The elections in Rome through an analysis of vote shifts

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In the present article, we examine the results of the general and regional elections in the Italian capital by making use of the readings of electoral flows. In particular, our focus is on the reconstruction of the two concurrent elections as well as on the movements that occurred between them in terms of the pools of votes for 2008. This is particularly interesting in light of what has happened: the results for the general and the regional elections are very different, and both results are quite distant from those registered in 2008.

Five year ago, at the previous political elections, the center-left coalition led by Veltroni had prevailed by about 2% on the center-right in a neatly bipolar competition (43.7% against 41.4%). The PD got 39.2% of the votes, while its ally, Italia dei Valori, received 4.6%. The Sinistra Arcobaleno got 3.4%, and the Unione di Centro stood at 4.3%. Turnout resulted at 80.4%, equaling the nationwide level.

Today, the electoral competition has become multipolar also in Rome: Bersani's coalition has received exactly one-third of the valid votes, confirming the PD as the first party in Rome. The M5S has reached 24.3%; Berlusconi's coalition, 23.4%; and Monti did not do better than 9.7%. Finally, the abstention rate in Rome has increased, although less than in the whole country. A total of 22.7% of the Roman voters did not cast their ballot, while the Italians' share reached 24.8%. The concurrence of the regional elections has maybe determined this divergence.

The center-left candidate to the presidency of the region (Zingaretti) nearly achieved the absolute majority with 45.5%. Moreover, he has received 170,000 votes more than Bersani at the Chamber of Deputies. Also, Storace received more votes than Berlusconi, although these were less than 20,000; his percentage result equaled 24.9%. The candidate of the M5S (Barillari) was penalized, getting 20.1% of the votes and losing 120,000 vote preferences

with respect to the result for the Chamber. The result for Giulia Bongiorno was very negative, as she has received less than half of the 155,000 votes for Monti's coalition at the Chamber, namely, 4.3%.

From this picture evidently appears that many voters behaved differently in the two elections. At the regional ballot, the direct election of the president and the subsequent majority premium at the regional council have favored the bipolarity of the competition, namely, the concentration of the votes on the candidates of the two main political poles. The strategic call for a "useful vote" seems to have disproportionally favored the center-left more.

We shall now look at the flows of votes that have determined the observed result. Table 1 shows the destinations of the various electorates of 2008. PD has been confirmed by about two-thirds of its own votes and presents the highest level of loyalty. It has lost 1 out of 10 votes in favor of the M5S, a little more that that to the abstention, and 6% of the votes toward Monti. The PdL was voted again by about half of its voters in 2008, while one out of five has preferred the M5S instead, and 1 out of 10 voted in favor of Monti. The abstention rate's pattern is thus similar to the one for the PD. Among the voters for the Unione dei Democratici Cristiani, only one-third voted for Monti, while one-fourth did not vote. Finally, the M5S managed to mobilize a significant proportion of the abstainers.

Table 2 shows instead the electorates' composition for 2013. The M5S has received about one-third of its own votes from the PdL, one-fourth from the center-left, and the same share from the those who did not vote. Monti seems to have caught more votes from the center-right as well: about half of the votes proceed from this political area, while only one-third come from Veltroni's voters.

Studying the analysis relative to the regional elections (table 3), we observe that Zingaretti did not lose Bersani's votes. The former president of the province further received more than 40% of

Table 1. Vote shifts in Rome: Destination of the electorates in 2013 for various parties in 2008

Vote 2013	Vote 2008						
	SA	IdV	PD	UdC	PdL	Others	No vote
RC	15%	9%	2%	3%	0%	5%	1%
Bersani coalition	17%	33%	65%	13%	2%	2%	5%
Monti coalition	1%	11%	6%	35%	11%	1%	1%
Berlusconi coalition	1%	3%	2%	6%	48%	7%	5%
M5S	29%	37%	10%	14%	20%	53%	19%
Others	1%	1%	1%	2%	3%	5%	1%
No vote	37%	6%	14%	26%	15%	27%	69%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 2. Vote shifts in Rome: Sources from 2008 electorates of the votes in 2013 Chamber elections for various parties

Vote 2013	Vote 2008						
	SA	IdV	PD	UdC	PdL	Others	No vote
RC	19%	17%	34%	4%	3%	11%	11%
Bersani coalition	2%	5%	83%	2%	3%	0%	5%
Monti coalition	0%	6%	26%	16%	48%	1%	3%
Berlusconi coalition	0%	1%	3%	1%	85%	2%	8%
M5S	4%	7%	15%	2%	31%	14%	27%
Others	2%	1%	22%	3%	48%	12%	12%
No vote	3%	1%	14%	3%	14%	4%	60%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

the votes for Monti and one-fifth of those for the M5S. From these two sources proceed 9% and 13%, respectively, of his own votes. Anyway, Barillari has received the electoral support of two-thirds of M5S's voters at the Chamber, while Bongiorno received less than one-third, suffering a further defection in favor of Storace (14%).

Storace's confirmation rate in the flows of votes is quite high, although inferior to that of the winner. Overall, he is further widely defeated in terms of outflows from all the electorates: the ratio equals 3:1 among both Monti and Grillo supporters. The inflow rate in favor of Zingaretti also reaches double among former voters of smaller parties.

Table 4 shows the composition of the electorates for the regional elections in 2008. Comparing these values with those reported in table 1, we can observe how the current voters for Monti

and Grillo at the Chamber, but not at the regional elections, would have voted in 2008. Moreover, we can observe which pools of votes have determined the greater support for Zingaretti with respect to Bersani.

Giulia Bongiorno's electoral defectors are fairly distributed in the various pools for 2008: substantially, all the inflows got halved. As for the M5S, there are no significant differences between the coefficients for the votes toward the electoral list at the Chamber and Barillari at the regional elections among PdL, UdC, and SA voters. Conversely, both the votes proceeding from the Democratic Party and the former abstainers got halved. Voters for the IdV were much less attracted by Grillo at the regional elections, given the 10% reduction; half cast their ballot in favor of Zingaretti, with respect to one-third that voted for Bersani. The regional

Table 3. Vote shifts in Rome: Destinations in the regional elections of the electorates at the Chamber in 2013 for various parties

Regional elections 2013	Chamber of Deputies 2013					
	Bersani coalition	Monti coalition	Berlusconi coalition	M5S	Others	No vote
Zingaretti	94%	42%	5%	20%	19%	2%
Bongiorno	1%	29%	2%	2%	5%	0%
Storace	0%	14%	86%	6%	10%	1%
Barillari	0%	4%	1%	66%	7%	1%
Other candidates	5%	2%	2%	4%	48%	1%
No vote	0%	9%	3%	2%	11%	96%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 4. Vote shifts in Rome: Destinations in the regional elections of the electorates at the Chamber in 2008 for various parties

Regional elections 2013	Vote 2008						
	SA	IdV	PD	UdC	PdL	Others	No vote
Zingaretti	26%	49%	75%	31%	11%	7%	6%
Bongiorno	2%	4%	2%	18%	5%	1%	0%
Storace	2%	6%	2%	14%	49%	9%	3%
Barillari	31%	27%	6%	11%	18%	49%	8%
Other candidates	15%	6%	3%	5%	4%	11%	1%
No vote	24%	9%	13%	21%	13%	23%	81%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

candidate of the center-left coalition has been voted by 10 percentage points of 2008 PD voters more than the party national leader in the elections for the Chamber. Moreover, it has also received a significant share of the center-right: 10% from PdL voters and one-third from the UdC. Finally, it has been favored more by remobilized voters.

In conclusion, we observe also in Rome the ability of the M5S to catch votes across the entire spectrum of 2008 ideological continuum. In this case, the greater share of its votes proceeds from Berlusconi's electoral pool. Given the absence of the LN, which seemingly stands as the greatest contributor to Grillo's electoral success, we observe a sizable shift of the PdL's voters.[1] This effect is anal-ogous to the one observed in Palermo.[2]

We have finally emphasized some clear traces of an outflow of strategic votes affecting the M5S and Monti's coalition that granted advantage to Zingaretti with respect to Storace running for the presidency in the region.

Methodological note: All the analyses that have been presented were conducted on the basis of the Goodman model, corrected by the RAS algorithm. They have been performed separately for each of the 24 uninominal districts of Rome as defined by the Mattarella law and then aggregated in municipal matrices.

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[1] . See. Paparo and Cataldi in the Appendix.

[2] . See D'Alimonte and De Sio in this volume.

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