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A survival analysis of the circulation of the political elites

governing Italy from 1861 to 1994

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Abstract

We study the determinants of governments and legislatures' survival in Italy from the unification to the end of the I Republic (1861-1994) - excluding the fascist period and the subsequent transitory institutional period, *"Constituente"* (1946-1948).

We test whether institutional features such as electoral systems, form of State and extent of suffrage had any effect on the survival of legislatures and governments. We control for voting power of the parliamentary groups, number of parties represented in the parliament and size of the representative bodies.

Unlike the political economy wisdom, we show that, over the whole period, governments and legislatures' survivals are inversely related to the plurality electoral system. The restricted suffrage and a high voting power of the leading parties reduce the risk of anticipated end of governments.

The survival of the legislatures is related to the form of state (republic) and to the voting power of the leading party.

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1. Introduction

In this paper we analyze the "struggle for survival" of governments and legislatures of the Italian democratic parliaments, from the creation of the Italian state (1861) up to 1994, with the exclusion of the fascist period (i.e., the legislatures from 1924 to 1945 in which the democratic institutions were absent and of the subsequent transitory institutional period, known as *"Constituente"*, lasting until 1948). We consider whether the survival of Italian governments and legislatures was related to different electoral systems, to the voting power of the various political groups, to the number of parliamentary groups and to the size of the representative bodies. We also consider whether it was relevant for the parliament and the government to be in a constitutional Monarchy, with an elective Chamber and a Senate appointed by the King as in the 1861-1924 period, or in a non presidential Republic, with two elective chambers as in the 1948-1994 period; and whether the extent of the suffrage had any effect.

In this respect, the political economy literature[1] is pervaded by the thesis that the *proportional electoral system is the main cause of political "fragmentation"* of the governance *via* the numerousness of parties in the government coalitions, assumed to be a typical feature of the proportional electoral systems in contrast with the majoritarian electoral system. According to Alesina and Perotti (1994) "proportional, representational electoral system typically create multiparty systems and coalition governments; on the contrary, majoritarian systems lead to single party governments". Proportional representation also determines the short-life of governments because "governments durability is lower in representational systems characterised by coalition governments": by preventing the emergence of a leading-party the proportional electoral system implies higher fragmentation and short-living governments; this makes it difficult to reach an agreement on the governance and determines the delay of political decisions and actions. Roubini and Sachs (1989a and 1989b) argue that a short lived government only cares of the short horizon of the effects of its actions and it is induced to short-sighted policies which pre-empt the possibilities of the subsequent governments of pursuing their own different policies. According to Grilli, Masciandaro and Tabellini (1991), short lived governments and instability, caused by political fragmentation of coalitions of parties, prevent long run programs. Alesina and Perotti (1994)[2] argue that this type of situation might be irrelevant in calm periods, but becomes negatively crucial in critical situations such as those determined by economic shocks and subsequent crises. More recently, Persson and Tabellini (2003), with a panel including a huge group of countries from all the continents have found a number of peculiar effects determined by electoral rules. Countries under plurality electoral system cut taxes and spending ahead of elections, whereas countries with proportional electoral systems expand welfare programs in election years and further expand these programs in the years immediately following the elections. Furthermore, plurality reduces not only government ineffectiveness but also corruption by creating stronger incentives for politicians not to use their office for private gain.[3]

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[1] See, for example, the surveys by Alesina and Perotti (1994) and Persson and Tabellini (2003).

[2] Alesina and Perotti (1994) support their view on fragmentation on the basis of Drazen and Grilli (1993), Grilli, Masciandaro and Tabellini (1991).

[3] One might argue that corruption is a function of the struggle for survival and, therefore, short living legislatures and governments, because of the higher frequency of the competitive struggle for their survival determine more corruption.

The above theories of fragmentation and instability basically supported by political economy scholars are not supported by sociologists and political scientists. Already in the '70s it was recognized that fragmented democracy can be as stable as the non fragmented (Lijphart, 1968). Sartori (1982) when asking why some democracy is stable and endures, whereas some other has difficult life or dies, does not focus merely on fragmentation of the party system: this fragmentation, *per se*, does explain almost nothing unless it is considered in connection with polarization. Low polarization makes the governance of a democratic system viable even if its party system is fragmented, the structure of its own cleavages is segmented, and its own political culture is not homogeneous. According to Sartori fragmentation and multiplicity of parties do originate coalition governments, but governing coalitions are not necessarily unstable and unworkable. If coalitions are made up of similar/close political parties, which assure continuity, they might work satisfactorily. In this respect Laver (2000)[4] summarizes the key results obtained by political scientist as follows: (i) *Coalition governments* and even minority governments need not be weak and unstable. Both empirical and theoretical researches show that coalition governments can be stable equilibrium responses to electoral results by which no party has an absolute majority. Minority governments may also be stable equilibrium responses to particular government formation situations. The parties making up minority governments often tend to be quite large and quite central in policy terms. (ii) *Parties' policy* plays a remarkable role in the making and breaking of governments. There is a fear of coalition governments, considered anti-democratic, because citizens vote for parties at election time, but parties are forced by coalition bargaining to modify their policies after the elections if they want to get into office: both empirical and theoretical researches have shown that the resulting policy accommodations are almost invariably centripetal.[5] (iii) Both the formation and the durability of governments are heavily conditioned by the *institutional environment*.[6]

In section 2 we shall consider some stylised facts from the Italian democratic history on which basis we shall single out the variables of interest for the analysis of the Italian democratic parliament. In section 3, we

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Moreover, the struggle for survival might also imply policies of tax reduction to entice electors belonging to the right or welfare programs to entice the electors from the left.

[4] The wide political science literature on the formation and duration of governments basically follows two approaches. The first, essentially empirical (e.g., Blondel and Muller-Rommell, 1993; Browne and Dreijmanis, 1982; Lijphart, 1984; Pridham, 1986; Strom, 1985; Warwick, 1994), aims at singling out a set of variables relevant for the government duration in the real world. The second is characterized by *a priori* modelling of government formation. A first variant of the latter is "institution free" and aims at solving problems as the creation of a majority for an investiture vote (e.g., Axelrod, 1970; Grofman, 1982; McKelvey and Schofield, 1986, 1987; Peleg, 1981; Riker, 1962; Schofield, 1993). A second variant, developed within the "new institutionalist" approach, views the governments' formation process and governments' duration as a product of specific institutional rules (e.g., Austen-Smith and Banks, 1988, 1990; Baron, 1991; Huber, 1996; Laver and Shepsle, 1996; Lupia and Strom, 1995).

[5] Parties may change their policies, but the beneficiary is almost invariably the median voter (see, e.g., Laver and Shepsle, 1996; Schofield, 1993). Coalition bargaining, therefore, can make more voters more happy than they were before (Austen-Smith and Banks, 1990; Baron, 1991, Huber, 1996; Laver and Shepsle, 1996, Schofield, 1993).

[6] Amongst other, the institutional features analysed include the role of formal investiture votes (Strom, 1990); rules for choosing formateurs (Austen-Smith and Banks, 1988; Baron, 1991); the role of confidence and no-confidence procedures (Huber, 1996); the rules of cabinet governance, in particular, the relationship between collective cabinet responsibility and individual ministerial responsibility for specified policy portfolios (Laver and Shepsle, 1996).

empirically test the determinants of governments and legislatures' length by means of survival analysis. Conclusions follow in section 4.

2. The determinants of governments and legislatures' survival

2.1. Some stylised facts on the electoral systems in Italy

In Italy, since the creation of the parliament of the Italian Kingdom, in 1861, different electoral systems have been adopted. The pure uninominal electoral system, with some exception, was in place until 1919. After the interruption of the democracy, in the new republican period (since 1948) the pure proportional electoral system took place and lasted until the elections of 1994, when a hybrid form of majoritarian with a proportional share was introduced. But the electoral system changed again in 2006 into a hybrid form of proportional electoral system with a majority premium for the winning coalition. Therefore, for the analysis of the behaviour of the Italian parliament, only the sequence of governments and legislatures since 1861 until 1994 allows us to properly test the propositions of the literature related to the role of electoral system. In particular, we analyze the sequence of the Italian governments and parliaments in the nineteen democratic legislatures of the 1861-1924 monarchic period over 63 years (the elective chamber of deputies only, because the senate was non elective) and in the eleven legislatures of the Republic, from 1948 to 1994, i.e., over a total period of 109 years. Table 1 summarizes the basic features of the periods considered.[7]

Table 1. The Italian Governments and legislatures: summary statistics

	Number of legislatures	average duration of legislatures (in days)	Number of governments	average duration of governments (in days)	average duration of governments (subsequent governments with the same premier are joint)
MONARCHY (1861-1924) (pure plurality + mixed system- basically proportional)	19	1229	60	362	505
PURE PLURALITY SYSTEM	14	1227	48	350	494
PROPORTIONAL SYSTEM BY SCRUTINY OF LIST	5	990	12	412	550
REPUBLIC (pure proportional) 1948-1994	11	1525	47	322	504
PROPORTIONAL SYSTEM (mixed system + pure proportional)	16	1358	59	340	515

During the monarchic period, the pure majoritarian electoral system did last from 1861 to 1882, for seven legislatures, and from 1892 to 1919, for seven additional legislatures, with a total of 14 legislatures in 47 years, with an average survival of 494 days each).[8] In the 14 legislatures considered, there were 48

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[7] Tables A1 and A2 in appendix show in details of the sequence of governments (and the prime minister) in the considered legislatures, by separating, respectively, Monarchy and Republic and indicating the duration (in days) of governments and legislatures.

[8] Of these legislatures, 4 were shorter than two years (IX legislature of 15 months – from November 1865 to February 1867 –; XII legislature of 23 months – from November 1874 to October 1876 –; XVII legislature of 21 months – from December 1890 to September 1892– ; XIX legislature of 21 months – from June 1895 to March 1897–).

governments, on average, about 3 for each legislature. Under the quasi proportional system of the monarchic period (lasting from November 1882 to September 1892), there were 3 legislatures over 10 years, with an average survival of 1167 days each. The six governments survived on average 583 days. Under the proportional system with universal suffrage lasting about 4 years (from December of 1919 to January 1924), the legislature were 2 with an average survival of about 2 years each, and the governments were 6, with an average survival of about 8 months each. Overall, the non majoritarian periods (from November 1882 to September 1892, and from December 1919 to January 1924) had 5 legislatures in about 14 years, with an average survival of 990 days each, less than the survival of the legislatures under the majoritarian system (1227 days). There were 12 governments in 14 years, with an average survival of 412 days, slightly longer than that under the majoritarian system. Thus, in the monarchic period the majoritarian system determined a longer average duration of the parliaments in comparison with the proportional system, but the same did not occur for the survival of the governments, which is similar under the two electoral systems with a duration slightly longer for the governments under the proportional system. However, the plurality system gave these results in a period of 47 years of restricted suffrage. The results under the proportional system are an average of data of a limited period of 10 years under restricted suffrage and in an even shorter period of 4 years of male universal suffrage. Let us then consider the republican period of 46 years under the pure proportional system from April 1948 to April 1994. In this *long* period there were only two unusually short legislatures: the first from July 1976 to June 1979 and the second from April 1992 to April 1994. On average, the 11 legislatures in 46 years survived 1525 days, about 10 months less than the "physiologic" survival of 5 years set by the law. The number of governments, however, was 47 in 46 years, thus, confirming the average duration of the governments under the proportional electoral laws of the monarchic period.

Notice, however, that the number of governments as such, under the Italian parliamentary system, may be misleading because, *under the existing rule* both in the monarchic and the republican period, there is a formal change of government every time a given premier is charged by the head of state for "reshuffling" the cabinet, with some change of its composition, even if its political majority does not change. If one considered, as the same government, all the governments with the same prime minister succeeding to himself, into the same legislature,[9] under the plurality system the average survival of governments is 494 days, whereas under the proportional systems it becomes 515 days. Therefore, in the long run, an inverse relation seems to emerge between majoritarian system and governments' duration, in comparison with that under the proportional electoral system. Obviously, one might object that the majoritarian system we are considering was in place in a Monarchic period, mostly with limited suffrage. However, Monarchy and limited suffrage do not appear to be institutions adding instability to the governments. On the contrary, one might well argue that they have the opposite influence (see below). In any case, both with a pure formal and with a substantial definition of governments' duration, the thesis that the proportional system reduces the duration of governments and of parliaments has no empirical support in the 109 years of the Italian democracy under consideration. And the

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[9] Notice, however, that according to Laver and Schofield (1991), the termination of a government would also be either the change of party membership of the cabinet, or the formal government resignation, or a change of the prime minister and election.

same occurs for the related thesis that plurality electoral systems tend to generate long-life governments and parliaments. Other factors may, therefore, be relevant in explaining the different survival of governments and legislatures.

2.2. The fragmentation of the Italian Parliament from 1861 to 1994 and the role of the political parties

Duverger (1954) formulated a kind of "natural law of politics" according to which "dualism" in politics is natural. On this basis, quite often the West party-systems have been classified into two basic sytems – biparty and pluriparty – basically meaning that any system can be interpreted dualistically, by opposing, say, left to right, majority to opposition… and the like. On the other side, Sartori (1982) recognises that West Europe is often characterised by the "three party system".[10] In situations like the Italian, the main feature is a multi-polar system with the existence of a party (or group of parties) able to capture the opinion of the centre (not necessarily metrically between left and right). This situation does not allow the principle of alternate governments, but only semiperipheral reshuffling to the power.[11] According to this view, in Italy semiperipheral reshuffling has meant that the centre (the dominant party or a coalition of parties) has originally ruled without substitution. The extreme wing parties, in spite of their electoral weight (recall that the Communist party, PCI, in some legislatures got even 30% of seats), were almost never in the position of becoming ruling parties and the minor parties likely to be part of the ruling coalition had a minor influence and some time even for mere arithmetic reasons.[12]

In this context, any coalition of minor parties with the main party is possible *a priori*. One might object that this assumption is unrealistic, because there are parties ideologically idiosyncratic to each other. However, if one considers the Italian experience, in both the monarchic and republican periods, the coalitions of ideologically heterogeneous political groups were not rare under either electoral regime. The term "transformismo" was actually forged to design governments presided by right wing leaders[13] or with important right wing ministers and left wing majorities aided by right wing minorities and vice versa.[14] For the republican period, in the '70s the Democratic Christian party, DC, institutionalised a "grand coalition" with the Italian

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[10] That is, pluralism can be simple (biparty), moderate, extreme. Substantially, Sartori says that tracing the world back to a bipolar view is wrong and that Duverger excludes the existence of a "centre", only because centre parties are in contrast with his theory.

[11] In other words, a biparty system allows alternate governments, a moderate pluralism allows alternate coalitions, extreme pluralism allows semiperipheral reshuffling, with the alternation limited to the minor parties only.

[12] According to Sartori, in certain periods of the Italian history, the first consequence of this situation is an opposition without responsibility, because the opposition can never become majority. The further consequence might be that the likely allies of the main party are only (slightly) more responsible than the opposition, because only mere arithmetic reasons make them likely to become part of ruling coalition. Nevertheless, when in power the (minor) allies, being likely to become opposition again, because of the semiperipheral reshuffling, are less responsible of the government political action. In other words, for the minor parties, the lower the probability of becoming part of the ruling coalition, the higher the temptation of an irresponsible opposition. But, also, the higher the probability of becoming part of the ruling coalition, the higher the temptation of an irresponsible political action when in power.

[13] As the marquis Antonio Di Rudini three times in the XIX, XX and XXI legislatures.

[14] Urbano Rattazzi - who was prime minister twice, in the VIII and X legislatures, of important right wing governments - was originally known as a person with left wing ideas.

Communist Party, PCI, under the name of "historical compromise". The international political constraints made it impossible to have a national government with communist ministers, but they did not prevent a government with the PCI as "external support" to the majority.

Moreover, two important institutional factors relating to the functioning of the Italian Parliament must be considered to explain the semi-peripheral changes of the ruling coalition. Article 41 of the Statute of the Italian Kingdom stated that the "deputies represent the Nation in general and not the provinces in which they are elected. The electors cannot give them any agency constraint". Similarly, the article 67 of the Italian Constitution states that "every member of the Parliament represents the Nation and exerts his functions without agency constraints with the electors". According to the dominant traditional interpretation this principle allows the members of the parliament to vote disregarding their political (parliamentary) group. This possibility that emphasises the risks of losing power for a majority with a narrow margin over the majority quota – a feature quite independent of the type of electoral system. Another important principle of the Statute of Italian Kingdom allowing combinations amongst different political groups was that of the article 52, by which the vote both in the Chamber and in the Senate, in principle, was an open vote, but ten members could ask for secret ballots. A similar rule was adopted in the internal regulations of Chamber and Senate in the Italian Republic until August 1988. The secret ballot allowed the formation of various parliamentary coalitions, sometime different from that officially supporting the government in charge and rendered very difficult for the leading parties to rule without large majorities.[15]

If the above picture captures the main features of the Italian parliamentary system since 1861 to 1994, it seems to us that the proper way to analyse it is to consider the parties' voting powers as determined by the Shapley-Shubik (S-S) index that measures the probability of any given voter of belonging to a winning coalition. Following the game theoretic approach underlying the S-S index of voting power,[16] we interpret the political groups represented (elected) in each branch of the Parliament as the players of a *game to stay in power* and assume that any political group - the players of the game - may combine opportunistically with any other, even disregarding their ideological differences. The notion of power of a player is referred to his ability to be the "last decisive" or marginal ("pivot") player of a winning coalition over all the possible coalitions.[17]

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[15] The secret ballot principle, unrelated to the type of electoral system, originated the practice of the so called "snipers".

[16] See Shapley-Shubik (1954).

[17] The S-S index of voting power measures the chances of any party or player of being the pivotal member of a winning coalition as follows. Consider a n-players co-operative game defined by means of a characteristic-function, $\mathbf{v}: A \rightarrow (0,1)$, where A is the set of all 2^n subset of the set of players N, $(1,..,n)$ and $\mathbf{v}$ assigns to each subset $A \in A$ the value 1 if A is a winning coalition and 0 if it is a losing coalition. The S-S power index, S-S(i), for a player i can be defined as

$$S\text{-}S(i) = \frac{\sum_{i \in C, C \subset N} (c-1)!(n-c)!}{n!} [v(C) - v(C - \{i\})]$$

where the summation is taken over all coalitions C (consisting of c members), which i belongs to and '!' denotes factorial. A crucial role in the index is played by the permutations of players. We need to count for all 2^n coalitions the number of permutations of the remaining n-c members, i.e. only those cases in which $[v(C) - v(C - \{i\})] \neq 0$, that is, i is pivotal (his participation, as the last coming player, can change a losing coalition into winning coalition). In this sense, S-S(i) may be interpreted to represent both the possibility of measuring a player's power or "value" by the abstract probability that he is

Given the number of seats and, thus, the voting weights of each party represented in the Parliament in each legislature, the S-S indexes have been worked out for all the democratic Italian legislatures from 1861 to 1994. These values of the S-S indices are reported in appendix. Figure 1 shows the S-S power of the leading parties only (the biggest party in the government coalition) over the considered period. In the monarchic period, they are the Historical Right from 1861 (VIII legislature) up to 1876 (XII legislature) and the Historical-left from the XIII legislature (1876-1880) to XXVI legislature (1921-1924). Notice here that the monarchic period before the first world war was characterised by two leading parties: the historical right was formed mostly by free trade liberals, whereas the "historical" left, accepting some (protectionist) intervention of the state, was more open to the social reforms with a trend to the centre (as mentioned, the change of political positioning has been criticized as *"transformismo"*). In the Republican period, until 1994, only the Democratic Christian, DC, party had a dominant voting power. In this period the Senate became more relevant for government survival because the perfect bicameralism introduced by the Italian post-war Constitution entitled both branches to give the confidence vote to governments (see below).

Unlike the conventional view of fragmentation, the values of the S-S index of the leading parties over the considered period show that, in all the Italian legislatures, with few exceptions there was almost always a party with a S-S value dominant over the other parties in the elected branches of the Parliament. Even in the Republican period considered – often criticized for government instability –, in particular since 1948 up to 1976, the S-S value of the DC party was greater than 50%. In the subsequent legislatures the power of the DC declined, but an alternative majority without the DC was impossible. Moreover, with only two exceptions, all Presidents of the Republic belonged to DC. The two exceptions of a President belonging to the social democratic party, PSDI, and to the socialist party, PSI, were characterized by a strong alliance of these two parties with the DC in the government coalitions. This operated as a factor of stability.

However, the parties and their power in the Parliament change through time and their consideration may provide important insights of the duration of governments and legislatures. Therefore our analysis shall also consider two other elements. First, the *number of parties*, being cause of political fragmentation according to the dominant beliefs should reduce the lengths of governments and legislatures. Second, under the same perspective, also the *size of the assembly* (e.g., the number of parliamentary seats) might be considered a variable favouring the political fragmentation, being related to the number of members of the parliament to be convinced to support the Government. However, the opposite effect might also occur because both variables might reduce the voting power of the individual voter (either political group or member of the parliament) and, therefore, help the survival of the government in charge, when supported by a small majority.

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the pivotal member of a winning coalition and what a player should expect to receive, on average, under the assumption that his reward corresponds to his marginal contribution.

Figure 1. The Shapley-Shubick index of the leading parties all over the considered period in the Chamber of Deputies (and Senate since 1948)

HISTORICAL RIGHT ——→ HISTORICAL LEFT ————————————————————→ DEMOCRATIC CHRISTIAN PARTY ————————→

(1861 – 1876 : Leg. VIII to XII)   (1876 - 1924 : Legislatures XIII to XXVI)   (1948 - 1994 : Legislatures I to XI)
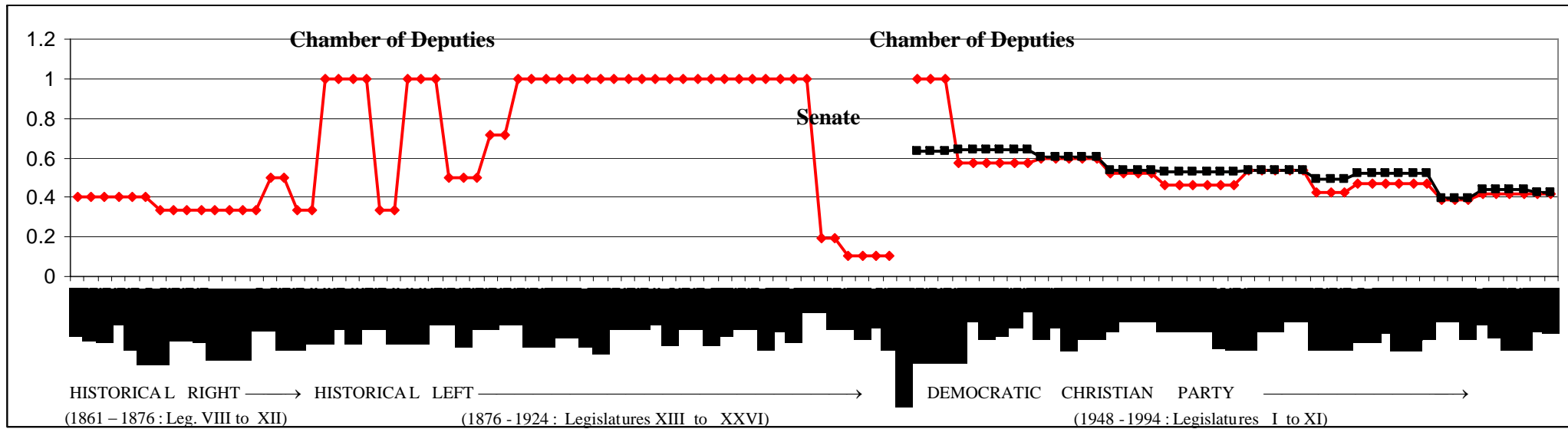
2.3. The form of state and the extension of the suffrage

In addition to the electoral systems (plurality vs. proportional), to the number of political parties in the parliament, and to the size of the assemblies (i.e., number of seats), the S-S voting powers as possible determinants of the duration of governments and legislatures, two other variables shall be considered. They are the form of state (monarchy vs. republic) and the extension of the suffrage (restricted vs. universal).

The question on whether the existence of monarchic or republican state influences the duration of governments and legislatures is important for several reasons. First of all, in the monarchic period the leaders that should form the governments were appointed by the King and they had to count on the confidence vote of the King to which that of the parliament was added. There were two branches, but, unlike the republican constitution, in the monarchy, the Senate (not elective) was appointed by the King under proposal of the head of the government. The Senate could approve or veto the ordinary laws and the budget, but it had no power of approval and dismissal of government by a confidence vote, because this power belonged to the King only. Furthermore, the King could influence the Chamber with "a party of the King" crossing the distinction among the political groups. The President of the Republic according to the present Italian Constitution has limited powers, much smaller than those of a constitutional King and these powers are accurately defined.

Restricted *vs* universal suffrage might be relevant because the size of the electorate might have influenced the variation in the composition of the parliament because of a change of the active electorate. In 1860 (up to 1882) the electoral law was that in force in Piedmont in 1848: the right of vote was only for male over 25, owning an income of at least 40 liras and not illitterate. The right of vote was also deserved to those having university degree, to teachers, public officials and to members of few other professional activities, either in office or retired. This corresponded to an active electorate of about 7-8% of male and to about 2% of the total population. The law n.725, 7/5/1882 enlarged the suffrage to those whose education was limited to the firsts two (compulsory) years of elementary school or to the regimental school and to those contributing to the financial support of the state because of their jobs or their savings (i.e. by means of compulsory yearly taxation of 19.80 liras). The minimum age requirement for active electorate was reduced to 21 years. In 1894, the law n.286 allowed for the exclusion of a citizen from the electoral register for notoriety of acts against the public order, the article of the previous law that allowed the vote to those showing of being able of writing and reading is abolished. The laws n.655 (30/6/1912) and n.648 (22/6/1913) re-affirms the principle of ability to vote. The voting right is extended to male over 30 even illiterate, and to those having done the military service for a given period (the active electorate increased from about 8.3% to about 23.2% of the total population). The law n. 1985 16/12/1918 extended the voting right to male over 21 and to those who had been in the army.

3. Survival analysis of government and legislatures

We study the determinants of the **<u>Italian governments and legislatures' duration</u>** by means of survival analysis for which the outcome variable of interest is time until an event occurs. By time we mean days from the beginning of the follow up of an individual (government or legislature) until the event = anticipated end occurs. Although, ideally, both the beginning and the failure dates of governments and legislatures should be known, censoring is a form of missing data problem that can be considered in this type of analysis. In

particular, right censoring occurs for those cases whose beginning date is known but who are still "alive" when they are lost to follow-up. Here we shall assume that right censoring occurs for those governments "still alive" at the natural end of the legislature and for legislatures not ending before their constitutional length (such as the long legislature of the first world war lasting 2136 days).

Survival models studying the time to the occurrence of an event, can be viewed as regression models in which the response variable is time.[18] Here we refer to the Cox proportional hazards, PH, model that gives an expression for the hazard at time t for an individual with a given specification of a set of explanatory variables X. The model can be expressed as follows

$$h\,(t,X) = h_0(t)\exp[\sum_i \beta_i X_i]$$

That is, the Cox model formula is the product of two quantities: the baseline hazard function, $h_0(t)$, and $\exp[\sum_i \beta_i X_i]$ e.g., the exponential expression to the linear sum (with X being a vector of variables modelled to predict an individual's hazard) that ensures that the fitted model will always give non-negative estimated hazard. The assumptions is that the baseline hazard is a function of t, but does not involve the predictors, in contrast to the exponential expression that might not involve t if the predictors are time independent. If all the predictors are equal to zero the formula reduce to the baseline function.[19] The hazard function gives the instantaneous potential per unit time for the event to occur, given that the individual has survived up to time t, in contrast to the survivor function that focuses on not failing. Thus, the higher the average hazard the worse the impact on survival. Being a rate and not a probability the hazard ranges between zero and infinity.

3.1. Survival analysis of government duration by Cox PH model

The data set for the period considered contains the duration (in days) of each government. As mentioned, different definitions of government duration could be used. We refer to the *legal* notion of "new government" according to which the King or the President of the Republic registers than there is no longer a majority capable of expressing the existing government and charges a new or even the old premier to form a formally new government to get the confidence vote in the parliament even if sometime the new government is a "photocopy" of the previous one. This assumption helps in not to bias the results in favour of the proportional

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[18] Warwick (1994) applies the survival analysis as for the formation and persistence of stable and effective government majorities in fragmented multiparty democracies. Across a diverse set of parliamentary systems from 1945 to 1989, he finds two relevant explanations of reduction of cabinet duration. One is the ideological diversity (or destabilizing effect of intra-coalition policy conflicts). The other is the bargaining complexity that leads to instability by the multiplicity of coalition options. Other characteristics, including economic conditions (unemployment and inflation), are also investigated. The main result is, however, that ideological diversity, more than bargaining complexity, does matter as a destabilizing factor of governments.

[19] Notice that $h_{0g}(t)$ is an unspecified function and this allows the model, which uses a minimum assumptions, to be suitable for a wide variety of data situation. It is a "robust" model in that it closely approximate the result for the correct (parametric) model, that should be instead preferred only when we are sure of the correctness of the underlying distribution as for the estimated hazard ratio and survival curve. For a discussion of the actractiveness of the Cox model see Kleinbaum and Klein (2005).

system that, as seen in table 1, in Italy shows a longer governments' length when subsequent governments are led by the same premier and the same coalition into the same legislature. The failure, under our assumption, is simply taken to be any legal end of government before the legal end of the legislature. Truncation (right censoring) occurs for the last government of a legislature lasting more than 1800 days. The analysis is carried on over the whole period for the Chamber of deputies and, in order to use all the available information, for the republican period we also analyse the government survivals in either branch.

The considered covariates for the Chamber of deputies from 1861 to 1994 (excluding the fascist period and the *"Constituente"*) and for Senate in the republican period only (from 1948 to 1994) are the following: the number of seats; the number of parties represented in the considered branch of the parliament; the Shapley-Shubik Index of voting power of the leading party; by means of dummy variables we distinguish the monarchic *vs.* the republican period, the restricted *vs.* the universal suffrage, the uninominal electoral system *vs.* the proportional system. For the political composition of the Parliament of the Kingdom we mainly refer to Malatesta (1940), who, however, gives only a broad political classification of the members of the parliament basically referred to their right or left "seat" in the parliament. A refinement of the classification of the parliamentary groups based on the parliamentary acts is in Piretti (1996) and in Bartolotta (1971). As for the republican period we refer to the official sources available, in particular La Navicella (2000 and 1985). Information about governments and legislatures durations are also available online at the official site of the parliament: www.parlamento.it. The variables related to the number of seats, the electoral system and the extension of the suffrage are built on the basis of the Italian electoral laws (most of which have been mentioned in section 2.3).

All the considered variables are reported in table 2 that shows their mean, standard deviation, minimum and maximum value over the considered periods grouped by governments and legislatures.

Table 2. Summary statistics of the considered variables

Variable by Governments		Obs	Mean	Std.Dev.	Min	Max
(Chamber of Deputies from 1861 to 1994)						
Lenght of governments in days		107	344.72	262.856	8	1252
Lenght of legislatures in days		107	1414.96	424.829	452	2136
Restricted suffrage		107	0.45794	0.50057	0	1
Plurality electoral system		107	0.4486	0.49969	0	1
Republic		107	0.43925	0.49863	0	1
S-S index of the leading parties		107	0.60587	0.28004	0.101	1
Number of parties		107	7.70094	3.04747	3	14
seats		107	551.495	62.8672	443	630
(Chamber of Deputies from 1861 to 1924)		0				
Lenght of governments in days		60	362.467	284.311	8	1252
Lenght of legislatures in days		60	1289.08	474.278	452	2136
Restricted suffrage		60	0.81667	0.3902	0	1
Plurality electoral system		60	0.8	0.40338	0	1
S-S index of the leading parties		60	0.6686	0.34089	0.101	1
Number of parties		60	6.21667	3.17881	3	14
seats		60	499.633	23.9583	443	535
(Senate from 1948 to 1994)						
Lenght of governments in days		47	322.064	233.672	9	1058
Lenght of legislatures in days		47	1575.66	283.417	722	1874
S-S index of the leading parties		47	0.53598	0.07209	0.39762	0.64286
Number of parties		47	7.82979	1.10963	5	9
seats		47	306.17	33.2084	243	342
(Chamber of Deputies from 1948 to 1994)						
Lenght of governments in days		47	322.064	233.672	9	1058
Lenght of legislatures in days		47	1575.66	283.417	722	1874
S-S index of the leading parties		47	0.5258	0.14134	0.38442	1
Number of parties		47	9.59575	1.37777	8	13
seats		47	617.702	19.6047	574	630
Variables by Legislatures		**Obs**	**Mean**	**Std.Dev.**	**Min**	**Max**
(Chamber of Deputies from 1861 to 1994)						
Lenght of legislatures in days		30	1288.63	471.713	452	2136
Number of parties		30	7.4	3.21205	3	14
Restricted suffrage		30	0.53333	0.50742	0	1
Plurality electoral system		30	0.46667	0.50742	0	1
S-S index of the leading parties		30	0.61808	0.29678	0.101	1
Republic		30	0.36667	0.49013	0	1
Seats		30	544.467	60.8575	443	630
(Chamber of Deputies from 1861 to 1924)						
Number of parties		19	5.94737	3.02717	3	14
Restricted suffrage		19	0.84211	0.37463	0	1
Plurality electoral system		19	0.73684	0.45241	0	1
Lenght of legislatures in days		19	1151.63	482.282	452	2136
S-S index of the leading parties		19	0.67054	0.34305	0.101	1
Seats		19	501.79	21.9484	443	535
(Chamber of Deputies from 1948 to 1994)						
Number of parties		11	9.90909	1.57826	8	13
Lenght of legislatures in days		11	1525.27	359.66	722	1874
S-S index of the leading parties		11	0.52746	0.17126	0.38442	1
Seats		11	618.182	20.8702	574	630

Table 3 reports the Cox PH estimates of the determinants (in terms of hazard ratio) of government duration in Italy from the unification to 1994 referring to the Chamber of deputies only. It turns out that the dummies capturing the republican period (as distinct from the monarchy) and the number of parties in the

chamber are not significant. The extension of the suffrage and the Shapley-Shubik index of the leading parties are significant and present hazard ratio much lower than unit, with the lowest hazard being for governments with the highest voting power for the leading party. The number of seats is significant, but the hazard quite close to unity indicates no relation with duration of government. Finally, the plurality electoral system (as distinct from proportional) is significant with hazard ratio much higher than unity indicating the highest hazard for the duration of those government under plurality with respect to those under proportional electoral system.

Table 3. Government duration in the chamber of deputies 1861-1994, excluding the fascist period

```
Cox regression -- Breslow method for ties
No. of subjects    =           107
Number of obs      =           107
No. of failures    =           107
Time at risk       =         36885
Log pseudolikelihood =  -390.89941
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------
         _t  |Haz.Ratio   Rob.Std.Err.    z     P>|z|      [95% Conf. Interval]
-------------+-----------------------------------------------------------------
SS lead. Party |   .3428675   .0589748   -6.22   0.000      .244746    .4803269
n.of parties   |   .9204824   .0486397   -1.57   0.117     .8299209   1.020926
Plurality E.S. |   1.722632   .1519609    6.17   0.000      1.44912   2.047768
restr.suffrage |   .4276038   .0605173   -6.00   0.000     .3240216   .5642989
Republic       |   .8058512   .1214506   -1.43   0.152      .599749   1.08278
n.of seats     |   1.001974   .0008698    2.27   0.023     1.000271   1.00368
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------
```

Figures 2 and 3 show the survival function of governments from the estimated model (estimated at the mean of covariates and at the values 0 and 1 of the electoral system, fig.2, and the extension of the suffrage, fig.3) in the period 1861-1994. It clearly emerges that the survival of the governments under the proportional electoral system clearly dominates that under uninominal electoral system and that the survival of the governments under restricted suffrage dominates those elected under universal suffrage.

Figure 2. The survival function from Cox PH regression system from 1861-1994 (for groups of governments distinguished by proportional and uninominal electoral)
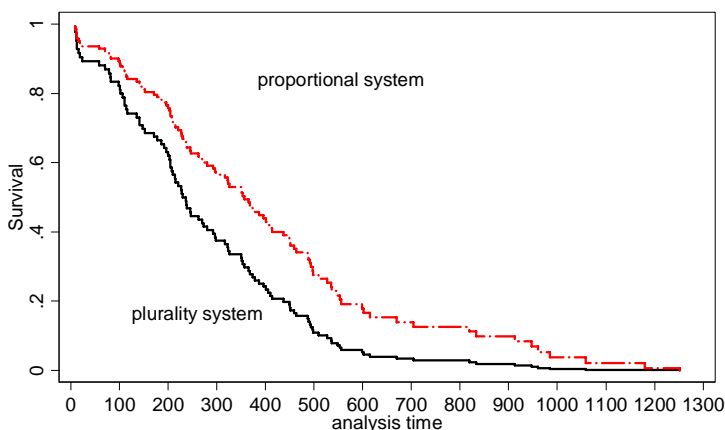
Figure3. The survival function from Cox PH regression system from 1861-1994 (for groups of governments distinguished by universal vs. restricted suffrage)
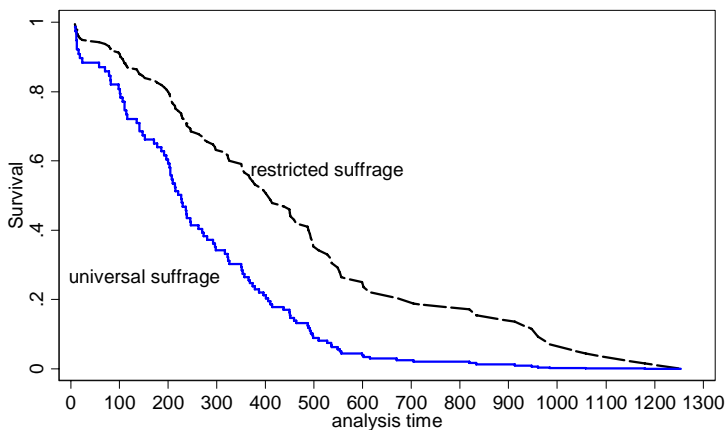
We now report separate estimates both for the monarchic period and republican period, for the latter, we also consider the role of the Senate.

Looking at the separate results for the pre-fascist legislatures (VIII to XXVI) - characterised by monarchy, plurality system (for all the legislatures excluding XV, XVI and XVII and XXV and XXI), restricted suffrage (since 1861 to 1913) followed by male universal suffrage (since XXIV legislature, 1913) - the results (table 4) confirm the negative relation between government survival and plurality system (the hazard ratio is about 1.61), as well as the positive relation between government duration and the high power in the parliament of the leading parties (the hazard ratio is about 0.37). The restricted suffrage, the number of seats and the number of parties are not significant. Figure 4 reports the survival function of governments from the estimated model (estimated at the mean of covariates and at the values 0 and 1 of the electoral system) in the period 1861-1924. It is interesting to notice that the curves in figure 4 have features similar to those of figure 2, in spite of the shorter period of proportional electoral system considered.

Table 4. government duration in the chamber of deputies 1861-1924.

```
Cox regression -- Breslow method for ties
No. of subjects      =           60
Number of obs        =           60
No. of failures      =           60
Time at risk         =        21748
Log pseudolikelihood =    -185.45451
```

_t	Haz. Ratio	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf. Interval]	
SS lead. Party	.3655316	.1211395	-3.04	0.002	.1909112	.6998718
n.of parties	1.04679	.1157771	0.41	0.679	.8427813	1.300182
plurality E.S.	1.610576	.2515561	3.05	0.002	1.185856	2.187412
restr.suffrage	1.084475	.4733566	0.19	0.853	.460981	2.551266
n.of seats	.9987218	.0035455	-0.36	0.719	.991797	1.005695

Figure 4. Government duration: The survival function from Cox PH estimates for groups of governments distinguished by proportional and plurality electoral system from 1861-1924
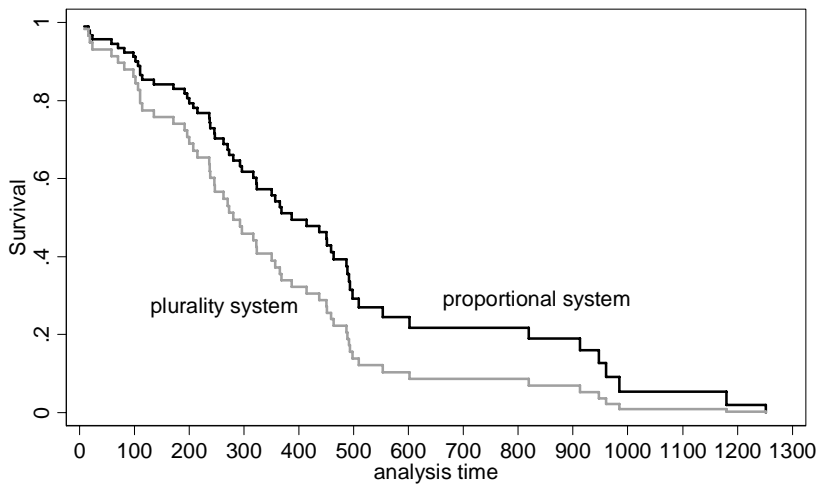
Even for the monarchic period alone, the empirical results are contrary to the common view that the plurality system favours the stability of the governments. The reason may be that under this system the individual personalities are more important than the political programs and the party's discipline. This obviously reduces the effectiveness of the voting power of the individual members of the parliament. On the other hand, the voting power of the leading party is still important for the survival of the governments, because the bigger this power the smaller the effect of a dissenting member (both in the parliament or in government's coalition). The number of seats in the Chamber of deputies is not significant as well as the number of parties that increased with the extension of the suffrage, also not significant. A likely explanation can be found in the fact that the organized parties together with the male universal suffrage entered into the scene only in the 20th century immediately after the two shocks of the first world war and of the subsequent inflation, and immediately before of the dictatorship.

Table 5 reports, for the post-fascist republican periods (1948-1994), the separate results for the Chamber of deputies and the Senate. The results show a different role played by the two branches of the parliament, over the same period, in determining government stability. This role results mainly driven by the political parties. On the one hand, in the Chamber of deputies, the government duration is positively affected by the number of parties and the S-S index of the leading party, whereas the number of seats is not significant. On the other hand, in the Senate, the only significant variable for government duration is the number of parties with hazard ratio lower than unity.

Table 5. Government duration in the chamber of deputies and senate in the republican period 1948-1994.

Chamber of deputies

```
Cox regression -- Breslow method for ties
No. of subjects      =            47
Number of obs        =            47
No. of failures      =            47
Time at risk         =         15137
                                              Wald chi2(3)    =       27.50
Log pseudolikelihood =   -134.21072           Prob > chi2     =      0.0000
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
         _t  | Haz.Ratio   Rob.Std.Err.    z     P>|z|    [95% Conf. Interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
n.of parties |  .7888244    .0448171    -4.18   0.000    .7056986    .8817417
n.of seats   | 1.008108     .0064362     1.26   0.206    .9955721   1.020802
SS lead. Party | .2233991   .0655302    -5.11   0.000    .1257177    .396978
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
```

Senate

```
Cox regression -- Breslow method for ties
No. of subjects      =            47
Number of obs        =            47
No. of failures      =            47
Time at risk         =         15137
                                              Wald chi2(3)    =        5.28
Log pseudolikelihood =   -136.42882           Prob > chi2     =      0.1523
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
         _t  | Haz.Ratio   Rob.Std.Err.    z     P>|z|    [95% Conf. Interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
n. of parties |  .8824738    .05269     -2.09   0.036    .7850169    .9920297
n.of seats    |  .999991    .0053824    -0.00   0.999    .989497    1.010596
SS lead. Party | .4837346   1.116238    -0.31   0.753    .0052532    44.5442
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
```

Thus, the empirical results for the two branches of the parliament considered separately confirm that the driving forces of the survival of the governments under the proportional system are related to the number of parties and, only in the Chamber of Deputies, to the voting power of the leading party. The reason for difference in the branches of the parliament is that the Chamber of deputies and the Senate have, not only a different number of seats and of parties represented, which determine different values of the S-S index of the leading party, but also different internal regulations that have been often considered cause of different support to the governments. In the Italian parliamentary tradition, the political arena *par excellence* is the Chamber of deputies, where, generally, a crucial defeat determines the end of a government. Moreover, given that the number of senators is about half that of the deputies, for the minor parties the chances of being represented tend to be very small. Furthermore, the marginal senators of the minor parties have reduced chances are of being re-elected. This may explain why in the senate the increase in the number of parties lowers the hazard ratio of the governments more than in the chamber.

3.3.2. Survival analysis of legislature duration

On the basis of our dataset we now analyse the survival of the legislatures. All over the period we have now 30 total observation representing 30 legislature, 26 of which are considered failures (anticipate end) over a total of 38659 days (total analysis time at risk), with the last observed exit at t = 2136. Table 6 reports the results for **the Italian legislatures' duration**, considering the Chamber of deputies only, from 1861-1994. All over the period, the legislature duration is significantly affected by the number of seats and the S-S index of all the

leading parties and the form of state (republic as distinguished by monarchy). The plurality electoral system, the number of parties, the restricted suffrage are not significant. Notice that the only two variables showing hazard ratios much lower than 1 are the S-S index of the leading party and the republic, whereas the number of seats, although significant, having a hazard ratio almost equal to unity indicates no relation with the survival of the legislatures. Again the results confirm the relevance of the voting power of the leading parties for the survival of the political elite in democracy. Notice that, in this case, the voting power of the leading parties affects also the survival in the parliament of the members of the opposition

A separate analysis of the monarchic and republican period is not possible because of the modest number of observations (corresponding to the legislatures).[20]

Table 6. The determinants of legislatures' duration : Chamber of Deputies from 1861-1994 (excluding the legislatures of the Fascist period)

```
Cox regression -- no ties
No. of subjects     =          30
Number of obs       =          30
No. of failures     =          26
Time at risk        =       38659
                                        Wald chi2(6)    =      40.40
Log pseudolikelihood =   -60.55459      Prob > chi2     =      0.0000
-------------------------------------------------------------------------
          _t | Haz.Ratio  Rob.Std.Err.    z    P>|z|    [95% Conf. Interval]
-------------+-----------------------------------------------------------
n.of parties |  .9485749    .1803253   -0.28   0.781    .6535173   1.376848
restr.suffrage|  5.250749   10.27157    0.85   0.397    .113525    242.8571
Plurality E.S.|   .58394     .309191   -1.02   0.310    .2068543   1.648435
SS lead. Party|  .0521838    .037885   -4.07   0.000    .0125768   .2165214
Republic     |  .0154025   .0292458   -2.20   0.028    .0003727   .6365436
n.of seats   | 1.030616    .0138986    2.24   0.025    1.003732    1.05822
-------------------------------------------------------------------------
```

In figure 5, the estimated survival function, related to the legislature duration for groups distinguished by monarchy and republic from 1861-1994 show again the highest survival for those under the republican form of state (the hazard ratio is very low, about 0.015).

Figure 5. Legislature duration: The survival function for groups distinguished by monarchy and republic from 1861-1994
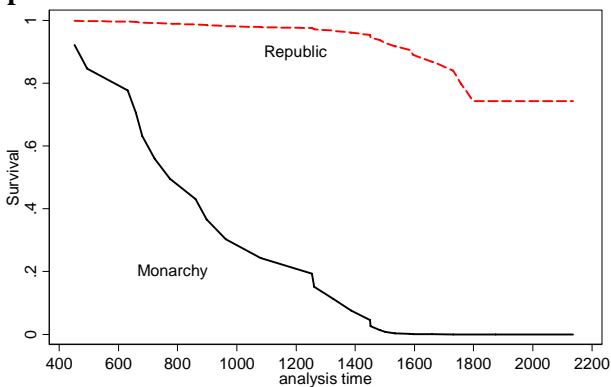
[20] Actually, as before, for the republican period we have also studied the impact on the legislature duration of the covariates related to the Chamber of deputies and Senate. In this case, we have 11 total obs. for each branch. The number of observations is indeed too small to reach significant empirical results, which, therefore, are not reported.

4. Summary and conclusions

Referring to some institutional features of the Italian parliament and to the role of the political parties - as captured by the number of parties and by their Shapley-Shubik index of voting power of those represented in the Italian Parliament - we have analysed the Italian democracy (from the unification to the end of the first republic (1861-1994), with the exclusion of the fascist period and of the subsequent transitory institutional period known as "Costituente") as for the durability of the Italian governments and legislatures. Our approach, based on survival analysis of government and legislature durations has given results, summarised in the tables 7 and 8 in terms of hazard ratios, that differ from those prevailing in the political economy literature.

In the Chamber of Deputies, over the whole period considered, from 1860 to 1994, the survival of the governments is inversely related to the plurality system. Either the restricted suffrage or the Shapley-Shubik index of voting power of the leading parties takes hazard ratio strictly lower than 1. The institutional form of the state, parliamentarian republic *vs.* constitutional monarchy is not significant all over the period as well as the number of parties. The number of seats is significant, but the hazard ratio almost equal to 1 indicates no relation with government survival. Separate estimates of sub-periods give details on the longer term estimates: In the monarchic period the voting powers of the prevailing parliamentary group is significant with hazard ratio lower than 1, moreover the hazard ratio for the plurality electoral system is much greater than 1, in spite of the reduced period of the proportional counterpart. Proportional electoral systems, believed to be responsible to a tendency to short living governments, are not causing the same instability as the plurality systems. In this respect, notice that not even in the republican period alone, the "political game" depicted in terms of Shapley-Shubik index of voting power gave the (expected) picture of *fragmentation of the decisional powers.* Indeed, rather than a fragmented Parliament unable to produce a clear leading government because of the multitude of small political groups, it emerged a clear cut between the power of the main parties and those of all the other minor parties. Yet the role of parties (the increase of their number) becomes unexpectedly crucial in the estimates of the post war parliament which also consider the role of the senate.

Table 7. Summary of the results: survival analysis of government duration

	Chamber of Deputies (1861-1994)	Monarchy: Chamber of Deputies (1861-1924)	Republic: Chamber of Deputies (1948-1994)	Republic: Senate (1948-1996)
Plurality electoral system	H.R.>1	H.R.>1		
Number of parties	N.S.	N.S.	H.R.<1	H.R.<1
number of seats	H.R. $\cong$ 1	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.
restricted suffrage	H.R.<1	N.S.		
Republic =1 after 1948 and 0 otherwise	N.S.			
S.S. index leading party	H.R.<1	H.R.<1	H.R.<1	N.S.

N.S.   = not significant at 5%
H.R.   = hazard ratio

Table 8. Summary of the results: survival analysis of legislature duration

	Chamber of Deputies (1861-1994)
Plurality electoral system	**N.S.**
Number of parties	**N.S.**
number of seats	**H.R.** $\cong 1$
restricted suffrage	**N.S.**
Republic =1 after 1948 and 0 otherwise	**H.R.<1**
S.S. index leading party	**H.R.<1**

N.S. = not significant at 5%
H.R. = hazard ratio

As for the survival of the Italian legislatures, considering the Chamber from 1861-1994, the number of seats, the S-S index of all the leading parties, and the republican form of state are significant, the restricted suffrage, the number of parties and the electoral system are not significant.

It is clear that, contrary to what has been often asserted, pure plurality reduces the chances of survival of governments and does not affect the legislature length in comparison with proportional system. Moreover a fractioned party system does not affect negatively the survival of governments and is not significant for legislatures. On the contrary, it plays a role in the period in which the party-system is consolidated.

However, admittedly, the governments in Italy had a short life under either system and the interruption of legislatures before the natural term occurred both in the monarchic and in the republican periods.

As seen, Alesina and Perotti (1994)[21] argue that short living governments may not be damaging in calm periods, whereas they become negatively crucial in critical situations, such as those following an economic shock or an international crisis. However, at this stage of research, this thesis has not yet a *strong* empirical support for the Italian democracy both in the monarchic and in the republican period. The explanation might be found in the fact that those governments succeeding to each other, originated, for prolonged periods, from the same elite considered coherent in the long run. In some situation, perhaps the most critical, the ruling elite produced high-quality leaders. In the monarchic period the right-wing governments were constantly in power from 1861 to 1876, during 5 legislatures of about 3 years each with 11 different premiers for 15 different governments, each pursuing a similar liberal right-wing policy under the initial leadership of Cavour and of the leader of the economic and fiscal policy, Quintino Sella. These "short living" governments, ruling the new Kingdom of Italy, were facing a very critical fiscal situation because of the huge public debt inherited from previous states and the huge deficit of the public finances of the new unitary state. With a rigorous long run fiscal policy they were able to reduce the initial deficit, while undertaking important infrastructural public

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[21] Alesina and Perotti (1994) support their view on fragmentation on the basis of Drazen and Grilli (1993), Grilli, Masciandaro and Tabellini (1991).

expenditures. In the subsequent period, the so called "historical left" (i.e., the left wing liberals) ruled from 1876 to 1890 over 7 legislatures, with 7 different prime ministers for 11 governments of the same orientation. In this period, the orientation of the fiscal policy was more permissive. On the other hand, from 1903 to 1914, a period of moderate liberal orientation, 8 different premiers succeeded to each other in 11 governments. This period, characterized by the first Italian economic miracle, was dominated by the figure (and political program) of Antonio Giolitti. In the Italian republic, in spite of its 47 government (on average, about 4 for each legislature), all the legislatures of the two post world war decades from 1948 to 1968, as noted by La Palombara (1988), showed a substantial political continuity, with DC always as a solid leading party. In this long period after a phase of pure "centrist" policy there was a cautious opening to a moderate centre left line. Thus, the "short living" centrist DC governments from 1948 to 1961 were able to fight the inflation, to restore the public finances and to create the conditions for a period of high economic growth that was called "economic miracle". The elite of the first period offered leaders as Alcide De Gasperi, Luigi Einaudi and Ezio Vanoni, respectively, in political, economic and fiscal matters. On the other hand, in the '60s, the centre left governments, with DC leaders and socialists in the government coalitions, were able to overcome the inflationary trend caused by the prolonged cycle of high economic expansion with neither a deflation nor a worsening of the ratio of the public debt to GDP: the ratio of state debt to GDP in the 1970 was still a mere 34% as that of the previous decade. High deficits and high inflation appeared afterwards and the voting power of DC declined.[22] Governments, in spite of their duration, may have been weak because of the modest voting power of their majority. These observations, obviously, do not imply a preference for short living governments. Nevertheless a too prolonged stability, reduces the circulation of the political elites and may reduce the dynamic efficiency of the system. This may happen in a market economy with big firms dominating the market. The struggle for survival of the political elites governing the country, in a Schumpeterian perspective (Fedeli and Forte, 2010), must leave enough room for an efficient pursuance of their own programs both in emergency and in good periods. Yet, under short living governments, bureaucracies and interest groups may become more influential in the daily choices: legislation may become more complex, structural reforms may require more time to be accomplished and, in case, may become unduly complex. In sum, the circulation of the governing elites assures competition, as that of monopolies in the Schumpeterian theory, but their survival may assure dynamic efficiency and effectiveness. An equilibrium point has to be found as for the duration of governments. Indeed, governments shorter than the legislature appear an anomaly. Therefore, the question remains on the causes of the short living governments in Italy both under uninominal or proportional electoral systems both in the monarchic and in the republican period. If the electoral systems do not matter and the constitutional monarchy and the democratic republic do not matter either, other variables of institutional, sociological, political and economic nature have to be found. As for the institutional variables, the distribution powers between the head of the state and of the government, on the one hand, and the parliament, on the other, may be relevant. Under the Italian "parliamentary regime", in both the monarchic and the republican system,

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[22] On the relation between the change in voting power of the dominant party and the change in deficit, see Fedeli and Forte (2003).

the head of the state must dismiss the government whenever the parliament denies it a confidence vote politically relevant and the head of the government has limited powers. A sociological factor that may explain the "Italian peculiarity" of short living government even with long living legislatures is the regional rivalry among the North, the Centre and the South an even among regions of these same three areas. It may be that under a federalist system the regional rivalries are reduced at the central state level because of the greater autonomy at the lower levels of government. A peculiar political factor present in the republican period has been the impossibility, for foreign policy reasons, for the biggest left wing party, the communist party, to guide a left wing government, before the fall of the Berlin wall. The left was thus split and only the major parties on the centre or on the right could form the governments. Among the economic factors for the short life of Governments key macro economic variables, as the rate of inflation, the rates of unemployment and of economic growth have been found of scarce impact by Warwick (1994) who shows that the ideological diversity is the main destabilizing factor of governments. As for the Italian case, *prima facie*, one can note that there were short living governments with either low or high rates of unemployment, of inflation and of growth. Other explanations have been given in terms of game theory (see Laver 2003). Further research may be useful to throw light on the "Italian peculiarity".

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Appendix 1

Table A1. The Italian Governments from 1861 to 1924: plurality electoral system (1861-1882) and (1892-1919); proportional electoral system by means of the "scrutiny of lists" (1882-1992) and (1919-1924)

	Governments-Prime minister	Days of government	Days of legislature.
VIII legislature	**(February 18, 1861 - September 7 , 1865)**		**1661**
Plurality system	Camillo Benso Cavour	81	
	Bettino Ricasoli	246	
	Urbano Rattizzi	280	
	Luigi Carlo Farini	106	
	Marco Minghetti	553	
	Alfonso Lamarmora	459	
IX legislature	**(November 18, 1865 - February 13, 1867)**		**452**
Plurality system	Alfonso Lamarmora	171	
	Bettino Ricasoli	238	
X legislature	**(March 22, 1867 - November 2, 1870)**		**1320**
Plurality system	Bettino Ricasoli	19	
	Urbano Rattizzi	200	
	Luigi Federico Manabrea	70	
	Luigi Federico Manabrea	493	
	Luigi Federico Manabrea	215	
	Giovanni Lanza	323	
XI legislature	**(December 6, 1870 - September 20, 1874)**		**1384**
Plurality system	Giovanni Lanza	947	
	Marco Minghetti	437	
XII legislature	**(November 23, 1874 - October, 3, 1876)**		**680**
Plurality system	Marco Minghetti	487	
	Agostino Depretis	191	
XIII legislature	**(November 29, 1876 - May 2, 1880)**		**1258**
Plurality system	Agostino Depretis	489	
	Benedetto Cairoli	270	
	Agostino Depretis	207	
	Benedetto Cairoli	292	
XIV legislature	**(May 26, 1880 - October 2,1882)**		**859**
Plurality system	Benedetto Cairoli	368	
	Agostino Depretis	491	
XV legislature	**(November 22, 1882 - April 27, 1886)**		**1251**
Proportional sistem (scrutinio di lista)	Agostino Depretis	1252	
XVI legislature	**(June 10, 1886 - October 22, 1890)**		**1594**
Proportional sistem (scrutinio di lista)	Agostino Depretis	414	
	Francesco Crispi	1180	
XVII legislature	**(December 10, 1890 - September 27, 1892)**		**656**
Proportional sistem (scrutinio di lista)	Francesco Crispi	58	
	Antonio Di Rudinì	463	
	Giovanni Giolitti	135	
XVIII legislature	**(23 November 1892 - 8 May 1895)**		**896**
Plurality system	Giovanni Giolitti	387	
	Francesco Crispi	509	
XIX Legislature	**(10 June 1895 - 2 March 1897)**		**630**
Plurality system	Francesco Crispi	273	
	Antonio Di Rudinì	357	
XX Legislature	**(5 April 1897 - 17 May 1900)**		**1137**
Plurality system	Antonio Di Rudinì	450	
	Luigi Pelloux	322	
XXI Legislature	**(16 June 1900 - 18 October 1904)**		**1584**
Plurality system	Luigi Pelloux	8	
	Giuseppe Saracco	236	
	Giuseppe Zanardelli	960	
	Giovanni Giolitti	350	
XXII Legislature	**(30 November 1904 - 8 February 1909)**		**1530**
Plurality system	Giovanni Giolitti	102	
	Tommaso Tittoni	16	
	Alessandro Fortis	317	
	Sidney Sonnino	110	
	Giovanni Giolitti	985	
XXIII Legislature	**(24 March 1909 - 29 September 1913)**		**1649**
Plurality system	Giovanni Giolitti	262	
	Sidney Sonnino	110	
	Luigi Luzzati	365	
	Giovanni Giolitti	913	
XXIV Legislature	**(27 November 1913 - 29 September 1919)**		**2131**
Plurality system	Giovanni Giolitti	114	
	Antonio Salandra	819	
	Paolo Boselli	498	
	Vittorio Emanuele Orlando	602	
	Francesco Saverio Nitti	98	
XXV Legislature	**(1 December 1919 - 7 April 1921)**		**492**
Proportional sistem (scrutinio di lista)	Francesco Saverio Nitti	196	
	Giovanni Giolitti	296	
XXVI Legislature	**(11 June 1921 - 25 January 1924)**		**958**
Proportional sistem (scrutinio di lista)	Giovanni Giolitti	23	
	Ivanoe Bonomi	237	
	Luigi Facta	247	
	Benito Mussolini	451	

Table A2. The Italian Governments from 1948 to 1994: pure proportional electoral system.

	Governments-Prime minister	Days of government	Days of legislature.
I Legislature	**(8 May 1948 - 24 June 1953)**		**1874**
	5 De Gasperi Government	599	
	6 De Gasperi Government	535	
	7 De Gasperi Government	704	
II Legislature	**(25 June 1953 - 11 June 1958)**		**1813**
	8 De Gasperi Government	12	
	1 Pella Government	141	
	1 Fanfani Government	12	
	1 Scelba Government	497	
	1 Segni Government	670	
	1 Zoli Government	396	
III Legislature	**(12 June 1958 - 15 May 1963)**		**1799**
	2 Fanfani Government	209	
	2 Segni Government	374	
	1 Tambroni Government	116	
	3 Fanfani Government	556	
	4 Fanfani Government	449	
IV Legislature	**(16 May 1963 - 14 May 1968)**		**1847**
	1 Leone Government	141	
	1 Moro Government	205	
	2 Moro Government	548	
	3 Moro Government	833	
V Legislature	**(5 June 1968 – 24 May 1972)**		**1450**
	2 Leone Government	148	
	1 Rumor Government	205	
	2 Rumor Government	186	
	3 Rumor Government	101	
	1 Colombo Government	527	
	1 Andreotti Government	9	
VI Legislature	**(25 May 1972 - 4 July 1976)**		**1502**
	2 Andreotti Government	351	
	4 Rumor Government	230	
	5 Rumor Government	203	
	4 Moro Government	410	
	5 Moro Government	78	
VII Legislature	**(5 July 1976 - 19 June 1979)**		**1080**
	3 Andreotti Government	536	
	4 Andreotti Government	326	
	5 Andreotti Government	11	
VIII Legislature	**(20 June 1979 - 11 July 1983)**		**1483**
	1 Cossiga Government	228	
	2 Cossiga Government	177	
	1 Forlani Government	220	
	1 Spadolini Government	405	
	2 Spadolini Government	82	
	5 Fanfani Government	152	
IX Legislature	**(12 July 1983 - 1 July 1987)**		**1451**
	1 Craxi Government	1058	
	2 Craxi Government	214	
	6 Fanfani Government	11	
X Legislature	**(2 July 1987 - 22 April 1992)**		**1757**
	1 Goria Government	227	
	1 De Mita Government	401	
	6 Andreotti Government	615	
	7 Andreotti Government	378	
XI Legislature	**(23 April 1992 - 14 April 1994)**		**722**
	1 Amato Government	298	
	1 Ciampi Government	353	

Table A3. The Shapley-Shubik indexes of voting power for the Italian parties from 1861 to 1994

Legislature (beginning-end date)	Total Seats	Political group	n. of seats	share of seats	S-S INDEX
VIII (18 February 1861 - 7 September 1865)	**443**	destra	187	42.21%	0.400
		sinistra	118	26.64%	0.233
		estrema	15	3.39%	0.233
		INDEFINIBILI	32	7.22%	0.067
		indipendenti_filogovernativi_ministeriali	91	20.54%	0.067
IX (18 November 1865 - 13 February 1867)	**443**	destra	183	41.31%	0.333
		sinistra	155	34.99%	0.333
		estrema	16	3.61%	0
		indipendenti_filogovernativi_ministeriali	89	20.09%	0.333
X (22 March 1867 - 2 November 1870)	**493**	destra	223	45.23%	0.333
		sinistra	181	36.71%	0.333
		estrema	18	3.65%	0
		indipendenti_filogovernativi_ministeriali	71	14.40%	0.333
XI (5 December 1870 - 20 September 1874)	**508**	destra	243	47.83%	0.500
		sinistra	185	36.42%	0.167
		estrema	13	2.56%	0.167
		indipendenti_filogovernativi_ministeriali	67	13.19%	0.167
XII (23 November 1874 - 3 October 1876)	**508**	destra	225	44.29%	0.333
		sinistra	221	43.50%	0.333
		estrema	13	2.56%	0
		indipendenti_filogovernativi_ministeriali	49	9.65%	0.333
XIII (20 November 1876 - 2 May 1880)	**508**	destra	125	24.61%	0
		sinistra	309	60.83%	1.000
		estrema	28	5.51%	0
		indipendenti	46	9.06%	0
XIV (26 May 1880 - 2 October 1882)	**508**	destra	171	33.66%	0.333
		sinistra ministeriale	218	42.91%	0.333
		sinistra dissidente	119	23.43%	0.333
XV (22 November 1882 - 27 April 1886)	**508**	sinistra ministeriale	290	57.09%	1.000
		sinistra dissidente	19	3.74%	0
		opposizione costituzionale (destra)	144	28.35%	0
		radicali	42	8.27%	0
		indipendenti	13	2.56%	0
XVI (10 June 1886 - 22 October 1890)	**508**	ministeriali (sx+dx)	293	57.68%	1.000
		dissidenti (sx+dx)??	13	2.56%	0
		opposiz costituz subalpina (di sinistra con giolitti e zanardelli)	13	2.56%	0
		pentarchi/progressisti (protezionisti)	145	28.54%	0
		radicali	44	8.66%	0
XVII (10 December 1890 - 27 September 1892)	**508**	ministeriali (sinistra)	230	45.28%	0.500
		destra indipendente	60	11.81%	0.167
		ministeriali (indipendenti filogov)	167	32.87%	0.167
		radicali	51	10.04%	0.167
XVIII (23 November 1892 - 8 May 1895	**508**	sinistra	245	48.23%	0.714
		centro sinistra	31	6.10%	0.048
		destra	76	14.96%	0.048
		centro destra	64	12.60%	0.048
		incerti	36	7.09%	0.048
		radicali	27	5.31%	0.048
		estrema	29	5.71%	0.048
XIX (10 June 1895 - 2 March 1897)	**508**	ministeriali	334	65.75%	1.000
		opposizione costituzionale	104	20.47%	
		radicale	47	9.25%	
		socialista	15	2.95%	
		incerti	8	1.57%	
XX (37 mesi) (5 April 1897 - 17 May 1900)	**508**	ministeriali	327	64.37%	1.000
		opposizione costituzionale	99	19.49%	
		radicali	42	8.27%	
		repubblicani	25	4.92%	
		socialisti	15	2.95%	
XXI (16 June 1900 - 18 October 1904)	**508**	ministeriali	296	58.27%	1.000
		opposizione costituzionale	116	22.83%	
		radicale	34	6.69%	

		socialista	33	6.50%	
		repubblicano	29	5.71%	
XXII (30 November 1904 - 8 February 1909)	**508**	ministeriali	339	66.73%	**1.000**
		opposizione costituzionale	76	14.96%	
		radicale	37	7.28%	
		socialista	29	5.71%	
		repubblicano	24	4.72%	
		cattolico	3	0.59%	
XXIII (24 March 1909 - 29 September 1913)	**508**	ministeriali	312	61.42%	**1.000**
		opposizione costituzionale	70	13.78%	
		radicale	45	8.86%	
		socialista	41	8.07%	
		repubblicano	24	4.72%	
		cattolico	16	3.15%	
XXIV (27 November 1913 - 29 September 1919)	**508**	liberale	270	53.15%	**1.000**
		cattolico	20	3.94%	
		costituzionali democratici	29	5.71%	
		democratico	11	2.17%	
		conservatori cattolici	9	1.77%	
		radicale	62	12.20%	
		radicale dissidente	11	2.17%	
		socialista ufficiale	52	10.24%	
		socialista riformista	19	3.74%	
		socialista indipendente sindacal	8	1.57%	
		repubblicano	8	1.57%	
		repubblicani indipendenti	9	1.77%	
XXV (1 December 1919 - 7 April 1921)	**508**	liberale (PLI)	41	8.07%	0.053
		democratico sociale	60	11.81%	0.085
		radicale	12	2.36%	0.015
		socialista ufficiale (PSI)	156	30.71%	0.391
		socialista unionista e riformista	6	1.18%	0.008
		socialista indipendente	1	0.20%	0
		repubblicano	9	1.77%	0.009
		popolare	100	19.69%	0.219
		combattente	20	3.94%	0.019
		economico	7	1.38%	0.009
		liberale democratico e radicale	96	18.90%	0.192
XXVI (11 June 1921 - 25 January 1924)	**535**	liberale	43	8.04%	0.091
		liberale democratico	68	12.71%	0.101
		democratico sociale	29	5.42%	0.059
		democratico riformista	11	2.06%	0.018
		socialista ITALIANO	123	22.99%	0.247
		socialista indipendente	1	0.19%	0.002
		repubblicano	6	1.12%	0.009
		popolare	108	20.19%	0.208
		combattenti	10	1.87%	0.016
		blocchi nazionali	105	19.63%	0.202
		economico	5	0.93%	0.008
		comunista	15	2.80%	0.023
		slavi e tedeschi	9	1.68%	0.014
		fascista	2	0.37%	0.003

PARLIAMENTARY GROUPS	CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES			SENATE		
	Seats	Voting Weight	Shapley-Shubik Index	Seats	Voting Weight	Shapley-Shubik Index
I Legislature (18 April 1948 – 6 June 1953)						
DEMOCRATICO CRISTIANO(DC)	306	0,5331	1	150	0,4386	0.63095
SOCIALDEMOCRATICO UNITA' SOCIALISTA	33	0,05749	0	23	0,06725	0.07857
REPUBBLICANO	10	0,01742	0	12	0,03509	0.03095
DEMOCRATICO INDIPENDENTE DI SINISTRA				10	0,02924	0.0119
SOCIALISTA ITALIANO	52	0,09059	0	41	0,11988	0.07857
COMUNISTA	131	0,22822	0	67	0,19591	0.07857
LIBERALE	15	0,02613	0	10	0,02924	0.0119
NAZIONALE MONARCHICO	13	0,02265	0			
MISTO	14	0,02439	0	29	0,08479	0.07857
TOTALE	574	1	1	342	1	1
II Legislature (7 June 1953 – 24 May 1958)						
DEMOCRATICO CRISTIANO(DC)	262	0,44407	0.57738	111	0,45679	0.64286
LIBERALE	14	0,02373	0.025			
SOCIALDEMOCRATICO	19	0,0322	0.025			
LIBERO-SOCIAL-REPUBBLICANO				10	0,04115	0.02381
DEMOCRATICO INDIPENDENTE DI SINISTRA				10	0,04115	0.02381
SOCIALISTA ITALIANO	75	0,12712	0.10119	28	0,11523	0.07143
COMUNISTA	143	0,24237	0.10119	49	0,20165	0.07143
MONARCHICO POPOLARE						
NAZIONALE MONARCHICO	39	0,0661	0.10119	15	0,06173	0.07143
MOVIMENTO SOCIALE ITALIANO	29	0,04915	0.05357	9	0,03704	0.02381
MISTO	9	0,01525	0.01548	11	0,04527	0.07143
TOTALE	590	1	1	243	1	1
III Legislature (25 May 1958 – 15 May 1963)						
DEMOCRATICO CRISTIANO(DC)	273	0,45805	0.59524	122	0,48221	0.6
SOCIALDEMOCRATICO	22	0,03691	0.04762			
REPUBBLICANO						
SOCIALISTA ITALIANO	84	0,14094	0.08333	36	0,1423	0.1
COMUNISTA	140	0,2349	0.08333	57	0,2253	0.1
LIBERALE	17	0,02852	0.04762			
MONARCHICO POPOLARE	14	0,02349	0.03571			
NAZIONALE MONARCHICO	11	0,01846	0.02976			
MOVIMENTO SOCIALE E NAZIONALE MONARCHICO				10	0,03952	0.1
MOVIMENTO SOCIALE ITALIANO	24	0,04027	0.04762			
MISTO	11	0,01846	0.02976	28	0,11067	0.1
TOTALE	596	1	1	253	1	1
IV Legislature (16 May 1963 – 14 May 1968)						
DEMOCRATICO CRISTIANO (DC)	260	0.4127	0.51984	134	0.41745	0.53571
SOCIALISTA ITALIANO (PSI)	62	0.09841	0.1246	32	0.09969	0.11667
COMUNISTA(PCI)	166	0.26349	0.1246	83	0.25857	0.11667
SOCIALDEMOCRATICO (PSDI)	32	0.05079	0.05794	14	0.04361	0.03095
REPUBBLICANO (PRI)	5	0.00794	0.00397			
LIBERALE (PLI)	38	0.06032	0.06111	19	0.05919	0.06905
SOCIALISTA IT. UNITA' PROLETARIA	25	0.03968	0.05	12	0.03738	0.03095
DEMOCRATICO UNITA' MONARCHICA	8	0.0127	0.00397			
MOVIMENTO SOCIALE ITALIANO (MSI)	27	0.04286	0.05	17	0.05296	0.06905
MISTO	7	0.01111	0.00397	10	0.03115	0.03095
TOTAL	630	1	1	321	1	1
V Legislature (5 June 1968 – 24 May 1972)						
COMUNISTA	171	0.27143	0.16508	77	0.23913	0.12024
DEMOCRATICO CRISTIANO	265	0.42063	0.46389	137	0.42547	0.52976
PSI E PSDI UNIFICATI	91	0.14444	0.16508	46	0.14286	0.12024
LIBERALE	31	0.04921	0.07579	16	0.04969	0.0631
REPUBBLICANO	9	0.01429	0.00913			
MOVIMENTO SOCIALE ITALIANO	24	0.0381	0.05317	13	0.04037	0.05357
DEM. UNITA' MONARCHICA	6	0.00952	0.00556			
SOC. IT. UNITA' PROLETARIA	23	0.03651	0.05317	13	0.04037	0.05357
SINISTRA INDIPENDENTE				12	0.03727	0.05357
MISTO	10	0.01587	0.00913	8	0.02484	0.00595
TOTALE	630	1	1	322	1	1
VI Legislature (25 May 1972 – 4 July 1976)						
COMUNISTA	175	0.27778	0.12976	82	0.25466	0.12619
DEMOCRATICO CRISTIANO	265	0.42063	0.53452	136	0.42236	0.53571
SOCIALISTA ITALIANO	61	0.09683	0.12976	36	0.1118	0.12619
LIBERALE	20	0.03175	0.02024	10	0.03106	0.02143
SOCIALDEMOCRATICO	30	0.04762	0.03452	12	0.03727	0.02143
REPUBBLICANO	15	0.02381	0.01071			
MOVIMENTO SOCIALE ITALIANO	55	0.0873	0.12976	26	0.08075	0.12619
SINISTRA INDIPENDENTE				11	0.03416	0.02143
MISTO	9	0.01429	0.01071	9	0.02795	0.02143
TOTALE	630	1	1	322	1	1
VII Legislature (5 July 1976 – 19 June 1979)						
COMUNISTA	222	0.35238	0.19524	99	0.30745	0.14524
DEMOCRATICO CRISTIANO	262	0.41587	0.42619	136	0.42236	0.49524
SOCIALISTA ITALIANO	57	0.09048	0.19524	31	0.09627	0.14524
SOCIALDEMOCRATICO ITALIANO	15	0.02381	0.02659			
REPUBBLICANO	14	0.02222	0.02262			
LIBERALE	5	0.00794	0.01151			
SOCIALDEMOCRATICO E LIBERALE				10	0.03106	0.02857
PARTITO RADICALE	4	0.00635	0.00754			
DEMOCRAZIA PROLETARIA	6	0.00952	0.01349			
MOVIMENTO SOCIALE ITALIANO	34	0.05397	0.08492	15	0.04658	0.0619
SINISTRA INDIPENDENTE				18	0.0559	0.07857
MISTO	11	0.01746	0.01667	13	0.04037	0.04524
TOTALE	630	1	1	322	1	1
VIII Legislature (20 June 1979 – 11 July 1983)						
COMUNISTA	193	0.30635	0.15556	95	0.29503	0.12381
DEMOCRATICO CRISTIANO	262	0.41587	0.46587	139	0.43168	0.52381
SOCIALISTA ITALIANO	61	0.09683	0.15556	32	0.09938	0.12381
LIBERALE	9	0.01429	0.01746			
SOCIALDEMOCRATICO ITALIANO	20	0.03175	0.03889	10	0.03106	0.0381
REPUBBLICANO	16	0.0254	0.03095	7	0.02174	0.01905
MOVIMENTO SOCIALE ITALIANO DN	29	0.04603	0.06429	13	0.04037	0.05741
PARTITO RADICALE	17	0.02698	0.03294			
UNITA' PROL. PER IL COMUNISMO (PDUP)	6	0.00952	0.00556			
SINISTRA INDIPENDENTE				16	0.04969	0.07619
MISTO	17	0.02698	0.03294	10	0.03106	0.0381
TOTALE	630	1	1	322	1	1
IX Legislature (12 July 1983 – 1 July 1987)						
COMUNISTA	177	0.28095	0.20545	91	0.28173	0.19762
DEMOCRATICO CRISTIANO	226	0.35873	0.38442	121	0.37461	0.39762
SOCIALISTA ITALIANO	73	0.11587	0.1614	39	0.12074	0.1619
SOCIALDEMOCRATICO ITALIANO	22	0.03492	0.0364	9	0.02786	0.03095
REPUBBLICANO	29	0.04603	0.04672	12	0.03715	0.03095

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Legislature	Party						
	LIBERALE	16	0.0254	0.02489	6	0.01858	0.03095
	MOVIMENTO SOCIALE DN	42	0.06667	0.06894	18	0.05573	0.05952
	PARTITO RADICALE (PR)	11	0.01746	0.01656			
	DEMOCRAZIA PROLETARIA	7	0.0111	0.0102			
	SINISTRA INDIPENDENTE	20	0.03175	0.03481	18	0.05573	0.05952
	MISTO	7	0.01111	0.01021	9	0.02768	0.03095
	TOTALE	630	1	1	323	1	1
X Legislature (2 July 1987 – 22 April 1992)	COMUNISTA	157	0.24921	0.18961	85	0.26235	0.17698
	DEMOCRATICO CRISTIANO	234	0.37143	0.42006	127	0.39198	0.44127
	SOCIALISTA ITALIANO	94	0.14921	0.18961	45	0.13889	0.17698
	SOCIALDEMOCRATICO ITALIANO	17	0.02698	0.02294	7	0.0216	0.02103
	REPUBBLICANO	21	0.03333	0.02908	9	0.02778	0.0246
	LIBERALE	11	0.01746	0.01479			
	MOVIMENTO SOCIALE DN	35	0.05556	0.05447	16	0.04938	0.0496
	FEDERATIVO EUROPEO				6	0.01852	0.01389
	FEDERALISTA EUROPEO (PR)	12	0.01905	0.01566			
	DEMOCRAZIA PROLETARIA	8	0.0127	0.01003			
	SINISTRA INDIPENDENTE	20	0.03175	0.02691	17	0.05247	0.05675
	VERDE	13	0.02063	0.01681			
	MISTO	8	0.0127	0.01003	12	0.03704	0.03889
	TOTALE	630	1	1	324	1	1
XI Legislature (23 April 1992 – 14 April 1994)	DEMOCRATICI DI SINISTRA & RIFONDAZI0NE COMUNISTA	142	0.2254	0.20274	86	0.2638	0.21905
	DEMOCRATICO CRISTIANO	206	0.32698	0.3873	112	0.34356	0.38571
	SOCIALISTA ITALIANO	92	0.14603	0.16082	51	0.15644	0.18571
	LIBERALE	17	0.02698	0.02237			
	SOCIALDEMOCRATICO ITALIANO	16	0.0254	0.02035			
	REPUBBLICANO	27	0.04286	0.03608	12	0.03681	0.05238
	MOVIMENTO SOCIALE DN	34	0.05397	0.04199	16	0.04908	0.05238
	FED. EUROPEO (LISTA PANNELLA)	6	0.00952	0.00902			
	LA RETE	12	0.01905	0.01573			
	LEGA NORD	55	0.0873	0.07424	25	0.07669	0.05238
	VERDI	16	0.0254	0.02035			
	MISTO	7	0.01111	0.00902	24	0.07362	0.05238
	TOTALE	630	1	1	326	1	1
XI Legislature (23 April 1992 – 14 April 1994)	DEMOCRATICI DI SINISTRA (PDS)	107	0.16984	0.15459	66	0.20245	0.17976
	DEMOCRATICO CRISTIANO	206	0.32698	0.41465	112	0.34356	0.42738
	RIFONDAZIONE COMUNISTA	35	0.05556	0.0425	20	0.06135	0.04167
	PARTITO SOCIALISTA ITALIANO	92	0.14603	0.13691	51	0.15644	0.15595
	LIBERALE	17	0.02698	0.02259			
	SOCIALDEMOCRATICO ITALIANO	16	0.0254	0.02089			
	REPUBBLICANO	27	0.04286	0.035	12	0.03681	0.04167
	FED. EUROPEO (LISTA PANNELLA)	6	0.00952	0.01043			
	MOVIMENTO SOCIALE DN	34	0.05397	0.042	16	0.04908	0.04167
	LA RETE	12	0.01905	0.01664			
	LEGA NORD	55	0.0873	0.07187	25	0.07669	0.05595
	VERDI	16	0.0254	0.02089			
	MISTO	7	0.01111	0.01104	24	0.07362	0.05595
	TOTALE	630	1	1	326	1	1