The Gender Wage Gap in the Reform Movement: An Updated United Data Narrative

Savannah Noray

Preface

The following article by Savannah Noray serves as an update to the work of the Reform Pay Equity Initiative (RPEI). This report builds on the information found in the Fall 2018 *CCAR Journal: The Reform Jewish Quarterly* symposium "Pay Equity Within the Reform Movement" and provides an update to Dr. Elyse Gould's symposium article "The Gender Wage Gap in the Reform Movement: A United Data Narrative," which documented the first aggregation of data concerning the gender-based wage gap in the Reform Movement.¹

In its sixth year, the RPEI is a consolidated effort of the seventeen organizations of the Reform Movement to educate employees and employers about the wage gap, to collect data, and to promote the use of interventions such as posting salary ranges, counterbalancing implicit bias, and offering paid family and medical leave. The work of the Reform Pay Equity Initiative can be found at www.reformpayequity.org.

The article below uses the data of the American Conference of Cantors (ACC), Association of Reform Jewish Educators (ARJE), Central Conference of American Rabbis (CCAR), Early Childhood Educators of Reform Judaism (ECE-RJ), and the National Association of Temple Administration (NATA). These are the five professional

SAVANNAH NORAY, MSc Applied Economics, is a Public Policy PhD student at Harvard University specializing in labor economics. Her research aims to understand the constraints that women face when pursuing their careers and how institutions can minimize these barriers.

organizations within the Reform Movement currently tracking employment data. However, the work of the RPEI involves all the organizations within our Movement, deepening the efforts within the individual organizations for their employees and constituents and creating synergy among the groups to affect change broadly.

— Rabbi Marla J. Feldman and Rabbi Mary L. Zamore, Co-Leaders, Reform Pay Equity Initiative

Introduction

In 2020, the average woman earned 84 percent of what the average man earned in the United States.² Many factors contribute to this wage gap. For example, men may be more likely to study STEM subjects in college, thus setting them up for higher paying jobs than women.³ At the same time, negative and inaccurate stereotypes about women's abilities could also contribute to the wage gap.⁴ In addition, women may be reluctant to request pay raises, which could further mute their earnings.⁵ Moreover, women may be more likely to work in occupations that give them the flexibility to manage childcare, and these occupations may compensate for providing this amenity by offering lower salaries.⁶ In short, the gender wage gap is a complex issue with many potential determinants. Thus, measuring the success of initiatives aimed at reducing the gap is crucial to ensuring effective policy design.

An important first step towards evaluating whether polices have succeeded at closing the gap is comparing outcomes before and after the policies have been implemented. Towards that end, this report analyzes the current state of the gender gap across various professions in the Reform Movement and, when possible, documents how the gap has changed since the ongoing interventions proposed by the Reform Pay Equity Initiative (RPEI) began.⁷ The data that provide the point of comparison were summarized in a report using similar data from 2016–2017.⁸ For ease of comparison, the figures and statistics presented in this report closely mirror those contained in Gould (2018) whenever possible.

There are two main dimensions along which this report analyzes pay equity. First, this report analyzes how men and women sort into various occupations within the Reform Movement. From this analysis, we can learn whether men and women tend to take

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jobs with systematically different pay, thus potentially leading to a greater overall pay gap between men and women. Studying gender segregation is related to pay equity insofar as it leads to aggregate pay disparities or reflects barriers to female Jewish professionals' career choices. Second, this report studies pay equity more directly by analyzing differences in pay *within* occupations. This analysis holds constant broad job characteristics, such as the tasks typically performed or educational requirements. Therefore, pay disparities within occupations reflect a slightly narrower set of potential causes, such as job experience, type of congregation/school served, and geographic location. Finally, this report briefly summarizes the state of paid leave, a workplace amenity that often disproportionately affects women's work choices.

Comparing the data between 2016–2017 and 2019–2020, rabbis showed the most progress towards pay equity while cantorial and temple administrator positions demonstrated no progress. Two of three categories of rabbinical positions showed progress towards more equitable pay. In contrast, the pay gap among cantors and temple administrators stayed roughly the same. Breaking down by congregation size, senior/solo rabbi pay became more equitable across two out of three congregation size categories (and stayed constant otherwise). In contrast, the gender pay gap among individuals in cantorial positions has remained roughly the same (or even grown slightly) across all three congregation sizes. This main finding and other results that provide important context are summarized below. The body of the report expands on each of these points in greater detail:

- Women tend to be found in education-related occupations. Of the data analyzed, the occupation category with the lowest fraction of women is full-time congregational rabbis, where 38 percent of senior/solo, associate, and assistant rabbis are women.
 - Female representation among senior/solo rabbis decreases as congregation size increases.
 - While these overall trends are consistent with earlier findings in Gould (2018), a meaningful increase in female representation has occurred across all categories. For example, while only 25 percent of senior/solo rabbis were women in 2016–2017, this fraction rose to 30 percent in 2020.

- Women report lower base salaries than men across the occupations covered in the data. Gaps in education-related occupations are relatively low (female educators earn 6 percent less than their male counterparts), while the gap rises to 8–18 percent across some rabbinical, cantorial, and temple administrator positions.
 - The pay gap for senior/solo rabbis narrows as congregation size increases. In contrast, the pay gap for cantors widens as congregation size increases.
 - Again, the general trends mirror those reported in Gould (2018). Comparing pay gaps over time, there is reason for both optimism and pessimism. Pay gaps decreased among senior/solo rabbis and assistant rabbis, while increasing among associate rabbis. The decreased pay gap among senior/solo rabbis was concentrated among the smallest congregations (300 or fewer members) and largest congregations (600 or more members), while midsized congregations (301–599 members) saw no change. In contrast, among cantors, the pay gap slightly increased or stayed the same across all congregation size categories.
- Individuals in cantorial positions receive generous paid parental leave, while rabbinical, education-related, and administrative occupations in the Reform Movement offer comparatively less leave.
- The data available for this report are a significant improvement over what was available for the analysis in Gould (2018).
 That said, data collection methods, data quality, and methodological limitations still make drawing conclusions difficult.
 To understand what is driving the gap and what solutions are helping to close it, improving data further would be valuable.

Data Sources and Limitations

This report pulls from multiple sources of data, as outlined in Table 1. Broadly speaking, the data sources cover rabbis, cantors, educators, and temple administration professionals across the Reform Movement. Each data source is associated with a specific member organization of the Reform Pay Equity Initiative (RPEI), which is co-led by Women of Reform Judaism (WRJ) and the Women's Rabbinic Network (WRN). The American Conference of Cantors

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Data Source	Year	Data Collection	Respondent Occupations	# Respondents	# Female Respondents	# Male Respondents
Salary Survey for the American Conference of Cantors (ACC)	2019	Online questionnaire sent via email	Senior/Solo Cantor Assistant Cantor Sole Spiritual Leader Retiree Cantor/Educator Cantor/Nabbi	209	141 (67.4%)	66 (31.5%)
Compensation and Benefits Survey for National Association for Temple Administration (NATA)	2019	Online questionnaire sent via email	Executive Director Temple Administrator	217	144 (66.4%)	73 (33.6%)
Compensation Study for Central Conference of American Rabbis (CCAR)	2019- 2020	Administrative data	Senior/Solo Rabbi Associate Rabbi Assistant Rabbi Rabbi Educator	671	269 (40%)	402 (60%)
Association of Reform Jewish Educators (ARJE)	2020	Online questionnaire sent via email	Director of Education Religious School Principal Assistant Director (Synagogue / Religious School setting) Teacher / Professor Camp Professional Youth Professional School Administrator Rabbi (Cantor	247	197 (78.2%)	49 (19.4%)
Compensation and Benefits Survey for Early Childhood Educators of Reform Judaism (ECE-RJ)	2019	Online questionnaire sent via email to directors, then directors shared survey with other faculty at the school	Teacher Assistant teacher Directors of Early Childhood Education Preschool Director Assistant Director Uirector of Lifelong Learning	502 (125 unique schools)	490 (97.6%)	12 (2.4%)

Table 1: Data Sources

Notes: The total number of respondents is sometimes higher than the sum of female and male respondents because some respondents chose not to disclose their gender.

(ACC) data includes information on the salaries, benefits, and personal characteristics (e.g., work experience) of members. Similar information is collected from various types of educators in the data sets sourced through the Association of Reform Jewish Educators (ARJE) and the Early Childhood Educators of Reform Judaism (ECE-RJ). These data sets are female dominated (as are the professions themselves), so the pay inequality analysis using these data is somewhat limited. Data from the National Association for Temple Administration (NATA) covers executive directors and temple administrators. Finally, data from the Central Conference of American Rabbis (CCAR) provides information on full-time rabbis who are members of the CCAR serving Union for Reform Judaism congregations and are actively contributing to the Reform Pension Plan during the 2019–2020 congregational year.

Before discussing the results, it is worth noting some limitations. One primary limitation is that all data sources except for the CCAR are collected through an online questionnaire sent to respondents via email. This poses several issues. First, this means that the data represent a sample of individuals who decided to reply to the survey. This matters because people who did not reply to the survey may differ from respondents in meaningful ways, therefore resulting in a less representative sample of individuals—for example, perhaps nonrespondents work more and have higher salaries. A

second concern is that respondents may misreport information. This could happen for a variety of reasons: the respondents are trying to complete the questionnaire quickly, they cannot remember an answer, or they simply make an entry error. A third concern is that the sample size is low for some of the data sources, which means that the statistics reported may lack precision. In contrast to these issues, the CCAR data are administrative and thus cover the universe of pension-participating rabbis while being less likely to contain misreporting errors.

In addition to data quality concerns, there is a methodological limitation that applies to all data sources. In order to make claims about what factors are *causing* certain trends, social scientists typically rely on data that track individuals over time during which a randomly selected subgroup are exposed to the causal factor of interest. For example, a formal test of whether the RPEI efforts lead to more pay equity would require that a random subset of individuals was exposed to RPEI programming ("treatment group") while others were not ("control group"). In this case, any outcomes that were different between these two groups over time would then be attributable to the programming efforts. While this report tracks outcomes over time, the lack of a control group precludes any causal inference. Therefore, this report focuses on building rich descriptive insights and refrains from making definitive causal claims.

A final cautionary note for interpreting these results is that while most of the data were collected prior to the COVID-19 pandemic, the ARJE collected data over a timeframe that overlapped with the pandemic. Therefore, an additional concern is that some of the results derived from the ARJE data are driven by the unique circumstances of the pandemic. In fact, a third of the respondents in the ARJE (33.3 percent) noted that their base salary was affected by COVID-19 in some way, usually in the form of a salary decrease or freeze. Relevant to this report, women were more likely to report being affected (35 percent versus 26 percent). Results from the ARJE thus ought to be interpreted with this in mind.

Gender Differences in Occupational Sorting

One major reason why women earn less than men is because they tend to be in occupations that pay less (Goldin, 2014). This same pattern exists within the Reform Movement. Broadly speaking, women

are less likely to be in lucrative occupations, and even within high paying occupations, women are less likely to be in the highest paying positions. Insofar as these patterns reflect barriers to career advancement or choice for women, this is a valuable metric to track.

Women in the Reform Movement are particularly likely to be in jobs related to education, which mimics a broader trend in the economy. While the ARJE and ECE-RJ data are not likely to be perfectly representative of the population of educators in their organizations, respondents were overwhelmingly female (78 percent and 98 percent, respectively), thus suggesting that the occupations surveyed are female-dominated as well. With the same caveats about representativeness in mind, cantors and temple administrators are more likely to be female: around 67 percent of cantor respondents and 66 percent of temple administrator respondents are women. In contrast, only 38 percent of full-time congregational rabbis¹⁰ are women.

Similar patterns emerge when taking a closer look at rabbis. Figure 1 breaks out rabbis by position and congregation size across gender. The middle set of bars shows that senior/solo rabbi positions are dominated by men (70 percent male, 30 percent female). In contrast, assistant rabbis and associate rabbis are 47 percent and 64 percent female, respectively. Mimicking the broader pattern of female representation in education-related occupation categories,

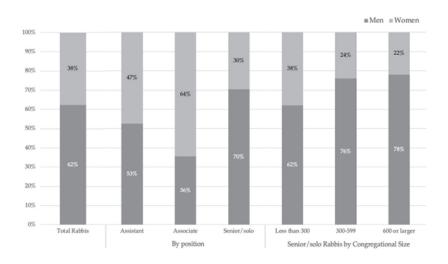


Figure 1: Gender-based sorting among rabbis

Note: Source is 2020 CCAR data.

rabbi educators are the most female-dominated position (74 percent female).

The set of bars on the right in Figure 1 focuses on senior/solo rabbis. As congregation size gets larger, the share of females in senior/solo rabbi positions tends to become smaller. While women make up 38 percent of senior/solo rabbis in the smallest-sized congregations, they make up only 22 percent of the rabbis among the largest congregations. Given that 30 percent of all senior/solo rabbis are female, it is clear that women are overrepresented in small congregations while underrepresented in large ones.

The gender-based sorting across occupation categories, rabbinical positions, and congregation size implies that more female entry into rabbinic occupations, higher paying positions (e.g., senior/solo rabbi), or larger congregations would result in a lower overall pay gap. Comparing this analysis to Gould (2018), sorting patterns seem to be trending towards more women in more lucrative positions. While 32 percent of full-time congregational rabbis were female in 2016–2017 (the time period analyzed in Gould [2018]), this fraction has increased to 38 percent over the course of two years—representing a relatively rapid rise of women in these leadership positions.¹¹ Specifically, this increase is due to a larger share of women in the higher paying positions of associate and senior/solo rabbis. Similarly, the share of women in senior/solo rabbi positions grew in every congregation size category over the same time period. Most of the growth in the female share occurred among the smallest congregations (an increase of 6 percentage points). But, given that rabbis can serve in senior positions in larger congregations as they obtain more experience, ¹² an increase of women serving smaller congregations may point towards progress in the future.

In addition to the greater female representation over time, the ACC and ECE-RJ data contribute to the case for optimism regarding female representation and overall pay equity. The ACC data on cantors allows for a similar analysis by position and congregation size. In stark contrast to the senior/solo rabbi position, which is 30 percent female, the senior/solo cantor position is 67 percent female. Given that women make up 67 percent of all cantors (at least among the survey respondents), this means that higher paying cantorial positions do not suffer from underrepresentation of women. Moreover, women are proportionately represented across congregation sizes: both small (250 or less) and large (1,000 or

more) congregations have approximately 70 percent female cantors. Notably, a similar pattern of proportional representation was reported in Gould (2018), signifying that female representation has been maintained over time.

Analogous analysis can be performed in the ECE-RJ and ARJE data, bearing in mind that women make up almost the entire ECE-RJ sample. Comparing across different specific occupations preschool director, director of lifelong learning, assistant director, teacher, and assistant teacher—women are slightly overrepresented (relative to the overall share of women represented in the ECE-RJ data) in all positions except for assistant teacher. Similarly, according to the ARJE data, women are either proportionately represented or overrepresented in positions such as director of education, religious school principal, and assistant director. Moreover, the men and women surveyed report being roughly equally likely to supervise others in their role, the type of responsibility that is likely to correlate with pay. Note that the NATA data do not show the fraction of women for temple administrators and executive directors separately, but rather across the entire sample as a whole (as reported in Table 1). Thus, further analysis of these positions cannot be completed.

In summary, while men still make up the majority of the highest paying rabbinical positions, there has been meaningful progress towards female representation. Insofar as this leads to higher paychecks for women, this is ultimately progress towards closing the gender gap in earnings. With this context in mind, the next section turns to wage and earnings gaps *within* occupations.

Gender Inequality in Salary Within Occupations

Having established how men and women sort across various roles within the Reform Movement, a natural next step is to analyze how pay differs by gender within those roles. In making these comparisons, it is important to underscore the data limitations here in particular. Even when comparing men and women's salaries within a role, things like number of hours worked, assigned responsibility, experience, and so on may differ by gender—yet many of these characteristics are unobserved in the available data. The conclusion discusses this in more detail. Regardless, the basic story remains that men tend to earn more than women across many of the

occupations. Overall, there is some evidence for progress since the Gould (2018) report, while other evidence suggests there is still much room for improvement.

Across all senior/solo rabbis, the gender gap in annual base salary is 16 percent (\$186,120 versus \$156,767) on average. The gap is much smaller when comparing salaries by gender within different congregation size categories. This confirms the discussion from the previous section that men's relatively higher propensity to be in larger congregations drives up earnings inequality. However, while men are more likely to be in larger congregations, the gender gap decreases with congregation size, a pattern that was also present in the Gould (2018) report. This suggests that future programming for pay equity could target smaller congregations. The gender gap in base salary for senior/ solo rabbis in congregations with 300 or fewer members is 8 percent (\$125,919 versus \$115,908), for congregations with 301-599 members is 9 percent (\$179,096 versus \$163,365), and for congregations with at least 600 members is 4 percent (\$274,896 versus \$262,607). While pay inequities still exist, the gender gap has decreased substantially in two of three congregation size categories since Gould (2018), where the gap was 13 percent, 9 percent, and 8 percent, respectively.

Among associate rabbis, the gender gap in annual base salary is 12 percent (\$160,502 versus \$141,886) on average. This is larger than the gap reported in Gould (2018). In contrast, the gender gap has closed (and perhaps even reversed) for assistant rabbis, suggesting that some progress has been made over time. In Gould (2018), female assistant rabbis earned 4 percent less, while in the current data, women earn slightly more than men (\$109,365 versus \$107,976). The relatively small number of associate rabbis and assistant rabbis does not allow for breaking down the gender gap for these occupations by the same congregation size categories.

Across the three categories of rabbinic positions, men make on average 18 percent more than women (\$176,862 versus \$145,239). This is a slight improvement over the 19 percent gap report in Gould (2018). When rabbi educators are included in the data set, however, men make 20 percent more on average than women (\$174,061 versus \$139,085). There is no comparable measurement in the Gould report.

The ACC data allow for a richer analysis of disparities in base salary by gender among cantors. Across all cantor respondents, on average, men make 14 percent more than women (\$170,975 versus \$146,195). This masks substantial variation in the gap across congregation size. Larger congregations exhibit wider gender gaps in salary, as depicted in the right panel of Figure 2, where the gap widens to 29 percent among the largest congregations. In contrast, the gap is nearly nonexistent in congregations of 251–500 members. This suggests that, in contrast to rabbi pay disparities, programming aimed at closing salary gaps among cantors may be most useful in larger congregations. Notably, these gaps are either the same (or slightly larger) than the gaps reported in Gould (2018), suggesting that further work ought to be done to fulfill the social justice mandate of pay equity across gender.

Figure 2 also breaks down the gap across cantors' experience at a given congregation. This reveals only modest variation, with gaps tending to be slightly smaller among more experienced individuals. Nevertheless, the gap is never smaller than 10 percent, suggesting that differences in experience is not a primary driver of pay inequity among cantors. Comparing these gaps to Gould (2018), gender gaps among the more experienced closed while gaps among less experienced cantors increased slightly.

Because only 12 men (out of 502 total respondents) are included in the ECE-RJ sample, analysis of the salary gap is omitted.

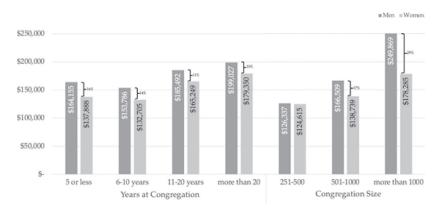


Figure 2: Cantor pay by gender

Note: Source is ACC 2019 data

However, the ARJE data give a sense of pay disparities among educators in the Reform Movement. On average, across respondents in the ARJE, men tend to earn slightly more than women yielding a gender gap of 6 percent in base salary (\$99,522 versus \$93,061). This stays relatively stable when zooming into directors of education (full-time) specifically, where women earn 7.5 percent less than their male counterparts (\$94,382 versus \$102,065).

Only a very crude salary comparison comes from NATA, which simply reports the average and quartiles of base salary by gender. On average, the women in this sample earn 18 percent less than men (\$99,656 versus \$121,066), roughly the same amount as reported in Gould (2018). Interestingly, the gap at the third quartile is *smaller* than the gap at the first quartile (15 percent versus 21 percent). However, it is difficult to interpret these statistics further without observing salaries by gender across other characteristics. For instance, the base salary across all respondents increases sharply with the operating budget of the temple. Therefore, it could be the case that men in this sample are more likely to be at larger synagogues, and thus receive higher pay. Alternatively, it could be that men and women systematically choose different specific occupations within temple administration, thus explaining the gap. Without more data, it is not possible to disentangle which factors are behind the gender gap.

In short, pay disparities are largest among rabbis, cantors, and temple administrators. While female rabbis are less likely to serve as senior/solo rabbis at larger congregations, the gender gap narrows with congregation size. In contrast, the gap widens with congregation size among cantors. In cases where comparison over time is possible, gender gaps grew in some cases and closed in others. In particular, salaries have become more gender equal among rabbis, regardless of congregation size. Among cantors, however, pay gaps have either stayed relatively steady or slightly increased.

Parental Leave

Women often face the challenge of juggling childcare or maternity leave with their careers. A potentially important job amenity is thus parental leave, which eases the burden of taking a break from work during the early stages of motherhood. In fact, women may be willing to take a slight salary decrease in exchange for maternal leave (especially if it is paid), and thus the presence of this amenity

could help explain pay disparities. Analyzing whether this is true is outside of the scope of this analysis. Nevertheless, this short section describes the state of unpaid and paid parental leave for the occupations that reported data on the subject.

Among cantors, 72 percent of full-time pulpit respondents of both genders report being contractually entitled to maternity/ paternity leave, the vast majority (97 percent) of whom further report that the leave is paid. On average, parental leave lasts 63 days (9 weeks) for this group of respondents. Women are more likely to have access to parental leave (78 percent of female respondents versus 57 percent of males). In contrast, only 32 percent of cantors in limited-service pulpit positions report parental leave (80 percent of which is paid). These lower rates are more typical of other Jewish professionals' access across the Reform Movement. Only 27.5 percent of early childhood educator respondents in the ECE-RJ the majority of whom are women—report having parental leave, but it is unclear from the data whether it is paid. The average number of days allowed is 44.4. Among ARJE respondents, 35 percent report having access to paid parental leave at full salary with an average number of days of 54. Similarly, 36 percent of the temple administrators reported have parental leave with an average number of days allowed of 49, although it is once again unclear whether the leave is paid.

Drawn from administrative data, the CCAR data does not document family and medical leave. However, a constituent organization of the CCAR, the Women's Rabbinic Network, conducted a family leave survey of their membership, which is comprised of female-identified Reform rabbis. In the WRN family and medical leave survey data, 23.5 percent of responding rabbis reported receiving paid parental leave as part of their contract with an average length of leave of 9.7 weeks. In addition, 34.6 percent of respondents reported they received paid family medical leave, with an average leave length of 4.2 weeks. Medical leave data was not available from the other organizations.

In summary, there is modest leave access across the Reform Movement among the occupations studied, with full-time pulpit cantors reporting the most generous amount of paid leave and educators reporting the lowest. Interestingly, the gender gap in salary among cantors is higher than those in education occupations. While this suggests that lower pay could be compensating

for access to this amenity, the fact that temple administrators have both a relatively high gender gap in salary and only modest access to leave (which may or may not be paid) suggests otherwise. In any case, further research with more granular data, especially on paid leave, could study this further.

Next Steps and Conclusions

Data on occupational sorting and salaries for rabbis, cantors, educators, and administrators across the Reform Movement suggest that women still face barriers to equality. Women tend to be found in lower paying careers and when they do enter the higher paying occupations, they tend to be in smaller congregations or lower paying positions. While this highlights the pervasiveness of occupational gender segregation, the progress over time in female representation (relative to Gould [2018]) is encouraging. The data still reveal what appear to be meaningful gaps in earnings between men and women across occupations, especially among rabbis, cantors, and administrators. There is mixed evidence of progress over the past couple of years. Rabbi pay has trended towards equality while the cantor pay gap remained roughly constant. However, when it comes to parental leave (a valuable job amenity for many women), cantors in full-time pulpit positions appear to have the most generous access, while rabbinical, educational, and administrative occupations have relatively less access.

The data limitations discussed earlier suggest a few concrete next steps for the RPEI as they continue to address this issue. Data collection for the survey data would be greatly improved by reducing non-response rates and/or engaging in random sampling in order to obtain a representative survey. Additionally, if any administrative data sets (like the CCAR) exist, they could be used in place of the surveys or at least a subset of the survey questions. Finally, survey questionnaires could be improved by using the thorough set of questions in the ACC as a guide for what questions to include.

The progress since Gould (2018) ought to send a hopeful message. This confirms that solutions are within reach. To continue making progress, the Reform Movement could consider interviewing women across different occupations (e.g., associate rabbi) and asking what barriers they tend to face in succeeding in their careers. A subset of targeted questions could be based on recent

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academic research (such as in Blau and Kahn [2017]) summarizing the main drivers of gender inequality in the labor market. ¹⁵ For example, part of the interview could ask whether women felt they could easily juggle family or childcare responsibilities and their work and, if not, what sorts of things would help them accomplish this better. These sorts of insights could inform the ongoing interventions aimed at closing the gaps further.

Notes

- 1. "Pay Equity Within the Reform Movement" (symposium), *CCAR Journal* (Fall 2018), https://www.ccarnet.org/the-reform-jewish-quarterly-fall-2018/.
- 2. Amanda Barroso and Anna Brown, "Gender Pay Gap in U.S. Held Steady in 2020," Pew Research Center (2021), https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2021/05/25/gender-pay-gap-facts/.
- 3. Shulamit Kahn and Donna Ginther, "Women and STEM," working paper no. 23525, National Bureau of Economic Research (June 2017), https://www.nber.org/system/files/working_papers/w23525/w23525.pdf.
- 4. Michela Carlana, "Implicit Stereotypes: Evidence from Teachers' Gender Bias," *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 134, no. 3 (2019): 1163–1224.
- 5. Barbara Biasi and Heather Sarsons, "Flexible Wages, Bargaining, and the Gender Gap," forthcoming in *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* (published online August 16, 2021), https://doi.org/10.1093/qje/qjab026.
- 6. Claudia Goldin, "A Grand Gender Convergence: Its Last Chapter," *American Economic Review* 104, no. 4 (2014): 1091–1119.
- 7. This article only breaks down gender by male and female. Unfortunately, there is not enough data to include analysis on nonbinary/gender fluid individuals.
- 8. Elise Gould, "The Gender Wage Gap in the Reform Movement: A United Data Narrative," *CCAR Journal* (Fall 2018): 48–59.
- 9. For example, the ACC and NATA surveys received response rates of 55.3 percent and 78 percent, respectively.
- 10. The CCAR data covers rabbi educators as well as rabbis. When including rabbi educators in this statistic, 40 percent of all rabbis and rabbi educators are women.
- 11. Gould, "The Gender Wage Gap."
- 12. CCAR Handbook for Placement Procedures can be found at https://www.ccarnet.org/placement-and-transition/placement-documents/.

- 13. The WRN family and medical leave survey is currently unpublished. It was conducted by The Center for Parental Leave Leadership under the direction of Dr. Amy Beacom and Dr. Amy Pytlovany.
- 14. WRN has created the resource "Family and Medical Leave: Policy Standards for the Jewish Community," to advance paid family and medical leave for all employees. The WRN recommends a standard of twelve weeks of paid leave. The resource can be found at https://womensrabbinicnetwork.org/Family-Leave.
- 15. Francine D. Blau and Lawrence M. Kahn, "The Gender Wage Gap: Extent, Trends, and Explanations," *Journal of Economic Literature* 55, no. 3 (2017): 789–865.