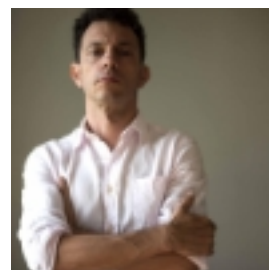


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Goffredo Adinolfi

Integrated Researcher

CIES-Iscte - Centre for Research and Studies in Sociology



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Curriculum

I began my doctoral training in 2000 at the University of Milan, where I also completed my degree, and I moved to Lisbon in 2005. I am currently a researcher in Contemporary History at the Centre for Research and Studies in Sociology (CIES-Iscte), University Institute of Lisbon. Representation in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Europe (with a brief excursion into the twenty-first century) is the main theme of my research, situated within contemporary history and the history of society and political institutions in contemporary Europe. The citizen-state relationship is examined in terms of how political inclusion is governed and how legitimacy is produced, within a sustained comparative focus on Italy and Portugal. Representation is treated both as an institutional practice and as a political language, and its transformations are traced across regime change. This overarching theme is articulated through three interconnected lines of research. First, the citizen-state relationship under fascism and Salazarism—and, more broadly, under authoritarian regimes—is analysed through the ways corporatist and “organic” representation redefined participation, weakened electoral mediation, and claimed legitimacy through functional representation. The construction of consent and propaganda within the Portuguese New State is examined alongside the institutional reconfiguration that accompanied the fascist takeover in Italy, with attention to both ruptures and lines of continuity in institutions, political language, and representative practices. Second, the transition from liberal regimes to mass democracy in Italy and Portugal is examined through suffrage expansion—from electorates confined to a narrow minority to universal suffrage—and through its effects on the representative link. The political and institutional reasons for delay and resistance are reconstructed, together with the ways a broader electorate altered relations between MPs and constituencies, reshaped mediation and accountability. The analysis draws on electoral processes, parliamentary biographies and social profiles, and transcripts of parliamentary sessions, linking conflicts over inclusion to the collapse of democratic experiments in the 1920s and to the institutional options that followed. Resurgent anti-liberal currents in contemporary Europe are the third line of my research, examined in a long-term perspective and with particular attention to the Italian and Portuguese cases. I analyse how anti-liberal claims are framed through identity

and moral language, how they are directed at specific audiences, and how they interact with inherited institutional settings and with longer traditions of illiberal and authoritarian thought. Since 2024, I have also focused on developing digital-history methods that support large-scale work on serial sources and institutional corpora, using controlled and reproducible procedures for data collection, organisation, and analysis. This work is supported by additional training in data-oriented approaches, including a minor/master pathway in data science at the University of Venice. Among my principal publications are *Ai confini del fascismo: Propaganda e consenso nel Portogallo salazarista (1932–1944)* (FrancoAngeli, 2007) and “Le destre radicali e il liberalismo portoghese: alle radici di una dittatura” (*Memoria e Ricerca*, 2009); the chapters “Corporatism and Italian Fascism” (2019) and “The Constitutional Foundations of an Ethical State: The Portuguese New State in Comparative Perspective” (2019); “Italy between Liberalism and Democracy: Universal Suffrage and the 1913 Elections” (*Modern Italy*, 2025); the monograph *Eclipsed by Democratic Revolution: The Rise of the Mass Parties, Liberal Italy and the Fascist Dawn, 1919–1924* (Cambridge University Press, 2025); and “Fratelli d’Italia, Christian identity, and claim–audience congruence” (*European Politics and Society*, 2026), doi:10.1080/23745118.2026.2616373.

Research Interests

Artificial Intelligence, Crisis of Democracy, Fascism, Populism, Authoritarianism

Academic Qualifications

University/Institution	Type	Degree	Period
Cà Foscari	Post-graduation	Computer and Data Science	2024
Iscte	Post-graduation	Data Analysis in Social Science	2013
University of Milan	PhD	History of Society and Institutions in Contemporary Europe	2005
Faculty of Political Science - University of Milan	Licenciate	Political Science with a specialization in Public International Law	2000

Teaching Activities

Teaching Year	Sem.	Course Name	Degree(s)	Coord.
2018/2019	2°	European Political Systems		No
2014/2015	2°	Laboratory: Comparative Politics	Bachelor Degree in Political Science;	No
2011/2012	2°	Laboratory: Ethics and Profession in Political Science		Yes
2010/2011	2°	Laboratory: Ethics and Profession in Political Science		No

Supervisions

• **Ph.D. Thesis**

- **Concluded**

	Student Name	Title/Topic	Language	Institution	Concluding Year
1	Carlos Manuel Martins	Fascism and Ideology: Fascist Leaders and their Worldview	English	Iscte	2019
2	Pietro Tessadori	O Homem Novo do fascismo italiano e do Estado Novo português	English	Iscte	2014

Total Citations

Web of Science®	25
Scopus	43

Publications

• **Scientific Journals**

- **Scientific journal paper**

1	Adinolfi, G. (N/A). Fratelli d'Italia, Christian identity, and claim–audience congruence. <i>European Politics and Society</i> . N/A
2	Adinolfi, G. (2025). Italy between liberalism and democracy: Universal suffrage and the 1913 elections. <i>Modern Italy</i> , 30 (1), 19-38 - Times Cited Web of Science®: 1
3	Adinolfi, G. & Silva, M. G. da. (2024). The populist challenge to the liberal democratic regime in Italy and Brazil: Jair Bolsonaro and Matteo Salvini . <i>Sociologia, Problemas e Práticas</i> . 105, 29-50
4	Adinolfi G. (2022). Il Portogallo di fronte alla caduta del muro di Berlino tra la Rivoluzione e tradizione. <i>Rivista Storica Italiana</i> . 134, 132-153
5	Adinolfi, G. (2022). Continuities and discontinuities in the processes of elite recruitment: The Italian political field between authoritarianism and democratic regime. <i>Topoi: An International Review of Philosophy</i> . 41, 79-92 - Times Cited Web of Science®: 2 - Times Cited Scopus: 2
6	Adinolfi, G. (2020). Populism and anti-liberal thought: Lega and M5S in the Italian context . <i>Conhecer: Debate entre o Público e o Privado</i> . 10 (24), 141-163 - Times Cited Web of Science®: 1
7	Adinolfi, G. (2018). Direct democracy, 'plebiscitarianism' and military rule: Is the Portuguese normative view of democracy multidimensional?. <i>Portuguese Journal of Social Science</i> . 17 (2), 229-248 - Times Cited Scopus: 2

8	Silva, M. & Adinolfi, G. (2018). O desafio populista à democracia representativa: a Venezuela chavista e o MoVimento 5 Estrelas. <i>Análise Social</i> . 53 (227), 388-414 - Times Cited Web of Science®: 4 - Times Cited Scopus: 3
9	Adinolfi, G. (2016). O MoVimento 5 Estrelas e a lei férrea da oligarquia. <i>Relações Internacionais</i> . 50, 71-85
10	Adinolfi, G. (2013). Qui dove la terra finisce e il mare comincia Silvio Berlusconi e il Portogallo. <i>Storia e Problemi Contemporanei</i> . 64, 113-135
11	Adinolfi, G. (2012). The institutionalization of Propaganda in the Fascist era: the cases of Germany, Portugal and Italy. <i>European Legacy</i> . 17 (5), 607-621 - Times Cited Web of Science®: 15 - Times Cited Scopus: 10
12	Adinolfi, G. (2011). A formação dos campos políticos na queda dos regimes autoritários. Portugal e Itália: paradigmas de recrutamento político. <i>Perspectivas - Portuguese Journal of Political Science and International Relations</i> . 5, 147-166
13	Adinolfi, G. (2010). Lo Stato etico da Salazar a Marcelo Caetano. <i>Storia e Problemi Contemporanei</i> . 23 (54), 13-34
14	Adinolfi, G. (2009). Continuidades e discontinuidades da realidade política Italiana (1943-1948). <i>Análise Social</i> . 44 (191), 289-313 - Times Cited Scopus: 1
15	Adinolfi, G. (2009). Le destre radicali e il liberalismo portoghese: alle radici di una dittatura. <i>Memoria e Ricerca</i> . 30, 109-128
16	Adinolfi, G. (2009). The Fascist elites, government and the Grand Council. <i>Portuguese Journal of Social Science</i> . 8 (1), 7-30 - Times Cited Web of Science®: 2 - Times Cited Scopus: 3
17	Adinolfi, G. (2008). Elites ministeriais e partidos políticos na transição democrática italiana. <i>Estudos Históricos</i> . 21 (42), 145-171
18	Goffredo Adinolfi (2004). Fascist Era Elites (2) The Fascist ministerial elite. <i>Portuguese Journal of Social Science</i> . 3 (2), 91-102 - Times Cited Scopus: 3

• Books and Book Chapters

- Book author

1	Goffredo Adinolfi (2025). <i>The Rise of Mass Parties, Liberal Italy, and the Fascist Dawn (1919–24)</i> . Cambridge University Press.
2	Goffredo Adinolfi (2007). <i>Ai confini del fascismo. Propaganda e consenso nel Portogallo salazarista (1932-1944)</i> . Milão. FrancoAngeli.

- Book editor

1	Pinto, A. & Goffredo Adinolfi (2025). Building Dictatorships under Axis Rule War, Military Occupation and Political Regimes. Routledge. - Times Cited Scopus: 1
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- Book chapter

1	Goffredo Adinolfi (2025). The Italian Social Republic. Legitimation Struggles and Unfulfilled Visions. In António Costa Pinto, Goffredo Adinolfi (Ed.), Building Dictatorships under Axis Rule War, Military Occupation and Political Regimes.: Routledge.
2	Goffredo Adinolfi & Pinto, A. (2025). Concluding remarks: Axis rule and dictatorships in the era of fascism. In António Costa Pinto and Goffredo Adinolfi (Ed.), Building dictatorships under axis rule: War, military occupation and political regimes. (pp. 291-303). London: Routledge.
3	Adinolfi, G. (2023). Populismo e antiliberalismo: Os casos do Movimento 5 Estrelas, Liga e Irmãos da Itália. In André Freire, Guya Accornero, Viriato Queiroga, Maria Asensio, José Santana Pereira, Helena Belchior Rocha (Ed.), Da austeridade à pandemia: Portugal e a Europa entre as crises e as inovações. (pp. 297-311):. Mundos Sociais.
4	Adinolfi, G. (2020). Populism and anti-liberal thought: Lega and M5S in the Italian context. In António Costa Pinto, Fábio Gentile (Ed.), Populismo: teorias e casos. (pp. 177-199). Fortaleza: EDMETA.
5	Goffredo Adinolfi (2019). Corporatism and Italian Fascism. In Routledge (Ed.), Authoritarianism and Corporatism in Europe and Latin America Crossing Borders. - Times Cited Scopus: 7
6	Adinolfi, G. (2019). The constitutional foundations of an ethical state: The Portuguese new state in comparative perspective. In Ismael Saz, Zira Box, Toni Morant, Julián Sanz (Ed.), Reactionary nationalists, fascists and dictatorships in the twentieth century: Against democracy. (pp. 279-292). Cham: Palgrave.
7	Adinolfi, G. (2017). Á procura de una nova identidade: a definição do pensamento nacionalista entre Oito e Novecentos. In Francisco Palomanes Martinho e Flavio Limonic, (Ed.), A experiência nacional Identidades e conceitos de nação na África, Ásia, Europa e nas Américas. (pp. 285-326). Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira.
8	Adinolfi, G. & Gori, A. (2016). Dalla pace in tempo di guerra alia guerra in tempo di pace: L'Estado Novo portoghese tra Impero e Europa, dittatura e democrazia (1940-1974) . In Umberto Gcnriloni Silveri, Gianni La Bella, Stefano Palermo (Ed.), La costruzione della pace nell'Europa del secondo Novecento: Dernoctra zia, diritti, economia. (pp. 104-130):. Editrice APES.
9	Adinolfi, G. (2016). "O corporativismo na ditadura fascista italiana. In A onda corporativa, Corporativismo e ditaduras na Europa e na América Latina. (pp. 41-60). Rio de Janeiro: FGV Editora.
10	Adinolfi, G. (2015). Qual é a melhor forma de democracia? O caso português à luz do Movimento 5 Estrelas. In André Freire, José Manuela Leite Viegas and Marco Lisi (Ed.), Crise Económica, Políticas de Austeridade e Representação Política. (pp. 78-99). Lisboa: AR – Parliamentary Collection.
11	Adinolfi, G. (2014). Salazar's 'New State'. The Paradoxes of Hybridization in the Fascist Era. In Antonio Costa Pinto and Aristotle Kallis (Ed.), Rethinking Fascism and Dictatoship. (pp. 154-175):. Palgrave. - Times Cited Scopus: 11

12	Accornero, G. & Adinolfi, G. (2014). A Constituição do Estado Novo'. In Ana Belchior (Ed.), Um Século de Constituições Republicanas: Direitos Fundamentais e Representação Política. (pp. 65-83). Lisboa: Mundos Sociais.
13	Adinolfi, G. (2013). Os princípios do Estado ético na Constituição do Estado Novo. In Ana Belchior (Ed.), As Constituições Republicanas Portuguesas. (pp. 65-82). Coimbra: Mundos Sociais.
14	Adinolfi, G. (2012). Grande Conselho e governo: elite e decisão política na Itália fascista. In António Costa Pinto (Ed.), Governar em Ditadura, Elites e decisão política nas ditaduras da era do fascismo. (pp. 39-70). Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais.
15	Adinolfi, G. (2012). O Sistema político do Estado Novo. In André Freire (Ed.), O Sistema Político Português Seculos XIX-XXI: Continuidades e Rturas. (pp. 121-148). Coimbra: Almedina.
16	Goffredo Adinolfi (2009). O Fascismo e a Grande Depressão. In Flávio Limonci and Francisco Palomanes Martinho (Ed.), A Grande Depressão. (pp. 227-250). Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira.
17	Adinolfi, G. (2009). Political elite and decision-making in Mussolini's Italy. In António Costa Pinto (Ed.), Ruling elites and decision-making in Fascist-era dictatorships. (pp. 19-54). New York: Columbia University .

• Other Publications

- Recensions in journals

1	Adinolfi, G. (2019). Fernando Rosas, Salazar e os Fascismos. Práticas da História .
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• Conferences/Workshops and Talks

- Talk

1	Goffredo Adinolfi (2025). The Rise of Mass Parties, Liberal Italy and the Fascist Dawn (1919-1924). Fascism at the Ballot Boxes (1918-1945).
2	Goffredo Adinolfi (2025). The Italian Social Republic. Legitimation Struggles and Unfulfilled Visions. Military History Consortium - 2nd Annual Conference.
3	Goffredo Adinolfi (2025). Dictatorships under Axis Rule: Political, Social, and Institutional Dynamics in Occupied Europe . Seventh Sixth Convention of the International Association for Comparative Fascist Studies (COMFAS) .
4	Goffredo Adinolfi (2023). The Italian Social Republic. Sixth Convention of the International Association for Comparative Fascist Studies (ComFas).
5	Goffredo Adinolfi (2022). Continuities and Discontinuities in the Processes of Elite Recruitment: The Italian Political Field Between Authoritarianism and Democratic Regime. Elite Theory. Philosophical Challenges.
6	Goffredo Adinolfi (2022). The centenary of the March on Rome: between legacy and oblivion. Political Outbreaks against the Liberal Order (1917-1940).
7	Goffredo Adinolfi (2022). Continuities and Discontinuities in the Processes of Elite Recruitment: The Italian Political Field Between Authoritarianism and Democratic Regime. Elite Theory. Philosophical Challenges 5th TOPOI Conference.

8	Goffredo Adinolfi (2021). Anti-liberal thought in Italy: the fascist and the populist way of representing the people. IPSA General Conference.
9	Goffredo Adinolfi (2021). Will liberal-democracy survive the Coronavirus infection? The Multifaceted forms of political representation between Institutions and Technology. The cases of the Lega, 5-Star Movement and Brother of Italy. Da austeridade à pandemia: Portugal e a Europa entre as crises e as inovações.
10	Goffredo Adinolfi & Andrea Molle (2021). The ecumenism of rage: Christianity as an identity of the Italian Radical Right. SISP Conference 2021.
11	Goffredo Adinolfi & Andrea Molle (2021). "The Italian extreme right between religion, contagion and conspiracy". THE MULTIFACETED VIEW OF POLITICAL REPRESENTATION BETWEEN LIBERAL AND ANTI-LIBERAL REGIMES IN EUROPE AND SOUTH AMERICA.
12	Goffredo Adinolfi (2021). "Anti-liberal thought: the fascist and the populist way of representing the people". III Colóquio de Jovens Investigadores em Relações Internacionais e Estudos Políticos.
13	Goffredo Adinolfi & Andrea Molle Montanari (2020). Quaranting God: Religious gatherings and political outbidding in Italy during the 2020 SARS-CoV-2 pandemic. ISA Midwest Annual Conference November 20-22.
14	Adinolfi, G. (2020). Anti-liberal thought: the fascist and the populist way of representing the people. Authoritarian Regimes in Southern Europe A transnational approach.
15	Adinolfi, G. (2020). Anti-liberal thought: the fascist and the populist way of representing the people. The Multifaceted view of Political representation between liberal and anti-liberal regimes in Europe and South America.
16	Adinolfi, G. (2019). Fascismo e corporativismo em chave comparada. Estado Novo, História, Política e Ciências Sociais.
17	Adinolfi, G. (2019). Il Portogallo, la troika, gli indignati e il governo delle sinistre: storia di un paradosso semi rivoluzionario. Il Portogallo: l'eccezione europea?.
18	Adinolfi, G. (2019). The Italian Populist revolution. Crisis and renewal of Democracy - Portugal in comparative perspective 2008-2019.
19	Adinolfi, G. (2016). "A INSTITUCIONALIZAÇÃO DA PROPAGANDA DURANTE A ERA FASCISTA: OS CASOS DA ALEMANHA, DE PORTUGAL E DA ITÁLIA . FOTOGRAFIA IMPRESSA. IMAGEM E PROPAGANDA EM PORTUGAL (1934-1974).
20	Adinolfi, G. & Mayra Goulart (2016). ¿Regeneración o desfiguración? El desafío populista a la democracia representativa. La Historia, lost in translation? XIII Congreso de la Asociación de Historia Contemporánea.
21	Adinolfi, G. & Silva, M. (2016). Regeneration or Disfiguration? The Populist Challenge to Representative Democracy. 24th World Congress of Political Science.
22	Adinolfi, G., Mayra Goulart & Silva, M. (2016). Regeneration or Disfiguration? The populist challenge to representative democracy. VIII Congresso Associação Ciência Política.
23	Adinolfi, G. (2016). É hoje a democracia o regime preferido por todos os cidadãos?. VIII Congresso Associação Ciência Política.

24	Adinolfi, G. (2016). Regeneration or Disfiguration? The populist challenge to representative democracy. Representation, the People, and Political Leadership.
25	Adinolfi, G. (2014). The Discreet Charm of the Direct Democracy: Southern Europe and the representation crisis. The Future of the Small State: Threats, Opportunities, Strategies.
26	Adinolfi, G. (2014). Is Representative Democracy still preferable to all the other regimes? The 5 Stars Movement and the Portuguese case. Ecpr General Conference.
27	Adinolfi, G. (2013). Who are the “technocratic” ministers? Outsiders versus Insiders in the Italian governmental elite. Ecpr - General Conference.
28	Adinolfi, G. (2012). Dal crollo delle borse al crollo dei sistemi politici: l'Italia di fronte all'attacco dei mercati, la caduta del governo Berlusconi e l'ascesa dei tecnici del governo Monti. Sisp, Società Italiana di Scienza Politica.
29	Adinolfi, G. (2011). Representativeness and Political Institutionalisation: Possible Indicators for Democracy. Whatever Happened to North-South?.

Research Projects

Project Title	Role in Project	Partners	Period
Revolution, towards the history of the concept. Analysing portuguese parliamentary debates, 1821-2024	Researcher	CIES-Iscte, CEI-Iscte, CRIA-Iscte, NA - Leader (Portugal), CES-UC - (Portugal), NOVA IMS - (Portugal), UCM - (Spain), CHAM-NOVA FCSH - (Portugal)	2025 - 2026
Liberal Representative democracies and authoritarian regimes in southern Europe	Global Coordinator	CIES-Iscte	2018 - 2024
Crisis, Political Representation and Democratic Renewal: The Portuguese case in the Southern European context	Researcher	CIES-Iscte - Leader, FCSH-UNL - (Portugal)	2016 - 2019
The Discreet Charm of the Direct Democracy: Southern Europe and the representation crisis	Researcher	CIES-Iscte - Leader	2015 - 2018

Elections, Leadership and Accountability: Political representation in Portugal, a longitudinal and comparative perspective	Researcher	CIES-Iscte - Leader	2012 - 2015
Party Pledges and Democratic Accountability: The Portuguese case from a comparative perspective	Researcher	CIES-Iscte - Leader	2011 - 2014
Sistemas Políticos e Elites nas Transições	Researcher	CIES-Iscte - Leader	2008 - 2015
The Portuguese MPs in Comparative Perspective: Elections, Leadership and Representation	Researcher	CIES-Iscte - Leader	2007 - 2010

Organization/Coordination of Events

Type of Organization/Coordination	Event Title	Organizer	Year
Coordination of scientific event (with scientific committee) outside of ISCTE-IUL	The multifaceted view of political representation between liberal and anti-liberals regimes in Europe and South America		2020