

# Tomás Gold

Watson Institute for International and Public Affairs  
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## Academic Appointments

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- 2024 – 2026                      Post-doctoral Research Associate  
Watson Institute for International and Public Affairs  
**Brown University, USA**
- 2016                                Emerging Leaders in the Americas Research Fellow  
Institut d'études internationales de Montréal (Chaire MCD)  
**Université du Québec à Montréal, Canada**

## Education

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- 2018 – 2024                      PhD in Sociology  
**University of Notre Dame, USA**
- 2015 – 2017                      MA in Political Science (with Honors)  
**Universidad Nacional de San Martín, Argentina**
- 2009 – 2014                      *Licenciatura* (BS) in Political Science (with Honors)  
**Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina**

## Research & Teaching Interests

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Political Sociology, Global & Transnational Sociology, Cultural Sociology, Development,  
Comparative-Historical & Qualitative Methods, Social Movements, Social Theory

## Publications

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### Journal Articles

- Gold, Tomás**, and Ann Mische. 2024. "Channeling Anti-partisan Contention: Field Structures and Partisan Strategies in a Global Protest Wave (2008-2016)." *American Journal of Sociology*, 129(6): 1660-1719.
- Gold, Tomás**. 2022. "Contentious Tactics as Jazz Performances: A Pragmatist Approach to the Study of Repertoire Change." *Sociological Theory*, 40(3): 249-271.  
\* Co-Winner, Richard A. Peterson Award for Best Student Paper, Sociology of Culture Section, American Sociological Association, 2023.  
\* Jeanine Becker Award for Best Graduate Student Paper, Department of Sociology, University of Notre Dame, 2022.
- Peña, Alejandro M., and **Tomás Gold**. 2022. "The Party-on-the-Net. The Digital Face of Partisan Organization and Activism." *Information, Communication and Society*. Published online Nov. 2022.
- Gold, Tomás**, and Alejandro M. Peña. 2021. "The Rise of the Contentious Right: Digitally Intermediated Linkage Strategies in Argentina and Brazil", *Latin American Politics & Society*, 63(3): 93-118.  
\* Selected for special issue on "The Grassroots Right in Latin America," edited by Amy Erica Smith and Lindsay Mayka.
- Gold, Tomás**, and Alejandro M. Peña. 2018. "Protests, Signaling, and Elections: Opposition-Movement Interactions in Argentina's Anti-Government Protests (2012-2013)", *Social Movement Studies*, 18(3): 324-345.

## Journal Articles in Spanish / Artículos en español

- Annunziata, Rocío and **Tomás Gold**. 2018. “Movimientos ciudadanos en la era digital. Los casos del ciclo de cacerolazos (2012-2013) y #NiUnaMenos (2015) en Argentina”, *Desarrollo Económico*, 57(223): 363-387.
- Gold, Tomás**. 2018. “Conceptualización e historia de los cacerolazos en la Argentina reciente (1982-2013)”, *Revista POSTdata*, 23(2): 453-489.
- Gold, Tomás**. 2014. “Democracia, hegemonía y populismo. Ernesto Laclau lector de Claude Lefort”, *Las Torres de Lucca, Revista Internacional de Filosofía Política*, 5: 57-76.

## Book Chapters

- Diamond, Alex, and **Tomás Gold**. Forthcoming. “Of Crumbs and Snakes: How Marginalized Farmers and Free-Market Think Tanks Mobilize Corruption Narratives in Latin America” in *A New Sociology of Corruption*, volume edited by Marco Garrido, Marina Zaloznaya, and Nicholas Hoover Wilson.
- Pereyra, Sebastián, **Tomás Gold**, and María Soledad Gattoni. 2023. “Social Mobilization and Anti-Corruption in Latin America,” in *Oxford Handbook of Latin American Social Movements*, Federico M. Rossi (ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gold, Tomás**. 2023. “June Days Protests in Brazil, 2013,” in *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social & Political Movements*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, David Snow, Donatella Della Porta, and Doug McAdam (eds.). NJ: Wiley.
- Gold, Tomás**. 2022. “Illiberalism in Latin America”, in *Conversation on Illiberalism. Interviews with 50 Scholars*, Marlene Laruelle (ed.). Washington DC: Illiberalism Studies Program, George Washington University.
- Gold, Tomás**. 2019. “Tracing the Left Turn Crisis Through Argentine Protests: The Anti-Kirchnerist Cycle of Mobilization (2012-2013),” in *Socio-Political Dynamics Within the Crisis of the Left Turn in Argentina and Brazil*, Juan Pablo Ferrero, Luciana Tatagiba, and Ana Natalucci (eds.). London: Rowman & Littlefield.

## Public Sociology

- 2024 Quoted in “[Stories Behind the Pots and Pans](#)” (“Historias detrás de las cacerolas”), *Página12*, January 8, Argentina.
- 2023 “[Case Selection Within and Beyond the Global South](#)” (with Monika Krause). *Sectors*, the Newsletter of the Sociology of Development Section, American Sociological Association.
- 2022 Quoted in Nick Burns, “[Latin America’s ‘CPAC Right’ Still Has Big Ambitions.](#)” *Americas Quarterly*. November 15, 2022.
- 2022 Interview by Marlene Laruelle, “[Tomás Gold on Illiberalism in Latin America.](#)” *Agora*, Blog of the Illiberalism Studies Program, George Washington University. April 7, 2022.
- 2019 “[Protest, Anti-Partisanship, and Electoral Trajectories: Understanding Brazil in Comparative Perspective.](#)” Kellogg Institute for International Studies. January 7, 2019.

## Invitations to Revise & Resubmit (R&R)

- Bradlow, Benjamin, and **Tomás Gold**. “Finance, Articulation, Geography: The Rise of the Brazilian Right in Comparative Perspective” – R&R at *Social Forces*

## Works in Progress

- Gold, Tomás**. “From Chess to Jazz: Repertoire Theory Through a Pragmatist Lens” – Invited submission for special issue of *Revue Pragmata* (France)

**Gold, Tomás.** “Neoliberalism in Translation: Transnational Advocacy Networks in Latin America’s Free-Market Movement” – Draft available

**Gold, Tomás** and Alejandro Peña. “Risks, Sources of Threat, and Coping Strategies in the Use of Digital Technologies by Human Rights Activists in the Global South” – Data analysis

**Gold, Tomás.** “Early Sources of Neoliberal Resilience: Professional and Ideological Cohesion among Think Tank Entrepreneurs in Comparative Perspective” – Data analysis

### **Fellowships & Scholarships**

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|           |                                                                                                                        |                        |
|-----------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|
| 2023      | Weatherhead Scholar Fellowship (declined)<br><b>Harvard University</b>                                                 |                        |
| 2023      | Post-Doctoral Fellowship, Center for Inter-American Policy and Research (declined)<br><b>Tulane University</b>         |                        |
| 2022-2023 | Mellon International Dissertation Research Fellowship (IDRF)<br><b>Social Science Research Council</b>                 | \$ 24,100              |
| 2018-2020 | Fulbright Foreign Student PhD Scholarship<br>Archibald Memorial Award<br><b>Fulbright Program, Department of State</b> | \$ 40,000<br>\$ 12,000 |
| 2015      | Emerging Leaders in the Americas (ELAP) Scholarship<br><b>Canadian Department of Global Affairs</b>                    | \$ 5,500               |
| 2016-2018 | PhD Fellowship<br><b>National Scientific and Technical Research Council, Argentina</b>                                 | \$20,000               |

### **Awards**

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|      |                                                                                                                           |        |
|------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|
| 2023 | Peterson Award for Best Student Paper, Sociology of Culture Section<br><b>American Sociological Association (ASA)</b>     | \$ 300 |
| 2023 | Richard Sutch Student Travel Award, Macro-Historical Dynamics Section<br><b>Social Science History Association (SSHA)</b> | \$ 500 |
| 2022 | Jeanine Becker Award for Best Graduate Student Paper<br><b>Department of Sociology, University of Notre Dame</b>          | \$ 200 |
| 2021 | John J. Kane Memorial Award for Outstanding Student<br><b>Department of Sociology, University of Notre Dame</b>           | \$ 200 |

### **Competitive Internal Grants & Fellowships**

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|------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| 2018-2023  | Kellogg PhD Fellowship                                                                        | \$ 25,000 |
| 2023       | Conference Travel Grant                                                                       | \$ 1,300  |
| 2022       | Graduate Student Research Grant                                                               | \$ 7,000  |
| 2018, 2020 | Professionalization Grant                                                                     | \$ 3,000  |
| 2019       | Workshop Grant (co-organizer)<br><b>Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies, ND</b> | \$ 5,000  |
| 2021, 2022 | Graduate Student Research Award<br><b>Institute for Scholarship in the Liberal Arts, ND</b>   | \$ 7,100  |
| 2019       | Graduate Conference Presentation Grant<br><b>Nanovic Institute for European Studies, ND</b>   | \$ 1,500  |

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|------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|
| 2019 | Notebaert Professional Development Fund<br><b>The Graduate School, ND</b> | \$ 1,500 |
| 2013 | Undergraduate Stimulus Grant<br><b>University of Buenos Aires</b>         | \$ 1,000 |

### **Academic presentations (selection)**

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#### **Invited Presentations**

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| 2024 | Culture & Society Workshop, Department of Sociology, Northwestern University.<br>General Seminar in the Social Sciences, Universidad de San Andrés. |
| 2023 | Workshop on Peripheral Neoliberalism, SCRIPTS Cluster, Freie Universität Berlin.<br>Department of Sociology, University of North Texas.             |

#### **Conference and Workshop presentations**

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| 2024 | SSHA Annual Meeting, Regular Session.<br>Sociology of Development Conference, Johns Hopkins University.<br>Watson Institute Research Seminar Series, Brown University.<br>Illiberal Studies Program Conference, George Washington University.                                                          |
| 2023 | SSHA Annual Meeting, Regular Session.<br>ASA Annual Meeting, Special Session, Development Section.<br>Max Weber Program Multidisciplinary Workshop, European University Institute.                                                                                                                     |
| 2022 | Symposium on Corruption, Populism & Democracy. University of Iowa.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| 2021 | Symposium on Sociology of Corruption, University of Chicago.<br>Monthly Seminar, Weatherhead Research Cluster, Harvard University.<br>SSHA Annual Meeting, Regular Session.<br>Workshop on Conservative Digital Politics, George Washington University.<br>LASA Annual Conference, Roundtable Session. |
| 2020 | ASA Annual Meeting, Regular Session, Culture Section.<br>Workshop, Center for Inter-American Policy & Research, Tulane University.                                                                                                                                                                     |
| 2019 | ASA Annual Meeting, Special Session, Political Sociology Section.<br>Comparative-Historical Social Sciences Conference, Northwestern University.<br>Social Movement Studies Journal Conference, Loughborough University.<br>Sociology of Development Conference, University of Notre Dame.             |

#### **Conference and Workshop Organization**

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| 2024 | Regular Session Panel Presider, "Culture in Interactions," Culture Section, 119 <sup>th</sup> American Sociological Association Conference, Montreal.                                                             |
| 2024 | Co-organizer, " <a href="#">Contemporary Reflections on Development Theory and Social Theory From/In the Global South</a> ," Global South Interest Group, Development Section, American Sociological Association. |
| 2024 | Invited Discussant, " <a href="#">Anti-Corruptionism &amp; Illiberal Turns in National Politics Conference</a> ," American Bar Foundation.                                                                        |
| 2023 | Co-organizer, " <a href="#">Critical Approaches to Corruption and Transparency</a> ," Annual Corruption in the Global South Network Conference, New School for Social Research.                                   |
| 2021 | Co-organizer, "The Sociology of Corruption" roundtable, 9 <sup>th</sup> Annual Sociology of                                                                                                                       |

- Development Conference, American Sociological Association.
- 2019 Graduate student coordinating committee, [8<sup>th</sup> Annual Sociology of Development Conference](#), American Sociological Association (ASA), at the University of Notre Dame.
- 2019 Graduate Student Coordinator, [Research Cluster on Democratization Theory](#). Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies, University of Notre Dame
- 2019 Co-organizer, “[Interdisciplinary Approaches to Corruption](#)” Workshop, Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies, University of Notre Dame

## Teaching Experience

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### Instructor

- 2025 (Spring) “Neoliberalism and The Global Right.” Concentration in International and Public Affairs, Brown University.

### Teaching Assistant

- 2021 “International Research Design” (Prof. Erin McDonnell). Department of Sociology and Kellogg Institute for International Studies, University of Notre Dame
- 2018 “Introduction to Political Science” (Prof. Tomás Borovinsky). Department of Social Sciences, Universidad de San Andrés, Argentina
- 2017 “Political Sociology” (Prof. Gabriela Delamata). MA in Political Science, Universidad Nacional de San Martín, Argentina
- 2013-2015 “Contemporary Political Theory” (Prof. Isidoro Cheresky). BS in Political Science, Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina

### Guest Lecturer

- 2020 “Contentious Politics, Political Parties and Change” (Prof. Maggie Shum). Keough School of Global Affairs, University of Notre Dame.
- 2016 “Cities in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: People, Planning, and Politics.” School for International Training (SIT), Buenos Aires.

### Teaching Training, Kaneb Center for Teaching & Learning, University of Notre Dame:

- 2023 Striving for Excellence in College and University Teaching Certificate
- Workshops on: Course Design, Trauma-Informed Teaching, Supporting International Students, Anti-Racist Pedagogy, Gathering Early Feedback, Effective Grading

### Invited Reviewer

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*American Sociological Review, American Journal of Sociology, Social Forces, Studies in Comparative International Development, Information, Communication & Society, Social Movement Studies, Mobilization, Qualitative Sociology, Political Research Quarterly, Educational Review, Review of Social Economy, Bulletin of Latin American Research, Latin American Politics & Society, Comunicación y Medios (Chile), Revista Argentina de Ciencia Política (Argentina), Revista Desafíos (Colombia), Revista Análisis Político (Colombia), Revista de Historia de la Universidad de Concepción (Chile), Papeles de Trabajo (Argentina).*

### Participation in professional associations

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- 2024 - Member of the Global South Interest Group, Sociology of Development Section, ASA.
- 2022 - Associated scholar of MediaWell, initiative of the Media, Technology and Politics program, Social Science Research Council.
- 2021 - Senior Fellow, Research Consortium on Corruption in the Global South, hosted at the

University of Iowa.  
2018 - Member of the American Sociological Association.  
2020 - Member of the Social Science History Association.

### **Language Skills**

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Spanish (Native Speaker), English (Fluent), French (Advanced), Portuguese (Advanced)

### **References**

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#### **Ann Mische**

Associate Professor of Sociology and Peace Studies  
University of Notre Dame  
[Ann.E.Mische.2@nd.edu](mailto:Ann.E.Mische.2@nd.edu)

#### **Rory McVeigh**

Nancy Reeves Dreux Professor in Sociology  
Director, Center for the Study of Social Movements  
University of Notre Dame  
[Rory.M.McVeigh.3@nd.edu](mailto:Rory.M.McVeigh.3@nd.edu)

#### **Erin Metz McDonnell**

Kellogg Associate Professor of Sociology  
University of Notre Dame  
[Erin.mcdonnell@nd.edu](mailto:Erin.mcdonnell@nd.edu)

#### **Tamara Kay**

Professor of Global Affairs and Sociology  
University of Notre Dame  
[Tkay@nd.edu](mailto:Tkay@nd.edu)