

Tomás Gold

Department of Sociology, University of Notre Dame
tgold@nd.edu

Education

- 2018 – present PhD candidate in Sociology
University of Notre Dame
- Committee: Ann Mische (Chair), Rory McVeigh, Erin McDonnell, Tamara Kay, Thomas Medvetz (UC San Diego)
 - Dissertation Title: “The Political Influence of Free-Market Think Tanks in Latin America”
- 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

Political Sociology, Culture, Social Theory, Globalization & Transnational Diffusion,
Social Movements & Digital Activism, Comparative & Historical Methods, Knowledge & Expertise

Publications

a. Journal Articles

- Gold, Tomás,** and Ann Mische. Forthcoming. “Leveraging Contentious Anti-Partisanship: Field Structures and Partisan Strategies in a Global Wave of Protest (2008-2016).” *American Journal of Sociology*.
- 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.

b. Book Chapters

- 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*, 2nd 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.

c. Invitations to Review & 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
- Diamond, Alex, and **Tomás Gold.** “Of Crumbs and Snakes: How Marginalized Farmers and Free-Market Think Tanks Mobilize Corruption Narratives in Latin America” – Prepared for *A New Sociology of Corruption*, volume edited by Marco Garrido, Marina Zaloznaya, and Nicholas Hoover Wilson.

d. Public Sociology

- 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.

e. Publications in Spanish / Publicaciones 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.** 2016. “Cacerolazos y legitimidad política en la Argentina reciente: del 13-S al 8-A,” in *Pensar las elecciones: democracia, líderes y ciudadanos*, Rocío Annunziata (ed.). Buenos Aires: CLACSO.
- 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.

f. Work in Progress

- Gold, Tomás.** “Architects of Free-Market Hegemony? Think ‘Tanks’ Political Influence in Comparative Perspective (Argentina and Chile, 1976-2020)” – In preparation
- Gold, Tomás.** “Transnational Network Layering: The Expansion of Free-Market Advocacy Networks in Latin America” – In preparation

Fellowships, Scholarships and Awards

2023	Co-Winner, Award for Best Student Paper in the Sociology of Culture American Sociological Association	
2022-2023	Mellon International Dissertation Research Fellowship (IDRF) Social Science Research Council	\$ 24,100
2021	John J. Kane Memorial Award for Outstanding Student Department of Sociology, University of Notre Dame	\$ 200
2018-2020	Fulbright Foreign Student PhD Scholarship Archibald Memorial Award Fulbright Program, Department of State	\$ 40,000 \$ 12,000
2018-2023	Kellogg PhD Fellowship Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies	\$ 25,000
2015	Emerging Leaders in the Americas (ELAP) Scholarship Canadian Department of Global Affairs	\$ 5,500
2016-2018	PhD Fellowship National Scientific and Technical Research Council (Arg.)	\$ ≈20,000

Internal Competitive Grants

2023	Conference Travel Grant Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies, ND	\$ 1,300
2022	Graduate Student Research Grant Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies, ND	\$ 7,000
2022	Graduate Student Research Award Institute for Scholarship in the Liberal Arts, ND	\$ 3,100
2021	Graduate Student Research Award Institute for Scholarship in the Liberal Arts, ND	\$ 4,000
2020	Kellogg Institute Professionalization Grant Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies, ND	\$ 1,500
2019	Workshop Grant, co-organizer with Luiz Vilaca Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies, ND	\$ 5,000
2019	Notebaert Professional Development Fund The Graduate School, ND	\$ 1,500
2019	Graduate Conference Presentation Grant Nanovic Institute for European Studies, ND	\$ 1,500
2018	Kellogg Institute Professionalization Grant Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies, ND	\$ 1,500
2013-2015	Undergraduate Stimulus Grant Universidad de Buenos Aires	\$ 1,000

Academic presentations (selection)

2023	“Transnational Network Layering: The Expansion of Free-Market Advocacy Networks in Latin America”	
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- Max Weber Programme Multidisciplinary Workshop, “From Global to Local and Back: Untangling ‘Glocal’ Governance.,” European University Institute.
- 2022 “Ecosystems of Right-Wing Populist Support: The Rise of Jair Bolsonaro in Brazil (2013-2018) in Comparative Perspective”
- Symposium “Corruption, the Rise of Populism, and the Future of Democracy,” University of Iowa.
- 2021 “Shared Problems, Different Conclusions: How Narratives of Corruption Shape Political Action from Above and Below” (with Alex Diamond)
- Symposium on the Sociology of Corruption, Center for International Social Science Research (CISSR), University of Chicago.
- “Economy, Geography, Articulation: Ecosystems of Right-Wing Populism in the Global South” (with Benjamin Bradlow)
- Monthly Seminar, Weatherhead Research Cluster on Comparative Inequality and Inclusion, Harvard University.
 - Open Session Panel “Comparing Across Political and Cultural Contexts,” Comparative-Historical Sociology Section, 116th American Sociological Association (ASA) Meeting.
 - Session “Classes and Politics: Contemporary Case Studies from the Global North to South,” Social Science History Association (SSHA) Annual Conference, Philadelphia.
- “In Between Online and Offline Spheres: Emergent Right-Wing Party Surrogates in Latin America”
- Workshop “The Conservative Dilemma: Digital Surrogate Organizations and the Future of Liberal Democracy.” Social Science Research Council (SSRC) & The George Washington University.
- “The Rise of the Contentious Right: Digitally Intermediated Linkage Strategies in Argentina and Brazil”
- Roundtable “The Grassroots Right in Latin America,” Latin American Studies Association (LASA) Annual Congress.
- 2020 “The Autonomy of the Contentious Tactic”
- Regular Panel “Culture and Politics”, 115th American Sociological Association (ASA) Meeting, San Francisco. [Cancelled due to Covid-19]
- “Pathways of Partisan Ambivalence” (with Ann Mische)
- Center for Inter-American Policy & Research, Tulane University.
- 2019 “Pathways of Partisan Ambivalence. Political Outcomes in The Global Wave of Contention (2008-2016)”
- Special Session “Old Problems and New Methods: The Resurgence of Political Parties in Political Sociology”, 114th American Sociological Association (ASA) Meeting, New York.
 - II Annual Chicago Area Comparative Historical Social Sciences Conference, Northwestern University.
 - Social Movement Studies Journal Conference, Loughborough University (London Campus), UK.
 - Workshop “Interdisciplinary Approaches to Corruption”, Kellogg Institute, University of Notre Dame.
- “The Rise of the Contentious Right in Latin America: Changing Party Strategies and Organizational Repertoires”
- 8th Annual ASA Sociology of Development Conference, University of Notre Dame.
 - Annual Workshop on Democratization Theory, University of Notre Dame

2018 “Protest, Anti-Partisanship, and Electoral Trajectories in Comparative Perspective” (with Ann Mische). “Ciclo de Reflexões Pós-Eleitorais” Conference, University of Brasília (UnB), Brasília, Brazil.

Teaching Experience

Teaching Assistant

2021 “International Research Design” (Prof. Erin McDonnell). Department of Sociology and Kellogg Institute for International Studies, University of Notre Dame

2018 “The Political Phenomenon” (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

External Lecturer

2020 “Contentious Politics, Political Parties and Change” (Prof. Maggie Shum). Keough School of Global Affairs, University of Notre Dame.

2016 “Cities in the 21st 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

2020-2021 Workshops on: Course Design, Trauma-Informed Teaching, Supporting International Students, Anti-Racist Pedagogy, Gathering Early Feedback, Effective Grading.

Visiting Positions

2022 – 2023 Visiting Fellow, Sociology Institute, **Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile**, Chile.

2021 – 2022 Visiting Scholar, Watson Institute, **Brown University**, USA.

2016 Visiting Fellow, Institut d'études internationales (Chaire MCD), **Université du Québec à Montréal, Canada.**

Participation in professional associations

2022 - Associated scholar of MediaWell, initiative of the Media, Technology and Politics program, Social Science Research Council.

2021 - Associated scholar of the 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.

Conference and Workshop Organization

2023 Co-organizer, “[Critical Approaches to Corruption and Transparency](#),” Annual Corruption in the Global South Network Conference, New School for Social Research.

2021 Co-organizer, “The Sociology of Corruption” roundtable, 9th Annual Sociology of Development Conference, American Sociological Association (ASA).

2019 Graduate student coordinating committee, [8th 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.

Invited Reviewer

American Sociological Review, American Journal of Sociology, Social Forces, Studies in Comparative International Development, Social Movement Studies, Mobilization, Political Research Quarterly, Educational Review, Review of Social Economy, Bulletin of Latin American Research, Comunicación y Medios (Chile), Revista Argentina de Ciencia Política (Argentina), Revista Desafíos (Colombia), Revista Análisis Político (Colombia)

Other Research Experience and Training

- 2021 Senior Research Consultant, Center for Studies on Freedom of Expression and Access to Information (CELE), Universidad de Palermo, Argentina
- 2020 Network Analysis Course, Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR), University of Michigan
- 2019-2021 Research Assistant of Ann Mische, University of Notre Dame
- 2018 Research Assistant of Rory McVeigh, University of Notre Dame
- 2016 – 2017 Field Coordinator and Research Assistant, Project “[Caught in the Act of Protest: Contextualizing Contestation](#)”
- 2016 Research Assistant, Project “On-line/Off-line: The Changing Structure of the Public Sphere and Challenges to Civil Society in Latin America”, Open Society Foundation
- 2013 – 2015 Research Assistant of Isidoro Cheresky & Rocío Annunziata, Universidad de Buenos Aires

Language Skills

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