



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

Populist polarization in Italian politics, 1994-2016 : an assessment from a Latin American analytical perspective

Zanotti, L.

Citation

Zanotti, L. (2019, September 26). *Populist polarization in Italian politics, 1994-2016 : an assessment from a Latin American analytical perspective*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/78561>

Version: Publisher's Version

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/78561>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/78561> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

Author: Zanotti, L.

Title: Populist polarization in Italian politics, 1994-2016 : an assessment from a Latin American analytical perspective

Issue Date: 2019-09-26

References

- Abramowitz, A. (2010) *The Disappearing Center: Engaged Citizens, Polarization and American Democracy*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Abramowitz, A. and Webster, S. (2016) "The Rise of Negative Partisanship and the Nationalization of US Elections in the 21st Century." *Electoral Studies* 41: 12–22.
- Acemoglu, D. and Robinson, J. (2013) *Why Nations Fail: The Origin of Power, Prosperity and Power*. New York: Crown Publishers.
- Akkerman, T. and Rooduijn, M. (2015). Pariahs or Partners? Inclusion and Exclusion of Radical Right Parties and the Effects on Their Policy Positions. *Political Studies*, 63(5): 1140–1157.
- Akkerman, A., Mudde, C. and Zaslove, A. (2014) "How Populist Are the People? Measuring Populist Attitudes in Voters." *Comparative Political Studies* 47(9): 1324–1353.
- Akkerman, A., Zaslove, A. and Spruyt, B (2017) "'We the People' or 'We the Peoples'? A Comparison of Support for the Populist Radical Right and Populist Radical Left in the Netherlands." *Swiss Political Science Review* 23(4): 377–403.
- Albertazzi, D., Giovannini, A. and Seddone, A. (2018) "'No Regionalism Please, We Are Leghisti!' The Transformation of the Italian Lega Nord under the Leadership of Matteo Salvini." *Regional & Federal Studies* 28(5): 645–71. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13597566.2018.1512977>.
- Albertazzi, D. and McDonnell, D. (2005) "The Lega Nord in the Second Berlusconi Government: In a League of Its Own." *West European Politics* 28, no. 5: 952–72.
- . (2008) *Twenty-First Century Populism: The Spectre of Western European Democracy*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- . (2010) "The Lega Nord Back in Government." *West European Politics* 33(6): 1318–1340.
- . (2015). *Populists in Power*. London: Routledge.
- Albertazzi, D. & Mueller, S. (2013) "Populism and Liberal Democracy: Populists in Government in Austria, Italy, Poland and Switzerland." *Government and Opposition* 48(3): 343–371.
- Aldrich, J. (2011) *Why Parties? A Second Look*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Anderson, C. and Hecht, S. (2014) "Crisis on Confidence? The Dynamics of Economic Opinions." In: L. Bartels. and N. Bermeo. (eds.) (2014) *Mass Politics in Tough Times: Opinions, Votes and Protest in the Great Recession*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Andreadis, I. and Stavrakakis, Y. (2017) "European Populist Parties in Government: How Well Are Voters Represented? Evidence from Greece." *Swiss Political Science Review* 23(4): 485–508. <https://doi.org/10.1111/spsr.12255>.
- Anselmi, M. and de Nardis, F. (2018) "La Política Italiana Entre El Multipopulismo y La Despolitización." *Revista Internacional de Sociología* 76(4): e111. <https://doi.org/10.3989/ris.2018.76.4.18.006>.
- Armington, K. and Boccaro, L. (2012) "The Sorrow of Young Euro: Policy Responses to the Sovereign Debt Crisis." In: N. Bermeo and J. Pontusson (eds.) *Coping with Crisis: Government Reactions to the Great Recession*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 162–198.
- Art, D. (2011) *Inside the Radical Right: The Development of Anti-immigrant Parties in Western Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Arzheimer, K. and Carter, E. (2006) "Political Opportunity Structures and Right-wing Extremist Party Success." *European Journal of Political Research* 45(3): 419–443.
- Aslanidis, P. (2016) "Is Populism an Ideology? A Refutation and a New Perspective." *Political Studies* 64(1_suppl): 88–104. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9248.12224>.
- . (2016a) "Populist Social Movements of the Great Recession." *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 21(3): 301–321.
- Aslanidis, P. and Rovira Kaltwasser, C. (2016) "Dealing with Populists in Government: The SYRIZA-ANEL Coalition in Greece." *Democratization* 23(6): 1077–1091.
- Azzolini, N. (2011) "Democracia, Fascismo y Populismo: Sobre el Espacio Político Anti-Peronista." *Revista de Ciencias Sociales* 131–132: 197–208.
- Baccaro, L. and Lim, S. (2007) "Social Pacts as Coalitions of the Weak and Moderate: Ireland, Italy and South Korea in Comparative Perspective." *European Journal of Industrial Relations* 13(1): 27–46.
- Baldassarri, D. and Gelman, A. (2008) "Partisans without Constraint: Political Polarization and Trends in American Public Opinion." *American Journal of Sociology* 114(2): 408–446.
- Bale, T. (2018) "Who leads and who follows? The Symbiotic Relationship Between UKIP and the Conservatives – and Populism and Euroscepticism". *Politics* 38(3): 263–277.
- Bale, T, Green-Pedersen, C., Krouwel, A., Richard Luther, K. and Nick Sitter, N. (2010) "If You Can't Beat Them, Join Them? Explaining Social Democratic Responses to the Challenge from the Populist Radical Right in Western Europe." *Political Studies* 58(3): 410–426.
- Bardi, L. (1996) "Anti-party Sentiment and Party System Change in Italy." *European Journal of Political Research* 29(3): 345–63.
- Barndt, W. (2014) "Corporation-based Parties: The Present and Future of Business Politics in Latin America." *Latin American Politics and Society* 56(3): 1–22.
- Bartels, L. and Bermeo, N. (eds.) (2014) *Mass Politics in Tough Times: Opinions, Votes and*

Protest in the Great Recession. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bartlett, J., Birdwell, J. and McDonnell, D. (2012) *Populism in Europe: Lega Nord*. London: DEMOS.

Bartolini, S. and Mair, P. (1990) "Policy Competition, Spatial Distance and Electoral Instability." *West European Politics* 13(4): 1–16.

Bellucci, P. (2008). "The Parliamentary Election in Italy, April 2006." *Electoral Studies* 1(27): 185–190.

———. (2014) "The Political Consequences of Blame Attribution for the Economic Crisis in the 2013 Italian National Election." *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion & Parties* 24(2): 243–263.

Bennett, A. and Elman, C. (2006) "Qualitative Research: Recent Developments in Case Study Methods." *Annual Review of Political Science* 9: 455–476.

———. (2007) "Case Study Methods in the International Relations Subfield." *Comparative Political Studies* 40(2): 170–195.

Benoit, K. and Laver, M. (2006) *Party Policy in Modern Democracy*. London: Routledge.

Bermeo, N. (2003) *Ordinary People in Extraordinary Times: The Citizenry and the Breakdown of Democracy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Bermeo, N. and Pontusson, J. (2012) *Coping with Crisis*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Betz, H. (1993) "The New Politics of Resentment: Radical Right-Wing Populist Parties in Western Europe." *Comparative Politics* 25(4): 413–427.

———. (1994) *Radical Right-Wing Populism in Western Europe*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

———. (2001). "Exclusionary Populism in Austria, Italy, and Switzerland." *International Journal* 56(3): 393–420.

Bickerton, C. and Ivernizzi Accetti, C (2017) "Populism and Technocracy: Opposites or Complements?" *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy* 20(2): 186–206. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13698230.2014.995504>.

Biorcio, R. and Natale, P. (2013) "Politica a 5 Stelle. Idee, Storia e Strategie del Movimento di Grillo." Milano: Feltrinelli.

Bonilla, C., Carlin, E. R., Love G. J. and Silva Méndez, E. (2011) "Social or Political Cleavages? A Spatial Analysis of the Party System in Post-Authoritarian Chile." *Public Choice* 146 (1-2): 9-21.

Bobba, G. and McDonnell, D. (2015) "Italy: A Strong and Enduring Market for Populism." In: H. Kriesi and T. Pappas (eds.) *European Populism in the Shadow of the Great Recession*.

Colchester ECPR Press, pp. 163–179.

———. (2016) “Different Types of Right-Wing Populist Discourse in Government and Opposition: The Case of Italy.” *South European Society and Politics* 21(3): 281–299.

Bordandini, P., Virgilio, A. and Raniolo, F. (2008) “The Birth of a Party: The Case of the Italian Partito Democratico.” *South European Society and Politics* 13(3): 303–324.

Bordignon, F. (2014) “Matteo Renzi: A ‘Leftist Berlusconi’ for the Italian Democratic Party?” *South European Society and Politics* 19(1): 1–23.

Bordignon, F. and Ceccarini, L. (2013) “Five Stars and a Cricket. Beppe Grillo Shakes Italian Politics.” *South European Society and Politics* 18(4): 427–449.

Bornschier, S. (2012) “Why a Right-Wing Populist Party Emerged in France but Not in Germany: Cleavages and Actors in the Formation of a New Cultural Divide.” *European Political Science Review* 4(1): 121–145.

Bosco, A. and McDonnell, D. (2012) “The Monti Government and the Downgrade of Italian Parties.” *Italian Politics* 27(1): 37–56.

Bossi, U. (1995) Raduno Annuale Lega Nord di Pontida, 9 July. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7ADqXOGCQIk&feature=youtu.be>.

Bouillaud, C. (2016) “A Long-term View on Current Italian Populism: Beppe Grillo’s M5S (Five-Stars Movement) as the Third Wave of Italian Populist Upheaval.” Presented in 2nd International Populism Conference in Prague: “Current Populism: Impact on the Political Landscape”, May 2016, Prague, Czech Republic.

Braghiroli, S. and Verzichelli, L. (2011) “Condannati all'inefficacia? Pd e IdV tra Opposizione Parlamentare e Strategie di Coalizione.” In: E. Gualmini and E. Pasotti (eds.) *Politica in Italia – Edizione 2011* Bologna: Il Mulino.

Brusattin, L. (2007) “Late Anti-communism as a Shortcut: The Success of Forza Italia in the 1994 Italian Election.” *South European Society and Politics* 12(4): 481–499.

Budge, I. (2000) “Expert Judgements of Party Policy Positions: Uses and Limitations in Political Research.” *European Journal of Political Research*: 103–113.

Budge, I., Robertson, D. and Hearl, D. (1987) *Ideology, Strategy and Party Change: Spatial Analyses of Post-War Election Programmes in 19 Democracies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bull, M. and Newell, J. (1993) “Italian Politics and the 1992 Elections: From ‘stable Instability’ to Instability and Change.” *Parliamentary Affairs* 46(2): 203–228.

———. (1995) “Italy Changes Course? The 1994 Elections and the Victory of the Right.” *Parliamentary Affairs* 48(1): 72–100.

- . (2009). “The General Election in Italy, April 2008.” *Electoral Studies* 28(2): 337–342.
- Caiani, M. and Della Porta, D. (2010) “Extreme Right and Populism: A Frame Analysis of Extreme Right Wing Discourses in Italy and Germany.” *IHS Political Science Series* 121.
- Caiani, M. and Graziano, P. (2016) “Varieties of Populism: Insights from the Italian Case.” *Italian Political Science Review* 46(2): 243–267.
- Calise, M. (2000) *Il Partito Personale*. Bari: Editori Laterza.
- Canovan, M. (1999). “Trust the People: Populism and the Two Faces of Democracy.” *Political Studies* 47(1): 2–16.
- . (2002) “Taking Politics to the People: Populism as the Ideology of Democracy.” In: Y. Meny and Y. Surel (eds.) *Democracies and the Populist Challenge*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Capoccia, G. and Kelemen, D. (2007) “The Study of Critical Junctures: Theory, Narrative, and Counterfactuals in Historical Institutionalism.” *World Politics* 59(3): 341–369.
- Caramani, D. (2008) “Party Systems.” In: D. Caramani (ed.) *Comparative Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 319–347.
- . (2017). “Will vs. Reason: The Populist and Technocratic Forms of Political Representation and Their Critique to Party Government.” *American Political Science Review* 111(1), 54–67.
- Corbetta, P. and Gualmini, E. (2013) *Il Partito di Grillo*. Bologna: Il Mulino.
- Carreras, M. (2013) “Presidentes outsiders y Ministros Neófitos: Un Análisis a Partir del Ejemplo de Fujimori.” *América Latina Hoy* 64: 95–118.
- Carter, E. (2005) *The Extreme Right in Western Europe*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Carty, R. K. (2004). “Parties as Franchise Systems.” *Party Politics* 10(1): 5–24.
- Caruana, N., McGregor, M. and Stephenson, L. (2015) “The Power of the Dark Side: Negative Partisanship and Political Behavior in Canada.” *Canadian Journal of Political Science/Revue Canadienne de Science Politique* 48(4): 771–789.
- Casaleggio, G. and Grillo, B. (2011) *La Rete Contro I Partiti. Siamo in Guerra. Per una Nuova Politica*. Milano: Chiarelettere.
- Castañeda, J. (2006). Latin America's Left Turn. *Foreign Affairs* 85(3): 28–43. <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/20031965>.
- Caul, M. and Gray, M. (2000). Declining Voter Turnout in Advanced Industrial Democracies, 1950 to 1997: The Effects of Declining Group Mobilization. *Comparative Political Studies*, 33(9), 1091–1122.

Ceccarini, L. and Bordignon, F. (2016) "The Five Stars Continue to Shine: The Consolidation of Grillo's 'Movement Party' in Italy." *Contemporary Italian Politics* 8(2): 131–159.

———. "The Five Stars Continue to Shine: The Consolidation of Grillo's 'Movement Party' in Italy." *Contemporary Italian Politics* 8, no. 2 (2016): 131–59.

Cento Bull, A. and Gilbert, M. (2001) *The Lega Nord and the Northern Question in Italian Politics*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Chait, J. (2015) "How 'Negative Partisanship' Has Transformed American Politics." *New York Intelligencer [Online]*, April 17. <http://nymag.com/intelligencer/2015/04/negative-partisanship-has-transformed-politics.html>

Chalmers, D., de Souza, M. and Borón, A. (1992) *The Right and Democracy in Latin America*. New York: Praeger Publishers.

Chiapponi, F., Cremonesi, C. and Legnante, G. (2014) "Parties and Electoral Behaviour in Italy: From stability to Competition." In: S. Beretta, A. Berkofsky and F. Rugge (eds.) *Italy and Japan: How Similar are They?* Milano: Springer, pp 105–120.

Collier, D. and Mahon, J. (1993) "Conceptual 'Stretching' Revisited: Adapting Categories in Comparative Analysis." *American Political Science Review* 87(4): 845–855.

Colombo, A. and Sciortino, G. (2003) The Bossi-Fini Law: Explicit Fanaticism, Implicit Moderation, and Poisoned Fruits." In J. Blondel and P. Segatti (eds.) *Italian Politics 2002: The Second Berlusconi Government*. New York: Berghan Books, pp. 162–179.

Conniff, L. M. (ed) (1999) *Populism in Latin America*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.

Coppedge, M. (2005) "Explaining Democratic Deterioration in Venezuela Through Nested Inference." In: F. Hagopian and S.P. Mainwaring (eds.) *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America. Advances and Setbacks*, New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 289–316.

Coppedge, M. and Reinicke, W. (1990) "Measuring Polyarchy." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 25(1): 51–72.

Culpepper, P. D. (2002) "Power, Puzzling, and 'Pacting': The Informational Logic of Negotiated Reforms." *Journal of European Public Policy* 9(5): 774-90.

———. (2014) "The Political Economy of Unmediated Democracy: Italian Austerity under Mario Monti." *West European Politics* 37(6): 1264–1281.

Daalder, H. (1966) "Parties, Elites, and Political Developments in Western Europe." In: J. LaPalombara and M. Weiner (eds) *Political Parties and Political Development*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 43–77.

———. (1984) "In Search of the Center of European Party Systems." *American Political*

Science Review 78(1): 92–109.

D'Alimonte, R. (1994) "L'Uninomiale Incompiuto." *Il Mulino* 43:55-61.

———. (2013) "The Italian Elections of February 2013: The End of the Second Republic?" *Contemporary Italian Politics* 5(2): 113–29.

D'Alimonte, R. and Bartolini, S. (1997). "Electoral Transition and party system change in Italy." *West European Politics* 20(1): 110–134.

D'Alimonte, R. and Chiaramonte, A. (1993) "Il Nuovo Sistema Elettorale Italiano: Quali Opportunità?" *Italian Political Science Review* 23(3): 513-547.

Dalton, R. (2008) "The Quantity and the Quality of Party Systems: Party System Polarization, Its Measurement, and Its Consequences." *Comparative Political Studies* 41(7): 899–920.

Dalton, R. and Anderson, C. (eds.) (2011) *Citizens, Context, and Choice: How Context Shapes Citizens' Electoral Choices*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Dalton, R., Farrell, D. and McAllister, I. (2011) *Political Parties and Democratic Linkage: How Parties Organize Democracy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

———. (2011a) "The Dynamics of Political Representation." In: M. Rosema, D. Denters and K. Aarts (eds.) *How Democracy Works: Political Representation and Policy Congruence in Modern Societies*. Amsterdam: Pallas Publications, pp. 21–38.

Dalton, R. and Weldon, S. (2007) "Partisanship and Party System Institutionalization." *Party Politics* 13(2): 179–196. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068807073856>.

De Giorgi, E. (2016) *L'opposizione Parlamentare in Italia: Dall'antiberlusconismo All'antipolitica*. Roma: Carocci editore.

De Giorgi, E. and Ilonszki, G. (2018) *Opposition Parties in European Legislatures: Conflict or Consensus?* London: Routledge.

De Lange, S. (2007) "A New Winning Formula? The Programmatic Appeal of The Radical Right." *Party Politics* 13(4): 411–435.

De Lange, S. and Art, D. (2011). "Fortuyn versus Wilders: An Agency-Based Approach to Radical Right Party Building." *West European Politics* 34(6), 1229–1249.

Deegan-Krause, K. (2007) "New Dimensions of Political Cleavage." In R. Dalton and H. Klingemann (eds.) *Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 538–556.

Della Porta, D. and Vannucci, A. (2007) "Corruption and Anti-corruption: The Political Defeat of 'Clean Hands in Italy.'" *West European Politics* 30(4): 830–853.

Democratic Party (2013). Elezioni politiche 2013, Il Programma Elettorale del Partito Democratico. Available at: <https://www.leggioggi.it/elezioni-politiche-2013-il-programma-elettorale-del-partito-democratico/>. Accessed 15 Feb, 2019.

Di Tella, T. (1972) "La Búsqueda de la Fórmula Política Argentina." *Desarrollo Económico* 11(42–44): 317–325.

Di Virgilio, A. and Giannetti, D. (2011) "I Nuovi Partiti Italiani e la Selezione dei Candidati: Gli Orientamenti dei Delegati Congressuali." *Polis, Ricerche e Studi su Società e Politica* 2: 205–234.

Di Virgilio, A. and Radaelli, C. M. (2013). "The Year of the External Podestà." *Italian Politics* 28(1): 37–57.

Diamanti, I. (2007) "The Italian Centre-Right and Centre-Left: Between Parties and 'the Party.'" *West European Politics* 30(4): 733–762.

———. (2014) "The 5 Star Movement: A Political Laboratory." *Contemporary Italian Politics* 6(1): 4–15.

Diamanti, I. and Lello, E (2005) "The Casa delle Liberta': A House of Cards?" *Modern Italy* 10(1): 9–35.

Diamond, J. (1996) "The Roots of Radicalism." *The New York Review of Books* 14: 4–6.

Diani, M. (1996) "Linking Mobilization Frames and Political Opportunities: Insights from Regional Populism in Italy." *American Sociological Review* 61:1053–1069.

Dogan, M. (1967) "Political Cleavage and Social Stratification in France and Italy". In S. Lipset and S. Rokkan (eds) *Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross-national perspectives*. New York: The Free Press, pp. 129–195.

Dogan, M. and Pelassy, D. (1990) *How to Compare Nations: Strategies in Comparative Politics*. Chatham: Chatham House Publishers.

Dominguez, F., Lievesley, G. and Ludlam, S. (2011) *Right Wing Politics in the New Latin America-Reaction and Revolt*. New York: Zed Books.

Donovan, M. (1995) "The Politics of Electoral Reform in Italy." *International Political Science Review* 16(1): 47–64.

Dornbusch, R. and Edwards, S. (1990) "Macroeconomic Populism." *Journal of Development Economics* 32(2): 247–277.

———. (1995) "Introduction." In: R. Dornbusch and S. Edwards (eds.) *Reform, Recovery, and Growth: Latin America and the Middle East*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 1–10.

Dorussen, H. and Nanou, K. (2006) "European Integration, Intergovernmental Bargaining, and Convergence of Party Programmes." *European Union Politics* 7(2): 235–256.

Downs, A. (1957). *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: Harper & Row.

Dugas, J. (2003) "The Emergence of Neopopulism in Colombia? The Case of Álvaro Uribe." *Third World Quarterly* 24(6): 1117–1136.

Duverger, M. (1954) *Political Parties: Their Organization and Activity in the Modern State*.

London: Methuen.

Edwards, P. (2005) "The Berlusconi Anomaly: Populism and Patrimony in Italy's Long Transition." *South European Society and Politics* 10(2): 225–243.

Eifert, B., Edward. M. and Posner, D. (2010) "Political Competition and Ethnic Identification in Africa." *American Journal of Political Science* 54(2): 494–510.

Elchardus, M. and Spruyt, B. (2016) "Populism, Persistent Republicanism and Declinism: An Empirical Analysis of Populism as a Thin Ideology." *Government and Opposition* 51(1): 111–133.

Ellner, S. (1999). The heyday or radical populism in Venezuela and its aftermath. In M. L. Conniff (ed) *Populism in Latin America*. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, pp. 117–137.

Enyedi, Z. and Deegan-Krause, K. (2007) "Cleavages and Their Discontents." Prepared for the Workshop 19: *Politicizing Socio-Cultural Structures: Elite and Mass Perspectives on Cleavages*. ECPR Joint Sessions of Workshops, Helsinki, Finland, 7-12 May. <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/77be/036381b048d9ed65af2c03e484ca5f719ae9.pdf>

Evans, G. and Whitefield, S. (1993) "Identifying the Bases of Party Competition in Eastern Europe." *British Journal of Political Science* 23(4): 521–548.

———. (2000) "Explaining the Formation of Electoral Cleavages in Post-Communist Democracies". In: H. Klingemann, E. Mochmann and K. Newton (eds.) *Elections in Central and Eastern Europe: The First Wave*. Berlin: Sigma, pp. 36–70.

Fairfield, T. and Garay, C. (2017) "Redistribution under the Right in Latin America: Electoral Competition and Organized Actors in Policymaking." *Comparative Political Studies* 50(14): 1871–1906.

Fella, S. and Ruzza, C. (2009) *Reinventing the Italian Right: Territorial Politics, Populism and 'Post-fascism*. Milton Park: Routledge.

———. (2011) "Populism and the Italian Right." *Acta Politica* 46(2): 158–179.

———. (2013) "Populism and the Fall of the Centre-Right in Italy: The End of the Berlusconi Model or a New Beginning?" *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* 21(1): 38–52.

Fieschi, C. (2004) *Fascism, Populism and the French Fifth Republic: In the Shadow of Democracy*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Fiorina, M., Abrams, S. and Pope, J. (2008) "Polarization in the American Public: Misconceptions and Misreadings." *The Journal of Politics* 70(2): 556–560.

Five Star Movement. (2009) Non Statuto. Available at: https://www.politicalpartydb.org/wp-content/uploads/Statutes/Italy/IT_M5S_2009.pdf. Accessed 15 Feb 2019.

Freeden, M., Sargent, L. and Stears, M. (2013) *The Oxford Handbook of Political Ideologies*.

Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Frye, T. (2002) "The Perils of Polarization: Economic Performance in the Postcommunist World." *World Politics* 54(3): 308–337.

Gabel, M. and Huber, J. (2000) "Putting Parties in Their Place: Inferring Party Left-Right Ideological Positions from Party Manifestos Data." *American Journal of Political Science* 44(1): 94-103.

George, A. (1979) "Case Studies and Theory Development: The Method of Structured, Focused Comparison." In P. Gordon Lauren (ed.) *Diplomatic History: New Approaches*. New York: Free Press.

George, A. and Bennett, A. (2005) *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*. Massachusetts: MIT Press.

Georgiadou, V. (2013) "Right-Wing Populism and Extremism: The Rapid Rise of 'Golden Dawn' in Crisis-Ridden Greece." In: R. Melzer and S. Serafin (eds.) *Right-Wing in Europe*. Berlin: Friedrich Ebert Foundation, pp. 75–101.

Germani, G. (2003) *Autoritarismo, Fascismo y Populismo*. Buenos Aires: Temas.

Gerring, J. (2006) *Case Study Research: Principles and Practices*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Giangrande, A. (2016) *Silvio Berlusconi: L'italiano Per Autonomasia*. CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform.

Gibson, E. (1996) *Class and Conservative Parties: Argentina in Comparative Perspective*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Giddens, A. (ed.) (2001) *The Global Third Way Debate*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

———. (2013) *The Third Way: The Renewal of Social Democracy*. London: John Wiley & Son.

Gilbert, M. (1995) *The Italian Revolution: The End of Politics, Italian Style?* Colorado: Westview Press.

Golder, S. (2006). "Pre-Electoral Coalition Formation in Parliamentary Democracies." *British Journal of Political Science* 36(2): 193-212.

Golder, M. (2016) "Far Right Parties in Europe." *Annual Review of Political Science* 19: 477–497.

Gomez-Reino Cachafeiro, M. (2000) "A Territorial Cleavage in Italian Politics? Understanding the Rise of the Northern Question in the 1990s." *South European Society and Politics* 5: 80–107.

Grillo, B. (2013) "Lettera agli italiani di Beppe Grillo." Il Blog di Beppe Grillo, Feb 2013.

Available at: <http://www.beppegrillo.it/lettera-agli-italiani-di-beppe-grillo/>. Accessed 15 Feb 2019.

Gualmini, E., and Schmidt, V. (2013) “State transformation in Italy and France: Technocratic versus political leadership on the road from non-liberalism to neo-liberalism.” In: V. Schmidt and M. Thatcher (eds.) *Resilient Liberalism in Europe's Political Economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 346-373.

Gundle, S. and Parker, S. (2002) *The New Italian Republic: From the Fall of the Berlin Wall to Berlusconi*. London: Routledge.

Gunter, R. and Diamond, L. (2003) “Species of Political Parties: A New Typology.” *Party Politics* 9(2): 167–199.

Gunther, R., Montero, J. and Linz, J. (2002) *Political Parties: Old Concepts and New Challenges*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Handlin, S. (2018) “The Logic of Polarizing Populism: State Crises and Polarization in South America.” *American Behavioral Scientist* 62(1): 75–91.

Hanso, H. (2018) “Mudde: Populism Is Based on Morals – ICDS,” September 7. <https://icds.ee/mudde-populism-is-based-on-morals/>.

Harmel, R., Tan, A. and Janda, K. (1995) “Substance vs. Packaging: An Empirical Analysis of Parties’ Issue Identity.” Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September, Chicago.

Hawkins, K. (2010) *Venezuela’s Chavismo and Populism in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hawkins, K., Carlin, R., Littvay, L. and Rovira Kaltwasser, C. (eds.) (2018) *The Ideational Approach to Populism: Concept, Theory, and Analysis*. London: Routledge.

Hawkins, K., Rovira Kaltwasser, C. and Andreadis, I. (2018) “The Activation of Populist Attitudes.” *Government and Opposition*: 1–25. <https://doi.org/10.1017/gov.2018.23>

Hawkins, K. and Riding, S. (2010) “Populist Attitudes and Their Correlates among Citizens: Survey Evidence from the Americas,” Prepared for the ECPR Workshop *Disassembling Populism (and Putting It Back Together Again): Collaborative Empirical Research on Interactions among Populism’s Attributes*, Muenster, Germany, March 22-25.

Hawkins, K. and Rovira Kaltwasser, C. (2017) “What the (Ideational) Study of Populism Can Teach Us, and What It Can’t.” *Swiss Political Science Review* 23(4): 26–42.

Hawkins, K., Riding, S. and Mudde, C. (2012) ‘Measuring populist attitudes’, Political Concepts Committee on Concepts and Methods, Working Paper Series.

Hawkins, K., Read, M. and Pauwels, T. (2017) “Populism and Its Causes.” In: C. Rovira Kaltwasser, P. Taggart, P. Ochoa Espejo, P. Ostiguy (eds.) *Oxford Handbook of Populism*.

Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 267–286.

Heinisch, R. and Mazzoleni, O. (eds.) (2016). *Understanding Populist Party Organization*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Hernández, E. and Kriesi, H. (2016) “The Electoral Consequences of the Financial and Economic Crisis in Europe.” *European Journal of Political Research* 55(2): 203–224.

Hetherington, M. (2001) “Resurgent Mass Partisanship: The Role of Elite Polarization.” *The American Political Science Review* 95(3): 619–631.

Hobolt, S. and Tilley, J. (2016) “Fleeing the Centre: The Rise of Challenger Parties in the Aftermath of the Euro Crisis.” *West European Politics* 39(5): 971–991.

Hopkin, F. (2004) “New Parties in Government in Italy: Comparing Lega Nord and Forza Italia.” Presented in workshop on *New Parties in Government*, ECPR Joint Sessions, Uppsala, 13–18 April.

Hopkin, J. and Mastropaolo, A. (2001) “From Patronage to Clientelism: Comparing Italian and Spanish Experiences.” In: S. Piattoni (ed.) *Clientelism, Interests, and Democratic Representation: The European Experience in Historical and Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Howarth, D, Norval, A. and Stavrakakis, Y. (eds.) (2000) *Discourses Theory and Political Analysis: Identities, Hegemonies and Social Change*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Huber, E. and Stephens, J. (2012) *Democracy and the Left: Social Policy and Inequality in Latin America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Huber, J. and Inglehart, R. (1995) “Expert Interpretations of Party Space and Party Locations in 42 Societies”. *Party Politics*, 1(1), 73–111.

Huddy, L., Sears, D. and Levy, J. (eds.) (2013) *The Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ieraci, G. (2007) “From Polarized Pluralism to Polarized Bipolarism: Parties, Governments and Policy Space in Italy After the 2006 Elections”. *Polena* 3: 9–28.

Ignazi, P. (1992) “The Silent Counter-revolution: Hypotheses on the Emergence of Extreme Right-wing Parties in Europe.” *European Journal of Political Research* 22(1): 334.

———. (1996) “The Crisis of Parties and the Rise of New Political Parties.” *Party Politics* 2(4): 549–566.

———. (2005) “Legitimation and Evolution on the Italian Right Wing: Social and Ideological Repositioning of Alleanza Nazionale and the Lega Nord.” *South European Society and Politics* 10(2): 333–349.

Inglehart, R. (1984). "The Changing Structure of Political Cleavages in Western Societies". In: R. Dalton, S. Flanagan, P. Beck and J. Alt (eds.) *Electoral Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies : Realignment or Dealignment?*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 25–69.

———. (1995). "Public Support for Environmental Protection: Objective Problems and Subjective Values in 43 Societies." *PS: Political Science and Politics*, 28(1): 57-72.

———. (2000) "Globalization and Postmodern Values." *Washington Quarterly* 23(1): 215–228.

———. (2015) *The Silent Revolution: Changing Values and Political Styles among Western Publics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Ivarsflaten, E. (2008) "Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe." *Acta Politica* 43(4): 501–503.

Jacobson, G. (2013). "Partisan Polarization in American Politics: A Background Paper." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 43(4): 688–708.

Kahler, M. and Lake, D. (2013) *Politics in the New Hard Times: The Great Recession in Comparative Perspective*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Karvonen, L. and Kuhnle, S. (eds.) (2001) *Party Systems and Voter Alignments Revisited*. London: Routledge.

Katz, R. (1987) "Party Government and its Alternatives." In: R. Katz (ed.) *Party Governments: European and American Experiences*. Florence: EUI, 1–26.

———. (1996) "Electoral Reform and the Transformation of Party Politics in Italy." *Party Politics* 2(1): 31–53.

———. (1997). "Representational Roles." *European Journal of Political Research* 32(2): 211–226.

———. (2001) "Reforming the Italian Electoral Law, 1993." In: M. Soberg Shugart and M. Wattenberg (eds.) *Mixed-Member Electoral Systems: The Best of Both Worlds*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 96–122.

———. (2006) "Electoral Reform in Italy: Expectations and Results." *Acta Politica* 41(3): 285–299.

———. (2008) "Political Parties." In: D. Caramani (ed.) *Comparative Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 219–236

Katz, R. and Mair, P. (1995) "Changing Models of Party Organization and Party Democracy: The Emergence of the Cartel Party." *Party Politics* 1(1): 5–28.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068895001001001>.

Kefford, G. and McDonnell, D. (2018) "Inside the Personal Party: Leader-Owners, Light Organizations and Limited Lifespans." *The British Journal of Politics and International*

Relations 20(2): 379–394.

Key, V. (1964) *Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups*. New York: Crowell

King, G., Keohane, R. and Verba, S. (1994) *Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Kioupkiolis, A. (2016). “Podemos: The Ambiguous Promises of Left-wing Populism in Contemporary Spain.” *Journal of Political Ideologies* 21(2): 99–120.

Kirchheimer, Otto (1966) “The Transformation of Western European Party Systems”. In J. LaPalombara and M. Weiner (eds.) *Political Parties and Political Development*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 177–200.

Kitschelt, H. (1986) “Political Opportunity Structures and Political Protest: Anti-Nuclear Movements in Four Democracies.” *British Journal of Political Science* 16(1): 57–85.

———. (1992) “The Formation of Party systems in East Central Europe.” *Politics & Society* 20(1): 7–50.

———. (1994) *The Transformation of European Social Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

———. (1995) “Formation of Party Cleavages in Post-Communist Democracies: Theoretical Propositions.” *Party Politics* 1(4): 447–472.

———. (2000) “Linkages between Citizens and Politicians in Democratic Polities.” *Comparative Political Studies*, 33(6–7): 845–879.

———. (2007) “Party Systems.” In: C. Boix and S. Stokes (eds.) *Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 522–554.

Kitschelt, H. and Wilkinson, S. (2007). “Citizen–politician Linkages: An introduction.” In: H. Kitschelt and S. Wilkinson (eds.) *Patrons, Clients and Policies: Patterns of Democratic Accountability and Political Competition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University, pp. 1–49.

Klingemann, H. (2005) “Political Parties and Party Systems.” In: J. Thomassen (ed.) *The European Voter: A Comparative Study of Modern Democracies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 22–63.

Knill, C. (2005) “Introduction: Cross-National Policy Convergence: Concepts, Approaches and Explanatory Factors.” *Journal of European Public Policy* 12(5): 764–774.

Koff, S. (2002) *Italy: From the 1st to the 2nd Republic*. London: Sage.

Kriesi, H. (1989) “The Political Opportunity Structure of the Dutch Peace Movement.” *West European Politics* 12(3): 295–312.

———. (1998) “The Transformation of Cleavage Politics The 1997 Stein Rokkan Lecture.” *European Journal of Political Research* 33(2): 165–185.

———. (2004) “Political Context and Opportunity.” In: D. Snow, S. Soule and H. Kriesi (eds.) *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, pp. 67–90.

———. (2014) “The Populist Challenge.” *West European Politics* 37(2): 361–378.

Kriesi, H., Grande, E., Lachat, R., Dolezal, M., Bornschier, S. and Frey, T. (2006) “Globalization and the Transformation of the National Political Space: Six European Countries Compared.” *European Journal of Political Research* 45(6): 921–956.

———. (eds.) (2008) *West European Politics in the Age of Globalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kriesi, H., Koopmans, R., Willem Duyvendak, J. and Giugni, M. (1992) “New Social Movements and Political Opportunities in Western Europe.” *European Journal of Political Research* 22(2): 219–244.

Kriesi, H. and Pappas, T. (eds.) (2015) *European Populism in the Shadow of the Great Recession*. Colchester: ECPR Press.

Labour Party (1997). Parliamentary Election 1997, Party Manifesto. Available at: <http://www.labour-party.org.uk/manifestos/1997/1997-labour-manifesto.shtml>. Accessed 09 Aug, 2018.

Laclau, E. (2005) *On Populist Reason*. London: Verso.

Laclau, E. (2012) *Politics and Ideology in Marxist Theory: Capitalism, Fascism, Populism*. London: Verso.

Ladd, J. (2017) “Negative Partisanship May Be the Most Toxic Form of Polarization: What the 2016 presidential election taught me about America’s polarization problem.” *Vox*, June 2, 2017. <https://www.vox.com/mischiefs-of-faction/2017/6/2/15730524/negative-partisanship-toxic-polarization>.

Landi, M. and Pelizzo, R. (2013) “A Spatial Analysis of the Italian Second Republic.” *The Journal of Legislative Studies* 19(3): 328–350.

Lanzone, M.E. (2014) “The ‘Post-Modern’ Populism in Italy: The Case of the Five Star Movement.” In: D. Woods and B. Wejnert (eds.) *The Many Faces of Populism: Current Perspectives*. Bingley: Emerald Group Publishing, pp. 53–78.

LaPalombara, J. and Anderson, J. (1992) “Political Parties.” In: M. Hawkesworth and M. Kogan (eds.) *Encyclopedia of Government and Politics Volume.1*. London: Routledge: 393–412.

LaPalombara, J. and Weiner, M. (1966) “The Origin and Development of Political Parties.” In: J. LaPalombara and M. Weiner (eds.) *Political Parties and Political Development (SPD-6)*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 3–42.

Lauren, P. (1979) *Diplomacy: New Approaches in History, Theory, and Policy*. New York:

The Free Press.

Laver, M. and Garry, J. (2000) "Estimating Policy Positions from Political Texts." *American Journal of Political Science*, 44(3): 619–634.

Layman, G. and Carsey, T. (2002) "Party Polarization and Conflict Extension in the American Electorate." *American Journal of Political Science* 46(4): 786–802.

Layman, G, Carsey, T. and Menasce Horowitz, J. (2006) "Party Polarization in American Politics: Characteristics, Causes, and Consequences." *Annual. Review of Political. Science* 9: 83–110.

LeBas, A. (2018) "Can Polarization Be Positive? Conflict and Institutional Development in Africa." *American Behavioral Scientist* 62(1): 59–74.

Leikes, Y. (2016) "Mass Polarization: Manifestations and Measurements." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 80(S1): 392–410.

———. (2018) "Affective Polarization and Ideological Sorting: A Reciprocal, Albeit Weak, Relationship." *The Forum* 16(1): 67–79. <https://doi.org/10.1515/for-2018-0005>.

Leonard, M. (2011) "Four Scenarios for the Reinvention of Europe." ECFR. https://www.ecfr.eu/page/-/ECFR43_REINVENTION_OF_EUROPE_ESSAY_AW1.pdf.

Levine, D. (2015) *Conflict and Political Change in Venezuela*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Levitsky, S., Loxton, J., Van Dyck, B. and Domínguez, J. (2016) *Challenges of Party-Building in Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Levitsky, S. and Roberts, K. (2011) "Latin America's Left Turn: A Framework of Analysis." In: S. Levitsky and K. Roberts (eds.) *The Resurgence of the Latin American Left*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, pp.1–28.

Levy, J. (2008) "Case Studies: Types, Designs, and Logics of Inference." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 25(1): 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07388940701860318>.

Linz, J. (1978). *Crisis, Breakdowns and Reequilibration*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press.

Lipset, S. (2000) "The Indispensability of Political Parties." *Journal of Democracy* 11(1): 48–55.

Lipset, S. and Rokkan, S. (eds.) (1967) *Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross-National Perspectives*. New York: The Free Press.

López Maya, M. (2011) "Venezuela: Hugo Chávez and The Populist Left" In: S. Levitsky and K. Roberts (eds.) *The Resurgence of the Latin American Left*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, pp. 213–238.

Lo Verso, L. and McLean, I. (1995) "The Italian general election of 1994." *Electoral Studies*

14(1): 81–86.

Loxton, J. (2016) “Authoritarian Successor Parties and the New Right in Latin America.” In: J.

Loxton and S. Mainwaring (eds.) *Life after Dictatorship Authoritarian Successor Parties Worldwide*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 245–272.

Luna, J.P. (2010) “Segmented Party–Voter Linkages in Latin America: The Case of the UDI.” *Journal of Latin American Studies* 42(2): 325–356.

Luna, J.P., and Rovira Kaltwasser, C. (2014) *The Resilience of the Latin American Right*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.

Lupu, N. (2011). Party Brands in Crisis: Partisanship, Brand Dilution, and the Breakdown of Political Parties in Latin America (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Princeton University, Princeton, NJ.

———. (2013) “Party Brands and Partisanship: Theory with Evidence from a Survey Experiment in Argentina.” *American Journal of Political Science* 57(1): 49–64.

———. (2014) “Brand Dilution and the Breakdown of Political Parties in Latin America.” *World Politics* 66(4): 561–602.

———. (2015) “Party Polarization and Mass Partisanship: A Comparative Perspective.” *Political Behavior* 37(2): 331–56.

———. (2016) *Party Brands in Crisis: Partisanship, Brand Dilution, and the Breakdown of Political Parties in Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Madrid, R., Hunter, W. and Weyland, K. (2010) “The Policies and Performances of the Contestatory and Moderate Left.” In: R. Madrid, W. Hunter and K. Weyland (eds.) *Leftist Governments in Latin America: Successes and Shortcomings*. New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 140–180.

Maggini, N. (2014) “Understanding the Electoral Rise of the Five Star Movement in Italy.” *Czech Journal of Political Science* 21(1): 37–59.

Maguire, M. (1983) “Is There Still Persistence? Electoral Change in Western Europe 1948–79.” In: H. Daalder and P. Mair (eds.) *Western European Party Systems*. London: Sage.

Mahoney, J. (2000) “Path Dependence in Historical Sociology.” *Theory and Society* 29(4): 507–548.

Mahoney, J. and Goertz, G. (2006) “A Tale of Two Cultures: Contrasting Quantitative and Qualitative Research.” *Political Analysis* 14(3): 227–249.

Mainwaring, S. (2016) “Party System Institutionalization, Party Collapse and Party Building.” *Government and Opposition* 51(4): 691–716.

———. “Party Systems in the Third Wave.” *Journal of Democracy* 9(3): 67–81.

- Mainwaring, S. and Scully, T. (1995) "Introduction. Party Systems in Latin America." In: S. Mainwaring and T. Scully (eds.) *Building Democratic Institutions: Party Systems in Latin America*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, pp. 1–34.
- . (1995a) "Conclusion. Party and Democracy in Latin America, Different Patterns, Common Challenges." In: S. Mainwaring and T. Scully (eds.) *Building Democratic Institutions: Party Systems in Latin America*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, pp. 459–470.
- Mair, P. (1984) "Party Politics in Contemporary Europe: A Challenge to Party?" *West European Politics* 7(4): 170–184.
- . (1997) *Party System Change: Approaches and Interpretations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . (2001) "The Freezing Hypothesis: An Evaluation." In: L. Karvonen, and S. Kuhnle, S. (eds.) *Party Systems and Voter Alignments Revisited*. London: Routledge, pp. 27–44.
- . (2009) "Representative versus Responsible Government". *MPIfG Working Paper* 09/08. <http://edoc.vifapol.de/opus/volltexte/2010/2121/>.
- . (2013) *Ruling the Void: The Hollowing out of Western Democracy*. London: Verso.
- Manin, B. (1997) *The Principles of Representative Government*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Manucci, L. and Amsler, M. (2017). "Where the wind blows: Five Star Movement's populism, direct democracy and ideological flexibility." *Italian Political Science Review* 48(1): 109–132.
- Marangoni, F. (2012) "Technocrats in Government: The Composition and Legislative Initiatives of the Monti Government Eight Months into Its Term of Office." *Bulletin of Italian Politics* 4(1): 135–149.
- Marangoni, F. and Verzichelli, L. (2014). "From Letta to Renzi: preliminary data concerning the composition of the new Cabinet and the new executive's programme." *Contemporary Italian Politics* 6(2): 178–190.
- . (2015) "From a Technocratic Solution to a Fragile Grand Coalition: The Impact of the Economic Crisis on Parliamentary Government in Italy." *The Journal of Legislative Studies* 21(1): 35–53.
- Martini, S. and Quaranta, M. (2015) "Finding out the Hard Way: Uncovering the Structural Foundations of Political Dissatisfaction in Italy." *West European Politics* 38(1): 28–52.
- Mastellone, P. (2010). The New Italian Tax Shield: Amnesty for Undeclared Offshore Assets." *European Taxation* 50(4): 152– 159.
- Mayer, S.J. (2017) "How Negative Partisanship Affects Voting Behavior in Europe: Evidence from an Analysis of 17 European Multi-Party Systems with Proportional Voting." *Research & Politics* 4(1): 1–7. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2053168016686636>.

- Mazzoleni G. (2008) "Populism and the Media". In: D. Albertazzi and McDonnell (eds.) *Twenty-First Century Populism*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 49–64.
- McCarthy, P. (1992). "The Referendum of 9 June." In: S.Hellman and G. Pasquino (eds.) *Italian Politics: A Review*. London: Pinter, pp. 11-28.
- McCoy, J. and Diez, F. (2011) *International Mediation in Venezuela*. US Institute of Peace Press.
- McDonnell, D. (2006) "A Weekend in Padania: Regionalist Populism and the Lega Nord." *Politics* 26(2): 126–132.
- . (2013) "Silvio Berlusconi's Personal Parties: From Forza Italia to the Popolo Della Libertà." *Political Studies* 61(1_suppl): 217–233.
- McDonnell, D. (2006) "A Weekend in Padania: Regionalist Populism and the Lega Nord." *Politics* 26(2): 126–132.
- . (2013) "Silvio Berlusconi's Personal Parties: From Forza Italia to the Popolo Della Libertà." *Political Studies* 61(1_suppl): 217–233.
- McDonnell, D. and Valbruzzi, M. (2014) "Defining and Classifying Technocrat-led and Technocratic Governments." *European Journal of Political Research* 53(4): 654–671.
- McDonnell, D. and Vampa, D. (2016) "The Italian Lega Nord." In: *Understanding Populist Party Organization*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 105–129.
- McGregor, M., Caruana, N. and Stephenson, L. (2015) "Negative Partisanship in a Multi-Party System: The Case of Canada." *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties* 25(3): 300–316.
- McLean, I. (2003) *Oxford Concise Dictionary of Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Medeiros, M. and Noël, A. (2014) "The Forgotten Side of Partisanship: Negative Party Identification in Four Anglo-American Democracies." *Comparative Political Studies* 47(7): 1022–1046.
- Meguid, B. (2005) "Competition Between Unequals: The Role of Mainstream Party Strategy in Niche Party Success." *American Political Science Review* 99(3): 347–359.
- Meynuad, J. (1968) *Technocracy*. London: Faber and Faber.
- Minkenberg, M. (2001) "The Radical Right in Public Office: Agenda-setting and Policy Effects." *West European Politics* 24(4): 1–21.
- Monti, M. and Goulard, S. (2012) *La Democrazia in Europa*. Milan: Rizzoli.
- Morgan, J. (2011) *Bankrupt Representation and Party System Collapse*. University Park: Penn State Press.

Morgan, J. and Meléndez, C. (2016) "Parties under Stress: Using a Linkage Decay Framework to Analyze the Chilean Party System." *Journal of Politics in Latin America* 8(3): 25–59.

Morlino, L. (1996) "Crisis of Parties and Change of Party System in Italy." *Party Politics* 2(1): 5–30.

———. (2013) "The Impossible Transition and the Unstable New Mix: Italy 1992–2012." *Comparative European Politics* 11(3): 337–359.

Morlino, L. and Tarchi, M. (1996) "The Dissatisfied Society: The Roots of Political Change in Italy." *European Journal of Political Research* 30(1): 41–63.

Mosca, L. (2014) "The Five Star Movement: Exception or Vanguard in Europe?" *International Spectator* 49(1): 36–52.

Mouffe, C. (2015). *On the Political*. London: Routledge.

Mouffe, C. (2018) *In Defense of Left Populism*. London: Verso.

Mudde, C. (2004) "The Populist Zeitgeist." *Government and Opposition* 39(4): 541–563.

———. (2007) *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

———. (2010) "The Populist Radical Right: A Pathological Normalcy." *West European Politics* 33(6): 1167–1186.

———. (2011) "Radical Right Parties in Europe: What, Who, Why?" *Participation* 35(1): 12–15.

———. (2013) "Three Decades of Populist Radical Right Parties in Western Europe: So What?" *European Journal of Political Research* 52(1): 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-6765.2012.02065.x>.

———. (2015) "Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe Today." In: J. Abromeit, G. Moratta, B. Chesterton and Y. Norman (eds.) *Transformations of Populism in Europe and the Americas: History and Recent Trends*. London: Bloomsbury, pp. 295–307.

———. (2017) "Populism: An Ideational Approach." In: C. Rovira Kaltwasser, P. Taggart, P. Ochoa Espejo, P. Ostiguy (eds.) *Oxford Handbook of Populism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 27–47.

———. (2017a) "Why Nativism, Not Populism, Should Be Declared Word of the Year." *The Guardian*, Opinion December 7. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/dec/07/cambridge-dictionary-nativism-populism-word-year>.

Mudde, C. and Rovira Kaltwasser, C. (2012) *Populism in Europe and the Americas: Threat or Corrective for Democracy?* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

———. (2013) "Populism." In M. Freeden, L. Sargent, L. and M. Stears (eds.) *The Oxford*

Handbook of Political Ideologies. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 493–512.

———. (2013a) “Exclusionary vs. Inclusionary Populism: Comparing Contemporary Europe and Latin America.” *Government and Opposition* 48(2): 147–174.

———. (2017) *Populism: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

———. (2018) “Studying Populism in Comparative Perspective: Reflections on the Contemporary and Future Research Agenda.” *Comparative Political Studies* 51(13): 1667–1693.

Muller, J. (2016) *What is Populism?* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Musella, F. (2014). How Personal Parties Change: Party Organisation and (in)discipline in Italy (1994–2013).” *Contemporary Italian Politics* 6(3): 222–237.

———. (2015) “Personal Leaders and Party Change: Italy in Comparative Perspective.” *Italian Political Science Review* 45(3): 227–247.

Neumann, S. (1956) *Modern Political Parties: Approaches to Comparative Politics*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Newell, J. and Bull, M. (1997) “Party Organizations and Alliances in Italy in the 1990s: A Revolution of Sorts.” *West European Politics* 20(1): 81–109.

Nicholson, S. (2012) “Polarizing Cues.” *American Journal of Political Science* 56(1): 52–66.

Niedzwiecki, S. and Pribble, J. (2017) “Social Policies and Center-Right Governments in Argentina and Chile.” *Latin American Politics and Society* 59(3): 72–97.

Norris, P. (2005) *Radical Right: Voters and Parties in the Electoral Market*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ochoa Espejo, P. (2015) “Power to Whom? The People between Procedure and Populism.” In: C. de La Torre (ed.) *The Promise and Perils of Populism: Global Perspectives*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, pp. 59–90.

Oliver, J.E. and Rahn, W. (2016) “Rise of the Trumpenvolk: Populism in the 2016 Election.” *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 667(1): 189–206.

Ostiguy, P. (2009) “The High-Low Political Divide. Rethinking Populism and Anti-Populism.” *Committee on Concepts and Methods Working Paper Series*. México.

Panebianco, A. (1988) *Political Parties: Organization and Power*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Panizza, F. (ed.) (2005) *Populism and The Mirror of Democracy*. London: Verso.

Pappas, T. (2014) *Populism and Crisis Politics in Greece*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Parker, S. and Natale, P. (2002). “Parliamentary Elections in Italy, May 2001.” *Electoral*

Studies 21(4): 665–673.

Pasquino, G. (1992) “The electoral reform referendums.” *Italian Politics* 6: 9–24.

———. (1997) “No longer a 'Party State'? Institutions, Power and the Problems of Italian Reform.” *West European Politics* 20(1): 34–53.

———. (2000) *La Transizione a Parole (vol. 113)*. Bologna: Il Mulino.

———. (2007) “Tricks and Treas: The 2005 Italian Electoral Law and its Consequences.” *South European Society and Politics* 12(1): 79–93.

———. (2008). “Populism and Democracy.” In: D. Albertazzi and D. McDonnell (eds.) *Twenty-First Century Populism: The Spectre of Western European Democracy*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

———. (2015) “Italy has Yet Another Electoral Law.” *Contemporary Italian Politics* 7(3): 293–300.

———. (2016) “Renzi: The Government, the Party, The Future of Italian Politics.” *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 21(3): 389–398.

Pasquino, G. and Valbruzzi, M (2012) “Non-partisan Governments Italian-style: Decision-Making and Accountability.” *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 17(5): 612–29.

Pauwels, T. (2010) “Explaining the Success of Neo-Liberal Populist Parties: The Case of Lijst Dedecker in Belgium.” *Political Studies* 58(5): 1009–1029.

Pedersen, M. (1979) “The Dynamics of European Party Systems: Changing Patterns of Electoral Volatility.” *European Journal of Political Research* 7(1): 1–26.

Pelizzo, R. and Babones, S. (2007) “The Political Economy of Polarized Pluralism.” *Party Politics* 13(1): 53–67.

Persily, N. (2015) *Solutions to Political Polarization in America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pierson, P. (2000) “Increasing Returns, Path Dependence, and the Study of Politics.” *American Political Science Review* 94(2): 251–267.

———. (2011) *Politics in Time: History, Institutions, and Social Analysis*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Pierson, P. and Skocpol, T. (2002) “Historical Institutionalism in Contemporary Political Science”. In: I. Katznelson and H.V. Milner (eds.) *Political Science: State of the Discipline*. New York: W.W. Norton, pp. 693–721.

Power, T. (2010) *Political Right in Postauthoritarian Brazil: Elites, Institutions, and Democratization*. University Park: Penn State Press.

Radaelli, C. (1999) *Technocracy in the European Union*. London: Routledge.

Rae, D. and Taylor, M. (1970) *The Analysis of Political Cleavages*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Ramiro, L. and Gomez, R. (2017) “Radical-Left Populism During the Great Recession: Podemos and Its Competition with the Established Radical Left.” *Political Studies* 65(1_suppl): 108–126.

Randall, T. (2013) “Highest and Cheapest Gas Prices Per Country.” *Bloomberg.com*, 13 February. Available at <http://www.bloomberg.com/slideshow/2013-02-13/highest-cheapest-gas-prices-by-country.html#slide>

Renwick, A., Hanretty, C. and Hine, D. (2009) “Partisan self-interest and electoral reform: The new Italian electoral law of 2005.” *Electoral Studies* 28(3): 437–447.

Rico, G., Guinjoan, M. and Anduiza, E. (2017) “The Emotional Underpinnings of Populism: How: Anger and Fear Affect Populist.” *Swiss Political Science Review* 23(4): 444–461.

Riker, W.H. (1962) *The Theory of Political Coalitions*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Roberts, G. (1971) *A Dictionary of Political Analysis*. London: Longman.

Roberts, K. (2006) “Populism, Political Conflict, and Grass-Roots Organization in Latin America.” *Comparative Politics* 38: 127–148.

———. (2011) “Chile: The Left after Neoliberalism.” In: S. Levitsky and K. Roberts (eds.) *The Resurgence of the Latin American Left*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, pp. 325–347.

———. (2012) “Democracy, Free Markets, and the Rightist Dilemma in Latin America.” APSA Annual Meeting Paper. <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2104692>

———. (2016) “Historical Timing, Political Cleavages, and Party-Building in Latin America.” In: B. van Dyck, J. Loxton, J. Domínguez and S. Levitsky (eds.) *Challenges of Party-Building in Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 51–75. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781316550564.002>.

———. (2017) “Populism and Political Parties.” In: C. Rovira Kaltwasser, P. Taggart, P. Ochoa Espejo, P. Ostiguy (eds.) *Oxford Handbook of Populism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 287–304.

Rooduijn, M. (2014) “Vox Populismus: A Populist Radical Right Attitude among the Public?” *Nations and Nationalism* 20(1): 80–92.

Rooduijn, M., De Lange, S. and Van der Brug, W. (2014) “A Populist Zeitgeist? Programmatic Contagion by Populist Parties in Western Europe.” *Party Politics* 20(4): 563–575.

Rooduijn, M. and Pauwels, T. (2011) “Measuring Populism: Comparing Two Methods of Content Analysis.” *West European Politics* 34(6): 1272–1283

Rose, R. and McAllister, I. (1990) *The Loyalties of Voters: A Lifetime Learning Model*.

London: Sage.

Rose, R. and Mishler, W. (1998) "Negative and Positive Party Identification in Post-Communist Countries." *Electoral Studies* 17(2): 217–34.

Rosa-Ackerman, S. (1999) "Political Corruption and Democracy." *Connecticut Journal of International Law* 14(2): 363–378.

Rovira Kaltwasser, C. (2012) "The Ambivalence of Populism: Threat and Corrective for Democracy." *Democratization* 19(2): 184–208.

———. (2014) "Latin American Populism: Some Conceptual and Normative Lessons." *Constellations* 21(4): 494–504.

———. (2018) "La (Sobre)Adaptación Programática de la Derecha Chilena. Paper presented at the "Workshop on the Latin-America right", Santiago de Chile, November 23rd, 2018.

Rovira Kaltwasser, C. and Zanotti, L. (2018) "The Comparative (Party) Politics of the Great Recession: Causes, Consequences and Future Research Agenda." *Comparative European Politics* 16(3): 535–548.

Rueschemeyer, D., Huber Stephens, E. and Stephens, J. (1992) *Capitalist Development and Democracy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Rydgren, J. (2007) "The Sociology of the Radical Right." *Annual Review of Sociology*. 33: 241–262.

Salvini, M., Facebook Live Streaming Video, 27th May 2018. Available at <https://www.facebook.com/salviniofficial/videos/10155797776073155/>

Samuels, D. and Zucco, C. (2014) "The Power of Partisanship in Brazil: Evidence from Survey Experiments." *American Journal of Political Science* 58(1): 212–225.

———. (2015) "Crafting Mass Partisanship at the Grass Roots." *British Journal of Political Science* 45(4): 755–775.

Sani, G. (1973) "La strategia del PCI e l'elettorato Italiano." *Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica* 3: 551–580.

Sani, G. and Sartori, G. (1980) "Polarización, Fragmentación y Competición en las Democracias Occidentales". *Revista de Derecho Político* 7: 7–37.

Sartori, G. (1970) "Concept Misformation in Comparative Politics." *American Political Science Review* 64(4): 1033–1053.

———. (2005) *Parties and Party Systems: A Framework for Analysis*. Colchester: ECPR press.

———. (2005a) "Party Types, Organisation and Functions." *West European Politics* 28(1): 5–32. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0140238042000334268>.

Schattschneider, E. (1942) *Party Government. American Government in Action*. New York: Rinehart & Company.

———. (1960) *The Semisovereign People: A Realist's View of Democracy in America*. Boston: Wadsworth.

Schmidt, V. and Thatcher, M. (2013) *Resilient Liberalism in Europe's Political Economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schulz, A., Müller, P., Schemer, C., Wirz, D., Wettstein, M. and Wirth, W. (2017) "Measuring Populist Attitudes on Three Dimensions." *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 30(2): 316–326.

Seawright, J. (2012) *Party-System Collapse: The Roots of Crisis in Peru and Venezuela*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Shugart, M. and Wattenberg, M. (2001) *Mixed-Member Electoral Systems: The Best of Both Worlds?* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Silva, P. (2006) "Los Tecnócratas y la Política en Chile: Pasado y Presente." *Revista de Ciencia Política* 26(2): 175-190.

Sitter, N. (2002) "Cleavages, Party Strategy and Party System Change in Europe, East and West." *Perspectives on European Politics and Society* 3(3): 425–451.

Skidmore, T. (1993) *Television, Politics, and the Transition to Democracy in Latin America*.

Skolkay, A. (2000) "Populism in Central Eastern Europe." In: *Thinking Fundamentals. IWM Junior Visiting Fellows Conferences Vol. 9*: Vienna.

Slater, D. and Arugay, A. (2018) "Polarizing Figures: Executive Power and Institutional Conflict in Asian Democracies." *American Behavioral Scientist* 62(1): 92–106.

Slomp, H. (2011) *Europe, A Political Profile: An American Companion to European Politics*. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO.

Sniderman, P. and Stiglitz, E. (2012) *The Reputational Premium: A Theory of Party Identification and Policy Reasoning*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Somer, M. and McCoy, J. (2018) "Déjà vu? Polarization and Endangered Democracies in the 21st Century." *American Behavioral Scientist* 62(1): 3–15.

Spektorowski, A. (2003) "Ethnoregionalism: The Intellectual New Right and the Lega Nord." *Global Review of Ethnopolitics* 2(3-4): 55–70.

Spruyt, B., Keppens, G. and Van Droogenbroeck, F. (2016) "Who Supports Populism and What Attracts People to It?" *Political Research Quarterly* 69(2): 335–346.

Stanig, P. (2013) "Political Polarization in Retrospective Economic Evaluations during Recessions and Recoveries." *Electoral Studies* 32(4): 729–745.

Stanley, B. (2008) "The Thin Ideology of Populism." *Journal of Political Ideologies* 13(1): 95–110.

———. (2011) "Populism, Nationalism, or National Populism? An Analysis of Slovak Voting Behaviour at the 2010 Parliamentary Election." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 44, no. 4 (2011): 257–70.

Stavrakakis, Y. (2014) "The Return of 'the People': Populism and Anti-Populism in the Shadow of the European Crisis." *Constellations* 21(4): 505–517.

———. (2018) "Paradoxes of Polarization: Democracy's Inherent Division and the (Anti-) Populist Challenge." *American Behavioral Scientist* 62(1): 43–58.

———. (2018a) "Populism, Anti-Populism and Democracy." *Political Insight* 9(3): 33–35. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2041905818796577>.

Stavrakakis, Y. and Katsambekis, G. (2018) "The Populism/Anti-Populism Frontier and Its Mediation in Crisis-Ridden Greece: From Discursive Divide to Emerging Cleavage?" *European Political Science*: 1–16. <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1057/s41304-017-0138-3>.

Stavrakakis, Y., Katsambekis, G., Kioupkiolis, A., Nikisianis, N. and Siomos, T. (2018) "Populism, Anti-Populism and Crisis." *Contemporary Political Theory* 17(4): 4–27. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41296-017-0142-y>

Stokes, S. (1997) "Democratic Accountability and Policy Change: Economic Policy in Fujimori's Peru." *Comparative Politics* 29(2): 209–226.

———. (1999) "What Do Policy Switches Tell Us about Democracy?" In: A. Przeworski, S. Stokes and B. Manin (eds.) *Democracy, Accountability, and Representation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 98–130.

Taggart, P. and Rovira Kaltwasser, C. (2016) "Dealing with Populists in Government: Some Comparative Conclusions." *Democratization* 23(2): 345–365.

Tambini, D. (2001) *Nationalism in Italian Politics: The Stories of the Northern League*, London: Routledge.

Tarchi, M. (1997) *Dal Msi ad An. Organizzazione e strategie*. Bologna: Il Mulino.

———. (2008) "Italy: A Country of Many Populisms." In: D. Albertazzi and D. McDonnell (eds.) *Twenty-First Century Populism*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

———. (2015) "Italy: the promised land of populism?" *Contemporary Italian Politics* 7(3): 273–285

———. (2018) "Voters without a Party: The "Long Decade" of the Italian Centre-Right and its Uncertain Future". *South European Society and Politics* 23(1): 147–162.

Tarrow, S. (1977). "The Italian Party System Between Crisis and Transition." *American Journal of Political Science* 21(2): 193–224.

Thelen, K. (1999). "Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Politics." *Annual Review of Political Science* 2(1): 369–404.

Thompson, J. (2000) *Political Scandal: Power and Visibility in the Media Age*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Tironi, E. and Agüero, F. (1999) "¿Sobrevivirá El Nuevo Paisaje Político Chileno?" *Estudios Públicos* 74: 151–168.

Tironi, E., Agüero, F. and Valenzuela, E. (2001) "Clivajes Políticos en Chile: Perfil Sociológico de los Electores de Lagos y Lavín." *Revista Perspectivas* 5(1): 73–87.

Toka, G. (1998) "Party Appeals and Voter Loyalty in New Democracies." *Political Studies* 46(3): 589–610.

Torcal, M. and Martini, S. (2013) "Los Efectos Negativos de La Polarización Política: Confianza Social, Partidismo e Identidades Nacionales/Territoriales En España." *Anuario de La Facultad de Derecho de La Universidad Autónoma de Madrid* 17: 333–353.

Tronconi, F. (2015) *Beppe Grillo's Five Star Movement: Organization, Communication and Ideology*. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing.

Valenzuela, A. (1978) *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Chile*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press.

Van Der Brug, W., Fennema, M. and Tillie, J. (2005). "Why Some Anti-Immigrant Parties Fail and Others Succeed: A Two-Step Model of Aggregate Electoral Support". *Comparative Political Studies* 38(5): 537–573

Van Der Heijden, H. (1997) "Political Opportunity Structure and the Institutionalization of the Environmental Movement." *Environmental Politics* 6(4): 25–50.

———. (1999) "Environmental Movements, Ecological Modernization and Political Opportunity Structures." *Environmental Politics* 8(1): 199–221.

Van Hauwaert, S. and Van Kessel, S. (2018) "Beyond Protest and Discontent: A Cross-national Analysis of the Effect of Populist Attitudes and Issue Positions on Populist Party Support." *European Journal of Political Research* 57(1): 68–92.

Van Kessel, S. (2013) "A Matter of Supply and Demand: The Electoral Performance of Populist Parties in Three European Countries." *Government and Opposition* 48(2): 175–199.

———. (2015) *Populist Parties in Europe: Agents of Discontent?* London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Vannucci, A. (2009) "The Controversial Legacy of 'Mani Pulite': A Critical Analysis of Italian Corruption and Anti-Corruption Policies." *Bulletin of Italian Politics* 1(2): 233–264

Verney, S. and Bosco, A. (2013) "Living Parallel Lives: Italy and Greece in an Age of

Austerity.” *South European Society and Politics* 18(4): 397–426.

Vommaro, G. (2017) *La Larga Marcha de Cambiemos: La Construcción Silenciosa de Un Proyecto de Poder*. Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno.

Vossen, K. (2011) “Classifying Wolders: The Ideological Development of Geert Wilders and his Party for Freedom.” *Politics* 31(3): 179–189.

Waltz, K. (1979) *Theory of International Politics*. Boston: Addison-Wesley.

Wang, C. (2014) “The Effects of Party Fractionalization and Party Polarization on Democracy.” *Party Politics* 20(5): 687–699.

Warner, S. and Varese, F. (1996) “The Italian General Election of 1996.” *Electoral Studies* 15(4): 562–569.

Weber, M. (1946) “Politics as a Vocation.” In: H.H. Gertz and C. Wright Mills (eds.) *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Webster, S. (2018) “It’s Personal: The Big Five Personality Traits and Negative Partisan Affect in Polarized US Politics.” *American Behavioral Scientist* 62(1): 127–145.

Weyland, K. (1996) “Neopopulism and Neoliberalism in Latin America: Unexpected Affinities.” *Studies in Comparative International Development* 31(3): 3–31.

———. (1999) “Neoliberal Populism in Latin America and Eastern Europe.” *Comparative Politics* 31(4): 379–401.

———. (2001) “Clarifying a Contested Concept: Populism in the Study of Latin American Politics.” *Comparative Politics* 34(1): 1–22.

———. (2017) “Populism: A Political-Strategic Approach.” In: C. Rovira Kaltwasser, P. Taggart, P. Ochoa Espejo, P. Ostiguy (eds.) *Oxford Handbook of Populism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 48–72.

Verbeek, B. and Zaslove, A. (2015) “The Impact of Populist Radical Right Parties on Foreign Policy: The Northern League as a Junior coalition Partner in the Berlusconi Governments.” *European Political Science Review* 7(4): 525–546.

———. (2016) “Italy: a case of mutating populism?” *Democratization*, 23(2): 304–323.

Wittgenstein, L. (1968) *Philosophical Investigations*. London: The Macmillan Company.

Wolinez, S. (2002) “Beyond the Catch-all Party: Approaches to the Study of Parties and Party Organization in Contemporary Democracies.” In: R. Gunther, J. Montero and J. Linz (eds.) *Political Parties: Old Concepts and New Challenges*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 136–165.

Yaffe, J. (2004) “Del Frente Amplio a la Nueva Mayoría: La Izquierda Uruguaya (1971–2004).” *Secuencia* 60: 175–209.

Zaslove, A. (2007) "Alpine Populism, Padania and Beyond: A Response to Duncan McDonnell". *Politics* 27(1): 64–68.

———. (2008) "Here to Stay? Populism as a New Party Type". *European Review* 16(3): 319-336.

———. (2009). The Populist Radical Right: Ideology, Party Families and Core Principles. *Political Studies Review* 7(3): 309–318.

———. (2011) *The Re-Invention of the European Radical Right: Populism, Regionalism, and the Italian Lega Nord*. Quebec: McGill-Queen's University Press.

———. (2012). "The Populist Radical Right in Government: The Structure and Agency of Success and Failure." *Comparative European Politics* 10(4): 421–448.

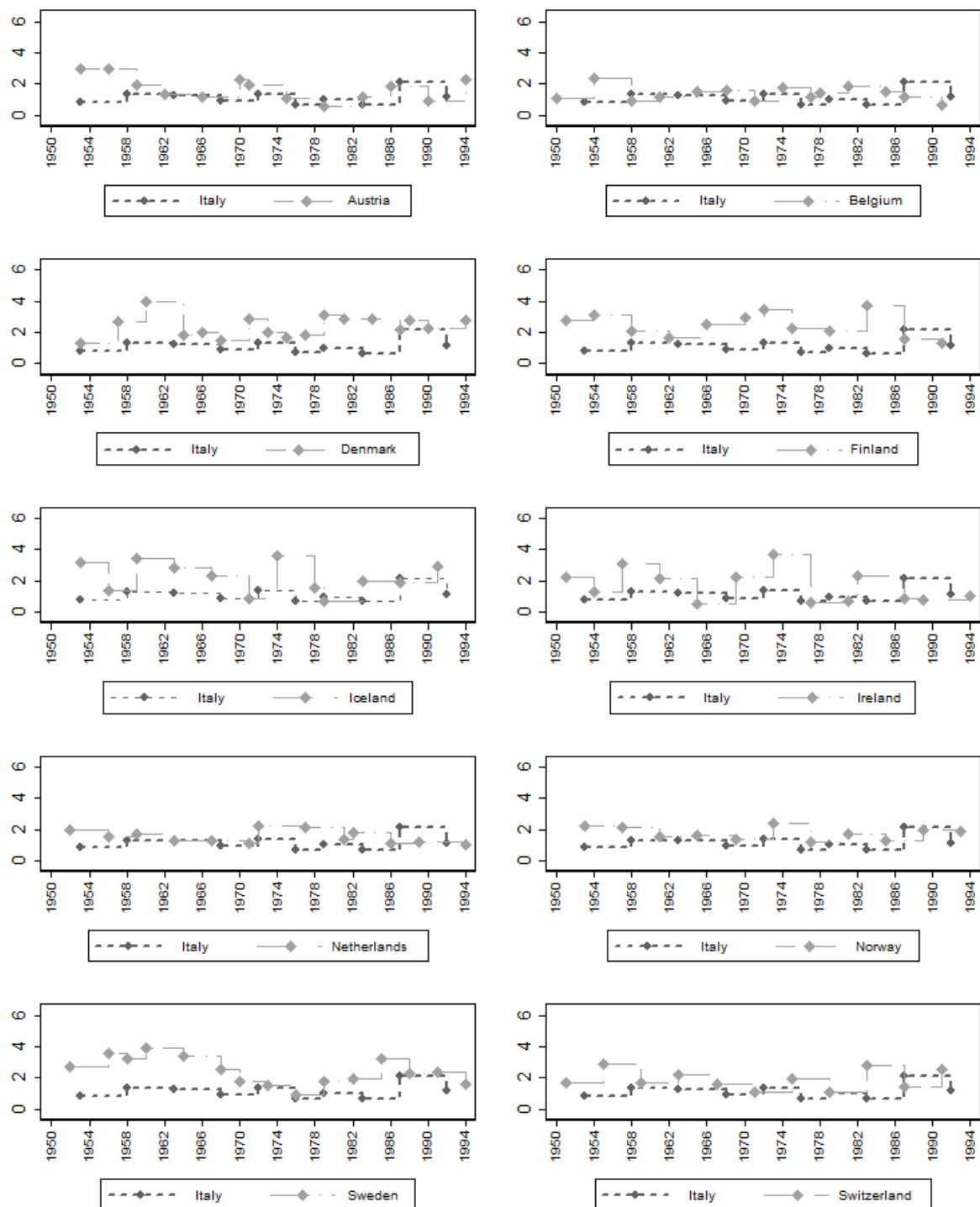
Zuckerman, A. (1975) "Political Cleavage: A Conceptual and Theoretical Analysis." *British Journal of Political Science* 5(2): 231–248.

Annex 1: Party System Polarization Score

Year	Italy	France	Germany	Spain	Portugal	Greece	Austria	Denmark	Norway	Switzerland	Sweden	Belgium	Netherlands	Finland	Iceland	Year	Italy	France	Germany	Spain	Portugal	Greece	Austria	Denmark	Norway	Switzerland	Sweden	Belgium	Netherlands	Finland	Iceland
1950												1.09				1972	1.35		1.57										2.18	3.47	
1951		1.54								1.69				2.79		1973		2.17						1.97	2.36		1.54				
1952											2.69		1.98			1974						1.49						1.76			3.6
1953	0.82		1.12				2.99	1.33	2.26						3.22	1975					2.49		1.06	1.63		1.94				2.28	
1954												2.33		3.12		1976	0.67		1.92		1.94						0.92				
1955										2.93						1977				0.73		2.59		1.79	1.23			1.19	2.13		
1956		1.94					3.00				3.55		1.57		1.38	1978		2.60										1.41			1.57
1957			4.42					2.71	2.16							1979	0.98			0.92	0.36		0.57	3.15		1.17				2.08	0.71
1958	1.32	2.25									3.23	0.88		2.09		1980			2.25		1.13										
1959							1.94			1.67			1.73	3.41		1981		2.08				2.34		2.87	1.73			1.87	1.36		
1960								3.96			3.95					1982				1.21							1.95		1.76		
1961			1.06						1.54			1.15				1983	0.66		2.93		2.10		1.20			2.82				3.73	1.96
1962		2.29					1.31							1.66		1984								2.85							
1963	1.24									2.17			1.30		2.86	1985					0.75	1.58			1.32		3.24	1.52			
1964								1.80			3.42					1986		2.28		1.21			1.81							1.11	
1965			0.83						1.64			1.47				1987	2.13		1.60		2.35			2.14		1.40		1.20		1.55	1.86
1966							1.17	1.98						2.55		1988		1.97						2.80			2.31				
1967		2.65								1.61			1.28		2.3	1989				1.15		2.97			2.00					1.15	
1968	0.91	3.28						1.52			2.59	1.59				1990			1.32			2.83	0.87	2.23							
1969			0.46						1.38							1991					0.23					2.56	2.41	0.65		1.34	2.95
1970							2.29				1.74			2.90		1992	1.14														
1971							1.90	2.82		1.06		0.92	1.12		0.86	1993		2.24		0.89		2.51			1.92						
																1994			2.54				2.3	2.81			1.64		1.02		

Source: *Manifesto Project Database (WZB)*

Annex 2: Party System Polarization Score by country



Source: *Manifesto Project Database (WZB)*