

Review of Claudia Goldin's *Career and Family: Women's Century-Long Journey toward Equity*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2021, xii + 344 pp.

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In a world of greedy jobs, gender equity is expensive within families. This is the main takeaway of Claudia Goldin's book *Career and Family*. Goldin explains how workplace success often requires burning the midnight oil, investing in higher education, and devoting spare time to developing one's career. However, even when women are allowed to work in these 'greedy jobs', they are often incompatible with the care burdens they are expected to carry, which often leads to pay inequities. Goldin artfully describes how these tensions have evolved in the past century for one specific group: women with higher education in the United States.

Goldin begins her book by introducing her definition of 'greedy work', that is, careers that require one be on call at home, produce constant cerebral output, and never tune out of work. Because of family obligation and childcare, couples are often faced with a choice between a marriage of equals or a marriage with more money, where one takes on greedy work and the other flexible work.

Goldin then outlines the five cohorts of college-graduate women and discusses each of their experiences with work and family in the subsequent chapters, often using unique historical data. The first cohort (women who graduated college in 1890s-1910s) are those who Goldin describes as having to choose between family or career: very few were able to have both. The second group, women graduating in the next two decades, are marked as having a job and *then* a family. Women graduating college in the 1950s are a group which commonly had a family and *then* a job. In these chapters, Goldin indicates differences between job and career, noting that a career offers advancement and intellectual fulfillment while a job is simply a way to earn money. Goldin then turns to the fourth cohort: women graduating from college in the 1970s, which she classifies as having a career and *then* a family. It is not until the fifth group, women graduating in the 1980s and 1990s, that college-educated women are able to have a career *and* a family in Goldin's eyes.

Throughout these chapters, Goldin shows several tables comparing data points across cohorts: namely, the fraction of each group never married, with no births, labor force participation among married women, and overall college graduation rates. Goldin's description of the evolution of work and family from the early 1900s to today, with the corresponding contextualization of improvements in fertility planning, laws around gender discrimination in the labor force, and gender norms more broadly, was nicely written and clearly conceptualized.

When describing each of the five cohorts in their own respective chapters, Goldin sprinkles in some commonly recognizable figures. These range from economists like Hazel Kyrzk, to feminists like Betty Friedan, to more recent celebrities like Tina Fey, which makes the book digestible and accessible to audiences from several generations and backgrounds. In fact, one of the best aspects of the book is Goldin's infusion of her personal connections to most of the five groups she studies. From her discussion of her fleeting connection to Margaret Reid, who Goldin situates with Hazel Kyrk in 'Group One', to her forward-looking perspective on her ambitious women students at Harvard, Goldin is sure to keep a personal touch throughout the book.

In addition to making the text more relatable, it helps readers better understand Goldin's background, and thus, her interest in focusing on college-educated women in the United States. Understanding a researcher's background and overlapping social identities is important from the perspective of feminist standpoint theory (Harding 2004). Standpoint theory is often used by feminist researchers to understand and reflect on how knowledge production is embedded in social, political, and historical contexts. In general, a standpoint epistemology argues "that knowledge is constructed from specific positions and that what a knower can see is shaped by the location from which the knower's inquiry begins" (Sprague 2016, 47). More simply, "ideas cannot be divorced from the individuals who create and share them" (Collins 2015, 252). It seems that Goldin herself is engaging in standpoint theory by sharing with the reader her own background as a highly educated woman in the United States and as a University of Chicago trained economist, both of which have certainly influenced her interest in inequities faced by college-educated women and the way she approaches her book's research questions. I found that including her background in the book, rather than remaining a faceless narrator, was refreshing and invaluable.

After wrapping up her discussion of the five cohorts' balance between career and family, Goldin then shifts to explaining the recent persistence of the gender wage gap among college-educated workers. She ultimately continues to point to 'greedy work', but explains the wage gap, its measurement, and its contributors very carefully. In fact, I could see myself assigning several sections to my undergraduate students studying gender in the economy, particularly chapter 8, which breaks down the nuances of the gender wage gap in a very clear way.

For fans of Goldin's earlier work (namely Goldin 2006, 2014, and Goldin and Katz 2016), the book is a very welcome supplement. In fact, Goldin previews the first half of the book's structure in her 2006 work, where she outlines four phases of women's economic roles over the 1900s. In chapter 6, "Career and Family", she specifically covers what she calls the 'quiet revolution' of the 1970s, a label she also used in her 2006 work. The second half of the book, where Goldin focuses on recent wage gaps between college educated men and women, closely resembles her 2014 work, with its special focus on greedy work in corporate, finance, and legal occupations.

Ultimately, I found Goldin's book thought provoking in several ways. For instance, as Goldin was tracing the career and family trajectories across the five cohorts of women, I found myself asking both about the evolving role of a college degree and the evolving role of marriage. Goldin answered many of my questions about the evolving role of a college degree: for instance, she writes about how college was often used to get a job before marriage or to acquire backup skills if a marriage were to fail for women in the 1950s; but for women in the subsequent cohort, it was more about establishing an enriching career. However, I remained hungry for more context on shifts in the role of marriage. Like Lundberg and Pollak (2014) point out, the retreat from marriage since the 1950s has to do with shifts in the gains from marriage. They argue that as the ratio of men's to women's wage rates fell the traditional structures of gendered division of labor within the household weakened. Because of this, the primary gains from marriage shifted from the production of household services to financial investments in children and financial security, which Lundberg and Pollak (2014) find is particularly common among college-educated parents. Goldin's work would have been well supplemented with more discussion on the evolution of marriage market dynamics, spending on children, and women's intra-household bargaining positions over the 1900s. Each of these would have helped readers better understand the

constraints under which college-educated women have made choices about career and family.

Goldin makes it clear how women's ability to have a career *and* family are really a very recent phenomenon. Still, enjoying both a career and family remain precarious, and Goldin leaves readers of *Career and Family* wondering what a hypothetical 'Group Six' will be faced with, especially in a world reshaped by COVID-19. I wonder how recent attacks on reproductive rights may also shape their careers and families. Further, Goldin's focus on college-educated women in the United States excludes examination of many women whose abilities to juggle career and family are often even *more* challenging.

Goldin's book includes very little discussion about low-income women, immigrant women, and women of color, despite the fact that many such groups are overrepresented in the market care infrastructure which have allowed so many college-educated White women to balance their career and family (Ferguson 2017). Ultimately, because the book discusses many of the other mechanisms which allowed college-educated women to hold both careers and families, I think the book would have benefitted from a more nuanced discussion of care infrastructures and their evolution across Goldin's five cohorts, perhaps pulling from some of Rose's (1999) work or discussion of global care chains (Ferguson 2017). In many ways, Goldin's book felt like it was targeted as a guidebook to women like me: White women who are beginning their careers after completing several years of higher education in the United States and are starting to ask questions about family formation. Indeed, one well-written and concise source for many of our questions about the policies and cultural shifts which allowed college-educated women to reach today's point is useful. Still, additional acknowledgement and a deeper consideration of how college-educated women have attained a balance of work and family off the backs of less-privileged women would have made the book even more useful.

Many higher-income, college-educated women benefit from keeping the price of outsourced domestic services low and, in turn, keeping the wages of domestic workers low and their positions precarious. This dynamic can lead to discrimination toward domestic workers and to ambivalence about the rights of women commonly employed in domestic service and care work. Goldin provides a limited analysis of this fact, which I found concerning. As women of my generation and education status begin to balance career and family, we cannot in good conscious continue

to focus solely on our own successes at the expense of other women. When readers consider the future of career and family that Goldin asks us to consider, I hope they keep the exploitation of women *without* college degrees at the forefront of their minds, even if not prompted by the text.

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