**ONLINE APPENDIX**

*Table 1. Alternative-Specific Conditional Logistic Regression – 2013 Italian General Election*

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  | **Model 1** |  | **Model 2** |
|  | **Coeff.** | **S.E.** | **% changes** **in the odds** | **Coeff.** | **S.E.** | **% changes** **in the odds** |
| ***Decisor-related variables - PD*** |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Gender | 0.334 | (0.223) | 39.6 | 0.866 | (0.580) | 137.6 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Age | 0.014+ | (0.007) | 1.4 | -0.005 | (0.017) | -0.5 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Education | 0.310\* | (0.141) | 36.4 | -0.016 | (0.352) | -1.6 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Political Interest | 0.527\*\*\* | (0.142) | 69.3 | 0.333 | (0.339) | 39.6 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| North-East | 0.001 | (0.352) | 0.1 | 0.297 | (0.973) | 34.5 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Centre | 0.570 | (0.357) | 76.9 | -1.005 | (0.997) | -63.4 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| South | 0.014 | (0.321) | 1.4 | -1.142 | (0.938) | -68.1 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Contact with Party |  |  |  | 1.382\* | (0.690) | 298.2 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Old Media |  |  |  | -3.660+ | (1.957) | -97.4 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Mostly New Media |  |  |  | -0.574 | (1.118) | -43.7 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| New Media |  |  |  | . | . | . |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | -2.536\*\* | (0.817) | -92.1 | 2.170 | (2.608) | 775.4 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| ***Decisor-related variables - M5S*** |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Gender | 0.555\* | (0.244) | 74.2 | 1.451\*\* | (0.560) | 326.6 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Age | -0.029\*\*\* | (0.008) | -2.8 | -0.031\* | (0.016) | -3 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Education | 0.153 | (0.159) | 16.6 | -0.147 | (0.335) | -13.6 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Political Interest | 0.462\*\* | (0.158) | 58.7 | 0.540 | (0.338) | 71.6 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| North-East | -0.001 | (0.398) | 0 | 0.009 | (0.921) | 0.9 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Centre | -0.194 | (0.418) | -17.7 | -1.643+ | (0.958) | -80.7 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| South | 0.331 | (0.356) | 39.2 | -0.664 | (0.874) | -48.5 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Contact with Party |  |  |  | 0.963 | (0.656) | 161.9 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Old Media |  |  |  | -2.350 | (1.937) | -90.5 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Mostly New Media |  |  |  | -0.261 | (1.047) | -22.9 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| New Media |  |  |  | . | . | . |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | -0.680 | (0.868) | -49.4 | 1.090 | (2.480) | 197.5 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| ***Decisor-related variables - PDL*** |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| ***Decisor-related variables - LN*** |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Gender | -0.155 | (0.549) | -14.4 | -0.315 | (0.822) | 37 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Age | 0.009 | (0.017) | 0.9 | -0.021 | (0.023) | -2.1 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Education | 0.018 | (0.326) | 1.8 | -0.345 | (0.496) | -29.2 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Political Interest | 0.068 | (0.333) | 7 | 0.597 | (0.485) | 81.7 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| North-East | 2.564\* | (1.071) | 1198.4 | 2.214 | (1.367) | 815.2 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Centre | . | . | . | . | . | . |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| South | . | . | . | . | . | . |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Contact with Party |  |  |  | 0.735 | (1.242) | 108.6 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Old Media |  |  |  | -6.049+ | (3.227) | -99.8 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Mostly New Media |  |  |  | -3.802+ | (1.969) | -97.8 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| New Media |  |  |  | . | . | . |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | -3.572 | (2.179) | -97.2 | 1.615 | (3.993) | 402.8 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| ***Decisor-related variables - SC*** |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Gender | 1.077\*\* | (0.360) | 193.5 | 2.127\*\* | (0.719) | 738.7 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Age | 0.022+ | (0.012) | 2.2 | -0.011 | (0.022) | -1.1 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Education | 0.707\*\* | (0.226) | 102.9 | 0.319 | (0.435) | 37.5 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Political Interest | 0.270 | (0.224) | 31 | 0.451 | (0.443) | 57 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| North-East | -0.160 | (0.495) | -14.8 | -0.034 | (1.096) | 3.5 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Centre | -0.072 | (0.514) | -7 | -1.462 | (1.154) | -76.8 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| South | -0.873+ | (0.501) | -58.2 | -1.295 | (1.102) | -72.6 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Contact with Party |  |  |  | 1.910\* | (0.802) | 575.3 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Old Media |  |  |  | -0.794 | (2.819) | -54.8 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Mostly New Media |  |  |  | -0.047 | (1.488) | -4.6 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| New Media |  |  |  | . | . | . |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | -5.933\*\*\* | (1.359) | -99.7 | -8.007\* | (3.786) | -100 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| ***Alternative-related variables*** |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Leadership PD |  |  |  | 0.739\*\*\* | (0.134) | 109.4 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Leadership PDL |  |  |  | 1.484\*\*\* | (0.281) | 341 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Leadership M5S |  |  |  | 0.913\*\*\* | (0.142) | 149.1 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Leadership LN |  |  |  | 0.725+ | (0.412) | 106.5 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Leadership SC |  |  |  | 1.414\*\*\* | (0.309) | 311.2 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Distance PD |  |  |  | -0.121\*\*\* | (0.031) | -11.4 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Distance PDL |  |  |  | -0.154\*\* | (0.059) | -14.3 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Distance M5S |  |  |  | -0.044+ | (0.026) | -4.3 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Distance LN |  |  |  | -0.118 | (0.106) | -11.1 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Distance SC |  |  |  | -0.109\* | (0.051) | -10.3 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Old Media \* Leadership PD |  |  |  | 0.088 | (0.174) | 9.2 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Old Media \* Leadership PDL |  |  |  | -0.511+ | (0.305) | -40 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Old Media \* Leadership M5S |  |  |  | -0.116 | (0.175) | -11 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Old Media \* Leadership LN |  |  |  | 0.515 | (0.541) | 67.4 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Old Media \* Leadership SC |  |  |  | -0.207 | (0.353) | -18.7 |
| N | 3420 | 3420 |
| Nagelkerke’s Pseudo *R*2 | 0.253 | 0.748 |
| BIC | 1904.6 | 1066.5 |
| + p<0.10; \* p<.05; \*\* p<.01 \*\*\* p<.001; log odds coefficients (Coeff.) and percentage changes in the odds (% change.) reported; Standard errors in parentheses; variable “New Media” not reported for quasi-complete separation; variables Centre and South for LN not reported (Centre =1, South =1 are empty categories for LN) |

*Table 2. Alternative-Specific Conditional Logistic Regression – 2013 PD Pimary Election*

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Model I** |  | **Model II** |  |
|  | **Coeff .**  | **S.E.** | **% changes** **in the odds** | **Coeff.** | **S.E.** | **% changes** **in the odds** |
| ***Decisor-related variables - Renzi*** |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Gender  | 0.145 | -0.105 | 15.7 | 0.497\* | -0.21 | 64.4 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Age  | 0.001 | -0.003 | 15.7 | 0.011 | -0.007 | 1.1 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Education  | 0.165\*\* | -0.061 | 17.9 | 0.258\* | -0.121 | 29.4 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Political Interest | -0.358\*\*\* | -0.072 | -30.1 | 0.099 | (0.148)  | 10.4 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Personal Contact |  |   |  | -0.374 | (0.309)  | -31.2 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Old Media |  |   |  | -0.161 | (1.022)  | -14.9 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Mostly Old Media |  |   |  | 0.346 | -0.326 | 41.3 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Mostly New Media |  |   |  | -0.42 | (0.561)  | -34.3 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| New Media |  |   |  | 1.1 | (0.986)  | 200.4 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | 1.533\*\*\* | -0.365 |  | -1.224 | -0.941 |  |
|   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| ***Decisor-related variables - Cuperlo*** | **Base outcome** |
|   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| ***Decisor-related variables - Civati*** |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Gender  | 0.222+ | (0.132)  | 24.9 | 0.155 | (0.225)  | 16.8 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Age  | -0.017\*\*\* | (0.004)  | -1.7 | -0.001 | -0.007 | 0 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Education  | 0.334\*\*\* | -0.082 | 39.6 | 0.122 | (0.139)  | 13 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Political Interest | -0.074 | -0.094 | -7.2 | -0.106 | (0.163)  | -10.1 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Personal Contact |  |   |  | -0.692\* | (0.345)  | -50 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Old Media |  |   |  | -0.168 | (1.128)  | -15.5 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Mostly Old Media |  |   |  | 0.223 | (0.362)  | 24.9 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Mostly New Media |  |   |  | -0.076 | -0.534 | -7.3 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| New Media |  |   |  | 1.303 | (0.885)  | 267.9 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | -0.141 | -0.47 |  | 0.631 | -1.079 |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| ***Alternative-related variables***  |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Leadership Renzi |  |  |  | 1.768\*\*\* | -0.096 | 485.8 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Leadership Cuperlo |  |  |  | 1.731\*\*\* | -0.107 | 464.6 |
|   |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Leadership Civati |  |  |  | 1.570\*\*\* | (0.101)  | 380.6 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Distance Renzi |  |  |  | -0.105 | -0.066 | -10 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Distance Cuperlo |  |  |  | -0.092 | -0.059 | -8.8 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Distance Civati |  |  |  | -0.152\*\* | -0.055 | -14.1 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Old Media \* Leadership Renzi |  |   |  | -0.003 | (0.157)  | -0.3 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Old Media \* Leadership Cuperlo |  |  |  | 0.02 | -0.17 | 2 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Old Media \* Leadership Civati |   |   |   | 0.003 | -0.156 | 0.3 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| *N* | 7446 | 7446 |
| Nagelkerke’s pseudo R2 | 0.152 | 0.734 |
| *BIC* | 4712.6 | 1710.5 |
| + p<0.10; \* p<.05; \*\* p<.01 \*\*\* p<.001; log odds coefficients (Coeff.) and percetage changes (% change.) reported; Standard errors in parentheses  |