

Supplementary material to “When Parties Become Movements: The Movement-ization of Established Party Organizations in Austria, Germany, and the UK”, *Politische Vierteljahresschrift* 2023.

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A. Overview of the Interviewees

Gender	
male	23
female	16
total	39
Country	
Austria	15
Germany	12
UK	12
total	39
Party Family	
Social Democracy	21
Conservative/Christian Democracy	18
total	39

Party Organization: a party functionary, often employed in national party headquarters, involved in the party’s long-term planning and membership development.

Youth Organization: a member of the party’s attached youth organization.

Local Politics: A party functionary or member of parliament focused mainly on the party on the ground and local constituencies.

Expert/Party Organization: a member of a political foundation close to the party, close observer and often also involved in hands-on organization of local party branches and party members.

Expert: academic or political foundation expert, conducting research and/or consulting on matters of party and membership development.

Age of interviewees	
20-29	6
30-39	6
40-49	16
50-65	8
65+	3
total	39
Function in Party	
Party Organization	9
Youth Organization	3
Local Politics	11
Expert/Party Organization	10
Expert	6
total	39
Party Level	
local	5
regional	4
national	21
local/national	5
regional/national	4
total	39

	Pseudonym	Date of interview	Gender	Country	Party Family	Age	Function	Level	Duration (min.)	Description
1.	A1 Andreas	05.12.2019	male	Austria	Social Democracy	40-49	Expert/Party Organization	local/national	82	A1 Andreas currently works for a political think tank close to the SPÖ and has for a long time been a regional organizational secretary of the party.
2.	A2 Andrea	16.12.2019	female	Austria	Social Democracy	30-39	Expert	national	69	A2 Andrea works for a political think tank close to the SPÖ and is engaged in many of the organizational debates at the national level
3.	A3 Bernhard	18.12.2019	male	Austria	Social Democracy	40-49	Expert/Party Organization	local/national	81	A3 Bernhard is co-heading a local SPÖ branch since many years and working for a political thinktank
4.	A4 Barbara	09.01.2020	female	Austria	Social Democracy	40-49	Party Organization	national	68	From students, youth, and women's branches, A4 Barbara for many years is a leading member of the national level SPÖ organization.
5.	A5 Christina	27.01.2020	female	Austria	Social Democracy	40-49	Expert/Party Organization	local/national	70	A5 Christina has been a party functionary at the national level and has worked for and with several chancellors and ministers as well as with regional and local functionaries. Now works for a political think tank.
6.	A6 Daniel	28.01.2020	male	Austria	Social Democracy	30-39	Party Organization	national	50	A6 Daniel has been engaged in an Austrian region SPÖ branch from young age, is currently MP and involved in questions of strategic and organizational development of the party.
7.	A7 Emilia	05.02.2020	female	Austria	Social Democracy	20-29	Youth Organization	national	64	A7 Emilia has been active in the youth and students' branches of the SPÖ and is currently an MP and very active in strategic and organizational development.

8.	A8 Franziska	14.02.2020	female	Austria	Social Democracy	20-29	Party Organization	local	71	A8 Franziska is SPÖ representative at a local parliament and member of a district council. She has been active in the SPÖ from a very young age.
9.	A51 Michael	18.02.2020	male	Austria	Conservative/Christian Democracy	50-65	Expert/Party Organization	regional/national	65	A51 Michael co-heads a political think tank close to the ÖVP and is very active in the strategic and organizational development of the party.
10.	A9 Gerlinde	25.02.2020	female	Austria	Social Democracy	30-39	Local Politics	local	69	A9 Gerlinde is co-heading a local SPÖ branch and is very active in the internal party discourse on strategic and organizational development.
11.	A52 Manuel	17.03.2020	male	Austria	Conservative/Christian Democracy	40-49	Party Organization	local	40	A52 Manuel is a ÖVP representative at a local parliament and member of a district council.
12.	D1 Eduard	28.05.2020	male	Germany	Social Democracy	40-49	Local Politics	regional	80	D1 works as a staff member for a high rank regional and local SPD politician and MP and has engaged with the strategic and organizational development of the party for many years.
13.	D2 Benjamin	05.06.2020	male	Germany	Social Democracy	40-49	Local Politics	local	65	D2 has been active and co-heading in a local branch of the SPD's youth branch, as staff for a national SPD MP, and now works as the office manager of a local SPD branch.
14.	D51 Manfred	15.06.2020	male	Germany	Conservative/Christian Democracy	50-65	Expert	national	55	D51 Manfred works for a political think tank close to the CDU/CSU and is involved in the strategic development of the party. He is involved in discussing the party's alignments with the executive committee for many years.
15.	A53 Norbert	16.06.2020	male	Austria	Conservative/Christian Democracy	40-49	Local Politics	local	60	A53 Norbert has been active in the ÖVP students' branches and later on

										as a representative of the ÖVP in the local parliament and district council.
16.	D3 Christian	16.06.2020	male	Germany	Social Democracy	40-49	Party Organization	national	70	D3 Christian has been working in several positions in the national SPD headquarters and has been engaged in the strategic and organizational development of the party for many years.
17.	D4 Dagmar	17.06.2020	female	Germany	Social Democracy	40-49	Expert	national	60	D4 Dagmar is a social scientist and focusing on political surveys. She cooperates with a political think tank close to the SPD and is involved in the discourse on the party's strategic development.
18.	D5 Emma	08.07.2020	female	Germany	Social Democracy	30-39	Party Organization	regional	55	D5 Emma is an organizational secretary of a regional SPD branch and involved in the organizational development of local SPD and grassroots organizations.
19.	D6 Jacqueline	30.07.2020	female	Germany	Social Democracy	50-65	Party Organization	national	55	D6 is a long-standing member of the national SPD headquarters and has been involved in the organizational development as well as membership development of the party for many years.
20.	D52 Marcel	14.08.2020	male	Germany	Conservative/Christian Democracy	30-39	Local Politics	regional	60	D52 Marcel has been member of the CDU for many years and has worked for several ministers and prime ministers in a CDU-led regional government.
21.	D53 Erwin	17.08.2020	male	Germany	Conservative/Christian Democracy	65+	Local Politics	regional	65	D53 Erwin has been CSU party member for over 50 years and has held party offices and parliamentary mandates for over 40 years. He has been member of the Bavarian government for several legislative

										periods and in various positions, i.a. as a minister.
22.	A54 Natascha	21.08.2020	female	Austria	Conservative/Christian Democracy	20-29	Local Politics	local/national	55	A54 Natascha is an ÖVP MP in the national parliament. She is based in a rural local ÖVP organization.
23.	A55 Nils	28.08.2020	male	Austria	Conservative/Christian Democracy	40-49	Expert/Party Organization	national	65	A55 Nils has been active in ÖVP youth and students' branches, as a local ÖVP representative and district council. Currently, he works for a political think tank close to the ÖVP and is engaged in the strategic and organizational development of the party.
24.	D54 Natalie	09.09.2020	female	Germany	Conservative/Christian Democracy	20-29	Youth Organization	national	65	D54 Natalie is a member of the leadership of the CDU's youth branch and is in the strategic and organizational development of the party.
25.	A56 Susanne	21.09.2020	female	Austria	Conservative/Christian Democracy	20-29	Youth Organization	national	55	A56 has been member of the leadership of the ÖVP youth branch and an ÖVP representative in a district council. She has also had several positions in the national ÖVP leadership engaging with the strategic and organizational development of the party.
26.	D7 Franz	24.10.2020	male	Germany	Social Democracy	40-49	Expert/Party Organization	regional/national	65	D7 Franz works for a political think tank close to the SPD in a German region and has been involved in discussing the party's strategic and organizational development for many years. Party member for over 20 years.
27.	UK1 Henry	05.11.2020	male	United Kingdom	Social Democracy	40-49	Expert/Party Organization	national	60	UK1 Henry joined the student's Labour society. He campaigned and later worked for the local MP. He

										now works as a social scientist with a leftist/Labour related think tank as well as a British university.
28.	UK2 Emily	20.11.2020	female	United Kingdom	Social Democracy	50-65	Party Organization	national	75	UK2 Emily was involved in the Corbyn party leadership by organizing for Momentum. Before and after she was/is outspokenly critical of the Labour party's development, and leadership.
29.	UK3 Dalia	21.11.2020	female	United Kingdom	Social Democracy	40-49	Local Politics	local/national	80	UK3 Dalia is a Labour party member and elected city councilor. She was/is very much engaged in local Labour politics and the organizational and strategic development of the party.
30.	UK4 Dennis	06.01.2021	male	United Kingdom	Social Democracy	50-65	Party Organization	national	67	UK4 Dennis has been a party member for more than 40 years and has campaigned for leftist youth and students' organizations as well as Labour campaigns and Momentum. He worked for several newspapers close to the Labour party and later as a political advisor to a left-wing Labour MP as well as a member of the Labour party's national executive committee.
31.	D55 Sabine	08.04.2021	female	Germany	Conservative/Christian Democracy	50-65	Expert	national	60	D55 Sabine is a social scientist and has been working on the development of (German) Christian democracy for a long time.
32.	UK5 Gerrard	09.04.2021	male	United Kingdom	Social Democracy	40-49	Expert/Party Organization	national	70	UK5 Gerrard is a political scientist at a British university and has been working on the development of the Labour party for many years. He worked with a Labour related journal for several years.

33.	UK51 Theodore	11.05.2021	male	United Kingdom	Conservative/Christian Democracy	50-65	Expert	national	60	UK51 Theodore is a British political scientist working on party membership and especially on the development of the Conservative party.
34.	UK52 Sebastian	02.09.2021	male	United Kingdom	Conservative/Christian Democracy	40-49	Expert	national	60	UK52 Sebastian is a British political scientist working on party membership and especially on the development of the Conservative party.
35.	UK53 Thomas	20.10.2021	male	United Kingdom	Conservative/Christian Democracy	50-65	Expert/Party Organization	national	30	UK53 Thomas has been working for and with Conservative MP's, ministers and government institutions since the 1980s as an advisor for political communication. He has been involved in the strategic and organizational development of the party.
36.	UK54 Robert	21.10.2021	male	United Kingdom	Conservative/Christian Democracy	30-39	Expert/Party Organization	national	85	UK54 Robert is a British social scientist working on Conservatism, but has also worked as an office manager and assistant for Conservative ministers at the national level and is therefore at home in both worlds – academic and political.
37.	UK55 Samuel	22.10.2021	male	United Kingdom	Conservative/Christian Democracy	20-29	Local Politics	national	25	UK55 Samuel works for a British minister on many issues concerning the analysis of polling data, political communication, and the development of public opinion. He has been involved in the strategic development of the party
38.	UK56 Nicole	11.11.2021	female	United Kingdom	Conservative/Christian Democracy	65+	Local Politics	regional/national	45	UK56 Nicole is a Conservative MP from a city in middle England.
39.	UK57 Philip	22.11.2021	male	United Kingdom	Conservative/Christian Democracy	65+	Local Politics	regional/national	40	UK57 Philip is a longstanding member of the House of Lords and has had

										extensive experience in various fields of local and national politics and in various positions and committees of the Conservative Party.
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B. Interview guidelines

Changes of social expectations

1. For how long have you been observing political parties/Social Democracy/Christian Democracy/the Conservatives and the development of party-society linkages?
2. In which way have, in your perspective, expectations of citizens towards Social Democracy/Christian Democracy/the Conservatives shifted?
3. From your point of view, what do contemporary members and sympathizers expect from a membership?
4. Which role in the democracy of today is ascribed to Social Democracy/Christian Democracy/the Conservatives? Has this been subject to change?
5. With many political parties in the Western world, one might “feel” an imperative to become a political movement (again). How do you perceive this with Social Democracy/Christian Democracy/the Conservatives? Which kind of movement shall they be/become, in the eyes of their members and voters?
6. If it has not been addressed until now: Which social developments have you observed that have had an influence on the party and how?
 - a. Individualization
 - b. Flexibilization
 - c. Democratization

Reactions of the Organization

1. How has/have Social Democracy/Christian Democracy/the Conservatives reacted to these changes? Do you have examples in mind of organizational and inner-party changes that have been inspired by the social changes you have mentioned?
2. What is peculiar to the social democratic/Christian democratic/conservative party family in this regard? Have they reacted differently than other party families?
3. Where and how does/do Social Democracy/Christian Democracy/the Conservatives generate knowledge of the citizens and their preferences? In which way, from your point of view, have these sources of knowledge shifted and changed?
 - a. Is there a stronger focus on external sources of knowledge (statistics, big data)?
 - b. How do they process these sources of knowledge? How might parties “learn”?
4. What is changing in the party due to online and remote possibilities of participation and co-determination opportunities? In which way do you perceive inner-party changes due to shifting online participation expectations of members and sympathizers?
5. From your point of view: How could new formats and processes of inner-party participation be balanced?
 - a. Online
 - b. Direct participation
 - c. Deliberation on programmatic and candidate decisions

Management of ambivalence

1. How do political parties/ Social Democracy/Christian Democracy/the Conservatives deal with a democratic ambivalence between top-down and bottom-up expectations? In this regard, what is peculiar for Social Democracy/Christian Democracy/the Conservatives?

2. If societies become ever more complex, heterogeneous, and paradoxical, how can parties as collective organizations cope with these paradoxes and ambivalences? What exactly and how, if at all, might parties “manage” or steer?

Thank you very much for your time and for speaking with me. Do you have any suggestions for me as to with whom I might also speak on these questions?