TRANSCRIPT

The Work Goes On

Guest Host: Heidi Hartmann
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Heidi Hartmann:

There was a period when the conservative establishment decided to try to convince American women that unequal pay wasn't a problem. It just didn't exist. So, women were really not believing that, and we tried our best to help them not believe it.

Orley Ashenfelter:

Welcome to The Work Goes On, a podcast from the Industrial Relations Section at Princeton University. I'm your host, Orley Ashenfelter, the Joseph Douglas Green 1895 Professor of Economics emeritus at Princeton University. In this podcast series of conversations with leading thinkers and practitioners, we are creating an oral history of an entire generation of industrial relations experts and labor economists whose contributions to their fields have been absolutely extraordinary.

Our guest today is Heidi Hartmann, who is distinguished Economist in residence at American University and emeritus president and founder of the Institute for Women's Policy Research. She's renowned for her work in labor economics, and especially for her research on gender in labor markets and employment. Heidi, welcome to The Work Goes On.

Heidi Hartmann:

Thank you. It's a pleasure to be with you.

Orley Ashenfelter:

Let's begin the discussion by talking about your background. Where did you grow up?

Heidi Hartmann:

I grew up from the age of four in south Jersey, Seaside Heights. Then we moved to the mainland, which was Toms River. But my background is interesting. Both my mother and my father came to the United States from Germany in 1938. They were not escaping religious persecution. They were just looking for economic opportunity. They met in New York. There was a German section in eastern Manhattan. They met there. My mother was, I think, working as a sort of a childcare minder for a wealthy family. My dad may not have been working. She learned after she married him that he was a gambler. She… New Jersey and New York were a bad place. You could gamble on the horses, which is what he loved.

Orley Ashenfelter:

That's true. Of course, the Monmouth track is still there. It's not exactly beautiful, but it's still there.

Heidi Hartmann:

In the World War II, my mom had gotten better jobs. She could work in the defense plants where the wages were higher. I'm very proud of her. She got her citizenship being a German during World War II and was working on an American defense plant. I was born in 1945, and by 1949 when we moved to south Jersey, we were living in the Elizabeth-Newark area. By the time we moved to south Jersey, she had divorced my father. It was the only way she could ensure her children would survive, would have food to eat. It was a near poverty growing up because divorce was very unusual in the 50s. It was very unusual for a woman alone to be supporting children, and she did not have the high wages in south Jersey that she did in north Jersey, but she felt it would be a calmer environment, and the schools would be good. So, my mother always believed in education, although she never went beyond high school. She was sure my brother and I would go to college, and we did because we were good at school.

Orley Ashenfelter:

So you were in south Jersey, and I know that you went to Swarthmore because Michael Reich, who was on our last podcast, explained that you were classmates in economics. Well, I guess he did some physics too, but you did economics there together and I guess gather were influenced by Frank Pierson.

Heidi Hartmann:

That's right. Frank Pierson was our macro economist, a wonderful, wonderful professor. I also took a course with, losing his name right now, but I believe he was active in helping Social Security get started in the 1930s. He taught a course on social benefits basically.

Orley Ashenfelter:

How did you come to Swarthmore?

Heidi Hartmann:

Well, that's interesting too. Nothing I had heard of. I had heard of top schools, of course. Some students every year from our high school went to some of the top schools. About Swarthmore was sort of out of the ballpark. But a friend of my mom's who she worked with read in *Harper's Magazine* about Swarthmore College, and she thought it would be a perfect place for me. So, I looked into it and then I heard from our guidance counselor that, oh, by the way, every few years a man from Toms River High School goes to Swarthmore. He has to be a very bright and a good football player, and this is because…

Orley Ashenfelter:

This isn't sounding very good yet.

Heidi Hartmann:

Well, this is because the coach of the football team at Swarthmore came from Toms River, so he would always look for somebody who was bright and played football every now and then that he could recruit, and he did recruit a young man from my class, Richie Yeager, who played football at Swarthmore all four years, and I was the first girl, the first young woman to go from my high school to Swarthmore. And after that, a few more went.

Orley Ashenfelter:

Swarthmore was always co-educational. Did it have at all of women students?

Heidi Hartmann:

Oh yeah. It was on the order of half. I mean, it was hard to tell whether it was more or less than half. I mean, a lot of colleges kept at less than half, slightly less than half. I don't know what Swarthmore did.

Orley Ashenfelter:

I also know that somehow you went from Swarthmore, which of course was probably a very good undergraduate program in economics, to Yale, which from what I can tell, there weren't very many women going to Yale or Princeton or Harvard or any place else for that matter in economics at that time. How in the world did that happen?

Heidi Hartmann:

Well, I got married right out of college. Swarthmore was known as the Little Quaker Matchbox, and he was at Yale Law School. So, for his last two years there, he was a year ahead of me. Actually, Michael was in the class a year ahead of me also. So, Michael was already at Harvard. He had started right from college in economics. My husband was in the Law School and he had two more years. So, I worked those two years and then I went to Yale after that. He wanted to stay in New Haven and worked for the new legal poverty jobs that had been created at that time. And I knew about Yale a little bit because Gavin Wright was a Swarthmore alum and he was in economic history at Yale, did his graduate work there and stayed as an…

Orley Ashenfelter:

Okay. Gavin was in your class at Swarthmore, is that right?

Heidi Hartmann:

A couple of years ahead of me, but he was already either a graduate student or an assistant professor at Yale by the time I started. And Peter Passell, I believe he was at Yale in economics. He went on to be a writer for the *New York Times.*

Orley Ashenfelter:

Yes, Peter Passell is a good friend of mine. He edits the *Milken Review* now. Actually. I see him quite often.

Heidi Hartmann:

Well, I think he was also in economics at Yale, and he was definitely a Swarthmore alum. He was a couple of years ahead of me.

Orley Ashenfelter:

Is that right? I did not know that. I see him quite often. He was a very distinguished writer at the *Times*, and then he got, I think, a very happy job at the *Milken Review* editing this magazine they do.

Heidi Hartmann:

Yeah. Well, I believe Peter and my husband were roommates. So, in a way, Peter was my roommate because I would go up and visit my husband and I stayed there too.

Orley Ashenfelter:

Well, now I know at least one other woman that you knew at Yale. There were several, right? Several women in the class.

Heidi Hartmann:

A bit ahead of me was Janet Yellen. In my class was Cheryl Cook. She and I were the ones who completed our PhDs from my class. Below me, a year below me was Lauren Isinoff and Marianne Hill. They completed… There are some other women whose names I don't quite remember, although I would recognize them who they are if I saw a list.

Orley Ashenfelter:

There was a woman, I only mentioned this, we can't have her on the podcast. She's no longer with us. Phyllis Wallace, who actually was a Yale PhD. That's a black woman. So, we're talking about a very unusual situation.

Heidi Hartmann:

Oh, Phyllis Wallace was a hero of mine. I met her at the National Academy of Sciences. I worked there eight years, and that was the very formative thing. I learned how to do things the right way, I would think you would say. And I met Phyllis there, and she was such a wonderful woman. I believe she was the first woman at Yale to get a PhD. Recently, Yale, the Economic Growth Center in particular, has put up photographs of women economists that had been at Yale. Janet Yellen is up there. I'm up there. I'm pretty sure Phyllis Wallace is up there, and I was just devastated when she died. She was not very old when she died at all, but she did have some great stories. So, do you have any idea how she got to Yale? She had gone to NYU in economics, and that was because the NAACP had a big project to try to get the schools in Maryland integrated. They had the historically black colleges. They wanted all the black kids to go.

Orley Ashenfelter:

I knew her pretty well. She recruited me. I was a graduate student when she first was appointed as the technical director at the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. And they had a lot of data and couldn't figure out how to use it. That's right. That's what a good economics graduate student is for, is to fiddle with your data. Yes, she was a great character. Now, I know that you moved. The National Academy. You were there for quite a long time.

Heidi Hartmann:

Yeah, eight years. I want to tell you this one great story about Phyllis Wallace. She wound up in NYU as an undergraduate because the state of Maryland would rather pay her tuition to go there than allow her into a white campus like…

Orley Ashenfelter:

Is that right?

Heidi Hartmann:

And so, from there, she went to Yale. and I once asked her, I guess I sort of asked her, well, what do you think's been worse than economics? The race discrimination or the sex discrimination? She said, oh my God, the sex discrimination.

Orley Ashenfelter:

She did have problems, I know, because when she first started teaching in black colleges in particular, I think she met with a lot of trouble with the male, her black male friends, supposed friends. But you also are quite famous, at least written up here and there, and all over about the famous Mory's, and I have to ask you about this. Integrating, I guess Mory's. I have been to Mory's, and I gather it was a sore point for women at Yale because it was like many institutions, including the Nassau Club that my wife integrated in Princeton, an all-male institution, but it also, it had a connection to the university, which was unusual. Tell us about this. I always thought it was a wonderful story.

Heidi Hartmann:

Yeah. Well, Mory's was a club primarily created for the amusement of the undergraduates, and this is what their charter said. And the problem was that when Yale went co-ed and admitted female undergraduates, Mory's Club, it was run by its own board of directors outside the university, as you say, did not want to admit those female students. So, a group of people, I think it started in the law school where my husband was, and I may have been instrumental in bringing it to economics, I'm not sure. But what we did in economics was we literally got every woman who was there, she was either a graduate student, a faculty wife, a staff member, if she was a woman with a student in economics, a degree in economics, we got her to sign this petition to the economics department to please stop holding their business meetings at Mory's. Why? Because the meeting room was on the second floor, and women were not allowed to go through the club. So, a woman needing to go to the business department meeting, the economics department business meeting would go up, the outside scaffolding.

Orley Ashenfelter:

That doesn't even sound safe to me.

Heidi Hartmann:

This is true in rainy weather and icy weather and snowy weather, and to its credit, I learned later that the Yale Economics Department and the Law School were the only such units of the university that actually boycotted Mory's until it went co-ed, and it was the law students who got it to co-ed, to go co-ed because they noticed that. So, the charter said nothing about male undergraduates, just undergraduates, and they threatened the loss of the liquor license. They appealed to the Connecticut Board giving them their liquor license, and yes, they would've lost their liquor license. So, they agreed to integrate.

Orley Ashenfelter:

Well, that's right. Losing the liquor license no doubt was a key factor in all this, a moment that you really have to remember very fondly. Now, I think it's probably time for us to get onto something that you're very, very famous for, and I think where a lot of the research is, a lot of your research has been connected, and that's the Institute for Women's Policy Research. You started that organization. When did it start?

Heidi Hartmann:

I did. Approximately 1987. That's when we incorporated, at the end of that year. But I was working on it in ‘86 and ‘87, I would say, writing proposals, trying to get startup funding, and we got some.

Orley Ashenfelter:

How did that originate? Why did you do that?

Heidi Hartmann:

Well, I think my experience in Washington was instrumental. My first job was at the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, and it was not an enforcement agency. It was an information agency, and its reputation was based on providing information and research that would be useful to people working on equality and civil rights for women and different races and ethnicities. So, the National Academy was the same. Its reputation was providing science to be used in public policy. And while I went to the National Academy of Sciences to work on an issue important to women. It was comparable worth, the idea that women and men work in different jobs but the women's jobs are lower paid and shouldn't be for the value of the requirements of the job. I started there and I got some other projects going at the National Academy of Sciences that were done by a committee on women that I helped form there, but I felt like it would be much better if it were an independent organization, not dependent on the National Academy of Sciences. And therefore, I started a think tank. And I was reminded that I had actually said that in graduate school that I had always said I wanted to start a feminist think tank. I can assure you that when I said that in graduate school, I had no idea what it meant.

Orley Ashenfelter:

Like all scientists, if you have to raise money, that's the drag really.

Heidi Hartmann:

And I had a friend who helped me, and she was very good at knowing the small progressive foundations which would give us seed money. The foundations I knew from working with at the National Academy of Sciences were not interested in us until a couple years later.

Orley Ashenfelter:

But I can see that because the National Academy does have this connection, it's supposed to be able to provide evidence for public policy purposes as asked for by various parts of the federal government. So, in a way, I guess you were carrying this idea to a more specific, well-designated project. What was the first thing you worked on there?

Heidi Hartmann:

Well, the first thing we worked on was actually equal pay. I remember distinctly that the first fact sheet we wrote was on equal pay for men and women. And all we did was take census data, B.L.S. data and make it more accessible and more readable and say some interesting things about it. And then the next one was about equal pay for women and in the federal civil service. But then after that, we branched out into areas like childcare, the cost of childcare, the importance of it. Welfare was a very big issue in the late 80s, early 90s. You may remember we did a lot on ways that welfare could be reformed that would actually be good for poor women and their children. We moved into things like paid family medical leave and unpaid family leave, which you may recall was the first bill that Bill Clinton was able to

sign was the Family Medical Leave Act. That provides up to 12 weeks of unpaid family leave. Well, what's that worth? That's worth your job guarantee. And that was very important to women.

Orley Ashenfelter:

I was going to ask you. I know about that, and I think there's a direct connection between your research and the passage of that bill. And of course, there's other issues in states in particular, about the same thing. But all of different projects that you worked on, and I'm thinking here you were gearing it to public policy, of course. I wonder if you have two or three that stand out in your mind as especially significant accomplishments.

Heidi Hartmann:

Well, certainly that first study that we did, which we called "Unnecessary Losses, the Cost to Americans of Not Having Unpaid Family Leave." And most people, well, a lot of people thought, well, unpaid leave was useless. And we showed with econometrics that it wasn't useless. It actually got women back to work faster, earning money again faster, and earning higher wages than those who did not have the right to go back to a job. Because there was a question, for example, in the PSID that asked a woman or her spouse who was often the person answering the question, "do you or does your wife have a right to go back to a job after having a baby?" And so, we used that question to show that having that right was very, very helpful economically to women.

Orley Ashenfelter:

I think that's a very well-known study actually, and maybe one of the most extreme examples where there was a direct connection between it, wasn't there on the legislation?

Heidi Hartmann:

Yeah, that is pretty amazing. We did testify. We were really just starting out then. It was very, very new. And I remember I'm kind of a night owl, so I remember being up late watching C-Span. And of course, often members of Congress are there late at night making their personal statements, and I think C-Span rebroadcast some of those late at night or they don't really broadcast, but we air some late at night.

Orley Ashenfelter:

I always thought it was a good way to go to sleep, actually.

Heidi Hartmann:

And I saw a guy, a congressman from Maryland, and he had been a former basketball player, and there he was in his speech quoting our numbers. I was so excited. But of course, he wasn't the only one doing that. And it was definitely influential. Well, even equal pay, which seems like a chestnut is just there forever and nothing ever happens. And there was a period when the conservative establishment decided to try to convince American women that unequal pay wasn't a problem. It just didn't exist because if you narrow it down to women who don't have children, don't marry, whatever, whatever, it's a very small differential. So, women were really not believing that, and we tried our best to help them not believe it. And every year you would come out with the ratio of women's to men's wages, which was typically in that era in the 70s.

And it got so that the journalists were telling to us, oh, what's new there, Heidi? There's nothing new. We can't write anything about that. And so, it made me realize that you have to get the airwaves,

something Donald Trump has learned very well. You have to get your message out again and again and again. And it doesn't actually matter if all of it is that new. You just have to come up with a new way of expressing it. So, we came up with things like the state with the highest average pay for women. Her pay in that state is lower than the average pay for men in the lowest state. Basically. There was no state where on average…

Orley Ashenfelter:

That is a striking, that's definitely a striking visual.

Heidi Hartmann:

So, we just kept coming up with things like that one after another. And today you do see some small new legislation mostly in the states where people are trying to see having to… You're not allowed to ask people what their pay currently is because if you ask current pay, you're just bringing their current inequality into the new job. There's all kinds of laws like that in the different states, and I think our work had the fact that we just kept at it. We never let it go. I think our work has had substantial impact there. Since then I would rate paid family leave. We did a lot of work on paid family leave. A lot of the states have passed paid family and medical leave, as you know. I think it's up to 12 or more now, including the District of Columbia. Our testimony was very influential in the District of Columbia. We couldn't get them to set the tax rate correctly. We told them that the tax rate that was being proposed by their financial office was twice as high. They didn't believe us, and two years later they announced it was twice as high, and they were cutting the rate in half.

Orley Ashenfelter:

Well, it's nice to have people correct things.

Heidi Hartmann:

Right. So, I'm trying to think what else we worked on there. Well, Social Security, I can't say we've had much impact there, but we hope the main impact will be to not see Social Security cut. I mean, it's amazing. As small as some Social Security incomes are… Like my mother's income from Social Security was about 1,200 a month. Nevertheless, she was pretty much at the time able to live on that. She owned her own house, and she could live on that and she could save the rest of her money. And for all men and women in America, Social Security is on average, it's the largest source of their income. I mean, their retirement income. I mean, I know that's surprising to think that if we've had lifelong savings in TIAA-CREF or pensions, but most people don't have that. And so, just emphasizing the need, how important it is, how important it's particularly for women, even though there's a whole other body of work that shows that women in many ways are not treated as well as they could be in Social Security, but they're also, I think you could say paternalistic benefits that help them and that male spouses tried to get their hands on.

And Ruth Bader Ginsburg was very influential in creating that gender equity in Social Security and started to really push, to get the courts to decide in favor of gender equality, equality between men and women. She picked those cases to work on where men could get equal benefits with women in Social Security. Benefits for widows, for example, are now eligible.

Orley Ashenfelter:

Now, yeah. And of course, Social Security is going to be a never-ending discussion, probably long after we're gone as the way it pay for it is going to become an issue.

Heidi Hartmann:

Another area I want to mention that you haven't mentioned is when I was in graduate school, URPE, the Union for Radical Political Economics was very, very important. In fact, I entered in a class of '69, but a class that entered in 1970 at Yale, virtually everybody joined URPE, including Richard Levin, whom you may know as the past president of Yale University.

Orley Ashenfelter:

Yes. And whose son is the president of Stanford.

Heidi Hartmann:

Oh. And he had long hair down to his shoulders, and it was a very radical time to be in graduate school, those late 60s, early 70s. There was so much political movement. There were anti-war demonstrations all over the place. We had a Black Panther trial going on in New Haven. We had New Haven Women's Liberation. We had the fight over Mory's, which we won. So, in that era, there were a lot of fights, and we were winning them. Abortion rights, for example. The states were one by one getting abortion rights before the U.S. Supreme Court law.

Orley Ashenfelter:

Were you a player? I had a discussion about this with Michael. URPE. I guess we should say what it is. The Union for Radical Political Economy, I think, although everybody calls it URPE. It's still around. He didn't seem to be quite as interested in it as he was apparently at one time. Were you actively involved in the formation of it?

Heidi Hartmann:

No. It got formed just a couple of years before me. And since Michael had started graduate school right away at Harvard, he was very informed about it and active. But there were other people, I think, besides me, who were bringing it to Yale and having our being active there. Steven Hymer was a Marxist economist who taught development economics at Yale. He went on to the New School where they started a political economy program. UMass Amherst also started a political economy program with Sam Bowles and Herb Gintis. So, it was just a growing movement happening all over the country really, but I was not involved in starting it. That happened a couple of years before I started graduate school.

Orley Ashenfelter:

Yeah, I know they still meet at the Allied Social Science Association meetings. Well, those are not quite what they used to be after Covid. I think that dimmed the light of some of that.

Heidi Hartmann:

I just wanted to mention that one of the articles I wrote developing with URPE and women in URPE was called The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism.

Orley Ashenfelter:

I was going to ask you about that. This seems to be a widely cited paper of yours. It's not exactly what I associate with your Institute, I must admit, but the unhappy marriage of gender and Marxism. So, explain what that's about, because I've seen it referred to in many places.

Heidi Hartmann:

Yeah. It's actually been translated into a dozen languages, which I don't think any of my policy work has been, although…

Orley Ashenfelter:

I'm pretty sure you're right about that.

Heidi Hartmann:

I think the policy work is fairly well known, but it was just like we heard about women in the Civil Rights movement complaining about women not being treated equally. The women in socialist-Marxist leftist organizations felt the same way. And this was an effort to look at Marxist theory and show what was wrong with it and why it wasn't addressing women correctly, and basically, this article argued that all the Marxist treatments of the women's issue, of which there were many, all treated women's relationship to capitalism or a different mode of production as the central question. And I wrote that the central question is not necessarily the relationship of women to the economic system, but the feminist question, which is the relationship of women and men because men have an interest in dominating women potentially no matter which economic system they're in. And so that was the thesis of that article, and it was a controversial one. It didn't get published in many places, but it was finally published in England, and then it became a lead article in a volume that was published in the U.S.

Orley Ashenfelter:

Yes, I've seen references to it because it is kind of a, well, I suppose it resonates too, because most of the famous Marxists were men as was Marx himself, for example.

Heidi Hartmann:

Yeah. Well, one thing I do want to add is that the economics profession, while it's making progress with admitting more women and more people of minority backgrounds, I don't think it's really going to get there all the way. It hasn't had what you call a revolution. You know, in most of the fields, especially in the states, history, sociology, literature, there's really been what people consider a gender revolution, a new way of looking at the field. And we haven't really accepted that in economics yet. We have the International Association for Feminist Economics, which is working on it. I am active in that. I recently finished my six years on the Board. I was on the Board years ago when it started. So, there are groups working on it, but I don't see that change. What has to happen is a change in the content of the field. And when you get a change in the content of the field, you'll get more of a change in who can come into the field and who gets admitted to the field. I'm thinking for example of Sandy Darrity, a well-known African-American economist. He's working on stratification economics, a new area that he wants to see become a central part of economics. So, that's my view on that, that we could make more progress if we had more of a revolution in the understanding and the way the field expresses itself as well.

Orley Ashenfelter:

Well, thank you for those comments. Actually, we're coming to the end of our podcast. I do have one last thing I'd like to ask you about, one of these broad questions. So, you're emeritus at the Institute for Research on Women in Public Policy. I'm very curious what you think about the future of the way that women relate… Well, let's put this way – women still remain key factors in family affairs. There's no question about that. In fact, when you see women who are elected to office, they're much more interested in how families are treated. What's your take on how that's going to evolve? We have a new

government and we have lots of other things changing, but I'm curious if there's some area of research or alternatively public policy that you think is right for further study.

Heidi Hartmann:

Well, that's a great question. I don't know which way it's going to go. I mean, we never thought Roe-v-Wade would be overturned, that the right to abortion would be taken away. So, that will be something that will definitely have to be built back if women are to excel economically or even keep as much of a stake as they have now in the paid economy. I think one thing the feminist economists are working on is putting the concept of care into the economy. Talking about the economy is not just the market part, but all of it – the lack of market as well in all the care sectors. I think this is something I heard Myra Strober say on your podcast, and I think that remains true. I think it's still an area that needs work and where much can be learned. Bob Solow said to me at one point that he felt that putting unpaid care into the macroeconomic models was something very important that could be done and could make a huge difference in economics.

For women themselves, I think the key, honestly, is education. And I think the fact that so many more women are going to college than used to, more women than men are going to college, that's not a genie you can put back in the bottle. I think that that fact that many, many women are committed to education… I mean, we've seen many examples of single mothers, poor single mothers struggling to get that first degree, a two-year degree, then a four-year degree. And I think that with that, we're not going to see women go back to being primarily mothers at home with large families. As much as the vice president might like that, I don't think we're going to see that.

Orley Ashenfelter:

I didn't realize that you were raised by a single mother too. Do you think that influenced the work that you did ultimately in the way you've gone about doing it?

Heidi Hartmann:

Definitely. I mean, I think I knew from practically the day I was born that a woman could not support a family as well as a man could. And what was the reason for that? Why were the wages different? Why were they in different jobs? And I credit my introductory economics course with teaching me that, hey, this could be a useful way to find that out. This economics stuff is pretty good. I can figure that out with this. But I didn't really get into actually women in economics or feminism economics until graduate school, and that was primarily because groups like New Haven Women's Liberation existed, the feminist press existed. They were busy finding curricula from all over the country where teachers in college were starting to teach about women. And at that time, you could read almost every academic article that came out about women in all the disciplines. You could read all of them. That's how few there were. Now, I can't even keep up with what's happening in economics, really.

Orley Ashenfelter:

No. The role of gender and economics is now very, very, very, very common. And the labor economists, I think, get some credit for that. Early on, I think, there was an interest in this understanding of the idea that the economic structure is not just a market. There's also a lot of things that go on that are not in the market. Heidi, it's just been a great pleasure talking to you today and learning what you think about the past as well as the future.

Heidi Hartmann:

Well, thank you. It's been great to think about my career and its many different parts and kind of how they all fit together. Thank you so much.

Orley Ashenfelter:

Our guest today has been Heidi Hartman, who is Distinguished Economist in residence at American University and President Emeritus and founder of the Institute for Women's Policy Research.

Please join us again for the next episode of "The Work Goes On: an Oral History of Industrial Relations and Labor Economics" from the Industrial Relations Section at Princeton University. I'm your host, Orley Ashenfelter. Thanks for listening.

Announcer:

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