Curriculum Vitae

ALBENA AZMANOVA

Professor of Political and Social Science
Department of International Politics
School of Policy and Global Affairs
City St George's, University of London
D515, Rhind Building
Northampton Square, London EC1V 0HB

E-mail: Albena.Azmanova@city.ac.uk
Albena.azmanova@gmail.com

https://www.azmanova.com/

I. ACADEMIC EXPERTISE AND RESEARCH INTERESTS……...2
II. PROFESSIONAL POSITIONS 2
III. EDUCATION 2
IV. AWARDS AND HONORS 2
V. PUBLICATIONS 3
A/ MAIN ACADEMIC PUBLICATIONS 3
BOOK CHAPTERS AND JOURNAL ARTICLES: 4
BOOK REVIEWS 6
B/ POLICY REPORTS AND ANALYSES 6
C/ IN THE MASS MEDIA 7
VI. RESEARCH AFFILIATIONS AND ACTIVITIES 9
A/ RESEARCH POSITIONS 9
B/ BOARD MEMBERSHIPS 9
C/ EDITORIAL AND PEER REVIEW WORK 9
D/ RESEARCH COMMITTEES AND EXPERT GROUPS (SELECTIONS): 10
E/ ASSESMENT OF RESEARCH GRANT APPLICATIONS: 10
VII. INVITED ACADEMIC PRESENTATIONS AND PUBLIC LECTURES 10
VIII. RESEARCH GRANTS and POLICY ADVISORY WORK (selections) 13
IX. CIVIC ENGAGEMENT 15
X. LANGUAGES 16

I. ACADEMIC EXPERTISE AND RESEARCH INTERESTS

Main fields: political and social science - political economy, public policy, political sociology, comparative politics, political communication, political and social theory, research methods, European Studies (EU policy and politics).

Research themes: sustainable development, social policy, social and political justice; electoral politics, democracy and rule of law; democratic transitions.

II. PROFESSIONAL POSITIONS

CURRENT

Since 1 Sep 2024 Professor of Political and Social Science – City St George's, University of London, Department of International Politics (full-time, tenured)

Honorary Professor, University of Kent, Department of Politics and IR

Teaching: Contemporary Political Theory (UG-3); Advocacy and Change in World Politics (PGT), Global Capitalism: Past, Present, Future (PGT)

PREVIOUS APPOINTMENTS

09/2005 – 08/2024 member of academic staff, University of Kent, Brussels School of International Studies, School of Politics and IR (full-time, tenured)

2002 - 2005 Assistant Professor, Vesalius College, Brussels
1998 - 2002 Maître de Conférences (Assistant Professor), Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris (Sciences Po.)
Spring 1998 Adjunct Professor, Ecole des Hautes Études Commerciales/ HEC Paris
1995 - 1997 Assistant Professor, The New School for Social Research, New York

III. EDUCATION

Ph.D. in Political Science, The New School for Social Research, New York (awarded in 2001)
- Ph.D. Comprehensive Exams: Political Theory and Comparative Politics

Certificat d'Etudes Européennes, *Institut des Hautes Etudes Européennes,* Université Robert Schuman, Strasbourg (awarded in 1993).

M.A. in Political Science, *Sofia University*, Bulgaria (awarded in 1992)

IV. AWARDS AND HONORS

2025 ***Top Scholar***, ScholarGPS ranking 2024 (Lifetime: 0.5% of all scholars worldwide; and #14 in Employment and Labour Law in past 5 years).

2024 ***Impactful Research of the Year (Europe).*** Triple E Awards (Entrepreneurship and Engagement Excellence in Higher Education) of the Accreditation Council for Entrepreneurial and Engaged Universities (ACEEU);

2022 ***Best Book Prize for International Political Economy*****,** the International Studies Association;

2021 ***Michael Harrington Book Award*,** the American Political Science Association's caucus for critical political science, in recognition of "an outstanding book that demonstrates how scholarship can be used in the struggle for a better world";

2021 ***Susan Strange Best Book Prize***, (Honourable Mention), the British International Studies Association

2001 ***The Hannah Arendt Memorial Award in Politics*** of the New School for Social Research for PhD dissertation

V. PUBLICATIONS

A/ MAIN ACADEMIC PUBLICATIONS

MONOGRAPHS

with Kalypso Nicolaidis, *Democracy with Foresight: the key to a Socially Sustainable Green Transition in Europe (and Beyond)* (in progress)

Capitalism on Edge: How Fighting Precarity Can Achieve Radical Change Without Crisis or Utopia, New York: Columbia University Press, 2020.

- French edition: *Contre la précarité* (Paris, Editions du Seuil, 2023);
- German edition: *Kapitalismus an der Kippe* (Vienna: Edition Konturen, 2021);
- Romanian edition: *Capitalismul pe muchie de cutit* (Barikada publishers, 2022)
- Italian edition: Capitalismo in bilico (Castelvecchi Editore, 2025)

Awards for *Capitalism on Edge*: See Awards in section IV above

Book symposia for *Capitalism on Edge*:

Amy Allen, Paul Apostolidis, Albena Azmanova & Lea Ypi. "The ends of radical critique? Crisis, capitalism, emancipation: a conversation," *Journal of Political Power*, 16/1 (2023): 101-124.

Author-meets-critics panel with Amy Allen, Claus Offe, Lea Ypi, Paul Apostolidis (online, 21 May 2020: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4e8YKk0UrCc&t=8s; publication pending in *Journal of Political Power.*

in *Critical Horizons* 23/2 (2022), with Azar Dakwar, David B. Ingram, William Callison, Eilat Maoz & Albena Azmanova

in *Contemporary Political Theory* (29 June 2021 Jun 29), with Enrico Biale, Michael Stein, Camila Vergara, Benjamin McKean, and Albena Azmanova

author-meets-critics panel, Society for the Advancement of Socio-Economics (SASE), 2 July 2021: with Lara Monticelli, Hilary Silver, Marina Prentoulis, and Luigi Pellizzoni.

Commentaries and reviews by Robert Reich, James Galbraith, Claus Offe, Kalypso Nicolaidis, Nadia Urbinati, John Judis, and others at: https://cup.columbia.edu/book/capitalism-on-edge/9780231195379

The Scandal of Reason: A Critical Theory of Political Judgment. New York: Columbia University Press, 2012.

Commentaries and reviews by Ira Katznelson, Seyla Benhabib, Nancy Fraser and others at: https://cup.columbia.edu/book/the-scandal-of-reason/9780231527286

EDITED VOLUMES:

The Emancipation Paradox (contributing authors: Elizabeth Anker, Arjun Appadurai, Richard Bellamy, Wendy Brown, Lois McNay, and David Owen) – Columbia University Press, series "New Directions in Critical Theory" (under contract);

Breakthrough: Unlocking Transformative Politics (contributing authors: Tugba Basaran, James Chamberlain, Nicola Countouris, Evgenii Dainov, Gerard Delanty, Peter Fleming, Jeffrey Flynn, Naveh Frumer, Lisa Herzog , Gal Hertz, Steven Klein, Regina Kreide, Anthony Lerman, Iain MacKenzie, Anastasia Nesvetailova, Ronen Palan, Robert Porter, Enzo Rossi and Raphaël Wolff) -- Rowman & Littlefield, Lexington Books, series Experiments/On the Political (in production)

with James Chamberlain (eds.) Capitalism, Democracy, Socialism: Critical Debates (Springer, 2022), series Philosophy and Politics - Critical Explorations

with Mihaela Mihai (eds.) *Reclaiming Democracy: Judgment, Responsibility and the Right to Politics*. London and New York: Routledge, 2015. .

with Marc Pallemaerts, (eds.). *The EU and Sustainable Development: Internal and External Dimensions*. Brussels: Politea and VUB University Press, 2006 .

BOOK CHAPTERS AND JOURNAL ARTICLES:

"Chantal Mouffe and Albena Azmanova: Forty Years after Hegemony and Socialist Strategy (a conversation)", *Emancipations: A Journal of Critical Social Analysis*: Vol. 4: Iss. 3, Article 8. DOI: https://doi.org/10.55533/2765-8414.1151

"1989's Ambitious Pragmatism: Lessons for Fighting Autocratic Capitalism Today," in Petr Agha and Petr Drulák, Velvet Capitalism and the Crisis of Liberal Democracy, Routhledge 2025.

"Free Speech or Safe Speech: The Neoliberal University's False Dilemma." *Social Research: An International Quarterly* 92, no. 2 (2025): 347-377.

"Fantasies of Empowerment and Realities of Entrapment: Critique Amidst Ubiquitous Precarity," *Parallax*, 30/2 (2025), 245-252, DOI: 10.1080/13534645.2024.2451470 ("Pandemonium" special issue).

"The Road to the European Social Green Deal: class struggle or counter-hegemony?," in Anders Fjeld and Matthieu de Nanteuil, (eds.) *Marx and Europe. Beyond Stereotype, Below Utopias* (Springer, 2024).

"Introduction: Sovereignty Across Generations – Regaining democracy's pasts and futures", Azmanova. A. et al. "Making Constituent Power Safe for Democracy" (Special section on Alessandro Ferrara's Sovereignty Across Generations: Constituent Power and Political Liberalism), *Philosophy and Social Criticism* 50/10 (2024): 1417–1519.

"Radical Politics Facing the 'Emancipation Paradox'," *Emancipations: A Journal of Critical Social Analysis*, 3/3 (2024), Article 5.

"Six ways to misunderstand precarity: Reflections on social angst and its political offspring", *Emancipations: A Journal of Critical Social Analysis* 1/3 (2022), article 2.

"Decolonizing the Western Mind: Gurminder K. Bhambra, in discussion with Albena Azmanova," *Emancipations* 1/2 (2022), article 6.

"Rethinking Capitalism in the Twenty-First Century: The Tasks of Radical Critique," *Rivista Italiana di Filosofia Politica* 2: 83-101 (2022).

"Postcapitalism: The Return of Radical Critique," in G. Delanty and S. Turner (eds.) *Routledge International Handbook of Contemporary Social and Political Theory*. Abingdon and New York: Routledge 2021; pp. 522-530.

"Populism and the Recasting of the Ideological Landscape of Liberal Democracies," in M. Oswald (ed.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Populism*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2021; pp. 379–385.

"Battlegrounds of Justice: The Pandemic and What Really Grieves the 99%" in G. Delanty (ed.) *Pandemics, Politics, and Society: Critical Perspectives on the Covid-19 Crisis*. Berlin and Boston: W. de Gruyter, 2021; pp. 243-256.

"Countering precarity: social resilience through a political economy of trust," in E. Korosteleva and T. Flockhart (eds.) *Resilience in EU and International Institution*s. Routledge, 2021; pp. 236-254.

"Viral Insurgencies: Can Capitalism Survive Covid?" *Theory and Event* 23/5 (2020): S87-S109.

"Anti-Capital for the XXIst Century (on the metacrisis of capitalism and the prospects for radical politics)," *Philosophy and Social Criticism* 46/5 (2020): 601-612.

Translation in Portuguese: "Anticapital para o século XXI (sobre a metacrise do capitalismo e as possibilidades abertas para a política radical)". Tradução de Ivan Rodrigues. Cadernos de Filosofia Alemã: Crítica e Modernidade, 25 (1), pp. 149-163, 2020: https://www.revistas.usp.br/filosofiaalema/article/view/168955

"The Costs of the Democratic Turn in Political Theory," in B. Martill and S. Schindler (eds.) *Theory as Ideology in International Relations,* Routledge, 2020; pp. 99-117.

"The Paradox of Emancipation: Populism, Democracy, and the Soul of the Left", in *Philosophy and Social Criticism* 45/9-10 (2019): 1186-1207.

Translated in Chinese: in *Contemporary Marxism Review*, vol 26, issue 4, 2022.

with Azar Dakwar, "The Inverted Post-national Constellation: Identitarian populism in context", *European Law Journal* 25/5 (2019): 494– 501.

'Marx', 'Late Capitalism', and 'Andrew Arato', entries in *The Cambridge Habermas Lexicon*, edited by Amy Allen and Eduardo Mendieta (Cambridge University Press, 2019).

"The Populist Catharsis: On the Revival of the Political," *Philosophy and Social Criticism*, 44/4 (2018):399-411.

"Relational, structural and systemic forms of power: the 'right to justification' confronting three types of domination," *Journal of Political Power* 11/1 (2018): 68-78.

"The Crisis of 'the Crisis of Europe'," in Ash Amin and Philip Lewis (eds.) *European Union and Disunion*. London: British Academy, 2017; pp. 41-46.

"Democracy Against Social Reform: the Arab 'Spring' Faces its Demons," in M. Cherkaoui (ed.) *What is Enlightenment? Continuity or Rupture in the Wake of the Arab Uprisings*. London: Lexington Books, 2016; pp. 239-254.

"Empowerment as Surrender: how women lost the battle for emancipation as they won equality and inclusion," *Social Research* 83/3 (2016): 749-776.

"The Right to Politics and Republican Non-domination", *Philosophy and Social Criticism*, 42/4-5 (2016): 465-475.

"Crisis? Capitalism is Doing Very Well. How is Critical Theory?" *Constellations* 21/3 (2014): 351-365.

"The 'Crisis of Capitalism' and the State – More Powerful, Less Responsible, Invariably Legitimate, " in N. Lemay-Hébert, N. Onuf, V. Rakić, P. Bojanić (eds.) *Semantics of Statebuilding: Language, Meanings and Sovereignty*. Routledge, 2013; pp. 150-162.

"The Crisis of Europe: Democratic Deficit and Eroding Sovereignty – Not Guilty," *Law & Critique* 24/1 (2013):23-38.

"Political Judgment for an Agonistic Democracy", in *No Foundations: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Law and Justice* (University of Helsinki), issue 10 (June 2013): a special issue "Judging Democracy, Democratic Judgment".

"Social Justice and Varieties of Capitalism: An Immanent Critique," *New Political Economy* 17/4 (2012): 445-463.

-a German translation is included in the collection *The Value of the Market - An Economic-Philosophical Discourse from the 18th Century to the Present* [*Der Wert des Marktes*], ed. by A. Honneth and L. Herzog Berlin: Suhrkamp Verlag, 2014; pp. 577-608. (with texts by G.W.F. Hegel, K. Marx, E. Durkheim, J.S. Mill, A. Sen, A. Hirschman and others).

"De-gendering social justice in the 21st century: An immanent critique of neoliberal capitalism", *European Journal of Social Theory* 15/2 (2012):143-156.

"After the Left-Right (Dis)continuum: Globalization and the Remaking of Europe's Ideological Geography," *International Political Sociology* 5/4 (2011): 384-407.

"Against the Politics of Fear: On Deliberation, Inclusion, and the Political Economy of Trust," *Philosophy and Social Criticism* 37/2 (2011): 401-412.

"Social Harm, Political Judgment, and the Pragmatics of Universal Justification", in *Philosophical Dimensions of Human Rights: Some Contemporary Views*, edited by Claudio Corradetti (Springer, 2011); pp. 107-123.

"Capitalism Reorganized: Social Justice after Neo-liberalism," *Constellations* 17/3 (2010): 390-406.

"1989 and the European Social Model: Transition Without Emancipation?", *Philosophy and Social Criticism* 35/9 (2009):1-19.

"1989 and the Accidental Death of the European Social Model," *Policy and Politics* 37/4 (2009): 611-615 (Debates section).

"Democratization, Economic Transition and Sustainable Development: A Perspective from the EU's New Member States," in (Azmanova & Pallemaerts, 2006 – see above); pp. 313-336.

"The Mobilisation of the European Left in the Early 21st Century," *European Journal of Sociology* 45/2 (2004):273-306.

"Europe's Novel Political Cultures in the Early Twenty-first Century," *Contemporary Politics* 10/2 (2004): 111-125.

"Curbing the Deficit: Democracy After the European Constitution," *Imprints* 8/1 (2004):7-49.

"Dictatorships of Freedom," *Praxis International* 12/2 (1992): 145-157.

BOOK REVIEWS

"Whose development? What hegemony? Tackling the structural dynamics of global social injustice," *Ethics & Global Politics* 12/4 (2019): 32-39.

"The clash that never was: debating Islam, the myth of civilisations and the realities of democracy," in *Philosophy and Social Criticism* 45/5 (2018): 617-624.: a review of Benhabib, S. and Kaul, V. (eds.) *Towards New Democratic Imaginaries – Istanbul Seminars on Islam, Culture and Politics*. Springer: 2017.

"The European Left's Machiavellian moment: notes on Costas Douzinas' *Syriza in Power*," *openDemocracy*, 27 April, 2018.

"Emancipation, Progress, Critique: Debating Amy Allen's The End of Progress," *Contemporary Political Theory* 17/4: pp 511–541 (2018), as editor.

review of Mark Bevir (ed.), *Modern Pluralism* and Patty Lenard, *Trust, Democracy, and Multicultural Challenges*, *Perspectives on Politics* 11/4 (2018): 1167-1169.

B/ POLICY REPORTS AND ANALYSES (MOST RECENT):

with Kalypso Nicolaidis, "Democracy with foresight: the key to a socially sustainable transition in Europe (and beyond)", a guest-editorial to *Benchmarking Working Europe 2023: Europe in Transition: Towards Sustainable Resilience*, edited by Contouris N., Piasna A. and Theodoropoulou S. (Brussels: European Trade Union Confederation and European Trade Union Institute, 2023), pp. 19-29.

Azmanova et al. *The Great Shift – from a Broken World to Sustainable Wellbeing*, Report of the Independent Commission for Sustainable Equality. Brussels: European Parliament, 2021.

with Bethany Howard, *Binding the Guardian: On the European Commission's Failure to Safeguard the Rule of Law*. Brussels: European Parliament, 2021.

"Fighting precarity: a paradigm shift from equality-in-prosperity to solidarity-in-wellbeing. Notes on a political economy of trust," *The Progressive Post*, FEPS (15 February, 2021)

C/ IN THE MASS MEDIA (SELECTIONS)

"Diagnosing Europe: Precarity and insecurity as the new normal" (interview), European Economic and Social Council Newsletter April 2025: https://www.eesc.europa.eu/en/news-media/eesc-info/eesc-info-april-2025/articles/129083

"How far-right parties seduced young voters across Europe," *The Guardian*, 14 June, 2024

"Will the young save Europe from the rise of the far right?," Social Europe, 5 June, 2024

"Precarity for All", in Post-Neoliberalism: Pathways for Transformative Economics and Politics, 29 November, 2023: https://www.postneoliberalism.org/articles/precarity-for-all/

"Safe speech vs free speech: higher education's false dilemma", *openDemocracy,* 26 April 2021; in Italian, «Sicurezza» contro «libertà» di parola: il falso dilemma dell'istruzione superior", Corriere Della Sera, 13 April, 2021. Finnish translation: "Turvallinen vai vapaa puhe?", YDIN 56 (2022), pp.42-85; translation into Turkish in *Bukak* (journal of Boğaziçi University), January 2023.

"Wir werden einen Weg aus dem Kapitalismus finden müssen", (Interview), *Die Zeit*, 26 June, 2021.

"Wo finden wir Sicherheit?", DIE ZEIT No 37:63 (SINN & VERSTAND), 9 September, 2021.

with M. Auerback "Bad Stimulus: Government Payments to Individuals Are a Terrible Way to Solve America's Structural Economic Problems", Independent Media Institute (syndicated publication), 3/3/2021.

"L'inégalité n'est que le symptôme d'un problème bien plus grave: la précarité," *Le Soir*, La chronique de Carta Academica, 20/2/2021

with M. Auerback, "What the Congressional Budget Office Doesn't Get" (on raising the minimum wage), *The Nation*, 17 February 2021.

with M. Auerback, "It's the Economic Precarity, Stupid", *The Nation*, 28 January, 2021.

"Precarity, populism, and prospects for a Green Democratic Transformation," *openDemocracy* (18/01/2021);

with Marshall Auerback, "Here's why US political dysfunction has reached its breaking point," *Alternet* (16/1/ 2021).

with Kalypso Nicolaidis, "The rule of law: a simple phrase with exacting demands," *Social Europe* (27/11/2021).

with Marshal Auerback, "2020 Was the 'Precarity Election," *The Nation* 13/11/2020).

"How not to turn democracy into a neoliberal fantasy," *openDemocracy* (6/07).

with James Galbraith "Yes, someone is to blame," *Social Europe* (23/06/2020).

"Precarity, not inequality is what ails the 99%," *Financial Times* (27/04/2020).

with J. Galbraith, "Disaster Capitalism or the Green New Deal," *Blueprint/Progressive International,* 14/05/2020.

"The nascent paradigm shift in the EU", *Social Europe* (28/04/2020).

"Toward a Thriving European Welfare State: Thoughts on 9 May 2020," *openDemocracy* (11/05/2020)

with P. Apostolidis, "In a pandemic, we are more precarious than ever", *The Jacobin* (16/04/2020).

"Our neoliberal war on the pandemic", Newsletter of Institut für die Wissenschaften vom Menschen (IWM), Vienna (3/04/2020).
Coronavirus: is this Snark in fact a Boojum? On the future of capitalism after the pandemic", *openDemocracy* (4/04/2020).
"The massification of precarity," *openDemocracy (*9/04/2020).
"Whose is the European Green Deal?," *Social Europe* (11/04/2020).
"The big Green New Deal and its little red social question," *Social Europe* (30/10/2020)
"Agent Sabina: On the abjection of Julia Kristeva," *Eurozine,* 20/04/2018.
"The Abuse of the Rule of Law in the EU, "*Social Europe*, 24/10/2017.
with Barbara Spinelli, "Upholding the Rule of Law in the European Union", *openDemocracy*, 4 November, 2017 (an *Open Letter* to EU Presidents Juncker and Tusk).
"Taking the Spanish Government before the law", *openDemocracy*, 12/10/2016.
"There is no Refugee Crisis in Europe", *openDemocracy*, 21/03/2016.
Commentary (with Drucilla Cornell and Zehra Arat) on the autocratic turn in Turkish politics for the Kurdish magazine *Politika*, 29/04/2016: http://www.yeniozgurpolitika.org/index.php?rupel=nuce&id=54680
An Open Letter against the oppression of dissidents in Turkey (signed by over 100 academics), published in the *New York Review of Books*, 21/04/2016.
"Are we Charlie?", Berkeley Blog (16/01/2015)
"Misframing the Greek protest", Berkeley Blog, 18/02/2015.
Interview for the 'Against the Grain' programme of the KPFA radio (Berkeley, California), 25 February, 2015. (KPFA is the oldest listener-supported radio broadcaster in the United States, launched in 1949).
"Eurosceptic parties will save Europe's soul, despite themselves, *openDemocracy*, 29 May, 2014.
"On social destitution, misdirected protest and the missing crisis of capitalism", *openDemocracy*, 9 July, 2012.
A commentary on the crisis of the European Union for the BBC World Service, 20 October, 2012.
"You want federal Europe? why not start with a European social stability mechanism?", *openDemocracy*, 21 September, 2011.
"Europe's angry conservatives turn nasty against liberalism", *The European Voice* 13/04/2006.
A contribution to "30 Idées Pour Réveiller la Gauche", special edition of the French journal *Libération*, 10 November, 2005.

OTHER:

A series of commentaries in *The Financial Times:*
"Precarity, not inequality is what ails the 99%," 27 April, 2020.
"Turkey has violated NATO founding Treaty", 16 August, 2016.
"Should we profit from US security without accepting its spying?", 4 November, 2013
"Safe even in a 'society of devils'," 26 September, 2011;
"Clock ticking as US and Europe seek consensus on values," 21 April, 2008
"France's new policy vocabulary in the century of globalisation," 22 November, 2007
"Sarkozy does small business no favours, 29 June 2007"
"Explaining a shift to the centre-right in Europe - and the US," 22 March 2007.

A video interview "On the Politics of Fear": http://www.resetdoc.org/story/00000021600
Josep Ramoneda discussed my work on *economic xenophobia* in his "La Hegemonía Conservadora", *El País*, 7 March 2010.

A biographical article “She Goes Against the Stream”, and a review of my theory of new political conflicts by Lena Skogberg in the Finnish daily *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 13 February, 2005: pp. 10-11.

Participation in “Five Europeans in New York” (a biographical documentary on 5 young Europeans living in New York) by Jeroen van der Drift; a Dutch Angle Films production, in cooperation with Deutsche Film –und Fernsehakademie Belin, 1996.

VI. RESEARCH AFFILIATIONS AND ACTIVITIES

A/ RESEARCH POSITIONS

Senior Fellow, **OSUN Economic Democracy Initiative (EDI), Bard College**, (1 September 2023 - current); curating the project “Post-Neoliberalism: Pathways for Transformative Economics and Politics”

Honorary Fellow, **Institute for Global Sustainable Development, University of Warwick,** (1 May 2023 -current)

Visiting Fellow, **Institute for Human Sciences (IWM)**, Vienna (March-April 2021).

Member of research project Beyond Capitalism: Reshaping the Quality of Growth, **Foundation for European Progressive Studies (FEPS)**: 2020-2021.

Visiting Fellow, **U.C. Berkeley**, Institute for European Studies (Spring 2015).

Visiting Fellow, **Harvard University**, Center for European Studies (Spring 2014).

Visiting fellow, **The Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies**, Cologne (Spring 2009).

Hoover Chair for Social and Economic Ethics, Catholic University of Louvain: Research Fellow: September 2002- June 2003; Associate Fellow: September 2003-June 2004.

Senior Associate Researcher, **The Institute for European Studies**, Vrije Universiteit Brussel (2011-2020).

B/ BOARD MEMBERSHIPS

Member of the Advisory Board of the European Center for Populism Studies (2024-current)

Member of the European Civic Academy’s Task Force (European Civic Forum): 2022-current

Member of the award committee for best book in International Political Economy, International Studies Association (ISA): 2021-2022.

Chair, the 2022 Michael Harrington Book Award Committee of the American Political Science Association (APSA);

Member of the International Advisory Board of the Bauman Institute for Critical Sociology, University of Leeds: September 2020 --current

Member of the Advisory Board of the Foundation for Global Governance and Sustainability (FOGGS): 2020-current.

Member of the Advisory Board of Reset Dialogues on Civilization (2018-current);

Member of the Executive Board of "Socialism, Capitalism, Democracy" Research Committee, International Political Science Association: January 2019 – 2023

C/ EDITORIAL AND PEER REVIEW WORK

Founder and Co-editor (with James Chamberlain), *Emancipations: A Journal of Critical Social Analysis* (2021-current)

Consulting Editor, *Philosophy and Social Criticism* (2016-current);

Editorial Associate, *Constellations: An International Journal of Critical and Democratic Theory* (2015-current);

Associate Editor, *Review of Evolutionary Political Economy* (2020-current);

Member of the International Advisory Board of the "Alternatives to Capitalism in the 21st Century" series of Bristol University Press.

Peer-reviewing:

Articles for: *American Political Science Review; European Law Open; European Journal of Political Theory; Policy and Politics; Millennium, European Law Journal; International Political Sociology; European Journal of Social Theory; New Political Economy; Global Society; Ethical Perspectives; Gender, Work and Organisation, Constellation; Hypatia; Historical Materialism.* Book manuscripts for: Columbia University Press, Bristol University Press, Routledge and Springer.

D/ RESEARCH COMMITTEES AND EXPERT GROUPS (SELECTIONS):

Founding member, working group on Human-Centred Economics and Sustainable Development, UN Economist Network and International Labour Organization (14 November 2024 – current).

Member of the expert group to the Independent Commission for Sustainable Equality, European Parliament (2020-current).

Member of the EUI Forum on Democratic Participation and the Future of Europe (2019-2021)

Member of the Constituent Network "Democratic Odyssey" aiming to establish a permanent Citizen Assembly for Europe (initiative curated at EUI) (2023 – current)

Project affiliate, GCRF COMPASS (Comprehensive Capacity-Building in Eastern Neighborhood and Central Asia: research integration, impact governance and sustainable communities): April 2020-2024.

Advisory Board member, "EU Differentiation, Dominance and Democracy" (Horizon 2020 research programme (funding period 1.2.2019 – 31.1.2023); scientific coordinator John Erik Fossum, ARENA Centre for European Studies, University of Oslo (2018--2023).

Member of an international research team on a project "Reason and Judgment", headed by Alessandro Ferrara (University of Rome): 2010-2012

Member of a research group on advances in democratic theory convened by David Chandler and Chantal Mouffe at the Centre for the Study of Democracy, University of Westminster (2012-2015)

E/ ASSESMENT OF RESEARCH GRANT APPLICATIONS:

2025	ESRC -UKRI (UK); Taighde Éireann – Research Ireland
2024	Israel Science Foundation
2022	Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC), United Kingdom
2021	Strategic research unit of the Academy of Finland
2020	Research Council KU Leuven
2017	Riksbankens Jubileumsfond (research foundation for the humanities and social sciences) Sweden
2012	Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada

VII. INVITED ACADEMIC PRESENTATIONS AND PUBLIC LECTURES

(SELECTIONS FROM INVITED TALKS IN THE PAST FIVE YEARS, EXCLUDING ACADEMIC CONFERENCES)

2025:

20 May Brussels: keynote address at the opening of the European Environmental Bureau's Strategy Forum

19 May Brussels: public lecture, “Victimhood Olympics - Identity politics and the rise of autocracy”, Women Against Fascism series, the Full Circle club: https://fullcircle.eu/event-6169814

17 Mar Brussels: keynote address at the opening of the Civil Society Week of the European Economic and Social Committee

7-8 Feb New York: participation in a UN expert group meeting on Sustainable Development Goal 8 (inclusive growth and decent work), UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs and the International Labour Organization.

2024:

14 Nov Geneva, International Labour Organisation -- participation in the inaugural meeting of the Initiative on Human-Centred Economics and Sustainable Development, organized by the UN Economist Network.

29 Sep Vienna: Vienna Humanities Festival 2024, presentation, “Between Autonomy and precarity”

6 Aug Rome, World Congress of Philosophy, address “Victimhood Olympics – Precarity Capitalism and the Competition for Patronage), on invitation by the Italian Society of Critical Theory

16 Jun Rome: IPER – Festival delle periferie, *Hic Sunt Leone*s; lectio magistralis “Emancipation without Utopia”

23 Jun Leuven: conference Critical Emancipations, Higher Institute of Philosophy, KU Leuven; keynote 'The Emancipation Paradox and the Production of Indifference'

27 Apr Marseille: European Common Space for Alternatives (ECSA) conference, keynote “Home-Grown Autocracy: Why Are Democrats Turning Against Democracy?”

29 Feb webinar, International Political Science Association (IPSA), Research Committeee ‘Socialism, Capitalism and Democracy’, guest talk “Why is the Right Riding High on Social Discontent?”

8 Feb webinar, European Center for Populism Studies, guest talk “Key Driver of Populism is Insecurity Rather than Inequality”

2023:

25 Nov Paris, League des droits de l’Homme, opening keynote at the conference «Le social dans quel Etat? »

7Nov/14 Nov New York and Austin: The New School for Social Research (7 Nov) and University of Texas at Austin (14 Nov), guest lecture “The Politics of Precarity and Patterns of Autocracy in Europe”

25 Oct Vienna; a keynote address at the 10th anniversary of Edition Konturen.

19-20 Sept Brussels; A keynote address at the European Civic Academy (European Civic Forum)

24 Aug Paris: A keynote address at the Social Movements Summer University, Centre de Recherche et d’Informations pour le Développement, Paris.

13 July Brighton: A keynote address at the annual SENSS Conference (South East Network for Social Sciences): 12-14, University of Sussex.

24 May Berlin: Speaker at the 15th European Trade Union Confederation Statutory Congress.

23 May Krakow: Speaker at the concluding conference of the project EU3D: Differentiation, Dominance, Democracy (Horizon 2020 research programme), ARENA Centre for European Studies, University of Oslo.

2022:

2 Dec Paris, OECD Council: a presentation of my research on precarity to OECD Council (ambassadors), within the series New Approaches to Economic Challenges, chaired by OECD Secretary-General Mathias Cormann;

10/11Nov Florence: invited interventions at the European Civic Academy and the European Social Forum;

10 Nov Florence: a key note at the fifth edition of the European Civic Academy;

26 Sep Budapest. Bibó István College for Advanced Studies (lecture "Europe's double myopia. How to overcome political inertia in times of crisis");

7 Sep Brussels. European Trade Union Institute (ETUI), presentation with Kalypso Nicolaidis of our joint research project "Democracy with Foresight".

29-30/06 Amsterdam. Presentation at the conference 'Global Capital as the Leviathan of the 21st Century?', University of Amsterdam.

16-17 Jun Oxford, Nuffield College; presentation at the conference "What is Democracy? Theories, Practices, Values";

14 May Nijmegen: *Being an Idealist* festival (talk "Idealism Without Utopia"), organized by LUX Nijmegen.

2 May Book talk hosted by Boston University's Center for the Study of Europe; with commentary by Professors Daniela Caruso and Vivien A. Schmidt (online).

14 Feb Book talk hosted by the European Studies Council, MacMillan Center at Yale University (online).

2 Feb Paris. A book talk hosted by the American Library in Paris.

2021:

2 Dec Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs, University of Texas at Austin (online);

10 Nov A contribution to the educational festival hosted by the Roma People's Project at Columbia University (online).

29 Oct Keynote address at the conference "Forget Open Society? Critical Conversations on a Contested Concepts", hosted by the Central European University's Open Society Research Platform (online).

25 Oct Zurich: a discussion of my work on precarity hosted by the Social-democratic Party of Switzerland, together with the thinktank "Denknetz" and "Cosmopolitics".

22 Oct London, Chatham House: keynote on a workshop on inequality and democracy;

16 Sep Prague: keynote address to the CEE Forum of Young Legal, Political and Social Theorists (Charles University), "Political Imagination and Utopian Energies in Central and Eastern Europe."

12 May Delphi Economic Forum, panel "The Future of Democracy in a World of Uncertainty" (with Nadia Urbinati and Göran Therborn).

9 May Vienna, Burgtheater: keynote speaker at "Debating Europe" forum, hosted by the Institute for Human Sciences (IWM);

Book talks on *Capitalism on Edge*: IWM, Vienna (29/03); Watson Institute for International and Public Affairs (Brown University, 16/03); the Bauman Institute, Leeds (17/03), Rhodes Center, Brown University (5/03); 'Age of Economics' podcast (27/01), *Social Europe* (20/01).

2020:

9 Dec Mercy College, New York: webinar on free vs safe speech on campus.

25 Sep FOGGS conference on a UN Global Resilience Council, online.

2 Jul Launch of Second Convivialist Manifesto (hosted by Civic Sociology, online)

1 Jul Citizens Take Over Europe webinar.

25 Jun Press conference to launch Costas Douzinas' Manifesto for a New Social Contract (with Paul Mason, Boaventura Santos, Fiona Macmillan, Diogo Sardinha, Nikolas Kompridis and Nastos Katrougalos) - online.

26 Jun ACUNS Annual Meeting (Academic Council on the United Nations System)

20 Jun Noida International University, India (webinar).

12 Jun 31st Council of the European Greens (online); opened the session on social justice

16 May Webinar "Democratic Ownership and the Future of the Economy", hosted by European Alternatives (London), online.

15 May Conference "Political Agency After Covid", University of Iceland (webinar)

Book talks on *Capitalism on Edge*: Cambridge University (11/12); Oxford University (9/11); Hobart and William Smith Colleges (26/10); Bruno Kreisky Forum, Vienna (5/10); Humboldt University, Berlin (2/10.); interview for *Barricade* (17/09); New Books Network interview (10/09); Institute for Alternative Policies, Athens (15/06); Harvard University (24/04, cancelled); Columbia University (22/04); debate with Vula Tsetsi, Secretary General of the Greens/EFA and Diederik Samsom, Head of Cabinet to EU Commission vicepresident F. Timmermans (6 February, Brussels); interview for Zero Squared (21/01), interview for 'This is Hell' *WNUR Chicago* (6/01).

2019:

29 Nov Barcelona. Keynote address at the 16th Political Philosophy Conference, University of Barcelona

2-3 Nov London. The Battle of Ideas festival (three panels): https://www.battleofideas.org.uk/speaker/albena-azmanova/

14 Oct London. Keynote address at the opening of the European Greens/EFA convention.

24 May Venice (Ca Foscari University): "Prosperity, Equality, and Nature: The Trilemma of Democratic Capitalism", Reset DOC Seminars 2019.

11 Mar Frankfurt (Goethe University): 'The Social Question in the 21st century'.

7 Mar The Megaron Concert Hall, Athens: "Populism and the Transformation of Capitalism" in the cycle of public lectures: "Theory in Megaron: philosophy, critique, history."

VIII. RESEARCH GRANTS AND POLICY ADVISORY WORK (SELECTIONS)

<u>Most recent:</u>

Input to the annual reports (2024 and 2025) of the Macroeconomic and Development Policies Branch of the UN Trade and Development (UNCTAD), Geneva.

Input to the 2026 annual report of the European Center for Populism Studies, "Populism, Trump and Changing Transatlantic Relations" (contribution - Ch17: Vulnerable Groups, Protections and Precarity), Brussels Launch – European Parliament, 4 February 2026; Washington DC Launch – Center for American Progress (CAP), 20 April 2026.

Participation in a UN expert group on Sustainable Development Goal 8 (inclusive growth and decent work), hosted by the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs and the International Labour Organization, in preparation for the July 2025 High-level Political Forum on Sustainable Development (February 2025)

Open Society University Network, Economic Democracy Initiative, Bard College: curating online symposium "After Neoliberalism Pathways for Transformative Economics and Politics", grant 45.000 USD (September 2023- current)

Slack Communications: consultancy work on new narrative and brand architecture for the Social Mobility Foundation (London); contract 12.000GBP (2022-2023)

The European Civic Academy, European Civic Forum: advisory work on building alliances across single-issue groups (since 2022, ongoing);

The European Trade Union Confederation: advisory work on addressing economic insecurity (2022-2023); output: A. Azmanova and K. Nicolaidis, "Democracy with foresight: the key to a socially sustainable transition in Europe (and beyond)", a guest-editorial to *Benchmarking Working Europe 2023: Europe in Transition: Towards Sustainable Resilience*, (Brussels: European Trade Union Confederation and European Trade Union Institute, 2023), pp. 19-29; keynote address at the at the 15th European Trade Union Confederation Statutory Congress, Berlin, 24 May 2023.

The European Commission, Joint Research Centre: advisory work on project 'Education for Sustainability': designing the European Competence Framework on Sustainability (school curriculum reform to incorporate sustainability) (2020-2021).

The Independent Commission for Sustainable Equality, European Parliament; advisory work on a narrative on precarity (2020-2021). (contribution to report *The Great Shift – from a Broken World to Sustainable Wellbeing*, October 2021).

The European Parliament's Committee on Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs (LIBE): consultancy work on rule of law monitoring (2021); output: Azmanova, A and B. Howard, *Binding the Guardian: On the European Commission's Failure to Safeguard the Rule of Law* (Brussels: European Parliament, 2021). Grant: 10.000 euro.

Foundation for European Progressive Studies (FEPs), project 'Reshaping Economic Development', Consultancy for output: A. Azmanova, "Fighting precarity: a paradigm shift from equality-in-prosperity to solidarity-in-wellbeing. Notes on a political economy of trust," *The Progressive Post*, FEPS, 15 February, 2021. Contract: 1.000 euro.

The European Greens (European Parliament): advisory work on narrative for bridging the social justice and ecological justice agendas. Output: keynote address at the European Greens/EFA convention (14 October, 2019, London) address at the 31st Council of the European Greens (12 June, 2020; online);

Previously:

Paid consultancy work for Transparency International (spring 2008), Regional Arab Population Forum (2004); The United Nations, Office of Under-New Secretary-General for Peace Keeping,

York (1994); European Parliament (2003); the European Commission (1997-2011); and the Council of Europe (1992 – 1993)

IX. CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

21-23 Feb 2025 2024: DO; Vienna Assembly: 'citizens' councillor"

Member of *Citizens Take Over Europe* (2020 -current): https://citizenstakeover.eu/

Advocacy for the Rule of Law in Europe: 2017-2021:
In 2017, Barbara Spinelli, member of the European Parliament, and I initiated an Open Letter to the EU Presidents Juncker and Tusk to protest violations of the rule of law by the Spanish government in its handling of the October 2017 Referendum in Catalonia. The letter, signed by some 200 scholars and members of the European Parliament was submitted to Mr Juncker and Mr Tusk via the European Parliament on 3 November 2017. The letter is hosted at: https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/can-europe-make-it/upholding-rule-of-law-in-european-union/

In 2020, on my initiative, the European Parliament undertook an investigation into the way the European Commission monitors the rule of law in the EU. See Azmanova and Howard, *Binding the Guardian: On the European Commission's Failure to Safeguard the Rule of Law* (Brussels: European Parliament, 2021).

Participant in the dissident movement again the dictatorship in Bulgaria: 1988-1991
I joined the first dissident human rights committee in Bulgaria ("Committee for the Protection of Rousse," predecessor of *Ecoglasnost*), and helped organize the student strikes at Sofia University that triggered the popular protest against the dictatorship in Bulgaria. On behalf of the students, I presented the goals of the revolution at the Council of Europe.

Academics for Peace mobilisation: January – June 2016:
I was one of the first members of the group Academics for Peace that was established in January 2016 to protest the Turkish government oppression of dissidents; I have signed numerous petitions related to this protest, among which "Turkey's Attack on Teachers", published in *the New York Review of Books*, 21 April, 2016: *http://www.nybooks.com/articles/2016/04/21/turkeys-attack-on-teachers/*

Video messages by Noam Chomsky, Steven Pinker and myself were aired at a conference on academic freedoms in Turkey at the University of Munich on 8-9 December, 2017: *https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JQr-Zu8uO8M&t=6s*

Co-organizer of the petition "Saving the Greek People From Their Saviours" (February, 2012) with Giorgio Agamben, Alain Badiou, Etienne Balibar, Costas Douzinas, Jean-Luc Nancy, Jacques Rancière, and others. My contribution to the drafting of the petition concerned issues of political responsibility: http://www.editions-lignes.com/Save-The-Greekhttp://www.editions-lignes.com/Save-The-Greek-People.htmlPeople.html

Litigation at European Court of Justice: December 2012
I successfully argued a case at the European Court of Justice against the European Schools' practice of allocating students to language sections based on parents' nationality; this helped democratize the school's enrollment practice.

Co-founder of the Forum of Concerned Citizens of Europe: May 2010
(with Ash Amin, Les Back , Laura Balbo, Iain Chambers, Nefise Özkal Lorentzen, Bashkim Shehu, Pep Subirós, Teun A. van Dijk and Ruth Wodak).
I was one of the three authors of the Manifesto “Against the Politics of Fear”, which was widely published in the mass media. We were nominated for the 2010 EU Journalists Award "For Diversity - Against Discrimination" of the European Commission.

X. LANGUAGES

English: fluent, dominant language /**French**: working knowledge

Bulgarian: fluent, mother tongue/ **Russian**: good understanding /

Dutch: rudimentary understanding