

Online Appendix for Partisanship in Times of Crisis – Evidence from Italy

Information on sampling frames for CAWI and CATI

Figure A1. Timeline of salient events in Italian politics between 2011 and 2013.

Table A1. Sample demographics and attrition.

Table A2. Parties by ideological alignment in Wave 1 and Wave 5.

Table A3. Party affiliations across samples.

Table A4. Description and summary statistics of dependent and independent variables.

Tables A5-A7. Analyses controlling for an issue-based ideology scale.

Tables A8-A11. Replication of the analyses separated by CAWI and CATI samples.

Tables A12-A14. Analyses without interactions with party variables.

Table A15. Voting for M5S and ratings of Grillo among partisans and non-partisans using a categorical education variable.

Tables A16-A17. Multinomial logistic regression of voting for the in-party, leaving the in-party, and abstaining.

Table A18-A19. Multinomial logistic regression of voting for M5S, voting for another party, and voting for the in-party.

Information on sampling frames for CAWI and CATI

1. CAWI Online Sample: Computer-Assisted-Web-Survey (collected and managed by the Italian survey research firm SWG)
 - Sample was selected within the SWG panel of 60,000 members, 45,000 of which are “highly profiled”.
 - Method used was stratified sampling with quotas by education, vote for the Chamber of Deputies in the 2008 election, geographic location, age, and gender based on the Italian national distribution.
 - Specifically:
 1. Simple random sample of 4,000 subjects stratified by education (low/medium/high) corrected for the online population;
 2. This sample of 4,000 subjects was further stratified by the vote for the Chamber of Deputies in the 2008 election;
 3. This second sub-sample was further stratified by geographic location, age, and gender, yielding the final sample.
 - The online sample was based on a simple random sample of 4,000 respondents selected from a proprietary database of 60,000 Italians maintained by the survey company SWG. The sample was subsequently stratified by education level and vote choice in the 2008 national election. Finally, it was further stratified by area, age, and gender, according to national distributions.

2. CATI Phone Sample: Computer-Assisted-Telephone-Survey (collected by University of Siena, State University of Milan, and University of Milan – Bicocca)
 - First, quotas were determined. Quotas by gender, age, education, and geographical location. These quotas were identified using 2001 Census data (90 quotas were generated).
 - Once a target number of telephone interviews within each quota has been determined, the three universities have split up the task and contacted respondents via random sampling from public telephone lists.
 - The phone sample was obtained using the methodology of a previous 2008 ITANES study.¹
 - Phone interviews lasted about 20 minutes each.

¹ Source: <http://www.itanes.org/questionari-itanes/>. No detailed information about the sampling procedure for the 2008 study is available. To our knowledge, no published journal article that uses the ITANES 2011-2013 panel study describes the sampling procedures either (see e.g. Bellucci 2014).

Figure A1. Timeline of key events in Italian politics between 2011 and 2013. The filled dots indicate the waves used in the analysis.

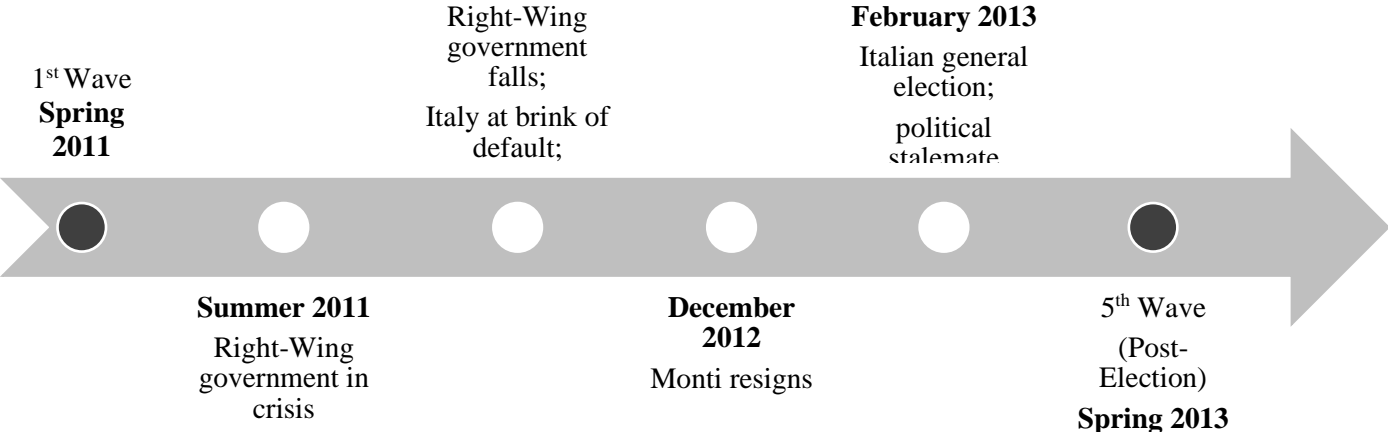


Table A1. Sample demographics and attrition by sample (CATI, CAWI, Overall).

		Italian 2011 Census	Overall Sample		CATI		CAWI	
			Wave 1	Completed Panel	Wave 1	Completed Panel	Wave 1	Completed Panel
Demographics								
Age	18-34 (Census: 15-34)	26.1%	22.5%	22.6%	19.4%	17.4%	33.6%	29.2%
	35-64	50.3%	49.7%	57.1%	48.9%	57.7%	52.5%	56.5%
	65+	23.6%	27.8%	20.3%	31.7%	24.9%	13.8%	14.3%
Gender	Female	52.0%	55.4%	48.6%	57.2%	48.8%	49.1%	48.4%
Employment	Working	56.9%	41.6%	46.6%	36.7%	37.8%	55.5%	58.1%
Education	Up to High School	89.1%	88.3%	82.0%	91.8%	86.4%	76.1%	76.4%
	College Degree	10.9%	10.6%	16.0%	7.9%	13.2%	20.4%	19.7%
	Graduate Degree	0.0%	1.0%	2.0%	0.0%	0.5%	3.5%	3.9%
Partisanship	Yes		48.7%	70.4%	38.5%	58.3%	85.1%	85.9%
Major Parties (Among partisans)	SEL		9.5%	11.5%	6.0%	7.9%	15.4%	14.6%
	PD		29.5%	29.9%	36.2%	40.8%	18.5%	20.4%
	PDL		25.1%	19.9%	29.1%	22.6%	18.6%	17.5%
	M5S		3.1%	3.4%	2.0%	1.8%	4.9%	4.9%
	Lega Nord		10.3%	10.4%	9.9%	10.4%	10.9%	10.4%
	Other Parties on Left		9.2%	10.8%	7.4%	7.2%	12.3%	14.0%
	Other Parties on Right		8.4%	9.5%	4.6%	4.6%	14.6%	13.7%
	Other Parties in Center		4.9%	4.6%	4.8%	4.7%	4.9%	4.5%
Voted in 2013 Elections			-	93.6%	-	94.5%	-	92.3%
	N		6,805	2,067	5,309	1,159	1,496	908

Note. "Other Parties on Left" include: Rifondazione Comunista, Partito dei Comunisti Italiani, IdV, SDI, DS, Margherita, Verdi, Radicali. "Other Parties on Right" include: FLI, La Destra, Fiamma Tricolore, Forza Italia, AN, MPA. "Other Parties in Center" include: API, UdC.

Table A1 (continued). Sample demographics and attrition tables by sample (CATI, CAWI, Overall).

	Overall Sample						CATI						CAWI					
	Wave 1			Completed Panel			Wave 1			Completed Panel			Wave 1			Completed Panel		
	M	SD	N	M	SD	N	M	SD	N	M	SD	N	M	SD	N	M	SD	N
Partisan Identity	0.48	0.18	3,317	0.50	0.17	1,456	0.46	0.20	2,043	0.46	0.19	676	0.52	0.16	1,274	0.52	0.15	780
Political Interest	0.45	0.32	6,781	0.62	0.28	2,060	0.38	0.30	5,299	0.53	0.28	1,159	0.72	0.24	1,482	0.72	0.24	901

Note. All variables are coded to range from 0 to 1, where 0 means weak identity, alignment, or interest and 1 means stronger identity, alignment or interest.

Given that our sample is collected through two different survey modes, we compared the mean levels of partisan identity strength in wave 1 of the CAWI and CATI subsample. We find a small (six percentage points) but significant difference between CATI ($M = 0.46$, $SD = 0.20$) and CAWI ($M = 0.52$, $SD = 0.16$, $t(3315) = 8.77$, $p < .001$). Examining only subjects who completed the entire panel, we also find a small but significant difference between CATI ($M = 0.46$, $SD = 0.19$) and CAWI ($M = 0.52$, $SD = 0.15$, $t(1454) = 6.75$, $p < .001$). Even so, the levels of partisan identity strength remain remarkably stable despite attrition. For instance, partisan identity strength levels among voters of the major parties in the left (PD; $M = 0.49$, $SD = .17$), right (PDL; $M = 0.49$, $SD = .20$), and in the M5S ($M = 0.51$, $SD = .16$) hold firm both when considering all participants at wave 1 and only those who completed all five waves.

It is also clear that levels of political interest were higher in the panel overall than among participants in the first wave largely due to attrition among less politically interested respondents in the CATI sample.

Table A2. Parties by ideological alignment in Wave 1 (Spring 2011) and Wave 5 (2013 Elections).

	Wave 1 (Spring 2011)	Wave 5 (2013 Elections)	
Left	[01] Sinistra Ecologia e Libertà (Vendola)	[01] Sinistra Ecologia e Libertà (Vendola)	
	[02] Partito della Rifondazione Comunista (Ferrero)	[02] Partito della Rifondazione Comunista (Ferrero)	
	[03] Partito dei Comunisti Italiani (Diliberto)	[03] Partito dei Comunisti Italiani (Diliberto)	
	[04] Partito Democratico (Bersani)	[04] Partito Democratico (Bersani)	
	[05] Italia dei Valori (Di Pietro)	[05] Italia dei Valori (Di Pietro)	
	[13] Verdi (Bonelli)	[13] Verdi (Bonelli)	
	[14] SDI (Boselli)*	[14] SDI (Boselli)*	
	[15] Democratici di Sinistra*	[15] Democratici di Sinistra*	
	[16] UDeuR (Mastella)	[16] UDeuR (Mastella)	
	[17] La Margherita (Rutelli)*	[17] La Margherita (Rutelli)*	
	[18] Lista Pannella-Bonino (Radicali)	[18] Lista Pannella-Bonino (Radicali)	
		[24] Rivoluzione Civile di Ingroia	
		[32] Lista Amnistia Giustizia Libertà di Pannella	
	Right	[06] Popolo della Libertà (Berlusconi)	[06] Popolo della Libertà (Berlusconi)
		[07] Futuro e Libertà per l'Italia (Fini)	[07] Futuro e Libertà per l'Italia (Fini)
		[09] Lega Nord (Bossi)	[09] Lega Nord (Bossi/Maroni)
		[11] La Destra (Storace)	[11] La Destra (Storace)
		[19] Fiamma Tricolore	[19] Fiamma Tricolore
[20] Forza Italia (Berlusconi)*		[20] Forza Italia (Berlusconi)*	
[21] Alleanza Nazionale (Fini)*		[21] Alleanza Nazionale (Fini)*	
[22] Movimento per le Autonomie - MPA (Lombardo)		[22] Movimento per le Autonomie - MPA (Lombardo)	
		[26] Fratelli d'Italia di La Russa, Meloni e Crosetto	
		[27] Grande Sud di Miccichè	
		[28] Lavoro e Libertà di Tremonti	
Anti-Establishment Center		[12] Movimento 5 Stelle (Grillo)	[12] Movimento 5 Stelle (Grillo)
	[08] Alleanza per l'Italia - PI (Rutelli)	[08] Alleanza per l'Italia - PI (Rutelli)	
	[10] UDC - Unione dei Democratici Cristiani e di Centro (Casini)	[10] UDC - Unione dei Democratici Cristiani e di Centro (Casini)	
		[23] Centro Democratico di Tabacchi e Donadi	
		[25] Scelta Civica con Monti per l'Italia (Montezemolo, Bonanni, Riccardi, Olivero)	
		[29] Lista FARE di Oscar Giannino	
		[30] Nuovo Rinascimento Italiano	
		[31] Democrazia Cristiana di Cirino Pomicino, Gianni Fontana, Clelio Darida e Silvio Lega	

Note. Entries are parties and their ITANES codes with party leader name in parentheses. * “Dead” party that no longer existed in 2011. They were probably included in the survey because of their high name recognition. In four out five cases, the defunct party merged into a larger party. Hence, in our analyses, we placed respondents who identified as partisans of a defunct party together with partisans who identified with the successor party (e.g. *Forza Italia* partisans with *Popolo della Libertà*’ partisans, since both parties are led by Berlusconi).

Table A3. Party affiliations across samples.

Political Party	Overall Sample		CATI		CAWI	
	Wave 1	Completed Panel	Wave 1	Completed Panel	Wave 1	Completed Panel
<u>LEFT</u>						
[01] Sinistra Ecologia e Libertà (SEL)	9.5%	11.5%	6.0%	7.9%	15.4%	14.6%
[02] Rifondazione Comunista (RC)	1.0%	0.7%	1.1%	0.4%	1.0%	0.9%
[03] Partito dei Comunisti Italiani (PCI)	0.5%	0.6%	0.5%	0.4%	0.6%	0.6%
[04] Partito Democratico (PD)	29.5%	29.9%	36.2%	40.8%	18.5%	20.4%
[05] Italia dei Valori (IdV)	5.8%	7.6%	4.8%	5.6%	7.4%	9.4%
[13] Verdi (Greens)	0.4%	0.5%	0.2%	0.4%	0.6%	0.5%
[14] SDI*	0.2%	0.3%	0.1%	0.0%	0.4%	0.5%
[15] Democratici di Sinistra (DS)*	0.6%	0.6%	0.2%	0.0%	1.3%	1.2%
[17] Margherita*	0.2%	0.1%	0.1%	0.0%	0.3%	0.3%
[18] Radicali	0.6%	0.5%	0.4%	0.3%	0.8%	0.6%
<u>RIGHT</u>						
[06] Popolo della Libertà (PdL)	25.1%	19.9%	29.1%	22.6%	18.6%	17.5%
[07] Futuro e Libertà per l'Italia (FLI)	4.0%	4.5%	3.0%	3.2%	5.6%	5.5%
[09] Lega Nord (LN)	10.3%	10.4%	9.9%	10.4%	10.9%	10.4%
[11] La Destra	1.1%	1.1%	0.6%	0.6%	2.1%	1.5%
[19] Fiamma Tricolore	0.4%	0.4%	0.1%	0.2%	0.9%	0.6%
[20] Forza Italia* (FI)	1.7%	1.8%	0.4%	0.2%	3.7%	3.2%
[21] Alleanza Nazionale (AN)*	1.0%	1.4%	0.4%	0.4%	2.1%	2.3%
[22] MPA	0.2%	0.3%	0.1%	0.0%	0.3%	0.5%
<u>ANTI-ESTABLISHMENT</u>						
[12] MoVimento 5 Stelle (M5S)	3.1%	3.4%	2.0%	1.7%	4.9%	4.9%
<u>CENTER</u>						
[08] Alleanza per l'Italia (API)	0.2%	0.3%	0.2%	0.4%	0.2%	0.1%
[10] Unione dei Democratici Cristiani e di Centro (UDC)	4.7%	4.3%	4.7%	4.3%	4.7%	4.4%
N	3,354	1,460	2,084	681	1,270	779

Note. No respondent identified with the UDeuR party. * “Dead” party that no longer existed in 2011

Table A4. Description and summary statistics of dependent variables.

Dependent Variables						
<i>Variable Name</i>	<i>Item Wording</i>	<i>Response Options</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>N</i>	
Voting for M5S [partisans only]	For which party did you vote in the Senate [Chamber]?	Indicate M5S. Coded as 0 (No) or 1 (Yes)	0.15	0.36	1,460	
Voting for M5S [partisans and non-partisans]	For which party did you vote in the Senate [Chamber]?	Indicate M5S. Coded as 0 (No) or 1 (Yes)	0.16	0.37	2,067	
Ratings of Grillo	5-item scale that combines the following questions: 1) Judgment of Grillo; 2) Strong leader; 3) Understands the problems of the people; 4) More prepared or less prepared than other politicians; 5) Honest leader.	0 (Negative) to 10 (Positive)	0.51	0.22	2,030	
Adjusted Ratings of Grillo [Grillo ratings minus average of every other leader's ratings]	5-item scale that combines the following questions: 1) Judgment of Grillo; 2) Strong leader; 3) Understands the problems of the people; 4) More prepared or less prepared than other politicians; 5) Honest leader.	0 (Negative) to 10 (Positive). Variable rescaled to range from -1 (Negative) to 1 (Positive)	0.12	0.20	2,030	
Voting for the In-Party	For which party did you vote in the Senate [Chamber]?	Indicate party with which respondent identified in Wave 1. Coded as 0 (No) or 1 (Yes)	0.30	0.46	2,067	
In-Party Leader Ratings	5-item scale that combines the following questions: 1) Judgment of leader; 2) Strong leader; 3) Understands the problems of the people; 4) More prepared or less prepared than other politicians; 5) Honest leader.	0 (Negative) to 10 (Positive)	0.60	0.24	1,383	

Note. Descriptive statistics are provided for the rescaled variable, which ranges from 0 to 1.

Table A4 (cont.) Description and summary statistics of independent variables.

Independent Variables					
<i>Variable Name</i>	<i>Item Wording</i>	<i>Response Options</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>N</i>
Partisan Identity Strength	9-item scale that combines the following questions: 1) When someone criticizes the [Party name], I perceive it as a personal insult. 2) I am very interested in what others think of the [Party name]. 3) The limitations of the [Party name] are also mine. 4) When I speak about the [Party name], I usually say “WE” instead of “THEY”. 5) I have some qualities that are typical of the [Party name]. 6) The successes of the [Party name] are also mine. 7) If TV or a newspaper criticized the [Party name], I would feel very embarrassed”. 8) When someone praises the [Party name], I perceive it as a personal compliment. 9) I behave like a typical person of the [Party name].	1 (Strongly disagree) to 5 (Strongly agree)	0.50	0.17	1,456
Education	What is your educational qualification?	11 options ranging from "No qualification" to "Post-graduate degree (Master or Ph.D.)"	0.45	0.26	2,067
Age	What is your age in completed years? [Answers coded in 3 categories in the original survey]	18-34; 35-64; 65+	0.49	0.33	2,067
Employment	Do you currently have a paid job?	0 (No) or 1 (Yes)	0.47	0.50	2,038

Note. Descriptive statistics are provided for the rescaled variable, which ranges from 0 to 1.

Table A5. In-party vote controlling for an issue-based ideology scale.

	(1)		(2)	
	Coeff	SE	Coeff	SE
Partisan Identity Strength	1.54	(0.50)	***	1.54 (0.53) ***
Issue Alignment Scale	1.42	(0.27)	***	1.56 (0.91) *
Right Party	-	-		-0.50 (0.47)
Left Party	-	-		1.04 (0.45) **
Issue Alignment Scale * Right Party	-	-		-0.77 (1.08)
Issue Alignment Scale * Left Party	-	-		-0.70 (0.98)
Education	0.49	(0.36)		0.23 (0.39)
Age	1.04	(0.28)	***	1.14 (0.30) ***
Employment	-0.22	(0.18)		-0.24 (0.19)
Sample (CAWI)	-1.16	(0.18)	***	-1.18 (0.19) ***
Constant	-1.62	(0.36)	***	-1.73 (0.55) ***
N	706		706	
Pseudo R-Squared	0.12		0.19	

Note. Logistic regressions. Standard errors in parentheses. The parties in the baseline category are centrist parties UDC and API. See below the details on construction of the issue alignment scale. *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$

The issue alignment scale is based on five items assessed in wave 1. All five involve statements and respondents are asked how strongly they agree or disagree with each on a 4-point agree-disagree response scale. The five items are as follows:

- (1) Abortion: It should be harder to get an abortion
- (2) Free Enterprise: Enterprises should be let free to hire and fire anyone
- (3) Migrants: Immigrants are a threat to the occupation of the Italians
- (4) Attitude toward decentralization: Tax money should remain all regions to administer them alone
- (5) Migrants: Immigrants are a threat to our culture

Agreement with an item indicates a right position on the issue. The items are combined to form a reliable left-right issue scale ($\alpha=.68$). The scale is centered around its mean (.45). Partisans with a score on the wrong side of the mean (i.e., identify with a left party but hold a right leaning position on issues are coded as 0. Issue scores for those aligned correctly with their party on the issues are then transformed to range from 0 to 1 depending on the strength of a left or right stance on the issues to form a partisan issue alignment scale. The mean is .33.

Table A6. Voting for M5S controlling for an issue-based ideology scale.

	Coeff	SE	
Partisan Identity Strength	2.54	(1.68)	
Issue Alignment Scale	-0.75	(0.37)	**
Right Party	1.28	(1.01)	
Left Party	0.69	(1.05)	
Right Party * Partisan Identity Strength	-4.59	(1.90)	**
Left Party * Partisan Identity Strength	-3.76	(1.94)	*
Education	-0.80	(0.48)	*
Age	-0.62	(0.38)	*
Employment	0.51	(0.23)	**
Sample	0.49	(0.24)	**
Constant	-1.59	(0.97)	
N	706		
Pseudo R-Squared	0.08		

Note. Logistic regression. Standard errors in parentheses. The parties in the baseline category are centrist parties UDC and API.

*** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$

Table A7. Rating of Grillo controlling for an issue-based ideology scale.

	Coeff	SE	
Partisan Identity Strength	0.14	(0.15)	
Issue Alignment Scale	-0.06	(0.03)	**
Right Party	0.00	(0.08)	
Left Party	0.11	(0.09)	
Right Party * Partisan Identity	-0.23	(0.16)	
Left Party * Partisan Identity	-0.29	(0.16)	*
Education	0.01	(0.03)	
Age	-0.01	(0.03)	
Employment	-0.00	(0.02)	
Sample (CAWI)	0.01	(0.02)	
Constant	0.53	(0.08)	***
N		752	
R-Squared		0.04	

Note. Linear regression. Standard errors in parentheses. The parties in the baseline category are centrist parties UDC and API.

*** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$

Table A8. Vote for the in-party (CATI vs. CAWI samples).

	CATI			CAWI			CATI			CAWI	
	Coeff	SE		Coeff	SE		Coeff	SE		Coeff	SE
Partisan Identity Strength	1.90	(0.49)	***	1.91	(0.68)	***	-4.17	(2.63)		-0.49	(4,366.88)
Right Party	0.74	(0.42)	*	13.28	(387.37)		-1.92	(1.17)	*	13.46	(2,404.01)
Left Party	1.78	(0.42)	***	15.37	(387.37)		-0.79	(1.16)		15.02	(2,404.01)
Right Party * Partisan Identity	-	-		-	-		6.42	(2.72)	**	1.71	(4,366.88)
Left Party * Partisan Identity	-	-		-	-		6.21	(2.71)	**	2.67	(4,366.88)
Education	-0.25	(0.39)		0.98	(0.41)	**	-0.26	(0.39)		1.00	(0.41) **
Age	1.06	(0.30)	***	1.05	(0.31)	***	1.07	(0.30)	***	1.07	(0.32) ***
Employment	-0.28	(0.19)		-0.16	(0.19)		-0.27	(0.19)	*	-0.16	(0.19)
Constant	-2.19	(0.55)	***	-17.26	(387.37)		0.31	(1.15)		-17.07	(2,404.01)
N	634			667			634			667	
(Pseudo) R-Squared	0.11			0.20			0.11			0.20	

Note. The first four columns report a logistic regression. The last two columns report a linear regression. Standard errors in parentheses. The parties in the baseline category are centrist parties UDC and API. *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$

Table A9. Voting for M5S (CATI vs. CAWI samples).

	CATI		CAWI		
	Coeff	SE	Coeff	SE	
Partisan Identity Strength	0.64	(2.11)	1.73	(1.71)	
Right Party	0.33	(1.07)	0.91	(1.08)	
Left Party	-0.67	(1.09)	-0.37	(1.12)	
Right Party * Partisan Identity Strength	-3.43	(2.36)	-3.29	(1.95)	*
Left Party * Partisan Identity Strength	-2.07	(2.36)	-1.27	(1.99)	
Education	-0.66	(0.59)	-0.91	(0.44)	**
Age	-0.80	(0.45)	* -0.58	(0.34)	*
Employment	0.50	(0.26)	* 0.52	(0.21)	**
Constant	-0.58	(1.09)	-1.11	(1.00)	
N	645		700		
Pseudo R-Squared	0.07		0.04		

Note. Logistic regression. Standard errors in parentheses. The parties in the baseline category are centrist parties UDC and API.

*** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$

Table A10. Grillo rating (CATI vs. CAWI samples).

	CATI		CAWI		
	Coeff	SE	Coeff	SE	
Partisan Identity Strength	0.09	(0.19)	0.16	(0.15)	
Right Party	0.01	(0.09)	0.00	(0.09)	
Left Party	0.07	(0.09)	0.02	(0.09)	
Right Party * Partisan Identity	-0.20	(0.20)	-0.21	(0.17)	
Left Party * Partisan Identity	-0.20	(0.20)	-0.15	(0.17)	
Education	-0.02	(0.04)	-0.00	(0.03)	
Age	-0.08	(0.03)	*** -0.03	(0.02)	
Employment	0.03	(0.02)	* -0.01	(0.02)	
Constant	0.57	(0.09)	*** 0.53	(0.09)	***
N		670		748	
R-Squared		0.05		0.03	

Note. Linear regression. Standard errors in parentheses. The parties in the baseline category are centrist parties UDC and API. *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$

Table A11. Grillo voting and rating among all respondents, including non-partisans (CATI vs. CAWI samples).

Grillo Voting (all partisans)												
	CATI			CAWI			CATI			CAWI		
	Coeff	SE		Coeff	SE		Coeff	SE		Coeff	SE	
Non-Partisan (Wave 1)	0.49	(0.17)	***	0.69	(0.25)	***	0.18	(0.34)		-0.51	(0.59)	
Education	-0.08	(0.37)		-0.63	(0.39)		-0.48	(0.53)		-1.01	(0.42)	**
Non-Partisan * Education	-	-		-	-		0.76	(0.71)		2.34	(1.01)	**
Age	-0.82	(0.30)	***	-0.45	(0.31)		-0.85	(0.30)	***	-0.46	(0.31)	
Employment	0.47	(0.18)	***	0.67	(0.19)	***	0.47	(0.18)	***	0.65	(0.19)	***
Constant	-1.75	(0.27)	***	-1.32	(0.30)	**	-1.58	(0.31)	***	-1.10	(0.31)	
N	1,090			788			1,090			788		
Pseudo R-Squared	0.03			0.03			0.03			0.04		

Grillo Rating (all partisans)												
	CATI			CAWI			CATI			CAWI		
	Coeff	SE		Coeff	SE		Coeff	SE		Coeff	SE	
Non-Partisan (Wave 1)	0.02	(0.01)		0.03	(0.02)		-0.01	(0.02)		-0.04	(0.04)	
Education	-0.04	(0.03)	*	0.00	(0.03)		-0.07	(0.03)	**	-0.02	(0.03)	
Non-Partisan * Education	-	-		-	-		0.07	(0.05)		0.14	(0.07)	*
Age	-0.14	(0.02)	***	-0.04	(0.02)	**	-0.14	(0.02)	***	-0.04	(0.02)	**
Employment	0.06	(0.01)	***	0.01	(0.01)		0.06	(0.01)	***	0.01	(0.01)	
Constant	0.15	(0.02)	***	0.18	(0.02)	***	0.17	(0.02)	***	0.19	(0.02)	***
N	1,149			856			1,149			856		
R-Squared	0.07			0.01			0.07			0.01		

Note. Linear regressions. Standard errors in parentheses. *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$

Table A12. In-party vote without interactions with party variables.

	(1)		(2)		
	Coeff	SE	Coeff	SE	
Partisan Identity Strength	1.90	(0.40)	***	-	-
Partisan Strength	-	-		1.26	(0.19) ***
Right Party	0.85	(0.38)	**	0.93	(0.40) **
Left Party	2.33	(0.37)	***	2.49	(0.40) ***
Education	0.29	(0.28)		0.19	(0.29)
Age	1.02	(0.21)	***	1.19	(0.23) ***
Employment	-0.26	(0.13)	**	-0.23	(0.14)
Sample	-1.24	(0.14)	***	-1.27	(0.14) ***
Constant	-2.72	(0.46)	***	-2.33	(0.45) ***
N		1,301			1,197
Pseudo R-Squared		0.18			0.20

Note. Logistic regressions. Standard errors in parentheses. The parties in the baseline category are centrist parties UDC and API. M5S is excluded from these models. *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$

Table A13. Voting for M5S without interactions with party variables.

	(1)		(2)		
	Coeff	SE	Coeff	SE	
Partisan Identity Strength	-1.01	(0.47)	**	-	-
Partisan Strength	-	-		-0.86	(0.24) ***
Right Party	-0.91	(0.24)	***	-0.98	(0.26) ***
Left Party	-1.24	(0.24)	***	-1.23	(0.25) ***
Education	-0.83	(0.35)	**	-0.85	(0.38) **
Age	-0.64	(0.27)	**	-0.82	(0.29) ***
Employment	0.52	(0.16)	***	0.55	(0.17) ***
Sample	0.56	(0.17)	***	0.60	(0.18) ***
Constant	-0.12	(0.38)		-0.32	(0.35)
N		1,345			1,236
Pseudo R-Squared		0.06			0.07

Note. Logistic regressions. Standard errors in parentheses. The parties in the baseline category are UDC, API, and M5S.

*** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$

Table A14. Rating of Grillo without interactions with party variables.

	(1)		(2)		
	Coeff	SE	Coeff	SE	
Partisan Identity Strength	-0.06	(0.03)	*	-	-
Partisan Strength	-	-		-0.03	(0.02) *
Right Party	-0.09	(0.02)	***	-0.10	(0.02) ***
Left Party	-0.04	(0.02)	**	-0.04	(0.02) **
Education	-0.01	(0.02)		-0.02	(0.03)
Age	-0.06	(0.02)	***	-0.08	(0.02) ***
Employment	0.01	(0.01)		0.02	(0.01) *
Sample	-0.01	(0.01)		-0.01	(0.01)
Constant	0.64	(0.03)	***	0.63	(0.03) ***
N		1,418			1,298
R-Squared		0.03			0.05

Note. Linear regressions. Standard errors in parentheses. The parties in the baseline category are UDC, API, and M5S.

*** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$

Table A15. Voting for M5S and ratings of Grillo among partisans and non-partisans using a categorical education variable.

	Voting for M5S				Adjusted Ratings of Grillo			
	(1)		(2)		(3)		(4)	
	Coeff	SE	Coeff	SE	Coeff	SE	Coeff	SE
Non-partisan (Wave 1)	0.56	(0.14) ***	0.30	(0.21)	0.02	(0.01) **	0.00	(0.01)
Education								
High School	-0.10	(0.15)	-0.23	(0.18)	-0.00	(0.01)	-0.01	(0.01)
College	-0.34	(0.19) *	-0.60	(0.23) ***	-0.02	(0.01)	-0.03	(0.02) **
Non-partisan*Education								
High School			0.34	(0.30)			0.03	(0.02)
College			0.78	(0.37) **			0.03	(0.03)
Age	-0.63	(0.22) ***	-0.66	(0.22) ***	-0.10	(0.01) ***	-0.10	(0.01)
Employment	0.58	(0.13) ***	0.57	(0.13) ***	0.04	(0.01) ***	0.04	(0.01)
Sample (Online)	0.51	(0.14) ***	0.53	(0.14) ***	0.07	(0.01) ***	0.07	(0.01)
Constant	-1.88	(0.19) ***	-1.77	(0.20) ***	0.13	(0.01)	0.13	(0.01)
N		1,878		1,878		2,005		2,005
R-Squared		0.04		0.04		0.08		0.08

Note: Entries in the Vote model are logistic regression coefficients; entries in the Ratings model are linear regression coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. The baseline category for education is “Less than High School.” All variables are rescaled to range from 0 to 1. *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$

Table A16. Multinomial logistic regression of leaving the in-party and abstaining, using partisan identity strength as a main independent variable. The omitted category is voting for the in-party.

	Leave for M5S			Leave for other party			Abstain		
Partisan Identity Strength	6.04	(3.12)	*	4.10	(2.37)	*	3.40	(3.44)	
Right Party	3.25	(1.55)	**	1.41	(1.05)		1.82	(1.65)	
Left Party	1.39	(1.56)		0.64	(1.04)		-0.47	(1.74)	
Partisan Identity Strength X									
Right Party	-8.63	(3.21)	***	-5.30	(2.44)	**	-6.30	(3.58)	*
Left Party	-7.39	(3.22)	**	-6.93	(2.44)	***	-5.02	(3.72)	
Education	-0.87	(0.41)	**	-0.13	(0.29)		-0.32	(0.62)	
Age	-1.16	(0.31)	***	-1.01	(0.22)	***	-1.16	(0.46)	**
Employment	0.59	(0.19)	***	0.13	(0.14)		-0.08	(0.29)	
Sample	1.30	(0.20)	***	1.24	(0.15)	***	1.24	(0.31)	***
Constant	-2.41	(1.53)		-0.12	(1.02)		-1.64	(1.62)	
N				1,377					
Pseudo R-Squared				0.12					

Note. Entries are multinomial logistic regression coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. The parties in the baseline category are centrist parties UDC and API. Voters who, at wave 1, identified with M5S are excluded from these models. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table A17. Multinomial logistic regression of leaving the in-party and abstaining, using partisan strength as a main independent variable. The omitted category is voting for the in-party.

	Leave for M5S			Leave for other party			Abstain		
Partisan Strength	-1.39	(1.51)		-1.02	(1.12)		-0.06	(1.81)	
Right Party	-0.71	(0.70)		-0.87	(0.55)		-0.17	(0.93)	
Left Party	-2.00	(0.69)	***	-2.49	(0.54)	***	-2.58	(0.97)	***
Partisan Strength X									
Right Party	-0.14	(1.56)		-0.06	(1.16)		-2.07	(1.91)	
Left Party	-0.04	(1.56)		-0.16	(1.15)		-0.10	(1.92)	
Education	-0.81	(0.43)	*	0.01	(0.31)		-0.14	(0.66)	
Age	-1.38	(0.33)	***	-1.13	(0.23)	***	-1.39	(0.49)	***
Employment	0.63	(0.20)	***	0.10	(0.15)		-0.05	(0.31)	
Sample	1.32	(0.21)	***	1.24	(0.15)	***	1.08	(0.32)	***
Constant	0.77	(0.73)	*	1.95	(0.57)	***	-0.25	(1.00)	
N				1,262					
Pseudo R-Squared				0.13					

Note. Entries are multinomial logistic regression coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. The parties in the baseline category are centrist parties UDC and API. Voters who, at wave 1, identified with M5S are excluded from these models. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table A18. Multinomial logistic regression of voting for M5S and voting for another party, with partisan identity strength as a predictor. The omitted category is voting for the in-party.

	Vote for M5S			Vote for another party		
Partisan Identity Strength	5.93	(3.10)	*	3.95	(2.35)	*
Right Party	3.23	(1.54)	**	1.36	(1.04)	
Left Party	1.29	(1.55)		0.52	(1.03)	
Partisan Identity Strength X						
Right Party	-8.72	(3.19)	***	-5.34	(2.42)	**
Left Party	-7.30	(3.19)	**	-6.81	(2.42)	***
Education	-0.87	(0.41)	**	-0.12	(0.30)	
Age	-1.15	(0.31)	***	-1.01	(0.23)	***
Employment	0.60	(0.19)	***	0.13	(0.14)	
Sample	1.33	(0.21)	***	1.27	(0.15)	***
Constant	-2.32	(1.51)		-0.01	(1.01)	
N	1,316					
Pseudo R-Squared	0.14					

Note. Entries are multinomial logistic regression coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. The parties in the baseline category are centrist parties UDC and API. Voters who, at wave 1, identified with M5S are excluded from these models. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table A19. Multinomial logistic regression of voting for M5S and voting for another party, with partisan strength as a predictor. The omitted category is voting for the in-party.

	Vote for M5S			Vote for another party		
Partisan Strength	-1.45	(1.54)		-1.03	(1.14)	
Right Party	-0.76	(0.70)		-0.91	(0.55)	
Left Party	-2.08	(0.69)	***	-2.55	(0.55)	***
Partisan Strength X						
Right Party	-0.17	(1.59)		-0.14	(1.17)	
Left Party	0.00	(1.58)		-0.17	(1.17)	
Education	-0.82	(0.44)	*	0.02	(0.31)	
Age	-1.40	(0.34)	***	-1.14	(0.24)	***
Employment	0.63	(0.20)	***	0.10	(0.15)	
Sample	1.35	(0.21)	***	1.27	(0.15)	***
Constant	0.84	(0.73)		2.00	(0.57)	***
N	1,208					
Pseudo R-Squared	0.15					

Note. Entries are multinomial logistic regression coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. The parties in the baseline category are centrist parties UDC and API. Voters who, at wave 1, identified with M5S are excluded from these models. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1