**Online Appendix**

**Varieties of Inclusionary Populism? SYRIZA, Podemos and the Five Star Movement**

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**Table A1**.  Election manifestos and electoral performance of SYRIZA, FSM andPodemos (2012-2016). % of votes (seats in parentheses)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|    | 2012 national    | 2013 national  | 2014 European  | 2015 national  | 2016 national  |
| SYRIZA  | 16.8 (52)   26.9 (71)   |    | 26.6 (6)  | 36.3 (149)   35.5 (145)  |    |
| FSM  |    | 25.6\* (108)\*  | 21.2 (17)    |    |    |
| Podemos  |    |    | 7.97 (5)  | 20.9 (69)  | 21.1 (71)    |

*Source:* Greek Ministry of the Interior: <http://www.ypes.gr/en/Elections>*; Italian Ministry of the Interior:* [*http://elezionistorico.interno.it/*](http://elezionistorico.interno.it/)*; Ministerio de Interior:*

[*http://resultados2016.infoelecciones.es/99CO/DCO99999TO.htm?lang=es*](http://resultados2016.infoelecciones.es/99CO/DCO99999TO.htm?PARAMS=xik_8uJ51vK4dNSJBngCUuv3vHW6R3xybtATBZCgJEsc9YK8)

\*Votes and percentages calculated only for the Italian electoral district, Lower Chamber

**Table A2.** Dictionary

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| SYRIZA  | FSM  | Podemos  |
| *Outgroups*  |    |    |
| workers (εργαζόμενοι) unemployed (άνεργοι) women (γυναίκες) young (νεολαία) migrants (μετανάστες, πρόσφυγες poor (φτωχοί) disabled (αναπηρία, ΑΜΕΑ) pensioners (συνταξιούχοι) LGBT (ΛΟΑΤ) farmers (αγρότες) evicted (έξωση) minorit\* (μειονότητα)  | lavorat\* disoccupat\* donnegiovan\* migrant\* (immigrat\*) pover\* disabile pensionat\* LGTB contadin\* esclus\* minoranz\*  | trabajador\* desemplead\* (parad\*) mujer\* joven\* inmigrante\* (refugiad\*, deportad\*) pobre\* discapacitad\* (dependiente\*) pensionista\* LGTB\* agricultor\* desahuciad\* minoría\*  |
| *Material dimension*  |    |    |
| welfare (κοινωνικό κράτος, υγεία, εκπαίδευση, επιδόματα) right (δικαίωμα) equality (ισότητα) solidarity (αλληλεγγύη) redistributi\* (αναδιανομή) universal (καθολικό) justice (δικαιοσύνη)  | Stato sociale   diritt\* uguaglianza solidarietà redistribu\* universal giustizia  | bienestar (educa\*, sanidad, sanitari\*, vivienda) derecho\* igualdad (igualit\*) solidari\* redistribu\* universal justicia (justo/a)  |
| *Political dimension*  |    |    |
| democracy (δημοκρατία) protest (διαμαρτυρία, κίνημα\*)   election (εκλογή) parliament (κοινοβούλιο) participati\* (συμμετοχή) representati\* (αντιπροσώπευση) referend\*/ plebiscite (δημοψήφισμα) (popular) assembly (συνέλευση)  | democra\* protesta (manifestazion\*, movement\*)   elezion\* parlament\* partecipa\* rappresentant\* referend\* assemblea  | democra\* protesta (manifestacion\*, movimiento\*) eleccion\* parlament\* participa\* representac\* referend\* asamblea\*  |
| *Symbolic dimension*  |    |    |
| self-determination (αυτοδιάθεση, κυριαρχία) South/ Southern Europe (Νότος, Νότια Ευρώπη) dignity (αξιοπρέπεια) culture (πολιτισμός) community (κοινότητα) identity (ταυτότητα) people (λαός)  | autodetermina\*Sud/Europa meridionale/Europa del Sud   dignità cultura comunità identità popolo nazion\*  | auto-determinac\*(soberania) sur/sur de Europa     dign\*   comuni\* identidad\* gente  |

**Table A3.** Word counts (\*1000 in parentheses)

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | SYRIZA  | FSM  | Podemos  |
|  *Outgroups*  | 2012 National  | 2014 EP  | 2015 national  | 2013 national  | 2014 EP  | 2014 EP  | 2015 national  | 2016 national  |
| Workers  | 5 (2.55)  | 12 (2.26)  | 3 (1.13)  | 0 (0.00)  | 0 (0.00)  | 10 (1.02)  | 47 (0.89)  | 50 (0.95)  |
| Unemployed  | 6 (3.06)  | 9 (1.69)  | 0 (0.00)  | 1 (0.40) | 1 (0.31)  | 2 (0.2)  | 13 (0.25)  | 13 (0.25)  |
| Women  | 2 (1.02)  | 12 (2.26)  | 0 (0.00)  | 0 (0.00)  | 0 (0.0)  | 13 (1.33)  | 54 (1.02)  | 54 (1.03)  |
| Youth  | 3 (1.53)  | 9 (1.69)  | 0 (0.00)  | 0 (0.00)  | 3 (0.93)  | 4 (0.41)  | 17 (0.32)  | 17 (0.32)  |
| Immigrants  | 1 (0.51)  | 8 (1.50)  | 0 (0.00)  | 0 (0.0)  | 0 (0.0)  | 8 (0.82)  | 19 (0.36)  | 19 (0.36)  |
| Poor  | 3 (1.53)  | 3 (0.56)  | 2 (0.75)  | 1 (0.40)  | 0 (0.0)  | 4 (0.41)  | 34 (0.64)  | 34 (0.65)  |
| Disabled  | 0 (0.00)  | 3 (0.56)  | 1 (0.38)  | 1 (0.40)  | 1 (0.31)  | 3 (0.31)  | 17 (0.32)  | 17 (0.32)  |
| Pensioners  | 1(0.51)  | 1 (0.19)  | 2 (0.75)  | 1 (0.40)  | 0 (0.0)  | 3 (0.31)  | 3 (0.06)  | 3 (0.06)  |
| Lgbtq  | 0 (0.00)  | 3 (0.56)  | 0 (0.00)  | 0 (0.0)  | 0 (0.0)  | 3 (0.31)  | 4 (0.08)  | 4 (0.08)  |
| Farmers  | 0 (0.00)  | 3 (0.56)  | 0 (0.00)  | 0 (0.0)  | 1 (0.31)  | 2 (0.2)  | 3 (0.06)  | 3 (0.06)  |
| Evicted  | 0 (0.00)  | 0 (0.00)  | 0 (0.00)  | 0 (0.0)  | 0 (0.0)  | 1 (0.1)  | 9 (0.17)  | 9 (0.17)  |
| Minority  | 0 (0.00)  | 0 (0.00)  | 0 (0.00)  | 0 (0.0)  | 0 (0.0)  | 1 (0.1)  | 0 (0.00)  | 0 (0.00)  |
| *Material*  |
| Welfare  | 31 (15.82)  | 16 (3.01)  | 10 (3.77)  | 0 (0.0)  | 0 (0.0) | 43 (4.4)  | 237 (4.48)  | 233 (4.44)  |
| Rights  | 5 (2.55)  | 23 (4.32)  | 1 (0.38)  | 1 (0.40)  | 3 (0.93)  | 74 (7.57)  | 190 (3.59)  | 188 (3.58)  |
| Equality  | 1 (0.51)  | 8 (1.50)  | 2 (0.75)  | 0 (0.0)  | 1 (0.31)  | 11 (1.13)  | 59 (1.12)  | 57 (1.09)  |
| Solidarity  | 1 (0.51)  | 6 (1.13)  | 0 (0.00)  | 0 (0.0)  | 0 (0.0)  | 6 (0.61)  | 26 (0.49)  | 26 (0.5)  |
| Redistribution  | 2 (1.02)  | 3 (0.56)  | 0 (0.00)  | 0 (0.0)  | 0 (0.0)  | 4 (0.41)  | 2 (0.04)  | 2 (0.04)  |
| Universal  | 2 (1.02)  | 1 (0.19)  | 0 (0.00)  | 3 (1.2)  | 0 (0.0)  | 14 (1.43)  | 30 (0.57)  | 29 (0.55)  |
| Justice  | 0 (0.00)  | 2(0.38)  | 0 (0.00)  | 0 (0.0)  | 0 (0.0)  | 12 (1.23)  | 33 (0.62)  | 33 (0.63)  |
| *Political*  |
| Democracy  | 12 (6.13)  | 12 (2.26)  | 7 (2.64)  | 1 (0.40)  | 0 (0.0)  | 25 (2.56)  | 50 (0.95)  | 53 (1.01)  |
| Protest  | 1 (0.51)  | 26 (4.89)  | 0 (0.00)  | 0 (0.0)  | 0 (0.0)  | 3 (0.31)  | 14 (0.26)  | 14 (0.27) |
| Election  | 6 (3.06)  | 10 (1.88)  | 2 (0.75)  | 2 (0.80)  | 4 (1.24)  | 1 (0.1)  | 16 (0.3)  | 14 (0.27)  |
| Parliament  | 1 (0.51)  | 8 (1.50)  | 1 (0.38)  | 7 (2.81)  | 0 (0.0)  | 6 (0.61)  | 25 (0.47)  | 25 (0.48)  |
| Participation  | 2 (1.02)  | 4 (0.75)  | 2 (0.75)  | 3 (1.20)  | 0 (0.0)  | 25 (2.56)  | 101 (1.91)  | 101 (1.93)  |
| Representation  | 1 (0.51)  | 3 (0.56)  | 0 (0.00)  | 2 (0.80)  | 0 (0.0)  | 2 (0.2)  | 34 (0.64)  | 34 (0.65)  |
| Referendum  | 0 (0.00) | 1 (0.19)  | 0 (0.00)  | 1 (0.40)  | 3 (0.93)  | 1 (0.1)  | 7 (0.13)  | 7 (0.13)  |
| Assembly  | 0 (0.00)  | 0 (0.00)  | 0 (0.00)  | 0 (0.0)  | 0 (0.0)  | 1 (0.1)  | 6 (0.11)  | 6 (0.11)  |
| *Symbolic*  |
| Nation  | **-**  | **-**  | **-**  | 10 (4.01)  | 25 (7.74)  | **-**  | **-**  | **-**  |
| People  | 10 (5.13)  | 8 (1.50)  | 3 (1.13)  | 0 (0.00)  | 4 (1.24)  | 1 (0.1)  | 15 (0.28)  | 15 (0.29)  |
| Self- determination  | 2 (1.02)  | 6 (1.12)  | 1 (0.38)  | 0 (0.00)  | 1 (0.31)  | 1 (0.1)  | 0 (0.00)  | 0 (0.00)  |
| Southern Europe  | 0 (0.00)  | 3 (0.56)  | 0 (0.00)  | 0 (0.00)  | 1 (0.31)  | 6 (0.61)  | 7 (0.13)  | 8 (0.15) |
| Dignity  | 0 (0.00)  | 1 (0.19)  | 1 (0.38)  | 0 (0.00)  | 0 (0.00)  | 6 (0.61)  | 17 (0.32)  | 17 (0.32)  |
| Culture  | 0 (0.00)  | 1 (0.19)  | 0 (0.00)  | 2 (0.80)  | 2  (0.62)  | -  | -  | -  |
| Identity  | 0 (0.00)  | 1 (0.19)  | 0 (0.00)  | 0 (0.00)  | 0 (0.00)  | 6 (0.61)  | 13 (0.25)  | 13 (0.25)  |
| Community  | 0 (0.00)  | 0 (0.00)  | 0 (0.00)  | 0 (0.00)  | 5 (1.55)  | 0 (0)  | 4 (0.08)  | 4 (0.08)  |
| Sovereignty  | 0 (0.00)  | 0 (0.00) | 0 (0.00)  | 0 (0.00)  | 0 (0.00)  | 3 (0.31)  | 8 (0.15)  | 8 (0.15)  |

**Figure A1.** Inclusionary populism features: A Comparative Assessment

*Source*: own elaboration based on electoral manifestos data

**Figure A2.** Outgroups



*Source*: own elaboration based on electoral manifestos data