

draw on neoclassical consumer theory, arguing that it is possible to make pattern predictions regarding terrorist behaviour, particularly that terrorists try ‘to reach a more satisfactory state of affairs and substituting among different combinations of activities in order to get there’ (p. 36). Chapter 6, ‘The Hidden Side of Attack Method Combinations and International Terrorism’ (pp. 66–86), also offers insight into the application of the combination of modern portfolio theory and behavioural portfolio theory to understanding the use of specific terrorist attack methods.

Whilst Chapters 1–9 slowly build a picture of how behavioural economics can aid understanding of terrorist behaviours, the unannounced shift at Chapter 10, ‘Decision-Making with More than One Reference Point’ (pp. 134–146), to focus on guiding law enforcement appears disjointed and detracts from the arguments the authors have developed throughout the book. The tone then shifts again in Chapter 11, ‘A Guide to the Terrorism Studies Conversation’ (pp. 147–164), with a focus on guidance for performing academic literature searches, before returning to law enforcement guidance in Chapters 12, ‘Information Cascade and the Prioritisation of Suspects’ (pp. 165–176), and 13, ‘Everyday Decision-Making’ (pp. 177–191). This vacillation not only breaks the flow of the book, but also appears to suggest that the book is aimed at two separate audiences: academics in Chapters 1–9 and practitioners and inexperienced researchers in Chapters 10–13.

Overall, the book offers tangible and potentially timely insight into terrorist behaviour, but without the application of a broader range of more recent terrorist cases it remains to be determined just how behavioural economics can be applied to modern terrorism.

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Career and Family: Women’s Century-Long Journey toward Equity, by Claudia Goldin (Princeton University Press, 2021), 320 pp.

In an autobiographical essay written 25 years ago, economist Claudia Goldin professed: ‘I have

always wanted to be a detective’ (Goldin, 1998). It is an insightful personal reflection that neatly captures the motivation behind her work as an economist: pure inquisitiveness for the truth. Across her many decades of research into the rise of women’s workforce participation against a backdrop of immense social, demographic, political and technological change, it is clear that Goldin has been guided by one question: What really explains *why* women’s lives have changed so much?

In her newest publication, *Career and Family: Women’s Century-Long Journey Toward Equity*, Goldin threads together careful economic analysis, archival research and perceptive commentary to tell the story of the changing experiences of women in the US economy over time. Goldin’s love for history, as a vehicle for learning and discovery, shines through as she takes the reader on a journey from the early 1900s right up to COVID-19 chaos of 2020.

Across five generational cohorts of women, the book paints a picture of the choices and constraints that women faced when navigating their relationships, family, caregiving, education, work and career pathways. Wearing her detective hat, Goldin takes the reader on a fact-finding mission. The mystery to be solved: Why did women ‘chose’ the outcomes they did?

It becomes clear that the outcomes that women arrived at were far from a simple matter of preferences. Their individual ‘choices’ – whether and when to partner and have children, whether to pursue an education, whether to pursue a family *or* a career, or was it possible to achieve both – were predominantly shaped by a wider set of factors. It was technological change, social norms, institutional structures and policy settings, and major world events such as wars and pandemics that all determined the ‘choice set’ available to women at any particular point in time.

On technological change, Goldin provides insights from her own research into the development of the contraceptive pill and how ‘the power of the pill’ led to soaring increases in women’s educational attainment and workforce participation (Goldin & Katz, 2002). Readers learn that such empowering innovations were often the result of women-led initiatives. Goldin honours the pioneering efforts of activist and nurse Margaret Sanger and suffragist and philanthropist Katharine Dexter McCormick in providing the funding and persevering against a tide of setbacks to eventually make the pill available to US

women. While early contraceptive technologies provided women greater autonomy by way of preventing pregnancy, Goldin makes the point that in more recent years it is *in vitro* fertilisation (IVF) technology that has empowered women to achieve pregnancy, particularly during their later reproductive years or when facing health challenges.

On institutional change, the removal of the marriage bar – legislation that prohibited women from employment once they got married – provides a striking example of a policy setting directly barricading women's economic freedoms (Goldin, 1988). Digging deeper, Goldin reveals how the trigger for removing the marriage bar can be traced back to economic necessity: it was only when the economy began to struggle with teacher shortages that legislators decided that policy reform was warranted. A similar story took place in Australia (Sawer, 2016).

On societal expectations, Goldin sprinkles colourful examples throughout the book of the ways that popular culture has either perpetuated traditional norms, such as through the archetypal plotlines of movies and television shows, or had a role in shifting norms through rebellious characters who broke the mould. Drawing on her own research, she presents innovative ways of measuring social change, such as the proportion of college-educated women who retained their own surname upon marriage (Goldin & Shim, 2004). Women's retention of their surname became a marker of their professional progress and a pushback against the patriarchal elements of marriage. It is a reminder that economic equity is also about women's agency, autonomy, identity and independence.

Across all these factors, ideology also prevails. The book enlightens us that even when the contraceptive pill was first invented, pharmacists would not issue prescriptions unless a woman was married.

Goldin was completing the book as the COVID-19 pandemic erupted and the impacts of lockdowns, home-schooling, childcare shutdowns and ultimately an economic recession reverberated across the United States and the global economy. The progress of many decades unravelled as women disproportionately shouldered the impacts, largely due to societal norms governing who would take the bulk of caregiving roles in the household. With this, the reader is prompted to reflect how the journey toward gender equality is not guaranteed to follow a neatly linear trajectory. Since the book's publication, the US

Supreme Court's decision to overturn the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* ruling on abortion further illustrates how the journey toward women's equity is a volatile and undulating one. A right that US women had assumed was safely conferred under their Constitution was simply undone in a wave of political and ideological change.

Despite its US focus, the book has clear applicability to many of the gender equality policy dimensions that Australia is also navigating. For example, in acknowledging the importance of the care sector, Goldin comments on the irrationality of policy settings in the United States that have arisen out of a welfare approach to childcare: these policies 'paid women not to work, rather than subsidizing [childcare] so that women could work' (p. 231). The same thing could be said for Australia's system too.

Cautioning against 'quick fixes', Goldin impresses the need to understand the root causes of gender gaps in the workforce. The starting point for many analysts and policymakers is an assumption that gender gaps in workforce outcomes are due to individual-level factors, such as women's lack of ambition, a deterioration in her skills after spending time out of the workforce having children or a matter of personal preferences. Drawing on her repertoire of research, Goldin points the spotlight instead to system-level factors. It is summed up in this punchy line, mindfully italicised, and addressed to women themselves: 'The good news? It isn't *you*, it is the system. The bad news: it isn't *you*; it is the *system*' (p. 186).

In an innovative concept put forward in the book, Goldin identifies that one of the most insidious drivers of gender inequalities in the contemporary workforce is the phenomenon of 'greedy work'. These are jobs that demand excessive work hours and on-call availability, rewarded through overtime rates, more lucrative work assignments and promotions for those who are prepared to burn the midnight oil. Such demands are evidently incompatible with family and care obligations, and therefore have the effect of marginalising any workers with care responsibilities, predominantly women.

To combat greedy work, Goldin points toward a case study of an occupation where workers have become highly substitutable with each other: pharmacy. As pharmacists can easily fill in for each other, no single individual needs to work long hours or to be on call 24/7, which has enabled women to advance alongside men. While this logic makes sense, I have to admit to

wondering how this approach would sit alongside the competing economic logic of skill scarcity. A worker's value in the labour market is a function of the relative value of their human capital – in other words, the uniqueness of their particular skill set. Making workers more readily interchangeable could drive down their bargaining power. So this might be a solution for a profession where the overall number of practitioners can be limited by such means as licencing, but otherwise would seem to necessitate other structures to preserve workers' bargaining power.

Goldin's concept of 'greedy work' aligns with the phenomenon of 'masculinity contest culture' that has been identified by sociologists as a workforce where clocking up excessive work hours and prioritising work over family are seen as markers of physical stamina and loyalty to the boss – traits associated with masculine identity (Berdahl *et al.*, 2018). It is argued that working long hours is not a production necessity but an expression of masculinised culture. Such a culture not only marginalises those with family responsibilities but also inflicts unhealthy risks of burnout, relationship strain and other mental health costs. Understanding Goldin's concept of 'greedy work' in this broader context helps us to understand how it could be combatted through broader cultural change, including by promoting psychological safety, employer duty of care and respect-at-work principles. Recognising how the commercial imperatives of capitalism also underpin a culture of overtime, individual competitiveness, and elevating financial outcomes above well-being, would also help us to make sense of 'greedy work' as a function of an economic ideology that elevates the supremacy of market forces.

While the quest for economic equity is chiefly positioned as a women's struggle, the experiences of fathers and all men are a complementary part of the picture. Evoking a household bargaining framework, Goldin highlights how a couple's allocation of domestic tasks at home will determine women's capacity to pursue opportunities in the workforce: 'When couple equity is abandoned, gender equality in the workplace tends to follow' (p. 205).

Taking a holistic approach toward the ingredients for well-being, gender imbalances in the household mean that 'fathers also pay a hefty price' (p. 169). The traditional household model prescribing that one parent focuses on caregiving while the other focuses on bread-winning can mean that both parents miss out:

Many older men relish their time as grandparents because they missed out on time with their own children as toddlers. The costs to each parent who specializes in one realm or the other – careers or family – adds up to the loss of couple equity.

(p. 169)

Indeed, there is scope to write a companion volume navigating the experiences of men, particularly non-college-educated men whose economic opportunities and constraints are also shifting under the weight of social and economic change, such as the growth of human services in place of traditionally male domains such as manufacturing. Pressure on men to fulfil traditional templates of masculinity – the behaviours that are consistent with 'greedy work' and 'masculinity contest' culture – can be linked to poorer mental health outcomes of men and 'deaths of despair' (Case & Deaton, 2020), and explain retaliation and resistance against women's progress. Our journey toward gender equity is a joint one.

For economists who are largely used to analysing the human condition *via* a sea of statistical data, charts and regressions, *Career and Family* brings a refreshingly insightful blend of analysis combined with the personal stories of real-world women, whose lives typify the experiences of these various generations. These real-world stories are a vivid way of humanising the phenomena that the book explores, and a lovely way of paying tribute to these women whose names and accomplishments are far too often ignored and forgotten about in the pages of history, overshadowed instead by the accomplishments of men.

Of interest to economic readers, one of these inspiring women is economist Margaret Gilpin Reid. As a graduate student during the early 1970s, Goldin describes how she would see Reid trudging to the University of Chicago's computer centre carefully transporting the code cards needed to undertake statistical analysis, such as the arduousness of computational tasks back then. Goldin had good reason to be awed and intrigued as Reid, as a female economist, would have been a rarity of her time. But Reid was also a trailblazer for her field of work: she pioneered how to measure and include the value of women's unpaid household work in national accounts. Reid completed her doctoral dissertation in 1934 on the economics of household production – half a century ahead of Gary Becker being awarded a Nobel Prize for his 'application of economics to non-market

behaviour including the economics of the household'. Astute Australian and New Zealand readers would also be aware that, across the other side of the Pacific, trailblazing economist Marilyn Waring was pursuing the same quest of how to value unpaid domestic work, long before the shortcomings of gross domestic product (GDP) became a talking point among mainstream economists.

The historical narrative of *Career and Family* enticingly draws in the reader, as you cannot help but think about where you and your ancestors fit in to this historical timeline. There is a little piece of all of us in this book. With its fluid, non-technical writing style, it is equally as informative to researchers as it is enlightening to non-academic audiences.

Goldin is clear about the boundaries of the book's scope. Focus is placed on college-educated women in the United States, reflective of Goldin's area of research speciality and also the cohort who have experienced the most change in economic participation over time. Focus is also mainly placed on the experiences of women in heterosexual relationships, largely driven by data availability. Where she can, Goldin makes a strong attempt to include acknowledge the experiences of women who identify beyond the binary classification of gender.

As an economist who also researches gender equality issues – and is similarly motivated by the simple quest to better understand the reasons *why* we see such stark gender disparities in our economy – I find myself often confronted by accusations that my research is subjectively motivated by an ideological agenda, accusations designed to denigrate its value and question my research integrity. I am aware that other researchers in the field of gender equality, particularly women, encounter these disparaging blights on their professionalism too. The rich wealth of research and insights that Goldin has contributed to the economics profession throughout her career – arguably worthy of Nobel recognition – affirms that this stream of work *is* important.

To other researchers who carry a similar motivation to understand the human condition, and are perhaps up against similar professional challenges, I share with you Goldin's advice on how to persist and succeed on this quest:

There has often been no agenda or program, no particular theory that must be followed, no one econometric technique to be used, and no agency or foundation to pay for a bottom line.

Yet the subconscious produces nagging questions. Mine concern the evolving human condition and the material conditions of life, the long-run issues of economic development. It doesn't seem to matter what I work on, I return to these issues. I also am dedicated to seeking the 'truth' through fact-finding detective work.

Find a topic of substance about which you feel passionately. Then be the best detective you can be. Don't just 'round up the usual suspects'; don't simply look under the existing lamp post. Locate new suspects. Turn on lights where they have never shone before. [...] Go back and forth among theory, empirics, and stories until you iterate on the very best truth you can tell. (Goldin, 1998)

Goldin's approach – true to her detective persona – is forensic, descriptive and non-judgmental. She refrains from casting a personal judgement on 'how things should be'. Instead, she lets the data, the historical facts and women's voices articulate the inequities, inefficiencies and injustices of our current system. She empowers all of us with a compelling case for change.

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Career and Family: Women's Century-Long Journey toward Equity, by Claudia Goldin (Princeton University Press, 2021), 320 pp.

When I was an undergraduate, my alma mater sold a t-shirt emblazoned with Professor Laurel Thatcher Ulrich's phrase: 'Well-behaved women seldom make history.' Fortunately for society, as well as the global economy, there has never been a shortage of defiant women (despite history's best attempts to erase them).

Claudia Goldin's most recent book, *Career & Family, Women's Century-Long Journey Toward Equity*, traces the history of five groups of women – different cohorts of female US university graduates – and their pursuit of career and family. She frames their journeys, and the challenges they faced (and continue to face today), through impressive historical and current data, as well as through individual women's personal experience. It is an engaging, accessible read that would interest both economists (especially those with an appreciation for a good chart!) and anyone who knows a woman in the workplace.

The first group, comprised of women who graduated university between 1900 and 1920, often had to choose between having a family or a career. One such woman was Jeannette Pickering Rankin, who devoted herself to the women's suffrage movement and won a seat in the House of Representatives in 1916; the first woman elected to a federal position. She was the only woman to vote on legislation to send the 19th amendment – securing women's right to vote – to the states for ratification. Another such woman was Ada Comstock. She was President of Radcliffe College in 1943 and worked to integrate single-sex classes between Harvard University and Radcliffe College. Consistent with many female college graduates of their era, neither woman had children and only Comstock married, one week after the end of her official duties at Radcliffe, at the age of 67.

Graduates between 1920 and 1945 represent the second group, able to secure a job following graduation, then have a family and in some cases return to a job once their children were older. These graduates were quite heterogeneous because of the economic events book-ending

their journey: the Great Depression and World War II. Herein emerges another lesson from history: gender equality is a noble and important pursuit in its own right, but nothing seems to accelerate it faster than a booming economy with a tight labour market, just as deleterious economic conditions tend to slow it down.

At the beginning of this period, new labour-saving technologies in the home, such as vacuums and refrigerators, proliferated and the demand for office jobs skyrocketed. These changes increased the demand for white-collar workers. White-collar positions appealed to women because of the indoor and safe working conditions; their husbands were also less opposed, since the improved working conditions altered pre-existing stigma associated with an employed (university-educated) wife.

As the Great Depression emerged, however, employment opportunities for women declined. While anti-nepotism rules, marriage bars (which precluded hiring married women) and retention bars (which denied firms the ability to retain women who married while employed) pre-dated the Great Depression, their use increased as economic conditions deteriorated, prioritising male employment. These discriminatory practices were, however, swiftly ignored, removed or reshaped (new and improved 'pregnancy bars') when the demand for labour substantially outstripped supply during World War II, bolstering female employment among those in the tail-end of group two.

The return of the youthful WWII veterans coincided with the emergence of group three women, graduating between 1946 to 1965, who often sought to have a family first and then a job. Family came first for group three not because of less professional ambition, but because there was no time. They married earlier, conceived sooner and had more babies relative to their predecessors. Babies were a 'boomin'. But the women in group three were also planners. About half of female university graduates in the 1950s majored in a subject area that led directly to an occupation (teaching, nursing, social work) compatible with home and childcare responsibilities. These women planned to re-enter the labour market in the future, and they often did.

Those in group four, who graduated between 1966 to 1979, pursued careers and then had families. While previous generations paved the way for group four, the availability of birth control fully empowered this group. The pill increased the age of marriage,