

# **Timing of Childbirth and Employment Consequences: The Israeli Case**

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## **Introduction**

Most industrialized countries have experienced a sharp decline in fertility rates in recent decades (Brewster & Rindfuss 2000). The low level of fertility, in most countries below replacement level, is attributed to social and demographic processes, including the postponement of marriage and childbirth timing. Numerous studies have documented a rise in women's age at first childbirth in conjunction with the overall decrease in fertility levels and the postponement of marriage (Stanow & Bracher 2001; Pienta 1999; Oppenheimer, Blossfeld & Wachterow 1995; Pinnelli & Rose 1995). This delay in entering family life is seen as a result of the rise in women's education and their improved opportunities in the labor market (Blossfeld & Huinink 1991).

The adverse effect of children on their mothers' employment behavior and economic achievements in the labor market is well documented. Childbirth is associated with lower level of educational achievement (Waite & Moore 1978). Women who give birth are likely to interrupt their employment (Uunk et al. 2005; Waldfogel 1997; 1998; Taniguchi & Rosenfeld 2002; Stier & Yasih 2006), and children entail a wage penalty for their employed mothers (Avelar & Smock 2003; Budig & England 2001; Taniguchi 1999). Delaying entry into parenthood is perceived as a strategy to balance women's educational and occupational aspirations with their desire to raise a family (Wilkie 1981; Taniguchi 1999). Women who postpone childbirth have more time to acquire the skills they aspire to, and to establish their market position. If they interrupt their employment they usually do so after a critical period of career establishment. The overall rise in women's economic opportunities and the development of new fertility technologies allow women to control the timing of the transition to parenthood and to

plan simultaneously their lives as mothers and workers (Wu & MacNeil 2002; Stanow & Bracher 2001; Miller 2005).

Interest in the interplay between work and family and the effect of family constraints on women's employment outcomes is immense, but the pervasiveness of delayed entry into parenthood has deflected attention from the impact of childbearing timing on women's career patterns and their achievements in the labor market. The few studies that have examined this issue (e.g., Taniguchi 1999; Miller 2005) demonstrated an association between delayed childbirth and higher stability in work experience and attained wages. However, since fertility and employment decisions are dynamically related, it is not simple to assess any causal relationship between the timing of childbirth and labor market outcomes. Women's educational level and their involvement in paid employment affect the timing they enter parenthood and the number of their children. At the same time, the life-course stage at which women have their first child may shape their career patterns and affect long-term labor market outcomes. The timing of first childbirth is a clear indicator of the inter-relationships between work and family life (Stier 2005).

The current study examines the effect of childbirth timing of Israeli women on their employment continuity and their attained occupational standing and wages, taking into account the simultaneous relationships between family and work events. Our study extends previous work by concentrating also on the structural conditions that may enhance or hinder the effect of birth timing on women's continuity of employment and their income from work. In particular we ask whether the timing of the first birth affects women similarly in different positions and settings in the labor market.

## **The effect of children on mothers' employment**

Despite the dramatic increase in women's labor force participation, especially that of mothers with young children, working women continue to assume the primary responsibility for their families. The constraints family life imposes upon women who pursue market careers have resulted in employment interruptions that exert further detrimental effects on women's ability to enter lucrative jobs and command good salaries. A vast literature documents the effect of children on their mothers' work career, particularly the effect of childbirth on work continuity and attachment to the labor market (Felmlee, 1995; Uunk, Kalmijn & Muffels 2005; Taniguchi & Rosenfeld 2002; Buchman et al. 2004; Stier & Yaish 2006). Accordingly, women tend to withdraw from paid employment when they give birth or to reduce their involvement in the labor market, mainly by taking part-time and less demanding jobs when the children are young (Stier 1998). In many instances mothers, even highly educated professionals with high wage potential, prefer jobs with lower demands on their time or with better opportunities for combining work and family duties. Consequently, mothers accumulate fewer years of experience along their working lives than non-mothers (or men). They also accumulate fewer resources since they tend to work shorter hours, often in part-time jobs, and are more circumscribed in their ability to compete for highly paid jobs. From a human capital standpoint, the lower attachment of women to the labor market and their work interruptions lead to lower levels of investments in human capital, hence to lower productivity. Numerous studies demonstrate a wage penalty associated with having children (Waldfogel 1997, 1998; Budig & England 2001; Avellar & Smock 2003; Anderson, Binder & Krause 2002).

Nonetheless, a growing body of literature shows variation in the consequences of childbirth in different employment settings. It has been argued that

employment-supportive policies and arrangements that allow women to combine work with family demands favor women's maintaining continuous employment and their earnings (e.g., Stier et al., 2001; Glass 2004; Glass & Reiley 1998). Such policies and arrangements are adhered to closely in the public sector, allowing women to work continuously even when family demands are high (Taniguchi & Rosenfeld 2002; Stier & Yaish 2006). Similarly, female-dominated occupations, in which the majority of women are employed, were found to offer work conditions compatible with work and family demands as they offer part-time or reduced-hour employment (Stier, 1996) and less costly interrupted careers (Polachek 1981); still, women in these occupations earn lower salaries and have more restricted promotion opportunities than women in other occupations. Here we examine whether the effect of (first) childbearing timing on employment consequences vary across these settings.

### **Employment and the timing of first birth**

The rise in women's education, the opening up of employment opportunities, and the transformation in women's expected (and actual) work activity are not independent of the substantial changes that have taken place in family behaviors. The latter include a delayed age of entry to marriage and parenthood, as well as a substantial decline in fertility. According to Becker (1981) the rise in women's opportunity costs affected both the attractiveness of marriage and the costs of children, resulting in lower rates of marriage and fertility. Oppenheimer (1997), on the other hand, argues that marriage is still attractive but delayed to later ages because men and women have long periods of involvement in education and career building (see Blossfeld & Huinink 1991). From a life-course perspective the timing of family events is seen as crucial for understanding career paths and employment outcomes. The timing of entering parenthood has a lasting

effect on women's life chances and their work behavior (Taniguchi 1999).

Postponement of childbirth is one way to reduce the negative consequences of work interruptions because the event takes place after the critical point of establishing a career. Women who give birth early in life spend less time preparing and establishing their careers, so they earn lower wages (Taniguchi 1999).

The effect of birth timing is especially salient for career-oriented women. Time out of work on account of the birth of a child, especially in early stages of a career, could be detrimental in terms of occupational achievements and career building (Brewster & Rindfuss 2000; Edwards 2002; Rindfuss, Morgan & Offutt 1996; Cingo & Ermisch 1989; Wu & MacNeil 2002). As women's education rises and their career opportunities mount, the importance of marriage and childbirth in their lives declines and they postpone and even refrain from having children (Blossfeld & Huinink 1991; Altucher & Williams 2003). Several studies found that highly educated women postpone childbirth more than women with lower levels of education (Wu & MacNeil 2002; Martin 2000; Marini 1984; Thornton et al. 1995; Blossfeld & Huinink 1991). Similarly, women with high reservation wages (probably those who have accumulated more work experience), and those employed in jobs with steep earning profiles, are also those most likely to delay childbirth because an expected interruption in their career entails high wage and career penalties (Caucutt, Guner & Knowels 2002; Blackburn, Bloom & Neumark 1993; Heckman & Walker 1990; Miller 2005).

Accordingly, independent of the effect of children on their mothers' career patterns and wages, the timing of first childbirth will presumably have adverse employment consequences. As noted earlier, only few studies have examined this effect on women's work behavior and their attainments in the labor market. Their findings suggest that women who postpone entering to parenthood indeed enjoy economic

advantage (Taniguchi 1999; Chandler et al. 1994; Mertens et al. 1995; Veslor & O'Rand 1984). For example, Drolet (2002) found a 6% difference in wages between women who gave birth earlier and those who postponed childbirth; Amuedo-Dorantes and Kimmel (2003) found that women who delayed childbirth to their thirties had wages similar to those who had never given birth and 7% higher than women who had entered parenthood earlier in life.

To summarize, work and family behaviors are inter-related: women who aspire to develop a successful career postpone their childbirth until they complete their education and establish a career; women who enter parenthood at a later age are able to accumulate higher levels of human capital, in formal credentials and work experience alike, which further allow them to achieve good market positions and high wages.

### **The Israeli Context**

Israel is often considered a "familistic" society characterized by high marriage and fertility rates, low divorce rates and low out-of-wedlock childbirth (Lavee & Katz 2003; Toren 2003). For example, the median age at first marriage is 24.6 years for women and 26.8 for men; fertility rates, the highest among industrialized countries, amount to 2.9 for the entire population and 2.6 among Jews (Israel 2006). Correspondingly, the rate of childlessness is low. These patterns are supported by social and welfare policies that promote both high fertility and female employment (Stier et al. 2001). Israel has long established pronatalist policies that include child allowances, tax deductions in accordance with number of children, and subsidized housing loans for young married couples and single mothers (Doron & Kramer, 1992).

Women's rates of labor force participation are similar in Israel to those found in other Western societies (Kraus 2002). About 50% of Israeli women aged 16 and above

(53% of Jewish women) are active in the paid economy, and a majority of them (over 60%) are employed in full-time jobs (Israel, 2006). Among the prime working age groups (25 to 55) the rate of female labor force participation amounts to 70% (80% among Jewish women compared with 84% among Jewish men) (Israel 2006). Most Israeli women work in white-collar female-dominated occupations, and about half of all employed women work in the public sector (Yaish & Kraus, 2003; Kraus 2002).

Institutional arrangements in Israel, particularly regarding women's employment, provide women with the opportunity to take part in the paid economy. For example, a three-month fully paid maternity leave is granted to all working mothers (part of which can be taken by fathers), and many mothers of young children (up to age 8 in case of an only child, and to age 12 in case of two and more children aged under 8) are entitled to work one hour less a day without any pay penalty.<sup>1</sup> More important, however, is government support as subsidized day-care facilities for young children and the treatment of part-time employment (dominated by women) as full-time employment in employment rights and benefits (Stier 1998; Stier et. al. 2001). Accordingly, the participation level of children in day-care facilities in Israel is relatively high: 20% of the 0-2-year-olds, 80% of 3-5-year-olds, and 95% of 5-year-olds (Israel 2006). While about 40% of working women hold part-time or reduced-hour jobs, they are not trapped in this mode of employment and their mobility rates, as well as their hourly wage, are relatively high (Stier 1998).

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<sup>1</sup> The one-hour reduction applies to public-sector employees and establishments with collective agreements. Most Israeli women will benefit from it as most of them are employed in these establishments.



## **Hypotheses**

Given the unique characteristics of the family in Israel and its support of women's dual roles as mothers and as workers, it is not clear to what extent the timing of entering parenthood affects women's achievements in the labor market. On the one hand, the "rules of the game" are similar to those in most advanced capitalist societies so that highly educated women have better opportunities in the labor market and have to compete, like men, for the better jobs. Postponing childbirth can be seen as a strategy by women to establish their careers before assuming family responsibilities. On the other hand, the institutional support provided for mothers, the pressures to enter family life and the general acceptance of mothers' involvement in paid employment may lessen the costs of employment interruptions (Stier et al. 2001). We therefore raise the following questions and research hypotheses.

1. Does age at first birth affect women's employment behavior and gains in the labor market? Based on prior findings we expect that those who delay entry into parenthood will maintain a more continuous attachment to paid employment, achieve higher status in the job hierarchy, and consequently earn higher wages.

2. To what extent does women's human capital, especially the type of occupations they hold, interact with the effect of childbearing timing on employment consequences? Prior studies lead us to expect a more pronounced effect of birth timing on women in professional or managerial jobs than in other jobs, because these occupations demand higher commitment and continuous attachment to paid employment.

3. Does working in more family friendly environments, as exemplified in the public sector and female-type occupations, mediate the effect of childbirth timing on employment consequences? We expect the timing of birth to be more consequential in

private and in non-female-type occupations than in more "family-friendly" settings. Stier and Yaish (2006) showed that women in Israel working in the public sector were less likely to interrupt their employment following a birth of a child, and were more prone to return to paid employment once they left the labor market. Accordingly, they are less likely to be penalized by having children in the early stages of their career. Findings on women's work continuity in different gender-type occupations are not conclusive, but it is reasonable to expect weaker effects of childbearing timing on employment outcomes in female-dominated occupations because, as Polachek (1981) argues, in these occupations work interruptions are not as costly.

### **Data, Measurements and Methods**

The study is based on the Survey of Women's Employment, Work Orientations and Child-care Options (hereafter SWE), conducted in 2000 by the Israeli Ministry of Employment. The survey investigated the experience and attitudes of women aged 20-45 to the labor market, including information on their occupation, employment, family and children, and experience with childcare frameworks. We restricted the study to Jewish women aged 26-45 (N=2656). Because the survey over-sampled women with preschool children the descriptive analysis is weighted to approximate population distribution.

#### *Dependent variables*

We employed three measures of labor market consequences: *Occupational SEI* assigned to the 2-digit occupations as reported in the survey: SEI scores are based on Semyonov et al. (2000); *Employment continuity* measured the length of time (in years) the woman worked from age 18 (not including years of post high-school education) as a proportion

of the maximum years she could work, given her age at the time of the survey. These two variables were measurable for all women who ever worked (N=1765 and 2113, respectively). The last variable was net monthly earnings (in NIS). This variable pertained to women who participated in paid employment at the time of the survey (N=1200).

### *Independent variables*

Our main concern was the effect of *age at first birth* on employment outcomes. Women reported the ages of all children present in their household. The age of birth was calculated using information on women's age at the time of the survey and the age of the oldest child. Our models also controlled for variables traditionally proven to affect women's occupational attainment, work experience and income: *education* was measured in years; *PTM* is a variable indicating whether the woman holds professional, technical or managerial occupation; number of *working hours* per week; number of *children* in household; woman's age at the time of the survey; and (for the SEI and wage equation) women's *work experience* measured as the number of years the woman worked since she turned 18.

In addition to the individual variables, we added two structural indicators of women's context of work: using information on the industry, we created a measure of the sector of employment (1=public sector, 0=otherwise). The public sector includes branches traditionally belonging to this sector in Israel, mainly in administration, health and education. We also added for each occupation the percentage of females (information obtained from the Israeli labor force survey). The main interest in the current study was not in the effect of these two context variables on the dependent

variables but how they interacted with the effect of childbearing timing on employment outcomes.

### Methods

Because the decision to enter parenthood is endogenous to work and career decisions, using OLS regression to examine the effect of childbearing timing on labor market characteristics tends to produce biased estimates. Therefore, the main hypotheses were tested by Two Stage Least Square modeling. Using instrumental variables, this procedure, allows account to be taken of the simultaneous relationships between employment and family decisions. Accordingly, age at first birth, the endogenous variable, was predicted by two instrumental variables: degree of religiosity (from 1=ultra-orthodox to 4=secular) and respondent's birth in Israel or not. These two variables, which capture attitudes and norms regarding family life, affect the decision to enter parenthood but are not expected to affect employment outcomes. We report the results from the 2SLS models alongside reduced-form equations (OLS).

### **Findings**

We began the analysis by describing the distribution of women's age at first childbirth. As can be seen in the first column of Table 1, the vast majority of women in the survey had children, and about 43% (half of all mothers) gave birth between age 20 and 24. Only a minority (about 7%) had their first child in their teens and another 9% entered parenthood after age 30. A comparison between two age groups reveals some trends to delayed age at first birth, with 53% of the older women compared with less than 57% of the younger group giving birth before age 24. Other age groups are hard to compare since 18% of the young women had not yet entered parenthood.

(Table 1 about here)

Next we assessed the relevance of age at first birth for selected labor market characteristics and outcomes. Table 2 presents the means of women's work experience, the SEI score of their occupation, their wages, weekly hours of work, education, and whether they held a PTM job for five groups of women: those who had a child in their teens; those who entered parenthood young (20-24); those entering parenthood between 25 and 29; those who delayed childbirth to their thirties and those who did not have children at the time of the survey. Level of education ranged from 12 years for women who had a child before age 20 to more than 14 years for those who gave birth after age 25 or did not have children. Similarly, and in relation to education, the probability of holding a PTM job increased with the age of birth. The probability was quite low in women who gave birth at a very young age (18%) but it rose to more than 35% for women who gave birth after age 20, reaching 47% for those who gave birth late in life. The SEI scores indicate a distinction between those entered parenthood younger than age 25 and those giving birth later in life. Accordingly, the score is lowest (33.5) for women who gave birth in their teens; it is higher in the second group of women (40.6) and reaches 43 for women who became mothers probably after completing higher education and accumulating some work experience.

(Table 2 about here)

Differences in work patterns among the women's groups were not as clear. Women who gave birth early in life had worked on average for 11 years after they turned 18, and only those who had their first child after age 29 added two more years. Childless women had the shortest work experience, probably due to their younger age. Nor were any significant differences found in working hours for all mothers, and only childless women worked more hours a week. This finding indicates the constraints of family life on mothers who also participate in paid employment. Lastly, income

differences were found among the women's groups, indicating a rise in monthly earnings as the mother's age at first birth was older. However, the wage penalty was especially high for women who gave birth in their teens, probably because it interfered with their educational attainment.

The next stage of the analysis examined the effect of age at first birth on three employment outcomes: socio-economic status of the women's occupation, their income, and their accumulated work experience. To denote this effect, we present two types of models for each of the three work outcomes. The first model is a reduced-form equation based on OLS regression and the second is based on Two Stage Least Square procedure, which takes into account the endogenous relationship between the women's decision on childbirth timing and their related employment outcomes. The results are presented in Table 3. The reduced-form model in the first column suggests that birth timing had a significant and positive effect on women's occupational status, above and beyond the effects of education, work experience and other personal and employment characteristics. Similar results were obtained from the 2SLS model, indicating that even when the simultaneous relationship between birth timing and employment decisions were taken into account, as women postponed their entry to parenthood they improved their standing in the labor market.

(Table 3 about here)

The results of the wage models are in the same direction, as can be seen in columns 3 and 4 of the table. Older age of first childbirth resulted in a significant rise in income. This was true for both the reduced-form and the structural model ( $b=0.007$  and  $0.066$ , respectively). Lastly, the timing of entry to parenthood had no significant effect on the women's accumulated work experience, regardless of the model used. To summarize the results so far, the findings suggest that the timing of entering parenthood

is consequential for women's achievements in the labor force, but less so for their work continuity.

Our next question was whether these effects were uniform across the different groups of women. We re-analyzed the same models separately for women in three structural contexts, as presented in Tables 4-6: first we compared women in the public and private sectors; then we compared the effect of childbearing timing on women in female-dominated and in other occupations;<sup>2</sup> finally, we applied the same models for women in PTM occupations and women in all other occupations. As stated earlier, we expected to find a more pronounced effect of age at first childbirth for women in the private sector, in non-female occupations, and in the more prestigious and demanding PTM occupations. This is because the first two settings are less friendly to working mothers and demand a "male-like" career pattern in which interruptions, especially at the early stage of working lives, can be detrimental to women's attainments in the labor market. The public sector and female-type occupations were expected to offer the conditions for combining work and family, so the timing of birth should not interfere with women's progress in the labor market (Stier & Yaish 2006). The expectation for the effect of being in PTM vs. non-PTM jobs rested on the assumption that careers in professional and managerial jobs are more demanding, and childbearing at early stages could have long-term implications for women's ability to achieve good jobs and high income.

The findings in Tables 4-6 indicate a more complicated story than the one expected. Indeed, women in the private sector were more constrained than in the public sector. As expected, later age at entering parenthood was associated with higher occupational attainment (measured in SEI scores) and higher wages (B=3.306 and

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<sup>2</sup> Female-type occupations are those in which women comprise 75% or more of all workers.

0.071, respectively). Timing of first birth had no effect on work experience. In the public sector, as expected, childbearing timing had no effect on any of the work outcomes. Note that the effect of age at first birth on occupational SEI seems strong and positive, though not significant. The large standard error (which was consistent for all work outcomes) may indicate a substantial variation among sub-groups within the public sector that could not be captured in this analysis. This finding is consistent with prior studies in Israel and elsewhere (see, e.g., Stier & Yaish 2006) that found no effect of family constraints on women's career interruptions in the public sector, but a significant association in the private.

(Table 4 about here)

The distinction between occupations on the basis of their gender composition is not as revealing in understanding how the timing of birth affects women's work outcomes. The effect on occupational SEI is positive and significant in the two settings. No sharp differences appeared in the effect of childbearing timing on wages, although it was only barely significant in female-type occupations, and there was no effect on work experience in either of the occupational contexts.

(Table 5 about here)

Lastly, Table 6 suggests an interesting and unexpected pattern of relationships between the timing of parenthood and work outcomes for women in PTM vs. other occupations. Age at first birth had a positive and significant effect on SEI for those with and without PTM occupations, although the effect was somewhat stronger in the former setting. The effect of childbirth timing on wages was significant only for women in occupations that were not professional, managerial or technical. As opposed to our expectations, timing of first birth exercised no significant effect on monthly (ln)earnings. As before, age at first birth was not consequential for women's



accumulated work experience in either setting. These findings indicate that the timing of first childbirth affects women's employment consequences in two distinct patterns. First, it affects their likelihood to obtain a high-level occupation, as can be seen from the findings of Table 3. Once they enter these professional or managerial positions, the timing of birth (which was relatively later in life in any case) is not consequential to their achievements. This is probably because the opportunity costs in PTM occupations are high, so women who have already invested in these high-ranking and demanding occupations are less likely to interrupt their employment, no matter when they have their children. For all other women, the age of first childbirth is an important determinant of their gains from work because family constraints are more consequential when opportunity costs are low. Also, highly ranked occupations for women in Israel may offer better ways to cope with family demands because women have more autonomy or flexibility in their work schedules (see Stier 1998 for related arguments).

## **Discussion**

This study focused on the effect of childbearing timing on employment consequences of Israeli mothers. Because women's employment is constrained by their family demands, especially the presence of children, career-oriented women tend to delay childbirth to complete their investments in skills and establish a career. In the current paper we examined the effect of childbearing timing on three employment outcomes in the Israeli labor market: the occupational status women achieve; their wages and their work continuity. Our findings support that general claim that the timing of family events matters for socio-economic attainment. Delayed entry into parenthood reduces the costs women encounter in the labor market in terms of occupational standing and earnings. Nonetheless, our findings suggest that the consequences of

family events depend, at least partly, on the structural arrangements of women's employment and on their opportunity costs. In particular, we found support for the contention that the public sector, though not necessarily offering women the highest wages, provides the context which allows them to be relatively free of the penalties associated with family events. As prior studies have shown (Stier & Yaish 2006; Taniguchi & Rosenfeld 2002) the public sector allows women to combine work and family by offering shorter working hours and special arrangements that encourage women to continue working when they have young children. This is also the context where policies and regulations, especially anti-discrimination laws, are closely adhered to, so that mothers are less discriminated against and thus can attain higher occupational standing and better wages.

While a family-friendly environment mitigates the conflict between work and family, especially when the children are young, women's opportunity costs are an important determinant of their employment behavior, hence their achievements. As studies have shown, early entry into parenthood is associated with lower educational attainment. However, for women who have already obtained a professional occupation, the timing of childbirth is less consequential. Because of their opportunity costs, they are less likely to interrupt their employment, to change their occupation, or to move to a part time job (see, e.g., Stier 1996, 1998; Stier & Yaish 2006). It is therefore plausible to argue that childbirth and its timing are consequential especially for women who are less skilled, and thus have low opportunity costs, or are not inclined to invest in a demanding career. However, these findings suggest that it is not so much the timing of breaking up a career that matters as whether women interrupt or reduce their employment at all.

In conclusion, our findings show that when women are highly motivated to pursue their careers when they enjoy good opportunities that are incentives to continuous full-time employment, and a work environment that encourages stability and attachment to paid work; then the penalties of having children and of the timing of childbirth diminish. These findings point to the importance of creating women-friendly working places, along with skill acquisition and good market prospects associated with high education and professional occupations.

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**Table 1**  
**Distribution of Age at First Birth, by Women's Age at the Survey Date**

	All Women	Age groups	
		26-35	36-45
Age <20	7.3	6.6	8.0
20-24	42.7	40.1	45.4
25-29	29.3	38.8	27.9
30+	8.5	4.1	12.7
No Children	12.1	18.3	4.1
Unweighted N	2582	1372	1210

**Table 2**  
**Means of Employment Characteristics (SD) by Respondents' Age of first birth**

	Age at First Childbirth				
	<20	20-24	25-29	30+	No kids
Education	12.3 (2.8)	13.5 (2.4)	14.2 (2.5)	14.2 (3.0)	14.6 (2.8)
Occupational SEI	33.5 (20.2)	40.6 (18.1)	43.1 (17.3)	43.1 (18.8)	42.8 (19.3)
Work Experience	11.8 (7.0)	11.9 (6.6)	11.6 (5.8)	13.6 (6.0)	9.2 (5.8)
PTM (%)	19.6	34.9	43.1	46.0	43.0
Earnings	3205.0 (1714.8)	3692.7 (1545.8)	3796.9 (1587.7)	3955.0 (1764.6)	3591.4 (1646.0)
Weekly hours of work	34.2 (11.8)	34.1 (11.6)	34.5 (11.2)	34.1 (12.3)	36.5 (12.4)
% in public sector	29.8	37.7	35.8	32.7	30.7
% in Female-type occupations	50.1	55.0	49.3	43.8	41.0
N	178	1090	816	238	264



**Table 3.**  
**Effect of Childbirth Timing on Employment Outcomes,**  
**Jewish Israeli Women 26 to 45**

	Occupational SEI		(Ln) Earnings		Labor force continuity	
	Reduced Form	2SLS	Reduced Form	2SLS	Reduced Form	2SLS
Education	3.061* (0.166)	2.386* (0.250)	0.049* (0.005)	0.037* (0.008)	0.029* (0.003)	0.028* (0.003)
Work experience	0.511* (0.077)	0.626* (0.097)	0.021* (0.003)	0.023* (0.003)	---- <sup>a</sup>	---- <sup>a</sup>
Weekly Working Hours	---- <sup>a</sup>	---- <sup>a</sup>	0.017* (0.001)	0.018* (0.001)	---- <sup>a</sup>	---- <sup>a</sup>
PTM	---- <sup>a</sup>	---- <sup>a</sup>	0.253* (0.032)	0.173* (0.049)	0.110* (0.016)	0.105* (0.018)
% women in occupation	-0.174* (0.018)	-0.203* (0.022)	0.001 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	0.001* (0.000)	0.001* (0.000)
Public sector	2.554* (0.871)	3.219* (1.063)	-0.114* (0.029)	-0.081* (0.036)	-0.024 (0.014)	-0.021 (0.016)
Number of children	1.130* (0.267)	3.451* (0.601)	0.023* (0.009)	0.075* (0.022)	-0.024* (0.004)	-0.022* (0.007)
Age	-0.685* (0.088)	-1.091* (0.139)	-0.012* (0.003)	-0.020* (0.004)	0.001 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)
Age at first birth	0.486* (0.101)	3.355* (0.643)	0.007* (0.003)	0.066* (0.023)	-0.002 (0.001)	0.001 (0.008)
Constant	16.024 (4.163)	-36.081 (12.532)	6.700 (0.131)	5.610 (0.444)	0.335 (0.058)	0.277 (0.150)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.270	0.206	0.428	0.356	0.165	0.164
N	1765	1765	962	962	2113	2113

**Table 4**  
**Effect of Childbirth Timing on employment outcomes in Public and Private Sectors, Jewish Israeli Women 26-45**

	Occupational SEI		(Ln) Earnings		Labor force continuity	
	Private sector	Public Sector	Private sector	Public Sector	Private sector	Public Sector
Education	1.582* (0.331)	3.197* (0.406)	0.034* (0.010)	0.036* (0.017)	0.030* (0.004)	0.023* (0.005)
Work experience	0.487* (0.116)	0.741* (0.204)	0.023* (0.004)	0.022* (0.006)	---- <sup>a</sup>	----- <sup>a</sup>
Weekly Working Hours	---- <sup>a</sup>	---- <sup>a</sup>	0.018* (0.002)	0.019* (0.003)		
PTM	---- <sup>a</sup>	---- <sup>a</sup>	0.057 (0.063)	0.300* (0.078)	0.070* (0.024)	0.135* (0.028)
% women in occupation	-0.166* (0.024)	-0.505* (0.059)	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)	0.001* (0.000)	-0.000 (0.001)
Number of children	2.754* (0.632)	3.222* (1.551)	0.121* (0.030)	0.042 (0.061)	-0.033* (0.008)	-0.011 (0.015)
Age	-0.931* (0.154)	-1.213* (0.332)	-0.024* (0.005)	-0.012 (0.013)	0.001 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.003)
Age at first birth	3.306* (0.591)	2.523 (1.836)	0.071* (0.020)	0.049 (0.086)	0.003 (0.007)	0.003 (0.022)
Constant	-29.242 (11.806)	5.387 (34.832)	5.658 (0.393)	5.716 (1.764)	0.210 (0.150)	0.360 (0.453)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.148	0.392	0.349	0.417	0.138	0.200
N	1125	639	522	440	1295	818

**Table 5**  
**Effect of Childbirth Timing on employment outcomes in Female-type and other Occupations, Jewish Israeli Women 26-45**

	Occupational SEI		(Ln) Earnings		Labor force continuity	
	Non-fem. Occ.	Female Occ.	Non-fem. Occ.	Female Occ.	Non-fem. Occ.	Female Occ.
Education	2.989* (0.460)	2.373* (0.988)	0.034* (0.011)	0.042* (0.009)	0.024* (0.004)	0.030* (0.004)
Work experience	0.524* (0.170)	0.605* (0.118)	0.016* (0.004)	0.031* (0.006)	---- <sup>a</sup>	---- <sup>a</sup>
Weekly Working Hours	---- <sup>a</sup>	---- <sup>a</sup>	0.017* (0.002)	0.019* (0.002)	---- <sup>a</sup>	---- <sup>a</sup>
PTM	---- <sup>a</sup>	---- <sup>a</sup>	0.161* (0.054)	0.184* (0.084)	0.092* (0.022)	0.118* (0.027)
Public Sector	-4.809 (3.582)	1.324 (0.936)	-0.019 (0.052)	-0.129* (0.049)	0.036 (0.022)	-0.058* (0.021)
Number of children	2.216* (0.954)	2.765* (0.828)	0.063* (0.024)	0.085* (0.039)	-0.023* (0.007)	-0.026~ (0.014)
Age	-1.007* (0.224)	-0.870* (0.184)	-0.016* (0.005)	-0.024* (0.008)	-0.000 (0.002)	0.000 (0.002)
Age at first birth	2.712* (0.806)	2.373* (0.988)	0.056* (0.023)	0.078~ (0.042)	0.004 (0.008)	-0.006 (0.017)
Constant	-38.907 (15.997)	-35.957 (20.219)	5.867 (0.450)	5.220 (0.921)	0.292 (0.149)	0.516 (0.381)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.187	0.223	0.360	0.344	0.186	0.150
N	665	1097	442	520	1016	1097

**Table 6**  
**Effect of Childbirth Timing on employment outcomes in PTM and other occupations, Jewish Israeli Women 26-45**

	Occupational SEI		(Ln) Earnings		Labor force continuity	
	Non-PTM	PTM	Non-PTM	PTM	Non-PTM	PTM
Education	0.820* (0.250)	1.889* (0.750)	0.037* (0.010)	0.052 (0.039)	0.031* (0.004)	0.024* (0.004)
Work experience	0.403* (0.089)	0.186~ (0.108)	0.025* (0.004)	0.014* (0.006)	---- <sup>a</sup>	---- <sup>a</sup>
Weekly Working Hours	---- <sup>a</sup>	---- <sup>a</sup>	0.018* (0.002)	0.018* (0.002)	---- <sup>a</sup>	---- <sup>a</sup>
% women in occupation	0.002 (0.022)	-0.324* (0.033)	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)	0.001~ (0.000)	-0.000 (0.001)
Public Sector	-11.475* (1.133)	1.724 (2.002)	-0.164* (0.042)	0.084 (0.072)	-0.045* (0.019)	0.034 (0.028)
Number of children	2.390* (0.619)	1.328* (0.516)	0.118* (0.038)	0.042~ (0.024)	-0.039* (0.011)	-0.007 (0.007)
Age	-0.819* (0.131)	-0.362* (0.155)	-0.025* (0.005)	-0.006 (0.008)	0.002 (0.002)	-0.003 (0.002)
Age at first birth	2.524* (0.558)	1.889* (0.750)	0.071* (0.025)	0.052 (0.039)	-0.002 (0.010)	0.005 (0.011)
Constant	-16.792 (10.814)	42.326 (15.824)	5.606 (0.486)	5.893 (0.842)	0.266 (0.197)	0.441 (0.224)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.160	0.420	0.360	0.260	0.099	0.076
N	1284	478	567	395	1299	814