

Tomás Gold

Department of Sociology, University of Notre Dame
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Education

- 2018 – present PhD candidate in Sociology
University of Notre Dame, USA
- Committee: Ann Mische (Chair), Tamara Kay, Erin McDonnell, Rory McVeigh, Thomas Medvetz (UC San Diego)
- 2015 – 2017 MA in Political Science (with Honors)
Universidad Nacional de San Martín, Argentina
- 2009 – 2014 *Licenciatura* in Political Science (with Honors)
Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina

Visiting Positions

- 2022 (Fall) Visiting Fellow, Sociology Institute
Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, Chile
- 2021 – 2022 Visiting Fellow, Watson Institute for International and Public Affairs
Brown University, USA
- 2016 (Spring) Visiting Fellow, Institut d'études internationales (Chaire MCD)
Université du Québec à Montréal, Canada

Research & Teaching Interests

Sociology of Party Politics - Global & Transnational Diffusion - Culture - Social Theory
Comparative & Historical Methods - Social Movements & Digital Activism - Knowledge & Expertise

Manuscripts Invited to Review and Resubmit (R&R)

- Gold, Tomás**, and Ann Mische. “Leveraging Contentious Anti-Partisanship: Field Structures and Partisan Strategies in a Global Wave of Protest (2008-2016)” – R&R at *American Journal of Sociology*
- Diamond, Alex, and **Tomás Gold**. “Of Crumbs and Snakes: How Marginalized Farmers and Free-Market Think Tanks Mobilize Corruption Narratives in Latin America” – In preparation for *A New Sociology of Corruption*, volume edited by Marco Garrido, Marina Zaliznaya, and Nicholas Hoover Wilson.

Peer-Reviewed Journal Publications

- Peña, Alejandro M., and **Tomás Gold**. 2022. “The Party-on-the-Net. The Digital Face of Partisan Organization and Activism.” *Information, Communication and Society*, DOI 10.1080/1369118X.2022.2147399
- Gold, Tomás**. 2022. “Contentious Tactics as Jazz Performances: A Pragmatist Approach to the Study of Repertoire Change.” *Sociological Theory*, 40(3): 249-271.
- Jeanine Becker Award for Best Graduate Student Paper, Department of Sociology, University of Notre Dame, 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.
- Nominated to the Rudolf Wildenmann Prize for outstanding paper, European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) Workshop, 2017
- Gold, Tomás**. 2018. “Conceptualización e historia de los cacerolazos en la Argentina reciente (1982-2013)”, *Revista POSTdata*, 23(2): 453-489.
- 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**. 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

- Pereyra, Sebastián, **Tomás Gold**, and María Soledad Gattoni. Forthcoming. “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**. 2022. “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.
- Annunziata, Rocío, Emilia Arpini, **Tomás Gold** and Bárbara Zeifer. 2016. “The Case of Argentina,” in *Political Activism in the Era of the Internet*, Bernardo Sorj and Sergio Fausto (eds.). Sao Paulo: Plataforma Democrática.
- 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.

Work in Progress

- Bradlow, Benjamin, and **Tomás Gold**. “Ecosystems of Right-Wing Populist Support: The Rise of Jair Bolsonaro in Brazil (2013-2018) in Comparative Perspective” – Draft available

Fellowships, Scholarships and Awards

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	\$ 40,000
	Archibald Memorial Award	\$ 12,000

	Fulbright Program, Department of State	
2018-2023	Kellogg PhD Fellowship	\$ 25,000
	Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies	
2015	Emerging Leaders in the Americas (ELAP) Scholarship	\$ 5,500
	Canadian Department of Global Affairs	
2016-2018	PhD Fellowship	\$ ≈20,000
	National Scientific and Technical Research Council (Arg.)	

Internal Competitive Grants

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

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 21 st Century: People, Planning, and Politics.” School for International Training (SIT), Buenos Aires.

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

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

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

2019 Graduate Student Coordinator, [Research Cluster on Democratization Theory](#). Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies, 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

Conference presentations

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.
- 2017 “Protests, Signaling, and Elections: Opposition-Movement Interactions in Argentina’s Anti-Government Protests” (with Alejandro M. Peña).
- European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) Workshop, Nottingham, UK.
- “Cyber-Activism as Mediator within Opposition-Movement Interactions: The Case of the Anti-Kirchnerist Cycle of Mobilization in Argentina (2012-2013)”
- Workshop “O fim do giro à esquerda na América Latina? Novos atores e discursos moldando na arena política do pós-transição no Brasil e Argentina (2011-2016)”, Campinas University (UNICAMP), São Paulo, Brasil.

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

Service to the discipline

- 2021 Graduate student 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. Keynote speakers: Peter Evans, Ann Swidler, Sakiko Fukuda-Parr, Ray Offenheiser, Michael Woolcock.
- 2019 Graduate student co-organizer, “Interdisciplinary Approaches to Corruption”, Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies, University of Notre Dame. Keynote speakers: Monica Prasad, Manuel Balan.

Invited Reviewer

American Sociological Review, American Journal of Sociology, Studies in Comparative International Development, Social Movement Studies, 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)

Language Skills

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