

References

- Agrikoliansky, É., Heurtaux, J. and Le Grignou, B. (eds.) (2011) *Paris en campagne. Les élections municipales de mars 2008 dans deux arrondissements parisiens*, Paris, Éditions du Croquant.
- Almond, G. and Verba, S. (1963) *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*, Princeton, Princeton University Press.
- Altheide, D. L. and Snow, R. P. (1979) *Media Logic*, Beverly Hills, Sage.
- Bagnasco, A. (1990) *La città dopo Ford*, Torino, Bollati Boringhieri.
- Barbera, A. and Marrone, A. (2003) *La repubblica dei referendum*, Bologna, Il Mulino.
- Barberà, O., Sandri, G., Correa, P. and Rodríguez-Teruel, J. (eds.) *Digital Parties: The Challenges of Online Organisation and Participation*, New York, Springer.
- Barnea, S. and Rahat, G. (2007) *Reforming Candidate Selection Methods: A Three-Level Approach*, in "Party Politics", vol. 13, no. 3, pp. 375–394.
- Bartolini, S. and Mair, P. (1990) *Identity, Competition and Electoral Availability: The Stabilisation of European Electorates 1885–1985*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Bartolini, S. and Mair, P. (2001) *Challenges to Contemporary Political Parties*, in Diamond, L. and Gunther, R. (eds.) *Political Parties and Democracy*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Bauman, Z. (1999) *In Search of Politics*, Stanford, Stanford University Press.
- Beck, U. and Beck-Gernsheim, E. (2002) *Individualisation: Institutionalized Individualism and Its Social and Political Consequences*, London, Sage.
- Belkacem, R. and Talpin, J. (2014) *Frapper aux portes pour gagner les élections? Ethnographie de la campagne présidentielle socialiste dans deux villes du Nord de la France*, in "Politix", vol. 105, no. 1, pp. 185–211.
- Belligni, S. and Ravazzi, S. (2012) *La politica e la città. Regime urbano e classe dirigente a Torino*, Bologna, Il Mulino.
- Berta, G. (2016) *Torino, una città in cerca di conferme*, in "Il Mulino", no. 2, pp. 294–300.
- Biancalana, C. (2014) *Il populismo nell'era di internet. Retorica e uso del web nel Movimento 5 stelle*, in «il Mulino», no. 1, pp. 53–62.
- Biancalana, C. (2017) *Désintermédiation et populisme L'emploi d'internet par le Mouvement 5 Étoiles*, in "Romanian Political Science Review", vol. 17, no. 4, pp. 541–559.
- Biancalana, C. (2019) *Between Social Movements and the Constraints of Government: The Five-Star Movement in Turin*, in "Contemporary Italian Politics", vol. 11, no. 1, pp. 63–79.

References

- Biancalana, C. (2020) *From Social Movements to Institutionalisation: The Five-Star Movement and the High-Speed Train Line in Val di Susa*, in “Contemporary Italian Politics”, vol. 12, no. 2, pp. 155–168.
- Biancalana, C. and Colloca, P. (2018) *Il Movimento 5 stelle alla prova dell’istituzionalizzazione: una metamorfosi incompiuta?* in Valbruzzi, M. and Vignati, R. (eds.) *Il vicolo cieco. Le elezioni del 4 marzo 2018*, Bologna, Il Mulino, pp. 79–98.
- Biancalana, C. and Piccio, D. (2017) *L’organizzazione del Movimento 5 stelle: continuità o cambiamento?*, in «Quaderni di scienza politica», vol. 24, no. 3, pp. 435–462.
- Biancalana, C. and Vittori, D. (2021a) *Cyber-Parties’ Membership Between Empowerment and Pseudo-Participation: The cases of Podemos and Five Star Movement*, in Barberà, O., Sandri, G., Correa, P. and Rodríguez-Teruel, J. (eds.) *Digital Parties: The Challenges of Online Organisation and Participation*, New York, Springer, pp. 109–126.
- Biancalana, C. and Vittori, D. (2021b) *Is Gamification the Road toward a More “Democratic” Internal Party Democracy? An Analysis of the First Gamified Candidate-Selection Procedure*, paper presented at the 26th IPSA world congress of political science.
- Bickerton, C. J. and Invernizzi Accetti, C. (2018) *Techno-Populism as a New Party Family: The Case of the Five Star Movement and Podemos*, in “Contemporary Italian Politics”, vol. 10, no. 2, pp. 132–150.
- Biorcio, R. (eds.) (2015) *Gli attivisti del M5s. Dal web al territorio*, Milano, Franco Angeli.
- Biorcio, R., Caruso, L. and Vitale, T. (2016) *Le trasformazioni del sistema politico italiano e l’associazionismo*, in Biorcio, R. and Vitale, T. (eds.) *Italia civile*, Roma, Donzelli, pp. 19–30.
- Biorcio, R. and Sampugnaro, R. (2019) *Introduction: The Five-Star Movement from the Street to Local and National Institutions*, in “Contemporary Italian Politics”, no. 11, vol. 1, pp. 5–14.
- Blondel, J. and Thiébaud, J. L. (eds.) (2010) *Political Leadership, Parties and Citizens: The Personalisation of Leadership*, London-New York, Routledge.
- Blumler, J. G. and Kavanagh, D. (1999) *The Third Age of Political Communication: Influences and Features*, in “Political Communication”, vol. 16, no. 3, pp. 209–230.
- Bobba, G. and Cilluffo, V. (2015) *Il Movimento 5 stelle Torino tra istituzioni e territorio*, in Biorcio, R. (eds.) *Gli attivisti del M5s. Dal web al territorio*, Milano, Franco Angeli, pp. 29–41.
- Bobba, G. and Seddone, A. (2016) *Partito personale o personalizzato? L’evoluzione del Partito Democratico: 2007–2015*, in “Ragion pratica”, vol. 46, no. 1, pp. 57–84.
- Bordandini, P., Di Virgilio, A. and Raniolo, F. (2008) *The Birth of a Party: The Case of the Italian Partito Democratico*, in “South European Society & Politics”, vol. 13, no. 3, pp. 303–324.
- Bordignon, F. (2014) *Matteo Renzi: A “Leftist Berlusconi” for the Italian Partito Democratico?*, in “South European Society and Politics”, vol. 19, no. 1, pp. 1–23.

- Bordignon, F. and Ceccarini, L. (2019) *Five Stars, Five Years, Five (Broken) Taboos*, in Ceccarini, L. and Newell, J. L. (eds.) *The Italian General Election of 2018*, London, Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 139–163.
- Bourdieu, P. (2000) *Propos sur le champ politique*, Lyon, Presses Universitaires Lyon.
- Calise, M. (2010) *Il partito personale*, Roma-Bari, Laterza.
- Canovan, M. (1999) *Trust the People! Populism and the Two Faces of Democracy*, in “Political studies”, vol. 47, no. 1, pp. 2–16.
- Carty, R. K. (2004) *Parties as Franchise Systems: The Stratarchical Organizational Imperative*, in “Party Politics”, vol. 10, no. 1, pp. 5–24.
- Carty, R. K. (2013) *Are Political Parties Meant to be Internally Democratic?*, in Cross, W. P. and Katz, R. S. (eds.) *The Challenges of Intra-Party Democracy*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp. 11–26.
- Caruso, L. (2015) *Il Movimento 5 Stelle e la fine della politica*, in “Rassegna Italiana di Sociologia”, vol. 56, no. 2, pp. 315–340.
- Castells, M. (2009) *Communication Power*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Castells, M. (2012) *Networks of Outrage and Hope: Social Movements in the Internet Age*, London, Polity.
- Ceccarini, L. and Bordignon, F. (2016) *The Five Stars Continue to Shine: The Consolidation of Grillo’s ‘Movement Party’ in Italy*, in “Contemporary Italian Politics”, vol. 8, no. 2, pp. 131–159.
- Ceccarini, L., and Bordignon, F. (2017) *Referendum on Renzi: The 2016 Vote on the Italian Constitutional Revision*, in “South European Society and Politics”, vol. 22, no. 3, pp. 281–302.
- Ceccobelli, D. (2017) *Facebook al potere: lo stile della leadership al tempo dei social media*, Milano, Maggioli editore.
- Cefai, D., Carrel, M., Talpin, J., Eliasoph, N. and Lichterman, P. (2012) *Ethnographies de la participation*, in “Participations”, no. 3, pp. 7–48.
- Cepernich, C. (2017) *Le campagne elettorali nell’era della networked politics*, Roma-Bari, Laterza.
- Cepernich, C. and Vignati, R. (2016) *Saper governare non basta: il caso di Torino in Valbruzzi, M. and Vignati, R. (eds.) Cambiamento o assestamento? Le elezioni amministrative del 2016*, Bologna, Istituto Cattaneo, pp. 23–42.
- Cepernich, C., Cittadino, A. and Pellegrino, D. (2018) *Come votano le periferie? La “Terza città” alle elezioni comunali di Torino 2016*, in “Meridiana”, no. 92, pp. 211–244.
- Ceri, P. and Veltri, F. (2017) *Il Movimento nella rete*, Torino, Rosenberg & Sellier.
- Chadwick, A. (2007) *Disintermediation*, in Bevir, M. (eds.) *Encyclopedia of Governance*, Thousand Oaks, Sage Publications, pp. 232–233.
- Chadwick, A. (2013) *The Hybrid Media System: Politics and Power*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Chiapponi, F. (2017) *Democrazia, populismo, leadership: il Movimento 5 stelle*, Novi Ligure, Edizioni Epoké.

References

- Chiaromonte, A. and De Sio, L. (eds.) (2014) *Terremoto elettorale: le elezioni politiche del 2013*, Bologna, Il Mulino.
- Chiaromonte, A. and Emanuele, V. (2016) *A Growing Impact of New Parties: Myth or Reality? Party System Innovation in Western Europe after 1945*, in “Party Politics”, vol. 24, no. 5, pp. 475–487.
- Chircu, A. M. and Kauffman, R. J. (1999) *Strategies for Internet Middlemen in the Intermediation/Disintermediation/Reintermediation Cycle*, in “Electronic Markets”, vol. 9, no. 1–2, pp. 109–117.
- Chironi, D. and Fittipaldi, R. (2017) *Social Movements and New Forms of Political Organization: Podemos as a Hybrid Party*, in “Partecipazione e Conflitto”, vol. 19, no. 1, pp. 276–305.
- Colloca, P. and Marangoni, F. (2013) *Lo shock elettorale*, in Corbetta, P. and Gualmini, E. (eds.) *Il partito di Grillo*, Bologna, Il Mulino, pp. 65–88.
- Colloca, P. and Marangoni, F. (2017) *L'andamento elettorale: analisi della “natura” mutevole del Movimento 5 stelle*, in Corbetta, P. (eds.) *M5s. Come cambia il partito di Grillo*, Bologna, Il Mulino, pp. 53–83.
- Corbetta, P. and Vignati, R. (2013) *The Primaries of the Centre Left: Only a Temporary Success?*, in “Contemporary Italian Politics”, vol. 5, no. 1, pp. 82–96.
- Corcuff, P., Jon, F. and de Singly, J. (2005) *Politiques de l'individualisme: entre sociologie et philosophie*, Paris, Textuel.
- Cross, W. P. and Katz, R. S. (eds.) (2013) *The Challenges of Intra-Party Democracy*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Cuono, M. (2015) *In principio era il mercato, poi venne la rete. Disintermediazione, spontaneità, legittimità*, in “Iride”, vol. 28, no. 2, pp. 305–318.
- Dahlberg, L. (2011) *Re-Constructing Digital Democracy: An Outline of Four “Positions”* in “New Media & Society”, vol. 13, no. 6, pp. 855–872.
- Dalton, R. J. and Wattenberg, M. P. (eds.) (2002) *Parties Without Partisans: Political Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Dalton, R. J. and Welzel, C. (eds.) (2014) *The Civic Culture Transformed: From Allegiant to Assertive Citizens*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- De Blasio, E. (2014) *La democrazia digitale. Una piccola introduzione*, Roma, LUISS University Press.
- De Blasio, E. and Sorice, M. (2018) *Populism Between Direct Democracy and the Technological Myth*, in “Palgrave Communications”, vol. 4, no. 1, pp. 1–11.
- De Cindio, F. and Stortone, S. (2013) *A Two Dimensional Space to Frame Participatory Initiatives and Platforms*, paper prepared for the workshop “Large-Scale Idea Management and Deliberation Systems”, International Conference on Communities & Technologies (C&T).
- De Luca, M. and Venturino, F. (2015) *Democratising Candidate Selection in Italy and France*, in Sandri, G., Seddone, A. and Venturino, F. (eds.) (2015) *Party Primaries in Comparative Perspective*, Farnham, Ashgate, pp. 129–144.
- De Rosa, R. and Quattromani, D. (2019) *Ruling Rome with Five Stars*, in “Contemporary Italian Politics”, vol. 11, no. 1, pp. 43–62.

- Della Porta, D. (2013) *Can Democracy Be Saved? Participation Deliberation and Social Movements*, Cambridge, Polity.
- Della Porta, D., Fernández, J., Kouki, H. and Mosca, L. (2017) *Movement Parties against Austerity*, Hoboken, John Wiley & Sons.
- Deschouwer, K. (1992) *The Survival of the Fittest: Measuring and Explaining Adaptation and Change of Political Parties*, paper presented at the ECPR Joint Sessions, Limerick.
- Deschouwer, K. (2006) *Political Parties as Multi-Level Organizations*, in Katz, R. S. and Crotty, W. J. (eds.) *Handbook of Party Politics*, London, Sage, pp. 291–300.
- Deschouwer, K. (eds.) (2008) *New Parties in Government: In Power for the First Time*, London-New York, Routledge.
- Deseriis, M. (2017a) *Direct Parliamentarianism: An Analysis of the Political Values Embedded in Rousseau, the “Operating System” of the Movimento 5 Stelle*, in “JeDEM – e-Journal of e-Democracy and Open Government”, vol. 9, no. 2, pp. 47–67.
- Deseriis, M. (2017b) *Technopopulism: The Emergence of a Discursive Formation*, in “tripleC: Communication, Capitalism & Critique”, vol. 15, no. 2, pp. 441–458.
- Deseriis, M. (2020) *Digital Movement Parties: A Comparative Analysis of the Technopolitical Cultures and the Participation Platforms of the Movimento 5 Stelle and the Piratenpartei*, in “Information, Communication & Society”, vol. 23, no. 12, pp. 1770–1786.
- Deseriis, M. and Vittori, D. (2019) *The Impact of Online Participation Platforms on the Internal Democracy of Two Southern European Parties: Podemos and the Five Star Movement*, in “International Journal of Communication”, no. 13, 5696–5714.
- Detterbeck, K. (2012) *Multi-Level Party Politics in Western Europe*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan.
- Dolez, B., Fretel, J., and Lefebvre, R. (eds.) (2019) *L’entreprise Macron: Sociologie d’une entreprise émergente*. Fontaine, Presses Universitaires de Grenoble.
- Duverger, M. (1951) *Les partis politiques*, Paris, A. Colin.
- Easton, D. (1965) *A Framework for Political Analysis*, Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall.
- Elias, N. (2001) *Society of Individuals*, New York, Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Evans, J. (2017) *La candidatura di Macron e il movimento En Marche!*, in Brizzi, R. and Lazar, M. (eds.) *La Francia di Macron*, Bologna, Il Mulino.
- Flinders, M. and Woods, M. (2014) *Depoliticisation, Governance and the State*, in “Policy & Politics”, vol. 42, no. 2, pp. 135–149.
- Floridia, A. (2009) *Modelli di democrazia e modelli di partito: analisi critica dello Statuto del PD*, in Pasquino, G. (eds.) *Il Partito Democratico: Elezione del segretario, organizzazione e potere*, Bologna, Bononia University Press, pp. 187–235.
- Floridia, A. (2019) *Un partito sbagliato: democrazia e organizzazione nel Partito democratico*. Roma, Castelvecchi.
- Foa, R. S. and Mounk, Y. (2016) *The Democratic Disconnect*, in “Journal of Democracy”, vol. 27, no. 3, pp. 5–17.

References

- Frankland, E. G., Lucardie, P. and Rihoux, B. (eds.) (2008) *Green Parties in Transition. The End of Grass-Roots Democracy?*, Farnham, Ashgate.
- Gauja, A. (2015) *The Individualisation of Party Politics: The Impact of Changing Internal Decision-Making Processes on Policy Development and Citizen Engagement*, in "The British Journal of Politics and International Relations", vol. 17, no. 1, pp. 89–105.
- Gauja, A. (2017) *Party Reform: The Causes, Challenges, and Consequences of Organizational Change*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Gerbaudo, P. (2019) *The Digital Party: Political Organisation and Online Democracy*. London, Pluto Press.
- Gerbaudo, P. (2021) *Are Digital Parties More Democratic than Traditional Parties? Evaluating Podemos and Movimento 5 Stelle's Online Decision-Making Platforms*, in "Party Politics", vol. 27, no. 4, pp. 730–742.
- Gerber, A. S. and Green, D. P. (2000) *The Effects of Canvassing, Telephone Calls, and Direct Mail on Voter Turnout: A Field Experiment*, in "The American Political Science Review", vol. 94, no. 3, pp. 653–663.
- Gerber, A. S. and Green, D. P. (2004) *Get Out the Vote: How to Increase Voter Turnout*, Washington, D.C., Brookings Institution.
- Giannetti, D. and Lefebvre, R. (2015) *Adoption, institutionnalisation et diffusion des primaires ouvertes. Une approche comparée franco-italienne*, in "Revue internationale de politique comparée", vol. 22, no. 3, 371–395.
- Gibson, R., Nixon, P. and Ward, S. (2003) *Net Gain?: Political Parties and the Impact of the New Information Communication Technologies*, London-New York, Routledge.
- Giddens, A. (1990) *The Consequences of Modernity*, London, Polity.
- Grilli di Cortona, P. (2007) *Il cambiamento politico in Italia. Dalla Prima alla Seconda Repubblica*, Roma, Carocci.
- Grillo, B., Fo, D. and Casaleggio, G. (2013) *Il grillo canta sempre al tramonto. Dialogo sull'Italia e il Movimento 5 stelle*, Milano, Chiarelettere.
- Guerini, L. (2014) *Il partito nell'era della disintermediazione*, in "Italianieuropei", no. 6.
- Harmel, R. (2002) *Party Organizational Change: Competing Explanations?* in Luther, K. R. and Muller-Rommel, F. (eds.) *Political Parties in the New Europe*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp. 119–42.
- Harmel, R. and Janda, K. (1994) *An Integrated Theory of Party Goals and Party Change*, in "Journal of Theoretical Politics", vol. 6, no. 3, pp. 259–287.
- Hay, C. (2007) *Why We Hate Politics*, London, Polity.
- Hazan, R. Y. and Rahat, G. (2010) *Democracy Within Parties: Candidate Selection Methods and Their Political Consequences*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Hellman, S. (1988) *Italian Communism in Transition: The Rise and Fall of the Historic Compromise in Turin, 1975–1980*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Ignazi, P. (2004) *Il puzzle dei partiti: più forti e più aperti ma meno attraenti e meno legittimi*, in "Rivista italiana di scienza politica", vol. 34, no. 3, pp. 325–346.

- Ignazi, P. (2017) *Party and Democracy: The Uneven Road to Party Legitimacy*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Ignazi, P. (2020) *The Four Knights of Intra-Party Democracy: A Rescue for Party Delegation*, in “Party Politics”, vol. 26, no. 1, pp. 9–20.
- Inglehart, R. (1977) *The Silent Revolution*, Princeton, Princeton University Press.
- Inglehart, R. (1990) *Culture Shift in Advanced Industrial Society*, Princeton, Princeton University Press.
- Invernizzi-Accetti, C. and Wolkenstein, F. (2017) *The Crisis of Party Democracy, Cognitive Mobilization, and the Case for Making Parties More Deliberative*, in “American Political Science Review”, vol. 111, no. 1, pp. 97–109.
- ITANES (2013) *Voto amaro*, Bologna, Il Mulino.
- Karpp, D. (2012) *The MoveOn effect: The unexpected transformation of American political advocacy*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Karvonen, L. (2010) *The Personalisation of Politics: A Study of Parliamentary Democracies*, Colchester, ECPR Press.
- Katz, R. S. and Mair, P. (1995) *Changing Models of Party Organization and Party Democracy. The Emergence of the Cartel Party*, in “Party Politics”, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 5–28.
- Katz, R. S. and Mair, P. (1992) *Party Organization 1960–1990: A Data Handbook*, London, Sage.
- Katz, R. S. and Mair, P. (1993) *The Evolution of Party Organizations in Europe: The Three Faces of Party Organization*, in “American Review of Politics”, vol. 14, no. 4, pp. 593–617.
- Kirchheimer, O. (1966) *The Transformation of the Western European Party Systems*, in La Palombara and Weiner (eds.) *Political Parties and Political Development*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, pp. 177–200.
- Kitschelt, H. (2006) *Movement Parties*, in Katz and Crotty (eds.) *Handbook of Party Politics*, London, Sage, pp. 278–290.
- Kittilson, M. C. and Scarrow, S. E. (2003) *Political Parties and the Rhetoric and Realities of Democratization*, in Cain, B. E., Dalton, R. J. and Scarrow, S. E. (eds.) *Democracy Transformed?: Expanding Political Opportunities in Advanced Industrial Democracies*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp. 59–80.
- La Spina, A. (2016) *Concezioni del policy style e leadership: il caso del governo Renzi*, in “Rivista italiana di politiche pubbliche”, no. 1, pp. 23–46.
- Lazarsfeld, P. F., Berelson, B. and Gaudet, H. (1948) *The People’s Choice*, New York, Columbia University Press.
- Le Bart, C. and Lefebvre, R. (eds.) (2005) *La proximité en politique: usages, rhétoriques, pratiques*, Rennes, Presses universitaires de Rennes.
- Lefebvre, R. (2013) *Le militantisme socialiste n’est plus ce qu’il n’a jamais été*, in “Politix”, vol. 2, no. 102, pp. 7–33.
- Lefebvre, R. (2016) *La modernisation du porte-à-porte au Parti socialiste. Réinvention d’un répertoire de campagne et inerties militantes*, in “Politix”, vol. 113, no. 1, pp. 91–115.

References

- Lefebvre, R. (2018) *Vers un nouveau modèle partisan? Entre déclassement des partis de gouvernement et avènement des partis-mouvements*, in “Cahiers de la recherche sur les droits fondamentaux”, no. 18, pp. 21–30.
- Lefebvre, R. and Treille, E. (eds.) (2016) *Les primaires ouvertes en France: adoption, codification, mobilisation*. Rennes, Presses universitaires de Rennes.
- Liégey, G., Muller, A. and Pons, V. (2013) *Porte à porte. Reconquérir la démocratie sur le terrain*, Paris, Calmann-Lévy.
- Lipset, S. M. and Rokkan, S. (1967) *Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross-National Perspectives*, Toronto, Free Press.
- Lupo, S. (2013) *Antipartiti*, Roma, Donzelli.
- Mair, P. (1994) *From Civil Society to the State*, in Katz, R. S. and Mair, P. (eds.) *How Parties Organize: Change and Adaptation in Party Organizations in Western Democracies*, London, Sage.
- Mair, P. (2013) *Ruling the Void: The Hollowing of Western Democracy*, London, Verso Books.
- Manin, B. (1995) *Principes du gouvernement représentatif*, Paris, Calmann-Lévy.
- Margetts, H. (2006) *Cyber Parties*, in Katz, R. S. and Crotty, W. J. (eds.) *Handbook of Party Politics*, London, Sage, pp. 528–535.
- Mastropaolo, A. (2000) *Antipolitica: all'origine della crisi italiana*, Napoli, L'ancora del Mediterraneo.
- Mastropaolo, A. (2012) *Is Democracy a Lost Cause?: Paradoxes of an Imperfect Invention*, Colchester, ECPR Press.
- Mastropaolo, A. (2018) *Le acrobazie della rappresentanza*, in “Comunicazione politica”, no. 3, pp. 317–332.
- Mazzoleni, G. and Schulz, W. (1998) “Mediatization” of Politics: A Challenge for Democracy?, in “Political Communication”, vol. 16, no. 3, pp. 247–261.
- Mazzoleni, G. (2012) *La comunicazione politica*, Bologna, Il Mulino.
- Mazzoleni, G. and Sfardini, A. (2009) *Politica pop*, Bologna, Il Mulino.
- Mazzoleni, O. (2007) *Définir le parti: un enjeu scientifique et politique*, in Mazzoleni, O., Gottraux, P. and Péchu, C. (eds.) *L'union démocratique du centre: un parti, son action, ses soutiens*, Lausanne, Éditions Antipodes, pp. 17–47.
- Mazzoleni, O., and Voerman, G. (2017) *Memberless Parties: Beyond the Business-Firm Party Model?*, in “Party Politics”, vol. 23, no. 6, pp. 783–792.
- Meguid, B. M. (2008) *Competition Between Unequals*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Melchionda, E. (2005) *Alle origini delle primarie*, Roma, Ediesse.
- Michels, R. (1911) *Zur Soziologie des Parteiwesens in der modernen Demokratie. Untersuchungen über die oligarchischen Tendenzen des Gruppenlebens*, Leipzig, Werner Klinkhardt.
- Montesanti, L. and Tarditi, V. (2017) *Fenomenologia di due nuovi partiti: i casi del Movimento 5 stelle e di Podemos*, in “Polis”, vol. 31, no. 2, pp. 261–292.
- Morlino, L. (2003) *Democrazie e democratizzazioni*, Bologna, Il Mulino.

- Morlino, L. and Tarchi, M. (eds.) (2006) *Partiti e caso italiano*, Bologna, Il Mulino.
- Moro, G. (2013) *La cittadinanza attiva*, Roma, Carocci.
- Mosca, L. (2015) *The Movimento 5 Stelle and Social Conflicts: Between Symbiosis and Cooptation*, in Tronconi, F. (eds.) *Beppe Grillo's Movimento 5 Stelle: Organization, Communication, Ideology*, Farnham, Ashgate, pp. 153–177.
- Mosca, L. (2020) *Democratic Vision and Online Participatory Spaces in the Italian Movimento 5 Stelle*, in “Acta politica”, no. 55, pp. 1–18.
- Mosca, L., Vaccari, C. and Valeriani, A. (2015) *An Internet-Fuelled Party? The Movimento 5 Stelle and the Web*, in Tronconi, F. (eds.) *Beppe Grillo's Five Star Movement*, Farnham, Ashgate, pp. 127–151.
- Musella, F. (2015) *Personal Leaders and Party Change: Italy in Comparative Perspective*, in “Italian Political Science Review/Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica”, vol. 45, no. 3, pp. 227–247.
- Natale, P. and Fasano, L. (2017) *L'ultimo partito: 10 anni di Partito democratico*, Torino, Giappichelli.
- Natale, S. and Ballatore, A. (2014) *The Web Will Kill Them All: New Media, Digital Utopia, and Political Struggle in the Italian 5-Star Movement*, in “Media, Culture & Society”, vol. 36, no. 1, pp. 105–121.
- Nevitte, N. (1996) *The Decline of Deference: Canadian Value Change in Cross-National Perspective*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press.
- Nevitte, N. (2014) *The Decline of Deference Revisited: Evidence after Twenty-Five Years*, in Dalton, R. J. and Welzel, C. (eds.) *The Civic Culture Transformed: From Allegiant to Assertive Citizens*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp. 35–58.
- Nielsen, R. K. (2012) *Ground Wars: Personalised Communication in Political Campaigns*, Princeton, Princeton University Press.
- Norris, P. (eds.) (1999) *Critical Citizens: Global Support for Democratic Government*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Norris, P. (2000) *A Virtuous Circle: Political Communications in Postindustrial Societies*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Panbianco, A. (1988) *Political Parties: Organization and Power*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Pasquino, G. (2009) *Il Partito Democratico. Elezione del segretario, organizzazione e potere*, Bologna, Bononia University Press.
- Passarelli, G., Tronconi, F. and Tuorto, D. (2013) *Dentro il Movimento: organizzazione, attivisti, programmi*, in Corbetta, P. and Gualmini, E. (eds.) *Il partito di Grillo*, Bologna, Il Mulino, pp. 123–167.
- Passarelli, G., Tronconi, F. and Tuorto, D. (2017) “*Chi dice organizzazione dice oligarchia*”: cambiamento e contraddizioni della forma organizzativa del Movimento, in Corbetta, P. (eds.) *M5s. Come cambia il partito di Grillo*, Bologna, Il Mulino, pp. 163–194.
- Pateman, C. (1970) *Participation and Democratic Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

References

- Pedersen, K. and Saglie, J. (2005) *New Technology in Ageing Parties*, in “Party Politics”, vol. 11, no. 3, pp. 359–377.
- Pedersen, M. (1982) *Towards a New Typology of Party Life-Spans and Minor Parties*, in “Scandinavian Political Studies”, vol. 5, no. 1, pp. 1–13.
- Pilet, J. B. and Cross, W. (eds.) (2014) *The Selection of Political Party Leaders in Contemporary Parliamentary Democracies: A Comparative Study*, London-New York, Routledge.
- Pitkin, H. F. (1967) *The Concept of Representation*, Berkeley, University of California Press.
- Pritoni, A., Valbruzzi, M., and Vignati, R. (eds.) (2017) *La prova del No. Il sistema politico italiano dopo il referendum costituzionale*, Soveria Mannelli, Rubbettino.
- Pizarro, M. A. and Labuske, E. (2015) *El músculo deliberativo del algoritmo democrático: Podemos y la participación ciudadana*, in “Teknokultura”, vol. 12, no. 1, pp. 93–109.
- Pizzimenti, E. (2020) *Tigri di carta. Debolezza dei partiti e instabilità sistemica in Italia (1994–2018)*, Pisa, Pisa University Press.
- Pizzimenti, E., Calossi, E. and Cicchi, L. (2020) *Removing the Intermediaries? Patterns of Intra-Party Organizational Change in Europe (1970–2010)*, *Acta Politica*, online first.
- Pizzolato, N. (2013) *Challenging Global Capitalism: Labor Migration, Radical Struggle, and Urban Change in Detroit and Turin*, New York, Springer.
- Poguntke, T. (2002) *Green Parties in National Governments: From Protest to Acquiescence?*, in “Environmental Politics”, vol. 11, no. 1, pp. 133–145.
- Poguntke, T. and Webb, P. (eds.) (2005) *The Presidentialization of Politics: A Comparative Study of Modern Democracies*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Rihoux, B. (2001) *A Comparative Exploration of the Link(s) Between Governmental Participation and the Organisational “Transformation” of Green Parties*, paper presented at the ECPR Joint Sessions, Grenoble.
- Robert, C. (2007) *Les transformations managériales des activités politiques*, in “Politix”, vol. 79, no. 3, pp. 7–23.
- Rosenblum, N. (2008) *On the Side of Angels: An Appreciation of Parties and Partisanship*, Princeton, Princeton University Press.
- Rustighi, L. (2021) *Paradoxes of Democracy: Rousseau and Hegel on Democratic Deliberation*, in “Philosophy & Social Criticism”, online first.
- Salvati, M. (2003) *Il Partito democratico. Alle origini di un’idea politica*, Bologna, Il Mulino.
- Sandri, G. and Seddone, A. (2018) *Il Partito democratico fra mutamento e assestamento. Cronaca di un anno particolare*, in Forestiere, C. and Tronconi, F. (eds.) *Politica in Italia, Edizione 2018*, Bologna, Il Mulino, pp. 47–68.
- Sandri, G. and Venturino, F. (2020) *Party Organization and Intra-Party Democracy in Italy*, in “Contemporary Italian Politics”, vol. 12, no. 4, pp. 443–460.

- Seddone, A., Sandri, G., and Sozzi, F. (2020) *Primary Elections for Party Leadership in Italy: A Democratic Innovation?*, in Alexandre-Collier, A., Goujon, A. and Gourgues, G. (eds.) *Innovations, Reinvented Politics and Representative Democracy*, London-New York, Routledge, pp. 46–59.
- Sartori, G. (1976) *Parties and Party Systems: A Framework for Analysis*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Sartori, G. (2006) *Democrazia. Ha un futuro?*, in AA.VV., *Lezioni Bobbio. Sette interventi su etica e politica*, Roma-Bari, Laterza.
- Saward, M. (2010) *The Representative Claim*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Scarrow, S. E. (2005) *Political Parties and Democracy in Theoretical and Practical Perspectives: Implementing Intra-Party Democracy*, Washington, DC, National Democratic Institute for International Affairs.
- Scarrow, S. E. (2014) *Beyond Party Members? Changing Approaches to Party Mobilization*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Scarrow, S. E. and Webb, P. D. (2017) *Investigating Party Organization: Structures, Resources, and Representative Strategies*, in Scarrow, S. E., Webb, P. D. and Poguntke, T. (eds.) (2017) *Organizing Political Parties: Representation, Participation, and Power*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp. 1–27.
- Scarrow, S. E., Webb, P. D. and Poguntke, T. (eds.) (2017) *Organizing Political Parties: Representation, Participation, and Power*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Seddone, A. and Venturino, F. (2015) *The Partito Democratico after the 2013 Elections: All Change?*, in “Journal of Modern Italian Studies”, vol. 20, no. 4, pp. 474–490.
- Tarchi, M. (2015) *Italia populista*. Bologna: Il Mulino.
- Tormey, S. (2015) *The End of Representative Politics*, London, Polity.
- Treré, E. and Barassi, V. (2015) *Net-Authoritarianism? How Web Ideologies Reinforce Political Hierarchies in the Italian 5 Star Movement*, in “Journal of Italian Cinema & Media Studies”, vol. 3, no. 3, pp. 287–304.
- Tronconi, F. (2018) *The Italian Five Star Movement During the Crisis: Towards Normalisation?*, in “South European Society and Politics”, vol. 23, no. 1, pp. 163–180.
- Urbinati, N. (2013) *Democrazia in diretta. Le nuove sfide della rappresentanza*. Milano, Feltrinelli.
- Urbinati, N. (2015) *A Revolt against Intermediary Bodies*, in “Constellations”, vol. 22, no. 4, pp. 477–486.
- Vaccari, C. (2009) *Nuovi media, strategie elettorali e partecipazione*, in “Comunicazione politica”, no. 3, pp. 399–420.
- Valbruzzi, M. (2019) *Da Renzi a Zingaretti: i flussi elettorali e la nuova stagione del PD*, in Rombi, S. and Serricchio, F. (eds.) *L'elezione di Zingaretti La rivincita del partito?* Novi Ligure, Epoké, pp. 215–227.
- Valbruzzi, M. and Vignati, R. (eds.) (2018) *Il vicolo cieco. Le elezioni del 4 marzo 2018*, Bologna, Il Mulino.

References

- van Biezen, I., Mair, P. and Poguntke, T. (2012) *Going, Going... Gone? The Decline of Party Membership in Contemporary Europe*, in "European Journal of Political Research", vol. 51, no. 1, pp. 24–56.
- van Haute, E. and Gauja, A. (eds.) (2015) *Party Members and Activists*, London-New York, Routledge.
- van Zoonen, L. (2005) *Entertaining the Citizen: When Politics and Popular Culture Converge*, Lanham, Rowman & Littlefield.
- Vassallo, S. (2006) *La forma organizzativa. Un nuovo partito, un partito nuovo*, paper presented at the conference "Per il Partito Democratico", Orvieto, October 6th–7th.
- Vassallo, S. and Passarelli, G. (2016) *Centre-Left Prime Ministerial Primaries in Italy: The Laboratory of the "Open Party" Model*, in "Contemporary Italian Politics", vol. 8, no. 1, pp. 12–23.
- Ventura, S. (2018) *The Italian Democratic Party from Merger to Personalism*, in "South European Society and Politics", vol. 23, no. 1, pp. 181–196.
- Venturino, F. (2009) *Le primarie comunali dell'Unione, 2004–2007*, in Pasquino, G. and Venturino, F. (eds.) *Le primarie comunali in Italia*, Bologna, Il Mulino, pp. 7–45.
- Venturino, F. (2015) *Promoting Internal Democracy: An Analysis of the Statute of the Partito Democratico*, in Sandri, G. and Seddone, A. (eds.) *The Primary Game*, Novi Ligure, Epoké, pp. 35–50.
- Verba, S. (1961) *Small Groups and Political Behaviour*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Vignati, R. (2015a) *Beppe Grillo and the Movimento 5 Stelle: A Brief History of a "Leaderist" Movement with a Leaderless Ideology*, in Tronconi, F. (eds.) *Beppe Grillo's Five Star Movement: Organisation, Communication and Ideology*, Farnham, Ashgate, pp. 9–28.
- Vignati, R. (2015b) *The Organization of the Movimento 5 Stelle: A Contradictory Party Model*, in Tronconi, F. (eds.) *Beppe Grillo's Five Star Movement: Organisation, Communication and Ideology*, Farnham, Ashgate, pp. 29–52.
- Vittori, D. (2017) *Podemos and the Five Stars Movement: Divergent Trajectories in a Similar Crisis*, in "Constellations" no. 24, pp. 324–338.
- von dem Berge, B. and Poguntke, T. (2017) *Varieties of Intra-Party Democracy: Conceptualization and Index Construction*, in Scarrow, S. E., Webb, P. D. and Poguntke, T. (eds.) (2017) *Organizing Political Parties: Representation, Participation, and Power*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp. 136–157.
- von dem Berge, B. et al. (2013) *Measuring Intra-Party Democracy: A Guide for the Content Analysis of Party Statutes with Examples from Hungary, Slovakia and Romania*, New York, Springer.
- Webb, P. D., Poguntke, T. and Scarrow, S. E. (2017) *Conclusion: The Study of Party Organization*, in Scarrow, S. E., Webb, P. D. and Poguntke, T. (eds.) (2017) *Organizing Political Parties: Representation, Participation, and Power*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp. 307–320.

Woods, M. and Flinders, M. (2014) *Rethinking Depoliticisation: Beyond the Governmental*, in "Policy & Politics", vol. 42, no. 2, pp. 151–170.

