

# Vote shifts in Turin and Palermo

Roberto D'Alimonte and Lorenzo De Sio

Published in *Il Sole 24 Ore*, February 27, 2013

Beppe Grillo's movement is the first party at the Chamber of Deputies. As emphasized in another article,<sup>1</sup> the geographical distribution of the M5S's success shows unprecedented features. To confirm a fundamental trait of the present elections, we are in the presence of a real paradigm shift that throws consolidated territorial alignments into crisis. At this point, the doubt that not only the territorial alignments but also the social and political ones are in a transition phase emerges. Where does Grillo's support come from then? What are the social strata that have rewarded him? What are their political choices?

It is clear that answering these questions requires thoughtful analyses and reflections that involve not only the change in the Italians' choices but also the crisis of trust in the whole political system. Notwithstanding, what we can do initially is answer the following simple questions: From which parties do the M5S's votes proceed? Which ones have suffered more from Grillo's electoral competition?

To start answering these questions, we have conducted some analyses of vote shifts for the cities of Turin and Palermo, respectively. Piedmont and Sicily (along with Veneto) are the big Italian regions where Grillo represents the first party in almost every province. Nevertheless, they represent, at the same time, two extremely different cases: Turin is an industrial and postindustrial city, with a strong tradition of grassroots political participation, traditionally rewarding left-wing parties. Palermo has a complex and problematic social reality, plagued by unemployment, crime and a key role of patronage politics, and is traditionally dominated by the center-right. Two tables are presented reporting the vote shifts matrix for the two cities, estimated through the Goodman model on polling-station-

level data.

Each column refers to the 2008 electorate of a single party: values on the various rows report how many voters from that party have switched to various parties or coalitions in 2013 (to make the analysis compact, we have aggregated parties belonging to the same 2013 coalition). Obviously, we will focus on the M5S's row.

We start from Turin. In this case, the fundamental fact is that Grillo hit hard, especially on the left. Values are very high for both SA and for IdV (both leftist parties): out of the 2008 voters, about 42% for SA and even about 60% for the IdV (although with a considerable margin of error) would have switched to Grillo in 2013. The PD's coefficient is remarkable as well: it has been estimated that about 14% shift toward Grillo. Given the noteworthy dimension of the PD, this fact appears as a determinant factor for the electoral success of the M5S in Turin. In this sense, the neat contrast with the center-right is evident. On this political side, the one who suffers more from Grillo's competition is not only the LN (losing about one-fifth of its voters), but also the PdL, which loses apparently one-tenth of its 2008 electorate. The picture arising from Turin suggests that Grillo's support proceeds to a greater extent from the center-left (about 50%) and that it has penalized to a lesser extent the center-right.

The case of Palermo appears radically different. In fact, excluding the electorate for the SA (although the estimates for smaller parties are often unstable), Grillo's electoral spreading cuts extraordinarily across political parties: all political parties lose symmetrically toward the movement of the comedian from Genoa, with shares of their electorate ranging between 23% and 30%.

The two situations are thus divergent. The ability to collect different (and potentially conflicting) requests and extremely heterogeneous points of view testifies the actual strength of the M5S. In Turin, maybe also as a consequence of protest movement

<sup>1</sup> See Cataldi and Emanuele in this volume.

Table 1. Vote shifts in Turin: Destinations of the electorates in 2013 for various parties in 2008

Vote 2013	Vote 2008							
	SA	IdV	PD	UdC	PdL	LN	Others	No vote
Civil Revolution	10%	3%	3%	0%	0%	1%	5%	0%
Bersani coalition	38%	18%	64%	9%	5%	13%	9%	1%
Monti coalition	4%	4%	4%	44%	20%	24%	2%	0%
Berlusconi coalition	0%	5%	2%	9%	51%	33%	12%	3%
Five Star Movement	42%	60%	14%	10%	10%	19%	36%	16%
Others	2%	1%	1%	1%	3%	5%	4%	0%
No vote	3%	9%	11%	26%	11%	5%	31%	80%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 2. Vote shifts in Palermo: Destinations of the electorates in 2013 for various parties in 2008

Vote 2013	Vote 2008							
	SA	IdV	PD	UdC	PdL	LN	Others	No vote
Civil Revolution	21%	15%	6%	2%	3%	1%	4%	2%
Bersani coalition	22%	22%	51%	11%	2%	1%	27%	4%
Monti coalition	1%	6%	12%	10%	5%	3%	12%	1%
Berlusconi coalition	0%	7%	3%	13%	23%	35%	7%	10%
Five Star Movement	48%	25%	27%	30%	26%	22%	23%	6%
Others	2%	1%	0%	1%	2%	1%	3%	1%
No vote	6%	23%	1%	34%	39%	38%	24%	77%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

against the TAV (high-speed railway construction), it becomes visible that the original participatory and bottom-up nature of the movement grows in a postindustrial context characterized by a tradition of political participation. It is not by chance that the first successes of Grillo in the previous municipal elections took place in the center and the north, namely, in contexts characterized by high civic traditions. Vice versa, the top-down component of Grillo's success seems to manifest in Palermo, namely, the personal appeal of the leader (often with strongly populist elements). It leverages on antiestablishment protests (gaining support from the right as well) in a crosscutting way in contexts characterized by strong social exclusion and a lack of a specific tradition of participation. These are the two fundamental components from which Grillo's success originated; up to this point, they managed to coexist without damaging the move-

ment, although with some tension. It is undeniable that the entrance of a numerous group of the M5S in the Parliament and the need to face complicated political challenges could rapidly lead to the maturation of this inconsistency. In any case, this is a picture that has to be analyzed with different lenses than those of the past.

*Note:* The estimates have been produced with the Goodman model on polling-station-level data. Greater levels of uncertainty characterize the values for the smaller parties.

## References

Barisione, M., Catellani, P. and De Sio, L. [2010], *La scelta degli indecisi*, in Bellucci, P., Segatti, P. (ed.), *Votare in Italia: 1968-2008. Dall'appartenenza alla scelta*, Il

- Mulino, Bologna, pp. 359- 389.
- Cataldi, M., and Emanuele, V. [2013], An electoral tsunami hits Italy: 50 provinces washed away from PD and PdL, in De Sio, L., Emanuele, V., Maggini, N., and Paparo, A. (eds.), *The Italian General Elections of 2013: A dangerous stalemate?*, Roma, Centro Italiano Studi Elettorali.
- Corbetta, P., and Schadee, H. M. A. [1984], *Metodi e modelli di analisi dei dati elettorali*, Bologna, Il Mulino.
- De Sio, L. [2006]. Dove stanno davvero gli elettori fluttuanti? *Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica* 36 (3), pp. 393-414.
- De Sio, L. [2008]. Are Less-Involved Voters the Key to Win Elections? *Comparative Political Studies* 41 (2), pp. 217-241.
- De Sio, L. [2008], *Elettori in movimento. Nuove tecniche di inferenza ecologica per la stima dei flussi elettorali*, Firenze, Polistampa.
- De Sio, L. [2009]. Oltre il modello di Goodman. La stima dei flussi elettorali in base a dati aggregati, in *Polena*, vol. 6(1), pp. 9-35.

## Appendix

Analysis of vote shifts in Monza, Pavia, and Varese

Aldo Paparo and Matteo Cataldi

March 1, 2013

Table 1. Vote shifts in Monza: Destinations of the electorates in 2013 for various parties in 2008

Vote 2013	Vote 2008							
	SA	IdV	PD	UdC	PdL	LN	Others	No vote
Bersani coalition	15%	25%	75%	11%	0%	8%	41%	0%
Monti coalition	0%	9%	2%	25%	23%	10%	0%	0%
Berlusconi coalition	0%	0%	6%	0%	54%	32%	16%	0%
Five Star Movement	45%	59%	7%	0%	0%	46%	41%	10%
Others	0%	7%	0%	0%	10%	4%	2%	1%
No vote	39%	0%	10%	64%	13%	0%	0%	89%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 2. Vote shifts in Pavia: Destinations of the electorates in 2013 for various parties in 2008

Vote 2013	Vote 2008							
	SA	IdV	PD	UdC	PdL	LN	Others	No vote
Bersani coalition	40%	77%	55%	37%	0%	13%	48%	10%
Monti coalition	0%	11%	9%	24%	17%	0%	0%	3%
Berlusconi coalition	3%	3%	0%	39%	41%	46%	52%	11%
Five Star Movement	49%	0%	22%	0%	0%	36%	0%	7%
Others	0%	10%	4%	0%	5%	0%	0%	1%
No vote	7%	0%	10%	0%	36%	5%	0%	67%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 3. Vote shifts in Varese: Destinations of the electorates in 2013 for various parties in 2008

Vote 2013	Vote 2008							
	SA	IdV	PD	UdC	PdL	LN	Others	No vote
Bersani coalition	40%	33%	69%	24%	0%	7%	0%	1%
Monti coalition	0%	34%	0%	38%	21%	9%	3%	2%
Berlusconi coalition	0%	0%	2%	0%	50%	58%	0%	4%
Five Star Movement	51%	17%	12%	38%	2%	21%	18%	4%
Others	7%	0%	3%	0%	3%	5%	12%	0%
No vote	1%	16%	14%	0%	23%	0%	67%	90%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 4. Sources from 2008 electorates of 2013 votes for the M5S in the analyzed provincial capitals

Municipality	Vote 2008								Total
	SA	IdV	PD	UdC	PdL	LN	Others	No vote	
Monza	7%	16%	12%	0%	0%	44%	6%	14%	100%
Pavia	10%	0%	47%	0%	0%	31%	0%	12%	100%
Varese	9%	5%	23%	13%	5%	33%	4%	8%	100%

## Analysis of the vote shifts in Florence

Alessandro Chiamonte

March 1, 2013

Table 1. Vote shifts in Florence: Destinations of the electorates in 2013 for various parties in 2008

Vote 2013	Vote 2008							
	SA	IdV	PD	UdC	PdL	LN	Others	No vote
Civil Revolution	21%	13%	0%	1%	0%	6%	3%	2%
Bersani coalition	15%	59%	80%	25%	0%	0%	7%	3%
Monti coalition	0%	12%	1%	46%	21%	31%	0%	0%
Berlusconi coalition	0%	0%	2%	0%	49%	17%	6%	3%
Five Star Movement	12%	13%	17%	0%	0%	42%	31%	18%
Others	6%	0%	0%	2%	5%	4%	5%	1%
No vote	45%	2%	0%	26%	24%	0%	47%	74%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 2. Vote shifts in Florence: Sources from 2008 electorates of 2013 votes for various parties

Vote 2013	Vote 2008							
	SA	IdV	PD	UdC	PdL	LN	Others	No vote
Civil Revolution	0%	0%	6%	2%	0%	3%	8%	15%
Bersani coalition	2%	6%	87%	2%	0%	0%	1%	2%
Monti coalition	0%	6%	3%	20%	67%	4%	0%	0%
Berlusconi coalition	0%	0%	5%	0%	86%	1%	2%	5%
Five Star Movement	4%	4%	51%	0%	0%	3%	12%	26%
Others	11%	0%	0%	3%	60%	2%	14%	10%
No vote	7%	0%	0%	3%	22%	0%	10%	57%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

