

The Institutional Pathways of Clientelistic Politics: A Comparative Analysis of Southern Italy and California

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Believe Me: There's a real fine line
Between a "Cash Cow" and a "Piggy Bank"!



INSTITUTIONAL REFORMS: SOUTHERN ITALY, 1912-1970

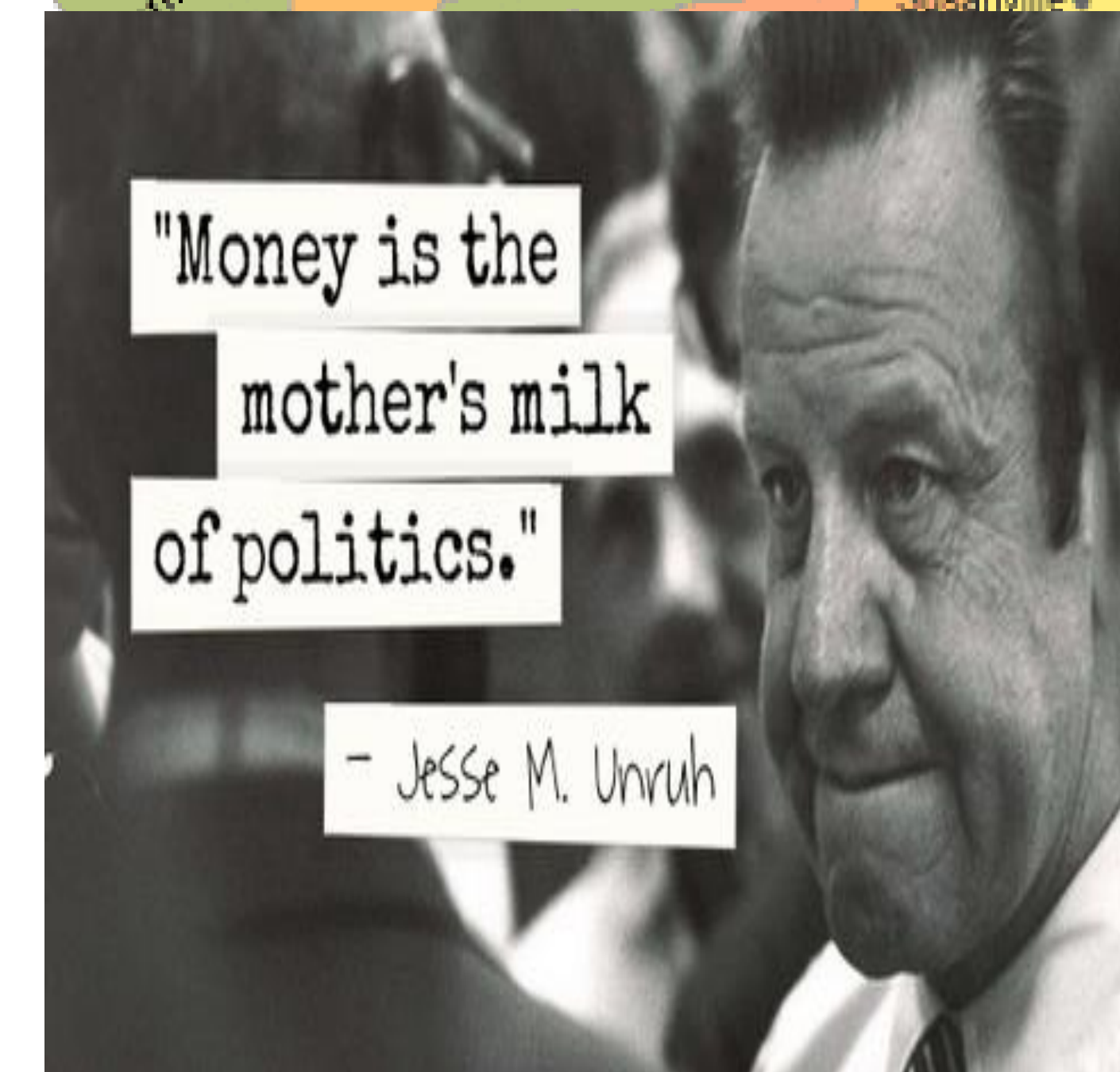
Party-oriented institutional reforms:

- The establishment of universal suffrage and of the new electoral system based on proportional representation (between 1912 and 1919)
- The role of the mass (clientelistic) party (1950-1970)
- The creation of the new administrative structure (1968-1970)



METHOD AND APPROACH

- Strategy of paired comparisons
- Territorially-oriented analysis
- Historical institutionalism



INSTITUTIONAL REFORMS: CALIFORNIA, 1911-1978

The Progressive institutional reforms:

- The creation of a direct primary system (1909)
- The initiative, the referendum and the recall (1911), and the cross-filing system (1913)
- The extension of civil service throughout the state government (1934)
- The professionalization of the legislature structure: Proposition A-1 (1966)

Proposition 13 (1978)

		Institutional models	
		Italy	United States
Patterns of change (decentralization)	Form of state	Republican	Federal
		Centralized	Decentralized
		<i>Southern Italy</i>	<i>California</i>
	Institutional reforms	Regions (1968)	Proposition 13 (1978)
		Regional Councils (1970)	Supermajority rule (1978)

	Structure of incentives by political representatives	
	<i>Southern Italy</i>	<i>California</i>
Decentralization outcomes	Factional conflict	Personal vote
	Intra-party competition	Constituent service
	Preference vote	Incumbent advantage
	Control from party political leaders	Dependency from interest groups and their financial support
	Collusion with organized crime	Strategic alliances with lobbyists

	Southern Italy	California
Key resources	Public spending expenditures Party organization Party factions	Intergovernmental transfers Public administration State and local bureaucracy
Political Distributive effects	Inefficient Territorially fragmented	Efficient Territorially concentrated
Political form	Factionalist	Individualistic

KEY POINTS

- Clientelism is a NOT a structural invariant of the Mezzogiorno
- Decentralization of institutions in Italy may open rooms to a California «Made In» clientelistic politics path

