

# Dr Fred Paxton

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Research Fellow (Leverhulme Trust Early Career Fellowship), University of Glasgow

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## ACADEMIC POSITIONS

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<b>University of Glasgow</b> Research Fellow (Leverhulme Trust Early Career Fellowship)	2024 – present
<b>University of Parma</b> Postdoctoral researcher, Italian Ministry for Universities and Research funded research project as a “Project of Significant National Interest” (PRIN)	2024
<b>James Madison University</b> Adjunct Professor	2022 – 2023
<b>University of Milan</b> Postdoctoral Research Fellow, Volkswagen Foundation-funded research project	2021 – 2024

## EDUCATION

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<b>European University Institute (EUI)</b> PhD in Political and Social Sciences Committee: Hanspeter Kriesi (supervisor, EUI), Sarah De Lange (University of Amsterdam), Daniele Albertazzi (University of Surrey), Ellen Immergut (EUI)	2017 – 2021
<b>Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Université Libre de Bruxelles, University of Copenhagen, University of Vienna, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Universidad Complutense de Madrid</b> MSc in Urban Studies (Erasmus Mundus); awarded <i>Summa Cum Laude</i>	2015 – 2017
<b>King’s College London</b> BA in History	2007 – 2010

## PUBLICATIONS

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### Books

- Fred Paxton. 2023. *‘Restrained Radicals: Populist Radical Right Parties in Local Government’*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

### Journal articles

12. Lorenzo Mosca, Bálint Mikola, Fred Paxton, Claudiu Vlasie and Dan Mercea. 2026. ‘How movement parties contest democratic backsliding: evidence from Hungary and Romania’. *Democratization*, 1-25.

11. Eliška Drápalová and Fred Paxton. 2025. 'Competing over the "left behind": the effect of independent local lists on the electoral performance of populist parties'. *Political Research Exchange*, 7(1).
10. Fred Paxton and Timothy Peace. 2025. 'Localism as a strategy: Strategic adaptation by populist radical right parties in Italy and France', *Rivista Italiana di Politiche Pubbliche*.
9. Endre Borbáth and Fred Paxton. 2025. 'Movement Parties in Europe: a comparative assessment'. *Acta Politica*, 60:1, 1-16.
8. Fred Paxton. 2025. 'Right up their street? News media framing of the protest activities of far-right movement parties'. *Acta Politica*, 60:1, 76-97.
7. Timothy Peace and Fred Paxton. 2024. 'Populist pragmatism: the nationalisation of local government strategies by the Rassemblement National'. *Acta Politica*, 59:2, 264-288.
6. Sophia Hunger and Fred Paxton. 2022. 'What's in a Buzzword? A Systematic Review of the State of Populism Research in Political Science'. *Political Science Research and Methods*, 10:3, 617-633.
5. Fred Paxton. 2022. 'With a Little Help from Their Friends: The Consequences of Populists in National Government for Policymaking in Local Government'. *Government & Opposition*, 57:4, 630-655.
4. Fred Paxton. 2021. 'Varieties of Inclusionary and Exclusionary Populism in the Italian Regional Elections 2018-20'. *Contemporary Italian Politics*, 13:4, 402-422.
3. Fred Paxton and Timothy Peace. 2021. 'Window Dressing? The Mainstreaming Strategy of the Rassemblement National in Power at the Local Level of Government'. *Government & Opposition*, 56:3, 545-562.
2. Andrea Pettrachin and Fred Paxton. 2021. 'The Populist Decision-Making Processes of the Five Star Movement and the Lega in Local Government during the Refugee Crisis'. *Contemporary Italian Politics*, 14:1, 24-48.
1. Fred Paxton. 2020. 'Towards a Populist Local Democracy? The Consequences of Populist Radical Right Local Government Leadership in Western Europe', *Representation*, 56:3, 411-430.

#### **Chapters in edited volumes**

5. Lorenzo Mosca and Fred Paxton. 2025. 'The Rise of Movement Parties and their Implications for Progressive Politics'. In: Alice Mattoni (ed.) *Handbook on Progressive Politics*, Edward Elgar.
4. Fred Paxton, Daria Glukhova, Matthias Hoffmann, Diana Mărgărit, and Felipe G. Santos. 2025. 'On movement parties and democratic quality'. In: Claudius Wagemann, Toma Burean, Dan Mercea, Lorenzo Mosca, and Christina Neumayer (eds.) *Protest and*

*Democracy: How Movement Parties, Social Movements and Active Citizens Are Reshaping Europe*, Routledge

3. Fred Paxton and Lorenzo Mosca. 2025. 'Changing Strategies, Shifting Responses: How Movement Parties and the Traditional Media Interact'. In: Claudius Wagemann, Toma Burean, Dan Mercea, Lorenzo Mosca, and Christina Neumayer (eds.) *Protest and Democracy: How Movement Parties, Social Movements and Active Citizens Are Reshaping Europe*, Routledge.
2. Fred Paxton. 2024. 'The Impact of Populist Parties in Government'. In: Huber, Robert A. Huber and Michael Jankowski (eds.) *Populism: An Introduction*, SAGE.
1. Fred Paxton. 2019. 'The populist performance of urban crisis: The policy influence of radical right populist parties in leadership of local government in Austria and Italy'. In: Benjamin Biard, Laurent Bernhard and Hans-Georg Betz (eds.) *Do they make a difference?: the policy influence of radical right populist parties in Western Europe*, London: ECPR Press, pp. 123-145.

#### **Book reviews**

- Fred Paxton. 2025. Pietro Castelli Gattinara and Andrea L. P. Pirro, 'Movement Parties of the Far Right: Understanding Nativist Mobilization'. *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*.
- Fred Paxton. 2019. Eric Kaufmann, 'Whiteshift: Populism, Immigration and the Future of White Majorities'. *E-Extreme*, 20:2.

#### **Edited special issues**

- Endre Borbáth and Fred Paxton. 2025. Special Issue: 'Movement Parties: their rise, variety, and consequences'. *Acta Politica*, 60:1.

#### **Edited collections**

- Fred Paxton. 2024. 'Populism and the Far-Right in the Digital Age'. *Information, Communication and Society*.

#### **Articles under review**

- Lorenzo Mosca and Fred Paxton. 'Fake News as a Rhetorical Weapon: Strategic Delegitimization and Selective Amplification in Italian Newspapers'.
- Fred Paxton, Felipe G. Santos and Dan Mercea. 'The multi-dimensional character and appeal of anti-establishment politics: an experimental approach'.

#### **Working papers**

- Francesco Colombo and Fred Paxton. 'Left behind and looking back? The ideological appeal of nostalgic rhetoric'.
- Francesco Colombo and Fred Paxton. 'The Signalling Power of Nostalgia: How Nostalgic Communication Shapes Issue Perception and Social Representation'.
- Fred Paxton. 'Proximity to the people: varieties of localism from populist parties.'
- Christopher Claassen and Fred Paxton. 'Young, Male, and Authoritarian?'

## GRANTS & FUNDING

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### **Large grants, fellowships and scholarships**

**FIS (Fondo Italiano per la Scienza) Starting Grant** 2025

Project title: 'Populism, localism and place-based identities' (€1.3 million) – awarded and declined.

**Leverhulme Trust Early Career Fellowship** 2024

Project title: 'Identity at the roots: place-based identity politics in divided societies' (£106,000).

**LKAS Leadership Fellowship, University of Glasgow** 2024

Project number: 201947-41 (£100,000)

**Fully funded PhD scholarship, European University Institute** 2017

(€70,308 grant, €48,000 fees)

### **Small grants and seed funding**

**ESRC Impact Acceleration Account** 2026

Project title: 'Navigating Political Change in Local Government' (£13,722), with support from external partner, The Association of Directors of Environment, Economy, Planning & Transport (£3,500)

**CLOSER (Center for Laboratory Simulation and Experimental Research), University of Turin** 2026

Project title: 'Does Populism Help to Justify Democratic Backsliding? Experimental evidence on populist rhetorical style and acceptance of undemocratic behavior' (£12,000), with Francesco Colombo (Collegio Carlo Alberto)

**CIVIS Open Lab** 2026

Project title: 'Responding to the Far Right: Local Challenges, Global Perspectives' (£25,000), with Léonie De Jonge (University of Tübingen), Robert Huber (University of Salzburg), Pietro Castelli Gattinara (Université Libre de Bruxelles), Lamprini Rori (University of Athens)

**Crucible seed funding award, University of Glasgow** 2025

Project title: 'Data sonification for research, composition, and communication' (£7,991), with Maxwell Farrell (University of Glasgow)

**Crucible seed funding award, University of Glasgow** 2025

Project title: 'Glasgow Open Salon for Arts and Sciences (GOSAS)' (£6,452), with Dieter Declercq, Maxwell Farrell, Alexander Fradera, Joanna Koszela, Jules Lamers (University of Glasgow)

**British Academy – CNRS Knowledge Frontiers Symposium seed funding** 2025

Project title: 'Who innovates, wins? The electoral impact of innovative urban policy' (£5,000), with Christof Brandtner (EM Lyon)

**Funding for COVID-related project, European University Institute** 2020  
 Project title: *'The Politicisation of Europe during the Pandemic'*, (€4,060), with Tobias Widmann (Aarhus University) and Ofra Klein (Erasmus University Rotterdam)

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#### ACADEMIC AND PROFESSIONAL CERTIFICATIONS

**Teaching in Higher Education (UK):** PGCert in Academic Practice (PGCAP), 2025-  
 University of Glasgow (in progress) 2027

**Habilitation for associate professorships in Italy:** *Abilitazione Scientifica Nazionale* (Italian National Scientific Qualification), Associate Professor (*Seconda Fascia*) – equivalent to Senior Lecturer, Grade 9 – Political Science (14/A2 – *Scienza Politica*), valid from 6 November 2024 until 6 November 2036. 2024

**Teaching in Higher Education (EU):** certification from the European University Institute 2018

**Teaching English as a Foreign Language:** 20 hours, Training Qualifications UK 2015

**Business Analysis:** Foundation Certificate, BCS Chartered Institute for IT 2015

**Project and risk management:** PRINCE2 Foundation and Practitioner, University of Westminster 2014

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#### PUBLIC EVENTS & CONFERENCE PANELS ORGANISED

**Glasgow Open Salon for Arts and Sciences (GOSAS)** 2026  
 Events: 'Bringing STEM and SHAPE together: Discussion salons for solving 21st century challenges' (January 2026); 'The joy of research in the modern era' (April 2026); 'What is the future role of the university in society?' (May 2026).

**EPSA Annual Conference** 2025  
 Panel: 'The politics of nostalgia', Universidad Carlos III de Madrid.

**ECPR Conference of the Standing Group of Extremism and Democracy** 2025  
 Panels: 'Populism and Climate Action: Conflict, Resistance, and Electoral Dynamics' and 'Roots of Populism and Radicalism: Attitudinal and Structural Approaches', Queen Mary University of London.

**SISP Annual Conference** 2023  
 Panels: 'Survey experiments in political and social scientific research' and 'Social Status, Social norms, Public Opinion and Political Behaviour', University of Genoa.

**ECPR Joint Sessions** 2022  
 Workshop: 'Movement Parties: their rise, variety, and consequences', University of Edinburgh.

<b>ECPR General Conference</b>	2021
Panel: 'The influence of movement parties on democratic quality', Online	
<i>PhD Workshop: 'The Mainstreaming of the Ideas of the Far-Right: Ethnonationalism, White Supremacy, Racism', Centre Universitaire de Norvège à Paris (postponed due to COVID pandemic)</i>	2020
<i>Panel debate: 'The 2020 French Municipal Elections', Institut français d'Écosse, Edinburgh (postponed due to COVID pandemic)</i>	2020
<b>SISP Annual Conference</b>	2018
Panel: 'The Politics of Local Government', University of Turin.	

## ACADEMIC TRAINING

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### Career development

<b>Ignite Fellowship Accelerator</b>	2026
Programme to support the development of a fellowship application.	
<b>The Glasgow Crucible</b>	2025
Development programme for the advancement of interdisciplinary research leaders at the University of Glasgow.	
<b>Early Career Development Programme (ECDP), University of Glasgow</b>	2024-present
Courses taken: policy foundations; engaging with parliaments; engaging with the media; research integrity training.	

### Methods training

<b>ECPR Winter School</b>	2024
Quantitative Text Analysis and Machine Learning using R	
<b>European University Institute PhD programme</b>	2017-2020
Quantitative Text Analysis, Qualitative Data Analysis with NVivo and MaxQDA, Web Scraping and Text Mining, Path Dependency and Process Tracing	
<b>Central European University Institute course</b>	2020
Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA)	
<b>ECPR Winter School</b>	2020
Web Scraping; Quantitative Text Analysis.	
<b>Centre Universitaire de Norvège à Paris workshop</b>	2019
PhD workshop on qualitative research on the far-right; co-organised by the Centre for Research on Extremism (C-REX), and the Centre Universitaire de Norvège à Paris (CUNP)	

**ECPR Standing Group on Extremism & Democracy Summer School** 2018  
Concepts and Methods for Research on Far-Right Politics; co-organised by the ECPR Standing Group on Extremism & Democracy, the Centre for Research on Extremism (C-REX), and the Centre on Social Movement Studies (COSMOS)

**EUROLOC PhD Training School** 2017  
Studying contemporary European local government; organised by the University of Florence and the Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence

## **ACADEMIC PRESENTATIONS**

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### **Invited talks**

Keynote speech: 'Political change in local government', ADEPT (Association of Directors of Environment, Economy, Planning and Transport) Corporate Partner Event, London 2026

Keynote speech: 'Populism and its impacts on local government in England' ADEPT (Association of Directors of Environment, Economy, Planning and Transport) Autumn Conference, Manchester 2025

Book presentation: *Restrained Radicals: Populist Radical Right Parties in Local Government* (December 2024, Sciences Po Paris; April 2024, University of Urbino; March 2024, University of Bologna; February 2024, University of Milan) 2024

Panel discussion: *Studying Radical Right Populist Parties: Promise and Pitfalls* (with Tarik Abou-Chadi and Filip Kostelka) European University Institute 2022

Research presentation: *The Nationalisation of Local Government Strategies of Rassemblement National Mayors in the North and South of France* University of Lille 2021

Research presentation: *The populist performance of urban crisis: The policy influence of radical right populist parties in leadership of local government.* Methods class: Interviewing. University of Padua 2020

### **Invited to be discussant**

Research presentation: *Piccole patrie. La populist radical right alla prova del governo locale*, Elisa Bellé (Centre d'études européennes et de politique comparée de Sciences Po). University of Milan. 2023

Panel: *Youth and Local Level Populism and Radicalism.* ECPR Annual Conference. 2020

### Conference presentations

- EPSA Annual Conference (2026, 2025, 2024)
- ECPR Joint Sessions (2026, 2023, 2022, 2017)
- ECPR Conference of the Standing Group of Extremism and Democracy (2025)
- ECPR General Conference (2020)
- SISP Annual Conference (2022, 2018)
- PSA Annual Conference (2019)
- European Graduate Network Conference (2018)
- IMISCOE Annual Conference (2017)
- Regional Studies Association Annual Conference (2017)

### Workshop presentations

"Local Party Politics" at the University of Leiden	2025
British Academy – CNRS Knowledge Frontiers Symposium at the Centre national de la recherche scientifique, Paris	2025
"Responding to the demand? Voters' grievances, PRR success, and mainstream party strategies" at Swansea University	2024
Workshop "Democracy and its Discontents" organised by the Italian Society of Political Science (SISP) at the University of Pavia	2024
"Local Party Politics" at the University of Ghent	2024
'Contentious Interactions: Frontiers in Protest Research' at the WZB	2021
'Populism in power and socio-economic policies' at the Scuola Normale Superiore	2021
'Populism: Left, Right and Centre' Conference at the LSE	2018

### MEDIA ARTICLES AND BLOGS

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Timothy Peace and Fred Paxton, 'Local election results show the hurdles along the path to power for French far right', <i>The Conversation</i> .	2026
Fred Paxton and Eliška Drápalová, 'Can local independents block the rise of populism in 'left-behind' communities?' <i>The Loop: ECPR's Political Science Blog</i> .	2026
Interviewed and quoted in: Joris Veerbeek and Coen van de Ven, 'Stilte in de senaat', <i>De Groene Amsterdammer</i> .	2025
Quoted in: Léonie de Jonge, 'Vicieuze cirkel', <i>De Groene Amsterdammer</i> .	2025
Interviewed and quoted in: Paul Millar, 'Would banning Marine Le Pen from running for president be a gift for France's far right?'. <i>France 24</i> .	2024
Fred Paxton and Andrea Pettrachin, 'How do populists make their decisions?' <i>The Loop: ECPR's Political Science Blog</i>	2022
Interviewed and quoted in: Kevin Hagen, Timo Lehmann, Ann-Katrin Müller, Jonas Schaible und Sebastian Spallek, 'Der Tabubruch: Wo Parteien mit der AfD kooperieren', <i>Der Spiegel</i> .	2020

Fred Paxton, 'Meet the Populist Right-Wing Mayors of Europe'. *Bloomberg CityLab*. 2017

Fred Paxton, "'The Manchester miracle'": how did a city in decline become the poster child for urban regeneration?'. *City Metric*. 2018

## TEACHING

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**University of Glasgow** 2025-

- Co-convenor of undergraduate (honours) level course 'Political Parties, Institutions and Society' 2026
- Guest lecturer on undergraduate (honours) level course 'Comparative European Politics'
- Guest lecturer on undergraduate (honours) level course 'Social Movements'
- Guest lecturer on undergraduate (honours) level course, 'Comparative Perspectives on Populism'
- Guest lecturer on undergraduate (pre-honours) level course, 'Politics 1A: Introduction to Politics'

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**Autonomous University of Madrid** 2025-

- Guest lecturer on postgraduate level course, 'Democracy and Governance in Southern Europe' as part of the International Master in South European Studies (EUROSUD) 2026

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**University of Parma** 2025-

- Guest lecturer on postgraduate level course 'Sociology of Political Communication' 2026

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**University of Glasgow** 2024-

- Guest lecturer on undergraduate (honours) level course, 'Comparative Perspectives on Populism' 2025

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**University of Parma** 2023-

- Guest lecturer on postgraduate level course 'Sociology of Political Communication' 2024

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**James Madison University** 2022-

- Convenor and lecturer on postgraduate level course 'The Political Institutions of the European Union' (33 hours) 2023
- Convenor and lecturer on undergraduate level course 'Global Political Issues & Advocacy: the Italian way' (33 hours)

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**University of Milan** 2021-

- Tutor on postgraduate level course 'Datafied Society' (20 hours) 2022
  - Tutor on the International Communication Association Summer School of Political Communication
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- University of Lucerne** 2020-2021
  - Lecturer on postgraduate level seminar: 'Populists in power: the study of populist parties in government' (21 hours)

## SUPERVISION

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- University of Glasgow** 2025-2026
- Supervision of two undergraduate (honours) student dissertations
- University of Glasgow** 2024-2025
- Thesis mentoring  
Supporting a PhD researcher over a 16-week period in the writing of their thesis, while working towards professional recognition as a UKCGE Recognised Associate Research Supervisor)

## SERVICE TO THE PROFESSION

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- Journal editor**, *Politics* (2026 - present)
- Peer reviewer:**  
*Journal of Politics; European Journal of Political Research; Party Politics; European Political Science Review; Electoral Studies; Government and Opposition; Contemporary European Studies; Comparative Politics; Comparative European Politics; Political Studies Review; Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies; Governance; Political Research Exchange; International Journal of Communication; Information, Communication & Society; Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy; Urban Affairs Review; Human Geography; Social Media and Society; The International Journal of Press/Politics; Acta Politica; Theory and Society; Nations and Nationalism; European Political Science; Regional and Federal Studies; Sage Open; Italian Journal of Electoral Studies; Contemporary Italian Politics; Policy Studies; Politics and Governance; Politics of the Low Countries; Social Movement Studies; Fulbright Senior Award 2023/24; Political Studies; Mobilization; South European Society and Politics; Frontiers in Political Science; Palgrave Macmillan.*
- Institutional roles at the University of Glasgow:**  
Affiliated Researcher at the **Centre for Public Policy** and member of its Early Career Researcher Network; divisional representative for School of Social & Political Sciences **Research-Only Network (SSPS-RON)**; member of Research Only staff network and Research Staff Assembly; member of University of Glasgow **Fellows Network**; invited to participate on **expert roundtable on academic publishing** as part of *Write of Spring* festival (May 2025); invited to participate on **expert roundtable on fellowships** as part of *This Fellowship Life* (February 2026).
- UKRI Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC)**  
Member of the ESRC Assessor College and the ESRC Peer Review College (2025 – present).
- British Academy (BA)**

BA Early Career Network member; invited to participate as guest on BA Podcast “Confessions of an Early Career Researcher” on topic of academic publishing (2025).

- **Survey expert:**  
Invited to participate in 2023 Populism and Political Parties Expert Survey (POPPA) as Italy country expert; 2025 Chapel Hill Expert Survey (CHES) as France country expert.
- **European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR)**  
Managing Editor of *E-Extreme*, newsletter of the ECPR Standing Group on Extremism and Democracy (2020-2023).

## ADDITIONAL PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

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### Research

<b>European University Institute</b>	2020
Research Assistant, European Research Council (ERC) funded research project (SOLID)	
<b>European University Institute</b>	2018-
Research Assistant, ERC-funded research project (POLCON)	2019
<b>University of Milan</b>	2017-
Research Assistant, ERC-funded research project (RESceEU)	2018

### Educational management

<b>The Future Leaders Trust, London</b>	2014-
Project Manager (£14 million government funded initiative to improve educational outcomes in areas of socio-economic deprivation and rising support for extremist politics)	2015
<b>The Future Leaders Trust, London</b>	2012-
Online Development Officer (Led the development of online initiatives and content for senior educators in England)	2014

### Other

<b>Groupon UK and Ireland, London</b>	2011
Senior Content Editor	
<b>DealReporter, London</b>	2010-
Market analyst	2011

## LANGUAGES

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English (native), Italian (upper intermediate), German (intermediate), French (beginner).

## SOFTWARE

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Programming: R, STATA, Python. Markup: HTML, Markdown. Qualitative: MAXQDA.

## REFERENCES

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References available upon request