

## **Fernando Tormos-Aponte, Ph.D.**

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Scholars Strategy Network Postdoctoral Fellow, University of Missouri – St. Louis  
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### **ACADEMIC POSITIONS**

Postdoctoral Fellow, Scholars Strategy Network, 2017-Present  
Visiting Faculty, University of Missouri-St. Louis, Political Science, 2017-Present  
Research Fellow, Latino Center for Leadership Development-SMU, 2018-Present

### **EDUCATION**

Purdue University

**Ph.D. Political Science, 2017**

Dissertation: *Mobilizing Difference: The Power of Inclusion in Transnational Social Movements*

Committee: S. Laurel Weldon (Chair), Ann Marie Clark, Rachel Einwohner, and Jackie Smith

**Graduate Certificate in Social Policy**

**Graduate Certificate in Environmental Policy**

**M.A. Political Science, 2013**

Universidad de Puerto Rico

**B.A. Political Science (Summa Cum Laude), 2010**

**Teaching Fields:** Comparative Public Policy; Social Movements; Gender, Race, and Class; Social Policy; International Political Sociology; Latin American Politics; Intersectionality

### **PUBLICATIONS**

#### **Refereed Publications**

Forthcoming. “Enacting Intersectional Solidarity in the Puerto Rican Student Movement”

Forthcoming in *Gendered Mobilizations*, eds. Jill Irvine, Sabine Lang, Celeste Montoya.

2018. “The Politics of Survival in Puerto Rico: The Balance of Forces in the Wake of Hurricane María” *Alternautas* 5 (2).

2018. “Polycentric struggles: The experience of the global climate justice movement” with Gustavo García-López. *Environmental Policy and Governance* 28 (4).

2018. “Black Women Lawmakers and Second-Wave Feminism: An Intersectional Analysis on Generational Cohorts Within Southern State Legislatures from 1990 to 2014” with Nadia Brown, Guillermo Caballero, Sharonda Woodford, and Allison Wong. 2018. In *The Legacy of Second-Wave Feminism in American Politics*, eds. Angie Maxwell and Todd Shields. Pp. 179-204. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

2017. “Intersectional Solidarity.” 2017. *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 5 (4): 707-720.

## Articles Under Review

- “Active Solidarity: Strategies for Transnational Political Cooperation in Contexts of Difference, Domination, and Distrust” with Rachel Einwohner, Valeria Sinclair-Chapman, Mangala Subramanian, Laurel Weldon, Jared Wright, Charles Wu. R&R at *Social Politics*
- “Inclusive Deliberation, Diversity, and Solidarity in Transnational Social Movements” with Laurel Weldon.

## Book Reviews

2015. “Global Capitalism and the Crisis of Humanity.” *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 28 (2): 322-324.
2010. “Primate Economics 101” *Evolutionary Psychology* 8 (2): 189-193. (With Joseph Henry Vogel and Gamaliel Lam).

## Other Publications

2018. “Razones para celebrar después de las elecciones intermedias en Estados Unidos.” *The New York Times*
2018. “The Politics of Survival.” *Jacobin*
2017. “Puerto Rico at the Precipice.” *Jacobin* (With José C. Martínez).
2016. “The Politics of Climate Justice at COP21.” *Entitle Blog*

## WORK IN PROGRESS

**Book Manuscript:** *Mobilizing Difference: The Power of Inclusion in Transnational Social Movements*

**Summary:** This book presents the first large-scale assessment of the political impact of social group diversity and inclusion in transnational social movement organizations (TSMOs). This book counters social movement diversity skepticism and argues that, contrary to common belief, diversity extends the life of movement organizations and increases their political impact. The book substantiates this claim through a combination of statistical analyses (survival analyses and maximum likelihood estimation) of an original, cross-sectional time series (or maybe just “over time”) dataset on movement organizations with qualitative case studies that identify the pathways by which movements become more inclusive and politically impactful. Included in the case studies are analyses of the role of transnational social movements in ushering in landmark international agreements within the fields of climate change and labor—the Paris Accord on Climate and the Bangladesh Building and Fire Safety Accord. The book extends previous analyses of the evolution and power of TSMOs in international politics by drawing on an original dataset of organizational features of 175 TSMOs. The book provides practical recommendations for international organizations aiming to address internal divisions and enhance their political impact. Mainly, the book suggests that diversity only undermines movements when internal divisions are not addressed proactively. When diversity is coupled with measures to ensure inclusion, however, diversity is a source of strength. My book identifies a series of internal movement norms that allow movements to manage internal problems and increase their political significance.

## Articles in Preparation

- “Diversity and Solidarity in Challenging Times: Social Movement Pathways to Inclusion” with Laurel Weldon, Valeria Sinclair-Chapman, Rachel Einwohner, Mangala Subramaniam, Kaitlin Kelly-Thompson, Charles Kuan-Sheng Wu, Jared Wright.
- “For Whom Does Democracy Work? The Political Influence of the Black Lives Matter Movement 2014-2018” In preparation for submission to *Journal of Politics*.
- “Staying Alive: The Power of Inclusion in Transnational Social Movement Organizations” In preparation for submission to *American Sociological Review*.
- “Solidarity and Inclusion in the Global Movement Against Sweatshop Labor” In preparation for submission to *Mobilization*.
- “Surviving for the Long Haul: Explaining Organizational Persistence and Demise Among Transnational Social Movement Organizations” with Jackie Smith, Melanie Hughes, and Samantha Plummer. In preparation for submission to *International Organization*.
- “Environmental Inequality in Puerto Rico Hurricane María Relief Efforts” In preparation for submission to the *American Journal of Political Science*.
- “The Racial and Gender Dimensions of Political Opportunity” In preparation for submission to *Du Bois Review*.

## HONORS AND RECOGNITIONS

### Scholarships and Awards

APSA Fund For Latino Scholarship	July 2018
National Science Foundation AGEP Distinguished Scholar, Purdue University	May 2017
Outstanding Graduate Student, Purdue Latino Cultural Center	May 2013, May 2017
Devin Roberson Memorial Award, Purdue Political Science	May 2017
National Science Foundation AGEP Scholar of the Year, Purdue University	April 2016
Purdue University Berenice Carroll Award, Honorable Mention	April 2016
Purdue University Graduate School Certificate of Excellence in Research	Spring 2014

### Fellowships

- Southern Methodist University Tower Center Research Grant, 2018
- Scholars Strategy Network Travel Grant, 2018
- Scholars Strategy Network Research Grant, 2017
- Postdoctoral Fellowship, Scholars Strategy Network, 2017
- National Science Foundation AGEP Scholar, Purdue University, 2014-2017
- Purdue College of Liberal Arts Promise Research Grant, 2017
- Purdue Latino Cultural Center Travel Grant, 2017
- Purdue Graduate Student Government Travel Grant, 2017
- Ford Foundation Dissertation Fellowship, Honorable Mention, 2016
- Purdue Political Science Summer Dissertation Fellowship, 2016
- Ludwig Kruhe Doctoral Fellowship, Purdue Graduate School, 2016
- Purdue Fredrick Andrews Environmental Travel Award, 2016
- Southern Political Science Association Prestage-Cook Travel Award, 2015
- Ross Fellowship, Purdue University Graduate School, 2010

**INVITED LECTURES**

“Staying Alive: The Power of Inclusion in Transnational Social Movement Organizations” United Nations European Center for Peace and Development	October 2018
“The Racial and Gender Dimensions of Political Opportunity” Washington University, St. Louis	October 2018
“Colonialism in Times of María” Washington University, St. Louis	October 2018
“For Whom Does Democracy Work? The Political Influence of the Black Lives Matter Movement 2014-2018” Harvard Kennedy School of Government, Cambridge, MA	August 2018
“Puerto Rico at the Precipice” Washington University, St. Louis, 2017	October 2017
“Mobilizing Diversity: The Power of Inclusion in Transnational Social Movements” Faculty Colloquium Series, University of Missouri – St. Louis	October 2017
“Mobilizing Diversity: The Power of Inclusion in Transnational Social Movements” Scholars Strategy Network, Harvard University	September 2017
“Building Transnational Social Movements” Department of Political Science, University of Puerto Rico, Río Piedras, PR,	April 2016

**CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS**

“The Politics of Survival in Puerto Rico: The Balance of Forces in the Wake of Hurricane María” Race, Ethnicity, and Place Conference, UT Austin	October 2018
“For Whom Does Democracy Work? The Political Influence of the Black Lives Matter Movement 2014-2018” SPIRE Conference, University of Pennsylvania	September 2018
“For Whom Does Democracy Work? The Political Influence of the Black Lives Matter Movement 2014-2017” Midwestern Political Science Association	April 2018
Panel Organizer, The Politics of the Black Lives Matter Movement Midwestern Political Science Association	April 2018
“For Whom Does Democracy Work? The Political Influence of the Black Lives Matter Movement 2014-2017” Western Political Science Association	April 2018
“Intersectional Solidarities: Movement for Public Education in Puerto Rico” Western Political Science Association	April 2018
“Diversity and Solidarity in Challenging Times: Social Movement Pathways to Inclusion” Western Political Science Association	April 2017
“Diversity and Solidarity in Challenging Times: Social Movement Pathways to Inclusion” Midwestern Political Science Association	April 2017

“The Power of Inclusion in Transnational Social Movements” National Science Foundation Emerging Researchers Conference	March 2017
“Intersectional Solidarity” Notre Dame University Intersectional Inquiries Conference	February 2017
Panel Chair Notre Dame University Intersectional Inquiries Conference	February 2017
“Staying Alive: The Power of Diversity in INGOs” International Studies Association	February 2017
“Intersectional Solidarity” Southern Political Science Association	January 2017
“Building Transnational Social Movements: The Challenges and Consequences of Activist Organizing Beyond Borders” International Studies Association	March 2016
“Polycentric struggles: Politicizing polycentricity through the experience of the climate justice movement” Undisciplined Environments ENTITLE Conference	March 2016
“Solidarity and Identity: Political Cooperation in Contexts of Domination and Distrust” Southern Political Science Association	January 2016
“Inclusive Deliberation, Diversity and Solidarity in Transnational Social Movements” Southern Political Science Association	January 2016
“Building Transnational Social Movements: The Challenges and Consequences of Activist Organizing Beyond Borders” Global Studies Association	June 2015
“Interseccionalidad y Derechos Humanos en el Contexto de Puerto Rico” Latin American Studies Association Conference	May 2015
Panel Organizer, Intersectionality and Human Rights in the Context of Puerto Rico Latin American Studies Association Conference	May 2015
“Inclusion in Transnational Social Movements” Midwestern Political Science Association Conference	April 2015
“Legislative Diversity in Southern State Legislatures” Midwestern Political Science Association Conference	April 2015
“Solidarity and Inclusion in the Global Movement Against Sweatshops” Midwestern Political Science Association Conference	April 2014
“Civic Exclusion and Subjective Well-Being: The Changing Impact of Naturalization and Documentation Status on Immigrants’ Life Satisfaction and Health Appraisals” American Political Science Association Conference	August 2013

## **PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE**

### **Research Assistantships**

Project Coordinator, Purdue University Black Lives Matter and State Legislatures Research Project	Summer 2017
Program Evaluation, Purdue University Purdue Graduate School Summer Research Opportunity Program	Summer 2017
Project Coordinator, Purdue University Diversity and Inclusion in Transnational Social Movements Research Project	Spring 2015-Spring 2016
Research Assistant, Dr. Valeria Sinclair-Chapman, Purdue University Diversity and Inclusion in Legislatures	Spring 2014

Research Assistant, Dr. Laurel Weldon, Purdue University  
Solidarity and Inclusion in Global Social Movements  
Summer 2013

Research Assistant, Dr. James McCann, Purdue University  
Capstone Course on the Immigration Policy  
Fall 2012

Research Assistant, Dr. Thomas Mustillo, Purdue University  
Data collection on Election Outcomes in Latin America  
Fall 2012

Social Policy Research, National Puerto Rican Coalition  
Washington, D.C.  
Spring 2009

### **Instructor of Record**

Social Movements  
Purdue University  
Summer 2017

Introduction to International Relations  
Purdue University  
Summer 2016, Summer 2015

Women, Politics, and Public Policy  
Purdue University  
Spring 2015

Introduction to Public Policy  
Purdue University  
Fall 2012-Spring 2013, Summer 2014

### **Teaching Assistantships**

Introduction to American Government  
Dr. Valeria Sinclair-Chapman, Purdue University  
Fall 2013, Fall 2014

Global Green Politics,  
Dr. Laura Young, Purdue University  
Spring 2014

Foundations of Western Political Theory,  
Dr. Patricia Boling, Purdue University  
Spring 2012

### **ADDITIONAL TRAINING**

Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR)  
University of Michigan, Summer 2015

Institute for Qualitative and Multi-method Research (IQMR)  
Syracuse University, Summer 2014

### **PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS**

American Political Science Association  
Western Political Science Association  
Midwestern Political Science Association  
Southern Political Science Association  
American Sociological Association  
International Studies Association  
Global Studies Association  
Latin American Studies Association

## UNIVERSITY SERVICE

Workshop Facilitator, Qualitative Data Coding with NVivo	June 2017
Keynote Speaker, Purdue Latino Cultural Center Graduation	May 2017
Guest Speaker, Intersectional Solidarity, Purdue Lunch and Learn Series	April 2017
Keynote Speaker, Purdue Latino Cultural Center Latino Heritage Month	Fall 2013
Director Search Committee Member, Latino Cultural Center, Purdue University	Fall 2013
President, Latino Graduate Student Organization, Purdue University	2012-2013
Panel Discussant, Latino Identities in Academia, Purdue University	October 2012

## LANGUAGES

Spanish (Native)  
English (Native)  
Portuguese (Fluent)

## REFERENCES

### Dr. S. Laurel Weldon

Distinguished Professor of Political Science  
Director, Purdue Policy Research Institute  
Purdue University  
(765) 494-4185  
weldons@purdue.edu

### Dr. Rachel Einwohner

Professor of Sociology  
Deputy Editor, *Gender & Society*  
Purdue University  
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### Dr. Celeste Montoya

Associate Professor of Women and Gender  
Studies  
University of Colorado, Boulder  
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### Dr. Nadia Brown

Associate Professor of Political Science and  
African American Politics  
Editor, *Politics, Groups, and Identities*  
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### Dr. Jackie Smith

Professor of Sociology  
Editor, *Journal of World-Systems Research*  
University of Pittsburgh  
412-648-7594  
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### Dr. Valeria Sinclair-Chapman

Associate Professor of Political Science  
Editor, *Politics, Groups, and Identities*  
Director, Purdue Center for Research on  
Diversity and Inclusion  
Purdue University  
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### Dr. David Kimball

Professor of Political Science  
University of Missouri – St. Louis  
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### Avi Green

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