

Gabriel Hetland

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EMPLOYMENT

Assistant Professor, Department of Latin American, Caribbean and U.S. Latino Studies
Affiliate Faculty, Department of Sociology 2015 –
University at Albany, State University of New York (SUNY)

EDUCATION

PhD, Sociology, University of California, Berkeley 2015
Dissertation: “Making Democracy Real: Participatory Governance in Urban Latin America”
Committee: Michael Burawoy (Chair), Peter Evans, Laura Enriquez, Dylan Riley,
Michael Watts (Geography)

MA, Sociology, University of California, Berkeley 2008

BA, Political Science, English (Minor), Swarthmore College, *High Honors* 2003

PUBLICATIONS

Peer-reviewed journal articles

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.

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.

Peer-reviewed book chapters

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 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)
2008. “Liberation Movements.” In *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. Detroit: MacMillan Reference. (Equal co-author with Jeff Goodwin)

Invited publications

2016. “Chavismo in Crisis: To Stay in Office the Government Must Address its Major Weaknesses.” *NACLA Report on the Americas* 48(1): 8-11. (Inaugural issue of re-launched print journal.)
- Fourth on NACLA’s list of 2016 ‘most read articles’; 776 article views.
2016. “Saving Chavismo in Venezuela.” *teleSUR English*. September 2.
- On teleSUR English’s ‘most read op-ed’ list for multiple days.
- Forthcoming. Book Review for *British Journal of Sociology*: Gianpaolo Baiocchi and Ernesto Ganuza, *Popular Democracy: The Paradox of Participation*. 2016. Stanford University Press.
- Forthcoming. Book Review for *Contemporary Sociology*: James Petras and Henry Veltmeyer, *Power and Resistance: US Imperialism in Latin America*. 2016. Brill Academic Press.
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 Kate Khatib, Margaret Killjoy, and Mike McGuire. Oakland: AK Press.

Popular press publications

2016. “How Severe is Venezuela’s Crisis.” *The Nation*. June 22.
- 32,027 page views; on *Nation*’s top-5 ‘most read’ article list for 3 days.
 - Reprinted in venezuelanalysis.com (12th on yearly ‘most-read’ articles list) and elsewhere.
2016. “Why is Venezuela in Crisis.” *The Nation*. August 17.
- 14,831 page views; on *Nation*’s top-5 ‘most-read’ article list.
 - Reprinted in venezuelanalysis.com (14th on yearly ‘most-read’ articles list).
2016. “Paul Krugman is Wrong about Bernie Sanders-And About How Change Works.” *In These Times*. January 25.
- 2.5k social media shares.
2016. “A History of Violence: What Mainstream Accounts of Venezuela’s ‘Peaceful’ Opposition Leave Out.” *Jacobin*. September 11.

2016. “Why Duterte is Unlikely to Pursue Socialism.” *Philippine Daily Inquirer*. June 30. (co-authored with Herbert Decena.)
2016. “Why Duterte is not – and is unlikely to be – a socialist.” *Rappler*. June 29. (co-authored with Herbert Decena.)
2015. “The End of Chavismo? Why Venezuela’s Ruling Party Lost Big, and What Comes Next.” *The Nation*. December 10.
- 9,556 page views.
 - Solicited for re-print by Progress in Political Economy Blog, Department of Political Economy, University of Sydney. Reprinted in venezuelanalysis.com.
2015. “The Truth About Chávez: Bernie Sanders is Wrong – Hugo Chávez was no dictator.” *Jacobin*. September 20.
- 5.89k social media shares.
 - Reprinted in *NACLA*, *teleSUR* (Spanish translation), *teleSUR English*, venezuelanalysis.com and the Centre for Research on Globalization.
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. (First author, with Abigail N. Martin)
2012. “Grassroots Democracy in Venezuela.” *The Nation*. January 30.
- 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.

Work under review and in progress

“Making Democracy Real? A Framework for Assessing the Promise and Pitfalls of Participatory Institutions.” Under review (*American Journal of Sociology*)

“The Art of the Impossible: Utopia and Instrumentalism in Electoral Politics.” Final revisions (for submission to *Social Problems*)

“The Two Faces of Populism.” Final revisions (for submission to *Social Forces*)

Making Democracy Real: Participatory Governance in Urban Latin America, Book Manuscript (in progress)

“Bringing Back the Right: The Other Side of Latin America’s Left Turn” (draft available)

MEDIA APPEARANCES

2017. “Scholar’s Mate” TV program on Venezuela, PublicSquare.net. Taped on January 20 for March 2017 broadcast.
2017. “World in Focus.” *Radio Sputnik UK*. January 23. (Featured in segment [starting at 22:00] on Venezuela in daily radio program.)
- https://sputniknews.com/radio_world_in_focus/201701231049933421-Guantanamo-bay-israel-trump-rex-tillerson-venezuela/
2016. “The Stream.” *Al Jazeera English*. August 25. (Featured guest, weekly TV program.)
- <http://stream.aljazeera.com/story/201608250027-0025271>
2016. “Political Unrest in Venezuela.” *ABC News* (Australian Broadcasting Corporation). September 2. (Featured guest on daily TV news broadcast.)
- <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2016-09-03/political-unrest-in-venezuela/7811226>
2016. “Venezuela’s Descent.” *Global Journalist*. September 15. (Featured guest on weekly radio program broadcast on NPR affiliate KBIA and other public radio stations; appeared alongside former US ambassador to Venezuela, Patrick Duddy)
- <http://globaljournalist.org/2016/09/venezuelas-descent-program/>
2016. “Venezuela: Fact vs. Fiction.” *Latino Media Collective*. October 7. (Featured guest on weekly radio program, broadcast on Pacifica affiliate radio.)
- <https://audioboom.com/posts/5196918-venezuela-fact-vs-fiction>
2016. “Media Exaggerations of Apocalyptic Venezuela Plays into Regime Change Narrative.” *The Real News*. July 1. (Featured guest, TV program.)
- http://therealnews.com/t2/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=31&Itemid=74&jumival=16653
2016. “World in Focus.” *Radio Sputnik UK*. October 14. (Featured in segment on Venezuela in daily radio program.)
- 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. Featured guest on “The Grass is Greener” weekly radio show on *Riverwest Radio*. July 2.
2016. “Is Venezuela on the brink of another coup?” *Rabble.ca*. May 20. (Interviewed/quoted in print article.)
2015. “Venezuela Opposition Secures ‘Supermajority’ in National Assembly.” *The Real News*. December 9. (Featured guest, TV program.)
- http://therealnews.com/t2/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=31&Itemid=74&jumival=15263
2015. “Hugo Chavez’s Socialist Party Loses Election and Control of Legislature Amid Venezuelan Economic Crisis.” *Between the Lines* Radio program, WPKN, Bridgeport, CT. December 14. (Featured guest, radio program; excerpt on weekly syndicated summary show, 12/25/15).
2015. “Does election loss mean the end of Venezuela’s Bolivarian Revolution.” *Ricochet*. December 7. (Interviewed/quoted for article by Cory Collins.)
2014. “Ferguson Protest Shuts Down Oakland BART Station.” KQED News. November 28.

(Interviewed/quoted for article.)
2014. "Students, professor react to Venezuelan turmoil." *The Daily Californian*. March 17.
(Interviewed/quoted for article.)

RESEARCH AND TEACHING INTERESTS

Political Sociology, Social Movements, Ethnography, Labor, Theory, Democracy, Urban Sociology, Globalization, Comparative Historical Methods, Development, Latin America

AWARDS AND NATIONAL FELLOWSHIPS

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
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 University of California, Berkeley	2012
Outstanding Graduate Student Instructor Award University of California, Berkeley	2011-2012
Best Graduate Student Paper Award (Honorable Mention), Labor and Labor Movements Section, American Sociological Association	2009

PUBLIC ENGAGEMENT

International Electoral Accompaniment Delegate (Invited) 2015 National Assembly Elections, Venezuela	December 1-8 2015
ASA Task Force on Engaging Sociology (Invited Member) <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Lead co-author ASA-council approved report, "What Counts? Evaluating Public Communication in Tenure and Promotion." (2016)	2013 –
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 talks

2015. "Making Democracy Real: Participatory Governance in Urban Latin America," UCLA Department of Sociology Global South Working Group, October 23.

2015. "Popular Aspirations, Imperial Machinations and the Resurgence of the Latin American Right: A Firsthand Report on Venezuela's Parliamentary Election." University at Albany. December 10.

2014. "Making Democracy Real: Participatory Governance in Urban Latin America," University at Albany, SUNY, Department of Latin American, Caribbean, and U.S. Latino Studies. December 15.

Conference presentations (selected)

"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 (earlier version of above paper, entitled, “The Labor of Community and the Community of Labor: Community, Union and State Against the Neoliberal Logic of the Market in New York City’s Retail Sector”)

“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

Public sociology presentations

Participatory Democracy in Venezuela – presented to Open University, UC Berkeley and Community Democracy Project, Oakland, CA, Nov 2012

Presentation on Research Findings, Celarg, Caracas, Venezuela, May 2011

Interview on research findings published in *El Alteño*, El Alto, Bolivia, March 2011

Presentation on Research Findings, Carora, Venezuela, December 2010

“Obama the Utopian?” Presentation at “Green Sunday”, Alameda County Green Party Monthly Meeting, Oakland, CA, February 8, 2009

TEACHING AND ADVISING

Teaching award

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

Courses taught

Graduate seminars (University at Albany):

Theoretical Perspectives on Latin American Studies: Theories of Political Economy (Fall 2015)

Democracy in Comparative Perspective (Spring 2017)

Undergraduate courses (University at Albany):

Participatory Democracy in Latin America (Spring 2016, Spring 2017)

Urban Latin America (Spring 2016)

Latin America’s Left Turn (Fall 2015)

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, Classical/Contemporary Social Theory, Latin American Politics, Social Movements, Marxist Theory, Critical Theory, Ethnography, Qualitative Methods, Development

MA advisees

Noemi Mercado (Chair, MA Committee, LACS, Spring 2016-)
Christine Klotz (Member, MA Exam Committee, Sociology, Spring 2016-)

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

Departmental (LACS Dept., University at Albany)

Undergraduate Committee, Member, LACS Dept	Fall 2015-
United University Professionals, LACS Department Representative	2015-2016

University (University at Albany)

United University Professionals, Chapter Action Committee, Member	Spring 2016-
Resources Analysis and Planning Committee, University at Albany	Spring 2016-

Journal reviewer

American Journal of Sociology, American Sociological Review, Social Forces, Social Problems, Qualitative Sociology, Mobilization, International Journal of Comparative Sociology, Social Movement Studies, Colombia Internacional

Published book reviewer (By invitation)

British Journal of Sociology, Contemporary Sociology

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-)
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

FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Spanish (fluent), French (proficient)