WOMEN WORK AND MOTHERHOOD: INTEGRATIVE REVIEW

O TRABALHO FEMININO E A MATERNIDADE: REVISÃO INTEGRATIVA

MUJERES TRABAJADORAS Y MATERNIDAD: REVISIÓN INTEGRADORA

Isabella Catarina Aguiar Pereira¹, Divanice Contim², Nayara Paula Fernandes Martins Molina³, Monika Wernet⁴, Mariangela Torreglosa Ruiz Cintra⁵, Mariana Torreglosa Ruiz⁶

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ABSTRACT

Objective: to identify the evidence available in the literature on the theme: impact of motherhood on women working conditions. Method: Integrative review, carried out on the bases: PubMed / Medline, LILACS, Scopus, Web of Science, CINAHL and on the SciELO metabuser with the term “Women, working” and the word “Motherhood” and its synonyms on May 2020. Primary articles produced in the period 2010 to 2020 were adopted as an inclusion criteria. Results: 15 primary articles were selected, classified into four thematic categories: changes in career aspirations and ambitions; need for adjustments to return to work; difficulties and associated factors in reconciling work and family life, and the impact of motherhood on women's lives. Conclusions: There were difficulties and facilitators in reconciling women’

Descriptors: Women, Working; Family; Work; review.

¹ Federal University of Triângulo Mineiro - UFTM. Uberaba-MG. Student of the Undergraduate Nursing Course at UFTM. http://orcid.org/0000-0001-5624-4520
² Federal University of Triângulo Mineiro - UFTM. Uberaba-MG. Associate Professor of the Undergraduate Nursing Course at the Federal University of Triângulo Mineiro. http://orcid.org/0000-0001-5213-1465
³ Federal University of Triângulo Mineiro - UFTM. Uberaba-MG. RN. Doctorate by the Postgraduate Program in Health Care (PPGAS) UFTM. http://orcid.org/0000-0001-8771-9242
⁴ Federal University of São Carlos - UFSC. Sao Carlos - SP. Associate Professor at the Nursing Department at the Federal University of São Carlos. http://orcid.org/0000-0002-1194-3261
⁵ Federal University of Triângulo Mineiro - UFTM. Uberaba-MG. Associate Professor in the Biological Sciences Course at the Federal University of Triângulo Mineiro. http://orcid.org/0000-0002-8223-805X
⁶ Federal University of Triângulo Mineiro - UFTM. Uberaba-MG. Adjunct Professor of the Undergraduate Nursing Course at the Federal University of Triângulo Mineiro. http://orcid.org/0000-0002-5199-7328
RESUMO

Objetivo: identificar as evidências disponíveis na literatura acerca da temática: impacto da maternidade nas condições de trabalho feminino. **Método:** revisão integrativa realizada nas bases: PubMed/MEDLINE, LILACS, Scopus, Web of Science, CINAHL e no metabuscador SciELO com o termo “Women, working” e a palavra “Motherhood” e seus sinônimos em maio de 2020. Adotaram-se, como critério de inclusão, artigos primários produzidos no período de 2010 a 2020. **Resultados:** foram selecionados 15 artigos primários classificados em quatro categorias temáticas: alterações nas aspirações e ambições na carreira; necessidade de ajustes para retorno ao trabalho; dificuldades e fatores associados na conciliação do trabalho e vida familiar e impacto da maternidade na vida das mulheres. **Conclusões:** constataram-se dificultadores e facilitadores em conciliar trabalho feminino e maternidade e a importância de ofertar possibilidades de apoio a essas mulheres.

Descritores: Mulheres Trabalhadoras; Família; Trabalho; Revisão.

RESUMEN

**Objetivo:** identificar la evidencia disponible en la literatura sobre el tema: impacto de la maternidad en las condiciones laborales de las mujeres. **Método:** Revisión integrativa, realizado sobre las bases: PubMed / Medline, LILACS, Scopus, Web of Science, CINAHL y sobre el metabuser SciELO con el término “Mujeres trabajadoras” y la palabra “Maternidad” y sus sinónimos en mayo, 2020. Se adoptaron como criterio de inclusión los artículos primarios producidos en el período 2010 a 2020. **Resultados:** Se seleccionaron 15 artículos primarios, clasificados en cuatro categorías temáticas: cambios en las aspiraciones y ambiciones profesionales; necesidad de ajustes para volver al trabajo; dificultades y factores asociados en la conciliación de la vida laboral y familiar, y el impacto de la maternidad en la vida de las mujeres. **Conclusiones:** Fue encontrado dificultades y facilitadores para conciliar el trabajo de las mujeres y la maternidad y la importancia de ofrecer posibilidades de apoyo a estas mujeres.

Descritores: Mujeres Trabajadora; Familia; Trabajo; Revisión.

INTRODUCTION

The license-maternity aims to promote women's self-care and protect early childhood.¹ A study showed that the establishment of the mother-child bond is achieved when both remain together for at least six weeks. Among the benefits of the leave stand out: reduction in infant mortality and low weight; better neurophysiological, physical and psychological development of the child; increase in exclusive breastfeeding rate and duration of breastfeeding; reduction in the incidence of asthma, bronchitis and allergic diseases in children and higher rates of vaccination update.¹

Nonetheless, a study by Fundação Getúlio Vargas showed that the probability of women entering the job market increases gradually throughout life, but drops after the first maternity leave. An analysis of data from the Brazilian Ministry of Labor, based on the situation of 247,555 female workers who were on maternity leave from 2009 to 2012, showed that all were employed before the leave, however, one year after the leave, there was a reduction of 48% in the rate of employed women.²
unemployment causes impacts on their economic trajectory, extending to the children and the entire family, generating long-term social inequalities or exacerbating existing ones.³

Returning to work is not the reality for most women, who suffer penalties for being mothers. A study showed that women with two or more children and children of preschool age are 3.2 times less likely to keep working in Brazil. In addition, 64.6% of the women are employed, but after the birth of their first child, 59.3% maintain the activity; from the second child onwards, 47.6% work and, if they have a third child, 42.1% of working mothers remain in the job. It appears that motherhood has a negative impact on women's participation in the labor market and is directly proportional to the number of children.⁴

A study carried out with 69,142 Brazilian mothers highlighted that having children of preschool age also affects the conditions of women in the labor market, reducing the probability of participation, increasing the reduction of working hours and the percentage of self-employment. The reduction in participation and working hours and the increase in self-employment enhance the precariousness of working conditions, which can really be considered a penalty to be a mother and have to reconcile work and family.⁵

The relevance of this research consists of the synthesis of knowledge about the impact of motherhood on women's working conditions in order to promote individualized, humanized care focused on maternal adaptation needs. Thus, this study aimed to identify the evidence available in the literature on the subject: impact of motherhood on women's working conditions.

METHOD

The integrative review⁶ was chosen as a method to achieve the objective of the study. The guiding question - "What evidence is available in the literature on the impact of motherhood on female working conditions?" - was formulated using the acronym 'PCC', with P for population (women), C for concept (work) and C for context (maternity).

The searches were performed independently by two PhD reviewers, in May 2020. They were performed using controlled descriptors from the Medical Subject Headings, CINAHL Headings and Health Sciences Descriptors with the term: “Women, working” in English, Portuguese and Spanish and their synonyms associated with the word “Motherhood”. We chose to use the word “Motherhood”, as it was the most sensitive search strategy, enabling the mapping of the largest number of potential references on the subject. On the other hand, it guaranteed sufficient specificity. This
word is not a Mesh term, as it is a relatively new term and there was no description to represent it.

The descriptors were combined in different ways in order to broaden the searches. It is noteworthy that the terminological variations in the different languages, as well as the synonyms were used to carry out a sensitized search with the use of the Boolean operators AND for the simultaneous occurrence of subjects and OR for the occurrence of one or another subject.

Searches were performed in the US National Library of Medicine National Institutes of Health (PubMed/MEDLINE), Latin American and Caribbean Literature on Health Sciences (LILACS), SciVerse Scopus (Scopus), Web of Science, Cumulative Index to Nursing and Allied Health Literature (CINAHL) and the Scientific Electronic Library Online (SciELO) metasearch. The choice of databases was due to the amount of indexing of articles in the health area, bases that include primary studies, as well as health-related topics. Manual searches were also performed among the references of the included references.

Studies that described the impact of motherhood on female working conditions, published in the last ten years (2010-2020), regardless of language, were the inclusion criteria of the primary studies delimited for the review, while the exclusion criteria consisted of studies review, editorials, and expert opinion. The Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analysis (PRISMA) methodology was adopted for the presentation of the identification, selection, eligibility and inclusion stages of studies, shown in Figure 1.
Figure 1. Flowchart, according to the PRISMA methodology, to select the studies found. Source: authors, 2020.

The searches in the databases captured 247 articles, of which 15 made up the final sample, being: seven from the Scopus database; two from LILACS; two from PubMed/MEDLINE; two from CINHAHL, one from SciELO and one article was manually extracted from an included reference, as shown in figure 1. The analysis of the articles was carried out, in a first step, by reading the title and abstract. Subsequently, the full reading was carried out for the final
selection of articles. The order of the databases analyzed was PubMed/MEDLINE®, CINAHL, LILACS, Web of Science™, Scopus and SciELO. The order of exclusions followed the criteria: duplicate articles; published outside the defined period (in the last ten years); review articles; editorials; expert opinion and that did not portray the theme. The reason for exclusions is shown in Figure 2.

Figure 2. Flow of the articles selection and reasons for exclusion from the review according to the PRISMA guidelines, 2020.
Source: authors, 2020.

Data from the studies were extracted using an instrument structured by the researchers, which was subjected to face and content validation and included the identification of the article, the year and place of the study, objectives, design and number of participants and outcomes. The extracted information was tabulated for data synthesis. The analysis was carried out in a descriptive way and the synthesis was presented, grouped into thematic categories.

It is noteworthy that ethical procedures were waived because it was a study with secondary sources.
RESULTS

Of the 15 primary studies included in the review, 10 were published in English, 4 in Portuguese and 1 in Spanish. There is a predominance of publications in Brazil (five studies -33.3%) and the United States (two studies -13.4%), with the description of a production in each country: Australia, Belgium, Spain, France, England, New Zealand and Sri Lanka. The period of publication was homogeneous in the last decade and, regarding the design of studies to address the theme, there was a predominance of studies with a qualitative approach (eight studies - 53.3%), followed by survey studies (five studies - 33.3%) and carrying out two cohorts (13.4%). In all, 35,612 working women participated in the studies.

The primary studies included were classified into four thematic categories, namely: changes in career aspirations and ambitions (category 1); need for adjustments to return to work (category 2); difficulties and associated factors in reconciling work and family life (category 3) and impact of motherhood on women's lives (category 4). However, some articles fall into more than one thematic category. The classification of articles is presented in the following table (Table 1).
Table 1 presents the general characterization of the primary studies.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Articles</th>
<th>Thematic category</th>
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<td>14 and 15</td>
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</table>
Table 1. Characterization of the articles included (title; country and year of publication; objectives; design and number of patients and outcomes). Uberaba, MG, Brazil, 2020.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Country / Year</th>
<th>Goals</th>
<th>Design / number of patients</th>
<th>Outcomes</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Feeling pressure to be a perfect mother relates to parental burnout and career ambitions⁸</td>
<td>Belgium, 2018</td>
<td>Associate the pressure of being a 'perfect mother' with: level of stress and emotional exhaustion and career ambitions/aspirations (balance between work and family).</td>
<td>Survey/169 working mothers</td>
<td>Positive association between 'being a perfect mother' and emotional exhaustion and negative association of motherhood with career ambitions.</td>
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<td>2. Mulher, tempo e trabalho: o cotidiano das mulheres comissárias de voo⁹</td>
<td>Brazil, 2014</td>
<td>Evaluate how mothers organize time and space with aviation work.</td>
<td>Qualitative/six flight attendant mothers</td>
<td>Three thematic categories were identified: female overload due to different roles; valuing motherhood to the detriment of conjugality and self-care; changes in dedication and ambitions due to motherhood.</td>
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<td>3. Ser docente de enfermagem, mulher e mãe: desvelando a vivência sob a luz da fenomenologia social¹⁰</td>
<td>Brazil, 2011</td>
<td>Understand the relationship between being a Nursing teacher, woman and mother and how professional life, motherhood and daily activities are reconciled.</td>
<td>Qualitative-phenomenology/11 nursing teaching mothers</td>
<td>Three thematic categories were identified: difficulty in performing the multiplicity of activities; self-care and reconciling social roles.</td>
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<td>4. Los discursos de legitimación sobre el trabajo de las madres trabajadoras en España¹¹</td>
<td>Spain, 2017</td>
<td>To analyze the speeches of mothers who work in a country in crisis.</td>
<td>Qualitative discourse analysis/47 working mothers</td>
<td>Reconciling motherhood and work is a process under construction. Discourses were shaped by subjectivity, approval and recognition.</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Entitled to a sustainable career? Motherhood in Science, Engineering and Technology¹²</td>
<td>England, 2012</td>
<td>To analyze the challenges of sustaining motherhood and career in highly masculine work environments.</td>
<td>Qualitative analysis from the Theory of Social Comparison/three mothers</td>
<td>The need for adjustments was demonstrated: adaptation of the workload; possibility of working from home; company flexibility; support; sensitivity and sense of motherhood rights.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Study Title</td>
<td>Country, Year</td>
<td>Methodology</td>
<td>Summary</td>
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<td>6. I hardly see my baby: challenges and highlights of being a New Zealand working mother of an infant⁶</td>
<td>New Zealand, 2018</td>
<td>Cohort/2388 mothers</td>
<td>Investigate the highlights and challenges of working mothers; examine whether they find work challenging and explore circumstances in which work is challenging. Maternal work considered challenging was associated with the workload, age of the babies, family income and concern about the negative impacts of motherhood on the career.</td>
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<td>7. Influences of marriage, motherhood, and other life events on Australian women’s employment aspirations⁷</td>
<td>Australia, 2011</td>
<td>Cohort/Comparison between two surveys – 7505 (first survey) and 7584 (second survey)</td>
<td>To analyze the influence of marriage, motherhood and other life events of women on career aspirations according to age. Maternity was associated with the option to work part-time. The study revealed difficulties in reconciling career and family life.</td>
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<td>8. Working moms: motherhood penalty or motherhood return?⁸</td>
<td>United States, 2020</td>
<td>Survey/808 women (465 non-mothers and 343 mothers)</td>
<td>Examine salary differences between librarian mothers and non-mothers. Mothers had higher salaries, however, had more experience and held leadership positions. Non-mothers and mothers with children over the age of 18 had greater work-life balance.</td>
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<td>9. Working long hours and its impact on family life experiences of women professionals and a managers in Sri Lanka⁹</td>
<td>Sri Lanka, 2018</td>
<td>Qualitative/40 mothers</td>
<td>To assess the impact of long working hours, on managerial activities, on mothers' personal lives. There was a negative relationship between working long hours and reconciling maternity duties. However, mothers valued work and working full-time.</td>
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<td>10. Implicações do retorno ao trabalho após licença-maternidade na rotina e no trabalho da mulher¹⁰</td>
<td>Brazil, 2018</td>
<td>Qualitative/six mothers</td>
<td>To characterize the implications for women's relationship with their work and personal routine after maternity leave. It was found that reconciling work and motherhood causes intense physical and emotional exhaustion.</td>
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<tr>
<td>11. How money matters: college, motherhood, earnings, and wives’ housework¹¹</td>
<td>United States, 2011</td>
<td>Survey/4246 women</td>
<td>To empirically test how educational and parental status influences the relationship between wive's wages and the time they dedicate to housework. Educational and parental contexts shape the relationship between income and domestic work.</td>
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<td>12. Working mothers and their multivoiced self&lt;sup&gt;9&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Brazil, 2012</td>
<td>To investigate the meaning of motherhood, child care and work among 28 working mothers from different social classes.</td>
<td>Qualitative/28 working mothers</td>
<td>The speeches revealed that working was necessary to supplement the family income and not a personal project and most mothers had difficulties reconciling family and work.</td>
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<td>13. A jovem mãe e o mercado de trabalho&lt;sup&gt;20&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Brazil, 2012</td>
<td>To describe the impacts of motherhood on the lives of teenage mothers (15 – 18 years old).</td>
<td>Qualitative/eight teenage mothers</td>
<td>The study and/or work trajectory was discontinued or suffered adaptations due to motherhood.</td>
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<td>14. The long-term mortality impact of combined job strain and family circumstances: a life course analysis of working American mothers&lt;sup&gt;21&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>United States, 2015</td>
<td>Investigate whether family circumstances combined with work may increase the risk of death among women.</td>
<td>Survey/7532 women</td>
<td>Higher mortality among single mothers with low control over working conditions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Is there a motherhood penalty in retirement income in Europe? The role of lifecourse and institutional characteristics&lt;sup&gt;22&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>France, 2015</td>
<td>Examine the impact of motherhood on retirement income.</td>
<td>Survey/5231 women – 60 – 75 years old residing in 13 European countries</td>
<td>Lower retirement income for mothers was a result of fewer years of employment and lower status throughout the life course. There was wage discrimination and lower chances of promotion for mothers. Educational status provided better working and retirement conditions.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: authors, 2020.
Based on this review, it was found that motherhood changes aspirations and ambitions in a woman's career and that she needs adjustments to return to and maintain work. The results pointed out as obstacles to reconciling work and family: the pressure to be a “perfect mother”; full-time work; the age of the child; family income; physical wear and tear; the lack of support/support from the partner; the multiplicity of women's roles and the time and physical effort involved in household chores.

As facilitators of return to work, the following were identified: maternal schooling, higher family income and older children. As impacts of motherhood on the lives of working women, the following were observed: interruption in the trajectory of studies or work, especially among adolescent mothers; higher mortality associated with the context of life and burden; lower chances of career promotions and lower retirement salaries, identifying maternal penalties in female work.

Next, a synthesis of the four thematic categories identified from the literature review is presented.
Figure 3. Synthesis of evidence on female work and motherhood.

1. Changes in career aspirations and ambitions
   • Changes in dedication and career ambitions
   • Priorization of motherhood

2. Need for adjustment to return to work
   • Reduced workload of days worked in the week
   • Flexibility and possibility of home office
   • Social and family support
   • Institutional support and maternity rights

3. Difficulties in reconciling work and family life
   • Pressure to be a “perfect mother”
   • Full-time job
   • Baby’s age
   • Family income
   • Physical impairment
   • Partner support
   • Multiplicity of roles
   • Domestic chores
   • Motherhood at the expense of conjugal and self-care

   Facilitators in reconciling work and family life
   • Schooling
   • Higher family income
   • Older children

4. Impact of motherhood on the lives of working women
   • Discontinued or altered study/work trajectory among teenage mothers
   • Higher mortality - life contexts
   • Lower chances of career promotions
   • Lower salaries at retirement

DISCUSSION

The results of this study find maternal penalties in female work.

Studies have shown that motherhood changes aspirations and women's career ambitions. In this sense, a study with 4,712 working American women, aged between 25 and 45 years, found that 48.8% were focused on their careers, considered pregnancy planning essential for the organization of life and had optimistic expectations of postponing pregnancy. Twenty-three similar results were found in a study with women who had higher education occupations residing in Minas Gerais. Women over 30 years of age postponed motherhood and, although they wanted to have a greater number of
children, chose not to have new children to reconcile family and work.\textsuperscript{24}

A study comparing women participating in a birth cohort between 1945 and 1980, carried out in Ecuador, Peru and Colombia, found that age at first childbirth followed the woman's educational level, so that mothers under 20 had less schooling and dropped out of high school; whereas those who completed higher education postponed motherhood until after the third decade of life.\textsuperscript{25} Similarly, Russian women, who worked in academic environments (teachers, researchers and postdoctoral students), found, in postponing motherhood (older age to 30 years), a strategy to reconcile work and family.\textsuperscript{26}

These results confirm that women see changes in career aspirations and ambitions as a result of motherhood, so they plan pregnancy and postpone motherhood for when they have stability or find themselves in a better moment of their professional life.

In the second thematic category, it was observed that women need adjustments to return to work after maternity leave. In the adjustments, the need for flexible working conditions and the importance of social support are clear. When corroborating the results, the partner's support in child care and household chores is considered an essential determinant to reconcile motherhood and employment.\textsuperscript{26-27}

The child's permanence in school and/or daycare in part or full time, although it has a cost emotional in the initial separation and adaptation, it is shown as a facilitating alternative for the maintenance of the career.\textsuperscript{26-29} A study also pointed out as alternatives: the outsourcing of care to the nanny or the domestic chores to the maid and working in places close to the home and/or perform remunerated activities at home and/or informal work.\textsuperscript{24}

In the third category, obstacles and facilitators in reconciling work and family life were grouped. As obstacles to reconciling work and family, emerged: the pressure to be a “perfect mother”; full-time work; the age of the child; family income; physical wear and tear; the lack of support/support from the partner; the multiplicity of women's roles and the time and physical effort involved in household chores. As facilitators of returning to work, the following were identified: maternal schooling; higher family income and older children.

It appears that the literature corroborates the results found, as a study with Russian working mothers highlighted that, in order to adjust the needs of work and family, women put their own free time at risk\textsuperscript{26}, feeling overwhelmed when reconciling demands\textsuperscript{30}, as shown by the studies included in the review. It is important to emphasize the association between low/dissatisfaction with work and
the overload when reconciling motherhood and work with depression and/or mental health changes.26,31

Finally, impacts of motherhood on the lives of working women were identified, that is, the maternal penalty, which made up the fourth category. The following were described: interruption in the trajectory of studies or work, especially in adolescent mothers; higher secondary mortality associated with lifestyles and overload; lower chances of career advancement and lower retirement salaries were also observed.

A meta-analysis sought to identify salary differences as a result of motherhood. The authors observed a wage gap of 3.6 to 3.8% worldwide. This salary penalty is justified by career/employment interruptions, absences related to childcare and the choice of women who seek jobs and occupations that pay less to ensure greater flexibility, as they often do not have access to day care. The researchers mention that this penalty often occurs because there is discrimination, veiled or not, by employers and institutions against the working mother and, in addition, many have low education and, consequently, lower wages.28

In this sense, it is noteworthy that a study carried out in Sweden, a country that has maternity protection laws, with 1.2 million working women, which aimed to identify whether maternity generated a greater number of sick leave, pointed to the importance of social support, since there was no association between motherhood and absences from work.32

In addition to the influence on occupations and salary reduction, there are age disparities in relation to maternity and the influence of schooling on maternity. Authors alerted to school dropout as a result of motherhood, especially among adolescents25, which often perpetuates the cycle of low schooling associated with low wages and increased social inequalities.

It is verified that the conciliation between work and maternity is a complex and multifactorial theme influenced by the woman's social determinants (education, income) and this relationship needs adjustments and a support network for its maintenance (companion, family and day care). In addition, the impact that the decision to keep or leave the job due to motherhood has on the woman's life in financial aspects, personal satisfaction and her mental health is observed, given that motherhood can often be synonymous penalty for working women.

CONCLUSION

Fifteen articles were found on the subject of the impact of motherhood on female work in the last decade, with the distribution of homogeneous publications over the years around the world and with the
predominance of studies with a qualitative approach. Maternal penalties were observed in female work, in aspirations, ambitions, as well as the impact on the trajectory of life.

As a limitation of this study, the predominance of studies usually represented by a homogeneous group of workers is highlighted. Studies with different designs and more heterogeneous samples are needed to reflect the real impact of motherhood on female work.

Based on the results found, it is important to recognize the obstacles and facilitators of female work and offer possibilities of support to these women, in order to provide greater satisfaction and well-being, for the protection and promotion of maternal and child health.

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