

## Exploring Consequences of Guilt in Working Mothers: A Scoping Review

#### Yulia Hairina

Psychology Doctoral Program, Faculty of Psychology, Airlangga University, Surabaya Islamic Psychology Study Program, Antasari State Islamic University, Banjarmasin

#### **Nurul Hartini**

Psychology Doctoral Program, Faculty of Psychology, Airlangga University, Surabaya

Abstract. Guilt is defined as part of the negative emotions that arises related to the conflict between work and family, especially in working mothers. Therefore, this study aimed to examine the consequences of guilt in working mothers due to role conflict or efforts to balance the roles. The Arksey and O'Malley (2005) framework was used as the study methodology which included searching four databases namely Scopus, WoS, Emerald, and Science Direct. A review of 10 out of 894 published articles identified three categories of consequences related to guilt such as (1) consequences for child care, (2) consequences for work, and (3) consequences for the individual. The results from this review would provide a more comprehensive understanding of the consequences of guilt experienced by working mothers. These insights were valuable for practitioners, experts, and policymakers. Additionally, it could serve as a foundation for further and in-depth publications such as intervention or qualitative studies exploring the individual experiences of working mothers in greater detail.

**Keywords:** consequences, guilt, role conflict, work-family conflict, working mothers

# Menjelajahi Konsekuensi Rasa Bersalah pada Ibu Bekerja: Tinjauan Pelingkupan

Abstrak. Rasa bersalah telah dikonseptualisasikan sebagai salah satu emosi negatif yang muncul dalam hubungannya dengan konflik antara pekerjaan dan keluarga, terutama pada ibu bekerja. Tujuan tinjauan pelingkupan (scoping review) ini untuk meninjau konsekuensi-konsekuensi dari rasa bersalah pada ibu yang bekerja yang muncul karena konflik peran atau dalam upaya menyeimbangkan peran mereka. Metode yang digunakan adalah kerangka kerja Arksey dan O'Malley (2005) untuk pencarian menggunakan 4 database yaitu Scopus, WoS, Emerald dan Science Direct. Hasil sebanyak 10 artikel dari 894 artikel yang telah terbit, diidentifikasi ke dalam tiga kategori konsekuensi yang terkait dengan rasa bersalah, yaitu: (1) konsekuensi pada pengasuhan anak, (2) konsekuensi pada pekerjaan, dan (3) konsekuensi pada diri (personal). Temuan dalam tinjauan pelingkupan ini diharapkan dapat memberikan pemahaman yang lebih komprehensif tentang konsekuensi rasa bersalah yang dialami oleh ibu bekerja. Implikasi penelitian ini adalah memberikan wawasan yang berharga bagi para praktisi, peneliti, dan pengambil kebijakan. Selain itu, penelitian ini juga dapat menjadi pijakan untuk penelitian lebih lanjut yang lebih mendalam, seperti penelitian intervensi atau penelitian kualitatif yang mengeksplorasi pengalaman individu ibu bekerja secara lebih mendalam.

Kata Kunci: ibu bekerja, konflik kerja-keluarga, konflik peran, konsekuensi, rasa bersalah

Correspondence: Yulia Hairina. Email: yulia.hairina-2022@psikologi.unair.ac.id

The participation of women in the workforce in increasing rapidly in recent decades, both in developed countries such as Canada, the United Kingdom, the United States, Germany, Spain, France, and Indonesia. Previous publication conducted by Ortiz-Ospina et al. (2017) stated that between 1890 and 2016, there was an increase in women being workers around 50% of the total population worldwide. According to data from the Central Statistics Agency (BPS) in 2021 in Indonesia, the percentage of women working as professional workers has reached 49.99% showing an increase of 2.52% points from the previous year (BPS, 2021). However, the workfamily conflict remains a significant gender phenomenon that cannot be ignored (Grönlund & Öun, 2018; Young & Schieman, 2018). When working mothers marry and have children, lives become increasingly complex as due to the aim to achieve work-family balance (Ziegler et al., 2022).

Working mothers frequently face pressure in balancing roles at work and family. The conflict in these roles arise when demands from work and family clash, making it difficult to participate effectively (Wardani & Putri, 2018). This conflict is known as work-family conflict which arises when the demands of work and family are incompatible. Previous publication has been conducted to explore the negative impact of work-family conflict. Several studies showed the effect on well-being (Obrenovic et al., 2020; Oshio et al., 2017;

Winefield et al., 2014), stress (Nurcholidah et al., 2023; Riana, 2019), and performance (Andriani et al., 2023). Additionally, other publications have also focused on emotional aspects, especially guilt arising from workfamily conflict (Gonçalves et al., 2018; Korabik, 2015; Martínez et al., 2011; Sousa et al., 2018). In this context, guilt is conceptualized as part of the negative emotions associated with workfamily conflict.

Guilt is often explained as a self-evaluation arising when individuals feel responsible for actions that have injured others or violated moral standards (Baumeister et al., 1994). In the context of work-family, Martínez et al. (2011) defined guilt as an emotional response arising from misperceptions caused by actions and intentions that were considered wrong or inappropriate. For example, a mother may feel increased guilt when unable to be present for the children or when asked for help with tasks believed mothers should handle. Furthermore, guilt is a common emotion that is experienced by working mothers (Aarntzen et al., 2019; Irak et al., 2020). Many working mothers focus heavily on the word 'should', which refers to the expectations or demands placed individually. When using the word 'should', working mothers may be think about what needs to be done or how to fulfill the role (Ziegler et al., 2022).

Working mothers often feel guilty when work interferes and prevents the fulfillments of many home responsibilities (Borelli et al.,

2017). This is caused by the responsibilities originating from high social expectations and pressure on women to perform roles (Morgenroth & Heilman, 2017). The phenomenon is also due to the existence of higher standards in the role of parents which are often applied to women than men, causing guilt when work impacts family life (Borelli, Nelson, et al., 2017). For example, when work leads to lack of time spent with children (Elvin Nowak, 1999). The struggle to find a balance between home and work life as well as addressing the feelings of guilt are realities faced by working mothers.

Previous publication on guilt included studies by Napholz (2000) who showed that working mothers in America feel obliged to solve all problems and face guilty when unable to complete the multiple roles. Other publication conducted by Borelli et al. (2017) also showed that guilt arised from the inability to fulfill many responsibilities at home, especially when work interferes with family time. These feelings of guilt can increase, especially when working mothers feel unavailable for the children (Martínez et al., 2011).

In general, guilt can have positive or negative consequences depending on how it is managed. Some consider guilt to be a positive and healthy construct that provides good consequences such as an aspect motivating someone to feel empathy for others (Spice et al., 2015), stimulating prosocial behavior (Donohue & Tully, 2019), maintaining

attachment with others (O'Connor et al., 1997), control aggression (Colasante et al., 2018), and compensate for mistakes (Zahn-Waxler et al., 1990). However, some consider guilt as a negative construct that reflects pain and inner tension with consequences including depressive symptoms (Jackson et al., 2021) and anxiety (Williamson et al., 2020).

Understanding guilt related to workfamily conflict is important due to the impact on both parenting patterns and work. For example, guilt may lead parents to reduce the children's necessary childcare time or even quit jobs. This is carried out in response to feelings of guilt over not spending enough time with the children (Martínez et al., 2011). Additionally, guilt is associated with psychiatric manifestations and can have an impact on mental as well as psychological well-being (Constantinou et al., 2021; Maclean et al., 2021). Prolonged and untreated experiences of guilt can also position individuals at risk of adjustment difficulties (Cavalera, 2020; Lavenda, 2022).

This study further aim to identify and describe the various consequences experienced by working mothers due to guilt arising from work-family conflict. Understanding the long-term implications of guilt in work and family contexts allows the development of effective strategies to help mothers manage the experience. Therefore, it is expected to promote long-term well-being in facing the challenges of balancing roles at work and at home.

## Method

The study used the scoping review method to conduct a systematic review. The framework for this reveiw was based on the model developed by Arksey and O'Malley (2005). The steps in this framework included five stages namely (1) identifying study questions correlated with the objectives, (2) identifying relevant literature sources from various databases, (3) Selecting literature appropriate to the study topic, (4) carrying out mapping and collect the literature used, (5) compiling and reporting the analysis results of the selected literature.

The scoping review question was "What were the consequences arising due to the feelings of guilt experienced by working mothers?" Before conducting the literature search, 'guilt' was defined as the emotions

experienced by working mothers when believed that the actions or decisions did not meet internal or social standards regarding motherhood or employment. This definition guided the entire literature search and analysis process to ensure that all identified sources were relevant to the study objectives.

In this study, tools from four electronic databases was used namely Scopus, Science Direct, Emerald, and Web of Science. Keywords used in the search process included "working mothers, employed mothers, mother guilt, work-family guilt, guilt experience, consequences, impact, and effect", along with additional supporting and equivalent keywords to expand the search. To further identify relevant literature, filtering was carried out according to the inclusion and exclusion criteria in Table 1.

**Table 1** *Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria* 

## Inclusion and Exclusion Criter Inclusion Criteria

- a. Published in English because this is the international language in scientific publications, ensuring accessibility and standardization of the results globally.
- b. Included in the type of empirical article.
- c. Available in the form of a complete article (full text) which can be accessed.
- d. The article's findings answer the study questions.
- e. The study has participants especially mothers who work in general or specifically related to certain professions.

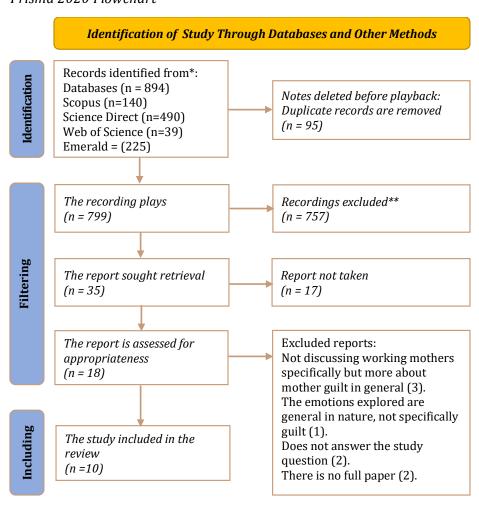
## **Exclusion Criteria**

- a. Not English.
- b. Not an empirical research article including literature reviews, or meta-analysis.
- c. The full paper cannot be accessed.
- d. The study do not answer the question.
- e. The study is a duplicate of another in a different database.

The literature search process from four databases led to a total of 894 articles. Duplicate checks were further carried out via the website https://rayyan.ai/reviews, which facilitates the systematic review process (Ouzzani et al., 2016). The next step included the automatic removal of 95 duplicate articles leading to 799 articles. Furthermore, these 799 articles were filtered based on the title and abstract. Articles that did not meet the inclusion criteria were

also excluded leading to 35 articles. The inclusion criteria were clearly identified through the title or abstract, thereby the full-text version of the articles were retrieved and checked. There were 18 full-text articles to be checked leading to 10 meeting the inclusion criteria which were then included in this review. The article screening process report and the study implementation flow were recorded in the PRISMA flowchart 2020 diagram in Figure 1.

**Figure 1**Prisma 2020 Flowchart



## Results

The study aimed to provide an overview of the consequences of guilt in working mothers arising from role conflicts and efforts to balance these responsibilities. The selection process led to 10 articles which were conducted in various countries including the United States (3), Italy (1), Portugal (1), Sweden (1), the United Kingdom (1), Lithuania (1), the Netherlands (1), and China (1). Although this study produced a geographically diverse sample, understanding that no articles from Indonesia met the inclusion criteria was essential. This was

English-language scientific publications from Indonesia that specifically discuss guilt in working mothers and meet the strict inclusion criteria. The discovery showed a gap in the available literature and suggested the importance of further study examining the experiences of working mothers in Indonesia. A summary of the 10 articles was mapped to include (1) title, author, year, and journal of publication, (2) country/sample information, (3) method, and (4) description of results relating to the consequences of guilt with the details further presented in Table 2.

**Table 2**Summary of Study Journals Under Review

Author, Year,	Country / Sample	Study	Study Results Relating to
and Title		Methods	the Consequences of Guilt
(Elvin-Nowak,	Sweden, 13	Qualitative	The results showed that guilt had physica
1999)	working mothers.		impacts such as difficulty breathing, fever
			nausea, fatigue, the need to sleep, and delays ir
The			thinking. Furthermore, there were also
interpretation of			psychological impacts, especially on the
guilt: A			emotional side including aggression and anger
phenomenon.			which were often directed individually. This
_			was due to the inability to express the persona
			needs.
(Guendouzi,	United Kingdom/	Qualitative	The results showed that feelings of guilt arising
2006)	Women as teachers		from social pressure to be an ever-present
	(n=8).		mother led to stress and feelings of failure. The
"The guilt thing":			study also found that stereotypical social norms
Balancing			originating from intensive motherhood models
domestic and			often gave rise to the perception that wher
professional			mothers worked, children would experience
roles.			failure.
(Glavin et al.,	United States/men	Qualitative	The study found that guilt impacted the
2011)	430, women 612.		psychological pressure felt by women who
Boundary-			frequently received work-related contact
spanning work			outside normal working hours. A high
demands and			frequency of work contact was often associated
their			with increased feelings of guilt and
consequences			psychological distress among women only
for guilt and			Analysis using the Sobel test: $t = 2.37$ , $P < .05$ .
psychological			
distress.			

Author Voor	Country / Comple	Ctudy	Ctudy Doculta Palating to
Author, Year, and Title	Country / Sample	Study Methods	Study Results Relating to the Consequences of Guilt
(Borelli et al., 2017) Bringing work home: Gender and parenting correlates of work-family guilt among parent of toddlers.	United States/254 working parents (128 full-time working mothers) living in the US, with children between 1 and 3 years old.	Quantitative	
(Cho & Allen, 2012)  Relation between work interference with family and parent-child interactive behavior: Can guilt help?	United States/ 201 with women 65.6%.	Quantitative	The results showed that guilt often prompted working mothers to exhibit more positive parenting behaviors, such as spending extratime with the children as a form of compensation. The study also showed that higher levels of guilt correlated with a tendency to maintain participation in activities ( $\beta = 0.01$ p = .91). In contrast, mothers with low levels of guilt tended to report less participation in recreational activities ( $\beta = -0.57$ , p < .001). This suggested that feelings of guilt influenced how actively mothers engaged in the children's activities.
(Kudarauskienė & Žydžiūnaitė, 2018)  Feeling guilty by being in between family and work: The lived experience of women as academics.	Lithuania / 12 Women as academics who are married and have children.	Qualitative	The study emphasized the impact of guilt or women as academics, particularly on the well-being and professional lives. These impacts included emotional distress, which could cause increased stress, anxiety, and feelings of inadequacy. Furthermore, the feelings of guilt and conflict experienced by women as academics had the potential to influence the productivity. The mothers found it difficult to fully focus on their work duties due to guilt associated with neglecting the family, or vice versa. Guilt and conflict between family and work also had implications for career development.
(Aarntzen et al., 2019)  Work-family guilt as a straightjacket: An interview and diary study on consequences of mother's work-family guilt.	Netherlands/28 working mothers for interviews and 123 working mothers for daily research.	Qualitative	The feeling of guilt often made mothers focus or corrective actions for previous behavior that caused the feeling of guilt. For example, in the context of parenting, mothers might compensate by giving more frequent hugs adapting work such as considering reducing working hours, or sacrificing personal time to spend more time with the children. It was also found that working mothers who experienced feelings of guilt tended to have lower well-being, generally feeling less happy and satisfied with the combination of work and family.

Author, Year, and Title	Country / Sample	Study Methods	Study Results Relating to the Consequences of Guilt
(Zhang et al., 2019)	China/ 36 men and 30 women married which have	Quantitative	Guilt originating from work disrupting the family acted as a mediator in the relationship between work-family conflict and job
Does work-to-family guilt mediate the relationship between work-family conflict and job satisfaction? Testing the moderating roles of segmentation preference and family collectivism orientation.	children.		satisfaction. This implied that when individuals experienced a conflict between work demands and family responsibilities, mothers felt guilty because could not fulfill the obligations to the family. This feeling of guilt then caused a decrease in job satisfaction.
(De Simone et al., 2022)  Mea culpa! The	Italy/ 161 women entrepreneurs.	Quantitative	The study found that guilt due to family interference with work acted as a mediator ir the relationship between conflict and job satisfaction, as well as life satisfaction, for
role of guilt in the work-life			women entrepreneurs. These results suggested that when women experienced guilt ir
interface and satisfaction of women			balancing work and family responsibilities, it negatively impacted their levels of job satisfaction and overall life satisfaction.
entrepreneurs.			
(Sousa et al., 2023)	Portugal/ 107 women, 73 men.	Quantitative	The results showed that conflict between work and family was a predictor of guilt, which also influenced individual well-being. However, the
Work-family conflict and guilt: Effect on well-being and career			study did not find a significant influence of work-family conflict and guilt on career satisfaction.
satisfaction.			

Based on the mapping results of the 10 articles, the consequences of guilt for working mothers could be described into three themes/

domains namely consequences for parenting, work, and the personal, which were listed in Table 3.

**Table 3**Description of the Consequences of Guilt in Working Mothers

Consequences of Guilt	Description
Consequences on parenting	<ul> <li>Influencing the manner parents care for the children, by giving children more leeway and opportunities (Borelli et al., 2017)</li> <li>Significantly positively related to the possibility of parents carrying out permissive parenting toward children (Borelli et al., 2017)</li> <li>Motivating to show more positive parenting behavior as a form of compensation (Cho &amp; Allen, 2012)</li> <li>Childcare and time spent with children (Aycan &amp; Eskin, 2005)</li> <li>Making mothers focus on correcting behavior that makes them feel guilty, by providing compensation, for example: relating to parenting, giving hugs, adapting work, and sacrificing personal time to spend more time with children (Aarntzen et al., 2019)</li> </ul>
Consequences on work	<ul> <li>Has an impact on work productivity, because it feels difficult to fully focus on work tasks and can also have implications for career development (Kudarauskienė &amp; Žydžiūnaitė, 2018)</li> <li>Has an impact on job satisfaction either directly or as a mediator (De Simone et al., 2022; Zhang et al., 2019)</li> <li>Guilt related to family interference with work and work interference with family mediates the relationship between conflict and job satisfaction (De Simone et al., 2022)</li> </ul>
Consequences on self (personal)	<ul> <li>On the physical and psychological aspects, especially on the emotional side (aggression and anger due to the inability to express needs) (Elvin-Nowak, 1999)</li> <li>Experiencing social pressure, because you cannot be a mother who is always present and can cause stress and feelings of failure (Guendouzi, 2006)</li> <li>Psychological pressure is felt by women who frequently receive work-related contact outside normal working hours (Glavin et al., 2011)</li> <li>Guilt also has an influence on an individual's well-being (Sousa et al., 2023b), guilt results in lower well-being, people are generally less happy and feel less satisfied with the combination of their work and family (Aarntzen et al., 2019)</li> </ul>

#### **Discussion**

The study aims to identify any consequences arising from feelings of guilt in working mothers due to role conflict or efforts to balance work-family. Based on the results, the consequences of guilt for working mothers can be categorized into three areas including (1) Consequences for childcare, (2) Consequences for work, and (3) Consequences for personal. According to Constantinou et al. (2021), the responsibility and guilt of mothers are interrelated and working mothers often

face the problem. This phenomenon further shows that the roles of mothers and workers are often in conflict leading to complex internal dynamics.

#### Consequences on parenting

The results showed that guilt influenced the manner mothers adapted to parenting patterns as a form of compensation for the guilt (Borelli et al., 2017). A form of compensation is taking action to correct behavior which then triggers feelings of guilt (Aarntzen et al., 2019). Additionally, guilt can be related to more

permissive parenting patterns (Borelli et al., 2017; Martínez et al., 2011), which have negative consequences for children.

Other publications also showed that guilt could stimulate more positive parenting behavior such as spending quality time with children (Aycan & Eskin, 2005; Cho & Allen, 2012). The publications also found that high levels of guilt motivated mothers to take corrective action including allocating time and energy to engage in educational and recreational activities with children (Cho & Allen, 2012). This results correlate with Aarntzen et al. (2019) who showed that feelings of guilt motivated working mothers to compensate through parenting patterns and interactions with children.

Theoretically, the interpersonal method to mothers' guilt underscores that this is not only formed through the assessment of abstract social standards but is also "the result and mechanism of human interconnectedness" (Baumeister et al., 1994). Norms emphasize that "good" mothers who consistently feel bad and always try harder (Collins, 2021) are part of broader social dynamics including interpersonal interactions and expectations (Haslam et al., 2020; Henderson et al., 2016).

The feeling of moral responsibility to meet normative expectations in providing a stimulating environment for children makes feelings of guilt arise when mothers cannot achieve these standards (Budds et al, 2017; Clark & Dumas, 2020; Clement & Waitt, 2017;

Constantinou et al., 2021; Diabaté & Beringer, 2018). Mothers who feel guilty tend to place the children's needs above personal needs and often make ongoing sacrifices. This can influence daily interactions with children where mothers may feel the need to constantly compensate and provide extra attention to address evolving feelings of guilt (Slobodin et al., 2020).

The phenomenon further shows strong social pressure related to the mother's role in providing perfect care. When mothers feel guilty for not meeting these expectations, this guilt can affect interactions communication with children, both directly and indirectly (Meeussen & Van Laar, 2018). Interactions may become more intense and stressful as mothers attempt to ameliorate the feelings of guilt by being overprotective or overly permissive. This can lead to children feeling restricted or overly pampered, hindering the development of independence. Indirectly, guilt can make mothers feel emotionally burdened, impacting the energy levels and general well-being. When mothers are tired or stressed, the women may be less responsive or less engaged in interacting with the children which can eventually cause the child to feel neglected or less supported (Maclean et al., 2021).

#### Consequences on work

The results showed that feelings of guilt influenced the work domain of working

mothers. Publications conducted by Aarntzen et al. (2019) showed that in response to feelings of guilt between work and family, mothers who felt guilty took several actions at work. For example, mothers take days off, reschedule the work hours, or even consider quitting the job. Additionally, when working mothers' feelings of guilt increase, the mothers are more inclined to consider reducing working hours to prioritize family caregiving duties over the careers (Aarntzen et al., 2019).

Guilt not only influences actions at work but can also affect work productivity. Working and guilt-ridden mothers often have difficulty focusing fully on work tasks which can also have implications for the career development (Kudarauskienë & Žydžiûnaitë, 2018; Meeussen & Van Laar, 2018). For example, mothers experience feelings of guilt, thereby the mothers feel torn between work demands and family needs. This may make the working mothers hesitate to take new or higher opportunities in the job due to worry of not meeting the expectations of both parties. Consequently, working mothers are often hampered in career advancement, which may not be rapid compared to colleagues who do not experience similar conflicts.

Guilt is also known to impact job satisfaction, both directly and through other intermediary factors (De Simone et al., 2022; Zhang et al., 2019). When mothers continue to feel guilty and divided between the roles at home and at work, this creates chronic stress that can

reduce happiness with the job. Guilt can also influence the manner work is perceived which often feels similar to a burden than a source of professional accomplishment. Social role theory further states that expectations about gender roles influence individual behavior and decisions (Eagly & Wood, 2016; Koenig & Eagly, 2014; Olsson & Martiny, 2018). Therefore in this context, working mothers feel pressure to fulfill traditional roles as primary caregivers who feel guilty and eventually hesitate to pursue higher career opportunities influencing job satisfaction.

## Consequences on personal

The guilt experienced by working mothers influences this group not only professionally but also personally. For example, working mothers tend to reduce the time and energy spent on work when feeling guilty and further increases the time and energy allocated to the family. Working mothers also make changes in spending time including sacrificing time for relaxing and "me-time" (Aarntzen et al, 2019). As the level of guilt increases, working mothers pay more attention to the children, reducing working hours, and trying to divide the time efficiently even at the expense of vacation. This behavior is part of the attempt to compensate or even eliminate the guilt

In this context, increased feelings of guilt can influence the well-being and happiness of working mothers (Aarntzen et al., 2019). In a different context, working mothers also report experiences of aggression and anger in response

to the burden of guilt According to Elvin Nowak (1999), these groups aim to assuage the guilt by devising strategies that allow working mothers to justify prioritizing the needs. Strong feelings of guilt can even cause anxiety, feelings of emptiness, and difficulty breathing. Physical symptoms such as fever, chilk, delayed thinking, fatigue, and need for sleep may also appear.

Baumeister et al. (1994) suggested that guilt was a complex phenomenon including interpersonal and intrapsychic aspects. In the context of working mothers, the social pressure to be the good mother' and the realities of the work create strong internal conflicts. The guilt is not only about how working mothers interact with the children or family but also about how the women feel often leads to anxiety, stress, and decreased well-being. In this study, the pressure to be a "good mother" and not always being able to be present as an ideal mother can cause stress and feelings of failure (Henderson et al., 2016). Additionally, guilt eventually leads to a decrease in general well-being and a lack of satisfaction with the balance between work and family (Aarntzen et al., 2023; Sousa et al., 2023). Working mothers who often receive workrelated disturbances outside normal job hours also feel significant psychological stress (Glavin et al., 2011).

Although this scoping review is carried out by conducting a broad search, several limitations need to be considered. At the initial stage, this study does not establish a clear definition of the concept of guilt which should

refer to relevant theories and be written in the introduction or theory section. The absence of a definition and in-depth theoretical review regarding the term or concept of guilt makes the literature search less focused. This can further influence the focus and accuracy of the literature search and data analysis.

During the review, there is limited exclusivity regarding articles published in English leading to the exclusion of relevant studies in other languages. This may have limited understanding of the guilt consequences on working mothers globally. Additionally, the included articles only represent the results of the search terms specified by the experts.

Another limitation is the absence of the study quality assessment and lack of searching for gray literature including unpublished commercial or unreviewed publications such as technical reports, theses, and conference materials. This is because the focus of this review is to map the scope and results of studies that have gone through the peer-review process which are available in major scientific publication databases to ensure the reliability and validity of the results presented.

During the selection process, the study found that the samples included various countries with diverse social and economic contexts. These countries included the United States, Italy, Portugal, Sweden, the United Kingdom, Lithuania, the Netherlands, and China. However, it is also important to recognize that no publication was found from

Indonesia that meets the inclusion criteria and specifically focus on guilt in working mothers. This does not reflect a lack of relevance or uniqueness of the conditions of working mothers in Indonesia but rather reflects a potential gap in the available literature and publications in English. The absence shows that studies in Indonesia may still be limited or not widely published in international journals using English which limits the visibility in this global review. Furthermore, this emphasizes the need for further publications that specifically explores the dynamics of guilt among working mothers in the Indonesian context, enabling a deeper understanding of the specific experiences and challenges faced.

## **Conclusions**

This study aimed to identify and describe the various consequences experienced by working mothers due to guilt arising from work-family conflict In conlcusion, the results showed that the feelings of guilt for working mothers had significant consequences in various domains namely personal, work, and childcare. Personally, mothers who felt guilty often sacrificed time and energy for families, neglected time, and felt less satisfied with well-being. In the work context, feelings of guilt could interfere with work productivity, career development, and job satisfaction. In parenting, guilt could influence parenting patterns which varied from permissive behavior to more

positive character. Mothers who felt guilty often place the children's needs above the personal requirements and made current sacrifices that influenced interactions and communication with children. Overall, guilt in working mothers had complex and varied impacts.

## Suggestion

For further publications, it was recommended to establish a clear definition of the concept of guilt at an early stage of study to guide the literature search process more effectively and accurately. Additionally, it was also advised to expand the language coverage in the literature search to include articles published in languages other than English. This method reduced language bias and increase the inclusivity of articles. The study also recommended to use a more holistic literature search method including a systematic gray literature search. This would help ensure that a variety of literature sources were identified and included. Assessing the study quality included in the scoping review would give more weight to the results and recommendations. Given the absence of study from Indonesia that met the inclusion criteria, it was recommended that further publications should explore the dynamics of guilt among working mothers in the Indonesian context Implementation of these suggestions would help future publications provide a more comprehensive and in-depth understanding of the consequences of guilt on working mothers and develop effective strategies as well as supports to improve the well-being.

## Acknowledgment

The authors are grateful to the teaching team including Wiwin Hendriani, Pramesti Pradna Paramita, and Rakhman Ardi of the literature review course in the Psychology Doctoral Program at Airlangga University.

#### References

- \*Aarntzen, L., Derks, B., van Steenbergen, E., Ryan, M., & van der Lippe, T. (2019). Work-family guilt as a straightjacket: An interview and diary study on consequences of mothers' work-family guilt. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 115, 103336. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jvb.2019.103336
- Aarntzen, L., Derks, B., van Steenbergen, E., & van der Lippe, T. (2023). When workfamily guilt becomes a women's issue: Internalized gender stereotypes predict high guilt in working mothers but low guilt in working fathers. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 62(1), 12–29. https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12575
- Andriani, R. D. F., Sumartik, S., & Firdaus, V. (2023). Work family conflict, individual characteristic, and teamwork on employee performance in transportation sector. *JENIUS* (Jurnal Ilmiah Manajemen Sumber Daya Manusia), 6(3), 552. https://doi.org/10.32493/JJSDM. v6i3.29567
- Arksey, H., & O'Malley, L. (2005). Scoping studies: Towards a methodological framework. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 8(1), 19–32. https://doi.org/10.1080/1364557032000119616
- Aycan, Z., & Eskin, M. (2005). Relative contributions of childcare, spousal support, and organizational support in

- reducing work–family conflict for men and women: The case of Turkey. *Sex Roles*, *53*(7–8), 453–471. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-005-7134-8
- Baumeister, R. F., Stillwell, A. M., & Heatherton, T. F. (1994). Guilt: An interpersonal approach. *Psychological Bulletin*, *115*(2), 243–267. https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.115.2.243
- \*Borelli, J. L., Nelson, S. K., River, L. M., Birken, S. A., & Moss-Racusin, C. (2017). Gender differences in work-family guilt in parents of young children. *Sex Roles*, 76(5-6), 356-368. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-016-0579-0
- BPS. (2021). Persentase perempuan pernah kawin berusia15-49 tahun yang proses melahirkan terakhirnya di fasilitas kesehatan menurut provinsi (persen) 2019-2021. https://www.bps.go.id/id/statistics-table/2/MTM1MCMy/persentase-perempuan-pernah-kawin-berusia15-49-tahun-yang-proses-melahirkan-terakhirnya-di-fasilitas-kesehatan-menurut-provinsi.html
- Budds, K., Hogg, M. K., Banister, E. N., & Dixon, M. (2017). Parenting agendas: An empirical study of intensive mothering and infant cognitive development. *The Sociological Review*, 65(2), 336–352. https://doi.org/10.1177/00380 26116672812
- Cavalera, C. (2020). COVID-19 psychological implications: The role of shame and guilt. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 11. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2020.571828
- \*Cho, E., & Allen, T. D. (2012). Relationship between work interference with family and parent-child interactive behavior: Can guilt help? *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 80(2), 276–287. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jvb.2011.12.002
- Clark, E., & Dumas, A. (2020). Children's active outdoor play: 'Good' mothering and the organisation of children's free time. Sociology of Health & Illness, 42(6), 1229–1242. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9566.13107

- Clement, S., & Waitt, G. (2017). Walking, mothering and care: A sensory ethnography of journeying on-foot with children in Wollongong, Australia. *Gender, Place & Culture, 24*(8), 1185–1203. https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X. 2017.1372376
- Colasante, T., Zuffianò, A., Haley, D. W., & Malti, T. (2018). Children's autonomic nervous system activity while transgressing: Relations to guilt feelings and aggression. Developmental Psychology, 54(9), 1621–1633. https://doi.org/10.1037/dev0000500
- Collins, C. (2021). Is maternal guilt a crossnational experience? *Qualitative Sociology*, 44(1), 1–29. https://doi.org/ 10.1007/s11133-020-09451-2
- Constantinou, G, Varela, S., & Buckby, B. (2021). Reviewing the experiences of maternal guilt the "Motherhood Myth" influence. *Health Care for Women International*, 42(4–6), 852–876. https://doi.org/10.1080/07399332.2020.1835917
- \*De Simone, S., Pileri, J., Mondo, M., Rapp-Ricciardi, M., & Barbieri, B. (2022). Mea Culpa! The role of guilt in the work-life interface and satisfaction of women entrepreneur. International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health, 19(17), 10781. https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph191710781
- Diabaté, S., & Beringer, S. (2018). Simply the best!? Kulturelle einflussfaktoren zum "intensive mothering" bei müttern von kleinkindern in Deutschland. *Journal of Family Research*, *30*(3), 293–315. https://doi.org/10.3224/zff.v30i3.04
- Donohue, M. R., & Tully, E. C. (2019). Reparative prosocial behaviors alleviate children's guilt. *Developmental Psychology*, *55*(10), 2102–2113. https://doi.org/10.1037/dev0000788
- Eagly, A. H., & Wood, W. (2016). Social role theory of sex differences. In A. Wong, M. Wickramasinghe, r. hoogland & N.A. Naples (Eds.), *The Wiley Blackwell*

- encyclopedia of gender and sexuality studies (pp. 1–3). Wiley. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118663219.wbegss183
- \*Elvin Nowak, Y. (1999). The meaning of guilt:
  A phenomenological description of employed mothers' experiences of guilt. Scandinavian Journal of Psychology, 40(1), 73–83. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9450.00100
- \*Glavin, P., Schieman, S., & Reid, S. (2011). Boundary-spanning work demands and their consequences for guilt and psychological distress. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, *52*(1), 43–57. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022146 510395023
- Gonçalves, G., Sousa, C., Santos, J., Silva, T., & Korabik, K. (2018). Portuguese mothers and fathers share similar levels of workfamily guilt according to a newly validated measure. *Sex Roles*, *78*(3–4), 194–207. https://doi.org/10.1007/s111 99-017-0782-7
- Grönlund, A., & Öun, I. (2018). In search of family-friendly careers? Professional strategies, work conditions and gender differences in work-family conflict. *Community, Work & Family, 21*(1), 87–105. https://doi.org/10.1080/1366880 3.2017.1375460
- \*Guendouzi, J. (2006). "The guilt thing": Balancing domestic and professional roles. *Journal of Marriage and Family,* 68(4), 901–909. https://doi.org/10.11 11/j.1741-3737.2006.00303.x
- Haslam, D., Filus, A., & Finch, J. (2020). The Guilt about Parenting Scale (GAPS): Develop ment and initial validation of a self-report measure of parenting guilt, and the relationship between parenting guilt and work and family variables. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 29(3), 880–894. https://doi.org/10.1007 /s10826-019-01565-8
- Henderson, A., Harmon, S., & Newman, H. (2016). The price mothers pay, even when they are not buying it Mental health

- consequences of idealized motherhood. *Sex Roles*, *74*(11–12), 512–526. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-015-0534-5
- Riana, I. G. (2019). Managing work family conflict and work stress through job satisfaction and its impact on employee performance. *Jurnal Teknik Industri*, 20(2), 127–134. https://doi.org/10.9744/jti.20.2.127-134
- Irak, D. U., Kalkýþým, K., & Yýldýrým, M. (2020). Emotional support makes the difference: Work-family conflict and employment related guilt among employed mothers. *Sex Roles*, 82(1–2), 53–65. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-019-01035-x
- Jackson, L., De Pascalis, L., Harrold, J., & Fallon, V. (2021). Guilt, shame, and postpartum infant feeding outcomes: A systematic review. *Maternal & Child Nutrition*, *17*, e13141. https://doi.org/10.1111/mcn. 13141
- Koenig, A. M., & Eagly, A. H. (2014). Evidence for the social role theory of stereotype content: Observations of groups' roles shape stereotypes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *107*(3), 371–392. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0037215
- Korabik, K. (2015). The intersection of gender and work–family guilt. In M. Mills (Ed.), Gender and the work-family experience: An intersection of two domains (pp. 141-157). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-08891-4\_8
- \*Kudarauskienë, A., & Žydžiûnaitë, V. (2018). Feeling guilty by being in-between family and work: The lived experience of female academics. *Indo-Pacific Journal of Phenomenology*, 18(2), 145–154. https://doi.org/10.1080/20797222.2018.1500670
- Lavenda, O. (2022). Contemporary parenting and its association with parents' well-being in the face of COVID-19: The mediating role of guilt. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 92(1), 11–17. https://doi.org/10.1037/ort0000581

- Maclean, E. I., Andrew, B., & Eivers, A. (2021). The motherload: Predicting experiences of work-interfering-with-family guilt in working mothers. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, *30*(1), 169–181. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-020-01852-9
- Martínez, P., Carrasco, M. J., Aza, G., Blanco, A., & Espinar, I. (2011). Family gender role and guilt in Spanish dual-earner families. *Sex Roles*, 65(11–12), 813–826. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-011-0031-4
- Meeussen, L., & Van Laar, C. (2018). Feeling pressure to be a perfect mother relates to parental burnout and career ambitions. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 9. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg. 2018.02113
- Morgenroth, T., & Heilman, M. E. (2017). Should i stay or should i go? Implications of maternity leave choice for perceptions of working mothers. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 72, 53–56. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2017.04.008
- Napholz, L. (2000). Balancing multiple roles among a group of urban midlife American Indian working women. Health Care for Women International, 21(4), 255-266. https://doi.org/10.1080/073993300245122
- Nurcholidah, L., Haryono, T., Sunaryo, S., & Hendarsjah, H. (2023). Work-family conflict, job stress and employee engagement on innovation work behavior: Mediating roles of career adaptability. *Journal of Law and Sustainable Development*, 11(5), e1005. https://doi.org/10.55908/sdgs.v11i5. 1005
- Obrenovic, B., Jianguo, D., Khudaykulov, A., & Khan, M. A. S. (2020). Work-family conflict impact on psychological safety and psychological well-being: A job performance model. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 11. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2020.00475

- O'Connor, L. E., Berry, J. W., Weiss, J., Bush, M., & Sampson, H. (1997). Interpersonal guilt: The development of a new measure. *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, *53*(1), 73–89. https://doi.org/10.1002/(SICI)1097-4679(199701)53:1<73::AID-JCLP10>3. 0.CO;2-I
- Olsson, M., & Martiny, S. E. (2018). Does exposure to counterstereotypical role models influence girls' and women's gender stereotypes and career choices? A review of social psychological research. Frontiers in Psychology, 9. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2018.02 264
- Ortiz-Ospina, E., Tzvetkova, S., & Roser, M. (2017). Working women: Key facts and trends in female labor force partici pation. Our World in Data. https://ourworldindata.org/female-labor-force-participation-key-facts
- Oshio, T., Inoue, A., & Tsutsumi, A. (2017). Does work-to-family conflict really matter for health? Cross-sectional, prospective cohort and fixed-effects analyses. *Social Science & Medicine*, 175, 36–42. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed. 2016.12. 039
- Ouzzani, M., Hammady, H., Fedorowicz, Z., & Elmagarmid, A. (2016). Rayyan-A web and mobile app for systematic reviews. *Systematic Reviews*, *5*, 210. https://doi.org/10.1186/s13643-016-0384-4
- Slobodin, O., Cohen, R., Arden, A., & Katz, I. (2020). Mothers' need frustration and controlling parenting: The moderating role of maternal guilt. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 29(7), 1914–1926. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-020-01720-6
- \*Sousa, C., Gato, C., Gonçalves, G., & Sousa, A. (2023). Work-family conflict and guilt: Effects on well-being and career satisfaction. In P. M. Arezes, et al. (Eds.), Occupational and environmental safety and health IV; Studies in systems, decision and control (Vol. 449, pp. 293–303).

- https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-12547-8\_25
- Sousa, C., Kuschel, K., Brito, A., & Gonçalves, G. (2018). Work-oriented men and women: Similar levels of work-family conflict and guilt yet different coping strategies. *Psychological Thought*, *11*(2), 195–211. https://doi.org/10.5964/psyct. v11i2. 291
- Spice, A., Viljoen, J. L., Douglas, K. S., & Hart, S. D. (2015). Remorse, psychopathology, and psychopathy among adolescent offenders. *Law and Human Behavior*, 39(5), 451–462. https://doi.org/10.1037/lhb0000137
- Wardani, I., & Putri, D. (2018). Does work-family conflict contribute to quality of work life on working mothers? *International Journal for Social Studies*, *4*(12), 92–100. https://doi.org/10.26643/ijss.v4i1 2.6377
- Williamson, T. J., Ostroff, J. S., Haque, N., Martin, C. M., Hamann, H. A., Banerjee, S. C., & Shen, M. J. (2020). Dispositional shame and guilt as predictors of depressive symptoms and anxiety among adults with lung cancer: The mediational role of internalized stigma. *Stigma and Health*, 5(4), 425–433. https://doi.org/10.1037/sah0000214
- Winefield, H. R., Boyd, C., & Winefield, A. H. (2014). Work-family conflict and well-being in university employees. *The Journal of Psychology*, *148*(6), 683–697. https://doi.org/10.1080/00223980. 2013.822343
- Young, M., & Schieman, S. (2018). Scaling back and finding flexibility: Gender differences in parents' strategies to manage workfamily conflict *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 80(1), 99–118. https://doi.org/10.1111/jomf.12435
- Zahn-Waxler, C., Kochanska, G., Krupnick, J., & McKnew, D. (1990). Patterns of guilt in children of depressed and well mothers. *Developmental Psychology*, *26*(1), 51–59.

https://doi.org/10.1037/0012-1649. 26.1.51

\*Zhang, M., Zhao, K., & Korabik, K. (2019). Does work-to-family guilt mediate the relation ship between work-to-family conflict and job satisfaction? Testing the modera ting roles of segmentation preference and family collectivism orien tation. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 115, 103321. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jvb.2019. 103321

Ziegler, Y., Graml, R., Khachatryan, K., & Uli, V. (2022). Working mothers in East and West Germany: A cluster analysis using a three-stage ap proach. *Gender in Management: An International Journal*, *37*(3), 423–437. https://doi.org/10.1108/GM-10-2020-0318

\* Articles used for scoping review



Received 30 June 2023 Revised 3 July 2024 Accepted 4 July 2024