

Mothers' Mental Load: The Unpaid (and Unrecognized) Cognitive and Emotional Labour

By Emma Levrau

About the Mental Load

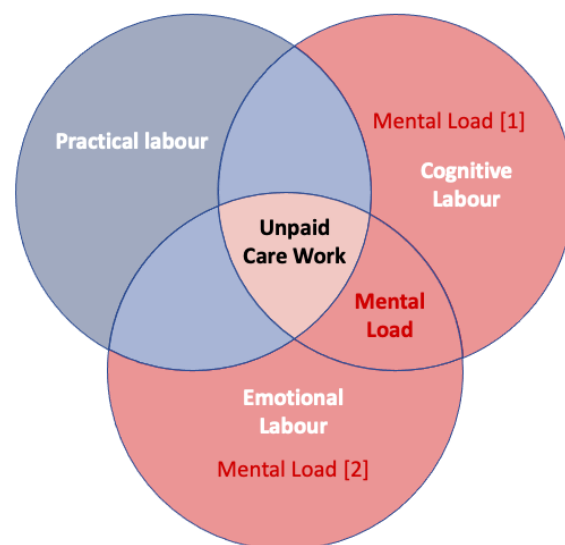
a. Defining the Mental Load

Policies surrounding **unpaid care work** often define this concept as the productive, yet unremunerated, *practical* work undertaken by an individual predominantly in service of their household. Such definitions largely emphasise the *physical* effort required by this type of labour. For example, the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) defined unpaid care work as the activities that include taking care of children, sick people, and older persons, cooking, shopping, cleaning, helping other families with their chores, and completing several other necessary household agendas (Miranda, 2011). This type of interpretation overwhelmingly associates unpaid care work to tangible activities. Although the International Labour Organisation's (2018) definition of unpaid care alludes to the role of providing for the 'psychological and emotional needs of adults and children', it fails to emphasize the cognitive and emotional cost of the provider (p. 6). As a result, the *mental load* has been misunderstood and overlooked in discussions surrounding unpaid care work.

The mental load can be understood as the hidden dimensions of unpaid care work (See Figure 1) (Dean, Churchill and Ruppner, 2021; Daminger, 2019). In

other words, the additional labour that takes place alongside *physical* activities.

Figure 1: The hidden dimensions of unpaid care work



This type of work is often defined as 'invisible' or 'unseen', as it employs a set of skills and knowledge that often go unrecognized when operated in a domestic context. This is because the mental load 'is often a secondary or even tertiary activity carried out alongside physical actions' (Daming, 2019). Therefore, it is the diffuseness and simultaneity of the mental load that keep it invisible.

Researchers in this field have divided the mental load into two separate concepts: **cognitive labour and emotional labour** (Dean, Churchill and Ruppner, 2021; Daminger, 20). **Cognitive labour** refers to the cognitive capacities an individual employs to create, organize and build relationships (Morini, 2007). This type of

labour is crucial, serving as the groundwork behind any physical undertaking. For example, planning healthy varied meals before grocery shopping, scheduling time to wash and dry the laundry, scheduling time for grocery shopping in between other activities, reaching out to other parents to organize playdates for the children, keeping in mind the date and time for medical appointments, etc... Therefore, cognitive labour is decisive for planning, overseeing, and ensuring coordination within a household.

Emotional labour is any type of mental labour that deals with managing feelings, caring, and worrying about the wellbeing of household individuals (Dean, Churchill and Ruppner, 2021). For instance, calming the children if they get upset, making sure everybody feels relaxed in the household, worrying over the challenges their children might face during the day, worrying if an older member doesn't feel comfortable, etc...



¹Make Mothers Matter (2022) *Mothers' Unpaid Family Care Work: Vital But Invisible and Unrecognized*, Available online at: <https://makemothersmatter.org/roles-of->

Debates surrounding unpaid care work have already heavily contributed to dismantling traditional ideas of work, demonstrating that effort and energy are not only spent in offices from 9 to 5.

However, the lack of consideration given to cognitive and emotional labour leaves an important gap in governments' attempt to understand, define, measure, and support unpaid care work. In fact, the data and knowledge gaps surrounding the mental load leave 'little evidence about how much time is spent on the mental load, how it is allocated across family members or indeed the emotional, physical and economic consequences of carrying the mental load' (Dean, Churchill and Ruppner, 2021, p. 13). This lack of awareness and support leaves countless individuals in vulnerable positions, particularly women and mothers.

b. The Mental Load: A Challenge for Mothers

Unpaid care work continues to be disproportionately divided amongst genders, with globally women completing on average 4.2 hours a day of unpaid care work, in comparison to men only completing 1.7 hours a day (United Nations, 2020). After having children, this work becomes even more demanding for women and even less visible (See MMM's article on *Mother's Unpaid Family Care work*¹).

[action/mothers-and-the-economy/unpaid-family-care-work-vital-but-invisible-and-unrecognised/](https://makemothersmatter.org/action/mothers-and-the-economy/unpaid-family-care-work-vital-but-invisible-and-unrecognised/) (Accessed: 26th April 2022).

The lockdown during the Covid-19 pandemic allowed to raise a new degree of awareness on the unfair conditions of unpaid care work for mothers. A study analysing the balance between work and family under lockdown found that, in comparison to fathers, mothers spent 2 hours more on household responsibilities (Andrew et al, 2020). The study also highlighted that on average 47% of mothers work hours were interrupted, mostly due to childcare, in contrast to 30% of father's work hours. The imbalance in responsibility regarding housework and childcare during the pandemic has further highlighted the gendered issue of unpaid care work.

However, unpaid care work is not only limited to practical and physical activities. Mothers also undertake most of the **cognitive labour**. In a study on the division of cognitive roles amongst heterosexual partners, Daminger (2019) found that in 26 out of 32 couples, mothers were subject to more **cognitive labour**. For instance, mothers were more likely to keep track of birthdays, shop for gifts, interact with teachers and parents, remind their partners to complete certain tasks and so on. It is therefore not uncommon to find the notion of mother often associated to actions such as 'social organizing', 'planning', 'scheduling', 'decision-making', 'multi-tasking', 'managing', or 'anticipating'.

On top of physical and **cognitive labour**, mothers most frequently endure the **emotional labour**. As explained by Dean, Churchill and Ruppner (2021) 'cognitive

tasks underpin the caring for loved ones which is emotional regardless of the triviality of the task' (p. 17). In other words, emotional labour often takes place in parallel to physical and cognitive tasks. For example, when picking up the children from school, mothers tend to inquire, listen, and observe their child while they narrate their day. This allows them to assess the child's headspace and give advice where need be. Caring and prioritizing the emotional needs of the household calls for a degree of emotional intuition, which can be extremely draining (Charpentier, 2020). The notion of emotional labour derives from sociology of work and employment, appearing for the first time in 1983 in the work of Hochschild. Using the example of a flight attendant, Hochschild (2012) explained that emotional work can be understood as the suppression of one's emotion at the expense of someone else's emotions. The striking difference between Hochschild's emotional labour and a mother's mental load seems to be the lack of remuneration and recognition given to mothers (See Figure 2).

Issues Surrounding the Mental Load

a. The Mental Load, a Patriarchal Issue

Mothers suffer incomparably from the **mental load** due to ingrained patriarchal norms and values (Charpentier, 2020). In most patriarchal societies women were assigned the responsibilities of physical, cognitive, and emotional unpaid care work. Men, who were expected to perform paid labour, were consequentially relieved from

Figure 2: **Similarities between Hochschild's emotional labour and the mental load**

Emotional Labour	Hochschild's (1983) Emotional Labour	Domestic Emotional Unpaid Labour
SUPPRESSING EMOTIONS	'This labour requires one to induce or suppress feeling in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others' (p. 20).	'[...] a study of emotion work would note [a mother's] efforts to remain cheerful despite her children's misbehaviour or to hide her disappointment when a family member refuses to eat what she prepared' (Daminger, 2019, p. 611).
THE MANAGEMENT OF EMOTIONS	'Feelings [...] are not independent of acts of management' (p. 26).	'[...] emotional labour involves managing the emotions of others and one's own across different contexts' (c, p. 18). '[...] the family forms a distinct, and particularly emotionally draining 'client', as women are acutely cognizant of managing others' emotions as this labour is tied to caring for others and love' (Dean, Churchill and Ruppner, 2021, p. 18).
A GENDERED ISSUE	'[...] the evidence seems clear that women do <i>more</i> emotion managing than men' (p. 112). 'Women who want to put their own feelings less at the service of others must still confront the idea that if they do so, they will be considered less 'feminine' (p. 1133).	'The invisibility of the mental load also extends to women themselves who may perform the mental load by default due to gender norms' (Dean, Churchill and Ruppner, 2021, p. 19).
INVISIBLE	'These struggles [...] remain largely invisible because the kind of labour that gives rise to them – emotional labour – is seldom recognized by those who tell us what labor is' (p. 132).	'[...] the mental load becomes a form of invisible, unpaid domestic labor that is attached to more conventional social expectation that women are to work for 'love', 'choose' to do so 'freely' without pay [...]' (Dean, Churchill and Ruppner, 2021, p. 20).
COSTLY	'The worker can become estranged or alienated from an aspect of self' (p. 20).	'Emotional labor [...] can be mentally exhausting, leading to increased anxiety, depression and poorer physical health' (Dean, Churchill and Ruppner, 2021, p. 19).

care work. However, in modern society, while the roles of mothers have shifted to also include the responsibility of partaking in paid labour, they continue to be expected to undertake most aspects of care work.

Limited resources and policies have succeeded in decreasing women and mothers' dual responsibilities when they enter the paid workforce. For example, lack of availability and high cost of day-care centres often restricts mothers' time spent on paid work (Deutsche Welle, 2020²; The Brussels Times, 2016³); lack of nutritious foods in day-care centres and school canteens can leave children underdeveloped and vulnerable to mood swings when returning home (The Guardian, 2004⁴); lack of youth centres for extracurricular activities can hinder mothers' time management.

Patriarchal societies have therefore induced the **mental load** predominantly on women, and more specifically on mothers. This does not go to say that some men are not equally affected by the mental load. Patriarchal inequalities are slowly being addressed, with some fathers taking on a bigger role in the family setting. Nonetheless, the ongoing lack of support provided by society to help mothers juggle physical, **mental**, and **cognitive labour**

alongside paid labour, is a reminder that norms and values are still oppressing women.

b. The Mental load and Mental Health

A vast majority of studies on **emotional** and **cognitive labour** have focused on remunerated work. However, Dean, Churchill and Ruppner (2021) have argued that although unpaid care work lacks remuneration, the family acts to a certain extent as a 'client' (p. 18). Consequently, the results from studies on the impact of **emotional** and **cognitive labour** on paid workers can broadly be applied to unpaid caregivers.



²Deutsche Welle (DW) (2020) *Germany with Massive Shortage in Day Care Spots, Study Finds*, available online at: <https://www.dw.com/en/germany-with-massive-shortage-in-day-care-spots-study-finds/a-55232526> (Accessed: 26th April 2022).

³The Brussels Times (2016) *International Day of Families: Majority of Children Under-Three in EU Still Lacking Formal Child Care*, available online at:

<https://www.brusselstimes.com/news/eu-affairs/37572/international-day-of-families-majority-of-children-under-three-in-eu-still-lacking-formal-child-care> (Accessed: 26th April 2022).

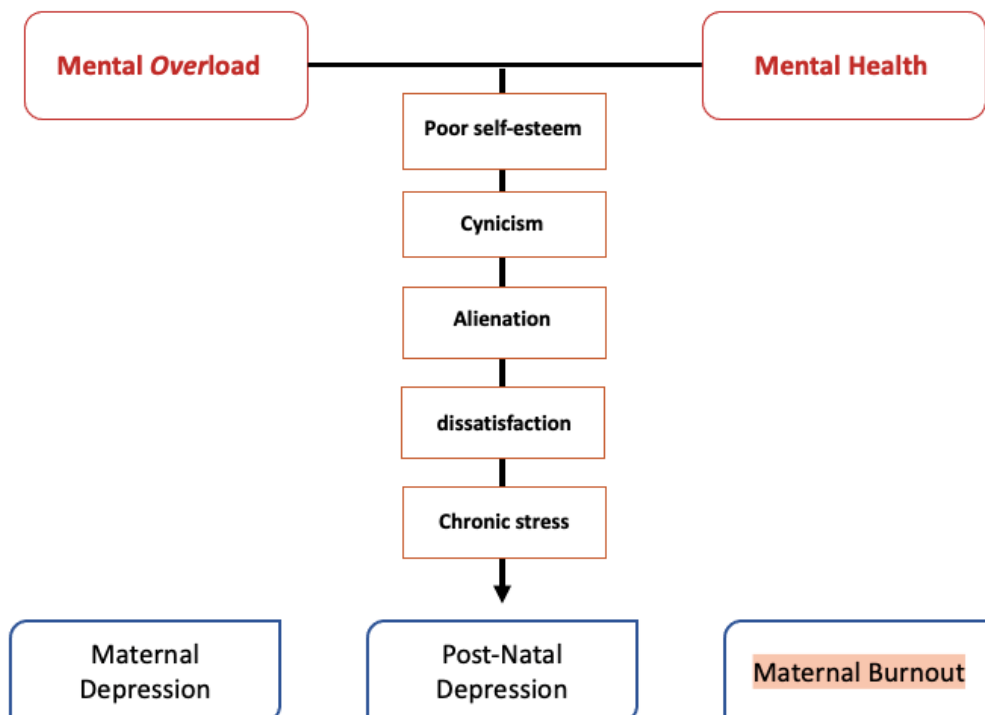
⁴The Guardian (2004) *Healthier Meals on the Way for School Canteens*, available online at: <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2004/sep/06/schools.food> (Accessed: 26th April 2022).

Continuous emotional and cognitive work, hiding or suppressing emotions for and from others, relating to other people's emotions, and adapting one's own emotions for the most suited outcome, can be extremely draining (Mann, 2005). Many studies have demonstrated that the **overload** of emotional and cognitive work can precipitate in certain cases poor self-esteem, depression, cynicism, alienation, dissatisfaction, and chronic stress (Mann, 2005; Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993). In turn, these syndromes can cause severe complications for a mothers' mental health (See Figure 3).

For instance, *maternal burnout* is a condition affecting mothers all around the

world (See MMM article⁵). The concept of *burnout* refers to the 'specific syndrome of exhaustion related to prolonged situation of imbalance, where the burden of perceived stress exceeds personal resources to cope with it' (Hubert and Anjoulat, 2018, p. 1). Although much research has been undertaken to understand job-related burnouts, there continues to be an insufficient amount of knowledge surrounding maternal burnouts, or even parental burnouts in general. The Parental burnout Assessment index has received the criticism of being unreliable. This measure was originally adapted from a job-related burnout index: The Maslach Burnout Inventory (1986). However, parental burnouts were found to

Figure 3: The risks of the mental overload on mothers' mental health



⁵Make Mothers Matter (2019) Maternal Depression and Burnout Must be Acknowledged and Addressed – Also For Early Childhood Development, available online at:

<https://makemothersmatter.org/maternal-depression-and-burnout-must-be-acknowledged-and-addressed-also-for-early-childhood-development/> (Accessed: 26th April 2022).

have different outcomes that could not have been predicted by job related burnouts, demonstrating ‘the existence of non-work-related burnouts and of parental burnout in particular’ (Roskam, Brianda, and Mikolajczak, 2018, p. 2). As a result, specific issues relating to a parental burnout have been overlooked.

In the attempt to further understand parental burnouts, as well as maternal burnouts, social developers should re-examine and design a more suited index, one that takes into consideration the impact of **the mental overload**. This approach would not only elaborate on the structure and definition of parental and maternal burnout, but it would also ensure efficient solutions are found to protect mothers’ wellbeing from the risks of the **mental overload**.

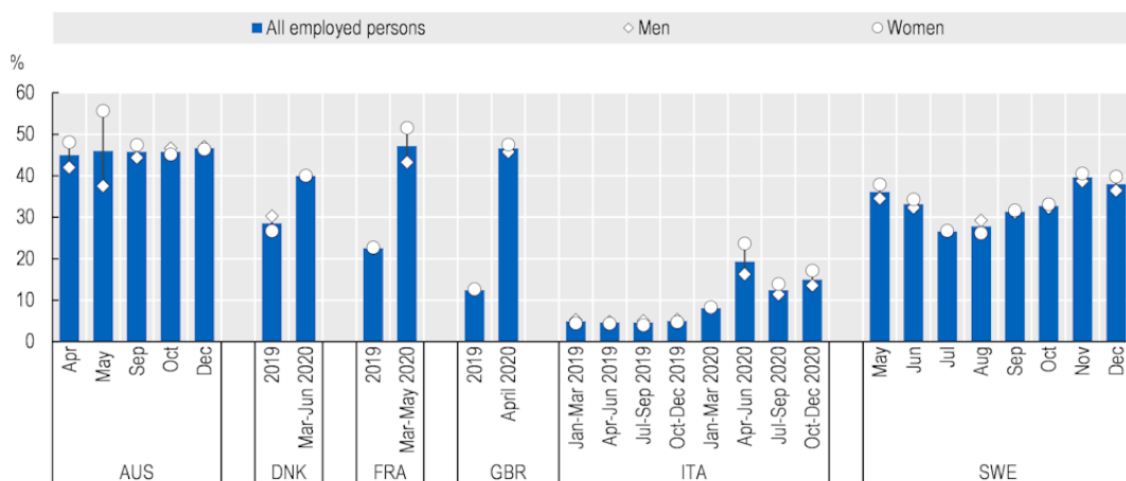
c. The Mental Load in the Rise of Telework

Since the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic, the challenges of unpaid care

work have become more important than ever. Globally, there has been a shift towards the adoption of telework (See Figure 4). Working-from-home has been established as a useful mechanism to sustain ‘social connections within families and communities, [while also ensuring] business continuity for organisations (Carillo et al, 2021, p. 69). For this reason, moving towards telework could serve as the reconciliation between a career and caring.

A hybrid work system that distributes working hours between the office and home presents itself as an optimistic solution for mothers dealing with exceeding care work responsibilities. However, the 2022 Conference on Gender Equality, organised by the European Committee on Women’s Right, highlighted several challenges telework could induce on mothers. By adopting a hybrid working system, women and mothers stand a higher chance of making up a vast majority of the peripheral workers. In fact, due to their lack of care work responsibilities men

Figure 4: Teleworking during the COVID-19 pandemic, by gender. Percentage of employed persons



(Source: OECD (2021), *Teleworking in the COVID-19 pandemic: Trends and Prospects*, available online: <https://www.oecd.org/coronavirus/policy-responses/teleworking-in-the-covid-19-pandemic-trends-and-prospects-72a416b6/> (Accessed: 26th April 2022).

and fathers' choice to return to the workplace is less problematic.

The rise in the number of women and mothers working from home would in turn increase the gender disparities of unpaid care work (BNB Blog article 2022⁶). However, due to its lack of visibility, when (and if) measuring the rise of unpaid care work, the **mental load** will continue to remain unaccounted for.

Moving Forward

a. Recommendations/Call to Action

Efforts to **manage** the mental load fall under the current efforts of dealing with unpaid care work. Therefore, the mental load would similarly benefit from strategies that have been previously employed to tackle unpaid care work, such as the triple R approach: **recognise, reduce, and redistribute** (GatesNotes, 2016⁷; MMM, 2022⁸). This approach aims to reduce gender equality by shifting part of the unpaid care workload away from families and facilitating work-life balance.

Recognizing the mental load does not only entail acknowledging the additional work women and mothers do, but also acknowledging the value and the

implications of the mental load for the wider society. As explained by Elson (2017), '[if] no one had children, and took care of families and friends, economies would come to a halt for lack of [labour] force' (p. 54). The emotional and cognitive aspects of unpaid care work are therefore crucial for effective societal outcomes.

In addition, as a key component of unpaid care work, the mental load requires and develops a set of skills comparable to those developed in a professional field, such as 'managerial thinking', 'executive oversight' or 'directorial decision making' (Dean, Churchill and Ruppner, 2021, p. 18). For this reason, in the interest of advancing the recognition of unpaid care work, MMM continues to advocate for a better recognition of the **soft skills** developed through the unpaid work of caring for a child (MMM, 2022⁹). Although these soft skills 'contribute to social inclusion, personal development, empowerment and employability', they are dismissed in professional settings (MMM, 2022, p. 16¹⁰).

Strategies to **reduce** and **redistribute** the mental load call for **policy changes** related to unpaid care work. After conducting a survey on work-life balance (MMM France "Donnons la parole aux mères", 2020¹¹)

⁶BNB Blog (2022) *Télétravail: Une Arme à Double Tranchant pour le Femmes?*, available online: <https://www.nbb.be/fr/blog/teletravail-une-arme-double-tranchant-pour-les-femmes> (Accessed: 26th April 2022).

⁷GatesNotes (2022) *Two Superpowers We Wish We Had*, available online: <https://www.gatesnotes.com/2016-Annual-Letter> (Accessed: 26th April 2022).

⁸ Make Mothers Matter (2022) *The European Care Strategy: The Right Time to Place Mothers Centre Stage*, Policy Paper, pp. 1-24.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Make Mothers Matter France (2020) Résultats de l'Enquête "Donnons la Parole aux Mères", <https://mmmfrance.org/presentation-des-resultats-de-notre-enquete-a-la-mairie-de-versailles/> (Accessed: 26th April 2022).

MMM was able to identify a number of social structures that needed adjusting to **promote a more flexible lifestyle for mothers:**

- a. Increasing maternal paid leave to a minimum of 18 months;
- b. Facilitating parental leave for fathers through well compensated leave entitlements;
- c. Providing accessible, good quality, and affordable childcare services;
- d. And supporting measures that encourage flexible working arrangements (MMM, 2022¹²)



Therefore, to adjust the inequalities surrounding the mental load, governments should focus on policies surrounding 'gender equality, work-life balance, support to children, access to the labour market, healthcare as well as [...] long-term care' (Schmit, 2021, p. 4). For instance, care-providing institutions should be adapted and redesigned to provide for the needs of working parents (Elson, 2020). Care services for children should be publicly provided until the age of 18 and

scheduled around parents' working hours (Elson, 2020). Governments with an ageing population should invest in 'non-medical care services for frail [older persons]' (Elson, 2020, p. 57). Managers and business leaders should receive training on the mental load (Dean, Churchill and Ruppner, 2021).

Changing parental, care-giving, and work-related social structures would enable the development of a new work culture. A corporate ethos that supports the equal distribution of parental responsibility amongst genders, that values parental skills on the market, that respects personal time management, and that understands that high performance and productivity is unlikely to take place at the same time for every employee will help reduce gender inequality and promote an opportune work-life balance.

b. Measuring the mental load

Self-reported and qualitative

Unpaid care work is most often collected through Time Use Surveys, which measure 'the amount of time people spend doing various activities [including] paid work, household and family care, personal care, voluntary work, social life, travel, and leisure activities' (Eurostat, 2019). Because the mental load often takes place simultaneously alongside practical work, it is often overlooked and invisible, and therefore hardly (or under) reported.

¹² Make Mothers Matter (2022) *The European Care Strategy: The Right Time to Place Mothers Centre Stage*, Policy Paper, pp. 1-24.

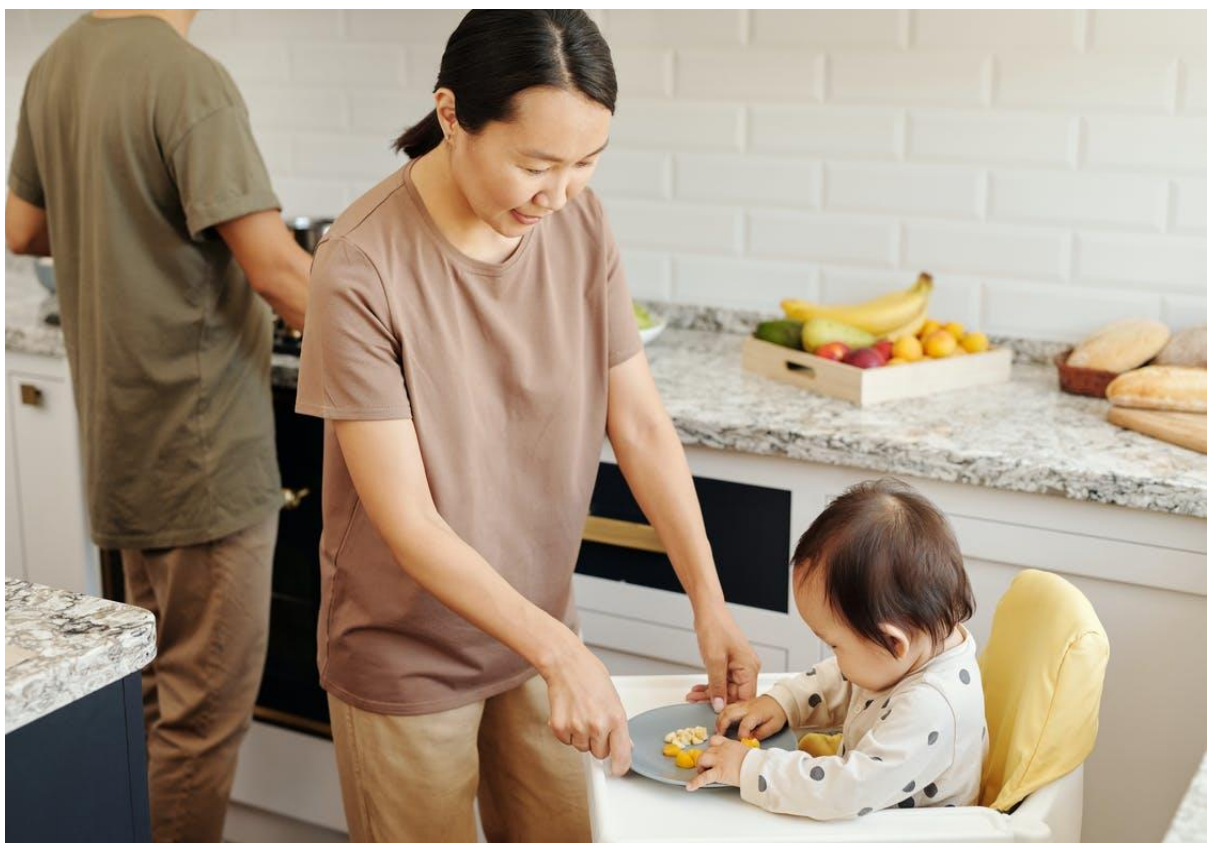
However, by measuring the mental load governments can help **reduce the gender inequality of unpaid care work**, as well as **limit the risks of mental overloads**. Raising awareness of the mental load is therefore preliminary to collecting official data.

Most often, mothers and other concerned individuals, are not entirely aware of the full extent of the mental load that they carry (definition, inequality, risks...). In her book *T'as Pensé à...? Guide d'Autodéfense sur la Charge Mentale*, Coline Charpentier suggests dissecting in the form of a list the number of micro-tasks that occur behind every unpaid care activity (See Figure 5). This type of exercise can help demonstrate the multifaceted efforts and the simultaneity between the physical, the cognitive, and the emotional undertakings that occur during unpaid care work. Moreover, individuals are more likely to

comprehend and recognize the extent of the mental load by illustrating the micro-tasks that occur within their own households.

To this day, governments have still not developed efficient indicators to measure the mental load. However, 'the mental load is *productive work* [for the economy] and should be quantified' (Dean, Churchill and Ruppner, 2021, p. 23). As a result, efforts to collect data on unpaid care work need to be extended to include the mental load.

Recognizing the objectives of measuring the mental load can assist in developing relevant and efficient indicators. For instance, **reducing the gender inequality of unpaid care work** highlights the importance of measuring **the average time spent between genders on planning and**



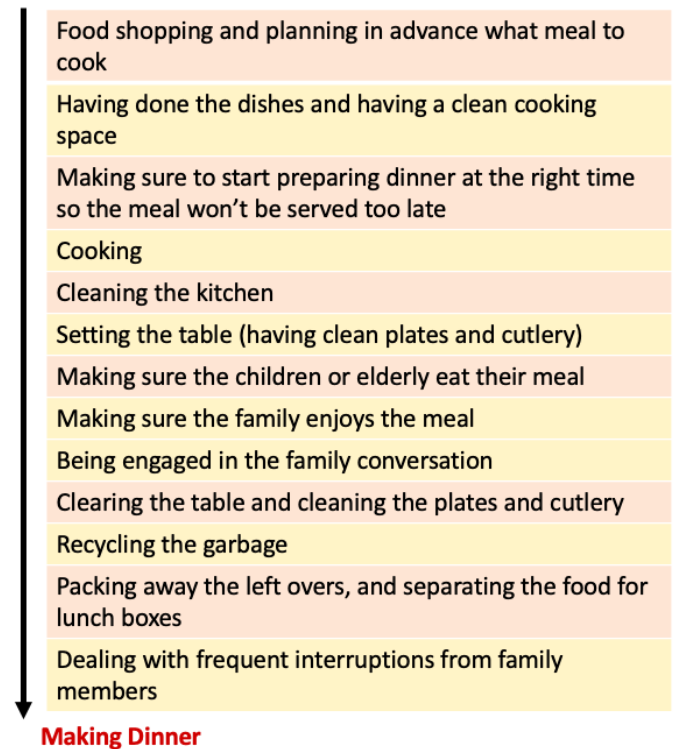
organising essential standard household activities. These activities would be selected based around the unpaid care working activities that generally occur in most households, such as making dinner, doing laundry, cleaning bathrooms, or helping children with their homework. Organizing the questions around different activities would make it easier for the respondents to reflect and deduce more accurately the time spent ‘planning’, ‘organising’, and ‘thinking ahead’.

For example:

How many hours a week do you spend planning the menu for the week?
How many hours a week do you spend planning to do laundry?
How many hours a week do you spend organizing when to pick up the kids from school?
How many hours a week do you spend comforting members of the household?
How many hours a week do you spend organizing your children’s extra-curricular activities?
How many hours of the week do you spend on the phone to your children?

Limiting the risks of a mental overload is another important objective government should keep in mind when collecting data. This objective calls for a collection of data measuring **self-perceived stress and wellbeing while accomplishing the mental load.** Questions about perceived experiences while accomplishing the mental load can help identify overwhelmed individuals.

Figure 5: The micro-tasks involved in making dinner (Charpentier, 2020, p. 117)



For example:

Do you feel overwhelmed by household/care work?
Do you feel supported by your partner to manage/organise household/care work?
Do you feel supported in your professional environment to manage/organise household/care work?
Do you feel like you have sufficient leisure time to switch off?
Do you feel anxious before going to sleep because of household/care work?
Do you feel anxious when waking up because of household/care work?
Do you feel like you're often planning and thinking ahead?

Furthermore, research should also be conducted to understand the correlation between the mental overload and maternal burnouts, the mental load and post-natal depression, and the mental load and maternal depression. For example, researchers have found that emotional exhaustion, depersonalisation, and personal accomplishments critically influence maternal burnout outcomes (Wharton and Erickson, 1995). Collecting data on the impact of the mental load on these three elements would therefore demonstrate the considerable risks mothers are exposed to, as well as highlight the relevance of reducing the inequalities surrounding unpaid care work.

Collecting data on the mental load should be 'a standard battery in major research survey to provide an accurate measurement of who carries the mental load, how it is experienced, and how it varies across social and demographic groups ([...] race, class and gender') (Dean, Churchill and Ruppner, 2021, p. 23). However, governments must first prioritise raising awareness and knowledge of the mental load to be able to collect accurate data. The topic of the mental load should be made more tangible and explicit throughout households. Failure to bring the mental load into public agendas will continue to leave women and mothers vulnerable.

Referencing list:

Andrew, A. et al (2020) *How Are Mothers and Fathers Balancing Work and Family Under Lockdown?*, Institute of Fiscal Studies, available online: <https://ifs.org.uk/uploads/BN290-Mothers-and-fathers-balancing-work-and-life-under-lockdown.pdf> (Accessed: 26th of March 2022).

Ashforth, B. and Humphrey, R. H. (1993) 'Emotional Labor in Services Roles: The Influence of Identity', *The Academy of Management Review*, 18(1), pp. 88-115.

BNB Blog (2022) *Télétravail: Une Arme à Double Tranchant pour le Femmes?*, available online: <https://www.nbb.be/fr/blog/teletravail-une-arme-double-tranchant-pour-les-femmes> (Accessed: 26th April 2022).

Carillo, K. and al (2021) 'Adjusting to Epidemic-Induced Telework: Empirical Insight from Teleworkers in France', *European Journal of Information Systems*, 30(1), pp. 69-88.

Charpentier, C. (2020) *T'as Pensé À...? Guide D'Autodéfense Sur La Charge Mentale*, Paris: Librairie Générale Française.

Daminger, A. (2019) 'The Cognitive Dimension of Household Labor', *American Sociological Review*, 84(4), pp. 609-633.

Dean, L., Churchill, B. and Ruppner, L. (2021) 'The Mental Load: Building a Deeper Theoretical Understanding of How Cognitive and Emotional Labor Overload Women and Mothers', *Community, Work and Family*, 25(1), pp. 13-29.

Deutsche Welle (DW) (2020) *Germany with Massive Shortage in Day Care Spots, Study Finds*, available online at: <https://www.dw.com/en/germany-with-massive-shortage-in-day-care-spots-study-finds/a-55232526> (Accessed: 26th April 2022).

Elson, D. (2017) 'Recognize, Reduce, and Redistribute Unpaid Care Work: How to Close the Gender Gap', *New Labour Forum*, 26(2), pp. 52-61.

Eurostat (2019) *Time Use Surveys (tus)*, Eurostat and The Statistical Office of the European Union, available online: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/cache/metadata/en/tus_esms.htm (Accessed: 26th April 2022).

GatesNotes (2022) *Two Superpowers We Wish We Had*, available online: <https://www.gatesnotes.com/2016-Annual-Letter> (Accessed: 26th April 2022).

Hoshschild, A. R. (2012) *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling*, University of California Press.

Hubert, S. and Anjoulat, I. (2018) 'Parental Burnout: When Exhausted Mothers Open Up', *Frontiers in Psychology*, available online: <https://www.frontiersin.org/articles/10.3389/fpsyg.2018.01021/full> (Accessed: 26th April 2022).

International Labour Organization (2018) *Care Work and Care Jobs for the Future of Decent Work*, Geneva: International Labour Organization.

Make Mothers Matter (2022) *The European Care Strategy: The Right Time to Place Mothers Centre Stage*, Policy Paper, pp. 1-24.

Make Mothers Matter (2022) *Mothers' Unpaid Family Care Work: Vital But Invisible and Unrecognized*, Available online at: <https://makemothersmatter.org/roles-of-action/mothers-and-the-economy/unpaid-family-care-work-vital-but-invisible-and-unrecognised/> (Accessed: 27th April 2022).

Make Mothers Matter (2020) Présentations des Résultats de notre Enquête "Donnons la Parole aux Mères", available online: <https://mmmfrance.org/presentation-des-resultats-de-notre-enquete-a-la-mairie-de-versailles/> (Accessed: 26th April 2022).

Mann, S. (2005) 'A Health-Care Model of Emotional Labour: An Evaluation of the Literature and Development of a Model', *Journal of Health Organization and Management*, 17(1), pp. 304-317.

Make Mothers Matter (2019) *Maternal Depression and Burnout Must be Acknowledged and Addressed – Also For Early Childhood Development*, available online at: <https://makemothersmatter.org/maternal-depression-and-burnout-must-be-acknowledged-and-addressed-also-for-early-childhood-development/> (Accessed: 26th April 2022).

Miranda, V. (2011) 'Cooking, Caring and Volunteering: Unpaid Work Around the World', OECD Social, *Employment and Migration Working Papers*, 116, OECD Publishing.

Morini, C. (2007) 'The feminization of labour in cognitive capitalism', *Feminist Review*, 87, pp. 40-59.

OECD (2021), *Teleworking in the COVID-19 pandemic: Trends and Prospects*, available online: <https://www.oecd.org/coronavirus/policy-responses/teleworking-in-the-covid-19-pandemic-trends-and-prospects-72a416b6/> (Accessed: 26th April 2022).

Roskam, I., Brianda, M. and Mikolajczak, M. (2018) 'A Step Forward in the Conceptualization and Measurement of Parental Burnout: The Parental Burnout Assessment', *Frontiers in Psychology*, available online: <https://www.frontiersin.org/articles/10.3389/fpsyg.2018.00758/full> (Accessed: 26th April 2022).

Schmit, N. (2021) 'Public Hearing of the Committee on Women's Rights and Gender Equality (FEMM) on 'Enhancing gender equality through common European action on care'', European Parliament, available online: <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/cmsdata/241514/Speech%20Schmit.pdf> (Accessed: 26th April 2022).

The Brussels Times (2016) *International Day of Families: Majority of Children Under-Three in EU Still Lacking Formal Child Care*, available online at: <https://www.brusselstimes.com/news/eu-affairs/37572/international-day-of-families-majority-of-children-under-three-in-eu-still-lacking-formal-child-care> (Accessed: 26th April 2022).

The Guardian (2004) *Healthier Meals on the Way for School Canteens*, available online at: <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2004/sep/06/schools.food> (Accessed: 26th April 2022).

United Nations (2020) 'World's Women 2020 – Heavier Loads of Unpaid Work Keep Women Out of the Labour Market', *United Nations: Department of Economic and Social Affairs*, available online: <https://www.un.org/en/desa/world's-women-2020-heavier-loads-unpaid-work-keep-women-out-labour-market> (Accessed: 18 March 2022).

Wharton, A. S. and Erickson, R. J. (1995) 'The Consequences of Caring: Exploring the Links between Women's Job and Family Emotion Work', *The Sociological Quarterly*, 36(2), pp. 273-296.