



# Kent Academic Repository

**Milkie, Melissa, Chung, Heejung and Jaga, Ameeta (2023) *Work-Family Justice - Meanings and Possibilities: Introduction to the Work and Family Researchers Network Special Issue*. Community, Work & Family, 26 (5). pp. 525-542. ISSN 1366-8803.**

## Downloaded from

<https://kar.kent.ac.uk/104091/> The University of Kent's Academic Repository KAR

## The version of record is available from

<https://doi.org/10.1080/13668803.2023.2275975>

## This document version

Author's Accepted Manuscript

## DOI for this version

## Licence for this version

UNSPECIFIED

## Additional information

## Versions of research works

### Versions of Record

If this version is the version of record, it is the same as the published version available on the publisher's web site. Cite as the published version.

### Author Accepted Manuscripts

If this document is identified as the Author Accepted Manuscript it is the version after peer review but before type setting, copy editing or publisher branding. Cite as Surname, Initial. (Year) 'Title of article'. To be published in **Title of Journal**, Volume and issue numbers [peer-reviewed accepted version]. Available at: DOI or URL (Accessed: date).

## Enquiries

If you have questions about this document contact [ResearchSupport@kent.ac.uk](mailto:ResearchSupport@kent.ac.uk). Please include the URL of the record in KAR. If you believe that your, or a third party's rights have been compromised through this document please see our [Take Down policy](https://www.kent.ac.uk/guides/kar-the-kent-academic-repository#policies) (available from <https://www.kent.ac.uk/guides/kar-the-kent-academic-repository#policies>).

## **Work-Family Justice - Meanings and Possibilities:**

### **Introduction to the Work and Family Researchers Network Special Issue**

Melissa A. Milkie, Department of Sociology, University of Toronto,

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7772-6614>

Heejung Chung, School of Social Policy, Sociology and Social Research, Division of Law,

Society and Social Justice, University of Kent, Canterbury, UK,

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6422-6119>

Ameeta Jaga, School of Management Studies, University of Cape Town,

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5014-3013>

### **Abstract**

Work-Family Justice is a key organizing concept centering intellectual and policy work that call attention to tensions and challenges in work and family integration, and that highlight key solutions. This special issue extends knowledge about structural, cultural, historical, and political (including geopolitical) oppressions that inform the range of diverse work-family conflict complexities and presents building blocks to sustain healthier work and family lives. Work-family justice allows for safe, decent, and meaningful work, supported care for dependents, and strong family relations through the life course. It addresses inequalities between and across groups and cultures. We build upon earlier rigorous scholarship ascertaining the best supports for a healthy and fulfilled workforce and populace, which can advance equality and profit national wellbeing. The special issue highlights exceptional individual research studies, that -- as a whole -- elevates work-family scholarship and the solutions that can enhance work-family justice.

Keywords: Work-family, Justice, Inequalities, Social Context, Policy, Global North and Global South

## **Introduction: Work-Family Justice – Meanings and Possibilities**

As we rethink paid and unpaid work in a changing world, how will it become more sustainably equitable? How will individuals in diverse family forms fare and what will government and workplace policies that support individuals and communities look like? We are delighted that our June 2022 Work and Family Researchers Network (WFRN) conference in New York City, with the theme of “Work-Family Justice: Practices, Partnerships and Possibilities,” was rich with generative sessions, including Presidential and thematic panels featuring leading scholars and practitioners who interrogated the diverse meanings of work-family justice as well as how it could be practically achieved “on the ground.” An important component of this work is attention to assessing how those embedded in more marginalized positions – from their socioeconomic class, racialized identities, gender, location in colonized nations, and other peripheral statuses – are disadvantaged within the work-life intersection and how structures can become more equitable for all. WFRN continues to focus on inequalities (Chung et al., 2021), and celebrates the work of many diverse scholars through talks in the Virtual Conference Series (VCS) including “How do we incorporate and grow a racial justice lens in work-family scholarship?” “Advancing EDI in work-family research: Bringing marginalized identities to the forefront” and “Work-family justice for LGBTQ+ individuals: Identifying and overcoming barriers to inclusivity in practice and research.” The VCS also included a talk in 2023 by Prof. Claudia Goldin, a recent Nobel Prize in Economics winner for her work on the gender wage gap, and on social change in U.S. women’s career and family lives, a topic tightly linked to Work-Family Justice issues.

The world of work, and its intersection with our family lives, is at a major crossroads. We have witnessed remarkable challenges and changes over the past few years, in part spurred by the COVID-19 pandemic – in the economy and housing (e.g. Columb & Gallent, 2022), technology (e.g., Ollier-Malaterre, 2024), care systems (e.g., World Health

Organization, 2020), and of course, the key realms of work and family themselves (Borg et al., 2022; Chung et al., 2022). Crucial questions about an equitable future of paid work and care remain. As we rethink work, how will we ensure it is equitable (Chung et al., 2022)? How do we expand plural understandings of work (Jaga & Mabaso, 2023)? How will societies forge the best conditions for essential workers (Reid et al., 2021)? What is the future of remote work, the hybrid office, and the four-day work week (e.g., Lewis et al., 2023), and how will it relate to equality? How can work be flexible for all kinds of workers (Chung, 2022)? What kinds of care and other supports will governments and workplaces step up to provide (World Health Organization, 2020)? As work-family scholars and leaders, we are on the front line of observing changes and creating knowledge about what matters at the intersection of these fundamental pillars of people's lives – work and family.

The values of justice and equity at the work-family interface are central to quality of life and civil society and we are interested in possibilities for change. Work-family justice (Collins, 2019) involves making space for everyone to have the opportunities to work and to care in ways that are supported by businesses, government, and their respective policies. In the 2020s, work-family justice ideals have deepened as we recognized and made visible the injustices which thwart individuals and societies. These injustices emerge from a lack of supports or inequitable supports from governments and businesses for the central institution of family (Brinton & Oh, 2019).

In this introduction to the special issue, we articulate key changes in the worlds of work and family, focusing on current inequities, and we align the goals of work-family justice to representing voices more equitably from the Global South. Through exploring the recent debates and developments in these areas, we provide the context in which our special issue articles' contributions can be read. Additionally, we highlight some emerging issues

that are needed in the field of work-family research for us to better meet the goal of work-family justice.

### **Changes in the World of Work – and Work-Family Justice**

There are many factors to consider when thinking about the world of work and the potential changes we expect relevant to work-family justice issues. Developments in the world of work are attributed to the rise in automation and the advancement of technologies such as Artificial Intelligence (AI), and with it, the removal of the demands for certain skills and jobs for workers in the production process (Autor, 2015). Neoliberal economic policies are contributing to an alarming rise in precarity at work relating to job insecurity – namely with temporary contracts and bogus self-employment contracts in platform work such as Deliveroo, Uber, and others (Wood et al., 2019). We see more jobs that do not provide workers security of ample hours at the job, and consequently, income security (Kamerāde & Richardson, 2018; Farina et al., 2020). Some jobs provide sufficient hours, but managers change the shifts quickly and flexibly according to fast-paced changes of consumer demands detected with algorithmic calculations, without consulting workers, removing any control or practicability for workers (Wood et al., 2019). Such unpredictable schedules clash with family and private time schedules and demands, putting severe pressures on families and workers. These are all important factors we can consider when assessing the world of work, all with significant impact on work-family justice, especially when considering its impact on marginalised workers based in their gender, race, socio-economic class, parental and migration status among others.

In addition to these changes, there are three emerging shifts that are of paramount importance to how we think about work-family justice in the future, particularly when rethinking the nature of economic participation in the formal economy. These shifts have the

potential to radically change the way we think about work and gender relations in the future (Chung et al., 2021; Risman & Mooi-Reci, 2021; Schieman et al., 2022; Stevano et al., 2021). First, it is the steep rise in homeworking and hybrid working practices we observe across the world. Second is the change in the perception of essential work, specifically about the notions of care. And finally, closely related to these is the rise in the popularity of the four-day-week and other modes of reduction of the notion of full-time work.

### *Homeworking*

We have seen an unprecedented increase in people working from home. Pre-pandemic times, very few workers were working from home on a regular basis. This rose to close to half the working population working most days at home during the pandemic, and recently stabilizing to around a third of the population working some days at home – although there are variations across occupations and countries (Barrero et al., 2021; Eurofound, 2022). Homeworking can potentially provide workers better work-life balance and work-family integration and opportunities for workers to better engage in paid employment. This is evidenced for mothers (Chung & Van der Horst, 2018; Fuller & Hirsh, 2018), workers with informal care responsibilities and disabled workers (Taylor et al., 2022; Clark, 2000). Recent studies have also found that homeworking has allowed marginalised workers, such as Black and other ethnic minority workers, and LGBTQ+ workers, a safer environment where they have to deal with fewer issues of racism and (micro-) aggressions at work (Future Form, 2022). Marginalised workers are thus better able to partake in the labour market and be more engaged at work.

However, the rise of homeworking can potentially result in negative outcomes for work-family justice. Despite the changes in the general perceptions around flexible working over the pandemic, negative perceptions on homeworkers' commitment, productivity, and

motivation still exist (Crush, 2022). This is partly due to the persistence of the ideal worker norm, where workers being able to enhance their work-life balance through homeworking violates the image of the ideal worker who should have no other responsibility outside of work (Williams et al., 2013; Blair-Loy, 2009). Such stigmatised views against home workers may especially work against marginalised workers, such as mothers and ethnic minorities, as managers and co-workers may already have biases against these workers' work capacity and abilities (Gray, 2019). If marginalised workers are indeed more likely to be stigmatised for homeworking, this may end up exacerbating the inequality patterns in the labour market. Homeworking can also exacerbate traditional gender roles (Chung & Van der Lippe, 2020). Women and other genders may (feel pressured to) do more housework and childcare when working from home to adhere to social norms (Chung & Van der Lippe, 2020; Obioma et al., 2022; West & Zimmerman, 1987). Men may (feel pressured to) carry out more paid work (Chung, 2022) partly to overcome the flexibility stigma and to adhere to their breadwinner roles (Rudman & Mescher, 2013). Having said that, increased involvement of homeworking fathers in childcare and housework was observed during the pandemic (Chung et al., 2021; Petts et al., 2023). This may be due to the sheer increase in childcare demands during this time or possibly due to the decline in stigmatized views against flexible workers during the pandemic. This signifies the potential for homeworking to enhance a more equal division of domestic work when homeworking is normalized (see also, Munsch et al., 2014).

### *Care as essential work*

The pandemic potentially enabled a revaluation of care work as 'essential work'. The importance of care work in our societies was highlighted as many were in 'the frontline in the war against COVID-19' in hospital and social care settings. This revaluation of care work –

both paid and unpaid – was based on the realization of the population that care work is essential for the functioning of society (Stevano et al., 2021). Having to carry out care work during the pandemic lockdown, as formal support networks were closed, also may have shifted views about the ‘low-skilled’ nature of care work, although this was not necessarily true in all countries. Revaluation of care work is especially important for work-family justice. The devaluation of work carried out in female-dominated sectors and occupations (Anker, 1997), and the devaluation of women’s contribution in organizations (Acker, 1990), largely stem from societal devaluing of care work. The devaluation of care work also contributes to persistent unequal divisions of labour in households, where the bulk of care and household responsibility remain on women (Wishart et al., 2019; Eurofound, 2021) as men resist taking part in low-value domestic activities. The revaluation of care work is also important for addressing inequalities at work for ethnic minority and migrant workers. Migrant and ethnic minority workers have historically been those who carried out low-waged, low-valued care work (Hochschild, 2003). They may benefit more when care work is remunerated according to the great societal value it provides to the care receiver as well as their family members.

### *Challenging notions of full-time work*

The final trend is resistance against the work-centric society. Especially since the pandemic, pronounced through social media, there has been a proliferation of trends such as the great resignation, quiet (or even loud) quitting, the lying down movement, anti-work, and lazy-girl jobs. Such trends reflect workers feeling a need to push back against the hustle culture of work devotion, and neoliberal extractive policies (Bal & Doci, 2018). The rise of flexible working and digital technologies has resulted in workers working all the time and everywhere (Chung, 2022). Work has become even more greedy, demanding longer working hours, with increased workload and intensity – resulting in high levels of burn out across the population (Murray, 2020). For example, up to 88% of workers in the United Kingdom (UK)



experienced burnout recently<sup>i</sup> costing the economy £ 28 billion yearly<sup>ii</sup>, with similar patterns observed in other countries like the United States (US) (Pfeffer, 2018). Such rise in burnout among workers can partially explain the recent popularity of the four-day-week, where the full-time working norm is moved from a 40+ hour to a 32-hour/four-day-week, without a reduction of salaries. There have been trials across the world such as the UK, Spain, and other places with positive results (Lewis et al., 2023) although some caution is needed especially with regards to company-level implementations (Mullens & Glorieux, 2022) and assumptions that working long hours equates to productivity and output. The trials show that the core work in organizations can be done in less time, with improved productivity (Lewis et al., 2023). The four-day-week questions the existing notion of ‘the ideal worker’ (Williams, 1999). The ideal worker norm is heavily situated in patriarchal gender roles, where the (male) worker should have no other responsibilities outside of work and should devote themselves only to work, based on the assumption that the (female) partner will be carrying out all reproductive work (Acker, 1990). The four-day-week then is in line with the understanding that gender roles have changed, and with it, the work-family demands of workers. Standard workers now have responsibilities outside of work. The four-day-week questions the notion that work-life balance is at odds with productivity, something which unfortunately is deeply engrained in many organizations and societies around the world. Its proponents understand that a better work-family integration helps to improve productivity at work and that supporting workers’ demands outside of work is pivotal to address to improve productivity within organizations (Kelly et al., 2014). This, however, is also not without problems as studies have shown that when implemented at the company-levels, women may end up working shorter hours whilst men remain in long-hours occupations, which can result in increasing gender inequality patterns both at home and in the labour market (Mullens & Glorieux, 2022).

In sum, there are several changes we can expect from the future of work, that may enhance work-family justice worldwide. However, when not enacted with reflection on our notions of work, the ideal worker, the value of care, or gender roles, they may result in exacerbating injustices.

### **The Changing World of Families – What Does a Just Future Look Like?**

Three features of the changing world of families are central to discuss for work-family justice: (1) an increase in care work, in part based on aging and demographic changes requiring additional elder care across fewer adult children compared to prior generations (Bianchi, 2014); (2) new housing challenges, making work-family justice more difficult (Columb & Gallent, 2022); and (3) more individuals/families migrating for stable work opportunities for themselves and their children, either by choice or being forced by disasters, climate change, or conflicts (Barnes et al., 2022; Black et al., 2011). Each feature needs careful consideration for how scholars can expand research and how policymakers can better understand the lived social problems that must be addressed in order for work-family justice to occur. The gender, class, and racial dimensions of these family changes for inequalities also deserve serious consideration.

#### *Increasing Care Work*

First, taking the long view of families, demographic changes have placed family members in a precarious place in many places in the world, with increased care needs that societies are slow to provide for and workplaces may not recognize (Barnes et al., 2022; Folbre, 2021). Many developed countries face rapidly aging societies, and with lower fertility and longer life expectancies, the ratio of caregivers to care needs within families is shrinking (Bianchi, 2014). Elder care is an increasingly demanding sphere of family life that must be structured by and supported by governments and workplaces. A just system would enable the

individuals closest to the dependent – to the person with disabilities, to the elder, to the child, to be supported. To be economically active, family caregivers need to earn in ways that allow for flexible schedules and need the creative redesign of jobs with the recognition of unpaid care work that is required for a sustainable world (Samtleben and Muller, 2022) .

Multifaceted public, private, and civil society activist systems must offer and support caregiving spaces, both for the very young and the old, and must also be the groundwork as a support to workers at given times over the life course. The increasing home and care demands of families of the future represents a fundamental shift in the needs of societies that must be reconciled with work. Caregivers desire a diversity of different supports and given their essential work, they deserve sustained research and policy attention.

As many prominent scholars have articulated, care must be carefully measured and counted as work (Doucet, 2023; de Laat et al., this volume; Folbre, 2021). In research we often consider measures of the conditions of the work world most carefully, including hours spent, schedule control, supportiveness of supervisors and co-worker relationships and so on. For advancing scholarship, as exemplified by much recent excellent carework scholarship (e.g., Doucet, 2023; Folbre, 2021; Tronto et al., 2023), we must understand the burdens and the benefits of care and the conditions of caregiving and kin relationships, aligned with how we assess them in studies of the workplace. We need to get better at recognizing (Doucet, 2022), and dismantling dominant assumptions of (Jaga, 2020), where the work is, who is doing it, examining both within and between households. Work-family justice means we don't rely only on individual mothers to solve the problems of care (Collins, 2019; Milkie, 2023). We need to remember that care is sometimes provided by those with the fewest resources, people occupying statuses that are considered to matter less in society. Sometimes those who don't have enough rights and decent work conditions -- often caregivers from the Global South -- fill the homes of the wealthier in privileged places (Parreñas 2000). We must

increasingly recognize inequities occurring across these households, cities, and nations. For scholars, measuring care work – both burdens and benefits -- in new ways that build from recent scholarship will continue to be important (Folbre, 2021).

For families of the future to have work-family justice, positive and supportive connections to caring and to the workforce must be envisioned at each stage of the life course. All of us deserve to be cared for, and to have the right to work and care, and to do them simultaneously across the life course (Collins, 2019; Dobrotić, & Blum, 2019; Doucet, 2023). Although not the focus on work-family research, researchers should consider the important period of adolescence, where preparing for trades and careers happen, and where the groundwork for being able to combine work and family in equitable ways is laid out. When young people come together with friends and family to plan their futures as adults, they should have options for envisioning and moving on pathways to safe, decent, and meaningful work that is well compensated and meshes with raising future children and other life demands (Brinton & Oh, 2019). Care work jobs like daycare workers, teachers, and nurses should be much better paid across the world which might simultaneously provide more respect to unpaid workers performing care and to young people wishing to enter these vital fields. For those young people in severe economic or social circumstances, reducing inequalities will potentially allow the gap between their dream of decent work and the likely reality, to be reduced (Brown et al., 2017).

In the adult life stage, planning children and fertility choices should also be supported through the ability to time pregnancies and have optimal care and rest when needed. Once people become parents, workplaces and governments must act where policies are currently weak. The United States, powerful in so many ways, is dead last on providing basics like paid family leave to its population at a crucial time in the life course (<https://www.leavenetwork.org/introducing-the-network/>). Though businesses have stepped

up in recent years, fewer than half of US workers, bifurcated by income level, have any access to paid leave whatsoever upon the birth or adoption of a child (Shabo, 2023). During the unique period of family formation, new parents need time to nurture children and each other. For those with school-age children, schools and workplaces could be much better aligned so that the work of care that schools also do through providing supervision many hours per day, can match up to parents' (work) schedules. For example, workplaces and governments can align to better allow for parents' and other caregivers' availabilities to drop off and pick up children from daycares and school.

At the later stages of the life course, older adults need choices. For some, they want to stay in work that continues to provide financial supports and meaning to them; for other, especially the older old, they need to be able to leave work while maintaining a healthy standard of living. Should they be so privileged to retire from work, how they are treated and respected by the workplace and by their governments in this transition is a central question. Moreover, how middle-old and older old generations are able to be supported through their later years through both paid services and through family members will continue to be an important and central concern in work-family scholarship.

### *Housing*

A second challenge to work-family justice is the instability in and a crisis of decent, safe, and affordable housing (Column & Gallent, 2022; Franklin, 2020). Housing is a fundamental and basic need that makes families secure and allows for workers, their children, and other dependents to be healthy. Housing policies help family formation, work-family reconciliation, and contribute to spaces elders can receive care. Housing will be an increasingly important part of equity across families and should be something increasingly paid attention to by scholars of work and family, who have focused on commute times, but

not housing problems at large. The issues are tightly linked to increasing inequalities, where some workers may have flexible or remote work and can afford not only their own home, but sometimes spend time in desirable locations to work. These, along with massive growth in short-term rentals like Airbnb, can exacerbate difficulties for housing to the detriment of lower-paid workers who must live near their work. The pandemic intensified housing inequalities with the wealthy purchasing properties and shoring up short-term rentals stock, creating a recent housing crunch for young families (Columb & Gallent, 2022). Stable and affordable housing is vital for those who do not have the wealth to buy in the current housing markets; and in where climate and conflicts mean individuals and families struggle for basic needs like housing .

Stable housing is the basis for stable work and family lives and for providing good care for children (Cross et al., 2022). Stable housing is also closely linked to increased migration, discussed below. For example, a recent review article by Caxaj and colleagues (2023) shows the importance of migrant farm workers' housing in their lives. Farm workers who seek to send money back to their families in Mexico and other countries are dependent on employers and communities for decent housing. In a sense, without a stable housing structure, all people, including migrant workers and non-migrants need access to affordable, stable housing. Living precariously without affordable housing options undermines people's ability to work and care in healthy ways.

### *Migration*

Global migration where individuals and families must move for: better work, displacements from war torn lands and natural disasters, and from changing climate, also speak directly to work-family justice concerns. Migrant work shifts the nature of family and household structures, and accordingly precarious workers' care patterns and breadwinning

conceptualizations. These shifts in care work arise either because migrant workers move away from support systems such as family members and communities, or they migrate on their own, leaving their children behind in complex networks of care. These arrangements stretch care work for transnational families across complex geographical boundaries (Stumbitz & Jaga, 2020). For example, older parents often become the primary caregivers for their grandchildren, creating long-distance emotional and material care relationships (e.g., Gu, 2022). In these situations, the child's main connection is with the caregiver rather than the biological parent, and childcare decisions are occasionally made collectively within the community (van Breda & Pinkerton, 2020). Many low-income precarious workers therefore employ distinct and rather complex approaches for earning a living and providing care, setting them apart from their more privileged counterparts, who have greater access to resources that could make combining work and family easier. For example, such care work includes sending money home to sustain family members left in home countries or managing different time zones when providing care across provinces or countries

Work-family justice has no basis when survival is threatened. Where migrants have left or been forced out to find better work, that work must be safe and compensated well. Migrants and especially refugees deserve quality pathways to citizenship along with the work they and their family members take up (Caxaj et al., 2023). For migrant families, challenges in being distant geographically may be mitigated somewhat by technologies, but only if those technologies are easily accessible and affordable.

In sum, how families' care needs, housing, and migration processes are changing in the 2020s poses challenges for work-family reconciliation and justice. Now more than ever, workplace and government policies are needed to support the work of family care, and the basics such as housing for native and migrant families to be able to be healthy at work and healthy at home.

## **Changing Work-Family Contexts of the Global South and North**

Insufficient attention has been paid in existing work-family scholarship to the material conditions and lived realities of those at the margins of society (Jaga & Ollier-Malaterre, 2022). This calls not only for more studies on those who hold marginal status, but also for new framings, conceptualizations, and vocabularies to broaden theory on holistic and contextualized perspectives to be more representative, while contributing to more dignified lives and livelihoods for a large proportion of workers across the globe. Hence to advance work-family justice globally, we must broaden our focus beyond white-collar work, middle class lives, and nuclear family structures as universal experiences (Jaga & Ollier-Malaterre, 2022). Work-family policies are intricately connected to global processes as they often reflect and respond to broader economic and political trends. Across the Global North and Global South, economic shifts such as growing inequality and work deregulation, complicate the work-family interface (Simson & Savage, 2020).. Likewise, factors like globalization, advancing technology, and evolving governance models, create global economic challenges that are reshaping organizational structures, increasing work insecurity (Bakker et al., 2016). Consequently, low-income and precarious workers are rising both in the Global South and North; however reduced state interventions, cuts in social safety nets, and institutionalized care programs are more severe in Global South contexts, exacerbating inequalities and vulnerabilities in these regions.

Fairer representation in work-family scholarship includes centering the realities of low-income and precarious workers that may be in informal and irregular paid work characterised by financial instability from employment insecurity, including labour, gig work (app or non-



app based) (Woodcock & Graham, 2019) or paid domestic work (Banerjee & Wilks, 2022), and where quite often people migrate for such work. Migrant precarious workers are either those from developing Global South countries searching for a better life in their resettlement countries (Abkhezr & McMahon, 2022), those who are ‘South-South’ migrant workers — who are growing as western economies shift production facilities to developing countries (Sambajee & Scholarios, 2023), and those who migrate from rural to urban centres in their same country, away from their families, for work opportunities. The resulting precarious work arrangements tend to uphold capitalism in the Global North and urban centres, extracting low wage labour from a large supply of mostly Global South workers.

However, complexities of care across geographical boundaries are not limited to precarious migrant workers, but also affect migrant professionals and the growing number of digital nomads. Interestingly, digital nomads often choose locations in low to middle-income countries to maximize their privileges because these locations offer cost-effective living expenses such as accommodation and services. The relative affordability and quality of life in these countries can amplify their financial resources and personal well-being, creating a favorable environment for remote work and lifestyle. This choice, however, can create conflicts between their pursuit of leisure and their responsibilities to distant family members (Thompson, 2019).

These intricate examples of work-family arrangements support the argument that work-family research focusing primarily on the nuclear families and formal work structures are insufficient. While female-headed households are prevalent in sub-Saharan Africa because of migration, war, and colonial legacies, in Northern countries, factors such as increased family diversity including multiparent families, LGBTQ+ families (Kaufman et al., 2022), and single parenting from rising divorce rates e.g., in Germany (Obioma et al., 2022)), require new work-family conceptualizations, including that of breadwinner. It is important to

therefore approach work-family studies with attention to contextual complexities, to avoid depicting migrant workers as homogeneous.

Despite an established scholarship on context in fields such as sociology (e.g., Connell, 2014), feminist studies (e.g., Allen & Jaramillo-Sierra, 2015), and development studies (e.g., Banerjee and Wilks, 2022), the work-family field continues to pay insufficient attention to the material and social context for understanding racial, gendered, and social class disparities in work-family experiences. Hence recognition that these experiences are tied to wider structural and power dynamics, such as those of historical legacies of colonialism, and systems of patriarchy and inequality (Sambajee & Scholarios, 2023) are urgently needed to enable work-family justice. Should we as scholars hesitate to capture such contextual complexity, we may silence some voices, and makes certain people lives invisible, deepening injustice. For example, women are typically over-represented in domestic labour, service work, and other care work positions. Private homes tend to serve as spaces where domestic workers experience subordination, often with limited labour protections. This can lead to exploitation and trauma for undocumented migrants. Even in executive roles with labour protections, highly educated middle-class women worldwide still face gendered subordination and stereotypes, as they are often expected to handle more emotional labour and people-related tasks due to their perceived suitability for displaying tact and care (Kabeer & Santos, 2017).

Work-family justice requires our urgent attention as scholars across the globe to focus on the intricate contextual factors, recognizing the diversity within the social environment and a deep consideration of location to generate diverse insights that can contribute to the global literature on the work-family interface.

## Special Issue Article Highlights

Much important work was presented at the 2022 WFRN Conference. In our special issue, we are only able to showcase a very small portion of the work of scholars and leaders in the field. We highlight five articles, a combination of research papers and a ‘Voices’ article, that address some of the key emerging issues with regards to achieving and defining work-family justice, in this special issue. Conceptually, Caitlyn Collins, Ameeta Jaga, Nancy Folbre, M. Rosario Castro Bernardini, Sherry Leiwant, Vicki Shabo, Melissa A. Milkie & Janet Gornick (2023) clearly highlight the scholarly importance of understanding the meaning of the term “justice” for work and family interconnections. They further demonstrate how, practically speaking, we can work for work-family justice “on the ground.” This piece integrates the voices of multiple authors who served on Presidential panels at the conference. Each has a unique take which helps to extend our understandings of the work-family justice issues at hand.

Building on these ideas, the article “More than employment policies? Parental leaves, flexible work and fathers’ participation in unpaid care work” by Kim de Laat, Andrea Doucet & Alyssa Gerhardt (2023), underscores how one crucial goal we need to achieve as a part of achieving work-family justice, is enabling parents of all genders to better contribute to the caring of children and other family members. Despite the development of paternity leaves in the past decade to meet this goal (Koslowski et al., 2021), in most countries, care work, especially caring for children, remains gendered, with women carrying out the large bulk of care work. The gendered nature of care is not necessarily due to fathers’ resistance in taking part in childcare and other domestic roles. Many fathers want to be more involved (Chung et al., 2020; Parker & Wang, 2013), but face barriers due to cultural stigmas around take up of leaves and other family-friendly arrangements. For men, taking up leave and other family-friendly arrangements may result in a femininity stigma (Rudman & Mescher, 2013) – that is

when men take up family-friendly arrangements, it makes them deviate away from both the ideal worker image and the masculine breadwinner image (see also, Kelland et al., 2022).

De Laat et al (2023) examine how parental leaves and flexible working policies help fathers engage more in childcare in Canada during the pandemic. The Canadian context provides the authors an interesting case study, where parental leave take up for fathers is limited due to the policy design. Using data collected during the COVID-19 pandemic, they explore how the take up of parental leave, flexible schedules, and homeworking shaped the division of direct and indirect care tasks between heterosexual couples. A key contribution of this work is their conceptualization of care. Following Folbre's (2021) notion of care, they argue that housework is a form of indirect care, as housework supports care and makes direct care work possible. Their empirical results suggest that taking up (longer) leaves and flexible schedules may allow fathers to be involved in both direct and indirect care. As we have discussed in the previous section, the results of this paper also evidence how we cannot rely on single policy measure but need a more careful consideration of a number of different policy tools in combination. Citing the works of Chung (2022), Laat et al. (2023) argue that flexible working policies alone cannot be a solution to this problem and that governments need to actively engage in supporting fathers take up of leave provisions. Further, they argue, there needs to be removal of barriers in the take up of leaves as well as flexible working arrangements for care purposes, especially for fathers.

Supporting fathers' take up of existing policies is a topic also explored in the paper "What do prospective parents know about family welfare incentives? Evidence from Hungary and the United States" by Erica Mildner (2023). This article uses semi-structured interviews of 26 prospective parents from Budapest (Hungary) and (primarily) New York (U.S.) to explore their knowledge of family welfare. The two country cases provide the author with an interesting comparison, as the two countries share similarities regarding the national cultural

and policy contexts, but distinct in key elements of family welfare policies. Hungary not only has a more generous level of child benefits and national parental leaves, but also the Orban government also introduced a series of policies that were specifically geared to push families to have more children. On the contrary, the U.S. falls behind significantly especially when considering federal level policies although there are large variations across companies in the provision of family policies. The results show how the Hungarian sample, both men and women, had a good understanding of the existing policies, especially with regards to the benefits they can receive when they have more children. Their knowledge was linked to the on-going political debates on the issue as well as the public campaigns. On the other hand, not only was there a lack of such knowledge among the American interviewees, the authors found a clearer gender gap in the knowledge. This paper evidences how there are deeply engrained gendered assumptions around whose responsibility it is to not only carry out but also think about child rearing and child bearing. In fact, one of the key contribution of this paper is that it provides evidence of how the gender inequality in the mental load of household and family management starts even before childbirth and even before family formation (see also, Dean et al., 2022). What is more, as Mildner (2023) argues, this inequality pattern emerges especially in countries where there is a complexity of family policy infrastructure due to the lack of government level policy provision. The lack of national level policies leaves the brunt of the planning and understanding of the complex company/local level policies to women, further adding to their mental load burden.

Continuing the theme on care, gender, and equitable policy, the article “Beyond the womb: A mosaic of organizational advocacy for reproductive justice,” by Nicole Dillard & Taylor Cavallo (2023) emphasizes the need to broaden the definition of reproductive justice beyond a focus on abortion. The authors advocates for a return to the origins of reproductive justice to reflect a more holistic understanding of reproductive rights. They promote a

Comprehensive Framework for Reproductive Justice (CFRJ) informed by Black feminist epistemologies and highlighting four central tenets: personal bodily autonomy, the right to have or not have children, parenting in safe communities, and birthing or parenting with dignity. The paper explores how organizations have supported reproductive justice during significant socio-political moments, including the pathway to marriage equality, immigration policies, and the COVID-19 pandemic, illustrating the complex experiences of employees with intersecting identities.

Dillard and Carvallo acknowledge structural determinants that affect choices. Advocating for greater representativity in reproductive justice topics and the populations that it affects through their intersecting identities, they highlight the value of organisations, scholars and practitioners leveraging intersectional Black feminist epistemology in their efforts to create inclusive and equitable work environments. They propose pathways to engage more intentionally to protect reproductive health through multiple actors' powerful capacity for leadership, and to serve employees more fully through recognising the complexities of intersecting identities.

The final article "Pandemic impacts, cultural conflicts and moral dilemmas among faculty at a Hispanic-serving research university" by Mary Blair-Loy, Stephen Reynders, Beth Mitchneck, Avesta Baraki, Rebecca Lewison & John Crockett (2023) extends frameworks that considers intersectional identities and equitable policies by examining the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic among STEM faculty. The research highlights the tension between three culturally constructed commitments: the professional culture's demand for research, intensified mothering demands due to caregiving responsibilities at home, and a sense of increased responsibility towards students who are disproportionately Latinx and first-generation college students, many of whom faced higher health and financial risks. The article introduces the concept of "cultural schemas" and analyzes the moral judgments related

to the intensified work-work conflicts in work devotion, scientific excellence, mentoring and teaching in times of crisis, creating a heightened awareness of injustices concerning students and faculty and highlighting how these moral dilemmas reinforce inequalities among faculty. Blair-Loy and colleagues also show that mothers experienced amplified challenges, leading to reduced research hours, declines in article submissions, and widening gender gaps in scholarly production. The gendered decline in research output was most notable among mid-career women. The authors call for policy interventions that address these disparities, including those for Hispanic-Serving Institutions (HSIs) to better support students and faculty who support underrepresented students.

### **Conclusion: Toward Work-Family Justice**

We live in a time where we have experienced profound changes in how we work, big demographic and structural changes linked to family life, and an increasing attention to issues of those more marginalized in society, including by racialization and class, and location in the world. In such a context, the issues around work-family justice not only present themselves as important issues we need to address to achieve equity, but also a concept we need to reconsider and redefine to fit to the changes we see in our world today. Building from our previous special issue (Chung et al., 2022), where we called for new ways to carry out research to incorporate diverse voices, this special issue of the Work and Family Researchers Network aimed to both highlight emerging issues in work-family justice and to focus on continued problems in the field. Through presenting five selected exceptional papers from our 2022 conference, we illuminate the best in work-family research. We invite you to reflect on the meanings and possibilities of work-family justice through the contributions of the articles in this special issue. We hope that altogether, our scholarship moves toward underscoring issues that are linked to work-family justice for all.

## References

- Abkhezr, P., & McMahon, M. (2022). The intersections of migration, app-based gig work, and career development: Implications for career practice and research. *International Journal for Educational and Vocational Guidance*, 1-19.
- Acker, J. (1990). Hierarchies, jobs, bodies: A theory of gendered organizations. *Gender & Society*, 4(2), 139-158.
- Allen, K. R., & Jaramillo-Sierra, A. L. (2015). Feminist theory and research on family relationships: *Pluralism and complexity*. *Sex Roles*, 73, 93-99.
- Anker, R. (1997). Theories of occupational segregation by sex: An overview. *International Labour Review*, 136(3), 315-340.
- Autor, D. H. (2015). Why are there still so many jobs? The history and future of workplace automation. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 29(3), 3-30.
- Bakker, R. M., DeFillippi, R. J., Schwab, A., & Sydow, J. (2016). Temporary organizing: Promises, processes, problems. *Organization Studies*, 37(12), 1703-1719.
- Bal, P. M., & Dóci, E. (2018). Neoliberal ideology in work and organizational psychology. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology*, 27(5), 536-548. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1359432X.2018.1449108>
- Banerjee, S., & Wilks, L. (2022). Work in pandemic times: Exploring precarious continuities in paid domestic work in India. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 1-19, DOI: 10.1111/gwao.12858
- Barnes, S., Michel, S., Kumler, A., and Ramanarayanan, D. (2022). Global health and gender policy brief: migrant workers and their families. The Wilson Center (4), December.
- Barrero, J. M., Bloom, N., & Davis, S. J. (2021). *Why working from home will stick* Washington DC: NBER.
- Bianchi, S. M. (2014). A demographic perspective on family change. *Journal of Family Theory & Review*, 6(1), 35-44.
- Black, R., Adger, W. N., Arnell, N. W., Dercon, S., Geddes, A., & Thomas, D. (2011). The effect of environmental change on human migration. *Global Environmental Change*, 21, S3-S11.
- Blair-Loy, M. (2009). *Competing devotions: Career and family among women executives*. Harvard University Press.
- Blair-Loy, M., Reynders, S., Mitchneck, B., Baraki, A., Lewison, R. & Crockett, J. (2023) Pandemic impacts, cultural conflicts and moral dilemmas among faculty at a Hispanic-serving research university, *Community, Work & Family*, 26:5, 626-649, DOI: 10.1080/13668803.2023.2271644
- Borg, A., den Dulk, L., Lewis, S., & Santos, C. (2020) Community, work and family in diverse contexts and changing times, *Community, Work & Family*, 23(5), 497-502.
- Brinton, M. C., & Oh, E. (2019). Babies, work, or both? Highly educated women's employment and fertility in East Asia. *American Journal of Sociology*, 125(1), 105-140.
- Brown, T., Scrase, T. J., & Ganguly-Scrase, R. (2017). Globalised dreams, local constraints: migration and youth aspirations in an Indian regional town. *Children's Geographies*, 15(5), 531-544.
- Carrell, S. (2023, 4th September 2023). Scottish government plans trial of four-day week in civil service. *The Guardian*.
- Caxaj C.S., Weiler A.M., & Maniuk J. (2023). Housing conditions and health implications for migrant agricultural workers in Canada: A scoping review. *Canadian Journal of Nursing Research*. 10.1177/08445621231203086



- Chung, H. (2022). *The Flexibility Paradox: Why flexible working can lead to (self-)exploitation*. Policy Press.
- Chung, H., Birkett, H., Forbes, S., & Seo, H. (2021). Covid-19, flexible working, and implications for gender equality in the United Kingdom. *Gender & Society*, 35(2), 218-232. <https://doi.org/10.1177/08912432211001304>
- Chung, H., Jaga, A., & Lambert, S. (2022). Possibilities for change and new frontiers: introduction to the Work and Family Researchers Network special issue on advancing equality at work and home. *Community, Work & Family*, 1-12. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13668803.2022.2008057>
- Chung, H., & Van der Horst, M. (2018). Women's employment patterns after childbirth and the perceived access to and use of flexitime and teleworking. *Human Relations*, 71(1), 47-72. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0018726717713828>
- Chung, H., & Van der Lippe, T. (2020). Flexible working work life balance and gender equality: Introduction. *Social Indicators Research*, 151(2), 365-381. <https://doi.org/DOI: 10.1007/s11205-018-2025-x>
- Clark, S. C. (2000). Work/family border theory: A new theory of work/family balance. *Human Relations*, 53(6), 747-770.
- Collins, C. (2019). *Making motherhood work: How women manage careers and caregiving*. Princeton University Press.
- Caitlyn C., Jaga, A., Folbre, N., Castro Bernardini, M. R., Leiwant, S., Shabo, V., Milkie, M.A. & Gornick, J. (2023) Work-family justice: its meanings and its implementation, *Community, Work & Family*, 26:5, 543-561, DOI: 10.1080/13668803.2023.2272571
- Colomb, C., & Gallent, N. (2022) Post-COVID-19 mobilities and the housing crisis in European urban and rural destinations. Policy challenges and research agenda, *Planning Practice & Research*, 37(5), 624-641.
- Connell, R. (2011). Gender and social justice: Southern perspectives. *South African Review of Sociology*, 42(3), 103-115.
- Cristea, I. C., & Leonardi, P. M. (2019). Get noticed and die trying: Signals, sacrifice, and the production of face time in distributed work. *Organization Science*, 30(3), 552-572.
- Cross, S., Bywaters, P., Brown, P., & Featherstone, B. (2022). Housing, homelessness and children's social care: Towards an urgent research agenda. *The British Journal of Social Work*, 52(4), 1988-2007.
- Crush, P. (2022, 8th March 2022). Flexible work stigma still an obstacle in UK. *HR magazine*.
- Dean, L., Churchill, B., & Ruppanner, L. (2022). The mental load: building a deeper theoretical understanding of how cognitive and emotional labor over load women and mothers. *Community, Work & Family*, 25(1), 13-29.
- de Laat, K., Doucet, A. & Gerhardt, A. (2023) More than employment policies? Parental leaves, flexible work and fathers' participation in unpaid care work, *Community, Work & Family*, 26:5, 562-584, DOI: 10.1080/13668803.2023.2271646
- Dillard, N. & Cavallo, T. (2023) Beyond the womb: a mosaic of organizational advocacy for reproductive justice, *Community, Work & Family*, 26:5, 607-625, DOI: 10.1080/13668803.2023.2277119
- Dobrotić, I., & Blum, S. (2019). A social right? Access to leave and its relation to parents' labour market position. In *Parental leave and beyond* (pp. 261-280). Policy Press.
- Doucet, A. (2022). "Time is not time is not time": A feminist ecological approach to clock time, process time, and care responsibilities. *Time & Society*, 0961463X221133894.
- Doucet, A. (2023). Care is not a tally sheet: rethinking the field of gender divisions of domestic labour with care-centric conceptual narratives. *Families, Relationships and Societies*, 12(1), 10-30.

- Eurofound. (2022). *Working Conditions in the Time of COVID-19: Implications for the future*. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union.
- Farina, E., Green, C., & McVicar, D. (2020). Zero hours contracts and their growth. *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 58(3), 507-531.
- Folbre, N. (2021). Quantifying Care: Design and Harmonization Issues in Time-Use Surveys. *Mexico City: United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women, UN Women*.
- Franklin, S. (2020). Enabled to work: The impact of government housing on slum dwellers in South Africa. *Journal of Urban Economics*, 118, 103265.
- Fuller, S., & Hirsh, C. E. (2018). "Family-Friendly" jobs and motherhood pay penalties: The impact of flexible work arrangements across the educational ppectrum. *Work and Occupations*, 46(1), 3-44.
- Future Form. (2022). *Leveling the playing field in the hybrid workplace* online: Future Forum/Slack.
- Gray, A. (2019). The bias of 'professionalism' standards. *Stanford Social Innovation Review*, June 2019. [https://ssir.org/articles/entry/the\\_bias\\_of\\_professionalism\\_standards](https://ssir.org/articles/entry/the_bias_of_professionalism_standards)
- Gu, X. (2022). Sacrifice and indebtedness: The intergenerational contract in Chinese rural migrant families. *Journal of Family Issues*, 43(2), 509-533.
- Hochschild, A. R. (2003). The nanny chain. *The inequality reader: Contemporary and foundational readings in race, class and gender*, 446-451.
- Jaga, A. (2020). Something new from the South: Community, work, and family in South Africa. *Community, Work & Family*, 23(5), 506-515.
- Jaga, A., & Mabaso, B. (2023). Reimagining work-life balance from Africa: Insights for a renewed human resource management. In H. A. Ajonbadi, C. Mordi, & O. D. Adekoya (Eds.), *Work-Life Balance in Africa: A Critical Approach*. . Palgrave Macmillan.
- Jaga, A., & Ollier-Malaterre, A. (2022). 'You can't eat soap': reimagining COVID-19, work, family and employment from the global south. *Work, employment and society*, 36(4), 769-780.
- Kabeer, N., & Santos, R. (2017). *Intersecting inequalities and the sustainable development goals: Insights from Brazil*. Helsinki: UNU-WIDER. . [www.wider.unu.edu/sites/default/files/Publications/Working-paper/](http://www.wider.unu.edu/sites/default/files/Publications/Working-paper/)
- Kameråde, D., & Richardson, H. (2018). Gender segregation, underemployment and subjective well-being in the UK labour market. *Human Relations*, 71(2), 285-309.
- Kaufman, G., Auðardóttir, A. M., Mazrekaj, D., Pettigrew, R. N., Stambolis-Ruhstorfer, M., Juros, T. V., & Yerkes, M. A. (2022). 23. Are parenting leaves available for LGBTQ parents? Examining policies in Canada, Croatia, France, Iceland, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom. *Research Handbook on Leave Policy: Parenting and Social Inequalities in a Global Perspective*, 325
- Kelland, J., Lewis, D., & Fisher, V. (2022). Viewed with suspicion, considered idle and mocked-working caregiving fathers and fatherhood forfeits. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 29(5), 1578-1593.
- Kelly, E. L., Moen, P., Oakes, J. M., Fan, W., Okechukwu, C., Davis, K. D., Hammer, L. B., Kossek, E. E., King, R. B., Hanson, G. C., Mierzwa, F., & Casper, L. M. (2014). Changing Work and Work-Family Conflict: Evidence from the Work, Family, and Health Network. *American Sociological Review*, 79(3), 485-516.
- Koslowski, A., Blum, S., Dobrotić, I., Kaufman, G., & Moss, P. (2021). *17th International Review on Leave Policies and Related Research 2021*. DOI: 10.18445/20210817-144100-0. Available at: [www.leavenetwork.org/annual-review-reports/review-2021/](http://www.leavenetwork.org/annual-review-reports/review-2021/).

- Lewis, K., Stronge, W., Kellam, J., Kikuchi, L., Schor, J., Fan, W., Kelly, O., Gu, G., Frayne, D., Burchell, B., Hubbard, N. B., White, J., Kamarāde, D., & Mullens, F. (2023). *The Results are in: The UK's Four-day Week Pilot* London: Autonomy.
- Mildner, E. (2023) What do prospective parents know about family welfare incentives? Evidence from Hungary and the United States, *Community, Work & Family*, 26:5, 585-606, DOI: 10.1080/13668803.2023.2268816
- Milkie, M and Wray D. (2023). Beyond mothers' time in childcare: worlds of care and connection in the early life course. *Time & Society*.
- Mullens, F., & Glorieux, I. (2022). Dreams versus reality: wishes, expectations and perceived reality for the use of extra non-work time in a 30-hour work week experiment. *Community, Work & Family*, Online first, 1-27.
- Munsch, C. L., Ridgeway, C. L., & Williams, J. (2014). Pluralistic ignorance and the flexibility bias: Understanding and mitigating flextime and flexplace bias at work. *Work and Occupations*, 41(1), 40-62.
- Murray, N. (2020). *Burnout Britain: Overwork in an Age of Unemployment* October 2020. London: Autonomy. <https://t.co/DjoFwhaDYG?amp=1>
- Obioma, I. F., Jaga, A., Raina, M., Asekun, W. A., & Hernandez Bark, A. S. (2022). Gendered share of housework and the COVID-19 pandemic: Examining self-ratings and speculation of others in Germany, India, Nigeria, and South Africa. *Journal of Social Issues*, 79(3), 907-934
- Ollier-Malaterre, A. (2024). *Living with digital surveillance in China: Citizens' narratives on technology, privacy, and governance*. Routledge.
- Parker, K., & Wang, W. (2013). Modern parenthood. *Pew Research Center's Social & Demographic Trends Project*, 14.
- Parreñas, R.S. (2000). Migrant Filipina domestic workers and the international division of reproductive labor. *Gender & Society*, 14(4), 560-580.
- Petts, R., Andre, S., Carlson, D. L., Chung, H., Milkie, M. A., Remery, C., Scheibling, C., Shafer, K., & Yerkes, M. (2023). Fathers Stepping Up? A Cross-National Comparison of Fathers' Domestic Labor and Parents' Satisfaction with the Division of Domestic Labor During the COVID-19 Pandemic. *Journal of Family Studies*, Online first.
- Pfeffer, J. (2018). *Dying for a paycheck: How modern management harms employee health and company performance—and what we can do about it*. HarperCollins Publishers.
- Reid, A., Ronda-Perez, E. and Schenker, M.B. (2021). Migrant workers, essential work, and COVID-19. *American Journal of Industrial Medicine*, 64(2), pp.73-77.
- Risman, B. J., & Mooi-Reci, I. (2021). The Gendered Impacts of COVID-19: Lessons and Reflections. *Gender & Society*, 35(2), 161-167.
- Rudman, L. A., & Mescher, K. (2013). Penalizing men who request a family leave: Is flexibility stigma a femininity stigma? *Journal of Social Issues*, 69(2), 322-340.
- Sambajee, P., & Scholarios, D. (2023). Migrant worker well-being as a struggle for meaningful work: Evidence from Bangladeshi migrants in a developing country. *Organization*, 30(3), 528-550.
- Samtleben, C., & Müller, K. U. (2022). Care and careers: Gender (in) equality in unpaid care, housework and employment. *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility*, 77, 100659
- Schieman, S., Badawy, P., & Hill, D. (2022). Did perceptions of supportive work-life culture change during the COVID-19 pandemic? *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 84(2), 655-672
- Shabo. (2023). *A Nation of paid family leave have- and have-nots characterizes the United States in 2023: New bureau of labor statistics data on workers' paid family leave access underscores the need for policy change* Washington D.C.: New America:

- Better Life Lab. <https://www.newamerica.org/better-life-lab/blog/bls-family-leave-2023/>
- Simson, R., & Savage, M. (2020). The global significance of national inequality decline. *Third World Quarterly*, 41(1), 20-41.
- Stevano, S., Ali, R., & Jamieson, M. (2021). Essential for what? A global social reproduction view on the re-organisation of work during the COVID-19 pandemic. *Canadian Journal of Development Studies/Revue canadienne d'études du développement*, 42(1-2), 178-199.
- Stumbitz, B., & Jaga, A. (2020). A southern encounter: Maternal body work and low-income mothers in South Africa. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 27(6), 1485-1500.
- Taylor, H., Florisson, R., Wilkes, M., & Holland, P. (2022). *The Changing Workplace: Enabling Disability-Inclusive Hybrid Working* Lancaster: Work Foundation, Lancaster University.
- Thompson, B. Y. (2019). The digital nomad lifestyle:(remote) work/leisure balance, privilege, and constructed community. *International Journal of the Sociology of Leisure*, 2(1-2), 27-42.
- Tronto, J. C., Franzoni, J. M., Siddharth, V., Peng, I., Akosionu, O., Dill, J. S., ... & Kashen, J. (2023). *From Crisis to Catastrophe: Care, COVID, and Pathways to Change*. Rutgers University Press.
- van Breda, A. D. P., & Pinkerton, J. (2020). Raising African voices in the global dialogue on care-leaving and emerging adulthood. *Emerging Adulthood*, 8(1), 6-15.
- West, C., & Zimmerman, D. H. (1987). Doing gender. *Gender & Society*, 1(2), 125-151.
- World Health Organization. Regional Office for the Western Pacific. (2020). Guidance on COVID-19 for the care of older people and people living in long-term care facilities, other non-acute care facilities and home care. WHO Regional Office for the Western Pacific. <https://iris.who.int/handle/10665/331913>. License: CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 IGO
- Williams, J. (1999). *Unbending gender: Why family and work conflict and what to do about it*. Oxford University Press.
- Williams, J., Blair-Loy, M., & Berdahl, J. L. (2013). Cultural schemas, social class, and the flexibility stigma. *Journal of Social Issues*, 69(2), 209-234.
- Wishart, R., Dunatchik, A., Mayer, M., & Speight, S. (2019). *Changing Patterns in Parental Time Use in the UK* London: Natcen. <https://natcen.ac.uk/our-research/research/changing-patterns-in-parental-time-use-and-their-implications-for-parental-wellbeing/>
- Wood, A. J., Graham, M., Lehdonvirta, V., & Hjorth, I. (2019). Good gig, bad gig: autonomy and algorithmic control in the global gig economy. *Work, Employment and Society*, 33(1), 56-75.
- Woodcock, J., & Graham, M. (2019). *The gig economy. A critical introduction*. Cambridge: Polity.

---

<sup>i</sup> <https://hrnews.co.uk/88-of-uk-workforce-have-experienced-burnout-in-the-past-two-years/>

<sup>ii</sup> <https://www.axa.co.uk/newsroom/media-releases/2023/the-true-cost-of-running-on-empty-work-related-stress-costing-uk-economy-28bn-a-year/>