



**FREE  
NETWORK**  
FROGEE

**KSE**

Kyiv  
School of  
Economics

**POLICY  
BRIEF SERIES**

# **FROGEE POLICY BRIEF 4**

## **Insights from Ukraine**

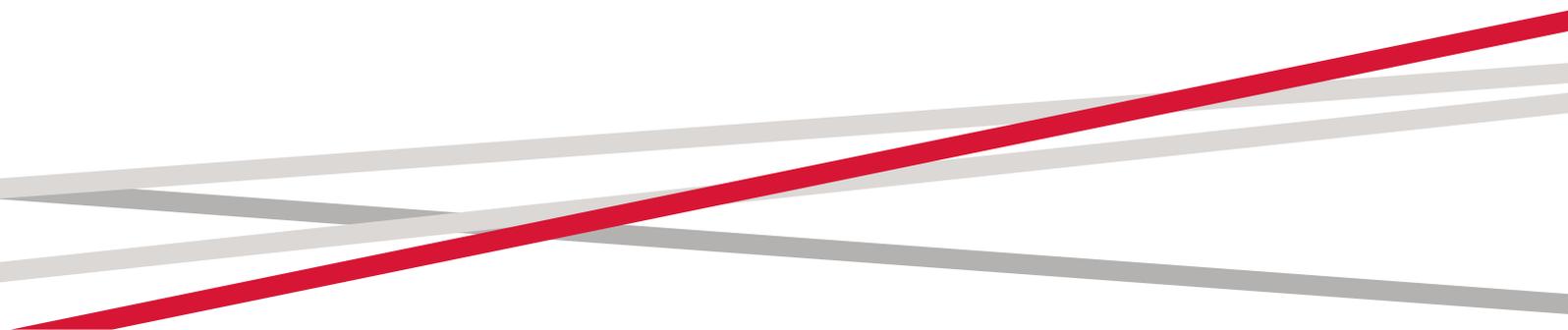
December, 2021

Global gender gap in unpaid care: why domestic work still remains a woman's burden

Yaroslava Babych, ISET

Gender stereotypes and traditional gender roles still prevail in the Ukrainian society

Solomiya Shpak, Kyiv School of Economics  
Pavlo Iavorskyi, Kyiv School of Economics



# Abstract

## Global gender gap in unpaid care: why domestic work still remains a woman's burden

Page 3-7

In the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic numerous reports point to the fact that women are mainly shouldering the burden of increased domestic care duties. But even before the pandemic struck, women performed more than two thirds of the unpaid domestic care work in both developing and developed countries. The lack of gender parity in the distribution of domestic work is associated with significant economic inefficiencies, as well as considerable social and economic consequences for women – affecting their bargaining power within the household and their labor market outcomes in particular. In the brief I review the literature on both the economic and sociological factors which perpetuate the pattern of gender disparity in unpaid domestic care work. I also summarize the “recognize, reduce and redistribute” policies which could be adopted to help address the problem.

## Gender stereotypes and traditional gender roles still prevail in the Ukrainian society

Page 7-10

Recent sociological surveys confirm that Ukrainians retain traditional gender roles with respect to domestic work. Despite a slight tendency toward the liberalization of views on these roles, gender stereotypes still prevail in the society. Preliminary evidence suggests that women perform most domestic work in Ukraine. Furthermore, their share of the burden of unpaid housework and care increased disproportionately due to the pandemic. The development of “recognize, reduce and redistribute” policies and the initiatives aimed at changing perceptions of gender roles in the society are necessary to reduce the gender gap in unpaid work.



## Global gender gap in unpaid care: why domestic work still remains a woman's burden

The realities of *unpaid care and domestic work* have received much attention lately in policy and academic circles, especially in light of the COVID-19 pandemic (Van Houtven et al., 2020; Craig and Churchill, 2020; Duragova, 2020). Recent surveys and reports confirm that while the unpaid household work burden increased for both genders, women around the world ended up shouldering the lions' share of various household chores and care duties during the pandemic (UN Women, 2020). For many countries, prolonged lockdowns have put a sudden spotlight on the "hidden" side of people's economic lives, not typically reflected in the national accounts data. Unsurprisingly, among the main issues connected with unpaid care work is the highly gendered division of labor in the "household sector" and its consequences for the emotional and economic well-being of families. In this policy brief I explore the current state and the evolution of gender inequalities in unpaid domestic care work worldwide, and discuss the academic literature which addresses the reasons and the consequences behind them. I also discuss potential policy interventions which could promote greater work-life balance and help advance both social and family-level welfare.

### Gender gaps in unpaid care work

The term *unpaid care and domestic work* appears under many terminological guises, including "unpaid care work" "unpaid household work", "unpaid domestic care work" and others. These terms essentially refer to the same phenomenon – unpaid care activities carried out in the household. They include cooking, cleaning, washing, water and fuel collection, shopping, maintenance,

household management, taking care of children and the elderly, and others (Addati et al., 2018). For the purposes of this brief I will use the terms interchangeably, relying mainly on "unpaid care", "domestic work", or "unpaid domestic care" to describe these activities. While the value of unpaid care work is not included in the national income accounts, it can be tracked by time-use surveys carried out by national statistical offices in many countries. According to the most recent surveys, (Charmes, 2019) more than three quarters (76.4%) of unpaid domestic care work worldwide is done by women, while 23.6% is done by men. In developed countries, the women's share is somewhat lower (65%), while in developing and emerging economies, women perform 80.2% of unpaid care. Thus, according to the data, even in developed countries women perform around two thirds of the unpaid domestic care work. Currently, no country in the world seems to have achieved gender parity with regard to the unpaid care distribution in households (U.N. Women., 2019).

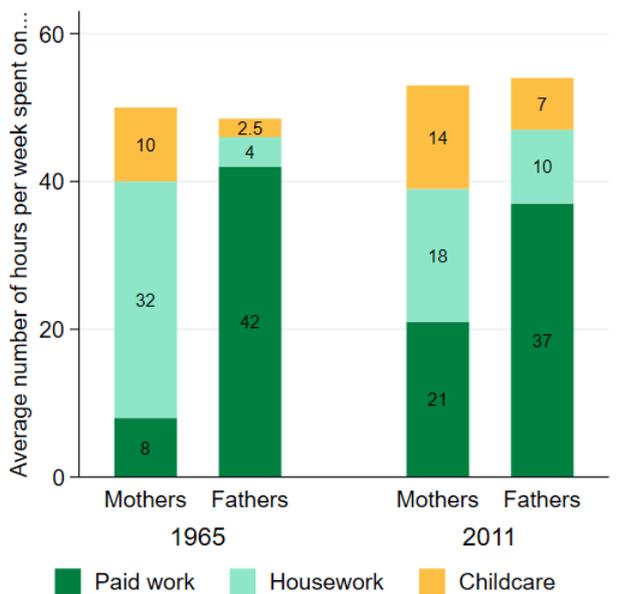
### Is there evidence of convergence in domestic care responsibilities?

Given that the first time use surveys in many countries have been conducted only relatively recently, it may be premature to make claims about changes in the distribution of domestic work and a potential closing of the gender gap. However, evidence from countries with a longer history of time use data, in particular the United States, suggests that the way mothers and fathers allocate their time between paid and unpaid work has changed dramatically between 1965 and 2011. In particular, as can be seen from the Figure 1 (from Parker and Wang, 2013), in 2011 women spent 2.6 times (13 more hours per week) more on paid work, while men spend 5 hours less than in 1965. The time spent on childcare increased for



both men and women. At the same time, domestic work hours decreased significantly for women, while somewhat increasing for men.

Figure 1. *Moms and Dads, the US 1965-2011: Roles Converge, but Gaps Remain*



Note: Based on adults aged 18-64 with own child(ren) under the age of 18 living in the household.

Source: Parker and Wang (2013).

Overall, analysis of time use survey data over a 40 year span shows a degree of convergence in unpaid care work between men and women (Kan et al., 2011; Altintas and Sullivan, 2016). However, as the Kan et al. (2011) study shows, gender inequality is quite persistent over time. In particular, men concentrate their contribution in domestic work to non-routine tasks (i.e. tasks that generally require less time, have definable boundaries and allow greater discretion around timing of performance than the more routine tasks) such as shopping and domestic travel, while women devote a bulk of their time to routine work (cooking, cleaning, care). Women’s reduction in domestic work time (especially in routine tasks) may be largely due to the advancement of household technologies and higher acceptance/demand for women’s participation in

the labor market (Gershuny, 1983, 2004). Thus, it appears that the “low-hanging fruit” of gender equality within households has already been picked, and, going forward, further shifting of domestic care responsibilities will be a more difficult task, even in developed countries.

### Factors that perpetuate unpaid domestic care as primarily women’s responsibility

The factors responsible for perpetuating gender roles in domestic work can be grouped into **economic** (specialization, comparative advantage) and **sociological** (habits, traditions, social perceptions) aspects.

The **economic arguments** that have long been used to explain the unequal division of paid and unpaid care work rely on the **theory of comparative advantage and gains from specialization**. Starting from the seminal work of Becker (Becker, 1985), economic models of the family suggested that a division of labor within the household is driven by different experiences and choices to invest in human capital. Becker argued that efficient households require specialization and the pattern of specialization can be explained at least in part by the differences in the initial investment in human capital (market skills for men and household skills for women) (Becker, 2009). In this model, men’s advantage in paid market activities is explained by historical reasons stemming in part from the more physical nature of market work. And yet, contemporary authors point out that the nature of work has been changing over time, with less emphasis put on physical, and more on cognitive skills. Likewise, the nature of household production has been changing (Greenwood et al., 2017). Birth control gave families a better way to control the number of children (Juhn and McCue, 2017). These changes should make men and women’s



productivity more equal, and consequently reduce the gender gap between men and women in both types of work. And yet, despite the fact that in developed countries women often achieve higher educational attainment than men (Goldin, Katz and Kuziemko 2006; Murphy and Topel, 2014), it has not been enough to eliminate the gender gap in wages and in the division of unpaid domestic work. Moreover, as the study based on 1992 Canadian data by McFarlane et al. (2000) points out, while the wife's time in housework increases when the husband spends more time in paid work, the opposite is not necessarily true for men (men do not spend significantly more time on household tasks when their wives increase their employment). Alonso et al., 2019, using a sample of 18 advanced and emerging market economies, find that various factors which determine the allocation of time between paid and unpaid work affect men and women asymmetrically. For example, being employed part time vs. full time considerably increases the participation in unpaid work for women, while for men the same increase is statistically insignificant.

Thus, a purely "pragmatic" economic argument for the household division of labor is not sufficient to explain the persistence of the unpaid care gender gap. Other **sociological factors**, such as gender roles determined by **social attitudes and cultural norms**, tend to play an important role in household labor division (Coltrane, 2000; Juhn and McCue, 2017). Moreover, one can argue that educational choices of women, which contribute to their "comparative advantage" in household production, are themselves not independent of cultural norms and attitudes. These choices tend to be shaped in early childhood and reflect how much a family would invest in/encourage a girl's education vs. that of a boy; whether boys are engaged in certain household chores - cooking,

cleaning, caring for young children, etc. (UNDP, 2020). For example, the high gender gap in unpaid domestic work in the South Caucasus can be traced to family patterns. According to survey data (CRRC, 2015) in Azerbaijan, around 96% percent of women were taught in childhood how to cook, clean the house or do laundry, while only 35% of men were taught how to cook and clean. In Georgia, close to 90% of women reported being taught how to cook, clean and do laundry, while less than 30% of men on average reported being taught these skills (UNFPA, 2014).

### The social cost of gender inequality in the unpaid care work allocation

Gender inequality is not just an issue of fairness. **Inequality results in considerable resource misallocation**, where women's productive potential is not fully realized. The study by Alonso et al., 2019 estimates the GDP gains associated with a potential reduction in gender inequality in domestic work to the level observed currently in Norway. Countries like Pakistan and Japan, where the initial gender gap is quite sizeable, would gain around 3 to 4 percent of GDP. Another source of inefficiency is **occupational downgrading**, a situation where women take jobs below their level of qualification (Connolly and Gregory, 2007; Garnero et al., 2013) in order to better balance their home and work responsibilities. The perception of women as being primarily responsible for childcare and domestic labor drives statistical discrimination in the workplace and affects the "unexplained" portion of the **gender pay gap** (Blau and Kahn, 2017). The pay gap, in turn, perpetuates inequality in the division of domestic labor. Moreover, perception of unequal domestic work allocation is found to be associated with **lower relationship satisfaction, depression, and divorce** (Ruppaner et al, 2017). In addition, earlier sociological studies found that **inequity in the**



**distribution**, rather than the amount of work, **causes greater psychological distress** (Bird, 1999).

## Policies to address the gender gap

Given the sizeable economic and social costs associated with the gender gap in unpaid care work, policy makers are paying greater attention to gender equality and ways to promote work-life balance for men and women. Currently, most solutions center around “**recognize, reduce and redistribute**” types of policies (Elson, 2017).

The “**recognize**” policies acknowledge the value of unpaid care work done by women through cash payments linked to raising young children (i.e. maternity leave policies). Most countries in the world adopt publicly funded paid maternity leave policies, although the adequacy of maternity leave payments and the duration of such leaves is still a stumbling block for many countries (Addati et al., 2014). Data suggests that maternity leave of no longer than 12 months has a positive effect on maternal employment, while long leaves (over two years) increase career costs for women (Kunze, 2016; Ruhm, 1998; Kleven et al., 2019).

The “**reduce**” policies, aim at the provision of public services that would reduce the burden of childcare and other forms of unpaid work on women and free up their time for participation in the labor force. Among such policies are investments in publicly funded childcare services (quality pre-schools and kindergartens) and physical infrastructure to support the provision of clean water, sanitation, energy, and public transport. Empirical studies generally find a positive effect of affordable childcare on female employment rates (Vuri, 2016; Lefebvre et al., 2009; Geyer et al., 2014), but with some caveats – in particular, the subsidies may be less effective for female labor supply if affordable childcare just crowds out other forms of non-parental care (such

as informal help from family members) (Vuri, 2016; Havnes and Mogstad, 2011).

Finally, the “**redistribute**” policies aim to promote the redistribution of household chores and childcare among men and women. Among such policies are initiatives aimed at making flexible and reduced-hour work arrangement attractive and equally available for men and women. (e.g. shifting standard weekly hours to a more family friendly 35 hours per week, as for example in France); active labor market programs aimed at retaining women in the labor market can also help reduce hours devoted to unpaid work (Alonso et al. 2019). Moreover, better labor market regulations (e.g. legislation to regulate vacation time, maximum work hours, etc.) would discourage the long working hours and the breadwinner-caretaker gendered specialization patterns within families (Hook, 2006). Other examples include work-life balance policies recently adopted by the EU (EU Directive 2019/1158), and are aimed at providing paid paternity leave and reserving non-transferrable portions of family childcare leave for men. These policies were found to be effective for both increasing father’s participation in unpaid care and for reducing the gender wage gap within families in a number of country studies (Fernández-Cornejo et al., 2018; Andersen, 2018).

It is important to recognize that more research is needed to identify exactly how and why specific policies may benefit families, and to adapt them to the specific country context. While many of the policies outlined above will not solve the problem of the gender gap overnight, they can be an important first step towards greater global gender equality in the workplace and inside the household.



## Gender stereotypes and traditional gender roles still prevail in the Ukrainian society

Although the gender gap in unpaid housework and care is a crucial factor affecting the gender differences in labor participation and pay, detailed data on the economic issues of housework and care are currently not available in Ukraine. Therefore, in the following brief we present evidence on some aspects of unpaid domestic work, such as gender roles and gender stereotypes, and the patterns in the division of unpaid care between spouses. We conclude by discussing the state of policies aimed at making the distribution of housework more equal between men and women.

### Attitudes towards gender roles in the Ukrainian society

Recent evidence confirms that Ukrainian society retains the traditional distribution of gender roles. A survey conducted by the Sociological Group "Rating" in February 2021 focused on general views and beliefs about gender roles and stereotypes in Ukrainian society demonstrated that 64% and 56% of respondents believe that respectively cooking and housework (doing laundry, dishwashing, and cleaning) are primarily women's responsibilities. Around 30-40% of respondents say that both spouses should contribute equally to these activities, and only 3% state that mainly men should be responsible for cooking and housework in the family. Attitudes towards the division of caregiving responsibilities seem to be more equal: while 41% of respondents report that women should perform most childcare, 54% claim that caregiving should be equally divided between spouses.

Comparing these numbers to a similar survey conducted in 2015 shows that the number of respondents who think that domestic work is primarily women's responsibility decreased. However, the most striking shift can be noted with respect to a more equal distribution of childcare: while only 27% of respondents claimed that both spouses should be equally involved in childcare in 2015, in 2021 this number increased to 54%.

**Gender stereotypes** might be an important factor contributing to the prevailing unequal distribution of domestic work in Ukraine. In the same survey, 75% of respondents agreed that earning money is men's primary responsibility, while 64% agreed that women's primary role is to give birth to children. In addition, more than half of respondents still declared that a successful career is more important for men than for women. A comparison of the survey results from 2015 and 2021 shows a slight tendency toward the liberalization of respondents' views on gender roles. In both years, however, men, respondents living in rural areas, older people, and those with low incomes had more traditional views on a woman's role in the household. Among young adults, men more often held patriarchal views compared to women. On average, the gender role distribution becomes even more uneven if a family has children. Typically in this case, mothers focus more on children and housecare, while men concentrate more on labor market involvement, as their families require more financial resources.

### Gender differences in time spent on domestic work in Ukraine

According to the European Social Survey conducted in 2010, the total number of working hours for married Ukrainian females and married Ukrainian males was 70.7 and 62.0 hours per week, respectively (Figure 1). Strikingly, women devoted almost the same amount of time to paid



work as men, so most of the difference in total working hours comes from the inequality in the amount of time devoted to domestic work. Among men, a third of total working hours were spent on domestic work, while this share was 44% for women.

Figure 1. Gender distribution of weekly working hours in Ukraine



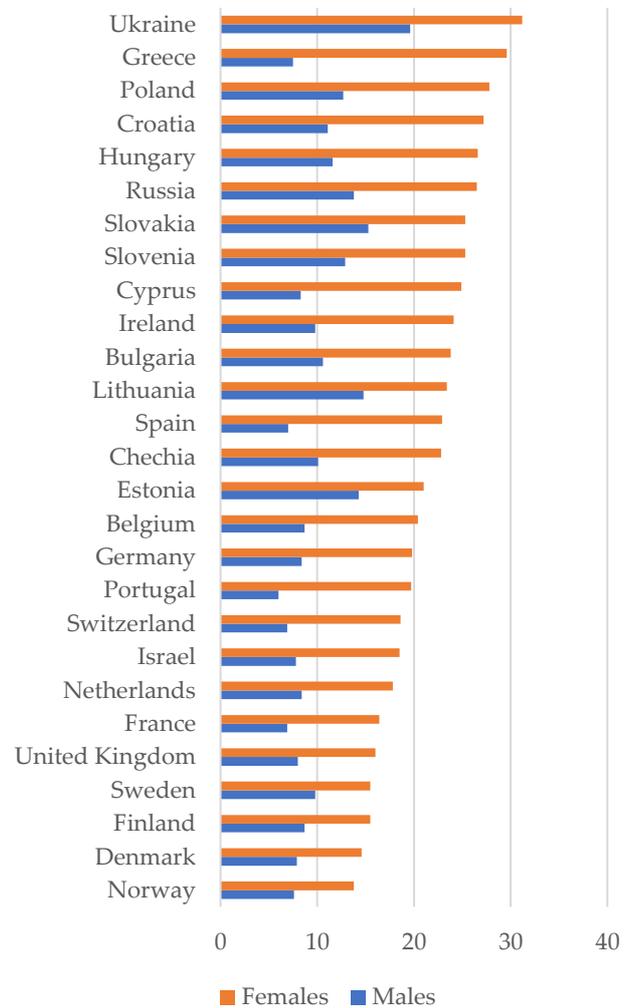
Source: Malysh, 2018.

Notably, as we show in Figure 2, the number of hours of domestic work in Ukraine was the highest for both women and men among the countries participating in the European Social Survey. On average, Ukrainian males contributed 19.6 hours per week to domestic work, while females devoted 31.2 hours per week to domestic work. While, for example, in Greece or in Poland the number of hours among women was only slightly lower, it appears that Ukrainian men devoted over 50% more time to domestic work as compared to their peers in Poland, and even 160% more time as compared to men in Greece.

Participation in domestic work differs by gender as well: on average, 8.6% of males and 27.4% of females report performing any domestic work. The participation is higher in rural areas: 16.4% of males and 36.1% of females versus 7.1% and 26.1% in urban areas. Among rural and urban

populations, married men and married women spend more hours on domestic work than others.

Figure 2. The number of weekly hours spent on domestic work by gender



Source: Malysh (2018).

### The Covid-19 pandemic reinforced gender stereotypes in domestic work

Lockdowns and other quarantine restrictions related to the Covid-19 pandemic critically affected the labor market in Ukraine. In April 2020, 457 thousand unemployed Ukrainians were registered in Ukraine, of which 57% were women. The number of unemployed increased by more than 145 thousand, or 31% compared to the same period last year (Gender Budgeting Project, 2020). As a result, the pandemic changed the amount of



time families spend on housework and care, and it especially affected those with children. The combination of traditional gender roles and a significant labor market crisis meant that women suffered particularly as a result of the pandemic.

A UN (2020) survey showed that the quarantine reinforced gender stereotypes since most of the domestic and care burden was shouldered by women during that time. In particular, 63.5% of female respondents mentioned that they spent more time cleaning; 50.5% spent more time cooking and 53.3% devoted more time to providing psychological and emotional support to other adult household members. The corresponding numbers for men were only 44.1%, 27.8%, and 39% for cleaning, cooking, and psychological and emotional support, respectively.

The pandemic has had a particularly negative effect on families and women with school-age children. In addition to working remotely, these parents became teachers and daycare providers when schools switched to distance learning. In the UN survey, 78.9% of female respondents with school-age children reported undertaking primary responsibility for supervising their children's education during this period. In comparison, the corresponding number for men was only 32.3%.

The pandemic has naturally had a major impact on the health care system, which in Ukraine employs predominantly women (82.8%). Healthcare workers could not switch to remote work during the pandemic, and additionally faced the cost of finding other childcare arrangements with kindergartens and schools closed due to lockdown regulations.

## “Recognize, reduce and redistribute” policies

The “recognize, reduce and redistribute” policies (Elson, 2017) have been slow to alleviate inequality in domestic work among Ukrainian families.

“Recognize”, often associated with maternity leave policies, are quite generous in Ukraine: women can take up to 180 days of paid sick leave due to pregnancy and childbirth and up to 3 years of childcare leave. Until April 2021, Ukrainian legislation allowed fathers to use only part of the childcare leave, but since then fathers can also take up to 14 days of paternity leave. A recent 2019 UNFPA survey showed that among surveyed private-sector employees, 95% of women took childcare leave while only 5% of men did so. In addition, there were striking differences in leave length: mothers reported taking up to 3 years, while men usually took only 3 months. These differences were not driven by the regulation itself: the father and the mother can split 3 years of childcare leave with no limitation of a maximum number of months each of them can take. This evidence suggests that “redistribute” policies, for example the possibility of sharing parental leave, might not be successful without shifting perceptions about gender roles. Programs by international organizations such as “EU 4 Gender Equality: Together against gender stereotypes and gender-based violence” (implemented jointly by UN Women and UNFPA) aim to increase gender equality by changing perceptions and the discourse around gender roles in the Ukrainian society.

Access to kindergarten remains a big issue in Ukraine. A recent survey by the Center for Economic Strategy shows that the shortage of places in kindergartens and the poor quality of services contribute to mothers' unwillingness to return to work. “Reduce” policies such as



regulations facilitating the establishment of private kindergartens and subsidizing private providers will increase access to and improve the quality of the childcare centers. The Center for Economic Strategy predicts that a 10% increase in childcare availability in Ukrainian regions could raise the economic activity of Ukrainian women from 57.5% to 58.9-59.3%, and bring up to \$2.1 bln of additional GDP per year.

## Conclusions

Recent sociological surveys confirm that Ukrainians retain the traditional distribution of gender roles regarding domestic work. Despite a slight tendency toward the liberalization of views on gender roles, gender stereotypes still prevail in society: in 2021 more than half of the respondents to these surveys still believe that cooking and housework is primarily a woman's responsibility. In fact, women perform most of the domestic work in Ukraine: women spend around 44% of their total working hours on domestic work, while the corresponding share for men is around 32%. Furthermore, the lockdowns related to the pandemic disproportionately worsened the situation for women: according to survey data, during the pandemic 63.5% of female respondents spent more time cleaning; 50.5% spent more time cooking and 53.3% devoted more time to providing psychological and emotional support to other adult household members. The corresponding numbers for men were significantly lower. Despite some progress, further developments in “recognize, reduce and redistribute” policies and the initiatives aimed at changing perceptions of gender roles in the society are necessary to reduce the gender gap in unpaid work.

## References

- Addati L., Cassirer N. and Gilchrist K., (2014). "Maternity and paternity at work: Law and practice across the world", International Labour Office.
- Addati L., Cattaneo U., Esquivel V. and Valarino I., (2018). "Care Work and Care Jobs for the Future of Decent Work", Geneva: International Labor Organization.
- Alonso C., Brussevich M., Dabla-Norris M. E., Kinoshita Y. and Kochhar M. K., (2019). "Reducing and Redistributing Unpaid Work: Stronger Policies to Support Gender Equality", International Monetary Fund.
- Altintas E. and Sullivan O., (2016). "Fifty years of change updated: Cross-national gender convergence in housework", *Demographic Research*, 35, 455-470.
- Andersen S. H., (2018). "Paternity Leave and the Motherhood Penalty: New Causal Evidence", *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 80, 1125-1143.
- Becker G. S., (1985). "Human Capital, Effort, and the Sexual Division of Labor", *Journal of Labor Economics*, 3(1, Part 2), S33-S58.
- Becker G. S., (2009). "Human capital: A theoretical and empirical analysis, with special reference to education", University of Chicago press.
- Bird C. E., (1999). "Gender, household labor, and psychological distress: The impact of the amount and division of housework", *Journal of Health and Social behavior*, 32-45.
- Blau F. D. and Kahn L. M., (2017). "The gender wage gap: Extent, trends, and explanations", *Journal of Economic Literature*, 55(3), 789-865.
- Center for Economic Strategy (2020). "How does better access to kindergartens help mothers in labor markets?" ("Як покращення доступу до дошкільної освіти допоможе матерям на ринку праці")
- Charmes J., (2019). "The Unpaid Care Work and the Labour Market. An analysis of time use data based on the latest World Compilation of Time-use Surveys", Geneva: International Labor Organization.
- Coltrane S., (2000). "Research on household labor: Modeling and measuring the social embeddedness of routine family work", *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 62(4), 1208-1233.
- Connolly S. and Gregory M., (2008). "Moving down: women's part-time work and occupational change in Britain 1991-2001". *The Economic Journal*, 118(526), F52-F76.
- Craig L. and Churchill B., (2020). "Dual-earner parent couples' work and care during COVID-19", *Gender, Work & Organization*.
- CRRC, (2015). "Gender roles in Azerbaijan: A cross-generational continuum".
- Dugarova E., (2020). "Unpaid care work in times of the covid-19 crisis: Gendered impacts, emerging evidence and promising policy responses".



- Elson D., (2017). "Recognize, reduce, and redistribute unpaid care work: how to close the gender gap", *New Labor Forum*, 26(2), 52-61, Sage CA: Los Angeles, CA: SAGE Publications.
- EU, (2019). Directive 2019/1158 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 20 June 2019 on work-life balance for parents and carers and repealing Council Directive 2010/18/EU.
- Fernández-Cornejo J. A., Del-Pozo E., Escot L. and Castellanos-Serrano C., (2018). "Can an Egalitarian Reform in the Parental Leave System Reduce the Motherhood Labor Penalty? Some Evidence from Spain", *Revista Española de Sociología*, 27(3), 45-64.
- Garnero A., Kampelmann S. and Rycx F., (2014). "Part-time work, wages, and productivity: evidence from Belgian matched panel data", *ILR Review*, 67(3), 926-954.
- Gender Budgeting Project, (2020). "Gender Dimension of COVID in Ukraine" ("Гендерний вимір пандемії COVID-19").
- Gershuny J., (1983). "Social Innovation and the Division of Labour", Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Gershuny J., (2004). "Domestic equipment does not increase domestic work: A response to Bittman, Rice and Wajcman", *British Journal of Sociology*, 55, 425-431
- Geyer J., Haan P. and Wrohlich K., (2014). "The effects of family policy on mothers' labor supply. Combining evidence from a structural model and a natural experiment", *DIW Discussion Papers*, 1366.
- Goldin C., Katz L. F. and Kuziemko I., (2006). "The homecoming of American college women: The reversal of the college gender gap", *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 20(4), 133-156.
- Greenwood J., Guner N., Kocharkov G. and Santos C., (2016). "Technology and the changing family: A unified model of marriage, divorce, educational attainment, and married female labor-force participation", *American Economic Journal: Macroeconomics*, 8(1), 1-41.
- Havnes T. and Mogstad M., (2011). "Money for nothing? Universal child care and maternal employment", *Journal of Public Economics*, 95(11-12), 1455-1465.
- Hook J. L., (2006). "Care in context: Men's unpaid work in 20 countries, 1965-2003", *American Sociological Review*, 71(4), 639-660.
- Juhn C. and McCue K., (2017). "Specialization then and now: Marriage, children, and the gender earnings gap across cohorts", *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 31(1), 183-204.
- Kan M. Y., Sullivan O. & Gershuny J., (2011). "Gender convergence in domestic work: Discerning the effects of interactional and institutional barriers from large-scale data", *Sociology*, 45(2), 234-251.
- Kleven H., Landais C., Posch J., Steinhauer A. and Zweimüller J., (2019). "Child penalties across countries: Evidence and explanations", *AEA Papers and Proceedings*, 109, 122-126.
- Kunze A., (2016). "Parental leave and maternal labor supply", *IZA World of Labor*.
- Lefebvre P., Merrigan P. and Verstraete M., (2009). "Dynamic labour supply effects of childcare subsidies: Evidence from a Canadian natural experiment on low-fee universal child care", *Labour Economics*, 16(5), 490-502.
- McFarlane S., Beaujot, R. and Haddad T., (2000). "Time constraints and relative resources as determinants of the sexual division of domestic work", *Canadian Journal of Sociology/Cahiers Canadiens de Sociologie*, 61-82.
- Murphy K. M. and Topel R. H., (2016). "Human capital investment, inequality, and economic growth", *Journal of Labor Economics*, 34(S2), S99-S127.
- Parker K. and Wang W., (2013). "Modern Parenthood. Roles of Moms and Dads Converge as They Balance Work and Family", Pew Research Center's Social & Demographic Trends, Project, 14.
- Ruhm C., (1998). "The economic consequences of parental leave mandates: Lessons from Europe", *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 113:1, 285-317.
- Ruppanner L., Brandén M. and Turunen, J., (2018). "Does unequal housework lead to divorce? Evidence from Sweden", *Sociology*, 52(1), 75-94.
- Sociological Group "Rating", (2021). "Survey of Gender Norms and Stereotypes" ("Гендерні ролі і стереотипи"), February 27-28, 2021.
- The European Social Survey, (2010).
- UNDP, (2020). "Tackling Social Norms: A game changer for gender inequalities. 2020 Human Development Perspectives".
- UNFPA, (2019). "Gender equality and response to domestic violence In the private sector: call for action" ("Гендерна рівність та відповідь на домашнє насильство в приватному секторі: заклик до дії").
- UNFPA, (2014). "Men and Gender Relations in Georgia".
- UN Women, (2019). "Progress of the world's women 2019-2020".
- UN Women, (2020). "Whose time to care? Unpaid care and domestic work during Covid-19".
- Van Houtven C. H., DePasquale N. and Coe N. B., (2020). "Essential long-term care workers commonly hold second jobs and double-or triple-duty caregiving roles", *Journal of the American Geriatrics Society*, 68(8), 1657-1660.
- Vuri D., (2016). "Do childcare policies increase maternal employment?", *IZA World of Labor*.



## About the authors

### Yaroslava Babych

ISET Policy Institute

y.babych@iset.ge

www.iset.ge

Yaroslava (Yasya) Babych studied at the University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy in Kyiv. In 2000 she received a Bachelor of Arts degree from Franklin and Marshall College with a double major in Economics and in Philosophy. She graduated with Ph.D. in Economics from the George Washington University in Washington, DC in 2011. At ISET she teaches first and second year courses in Macroeconomics and Open Economy Macro and is also leading a Macroeconomic Policy Research Center.

### Solomiya Shpak

Baltic Kyiv School of Economics

sshpak@kse.org.ua

www.kse.org

Solomiya Shpak obtained PhD In Public Policy from George Mason University Schar School of Policy and Government in 2020. Since then, she is working as Assistant Professor at Kyiv School of Economics and Chief Expert at the Financial Stability Department of the National Bank of Ukraine. Her fields of interest are Applied Microeconomics, Firm dynamics, Political Economy, and Gender Economics.

### Pavlo Iavorskyi

IResearch Associate | KSE/KEI

Pavlo Iavorskyi is a Research Associate and Teaching Fellow at Kyiv School of Economics. He obtained Master's degree in Economics at University of Houston in 2011. He was involved as a researcher and project manager in various policy projects in fields of international trade, public finance and public procurement, public health and tobacco control, anti-corruption and SME development, decentralization and local development.

## Acknowledgement

The authors would like to thank Kateryna Bornukova Michał Myck, and Monika Oczkowska for useful comments and editing, and Kajetan Trzciński for careful proof-reading.

## [freepolicybriefs.com](http://freepolicybriefs.com)

---

The Forum for Research on Eastern Europe and Emerging Economies (FREE) is a network of academic experts on economic issues in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union at BEROE (Minsk), BICEPS (Riga), CEFIR/NES (Moscow), CenEA (Szczecin), ISET (Tbilisi), KSE (Kiev) and SITE (Stockholm). In 2019 the FREE Network, with financial support of the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida) initiated the Forum for Research on Gender Economics (FROGEE). Publications under the FROGEE initiative contribute to the discussion on gender inequality in the region of Central and Eastern Europe. Opinions expressed in all FREE Network publications are those of the authors; they do not necessarily reflect those of the FREE Network, its research institutes or Sida.