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The Gender Revolution in Israel: Progress and Stagnation

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The Gender Revolution: Background

In most aspects, gender inequality in the labor market has declined over the past century in all Western societies (Esping-Andersen, 2009). Empirical evidence for this trend is most widely documented in the United States, especially between 1970 and 2000, the period when by almost all accounts the gender revolution was most dramatic (Blau and Kahn, 1994, 1997; Cotter et al., 2004; England, 2010). Between 1970 and 2000, the gender gap in labor force participation rates has substantially decreased, and the convergence between mothers and nonmothers was even greater (Cotter, Hermsen, and Vanneman, 2004). During the 1970s alone, the share of young American women with a college education grew by 150 percent (Morris and Western, 1999), a trend that gained momentum during the 1980s and 1990s. By the end of the 1980s, American women were acquiring most of the bachelor and master's degrees (Cotter, Hermsen, and Vanneman, 2004; Morris and Western, 1999; DiPrete and Buchmann, 2013). These numeric changes were followed by an increase in women's representation in fields of study that traditionally were dominated by men, such as medicine, business, and management (Cotter et al., 2004; DiPrete and Buchmann, 2013). The growth in educational attainments of women came in parallel to the legislation of antidiscrimination laws and in the wake of the second-wave of feminism during the 1960s. These two processes contributed to mitigating practices of discrimination and helped women translate their education into occupational and economic attainments within the labor market. With the expansion of their academic education, American women have mitigated the gaps in work experience relative to men, their occupational profile has become more similar to men's, and the gender pay ratio has risen from 0.6 to 0.8 (Blau and Kahn, 1994; 2006).

Similar trends occurred in the Israeli labor market. Labor force participation rates of women have steadily increased (Kimhi, 2012; Kraus, 2002), and by 2011 women constituted almost half of the labor force (Stier and Herzberg, 2013). The most pronounced change occurred among mothers (Stier and Herzberg, 2013; Kraus, 2002), leading to a sharp convergence between mothers and nonmothers in rates of economically active full-time employment (Okun and Oliver, 2009). Moreover, rates of occupational segregation—which had already declined toward the end of the last century (Kraus, 2002)—continued to decline at the beginning of the new millennium (Tzameret-Kertcher, 2014), first and foremost among the more educated groups (Kraus, 2002).

As in the United States, the increase in labor force participation and in occupational mobility of Israeli women reflects a rise in their level of education; while about 20 percent of women (as well as men) born in the mid-1950s hold academic degree, more than 40 percent of women who were born twenty years later hold an academic degree (versus only 30 percent among men) (Shavit and Bronstein, 2011).[1] This increase in the level of academic education was accompanied by an almost twofold increase in women's representation in the most lucrative fields of study, such as engineering and architecture (Almagor-Lotan and Goldshmidt, 2010). Today, women in Israel acquire most of the diplomas in law (51.2 percent) and medicine (51.8 percent), and half in management and business science (50.4 percent) (Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, 2010, Table 23).

The gender revolution did, however, slow down during the 1990s, and almost stalled in the new millennium in the United States. The more optimistic voices view this stagnation as a ceiling effect of a continual process (Polachek, 2006; Jackson, 1998). The less optimistic ones argue that the impressive mobility of women did not eliminate deeply rooted beliefs—termed "gender beliefs"—about the fundamental differences between men and women, which legitimize inequality between men and women. These beliefs create serious bottlenecks for the further progress of gender equality as they sustain the typically gendered path that most people still follow (England, 2006, 2010; Ridgeway, 2011; Ridgeway and Correll, 2004; Charles and Grusky, 2004).

One of the most dominant implications of such beliefs is demonstrated by the asymmetric change of the gender revolution. The gender system has changed in one direction only; while many women now leave full-time homemaking to enter the labor force, and many have entered "male" occupations and fields of study, men have been reluctant to move into female arenas, either inside or outside the household (i.e., in the labor market). England (2006, 2010) has argued that gender beliefs are responsible for the uneven change, as these perceptions address gender differences in skill competence and ability, devaluing women's skills relative to men's. Devaluation of female jobs and activities gives women an incentive to leave them, but gives no incentive for men to enter them.

Israel, to a large extent, has followed the trends in the United States. However, in contrast to the extensive study on women's attainments in the labor market, much less is known in Israel about over-time changes in the gender relation within the family. In order to capture the gender relation in Israel from both sides, in this chapter we refer to trends within the labor market as well as within the family. Following the process in the United States, we ask whether changes in gender relations in Israel in recent decades—as evident by a variety of measured indicators—have followed the American track. Is the gender revolution in Israel still in process, or has it, as in the United States, reached its limit?

While our analyses point to systematic and comprehensive long-term trends in gender in/equality, we have no ambition to explain these trends. Rather, we believe that the forces suspected of driving them, although they operate within a unique context, are to a large extent universal within Western societies. Embracing theories of gender inequality, we assume that overtime changes—such as the rise in women's higher education and participation in paid work, as well as the increase in white-collar occupations and the rise of liberal ideologies and modernization—have created an opportunities structure for women in all the developed democratic economies (Goldin, 1990). Therefore in Israel, as in other Western countries, a reduction in gender inequality on parameters related to the economic attainments of women is expected, as indeed cited above. On the other hand, because gender beliefs are universal (Ridgeway, 2011), the trends of gender relations within the family, as well as barriers to further reduction, may also be similar across Western societies. Therefore the two processes—of decline and stagnation in gender inequality—may operate consistently, but at a different pace in Israel.

Indeed, our findings show that the gender revolution in Israel is, in general, not different from the revolution in other Western countries, especially the United States. Israeli women have not only entered the labor market in increasing numbers, but also changed their working pattern. As in the United States, levels of occupational segregation are in decline, and women have gained access to high-skilled and male-typed positions in professional and managerial occupations. Following women's occupational mobility, the gender pay gap has also narrowed. As in other Western countries, the narrowing of the gap in Israel slowed in the last decade. Trying to understand the bottleneck by turning to trends in attitudes toward gender roles and to the division of household labor, we found that here too Israel follows trends similar to the United States. Despite the significant change in women's positions in the labor market, attitudes toward gender roles have remained stable, and the inferior position of women in the family has not improved during the last two decades.

In the following we present our analysis and interpret the findings. We use data from the Israeli Labor Force Surveys and from the Israeli Income Surveys at five points in time (1972, 1982, 1992, 2002, and 2011), and from the ISSP

surveys of 1994, 2002, and 2012. We divide all the analyses between Arabs and Jews[2] because differences between the two groups are substantial. In several analyses we also divide the samples by ethnic and educational groups. The appendix displays the list of surveys and the sample sizes.

The Gender Revolution in Israel: Empirical Evidence

Trends in Labor Force Participation

Women's ability to make any independent decision in contemporary capitalist society is conditioned on their access to independent income. Economic independency enables women to have more power (to have a voice) within their own family, to exit an unhappy marriage, and to sustain an independent household (Hirschman, 1970; Hobson, 1990; Oppenheimer, 1997; Ross and Sawhill, 1975; Sorensen, 2005). Thus the starting point for understanding women's position in society, and the cause of all other changes in women's status, is women's labor force participation (hereafter LFP).

Figure 7.1 displays trends in participation rates, by gender, of Jews and Arabs separately. It shows a substantial increase in participation rates among women, versus a decline among men for both groups. Among Jews in 2011, almost 80 percent of working-age (25–64) women participated in the labor market, and the gender gap in economic activity has almost closed (only 3 percent). In contrast, less than 30 percent of Arab women participated in paid work in 2011, so the gender gap among Arabs is still substantial (more than 40 percent). Despite this large gap, Arab women have tripled their representation in the labor market during the past 40 years, an increase that has been particularly evident during the last two decades, from less than 15 percent in 1992 to almost 30 percent in 2011. Changes that account for such a substantial increase in a relatively short time may result from a decrease in fertility rates

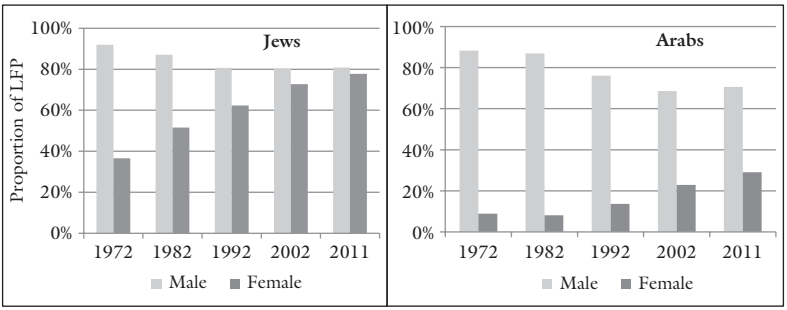

Figure 7.1 Labor force participation rates (ages 25–64) by sex, 1972–2011.

of Arab women and a declining resistance to mothers' work in Arab society (Offer and Sabah, 2011). Other possible factors are the sharp reduction in child benefits and a transition from cash transfers to policies targeted at encouraging employment (Toledano, Zussman, Frish, and Gottlieb, 2009). In addition, in 1999 a new program of subsidized public childcare was launched in peripheral localities in Israel, which has been found to increase the participation rates of Arab mothers (Schlosser, 2011). Nonetheless, Arab women who do participate in the labor market (as of 2011) are still a relatively selective group.[3]

Ethnic diversity in Israel is based on the country of origin from which Jews from the Diaspora came to Palestine and, after 1948, to Israel. Today, more than 60 years since the establishment of the state, and more than 100 years since the first large-scale wave of Jewish immigration to Palestine, ethnic diversity is still evident, with the primary divide between Mizrahim (offspring of immigrants from Islamic countries in Asia and Africa) and Ashkenazim (offspring of immigrants from Europe and America). At the beginning of the 1990s, with the fall of Eastern European Communism, many new immigrants arrived in Israel from the former Soviet Union (FSU), and are all classified as Ashkenazim. The division between Mizrahim and Ashkenazim is important due to reported differences between the two groups in the levels of women's labor force participation, fertility rates, and educational levels (Kraus, 2002).

Figure 7.2 describes rates of working-age women's labor force participation by year and by ethnic groups according to the above classification, which is based on the father's country of birth: Mizrahim (Asia-Africa), Ashkenazim (Europe-America), and third-generation in Israel (Israeli). As can be seen, third-generation Israeli women—the youngest group—have the highest participation rates at all points in time, and Mizrahi women

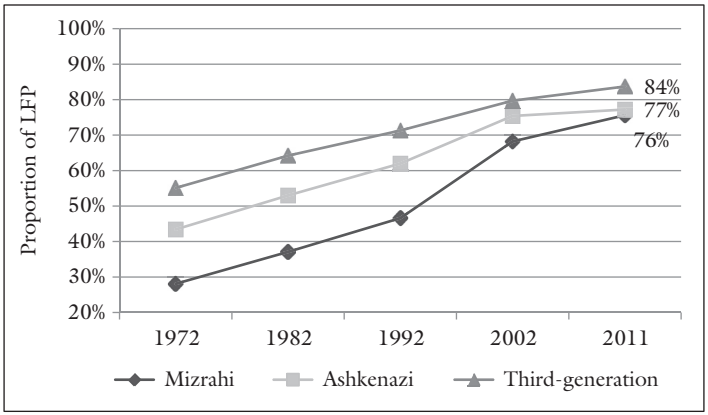

Figure 7.2 Labor force participation rates (ages 25–64) of Jewish women, by ethnicity, 1972–2011.

have the lowest. However, while the participation rates of all groups have increased considerably over the decades, Mizrahi women have scored the largest increase, resulting in a significant convergence in participation rates between the groups (see also: Kraus, 2002). This convergence between Mizrahim and Ashkenazim may be explained by compositional factors; while first-generation Mizrahi women hold more conservative gender perceptions and have higher fertility rates and lower levels of education relative to first-generation Ashkenazi women, most of these differences have diminished in the second generation. Due to the small differences between the Jewish ethnic groups, in the following (except in Figure 7.10 in reference to gender pay gap) we will not distinguish between ethnic groups among Jewish women, and divide our samples only into Jews and Arabs.

Labor Force Participation by Family Status

The prime employment years also correspond to the prime child-rearing years. Thus, women's participation in the labor market is affected by their marital status in general, and by motherhood in particular. To examine changes in the effect of motherhood on labor force participation over time, we limited the sample to women ages 25–45[4] and compared participation rates of women with and without children, and women with children under the age of four.

Several studies show that the substantial increase in female LFP in recent years is due especially to the increase among mothers. For the Jewish subgroup, the substantial gap between mothers and nonmothers in rates of employment has completely diminished during the last 40 years (Kraus, 2002; Stier and Herzberg, 2013; Stier and Yaish, 2008).[5] Participation rates of Jewish mothers are high relative to the OECD countries,[6] despite the fact that fertility rates of women in Israel are very high relative to the OECD average (3.03 versus 1.74 children in 2010, respectively), and nonmothers are a relatively small minority. Among Arab women, and despite a sharp convergence between mothers and nonmothers over time, the participation rates of mothers still lag far behind nonmothers in all years, and the gap between the two groups is not trivial (14.2 percent) (findings not shown).

In contrast to the convergence in participation rates of mothers and nonmothers in the Jewish group, there is a relatively large difference in their supply of labor. This means that while motherhood does not inhibit employment per se, it does inhibit the amount of time mothers devote to paid work. Figure 7.3 presents full-time employment rates of women ages 25–45 by family status for Jewish and Arab women. In both groups, mothers tend to work less than nonmothers in all years, although the differences are mitigated over time (see also: Okun and Oliver, 2009). Despite the steady increase in full-time employment among mothers, in 2011 still only about a third of Jewish mothers of young children, and less than 15 percent of Arab mothers of young children, worked full-time (out of the population ages 25–45).[7] The relatively low figures could be partly due to limited labor market alternatives

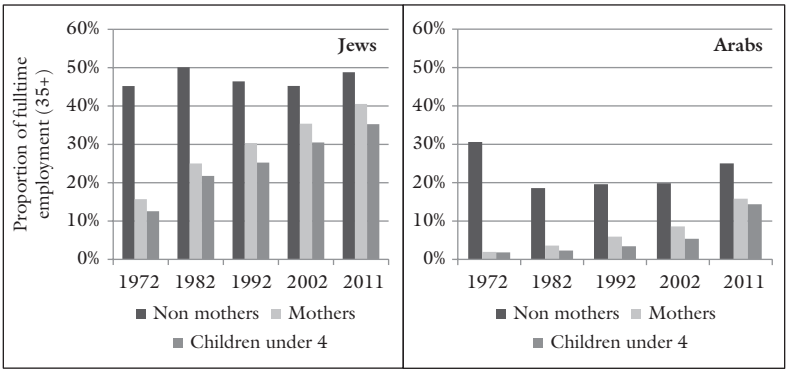

Figure 7.3 Full-time employment (35+ weekly working hours) of women (ages 25–45), by family status, 1972–2011.

(Fichtelberg-Barmetz, 2006), and partly due to the definition of part-time employment (i.e., less than 35 weekly hours), which excludes some occupations in education and nursing.

Labor Force Participation by Age and Cohort

The conclusion arising from the findings so far is that, as in other Western societies, the striking increase in participation rates among women is related to the increase in participation rates of mothers in general, and mothers of young children in particular. Unlike in the past, then, women's career patterns seem to be less interrupted, a process that has significant implications for their potential labor market rewards. Lacking panel data, we cannot directly measure career continuity. But we can distinguish between different effects that may impact the increase in woman's labor force participation shown by our cross-sectional data: period effect, cohort effect, and age effect. *Age effect* is associated with the change of employment patterns over the life course: the tendency of mothers to leave the labor force during the child-rearing period, which results in relatively lower participation rates of women between the ages of 25–45. *Cohort effect* refers to differences between birth cohorts in their patterns of labor force participation: the decline in the tendency of mothers of young children to leave paid work over the years (implied by the findings above). Finally, *period effect* is associated with each period of time, namely the way in which historical events affect the labor force participation of all individuals. In our data we cannot track period effects, but in the following analysis we present labor force participation by age and by birth cohorts to distinguish between the other two effects.

Figure 7.4 displays LFP rates of women by age and year of survey for Jews and Arabs, respectively. We also add the distribution of men by age in 2011. For the Jewish group, the over-time changes are substantial. The M shape—an

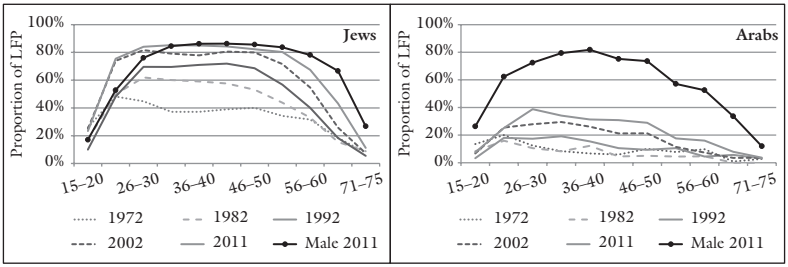

Figure 7.4 Labor force participation rates of women, by age and year of survey, 1972–2011, and of men in 2011.

indication of lower participation rates of women during fertility age—is disappearing, meaning that over the decades, women's participation patterns are less affected by their family status, as seen above. Indeed, the participation rates for women of all ages have increased in every consecutive decade from 1972 to 2011, but the greater increase was for women in their late twenties to mid-forties. In contrast to the tendency among women—where every new generation works more than its predecessor—among Jewish men the tendency is reversed: the employment rate of every new generation is lower than that of its predecessor (findings not shown, but see also Kimhi, 2012). Thus, by 2011 the age profiles of women in the labor market have become remarkably similar to men's.

Arab women exhibit more fluctuations in their LFP profile by ages in all decades. Until 1992, the participation rate of Arab women of all ages did not exceed 20 percent. For the two youngest cohorts, participation rates are significantly higher compared to the older cohorts, but they too decrease relatively early (around the ages 30–35). Thus, even in 2011 Arab women's participation patterns significantly differ from those of men.

Labor Force Participation by Educational Groups

Modern labor markets are characterized by skills-based technology, as well as skills-based services (e.g., health care, education, financial and insurance services), which require a highly skilled and trained workforce. In modern labor markets, then, education is a major determinant of wage, and higher education is the greatest incentive to participate in paid employment.

Figure 7.5 displays participation rates of women and men ages 25–64 by education levels in 2011, for the Jewish and the Arab populations. As expected, for both genders and in both groups, labor force participation rates increase with education. In the Jewish and Arab populations alike, the great majority of educated men and women are participating in paid work (between 80 percent and 90 percent). Among high-school dropouts, participation rates of both

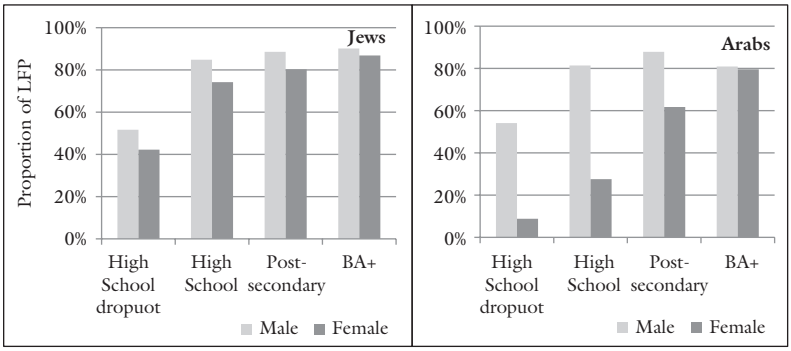

Figure 7.5 Labor force participation rates (ages 25–64), by sex and education, 2011.

genders are much smaller, and the gender gap is larger. This is especially evident among Arabs. The reason may be that women with low earnings potential may not find paid work economically worthwhile if their reservation wage does not exceed their childcare expenses. Also, low-educated men and women are more likely to hold more conservative attitudes about gender roles, and the division of labor in their homes is more traditional (Fortin, 2005).

For the same reasons, participation rates among educated workers are very high, and there is almost no gender gap. Better educated men and women hold more egalitarian gender attitudes, and they also have many more opportunities in the labor market, so highly educated women are able to exceed the reservation cost more easily. Although this is true for both Arabs and Jews, it is especially evident in the Arab group; apparently there is no significant difference in participation rates among Arab men and women with an academic degree (81 percent among men, and 80 percent among women), while the gap is substantial among high-school dropouts (54 percent and only 9 percent, respectively).[8] It should be noted, however, that the convergence in participation rates between highly educated women and men in Arab society is not only due to relatively high participation rates among educated women, but also due to the relatively low participation rates among educated men. These findings imply that opportunities available to professional Arab men are more limited (see also: Lewin-Epstein and Semyonov, 1994). Arab women with an academic degree are not resistant to discrimination, but they benefit from the demand for educated women workers in female-dominated occupations in professional services. Occupations such as teachers, social workers, nurses in local clinics, and the like are "reserved" for Arab women within their own communities, and are not transferrable to Jewish women (Lewin-Epstein and Semyonov, 1994).

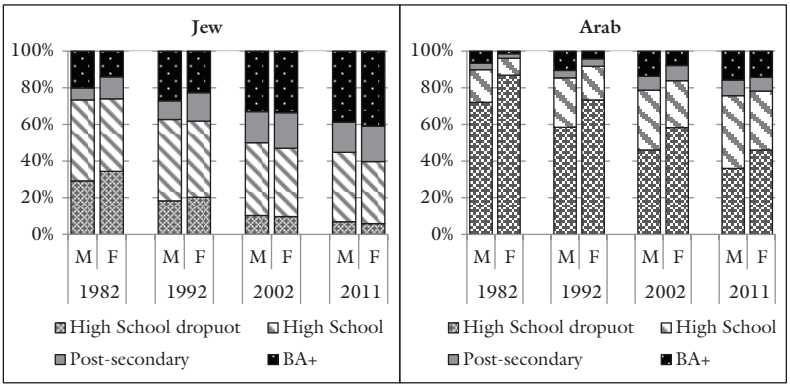

Figure 7.6 Level of education by gender and year.

As education is an important predictor of most labor market outcomes, Figure 7.6 presents the level of education of Jews and Arabs by gender and year. As can be seen, educational levels of all groups have increased over the years, but for women—both Arabs and Jews—the increase was much larger. Among Arabs, especially among Arab women, academic education has dramatically increased (from 1.5 percent in 1982 to 14.3 percent in 2011). Nevertheless, because the initial levels were very low, there are still major differences between Jews and Arabs in educational levels. This implies that the higher participation rates of educated Arab women still account for a relatively small minority.

Trends in Occupational Sex Segregation

Although women make up nearly half of the labor force, the occupational profiles of men and women are very different. We use the index of dissimilarity (D) to calculate the level of occupational sex segregation between men and women.[9] The index represents the hypothetical percentage of males (or females) that are required to change their occupation in order to produce an even male-female distribution across occupations. Thus, a value of 0 represents no gender segregation across occupations, and a value of 1 represents full gender occupational segregation. Figure 7.7 presents levels of occupational sex segregation among Jewish and Arab workers between 1982 and 2011.[10] It shows a decrease in the level of segregation for both the Jewish and Arab groups between 1982 and 2011[11]; in the Jewish group the index has decreased from D = 59 to D = 49, and in the Arab group from D = 74 to D = 62 (see also Kraus, 2002).[12] Although a change of 10–12 percentage points in the value of the index over 30 years may not seem substantial, it is not a negligible decrease. In Israel, as in other Western societies, occupational sex segregation is resistant

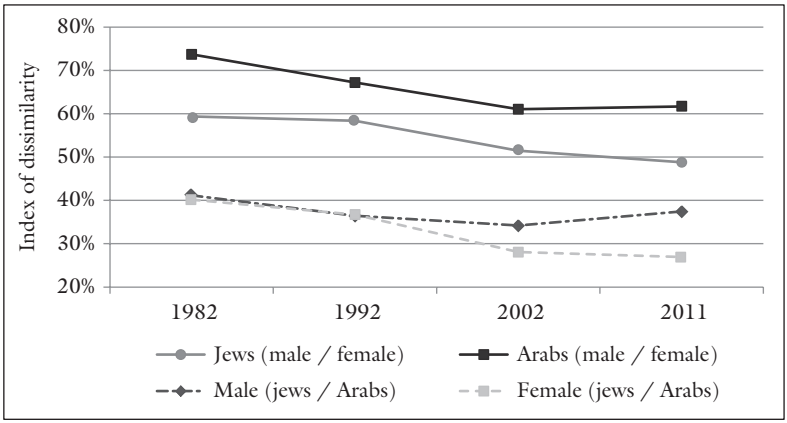

Figure 7.7 Index of occupational segregation (two-digit classification), by gender and by Arab-Jewish origin, 1972–2011.

to change, and has remained quite stable since the end of the 1970s (Chang, 2004; Blackburn and Jarman, 2006; Preston, 1999).[13]

In addition to sex segregation we also tested levels of occupational segregation between Arabs and Jews from the same sex. The results are striking, and they address the overriding effect of gender on occupational segregation. Levels of gender segregation are almost twice as large as levels of segregation between Arabs and Jews of the same sex, and the reduction between the decades is faster (among women from D = 40 to D = 27). These findings indicate, we believe, that maternalism and family obligations make the gender disadvantage more dominant than any other disadvantage, and account for the relative similarity in occupational distributions between Arabs and Jewish women.

In order to further examine segregation processes, we also disaggregate the sample by educational level to examine the level of occupational segregation in different groups. This analysis is carried out for the entire sample due to the small sample in the Arab group. Figure 7.8 displays trends in the level of occupational sex segregation in four categories according to the highest educational attainment: high school dropout, high school completed, post–high school nonacademic, and bachelor degree or above. The division into educational groups is according to workers' educational levels, so the data show variations in segregation levels among different groups of workers rather than different groups of occupations.[14] As can be seen, there are considerable differences in the level of segregation, but not in the trend over time. The dominant trend in all groups is of a small reduction, mainly between 1992 and 2002, that can be partly attributed to the change in the occupational classification system between the two points in time. Among academic degree holders, segregation levels are substantially lower than those

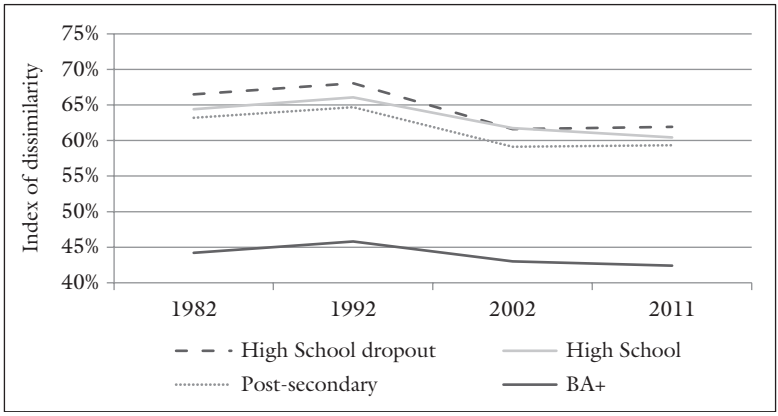

Figure 7.8 Index of occupational sex segregation (two-digit occupational classification), by education, 1972–2011.

of nonacademic workers, a finding that, combined with the findings shown in Figure 7.6, could partly explain the differences in segregation levels between the Arab and the Jewish populations. Levels of sex segregation among all nonacademic workers (high school dropouts as well as postsecondary) are very similar, both in size and in trend.

A comparison between Figures 7.7 and 7.8 reveals that the reduction in segregation levels is much greater in the labor market as a whole than in each of the educational groups separately (10 percentage points compared to about 4 in each educational group). This implies that the decline in the aggregate levels of occupational segregation over the years, shown in Figure 7.7, is due to an increase in the share of workers with an academic degree, rather than an overall reduction in segregation levels. This may also indicate that the relatively large reduction shown in Figure 7.7 is related to the growth in professional occupations, occupations that have always been—today and in the past—less segregated. Moreover, because the more integrated occupations are those requiring higher education—i.e., they also confer higher status and higher wages—the findings imply that the decline in the level of segregation also involved an upward occupational mobility for women.

To further examine this, Figure 7.9 displays the percentages of women in 2011 across aggregated occupational categories over the past 30 years. The figure is divided into male-dominated (less than 30 percent female), female-dominated (more than 50 percent female) and nonsegregated (30 percent–50 percent female) occupations, based on 2011 data. As can be seen, the most striking increase in the proportion of women is in managerial occupations, previously male-dominated occupations, which have become nonsegregated in 2011 after women tripled their representation (from less than 11 percent

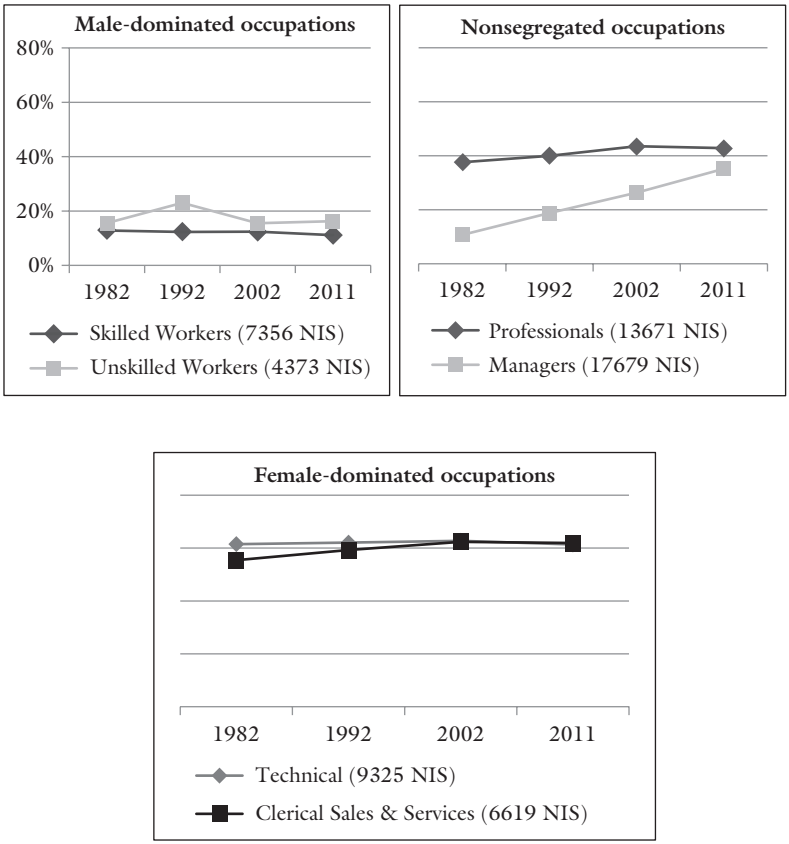

Figure 7.9 Percent women, by occupational categories (average monthly income in parentheses), 1972–2011.

in 1982, to more than 35 percent three decades later). In professional occupations, the least segregated category in 1982, the proportion of women has also increased, although less dramatically. Certainly the integration of women in both managerial and professional occupations has not only contributed to the reduction in the levels of occupational segregation, but has also greatly upgraded women's economic attainments. These two groups of occupations are the most rewarding with the highest average monthly income (see figures in parentheses).

Stagnation in the levels of segregation is evident in the most segregated occupations; at one pole, male-dominated occupations of skilled blue-collar workers, and at the opposite pole, female-dominated technical occupations, a category that includes occupations such as nurses and paramedics, teachers for

Table 7.1 Percentage of women in detailed occupations in which women have scored the largest increase

Occupation	*Occupation group*	*Code*	*1982*	*1992*	*2002*	*2011*	*Difference 2011–1982*	*Percent increase 2001–1982*
Technicians and other free professionals	Technical	19	13%	25%	33%	45%	32%	257%
Other managers	Managers	24	11%	18%	26%	36%	25%	229%
Accountants and cost accountants	Technical	11	15%	21%	41%	43%	28%	183%
Managers in public services	Managers	21	11%	23%	36%	23%	13%	122%
Shoe repairs and other leather-products workers	Skilled Workers	81	14%	22%	27%	31%	17%	117%
Skilled workers—food, beverages, tobacco	Skilled Workers	77	13%	20%	31%	27%	14%	114%
Warehouse and filing clerks	Clerical Sales and Services	33	15%	17%	23%	31%	16%	111%
Engineers and architects	Professionals	2	12%	13%	21%	23%	11%	94%
Jurists	Professionals	5	23%	24%	36%	41%	18%	78%
Academic professionals in natural sciences	Professionals	1	31%	29%	43%	50%	19%	60%
Insurance, estate agents, and appraisers	Clerical Sales and Services	43	24%	32%	43%	38%	14%	58%
Authors, artists, composers, journalists	Technical	13	41%	47%	54%	56%	16%	38%
Higher education teachers	Professionals	8	36%	40%	47%	49%	13%	37%
Clerks	Clerical Sales and Services	38	56%	58%	77%	76%	19%	34%
Accounts clerks	Clerical Sales and Services	31	63%	72%	80%	82%	19%	31%
Physicians and dentists	Professionals	3	35%	34%	45%	46%	11%	31%

elementary and lower secondary school, kindergarten teachers, social workers, and probation officers. Although technical occupations are relatively highly rewarded (above all occupational categories in the two segregated groups), men are reluctant to enter them due to their female labeling. In this regard, it should be noted that unlike in the United States—where occupational segregation is the second most important factor for gender differentials in pay (Mandel and Semyonov, 2014)—in Israel, within-occupation factors are more important than occupational segregation in explaining the gender wage gap (Herzberg, 2012).

Two other changes can be addressed; first, the percentage of women in female-dominated occupations in clerical, sales, and services occupations increased slightly between 1982 and 2002. According to Stier and Herzberg (2013), the oversupply of educated women drives their integration in occupations that formerly required lower levels of education.[15] Finally, in the unskilled male-dominated occupations the percentage of women increased between 1982 and 1992 and then returned to its initial level. This deviation can partly be explained by the large immigration wave from the former Soviet Union, which began in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Although immigrants from the former Soviet Union were highly educated, they were able to find work mainly in unskilled jobs (Eckstein and Weiss, 2002; Raijman and Semyonov 1998; Weinberg, 2001). The decline in women's representation in these occupations a decade later attests to the assimilation of immigrant women in better occupations.

Finally, Table 7.1 displays 16 detailed occupations in which women have scored the largest increase. Focusing on specific occupations, the upward occupational mobility of women is very evident. Women have increased their representation in high-status, previously male-dominated occupations such as engineering and architecture, jurists, medical doctors and dentists, managers, and accountants. While most of the occupations on the list are occupations that enjoy high status and high economic rewards, women have also entered relatively low-wage skilled occupations in clerical, sales, and services occupations.

Trends in Gender Pay Gaps

Due to the importance of the paycheck in our capitalist society, the gender pay gap is one of the most significant indicators for women's economic attainments relative to men's, one that has garnered the most public attention in the debate over gender inequality.

To measure gender pay gaps, we used the Income Surveys, which are considerably smaller than the Labor Force Surveys. Thus, and given the limited participation rates of Arab women in 1972 and 1982, we were not able to separate Arab from Jewish workers, so most of the following analyses are for both groups together. Figure 7.10 (left) displays trends in the gender pay ratio over the past 40 years for all workers ages 25–64, by monthly and hourly pay. As can

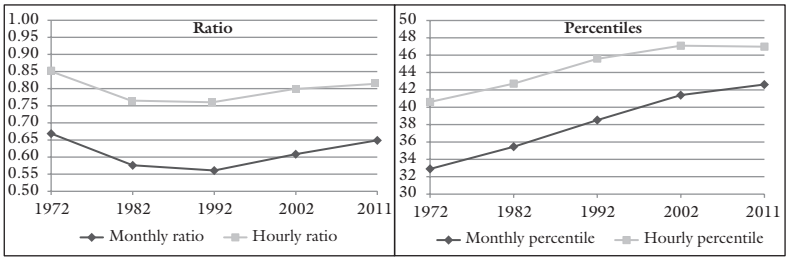

Figure 7.10 Monthly and hourly gender wage ratio (left), and the average monthly and hourly wage percentile of women (right) ages 25–64, 1972–2011.

be seen, in 1972 women earned on average 0.67 NIS for every NIS that men earned, and 0.85 NIS when monthly salaries are adjusted per hour. In 1982 the pay gap grew, and the ratio deteriorated to 0.58 and 0.77, respectively. During the 1980s the ratio remained relatively stable, but in the last two decades there has been a consistent convergence between women's and men's earnings, and the gender pay gap has returned almost to its initial level in 1972. A possible explanation for the decline in the average earnings of women relative to men during the 1970s may be the sharp increase in labor force participation among mothers during this decade. From 1972 to 1982 the participation rate of Jewish mothers rose from 35 percent to 57 percent, and for mothers of young children from 30 percent to 53 percent—the largest increase during the period. With more mothers participating in paid work, the female workforce becomes less selective in terms of its earning potential. In other words, the reduction in women's average relative economic attainments may reflect the entry of women with high obligations to unpaid work (i.e., care work), and thus with lower earning potential to the labor market.

On the right side of Figure 7.10 we present the average percentile of women in the overall wage distribution, which in an egalitarian labor market—where the position of women and men is equal—would be 50. This adjustment ensures that the gender pay gap will not be affected by changes in the overall wage inequality. Indeed, since the mid-1970s economic inequality between workers in Israel has increased substantially (Kristal and Cohen, 2007; Kristal, 2013; Haberfeld and Cohen, 2007), a change that could contribute to an increase in the gender pay gaps (see Blau and Kahn, 1994; Mandel and Semyonov, 2005). The figure shows that women have consistently improved their position relative to men's over the years, when wage distribution is computed by either monthly or hourly wage. From 1970 to 2011, women improved their average location on the wage ladder, ascending from the forty-first percentile to the forty-seventh percentile of the hourly wage distribution, and from the thirty-third to the forty-third percentile of the monthly wage distribution (see also: Yaish and Kraus, 2003).

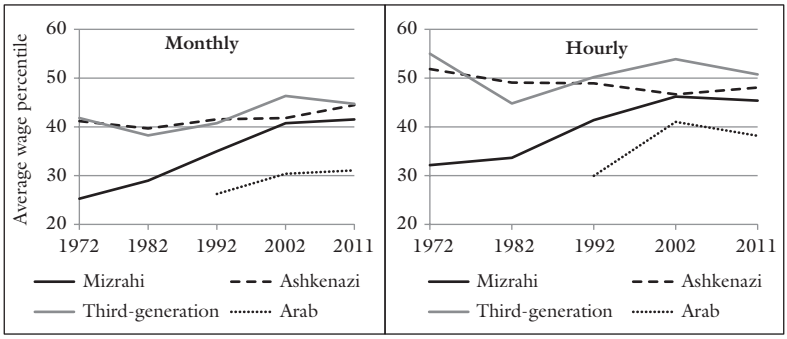

Figure 7.11 The average wage percentile (monthly and hourly) of women ages 25–64, by ethnic origin, 1972–2011.

The two sides of the figure, however, reveal quite different trends, especially during the 1970s. The simple pay ratio shows a decrease in the ratio between 1972 and 1982 (i.e., the gender wage gap increased), but this is not the case when adjusted by percentiles (i.e., the relative position of women across the wage distribution improved). The implication of this is that the increase in the wage gap when wages are not adjusted is indeed the result of a general increase in income inequality in Israeli society between 1972 and 1982.[16]

In Figure 7.11 we computed the average location (wage percentile) of women in the monthly and hourly wage distributions after dividing men and women by ethnic and religious groups. The figure displays only the female groups, but the location of each group is compared to the grand mean (the average of all groups, including men). As can be seen, third-generation Israeli women and Ashkenazi women are located in the highest monthly and hourly wage percentiles relative to Mizrahi and Arab women in all decades. Moreover, both groups slightly improved their monthly pay position between 1972 and 2011(from the forty-second to the forty-fifth percentile), but their relative position in the hourly wage distribution has slightly declined during the period studied, probably as a result of an increase in the average working hours of the two groups of women. Mizrahi women, by contrast, scored the largest increase, resulting in a significant convergence between the three Jewish groups, in monthly as well as hourly wage percentiles. For example, while in 1972 Mizrahi women were located on average in the twenty-fifth monthly percentile (17 wage percentiles below the other two Jewish groups), by 2011 they were in the forty-second percentile, minimizing the gap to only 3 percentiles. Again, as in the levels of LFP shown in Figure 7.2, the improvement in the relative position of Mizrahi women can be explained by differences between the first and second generations. Arab women as well witnessed great improvement, especially between 1992 and 2002, but they still lag behind all groups due to their low starting position.[17] While Arab women improved their relative position in the monthly

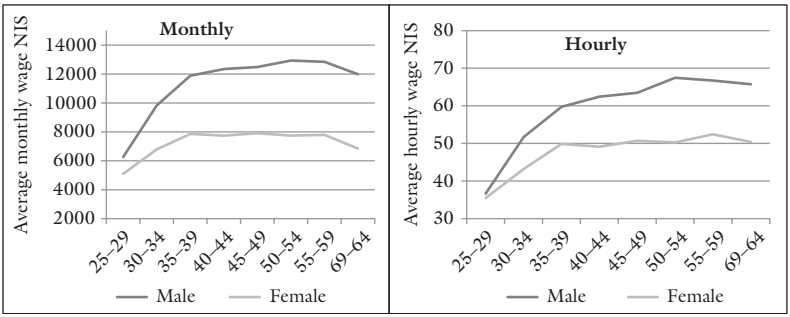

Figure 7.12 Average monthly and hourly wage in NS, by sex and age, 2011.

wage distribution at all points in time, in the last decade their position in the hourly wage distribution slightly deteriorated, probably as a result of increasing working hours.

Gender Earnings Gap by Age

Gender pay gaps, like other dimensions of gender inequality, may change over the working-life cycle. To examine this, Figure 7.12 presents the monthly and hourly earnings profiles of men and women, respectively, in 2011. The figures show that while women's earnings are lower than men's at any age, earning profiles of men and women are quite similar. Both genders are poorly paid during their first stages in the labor market, and earn more as they gain education and experience. Men's and women's earnings rise to a peak, which differs by gender. Women reach their peak relatively early—near the end of their thirties—and their pay remains constant over more than 20 years until retirement at the age of 60. Men's wages, by contrast, consistently rise until their late fifties, and then fall slightly before retirement.[18] Due to these divergent trends, gender pay gaps are the highest among men and women in their late fifties, when men reach the top of their wages. It should be noted that the figure is based on cross-sectional data; that is, it does not track the same people over time, and therefore some of the gender disparities in earnings may be attributed to cohort effect. Consequently, the larger wage gap at the age of 50 may be the result of the large educational disparities in the older generation.

Gender Earnings Ratio by Education

Gender inequality varies substantially by educational levels—as shown by the different participation rates of educated and noneducated women, and by the different levels of occupational segregation. The left panel of Figure 7.13

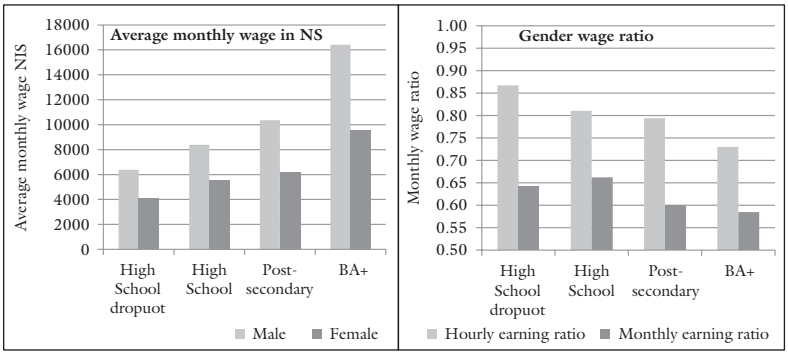

Figure 7.13 Average monthly wage by sex and education (left), and the gender wage ratio by education (right), ages 25–64, 2011.

displays the average wage of men and women in 2011 (in NIS) after the sample is disaggregated into four educational groups. It shows that although for men, as well as women, wage increases with the increase in the level of education, this increase is much greater among men than among women. Thus, gender pay gaps are much more pronounced among educated than among noneducated workers. The right panel of Figure 7.12 displays this gap by the ratio between the average wages of men and women at each educational level (in monthly and hourly wages). In contrast to previous dimensions of gender inequality, gender pay ratio is most egalitarian among low-educated workers (where women earn 64 percent of men's monthly wage and 87 percent of men's hourly wage), and less egalitarian among higher educated men and women (where women earn only 58 percent and 73 percent, respectively, of their comparable well-educated men).

While among men the returns to academic education are substantial, for women, academic education is far less economically rewarded. It seems, then, that highly educated women in Israel are less successful in translating their educational and occupational attainments into earnings. Indeed, Haberfeld and Cohen (1998) show that during the 1980s, the increase in women's educational level did not improve their relative economic position, and that most of the gender earnings gap in that period was not due to any productivity-related variable. A possible explanation for this is the change in the higher education system: the certification of teaching colleges to award a bachelor degree (rather than postsecondary education). This change reduces the correlation between higher education and pay among women, as schoolteacher is a female-dominated occupation with relatively low earnings. In relation to this, Stier and Herzberg (2013) suggest that the rise in academic education has exceeded the demand for educated workers, resulting in a mismatch between qualifications and pay among women. They argue that highly educated women in recent years are working in occupations that previously required

lower qualifications such as clerical occupations, which receive relatively lower earnings. It seems, then, that other than higher wage discrimination in occupations at the upper pole of the distribution (as in the case of the glass ceiling), occupational choices and fields of study in which men and women have specialized (Ayalon, 2003), contribute to an imbalance between demand and supply.

An important literature in this regard relates the lower economic achievements of women to the motherhood penalty—the economic price of motherhood. Indeed, Figure 7.12 shows that women's pay remains constant at a relatively early age (during their fertility age), while men's wages consistently rise until their late fifties. Studies that have examined the motherhood penalty in Israel reached conflicting results. Several studies did not find evidence of a motherhood penalty when comparing mothers' to nonmothers' income (Kricheli, Mandel, and Kriya, forthcoming; Herzberg Druker, 2014), while others found a negative effect of family size on women's wages and a positive effect of family size on men's wages, an effect that has, however, declined over the years (Sharabani, 2003).

Gender Role Attitudes and the Division of Labor at Home

The improvement in women's economic position shown by their growing labor market participation and occupational attainments over the last 40 years may be a result of, or an indication of, a normative shift from conservatism to more egalitarian attitudes toward gender roles. More egalitarian gender role attitudes contribute to suppressing the gender roles—the dichotomies between paid and unpaid work, between female- and male-typed works, and between female- and male-typed occupations. As such they spur participation rates of women in paid work, reduce gender occupational segregation, and legitimize the entry of women into what are considered "male domains."[19]

It is important to note that although the effect of gender role attitudes on actual behavior is not straightforward, gender ideology has been found to affect working hours, full-time employment of mothers, and hourly earnings for women (but not for men) (Corrigall and Konrad, 2007; Cunningham et al., 2005). At the national level, gender ideology is found to explain differences between countries in distribution of women and men in paid and unpaid work (Nordenmark, 2004). In Israel, too, in households with more liberal attitudes women devote fewer hours to housework and enjoy greater spousal sharing of household tasks (Lewin-Epstein, Stier, and Braun, 2006).

To explore changes in normative attitudes toward gender roles over time, we used the "Family and changing gender roles" Modula of the International Social Survey Program (ISSP). This Modula is published every few years and focuses on public attitudes toward gender roles in general, and the work-family conflict in particular. We used the surveys of 1994 (the earliest data for Israel),

2002, and 2012 to create an indicator of attitudes toward gender roles by the aggregation of responses to six questions.[20] The indicator is the average value of all respondents on all questions, and it ranges from 1 to 5, where 5 represents egalitarian views of gender roles, and vice versa. Since the ISSP surveys are based on a relatively small sample (about 1,200 cases), we focused only on the Jewish population.[21]

As shown in Figure 7.14, there have been no major changes in gender role attitudes over the years.[22] That is, despite the momentous entry of women into the labor market, attitudes toward gender roles are very persistent among men and women alike. Because in Israel, as in other countries, religiosity is associated with more conservative attitudes toward mothers' employment, we test whether demographic changes are responsible for this stagnation. For that task we also disaggregated the sample by religiosity levels (result available upon request), but obtained similar results. It should be noted that the questions are not explicitly targeted at conservative versus egalitarian attitudes, but address the ability of working women to reconcile paid work with child-rearing. Thus, the similar answers to these questions, despite the growing participation rates of mothers in recent years, may indicate that the entry of women into the labor market did little to change their (and their spouses) subjective perceptions regarding their motherhood duties and their responsibility for childcare.

Figure 7.15 displays the index of gender role attitudes by cohort and by year of survey. The analysis, again, is based not on panel data but on cross-sectional data of different people of different ages at each time point. For example, a person that was born in 1977 (1968–1984 cohort) was 35 years old in the 2012 survey, 25 years old in 2002, and 17 years old in 1994 (and therefore has not been included in the 1994 analysis). The figure shows that recent cohorts are more egalitarian in their perceptions relative to older cohorts, and that this trend is systematic across all cohorts. Nevertheless, on average most individuals become more conservative over their life course, a trend that is similar for

Figure 7.14 Attitudes toward gender roles (5 = most egalitarian), 1994–2012.

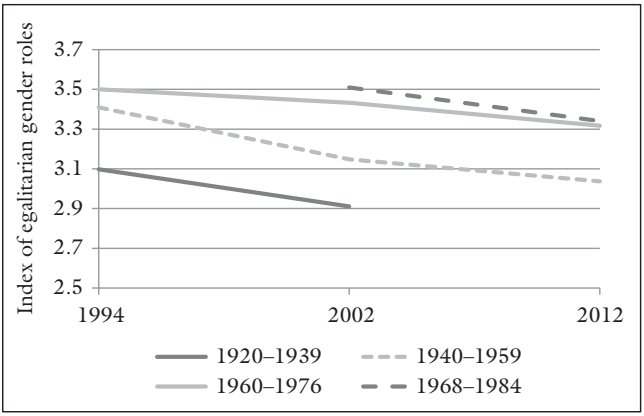

Figure 7.15 Attitudes toward gender roles (5 = most egalitarian), by birth cohort and year of survey.

N = 1174 (1994), N = 947 (2002), N = 863 (2012). The minimum size of an age group is 30 cases.

all cohorts. These two opposite trends, the relatively egalitarian perceptions of younger generations (cohorts), on the one hand, and the increase in conservative views regarding gender roles over the life course, on the other hand, result in no change in the average perceptions of gender roles in the Israeli society as a whole, shown in Figure 7.14.

The stagnation in cultural and normative gender perceptions is not consistent with the trends observed in other gender dimensions—like the increase in labor force participation rates and the improvement in women's occupational and economic attainments—but it does fit gendered theory perceptions. Given the seeming paradox between the two trends, the question regarding what happened within the household is of great importance. If the division of labor at home reflects (or is affected by) gender role attitudes, as feminists would argue (Ridgeway 2011, England 2006), we should expect no major change in the division of labor at home. However, if the increase in women's paid work and their upward occupational mobility affect the time they devote to unpaid work—as economic theories would predict—we should expect a more egalitarian gendered division of household tasks.

Figure 7.16 shows the distribution of housework duties between men, women, and a third person, at three points in time—1994, 2002, and 2012.[23] As can be seen, most household duties are carried out by women, with no major change between 1994 and 2012. For example, women are responsible for doing the laundry (despite a decrease from 82 percent to 71 percent) and preparing the meals.[24] Contrarily, men are responsible for small repairs at home (about 70 percent of men indicated that they perform these tasks at all three points in time). The only duty that is relatively balanced between the genders is

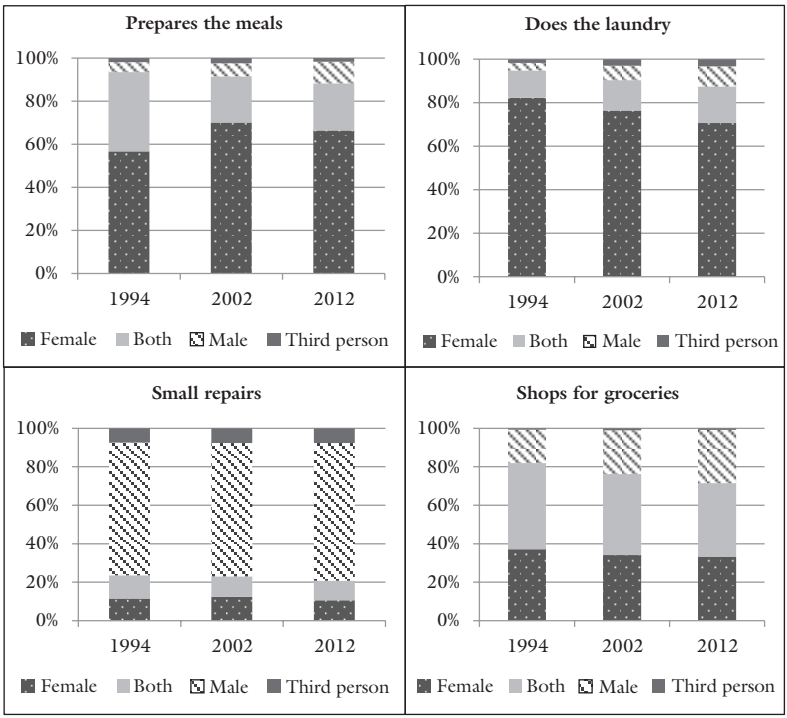

Figure 7.16 Distribution of household tasks by the answers to the question: "In your household, who does the following things?"

shopping for groceries; however, this balance was already present in 1994 and has not changed significantly. Finally, the sharp increase in economic activity of women and mothers might lead to the expectation of an increase in the outsourcing of household tasks. The findings presented in the figure, however, reveal no change in the outsourcing of household tasks.[25]

Another way to examine the division of labor at home is by the number of hours each partner invests in household tasks. In the ISSP data this question appears in the two most recent surveys (2002 and 2012). Figure 7.17 shows the number of weekly hours devoted to household tasks for each spouse (not including childcare) by survey and by the employment status of the wife, for married couples only. As can be seen, wife employment status is a significant predictor for the time women invest in household work, where working women devote less time. Paradoxically, however, while the time women invest in household tasks has slightly increased for employed women (and men) over the decade, it decreased for nonemployed women. The only change that we did find to be significant is the increase in number of hours

Figure 7.17 Wife's and husband's housework (in average weekly hours) by year of survey and by employment status of the wife.

that spouses of employed women devote to household tasks (a rise of 2 hours, from 6.6 hours to 8.5 hours). Despite this encouraging change, employed women invest almost double the amount of time in household tasks relative to their spouses.

The general picture is that in Israel, as in other Western societies, women have increased their participation in the public sphere, with no counterbalance from their spouses, who are reluctant to fully share their duties in the private sphere (England, 2010). This unbalanced change is supported by persistent gender perceptions, of men and women alike, regarding motherhood duties and women's responsibility for childcare.

Summary and Conclusions

Like other Western societies, Israel has experienced a gender revolution in recent decades in many respects. Most studies document the revolution appearances by pointing to the growing participation of women in the labor market, and to their growing economic achievements within it. Changes in the gender relation within the family are less known in Israel. The aim of this chapter has been to examine the extent to which the gender revolution in Israel follows universal patterns of asymmetrical change, with women changing more than men. For this purpose, we have identified and documented trends in various dimensions of gender inequality in Israel between 1972 and 2012, using various data sources. We have tracked changes in gender-related economic, normative, and social dimensions in the public as well as the private spheres.

Several empirical research questions have guided our inquiry: What are the dimensions of gender inequality that have experienced change? What were the patterns of these changes? Do trends in gender inequality vary by ethnic, religious, or educational groups of Israeli society? In order to answer these questions, we have analyzed trends in labor market participation rates, occupational segregation, wage disparities, normative attitudes toward gender roles, and the division of labor at home.

Our findings show that the gender revolution in Israel largely follows other Western countries, especially the United States. In general, trends in gender inequality over the last 40 years can be divided into dimensions that have experienced a dramatic decline and those that have not. As in the United States (England, 2006), these dimensions are closely related to paid versus nonpaid activities. On the one hand, substantial progress is evident in almost all labor market outcomes. Within the household, however, there is no change in the gender division of household tasks or in normative perceptions of gender roles.

For example, a move from the private into the public sphere—i.e., from nonpaid to paid work—is expressed by the dramatic increase in labor force participation, and in full-time employment, of women in general and of mothers in particular. Women's labor force participation rates today are high, and among Jewish men and women the participation gap in 2011 is negligible. Similarly, there is a documented decline in the level of occupational gender segregation, and a notable increase in the percentage of women in prestigious occupations, first and foremost managerial occupations, together with an improvement in women's relative position in the wage distribution. These major changes were driven by the increasing levels of women's education; higher levels of education raise women's earnings potential well above the reservation wage, thus increasing the incentive to participate in the labor market. High education levels also allow women to join prestigious occupations, and increase their wages. Therefore, in the contexts of labor force participation, weekly working hours, gender segregation, and earnings, the gap between men and women has grown smaller over time, with education driving this trend (see also Stier and Herzberg, 2013).

These findings encompass all groups of women. However, in 2011 there are still significant differences between Jewish and Arab women in every respect. For Arab women, and despite the significant increase in their labor force participation, the gender revolution is still taking its first steps. Participation rates of Arab women are still low, especially of mothers and noneducated women. Although most Arab women with academic education or a postsecondary diploma tend to participate in paid work, this group is relatively small. Arab women who do participate in paid work tend to face a double disadvantage: they are more segregated in female-typed jobs, and—despite the large increase in their average pay between 1992 and 2002—they still lag behind all groups due to their low starting position. Due to the small samples, however, we could not differentiate between Arabs and Jews in many aspects, especially those that relate to the private sphere. In contrast to the large differences between Arab and Jewish women, we found

a striking convergence within the Jewish ethnic groups. In 2011 there were no gaps in participation rates between Ashkenazi and Mizrahi women, and the gap in hourly and monthly pay between the two groups was negligible.

Finally, in the spirit of England, we try to understand the bottleneck by turning to trends in attitudes toward gender role and the division of household labor. Here, too, Israel follows trends similar to the United States. In contrast to the substantial change in the public sphere, perceptions of gender roles and the division of labor at home have changed little over the years. In 2012 three-quarters of women in Israel still prepare the meals and do the laundry, compared to less than 10 percent of men, despite the fact that in 2011, 83 percent of Jewish mothers of young children participated in paid work. It seems, then, that the upward economic attainments of women in recent decades have affected neither the normative perceptions of gender roles nor the division of labor at home. This seemingly paradoxical finding may be related, in part, to family policies in Israel, which, according to Stier (2005, 2010), are aimed at helping women's integration in the labor market but without challenging the social order.

As documented by our findings, then, changes in the gender system are asymmetric, with women changing more than men. Women have not only left housewifery in favor of paid work, but have also entered previously male occupations, such as managerial and professional. Men, on the other hand, have been reluctant to enter female-dominated occupations, or to equally share household tasks with women. England (2010, 2011) has attributed this to the devaluation of and low rewards in roles associated with women—whether in the household or in the labor market. This, she argues, gives women an incentive to leave them and men little incentive to enter (2011: 11). A change in this vicious circle would require that rigid gender boundaries be crossed, which serve as key principles for the organization of labor within the labor market and within the family (Charles and Bradley, 2009; England, 2006; Ridgeway, 2011). The stagnation in normative perceptions of gender roles implies that those boundaries are solid and have yet to be seriously challenged.

Appendix

Table 7.A List of surveys and the sample sizes

Labor Force Survey				
	Jew		*Arab*	
Year	Men	Women	Men	Women
1972	14,689	15,681	2,231	2,262
1982	22,521	24,642	2,578	2,677
1992	23,711	25,530	4,241	4,279
2002	23,751	25,864	5,621	5,885
2011	23,906	26,152	5,818	5,799

ISSP Survey		
	Jew	
Year	Men	Women
1994	414	544
2002	286	410
2012	257	421

Income Survey				
	All			
Year	Men		Women	
1972	1,963		777	
1982	3,186		1,936	
	Jew		Arab	
Year	Men	Women	Men	Women
1992	3,572	3,037	234	55
2002	6,588	6,296	1,122	343
2011	7,278	7,584	1,212	511

Notes

1. The significant increase in women's higher education is partly related to the decision to allow teaching colleges, in which most of the students are women, to award academic degrees (Shavit and Bronstein, 2011).
2. The distribution of Arabs and Jews in our sample in 2011 is 79.5 percent Jews, 18.9 percent Arabs, and 1.6 percent others.
3. Note that LFP patterns of Arab women in Israel are not significantly different from those of Arab women in other Arab and Muslim countries (http://www.boi.org.il/deptdata/mehkar/papers/dp1205h.pdf).
4. The Labor Force Survey provides information on the presence of children up to the age of 17 in the household. Because mothers of older children cannot be identified, we set the upper age limit to 45.
5. Nonetheless, Okun and Oliver (2009) found a negative correlation between mother's employment and number of children, which remains relatively strong between 1961 and 1995.
6. 67 percent relative to 60 percent in OECD countries. See: http://www.oecd.org/els/soc/47701118.pdf, and also: http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/social-issues-migration-health/society-at-a-glance-2006/mothers-in-paid-employment_soc_glance-2006-10-en.
7. The figures among Arab women should be taken with caution, due to the small relative and absolute numbers of full-time women workers in general and mothers in particular (in 1972 and 1982 the numbers of full-time women workers were 144 and 156, respectively, and among mothers 45 and 99 respectively).
8. Around 14 percent of Arab men and women hold an academic degree compared to 30 percent among Jewish men and 32 percent among Jewish women in 2011.
9. Analyses of occupations are not limited to working age population. Yet limiting the analyses to ages 25–64 yielded very similar results.
10. The index of dissimilarity is affected by the number of occupations. Detailed occupational categories produce higher and more accurate values. The Central

Bureau of Statistics updates the occupational classification from time to time, and it is very challenging to adjust different classifications, especially detailed classifications. In order to make occupational coding comparable across surveys, we used the two-digit occupational coding of 1972 (which produces between 70–87 occupational categories in every year). Because there are many more occupational categories in 1972 relative to other surveys (98 vs. 70–87) we limited our analysis to the years 1982 to 2011.

11. Note that between 1992 and 2002 the CBS changed the occupational coding system, resulting in a reduction in the number of occupations (from 87 to 70). This change may slightly affect the results.
12. The index is also affected by the size of the group (the margins); therefore a comparison between the two groups could be problematic.
13. For example, the index of dissimilarity has changed by about 14 percent from the 1950s to the 2000s in the United States (England, 2006).
14. Splitting occupations by their average educational levels yields very different numbers of occupations in each group, making the value of the index noncomparable.
15. Similar results were found for Arab women; between1970 and 1990 the integration of Arab women into the labor force was characterized by a decline in their relative occupational status (Semyonov, Lewin-Epstein, and Brahm, 1999).
16. From 1972 to 1982 the level of income inequality in Israel rose, and the Gini coefficient increased sharply from about 0.25 to over 0.32 (Kristal, 2013; Kristal and Cohen, 2007).
17. The analysis of Arab women starts from 1992 since the numbers of Arab women in earlier surveys are very low. Note that in 1992 the number of Arab women is also very low (39 cases).
18. In the public sector in Israel, and especially in the military forces, workers can take early retirement. Low-skilled workers, however, have limited pension programs and thus are forced to stay in the labor market as long as they can. This compositional change at late ages may explain the decline in men's wages after the age of 60.
19. An opposite shift is still very rare, as women have more social and economic incentives to enter male domains than men have to enter female domains (especially in regard to housework) (England, 2006).
20. The indicator is based on the answers to the following questions: do you agree or disagree that (1) "a working mother can establish just as warm and secure a relationship with her children as a mother who does not work"; (2) "a preschool child is likely to suffer if his or her mother works"; (3) "all in all, family life suffers when a woman has a full-time job"; (4) "a job is all right, but what most women really want is a home and children"; (5) "both the man and the woman should contribute to the household income"; (6) "a man's job is to earn money, and a woman's job is to look after the home and family." The codes of items 2, 3, and 6 have been reversed. Reliability ranges from 0.695 to 0.713 (Cronbach's alpha).
21. Due to significant differences in the average age (almost 6 years) across the three samples, and given the relevance of age to gender attitudes, we limited all samples to working age population.

22. Cross-nationally, Israel is located at the center of the distribution (average value of about 3.4). The four Scandinavian countries together with France and Germany (East and West) have the highest level of egalitarian attitudes, and Mexico, the Philippines, Chile, and Argentina have the lowest.
23. The questions regarding the division of household tasks have changed between 1994 and 2002. In 1994 the answers to "who does the following things" refer to "women" and "men," while in 2002 and 2012 they refer to "me" and "my spouse/partner." The alternatives are "always me/him" and "usually me/him" (combined into one category), "both," and "third person." We are aware that a common problem with using this kind of indicator is that men usually overestimate their share of the household work relative to women (Nordenmark, 2000); however, we have no reason to believe that this tendency has changed over time.
24. It should be noted that in 1994 the question was asked differently: "Who decides what to make for meals?" and not "Who prepares the meals?" The increase between 1994 and 2002 might be attributed to this change.
25. The question about house cleaning—perhaps the one most relevant for outsourcing—is available only in 2002 and 2012 and therefore does not appear here. However, the findings show a decrease, rather than an increase, in the scope of outsourcing of cleaning between the two decades from 18 percent to 11 percent.

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