

ALMAZ ZELLEKE

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EDUCATION

Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, USA. Ph.D. in Political Science, 2008

Princeton University, Princeton, NJ, USA. A.B. in Politics, 1984

MANUSCRIPT IN PROGRESS

Economic Security for All: A Feminist Perspective on Basic Income. In contract with MIT Press.

PEER-REVIEWED ARTICLES AND BOOK CHAPTERS

“Toward a Gender-Inclusive Social Policy State,” in Bernhard Neumärker and Jessica Schulz, eds., *Care and Gender—Potentials & Risks of Universal Basic Income (UBI): Proceedings of the FRIBIS Annual Conference 2023* (LIT Verlag, 2024), 131-51.

“Gender Effects of a Basic Income,” with Annie Miller and Toru Yamamori, in Malcolm Torry, ed., *The Palgrave International Handbook on Basic Income*, 2nd ed. (Palgrave Macmillan, 2023).

“Wages for Housework: The Marxist-Feminist Case for Basic Income,” *Política y Sociedad*, 59:2 (2022).

“Gender Effects of a Basic Income,” with Annie Miller and Toru Yamamori, in Malcolm Torry, ed., *The Palgrave International Handbook on Basic Income* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2019).

“Lessons from Sweden: Solidarity, the Welfare State, and Basic Income,” *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare* 43:3 (September 2016), 73-96.

“Basic Income and the Alaska Model: Limits of the Resource Dividend Model for the Implementation of an Unconditional Basic Income,” in Karl Widerquist and Michael W. Howard, eds., *Alaska’s Permanent Fund Dividend: Examining its Suitability as a Model* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp. 141-55.

“Feminist Political Theory and the Argument for an Unconditional Basic Income,” *Policy and Politics*, 39:1 (January 2011), 27-42.

“Institutionalizing the Universal Caregiver through an Unconditional Basic Income?” *Basic Income Studies* 3:3 (December 2008), article 7.

“Targeting Benefit Levels to Individuals or Families?” *Basic Income Studies* 2:1 (June 2007), article 7.

“Basic Income in the United States: Redefining Citizenship in the Liberal State,” in Karl Widerquist, Michael A. Lewis, and Steven Pressman, eds., *The Ethics and Economics of the Basic Income Guarantee* (Ashgate, 2005), pp. 109-21.

“Basic Income in the United States: Redefining Citizenship in the Liberal State,” *Review of Social Economy* 63:4 (December 2005), 633-48.

“Distributive Justice and the Argument for an Unconditional Basic Income,” *Journal of Socio-Economics*, 34:1 (February 2005), 3-15.

PRESENTATIONS

“Toward a Gender-Inclusive Social Policy State in the U.S.,” NYU Shanghai Gender & Sexuality Studies Colloquium, Shanghai, PRC, Oct. 2024.

“Basic Income in Global Perspective,” Shanghai University Global Studies Seminar, Shanghai PRC, Sept. 2024.

“US Social Policy, Basic Income, and Family Formation,” 2024 BIEN Congress, Bath, UK, Aug. 2024.

“The Promise of a Basic Income,” NYU Shanghai Philosophy Work in Progress Workshop, Shanghai, PRC, Apr. 2024.

Panelist, “Feminist Perspectives on Basic Income,” Office of the Pilot Plan for the Implementation of the Universal Basic Income in Catalonia, Spain, April 2024 (via Zoom).

“Toward a Gender-Inclusive Social Policy State.” Invited plenary, Freiburg Institute for Basic Income Studies 2023 Annual Conference, Freiburg, Germany, October 2023.

“Basic Income and the Crises of Care.” Invited plenary, 2023 BIEN Congress, Seoul, South Korea, August 2023.

Panelist, “Universal Care Income,” 9th Degrowth Summer School, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Barcelona, Spain, July 2023 (via Zoom).

“A Feminist Perspective on Basic Income: Key Questions and Design Features,” 2022 BIEN Congress, Brisbane, Australia, Sept. 2022 (via Zoom) and 2022 Freiburg Institute for Basic Income Studies Annual Conference, Oct. 2022 (via Zoom).

“Incremental Steps Toward a Basic Income in the US: Individualizing Taxation,” 2022 BIG Conference, Portland, OR, USA, June 2022 (via Zoom) and 2022 BIEN Congress, Brisbane, Australia, Sept. 2022 (via Zoom)

“Wages for Housework: Basic Income as Basic Capital for the Care Economy.” Invited talk, 3rd Annual Gyeonggi Province Basic Income International Conference, Suwon City, South Korea, April 2021 (via Zoom).

“Designing a Basic income that Works for Women and Children.” Panel on Cash Transfers, Women, and Families at the Allied Social Science Association Meeting, San Diego, CA, USA, January 2020.

Guest Lecturer on Universal Basic Income, ITP Applications Course (Nancy Hechinger, Instructor), NYU Tisch School of the Arts, New York, NY, USA, October 2019.

“Basic Income and Women: Care, Unpaid Work, and Paid Work.” Plenary panel chair, Nineteenth Basic Income Earth Network (BIEN) Congress, Hyderabad, India, August 2019. Video available [here](#).

“Implementing Cash Transfers as a Tool for Ending Youth Homelessness.” Panelist, Third Annual National Symposium on Solutions to End Youth Homelessness, New York, NY, USA, June 2019. Video available [here](#).

“Wages for Housework: The Marxist-Feminist Case for Basic Income.” Eighteenth North American Basic Income Guarantee Congress (NABIG), New York, NY, USA, June 2019.

“Basic Income as the Foundation of a Gender Egalitarian Society.” Invited talk, First Gyeonggi Province Basic Income International Conference, Suwon City, South Korea, April 2019.

2019 Visiting Scholar, Department of Philosophy, University of Maine. “Basic Income and Gender: Why Basic Income Needs Women as much as Women Need a Basic Income” (presented to the Philosophy Colloquium) and “The Capitalist Road to a Basic Income” (presented to the Socialist and Marxist Study Group). Orono, ME, USA, April 2019.

“Universal Basic Income: An Idea Whose Time Has Come.” Panelist, Disruptive Ideas Festival (DIF), UK, November 2018 (online).

“Universal Basic Income: Is Now the Time?” Panelist, Roosevelt House, Hunter College, City University of New York, New York, NY, USA, October 2018.

“Historical Precedents of Contemporary Basic Income Movements: The Townsend Movement and NWRO Campaigns in the US.” Eighteenth Basic Income Earth Network (BIEN) Congress, Tampere, Finland, August 2018.

“Provocations Toward Utopia: Democracy, Transparency, and Sustainability in the Basic Income Society.” Invited talk at the Berggruen Workshop on Conceptualizing Justice in Comparative Perspective, Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, USA, February 2018.

“Basic Income and Gender.” Invited talk at the CASH Conference, Economic Security Project, San Francisco Mint, San Francisco, CA, USA, October 2017.

“What Can Basic Income Do for Gender?” Invited talk at the Basic Income Lab, McCoy Family Center for Ethics in Society, Stanford University, Palo Alto, CA, USA, October 2017. Video available [here](#).

“Work, Leisure, and Care: A Gender Perspective on the Participation Income.” Seventeenth Basic Income Earth Network (BIEN) Congress, Lisbon, Portugal, September 2017.

“Is Basic Income Capitalist, Socialist, or Something Else?” Seventeenth Basic Income Earth Network (BIEN) Congress, Lisbon, Portugal, September 2017.

“Basic Income for Realists.” Sixteenth Annual North American Basic Income Guarantee Congress (NABIG), New York, NY, USA, June 2017.

“Everyone a Capitalist? Basic Income and Redistribution.” Plenary Address, Sixteenth International Congress of the Basic Income Earth Network (BIEN), Seoul, South Korea, July 2016.

“On the Contradictions of ‘Socialism with Chinese Characteristics.’” Sixteenth International Congress of the Basic Income Earth Network (BIEN), Seoul, South Korea, July 2016.

“Basic Income: A Powerfully Simple Idea.” Workshop in Humanities and Social Sciences, NYU Shanghai, Shanghai, PRC, April 2015.

“Lessons from Sweden: Solidarity, the Welfare State, and Basic Income.” Fifteenth International Congress of the Basic Income Earth Network (BIEN), Montréal, Canada, June 2014.

“Which Way Forward for a Basic Income in the United States—Expand the EITC or Social Security?” Fifteenth International Congress of the Basic Income Earth Network (BIEN), Montréal, Canada, June 2014.

“Basic Income and Gender.” *Dissent* panel on Basic Income, New Left Forum, New York, NY, USA, June 2013.

“Incremental Steps to a Basic Income in the United States.” Fourteenth International Congress of the Basic Income Earth Network (BIEN), Munich, Germany, September 2012.

“Does a Resource Tax Eliminate the Exploitation Objection to a Basic Income Once and for All?” Eleventh Annual North American Basic Income Guarantee Congress (NABIG), Toronto, Canada, May 2012.

“Basic Income and the Alaska Model: Limits of the Resource Dividend Model for the Implementation of an Unconditional Basic Income.” Tenth Annual North American Basic Income Congress (NABIG), New York, NY, USA, February 2011.

“Basic Income, Stakeholder Grants, and Resource Dividends: Limits of the Alaska Model.” Thirteenth International Congress of the Basic Income Earth Network (BIEN), São Paulo, Brazil, July 2010.

“Should Feminists Endorse a Basic Income? Institutionalizing the Universal Caregiver through an Unconditional Basic Income.” Twelfth International Congress of the Basic Income Earth Network (BIEN), Dublin, Ireland, June 2008.

“Reconsidering Independence: Foundations of a Feminist Theory of Distributive Justice.” Twelfth International Congress of the Basic Income Earth Network (BIEN), Dublin, Ireland, June 2008.

“Is ‘The Plan’ a Basic Income? An Assessment of Charles Murray’s Proposal to Replace the Welfare State with an (Almost) Universal Grant.” Sixth Congress of the U.S. Basic Income Guarantee Network (USBIG), New York, NY, USA, February 2007.

Panel Moderator, “A Tribute to the Work of Robert Harris.” Sixth Congress of the U.S. Basic Income Guarantee Network (USBIG), New York, NY, USA, February 2007.

“Individual vs. Family Benefits: Equity, Efficiency, and Incentive Issues in the Implementation of a Basic Income.” Fifth Congress of the U.S. Basic Income Guarantee Network (USBIG), Philadelphia, PA, USA, February 2006.

“A Feminist Critique of Reciprocity and Conditionality.” Plenary Panel with Nancy Folbre and Eva Feder Kittay on Women, Family, and the Basic Income Guarantee, Fourth Congress of the U.S. Basic Income Guarantee Network (USBIG), New York, NY, USA, March 2005.

“Distributive Justice and the Argument for Basic Income.” Second Congress of the U.S. Basic Income Guarantee Network (USBIG), New York, NY, USA, February 2003.

“Radical Pluralism: A Liberal Defense of Unconditionality.” Ninth International Congress of the Basic Income European Network (BIEN), Geneva, Switzerland, September 2002.

“Basic Income in the United States: Redefining Citizenship in the Liberal State.” First Congress of the U.S. Basic Income Guarantee Network (USBIG), New York, NY, USA, March 2002.

OTHER WRITING AND SELECTED MEDIA

Panelist, “Can Guaranteed Income Advance Gender Equity?” University of Minnesota Humphrey School of Public Affairs, Center on Women, Gender, and Public Policy, September 2021 (online). Video available [here](#).

Panelist, “Stimulus Checks: Economic Impact Payments in the US and What They Mean for Basic Income in the UK.” Basic Income Conversation (UK), May 2021 (online).

Panelist, “Equity, Safety, and Autonomy: Building Economic Systems that Support Women.” Mayors for Guaranteed Income, Income Movement, and Inherent Good, May 2021 (online). Video available [here](#).

“Basic Income, Care, and Wages for Housework,” *Law and Political Economy Project* Symposium on Universal Basic Income, February 10, 2021, available [here](#).

Boston Basic Income, panelist on podcast 116, “The Power to Say No,” August 27, 2020, available [here](#).

“Real World Lessons,” *Great Transition Initiative* Forum on Universal Basic Income, November 2020, available [here](#).

“Unconditionality First: Prioritizing Family Values in Social Policy,” *Berkley Forum on Economic Justice and Universal Basic Income: Ethical and Religious Perspectives*, Georgetown University Berkley Center for Religion, Peace, & World Affairs, September 3, 2020, available [here](#).

“Maine Policy Perspectives: The Ethical Commitment of a Universal Basic Income,” *Maine Policy Review*, November 2019, available [here](#).

“Fifty Years Later, Reflecting on the Defeat of Nixon’s Family Assistance Plan,” *Basic Income Today*, August 2019, available [here](#).

“Feminist Theory, Gender Inequity, and Basic Income,” interview with Hana Beach in *Phenomenal World* (Jain Family Institute blog), May 2019, available [here](#).

“Ending Poverty in the U.S. with a Basic Income,” *Roosevelt House Faculty Journal*, September 2018, available [here](#).

Review of Amy Downes and Stewart Langley, eds., *It’s Basic Income: The Global Debate*, in *Community Development Journal* 54:3 (July 2019), 564–566.

Town Hall on Basic Income, Celina, TN, USA, April 2018, as part of the filming of *Inherent Good* (2020), a documentary on basic income by Geist Productions. Film available [here](#).

“Work, Leisure, and Care: A Gender Perspective on the Participation Income,” *The Political Quarterly* 89:2 (April–June 2018), 273–79.

Entry on “The New School” in Andrew F. Smith, ed., *Savoring Gotham: A Food Lover’s Companion to New York City* (Oxford University Press, 2015), 410.

Review of Charles Karelis, *The Persistence of Poverty: Why the Economics of the Well-off Can’t Help the Poor*, in *Basic Income Studies* 8:1 (August 2013), 139–41.

“The Capitalist Road to Communism: Are We There Yet?” in Axel Gosseries and Yannick Vanderborght, eds., *Arguing about justice: Essays for Philippe Van Parijs* (Louvain, Belgium: Presses Universitaires de Louvain, 2011), pp. 415–22.

Review of Charles Murray, *In Our Hands: A Plan to Replace the Welfare State*, in *Basic Income Studies* 3:1 (June 2008), article 8.

Review of Ailsa McKay, *The Future of Social Security Policy: Women, Work and a Citizens' Basic Income*, in *Basic Income Studies* 1:2 (December 2006), article 13.

TEACHING APPOINTMENTS

NYU Shanghai, Shanghai, People's Republic of China, 2014-present

- Professor of Practice in Political Science, 2020-present
- Associate Professor of Practice in Political Science, 2017-2020
- Visiting Assistant Professor, 2016-17
- Visiting Assistant Professor and Coordinator of *Global Perspectives on Society*, 2015-16
- Global Teaching Fellow, 2014-15

The New School, New York, NY, USA, 1996-98

- Instructor in Social Science

Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, USA, 1990-94

- Teaching Fellow, Government Department, 1990-94
- Senior Thesis Advisor, Government Department, 1993-94, 1990-91

COURSES

- *Capitalism, Socialism, Communism: Theory and Practice*, 2016-present (on site, online, and blended formats), NYU Shanghai
- *Feminist Social Theory*, 2022-present NYU Shanghai (on site, online)
- *Poverty and Inequality Around the Globe*, 2023-24, NYU Shanghai (on site, online)
- *Social Science Capstone Seminars* (Honors and Non-Honors tracks), 2016-21 (on site, online, and blended formats), NYU Shanghai
- *Global Perspectives on Society* (Teaching Fellow and Coordinator), 2014-16, NYU Shanghai
- *Radical Thought*, 1998-99, The New School
- *Workshop in Research and Writing Skills in the Humanities and Social Sciences*, 1996-98, The New School
- *Introduction to Political Philosophy* (Teaching Fellow), Spring 1993, Harvard University
- *Constitutional Democracy in America* (Teaching Fellow and Head Teaching Fellow), 1990-92, Harvard University

UNIVERSITY ADMINISTRATIVE APPOINTMENTS

NYU Shanghai, Shanghai, People's Republic of China, 2014-21

- *Social Science Co-Area Head*, 2016-21
- *Faculty Coordinator* (NY Office), 2017-20
- *Coordinator of Global Perspectives on Society*, 2015-16
- *Coordinator of Global Planning*, 2014-15

The New School, New York, NY, USA, 1995-2011

- *Associate Dean for Academic Affairs, The New School for General Studies* (since renamed The New School for Public Engagement), 2009-11
- *Director of Academic Affairs*, 2005-09
- *Acting Chair, Department of Humanities*, 2003-04; 2000-01
- *Consultant to the Associate Dean for Academic Affairs*, Fall 2001, Summer 2000
- *Acting Director of The New School Bachelor of Arts Program*, 1998-99
- *Assistant Director of The New School Bachelor of Arts Program*, 1997-98
- *Assistant to the Director of The New School Bachelor of Arts Program*, 1995-97

Harvard University, Mather House, Cambridge, MA, USA, 1990-94

- *Assistant Senior Tutor for Fellowships*, 1990-94
- *Resident Tutor in Government and Social Studies*, 1990-94
- *Designated Sexual Harassment Adjunct Advisor*, 1992-94

Harvard University, Government Department, Cambridge, MA, USA, 1990-94

- *Assistant Head Tutor*, 1990-94

OTHER UNIVERSITY EXPERIENCE

Freiburg Institute for Basic Income Studies, University of Freiburg, Germany, 2023

- *Visiting Scholar*, October 2023

Robert F. Wagner Graduate School of Public Service, NYU, New York, NY, USA, 2013-14

- *Visiting Scholar*, 2013-14

Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, USA, 1994-95

- *Harvard University Art Museums Development Researcher*, 1994-95
- *Harvard Magazine Editorial Intern*, 1994-95

FELLOWSHIPS AND GRANTS

NYU Office of Academic Program Review and Assessment Mini Grant, 2019

Harvard University Center for European Studies Grant, 1991 (summer grant)

Harvard Graduate School of Arts and Sciences Prize Fellowship, 1988 (five-year grant)

Ford Foundation Predoctoral Fellowship, 1988 (three-year grant)

SELECTED MEMBERSHIPS AND SERVICE

Co-Founder, Gender and Basic Income Network, 2023-present

Member, Basic Income and Gender Team, Freiburg Institute for Basic Income Studies, 2021-present

Member, NYU Shanghai Faculty Council Grievance Committee, 2019-present

Member and Chair, NYU Shanghai Contract Faculty Review Committees, 2019-22

Member or Active Participant, NYU Shanghai Tenured, Tenure Track, and Contract Faculty Search Committees, 2016-22

Member, NYU Shanghai Curriculum Committee, 2016-21

Member, NYU Urban Studies Working Group, 2019-20
Member, NYU Shanghai Core Curriculum Committee, 2018-20
Co-Chair, NYU Shanghai Study Away Site Committee, 2017-20
Member, NYU Paris Study Away Site Committee, 2017-23
Faculty Advisor, Black Students Association, NYU Shanghai, 2020-21
Faculty Advisor, *Spectrum*, undergraduate journal at NYU Shanghai, 2018-20
Coordinator, NYU Shanghai Faculty Lunch Speaker Series, 2015-17

Member, Board of Trustees, Frost Valley YMCA, 2019-present
Chair, Development Committee; Member, Executive, Finance, and DEIB Committees
Steering Committee Member, Port Jervis Food Cooperative Initiative, 2021-24
Think Tank Member, Creatives Rebuild New York, 2021-22

Member, Board of Advisors, U.S. Basic Income Guarantee Network (USBIG), 2015-present
Member, International Advisory Board, Basic Income Earth Network (BIEN), 2014-present
Secretary-Treasurer, BIEN, 2012-14
Treasurer, BIEN, 2008-12
Member, Coordinating Committee, USBIG, 2002-14

Program Chair, Eighteenth Annual NABIG Congress, New York, NY, USA, June 2019
Conference Organizer, Twelfth Annual NABIG Congress, New York, NY, USA, May 2013
Member, Conference Organizing Committee, Seventh Annual USBIG Congress, Boston, MA, USA, March 2008

Associate Editor, *Basic Income Studies*, 2006-present

Referee/Reviewer, *Basic Income Studies*, *Journal of Socio-Economics*, *Feminist Economics*, *British Journal of Political Science*, *Social Theory and Practice*, European Research Council, Oxford University Press, UN Women, Stanford University Basic Income Lab

LANGUAGE SKILLS

Fluent French, reading knowledge of German and Italian, beginning Mandarin.