

PAMELA PANSARDI

ACADEMIC EMPLOYMENT

January 2022 – ongoing
Associate Professor in Political Science, University of Pavia

Since 2023
National Habilitation for Full Professor

January 2019 – December 2021
Assistant Professor in Political Science, University of Pavia

December 2017 – December 2018
Post-doctoral fellow in Political Science, University of Pavia

October 2016 – November 2017
Post-doctoral fellow in Political Science, University of Milan

July 2015 – October 2016
Research Fellow, Centro di Ricerca e Documentazione 'Luigi Einaudi', Turin, Italy.

EDUCATION

13 January 2011
PhD in Political Science, University of Pavia (with scholarship).
Dissertation title: *The Concept of Power: An Analysis*

14 May 2007
Diploma of the IUSS, Institute for Advanced Studies, Pavia.

25 September 2006
Master degree in Political Theory (110/110 *cum laude*), University of Pavia.

21 September 2004
Bachelor degree in Political Science and International Relations (110/110 *cum laude*), University of Pavia.

ADDRESS

Department of Political and Social Sciences
University of Pavia
C.so Strada Nuova, 65
27100 - PAVIA (PV), Italy

AREAS OF SPECIALIZATION

Political Theory – EU Politics – Gender and Politics.

AREAS OF COMPETENCE

Comparative Politics – Italian Politics.

SOFTWARE

NVIVO, Stata, R.

MEMBERSHIP

Italian Political Science Association (SISP) –
International Political Science Association (IPSA) – European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR)

RESEARCH PROJECTS

November 2023 – February 2026

Local coordinator, PRIN PNRR 2022 Title: "The institutionalization of LGBTIQ+ equality in EU countries between advancements and oppositions: policies, actors, arenas".

March 2023 – January 2025

Principal Investigator, Bando Cariplo 2022 Inequalities Research - Generare conoscenza per ridurre le disuguaglianze. Title: GENPOLEAD - Assessing obstacles and inequalities in gender and LGBT+ political leadership and careers: an intersectional perspective.

December 2017– December 2020

Principal Investigator, Blue Sky project (University of Pavia), "Gender and Power in Italian Politics".

July 2015– November 2017

Team member, ERC Project REScEU "Reconciling Economic and Social Europe: Values, Ideas, and Politics", led by Prof. Maurizio Ferrera (PI).

ACADEMIC AND PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

Member of the Academic Board of the PhD Program in Political Studies (POLS) – University of Pavia and University of Milan

Editor-in-chief of the scientific journal Quaderni di Scienza Politica

FULL LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

BOOKS

1. (With A. Donà and M. Prearo), *Prospettive di genere. Potere, politica e istituzioni*. Il Mulino, Bologna, 2025.
2. (ed.) *Genere e leadership politica. Le carriere politiche delle donne e delle persone LGBT+ in Italia*. Fondazione Feltrinelli, Milano, 2025.
3. *Potere. Un'analisi concettuale*. Carocci, Roma, 2018.

EDITED SPECIAL ISSUES

4. (With H. Müller), From the Far-Right to the Far-Left: Women Populist Leaders in Comparative Perspective, Special issue of *Politics & Governance*, 2026.
5. (With F. Negri and M. Prearo, eds), *Gender politics and policy*, Special issue of *Rivista Italiana di Politiche Pubbliche*, 2025.
6. (With E. Biale, eds), *Republicanism between Justice and Democracy* (with a Symposium on Philip Pettit's 'On the People's Terms'), Special issue of *Philosophy and Public Issues*, 5 (2), 2015.

ARTICLES

7. Bordignon M., Pansardi P., 'PRR Women Leaders and the framing of LGBTQI+ Issues: Le Pen, Meloni and Weidel', *Politics and Governance*, forthcoming.
8. Müller H., Pansardi P., 'Revisiting the political opposition of the European Parliament: a rhetorical analysis of parliamentary speeches'. *European Politics and Society*, 27(3), 2026, pp. 1-18, pp. 588-605.
9. Barbieri C., Pansardi P., 'The feminisation of Italian governments. Towards a more gender-equal distribution of political power?' *South European Society and Politics*, 31(1), 2026, pp. 1-32.
10. (With L. Pinto), 'What Makes Political Parties to Elect More Women? A Cross-Country Comparison', *The Journal of Legislative Studies*, 32 (1), 2026, pp. 143-157.
11. (With M. Vercesi), Do Women Promote Women? Prime Ministers' Gender, Ideology, and Ministerial Selection, *West European Politics*, 49(2), 2026, pp. 457-482.
12. Negri F., Pansardi P. e Prearo M., Gender and Policy Through the Lens of Political Science. *Rivista Italiana di Politiche Pubbliche*, 1/2025, pp. 5-14.
13. Pansardi P. e Bordignon M., The State of LGBTQI+ Rights in Italy from a Comparative Perspective. Insights from the ILGA's Rainbow Index. *Rivista Italiana di Politiche Pubbliche*, 1/2025, pp. 47-72.
14. Papavero, L. C., & Pansardi, P. (2024). Gender and Politics Research: The Evolution of a New Strand in Italian Political Science between Delays and Accelerations, *Italian Political Science*, 19(3), 287-308.
15. 'La politica senza potere. Una riflessione su 'Il Politico' di Stefano Bartolini', *Quaderni di Scienza Politica*, 31(3), 2024, pp. 379-398.
16. (With F. Baraldi and E. Salvati), 'The Study of Italian Regional Politics and the Composition of the Regional Political Class. The ITREGPARL dataset', *Italian Political Science Review/Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica*, 54(2), 2024, 161-169.
17. (With A. Stucchi), 'Astensione e partecipazione politica femminile in Italia', *Etica Pubblica*, 2, 2023, 75-93.
18. (With H. Müller), 'Women Leading the Opposition: Gender and Rhetoric in the European Parliament', *Politics and Governance*, 11(1), 2023, 164-176.
19. (With A. Pedrazzani), 'Do (Strong) Gender Quotas Make a Difference? Multiple candidacies as a party gatekeeping strategy in Italy', *Party Politics*, 29 (4), 2023. 711-725.
20. (With P.D. Tortola), 'A "more political" Commission? Reassessing EC politicization through language', *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 60(4), 2022, 1047-68.
21. (With P. Vesan), 'Speaking Social Europe: A paradigmatic shift in the European Commission Presidents' social policy discourse?', *Journal of European Social Policy*, 31(4), 2021, 365-379.
22. 'Why we do need a concept of power', *Journal of Political Power*, 14(2), 2021, 301-312.
23. (With M. Bindi), 'The new concepts of power? Power-to, power-over, power-with', *Journal of Political Power*, 14(1), 2021, pp. 51-71.
24. 'Il concetto di legittimità fra teoria e ricerca empirica', *Il Politico*, 1, 2021, pp. 103-121.
25. (With L. Pinto), 'Candidate selection procedures and women's representation in Italy', *Italian Political Science*, 15(3), 2020, pp. 1-16.

26. (With L. Pinto), 'Gender penalty and electoral outcomes in the Italian 2018 elections', *Contemporary Italian Politics*, 12(3), 2020, pp. 300-313.
27. (With P.D. Tortola), 'The charismatic leadership of the European Central Bank presidency. A language-based analysis', *European Journal of Political Research*, 58, 2019, pp. 96-116.
Mentioned in following media:
 - *Les Echos*: <https://www.lesechos.fr/finance-marches/marches-financiers/0301846577484-les-discours-de-la-bce-se-font-plus-emphatiques-2185726.php>
 - *Linkiesta.it*: <https://www.linkiesta.it/2018/03/il-vero-leader-delleuropa-non-e-a-bruxelles-e-si-chiama-bce/>
28. (With F. Battegazzorre), 'The discursive legitimization strategies of the President of the Commission: a qualitative content analysis of the State of the Union Addresses (SOTEU)', *Journal of European Integration*, 40(7), 2018, pp. 853-871.
29. 'It is better to be powerful and lucky. Keith Dowding's theory of power between agency and structure', *Journal of Political Power*, 10(3), 2017, pp. 390-394.
30. (With M. Vercesi), 'Party Gate-Keeping and Women's Appointment to Parliamentary Committees: Evidence from the Italian Case', *Parliamentary Affairs*, 70 (1), 2017, pp. 62-83.
31. 'Democracy, Domination, and the Distribution of Power: Substantive Political Equality as a Procedural Requirement', *Revue Internationale de Philosophie*, 70 (275), 2016, pp. 91-108.
32. 'Republican Democracy and the Priority of Legitimacy over Justice', *Philosophy and Public Issues*, 5 (2), 2015, pp. 43-57.
Reply by Philip Pettit: P. Pettit, 'On the People's Terms. A Reply to Four Critiques', *Philosophy and Public Issues*, 5 (2), 2015, pp. 79-97.
33. 'Il declino del parlamento e la funzione legislativa', *Il Politico*, 238 (2), 2015, pp. 28-49.
34. 'La giustificazione della democrazia: il proceduralismo degli ideali'. *Quaderni di Scienza Politica*, XXI (3), 2014, pp. 417-435.
35. 'A Non-normative Theory of Power and Domination', *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, 16 (5), 2013, pp. 614-633.
36. 'On Abilities and Power Again: A Reply to Peter Morriss', *Journal of Political Power*, 5 (3), 2012, pp. 493-497.
37. 'Power and Freedom: Opposite or Equivalent Concepts?', *Theoria: A Journal of Social and Political Theory*, 59 (132), 2012, pp. 26-44.
38. 'Power to and Power over: Two Distinct Concepts of Power?', *Journal of Political Power*, 5 (1), 2012, pp. 73-89.
Reply by Peter Morriss: Morriss P., 'A Response to Pamela Pansardi', *Journal of Political Power*, 5 (1), 2012, pp. 91-99.

BOOK CHAPTERS

39. Prearo M., Trastulli F., e Pansardi P., L'opinione pubblica italiana ei diritti LGBTQIA+: un'accettazione selettiva. In *Politica e cittadinanza LGBTQIA+: tra opinione pubblica, diritti e partecipazione*, Edizioni ETS, 2025, pp. 25-59.
40. Pansardi P., Introduzione, in Pansardi P. (a cura di), *Genere e leadership politica. La carriera politiche delle donne e delle persone LGBTQ+ in Italia*. Milano, Fondazione Feltrinelli, 2025, pp. 7-18.
41. (With M. Vercesi), Le donne al potere promuovono le donne? Il governo Meloni in prospettiva comparata, *Genere e leadership politica. La carriera politiche delle donne e delle persone LGBTQ+ in Italia* (ed. Pamela Pansardi), Milano, Fondazione Feltrinelli, 2025.
42. (With P. Morriss), 'Power', in (Gerald Gaus, Fred D'Agostino & Ryan Muldoon eds) *The Routledge Companion to Social and Political Philosophy*. New York, Routledge, 2024, pp. 586-595.

43. (With H. Müller), 'Rhetoric and Leadership: A Comparison of Female Vice-Presidents of the European Commission (1999-2019)', in H. Müller and I. Toemmel (eds), *Female Leadership in the European Union*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022, 129-149.
44. (With M. Bindi), 'The new concepts of power? Power-to, power-over, power-with', in G.M. Gallarotti (ed.), *Essays on Evolutions in the Study of Political Power*, New York: Routledge, 2021, 51-71.
45. 'A 'more political' leadership for the President of the Commission? A mixed-methods language-based analysis', in J. Hien and C. Joerges (eds), *Responses of European Economic Cultures to Europe's Crisis Politics: The Example of German-Italian Discrepancies*. European University Institute: Florence, 2018, pp. 201-213.
46. (With F. Arcostanzo), 'Social media e analisi del contenuto', in P. Natale e M. Airoidi (eds), *Web & social media. Le tecniche di analisi*. Apogeo: Milano, 2017, pp. 33-46.

ENCYCLOPEDIA ENTRIES

47. 'Women in parliaments and the role of political parties', in Z. Lefkofridi (ed.) *Encyclopedia of Gender and Politics*, Elgar Allan, pp. 434-438.
48. 'Gender quotas', in Freire A., Önnudóttir E.H., Pedrazzani A., Schmitt H. (eds) *Encyclopedia of Political Representation*, Elgar Allan, Cheltenham, pp. 513-516.
49. 'Power To and Power Over', in Dowding K. (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Power*, Sage, Thousand Oaks (CA), 2011, pp. 521-524.
50. 'Power With', in Dowding K. (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Power*, Sage, Thousand Oaks (CA), 2011, pp. 527-528.
51. 'Legitimation', in Dowding K. (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Power*, Sage, Thousand Oaks (CA), 2011, pp. 382-384.

SCIENTIFIC REPORTS

52. (With M. Prearo and F. Trastulli), 'L'opinione pubblica italiana e i diritti LGBT+: un'accettazione selettiva?', <https://genpolead.it/wp-content/uploads/2024/05/Report-scientifico-Survey-LGBT-2024.pdf>

Mentioned in following media:

- <https://www.ilpost.it/2024/06/24/visibilita-persone-lgbti-pride/>
- <https://lespresso.it/c/attualita/2024/05/17/piu-diritti-ma-non-per-tutti-un-sondaggio-mostra-le-due-facce-dellitalia-sulle-richieste-lgbt/50998>
- <https://www.gay.it/elezioni-europee-io-voto-e-porto-la-comunita-lgbtq-al-voto-la-campagna-di-arcigay>
- <https://www.radiopopolare.it/trasmissione/sui-generis/> (episode 21/06/2024)