

Charlie Eaton

University of California, Merced
Sociology
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Research Interests

Economic sociology, political sociology, organizations, elites, inequality, education, health, public policy.

Education

PhD, Sociology, University of California, Berkeley, 2016.
Dissertation Title: Financialization and the New Organizational Inequality in U.S. Higher Education
Advisors: Fligstein, N. (Co-Chair), Weir, M. (Co-Chair), Fourcade, M., Brady, H.
BA, Politics, *Summa cum laude*, New York University, 2002.

Professional Positions

Assistant Professor, Sociology, University of California, Merced (2017 - Present).
Affiliated Faculty, Center for Studies in Higher Education, University of California, Berkeley (2018 - Present).
Postdoctoral Scholar, Stanford University. (2016 - 2017).

RESEARCH

Books

16. **Eaton, C.** (forthcoming) *Bankers in the Ivory Tower: The Troubling Rise of Financiers in U.S. Higher Education*. University of Chicago Press. (covered by [CBS News](#)).

Journal Articles

15. Goldstein, A., **Eaton, C.** (forthcoming) Asymmetry by Design? Identity Obfuscation and Consumer Predation in U.S. For-Profit Higher Education. *American Sociological Review*.
14. **Eaton, C.**, Goldstein, A., **Hamilton, L. T.**, Wherry, F. (2021). Student Debt Cancellation IS Progressive: Correcting Empirical and Conceptual Errors. *Roosevelt Institute Issue Briefs*. (Covered by [CNBC](#)). [Publication Website](#)
13. **Eaton, C.** (2020) Agile Predators: Private Equity and the Spread of Shareholder Value Strategies to U.S. For-Profit Colleges. *Socio-Economic Review*, Advance publication. (Covered by [Inside Higher Ed](#)). [Publication Website](#)
12. **Eaton, C.**, Stevens, ML. (2020) Universities as peculiar organizations. *Sociology Compass*. 14(3), 1-13. [Publication Website](#)
11. **Eaton, C.**, Howell, S., Yannelis, C. [equal authored] (2019) When Investor Incentives and Consumer Interests Diverge: Private Equity in Higher Education. *Review of Financial Studies*. Advance publication, (covered by [The Wall Street Journal](#), [Bloomberg](#), [Politico](#), [Institutional Investor](#), [Market Watch](#), and [The Nation](#)). [Publication Website](#)
10. **Eaton, C.**, Kulkarni, S., Birgeneau, R., Brady, H., Hout, M. (2019) The Organizational Ecology of College Affordability: Student Debt and Need-Based State Grant Aid for Public University Students. *Socius*, 5, 1-19. (covered by the [Washington Post](#)). [Publication Website](#)
09. **Eaton, C.** (2017). Still Public: State Universities and America's New Student Debt Coalitions. *PS: Political Science and Politics*, 50(2). [Publication Website](#)
08. **Eaton, C.** (2017). The Ivory Tower Tax Haven: State and Financialization in the Rise of College Endowment Inequality, 1976-2012. *Just Public Finance*. The Haas Institute for

Equity and Inclusion, UC Berkeley. (covered in [The New York Times](#) and [Newsweek](#)).
[Publication Website](#)

07. **Eaton, C.**, Habinek, J., Goldstein, A., Dioun, C., Osley-Thomas, R., García Santibáñez Godoy, D. (2016). The Financialization of U.S. Higher Education. *Socio-Economic Review*, 14(3), 507-535. (covered in [TIME](#)). [Publication Website](#)
06. **Eaton, C.**, Weir, M. (2015). The Power of Coalitions: Advancing the Public in California's Public-Private Welfare State. *Politics & Society*, 43(1), 3-32. [Publication Website](#)
05. **Eaton, C.**, Habinek, J., Kumar, M., Roehrkasse, A., Stover, T. L., Thompson, J. (2013). Swapping Our Future: How Students and Taxpayers Are Funding Risky UC Borrowing and Wall Street Profits. *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*, 57, 177-199. (covered in [The San Francisco Chronicle](#)). [Publication Website](#)
04. **Eaton, C.** (2002). Student Unionism and Sustaining Student Power. *Social Text*, 20(1). [Publication Website](#)

Book Chapters

03. **Eaton, C.** (2018). Debt Free College and Student Out-of-Pocket Costs: The Case of California. In *Designing Financial Aid for California's Future*. Washington: The Institute for College Access & Success. [Publication Website](#)

Books Reviewed

02. **Eaton, C.** (2017). [Review of the book Best, J., Best, E. *The Student Loan Mess: How Good Intentions Created a Trillion-Dollar Problem*. Oakland, CA: University of California Press. 2014]. *Contemporary Sociology*, 46, 659-661. [Publication Website](#)

Software Packages

01. **Eaton, C.** Colond, J., Gonzalez, R., Rajabally, W. (2021). DUBOIS: Stata module to provide Du Bois graphic scheme. *Statistical Software Components*. [Publication Website](#)

Working Papers and Manuscripts in Preparation

Hamilton, L., Eaton, C., Cheng, S. White Flight in Higher Education? Racial Status Hierarchies and the Establishment of Hispanic-Serving Institutions.

Eaton, C., Gibadullina, A. The Social Circuitry of High Finance: Universities and Intimate Ties Among Economic Elites.

Eaton, C. Planning Poverty: Plantation Agricultural and Urban Growth Machines in Two California Metro Areas, 1970 to 2010.

Eaton, C. From Fields to Ghettos: Residential Segregation and the Persistence of Poverty in the Urbanization of U.S. Plantation Regions, 1977-2010.

Media Contributions

Eaton, C. (2020). How to use university endowments for coronavirus recovery. *The Hechinger Report*. [Publication Website](#)

Eaton, C. (2019). Wall Street should not own California's largest utility. *The Sacramento Bee*. [Publication Website](#)

Eaton, C. (2019). How Wall Street Buys Ivy League Access. *Inside Higher Ed*. [Publication Website](#)

Eaton, C. (2017). How Elite Colleges Hide Their Cash. *The New York Times*. [Publication Website](#)

Eaton, C. (2017). How Colleges Lost Billions to Hedge Funds in 2016. *The Chronicle of Higher Education*. [Publication Website](#)

Eaton, C., Weir, M. (2014). How Powerful Consumer Advocates Help Obamacare Succeed in California. *Scholars Strategy Network Basic Facts*. [Publication Website](#)

Eaton, C. (2013). Napolitano Needs to Make Equal Access a Priority at UC Schools. *The Sacramento Bee*. [Publication Website](#)

Eaton, C., Habinek, J. (2013). Why America's Public Universities - Not Just Their Students - Have a Debt Problem. *Scholars Strategy Network Basic Facts*. [Publication Website](#)

Eaton, C. (2013). Napolitano's test – UC's shaky finances. *The San Francisco Chronicle*. [Publication Website](#)

Presentations Given

Eaton, C., "Bankers in the Ivory Tower." The Centre for Global Higher Education (CGHE) Seminar, University of Oxford. (Invited for May 2021, postponed to January 2022).

Eaton, C., Ethics & the Academy Guest Lecture. "Bankers in the Ivory Tower." Stanford University. (September 2020).

Goldstein, A. (Author), Eaton, C. (Presenter & Author), American Sociology Association 2020 Annual Meeting, "Asymmetry by Design? Identity Obfuscation and Consumer Predation in U.S. For-Profit Higher Education," Online. (August 2020).

Eaton, C., Annual Weissbourd Conference, "Bankers in the Ivory Tower," University of Chicago Society of Fellows, Panel: Education: Knowledge that Empowers?, University of Chicago. Closing panel. (April 2020).

Eaton, C., Consumer Protection in the Age of the Student Debt Crisis, University of California, Irvine School of Law, Panel: The Perils and Benefits of Treating Higher Education as a Consumer Good, University of California, Irvine. Declined. (February 2020).

Eaton, C., Digging Out With Dignity: Solving the Student Loan Crisis and Honoring Meaning at the Margins, "Bankers in the Ivory Tower: The Rise of Finance in U.S. Higher Education and Society," Dignity and Debt, Princeton University. Opening panel. (October 2019).

Goldstein, A. (Author), Eaton, C. (Presenter & Author), Organizations Working Group Colloquium, "Asymmetry by Design? Identity Obfuscation and Consumer Predation in U.S. For-Profit Higher Education," UCLA Department of Sociology, UCLA. (October 2019).

Goldstein, A. (Author), Eaton, C. (Presenter & Author), Center on Culture, Organizations, and Politics Seminar, University of California, Berkeley Department of Sociology. (September 2019).

Goldstein, A. (Author), Eaton, C. (Presenter & Author), Society for the Advancement of Socio Economics 2019 Annual Meeting, "Asymmetry by Design? Identity Obfuscation and Consumer Predation in U.S. For-Profit Higher Education," Society for the Advancement of Socio Economics. (June 2019).

Eaton, C. (Presenter & Author), Gibadullina, A. (Author), Society for the Advancement of Socio Economics 2019 Annual Meeting, "The Social Circuitry of High Finance: Universities and Intimate Ties Among Economic Elites," Society for the Advancement of Socio Economics, New York. (June 2019).

Eaton, C., UC San Diego Yankelovich Center for Social Science Research, "Bankers in the Ivory Tower: The Rise of Finance in U.S. Higher Education and Society," UC San Diego. (April 2019).

Eaton, C., University of Iowa Higher Education and Student Affairs Program, "Bankers in the Ivory Tower: The Rise of Finance in U.S. Higher Education and Society," University of Iowa. (October 2018).

Eaton, C., The Institute for College Access and Success, "Debt Free College and Student Out-of-Pocket Costs: The Case of California," The Institute for College Access and Success, Sacramento. (October 2018).

Eaton, C., American Sociological Association 2018 Annual Meeting, "When Investor Incentives and Consumer Interests Diverge: Private Equity in Higher Education," Philadelphia. (August 2018).

Eaton, C., American Sociological Association 2018 Annual Meeting, "How College Endowments Became Hedge Funds," Philadelphia. (August 2018).

Eaton, C. (Author), Howell, S. (Presenter & Author), Yannelis, C. (Author), National Bureau of Economic Research Summer Institute, "When Investor Incentives and Consumer Interests Diverge: Private Equity in Higher Education," National Bureau of Economic Research, Cambridge, MA. (July 2018).

- Eaton, C., Student Experience in the Research University Research Symposium, "The Missing Link: Unlocking organizational data to promote student success at public research universities," University of Minnesota, University of Minnesota. (June 2018).
- Eaton, C., Canedo Sanchez, R. E., Center for Studies in Higher Education Gardner Seminar, "Student Debt and Student Basic Needs," UC Berkeley, UC Berkeley. (April 2018).
- Eaton, C., Center for Studies in Higher Education Colloquium Series, "How College Endowments Became Hedge Funds," UC Berkeley, UC Berkeley. (March 2018).
- Eaton, C., Howell, S., Yannelis, C., NBER Working Group on Entrepreneurship, "When Investor Incentives and Consumer Interests Diverge: Private Equity in Higher Education," National Bureau of Economic Research, National Bureau of Economic Research. (December 2017).
- Eaton, C., Howell, S., Yannelis, C., Higher Education Financing and Costs and Returns of Higher Education, "When Investor Incentives and Consumer Interests Diverge: Private Equity in Higher Education," Federal Reserve Bank of New York, Federal Reserve Bank of New York. (December 2017).
- Eaton, C., Utah Law Review Symposium: Financing the Future: The Law and Politics of Student Debt in American Higher Education, "Debt by Design: How 1970s Distributional Conflicts Led to a New Resource Dependency on Student Loans," University of Utah, Salt Lake City. (October 2017).
- Eaton, C., American Sociological Association 2017 Annual Meeting, "Debt by Design: How 1970s Distributional Conflicts Led to a New Resource Dependency on Student Loans." Montreal. (August 2017).
- Eaton, C., American Sociological Association Annual Conference, "Agile Predators: Shareholder Value and the Transformation of U.S. For-Profit Colleges.," Seattle, WA. (2016).
- Eaton, C., Winter Meeting of the Labor and Employment Relations Association, "Fresh Cracks in the Divided Welfare State: The New Politics of U.S. Student Loans.," San Francisco, CA. (2016).
- Eaton, C., American Political Science Association Annual Conference, "Still Public: State Universities and America's New Student Debt Coalitions.," Philadelphia, PA. (September 2016).
- Eaton, C., California State Assembly Education Budget Subcommittee 2, "Invited Testimony on Financial and California Resident Enrollment Trends at the University of California.," Sacramento, CA. (April 2015).
- Eaton, C., American Sociological Association Annual Conference, "The Financialization of U.S. Higher Education. (with Jacob Habinek, Adam Goldstein, Cyrus Dioun, Robert Osley-Thomas, and Daniela García Santibáñez Godoy)," San Francisco, CA. (2014).
- Eaton, C., Brady, H. E., Stiles, J., The Lincoln Project of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, "Expenditure and Funding Changes at Research Universities: 1987-2012.," American Academy of Arts and Sciences. (October 2014).
- Eaton, C., Panel on the Affordable Care Act and California., "The Power of Coalitions," The Scholars Strategy Network (SSN) and The Labor Center of UC Berkeley, University of California, Berkeley. (March 2014).
- Eaton, C., American Sociological Association Annual Conference, "Bankers in the Ivory Tower: The Financialization of Governance at the University of California. (with Adam Goldstein, Jacob Habinek, Mukul Kumar, Tamera Lee Stover, and Alex Roehrkasse)," New York, NY. (2013).
- Eaton, C., Public Banking 2013: Funding the New Economy, "The Costs of Municipal Bond and Interest Rate Swap Borrowing by the University of California.," Public Banking Institute, Dominican University, San Rafael, CA. (June 2013).
- Eaton, C., Sociology 110: Organizations and Institutions, "Swapping Our Future: Financialization and the University of California as an Organization.," University of California, Berkeley. (April 2013).
- Eaton, C., "Student Debt and Affordable Higher Education: A Spectrum of Ideas and Action.," Center for American Progress Convening on Student Debt and Affordable Higher Education, Musgrove, GA. (February 2013).
- Eaton, C., American Sociological Association Annual Conference, "Planning Poverty: Plantation Agricultural and Urban Growth Machines in Two California Metro Areas, 1970 to 2010.," Denver, CO. (2012).
- Eaton, C., "Break the Rules to Make the Rules: Occupy Wall Street and The Idea of Going On Offense Against Inequality.," Center for Research on Labor and Education Symposium on Economic Inequality: Causes, Consequences, and Solutions, University of California, Berkeley, CA. (April 2012).
- Eaton, C., American Political Science Association Annual Conference, "Contested Capacity: Advocacy Groups in the Public-Private Welfare State, (with Margaret Weir)," Seattle, WA. (2011).
- Eaton, C., American Sociological Association Annual Conference, "From Fields to Ghettos: Plantation Agriculture and the Institutional Roots of Metropolitan Poverty in the U.S., Data from the Year 2000.," Las Vegas, NV. (2011).

Eaton, C., Institute for Research on Labor and Education and Department of Sociology Conference on Strategic Decision Making in Labor and Social Movements, "Invisible No More: Political Class Conflict and Cultures of Solidarity,," University of California, Los Angeles. (2011).

Eaton, C., Southwest Labor Studies Association Annual Conference, "Agriculture, Immigrant Workers, and Homecare Unions.,," Santa Cruz, CA. (2010).

Contracts, Grants and Sponsored Research

Fellowships

Eaton, Charlie, "David P. Gardner Fellowship," Center for Studies in Higher Education, University of California, Berkeley, \$3,000. (2015).

Eaton, Charlie, "Dean's Normative Time Fellowship," University of California, Berkeley, \$16,000. (2014).

Eaton, Charlie, "Scholars Strategy Network Graduate Fellow Honorarium," \$500. (2014).

Eaton, Charlie, "Jacob K. Javits Fellowship," U.S. Department of Education (DOED), \$138,000. (2010 - 2014).

Eaton, Charlie, "Graduate Fellowship," University of California, Berkeley, Department of Sociology, \$14,000 (2009).

Grants

Eaton, Charlie (Principal Investigator), Hamilton, Laura Theresa (Principal Investigator), Laura and John Arnold Foundation, \$671,203. Status: **Funded**. (January 2021 - June 2023).

Alvarez, Camila (Principal Investigator), Eaton, Charlie (Principal Investigator), "Zero-Cost Course Materials for Teaching Du Bois in Methods Courses," UC Merced Library and Center for Engaged Teaching and Learning, \$1,500. Status: **Funded**. (2021).

Flores, Edward (Principal Investigator), Eaton, Charlie (Co-Principal Investigator), Almeida, Paul (Co-Principal Investigator), Padilla, Ana (Co-Principal Investigator), "Civic Capacity Research Initiative," The James Irvine Foundation, \$600,000. Status: **Funded**. (November 2019 - November 2021).

Eaton, Charlie (Principal Investigator), Padilla, Ana (Principal Investigator), Almeida, Paul D., Flores, Edward, "Civic Capacity Research Initiative," The California Endowment, \$439,595. Status: **Funded**. (November 2018 - November 2021).

Eaton, Charlie (Principal Investigator), Adam, Goldstein (Co-Principal Investigator), Hamilton, Laura Theresa (Co-Principal Investigator), Frederick, Wherry (Co-Principal Investigator), "Student debt as a system of social stratification: College Ownership, Private Refinancing, and Race and Class Disparities in the Resolution of Student Debts," UC Irvine Student Loan Law Initiative Research Grant, \$14,896. Status: **Funded**. (June 2020 - June 2021).

Flores, Edward (Principal Investigator), Eaton, Charlie (Co-Principal Investigator), Almeida, Paul D. (Co-Principal Investigator), "Region 4 California Census Office Grant," PICO California, \$86,875.00. Status: **Funded**. (March 2019 - December 2020).

Almeida, Paul D. (Principal Investigator), Eaton, Charlie (Co-Principal Investigator), Flores, Edward (Co-Principal Investigator), "The Fresno Integrated Voter Engagement Table," Sierra Health Foundation, \$50,000.00. Status: **Funded**. (January 2020 - September 2020).

Eaton, Charlie (Principal Investigator), "Asymmetry by Design? Identity Obfuscation and Consumer Predation in For-Profit Higher Education," Academic Senate Committee on Research, University of California, Merced, \$4,700.00. Status: **Funded**. (April 2019 - April 2020).

Eaton, Charlie, "Just Public Finance Research Grant," Haas Institute for Equity and Inclusion, University of California, Berkeley, \$5,000. Status: **Funded**. (2015).

Eaton, Charlie, "Travel Grants," Department of Sociology, University of California, Berkeley, \$1,500.00. Status: **Funded**. (2011 - 2014).

Eaton, Charlie (Principal Investigator), "The Financialization of U.S. Higher Education," American Federation of Teachers, \$25,000. Status: **Funded**. (February 2014).

Awards and Honors

Nominated by students for Remote Instruction Excellence Award, University of California, Merced. (2020).

Visualizing Student Debt Prize with Colond, J., Gonzalez, R., and Rajabally, W., Dignity + Debt Network, Princeton University. (2020).

2018 Best Paper Prize with Howell S. and Yannelis C., Private Equity Research Consortium. (2018).

Anonymously named by one or more graduating senior for having made a memorable difference in their life as a student, University of California, Merced. (2018).

Alumni Prize for Public Sociology with Habinek, J., Kumar, M., Roehrkas, A., and Stover, T. L. University of California, Berkeley, Department of Sociology. (2013).

TEACHING

Teaching Experience

University of California, Merced

SOC 211, Graduate Statistics 2. (Spring 2020)

SOC 290, Sociology of Social Policy. (Spring 2019)

SOC 115, Political Sociology. (Spring 2019)

SCS 299 / SOC 297 / SCS 295, Directed Independent Study. (Fall 2018, 2019, Spring 2019, 2020)

SOC 192, Internship in Sociology. (Spring 2018)

SOC 10, Statistics for Sociology. (Fall 2017, 2018, 2019)

SOC 116, Inequality & Public Policy. (Fall 2017, 2018)

University of California, Berkeley

SOC 190, Inequality & Public Policy. (Fall 2016)

Doctoral Committees

April 2018 - Present, Hyunsu Oh, Chair

May 2018 – Present, Houa Vang, Member

November 2017 – August 2020, Maria Mora, Member

Master's Thesis Committees

September 2020 - Present, Amanda Conley, Jovana Ramos, Waleed Rajabally, Carmen Salazar, Member

August 2019 - Present, Jay Colond, Chair

November 2017 – May 2018, Houa Vang, Member

Qualifying Exam Committees

August 2019 - December 2019, Heather Daniels, Melissa Quesada, Amy Vasconcellos, Sociology of Education, Member

January 2019 - April 2019, Hala Alnagar, Hyunsu Oh, Houa Vang, Sociology of Education, Member

SERVICE

Department Service

Graduate Computing Lab Coordinator. (2020 – Present).

Member, Assistant Teaching Professor Search Committee. (2019 - 2020).

Chair, Colloquium Committee. (2019 - 2020).

Member, Colloquium Committee. (2017 - 2019).

Member, Undergraduate Committee. (2017 - Present).

School/College Service

Member, Ad-hoc Committee on Degree Completion. (2021).

Member, Admissions and Financial Aid Subcommittee. (2020 - Present).

Member, UC Merced Committee on Research Computing. (2020 – Present).

UC Merced Civic Capacity Research Initiative Executive Committee. (2018 – Present).

Member, School of Social Sciences, Humanities and Arts Curriculum Committee. (2017 - Present).

Professional Service

Occasional Reviewer for National Science Foundation; Palgrave Macmillan; American Journal of Sociology; American Sociological Review; Socio-Economic Review; Social Forces; Social Problems; Sociology of Education; Sociological Forum; Social Currents; Journal of Latin American Studies; PS: Political Science and Politics; International Journal of Higher Education Research. (2015 - Present).

Dignity & Debt, Global Research Associate (2019 – Present)

Society for the Advancement of Socio-Economics (SASE) Finance after the Financial Crisis, Mini-conference Co-Organizer. (2019).

Scholars Strategy Network, Member. (2013 - Present).

UC Berkeley Culture, Organizations, and Politics Working Group, Member. (2009 - 2016).

UC Berkeley Labor Transformation Working Group, Member. (2009 - 2016).

Scholars Strategy Network, UC Berkeley, Coordinator. (2009 - 2010).