Center-right's elected parliamentarians: PdL and Lega Nord

Federico De Lucia March 4, 2013

The center-right's coalition was very broad at the last elections. The affiliated lists were numerous, and most of them had no chance of getting any seats. At the end, at the Chamber of Deputies, the succeeding lists were only three: PdL and Lega Nord as lists going above the threshold and Fratelli d'Italia (FdI) as "fished out." PdL has obtained 98 deputies; LN, 18; FdI, 9. At the Senate, on the other hand, only PdL has managed to go above the threshold in all the regions, as it was foreseeable, and has obtained 98 elected senators. LN has managed to get seats in Piedmont, Lombardy, and Veneto and has won the "fished out" in a proportional share in Trentino-Alto Adige, with a total of 18 senators. Among the other parties, the Grande Sud's list (GS) has managed to get a seat in Calabria. Hence, overall, PdL has gotten 196 seats; Lega, 36; FdI, 9; and GS, 1.

The PdL's outgoing parliamentarians were 302, but to these, one should have added a crowd of movements and small parties (among which the most important were FdI and GS) that, generally speaking, helped the PdL's area to reach a total of 383 deputies and senators. The space at disposal for such a political galaxy has been cut in half for the supporters of Berlusconi: from 383 to 206 (196 elected parliamentarians of the PdL, the 9 parliamentarians of FdI, and the single parliamentarian of GS). But let us see where the outgoing parliamentarians are now. Of the overall 383 parliamentarians, 129 (33.7%) have found space in none of the lists affiliated to the center-right's coalition. Of the remaining 150 who have been reelected, one has gone out of the PdL's area: Tremonti, who is now with the Lega Nord. Therefore, 149 out of 206 newly elected parliamentarians (72.3%) of the so-called PdL's area are outgoing parliamentarians: this is a pretty high percentage, more than double compared with the overall average of the new Parliament. These reelected 149 parliamentarians are divided into 142 reelected in the lists of the PdL and 7 reelected in those of the FdI.

Focusing now on the elected of the PdL's list, there are 196 of them: among them, as we said, the outgoing parliamentarians are 142 (72.4%). The women are 39 in total, a bit less than 20%—a share significantly lower than the average in the new Parliament, but still higher than 16.5%, the old percentage of the outgoing PdL, an element that is not to be taken for granted considering the contraction of the representation.

In FdI, the outgoing parliamentarians are seven out of nine, and Giorgia Meloni is the only woman of the delegation. A man and a novice in the Parliament, Giovanni Bilardi from Calabria, is the sole elected of Grande Sud.

Let us consider the political composition of the PdL's area in order to see how much and in which

	PdL Area		P	PdL		Others (Fdl, GS, etc.)	
_	Ν	%	Ν	%	Ν	%	
Reelected	150	39.2	135	44.7	15	18.5	
Failed to be reelected	104	27.2	65	21.5	39	48.1	
Withdrawn	129	33.7	102	33.8	27	33.3	
Total outgoing	383	100	302	100	81	100	

Table 1. The fate of the outgoing parliamentarians of the PdL's area



De Sio L.,V. Emanuele, N. Maggini and A. Paparo (eds.), *The Italian General Elections of 2013:A dangerous stalemate?*, Rome, CISE, 2013 ISBN (print) 978-88-98012-10-7 / ISBN (online) 978-88-98012-09-1

Table 2. Elected C-R: Women's representation and
presence of reelected parliamentarians in the PdL's
list

	N	%
Outgoing	142	72.4
Women	39	19.9
Elected 2013	196	

Table 3. Elected C-R: Parliamentarians' political affiliation of the PdL's area, before and after the 2013 elections

	Outç	Outgoing		Elected 2013	
	N	%	Ν	%	
FI	219	74	150	81.1	
AN	55	18.6	21	11.4	
Neo-Christian Democrats	11	3.7	8	4.3	
Independent	6	2	5	2.7	
Others	5	1.7	1	0.5	
Total PdL	296	100	185	100	
PdL	296	77.3	185	89.8	
Abroad	6	1.6	1	0.5	
FdI	30	7.8	9	4.4	
GS	15	3.9	1	0.5	
Others/"Infiltrators" in PdL	36	9.4	10	4.9	
Total area PdL	383	100	206	100	

direction it has changed in comparison with the outgoing Parliament.

Let us start with PdL considered as a party. Of the 296 PdL's representatives elected in Italy (i.e., not considering the 6 parliamentarians elected abroad) that were holding their office until last week, 219 (74%) came from Forza Italia, 55 (18.6%) from AN, 11 from the neo-Christian Democrat components, 5 from microcomponents, and 6 were independents. Today, out of 185 reelected party's representatives, the component of Forza Italia has further increased in terms of percentages as to become substantially predominant. The ex-AN, already reorganized as a result of the resignation of Gianfranco Fini, have been divided into those that went with Meloni and La Russa to FdI and those that, together with Gasparri and Matteoli, have chosen to stay at the court of Berlusconi. The demochristian component resists, while among the others, only the new PSI of Caldoro and Lucio Barani gets a representation. The independent are five.

Considering the residual component of the PdL's area, as it was foreseeable, it is pretty much reorganized after the elections. From almost 70 representatives, it goes down to a bit more than 20. In fact, many movements that used to be part of it were substantially coinciding with their founding parliamentarians, and therefore, they have disappeared once the founders have lost their place in the list or once the founders have found another place in lists too small to get a seat. Putting aside the ex-AN component that has found a home in FdI and the elected parliamentarian of Grande Sud in Calabria, only 10 candidates of other microcoalitions have gotten to be elected, infiltrated in the lists of the PdL: among them, Antonio Razzi and Domenico Scilipoti are worth mentioning.

To conclude, the Lega Nord has become pretty much changed and reorganized. It goes down from 80 parliamentarians to 36. Of the 80 outgoing, 30 have not been running for candidacy, and 28 have done it but have not managed to get a seat. Only 22 (27.5%) and the ex-PdL Tremonti have conquered the reelection.

The elected parliamentarians of the Lega Nord, who were already sitting in the outgoing houses of

Table 4. Elected C-R: Fate of the outgoing parliamentarians of the Lega Nord

	Ν	%
Reelected	22	27.5
Failed to be reelected	28	35.0
Withdrawn	30	37.5
Total outgoing	80	100

Table 5. Elected C-R: Women's representation and presence of reelected parliamentarians of the Lega Nord

	N	%
Outgoing	23	62.2
Women	5	13.9
Elected 2013	36	

the Parliament, are thus 23 out of 36, the 62.2%. The rechange rate is pretty low if compared with the average, but it is not that low if one takes into account the cut in half of all the seats at their disposal.

Finally, only five are the women of the Lega, and they are all at the Senate. Nobody of big relevance has been excluded: both Bossi and Salvini get elected at the Chamber of Deputies, and both Calderoli and Tremonti get elected at the Senate.

References

Tronconi, F., and Verzichelli, L. [2007], *Il ceto parlamentare alla prova della nuova riforma elettorale*, in Chiaramonte, A., and D'Alimonte, R. (eds.), *Proporzionale ma non solo. Le elezione politiche del 2006*, Bologna, Il Mulino, pp. 335–368.

- Tronconi, F., and Verzichelli, L. [2010], Verso il ceto politico della «terza repubblica»? la rappresentanza parlamentare nella XVI legislatura, in Chiaramonte, A., and D'Alimonte, R. (eds.), Proporzionale se vi pare. Le elezioni politiche del 2008, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2010, pp. 173–202.
- Verzichelli, L. [1995], *Gli eletti*, in Bartolini, S., and D'Alimonte, R. (eds.), *Maggioritario ma non troppo*, Bologna, Il Mulino.
- Verzichelli, L. [1997], *La classe politica della transizione*, in Bartolini, S., and D'Alimonte, R. (eds.), *Maggioritario per caso*, Bologna, Il Mulino.
- Verzichelli, L. [2002], Da un ceto politico all'altro. Il mutamento nel personale legislativo italiano (1992–2001), in Bartolini, S., and D'Alimonte, R. (eds.), Maggioritario finalmente?, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2002, pp. 319–362.
- Verzichelli, L. [2006], *La classe politica italiana, dalla crisi all'adattamento: accesso, circolazione e carriera dal 1994 al 2006, in Rivista italiana di scienza politica,* Il Mulino, 3/2006, December, pp. 455–478.