

Cross-Country Comparison of Individual and Structural Processes of Gender Inequality

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Individual and structural aspects of gender inequality

Individual

Are the location of men and women on the occupational ladder becoming more similar over time?

Structural

Are the criteria underpinning the occupational ladder becoming more (or less) affected by gender?

We don't know yet!

Yes!

anager

. Physician

Teacher

Driver

Ca<mark>re-G</mark>iver

Individual and structural forms of gender inequality

Individual

What we already know?

The gender distribution has become more similar, as women entered previously male dominated occupations (in management medicine, law, and others)

Structural

What we don't know?

Has this change affected the occupational structure itself?

If yes –

Has this gender effect increased or decreased over time? anager

nvsician

leacher

Driver

Care-Giver



Why this is important?

Individual

Upward occupational mobility of women on the occupational ladder Changes in the relative status and pay of occupations on the ladder

Structural

Gendered!!

Gendered??

anager

Physician

Teacher

Driver

Car<mark>e-C</mark>iver

Why is this important?

Individual

More women today are industrial engineers

Gendered!!

Structural

Does the fact that industrial engineers have enjoyed lower pay increase relative to electrical engineers relate to the fact that many more women have become industrial engineers over the last decades?

> Sociologists suspect that it does

> > 5

anager

h<mark>ysı</mark>cian

Teache

Care-Giver

Driver

Occupational devaluation

Wage reduction in occupations following feminization, due to employer's underestimation of traits and skills identified with femininity (England 1992)





Empirical evidence

Individual

Trends in occupational mobility of women

Prevalent

Structural

Trends in occupational devaluation

Not prevalent

lanager

hysician

Teacher

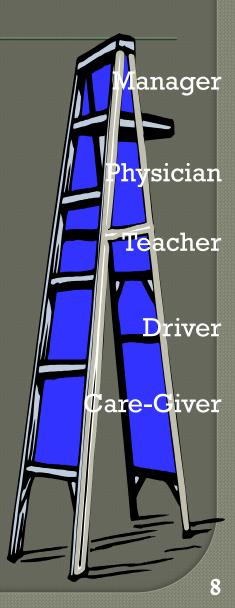
Driver

Care-Giver

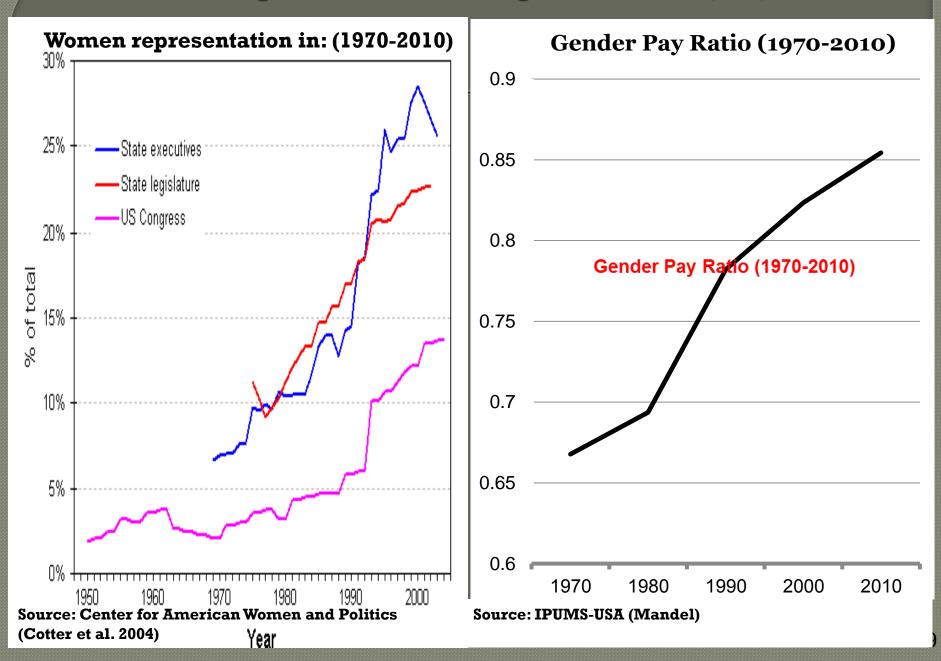


This is an ideal period

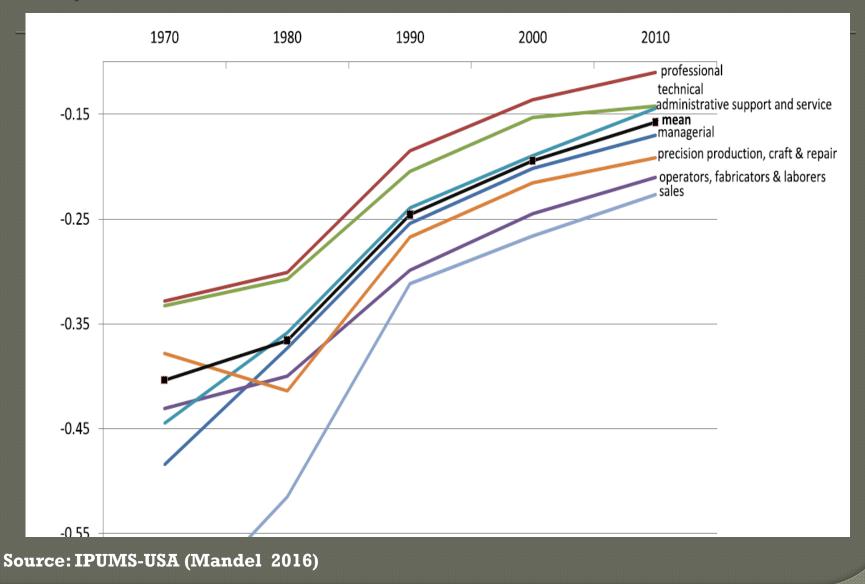
A time of upward occupational mobility for women, a precondition for the occurrence of occupational devaluation.



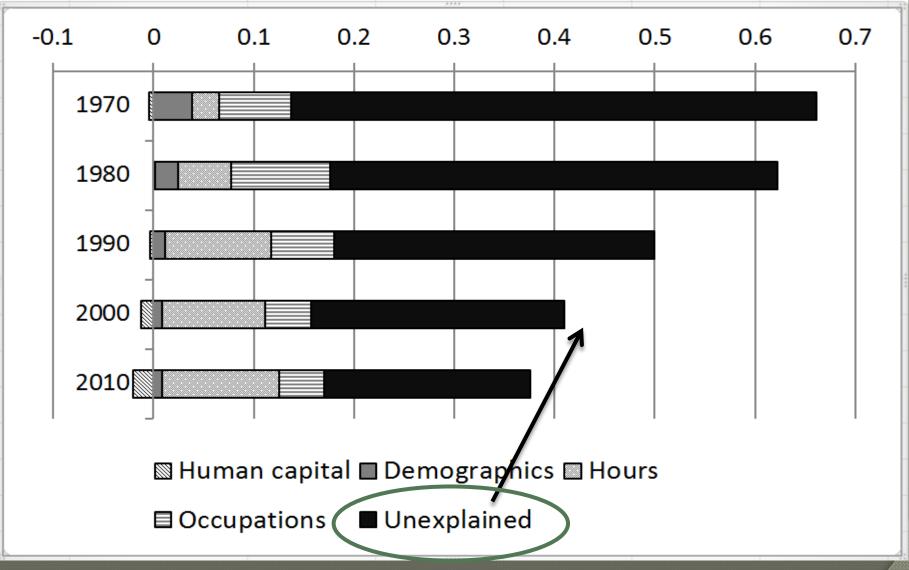
Women's occupational and earnings attainments, US, 1950-2010



Predicted net gender earnings gaps by groups of occupations, USA; 1970 -2010



Gender pay gaps in the US by components



Source: IPUMS-USA (Mandel and Semyonov 2015)

Individual and structural forms of gender inequality

Individual

What we already know?

The gender distributions haves become more similar:

- in pay
- In occupations

Structural

What we don't know?

Has this change affected the occupational structure itself?

If yes –

Has this gender effect increased or decreased over time? anager

ny<u>sician</u>

leacher

Driver

Care-Giver

Data & Methods

Data: IPUMS-USA (1960-2015)

- 5% sample censuses of 1980-2000
- 1% sample census of 1960-1970
- ACS sample for 2010 and 2015

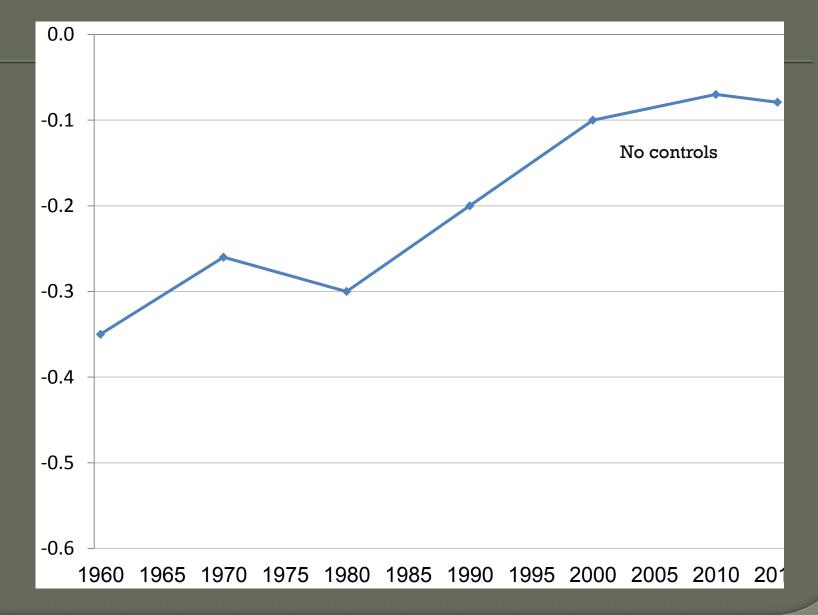
Around 300^{to} 400 occupational categories (variable OCC)

Method: multi-level regressions, by decade.

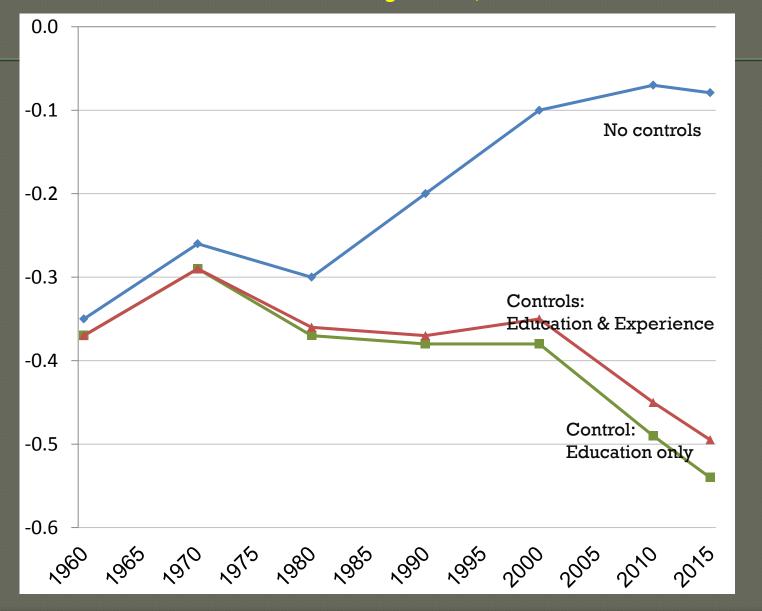
<u>Dependent variable:</u>

- Individual level: logged hourly wage.
- Occupational level: average logged hourly wage of males in occupations (the intercept: male=0, female=1).
- Independent variable:
 - Individual level: male=0, female=1
 - Occupational level: proportion of females in occupations
- <u>Controls</u>: human capital factors at the individual level and occupational level.

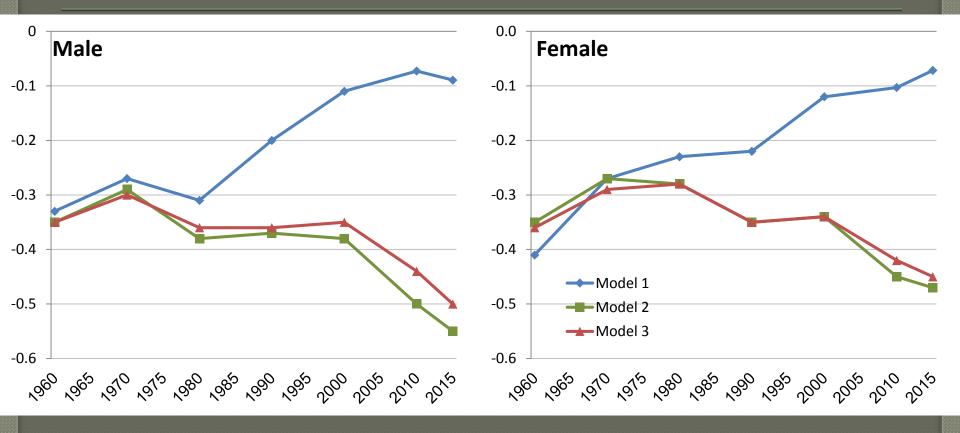
Coefficients of proportion female on the average wage of males in occupations, 1960-2015: results of multi-level regression, without controls



Coefficients of proportion female on the average wage of males in occupations, 1960-2015: results of multi-level regression, with and without controls



Coefficients of proportion female on the average wage of males in occupations, 1960-2015: results of multi-level regression, with and without controls, by gender



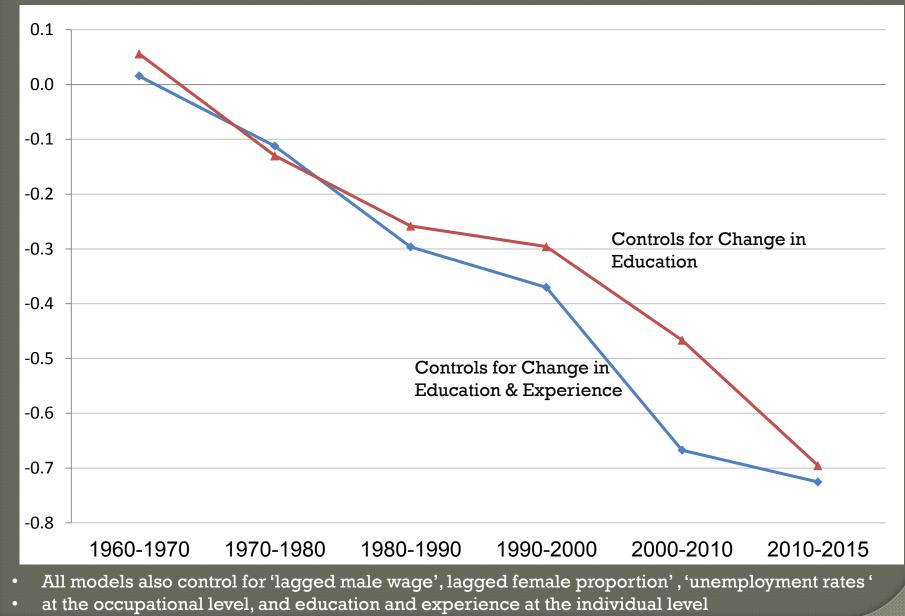


Change in percent female in occupations

 \rightarrow Change in male wages

* **Change** between two consecutive census years (1960 and 1970, 1970 and - 1980, etc.)

Coefficients of <u>change</u> in proportion female on <u>change</u> in occupational pay, result of multi-level regression*

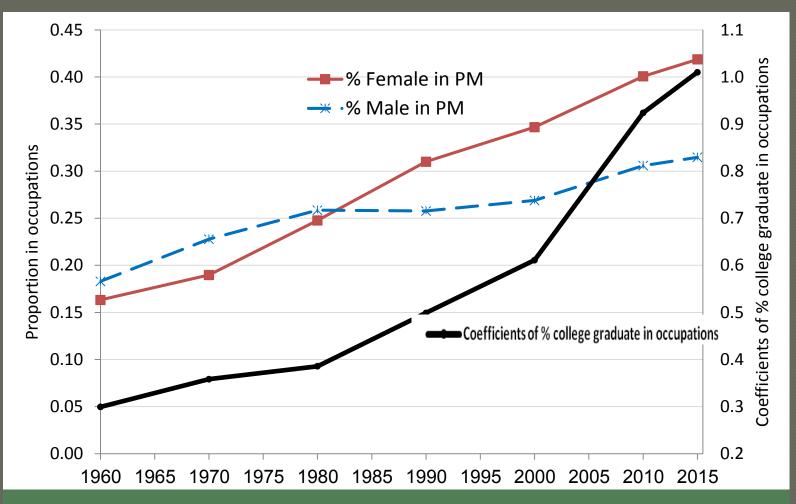


What account for the divergent trends??

 The growing entry of women into professional and managerial occupations (occupations that require high education)

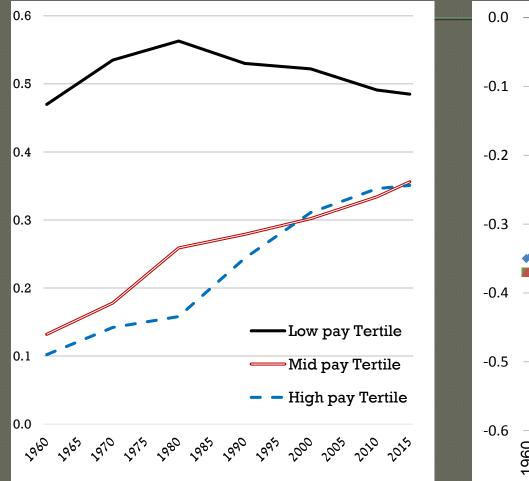
 The growing rewards to occupations that demand high education (relative to unskilled occupations)

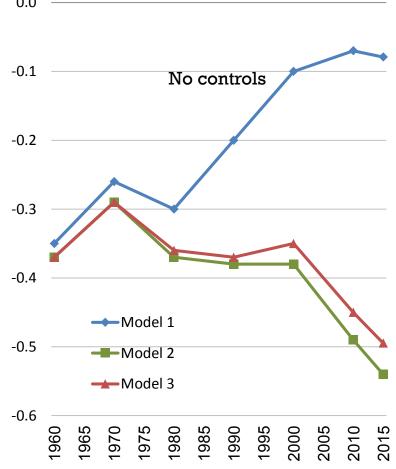
Proportion of Men and Women in PM occupations and Rewards for Education 1960-2015



Women increase their participation in the very same occupations that enjoy the highest wage premium

Effect of percent female on the average wage of males in occupations, 1960-2010: results of multi-level regression, without controls, by gender

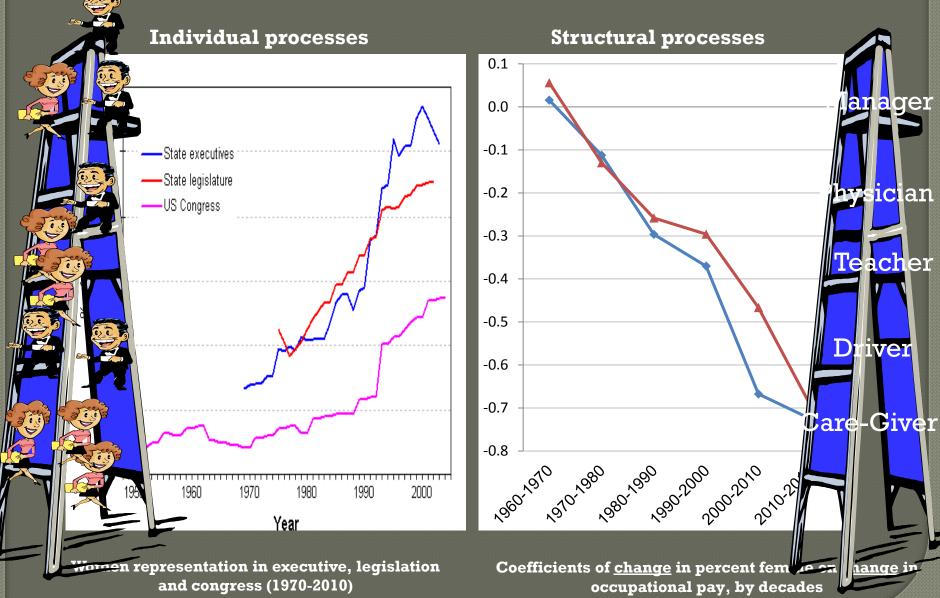




Mean proportion female in Occupation by tertiles of average weekly wage Coefficients of percent female on the average wage of males in occupations, 1960-2015

Source: IPUMS-USA

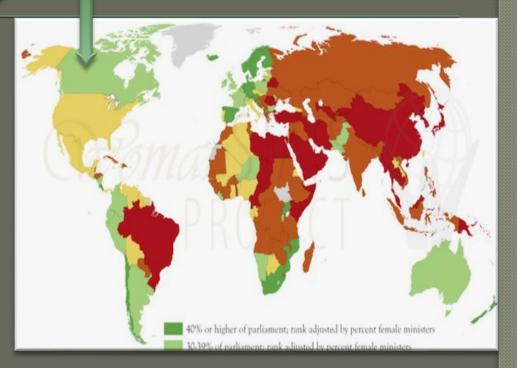
Individual and structural processes:



Cross country variations

 Developments in gender inequality research are biased toward the trends in the United States.

 Variations across countries would lead us to expect differences between countries with both processes.



The intersection between gender and class

Individual

- Educated/ Non Educated workers
- Skilled/Unskilled workers

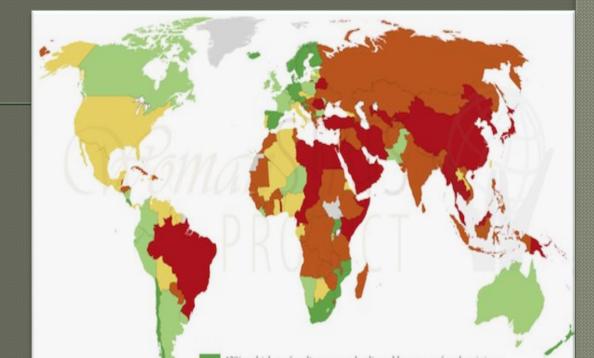
Structural

- White/ Blue collar occupations
- Professional / Manual occupations



The questions:

How individual and structural processes of gender inequality vary across countries as well as across classes?





Cross country variations in gender inequality and their relation to class diversity

Class diversity among women is a neglected issue in cross country comparative studies

Cross countries comparative literature has primarily highlighted the elements that unite, rather than divide, women

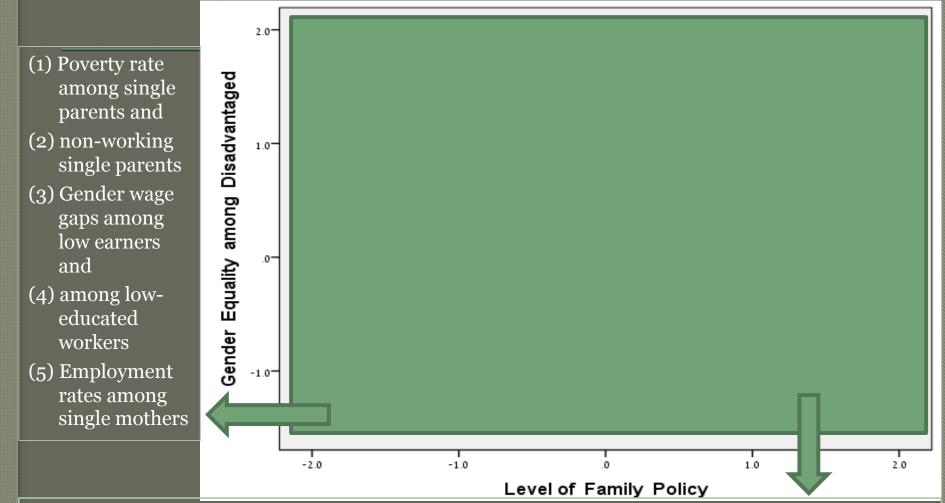
Gender inequality among the disadvantages and among the advantaged is based on very different dimensions (i.e. poverty rates vs. glass ceiling)

Indicators of in/equality among disadvantaged and advantaged (ISSP data)

DisadvantagedAdvantagedPoverty rate among single parentsWomen's representation in:Poverty rate among non-working
single parentsWomen's representation in:Gender wage gaps among low
earnersSupervisory positionsGender wage gaps among low-
earnersTop-wage positionsGender wage gaps among low-
earnersParliament

Aggregated index (for each group, in each country)
using the main factor created by the factor analysis
of the different indicators.

Family policies and gender equality among the disadvantaged



The components of the index:

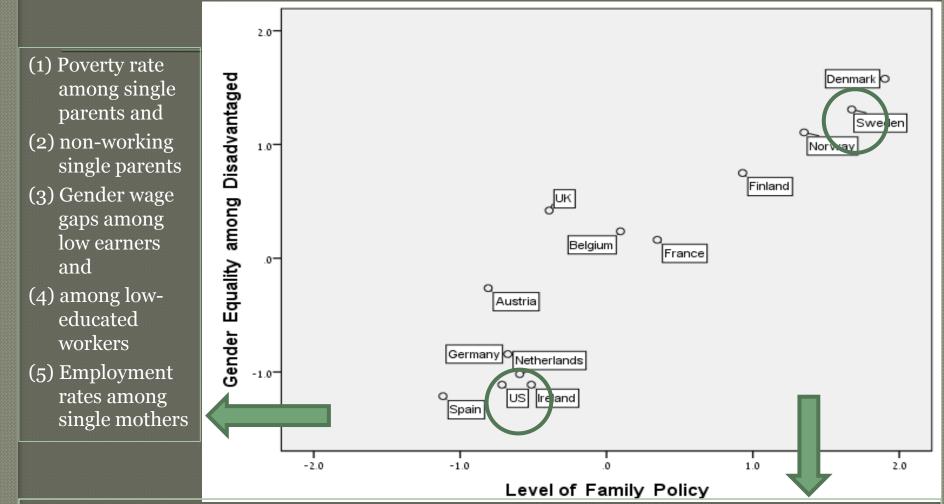
(1) Length of paid maternity/parental leave

(2) Child care facilities for children under 3

- (5) Public sector employment
- (6) Service sector employment

(3) Public spending on family benefits in public services and (4) in cash transfers

Family policies and gender equality among the disadvantaged



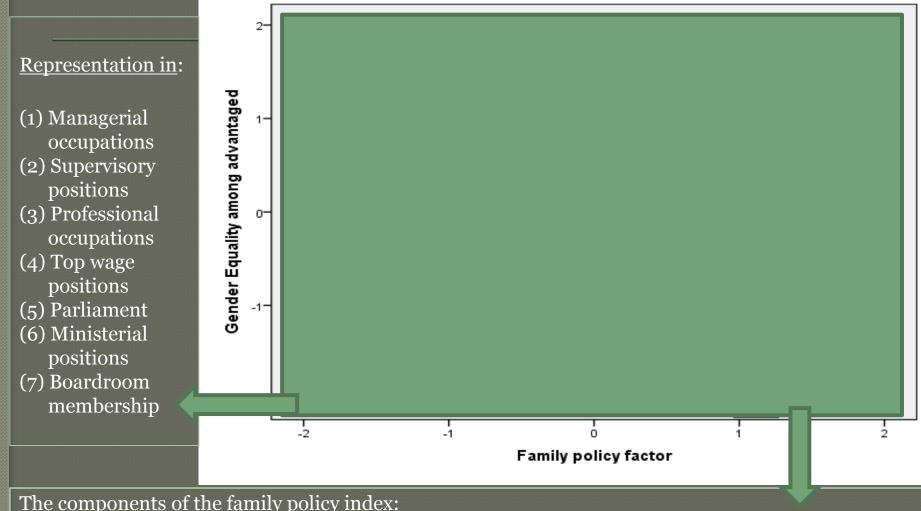
The components of the index:

- (1) Length of paid maternity/parental leave
- (2) Child care facilities for children under 3

- (5) Public sector employment
- (6) Service sector employment

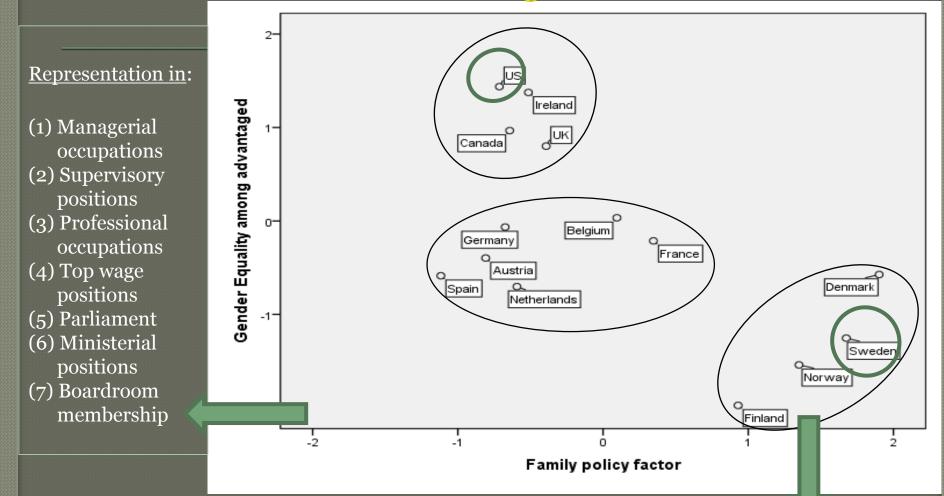
(3) Public spending on family benefits in public services and (4) in cash transfers

Family policies and gender equality among the advantaged



The components of the family policy index:(1) Length of paid maternity/parental leave(5) Public sector employment(2) Child care facilities for children under 3(6) Service sector employment(3) Public spending on family benefits in public services and (4) in cash transfers

Family policies and gender equality among the advantaged



The components of the index:

(1) Length of paid maternity/parental leave

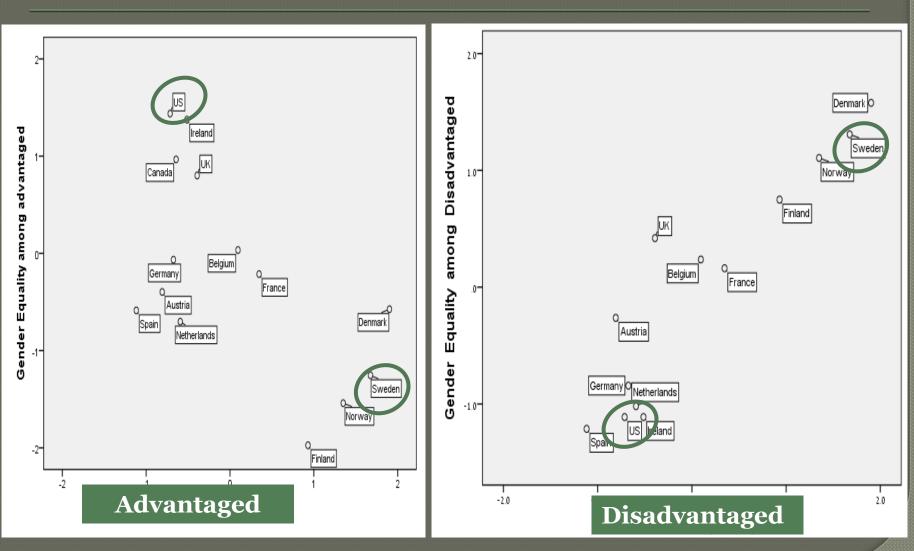
(2) Child care facilities for children under 3

(5) Public sector employment

(6) Service sector employment

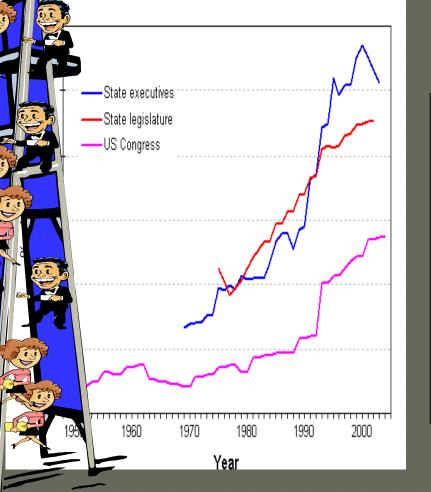
(3) Public spending on family benefits in public services and (4) in cash transfers

Family policies and gender equality among the dis/advantaged



Individual and structural processes:

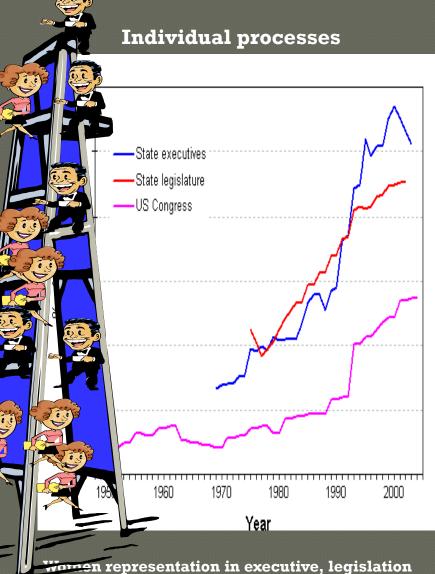
Individual processes



Women representation in executive, legislation and congress (US 1970-2010)

Equality among the advantaged:

Individual and structural processes:



and congress (1970-2010)

Teacher **Care-Giver**

Structural processes

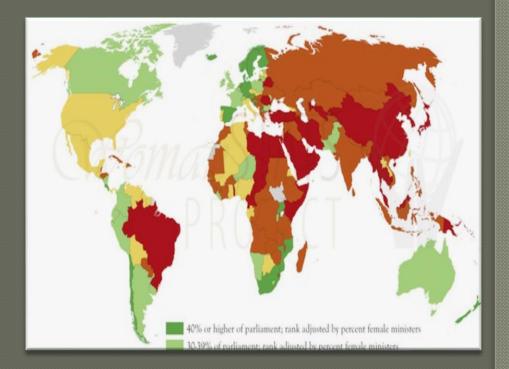
Anager

ays<mark>ic</mark>ian

Driver

Cross country variations

- Provision of family welfare
- Education and production systems
- Regulation of wage system
- Public sector employment



Expectations for long term trends in the two processes **Sweden**



Protection of occupational wages

Structural: Occupational devaluation

Equality:

- Regulated system of wage bargaining
- Specific skills
- Large public sector

Manager

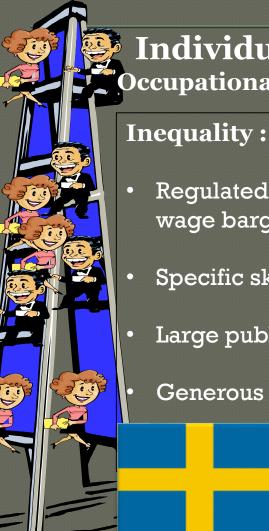
hy<u>sician</u>

leacher

Driver

Care-Giver

Expectations for long term trends in the two processes Sweden





•

- Regulated system of wage bargaining
- Specific skills
- Large public sector
- Generous family policies

Limitations on women's economic advancement

Manager

hvsician

leacher

Driver

Care-Giver

Expectations for long term trends in the two processes **Sweden**



Inequality :

- Regulated system of wage bargaining
- Specific skills
- Large public sector
- Generous family po.

Increase inequality: increase social closer and statistical discrimination against individual women **Decrease inequality:** protect occupational pay from devaluation

Equality :

Regulated system
bargaining

Structural:

Occupational devaluation

- Specific skills
- Large public sector

<u>Man</u>ager

hvsician

Teacher

Driver

Care-Giver

3Q6

Expectations for long term trends in the two processes **USA**



Equality :

- Lack of universal benefits for mothers
- General skills
- Equal opportunity
 - Tax credits







Less barriers on women's economic advancement Manager

hysician

Teacher

Driver

Care-Giver

Expectations for long term trends in the two processes **USA**



Devaluation of occupational pay

Structural: Occupational devaluation

Manager

hy<u>sician</u>

Teacher

Driver

<u>4</u>0

Care-Giver

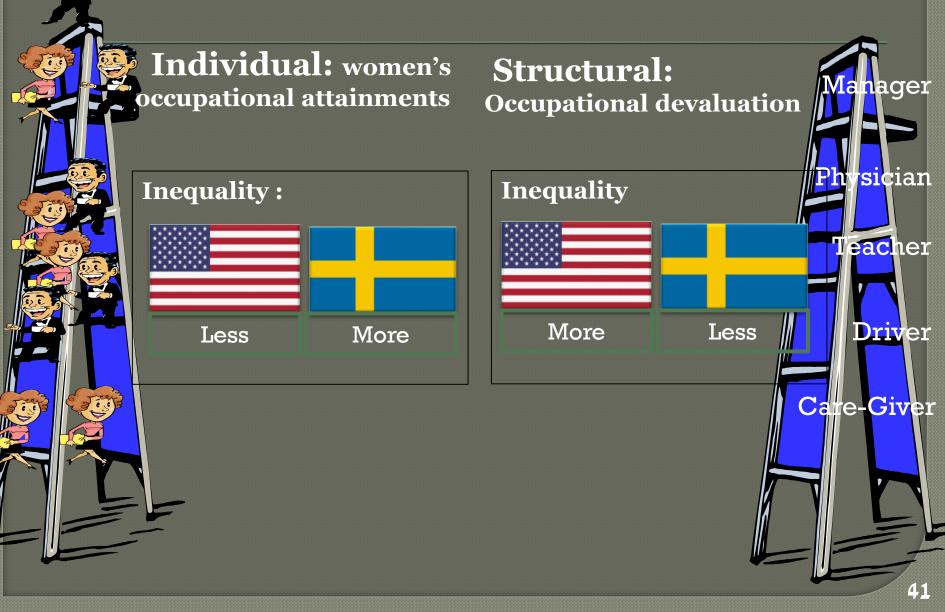
Inequality :

 Unregulated wage bargaining systems

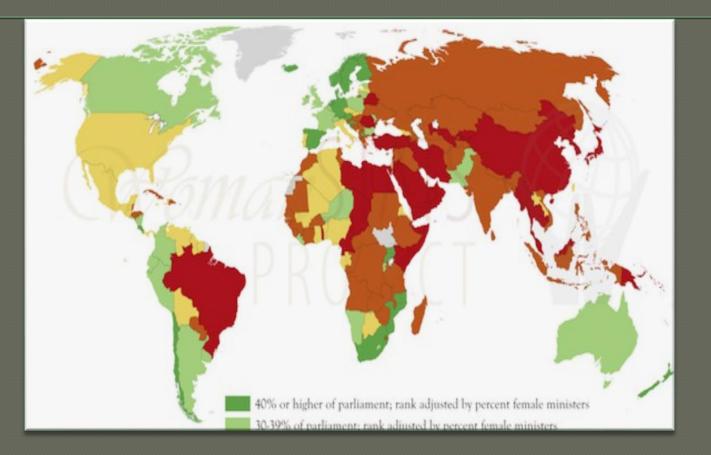
• General skills



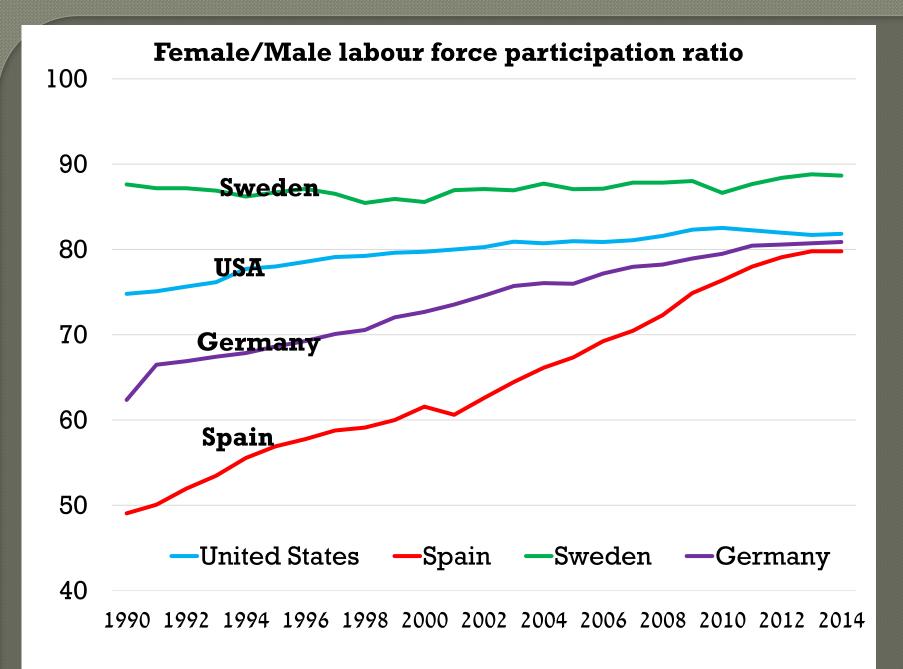
Expectations for long term trends in the two processes in the USA and Sweden



What happened in other countries?







Is the significance of gender in decline?

The answer to this question depends on the way we conceptualize and examine gender inequality

Is the significance of gender in decline?

At the individual level – Yes.

When the occupational and earnings attainments of individual men and women are compared over time, gender inequality is indeed shrinking.

BUT:

At the structural level – I am not sure.

In the US my data show that the occupational structure of rewards still preserve gender inequality

Over-time Trends in individual and structural mechanisms of gender in/equality

Individual mechanism of gender in/equality			Structural mechanism of gender in/equality		
Differences between men and women in	Over-time change	Expected effect on the gender pay gap	Returns/ Rewards to:	Over-time change	Expected effect on the gender pay gap
Time allocated to paid work	Converged	Decline	Time allocated to paid work	Increased	Increase
Work experience	Converged	Decline	Work experience	Increased	Increase
Occupational distributions	Converged	Decline	Male (vs. Female) Occupations	Increased	Increase





Examination of different sources of gender inequality should give more attention to structural processes.

Structural processes are:

- Less visible
- Often are not recognized as gendered
- Difficult to track empirically

e.g. industrial engineers relative to electrical engineers

In Summary

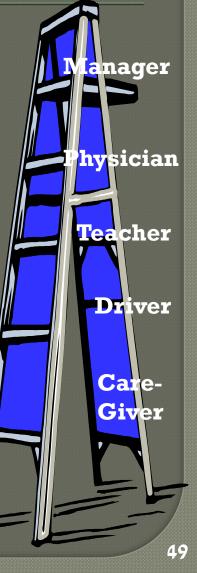


Today - the focus on structural aspects is crucial for understanding the new dynamics of gender inequality, and the different challenges that gender equality poses in different societies



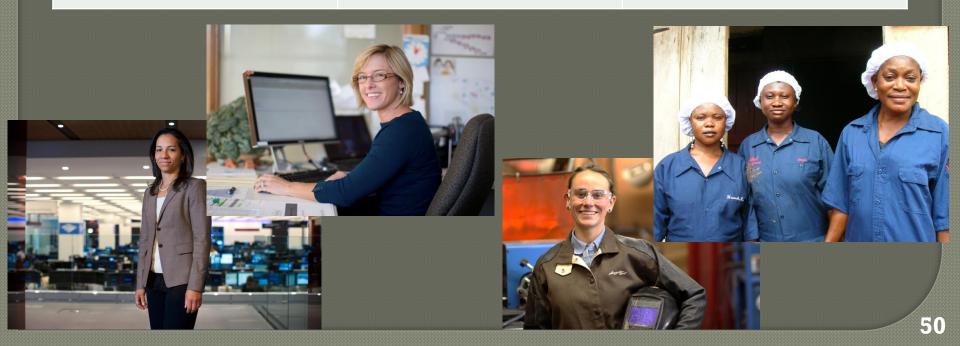
Cross-Country Comparison of Individual and Structural Processes of Gender Inequality

Thank You!



Expected gender equality processes

	Skilled (White collar)	Unskilled (Blue collar)
Individual (economic attainments)	More equality	Less equality
Structural (devaluation)	Less equality	More equality



Occupational devaluation

Wage reduction in occupations due to feminization



In Summary



- Structural aspects of gender inequality will become more dominant over time because discrimination against women as individuals has not only been outlawed but is also losing social legitimacy.
- The focus on structural aspects of gender inequality is especially critical today for understanding of the new dynamics of gender inequality, and the different challenges that gender equality poses in different societies.