

The 2013 Senate lottery: Possible scenarios

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A few days before the elections, it is already clear that a decisive match is to be played at the Senate and, in particular, in some key regions, the victory of which may move many seats. The result of the elections in these regions will be decisive in the gaining or losing of the majority and thus the formation of the next government. In this article, we try to sum up which scenarios we might see on Monday evening. First of all, we present the Senate's compositions resulting from simulations which differ from one another on the basis of the results of the three big uncertain regions: Lombardy, Veneto, and Sicily. For the analysis of these, the basic data are from the last regional polls published before they were banned by law. On the basis of these data, we have partially moved up the M5S's percentages in accordance with the hypothesis of an underestimation in the surveys and with a possible rise in the last two weeks before the elections. Besides this, we have classified the seats not allotted with the bonus (Aosta Valley, Trentino, Molise, and abroad) according to our own evaluations. We have then considered, in the subsequent simulations, the hypothesis to have minimum variations of the original data in order to get the desired result.

As one can see, the center-left can get the theoretical maximum of 178 seats in case of victory in all 17 regions with the bonus and maintain a good majority despite losing one (either Sicily or Veneto). In case of loss in another region besides Lombardy, Bersani could no longer do without the support of the present premier, Monti: the sum of the seats of the center-left and of Monti would also ensure a majority of 175 senators in case of losses in the three regions taken into consideration. We have also considered the hypothesis of a slight drop in Monti's list that would preclude the attainment of 8% in some regions. In the middle of the table, this debacle happens in the five regions where the polls preceding the blackout used to show its big-

ger weakness. All in all, the loss involves six seats, where four are taken by the center-right and two by the M5S. None are taken by the center-left, which gets, in these regions, the seats of the majority bonus, regardless of Monti's result. In the right part of the table, we have added Lombardy to the regions where Monti goes above the threshold. In this case, five seats would be lost all at once: two taken by the M5S and three by the big coalition losing the region (center-right or center-left in the different hypotheses). In reality, Friuli-Venezia Giulia is also uncertain. We have not included it as a variable in the table because it would have made the table overly heavy and also because of the scarce number of electoral seats of the region. In any case, for each scenario of the table, it is enough to subtract three seats from the center-left and add them to the center-right in order to get the result if the latter wins in Friuli.

As we have seen, the first row of the above table shows the best possible result for the center-left, and on that basis, the different possible debacles are considered. We now want to show the extreme limit on the other side: how it would end up in case of an extraordinary success of the center-right, the most realistic according to our view. In these simulations, Bersani would win only in the four regions of the "red zone" and in Liguria, Lazio, Sardinia, and Basilicata. Berlusconi would instead conquer the bonus in the majority of the regions, the remaining nine. How the seats are distributed in this case is shown in table 2.

In this case, we have also considered the hypothesis of the defeat of Monti's list, with respect to the background scenario. In an attempt to sketch the best possible scenario for Il Cavaliere, we have put together the results below the threshold in the regions allotted to the center-left in a way to maximize the conquest by the center-right of the seats lost by Monti: first, only in four regions of the "red zone" and then in all eight regions of Bersani. We

Table 1. Distribution of the seats in the Senate based on different scenarios for uncertain regions

| Winning coalition in uncertain regions | | | Distribution of seats, Senate | | | | Distribution of seats, Senate with Monti below the threshold in Liguria, Emilia, Piedmont, Umbria, and Marche | | | | Distribution of seats, Senate with Monti also below the threshold in Lombardy | | | |
|--|--------|--------|-------------------------------|-------|-----|-----|---|-------|-----|-----|---|-------|-----|-----|
| Lombardy | Veneto | Sicily | C-L | Monti | C-R | M5S | C-L | Monti | C-R | M5S | C-L | Monti | C-R | M5S |
| C-L | C-L | C-L | 178 | 33 | 60 | 42 | 178 | 27 | 64 | 44 | 178 | 22 | 67 | 46 |
| C-L | C-R | C-L | 169 | 33 | 69 | 42 | 169 | 27 | 73 | 44 | 169 | 22 | 76 | 46 |
| C-L | C-L | C-R | 168 | 33 | 70 | 42 | 168 | 27 | 74 | 44 | 168 | 22 | 77 | 46 |
| C-L | C-L | M5S | 168 | 33 | 61 | 51 | 168 | 27 | 65 | 53 | 168 | 22 | 68 | 55 |
| C-L | M5S | C-L | 168 | 33 | 59 | 53 | 168 | 27 | 63 | 55 | 168 | 22 | 66 | 57 |
| C-R | C-L | C-L | 162 | 33 | 76 | 42 | 162 | 27 | 80 | 44 | 165 | 22 | 80 | 46 |
| C-L | C-R | C-R | 159 | 33 | 79 | 42 | 159 | 27 | 83 | 44 | 159 | 22 | 86 | 46 |
| C-L | C-R | M5S | 159 | 33 | 70 | 51 | 159 | 27 | 74 | 53 | 159 | 22 | 77 | 55 |
| C-L | M5S | C-R | 158 | 33 | 69 | 53 | 158 | 27 | 73 | 55 | 158 | 22 | 76 | 57 |
| C-L | M5S | M5S | 158 | 33 | 60 | 62 | 158 | 27 | 64 | 64 | 158 | 22 | 67 | 66 |
| C-R | C-R | C-L | 153 | 33 | 85 | 42 | 153 | 27 | 89 | 44 | 156 | 22 | 89 | 46 |
| C-R | C-L | C-R | 152 | 33 | 86 | 42 | 152 | 27 | 90 | 44 | 155 | 22 | 90 | 46 |
| C-R | C-L | M5S | 152 | 33 | 77 | 51 | 152 | 27 | 81 | 53 | 155 | 22 | 81 | 55 |
| C-R | M5S | C-L | 152 | 33 | 75 | 53 | 152 | 27 | 79 | 55 | 155 | 22 | 79 | 57 |
| C-R | C-R | C-R | 143 | 33 | 95 | 42 | 143 | 27 | 99 | 44 | 146 | 22 | 99 | 46 |
| C-R | C-R | M5S | 143 | 33 | 86 | 51 | 143 | 27 | 90 | 53 | 146 | 22 | 90 | 55 |
| C-R | M5S | C-R | 142 | 33 | 85 | 53 | 142 | 27 | 89 | 55 | 145 | 22 | 89 | 57 |
| C-R | M5S | M5S | 142 | 33 | 76 | 62 | 142 | 27 | 80 | 64 | 145 | 22 | 80 | 66 |

Note: The other 14 regions with the bonus are assigned to the center-left. One of the seats of Molise are given to the M5S and one to the center-right. Four of the seats of Trentino-Alto Adige are given to the center-left (together with SVP), two to the coalition of Monti, and one to the center-right. Three of the six seats of the Italians residing abroad are given to the center-left, one to the center-right, one to Monti, and one to an independent party. The seat of Aosta Valley is given to a local independent party. The simulations are built on the basis of hypothetical percentages.

can observe how the center-right cannot get the absolute majority of the seats at the Senate. Also, in the best hypothesis, they would miss more or less 20 seats to reach 158. In case Bersani wins as Veltroni had in 2008, winning in Lazio, Liguria, and Sardinia would not be enough. The maximum result reachable by the coalition led by Berlusconi seems to be that of making the formation of any government impossible, unless this government was supported by an unlikely reedition of the big coalition.

References

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Table 2. The Senate's composition in the best foreseeable case for the center-right

| Regions | Monti above 8% in all 17 regions | | | | | Monti below 8% in Emilia, Tuscany, Umbria and Marche | | | | | Monti below 8% also in Liguria, Lazio, Basilicata, and Sardinia | | | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------------------|-------|-----|-----|--------|--|-------|-----|-----|--------|---|-------|-----|-----|--------|
| | C-L | Monti | C-R | M5S | Others | C-L | Monti | C-R | M5S | Others | C-L | Monti | C-R | M5S | Others |
| Piedmont | 4 | 2 | 13 | 3 | 0 | 4 | 2 | 13 | 3 | 0 | 4 | 2 | 13 | 3 | 0 |
| Lombardy | 11 | 5 | 27 | 6 | 0 | 11 | 5 | 27 | 6 | 0 | 11 | 5 | 27 | 6 | 0 |
| Veneto | 5 | 2 | 14 | 3 | 0 | 5 | 2 | 14 | 3 | 0 | 5 | 2 | 14 | 3 | 0 |
| Friuli-Venezia Giulia | 1 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 0 |
| Liguria | 5 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0 |
| Emilia-Romagna | 13 | 2 | 4 | 3 | 0 | 13 | 0 | 5 | 4 | 0 | 13 | 0 | 5 | 4 | 0 |
| Tuscany | 10 | 1 | 5 | 2 | 0 | 10 | 0 | 5 | 3 | 0 | 10 | 0 | 5 | 3 | 0 |
| Umbria | 4 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0 |
| Marche | 5 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0 |
| Lazio | 16 | 3 | 5 | 4 | 0 | 16 | 3 | 5 | 4 | 0 | 16 | 0 | 7 | 5 | 0 |
| Abruzzo | 1 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 0 |
| Campania | 6 | 3 | 16 | 4 | 0 | 6 | 3 | 16 | 4 | 0 | 6 | 3 | 16 | 4 | 0 |
| Apulia | 4 | 2 | 11 | 3 | 0 | 4 | 2 | 11 | 3 | 0 | 4 | 2 | 11 | 3 | 0 |
| Basilicata | 4 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0 |
| Calabria | 2 | 1 | 6 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 6 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 6 | 1 | 0 |
| Sicily | 4 | 2 | 14 | 5 | 0 | 4 | 2 | 14 | 5 | 0 | 4 | 2 | 14 | 5 | 0 |
| Sardinia | 5 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0 |
| Molise | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Trentino-Alto Adige | 4 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Aosta Valley | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Abroad | 3 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Total | 107 | 33 | 131 | 42 | 2 | 107 | 28 | 134 | 44 | 2 | 107 | 22 | 139 | 45 | 2 |

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