

## 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

	<i>Incumbent after the 2010-5 electoral cycle</i>	<i>Incumbent after the 2017-20 electoral cycle</i>
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
<i>Total Centre-left (%)</i>	<i>16 (76.2)</i>	<i>6 (28.6)</i>
<i>Total Centre-right (%)</i>	<i>3 (14.3)</i>	<i>13 (61.9)</i>
<i>Total Others (%)</i>	<i>2 (9.5)</i>	<i>2 (9.5)</i>
<i>Total</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>21</i>

Source: Minister of Interior Affairs; websites of regions.

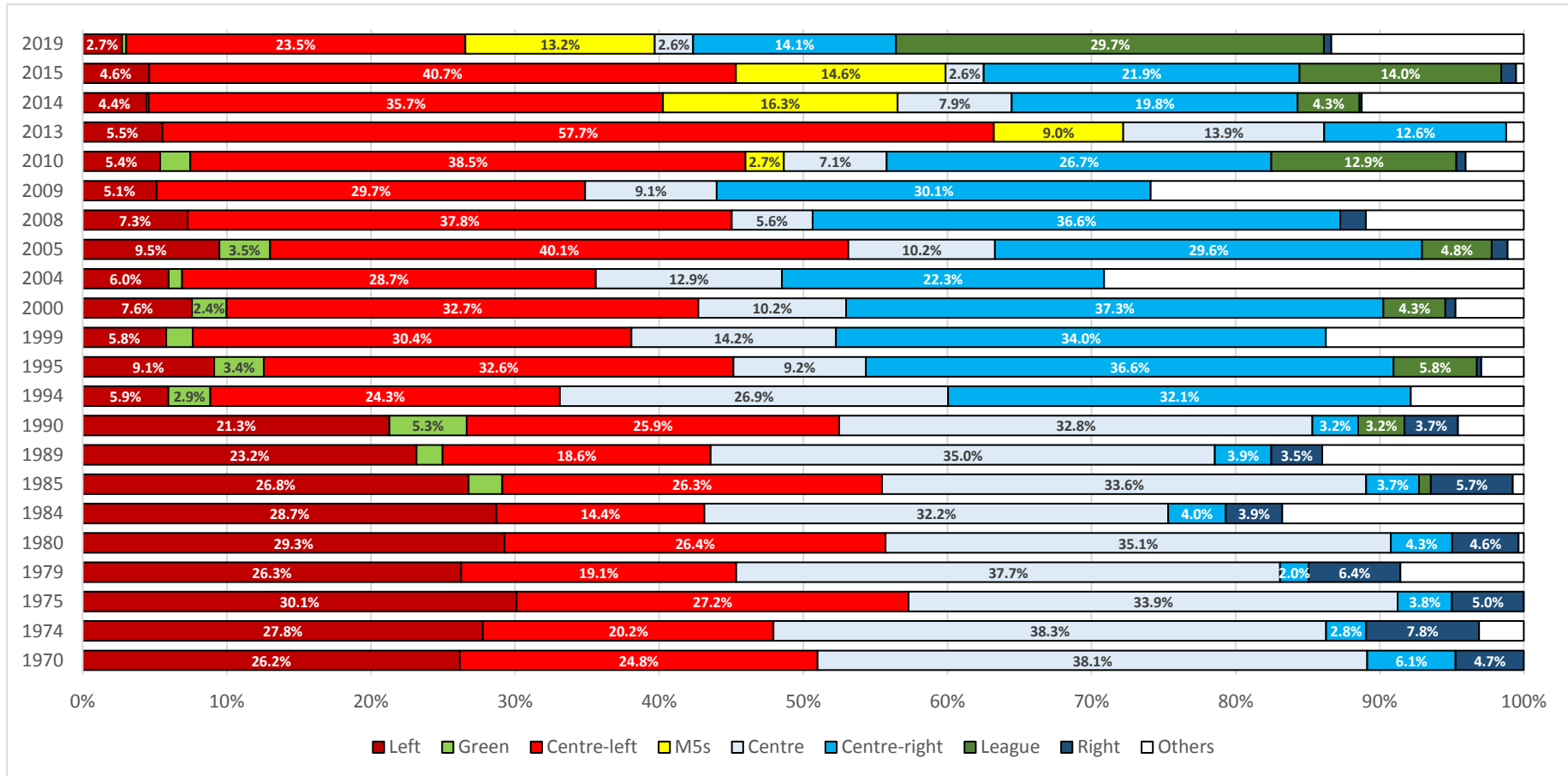
Note: PD (*Partito Democratico*, Democratic Party), FI (*Forza Italia*, Go Italy), League (*Lega*), FDI (*Fratelli d'Italia*, Brothers of Italy), PATT (*Partito Autonomista Trentino Tirolese*, Trentino Tyrolean Autonomist Party), UV (*Union Valdôtaine*, Valdostan Union).

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

Region	Election Date	Voters	Electorate	Turnout	Turnout in previous election	Difference (%)
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

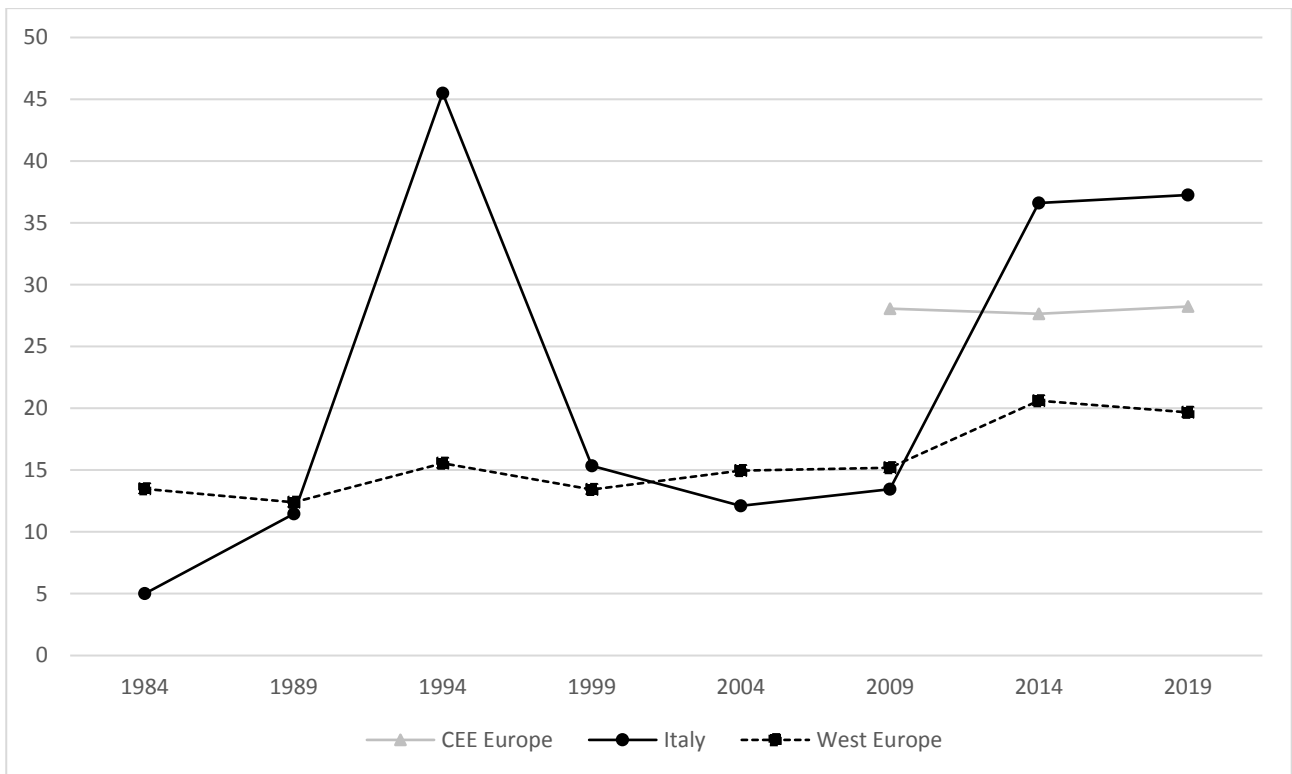
Source: Minister of Interior Affairs; websites of regions.

**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).

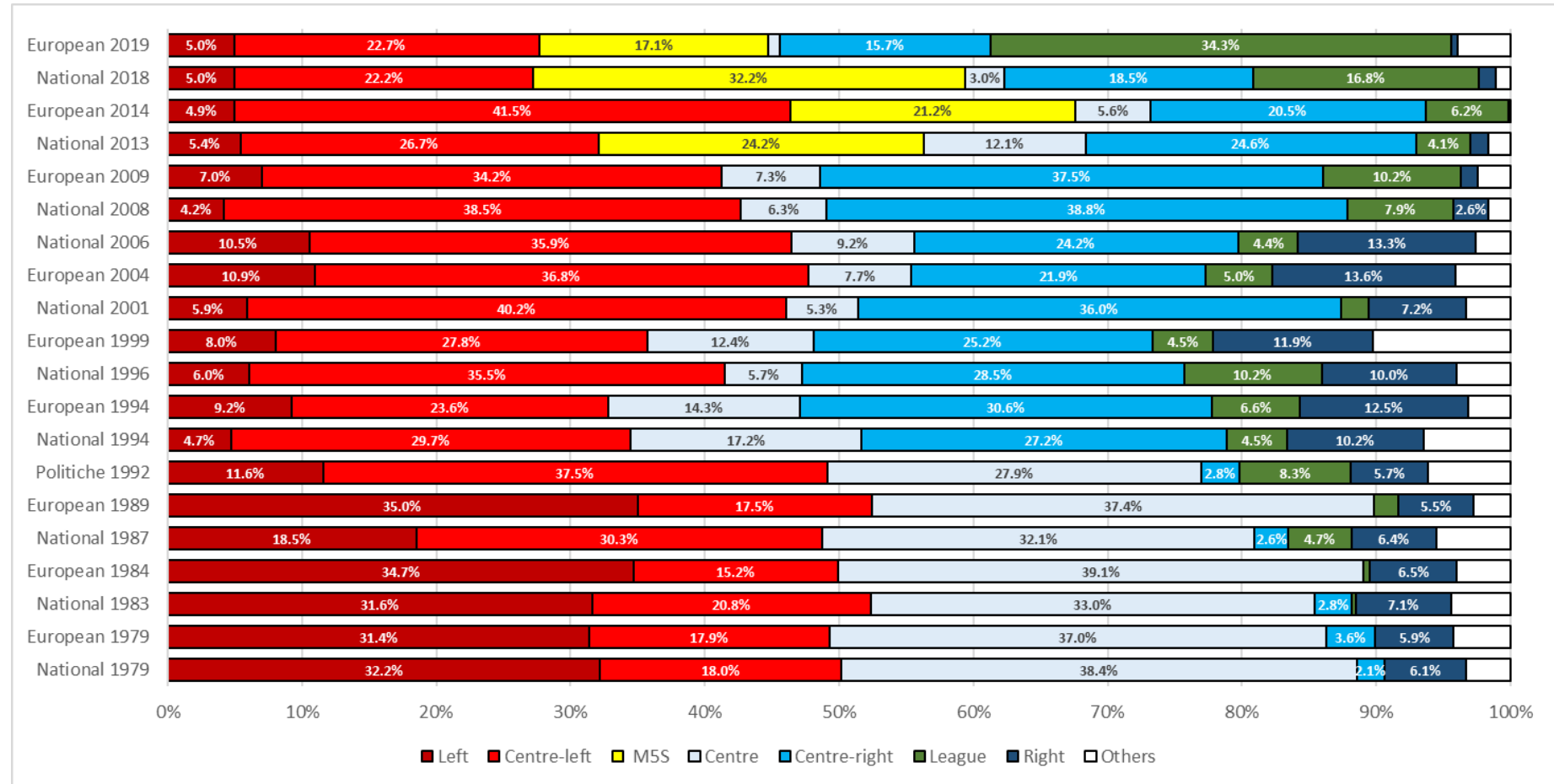
**Table A3.** Electoral Results in the 2018 General Election and in the 2014 and 2019 European Elections

	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.

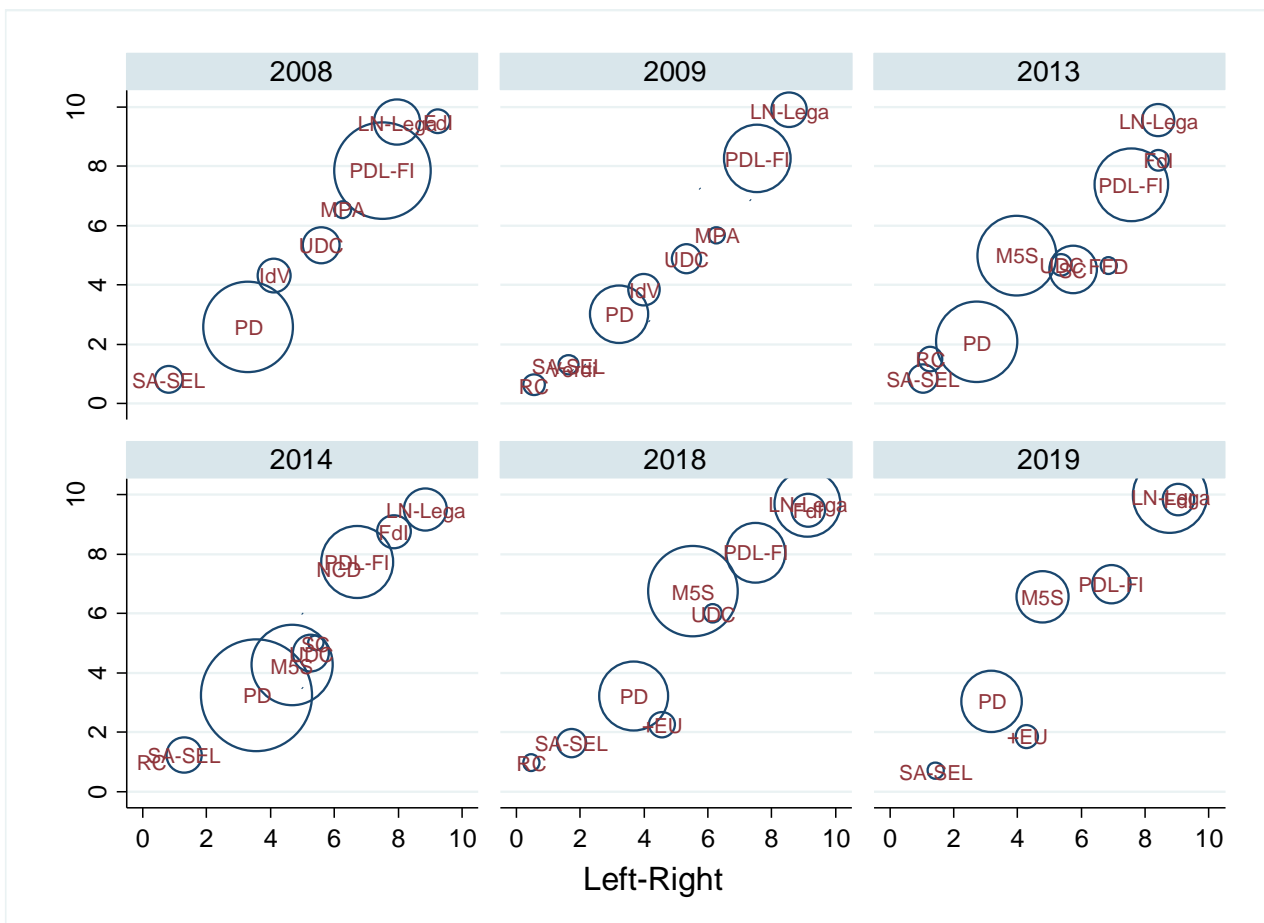
Note: Figures include Italian voters from abroad.

**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.

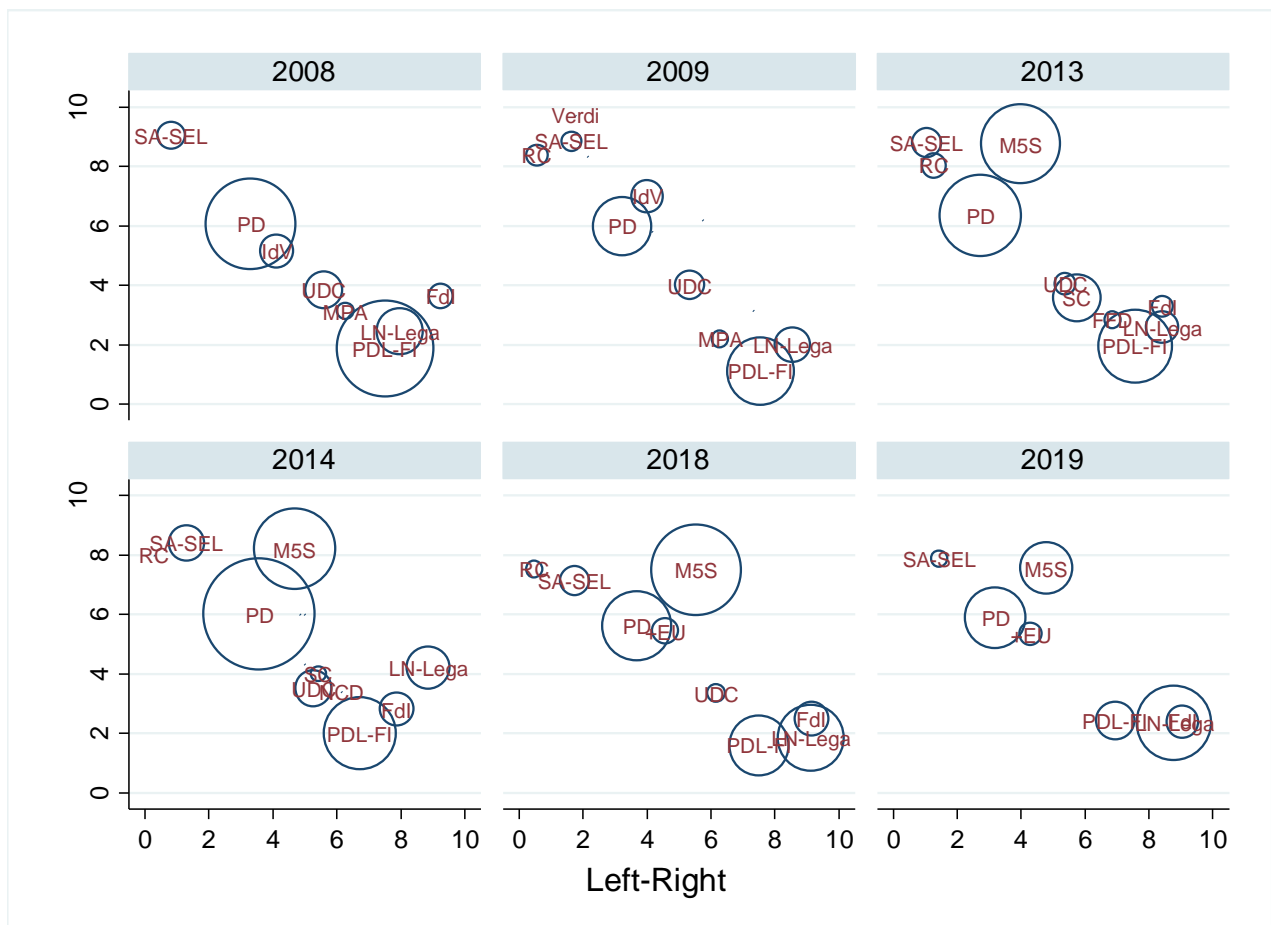
**Figure A4.** Political Space in Italy (Left-Right and Immigration Dimensions), by Election Year



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).

**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