ESCE
Electoral System Change in Europe since 1945

Electoral System Change in Europe since 1945: Italy

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Section 1: Overview of the Italian Electoral System Changes since 1945

Proportional representation was first introduced in Italy after World War I in 1919, but it was used in two only elections before Mussolini forced the parliament to enact a new electoral rule, the Acerbo Law, which gave the winning party two thirds of the seats. After Italy's surrender to the Allies after World War II, democracy was restored in Italy. A multi-party committee was established to consider the electoral law and proportional representation was re-introduced with little discussion. (Renwick 2010: 112) The proportional system was subject to only minor changes, such as the reduction of the divisors of the quota, until 1993 when a mixed member majoritarian system was introduced. Since then, the electoral system has been changed once more, in 2005, when the Berlusconi-led government introduced a multimember proportional system with a bonus for the winning party or coalition

Section 2: Relevant Electoral System changes in Italy since 1945

Table 1. Summary of the Italian Electoral Laws and Amendments since 1945

Law	Amendment	Date of enactment	Location	Relevant for the research
Decreto legislativo luogotenenziale n. 74		10 March 1946	Pdf file	Yes
Constitution		01 January 1948	Pdf file	Yes
Legge (law) n. 6 "Norme per l'elezione della Camera dei deputati"		20 January 1948	Pdf file	Yes
Legge 31 marzo 1953, n. 148		31 March 1953	Pdf file	Yes
LEGGE 16 maggio 1956, n.		16 May 1956	Pdf file	Yes

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T.U. Camera - Consolidated text of the law for the election of the Chamber of Deputies, Decree of the President of the Republic n. 361		30 March 1957	Pdf file	Yes
	Decree of the President of the Republic), n. 200 Abrogazione, a seguito di referendum popolare, di talune disposizioni del testo unico delle leggi recanti norme per le elezioni della Camera dei deputati, approvato con decreto del Presidente della Repubblica 30 marzo 1957, n. 361. (GU n.161 del 11-7-	3 July 1991	Pdf file	Yes

		1991)		
Legge (law) n. 277 "Nuove norme per l'elezione della Camera dei deputati"		04 August 1993	Pdf file	Yes
Decree of the President of the Republic) n. 14		05 January 1994	Pdf file	No
Constitutional law 1/2000		17 January 2000	Pdf file	No
Constitutional law 1/2001		23 January 2001	Pdf file	No
	Legge (law) n. 459 Amendment to the electoral law concerning the voting rules of Italian Expats	27 December 2001	Pdf file	No
	Legge (law) n. 270 "Modifiche alle norme per l'elezione della Camera dei deputati e del Senato della	21 December 2005	Pdf file	Yes

Repubblica"			
Presidential Decree defining the new rules concerning the electoral districts for the 2008 elections	06 February 2008	Pdf file	No

Section 3: Details of previous electoral systems and electoral system changes.

3.1 The 1946 Electoral System

A multi-party committee, the National Consultative Committee, was appointed by the king in 1946 (Gambetta and Warner 2004) with the assignment to design an electoral system to elect the Constituent Assembly. The system introduced with this law (Decreto legislativo luogotenenziale n. 74 /1946) was a proportional system with both party lists and preference votes for individual candidates. It was used in the election of the Constituent Assembly and it established very weak limits to proportionality.

The Constituent Assembly was elected by universal suffrage on 2 June 1946 under a proportional system, based on 32 electoral regions. Although 573 deputies were to be elected, the elections could not be held in South Tyrol, Trieste, Gorizia, Pola, Fiume and Zara, which were then under Allied or Yugoslav military control. Thus, only 556 deputies were elected. The elections for the Constituent Assembly were held at the same time as a referendum on the abolition of the monarchy.

Assembly size. There are 573 deputies in the Constituent Assembly, divided into districts. Each district must be represented by at least 7 deputies (except in the case of the Valle d'Aosta which elects only one candidate) (Art.3). Excluding the areas under occupation, 556 were in fact contested in the 1946 election.

Districts and district magnitude. In the first tier, there are 31 multi-member districts and one single-member district (Valle d'Aosta). The average magnitude is 17.9 taking Valle d' Aosta into account and 18.5 without it.

In the upper tier, only the residual votes are allocated on the basis of a nationwide district.

Nature of votes that can be cast. Each list must contain at least three candidates and no more than the number of deputies to be elected in the district (Art. 14). Voters vote for a list and can cast preference votes among the candidates of the list they voted for. Depending on the district magnitude, voters are able to express two or three preferences to individual candidates. When the district magnitude is lower than or equal to 15, two preference votes can be expressed. If the district is bigger than 15 the voter can express three preference votes. Voters have to write in the ballot the numbers or the surnames of the candidates they wish to vote for (Art. 45). Though it is not stated explicitly in the law, voters' candidate preferences were not ordered: voters either indicated support for a candidate or did not.

Party threshold. According to article 62 there is no threshold for the upper tier. The residual votes of all the parties (or the lists linked with the ones of the national pool) were taken into account.

Allocation of seats to parties at the lower tier[1]. There were two results: list electoral results (cifra elettorale) for the parties and candidate electoral results (cifra individuale), which are the sum of the preference votes. Seats are allocated to parties depending on the lists electoral result. In order to allocate them, the sum of the total valid votes gathered by the lists is divided by the number of seats plus one (Hagenbach-Bischoff quota) when the district has 20 seats or less, and plus two in larger districts. (Art 57)

Allocation of seats to parties at the upper tier. Seats that remain undistributed are allocated on the basis of a nationwide district. Remainder votes are divided by the remainder seats (Hare quota) and the rest is allocated by highest remainders. (Art. 62).

Parties present lists for the allocation of seats in the upper tier. Candidates must be included in at least one of the district lists and never in more than one party. Candidates are elected in the order they were presented on the party list.

Allocation of seats to candidates. Within parties, candidates are elected on the basis of the preference votes they have gathered.

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[1] Valle d'Aosta has another electoral system. It is a single-member district and the candidate is elected if he or she wins more than half of the votes cast. If none of the candidate achieves this share, elections are to be held on the next Sunday and the candidate that obtains the most votes is elected. (Art. 67).

Table2: Allocation of seats at district level in 1946

Electoral district	District magnitude
Torino-Novara-Vercelli	28
Cuneo-Alessandria-Asti	18
Genova-Imperia-La Spezia-Savona	20
	36
Milano-Pavia	14
Como-Sondrio-Varese	
Brescia-Bergamo	18
Mantova-Cremona	10
Trento-Bolzano	9 (only 5 seats in Trento actually available)
Verona-Padova-Vicenza-Rovigo	29
Venezia-Treviso	16
Udine-Belluno	12
Trieste e Venezia-Giulia-Zara	13 (seats not available due to occupation)
Bologna-Ferrara-Ravenna-Forlì	24
Parma-Modena-Piacenza-Reggio Emilia	20
Firenze-Pistoia	14
Pisa-Livorno-Lucca-Apuania	15
Siena-Arezzo-Grosetto	10
Ancona-Pesaro-Macerata-Ascoli Piceno	17
Perugia-Terni-Rieti	12
Roma-Viterbo-Latina-Frosinone	33
L'Aquila-Pescara-Chieti-Teramo	16
Benevento-Campobasso	9
Napoli-Caserta	30
Salerno-Avellino	15
Bari-Fogglia	21
Lecce-Brindisi-Taranto	15
Potenza-Matera	7
Catanzaro-Cosenza-Reggio Calabria	24
Catania-Messina-Siracusa-Ragusa-Enna	27
Palermo-Trapani-Agrigento-Caltanisetta	26
Cagliari-Sassari-Nuoro	14
Val d' Aosta	1

3.2 1948 Constitution

The Constitution of the Italian Republic was enacted by the Constituent Assembly on 22 December 1947, with 453 votes in favour and 62 against and it came into force on 1 January 1948. The text has been amended several times.

Districts and district magnitude. The number of deputies is apportioned, on the basis of the last census, for every 80,000 inhabitants or for fraction greater than 40,000, calculated in each district according to the resident population (Art. 56).

No other change.

3.3 The 1948 Electoral Reform.

This law (Legge. 6 "Norme per l'elezione della Camera dei deputati") was enacted on 20 January 1948. The statute developing this law is the Decree of the President of the Republic of 5 February 1948, n.26.

Assembly size. 574 seats (previously 573). The law itself does not specify the assembly size: it simply says that a deputy is apportioned for every 80,000 inhabitants or remaining fraction greater than 40,000, calculated in each electoral college according to the resident population on 31 December 1948. (Art. 2 specifies the population criteria fixed by Art. 56 of the Constitution and 1946 and modifies Art. 3 of the 1946 law)

Nature of votes that can be cast. There is no change concerning the number of candidates in each list: Each list must contain at least three candidates and no more than the number of deputies to be elected in the district (Art. 10). For the National district, each list must not include more candidates than (regional) districts (Art. 11).
The voter must express a vote for the list and the preference votes (Art. 17). The number of preference votes that can be expressed is changed. When the district magnitude is lower than or equal to 15, three preference votes can be expressed. If the district is bigger than 15 the voter can express four preference votes (Art. 18). Voters must express a preference vote even when they intend to vote for the candidate who is placed in the top of the list.

Party threshold. The threshold and the quota to allocate seats at the national level are modified. Only those lists that are linked with those of the single national district and that have achieved at least a quotient are admitted to the upper level allocation of seats and taken into account for the calculation of the electoral quota at this level. (Art. 62 is modified by article 22.)

Allocation of seats to parties at the lower tier. The quota for the first tier allocation is modified: instead of dividing by the number of seats plus one or plus two, it is divided by the number of

seats plus three. (Article 57 is modified by article21). This constituted an unusual low quota and it benefited the largest parties.

As Carstairs (1980: 158) notes, "This had the effect of reducing the number of seats which had to be allocated at the national level from eighty in 1946 to twenty-one in 1948". This change does not, however, pass the 20 per cent criterion for significance in the terms of this project.

Allocation of seats to parties at the upper tier. Remainder seats were allocated, as before, at the national level.

No other change

Table 3: Allocation of seats at district [and provincial] level in [year]

Electoral district	District magnitude
Torino-Novara-Vercelli	27
Cuneo-Alessandria-Asti	17
Genova-Imperia-La Spezia-Savona	19
Milano-Pavia	36
Como-Sondrio-Varese	14
Brescia-Bergamo	19
Mantova-Cremona	10
Trento-Bolzano	9
Verona-Padova-Vicenza-Rovigo	29
Venezia-Treviso	17
Udine-Belluno-Gorizia	14
Bologna-Ferrara-Ravenna-Forlì	24
Parma-Modena-Piacenza-Reggio Emilia	20
Firenze-Pistoia	14
Pisa-Livorno-Lucca-Apuania	15
Siena-Arezzo-Grosetto	10
Ancona-Pesaro-Macerata-Ascoli Piceno	17
Perugia-Terni-Rieti	12
Roma-Viterbo-Latina-Frosinone	37
L'Aquila-Pescara-Chieti-Teramo	16
Campobasso	5
Napoli-Caserta	32
Benevento- Avellino-Salerno	20
Bari-Fogglia	22
Lecce-Brindisi-Taranto	16
Potenza-Matera	7
Catanzaro-Cosenza-Reggio Calabria	25
Catania-Messina-Siracusa-Ragusa-Enna	28
Palermo-Trapani-Agrigento-Caltanisetta	27
Cagliari-Sassari-Nuoro	15
Val d' Aosta	1

3.4 The 1953 Electoral Reform

This law, proposed by De Gasperi government, was enacted on 31 March 1953. It was known as the "swindle law" (legge truffa) because it assured 65% of the seats (380 of 590) to the party or group of lists (by apparentement) that won a majority of votes. In the elections held under this law, the Christian Democratic Party and its allies could not achieve the majority of votes: they secured only 49.8% of the votes so could not be awarded the premium. The system was thus soon replaced by 1957 law.

Assembly size. The Chamber of Deputies consists of 590 members. This number is determined on the basis of the resident population on November 1957 by the National Statistics Institute. (Art. V)

Party threshold. No change: Only the votes for parties that have achieved at least one quotient in the districts are taken into account for the allocation of seats in the upper tier.

Allocation of seats to parties at the lower tier. In the case that a party or group of lists achieves the majority of votes (50% or more) two different quotas are calculated. The first one, the majority quotient, is the total number of votes won by the winning party or group of lists divided by the number of seats to be allocated for the winning party (390 seats). The second one, the minority quotient, consists on the division of the total number of votes won by the rest of the parties by the seats to be allocated among them (210 seats).

Allocation of seats to parties at the upper tier. On the contrary, if no party wins the majority of votes, the 1948 law will be in force but with a major change: in the national distribution of the remaining votes, instead of allocating the seats among the candidates listed by the parties for that purpose, candidates were taken into account depending on who had won the highest number of votes.

No other change

Table 4: Allocation of seats at district level in 1953

Electoral district	District magnitude
I	28
II	16
III	19
IV	38
V	15
VI	19
VII	10
VIII	9
IX	29
X	17
XI	15
XII	25
XIII	20
XIV	14
XV	15

XVI	10
XVII	17
XVIII	12
XIX	40
XX	16
XXI	5
XXII	33
XXIII	21
XXIV	23
XXV	17
XXVI	8
XXVII	26
XXVIII	28
XXIX	28
XXX	16
XXXI	1

3.5 The 1956 Electoral Reform

This law was enacted on May 16, 1956 and it introduced changes on the assembly size and threshold for the upper tier (Legge 16 maggio 1956, n. 493 Norme per la elezione della Camera dei deputati).

Assembly size. This law adds one new district, which includes the municipalities of Trieste, Duino-Aurisina, Monrupino, Muggia, San Dorligo della Valle and Sgonicco. This new district constitutes the XXXIII district and has four seats. The Assembly size is therefore fixed at 594 seats. (Art.4)

Districts and district magnitude. No major change: The apportionment of seats is done on the basis of the last population census and should be published at the same time as the decree calling for the elections. (Art. 5)

Nature of votes that can be cast. No change. (Art. 26 and 27).

Party threshold. Only the votes for those parties that achieve one quotient in one district and 300,000 votes nationwide are considered for the allocation of seats in the upper tier.(Art. 36).

No other change

Table5: Allocation of seats at district level in 1956

Electoral district	District magnitude
I	28
II	16

III	19
IV	38
V	15
VI	19
VII	10
VIII	9
IX	29
X	17
XI	15
XII	25
XIII	20
XIV	14
XV	15
XVI	10
XVII	17
XVIII	12
XIX	40
XX	16
XXI	5
XXII	33
XXIII	21
XXIV	23
XXV	17
XXVI	8
XXVII	26
XXVIII	28
XXIX	28
XXX	16
XXXI	1
XXXII	4

3.1 The 1957 Electoral System

The principal characteristics of 1948 system are re-introduced with this law (Decree of the President of the Republic) n. 361) It was enacted on 30 March 1957.

Assembly size. The law indicates no change in assembly size since the 1956 law, but in fact the districts outlined below (confirmed both in the Constituency Level Archive and on the website of the Italian Ministry of the Interior (elezionistorico.interno.it) and further corroborated in Mackie and Rose and other sources) contain 596 seats.

Districts and district magnitude. No change. The allocation of seats among the competing lists is made on a proportional basis in each of the districts and residual votes are recovered in the single national district.
The number of deputies is apportioned, on the basis of the last census, for every 80,000 inhabitants or for fraction greater than 40,000, calculated in each district according to the resident population. The whole country constitutes the National College only for the allocation

of residual votes. (Art. 2 and T.U. 5 February 1948, n. 26, art. 2, and Law 16 May 1956, n. 493, art. 4).

Nature of votes that can be cast. No change: On the ballot the names of the candidates are written in the order chosen by the parties, given that no rule is defined on this point by the legislation. The party can specify a preferred order. First, the voter puts a cross near the party list of his or her choice. Then, the preference votes must be expressed: three votes in districts where there are fifteen (15) deputies to be elected, and four votes when there are more than sixteen (16) seats to be distributed. Preference votes must be expressed even in the case where the voter wants to preserve the order of candidates proposed by the parties. (Art. 59)

No candidate can be included in party lists with different symbols in the same constituency or in several constituencies, failure to do this would result the invalidation of the election. (Art 19)

Party threshold. Only those parties winning at least one district seat or 300,000 votes nationwide could be taken into account for the distribution of seats at the national pool. (Art. 83)

Allocation of seats to parties at the lower tier. The quota for allocation of seats in the first tier is the Imperiali quota (votes/ (seats+2)). In the 1957 system, voters expressed preference votes among the candidates of the same list. In the first tier, the number of seats to be allocated to parties depended on the total number of party list votes. Seats were allocated to candidates depending on the preference votes each of them won.

Allocation of seats to parties at the upper tier. Seats are allocated in the upper national tier to the party lists depending on the residual votes (those who have not been allocated in the first tier) they achieve. Both the votes for parties in districts where all the seats have been filled in the first tier and the votes for parties which have not achieved one quotient are taken into account as residual votes. (Art. 83) The quota used in this tier is the Hare quota (total amount of residual votes divided by the number of seats that remain undistributed).In the national tier, seats are allocated to parties on the basis of the number of votes each list has won nationally, but seats are allocated to candidates within lists in the order of the preference votes.

Allocation of seats to candidates. Candidates are elected within parties on the basis of the preference votes they have gathered. When there is a tie, the order of presentation of the list prevails.

Table 6: Allocation of seats at district level in 1957

Electoral district	District magnitude
Torino-Novara-Vercelli	26
Cuneo-Alessandria-Asti	14
Genova-Imperia-La Spezia-Savona	21
	39
Milano-Pavia	14
Como-Sondrio-Varese	
Brescia-Bergamo	19

Mantova-Cremona	10
Trento-Bolzano	10
Verona-Padova-Vicenza-Rovigo	29
Venezia-Treviso	16
Udine-Belluno-Gorizia	14
Bologna-Ferrara-Ravenna-Forlì	27
Parma-Modena-Piacenza-Reggio Emilia	19
Firenze-Pistoia	13
Pisa-Livorno-Lucca-Massa Carrara	15
Siena-Arezzo-Grosetto	9
Ancona-Pesaro-Macerata-Ascoli Piceno	19
Perugia-Terni-Rieti	13
Roma-Viterbo-Latina-Frosinone	39
L'Aquila-Pescara-Chieti-Teramo	17
Campobasso	6
Napoli-Caserta	34
Benevento- Avellino-Salerno	21
Bari-Fogglia	22
Lecce-Brindisi-Taranto	18
Potenza-Matera	8
Catanzaro-Cosenza-Reggio Calabria	26
Catania-Messina-Siracusa-Ragusa-Enna	29
Palermo-Trapani-Agrigento-Caltanisetta	29
Cagliari-Sassari-Nuoro	15
Val d' Aosta	1
Trieste	4

3.2 The 1991 Electoral Reform

On 9 June 1991 a referendum was held in Italy asking about the abolition of the paragraphs of the law in force concerning the preference votes. The objective was to express a single preference vote. It was approved by 95.6% of the voters and the turnout was of 62,5% enough to force the introduction of the change in the law. This modification consisted on the simple abrogation of the paragraphs that referred to the possibility of expressing preference votes (in Arts.4, 58, 60, 61, 68 and 76 of the 1957 law). These changes were introduced in the legal system through this Decree, enacted on 3rd July 1991.

Allocation of seats to candidates. Voters only have the possibility of expressing one preference vote.

No other change

3.3 The 1993 Electoral Reform.

1993 Reform (Legge (law) n. 277 "Nuove norme per l'elezione della Camera dei deputati") was enacted on 4 August 1993 after a new referendum that took place in April 1993 which included different issues, such as the modification of the Senate electoral law and changes in the law on the public funding of political parties.

The new electoral law of 1993, known as Legge Mattarella because the proposer of the bill was Sergio Mattarella, introduced a mixed member system: 75% of the seats were distributed on a majoritarian basis in single-member districts and the rest was allocated proportionally in multi-member regional districts.

Assembly size. The Assembly sized is fixed at 630 deputies.

Districts and district magnitude. The territory of Italy is divided in 475 single-member districts to elect deputies by plurality and 26 multi-member districts to elect candidates through a proportional system (155 seats).

Nature of votes that can be cast. Electors cast two votes: one for the candidate in the single-member district and the other for a constituency-wide party list. Candidates must be linked to one of the lists and they may be linked to more than one list as long as they are in the same district and under the same label (Art.2.e that modifies art. 19 of the Decree of the President of the Republic 30 March 1957, n. 361). No one is allowed to be included in more than one district (Art.2.c that modifies art. 18 of the abovementioned 1957 law).

The number of candidates on each list cannot be higher than a third of the seats to be allocated on a proportional basis in each district. (Art.1.e)

Party threshold. In order to participate in the allocation of seats in the proportional system, individual parties must have gathered more than 4% of the valid votes in the country (Art.5.2)

Allocation of seats to parties at the lower tier. Seventy-five per cent of the seats (475) are allocated in single-member districts. In these cases the winner is the one who has received more votes (winner-takes-all system). If there is a tie among candidates, the eldest would be elected.

Allocation of seats to parties at the upper tier. The other 25% of the seats (155) are allocated on a proportional basis in district-at-large (collegio unico nazionale) by means of the Hare quota, dividing the total number of votes (taking away the votes cast for the second placed candidates in the single-member districts, as explained below) by the number of seats to be

elected on the proportional basis. (Art.5.2). The undistributed seats are allocated by largest remainders (Art.1.3). Within each party, seats are allocated back to the multi-member districts by calculating the quotient of the number of votes obtained by a party or coalition in each district by the amount of seats to be distributed in it. Undistributed seats are allocated following the method of highest averages.

The proportional and the plurality mechanisms are linked through the scorporo system, which, in the case of the Chamber of Deputies, means that the number of votes that the second placed candidate wins in the single-member district plus one is subtracted from the proportional votes of the linked party lists of the winning candidate in the multi-member districts. This deduction could not be less than 25% of the valid vote cast in the single-member district. If the deduction is larger than the number of votes received by the winner in the single-member district, the winning candidate´s vote is subtracted (Katz, 2001, pp. 116). Parties thus had the possibility to run in the plurality system coalesced with other parties. This entailed that in order to apply the scorporo system, the subtraction of the votes had to be proportionate to the quota of each coalesced party. The objective of the mechanism was to give greater representation to the lists that had a few candidates elected by the majority system.

Allocation of seats to candidates. In each constituency seats are allocated to candidates in the same order they appear on the party list. Parties could only present a number of candidates up to one third of the number of seats to be allocated in each constituency (rounded up). This could cause situations in which there were not enough candidates for all the seats. In this situation, the remaining seats could also go for the candidates in the single-member districts (Katz 2001;116).

Table 7: Number of single-member districts in each PR district (in 1996)

Electoral district	District magnitude
Piemonte 1	19
Piemonte 2	17
Lombardia 1	31
Lombardia 2	32
Lombardia 3	11
Trentino Alto Adige	8
Veneto 1	22
Veneto 2	15
Friuli-Venezia-Giulia	10
Liguria	14
Emilia-Romagna	32
Toscana	29
Umbria	7
Marche	12
Lazio 1	32
Lazio 2	11
Abruzzo	11
Molise	3
Campania 1	25

Campania 2	22
Puglia	34
Basilicata	5
Calabria	17
Sicilia 1	20
Sicilia 2	21
Sardegna	14
Valle d' Aosta	1

Table 8: District list and magnitude in PR distribution in 1996

Electoral district	District magnitude
Piemonte 1	6
Piemont 2	7
Lombardia 1	10
Lombardia 2	9
Lombardia 3	4
Trentino Alto Adige	2
Veneto 1	8
Veneto 2	5
Friuli-Venezia-Giulia	3
Liguria	5
Emilia-Romagna	10
Toscana	10
Umbria	2
Marche	4
Lazio 1	10
Lazio 2	5
Abruzzo	3
Molise	1
Campania 1	8
Campania 2	7
Puglia	10
Basilicata	2
Calabria	6
Sicilia 1	7
Sicilia 2	7
Sardegna	4

3.4 The 2001 Electoral Reform

These two amendments to the electoral law concerned the voting rules of Italians living abroad. They regulate their right to vote and the second amendment defines the districts and the apportionment for this group of voters.

The first one is an amendment of the articles 56 and 57 of the Constitution and was enacted on the 23 January 2001. The number of seats to be elected is 630, twelve of which are elected

by Italians living abroad. However, the application of this law was conditioned to the approval of another law containing the procedures to allocate these seats. This second piece of law was enacted on 27th December 2001 (Legge (law) n. 459 Norme per l' esercizio del diritto di voto dei cittadini italiani residenti all' estero) and, therefore, it was not applied in 2001 elections since they took place before the enactment of the law. This amendment introduced the possibility of two preference votes for Italians living abroad in those districts where more than two deputies are elected, and one preference vote in the rest of the districts. (art 11.3)

Districts and district magnitude. In the district that represents Italians living abroad, there are several partitions:
- Europa (including Asian territories, the Russian Federation and Turkey)
- South America
- North and Central America
- Africa; Asia, Oceania and the Antarctica

Each of them is awarded one seat and the other seats are apportioned in proportion to the citizens living in those territories (Art.6) The Hare quota is applied both for apportionment and for the allocation of seats (Art.15)

Nature of votes that can be cast.
By virtue of Article 11 the voters living abroad can cast their vote by crossing the symbol corresponding to the list of their choice or by putting a mark on the rectangle containing the symbol. Every voter can express up to two preferences for a candidate within a party's list in the districts where two or more Deputy seats are allocated, and one preference in the rest of the districts. The vote of preference is expressed by writing the family name of the chosen candidate in the dedicated line next to the party symbol of the list of his or her choice. The preference vote is invalidated when it is expressed for a candidate included in a different list than the one chosen by the voter. The preference vote that is correctly expressed for a candidate is counted as a vote for the list wherein the candidate is included when the voter does not put a mark on the symbol of the corresponding party's list

No other change

Table 9: Number of single-member districts corresponding to each PR district in 2001 elections

Electoral district	District magnitude
Piemonte 1	19
Piemont 2	17
Lombardia 1	31
Lombardia 2	32
Lombardia 3	11
Trentino Alto Adige	8
Veneto 1	22
Veneto 2	15
Friuli-Venezia-Giulia	10
Liguria	14
Emilia-Romagna	32
Toscana	29

Umbria	7
Marche	12
Lazio 1	32
Lazio 2	11
Abruzzo	11
Molise	3
Campania 1	25
Campania 2	22
Puglia	34
Basilicata	5
Calabria	17
Sicilia 1	20
Sicilia 2	21
Sardegna	14
	1

Table 10: Allocation of seats in PR districts in 2001 elections

Electoral district	District magnitude
Piemonte 1	6
Piemont 2	6
Lombardia 1	10
Lombardia 2	10
Lombardia 3	4
Trentino Alto Adige	2
Veneto 1	8
Veneto 2	5
Friuli-Venezia-Giulia	3
Liguria	6
Emilia-Romagna	9
Toscana	10
Umbria	2
Marche	4
Lazio 1	10
Lazio 2	4
Abruzzo	3
Molise	1
Campania 1	9
Campania 2	7
Puglia	10
Basilicata	2
Calabria	6
Sicilia 1	7
Sicilia 2	7
Sardegna	4

3.5 The 2005 Electoral Reform

This reform re-introduced a bonus-adjusted multi-member proportional system, abolishing the previous partially compensatory MMM system. It was proposed by Silvio Berlusconi´s government and changed the mixed member system in force until then to a proportional system with a majority bonus and no possibility of expressing preference votes. This law (Legge (law) n. 270 "Modifiche alle norme per l'elezione della Camera dei deputati e del Senato della Repubblica") was enacted on 21 December 2005.

Districts and district magnitude. Art 1: Except for the seats assigned to represent Italians living abroad, seats are distributed on a proportional basis, with the possibility of a majority bonus being granted.

The Italian territory is thus divided into 26 multi-member constituencies plus one single-member plurality constituency for the Valle d'Aosta. The 27 constituencies correspond to the boundaries of the 20 Italian regions. In the six most populated regions (measured on the basis of the national census made in 2001 according to art. 56 of the Constitution), the constituencies correspond to the boundaries of one or two aggregated provinces. Only the Lombardy region is divided into three different constituencies, the other five most populated Italian regions (Piedmont, Veneto, Latium, Campania and Sicily) are divided into two constituencies each. The total number of seats elected by proportional representation is 617, plus the single-member district of Valle d'Aosta and the twelve seats in four three-member districts for Italians living abroad.

The new electoral system adopted with law no. 270/2005, does not modify the legal rules valid for the allocation, on the basis of the plurality method, of the single seat attributed to the Valle d'Aosta region. The rules for the allocation of the Deputy seat for the Valle d'Aosta region are described in art. 47 of the Regional Statute of Autonomy (Constitutional Law no.4, 26 February 1948).

In the Overseas district, the allocation of seats is as follows:
- Europe (including Asiatic territories, the Russian Federation and Turkey): 2 seats.
- South America: 2 seats.
- North and Central America: 1 seat.
- Africa, Asia, Oceania and the Antarctica: 1seat.

Nature of votes that can be cast. According to the new electoral law adopted in 2005, voters can cast a vote only for a party and they cannot express preferences for a candidate within a party's list. Only voters in the overseas constituency have the possibility of expressing a preference vote.

The electoral law since 2005 does not prescribe any limit to the possibility for the candidates to be included in party lists with the same symbol presented in more than one constituency.

Party threshold. There is a national party threshold of 4% for parties outside a coalition and 10% for coalitions. Parties being part of a coalition need to individually gather 2% of the national votes; except in the case of officially recognized linguistic minorities' representation which need 20% of the vote in the district. (Art.1.12.3.b)

Allocation of seats to parties at the lower tier. The party or the coalition of parties that win the plurality of votes is immediately awarded 340 seats. The allocation of seats to each of the

parties that take part in the coalition is done through the majority electoral quotient. This is calculated by dividing the total number of seats awarded to the coalition by 340 (Hare quota). The allocation of seats for the rest of the parties that have surpassed the electoral threshold is done by the minority quotient, that is, by dividing these parties' total number of valid votes by 277 (the number of seats that are allocated to the minority parties, once the majority bonus is awarded to the party that wins). The Hare quota, thus, is also used in the minority quotient. The remaining undistributed seats are allocated by highest remainders.
Valle d'Aosta remains as a single-member district.

Allocation of seats to candidates. Candidates are elected following the order established by parties on their lists.

No other change

Table 11: Allocation of seats at district level in 2006

Electoral district	District magnitude
Piemonte 1	24
Piemonte2	22
Lombardia 1	40
Lombardia 2	43
Lombardia 3	15
Trentino Alto Adige	10
Veneto 1	29
Veneto 2	20
Friuli-Venezia-Giulia	13
Liguria	17
Emilia-Romagna	43
Toscana	38
Umbria	9
Marche	16
Lazio 1	40
Lazio 2	15
Abruzzo	14
Molise	3
Campania 1	33
Campania 2	29
Puglia	44
Basilicata	6
Calabria	22
Sicilia 1	26
Sicilia 2	28
Sardegna	18
Valle d' Aosta	1

Appendix

Table 12: Allocation of seats at district level in 1946

Electoral district	1946 allocation as provided by the law	1946 actual allocation*
Torino-Novara-Vercelli	28	25
Cuneo-Alessandria-Asti	18	16
Genova-Imperia-La Spezia-Savona	20	16
Milano-Pavia	36	34
Como-Sondrio-Varese	14	12
Brescia-Bergamo	18	15
Mantova-Cremona	10	8
Trento-Bolzano	9 [1]	4 [2]
Verona-Padova-Vicenza-Rovigo	29	27
Venezia-Treviso	16	13
Udine-Belluno-Gorizia	12	11
Bologna-Ferrara-Ravenna-Forlì	24	22
Parma-Modena-Piacenza-Reggio Emilia	20	19
Firenze-Pistoia	14	12
Pisa-Livorno-Lucca-Massa e Carrara	15	13
Siena-Arezzo-Grosetto	10	8
Ancona-Pesaro-Macerata-Ascoli Piceno	17	13
Perugia-Terni-Rieti	12	9
Roma-Viterbo-Latina-Frosinone	33	29
L'Aquila-Pescara-Chieti-Teramo	16	12
Benevento-Campobasso	9	7
Napoli-Caserta	30	27
Salerno-Avellino	15	12
Bari-Fogglia	21	18
Lecce-Brindisi-Taranto	15	12
Potenza-Matera	7	5
Catanzaro-Cosenza-Reggio Calabria	24	21
Catania-Messina-Siracusa-Ragusa-Enna	27	23
Palermo-Trapani-Agrigento-Caltanisetta	26	21
Cagliari-Sassari-Nuoro	14	11
Val d' Aosta	1	1
Trieste e Venezia-Giulia-Zara	13	This district was under military occupation until 1947
Total	556	476

[1] The electoral law provided that 9 seats were available. In the election itself, only Trento was included, and 5 seats were available.
[2] Only Trento

* Source: Italian Ministry of Interior: http://elezionistorico.interno.it

Table 13: Allocation of seats at district level in 1948

Electoral district	1948 allocation as provided by the law	1948 actual allocation*
Torino-Novara-Vercelli	27	26
Cuneo-Alessandria-Asti	17	16
Genova-Imperia-La Spezia-Savona	19	19
Milano-Pavia	36	36
Como-Sondrio-Varese	14	14
Brescia-Bergamo	19	19
Mantova-Cremona	10	10
Trento-Bolzano	9	9
Verona-Padova-Vicenza-Rovigo	29	28
Venezia-Treviso	17	16
Udine-Belluno-Gorizia	14	14
Bologna-Ferrara-Ravenna-Forlì	24	22
Parma-Modena-Piacenza-Reggio Emilia	20	19
Firenze-Pistoia	14	13
Pisa-Livorno-Lucca-Massa e Carrara	15	14
Siena-Arezzo-Grosetto	10	9
Ancona-Pesaro-Macerata-Ascoli Piceno	17	17
Perugia-Terni-Rieti	12	11
Roma-Viterbo-Latina-Frosinone	37	34
L'Aquila-Pescara-Chieti-Teramo	16	16
Benevento-Campobasso	5	4
Napoli-Caserta	32	31
Salerno-Avellino	20	18
Bari-Fogglia	22	22
Lecce-Brindisi-Taranto	16	16
Potenza-Matera	7	6
Catanzaro-Cosenza-Reggio Calabria	25	24
Catania-Messina-Siracusa-Ragusa-Enna	28	26
Palermo-Trapani-Agrigento-Caltanisetta	27	25
Cagliari-Sassari-Nuoro	15	14
Val d' Aosta	1	1
Total	574	549

* Source: Italian Ministry of Interior: http://elezionistorico.interno.it

Table 14: Allocation of seats at district level in 1953

Electoral district	1953 allocation as provided by the law	1953 actual allocation*
Torino-Novara-Vercelli	28	26
Cuneo-Alessandria-Asti	16	16
Genova-Imperia-La Spezia-Savona	19	17
Milano-Pavia	38	36
Como-Sondrio-Varese	15	15
Brescia-Bergamo	19	19
Mantova-Cremona	10	10
Trento-Bolzano	9	8
Verona-Padova-Vicenza-Rovigo	29	28
Venezia-Treviso	17	16
Udine-Belluno-Gorizia	15	15
Bologna-Ferrara-Ravenna-Forlì	25	22
Parma-Modena-Piacenza-Reggio Emilia	20	19
Firenze-Pistoia	14	13
Pisa-Livorno-Lucca-Massa e Carrara	15	13
Siena-Arezzo-Grosetto	10	10
Ancona-Pesaro-Macerata-Ascoli Piceno	17	15
Perugia-Terni-Rieti	12	11
Roma-Viterbo-Latina-Frosinone	40	38
L'Aquila-Pescara-Chieti-Teramo	16	14
Benevento-Campobasso	5	5
Napoli-Caserta	33	31
Salerno-Avellino	21	20
Bari-Fogglia	23	22
Lecce-Brindisi-Taranto	17	16
Potenza-Matera	8	7
Catanzaro-Cosenza-Reggio Calabria	26	25
Catania-Messina-Siracusa-Ragusa-Enna	28	25
Palermo-Trapani-Agrigento-Caltanisetta	28	25
Cagliari-Sassari-Nuoro	16	14
Val d' Aosta	1	1
Total	590	552

* Source: Italian Ministry of Interior: http://elezionistorico.interno.it

Table 15: Allocation of seats at district level from 1958 until 1972*

Electoral district	1958	1963	1968	1972
Torino-Novara-Vercelli	26	33	32	34
Cuneo-Alessandria-Asti	14	14	15	14
Genova-Imperia-La Spezia-Savona	21	23	22	22
Milano-Pavia	39	45	47	45
Como-Sondrio-Varese	14	17	17	17
Brescia-Bergamo	19	19	20	20
Mantova-Cremona	10	9	9	8
Trento-Bolzano	10	10	9	10
Verona-Padova-Vicenza-Rovigo	29	29	28	28
Venezia-Treviso	16	17	18	18
Udine-Belluno-Gorizia	14	14	15	14
Bologna-Ferrara-Ravenna-Forlì	27	27	25	27
Parma-Modena-Piacenza-Reggio Emilia	19	19	20	20
Firenze-Pistoia	13	16	16	16
Pisa-Livorno-Lucca-Massa Carrara	15	15	15	16
Siena-Arezzo-Grosetto	9	10	9	9
Ancona-Pesaro-Macerata-Ascoli Piceno	19	19	17	17
Perugia-Terni-Rieti	13	12	13	11
Roma-Viterbo-Latina-Frosinone	39	48	47	48
L'Aquila-Pescara-Chieti-Teramo	17	16	15	15
Campobasso-Isernia	6	4	5	4
Napoli-Caserta	34	38	38	38
Benevento- Avellino-Salerno	21	21	21	23
Bari-Fogglia	22	23	23	24
Lecce-Brindisi-Taranto	18	18	19	18
Potenza-Matera	8	8	8	8
Catanzaro-Cosenza-Reggio Calabria	26	26	26	24
Catania-Messina-Siracusa-Ragusa-Enna	29	29	29	30
Palermo-Trapani-Agrigento-Caltanisetta	29	29	29	30
Cagliari-Sassari-Nuoro	15	18	19	17
Val d' Aosta	1	1	1	1
Trieste	4	3	3	4
Total	596	630	630	630

*Source: Italian Ministry of Interior: http://elezionistorico.interno.it

Table 16: Allocation of seats at district level from 1976 until 1992*

Electoral district	1976	1979	1983	1987	1992
Torino-Novara-Vercelli	38	39	36	34	35
Cuneo-Alessandria-Asti	16	15	14	14	12
Genova-Imperia-La Spezia-Savona	22	23	20	21	19
Milano-Pavia	52	52	51	48	48
Como-Sondrio-Varese	19	20	20	20	19
Brescia-Bergamo	21	23	23	21	21
Mantova-Cremona	8	8	7	7	9
Trento-Bolzano	9	10	8	10	10
Verona-Padova-Vicenza-Rovigo	28	29	30	30	28
Venezia-Treviso	16	17	16	16	15
Udine-Belluno-Gorizia	13	11	14	13	12
Bologna-Ferrara-Ravenna-Forlì	27	27	26	26	27
Parma-Modena-Piacenza-Reggio Emilia	19	19	20	20	18
Firenze-Pistoia	15	15	16	14	17
Pisa-Livorno-Lucca-Massa Carrara	14	14	15	14	16
Siena-Arezzo-Grosetto	9	9	9	9	7
Ancona-Pesaro-Macerata-Ascoli Piceno	16	17	17	16	16
Perugia-Terni-Rieti	12	10	10	12	11
Roma-Viterbo-Latina-Frosinone	55	54	53	54	54
L'Aquila-Pescara-Chieti-Teramo	14	14	14	15	16
Campobasso-Isernia	4	4	4	4	5
Napoli-Caserta	39	38	42	42	44
Benevento- Avellino-Salerno	18	18	18	19	19
Bari-Fogglia	23	23	25	25	25
Lecce-Brindisi-Taranto	18	18	20	20	18
Potenza-Matera	8	7	7	7	6
Catanzaro-Cosenza-Reggio Calabria	23	23	23	22	24
Catania-Messina-Siracusa-Ragusa-Enna	29	27	27	28	29
Palermo-Trapani-Agrigento-Caltanisetta	25	25	25	27	27
Cagliari-Sassari-Nuoro	16	17	17	18	19
Val d' Aosta	1	1	1	1	1
Trieste	3	3	2	3	3
Total	630	630	630	630	630

*Source: Italian Ministry of Interior: http://elezionistorico.interno.it

Table 17: Allocation of seats in each tier in 1994*

Electoral district	Proportional tier	Number of single-member districts per region
Piemonte 1	6	19
Piemont 2	6	17
Lombardia 1	10	31
Lombardia 2	11	32
Lombardia 3	4	11
Trentino Alto Adige	2	8
Veneto 1	8	22
Veneto 2	5	15
Friuli-Venezia-Giulia	3	10
Liguria	6	14
Emilia-Romagna	9	32
Toscana	11	29
Umbria	2	7
Marche	4	12
Lazio 1	10	32
Lazio 2	3	11
Abruzzo	3	11
Molise	1	3
Campania 1	8	25
Campania 2	7	22
Puglia	10	34
Basilicata	2	5
Calabria	6	17
Sicilia 1	7	20
Sicilia 2	7	21
Sardegna	4	14
Total	155	475

*Source: Election Resources on the Internet (http://electionresources.org/it/)

Table 18: Allocation of seats in each tier in 1996*

Electoral district	Proportional tier	Number of single-member districts per region
Piemonte 1	6	19
Piemont 2	7	17
Lombardia 1	10	31
Lombardia 2	9	32
Lombardia 3	4	11
Trentino Alto Adige	2	8
Veneto 1	8	22
Veneto 2	5	15
Friuli-Venezia-Giulia	3	10
Liguria	5	14
Emilia-Romagna	10	32
Toscana	10	29
Umbria	2	7
Marche	4	12
Lazio 1	10	32
Lazio 2	5	11
Abruzzo	3	11
Molise	1	3
Campania 1	8	25
Campania 2	7	22
Puglia	10	34
Basilicata	2	5
Calabria	6	17
Sicilia 1	7	20
Sicilia 2	7	21
Sardegna	4	14
Total	155	475

*Source: Election Resources on the Internet (http://electionresources.org/it/)

Table 19: Allocation of seats in each tier in 2001*

Electoral district	Proportional tier	Number of single-member districts per region
Piemonte 1	6	19
Piemont 2	6	17
Lombardia 1	10	31
Lombardia 2	10	32
Lombardia 3	4	11
Trentino Alto Adige	2	8
Veneto 1	8	22
Veneto 2	5	15
Friuli-Venezia-Giulia	3	10
Liguria	6	14
Emilia-Romagna	9	32
Toscana	10	29
Umbria	2	7
Marche	4	12
Lazio 1	10	32
Lazio 2	4	11
Abruzzo	3	11
Molise	1	3
Campania 1	9	25
Campania 2	7	22
Puglia	10	34
Basilicata	2	5
Calabria	6	17
Sicilia 1	7	20
Sicilia 2	7	21
Sardegna	4	14
Total	155	475

*Source: Election Resources on the Internet (http://electionresources.org/it/)

Table 20: Allocation of seats at district level in 2006 and 2008*

Electoral district	Proportional tier	Number of single-member districts per region
Piemonte 1	24	24
Piemont 2	22	22
Lombardia 1	40	40
Lombardia 2	43	43
Lombardia 3	15	15
Trentino Alto Adige	10	10
Veneto 1	29	29
Veneto 2	20	20
Friuli-Venezia-Giulia	13	13
Liguria	17	17
Emilia-Romagna	43	43
Toscana	38	38
Umbria	9	9
Marche	16	16
Lazio 1	40	40
Lazio 2	15	15
Abruzzo	14	14
Molise	3	3
Campania 1	33	33
Campania 2	29	29
Puglia	44	44
Basilicata	6	6
Calabria	22	22
Sicilia 1	26	26
Sicilia 2	28	28
Sardegna	18	18
Valle d' Aosta	1	1
America Meridionale	3	3
America Settentrionale e Centrale	2	2
Africa Asia Oceania Antartide	1	1
Europa	6	6
Total	630	630

*Source: Election Resources on the Internet (http://electionresources.org/it/)

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