

Brian Callaci
Curriculum Vitae

Economist, Author
Peekskill, NY

July 2026
bcallaci@thesoc.org

Education **University of Massachusetts Amherst**

2019. Ph.D., Economics

2016. M.A., Economics

Franklin & Marshall College

2005. B.A., Economics

Publications **Book**

April 2026. *Chains of Command: The Rise & Cruel Reign of the Franchise Economy*.
University of Chicago Press.

Academic Papers

Forthcoming. “The Effect of No-poaching Restrictions on Worker Earnings in Franchised Industries.” With Matthew Gibson, Sergio Pinto, Marshall Steinbaum, and Matthew Walsh. *Review of Economics & Statistics*.

Forthcoming. “A Roadmap to Sectoral Bargaining through Parker Immunity.” With Daniel Hanley. *Journal of Law & Political Economy*.

2025. “The Robinson-Patman Act as a Fair Competition Measure.” With Daniel Hanley and Sandeep Vaheesan. *Temple Law Review*, 97(2):185-226.

2024. “Vertical Restraints and Labor Markets in Franchised Industries.” With Sergio Pinto, Marshall Steinbaum, and Matthew Walsh. *Research in Labor Economics*, 52(B):355-401.

2023. “How Antitrust Can Help Tame Capital and Empower Labor.” *New Labor Forum*, 32(3):50-58.

2023. “Labor Unions and the Problem of Monopoly: Collective Bargaining and Market Governance 1890-Present.” *Politics & Society*, 51(3):387-408.

2023. “Antitrust Remedies for Fissured Work.” With Sandeep Vaheesan. *Cornell Law Review*, 108:27-60.

2021. “What Do Franchisees Do? Vertical Restraints as Workplace Fissuring and Labor Discipline Device.” *Journal of Law & Political Economy*, 1(3):397-444.

2021. “Control Without Responsibility: The Legal Creation of Franchising 1960-1980.” *Enterprise & Society*, 22(1): 156-182.

2019. “The Economics of Just Transition: A Framework for Supporting Fossil Fuel-Dependent Workers and Communities in the United States.” With Robert Pollin. *Labor Studies Journal*, 44(2):93-138.

Expert Testimony

2026. “Delivery Protection Act.” Testimony to the New York City Council Committee on Consumer and Worker Protection, April 9.

2025. “Good Cause Eviction.” Presentation to the Tarrytown, NY Board of Trustees, May 5.

2025. “Non-Compete Clauses.” Testimony to the Vermont House Committee on General and Housing, April 9.

2025. “Algorithmic Price-Fixing in Rental Housing Markets.” Testimony to the Portland (OR) City Council, April 2.

2025. “HF 1768: Covenants Not to Compete.” Testimony to the Workforce, Labor, and Economic Development Finance and Policy Committee of the Minnesota House, March 11.

2023. “Fast Food Restaurant Franchisors and Franchisees: Joint Liability.” Testimony to the Judiciary Committee of the California Assembly, April 25.

2022. “Monopsony and Healthcare Markets.” Testimony to Intergovernmental Hearing on the Pittsburgh Healthcare Workforce, September 26.

2021. “21st Century Antitrust Reforms and the American Worker.” Testimony to the U.S. House Antitrust Subcommittee, September 28.

2020. “The Impact of Consolidation, Outsourcing, and Financialization on Employment and Wages in the Airline Industry.” Testimony to the U.S. House Aviation Subcommittee, January 15.

Popular Writing

2026. “Rethinking State Capacity.” With Sandeep Vaheesan. *Democracy Journal*, Winter 2026.

2025. “Rent Controls Work, but They Aren’t a Silver Bullet.” *Jacobin*, July 9.

2025. “To Get Abundance, We Need to Discipline Capital.” *Jacobin*, June 17.
2025. “Big Fast-Food Squeezes Workers and Franchisees Alike.” *Capitol Weekly*, March 28.
2025. “Supply and the Housing Crisis: A Debate.” With Sandeep Vaheesan. *Dissent*, Winter 2025.
2024. “Rent Control is Inflation Control, and Atlanta is Ground Zero.” With Sandeep Vaheesan. *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, December 4.
2024. “The Market Alone Can’t Fix the U.S. Housing Crisis.” With Sandeep Vaheesan. *Harvard Business Review*, September 12.
2024. “Joseph Stiglitz and the Limits of Liberal Freedom.” *Jacobin*, July 3.
2024. “Antitrust Lessons from Labor.” *Competition Policy International*, June 24.
2024. “Lessons from Starbucks Workers United and the Fight for \$15.” *Dissent*, April 29.
2024. “The Limits of Anti-Monopsony Antitrust.” *Law & Political Economy Project*, January 22.
2023. “The Antitrust Lessons of the OpenAI Saga.” *The Nation*, December 12.
2023. “Noncompete Clauses Hurt Workers and the Economy.” *Albany Times-Union*, November 6.
2023. “Biden Says Goodbye to Tweezer Economics.” *The Atlantic*, October 26.
2023. “Workers Are an Untapped Resource for Antitrust Enforcers .” With Sandeep Vaheesan. *The Sling*, October 24.
2023. “How Antitrust Law Can Help Rebuild Labor.” *Marxist Sociology*, September 22.
2023. No, Sky-High Drug Prices Aren’t Funding Crucial New Medical Research. *Jacobin*, September 18.
2023. Biden Trustbusters Display Timidity in Proposed Merger Crackdown. With Sandeep Vaheesan. *Bloomberg Law*, September 14.
2023. “Biden’s Best Path to a Pro-Worker Economy Runs Through the Federal Trade Commission.” With Sandeep Vaheesan. *The New Republic*, August 30.
2023. “When Socialists Put an End to Pasta Inflation.” *Jacobin*, June 11.
2023. “Albert Hirschman’s Case Against Non-Competes.” *ProMarket*, June 7.
2023. “Curbing Merger Mania.” *Project Syndicate*, March 1.

2023. “Baseball Players Defeated Noncompetes to Build Union.” *Labor Notes*, February 20.
2023. “A Recipe for Worker Power.” *Niskanen Center*, January 18.
2022. “Can the Consumer Welfare Standard Accommodate Labor Harms?” *The Sling*, November 10.
2022. “Reining in UPMC’s Monopsony Power Key to Addressing Workforce Crisis in Pittsburgh Hospitals.” *Pittsburgh Tribune-Review*, November 9.
2022. “Big Tech Global Monopolies are Hurting Everyone.” *Buffalo News*, November 6.
2022. “Uber Drivers and McDonald’s Franchise Owners Have a Common Enemy.” *Slate*, September 13.
2022. “Inflation is No Excuse for Squeezing Workers.” With Sandeep Vaheesan. *Dissent*, July 28.
2022. “Antitrust and Labor Movements Return to Their Shared Roots.” *Democracy*, April 18.
2022. “Amazon Warehouses Are Relentless, Dangerous Workplaces—but It’s Hard to Punish Them for It, Thanks to Bill Clinton.” *The New Republic*, March 25.
2022. “How an Old U.S. Antitrust Law Could Foster a Fairer Retail Sector.” With Sandeep Vaheesan. *Harvard Business Review*, February 9.
2021. “Are Low Wages a Market Failure?” *Boston Review*, November 23.
2021. “What Do Franchisees Do? Vertical Restraints as Workplace Fissuring and Labor Discipline Devices.” *LPE Blog*, November 18.
2021. “Entrepreneurship, Amazon Style.” *The American Prospect*, September 27.
2021. “It’s Time for Labor to Embrace Antimonopoly.” *The Forge: Organizing Strategy and Practice*, April 13.
2021. “Gig Work as Disguised Unemployment.” *Data Points*, January 19.
2020. “Uber and Lyft Are Thinking About a Franchise Model. That Won’t Fix The Gig Economy’s Problems.” *Slate*, August 24.
2020. “Why Are Good Job Disappearing if Robots Aren’t Taking Them?” With Sareeta Amrute and Alex Rosenblat. *Data Points*, June 16.
2020. “Digital Scab, Digital Snitch.” *Phenomenal World*, May 28.

2020. “Frontline Workers Deserve More than Hazard Pay.” *The American Prospect*. April 26.

2018. “Franchising Hurts Franchisees and Workers, with the Problem Rooted in Antitrust Law.” Washington Center for Equitable Growth, December 18.

2016. “A Just Transition for US Fossil Fuel Workers.” With Robert Pollin. *The American Prospect*, 27(3): 88-93.

2014. “Maximizing Shareholder Value is (Literally) Killing Us.” *Center for Popular Economics*, November 10.

2014. “Should Young Workers Pass on Pensions and Fight for Social Security?” *Center for Popular Economics*, February 24.

Reports

2025. “Debunking the Abundance Agenda.” With Vasudha Desikan, Hannah Story Brown, Kenny Stancil, and Henry Burke. Open Markets Institute, Revolving Door Project, August 8.

2021. “Puppet Entrepreneurship: Technology and Control in Franchised Industries.” Data & Society Research Institute, January 27.

2019. “A Brief History of Worker Displacement.” With Mark Paul. Data for Progress. December 19.

2019. “Fissuring in Flight: Consolidation and Outsourcing in the US Domestic Airline Industry, 1997-2018.” Communications Workers of America, AFL-CIO.

Conferences and Presentations

Invited Presentations

2026. “Inter-Firm Hierarchy and Worker Outcomes: Perspectives from Economics and Sociology.” Sciences Po, Paris, France, June 29.

2026. “Anti-Trust, Regulation, and the Democratization of the Economy.” Neubauer Collegium, University of Chicago, Chicago, IL, April 18.

2024. “Worker and Employer Power in the American Political Economy.” MIT-BC Workshop, Boston, MA, September 13.

2024. “Antitrust for Unions.” With David Seligman. UCLA Strategic Labor Research Conference, UCLA Labor Center, August 3.

2024. “Building Worker Power as Anti-Monopoly: The Next Phase of the Modern Antitrust Agenda.” New York University Wagner Labor Initiative, New York, NY May 10.

2023. “The FTC Suit Against Amazon.” Make Amazon Pay Summit, UNI Global Union, Manchester, UK, October 27.

2023. “Labor and Antitrust.” With Sandeep Vaheesan. Harvard Law School Antitrust Association, Cambridge, MA, October 17.

2023. “Antitrust Policy and Workers.” Schwartz Center for Economics Policy Analysis, New School for Social Research, New York, NY, March 23.

2022. “Labor and Big Tech in 2022 and Beyond.” The New Roaring Twenties: The Progressive Agenda for Antitrust and Consumer Protection Law. University of Utah, Salt Lake City, UT, October 21.

2022. “Antitrust for Workers.” International Brotherhood of Teamsters Legislative Conference, Washington, DC, September 13.

2022. “Labor under Monopoly Capital: How Corporations Stacked the Deck Against Workers.” Manhattan College Labor Studies Colloquium, Bronx, NY. April 6.

2021. “Law, Labor, and Coordination.” Disorganized Labor Conference. William Rhodes Center for International Economics and Finance, Brown University. Providence, RI, April 23.

2020. “‘It’s Traumatic to Consider Myself an Employee:’ Franchisee Associations and Small Business Organizing in the US.” Sarah Lawrence College, Bronxville, NY, March 9.

2019. “What Do Franchisees Do?” A New Future for Antitrust conference, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, UT, October 24.

2017. “A Just Transition for Fossil Fuel Workers: Prospects After Trump.” Connecticut College, New London, CT, September 13.

Book talks

2026. Duke Law School, Durham, North Carolina. March 16.

2026. John Jay College Department of Economics, New York, NY. April 15.

Conference Panels Organized

2023. Allied Social Science Association (ASSA) annual conference, New Orleans, LA. January 5.

2019. Labor and Employment Relations Association (LERA) annual conference, Cleveland, OH, June 15.

2019. Association for the Promotion of Political Economy and the Law annual conference, Baltimore, MD, June 3.

2019. Eastern Economic Association annual conference, New York, NY, March 2.

Conference Panels Chaired

2026. Association of Law and Political Economy, inaugural conference, Richmond, VA. February 7.

Conference Presentations

2026. Business History annual conference, London, UK, March 28.
2020. Business History annual conference, Charlotte, NC, March 13.
2019. Labor and Employment Relations Association (LERA) annual conference, Cleveland, OH, June 15.
2019. Association for the Promotion of Political Economy and the Law annual conference, Baltimore, MD, June 3.
2019. Eastern Economic Association annual conference, New York, NY, March 2.
2018. Union for Radical Political Economics fiftieth anniversary conference, Amherst, MA, September 29.
2018. Labor Research and Action Network annual conference, Nashville, TN, May 31.
2017. Eastern Economic Association annual conference, New York, NY, February 25.

Discussant

2024. Business History annual conference, Providence, RI, March 13.

**Academic
Positions****Research Positions**

2019-2021. Postdoctoral Scholar, Data & Society Research Institute, New York, NY
2015-2017. Research Assistant, Political Economy Research Institute, University of Massachusetts Amherst.

Teaching Positions

2026. Visiting Adjunct Assistant Professor, ECON 760 Industrial Organization
2024. Visiting Adjunct Assistant Professor, ECON 760 Industrial Organization
2019. Online Instructor, ECON 101 Introduction to Microeconomics
2018. Online Instructor, ECON 305 Marxian Economics
2015. Teaching Assistant, ECON 101 Introduction to Microeconomics
2014. Teaching Assistant, ECON 101 Introduction to Microeconomics
2014. Teaching Assistant, ECON 330 Labor and the American Economy
2013. Teaching Assistant, ECON 101 Introduction to Microeconomics

Other Academic Experience

2005-2006. Service Learning Coordinator, Franklin & Marshall College

**Professional
Positions**

2026-Present. Campaigns Director, Strategic Organizing Center, New York, NY
2021-2026. Chief Economist, Open Markets Institute, Washington, DC
2018-2019. Consultant, Communications Workers of America
2013-2015. Consultant, Change to Win Strategic Organizing Center
2011-2013. Senior Research Analyst, Change to Win Strategic Organizing Center
2009-2011. Senior Research Analyst, Workers United/SEIU
2006-2009. Research Analyst, UNITE HERE

Awards, Grants and Fellowships	2022. Anti-Monopoly Fund Research Grant, \$30,000 2018. Dissertation Fellowship, Political Economy Research Institute, \$8,000 2018. John Kenneth Galbraith Prize for dissertation research, Department of Economics, University of Massachusetts Amherst, \$1,500 2017. Doctoral Grant, Washington Center for Equitable Growth, \$15,000 2017. Dissertation Research Fellowship, Center for Engaged Scholarship, \$25,000 2017. Solomon Barkin Graduate Fellowship Fund Award, Department of Economics, University of Massachusetts Amherst, \$1,500 2015. Michael Weiner Scholarship for Labor Studies, Major League Baseball Players Association Players Trust, \$10,000
Service	2026. Peer reviewer, University of Chicago Press 2025. Peer reviewer, <i>Journal of Empirical Legal Studies</i> 2023. Peer reviewer, University of Chicago Press 2022. Dissertation committee member, Kevin Connor, University of Utah 2022. Peer reviewer, <i>Journal of Law & Political Economy</i> 2020. Peer reviewer, <i>Journal of Law & Political Economy</i> 2015-2016. Co-chair, Economics Graduate Student Organization, University of Massachusetts Amherst
Leadership Posts	2024-Present. Steering Committee, Lower Hudson Valley Democratic Socialists of America. 2016-2017. Joint Council, United Auto Workers Local 2322 2016-2017. Chair, Politics and Legislative Committee, United Auto Workers Local 2322 2013-2016. Shop Steward, University of Massachusetts Amherst, Graduate Employee Organization (GEO), United Auto Workers Local 2322 2011-2013. Unit Chair, Washington-Baltimore Newspaper Guild, CWA Local 32035 2009-2011. Executive Board Member, Federation of Union Representatives