

A Systematic Review Of The Determinants Of Motherhood Wage Penalty

Wilfred Isioma Ukpere*¹, Jeremy Mitonga-Monga¹,
Nyasha Mapira¹

¹Department of Industrial Psychology and People Management, University
of Johannesburg, South Africa

Article Received: 17-08-2025, Article Accepted: 30-09-2025

Abstract

This study sought to systematically review existing studies on determinants of the motherhood wage penalty and mechanisms that organizations and working mothers can use to reduce it. The study used the Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-analyses (PRISMA) guidelines to gather and analyze related literature. A total of twenty six research articles, published between 2020 and 2025, were included in this systematic review. The study found several factors that determine the motherhood wage penalty: unconscious employer bias; employer discrimination; work-family policies; traditional gender norms and culture; gender-based division of labor; and job choices. To reduce the motherhood wage penalty, organizations should offer flexible work arrangements, childcare benefits, friendly leave schemes, and eliminate employer's unconscious bias and workplace discrimination against working mothers with children. In addition, this systematic review recommends that policymakers should enact regulations, which prohibit gender discrimination, whilst ensuring that working mothers enjoy equal rights and opportunities in the workplace. This treatise contributes practically by advancing the knowledge of policymakers, organizations and working mothers with children around determinants of the motherhood wage penalty. In addition, this systematic literature review assists employers and working mothers with initiating specific intervention mechanisms to reduce the motherhood wage penalty. The systematic literature review also lays a foundation for future related research.

Keywords: Motherhood, Motherhood wage penalty, Parenthood, Wage gap, Mothers, Non-mothers.

1. Introduction

There has been a rise in the proportion of women who participate in both local and international labor markets over the past few decades (Ming, 2022; Abraham et al., 2022;

Wakibi & Oleche, 2024; Samantroy, 2021; Osundina, 2020; Pimkina & de La Flor, 2020). Increases in women's educational level and attainment, policies that ensure equality, the rise in dual-earner and single-headed households, and financial strains are reasons that numerous studies provide for the above mentioned trends (Akhtar et al., 2020; Matysiak & Cukrowska-Torzewska, 2021; Pimkina & de La Flor, 2020; Aldan; 2021). Boakye et al. (2021) assert that despite a rise in mothers' participation in the job market, motherhood continues to affect working mothers' capacity to balance their paid and unpaid work. A study by Van Winkle and Fasang(2020) show that work-life conflict depletes working mothers' work effort, which has an adverse effect on their short and long term wages. Furthermore, despite the fact that giving birth is good for society, most working mothers endure the brunt of childbearing in the form of the motherhood wage penalty (Rowe et al., 2023). Pepping and Maniam (2020) define the motherhood wage penalty as the difference in income between women who have children and those who do not. de Quinto et al. (2021) state that motherhood wage penalty can take different forms such as less prospects for employment and career advancement, discriminatory practices, and lower pay. Similarly, Kalabikhina et al. (2024) contend that one of the primary factors that influence the wage gap in labor markets is the motherhood wage penalty. A study by Rosenbaum (2021) indicates that the motherhood wage penalty results in social injustices, which have adverse economic and social impacts on working mothers with children. In addition, Andrew et al. (2021) state that the motherhood wage penalty forces experienced and educated working mothers to quit their jobs, broadening the motherhood wage gap. According to a study by Ishizuka (2021), the motherhood wage penalty is associated with discriminatory practices against working mothers with children, frequently resulting in fewer prospects for career advancement and lower earnings. In an attempt to narrow the motherhood wage gap, working mothers with children have tried various strategies, including accepting part-time jobs and jobs that offer flexibility (Mari & Cutuli, 2021; Casarico & Lattanzio, 2023; Domínguez-Folgueras et al., 2022; Schrenker, 2023; Kouki, 2023). Attempts by working mothers with children to narrow the motherhood wage penalty by remaining in the labour market have exacerbated their motherhood challenges (Heath, 2024). Faced with the afore-mentioned harsh realities, working mothers with children are forced to quit their jobs, which further widens the motherhood wage penalty (Kim & Hahn, 2022; Berniell et al., 2022; Mukherjee & Sarkhel, 2025; Liu & Marois, 2024; Mukherjee & Sarkhel, 2025; Heath et al., 2024). Organizations have also tried to reduce the motherhood wage penalty, but it does not seem like their efforts are producing the desired results (Iddrisu et al. 2024; Earle et al., 2025; Fuller & Hirsh, 2019; Lewis,

2024). It is against this backdrop that the current study considered determinants of the motherhood wage penalty and mechanisms that organizations, policymakers and mothers can use to reduce the motherhood pay penalty. The study is expected to contribute considerably to comprehension of determinants of the motherhood pay penalty and appropriate mechanisms that organizations, policymakers and mothers can utilize to narrow the motherhood wage penalty in the labor market. This systematic literature review was guided by the following research objectives:

- (a) To explore determinants of the motherhood wage penalty.
- (b) To identify mechanisms that organizations, policymakers and working mothers can use to reduce the motherhood wage penalty.

2. Theoretical Framework

This comprehensive literature review is led by the work effort theory, the human capital theory and the specialization theory, which are presented below.

2.1 Human Capital Theory

The human capital theory focuses on human capital investment and its impact on workers' potential earnings. The theory provides that the motherhood wage gap is widened by failure to accumulate human capital and fewer working hours during the childbearing and childcare period. In a similar vein, Villanueva and Lin (2020) aver that because childcare duties reduce their incomes, working mothers with children may invest less in their education than non-mothers. A study by Ziefle (2019) shows that working mother' earnings are lower than those of non-mothers because they invest less in their human capital because of work interruptions owing to childbirth and childcare obligations.

2.2 Work Effort Theory

The work effort theory provides that the disparity in work effort between childless mothers and mothers with children results in the motherhood wage penalty (Becker, 1985). Additionally, the work effort theory stipulates that working mothers are expected to care for the elderly, children, and the household, leaving them with limited power and enthusiasm towards their professional jobs. Similarly, Kalabikhina et al. (2024) argue that working mothers with children may exert less effort at work because of the demanding nature of childcare and housework, which could result in lower earnings and prospects for career advancement. Furthermore, the work effort theory provides that working mothers typically prioritize their family obligations, forcing them to work fewer hours, while taking time off to care for the family. In general, the work effort

theory states that working mothers who have children tend to rank their family responsibilities first and put less effort into their jobs, leading to the motherhood wage penalty.

2.3 Specialization Theory

The specialization theory offers that a household is a production unit with distinct roles assigned to the father and mother. The theory states that fathers assume the role of the breadwinner, while mothers are tasked to take care of the home and children. The above mentioned gender-based division of workforces mothers to quit their professional jobs and to perform unpaid housework, which increases the motherhood wage penalty. Similarly, a study by Villanueva and Lin (2020) indicates that a decrease in women participation in labor affects mothers' earning potential negatively. Furthermore, Ziefle and Gangl (2014) posit that the motherhood wage penalty is exacerbated by extended care giving responsibilities and possible job disruptions.

2.4 Motherhood Wage Penalty

Although giving birth is a life-long accomplishment, working mothers face a myriad of challenges; one of which is the motherhood wage penalty (Mukherjee & Sarkhel, 2025). Kelley et al. (2020) define the motherhood wage penalty as a detrimental setback for women with children in terms of earnings and career advancement. Similarly, Pepping and Maniam (2020) define the motherhood wage penalty as a phenomenon that causes working women's earnings to decline once they give birth. A study by Williams (2017) claims that the motherhood wage penalty assumes various forms, including less possibilities for career advancement, declines in earnings, and poor performance evaluations.

3. Method

The researchers used the Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses (PRISMA) guidelines to explore determinants of the motherhood wage penalty and mechanisms that can be used to reduce the penalty. The following keywords were used to guide the article search, using the Scopus and Google Scholar databases: "motherhood wage penalty; motherhood pay penalty; motherhood pay gap; child penalty; mothers; non-mothers; parenthood; motherhood wage gap; motherhood penalty; family wage gap; and gendered pay disparity." The study included articles that were published between 2020 and 2025 as these would provide current data on determinants of the motherhood wage penalty and mechanisms that can be used to reduce the motherhood wage penalty. Articles not written in English, not related to the motherhood wage penalty and those published prior to 2020, were not included in the current study. The initial search retrieved 88 research articles, which relate to the motherhood wage penalty, while these were reduced to 67 after 21 duplicates were removed.

The selected articles were screened and 34 articles were removed, following the first and second exclusion criteria. A total of seven more research articles were removed, following the third exclusion criterion. Finally, a total of 26 research articles were selected for review, as illustrated below.

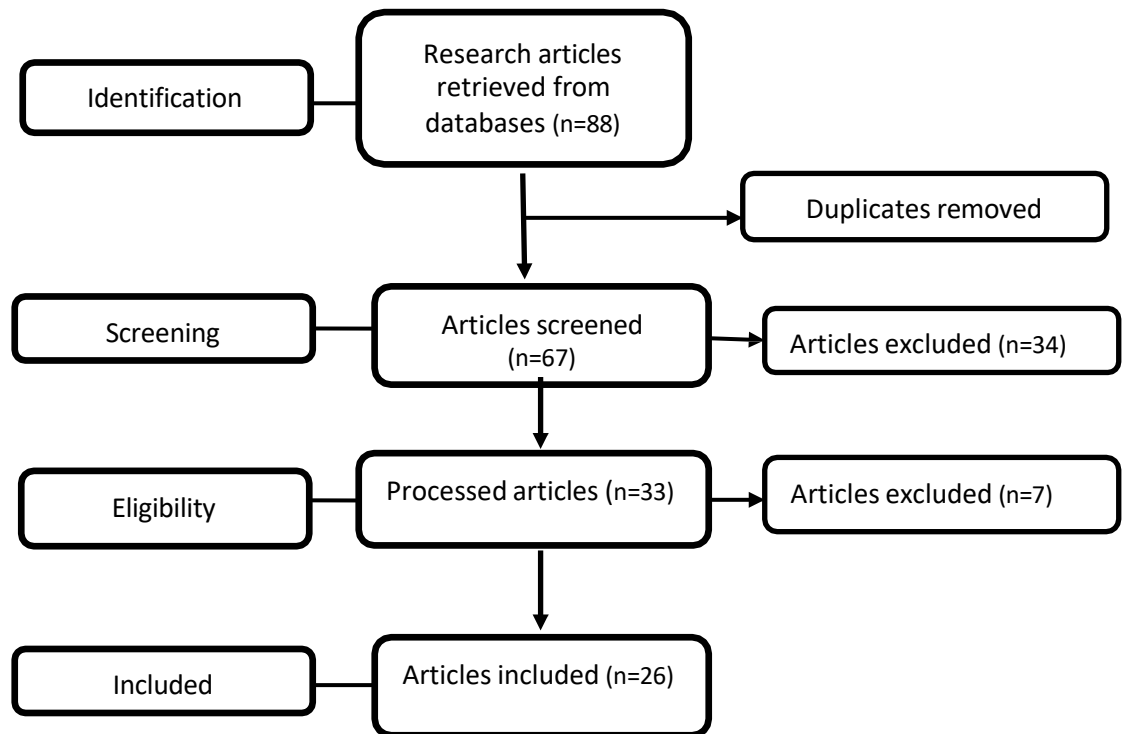


Figure 1: Article search process and reduction flowchart

Source: Page *et al.*, 2020, processed by authors

4. Determinants of Motherhood Wage Penalty

The motherhood wage penalty is determined by several factors. A few of these that emerged from literature are presented in the text that follows below.

4.1 Unconscious Bias and Employer Discrimination

Unconscious biases are implicit opinions and preconceptions that people hold without conscious awareness (Iddrisu *et al.*, 2024; Raina, 2024; Poku, 2024). Pepping and Maniam (2020) assert that unconscious bias might cause employers to view mothers as being less capable and dedicated, perpetuating the motherhood wage penalty. Williams (2020) argues that assumptions that align mothers to childcare responsibilities and housework are the root causes of unconscious biases against women. Employers may pay childless mothers more even though their performance is the same owing to unconscious bias and discrimination against mothers with children, which increases the motherhood wage penalty (Halrynjo & Mangset, 2024; Dias *et al.*, 2020; Henry, 2021, Wuestenenk & Begall, 2022; Nadolnyak, 2021). A research study by Kalabikhina (2024) indicates that employers

discriminate against mothers who have children and undervalue their skills and abilities since they view them as domestic caregivers. Another study by Marks and Raykar (2020) reveals that employer discrimination against mothers with children widens the motherhood wage penalty. The study further reveals that employer discrimination leads to biased hiring practices and lower salary offers for mothers with children compared to their non-mother counterparts.

4.2 Works-Family Policies

According to Wöhrmann and Michel (2020), working mothers with children may find it difficult to manage work and non-work activities owing to time incompatibility and a lack of friendly work-life balance policies. It can be challenging for working mothers with children to manage their paid jobs and their expected gender roles because they are also expected to take care of the home and their children (Goldin, 2021; Skora et al., 2020; Jones et al., 2023). Similarly, Cukrowska-Torzewska and Matysiak (2020) state that working mothers who have children are forced to reduce their job efforts owing to the demands of parenting, which has a detrimental effect on their productivity and, ultimately, their income. A study by Gallen (2024) reveals that the desire to have a healthy work-life balance forces working mothers with children to accept lowly paid jobs and to settle for lowly paid jobs, provided that these offer them the flexibility that they desire. Another study by de Quinto, Hospido, and Sanz (2021) show that working mothers may drop from the labour market if their employers do not offer them friendly work-family benefits, which allow them to balance work and non-work activities.

4.3 Traditional Gender Norms and Culture

Torres et al. (2024) posit that societal expectations and cultural norms determine the motherhood wage penalty. Notably, traditional gender norms assign mothers the major childcare responsibility role, which affects women's labor market performances, whilst increasing the motherhood wage penalty (Dias et al., 2020; Kalabikhina et al., 2024; Gao & Tian, 2023). Similarly, Rabate and Rellstab (2022) contend that traditional gender stereotypes force women to concentrate on domestic chores, which lowers their productivity and overall earnings. Additionally, society expects women to prioritize childcare and family obligations ahead of their jobs, resulting in less hours worked and the motherhood wage penalty (Dias et al., 2020; Pepping & Maniam, 2020; Iddrisu et al., 2024). Similarly, Poku (2024) claims that many communities maintain the assumption that the ideal mother is primarily concerned with housework, which also affects how employers view mothers' dedication to their jobs. A study by Torres et al. (2024) reveals that the motherhood wage penalty often increases in work cultures that perceive mothers to be less committed or productive.

owing to their childcare responsibilities.

4.4 Gender-Based Division of Labor

Traditional gender roles allocated to men and women are associated with the specialization model (Hofäcker & Braun, 2022; Van Tienoven et al., 2023; Sullivan, 2021; Cunha & Atalaia, 2019). According to this specialization hypothesis, men should focus on being the breadwinner and mothers should focus more on taking care of the family (Oláh et al., 2020; Sear, 2021; Jaspers et al., 2022; Román, 2020). Similarly, Dias et al. (2020) claim that conventional norms frequently presume that fathers should be the breadwinners and mothers should be the primary caregivers. Motherhood wage disparities increase as a result of the aforementioned factors, causing mothers to perform more unpaid family responsibilities (Goldin, 2021). A survey by Nadolynak (2021) shows that working mothers who have children and who prioritize unpaid home duties are likely to struggle to maintain the same level of productivity, resulting in the motherhood pay gap. Irina et al.'s (2024) study indicates that intensity of gender role and demand for specialization may force mothers to exit the job market.

4.5 Job choices and work interruptions

The motherhood wage penalty may result because working mothers with children accept lower-paying, more flexible positions to meet childcare demands, according to Gimenez-Nadal et al. (2022). Similarly, Mari and Cutuli (2021) contend that in an effort to combine work and family life, mothers may prefer family-friendly occupations, which might pay less or provide fewer prospects for promotion. A study by Fuller and Hirsh (2019) shows that work disruptions owing to motherhood might affect the accumulation of human capital, which may have a negative effect on mothers' long-term earnings. Correspondingly, Bari (2024) argues that mothers with children usually take time off and exit the labor market, resulting in a loss of work experience and a decrease in their earning potential. Table 1 below presents determinants of the motherhood wage penalty that emerged from reviewed literature.

Table 1: Determinants of the motherhood wage penalty

Author(s)	Findings for determinants of the motherhood wage penalty
Kalabikhina et al., 2024	Discrimination Institutional and cultural characteristics
Cukrowska-Torzewska et al., 2020	Social norms and beliefs Employer-based discrimination
Torres et al., 2024	Gendered norms and cultures
Henry, 2021	Workplace discrimination Lower work effort
Halrynjoand Mangset, 2024	Discrimination and implicit bias

Xu, 2023	Traditional gender norms Gender division of labor
Cukrowska-Torzewska et al., 2020	Time constraints Employer discrimination against mothers
Bari, 2024	Altered preferences for women
Goldin, 2021	Gender role attitudes Unequal sharing of unpaid labor
Dias et al., 2020	Cultural beliefs of mothers as expressive caretakers Employer discrimination
Wuestenenk and Begall, 2022	Employer discrimination
Nadolnyak et al., 2021	Gender discrimination Poor distribution of family duties and responsibilities
Marks and Raykar, 2020	Employer discrimination
Gao and Tian, 2023	Traditional gender norms
Rabaté and Rellstab, 2022	Traditional gender norms
Skora et al., 2020	Poor family-friendly working conditions
Iddrisu et al., 2024	Unconscious bias against mothers
Jones et al., 2023	Lack of work flexibility
Irina et al., 2024	High involvement in unpaid domestic work
Pepping and Maniam, 2020	Unconscious bias against mothers

Source: Researchers' compilation

5. Ways to Reduce the Motherhood Wage Penalty

There are several mechanisms that nations, organizations and working mothers can use to reduce the motherhood wage penalty. A few of these are presented in the text that follows below.

5.1 Work from Home

According to a study by Harrington and Kahn (2023), mothers' attempts to balance work and non-work activities could be made easier if their jobs and workplaces are sufficiently flexible. Additionally, the study found that working from home reduced the income penalty associated with motherhood in the labor market. According to Cukrowska-Torzewska et al. (2020), working remotely grants mothers greater freedom, enabling them to balance work and non-work activities, while Henry et al.'s (2021) study found that working remotely significantly closes the employment gap between mothers and mothers without children. Additionally, Zimmermann (2021) avers that flexible work arrangements reduce the work-life conflict that working mothers experience.

5.2 Affordable Childcare

Udayanga (2024) asserts that having access to affordable childcare can reduce the motherhood wage penalty. According to a study by Nadolnyak et al. (2021), women can continue their jobs and stay in the workforce instead of

taking time off or reducing their hours because of the availability of affordable childcare. This study also indicates that mothers are compelled to quit their jobs owing to expensive childcare services, resulting in a loss of earnings. Similarly, Gao and Zhongjing (2023) argue that having access to childcare eases mothers' financial strains and promotes long-term work. Affordable childcare can reduce the motherhood wage penalty by making it possible for mothers to remain in the labor market (Pepping & Maniam, 2020). Correspondingly, Landivar et al. (2022) postulate that lowering childcare expenses enable mothers to continue to work, reducing their time away from the job market. Bedi et al. (2022) concurs, stating that when childcare is reasonably priced, mothers remain in the job market.

5.3. Friendly Leave Schemes

Henry et al. (2021) argue that paid parental leave ensures that mothers can return to work without facing severe financial losses, mitigating the motherhood wage penalty. Concurring, Mari and Cutuli (2020) assert that paid leave enables women to continue to navigate their professional path, whilst avoiding career disruptions that may result in the motherhood wage penalty. According to Turner (2020), the motherhood pay gap is reduced by gender-neutral parental leave policies that encourage parents to share housework. Friendly leave programs with work protection, according to Wilson (2020), ensure that women may return to their jobs, lowering the fear of job loss, demotion and the motherhood wage penalty. Similarly, flexible leave policies assist working mothers with children to juggle work and family obligations, which may lessen the need for them to settle for lower-paying and less demanding occupations (Henry et al., 2021).

5.4. Elimination of Unconscious Bias and Workplace Discrimination

Organizations should create a clear and binding policy that forbids discrimination based on protected traits, according to Haafkes et al. (2023). Cheung et al. (2022) concur and assert that to eradicate unconscious bias and employee discrimination, organizations should offer training on unconscious bias and promote an inclusive work environment. Additionally, Warner and Jones (2022) argue that businesses should set diversity goals, monitor hiring practices, and eliminate unconscious employer bias and discrimination against mothers. Another study by Njoto et al. (2024) reveals that governments should enact policies that promote fair treatment for mothers at work.

5.5 Delayed Childbearing

Pichio et al. (2024) argue that delayed childbearing allows women to accumulate more human capital and increase their earning potential before their child bearing period. Marks and Raykar (2020) also argue that women who delay

childbearing are able to advance their careers, gain experience, and potentially pursue further education. This accumulated human capital can lead to higher wages and more favorable career trajectories. Agüero's (2020) research study found that delayed childbearing enables women to reduce the motherhood wage gap. In addition, Pepping and Maniam (2020) assert that delayed childbearing allows women to accumulate more human capital and are less likely to experience any negative career consequences that are associated with motherhood.

5.6 Shifting Societal Attitudes towards Mothers

According to Yu and Kuo (2017), the motherhood wage penalty may lessen when society's perceptions of gender roles and parental duties change. Similarly, Misra and Boeckmann (2019) argue that the motherhood wage gap can be narrowed in part by dispelling the myth that mothers are less dedicated than non-mothers and by encouraging couples to share domestic duties. Additionally, a study by Grimshaw and Rubery (2021) shows that shifting cultural perceptions of mothers can help to eliminate gender stereotypes and biases, while guaranteeing that mothers are judged on their abilities and experience rather than on their status as mothers. Furthermore, according to Budig and Misra (2022), companies should promote an inclusive and diverse culture that meets the demands of working mothers, creating a more just and supportive work environment. Table 2 below shows mechanisms that organizations and mothers can utilize to reduce the motherhood wage penalty.

Table 2: Ways to reduce the motherhood wage penalty

Author(s)	Findings for ways to reduce the motherhood wage penalty
Harrington and Kahn, 2023	Flexibility through working from home
Cukrowska-Torzewska et al., 2020	Mother-friendly work conditions
Henry et al., 2021	Paid leave Flexible work schedules
Halrynjo and Mangset, 2024	Family-friendly policies
Mari and Cutuli, 2020	Parental leave regulations Friendly leave schemes
Turner et al., 2020	Shared parental leave
Wilson, 2020	Parental leave regulations
Zimmermann, 2021	Work-life balance practices
Nadolnyak et al., 2021	Child-friendly labor policies
Gao and Zhongjing, 2023	Establishing elderly and child care centers
Picchio et al., 2021	Delayed childbearing
Van der Straaten et al., 2024	Shifting entrenched gendered social beliefs

Source: Researchers' compilation

6. Conclusion

This study explored determinants of the motherhood wage penalty and strategies that employers and working mothers with children could use to reduce the penalty. The study found that several factors determine the motherhood wage penalty. The main determinants that emerged from the study include traditional gender norms and culture, unconscious employer bias, employer discrimination, work-family policies, gender-based division of labor, and job choices. To reduce the motherhood wage penalty, this systematic literature review recommends that organizations should offer flexible work arrangements, childcare benefits, friendly leave schemes, and should eliminate unconscious bias and workplace discrimination. In addition to working mothers, organizations, policymakers, and researchers can all benefit from this systematic literature review, which advances knowledge of factors that influence the motherhood wage penalty. Furthermore, this systematic literature review may assist employers, policymakers, and working mothers to apply appropriate mechanisms to reduce the motherhood wage penalty. In addition to providing a comprehensive literature of factors that influence the motherhood wage penalty, this study has laid a foundation for future research studies.

7. Limitations and Direction for Future Studies

This study had drawbacks as it relied on two online databases, namely Google Scholar and Scopus, and excluded other online databases, conference papers and books, which future studies should utilize. The study also concentrated on the wage gap between working mothers and childless mothers, which does not fully reflect the gender pay gap in the job market. Nevertheless, this systematic literature review set the foundation for future research, which should be conducted to address some of the identified limitations. An important area for future research would be to explore causes of gender wage differentials between men and women in the labor market.

Author's contributions

All of the listed authors have made a direct and intellectual contribution to the research study and approved it for publication.

Funding

This research was funded by the Department of Industrial Psychology and People Management, College of Business and Economics, University of Johannesburg.

Conflicts of Interest

The authors declared that they have no conflict of interest.

References

- i. Abraham, R., Basole, A., & Kesar, S. (2022). Down and out? The gendered impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on India's labour market. *Economia Politica*, 39(1), 101-128.
- ii. Agüero, J. M., Marks, M., & Raykar, N. (2020). Economic development and the motherhood wage penalty (No. 2020-06). University of Connecticut, Department of Economics.
- iii. Akhtar, R., Masud, M. M., & Rana, M. S. (2020). Labour force participation and nature of employment among women in Selangor, Malaysia. *Environment and Urbanization ASIA*, 11(1), 123-139.
- iv. Aldan, A. (2021). Rising female labor force participation and gender wage gap: evidence from Turkey. *Social Indicators Research*, 155(3), 865-884.
- v. Bedi, A., Majilla, T., & Rieger, M. (2022). Does signaling childcare support on job applications reduce the motherhood penalty? *Review of Economics of the Household*, 1-15.
- vi. Berniell, I., Berniell, L., de la Mata, D., Edo, M., Marchionni, M., & Pinto, M. F. (2022). Motherhood and female labor market outcomes in Latin America. In *Mothers in the Labor Market* (pp. 217-246). Cham: Springer International Publishing.
- vii. Boakye, A. O., Dei Mensah, R., Bartrop-Sackey, M., & Muah, P. (2021). Juggling between work, studies and motherhood: The role of social support systems for the attainment of work-life balance. *SA Journal of Human Resource Management*, 19, 10.
- viii. Budig, M. J., Misra, J., & Boeckmann, I. (2019). Work-family policy trade-offs for mothers? Unpacking the cross-national variation in motherhood earnings penalties. *Work and Occupations*, 43(2), 119-177.
- ix. Casarico, A., & Lattanzio, S. (2023). Behind the child penalty: understanding what contributes to the labour market costs of motherhood. *Journal of Population Economics*, 36(3), 1489-1511.
- x. Cheung, H. K., Anderson, A. J., King, E. B., Mahabir, B., Warner, K., & Jones, K. P. (2022). Beyond the baby bump: Subtle discrimination against working mothers in the hiring process. *Journal of Business and Psychology*, 37(6), 1181-1198.
- xi. Cunha, V., & Atalaia, S. (2019). The gender (ed) division of labour in Europe: patterns of practices in 18 EU countries. *Sociologia, Problemas e Práticas*, (90), 113-137.
- xii. Deming, S. M. (2023). Antecedents of the Motherhood Penalty: A qualitative exploration of expectant mothers' work-related preferences and plans across divergent socioeconomic contexts. Washington State

University.

- xiii. Domínguez-Folgueras, M., González, M. J., & Lapuerta, I. (2022). The Motherhood Penalty in Spain: the Effect of full-and part-time parental leave on women's earnings. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, 29(1), 164-189.
- xiv. Earle, A., Raub, A., Sprague, A., & Heymann, J. (2025). Progress towards gender equality in paid parental leave: an analysis of legislation in 193 countries from 1995–2022. *Community, Work & Family*, 28(2), 172-192.
- xv. Fuller, S., & Hirsh, C. E. (2019). "Family-friendly" jobs and motherhood pay penalties: The impact of flexible work arrangements across the educational spectrum. *Work and Occupations*, 46(1), 3-44.
- xvi. Gimenez-Nadal, J. I., Molina, J. A., & Sevilla, A. (2022). Temporal flexibility breaks at work, and the motherhood wage gap. In *Mothers in the Labor Market* (pp. 83-105). Cham: Springer International Publishing.
- xvii. Grimshaw, D., & Rubery, J. (2021). The motherhood pay gap. *Geneva International Labour Organization*, 57(1), 1-69.
- xviii. Haafkes, M., Murer, E., Neuber, S., Wilkins, S., van Dellen, W., Römgens, I., & Eirtree, Z. (2023). Combating the Motherhood Penalty.
- xix. Heath, R., Bernhardt, A., Borker, G., Fitzpatrick, A., Keats, A., McKelway, M., & Sharma, G. (2024). Female labour force participation. *VoxDevLit*, 11(1), 1-43.
- xx. Hofäcker, D., & Braun, S. (2022). The household division of labour in Europe: A multilevel perspective. In *Research Handbook on Work–Life Balance* (pp. 100-115). Edward Elgar Publishing.
- xxi. Iddrisu, M., Mumuni, H. I., Agyare, V. A., Attafuah, P. A. Y., & Poku, C. A. (2024). Motherhood Penalty, a Silent Phenomenon: Unveiling the Challenges and Inequalities Working Mothers Encounter.
- xxii. Ishizuka, P. (2021). The motherhood penalty in context: Assessing discrimination in a polarized labor market. *Demography*, 58(4), 1275-1300.
- xxiii. Jaspers, E., Van der Lippe, T., & Evertsson, M. (2022). Gender inequality, households, and work. In *Handbook of Sociological Science* (pp. 176-195). Edward Elgar Publishing.
- xxiv. Kalabikhina, I. E., Kuznetsova, P. O., & Zhuravleva, S. A. (2024). Size and factors of the motherhood penalty in the labour market: A meta-analysis. *Population and Economics*, 8(2), 178-205.
- xxv. Kelley, H., Galbraith, Q., & Strong, J. (2020). Working moms: Motherhood penalty or motherhood return? *The Journal of Academic Librarianship*, 46(1), 102075.
- xxvi. Kim, A., & Hahn, Y. (2022). The motherhood effect on labour market outcomes: evidence from South Korea.

- Asian-Pacific Economic Literature, 36(2), 71-88.
- xxvii. Kouki, A. (2023). Beyond the “Comforts” of work from home: Child health and the female wage penalty. *European Economic Review*, 157, 104527.
 - xxviii. Landivar, L. C., Scarborough, W. J., Collins, C., & Ruppanner, L. (2022). Do high childcare costs and low access to Head Start and childcare subsidies limit mothers’ employment? A state-level analysis. *Social Science Research*, 102, 102627.
 - xxix. Lewis, A. (2024). Equal Play, Fair Pay: A New Era for Ladies. eBookit.com.
 - xxx. Liu, S., & Marois, G. (2024). The effect of motherhood on the labour force participation of married women in China. *Asian Population Studies*, 20(1), 104-120.
 - xxxi. Mari, G., & Cutuli, G. (2021). Do parental leaves make the motherhood wage penalty worse? *European Sociological Review*, 37(3), 365-378.
 - xxxii. Matysiak, A., & Cukrowska-Torzewska, E. (2021). Gender and labour market outcomes. In *Research Handbook on the Sociology of the Family* (pp. 329-341). Edward Elgar Publishing.
 - xxxiii. Ming, Y. T. (2022). Women in the labour force. *Demographic and Socioeconomic Changes in Sabah*, 78.
 - xxxiv. Mukherjee, A., & Sarkhel, S. (2025). Motherhood and Labour Market Penalty: A Study on Indian Labour Market. *Journal of South Asian Development*, 20(1), 7-30.
 - xxxv. Nautet, M., & Piton, C. (2021). How does parenthood affect the careers of women and men? *NBB Economic Review*, 1-23.
 - xxxvi. Njoto, S., Cheong, M., Frermann, L., & Ruppanner, L. (2024). Bias and Discrimination Against Women and Parents in Semi-Automated Hiring Systems. *New Technology, Work and Employment*.
 - xxxvii. Oláh, L. S., Vignoli, D., & Kotowska, I. E. (2020). Gender roles and families. *Handbook of Labor, Human Resources and Population Economics*, 1-28.
 - xxxviii. Osundina, O. A. (2020). Sustainable development: Does improvement in education and health of women improve female labour force participation rate? *Sustainable Development*, 28(1), 13-24.
 - xxxix. Pepping, A., & Maniam, B. (2020). The Motherhood Penalty. *Journal of Business & Behavioral Sciences*, 32(2).
 - xl. Pimkina, S., & de La Flor, L. (2020). Promoting female labor force participation. Washington, DC: World Bank.
 - xli. Raina, A. (2024). The Motherhood Penalty in the 21st Century a Replication and Extension (Doctoral dissertation, The University of North Carolina at Charlotte).
 - xlii. Román, J. G. (2020). The division of gender roles in female breadwinner couples in the United States and Spain. *Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas*

- (REIS), 170(170), 73-113.
- xl. Rowe, C. N., Dal Mas, F., Biancuzzi, H., & Rugara, D. (2023). Challenges working mothers face. A discussion exploring the obstacles of balancing motherhood and career progression. In *When the crisis becomes an opportunity: The role of women in the post-Covid organization* (pp. 367-387). Cham: Springer International Publishing.
 - xli. Samantroy, E. (2021). *Participation of Women in Labour Force*. VV Giri National Labour Institute.
 - xlii. Schrenker, A. (2023). Do women expect wage cuts for part-time work? *Labour Economics*, 80, 102291.
 - xliii. Sear, R. (2021). The male breadwinner nuclear family is not the 'traditional' human family, and promotion of this myth may have adverse health consequences. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society B*, 376(1827), 20200020.
 - xliv. Sullivan, O. (2021). The gender division of housework and child care. In *Research Handbook on the Sociology of the Family* (pp. 342-354). Edward Elgar Publishing.
 - xlv. Torres, A.J.C., Barbosa-Silva, L., Oliveira-Silva, L.C., Miziara, O.P.P., Guahy, U.C.R., Fisher, A.N., Ryan, M.K. 2024. The Impact of Motherhood on Women's Career Progression: A Scoping Review of Evidence-Based Interventions. *Behav. Sci.*, 14, 275.
 - xlvi. Van Tienoven, T. P., Minnen, J., Glorieux, A., Laurijssen, I., Te Braak, P., & Glorieux, I. (2023). Locking down gender roles? A time-use perspective on gender division of household labour during the COVID-19 pandemic lockdown in Belgium. *Journal of Family Issues*, 44(3), 654-680.
 - i. Villanueva, A., & Lin, K. H. (2020). Motherhood wage penalties in Latin America: The significance of labor informality. *Social Forces*, 99(1), 59-85.
 - ii. Wakibi, S., & Oleche, M. (2024). *A Study on Women in the Labour Force in Kenya*. Women's Economic Empowerment Hub (WEE-Hub), University of Nairobi.
 - iii. Williams, J. (2017). The Motherhood Penalty. In *Women vs Feminism* (pp. 69-91). Emerald Publishing Limited.
 - iv. Williams, J. C., Korn, R. M., & Mihaylo, S. (2020). Beyond implicit bias: Litigating race and gender employment discrimination using data from the workplace experiences survey. *Hastings Law Journal*, 72, 337.
 - v. Wöhrmann, A. M., Dilchert, N., & Michel, A. (2020). Working time flexibility and work-life balance. *Zeitschrift für Arbeitswissenschaft*, 75(1), 74-85.
 - vi. Yu, W. H., & Kuo, J. C. L. (2017). The motherhood wage penalty by work conditions: How do occupational characteristics hinder or empower mothers? *American Sociological Review*, 82(4), 744-769.
 - vii. Ziefle, A., & Gangl, M. (2014). Do women respond to changes in family policy? A quasi-experimental study of the duration of mothers' employment interruptions in

Germany. *European Sociological Review*, 30(5), 562-581.