

# **POLITICAL ELECTIONS in ITALY, 2018**

**Post-vote analysis**



# A new bi-polar system

This vote generates a **deeply transformed nation**. The [map](#) comparing Italy in 2013 and today, shows the deep and, in our opinion, irreversible changes for the Country. Some commentators have labelled this 'the 3 Italies', but what we see is a new form of a bi-polar system. Centre-left powered by Lega and 5StarsMovement are the undisputed winners, while the Left taken as a whole has been ousted from the game.

The analysis of the flows, show some interesting dynamics: first of all, the fact that more than one-fifth of the 2013 [Centre-Left Coalition's](#) voters haven't gone to the polls this year. Our pre-electoral polls had clearly indicated this trend: many, among the PD former supporters were waiting for a message from the Secretary and the executive committee, in the forms of more participated decision making processes and the investiture of the Prime Minister, Gentiloni. In the absence of such message, many have decided not to vote. Also, from this group, **14% have moved towards the 5StarsMovement** and 7% towards LeU (Free and Equal). Therefore, **less than half of the centre-left voters voted for PD, and just over one half confirm their voting choice**. A debacle, undoubtedly, which doesn't find relief in the acquisition of formers voters of [the Monti's 2013 coalition](#).

The [Centre-Right](#) comes out as a **strongly united front**: almost 90% of their past voters confirm their choice, although the news here is **the transfer of votes from Forza Italia towards Lega**. Very few the 'betrayals', essentially directed towards the **5StarsMovement (8% ca.)**  
**Lega is showing a strong attractive power**, calling both those who didn't go to vote in 2013, but also some electors from **5StarsMovement and from the Centre**.

**The same solidity features among the electors of 5Stars**: more than 75% confirm their choice, and those who don't either don't vote (9%) or vote for Lega (6%). The power of attraction of **5StarsMovement** goes far beyond their natural reach: 14% of voters come from Centre-Left, 13% from the Centre, more than 20% from smaller lists.

# A new bi-polar system

Among [first-time voters](#) **5StarsMovement prevails**, then PD and Lega almost equally share the preferences. High level of no-show (35%), which appears, once again, as a break away from PD. In previous research pieces we had noted that PD exerted a good level of appeal among young people, and especially among students. However, in the end, also this potential electors decided to stay at home.

**A leaner PD sees its social base shrink, and appears to be able to resist mainly within the higher age cohorts and among pensioners.** The so-called 'reflective middle class' which used to be one of its pillars, is now abandoning PD. Part of it has moved towards the list headed by Emma Bonino (former EU Parliament Member and former Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs), 'Più Europa (More Europe)' which has appealed essentially to students, **higher education people**, middle and higher classes. Più Europa is the choice for those who wanted to stay within the Centre-Left area without staying with PD. Anyway, this choice has not collected the entirety of the potential voters for the area.

**Within Centre-Right, Lega appears to be the best performer in terms of voters diversity:** it gains among its traditional base **self employed and blue collars** , but also expands among the traditional Forza Italia electorate, the homemakers.

**The 5StarsMovement obtains the best across-the-board performance ever:** difficult to find a group among which they appeal more than in others; a finer analysis can just highlight a relatively negative performance here and there: a bit less among the traditional PD supporters (older people, degree holders, pensioners). The only significant peak is to be seen among **civil servants**. **In earlier times, this was the traditional basin for the Left, now they have finally moved away.**

# A new bi-polar system

[The analysis of social platforms activity](#) indicates that **3 forces have mobilized more than others**: two among the winners, M5S and Lega, and the loser, PD.

Lega was powered by [Salvini](#) , the real driving force behind the consensus , while for [5StarsMovement](#) the 'brand' is the winner, while the candidate(s) stayed behind the scenes. On the other hand, PD could count neither on a 'Renzi effect', nor on the strength of the 'brand'.

These elections outcome offers a **totally new world** . **The Italian Left is faced by the challenge** of re-building a project and its social base, within a narrow route, shared among the left movements in many other European Countries. And this process will need time to succeed.

**The 5StarsMovement will need to start a process of transformation to become an institution**: this will be a challenge in that they will need to show their governing capabilities and, at the same time, to be able to maintain the consensus among their most 'rebellious' voters.

**Lega will need to grow up its leadership abilities**, to be able to consolidate the consensus which they have obtained in areas traditionally far from their original perimeter.

All this, of course, in the instance that a government is formed, even if only short lived.

**Luca Comodo, Mattia Forni**

# POLITICAL ELECTIONS in ITALY, 2018

## Analysis

By Lucio Formigoni and Mattia Forni

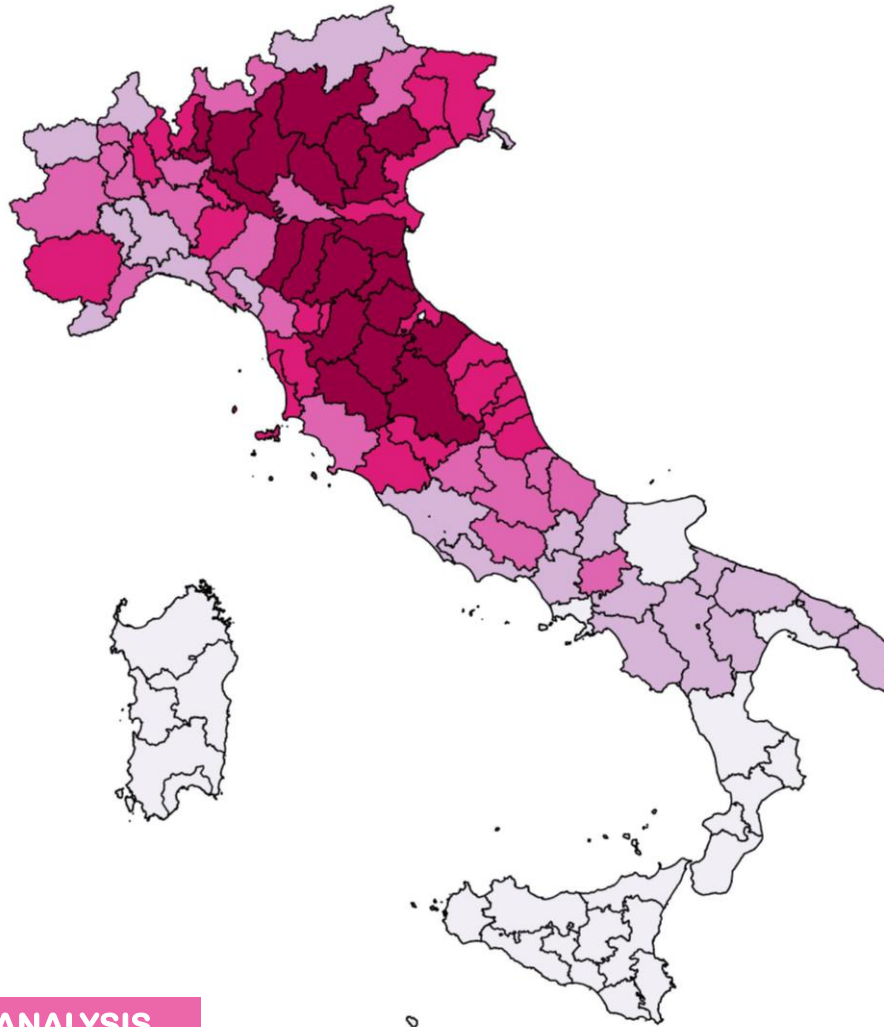


# The results

LISTS (% on valid votes)	Political Election 2018		Diff vs Political Elections 2013 (voters)
<b>Liberi e Uguali</b>	<b>3,4</b>	<b>1.099.435</b>	<b>+10.204 *</b>
<b>PD</b>	<b>18,8</b>	<b>6.088.462</b>	<b>- 2.557.572</b>
<b>Insieme</b>	<b>0,6</b>	<b>195.347</b>	
<b>Civica Popolare</b>	<b>0,5</b>	<b>176.439</b>	
<b>Più Europa</b>	<b>2,5</b>	<b>829.298</b>	
<b>SVP-PATT</b>	<b>0,4</b>	<b>134.651</b>	<b>- 12.149</b>
<b>LEGA</b>	<b>17,4</b>	<b>5.661.867</b>	<b>+ 4.271.333</b>
<b>FORZA ITALIA</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>4.563.659</b>	<b>- 2.768.475 *</b>
<b>FRATELLI D'ITALIA</b>	<b>4,3</b>	<b>1.414.431</b>	<b>+ 747.666</b>
<b>NOI CON L'ITALIA - UDC</b>	<b>1,3</b>	<b>428.157</b>	
<b>MOVIMENTO 5 STELLE</b>	<b>32,9</b>	<b>10.617.085</b>	<b>+ 1.925.679</b>
<b>Other lists</b>	<b>3,8</b>	<b>1.316.544</b>	<b>- 4.726.307</b>
<i>total</i>	<i>100</i>		
<i>abs/null/white</i>	<i>29,6</i>	<i>14.079.550</i>	<i>+ 1.180.151</i>

# The electoral geography

## Voters turnout

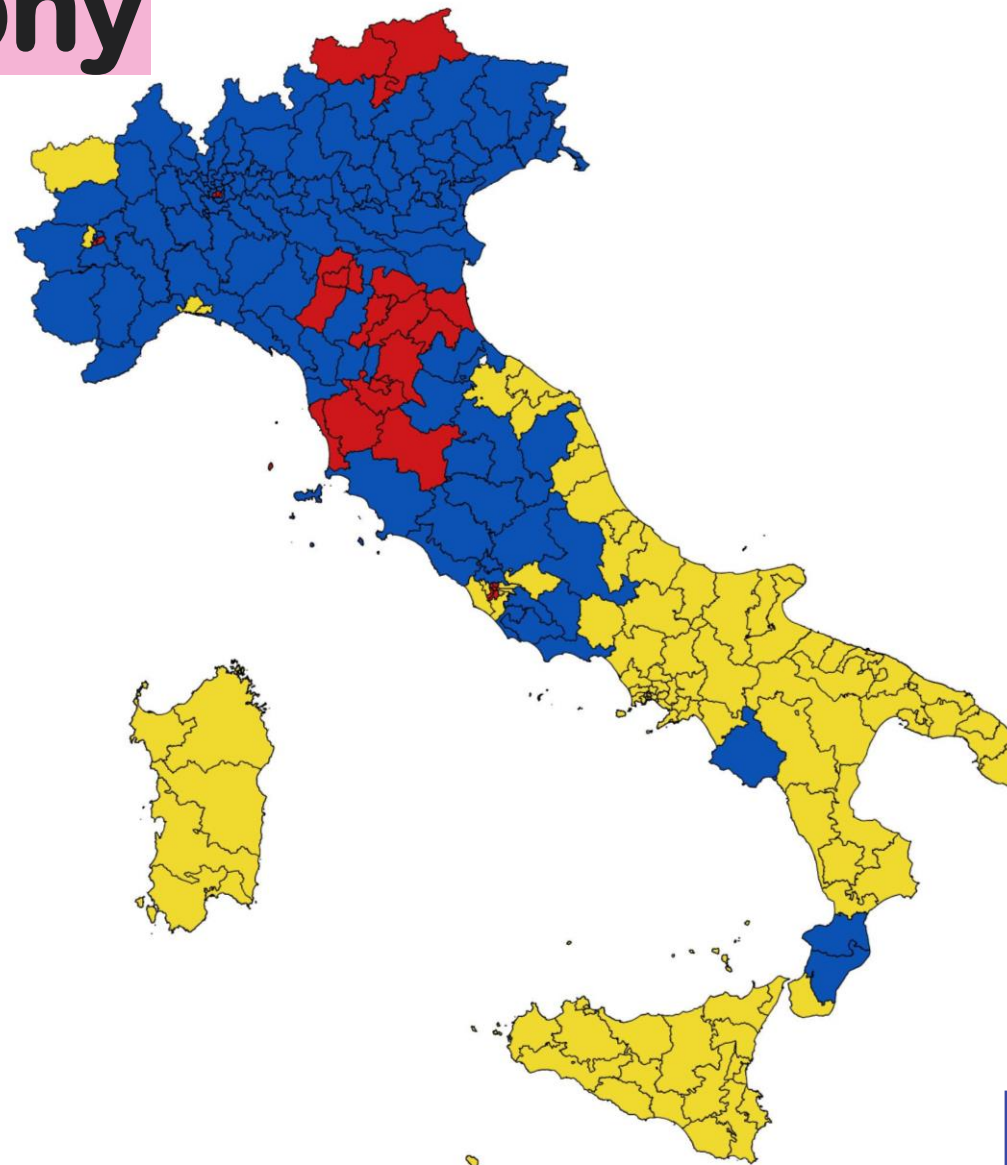


# The electoral geography



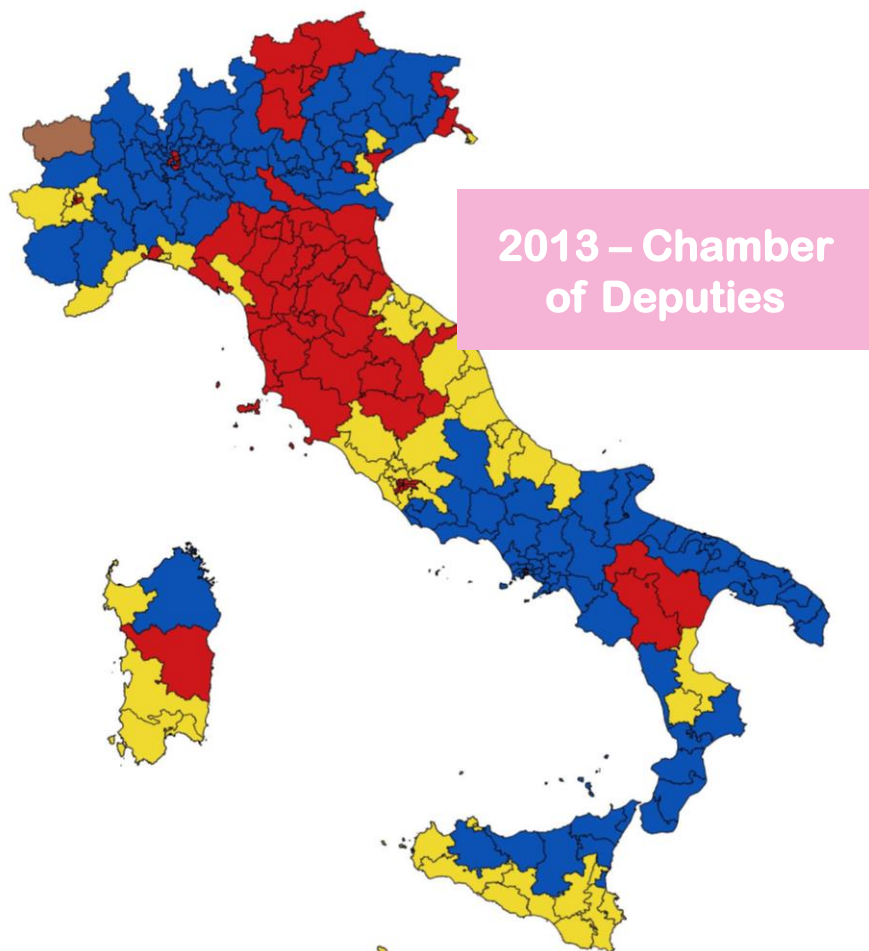
Winning coalition in the single-candidate  
Constituencies for the Chamber of Deputies

-  CENTRE-RIGHT
-  CENTRE-LEFT
-  5STARSMOUMENT

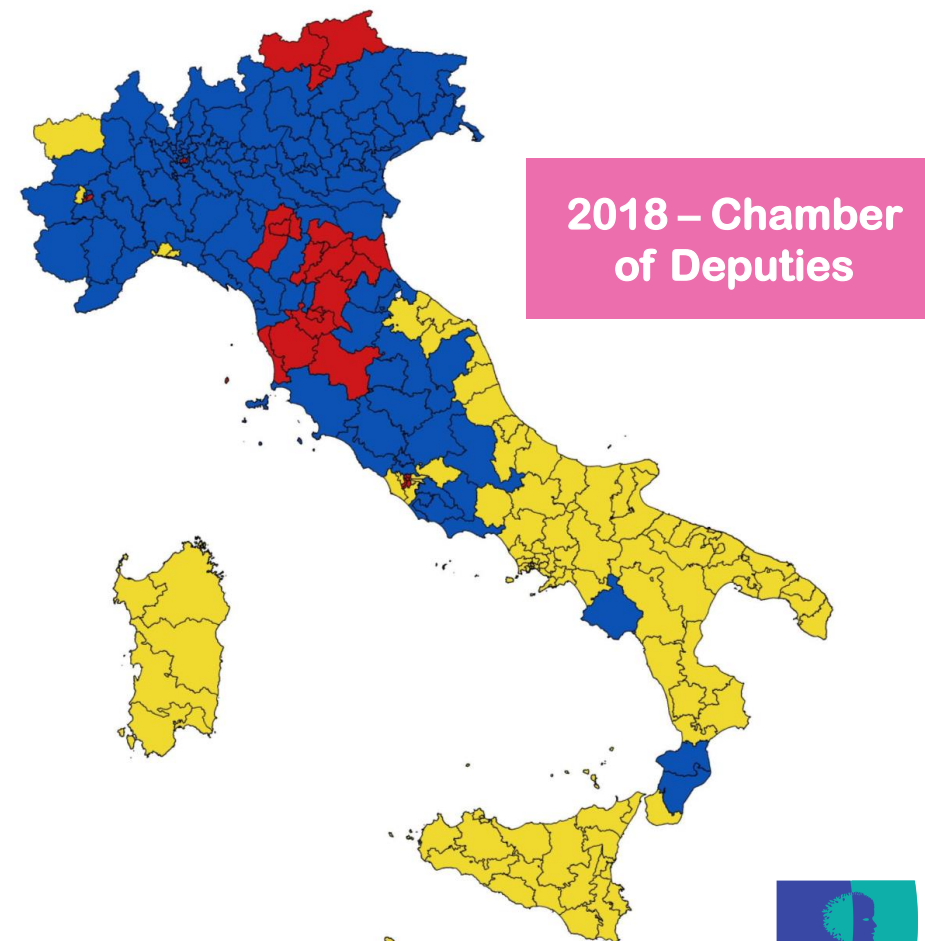


# The electoral geography

A comparison between 2013 and 2018



- CENTRE-RIGHT
- CENTRE-LEFT
- 5STARSMOVEMENT



POLITICAL ELECTIONS IN ITALY 2018 – POST-VOTE ANALYSIS

FONTE: MINISTERO DELL'INTERNO



# The flows

Elections of  
2013

Chamber of  
Deputies

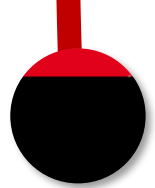


First time  
voters



Elections of  
2018

Chamber of  
Deputies



7%

43%

4%

2%

14%

2%

2%

1%

3%

22%

# The flows

Elections of  
2013

Chamber of  
Deputies



First time  
voters



Elections of  
2018

Chamber of  
Deputies



0,5%



2%



1%



0,5%



76%



3%



6%



1%



1%



9%

# The flows

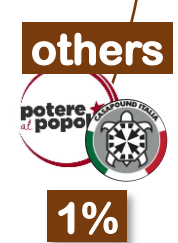
Elections of  
2013

Chamber of  
Deputies



Elections of  
2018

Chamber of  
Deputies



# The flows

Elections of  
2013

Chamber of  
Deputies



Elections of  
2018

Chamber of  
Deputies



2%



28%



5%



5%



13%



10%



8%



10%



3%



16%

# The flows

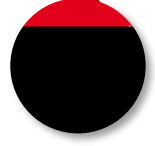
Elections of  
2013

Chamber of  
Deputies



Elections of  
2018

Chamber of  
Deputies



9%



6%



3%



2%



23%



2%



9%



2%



24%



20%

# The flows

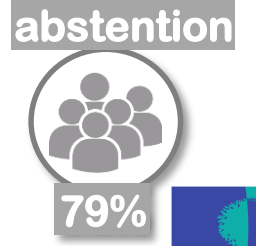
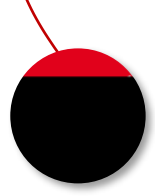
Elections of  
2013

Chamber of  
Deputies



Elections of  
2018

Chamber of  
Deputies



# The flows

Elections of  
2013

Chamber of  
Deputies



Elections of  
2018

Chamber of  
Deputies



# The method

## Universe

Individuals, resident in Italy, aged 18+ holding voting rights (source ISTAT – Ministry of Home Affairs - 2018)

## Samples

Stratified and randomly selected . Quotas per gender, age, education level, occupation, region, size class of town of residence

## Method

Multi-mode survey (CATI-CAMI-CAWI)

## Interviews and error margin

16.626 interviews carried out between January 29 and March 2, 2018  
Error margin between +/- 0,2% and +/- 2,8%

All the statistical analyses in this report were carried out by Ipsos, care of Lucio Formigoni and Mattia Forni. The estimates on voters flows and the share of consensus for the political parties are based on our polling activities on the samples described above for a total of 16.626 completed interviews (out of 75.609 contacts) , collected via mixed mode (CATI-CAMI-CAWI) in the period January, 29<sup>th</sup> through March the 2<sup>nd</sup> , 2018.

# The team



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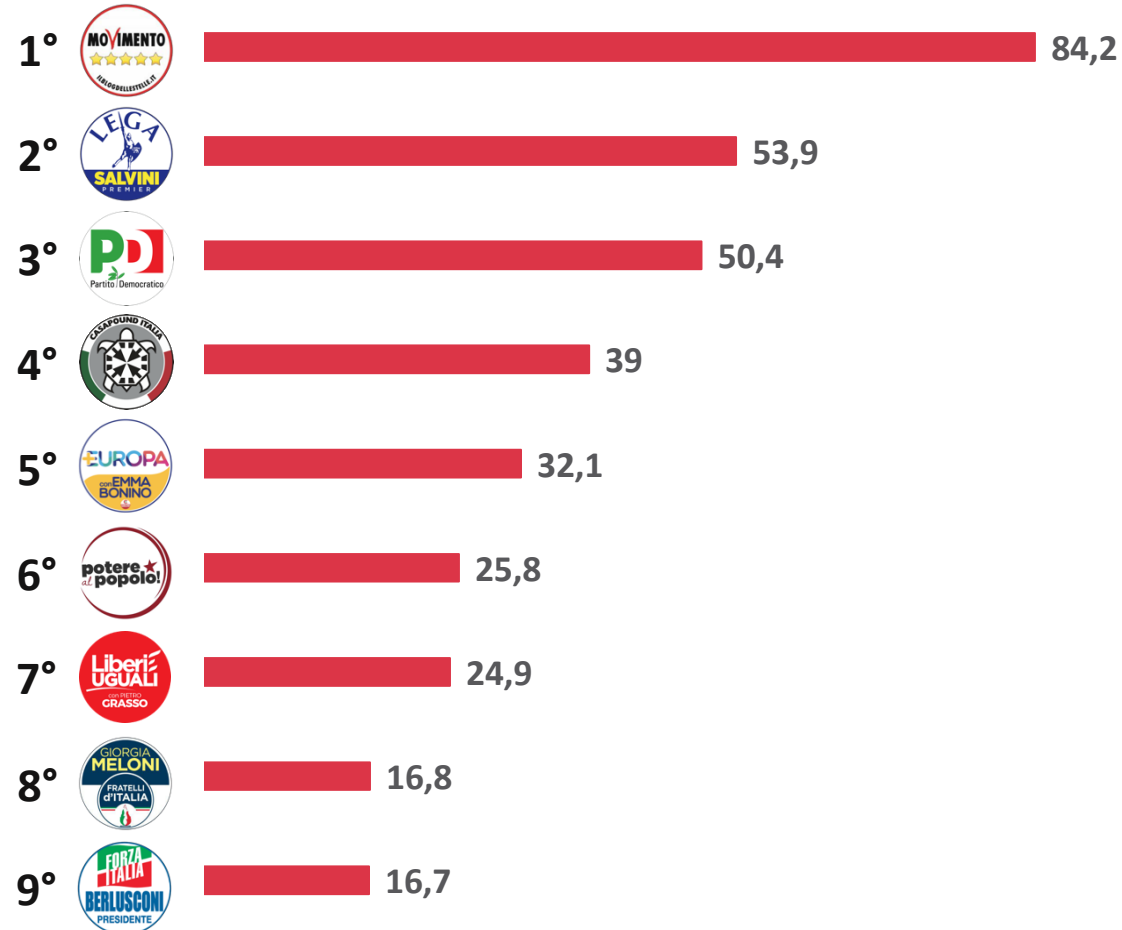
**The campaign in the social media**

POWERED BY

**TWIG.**

# INDEX OF SOCIAL MOBILIZATION

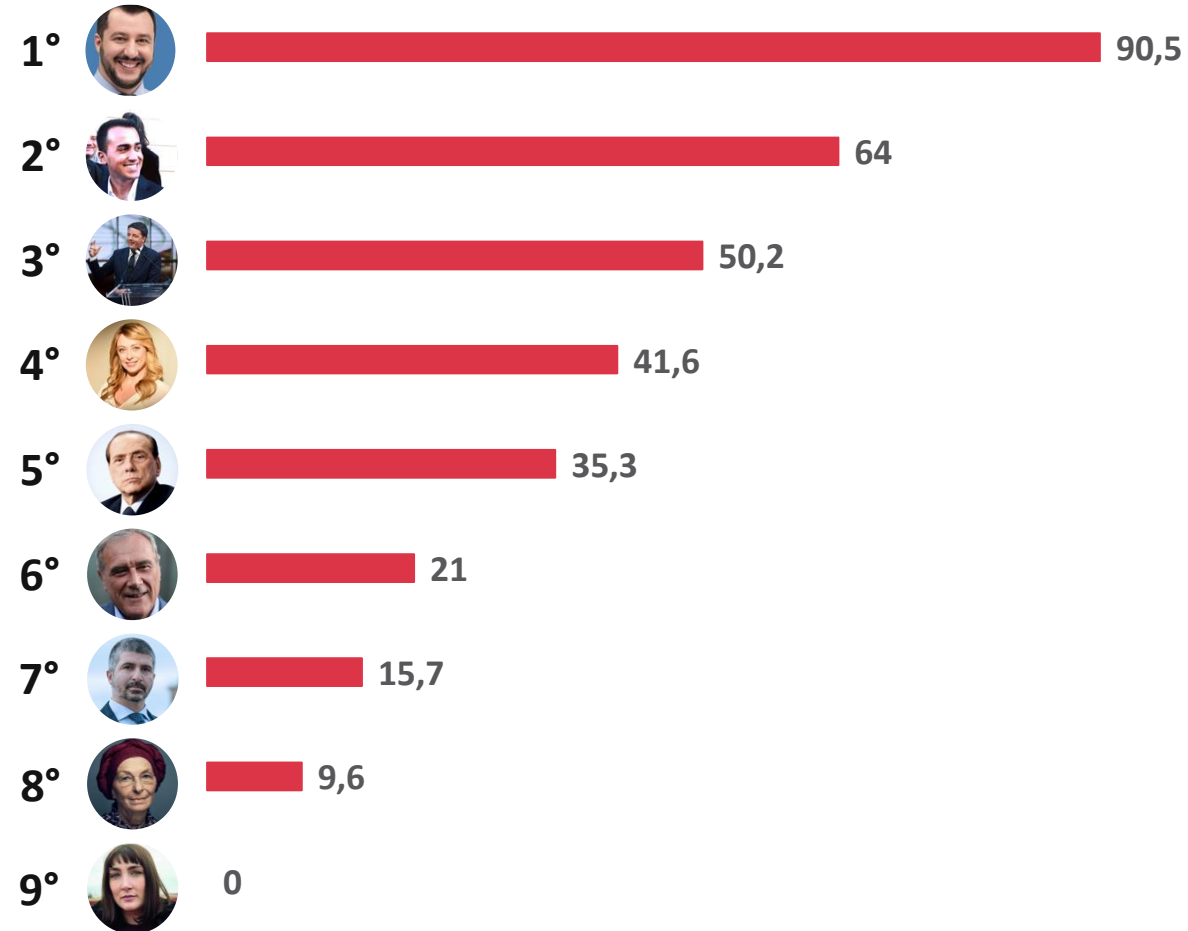
5STARS MOVEMENT BEST IN CLASS AMONG THE PARTIES



\*INDEX BASED ON KPIS on positive dimensions of interaction– like, fan-base week-on-week growth and fan-base on facebook and Twitter accounts. Scale 0-100

# INDEX OF SOCIAL MOBILIZATION

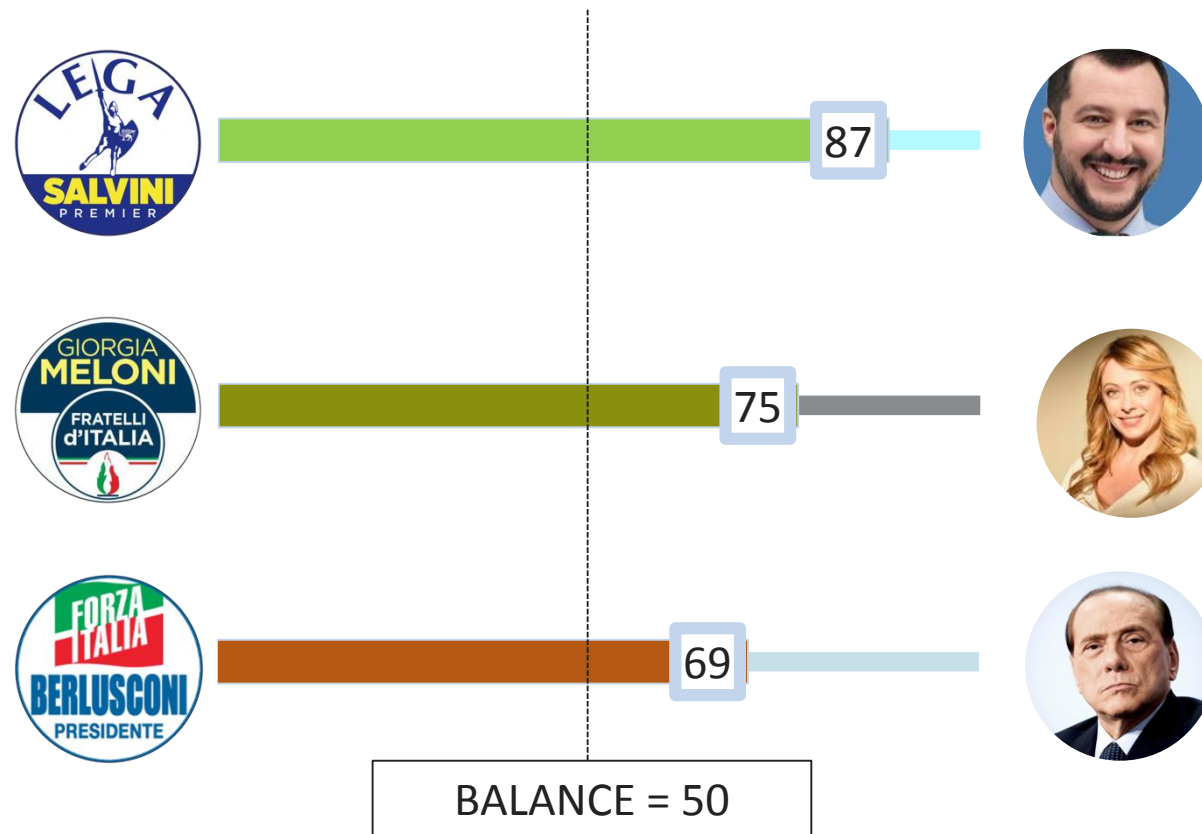
SALVINI BEST PERFORMER AMONGST THE LEADERS



\*INDEX BASED ON KPIS on positive dimensions of interaction– like, fan-base week-on-week growth and fan-base on facebook and Twitter accounts. Scale 0-100

# PERFORMANCE BALANCE: PARTY VS. LEADER

**WITHIN THE CENTRE-RIGHT THE LEADER'S ACTIVITY PREVAILS ON THE PARTY'S** : Salvini is the strongest leader and acts as a value added for its already strong party. On a smaller scale, Giorgia Meloni, also acts as a driving force for her party, Fratelli d'Italia (Brothers of Italy). Berlusconi is also value added for Forza Italia, although not as strong as his allies.



# PERFORMANCE BALANCE: PARTY VS. LEADER

IN THE CENTRE-LEFT AREA LEADERSHIPS ARE DEFINITELY WEAKER. Matteo Renzi and PD are on balance, same as for Pietro Grasso and LeU. Totally different approach for Più Europa where the communication is in the hands of the party, although the subject of the messages is more often than not, their leader, Emma Bonino. For 5StarsMovement Di Maio's leadership is low.

