ONLINE APPENDIX

Populism Put to the Polarisation Test: The 2019-20 Election Cycle in Italy

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Table A1. Winner of the Regional Elections before and after the 2017-2020 Electoral Cycle

	Incumbent after the 2010-5	Incumbent after the 2017-20		
	electoral cycle	electoral cycle		
Abruzzo	Centre-left (PD)	Centre-right (FDI)		
Basilicata	Centre-left (PD)	Centre-right (FI)		
Bolzano	SVP	SVP		
Friuli-Venezia Giulia	Centre-left (PD)	Centre-right (League)		
Lazio	Centre-left (PD)	Centre-left (PD)		
Lombardia	Centre-right (League)	Centre-right (League)		
Molise	Centre-left (PD)	Centre-right (FI)		
Piemonte	Centre-left (PD)	Centre-right (FI)		
Sardegna	Centre-left (PD)	Centre-right (Psd'Az)		
Sicilia	Centre-left (PD)	Centre-right (FDI)		
Trento	Centre-left (Patt)	Centre-right (League)		
Valle d'Aosta	UV	UV		
Umbria	Centre-left (PD)	Centre-right (League)		
Emilia-Romagna	Centre-left (PD)	Centre-left (PD)		
Calabria	Centre-left (PD)	Centre-right		
Campania	Centre-left (PD)	Did not vote		
Liguria	Centre-right (FI)	Did not vote		
Marche	Centre-left (PD)	Did not vote		
Puglia	Centre-left (PD)	Did not vote		
Toscana	Centre-left (PD)	Did not vote		
Veneto	Centre-right (League)	Did not vote		
Total Centre-left (%)	16 (76.2)	6 (28.6)		
Total Centre-right (%)	3 (14.3)	13 (61.9)		
Total Others (%)	2 (9.5)	2 (9.5)		
Total	21	21		

Source: Minister of Interior Affairs; websites of regions.

Note: PD (Partito Democratico, Democratic Party), FI (Forza Italia, Go Italy), League (Lega), FDI (Fratelli d'Italia, Brothers of Italy), PATT (Partito Autonomista Trentino Tirolese, Trentino Tyrolean Autonomist Party), UV (Union Valdôtaine, Valdostan Union).

 Table A2. Electoral Participation in Italian Regional Elections 2017-2020, by Region

	<u> </u>				, , ,	
	Election				Turnout in	Difference
Region	Date	Voters	Electorate	Turnout	previous election	(%)
Sicilia	05/11/2017	2,179,185	4,661,111	46.8	47.4	-0.6
Lombardia	04/03/2018	5,762,459	7,882,633	73.1	76.7	-3.6
Lazio	04/03/2018	3,181,235	4,780,090	66.6	71.9	-5.3
Molise	22/04/2018	172,823	331,253	52.2	61.6	-9.4
Friuli-Venezia Giulia	29/04/2018	549,390	1,107,415	49.6	50.5	-0.9
Valle d'Aosta	20/05/2018	67,159	103,122	65.1	73.0	-7.9
Trento	21/10/2018	275,017	429,378	64.1	73.1	-9.0
Bolzano	21/10/2018	282,878	382,964	73.9	77.7	-3.8
Abruzzo	10/02/2019	643,287	1,211,204	53.1	61.6	-8.5
Sardegna	24/02/2019	790,332	1,470,401	53.7	52.3	+1.4
Basilicata	24/03/2019	307,188	573,970	53.5	47.6	+5.9
Piemonte	26/05/2019	2,290,361	3,616,191	63.3	66.4	-3.1
Umbria	27/10/2019	455,184	703,596	64.7	55.4	+9.3
Emilia-Romagna	26/01/2020	2,373,974	3,508,179	67.7	37.7	+30.0
Calabria	26/01/2020	840,563	1,895,990	44.3	44.1	+0.2

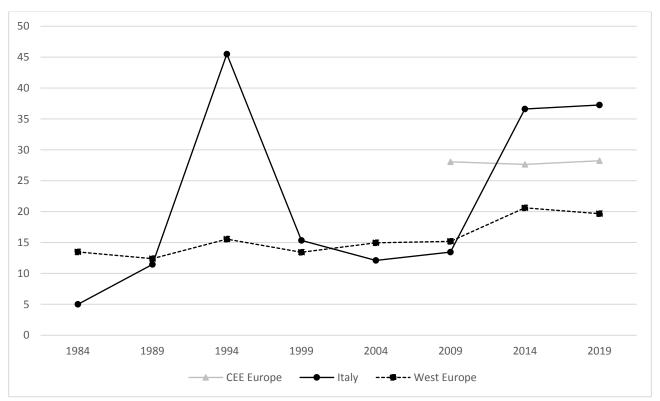
Source: Minister of Interior Affairs; websites of regions.

2019 2.7% 23.5% 13.2% 2.6% 14.1% 29.7% 2015 4.6% 2.6% 14.6% 40.7% 21.9% 14.0% 2014 4.4% 35.7% 16.3% 7.9% 19.8% 4.3% 2013 5.5% 9.0% 13.9% 57.7% 12.6% 5.4% 2010 38.5% 2.7% 7.1% 26.7% 12.9% 5.1% 2009 29.7% 9.1% 30.1% 2008 7.3% 37.8% 5.6% 36.6% 2005 3.5% 10.2% 29.6% 9.5% 40.1% 2004 6.0% 28.7% 12.9% 22.3% 2000 10.2% 4.3% 7.6% 32.7% 37.3% 1999 5.8% 30.4% 14.2% 34.0% 1995 9.1% 3.4% 32.6% 9.2% 5.8% 1994 2.9% 5.9% 24.3% 26.9% 32.1% 1990 21.3% 5.3% 32.8% 3.2% 3.2% 3.7% 25.9% 1989 23.2% 18.6% 35.0% 3.5% 1985 26.8% 26.3% 33.6% 3.7% 5.7% 1984 28.7% 14.4% 32.2% 4.0% 3.9% 1980 29.3% 26.4% 35.1% 4.3% 4.6% 1979 37.7% 6.4% 26.3% 19.1% 1975 30.1% 27.2% 33.9% 3.8% 5.0% 38.3% 1974 27.8% 20.2% 7.8% 1970 38.1% 4.7% 26.2% 24.8% 40% 0% 10% 20% 30% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100% ■ Left ■ Green ■ Centre-left ■ M5s □ Centre ■ Centre-right ■ League ■ Right □ Others

Figure A1. Results of Regional Elections in Abruzzo, Basilicata, Piemonte, Sardegna and Umbria 1970-2019, by Political Orientation

Source: Authors' elaboration of data provided by the Minister of Interior Affairs.

Figure A2. Electoral Volatility in European Elections in Italy and the other EU Member-states, 1984-2019



Source: Authors' elaboration of data by Emanuele et al. (2019).

Table A3. Electoral Results in the 2018 General Election and in the 2014 and 2019 European Elections

	2014 EU election		2018 Parliamentary Election		2019 EU Election		Difference 2019-2014		Difference 2019-2018	
	N.	%	N.	%	N.	%	N.	p.p.	N.	p.p.
Others left			515,549	1.5	235,542	0.9			-280,007	-0.6
SEL-LEU	1,108,457	4	1,171,544	3.5	469,943	1.8	-638,514	-2.2	-701,601	-1.7
PD	11,203,231	40.8	6,421,574	19	6,089,853	22.7	-5,113,378	-18.1	-331,721	+3.7
+EU			897,960	2.7	833,443	3.1			-64,517	+0.4
UDC-SC	1,400,292	5.1	440,175	1.3	80,553	0.3	-1,319,739	-4.8	-359,622	-1.0
FSM	5,807,362	21.2	10,892,788	32.2	4,569,089	17.1	-1,238,273	-4.1	-6,323,699	-15.1
FI	4,614,364	16.8	4,591,339	13.6	2,351,673	8.8	-2,262,691	-8	-2,239,666	-4.8
League	1,688,197	6.2	5,924,588	17.5	9,175,208	34.3	+7,487,011	+28.1	+3,250,620	+16.8
FDI	1,006,513	3.7	1,427,021	4.2	1,726,189	6.4	+719,676	+2.7	+299,168	+2.2
Others right			440,840	1.3	130,219	0.5			-310,621	-0.8
Others	620,490	2.3	1,121,839	3.3	1,122,020	4.2	+501,530	+1.9	+181	+0.9
Total	27,448,906	100.0	33,845,217	100.0	26,783,732	100.0	-665,174		-7,061,485	
Turnout	28,991,258	57.2	35,257,690	69.4	27,712,568	54.4	-1,278,690	-2.8	-7,545,122	-15
Electorate	50,662,460		50,835,751		50,975,914		+313,454		+140,163	

Source: Minister of Interior Affairs.

Note: Figures include Italian voters from abroad.

European 2019 5.0% 22.7% 17.1% 15.7% 34.3% National 2018 5.0% 32.2% 3.0% 16.8% 22.2% 18.5% European 2014 4.9% 41.5% 21.2% 5.6% 6.2% National 2013 5.4% 26.7% 24.2% 12.1% 24.6% 4.1% European 2009 34.2% 7.3% 37.5% 10.2% 7.0% National 2008 4.2% 38.5% 6.3% 38.8% 7.9% 2.6% National 2006 10.5% 35.9% 9.2% 24.2% 4.4% 13.3% European 2004 10.9% 36.8% 5.0% 13.6% 7.7% 21.9% National 2001 5.9% 40.2% 36.0% 5.3% 7.2% European 1999 8.0% 12.4% 25.2% 4.5% 11.9% 27.8% National 1996 6.0% 35.5% 5.7% 28.5% 10.2% 10.0% European 1994 9.2% 23.6% 14.3% 30.6% 6.6% 12.5% National 1994 4.7% 29.7% 17.2% 27.2% 4.5% 10.2% Politiche 1992 11.6% 37.5% 27.9% 8.3% 5.7% European 1989 35.0% 17.5% 37.4% 5.5% National 1987 2.6% 4.7% 18.5% 30.3% 32.1% 6.4% European 1984 34.7% 15.2% 39.1% 6.5% National 1983 31.6% 20.8% 33.0% 7.1% European 1979 31.4% 17.9% 37.0% 5.9% National 1979 6.1% 32.2% 18.0% 38.4% 2.1% 0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100% ■ Left ■ Centre-left □ M5S □ Centre ■ Centre-right ■ League ■ Right □ Others

Figure A3. Electoral Results of European and General Elections in Italy from 1979 to 2019, by Ideological Orientation

Source: Authors' elaboration of data provided by the Minister of Interior Affairs.

LN-Lega ∞ M**P**A SA-SEL ω (M5S PD N SAGEL Left-Right

Figure A4. Political Space in Italy (Left-Right and Immigration Dimensions), by Election Year

Source: Authors' elaboration on several expert surveys. For 2008: Curini and Iacus (2008). For 2009, 2014, 2019 (both Italian and Western European data): Bakker et al. (2012; 2020); Polk et al. (2017). For 2013: Di Virgilio et al. (2015). For 2018: Giannetti et al. (2018).

Note: Left-Right scale ranges from 0 (Left) to 10 (Right). Immigration scale ranges from 0 (opposes tough policies on immigration) to 10 (favours tough policies on immigration).

2009 2013 2008 10 Verdi SASEL SA-SEL M5S ω PD 9 (D) 4 MDA IN $^{\circ}$ 0 2014 2018 2019 10 RC-SEL ω ROSA-SEL SASEL (M5S M5S 9 PD PD 4 UDC 0 0 0 2 10 0 2 6 2 4 6 8 4 8 10 0 4 6 10 Left-Right

Figure A5. Political Space in Italy (Left-Right and Environment Dimensions), by Election Year

Source: Authors' elaboration on several expert surveys. For 2008: Curini and Iacus (2008). For 2009, 2014, 2019: Bakker et al. (2012; 2020); Polk et al. (2017). For 2013: Di Virgilio et al. (2015). For 2018: Giannetti et al. (2018).

Note: Left-Right scale ranges from 0 (Left) to 10 (Right). Immigration scale ranges from 0 (opposes environmental protection) to 10 (favours environmental protection).

Annex 1. Expert surveys policy dimensions

NB. In some cases dimensions have been rescaled and/or inverted in order to be uniform

Economic: taxes vs. spending

0: more taxes and more spending

10: less taxes and less spending

Environment: position towards the environment

0: opposes environmental protection

10: supports environmental protection

Social: social lifestyle

0: opposes liberal policies

10: supports liberal policies

Immigration: position on immigration policies

0: opposes tough policies on immigration

10: favours tough policies on immigration

EU_authority: overall orientation towards EU integration / increase EU policy areas

0: opposes EU integration

10: favours EU integration

Left_right: overall left-right position

0: left

10: right