

Gabriel Hetland

Latin American, Caribbean, and U.S. Latino Studies Department
University at Albany, SUNY
ghetland@albany.edu | gabrielhetland.com

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

Articles in Peer-Review Journals

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.
- 11th on LAP ‘most read’ articles list, last 6 months (September 2018-March 2019).
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)

*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)

Book in progress

Democracy and the Right: Rethinking the Relationship. Book manuscript. [2/3rd completed; will submit book manuscript to publishers, Summer 2019]

Articles and book chapters in progress

- "Making Democracy Real: Participatory Governance in Urban Latin America" [Polished draft complete; revising based on reviewer comments; will submit to journal in Fall 2019]
- "Assessing Chavismo: Towards a Comprehensive and Evenhanded Analysis." [Polished draft complete; revising based on reviewer comments; will submit to journal in Winter 2019]
- "Was Hugo Chávez a Dictator?" Chapter proposal accepted for edited volume, *Modern Day Autocrats*, edited by Klaus Larres and Nathan Stoltzfus. [Editors have approached Oxford University Press for consideration of book proposal]
- "The Art of the Impossible: Utopia and Instrumentalism in Electoral Politics." [Polished draft complete; revising based on reviewer comments; will submit to journal in Winter 2019]
- "Bringing Back the Right: The Other Side of Latin America's Left Turn" [Draft of article]

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.

Book reviews

Forthcoming. [2019 Expected]. *Channeling the State: Community Media and Popular Politics in Venezuela*. Naomi Schiller. *Anthropos*.

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

*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. "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

2019. *BBC World Service Business Matters*. “Venezuela’s Crisis Grows.” January 24.
- <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/w172w0q4764zxmr>
2019. *Millennial Politics* Podcast. March 3. <https://millennialpolitics.co/gabriel-hetland-venezuela/>
2019. *The Dig Podcast*. February 1. <https://www.blubrry.com/thedig/41457767/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>
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/5b27af3a8aabd59c534c0d7>
2018. *A Correction* Podcast. “Current Events: Venezuela.” June 13.
- <https://www.acorrectionpodcast.com/phoneyeconomy/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 Latinos*. 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://eblnews.com/video/gabriel-hetland-venezuela-169461>
2017. *CGTN America*. “The World Today.” July 21.
- <https://eblnews.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

Urban Sociology, Political Sociology, Ethnography, Social Movements, Labor, Theory, Race, Space and Urban Inequality, Climate Change, Democracy, 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
Best Graduate Student Paper Award (Honorable Mention), Labor and Labor Movements Section, American Sociological Association Graduate Research	2009

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

PUBLIC ENGAGEMENT

Standing Senate Committee Foreign Affairs and International Trade, Canada. February 21, 2019

- Expert Witness, Venezuela Crisis:
<https://sencanada.ca/en/Committees/AEFA/NoticeOfMeeting/513432/>

International Electoral Accompaniment Delegate (Invited) December 1-8 2015
2015 National Assembly Elections, Venezuela

ASA Task Force on Engaging Sociology (Invited Member) 2013-2016

- 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 talks

Venezuela’s Crisis (Various Titles)

- New College of Florida. March 14, 2019.
- Seton Hall University. March 6, 2019.
- CUNY Graduate Center. February 21, 2019.
- 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.

“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

“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.

“Making Democracy Real: Participatory Governance in Urban Latin America.” December 15, 2014. Department of Latin American, Caribbean, and U.S. Latino Studies.

Conference presentations

“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):

Theoretical Perspectives on Latin American Studies: Political Economy (Fall 2015, Fall 2017)

Democracy in Comparative Perspective (Spring 2017)

Undergraduate courses (University at Albany):

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

Urban Latin America (Spring 2016)

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

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

PhD & MA advisees

Donnett Lee (Dissertation Committee Member, Political Science PhD, Fall 2017-)
Noemi Mercado (Chair, MA Committee, LACS, Spring 2016-)
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)

University Senate (Department Representative)	Spring 2019
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)

Graduate Committee, Member LACS Dept	2016-
Undergraduate Committee, Member, LACS Dept	2015-2016

Journal Board Member – Revista Conflictio Social, Argentina 2019-

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

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