Senato della Repubblica

Ufficio Valutazione Impatto
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FOCUS

AI in the Italian Senate

Have new information technologies improved the legislative process, and how?

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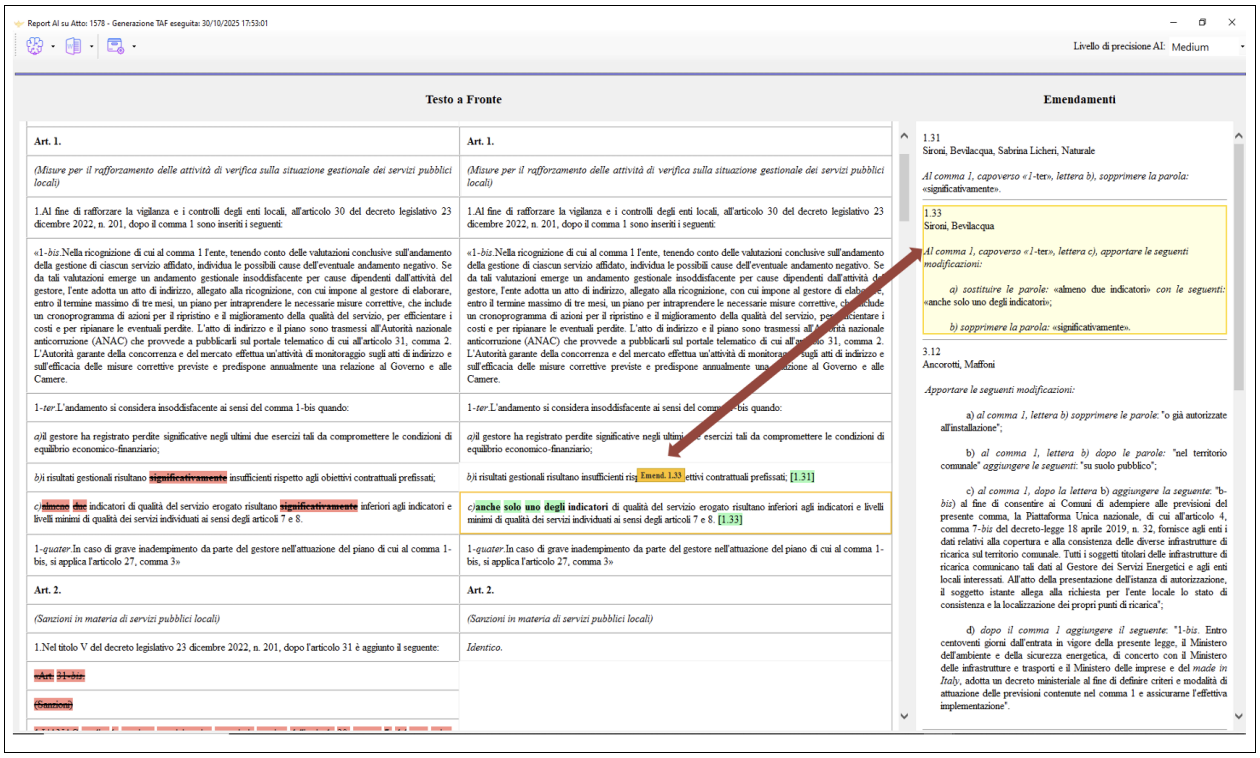
Artificial intelligence (AI) is one of the most hotly debated technological frontiers, including in parliaments. In this rapidly evolving scenario, ***parliaments find themselves playing a crucial role*** *as* ***regulators****, but also as* ***users*** *and often as* ***testers*** *as well: indeed, increasingly sophisticated information technologies are being used to manage documentation, voting procedures, record-keeping and archival of documents, the drafting of laws, and the management of amendments. In fact,* ***out of 115 chambers and parliaments in 86 countries*** *analysed in the* World e-Parliament Report *2024,* ***over two thirds*** *have already adopted* ***multi-year digital strategies****.*

The Senate of the Italian Republic has experimented extensively *on this highly technological frontier, pragmatically embracing innovation: it has already applied AI to manage* ***millions of amendments*** *and to report on* ***thousands of hours of sitting****s. Many* ***applications developed in-house*** *– such as GEM, the suite to manage amendments- are currently mentioned as international best practices by the Centre for Innovations in Parliaments. In concrete terms,* ***how has AI****, including generative AI,* ***changed parliamentary business?***

The Italian law on AI

In Italy, the use of AI systems is regulated by law n.132, approved by the Senate on September 23, 2025. Article 3 stipulates that such systems must be developed and applied "ensuring human oversight and intervention", without "prejudicing the democratic conduct of political and institutional life".

Figure 1. GenAI application for generating "parallel texts" with visual check functions



Source: Senate of the Italian Republic. In the two left-hand columns, the parallel text has bold font indicating deletions (in red) and additions (in green) to the initial text of a bill. In the right-hand column, the amendment modifying the text is highlighted in yellow (red arrow on the image).

The current picture

The increasing relevance of artificial intelligence (AI) and generative artificial intelligence (GenAI)[1] for parliaments is highlighted by the *World e-Parliament Report* (2024) published by the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU): **out of 115 parliaments or chambers analysed** in 86 countries, including two supranational parliaments, as many as **29 percent use AI** in some fashion, compared to just 1 percent of them using AI experimentally in 2016.

Over two-thirds of these parliaments have already adopted multi-year AI strategies, and 73 percent have formal modernisation programmes.

Budget resources earmarked for ICT are increasing: currently, 20 out of 100 parliaments spend over 10% of their total budget on digital technologies, compared to 15 out of 100 in 2020.

According to a study carried out by the Lower House of the Polish Parliament in June 2025, at the **EU27** level as many as **16 countries** (two out of three) **have already adopted (or are adopting) legislation regulating the use of AI**; 63% of EU parliaments and chambers have already adopted guidelines on the topic, or are working on doing so.

Out of 38 EU parliaments or chambers that responded to the Polish survey, as many as **27 have already implemented AI tools**, and just two have not taken this technology into consideration

Five EU countries (Belgium, Czech Republic, Denmark, the Netherlands, and Ireland) **have approved (or are approving) limitations** on the use of certain specific **AI tools in parliament.**

[1] AI used to generate new content (texts, drawings, images, etc.) based on a given prompt.

What is AI being used for in parliaments?

According to the *World e-Parliament Report*, in 2024 the use of AI on the part of parliamentary assemblies mainly concerned **document management, voting, record-keeping and archiving** (74 %), the **drafting of laws and amendments** (51 %), the **tracking of bills** (55 %), and the creation and update of databases of laws passed (73 %).

75 parliaments out of 100 have used ICT **to manage bills** in digital formats, but only 52% have made it possible to assess the impact of a given amendment on the final text. In about 70% of cases, ICT has also been used to **manage plenary activities**, such as calendars, agendas, and debate schedules. 87% of parliaments provide live streaming of parliamentary business, while 44% have used AI for its **transcription.**

Recourse to AI for core legislative functions, such as drafting laws and analysing citizen input, remains extremely limited: only 3% of parliaments have used it, but 27%, including the Senate of the Italian Republic, plan to explore this option in the future.

At the EU27 level, the European Parliament has set a record in terms of AI implementation, reflecting its multilingualism, multiculturalism, and the need to provide technological support to its members: it boasts **chatbots** to manage and communicate complex documents; **software for the simultaneous translation** of speeches and remarks (*e-translation*) and **for drafting minutes** of plenary and committee sittings; **and online platforms and helpdesks**, such as "Contributing to the legislative process", for public consultations.

According to data from the Polish survey, the most widespread AI applications in the parliaments of the EU27 states in 2025 (which applications are expected to continue to grow) concern the transcription of parliamentary sittings, currently used by 27 parliaments and chambers, and of committee proceedings, in 14 parliaments. Other widely used options include **summaries of bills**, **transcriptions and reports using simple, colloquial language**, and **searches for information** on bills, votes, committees, and other aspects of parliamentary business.

The Italian Senate's approach

From the introduction of electronic voting (1971) to the broadcasting of plenary sittings via radio (1976) and subsequently on satellite channels and the web, and from the creation of an institutional website (1996) to the adoption of AI systems for legislative classification, the analysis of amendments, the transcription of sittings and the management of information, over the last 50 years **the Senate Administration has experimented with and used many advanced technologies** to support its institutional activities.

The earliest implementations included expert systems using a variety of empirical approaches (so-called "heuristics") to predict events and identify models or properties. They were followed by applications incorporating machine-learning techniques. Since 2023, the integration of generative AI (GenAI) techniques has been under analysis.

Some of the systems used by the Senate are available on the market, such as speech transcription services or automated text translation, in addition to several cybersecurity services. However, **the market offer is unable to meet numerous specific needs of parliamentary activities** (a particularly relevant example is the management of amendments), **and this has spurred the Senate to create its own in-house systems and innovative services**, often in collaboration with universities and research centres.

The Senate's philosophy: "Human in Command"

Despite the growing use of these technologies, **no act, document, or data generated by and with AI** – whether an amendment, the summary of a text, or anything else – **has been processed in the Senate without careful human supervision**. The basis underpinning the Senate administration's technical and organisational choices is the **so-called "Human in Command" philosophy**: humans, and not machines, must maintain authority, oversight, and ultimate responsibility for all decisions made.

This protects everyone from the well-known possible distortions and faults associated with the use of these types of technologies, such as hallucinations ("made-up" concepts or statements that do not reflect the data used to train the system), knowledge cut-offs (lack of information from after the model's latest update), sycophancy (an excessive desire to please the user), and bias (inaccurate answers caused by problems with the data used for training).

The application of this **precautionary principle**, together with an approach based on designing **experimental prototypes** to better understand new developments (including with the support of universities or research centres) and on the extensive digital literacy training provided to personnel when new systems are adopted widely, ensures that innovations support the Senate's activities without ever turning into autonomous or uncontrolled agents.

AI in the legislative process

Most of the IT developed in-house is used by the Senate in **managing the various phases of the legislative process**: the presentation of bills, the necessary revisions to ensure they meet the formal requirements for drafting, the preparation of the amendment dossier to be examined and voted upon in the relevant committees and in the plenary sittings, minutes of sittings, the publication of parliamentary acts and their searchability. Below is a brief **overview** of the main instruments.

TeSeo and the classification of documents

Classifying all acts by topic – often tens if not hundreds of thousands of them – is a necessity for any parliament. In 2021, with the support of the Engineering Department of Roma Tre University – the Senate adopted a **classification system based on an open machine-learning engine.**

The system features labels based on a neural network trained using as many as 24,000 articles of law classified over the course of twenty years by Senate staff in accordance with a hierarchical thesaurus (TeSeo). This speeds up the entire classification process, improving its quality and precision. The final step is human validation.

The numbering and marking, and subsequent classification of each new bill are the true "technological" start of the legislative process, which continues in committee and in plenary sittings with the presentation of amendments, parliamentary debates, and voting.

GEM: the management of amendments

Establishing the order in which the amendments will be voted upon is an extremely complex and time-consuming process requiring highly qualified specialist knowledge. In the Senate, this takes place tens of thousands of times per year with the support of GEM, **Gestore EMendamenti.** In use since 2016, and currently acknowledged at the international parliamentary level **as one of the best suites available** for the management of amendments, GEM **uses a number of technologies**: clustering algorithms, parsers (*PArSe,* developed by the Senate, is a parser specifically designed for the text of parliamentary bills), generative AI, decision trees, generation of QR codes and much more.

Two algorithms are particularly important for GEM's efficacy: *Similis* groups together amendments with similar texts, while the second algorithm analyses proposed amendments to bills in order to suggest a voting

order to the relevant offices (the "amendment organiser")

To these we must add the application for recognising regulatory references (*Linkoln*) and a "smart drafter". Recently, some features that use generative AI have been implemented on an experimental basis: calculation of "parallel texts" (Figure 1), smart drafting of amendments, and the application of amendments to the base text.

Bills, amendments and laws: a massive amount of data to be managed

In the 24 years between May 30, 2001 (XIV legislature) and June 30, 2025 (XIX legislature), **41,120 bills were introduced** in the Senate, and subsequently processed by the Senate's offices in view of being examined and voted upon in committee and in plenary sittings.

Of these, **2,103 were approved**, about 5%. Over the course of the legislative process, **713,263 proposed amendments** were voted on. This means that **for every legislature, the Senate offices had to process an average of 150,000 amendments** at every stage, from submission to the final vote. In fact, the number of amendments processed is always higher: many amendments "die" along the way without ever being discussed or voted on due to being inadmissible, precluded or for other reasons.

Table 1. Amendments voted on in the Senate, organised by legislature and body

Legislature	Body	Amendments processed, sorted, voted on and published
XIV	Plenary	83,884
XIV	Committee	2,278
XV	Plenary	14,775
XV	Committee	18,936
XVI	Plenary	52,307
XVI	Committee	64,605
XVII*	Plenary	125,375
XVII*	Committee	128,103
XVIII	Plenary	68,231
XVIII	Committee	75,838
XIX**	Plenary	28,314
XIX**	Committee	50,617
Total**		**712,773**

Source: Senate of the Italian Republic
**Excluding the approximately 83 million amendments submitted for bill 1429*
*** as of June 30, 2025*

The **record** – likely a world record – was reached during the XVII Legislature, during the debate (at second reading) of the government bill titled «*Provisions for overcoming equal bicameralism, reducing the number of members of parliament, containing the operating costs of institutions, abolishing the CNEL and revising Title V of Part II of the Constitution*». In just one day, September 23, 2015, as many as **82,730,460 amendments generated by algorithm** were presented.

The near totality of them were subsequently declared "inadmissible" by Senate President Pietro Grasso on September 29, on the grounds that it was objectively impossible to «*examine the merits of this abnormal number of amendments, if not at the cost of setting a precedent that would allow parliamentary business to be blocked for an incalculable amount of time*». In any event, thanks to GEM, an application that was then in an experimental phase and now in full use, **the Senate's offices were able to process and sort them all in just three days**

Similis: the search for similar amendments

Once submitted, amendments undergo a series of checks on the part of the Senate's offices, including the identification, grouping and sometimes "filtering" of identical or very similar amendments, in order to assess, in accordance with the Rules of the Senate, whether they can be absorbed. In 2021, the Senate, together with the National Research Council (CNR), developed a software that uses AI to evaluate the degree to which two texts are similar. The system then clusters similar amendments together, highlighting them with the same colour. This makes it possible to avoid having to compare each individual amendment with all others, which can number in the thousands. *Similis* is very powerful: it can make this calculation in a few seconds, even when there are thousands of amendments and in very complex cases.

The amendment organiser

Amendments are debated and voted on, both in plenary sittings and in committees, on the basis of a specific order established by the Rules of the Senate for each article: first, amendments that delete the entire text, followed by those that replace the entire text, then by those that delete part of the text, those that replace the deleted part, those that add part of the text, and finally those that add new articles. GEM intervenes in this crucial phase by using a suite of AI technologies (in particular Natural Language Processing, or NLP) **to calculate and propose an initial order**. It is only after validation on the part of the Senate offices that the amendment file is sent to the body that must examine it (plenary sitting or committee). The algorithm used by GEM does not require particularly high computing power and can be used on ordinary computers, even for relatively complex cases. Its use has proven crucial to **streamline and dematerialise the management of amendments.**

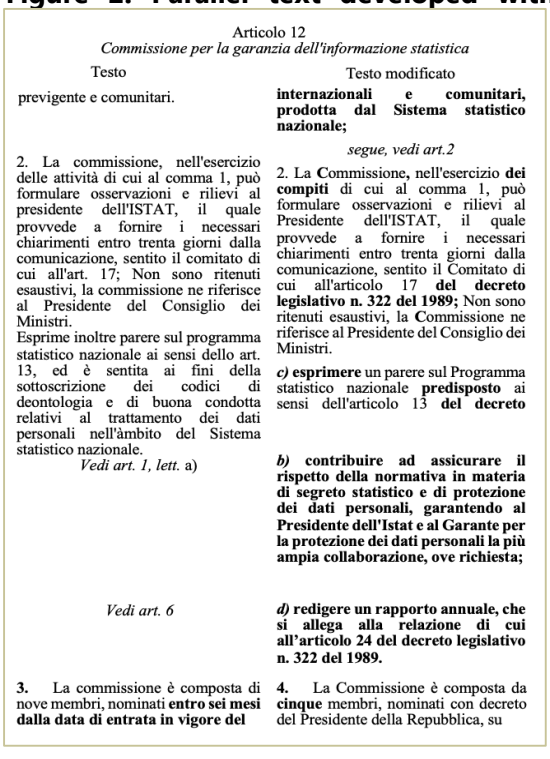
Linkoln and normative marking

In accordance with (a regrettable) tradition, legislative references in parliamentary acts are not evidenced as hyperlinks. To remedy this shortcoming, the Senate and the CNR developed *Linkoln*, a software based on Natural Language Processing methods (NLP): provided with a fragment of text, it is able to **identify all references to European and Italian laws** (in addition to other types of acts, such as judgements) and to automatically add **a hyperlink**. Released as open source and now in use in various national contexts, including the Normattiva portal, *Linkoln* is also used to mark bills and amendments, making it easier to verify their regulatory consistency and compatibility with existing legislation.

What if? The final text predictor

What would happen if a given amendment were to be approved? Ongoing experimentations include a service that employs generative AI techniques to **predict the final text** on the basis of the initial text of the bill and the amendments presented. This same instrument already makes it possible to draft a **parallel text** (TAF – *Testo a fronte*) that highlights the difference between the initial text (left-hand column) and the final version (right-hand column).

Figure 2. Parallel text developed with AI



Articolo 12
Commissione per la garanzia dell'informazione statistica

Testo	Testo modificato
previgente e comunitari.	**internazionali e comunitari, prodotta dal Sistema statistico nazionale;**
	segue, vedi art.2
2. La commissione, nell'esercizio delle attività di cui al comma 1, può formulare osservazioni e rilievi al presidente dell'ISTAT, il quale provvede a fornire i necessari chiarimenti entro trenta giorni dalla comunicazione, sentito il comitato di cui all'art. 17; Non sono ritenuti esaustivi, la commissione ne riferisce al Presidente del Consiglio dei Ministri. Esprime inoltre parere sul programma statistico nazionale ai sensi dello art. 13, ed è sentita ai fini della sottoscrizione dei codici di deontologia e di buona condotta relativi al trattamento dei dati personali nell'ambito del Sistema statistico nazionale.	2. La **C**ommissione**,** nell'esercizio **dei compiti** di cui al comma 1, può formulare osservazioni e rilievi al Presidente dell'ISTAT, il quale provvede a fornire i necessari chiarimenti entro trenta giorni dalla comunicazione, sentito il Comitato di cui all'articolo 17 **del decreto legislativo n. 322 del 1989;** Non sono ritenuti esaustivi, la **C**ommissione ne riferisce al Presidente del Consiglio dei Ministri.
Vedi art. 1, lett. a)	***c)* esprimere** un parere sul Programma statistico nazionale **predisposto** ai sensi dell'articolo 13 **del decreto**
	***b)* contribuire ad assicurare il rispetto della normativa in materia di segreto statistico e di protezione dei dati personali, garantendo al Presidente dell'Istat e al Garante per la protezione dei dati personali la più ampia collaborazione, ove richiesta;**
Vedi art. 6	***d)* redigere un rapporto annuale, che si allega alla relazione di cui all'articolo 24 del decreto legislativo n. 322 del 1989.**
3. La commissione è composta di nove membri, nominati **entro sei mesi dalla data di entrata in vigore del**	**4.** La Commissione è composta da **cinque** membri, nominati con decreto del Presidente della Repubblica, su

Source: Senate of the Italian Republic

To facilitate verification and correction on the part of the Senate offices, a **Diff** (calculation of differences) is used for the two columns of the parallel text; deleted parts are highlighted in red, added parts in green, while the amendment to which they refer is highlighted in yellow (Fig. 1).

The amendment analyst

Occasionally, amendments are presented that are colloquially referred to as "silent": they are so dense with regulatory references – "in article 5 of Law Z, the word W is replaced by the word Y, and consequently Article X of Law Q is amended" – as to be essentially incomprehensible. To assist senators in their evaluation, a report is drafted that requires time and highly qualified personnel.

Solutions based on generative AI are currently being tested: the AI tool is "fed" the text of the amendment, which is read in combination with the regulatory texts to which it refers and with any texts referenced by the referenced texts, which will have already been identified thanks to *Linkoln*. Taking the appropriate texts and precautions, the AI tool is asked to **illustrate the topics** covered by the amendment, **provide a description** and **assess its effects** on the law being examined.

The amendment editor

Although this tool is not part of the latest generation of generative AI products, it makes it possible, on the basis of the text of a bill and the changes that senators would like to propose, to generate such amendments directly in "review" mode, so as to be able to immediately assess their impact on the final text. The graphic interface will then "suggest" the most suitable wording for the text (without, of course, modifying its content).

Once this approach becomes widespread, it will make it possible to **automatically obtain properly drafted amendments**, minimising the possibility of technical errors while maximising the efficacy of all subsequent automated procedures (sorting, search for similarities, etc.).

AI and the constitutional principle: the publicity of parliamentary proceedings

The publicity of parliamentary proceedings is a fundamental element of modern parliaments. Article 64 of the Italian Constitution explicitly establishes that the sittings of the Chambers shall, as a rule, be public. **Parliamentary reports** implement this principle. It is a daunting task: from May 9, 1996, to June 30, 2025, the Assembly sat 4,887 times, for a total of nearly 15,000 hours, with over 53,000 committee sittings. In these 29 years, **over 49,000 verbatim reports** were published for **a total of almost 2,300,000 pages** and an average of **just under 300,000 pages per Legislature**. In addition to these, there is an average of 10,000 pages of verbatim reports for committee sittings alone.

Table 2. Number and hours of Senate sittings from the XIII to the XIX Legislature

	Plenary assembly		Committees*	
Legislature	**Number of sittings**	**Hours of sittings**	**Number of sittings**	**Hours of sittings**
XIII	1,061	3,158	9,548	10,878
XIV	965	2,708	8,952	9,068
XV	283	869	2,995	3,379
XVI	860	2,322	9,584	9,281
XVII	923	2,879	10,175	9,793
XVIII**	465	1,745	7,449	7,433
XIX***	330	1,193	4,807	4,078
Total	**4,887**	**14,874**	**53,510**	**53,910**

Source: Senate of the Italian Republic

**Includes all Senate committee sittings -bicameral, joint, and combined - excluding subcommittees providing opinions*

*** Starting with the XVIII Legislature plenary sittings are no longer divided into morning and afternoon sittings, with only a single sitting for the entire day.*

****As of June 30, 2025.*

Table 3. Minutes from the XIII to the XIX Legislature in the Senate

Legislature	Verbatim reports*	Pages published
XIII	4,575	267,317
XIV	4,479	294,747
XV	1,672	90,627
XVI	4,792	277,052
XVII	3,222	275,584
XVIII	3,260	207,597
XIX**	1,517	116,917
Total	**49,093**	**2,289,668**

Source: Senate of the Italian Republic
**Includes reports on plenary sittings and committee sittings along with the publication of weekly committee bulletins.*
*** As of June 30, 2025.*

The first step: reporting

The drafting of a sittings report requires personnel with great technical skill and experience with parliamentary procedures and customs, along with the application of a suite of technologies – of which artificial intelligence is the newest iteration, such as **machine learning** for **vocal recognition** and **speech transcription** - thanks to which today the Senate can boast the online publication of the initial draft of a sittings report within forty minutes of when a speech is made in the assembly.

The second step: publication

The website www.senato.it is not just an information interface with the citizenry, it is also the "service terminal" for twenty or so specialised databases, and more importantly, it is the official distribution channel for all information concerning parliamentary activity.

This comprises thousands of pages each year, from texts approved in assembly to opinions on acts of government expressed by committees, from institutional communications to reports by committees of enquiry and financial reporting by political parties and more. Their management, archival and publication is a complex challenge. Equally complex is the task of making it all available to the vast audience – about **30 million users a year** – that visits the Senate website in search of news, acts and documents.

The website www.senato.it is now a behemoth comprising **about 13 million pages** and an archive of **130,000 documents** in pdf format. To make it more user-friendly, the website is experimenting with the use of generative AI technologies.

Where (and how) to find what? Natural language searchability

It is now possible to search the Senate website through twenty or so search engines based on as many databases (legislative process, non-legislative activities, votes, etc.). For an inexperienced user who may not be able to accurately define search parameters, finding information may prove difficult.

Like other parliaments and institutions, the Italian Senate aims to give everyone the opportunity to perform not only classic searches using keywords and references but also queries using questions and answers in natural language. Several prototypes have already been developed, using both an expanded semantic search engine and a large language model (LLM).

One prototype currently under experimentation makes it possible to perform a dialogue-based query on a textual database (*Which dossiers have been published on* the *green economy? Which studies are available on the situation in prisons?),* obtaining relevant, exhaustive answers. A second prototype makes it possible to query the open data available on the website dati.senato.it, which gathers an enormous amount of information and texts on parliamentary activities in a machine-readable format. A chatbot "understands" the question posed by users in natural language and translates it into computer language, querying the system on their behalf.

Everything in video: Senato Tv

Starting in 2004, plenary sittings, committee sittings, and certain events are live-streamed on both the Senate's TV channel and on the website webtv.senato.it, which hosts an archive of **over 10,000 videos** in addition to all live-streamed content. To ensure that debates in the assembly and more are **fully accessible** to the hearing impaired, the **automated subtitling of speech** is currently being tested.

Also under testing is a system – developed in cooperation with the University Roma Tre – for the **automated synchronisation of a video of a plenary sitting with its report**. It is based on sequence alignment algorithms (in this case, the sequences are the verbatim reports and the automated transcription of speech) which make it possible to synchronise videos with the relevant written report. This makes it possible to cross-reference the two sources.

What about the long term?

The long-term outlook is that of **an ever more evolved, digitised and interconnected Parliament**, able to interface with a constantly expanding text and data ecosystem, through intelligent systems and interoperable solutions.

Automation may be extended to new activities: advanced abstracting of documentation archives, conversational searches of large databases (legislative or otherwise), multimedia production (podcasts, videos with synchronised text), support for the advanced drafting of regulations, automated monitoring systems for regulatory quality and the impact of laws.

Interoperability with open-source systems and with open data will increase, fuelling both AI evolution and a national and European ecosystem of solutions that are reliable, transparent, and compliant with existing laws and regulations.

The involvement of universities, research centres, and open source communities will grow, as will engagement with the public administration, which will confirm its role not only as a user, but also as an active player in the development of public, certified AI trained on high-quality, vetted data.

A commitment to an Italian GenAI

Generative artificial intelligence systems are based on Large Language Models (LLM), which comprise large neural networks trained with an enormous number of texts produced by human beings. The best-performing LLMs currently available on the market are almost all developed by companies located in the United States, and the main problems with their use are associated with the quality (and the transparency) of the data with which they were trained, along with the potential presence of biases that may affect their functioning.

The availability of high-performance GenAI systems developed in Europe, preferably in Italy, developed in compliance with the EU's AI Act, is thus a strategic imperative both in the public sphere and for the private sector. The public administration can play a central role in this process, making available its own data to support the development and training of national generative artificial intelligences.

In this regard, the Senate has decided to take on a major role (and significant responsibilities). Quite some time ago, through the open-data website source dati.senato.it, it had made fully and freely useable the texts produced by the Senate's offices in support of parliamentary activity. It took an additional step forward in 2025: through collaborative agreements with public universities and private research centres, it has made available a large amount of certified, institutional data – from parliamentary reports and dossiers to official publications – for training made-in-Italy GenAI systems.

Training takes place with the collaboration and supervision of Senate technicians, fully leveraging the high quality of the document's contents while exploring new modalities for their use. Finally, it provides specialised training for the personnel involved in the development of these tools.

Conclusion

Beginning in the 1970s, the Senate has increasingly integrated information technology in its institutional, legislative, and administrative activities.

With the advent of artificial intelligence, it has developed in-house a series of applications – from the TeSeo classification system to the GEM amendment manager, the Linkoln reference identifier, and automated transcription systems — that have made it possible to **improve efficiency** in the processing of large amounts of legislative data, the **automated analysis of amendments**, summaries of complex texts, and the **formal oversight and transparent publication** of acts and reports.

For nearly fifteen years, **parliamentary documentation** is handled **almost exclusively digitally** in the Senate. Dematerialisation has made it possible to do away with the printing of hundreds of thousands of pages each year, with significant savings in terms of time and personnel costs.

The "Human in Command" approach, which relies on **human beings** – and never machines – as those ultimately **responsible for vetting and approving the decisions and contents** generated by advanced AI systems, has made it possible to strike a balance between technological innovation and the safeguarding of the fundamental principles of parliamentary proceedings, such as transparency, responsibility, and publicity.

In its experimentations, the Senate has always kept in mind possible risks, such as the potential for abusing AI tools (algorithm obstruction, biases, generative AI hallucinations) by tackling them with **rigorous control and validation systems** and with the **continuous training of personnel**.

This dossier

Introduces the main information technologies developed and adopted by the Senate of the Italian Republic, illustrating their use in the legislative process and in the publicity of parliamentary proceedings.

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