

Gabriel Hetland

Department of Africana, Latin American, Caribbean, and Latinx Studies
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EMPLOYMENT

Associate Professor, Dept. of Africana, Latin American, Caribbean, and Latinx Studies 2023-
Director of Graduate Studies 2022-2023, 2025-
Affiliate Faculty, Department of Sociology 2015-
University at Albany, State University of New York (SUNY)
Assistant Professor, Department of Latin American, Caribbean, and Latina/o Studies 2015-2023

EDUCATION

PhD, Sociology, University of California, Berkeley 2015
MA, Sociology, University of California, Berkeley 2008
BA, Political Science, English (Minor), Swarthmore College, *High Honors* 2003
• Eugene Lang Fellow (Popular Education Convening Highlander Center) 1998-2003

PUBLICATIONS

Book

2023. *Democracy on the Ground: Local Politics in Latin America's Left Turn*. Columbia University Press.
- Best book award-honorable mention. New England Council of Latin American Studies 2024
 - Reviewed in *American Journal of Sociology*, *International Affairs*, *Jacobin*, *Hispanic American Historical Review*, *Peace and Change*, *Journal of Latin American Studies*, *Contemporary Sociology*, *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity*, and *NACLA* (forthcoming review)
 - Symposium on book in *Critical Sociology* (forthcoming in May-June 2026 journal issue)

Articles in Peer-Review Journals

2025. "Democracy, hegemony, and the limits of the (first) pink tide: Response to reviews." *Critical Sociology*. Online First. November 3.
2025. "Consolidating Authoritarianism and Predatory Capitalism in Maduro's Venezuela." *New Labor Forum* Vol 34 No 2: 62-69. Reprinted in *Links* (and *ZNET*) where it sparked a debate featuring Venezuela's Communist Party, popular organizations, and national/intl. scholars.
2024. "From Chávez to Maduro." *Catalyst* Vol 8 No 3: 40-81. Fall 2024. Lead Article.
2024. "The Art of the Impossible: Utopia and Instrumentalism in Contemporary Electoral Politics." *Theory and Society*. June. 53: 513-546. Lead article.
2022. "The Rise and Fall of Radical Democracy in Torres, 'Venezuela's First Socialist City.'" *Espacio Abierto: Cuaderno Venezolano de Sociología*. Vol 31 Num 2.

2019. "The Crisis in Venezuela." *Social Text Online*. June 20. (Part of "Crisis in Venezuela: The US Left, Solidarities, and What is to be Done?" with Macarena Gómez-Barris and George Ciccariello-Maher [note: each author wrote a stand-alone solo-authored piece])
2018. "The Promise and Perils of Radical Left Populism: The Case of Venezuela." *Journal of World Systems Research* 24(2): 277-292. Lead Article.
2017. "From System Collapse to Chavista Hegemony: The Evolution of the Party Question in Chávez's Venezuela." *Latin American Perspectives* 44(1): 17-36. Lead Article.
- 10th on LAP 'most read' articles list (2017-2018)
2015. "The Labour of Learning: Overcoming the Challenges Confronting Union-Community Alliances." *Work, Employment and Society* 29(6): 932-949.
- Best Graduate Paper Award (Honorable Mention), Labor and Labor Movements Section American Sociological Association, 2009.
2014. "The Crooked Line: From Populist Mobilization to Participatory Democracy in Chávez-era Venezuela." *Qualitative Sociology* 37(4): 373-401. Lead Article.
- Outstanding Faculty Article Award, Sociology of Development Section American Sociological Association, 2015.
 - Best Article Award (Honorable Mention), Venezuelan Studies Section Latin American Studies Association, 2015.

Book chapters (*indicates invited publication)

- *Forthcoming (expected 2026). "The Role of Sanctions in Venezuela's Collapse." *US Sanctions on Venezuela and Cuba*. Edited by Mikael Wolfe and Ernesto Dominguez Lopez. Stanford University Press (book proposal under review; may also appear in peer-review journal).
- *Forthcoming (expected 2025). "Seeking Socialism in a World on Fire" in *Capitalism on Earth: Reconstructions of Michael Burawoy's Sociology*, edited by Ching Kwan Lee, Zach Levenson, Mike Levien, Seán Ó Riain, Jeff Sallaz, Marcel Paret, and Z. Fareen Parvez.
- *2025. "Latin America in the neoliberal and postneoliberal eras." Pp. 146-157 in *The Elgar Companion to the Economies of Latin America and the Caribbean*, ed. Francisco Rodriguez.
- *Forthcoming. [expected 2026]. "Within and Against the State: Navigating Venezuela's Halfway Revolution," in *Democratic Socialism in Global Perspective*, edited by Daniel Chávez, Patrick Barrett, and Pete Ramand. Pluto Press; Spanish edition forthcoming from CLASCO.
- *2022. "Was Hugo Chávez an Autocrat?" in *Dictators and Autocrats*, ed. Klaus Larres. Routledge.
- *2018. "Two Decades of Venezuela's Bolivarian Revolution: Achievements and Limits," pp. 143-163 in *Reframing Latin American Development*, edited by Ronaldo Munck and Raul Delgado Wise. Routledge Press.
2016. "From Illustrating Problems to Providing Solutions: Latin America as a Source of Global Social Innovation." Pp. 72-88 in *Global Latin America*, edited by Matthew Gutmann and Jeffrey Lessing. Berkeley: University of California Press. (First author [67%])

contribution] with Peter Evans)

2015. "Emergent Socialist Hegemony in Bolivarian Venezuela: The Role of the Party." In *Crisis and Contradiction: Marxist Perspectives on Latin America in the Global Economy*, edited by Jeffrey Webber and Susan Spronk. Brill Academic Press.
2013. "The Strange Disappearance of Capitalism from Social Movement Studies." In *Marxism and Social Movements*, edited by Colin Barker, Laurence Cox, John Krinsky and Alf Nilsen. Brill Academic Press. (Equal co-author with Jeff Goodwin; 50% contribution)
2008. "Liberation Movements." In *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. Detroit: MacMillan Reference. (Equal co-author with Jeff Goodwin; 50% contribution)

Non-peer review journal articles and book chapters

- *2016. "Chavismo in Crisis: To Stay in Office the Government Must Address its Major Weaknesses." *NACLA Report on the Americas* 48(1): 8-11.
- 7th on NACLA 'most read' article list (dating from June 2011-present)
- *2017. "Moral Outrage in the Service of Empire." *Jacobin* (25):103-104. Spring 2017.
- *2014. "How to Change the World: Movements and Institutions both Matter." *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*. November 3.
- *2012. "Occupying Democracy." Pp. 361-68 in *We Are Many: Critical Reflections on Movement Strategy from Occupation to Liberation*, edited by K. Khatib, M. Killjoy, and M. McGuire. AK Press.

Books and Articles in progress

The Specter of Venezuela: How Chavismo's Demise Haunts the Americas. Book manuscript in progress.

Paths to Decarbonization: Democratic and Despotist Routes Across the Americas. Book manuscript in progress.

"Making Democracy Real: Participatory Governance in Urban Latin America" (Article in progress)

"Assessing Chavismo: Towards a Comprehensive and Evenhanded Analysis." (Article in progress)

Book reviews

- *2024. *Transnational Communism Across the Americas*. University of Illinois Press. Editors Marc Becker, Margaret Power, Tony Wood, and Jacob A. Zumoff. *Peace and Change* 49(4):445-447.
- *2022. *Things Are Never So Bad That They Can't Get Worse: Inside Venezuela's Collapse*. McMillan. William Neuman. *ReVista: The Harvard Review of Latin America*.
- *2022. *Deepening Democracy in Post-Neoliberal Bolivia and Venezuela*. John Brown. Routledge. *NACLA Report on the Americas* Special Issue Venezuela: Twenty Years After the Coup Against Chávez.
- *2021. "Thinking *The Great Recoil* from the Margins." *Verso Blog* Roundtable on Paolo Gerbaudo, *The Great Recoil: Politics after Populism and Pandemic*. November 3.
2020. *Channeling the State: Community Media and Popular Politics in Venezuela*. Naomi Schiller. *Anthropos* 115:274-275.
2018. *Popular Democracy: The Paradox of Participation*. Gianpaolo Baiocchi and Ernesto Ganuza. *British Journal of Sociology* 69(3):870-872.
2017. *Power and Resistance: US Imperialism in Latin America*. James Petras and Henry Veltmeyer. *Contemporary Sociology* 46(6):705-707.

Popular press (*indicates invited publication)

2025. “How María Corina Machado’s Nobel Peace Prize Could Lead to War.” *The Nation*. Oct 14.
- *2025. “Murder in the Caribbean: The campaign against Venezuela.” *Sidecar-New Left Review*. Oct 16. (translated into German, Greek, Spanish, and French)
- *2025 (forthcoming). “The Power to Kill” (solicited piece on US-Venezuela relations). *The Intercept*.
2025. “Mamdani Can Learn from Latin American Municipal Socialism.” *Jacobin*. November 1.
2025. “Closing the Extractive Frontier.” *Phenomenal World* (online). June 13.
2025. “US Sanctions Have Decimated Venezuela, but the Left Should Still Oppose Maduro’s Brutal Authoritarianism.” *Links: International Journal of Socialist Renewal* (Online). July 4.
2025. “Zohran Mamdani Tackles Climate Change and New York City’s Cost of Living Crisis.” *The Nation* (online). April 22.
- *2025. “Will Maduro Finish His New Six-Year Term in Venezuela? Q&A.” *Latin America Advisor*. January 14.
2024. “This Solar Panel Kills Fascists.” *The Nation* (online). December 9.
- *2024. “Fraud Foretold? Elections in Venezuela.” *Sidecar-New Left Review*. August 21.
2024. “It’s Hard to Be a Leftist Leader in Colombia.” *The Nation* (online). August 15.
- 3rd most read article (August 15-16).
2024. “Bolivia’s Failed Coup Is the Symptom of a Growing Political Crisis.” *Jacobin*. July 3.
2024. “Is Hugo Chávez to Blame for Venezuela’s Collapse?” *NACLA*. March 5.
- *2023. “Will Voters Return Evo Morales to Bolivia’s Presidency? Q&A.” *Latin America Advisor*. October 10.
- *2023. “Can Venezuela’s New Opposition Leaders Achieve Change? Q&A.” *Latin America Advisor*. January 11.
- *2022. “Killing Tigers. Might Venezuela be Turning a Corner?” *Sidecar-New Left Review*. Dec 23.
- *2021. “Nicaragua’s Unfair Election.” *Le Monde Diplomatique* (English edition). November.
- First published in French in LMD’s Nov 2021 issue. [Translated to German and Spanish]
- *2021. “What Do Recent Primaries Say About Venezuela’s Politics? Q&A” *Latin America Advisor*. August 20.
2020. “Bolivia reclaimed its democracy, but big challenges remain for the victorious socialists.” *Washington Post*. October 20.
- *2020. “If democracy is restored in Bolivia, thank protesters and not the U.S. or the OAS.” *Washington Post*. August 26.
- *2020. “The OAS helped undermine, not restore, democracy in Bolivia.” *Washington Post*. March 7.
2020. “Critique, Solidarity and Movement Building: A Reply to Lucas Koerner.” *FAIR*. February 12. (Reprinted by *NACLA* and *Jacobin*.)
- *2020. “Where has Sunday’s Legislative Election Left Venezuela? Q&A.” *Latin America Advisor*. December 8.
- *2019. “Bolivia Falls Into the Grips of a Brutal Rightwing Regime.” *Washington Post*. November 20.
- *2019. “Many wanted Morales out. But what happened in Bolivia was a military coup.” *The Guardian*. November 13. [5th on ‘most read’ list for US opinion pieces]
- *2019. “Understanding Bolivia’s Nightmare.” *NACLA* and *Jacobin* co-publication. November 20.
- *2019. “The Risk of a Catastrophic US Intervention in Venezuela is Real.” *The Guardian*. January 24. (16k shares on social media; fourth on ‘most read’ list for all Guardian articles)
- *2019. “What the UN Report Gets Right—and Wrong—About the Crisis in Venezuela.” *The Nation*. July 24.
- *2019. “Venezuela’s Deadly Blackout Highlights the Need for a Negotiated Resolution of the Crisis.” *The Nation*. March 13.
- *2019. “Eleven Theses on Venezuela.” *Jacobin*. May 23.
- *2019. “Venezuela and the Left.” *Jacobin* and *NACLA* co-published. February 2.
- *2018. “Stop Talking About Coups.” *Jacobin*. September 17.

- *2018. “After Maduro’s re-election, Trump has made some extremely unwise decisions about Venezuela.” *The Independent* (UK). May 22.
- *2018. “The Venezuelan Labyrinth.” *NACLA*. May 18 (Reprinted in *Jacobin*.)
- *2017. “Venezuela’s Agony.” *The Nation*. August 28/September 4: 4,8. [3rd on daily ‘most read’ list]
- *2017. “Why is Venezuela Spiraling Out of Control?” *NACLA*. April 29. [6th most-read article all-time on NACLA website; on NACLA “Best Articles of 2017” list; reprinted in *Jacobin*]
- 2016. “A History of Violence: What Mainstream Accounts of Venezuela’s ‘Peaceful’ Opposition Leave Out.” *Jacobin*. September 11.
- 2016. “Why is Venezuela in Crisis?” *The Nation*. August 17. [14k views; 4th on ‘most read’ list]
- 2016. “Why Duterte is Unlikely to Pursue Socialism.” *Philippine Daily Inquirer*. June 30.
- 2016. “Why Duterte is not – and is unlikely to be – a socialist.” *Rappler*. June 29.
- 2016. “How Severe is Venezuela’s Crisis?” *The Nation*. June 22. [32k views; 2nd on ‘most read’ list]
- 2016. “Paul Krugman is Wrong about Bernie Sanders-And About How Change Works.” *In These Times*. January 25. [2.5k social media shares]
- 2015. “The End of Chavismo? Why Venezuela’s Ruling Party Lost Big, and What Comes Next.” *The Nation*. December 10. [10k views]
- 2015. “The Truth About Chávez.” *Jacobin*. [6k social media shares; reprinted in *NACLA*]
- 2015. “Press Doublespeak at the Summit of the Americas.” *NACLA*. April 20.
- 2013. “What Next for Venezuela, After Chávez?” *The Nation*. March 8.
- 2012. “A New Way to Occupy City Hall: Participatory Budgeting.” *The Nation*. March 15.
- 2012. “Grassroots Democracy in Venezuela.” *The Nation*. January 30: 20-22.
 - Alumni Award in Public Sociology, UC Berkeley Sociology Department, 2012.
- 2012. “Reading Tea Leaves in Venezuela: How to Interpret the Results of Sunday’s Regional Election.” *NACLA*. December 21.
- 2012. “The End of the Chávez Era?” *NACLA*. December 14.
- 2012. “Why Chávez Won.” *CounterPunch*. October 15.
- 2007. “Making Sense of Venezuela’s Referendum.” *NACLA*. December 6.
- 2007. “Venezuela’s Hopes and Contradictions.” *ZNET*. November 16.
- 2002. “Popular Educators Gather”. *Dollars and Sense*. November-December.
- 2002. “Unions and Workers in Venezuela.” *Dollars and Sense*. September-October.

MEDIA APPEARANCES & COVERAGE

- 2025. *Behind The News*. Podcast on *Jacobin* article on Zohran Mamdani and Latin America. Nov 6.
 - <https://kpfa.org/episode/behind-the-news-november-6-2025/>
- 2025. *American Prestige*. Podcast on US-Venezuela Relations. September 21.
 - <https://americanprestigepod.com/episodes/2568244394>
- 2025. *France 24*. Live interview on US bombings of Venezuelan and Colombian boats. October 23.
 - <https://www.france24.com/en/video/20251023-the-us-seems-to-be-willing-to-go-after-just-about-anyone-within-south-america-expert-says>
- 2025. *TRT World Now*. Live interview on US-Venezuela relations. December 2.
 - <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P9M39uBx4BI>
- 2025. *TRT World Now*. Live interview on US-Venezuela relations. October 16.
 - <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k-TSVByhxxs&t=1s>
- 2025. *Sur-Urbano Podcast*. “What Zohran can Learn From Latin America’s Pink Tide. November 10.
 - <https://open.spotify.com/episode/75Ookhaxhv9cSFZWBMmqM8>
- 2024. *Behind The News*. Podcast on Aug 15 *Nation* article on Colombia. August 22.
 - <https://kpfa.org/episode/behind-the-news-august-22-2024/>
- 2024. *American Prestige*. Podcast on *Democracy on the Ground*. March 5.
 - <https://www.americanprestigepod.com/p/e138-democracy-and-the-left-turn>

2023. *Beneath the Surface*/Jacobin Radio. Podcast on *Democracy on the Ground*. December 24/29 aired.
- <https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/jacobin-radio-grassroots-democracy-in-latin-america/id791564318?i=1000640002713>
2023. *Behind The News*. Interview/podcast with Doug Henwood on *Democracy on the Ground*. July 14.
- <https://podcast.app/behind-the-news-e336420354/>
2023. *The Missing Piece*. Interview/podcast on *Democracy on the Ground*. August 17.
- <https://redcircle.com/shows/the-missing-piece-international/ep/6bc5263b-ab8f-4797-baea-42460d62d821>
2020. *Latino Rebels*. “Venezuela’s Ongoing Political Saga.” Show and Podcast. May 12.
- <https://www.latinorebels.com/2020/05/12/venezuelasongoingpoliticalsaga/>
2019. *BBC World Service Business Matters*. “Venezuela’s Crisis Grows.” January 24.
- <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/w172w0q4764zxmr>
2019. *KQED Forum*. “As Humanitarian Crisis in Venezuela Deepens, US Weighs Intervention Options.” April 8. <https://www.kqed.org/forum/2010101870428/as-humanitarian-crisis-in-venezuela-deepens-us-weighs-intervention-options>
2019. *KPFA Talkies*. March 13. Venezuela show. <https://kpfa.org/episode/talkies-march-13-2019/>
2019. *The Dig Podcast*. February 1. <https://www.blubrry.com/thedig/41457767/venezuela/>
2019. *France24*. Segment on Bolivia. November 19. <https://www.france24.com/en/video/20191118-bolivia-crisis-food-gasoline-shortages-reported-in-several-cities>
2019. *Jacobin Radio*. *Beneath the Surface* Podcast; segment on Bolivian coup. November 26.
- <https://blubrry.com/jacobin/52417512/jacobin-radio-labour-manifesto-netanyahu-indictments-and-the-bolivian-coup/>
2019. *UAlbany News*. “Five Questions With Faculty: Gabriel Hetland.” October 31.
- <https://www.albany.edu/news/92773.php>
2019. *UAlbany News Podcast*. “The Future of Democracy in Bolivia.” December 14.
- <https://ualbanynewspodcast.simplecast.com/episodes/the-future-of-democracy-in-bolivia-with-gabriel-hetland>
2019. Interviewed and featured in October 25 *Nation* article on Bolivia.
- <https://www.thenation.com/article/bolivia-elections-morales/>
2019. *Millennial Politics* Podcast. March 3. <https://millennialpolitics.co/gabriel-hetland-venezuela/>
2019. *WBAI Evening News*. Radio Interview on Venezuela. February 28.
2019. *RT International*. Interview on Venezuela. Feb 26. <https://youtu.be/AB7waagMy9I>
2019. *HotDoc* Greek Magazine. Interview on Venezuela. March 3.
2019. *Al Jazeera* (provided background for story on Venezuelan opposition). January 30.
2019. *ABC/KSRO Morning Radio* (Interview on Venezuela). January 28.
2019. *NTV* (Russian Broadcasting, Interview on Venezuela, broadcast in Russian). January 27
- <https://www.ntv.ru/video/1693460/>
2019. *RT International*. (Interview on Venezuela). January 27. <https://youtu.be/A0k38NnOFxM>
2019. *WBAI* Radio Evening News Interview on Venezuela. January 23.
- <https://soundcloud.com/user-879607737/012319-wbai-news-shutdown-pence-venezuela-pelosi-cohen-planned-parenthood>
2019. *RT International*. (Interview on Venezuela). October 9. <https://youtu.be/tb8S8Kk-IYc>
2018. *Democracy Now*. “Venezuelan Pres. Nicolás Maduro Targeted in 1st Assassination Attempt by Drone Against Head of State.” August 6.
- https://www.democracynow.org/2018/8/6/venezuelan_pres_nicolas_maduro_targeted_in
2018. *TRT World, The Newsmakers*. “Venezuela’s Humanitarian Catastrophe.” June 14.
- <https://www.trtworld.com/video/the-newsmakers/venezuelas-humanitarian-catastrophe/5b27af3a8aebd59c534c0d7>
2018. *A Correction* Podcast. “Current Events: Venezuela.” June 13.

- <https://www.acorrectionpodcast.com/phonyeconomy/ld95jkdrpmwaxgenflb4rhbrpb88nr>
- 2017. *Fox News* Special Report with Bret Baier. "Trump Blames Socialism for Venezuela Calamity." September 21.
- <http://www.foxnews.com/on-air/special-report-bret-baier/videos#p/86927/v/5583614642001>
- 2017. *Al Jazeera English Upfront*. "Has Venezuela reached a tipping point?" May 22.
- <http://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/upfront/2017/05/venezuela-reached-tipping-point-170519081258186.html>
- 2017. *Radio Canada* and *Voces Latinas*. Interviews on Venezuela's Crisis. October 16.
- 2017. *RT America*. "Turmoil rages on in Venezuela as national elections loom." July 19.
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QU6tbLUUP9c>
- 2017. *CGTN America* (China Global Television Network America). "The World Today." July 29.
- <https://ebnews.com/video/gabriel-hetland-venezuela-169461>
- 2017. *CGTN America*. "The World Today." July 21.
- <https://ebnews.com/video/gabriel-hetland-discusses-crisis-venezuela-162119>
- 2017. *KPFK* (radio). "This is Happening." August 10.
- <http://archive.kpfk.org/> (Segment starts 23:00)
- 2017. *PlayGround Magazine* "Two Worlds Apart: Western socialists need to look to Latin America for answers." (Quoted in article).
- <http://www.playground.plus/articles/two-worlds-apart-why-western-socialists-need-to-look-to-latin-america-for-answers/>
- 2017. *WPKN* Radio Interview on Venezuela. August 7.
- 2017. *SiriusXM News* (radio). "Patriot Tonight."
- <https://soundcloud.com/siriusxm-news-issues/gabriel-heland-on-steps-venezuela-needs-to-take-to-avoid-a-potential-civil-war>
- 2017. *Latino Media Collective* (radio). "Turmoil in Venezuela." July 14.
- <https://soundcloud.com/latinomediacollecive/july-14th-2017-turmoil-in-venezuela>
- 2017. *Scholar's Mate*. "Venezuela: An Indictment of Socialism?" PublicSquare.net. March 1.
- <http://www.publicsquare.net/2017/03/venezuela-indictment-socialism/>
- 2017. *Radio Sputnik UK*. "World in Focus." January 23.
- https://sputniknews.com/radio_world_in_focus/201701231049933421-Guantanamo-bay-israel-trump-rex-tillerson-venezuela/ [Segment starts at 22:00]
- 2016. *Al Jazeera English, The Stream*. August 25.
- <http://stream.aljazeera.com/story/201608250027-0025271>
- 2016. *ABC News* (Australia). "Political Unrest in Venezuela." September 2.
- <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2016-09-03/political-unrest-in-venezuela/7811226>
- 2016. *Global Journalist*. KBIA (radio). "Venezuela's Descent." September 15.
- <http://globaljournalist.org/2016/09/venezuelas-descent-program/>
- 2016. *Latino Media Collective* (radio). "Venezuela: Fact vs. Fiction." October 7.
- <https://audioboom.com/posts/5196918-venezuela-fact-vs-fiction>
- 2016. *The Real News*. "Media Exaggerations of Apocalyptic Venezuela Plays into Regime Change Narrative." July 1.
- http://therealnews.com/t2/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=31&Itemid=74&jumival=16653
- 2016. *Radio Sputnik UK*. "World in Focus." October 14.
- https://sputniknews.com/radio_world_in_focus/201610141046345024-Montenegro-Heads-to-the-Polls-Could-Scotland-see-a-Second-Referendum/
- 2016. Interviewed/quoted in *Tokyo Shimbun* article [Japanese] on Venezuela. September 8.
- 2016. *Riverwest Radio*. "The Grass is Greener." July 2.
- 2016. *Rabble.ca*. "Is Venezuela on the brink of another coup?" May 20. (Quoted in Article)

2015. *The Real News*. “Venezuela Opposition Secures ‘Supermajority’ in National Assembly.” December 9.
- http://therealnews.com/t2/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=31&Itemid=74&jumival=15263
2015. *Between the Lines*, WPKN (radio). “Hugo Chavez's Socialist Party Loses Election and Control of Legislature Amid Venezuelan Economic Crisis.” December 14.
2015. *Ricochet*. “Does election loss mean end of Venezuela’s Bolivarian Revolution.” December 7.

RESEARCH AND TEACHING INTERESTS

Municipal and Democratic Socialism, Democracy, Cities, Participation, Climate, Politics, Latin America, Labor, Development, Ethnography, Qualitative Research, Social Movements

AWARDS, GRANTS, AND NATIONAL FELLOWSHIPS

Fulbright U.S. Scholar Award (Selected for award that State Department blocked due to focus on climate change.) Universidad Autónoma de Madrid. Project: “Who Has a Right to the Low-Carbon City?” Spring 2026

Erasmus+ Award (in lieu of Fulbright), Universidad Autónoma de Madrid. Project: “Who Has a Right to the Low-Carbon City?” Spring 2026.

Alternate, Fulbright U.S. Scholar Award. (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid). Spring 2025
Project: “Who Has a Right to the Low-Carbon City?”

Best Book Award (Honorable Mention), New England Council on Latin American Studies 2024

Finalist, Rockefeller Foundation Bellagio Center Addressing Climate Change Residency 2024

“Latin American, Caribbean, Latina/o Knowledge Production Support” 2022-2023
Co-PI; \$100,000 grant awarded to four PhD students), Social Science Research Council/
National Endowment for the Humanities Sustaining Humanities Infrastructure Program

White Dove Award, Rochester Committee on Latin America (awarded Oct 2019) 2020

Outstanding Faculty Article Award, Sociology of Development Section 2015
American Sociological Association

Best Article Award (Honorable Mention), Venezuelan Studies Section 2015
Latin American Studies Association

Best Graduate Student Paper Award (Honorable Mention), Labor and 2009
Labor Movements Section, American Sociological Association Graduate Research

Graduate Research Fellowship, National Science Foundation 2006-2011

Fellowship in Latin American Sociology, Andrew W. Mellon Foundation 2009-2012

Alumni Award in Public Sociology, Department of Sociology 2012
University of California, Berkeley

Outstanding Graduate Student Instructor Award University of California, Berkeley	2011-2012
Judith Polgar Ruchkin Prize for Best Senior Honors Thesis Swarthmore College, Department of Political Science	2003

PUBLIC ENGAGEMENT

Co-Chair (Research), New York City-DSA, Ecosocialist Working Group (Active member of working group since March 2024; on and off member since 2017)	July 2025-
Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada. January 6, 2021. Interview with research specialists concerning Venezuela's political situation.	
Standing Senate Committee Foreign Affairs and International Trade, Canada. February 21, 2019	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Expert Witness (By Invitation), Venezuela Crisis: https://sencanada.ca/en/Committees/AEFA/NoticeOfMeeting/513432/ 	
International Electoral Accompaniment Delegate (Invited) 2015 National Assembly Elections, Venezuela	December 1-8 2015
ASA Task Force on Engaging Sociology (Invited Member)	2013-2016
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lead co-author ASA-council approved report, "What Counts? Evaluating Public Communication in Tenure and Promotion." (2016) 	
Advisory Board Member (Invited), Participatory Budgeting Project	2013 –
Member (Invited), North American Participatory Budgeting Research Board	2014 –
Lead Member/Coordinator, PB Vallejo Research Advisory Board	2012-2013

PRESENTATIONS

Invited Keynotes

- New School for Social Research Graduate Sociology Conference, April 12, 2024.

Invited Talks

2025. Stanford University Symposium on Sanctions in Venezuela and Cuba. May 2.

2023-2025 Book Talks

- Yale Law School. November 12, 2025.
- Stanford University, Center for Latin American Studies and Graduate School of Education, May 1, 2025
- UC Santa Cruz, Community Studies, Sociology and Latin American and Latino Studies, May 2, 2025
- New York University, Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies, April 9, 2024
- George Mason University, Sociology Department, March 29, 2024

- Johns Hopkins University, Sociology Department, March 28, 2024
- Red Emma's Bookstore, Baltimore, March 27, 2024
- Mount Holyoke College, Sociology Department. November 29, 2023
- Bard College, Sociology Department, November 28, 2023
- Columbia University Institute for Latin American Studies & Sociology, November 8, 2023
- CUNY Graduate Center, Center for Latin American and Latino Studies, October 25, 2023

2020. "Bolivia's Electoral Victory: What challenges lie ahead for MAS?" Panel convened by Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies. NYU. November 17.

2020. "Venezuela: Still Under the Gun." Rochester Committee on Latin America. May 14. (Talk and discussion part of 2020 White Dove Award.)

2019. "Perspectives on Bolivia." University of Wisconsin, Madison. Latin American, Caribbean, and Iberian Studies Program. December 10.

Venezuela's Crisis (Various Titles)

- NYU, April 22, 2019
- New College of Florida. March 14, 2019.
- Seton Hall University. March 6, 2019.
- CUNY Graduate Center. February 21, 2019.
- Université du Québec à Montréal. February 14, 2019 (Cancelled/rescheduled due to weather)
- University of Montreal. February 13, 2019 (Cancelled/rescheduled due to weather)
- Skidmore College. February 6, 2019.
- Rutgers University, Newark. Class Presentation. November 13, 2017.
- York University, Center for Research on Latin America and the Caribbean. October 16, 2017.

"Making Democracy Real: Participatory Governance in Urban Latin America"

- November 12, 2018. NYU Urban Democracy Lab. Engaged Urbanisms Working Group.
- September 22, 2017. Tulane University, Department of Sociology and Center for Inter-American Policy Research.
- October 23, 2015. UCLA Department of Sociology Global South Working Group.
- December 15, 2014. University at Albany, Department of Latin American, Caribbean, and U.S. Latino Studies.

"Ruling by Obeying? Participatory Urban Governance in Evo's Bolivia." New York University, Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies. March 20, 2017.

Presentations at University at Albany (as faculty)

"Sociology of the Dumpster Fire." November 6, 2025.

"What's Happening in Bolivia." November 20, 2019.

"The Politics of Crisis in Latin America." LACS Dept. Colloquium The Third Draft. Sept. 27, 2018.

"Popular Aspirations and Imperial Machinations: A Firsthand Report on Venezuela's Parliamentary Election." University at Albany, SUNY. December 10, 2015.

Conference presentations

Climate Change in the Americas Panel, LASA Congress, Paris France, May 29, 2026.

Venezuela Panel, Latin American Studies Congress, Bogotá, Colombia. June 2024.

“Democracy and the Right.” American Sociological Association Annual Conference. Philadelphia. August 20, 2023.

“The Art of the Impossible: Utopia and Instrumentalism in Contemporary Electoral Politics.” American Sociological Association Annual Conference, Los Angeles, August 6, 2022.

“Populism as Anticorruption Movements” with Marco Garrido and Edwin Ackerman, American Sociological Association Annual Conference, Los Angeles, August 7 2022.

“Populism as a Source of Political Convergence: The Curious Case of Chávez-era Venezuela.” Latin American Studies Association Congress (Virtual). May 6, 2022.

“The Rise and Fall of Radical Democracy in Torres, Venezuela.” LASA Annual Conference (Virtual). May 29, 2021 and June 26 (for Venezuela LASA conference). Zoom.

“The Establishment Strikes Back: How Systemic Reaction Shapes Populist Action.” ASA Annual Meeting. Political Sociology Panel on Populism. August 20, 2020. San Francisco, CA [Zoom]

“11 Theses on Venezuela.” LASA Congress. Boston. May 2019.

“The Promise and Perils of Radical Populism: The Case of Venezuela.”

- LASA Congress. Barcelona, Spain. May 2018.
- ASA Annual Meeting. Montreal, Quebec. August 2017.

“What’s Next for Latin America’s Left?” *Jacobin*/NACLA co-sponsored panel. Left Forum. New York, NY. June 2017.

“Making Democracy Real: Participatory Governance in Urban Latin America”

- ASA Annual Meeting, Seattle, WA, August 2016. (Updated Version)
- LASA Congress, NY, NY. May 2016. (Updated Version)
- ASA Annual Meeting, Chicago, IL. August 2015.

“Organizing the Precariat.” ASA Annual Meeting, Chicago, IL, August 2015.

“From Participatory Democracy to Socialism in Chávez’s Venezuela,” ISA Yokohama Japan July 15, 2014.

“The Two Faces of Populism: Inclusive Empowerment and Exclusive Elitism in Chávez’s Venezuela”, LASA, Chicago, May 21, 2014.

“Latin America’s Two Rights”, Left Forum, New York, May 31, 2014.

“Boomerang Politics: From Populist Mobilization to Participatory Democracy in Chávez-era Venezuela”, ASA, New York City, August 10, 2013.

“The Missing Link: The Challenge of Institutionalizing Participation in Urban Bolivia”, ASA, New York City, August 12 2013; Latin American Studies Association, DC, May 31, 2013.

“Participatory Budgeting in Vallejo, CA”, Second International Conference on Participatory Budgeting in the US and Canada, Chicago, May 5, 2013.

“State, Society, and Parties in the Construction of Real Utopias in Venezuela and Bolivia”, ASA Annual Meeting. Denver, CO. August 12, 2012.

“Power to the People? Participatory Democracy of the Left and Right in Venezuela and Bolivia”. LASA Conference. San Francisco, CA. May 25, 2012.

“Participatory Budgeting in Venezuela”. International Conference on Participatory Budgeting in the US and Canada. New York. March 30, 2012.

“A Delicate Dance of Defiance and Loyalty: The Fragile Achievement of Participatory Governance in Torres, Venezuela”, paper presented at annual meeting, American Sociological Association, Las Vegas, NV. August 21, 2011.

“El Momento Insurgente vs el momento institucional: la paradoja del poder social desatado”. Paper presented at Congreso de Etnohistoria, Sucre, Bolivia, June 29, 2011.

“Power to the People? Participatory Democracy of the Right and Left in Venezuela and Bolivia”, paper presented at Mellon Conference on Latin American Sociology. UC-Berkeley, April 2011.

“Labor in Movement: Contradictory Articulations of Union, Community and State in Neoliberal New York”, paper presented at:

- Annual Meeting, American Sociological Association, San Francisco, CA, August 9, 2009
- “Changing Urban Spaces”, *Berkeley Journal of Sociology* annual conference, March 13, 2009
- *Rethinking Marxism* Conference, Amherst, MA, October 2006

“The Strange Disappearance of Capitalism from Social Movement Studies”, coauthored paper (with Jeff Goodwin), presented at:

- Annual Meeting, American Sociological Association, San Francisco, CA, August 10, 2009
- “Rethinking Past and Present”, mini-conference of Comparative and Historical Methods Section of ASA, Berkeley, CA, August 12, 2009

TEACHING AND ADVISING

Teaching award

Outstanding Graduate Student Instructor Award, University of California, Berkeley 2011-2012

Courses taught

Graduate seminars (University at Albany):

LCS 599: Special Topics in LACS: Capitalism, Development, and Climate Change (Spring 2024)

LCS 502: Theoretical Perspectives Latin American Studies: Political Economy (Fall 2015, 2017, 2019, 2020; Spring 2022, Fall 2025);

LCS 504: Democracy in Comparative Perspective (Spring 2017)

LCS 504: Revolution in the Americas (Spring 2019, 2021, Fall 2022, Fall 2024, Spring 2026)

LCS 600: Research Methods (Spring 2023)

Undergraduate courses (University at Albany):

The LACS Experience, LCS 300: Spring 2022

Culture and Power in the Americas, LCS 100: Fall 2021, Spring 2023, Spring 2024

Hot New World: Climate Change in the Americas, LCS 330 (Fall 2019, Spring 2021, Fall 2023, Fall 2025)

Participatory Democracy in Latin America, LCS 341 (Spring 2016, 2017, Fall 2018)

Urban Latin America, LCS 349 (Spring 2016, 2018, 2019)

Latin America's Left Turn, LCS 270 (Fall 2015, 2017, 2018, Fall 2021)

Undergraduate senior seminars (University of California, Berkeley):

Democracy and Development in Latin America (Spring 2015)

Is Another World Possible? From Social Theory to Social Transformation (Fall 2012)

Courses taught as teaching assistant (University of California, Berkeley)

Classical and Contemporary Sociological Theory (Fall 2007, Fall 2008, Spring 2009)

Introduction to Sociology (Fall 2011)

Development In Theory and History (Spring 2014, Geography Dept.)

Additional courses prepared to teach at graduate or undergraduate level

Political Sociology, Social Change, Global Social Movements, Research Methods (general/qualitative and ethnography), Urban Sociology, Theory (classic, contemporary, critical), Latin American Politics

PhD & MA advisees

Marina Hernandez (Dissertation Committee Chair, LACS, Fall 2024-)

Gina Andrade (Dissertation Committee Member, LACS, Fall 2024-)

Andrea Miranda (Dissertation Committee Member, LACS, Fall 2021-)

Yener Ciraci (MA Committee Member, LACS, Fall 2024-)

Mohammad Gholamian (Advisor, LACS, Fall 2025-)

Arturo Lua Castillo (MA Committee Chair, LACS, Fall 2021-Spring 2023)

Donnett Lee (Dissertation Committee Member, Political Science PhD, Fall 2017-January 2022)

Lourdes Aguas (Member, MA Exam Committee & Doctoral Committee, Fall 2020-)

Fatima Pacas (Member, MA Committee, Fall 2020- Spring 2021)

Noemi Mercado (Chair, MA Committee, LACS, Spring 2016-Fall 2020)

Christine Klotz (Member, MA Exam Committee, Sociology, Spring 2016-)

Samantha Pappalau (Independent Study Advisor [MA Project], LACS, Fall 2017)

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

University (University at Albany)

United University Professionals Executive Board Member (Elected)

2021-2025

University Senate (Department Representative)

2019-2021, 2025-

Governance Committee Member (University Senate)

Spring 2019

College of Arts and Sciences, Faculty Council

Fall 2017

United University Professionals, Chapter Action Committee, Member

2016

United University Professionals, LACS Department Representative

2015-

Departmental (LACS Dept., University at Albany)

Director of Graduate Studies	2022-2023, 2025-
Graduate Committee, Member LACS Dept	2016-2020, 2021-
Undergraduate Committee, Member, LACS Dept	2015-2016, 2020-21

Journal Board Member – Revista Conflictos Social, Argentina 2019-

Occasional Reviewer

American Journal of Sociology, American Sociological Review, Social Forces, Social Problems, Theory and Society, British Journal of Sociology, Qualitative Sociology, Journal of Historical Sociology, Mobilization, International Journal of Comparative Sociology, Comparative Studies in Society and History, Social Movement Studies, Colombia Internacional, Globalization

Book Manuscript reviewer (By invitation)

Oxford University Press, Routledge Press, University of Arizona Press

Published book reviewer (By invitation)

British Journal of Sociology, Contemporary Sociology, Anthropol, NACLA, ReVista: The Harvard Review of Latin America

Professional service and membership

External Reviewer (by invitation), National Research Foundation, South Africa (2016)

Invited Member, Task Force on Engaging Sociology, American Sociological Association (2013-2016)

American Sociological Association, member of following sections: Labor and Labor Movements, Political Sociology, Comparative and Historical Methods, Political Economy of the World System

Latin American Studies Association (LASA): Venezuelan and Bolivian Studies sections member