**Online Appendix**

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

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Published at Government & Opposition

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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\*  donne  giovan\*  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 |

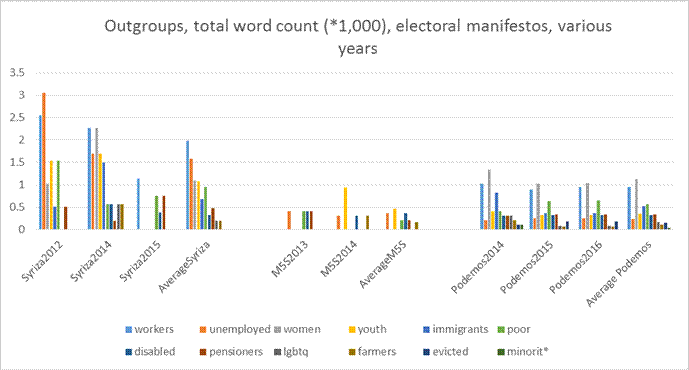
**Table A3.** Word counts (\*1000 in parentheses)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | 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