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People do not usually begin their occupational careers as managers: they are generally promoted to managerial positions from lower levels in the hierarchy. In this respect, management is more than an occupation; it is a location in the formal hierarchy of authority and command. Managers congregate at the apex of organizational structures. Access to more of such benefits as economic rewards, social deference, power and autonomy, and challenging work—and to symbolic benefits such as bigger and newer cars, personal secretaries, and the right to privacy—frequently requires moving up the ladder [1]. The relevance of study of women's entry into managerial roles therefore extends beyond the problem of desegregation of a traditionally male occupation. It speaks to the more general issue of the sex stratification of organizations and the sex structure of the distribution of valued resources within them.

This study examines recent trends in women's entry into management in Israel. It identifies three macrolevel developments that have been conducive to women's attaining managerial positions during the last decade. It then tests the impact of these

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developments on women's movement into and through the occupation of manager.

The main contention of this study is that during the last decade, women entered managerial positions in economic branches in which structural and economic changes created new opportunities and resulted in a decreased level of competition among men for managerial positions. When competition drops, gatekeepers become less selective and are more willing to experiment with candidates who do not meet all the social criteria, including that of being male. Women, in turn, are encouraged by the more realistic prospects of promotion, and are more likely to act to advance their own careers [2. Pp. 4-7]. I conclude that the macrolevel developments and market forces have been insufficient to overcome the barriers to women's advancement into management. Although there was an impressive increase in the absolute number of women managers during the last decade, there was no significant change in the level of sex segregation of the occupation.

The factors that impede women's access to positions of power have been well documented. (For reviews see references [3-6].) This study examines the constraining impact of two factors that are unique to Israel as a modern, industrialized, democratic society: the role of the military in the reproduction of managerial elites, and the role of a family-centered culture in the structuring of women's occupational opportunity. I suggest that women's continued absence from more senior-level positions must be understood within the framework of the processes of both managerial and familial reproduction and their impact on women.

The setting

During the 1970s the absolute number of women managers in Israel increased by more than 65 percent. Many of the conditions that explain a similar development in the United States, however, are not applicable to Israel.

In the United States, changes in the laws and the creation of

affirmative action programs impelled business and educational institutions to open their ranks to women [7. Pp. 6–8]. These changes gave organizations incentives to seek, recruit, train, and promote women, and gave women incentives to invest in training and make the commitments necessary for their advancement. The trend toward delayed marriage and/or childbirth and a decline in female fertility, by freeing women to compete for jobs in time-intensive occupations, made undertaking such commitments possible. Among the causes of fertility reduction were “the declining value imputed by society to other people’s children and the resulting efforts by governmental authorities to make birth control possible” [8. P. 57].

None of these developments occurred in Israel. There is no specific law that prohibits discrimination in assignment or promotion. Legislation in Israel is essentially protective in nature [9],¹ and the main thrust of social policy is concern for the working woman in her role as mother and housewife; her role as worker gets much less attention [10. P. 51]. Moreover, demographic trends for the country as a whole do not indicate a change in marital and childbearing patterns [11]. Using comparative data from other countries, Peres and Katz [12. P. 688] demonstrate that although Israel is a modern society by cultural, economic, and political criteria, its high marriage rate and low divorce rate resemble those of traditional and predominantly agrarian societies, and its birthrate falls midway between that of European and Middle Eastern countries.

Despite the rapid industrialization that took place in Israel during the 1960s and the 1970s, the marriage, divorce, and birth rates remained remarkably stable [12. P. 689], and so did the average age of first marriage for women—around 22.9 years [13. P. 84]. Between 1975 and 1981, however, the average age at marriage increased by nine months for women and by eight months for men. Family in general and children in particular are highly valued. Young women perceive motherhood and homemaking as normatively more salient than being employed [14].

In a study of a representative sample of mothers, Peres and

Table 1

Percentage Distribution of Israeli Managers and of Women Employees by Marital Status, 1975 and 1982

	Year	Single	Married	Widowed or divorced
Women managers	1975	15.7	71.4	12.9
	1982	12.4	75.2	12.4
Women employees (Age 30 or more years)	1982	8.3	79.7	12.0
Men managers	1975	3.6	93.8	2.4
	1982	5.3	92.6	2.0

Katz [15] found that even among the more modern women (educated, secular, Jewish women of European-American origin), the number of children desired and the fertility rate had a significant impact on employment, including whether a woman would take a part-time or full-time job. They concluded that the mandate of the traditional female role remained a powerful force in women's employment decisions.

From the data in Table 1 we observe that the marital status of women managers is not significantly different from that of the total female labor force aged 30 or more. Between 1975 and 1982 (the period with which this paper is concerned), the proportion of married women managers even increased. Compared with other-major occupational categories, a larger proportion of women managers and administrators have no children under age 14 living at home [16. P. 286]. The paucity of small children in the home reflects more the tendency to enter management at a later stage in the life cycle than a preference for a career over parental functions.

Despite the high commitment to family life in Israel and the lack of affirmative action legislation, there has been a significant increase in the number of women managers in recent years. Explaining and assessing that development and identifying the patterns of entry are the major tasks of this study.

Who is a manager?

According to the Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, in 1983 there were some 62,950 managers and administrators; 7,400, or 11.8 percent of them, were women [17. P. 366]. In 1973 there were 35,000 managers and administrators, of whom 2,450, or 7 percent, were women [17. P. 366]. There is cause to suspect, however, that there is a downward bias in the reported number of managers and administrators that is an artifact of categorical definitions. For example, in the United States, 11 percent of the labor force is classified as executive, administrative, or managerial [18. P. 38], compared with only 4.7 percent in Israel [17. P. 366]. In the United States, however, 11.5 percent of all managers are employed in mining and manufacturing [18. P. 40], compared with 34.5 percent in Israel [16. P. 216]. The first difference suggests that many persons classified as managers in the United States are “defined out” of the category in Israel, and the second, that there is a definitional bias in favor of industries in which there are relatively few women managers compared with other economic branches.

For the purpose of this study, therefore, the definition of the category of manager has been expanded to include a larger number of occupational categories in which coordinating and managing the work of others are a major component.² The data throughout this study, unless otherwise stated, are based on this broader definition.

Socioeconomic developments and their impact on women: Getting a foothold on the rungs of the managerial ladder

A number of macrolevel developments that crystallized toward the end of the 1960s created favorable conditions for women to get a foothold on the rungs of the managerial ladder. Three of these are discussed below: the demand for workers, the elevation of management to an academic discipline, and increased organi-

zational differentiation. A fourth development, the changes that occurred in social norms regarding women's employment, although important in its consequences, is not specifically addressed in this study.

Demand for workers

The rise in the standard of living and the expansion of financial, public, and community services following the 1967 war were accompanied by a demand for more workers [19]. Although Arabs from the administered territories met the need for additional unskilled labor, there remained a shortage of qualified males to fill the new clerical, administrative, and professional positions. At the same time, a number of factors reduced the rate of growth of the Jewish male civilian labor force. The expansion of the professional army and the extension of compulsory military service from two to three years (and for women from one-and-a-half to two years) siphoned off potential labor; the increase in university registration extended the moratorium on labor-force participation; and the aging of the population further curtailed the pool of available labor. (Oppenheimer [20] has indicated that similar conditions prevailed in the United States: a shortage of the preferred kind of labor—males—which predisposed employers to experiment with hiring female substitutes.) Successful experience with women in positions of responsibility reinforced readiness to employ them. The fact that military reserve service, currently up to 45 days a year until approximately the age of 55, is required of men increases the attractiveness of women to employers.

Management as an academic discipline

Until the 1960s, the development of a cadre of skilled managers was discouraged by the overriding importance given to political considerations. The Mapai (Labor) Party, which was the dominant political force in the country from the mid-thirties until 1977, sought to consolidate its political control of the economy

through a policy of strategic selection and placement of personnel in the public and labor-owned sectors of the economy. Political appointment extended to middle and even lower levels of management [21]. Active female party members, who were few to begin with, tended to be routed to managerial positions through the women's sector—i.e., the party's women's organizations and affiliated welfare services [22].

A decline in the power of the party/state to mediate job placement and a push on the part of business and management to emphasize "market" criteria in general (including technocratic criteria for management positions), in order to carve out and strengthen their position, were among the factors that led to considerable depoliticization of the economy, which, in turn, facilitated growing recognition of the technical requirements of management. Moreover, the increased demand for technically qualified managers led to a closer link between various sectors of the economy and the educational system. Management as an occupation entered academe; university education came to be regarded as necessary cultural capital, especially for those just entering management. Training in any even tangentially related discipline was considered an asset; the demand was not necessarily for a degree in management, but for proof of relevant higher education.

The upward drift in educational requirements for administrative and managerial positions is reflected in the changing job descriptions in the civil service. A survey of job descriptions over the last 20 years reveals that positions for which a high-school diploma was sufficient in the early 1960s required a first, or even a second, university degree by the end of the 1970s. In 1975, years of education for male managers averaged 12.2, and for female managers, 13.1; in 1982, the figures were 12.7 and 13.6 years, respectively. During that 7-year period, the average age of the men dropped from 52.8 years to 44.7, and of the women, from 47.7 years to 41.5, reflecting the recruitment of new managers from among younger people, primarily those with some university education.

These processes were accompanied by rapid expansion of the universities and of the number and proportion of female students. The first M.B.A. program was established at Hebrew University in about 1960. Today, all six Israeli universities grant degrees in management, and there are a number of institutions with diploma-granting programs. Between 1965 and 1982, the university student body grew by 300 percent, and the proportion of female students increased from 42 percent in 1971 to 47 percent in 1981. Between 1973 and 1982, the proportion of female students in management and business administration increased from 12.4 percent to 21 percent. In 1982 women constituted 50 percent of the students in the social sciences, 39 percent of those in law, 36 percent of those in mathematics, statistics, and computers, and 13 percent of those in engineering [13].

The entry of management into academe and the new focus on professional knowledge and expertise, in contrast to the emphasis on personal leadership qualities and ascriptive criteria (including the charisma attached to being male), gave women the possibility of developing a legitimate basis for their managerial authority. The universities supplied credentials of competence and authority based on expertise. The fact that 37 percent of the female managers, compared with 27 percent of the male managers, have 13 or more years of education reflects the greater importance of accreditation for women than for men. The establishment of institutions with universal criteria for entry and advancement provided women with an opportunity to accumulate cultural capital independent of the workplace, but transferable to it [23].

Organizational differentiation and specialization

The development of a cadre of skilled managers had been impeded by an overall government policy that subsidized enterprises regardless of their productivity, emphasizing, instead, their function as providers of work for new immigrants [21. P. 135]. By the mid-1960s, the economy had integrated the nearly doubled labor

force into productive employment [24. P. 93]. The military victory of 1967 marked the end of a two-year recession that led both to a search for foreign markets and to a heightened awareness of the need for more skilled managers to compete effectively in foreign markets [19,25].

These developments, plus the introduction of more-advanced technology, resulted in an increase in staff functions and new managerial specializations in a number of economic branches. Organizational growth, especially in the finance and business services branch, caused an increase in the number of middle-level supervisory positions. Organizations in public and community services, which employ large numbers of women in professions such as teaching, nursing, and social work, became somewhat more decentralized and introduced new supervisory and administrative positions.

In the 1960s, most of the managers with university training were either engineers—particularly in industry—or economists employed extensively in public administration. When Barad and Weinshall [26] looked for a sample of women for their pioneering study of women managers, they selected them from the lists of women graduates in engineering and economics, on the assumption that these were the ones most likely to be in the managerial recruitment pool. During the 1970s there was an accelerating demand for managers to specialize in such areas as marketing, public relations, organizational research and development, and human resources development—relatively new specializations with as yet no clear sex label or institutionalized status sequences [27]. The new specializations drew potential candidates from a wide catchment area, including niches that contained a high proportion of women, e.g., lower-level clerical workers and university graduates in the humanities and social sciences. Work with computers was another new area receptive to women, whose early entry was assisted by opportunities for computer training given them in the army since the early 1970s. (For the impact of the army on women's civilian occupations, see Izraeli [28].)

Some hypotheses

I have reviewed a number of developments that I contend created congenial conditions for women's advancement into managerial positions. Using cross-sectional data, I shall consider the impact of these developments on women's movement into and within management. Four hypotheses have guided my analysis.

Female labor-force and task continuity

Those at higher levels in organizational hierarchies are generally recruited from among those who have served at lower levels. A major constraint on the advancement of women is their relative absence from the labor pools from which managers are recruited [29]. An increase in the number of women available at lower levels increases their representation in recruitment pools and thus the *possibility* of their advancement to higher levels. Also, there is greater acceptability of women as managers supervising other women. Moreover, it may be suggested that pressure from women to rise in the ranks (especially once their family obligations decline) is greater where there are more of them. Third, all other things being equal, female-intensive labor forces are found in (and cause) lower overall wage levels, thus making it more difficult to sustain the privileged rewards attractive to men at higher levels in the hierarchy. I expected, therefore, that the proportion of women managers would be greater in economic branches in which the proportion of women employed was greater.

The availability of a group in the human resources pool makes it feasible to promote members of that group. The probability that they will in fact be promoted to managerial positions, however, depends on the nature of the linkage between lower and upper levels of the hierarchy.

Offe's [30] distinction between situations of "task continuity" and "task discontinuity" is here instructive. Task continuity

exists where people at higher levels of the organization are familiar with the work of those at the bottom, generally because those who manage the work are recruited from among those who carry it out. In situations of task discontinuity, those at the top do not have the same skills as those at the bottom, and are recruited from sources other than from among those at the lower levels who perform the major tasks of the organization. The recruitment of production managers from a pool of engineers rather than from among production workers is an example of task discontinuity; the recruitment of school principals from the pool of teachers illustrates task continuity or, in other words, a continuous occupational hierarchy.

The stronger the link between tasks performed at the bottom and the requirements of task performance at the top, the stronger the impact of women's presence in the labor force on their participation in managerial positions. Our hypothesis, then, may be refined as follows:

Hypothesis 1: Economic branches in which there is a larger proportion of women at the lower levels and in which the situation is one of task continuity have a greater proportion of female managers than ones in which either (or both) of these two conditions does not exist.

The effects of sex proportion

A number of recent studies provide empirical support for Kanter's [1] contention that the proportion of women in a group or organization has a significant impact on social interaction [31–34]. According to Kanter, many of the debilitating effects of performance pressures observed in groups in which women constitute only a very small proportion of the membership decrease significantly as the sex ratio becomes less skewed. Women's achievements are greater [31]. Moreover, they are less likely to be trapped in stereotypical roles and are apt to feel more influential [32] when they constitute a greater proportion of the members than when they are part of male-dominated groups.

Study findings suggest that units or occupational groups within organizations that have a higher proportion of women are more "female friendly" in the sense that they provide conditions more favorable for women's successful performance and integration into the group and/or organization. It might therefore be expected that the proportion of women managers present in an occupation or economic branch would have an impact on the rate of increase in the number of women managers over time, that branches with a higher proportion of women managers in 1975 would have a greater proportional increase in women managers between 1975 and 1982 than those with a lower proportion of women managers.

Hypothesis 2: The contribution of women to the net growth in the managerial labor force will be greater in economic branches in which the proportion of women managers is greater.

Expansion of opportunity

A rapid growth in the demand for managers may impel gatekeepers to increase the managerial market by expanding the boundaries of existing labor pools to include nontraditional recruits. Assuming there are occupationally qualified women available, the increased demand will create new opportunities for women. Successful experience with women in management reinforces readiness to promote other women to managerial positions, and the presence of female role models and the expansion of the boundaries of recruitment provide incentives for women to seek advancement.

Hypothesis 3: The proportionate increase in women managers is greater in economic branches in which the proportionate growth in the total managerial labor force is greater.

Occupational differentiation

In addition to market forces of supply and demand, another factor associated with women's movement out of sex-segregated occupations is the creation of new occupations, or of specializations

Table 2

Distribution of Israeli Managers by Occupational Subcategory and Sex, 1975 and 1982

Occupation	1975			1982		
	Total	Women	% women	Total	Women	% women
Total	97,200	12,021	12.4	130,800	20,842	15.9
General managers	28,391	1,737	6.2	46,257	4,815	10.4
Administrators in public sector	6,297	667	10.6	7,244	750	10.4
Owner-managers: retail, wholesale lodging	45,061	5,420	12.0	48,811	6,922	14.2
School principals and supervisors	3,878	1,110	28.6	5,497	2,237	40.7
Clerical supervisors	13,573	3,087	22.7	22,990	6,118	26.6

within existing occupations, that initially either have no sex label or have characteristics perceived to make them “suitable for women” [23]. In other words, it was hypothesized that the rise of new specializations within management and the process of increasing differentiation of the field created employment niches more receptive to women’s entry than the more-traditional managerial enclaves had been.

Hypothesis 4: The proportionate increase in women managers is greater in economic branches in which the rate of occupational differentiation of management is greater.

Findings

The hypotheses were tested with unpublished Labor Force Survey data collected by the Israel Central Bureau of Statistics for the two years 1975 and 1982.³ Table 2 presents the distribution of managers among occupational subcategories for these two years. The subcategories “general managers” and “administrators” in the public sector are those used by the Central Bureau of Statistics

Table 3

Percentage of Women of Total Employed and of All Managers in Israel and Contribution of Women to Net Growth in Managers in 1975 and 1982, by Economic Branch

Economic branch	Women as % of employed ^a 1982	Women as % of all managers ^b 1975	1982	Contribution of women to net growth ^c 1975–1982
Total	36.6	12.4	15.9	26.3
Agriculture, utilities, construction, & transportation ^d	15.8	3.9	9.1	24.1
Industry	24.3	2.3	7.0	12.3
Commerce, restaurants, & hotels	34.8	11.8	13.6	29.3
Finance & business services	49.1	15.4	18.1	20.4
Personal & other services	47.8	18.7	24.1	43.7
Government & local authorities administration ^e	34.7	21.4	26.2	44.3
Health & welfare services ^e	72.6	20.4	26.8	44.5
Education services ^e	72.1	30.8	40.4	53.6

^aNumber of women employed divided by total number employed.

^bNumber of women managers divided by total number of managers.

^cNumber of women managers in 1982 minus number of women managers in 1975 divided by total managers in 1982 minus total managers in 1975.

^dFour smaller economic branches were combined all of which had relatively few women employed in them and few women managers: agriculture, forestry, and fishing; electricity and water; construction and transportation; storage and communication. This applies also to Tables 4 and 5.

^eThese three subbranches of “public and community services” were disaggregated because of the large proportion of women managers in them. This applies also to Tables 4 and 5.

in defining managers and administrators and refer generally to senior-level managers in relatively large organizations. The other three subcategories—school principals and supervisors, supervising clerks and inspectors, and working proprietors or owner-

managers—were added for the purpose of this analysis.⁴ Clerical supervisors are primarily lower- and middle-level managers; owner-managers include proprietors in the retail, wholesale, restaurant, and hotel trades.

Hypothesis 1 predicts a relationship between the proportion of women among the total employed in an economic branch and the proportion of women among total managers in that branch. Table 3 lists the economic branches in ascending order of proportion of women employed in the branch (column 1). We observe that, with one exception (government and local authorities administration), the larger the proportion of women employed in a branch, the larger the proportion of women managers in that branch. The ratio of women employed to women managers is 2 or 3 to 1. In government and local authorities administration, there is an unusually large proportion of managers compared with those employed, which may be explained by the fact that 62 percent of the managers in this branch are “clerical supervisors”—that is, lower- and middle-level managers—whereas all other branches have from a minimum of 1 percent (commerce) to a maximum of 38 percent (agriculture) in that subcategory and a larger proportion of more-senior managers.

The branch with the greatest hierarchical continuity is education services, in which 71 percent of the managers are school principals and supervisors promoted from the ranks of teachers. In the recruitment pool for school principals and supervisors, women have a strong competitive advantage over men in terms of numbers and qualifications. The scarcity of men is enhanced by the fact that they are concentrated in the sex-segregated, religiously orthodox, school system, in which men and women do not compete for the same jobs.

In Israel, heads of social welfare agencies were, until the mid-seventies, frequently recruited from pools of other than social workers, including schoolteachers and principals, youth-movement leaders, and party functionaries. Pressure from the union of social workers was one of the factors that made being a trained social worker a necessary requirement for promotion, which in-

creased the task continuity of the occupation, as reflected in the growth in proportion of managers in the health and welfare services. This example reflects the fact that the definition of continuity is social, not technical; it is the outcome of a struggle among contending groups (male and female, among others) concerning determination of acceptable qualifications for filling top positions.

Hypothesis 2 predicts a relationship between the proportion of women managers in a particular branch in 1975 and the rate of increase in women managers, here measured as the proportion of women's contribution to the net growth in managers between 1975 and 1982. Comparing columns 2a and 3 in Table 3, we observe a definite pattern, women making a significantly greater contribution to net growth in the four economic branches in which they constitute a relatively larger proportion of the managers. Therefore, this hypothesis is supported.

Hypothesis 3 predicts a relationship between the growth in the total managerial labor force and the growth of the female managerial labor force. The association between the two columns in Table 4 is clear; there is only one anomaly: agriculture, utilities, construction, and transportation, in which the number of women managers employed more than doubled although the number of total managers increased by only 35 percent, a finding for which we have no explanation.

Hypothesis 4 predicts a relationship between rate of occupational differentiation (specialization) and rate of increase in the proportion of female managers. Rate of occupational differentiation was measured by comparing the ratio of managers to total employed in 1975 and the ratio of managers to total employed in 1982 (columns 1 and 2 of Table 5). Column 3 presents the proportionate growth in that ratio. Growth in proportion of managers to those employed reflects the process of specialization among managers.

Support for this assumption was found in the case of the industrial branch, which had the highest rate of differentiation (Table 5, column 3) and in which 75 percent of the increase in managers

Table 4

Percentage Growth from 1975 to 1982 in Total Managerial Labor Force and in Female Managerial Labor Force in Israel, by Economic Branch

Economic branch	Growth in managerial labor force, 1975–1982, % ^a	Growth in female managerial labor force, 1975–1982, % ^b
Total	35	73
Finance & business services	116	154
Industry	89	213
Education services	72	126
Health & welfare services	36	80
Agriculture, utilities, construction, & transportation	35	213
Personal & other services	28	65
Government & local authorities administration	27	56
Commerce, restaurants, & hotels	11	28

^aTotal managers in 1982 minus total in 1975 divided by total in 1975.

^bFemale managers in 1982 minus female managers in 1975 divided by female managers in 1975.

took place among the subcategory “other managers.” According to Central Bureau of Statistics data [35. P. 180; 16. P. 214], the majority of new “other managers” came from specializations such as marketing, public relations, and personnel [36. P. 38]. Comparing the figures in columns 3 and 4 of Table 5, we observe a relationship between the two measures. Generally, greater differentiation is associated with a greater proportionate increase in female managers. An alternative or additional explanation may be that the spread of academic training in management makes it necessary to call jobs “managerial” in order to attract graduates; the proliferation of new managerial titles, then, may reflect a downgrading in the new positions that are allocated to women.

Table 5

Managers as Percent of All Employees, Increase in Managers as Percent of All Employees, and Percent Increase in Total Female Managers in Israel, 1975 and 1982, by Economic Branch

Economic branch	Managers as % of all employees ^a		Increase in managers as % of all employees ^b	% increase in female managers ^c
	1975	1982		
Total	8.7	10.1	16	73
Industry	3.9	6.8	74	213
Finance & business services	8.3	11.4	37	154
Agriculture, utilities, construction, & transportation	4.4	5.9	34	213
Education services	3.5	4.4	26	126
Health & welfare services	5.0	5.9	18	80
Government & local authorities administration	11.1	12.0	9	56
Personal & other services	1.6	1.7	6	64
Commerce, restaurants, & hotels	36.1	34.9	-3	28

^aTotal number of managers divided by total number employed for each year.

^bNumber of managers in 1982 minus number in 1975 divided by number in 1975.

^cNumber of female managers in 1982 minus number in 1975 divided by number in 1975.

Discussion

The major argument of the present analysis is that, given the absence of external intervention and the centrality of family life, any change in women's access to managerial positions in Israel required an improvement in their competitive position vis-à-vis men as a result of changes in the structure of the occupation and in market conditions. The data generally support my hypotheses. The proportion of women managers was greater in economic branches with high task continuity and a greater proportion of women employees. Moreover, women made a greater contribution to net increase in managers where the proportion of women managers was greater.

The most impressive gains women made in attaining managerial positions were in education services, in which, in the last decade, the proportion of males in the managerial recruitment pools (teachers) dropped severely. They also contributed over 40 percent to the net increase in managers in the three public and community services subbranches (education services, health and welfare services, and public administration), in which women constitute the majority of employees. The proportionate increase in women managers was greater in economic branches with greater growth in the managerial labor force and in the rate of occupational differentiation. Women made gains in the category "other managers" primarily in the newly emerged specializations in which high demand and lack of a clear sex label improved their competitive edge.

How are we to assess the gains made? Two points need to be emphasized. First, the major gains made by women have been into lower- or, to a lesser extent, middle-level managerial positions, the supervisory subcategory. They concentrate in staff rather than line positions. Although no systematic data are available concerning the managerial level of women in the economy, anecdotal evidence suggests that there are very few in senior positions. For example, in one of Israel's three largest banks, women constitute approximately 50 percent of the employees but only 13.7 percent of the "signing" officers, the great divide between lower- and higher-level employees. The great majority of the women are in staff positions; whereas 32 percent of the men are signing officers, only 4.5 percent of the women hold that title.

Women constitute only 3 percent (120 of 4,000) of the members of the Israel Management Center. In the recently formed senior marketing managers' club at the Center, not one of the handful of female candidates who applied was considered senior enough to qualify for membership. In the civil service, women constitute 51 percent of the employed: 20 percent of those in the top five grades of the professional hierarchy (high task continuity), and only 11 percent of those in the top five grades of the administrative hierarchy.

Perhaps more important is the fact that the level of sex segregation in management did not change during the period studied. Segregation is measured by comparing the proportion of women managers with their proportion in the labor force. The latter grew from 32.6 percent to 36.9 percent, and the former from 12.4 percent to 15.9 percent. In other words, whereas the proportion of women in the labor force grew by 4.3 percentage points, their proportion among managers grew by 3.5 points, suggesting that management has become an even somewhat more sex-segregated occupation. The proportion of women in Israeli management in 1982 was equivalent to that in the United States in 1960 (15.6 percent) and 1970 (16 percent), before enactment of affirmative action legislation, and considerably lower than that in the United States in 1982—28 percent.⁵ In the absence of affirmative action legislation, such macrolevel developments as the increased demand for managers, greater specialization, academic preparation for the occupation, and an increased supply of technically qualified women were insufficient to impact significantly on the constraints women faced in attaining managerial jobs, particularly at more-senior levels.

The military and the reproduction of elites

To understand why women were constrained from accumulating social capital to improve their competitive edge and from exploiting the opportunities market forces opened up during the period under investigation, we need to consider the issue of women in management within the framework of the processes of managerial reproduction, or even within the more general framework of elite reproduction [37. P. 186]. This perspective is reflected in the above analysis of the role of the Labor Party and, later, of the universities as processors of aspirants to managerial positions. The kibbutz is another important recruitment pool for elite positions. Kibbutz members are disproportionately represented in the senior managerial positions within the labor-owned economy, which employs approximately 25 percent of the civilian labor

force. These managers are selected primarily from such roles as kibbutz secretary, treasurer, or head of an economic branch, positions rarely filled by women.

The dominant elite-producing institution in Israel, however, is the Israel Defence Forces (IDF). Military policy, which prohibits women from participating in combat, and the structural arrangements that emanate from that policy virtually exclude women from the process of elite reproduction.

Rein [10. P. 67] points out that in 1954, Moshe Dayan, as Chief of Staff, drew up a plan to facilitate the retirement of army officers at the age of 40 and bribed reluctant ‘‘pensioners’’ with the top jobs in society. She quotes Shabtai Teveth [38. P. 223], noted authority on Dayan, who writes:

Dayan’s concept had a far-reaching influence on Israeli society. His ‘‘Double life’’ plan let loose into civilian life forty year old ex-officers—talented, ambitious, vital men at the height of their powers. The economy began wooing these pensioners with offers of top-level positions, so much so that the profile of Israeli society assumed an increasingly military aspect. . . .

Initially drawn into the public and semipublic sector, after 1973, officers were increasingly recruited into the economic enterprises of the private sector as well.⁶

The dynamics and functions of homosocial reproduction have been analyzed by a number of researchers [1,3,39–41]. The diffusion of military personnel throughout the managerial elite is self-reinforcing: those already in management posts seek other officers with whom they share a leadership culture and on whom they can rely for support.

Yariv,⁷ who studied 146 retired male lieutenant-colonels and colonels, found considerable job continuity in the officers’ two careers: those who had served in combat units were later employed as general managers, whereas those who had had office jobs were later employed in functional or staff positions. It should be added, however, that at some time in their career, even senior officers with desk jobs generally do a stint in a combat role, which is considered

a necessary qualification for promotion to the higher ranks. The process of their transition to the civilian market is facilitated by preretirement opportunities to acquire university accreditation. The training both provides needed expertise and skills and functions as a resocialization mechanism for adjusting to the different reality of civilian organizational life. Thus, an officer develops an alternative career while still serving in the army [42].

In 1979, an employment office for retiring senior officers was established. The fact that officers today face greater difficulties finding suitable employment in the civilian market reflects in large measure processes such as the increase in supply of officers and the contraction of market opportunities in recent years, but does not contradict the fact that a high proportion of senior positions are filled each year by retiring officers.⁸

Becoming an officer enhances a woman's self-image and achievement motivation [43]. It also increases the likelihood of her getting a managerial job.⁹ As a management reproduction mechanism, however, the system works primarily for men, not for women. The single most important reason is that although women undergo compulsory military service, they do not take part in combat. Consequently, they are not exposed to the same intensive training and experience that are believed to contribute to the development of the special leadership skills and authoritative personality of the Israeli officer. This fact sets a ceiling on women's upward mobility within the armed forces.

Their exclusion from the core activities of military life and from the locales in which these are carried out severely limits women's opportunities for gaining (relevant) visibility: for establishing connections with the "old boy" network so instrumental for postarmy positioning; for becoming effective bearers of the most valued national symbols—those associated with duty; and for moving to the senior ranks that provide training, experience, and social capital highly valued in the civilian market. The highest-ranking woman, including the head of the Women's Corps, is a colonel; and there is only a handful of colonels. There are no women in the two ranks below chief-of-staff. Few women achieve

ranks above those that are acquired routinely with time and satisfactory performance and attain those that for men serve as accreditation for direct access to the most senior positions in the economy.

Women officers serve primarily in the Women's Corps, in which they are assigned to welfare and social services roles, or in the general army, in which they serve largely in administrative and professional positions. As noncombat officers, by definition they play secondary roles [44].¹⁰

*Family-centeredness as a disincentive
for seeking managerial roles*

Israel is a family-centered society. The family is the focus of all important national, religious, and personal celebrations.

Social interaction is built on the assumption that adults are paired off at the beginning of their twenties and continue to live as couples. There are no social or cultural patterns for singles—men or women. . . . Children are considered extremely important for the wholeness of the family and for the personal happiness of the individual. [14. P. 2]

The divorce rate in Israel is about one-fourth that in the United States; approximately 97 percent of the population marry by age 40, and the average family has 3 children [12]. Although valued by both sexes, the family impacts differently on men's and women's occupational roles. In a study of men and women in middle-level and high-ranking jobs, Gafni¹¹ found no sex difference in relative importance attributed to career and family. Her data show, however, that for women there is a significant negative correlation between relative importance attributed to family and preference for a job that entails making decisions and exerting authority ($r=0.32$, $P\leq 0.001$), aspirations for a more-senior managerial position ($r=0.26$, $P\leq 0.001$), perceived chances for advancing to a more-senior position ($r=0.26$, $P\leq 0.001$), and

belief that she is qualified for a senior managerial position ($r=0.23$, $P \leq 0.001$). None of these correlations is significant for men.

Working women in Israel use a number of strategies to cope with what Coser and Coser [45. Pp. 91–92] term the “conflict of allegiance” that arises because there is a normative expectation that a woman will give priority to her family. They gravitate toward part-time jobs and jobs that are synchronized with the children’s school schedule, such as teaching, or that have flexible working hours, such as nursing or social work. Even within the professions, women tend to concentrate in specializations or locales that permit control over timetables. For example, with the exception of pediatrics, 83.4 percent of women doctors specialize in areas that have been rated by independent judges as high in permitting time control, compared with 38 percent of men doctors who specialize in such areas.¹² Congenial and fixed working hours are among the major attractions of the civil service, in which women constitute 84 percent of the pharmacists and 53 percent of the lawyers [46. P. 194], compared with 46.2 percent and 40.6 percent, respectively, in the labor force [16. P. 210]. In two studies of educated respondents, women cited convenient working hours as a preferred job characteristic significantly more often than men [47].¹³ In short, caught in the “greedy” institution of the family [45], women cope by avoiding demanding or “greedy” occupations.

Management has none of the characteristics that make it easy for a woman to juggle her multiple roles. It is resistant to part-time work. Only 21.4 percent of female administrators and managers work part time (less than 25 hours a week), compared with 47.3 percent of female academic workers and 47.1 percent of other professional and technical workers [13. P. 373]. Although managers generally have more discretion in determining their work schedules than do lower-level employees, their work load is less predictable and more likely to expand beyond official work hours. In addition, working overtime has important symbolic value as an expression of one’s commitment to the organization.¹⁴

In this sense, the managerial role intrudes more sharply into the domestic time sphere than do other occupational roles and is likely to elicit resentment from spouse and offspring and arouse guilt in the mother. This may explain why only 50 percent of female administrators and managers who are not single have children at home under the age of 14, compared with 67.5 percent of academic and professional workers and 73.7 percent of other professional and technical workers [48. P. 174].

The managerial role produces another form of conflict, which I call “responsibility overload.” This refers to the psychological strain experienced as a result of having to cope with two jobs in both of which the person has major responsibility for the performance of others over whom she or he has limited control. The married woman is also manager in her home. She need not produce all the goods and services herself, but she is accountable for them. It is this quality of responsibility in managerial work that makes psychological departmentalization difficult and creates a sense of overload. A recent study¹⁵ of stress among Israeli managers reports that women believe a successful career and successful family life are incompatible.

Given the “greediness” of women’s domestic roles and of managerial jobs, the latter have had less appeal for married women than other professions. This sentiment is captured in the oft-repeated response to the question “Do you want to become a manager?”— “What do I need it for?” The implication is that the transaction costs of being a manager are potentially greater than the foreseeable benefits. This sentiment is shared by male managers, the gatekeepers to the managerial suite, who presume that the mother of small children is a poor bet as a candidate for a senior managerial position [49].

The Golda Meir effect

Management also has its Golda Meirs—the token women who support the illusion that social mobility applies equally to all who meet the requisites of the managerial role. Tokenism, or “the

Golda Meir effect," sustains the myth that any woman who is competent and strongly motivated can advance to a key position in the economy.¹⁶ It encourages the denial of exclusionary practices, legitimates the *status quo*, and impedes the process by which systemic and cumulative discrimination may come to be defined as a structural and political problem [51]. "Where the claims of a theory prove to be unfounded but, nevertheless, are still widely accepted, one may speak of restraining myths" [52]. The widely held belief in the existence of equal opportunity for (competent and motivated) women in Israel and in the innately natural and voluntary character of women's family roles as they are played on the Israeli scene are such restraining myths, in that they have an inhibiting impact on the development of Israeli women's consciousness, a necessary precondition for social change.

Although there appears to be growing awareness, especially among women in Israel, of the inequity of the division of labor in the family and of discrimination in the labor market [53], the absence of women from positions of power and prestige is still generally considered a personal rather than a political issue. Even the efforts of the powerful women's organizations are directed more toward helping women become assertive than toward making claims against the political system for a greater share of power.

Considering that educated women were the economy's major source of new workers during the 1970s, one may expect a gradual growth in the proportion of women moving into lower- and middle-level managerial positions. In addition, there are early indications of delayed marital age and an increasing divorce rate among urban, postarmy, university-educated women—a population that may elect to enter "greedy" occupations. The proportion of women in management, especially in more-senior positions, however, is not likely to change significantly until women, with the assistance of the powerful women's organizations, move beyond "treating the victim" and begin treating the social structure by transforming equal opportunity for promotion into a political issue.

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Notes

1. Raday [9. P. 92] distinguishes between restrictive protection, which is paternalistic and limits a woman's freedom to choose (such as compulsory earlier retirement for women), and protection, which reinforces stereotypes (such as granting workers maternal rights rather than parental rights and thus reinforces sex stereotypes by its presumption that the home and child care are the primary responsibility of the mother rather than of both parents).

2. The broader definition of managers and administrators includes: managers and administrators in governmental and municipal services; other managers; school principals and school supervisors; supervising clerks and inspectors in transport and communication services; and working proprietors in retail and wholesale businesses and trades and in lodging and catering services. Not included are first-line supervisors in industry and agriculture, who are today considered more part of production than of management and for whom movement into management is not likely without the person's leaving the job and acquiring additional training.

3. The hypotheses were tested on data from labor force surveys conducted by the Central Bureau of Statistics in 1975 and 1982. This data base has two limitations. First, the data span a period of only seven years, which makes trends more difficult to identify. The time span was dictated by the fact that in 1972 the definitions of occupational titles were changed, making that a base year for comparison; the earliest raw data using the new titles available to the researcher were for 1975. The second limitation is that labor surveys are based on four quarterly random samples of 12,000 persons each. When occupations were disaggregated to the extent necessary for this analysis, the small number of persons in many subgroups constrained the use of sophisticated analytical techniques.

4. In 1982, general managers were found in all economic branches, but the greatest concentration was in industry (in which they constituted 40 percent of all managers), followed by finance (19 percent). The vast majority of school principals and supervisors were employed in education services (87 percent).

Most administrators in the public sector were employed by government and local authorities (57 percent), followed by public health and welfare services (25 percent). Almost all owner-managers were employed in the commercial branch (98 percent). Clerical supervisors were found in all economic branches, but the largest concentration was in public administration (37 percent), followed by agriculture and associated branches (25 percent) and finance (18 percent).

5. L. Keller Brown (1981) "Female Managers in the U.S. and Europe: Corporate Boards, M.B.A. Credentials and the Image/Illusion of Progress." Unpublished paper. Washington, DC: American Council on Education.

6. D. Yariv (1980) "Integration of Zahal Officers (Pensioners) into the Civilian Economy and Continuity between the Military Career and the Civilian Career." M.A. thesis. Faculty of Management, Tel Aviv University.

7. *Ibid.*

8. There are three reasons why retiring officers currently face greater difficulty obtaining suitable employment than was the case a decade ago. First, the number of retired officers has increased at a faster rate than have available managerial jobs. Second, some highly visible unsuccessful experiences with retiring officers in civilian jobs have made employers somewhat wary. Third (and related to the two previous points), where specific expertise is required, having served as an officer is no longer sufficient qualification.

9. Y. Har-Gad (1984) "The Status of Women in Managerial Positions in Israel." M.B.A. thesis. Faculty of Management, Tel Aviv University.

10. What women officers do when they retire has not been studied. In terms of their visibility, the majority disappear from public life. The most-senior ones have, in recent years, tended to be routed into the female economy of the women's organizations or into peripheral jobs in the public sector. Exceptions to the rule are instructive, and there are a few. Common to them are the facts that they served in the general army, not in the Women's Corps, and that they rose to senior ranks in a professional career path.

Dvora Tomer, for example, joined the professional army following compulsory military training and simultaneously completed her degree in economics. She rose to the position of deputy to the financial advisor to the General Chief of Staff and deputy head of the Department of Budgets in the Ministry of Defence, with the rank of colonel. She was then persuaded to become Commander of the Women's Corps, in which capacity she served for three years and then retired to civilian life. She became a senior manager in a large bank and, within three years of her retirement, became general manager of one of its subsidiaries. The case of Dvora Tomer, the token woman in the system, is often cited as evidence of the opportunities available to women with the proper qualifications and commitment.

11. Y. Gafni (1981) "The Readiness of Women and Men in Israel to Accept Top Management Positions." M.A. thesis. Department of Political Science, Bar-Ilan University.

12. H. Zimmer and N. Halperin (1978) "The Distribution of Women among Medical Specialties in Israel." Unpublished seminar paper (in Hebrew). Department of Labor Studies, Tel Aviv University.

13. Gafni, op. cit.

14. A signing officer in one of Israel's large financial institutions has described what she calls the bank's "afternoon culture": "At headquarters, the offices of the department line both sides of a long corridor. In the rooms on the right sit the managers—all men. In the rooms on the left sit the secretaries—all women. A female assistant and the man who delivers the mail and runs errands also sit on the right. During the day the managers are in their offices, speaking on the phone and dictating letters to their secretaries. At 3 p.m., the offices on the left empty out—only the secretary on duty remains. Then the managers come out of their offices and visit one another. That's also when all the meetings are held. I get called to headquarters about once a week and make a special point never to miss a meeting because I know that this is when the really important information is exchanged. After the official meeting is over, most managers linger on and gossip or give one another tips on issues of current interest. They rarely leave the office before six in the evening. That's the ritual of the afternoon culture of the managers at headquarters."

15. D. Etzioni (1984) "Burning Out in Management: A Comparison of Women and Men in Matched Organizational Positions." Paper presented at the Second International Interdisciplinary Congress on Women, Groningen, the Netherlands, 16–21 April.

16. As a role model for women, Golda Meir is problematic. She divorced her husband and, according to her autobiography [50], neglected her children and spent most of their childhood in guilt and self-recrimination for inadequacies as a mother. As a politician and national leader, she was a success; as a woman, she was a failure. More than representing the possibilities for achievement, she represents the high cost that women, but not men, must pay in Israeli society to achieve positions of power and prestige. (I am grateful to Judy Lorber for pointing out to me the "catch" in the Golda Meir effect.)

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