

Motherhood effects on women's labor force participation

Introduction

A seven-year-old girl tells her mother she wants to become either a famous singer or a mom. The mother, then, remembers the time she used to say the same, at least the mom part. Naturally, she could not put both dreams together at the same time. Meanwhile, the younger son of the same mother is still deciding between car races and NASA.

The present study took the question of how motherhood affects the gender gap in workforce participation as its starting point. In the present year, 2024, globally, whereas 95% of men aged 25 and 54 are in the labor force, women make up just 52%. Also, in 94% of countries in the world, men are more likely to be employed than women (Gomes 2024). Part of this significant difference is due to the impact of the presence of children in women's lives. At the same time, recent data from the U.S. Census Bureau, for instance, shows that approximately 85% of women aged 40 to 50 have given birth to at least one child.

Several studies have considered the impact of having children in women's professional lives as part of their discussions in different approaches to measuring it, such as average earnings, workforce participation, comparing with homosexual couples cases, and measuring by household types, among others. Some of those researchers will say the presence of children in the house is one of the main reasons for the gender gap in the workforce. Others will take into account the culture of care, discrimination, and family environment legacy. (Blau and Kahn 2017; Goldin, Kerr, and Olivetti 2024).

In a literature review of nine articles articulated to pursue the research question by various approaches, the agreement of all of them is that women are in a disadvantaged position compared to men in the marketplace. That is especially true for mothers. This statement is persistent even in the case studies of Iceland and Sweden, which own generous parental leave policies in the name of reducing the gender gap. (Arnalds et al. 2022; Rosenqvist 2024). That said, the research identifies and measures the impacts of having children on women's professional lives through different approaches. First, statistical calculations from the Ilostat data will be made using the Americas as an example. Second, a literature review of key studies of the topic. Finally, the research will take a closer look at two Scandinavian countries, Iceland and Sweden, to verify the impact of motherhood in a favorable scenario regarding public policies.

The present writing will be guided by the following flow: It will start by presenting a statistical conclusion based on the Ilostat data, which tested and discarded the null hypothesis: “The presence of children in households in Americas countries increases the gender gap in relation to women's workforce participation.”

Using this result as an initial statement, it will examine other previous studies that obtained similar results with a solid base of comparison. In order to evaluate the gender gap in the labor force in a global overview, several authors attempted to define both scores and labels for the gap (such as child penalty and motherhood price) and what variables they could use to isolate the most influential reasons. The efforts were to compile attempts at explanations of the gender gap.

After these varied geographical frameworks, the research will focus on case studies about Scandinavian countries' initiatives to promote a more egalitarian parental leave, thus creating a more favorable environment for women to get back to work more quickly. Specifically, Sweden and Iceland presented notable systems and consistent implementation and improvement in their policies since 1975 and 2000. Few articles will guide us in the analysis of what achievements more generous paternity and parental leaves can do for the gender gap in the labor force. Although the initiatives present good impacts on many aspects, student retention for instance, there is no conclusive evidence to diminish such a gender gap.

However, this does not mean there will never be a positive effect. The differences between genders are so rooted in society that the answer might be the case in a more structural means. What else could explain such a gender gap? This is how the research will finish its final considerations.

1. Statistical tests

Taking the American continent as a broad representation of different cultures, economic conditions, and related maternity policies, the hypothesis tested was that women in the professional prime age —25 to 54 years old— living in household types with the presence of children have seen increased the gender gap in the workforce.

We based our analysis on the Ilostat (International Labor Organization) data on labor force participation —with an exception for Canada, whose source was the country's Census. Crossing their percentages by sex, household type, and presence of children was presented as the most accurate way to verify the veracity of the hypothesis. In addition, taking the household types as categories turned up as a more inclusive indicator of child care beyond biological connection and broader family compositions. The dataset includes participation in the workforce of people who are unemployed but actively seeking jobs. There are 26 countries, and they were regarded as the unity of analysis. (Kleven, Landais, and Leite-Mariante 2024).

The conclusion was that there is indeed a statistically significant difference in the means of the two pairs of household types (see Fig. 1, 2, and 3). The mean difference is 9.6% for couples' households

and 4.87% for single people. That said, we can assume that the presence of children actually increases the gender gap in labor force participation.

After analyzing the data, while we observed that the types of households with children have a direct relationship with the percentage of women in the workforce, the same is not necessarily true for men. In extreme cases, such as in Chile and Belize, the presence of children in household couples can increase the gap in workforce participation for women by 17.1% and 19%, respectively, while the same situation for men results in a negative gap of 0.8% and a negative 4% respectively.

The comparisons show the relevance of the study and thus would benefit from other investigations made previously about the topic.

ANOVA	Degrees of freedom	Sum of squares	Mean of squares	F value	Pr (>F)
Couples households					
No children	1	2827	2827.0	58.54	-0
Residuals	23	1111	48.322.9		
Alone households					
No children	1	508.2	508.2	22.9	-0
Residuals	23	510.5	22.2		

T-tests	Lone households	Couples households
T	2.82	2.75
Degrees of freedom	47.17	47.71
P-value	0.007	0.008
Alternative hypothesis	Not 0	Not 0
95% confidence	2.75 – 16.45	1.31 – 8.45
Cohen's D	0.80	0.78

Fig.1 Results of ANOVA and T-tests

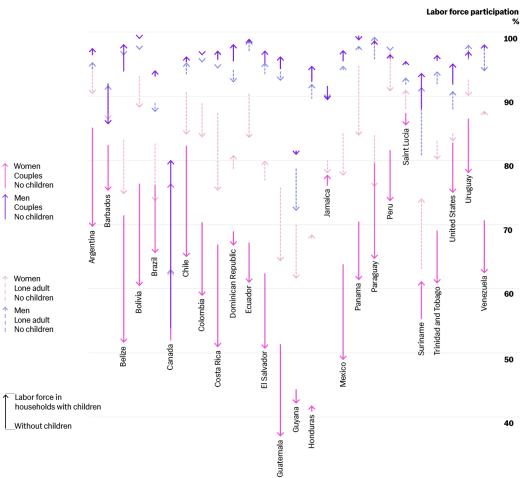


Fig.2 Labor force participation percentage for households

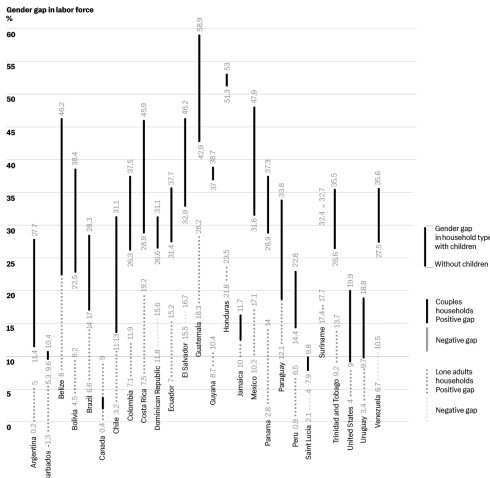


Fig.3 Gender gap in labor force percentage for households

2. Statistical attempts to explain the gender gap

The present study selected several extensive studies to seek measurements of the actual magnitude of the event of a first child in women's lives regarding their professional careers. The six articles analyzed in this section were based on different and varied approaches to measuring and understanding, precisely, the gender gap in the workforce and its historical (and present) differences in participation and earnings.

To look at women's labor force participation, Henrik Kleven, Camille Landais, and Gabriel Leite-Mariante created a score labeled "child penalty" to measure "how motherhood hurts careers" over ten years from the first childbirth among 134 countries, producing what they called *The Child Penalty Atlas*. Also, Claudia Goldin, along with Joshua Mitchell, writes specifically about women's labor force participation throughout women's employment life cycles in *The New Life Cycle of Women's Employment: Disappearing Humps, Sagging Middles, Expanding Tops*. The European Institute for Gender Equality presented the most optimistic expectations in their long report about the analysis of returning to the labor market after parental leaves.

In *The Parental Pay Gap over the Life Cycle: Children, Jobs, and Labor Supply*, Claudia Goldin, Sari Pekkala Kerr, and Claudia Olivetti write about the parental earnings gap in women's lives. (Goldin, Kerr, and Olivetti 2024) Henrik Kleven, Camille Landais, Johanna Posch, Andreas Steinhauer, and Josef Zweimüller discuss the pieces of evidence on child penalties in female and male earnings in different countries. (Kleven et al. 2024) Francine Blau and Lawrence Kahn complete the table of articles on the gender wage gap, analyzing the differences between sex in occupations and industries and division of labor, as well as suggesting discrimination, psychological attributes, or noncognitive skills as one of the factors for the gender gap. (Blau and Kahn 2017)

Leaving a job right after having a child

The primary apparent impact of motherhood on careers is the objective of quitting or being dismissed right after the birth of the first child or right after returning from maternity leave. Both articles about labor force participation expressed an increase in the gender gap in the workforce due to the presence of children to take care of.

The recent study, *The Child Penalty Atlas*, by Henrik Kleven, Camille Landais, and Gabriel Leite-Mariante, discusses the impact of having children on a mother's professional life when compared with the father's. "Motherhood penalty" is what they call the declining probability of women being employed during the ten years after the birth of their first child. The main graphic (see Fig.4) that leads the discussion crosses key points in time (two years before the first child is born, a child born, and ten years later) and the percentage of employment of parents for each of the 134 countries studied for both mothers and fathers. The difference is notable, and the birth of a first child can be responsible for up to 80% of this gap in wealthy countries, such as Sweden and Germany.

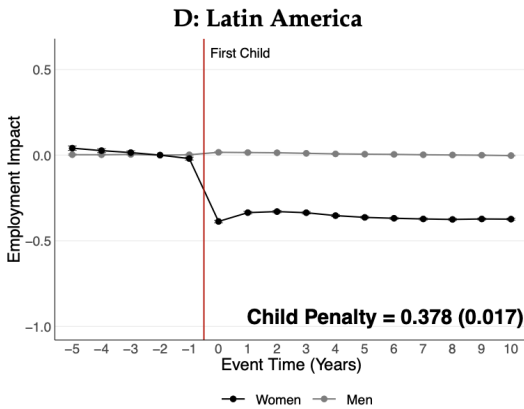


Fig.4 Employment Impact in Latin America by Gender Following the Birth of the First Child. (Kleven et al. 2024)

The economist and Nobel Memorial Prize-winning in Economic Sciences (2023) Claudia Goldin, along with Joshua Mitchell from the US Bureau of the Census, have done extensive research on the same topic. In *The New Life Cycle of Women's Employment: Disappearing Humps, Sagging Middles, Expanding Tops*, the authors also discuss what happens with mother's professional lives from the moment of birth until the long term. In their research, they also considered the extension of ten years to track the labor force participation of first-time mothers. (Goldin and Mitchell 2017)

Kleven, Landais, and Leite-Mariante calculated the “child penalty” as a score for each country based on the difference between how a first child impacts females' and males' participation in the workforce. Almost all the countries and continent aggregation presented a positive child penalty. An example is Latin America: if 38% of working women leave the labor force when becoming mothers ten years later, the percentage is practically the same, with 37% still out.

Getting back to work: Motherhood impact in the long term

If there is a clear and direct effect correlated with childbirth, Goldin says that, eventually, those women will go back to work when their kids get older. (Goldin, Kerr, and Olivetti 2024) Nevertheless, what would they have missed already by then, and how would they get back to the race in a competitive marketplace?

A primary notorious change in the occasion to allow mothers to return to work is reducing the monthly working hours. The writer Caroline Criado Perez points out that “women accommodate their care responsibilities by going part-time. In the UK, 42% of women compared to 11% of men work part-time, and women make up 75% of part-time workers.” (Perez 2019, 75) The issue is that part-time jobs usually pay less. Moreover, in name to get those rare positions, women often ended

up accepting jobs below their skill level. (Perez 2019, p.75) Thus, it seems clear how the gender gap in earnings and promotions begins.

Perez shows an example of how the numbers can be more revealing than the first view. In Scotland, for example, in 2016, the gender wage gap was 15%. However, if one considers women working part-time and men working full-time (in most cases), the gap between them was 32% if compared to the value per hour. (Perez 2019, p.76) In the article *The Gender Wage Gap: Extent, Trends, and Explanations*, Francine Blau and Lawrence Kahn argue in the same direction, pointing out that this kind of interruptions and reductions of time in employment is a typical arrangement to mothers and it is a significant contributor to the gender gap. (Blau) Beyond this difference, in the beginning, between male and female, Goldin describes further consequences: “But a cascading often follows. Fewer hours at work when young result in less lucrative clients, fewer published papers, a lower probability of promotion, and reduced odds of making partner or obtaining tenure, to provide a few examples.” (Goldin, Kerr, and Olivetti 2024)

In addition, Goldin signs, with Kerr and Olivetti, the article *The Parental Pay Gap over the Life Cycle: Children, Jobs, and Labor Supply*, in which they will describe what would be the “graph” for the labor force participation cycle of US women depending on the generation they are. If once it was an inverted U shape, or “hump,” and later a “sagging middle,” nowadays it is turning vaguely like that of men’s, with a “squishier middle.” The analysis, then, is what this squishier middle is about. (Goldin and Mitchell 2017)

The authors have identified that in recent generations, while the overall rate of participation has expanded and evolved in earlier and older stages of life, in middle age, the rate has been lower than in previous generations. They related these lower flat rates within the life cycle to birth events in all the studied generations. Interestingly, they observed that some events, such as the so-called “quiet revolution” and the contraceptive “pill,” made marriage and motherhood occur later in the women’s cycle and, therefore, had a lower impact on their careers. (Goldin and Mitchell 2017)

The gender gap in women's earnings

The result of such a long-term impact is visible in women's lack of leadership positions and promotions and, mainly, their lower earnings compared to men. “Women earn less than men, and that is especially true of mothers relative to fathers.” It is with this simple sentence that Goldin, Kerr, and Olivetti summarize their findings in *The Parental Pay Gap over the Life Cycle: Children, jobs, and labor supply*. (Goldin, Kerr, and Olivetti 2024)

In this recent study, the authors observed the women's earnings throughout their children's lives. They evaluated differences when considering college graduation, age, and children's age. They also labeled the scores measured as “child penalty,” “motherhood penalty,” “price of being female,” and “fatherhood premium,” which altogether results in the “parental gender gap.” (Goldin, Kerr, and Olivetti 2024) In a life cycle analysis, it is possible to observe that the motherhood penalty—the comparison between mothers and non-mothers—tends to diminish over time. However, what they

called the fatherhood premium—that is, the increased earnings that fathers enjoy compared to non-fathers— increases over time, thus maintaining the parental gender gap.

To illustrate, Perez shows that in the UK, “the gender pay gap widens over the twelve years after a child is born to 33%, as women's careers—and wages— stagnate. The US pay gap between mothers and married fathers is three times higher than the pay gap between men and women without children.” (Perez 2019, p.76)

The gender gap in care

To explain such a persistent gender gap in mothers' careers, researchers found attempts to explain it in another kind of gap that has an inverted proportion, the gender gap in care. The European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE, 2022) strongly believes that in order to achieve more egalitarian gender gaps in labor force participation, the way is to look at the shares in the unpaid, invisible work of care. That is why their aims for the 2020-2025 years are to increase women's employment by means of facilitating working conditions, such as family-friendly work, and closing gender gaps in care. (EIGE 2022)

Perez argues that differences in earnings are part of a “choice-that-isn't-a-choice” that is actually making women poorer throughout the years. (Perez 2019, p.76) She called this way because what seems like a collective decision of the family that women spend much time on unpaid care can hide the fact that women become relatively more dependent on the total household income throughout the years. 75% of unpaid work in the world is done by women. In that sense, it is hard to catch up with the partner wage; thus, exchange roles.

The straightforward evidence of this imbalance is that women are the primary users of parental leave, with limited uptake by fathers, often due to financial and cultural barriers. “OECD data confirms that men account for just 26% of parents taking parental leave, but mostly driven by higher uptake in the Nordic countries” (EIGE 2022)

3. Case study: Iceland and Sweden

The studies reviewed did not find any relevant correlation between countries with more generous maternity leave and retention in their workforce. In that sense, a closer look at countries that invested in more egalitarian parental leaves can express how motherhood affects women's careers in the case of fair paternity leave. As many of the most advanced parental policies are concentrated in the Scandinavian region, we took two of the region countries as our case study, Iceland and Sweden.

Advanced policies

Paternity leaves have been seen as a way to invest in more present participation of men in maternity responsibilities, therefore alleviating mothers of this burden and encouraging them to get back to work quickly. Paternity leave is an attempt to promote gender equality while at the same time promoting a healthier environment for newborns.

Iceland is today considered the best country to be a working woman (see Perez 2019). They have a well-built and long-term studied parental leave system that they call the 3-3-3 system, in which both parents (no matter the gender) have 3 months of “use-or-loose” quota each, and there is an extra 3 months that can be chosen how they want to share it. For that entire time, the compensation is paid at 80% of the earnings.

However, this favorable scenario was not always like this. Before 1975, they used to have an average policy with no notable differentials. In the chapter *The Long Friday*, the journalist Caroline Criado Perez relates a strike that women organized that year, which counted with more than 90% of joining, for all kinds of work, including the “invisible” ones. From that milestone, the country developed a series of developments in their policies and work environment systems, which led them to the position of having the “most gender-equal parliament in the world.” (Perez 2019, 70)

A similar situation occurs in Sweden, where they offer expanded, well-paid, and flexible parental leave options for both parents to equalize caregiving responsibilities, in addition to ensuring accessible childcare services to enable women to return to work sooner. (EIGE 2022) They are considered one of the most generous and innovative paternity leave policies in the world, paying 90% of exclusive paternity leave for the father. Other than that, in 2008, the federation created a bonus system to reward parents who divided their leave days more equally. (Rosenqvist 2024) These policies target the “long-term division of home and market production through reduced gender specialization.” (Rosenqvist 2024)

Non-transferable

One of the original aspects of these Scandinavian parental leave systems is that there is a non-transferable quota for the secondary parent, therefore, they can choose between either leaving or wasting those days. This simple characteristic of obligation may make a significant difference. Perez points out that while men have had the right to take shareable leave since 1974 in Sweden, there was little use for it, with only about 6% of men actually taking it. Only in 1995, with the broader package that included the “use-or-loose” system, did the participation of men in the first months of caregiving increase significantly. It is the same for Iceland, where the so-called “daddy quota” doubled the amount of paternity leave taken. (Perez 2019, p.84)

The idea is that compulsory paternity leave policies encourage fathers to take leave. This, in turn, helps mothers return to the workforce earlier and be more psychologically prepared. However, despite fathers’ increased participation, mothers often use more of the shared leave, reflecting persistent inequalities in domestic labor distribution. (Arnalds et al. 2022)

Yet, no correlation

Despite all the advances in public policies, Ásdís Aðalbjörg Arnalds, Guðný Björk Eydal, and Ingólfur V. Gíslason in the article *Paid Parental Leave in Iceland* conclude that there is no evidence yet of a final resolution for the gender gap in the workforce. Women continue to face challenges in reaching top leadership positions, suggesting that systemic workplace inequalities remain unresolved.

The authors try to explain the reminiscent gap with a few factors, such as the care gap between the end of parental leave and the availability of preschool places that often falls back into mothers' responsibilities and that some fathers, especially the ones with high-income and non-cohabiting ones, are less likely to utilize their leave. (Arnalds et al. 2022)

"The law and all other measures that have been enacted to increase gender equality in the labor market do not seem to have had any effect on women's possibility of reaching top positions in the labor market. Finally, among the business elite, parental leave is hardly used at all by fathers." (Arnalds et al. 2022)

The reasons are challenging to identify. What is possible to guess, according to the authors, in the Iceland case, is: first, the long absences of the mothers in the workforce once they mostly take the shared part of the parental leave. Second, the still highly gender-segregated labor market, and finally, the reminiscent gender pay gap is yet existent, even more narrowed than before. (Arnalds et al. 2022)

The article about the Swedish scenario written by Olof Rosenqvist's conclusions also coincides with the others that, indeed, motherhood contributes significantly to the persistent gender gap in labor force participation, especially if considering the long-term effects on mothers compared to fathers. (Rosenqvist 2024)

Rosenqvist confirms that mothers who reduced their leave in response to the bonus showed slight positive trends in earnings. However, while the policy could have caused a slight reduction in the gender gap, the overall average effect on earnings was insignificant. "For mothers, the arrival of the first child has been found to induce long-term reductions in labor supply, and time-use studies consistently show that mothers devote much more time than fathers to housework and childcare." (Rosenqvist 2024)

It will take more than one generation

The common conclusion of the case studies is that while the new policies have seeded a cultural shift toward a more egalitarian gender workplace, more time and work are still needed to eliminate such rooted gender roles in society. According to Arnalds, Eydal, and Gíslason, while Iceland's parental leave policy represents a significant step toward gender equality, it highlights the need for additional measures, including improved childcare services and systemic workplace reforms, to better support women's careers. (Arnalds et al. 2022)

That conclusion is not necessarily pessimistic. Eliminating the gender gap in the labor force is an ambitious goal; thus, it may take more than one generation to become a reality. Although the new policies move the countries in the desired direction, more substantial and comprehensive policies may be necessary to guarantee their efficiency.

In Rosenqvist words, there is consensus that “family formation, rather than differences in human capital, is the main driver of the remaining gender gap.” (Rosenqvist 2024) In conclusion, the case studies ultimately expressed what Goldin considered for the overall global situation, that “extensive protected and paid leave is probably not the main reason for the differences and thus not the primary reason for the slow recovery time in the birth event analysis.” (Goldin and Mitchell 2017)

4. Final considerations

Taking Iceland and Sweden into account, even with a closer look at favorable scenarios built over two decades, the gender gap in the workforce persists. Why? If the explanations do not end in simple statistics, two things can be understood: it indeed exists, it is considerably relevant, and it is persistent.

Moreover, if there are no significant results for diminishing the gender gap, it may be an investment for the subsequent generations. If part of the explanation is still to be explained, that could be by implicit discrimination and bias. Once fathers start to be more present in the first child of their children, the stigma of only mothers occupying the maternal role can be weakened and then begin a more slowly but profound transformation.

Still, the desire to find explanations can lead to more conceptual, general, and social theories. Silvia Federici and Vera Iaconelli are examples of this. Silvia Federici will examine the beginning of capitalism's formation and describe how the process of removing women from the workforce and relegating them to unpaid domestic responsibilities was developed. For the author, this kind of work produces value and, therefore, must be remunerated somehow. Vera Iaconelli is a Brazilian psychologist who also observes maternity, or the act of “maternity,” as something that was not inherent to the mother.

After all, one could ask whether motherhood affects women's labor force participation or whether the social infrastructure is prepared to absorb such an unconditional nature of living. It is only a natural desire for a child to want to become a mother someday. The initial question may be answered simply by reformulating it in the opposite order. Instead of answering how motherhood impacts women's careers, it would be, “How do good policies of parental protection and continuing positive environments in the workforce positively support motherhood and improve the healthy growth of children?”

4. References

- Arnalds, Ásdís Aðalbjörg, Guðný Björk Eydal, and Ingólfur V. Gíslason. "Paid Parental Leave in Iceland: Increasing Gender Equality at Home and on the Labour Market." In *Successful Public Policy in the Nordic Countries*, edited by Caroline de la Porte et al., 369–393. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780192856296.003.0018>.
- Blau, Francine D., and Lawrence M. Kahn. "The Gender Wage Gap: Extent, Trends, and Explanations." *Journal of Economic Literature* 55, no. 3 (2017): 789–865. <https://doi.org/10.1257/jel.20160995>.
- Perez, Caroline C.. 'The Long Friday' in *Invisible Women: Data Bias in a World Designed for Men*. New York: Abrams Press, 2019, p.69–91.
- European Institute for Gender Equality. *Return to the Labour Market After Parental Leave: A Gender Analysis*. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2022. <https://eige.europa.eu>.
- Goldin, Claudia, and Joshua Mitchell. "The New Life Cycle of Women's Employment: Disappearing Humps, Sagging Middles, Expanding Tops." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 31, no. 1 (Winter 2017): 161–182. <https://doi.org/10.1257/jep.31.1.161>.
- Goldin, Claudia, Sari Pekkala Kerr, and Claudia Olivetti. "The Parental Pay Gap over the Life Cycle: Children, Jobs, and Labor Supply." *Journal of Economic Dynamics and Control* (2024). <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jedc.2024.104963>.
- Gomes, Diego B. P., and Dharana Rijal. "Global Employment Gender Gaps," *Gender Notes* 2024, 004 (2024), accessed December 16, 2024, <https://doi.org/10.5089/9798400294136.067>.
- ILOSTAT – International Labour Organization. *Prime-Age Labor Force Participation by Sex, Household Type, and Presence of Children, Annual, Most Recent Measurement, from 2016 to 2023*. 2023. Accessed December 16, 2024. https://rshiny.ilo.org/dataexplorer38/?id=GED_PLFP_SEX_HHT_CHL_RT_A.
- Kleven, Henrik, Camille Landais, and Gabriel Leite-Mariante. "The Child Penalty Atlas." NBER Working Paper No. 31649, National Bureau of Economic Research, Revised February 2024. <https://www.nber.org/papers/w31649>.
- Rosenqvist, Olof. "Reducing the Gender Gap in Parental Leave through Economic Incentives? Evidence from the Gender Equality Bonus in Sweden." *Labour Economics* 89 (2024): 102538. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.labeco.2024.102538>.
- Statistics Canada. *Labor Force Participation Rate by Sex and Age, Youth and Adults Aged 25+*. November 2023. Accessed December 16, 2024. <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/t1/tbl1/en/tv.action?pid=9810065601&pickMembers%5B0%5D=1.1&pickMembers%5B1%5D=2.2&pickMembers%5B2%5D=3.1&pickMembers%5B3%5D=4.1&pickMembers%5B4%5D=5.1&pickMembers%5B5%5D=6.1>.

Complementary references

Andresen, Martin Eckhoff, and Emily Nix. "What Causes the Child Penalty? Evidence from Same Sex Couples and Policy Reforms." *Discussion Papers, No. 902*. Statistics Norway, Research Department, March 2019. <https://hdl.handle.net/10419/210964>.

Arnarson, Björn Thor, and Aparna Mitra. "The Paternity Leave Act in Iceland: Implications for Gender Equality in the Labour Market." *Applied Economics Letters* 17, no. 7 (2010): 677–680. [https://doi.org/10.1080/13504850802297830​;contentReference\[oaicite:0\]{index=0}](https://doi.org/10.1080/13504850802297830​;contentReference[oaicite:0]{index=0}).

Duvander, Ann-Zofie, and Sofie Cedstrand. "Gender Equal Parental Leave Use in Sweden: The Success of the Reserved Months." In *Successful Public Policy in the Nordic Countries: Cases, Lessons, Challenges*, edited by Caroline de la Porte et al., 263–284. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022. [https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780192856296.003.0013​;contentReference\[oaicite:1\]{index=1}](https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780192856296.003.0013​;contentReference[oaicite:1]{index=1}).

Earle, Alison, Amy Raub, Aleta Sprague, and Jody Heymann. "Progress towards Gender Equality in Paid Parental Leave: An Analysis of Legislation in 193 Countries from 1995–2022." *Community, Work & Family* July 2023. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13668803.2023.2226809>.

Eydal, Guðný Björk, and Ásdís A. Arnalds. "Nordic Parental Leave Policy: The Case of Iceland." *Nordics.Info*, July 4, 2024. [https://www.norden.org/en/media/22338​;contentReference\[oaicite:2\]{index=2}](https://www.norden.org/en/media/22338​;contentReference[oaicite:2]{index=2}).

Federici, Silvia. *Caliban and the Witch: Women, the Body, and Primitive Accumulation*. New York: Autonomedia, 2004.

Hyland, Marie, and Liang Shen. "The Evolution of Maternity and Paternity Leave Policies over Five Decades: A Global Analysis." *Policy Research Working Paper 10215*. Development Economics, Global Indicators Group, World Bank, October 2022. <http://www.worldbank.org/prwp>.

Iaconelli, Vera. *Manifesto Antimaternalista*. 1st ed. Rio de Janeiro: Zahar, 2023.

Kleven, Henrik, Camille Landais, and Jakob Egholt Søgaaard. "Children and Gender Inequality: Evidence from Denmark." *NBER Working Paper Series*, no. 24219. National Bureau of Economic Research, January 2018. [https://doi.org/10.3386/w24219​;contentReference\[oaicite:3\]{index=3}](https://doi.org/10.3386/w24219​;contentReference[oaicite:3]{index=3}).

Kleven, Henrik, Camille Landais, Johanna Posch, Andreas Steinhauer, and Josef Zweimüller. "Child Penalties Across Countries: Evidence and Explanations." *NBER Working Paper Series*, no. 25524. National Bureau of Economic Research, February 2019. <https://www.nber.org/papers/w25524>.