

Tommaso Pavone

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ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

- University of Toronto** 2023 - present
Assistant Professor of European Politics, Department of Political Science
Associate Graduate Faculty, Centre for European, Russian and Eurasian Studies (CERES)
- University of Oslo** 2022 - present
Visiting Researcher, Centre for European Studies (ARENA)

EDUCATION

- Princeton University** 2013 - 2019
Ph.D., Politics (2019)
 - Field certifications: comparative politics, public law, & empirical methods
 - Supervisors: Kim Scheppele, R. Daniel Kelemen, Andrew Moravcsik, & Paul FrymerM.A., Politics (2015)
- University of Chicago** 2011 - 2012
M.A., Social Sciences (2012)
- University of Michigan - Ann Arbor** 2007 - 2010
B.A., Public Policy, Political Science minor *with distinction*, *Phi Beta Kappa* (2010)

PROFESSIONAL HISTORY

- Assistant Professor, School of Government and Public Policy, University of Arizona 2021 - 2023
- Visiting Professor, Sciences Po-Grenoble, Grenoble, FR, 2022
- Postdoctoral Fellow in Political Science, University of Oslo, PluriCourts Centre, 2019 - 2021
- Graduate Fellow, Princeton Institute for International & Regional Studies (PIIRS), 2018 - 2019
- Graduate Associate, Princeton EU Program & Law and Public Affairs Program, 2013 - 2019
- Editorial Assistant, *World Politics*, 2015 - 2016
- Consultant, World Bank, 2016
- Research Tech. Senior, Inter-univ. Consortium for Pol. & Social Research (ICPSR), 2012 - 2013

BOOKS

1. **Pavone, Tommaso.** 2022. *The Ghostwriters: Lawyers and the Politics Behind the Judicial Construction of Europe*. Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009076326>
 - Winner, 2024 Certificate of Merit in a Specialized Area of International Law, American Society of International Law (ASIL)
 - Winner, 2023 C. Herman Pritchett Award, American Political Science Association (APSA)
 - Winner, 2023 European Politics Best Book Award, APSA
 - Winner, 2021 Wade Jacoby Award, European Union Studies Association (EUSA)
 - Winner, 2020 Edward Corwin Award, APSA
 - Winner, 2020 Dissertation Prize, Law & Society Association (LSA)
 - Honorable mention, 2020 Ernst Haas Award, APSA

ARTICLES IN PEER-REVIEWED JOURNALS

1. **Pavone, Tommaso**. Forthcoming (2024). "Lawyering in Hard Places: Comparative Dispatches from the Margins of Legality." *Law & Social Inquiry*.
2. Mandujano Manriquez, Mauricio, and **Tommaso Pavone**. 2024. "Follow the Leader: The European Commission, the European Court of Justice, and the EU's Rule of Law Revolution." *Journal of European Public Policy* (early view): 1-30.
3. Kelemen, R. Daniel, and **Tommaso Pavone**. 2023. "Where Have the Guardians Gone? Law Enforcement and the Politics of Supranational Forbearance in the European Union." *World Politics* 75 (4): 779-825.
 - Draft version selected as one of the "best papers" at the 2022 EU Studies (EUSA) Conference
4. **Pavone, Tommaso** and Oyvind Stiansen. 2022. "The Shadow Effect of Courts: Judicial Review and the Politics of Preemptive Reform." *American Political Science Review* 116 (1): 322-336.
5. Emmons, Cassandra, and **Tommaso Pavone**. 2021. "The Rhetoric of Inaction: Failing to Fail Forward in the EU Rule of Law Crisis." *Journal of European Public Policy* 28 (10): 1611-1629.
6. **Pavone, Tommaso**. 2020. "Putting European Constitutionalism in its Place: The Spatial Foundations of the Judicial Construction of Europe." *European Constitutional Law Review* 16 (4): 669-690.
7. **Pavone, Tommaso**. 2020. "Lawyers, Judges, and the Obstinate State: The French Case and an Agenda for Comparative Politics." *French Politics* 18 (4): 416-432.
 - Winner of the 2023 Stanley Hoffmann Best Article Award from APSA's French Politics Group
8. **Pavone, Tommaso** and R. Daniel Kelemen. 2019. "The Evolving Judicial Politics of European Integration: The European Court of Justice and National Courts Revisited." *European Law Journal* 25 (4): 352-373.
9. **Pavone, Tommaso**. 2019. "From Marx to Market: Lawyers, European Law, and the Contentious Transformation of the Port of Genoa." *Law & Society Review* 53 (3): 851-888.
10. Kelemen, R. Daniel, and **Tommaso Pavone**. 2018. "The Political Geography of Legal Integration: Visualizing Institutional Change in the European Union." *World Politics* 70 (3): 358-397.
 - Draft version winner of the 2017 Wilson Best Paper Award from APSA's French Politics Group
11. **Pavone, Tommaso**. 2018. "Revisiting Judicial Empowerment in the European Union: Limits of Empowerment, Logics of Resistance." *Journal of Law & Courts* 6 (2): 303-331.
12. Kelemen, R. Daniel, and **Tommaso Pavone**. 2016. "Mapping European Law." *Journal of European Public Policy* 23 (8): 1118-1138.
 - Draft version selected as one of the "best papers" at the 2015 EU Studies (EUSA) Conference
13. **Pavone, Tommaso**. 2016. "Democracy by Lawsuit: Or, Can Litigation Alleviate the EU's "Democratic Deficit?"" *Constitutional Studies* 2: 59-80.

BOOK CHAPTERS, ARTICLES IN LAW JOURNALS, & OTHER SCHOLARSHIP

1. **Pavone, Tommaso**. Forthcoming (2024). "Making the European Court Work: Nicola Catalano and the Origins of European Legal Integration." In *The Italian Influence on European Law: Judges and Advocates General (1952-2000)*, Nicola, Mastroianni, & Gallo, eds. Oxford, UK: Hart.
2. **Pavone, Tommaso**. 2024. "Agendas, Decisions, and Autonomy: How Government Lawyers Shape Judicial Behavior." In *Oxford Handbook of Comparative Judicial Behavior*, Epstein, Grenstad, Sadl, & Weinsall, eds. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

3. **Pavone, Tommaso.** 2023. "Van Gend en Loos: Judges, Lawyers, and European Integration - Revisionist Dispatches from a Political Scientist." *Quaderni Costituzionali: Italian Journal of Constitutional Law*, 43 (4): 904-907.
4. **Pavone, Tommaso.** 2022. "Law and Political Development in the European Union: What Stanley Hoffmann Missed, and Why His Work Remains Relevant." *H-Diplo/International Security Studies Forum* on the Scholarship of Stanley Hoffmann, <https://issforum.org/forums/33>.
5. **Pavone, Tommaso.** 2022. "Selecting Cases for Comparative Sequential Analysis: Novel Uses for Old Methods." In *The Case For Case Studies*, Woolcock, Widner, & Ortega-Nieto, eds. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
6. **Pavone, Tommaso,** & Juan Mayoral. 2022. "Statistics as if Legality Mattered: The Two-Front Politics of Empirical Legal Studies." In *The Politics of European Legal Research*, Bartl & Lawrence, eds. Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar.
7. **Pavone, Tommaso.** 2022. "'In this Bureaucratic Silence EU Law Dies': Fieldwork and the (Non)-Practice of EU law in National Courts." In *Researching the European Court of Justice*, Nicola, Vauchez, & Madsen, eds. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
8. **Pavone, Tommaso.** 2021. "Like Oil Floating on Water: Italy's Olive Crisis and the Politics of Backlash against Transnational Legal Orders." *FIU Law Review* 14 (3): 633-648.
9. **Pavone, Tommaso.** 2019. "Review of 'EU Law Stories: Contextual & Critical Histories in European Jurisprudence', Nicola & Davies, eds." *American Journal of Comparative Law* 67 (3): 931-935.
10. **Pavone, Tommaso.** 2017. "Il Diritto dell'Unione Europea e l'Analisi Sociologica del Rinvio Pregiudiziale in Italia." *Rivista Trimestrale Degli Appalti* 14 (2): 431-452. [English translation: "European Union Law and the Sociological Analysis of the Preliminary Reference Procedure in Italy."]

BLOGPOSTS, PODCASTS, & NEWS COMMENTARY

1. **Pavone, Tommaso.** 2023. "The EU's Faustian Bargain: The EU Betrays Ukraine and the Rule of Law - and We Will Live to Regret It," *Verfassungsblog*, Dec. 17: <https://verfassungsblog.de/the-eus-faustian-bargain/>
2. **Pavone, Tommaso.** 2023. "Law and Political Development: Insights from the European Union." *Broadstreet Blog*, March 20. <https://broadstreet.blog/2023/03/20/law-and-political-development-insights-from-the-european-union/>
3. **Pavone, Tommaso.** 2022. "Political scientist Tommaso Pavone on neglect for the rule of law." *Follow the Money*, Oct. 2, <https://www.ftm.eu/articles/tommaso-pavone-neglect-of-the-rule-of-law-europe>
4. **Pavone, Tommaso.** 2022. "A conversation with Tommaso Pavone on the Ghostwriters, the lawyers that fashioned EU law." *EU Law Live podcast*, Sept. 20, <https://eulawlive.com/podcast/a-conversation-with-tommaso-pavone-about-the-ghostwriters-the-secret-eurolawyers-that-fashioned-eu-law/>
5. **Pavone, Tommaso.** 2022. "Ghostwriting the European Union - in Conversation with Tommaso Pavone." *Review of Democracy (RevDem) podcast*, June 14, <https://revdem.ceu.edu/2022/06/14/ghostwriting-the-european-union-in-conversation-with-tommaso-pavone/>
6. **Pavone, Tommaso.** 2022. "Russian oil ban - Hungarian hold-up - EU 'ghostwriters'." *Politico's EU Confidential podcast*, June 2, <https://www.politico.eu/podcast/russian-oil-ban-hungarian-hold-up-eu-ghostwriters/>

7. Kelemen, R. Daniel, & **Tommaso Pavone**. 2022. "Forbearance and Enforcement at the European Commission: A Response to von der Leyen." *EU Law Enforcement Blog*, May 31, <https://eulawenforcement.com/?p=8299>
8. **Pavone, Tommaso**. 2022. "Europe's Hidden Legal Architects, with Tommaso Pavone." *Scope Conditions podcast*, April 11, <https://www.scopeconditionspodcast.com/episodes/episode-27-europes-hidden-legal-architects-with-tommaso-pavone>
9. Kelemen, R. Daniel, & **Tommaso Pavone**. 2022. "A conversation with Dan Kelemen and Tommaso Pavone on the Commission's recent role as enforcer of EU Law." *EU Law Live podcast*, Feb. 7, <https://eulawlive.com/podcast/a-conversation-with-dan-kelemen-and-tommaso-pavone-on-the-commissions-recent-role-as-enforcer-of-eu-law/>
10. Kelemen, R. Daniel, & **Tommaso Pavone**. 2022. "The curious case of the EU's disappearing infringements." *Politico*, Jan. 13, <https://www.politico.eu/article/curious-case-eu-disappearing-infringements/>
11. **Pavone, Tommaso**, Kelemen, R. Daniel, & Cassandra Emmons. 2019. "The Perils of Passivity in the Rule of Law Crisis: A Response to von Bogdandy." *Verfassungsblog*, Nov. 26, <https://dx.doi.org/10.17176/20191126-122058-0>

RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

1. "Leveling and Spotlighting: How the European Court of Justice Favors the Weak to Promote its Legitimacy." (with Silje Hermansen & Louisa Boulaziz). Under review.
2. "The Politics of Intercurrence: Political Cleavages and Lawfare in the European Union." (with Sivaram Cheruvu). In progress.
3. "Democratic Front-Sliding in the European Union." (with Antoinette Scherz and Christophe Hillion). In progress.
4. "Judicial Agency in International Settings: Government Input and Litigant Success Before the European Court of Justice." (with Silje Hermansen & Louisa Boulaziz). In progress.
5. "The Federal Politics of Judicial Power: Courts, Parties, and Political Development in the United States and Europe." In progress.
6. *Rule Through Law: The Construction and Corrosion of a Law State in the European Union* (with R. Daniel Kelemen). Book project in progress.

SELECTED AWARDS, GRANTS, & FELLOWSHIPS

- NOK 25 million (\$3 million) grant, ENROL project, Research Council of Norway (RCN), 2022-2027
 - "Enforcing the Rule of Law (ENROL)" is a joint project with Christophe Hillion, Daniel Naurin, Antoinette Scherz, Oyvind Stiansen, & Asimina Michailidou
- Certificate of Merit in a Specialized Area of Int'l Law, American Society of Int'l Law (ASIL) 2024
- Stanley Hoffmann Best Article Award, American Political Science Association (APSA) 2023
- C. Herman Pritchett Award, APSA 2023
- European Politics Best Book Award, APSA 2023
- €4,500 workshop grant, European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR), 2022
- Best Dissertation Award, European Union Studies Association (EUSA), 2021
- Best Dissertation Prize, Law and Society Association (LSA), 2020
- Edward Corwin Dissertation Award, American Political Science Assoc. (APSA), 2020
- Honorable Mention, Ernst Haas Dissertation Award, APSA, 2020

- \$29,640 Princeton Institute for Int'l & Regional Studies (PIIRS) Graduate Fellowship, 2018 - 2019
- \$25,194 National Science Foundation (NSF) Diss. Research Improv't Grant, 2016 - 2017
- \$8,000 fieldwork grants, Bobst Center for Peace and Justice, 2015 - 2016
- \$1,108 travel grant, iCourts Center for Excellence, U. of Copenhagen, 2016
- €1,268 travel grant, Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS), 2015
- \$1,800 fieldwork grant, Princeton Institute for International and Regional Studies, 2015
- 5-year Princeton University Fellowship in the Humanities and Social Sciences, 2013 - 2018

SELECTED PRESENTATIONS, INVITED TALKS, & PARLIAMENTARY TESTIMONY

- ECPR Standing Group on the EU (SGEU) Conference, Lisbon, PT June 19-21, 2024
- Law and Society Association (LSA) annual meeting, Denver, CO June 6-9, 2024
- Invited talk, University of Connecticut Law School, Hartford, CT April 10, 2024
- Featured book talk, "The Ghostwriters," ASIL Annual Meeting, Washington, DC April 4, 2024
- Keynote address, Institute of International and European Affairs (IIEA), Dublin, IE March 13, 2024
- American Political Science Association (APSA) annual meeting, Los Angeles, CA Aug. 31-Sept. 3, 2023
- Co-organizer, workshop on "Litigants & Decisions at the ECJ," University of Oslo, June 12-13, 2023
- LSA annual meeting, San Juan, PR June 1-4, 2023
- Invited talk, Carlos III-Juan March Institute (IC3JM), Madrid, ES May 12, 2023
- European Union Studies Association (EUSA) annual meeting, Pittsburgh, PA May 4-6, 2023
- Invited book talk, "The Ghostwriters," the Graduate Institute, Geneva, CHI April 20, 2023
- Invited book talk, "The Ghostwriters," Stanford University, CA Dec. 8, 2022
- Invited book talk, "The Ghostwriters," Princeton University, NJ Oct. 28, 2022
- Invited book talk, "The Ghostwriters," Hertie School of Governance, Berlin, DE Nov. 7, 2022
- Invited book talk, "The Ghostwriters," Sciences Po Grenoble, Grenoble, FR Oct. 10, 2022
- APSA annual meeting, Montreal, CA Sept.15-18, 2022
- LSA annual meeting, Lisbon, PT July 13-16, 2022
- Council for European Studies (CES) annual meeting, Lisbon, PT June 29-July 1, 2022
- Conference on "Italian Judges Shaping EU Law," LUISS University, Rome, IT, June 24-25, 2022
- Invited book talk, "The Ghostwriters," European University Institute (EUI), Florence, IT, June 15, 2022
- Invited lecture, "Comparative Advantages of Case Study Research," EUI, Florence, IT, June 14, 2022
- Co-organizer, SGEU workshop on "European Legal Mobilization," Rome, IT, June 7, 2022
- EUSA annual meeting, Miami, FL, May 19-21, 2022
- Expert testimony, EU Parliament Renew debate on "the EU's enforcement conundrum," May 18, 2022
- Book launch for 'The Ghostwriters,' University of Arizona, Tucson, AZ April 15, 2022
- Expert testimony, EU Parliament LIBE Committee debate on "the primacy of EU law," Mar. 4, 2022
- Invited (zoom) talk, APSA Law & Courts Brown Bag Session on "Attorneys," Dec. 14, 2021
- Invited (zoom) talk, European politics workshop, University of California - Berkeley, Nov. 8, 2021
- Invited lecture, conference on "The Mobilization of European Law," EUI, Florence, IT, Oct. 11, 2021
- APSA annual meeting, Seattle, WA, Sept.30-Oct. 3, 2021
- CES virtual meeting June 21-25, 2021
- LSA virtual meeting, May 26-30, 2021
- Invited workshop, 'Jean Monnet Master Class' on case studies, University of Copenhagen, Apr. 16, 2021
- Invited lecture, 'EUPoLex Jean Monnet Seminar' series, University of Copenhagen, Apr. 14, 2021
- Invited lecture, 'New Research in Comparative Politics' series, City University of London, Feb. 3, 2021
- Invited lecture, 'Why the EU Law Enforcement Gap is Growing,' European Parliament Jan. 7, 2021
- 'The Politics of Legal Research' virtual workshop, University of Amsterdam Oct. 22-23, 2020
- APSA virtual meeting, Sept. 8-12, 2020
- Danish European Community Studies (DSE-ECSA) Conference, Aarhus Oct. 3-4, 2019
- APSA annual meeting, Washington, DC Aug. 28-Sept. 1, 2019
- Conference on Judicial Dialogue in the EU, Nijmegen, NL, June 13-14, 2019

- Invited lecture, KU-Leuven Empirical Legal Studies Seminar, Leuven, BE, June 12, 2019
- LSA annual meeting, Washington, DC, May 30-June 2, 2019
- EUSA annual meeting, Denver, CO, May 9-11, 2019
- iCourts conference on 'New Methods for the Study of EU Law', Copenhagen, DK, Sept. 21, 2018
- APSA annual meeting, Boston, MA, Aug. 30-Sept. 2, 2018
- LSA annual meeting, Toronto, CA, June 7-10, 2018
- Invited lecture, Humboldt University, Nov. 8, 2017
- APSA annual meeting, San Francisco, CA, Aug. 31-Sept. 3, 2017
- LSA annual meeting, Mexico City, MX, June 20-23, 2017
- EUSA annual meeting, Miami, FL, May 4-6, 2017
- Invited lecture, LUISS Guido Carli University, Mar. 16-17, 2017
- EUI, EU Law Stories Conference, Mar. 3-4, 2017
- Invited lecture, University of Naples-Federico II, Dec. 5, 2016
- APSA annual meeting, Philadelphia, PA, Sept. 1-4, 2016
- International Conference of Europeanists, Philadelphia, PA, April 14-16, 2016
- Conference on 'Trust, Social Capital, & Networks', University of Copenhagen, Mar. 31-Apr. 1, 2016
- Graduate Conference in Public Law, University of Texas, Sept. 24-26, 2015
- Political Constructions of Europe: CNRS Summer Workshop, Val-de-Reuil, FR, Jun. 9-12, 2015
- EUSA annual meeting, Boston, MA, Mar. 5-7, 2015

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

- European Union: Politics, Institutions and Society (undergraduate, University of Toronto), S. 2024
- Judicial Politics (undergraduate/graduate, University of Toronto), F. 2023
- Law and Political Development (undergraduate, University of Toronto), F. 2023
- Law and Political Development (undergraduate, University of Arizona), S. 2022/23
- Law and Social Change (undergraduate, University of Arizona), F. 2021/22, S. 2022/23
- Constitutional Difficulties in the Age of Trump (undergraduate, Princeton University), S. 2019
- Introduction to Comparative Politics (undergraduate, Princeton University), S. 2018
- Qualitative Research Methods (undergraduate, Princeton University), F. 2015, S. 2016
- Judicial Politics (undergraduate, Princeton University), S. 2016

ADVISING

- Co-supervisor, Mauricio Mandujano Manriquez (PhD fellow, University of Oslo), in progress

ADDITIONAL TRAINING & FIELD EXPERIENCE

- 6 months of virtual fieldwork/interviews, European Commission, Brussels, Belgium 2020 - 2021; 2023
- 5 months of fieldwork, Paris & Marseille, France; Berlin, Hamburg, & Munich, Germany 2017 - 2018
- 7 months of fieldwork, Genoa, Milan, Trento, Rome, Naples, Bari, & Palermo, Italy, 2016 - 2017
- 3 months of fieldwork, Rome, Florence, & Naples, Italy, 2015
- Academy of European Law (AEL), European University Institute (Florence, Italy), 2015
- Institute for Qualitative and Multi-Method Research (IQMR), Syracuse University, 2014
- University of Chicago Law School (courses in int'l law & comparative law), 2012
- ICPSR Summer Program in Quantitative Methods of Social Research, 2010

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS & SERVICE

- Founding member, The Good Lobby Profs, 2021 - present
- Member, American Political Science Association (APSA), 2014 - present
- Chair, APSA European politics best book award committee, 2023 - present

- Member, European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR), 2021 - present
- Co-Chair, Law & Politics Section, ECPR Standing Group on the EU (SGEU), 2023 - present
- Member, Council for European Studies (CES), 2021 - present
- Member, Law and Society Association (LSA), 2017 - present
- Member, European Union Studies Association (EUSA), 2014 - present
- Member, faculty advisory board, Arizona Policy Lab, SGPP at the University of Arizona 2022 - 2023
- Member, undergraduate program steering committee, SGPP at the University of Arizona 2021 - 2023
- Organizer, Law and courts section, 2023 EUSA conference, 2022 - 2023
- Member, Haas Fellowship selection committee, EUSA, 2022
- Member, Best paper award committee, EUSA, 2022
- Member, European Studies Book Judging Committee, Council for European Studies, 2021 - 2022
- Co-Chair, Rule of Law & Courts Section, ECPR Standing Group on the EU (SGEU), 2021 - 2022
- Member, best paper award committee, APSA French Politics Group, 2018
- Co-Founder & Coordinator, Princeton Qualitative Research Seminar, 2015 - 2016
- Book reviewer, *Oxford University Press* 2023 - present
- Grant reviewer, Social Sciences & Humanities Research Council of Canada, 2022 - present
- European Research Council, Swiss National Science Foundation, US National Endowment for the Humanities
- Journal reviewer, *American Political Science Review*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *Journal of European Public Policy*, *International Organization*, *Law & Society Review*, *Journal of Law & Courts*, *Governance*, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, *Law & Social Inquiry*, *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, *Political Research Exchange*, *Review of International Organizations*, *West European Politics*, *Global Constitutionalism*, *European Journal of Risk Regulation* 2016 - present

ADDITIONAL SKILLS

Proficient in Stata, ArcGIS, L^AT_EX, & Microsoft Office

Languages: English (*Fluent*), Italian (*Native*), French (*Advanced*)

REFERENCES

Kim Lane Scheppele - kimlane@princeton.edu

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University Distinguished Professor, School of Public Affairs & Administration, University of Kansas

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Professor of Political Science, *Director of the ARENA Center for European Studies*, University of Oslo

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