti. La cooperazione ambientale internazionale non cresce nell'attesa degli impegni altrui ma con decise scelte, anche unilaterali, che cambiano lo scenario e incoraggiano al cambiamento, in uno scenario di imitazione virtuosa. L'Europa oggi è chiamata ad assumere la leadership di questi di paradigma.

Solo una forza politica aperta ai valori del multilateralismo e della cooperazione anche in Italia essere in grado di portare avanti una vera agenda per la transizione ecologica.

Adesso dobbiamo ripartire per trasformare e rendere più solido l'intero tessuto produttivo e sociale del Paese e Vogliamo rafforzare il grande potenziale delle nostre imprese, dei piccoli imprenditori, delle start-up

Innovative, del mondo degli artigiani e dei professionisti, attraverso misure di sostegno e di % semplificazione, favorendo la transizione 4.0 in uno scenario che coniughi innovazione, concorrenza e sostenibilità. Vogliamo investire nella ricerca e nell'innovazione per superare le inefficienze e i problemi strutturali di bassa produttività del "Sistema Italia". Vogliamo intervenire sulla riduzione dei costi energetici di famiglie e imprese attraverso proposte concrete, capaci di dare una spinta decisa alle fonti pulite e rinnovabili.

Gli investimenti infrastrutturali e di mobilità sostenibile, avviati dal Governo Draghi, dovranno essere integrati con nuovi progetti di copertura territoriale. Puntiamo a introdurre piani integrati contro la siccità e a disegnare l'agricoltura, l'allevamento e la pesca come motori della transizione ecologica, anche attraverso il potenziamento della digitalizzazione dei processi di tracciamento e monitoraggio. Vogliamo semplificare e rendere più equo e progressivo il fisco per le famiglie e le imprese, in uno scenario di incentivi che prediligano la transizione ecologica e digitale. Vogliamo rimuovere gli ostacoli che frenano le famiglie e le imprese a migrare verso

le reti di connettività a banda ultra-larga, attuali e future, e al pieno dispiego delle competenze e dei servizi digitali, ivi inclusi quelli offerti della Pubblica Amministrazione. Crediamo che al fine di sviluppare una relazione virtuosa tra Stato, mercato e comunità occorra garantire una frontiera efficiente tra concorrenza e universalità dei servizi, attribuendo un ruolo crescente al Terzo settore e rilanciando la responsabilità strategica dell'intervento pubblico nei tanti ambiti di fallimento di mercato esposti all'esercizio di monopoli, abusi di posizione dominante e di cartelli, anche su scala globale

Gli strumenti li abbiamo. E sono molteplici, ma tutti fondati su uno stesso prerequisito: la stabilità necessaria a pianificare investimenti e scelte strategiche che guardano al futuro. Questo a partire dal PNRR e dal suo percorso di riforme interrotto bruscamente per la caduta del Governo Draghi. Ciò significa portare a termine le tante riforme che l'Italia aspetta da tempo, cominciando da fisco, giustizia, Pubblica Amministrazione e concorrenza.

Vogliamo garantire che gli investimenti siano portati a termine nei tempi previsti per non perdere neanche una delle opportunità offerte dai finanziamenti europei. Vogliamo sostenere imprese e lavoratori autonomi perché possano affrontare con successo questa fase difficile e cogliere tutti i vantaggi dei grandi cambiamenti che attendono la nostra economia nei prossimi anni. Vogliamo che la transizione verde e digitale sia il principale volano per una crescita duratura e sostenibile per tutti.

Italia Viva

Energia e ambiente

Energia

1. Breve Periodo: raggiungere l'indipendenza dal gas russo

L'indipendenza dal gas russo è diventata una questione di sicurezza nazionale e come tale dovrà essere affrontata. Per questo riteniamo necessario:

- completare con procedure straordinarie la costruzione di due rigassificatori galleggianti che consentano l'importazione di gas naturale liquefatto in sostituzione di quello russo;
- aumentare la produzione di gas nazionale ri-attivando e potenziando gli impianti già esistenti, anche valutando possibili partnership con le imprese di produzione del gas per la condivisione dei costi in cambio di forniture a prezzi concordati. Dal 2001, infatti, la produzione nazionale di gas è diminuita dell'80% a fronte di una domanda di consumo sostanzialmente invariata: questo ha comportato un aumento delle importazioni;
- rafforzare la strategia sulle energie rinnovabili, anche completando il processo di individuazione delle aree idonee all'installazione di impianti di generazione elettrica da fonti rinnovabili per velocizzare il processo di localizzazione e autorizzazione; completare l'opera di semplificazione delle autorizzazioni per gli impianti; programmare le nuove aste FER; valorizzare l'idroelettrico come asset strategico per il paese; favorire lo sviluppo dell'idrogeno;
- aiutare le imprese a ridurre i costi della bolletta elettrica incentivando con garanzia statale la produzione di energia rinnovabile per autoconsumo (inclusi i sistemi di accumulo);
- promuovere in EU un price cap a tutto il gas importato per ridurre anche il costo dell'energia elettrica. In subordine, introdurre modalità più efficienti e più efficaci di quelle recentemente individuate per trasferire la extra-rendita reale (non presunta) delle imprese energetiche – inclusi i trader – a famiglie meno abbienti e imprese energivore;
- intervenire sul prezzo della CO₂ a carico delle imprese (incluse quelle energetiche). Esso, a causa della guerra in Ucraina ed il conseguente aumento della generazione elettrica a carbone, è cresciuto del 300% dal 2021, contribuendo alla spinta inflattiva. È quindi necessario che la Commissione Europea utilizzi le quote della market stability reserve per ridurre il prezzo della CO₂ fino al termine della crisi.

2. Medio periodo: ridurre del 55% delle emissioni di CO₂ entro il 2030 con fonti rinnovabili. Dobbiamo proseguire il percorso di decarbonizzazione, con l'obiettivo di ridurre le emissioni di CO₂ del 55% rispetto al livello del 1990, possibilmente entro il 2030. Qualora il livello delle importazioni di energia elettrica dall'estero e di generazione idroelettrica interna risultassero inferiori alle aspettative, e dunque si dovesse destinare il bio-gas prevalentemente ad usi non elettrici, la capacità elettrica rinnovabile addizionale potrebbe essere ben superiore ai 70 GW cui fanno riferimento gli scenari europei. In questo caso la capacità rinnovabile intermittente complessivamente installata potrebbe superare i 140 GW, con conseguenti problemi di congestione delle linee di trasmissione e fabbisogno di grandi capacità di accumulo. Per raggiungere gli obiettivi di riduzione delle emissioni di CO₂ al 2030 è quindi necessario sviluppare sin da ora strumenti alternativi come i sistemi di cattura e stoccaggio della CO₂ prodotta dalle centrali termoelettriche. È inoltre fondamentale incorporare il prezzo dell'energia prodotta da fonti rinnovabili da quello dell'energia da fonti fossili per ridurre il prezzo medio ed evitare che l'attuale crisi possa ripetersi, anche attraverso l'efficientamento del mercato energetico. Ad esempio, è necessario definire una piattaforma per lo scambio di contratti di lungo periodo per energia prodotta da fonti rinnovabili. Infine, proponiamo di rilanciare il ruolo del c.d. "Prosumer" sia a livello delle Comunità Energetiche (famiglie e Pubblica Amministrazione), sia a livello di distretti industriali (PMI e grandi imprese) attraverso un accesso prioritario alle aree idonee per gli "impianti rinnovabili" di cittadini ed imprese. Così, si conterrà in modo strutturale il costo dell'energia, promuovendo al contempo la competitività e accelerando il processo di decarbonizzazione.

3. Lungo periodo: includere il nucleare nel mix energetico per arrivare ad "emissioni zero" nel 2050

L'obiettivo "emissioni zero" al 2050 passa da una forte elettrificazione degli usi di energia, con un fabbisogno elettrico tra il doppio e il triplo dell'attuale. Per questo è necessario utilizzare il giusto mix di generazione, che includa rinnovabili e nucleare, impiegando le migliori tecnologie disponibili. Generare tutta l'energia elettrica necessario al 2050 con sole tecnologie rinnovabili variabili richiederebbe impianti eolici e fotovoltaici, sistemi di accumulo di breve e lungo termine, reti elettriche e conseguente occupazione di suolo in misura almeno tripla rispetto a un mix ottimale con rinnovabili e nucleare. Inoltre, i costi del sistema elettrico sarebbero fino al 50% più elevati. Per raggiungere questo obiettivo, occorre sin da ora definire il quadro regolatorio che disciplini il dispiegamento nel tempo delle tecnologie necessarie, alle migliori condizioni economiche.

Transizione ecologica

Per raggiungere gli obiettivi europei di riduzione delle emissioni del 55% entro il 2030 rispetto ai valori del 1990 bisogna ridurle del 41% rispetto al 2018. Oltre ad operare sul piano energetico, è necessario intervenire nei settori che possono influire maggiormente sulla riduzione delle emissioni: trasporti (responsabili del 26,6% delle emissioni totali), edilizia (che producono il 19,2% delle emissioni totali) e foreste (sottraggono un decimo delle emissioni).

1. Ridurre l'impatto del trasporto merci e diminuire l'uso di mezzi privati inquinanti

L'Italia ha una flotta di veicoli per il trasporto su gomma più vecchia rispetto alla media UE. Inoltre, la percentuale di trasporto su ferro del 12% è la ventesima in Europa, dove la media è del 20%. Per ridurre le emissioni, innanzitutto, è necessario ringiovanire il parco mezzi, ripristinando il super e iper-ammortamento al 130% e 140%, destinato alla progressiva sostituzione delle flotte con mezzi meno inquinanti per il trasporto merci. Per favorire il trasporto su ferro bisogna investire 8 miliardi di euro al fine di integrare le reti ferroviarie italiane nei corridoi europei: dovranno realizzarsi 5.100 km di binari per consentire il transito dei treni merci più lunghi (750 mt). Per diminuire l'uso di mezzi privati inquinanti bisognerà aumentare la costruzione annuale di metropolitane (da 14,2 km a 20 km) e di tramvie (da 16,9 km a 25 km) per un costo di 1 miliardo di euro l'anno; procedere con lo svecchiamento del

parco autobus (5 miliardi in tre anni) e del parco treni (2 miliardi di euro); aumentare car e bike sharing con incentivi mirati ad ammortizzare i costi di acquisto dei mezzi. Infine, per favorire l'acquisto di macchine ibride ed elettriche da parte dei privati, bisognerà aumentare gli incentivi per queste macchine, e favorire l'installazione di punti ricarica pubblici urbani (sia stradali che privati) ed extra-urbani per auto elettriche e ibride plug-in.

2. Abbassare i consumi di energia, migliorando l'efficienza energetica degli edifici e aumentando il calore generato da fonti rinnovabili non nocive per l'ambiente

La principale causa di emissioni nell'edilizia è il riscaldamento, che assorbe l'80% dell'energia utilizzata dagli edifici. È quindi necessario aumentare il numero di case che utilizzano il teleriscaldamento (per una volumetria del 13%), prolungando la rete di 900km entro il 2030. Il costo sarebbe di circa 2,5 miliardi di euro. È necessario, inoltre, costruire 250 impianti di teleriscaldamento alimentati con legno cippato nei piccoli Comuni montani. Questi impianti costano 125 milioni di euro e permettono di risparmiare circa 112 mila tonnellate di CO₂ l'anno. Occorre infine investire 1,2 miliardi di euro in centrali di biogas, al fine di immettere il biometano nella rete di riscaldamento, e realizzare un piano di azione per la ristrutturazione e l'efficientamento energetico dell'edilizia pubblica.

3. Garantire la manutenzione delle foreste e rilanciare la filiera del legno

In Italia, ogni anno le aree boschive sottraggono circa 46,2 milioni di tonnellate di CO₂ dall'atmosfera (circa il 10% del totale). Una gestione sostenibile di queste aree garantirebbe un aumento del 30% dell'assorbimento di carbonio. È quindi necessario contrastare l'abbandono delle aree boschive (urbane ed extra-urbane) aumentando i controlli sui Piani di gestione forestale coordinati a livello regionale. Per stimolare il rafforzamento della filiera del legno, seconda industria manifatturiera in Italia, bisognerà investire 6,6 milioni di euro nelle regioni più ricche di patrimonio forestale: si creerebbero così percorsi dedicati alla formazione in mestieri del legno negli istituti tecnici e negli ITS. Altri 25 milioni di euro andrebbero destinati alla realizzazione di 50 piattaforme logisticocommerciali.

4. Approvare un piano per la gestione del dissesto idrogeologico e aumentare gli investimenti
Siamo tra i primi paesi al Mondo per danni causati dal dissesto idrogeologico, e impieghiamo in media circa 3,5 miliardi l'anno dal 1945 per contrastare i dissesti. Oltre alla redazione di un apposito piano e di un framework normativo per il cambiamento climatico, riteniamo quindi necessario aumentare gli investimenti in prevenzione e in infrastrutture di contenimento. Inoltre, bisogna rendere obbligatoria l'assicurazione contro i danni da calamità naturali (oggi solo il 2% delle abitazioni ne sono coperte). Infine, risulta altresì necessario ripristinare l'unità di missione contro il dissesto idrogeologico.

Crisi idrica

Nel 2022 si è registrata una diminuzione di circa il 45% della pioggia e di circa il 70% della neve rispetto alle medie degli ultimi anni. Il Po è sceso di 8 metri, la resa del grano è diminuita del 15% e la produzione di latte da mucche è diminuita del 10%. Nei prossimi anni è ragionevole aspettarsi una progressiva riduzione delle precipitazioni (o comunque una loro concentrazione in alcune stagioni). Le nostre proposte hanno l'obiettivo di evitare che l'attuale crisi si possa ripetere.

1. Recuperare e realizzare nuovi invasi e bacini per trattenere le acque piovane

In Italia solo l'11,3% dell'acqua piovana viene immagazzinata, sprecando così un potenziale enorme. Il PNRR dedica 2 miliardi di euro per investimenti in infrastrutture idriche: proponiamo che questi finanziamenti vengano utilizzati per la realizzazione degli invasi. È inoltre necessario incentivare la pulizia degli invasi esistenti semplificando le disposizioni normative riguardanti la gestione dei detriti.

2. Ristrutturare la rete idrica italiana per ridurre le perdite (attualmente del 40%)

Oltre il 40% dell'acqua viene dispersa o sprecata nella rete idrica. Paragonato agli altri Paesi europei questo dato è allarmante: in Francia la dispersione nella rete idrica ammonta al 20% e

in Germania l'8%. In media solo 3,8 metri di condotte per ogni chilometro di tubi a fine vita viene sostituito ogni anno e quasi tutti gli interventi sono al Centro Nord. È necessario aumentare il tasso di sostituzione. A quasi 30 anni dall'approvazione della legge Galli, in molte parti d'Italia la gestione del servizio idrico è ancora lontana da una logica industriale - che è invece necessaria per una gestione efficiente, per investimenti adeguati e per salvaguardare la natura primaria del bene acqua. Gli investimenti nel settore idrico in Italia sono inferiori rispetto alla media europea: 49 euro procapite nel biennio 2020-2021 contro i 100 euro pro-capite in Europa. Per effettuare gli investimenti di cui alle proposte 1, 2 e 3 è necessario ridurre il numero degli operatori. Gli operatori del servizio idrico sono circa 2.500, ma solamente il 17% di questi è costituito da gestori industriali privati. Essi investono 6 volte più dei loro competitor pubblici ma solamente circa la metà dei loro omologhi europei. È quindi fondamentale, tramite un maggiore coordinamento regionale, ridurre il numero di operatori e aumentare le dimensioni degli stessi: così verrà incrementata l'efficienza e la capacità di attrarre capitali privati.

3. Promuovere un piano per il riuso delle acque di depurazione

In Italia non esiste un piano nazionale per il riuso delle acque di depurazione, nonostante il grande potenziale di questa risorsa: quasi il 30% dell'acqua restituita dai sistemi di depurazione è di buona qualità ma, invece di essere utilizzata, in agricoltura finisce nei fiumi o in mare. Occorre stabilire che le nuove costruzioni edilizie prevedano il riuso delle acque grigie.

4. Incentivare gli investimenti in sistemi di irrigazione che riducono gli sprechi d'acqua

Questa misura è rivolta principalmente agli imprenditori del settore agroalimentare, i quali investono nell'irrigazione di precisione. Essa consente di ridurre gli sprechi ma anche di avere migliori rendimenti, al contempo monitorando le fasi delle colture ed evitando alle piante gli stress da carenza o da sovrabbondanza di acqua. Oltre al sistema di irrigazione goccia a goccia, gli incentivi sarebbero accessibili anche a chi investe nel controllo delle fasi di irrigazione e di microirrigazione digitale e da remoto.

Economia circolare

L'Italia è uno dei Paesi europei più virtuosi in materia di economia circolare: complessivamente ricicliamo circa il 68% dei nostri rifiuti (urbani e speciali), contro una media UE del 35%. Inoltre, produciamo quasi la metà dei rifiuti rispetto alla media europea. Per quanto riguarda i rifiuti urbani, la quota di raccolta differenziata varia molto tra regioni del Nord (circa 68,13%) e regioni del Sud (circa 56,8%). In particolare, delle 8 regioni che non rispettano il target europeo sulla raccolta differenziata, 6 si trovano nel Mezzogiorno. Inoltre, in contrasto con la logica dell'economia circolare che vede il rifiuto come una risorsa, l'Italia ha un trend in aumento di rifiuti esportati all'estero.

1. Realizzare un piano di investimenti per nuovi impianti di trattamento dei rifiuti

Il sistema impiantistico italiano per la gestione dei rifiuti è rimasto indietro e deve essere rafforzato. Se da una parte è importante dare priorità alla Strategia UE per l'economia circolare, che privilegia il recupero materico dei rifiuti, non si può pensare di volere un sistema a "rifiuti zero" senza avere un termovalorizzatore. Autorevoli istituti di ricerca hanno stimato un fabbisogno di circa 70 nuovi impianti (es: termovalorizzatori, impianti di trattamento bio-meccanico, impianti di smaltimento, ecc..) da realizzare entro il 2035, per un valore di 10 miliardi di euro circa. Bisogna investire ulteriori risorse nel settore: le riforme del Pnrr, infatti, prevedono "solo" 2,1 miliardi di euro per la realizzazione di nuovi impianti per il trattamento e il riciclo dei rifiuti, l'ammodernamento di impianti esistenti e la realizzazione di progetti "faro" di economia circolare. L'obiettivo è quello di realizzare una rete omogenea di impianti di trattamento e riciclo dei rifiuti dal punto di vista territoriale, consentendo l'ottimizzazione di economie di scala e ottenendo così una gestione più efficiente su macroaree regionali. Infine, è necessario applicare le disposizioni del programma nazionale per la gestione dei rifiuti approvato dal Governo Draghi (si prenda a titolo esemplificativo il superamento del pretrattamento privilegiando il recupero energetico diretto dei rifiuti indifferenziati o

l'applicazione del tracciamento dei flussi per il loro monitoraggio). I fondi del PNRR vanno usati per realizzare infrastrutture che migliorino l'economia circolare, ad esempio per aumentare il recupero delle terre rare (RAEE).

2. Aggiungere sulle confezioni maggiori informazioni sull'impatto ambientale dei prodotti in vendita

Proponiamo una nuova etichetta che, seguendo il modello francese Eco-Score, indichi l'impatto ambientale dei prodotti in vendita facendo riferimento al ciclo di vita, il sistema di produzione (biologico, equo-solidale, etc), l'imballaggio, l'impatto legato ai trasporti, la riciclabilità degli imballaggi e il rispetto della biodiversità. In questo modo sarà possibile incentivare il consumo di prodotti sostenibili e penalizzare quello dei prodotti più inquinanti. Il modo migliore per incentivare l'acquisto di prodotti con punteggi più alti sarà garantito grazie alla riduzione dell'IVA sui prodotti coinvolti. Questa proposta è complementare all'etichetta che sarà obbligatoria dal 2023, che prevedrà solamente l'indicazione di come smaltire la confezione.

3. Incoraggiare l'applicazione della tariffazione puntuale per la TARI

Oggi la TARI tradizionale viene definita in base ai metri quadrati dell'immobile e non è collegata in alcun modo alla quantità di rifiuti effettivamente prodotta. Proponiamo per questo di rendere operativa su tutto il territorio nazionale l'applicazione della tariffazione puntuale della TARI, sul modello di quanto fatto già in molti comuni italiani. Questo tipo di tariffa si basa sul principio del pay as you throw, secondo cui paga di più chi produce più rifiuti. Saranno pertanto premiati gli utenti che effettuano maggiormente la raccolta differenziata e che scelgono prodotti con minori imballaggi, incentivando i produttori a ridurre i materiali usati per il confezionamento. Sarà realizzata una mappatura dei Comuni che hanno applicato il metodo tariffario puntuale e verrà creato un database di esempi di successo che supporti i Comuni che lo devono ancora introdurre. Nonostante l'ambito di competenza non riguardi direttamente il Governo, il Ministero della Transizione Ecologica può imporre dei LEA a cui tutte le amministrazioni locali si devono adeguare secondo una specifica timeline.

4. Creare un sistema di premialità per i Comuni che riducono la quota di rifiuti non inviati a riciclaggio

Sul modello dell'Emilia-Romagna, proponiamo di premiare i Comuni con le migliori performances in materia di riduzione e trattamento dei rifiuti. Così, viene scoraggiato l'utilizzo di discariche.

Movimento 5 Stelle

DALLA PARTE DELL'AMBIENTE: PER LA TRANSIZIONE ENERGETICA, ECOLOGICA E LA TUTELA DELLE BIODIVERSITÀ

SOCIETÀ '2000 WATT' Tendere a un modello sostenibile di consumo energetico per ridurre le emissioni annue di gas serra

SUPERBONUS E ALTRI BONUS EDILIZI STRUTTURALI Stabilizzazione delle agevolazioni edilizie per permettere la pianificazione degli investimenti sugli immobili e continuare a migliorare i livelli di risparmio energetico e di conseguenza risparmiare sulle bollette. Sbloccare e far circolare i crediti d'imposta per evitare il fallimento delle imprese che ancora oggi non riescono a trasformarli in liquidità per pagare fornitori e dipendenti

UN NUOVO SUPERBONUS ENERGIA IMPRESE, sempre basato sulla circolazione dei crediti fiscali, per permettere alle imprese di investire a costo zero nel risparmio energetico e nelle fonti rinnovabili

SBUROCRATIZZAZIONE PER FAVORIRE LA CREAZIONE DI IMPIANTI DI ENERGIA RINNOVABILE

COMPLETAMENTO DELLA CARTA GEOLOGICA per mappare il territorio e prevenire i dissesti idrogeologici

CONTRASTO AL CAROBOLLETTE Revisione del sistema di formazione del prezzo del gas favorendone lo sganciamento dal mercato olandese TTF, caratterizzato da fenomeni speculativi
STOP A NUOVE TRIVELLAZIONI E A NUOVI INCENERITORI

DALLA PARTE DELLA RIGENERAZIONE: PER L'ECONOMIA CIRCOLARE

ECONOMIA RIGENERATIVA, per un sistema non più fondato solo sulla crescita ma anche sulla rigenerazione sociale, del territorio, dei consumi

STOP A TECNOLOGIE OBSOLETE PER I RIFIUTI Realizzazione di impianti completamente compatibili con le richieste dell'Europa e non inquinanti, finalizzati a migliorare le prestazioni ambientali

PROMOZIONE DEL VUOTO A RENDERE

Potere al popolo

8. Proteggere l'ambiente e sostenere l'agricoltura

1. Rispettare e superare gli impegni nazionali di riduzione delle emissioni dell'Accordo di Parigi. 2. Legge nazionale per portare a zero il consumo di suolo, che blocchi entro il 2025 le espansioni in zone naturali e agricole e attivi un programma per il recupero, il riuso e la manutenzione del patrimonio esistente. 3. Disincentivare produzione, distribuzione e uso di prodotti usa e getta o difficilmente riparabili e l'utilizzo di inceneritori. Migliorare il compostaggio e il trattamento differenziato dei rifiuti invece di creare nuove discariche. 4. Riforma agroecologica della Politica Agricola Comune (PAC), tagliando i sussidi agli allevamenti intensivi e sostenendo aziende agricole che producono con metodi ecologici e a tutela della biodiversità. 5. Aggiornamento e attuazione immediata del Piano di Azione Nazionale per l'uso sostenibile dei prodotti fitosanitari (PAN), nonché il divieto di utilizzo di pesticidi tossici, divieto di produzione e utilizzo di glifosato e altri fitosanitari nocivi per le api e gli altri impollinatori. 6. Fondo pubblico di sostegno per aziende cooperative sociali e comunità che passano all'agricoltura biologica e che promuovono pratiche agricole ecosostenibili. 7. Piano straordinario per la rinaturazione delle sponde fluviali e in generale degli ecosistemi fluviali per ristabilire gli ecosistemi di acqua dolce e le funzioni naturali dei fiumi. 8. Nuova legge nazionale dell'urbanistica adeguata alla crisi climatica e ai fenomeni di espansione urbana disordinati e frammentati degli ultimi 30 anni, con aumento delle aree pro capite per servizi pubblici e aree verdi. 9. Piena applicazione della Strategia europea sulla biodiversità. Nuova Legge quadro sulle Aree naturali protette che ponga al centro della sua strategia l'implementazione del Sistema di aree protette, che dovrà raggiungere il 30% della superficie sia terrestre che marina entro il 2030. Riforestazione dei boschi e delle aree urbane con almeno 1 miliardo di alberi all'anno da piantare per aumentare ossigeno rispetto all'emissione di CO₂. 10. Tutela del benessere animale e istituzione del Garante Nazionale dei Diritti degli Animali. Sostegno alle misure proposte dalle associazioni animaliste.

Alleanza verdi sinistra

1. L'ITALIA RINNOVABILE

Il Sole è il più grande "reattore a fusione nucleare" già disponibile per la produzione di energia rinnovabile e fornisce ogni anno 15mila volte l'energia di cui l'umanità ha bisogno. La ricerca scientifica e tecnologica ha sviluppato le tecnologie necessarie a catturare l'energia solare come il fotovoltaico, il solare termico e l'eolico, così come quelle per conservare l'energia in maniera

molto efficiente, ad esempio le batterie al litio e i pompaggi idroelettrici. Non meno importante, sono ormai disponibili efficienti tecniche per il risparmio di energia nei processi industriali, in agricoltura e nel settore abitativo, capaci di ridurre notevolmente la domanda energetica e i relativi costi. Se a questo si aggiungono i risparmi energetici connessi all'aumentata capacità di riciclare i materiali (ad esempio, in edilizia, nell'industria, nella gestione dei rifiuti elettronici, urbani), non c'è dubbio che la transizione energetica verso minori consumi, utilizzo di energie rinnovabili, minori impatti ambientali con particolare attenzione ai gas serra, sia possibile riducendo l'utilizzo del metano e senza fare ricorso all'energia nucleare, quest'ultima già rifiutata dagli Italiani in due referendum nazionali. È necessario che ognuno di noi sia messo nelle condizioni di produrre energia pulita e soprattutto di condividere e scambiare l'energia prodotta attraverso la rete elettrica e il relativo mercato, che devono essere riorganizzati per gestire il 100% di energia elettrica rinnovabile. L'energia deve diventare un bene comune, staccandosi dalla logica dei sistemi centralizzati in cui pochi producono/distribuiscono e tutti consumano la risorsa, se hanno la possibilità di acquistarla. La democrazia energetica si può realizzare attraverso un'economia di condivisione del vettore energetico che alimenta le nostre società e una rete che supporta l'autoconsumo collettivo, attraverso l'indispensabile evoluzione delle comunità energetiche. Il mondo si trova su una strada che va verso un aumento della temperatura globale di 2,7 gradi entro la fine del secolo: ciò porterebbe a cambiamenti catastrofici nel clima della Terra. La scienza ci dice che a livello globale possiamo e dobbiamo dimezzare le emissioni annuali di gas serra nei prossimi otto anni per rimanere entro 1,5 gradi. La scienza va ascoltata: senza una forte accelerazione nelle politiche per il clima, “nella critica decade degli anni 20” (Patto per il Clima di Glasgow, COP26, novembre 2021) non saremo in grado di limitare il surriscaldamento globale entro la soglia di sicurezza di 1,5 gradi. L'Italia deve dotarsi di un obiettivo nazionale di riduzione delle emissioni serra come hanno fatto tutti i grandi paesi Europei. Per questo l'Italia deve triplicare i propri sforzi di riduzione delle emissioni come sua quota equa globale in linea con l'obiettivo di 1,5 gradi, riducendo le emissioni del 70% al 2030 rispetto al 1990 e procedendo verso la neutralità climatica da raggiungere nel 2045, come ad esempio previsto dalla Germania nella propria strategia energetica/climatica.

- **Tutti questi obiettivi possono essere raggiunti con un programma di azioni coordinate**

- **Affrontare l'emergenza energetica senza rinunciare alla transizione**

- o Realizzare un piano che definisca tempi e quantità per il definitivo abbandono del gas metano dal sistema energetico nazionale e garantisca l'uscita dalla generazione a gas nel sistema elettrico entro il 2035. La recente crisi del prezzo del gas e delle forniture ci rinforza nella convinzione di accelerare l'uscita dall'economia delle energie fossili per costruire un modello resiliente in grado di fornire energia ai cittadini per i loro bisogni a un prezzo equo e stabile nel tempo, senza speculazioni e senza impatti climatici.
- o Un piano per l'eliminazione dei combustibili fossili dalle abitazioni mediante energie rinnovabili, efficienza energetica, pompe di calore e ogni altro processo che porti all'elettrificazione completa delle abitazioni, incluso il superamento delle deroghe per l'impiego di gasolio nel riscaldamento domestico.
- o Mettere l'efficienza energetica e l'attivazione del risparmio energetico da parte dei cittadini in cima alle priorità di azione, come suggerito dall'ENEA, anche e non solo per rispondere all'ingiustificata invasione russa dell'Ucraina. Perché l'efficienza energetica assuma un ruolo di primo piano, è necessario anche rivedere tutti gli incentivi per renderli duraturi almeno fino al 2030, darne accesso a tutte le fasce sociali e garantirne l'accesso prioritario alle fasce sociali più deboli, escludere il supporto alle caldaie a gas, e raggiungere un efficientamento almeno fino alla classe energetica C.

- o Accelerare la produzione di energia elettrica rinnovabile fino a raggiungere l'installazione di 15 GW all'anno, dando priorità anche attraverso adeguati incentivi economici allo sviluppo sui tetti e sul tessuto industriale e sulle aree idonee nel rispetto della normativa VIA.
- o Sviluppare una strategia di implementazione degli obiettivi del RepowerEU per emancipare la nostra economia in fretta dalla volatilità del prezzo del gas aggiornando il Piano nazionale Integrato Energia e Clima (PNIEC)
- o Sfruttare tutte le infrastrutture gas esistenti – stoccaggi, gasdotti e rigassificatori – per compensare possibili contrazioni o stop del gas russo prima di considerare nuove infrastrutture gas.
- o Nel primo semestre del 2022 l'Italia ha esportato all'estero 1,836 miliardi di metri cubi di gas. Nell'ambito di una politica di massimo utilizzo delle risorse energetiche il gas esportato andrà utilizzato prioritariamente nel mercato interno.
- o Nuovi contratti gas devono essere limitati al minor tempo possibile, solo fino a quando strettamente necessari e legati alla cattura del “gas di scarto” e non di nuova produzione.
- o Fornire interventi di sostegno selettivi solo per i più bisognosi, come il bonus per famiglie, e sostenere il reddito delle famiglie senza incentivare i consumi energetici. Allo stesso modo sostenere le imprese più in difficoltà ma introducendo premialità aggiuntive di credito fiscale a chi investe in rinnovabili ed efficienza energetica e rivedendo i fondi del PNRR per dare priorità a efficienza e rinnovabili per l'impresa.
- o Al fine di dare una risposta all'aumento dei prezzi energetici che stanno causando una gravissima crisi sociale ed economica si rende urgente fissare in via temporanea un tetto al prezzo del gas.

- **Riforma ambientale del fisco.**

Come da impegno G7, vanno aboliti i sussidi fossili, dal valore di oltre 20 miliardi l'anno, entro il 2025. Ciò attraverso un piano di redistribuzione dei sussidi fossili per la transizione come incentivo e supporto ai settori industriali e alle fasce sociali più esposte. Oltre alla rimodulazione dei sussidi, va riformata la fiscalità energetica in modo strutturale per disegnare tariffe di fornitura che mettano i consumatori al riparo della volatilità del prezzo delle fonti fossili e per ridurre a zero la povertà energetica entro il 2025 e garantire l'accesso equo all'energia verde per tutti. A livello europeo, serve una fiscalità energetica comunitaria che eviti la concorrenza sleale tra le imprese europee ma diventi veicolo delle politiche per il clima. Oggi l'Italia paga all'Europa oltre 800 milioni di euro anno di *plastic tax* che non recupera dai consumi di plastica perché la *plastic tax* nazionale è stata rimandata. A pagare sono i contribuenti indipendentemente dai loro consumi di plastica. Siamo per il principio ‘**chi inquina paga**’.

- **Sì a rinnovabili, no a nucleare e trivelle.**

- o Raggiungere per il fabbisogno elettrico 80% di penetrazione rinnovabile al 2030 e quasi 100% al 2035 attraverso una programmazione annuale minima di sviluppo rinnovabili e sblocco autorizzazioni. Priorità ad energia solare ed eolico a terra e marino. A tal proposito è necessario realizzare 60GW di rinnovabili entro tre anni individuando anche figure di commissari e sub commissari regionali per sbloccare le autorizzazioni.
 - o Dare mandato a Terna per sviluppare un “Piano speciale di accumuli e della rete elettrica” capace di assorbire e gestire in sicurezza energia rinnovabile, sopra tutto l'arco giornaliero e stagionale, per una piena decarbonizzazione del settore elettrico al 2035.
 - o No al nucleare, come da mandato dei due referendum.
- Fare chiarezza sulle false sicurezze di inesistente nucleare di quarta generazione e di prossima fusione nucleare, molto lontana nel tempo. Nulla in contrario a continuare attività di ricerca in tal senso, ma è vergognoso promettere ai cittadini la realizzazione in poche decine di anni di

tecnologie sulle quali ancora si sono ottenuti solo risultati di laboratorio privi di prospettive concrete nel breve e medio periodo.

o Stop a nuove trivelle permanente e piano graduale di uscita dalla produzione fossile nazionale entro il 2045, unendosi in occasione della COP27 ai paesi dell'Alleanza oltre il Petrolio e il Gas ([BOGA](#)) guidata dalla Danimarca.

o Revisione del sistema delle *royalties* sulla produzione nazionale per recuperare gli extraprofitti delle imprese fossili durante la crisi russa.

2. L'ITALIA GREEN

- **Una legge per il clima, consultazioni e partecipazione**

Dotarsi di una legge per il clima entro i primi 100 giorni come strumento normativo di coerenza e continuità delle politiche rispetto a obiettivi vincolanti e assicurare la produzione normativa e la sua implementazione a tutti i livelli – nazionale, regionale e locale. Elementi essenziali includono obiettivi vincolanti e finalità coerenti con gli scenari scientifici, un Comitato scientifico indipendente di controllo delle politiche, obblighi emissivi settoriali, sistema di monitoraggio e valutazione, e la costituzione di assemblee cittadine per attivare la partecipazione e garantire inclusione. Consultazione e condivisione degli obiettivi sono il presupposto per la loro realizzazione. La partecipazione attiva dei cittadini nella condivisione delle responsabilità e la proposta di soluzioni è centrale per vincere la sfida della salvaguardia del clima all'interno dei perimetri della democrazia liberale. La transizione ecologica può essere accettata unicamente a fronte di un coinvolgimento nei processi decisionali e nell'identificazione delle possibili soluzioni.

- **Dare la priorità all'adattamento climatico.**

L'Italia rientra tra le aree più colpite e si surriscalda più velocemente della media globale. Negli ultimi 40 anni l'Italia ha registrato oltre 20mila morti a causa di eventi estremi, seconda solo alla Francia con il maggior numero di decessi. Guardando al futuro, l'Italia rischia di diventare invivibile con temperature estive che potrebbero aumentare fino a 6 gradi, le precipitazioni estive diminuire fino al 40% nel corso del secolo e uno stato di siccità critica continua. Senza azione, da qui al 2050 i giorni di ondate di calore possono aumentare fino al 400%. I costi diretti del cambiamento climatico in Italia rischiano di raggiungere l'8% del PIL entro fine secolo, colpendo principalmente le fasce più fragili della popolazione, le infrastrutture, i terreni agricoli e il settore del turismo. L'adattamento deve diventare un investimento prioritario per evitare danni incalcolabili e nuove tragedie umane. Per questo occorre aggiornare e rendere pienamente operativo il Piano Nazionale di Adattamento ai Cambiamenti Climatici, fermo al 2017, entro i primi 6 mesi della legislatura; le politiche di adattamento devono essere integrate all'interno di tutte le politiche; rivedere l'adequatezza del PNRR rispetto alle necessità dell'adattamento; e sviluppare un "Piano Salva Foreste" e un "Piano Salva Mari" per la protezione, il ripristino, la conservazione e la valorizzazione di questi ecosistemi.

- **Un'amministrazione pubblica amica del clima.**

Senza efficacia e competenza, non si riusciranno a raggiungere gli obiettivi e a costruire la fiducia pubblica necessaria. Per questo occorre rafforzare tutti i Ministeri con nuovo personale dedicato; completare la riforma del MITE integrando industria (MISE) e infrastrutture (MIMS); e instaurare una cabina di regia per la transizione ecologica a Palazzo Chigi. Non si possono inoltre più rimandare forme minime ed uniformi sul territorio nazionale (regioni, città metropolitane e Comuni) di strutture amministrative per implementare le politiche nazionali e produrre soluzioni autonome.

- **Trasformare CDP, SACE e Invitalia in Banche per il clima** per sostenere, garantire e gestire la transizione. Serve maggiore trasparenza nell'erogazione di risorse da parte

delle agenzie pubbliche. Servono regole per l'esclusione del finanziamento a infrastrutture fossili, una strategia per l'uscita dagli investimenti esistenti e un piano d'azione per sostenere i finanziamenti privati ad accelerare nella transizione climatica.

- **Un piano di investimenti per il risparmio idrico**, sia in ambito urbano che industriale, promuovendo il ciclo chiuso, il riuso delle acque e quindi la riduzione dell'impatto degli scarichi sui fiumi e dello sfruttamento delle acque di falda, **e contro la dispersione idrica** dei nostri acquedotti che perdono il 40% di acqua, circa 104 mila litri al secondo ed un piano che acceleri la realizzazione dei sistemi di depurazione considerata la condanna della Corte di Giustizia europea sulla violazione della direttiva in materia di trattamento delle acque.

- **Per un'Europa verde e solidale.**

- o Una politica comune sul gas basato su meccanismi di solidarietà per condividere volumi a fronte di crisi, incentrata su obiettivi comuni di risparmio, di accesso agli stoccaggi e di ottimizzazione di gasdotti e rigassificatori esistenti. L'Italia può giocare un ruolo da protagonista per la solidarietà europea. Nuove infrastrutture porterebbero invece ad un eccesso di offerta di gas, con nuove instabilità sui mercati e pesanti oneri di costo di infrastrutture non utilizzate. L'Europa non deve incentivare nuova esplorazione e produzione di gas ma favorire nuove forniture con paesi che abbiano disponibilità di gas da liberare per l'export attraverso lo sviluppo delle rinnovabili e la cattura del gas di scarto.

o Non solo difesa del Green Deal ma renderlo più ambizioso, portando gli obiettivi 2030 del pacchetto Fit for 55 ad almeno il 50% di penetrazione di rinnovabili e al 45% di risparmio attraverso l'efficienza energetica.

o Debito buono è debito verde. L'Unione europea stima che siano necessari 270 miliardi di euro all'anno di spesa pubblica per la transizione. Per l'Italia serviranno 30-40 miliardi l'anno. La necessità di un accordo su come finanziare la transizione all'interno della riforma del Patto di Stabilità per la transizione ecologica è fondamentale per l'Italia che ha uno spazio fiscale limitato. Il debito verde deve essere escluso dal calcolo del debito pregresso e legato a tempistiche di rientro più lunghe e specifiche per ogni paese.

o L'Italia deve contribuire a forgiare una diplomazia del Green Deal sia per spingere le grandi economie emittitrici, come Cina e India, a intraprendere transizioni più rapide di riduzione di emissioni, sia fornendo a tutti i paesi il supporto finanziario necessario alla transizione, per l'adattamento e per le perdite e i danni. Nuove catene di valore, modelli di economia circolare e partenariati per le materie prime critiche devono essere ricercati con le economie africane ed asiatiche per costruire resilienza e fiducia reciproca.

- **Una politica estera verde per una transizione globale giusta.**

- o Come Stati Uniti, Regno Unito e Germania, anche l'Italia si deve dotare di un'inviata/o speciale per il clima di alto livello e di un corpo diplomatico adeguato alla sfida climatica, incluso nuovi "diplomatici climatici" sia a Roma che nelle Ambasciate più importanti.

o La politica estera italiana dovrà dotarsi di una nuova strategia energetica in linea con gli obiettivi climatici, che sia slegata dallo sfruttamento di nuove riserve fossili e degli interessi fossili costituiti. E della prima strategia di sicurezza climatica per identificare l'esposizione dell'Italia ai rischi climatici globali.

o Per la cooperazione internazionale e la giustizia climatica, ci impegniamo a raggiungere la quota equa per l'Italia di mobilitare almeno 4 miliardi di dollari l'anno in finanza per il clima, di cui 50% da destinare all'adattamento e alle perdite e i danni. Questo nel contesto di raggiungere entro fine legislatura la quota dello 0,7% di Aiuti Pubblici allo Sviluppo sul reddito nazionale lordo in linea con gli obiettivi dell'Unione Europea.

o All'interno del G7 e del G20, inclusa la Presidenza italiana del G7 del 2024, ci adopereremo per una profonda riforma dell'architettura globale della finanza, per mobilitare i trilioni necessari alla transizione globale giusta, per riforme dei debiti che diano accesso a tutti ai capitali necessari alla transizione e per ripristinare più equità tra il Nord e il Sud del mondo.

o Dobbiamo dare vita a nuovi partenariati, in particolare nel Mediterraneo, in Africa, in America Latina e nelle economie emergenti asiatiche, per un futuro prospero e resiliente slegato dallo sfruttamento fossile e incentrato sulle energie rinnovabili e nuovi modelli di sviluppo industriale e agricolo, slegati dalla deforestazione e nuovi sfruttamenti di suoli e mari, che creino valore a beneficio di tutti nel pieno rispetto dei diritti umani, ambientali e dei lavoratori.

- **Beni primari, lotta alla desertificazione.**

- A livello globale le foreste coprono il 30% della superficie terrestre e, oltre a offrire cibo sicuro e riparo, esse sono essenziali per il contrasto al cambiamento climatico, e la protezione della biodiversità e delle dimore delle popolazioni indigene. I modelli di produzione e consumo europei e l'importazione di beni come soia, mais, carne, legname sono causa di deforestazione globale e pertanto l'Italia deve mirare ad una norma ambiziosa in sede europea per garantire filiere tracciabili e certificate per l'importazione dei soli prodotti a deforestazione zero.
- L'Italia è uno dei punti caldi della crisi climatica globale e dei suoi effetti. L'estate 2022 ci ha mostrato impatti crescenti sotto forma di ondate di calore, siccità prolungate e collassi glaciali. Diversi incendi hanno già colpito i boschi italiani, minacciando la sicurezza delle comunità. Gli eventi estremi che colpiscono le foreste minacciano non solo la loro stabilità ecologica, ma soprattutto i benefici che offrono alla società, come la mitigazione climatica, il contrasto al dissesto idrogeologico, la fornitura di materiali rinnovabili, la regolazione della qualità dell'acqua e dell'aria, il benessere fisico e spirituale. Pertanto proponiamo di: Incrementare e finanziare la pianificazione forestale e la certificazione di gestione sostenibile, investire nell'adattamento delle foreste agli stress climatici e nella prevenzione dei danni alle foreste dovuti agli incendi e agli eventi climatici estremi, che riducono o interrompono i benefici che le foreste forniscono alla società, progettare il ripristino delle foreste danneggiate; formare professionisti e tecnici sulle misure da attuare; lottare contro l'erosione e il dissesto idrogeologico nei bacini idrografici forestali e tutelare le foreste che proteggono e alimentano le risorse idriche; dare attuazione al collegato ambientale del 2015 e avviare forme di remunerazione economica per i servizi ecosistemici di regolazione delle foreste. Promuovere la connettività ecologica e funzionale dei paesaggi agrari e forestali a scala nazionale; rilanciare la dignità degli operatori forestali per la cura del territorio. Supportare l'impianto e la cura degli alberi nelle aree urbane (non solo città metropolitane); riattivare la filiera nazionale del legno per diminuire la dipendenza dalle importazioni e evitare di delocalizzare impatti negativi sulle foreste di altri Paesi; sostenere filiere produttive ad elevato valore aggiunto nel settore della bioeconomia forestale

(tessili, medicinali, chimiche); incentivare l'impiego di legno locale e l'uso "a cascata" del legno, privilegiando gli impieghi a lunga durata come quelli nel settore edilizio e strutturale.

3. L'ITALIA DELLA MOBILITÀ SOSTENIBILE

- **Più trasporto pubblico, stop all'inquinamento.**

Lo smog causa ogni anno in Italia 56 mila morti secondo i dati dell'agenzia europea per l'ambiente. Serve un cambio radicale di investimenti sul trasporto pubblico locale: la sola città di Madrid dispone di 294 km di metropolitane ed in tutta la Spagna sono oltre 1.000 km; in tutta Italia sono solo 234 Km. Non c'è alcun dubbio sul fatto che l'incremento del trasporto pubblico (possibilmente elettrico) porterebbe a un grande miglioramento della qualità dell'aria, nonché a grandi risparmi nel consumo di combustibili fossili (benzina, diesel) per il traffico privato. Per quanto riguarda quest'ultimo, la qualità dell'aria beneficerebbe anche da una diffusione dell'auto elettrica, ferma restando la priorità dell'impegno per il trasporto collettivo. Serve un piano industriale per la mobilità elettrica al 2030 che punti a un obiettivo di veicoli elettrici circolanti di almeno 10 milioni di unità e dotarsi di 100 mila punti di ricarica pubblica. Il sistema di incentivi auto va rimodulato a sostegno dell'acquisto di sole auto elettriche e indirizzando progressivamente gli incentivi alle vetture più efficienti e alle sole utilitarie, solo per la prima auto e modulati in base al reddito. Ribadiamo il nostro no al ponte sullo stretto di Messina opera inutile, inserita in un contesto ad alto rischio sismico ed idrogeologico e che sottrarrebbe 10 miliardi di euro ad opere e infrastrutture socialmente utili.

L'alta velocità ferroviaria si è rivelata utile e potrebbe ancora essere utile su alcune tratte che congiungono grandi centri urbani favorendo spostamenti ad alto valore aggiunto. Non ha alcun senso in aree dove, come la Val Susa, già esistono altre forme di trasporto autostradale e ferroviario sottoutilizzate per mancanza di effettiva domanda di trasporto e dove la popolazione locale ha chiaramente espresso la propria contrarietà. Proseguire **sul progetto della linea "Torino-Lione"** comporta spese di grande entità, tempi molto lunghi e vantaggi irrisori.

- **Aiutare la conversione ecologica industriale anche socialmente.**

Per realizzare la conversione ecologica industriale e renderla socialmente desiderabile è urgente adottare politiche industriali per le produzioni di componenti di veicoli elettrici, riconvertire filiere esistenti e favorire la nascita di filiere di recupero e riciclo delle componenti e dei materiali critici; politiche del lavoro per la riqualificazione degli addetti e favorire la mobilità dei lavoratori a rischio verso altri settori; politiche per l'istruzione che prevedono percorsi formativi a tutti i livelli.

- **Un "Piano straordinario per il trasporto pubblico locale".**

Il 74% degli spostamenti riguarda distanze entro i 10 km e viene soddisfatto per oltre il 62% ricorrendo all'auto privata.

Vogliamo affrontare le carenze organizzative, di infrastrutture e dotazione di mezzi per una più elevata qualità del servizio erogato; ampliare e mettere in sicurezza percorsi ciclabili e pedonali; digitalizzare tutti i servizi di mobilità; offrire tariffe agevolate e incentivi all'utilizzo delle alternative all'auto. Per raggiungere questi obiettivi si rende necessario rimodulare il fondo complementare del Pnrr pari a 30 miliardi di euro per destinarlo in via prioritaria agli investimenti sul trasporto pubblico. È necessario favorire lo smart working per tutti i lavoratori e lavoratrici la cui presenza non è richiesta fisicamente.

Proponiamo inoltre che i trasporti pubblici locali e i treni regionali siano resi gratuiti per gli Under 30, così da promuovere nuovi modelli di mobilità fra le giovani generazioni.

4. L'ITALIA A RIFIUTI ZERO

- **Meno plastica e a zero emissioni.**

L'Italia è il secondo paese consumatore di plastica in Europa: nel 2020 sono state consumate 5,9 milioni di tonnellate di polimeri fossili, corrispondenti a quasi 100 kg a persona. Il modello attuale di produzione e consumo ha causato una crescita esponenziale dell'inquinamento in numerosi ecosistemi marini e terrestri. Ogni anno finiscono in mare 11 milioni di tonnellate di plastica e si prevede che questa cifra raddoppierà entro il 2030 e quasi triplicherà entro il 2040. Introdurre il sistema di deposito su cauzione come primo punto per un "Piano plastica per emissioni zero al 2045". Non possiamo più ritardare l'introduzione della *plastic tax* oltre gennaio 2023 per non gravare sulla collettività e adottare il Piano plastica con l'obiettivo di una drastica riduzione dei consumi, in particolare nei settori principali degli imballaggi, dell'edilizia e dell'automotive, di riciclare il 90% dei rifiuti plastici, di arrivare al pieno utilizzo di bioplastiche da materie vegetali.

- **Economia circolare e strategia rifiuti zero.**

La transizione da un'economia lineare ad una circolare si pone come l'unica soluzione in termini di salvaguardia del pianeta e di una sostenibilità economica che rappresenti una nuova opportunità di sviluppo vista in termini di competitività, innovazione, ambiente e occupazione. Politiche per favorire la riduzione dei rifiuti a partire da una progettazione sostenibile che preveda l'uso di materiali riciclabili e la produzione di prodotti durevoli, riutilizzabili, riparabili fino ad una gestione del rifiuto come risorsa attraverso pratiche virtuose quali: organizzazione della raccolta differenziata, raccolta porta a porta, realizzazione di piattaforme impiantistiche per il riciclaggio e il recupero dei materiali, finalizzato al reinserimento nella filiera produttiva, realizzazione di centri per la riparazione, il riuso e la decostruzione degli edifici, in cui beni durevoli vengono riparati, riutilizzati e venduti, introduzione di sistemi di tariffazione puntuale che facciano pagare le utenze sulla base della produzione effettiva di rifiuti non riciclabili da raccogliere.

- **Un piano nazionale per la gestione dei rifiuti** deve considerare la termovalorizzazione solo come una soluzione di ultima istanza perché l'incenerimento dei rifiuti non permette il recupero delle materie prime e i prodotti che potrebbero produrre ulteriore valore se riutilizzate o riciclate e reimmesse nel ciclo economico. L'impronta di carbonio dei termovalorizzatori è di 650-800 grammi di CO₂ per ogni kWh prodotto, il doppio di una centrale a gas e quasi quanto una centrale a carbone. Sono necessari gli impianti compostaggio per il trattamento dell'umido per chiudere il ciclo dei rifiuti.

Tutti i sistemi di trasferimento rifiuti in discarica vanno modernizzati con le moderne tecnologie. Dovrà essere assolutamente impedito spostare i rifiuti fuori dalla propria regione.

5. L'ITALIA LIBERA

- Una **legge sul fine vita** che ascolti le disperate richieste di tante e tanti di poter mettere fine alla propria vita con dignità.
- Una **legge che legalizzi la coltivazione** della cannabis per uso personale per dare una risposta concreta a chi ne ha bisogno e una sferzata reale agli interessi della criminalità organizzata.

Incentivi per la coltivazione della canapa

La canapa industriale assorbe da 8 a 15 tonnellate di CO₂ per ettaro di coltivazione all'anno. Le foreste ne catturano da 2 a 6 tonnellate per ettaro all'anno, a seconda del numero degli anni di crescita.

- Proteggere le varietà italiane e aumentare i fondi per la ricerca e la formazione in campo medico, industriale e agricolo.
- Trasformare il tavolo della filiera della Canapa (Mipaaf) in un tavolo tecnico permanente (Mise) per stilare ed attuare un piano che agevoli lo sviluppo della filiera e l'entrata dei giovani nel settore.
- Supportare tramite investimenti nazionali ed europei le piccole e medie imprese che si impegnano nell'agricoltura ecologica e sostenibile della canapa. Incentivare la formazione di consorzi cooperativi sul territorio italiano, la formazione di nuove imprese e start-up per promuovere l'imprenditoria giovanile.
- Promuovere il recupero dei terreni abbandonati e di quelli inquinati attraverso la coltivazione della canapa.
- Diffondere e sensibilizzare sull'utilizzo dei mattoni di Canapa nel settore edile, come alleato per la diminuzione delle emissioni di carbonio e la lotta contro i cambiamenti climatici.

6. L'ITALIA CHE AMA

Giustizia sociale, diritti civili, giustizia ambientale sono le facce di quella stessa medaglia che è la nostra vita. Battaglie che vanno portate avanti con la stessa convinzione e urgenza.

Perché di un salario dignitoso in una città irrespirabile, non ce ne facciamo nulla.

Perché di autobus che funzionano quando su quegli stessi autobus le persone lgbt+ vengono aggredite, non ce ne facciamo nulla.

Perché le città pulite in cui le donne non trovano spazio, non ci interessano.

Perché non c'è giustizia sociale se le persone con disabilità non vengono trattate con dignità nel rispetto dei loro diritti.

Il benaltrismo non fa parte della nostra cultura politica. Per noi non esistono classifiche di dignità. Esistono le vite delle persone, che vanno rispettate e a cui vanno garantite pari opportunità e pari dignità.

Noi siamo qui a difendere quei diritti acquisiti e che oggi vengono sempre più spesso messi sotto attacco da chi vuole colpire le donne e la loro libertà di autodeterminarsi.

Siamo qui a lottare per la parità salariale e per creare le condizioni affinché le donne possano trovare il giusto riconoscimento in posizioni apicali e "ruoli decisionali".

Siamo qui a difendere la legge che consente l'interruzione volontaria di gravidanza e soprattutto la sua possibile e corretta applicazione in tutte le nostre città.

Siamo qui a sostenere che le persone con disabilità devono avere pari diritti, perché una comunità, può dirsi tale solo se include i cittadini fragili.

Ed è per tutto questo che oggi ancora di più, si accende in ognuno di noi la consapevolezza che le battaglie per il riconoscimento dei diritti civili e delle libertà individuali siano imprescindibili e da portare avanti qui ed ora.

Ed è per questo che nel nostro programma trovano posto battaglie che riteniamo necessarie e che, con trasparenza e determinazione, ci facciamo carico di portare all'interno delle aule del Parlamento nella prossima legislatura.

Una legge contro l'omobittransfobia e l'abilismo che non lasci indietro nessuno, che tuteli le persone lgbtqia+ e le persone disabili e che garantisca il diritto ad autodeterminarsi.

L'attuazione della legge 227 del 2021 – Legge delega sulla Disabilità e di quanto previsto dalla Legge 22 giugno 2016 n.112 (“Dopo di Noi”), nonché l'aggiornamento del Nomenclatore Tariffario degli ausili, protesici e non.

Una nuova legge sulla cittadinanza, che parta dallo *ius soli* e dallo *ius scholae*, per restituire piena dignità ai tanti e alle tante cittadine che “da straniere/i” contribuiscono alla ricchezza del nostro Paese.

Una legge sul fine vita che ascolti le disperate richieste di tante e tanti di poter mettere fine alla propria vita con dignità.

Una legge che regolamenti legalmente produzione, distribuzione e vendita di cannabis per gli adulti, che permetta la coltivazione per uso personale e favorisca la nascita di ambiti non profit di condivisione collettiva (Cannabis Social Club). Una legge che rimuova lo stigma e ripari ai danni del proibizionismo, a partire dalla cancellazione delle sanzioni penali e amministrative; che favorisca la nascita di una filiera di piccole imprese locali; che restituisca risorse al bilancio dello stato e le sottragga alle narcomafie, investendole nella prevenzione degli usi problematici delle sostanze, nel trattamento e nel reinserimento sociale, oltre che nell'informazione e nell'educazione; che garantisca la sostenibilità anche ambientale della produzione, la qualità e la tracciatura del prodotto; che liberi risorse delle forze dell'ordine dalla repressione dell'uso di cannabis alla prevenzione e repressione dei reati di rilevante allarme sociale.

Una legge che preveda all'interno delle scuole progetti e programmi che parlino di educazione all'affettività, alle differenze e al rispetto di tutte e tutti per contrastare a monte quegli stereotipi di genere che sono la causa di bullismo, misoginia, abilismo e violenze di ogni tipo.

Una legge che preveda all'interno delle scuole progetti e programmi che parlino di educazione all'affettività, alle differenze e al rispetto di tutte e tutti per educare alla diversità e contrastare a monte quegli stereotipi di genere che sono la causa di bullismo, misoginia, abilismo e violenze di ogni tipo.

Una legge sull'uguaglianza e la pari dignità familiare che dia risposte concrete e che spazzi via l'ipocrisia di voler mantenere le donne, i figli e le figlie delle famiglie arcobaleno e le persone lgbt+ un gradino sotto le altre.

Una legge che preveda l'estensione dei diritti e dei doveri delle coppie eterosessuali anche alle coppie dello stesso sesso: matrimonio egualitario, accesso alle adozioni per persone single e per le coppie dello stesso sesso, accesso ai percorsi di procreazione medicalmente assistita per donne e coppie di donne, riconoscimento di pari diritti per i figli e le figlie con genitori dello stesso sesso.

E ancora, una legge che metta fine alla barbarie dei trattamenti di conversione, dette terapie riparative, che attraverso pratiche di qualsiasi natura hanno come obiettivo quello di modificare l'orientamento sessuale o l'identità di genere di una persona.

Una legge che vieti gli interventi chirurgici e le procedure non necessarie dal punto di vista medico sui bambini e le bambine intersex e la piena ricezione della Risoluzione del Parlamento Europeo del 14 febbraio 2019 sui diritti delle persone intersex.

Con l'impegno di metterci in ascolto di chi attraversa e vive tutte le situazioni per trovare insieme soluzioni e vie che restituiscano piena dignità a tutti e tutte compresa **la revisione della legge 164/82.**

Perché rendere il nostro Paese e le nostre città luoghi sempre più accoglienti, solidali, liberi e inclusivi, è il nostro obiettivo.

Corpus 2: I discorsi pubblici e il punto stampa dei politici (Presidenti e Ministri) italiani alle COP dal 2010 ad oggi (*Public Speeches and Press Briefings by Italian Politicians at the COP from 2010 to the Present Day*)⁵⁹

2010

Discorso di: Stefania Prestigiacomo (ministro)

Anno: 2010

COP:16

Titolo: Italy

Tipologia testo: discorso pubblico

Lingua: inglese

Sorgente del Testo: https://archive.unfccc.int/uploads/r/unfccc-records-management-unit/f/f/ff7eeba412dc7019a7c9f6c885a56d431b1189a8d8e4a982881c850226eb24e0/D1109341_High_Level_Segment_Statement_COP16_Italy_20101209.PDF

Testo:

Dear Colleagues,
ladies and gentlemen

Nobody can deny that this Cancun conference is taking place in an outstanding context, and that is pervaded by a climate of optimism and willingness to reach tangible results. I firmly believe that this positive thinking and the vigorous leadership of the Mexican presidency will give us a chance to make a quantum leap towards a global commitment in the fight to climate changes.

The setback we seefeed last year must be turned into a strong point. Today we know, better than in any other step of the process, which obstacles are the real ones to overcome in this negotiation, we know that pitching our ambitions to high and too soon could backfire, and prevent us from reaching the crucial, yet attainable results we need.

Humanity is playing for high stakes here, we can't afford to fail again.

We must all leave Cancun with the over arching architecture of a partially defined agreement that we'll be committed to sign next year in South Africa.

I am sure that nobody will back-down from a solution that foresees balanced and shared commitments for all, and I say ALL, the countries.

Our future agreement must also incorporate the low carbon development option for developing countries: a solution strongly supported and promoted by the industrialized world.

I think it's clear to everybody that the winning approach is not to be found in demagoguery, but rather in a sense of responsibility, accountability and concreteness that was missing last year and that finally seems to be our guiding light here in Cancun.

We've made some undeniable progress in some key areas of what tomorrow could turn out to be the global and legal agreement on climate and sustainable development.

I am thinking about the establishment of a mechanism for the dissemination and transfer of those new technologies that are so important not only to decarbonizes our respective economies but also to foster a sustainable social and economic growth in the yet too many parts of the world having the right to improve its living standards and conditions.

⁵⁹ The speeches and interviews were downloaded and transcribed from YouTube, while other speeches were retrieved from the UNFCCC archive. The archive search was conducted using the keyword "Italy" (<https://archive.unfccc.int/informationobject/browse?page=2&collection=1942&query=italy&topLod=0&sq0=italy&sort=relevance&sortDir=deshttps://archive.unfccc.int/informationobject/browse?page=2&collection=1942&query=italy&topLod=0&sq0=italy&sort=relevance&s>). Unfortunately, Corpus2 begins in 2010, as the speeches from COP14 and COP15 are not available either in the official archive or on YouTube.

The cooperation framework for the fight against deforestation is equally important and will be instrumental in the reduction of global emissions, but also in the preservation and development of indigenous people who have kept with forests a virtuous relationship for thousands of years. Last but certainly not least is the significant progress made in the field of adaptation policies and funding. A good funding mechanism for adaptation is a prerequisite for an exhaustive development strategy and for the definition of a long term financial architecture to guarantee a substantial increase of resources, a sustainable flow of action and to ensure the effectiveness of all the present and future initiatives.

Italy has firstly fulfilling its commitment within the fast start finance. Worked a lot for the success of this conference. We have tried our best to facilitate dialogue and to reconcile different positions, and we always insisted that we must all show a common commitment towards a common goal.

In order for this global commitment to be really effective, China and the USA must be part of the picture, because they belong to this fight.

And it is to China and the US that I launch an appeal, asking them to take greater commitments against climate changes.

The final phase of this negotiation will be, as usually, decisive.

We'll put all our efforts into it, all our energies, till the very last minute, in order to achieve what is within our reach.

We'll do that, to pocket a success that we could offer tomorrow to the public opinion, and that we will use as roadmap to reach in one year a global agreement, a shared agreement, a gift to our planet and its people.

2011

Discorso di: Corrado Clini (ministro)

Anno: 2011

COP:17

Titolo: Il Ministro Clini parla a Durban alla COP17

Tipologia testo: discorso pubblico

Lingua: inglese

Sorgente del Transcript: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mNAKxCz7x3U>

Transcript:

I want to thank some passengers for the hospitality. I hope that our meeting will be an epicenter, and so we will remember Durban as the starting point for the new global policies to address climate change. I want to say that it is the time to overcome the polarized discussion about the future of Kyoto. And it's the time to use this conference to secure a fair basis for a fair, balanced, credible, and global climate change regime.

Italy is ready to do its part under the second commitments of the Kyoto Protocol, as we fully recognize the need that developing countries have identified. However, the Kyoto Protocol alone is not sufficient to meet the two-degree Celsius objectives. In this respect, my comments on the Kyoto Protocol are as follows.

Our view on the future of the protocol is clear. It has to represent the transition towards a framework that allows us to strengthen and enlarge cooperation for emission reduction and for accelerating a worldwide transition towards a green economy that, in addition to climate protection, promotes sustainable development and contributes to poverty eradication around the world.

In Europe, we are facing a terrible crisis, and we know that to overcome the crisis, we have to build a new development — to build a new development based on the efficient use of natural resources and energy sources. And this is the way out of the present crisis.

I want to say that the cooperation, the international cooperation, and the protection of the global environment have to be framed in a way to offer opportunities to all countries, regardless of the structure of their economy and their level of development. In this perspective, Italy is committed to continue and strengthen bilateral cooperation — to continue and strengthen the bilateral cooperation with the developing countries, in particular, the Least Developed Countries and the small Pacific Islands, as well as the multilateral programs with the U.N. agencies, and the joint projects already in place on technology innovation in clean energy with China, Brazil, Mexico, Morocco, Indonesia, and Egypt.

We cannot lock ourselves into insecure, inefficient, and high-carbon global systems. On the contrary, we need a strategy for long-term technology innovation so that emission reduction will not focus only on existing technologies but also on the promotion of new technologies towards the decarbonization of our economies. This will go along with the promotion of adaptation of developing countries to climate change effects.

In order to do that in an effective way, common and sanitary rules and implementing procedures are needed to catalyze investment in low-carbon and climate-resilient growth. For this reason, the transition should end with a legally binding framework, including education commitments, in particular for all the major economies, in line with the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capabilities.

We know that at the moment, the political context poses severe challenges to reach such goals. However, in such a volatile scenario, we have to prepare and, therefore, appropriate instruments to capture the process. In our view, a roadmap towards a legally binding framework represents the instrument for not losing our way to a successful outcome of the negotiations. There is no excuse for not approving a roadmap here in Durban. We are ready to do our part, and we are confident that here in Durban we can take another step forward in our common fight against global climate change.

Thank you very much.

2012

Discorso di: Corrado Clini (ministro)

Anno: 2012

COP: 18

Titolo: Statement by the Italian Minister of Environment, Land and Sea at COP18/COP-MOP 8 (Doha, 6th December 2012)

Tipologia testo: discorso pubblico

Lingua: inglese

Sorgente del Testo: https://unfccc.int/resource/docs/cop18_cmp8_hl_statements/2012-12-04-Discorso-ministro.pdf

Testo:

Mister President, Ministers,

ladies and gentlemen, the year 2012 is an important transition point, in fact

- the first commitment period of the Kyoto Protocol will be completed;

- the current negotiations under the KP and LCA tracks are agreed to be concluded and
- a new track of negotiations for a future regime has started.

Unfortunately the year 2012 has also provided us with a clear demonstration of what dangerous climate change looks like and how much challenging climate change can be for both developed and developing countries. Recent events have largely reconfirmed that mitigation actions after 2020 alone will not be sufficient to manage the climate change risks, and that substantial efforts prior to 2020 are essential to achieve the objective of the Convention in a cost-effective manner. Last year the Durban Conference produced a balanced package that has all the elements to secure a firm basis to reach a fair, balanced, credible and global climate change regime able to put the world on a low emissions pathway. Our duty here is not to lose the opportunity provided by the Durban agreement, and building on such agreement, take decisive actions to increase the short term mitigation ambition and agree on a new Protocol by 2015.

The finalization and adoption of a second commitment period of the Kyoto Protocol has to be considered a transition towards a framework applicable to all, therefore it cannot be the only Doha outcome, but it has to be complemented by other results.

In particular there is a need to increase the short term mitigation ambitious: Parties that will not be Part of the second commitment period of the Kyoto Protocol should signal their contribution to the common effort to increase the level of ambition before 2020 and commit to fully put in place concrete actions to deliver.

Italy, as a Member States of the EU, is committed to accept the second commitment period of the Kyoto Protocol, but it is firmly convinced that a long term perspective is needed to effectively protect the global climate while promoting sustainable development, contributing to poverty eradication around the world and enhancing climate resilience of our society.

In such respect Italy is enhancing its strategy to put its economy on a low carbon pathway. Renewable energy sources and energy efficiency policies and incentives are key actions to reach this goal.

Incentives of about 6,7 billions of euro per year on solar and 5,8 billions of euro on the other renewables, has allowed Italy, in 2011, to be the first country in the world for new renewable energy capacity connected to the grid and the second for the total installed capacity.

On the other hand mitigation is not the only issue on our political agenda, but also adaptation has a prominent role. In fact Italy is developing its adaptation strategy to enhance climate resilient and reduce climate risk in our country. The strategy includes also financial resources needed to implement urgent actions estimated in about 2,5 billions of euro per year for the next 15 years.

A clear, stable and international framework is needed to avoid fragmentation of individual actions. For this reason in Doha we need also to agree on a clear pathway to reach a fair, ambitious and binding deal by 2015. Until now there have been many discussions on how to get to such deal, it is time now to capture the essential elements of such discussion in a work plan that keeps us on track to agree a new Protocol by 2015 and allow us to concentrate in 2013 on substantive discussion and in particular on how to ensure that the agreement in 2015.

We welcome the efforts putting in place so far by emerging economies, still, we need them to clearly commit to a global framework which has to be inclusive and equitable while reflecting evolving responsibilities and capabilities.

In an challenging economic scenario like the present one, the certainties of a long term binding Protocol applicable to all and able to capture the evolving reality, can provide us the means needed to strengthen and enlarge cooperation for emission reductions and for accelerating the world-wide transition towards a green economy.

We are ready to do our part and we are confident that here in Doha we can take another step forward in our common fight against global climate change.

2012.2

Discorsi: Corrado Clini (ministro)

Anno: 2012

COP:18

Titolo: Cop18 a Doha, intervista al Ministro Corrado Clini Video

Tipologia testo: intervista

Lingua: italiano

Sorgente del Transcrip: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MSuOsA97ZXc>

Transcript:

Ministro Clini: Lo chiede e possiamo... siamo qui. Chi vuole fare una domanda così cominciamo bene?

Intervistatore: La prima domanda è per capire se riusciamo, insomma, se siamo ottimisti o meno rispetto agli obiettivi che si prefigge questa conferenza di Doha. Che ruolo può giocare l'Italia? Siamo sulla strada di un accordo globale?

Ministro Clini: L'anno scorso a Durban siamo arrivati a un accordo che stabilisce che entro il 2015, cioè tra poco, ci dovrebbe essere un accordo globale che definisce il quadro degli impegni che tutti i paesi dovranno assumere per ridurre le emissioni. L'accordo dovrebbe anche comprendere misure per proteggere le zone più vulnerabili dagli effetti dei cambiamenti climatici.

A Durban, quando si parla di zone più vulnerabili, si intendono soprattutto i paesi in via di sviluppo. Tuttavia, noi, che conosciamo da tempo cosa sta succedendo, potremmo dire che anche i nostri paesi ormai sono tra quelli più vulnerabili.

Il tema centrale è come arriviamo a questo accordo, che dovrebbe essere sottoscritto nel 2015 ed entrare in vigore nel 2020.

Intervistatore: L'Unione Europea cosa dice riguardo al protocollo di Kyoto?

Ministro Clini: L'Unione Europea sostiene la continuazione del protocollo di Kyoto, così come la Svizzera, la Norvegia e l'Australia. Tuttavia, gli Stati Uniti, come al solito, insieme a Canada, Russia e Giappone, che avevano partecipato al protocollo di Kyoto, non vogliono proseguire su questa strada. Sostengono che il protocollo non è lo strumento più idoneo.

Abbiamo detto che il protocollo di Kyoto è attualmente l'unico strumento internazionale disponibile, quindi per mantenere un quadro di riferimento internazionale, dovrebbe continuare. Naturalmente, la continuazione del protocollo è ben accolta da molti altri paesi, come Cina, Brasile, India, Indonesia e Messico, che però non avevano obblighi con il protocollo precedente, poiché riguardava solo i paesi industrializzati.

Ora, il secondo ciclo del protocollo di Kyoto coinvolgerà paesi europei, Norvegia, Svizzera e Australia. Ma tutti gli altri sono ancora considerati paesi in via di sviluppo.

Intervistatore: Questo rappresenta un rischio per i paesi europei?

Ministro Clini: Sì, è un'operazione rischiosa. Chiediamo ai paesi dell'Unione Europea di assumersi impegni di riduzione delle emissioni, che incidono sostanzialmente sul sistema energetico con un importante carico di investimenti per le imprese. Nel frattempo, gli altri paesi sviluppati non assumono questi impegni e nemmeno i paesi concorrenti, come Cina e Brasile.

Ciò che chiediamo agli altri paesi è di cominciare a costruire i propri impegni nazionali. Se non vogliono partecipare a un accordo globale, almeno devono dirci cosa fanno a casa loro.

Intervistatore: Il Giappone ha preso una posizione chiara in questo contesto?

Ministro Clini: Mi sembra che il Giappone abbia espresso la sua politica. Il Giappone ha il problema enorme di dover uscire dal nucleare e sostituirlo con altre tecnologie, che saranno in parte fossili, in particolare il gas naturale, e in parte fonti rinnovabili. Probabilmente il Giappone, l'anno prossimo, sarà il paese che investirà di più nello sviluppo delle fonti rinnovabili.

Inoltre, le imprese giapponesi stanno diventando partner di imprese europee, comprese quelle italiane, che lavorano allo sviluppo di nuove tecnologie per le fonti rinnovabili, in particolare il solare.

Intervistatore: E gli Stati Uniti?

Ministro Clini: Siamo in attesa. La nuova amministrazione Obama potrebbe avere uno stimolo, anche a seguito della catastrofe di Sandy, ma non abbiamo ancora ricevuto indicazioni precise sulla possibilità che gli Stati Uniti adottino qualche impegno nei prossimi mesi. Il Senato potrebbe essere più favorevole, ma il Congresso, a maggioranza repubblicana, non sembra avere questa attitudine.

Intervistatore: La Russia e il Canada?

Ministro Clini: La Russia non ci dice cosa vuole fare. Il Canada, invece, è molto impegnato nella ricerca di nuovi idrocarburi e non sembra intenzionato ad assumere programmi nazionali significativi.

Intervistatore: La Cina sta mostrando segni di cambiamento?

Ministro Clini: La novità potrebbe essere la Cina, che ha già un programma di riduzione delle emissioni attraverso l'aumento dell'efficienza energetica e delle fonti rinnovabili. Stamattina ci hanno informato che hanno pronta una legge nazionale per la riduzione delle emissioni e per affrontare il tema dei cambiamenti climatici. Questa sarebbe una novità importante.

Intervistatore: E il Brasile?

Ministro Clini: Il Brasile ha programmi definiti a livello dei suoi stati principali, come San Paolo, Rio e Pernambuco, che hanno adottato un programma simile a quello europeo del "20-20-20", ovvero l'obiettivo di ridurre le emissioni di CO₂ del 20% entro il 2020. Questo è molto interessante, soprattutto perché il Brasile sta per diventare una potenza petrolifera con giacimenti paragonabili a quelli dell'Iraq.

2013

Discorso di: Andrea Orlando (ministro)

Anno: 2013

COP: 19

Titolo: Statement by the Italian Minister of Environment, Land and Sea ANDREA ORLANDO COP19/COP-MOP 9 (Warsaw, 20th November 2012)

Tipologia testo: discorso pubblico

Lingua: italiano

Sorgente del Testo: https://archive.unfccc.int/uploads/r/unfccc-records-management-unit/0/6/f/06ffeddd6fd33c0db10e64a09617a1b88f5b4040575bcf2730cf7a9c95e61d62/D1109602_High_Level_Segment_Statement_COP19_Italy_20131120.PDF

Testo:

Mister President, Ministers, Ladies and Gentlemen,
the year 2013 is an important transition point.

In fact, a new track of negotiations on the future regime is started. Unfortunately this year has also provided a clear demonstration of how dangerous and challenging climate change is both for developed and developing countries alike. My heart goes to the victims of the recent disasters in the US, the Philippines and on the wonderful island of Sardinia, just to mention the most recent examples. We need to act now. We can't postpone our decisions any longer. As the IPCC evidence proves climate change is mainly a consequence of human activities.

Recent events have largely confirmed that mitigation action post-2020 alone WILL NOT be sufficient to manage climate change risks. Substantial efforts PRIOR to 2020 are essential to achieve the objective of the Convention in a cost-effective manner. Otherwise it will be like, quoting an Italian saying, - to shut the stable door after the cows escaped.

Nevertheless, a LONG TERM perspective is also needed. We need to prepare in order to REACH an agreement in Paris in 2015 which allows all Parties to commit and take concrete action. To achieve this the 2015 agreement needs to give right incentives to all Parties to step in and act.

Still, global participation is not enough. We have to ensure that our starting point in Paris is adequate and that the agreement contains a sufficient level of ambition and transparency, which means that all commitments need to be quantifiable. We need to pass from general statements to commitments that are measurable and comparable through specific indicators, thus allowing to assess them and keep track of progress.

Italy is enhancing its strategy to put its economy on a low carbon pathway. Renewable energy sources and energy efficiency policies and measures, not to mention incentives, are key to reach this goal, as well as standards and best practices, that can help to achieve objectives in a coordinated and cost-efficient manner.

Mitigation is not the only issue on our political agenda also adaptation has a prominent role. I believe that there is a pressing need to mainstream adaptation into the development policies, at all levels.

Italy has just presented its adaptation strategy to enhance climate resilience and reduce climate risk in our country and is open to comments and suggestion from experts and civil society. The strategy includes also financial resources needed to implement urgent actions estimated at about 2,5 billions of euro per year for the next 15 years, both from public and private sectors.

In the framework of the Climate Convention and Kyoto Protocol Italy promoted and implemented in the last 15 years joint projects with the developing countries, both in mitigation and adaptation.

We are working in more than 40 countries, in Africa, Asia, Latin America and in the small Pacific Islands.

Italy is committed to continue to promote international environmental cooperation.

A clear, stable international framework is needed to avoid fragmentation of action. For this reason here in Warsaw we need to agree on a clear pathway towards a fair, ambitious and binding deal. Until now there have been many discussions on how to get to such a deal.

It is time to capture the essential elements of the debate in a work plan that keeps us on track to agree a new Protocol by 2015 and to concentrate in 2014 and 2015 on substantive discussion to this. Each Party has the responsibility to not only express its position, but all over make an effort to converge to a common denominator.

In a challenging economic scenario like the present one, the certainties of a long-term binding Protocol applicable to all and able to reflect the evolving reality, can provide us with the tools needed to strengthen and extend cooperation on emissions reduction and a rapid world-wide transition towards a green economy.

The world faces many challenges, but building a competitive economy while tackling climate change is one of the most pressing challenges. Some would argue that you can't do both at the same time - that one must take priority over the other. I firmly disagree. Economic growth and sustainability are not mutually exclusive. I believe that we must cut harmful emissions cost-efficiently and cost-effectively decarbonize our economies. This should be seen as a part of the solution, as well as a moral imperative.

We are ready to do our part and we are confident that here in Warsaw we can take another step forward in our common effort to face global climate change.

2014

Discorso di: Gian Luca Galletti (ministro)

Anno: 2014

COP: 20

Titolo: Statement at the opening of the high-level segment of COP20 by Italian Minister Gian Luca Galletti, President of the Council of the European Union

Tipologia testo: discorso pubblico

Lingua: inglese

Sorgente del Testo: https://archive.unfccc.int/uploads/r/unfccc-records-management-unit/f/0/4/f0461bc929d41d5497d8cdf9e4c14f7f54593ebf06f9db6a2c75603105c12a97/D1110491_High_Level_Segment_Statement_COP20_Italy_on_behalf_of_European_Union_20141209.PDF

Testo:

Lima, 9 December 2014

Mr Chair, distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen, dear Friends,

Let me start by thanking our Peruvian hosts for their hospitality and exceptional effort in providing us a setting in which history can be made.

The road to Paris starts here in Lima.

In only 12 months we will have the chance to adopt an historic treaty that will accelerate the world transitioning to a low-carbon climate resilient future. Our work here needs to pave the way for Paris.

To ensure progress, COP 20 needs to agree on some key deliverables:

- Firstly, we need a Party owned, more mature and balanced version of the draft text of the agreement that we are to adopt in Paris; and
- Secondly, we need clarity on the information required to ensure that Parties proposed contributions are transparent and understandable; we should also agree on a process to consider and analyse those proposed commitments before Paris;
- Last but certainly not least, we need to reach an agreement on how we can continue to further work together to enhance mitigation ambition before 2020.

Good progress has been made but more is needed.

2015

Discorso di: Mattero Renzi

Anno: 2015

COP: 21

Titolo: Renzi a Cop21, l'intervento (30/11/2015)

Tipologia testo: discorso pubblico

Lingua: italiano

Sorgente del Transcript: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kbCECS-x0Ss&t=19s>

Transcript:

Oggi una risposta globale, collettiva ed efficace non sta fallendo soltanto la nostra generazione; sta fallendo un intero sistema di sviluppo. Pagheranno i nostri nipoti, forse addirittura i nostri figli.

Oggi è tempo di agire e dobbiamo prendere atto di una cosa molto semplice: fino a qualche anno fa erano i biologi, i matematici, i demografi che si occupavano di rischi climatici. Oggi sono innanzitutto degli economisti che ci dicono che è il momento di fare la nostra parte. Si tratta dunque di una questione economica, e si tratta di una questione etica, morale.

Vi porto la voce di un Paese, l'Italia, che ha le carte in regola. Siamo all'avanguardia in tanti settori della green economy, dalla geotermia: abbiamo il 43 per cento di energie rinnovabili nella produzione elettrica. Siamo i primi al mondo per il contributo del fotovoltaico nel mix elettrico nazionale, circa l'otto per cento.

Con la nuova legge di stabilità, con la nuova legge di bilancio, abbiamo messo quattro miliardi di euro sul climate change da qui al 2020. Il ruolo dell'Italia poggia anche su due straordinari player, due straordinari champions come Eni ed Enel, che hanno saputo cambiare pelle e diventare leader del processo di trasformazione e del rinnovamento, in particolar modo Eni in Africa ed Enel in Sudamerica. Ma credo che questo non sia sufficiente: occorre innanzitutto uno sguardo politico, e per noi come Italia è prioritario evidenziare qui l'importanza delle piccole isole, i piccoli stati insulari e anche della regione balcanica, sulla quale stiamo lavorando.

È una questione finanziaria, economica. Noi facciamo la nostra parte, ma è innanzitutto una questione politica. E allora, noi, care amiche e cari amici, abbiamo una grande responsabilità: siamo chiamati a disegnare il futuro del mondo tutti insieme. È un grande privilegio allestire la scena in cui i nostri figli e le nostre figlie vedranno la loro vita.

Attenzione però: non c'è simbolo ed esempio più grande di quello della natura. Un uomo che viveva nell'antica Roma, il grande filosofo Seneca, diceva che tutta l'arte è solo imitazione della natura. Come politici, siamo chiamati a realizzare un capolavoro, a realizzare la scena dove i nostri figli vivranno, ma non potremo che imitare la cosa più bella che c'è: la natura, che oggi va innanzitutto difesa e difesa da noi stessi.

Grazie. Se tutti insieme riusciremo a trasformare una difficoltà, una sfida, nella più bella delle opportunità.

2015.2

Discorso di: Matteo Renzi

Anno: 2015

COP: 21

Titolo: Renzi a COP21, punto stampa

Tipologia testo: intervista

Lingua: italiano

Sorgente del Transcript: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2Fw9jWWHCkQ>

Transcript:

Questa è la prima domanda, quindi inizia il conto alla rovescia. Allora, com'è andata questa prima giornata con 147 leader? È un risultato raggiungibile quello del clima? È una partita molto difficile. Eravamo adesso a pranzo, c'è stato anche un momento di confronto, anche acceso su questo. Non sarà facile arrivare a un accordo, ma arrivare a un accordo è una condizione fondamentale.

Noi dobbiamo uscire dalla retorica per cui l'Italia non fa abbastanza. L'Italia, dal 1990 ad oggi, ha ridotto le emissioni del 23%. Abbiamo un piano di investimenti per 4 miliardi di dollari da qui al 2020. Le nostre aziende, a partire dalle più grandi, Eni ed Enel, sono in prima fila. Siamo leader nella geotermia, tra i leader nel solare e nelle biomasse. Dunque, abbiamo molto da dire e da dare in questo settore. Tuttavia, l'Europa vale il 10% delle emissioni globali: c'è bisogno di un investimento che non sia fatto soltanto dall'Europa, dall'Italia che è leader, ma da tutto il mondo.

Quindi, l'accordo va trovato. Copenaghen fu un mezzo fallimento nel 2009. Vediamo se stavolta riusciamo a portare a casa il risultato. Mi sembrano tutti ben ispirati, naturalmente lo vedremo nelle prossime ore, nei prossimi giorni, quando ai tavoli tecnici, oltre ai leader, cercheremo di portare un giusto equilibrio, un buon risultato di rallentamento della crescita... Ma esattamente il contrario! Perché l'Italia ha già preso i propri impegni, l'Italia sta andando nella giusta direzione e l'Italia sta già facendo quegli sforzi che tutti voi conoscete, che ne fanno una delle nazioni leader in questo settore.

Quindi, l'Italia non ha niente da temere e io credo, e confermo, che il PIL andrà a crescere, non a rallentare. Dunque, no, non sono preoccupato per questo. Paradossalmente, sono preoccupato molto di più per la tenuta del pianeta. Qui in ballo non è tanto la tenuta del PIL, è un sistema di equilibri che non tanto l'Italia o l'Europa, ma il mondo intero rischia di non rispettare se tutti i paesi, dalla Cina all'India, al Sudafrica, alle Americhe, fino all'Europa, non rispetteranno. Dunque, è assolutamente cruciale che si raggiunga un accordo, ma non ho nessun timore per il prodotto interno lordo italiano, anzi. L'Italia ha già messo in campo molte iniziative positive in questo senso.

Presidente, lei ha detto che negli ultimi 20 anni abbiamo ridotto il 23% le emissioni. Qual è un obiettivo credibile che ci si può dare per i prossimi anni?

L'obiettivo credibile che ci possiamo dare è quello che ci siamo già dati nel semestre italiano di presidenza europea, che è quello che consente di immaginare una riduzione fino al 40%. Ma, ripeto, oggi la questione non riguarda gli sforzi che fa l'Italia. Cioè, i cittadini italiani devono saperlo, devono essere orgogliosi, fieri del lavoro che stanno facendo le aziende italiane, gli imprenditori italiani, i politici italiani, le associazioni italiane. L'Italia sta facendo la sua parte. Il vero problema che abbiamo oggi è che non tutti, ahimè, a livello mondiale si comportano allo stesso modo. Quindi, dobbiamo forzare e fare uno sforzo perché anche gli altri arrivino a quel risultato. Noi, da parte nostra, già con le misure che abbiamo messo in campo, già con i denari che abbiamo liberato, arriveremo a raggiungere gli obiettivi europei.

Il fatto sarà vincolante? Vediamo quello che accadrà. È chiaro che deve essere un accordo il più vincolante possibile, altrimenti corre il rischio di essere un impegno scritto sulla sabbia. Io la dico così: noi siamo in una fase in cui l'Italia torna ad essere protagonista, torna ad essere

protagonista in tanti settori, anche in questo. E quando dico protagonista in questo, dico che siamo un Paese che davvero ha una leadership in alcuni settori. Quando vi dico che l'Italia è il leader in alcuni settori della green economy, quando penso ad alcuni champions, alcune aziende fondamentali della nostra economia, che stanno dando degli obiettivi sfidanti e li raggiungono, dico che l'Italia è dunque in condizione di farci fare bella figura a livello internazionale.

Ma la vera questione di oggi non è tanto ciò che facciamo noi, ma ciò che fanno altri Paesi, altri continenti e, in particolar modo, quelli cosiddetti particolarmente in via di sviluppo. Quindi, è fondamentale che su questo possiamo lavorare, perché Parigi produca un accordo. Sono ottimista, ma è ancora lunga.

2016

Discorso di: Gian Luca Galletti (ministro)

Anno: 2016

COP: 22

Titolo: DISCORSO MINISTRO GALLETTI - INTERVENTO NAZIONALE

Tipologia testo: discorso pubblico

Lingua: italiano

Sorgente del Testo: https://unfccc.int/sites/default/files/italy_cop22cmp12cma1_hls.pdf

Sorgente del Testo EN: https://archive.unfccc.int/uploads/r/unfccc-records-management-unit/7/b/6/7b6d04793da9e80b89591f75ef24cb6d2993575019269ca1c40ce94c0858ea3b/D1109952_High_Level_Segment_Statement_COP22_Italy_20161117.PDF

Testo:

Desidero innanzitutto ringraziare la Presidenza Marocchina della COP 22 per aver organizzato questo incontro che ci offre l'occasione di proseguire il comune cammino che abbiamo tracciato a Parigi attraverso un accordo ambizioso, inclusivo, bilanciato e che riteniamo in grado di affrontare la sfida climatica. Vorrei cogliere questa occasione anche per ringraziare la Presidenza uscente francese della COP 21 per il costante impegno e la tenace leadership che ci ha condotto a quello storico successo.

Da quel giorno l'impegno nella nostra quotidiana lotta ai cambiamenti climatici continua e si rafforza, prova ne è che dopo solo 11 mesi dalla firma l'intesa è già entrata in vigore, e oggi qui a Marrakech, si celebra la prima Conferenza delle Parti dell'Accordo di Parigi.

E accanto ai governi esiste una moltitudine di attori non statali che ha segnalato alla COP21 la volontà di essere parte attiva di questa partita. Il loro slancio ha contribuito a generare e alimentare una varietà di iniziative che attraversa tutti settori della società e dell'economia, determinando un fenomeno non solo significativo in termini di dimensioni ma concreto in termini di risultati.

A Parigi, abbiamo forgiato un Accordo che rappresenta una fonte di ispirazione per azioni concertate a livello internazionale, nazionale e locale. Spetta ora a noi governi canalizzare queste energie per alimentare il motore del cambiamento in direzione di uno sviluppo sostenibile da un punto di vista ambientale ma anche sociale ed economico.

Per alimentare quella "ecologia integrale" che è stata invocata anche da Papa Francesco nella sua Enciclica "Laudato Si"

Il 2015 è stato veramente un anno di svolta. Abbiamo adottato a New York una serie di obiettivi di sviluppo sostenibile da raggiungere entro il 2030, tra cui alcuni fortemente legati ai cambiamenti climatici, saldando insieme l'azione a favore del clima, il sostegno alla crescita economica, la cura degli aspetti sociali e ambientali a livello globale. La successiva adozione dell'Accordo di Parigi ha definitivamente cristallizzato un'architettura in materia di clima che punta a limitare la crescita della temperatura globale al di sotto dei 2°C rispetto ai livelli pre -

industriali e assicurare al contempo uno sviluppo delle nostre economie che miri a ridurre le vulnerabilità soprattutto nelle aree più povere del pianeta.

Ma il 2015 è stato anche l'anno in cui l'organizzazione meteorologica mondiale ha comunicato che è stato stabilmente superato il limite di 400 parti di CO₂ per milione nell'atmosfera. E' una soglia scientifica, ma anche psicologica, che ci indica che il tempo è scaduto e che dobbiamo proseguire con la massima determinazione nell'attuazione e nell'incremento degli obiettivi di Parigi se intendiamo affrontare credibilmente il surriscaldamento globale.

Davanti a queste sfide, l'Italia è pronta a dare come sempre il suo contributo e a lavorare con i partner che dispongono di minori capacità e risorse o che sono più vulnerabili ai mutamenti del clima, come i nostri amici dell'Africa o delle Piccole isole.

E i nostri sforzi non saranno limitati alle attività di cooperazione internazionale. Sarà infatti nostro preciso impegno quello di portare la sfida climatica anche al tavolo del G7, di cui l'Italia avrà la Presidenza nel 2017.

2017

Discorso di: Gian Luca Galletti (ministro)

Anno: 2017

COP: COP23

Titolo: DISCORSO MINISTRO GALLETTI - INTERVENTO NAZIONALE

Tipologia testo: discorso pubblico

Lingua: italiano

Sorgente del Testo:

https://unfccc.int/files/meetings/bonn_nov_2017/statements/application/pdf/italy_cop23cma1-2_hls_itv.pdf

Testo:

Desidero innanzitutto aggiungere il ringraziamento dell'Italia alla Presidenza Figiana della COP 23, la prima presieduta da uno stato delle Piccole isole, per la loro leadership, fondamentale per dare vita all'accordo di Parigi, a cui abbiamo affidato la nostra lotta ai cambiamenti climatici. Vorrei cogliere questa occasione anche per ringraziare il Governo Tedesco che ha saputo con grande efficienza realizzare una sede accogliente per i nostri lavori qui a Bonn.

L'intensificarsi di eventi estremi in tutte le aree del pianeta ricorda a tutti noi la pressante urgenza di accelerare il passo. Oggi più che mai, siamo convinti che la strada che abbiamo scelto a Parigi è l'unica risposta possibile alla sfida climatica. È con questa convinzione che abbiamo intrapreso quest'anno il lungo percorso della nostra Presidenza del G7, dove abbiamo riaffermato l'esigenza di connettere l'attuazione dell'Agenda 2030 con le politiche di lotta al cambiamento climatico.

Come è stato già affermato, l'Unione Europea è ampiamente in linea con il rispetto dei propri obiettivi al 2020. In questo contesto l'Italia non solo è già in linea con gli obiettivi al 2020, ma conta di superarli considerevolmente, offrendo al tempo stesso alle nostre aziende opportunità di crescita in settori dove le prospettive sono ormai realtà.

Abbiamo approvato quest'anno la Nuova Strategia Nazionale per lo Sviluppo Sostenibile e la Strategia Energetica Nazionale che prevede di eliminare l'uso del carbone entro il 2025 e raggiungere il 55% di produzione elettrica da energie rinnovabili entro il 2030.

Il nostro impegno però ha un orizzonte mondiale. L'Italia, insieme agli altri Stati Membri dell'Unione Europea, è tra i principali donatori della finanza per il clima per realizzare azioni di mitigazione e adattamento nei paesi in via sviluppo, maggiormente esposti ai danni derivanti dalle variazioni del clima. Il nostro continuo sostegno, anche attraverso la cooperazione bilaterale, è rivolto a ridurre le vulnerabilità soprattutto nelle aree più povere del pianeta. Non

e' un caso infatti che l'Italia collabora e riconosce il ruolo chiave del Fondo per l'Adattamento in questo campo ed e' con questo stesso spirito che desidero annunciare la nostra intenzione di continuare nel prossimo futuro a sostenere finanziariamente e operativamente il Fondo con ulteriori 7 milioni di euro.

L'Italia e' fortemente impegnata nel supporto della costruzione della Rete dei Centri Finanziari Verdi, per dare ulteriori strumenti alla finanza per il clima, cosi' come, insieme agli amici tedeschi, al rafforzamento organizzativo degli uffici del Vice Segretario Generale delle Nazioni Unite in materia di finanza per lo sviluppo sostenibile.

Il nostro impegno verso l'Africa e' rafforzato dalla creazione a Roma del Centro per l'Africa, presentato in occasione del G7 ambiente, che operera' con il supporto dell'UNDP e speriamo della FAO.

Alla COP21, abbiamo posto le basi per un nuovo Accordo globale che operi attraverso azioni concertate a livello internazionale, nazionale e locale. Ora a Bonn, siamo chiamati a portare avanti quel lavoro che abbiamo iniziato a Parigi e che concluderemo il prossimo anno in Polonia. In questo contesto stiamo lavorando a livello di coordinamento interministeriale con l'obiettivo di proporre la candidatura italiana per ospitare la COP26.

Come sempre l'Italia è pronta ad assicurare il suo contributo e a lavorare con tutti i partner e, in particolare, con coloro che dispongono di minori capacità e risorse o che sono più vulnerabili ai mutamenti del clima, come i nostri amici dell'Africa o delle Piccole isole.

2021

Discorso di: Mario Draghi

Anno: 2021

COP: 26

Titolo: Intervento del Presidente Draghi al “#COP26 World Leaders Summit”

Tipologia testo: discorso pubblico

Lingua: inglese

Sorgente del Transcript: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AfNo3YJZEcc&t=97s>

Transcript:

Prime Minister Johnson, excellencies, colleagues, ladies and gentlemen,

The speeches we've just heard resonate deeply with me. Over the last few years, young people have done us a service by bringing the climate agenda to the front of our political debate. Young people were at the center of the pre-COP summit in Milan, and here in Glasgow, we need to make them proud.

The projected rise in global temperatures is set to dramatically affect life on our planet, from the catastrophic fires and floods we've already seen, to the bleaching of coral reefs, to the loss of biodiversity. The impact of climate change is already all too evident, and its cost is rising fast, especially for the poorer nations. The cost of disruptions for households and companies in low and middle-income countries amounts to a staggering billion dollars a year.

Climate change also has serious repercussions on global peace and security. It can deplete natural resources, worsen social tensions, lead to new migration flows, and contribute to terrorism and organized crime. Climate change can tear us apart.

Thanks to constant dialogue and cooperation, we have made good progress in addressing climate change. The G20 accounts for around 75 percent of global greenhouse gas emissions and around 80 percent of global GDP. At last weekend's summit in Rome, its member states agreed that we must limit the rise in global temperature to 1.5 degrees for the first time and committed to achieving zero emissions by or around mid-century.

We decided to step up our actions starting from this decade, enhance our nationally determined contributions, and stop international public funding of unabated new coal by the end of this year.

Here at COP26, we must go further than we did at the G20. We need to speed up our commitment to keep the rise in temperatures below 1.5 degrees. We need to build on the G20 agreement and act faster and more decisively.

We must strengthen our efforts in the realm of climate finance. We must bring together the public and private sectors in new ways. We had a road map just made by Prince Charles. Prime Minister Johnson highlighted the amount of private money available—it's tens of trillions—but now we've got to use them. Now we have to find an intelligent way to spend them, and spend them quickly.

We need, first and foremost, for all multilateral development banks, and especially the World Bank, to co-share with the private sector the risks that the private sector alone cannot bear. We need country-based platforms where the World Bank and other multilateral development banks can actually co-share and make all this money usable to good effect.

This is, in a sense, the first great news that Prime Minister Johnson gave us today: that money is not a concern if we want to use it well.

This COP26 must be the start of new momentum, a quantum leap in our fight against climate change, and our youth must be at the center of this process. We intend to turn the Youth for Climate event we held in Milan into a regular feature of all COPs. Future generations will judge us for what we achieve—or fail to achieve. We must involve them, listen to them, and above all, learn from them.

Thank you.

2021.2

Discorso di: Mario Draghi e Roberto Cingolani

Anno: 2021

COP: 26

Titolo: [#COP26](#) World Leaders Summit, conferenza stampa del Presidente Draghi

Tipologia testo: intervista

Lingua: italiano

Sorgente del Transcript: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ND60gEwlCRg>

Transcript:

E allora, è con grandissimo piacere che ho partecipato a questa giornata introduttiva del COP26. Il ministro Cingolani resterà qui invece nel corso delle due settimane, gran parte del tempo, perché parteciperà proprio ai vari gruppi di lavoro. L'iniziativa è molto, molto importante: traccia il percorso che dovremo intraprendere tutti insieme per dare una risposta al problema, che - come continuiamo a dire - non possiamo risolvere da soli. Un singolo paese non può rispondere a questi problemi, e questa è forse l'iniziativa collettiva più importante diretta a questo fine.

L'esperienza degli ultimi anni, per carità, è meglio di quello che si faceva prima, quando si ignorava completamente il problema, però l'esperienza degli ultimi anni... da un lato positivo c'è una crescente consapevolezza dei disastri ambientali a cui porta il trascurare questo aspetto, a cui porta il non lottare contro il cambiamento climatico. Ma nello stesso tempo c'è una partecipazione da parte di alcuni paesi, che poi sono quelli che forse producono più emissioni, che non è coerente con gli impegni presi collettivamente e che i dati rivelano anche incoerente con gli obiettivi.

Insomma, poi c'è anche la cosa più recente che desta ancora più preoccupazione: lo straordinario aumento di emissioni che si è avuto con la riapertura dell'attività economica dopo

il COVID. Siamo già oltre i livelli pre-COVID. Quello che rende molto complicato questo negoziato, e poi tutti i negoziati di questo tipo, è che i paesi sono diversi e hanno delle condizioni di partenza diverse tra loro. Ci sono paesi ricchi che però emettono molto più di altri paesi perché, per esempio, non hanno intrapreso, come ha fatto gran parte dei paesi dell'Unione Europea, un percorso di riduzione delle emissioni altrettanto efficace. Sapete bene che l'Unione Europea credo conti per l'otto per cento del totale delle emissioni mondiali, la Cina per il 28- 29 per cento, e gli Stati Uniti per il 17-18 per cento.

Insomma, le condizioni di partenza sono diverse per questo, ma sono anche diverse perché effettivamente i paesi sono a un diverso stadio della loro storia economica e del loro sviluppo. Ci sono paesi che hanno cominciato a crescere e diventare più prosperi soltanto di recente, e quindi il punto di vista di questi paesi è: "Ma in fondo noi abbiamo questo problema perché voi paesi ricchi avete inquinato quando noi non emettevamo emissioni, quindi ora per quale motivo tutto il peso della riduzione delle emissioni deve scaricarsi su di noi?"

Poi ci sono paesi che sono forse i più colpiti dal cambiamento climatico, che sono paesi che emettono molto poco, perché o sono poveri o la loro economia è basata essenzialmente su risorse naturali, come le piccole isole dei Caraibi sul turismo. C'è stato un bellissimo discorso stamattina del primo ministro delle Barbados, veramente straordinario, che ho fatto... e rivelava proprio questa difficoltà.

Scusate se mi fermo io per... sì, Cingolani, spesso sono paesi vulnerabili che mancano delle risorse necessarie anche a fare degli investimenti infrastrutturali, che è la cosa più semplice che li protegga dagli eventi drammatici del cambiamento climatico. Quindi, queste sono le difficoltà del negoziato. Io da questo COP26 mi aspetto che, in un certo senso, come ho detto stamattina, si costruisca sui risultati del G20 e vada più in là. Ci sono alcuni aspetti che sono già emersi oggi, a cui tra l'altro ho fatto cenno nel mio discorso introduttivo... Scusate, che uno è questo, l'ho anche ripetuto nel pomeriggio: se si riesce a portar dentro i capitali privati nella lotta al cambiamento climatico, ci si accorge che non ci sono vincoli finanziari. Le disponibilità del settore privato, delle grandi istituzioni finanziarie internazionali, le banche... scusate, ammontano a decine di trilioni di dollari. Cosa è necessario per mobilitare questi investimenti? Beh, è necessario che il settore pubblico aiuti questo denaro privato a suddividere il rischio. Questi investimenti hanno gradi di rischio di diversa entità, e non possono essere sopportati dal solo settore privato. Quindi, il settore pubblico deve intervenire. Però io ora mi accorgo che sto parlando un sacco, quindi forse è il caso che mi fermi e, se volete domande, continuo a elaborare su queste altre questioni.

Prego.

La prima domanda viene da Mediaset e Federico Gatti. Ecco, finì il ricordo.

Buonasera Presidente, in qualità di Presidente uscente del G20 e di copresidente della COP26, come intende portare dentro il discorso climatico e gli sforzi da fare con i paesi che non sono effettivamente qui? Mi riferisco ovviamente alla Cina, ma nel corso delle discussioni del G20 ci sono stati degli spostamenti nelle posizioni precedentemente assunte da questi paesi, nella direzione di una maggiore vicinanza al tema della lotta al cambiamento climatico?

La cosa più importante è che ormai sul piano degli obiettivi e delle ambizioni non ci sono molte differenze tra questi paesi e gli altri. È sulla velocità con cui affrontare queste sfide che ancora ci sono delle divergenze. Però anche lì, per esempio, il fatto che sia stato accettato per la prima volta da tutti che il grado, i gradi di temperatura necessari sono un grado e mezzo e non due, quelli da evitare perché il riscaldamento climatico aumenti, questo è molto importante. In un certo senso, questo poi impegna questi paesi, come tutti gli altri, anche a fare delle azioni coerenti di fronte alla propria opinione pubblica. Non so come il negoziato con questi paesi evolverà qui, ecco, però l'impressione che ho avuto, come vi ho detto anche ieri nella conferenza stampa del G20, è che ci sia disponibilità, sia disponibilità a parlare, anche a concordare, a fare dei passi avanti. Ma poi, secondo me, avverrà in concreto la cosa perché

quando ci saranno delle iniziative, specialmente di carattere tecnologico, che portano a delle riduzioni... Ragioniamo ora su una riduzione delle emissioni a tecnologie esistenti, ma in realtà c'è un campo immenso dove la tecnologia, esattamente come è successo con il COVID e con i vaccini, c'è un campo immenso dove la tecnologia può aiutare questa transizione ecologica. Ecco, vorrei dare la parola al ministro Cingolani per fare alcuni esempi.

[CINGOLANI] Grazie, Mario. È emerso molto chiaramente già nella giornata odierna come tutti avessero delle grandi aspettative sul fatto che questo periodo di trasformazione, che ci dovrebbe portare all'1,5 invece che al 2, non possa che fare conto, oltre che su una finanza globale sostenibile, di cooperazione sull'innovazione tecnologica. C'è una percezione diffusa che, a tecnologia costante, il raggiungimento dell'1,5 e persino del 2 sia comunque un raggiungimento faticoso. Credo che questo sia emerso molto chiaramente oggi, ne parlavano tutti, e questo ha portato in diverse fasi dell'interlocuzione a parlare del fatto che uno dei modi migliori per accelerare la transizione è che, come abbiamo fatto uno sforzo globale, che so, sul vaccino, che in tempi record siamo arrivati a una soluzione quasi globale, ora diciamo abbiamo aperto almeno le porte alla soluzione globale anche per questo problema del riscaldamento globale. Si debba fare uno sforzo simile. Qui sono emerse delle idee che dovranno essere sviluppate. È chiaro che l'approccio che noi abbiamo innanzitutto punta sull'energia, e questo è un settore, sapete, immenso, pieno di sviluppi potenziali, sulla mobilità. Allora, pensate solo alla ricerca sulle batterie dopo il litio, non solo come tecnologia. Oggi un chilo di batteria accumula 200-250 watt, un kg di benzina dieci volte tanto, quindi è un problema fondamentale riuscire ad andare oltre. Pensate alla circolarità, dove tutta la chimica dei materiali e la chimica di trasformazione del rifiuto, la chimica della fondazione delle plastiche, può dare origine a una serie di soluzioni che, oltre a riciclare e riusare, sono favorevoli anche dal punto di vista energetico, per esempio della produzione di fertilizzanti. Pensate a quanto sarà importante nel 2050, quando arriveremo a net carbon zero, che vuol dire che il saldo netto di carbonio che emettiamo e quello che in qualche modo blocchiamo, intrappolando, deve essere zero. Tutti sanno che non sarà possibile raggiungere zero emissioni, bisognerà per forza compensarlo oltre un certo livello, e allora le tecnologie quelle di oggi non piacciono molto, ma la tecnologia ha molto tempo per sviluppare metodi che sono più intelligenti. Leggevo di recente, c'è chi sta trasformando, estraendo l'anidride carbonica dall'aria e la sta trasformando in carbonato di calcio, cioè in pietra. Adesso è sperimentale, si possono credo fare pochi milioni di tonnellate all'anno, però immaginate se tecnologie del genere dovessero evolvere. Direi che la direzione è molto chiara: serve uno sforzo globale che, oltre ad aiutare i paesi nella mitigazione e nell'adattamento, debba anche pensare allo sviluppo di quelle tecnologie nuove che consentiranno di andare più veloci. Inutile pensare di farcela senza soffrire al 2050 con le tecnologie attuali. Ecco, questo momento di sforzo comune su cui bisogna fare una riflessione molto forte.

La sua domanda... Eccomi, buonasera Presidente. Vado più a fondo su questo. Lei ha detto "andare oltre il G20". Poco fa l'indiano Modi ha rivisto ancora la promessa di azzerare le emissioni al 2060, parlando del 2070. Secondo lei, è possibile arrivare a superare quella datazione attorno alla metà del secolo di cui si fa adesso un po' troppa enfasi? E con quali strumenti pensa che i paesi che propongono questo superamento possano fare pressione su Cina, India, Russia? E infine, non crede che ci siano troppe contraddizioni all'interno di questi paesi? Negli Stati Uniti ad agosto hanno chiesto all'OPEC di aumentare la produzione di petrolio per ridurre il costo della benzina. In Europa, noi stessi chiediamo di fatto alla Russia di produrre più gas. Cosa pensa di questo?

Sì, indubbiamente ci sono questi comportamenti poco coerenti, e la cosa è che questo naturalmente indebolisce la posizione dei paesi cosiddetti virtuosi. Certamente non credo si ottenga molto in termini di progresso sul fronte climatico indicando paesi colpevoli e paesi innocenti, perché i veri innocenti sono pochissimi e i colpevoli sono tantissimi, molto di più di

questi. Ecco. Però l'altra cosa che secondo me si è verificata, e ormai si verifica quotidianamente parlando in questi paesi che abbiamo indicato, è che non è facendo pressione su questi paesi, tanto perché sono molto grandi, che si ottengono dei risultati. Certamente l'opinione pubblica di questi paesi fa la sua pressione come lo fa dappertutto. Gli attivisti del clima, che non dobbiamo mai smettere di ringraziare, la fanno, e questo è molto importante, e lo fanno anche da loro. Quello che però occorre, come dire, è costruire molti di cui alcuni... Ognuno ha di nuovo, anche tra questi paesi, condizioni di partenza diverse, ma per esempio il premier indiano è stato molto aperto a Roma nel cambiare gran parte del fatto che si sia potuto cambiare quel linguaggio su 2050 da quello che era prima è merito suo. E anche l'accettazione del 1,5, e anche ancora più significativamente nella parte che riguarda non le conclusioni climatiche ma la parte che riguarda la finanza, il truck finanza cosiddetto, nei lavori del G20 si parla per la prima volta di prezzo del carbonio, che è qualcosa che all'interno dell'Unione Europea noi abbiamo da tempo, ma fuori no. Quindi, sono tutte cose che si sono ottenute perché appunto questi paesi si... anche la Russia e anche la Cina, in una certa misura, perché poteva benissimo opporsi a tutto e non l'ha fatto. Quindi, è una diplomazia completamente diversa. Con la diplomazia dello scontro non si arriva a niente, questa è la mia convinzione. È una diplomazia che deve essere basata sulla vicinanza nel perseguimento di un obiettivo comune, non sullo scontro. In questo senso, chiaramente le varie situazioni di difficoltà geopolitica non aiutano, ma bisogna essere capaci, secondo me, di superarle. Poi, come dico, un grande aiuto lo vedo arrivare dalla tecnologia. Per quanto riguarda invece i paesi più piccoli, ma anche per esempio paesi grandi ma relativamente poveri, l'aiuto finanziario, il coinvolgimento nei piani finanziari e anche negli investimenti tecnologici sono gli strumenti fondamentali con cui si lavora tutti per lo stesso scopo.

Shaun Alessandro Barbera, presente.

Buonasera, volevo soffermarmi un attimo su questo punto: la questione pare che Cina e India siano i veri player sui quali fare pressione e con i quali collaborare in questa fase. La domanda che le faccio: stamattina lei accennava ad alcuni strumenti multilaterali. Siccome l'impressione che ho avuto è che nel bilaterale con il premier Modi sostanzialmente ciò che dicono questi paesi è: "Voi ci chiedete di pagare noi un trend che per noi è troppo alto rispetto a voi". Cioè, la loro transizione ecologica costa a loro molto più che a noi. Mi chiedo se ha riflettuto, se ha fatto, nel corso della riunione del G20 oggi, ipotesi su strumenti che possono in qualche modo portare a cambiare il paradigma e forse aiutare a superare questo che è un ostacolo abbastanza comprensibile dal loro punto di vista.

Sì, guardi, quello che sta... che verrà fuori qui durante il COP26, la settimana prossima, sarà una presentazione di quel che il settore privato, in particolare il settore finanziario privato, può fare per investire nel clima. Investire nel clima è veramente in senso molto lato, perché si può andare dalle costruzioni di infrastrutture resistenti agli eventi climatici alla tecnologia, allo studio di nuovi modi per ridurre le emissioni degli allevamenti, nuovi tipi di alimenti, per esempio. La gamma in sé è veramente straordinaria, e poi magari volere dare la parola a Cingolani su questo perché è molto interessante quello che lui potrà dire su questo. Quindi, come si fa a mobilitare questo denaro? Ecco, nel discorso di stamattina io l'ho un po' detto: occorre che il settore privato sia, come dire, assistito dal settore pubblico ad aiutare il rischio, a condividere il rischio. Ma come si fa questo? Beh, qui ci sono degli attori che vanno mobilitati assolutamente. Tutte le banche multilaterali di sviluppo, in primis la Banca Mondiale, devono muoversi, perché a quel punto la Banca Mondiale, il settore privato, e eventualmente la partecipazione anche di governi nel garantire questi progetti... Ma è chiaro che la Banca Mondiale ha fatto da sempre l'attore sinergico, come diceva un tempo, catalitico, per la creazione di questi pacchetti finanziari. Quindi, è il posto che viene per primo in mente, ma oggi ancora la Banca Mondiale fa molto poco sul clima. Il Fondo Monetario ha mobilitato imponenti risorse con la collocazione di diritti speciali di prelievo: 600 miliardi, se non sbaglio,

e poi altri vari fondi. A proposito del fondo, io non mi preoccuperei di una cosa che è stata notata, che non si è arrivati ancora ai 100 miliardi di dollari per quell'impegno. Ieri vi ho detto che l'Italia ha annunciato il suo contributo. Io non mi preoccuperei troppo di questo, però oggi siamo sugli 82-83 miliardi. Non mi preoccuperei troppo di questo. E questo sarà un'altra questione che sarà discussa al COP26, perché si possono sempre mobilitare... si può sempre avere un'altra allocazione di diritti speciali di prelievo da parte del Fondo Monetario, che venga, come dire, a colmare la differenza che c'è oggi. Mentre invece le risorse di cui si sta parlando sono molto più grandi, come dicevo. Non sono miliardi, ma sono decine di trilioni. Quindi, lì il meccanismo, il concetto che bisogna costruire, questa è la cosa importante, un concetto che deve vedere al centro queste banche multilaterali, perché sono loro, come dire, il tramite che viene immediatamente in mente di utilizzare. Per questo, quello che ho chiesto stamattina è che si crei qui a Glasgow una task force che possa elaborare immediatamente questo concetto su cui poi lavoreranno i tecnici delle Nazioni Unite dopo, insomma. Quindi, l'importante è che da qui parta questa iniziativa e io sono abbastanza certo che questo succederà nel corso di queste due settimane.

Ecco, ci sono ancora due domande: una da parte dell'agenzia Nova e si è poi prenotata CNBC. Buonasera, grazie Presidente. Volevo andare un po' fuori tema rispetto, diciamo, ai vari temi climatici di cui si è trattato in questi giorni al G20. Lì anche si è parlato molto di clima, ma anche dell'accordo sulla tassazione minima alle multinazionali. C'è modo di quantificare in qualche modo i vantaggi che questa decisione può avere sulla fiscalità italiana?

Non lo so se c'è... Non lo so. Lei ha ragione nel dire che si è parlato di clima, ma in realtà all'inizio della conferenza stampa di ieri ho detto che questo G20 è l'ultimo passo di un anno di lavoro nel quale sono tenuti veramente dei risultati straordinari. Questo che lei ha detto è il primo, e questo era un risultato che è stato inseguito per anni e anni, e non ci si era mai riusciti. Ma poi anche nel campo della salute e del collegamento tra finanza e salute si crea questa task force dentro l'Organizzazione Mondiale della Sanità. Cioè, ci sono stati molti, molti risultati, e poi c'è stato anche il clima alla fine. Ecco, però naturalmente lei si focalizza tutto sul clima, no? Ma per quanto riguarda una quantificazione io non la conosco, ma se qui ci fosse il ministro Franco certamente la conoscerebbe.

Ora un'ultima domanda. Velocità Servizi, Antonio Piemontese.

Buonasera Presidente. Ho notato, abbiamo notato tutti, questo global minimum tax. Abbiamo notato anche queste sue parole sulla finanza privata. Non so, sembra quasi che ci sia un po' un cambiamento dentro di lei, quindi che il pubblico stia, adesso dopo l'epoca in cui comunque si è lanciato molto, iniziando a fare pressione sul privato, allora a fare pressione sul privato anche per cambiare un po' gli orientamenti. Quindi, sì, prima, le ricordo, tutte queste società erano una nicchia, adesso sta diventando un po' più di una... scusi il termine, mainstream. Ma secondo lei è vero oppure resterà un afflato di questi giorni di COP? E poi, a lei, data la sua esperienza internazionale, dato il ruolo di leader che le viene riconosciuto, piacerebbe candidarsi anche un po' a guida di questo per tenere alta l'attenzione su questo ruolo della finanza privata che, come ha detto giustamente, dispone di capitali importanti ma che non può rischiare? Ha bisogno anche di rettivo da questo punto di vista?

Dunque, no, io ritengo che sia vero questo. Ritengo che ci sia molto spazio per poter utilizzare questi capitali privati, per poter dare alla finanza privata un ruolo importante nella lotta al cambiamento climatico. E questo è chiaro non solo dai, come dire, dai piani che fanno i governi o che si discuteranno, ma c'è anche, come dire, un maggiore impegno. Se noi vediamo le più grandi istituzioni finanziarie private negli ultimi anni, ultimo anno e mezzo, hanno manifestato in varie occasioni un impegno su questo fronte. Bisogna però, naturalmente, che questo... come dire, questo schema di riferimento con la Banca Mondiale eccetera permetta questo flusso di arrivare. Quindi si tratta di vedere, di scegliere i progetti di investimento, di valutare i rischi, di condividere i rischi, di anche allineare le politiche climatiche dei vari paesi in maniera tale da

avere delle ambizioni che possano essere soddisfatte con questo denaro. Ma questo non sa... è un denaro che arriva senza... Secondi fini? Sì, senza secondi fini. Quello è... E c'è anche, tutto sommato, si è diffusa ora in generale, si è diffusa molto la consapevolezza dell'importanza di questo impegno anche nel settore privato. No, guardi, la seconda domanda, cioè io mi candido a leader di qualcosa? No, per carità! Invece, prima di chiudere però, volevo dare un attimo la parola al ministro Cingolani perché vi faccia una rapidissima panoramica di che cosa si può fare per ridurre le emissioni. In altre parole, oggi raggiungere quegli obiettivi nel 2050 con le sole rinnovabili non è realistico, ce l'ha detto la Commissione, l'hanno detto le Nazioni Unite eccetera. Quindi bisogna fare molte più cose. Do la parola al ministro Cingolani.

[CINGOLANI] Grazie, Mario. Allora, sentite, noi dobbiamo, come popolazione del pianeta, in base alle circostanze locali, come avete capito, contribuire rapidamente a decarbonizzare. E abbiamo dei target precisi. Si decarbonizza in tre modi. Il primo è quello diretto. Noi lo chiamiamo il "low hanging fruit", no? Le cose più immediate da fare. È evidente che oggi quello che produce il grosso dell'anidride carbonica è il nostro meccanismo di produzione dell'energia, la produzione primaria. Noi estraiamo carburanti fossili, diciamo, dal sottosuolo e poi li bruciamo per alimentare il motore a combustione interna oppure per far bollire dell'acqua che crea gas a sua volta con una turbina che produce elettricità. Non volevo far perder troppo tempo, no, no. Allora, questa operazione è durata decenni, funziona molto bene, però il problema è che è una delle sorgenti primarie di anidride carbonica. Oggi cambiare innanzitutto come noi produciamo l'energia che utilizziamo e, in particolare, muoversi verso l'elettrificazione vuol dire poi alimentare un'ulteriore catena di trasformazione, che è quella della mobilità e della manifattura. Quindi, i forni, invece che bruciare con il carbone, bruceranno con delle resistenze elettriche alimentate da energia elettrica. Le auto, come già sapete, andranno a batteria e dovranno essere alimentate, queste batterie, da corrente elettrica che però dovrà essere verde. Quindi, il nostro primo obiettivo è cambiare la produzione dell'energia primaria, elettrificare tutti i comparti che oggi producono CO₂. Sapete che circa un terzo viene dalla manifattura, circa un quarto dalla mobilità, e un altro 20-22 per cento viene dalla nostra vita, le case, il riscaldamento eccetera. Allora, su questo noi aspettiamo, stiamo tutti lavorando alla tassonomia europea. Quindi, non è una questione di scelte personali. C'è una tassonomia che dirà cosa può essere definito realmente verde in termini di impatto climalterante e, sulla base di questa tassonomia, la Commissione Europea si è pronunciata molto bene. Ha detto: si lascerà libertà agli stati di fare delle scelte, purché ci sia una neutralità tecnologica nelle scelte, purché si riesca a ridurre prima possibile la CO₂ che viene emessa in atmosfera. Ora, voi capite che questa è una sfida dal punto di vista tecnologico e di funzionamento del nostro sistema di produzione manifatturiero, di trasporto e persino di vita, come vediamo nelle nostre case, epocale. È chiaro che qui c'è la filiera dell'idrogeno verde, c'è la filiera delle batterie che dovrà evolvere, c'è la filiera dell'elettrificazione, dell'intelligenza artificiale applicata alle reti, perché le reti non sono abituate a gestire un energy mix così discontinuo come quello delle rinnovabili. Dobbiamo capire... Nel breve termine la strada è questa, non c'è discussione. Al 2030 difficilmente uno si può inventare qualcosa di più efficace. Bisogna capire se tra il 2030 e il 2050, e dopo il 2050, intanto la tecnologia non evolva e non ci dia qualche buona sorpresa.

Il secondo metodo che noi abbiamo per ridurre l'anidride carbonica è indiretto, quello che noi chiamiamo economia circolare. Consiste nel riutilizzare, riciclare, dare una seconda, una terza, una quarta vita a materiali e dispositivi che noi abbiamo già prodotto, producendone di nuova anidride carbonica. Qui, per essere molto chiaro, l'idea è: sostituisco il fertilizzante con un compost, cioè con il prodotto di una reazione chimica che mi ha in qualche maniera modificato un materiale organico, oppure trasformo un residuo, che può essere plastica piuttosto che organico, in energia. Questa forma di circolarità è tutta basata su approcci di chimica dei materiali che oggi non sono sviluppati come potrebbero, perché noi, sulla circolarità così come

sulla transizione energetica, abbiamo iniziato a pensare da poco. E qui c'è bisogno di fare investimenti enormi.

La terza e ultima strada che abbiamo è quella della passiva riduzione dell'anidride carbonica, quello che noi chiamiamo la carbon capture. Oggi l'unico modo che noi... tra i pochi modi che utilizziamo è quello di prendere l'anidride carbonica e metterla sottoterra. In alcuni casi, questa viene utilizzata per mettere in sovrappressione un giacimento e tirare fuori altro combustibile, ed è il motivo per cui viene spesso contestata. Però capite bene che i migliori sistemi di intrappolamento dell'anidride carbonica sono il mare, la terra e le piante. Quindi abbiamo un discorso, una prospettiva di rinaturazione dei territori che è immensa. E qui il discorso è ovviamente di programmazione, pianificazione, investimento, ma anche tante altre tecnologie che noi ora non abbiamo studiato a fondo, che magari adesso non sono particolarmente efficienti ma che lo potrebbero diventare. Non a caso vi ho fatto l'esempio di estrarre l'anidride carbonica dall'aria e trasformarla in carbonato di calcio. Reazione inversa: invece di erodere le montagne, riforiamo le montagne. È chiaro che adesso l'efficienza di questi processi è bassissima, ma funzionano.

Da ultimo, e non è un metodo di organizzazione, ma è qualcosa che ci serve nella battaglia: c'è lo sviluppo di tecnologie per l'adattamento e la mitigazione. Allora, qui immaginate se ci dobbiamo adattare, cosa vuol dire? La cosiddetta crop genomica, la genetica della pianta che può essere sviluppata per creare piante che si adattano a temperature molto più elevate o che vivono in ambienti con grande scarsità di acqua. Immaginatevi quanto è importante il ciclo di purificazione dell'acqua. Noi già abbiamo una riserva idrica globale che si sta assottigliando per via soprattutto dello scioglimento dei poli, ma anche le falde sotterranee si stanno... stanno degenerando, stanno diventando... poiché i fondi sono sporchi. Allora, qui c'è tutto un problema di recupero delle acque, purificazione delle acque. Tutta la tecnologia dell'acqua noi non l'abbiamo sviluppata a dovere finora, perché tutto sommato ci sembrava fosse un elemento sufficientemente abbondante.

Ora, io penso che il messaggio che dà, se dice il Presidente del Consiglio, è che la dimensione, la portata di questa trasformazione è storica. Non c'è stato niente di così grande nel passato dell'umanità e non ce la fanno gli stati da soli. Non è un caso che si parli di trillion investment, che nell'inglese significa mille miliardi su base annuale. Quindi, con questi numeri in mente, credo che tutto quello che dice il Presidente del Consiglio si chiarisca automaticamente. Questa roba qui è epocale, gli stati da soli non ce la faranno mai, devono lavorarci tutti, e gli investimenti sono a 12 zeri, e non per un anno, per almeno una decade, e vediamo cosa uscirà fuori.

[PRESIDENTE} Grazie, ragazzi. Come? Non capisco, dobbiamo fuggire perché ci chiude lo spazio di volo. Ci dispiace. Arrivederci e grazie, e buona prosecuzione dei lavori con la conferenza.

2022

Discorso di: Giorgia Meloni

Anno: 2022

COP: 27

Titolo: Cop27, intervento del Presidente Giorgia Meloni alla Sessione Plenaria

Tipologia testo: discorso pubblico

Lingua: inglese

Sorgente del Transcript: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rA4RrfZpNLc&t=32s>

Transcript:

Well, President El-Sisi, Mr. Secretary General, dear colleagues,

We are at a decisive moment in the fight against climate change. Over the last few months, we have experienced its dramatic effects throughout Europe, in Pakistan, in the Horn of Africa, and in many other regions of our planet. We are all called upon to make deeper and faster efforts to protect our planet, our common home. In doing so, we will have to keep people at the heart and transform accordingly, combining environmental, economic, and social sustainability.

Despite a very complex international scenario, already affected by the pandemic and further disrupted by the Russian aggression against Ukraine, Italy remains strongly committed to pursuing its decarbonization pathway in full compliance with the goals of the Paris Agreement. We want to develop our energy diversification strategy in close collaboration with several African countries, with whom we have enhanced our cooperation on energy security, renewables, and youth education. This will stimulate green growth, job creation, and the development of sustainable value chains.

In the EU, we plan to reduce greenhouse gas emissions by at least 55 percent by 2030 and to achieve climate neutrality by 2050 at the latest. In this perspective, Italy has recently strengthened its renewable power installed capacity and will accelerate this trend in line with the objectives of RepowerEU. We intend to pursue a just transition to support the affected communities and leave no one behind.

Last year, the Italian G20 presidency reached concrete results that paved the way for the agreements in Glasgow. As a partner of the United Kingdom for COP26, we promoted the Youth for Climate events in order to involve young generations in the decision-making processes on climate change.

Italy has also significantly increased its contribution to climate finance. We have almost tripled our financial commitment to 1.4 billion dollars for the next five years, including 840 million euros through the new Italian Climate Fund. This is the first Italian investment platform specifically dedicated to the deployment of clean technologies and to adaptation to climate change in developing countries.

We remain committed to delivering on the 100 billion dollar pledge to support developing countries through 2025 and to defining an ambitious and sustainable target thereafter. To do so, we must bring together governments, private investors, and multilateral development banks to co-share investments and risks to accelerate a just energy transition.

Italy is proud to be part of the Just Energy Transition Partnership, an ambitious G7 initiative that will provide substantial financial resources and technical assistance to partner countries. Recent climate disasters, especially hydrogeological disruptions to our territory, show that mitigation and adaptation are two sides of the same coin. Italy is therefore balancing its financial support to both priorities. In 2020, 56 percent of our overall climate finance was devoted to adaptation measures, while the remaining 44 percent went towards mitigation.

Fighting climate change is a common endeavor that requires the full engagement of all countries and pragmatic cooperation among all major global actors. Unfortunately, we have to admit that this is not happening. We cannot hide the fact that the nations that are most committed to these goals risk paying a price to the advantage of those that today are mostly responsible for CO₂ emissions on the planet. This is paradoxical, and measures are needed to redress these imbalances. Otherwise, our efforts will be in vain, and the very outcome of events such as the one we are attending today risks not producing the results that history expects from all of us.

As leaders, we owe this to our future generations, since our commitment to protecting the environment as part of our identity is the most vivid example of the alliance between those who are here, those who were here, and those who will come after us. Italy will provide its fair share. Thank you.

Thank you, Your Excellency.

2023

Discorso di: Giorgia Meloni

Anno: 2023

COP: 28

Titolo: COP 28, intervento del Presidente Meloni al Leaders' Event

Tipologia testo: discorso pubblico

Lingua: inglese

Sorgente del Transcript: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z0rhi6P6toY&t=3s>

Transcript:

Dear colleagues, dear guests,

Let me first of all thank the Presidency for the invitation to this important event, and for its firm engagement, including with the Declaration we are adopting today, on an issue on which Italy has a long-standing commitment. As the United Nations recognized by choosing to host the headquarters of the UN food system agencies in Rome, and as demonstrated by the recent UN Food Systems Summit that was held in July in Rome. And it couldn't be otherwise, for Italy's food system is among the most advanced and renowned across the world. I am thinking, for example, about the principles of the Mediterranean Diet, which do not only belong to Italy and the Mediterranean; they belong to the entire world.

We are aware of how precious our know-how can be for others as well, so that food security for all is also one of the strategic priorities of our foreign policy. This is why a very substantial share of our Mattei Plan for Africa, which is a project based on collaboration on an equal footing with the African continent, is directed to the agricultural sector. But our aim is not to do charity, for my idea is that Africa doesn't need charity; it needs something different, which is the possibility to compete on a level playing field. So, we need to help the continent prosper on its own resources, and Africa holds, among other things, 65% of the planet's arable land, which, with adequate technology and adequate training, can ensure self-sufficient food production and economic growth.

And I will say more. We are not only firmly engaged in food security; we want to be engaged in food safety. The challenge we have is not only to ensure food for all, but to ensure healthy food for all. We don't want to consider food production as fuel for survival; we want to consider it as a means to live healthy lives. The role of research is essential in this context, but I want to state this clearly: not to produce food in laboratories, and perhaps move towards a world in which the rich are able to eat natural food while synthetic food is directed to the poor, with impacts on health that we cannot predict. This is not the world I want to see. The world I want to see is a world in which the bond that has united land and humankind, work and nutrition across millennia is preserved, and research is able to help optimize that bond.

Ensuring disease-resistant crops resilient to climate change, but also devising ever more modern and innovative agricultural techniques, able to improve both quality and quantity of production and reduce negative externalities such as excessive water consumption. That is what we are engaged in.

Adequate resources must obviously be dedicated to the climate-food systems nexus. This is among the aims of the 4-billion-euro Italian Climate Fund, of which 70% will be directed towards African countries. We are also contributing to the Loss and Damage Fund with 100 million euros to help achieve the goals of this COP28.

Finally, these challenges will also be at the heart of the Italian G7 Presidency next year, where we intend to foster innovative instruments, building on the achievements of COP28, starting with the important Declaration we sign today.

Thank you.

2023.2

Discorso di: Giorgia Meloni

Anno: 2023

COP: 28

Titolo: Il Presidente Meloni alla sessione High-Level Segment for Heads of State or Government della COP28

Tipologia testo: discorso pubblico

Lingua: inglese

Sorgente del Transcript: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ktoO7feJED4>

Transcript:

Dear colleagues, dear guests,

This summit, for which I thank the leadership of the United Arab Emirates, is a key moment in our efforts to contain global temperature rise within 1.5°C. We have reached the first global stocktake, and while there are reasons to be optimistic, the goal remains far off. COP28 must be a turning point. We are called upon to set a clear direction and enact reasonable but concrete actions, such as tripling the world's renewable energy generation capacity by 2030 and doubling the global rate of annual energy efficiency improvements, as also outlined by the presidency.

Italy is doing its part in the decarbonization process, and it does so in a pragmatic way, which means with a technology-neutral approach, free from unnecessary radicalism. My idea is that if we want to be effective, if we want environmental sustainability that does not compromise the economic and social spheres, what we must pursue is an ecological transition, not an ideological one. We are gradually replacing coal-fired power generation with renewables. We have adopted a new energy and climate plan, and we are investing resources and attention in biofuels, so much so that we are among the founders of the Global Biofuels Alliance.

In the European context, we have charted the path to carbon neutrality by 2050 and to reduce emissions by at least 55% by 2030. But we are also committed to ensuring, through the EU Fit for 55 program, a multisectoral approach that strengthens labor markets and mitigates the impact on our citizens. This is an essential point because if we think that the green transition can result in unbearable costs, particularly for the most vulnerable, we condemn it to failure.

Italy intends to direct an extremely significant share of the Italian Climate Fund, whose overall endowment is 4 billion euros, to the African continent—not, however, through a charitable approach, because Africa does not need charity; it needs to be put in the condition to compete on an equal footing in order to grow and prosper, thanks to the multitude of resources that the continent possesses. A cooperation between equals, rejecting paternalistic and predatory approaches, is essential. Energy is one of the cornerstones of the Mattei Plan for Africa, the cooperation and development plan on which Italy is working with great determination to build mutually beneficial partnerships and support the energy security of Africa and Mediterranean nations.

In this way, we are also working towards becoming a strategic hub for clean energy by developing the necessary infrastructure and generation capacity in our homeland and in the Mediterranean. After the WR Conference on Development and Migration, two new financial instruments were established to address the root causes of migration, combat human traffickers, and guarantee the right not to migrate. We will continue to support the Green Climate Fund also in the next cycle, and as I have already announced yesterday, we will contribute 100 million euros to the new Loss and Damage Fund, strongly pursued by the Emirates presidency.

All these priorities will also be at the heart of Italy's G7 presidency in 2024. In conclusion, I want to thank the Emirate Chair Sultan Al Jaber and express my congratulations for a COP28 of absolute success. We are all aware, colleagues, that many of the efforts we are making today will likely produce visible results when many of us no longer have roles of responsibility. But doing it anyway, not for ourselves, but for those who come after us, defines the value of our

leadership. As Warren Buffett wrote, “There is someone sitting in the shade today because someone else planted a tree long ago.”

Thank you.

Thank you, Your Excellency.

2023.3

Discorso di: Giorgia Meloni

Anno: 2023

COP: 28

Titolo: COP28, il punto stampa del Presidente Meloni

Tipologia testo: intervista

Lingua: italiano

Sorgente del Transcript: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z8JDWmP6xn4>

Transcript:

Cop più partecipe. I Capi di Stato e di governo, ma penso che l’obiettivo del Loss and Damage Fund, per esempio, sul quale voi sapete che c’è stato anche un importante impegno italiano, sia un obiettivo concreto e molto utile. Penso che alcuni obiettivi che sono stati dichiarati nelle conclusioni di questa COP, come la capacità di triplicare la produzione di energia da rinnovabili entro il 2030 e la capacità di raddoppiare annualmente l’energia, siano da una parte raggiungibili e dall’altra concreti. Quindi penso che vadano fatti i complimenti alla presidenza emiratina, che si è molto spesa per la riuscita di questo appuntamento, e credo che non si possa negare che è stato un successo anche per la presidenza che organizzava.

Presidente, 22 paesi hanno fatto una dichiarazione, tra cui la Francia e gli Stati Uniti, per triplicare la produzione di energia nucleare. Dall’Italia è arrivato il plauso di Forza Italia; la Lega è sempre stata favorevole. C’è la possibilità di una ripresa di un programma nucleare italiano?

Ma guardi, su queste questioni, secondo me bisogna essere sempre molto pragmatici e non ideologici. Io non ho preclusioni su nessuna tecnologia che possa essere sicura e che possa aiutarci a diversificare la nostra produzione energetica. Non sono certa che oggi, cominciando da capo, ricominciando da capo sul tema del nucleare, l’Italia non si troverebbe indietro. Ma se ci sono evidenze del fatto che noi si possa invece avere un approccio, diciamo, un risultato positivo, sono sempre disposta a parlarne. Credo piuttosto che la grande sfida italiana, anche se diciamo è un po’ più lontana, però senza visione non si va da nessuna parte, sia il tema della fusione nucleare. La fusione nucleare potrebbe essere la soluzione domani di tutti i problemi energetici, delle crisi che nascono dalle questioni energetiche. È una di quelle tecnologie sulle quali l’Italia è più avanti di altri ed è sicuramente un elemento sul quale troverete sempre la mia massima concentrazione e il mio massimo sostegno. Cioè, credo che l’Italia debba avere la capacità di pensare in grande. Questo è uno di quei temi sui quali l’Italia può pensare in grande e sta agendo in grande.

Presidente, prossimamente c’è un vertice Ecofin straordinario fondamentale, e la bozza di compromesso sembra essere una riduzione annua del debito dell’1% una volta aggiustato il C3. Le chiedo se anche nell’incontro con Schinas si sia trovato un po’ più di terreno di compromesso anche per gli investimenti in transizione a Berlino e se secondo lei si arriverà a chiudere una riforma.

Guardi, ne abbiamo già parlato quando io ero a Berlino. Se posso dire, in queste ore eviterei i commenti perché sono ore nelle quali si sta procedendo a confronti molto puntuali che speriamo possano portare a una soluzione anche qui nell’interesse dell’Unione. Il punto è che noi vogliamo e siamo ambiziosi, dobbiamo essere ambiziosi. L’Unione Europea deve essere ambiziosa. Credo che questo governo e le politiche economiche che questo governo ha portato

avanti dimostrino la serietà con la quale approcciamo. Però dobbiamo riuscire a costruire una riforma del Patto di Stabilità e Crescita che sia rispettabile, cioè che sia possibile rispettare, cercando delle sintesi ovviamente tra punti di vista e interessi che sono diversi. Siccome sono le ore più delicate per questa trattativa, direi che se la commentiamo magari la settimana prossima può aiutare tutti.

Presidente, i magistrati ritengono che Delmastro abbia violato la sicurezza nazionale. L'opposizione ne chiede le dimissioni.

Guardi, i magistrati ritengono che Delmastro debba essere rinviato a giudizio. Il giudice, il pubblico ministero, riteneva che la vicenda dovesse essere archiviata per due volte. Quindi direi che è il caso di aspettare una sentenza di condanna passata in giudicato eventualmente per definirlo colpevole.

Presidente, il ministro Crosetto ha rilasciato dichiarazioni al Corriere della Sera che hanno suscitato un dibattito abbastanza acceso. Ha parlato di un rischio di interventismo politico da parte della magistratura. Qualcuno ha parlato di una ritrattazione o di una comunicazione, però sostanzialmente ha posto un tema. Senza entrare nei dettagli, l'ha detto dicendo che aveva ragioni per farlo.

Guardi, la questione è questa: io penso che non ci sia uno scontro tra la politica e la magistratura. Credo che si debba sempre ricordare che, per chi viene da destra, chi serve lo Stato è sempre un punto di riferimento. Quindi questa idea che ci debbano essere o ci possano essere scontri tra, diciamo così, poteri dello Stato, tra persone che dal loro punto di vista in ogni caso servono lo Stato, secondo me è sbagliata. Questo non vuol dire non segnalare che in ogni ambito ci sono dei problemi, e il problema in una piccola parte della magistratura è ritenere che i provvedimenti di alcuni governi, che non sono in linea magari con una certa visione del mondo, debbano essere contrastati, come è accaduto per esempio sull'immigrazione. Ma io, guardi, ho trovato francamente un po' fuori misura dire che la riforma costituzionale aveva una deriva antidemocratica. Cioè, a me queste sembrano dichiarazioni che vanno bene per la politica, non per altro. Questo poi non si può non notare perché è una realtà, ma non vuol dire aprire uno scontro tra un mondo e un altro mondo. Significa segnalare dove ci sono delle cose che obiettivamente sono un po' fuori dalle righe. Ma io penso che poi vada guardato e vada visto come dall'inizio del nostro governo noi abbiamo lavorato per rafforzare il lavoro della magistratura nel fare il proprio lavoro nella lotta alla mafia. Ricordo che sono stata io a parlare con il Procuratore Melillo e i 27 procuratori per capire quali potessero essere le norme più utili, come si potesse mantenere un dialogo costruttivo per arrivare all'obiettivo che tutti quanti abbiamo, che è combattere la criminalità, non gli avversari, ma la criminalità. E su questo io sono sempre schierata dalla stessa parte con quella stragrande maggioranza di magistrati che in Italia pensano che il loro lavoro sia questo, e non contestare le scelte di una politica che non condividono.

Presidente, sulla riforma costituzionale c'è stata una critica comunque di un esponente vicino al centrodestra, che è Gianni Letta, abbastanza esplicita, che è arrivata dopo delle critiche molto più radicali invece degli ex presidenti di Corte Costituzionale, per cui un ex ministro della giustizia come Cartabia. Non tutti hanno parlato di deriva autoritaria magari, ma comunque ci sono state delle critiche molto forti. Soprattutto la critica di Letta. Volevo capire...

Sì, ma guardi, allora, intanto capiamoci: non è che io penso che non si possa criticare la riforma costituzionale, lo considero perfettamente legittimo. Il problema è se l'Associazione Nazionale dei Magistrati mi fa come dichiarazione pubblica quella che è un attacco contro la magistratura o che c'è... cioè diventa insomma un altro ambito. Poi che la riforma possa essere criticata, io posso condividere o non condividere per esempio le parole di Gianni Letta. Io non le ho viste come, diciamo, parole di contrasto, no, come a voler creare dei problemi. In parte sono condivisibili, in parte non sono condivisibili per come la vedo io. Nel senso che è normale che una riforma del premierato, così come noi la stiamo facendo, serva a rafforzare il governo, ma

non nel senso di rafforzare i poteri del governo. Noi l'abbiamo studiata perché rafforzasse la stabilità del governo, che vuol dire rafforzare le scelte strategiche dei governi. Non sono invece d'accordo quando si dice che è una riforma che limita i poteri del Presidente della Repubblica, perché le ricorderà che io ho detto che la riforma era stata scritta in maniera tale da non toccare i poteri del Presidente della Repubblica, tant'è che è una contestazione che mi viene fatta. Ma come fate una riforma del premierato e non è prevista la nomina dei ministri? Cioè, semmai si è detto tutto e il contrario di tutto, come è normale in queste cose, perché poi è una materia talmente complessa sulla quale è normale che ci siano punti di vista differenti e se ne continuerà a discutere. Io penso che alla fine sia bello e normale, giusto discutere. Anche se, voglio dire, se ci sono elementi che possono rafforzarla ancora di più, sono anche aperta, come sapete. Dopodiché, io ho fatto la riforma che gli italiani mi chiedevano di fare e l'ho fatta perché penso che i governi li debbano decidere loro, e penso che quando un governo è stato scelto dagli italiani debba avere 5 anni per realizzare il suo programma. Perché governi che avevano un orizzonte di un anno e mezzo hanno devastato l'economia e la credibilità di questa nazione, e alla fine temo che questo tema agli italiani arriverà, e gli italiani ci diranno se la condividono o non la condividono.

Presidente, un tema che si è discusso in questa settimana è quello della fine del mercato tutelato. Lo stesso Salvini ha chiesto di vedere se si può fare qualcosa. È ancora aperta un'interlocuzione con la Commissione Europea?

Guardi, prima del mio alleato Salvini mi hanno chiesto di fare qualcosa quelli che ce l'hanno messa, la riforma del mercato tutelato, perché ricordo che la fine del mercato tutelato è stata stabilita nel 2017, governi Gentiloni. Dopodiché, votata dalla allora maggioranza del governo Draghi prima che arrivasse l'attuale governo. Ricordo che io ho votato contro, che ho contestato apertamente la fine al mercato tutelato, mentre gli altri la votavano. Dopodiché, per blindarlo, è stata inserita nel PNRR, nella terza rata del PNRR che lei saprà, quando noi siamo arrivati, era già quindi un obiettivo centrato. Allora, mettiamola così: posso capire che il PD ha deciso che ha fatto una cosa sbagliata, ma prima di spiegare a me come la risolvo, perché non chiedono scusa? Perché le cose non si può far finta che prima erano giuste e quando arriva un altro governo diventano sbagliate. Perché io ho sempre tenuto la stessa posizione sul tema. Sono loro che stanno dicendo che hanno fatto una riforma che colpiva gli italiani. Allora prima lo dichiarino e poi io volentieri aiuto a risolvere il problema. Qual è il tema? Il tema è che, per l'appunto, oggi noi siamo con un obiettivo centrato e con una rata pagata del PNRR e quindi la questione diventa spinosa. In ogni caso, noi chiaramente, sempre d'accordo con la Commissione Europea, stiamo cercando di capire soprattutto come si fa a impedire che le bollette aumentino. Poi a me questo interessa alla fine: come facciamo a garantire che le bollette non aumentino per i cittadini italiani? Ed è un lavoro sul quale il governo si sta molto spendendo in queste ore.

Presidente, oggi a COP ha parlato di Green Fund. Quanti fondi ci mettiamo? Confermiamo gli impegni della precedente amministrazione che erano 300 milioni? L'ultima domanda: qual è la posizione dell'Italia sull'uscita dalle fonti fossili? Visto che è un po' un tema scottante, qua se ne parla poco...

No, io penso che non sia stato un tema scottante, non se ne è parlato poco. Anzi, come lei sa, la presidenza emiratina è stata molto incalzata su questo tema. Ma io penso che sia un obiettivo, l'hanno detto addirittura qui che lo producono, insomma, siamo a un obiettivo che dobbiamo continuare a centrare. Chiaramente lo dobbiamo fare mentre produciamo altre fonti energetiche. Quindi il tema è sempre lo stesso: gli obiettivi sono chiari e mi paiono condivisi. Guardi, io non sono neanche stata d'accordo sul fatto che si dicesse che la COP non può essere ospitata da una nazione che... perché se non coinvolgi anche queste nazioni, poiché gli obiettivi sono globali, alla fine non ci arriverai mai. Gli obiettivi sono chiari per tutti, anche per le nazioni, diciamo, che dovrebbero essere più rigide da questo punto di vista. È la tempistica chiaramente che deve

essere sostenibile, ma sostenibile perché, come io ho detto tante volte, ho ribadito anche qui pubblicamente, la sostenibilità climatica, la sostenibilità ecologica devono camminare insieme alla sostenibilità sociale, alla sostenibilità economica, perché altrimenti ci porta dritti alla deindustrializzazione. Quindi bisogna avere un approccio non ideologico, ma pragmatico. Bisogna, secondo me, lavorare sulla neutralità tecnologica molto di più. E lei sa che è una posizione che il governo italiano porta avanti, e piano piano costruire passi che siano il più veloci possibile, ma che siano possibili da centrare. Perché altrimenti se noi ci diamo degli obiettivi che sono irraggiungibili, ci ritroveremo qui tra 5 anni e scopriremo che non li abbiamo raggiunti.

Presidente, è arrivata un'altra conferma...

Lista delle voci selezionate dal libro *Lessico e Nuvole*: Vocabolario Controllato (Controlled Vocabulary)

Glossario delle parole:

accordo di Parigi

acidificazione degli oceani

acqua

aerosol

allagamento e alluvione

ambiente

anidride carbonica

antropocene

area/ aree (pl)

aria

aridità

atmosfera

azoto

bilancio idrologico

biodiversità

biosfera

calore

cambiamento/i climatico/i

capacità di adattamento

carbone

carbonio

certificato bianco/ titolo di efficienza energetica

certificato verde

ciclo

clima

climate change

CO₂

combustibile

combustibili fossili

concentrazione di ioni

conferenza delle parti dell'UNFCCC o FCCC

consumo di energia

convenzione quadro delle Nazioni Unite sui cambiamenti climatici/ UNFCCC

criosfera
danno/i
dato
deforestazione
diossido di carbonio
driver
ecosistema
effetto serra
emissione
emissioni di gas serra
energia
esposizione
fonti non rinnovabili
fonti rinnovabili
foresta
forzante radiativo
gas
gas a effetto serra
gas serra
ghiaccio
glaciazione
gwp (riscaldamento serra)
il processo di riproduzione
impatto ambientale
impatto zero
impronta di carbonio
impronta ecologica
isola di calore
mare
meteorologia
mitigazione
modello/i climatico/i
mondo
natura
oceano
pedosfera
pericolo
petrolio
pianeta
precipitazioni
protocollo di kyoto
quota emissioni gas serra
radiazione
radiazione solare (backscattering)
report di sostenibilità
resilienza
retroazioni
riscaldamento globale
risorse rinnovabili
rischio

scenario climatico
servizi ecosistemici
siccità
sistema climatico
sistema di allerta veloce
sole
sostenibilità
sottosuolo
suolo
superficie terrestre
superficie terrestre
sviluppo sostenibile
Task Force on Climate Related Financial Disclosure
temperatura media
terra
territorio
transizione energetica
una presa di coscienza
uso del suolo
vapore acqueo
variabilità climatica
vento
vita
vulnerabilità

Lezione n.1: *Ambiente e politica italiana*

Durata: 90 minuti

1. Introduzione e attivazione delle conoscenze (20 minuti)

- Attività: Mostrare un breve video relativo alla politica ambientale in Italia.
- Esercizio 1.1: Guardate il video: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FbkYv6jyAxI> (il video dura 3 minuti circa)



Esercizio 1.2: Leggi la trascrizione del video: *La difesa dell'identità nazionale e del nostro futuro passa anche per la difesa del territorio, della natura, della bellezza nella quale siamo immersi.*

Roger Scruton diceva che l'ecologia è la quintessenza della causa conservatrice, perché è l'esempio di quella alleanza che noi difendiamo, tra i morti, i vivi e i non ancora nati.

Fratelli d'Italia vuole affrontare la tutela dell'ambiente in maniera coerente, libera, innovativa e senza pregiudizio alcuno nei confronti dello sviluppo economico e delle nuove tecnologie come, invece, molto spesso accade a sinistra. A cominciare dalla difesa del bene naturale per eccellenza, che è l'acqua, servono interventi straordinari di manutenzione delle infrastrutture di trasmissione idrica. Bisogna costruire invasi che consentano di raccogliere e riutilizzare l'acqua piovana. Dobbiamo anche rivedere gli ostacoli burocratici e i pregiudizi che impediscono, da tempo, l'installazione degli impianti di desalinizzazione dell'acqua di mare che ci circonda, un'infrastruttura straordinaria. Impianti necessari anche per affrontare la problematica del cuneo salino all'interno dei fiumi. Quando si parla di ambiente, la sinistra parla di manifesti ideologici; Fratelli d'Italia invece parla di terra, sole, aria e acqua, e dell'uomo in relazione a questa natura.

- Esercizio 1.3: Rispondi alle seguenti domande:

1. "Cos'avete capito di questo video? Quali visioni emergono sulla sinistra e la destra italiana sulla questione ambientale?"

2. "Quali politiche ambientali conosci del tuo paese? Il tuo paese utilizza le energie rinnovabili?"

2. Creazione di una campagna elettorale di sensibilizzazione (30 minuti)

- Attività: Gli studenti, divisi in due gruppi di cinque, creano una campagna di sensibilizzazione sull'importanza della sostenibilità ambientale.
- Esercizio 2.1: Rilettura dei programmi elettorali dati per casa e sottolineatura delle parti maggiormente interessanti.
- Esercizio 2.2: Dividetevi in due gruppi e scrivete il programma elettorale sulla questione ambientale per il vostro partito. Il programma elettorale dovrà contenere minimo cinque punti.
- Modalità: Un gruppo rappresenta la “Sinistra” (cambiamento totale) e l’altro la “Coalizione di centro-destra” (approccio conservatore).

3. Presentazione e dibattito delle campagne (40 minuti)

- Attività: 1. Presentazione dei programmi: Ogni studente ha circa cinque minuti per presentare un punto del programma elettorale del proprio gruppo. Questo permette a ciascuno di esporre in dettaglio le proprie idee e il ragionamento dietro la proposta.
- 2. Dibattito strutturato: Dopo ogni presentazione, un membro dell’altra squadra avrà la possibilità di rispondere o di fare una contro-argomentazione, presentando un altro punto del proprio programma elettorale. Questo stile di dibattito assicura che ogni punto venga discusso e che ci sia interazione tra le squadre.

: Esercizio 3.1: Presentate il vostro programma elettorale.

- Modalità: Gli studenti si alterneranno nella presentazione seguendo l’ordine prestabilito: un membro della squadra “Sinistra” inizia presentando un punto del proprio programma, seguito da una risposta di un membro della squadra “Coalizione di centro-destra”, e così via. Questo processo continuerà finché ogni studente non avrà presentato almeno un punto del proprio programma. L’ordine di presentazione è alternato: inizia la “Sinistra” e risponde la “Coalizione di centro-destra”. Dopo che tutti i punti sono stati presentati e discussi, si procede con un breve dibattito libero di 10 minuti per permettere ulteriori scambi e riflessioni.

Compito per casa

Esercizio 4: Analizza come diversi partiti politici italiani presentano le loro politiche ambientali nei programmi elettorali dal 2008 al 2022. Seleziona almeno due partiti di diverso orientamento politico e:

1. Descrivi le principali proposte ambientali di ciascun partito.
2. Valuta l’impatto potenziale di queste proposte sull’ambiente e sulla società italiana.
3. Rifletti sulla chiarezza e sulla fattibilità delle proposte.
4. Esprimi una tua opinione critica sulle proposte esaminate.

Materiali dati agli studenti prima della lezione

LE IDEE POLITICHE DAI PROGRAMMI ELETTORALI ITALIANI SULL'AMBIENTE

Sinistra (Sinistra Arcobaleno e Partito Democratico)

1. Protezione dell'Ambiente attraverso Limitazioni Stringenti e Sostegno alle Energie Rinnovabili (Sinistra Arcobaleno):

- Enfatizza una trasformazione radicale nella gestione dell'ambiente, puntando a una società basata non sulla crescita quantitativa ma sulla qualità sostenibile. Questo include un forte sostegno alle energie rinnovabili e la completa attuazione delle misure del Protocollo di Kyoto.

2. Protezione dell'Ambiente attraverso Sostegno alle Energie Rinnovabili (Partito Democratico):

- Il Partito Democratico punta alla piena integrazione della sostenibilità e della qualità ambientale in tutte le politiche pubbliche. Questo si traduce in un impegno per la leadership tecnologico-industriale nel settore ambientale, promuovendo un approccio che genera vantaggi economici e tecnologici.

Destra (Coalizione del centro destra)

1. Sviluppo Economico Bilanciato con Pratiche Ambientali Sostenibili (2008 e 2022):

- Nel 2008, la coalizione del centro destra ha proposto misure come la tutela del suolo e delle acque e l'aggiornamento delle leggi sulla caccia, mostrando un approccio equilibrato tra sviluppo e conservazione.
- Nel 2022, l'approccio si è evoluto con un maggiore enfasi sulla riduzione del consumo delle risorse naturali attraverso un piano strategico nazionale di economia circolare, che promuove anche la biodiversità e la riduzione dei rifiuti.

La Sinistra ha un approccio più radicale verso la riconversione ecologica e la Coalizione di centro-destra ha un approccio più moderato che integra la tutela ambientale con lo sviluppo economico e infrastrutturale. In poche parole, la Sinistra si concentra sull'ambiente come priorità assoluta, mentre la Coalizione di centro-destra propone una strategia che considera sia la crescita economica sia la sostenibilità ambientale, ma con un'enfasi minore sulla trasformazione radicale del modello economico esistente.

ALCUNE PAROLE PER UN DIBATTITO POLITICO SULL'AMBIENTE IN ITALIA

ITALIANO	UNGHERESE
Ambiente	Környezet
Biodiversità	Biodiverzitás
Cambiamento climatico	Éghajlatváltozás
Conservazione	Természetvédelem
Deforestazione	Erdőirtás
Ecosistema	Ökoszisztéma
Effetto serra	Üvegházhatás
Energia rinnovabile	Megújuló energia
Impatto ambientale	Környezeti hatás
Inquinamento	Szennyezés
Riciclaggio	Újrahasznosítás
ITALIANO	UNGHERESE

Rifiuti	Hulladék
Risorse naturali	Természeti erőforrások
Sostenibilità	Fenntarthatóság
Sviluppo sostenibile	Fenntartható fejlődés

ALCUNE ESPRESSIONI PER INTERVENIRE IN UN DIBATTITO POLITICO

ITALIANO	UNGHERESE
Vorrei portare alla vostra attenzione...	Szeretném felhívni a figyelmeteket arra, hogy...
Permettetemi di illustrare...	Engedjék meg, hogy bemutassam...
Sono fermamente convinto/a che...	Határozottan meg vagyok győződve arról, hogy...
È importante considerare che...	Fontos megfontolni, hogy...
Dobbiamo considerare anche...	Meg kell fontolnunk azt is, hogy...
Non condivido questo punto di vista perché...	Nem osztom ezt a nézetet, mert...
Non sono d'accordo con...	Nem értek egyet ...-val/vel.
Mi permetto di dissentire su...	Engedjék meg, hogy ne értsek egyet azzal...
Potremmo considerare un'altra prospettiva...	Fontolóra vehetnénk egy másik nézőpontot...
Potresti spiegare meglio il tuo punto di vista?	Tudnád jobban kifejteni az álláspontodat?
Qual è la tua opinione su...?	Mi a véleményed ...-ról/ről?
Questo dimostra che...	Ez bizonyítja, hogy...
Secondo me...	Véleményem szerint...
Sono d'accordo con...	Egyetértek ...-val/vel.
Sono dell'opinione che...	Azon a véleményen vagyok, hogy...
Vorrei aggiungere che...	Hozzá szeretném tenni, hogy...
Vorrei sottolineare che...	Szeretném hangsúlyozni, hogy...
Questo dimostra che è possibile...	Ez azt mutatja, hogy lehetséges...
È fondamentale per garantire	Alapvető a biztosításához...
Senza questo cambiamento, non possiamo aspettarci...	E változás nélkül nem várható...
Dobbiamo agire subito per...	Azonnal cselekednünk kell, hogy...
L'obiettivo principale è...	A fő cél...
Per far ripartire l'economia, è essenziale...	Az gazdaság újraindításához elengedhetetlen...
È necessario un profondo cambiamento del nostro sistema...	Szükséges a rendszerünk mélyreható megváltoztatása...

Ciò significa riduzione degli incentivi finanziari a vantaggio degli...	Ez azt jelenti, hogy a pénzügyi ösztönzők csökkentésével előnyben részesülnek...
Il nostro obiettivo è quello di portare...	Célunk, hogy elhozzuk...
Occorre una drastica revisione...	Szükség van egy drasztikus felülvizsgálatra...
Per rispondere a quanto detto da...	Válaszul arra, amit ... mondott...
Supporto l'idea di...	Támogatom az ötletet, hogy...
Concludendo...	Befejezőképpen...

Lezione n. 2: *La sintassi come strumento di persuasione nei discorsi politici italiani*

Durata: 90 minuti

“Come politici, siamo chiamati a realizzare un capolavoro, a realizzare la scena dove i nostri figli vivranno.”

1 Rispondi alle seguenti domande:

- *Che emozioni suscita questa frase?*
- *Secondo voi è efficace? Se sì, perché?*

Breve spiegazione del contesto della frase: fa parte di un discorso politico sul cambiamento climatico.

2 Rispondi alle seguenti domande:

La sintassi è solo grammatica o può influenzare le emozioni e le decisioni?

Cosa conoscete delle politiche ambientali? In Ungheria quali politiche ambientali seguite?

3 Analisi dei testi

I seguenti testi sono degli estratti selezionati per voi dal corpus della mia tesi in italiano.

Attività:

1. Dividetevi in due o tre gruppi.

Ogni gruppo riceve un estratto e deve:

- Identificare almeno due figure retoriche e due scelte sintattiche principali a testa (es. anafore, ripetizioni, metafore, frase nominale, passivo, ellissi).
- Spiegare il loro effetto sull'elettore.

Gruppo 1: Gian Luca Galletti (COP22, 2016)

“A Parigi, abbiamo forgiato un Accordo che rappresenta una fonte di ispirazione per azioni concertate a livello internazionale, nazionale e locale. Spetta ora a noi governi canalizzare queste energie per alimentare il motore del cambiamento in direzione di uno sviluppo sostenibile da un punto di vista ambientale ma anche sociale ed economico.

Per alimentare quella ‘ecologia integrale’ che è stata invocata anche da Papa Francesco nella sua Enciclica Laudato Sì.

Il 2015 è stato veramente un anno di svolta. Abbiamo adottato a New York una serie di obiettivi di sviluppo sostenibile da raggiungere entro il 2030, tra cui alcuni fortemente legati ai cambiamenti climatici, saldando insieme l'azione a favore del clima, il sostegno alla crescita economica, la cura degli aspetti sociali e ambientali a livello globale.

[...] L'Italia è pronta a dare come sempre il suo contributo e a lavorare con i partner che dispongono di minori capacità e risorse o che sono più vulnerabili ai mutamenti del clima.

Gruppo 2: Matteo Renzi (COP21, 2015)

“Oggi una risposta globale, collettiva ed efficace non sta fallendo soltanto la nostra generazione; sta fallendo un intero sistema di sviluppo. Pagheranno i nostri nipoti, forse addirittura i nostri figli.

Oggi è tempo di agire e dobbiamo prendere atto di una cosa molto semplice: fino a qualche anno fa erano i biologi, i matematici, i demografi che si occupavano di rischi climatici. Oggi sono innanzitutto degli economisti che ci dicono che è il momento di fare la nostra parte.

Si tratta dunque di una questione economica, e si tratta di una questione etica, morale. Vi porto la voce di un Paese, l'Italia, che ha le carte in regola. Siamo all'avanguardia in tanti settori della green economy, dalla geotermia: abbiamo il 43 per cento di energie rinnovabili nella produzione elettrica. [...]

Come politici, siamo chiamati a realizzare un capolavoro, a realizzare la scena dove i nostri figli vivranno, ma non potremo che imitare la cosa più bella che c'è: la natura, che oggi va innanzitutto difesa e difesa da noi stessi."

Gruppo 3: Mario Draghi (COP26, 2021)

"Il cambiamento climatico può distruggere risorse naturali, peggiorare le tensioni sociali e causare nuove migrazioni. Grazie al dialogo costante e alla cooperazione, abbiamo fatto buoni progressi. Il G20 rappresenta circa il 75% delle emissioni globali e circa l'80% del PIL globale. Al vertice di Roma, i suoi membri hanno concordato che dobbiamo limitare l'aumento delle temperature globali a 1,5 gradi per la prima volta e si sono impegnati a raggiungere zero emissioni entro la metà del secolo.

Qui alla COP26 dobbiamo fare di più. Dobbiamo accelerare i nostri impegni per mantenere il riscaldamento globale sotto 1,5 gradi.

[...] Questa COP26 deve essere l'inizio di un nuovo slancio, un salto quantico nella nostra lotta contro il cambiamento climatico, e i giovani devono essere al centro di questo processo. Giudicheranno ciò che riusciamo – o non riusciamo – a fare"

4. Condivisione:

Ogni gruppo presenta le proprie osservazioni in quattro minuti.

Dopo le analisi, la classe discute quale frase è più persuasiva e perché.

5. Creazione del mini-discorso (15 minuti per gruppo):

Tema: "La sostenibilità in Ungheria".

Ogni studente dovrà scrivere 4-5 frasi utilizzando:

- Una figura retorica (metafora, anafora e/o ripetizioni)
- Una frase nominale (es. "Una priorità urgente").
- Un'ellissi (es. "Agire subito, senza esitazioni").
- Un passivo (es. "Le risorse devono essere protette").

6. Condivisione e votazione alla pari:

Ogni studente legge il proprio mini-discorso e la classe voterà il discorso più persuasivo, motivando la scelta.

7. Revisione collaborativa

Gli studenti in coppia riscrivono uno dei discorsi migliorando le scelte sintattiche.

8. Scegli la frase migliore

Proietterò due versioni di una frase dal corpus (es. originale e riscritta). Gli studenti votano quale versione è più efficace e discutono il perché.

- 1) Originale: “Oggi è tempo di agire e dobbiamo prendere atto di una cosa molto semplice: fino a qualche anno fa erano i biologi, i matematici, i demografi che si occupavano di rischi climatici.” (Matteo Renzi, COP21, 2015)

Rifrasata:

“Oggi è tempo di agire, oggi è tempo di cambiare: economisti, biologi, matematici ci dicono che il momento è ora.”

- 2) Originale: “Un accordo ambizioso, inclusivo, bilanciato.” (Gian Luca Galletti, COP22, 2016)

Rifrasata: “Ambizione, inclusione, equilibrio: le basi del nostro accordo.”

- 3) Originale: “Le risorse devono essere protette, soprattutto nei Paesi più vulnerabili.” (Gian Luca Galletti, COP22, 2016)

Rifrasata: “È necessario proteggere le risorse, con priorità ai Paesi più vulnerabili.”

- 4) Originale: “L’Italia è pronta a fare la sua parte e a collaborare con i partner meno dotati di risorse.” (Gian Luca Galletti, COP22, 2016)

Rifrasata: “Pronti a fare la nostra parte, pronti a collaborare con chi ha meno risorse.”

- 5) Originale: “A Parigi, abbiamo forgiato un Accordo che rappresenta una fonte di ispirazione per azioni concertate a livello internazionale, nazionale e locale.” (Gian Luca Galletti, COP22, 2016)

Rifrasata: “A Parigi è nato un Accordo: fonte d’ispirazione per azioni condivise su scala globale, nazionale e locale.”

- 6) Originale: “Il cambiamento climatico può distruggere risorse naturali, peggiorare le tensioni sociali e causare nuove migrazioni.” (Mario Draghi, COP26, 2021)

Rifrasata: “Distruzione di risorse naturali, peggioramento delle tensioni sociali, nuove migrazioni: gli effetti devastanti del cambiamento climatico.”

- 7) Originale: “Spetta ora a noi governi canalizzare queste energie per alimentare il motore del cambiamento in direzione di uno sviluppo sostenibile.” (Gian Luca Galletti, COP22, 2016)

Rifrasata: “Ora tocca a noi, governi, guidare il cambiamento verso uno sviluppo sostenibile.”

- 8) Originale: “Vi porto la voce di un Paese, l’Italia, che ha le carte in regola.” (Matteo Renzi, COP21, 2015)

Rifrasata: “L’Italia, un Paese con le carte in regola: questa è la voce che vi porto.”

Come pensate che la sintassi influenzi la vostra comprensione di un discorso politico?

Finale: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xqeU1TvwcC4> (Spot PD 4 Marzo 2018 - “Pensaci”)

Per casa:

Completa il questionario cartaceo e il modulo di informativa privacy.

Questionario: *La percezione dei frame e delle metafore nel discorso politico italiano*

Grazie per partecipare a questo questionario. Il tuo contributo è fondamentale per questo studio, che mira a comprendere come le questioni ambientali vengano percepite e interpretate nel discorso politico italiano, in particolare da studenti ungheresi d'italiano L2 (come lingua straniera) e da un gruppo di dottorandi e ricercatori d'italiano L1.

Il questionario fa parte di una ricerca accademica che analizza la comprensione di temi ambientali trattati nei programmi elettorali e discorsi pubblici italiani, mettendo anche in evidenza eventuali differenze e somiglianze nella ricezione tra parlanti nativi e non nativi.

Il questionario è suddiviso in quattro sezioni:

1. **Informazioni di base** – Raccogliamo informazioni generali (età, genere e lingue conosciute) per contestualizzare le risposte.
2. **Associazione dei termini chiave ai frame** – Ti chiedo di associare specifici termini legati alle questioni ambientali ai due frame principali: *Sustainability and Climate Policies* e *Economic and Financial Strategies*.
3. **Metafore e frame** – Valuteremo come interpreti alcune metafore utilizzate nei programmi elettorali e nei discorsi pubblici italiani relativi alle questioni ambientali.
4. **Conclusione** – Puoi condividere ulteriori osservazioni o riflessioni sul discorso politico italiano riguardante l'ambiente.

Il tempo stimato per completare il questionario è di circa 10-15 minuti. Le tue risposte saranno anonime e utilizzate esclusivamente per scopi di ricerca.

Grazie per il tuo tempo, per il tuo prezioso contributo e buon lavoro!

Sezione 1: Informazioni di base

1. **Età:** (*Seleziona la tua fascia d'età*)
 - 18-25 anni
 - 26-35 anni
 - 36-45 anni
 - Più di 45 anni
2. **Genere:** (*Seleziona una risposta*)
 - Femmina
 - Maschio
 - Altro
 - Preferisco non rispondere
3. **Quali lingue conosci?** (*Seleziona tutte le lingue che conosci almeno a livello base*)
 - Italiano
 - Inglese
 - Ungherese
 - Altre: _____ (*campo aperto per specificare*)

Sezione 2: Associazione dei termini chiave ai frame

Di seguito troverai un elenco di termini chiave che ho scelto dopo aver analizzato discorsi politici italiani e programmi elettorali sulle questioni ambientali.

Questi termini sono collegati a due frame principali che ho creato per la mia ricerca. Ti chiedo di leggere le definizioni dei frame e indicare a quale frame pensi appartenga ogni termine.

1. **Sustainability and Climate Policies:** Questo frame si concentra sui valori della protezione ambientale, della sostenibilità e della cooperazione globale. Promuove politiche per ridurre le emissioni, adottare energia rinnovabile e favorire pratiche sostenibili. Sottolinea la responsabilità collettiva e l'urgenza di agire per affrontare le sfide climatiche e garantire un futuro migliore.
2. **Economic and Financial Strategies:** Questo frame evidenzia l'importanza della crescita economica, dell'innovazione e della pianificazione finanziaria per affrontare le sfide globali. Promuove investimenti, politiche economiche strategiche e l'adozione di tecnologie sostenibili, sottolineando il legame tra sostenibilità ambientale e successo economico.

Termini e frame:

1. **Sostenibilità (sustainability):**
 - Sustainability and Climate Policies
 - Economic and Financial Strategies
2. **Clima (climate):**
 - Sustainability and Climate Policies
 - Economic and Financial Strategies
3. **Rinnovabile (renewable):**
 - Sustainability and Climate Policies
 - Economic and Financial Strategies
4. **Emissioni (emissions):**
 - Sustainability and Climate Policies
 - Economic and Financial Strategies
5. **Gestione dei rifiuti (waste management):**
 - Sustainability and Climate Policies
 - Economic and Financial Strategies
6. **Energia (energy):**
 - Sustainability and Climate Policies
 - Economic and Financial Strategies
7. **Sviluppo sostenibile (sustainable development):**
 - Sustainability and Climate Policies
 - Economic and Financial Strategies
8. **Investimenti (investments):**
 - Sustainability and Climate Policies
 - Economic and Financial Strategies
9. **Piani nazionali (national plans):**
 - Sustainability and Climate Policies
 - Economic and Financial Strategies
10. **Finanza (finance):**
 - Sustainability and Climate Policies
 - Economic and Financial Strategies

11. Strategia (strategy):

- Sustainability and Climate Policies
- Economic and Financial Strategies

12. Accordi internazionali (international agreements):

- Sustainability and Climate Policies
- Economic and Financial Strategies

13. Partnership (partnership):

- Sustainability and Climate Policies
- Economic and Financial Strategies

14. Crescita economica (economic growth):

- Sustainability and Climate Policies
- Economic and Financial Strategies

15. Innovazione tecnologica (technological innovation):

- Sustainability and Climate Policies
- Economic and Financial Strategies

16. Economia verde (green economy):

- Sustainability and Climate Policies
- Economic and Financial Strategies

Sezione 3: Metafore e frame

3.1 Electoral Programs

1. “Transizione ecologica” (ecological transition):

- Questa metafora evoca per te un cambiamento necessario per proteggere l’ambiente?
 - Sì
 - No
- A cosa associ principalmente questa metafora?
 - Un cambiamento radicale nelle politiche ambientali
 - Un’idea generale di progresso tecnologico
 - Un concetto astratto
- In quale frame collocheresti questa metafora?
 - Sustainability and Climate Policies
 - Economic and Financial Strategies

2. “Riduzione delle emissioni” (emission reduction):

- Ritieni che questa metafora sia chiara e facile da comprendere nel contesto politico?
 - Sì
 - No
- In quale frame collocheresti questa metafora?
 - Sustainability and Climate Policies
 - Economic and Financial Strategies

3. “Cambiamenti climatici” (climate change):

- Pensi che questa espressione trasmetta un senso di urgenza?
 - Sì
 - No
- In quale frame collocheresti questa metafora?
 - Sustainability and Climate Policies
 - Economic and Financial Strategies

4. **“Energia rinnovabile” (renewable energy):**

- Percepisci questa metafora come simbolo di innovazione tecnologica e progresso economico?
 - Sì
 - No
- In quale frame collocheresti questa metafora?
 - Sustainability and Climate Policies
 - Economic and Financial Strategies

3.2 Conferenze delle Parti (COP)

5. **“Sviluppo sostenibile” (sustainable development):**

- Questa metafora suggerisce per te un equilibrio tra economia e ambiente?
 - Sì
 - No
- In quale frame collocheresti questa metafora?
 - Sustainability and Climate Policies
 - Economic and Financial Strategies

6. **“Energia rinnovabile” (renewable energy):**

- Pensi che questa metafora rifletta un futuro più ecologico e tecnologico?
 - Sì
 - No
- In quale frame collocheresti questa metafora?
 - Sustainability and Climate Policies
 - Economic and Financial Strategies

7. **“Transizione energetica” (energy transition):**

- Trovi che questa metafora comunichi l’idea di un cambiamento inevitabile e positivo?
 - Sì
 - No
- In quale frame collocheresti questa metafora?
 - Sustainability and Climate Policies
 - Economic and Financial Strategies

8. **“Quantum Leap” (salto quantico):**

- Questa metafora ti trasmette l’idea di un progresso rapido e rivoluzionario?
 - Sì
 - No
- Pensi che sia facilmente comprensibile in un contesto politico?
 - Sì
 - No
- In quale frame collocheresti questa metafora?
 - Sustainability and Climate Policies
 - Economic and Financial Strategies

Sezione 4: Conclusione

Hai ulteriori osservazioni o riflessioni sui frame o sulle metafore analizzate? Cosa pensi del linguaggio politico italiano sulla questione ambientale?

Modulo informativa privacy

Modulo Informativo per il trattamento dei dati ADULTO

Informativa sulla Privacy (ex art. 13 del d.lgs. 196/03)

Ai sensi dell'art. 13 del D.lgs. 196/2003, la informiamo che *l'Alma Mater Studiorum* - Università di Bologna procederà al trattamento dei dati forniti esclusivamente per fini istituzionali (art. 4 del D.R. 271/2009) e nel rispetto della normativa in materia di protezione dei dati personali.

1. Finalità dei dati

I dati saranno trattati, anche con l'ausilio di mezzi elettronici, per finalità di ricerca scientifica, nell'ambito del progetto di ricerca intitolato "La percezione dei frame e delle metafore nel discorso politico italiano."

Lo scopo di questa ricerca è analizzare come le questioni ambientali vengano percepite e interpretate nel discorso politico italiano. I dati raccolti contribuiranno a indagare l'efficacia di alcune categorie linguistiche (frame e metafore) e a migliorare la comprensione del linguaggio politico.

2. Modalità di trattamento, conservazione e diffusione dei dati

I dati saranno raccolti in forma completamente anonima, senza richieste di informazioni identificative come nome, cognome o contatti personali.

I dati saranno elaborati solo in forma aggregata per garantire l'anonimato dei partecipanti.

La conservazione dei dati avverrà in modalità protetta e sarà limitata al tempo necessario per l'analisi dei risultati, stimato in 6 mesi dalla conclusione dello studio.

Nessun dato sarà condiviso con terzi o utilizzato per scopi diversi da quelli descritti.

3. Soggetti del trattamento

Il Titolare del trattamento è *l'Alma Mater Studiorum* - Università di Bologna – Via Zamboni, 33 40126 Bologna (BO). La Responsabile del trattamento è la Dottoressa Anna Raimo (anna.raimo2@unibo.it)

4. Diritti dell'interessato

Le persone a cui si riferiscono i dati hanno il diritto in qualunque momento di ottenere la conferma dell'esistenza o meno dei medesimi dati e di conoscerne il contenuto e l'origine, verificarne l'esattezza o chiederne l'integrazione o l'aggiornamento, oppure la rettificazione (articolo 7 del Codice in materia di protezione dei dati personali). Ai sensi del medesimo articolo si ha il diritto di chiedere la cancellazione, la trasformazione in forma anonima o il blocco dei dati trattati in violazione di legge, nonché di opporsi in ogni caso, per motivi legittimi, al loro trattamento. Le richieste vanno rivolte al Responsabile sopra indicato.

5. Base giuridica del trattamento

Il trattamento dei dati è effettuato ai sensi dell'art. 6, par. 1, lett. e) del GDPR, per finalità di ricerca scientifica e interesse pubblico.

Letta l'informativa, il/la sottoscritto/a _____

☐ *acconsente* ☐ *non acconsente*

al trattamento dei suoi dati per fini di ricerca statistica e scientifica

Data _____ Firma _____