

Gianluca Piccolino	
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Education – Titles

[JULY 2020]

[PhD in Political Science, European Politics and International Relations] / [Scuola Superiore Sant'Anna – joint title with Universities of Florence, Pisa and Siena]

Dissertation: "Populism, Radicalism, and Extremism: Disentangling the War of Words in Western Europe"

Final degree mark: cum laude

[MAY 2016]

[Master's Degree in Political Science and Decision-Making Processes (Laurea Magistrale in Scienze della Politica e dei Processi Decisionali – LM-62)] / [University of Florence]

Dissertation: I partiti di estrema destra dopo Fiuggi: storia, organizzazione e cultura politica

Final degree mark: 110/110 cum laude

[OCTOBER 2012]

[Bachelor's Degree in Political Sciences (Laurea Triennale in Scienze Politiche – L-36)] / [University of Florence]

Dissertation: Giovani postfascisti: Azione Giovani dal Fronte della gioventù alla Giovane Italia

Final degree mark: 110/110 cum laude

Education – Other Activities

[JULY-AUGUST 2019]

[Visiting Fellow]/[SciencesPo Paris - Centre d'études européennes]

[SEPTEMBER 2018]

[28th ECPR Summer School on Political Parties] / [European Consortium for Political Research-University of Nottingham]

[FEBRUARY-JULY 2018]

[Visiting Fellow]/ [Universität zu Köln - Cologne Center for Comparative Politics]

Working Experiences – Postdoctoral activities

[JANUARY 2024-DECEMBER 2024]

[Post-Doctoral Fellow (*Assegnista di ricerca*)]/[University of Florence]

The position is part of the PRIN project "New Conflicts Mapping in the Age of Globalization (Newcoming)". The main activity consists of conducting semi-structured interviews with voters who abstained during the last two national elections, coordinated by Professor Sorina Soare. A second part of the work involves following a survey conducted in seven European countries to analyse the explanatory power of traditional and contemporary cleavages, under the coordination of Professors Alessandro Chiaramonte and Vincenzo Emanuele.

I also serve as a teaching assistant ("cultore della materia") in the Political Science course and as a co-supervisor for some graduating Master's students.

[JANUARY 2022-DECEMBER 2023]

[Post-Doctoral Fellow (*Assegnista di ricerca*)]/[Sant'Anna School of Advanced Studies]

The main activity, under the coordination of Professor David Natali, was to study the impact of the NextGeneration EU program, primarily in the Italian context. Throughout the project, a mix of analyses was conducted, focusing on both aggregate data and semi-structured interviews, particularly regarding the implementation of certain social policy programs.

[DECEMBER 2020-NOVEMBER 2021]

[Post-Doctoral Fellow (*Assegnista di ricerca*)]/[University of Trieste]

The activity consisted of studying the levels of disinformation among young voters in the so-called "Triveneto" region, coordinated by prof. Elisabetta De Giorgi.

I also served as a teaching assistant ("cultore della materia") in the Political Science course.

Working Experiences – Other activities

[JUNE 2023-AUGUST 2023]

[Freelance collaboration (*Contratto di lavoro autonomo occasionale*)]/[University of Siena]

Collaboration in the drafting of questionnaires and data analysis—using software such as Stata, Excel, and SPSS—on the socio-demographic and political characteristics of respondents in public opinion surveys in Italy and the United States regarding foreign policy. The activity also involved writing publications based on these surveys. The research was conducted in collaboration with the Aspen Institute Italia.

[MAY 2022-JUNE 2022]

[Freelance collaboration (*Contratto di lavoro autonomo occasionale*)]/[University of Siena]

Collaboration in the drafting of questionnaires and data analysis—using software such as Stata, Excel, and SPSS—on the socio-demographic and political characteristics of respondents in public opinion surveys regarding foreign policy. The activity also involved writing publications based on these surveys. The research was conducted in collaboration with the Istituto Affari Internazionali.

[FEBRUARY 2022]

[Freelance collaboration (*Contratto di lavoro autonomo occasionale*)]/[University of Siena]

Collaboration in the drafting of questionnaires and data analysis—using software such as Stata, Excel, and SPSS—on the socio-demographic and political characteristics of respondents in a public opinion survey regarding EU carried out in Tuscany. The activity also involved writing publications based on these surveys. Research was conducted in collaboration with Europe Direct Siena.

[FEBRUARY 2021-MARCH 2021]

[Freelance collaboration (*Contratto di lavoro autonomo occasionale*)]/[University of Siena]

Collaboration in the drafting of questionnaires and data analysis—using software such as Stata, Excel, and SPSS—on the socio-demographic and political characteristics of respondents in public opinion surveys regarding foreign policy. The activity also involved writing publications based on these surveys. The research was conducted in collaboration with the Istituto Affari Internazionali.

[NOVEMBER 2019-DECEMBER 2019]

[Freelance collaboration (*Contratto di lavoro autonomo occasionale*)]/[University of Siena]

Collaboration in the drafting of questionnaires and data analysis—using software such as Stata, Excel, and SPSS—on the socio-demographic and political characteristics of respondents in public opinion surveys regarding foreign policy. The activity also involved writing publications based on these surveys. The research was conducted in collaboration with the Istituto Affari Internazionali.

[FEBRUARY 2018-MARCH 2018]

[Freelance collaboration (*Contratto di lavoro autonomo occasionale*)]/[University of Siena]

Collaboration in the drafting of questionnaires and data analysis—using software such as Stata, Excel, and SPSS—on the socio-demographic and political characteristics of respondents in public opinion surveys regarding foreign policy. The activity also involved writing publications based on these surveys. The research was conducted in collaboration with the Istituto Affari Internazionali.

[MAY 2015-JULY 2015]

[Tutor Junior]/[University of Florence]

Assistance to undergraduate students, particularly through lessons in statistics and public law. Assistance to the administrative offices of the School of Political Sciences.

Publication (Selected)

Articles Under Review

- **Piccolino, G., De Giorgi, E.** The Government-Parliament Relationship in Times of Pandemic: The Case of Italy. **Italian Political Science Review/Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica.** (Awaiting second round of revision)

Abstract

The relationship between parliaments and governments during the Covid19 pandemic has been widely examined by various disciplines, typically analysing data on the laws and procedures enforced to manage the emergency. This literature generally agrees that the government dominated the management of the pandemic at the expense of parliamentary prerogatives. However, such data may be scarcely refined to fully grasp some nuances. Above all, they may give little information on the factors that influenced the balance of powers between the two institutions. This article focuses on the Italian case complementing data on legislation with semi-structured interviews with Members of the Parliament and the Government, as well as high-ranking bureaucrats, to gain a more in-depth understanding of these processes. The data on legislation suggests that the government dominance was strong at every stage of the emergency, yet parliament slightly regained some prerogatives over time. This process began under Prime Minister Giuseppe Conte but became more pronounced under Mario Draghi.

However, in our interviews the perceptions of a continuity between the two prime ministers prevail. The acquisition of knowledge on the pandemic has been perceived by several interviews as a factor that helped parliament in regaining some oversight, which makes it a possible outcome of a policy learning process. However, other factors emerge with a certain importance, such as the long-term weakening of the Italian parliament and the direct role of prime ministers in strengthening the role of the executive, especially during Draghi's tenure.

- **Piccolino, G., Puleo, L.** Exploring the Patterns of Competition among 'Mirror Parties': a General Framework Tested on Fratelli d'Italia and Lega. **Swiss Political Science Review (In Revise and Resubmit)**

Abstract

While competition among parties belonging to the same party family is widespread, the literature has shown little attention to investigating its patterns. We aim to outline possible patterns of competition among these actors, which we label as 'mirror parties', by testing a novel framework. We expect these parties to show a similar salience on their core issues, while differentiating their supply on non-core ones. Such dynamics are explored for the mutual attacks between party leaders. This framework is tested on the competition between Fratelli d'Italia and Lega in the 2018 and 2022 electoral campaigns. In line with our expectations, these parties showed a similar salience on core issues (migration and law and order), while more marked differences on non-core ones. Studying the attacks between leaders, competition developed along non-core issues. Finally, we also considered patterns of competition on populism, though a new method to quantify its presence across policy domains.

- **Piccolino, G., Marini, S.** Twenty Thousand Leagues below the Po: Analysing Career Patterns of the Lega (Nord) Representatives. **Contemporary Italian Politics (under review)**

Abstract

The Lega (Nord) has gone through the significant transformations of the Italian political system over the past four decades, with various ideological shifts and phases of electoral success. We focus on exploring an understudied feature of this party: the career patterns of its representatives — Members of Parliament (MPs) and Regional Councillors (RCs) — and particularly their prior experiences in public office. This analysis reveals how these patterns have become consolidated over time along a specific trajectory, as most MPs/RCs have reached these positions after having previously held offices for the Lega. However, along the nationalisation strategy adopted by Salvini, a clear discrepancy emerges.

Elected representatives in Northern regions continue to have a consistent electoral history within the party. In Southern regions, the party has instead made an endemic use of party-switchers, who form the core of its representatives in these areas. In other words, different career patterns coexist within the same party.

Peer-reviewed articles

- Piccolino, G., Puleo, L. (2024). Ideological drivers of participatory democracy in Europe: disentangling the different approaches of populism and post-materialist politics. *European Political Science*, 23(2): pp. 1-18.
- Puleo, L., Carteny, G., Piccolino, G. (2024). Giorgia on their minds: Vote switching to Fratelli d'Italia in the Italian general election of 2022. *Party Politics*, 13540688241257780.
- Piccolino, G. (2023). Next Generation EU in Political Science Literature: A Minimal Overview. *Rivista Italiana di Politiche Pubbliche*, 18(2), pp. 153-172.
- Natali, D., Piccolino, G., Gazzetti, A. (2023). Dispositivo per la Ripresa e la Resilienza dell'UE: uno strumento efficace per la riforma del welfare in Italia?. *Rivista Italiana di Politiche Pubbliche*, 18(3), pp. 411-438.
- Marini, S., Piccolino, G. (2023). Right-wing victory in the 2022 Italian parliamentary election: territorial patterns and systemic implications. *Italian Journal of Electoral Studies (IJES)*, 86(1), pp. 29-50.
- Puleo, L., Piccolino, G. (2022). Back to the post-fascist past or landing in the populist radical right? The brothers of Italy between continuity and change. *South European Society and Politics*, 27(3): pp. 359-383.
- Piccolino, G., Scavo, A., Isernia, P. (2022). Mirror, mirror on the wall, who is the most populist of them all? A comparison of League and Five Star Movement voters. *Italian Journal of Electoral Studies*, 85(1), 63-75.
- Cavatorto, S., E. De Giorgi, G. Piccolino (2021). Next Generation EU nel governo parlamentare italiano. *Rivista Italiana di Politiche Pubbliche*, 16(3): 377-403.
- Piccolino, G., S. Soare (2021). Populism literature on Europe: A brief overview and meta-analysis. *Interdisciplinary Political Studies*, 7(2), 119-166.

Non-peer-reviewed articles and book chapters

- Puleo, L., Piccolino, G. (2024). Fratelli d'Italia non è un partito post o neofascista, ma potrebbe rappresentare una sfida illiberale. In Zulianello M. and Guasti P. *Capire il Populismo*. Padova: Utet.
- Piccolino, G., Puleo, L. (2023). Fratelli d'Italia tra radicalismo e normalizzazione. *Critica Marxista*, 5, 37-46.
- Piccolino, G., Marini, S. (2023). Fratelli d'Italia nei consigli regionali. *il Mulino*, 72(2), 179-186.
- Piccolino, G., Puleo, L., Soare, S. (2020). Europe Up for Grabs: an Italian Perspective. In Radu Carp e Cristina Matiuța (eds), *The EU Party Democracy and the Challenge of National Populism*, Leiden: Brill, pp. 113-137

- Piccolino, G., A. Scavo, M. Pessato, P. Isernia (2018). L'elettorato 5 Stelle reggerà alla prova del governo?. *il Mulino* 67(5), pp. 796-803.

- Piccolino, G. (2012). Giovani postfascisti. Fronte della gioventù, Azionegiovani, Giovane Italia: l'evoluzione di una cultura politica. *Trasgressioni: rivista quadrimestrale di cultura politica*, 54: pp. 3-74

Other Contributions

Participation in the following research reports:

- (2023). Italians and Official Development Assistance - DISPOC/LAPS (Università di Siena) e IAI
- (2022) L'opinione pubblica italiana e le sfide alla sicurezza: guerra in Ucraina, energia e cambiamento climatico. Aspen Institute Italia, Rome
- (2022). Gli italiani e la politica estera 2022. Istituto Affari Internazionali, Rome
- (2021). Gli italiani, il G20 e la cooperazione internazionale Autunno 2021. Istituto Affari Internazionali, Rome
- (2020). Gli italiani e l'immigrazione. Istituto Affari Internazionali, Rome
- (2020). Gli italiani e la politica estera. Istituto Affari Internazionali, Rome
- (2020). Emergenza coronavirus e politica estera. L'opinione degli italiani sul governo, l'Europa e la cooperazione internazionale. Istituto Affari Internazionali, Rome
- (2019). Gli italiani e la politica estera. Istituto Affari Internazionali, Rome
- (2019). Gli italiani e la difesa. Istituto Affari Internazionali, Rome
- (2017). Gli italiani e la politica estera. Istituto Affari Internazionali, Rome

Online contributions

- Piccolino, G. (2024). Meloni's EU election victory sets the stage for a clash over the Italian constitution. **LSE European Politics and Policy (EUROPP) Blog**
- Puleo L., Piccolino G. (2023). Brothers of Italy is not a post or neo-fascist party, but it might pose an illiberal challenge. **The Loop-ECPR's Political Science Blog**
- Piccolino G., Puleo L. (2022). Between far-right politics and pragmatism: Assessing Fratelli d'Italia's policy agenda. **LSE European Politics and Policy (EUROPP) Blog**.
- Piccolino, G., Puleo L. (2021) Mario Draghi in the "Promised land" of populism (and technocracy). **Who Governs Europe Blog**
- Piccolino, G., Angelucci, D., Isernia P. (2019). What Brexit has taught Italy about its own prospects of leaving the EU. **LSE European Politics and Policy (EUROPP) Blog**.
- Angelucci, D., Isernia, P., Piccolino G. and Scavo A. (2019). From one marriage of convenience to another: Will Italy's new M5S-PD government last longer than its predecessor? **LSE European Politics and Policy (EUROPP) Blog**.
- Angelucci, D., Isernia, P., Piccolino G. and Scavo A. (2019). Il governo alla prova dei suoi elettori. *Rivista "Il Mulino"*.
- Angelucci, D., Piccolino G., Isernia P. (2019). Gli italiani, l'Europa: sovranisti ma non troppo. **Affarinternazionali.it**
- Isernia, P., Piccolino G. (2018). Italians are tired of living under austerity. That could be a big problem for Europe. **Monkey Cage – The Washington Post**.
- Isernia, P., Pessato, M., Piccolino, G., Scavo, A. (2018). Cinque stelle o millefoglie? Il M5S alla prova del potere. *Rivista "Il Mulino"*.
- Isernia, P., Piccolino, G. (2018). Caught between two stools: The Five Star Movement and government policy. **LSE European Politics and Policy (EUROPP) Blog**.
- Isernia P., Piccolino, G. (2018). Le Affinità Elettive: l'Italia, la politica estera e il governo. **Affarinternazionali.it**

Language Proficiency (Self-Evaluation)

- **Mother tongue: Italian**

Other languages:

	English	French	Spanish
Reading	Excellent	Good	Good
Listening	Excellent	Good	Good
Writing	Excellent	Basic	Basic
Oral expression	Excellent	Basic	Basic

Software proficiency (Self-Evaluation)

Advanced knowledge of the statistical software STATA

Basic knowledge of the statistical software R and SPSS

Other teaching/research activities

- Collaboration in lectures for courses in Political Science at the University of Florence (2017, 2018, 2020, 2022, 2023, 2024), Sant'Anna School of Advanced Studies (2022), University of Cologne (2018), University of Trieste (2021), and CSU Florence (2022, 2023)
- Exit poll interviewer for the primaries selecting the center-left candidate for Prime Minister (2012) and the Secretary of the Democratic Party (2013) for Candidate & Leader Selection, a standing group of the Società Italiana di Scienza Politica

Participation in conferences (selected)

- Annual Conference of the Italian Political Science Association (2018; 2019; 2021; 2022; 2023; 2024)
- ECPR General Conference (2018; 2022)
- PSA Annual Conference (2023)
- Inaugural Conference of the Berkeley Center for Right-Wing Studies (2019)

Awards

- Carlo Maria Santoro Award of the Società Italiana di Scienza Politica, jointly with Leonardo Puleo, for the best paper written by a non-tenured member (2022).

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Pisa, 18/12/2024

Gianluca Piccolino