

Comparative Study of Electoral Systems

Module 5: Macro Report

Version: September 14, 2016

Country: Italy

Date of Election: March 4, 2018

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NOTES TO COLLABORATORS

- There are eight sections (numbered A-H inclusive) in this report. Please ensure that you complete all the sections.
- The information provided in this report contributes to the macro data portion of the CSES, an important component of the CSES project. The information may be filled out by yourself, or by an expert or experts of your choice. Your efforts in providing these data are greatly appreciated.
- Any supplementary documents that you can provide (e.g.: electoral legislation, party manifestos, electoral commission reports, media reports, district data) are also appreciated, and may be made available on the CSES website.
- Answers should be as of the date of the election being studied.
- Where brackets [] appear, collaborators should answer by placing an “X” within the appropriate bracket or brackets. For example: [X]
- If more space is needed to answer any question, please lengthen the document as necessary.

A) DATA PERTINENT TO ELECTION AT WHICH MODULE WAS ADMINISTERED

1a. Type of Election:

- Parliamentary/Legislative
- Parliamentary/Legislative and Presidential
- Presidential
- Other; please specify: _____

1b. If the type of election in Question 1a included Parliamentary/Legislative, was the election for the Upper House, Lower House, or both?

- Upper House
- Lower House
- Both
- Other; please specify: _____

2a. What was the party of the president *prior* to the most recent election, regardless of whether the election was presidential?

Sergio Mattarella

2b. What was the party of the Prime Minister *prior* to the most recent election, regardless of whether the election was parliamentary?

Democratic Party

2c. Report the number of cabinet ministers of each party or parties in cabinet, *prior* to the most recent election. (If one party holds all cabinet posts, simply write "all".) Please also provide a website link to this data if possible.

Source: https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Governo_Gentiloni

Party Name	Number of cabinet positions
Democratic Party	16
New Center Right	2
Christian Democratic Union	1

2d. What was the size of the cabinet *prior* to the election (i.e.: total number of cabinet ministers detailed in 2c)? Please include only full ministers and the prime minister in the count.

19 (including the PM)

3a. What was the party of the president *after* the most recent election, regardless of whether the election was presidential?

NA

3b. What was the party of the Prime Minister *after* the most recent election, regardless of whether the election was parliamentary?

The current PM is an independent, supported by a government made of the 5 Star Movement and the League

3c. Report the number of cabinet ministers of each party or parties in cabinet, *after* the most recent election. (If one party holds all cabinet posts, simply write "all"). Please provide a website link to this data if possible.

Source: https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Governo_Conte

Party Name	Number of cabinet positions
5 Star Movement	8
League	5
Independent	6

3d. What was the size of the cabinet *after* the election (total number of cabinet ministers detailed in 3c)? Please include only full ministers and the prime minister in the count.

19 (including the PM)

4a. Please provide **a source** of data detailing the official election results at the **national level** (votes and seats) for **all** parties participating in the election. Please provide a website link to this data if possible. If the data is not available electronically, please provide the information in paper format.

Archive of election results, Ministry of the Interior:

<https://elezionistorico.interno.gov.it/index.php>

Unfortunately the website is only in Italian. However, results can be accessed by clicking on CAMERA (for the lower house) or SENATO (for the upper house) and then clicking on 2018.

4b. Please provide **a source** of data detailing the official election results at the **district level** (votes and seats) for **all** parties participating in the election. Please provide a website link to this data if possible. If the data is not available electronically, please provide the information in paper format.

Same URL as above, district-level results are accessed by selecting CIRCOSCRIZIONE (literally "electoral district") and then choosing the district of interest.

4c. Can voters cast a ballot before Election Day(s)? (i.e.: Is early voting possible)?

Yes, for the whole electorate

Yes, but only for some of the electorate – please specify below:

The citizens residing abroad can vote via mail, normally ballots are shipped a few days before the election

No

4d. Can voters cast a ballot by mail?

Yes, for the whole electorate

Yes, but only for some of the electorate – please specify below:

Only the citizens residing abroad

No

4e. Can voters cast a ballot by the Internet?

Yes, for the whole electorate

Yes, but only for some of the electorate – please specify below:

No

B) PARTY POSITIONS

5a. Ideological family of political parties: Please indicate the ideological party family for each party by using the numbered categories below. For this question, please use the same parties that were used in the CSES Module 5 respondent questionnaire, and label them the same way (A-I).

Party Name	Ideological Family
A. Partito Democratico / Democratic Party	4, 5
B. Forza Italia	7
C. Movimento 5 Stelle / 5 Star Movement	15 (anti-political establishment party), 1 (albeit not fully defining them as it would be for a green party)
D. Lega / League	10, 9
E. Liberi e Uguali / Free and Equal	3, 5
F. Fratelli d'Italia / Brothers of Italy	10, 9

Ideological Party Families: (These are suggestions only. If a party does not fit well into this classification scheme, please provide an alternative and some explanation.)

- (1) Ecology Parties
- (2) Communist Parties
- (3) Socialist Parties

- (4) Social Democratic Parties
- (5) Left Liberal Parties
- (6) Liberal Parties

- (7) Right Liberal Parties
- (8) Christian Democratic Parties
- (9) Conservative Parties

(10) National Parties
(11) Agrarian Parties

(12) Ethnic Parties
(13) Regional Parties

(14) Independents
(15) Others

5b: How many country experts/national collaborators have assisted in the classification of parties on the above scale?

Just myself

6a1. Ideological Positions of Parties: Please indicate party positions on a left-right dimension (in the expert judgment of the CSES Collaborator(s)). Please use the same parties that were used in the CSES Module 5 respondent questionnaire, and label them the same way (A-I).

Party Name	Left										Right	
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
A. Partito Democratico / Democratic Party					x							
B. Forza Italia								x				
C. Movimento 5 Stelle / 5 Star Movement						x						
D. Lega / League											x	
E. Liberi e Uguali / Free and Equal		x										
F. Fratelli d'Italia / Brothers of Italy											x	

6a2: How many country experts/national collaborators have assisted in the classification of parties on the above scale?

Just myself

6a3: We encourage collaborators to provide any further specific or relevant information (if applicable) regarding the above classifications which might help users of the data understand them to a greater extent. This information will be included in the CSES codebook. Please fill in below.

- The 5 Star Movement ostensibly classifies itself as "neither left, nor right", while in fact its platform contains policies that are both left and right, hence its positioning in the center.

- The League used to be a regional party until the previous election, it became an anti-immigration party in recent times (at the end of 2017 it changed the name from "Northern League" to just "League", to appeal to voters in the south as well), and in terms of left-right it is hardly distinguishable from Brothers of Italy.

- A general point: the left-right positions that I chose here take into account the issues of economic redistribution (where: the 5 Star Movement would be positioned slightly on the

D. Lega / League											X	
E. Liberi e Uguali / Free and Equal	X											
F. Fratelli d'Italia / Brothers of Italy								X				

6c2: How many country experts/national collaborators have assisted in the classification of parties on the above scale?

Just myself

6c3: We encourage collaborators to provide any further specific or relevant information (if applicable) regarding the above classifications which might help users of the data understand them to a greater extent. This information will be included in the CSES codebook. Please fill in below.

The 5 Star Movement is a textbook example of a populist party, given the definition above. The League uses populist tones, but conjugated in a more national-anthropological sense (the emphasis on the interest of the "Italians") rather than in an anti-establishment sense (also because they have been part of the government with Berlusconi in the periods 1994-1995, 2001-2006, and 2008-2011. About Forza Italia, Berlusconi used a slightly populist narrative in the mid 1990s, however the party was more characterized as a conservative party.

C) SALIENT ISSUES IN THE ELECTION

7. In your view, what are the five most salient factors that affected the outcome of the election (e.g.: major scandals; economic events; the presence of an independent actor; specific issues)?

Note: Please rank the issues according to their salience (1 = most salient).

1. Immigration (conjugated more in terms of crime/security rather than cultural identity or economy, in particular the [murder of Pamela Mastropietro](#) at the end of January, the following shooting by Luca Traini, and the reactions of the political parties, boosted the salience of the issue right before the elections)

2. Jobs (in particular work protection), Poverty

3. Taxes/Social benefits (including retirement benefits)

4. Europe (in particular the treaties about the distribution of migrants and asylum seekers, and the debt constraints given by Italy being Eurozone member)

D) FAIRNESS OF THE ELECTION & ELECTION SCHEDULING

8a. How impartial was the body that administered the election law?

- Very impartial
- Mostly impartial
- Not very impartial
- Not impartial at all

8b. Was there a formal complaint against the national level results?

- Yes
- No

8c. Were there irregularities reported by international election observers?

- Yes
- No
- No international election observers

8d. On what date was the election originally legally scheduled to be held?

March 4, 2018

8e. On what date was the election actually held? If different from 8d, please explain why.

March 4, 2018

E) ELECTION VIOLENCE

9a. To what extent was there violence and voter or candidate intimidation **during** the election campaign and on the election day?

- No violence at all
- Sporadic violence on the part of the government
- Sporadic violence on the part of opposition groups
- Sporadic violence on all sides
- Significant violence on the part of the government
- Significant violence on the part of opposition groups
- Significant violence of all sides

9b. If there was violence, was it geographically concentrated or national?

- Geographically concentrated
- National

9c. To what extent was there violence following the election?

- No violence at all
- Sporadic violence on the part of the government
- Sporadic violence on the part of opposition groups
- Sporadic violence on all sides
- Significant violence on the part of the government
- Significant violence on the part of opposition groups
- Significant violence of all sides

9d. To what extent was there protest following the election?

- No protest at all
- Sporadic protest
- Significant protest

F) ELECTORAL ALLIANCES

10. Joint Lists/Candidates

There are multiple types of electoral alliances/coalitions, but we are specifically interested in those involving joint lists or candidates - i.e. those where parties compete as a unit during the election.

Definitions: A joint list refers to one on which candidates of different parties run together. Apparentement refers to a legal agreement between two or more lists to pool their votes for the purposes of an initial seat allocation, with seats initially allocated to the alliance then reallocated to the lists in the alliance.

10a. Is this type of electoral coalition legally allowable?

Yes

No

10b. Is this type of electoral coalition used in practice, even if not legally allowable?

Yes

No

10c. If “Yes” was answered to either of the above questions, then please complete the following table for the election at which the Module was administered. Please mention only alliances that received at least 1% of the vote nationally. Add additional lines to the table as necessary.

Alliance Name	Participating Parties (please indicate dominant members with an “**”)
Alliance 1: Center-right	League, Forza Italia, Brothers of Italy, Us with Italy-Christian Democratic Union
Alliance 2: Center-left	Democratic Party, +Europe, Popular Civic List, Together List

Note: other coalitions were present but they were hardly relevant. Likewise, other minor parties were present within the coalitions but they were not present on the ballot.

11. If joint lists are possible, are they subject to different regulations than single-party lists? For example, higher thresholds, different numbers of candidates that may appear on the list, etc. (please mark all applicable responses)

- Yes, joint party lists must satisfy higher thresholds
- Yes, joint party lists may present different numbers of candidates
- Yes, joint party lists are subject to other regulations that are different from the regulations governing independent parties; please specify: _____
- No, joint parties are governed by the same rules as the other parties
- Not applicable; no joint party lists are allowed

12a. Is there apparentement or linking of lists?

- Yes
- No

12b. If apparentement is possible, what lists can participate in such agreements:

- lists of the same party in the same constituency
- lists of the same party from different constituencies
- lists of different parties in the same constituency

13a. Can candidates run with the endorsement of more than one party?

- Yes
- No

13b. If candidates can run with the endorsement of more than one party, is this reflected on the ballot?

- No
- No party endorsements are indicated on the ballot paper
- Yes, candidate's name appears once, together with the names of all supporting parties
- Yes, candidate's name appears as many times as there are different parties endorsing him/her, each time with the name of the endorsing party
- Yes, other; please explain: _____

G) ELECTORAL INSTITUTIONS

If possible, please supplement this section with copies of the electoral law, voters' handbooks, electoral commission reports, and/or any other relevant materials.

Please note: Questions 15a through 21d must be repeated for each electoral tier (segment) of each directly elected house of the legislature.

Electoral Tier (Segment) and House

14a. In your answers for questions 15a through 21d, which electoral tier (segment) is being referred to?

Both the Lower House (Chamber of Deputies) and the Upper House (Senate) work with the same electoral rules.

14b. In your answers for questions 15a through 21d, which house is being referred to (lower or upper)? (Note: Countries with only one tier may skip this question.)

See above

Questions about Voting

15a. How many votes do voters cast or can cast? In systems where voters rank order the candidates, if there are 10 candidates (for example), the response to this question should be 10.

Voters could make a sign (1) on the district candidate's name, (2) on a party list supporting a district candidate, (3) on both the candidate's name and the party list supporting the candidate (split-ballots were not allowed)

15b. Do they vote for candidates (not party lists) or party lists? (Note: Collaborators may select multiple answers, if appropriate.)

(Definition: Party bloc voting is used in multi-member districts where voters cast a single party-centered vote for their party of choice; the party with the most votes wins all of the district seats.)

Candidates

Party Lists

Party Bloc Voting

Other; please explain: _____

15c. How many rounds of voting are there?

One

- 15d. If there are lists, are they closed, open, flexible, or is there party bloc voting?
 Closed (order of candidates elected is determined by the party and voters are unable to express preference for a particular candidate)
 Open (voters can indicate their preferred party and their favored candidate within that party)
 Flexible (voters can allocate votes to candidates either within a single party list or across different party lists as they see fit)

16. Are the votes transferable?

(Definition: In systems with preferential voting, a voter can express a list of preferences. E.g., votes can be cast by putting a '1' in the column next to the voter's preferred candidate, a '2' beside their second favorite candidate and so on. Votes are counted according to the first preferences and any candidates who have achieved the predetermined quota are elected. To decide which of the remaining candidates are elected the votes are transferred from candidates who have more than the necessary number to achieve the quota and from the candidate with the least number of votes. An example of this is the election in Ireland in 2002.)

- Yes
 No

17. If more than one vote can be cast, can they be cumulated?

(Definition: Cumulative voting refers to systems in which voters are allowed to cast more than one vote for a single candidate.)

- Yes
 No

18. Is voting compulsory?

(Definition: Voting is compulsory if the law states that all those who have the right to vote are obliged to exercise that right.)

- Yes; Strictly Enforced Sanctions
 Yes; Weakly Enforced Sanctions
 Yes; Without Sanction for Violation
 No

19. Please list and describe any other features of voting that should be noted.

The "Rosato" law is a mixed-member majoritarian system consisting of two components. In the majoritarian component, accounting for about 1/3 of the seats, candidates supported by electoral coalitions (or single parties) competed in single member districts under plurality rule. The remaining 2/3 of the seats were distributed proportionally among parties according to the results at the national level. Each party symbol on the ballot came with a closed list of up to 4 candidates that could vary between larger pseudo-multi-member districts ("pseudo" because districts did not actually account for the seat distribution,

which was based on national-level results, in this sense the candidate names for the multi-member districts can be regarded as a marketing tool).

In the proportional component, thresholds for obtaining seats are 3% for parties running alone, 10% for coalitions, and 1% for parties within coalitions).

Questions about Converting Votes into Seats

20a. Are there legally mandated thresholds that a party must exceed before it is eligible to receive seats?

Yes

No

20b. If YES in Question 21a, what is the threshold?

See explanation above

20c. If YES in Question 21a, what is the unit for the threshold mentioned in Question 21b?

Percent of total votes

Percent of valid votes

Percent of the total electorate

Other; please explain: _____

20d. If YES in Question 21a, please specify to what House/ Electoral Tier (Segment) the threshold(s) apply.

Both Lower and Upper House

Please repeat questions 15a through 21d for each electoral tier (segment) of each directly elected house of the legislature. Countries with only one tier should proceed to Question 22.

H) References

21. Please list any resources that were consulted in the preparation of this report, or that the CSES community may find especially helpful in understanding the political system described. Include website links if applicable.

- https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Italian_electoral_law_of_2017
- <https://fruitsandvotes.wordpress.com/2018/03/07/italy-2018-assessing-the-electoral-system-effect/>
- https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lega_Nord
- https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Five_Star_Movement
- [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democratic_Party_\(Italy\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democratic_Party_(Italy))
- https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Forza_Italia
- [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Free_and_Equal_\(Italy\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Free_and_Equal_(Italy))
- https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brothers_of_Italy