

Michael A. McCarthy

USC Center on Science, Technology, and Public Life
Berggruen Institute
304 S Broadway, Los Angeles, CA 90013

ACADEMIC EMPLOYMENT

- 2021- Berggruen Research Fellow, University of Southern California, Center on Science, Technology and Public Life
- 2020-2021 Associate Professor of Sociology, Marquette University.
- 2014-2020 Assistant Professor of Sociology, Marquette University.
- 2013 Postdoctoral Research Fellow, the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies.

EDUCATION

- 2013 Ph.D. Sociology, New York University, New York City
Comprehensive examinations: *Political sociology, Economic sociology*
- 2008 M.A. Sociology, New York University, New York City
- 2005 B.A. Sociology (minor in Political Science) University of California-Los Angeles.
College honors, Departmental honors, *Summa cum laude*

BOOKS (* denotes equal authorship)

- 2020 *Rethinking Class and Social Difference*. Emerald Publishing. *Political Power & Social Theory Book Series*: 37. (edited with Barry Eidlin*).
- 2017 *Dismantling Solidarity: Capitalist Politics and American Pensions Since the New Deal*. Cornell University Press. ILR Imprint.
- Winner: Paul Sweezy Book Award, American Sociological Association.
 - Honorable Mention: Labor and Labor Movements Distinguished Book Award, American Sociological Association.
 - Reviewed: *American Historical Review, American Journal of Sociology, Contemporary Sociology, International Journal of Comparative Sociology, Political Science Quarterly, Social Forces, symposium at Critical Sociology.*

PEER-REVIEW ARTICLES

- 2019 "The Politics of Democratizing Finance: A Radical View" *Politics & Society*. 47:4, 611-633.
- 2019 "Structural Contingencies: Capitalist Constraints and Historical Contingency in the Rise and Fall of Pensions," *Critical Historical Studies*. 6:1, 63-92.

- 2016 “Investment Preferences and Patient Capital: Financing, Governance, and Regulation in Pension Fund Capitalism.” *Socio-Economic Review*. 14:4, 751-769. (with Ville-Pekka Sorsa and Natascha van der Zwan*)
- 2016 “Silent Compulsions: Capitalist Markets and Race” *Studies in Political Economy*. 97:2, 195-205.
- 2014 “Turning Labor into Capital: Pension Funds and the Corporate Control of Finance.” *Politics & Society*. 42: 455-487.
- 2014 “Neoliberalism without Neoliberals: Evidence from the Rise of 401(k) Retirement Plans.” *MPIfG Discussion Paper*. 14/12.
- 2014 “Political Mediation and American Old-Age Security Exceptionalism.” *Work & Occupations*. 41,2: 175-209.
- 2012 “Occupying Higher Education: The Revival of the Student Movement,” *New Labor Forum*. 21(2):50-55.
- 2012 “Explaining Political Violence Against Civilians in Northern Ireland: A Contention-Oriented Approach” *Mobilization*. 17(1):28-47. (with Greg Maney and Grace Yukich*)
- 2011 “The Neo-Marxist Legacy in American Sociology.” *Annual Review of Sociology*. 37:155-183. (with Jeff Manza*)
- 2011 “Marxist Sociology.” In *Oxford Bibliographies Online: Sociology*. New York: Oxford University Press, July 28. (with Jeff Manza*)
- 2010 “Why Should the Business Agents Be Bigger Than the Organization? A Study of Failed Rebellion in New York City’s Painters’ Union, 1947 – 1973.” *Labor Studies Journal*. September 35(3):322-342.

ESSAYS, OPINION, BOOK CHAPTERS & REVIEWS

- Forth. “Three Modes of Democratic Participation in Finance” in *Democratizing Finance: The Real Utopias Project*. Edited by Erik Olin Wright, Fred Block and Robert Hockett. Verso Books: London.
- 2021 “Tomorrow, Milwaukee Could Elect a New Generation of Sewer Socialists,” *Jacobin Magazine* April 5.
- 2020 “Introducing Rethinking Class and Social Difference: A Dynamic Asymmetry Approach,” in *Rethinking Class and Social Difference, Political Power & Social Theory* 37. (with Barry Eidlin*).
- 2020 “To Recover From This Crisis, We Need to Defund Wall Street,” *Jacobin Magazine*, June 5.
- 2020 “9 Ways Coronavirus Could Change Capitalism,” *Tribune Magazine* June 2. (with Philip Mader, Natascha van der Zwan, Daniel Mertens)

- 2020 “A Dual Democratization of Finance? Labor’s Political Question After Financialization,” *The Handbook of Financialization*, Edited by Natascha van der Zwan, Philip Mader. Daniel Mertens. Routledge Press.
- 2020 “Our First 100 Days Could be a Nightmare,” *Jacobin Magazine*, Issue 36.
- 2019 “Pitfalls and Promises for Workplace Democracy” *Renewal: A Journal of Social Democracy*. 27:4, 71-77.
- 2019 “How a President Bernie Sanders Could Take on Wall Street,” *Jacobin Magazine*, August 8
- 2019 “The Socialist Journey,” *Jacobin Magazine*, August 3
- 2019 “The Capitalist Welfare State and its Causes: A Response,” *Critical Sociology* 45(4-5), 767-772.
- 2019 “Is Labor’s Future in Labor’s Capital? A Debate” (with David H. Webber*) Yale Law School’s Law and Political Economy Blog. In three parts June 12, 13, 14.
- 2019 “Economic Democracy, If We Can Keep It,” *Jacobin Magazine*, May
- 2019 “Seven Theses on the Capitalist Democratic State” *Verso Blog*, April 30.
- 2019 “Futures of Solidarity: A Discussion,” *Society for the Advancement of Socio-Economics Newsletter*, Winter 2018/2019.
- 2018 “Democratic Socialism Wants to Fight for Minority Rights, Not Suppress Them,” *Jacobin Magazine*, August (with Shawn Gude*).
- 2018 “Democratic Socialism Isn’t Social Democracy,” *Jacobin Magazine*, August.
- 2018 “A Time to Be Bold,” *Jacobin Magazine*, July (with Mathieu Desan*).
- 2018 “Communications” *The American Historical Review*. 123(1):377–379.
- 2018 “Politics as a Market Force: The Class Politics of ESG Investing” in *The Contradictions of Pension Fund Capitalism*. LERA Research Volume. Edited by Kevin Skerrett, Chris Roberts, Johanna Weststar and Simon Archer. Cornell University Press: Ithaca. 99-120.
- 2017 “Progressive Business,” *Contemporary Sociology*. 46(4):416-418.
- 2017 “Worked to Death,” *Jacobin Magazine*, April.
- 2017 “Two Crises,” *Jacobin Magazine*, March.
- 2016 “The Old World,” *Jacobin Magazine*, November.
- 2016 “The Revenge of Joe the Plumber,” *Jacobin Magazine*, October.

- 2016 “The Monetary Hawks,” *Jacobin Magazine*, August.
- 2016 “Neoliberalising Old-Age” *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 57(3):173-174.
- 2016 “Do the Rich Deserve to Keep Their Money?,” in *The ABCs of Socialism*, (ed) Bhaskar Sunkara, Verso Books.
- 2015 “The Tail that Wags the Dogma” *Economic Sociology*, 16:3, 42-44.
- 2014 “The Power of Bad Ideas” *Boston Review Magazine*. December.
- Republished at *The Chronicle of Higher Education’s Arts & Letters Daily*.
- 2014 “Why Pensions go to Risky Investments” *Washington Post, The Monkey Cage*. 19 October.
- 2014 “Which Side Is Your Pension On?” *Jacobin Magazine*. 20 March
- 2012 “Markets, Organizations, and Work,” In *The Sociology Project: Introducing the Sociological Imagination*. Richard Arum, Lynne Haney and Jeff Manza (Eds). Pearson Press. (with Richard Arum, Jeff Manza, Christine Baker-Smith, and Abby Larson).
- 2011 “What the Labor Movement Can Learn From an Art Auction.” *Truthout*. 20 November. (reprinted: *In Critical Solidarity, Berkeley Journal of Sociology* website)
- 2011 “Why Privatizing the Golden Years Wouldn’t Work.” *Truthout*. 14 October.
- 2009 “Labor Landmarks in San Francisco’s Union Square District.” *In Critical Solidarity*. 9:2.
- 2008 “Stratification.” Pp. 541-579. In *You May Ask Yourself: An Introduction to Thinking Like a Sociologist*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc. (with Dalton Conley) (2011, 2nd Edition)
- 2008 “We Know What We Oppose, We Have an Idea of What We Want, but We Aren’t Sure How to Get It: The Development of and Process within the World Social Forum.” *Societies Without Borders* 3:196–203.
- 2008 “Union Membership Trends.” *In Critical Solidarity*. 7:4.
- 2007 “Review of Steven C. McKay, *Satanic Mills or Silicon Islands? The Politics of High Tech Production in the Philippines*.” *In Critical Solidarity* 7:3, 4-5.

MANUSCRIPTS UNDER REVIEW & IN PREPARATION

“Powers of Finance & Modes of Reform: A Comparison of Behavioral, Regulatory, Supplemental and Control Policies,” revise & resubmit *Socio-Economic Review*.

The Social Theory of Erik Olin Wright. Book manuscript in progress with Erik Olin Wright and David Calnitsky. Under contract with Verso Books.

The Master's Tools: The Politics of Democratizing Finance. Book manuscript in progress. Under contract with Verso Books.

“The Problem of Class Abstraction: Culture & Class Formation” in progress with Mathieu Desan.

“The Impasse in State Theory” for *Capitalist States* (ed Robert Hunter, Rafael Khachaturian, Eva Nanopoulos and Umut Ozsu) forth. Palgrave Press.

AWARDS, FELLOWSHIPS & GRANTS

- 2021 University of Southern California Center on Science, Technology and Public Life and Berggruen Institute, Residential Research Fellowship, The Future of Capitalism.
- 2019 Social Science and Humanities Research Council, Faculty Research Development and Seed Grant, \$32,601.48
- 2018 Paul Sweezy Book Award, American Sociological Association
- 2018 Labor and Labor Movements Distinguished Book Award, Honorable Mention, American Sociological Association
- 2015 Center for Transnational Justice, Marquette University, Course Development Grant
- 2014 Honorable Mention, the Thomas A. Kochan & Stephen R. Sleigh Best Dissertation Award, from the Labor and Employment Relations Association.
- 2013 Fiscal Sociology Travel Grant, Social Science History Association
- 2013 Outstanding Article Award, from the Peace, War and Social Conflict Section of the American Sociological Association, for “Explaining Political Violence...”
- 2012 New York University Dissertation Grant Award. \$2,000
- 2012 Horowitz Foundation for Social Policy, Dissertation Grant. Special Recognition: Robert K. Merton Award. \$8,500
- 2012 Henry Belin du Pont Dissertation Fellowship in Business, Technology, and Society. \$6,500 & 4 month residency.
- 2012 Society for the Advancement of Socio-Economics Student Paper Award, for “Turning Labor into Capital.”
- 2012 Honorable Mention, Syzmanski-Young Marxist Sociology Graduate Student Paper Award, Marxist Section of the American Sociological Association, for “Turning Labor into Capital.”

- 2010 National Science Foundation, Dissertation Improvement Grant. \$10,000
- 2010 New York University, Summer Research Award. \$500
- 2009 United Association for Labor Education, New Generation of Labor Scholars Paper Award.
- 2008 Honorable Mention, Labor and Labor Movements/Critical Sociology Distinguished Student Paper Award, American Sociological Association, for “Why Should the Business Agents...”
- 2006 Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research, Summer Research Award. \$500
- 2005 McCracken Fellowship, New York University.
- 2005 Undergraduate Research Scholars Award, University of California, Los Angeles.
- 2005 Wasserman Research Scholarship, University of California, Los Angeles.
- 2005 J O Downing Scholarship, University of California, Los Angeles.
- 2003 Mu Omicron Delta Award: Men and Women of Distinction, Fullerton College.
- 2002 Waltmar Foundation Award, Fullerton College.
- 2002 Lynn Sheller Award, Fullerton College.

INVITED PRESENTATIONS & MEDIA APPEARANCES

- 2021 “The Asset Basis of Business Power,” The Structural Power of Finance Workshop, Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies, May 13.
- 2021 “Dismantling Solidarity: Capitalist Politics and American Pensions since the New Deal” Berkeley Sociology Colloquium, University of California, April 19.
- 2021 “Marketization of American Social Security” *La Disputa por la Seguridad Social en el Mundo*, La Fundacion Sol, Chile. March 24.
- 2021 “Pension Austerity Across the OECD” *Pensando la Reforma en la Seguridad Social*, Cooperativa Comuna & Transnational Institute. March 17.
- 2020 “Making it as a Marxist” American Sociological Association Marxist Section Webinar, August 14.
- 2020 “Where Do Capitalists Get Their Power, and How Can We Fight Back?” *Jacobin Magazine*, Stay At Home Lecture Series 25. April 22.

- 2019 The Structural Power of Finance Workshop, International Relations Department, London School of Economics. December 3-4.
- 2019 Theorizing Social Change Workshop. Social Sciences Department, NYU Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates.
- 2019 “Private Pensions since the New Deal,” University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign. School of Labor and Employment Relations. September 27.
- 2019 The Powers of Finance, Equal Time Radio, Vermont, 96.1 WDEV News Radio, July 25
- 2019 What if Bernie Sanders Wins? Socialism Conference, July 5
- 2019 The Politics of Democratizing Finance: A Radical View, Political Economy Research Center, University of London, Goldsmiths, March 21.
- 2019 Dismantling Solidarity: Capitalist Politics and American Pensions since the New Deal, London School of Economics, Sociology Department, March 20.
- 2019 Dismantling Solidarity: Capitalist Politics and American Pensions since the New Deal, Penn State University, Center for Global Workers’ Rights, School of Labor and Employment Relations, February 27.
- 2018 Democratizing Finance for the Social Good: Modes of Radical Financial Reform, Tulane University, Sociology Department & Altman Program in International Studies & Business.
- 2018 Political Aspects of Radical Financial Reform, Humanities Colloquium, Marquette University.
- 2018 What is Social Democracy? Equal Time Radio, Vermont, 96.1 WDEV News Radio.
- 2018 Democratizing Finance, Real Utopias Workshop at the University of Wisconsin-Madison.
- 2018 “Stuck in the Middle with You: Structural Scope Conditions for the Middle-Range” for the Money, Markets, and Governance Workshop, “Is Marx Still Relevant to the Social Sciences in 2018?” at the University of Chicago, Sociology Department.
- 2018 “Routes out of Pension Crisis” The Center for Social Theory and Comparative History, University of California, Los Angeles.
- 2018 “Dismantling Solidarity.” The Center for the Advancement of the Humanities. Marquette University.
- 2017 “Dismantling Solidarity” The Havens Center for Social Justice, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Sociology Department.
- 2017 “The Politics of Labor’s Finance,” The Trustee Leadership Forum for Retirement Security, Harvard University, June.

- 2017 “The Retirement Crisis” In These Times Offices, Chicago, March.
- 2017 Beneath the Surface with Suzi Weissman, 90.7 Los Angeles, KPFK. Interview about *Dismantling Solidarity*. March.
- 2016 “Losing Patience” at *Socio-Economic Review* special workshop on patient capital at The Freie Universität, Berlin Germany. February 19
- 2016 “Structural Contingencies” at Marquette Law School Colloquium. February 9.
- 2015 “Pension Marketization in America & Europe” Europe: Integration/Disintegration? Miniconference at Marquette University. November 20.
- 2013 “Union Pensions and the Politics of Corporate Finance in America & Canada” Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies, Cologne, Germany. November.
- 2012 “What Business Associations Can Tell Us About Union Power” Hagley Museum & Library, Wilmington, Delaware. 5 December.
- 2011 “Two Forms of American Social Policy Exceptionalism.” New York University. 25 March.
- 2010 “Organized Labor, Strategic Orientation, and Welfare.” Economic History Department, University of Gothenburg, Sweden. 13 October.
- 2009 “American Wildcats: Comparing Cases of Labor Militancy in the Long 1970s.” History Department, Brown University. 11 March.

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

- 2020 “Powers of Finance, Modes of Reform” Society for the Advancement of Socio-Economics Annual Meeting.
- 2019 “Democratizing Finance: A Radical View,” American Sociological Association, Annual Meeting.
- 2018 “Beyond Historical Institutionalism: Toward a New Theory of Pension Crisis,” American Sociological Association.
- 2017 Book Symposium: “Dismantling Solidarity: Capitalist Politics and American Pensions since the New Deal,” Social Science History Association. Montreal, Canada.
- 2017 Book Symposium: “Dismantling Solidarity: Capitalist Politics and American Pensions since the New Deal,” Historical Materialism Conference. New York, NY.
- 2016 “50 Years of Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Barrington Moore, Jr Revisited.” Social Science History Association, Chicago. November.

- 2016 “Structural Contingencies: The Rise and Fall of Pensions” Presented at American Sociological Association Meetings, Seattle. August.
- 2015 “Structural Contingencies: Pensions since the New Deal” Presented at Social Science History Association, Baltimore. November.
- 2015 “Neoliberalism without Neoliberals” Presented at American Sociological Association Meetings, Chicago. August.
- 2015 “Paths to Marketization” Presented at the Comparative-Historical Sociology mini-conference at Northwestern University.
- 2015 “Pension Fund Capitalism and Financialization: The United States, the Netherlands and Finland Compared” (with Natascha van der Zwan and Ville-Pekka Sorsa) Presented at the Society for the Advancement of Socio-Economics Conference in London.
- 2014 “Policy Preference Shifts in Organized Labor: An Examination of Post-War Pensions and Housing.” (with Chloe Thurston.) Presented at the Policy History Conference, June.
- 2014 “401(k)s and Neoliberalism” Presented at the Business History Conference in Frankfurt, Germany. March 13th.
- 2013 “Uncoordinated Neoliberalism.” Presented at the annual meeting of the Social Science History Association, 24 November.
- 2012 “Turning Labor into Capital: The Politics of Union Pension Fund Investment in America, 1945 – 1985.” Presented at “Labor Politics/Labor Movement” at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, 18 August.
- 2012 “The Politics of Pension Fund Investment in America, 1945 – 1985” Presented at “Finance and Labor Mini-Conference” at the annual meeting of the Society for the Advancement of Socio-Economics, MIT 29 June.
- 2012 “Why No Pension Fund Socialism in America?” Presented at Historical Materialism, York University, University of Toronto 12 May.
- 2011 “Privatizing American Pensions: A Class-Centered Institutional Approach” Presented at “Class, Continuity and Change in North American Labor Movements” at the annual meeting of the Social Science History Association, Cambridge 17 November.
- 2011 “Making Labor into Finance Capital: The Politics of the CIO’s Shift in Pension Strategy” Presented at “Labor Politics and History” at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, 23 August.
- 2011 “Explaining Political Violence Against Civilians in Northern Ireland: A Contention-Oriented Approach” Presented (with Gregory Maney) at “Peace and Conflict,” at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, 22 August.

- 2011 “From the Streets to the Ballot Box: How Organized Labor Made American Old-Age Security Exceptional, 1940-1965” Presented at Alternative Futures and Popular Protest, Manchester Metropolitan University, 19 April.
- 2009 “Cultivating Loyalty: On the Barriers to Organic Public Sociology” Presented (with Jason Stanley) at “Teaching and Activism,” at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, 9 August.
- 2009 Chair of panel, “Rank-an-File Rebellion in a Time of Economic Turbulence: Lessons for Today from the Long 1970s,” at Left Forum, 18 April.
- 2009 “Prioritizing Politics: An Organizational Solution to Detached Social Science” Presented (with Jason Stanley) at the United Association of Labor Educators Annual Conference, 17 April.
- 2008 “Why should the business agents be bigger than the organization? A Study of Failed Rebellion in New York City’s Painters’ Union, 1960 – 1973.” Presented at “The Role of Organizing in Labor Movements” at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, 4 August.
- 2008 “Explaining the Rise and Fall of Terrorism: The Case of the Irish Republican Army.” Presented (with Jeff Goodwin) at “Organized Violence: Comparative Perspectives on War and Terrorism” at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, 3 August.
- 2008 “Missing the Structural Solutions to Free-Market Racial Stratification.” Presented at “Dynamics of Racial/Ethnic Subordination in Late Capitalism” at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, 1 August.
- 2008 “Democratic Unionism in the Building Trades.” Presented at the Real Utopias Conference held at the University of Madison-Wisconsin, 10 May.
- 2008 “Explaining the Rise and Fall of Terrorism: The Case of the Irish Republican Army.” Presented (with Jeff Goodwin) at the Contentious Politics Workshop at Columbia University, 21 April.
- 2008 “Explaining the Rise and Fall of Terrorism: The Case of the Irish Republican Army.” Presented (with Jeff Goodwin) at the Power, Politics, and Protest Seminar at New York University, 14 March.
- 2008 “Rank-and-File Rebellion in New York City’s Painters’ Union: The Importance of Work for Discipline” Presented at The 17th Annual Graduate Student Conference at New York University, 7 March.
- 2007 “Neoliberal Development and Regional Integration in the Americas: Argentina, Brazil, Venezuela and the Mercosur Project.” at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, August.
- 2007 “The Persistence of Oligarchy: A Case Study of the New York City Painter’s Rebellion, 1947-

1973.” Presented at the Power, Politics, and Protest Workshop at New York University, 6 April.

2005 “The Hegemony/Coercion Balance: Strategies of Suppression and the Emergence Labor Resistance in the Global Auto Industry” presented at the 29th Annual Alpha Kappa Delta International Academic Sociology Honor Society Conference UCLA, February.

TEACHING

Courses Taught:

Political Sociology
Capitalism & Society
Sociological Theory
Principles of Sociology
The Sociology of American Policy-Making
An Introduction to Social Theory
An Introduction to Sociology
Contemporary Social Theory
Classical Social Theory

PROFESSIONAL SOCIETIES

Society for the Advancement of Socio-Economics, 2011 - present

Social Science History Association, 2011 - present

United Association for Labor Education, 2008-present

American Sociological Association, September 2005-present

Alpha Kappa Delta, Rho Chapter UCLA, 2004-present

Golden Key International Honor Society, 2004-present

Mu Omicron Delta, honorary society, 2003-present

PROFESSIONAL DUTIES

Chair-Elect ASA Marxist Section 2020

Editorial Board: Critical Sociology 2020-present

ASA Marxist Section Council 2018-2019

Editor-in-Chief Marxist Sociology Blog, ASA Marxist Sociology Section, 2018-present

States & Societies network representative, Social Science History Association, 2015-2018

Best Student Paper Award Committee, ASA Comparative-Historical Section, 2017

Barrington Moore, Jr., book award committee, ASA Comparative-Historical Section, 2015

Best book award committee, ASA Labor and Labor Movements Section, 2014

ASA Program Committee, Labor and Labor Movements Section 2012; 2015

NYU Faculty Recruitment Committee, graduate student representative 2010-2011

Graduate Student Association - representative (elected by the graduate students in the NYU sociology department). May 2008 – May 2009

Editor of *In Critical Solidarity*, ASA Labor and Labor Movements Section Newsletter, June 2007 – 2013.

House of Delegates, graduate student representative (elected by the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences student body). 2006 – 2009.

Assistant Editor of *Sociological Forum*, September 2005-February 2007

Organizer of the Spring 2006 Graduate Student Conference

Organizer of the Spring 2006 Sociology Graduate Student Hardship Fund

REVIEWER FOR

American Journal of Sociology, Critical Sociology, Journal of World-Systems Research, Labor and Society, Labor Studies Journal, Oxford University Press, Social Currents, Social Forces, Sociological Forum, Socio-Economic Review, Studies in American Political Development, The Sociological Quarterly, W. W. Norton & Co.

REFERENCES

Available upon request.