

Research proposal [Part B1]**‘Heteropolitics’: Refiguring the Common and the Political****‘HETEROPOLITICS’**

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Proposal summary

Heteropolitics is a project in contemporary political theory which **purports to contribute to the renewal of political thought on the ‘common’** (communities and the commons) **and the *political* in tandem**. The *common* implies a variable interaction between differences which communicate and collaborate in and through their differences, converging partially on practices and particular pursuits. The *political* pertains to processes through which plural communities manage themselves in ways which enable mutual challenges, deliberation, decision-making, and creative agency.

Since the dawn of the 21st century, a growing interest in rethinking and reconfiguring community has spread among theorists, citizens and social movements (see e.g. Esposito 2013; Nancy 2000; Dardot & Laval 2014; Amin & Roberts 2008). This has been triggered by a complex tangle of social, economic and political conditions. Climate change, economic crises, globalization, increasing migration flows and the malaise of liberal democracies loom large among them.

These issues are essentially political. Rethinking and refiguring communities goes hand in hand thus with rethinking and reinventing politics. Hence ‘hetero-politics’, the quest for another politics, which can establish bonds of commonality across differences and can enable action in common without re-enacting the closures of ‘organic’ community or the violence of transformative politics in the past.

Heteropolitics will seek to break new ground by combining an extended re-elaboration of contemporary political theory with a more empirically grounded research into alternative and incipient practices of community building and self-governance in: education; the social economy; art; new modes of civic engagement by young people; new platforms of citizens’ participation in municipal politics; network communities, and other social fields (relevant cases include *Sardex*, a community currency in Sardinia; *Barcelona en Comú*, a participatory citizens’ platform governing now the City of Barcelona, etc.).

Section a. Extended Synopsis

'Heteropolitics': Refiguring the Common and the Political

1. Objectives of the Project

Since the dawn of the 21st century, a growing interest in rethinking and reconfiguring *community* has spread among theorists and citizens, triggered by a complex tangle of social, economic and political conditions. There is a pressing need for drastic collective decisions that will effectively address the menace of climate change on various levels, but human capacity for action in concert has not been up to the task. We live in a world of ever denser global interactions, which is experienced as a global system of differences but it is not affirmed and fostered as such. Liberal democracies are beset with chronic popular alienation and dwindling political participation, posing the question of how to reconstruct political communities of action. Economic crises and the shrinking of the welfare state have stimulated the search for new forms of community economies. Finally, rising xenophobia in the face of increasing migration flows raises with renewed urgency the question of how to live in common with newcomers and how to reach a common understanding on a global level so as to tackle the root causes of displacement and exile (Esposito 2010, 2011, 2013; Dardot & Laval 2014; Gilbert 2014; Gibson-Graham, Cameron & Healy 2013; Hardt & Negri 2009; Amin 2009; Amin & Roberts 2008).

These issues are essentially political. Rethinking and refiguring communities goes hand in hand thus with rethinking and reinventing politics. Hence '*hetero*-politics', the quest for *another* politics, which can establish bonds of commonality across differences and can enable action in common without re-enacting the closures of 'organic' community or the violence of transformative politics in the past. Unless we reactivate thought on 'the political', we will remain forever stuck in the limits and the failures of conventional modes of thinking (in) politics and of doing politics (Dardot & Laval 2014: 11-20; Amin & Thrift 2013).

The **overarching objective** of *Heteropolitics* will be to contribute to this much-needed **reconceptualization of the common and the political in tandem**. The research project will break, thus, new ground by combining: i) a critical and creative re-elaboration of contemporary political theory with (ii) a more empirically grounded research into new social movements and developments which explore alternative ways of doing politics and building communities in the economy, in civil society and in politics. (Relevant cases include *Sardex*, a community currency in Sardinia; *Barcelona en Comú*, a participatory citizens' platform governing now the City of Barcelona; the community of *Sarantaporo* in Northern Greece, building new digital, ecological and labour commons since 2010, and many others; see below).

The ultimate aim is to elaborate new figures of the common and the political which will be developed through critical dialogues between political theory and social practice and will help to keep this productive interaction going, in search of better ways of being in common and governing ourselves. On this conception, the *common* implies a variable interaction between differences which communicate and collaborate in and through their differences, converging partially on practices and particular pursuits. The *political* pertains to processes through which plural communities manage themselves in ways which enable mutual challenges, deliberation, decision-making, the questioning of existing arrangements and creative agency. From the perspective of *Heteropolitics*, however, the *political* upholds effectively the *common* insofar as it opens up political decision-making, representation and leadership to ordinary people.

This project is situated firmly in the field of contemporary political theory. ***Heteropolitics* will seek to flesh out the abstract ideas of contemporary theorising by engaging with particular empirical examples**. It will conduct in-depth research in new social movements and alternative forms of political organization. *Heteropolitics*, however, is not primarily an empirical research programme pursuing mainly an extensive collection of data on social movements, civic initiatives and new logics of political action, although such work is valuable and necessary and in construing the common and the political we will draw extensively on empirical studies. ***Heteropolitics* sets out from the critical understanding that new practices, emerging trends and creative initiatives call also for novel conceptual schemes and rigorous innovative theory** to comprehend their original or divergent logics, to assess them and to outline ways of thinking which can inform and stimulate constructive work.

Without a parallel, systematic labour of conceptual renewal of the kind that *Heteropolitics* will undertake, empirical inquiries are likely to remain beholden to conventional schemes of thought and analysis which fail to shed light on forces of innovation, emergent tendencies and potentials (see Dardot & Laval 2014: 11-20). There is a burgeoning literature on the 'commons' which produces compilations of case studies but makes little attempt to work out a robust political theory which will both illuminate all these cases from a unified, coherent perspective and will support the construction of new commons (see e.g.

Bollier & Helfrich 2014, 2015; cf. Dardot & Laval 2014). *Heteropolitics* will seek, then, to innovate in two senses. It will contribute to the **elaboration of this underdeveloped theoretical framework** rather than simply offering yet another anthology of case studies. It will also innovate by **reworking contemporary political theory in ways appropriate to the task at hand, developing notions which grasp various processes of ‘commoning’ politics**, such as ‘common leadership’, ‘common representation’, ‘open pluralism’, ‘agonistic commons’, ‘post-hegemony’, and others. *Heteropolitics* aspires to produce thus conceptual frames, critical analyses and visions that will be of practical use for empirical inquiries into contemporary patterns of community organization and civic mobilization.

2. State of the art and contribution of the Project

Community and the commons. The philosophical work of J.L. Nancy (1991, 2000), G. Agamben (1993) and R. Esposito (2013) contains some of the most rigorous conceptual endeavours to rethink community in ways which respond to the challenges of our times and break decisively with any notion of organic, exclusionary community. Communities of belonging and ownership are identified with specific ethnic groups, lands or languages. They repress differences within them and exclude others outside their bounds. By contrast, the foregoing thinkers construe communities as non-organic totalities, as a dialogue of plural voices without any common substance or fixed boundaries (Esposito 2013: 55; Nancy 1991: 76). Their existential philosophy sets out to configure modes of being in common that oppose exclusions and enable global communication and collaboration across differences. However, it remains on a level of abstraction which is hard to translate into more specific political modes of social organization and interaction. Moreover, it does not adequately grapple with the most vexing problem of plurality in communication or cooperation: how to deal with radical antagonisms, deep heterogeneity and fundamental differences.

The burgeoning literature on the ‘commons’ can help to outline more specific political logics of acting in common as it delves into actual or historical schemes of collective self-organization around shared goods. The ‘commons’ or ‘common-pool resources’ or ‘commons-based peer production’ refer to goods and resources that are collectively owned and/or collectively produced. There are many different types, from natural common-pool resources (fishing grounds, irrigation canals etc.; Ostrom 1990: 30) to common productive assets, such as workers’ co-operatives, and digital goods, such as open source software (Benkler & Nissenbaum 2006; Dyer-Witthford 2012). Crucially, *the ‘commons’ encompass shared resources that are managed, produced and distributed through collective participation which eschews the logic of both private-corporate and state-public property* (Ostrom, 1990: 1-30, 90; Benkler & Nissenbaum 2006: 394-396; Hardt & Negri 2012: 6, 69-80, 95). By looking into contemporary examples, *Heteropolitics* will seek to draw out the concrete ways in which various practices of the ‘commons’ reconstruct communal ties, meet social needs, foster democratic participation and self-governance in the economy and other fields, and advance new ideas of social entrepreneurship, collaborative production and self-management.

On the other hand, **existing studies of the commons have not yet adequately tackled political issues of inclusion/exclusion, complexity, scale, clashes of interest and ideology among larger groups.** Consequently, they are still struggling to deal with the challenges facing the construction of a broader sector of alternative formations of community, governance and economy: how to bring together and to coordinate dispersed, small-scale civic initiatives, how to relate to established social systems and power relations in the market and the state, etc. Research in common-pool resources has often focussed on local, bounded and relative homogeneous communities. In a globalized world, however, localities are densely interconnected on multiple scales, and communities should be constituted in ways that minimize exclusions to the extent possible. There are also pressing questions of common resource management on a global scale, such as those pertaining to climate change (see Poteete, Janssen & Ostrom 2010; Harvey 2011; Berkes 2008; Stern 2011). Furthermore, moving upwards from the local to the national and the international level, institutions of governance tend to be hierarchical and centralized. These institutions limit the collaborative practices of community self-governance, raising the question if and how such participatory practices can be extended to higher scales (see Carlsson, & Sandström 2008; Harvey 2011). Moreover, accounts focussed on commons-based peer production which emerges in digital networked environments and creates cultural goods, such as open software, without relying on market mechanisms have arguably limited relevance for offline communities and politics which take place in bounded contexts with finite resources (for examples see Bauwens 2005; Bauwens & Kostakis 2014; Benkler 2006; Bollier & Helfrich 2014). Some theorists have sought to sketch a broader spiral of socio-economic transformations whereby digital, natural and labour commons would coalesce and reinforce each other (see De Angelis 2005; Dyer-Witthford 2012; Bauwens & Kostakis 2014; Bollier & Helfrich 2014). But these political proposals are reduced largely to vague calls for movement organization. Finally, a politically oriented literature on the commons includes influential

strands of theory which are beset with unrealistic and wishful thinking (see mainly Hardt & Negri, 2004, 2009, 2012; Gibson-Graham 2006). Hence, different approaches to the commons are found wanting on different political grounds.

The foregoing overview of existing literature on community and the commons brings to the fore a set of key political questions which need to be addressed in order to configure modes of being in common that sustain democratic values under the contemporary conditions of increased diversity, social fragmentation and global interconnection. *Which political principles, procedures and institutions could foster understanding and cooperation among a wide range of conflicting differences in accord with freedom, equality and justice? Which structures of power and governance can promote collective decision-making and can help to minimize exclusions? How is it possible to co-ordinate collective action on a wider scale so as to carve out alternative sectors of democratic self-organization in the economy, politics and society today? Heteropolitics will come to grips with these crucial questions.*

Contemporary political theory. Certain strands of contemporary political theory can help us to address these eminently political issues so as to fill in the gaps and to remedy the deficiencies of the literature on community and the commons. *Agonistic* political theory and post-structuralist conceptions of ‘*hegemony*’ in the work of Chantal Mouffe (2005, 2013), James Tully (2008, 2014), William Connolly (1995, 2005), Bonnie Honig (2009) and Ernesto Laclau (2000, 2005, 2014) engage specifically with the questions of diversity, conflict, asymmetries of power and the construction of political communities under the conditions of the present. Their political thought seeks to contribute to democratic change, the promotion of equal liberties, social justice, civic participation and self-organization in the context of the contemporary global world.

Agonistic accounts of democracy assume that the actual variety of values, ends and perspectives generates disagreement and irreconcilable divisions in the realm of politics and justice (Mouffe 2005: 17-18). Taken amidst dissent, political decisions rule out certain possibilities on the basis of power (Mouffe 2000: 105). The making of collective identities and the defence of democratic principles call also for exclusionary limits to acceptable differences. Political actors construct a common identity by drawing frontiers between ‘us’ and ‘them’ (Mouffe 2005: 15-16). Every democratic order is thus ‘hegemonic’: it relies upon a particular configuration of forces and political exclusions. Hegemony is, more specifically, a political practice which shapes a collective will by articulating a contingent plurality of demands, actors and processes around a ‘chain of equivalence’ –common points of reference, antagonisms and ‘general representatives’ (see Laclau & Mouffe 1985; Laclau 2000, 2005, 2013; Mouffe 2013).

Agonistic democracy favours institutions whereby illiberal conditions and exclusions can be contested and reduced, allowing for an endless questioning of inequalities and injustices (Mouffe 2005: 15-16, 22, 33-34; Tully 2008: 306-314). Agonistic democratic politics highlights the mutability of social institutions by construing them as contingent products of political articulation. It exposes the boundaries and the censures of political community to question by opening up existing arrangements to ongoing political contestation and change, making it easier to challenge relations of domination. By the same token, it makes more room for new identities and new social relations to break forth and to vindicate their rights. Agonistic pluralism, moreover, champions an ethos of mutual agonistic respect among adversaries. It seeks to cultivate reflexive, ethical relations of restrained strife, modest assertion and negotiation which can sustain a rich plurality of interdependent differences and can respond to new demands of justice and emerging social movements (Connolly 1995: 39-40, 180-188; Connolly 2005: 122-128; Mouffe 2000: 32-33, 47-48, 104-105; Tully 2008: 119-138).

Despite its merits and insights, contemporary political theory calls for various revisions and further elaborations in order to overcome its limits and to become more relevant for the present. To begin with, despite its commitment to the critical study of actual political mobilizations (see Tully 2008), the commons, new modes of politicization in contemporary movements and new schemes of communal association have not yet received adequate attention in agonistic political theory (for few exceptions, see Ardit 2008; Dean 2012; Mouffe 2013). Moreover, contemporary debates around ‘the political’ and its different manifestations and possibilities tend to be abstract, rigid and formulaic precisely because they fail to duly connect with civic action on the ground (see McNay 2014). For the same reason, political theory remains ill equipped to capture and to assess emergent patterns of transformative politics in civic initiatives and social mobilizations.

In the 20th century, thought on democratic social change has oscillated between reform and revolution (Day 2005). Both strategies, however, are typically state-centred, directed from the top, bureaucratic and often authoritarian. Hence, they are out of synch with actual practices of social renewal which emanate from the grassroots and are pursued at a distance from the state. The same holds true of the theory of ‘hegemony’ outlined above. Democratic mobilizations and civil society initiatives in recent years

tend to reject the structures of representation, centralization and top-down direction which define hegemonic politics (see Day 2005; Gibson-Graham 2006; Ardit 2007; Beasley-Murray 2010). A close engagement with new thought on community and the commons acquires thus particular significance as it will enable political theory to recast its concepts and its arguments in tune with new developments and empirically grounded accounts of community organization.

Heteropolitics is designed to fill in these gaps in contemporary political theory, first, by broaching socio-political innovation as a long-term process of creative response to social dislocations and as open, ongoing, plural experiments (Castoriadis 1994; Day 2005; Gibson-Graham 2006; Scott 1990); second, by delving into new practices of the commons and novel patterns of democratic self-governance in social groups and mobilizations, the project will figure out how they initiate a process of ‘commoning’ mainstream politics and political strategies. *Heteropolitics* intends to explore how institutional reforms can build on grassroots initiatives so as to promote social integration (including migrants) and to increase citizens’ trust and involvement in democracy on various levels; third, *Heteropolitics* adopts a broad and flexible understanding of the ‘political’ as a deliberate process of social self-construction, self-management and collective debate over institutions and social relations. Thus construed, the ‘political’ can be traced out in any social domain, from culture and education to the economy and the political system. The ‘political’ can assume diverse, new and unexpected forms, which may inspire practices of political renewal and civic empowerment in other fields.

To get hold of other socio-political possibilities outside mainstream options and established systems in crisis, *Heteropolitics* is keenly interested in the ‘undercommons’ (Harney & Moten 2013) and in the ‘infrapolitical’ activities of social groups (Scott 1990). ‘Undercommons’ are actually existing, yet hidden and unrecognized, alternative spaces of common being (Harney & Moten 2013: 31). ‘Infrapolitics’ pertains likewise to low-profile forms of social self-organization, transformation and creative reaction to crises. These usually unfold outside formal politics, they escape the radars of standard categories of political analysis and they remain thus almost invisible or misperceived (Scott 1990: 19).

Through such supple, heterodox and inquisitive lenses, a main aspiration of the *Heteropolitics* project is to critically inquire into novel, alternative and incipient practices of social self-reconstruction, community building and self-governance in a wide range of social relations, including: education (Coté, Day & de Peuter 2007); the social economy (Amin & Roberts 2008; Poteete, Janssen & Ostrom 2010; Gibson-Graham, Cameron & Healy 2013); art (Cvejić & Vujanović 2012); new modes of civic engagement by young people (Busse, Hashem-Wangler & Tholen 2015); dialogical-systemic methods of psychotherapy (Seikkula 2011); new platforms of citizens’ participation in municipal politics (Tormey 2015; Nunes 2014); digital networks and network communities (Benkler 2006; Bauwens & Kostakis 2014); novel formations of purportedly democratic populisms (such as *Occupy*; see Sitrin & Azzellini 2014; Thorburn 2012); communities of volunteers, aid workers and refugees built around the current migrant and refugee crisis.

3. Methodology, work packages, research team and feasibility

Given the twin orientation of the research project, i.e. the promotion of theoretical reflection on community and the political by simultaneously undertaking empirical studies, its methodology is accordingly twofold and diverse. In the work of critical political thought, *Heteropolitics* will employ the methods of contemporary political theory as developed by hermeneutic political theory, discourse theory, normative analytic political philosophy and Critical Theory today (Leopold & Stears 2008; Freeden 2008: 196-215; Freeden 1996; Howarth, Norval & Stavrakakis 2000; McNay 2008: 85-105; Tully 2008; Hoy & McCarthy 1994). In the case studies, it will adopt an ethnographic practice of field research, conducting on site inquiries into specific cases of innovative social movements, civic practices and community structures. The anthropological methodology of fieldwork and participant observation is more appropriate for in-depth, qualitative research which intends to capture local meanings and practices of political interaction and community organization that diverge from the mainstream and from accumulated knowledge (Haug, Rucht & Teune 2015: 30-31; Shukaitis & Graeber 2007). *Heteropolitics* follows, thus, a broader ‘ethnographic turn’ in contemporary social movement studies (Haiven & Khasnabish 2014; Juris & Khasnabish 2013; Papapavlou 2015; Maeckelbergh 2009).

Deploying this complex methodology, the *Heteropolitics* research team will: work to develop, through extensive bibliographical research and workshop activities, a critical theorization of community, the commons and the political in our times, which will identify key issues in the existing literature [WP1]; elaborate a theoretical matrix for broaching these questions in order to conceptualize emergent and alternative modes of politicization and community organization [WP1, 2]; build on these theoretical inquiries

and relevant empirical methodology to construct adequate frameworks for the case studies of the project [WP1, 2]; carefully select for its case studies a set of contemporary phenomena of new or alternative forms of political action and community in diverse social fields, organize and conduct field research in selected localities in Greece, Spain, Italy and other areas of interest in Europe [WP1 and mainly 2]; systematize its research results from the case studies and bring them to bear on the theoretical framework in order to initiate a dialectical interaction between theory and experience, to revise theoretical and empirical frames and to elaborate answers to the research questions [WP2 and mainly 3]; situate its theoretical insights and empirical findings in international and interdisciplinary research contexts by participating in international conferences and scientific meetings, by developing its website, by organizing international workshops and a concluding conference, etc. [WP1, 2, 3, 4]; integrate critical arguments, case-studies, conceptual innovations and proposals for further research in a set of scientific publications and other dissemination activities [WP2, and mainly 3 and 4]. All Technical WPs [WP1-WP3] and the Communication WP [4] will be complemented by a fifth WP involved with the Project Management of the Project.

Work-packages	Activities	Deliverables
WP 1: Setting the Context (M1-M6)	Bibliographical research. Literature review. Methodological orientation. Outline of theoretical work. Planning of the case studies.	Literature review & Methodology report. International workshop on the ‘new commons’ and new participatory forms of politics. Workshop proceedings.
WP 2: Case Studies (M6-M24)	Field research and international collaboration. Case studies in different European regions. Critical analysis and re-elaboration of the literature on the commons, community and relevant political theory.	Training seminar ahead of field trips and Case Studies. Three Case Studies. Three workshops, one per Case Study country. Three scientific papers to be submitted to international peer-reviewed journals. Invited lectures and seminars on the Case Studies.
WP 3: Furthering the heteropolitics concept (M25-M36)	Analysis of Case Studies: at least 3 reports/extended analyses. Theoretical analysis of the commons, community, and new forms of collective action: at least 3 reports/extended analyses. Preparation of a collective volume	Three extended, theoretical analyses of the new commons, community and the alternative forms of civic mobilisation/participation in Europe. Three extended analyses of the new forms of political and collective action based on the Case Studies. Six Open Access scientific papers
WP 4: Dissemination (M1-M36)	Dissemination of <i>Heteropolitics</i> research results. Development of the project’s website. Organisation of an international conference	Development of the project website http://heteropolitics.net/ . One final International Conference. One volume of Conference proceedings. Participation in national & international conferences for presentation of <i>Heteropolitics</i> .

The host institution of the project, *Aristotle University of Thessaloniki*, is the largest in Greece and a national leader in frontier research. The *School of Political Sciences*, of which the Principal Investigator is a faculty member, is a relatively new Department, but it enjoys a strong reputation in the country and could be considered a leader in the fields of political theory and political analysis, according to its last international assessment. All the main members of the research team are chosen according to their expertise, their research activities and the relevance of their research for the specific agenda of *Heteropolitics*. In addition to the PI, Dr A. Kioupkiolis, the research team will consist of seven more members. The first three, who are not based in the host institution, are chosen because of their valuable research experience and their ongoing collaboration with the PI in activities closely related to *Heteropolitics*: **Dr Paolo Dini** (see Kioupkiolis & Dini 2014), **Dr Panayotis Antoniadis** (COMPARE, 2014-2015), and **Dr Yannis Pechtelidis** (see Kioupkiolis, Pechtelidis & Damopoulou 2015; Kioupkiolis, Pechtelidis & Kosma 2014). They will contribute in the fields of their ongoing research, building on their accumulated knowledge and the results of their enquiries.

The research excellence of the host institution, the expert knowledge of the core research team, made up of the PI and these three partners, their research record, their successful implementation of several research projects, their ongoing research activity in areas relevant to the project, together with a solid planning of the Heteropolitics project and the contribution of four other qualified researchers, ensure that its objectives can be effectively accomplished in accord with the schedule provided.

The four other members will include three postdoctoral researchers, who will carry out the Case Studies, one postgraduate student and one more person with administrative, technical and supporting duties.

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- Seikkula, J. (2011) 'Becoming dialogical: Psychotherapy or a way of life?', *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Family Therapy*, 32(3): 179-193.
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- Stern, P. C. (2011) 'Design principles for global commons: natural resources and emerging technologies', *International Journal of the Commons*, 5 (2): 213–232.
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- Tully, J. (2008) *Public Philosophy in a new key. Democracy and civic freedom*, v.1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tully, J. (2014) *On Global Citizenship*, London & New York: Bloomsbury.

Section b. Curriculum Vitae**1. Personal Information**

Dr Alexandros Kioupkiolis,

Date of Birth: 14/06/1975

Place of Birth: Athens, Greece

Nationality: Greek

<http://www.polsci.auth.gr/index.php?lang=en&rm=118&mn=128&stid=52>

<https://auth.academia.edu/AlexandrosKioupkiolis>

<http://heteropolitics.net/>

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2. Education

DPhil in Political Theory. Department of Politics and International Relations, Oxford University, 2000-2005 (DPhil Supervisor: Professor Lois McNay).

MA in Political Theory. Department of Government, Essex University, 1998-1999. Awarded with Distinction.

BA in Classics. Department of Philology, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Athens, 1993-1998. G.P.A.: 9.4/10 (Excellent)

3. Current Position

2015- current: Assistant Professor in Contemporary Political Theory, School of Political Sciences, Faculty of Economics and Political Sciences, Aristotle University, Thessaloniki 54124, Greece, Tel. +30 2310 995270.

4. Previous Positions

2010-2014: Lecturer in Contemporary Political Theory, School of Political Sciences, Faculty of Economics and Political Sciences, Aristotle University, Thessaloniki

2008-2009: Visiting Lecturer in Political Theory and Political Philosophy, Department of Social and Political Sciences and Department of Classics and Philosophy, University of Cyprus

2001-2004: Tutor in Classical and Contemporary Political Theory, St. Peters and Somerville College, University of Oxford

5. Fellowships

2006-2007: Post-doctoral research fellow (in Political Theory), State Scholarships Foundation and Department of Politics, Panteion University, Athens

6. Career breaks

June 2005- February 2006: Mandatory military service in Greece

7. Teaching Activity (currently)

In charge of the Undergraduate Courses: *Contemporary Political Theory*; *Philosophies of Freedom*; *Contemporary Issues of Democracy*

In charge of the Graduate Courses: *Contemporary Political Theory*

[In the School of Political Sciences, Aristotle University]

8. Supervision of Graduate Students

2012-2015: 9 MA Students, supervisor of MA dissertation (3 have successfully completed their MA dissertations, 6 are due to complete in 2016)

2015- current: 5 PhD Students, supervisor of PhD thesis (due to complete their PhD theses in 3+ years)

9. Membership of Scientific Societies and Journals

Member of the Hellenic Political Science Association (member of IPSA)

Member of the Political Science Association, UK (until 2013, to be renewed)

Member of the Editorial Board of the Greek peer-reviewed scientific journal *Synchrone Themata* [‘Contemporary Issues’; subjects: social and political theory, sociology, history]

10. Knowledge of Foreign Languages

English (Cambridge Proficiency; MA and DPhil)

French (Diplôme d’ Etudes Supérieures)

German (Kleines Sprachdiplom)

Basic knowledge of Spanish

Ancient Greek and Latin (BA)

Section c. Early achievements track-record

1. Articles in international peer-reviewed journals (single author)

Kioupkiolis, A. (2016) 'The ambiguous promises of left-wing populism in contemporary Spain', *Journal of Political Ideologies*, forthcoming.

Kioupkiolis, A. (2014) 'Towards a regime of post-political biopower? Dispatches from Greece, 2010–2012', *Theory, Culture & Society*, 31(1): 143-158.

Kioupkiolis, A. (2013) 'Late agonies of liberty in common', *Rethinking Marxism*, 25(3): 367-384.

Kioupkiolis, A. (2012) 'The agonistic turn of critical reason. Critique and freedom in Foucault and Castoriadis', *European Journal of Social Theory*, 15(3): 385-402.

Kioupkiolis, A. (2011) 'Keeping it open: Ontology, ethics, knowledge and radical democracy', *Philosophy & Social Criticism*, 37 (6): 691-708.

Kioupkiolis, A. (2010) 'Radicalizing democracy', *Constellations*, 17(1): 137-154.

Kioupkiolis, A. (2009) 'Three Paradigms of Modern Freedom', *European Journal of Political Theory*, 8(4): 473-491.

Kioupkiolis, A. (2008) 'Post-critical liberalism and agonistic freedom', *Contemporary Political Theory*, 7(2): 147-168.

2. Research monographs (single author)

Kioupkiolis, A. (2014) *On the commons of liberty* (in Greek), Athens: Exarchia.

Kioupkiolis, A. (2012) *Freedom after the critique of foundations. Marx, liberalism and agonistic autonomy*, Hampshire: Palgrave-Macmillan.

Kioupkiolis, A. (2011) *Politics of freedom. Agonistic democracy, utopias and the emergence of the multitude* (in Greek), Athens: Ekkremes.

3. Edited volumes (multiple editors)

Kioupkiolis, A., Pechteliadis, J., Kosma, Y. (eds) (2015) *Discourse theory: creative applications* (in Greek), Athens: Gutenberg.

Kioupkiolis, A., Katsambekis, G. (eds) (2014) *Radical democracy and collective movements today. The biopolitics of the multitude versus the hegemony of the people*, Furnham: Ashgate.
Forthcoming translation in Turkish by Koç University Press (2016).

4. Articles under review in international peer-reviewed journals

Single author

Kioupkiolis, A. (2016) 'Common democracy: political representation beyond representative democracy'.

Kioupkiolis, A. (2016) 'Movements post-hegemony: how contemporary collective action transforms hegemonic politics'.

Kioupkiolis, A. (2016) 'Acts, events and the creation of the new'.

Multiple authors

Kioupkiolis, A., Dini, P. (2016) 'Complementary Currencies as Laboratories of Institutional Learning: Pluralist Money-Creation Power and Implications for Governance'.

Kioupkiolis, A., Stavrakakis, Y. (2016) 'Leadership, Horizontalism, and Post-democracy in Chávez's Venezuela'.

5. Invited presentations to international peer-reviewed conferences and schools

- ‘Law and Ideology in Contemporary Democratic Theory: The Constitution of Democracy in Rawls’ Deliberative Democracy and in Hardt and Negri’s Radical Democracy of the Multitude’, 6th annual conference, German-Southeast Center of Excellence for Public Policy and Good Governance, October 2015, Bangkok, Thailand.
- ‘Acts, events and the creation of the new’, international colloquium, *Conditions of Agonistic Politics*, Centre for Political Thought, University of Exeter, September 2015, Exeter, UK.
- ‘Democratic populism in Spain? Si, Podemos!’, international conference, *Left-wing populism in Europe?*, Queen Mary, University of London, February 2015, London, UK.
- ‘Sounding possibilities: Improvisation and community action’, international colloquium, Onassis Cultural Center, November 2014, Athens, Greece.
- ‘Greek crisis-transition from post-democracy to post-political biopower’, international conference, *The Crisis of Politics and the Political in a Changing World*, Faculty of Political Science, University of Zagreb, May 2013, Zagreb, Croatia.
- ‘Late agonies of liberty in common’, PSA, international conference, *Making Connections* (PSA), Loughborough University, September 2012, Loughborough, UK.
- ‘Hegemony, biopolitics and radical democracy today’, panel organizer, PSA annual conference, Belfast, April 2012, Belfast, UK (Northern Ireland).
- ‘Radical democracy, biopolitical emancipation and anarchic dilemmas’, 7th annual Conference in Political Theory, Manchester Metropolitan University, September 2010, Manchester, UK.
- ‘Keeping it open: ontology, ethics, knowledge and radical democracy’, international conference, *Ontology and Politics*, University of London, Queen Mary, June 2008, Queen Mary, UK.

6. Main Prizes, Awards, Scholarships

- Research award, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Research Committee, 2012 (awards of excellence for new lecturers).
- Post-doctoral research award, State Scholarships Foundation and Panteion University, Department of Politics, Athens, 2006-2007.
- Department of Politics and International Relations, Oxford University, Scholarship for DPhil studies, 2003-2005.
- Voudouris Foundation, Athens, Scholarship for PhD studies, 2001-2004.
- State Scholarships Foundation (IKY), Athens, award for graduating with the highest G.P.A. in the Department, 1998.
- State Scholarships Foundation (IKY), Athens, scholarship awarded on merit, 1993-1995.
- [Declined: Fulbright Foundation, for research in the USA, 2015]

7. Research Projects

- ‘Interdisciplinary explorations of self-organization in practice’, COMPARE, part of EINS, Seventh Framework Programme, funded by the EU. Co-ordinator of COMPARE: Dr P. Antoniadis, ETH Zurich, Code number: 89923, 2014-2015. *Co-ordinator and Principal Investigator for Aristotle University.*
- ‘Populist Discourse and Democracy’, School of Political Sciences, Aristotle University, Operational Programme ‘Education and Lifelong Learning’, Excellence II, Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, Co-financed by Greece and the EU, European Social Fund (2007-2013), PI: Professor Y. Stavrakakis, Code number: 90587, 2014-2015. *Member of the research team.*
- ‘The multitude and the commons: new politics of collective freedom at the beginning of the 21st century’, Research Grant for Lecturers, Research Committee, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Code number: 88028, 2012. *Principal Investigator.*