

**11° International Conference for Political
Communication**

**After the Mass Party.
Politics in the Media Age:
The case of Italy**

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Three Models of Party Organization

(Panebianco, 1988):

Party of Notables

Mass Party

Electoral – professional Party

Because of the development of mass communication, the need to

- 1. Organize and represent interests**
 - 2. Socialize to politics**
 - 3. Select Political elites**
 - 4. Build consensus**
-
- Is not anymore a prerogative of political parties**

Why ?

- **Political leaders and candidates can talk directly to citizens without the intermediation of traditional organizations (“Going Public”, Kernel 1997)**
- **Society is becoming more and more individualized (Bauman, Dahlgren, etc.)**

Where the replacement of traditional parties may result easier?

- In transitional democracies where traditional mass parties are not well rooted and more in general the “rules of the democratic game” are not very well established**

What's next?

- **Audience democracy (Manin, 1997)**
- **Post- bureaucratic organizations (Bimber, 2003)**

Audience democracy

- **The media replace the party as main agency of socialization**
- **Replacement of constituencies (those who representative assert to speak for) with audiences (those the representative addresses the claim to)**

Post bureaucratic organizations

- **The web replaces the party structure**
- **More flexible organizations**
- **Less institutionalized**

The Italian laboratory

- **Audience democracy (Berlusconi)**
- **Post bureaucratic organizations
(Beppe Grillo – Five Stars
Movement)**

**A major question: is Berlusconi
unique?**

- **Answer: yes and not**
- **He may be a prototype for a new
type of politics (Ginsborg, 2004)**

Why a prototype of new politics ?

- **Audience democracy (B. Manin, 1997)**
- **Individualization/consumerism**
- **Transitional democracy**

Why a national case ?

- **National character**

Individualization/consumerism:

Commodification of politics

Life style politics

Commodification of politics



Commodification of politics



Commodification of politics



Life style politics



Life style politics



Life style politics



Life style politics



Life style politics

David Cameron's election photographer Andrew Parsons given an official role | Politics | guardian - Windows Internet Explorer

http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/gallery/2010/nov/03/andrew-parsons-david-cameron-official-photographer

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David Cameron's election photographer given civil service role

Andrew Parsons, who was employed by the Conservatives during the election campaign to photograph David Cameron, has been given a civil service role. The appointment has been criticised, but No 10 says Parsons will not be Cameron's 'official photographer' and that he will work across all departments

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guardian.co.uk, Wednesday 3 November 2010 12:03 GMT



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David Cameron forced to defend appointment of 'personal photographer' Andrew Parsons documented Cameron's election campaign and is now a government employee

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Commodification of politics and life style politics are determined by the fact that mass media are substituting political parties as agencies of political socialization (Manin)

Here comes the uniqueness of Berlusconi: because of different reasons commodification of politics and life style politics appear particularly dramatic in Italy

**Why the uniqueness of
Berlusconi?**

- **Transitional democracy**
- **Cultural consumption**
- **National identity**

Transitional democracy

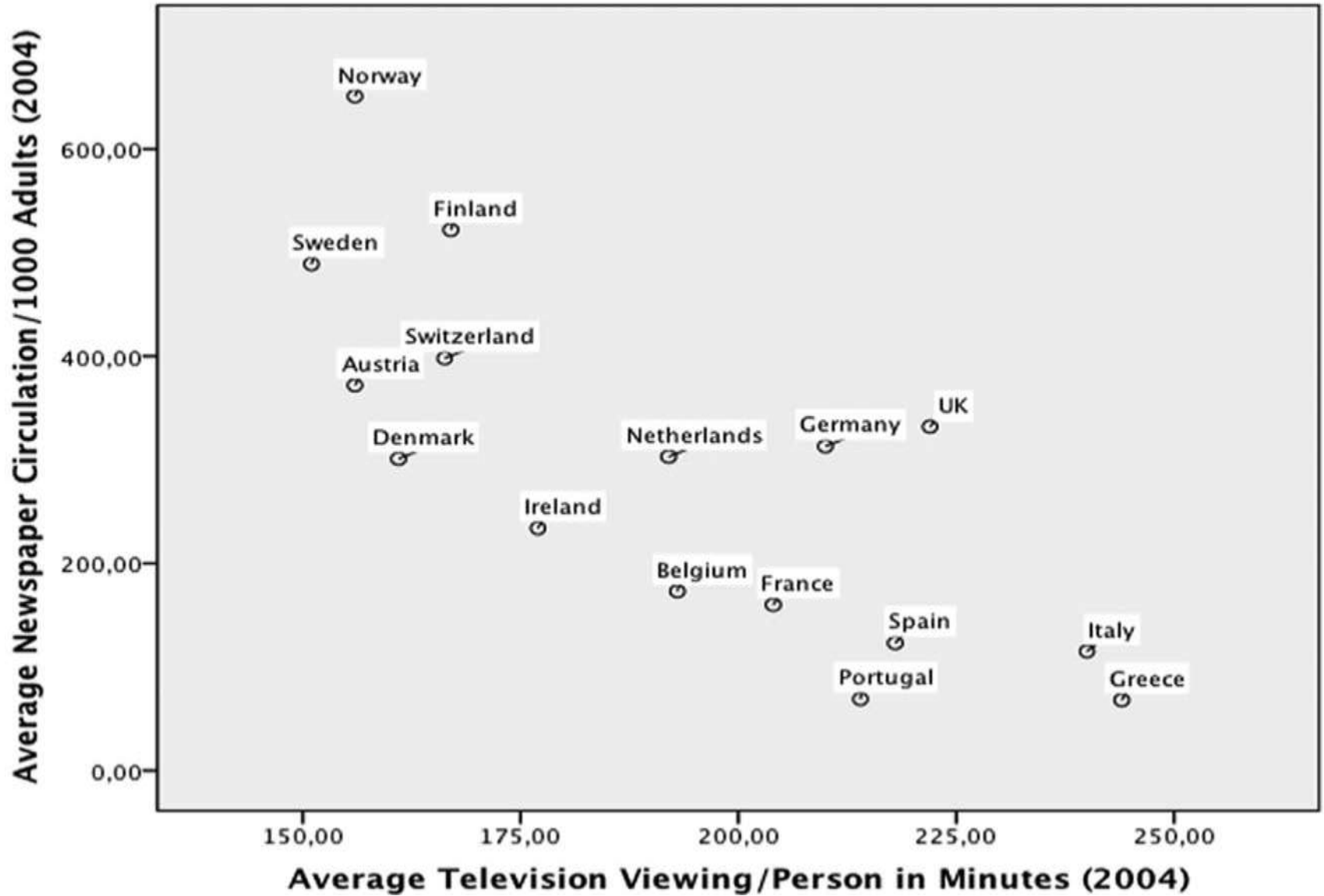
- **After Clean hands (bribery city, etc.)**
- **From first to second Republic**

Cultural consumption

- **Low press circulation**
- **High television consumption**

Source: Shehata_ Stromback, 2011

Newspaper-Television Centrism (External data)



National identity: individualism and particularism

- **Almond and Verba (1962)**
- **Banfield (1958)**
- **Galli della Loggia (1998)**

Table 7 - Importance devoted by Italian voters to specific values in 2006 political elections

	Forza Italia voters	Ulivo voters
Success		
Being successful	2,06	1,95
Being ambitious	1,87	1,63
Power		
Being in power	1,43	1,16
Being rich	1,22	0,95
Universalism		
Offer everyone the same opportunities	2,32	2,53
Being tolerant	2,17	2,34
Kindness		
Help the people	2,37	2,40
Answer the needs of the others	2,20	2,27

Average scale: from 5 = max agreement to 0 no agreement at all