



Political Waltz

How often do Deputies
and Senators change
group, party and
allegiance



Number 4 | March 2015

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495

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13

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77.542

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8

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365

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2.020

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488

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10

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4

Governments compared

The MiniDossier is based on official data released by the Chamber of deputies and Senate of the Republic up until march 9th 2015, and published on openparlamento.it

Introduction

Each Legislature is a different story, and each Parliament represents something new when compared to the previous. The internal dynamics that take place in the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate are an excellent representation of how Italian politics are changing.

The XVII Legislature, begun in March of 2013, appears to be characterized by a high number of party switches. A phenomenon that is allowed in our Constitution, that in the past two years however reached new dimensions. As Article 67 of the Constitution says, Deputies and Senators are elected without an imperative mandate. They have no juridical commitment towards the party in which they got elected and towards the citizens that voted them. During the mandate a MP can act freely, and voters will only have the chance to judge his/her doing when the following elections take place.

One of the many consequences of this is that Deputies and Senators are constitutionally free to change as many political groups as they desire, with no need to justify his or her action. A phenomenon continuously evolving, that in the last two Legislatures took place in various ways. If in 2010 the many party switches saved the Government led by Silvio Berlusconi, more recently expulsions, as in the case of the Movimento 5 Stelle, internal divisions (split between Forza Italia and Nuovo Centrodestra), and the end of political experiments (Mario Monti and Scelta Civica), brought to continuous changes in Parliament.

In this MiniDossier we will attempt to give a 360° analysis of the issue, looking at data and numbers to understand the real size of the phenomenon. By looking at flows and specific movements in the current Legislatures, we will try to understand which parties gained the most from this political waltz. Furthermore, through an analysis of individual Deputies and Senators, we will be able to see how majority and opposition varied in time.

By looking at rebellious votes, we will take the pulse of the situation before and after the switch, to understand if there were any particular signs of the break. Lastly the XVI and the XVII Legislatures will be compared: were the Deputies and Senators that changed group to save the Berlusconi Government rewarded? Were they renominated and reelected? Did those that switched party do it again?

NORMATIVE REFERENCES

Constitution
ART. 67 *"Each Member of Parliament represents the Nation and carries out his duties without a binding mandate."*

Rules of
Procedure
of the Chamber
of Deputies
ART. 14 *[...] 1. A minimum of twenty deputies shall be required to establish a Parliamentary Group. 2. The Bureau may authorise the establishment of a Group with less than twenty members provided that it represents a nationally organised party that has presented its own list of candidates, under the same emblem and in at least twenty constituencies, and has obtained at least one quotient in one constituency and national electoral returns of at least three hundred thousand valid list votes. 3. Within two days of the first sitting, the deputies must declare to the Secretary General of the Chamber the Group to which they belong. [...]*

Rules of
Procedure
of the Senate
ART. 14 *1. Every Senator shall belong to a Parliamentary Group
2. Within three days of the first sitting, each Senator shall notify the President of the Senate of the Group which they intend to join.
3. Senators entering the Senate during the course of a Parliament shall notify the President of the Senate of the Group they intend to join within three days of being proclaimed elected in the case of elected Senators, or of the date of their appointment in the case of Life Senators and ex officio Senators.
4. Each Group shall comprise at least ten Senators. Senators not wishing to belong to one particular Group shall join the Group of Non-Attached Members.
5. The Bureau may authorise the formation of a Group with fewer than ten members provided that it represents a party or an organised movement in Italy which has submitted its own lists of candidates for the elections to the Senate in at least fifteen Regions, using the same party symbol, and whose candidates have been elected in at least three Regions, provided that such Group comprises at least five Senators, even if elected under different party symbols.
6. When membership of a duly constituted Group falls to below ten during the course of a Parliament, the Group shall be declared dissolved*

Rules of
Procedure
of the Senate
ART. 15 *1. Within seven days following the first sitting of the Senate, the President shall convene the Senators who have declared their intention to join the Groups and the Senators to be registered as Non-Attached Members.
2. Each Group shall be established by submitting to the President of the Senate the list of their members signed by the Leader of the Group, who shall be appointed at the meeting convened pursuant to the provisions of paragraph 1 above. Each Group shall also appoint one or more Deputy Leaders and one or more Secretaries from among their members. These appointees, any changes to these appointments and any changes in the composition of the Parliamentary Group shall be notified to the President of the Senate.
3. During the life of a Parliament, new Parliamentary Groups may be constituted.*

ACRONYMS

Legislature XVI

Symbol	Acronym	Name
	Udc	Unione di Centro
	Lega	Lega Nord
	Idv	Italia dei Valori
	Misto	Gruppo Misto
	Pd	Partito Democratico
	Pdl	Popolo della Libertà
	Fli	Futuro e Libertà
	Pt	Popolo e Territorio
	Cn	Coesione Nazionale
	Apl-Fli	Per il Terzo Polo
	Fdi-Cdn	Fratelli d'Italia - Centrodestra Nazionale

Legislature XVII

Symbol	Acronym	Name
	Ap (Ncd-Udc)	Area Popolare (Ncd-Udc)
	Fi	Forza Italia
	Pdl	Popolo della Libertà
	Fdi-An	Fratelli d'Italia - Alleanza Nazionale
	Gal	Grandi Autonomie e Libertà
	Lega	Lega Nord
	Misto	Gruppo Misto
	M5S	Movimento 5 Stelle
	Pd	Partito Democratico
	Pi-Cd	Per l'Italia - Centro Democratico
	Aut-Psi-Maie	Per le Autonomie (SVP-UV-PATT-UPT)-PSI-MAIE
	Sc	Scelta Civica
	Sel	Sinistra Ecologia e Libertà

Those that come and those that go

The decisions of MPs during the XVI and XVII Legislature

The groups that make up Parliament, and their dimension, changed a lot since the elections of 2013. We can summarize the different changes that took place in three big categories: groups that have grown, those that lost many members and those that had internal divisions. This last category includes the groups that lost most MPs: Popolo della Libertà (end of the Berlusconi-Alfano alliance), and Scelta Civica per l'Italia (downfall of Mario Monti) are a clear example of this. Following in this political waltz, third group with most losses, Movimento 5 Stelle appears to have had severe resizing both in Montecitorio (-18) and Palazzo Madama (-17).

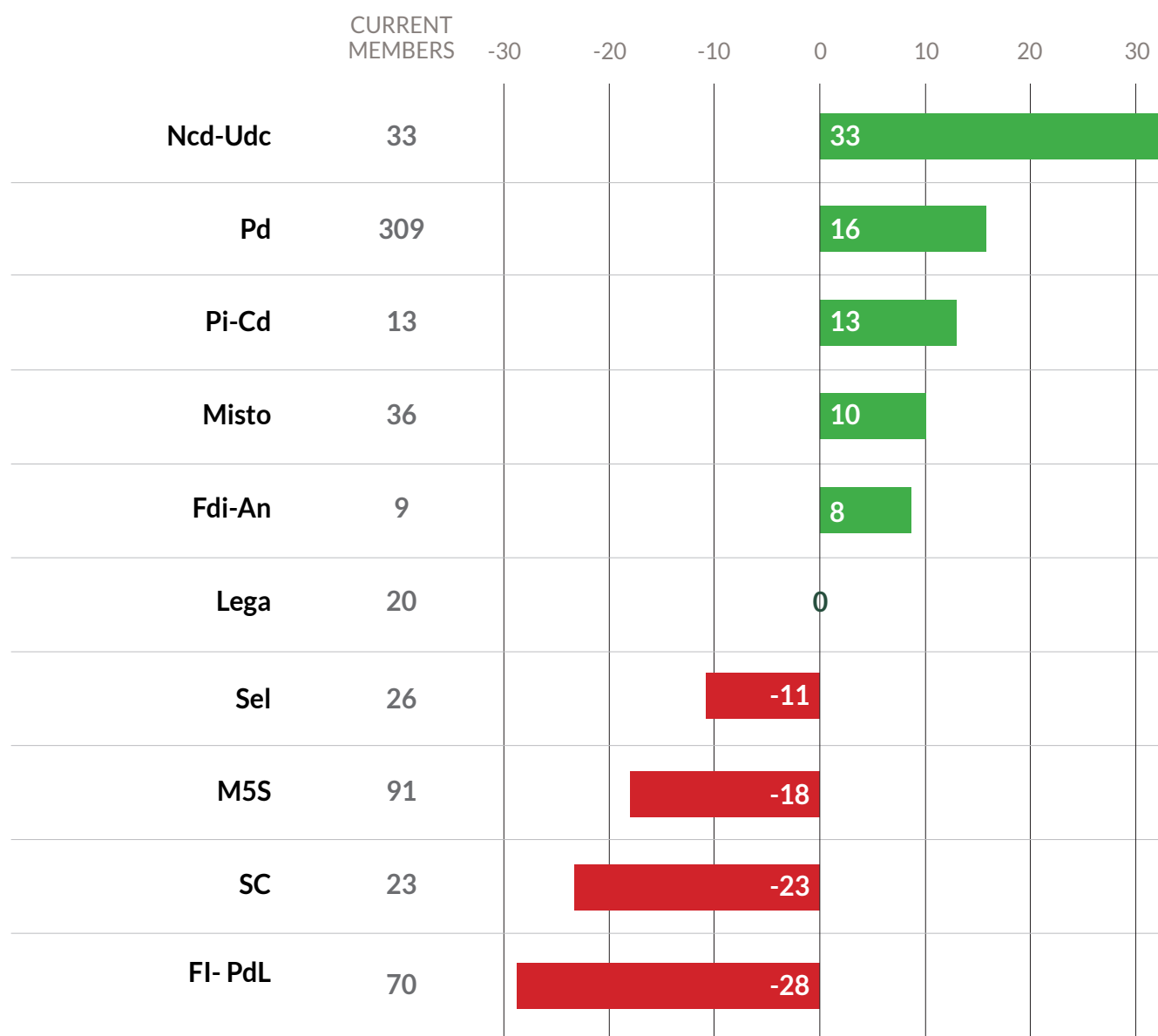
While many lose members, the only group that seems to be growing is Partito Democratico, that took advantage of many Deputies coming from Sinistra Ecologia e Libertà and Scelta Civica.

Since march 2013 185 Members of Parliament switched group, for a total 235 changes. A very high number, considering that in two years of Legislature we almost reached the total amount of the previous Legislature (in 5 years - 261 switches made by 180 MPs). Not only Deputies and Senators change group more than once, but some go from opposition to majority (like the Deputies of Sel entering Pd), and some even went back to a group they originally left. To understand the real impact of party switching in the current political phase, in the XVI Legislature the party switches per month were 4,50, in the current the average went up to 10,22.

By dividing the number between the last four Governments, the recent increase in numbers is even more clear. During the Letta Government there were 15,33 switches per month, followed by the Renzi Government, 8 switches per month, with both the Berlusconi and Monti Governments considerably behind (5,56 and 2,94).



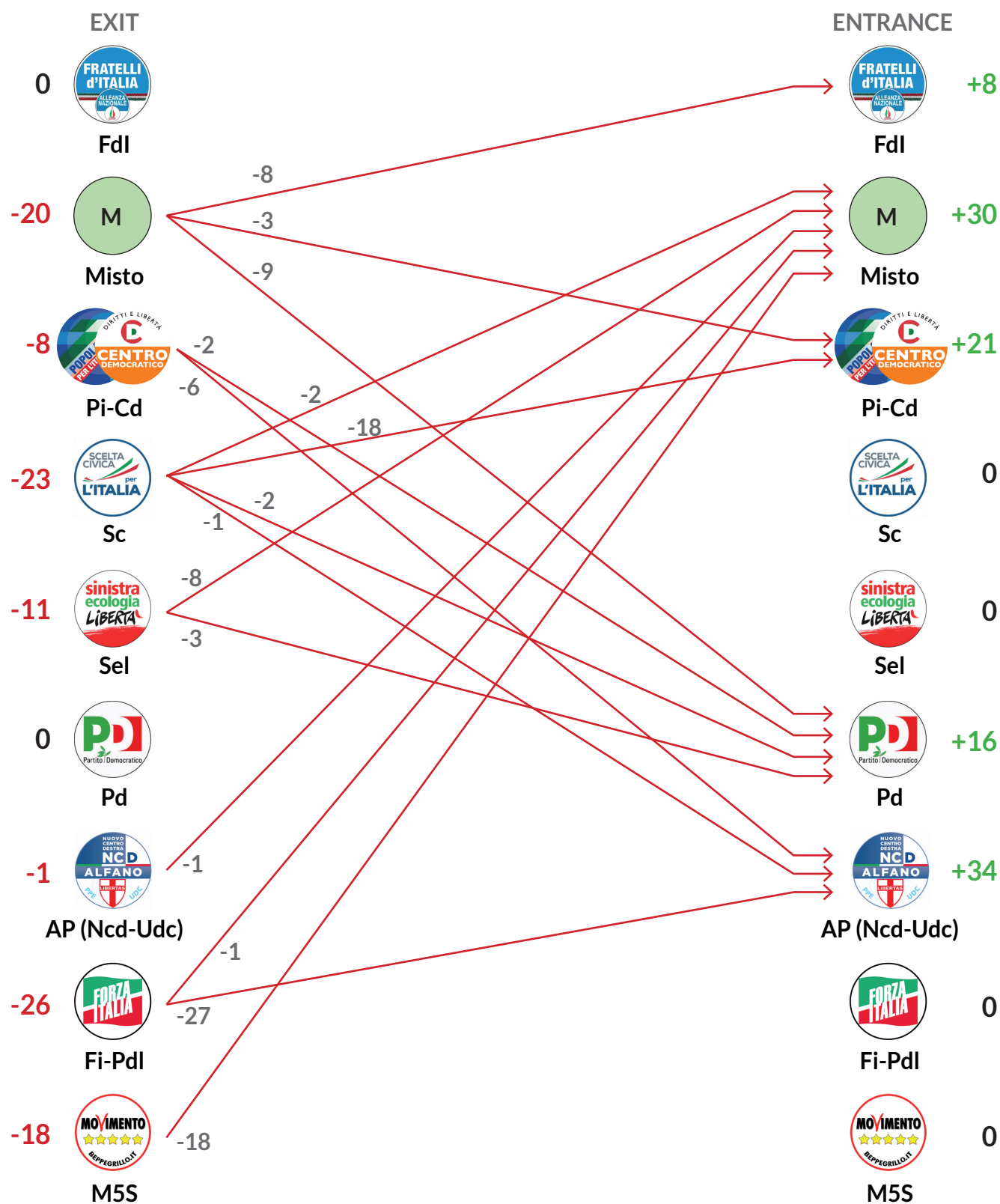
1.1. CHAMBER: COMPOSITION OF GROUPS AND VARIATIONS



For each group you can see the current composition with either positive or negative balance.

In green those that gained Deputies, and in red those that lost them. All data is about the current Legislature.

1.2. CHAMBER: GROUP VS GROUP

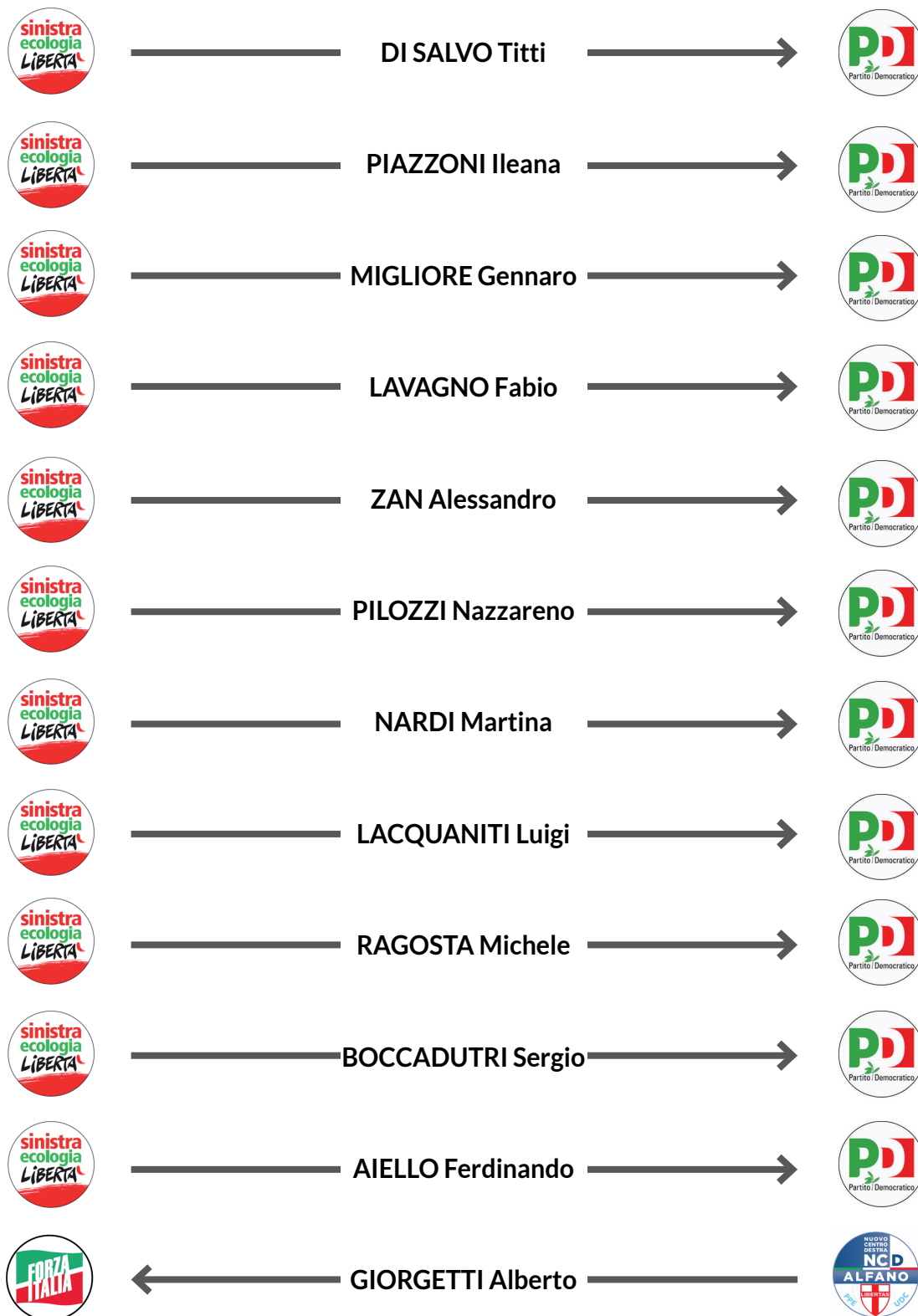


For each party you can see the flow of Deputies entering and leaving the group. Next to each symbol the total and the detail of the movements is indicated. In circumstances in which two groups were involved in a mutual exchange, the final balance is reported.



1.3. CHAMBER: NAVIGATING THROUGH THE POLITICAL SPECTRUM

OPPOSITION

Majority






































































1.4. CHAMBER: BACK AND FORTH

	GROUP	 LEAVING	 REENTERING	 LEAVING AGAIN
NISSOLI Angela Rosaria Detta Fucsia		08/04/2013	10/04/2013	10/12/2013
GIORGETTI Alberto		18/11/2013	13/03/2014	
QUINTARELLI Stefano		10/12/2013	12/02/2014	

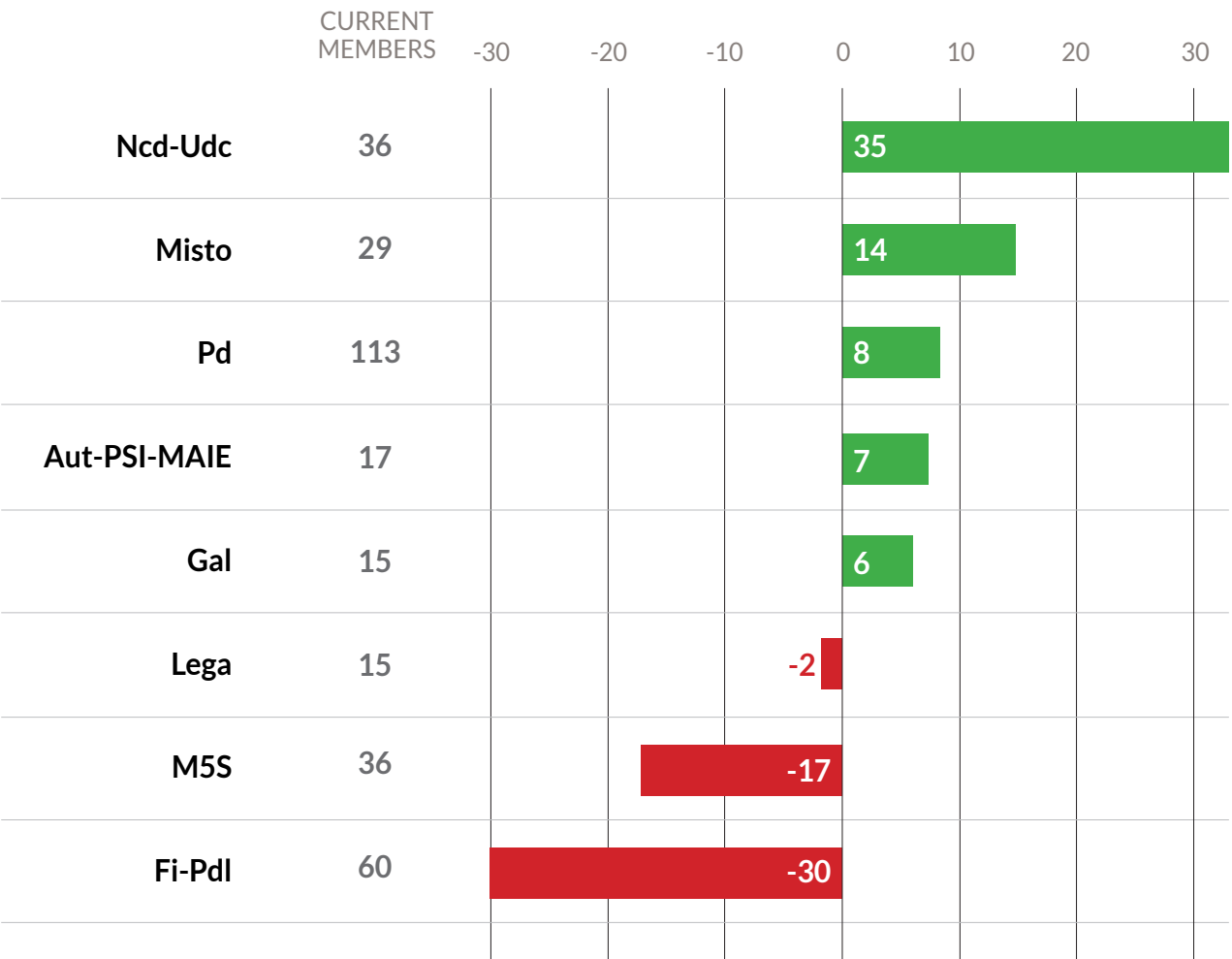


Deputies that in the current Legislature went back in a group they originally left.

1.5. CHAMBER: MOST PARTY-SWITCHES

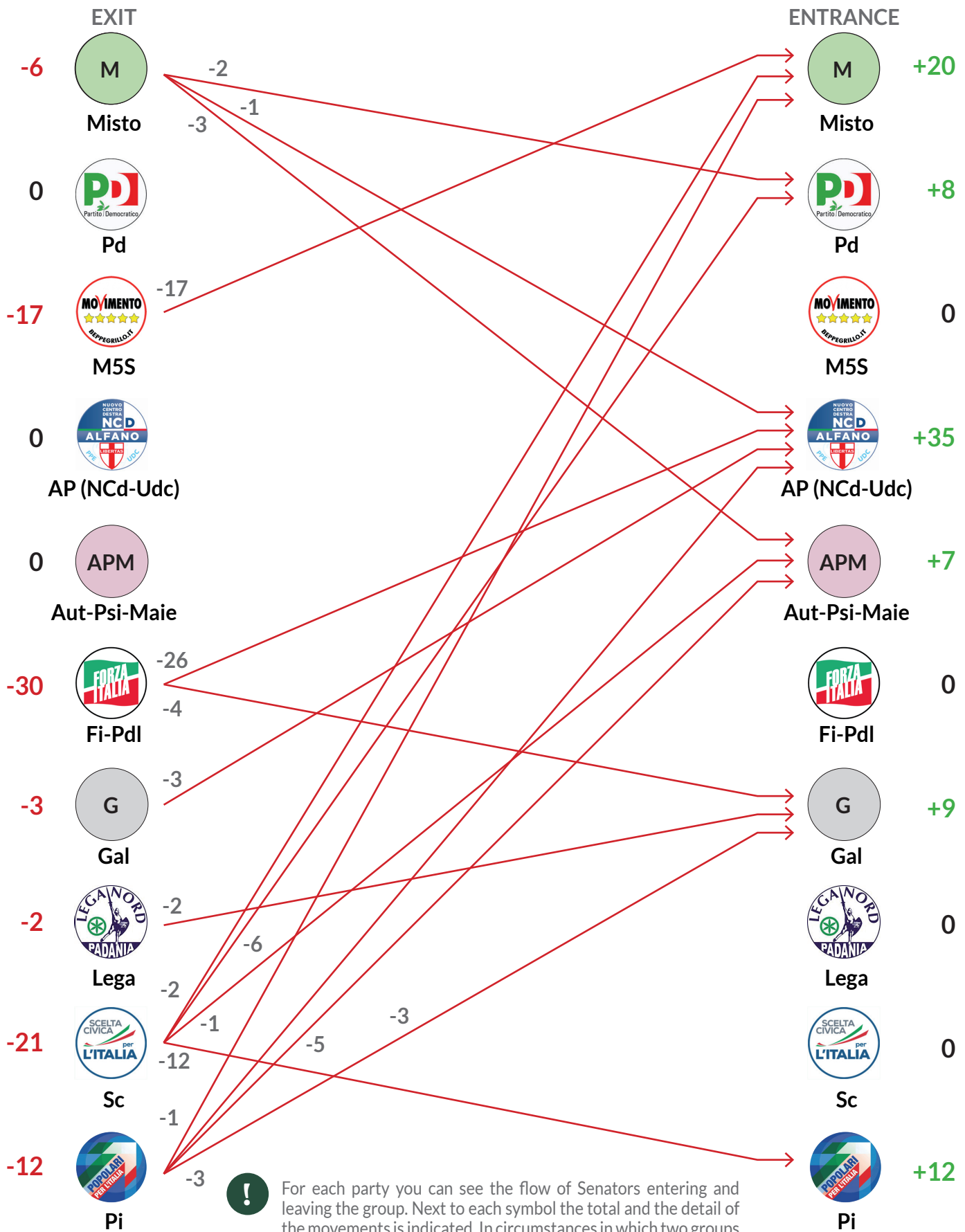
	Group	1	2	3
NISSOLI Angela Rosaria Detta Fucsia				
ZACCAGNINI Adriano				
DI SALVO Titti				
PIAZZONI Ileana				
MIGLIORE Gennaro				
LAVAGNO Fabio				
ZAN Alessandro				
PILOZZI Nazzareno				
NARDI Martina				
LACQUANITI Luigi				
ROMANO Andrea				
GIORGETTI Alberto				
SALTAMARTINI Barbara				
BUTTIGLIONE Rocco				
GITTI Gregorio				
SCHIRO' Gea				
D'ALIA Gianpiero				
QUINTARELLI Stefano				
BINETTI Paola				
DE MITA Giuseppe				
CERA Angelo				
ADORNATO Ferdinando				

1.6. SENATE: COMPOSITION OF GROUPS AND VARIATIONS

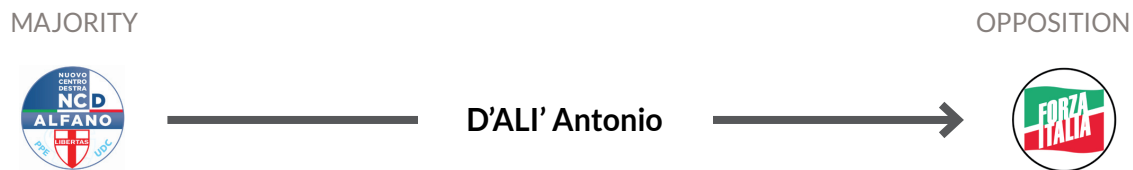


For each group you can see the current composition with either positive or negative balance. In green those that gained Senators, and in red those that lost them. All data is about the current Legislature.









1.7. SENATE: GROUP VS GROUP



1.8. SENATE: NAVIGATING THROUGH THE POLITICAL SPECTRUM











































































1.9. SENATE: BACK AND FORTH




	GROUP	 LEAVING	 REENTERING	 LEAVING AGAIN
COMPAGNA Luigi		14/11/2013	20/11/2013	01/12/2013
COMPAGNA Luigi		19/11/2013	02/12/2013	
NACCARATO Paolo		14/11/2013	08/07/2014	
CENTINAIO Gian Marco		19/03/2013	08/05/2013	
D'ALI' Antonio		14/11/2013	13/10/2014	

! Senators that in the current Legislature went back in a group they originally left. Interesting the case of Luigi Compagna, that managed to “ping pong” between two groups.

1.10. SENATE: MOST PARTY-SWITCHES

	Group	1	2	3	4
COMPAGNA Luigi					
NACCARATO Paolo					
CROSIO Jonny					
BILARDI Giovanni Emanuele					
BIANCONI Laura					
ANITORI Fabiola					
BATTISTA Lorenzo					
LANGELLA Pietro					
CARIDI Antonio Stefano					
D'ALI' Antonio					
CENTINAIO Gian Marco					
OLIVERO Andrea					
ALBERTINI Gabriele					
MAURO Mario					
DE POLI Antonio					
ROSSI Maurizio Giuseppe					
MARINO Luigi					
MERLONI Maria Paola					
CASINI Pier Ferdinando					
ROMANO Lucio					
D'ONGHIA Angela					
DI BIAGIO Aldo					
DI MAGGIO Salvatore Tito					

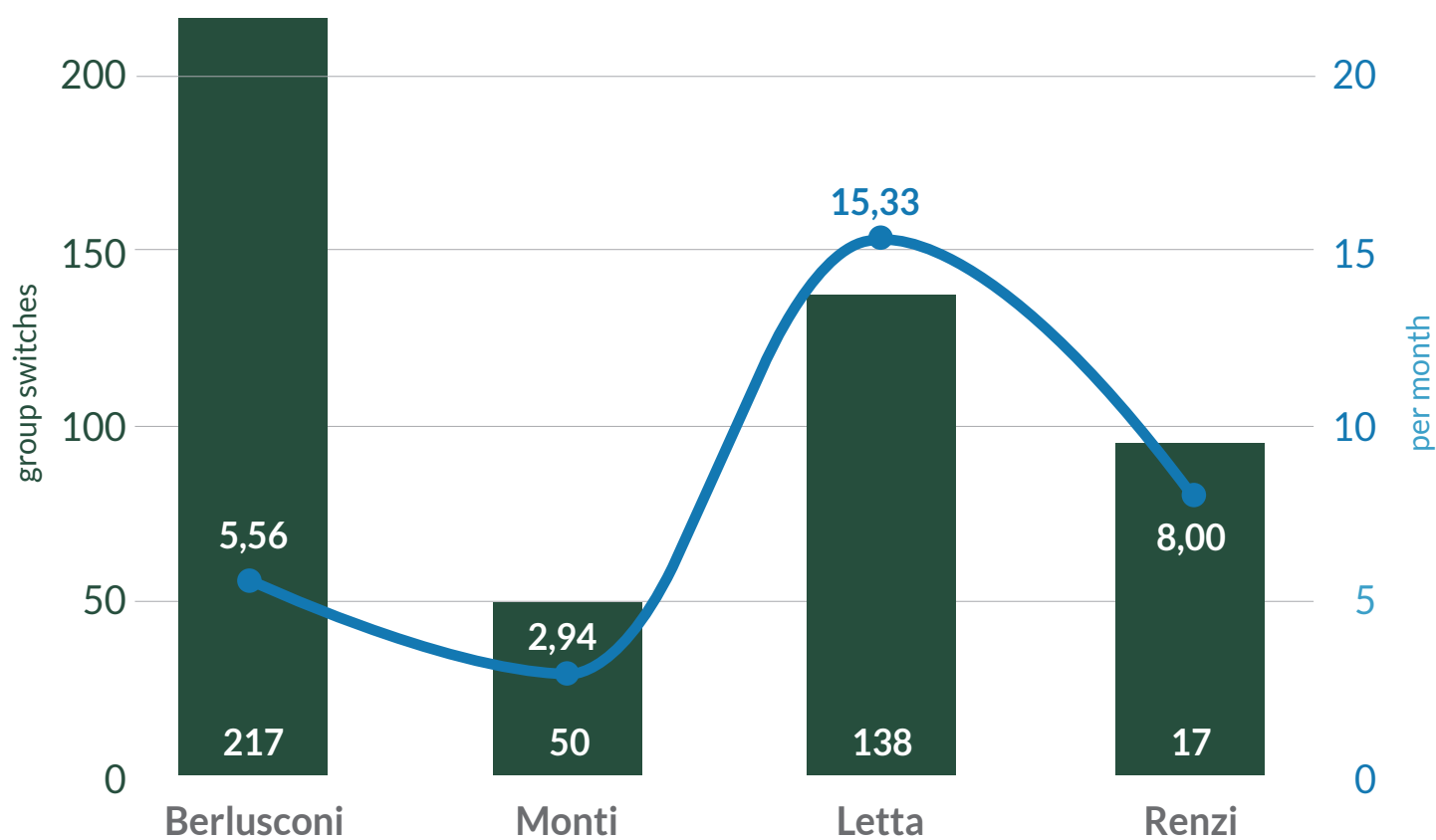
1.11. A COMPARISON BETWEEN LEGISLATION XVI AND XVII

XVI Legislatura		XVII Legislatura
		
120	Deputies involved	95
165	Total changes	118
		
60	Senators involved	90
96	Total changes	116
		
180	MPs involved	185
261	Total Changes	235
58	Months	23
4,50	Changes per month	10,17



There are more changes in the branch of Parliament that is more unstable. This took place in the Chamber of Deputies during the XVI Legislature, and in the Senate in the current. In red the greater number.

1.12. PARTY-SWITCHING IN THE LAST FOUR GOVERNMENTS



Repercussions on the Majority

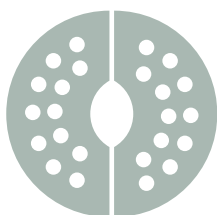
How do the parties supporting the Government change

Deputies and Senators can express their dissent in a variety of ways. One of these is during voting sessions, when their loyalty to their political party is constantly tested.

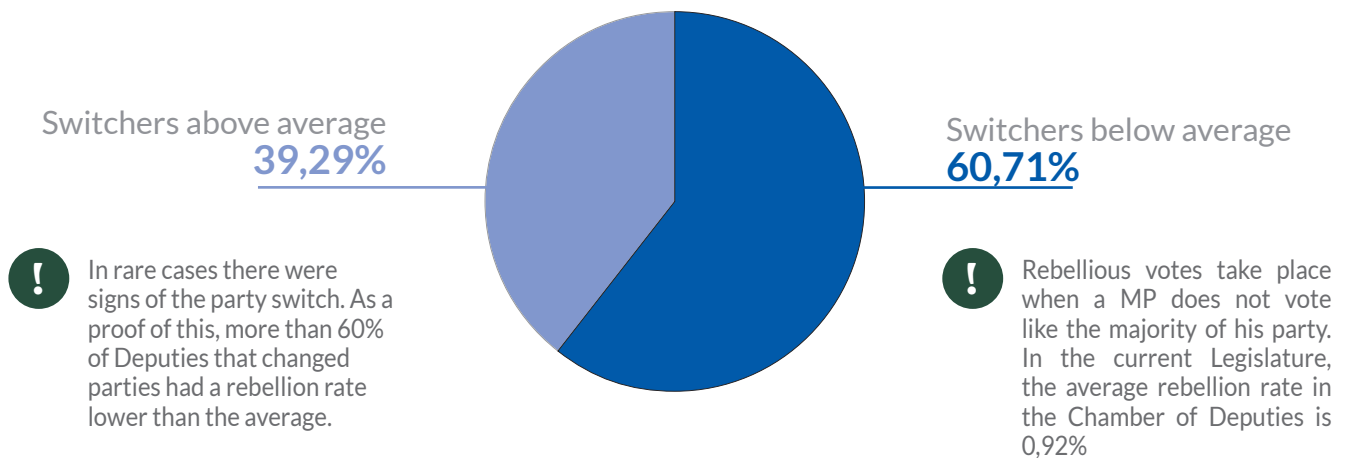
Generally, before leaving the group, Deputies and Senators that switch parties have an average of rebellious votes in line with the rest of the House. 60% of them in the Chamber and 77% in the Senate actually vote below the average rebellion rate. In rare occasion there are early symptoms of the party switching, and in even less circumstances Deputies and Senators have proven to be unloyal before changing teams.

The situation of rebellious votes changes drastically after the switch. Especially with Deputies and Senators that go from the opposition to the majority, as in the case of many members of Sinistra Ecologia e Libertà that entered in the Partito Democratico, the percentages of discordant votes increases drastically. Very similar situation for the many MPs that left the Movimento 5 Stelle: after their expulsion or leaving of the group they all started voting in the exact opposite way.

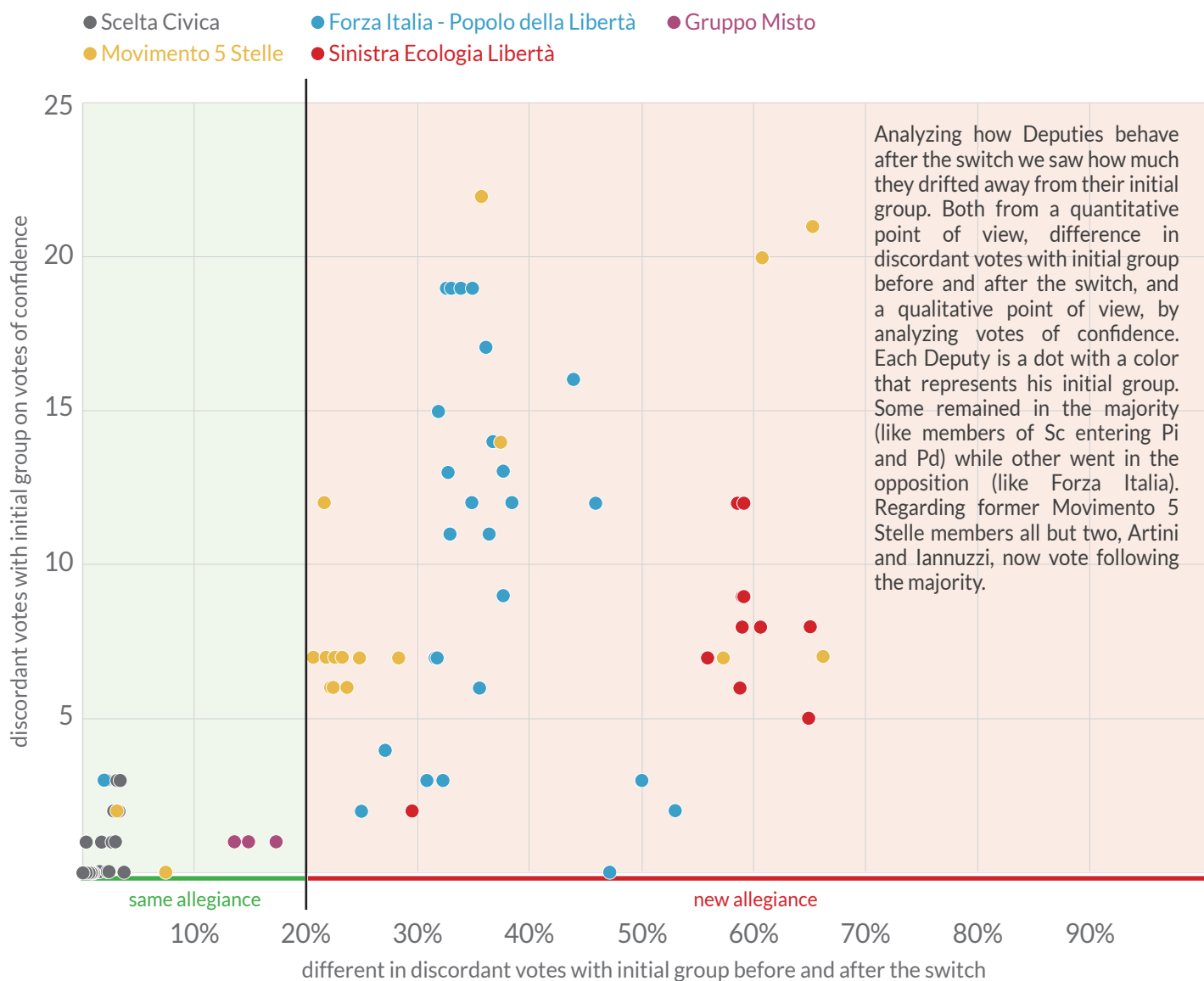
The analysis of rebellious votes allows us to highlight two other situation. On one side the Popolo della Libertà case, with a strong difference in votes between members of Nuovo Centrodestra and Forza Italia, caused mainly by the latter being now in the opposition. On the other, the many party switches inside majority groups (splitting of Scelta Civica and Per l'Italia with many MPs entering the Partito Democratico), made many group changes highly insignificant, especially considering voting behaviour.



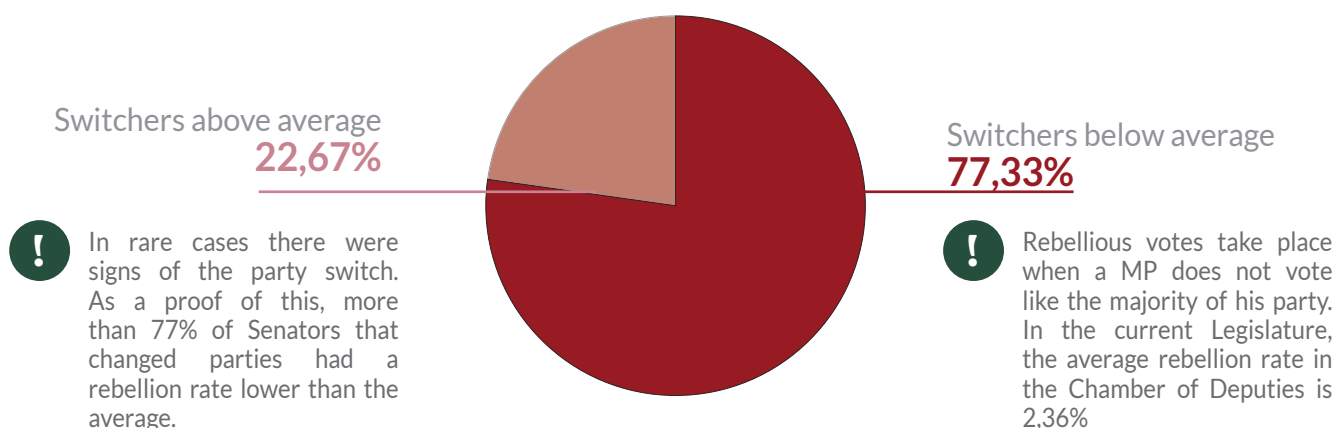
2.1. CHAMBER: REBELLIONS BEFORE SWITCHING



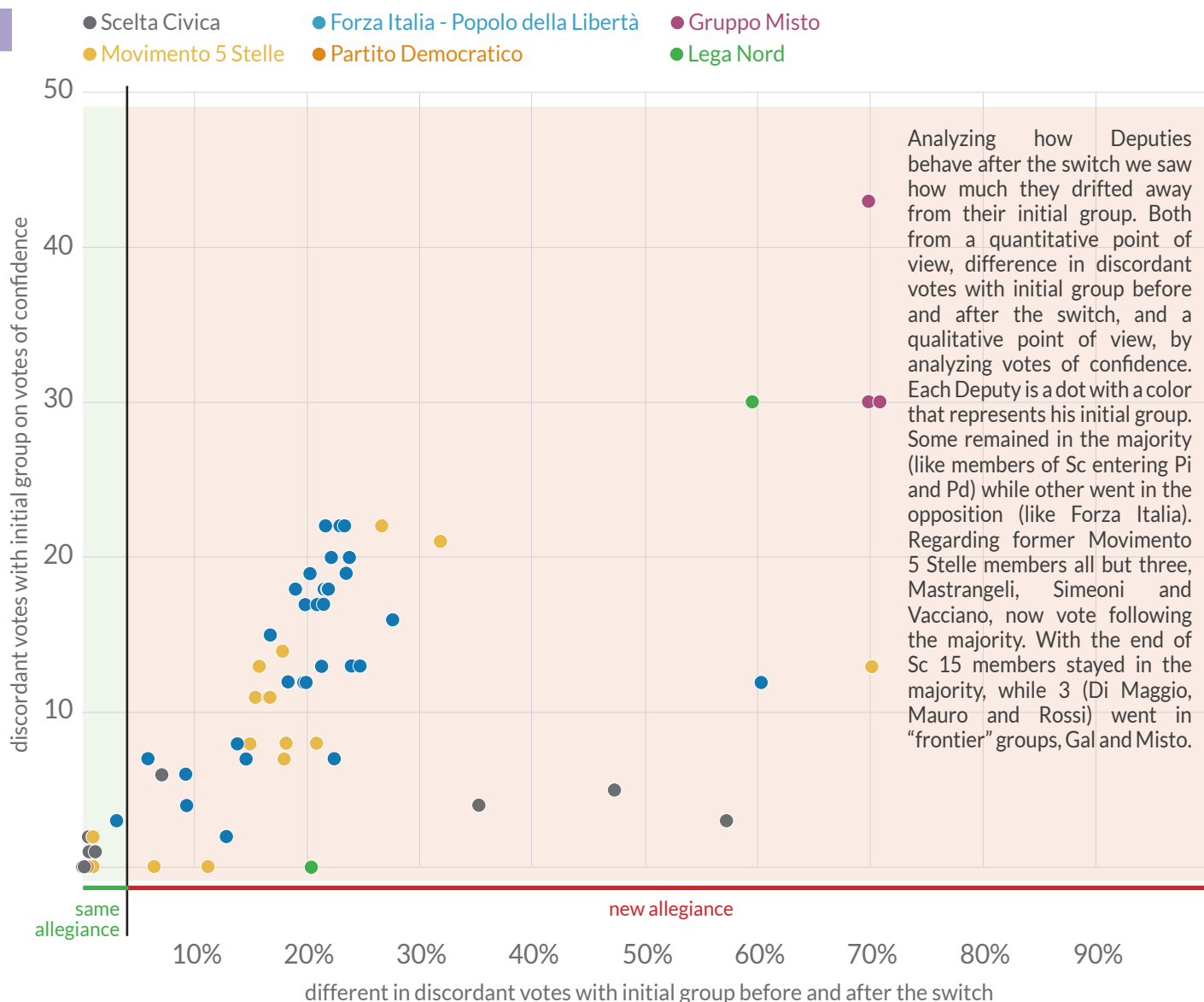
2.2. CHAMBER: DIFFERENCES AFTER SWITCHING



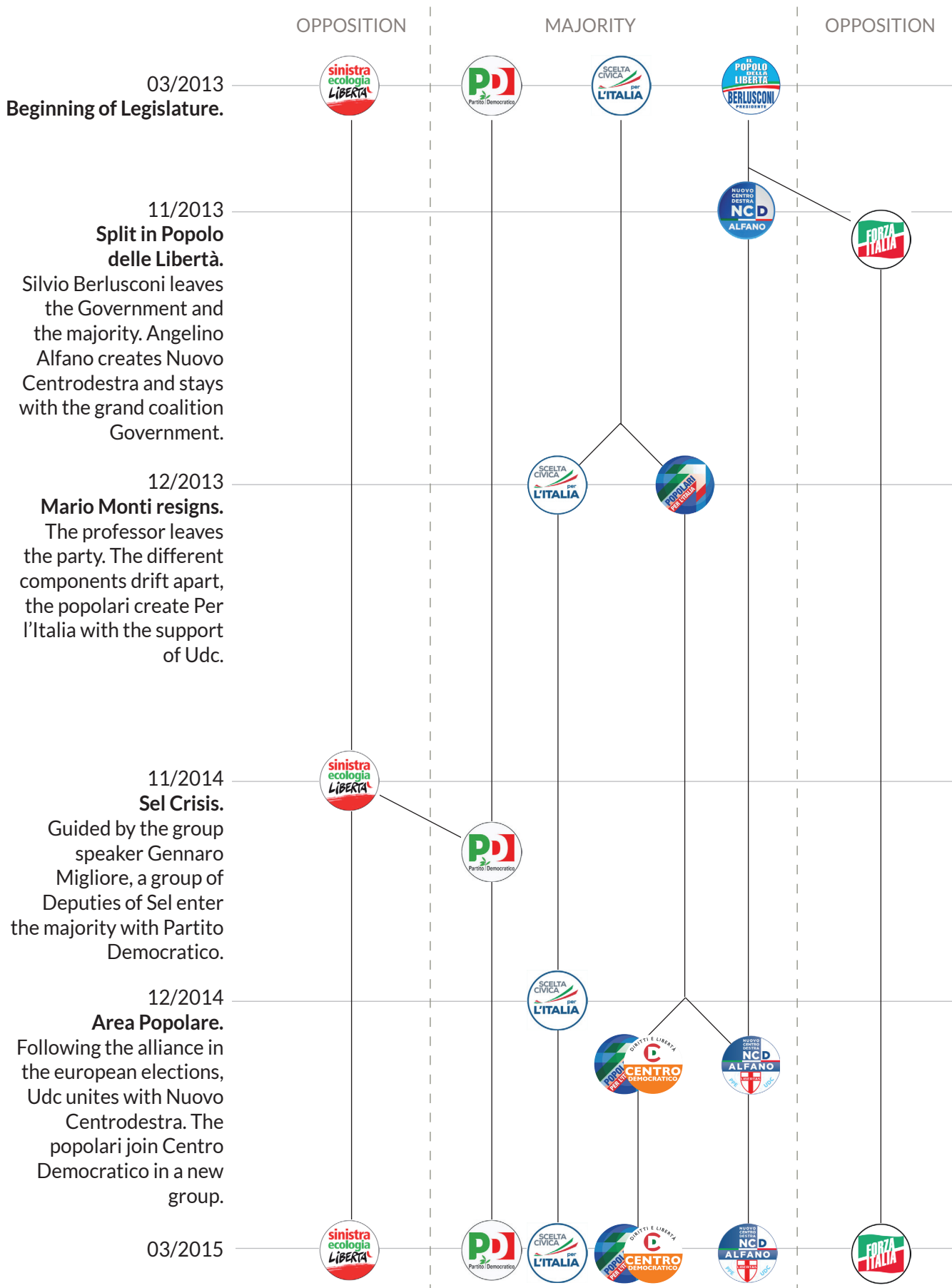
2.3. SENATE: REBELLIONS BEFORE SWITCHING



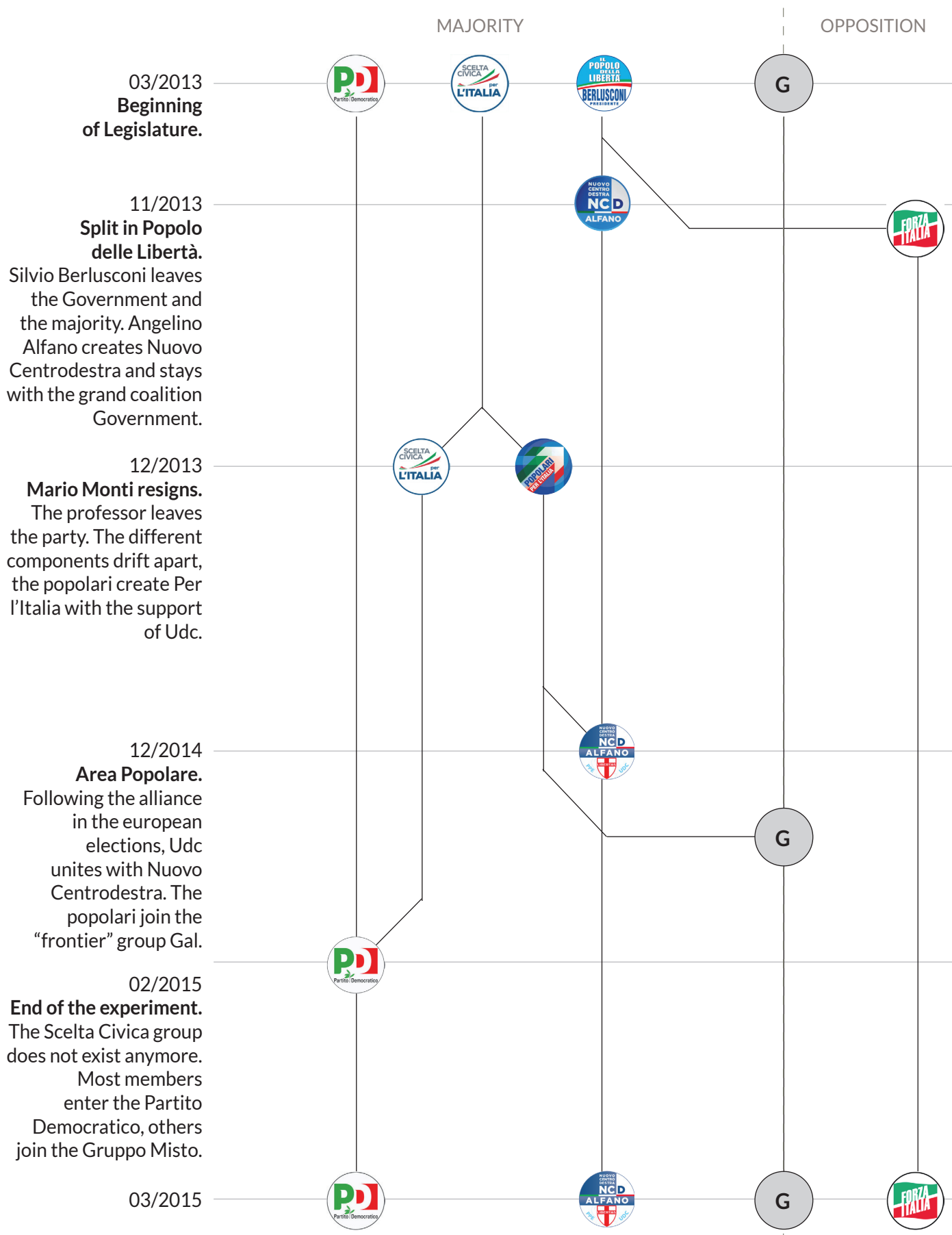
2.4. SENATE: DIFFERENCES AFTER SWITCHING



2.5. CHAMBER: HOW DOES THE MAJORITY CHANGE



2.6. SENATE: HOW DOES THE MAJORITY CHANGE



2.7. COMPOSITION OF THE MAJORITY IN KEY VOTES

Government / dates	Event	CAMERA 		SENATO 		Parties
		Votes	Margin	Votes	Margin	
15/05/2008 BERLUSCONI	Vote of confidence Berlusconi	335	50	173	36	Pdl + Lega
29/09/2010 BERLUSCONI	5 programmatic points Berlusconi Government	342	67	174	45	Pdl + Lega + Fli
14/12/2010 BERLUSCONI	Berlusconi vote of no confidence	314	3	162	27	Pdl + Lega
16/02/2011 BERLUSCONI	Vote of confidence on Milleproroghe 2010	309	22	158	18	Pdl + Lega + Pt
18/11/2011 MONTI	Vote of confidence Monti	556	495	281	256	Pdl + Pd + Udc + Fli + Idv
01/07/2012 MONTI	Fiscal Compact Treaty	368	303	216	171	Pdl + Pd + Udc + Fli
21/12/2012 MONTI	Budget Law 2013	307	248	206	174	Pdl + Pd + Udc + Fli
30/04/2013 LETTA	Vote of confidence Letta	453	300	233	77	Pd + Fi-Pdl + Sc + Gal + Aut
25/09/2013 LETTA	Culture Decree	323	306	175	103	Pd + Fi-Pdl + Sc + Gal + Aut
27/11/2013 LETTA	Budget Law 2014	313	148	162	47	Pd + Ncd + Sc + Aut
29/01/2014 LETTA	Milleproroghe 2013	216	104	134	38	Pd + Ncd + Sc + Aut + Pi
25/02/2014 RENZI	Vote of confidence Renzi	378	158	169	30	Pd + Ncd + Sc + Aut + Pi
19/12/2014 RENZI	Budget Law 2015	302	194	161	83	Pd + Ncd + Sc + Aut
27/01/2014 RENZI	Italicum	365	209	184	116	Pd + Ncd + Sc + Aut + Fi

Second Chance

What happened to those that switched party in the last Legislature

If during the current Legislature the phenomenon is particularly relevant, the same can be said about the previous. In the XVI Legislature (2008-2013) 180 MPs changed group. In particular two events accentuated the issue: the break-up between Popolo della Libertà and Fini, and the vote of confidence that saved the Berlusconi Government thanks to a group called “Responsabili”.

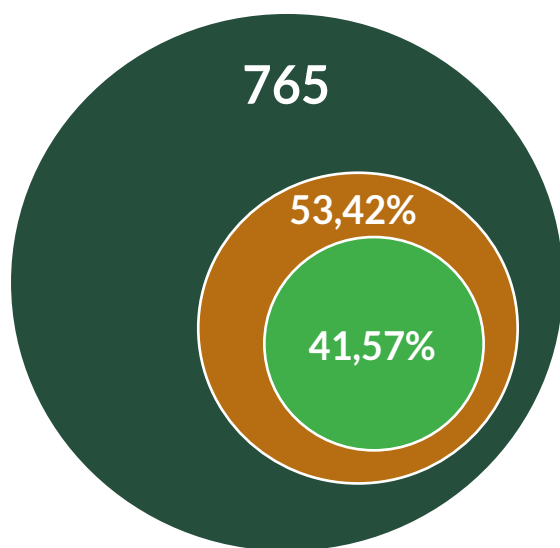
But what happened to these 180 MPs? Were they rewarded for saving the Berlusconi Government? And those that followed Gianfranco Fini in the Futuro e Libertà adventure, renominated? The numbers are very clear: 48% of the “switchers” were renominated, and 12,75% were reelected. Both rates are lower than “loyal” MPs, considering that 52% of them were renominated and 41% reelected.

The main difference is in the party one chose to enter. The “responsabili” that left their group to save the Berlusconi Government were all renominated and most of them were reelected (as in the case of Scilipoti and Razzi), while the Deputies and Senators that followed Fini in the Fli adventure were mostly renominated, but very few were actually reelected, since the party did not reach the minimum threshold at the elections. Generally, 50% of the MPs that left Silvio Berlusconi in the previous Legislature, were all “forgotten” and not even renominated in the following elections of 2013.

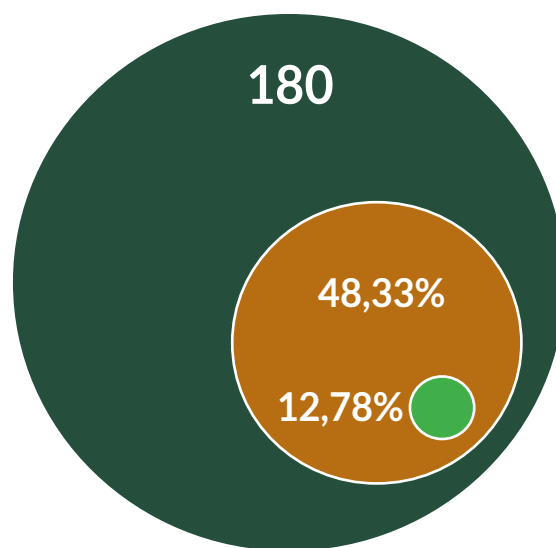
Another interesting aspect is the tendency of many Deputies and Senators to change group several times. 11 Members of Parliament switched groups both in the XVI and XVII Legislature, with some, as Dorina Bianchi, that managed to navigate throughout the whole political spectrum. Elected in the Senate with Partito Democratico in 2008, she then switched to Popolo della Libertà, party that renominated and reelected her in 2013, before her switch to Nuovo Centrodestra.



3.1. LEG XVI: RENOMINATED AND REELECTED

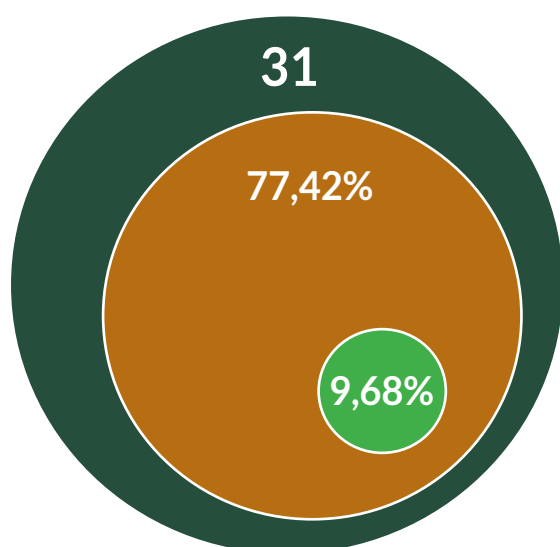


TOTALE PARLAMENTARI FEDELI
RENOMINATED
REELECTED

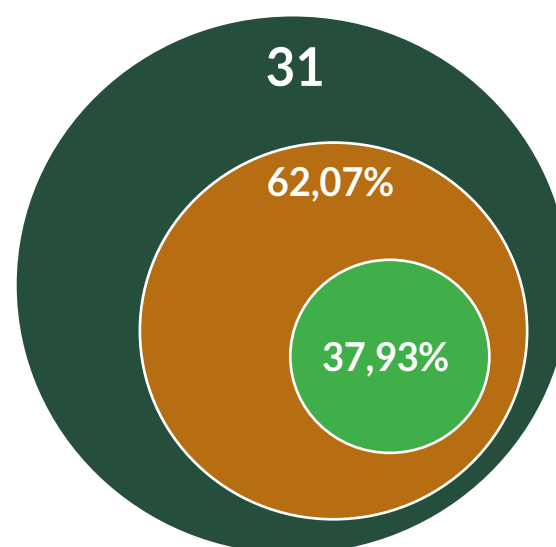


TOTALE PARLAMENTARI TR
RENOMINATED
REELECTED

3.2. LEG XVI: THOSE THAT LEFT AND THOSE THAT SUPPORTED THE GOVERNMENT HAVE BEEN RENOMINATED?



TOTALE PARLAMENTARI FLI
RENOMINATED
REELECTED



TOTALE PARLAMENTARI RESPONSABILI
RENOMINATED
REELECTED

3.3. LEG XVI: THOSE THAT SWITCHED DID IT AGAIN?

	XVI Legislature			XVII Legislature		
	→			→		
Bianchi Dorina						
Binetti Paola						
D'Anna Vincenzo						
Della Vedova Benedetto						
Di Biagio Aldo						
Ferrara Mario Francesco						
Lanzillotta Linda						
Maran Alessndro						
Milo Antonio						
Ruvolo Giuseppe						
Tabacci Bruno						

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via degli Equi 42
00185 Roma
Tel. 06.83608392
associazione@openpolis.it
www.openpolis.it

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