

ABSTRACT

The aim of this dissertation is to describe the center-right coalition evolution during the last twenty years. In order to do this, in the first chapter the politics, economics, and social context has been described as a scenario of the birth of a new political order. Some authors have referred to this system as the “second republic” in order to mark the discontinuity with the historical period of the Italian Republic. The description of this context is very relevant because this period saw the birth of new political movements such as Forza Italia. This party, which has been founded by the entrepreneur Silvio Berlusconi, has conquered, in a very short time, the majority of the votes in the political election of 1994. Due to the way it was developed and to the form in which it was organized it was often called a “plastic party”, an “artificial party” or a “virtual party”. In fact it was an organism created exclusively with a top-down process, thanks to the financial and managerial resources of its founder. Furthermore, he did not come from the political world but he took advantage of being seen as an outsider.

The second chapter of the paper is about an analysis of the strong mark of Forza Italia’s political program during its first years of life. Berlusconi, in fact, based his political speech on the themes of: liberalism, populism and anticommunism. But, since the beginning, one of its most critical problem was the lack of a political culture and of strong connection with its social base. In

fact the party's statute did not provide for the presence of the enrollees. For these reasons, even though Forza Italia's organization has been formidable to gain the majority of votes during the elections, when it came to the government phase its strength has been transformed in a weakness. The difficulties that brought to an early end of the 12th legislation set up a theoretical reflection that peaked in the re organization process of the party. However, this process went against the Berlusconi's will to maintain its role of leader. Despite the resistances of group of the party to the evolution process, Forza Italia arrived at the beginning of the 13th legislation deeply changed. It could count on a more solid social base, more articulated territorial organization and on a political culture which was more and more developed and spread. Even though Forza Italia won the elections, it had to face the same problem of the 12th legislation such as: the institutional equilibriums which were in favor of guarantees and in detriment of the decision process speed, the lack of an early institutional reform and the crossed vetoes of the other parties of the coalition about the main objectives of the political program.

In the third and last chapter, the thesis has analyzed the transformation, during the period of 2005-2006, of themes and of the content of the political program, in the light of the government experiences of the past years. During this period, in fact, the Forza Italia's leader's political speech has changes substantially: the faith on the capability of auto regulation of civil society and, more generally, the optimism in the possibility to adopt liberal reforms which would have boost the Italian economy left room to a justificatory and recriminatory sentiment. In other words, Berlusconi's speeches were looking majorly at the past: he remarked the results reached even though he had had to face a lot of obstacles and he attacked both its political counterparty, the left wing parties, and its allies, such as La Lega Nord, whose leader was Umberto Bossi, and Alleanza nazionale, whose leader was Gianfranco Fini. From Berlusconi point of view they tried to impede him since his beginning. After the defeat of the political election of the April 2006, Forza Italia was involved in another re organization process that was opened also to the other right

parties. This process gave rise to a new party called Popolo della Libertà, born from the union between Forza Italia e Alleanza nazionale. However, this merger did not work very well because of the many elements of weakness as the next legislation, that started in April 2008, would have demonstrate. After two years in which the tensions between the two leaders, Berlusconi and Fini, kept to increase, the latter set up an independent parliament group from which would have taken form a completely new party: Futuro e Libertà. Even though Pdl won the elections, the tensions inside the party did not cease: after the Berlusconi's demission from the role of Prime Minister in November 2011, the conflicts between the different groups began to grow furthermore to the point that a part of the leading class founded a new party, in December 2012, called Fratelli d'Italia – Alleanza nazionale. The party of Popolo della Libertà, thus, arrived at the political elections of 2013 extremely weak and divided and the results of the elections did not help to avoid another crisis: there was no coalition that gained the majority and so the legislation began by being unstable and fragile. The tensions inside Pdl were substantially based on the question of the government led by Enrico Letta, a member of Partito Democratico, a left wing party. Because of these problems the Pdl was crashed again by another fracture and this led to the birth, in November 2013, of a new party: the Nuovo Centrodestra. The center-right coalition, thus, even though the promises and the intention to be a unitary benchmark, arrived at the end of 2013 deeply disaggregated.