# Appendix

# Figure A Leader autonomy in candidate selection; control over party organization; autonomy in defining policy making agenda (and general impact of the personalization of politics in elections) in Western Europe, by country (1985-2016)

*(a)*



# *(b)*



*(c )*

****

*(d)*

****

*Note*: Source *PoPES* dataset 2020. Whereas the first three variables represent party –level aspects; the fourth one refers to the overall impact of the personalization of politics in general elections (as evaluated by the experts). More than 110 political parties are included in Figures a-c. For details about the selection criteria and the survey questions, see the article. Each box includes values from the 1st to the 3rd quartile. The horizontal line inside each box represents the median. The vertical lines outside the box represent the range of data included within 1.5 Inter-Quartile Ranges below the 1st quartile or above the 3rd quartile. Dots represent outliers.

# Figure B Comparison in the distribution of the three PoPES aspects of personalization of politics between populist and non-populist parties and distribution of the impact of the personalization of politics in Western Europe (1985-2016)



Overall impact of the personalization of politics in general elections



*Note:* Source *PoPES* dataset 2020. The lines represent the normal density of the data for each group and each dimension. Whereas the first three variables represent party –level aspects; the fourth one refers to the overall impact of personalization of politics in general elections (as evaluated by the experts). More than 110 political parties are included in each party-level figure. For details about the selection criteria and the survey questions, see the article.

# Figure C Absolute difference between leader selection autonomy and control over the party in all populist parties in Western Europe (1985-2016) (mean values).



Note: Source PoPES dataset 2020. The dots represent the average difference (x axis) between the values of the two variables: leader selection autonomy and leader control of the party, for each party under consideration (y axis). They range from 0 (no difference between the two dimensions) to 9 (maximum difference).

**Figure D.** Two different logics of centralization and top-down relations in Podemos and the M5S

*(a) Podemos*

Note: The colour of the boxes indicates the degree of centralization for each dimension: White (actually not present in our two cases)= decentralization/horizontalism; Light grey= medium centralization; Dark grey = strong/high centralization high; Dark= unchallengeable centralization.

*(b) The M5S*

Note: The colour of the boxes indicates the degree of centralization for each dimension: White (actually not present in our two cases)= decentralization/horizontalism; Light grey= medium centralization; Dark grey = strong/high centralization high; Dark= unchallengeable centralization.

**Table A**. Comparison between M5S and Podemos vs. the other political parties in Italy and Spain (1985-2016, general elections, mean values)

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Leader autonomy in candidate selection | Leader control of party organisation | Leader autonomy in policy-making  | Overall impact of personalization in national elections |
| M5S | 6.43  | 9.4 | 8.17 | Italy with M5S (2013) | 7.69 |
| All Italian parties of the political system (country mean) | 6.15 | 6.89 | 6.28 | Italy before M5S (1987-2008) | 7.14 |
| Podemos | 7.1\* | 7.95\* | 7.88\* | Spain with Podemos (2015-2016) | 7.64 |
| All Spanish parties of the political system (country mean) | 7.23\* | 7.04\* | 7.29\* | Spain before Podemos (1986-2011) | 6.5 |

Source *PoPES* dataset (2020). \* (Spain)= mean btw the 2015 and 2016 values. Whereas the first three variables represent party –level aspects, the fourth one refers to the overall level of personalization of politics in national elections (as evaluated by the experts). For details about the survey questions, see the text.

# List A. *Quoted Interviews: National and local political representatives and militants of the M5S and Podemos*

1. (anonymity required), militant in Barcelona’s Circle, Podemos, 17/1/2017, Barcelona, Spain.
2. (anonymity required), militant in Barcelona’s Circle, Podemos, 17/1/2017, Barcelona, Spain.
3. Alegre Luís, former Secretary of the party and party founder, Podemos, 16/2/2017, Madrid, Spain.
4. Amírola Rodrigo, responsible for the party political communication and strategy, Podemos, 21/2/2017, Madrid, Spain.
5. Arroyo Sergio, responsible for the party ‘internal participation’ sector, Podemos, 31/01/2017, Madrid, Spain.
6. Estany Antonio, local (regional) MP in Valencia, Podemos, 13/10/2016, Skype Interview, Spain.
7. Hermida Pérez, Begoña, local (regional) MP in Galicia, Podemos, 1/2/2017, Skype interview, Spain.
8. Hierro Daniel, local (regional) MP in Extremadura, Podemos, 25/10/2017, Skype interview, Spain.
9. León Emilio, local (regional) MP Asturias, Podemos, 3/10/2016, Skype interview, Spain
10. Mayoral Guillermo, former collaborator of the Political Secretariat, Podemos, 24/11/2016, Jaén, Spain.
11. Pamparacuatro Elsa, local (regional) MP in the Basque Country, Podemos, 16/11/2016, Skype interview, Spain.
12. Cancelleri Giancarlo, local (regional) MP in Sicily, M5S party, 1/2/2017, Palermo, Italy.
13. Canestrari Marco, former ‘Casaleggio Associati’ consultant (responsible for the political communication of the party), M5S, 27/11/2017, Skype interview, Italy.
14. Cappelletti Enrico, MP national Parliament*,* M5S, 24/12/2016, Vicenza, Italy.
15. Ciprini Tiziana,MP national Parliament, M5S, 28/12/2016, Perugia, Italy.
16. Cozzolino Emanuele, MP national Parliament, M5S, 2/11/2016, Mirano, Italy.
17. Fico Roberto, MP national Parliament, M5S, 2/3/2017, Rome, Italy.
18. Maniero Alvise, local representative (Mayor) in Mira, 22/11/2016, M5S, Mira (Veneto region), Italy.
19. Salvatore Alice, local representative (regional) MP in Liguria, M5S, 7/12/2016, Genoa, Italy.
20. Velli Adriano, municipal councillor in Pomezia, M5S, 10/12/2016, Pomezia, Italy.
21. Zaccagnini Adriano, former MP national Parliament, M5S, 10/11/2016, Rome, Italy.
22. Zanni Marco, former MPe, European Parliament, M5S, 25/01/2017, Skype Interview, Italy.
23. Gutiérrez Eduardo, Member of National Citizens’ Council (*Consejo Ciudadano Estatal*, Podemos’ Central Committee), Podemos, 10/02/2017, Madrid, Spain.
24. Haba Laura, Member of Regional Citizens’ Council (*Consejo Ciudadano Autonómico*, Podemos’ Central Committee in Catalonia), Podemos, 19/01/2017, Barcelona, Spain.
25. Daglio Pablo, Member of Regional Citizens’ Council (*Consejo Ciudadano Autonómico*, Podemos’ Central Committee in Catalonia), Podemos, 19/01/2017, Barcelona, Spain.
26. Bozzetti Gianluca, local (regional) M5S MP in Apulia, 8/11/2016, Skype Interview, Italy.
27. Anonymous interviewee, local M5S activist in Naples, 29/04/2020, Skype Interview, Italy.
28. Violi Dario, local (regional) M5S MP in Lombardy, 10/10/2016, Skype Interview, Italy.
29. Valentina Corrado, local (regional) M5S MP in Lazio, 11/01/2017, Skype Interview, Italy.
30. Juanjo Martínez, Secretary of Podemos’ *Círculo* in L’Hospitalet de Llobregat, 28/01/2017, L’Hospitalet de Llobregat, Spain.
31. Davide Bono, local (regional) M5S MP in Piedmont, 4/11/2016, Skype Interview, Italy.

**List B.** *Party documents and leaders’ speeches analysed*

M5S. 2009. Non-Statuto. <https://s3-eu-west-1.amazonaws.com/materiali-bg/Regolamento-Movimento-5-Stelle.pdf>

M5S. 2012*.* Regole per Candidarsi e Votare per Le Liste Del MoVimento 5 Stelle Alle Politiche 2013*.* <https://www.movimento5stelle.it/regole_politiche_2013.php>

M5S. 2013. Programma. <https://www.slideshare.net/idealistait/programma-movimento-5-stelle-16600181>

M5S. 2017a. Statuto. <https://s3-eu-west-1.amazonaws.com/associazionerousseau/documenti/statuto_MoVimento_2017.pdf>

M5S. 2017b. Codice Etico. <https://s3-eu-west-1.amazonaws.com/associazionerousseau/documenti/codice_etico_MoVimento_2017.pdf>

M5S. 2018a. Programma. <https://dait.interno.gov.it/documenti/trasparenza/politiche2018/Doc/4/4_Prog_Elettorale.pdf>

M5S. 2018b. Regolamento per La Selezione Dei Candidati Del Movimento 5 Stelle Alle Elezioni Politiche Del 4 Marzo 2018 Nei Collegi Plurinominali e Uninominali. <https://s3-eu-west-1.amazonaws.com/associazionerousseau/documenti/regolamento_parlamentarie2018.pdf>

Grillo B (2012) Post on his personal website. December, [*https://www.beppegrillo.it/ritiro-del-logo-del-m5s/*](https://www.beppegrillo.it/ritiro-del-logo-del-m5s/)

Grillo B (2019) Post on his personal website. August, [*https://www.beppegrillo.it/sono-esausto/*](https://www.beppegrillo.it/sono-esausto/)

Iglesias P (2014) Open letter to Podemos’ Circles, <https://blogs.publico.es/pablo-iglesias/760/circulos-podemos/>

Izquierda Anticapitalista. 2013. Resolución de la Secretaría Confederal, Enlace N. 82. <https://www.scribd.com/document/201190008/Boletin-IA#download&from_embed>

Podemos. 2014. Estatutos del partido político PODEMOS. <https://participa.podemos.info/pdf/estatutos_de_podemos.pdf>

Podemos. 2015a. Queremos, Sabemos, Podemos. Un Programa para Cambiar Nuestro País. <https://www.slideshare.net/20minutos/programa-podemos-55648786>

Podemos. 2015b. Elección de los candidatos y candidatas de Podemos a la Presidencie del Gobierno de España, al Congreso de los Diputados y al Senado. Elecciones generales de 2015. https://podemos.info/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/Reglamento-primarias-para-las-generales.pdf

Podemos. 2016. PODEMOS 26J. <https://www.ecestaticos.com/file/a7318425b05416f2b36c59d3bac56a43/1465395297.pdf>

Podemos. 2017a. Estatutos de PODEMOS. <https://files.podemos.info/XQpfxDwEvT.pdf>

Podemos. 2017b. Documento Organizativo PODEMOS. <https://files.podemos.info/9AMl3us6iC.pdf>

Podemos. 2019. Programa de PODEMOS. <https://podemos.info/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/Podemos_programa_generales_10N.pdf>