The Unequal Flexibility Paradox:
How Context Shapes Work-Life Boundaries and Inequality

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Abstract

Flexible working arrangements in terms of time and location of work (flexitime and work from home) have become more common in recent decades, with the COVID-19 pandemic accelerating their adoption. While flexibility has the potential to help workers better reconcile work and private spheres, previous research has yielded ambivalent findings regarding its impact on well-being, work–life conflict, and the division of domestic and paid work among different population groups. This mismatch between the potential and actual outcomes of flexible work is known as the flexibility paradox. This dissertation extends earlier work on this paradox by exploring how the consequences of flexible work are shaped by contextual factors, particularly gender role attitudes, division of domestic work in a couple, and the flexibility stigma. It applies theories of work-family interface, gender, and social context using longitudinal and cross-national survey data.

Article 1 uses data from the German Family Panel (pairfam) from 2008 and 2021 to examine how gender role attitudes shape the relationship between working from home and the division of domestic work. The results indicate that with access to work from home, egalitarian men contributed more to childcare, but traditional men did not change their behavior. Among women, only those with traditional gender role attitudes increased their childcare contributions when working from home. Article 2 uses the same data, but for the 2019-2020 period, and it explores how unequal division of housework moderates the relationship between flexible working time and work–life conflict. The findings show that women responsible for most housework experienced greater difficulty transitioning between life and work. Finally, Article 3, using cross-national data from the European Social Survey and Eurobarometer Flash Survey on Work-Life Balance 470, explores how the flexibility stigma shapes the association between schedule control and working hours. The results reveal a gendered compensation mechanism: higher flexibility stigma is linked to longer work hours only for men, not women, with schedule control, suggesting that men may overcompensate for negative perceptions by working more time.

Overall, the findings of this dissertation highlight that the flexibility paradox is gendered but not universal across contexts. The consequences of flexible work for work–life reconciliation depend on social norms and household arrangements: they intensify inequality in some cases but enable more equitable outcomes in others.

Zusammenfassung

Flexible Arbeitsformen, wie Gleitzeitregelungen und Homeoffice, haben in den letzten Jahrzehnten deutlich zugenommen, insbesondere durch die beschleunigte Einführung während der COVID-19-Pandemie. Obwohl solche Regelungen das Potenzial bieten, Erwerbsarbeit und Privatleben besser zu vereinbaren, zeigen frühere Studien uneinheitliche Ergebnisse in Bezug auf ihren Einfluss auf das Wohlbefinden, die Vereinbarkeit von Erwerbsarbeit und Privatleben sowie die Verteilung von bezahlter und unbezahlter Arbeit. Diese Diskrepanz zwischen Potenzial und tatsächlichen Auswirkungen wird als "Flexibilitätsparadox" bezeichnet. Diese Dissertation untersucht, wie sich die Konsequenzen flexibler Arbeit je nach Kontext unterscheiden – insbesondere im Hinblick auf Einstellungen zu Geschlechterrollen, die Aufteilung der Hausarbeit in Paarhaushalten und die sogenannte Flexibilitätsstigmatisierung. Theoretisch stützt sich die Arbeit auf Ansätze der Arbeit-Familie-Interaktion, Geschlechtertheorien und Kontexteinbettung. Empirisch basiert sie auf Längsschnitt- und internationalen Umfragedaten.

Artikel 1 verwendet Daten des Deutschen Beziehungs- und Familienpanels (pairfam) von 2008 bis 2021, um zu analysieren, wie Einstellungen zu Geschlechterrollen den Zusammenhang zwischen Homeoffice und der Aufteilung von Kinderbetreuung beeinflussen. Die Ergebnisse zeigen, dass sich Männer mit egalitären Einstellungen stärker an der Kinderbetreuung beteiligen, während traditionelle Männer ihr Verhalten nicht änderten. Bei Frauen erhöhte sich die Beteiligung an der Kinderbetreuung nur bei traditionell eingestellten Frauen. Artikel 2 untersucht mit denselben Daten aus den Jahren 2019–2020, wie eine ungleiche Aufteilung der Hausarbeit den Zusammenhang zwischen flexibler Arbeitszeit und Konflikt zwischen Erwerbsarbeit und Privatleben beeinflusst. Frauen mit einer Hauptverantwortung für Hausarbeit hatten größere Schwierigkeiten beim Rollenwechsel zwischen Privatleben und Erwerbsarbeit. Artikel 3, basierend auf Daten des European Social Survey und der Eurobarometer-Blitzumfrage 470, zeigt, wie das Flexibilitätsstigma den Zusammenhang zwischen Zeitautonomie und Arbeitsstunden beeinflusst. In Kontexten mit hoher Stigmatisierung arbeiteten nur Männer mit vollständiger Zeitkontrolle länger, vermutlich um negative Wahrnehmungen zu kompensieren.

Insgesamt zeigen die Ergebnisse, dass das Flexibilitätsparadox geschlechtsspezifisch, aber nicht universell ist. Die Wirkungen flexibler Arbeit für die Vereinbarkeit von Erwerbsarbeit und Privatleben hängen von sozialen Normen und innerfamiliären Strukturen ab: sie können Ungleichheiten verstärken oder zu gerechteren Ergebnissen beitragen.

Author contributions

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of Dissertation Chapters 1, 4, and 5 and the lead author of Chapters 2 and 3.

Chapter 2 (Article 1), "Telecommuting and division of domestic work: The role of gender role attitudes in Germany", is a joint work with Prof. Dr. Heejung Chung, Director of the King's Global Institute of Women's Leadership at King's Business School, King's College London, UK. As a lead author of this joint article, I developed the research question, wrote the manuscript, and conducted the empirical analyses. Heejung Chung supported me in framing and rewriting the parts of the article. This article has been revised and resubmitted to the European Sociological Review journal.

Chapter 3 (Article 2), "Flexible working time arrangements and work–life conflict: The role of gender and housework", is a joint work with Prof. Dr. Susanne Strauss, Professor of Sociology, with a focus on Gender Studies in the Department of History, Sociology, Sport Science and Empirical Educational Research at the University of Konstanz, Germany. As a lead author of this joint article, I developed the research question, wrote the manuscript, and conducted the empirical analyses. Susanne Strauss supported me in framing and rewriting the parts of the article. This article is accepted for publication in the Journal of Family Research.

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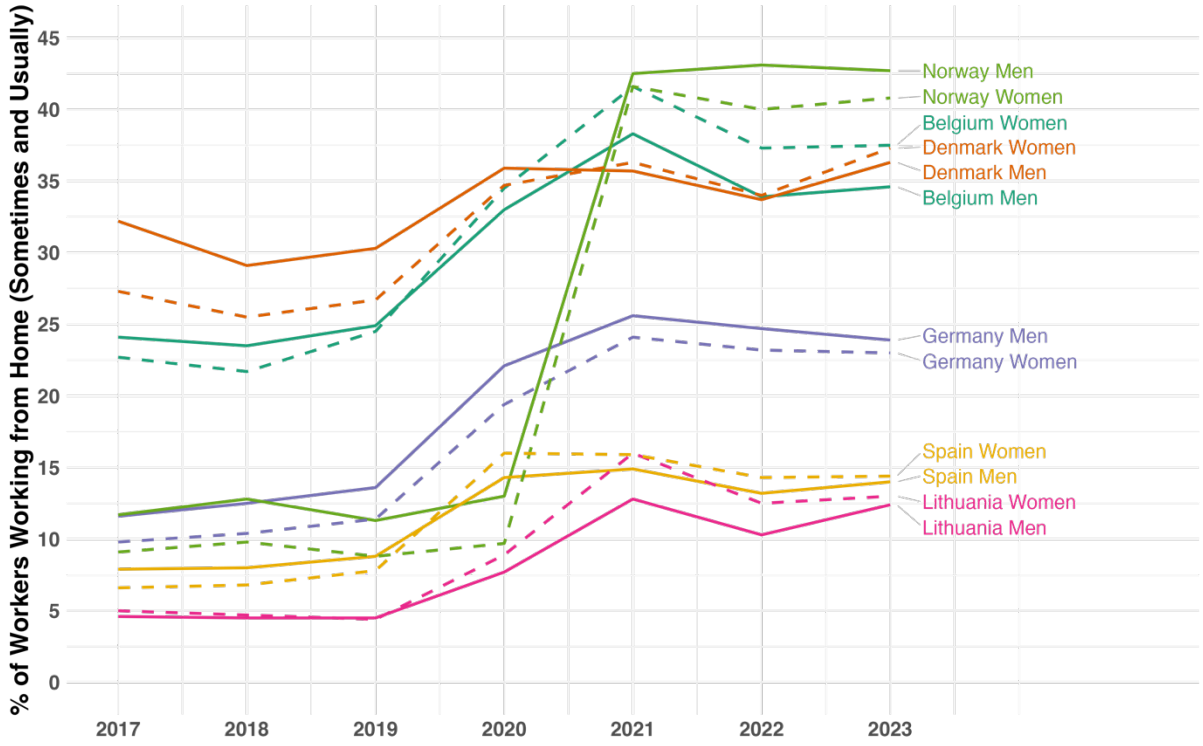
Chapter 1. Introduction

Background and relevance: Is there a gendered flexibility paradox?

There have been substantial changes in the labor market in terms of the labor force structure and employment arrangements in recent decades. On the one hand, many women have entered and continue to enter employment. For instance, in 2005, 61.2% of women were participating in the labor force in European Union (EU) countries, while in 2024, the share increased to 70.7% of women. The labor force participation was more stable for men, with only a minor increase from 76.5% in 2005 to 80% in 2024 (OECD, 2025). In addition to changes in the structure of labor market participants, there have been shifts in employment arrangements regarding the degree of flexibility in where and when to work. In 2019, the European Union passed the Directive on Work-Life Balance. It allows all workers with caring responsibilities to request flexible working arrangements (i.e., flexible work). These include flexible start and end of the working time (i.e., flexible schedule, time flexibility, schedule control) and flexibility in place of work (i.e., location flexibility, work from home, telecommuting). Many countries worldwide have been gradually adopting these rights, with the COVID-19 pandemic temporarily increasing the speed of implementation.

Even though flexible work, particularly working from home, has been discussed since the 1980s (Kraut, 1989), its spread and available data are limited. Figure 1 demonstrates the differences between men and women in the access and use of flexible workplace arrangements (sometimes or usually performing paid work from home or telecommuting) for a selected number of countries from 2017 to 2023. In the years before the COVID-19 pandemic, a higher share of men than women had access to working from home. With the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic, not only did a larger share of workers gain access to work from home, but women caught up and even surpassed men in access to work from home, except for Norway and Germany, where there are still more men working from home than women. Finally, even though there was an increase in the share of employees working from home, as the pandemic slowed down, the transition to working from home halted. According to some debates in media outlets, there might be even more returns to the office (RTO) as some companies release RTO mandates (Elliott, 2024).

Figure 1. Share of workers who can work from home (usually or sometimes). Source: Labor Force Survey, aggregated data 2017-2023.



As more women enter the workforce and flexible working arrangements become more common, scholars have increasingly investigated the effects of flexibility. Studies have examined its impact on workers' levels of well-being (Kim et al., 2020; Lu & Zhuang, 2023; Moen et al., 2016; Uglanova & Dettmers, 2018), work–life conflict (Abendroth, 2022; Chung, 2024; Higgins et al., 2014; Lott, 2020), amount and quality of time with the family (Berghammer & Milkie, 2021; Chung et al., 2021; Chung & Booker, 2023; Dunatchik et al., 2021), and time at work (Chung & van der Horst, 2020; Lott & Chung, 2016; Lyttelton et al., 2022; Ruppanner et al., 2018; Wanger & Zapf, 2022). Findings are ambivalent: some highlight the benefits of flexibility—improved well-being, more quality time with family, and reduced conflict. Others find negative effects, particularly the unequal impact of flexible work across population groups. The heterogeneous outcomes of flexible work are particularly pronounced between men and women.

On the one hand, flexible working has the potential to reduce gender inequality in the domestic sphere as men might be able to work from home or finish work earlier to complete household responsibilities (i.e., Petts et al., 2023). In the work sphere, women might find it

easier to return to work after becoming mothers (Chung & van der Horst, 2018). On the other hand, flexible working arrangements can contribute to the stalled gender revolution (England, 2010). They may increase gender inequality or preserve it by making women use flexibility to perform even more domestic (unpaid) and paid work (Cao & Wang, 2025; Chung & Booker, 2023; Lyttelton et al., 2022; Wang & Cheng, 2023). At the same time, it can push men out to perform more paid work (Chung & van der Horst, 2020; Lott & Chung, 2016). Moreover, inequalities emerge in the perceptions of workers who use flexible working arrangements and those who do not. There is a perception of flexible workers as not being committed enough to work, which has been called flexibility stigma (Munsch, 2016; Vandello et al., 2013) or femininity stigma when referring to flexible work as a female-oriented policy and stigmatizing men who make use of it (Rudman & Mescher, 2013).

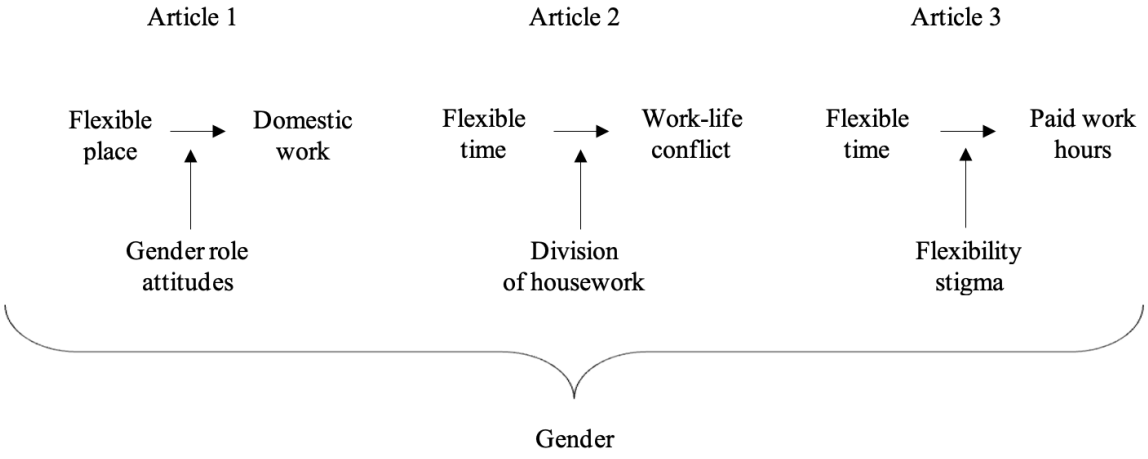
The most recent literature that focused on this ambivalence emphasizes the paradox of flexible work: instead of helping workers to achieve better work–life balance, flexible work can lead to self-exploitation by making workers work harder, increasing their work–life conflict, and exacerbating gender inequality (see Chung, 2022 for an overview of studies). Nonetheless, the flexibility paradox seems to vary across contexts. Earlier literature focused on the job-related factors and how they shape the effect of flexible working arrangements on work–life interference (i.e., Lott, 2020; Schieman & Glavin, 2016). Other literature mainly concentrated on how perceived work–life interference is moderated by national contexts (i.e., policies, welfare regimes, Chung 2022). However, the existing literature has not sufficiently addressed other contexts that can shape the relationship between flexibility and domestic work, work–life conflict, and paid work, such as the division of household labor within a couple, gender role attitudes, and flexibility stigma.

Contexts are the social relations in which persons are embedded, which define norms and values that guide individuals' behavior (Coleman, 1994). In other words, contexts are internalized "shared cultural models" that shape how people act and evaluate reality (Blair-Loy, 2009). One of the crucial contexts is the beliefs about gender roles since those greatly determine the division of housework and childcare (Nitsche & Grunow, 2018), which are some of the heterogeneous gendered outcomes of flexible work location. The role of gender role attitudes in the relationship between flexible working arrangements and the division of domestic work has not been examined yet. Another important context to consider is the actual behavior concerning the division of domestic labor within a couple, which is highly gendered despite all the efforts to increase gender equality (Garcia-Roman, 2025). The previous

ambivalent findings on work–life conflict among workers with flexible working time arrangements can be explained by how couples divide domestic labor. Finally, apart from gender role attitudes and couples' arrangements in the division of domestic work within the household, the level of flexibility stigma can shape the use of flexible work by men and women (Rudman & Mescher, 2013; J. C. Williams et al., 2013), which can help explain how men and women use flexible working for work-related outcomes.

This dissertation extends the previous research on the consequences of flexible working by analyzing the role of the gender component in various contexts. It answers the following research questions: How are flexible working arrangements in terms of scheduling and location of work associated with the following outcomes: work–life conflict, contribution to domestic work, and paid working hours? How do gender role attitudes, the division of housework within a couple, and flexibility stigma, which are called contexts, moderate the relationship between flexibility and these outcomes among men and women? Figure 2 provides an overview of the relationships studied in this dissertation. The following section summarizes how each article explores these relationships in turn.

Figure 2. Outline of the dissertation.



Summary of the articles and contribution

Article 1 (co-authored with Heejung Chung, revised and resubmitted to the European Sociological Review) answers the following research question: *How do gender role attitudes shape the association between flexible workplace arrangements and the division of domestic labor?*

This article examines how individuals' beliefs about men's and women's roles (gender role attitudes) influence how they use flexible workplace arrangements (telecommuting) to allocate housework and childcare. It builds on evidence that gender role attitudes shape how couples divide domestic labor (Nitsche & Grunow, 2018) and that the outcomes of flexible work arrangements for work-family reconciliation vary across societies with differing expectations about gender roles, i.e., Poland vs Sweden (Kurowska, 2020). The analyzed data from the German Family Panel covers the period from 2008 to 2021, including the COVID-19 pandemic, when the take-up of telecommuting was more widespread and less dependent on other factors (i.e., individual gender role attitudes). By examining data from before and during the pandemic, we can separate two effects: how gender role attitudes influence access to telecommuting and how they shape the way the flexible workplace affects domestic labor. While telecommuting did not shape the division of housework, the results support previous evidence that telecommuting is associated with a higher contribution to childcare among women than men, but this association depends on the individual gender role attitudes. When getting access to telecommuting, traditional men do not change their childcare contribution, but egalitarian men start to contribute to the division of labor more than before telecommuting. For women, accessing telecommuting is associated with a higher contribution to childcare only among traditional women. Egalitarian women do not change their behavior. During COVID-19, when telecommuting was more widespread, gender role attitudes continued to shape the use of telecommuting for the division of childcare, meaning that telecommuting traditional men and egalitarian women did not increase their contribution during that period. The results add to the previous literature by demonstrating that beliefs about the gender roles of men and women can shape how telecommuting contributes to the division of childcare. Beliefs about gender roles can enable a more equal division among some groups of populations and maintain inequality in others despite the spread of telecommuting.

Article 2 (co-authored with Susanne Strauss, accepted for publication in the Journal of Family Research) examines the flexibility in terms of time. It addresses the following research

question: *How does the heterogeneity in the division of housework within couples moderate the relationship between flexible working time arrangements and work–life conflict?*

Grounded in the literature on work-family conflict (Schulz & Reimann, 2022), this study analyzes why there are heterogeneous outcomes of flexible working time arrangements for work–life conflict (Kelly et al., 2014; Lott, 2020, 2023). Work–life conflict (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985) refers to the challenges in navigating between work and other domains of life (i.e., family, friends, personal time). The conflict is bidirectional, meaning that work can disturb the fulfillment of other life roles (work–to–life conflict), and some life circumstances can make it challenging to engage in the work sphere (life–to–work conflict). The flexible working time arrangements might ease or reinforce the challenges in transitions between work and life domains. Research has examined the role of working conditions in this relationship (Lott, 2020; Schieman & Glavin, 2016). However, less attention has been paid to the couple's arrangements in the division of domestic labor, which is deeply gendered. Using one wave of the German Family Panel (2019-2020), this study explores how a gendered division of domestic labor, particularly housework, shapes the association between flexible working time arrangements and work–life conflict (work–to–life and life–to–work conflict). Results reveal that flexible working time arrangements do not reduce work–life conflict in the same way across the population, underscoring the role of gender and division of housework in this relationship. When women are the only ones responsible for the housework, transitioning from roles performed in the life domain to roles related to the work domain is more challenging. At the same time, men experience higher conflict if their employer defines their schedule, even when they share housework equally with their partner. Thus, this article contributes to the previous literature by showing the importance of the relative division of household labor in explaining work–life conflict induced by flexible working time arrangements.

After exploring the effect of flexibility on the division of unpaid labor and work–life conflict, **article 3** (solo-authored, under review in the Community, Work & Family) focuses on paid labor. It answers the research question: *How does the relationship between schedule control and work hours vary across genders and flexibility stigma contexts?*

Women and men use flexible working differently (Chung, 2022), with women expanding the domestic sphere (Chung & Booker, 2023) and men contributing more to the paid employment sphere (Lott & Chung, 2016). This study aims to understand under which conditions workers use flexible working time to devote more time to work, particularly in the context of flexibility and femininity stigma. Flexibility stigma is defined as the perception of

flexible workers as not deserving of a promotion or being negatively perceived by their colleagues because of using flexible working (Rudman & Mescher, 2013; Vandello et al., 2013). The article also examines the femininity stigma, which views flexibility as being designed for women to take care of domestic responsibilities (Rudman & Mescher, 2013). This study examines individual-level data from one wave of the European Social Survey in 2021, merged with the country-level data averages of flexibility stigma from the Eurobarometer Flash Survey on Work-Life Balance 470. The results of this study reveal that complete schedule control is associated with higher working hours, particularly among men. Moreover, with complete schedule control, men (but not women) compensate for the negative perception of flexibility and the view of flexibility as designed for women by working more hours in contexts where these perceptions are higher. The findings contribute to the previous literature by providing evidence for the gendered compensation mechanism when using flexibility, underscoring the importance of the framing and perceptions around flexibility.

The three articles contribute to the research on the consequences of flexibility for work–life conflict, division of domestic work, and paid labor by providing novel insight into how these consequences differ based on the contexts in which individuals use flexible working arrangements. First, this dissertation contributes to the previous literature by moving beyond the focus on the role of working conditions (i.e., Lott, 2020; Schieman & Glavin, 2016), taking into account the role of the household labor division in the relationship between flexible working arrangements and work–life conflict (Article 2). Second, it enables a better understanding of the heterogeneity in how flexibility is used to manage unpaid domestic and paid labor by examining the beliefs around the roles of men and women and (negative) perceptions of flexible workers (Articles 1 and 3). Third, it demonstrates how to disentangle the potential dependency between individual characteristics (i.e., gender role attitudes) that might make people choose flexible working arrangements from how these characteristics shape people's use of flexible working to divide domestic labor. Tackling the selection effect is possible by using long-term data before and during the COVID-19 pandemic (Article 1). Fourth, it introduces the gendered compensation mechanism, i.e., higher contribution to paid labor when having schedule control to maintain the "male ideal worker" status (Article 3). Finally, with a particular focus on gender, the three articles of this dissertation reinforce the argument of the gendered flexibility paradox: not only do men and women perceive the challenges in transitioning between the roles in work and life spheres differently. Flexible working also enables different behaviors in domestic and employment spheres, reinforcing

gender inequality. Crucially, the main contribution of this dissertation is that the gendered flexibility paradox is not universal: gender inequality is amplified in some contexts but not others.

The following chapters provide insight into the theoretical foundations, data, and methods used in this dissertation. Afterward, three chapters present the three studies on how flexible working arrangements shape the division of domestic labor (Chapter 2), work–life conflict (Chapter 3), and paid labor (Chapter 4) in various contexts among men and women. Chapter 5 of the dissertation provides a general conclusion, implications, and avenues for future research.

Theoretical framework

This chapter provides theoretical explanations for the gendered flexibility paradox. It shows how flexible working arrangements lead to heterogeneous gendered outcomes in the expansion of labor, more stress, and blurred boundaries between work and life, instead of helping men and women improve the work–life balance. The overarching theoretical framework is based on theories of work-family interface, gender theories, and the role of the social context.

Work and family interface

Several approaches to conceptualizing the interface between work and family emerge from sociological and organizational studies. An overarching approach focuses on work and family (or home) as separate domains, clusters, or systems with distinct characteristics (Nippert-Eng, 1996). It states that work and home constitute different cultural systems, and individuals have to engage in boundary work (Nippert-Eng, 1996): "strategies, principles, and practices that we use to create, maintain, and modify cultural categories" for these categories to exist. Defining the boundaries is about separating the different spheres with mental fences, which help to identify the boundaries of various social realities (Zerubavel, 1991). The boundary work is not universal, meaning it varies from individual to individual, reflecting unique experiences in their social realm (Nippert-Eng, 1996). Boundary work can be expressed as a continuum, from complete integration of two cultural categories to fully segmenting two domains. Integration implies viewing work and home as a single mental category, where there is no difference in the location or timing. The individual brings work home and, at work, can discuss private matters with no additional effort of transferring from one role to another. On the opposite pole is segmentation, complete separation between work and home in physical, time-based, and mental frameworks. In segmented roles, people perform work and home duties at distinct times and places. Their behavior, communication style, and emotional tone differ sharply between the two domains. The two poles of the integration-segmentation continuum are extreme, and many individuals might be allocated somewhere in between. Some are leaning more toward integration, and some are leaning more toward separation, having different experiences of transitions between work and home. These experiences can be viewed from the perspective of domains (Clark, 2000) and the perspective of roles (Ashforth et al., 2000).

From the first perspective, the different experiences of the interface between work and family are due to variations in how individuals perceive the transitions between work and home domains (Clark, 2000). The borders between these domains can be physical: work takes place at a different location from home. They can be temporal: work is done during a set time frame, different from time dedicated to family responsibilities. They can be mental: behaviors and emotions proper for work differ from those at home. The borders between work and home have several characteristics. Borders can be *permeable*, meaning that one domain can encroach on another, such as family members interrupting the work process. They can have a degree of *flexibility*. For instance, time dedicated to work can extend over the time devoted to home. Borders can *blend* with work and home responsibilities occurring at the same time, place, and thinking process, for example, when an individual has to care for a child while working from home. Finally, a degree of border strength combines the above characteristics – permeability, flexibility, and blending. If borders are impermeable, inflexible, and do not blend, the borders are strong. If, on the other hand, the borders are highly permeable, flexible, and blend in, they are weak. From these characteristics, Clark (2000) provides the following propositions that will be crucial for understanding how flexibility shapes the work-family interface. One proposition concerns the similarity of domains and the strength of borders. Weak borders can facilitate work–life balance for similar domains. For example, when work and home domains are similar in culture or communication style. Strong borders can facilitate work–life balance for different domains (i.e., distinct patterns of work and family domains). Finally, the facilitation of work–life balance depends on the degree of identification with one of the domains. A strong border for one domain and a weak border for the other domain will facilitate work–life balance if an individual strongly identifies with the domain where the border is strong. Such an individual can control the border of this domain. For instance, an individual who strongly identifies with work works only from the office. However, if an individual identifies more with the domain where the border is weak, i.e., has limited control of the domain border, it will obstruct work–life balance. One example is family matters spilling over into the work domain for those more attached to the family domain and working from home.

Another perspective is focused on the roles enacted in each domain rather than the different characteristics of these domains (Ashforth et al., 2000). The focus is on the daily transitions between roles (i.e., worker, parent, child, friend). Similarly to Clark (2000), Ashforth et al. (2000) describe the characteristics of permeability and flexibility, but they focus on the boundaries between roles. The flexibility to enact the parent role by pausing the work

duty and being able to take a personal call while at work may help to transition from one role to the other more easily. At the same time, interruptions from work to engage with the family and being often distracted by private calls can lead to confusion and create a conflict between the roles. A key concept here is the role identity – the extent to which an individual is attached to a particular set of beliefs, values, goals, norms, and interaction styles associated with a specific social role. The degree of contracts between roles will define the difficulty of "switching the cognitive gears" (Louis & Sutton, 1991) or, in other words, transitioning from one role to another, i.e., from being a bossy manager to being an empathetic parent. From this perspective, boundaries can also be weak or strong. Ashforth et al. (2000) call them thin vs thick boundaries. With a low contrast between roles, high flexibility, and permeability, roles are highly integrated. The overlap can lead to confusion about what role to enact, how to avoid interruptions, and how to create and maintain boundaries, but it is easier to cross them. With the high contrast between roles, low flexibility, and permeability, roles are highly segmented. Thus, it is easier to maintain the boundaries but more challenging to cross the borders. To simplify transitioning between highly segmented roles, individuals might need to create the rites of passage (Gennep, 2019, first published in 1909), rituals, and ceremonies that signify such a transition. Examples include commuting to work on Monday morning or switching off the work-related communications channels at home.

The mechanisms these theories discuss are the transition from one domain to another or from one role to another in temporal, physical, and mental boundaries/borders. They provide explanations for how flexible working arrangements can shape the work–life interface. A flexible workplace, i.e., working from home, might lead to greater physical flexibility and permeability of boundaries. Similarly, a flexible working time, i.e., a high degree of control over one's work schedule, might lead to greater temporal flexibility and permeability of boundaries. With the high physical and temporal blurring of boundaries, mental transitions between roles become more complex, and it is harder to maintain the boundaries between different identities (work and home/other life roles). Throughout the dissertation, the focus is on the role of boundaries between work and other domains of life, how physical flexibility can enable a higher contribution to the domestic sphere (Chapter 2), or how temporal flexibility can lead to an increase in the time spent at paid work (Chapter 4). Chapter 3 focuses explicitly on the perception of the spillover between work and life spheres, the work–life conflict.

However, as Clark (2000) and Ashforth (2000) note, the experience of spillover between work and life domains, as well as the degree of contribution to each, can vary

depending on domain or role identification, which shapes individuals' perceptions of which boundaries—such as those between work, home, or other life roles—are more challenging to maintain or cross. One of the primary individual identifications is through gender roles, which significantly shape the experience of work-home transitions (Pleck, 1977).

What is the role of gender?

There are several perspectives on the study of gender roles. Hochschild (1973) defined the following perspectives with a focus on (1) the biological sex differences, (2) the fundamentally different roles men and women perform in society, (3) the minority status of women as a group that is being discriminated because of their physical or cultural characteristics, (4) the politics of different availability of resources (i.e., power, wealth, social status) to men and women. Other work focused on the symbolic presentation of male and female attributes in visual and interpersonal communications, introducing the concept of "gender display" as "expressive behaviors" that portray gender in social settings following cultural norms and expectations (Goffman, 1976). Moving on from the performance of gender-related attributes, West and Zimmerman (1987) introduce gender from the perspective of interactionism, the expression of gender in interaction with other individuals, or "doing gender". Gender "is the activity of managing situated conduct in light of normative conceptions of attitudes and activities appropriate for one's sex category" (West & Zimmerman, 1987, p. 127), with sex category being based on the biological criteria, but "established and sustained by the socially required identificatory displays that proclaim one's membership in one or the other category" (p. 127). The "doing gender" is particularly pronounced in situations that require some allocation of resources between individuals, for example, the allocation of paid and unpaid or domestic labor. Several theories attempted to explain the allocation in rational terms, meaning that the individual with less time or more resources in terms of status or money will bargain and do less housework or childcare (Blood Jr. & Wolfe, 1960). Nonetheless, gender continues to explain the allocation of tasks within a family (Berk, 1985). The practice of women doing housework and men not doing it, regardless of their resources, is the process of "doing gender" (West & Zimmerman, 1987). Behaviors are managed according to norms based on a belief in what tasks are designated to be done by men and which are defined to be done by women.

Extending the interactionist view, Ridgeway and Correll (2004) introduce the perspective that looks at the (hegemonic) gender beliefs not only in the process of in-person interaction but in social relational contexts, in "any situation in which individuals define

themselves in relation to others in order to act" (p. 511). Even when acting alone, if there is a perception that one might be socially evaluated, it is also a social relational context. Gender beliefs are hegemonic in the sense that nearly everyone knows what these beliefs surrounding men and women are. When interacting with others, gender categorization happens almost automatically. Such a categorization acts as a background identity in various social contexts, such as work and family. These gender beliefs are quite resistant and difficult to change despite structural shifts. For example, women actively entering the labor market did not substantially change the fact that they perform the housework and childcare when they come home from work, the phenomenon termed "Second Shift" (A. Hochschild & Machung, 2012).

Nonetheless, the studies on gender ideology show some changes over time. Gender ideology is defined as "individuals' levels of support for a division of paid work and family responsibilities that is based on the belief in gendered separate spheres" (Davis & Greenstein, 2009, p. 87). Over time, traditionalism, in the sense of women being primarily responsible for the home and men for work, is declining across countries. At the same time, ideological convictions do not move toward universal egalitarianism, i.e., gender equality in the two spheres (Knight & Brinton, 2017; Scarborough et al., 2019). Instead, a substantial number of individuals believe that a child will suffer if a mother works, that men and women should bring income to the household, and finally, that fathers can look after children as well as mothers (Begall et al., 2023). It emphasizes that women are expected to play an active role in the domestic sphere and be as active in the labor market as men, but fathers can also do the care work. However, we do not know if individuals would agree that a child suffers when a father works. Despite these beliefs, men's contribution has only slightly increased, while women perform more housework and care work across contexts, with some variations (Garcia-Roman, 2025; Gonalons-Pons & Ansari-Thomas, 2025; Leopold et al., 2018; Román & Ophir, 2024). Therefore, to a varying extent, individuals continue to "do gender" in the private sphere of home and family. At the same time, the system continues to reinforce gendered patterns in the public sphere of work, evident in substantial wage differences between men and women (Cha et al., 2023), work hours differences (Schmitt & Auspurg, 2022), and discrimination (Rotman & Mandel, 2023).

Therefore, home and work constitute particular social relational contexts where hegemonic gender beliefs might manifest themselves. Still, there is no longer a consensus on what the hegemonic gender belief is, as many lean toward women and men being active in paid and unpaid labor at the same time. In behavior, however, the hegemonic belief persists, as men

and women "do gender" at home. Also, there is a categorization of men and women in the work sphere, which is reflected in the unequal access to resources. The persistent gendered relations in work and home/family can continue to shape the gendered transitions between these spheres (Allen et al., 2014; Pleck, 1977). Flexible working arrangements might amplify the gendered nature of these transitions due to the freedom these arrangements provide to maintain a stronger boundary between work and home. This freedom is, however, constrained by norms that individuals follow when acting in social relational contexts. One can understand how gendered these transitions will be by exploring the norms and the context in which flexible working arrangements are used.

What is the role of the social context?

Individuals' behavior is shaped by the social contexts in which they are embedded (Coleman, 1994). The context makes individuals decide how to act in a particular situation, following the rules of institutions, cultural expectations, or the norms of the context. Coleman's theory (1994) assumes that individuals act rationally but do so in the context of a social system that might be ruled by norms that constitute their rationality. While the focus is on the individuals and their actions, the explanation of these actions lies in the aspects of the social context where they take place.

The use of flexible working arrangements, the consequences of their use for work–life conflict, and the division of paid and unpaid domestic labor between men and women occur within specific social contexts. In other words, following Coleman's framework (1994), context can shape how individuals use flexibility to transition between work and other domains and behave within these domains regarding contribution to domestic and paid work. One particular framework of such transitions and behaviors is gender, which is deeply embedded in social interactions and institutions (Ridgeway, 2009). This dissertation explores the role of gender, specifically how men and women perceive work–life conflict and contribute to domestic and paid work when they have flexible working time and place arrangements. Going beyond, it examines how men and women use flexibility in various contexts: traditional and egalitarian gender role attitudes, equal and unequal division of household labor within a couple, and the level of flexibility/femininity stigma. The following sections define each context in more detail and explain how it enriches the understanding of flexible work use.

Gender role attitudes

As described in the section on the role of gender, gender role attitudes[1] are beliefs surrounding the role of men and women in work and family spheres (Davis & Greenstein, 2009). Attitudes define an individual's behavior when interacting with others (West & Zimmerman, 1987) or acting in a social relational context, where others might potentially judge one (Ridgeway & Correll, 2004). Thus, attitudes can shape the behavior of individuals. A belief in a more traditional division of paid and unpaid labor (i.e., belief in work as a man's sphere and family as a woman's sphere) can result in acting according to this belief in the work and family spheres. A belief in a more egalitarian division (i.e., assuming an equal role of men and women in various spheres) can result in different actions involving greater participation of men in unpaid work and women in paid work or involvement in both spheres simultaneously.

With access to flexible working arrangements, individuals are in a position to act not only according to their gender identity but also according to their attitudes or beliefs toward the level of separation between work and family spheres. There are two potential actions to observe in the separate sphere framework: the division of paid and unpaid labor. Since progress in the contribution to domestic labor by men has been slower than the inclusion of women in the labor market, the focus here is on domestic labor to understand the stalled advancement in the equal division of housework and childcare. Therefore, when there is some flexibility in the location of work, individuals might act in line with their attitudes to behave in a more egalitarian or traditional way regarding the division of housework and childcare. Chapter 2 of this dissertation provides evidence on how gender role attitudes shape how men and women use flexible work location (i.e., work from home vs work in the office) to contribute to the division of domestic work.

Gendered division of domestic labor

How domestic labor is allocated in the couple, whether it is men or women responsible for all, or whether the division is equal to some extent, reflects the strength of gender norms within a couple. The studies on gender role attitudes show that the share of "purely" traditional individuals who believe in the complete separation of work and family spheres between men

[1] The previous section employed the term ideology to denote an individual's level of support for a division between paid work and family responsibilities, grounded in the concept of separate spheres (Davis & Greenstein, 2009).

and women is only about 7% (Begall et al., 2023; Knight & Brinton, 2017). It is about 4 times lower than in the 1990s (Knight & Brinton, 2017). The remaining majority of individuals are either ambivalent or egalitarian. Therefore, one can expect that with more egalitarian attitudes and higher participation of women in the labor market, behavior will follow, and the division of domestic labor will be more equal in most couples. However, this is not the case for many individuals.

In their book "Second Shift", Hochschild and Machung (2012) describe the process of an increase in egalitarian gender role beliefs, women's entrance to the labor market, and no substantial change in women's role as a homemaker in the household as the stalled revolution. Subsequently, Gershuny et al. (1994) claimed that there is a change in women's and men's contribution to domestic labor, but it happens with a delay, a process they call "lagged adaptation". Undoubtedly, there have been changes in how individuals divide housework and childcare within a couple. Nonetheless, the adaptation process continues, as many studies show that women continue doing the largest share of domestic work today (Gonalons-Pons & Ansari-Thomas, 2025; Leopold et al., 2018; Román & Ophir, 2024). With some convergence, i.e., over time, men tend to contribute more to domestic labor than before, but this development is slow. Therefore, there is still a gender difference in allocating time to housework and childcare. Even when living alone, women continue to perform more housework than men across many Western countries (Garcia-Roman, 2025), which underscores the continuous performance of gender even beyond the couple interaction context, where "doing gender" amplifies.

The division of labor within the household is a particular context that corrects for the potential incongruence in support of more egalitarian roles, which is not reflected in behavior. It considers the lag between attitudes and behavior, providing the actual setting of how gendered the division of domestic labor is. This context can help to understand whether persistent gendered performance in the division of housework shapes the way flexible working arrangements are associated with perceived conflict when transitioning from work–to–life and life–to–work spheres. Chapter 3 of this dissertation provides evidence for the role of the division of housework in the relationship between flexible working time arrangements and work–life conflict.

Flexibility stigma

Flexible working arrangements that shape the transition between work and life spheres (Ashforth et al., 2000; Clark, 2000) are not perceived similarly across contexts. Implementing flexible working arrangements has been part of a flexicurity strategy (Wilthagen & Tros, 2004). It aimed to balance the workers' need for flexibility to accommodate better work and private demands, as well as the employers' need to have workers available. At the same time, flexible working arrangements have become more popular in response to an increasing number of women entering the labor market and the need to help them better accommodate work and life demands as they navigate between a worker role and remaining in the homemaker role (Glass & Estes, 1997). Therefore, implementing flexible working is, on the one hand, connected to the support of workers' work–life balance and, on the other hand, has some connotation with gender. Yet, the "ideal worker norm" defines the standard employee as being entirely devoted to one's job, always available, and free from any responsibilities outside work (Acker, 1990; Blair-Loy, 2009). This definition leaves no space for workers who plan to have a family, especially women, who are still the primary caretakers of domestic labor (J. Williams, 2001). Moreover, this definition does not align with the strategy to improve workers' work–life balance.

Consequently, the use or request for flexible working has been stigmatized (Cech & Blair-Loy, 2014; Rudman & Mescher, 2013; Vandello et al., 2013; J. C. Williams et al., 2013), or in Goffman's words, it has been perceived as an "attribute that is deeply discrediting", "an undesired differentness from what we had anticipated" (Goffman, 1963, p. 3), particularly in light of the ideal worker norm. As Link and Phelan (2001) argue, sigma operates through four processes: labeling, stereotyping, social separation, and status loss. The stigma of flexible working is achieved through (1) labeling the different routines of being present at work (9 to 5 and office vs flexible schedule and home), (2) stereotyping the differences by implying the office worker is productive and remote worker is a slacker; (3) separating us (office standard workers) from them (flexible workers); and, finally (4) status loss and discrimination against them (flexible workers) in the form of negative perception or restrictions in promotion opportunities, allocation of tasks, and salary raise.

To maintain the status of an "ideal worker", workers with flexible working arrangements might compensate for flexibility by working harder and longer (Chung, 2022). The compensation might be even more pronounced for men since the stigmatization of

flexibility has two connotations: being against the ideal worker norm (the flexibility stigma) and being a women-oriented policy (Rudman & Mescher, 2013), hence, not appropriate to be used by men (the femininity stigma). Chapter 4 of this dissertation provides evidence on how working time flexibility is associated with usual work hours in the context of gender and the flexibility/femininity stigma.

This dissertation is based on the theories of work-family interface, gender theories, and the role of the social context, including gender role attitudes, gendered division of domestic labor, and flexibility stigma. Building on these theories, I examine how flexible working arrangements shape the perception of work–life conflict, contribution to housework, childcare, and paid labor in different contexts influenced by societal gender roles. The next chapter outlines the data and methods used to test these relationships empirically.

Data and methods

To answer the research questions, this dissertation uses several high-quality survey datasets. Articles 1 and 2 rely on the German Family Panel (pairfam), a longitudinal study of individuals, their partners, and children. For Article 3, I use data from the European Social Survey and Eurobarometer Flash Survey for Work-Life Balance 470. Table 1 outlines which data helps to answer which research question.

Table 1. Research questions and data used.

Research question	Data
Article 1: *How do gender role attitudes shape the association between flexible workplace arrangements and the division of domestic labor?*	German Family Panel, waves 1-13 (2008-2021)
Article 2: *How does the heterogeneity in the division of housework within couples moderate the relationship between flexible working time arrangements and work–life conflict?*	German Family Panel, wave 12 (2019-2020)
Article 3: *How does the relationship between schedule control and work hours vary across genders and flexibility stigma contexts?*	European Social Survey, round 10, 2021-2022 Eurobarometer Flash Survey on Work-Life Balance 470 (2018)

German Family Panel

German Family Panel is a longitudinal study of individuals collected yearly since 2008 and includes three birth cohorts (1971–1973, 1981–1983, and 1991–1993). The study collects extended information on flexible working arrangements regarding location and scheduling of work, relative division of housework and childcare, household composition, gender role attitudes, and work–life conflict.

For the research question on the role of gender role attitudes in the relationship between telecommuting and the division of domestic labor, it was possible to use all waves of the study, including the data collected during COVID-19. Division of housework is measured as a single question: "To what extent do you and your partner share duties in the housework (washing, cooking, cleaning)?". The possible answers range from 1 to 5, where 1 is the respondent's

partner doing (almost) everything, and 5 is the respondent doing (almost) everything. For the measure of childcare, the question is, "To what extent do you and your partner share duties in taking care of children?". The scale range is the same as for housework. Telecommuting is measured by asking about work location, differentiating between 4 categories: always working from home, working from the company office but with a possibility to work from home, unchanging company location with no possibility to work from home, and changing work locations. I omit individuals in the last category since those mainly represent the occupations related to transportation and other occupations with constantly changing locations. For the rest, I combine groups 1 and 2, those who are always working from home and those who have the possibility to do so due to a low number of cases in the group that reports always working from home. Therefore, this measure combines the use of and access to working from home. Chapter 2 discusses in more depth what grouping these categories means for the analysis, and Chapter 5 proposes ways for future research to disentangle different forms of working from home. Group 3 constitutes those who do not work from home, the main comparison group.

For gender role attitudes, statements are not combined into a single index but are used separately. This is due to their ambivalent nature (Begall et al., 2023) and low internal consistency based on Cronbach's alpha measure. One statement captures attitudes toward men's role in the domestic sphere: "Men should participate in housework to the same extent as women", and another the perceptions toward women's role: "Women should be more concerned about their family than about their career". The level of agreement with statement one captures egalitarian attitudes, and disagreement or neither agreement nor disagreement captures traditionalism. For the second statement, due to inverse coding, the level of agreement captures traditionalism, and disagreement or neither agreement nor disagreement represents egalitarianism. To avoid the feedback loop of attitudes being influenced by other measures in the model (Nitsche & Grunow, 2018), gender role attitudes are taken from the start of the observation period and treated as a constant measure (to be mindful of potential changes, Supplementary material, section 5, provides information on the dynamics of gender role attitudes). The method to analyze this data is hybrid models, which capture the differences between individuals and the changes within individuals.

I also use the German Family Panel to answer the second research question. However, due to data availability for work–life conflict and flexible working time arrangements, the observation period had to be limited to one wave right before COVID-19. The work–life

conflict measure has several dimensions that can be combined in one index due to their high consistency (based on Cronbach's alpha). The conflict is measured bidirectionally. Hence, there are two indices, including different items. The **work–to–life conflict** comprises the following items:

- Due to my professional, vocational training, or university workload, my personal life suffers.
- Even when I am doing something with my friends, partner, or family, I often think about work.
- After a stressful time at work, I find it difficult to relax at home and/or to enjoy my free time with others.
- My work prevents me from doing things with my friends, partner, and family more than I'd like.

The **life–to–work conflict** consists of the following items:

- Because I am often under stress in my private life, I have problems concentrating on my work.
- Because of my personal schedule, I often lack time to do my work.
- The time I need for my partner, family, and friends keeps me from being more involved in my job, vocational training, or university education.
- Conflicts in my personal life reduce my work performance.

Flexible working time arrangements constitute 4 categories: complete flexibility from the employee's side (autonomous schedule), flexitime (freedom in choosing when to start to work, but having to complete a strict amount of work hours), fixed schedule (the most rigid), and the company-defined schedule (the timing of employee's work is in control of the employer). The moderator, division of housework, is the same measure used for Article 1 above. I apply linear regression models to study the association between flexible working arrangements and work–life conflict, with the division of housework being the moderator.

European Social Survey and Eurobarometer

To answer the third research question, I use data from two sources: individual-level measures from the European Social Survey and aggregated country-level measures from the Eurobarometer Flash Survey on Work-Life Balance 470. The European Social Survey is a

cross-national survey that collects data every 2 years from the adult population living in private households in over 40 countries using strict random sampling. Due to data availability on work scheduling, only round 10 of the survey was used. Flexible working time is measured through 3 categories: no degree of control of when to start or finish work, some control, and complete control. The outcome variable, working hours, is estimated as the self-reported usual number of working hours per week, including overtime. It is not possible to use or compute the pure overtime work hours because the usual work hours account not only for overtime but also for different fluctuations in the working hours due to holidays, sickness, or other private matters.

The Eurobarometer Flash Survey 470 on work–life balance is also collected from the adult population living in private households. Its variables have some limitations, i.e., work hours are not measured continuously, and flexible working arrangements are measured as a combination of part-time, flexible time, and location. Nonetheless, it provides unique information on the perceived flexibility stigma. There are three different statements to which respondents can either totally agree (1), tend to agree (2), tend to disagree (3), or totally disagree (4). The following statements are evaluated:

- Whether flexible workers are viewed negatively by the other colleagues.
- Whether flexible working has a negative impact on one's career (promotion, bonus, type of work allocated).
- Whether it is easier for women than for men to make use of flexible work arrangements.

Although all these statements capture the flexibility stigma to some degree, combining them into one index would not be appropriate due to low internal consistency. Therefore, the models use the average agreement with each statement at the country level separately. Individuals nested within the country context of flexibility stigma. Considering this nested nature of the data, multilevel modeling is the optimal method to capture the role of country-level flexibility stigma in the relationship between schedule control and work hours.

Finally, the key estimate included across models in all three articles is gender, which is measured through respondents marking whether they are male or female. Gender is either included as an interaction (Articles 1, 2, and 3) or used to build separate models for these two groups (Articles 2 and 3).

Chapter 2.
Telecommuting and division of domestic work: The role of gender role attitudes in Germany
Article 1

Abstract

Telecommuting is often portrayed as a work–life balance measure. Though, in theory, it provides workers with more time for leisure and family, due to the boundary blurring between work and life spheres, it can exacerbate gender inequalities by pushing women to carry out more domestic work while increasing men's time in paid work. Empirically, the evidence is mixed. We extend the debate by exploring how individuals' gender role attitudes moderate the relationship between telecommuting and the division of domestic work. We apply hybrid models to the German Family Panel data. The data covers the timespan from 2008 to 2021, which includes the unique COVID-19 pandemic. Results show that gender role attitudes matter. When gaining access to telecommuting, egalitarian men increased their contribution to childcare, while traditional men did not. Similarly, telecommuting traditional women increased their childcare contribution. The pattern remained the same during the expansion of telecommuting due to the COVID-19 pandemic: only telecommuting traditional women and telecommuting egalitarian men increased their childcare contribution. The results of this study suggest that telecommuting has the potential to serve as a 'great equalizer.' However, achieving this requires actively promoting more egalitarian views on gender roles.

Keywords: telecommuting, childcare, housework, gender, gender role attitudes

Introduction

Telecommuting (i.e., working from home) is generally perceived to allow workers to better balance work and private demands by providing more time for leisure and family (Noonan & Glass, 2012). This is done through the reduction of commuting costs, through enhancing the flexibility and permeability of boundaries between work and family (Clark, 2000; Halford, 2006), and through the increase in work autonomy (Allen et al., 2015). There is some evidence that telecommuting reduces work-family conflict for parents (Erickson et al., 2010). However, other studies show that telecommuting can increase work-family conflict, particularly for women (Yucel & Chung, 2023). This is because telecommuting reinforces the gendered division of labor (Lyttelton et al., 2022; Wang & Cheng, 2023), increasing the amount of time women spend on both paid and unpaid work (Chung & Booker, 2023; Hilbrecht et al., 2008; Lott, 2019; Sullivan & Lewis, 2001). In fact, scholars argue that flexible working can potentially exacerbate gender inequality for this very reason (Haddon & Silverstone, 1993).

Previous studies have shown the importance of Gender Role Attitudes (GRA) in predicting the division of childcare and housework among different-sex couples or in explaining levels of work–life conflict (Nitsche & Grunow, 2018; Schober, 2013). More recently, studies have noted the variation in the gendered work-family outcomes of flexible working in different gender-normative contexts (Kurowska, 2020; Lott, 2015). Similarly, studies have shown how GRA moderate the association between telecommuting and work-family conflict (Yucel & Chung, 2023), with an assumption that GRA shape how individuals use telecommuting to carry out more paid or unpaid labor. Less known is how GRA might moderate the association between telecommuting and the division of domestic work. A better comprehension of the role of GRA is necessary for a more fine-tuned understanding of what the wider spread of telecommuting we observe can mean for gender equality (Chung et al., 2021). Telecommuting may not exacerbate gender inequality, as once expected in certain pockets of the population, where social norms do not restrict gender performance (Kurowska, 2020). What is more, if GRA shape flexible working outcomes, this can provide us with yet another justification for the need to tackle gender biases in social roles in today's societies, and specifically, pertaining to this study, to provide policy solutions to ensure that flexible working can bring about better gender equality outcomes.

Our paper also explores the role of GRA during the COVID-19 pandemic period when telecommuting was expanded, alongside the rise in childcare and housework demands.

Previous studies have shown that during this time, there were signs of men contributing more to domestic work (Craig & Churchill, 2021), potentially due to the widespread use of telecommuting (Lyttelton et al., 2022) and, with it, a reduction in the stigmatized (negative) views against telecommuters. This may have enabled workers to use telecommuting for care and housework without fearing stigmatization against their work commitment or masculinity (see also Rudman & Mescher, 2013). At the same time, there was evidence for the re-traditionalization of roles during the pandemic period, with women performing even more domestic work than before (Allmendinger, 2020) as couples fell back on traditional gender roles.

We explore the role of GRA in shaping the association between telecommuting and the division of domestic work, using the German Family Panel data (Hank et al., 2024) from 2008 to 2021 (waves 1-13) and applying hybrid linear regression models separating the between-person effects and within individual over time changes (Allison, 2009). This article contributes to the research on the outcomes of telecommuting in the following ways. First, we explore the role of gender and gender role attitudes in shaping the relationship between the division of unpaid work and telecommuting. Enabling a more precise look at the potential heterogeneity across pockets of the population with regard to how flexibility is used at work (Clark, 2010), as well as how gender norms shape the performance of gender within the household, we enable a better understanding of what an expansion of telecommuting can mean for gender inequality patterns in the future. Secondly, given the long period covered in our data, we can estimate the effect of telecommuting before the pandemic and compare it to the COVID-19 pandemic period, when telecommuting was more common across the workforce. This allows us to disentangle the effect of GRA on the relationship between telecommuting and the division of unpaid work from their potential impact on the take-up of telecommuting.

Theory

Telecommuting and division of domestic work

Flexible working arrangements (Jeffrey Hill et al., 2008) can be based on the location of work (i.e., telecommuting, working from home) and scheduling of work (i.e., schedule control, flexitime). Here, we focus on the flexibility in the location of work: the use of the opportunity to work from home always or regularly (Noonan & Glass, 2012). Telecommuting is actively promoted as a resource to provide a better work–life balance, particularly for employees with

children (Chung, 2022). However, empirical evidence shows that telecommuting can increase rather than decrease work-family conflict (Allen et al., 2015; Yucel & Chung, 2023). This is mainly because telecommuting can blur the boundaries between work and the private sphere, leading to an increase in housework, paid work, or both, largely depending on one's gender and the roles attributed to them by social norms (Clark, 2000; Kurowska, 2020).

Domestic work is housework and childcare that individuals perform to maintain the family and home (Coltrane, 2000). Housework activities include cooking, cleaning, buying groceries, and laundry, which are labeled as routine tasks and considered less enjoyable than non-routine tasks, i.e., taking care of the garden, repairs, and bills (Coltrane, 2000). Research on the unequal division of housework and childcare (e.g., Chung and Booker 2023; Petts, Carlson, and Pepin 2021) mainly focuses on routine tasks.

How partners divide domestic work can be explained by several theories. According to the time availability perspective (Huber & Spitze, 1981), a partner with more time available will do more domestic work relative to a partner who has less time. Relative resources theory posits that the partner with greater resources, especially earning potential in the labor market, would carry out a smaller share of the domestic work (Becker, 1991). These perspectives are gender neutral, i.e., assume that regardless of gender, an individual with more time available or fewer resources will carry out more domestic work. According to the "doing gender" approach (West & Zimmerman, 1987), constructed gender norms shape who does more housework. Thus, by performing different societal roles, individuals demonstrate their gender: as the breadwinners and as the homemakers or caregivers. In line with this perspective, societal gender norms define how domestic work is distributed. Despite the evidence of convergence in housework time (Leopold et al., 2018), women spend more time on housework in most countries than men (Eurofound, 2022). Nonetheless, in countries with more egalitarian gender norms (i.e., Denmark and Norway), the gap between men and women is smaller (Kan et al., 2011).

Telecommuting can shape how different-sex couples divide household responsibilities (Sullivan & Lewis, 2001). The new opportunities for the flexibility model (Huws et al., 1996) argues that telecommuting can allow gender roles to converge, where women can take a larger role in "breadwinning" and men in domestic tasks. This is because telecommuting provides workers with more time and flexibility to shape work around their family and personal demands. In other words, (extended hours) working in the office may have prevented men from taking a larger role in the household. With telecommuting, men are able to save commuting

time and have flexibility at work to better engage in domestic work (D. L. Carlson et al., 2021). Moreover, the flexibility and permeability that telecommuting provides have been shown to improve the labor market participation of women with care responsibilities (Chung & van der Horst, 2018; Lyttelton et al., 2022). Therefore, telecommuting can allow couples to break the patterns of traditional gender roles if they wish to do so. On the contrary, the exploitation model (Haddon & Silverstone, 1993) sees telecommuting as a tool to better exploit women's labor by enabling women to take more part in paid employment, namely work longer hours, without disrupting the unequal division of domestic work within the household. Similarly, men may adhere to their gender roles and use the blurred boundaries between work and home to do more paid work rather than engage more in unpaid domestic work (Glass & Noonan, 2016; Lott & Chung, 2016).

Combining the theories of division of domestic work and telecommuting, we can expect that telecommuting will enhance gender equality by giving men the opportunity to engage in household chores, relieving their female partners' load. Alternatively, it might exacerbate gender inequality, where women do much more housework when telecommuting, with potential negative career consequences due to this, and where men enact the masculine role and do more paid work, yet even less housework when telecommuting (Chung & Booker, 2023; Marsh & Musson, 2008). Men's masculine identities may also be threatened when working flexibly, as flexible working is seen as feminine and deviating from the ideal worker norm (Munsch, 2016; Rudman & Mescher, 2013). Since telecommuting was not (and is not) common for male workers, especially before the pandemic, men may end up doing less unpaid work, even when it is possible to do more, to compensate for the deviation from the norm.

In sum, we come to the two competing hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1a: *Telecommuting is associated with a higher contribution to domestic work for both men and women.*

Hypothesis 1b: *Telecommuting is associated with a higher contribution to domestic work for women but not for men.*

The role of gender role attitudes

Gender role attitudes (GRA) are individuals' views regarding the roles men and women should play in society (van der Horst, 2014). The way men and women will distribute domestic duties when telecommuting relates to their beliefs about gender roles (Kan et al., 2011; Schober,

2013). Psychological research on the relationship between attitudes and behavior also suggests that individuals' behavior is in line with their attitudes (Cooper & Croyle, 1984) and that people act in accordance with their identity (Cast, 2003). Empirical research supports this assumption and shows that egalitarian men are more likely to contribute to housework and childcare (Greenstein, 1996; Grunow & Baur, 2014). At the same time, women who view family as their primary sphere would do more housework (Nitsche & Grunow, 2018; Schober, 2013), and women with egalitarian attitudes would participate more in paid work (Cunningham, 2008).

Gender role attitudes are multidimensional in that different beliefs about men's and women's roles do not necessarily align within the traditional – egalitarian spectrum for all. Based on the existing studies (Begall et al., 2023; Grunow et al., 2018; Knight & Brinton, 2017), we observe beliefs regarding maternal employment, the primacy of family or work for women, men's role in the family, and finally, beliefs around the couple's income generation roles can all constitute different attitudinal dimensions. Attitudinal ambivalence can be found in individuals holding egalitarian views on some dimensions and traditional views on others. For instance, Grunow et al. (2018) identified a class of individuals who strongly support men's participation in household chores but, at the same time, disapprove of maternal employment. Furthermore, Grunow and Baur (2014) found that only attitudes toward male contribution to housework were a key predictor of men's housework. In this respect, it is important to distinguish between different types of GRA when exploring how GRA can moderate the association between telecommuting and the division of domestic work. Given the focus of our study, the most relevant GRA are the perceptions of men's roles in the household and women's roles in terms of family and work.

How couples view gender roles can especially matter when telecommuting. Border theory (Clark, 2000) argues that flexibility and permeability in the work-family boundary will result in the expansion of the sphere an individual identifies more with. This is why we expect that workers with different GRA will have different priorities with regard to how they use their additional resources of time and energy saved from not having to commute to work and flexibility of boundaries between work and family when telecommuting. Previous qualitative evidence shows that couples with more egalitarian GRA used flexibility in their work to divide domestic chores equally, whereas women with traditional GRA viewed flexibility as an opportunity to do more housework and childcare chores (Sullivan & Smithson, 2007). Similarly, Yucel and Chung (2023) demonstrate that telecommuting increased work-to-family interference among women with egalitarian GRA, while it increased family-to-work interference among women with traditional GRA. GRA did not play a role in this relationship

for men. This finding aligns with the expectation that women with traditional views will identify more as homemakers and expand domestic work. In contrast, women with egalitarian views will focus more on the expansion of paid work when telecommuting.

Based on these previous studies, we expect that it is mainly women who believe that their primary focus is the family and that men should not do household chores (i.e., traditional GRA) will be increasing their share of domestic work when telecommuting, whereas this will not be the case for women with egalitarian GRA. On the other hand, men with egalitarian GRA will be those who will use the newly obtained flexibility in their work to try to be more involved in housework and childcare. In contrast, men with traditional GRA are unlikely to do so. Considering the multi-dimensions of GRA (see Grunow & Baur, 2014 on the predictors of men's housework contribution), we expect that for men, particularly the attitudes toward men's role in the household, will matter. For women, attitudes around women's roles in the work and family might be important, as they shape women's beliefs around work roles. However, attitudes toward men's role in the household will also matter since they shape women's responsibilities in the domestic sphere. We do not make assumptions about which GRA will matter more because we expect both to matter.

Therefore, we hypothesize:

Hypothesis 2a: *Telecommuting is associated with a higher contribution to domestic work among women with traditional GRA compared to women with egalitarian GRA.*

Hypothesis 2b: *Telecommuting is associated with a lower contribution to domestic work among men with traditional GRA compared to men with egalitarian GRA.*

The COVID-19 context

Gender role attitudes may influence the association between telecommuting and the division of labor, not only because workers with different GRA may use telecommuting in different ways to divide household labor, but also because GRA may shape the take-up of telecommuting practices. The COVID-19 pandemic provides a unique opportunity to tease out this association, as the state or organizations enforced telecommuting during this period. From March until July 2020 and from about December 2020 to May 2021, Germany, like many countries, entered a strict lockdown to contain the spread of the COVID-19 virus. Schools, daycares, restaurants, and nonessential retail were closed, and many employees were furloughed or had to work from home. The sudden expansion of telecommuting and the fact that the government has imposed

it to reduce the spread of the virus meant most workers who can telecommute have been telecommuting during this period, which can remove the potential selection effect of GRA on telecommuting.

What is more, during the pandemic period, the stigma against telecommuters reduced (Abendroth et al., 2022), potentially enabling parents, especially fathers, to use telecommuting to be more involved in housework and childcare without fearing repercussions on their careers (Chung et al., 2021). Also, due to school closures, not only was there more housework and childcare to be carried out but also more of an understanding that workers, especially parents, had to address both care and work demands during the lockdown periods (Petts et al., 2021; Zoch et al., 2022). The research on the consequences of COVID-19 initially proposed and found evidence for two opposing hypotheses: 1) the re-traditionalization hypothesis (Allmendinger, 2020) that the pandemic will bring back the traditional unequal division of household chores (Zoch et al., 2021) and 2) the equalizing hypothesis (Craig & Churchill, 2021) that changes in the working hours, income, time and location of work will provide space for both partners to engage more equally in the domestic work. Until now, studies in Germany have shown evidence for both, depending on circumstances, the male partner's contribution either relatively increased or decreased (Hank & Steinbach, 2021; Hipp & Bünning, 2021; Kulic et al., 2021).

We can expect two opposing outcomes with regard to telecommuting and the division of labor during the pandemic. On the one hand, we can expect an even stronger moderation of GRA during COVID-19. In such a crisis, and with the increased demand for domestic work, workers with a more traditional GRA may have reverted to their assumed gender roles with a clearer division of responsibilities, where men fully take on the breadwinning role and women the caregiving roles. Similarly, those with a more egalitarian GRA may have welcomed this new opportunity provided by the pandemic to enact their ideal division of labor (Milkie et al., 2002) to divide the increased domestic work more equally. This may have especially changed the behaviors of egalitarian men, who may have previously been cautious of doing so due to stigmatized views around their flexible working (Rudman & Mescher, 2013). On the other hand, we could potentially expect that the GRA do not matter as much with regard to the division of housework and childcare during the COVID-19 lockdown periods. Regardless of one's GRA, working parents were presented with unprecedentedly high demands of housework and childcare during the pandemic. Therefore, telecommuting parents may have had to spend time on housework and childcare. Between men and women, we can expect to see more

changes in men in this case, as we expect that women would have already used telecommuting to be more involved in housework and childcare.

Thus, we hypothesize:

Hypothesis 3a: *Telecommuting is associated with a higher contribution to domestic work for both men and women during COVID-19.*

Hypothesis 3b: *Telecommuting is associated with a higher contribution to domestic work among women with traditional GRA compared to women with egalitarian GRA during COVID-19.*

Hypothesis 3c: *Telecommuting is associated with a lower contribution to domestic work among men with traditional GRA compared to men with egalitarian GRA during COVID-19.*

Data and methods

To analyze how GRA moderate the relationship between telecommuting and the distribution of domestic work, we use data from the German Family Panel (pairfam), release 14.0 (Brüderl et al., 2023). Pairfam includes extensive information on gender role attitudes, working arrangements, and the relative distribution of household tasks. Pairfam data has been collected yearly since 2008. We use the pre-pandemic waves 1-12 conducted from 2008/9 to 2019/20 and the pandemic wave 13 collected between November 2020 and April 2021. Moreover, part of the wave 12 was conducted in 2020 when the first lockdown began. We included those cases and created a control variable to indicate which cases were affected by the lockdown measures and the telecommuting expansion. The analytical sample comprises different-sex couples with children under the age of 18 due to the low number of cases among same-sex couples. Detailed information on the sample and missing values is available in the Supplementary material, section 18, pages 33-34. The final sample consists of 12327 observations, with 829 men and 1067 women participating in at least three waves during the observed period (unbalanced panel). The operationalization of the variables is presented below, with more information in the Supplementary material, Table 1A.

Dependent variable: Division of housework and childcare

The individuals relatively assess their contribution to the division of housework ("washing, cooking, cleaning" are asked simultaneously) and childcare ("who is taking care of the

children"). The possible answers range from 1 "(Almost) completely my partner" to 5 "(Almost) completely me". We normalize this variable from 0 (my partner is doing almost all the housework/childcare) to 1 (I am doing almost all the housework/childcare) and treat it as continuous.

Independent variable: Telecommuting (WFH)

Telecommuting is measured by asking individuals if they 1) always work from home, 2) have an unchanging work location with the possibility to work from home, and 3) have an unchanging work location without the possibility to work from home. We operationalized the telecommuting variable in the following way: 0 is an unchanging work location without telecommuting, and 1 is an unchanging work location with the possibility of telecommuting. We have decided to exclude those who *always* telecommute because it mixes the effect between those who constantly use telecommuting and those who have access to telecommuting and might use it sporadically, yet not as often. Therefore, our telecommuting variable combines access and use of telecommuting. Even though it might include workers who telecommute more sporadically, previous studies show that even access to telecommuting is important in shaping employment and family outcomes (Chung & van der Horst, 2018). In the analysis section, for simplicity of terminology, we consider those who respond having the possibility to work from home as telecommuting, acknowledging that the category combines those who have access but may not telecommute as regularly. As a robustness check, we provide analysis, including the group that always telecommutes. The results remain the same (see Supplementary material, section 10, pages 20-21).

Moderating variable: Gender role attitudes (GRA)

The following statements are available to measure gender role attitudes: 1) "Women should be more concerned about their family than about their career"; 2) "Men should participate in housework to the same extent as women"; 3) "A child under 6 will suffer from having a working mother" and 4) "Children often suffer because their fathers spend too much time at work". Respondents can assess these statements on a scale from Strongly Disagree (1) to Strongly Agree (5). In Supplementary material, Figure 2A, we present the distribution of answers to how much people agree with the statements. Creating an index for all or subsamples of these statements is not possible due to the low internal consistency (Cronbach's alpha is 0.46 for all, 0.35 for the first two, 0.45 for the last two, 0.49 for the first and the third) and since we

aim to explore the multidimensionality of the GRA. Therefore, based on studies on the multidimensionality of gender ideologies (Grunow et al., 2018; Knight & Brinton, 2017), we use two statements to indicate two distinct GRA dimensions. We use the statement "Men should participate in housework to the same extent as women" (GRA 1) to indicate attitudes around men's roles in the domestic sphere and the statement "Women should be more concerned about their family than about their career" (GRA 2) to indicate the respondent's perception of women's roles (the correlation between the two is 0.2). We recode the scale for the statements as a binary variable (Arpino et al., 2015; Begall et al., 2023). For GRA 1, 0 = the individuals with egalitarian GRA (who strongly agree) and 1 = the rest to have a more balanced distribution (only 20% of respondents disagreed or neither agreed nor disagreed on the original scale). For GRA 2, 0 = individuals with the egalitarian GRA (who disagreed with the statement) and 1 = the individuals with traditional GRA (who agreed with the statement and neither agreed nor disagreed). Following previous studies (Nitsche & Grunow, 2018), we treat GRA as a time-constant variable measured at the start of the observation period (wave 1) to avoid a feedback loop between acquired resources and individual attitudes. What is more, as GRA is measured in every other wave, using GRA as a time-variant variable would have constrained our sample sizes. In the Supplementary material, section 5, pages 8-9, we provide the distribution of gender role attitudes across years.

Control variables

Since the division of domestic work remains gendered (Eurofound, 2022) and women are under-represented among teleworkers (Kley & Reimer, 2023), we control for the respondents' gender, and later on, in the models with GRA, we test for men and women separately. Based on the time availability perspective (Huber & Spitze, 1981) and the fact that women working part-time are less likely to telework (Kley & Reimer, 2023), we control for working hours. To take into account the household demands that might be related to the division of household labor and the take-up of telecommuting, we use the age of the youngest child, the number of children, and marital status (Chung et al., 2021; Singley & Hynes, 2005). Following the relative resources approach (Becker, 1991) and the access to telecommuting contingent on the occupational sector (Kley & Reimer, 2023), we include education, occupation status, and her share of income as controls. Finally, to account for the potential cultural variation, we control for East/West residency in Germany, migration background, and age (Yucel & Chung, 2023).

Models

We apply hybrid linear regression to explore the individual change in the telecommuting status and how it is associated with the relative division of housework and childcare (over time within-person) and variation between those who telecommute and those who do not (between-person). The hybrid model (Allison, 2009) is given by:

$$y_{it} = \beta_0 + \beta_1(x_{it} - \overline{x}_i) + \beta_2 z_i + \beta_3 \overline{x}_i + \mu_i + \epsilon_{it}$$

y_{it} is the outcome variable division of housework and childcare. First, we compute the person-specific mean to estimate the between-person differences ($\beta_3 \overline{x}_i$). Then, we calculate the deviation from the person-specific mean for the time-variant observations to estimate the within-person over time differences $\beta_1(x_{it} - \overline{x}_i)$, which are identical to the fixed-effects estimation. The advantage of the hybrid model is that it allows the inclusion of time-invariant variables $\beta_2 z_i$, which are gender role attitudes, gender, migration status, and living in East Germany. μ_i represents the person-specific variation that is stable over time and ϵ_{it} is the random variation specific to an individual at a point in time. For simplicity, we refer to the results from the within-person estimates as over time effects and the between-person differences as between-person effects. The within-person over-time estimation of the hybrid models allows us to account for the self-selection of individuals with particular personality characteristics into telecommuting (Leslie et al., 2012). The data was weighted with the calibrated design weight to adjust the pairfam sample to the central characteristics of the German population.

First, we assess the overall and gendered effect of telecommuting by pooling men and women in the same models. Second, to explore the role of the GRA, we build separate models for men and women using GRA as an interaction term. Finally, we estimate models including an interaction term between telecommuting and the COVID-19 period.

Results

Descriptive statistics

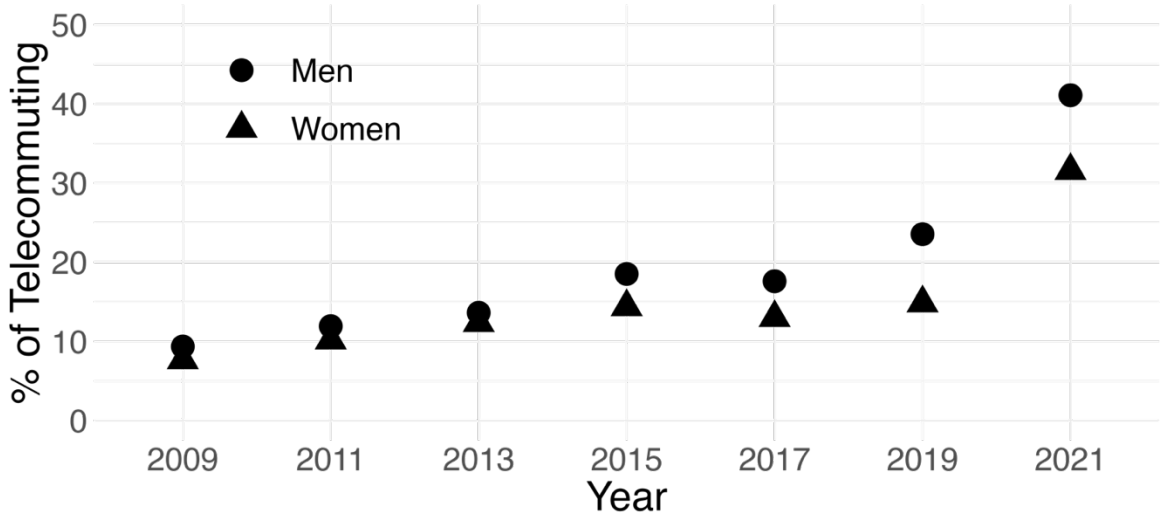
First, we present the descriptive findings (see Supplementary material, section 6) for the distribution of domestic work, telecommuting, gender role attitudes, and control variables separately for men and women. As for the outcome variable, women do a higher share of housework and childcare (0.73 and 0.67, respectively). On average, about 10% of women and

11% of men got access to telecommuting. As for the statement about men doing housework to the same extent as women, most of the women strongly agree (67%), while among men, about half strongly support this statement (50%). About 40% of both men and women (strongly) disagree that women should focus more on the family than the career. With respect to control variables, more men than women report being in professional or managerial occupations (ISCO 1-3). The average age of the youngest child in the household is about 4 years old, and, generally, a family has 1 or 2 children. Men are, on average, 20 hours more in paid employment than women per week, reflective of the German labor market. The average age of the respondents is 35 years old. About half have a higher education certificate. Women with children provide about 30% of the household income.

We further show the percentage of men and women telecommuting over the years we observe in the panel. Figure 3 shows that over the last 13 years, men had access to telecommuting more often than women, and this gap has widened during COVID-19 (2020-2021). About 10-15% of women had access to telecommuting before the pandemic, and during the lockdown period, the share rose to 33%. About 12-25% of men had access to telecommuting before the pandemic. In 2021, almost half had access to it. These gender differences might be attributed to occupational variations and fewer women holding jobs that could be done from home (Abendroth et al., 2022).

In the Supplementary material, sections 3 and 4, pages 4-7, we show the distribution of individuals working from home and their gender role attitudes. As we can see, egalitarian men and women are generally more likely to have access to telecommuting practices. The exception to this is where those who disagree that men should provide an equal contribution to housework are ever so slightly more likely to telecommute (51%) compared to men who have egalitarian views on this (49%).

Figure 3. Share of men and women telecommuting from 2008/9 (wave 1) to 2020/21 (wave 13).



Telecommuting, gender, and gender role attitudes

To test Hypotheses 1a and 1b, in Table 2, we first examine how changes in the telecommuting patterns are associated with changes in the share of housework and childcare. Looking at the total sample (Model 2-1), there were no differences between telecommuting versus non-telecommuting workers in their share of washing, cleaning, and cooking (between-person effects). Similarly, workers did not change their housework contribution when they got access to telecommuting (over time effects). Moreover, there was no evidence for variation across genders regarding the association between doing housework and telecommuting (Model 2-2). The situation was similar for the division of childcare between-person (Model 2-3) and over time effects (Model 2-3). However, these associations varied across genders. Examining between individuals, women generally carried out a larger share of childcare (Model 2-4, woman coefficient 0.20, $p < 0.001$), and those telecommuting did an even larger share (Model 2-4, between WFH*woman interaction term coefficient 0.07, $p < 0.01$). There were no clear differences between men who telecommuted and those who did not. However, examining changes within individuals over time, when men got access to telecommuting, they tended to increase their share of childcare slightly (Model 2-4, over time effect coefficient 0.02, $p<0.05$). This over-time individual change was not found for women (Model 2-4, over time WFH*woman interaction term coefficient -0.02, $p > 0.1$). Therefore, these results do not

support Hypothesis 1a and support Hypothesis 1b, but only for the childcare division. Telecommuting is associated with a higher contribution to childcare only for women.

Table 2. Pooled hybrid linear regression models. Dependent variable: relative contribution to housework and childcare, 1 = A respondent is doing all, 0 = a partner is doing all. Pairfam data. A full table is in the Supplementary material, Table 3A.

	Model 2-1 Housework	**Model 2-2 Housework**	**Model 2-3 Childcare**	**Model 2-4 Childcare**
(Intercept)	0.54 ***	0.53 ***	0.49 ***	0.50 ***
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Between-person effects				
Telecommuting (WFH)	-0.03 +	-0.01	0.00	-0.03 +
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.02)
Woman	0.35 ***	0.35 ***	0.22 ***	0.20 ***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
WFH*Woman		-0.04		0.07 **
		(0.03)		(0.03)
Over time effects				
Telecommuting (WFH)	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.02 *
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
WFH*Woman		-0.00		-0.02
		(0.01)		(0.01)
Num. obs.	12327	12327	12327	12327
N waves	13	13	13	13

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

To test Hypotheses 2a and 2b on how gender role attitudes moderate the relationship between telecommuting and the division of housework and childcare, we present the results in Table 3 for men and Table 4 for women. Overall, when distinguishing individuals based on their views around men's role in the housework (GRA 1), men with traditional GRA did a lower share of housework (Model 3-1, between-person coefficient -0.06, $p < 0.001$) and childcare (Model 3-3, between-person coefficient -0.03, $p < 0.01$) compared to men with egalitarian GRA. When we compared men with different attitudes toward women's roles in work and family (GRA 2) (Models 3-2 and 3-4), there were no differences. Next, we examined how GRA moderate the association between men's telecommuting and their contribution to housework and childcare. No significant results were found, except for men's share in childcare. Egalitarian men contributed a higher share of childcare when they got access to telecommuting (Model 3-3, over time coefficient 0.02, $p < 0.1$), whereas this was not the case for men with traditional GRA (Model 3-3, over time interaction term coefficient -0.03, $p < 0.05$; see also Figure 4). Of the different GRA, men's attitude toward men's housework contribution mattered.

Table 3. Hybrid linear regression models for men. Dependent variable: relative contribution to housework and childcare, 1 = Man is doing all, 0 = Woman is doing all. GRA 1: "Men should participate in housework to the same extent as women". GRA 2: "Women should be more concerned about their family than about their career". Pairfam data. A full table is in the Supplementary material, Table 4A.

	Model 3-1 Housework Men	**Model 3-2 Housework Men**	**Model 3-3 Childcare Men**	**Model 3-4 Childcare Men**
(Intercept)	0.39 ***	0.38 ***	0.35 ***	0.34 ***
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.06)	(0.06)
Between-person effects				
Telecommuting (WFH)	-0.03	-0.02	-0.04 +	-0.03
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Traditional GRA 1 Men and Housework	-0.06 ***		-0.03 **	
	(0.01)		(0.01)	
Traditional GRA 2 Women and Family		-0.01		-0.01
		(0.01)		(0.01)
WFH*Traditional GRA 1	0.02		0.04	
	(0.03)		(0.03)	
WFH*Traditional GRA 2		-0.02		0.01
		(0.03)		(0.03)
Over time effects				
Telecommuting (WFH)	0.00	-0.01	0.02 +	0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
WFH*Traditional GRA 1	-0.01		-0.03 *	
	(0.01)		(0.01)	
WFH*Traditional GRA 2		0.01		-0.01
		(0.01)		(0.01)
Num. obs.	5563	5563	5563	5563
N waves	13	13	13	13

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Figure 4. Telecommuting and the share of childcare (over time effects) for men. Gender role attitudes 1: "Men should participate in housework to the same extent as women". 83% confidence intervals[2].

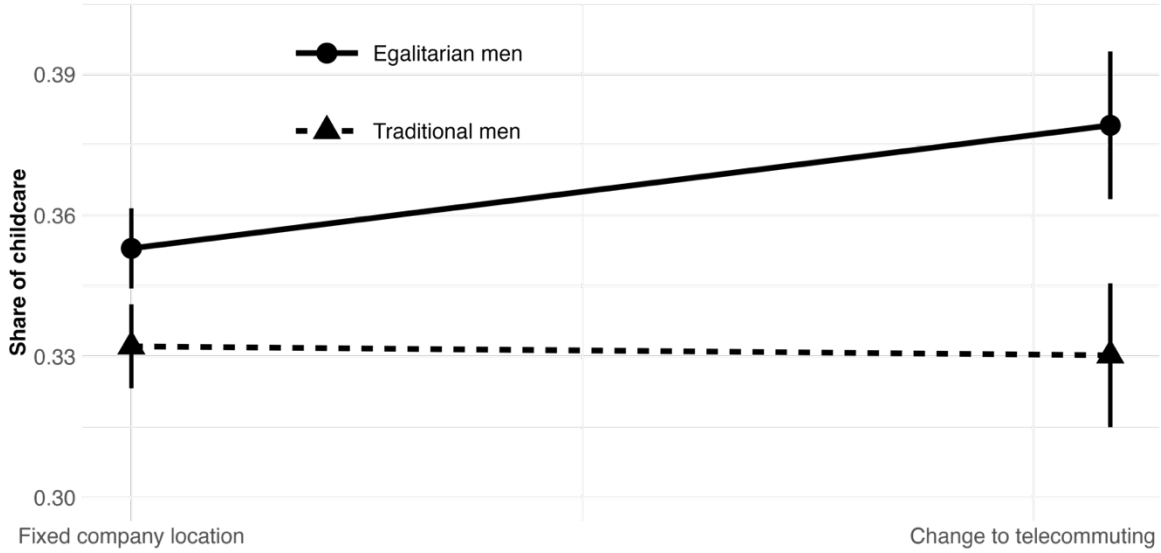


Table 4 demonstrates the moderating role of GRA in the association between telecommuting and the division of housework and childcare for women. Overall, women with traditional views toward men's role in domestic work contributed more to housework (Model 4-1, between-person coefficient 0.05, $p < 0.001$) and childcare (Model 4-3, between-person coefficient 0.03, $p < 0.05$) compared to women who support men's involvement in housework. When examining the moderating role of GRA, we find significant results only for the attitudes around men's role in housework and the division of childcare. Women who hold traditional views regarding men's role in housework (GRA 1) contributed more to childcare when they got access to telecommuting compared to those with egalitarian GRA (Model 4-3, over time interaction term coefficient 0.04, $p < 0.1$). This result is depicted in Figure 5, showing that the contribution to childcare among egalitarian women did not change when they got access to telecommuting, while traditional women did more childcare. The results show that only the attitudes toward men's housework contribution mattered for men and women and only for the increase in childcare participation. Thus, Hypotheses 2a and 2b are partially supported.

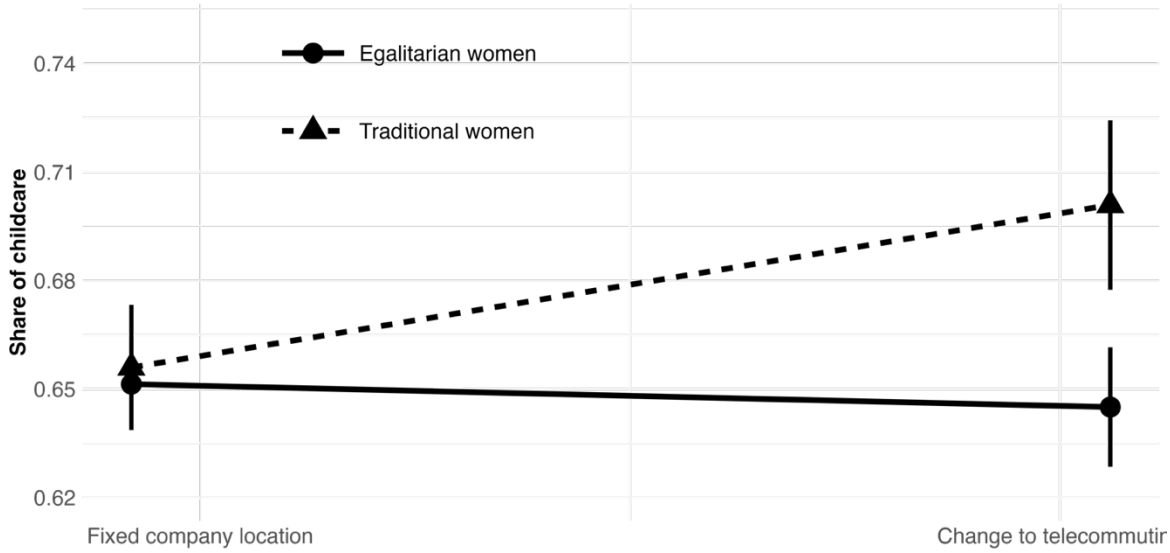
[2] It has been shown that 83% confidence intervals can effectively identify significant differences between two means with a p-value of 0.05 (Austin & Hux, 2002). When reporting the predictive values from the interaction effects, we use 83% confidence intervals.

Table 4. Hybrid linear regression models for women. Dependent variable: relative contribution to housework and childcare, 1 = Woman is doing all, 0 = Man is doing all. GRA 1: "Men should participate in housework to the same extent as women". GRA 2: "Women should be more concerned about their family than about their career". Pairfam data. A full table is in the Supplementary material, Table 5A.

	Model 4-1 Housework Women	**Model 4-2 Housework Women**	**Model 4-3 Childcare Women**	**Model 4-4 Childcare Women**
(Intercept)	0.85 ***	0.87 ***	0.68 ***	0.70 ***
	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.07)	(0.07)
Between-person effects				
Telecommuting (WFH)	-0.04	-0.05	0.02	-0.01
	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Traditional GRA 1 Men and Housework	0.05 ***		0.03 *	
	(0.01)		(0.01)	
Traditional GRA 2 Women and Family		-0.00		-0.01
		(0.01)		(0.01)
WFH*Traditional GRA 1	-0.00		-0.02	
	(0.05)		(0.04)	
WFH*Traditional GRA 2		0.01		0.03
		(0.04)		(0.04)
Over time effects				
Telecommuting (WFH)	-0.00	0.00	-0.00	0.00
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.01)
WFH*Traditional GRA 1	0.03		0.04 +	
	(0.02)		(0.02)	
WFH*Traditional GRA 2		-0.00		0.02
		(0.02)		(0.02)
Num. obs.	6764	6764	6764	6764
N waves	13	13	13	13

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Figure 5. Telecommuting and the share of childcare (over time effects) for women. Gender role attitudes 1: "Men should participate in housework to the same extent as women". 83% confidence intervals.



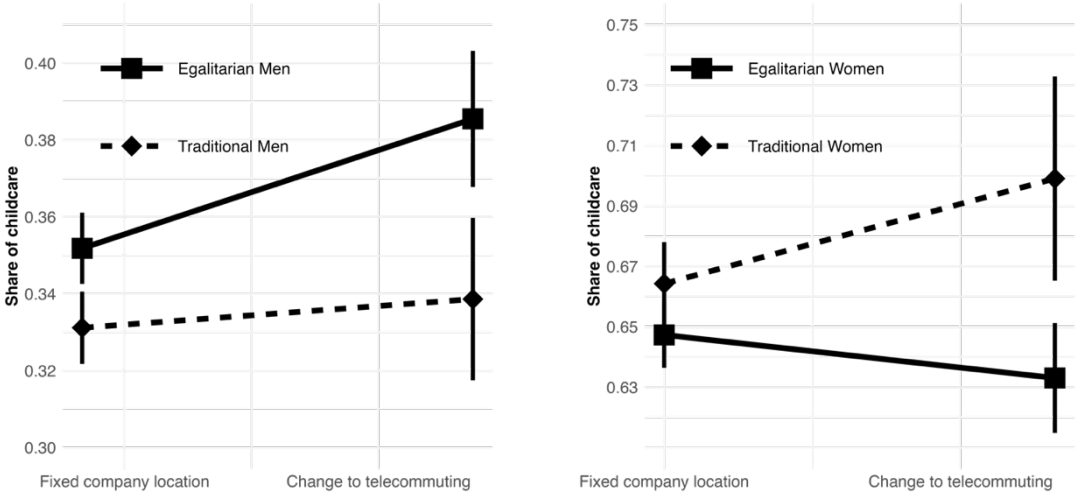
We perform several robustness checks to ensure the stability of our results. First, we present the results without including the child's age and the number of children in the household as control variables since telecommuting might be associated with fertility intentions. Tables 24A-26A in the Supplementary material (section 14, pages 28-29) show that excluding these control variables does not change the results. Second, our results remain relatively the same after including the telecommuting status of a partner as a control. However, there are some changes in the significance levels due to sample size changes (Supplementary material, section 13, pages 26-27, tables 21A-23A). We also ran analyses excluding single-earner couples (i.e., when the respondent's partner was unemployed or inactive). These do not change our results either (Supplementary material, section 15, pages 30-31, tables 27A-29A). We also included in our analysis the distance to work (Supplementary material, section 12, pages 24-25, tables 18A-20A), which did not change our results significantly. Some individuals in the sample report being on parental leave. We conduct an analysis controlling for the parental leave status of the respondent and their partners to find that the respondent's parental leave status generally increases childcare share for between-effects, and the partner's leave reduces it. However, we see no substantial changes in the main results (see Supplementary material, section 11, pages 22-23, tables 15A-17A).

The COVID-19 context

In Supplementary Tables 6A-8A, we present the results for the same models examined above, but without the wave conducted during the COVID-19 pandemic (wave 13) to observe whether the increase in access to telecommuting was mainly driven by the data collected during the pandemic. As shown in Supplementary material, tables 6A-8A, the size of the main coefficients of interest remains the same, but there is a minor decrease in statistical significance. Thus, overall, our models capture a broader pattern of gender role attitudes in the relationship between telecommuting and the division of domestic work, both before and during the pandemic.

To further investigate the role of COVID-19, we include interaction terms between the timing of the telecommuting, whether it happened during the pandemic period and gender, and finally, whether the gender role attitudes played a role in this relationship during the pandemic (see Supplementary material, tables 9A-11A). Partially supporting Hypothesis 3a, men increased their contribution to childcare during the pandemic when they got access to telecommuting, while there was no major increase among telecommuting women. Turning to the gender role attitudes, Hypothesis 3c is supported. During the pandemic, only men with egalitarian GRA increased their contribution to childcare when telecommuting, as shown in Figure 6 (left pane). While visually, there is a slightly higher contribution among both traditional and egalitarian men during COVID-19, the three-way interaction term is not statistically significant. In other words, during the increased demands for childcare and when telecommuting was more widespread, only egalitarian men made use of telecommuting practices to address increased childcare demands. It means that traditional men, even when they had an opportunity to telecommute, did not use this opportunity for childcare, likely because of their traditional beliefs surrounding gender roles.

Figure 6. Change to telecommuting and the division of childcare (over time effect) for men during the COVID-19 pandemic (on the left) and for women during the COVID-19 pandemic (on the right). Gender role attitudes 1: "Men should participate in housework to the same extent as women". 83% confidence intervals.



The results for women in Supplementary material, Table 11A, and Figure 6 (right pane) indicate that gender role attitudes did play a role during the pandemic. As shown in Figure 6 (right pane), traditional women increased their contribution to childcare when they got access to telecommuting during the pandemic. However, egalitarian women's childcare contributions did not increase when telecommuting was more widespread. During the pandemic, telecommuting was associated with a slight decrease in egalitarian women's share of childcare. This may be because, during the pandemic, there may have been more men at home to provide some of the caregiving for children, which may have provided egalitarian women with relief from taking on the bulk of the childcare. We should be mindful that we are not looking at the absolute amount of childcare provided but merely the perceived relative division. This means that although the division may have become more equal, this does not entail that the absolute amount of childcare carried out by egalitarian women has been reduced (see also Chung et al., 2021). Therefore, Hypothesis 3b is supported. Telecommuting women with traditional GRA increased their childcare contribution during the pandemic. The pandemic neither brought up the traditionalisation of the roles in the household nor contributed to more equality in the division of domestic chores within couples.

Discussion and conclusion

Telecommuting has been introduced as a policy that can enable workers to have a better work–life balance by saving their commuting costs and providing more work autonomy (Allen et al., 2015; Noonan & Glass, 2012), contributing to gender equality both at home and in the labor market (Council of the European Union, 2019). While some approaches support the idea of telecommuting benefiting workers, for instance, helping workers relieve tensions between work and family life (Huws et al., 1996), others argue that it may enable the exploitation of individuals, especially women, where telecommuting enables them to carry out more of both paid and unpaid work (Haddon & Silverstone, 1993). The use of telecommuting might be gendered, with women traditionally devoting their spare time to household chores in addition to paid work, while men might be able to focus only on the latter (Kurowska, 2020), exacerbating the unequal division of labor across genders. Previous studies (Chung & Booker, 2023; Hilbrecht et al., 2008; Lott, 2019) have explored this assumption and analyzed whether telecommuting changes the relative distribution of housework and childcare among different-sex couples. We contribute to this debate by looking at a longer time frame and examining both between-person and individual changes over time, including the COVID-19 pandemic, which provides a unique period where telecommuting was encouraged by the state and companies, yet childcare facilities were suspended.

What is more, we contribute to the debate by examining how the gender role attitudes (GRA) of individuals may shape how workers use telecommuting to engage in domestic work across genders. Thus, we expected that women with egalitarian GRA would not necessarily increase their share of domestic work when telecommuting. In contrast, traditional women might use the flexibility to 'do gender'. Similarly, we expected egalitarian men would be the ones to use telecommuting to engage more in domestic work, whereas traditional men would not. These assumptions have been tested using data from the German Family Panel from 2008 to 2021.

At first glance, telecommuting did not make any difference to the division of housework among different-sex couples, although telecommuters contributed more to childcare. There are differences across gender and whether we examine associations between individuals or over time. Compared to women who worked on-site, telecommuting women carried out a larger share of childcare. However, women who got access to telecommuting did not increase their contribution to childcare. Potentially, these women searched for this arrangement to manage

care demands better. On the other hand, when men got access to telecommuting (individual change over time), they seemed to contribute more to childcare. On an even closer inspection, as expected, gender role attitudes mattered. Men with egalitarian GRA generally contributed more to housework and childcare than men with traditional GRA, and when egalitarian men got access to telecommuting, their contribution to childcare increased even further. Telecommuting did not change traditional men's childcare contributions. Similarly, women with traditional GRA did a larger share of housework and childcare compared to egalitarian women. When women with traditional GRA got access to telecommuting, their share in childcare increased even further. This pattern was not observed for women with egalitarian GRA.

The type of GRA mattered. The perception of men's contribution to housework mattered for both men and women, whereas the attitudes toward women's role in family and career did not. This result reflects the multidimensionality of gender role attitudes established in previous studies (Begall et al., 2023; Grunow et al., 2018). The agreement with the fact that men should contribute to domestic tasks to the same extent as women is more precise in distinguishing men's and women's roles on the egalitarianism/traditionalism dimension. The statement on women's roles in the family and career is more ambivalent. As earlier studies have shown (Begall et al., 2023), a substantial number of individuals support the dual role of women as mothers and workers. Therefore, when individuals disagree with the statement that women should be more concerned about their families than their careers, it might mean two things. On the one hand, these individuals might believe that women should be more concerned with their careers than their families; on the other hand, they might believe that women should simultaneously be concerned about families and careers. Our study shows that researchers must be careful when measuring gender role attitudes using more straightforward dimensions.

Furthermore, we investigated whether GRA mattered during the COVID-19 pandemic when telecommuting was mandated or encouraged through company and government policies to reduce virus transmission. Exploring this COVID-19 period allows us to model out the potential mechanism of GRA moderating the association between telecommuting and the division of housework/childcare by impacting the take-up of telecommuting. The findings are similar to those observed in the more extended period for women and men. This provides us with some evidence to show that GRA not only impact the take-up of telecommuting but also moderate how workers use telecommuting, confirming our assumptions. Furthermore, the COVID-19 pandemic wave shows again that in the context of increased demands for childcare

and the expansion of telecommuting, telecommuting might give men, especially those with egalitarian GRA, the opportunity to be better engaged in childcare activities. This provides evidence for future scenarios when telecommuting becomes more widespread in workplaces.

The study has some limitations. The division of housework and childcare is not an absolute measure but rather a perception of the individual and their share within the couple in broad terms. Future studies could utilize time-use data and other sources to have more precise measures of the division of housework and childcare carried out by couples. A couple's division of mental load (Dean et al., 2022) would also be essential to explore how telecommuting can help the division of labor. Similarly, the intensity of different telecommuting settings must be considered, as those who telecommute daily might differ in their household practices compared to those who telecommute only occasionally. The telecommuting variable used in our study measures a combination of some use and access, and previous studies have shown the importance of access in explaining work-family outcomes in addition to use (Chung & van der Horst, 2018). Regardless, future studies should distinguish between workers' access to and use of telecommuting, in addition to the frequency of telecommuting to better understand the dynamics of home and hybrid working on the division of labor within couples. Additionally, it is important to consider the role of organizations, e.g., supervisors, in providing access to telecommuting (Hennekam et al., 2023) and what this may entail with regard to other support for work-family integration. Moreover, studies need to account for the changes in gender role attitudes over the life course, particularly how people adapt their values due to different critical events, such as childbirth or COVID-19 (Vandecasteele et al., 2022). Finally, our study has found that telecommuting is associated with the division of domestic labor, especially childcare. Yet most of our results were from within individual changes over time rather than between individuals. Such model differences potentially show that some confounders are not included in the model. We aim to control as much as possible for some factors (e.g., working hours, type of occupation). Nonetheless, we fully understand we cannot control for an exhaustive list of items (other family and partner characteristics). We were unable to fully explain these differences in the model of cross-time and between individual changes, and more exploration of this issue is warranted.

Despite these limitations, this study has provided important contributions to the ongoing debate around whether the expansion of telecommuting practices can result in a more egalitarian division of labor within households and how this is likely to develop in the 'post-pandemic' world. Unlike the fears of previous studies (Chung, 2022; Hilbrecht et al., 2008;

Lyttelton et al., 2022; Sullivan & Lewis, 2001), the results of this study suggest that telecommuting has the potential to contribute to a more equal division of labor in the household, supporting the view of the opportunity for flexibility model (Huws et al., 1996). However, this largely depends on individuals' and, in a way, society's views on gender roles. Conservative attitudes toward the role of men and women might reproduce a more unequal distribution of labor (Haddon & Silverstone, 1993), mainly when telecommuting is not widespread (Chung et al., 2021). In other words, if we want telecommuting to pave the way to gender equality, we need to provide all employees with the right to flexible working and ensure that the gender normative context in which it is introduced changes. For instance, ensuring that all individuals, regardless of their gender, are treated equally, starting from intentional interventions in early education to eliminate gender biases, would be useful. Guaranteeing that fathers take parental leave, especially for over two months, which is currently earmarked for fathers in Germany (Bünning, 2015) and many other European countries (Council of the European Union, 2019), independently without the mothers being at home, could also help change society and individuals' perceptions of gender roles. Thus, the expansion of telecommuting can pave the way for greater gender equality if we are able to provide the right contexts for this to happen.

Chapter 3.
Flexible working time arrangements and work–life conflict: The role of gender and housework
Article 2

Abstract

Flexible working arrangements can give employees more autonomy in balancing paid employment with private life. However, studies have shown that this flexibility is used in gender-specific ways: while women devote more time to household chores, men increase their paid working hours. This article builds on these findings by exploring how the heterogeneity in the division of domestic labor within couples moderates the relationship between flexible working time arrangements and work–life conflict. Analyses are based on the German Family Panel (pairfam), Wave 12 (2019-2020) and include 2,032 partnered working individuals (1,162 women and 870 men). We applied linear regression models. Analyses indicate that Company-defined and autonomous work schedules were associated with a greater work–to–life conflict, especially for men, while women with complete control over their schedule experienced less conflict. The level of life–to–work conflict was similar across different schedules, except for women with flexitime, who reported higher conflict. Housework responsibilities also played a role, as women handling most household tasks faced greater life–to–work conflict with flexible schedules, and men with company-defined schedules experienced higher conflict in both directions when they shared housework equally with their partner. Access to flexible working time arrangements alone may not reduce work–to–life and life–to–work conflict, as the impact depends on both gender and how housework is divided within a couple.

Keywords: flexible employment, gender, Germany, domestic work, work–to–life conflict, life–to–work conflict

Introduction

Research on work–life conflict has seen a rise in the past years (for an overview, see, e.g., Schulz & Reimann, 2022). It runs in two directions, from work to life (work–to–life conflict), when the employment sphere disturbs the fulfillment of other life roles, or from life to work (life–to–work conflict), when family or other life commitments interfere with work duties (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). The rise in research interest has to do with changes in family structures, e.g., the decreasing prevalence of male breadwinner families and the increasing share of single-parent households, on the one hand (Reimann et al., 2022), and changes in the labor market, on the other hand (Yucel & Fan, 2023). In recent years, there has been a rise in flexible working arrangements regarding time (i.e., working time autonomy) and location (i.e., working from home) (Chung, 2022). At the same time, the share of women participating in the labor market has increased (OECD, 2022b). Despite women's rising participation in paid work, gender inequality in the division of unpaid work is still persistent. In 2021, women spent, on average, 13 more hours per week on unpaid work (i.e., housework and care) than men (Eurofound, 2022). The provision of flexible working time arrangements is one policy that aims to provide more opportunities for better balancing work and the private sphere, especially for women (Council of the European Union, 2019). Since they still shoulder the largest burden of unpaid work, women's increasing labor market participation inevitably requires rearrangements in the division of unpaid labor within the household (Chung & van der Lippe, 2020). While, in theory, flexible working time arrangements leave room for both men and women to engage in unpaid work, previous empirical findings suggest a gendered relationship: when men can control their schedule, they increase their working time and get higher financial returns (Lott & Chung, 2016), while women devote more of their time to household chores (Davis et al., 2007; Hilbrecht et al., 2008; Kan et al., 2011; Powell & Craig, 2015), with the effect being larger in countries with conservative gender norms, such as Germany (van der Lippe et al., 2011). Thus, women perform 'double shifts' (A. Hochschild & Machung, 2012): first, they work for pay and then do unpaid housework and childcare. This situation can potentially generate a conflict between work and life, leading to life–to–work and/or work–to–life conflict (Schulz & Reimann, 2022), which means that the family can be a source of conflicts and a place where conflicts from the work sphere have consequences simultaneously (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). There are studies arguing that flexible time arrangements can help balance work and life spheres (Kelly et al., 2011) and reduce work–to–life and life–to–work conflict (Kelly et al., 2014). This scholarship, however, does not consider the variation

in the input to the domestic workload. Gender discrepancies in earlier research findings might be due to differences in how heterosexual couples organize the division of unpaid work. Due to an unequal distribution of household chores (Kan et al., 2011), men and women with flexible schedules might experience different levels and types of work–life conflict (including work–to–life and life–to–work conflict). Thus, this study aims to answer the following research questions:

(1) *What is the relationship between flexible working time arrangements and work–life conflict (including work–to–life and life–to–work conflict) for men and women?*

(2) *How does the division of housework moderate this relationship?*

The contribution of this article is twofold: first, it analyses how men and women perceive work–life conflict in different working time arrangements in Germany as an example of a country with comparatively conservative gender norms (Begall et al., 2023). Second, it studies how the division of housework, which is typically gendered, is associated with work–to–life and life–to–work conflict. The empirical analysis focuses on Germany, where (before the COVID-19 pandemic) the employer decided whether to allow flexible working time arrangements in the workplace. This differs from the situation in other countries, like the UK, Finland, and Australia, where legislation gives employees the right to request flexible working time arrangements (Chung, 2022). At the same time, Germany is characterized by a traditional division of labor (van der Lippe et al., 2011). It has one of the largest gender pay gaps in Europe, namely 18.3% (European Commission, 2021), with 36% of employed women working part-time (OECD, 2022a). The empirical analysis is based on the German Family Panel (pairfam) data (Brüderl et al., 2022) from Wave 12, conducted between 2019 and 2020.

Theoretical framework

Flexibility and work–life conflict

In the literature, the terms ‘work–family conflict’, ‘work–life conflict’, and ‘work-to-home spillover’ are used interchangeably, all essentially meaning that there are challenges in navigating work and other domains of life (i.e., family or personal life) (Chung, 2022; Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985; Lott, 2020). In this article, the term ‘work–life conflict’ is used because, in the authors’ view, it best describes the interdependencies between work and the many other social roles an individual fulfills in society (Kossek & Lee, 2017). The work–life conflict is bidirectional. Thus, work–to–life conflict depicts a situation where the employment

sphere disturbs the fulfillment of other life roles (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). At the same time, the disturbance can be in the opposite direction, in the sense that family and other life commitments interfere with work obligations, generating a life–to–work conflict. This view of work–to–life and life–to–work interaction is based on the perspective of the role scarcity hypothesis, which claims that the higher the number of roles held by an individual, the greater the conflict between them due to limited available resources, resulting in negative outcomes, such as work–to–life and life–to–work conflict (Geurts & Demerouti, 2002) that consequently result in poor health outcomes (Lunau et al., 2014) and lower life satisfaction (Drobnič et al., 2010; Hagqvist et al., 2017). In this study, we observe the conflict in both directions, that is work–to–life and life–to–work conflicts.

According to Greenhaus and Beutell (1985) and Geurts et al. (2005), work–to–life and life–to–work conflict can be (1) time-based, (2) strain-based, or (3) behavior-based. Thus, the conflict can happen when (1) time is disproportionally distributed toward fulfilling one role over the others (e.g., when a worker has to do overtime, he or she has to cut back on time devoted to housework or when a worker has to perform unpaid housework, he or she has less time for paid work); (2) the fulfillment of one role generates a strain that restricts the ability to fulfill another role, e.g., when work involves strict deadlines it engenders continuous worry about fulfilling tasks and does not allow to relax at home, or when one is responsible for organizing appointments for children, washing clothes or buying groceries it can reduce the focus at work; or (3) expectations of behavior in one role make it difficult for an individual to shift to different behavior in another role, e.g., from being decisive and secretive at work to being warm and open at home and vice versa. This classification of work–life conflict is essential to understanding differences in perceptions of the conflict because it relates to the resources an individual has to distribute between the roles.

This study aims to understand how work–life conflict relates to flexible employment arrangements. While flexible employment also refers to flexibility regarding the location where an individual works, this article focuses on flexible working time arrangements: regulations under which a worker can decide on his or her work schedule (Chung, 2022; Jeffrey Hill et al., 2008). Typologies group the arrangements based on structure or employer–employee dimensions. Fagan (2004), for example, differentiates between the following types of arrangements: (1) unstructured, with little flexibility for employees to arrange their time at work by themselves, including uncertainty regarding the exact time of work (in favor of employer needs); (2) structured, with the employee being aware of the hours and the schedule

(a balance between employee and employer needs); and 3) autonomous, with absolute freedom on the employee's side to organize their work time (in favor of employee needs). On the employer-employee dimension, flexible working time arrangements are classified into employee-centered and employer-centered arrangements (Chung & Tijdens, 2013). Lott (2020) combines these two types of typologies and applies them to the German context: (1) working time autonomy or an autonomous schedule, where there is absolute freedom for employees in deciding when and how many hours to work; (2) flexitime arrangement, where employees have control over the start and the end of their work, but where there is a set amount of hours; (3) a fixed schedule – that is, the traditional arrangement of working hours starting and ending every day at the same time, set from the beginning of the employment; or (4) employer-oriented flexible schedule or company-defined schedule, where the employer determines the schedule that can be changed at short notice.

Several theories explain how flexible employment arrangements may change employees' work–life conflict. Proponents of the boundary (Ashforth et al., 2000) and border theories (Clark, 2000) argue that constant daily transitions from work to other roles and vice versa break down the boundaries between these roles. These boundaries have differing degrees of integration and segmentation. When roles are highly segmented and hardly interact in time and space, the borders between the two life domains are clear, making it harder to cross them and switch from one environment to another. For example, boundaries and transitions are clear when an employee has a time frame for work responsibilities and a specified free time. By contrast, when borders are strongly integrated, individuals exercise constant transitions between roles, and the boundaries are difficult to maintain, leading to considerable spillover between work and other responsibilities. For example, when the worker has a flexible schedule, the period for work duties might be blurred across the day, blending with other life roles. This is how flexible scheduling might result in role overload: an increase in work–to–life and life–to–work conflict.

An alternative perspective is enhancement (role accumulation) theory, which proposes that an increased number of roles provides a person with more resources, like financial assets, social ties, access to information, socio-emotional experience, or social status (Sieber, 1974). This theory assumes a positive view on fulfilling multiple roles, for example, combining work and family responsibilities. Therefore, if multiple roles provide more resources to an individual, we might expect flexible working conditions to enhance workers' balance between work and

personal life instead of increasing work–to–life and life–to–work conflict (McNall et al., 2009; Rothbard & Dumas, 2006).

Previous studies support both mechanisms – role overload and role accumulation – and suggest that the degree to which flexible work may lead to work–to–life and life–to–work conflict depends on the type of flexible employment arrangement. Glavin and Schieman (2012) found that schedule control is associated with more blurring of work–family roles in the United States. Research by Higgins et al. (2014) revealed for Canada that flexitime, compared to a fixed schedule, is associated with a higher work–to–life conflict but did not find an association with life–to–work conflict. A study by Lott and Chung (2016) uncovered that men in Germany increased their working hours and got higher financial returns when they got access to a flexible work schedule, with no such effect for women. In a later study, Lott (2020) discovered that working time autonomy and employer-oriented schedules are associated with higher perceived work–to–home conflict than flexitime and fixed schedules. The effect of flexitime on work–to–home conflict was not statistically significant compared to a fixed schedule. Thus, for a work–life balance, a combination of multiple roles might only be helpful in the case of certain types of flexible working time arrangements.

Finally, following the argument of the so-called flexibility paradox (Chung, 2022), flexible working time arrangements are used as a tool to compel workers to commit more time and energy to the work sphere (for men) or family sphere (for women) instead of expanding workers' free time. The common trend of rising competition and declining social security leads to expanding work, not leisure, in modern societies. Thus, flexible working time arrangements failed to fulfill the politically intended purpose of helping individuals achieve a better balance between work and other life domains. The flexibility paradox can be expected to be especially prominent in countries such as Germany, where flexible working time arrangements are not implemented by law but are subject to regulation by individual firms and organizations, which makes workers more dependent on the employer's goodwill to allow access to flexible working time arrangements.

Depending on the degree of flexibility, different flexible working time arrangements are expected to have a heterogeneous association with an individual's work–life conflict. Following the border/boundary theories (Ashforth et al., 2000; Clark, 2000) and the idea of the flexibility paradox (Chung, 2022), unstructured and autonomous arrangements blur the boundaries between the different domains of life, resulting in work–to–life and life–to–work conflict. Especially flexibility in the sense of a company-defined schedule oriented toward the

employer's needs can have a negative relationship with the employee's work–to–life/life–to–work conflict. An autonomous schedule is oriented toward employees' needs regarding organizing the work and life domains. Yet, it might be challenging to maintain the boundaries between the two spheres, which is why it is also expected to increase work–to–life/life–to–work conflict. Following the role accumulation theory (Sieber, 1974), participation in multiple roles can be enriching for an individual under the right conditions (McNall et al., 2009). Flexitime is expected to provide a good balance between complete autonomy and a strict daily schedule because it does not allow the boundaries to blur, as in the autonomous schedule, but allows for some freedom on the side of the employee to adjust his or her working schedule to private needs.

Given these theoretical considerations on the relationship between different types of employment flexibility and work–to–life and life–to–work conflict, the following hypotheses are derived:

Hypothesis 1: *Company-defined and autonomous schedules are associated with a higher level of work–to–life and life–to–work conflict compared to a fixed schedule arrangement.*

Hypothesis 2: *Flexitime is associated with a lower level of work–to–life and life–to–work conflict compared to a fixed schedule arrangement.*

The following section provides the theoretical assumptions required to understand how gender and gender role behavior (in terms of participation in housework) are expected to moderate the relationship between flexible working time arrangements and work–to–life and life–to–work conflict.

Gendered distribution of housework and work–life conflict

Previous research has shown that the work–to–life and life–to–work conflict levels differ based on a person's gender (Clark, 2000). Moreover, various flexible employment arrangements relate to different levels of conflict among men and women. Some report a higher work–to–life and life–to–work conflict among women (Lott, 2020; Peters et al., 2009; van der Lippe & Lippényi, 2020), others among men (Chung, 2024; Yucel & Chung, 2023), and some among both genders, depending on the context (Kurowska, 2020). Different theoretical approaches aim to explain gender differences in the relationship between flexible working time arrangements and work–to–life and life–to–work conflict.

From the time availability perspective (Becker, 1965), the partner who has more time available, for example, due to flexible working time arrangements, is more likely to be the one who takes care of the household (and children), regardless of the person's gender identification. From this perspective, the same type of flexible working time arrangements should lead to the same level of work–to–life and life–to–work conflict for men and women. The 'doing gender' perspective suggests, by contrast, that men and women use gendered activities, such as paid work, which is associated with the male breadwinner role, and unpaid work, which is associated with the female homemaker role, to demonstrate their gender (Ciccia & Bleijenbergh, 2014; West & Zimmerman, 1987). Related to this theoretical idea, Pleck (1977) argues that the boundaries between work and family roles are asymmetrically permeable for men and women, with work intruding into men's lives more than women's. In contrast, family responsibilities are more disruptive for women than for men.

Earlier empirical findings support the 'doing gender' and asymmetrically permeable boundaries perspectives, showing that an autonomous schedule (i.e., schedule control) is related to an increase in paid work among men (Lott & Chung, 2016) and an increase in unpaid work among women (Chung & Booker, 2023). Moreover, it has been shown that flexible working time arrangements are associated with increased perceived pressure on men in the workplace because of the ideal worker culture, which requires permanent availability for the paid job (Acker, 1990; Berdahl et al., 2018; Blair-Loy, 2009; J. Williams, 2001). Violation of the ideal worker norm can be particularly damaging for men, who are perceived as being less masculine, less competitive, and less ambitious when they request flexible working conditions (Vandello et al., 2013). The negative perception of workers who use flexible working arrangements has been termed the 'flexibility stigma' or 'femininity stigma' when it concerns men wishing to take advantage of flexible working arrangements (Rudman & Mescher, 2013). Indeed, earlier studies show that women, not men, benefited from the workplace's support of flexible working arrangements (Yucel & Fan, 2023). To avoid having lower chances of promotion and being perceived as less committed, men in flexible working time arrangements might devote more time and energy to work, leaving them with fewer resources for other domains of life. Therefore, due to higher working hours among men in flexible working time arrangements (Lott & Chung, 2016), it is expected that all types of flexible working time arrangements are associated with a greater work–to–life conflict among men than among women:

Hypothesis 3a: *Company-defined, autonomous, and flexitime schedules are associated with a greater work–to–life conflict compared to a fixed schedule, especially among men.*

On the contrary, following the "doing gender" (West & Zimmerman, 1987) and asymmetrical work–family boundaries (Pleck, 1977) approaches, women can be expected to experience greater life–to–work conflict across all flexible working time arrangements since they are expected more than men to do the unpaid housework:

Hypothesis 3b: *Company-defined, autonomous, and flexitime schedules are associated with a greater life–to–work conflict compared to a fixed schedule, especially among women.*

Previous studies in the German context have explained the gendered relationship between flexible working time arrangements and work–to–life and life–to–work conflict by referencing differences in men's and women's working conditions, e.g., that men experience more overtime and job pressure (Lott, 2020; Schieman & Glavin, 2016). However, less attention has been paid to the role of unpaid work in shaping the relationship between flexible working time arrangements and work–to–life and life–to–work conflict. This is surprising since the time a person spends on housework can be expected to be closely related to whether flexible working time arrangements are used to balance paid or unpaid working hours, potentially resulting in both an increase or decrease in hours spent in paid work and unpaid housework. Furthermore, although there are clear gender gaps in how much men and women are involved in housework (Eurofound, 2022), there is also remarkable variation within genders, which can be expected to lead to variation in the relationship between flexible working time arrangements and work–to–life and life–to–work conflict (Lott, 2020; Lott & Chung, 2016). Still, the role of housework as a moderator for the relationship between flexible working time arrangements and work–life conflict has not been subject to previous research. Chung and Yucel (2023) have tested the role of an individual's gender ideology in shaping the relationship between remote work (i.e., flexibility in terms of the workplace) and work–to–life and life–to–work conflict. They found that remote work is related to greater work–to–life conflict for women with more egalitarian gender role attitudes compared to women with more traditional gender role attitudes. At the same time, remote work was associated with a higher life–to–work conflict among women with traditional gender role attitudes as opposed to those with egalitarian ones. In contrast, they did not find any effect for men.

Although gender role attitudes are related to the participation of men and women in housework (Nitsche & Grunow, 2018), the general trend toward more egalitarian gender norms

in many Western European societies (Begall et al., 2023) has not changed the fact that women continue to perform a higher share of housework than men in most European countries (Garcia-Roman, 2025; Kan et al., 2011; Kan & Laurie, 2018). They also shoulder more of the accompanying cognitive labor, which consists of the anticipation and monitoring household and care work (Daminger, 2019). The question is how this gendered division of unpaid work interacts with flexible working time arrangements.

Our study differentiates between under-benefiting (contributing more than the partner), equal, and over-benefiting (contributing less than the partner) types of housework division (Hatfield et al., 1978). In a situation where one of the partners is the primary caregiver of the household (under-benefiting) and is responsible for organizing the work schedule following domestic roles, the blurring of the boundaries between the private and work spheres is more likely to occur. Thus, it can be assumed that in a situation where one of the partners is under-benefitting from a division of unpaid work, i.e., doing more housework than the other partner, flexible working time arrangements are associated with an increased work–to–life and life–to–work conflict, irrespective of the person's gender. Nonetheless, there are different explanations for why a higher contribution to unpaid work increases the negative association between flexible working arrangements and work–to–life and life–to–work conflict for men and women.

Since the traditional division of labor that assumes greater participation of women in domestic work persists (Ciccia & Bleijenbergh, 2014; Kan et al., 2011; Kan & Laurie, 2018), women with flexible working time arrangements might be under higher pressure to accommodate work and private domains of life. Hence, access to flexibility combined with a high housework load can be expected to be associated with higher work–to–life and life–to–work conflict.

Hypothesis 4a: *The negative association between flexible working time arrangements (i.e., company-defined, autonomous, or flexitime) and work–to–life and life–to–work conflict is stronger among women who are primarily responsible for housework tasks in the household.*

Due to men's greater susceptibility to the ideal worker norm (Acker, 1990), flexibility stigma (Rudman & Mescher, 2013), and lower normative tolerance of men's involvement in unpaid work (Kan et al., 2011), it can be expected that even equal shares of housework are associated with a greater work–to–life and life–to–work conflict in flexible working time arrangements among men.

Hypothesis 4b: *The negative association between flexible working time arrangements (i.e., company-defined, autonomous, or flexitime) and work–to–life and life–to–work conflict is stronger among men who share housework equally or are primarily responsible for housework tasks in the household.*

Data and methods

To analyze how flexibility is associated with work–life conflict, data are used from the German Family Panel (pairfam) (Brüderl et al., 2022). Pairfam is a longitudinal study of individuals, their partners, and their children. The data have been collected yearly since 2008 and include three birth cohorts (1971–1973, 1981–1983, and 1991–1993). Wave 12 of the panel is used, which provides information on individuals' perceived work–life conflict, working time arrangements, and the relative distribution of household tasks. Although pairfam includes information on both individuals and their partners, there is no data on partners' working time arrangements, which is why our units of analysis are respondents and not their partners. Data collection for Wave 12 took place between 2019 and 2020, with a break and a change in the data collection method due to the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic[3]. It is unclear whether this change in method or the pandemic has affected the subsequent data quality (Bozoyan et al., 2021). Therefore, only pre-pandemic data collected through computer-assisted personal interviewing (CAPI) are used in the analysis. Wave 10 of the panel also contains information on the variables of interest. Yet only Wave 12 is used in the main analysis due to a substantial reduction in observations when observing both waves (about 50%) and no substantial changes in flexible working time arrangements within a two-year period, which restricts our possibility to observe changes over time in fixed-effect models (see Figure 15A in the Supplementary material). We, however, provide a longitudinal analysis of Waves 10 and 12 in the sensitivity checks and Supplementary material, section 6.

Detailed information on the sample attrition and missing data is available in the Supplementary material in Section 20. The final number of observations analyzed as a cross-section for Wave 12 is 2,038 employed individuals in different-sex couples (including 1,162 women and 870 men). Table 36A in the Supplementary material gives a brief overview of the

[3] The data collection method had to be changed from the frequently used CAPI to computer-assisted telephone interviews due to lockdown restrictions from March 2020.

measurements, including dependent, independent, moderating, and control variables. In the following sections, these measures are explained in detail.

Dependent variable: Work–life conflict

Individuals were asked to answer the following statements that measure work–to–life conflict (D. S. Carlson et al., 2000; Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985):

- Due to my professional, vocational training, or university workload, my personal life suffers
- Even when I am doing something with my friends, partner, or family, I often think about work
- After a stressful time at work, I find it difficult to relax at home and/or to enjoy my free time with others
- My work prevents me from doing things with my friends, partner, and family more than I'd like

The following statements measure life–to–work conflict:

- Because I am often under stress in my private life, I have problems concentrating on my work
- Because of my personal schedule, I often lack time to do my work
- The time I need for my partner, family, and friends keeps me from being more involved in my job, vocational training, or university education
- Conflicts in my personal life reduce my work performance

These statements capture conflict related to time and strain but not behavior, i.e., role-specific behavioral patterns (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). Therefore, this study focuses on two types of conflict: time-based and strain-based. The respondents were asked to indicate how much the statements applied to them by answering on a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 was 'Does not apply at all' and 5 was 'Absolutely applies'. This article followed previous research that transformed statements into one scale by summing up the four answers for each scale (work–to–life and life–to–work conflict) and taking the respective averages (Glavin & Schieman, 2012; Yucel & Chung, 2023). The Cronbach's alpha for the constructed scale for work–to–life conflict was 0.77, and for life–to–work conflict, it was 0.69 (similar to previous studies using these scales), which showed that the scales had a sufficiently high internal consistency. Since the final measure for both scales was an average of four statements, the variables were treated as continuous, and the scales were normalized from 0 (no conflict) to 1 (high conflict). As a

sensitivity check, the analysis for each item separately is provided in the Supplementary material, section 28.

Independent variable: Flexible employment

Individuals were asked whether their working hours were (1) completely informal (an individual is completely autonomous in choosing their working time), (2) flexitime (with an hours count), (3) fixed, or (4) company-defined. Four dummy variables were created for these measures, with the fixed schedule employment as the reference category.

Moderating variables: Gender and housework participation

The moderating variables were gender and the relative distribution of housework. Pairfam measures self-reported gender as a binary variable, which was re-categorized in the sense that 1 denoted women and 0 denoted men.

The housework distribution was measured by asking 'To what extent do you and your partner share duties in the housework (washing, cooking, cleaning)?' The possible answers ranged on a 5-point scale from 1 '(Almost) completely my partner' to 5 '(Almost) completely me'. Following previous studies, this variable was recorded in 3 categories: (1) the partner being completely (or usually) responsible for the chores, (2) an equal split, and (3) an individual being completely (or usually) responsible for the chores.

Control variables

In addition, several control variables were included in the models. The information on the length of cohabitation, number of children, and presence of preschool children was included to consider the household demands. Working from home, education, and professional status were incorporated to account for the variation across working conditions. Finally, to account for cultural differences, East-West German residency, migration background, and age were controlled for.

Method of analysis and modeling strategy

A linear regression was applied to the Wave 12 CAPI observations of the pairfam dataset (collected in 2019, before the COVID-19 pandemic). This made it possible to assess the

relationship between flexible working time arrangements and work–to–life and life–to–work conflict. After estimating models with the bivariate association between flexible working time arrangements and work–to–life/life–to–work conflict, interaction effects between the different types of working time arrangements and gender were included. Afterward, separate models were built for men and women, where the bivariate associations were estimated, and interaction effects between the different types of working time arrangements and the participation in housework were included.

The following section describes the data in detail, considering the gender variation in work–to–life and life–to–work conflict, working time arrangements, and contribution to housework. The results of the linear models are then presented and discussed in relation to how far they confirm the hypotheses.

Analysis

Descriptive statistics

First, the relationship between work–to–life and life–to–work conflict and flexible working time arrangements by gender was explored. Table 38A in the Supplementary material summarizes the main variables for women and men in Wave 12. On average, the level of work–to–life conflict was slightly higher among men (0.35) compared to women (0.31), but it differed based on the type of flexible working time arrangement (Figure 7). The highest level of conflict was found for an employer-defined and autonomous schedule. The most pronounced gender difference was evident for those with an autonomous schedule (i.e., complete schedule control) (for women, 0.31, SD = 0.26; for men, 0.44, SD = 0.23). The lowest level of conflict was found for those with fixed schedules (for women, 0.27, SD = 0.23; for men, 0.30, SD = 0.21). For flexitime, there was a slight gender difference, with men experiencing a higher level of conflict than women (for women, 0.31, SD = 0.21; for men, 0.35, SD = 0.22).

Figure 7. The level of work–to–life conflict by working time arrangement and gender in 2019/20.

Figure 8 depicts the level of life–to–work conflict, which is substantially lower than the level of work–to–life conflict for both genders (for women, 0.14, SD = 0.16; for men, 0.16, SD = 0.16). The highest level of conflict was found for those with an autonomous schedule (for women, 0.17, SD = 0.19; for men, 0.18, SD = 0.18), while the lowest was found for the fixed schedule (for women, 0.12, SD = 0.14; for men, 0.15, SD = 0.15). The most substantial gender difference was found for the company-defined schedule (for women, 0.13, SD = 0.17; for men, 0.17, SD = 0.14). Generally, the gender differences are, however, much smaller than for the work–to–life conflict.

Figure 8. The level of life–to–work conflict by working time arrangement and gender in 2019/20.

Turning to the division of housework, Table 38A in the Supplementary material presents the shares of men and women involved in domestic work. 62,3% of women reported doing more housework than their male partner, while only 5% of men reported doing so. There is a slight discrepancy in the shares of men and women reporting an equal division of housework. 32,5% of women and 40% of men reported an equal division of housework. Finally, about 4,5% of women and 55% of men reported doing less housework than their partner.

Flexible employment and work–life conflict: The role of gender

The empirical analysis set off by testing how different working time arrangements were related to work–to–life and life–to–work conflict and gender differences in these relationships (Table 5). In Model 1, without including interaction effects, some employment schedules were positively related to work–to–life conflict. In line with Hypothesis 1, compared to the fixed schedule (the reference), company-defined (0.097, $p < 0.001$) and autonomous (0.032, $p < 0.1$) arrangements were associated with higher levels of conflict between work and life spheres, and

the associations were statistically significant. There was no relationship between flexitime and work–to–life conflict (-0.001, $p > 0.1$), contrary to Hypothesis 2. In the second step, the interaction effects with gender were included (Model 2). Partially supporting Hypothesis 3a, only the interaction term between being a woman and having an autonomous (complete control) schedule was statistically different from zero (-0.070, $p < 0.05$). Women experienced less work–to–life conflict when they had complete control over their schedule compared to men. Figure 9, on the left panel, depicts these interactions graphically. Both men and women experienced a higher work–to–life conflict when they had a company-defined schedule, but only men, not women, had a higher work–to–life conflict when they had an autonomous schedule.

Looking at the relationship between life–to–work conflict and flexible working time arrangements (Table 5, Models 3 and 4), no statistically significant associations were found. Contrary to Hypotheses 1 and 2, the level of life–to–work conflict is similar across all working time arrangements. This relationship varied slightly by gender. Partially supporting Hypothesis 3b, in Model 4, the relationship between flexitime and life–to–work conflict was positive and statistically significant only for women (0.040, $p < 0.05$). Figure 9, right panel, illustrates this finding that women had a higher life–to–work conflict with a flexitime schedule compared to a fixed schedule. Company-defined and autonomous schedules are also positively associated with life–to–work conflict, but these effects do not reach the conventional levels of statistical significance. Men had the same level of life–to–work conflict across all flexible working time arrangements.

Figure 9. The predicted values of work–to–life and life–to–work conflict across flexible working time arrangements (with 83% CIs[4]).

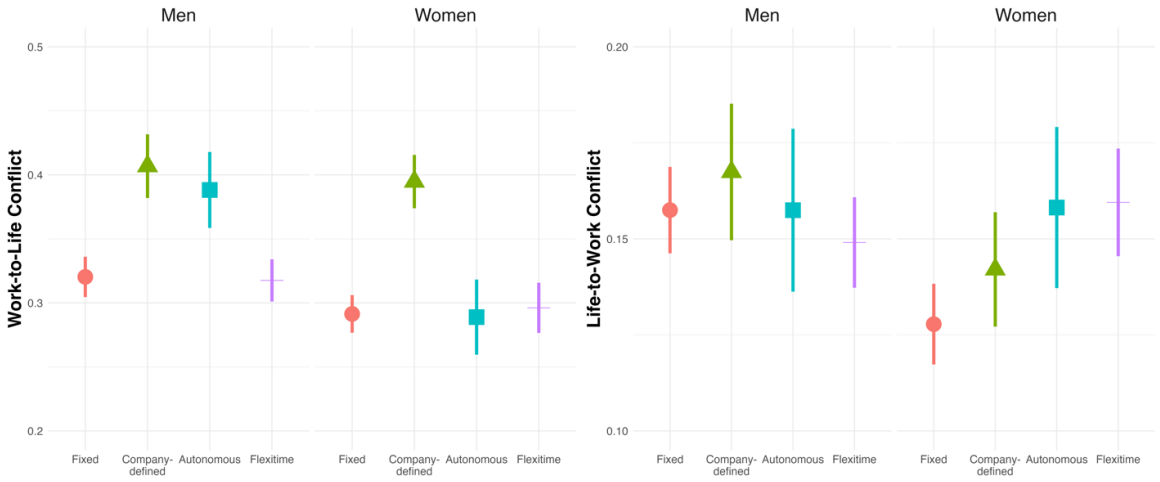


Table 5. Pooled linear regression models. Dependent variables: work–to–life and life–to–work conflict. Pairfam data, Wave 12, 2019/20. A full table is in the Supplementary material, Table 39A.

	Work–to–life conflict		**Life–to–work conflict**	
	Model 1	**Model 2**	**Model 3**	**Model 4**
(Intercept)	0.278 ***	0.277 ***	0.072	0.082 +
	(0.063)	(0.063)	(0.045)	(0.045)
Company-defined (Ref. Fixed)	0.097 ***	0.087 ***	0.011	0.010
	(0.014)	(0.021)	(0.010)	(0.015)
Autonomous	0.032 +	0.068 **	0.017	-0.000
	(0.018)	(0.025)	(0.013)	(0.018)
Flexitime	-0.001	-0.003	0.011	-0.008
	(0.013)	(0.017)	(0.009)	(0.012)
Women	-0.031 **	-0.029 +	-0.014 *	-0.030 **
	(0.010)	(0.015)	(0.007)	(0.011)
Company-defined*Women		0.017		0.004
		(0.028)		(0.020)
Autonomous*Women		-0.070 *		0.030
		(0.033)		(0.024)
Flexitime*Women		0.008		0.040 *
		(0.024)		(0.017)
R^2	0.099	0.102	0.046	0.049
Adj. R^2	0.092	0.094	0.039	0.040
Num. obs.	2032	2032	2032	2032

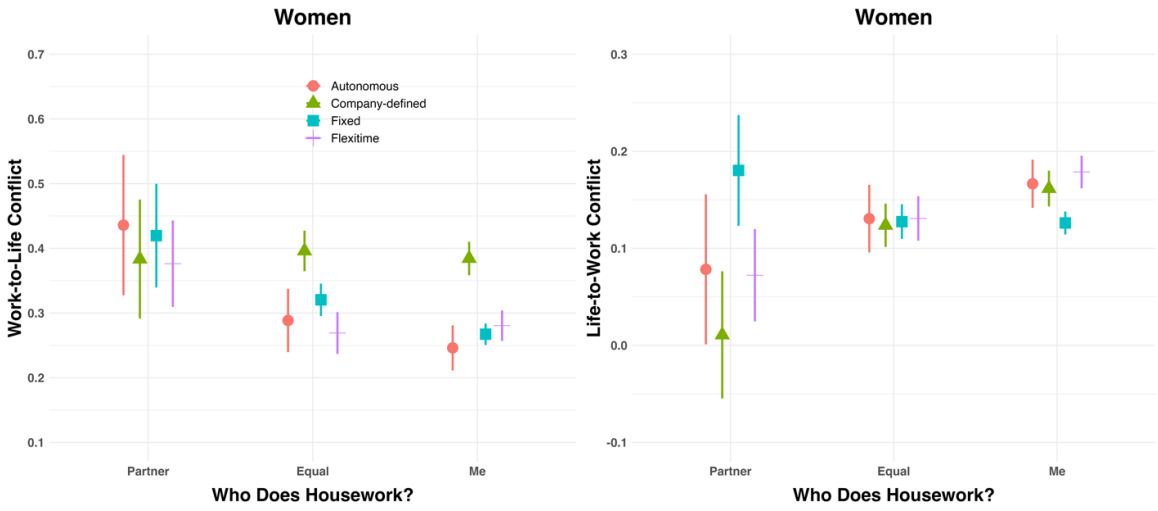
+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

[4] It has been shown that 83% confidence intervals can effectively identify significant differences between two means with a p-value of 0.05 (Austin & Hux, 2002). When reporting the predictive values from the interaction effects, we use 83% confidence intervals.

The role of housework

This section presents the results for models estimated for men and women separately (Table 6), assessing the role of housework as a moderating factor. Partially supporting Hypothesis 4a for women, a company-defined schedule compared to a fixed schedule was associated with a greater work–to–life conflict, particularly among women who did more housework relative to their partner (Model 2, 0.153, $p < 0.1$). Looking at the other side of the conflict (Model 6), all flexible working time arrangements were associated with a greater life–to–work conflict among women primarily responsible for housework tasks, fully supporting Hypothesis 4a for life–to–work conflict. Figure 10 graphically demonstrates the predicted levels of conflict across flexible working time arrangements for women. The confidence intervals for women who report that their partner is doing more housework are large because there are few women in this constellation. Looking at the left panel, for women who report that they are doing more housework or that the division is equal, only in a company-defined schedule the level of work–to–life conflict is higher compared to the level of conflict among women in other flexible working time arrangements. Looking at the right panel, life–to–work conflict is higher in all flexible working time arrangements compared to a fixed schedule when a woman is the only one responsible for housework in the couple.

Figure 10. The predicted values of work–to–life and life–to–work conflict across flexible working time arrangements for women (with 83% CIs).



Turning to the level of work–to–life conflict among men, partially in line with Hypothesis 4b, even the equal division of housework was associated with a higher work–to–life conflict among men with a company-defined schedule (Table 6, Model 4, 0.121, $p < 0.01$). There was a similar effect for the other direction of the conflict. Only men with a company-

defined schedule compared to those with a fixed schedule experienced a higher life–to–work conflict, even when they equally shared housework with their partner (Table 6, Model 8, 0.064, $p < 0.1$). Figure 11 demonstrates these results in predicted values of work–to–life and life–to–work conflict across flexible working time arrangements and the division of housework. While there was a smaller number of women who reported that their partner does most of the housework, for men, the situation is the opposite. Only a few men reported that they do most of the domestic work, resulting in high confidence intervals in the predicted levels of work–to–life and life–to–work conflict. On the other side of the pole, men with an autonomous schedule and whose partner is primarily responsible for housework reported higher work–to–life conflict (left panel). For the level of life–to–work conflict (right panel), there was no difference among men with different working time arrangements, except for a slightly higher reported conflict among men with a company-defined schedule and an equal share of housework. Therefore, Hypothesis 4b is supported, but only for men with a company-defined schedule.

Figure 11. The predicted values of work–to–life and life–to–work conflict across flexible working time arrangements for men (with 83% CIs).

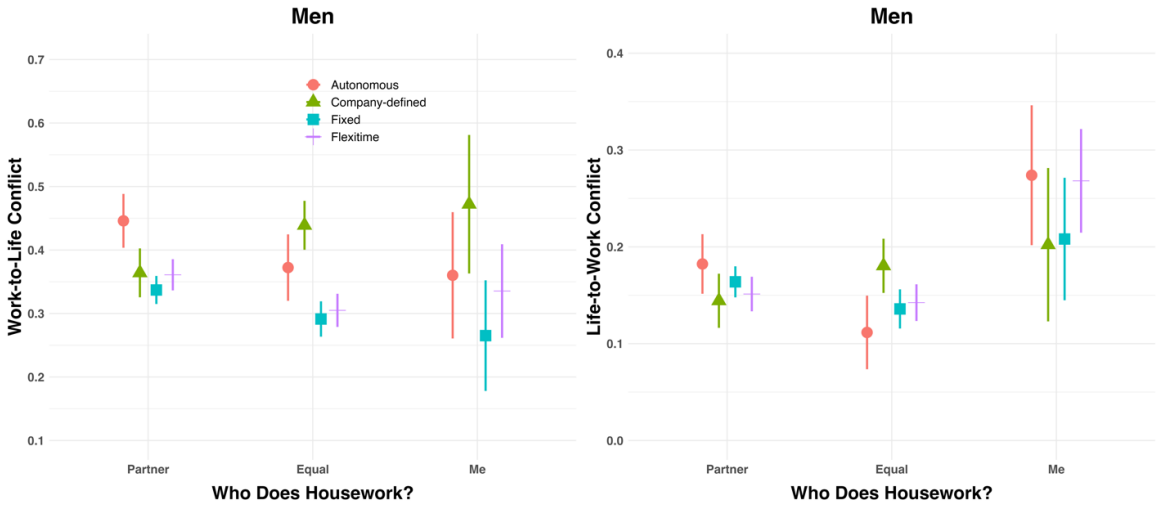


Table 6. Linear regression models for men and women. Dependent variable: work–to–life and life–to–work conflict. Pairfam data, Wave 12, 2019/20. A full table is in the Supplementary material, Table 40A.

	Work–to–life conflict				Life–to–work conflict			
	Model 1 Women	Model 2 Women	Model 3 Men	Model 4 Men	Model 5 Women	Model 6 Women	Model 7 Men	Model 8 Men
(Intercept)	0.335 ***	0.469 ***	0.204 *	0.244 *	0.055	0.085	0.089	0.091
	(0.083)	(0.101)	(0.095)	(0.096)	(0.060)	(0.072)	(0.069)	(0.070)
Company-defined (Ref. Fixed)	0.101 ***	-0.036	0.087 ***	0.027	0.014	-0.170 **	0.009	-0.020
	(0.017)	(0.089)	(0.022)	(0.031)	(0.012)	(0.063)	(0.016)	(0.023)
Autonomous	-0.016	0.016	0.093 ***	0.109 **	0.025	-0.102	0.009	0.018
	(0.023)	(0.099)	(0.028)	(0.036)	(0.016)	(0.070)	(0.020)	(0.026)
Flexitime	-0.006	-0.043	0.016	0.024	0.031 *	-0.108 *	-0.004	-0.013
	(0.017)	(0.076)	(0.019)	(0.025)	(0.012)	(0.054)	(0.014)	(0.018)
Housework equal (ref. more partner)		-0.099		-0.046 +		-0.053		-0.028
		(0.061)		(0.025)		(0.043)		(0.018)
Housework more me		-0.152 *		-0.072		-0.054		0.044
		(0.059)		(0.065)		(0.042)		(0.047)
Company-defined*Equal		0.112		0.121 **		0.166 *		0.064 +
		(0.093)		(0.046)		(0.066)		(0.033)
Autonomous*Equal		-0.048		-0.028		0.105		-0.043
		(0.105)		(0.054)		(0.075)		(0.039)
Flexitime*Equal		-0.008		-0.010		0.111 +		0.019
		(0.081)		(0.035)		(0.057)		(0.025)
Company-defined*More me		0.153 +		0.180 +		0.205 **		0.014
		(0.092)		(0.106)		(0.065)		(0.077)
Autonomous*More me		-0.037		-0.014		0.142 *		0.047
		(0.102)		(0.101)		(0.072)		(0.073)
Flexitime*More me		0.057		0.046		0.161 **		0.073
		(0.078)		(0.085)		(0.056)		(0.062)
R^2	0.153	0.168	0.073	0.090	0.064	0.085	0.032	0.060
Adj. R^2	0.142	0.152	0.057	0.066	0.052	0.067	0.017	0.035
Num. obs.	1162	1162	870	870	1162	1162	870	870

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Sensitivity checks

Table 41A in the Supplementary material presents the same models, but only for people with children as a robustness check. These models were run because parents can experience more difficulties in maintaining their work and their private life when, in the latter, they have not only housework to do but also care responsibilities (Chung, 2022). In the case of people with children, instead of housework, it was tested whether the differences in the share of childcare

moderated the relationship between flexible work and work–to–life and life–to–work conflict. Given that the new parameters reduced the sample size by nearly half, the coefficient sizes were reduced, and some coefficients did not reach conventional levels of statistical significance due to larger variation. These results, therefore, have to be discussed with caution. For women, similar outcomes to those in the main models were observed for life–to–work conflict, but for work–to–life conflict, women who had complete schedule control and were doing more childcare experienced lower work–to–life conflict. For men, on the other hand, life–to–work conflict was perceived higher for those doing more or equal shares of childcare and having complete or some control over their schedule.

Fixed and random effects models were also included for waves 10 and 12 to see if the change in work–life balance was due to a within-person change from one employment arrangement to another or between-person variation. The data availability restricted the study to using only two waves, which did not involve much variation in employment schedules within individuals over time (see Figure 15A in the Supplementary material). Table 42A, with the pooled effects for men and women in the Supplementary material, shows no statistically significant associations between flexible working arrangements and work–to–life and life–to–work conflict, as well as no gender differences, potentially due to minor changes in working arrangements within two years. Table 43A in the Supplementary material for men and women shows similar effects as in the main models, except for women, whose work–to–life conflict is lower in the company-defined schedule once they start doing more housework. Men with flexitime or working time autonomy experience a lower life–to–work conflict when they begin to participate in housework equally as opposed to doing less housework than their partners. In the random effects models in Tables 44A and 45A, the results were similar to the one-wave linear regression models presented above, except for the interaction effects with housework, where it was not possible to replicate similar results for company-defined schedules and work–to–life conflict. Nonetheless, at the 10% level, it was found that women who did more housework and had an autonomous schedule relative to a fixed schedule experienced less work–to–life conflict. A similar pattern to the results of the cross-sectional models was uncovered for men and for the life–to–work conflict.

Finally, tests were conducted on whether the results changed when including individual working hours (Supplementary material, Table 46A) and partners' working hours as a control variable (Supplementary material, Table 47A). Previous research suggested that working hours increase among men with complete schedule control (Lott & Chung, 2016). Following the

OECD definition, working hours were included as a categorical variable (part-time workers working less than 30 hours and full-time workers with 30 hours or more) (OECD, 2022a). Generally, the results remained the same, albeit with minor differences in the significance levels.

Discussion and conclusion

A work–to–life and life–to–work conflict is a situation in which an individual's performance of his or her role in one sphere (i.e., work or life) leads to fewer resources being available for performing other roles (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). Due to differences in the roles individuals perform based on their gender and societal beliefs about appropriate gender roles, particular working time arrangements are associated with different experiences for men and women. The aim of this study has been to analyze how different flexible working time arrangements relate to work–to–life and life–to–work conflict. The study has also researched gender differences in this relationship and how these can be explained by men's and women's participation in housework.

By using German pairfam data (Brüderl et al., 2022) and applying linear regression analyses, it has been found that the type of working time arrangement matters for work–to–life, but not for life–to–work conflict. Only company-defined and autonomous schedules are associated with a greater work–to–life conflict. On the one hand, a company-defined schedule cannot be predicted by employees and does not allow them to organize their responsibilities to balance their work and life. A completely autonomous schedule is at the other extreme, where the worker has to set priorities, and the current work culture leads to greater conflict due to increasing competition in the labor market and declining workers' bargaining power (Chung, 2022). Contrary to expectations, the flexitime working time arrangement is neither positively nor negatively associated with work–to–life conflict, potentially due to its compromise between the interests of employees and employers (Lott, 2020).

Turning to the gender differences, as expected and similar to a previous study (Lott, 2020), it was found that men had more difficulties combining work and private life when having flexible working time arrangements. The two opposing settings of company-defined and autonomous schedules are associated with a higher perceived work–to–life conflict compared to a fixed schedule for men. This outcome is in line with the border (Clark, 2000) and boundary (Ashforth et al., 2000) theories and the 'doing gender' perspective (West &

Zimmerman, 1987) in that, in the case of a combination of complete working time autonomy and male identity that is strongly related to paid work (Berdahl et al., 2018; Vandello et al., 2013), an individual perceives a higher work–to–life conflict, while there was no such effect for men's life–to–work conflict. For women, only the company-defined schedule is associated with a greater perceived work–to–life conflict, while only flexitime is associated with a greater life–to–work conflict. As was suggested earlier, flexitime might help to relieve the spillover from work to life (Lott, 2020), but especially women in this arrangement might be constrained to manage the life–to–work conflict due to the traditional gender norms that imply women's primary responsibility for unpaid domestic work (West & Zimmerman, 1987). The fact that only women's, not men's life–to–work conflict is associated with flexible working time arrangements is also in line with Pleck's (1977) theory on the asymmetrical permeability of work and life boundaries for men and women, with family responsibilities being more disruptive for women than for men.

Simultaneously, and as anticipated, by taking into account the role of housework distribution between partners, the analysis reveals that if both men and women contribute more than their partners, they experience greater work–to–life conflict in a company-defined arrangement. This finding can be interpreted as them not being able to negotiate the work–life balance when they take an active part in household chores. Contrary to expectations, men who contribute to housework less than their partner and have an autonomous schedule experience greater work–to–life conflict than men with a fixed working schedule. It might be that men who are 'doing gender' (West & Zimmerman, 1987) by not participating in household chores, in situations with an autonomous schedule, devote more resources to employment and thus cannot reconcile work and life spheres (Geurts & Demerouti, 2002).

As predicted, life–to–work conflict was particularly high among women in all types of flexible working arrangements compared to a fixed schedule, when women performed more housework than their partner. This result is particularly alarming given that more women are now integrated into the labor market at much higher shares than in previous years (OECD, 2022b), while in the private realm, gender roles are much more stable than in the public sphere (England, 2010), which is reflected in the much higher share of unpaid work performed by women in all European countries (Eurofound, 2022; Garcia-Roman, 2025). Flexible working arrangements that are expected to help reconcile work and life domains (Kelly et al., 2014) can reinforce the tension between the two spheres if women remain primarily responsible for unpaid domestic work.

There are several limitations of the study. One of the primary limitations is that it has not been possible to capture the effect of flexible working time arrangements on work–life conflict longitudinally due to methodological issues. There is primarily low variance in that many individuals do not switch to a different working time arrangement during the observation span of two years, and the distribution of unpaid labor also does not change much. Based on cross-sectional data, the results of this study have to be interpreted with caution as the association between flexible working time arrangements and work–life conflict can run in the opposite direction, i.e., people with more work–life conflict might be more likely to negotiate flexible working time arrangements. Nonetheless, most studies observe the direction explored in the present study (Schulz & Reimann, 2022). To overcome this limitation, there is a need for more data to be collected for both flexible working time arrangements and work–life conflict, covering more extended periods and possibly capturing more variance within persons over time. Another issue is that the nature of work–life conflict and how it relates to flexible employment arrangements might be non-linear. As the boundary theory describes (Ashforth et al., 2000), transitions between the work and family domains can be constant or repeated during the day (going back and forth multiple times). Thus, the linear analysis applied here might overlook some of these transitions, particularly for workers with a high degree of flexibility in their working time. Future research based on data with shorter time intervals between measurements might therefore consider incorporating a different functional form in the analysis when studying work–life conflict. Finally, future research might consider other countries and regime contexts. Differences in levels of female employment and unpaid labor are attributed to a country's cultural context (Aisenbrey & Fasang, 2017; Ciccia & Bleijenbergh, 2014; Lewis et al., 2008) and working time regimes (Anttila et al., 2015), which can explain gender differences in work–life conflict. For example, less gender specificity can be expected in the tension between work and life spheres in countries with more egalitarian gender roles, i.e., Nordic countries, and more gender-specific tension in traditional contexts, i.e., Southern Europe. However, making such country comparisons would require a country-comparative dataset with comparable measures of flexible working time arrangements, work–life conflict, and partners' unpaid work division, which is currently not available. To better capture the division of domestic chores, such a longitudinal survey should ideally be diary-based, with a record of absolute hours devoted to housework and childcare tasks, and include the cognitive load from both partners to overcome the limitation of overreporting one's contribution to housework (Kan, 2008) or of not capturing important shares of unpaid work in the area of cognitive labor (Daminger, 2019). Finally, the analysis only captures the perspective of one

partner of the couple. Future studies should explore the work–life conflict at the couple level to better understand how the dynamics within a couple shape the strain between work and life spheres (see Wang & Cheng, 2023 for the UK example). This would require obtaining more fine-grained information about the partner's employment arrangements, which was not available in the data used for this study.

To conclude, this article contributes to a new strand of research centered around the flexibility paradox (Chung, 2022). This article contributes to this emerging literature by uncovering how resource allocation in the private domain, i.e., the division of housework, might be associated with various patterns of work–to–life and life–to–work conflict between persons with different working time arrangements. The results show that fixed work schedules help reduce work–life conflicts more than company-defined schedules. Arrangements with opportunities to decide when to work (i.e., flexitime or autonomous schedule) can only help reduce the work–to–life and life–to–work conflict if there is an equal division of household labor, especially for women. Flexible working time arrangements are thus not a solution to work–to–life and life–to–work conflict in all cases. They should, therefore, be implemented cautiously, considering the environment where they are introduced. Mere access to flexible working time arrangements might not be a solution to mitigate the work–life conflict. An essential precondition is the cultural setting at the workplace, where employees are not constrained to choose between work and family demands (Yucel & Fan, 2023). There must be clear policies that limit the number of working hours in an autonomous schedule, and there must be the right to request flexible working hours with no negative repercussions for one's career (Chung, 2022). Finally, at the household level, the norms surrounding the division of unpaid labor should change toward more egalitarian arrangements to allow flexible schedules to help reconcile work and life. One solution to reduce the overall housework load could be implementing a voucher system that subsidizes professional housework help, which already successfully works in Belgium (i.e., Raz-Yurovich & Marx, 2019). This system must be, however, implemented cautiously since it carries the risks of increasing social class differences, illegal work, and outsourcing to other (disadvantaged) women. Nonetheless, it is a possibility to reduce especially women's contribution to housework and thus achieve a more equal distribution of housework between partners. Our study shows that when assessing the role of flexible working time arrangements for work–life balance, attention must be particularly paid to the division of unpaid work among couples. Supporting couples to achieve an equal division

of housework might thus contribute to both genders profiting from flexible working time arrangements for reducing work–life conflict.

Chapter 4.
Schedule control and work hours: The role of gender and flexibility stigma across European countries
Article 3

Abstract

Flexible working arrangements, including control over one's schedule, aim to enhance workers' well-being and work–life balance. However, flexible working can be perceived negatively or stigmatized in some contexts, undermining the potential benefits of flexible work use. This study investigates how flexible working time relates to weekly work hours across European countries, considering variations in flexibility stigma, gender, and parental status. Drawing on data from the European Social Survey 2021 and Eurobarometer Flash Survey on Work-Life Balance 2018, multilevel modeling with cross-level interactions reveals several key patterns. At the individual level, there is a gendered compensation mechanism: men work more hours when having schedule control, while women's hours are similar across working time arrangements. Mothers consistently work fewer hours, with a more substantial gap between mothers and non-mothers among those with schedule control. No such gap exists for men. At the contextual level, higher flexibility stigma is linked to longer work hours only for men with schedule control, suggesting that men may overcompensate for negative perceptions by working more time. These findings support the flexibility paradox: rather than optimizing work hours, flexible arrangements may intensify work demands, particularly for men. This tendency can exacerbate gender disparities in the workplace.

Keywords: flexible work, schedule control, working hours, gender, flexibility stigma, comparative research

Introduction

Access to control over one's work schedule has the potential to help employees reconcile work and life spheres (Chung, 2022). Since 2013, 66% of European companies have provided employees access to some or complete schedule control, i.e., flexible scheduling (European Company Survey, 2019). In July 2019, the European Union passed a directive on work–life balance, granting all working parents and informal caregivers the right to request flexible scheduling (Council of the European Union, 2019). The evidence on the outcomes of workers' access to schedule control has been mixed. On the one hand, flexible working time arrangements can improve workers' well-being and work–life balance outcomes (Bolino et al., 2021; Kelly & Moen, 2021) by giving workers more autonomy in deciding when to perform work. Moreover, it can increase work-related outcomes, including job satisfaction and organizational commitment (Chen & Fulmer, 2018; Kröll et al., 2017). On the other hand, research shows that it has been more difficult for employees to maintain boundaries between work and life when controlling one's work schedule (Allen et al., 2013; Chung, 2022; Lott, 2020). This has been referred to as the "flexibility paradox" in the literature.

Nevertheless, the ambiguous consequences of schedule control may vary according to individual and contextual level characteristics. Previous research based on single-country analysis has shown that men and women use flexible working arrangements differently. Specifically, schedule control might intensify work, resulting in more working hours (Lott & Chung, 2016) and higher work–life conflict (Lott, 2020), especially among men. One explanation for this phenomenon among men is a perceived need to show more commitment to work by working longer (Chung & van der Lippe, 2020; Lu et al., 2023, 2023). For women, flexibility is less associated with expanding work hours but with increasing contribution to housework and care tasks (Chung & Booker, 2023; Hünteler et al., 2024; Lyttelton et al., 2022). These gender differences occur because individuals continue to adhere to norms that prescribe that men and women perform different societal roles (Begall et al., 2023; West & Zimmerman, 1987). The degree to which men and women differ in making use of flexible working arrangements might not work universally across countries, as previous studies have shown concerning the role of family policies, workers' bargaining power, and work centrality norms in the relationship between flexible working and work–life interference (see Chung, 2022). Despite these insights, several research gaps persist, mainly on how the use of flexible working varies across contexts when viewed negatively and whether the gendered use of flexibility persists. The aim of this study is thus to examine how working time arrangements are used by

men and women across contexts with various perceptions of flexible working arrangements. Specifically, how does the relationship between schedule control and work hours vary across genders and contexts?

The negative perception of flexible workers or discrimination against workers who use flexible working arrangements has been called flexibility stigma (Munsch, 2016; J. C. Williams et al., 2013). The level of flexibility stigma varies across countries (Chung & Seo, 2024), with the lowest values being in Nordic Europe (Finland, Denmark) and the highest in the Southern European countries (Greece, Portugal) and liberal states (UK, Ireland). Moreover, the strength of flexibility stigma correlates with the gender norms prevalent in a given context: it is higher in contexts with a stronger ideal worker norm and more traditional gender role values (Chung & Seo, 2024). Therefore, flexibility stigma allows for the disentangling and quantifying of gender differences in the use of flexible working arrangements across countries. On the one hand, flexibility stigma enables testing the compensation mechanism of whether individuals with flexible scheduling dedicate more hours to paid work, particularly when the stigma is high. On the other hand, comparisons between men and women make it possible to examine whether the compensation mechanism is gendered. If individuals comply with the societal gender roles, in the context of strong flexibility stigma, men might feel more pressured to show higher commitment at work due to the male breadwinning norm. At the same time, women might work the same number of hours across arrangements and contexts because of persistent caregiving expectations and, thus, less time available to extend the work hours. Hence, this study explores whether there is a compensation mechanism, i.e., heterogeneity in the use of working time arrangements, and whether it is gendered.

In doing so, this study makes important contributions to the literature. First, it goes beyond single-country analysis and explains the variation in the use of flexible working arrangements for work-related outcomes across different contexts. Second, for the first time, it uses the measure of flexibility stigma to model the differences between countries as a function of quantifiable contextual conditions. Finally, it examines how these contextual conditions shape the behavior of men and women, including those of different parental status. To test this gendered compensation mechanism, I apply multilevel regression models on the individual-level data from the European Social Survey, round 10, collected between 2021 and 2022, and obtain information on the perception of flexible working arrangements use from the Eurobarometer Flash Survey 470 on Work-Life Balance (2018).

Theoretical background

Flexible working arrangements and work intensification

Flexible working (Jeffrey Hill et al., 2008) can be defined as an arrangement that allows the worker to choose, to some degree, the location of work (i.e., working from home or teleworking) and the timing of work (i.e., complete or partial schedule control). This article focuses on *flexible working time* arrangements regarding the degree of control over one's work schedule. Timing and not the location of work is the focus, because time is one of the limited resources individuals can use to dedicate more to work or the family domain. Although location enables some autonomy, the control over time can allow workers to diverge from start and end times to meet family needs or extend the work shift to receive recognition from the employer. Moreover, work location cannot be treated independently of time since commuting to work requires temporal resources. Previous research has supported the assumption that time is a more challenging resource, showing that flexible working time negatively affects work–life conflict more than a flexible workplace (see Allen et al., 2013).

According to the work-family border (Clark, 2000) and boundary theories (Ashforth et al., 2000), physical, temporal, and psychological boundaries exist between work and private spheres of life (and the roles associated therewith). Physical boundaries are controlled by separating places where work and other roles in life are performed. *Temporal boundaries* are kept by setting timeframes for different domains of life. Psychological boundaries, i.e., cognitive engagement and behavior appropriate for the work or other domains of life, are being supported through these physical and temporal boundaries (Higgins et al., 2014). When physical and temporal boundaries are strictly segmented, i.e., the fixed working time and fixed company location, there is less cognitive blurring between work and private spheres of life. On the contrary, flexible working arrangements that allow workers, to a certain degree, to define the work schedule can make the temporal boundaries between the roles more permeable. In turn, it becomes more challenging for workers to maintain the psychological boundaries between work and life, which can result in work–life conflict (Kossek & Lee, 2017). Previous research supports the assumptions of these theories that flexibility blurs the roles by providing evidence for a higher work–life conflict among workers with flexible working time arrangements (Chung, 2022, 2024; Glavin & Schieman, 2012; Hofäcker & König, 2013; Lott, 2020). Work-life conflict may arise when an employee has control over their work schedule

but starts to work longer hours instead of dedicating more time to family or leisure (Chung, 2022).

Two frameworks explain why flexible scheduling results in working more time. The first one is the “autonomy paradox”, which focuses on how giving workers more autonomy or control in using mobile devices for work-related matters (i.e., email communication) anywhere and anytime made them work anywhere and all the time, thus reducing their autonomy (Mazmanian et al., 2013). The authors argue that employees used unrestricted access to work-related communication to signal their continuous commitment and availability due to demands from managers or clients, ideology, or certain market conditions. The second framework is named ”flexibility paradox”, and it extends the research by looking at the different types of flexible working arrangements, which are working from home and working time autonomy (Chung, 2022). It starts from the assumption that flexibility aims to improve workers’ work–life balance and allow them to organize work in a way that enables them to have more resources for the other domains of life. Therefore, workers with access to flexible arrangements would aspire to allocate their resources most efficiently to spend more time on leisure and/or with the family. Instead, empirical evidence shows that some workers use flexibility to dedicate more time to work (Chung & van der Horst, 2020; Lott, 2020; Lott & Chung, 2016).

The main reasons for the “flexibility paradox” are rising economic insecurities and persistent cultural norms around work (Chung, 2022). In most European contexts, there has been a decline in trade union density, which substantially weakens workers’ bargaining power (Chung, 2022). This trend goes hand in hand with the rise of nonstandard work arrangements such as temporary employment contracts (Hipp et al., 2015; International Labor Organization, 2016). These conditions result in workers being dependent on complying with the employers’ terms and feeling the need to show a high commitment to keep their employment status. Those with schedule control can strengthen their position by signaling commitment through higher availability and more work hours.

In addition to structural constraints, there are cultural norms regarding workers’ behavior and relationship with their employers. The “ideal worker” cultural norm describes a worker as someone who works more hours, is always available, and does not have responsibilities outside of work (Acker, 1990; Blair-Loy, 2009; J. Williams, 2001). When flexibility is framed as an opportunity to better accommodate work around other life domains, it does not align with the ideal worker norm. In addition, according to the social exchange theory, access to flexible working arrangements can be perceived as a privilege granted by the

employer, for which workers need to reciprocate through higher work effort (Kelliher & Anderson, 2010). Hence, the persistence of the ideal worker norm and rules of social exchange are other reasons that explain the use of flexibility to signal a continuous commitment to work.

Therefore, following the theoretical assumptions, flexible working arrangements might be associated with spending more time in paid employment due to institutional and cultural constraints (Blair-Loy, 2009; Chung, 2022; Mazmanian et al., 2013). Thus, workers might compensate for having flexible working arrangements by dedicating more hours to work. Therefore, the first hypothesis is:

Hypothesis 1. *Compared to a fixed schedule, control over one's schedule is associated with more work hours.*

Gendered consequences of work intensification

Following the gendered life course perspective (Moen, 2011, 2016), men and women have distinctive life paths due to persistent norms regarding the roles men and women should enact in society (West & Zimmerman, 1987) and the structure of the work sphere that emphasizes competitiveness, long work hours, and constant availability to the employer (Berdahl et al., 2018; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). These cultural and structural conditions might shape how men and women use flexible working arrangements for work-related outcomes.

According to the "doing gender" approach (West & Zimmerman, 1987), performing specific roles allows individuals to demonstrate their masculine or feminine identity. Traditional views on the roles of men and women assume that work is central to men's identity, while for women, it is the family, regardless of their contribution to paid work. In addition to maintaining the ideal worker status, men might dedicate more time to the employment sphere to demonstrate their breadwinning status, i.e., providing the family with a high enough income to cover their needs. On the other hand, women might be constrained to dedicate time to work and family as they are also expected to be active contributors to domestic work (i.e., housework and childcare). These different expectations surrounding societal gender roles can explain the variation in flexible working time use across men and women.

Turning back to the work-family border theory, individuals will dedicate more resources to the sphere they feel more attached to (Clark, 2000). If men are expected to be the ideal workers and male breadwinners, they might use flexibility to dedicate more time to work (Gambles et al., 2006; Lott & Chung, 2016). For women, the expectation is the opposite. If, in

addition to paid work, there is a high societal expectation from women to devote time and resources to domestic work, flexible working time arrangements would allow women to be more devoted to the domestic sphere rather than the work sphere (Becker, 1965; Chung & Booker, 2023; Kim, 2020). However, there is also a potential for workplace flexibility to enable mothers to work more (i.e., Abendroth et al., 2012).

Given the different societal expectations regarding the role of men and women, individuals might demonstrate their gender through the way they use flexible working time arrangements (Perrons, 2003). Hence, the compensation mechanism might be gendered: due to the male breadwinning expectations, men might use flexible working to demonstrate their gender. The gendered hypothesis is:

Hypothesis 2. *Schedule control, compared to a fixed schedule, is associated with more work hours for men than women.*

Parenthood and the consequences of time flexibility

Following critical life events (i.e., such as childbirth), individuals might change their attitudes and usual behavioral patterns (Stewart, 1982). When becoming parents, individuals might particularly fall back on performing more traditional gender roles (Baxter et al., 2015; Deutsch et al., 1988; West & Zimmerman, 1987). On the one hand, for women, it means that when becoming mothers, they might be devoting even more time to care activities and be unable to dedicate as much time to employment as before the transition to parenthood. Conversely, for men, when (temporarily) becoming the only breadwinner in a couple, it might reinforce the traditional male breadwinner role, which means a strong attachment to work. At the same time, since the performance of gender roles might be amplified among parents, exploring the relationship between flexible working time arrangements and paid work hours in this group might allow us to evaluate the stability of the gendered compensation mechanism. Therefore, mothers with schedule control might be unable to use the time for more work hours because they dedicate the time to care responsibilities. For fathers, two outcomes are possible. One is that fathers might devote more hours to work to demonstrate the breadwinning role and compensate for the non-working or less-working partner (see Wanger & Zapf, 2022, for a German example). Another potential outcome is that men will have no association between flexibility and work hours across parenthood status since they will continue working as much as childless men, but might try to dedicate some time to care (Kaufman, 2020).

The hypotheses related to parenthood status are the following:

Hypothesis 3. *Schedule control is associated with fewer work hours for women with children than those without children, no such association is expected for men.*

Hypothesis 3.1. *Schedule control is associated with more work hours for men with children than for men without children.*

In the next section, I discuss in greater detail the role of the context in shaping the use of flexible working time arrangements for work hours across genders.

Contextual conditions for gendered flexibility stigma

Individuals' behavior is shaped by the social environment they live in (Coleman, 1994). In this regard, the use of flexible work is no exception. Gamblers et al. (2006) have shown in their research that employees' choice to use flexible working arrangements for more work or other activities is constrained by the contexts these workers are in. Due to technological advancements, ideal worker norms, increased pressures from companies trying to be more efficient, and management strategies emphasizing high commitment, the work has become more invasive, and flexibility exacerbates work invasiveness even more. Flexibility has been shown to be used differently by various groups (Kley & Reimer, 2023; Lott, 2015) and to have diverse outcomes on the reconciliation of work and life (Chung, 2022, 2024) across European contexts. Several contextual factors shape the use of flexible working arrangements for work-related outcomes. Some are institutional, such as the generosity of family policies (Chung, 2019, 2024) and the workers' bargaining power (Chung, 2022).

Another stream of research focuses on the role of culture and norms around work, especially the "ideal worker" norm (J. Williams, 2001) and the work devotion schema (Blair-Loy, 2009). An ideal worker is an individual to whom employment is central to one's identity, who has full commitment and devotion to the place of work, including working more hours and being available for work all the time (J. Williams, 2001). Consequently, the work devotion schema is an institutionalized organizational expectation that workers will dedicate themselves more to work and less to other aspects of life (Blair-Loy, 2009). The work devotion scheme is hardly compatible with having enough time or energy to devote to different domains of life, i.e., family. Hence, it describes employment as a place primarily designed for men since women have to reduce, pause, or exit their labor activity when giving birth. In this scenario, when flexible working arrangements are framed as family-friendly arrangements, i.e., those helping

to reconcile work and family responsibilities, they go against the work devotion scheme and the ideal worker image (Blair-Loy, 2009; Blair-Loy & Cech, 2017; Eaton, 2003). Research on work centrality and the adoption of flexible working arrangements supports this claim by showing that adopting flexible working arrangements was less likely in countries with high ideal worker norms, i.e., a high perception of work being central to one's life (Den Dulk et al., 2013). Moreover, flexible workers had a higher work-family conflict in countries with high ideal worker norms (Chung, 2022). Less willingness to adopt flexible working arrangements and high perceived difficulties in reconciling work and family in countries with high work centrality, particularly among flexible workers, might be due to negative views around these workers, a phenomenon called flexibility stigma (Chung & Seo, 2024; Munsch, 2016; Rudman & Mescher, 2013; J. C. Williams et al., 2013).

Flexibility stigma is a negative perception of workers who use flexible working arrangements, a form of discrimination against flexible workers (J. C. Williams et al., 2013). The negative attitudes toward flexible workers can result in the non-use of flexible working arrangements even though the workers would benefit from them, for instance, working mothers (Chung, 2022). High levels of flexibility stigma can also be a cause for lower work–life balance (Cech & Blair-Loy, 2014), lower work–life satisfaction, higher job-home spillover, and turnover intentions (O'Connor & Cech, 2018), and significant health issues, including poor self-rated health and low sleep quality (Cech & O'Connor, 2017).

Flexibility stigma is exceptionally high in countries with high work centrality, measured by the perception of work as a duty to society (Chung & Seo, 2024). This aligns with the arguments related to the role of the ideal worker norm (Blair-Loy, 2009; J. Williams, 2001). In the context of the flexibility stigma, the worker might need to compensate for using flexibility by working more hours and showing higher commitment. Nonetheless, the need to compensate for flexibility might not be universal across genders.

Men might be particularly influenced by the flexibility stigma, which is called the "femininity stigma" (Rudman & Mescher, 2013). On the one hand, the issue concerns the framing of flexible working arrangements. When flexibility is framed as a family-friendly policy that helps individuals, particularly mothers, to reconcile work and care (Clark, 2000; Eaton, 2003), men are not expected to use this arrangement, especially if the male-breadwinning norms are strong (Perrons, 2003; West & Zimmerman, 1987). On the other hand, regardless of framing, flexible work is contrary to the work devotion scheme (Blair-Loy, 2009) and the "male ideal worker" norm (J. Williams, 2001) that requires continuous availability and

full commitment to work, especially for male workers. Thus, male workers might be particularly pressured to maintain the image of the ideal workers and compensate for being able to control the work schedule by working more hours when there is a high flexibility stigma. In contrast, when the level of flexibility stigma is lower, there will be no difference in work hours among men and women across different working time arrangements. Hence, the final hypothesis is the following:

Hypothesis 4*: Schedule control is associated with more work hours for men than for women in contexts where flexibility stigma is higher. There is no difference in countries with lower flexibility stigma.*

Data and methods

The individual-level data comes from the European Social Survey (ESS), round 10, which was collected between 2021 and 2022. ESS is a cross-national survey that collects data every 2 years for over 40 countries using strict random sampling. It covers the adult population living in private households. In this study, I focus only on wave 10 of the study because it features information on flexible working arrangements. I restrict the sample to the adult working population aged 25-65 to exclude those who might combine flexible working with education or request flexibility due to retirement. Additionally, I omit self-employed workers, whose experience of control might differ from those working for an employer (Nordenmark et al., 2012).

The country-level data comes from the Eurobarometer Flash Survey on Work-Life Balance 470, which was collected in 2018. It is the only cross-national survey with information from workers on how flexible working arrangements are perceived in their company or organization. It covers 28 European countries, including EU member states and the UK.

Some countries are present in the ESS but not in the Eurobarometer, and vice versa (i.e., Iceland, Israel, Montenegro, North Macedonia, Norway, Serbia, and Switzerland). Cyprus, Greece, Hungary, Slovakia, and Italy had to be excluded because fewer than 30 individuals reported having had schedule control. Therefore, the final sample consists of 13,660 individuals nested in 18 countries. More information on the missing data is available in the Supplementary material, section 29.

Dependent variable

The outcome variable that captures the degree of work intensification is *the self-reported usual number of working hours per week, including overtime*. This measure differs from the contractual working hours because it accounts for different fluctuations in the working hours due to holidays, sickness, or overtime work. I use this variable instead of contractual working hours because contractual hours are difficult to change, so they will not differ substantially if a worker controls one's schedule. The usual working hours are the closest measure to the actual hours the individual is doing at work. I removed 130 observations that report zero working hours. As a robustness check (Table 58A in the Supplementary material), I compare the usual and the contractual working hours by looking at the share of usual work hours in the contractual ones.

Independent variable

The independent variable is *the degree of control over the decision when to start/finish work*, which contrasts three groups: those who cannot decide, who can decide to some extent, and who have complete control over the schedule. This variable is treated as categorical in the analysis, with three groups. Unable to decide when to start/finish work is a reference category.

Individual and country-level moderators

The moderators at the individual level are *gender*, based on the binary definition, and *parental status*. Parents are respondents who report living in the same household with children under 18 years old, thus also including step-, adoptive- and foster parents.

The main country-level predictor, *flexibility stigma,* comes from the Eurobarometer Flash Survey 470 on work–life balance. Flexibility stigma is captured in the survey with three different statements, to which respondents can either totally agree (1), tend to agree (2), tend to disagree (3), or totally disagree (4). The following statements are evaluated:

- whether flexible workers are viewed negatively by the other colleagues;
- whether flexible working has a negative impact on one's career (promotion, bonus, type of work allocated);
- whether it is easier for women than for men to make use of flexible work arrangements.

Although the first and the second statements capture the definition of flexibility stigma as being negatively viewed by others and harming one's career, the Cronbach Alpha for these measures is only 0.6. This means that they do not capture flexibility stigma as one concept. Therefore, I will look at these two dimensions as separate measures. This procedure aligns with previous studies (i.e., Chung & Seo, 2024). The third measure – referring to the use of flexibility by men and women – is analyzed using a different model because it captures the femininity stigma: the fact that flexible working arrangements have been specifically designed for women (Rudman & Mescher, 2013). Hence, men's use of these arrangements might be uncommon. For each country, I compute the share of individuals who "totally" or "tend to agree" with each of the three statements. These three country-level variables are used in the analysis to capture the presence and strength of flexibility stigma. Agreement on whether flexibility is harmful to the career ranges from 6.9% (Finland) to 43.7% (Spain), on whether it is negatively perceived by colleagues from 14.3% (Finland) to 38.7% (Portugal), and on whether flexibility is easier to use for women from 9.6% in Sweden and 52.7% in Bulgaria. Figure 16A in the Supplementary material presents the level of agreement for all countries.

As a robustness check, in the Supplementary material, Table 59A, I estimate models with an average level of each of the three statements (with a prior recoding from totally disagree as 1 to totally agree as 4). An additional robustness check computes the level of flexibility stigma perceived only by individuals in managerial occupations who can decide on career progression or allow flexible working arrangements. These are available in the Supplementary material, Table 60A.

Control variables

Following previous studies (Chung, 2022; Kley & Reimer, 2023; Lott, 2015; Lott & Chung, 2016), to account for potential confounding variables, I control for the level of education (binary variable higher education vs. no higher education), presence of a working partner (categorical: no partner, working, nonworking partner), age and age squared of the respondent, occupation status (ISCO 1-3 vs. the rest due to the number of cases in available in each occupation), migration background (with vs. without), survey year (2021 or 2022), and the female employment rate in the country in 2021 to match the year when most of the ESS individual-level data was collected (ILOSTAT, 2022).

Modeling strategy

To analyze working hours, a continuous variable, and account for the data's hierarchical structure, I use a two-level linear regression model with random slopes on the lower-level flexible working time arrangements component and apply restricted maximum likelihood estimation (Bryan & Jenkins, 2016; Heisig & Schaeffer, 2019). At the first level are the individual observations, and at the second level are countries. Individual-level continuous variables (age and age squared) and all country-level variables were grand-mean-centered (Enders & Tofighi, 2007). Finally, post-stratification weights were applied in all models to reduce possible non-response bias and correct the fact that some population groups had a higher probability of selection in some countries. I build pooled models and estimate three-way interactions to assess gender differences. First, I examine how the degree of schedule control is associated with working hours and how gender and parental status moderate this relationship. Second, I look at how the degree of schedule control is associated with working hours across different contexts for men and women.

Results

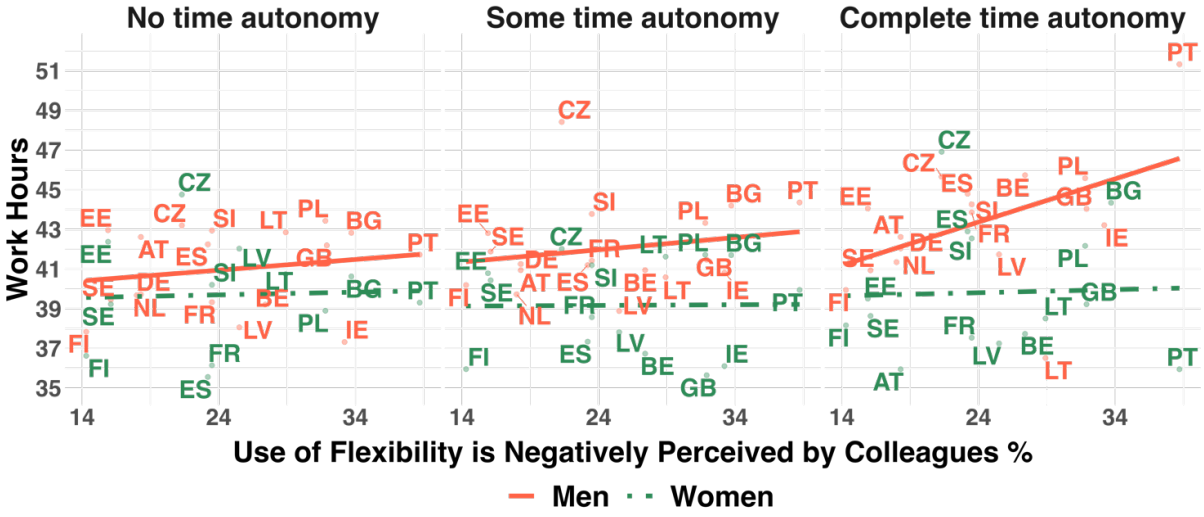
Descriptive statistics

In the Supplementary material, Figure 16A visualizes the percentage of individuals who agree with three statements on flexibility stigma per country. The perception that flexibility is easier for women to use is substantial in Bulgaria (52.7%), Ireland (43%), and Portugal (42.2%). The lowest femininity stigma (and other types of flexibility stigma) is in the Nordic countries and post-Soviet states (from 6.9% to 17.3%). In Spain (43.7%), Belgium (42%), Ireland (41.9%), Portugal (39.7%), and France (38.5%), I find high perceptions of flexibility being harmful to the career, while the perception of flexibility being negatively viewed by colleagues is lower on average compared to the other measures of flexibility, it is nonetheless the highest in Portugal (38.7%), Bulgaria (33.7%), and Ireland (33.2%).

Figure 12 visualizes the usual average working hours with overtime per country (on the y-axis) and the level of flexibility stigma as a % of individuals who agree that using flexibility is negatively perceived by colleagues (on the x-axis) for those with no, some, and complete schedule control for 18 countries in the study sample. Overall, women work similar hours across flexible working time arrangements and levels of flexibility stigma. On the other hand,

men seem to work more hours when they have some or complete schedule control than a fixed schedule. Moreover, men work more hours as the level of flexibility stigma goes up. This inclination is steeper for men with some or complete schedule control. Therefore, some descriptive evidence shows that workers might compensate for using flexible working arrangements and work more hours in countries with high flexibility stigma or not use these arrangements to work fewer hours. In the next section, I explore how men and women differ in the number of working hours when they work flexibly, and second, the role of parental status. Finally, I test how these differences are manifested in contexts with various levels of flexibility stigma.

Figure 12. Average working hours with overtime and the level of flexibility stigma (statement: "Flexible working is negatively perceived by colleagues") for men (red) and women (green) per country.



Multivariate analyses

Table 7 provides the results from the multilevel analysis. Firstly, I examine the key individual-level variables of interest: access to schedule control, gender, parental status, and their interaction (see models 1, 2, and 3). Access to some and complete schedule control is positively and statistically significantly related to the number of work hours (Model 1, coefficients 0.52, $p < 0.1$ and 1.53, $p < 0.05$). Thus, Hypothesis 1 is supported. Individuals who can control, to some degree, their work schedule work more hours than individuals with a fixed schedule. When looking at the differences by gender, the analysis shows a statistically significant negative relationship between being a female and some or complete schedule control (Model 2, interaction coefficients -0.71, $p < 0.1$ and -2.03, $p < 0.001$). This implies that higher working hours among those with more schedule control are more pronounced among men than women.

Table 7. Multilevel linear regression. Dependent variable: usual number of working hours. ESS data, round 10. A full table is in the Supplementary material, Table 56A.

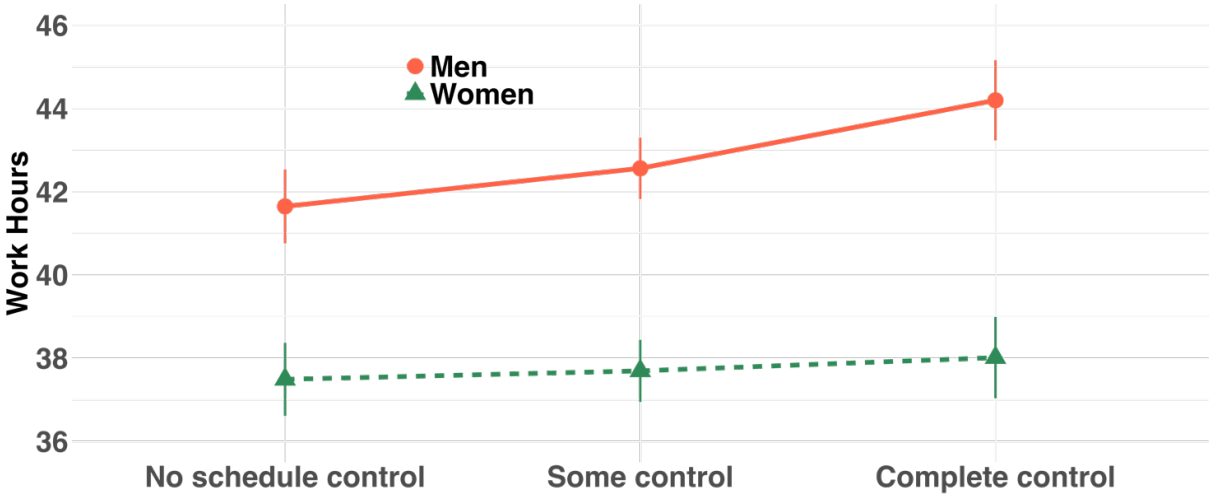
	Model 1	**Model 2**	**Model 3**	**Model 4**	**Model 5**
Intercept	45.56 ***	45.20 ***	44.53 ***	46.08 ***	45.92 ***
	(1.58)	(1.59)	(1.59)	(1.60)	(1.61)
Some time control (not at all)	0.52 +	0.91 **	1.19 **	0.48 +	0.67 +
	(0.28)	(0.35)	(0.44)	(0.28)	(0.36)
Complete time control	1.53 *	2.55 ***	2.98 ***	1.44 *	2.54 ***
	(0.64)	(0.71)	(0.79)	(0.63)	(0.69)
Female (ref. Male)	-4.79 ***	-4.16 ***	-3.06 ***	-4.80 ***	-4.36 ***
	(0.20)	(0.32)	(0.40)	(0.20)	(0.33)
Flexibility negative by colleagues				0.04	-0.01
				(0.10)	(0.10)
Some autonomy*Female		-0.71 +	-0.92 +		-0.34
		(0.43)	(0.56)		(0.44)
Complete autonomy*Female		-2.03 ***	-1.99 **		-2.22 ***
		(0.59)	(0.77)		(0.62)
Female*Parent			-2.85 ***		
			(0.65)		
Some control**Female**Parent			0.78		
			(0.88)		
Complete control**Female**Parent			0.09		
			(1.20)		
Flexi negative colleagues*Female					0.09 *
					(0.04)
Flexi negative colleagues*Some autonomy				0.03	0.01
				(0.04)	(0.05)
Flexi negative colleagues*Complete autonomy				0.12	0.27 **
				(0.09)	(0.10)
Flexi negative colleagues*Some autonomy*Female					0.07
					(0.06)
Flexi negative colleagues*Complete autonomy*Female					-0.28 **
					(0.10)
AIC	107143.84	107135.19	107100.20	107157.69	107144.81
BIC	107301.80	107308.20	107310.82	107338.22	107362.95
Log Likelihood	-53550.92	-53544.60	-53522.10	-53554.85	-53543.40
Num. obs.	13660	13660	13660	13660	13660
Num. groups: country	18	18	18	18	18

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Figure 13 depicts the association between work hours for men and women with different levels of schedule control. Men generally work more hours than women across all working time arrangements (red solid line). Nonetheless, the gender gap in work hours is substantially larger depending on whether men or women have access to complete schedule

control. Women work a similar number of hours regardless of their flexible working time arrangement (green dashed line). In contrast, men work more hours when they have access to some schedule control and even more so when they have complete schedule control. Therefore, the higher the degree of flexibility, the more substantial the gap in work hours between men and women. Thus, this result supports Hypothesis 2, that schedule control, compared to a fixed schedule, is associated with more hours for men than for women.

Figure 13. The relationship between flexible working arrangements and work hours by gender. 83% confidence intervals[5]. Predicted values from Model 1, Table 7.



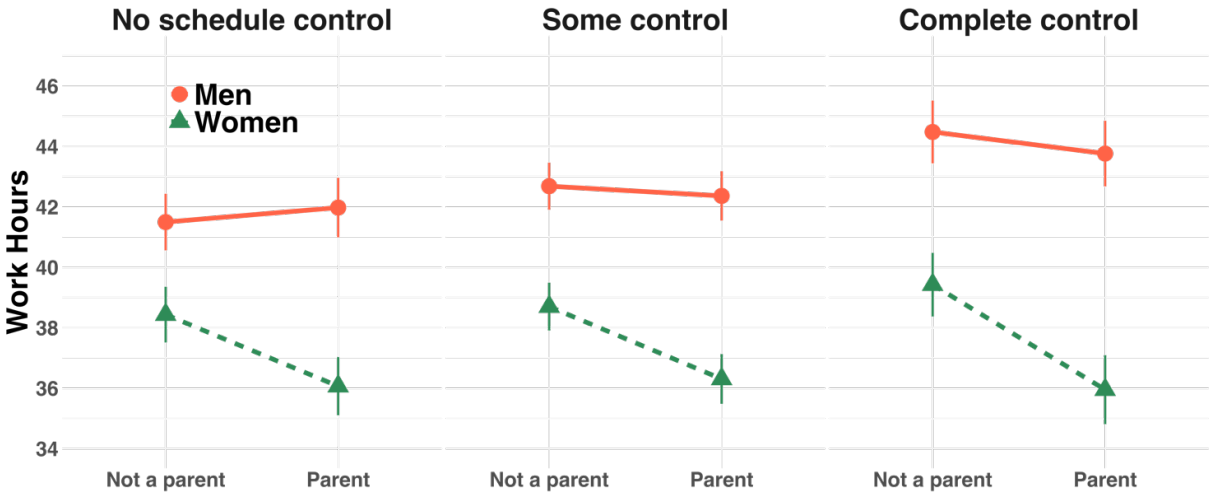
Turning to parenthood status, Model 3 shows that men and women with children do not significantly differ from each other in the way in which schedule control is associated with working hours (interaction effects 0.78, $p > 0.1$ and 0.09, $p > 0.1$). However, looking more closely at these relationships (Figure 14), I find that mothers work fewer hours than non-mothers (green dashed line) across all schedule control arrangements. However, the difference in the number of work hours between mothers and non-mothers is more substantial among those with (complete) schedule control (36 vs 39.4 weekly work hours). Non-mothers work 39,4 hours with complete schedule control and 38.4 hours with a fixed schedule, but mothers work similar hours across working time arrangements (36 hours).

Examining the working hours for men (Figure 14, red solid line), there are no differences between fathers and non-fathers across working time arrangements (red solid line).

[5] It has been shown that 83% confidence intervals can effectively identify significant differences between two means with a p-value of 0.05 (Austin & Hux, 2002). When reporting the predictive values from the interaction effects, we use 83% confidence intervals.

Therefore, Hypothesis 3, which expected schedule control to be associated with fewer work hours for women with children than for women without children and no association for men, is supported. However, the differences between men and women in working hours remain larger than the differences within genders by parenthood status or schedule control (the distance between red solid line vs green dashed line). Finally, Hypothesis 3.1, which stated that fathers with schedule control would work more hours, is not supported. In fact, the work hours are slightly lower for fathers compared to non-fathers with schedule control, but this difference is not statistically significant. Therefore, men's hours diverge depending on access to schedule control, but there is no substantial difference in hours between non-fathers and fathers within different flexible working time arrangements.

Figure 14. The relationship between flexible working arrangements and work hours by gender and parenthood status. 83% confidence intervals.

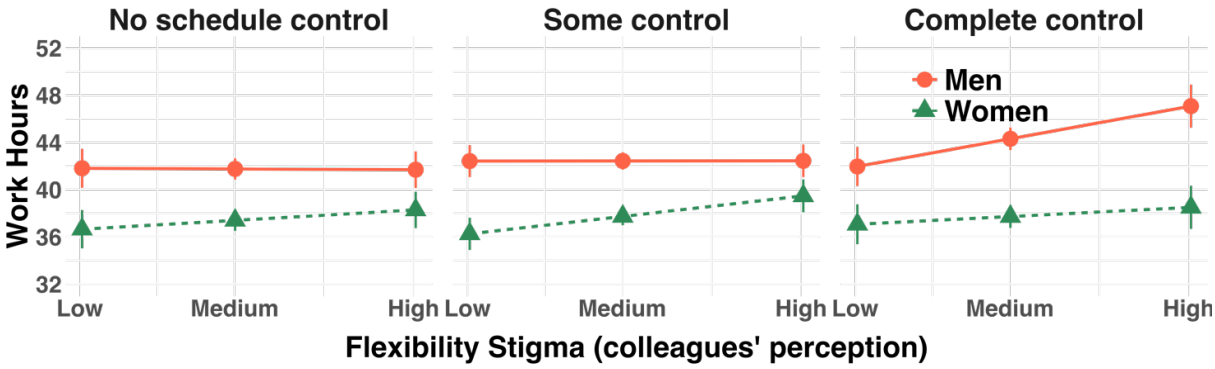


Cross-country differences

Finally, models 4 and 5 in Table 7 provide the results for the relationship between flexible working time arrangements, gender, and flexibility stigma related to being negatively perceived by colleagues. Table 57A in the Supplementary material provides the results on the other two dimensions of flexibility stigma: it is perceived to have a harmful impact on the career (Models 6 and 8), and it is easier to use for women than men (Models 7 and 9). Looking at the interaction effect between the perception of flexibility being negatively perceived by colleagues and schedule control in Table 7, Model 4, there is a positive association, but it does not reach a conventional level of statistical significance (interaction coefficients 0.03, $p > 0.1$ and 0.12, $p > 0.1$). When examining the variation across genders, Model 5 shows that women work fewer

hours than men in complete schedule control in contexts with high flexibility stigma (interaction coefficient -0.28, $p < 0.01$). Figure 15 visualizes this interaction effect. First, on the left pane, for the fixed schedule, there are no substantial differences in work hours among men and women across levels of flexibility stigma. Second, the middle pane shows that with some schedule control, men work the same number of hours across contexts, while women work slightly more in contexts with high flexibility stigma. At a closer inspection, the right pane illustrates that men with schedule control work more hours in countries where flexibility is perceived to be negatively viewed by colleagues. On the other hand, women work a similar number of hours across contexts. Overall, in countries where flexible working is viewed negatively by colleagues, men tend to overcompensate for the use of flexibility by working more hours. In comparison, women either cannot work even more hours or do not feel the same pressure to work more. Therefore, Hypothesis 4 is supported; schedule control is associated with higher work hours for men than for women in contexts where flexibility stigma is higher.

Figure 15. The relationship between flexible working arrangements and work hours by gender and level of flexibility stigma (statement on whether flexible workers are viewed negatively by colleagues). 83% confidence intervals.



Turning to the other measures of flexibility stigma. Table 57A in the Supplementary material presents the results for the statements on whether flexibility is harmful to the career (Models 6 and 8) and whether flexibility is easier to use for women than men, i.e., femininity stigma (Models 7 and 9). These results are similar to those regarding the colleagues' perception above, particularly for the femininity stigma. Looking at the perception of flexibility being negative for the career, the effect of complete time autonomy does not reach the conventional level of statistical significance. Previous research also found only minor evidence for cross-national differences in the perception that the use of flexibility can result in negative career outcomes (Chung & Seo, 2024). These results indicate that the specific measure of flexibility stigma matters. The difference between men and women in work hours is more pronounced if

flexibility is perceived as a policy that is easier to use for women or negatively perceived by colleagues.

Robustness checks

Several robustness checks are presented in the Supplementary material, Tables 58A-60A, to ensure the stability of the results. First, instead of looking at the usual number of hours, Table 58A presents models that estimate the proportion of usual work hours over the contractual ones. This accounts for the potential reasons for using schedule control due to different individual characteristics. The results hold for the main effects of interest. Men work more hours than women when they can control their schedule, especially when flexibility is perceived as easier to use for women or is negatively viewed by colleagues. The next set of models presents whether the results hold for a different way to estimate the level of country-level flexibility stigma. Table 59A in the Supplementary material shows the same models as in the main table, but flexibility stigma is represented as the average level of agreement with the statement instead of % of individuals who agree with the statement. Table 60A in the Supplementary material provides the results for flexibility stigma measured as the perception of individuals in managerial occupations. Since managers might permit workers to use flexible working arrangements, their perception might be more important. Regardless of different measures, both sets of models generally replicate the main results with some minor differences in the levels of statistical significance and effect sizes.

Discussion and conclusion

Implementing flexible working time arrangements in terms of control over one's schedule has the potential to help employees reconcile work and life spheres (Chung, 2022; Council of the European Union, 2019). The evidence on the outcomes of flexible work is mixed. Some studies show that schedule control can improve work–life balance, enhance well-being, and increase work satisfaction (Bolino et al., 2021; Chen & Fulmer, 2018; Kelly & Moen, 2021; Kröll et al., 2017). Nonetheless, other evidence demonstrates that schedule control might intensify work, decrease well-being (ter Hoeven & van Zoonen, 2015), and increase work–life conflicts (Lott, 2020). This article aimed to analyze how schedule control is associated with work hours across genders, parenthood status, and contexts with different levels of flexibility stigma, i.e., biased perceptions about using flexible work. This study extends previous research by looking at the

use of flexible working arrangements for work-related outcomes across genders in different contexts, using the measure of flexibility stigma.

There are three main results. First, supporting the assumptions derived from the "ideal worker" norm (Acker, 1990; Blair-Loy, 2009), social exchange theory (Kelliher & Anderson, 2010), flexibility paradox (Chung, 2022), and "doing gender" approaches (West & Zimmerman, 1987), control over one's schedule is associated with more work hours. Men work more hours with some and complete schedule control, while women work nearly the same hours across these arrangements. Second, parental status is associated with lower work hours for women across working time arrangements, while men work the same amount regardless of parental status. This result supports the idea that parenthood intensifies the performance of traditional gender roles (Baxter et al., 2015). Yet, the difference in work hours is more substantial between non-mothers and mothers with complete schedule control. It shows that women attempt to use schedule control to work more, but flexibility does not help keep working hours during motherhood. Finally, following the expectations regarding the role of negative perceptions toward flexible workers (Rudman & Mescher, 2013; J. C. Williams et al., 2013), the work hours are higher in countries with more stigmatized views toward flexible workers, particularly for men. Women work the same number of hours when they have complete schedule control, and flexibility is perceived to be negatively viewed by colleagues or as a policy for women (i.e., femininity stigma). On the other hand, men seem to compensate for using complete control over their schedules by working more hours in contexts with high flexibility and femininity stigma. These results provide evidence for a gendered compensation mechanism in the use of schedule control, particularly in contexts where flexibility is perceived as easier to use for women than for men and is negatively viewed by colleagues. In contexts where flexibility was perceived as harmful to the career, it was less of a concern. It highlights that the measure of flexibility stigma matters and that framing flexibility as a "female policy" might exacerbate gender inequality in the labor market and potentially be harmful to the well-being of male workers who work more hours.

This study has some limitations. First, this is based on cross-sectional data; therefore, there might be an endogeneity issue, i.e., working an extensive number of hours might affect the preference for a flexible schedule. Moreover, there might be a selection effect of individuals opting out of flexible working arrangements because of the potential negative repercussions for their careers (Kasperska et al., 2024; Tanquerel & Santistevan, 2022; Thébaud & Pedulla, 2022), which is why this flexibility measure has a weaker effect. These issues might be partially

resolved using longitudinal approaches, i.e., collecting and analyzing information on gender, flexibility arrangements, and flexibility stigma.

Another issue is that measures of flexibility stigma come from the survey before COVID-19. Due to a massive expansion of flexible working arrangements, some of them have remained (i.e., Chung & Yuan, 2025), views around flexible work might have changed (Abendroth et al., 2022) and diminished a potential stigma. Future research should collect more data on flexibility stigma in the years after the pandemic to see if the compensation mechanism holds in the post-pandemic labor markets.

A third limitation is the number of countries in the sample, which is about the minimum for the multilevel data analysis to produce reliable results (i.e., Bryan & Jenkins, 2016). Future studies need to include more countries and cover information on the use of flexible work and perceptions toward flexible workers. One of the limitations of the Eurobarometer dataset is the incomparability of occupational groups with ISCO occupations available in the ESS. There might be more variation in flexibility stigma across occupations and sectors (i.e., (Chung & Seo, 2024), which future studies have to explore. Finally, the ESS data did not measure the individuals' weekly hours dedicated to family or leisure activities. However, this information may be essential to understanding the complex dynamics of how individuals use flexible work for various domains of life (Augustine et al., 2024). Parenthood is only an approximation of balancing time needs across domains of life. In the future, researchers could use multinational time-use data (such as MTUS) in combination with country-level measures of flexibility stigma to explore this dynamic.

Notwithstanding these limitations, the study shows that flexible working time arrangements allow some workers to work more hours, which can contribute to inequality in salary and career promotion. Particularly, due to the persistent traditional gender roles, men tend to work more hours when the schedule allows. At the same time, women work the same number of hours regardless of the working time arrangement, potentially due to obligations outside work (Yerkes, 2013). In contexts where flexibility is viewed negatively by colleagues and is perceived as easier for women to use, men compensate for the possible adverse consequences to their careers by working even more hours. To overcome these inequalities in the use of flexible working arrangements, there must be a shift toward more egalitarian norms and work–life balance policies that target all workers regardless of gender. Moreover, how individuals, especially managers, think about and support the use of flexible working has to change to remove cultural barriers that are reinforcing the gendered use of flexible working.

Chapter 5 Conclusion

Flexible working arrangements in terms of scheduling and location of work can help reconcile work and life spheres. At the same time, the preexisting research findings on the consequences of flexibility are ambivalent. Some evidence supports the positive impact of flexible work, and some studies report negative outcomes for work–life balance. This dissertation analyzed the role of contexts that can explain the previously ambivalent results. It explored the relationship between flexible working arrangements and three outcomes: work–life conflict, the division of paid and unpaid work. It also identified the conditions under which flexibility can be beneficial for these outcomes, and the contexts in which it can exacerbate inequality, especially between men and women.

The results of this dissertation provide further evidence of the existence of the flexibility paradox: the ambivalent nature of flexible working leading to more work–life conflict (Article 2) and the expansion of unpaid and paid labor (Articles 1 and 3). With a particular focus on gender, the three articles reinforce the argument of the gendered flexibility paradox: not only do men and women perceive the challenges in transitioning between work and life spheres differently. Flexible working also enables different behaviors in the domestic and employment spheres, reinforcing gender inequality. Nonetheless, as this dissertation demonstrates, the magnitude of the gendered flexibility paradox is not universal: inequality augments in some contexts, but not others.

The first article of this dissertation focused on how individual gender role attitudes shape the relationship between flexible working location and the gendered division of domestic labor. The findings indicate that telecommuting can exacerbate gender inequality in the domestic division of labor by making women contribute more to childcare with no increase in the contribution of men. However, this pattern was not uniform across all population groups. Women's contribution to childcare increased alongside their transition to telecommuting only if these women held traditional gender role attitudes. There was also evidence that men increased their contribution when switching to telecommuting only if these men held egalitarian beliefs around gender roles. Telecommuting did not change the division of childcare between men and women when men were traditional or when women were egalitarian. Therefore, beliefs around the roles of men and women can shape how individuals use telecommuting to divide childcare within a couple.

The second article explored how the division of housework within a couple shapes the association between flexible working time arrangements and work–life conflict (work–to–life and life–to–work conflict). The results show that when the working time was entirely in the employee's control, and, on the other extreme, when the company defined the schedule, work–to–life conflict was particularly high for men. At the same time, women experienced higher work–to–life conflict when they had a company-defined schedule. The perceived work–to–life conflict was even higher if men and women in company-defined schedules were responsible for caring for the main share of housework. The perceived life–to–work conflict was higher in flexible working arrangements compared to a fixed schedule, only among women. The perceived life–to–work conflict among these women was even greater when they performed more housework than their partner. Therefore, flexible working schedules might challenge the transition from work to life spheres and vice versa. It can become even more challenging when these workers, especially women, do the primary share of the housework load.

The third article examined whether flexibility stigma or negative perceptions of flexible workers shape how schedule control is associated with women's and men's work hours. Men work more hours than women across all working time arrangements, but the gender gap in work hours is higher between men and women with complete schedule control. Regardless of working time arrangements, mothers worked fewer hours than childless women, while men worked the same hours regardless of parenthood status. In contexts where other colleagues negatively perceived flexible workers, men with complete working time autonomy worked even more hours than in less autonomous working time arrangements and contexts with lower negative perceptions of flexible workers. Women worked similar hours across contexts and arrangements. The findings indicate a potential gendered compensation mechanism for using flexible working time arrangements in contexts with high negative attitudes toward flexible workers. Men compensate for a flexible working schedule by spending more hours at work to signal their commitment. At the same time, women might be unable to use flexibility to work more hours because of other obligations.

The dissertation's findings highlight that flexible working arrangements are used differently for unpaid and paid work, depending on the context. Individual gender role attitudes are important circumstances since, with more traditional beliefs around the roles of men and women, flexible working might intensify an unequal division of domestic labor, placing a higher burden on women. Perceptions of flexible workers also play a crucial role in how employees use flexibility for their working time, especially making men work even more hours.

Finally, unequal division of housework within couples can hinder flexible workers' ability to transition between work and life domains, making it particularly difficult for women to navigate between work and life spheres.

Theoretical implications

This study contributes to the theories on work-family reconciliation and gender, focusing on the flexibility paradox. The findings reveal that flexible working arrangements in terms of scheduling and location of work can challenge transitions between work and family spheres compared to the fixed schedule and office work arrangements. However, the results challenge these theories by looking at the role of the context, or, in other words, under which circumstances flexibility can benefit workers or further exacerbate difficulties in managing work and life domains. Below, I outline this dissertation's main contributions to the existing theoretical approaches.

The work-family border theory (Clark, 2000) assumed that borders between the domains of work and life can be physical, temporal, or mental. The domains can encroach on one another, or one domain can extend over the other if the borders are weak. All three studies support these assumptions as flexibility in terms of time and location of work has been associated with the extension of the family boundary (i.e., doing more domestic work), the work boundary (i.e., doing more paid work hours), and the subjective perception of higher work–to–life and life–to–work conflicts. This is also in line with the propositions of the boundary theory (Ashforth et al., 2000) that thin boundaries between work and other life roles lead to constraints on separating one role from another. Thus, the performance of the work role might extend beyond the usual working schedule, and vice versa: fulfilling the role at home might extend over the time dedicated to employment duties. The strength of domain or role identification with work or other life roles determines which domain or role will expand over the other.

The identification that can significantly shape work–life transitions is gender. By looking at the use of flexible working arrangements for work–life transitions from a gender perspective, this work contributes to the existing literature on the study of gender roles in the following ways. First, following Goffman's ideas of gender "expressive behaviors" in social settings, differences in how men and women use flexibility reflect culturally prescribed identities: women often use it to expand domestic responsibilities, while men use it to extend

paid work. Second, by examining the use of flexible working arrangements to contribute to a couple's division of domestic labor, this study supports the "doing gender" perspective that, in the interaction within a couple, women do their gender by contributing more to childcare. In contrast, men do their gender by not changing their behavior even when they get the opportunity through flexibility. Third, the "doing gender" happens not only in the interaction between two or more individuals but also in the social-relational context, in any situation where an individual can be socially evaluated. Even when observing individuals managing their work irrespective of being in a couple, men dedicate more time to paid work when they have schedule control. Women do not do so, potentially due to the expectations to complete tasks in the domestic sphere.

Finally, all these processes of the use of flexible work for work–life reconciliation largely depended on the context in which flexible working arrangements were used. This aligns with Coleman's theory on how context shapes individual behavior or how individuals are embedded in contexts and act according to the rules and norms imposed by this context. One of the contexts is gender role attitudes, which are the degree of belief in gender role segregation in the work and family spheres. The extension of family roles for women only happens if they hold traditional beliefs around gender roles; egalitarian women do not contribute more to childcare when working from home. At the same time, the preservation of men's gender identity takes place only for traditional men; egalitarian men use working from home as an opportunity to contribute more to the division of childcare. Another context is how couples divide housework in the household, which relates to gender performance in the interaction. Women tend to experience difficulties navigating between life and work roles when they have flexible working time arrangements and are primarily responsible for the housework division within a couple. Hence, by taking the primary responsibility for domestic labor, the gendered role is amplified and does not allow for a smooth switch from the life sphere to the work sphere. Gender roles are displayed beyond the interaction process and persist in any social context, where individuals can perceive judgment by others. Examining how flexibility stigma shapes the use of flexible working time arrangements for the timing of paid work supports the "male ideal worker norm" (Acker, 1990; Blair-Loy, 2009), as only men extend their paid working time when having working time autonomy. To be cautious here, women might be unable to act upon the stigma of flexibility because they are occupied with fulfilling roles in addition to paid labor. Nonetheless, these results support the relevance of social-relational context (Ridgeway

& Correll, 2004) in how flexibility can reproduce and sustain gender inequality not only in the domestic sphere, but also in the employment sphere.

Policy implications

Beyond theoretical contributions, this thesis provides several implications for policies. The fact that flexible working arrangements have become more common due to the COVID-19 pandemic underscores the relevance of carefully considering implementing flexible working as it affects more and more workers. Although some evidence shows negative implications of flexible work for work–life reconciliation, there are circumstances under which flexibility helps to maintain a work–life balance and contributes to a more equal (or less unequal) division of domestic and paid labor.

First, these circumstances include more egalitarian attitudes toward the role of men and women in society. While this dissertation does not explore how attitudes change, it shows that flexible work can support a more equal division of labor within couples in more egalitarian contexts. Thus, policies should (continue to) focus on promoting measures that can move beliefs around gender roles toward more egalitarianism. For example, proceeding with implementing parental leave that obliges fathers to take part in it (Bünning, 2015).

Second, a generally more equal division of domestic labor can help women reconcile work and family spheres, particularly when they have control over their schedule. Apart from changing gender role attitudes that can help change behavior, there is a need for more assistance with the division of domestic work. One example of reducing the housework load is providing households with vouchers that subsidize professional housework help, ensuring that population groups from different social classes have access to it (see Belgium as an example, i.e., Raz-Yurovich & Marx, 2019).

Finally, the narrative around flexible work must become more inclusive, removing associations with femininity or low productivity. This can be done through more transparent company policies that ensure equal treatment of workers regardless of where and when they work. The achievements should be evaluated based on the completed tasks instead of the time spent at work/in the office space (i.e., see Kelly et al., 2010; Moen et al., 2013 for evidence on Results-Only Work Environments). Considering the conditions examined in this dissertation, moving toward a more equal society can help ensure that flexible working arrangements

promote equality and support individuals in navigating the work and life spheres more effectively.

Limitations and avenues for future research

In the future, scientists should continue monitoring and investigating the use and outcomes of flexible working arrangements. In the following, I outline some limitations of the articles in this dissertation and provide suggestions on how to proceed with this research agenda amid the discussion on whether to expand or restrict workers' access to flexible working.

This dissertation carefully examined the types of flexible working arrangements regarding location and work scheduling. However, the available data restricted the analysis to examining individuals with "access" to work from home or flexible schedule, with no clear measure of whether workers actually (can) use these flexible working arrangements. As flexible working arrangements become more common, not only in the number of people who have access to them, but also in how much flexibility is available for workers, future research should take this into account. Future surveys (i.e., The German Family Demography Panel Study, European Social Survey, Generations and Gender Survey) can more carefully measure access and use of flexible working in terms of scheduling and location. A more fine-grained measure is needed to capture the availability of flexible working, the frequency of its use, and the reasons for not using it despite having access. A clear separation must be made between working from home within and outside paid work hours. Not to mention, the timing and location of work should be measured simultaneously, and whether the employer sets the timing of work or is under the employee's control. Diary studies might make it possible to document the timing of work during the day and the place where the work was performed.

To better understand the implications of flexible work, more attention has to be paid to how the outcomes of flexibility are measured. While the relative measure of how men and women contribute to the division of domestic labor is useful, it was not possible to assess the actual amount of such contributions. The timing of detailed housework and childcare tasks from both partners will allow researchers to observe gender inequality patterns in the division of household labor more clearly. Additionally, the study of paid work hours has a limitation in how the hours were measured, with no clear separation between overtime and usual work hours. The timing of paid work has to be recorded with more detail in future surveys to differentiate between the usual hours of work and those going beyond the typical work time.

Finally, only the study on work from home and division of childcare was able to capture the effects across time, with the other two studies being cross-sectional and subject to selection bias. Such potential biases include reverse relationships: work–life conflict or extended working hours would make individuals opt for more flexible schedules. Therefore, in an ideal data collection effort, all these measures must be collected repeatedly from the same individuals across countries to understand the between and within individual and country dynamics.

While this dissertation explored some contextual effects, there are more circumstances to look into that can enhance or reduce gender and other inequalities in work–life balance. It is essential to consider the context of occupations and sectors, particularly the level of flexibility stigma within and between industries and professions. In some sectors and occupations, flexible working arrangements might have been more common than in others (i.e., public sector, managerial occupations), and the use of flexible working might be less stigmatized than in the other occupations and sectors. At the same time, there is gendered sectoral and occupational segregation that might reinforce gender norms and shape the perception of flexible work use. It was not possible to address the context of occupations in this dissertation due to data availability. Future studies should continue to consider gender and flexibility norms as one of the lenses that might explain the mechanisms behind the attitudes and use of flexible working arrangements.

This dissertation mainly addressed the unequal effects of flexible working arrangements across gender lines. However, researchers must pay more attention to other axes of inequality in the future (i.e., occupational, migration status, age). Flexible working arrangements might have heterogeneous outcomes across individuals in different occupational classes due to differences in access to flexible work, attitudes toward flexible workers within occupations, and possibilities to increase one's income. Another crucial dimension is individuals' migration status, where several factors intervene. Flexibility might be utilized differently because of the differences in the labor market position among migrants and natives. Additionally, immigrants' cultural backgrounds might shape how they use flexible work. Workers of various ages or tenure status might be additional groups to pay more attention to because differences across these groups might explain how stability or security affects the use of flexible work for the division of labor.

Finally, attention has to be paid to the country-level characteristics beyond the flexibility stigma. One way is to focus more on the legal aspects of flexible working and

compare its outcomes across countries where access to flexibility is controlled at the state level, at the company level, or only at a manager level. Who can request flexible working arrangements at these levels, whether only workers with children, married workers, or any worker, and in which types of organizations is worth further inquiry. Another way is to extend research focusing on the role of norms with more fine-grained measures of the ideal worker norm, gender norms, flexibility stigma, and intensive parenting norms for a large set of countries to explore the heterogeneity in these measures. Such approaches can allow for a better understanding of how the social context shapes the use and outcomes of flexible working arrangements and allow learning from best practices.

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Supplementary material

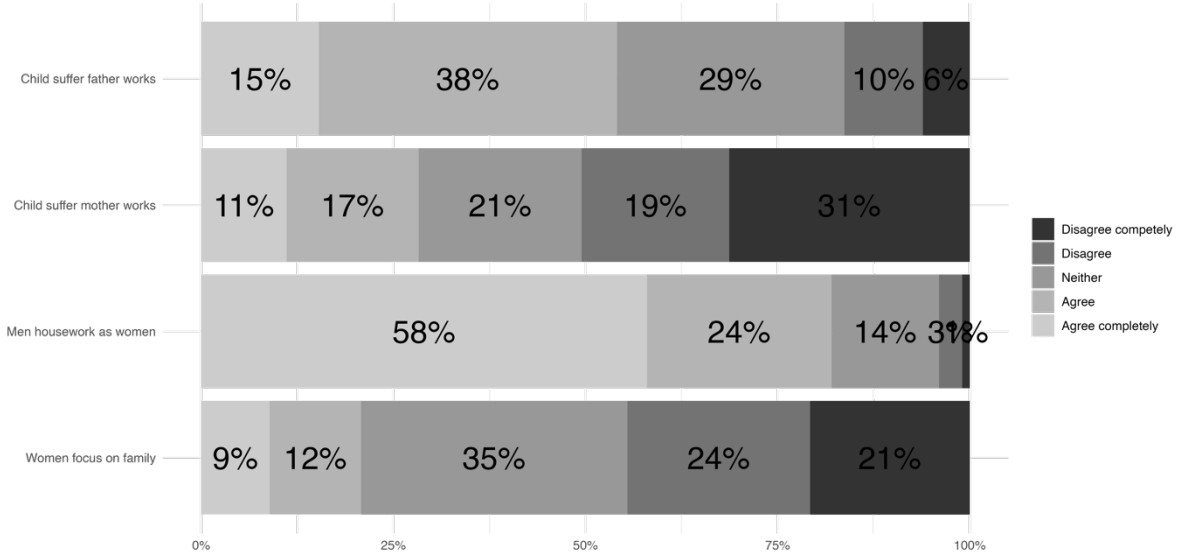
Section 1. Operationalization

Table 1A. Operationalization.

Variable	Measurement in Pairfam	Operationalized measurement
Division of housework (washing, cooking cleaning)	1 = Always my partner; 2 = usually my partner; 3 = 50/50 split; 4 = usually me; 5 = always me	1 = Respondent doing almost all; 0.75 = respondent doing the most part; 0.5. = equal division; 0.25 = partner doing the most part; 0 = partner doing almost all
Division of childcare	1 = Always my partner; 2 = usually my partner; 3 = 50/50 split; 4 = usually me; 5 = always me	1 = Respondent doing almost all; 0.75 = respondent doing the most part; 0.5. = equal division; 0.25 = partner doing the most part; 0 = partner doing almost all
Telecommuting (WFH)	1 = Always from home, 2 = unchanging location with a possibility to work from home; 3 = unchanging location without working from home; 4 = changing work locations	0 = no telecommuting, 1 = possibility to telecommute or always telecommuting
Gender role attitudes 1 Men and Housework	Men should participate in housework to the same extent as women, 1 = Disagree completely, 5= Agree completely	0 = egalitarian (who strongly disagree), 1 = traditional (strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree)
Gender role attitudes 2 Women and Family	'Women should be more concerned about their family than about their career', 1 = Disagree completely, 5= Agree completely	0 = egalitarian (who strongly disagree and disagree), 1 = traditional (strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree)
Gender	1 = Male, 2 = Female	0 = Male, 1 = Female
Working hours	N of weekly working hours including overtime	N of hours worked weekly (incl. overtime)
Children in the household	N of children in the household	N of children in the household
Age of youngest child	In months	In years
Occupation	ISCO08 categories	1 -= Managers, 2 = Professionals, 3 = Technical and associate professionals, 4 = Clerical support workers, 5 = Service and sales, 6 = Skilled agricultural, forestry, fishery, 7 = Craft and trade, 8 = Plant and machine operators, 9 = Elementary occupations
Education	ISCED 8 categories	0 = no university degree, 1 = university degree
Her income share	Her net income of the last month/Household net income	Share of her net income in the last month (continuous)
Age of the respondent	In years	In years
COVID	If interviews were conducted during COVID (partially wave 12 and wave 13)	0 = Before COVID, 1 = During COVID
Only in between hybrid models (time-invariant controls)		
Location in Germany	Residing in East/West	0 = West; 1 = East
Migration Background	1 = Native, 2 = born or parents born in another country (1st or 2nd generation)	0 = 1st of 2nd generation immigrant, 1 = Native

Section 2. Gender role attitudes

Figure 1A. Distribution of answers on the gender role attitudes (original scale).



Section 3. Gender role attitudes and telecommuting

Figure 2A. Telecommuting status and gender role attitudes toward men's contribution to housework (GRA 1) among women. Chi-Square test: p-value = 0.001. There is a dependency between GRA and access to telecommuting.

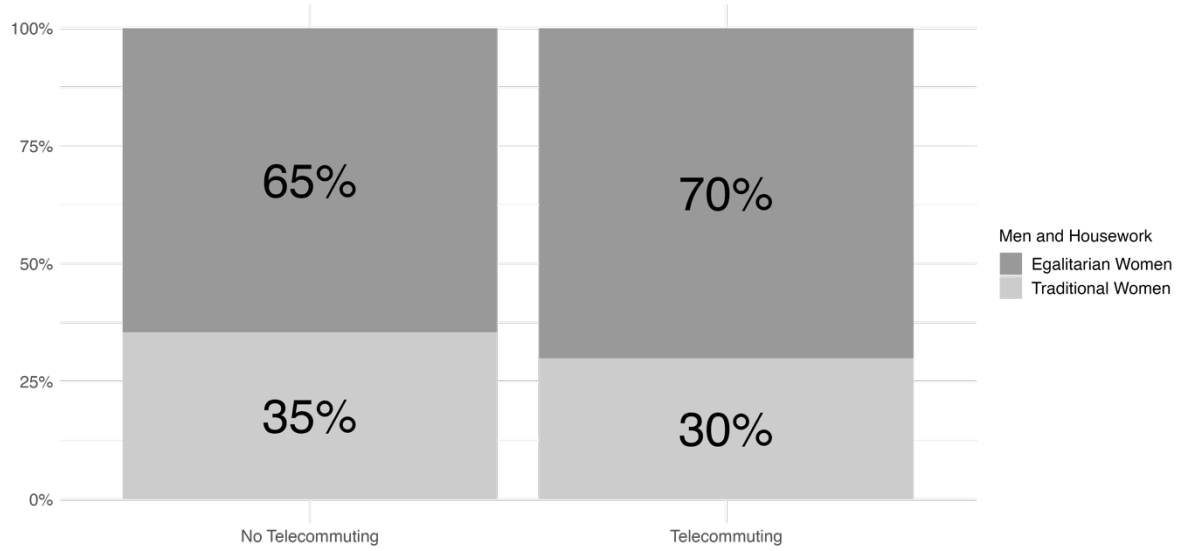


Figure 3A. Telecommuting status and gender role attitudes toward men's contribution to housework (GRA 1) among men. Chi-Square test: p-value = 0.007. There is a dependency between GRA and access to telecommuting.

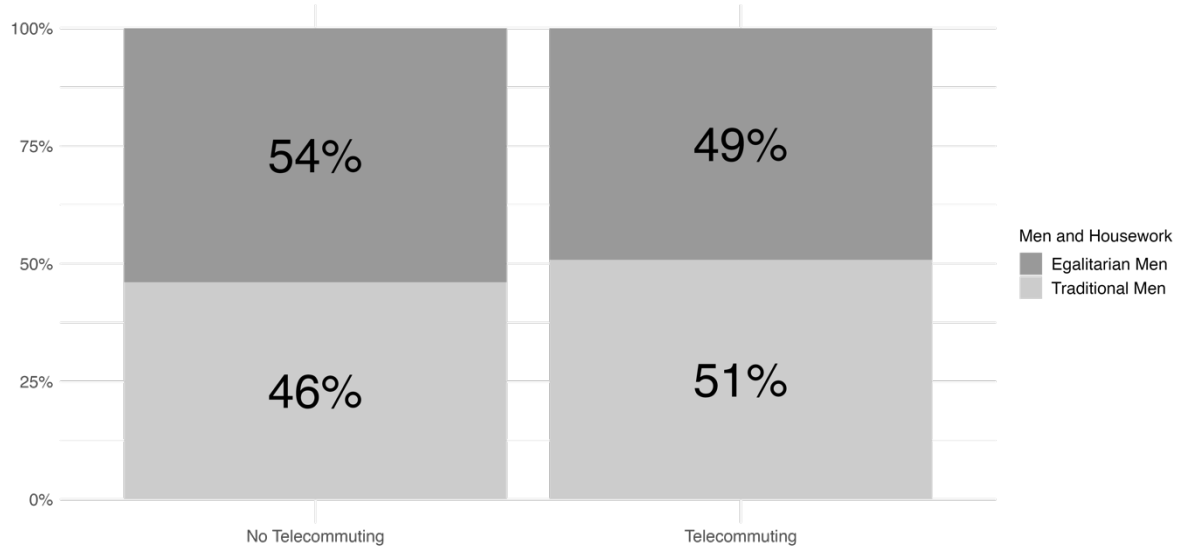


Figure 4A. Telecommuting status and gender role attitudes toward the role of women in work and family (GRA 2) among women. Chi-Square test: p-value = 0.000. There is a dependency between GRA and access to telecommuting.

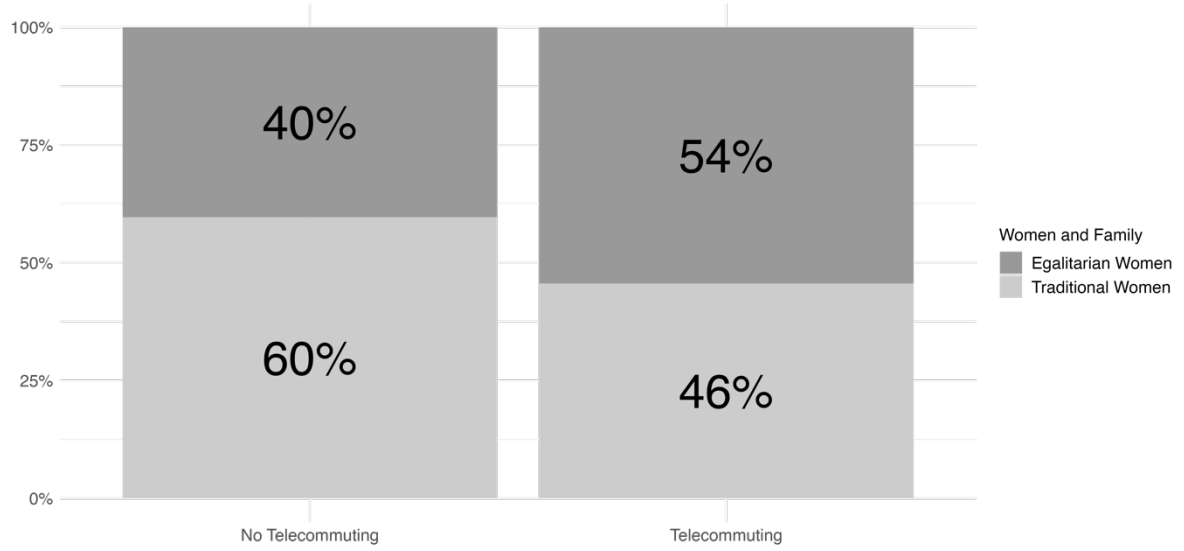
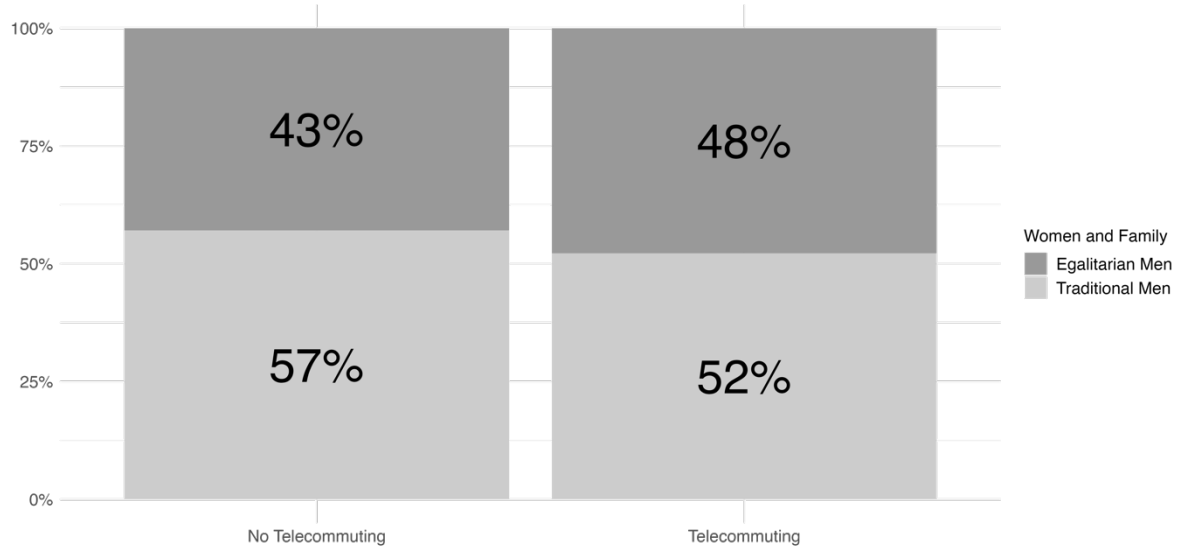


Figure 5A. Telecommuting status and gender role attitudes toward the role of women in work and family (GRA 2) among men. Chi-Square test: p-value = 0.005. There is a dependency between GRA and access to telecommuting.



Section 4. Gender role attitudes and telecommuting during COVID-19

Figure 6A. Telecommuting status and gender role attitudes toward men's contribution to housework (GRA 1) among women. Chi-Square test: p-value = 0.399. There is no dependency between GRA and access to telecommuting.

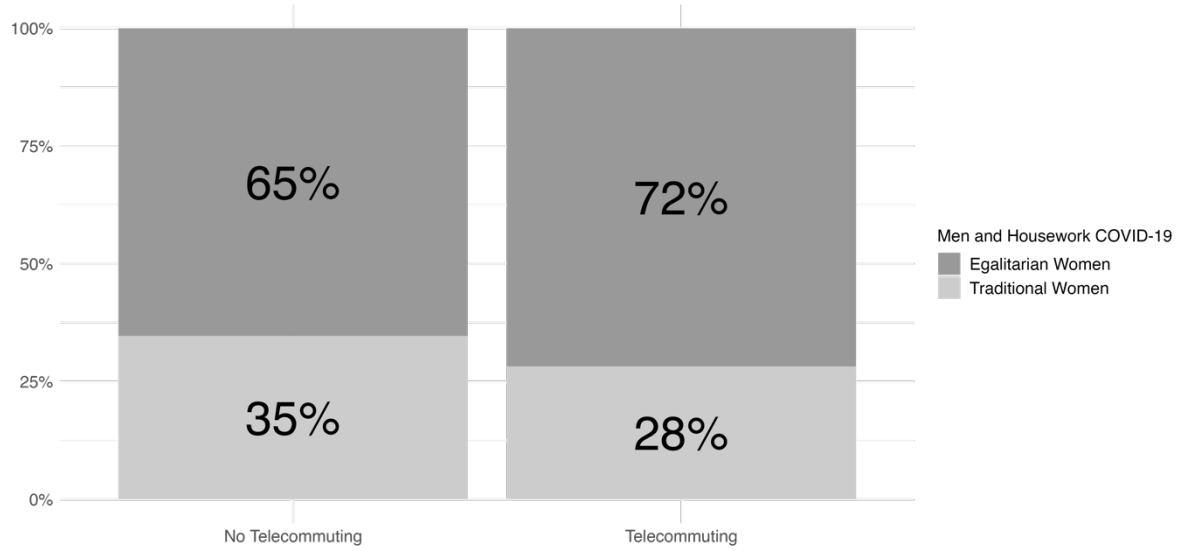


Figure 7A. Telecommuting status and gender role attitudes toward men's contribution to housework (GRA 1) among men. Chi-Square test: p-value = 0.195. There is no dependency between GRA and access to telecommuting.

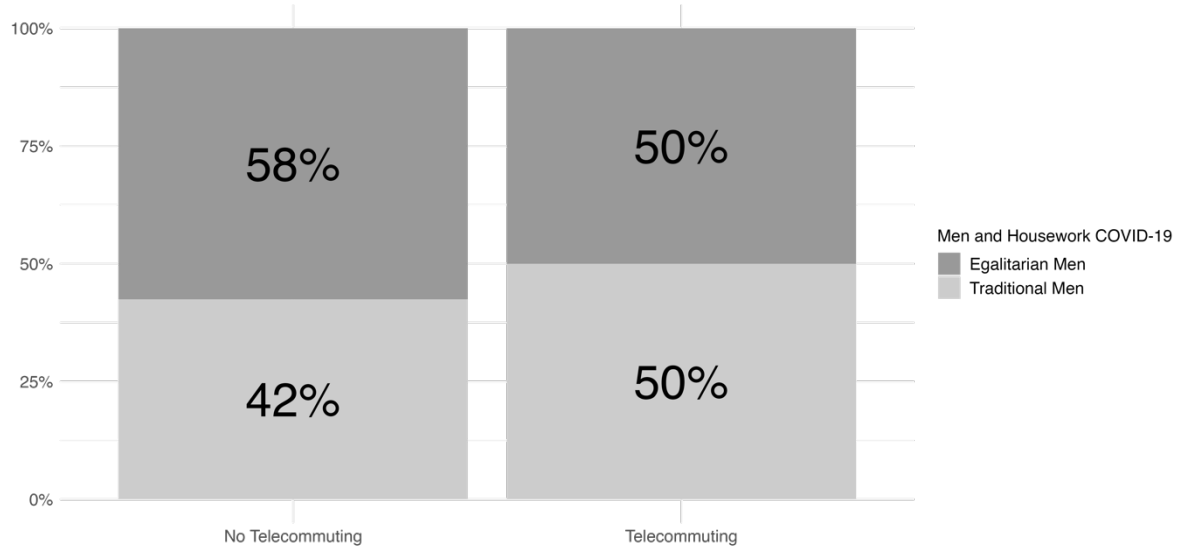


Figure 8A. Telecommuting status and gender role attitudes toward the role of women in work and family (GRA 2) among women. Chi-Square test: p-value = 0.003. There is a dependency between GRA and access to telecommuting.

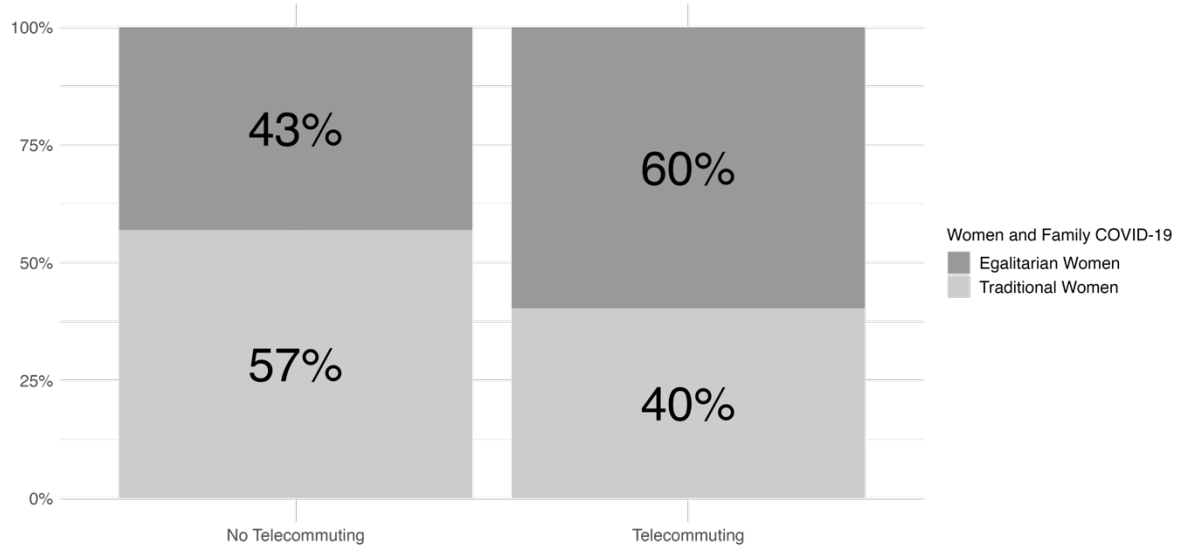
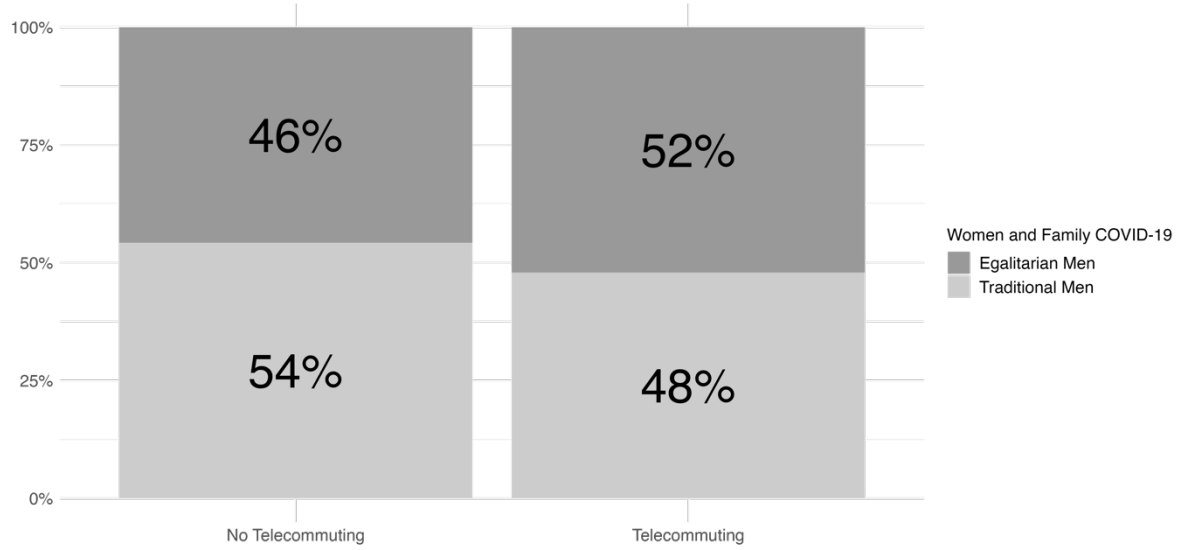


Figure 9A. Telecommuting status and gender role attitudes toward the role of women in work and family (GRA 2) among men. Chi-Square test: p-value = 0.287. There is no dependency between GRA and access to telecommuting.



Section 5. Gender role attitudes over time

Figure 10A. Distribution of egalitarian and traditional attitudes toward men's contribution to housework (GRA 1) among women over time.

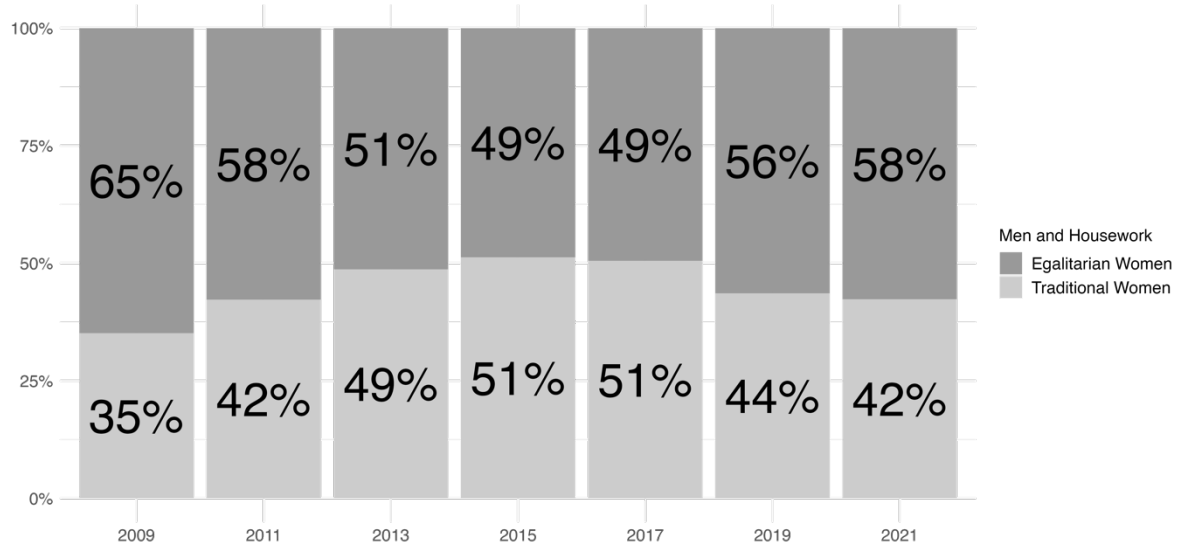


Figure 11A. Distribution of egalitarian and traditional attitudes toward men's contribution to housework (GRA 1) among men over time.

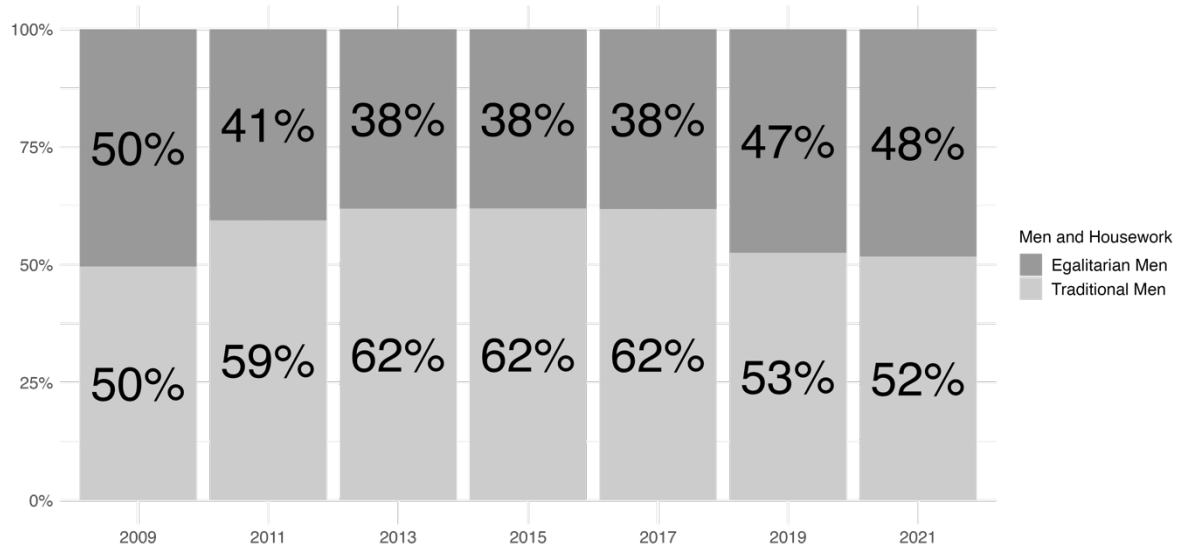


Figure 12A. Distribution of egalitarian and traditional attitudes toward the role of women in work and family (GRA 2) among women over time.

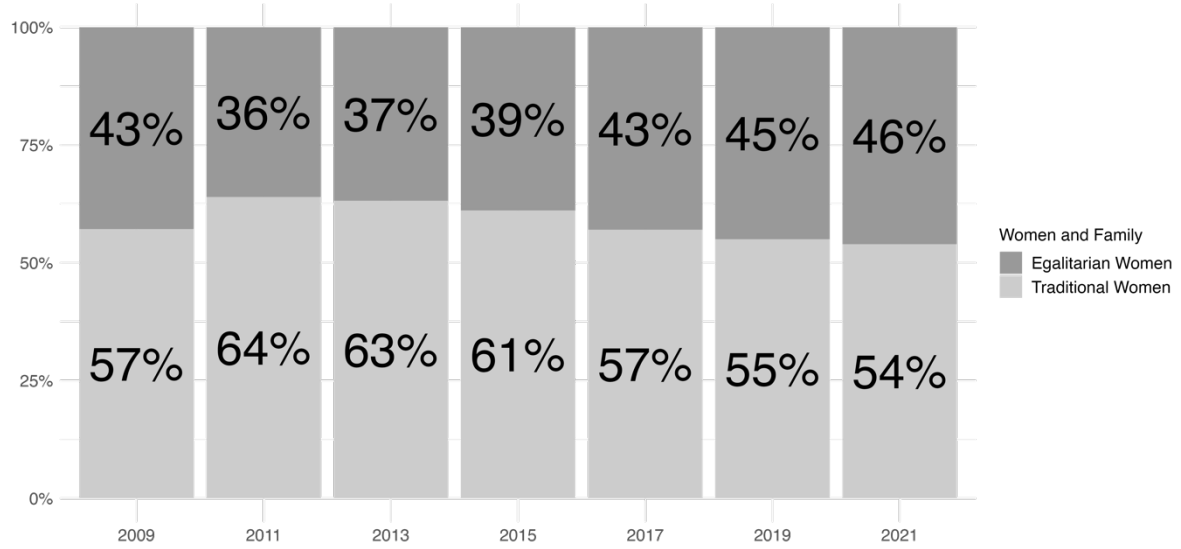
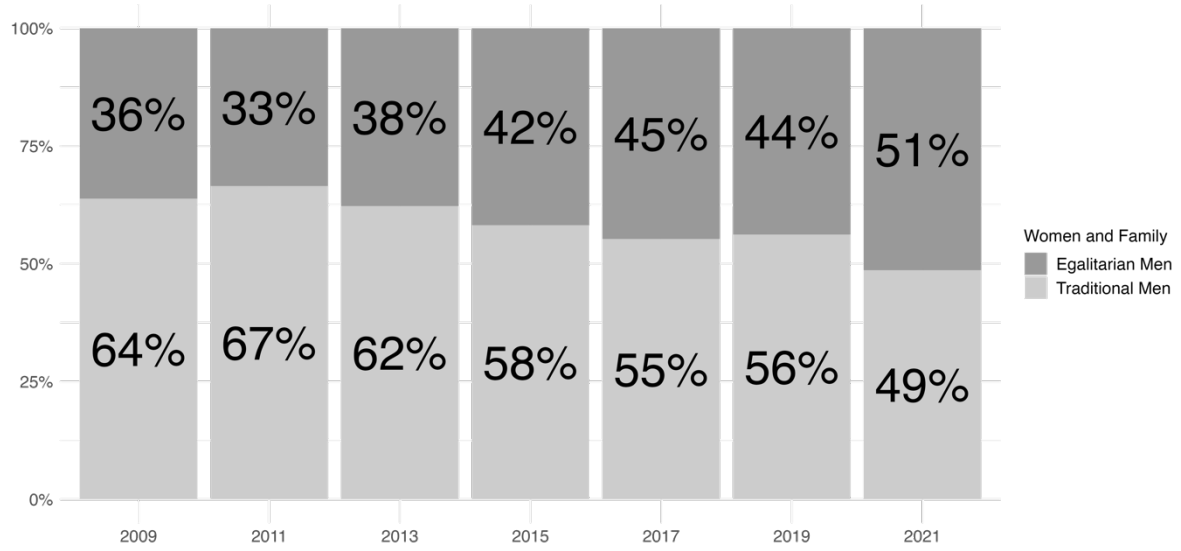


Figure 13A. Distribution of egalitarian and traditional attitudes toward the role of women in work and family (GRA 2) among men over time.



Section 6. Descriptive statistics

Table 2A. Descriptive statistics (averages) for the variables of interest for women and men with children participating in at least 3 waves.

	Women with children	Men with children
N	1,067	829
Housework (mean)	0.73	0.28
Housework (sd)	0.22	0.19
Childcare (mean)	0.67	0.32
Childcare (sd)	0.19	0.16
Telecommuting (WFH) %	10.03	10.84
Traditional Gender role attitudes 1 (men and housework) %	33.41	50.27
Egalitarian Gender role attitudes 1 (men and housework) %	66.59	49.73
Traditional Gender role attitudes 2 (women and family) %	59.79	59.98
Egalitarian Gender role attitudes 2 (women and family) %	40.21	40.02
Professional/managerial occupation %	15.74	26.43
Married %	84.84	82.31
N of children (mean)	1.72	1.51
Age of youngest child (mean)	5.01	3.48
Work hours (mean)	22.60	42.20
Age (mean)	34.45	34.49
Diploma %	40.23	46.17
Her income share (mean)	0.29	0.30
Living in East Germany %	16.80	18.12
No migration background %	75.21	73.33

The percentages and means are weighted with calibrated design weight.

Section 7. Full tables

Table 3A. Pooled hybrid regression models (all coefficients).

	Model 2-1 Housework	Model 2-2 Housework	Model 2-3 Childcare	Model 2-4 Childcare
(Intercept)	0.54 ***	0.53 ***	0.49 ***	0.50 ***
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Between-person effects				
Telecommuting (WFH)	-0.03 +	-0.01	0.00	-0.03 +
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.02)
ISCO 2 Professional	-0.01	-0.01	0.02	0.02
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)
ISCO 3 Tech. and Ass. Prof	-0.02	-0.02	0.04 +	0.04
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)
ISCO 4 Clerical Support	0.01	0.02	0.05 *	0.04 +
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)
ISCO 5 Service and Sales	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)
ISCO 6 Skilled Agr., Forestry, Fishery	0.08	0.08	0.08 *	0.07 +
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.04)
ISCO 7 Craft and Trade	-0.03	-0.03	0.02	0.01
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)
ISCO 8 Plant and Machine Operators	-0.07 *	-0.07 *	0.02	0.01
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)
ISCO 9 Elementary Occupations	-0.05	-0.05	0.03	0.03
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Age	0.00	0.00	0.00 +	0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
N working hours	-0.01 ***	-0.01 ***	-0.01 ***	-0.01 ***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Married	-0.01	-0.01	0.00	-0.00
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.01)
University diploma	0.00	0.00	-0.00	-0.00
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Age of youngest child	-0.00	-0.00	0.00	0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
N children	-0.00	-0.00	-0.01	-0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Her income share	0.03	0.04	0.03	0.02
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Native	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
East	0.03 *	0.03 *	0.03 **	0.04 **
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Woman	0.35 ***	0.35 ***	0.22 ***	0.20 ***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
WFH*Woman		-0.04		0.07 **
		(0.03)		(0.03)
Over time effects				
Telecommuting (WFH)	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.02 *
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
ISCO 2 Professional	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.01
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)
ISCO 3 Tech. and Ass. Prof	-0.01	-0.01	0.01	0.01
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)
ISCO 4 Clerical Support	-0.00	-0.00	0.02	0.02
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)
ISCO 5 Service and Sales	0.04	0.04	0.04 +	0.04 +

	Model 2-1 Housework	Model 2-2 Housework	Model 2-3 Childcare	Model 2-4 Childcare
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)
ISCO 6 Skilled Agr., Forestry, Fishery	0.00	0.00	0.06	0.06
	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.06)	(0.06)
ISCO 7 Craft and Trade	-0.04	-0.04	0.01	0.01
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
ISCO 8 Plant and Machine Operators	-0.05	-0.05	0.02	0.02
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.03)
ISCO 9 Elementary Occupations	0.05	0.05	0.05 *	0.05 *
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Age	-0.00 +	-0.00 +	-0.00	-0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
N working hours	-0.00 ***	-0.00 ***	-0.00 ***	-0.00 ***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Married	-0.00	-0.00	-0.01	-0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
University diploma	-0.03	-0.03	0.06 +	0.06 +
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Age of youngest child	0.00 **	0.00 **	0.00 *	0.00 *
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
N children	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Her income share	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
COVID-19	0.02 *	0.02 *	0.02 **	0.02 **
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
WFH*COVID-19	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
WFH*Woman		-0.00		-0.02
		(0.01)		(0.01)
R^2	0.34	0.34	0.30	0.30
Adj. R^2	0.34	0.34	0.30	0.30
Num. obs.	12327	12327	12327	12327
N waves	13	13	13	13

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Table 4A. Hybrid regression models for men (all coefficients).

	Model 4.1	Model 4.2	Model 3-1	Model 3-2	Model 4.3	Model 4.4	Model 3-3	Model 3-4
	Housework				Childcare			
(Intercept)	0.39 ***	0.38 ***	0.39 ***	0.38 ***	0.35 ***	0.34 ***	0.35 ***	0.34 ***
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)
Between-person effects								
Telecommuting (WFH)	-0.02	-0.03	-0.03	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.04 +	-0.03
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
ISCO 2 Professional	0.00	0.00	0.00	-0.00	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
ISCO 3 Tech. and Ass. Prof	-0.04	-0.04	-0.04	-0.04	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
ISCO 4 Clerical Support	0.00	-0.00	0.00	-0.00	0.00	-0.00	0.00	-0.00
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
ISCO 5 Service and Sales	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.01	-0.03	-0.04	-0.03	-0.04
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
ISCO 6 Skilled Agr., Forestry, Fishery	0.06	0.04	0.07	0.04	0.03	0.02	0.03	0.02

	Model 4.1	Model 4.2	Model 3-1	Model 3-2	Model 4.3	Model 4.4	Model 3-3	Model 3-4
	Housework				**Childcare**			
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
ISCO 7 Craft and Trade	-0.03	-0.03	-0.03	-0.03	-0.02	-0.03	-0.02	-0.03
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
ISCO 8 Plant and Machine Operators	-0.05	-0.05	-0.05	-0.05	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
ISCO 9 Elementary Occupations	-0.02	-0.01	-0.02	-0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02
	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)
Age	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00 *	0.00 *	0.00 *	0.00 *
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
N working hours	-0.00 ***	-0.00 ***	-0.00 ***	-0.00 ***	-0.00 ***	-0.00 ***	-0.00 ***	-0.00 ***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Married	-0.00	-0.01	-0.00	-0.01	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
University diploma	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	-0.02 +	-0.02 *	-0.02 +	-0.02 *
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Age of youngest child	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	0.00 **	0.00 **	0.00 **	0.00 **
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
N children	-0.02 **	-0.02 **	-0.02 **	-0.02 **	-0.02 **	-0.02 **	-0.02 **	-0.02 **
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Her income share	0.31 ***	0.33 ***	0.31 ***	0.32 ***	0.25 ***	0.26 ***	0.25 ***	0.26 ***
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Native	0.02 +	0.02 +	0.02 +	0.02 +	0.02 *	0.02 *	0.02 *	0.02 *
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
East	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.03 *	0.03 *	0.03 *	0.03 *
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Traditional GRA 1 Men and Housework	-0.06 ***		-0.06 ***		-0.02 **		-0.03 **	
	(0.01)		(0.01)		(0.01)		(0.01)	
Traditional GRA 2 Women and Family		-0.02 +		-0.01		-0.01		-0.01
		(0.01)		(0.01)		(0.01)		(0.01)
WFH*Traditional GRA 1			0.02				0.04	
			(0.03)				(0.03)	
WFH*Traditional GRA 2				-0.02				0.01
				(0.03)				(0.03)
Over time effects								
Telecommuting (WFH)	-0.00	-0.00	0.00	-0.01	0.01	0.01	0.02 +	0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
ISCO 2 Professional	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.03	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
ISCO 3 Tech. and Ass. Prof	-0.03	-0.03	-0.03	-0.03	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
ISCO 4 Clerical Support	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.00	-0.00	0.00	0.00
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
ISCO 5 Service and Sales	-0.03	-0.03	-0.03	-0.03	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
ISCO 6 Skilled Agr., Forestry, Fishery	-0.12	-0.12	-0.12	-0.13	-0.02	-0.02	-0.01	-0.02
	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)

	Model 4.1	Model 4.2	Model 3-1	Model 3-2	Model 4.3	Model 4.4	Model 3-3	Model 3-4
	Housework				Childcare			
ISCO 7 Craft and Trade	-0.09 *	-0.09 *	-0.09 *	-0.09 *	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)
ISCO 8 Plant and Machine Operators	-0.10 +	-0.10 +	-0.10 +	-0.10 +	-0.04	-0.04	-0.04	-0.04
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.04)
ISCO 9 Elementary Occupations	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Age	-0.00 +	-0.00 +	-0.00 +	-0.00 +	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
N working hours	-0.00 ***	-0.00 ***	-0.00 ***	-0.00 ***	-0.00 ***	-0.00 ***	-0.00 ***	-0.00 ***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Married	-0.03	-0.03	-0.03	-0.03	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
University diploma	-0.04	-0.04	-0.04	-0.04	0.06	0.06	0.05	0.06
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Age of youngest child	0.00 *	0.00 *	0.00 *	0.00 *	0.00 **	0.00 **	0.00 **	0.00 **
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
N children	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Her income share	0.10 ***	0.10 ***	0.10 ***	0.10 ***	0.10 ***	0.10 ***	0.09 ***	0.10 ***
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
COVID-19	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
WFH*COVID-19	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
WFH*Traditional GRA 1			-0.01				-0.03 *	
			(0.01)				(0.01)	
WFH*Traditional GRA 2				0.01				-0.01
				(0.01)				(0.01)
R^2	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.12	0.12	0.12	0.12
Adj. R^2	0.08	0.07	0.08	0.07	0.11	0.11	0.11	0.11
Num. obs.	5563	5563	5563	5563	5563	5563	5563	5563
N waves	13	13	13	13	13	13	13	13

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Table 5A. Hybrid regression models for women (all coefficients).

	Model 5.1	Model 5.2	Model 4-1	Model 4-2	Model 5.3	Model 5.4	Model 4-3	Model 4-4
	Housework				Childcare			
(Intercept)	0.85 ***	0.87 ***	0.85 ***	0.87 ***	0.69 ***	0.70 ***	0.68 ***	0.70 ***
	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)
Between-person effects								
Telecommuting (WFH)	-0.04	-0.04 +	-0.04	-0.05	0.01	0.01	0.02	-0.01
	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.03)
ISCO 2 Professional	-0.01	-0.00	-0.01	-0.00	0.14 *	0.14 *	0.14 *	0.14 *
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)
ISCO 3 Tech. and Ass. Prof	-0.00	0.00	-0.00	0.00	0.12 *	0.13 *	0.12 *	0.13 *
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.05)
ISCO 4 Clerical Support	0.02	0.03	0.02	0.03	0.13 *	0.14 *	0.14 *	0.14 *

	Model 5.1	Model 5.2	Model 4-1	Model 4-2	Model 5.3	Model 5.4	Model 4-3	Model 4-4
	Housework				Childcare			
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.05)
ISCO 5 Service and Sales	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.11 +	0.11 +	0.11 +	0.11 +
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.05)
ISCO 6 Skilled Agr., Forestry, Fishery	0.49	0.52	0.49	0.52	0.69	0.71	0.69	0.71
	(0.40)	(0.52)	(0.40)	(0.52)	(0.46)	(0.55)	(0.46)	(0.54)
ISCO 7 Craft and Trade	0.03	0.05	0.03	0.04	0.14 +	0.15 *	0.15 +	0.15 *
	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)
ISCO 8 Plant and Machine Operators	-0.09	-0.06	-0.09	-0.06	0.07	0.09	0.07	0.09
	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)
ISCO 9 Elementary Occupations	-0.07	-0.06	-0.07	-0.06	0.11 +	0.11 +	0.11 +	0.11 +
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)
Age	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
N working hours	-0.00 **	-0.00 **	-0.00 **	-0.00 **	-0.00 ***	-0.00 ***	-0.00 ***	-0.00 ***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Married	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
University diploma	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Age of youngest child	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00 *	-0.00 *	-0.00 *	-0.00 *
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
N children	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Her income share	-0.28 ***	-0.30 ***	-0.28 ***	-0.30 ***	-0.29 ***	-0.30 ***	-0.29 ***	-0.30 ***
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)
Native	-0.01	-0.02 +	-0.01	-0.02 +	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
East	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Traditional GRA 1 Men and Housework	0.05 ***		0.05 ***		0.02 *		0.03 *	
	(0.01)		(0.01)		(0.01)		(0.01)	
Traditional GRA 2 Women and Family		-0.00		-0.00		-0.00		-0.01
		(0.01)		(0.01)		(0.01)		(0.01)
WFH*Traditional GRA 1			-0.00				-0.02	
			(0.05)				(0.04)	
WFH*Traditional GRA 2				0.01				0.03
				(0.04)				(0.04)
Over time effects								
Telecommuting (WFH)	0.00	0.00	-0.00	0.00	0.01	0.01	-0.00	0.00
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
ISCO 2 Professional	0.06	0.06	0.05	0.06	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)
ISCO 3 Tech. and Ass. Prof	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.04
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)
ISCO 4 Clerical Support	0.04	0.04	0.03	0.04	0.06	0.06	0.05	0.05

	Model 5.1	Model 5.2	Model 4-1	Model 4-2	Model 5.3	Model 5.4	Model 4-3	Model 4-4
	Housework				Childcare			
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)
ISCO 5 Service and Sales	0.10 *	0.10 *	0.10 +	0.10 *	0.09 +	0.09 +	0.09 +	0.09 +
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)
ISCO 6 Skilled Agr., Forestry, Fishery	0.24	0.24	0.23	0.24	0.16	0.16	0.15	0.16
	(0.28)	(0.28)	(0.28)	(0.28)	(0.13)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.13)
ISCO 7 Craft and Trade	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.05
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)
ISCO 8 Plant and Machine Operators	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.10	0.10	0.10	0.10
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)
ISCO 9 Elementary Occupations	0.11 *	0.11 *	0.11 *	0.11 *	0.10 *	0.10 *	0.10 +	0.10 +
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)
Age	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
N working hours	-0.00 ***	-0.00 ***	-0.00 ***	-0.00 ***	-0.00 ***	-0.00 ***	-0.00 ***	-0.00 ***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Married	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
University diploma	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	0.07	0.06	0.06	0.06
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)
Age of youngest child	0.00 +	0.00 +	0.00 +	0.00 +	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
N children	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Her income share	-0.11 **	-0.11 **	-0.11 **	-0.11 **	-0.10 ***	-0.10 ***	-0.10 ***	-0.10 ***
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
COVID-19	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.02 *	0.02 *	0.02 *	0.02 *
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
WFH*COVID-19	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
WFH*Traditional GRA 1			0.03				0.04 +	
			(0.02)				(0.02)	
WFH*Traditional GRA 2				-0.00				0.02
				(0.02)				(0.02)
R^2	0.16	0.15	0.16	0.15	0.18	0.18	0.18	0.18
Adj. R^2	0.15	0.15	0.15	0.15	0.17	0.17	0.17	0.17
Num. obs.	6764	6764	6764	6764	6764	6764	6764	6764
N waves	13	13	13	13	13	13	13	13

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Section 8. Models excluding COVID-19 period

Table 6A. Pooled hybrid regression models (excluding COVID-19). Controlled for occupation, age, number of working hours, marital status, university diploma, age of youngest child, number of children, her income share, East/West residence, migration status.

	Housework	Housework	Childcare	Childcare
(Intercept)	0.53 ***	0.53 ***	0.48 ***	0.49 ***
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Between-person effects				
Telecommuting (WFH)	-0.02	-0.01	0.00	-0.03 +
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.02)
Woman	0.35 ***	0.36 ***	0.22 ***	0.21 ***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
WFH*Woman		-0.03		0.07 **
		(0.03)		(0.03)
Over time effects				
Telecommuting (WFH)	0.00	-0.00	0.01 +	0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
WFH*Woman		0.01		0.00
		(0.01)		(0.01)
R^2	0.34	0.34	0.30	0.30
Adj. R^2	0.34	0.34	0.30	0.30
N. obs.	11418	11418	11418	11418
N waves	12	12	12	12

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Table 7A. Hybrid regression models for men (excluding COVID-19). Controlled for occupation, age, number of working hours, marital status, university diploma, age of youngest child, number of children, her income share, East/West residence, migration status.

	Housework				Childcare			
	Men	Men	Men	Men	Men	Men	Men	Men
(Intercept)	0.41 ***	0.39 ***	0.42 ***	0.39 ***	0.35 ***	0.35 ***	0.35 ***	0.35 ***
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)
Between-person effects								
Telecommuting (WFH)	-0.02	-0.03	-0.04	-0.01	-0.02	-0.02	-0.04	-0.02
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Traditional GRA 1 Men and Housework	-0.06 ***		-0.07 ***		-0.02 **		-0.03 **	
	(0.01)		(0.01)		(0.01)		(0.01)	
Traditional GRA 2 Women and Family		-0.02		-0.01		-0.01		-0.01
		(0.01)		(0.01)		(0.01)		(0.01)
WFH*Traditional GRA 1			0.03				0.03	
			(0.04)				(0.03)	
WFH*Traditional GRA 2				-0.02				0.00
				(0.04)				(0.03)
Over time effects								
Telecommuting (WFH)	-0.00	-0.00	0.01	-0.01	0.00	0.00	0.02	0.01

	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
WFH*Traditional GRA 1			-0.02				-0.03 +	
			(0.01)				(0.01)	
WFH*Traditional GRA 2				0.01				-0.01
				(0.01)				(0.01)
R^2	0.08	0.07	0.08	0.07	0.11	0.11	0.11	0.11
Adj. R^2	0.08	0.07	0.08	0.07	0.11	0.11	0.11	0.11
N. obs.	5127	5127	5127	5127	5127	5127	5127	5127
N waves	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Table 8A. Hybrid regression models for women (excluding COVID-19). Controlled for occupation, age, number of working hours, marital status, university diploma, age of youngest child, number of children, her income share, East/West residence, migration status.

	Housework				**Childcare**			
	Women	**Women**	**Women**	**Women**	**Women**	**Women**	**Women**	**Women**
(Intercept)	0.86 ***	0.88 ***	0.86 ***	0.88 ***	0.68 ***	0.69 ***	0.67 ***	0.69 ***
	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)
Between-person effects								
Telecommuting (WFH)	-0.03	-0.03	-0.03	-0.03	0.01	0.01	0.01	-0.01
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Traditional GRA 1 Men and Housework	0.05 ***		0.05 ***		0.03 **		0.03 *	
	(0.01)		(0.01)		(0.01)		(0.01)	
Traditional GRA 2 Women and Family		-0.00		-0.00		-0.00		-0.01
		(0.01)		(0.01)		(0.01)		(0.01)
WFH*Traditional GRA 1			-0.02				-0.01	
			(0.05)				(0.04)	
WFH*Traditional GRA 2				-0.01				0.03
				(0.04)				(0.04)
Over time effects								
Telecommuting (WFH)	0.01	0.01	-0.00	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
WFH*Traditional GRA 1			0.03 +				0.03	
			(0.02)				(0.02)	
WFH*Traditional GRA 2				0.00				0.02
				(0.02)				(0.02)
R^2	0.15	0.15	0.15	0.15	0.17	0.17	0.17	0.17
Adj. R^2	0.15	0.14	0.15	0.14	0.17	0.17	0.17	0.17
N. obs.	6291	6291	6291	6291	6291	6291	6291	6291
N waves	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Section 9. Models with COVID-19 interactions

Table 9A. Pooled linear regression models (pandemic over time effect). Controlled for occupation, age, number of working hours, marital status, university diploma, age of youngest child, number of children, her income share, East/West residence, migration status.

	Model 8-1 Housework	Model 8-2 Housework	Model 8-3 Childcare	Model 8-4 Childcare
(Intercept)	0.53 ***	0.53 ***	0.48 ***	0.48 ***
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Telecommuting (WFH)	0.00	-0.00	0.01 *	0.02 *
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Woman	0.35 ***	0.35 ***	0.22 ***	0.22 ***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
COVID-19	-0.01	0.01 +	-0.01	0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
WFH*COVID-19	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.06 *
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)
WFH*Woman		0.01		-0.01
		(0.01)		(0.01)
COVID-19*Woman		-0.05 **		-0.04 **
		(0.01)		(0.01)
WFH*Woman*COVID-19		-0.03		-0.10 *
		(0.04)		(0.04)
R^2	0.34	0.34	0.30	0.30
Adj. R^2	0.34	0.34	0.30	0.30
Num. obs.	12327	12327	12327	12327
N waves	13	13	13	13

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Table 10A. Linear regression models for men (over time effect). Controlled for occupation, age, number of working hours, marital status, university diploma, age of youngest child, number of children, her income share, East/West residence, migration status.

	Model 9-1 Housework Men	Model 9-2 Housework Men	Model 9-3 Childcare Men	Model 9-4 Childcare Men
(Intercept)	0.39 ***	0.37 ***	0.35 ***	0.34 ***
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.06)	(0.06)
Telecommuting (WFH)	0.01	-0.01	0.03 *	0.02
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
COVID-19	-0.01	0.00	-0.02	-0.01
	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Traditional GRA 1 Men and Housework	-0.06 ***		-0.03 **	
	(0.01)		(0.01)	
Traditional GRA 2 Women and Family		-0.01		-0.01
		(0.01)		(0.01)
COVID*WFH	-0.02	0.01	0.05	0.07
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.04)
WFH*Traditional GRA 1	-0.02		-0.03 *	
	(0.01)		(0.01)	
WFH*Traditional GRA 2		0.01		-0.01
		(0.01)		(0.01)
COVID*GRA 1	0.07 ***		0.01	
	(0.02)		(0.02)	
COVID*GRA 2		0.03		-0.01

	Model 9-1 Housework Men	Model 9-2 Housework Men	Model 9-3 Childcare Men	Model 9-4 Childcare Men
		(0.02)		(0.02)
WFH*COVID*GRA 1	0.03		0.00	
	(0.05)		(0.06)	
WFH*COVID*GRA 2		-0.02		-0.04
		(0.05)		(0.06)
R^2	0.09	0.08	0.12	0.12
Adj. R^2	0.08	0.07	0.11	0.11
Num. obs.	5563	5563	5563	5563
N waves	13	13	13	13

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Table 11A. Linear regression models for women (over time effect). Controlled for occupation, age, number of working hours, marital status, university diploma, age of youngest child, number of children, her income share, East/West residence, migration status.

	Model 10-1 Housework Women	Model 10-2 Housework Women	Model 10-3 Childcare Women	Model 10-4 Childcare Women
(Intercept)	0.84 ***	0.86 ***	0.68 ***	0.69 ***
	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.07)	(0.07)
Telecommuting (WFH)	-0.00	0.00	-0.00	-0.00
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
COVID-19	-0.02	-0.02	-0.00	-0.01
	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.03)
Traditional GRA 1 Men and Housework	0.05 ***		0.03 *	
	(0.01)		(0.01)	
Traditional GRA 2 Women and Family		-0.00		-0.01
		(0.01)		(0.01)
COVID*WFH	-0.02	0.01	-0.06 +	-0.05
	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.05)
WFH*Traditional GRA 1	0.03 +		0.03 +	
	(0.02)		(0.02)	
WFH*Traditional GRA 2		0.00		0.02
		(0.02)		(0.02)
COVID*GRA 1	-0.04		-0.02	
	(0.03)		(0.03)	
COVID*GRA 2		-0.03		-0.00
		(0.03)		(0.03)
WFH*COVID*GRA 1	-0.00		0.09	
	(0.10)		(0.08)	
WFH*COVID*GRA 2		-0.06		0.00
		(0.07)		(0.06)
R^2	0.16	0.16	0.18	0.18
Adj. R^2	0.16	0.15	0.17	0.17
Num. obs.	6764	6764	6764	6764
N waves	13	13	13	13

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Section 10. Models with those always telecommuting

Table 12A. Pooled hybrid regression models. Controlled for occupation, age, number of working hours, marital status, university diploma, age of youngest child, number of children, her income share, East/West residence, migration status, and COVID-19.

	Housework	Housework	Childcare	Childcare
(Intercept)	0.54 ***	0.53 ***	0.49 ***	0.51 ***
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Between-person effects				
Telecommuting (WFH)	-0.03	-0.01	0.01	-0.03 +
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.02)
Woman	0.35 ***	0.35 ***	0.22 ***	0.20 ***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
WFH*Woman		-0.03		0.08 **
		(0.03)		(0.02)
Over time effects				
Telecommuting (WFH)	0.00	0.01	0.01 +	0.02 *
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
WFH*Woman		-0.01		-0.02
		(0.01)		(0.01)
R^2	0.34	0.34	0.30	0.30
Adj. R^2	0.34	0.34	0.30	0.30
N. obs.	12472	12472	12472	12472
N waves	13	13	13	13

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Table 13A. Hybrid regression models for men. Controlled for occupation, age, number of working hours, marital status, university diploma, age of youngest child, number of children, her income share, East/West residence, migration status, and COVID-19.

	Housework		Childcare	
	Men	Men	Men	Men
(Intercept)	0.40 ***	0.39 ***	0.35 ***	0.35 ***
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.05)	(0.06)
Between-person effects				
Telecommuting (WFH)	-0.03	-0.02	-0.04 +	-0.03
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Traditional GRA 1 Men and Housework	-0.06 ***		-0.03 **	
	(0.01)		(0.01)	
Traditional GRA 2 Women and Family		-0.01		-0.01
		(0.01)		(0.01)
WFH*Traditional GRA 1	0.00		0.04	
	(0.03)		(0.03)	
WFH*Traditional GRA 2		-0.02		0.02
		(0.03)		(0.03)
Over time effects				
Telecommuting (WFH)	0.01	-0.01	0.02 +	0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
WFH*Traditional GRA 1	-0.01		-0.03 +	
	(0.01)		(0.01)	
WFH*Traditional GRA 2		0.01		-0.01
		(0.01)		(0.01)
R^2	0.08	0.08	0.12	0.12
Adj. R^2	0.08	0.07	0.12	0.11
N. obs.	5608	5608	5608	5608
N waves	13	13	13	13

Table 14A. Hybrid regression models for women. Controlled for occupation, age, number of working hours, marital status, university diploma, age of youngest child, number of children, her income share, East/West residence, migration status, and COVID-19.

	Housework		Childcare	
	Women	**Women**	**Women**	**Women**
(Intercept)	0.84 ***	0.87 ***	0.68 ***	0.70 ***
	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.07)	(0.07)
Between-person effects				
Telecommuting (WFH)	-0.03	-0.04	0.03	-0.01
	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Traditional GRA 1 Men and Housework	0.05 ***		0.03 *	
	(0.01)		(0.01)	
Traditional GRA 2 Women and Family		-0.00		-0.01
		(0.01)		(0.01)
WFH*Traditional GRA 1	0.01		-0.02	
	(0.05)		(0.04)	
WFH*Traditional GRA 2		0.01		0.05
		(0.04)		(0.04)
Over time effects				
Telecommuting (WFH)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.01)
WFH*Traditional GRA 1	0.02		0.04 +	
	(0.02)		(0.02)	
WFH*Traditional GRA 2		0.00		0.02
		(0.02)		(0.02)
R^2	0.16	0.15	0.18	0.18
Adj. R^2	0.15	0.15	0.17	0.17
N. obs.	6864	6864	6864	6864
N waves	13	13	13	13

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Section 11. Models with parental leave status as a control

Table 15A. Pooled hybrid regression models. Controlled for occupation, age, number of working hours, marital status, university diploma, age of youngest child, number of children, her income share, East/West residence, migration status, and COVID-19.

	Housework	Housework	Childcare	Childcare
(Intercept)	0.56 ***	0.55 ***	0.53 ***	0.54 ***
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Between-person effects				
Telecommuting (WFH)	-0.03 *	-0.01	-0.00	-0.03 +
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.02)
Woman	0.35 ***	0.35 ***	0.20 ***	0.19 ***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
WFH*Woman		-0.04		0.06 *
		(0.03)		(0.02)
Respondent on parental leave	-0.02	-0.02	0.07 **	0.07 *
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Partner on parental leave	-0.03	-0.03	-0.14 ***	-0.14 ***
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Over time effects				
Telecommuting (WFH)	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
WFH*Woman		-0.00		-0.01
		(0.01)		(0.01)
Respondent on parental leave	-0.01	-0.01	0.01	0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Partner on parental leave	-0.02 **	-0.02 **	-0.06 ***	-0.06 ***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
R^2	0.34	0.34	0.32	0.32
Adj. R^2	0.34	0.34	0.31	0.31
N. obs.	12222	12222	12222	12222
N waves	13	13	13	13

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Table 16A. Hybrid regression models for men. Controlled for occupation, age, number of working hours, marital status, university diploma, age of youngest child, number of children, her income share, East/West residence, migration status, and COVID-19.

	Housework		Childcare	
	Men	Men	Men	Men
(Intercept)	0.44 ***	0.42 ***	0.44 ***	0.44 ***
	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.06)	(0.06)
Between-person effects				
Telecommuting (WFH)	-0.03	-0.01	-0.04 +	-0.03
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Traditional GRA 1 Men and Housework	-0.06 ***		-0.03 **	
	(0.01)		(0.01)	
Traditional GRA 2 Women and Family		-0.02		-0.01
		(0.01)		(0.01)
WFH*Traditional GRA 1	0.02		0.04	
	(0.03)		(0.03)	
WFH*Traditional GRA 2		-0.03		0.01
		(0.03)		(0.03)
Respondent on parental leave	0.08	0.05	0.15	0.14
	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.09)	(0.10)

Partner on parental leave	-0.03	-0.02	-0.11 ***	-0.11 ***
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Over time effects				
Telecommuting (WFH)	0.01	-0.01	0.01	0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
WFH*Traditional GRA 1	-0.02		-0.03 +	
	(0.01)		(0.01)	
WFH*Traditional GRA 2		0.01		-0.01
		(0.01)		(0.01)
Respondent on parental leave	0.01	0.01	-0.01	-0.01
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Partner on parental leave	-0.01	-0.01	-0.05 ***	-0.05 ***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
R^2	0.08	0.07	0.13	0.13
Adj. R^2	0.07	0.06	0.12	0.12
N. obs.	5533	5533	5533	5533
N waves	13	13	13	13

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Table 17A. Hybrid regression models for women. Controlled for occupation, age, number of working hours, marital status, university diploma, age of youngest child, number of children, her income share, East/West residence, migration status, and COVID-19.

	Housework		**Childcare**	
	Women	**Women**	**Women**	**Women**
(Intercept)	0.87 ***	0.89 ***	0.67 ***	0.69 ***
	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.07)	(0.07)
Between-person effects				
Telecommuting (WFH)	-0.04	-0.05	0.02	-0.01
	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Traditional GRA 1 Men and Housework	0.05 ***		0.03 *	
	(0.01)		(0.01)	
Traditional GRA 2 Women and Family		0.00		-0.00
		(0.01)		(0.01)
WFH*Traditional GRA 1	-0.00		-0.02	
	(0.05)		(0.04)	
WFH*Traditional GRA 2		0.01		0.03
		(0.04)		(0.04)
Respondent on parental leave	-0.01	-0.03	0.04	0.03
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Partner on parental leave	-0.30 +	-0.30 +	-0.18	-0.18
	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.16)	(0.16)
Over time effects				
Telecommuting (WFH)	-0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.01)
WFH*Traditional GRA 1	0.03		0.03 +	
	(0.02)		(0.02)	
WFH*Traditional GRA 2		-0.00		0.02
		(0.02)		(0.02)
Respondent on parental leave	-0.01	-0.01	0.00	0.00
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Partner on parental leave	-0.20 ***	-0.20 ***	-0.25 ***	-0.26 ***
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)
R^2	0.16	0.16	0.19	0.18
Adj. R^2	0.16	0.15	0.18	0.18
N. obs.	6689	6689	6689	6689
N waves	13	13	13	13

Section 12. Models with commuting time as a control

Table 18A. Pooled hybrid regression models. Controlled for occupation, age, number of working hours, marital status, university diploma, age of youngest child, number of children, her income share, East/West residence, migration status, and COVID-19.

	Housework	Housework	Childcare	Childcare
(Intercept)	0.57 ***	0.56 ***	0.52 ***	0.54 ***
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.05)
Between-person effects				
Telecommuting (WFH)	-0.03 +	-0.01	0.00	-0.04 *
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Woman	0.34 ***	0.35 ***	0.21 ***	0.19 ***
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.01)
WFH*Woman		-0.05		0.09 **
		(0.03)		(0.03)
Distance to work (hours)	-0.01	-0.01	-0.02 +	-0.02 +
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Over time effects				
Telecommuting (WFH)	-0.00	-0.00	0.02 *	0.04 **
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
WFH*Woman		0.00		-0.02
		(0.01)		(0.01)
Distance to work (hours)	-0.01	-0.01	-0.00	-0.00
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
R^2	0.36	0.36	0.32	0.32
Adj. R^2	0.36	0.36	0.31	0.32
N. obs.	8511	8511	8511	8511
N waves	10	10	10	10

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Table 19A. Hybrid regression models for men. Controlled for occupation, age, number of working hours, marital status, university diploma, age of youngest child, number of children, her income share, East/West residence, migration status, and COVID-19.

	Housework		Childcare	
	Men	Men	Men	Men
(Intercept)	0.46 ***	0.48 ***	0.36 ***	0.37 ***
	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.08)	(0.08)
Between-person effects				
Telecommuting (WFH)	0.00	-0.01	-0.04	-0.03
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.03)
Traditional GRA 1 Men and Housework	-0.05 ***		-0.04 ***	
	(0.01)		(0.01)	
Traditional GRA 2 Women and Family		-0.03 +		-0.02 *
		(0.01)		(0.01)
WFH*Traditional GRA 1	-0.02		0.04	
	(0.04)		(0.03)	
WFH*Traditional GRA 2		0.01		0.02
		(0.04)		(0.03)
Distance to work (hours)	-0.01	-0.01	-0.02 +	-0.02 +
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Over time effects				
Telecommuting (WFH)	-0.02	-0.03 *	0.04 *	0.03
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)
WFH*Traditional GRA 1	-0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
WFH*Traditional GRA 2	-0.01		-0.03 +	
	(0.02)		(0.02)	
Distance to work (hours)		0.02		0.00
		(0.02)		(0.02)
R^2	0.07	0.07	0.12	0.11
Adj. R^2	0.06	0.06	0.11	0.10
N. obs.	3878	3878	3878	3878
N waves	10	10	10	10

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***0.001

Table 20A. Hybrid regression models for women. Controlled for occupation, age, number of working hours, marital status, university diploma, age of youngest child, number of children, her income share, East/West residence, migration status, and COVID-19.

	Housework		**Childcare**	
	Women	**Women**	**Women**	**Women**
(Intercept)	0.82 ***	0.86 ***	0.77 ***	0.78 ***
	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.11)	(0.11)
Between-person effects				
Telecommuting (WFH)	-0.07 *	-0.09 +	0.01	-0.01
	(0.03)	(0.05)	(0.03)	(0.04)
Traditional GRA 1 Men and Housework	0.04 **		0.01	
	(0.02)		(0.01)	
Traditional GRA 2 Women and Family		-0.00		-0.01
		(0.02)		(0.01)
WFH*Traditional GRA 1	0.02		0.00	
	(0.06)		(0.05)	
WFH*Traditional GRA 2		0.03		0.05
		(0.06)		(0.05)
Distance to work (hours)	0.01	0.01	-0.02	-0.02
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Over time effects				
Telecommuting (WFH)	0.01	0.02	0.00	0.02
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
WFH*Traditional GRA 1	0.01		0.05 +	
	(0.03)		(0.03)	
WFH*Traditional GRA 2		-0.01		0.00
		(0.02)		(0.02)
Distance to work (hours)	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)
R^2	0.14	0.14	0.17	0.17
Adj. R^2	0.13	0.13	0.16	0.16
N. obs.	4633	4633	4633	4633
N waves	10	10	10	10

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Section 13. Models with the partner's telecommuting status as a control

Table 21A. Pooled hybrid regression models. Controlled for occupation, age, number of working hours, marital status, university diploma, age of youngest child, number of children, her income share, East/West residence, migration status, and COVID-19.

	Housework	**Housework**	**Childcare**	**Childcare**
(Intercept)	0.56 ***	0.54 ***	0.49 ***	0.51 ***
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.06)	(0.06)
Between-person effects				
Telecommuting (WFH)	-0.03	0.02	0.01	-0.03
	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Woman	0.31 ***	0.32 ***	0.18 ***	0.17 ***
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.02)
WFH*Woman		-0.09 *		0.08 *
		(0.04)		(0.04)
Partner telecommuting	-0.07 ***	-0.07 ***	-0.06 ***	-0.06 ***
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Over time effects				
Telecommuting (WFH)	-0.00	0.00	0.01	0.02
	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.01)
WFH*Woman		-0.02		-0.02
		(0.02)		(0.02)
Partner telecommuting	-0.03 **	-0.03 **	-0.02 *	-0.02 *
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
R^2	0.35	0.35	0.28	0.29
Adj. R^2	0.35	0.35	0.28	0.28
N. obs.	5549	5549	5549	5549
N waves	8	8	87	8

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Table 22A. Hybrid regression models for men. Controlled for occupation, age, number of working hours, marital status, university diploma, age of youngest child, number of children, her income share, East/West residence, migration status, and COVID-19.

	Housework		**Childcare**	
	Men	**Men**	**Men**	**Men**
(Intercept)	0.47 ***	0.48 ***	0.32 ***	0.32 ***
	(0.10)	(0.11)	(0.08)	(0.08)
Between-person effects				
Telecommuting (WFH)	0.01	-0.01	-0.02	-0.05
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Traditional GRA 1 Men and Housework	-0.04 *		-0.03 *	
	(0.02)		(0.01)	
Traditional GRA 2 Women and Family		-0.03		-0.02
		(0.02)		(0.02)
WFH*Traditional GRA 1	0.01		-0.01	
	(0.05)		(0.04)	
WFH*Traditional GRA 2		0.05		0.06
		(0.05)		(0.04)
Partner telecommuting	-0.09 ***	-0.09 ***	-0.03 +	-0.04 *
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Over time effects				
Telecommuting (WFH)	-0.02	-0.03	0.01	0.01
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
WFH*Traditional GRA 1	-0.00		-0.03	

	(0.02)		(0.02)	
WFH*Traditional GRA 2		0.03		-0.01
		(0.02)		(0.02)
Partner telecommuting	-0.03 ***	-0.03 ***	-0.01	-0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
R^2	0.08	0.08	0.12	0.12
Adj. R^2	0.07	0.06	0.11	0.11
N. obs.	2155	2155	2155	2155
N waves	8	8	87	8

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Table 23A. Hybrid regression models for women. Controlled for occupation, age, number of working hours, marital status, university diploma, age of the youngest child, number of children, her income share, East/West residence, migration status, and COVID-19.

	Housework		**Childcare**	
	Women	**Women**	**Women**	**Women**
(Intercept)	0.82 ***	0.85 ***	0.72 ***	0.75 ***
	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.15)	(0.14)
Between-person effects				
Telecommuting (WFH)	-0.08 +	-0.07	0.01	-0.02
	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Traditional GRA 1 Men and Housework	0.04 *		0.01	
	(0.02)		(0.02)	
Traditional GRA 2 Women and Family		-0.00		-0.03 +
		(0.02)		(0.02)
WFH*Traditional GRA 1	0.04		0.01	
	(0.07)		(0.05)	
WFH*Traditional GRA 2		-0.01		0.07
		(0.07)		(0.06)
Partner telecommuting	0.01	0.01	-0.01	-0.01
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Over time effects				
Telecommuting (WFH)	-0.01	-0.00	0.00	0.01
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)
WFH*Traditional GRA 1	0.03		0.04	
	(0.03)		(0.03)	
WFH*Traditional GRA 2		0.01		0.02
		(0.03)		(0.02)
Partner telecommuting	-0.01	-0.01	-0.02	-0.02
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.01)
R^2	0.14	0.14	0.16	0.17
Adj. R^2	0.13	0.13	0.15	0.16
N. obs.	3394	3394	3394	3394
N waves	8	8	87	8

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Section 14. Models without the child's age and family structure as a control

Table 24A. Pooled hybrid regression models. Controlled for occupation, age, number of working hours, marital status, university diploma, her income share, East/West residence, migration status, and COVID-19.

	Housework	Housework	Childcare	Childcare
(Intercept)	0.54 ***	0.54 ***	0.47 ***	0.48 ***
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Between-person effects				
Telecommuting (WFH)	-0.03 +	-0.01	-0.00	-0.03 +
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.02)
Woman	0.35 ***	0.35 ***	0.22 ***	0.21 ***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
WFH*Woman		-0.04		0.07 **
		(0.03)		(0.03)
Over time effects				
Telecommuting (WFH)	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.02 *
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
WFH*Woman		-0.00		-0.02
		(0.01)		(0.01)
R^2	0.34	0.34	0.30	0.30
Adj. R^2	0.34	0.34	0.30	0.30
N. obs.	12327	12327	12327	12327
N waves	13	13	13	13

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Table 25A. Hybrid regression models for men. Controlled for occupation, age, number of working hours, marital status, university diploma, her income share, East/West residence, migration status, and COVID-19.

	Housework		Childcare	
	Men	Men	Men	Men
(Intercept)	0.39 ***	0.37 ***	0.30 ***	0.28 ***
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.05)	(0.05)
Between-person effects				
Telecommuting (WFH)	-0.03	-0.01	-0.04 +	-0.03
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Traditional GRA 1 Men and Housework	-0.06 ***		-0.03 **	
	(0.01)		(0.01)	
Traditional GRA 2 Women and Family		-0.01		-0.01
		(0.01)		(0.01)
WFH*Traditional GRA 1	0.01		0.04	
	(0.03)		(0.03)	
WFH*Traditional GRA 2		-0.03		0.01
		(0.03)		(0.03)
Over time effects				
Telecommuting (WFH)	-0.00	-0.01	0.02 +	0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
WFH*Traditional GRA 1	-0.01		-0.03 *	
	(0.01)		(0.01)	
WFH*Traditional GRA 2		0.01		-0.01
		(0.01)		(0.01)
R^2	0.08	0.07	0.11	0.11
Adj. R^2	0.07	0.07	0.10	0.10
N. obs.	5563	5563	5563	5563
N waves	13	13	13	13

Table 26A. Hybrid regression models for women. Controlled for occupation, age, number of working hours, marital status, university diploma, her income share, East/West residence, migration status, and COVID-19.

	Housework		Childcare	
	Women	**Women**	**Women**	**Women**
(Intercept)	0.88 ***	0.90 ***	0.70 ***	0.72 ***
	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.07)	(0.07)
Between-person effects				
Telecommuting (WFH)	-0.03	-0.04	0.02	-0.00
	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Traditional GRA 1 Men and Housework	0.05 ***		0.03 *	
	(0.01)		(0.01)	
Traditional GRA 2 Women and Family		-0.00		-0.01
		(0.01)		(0.01)
WFH*Traditional GRA 1	-0.00		-0.02	
	(0.05)		(0.04)	
WFH*Traditional GRA 2		0.01		0.03
		(0.04)		(0.04)
Over time effects				
Telecommuting (WFH)	-0.00	0.00	-0.00	0.00
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.01)
WFH*Traditional GRA 1	0.03		0.04 +	
	(0.02)		(0.02)	
WFH*Traditional GRA 2		0.00		0.02
		(0.02)		(0.02)
R^2	0.16	0.15	0.18	0.18
Adj. R^2	0.15	0.15	0.17	0.17
N. obs.	6764	6764	6764	6764
N waves	13	13	13	13

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Section 15. Models without single earners

Table 27A. Pooled hybrid regression models. Controlled for occupation, age, number of working hours, marital status, university diploma, her income share, East/West residence, migration status, and COVID-19.

	Housework	Housework	Childcare	Childcare
(Intercept)	0.53 ***	0.53 ***	0.49 ***	0.51 ***
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Between-person effects				
Telecommuting (WFH)	-0.04 *	-0.02	0.00	-0.03 +
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.02)
Woman	0.35 ***	0.36 ***	0.22 ***	0.20 ***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
WFH*Woman		-0.04		0.07 **
		(0.03)		(0.03)
Over time effects				
Telecommuting (WFH)	0.00	0.00	0.02 *	0.02 *
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
WFH*Woman		-0.00		-0.01
		(0.01)		(0.01)
R^2	0.34	0.34	0.30	0.30
Adj. R^2	0.34	0.34	0.30	0.30
N. obs.	11955	11955	11955	11955
N waves	13	13	13	13

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Table 28A. Hybrid regression models for men. Controlled for occupation, age, number of working hours, marital status, university diploma, her income share, East/West residence, migration status, and COVID-19.

	Housework		Childcare	
	Men	Men	Men	Men
(Intercept)	0.37 ***	0.35 ***	0.35 ***	0.34 ***
	(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.06)	(0.06)
Between-person effects				
Telecommuting (WFH)	-0.03	-0.02	-0.03	-0.02
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Traditional GRA 1 Men and Housework	-0.06 ***		-0.03 **	
	(0.01)		(0.01)	
Traditional GRA 2 Women and Family		-0.02		-0.01
		(0.01)		(0.01)
WFH*Traditional GRA 1	0.01		0.03	
	(0.03)		(0.03)	
WFH*Traditional GRA 2		-0.02		0.01
		(0.03)		(0.03)
Over time effects				
Telecommuting (WFH)	0.01	-0.01	0.03 *	0.02
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
WFH*Traditional GRA 1	-0.02		-0.04 *	
	(0.01)		(0.01)	
WFH*Traditional GRA 2		0.02		-0.01
		(0.01)		(0.01)
R^2	0.09	0.08	0.12	0.12
Adj. R^2	0.08	0.07	0.11	0.11
N. obs.	5316	5316	5316	5316
N waves	13	13	13	13

Table 29A. Hybrid regression models for women. Controlled for occupation, age, number of working hours, marital status, university diploma, her income share, East/West residence, migration status, and COVID-19.

	Housework		Childcare	
	Women	**Women**	**Women**	**Women**
(Intercept)	0.85 ***	0.87 ***	0.70 ***	0.71 ***
	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.07)	(0.07)
Between-person effects				
Telecommuting (WFH)	-0.04	-0.05	0.02	-0.00
	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Traditional GRA 1 Men and Housework	0.05 ***		0.02 *	
	(0.01)		(0.01)	
Traditional GRA 2 Women and Family		-0.00		-0.01
		(0.01)		(0.01)
WFH*Traditional GRA 1	0.01		-0.01	
	(0.05)		(0.04)	
WFH*Traditional GRA 2		0.01		0.04
		(0.04)		(0.04)
Over time effects				
Telecommuting (WFH)	-0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.01)
WFH*Traditional GRA 1	0.03		0.04 +	
	(0.02)		(0.02)	
WFH*Traditional GRA 2		0.00		0.02
		(0.02)		(0.02)
R^2	0.16	0.15	0.18	0.18
Adj. R^2	0.15	0.15	0.17	0.17
N. obs.	6639	6639	6639	6639
N waves	13	13	13	13

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Section 16. Number of observations: Gender, COVID, Telecommuting, GRA

Table 30A. Number of observations for men. GRA 1: Men and Housework.

	Before Covid		During Covid	
	Egalitarian men	Traditional men	Egalitarian men	Traditional men
No telecommuting	2331	2007	122	90
Telecommuting	426	443	72	72

Table 31A. Number of observations for women. GRA 1: Men and Housework.

	Before Covid		During Covid	
	Egalitarian women	Traditional women	Egalitarian women	Traditional women
No telecommuting	3585	1973	179	95
Telecommuting	564	244	89	35

Table 32A. Number of observations for men. GRA 2: Women and Family.

	Before Covid		During Covid	
	Egalitarian men	Traditional men	Egalitarian men	Traditional men
No telecommuting	1856	2482	97	115
Telecommuting	409	460	75	69

Table 33A. Number of observations for women. GRA 2: Women and Family.

	Before Covid		During Covid	
	Egalitarian women	Traditional women	Egalitarian women	Traditional women
No telecommuting	2234	3324	118	156
Telecommuting	433	375	74	50

Section 17. Correlation Matrix

Table 34A. Correlation Matrix.

	Women	WFH	GRA 1 Men housework	GRA 2 Women Family	Age	Work hours	Married	Higher education	Child's age	N of children	Covid	Her share income	Native	East
Women	1.00													
WFH	-0.06	1.00												
GRA 1	-0.12	0.01	1.00											
GRA 2	0.02	-0.07	0.23	1.00										
Age	-0.01	0.11	-0.00	-0.07	1.00									
Work Hours	-0.61	0.11	0.02	-0.09	0.02	1.00								
Married	-0.00	0.04	0.06	0.05	0.14	-0.11	1.00							
Higher Education	-0.03	0.25	-0.01	-0.17	0.11	0.13	0.01	1.00						
Child’s age	0.22	-0.03	-0.01	0.04	0.56	-0.07	0.08	-0.12	1.00					
N children	0.02	0.05	0.04	0.05	0.18	-0.09	0.21	0.06	-0.01	1.00				
Covid	-0.07	0.11	-0.00	-0.08	0.05	0.06	-0.02	0.12	-0.16	0.03	1.00			
Her share income	0.03	0.01	-0.13	-0.14	0.00	0.25	-0.24	0.05	0.05	-0.17	0.05	1.00		
Native	-0.02	0.02	-0.06	-0.12	0.03	0.06	-0.09	-0.00	-0.03	-0.07	0.05	0.05	1	
East	-0.01	-0.08	-0.07	-0.08	-0.03	0.24	-0.26	-0.02	0.03	-0.09	-0.00	0.32	0.17	1

Information on the sample and missing values

Table 35A presents the exact number of observations dropped due to missingness per variable. Before excluding the missing values, the initial sample comprised 97919 respondents in different-sex couples from wave 1 to wave 13. The first drop of observations occurs due to excluding individuals who do not have children, which drops out more than half of the sample (58528 observations) and who do not have a partner (27226 observations). Second, we removed 286 individuals in the military, 9990 individuals with changing work locations (i.e., drivers, travelling salespersons), and 1115 who always telecommute (work from home). We excluded 1478 respondents who did not change their telecommuting status throughout the observation period. We excluded 29067 observations below age 25 (including the youngest cohort born in 2001-03) who do not have an established employment or family history. Moreover, we reduced the sample to individuals whose children are below 18 years old, which resulted in removing an additional 1352 individuals with children 18 years old and above. There were 348 observations dropped because of misreported income (i.e., share being less than 0 or more than 1. Finally, we excluded 1702 respondents who participated in less than 3 survey waves (to rule out the possibility of a respondent participating only in the COVID period). After these sample restrictions, we had 14188 observations (including missing values).

There are 948 missing values on the division of housework, 1150 on the division of childcare, 921 on the gender role attitudes around women's role in work and family, 876 on the gender role attitudes around men's role in housework, 443 on migration status, 33 on working hours, 89 on marital status, 4 on education. 13% of our data is missing. Given that multiple imputations because the missingness might not be entirely explained from the observed data (i.e., given that the panel is unbalanced). After listwise deletion, there are 15459 observations left. Then, we identify which individuals participated in at least 3 waves and exclude 1985 cases that participated in fewer than 3 waves.

Table 35A. Number of dropped and missing observations per variable.

Variable	**N of observations dropped**
Having children (>0)	58528
Having a partner (1)	27226
In the military (ISCO 10)	286
Changing work location	9990
Always telecommute (work from home)	1115
Telecommute throughout observation period	1478
Below age 25	29067
Children above 18	1352
Inconsistent income report	348
Variable	**N of observations missing**
Division of housework	948
Division of childcare	1150

GRA 1 men and housework	876
GRA 2 women in work and family	921
Migration status	443
Working hours	33
Marital status	89
Education	4

Section 19. Pairfam variables

Table 36A. Pairfam variables.

Variable	Measurement
Dependent variable Work–to–life and life–to–work conflict	The average of 4 statements measuring work–to–life conflict and the average of 4 statements measuring, life–to–work conflict 0 =does not apply at all, 5 = absolutely applies
Independent variables Employment arrangements in terms of time	1 = Fixed daily working hours, 2 = company-defined, partially varying daily working hours, 3 = autonomous, freedom in choosing the schedule, 4 = Flexitime (flexible hours with a time account)
Gender role behavior	Distribution of housework (washing, cooking, cleaning) relative to the partner. 1 = Always/usually my partner; 2 = equal split; 3 = always/usually me.
Control variables	
Professional/Managerial occupation	0 = level 3-9 in ISCO08; 1= level 1-2 in ISCO08.
Working from home (WFH)	0 = No possibility to WFH, 1 = always WFH or possibility to WFH
Length of cohabitation	In months
Number of children	Household grid, 0 = no children, 1 = one child, 2 = more than 1 child
Children under 6 years old	Household grid, 0 = no children under 6 years old, 1 = having at least one child under 6
Age	In years
Education	ISCED, 0 = not having a university degree (1-4), 1 = having a university degree (5-6, tertiary education completed)
Migration status	0 = Migration background (1st or 2nd generation), 1 = no migration background
Region	0 = Living in the West Germany, 1 = living in the East Germany

Section 20. Information on the sample and missing values

Table 37A presents the exact number of observations dropped due to missing values per variable. Before excluding the missing values, the initial sample comprised 4,199 respondents. The first drop of observations occurs due to excluding self-employed individuals, among whom 60% have complete autonomy over their work schedule, which differs from this arrangement for people who have an employer. Work–life conflict and working time arrangements variables have only a few missing values (16 and 21, respectively). Individuals in same-sex partnerships (22 respondents) have been removed from the sample because they might not exercise gender roles in the distribution of housework in the way that is expected in heterosexual couples. The most substantial drop is due to the variable on the division of housework and the length of cohabitation, due to excluding all the individuals who are not partnered and not cohabiting. The survey has a filter for the division of housework questions to ask only people with a partner and those who are cohabiting. Only 3,177 out of 4,199 respondents have a partner, and 2,693 cohabit. Another dropout is due to the working from home variable (568 respondents): 550 workers report having a changing work location and are excluded to have a consistent working from home concept, and 18 are missing values. There are a few missing values on some other variables, potentially due to refusals by some respondents, lengthy questionnaires, or misunderstandings.

Table 37A. Number of missing observations per variable.

Variable	N of observations dropped
Self-employment status	323
Work–life conflict	16
Working time arrangements	21
Division of housework (washing, cooking, cleaning)	1517
Occupational status	184
Length of cohabitation	1,515
Pre-school children	4
Age	291
Education	3
Migration status	87
Region	4
Working from home	568

Section 21. Descriptive statistics

Table 38A. Descriptive statistics by gender (Wave 12).

	Women	Men
N	1,162	870
Work–to–life conflict (mean)	0.31	0.35
Work–to–life conflict (sd)	0.24	0.22
Life–to–work conflict (mean)	0.14	0.16
Life–to–work conflict (sd)	0.16	0.16
Fixed schedule %	44.43	39.29
Company-defined %	21.01	14.56
Autonomous %	10.59	10.67
Flexitime %	23.97	35.47
Working from home %	23.30	31.50
More housework %	62.95	5.00
Equal housework %	32.48	40.36
Less housework %	4.57	54.64
Housework (mean)	0.70	0.34
Professional/managerial occupation %	22.07	29.63
Length of cohabitation (mean months)	154.80	136.04
Child %	61.60	60.50
Child under 6 %	18.27	26.02
Age (mean)	39.71	39.77
Diploma %	49.07	52.12
German native %	67.28	72.64
East %	13.33	12.53

The percentages and means are weighted with calibrated design weights.

Figure 14A. Relationship between flexible employment, work–life conflict, gender, and housework distribution.

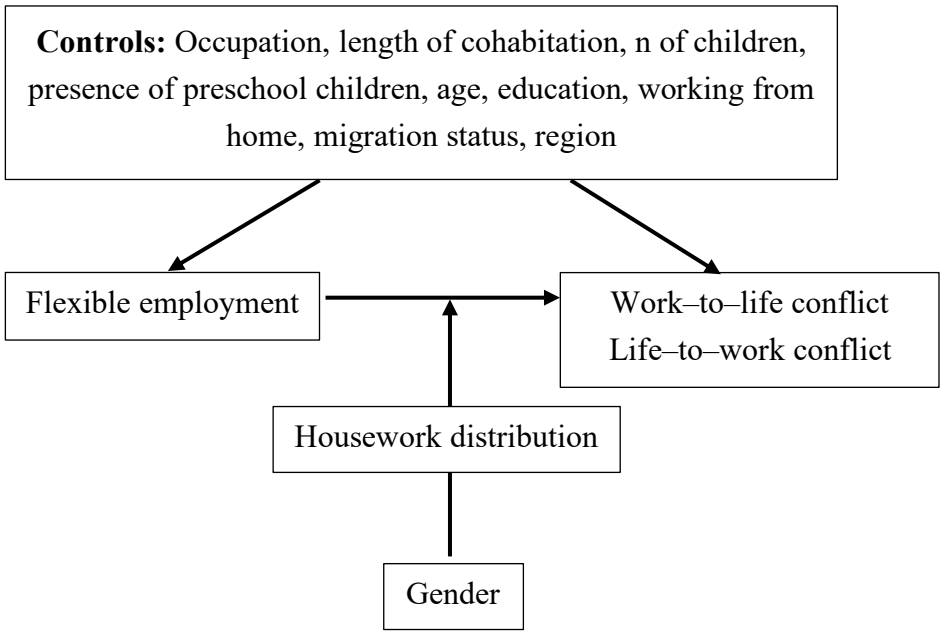
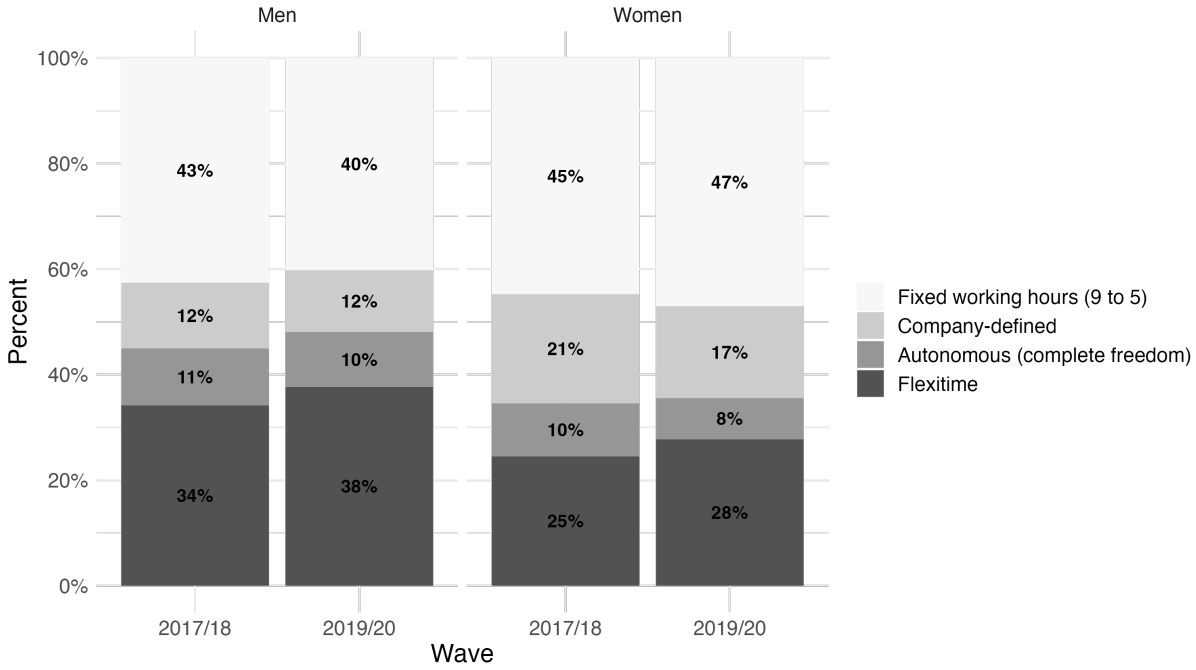


Figure 15A. Share of flexible time employment arrangements in 2017/18 (wave 10) and 2019/20 (wave 12). Numbers are weighted with calibrated design weight.



Section 22. Full cross-sectional models

Table 39A. Linear regression models. Dependent variables: work–to–life and life–to–work conflict. Pairfam data, wave 12, 2019/20.

	Work–to–life conflict		Life–to–work conflict	
	Model 1	**Model 2**	**Model 3**	**Model 4**
(Intercept)	0.278 ***	0.277 ***	0.072	0.082 +
	(0.063)	(0.063)	(0.045)	(0.045)
Company-defined (Ref. Fixed)	0.097 ***	0.087 ***	0.011	0.010
	(0.014)	(0.021)	(0.010)	(0.015)
Autonomous	0.032 +	0.068 **	0.017	-0.000
	(0.018)	(0.025)	(0.013)	(0.018)
Flexitime	-0.001	-0.003	0.011	-0.008
	(0.013)	(0.017)	(0.009)	(0.012)
Women	-0.031 **	-0.029 +	-0.014 *	-0.030 **
	(0.010)	(0.015)	(0.007)	(0.011)
Length of cohabitation	-0.007	-0.008	0.014	0.015
	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.010)	(0.010)
Pre-school children	-0.003	-0.002	0.034 ***	0.034 **
	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.010)	(0.010)
Age	-0.013	-0.015	-0.079	-0.076
	(0.088)	(0.088)	(0.063)	(0.063)
Manager/professional	0.052 ***	0.050 ***	0.009	0.011
	(0.013)	(0.014)	(0.010)	(0.010)
N of children	-0.022 **	-0.022 **	-0.001	-0.001
	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.005)	(0.005)
University diploma	0.019 +	0.019 +	0.023 **	0.022 **
	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.008)	(0.008)
East	0.002	0.003	0.004	0.002
	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.010)	(0.010)
German Native	0.036 ***	0.035 **	0.003	0.003
	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.008)	(0.008)
Cohort 1981-83	0.017	0.018	0.051	0.048
	(0.059)	(0.059)	(0.042)	(0.042)
Cohort 1991-93	-0.006	-0.004	0.080	0.076
	(0.114)	(0.114)	(0.081)	(0.081)
Working from home	0.062 ***	0.061 ***	0.030 **	0.031 ***
	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.010)	(0.010)
Company-defined*Women		0.017		0.004
		(0.028)		(0.020)
Autonomous*Women		-0.070 *		0.030
		(0.033)		(0.024)
Flexitime*Women		0.008		0.040 *
		(0.024)		(0.017)
R^2	0.099	0.102	0.046	0.049
Adj. R^2	0.092	0.094	0.039	0.040
Num. obs.	2032	2032	2032	2032

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Table 40A. Linear regression models for men and women. Dependent variable: work–to–life and life–to–work conflict. Pairfam data, wave 12, 2019/20.

	Work–to–life conflict				Life–to–work conflict			
	Model 1 Women	**Model 2 Women**	**Model 3 Men**	**Model 4 Men**	**Model 5 Women**	**Model 6 Women**	**Model 7 Men**	**Model 8 Men**
(Intercept)	0.335 ***	0.469 ***	0.204 *	0.244 *	0.055	0.085	0.089	0.091
	(0.083)	(0.101)	(0.095)	(0.096)	(0.060)	(0.072)	(0.069)	(0.070)
Company-defined (Ref. Fixed)	0.101 ***	-0.036	0.087 ***	0.027	0.014	-0.170 **	0.009	-0.020
	(0.017)	(0.089)	(0.022)	(0.031)	(0.012)	(0.063)	(0.016)	(0.023)
Autonomous	-0.016	0.016	0.093 ***	0.109 **	0.025	-0.102	0.009	0.018
	(0.023)	(0.099)	(0.028)	(0.036)	(0.016)	(0.070)	(0.020)	(0.026)
Flexitime	-0.006	-0.043	0.016	0.024	0.031 *	-0.108 *	-0.004	-0.013
	(0.017)	(0.076)	(0.019)	(0.025)	(0.012)	(0.054)	(0.014)	(0.018)
Length of cohabitation	0.001	-0.001	-0.017	-0.022	0.016	0.014	0.011	0.012
	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.023)	(0.023)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.017)	(0.017)
Pre-school children	-0.055 **	-0.057 **	0.027	0.026	0.041 **	0.041 **	0.029 +	0.033 *
	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.016)	(0.016)
Age	0.054	0.058	-0.062	-0.038	-0.070	-0.109	-0.069	-0.078
	(0.117)	(0.117)	(0.133)	(0.133)	(0.083)	(0.083)	(0.097)	(0.096)
Manager/professional	0.078 ***	0.075 ***	0.025	0.025	0.012	0.015	0.010	0.009
	(0.019)	(0.019)	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.014)	(0.014)
N of children	-0.035 ***	-0.027 **	-0.006	-0.011	0.005	0.001	-0.006	-0.008
	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.009)	(0.009)
University diploma	0.023	0.022	0.013	0.014	0.016	0.017	0.028 *	0.026 *
	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.013)	(0.013)
East	0.017	0.014	-0.014	-0.007	-0.003	-0.002	0.010	0.014
	(0.019)	(0.019)	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.016)	(0.016)
German Native	0.033 *	0.028 *	0.039 *	0.038 *	0.006	0.003	-0.005	-0.007
	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.012)	(0.012)
Cohort 1981-83	-0.046	-0.052	0.072	0.058	0.029	0.058	0.056	0.064
	(0.079)	(0.079)	(0.088)	(0.088)	(0.056)	(0.056)	(0.064)	(0.064)
Cohort 1991-93	-0.131	-0.140	0.092	0.061	0.064	0.114	0.076	0.091
	(0.151)	(0.151)	(0.173)	(0.174)	(0.108)	(0.108)	(0.126)	(0.126)
Working from home	0.079 ***	0.077 ***	0.040 *	0.039 *	0.046 ***	0.050 ***	0.018	0.017
	(0.018)	(0.018)	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.014)	(0.014)
Housework equal (ref. more partner)		-0.099		-0.046 +		-0.053		-0.028
		(0.061)		(0.025)		(0.043)		(0.018)
Housework more me		-0.152 *		-0.072		-0.054		0.044
		(0.059)		(0.065)		(0.042)		(0.047)
Company-defined*Equal		0.112		0.121 **		0.166 *		0.064 +

	Work–to–life conflict				Life–to–work conflict			
	Model 1 Women	**Model 2 Women**	**Model 3 Men**	**Model 4 Men**	**Model 5 Women**	**Model 6 Women**	**Model 7 Men**	**Model 8 Men**
		(0.093)		(0.046)		(0.066)		(0.033)
Autonomous*Equal		-0.048		-0.028		0.105		-0.043
		(0.105)		(0.054)		(0.075)		(0.039)
Flexitime*Equal		-0.008		-0.010		0.111 +		0.019
		(0.081)		(0.035)		(0.057)		(0.025)
Company-defined*More me		0.153 +		0.180 +		0.205 **		0.014
		(0.092)		(0.106)		(0.065)		(0.077)
Autonomous*More me		-0.037		-0.014		0.142 *		0.047
		(0.102)		(0.101)		(0.072)		(0.073)
Flexitime*More me		0.057		0.046		0.161 **		0.073
		(0.078)		(0.085)		(0.056)		(0.062)
R^2	0.153	0.168	0.073	0.090	0.064	0.085	0.032	0.060
Adj. R^2	0.142	0.152	0.057	0.066	0.052	0.067	0.017	0.035
Num. obs.	1162	1162	870	870	1162	1162	870	870

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Section 23. Cross-sectional models only for people with children

Table 41A. Linear regression models for women and men separately. Dependent variable: work–to–life and life–to–work conflict. Pairfam data, wave 12, 2019/20. Note: not enough cases to capture for men the effect of company-defined schedule and doing more childcare.

	Work–to–life conflict				Life–to–work conflict			
	Model 1 Women	**Model 2 Women**	**Model 3 Men**	**Model 4 Men**	**Model 5 Women**	**Model 6 Women**	**Model 7 Men**	**Model 8 Men**
(Intercept)	0.345 *	0.415 **	0.373 *	0.414 **	0.014	0.152	0.081	0.105
	(0.134)	(0.155)	(0.157)	(0.156)	(0.106)	(0.123)	(0.110)	(0.110)
Company-defined (Ref. Fixed)	0.124 ***	0.100	0.104 ***	0.096 *	0.030 +	-0.145	0.003	-0.047 +
	(0.022)	(0.121)	(0.029)	(0.038)	(0.018)	(0.097)	(0.021)	(0.027)
Autonomous	-0.018	0.207 +	0.109 **	0.071	0.024	-0.264 **	0.071 **	0.016
	(0.027)	(0.121)	(0.036)	(0.045)	(0.021)	(0.096)	(0.025)	(0.032)
Flexitime	0.011	0.020	0.061 *	0.074 *	0.058 **	-0.046	0.016	-0.013
	(0.022)	(0.174)	(0.025)	(0.031)	(0.018)	(0.138)	(0.018)	(0.022)
Length of cohabitation	-0.010	-0.010	0.026	0.033	0.007	0.009	0.010	0.013
	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.019)	(0.019)
Pre-school children	-0.062 **	-0.055 *	0.018	0.009	0.022	0.026	0.021	0.024
	(0.023)	(0.023)	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.019)	(0.018)	(0.018)	(0.018)
Age	0.098	0.104	0.019	0.020	-0.098	-0.107	-0.099	-0.105
	(0.117)	(0.116)	(0.140)	(0.138)	(0.093)	(0.092)	(0.098)	(0.097)
Manager/professional	0.088 ***	0.079 ***	-0.016	-0.018	0.020	0.025	-0.001	0.007
	(0.023)	(0.023)	(0.026)	(0.025)	(0.019)	(0.019)	(0.018)	(0.018)
N of children	-0.014	-0.014	-0.014	-0.017	-0.014	-0.014	-0.011	-0.012
	(0.018)	(0.018)	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)
University diploma	0.029	0.032	-0.001	-0.001	0.028 +	0.031 *	0.020	0.011
	(0.019)	(0.019)	(0.024)	(0.023)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.017)	(0.016)
East	0.039	0.031	-0.019	-0.004	-0.020	-0.018	0.004	-0.003
	(0.024)	(0.024)	(0.028)	(0.028)	(0.019)	(0.019)	(0.020)	(0.019)
German Native	0.025	0.026	0.019	0.006	-0.005	-0.008	-0.004	-0.012
	(0.018)	(0.018)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.015)	(0.014)
Cohort 1981-83	-0.078	-0.082	-0.053	-0.040	0.082	0.083	0.056	0.062
	(0.102)	(0.102)	(0.118)	(0.116)	(0.081)	(0.081)	(0.083)	(0.082)
Cohort 1991-93	-0.205	-0.207	-0.104	-0.081	0.148	0.153	0.108	0.123
	(0.193)	(0.192)	(0.230)	(0.226)	(0.154)	(0.153)	(0.161)	(0.159)
Working from home	0.081 ***	0.076 ***	0.059 *	0.043 +	0.074 ***	0.074 ***	0.010	0.007
	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.026)	(0.025)	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.018)	(0.018)
Housework equal (ref. more partner)		-0.034		-0.069 *		-0.114 +		-0.043 *
		(0.084)		(0.030)		(0.067)		(0.021)
Housework more me		-0.095		-0.247 **		-0.164 *		-0.123 *
		(0.084)		(0.076)		(0.066)		(0.054)

	Work–to–life conflict				Life–to–work conflict			
	Model 1 Women	**Model 2 Women**	**Model 3 Men**	**Model 4 Men**	**Model 5 Women**	**Model 6 Women**	**Model 7 Men**	**Model 8 Men**
Company-defined*Equal		-0.043		0.000		0.123		0.104 *
		(0.125)		(0.058)		(0.100)		(0.041)
Autonomous*Equal		-0.275 *		0.166 *		0.247 *		0.176 ***
		(0.128)		(0.068)		(0.102)		(0.048)
Flexitime*Equal		-0.032		-0.074		0.028		0.046
		(0.177)		(0.046)		(0.141)		(0.032)
Company-defined*More me		0.074		NA		0.220 *		NA
		(0.124)				(0.099)		
Autonomous*More me		-0.218 +		-0.035		0.332 ***		-0.008
		(0.124)		(0.124)		(0.099)		(0.087)
Flexitime*More me		0.011		0.146		0.151		0.382 ***
		(0.176)		(0.142)		(0.140)		(0.100)
R^2	0.147	0.174	0.074	0.148	0.108	0.141	0.049	0.114
Adj. R^2	0.130	0.147	0.049	0.113	0.090	0.113	0.024	0.077
Num. obs.	696	696	533	533	696	696	533	533

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Section 24. Fixed effects models

Table 42A. Pooled fixed-effects linear regression models for women and men. Dependent variable: work–to–life and life–to–work conflict. Pairfam data, waves 10 and 12, 2017/18 and 2019/20.

	Work–to–life conflict		Life–to–work conflict	
	Model 1	**Model 2**	**Model 3**	**Model 4**
Company-defined (Ref. Fixed)	0.021	0.028	-0.009	-0.014
	(0.015)	(0.022)	(0.011)	(0.017)
Autonomous	0.008	0.022	0.011	0.007
	(0.020)	(0.032)	(0.016)	(0.025)
Flexitime	-0.010	0.004	-0.011	-0.023
	(0.017)	(0.025)	(0.013)	(0.019)
Length of cohabitation	0.164	0.155	-0.123	-0.117
	(0.211)	(0.211)	(0.164)	(0.164)
Pre-school children	-0.030	-0.031	0.041 **	0.042 **
	(0.019)	(0.019)	(0.015)	(0.015)
Age	-0.142	-0.135	0.116	0.110
	(0.192)	(0.192)	(0.149)	(0.150)
Manager/professional	-0.145 ***	-0.146 ***	-0.047 +	-0.046 +
	(0.034)	(0.034)	(0.027)	(0.027)
N of children	0.013	0.013	0.024	0.024
	(0.029)	(0.029)	(0.023)	(0.023)
University diploma	0.128 +	0.128 +	-0.038	-0.038
	(0.065)	(0.066)	(0.051)	(0.051)
Working from home	0.009	0.009	0.039 **	0.040 **
	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.013)	(0.013)
Company-defined*Women		-0.012		0.008
		(0.030)		(0.023)
Autonomous*Women		-0.023		0.006
		(0.041)		(0.032)
Flexitime*Women		-0.027		0.023
		(0.034)		(0.027)
R^2	0.019	0.019	0.016	0.016
Adj. R^2	-0.977	-0.981	-0.983	-0.987
Num. obs.	2506	2506	2506	2506

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Table 43A. Fixed-effects linear regression models for women and men separately. Dependent variable: work–to–life and life–to–work conflict. Pairfam data, waves 10 and 12, 2017/18 and 2019/20.

	Work–to–life conflict				Life–to–work conflict			
	Model 1 Women	**Model 2 Women**	**Model 3 Men**	**Model 4 Men**	**Model 5 Women**	**Model 6 Women**	**Model 7 Men**	**Model 8 Men**
Company-defined (Ref. Fixed)	0.010	0.214 *	0.029	0.027	-0.007	-0.283 ***	-0.014	-0.024
	(0.020)	(0.092)	(0.022)	(0.028)	(0.015)	(0.070)	(0.017)	(0.022)
Autonomous	-0.005	-0.062	0.023	0.021	0.007	0.060	0.013	0.064 *
	(0.026)	(0.147)	(0.032)	(0.038)	(0.020)	(0.112)	(0.026)	(0.029)
Flexitime	-0.021	-0.029	0.003	-0.003	0.000	-0.156 ***	-0.018	0.014

	Work–to–life conflict				Life–to–work conflict			
	Model 1 Women	**Model 2 Women**	**Model 3 Men**	**Model 4 Men**	**Model 5 Women**	**Model 6 Women**	**Model 7 Men**	**Model 8 Men**
	(0.023)	(0.058)	(0.025)	(0.029)	(0.018)	(0.044)	(0.020)	(0.023)
Length of cohabitation	0.339	0.431	-0.110	-0.103	0.113	0.078	-0.375	-0.340
	(0.283)	(0.285)	(0.318)	(0.323)	(0.217)	(0.217)	(0.252)	(0.250)
Pre-school children	-0.021	-0.009	-0.031	-0.030	0.065 **	0.058 *	0.030	0.044 *
	(0.030)	(0.030)	(0.025)	(0.026)	(0.023)	(0.023)	(0.020)	(0.020)
Age	-0.275	-0.347	0.105	0.097	-0.135	-0.112	0.396 +	0.376 +
	(0.257)	(0.258)	(0.289)	(0.293)	(0.197)	(0.197)	(0.229)	(0.227)
Manager/professional	-0.317 ***	-0.282 ***	-0.044	-0.045	-0.069	-0.105 *	-0.035	-0.030
	(0.055)	(0.057)	(0.044)	(0.045)	(0.042)	(0.044)	(0.035)	(0.035)
N of children	0.069	0.083 +	-0.008	-0.010	0.039	0.011	0.014	0.004
	(0.047)	(0.048)	(0.038)	(0.039)	(0.036)	(0.037)	(0.031)	(0.030)
University diploma	0.215 *	0.207 *	0.021	0.020	-0.043	-0.036	-0.038	-0.055
	(0.086)	(0.086)	(0.100)	(0.102)	(0.066)	(0.066)	(0.079)	(0.079)
Working from home	0.020	0.023	0.002	0.004	0.067 ***	0.063 ***	0.008	0.004
	(0.024)	(0.024)	(0.025)	(0.025)	(0.018)	(0.018)	(0.020)	(0.020)
Housework equal (ref. more partner)		-0.007		-0.027		-0.102 **		0.037 +
		(0.048)		(0.025)		(0.036)		(0.019)
Housework more me		-0.054		-0.026		-0.101 **		-0.066
		(0.047)		(0.057)		(0.035)		(0.044)
Company-defined*Equal		-0.196 *		0.011		0.297 ***		0.012
		(0.094)		(0.042)		(0.072)		(0.032)
Autonomous*Equal		0.036		0.008		-0.059		-0.131 **
		(0.151)		(0.058)		(0.115)		(0.045)
Flexitime*Equal		-0.035		0.017		0.164 ***		-0.097 ***
		(0.062)		(0.036)		(0.047)		(0.028)
Company-defined*More me		-0.211 *		-0.016		0.278 ***		0.097
		(0.094)		(0.080)		(0.072)		(0.062)
Autonomous*More me		0.065		-0.023		-0.042		-0.036
		(0.150)		(0.142)		(0.115)		(0.110)
Flexitime*More me		0.036		0.013		0.169 ***		0.059
		(0.062)		(0.100)		(0.047)		(0.077)
R^2	0.034	0.036	0.009	0.010	0.022	0.032	0.017	0.046
Adj. R^2	-0.959	-0.977	-1.017	-1.046	-0.983	-0.985	-1.000	-0.971
Num. obs.	1412	1412	1094	1094	1412	1412	1094	1094

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Section 25. Random effects models

Table 44A. Pooled random-effects linear regression models for women and men. Dependent variables: work–to–life and life–to–work conflict. Pairfam data, waves 10 and 12, 2017/18 and 2019/20.

	Work–to–life conflict		Life–to–work conflict	
	Model 1	**Model 2**	**Model 3**	**Model 4**
(Intercept)	0.302 ***	0.303 ***	0.133 ***	0.142 ***
	(0.029)	(0.029)	(0.021)	(0.022)
Company-defined (Ref. Fixed)	0.074 ***	0.071 ***	0.001	-0.004
	(0.009)	(0.014)	(0.007)	(0.010)
Autonomous	0.036 **	0.049 **	0.015 +	-0.004
	(0.012)	(0.018)	(0.009)	(0.013)
Flexitime	0.001	-0.004	-0.001	-0.019 *
	(0.009)	(0.013)	(0.007)	(0.009)
Women	-0.034 ***	-0.036 **	-0.010 +	-0.025 **
	(0.008)	(0.011)	(0.006)	(0.008)
Length of cohabitation	-0.013	-0.014	-0.010	-0.009
	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.008)	(0.008)
Pre-school children	-0.014	-0.014	0.029 ***	0.029 ***
	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.007)	(0.007)
Age	0.010	0.010	0.002	0.003
	(0.034)	(0.034)	(0.025)	(0.025)
Manager/professional	0.045 ***	0.045 ***	0.013 +	0.015 *
	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.008)	(0.008)
N of children	-0.026 *	-0.026 *	0.004	0.005
	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.007)	(0.007)
University diploma	0.034 ***	0.034 ***	0.016 *	0.016 *
	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.006)	(0.006)
East	-0.004	-0.004	-0.002	-0.003
	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.008)	(0.008)
German Native	0.019 *	0.018 *	0.004	0.004
	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.006)	(0.006)
Cohort 1981-83	-0.011	-0.011	0.001	-0.000
	(0.024)	(0.024)	(0.018)	(0.018)
Cohort 1991-93	-0.050	-0.050	-0.016	-0.017
	(0.045)	(0.045)	(0.033)	(0.033)
Working from home	0.043 ***	0.044 ***	0.027 ***	0.028 ***
	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.007)	(0.007)
Company-defined*Women		0.005		0.008
		(0.019)		(0.014)
Autonomous*Women		-0.024		0.034 +
		(0.024)		(0.017)
Flexitime*Women		0.013		0.037 **
		(0.018)		(0.013)
R^2	0.095	0.095	0.046	0.048
Adj. R^2	0.091	0.091	0.042	0.043
Num. obs.	3962	3962	3962	3962

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Table 45A. Random-effects linear regression models for women and men separately. Dependent variable: work–to–life and life–to–work conflict. Pairfam data, waves 10 and 12, 2017/18 and 2019/20.

	Work–to–life conflict				Life–to–work conflict			
	Model 1 Women	**Model 2 Women**	**Model 3 Men**	**Model 4 Men**	**Model 5 Women**	**Model 6 Women**	**Model 7 Men**	**Model 8 Men**
(Intercept)	0.270 ***	0.333 ***	0.309 ***	0.331 ***	0.072 *	0.115 **	0.191 ***	0.189 ***
	(0.039)	(0.049)	(0.042)	(0.042)	(0.028)	(0.036)	(0.032)	(0.032)
Company-defined (Ref. Fixed)	0.076 ***	0.199 ***	0.067 ***	0.059 **	0.006	-0.140 ***	-0.005	-0.017
	(0.012)	(0.054)	(0.015)	(0.019)	(0.009)	(0.039)	(0.011)	(0.015)
Autonomous	0.016	0.088	0.063 **	0.069 **	0.026 *	-0.072	0.003	0.009
	(0.016)	(0.079)	(0.019)	(0.024)	(0.012)	(0.057)	(0.015)	(0.018)
Flexitime	-0.000	0.045	0.008	0.010	0.017 +	-0.078 *	-0.016	-0.012
	(0.013)	(0.044)	(0.014)	(0.017)	(0.009)	(0.032)	(0.010)	(0.013)
Length of cohabitation	-0.009	-0.004	-0.015	-0.016	-0.006	-0.006	-0.017	-0.017
	(0.015)	(0.014)	(0.019)	(0.019)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.014)	(0.014)
Pre-school children	-0.047 **	-0.046 **	0.002	0.003	0.033 **	0.032 **	0.028 *	0.030 **
	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.011)	(0.011)
Age	-0.009	-0.008	0.030	0.040	-0.049	-0.052	0.061	0.058
	(0.046)	(0.046)	(0.049)	(0.049)	(0.034)	(0.034)	(0.038)	(0.038)
Manager/professional	0.054 ***	0.050 ***	0.038 *	0.038 *	0.018 +	0.020 +	0.014	0.016
	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.011)	(0.011)
N of children	-0.044 **	-0.028 *	-0.002	-0.011	0.016 +	0.012	-0.006	-0.007
	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.012)	(0.012)
University diploma	0.040 ***	0.036 **	0.020	0.022	0.012	0.013	0.021 *	0.018 +
	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.010)	(0.010)
East	0.024	0.021	-0.036 *	-0.032 +	-0.001	-0.001	-0.006	-0.004
	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.018)	(0.018)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.013)	(0.013)
German Native	0.023 *	0.024 *	0.013	0.012	0.013	0.012	-0.009	-0.009
	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.010)	(0.010)
Cohort 1981-83	-0.027	-0.035	0.012	0.004	0.026	0.030	-0.032	-0.030
	(0.033)	(0.033)	(0.035)	(0.035)	(0.024)	(0.024)	(0.027)	(0.027)
Cohort 1991-93	-0.064	-0.071	-0.044	-0.059	0.051	0.053	-0.089 +	-0.084 +
	(0.061)	(0.061)	(0.065)	(0.065)	(0.045)	(0.045)	(0.050)	(0.050)
Working from home	0.067 ***	0.069 ***	0.020	0.020	0.041 ***	0.042 ***	0.015	0.014
	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.011)	(0.011)
Housework equal (ref. more partner)		-0.023		-0.038 *		-0.046 *		0.002
		(0.032)		(0.016)		(0.023)		(0.012)
Housework more me		-0.075 *		-0.026		-0.048 *		-0.023
		(0.031)		(0.036)		(0.022)		(0.027)

	Work–to–life conflict				Life–to–work conflict			
	Model 1 Women	**Model 2 Women**	**Model 3 Men**	**Model 4 Men**	**Model 5 Women**	**Model 6 Women**	**Model 7 Men**	**Model 8 Men**
Company-defined*Equal		-0.129 *		0.034		0.133 **		0.026
		(0.057)		(0.029)		(0.041)		(0.022)
Autonomous*Equal		-0.056		-0.018		0.097		-0.020
		(0.083)		(0.036)		(0.059)		(0.028)
Flexitime*Equal		-0.078 +		0.003		0.077 *		-0.022
		(0.047)		(0.024)		(0.035)		(0.018)
Company-defined*More me		-0.129 *		-0.037		0.162 ***		0.035
		(0.055)		(0.058)		(0.040)		(0.045)
Autonomous*More me		-0.087		-0.024		0.105 +		0.079
		(0.081)		(0.074)		(0.058)		(0.055)
Flexitime*More me		-0.029		-0.021		0.113 ***		0.126 **
		(0.046)		(0.056)		(0.034)		(0.042)
R^2	0.115	0.128	0.091	0.094	0.058	0.064	0.039	0.044
Adj. R^2	0.109	0.120	0.083	0.082	0.052	0.055	0.031	0.032
Num. obs.	2281	2281	1681	1681	2281	2281	1681	1681

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Section 26. Models with individual working hours

Table 46A. Linear regression models. Dependent variables: work–to–life and life–to–work conflict. Pairfam data, wave 12, 2019/20.

	Work–to–life conflict			Life–to–work conflict		
	Model 1 Pooled	**Model 2 Women**	**Model 3 Men**	**Model 4 Pooled**	**Model 5 Women**	**Model 6 Men**
(Intercept)	0.124 *	0.351 ***	0.135	0.091 *	0.090	0.071
	(0.063)	(0.098)	(0.104)	(0.046)	(0.073)	(0.076)
Company-defined (Ref. Fixed)	0.097 ***	-0.018	0.033	0.012	-0.171 **	-0.018
	(0.020)	(0.085)	(0.031)	(0.015)	(0.063)	(0.023)
Autonomous	0.079 **	-0.010	0.106 **	0.001	-0.101	0.019
	(0.024)	(0.095)	(0.035)	(0.018)	(0.070)	(0.026)
Flexitime	0.007	-0.034	0.022	-0.008	-0.109 *	-0.013
	(0.016)	(0.073)	(0.024)	(0.012)	(0.054)	(0.018)
Women	0.050 **			-0.034 **		
	(0.016)			(0.012)		
Length of cohabitation	-0.002	0.006	-0.021	0.015	0.014	0.013
	(0.013)	(0.016)	(0.023)	(0.010)	(0.012)	(0.017)
Pre-school children	0.009	-0.024	0.028	0.034 **	0.039 **	0.035 *
	(0.014)	(0.020)	(0.021)	(0.010)	(0.015)	(0.016)
Age	0.004	0.076	-0.038	-0.077	-0.113	-0.078
	(0.085)	(0.112)	(0.132)	(0.063)	(0.083)	(0.096)
Manager/professional	0.040 **	0.059 **	0.024	0.011	0.016	0.009
	(0.013)	(0.018)	(0.019)	(0.010)	(0.013)	(0.014)
N of children	-0.007	-0.005	-0.010	-0.002	-0.001	-0.007
	(0.007)	(0.010)	(0.012)	(0.005)	(0.007)	(0.009)
University diploma	0.025 *	0.024 +	0.022	0.023 **	0.017	0.029 *
	(0.011)	(0.015)	(0.017)	(0.008)	(0.011)	(0.013)
East	-0.016	-0.013	-0.009	0.002	-0.002	0.013
	(0.014)	(0.018)	(0.022)	(0.010)	(0.014)	(0.016)
German Native	0.038 ***	0.028 *	0.043 *	0.003	0.003	-0.004
	(0.010)	(0.013)	(0.017)	(0.008)	(0.010)	(0.012)
Cohort 1981-83	0.014	-0.055	0.058	0.048	0.059	0.065
	(0.056)	(0.076)	(0.087)	(0.042)	(0.056)	(0.064)
Cohort 1991-93	-0.021	-0.146	0.063	0.078	0.117	0.093
	(0.110)	(0.145)	(0.172)	(0.081)	(0.108)	(0.126)
Working from home	0.052 ***	0.064 ***	0.038 +	0.032 ***	0.052 ***	0.016
	(0.013)	(0.017)	(0.019)	(0.010)	(0.013)	(0.014)
Full-time (30hrs+)	0.144 ***	0.132 ***	0.100 **	-0.011	-0.007	0.015
	(0.013)	(0.015)	(0.037)	(0.010)	(0.011)	(0.027)
Company-defined*Women	-0.001			0.003		
	(0.027)			(0.020)		
Autonomous*Women	-0.078 *			0.030		
	(0.032)			(0.024)		
Flexitime*Women	-0.031			0.041 *		
	(0.023)			(0.017)		

	Work–to–life conflict			Life–to–work conflict		
	Model 1 Pooled	**Model 2 Women**	**Model 3 Men**	**Model 4 Pooled**	**Model 5 Women**	**Model 6 Men**
Housework equal (ref. more partner)		-0.079	-0.049 *		-0.055	-0.031 +
		(0.058)	(0.025)		(0.043)	(0.018)
More me		-0.105 +	-0.067		-0.056	0.046
		(0.057)	(0.064)		(0.043)	(0.047)
Company-defined*Equal		0.101	0.125 **		0.165 *	0.067 *
		(0.089)	(0.045)		(0.066)	(0.033)
Autonomous*Equal		-0.004	-0.020		0.104	-0.039
		(0.101)	(0.053)		(0.075)	(0.039)
Flexitime*Equal		-0.034	0.001		0.114 *	0.024
		(0.077)	(0.035)		(0.057)	(0.025)
Company-defined*More me		0.126	0.200 +		0.206 **	0.015
		(0.088)	(0.106)		(0.065)	(0.077)
Autonomous*More me		-0.002	0.013		0.141 +	0.050
		(0.097)	(0.101)		(0.072)	(0.074)
Flexitime*More me		0.028	0.051		0.161 **	0.074
		(0.075)	(0.085)		(0.056)	(0.062)
R^2	0.155	0.226	0.101	0.049	0.085	0.062
Adj. R^2	0.147	0.210	0.076	0.040	0.066	0.036
Num. obs.	2028	1160	868	2028	1160	868

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Section 27. Models with partners' working hours

Table 47A. Linear regression models for women and men. Dependent variable: work–to–life and life–to–work conflict. Pairfam data, wave 12, 2019/20.

	Work–to–life conflict			Life–to–work conflict		
	Model 1 Pooled	**Model 2 Women**	**Model 3 Men**	**Model 4 Pooled**	**Model 5 Women**	**Model 6 Men**
(Intercept)	0.267 ***	0.431 ***	0.174	0.112 *	0.101	0.103
	(0.069)	(0.123)	(0.108)	(0.050)	(0.087)	(0.080)
Company-defined (Ref. Fixed)	0.086 ***	0.021	0.034	0.013	-0.129 +	-0.007
	(0.024)	(0.110)	(0.037)	(0.017)	(0.078)	(0.028)
Autonomous	0.091 ***	-0.016	0.154 ***	0.007	0.041	0.037
	(0.027)	(0.141)	(0.040)	(0.020)	(0.100)	(0.030)
Flexitime	-0.009	-0.109	0.017	-0.016	-0.091	-0.023
	(0.018)	(0.097)	(0.027)	(0.013)	(0.069)	(0.020)
Women	-0.004			-0.029 *		
	(0.017)			(0.012)		
Length of cohabitation	-0.009	-0.003	-0.023	0.012	0.016	0.007
	(0.015)	(0.018)	(0.025)	(0.011)	(0.013)	(0.019)
Pre-school children	-0.029 +	-0.059 **	0.005	0.027 *	0.035 *	0.021
	(0.016)	(0.021)	(0.025)	(0.012)	(0.015)	(0.019)
Age	-0.033	0.074	-0.113	-0.022	-0.045	-0.033
	(0.094)	(0.123)	(0.146)	(0.068)	(0.088)	(0.109)
Manager/professional	0.058 ***	0.084 ***	0.031	0.012	0.020	0.010
	(0.014)	(0.020)	(0.021)	(0.010)	(0.014)	(0.016)
N of children	-0.021 **	-0.027 *	-0.010	0.004	0.005	-0.005
	(0.008)	(0.011)	(0.013)	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.010)
University diploma	0.021 +	0.024	0.010	0.021 *	0.015	0.025 +
	(0.012)	(0.016)	(0.019)	(0.009)	(0.011)	(0.014)
East	0.007	0.019	-0.013	0.003	-0.003	0.023
	(0.015)	(0.020)	(0.024)	(0.011)	(0.014)	(0.018)
German Native	0.046 ***	0.028 +	0.055 **	0.007	0.002	0.005
	(0.012)	(0.015)	(0.019)	(0.008)	(0.011)	(0.014)
Cohort 1981-83	0.031	-0.066	0.117	0.014	0.015	0.042
	(0.063)	(0.083)	(0.097)	(0.045)	(0.059)	(0.072)
Cohort 1991-93	0.014	-0.161	0.164	0.007	0.027	0.041
	(0.122)	(0.160)	(0.190)	(0.088)	(0.113)	(0.142)
Working from home	0.056 ***	0.077 ***	0.028	0.033 **	0.054 ***	0.012
	(0.014)	(0.019)	(0.021)	(0.010)	(0.014)	(0.016)
Partner Full-time (30hrs+)	-0.035 *	0.048	-0.022	0.002	-0.022	-0.003
	(0.014)	(0.030)	(0.019)	(0.010)	(0.021)	(0.014)
Company-defined*Women	0.025			0.001		
	(0.030)			(0.022)		
Autonomous*Women	-0.104 **			0.018		
	(0.036)			(0.026)		
Flexitime*Women	0.005			0.043 *		
	(0.025)			(0.018)		

	Work–to–life conflict			Life–to–work conflict		
	Model 1 Pooled	**Model 2 Women**	**Model 3 Men**	**Model 4 Pooled**	**Model 5 Women**	**Model 6 Men**
Housework equal (ref. more partner)		-0.094	-0.033		-0.007	-0.017
		(0.080)	(0.027)		(0.057)	(0.020)
More me		-0.146 +	-0.051		-0.002	0.049
		(0.079)	(0.065)		(0.056)	(0.048)
Company-defined*Equal		0.065	0.104 *		0.125	0.044
		(0.113)	(0.052)		(0.081)	(0.039)
Autonomous*Equal		-0.033	-0.073		-0.058	-0.064
		(0.147)	(0.059)		(0.104)	(0.044)
Flexitime*Equal		0.056	-0.005		0.090	0.030
		(0.101)	(0.038)		(0.072)	(0.028)
Company-defined*More me		0.093	0.103		0.161 *	-0.031
		(0.112)	(0.116)		(0.079)	(0.087)
Autonomous*More me		-0.009	-0.063		-0.013	0.032
		(0.143)	(0.101)		(0.102)	(0.076)
Flexitime*More me		0.114	0.045		0.138 *	0.084
		(0.099)	(0.087)		(0.070)	(0.065)
R^2	0.112	0.170	0.100	0.044	0.086	0.057
Adj. R^2	0.102	0.152	0.069	0.033	0.067	0.024
Num. obs.	1774	1089	685	1774	1089	685

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Section 28. Models for each item of Work–to–life and Life–to–work conflict

List of items

Work–to–life conflict:

1. Due to my professional, vocational training, or university workload, my personal life suffers.
2. Even when I am doing something with my friends, partner, or family, I often think about work.
3. After a stressful time at work, I find it difficult to relax at home and/or to enjoy my free time with others.
4. My work prevents me from doing things with my friends, partner, and family more than I'd like.

Life–to–work conflict

5. Because I am often stressed in my private life, I have problems concentrating on my work.
6. Because of my personal schedule, I often lack time to do my work.
7. The time I need for my partner, family, and friends keeps me from being more involved in my job, vocational training, or university education.
8. Conflicts in my personal life reduce my work performance.

Generally, the coefficients remain the same with some minor exceptions. For work–to–life conflict, the effect of an autonomous schedule is particularly pronounced for the measure related to strain-based conflict (Due to my professional, vocational training, or university workload, my personal life suffers, and I often think about work when being with the family). For life–to–work conflict, also the items related to strain-based conflicts are slightly more prevalent in some models (Because I am often stressed in my private life, I have problems concentrating on my work, and Conflicts in my personal life reduce my work performance). When looking at the effects of housework division, time-based measures also play a substantial role.

Table 48A. Results for Model 1 Work–to–life and for Model 3 for Life–to–work conflict, for 8 items.

	Work–to–life conflict				**Life–to–work conflict**			
	Pooled Model 1.1	**Pooled Model 1.2**	**Pooled Model 1.3**	**Pooled Model 1.4**	**Pooled Model 3.5**	**Pooled Model 3.6**	**Pooled Model 3.7**	**Pooled Model 3.8**
(Intercept)	0.349 ***	0.151 *	0.239 **	0.374 ***	0.062	0.100 +	0.038	0.089
	(0.087)	(0.074)	(0.080)	(0.090)	(0.060)	(0.052)	(0.065)	(0.065)

	Work–to–life conflict				Life–to–work conflict			
	Pooled Model 1.1	Pooled Model 1.2	Pooled Model 1.3	Pooled Model 1.4	Pooled Model 3.5	Pooled Model 3.6	Pooled Model 3.7	Pooled Model 3.8
Company-defined (Ref. Fixed)	0.108 ***	0.078 ***	0.088 ***	0.114 ***	0.003	-0.016	0.026 +	0.034 *
	(0.019)	(0.016)	(0.018)	(0.020)	(0.013)	(0.011)	(0.014)	(0.014)
Autonomous	0.024	0.069 ***	-0.003	0.037	-0.003	-0.000	0.024	0.047 *
	(0.024)	(0.021)	(0.023)	(0.025)	(0.017)	(0.015)	(0.018)	(0.018)
Flexitime	-0.004	-0.007	0.016	-0.009	0.001	-0.011	0.002	0.051 ***
	(0.017)	(0.015)	(0.016)	(0.018)	(0.012)	(0.010)	(0.013)	(0.013)
R^2	0.062	0.113	0.042	0.067	0.033	0.029	0.055	0.037
Adj. R^2	0.055	0.106	0.035	0.061	0.025	0.022	0.048	0.030
Num. obs.	2032	2032	2032	2032	2032	2032	2032	2032

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Table 49A. Results for Model 2 Work–to–life and for Model 4 for Life–to–work conflict, for 8 items.

	Work–to–life conflict				Life–to–work conflict			
	Pooled Model 2.1	Pooled Model 2.2	Pooled Model 2.3	Pooled Model 2.4	Pooled Model 4.5	Pooled Model 4.6	Pooled Model 4.7	Pooled Model 4.8
(Intercept)	0.354 ***	0.142 +	0.230 **	0.382 ***	0.079	0.110 *	0.047	0.094
	(0.087)	(0.074)	(0.080)	(0.090)	(0.060)	(0.052)	(0.065)	(0.065)
Company-defined (Ref. Fixed)	0.117 ***	0.041 +	0.061 *	0.127 ***	0.027	-0.059 ***	0.029	0.042 +
	(0.029)	(0.025)	(0.027)	(0.030)	(0.020)	(0.017)	(0.022)	(0.022)
Autonomous	0.056	0.125 ***	0.031	0.059 +	-0.018	-0.027	-0.000	0.045 +
	(0.034)	(0.029)	(0.032)	(0.036)	(0.024)	(0.021)	(0.026)	(0.026)
Flexitime	-0.015	0.002	0.028	-0.027	-0.030 +	-0.031 *	-0.014	0.042 *
	(0.023)	(0.020)	(0.021)	(0.024)	(0.016)	(0.014)	(0.017)	(0.017)
Women	-0.054 *	-0.012	0.010	-0.059 **	-0.048 ***	-0.058 ***	0.005	-0.017
	(0.021)	(0.018)	(0.019)	(0.022)	(0.014)	(0.013)	(0.016)	(0.016)
Company-defined*Women	-0.017	0.062 +	0.044	-0.022	-0.040	0.076 ***	-0.005	-0.014
	(0.038)	(0.033)	(0.035)	(0.040)	(0.026)	(0.023)	(0.029)	(0.029)
Autonomous*Women	-0.065	-0.107 **	-0.063	-0.046	0.024	0.049 +	0.046	0.002
	(0.046)	(0.039)	(0.043)	(0.048)	(0.032)	(0.028)	(0.034)	(0.035)
Flexitime*Women	0.028	-0.017	-0.024	0.043	0.069 **	0.040 *	0.031	0.021
	(0.033)	(0.028)	(0.030)	(0.034)	(0.022)	(0.020)	(0.024)	(0.024)
R^2	0.064	0.120	0.045	0.069	0.041	0.035	0.057	0.037
Adj. R^2	0.056	0.112	0.036	0.061	0.032	0.026	0.048	0.029
Num. obs.	2032	2032	2032	2032	2032	2032	2032	2032

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Table 50A. Results for Women, Model 1 Work–to–life and for Model 5 for Life–to–work conflict, for 8 items.

	Work–to–life conflict				Life–to–work conflict			
	Model 1.1	Model 1.2	Model 1.3	Model 1.4	Model 5.5	Model 5.6	Model 5.7	Model 5.8
(Intercept)	0.307 **	0.212 *	0.460 ***	0.360 **	0.094	-0.004	0.091	0.037
	(0.117)	(0.095)	(0.108)	(0.116)	(0.076)	(0.066)	(0.091)	(0.085)
Company-defined (Ref. Fixed)	0.096 ***	0.104 ***	0.104 ***	0.099 ***	-0.013	0.015	0.028	0.027
	(0.024)	(0.020)	(0.022)	(0.024)	(0.016)	(0.014)	(0.019)	(0.018)

	Work–to–life conflict				Life–to–work conflict			
	Model 1.1	**Model 1.2**	**Model 1.3**	**Model 1.4**	**Model 5.5**	**Model 5.6**	**Model 5.7**	**Model 5.8**
Autonomous	-0.029	0.004	-0.044	0.002	-0.000	0.015	0.039	0.048 *
	(0.032)	(0.026)	(0.030)	(0.032)	(0.021)	(0.018)	(0.025)	(0.023)
Flexitime	0.000	-0.024	-0.003	0.002	0.033 *	0.004	0.015	0.070 ***
	(0.024)	(0.019)	(0.022)	(0.024)	(0.016)	(0.014)	(0.019)	(0.017)
R^2	0.078	0.165	0.081	0.101	0.046	0.038	0.106	0.037
Adj. R^2	0.066	0.155	0.070	0.090	0.034	0.026	0.095	0.025
Num. obs.	1162	1162	1162	1162	1162	1162	1162	1162

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Table 51A. Results for Women, Model 2 Work–to–life and for Model 6 for Life–to–work conflict, for 8 items.

	Work–to–life conflict				Life–to–work conflict			
	Model 2.1	**Model 2.2**	**Model 2.3**	**Model 2.4**	**Model 6.5**	**Model 6.6**	**Model 6.7**	**Model 6.8**
(Intercept)	0.434 **	0.274 *	0.628 ***	0.542 ***	0.124	-0.025	0.140	0.101
	(0.141)	(0.115)	(0.131)	(0.141)	(0.092)	(0.080)	(0.109)	(0.103)
Company-defined (Ref. Fixed)	-0.002	-0.081	0.010	-0.071	-0.175 *	-0.075	-0.220 *	-0.209 *
	(0.125)	(0.102)	(0.115)	(0.125)	(0.081)	(0.070)	(0.096)	(0.091)
Autonomous	0.086	-0.122	0.028	0.074	-0.166 +	-0.054	-0.069	-0.119
	(0.138)	(0.113)	(0.128)	(0.138)	(0.090)	(0.078)	(0.107)	(0.101)
Flexitime	0.003	-0.115	0.009	-0.070	-0.098	-0.009	-0.203 *	-0.123
	(0.106)	(0.087)	(0.098)	(0.106)	(0.069)	(0.060)	(0.082)	(0.078)
Housework equal (ref. more partner)	-0.054	-0.042	-0.138 +	-0.163 +	-0.053	-0.002	-0.069	-0.087
	(0.085)	(0.069)	(0.079)	(0.085)	(0.055)	(0.048)	(0.066)	(0.062)
More me	-0.150 +	-0.099	-0.162 *	-0.198 *	-0.052	0.012	-0.089	-0.087
	(0.083)	(0.068)	(0.077)	(0.083)	(0.054)	(0.047)	(0.064)	(0.061)
Company-defined*Equal	0.047	0.157	0.108	0.135	0.149 +	0.079	0.197 +	0.238 *
	(0.130)	(0.106)	(0.121)	(0.130)	(0.085)	(0.074)	(0.101)	(0.095)
Autonomous*Equal	-0.208	0.131	-0.018	-0.099	0.185 +	0.035	0.036	0.165
	(0.147)	(0.120)	(0.136)	(0.147)	(0.096)	(0.083)	(0.114)	(0.108)
Flexitime*Equal	-0.077	0.052	-0.056	0.049	0.099	0.005	0.165 +	0.177 *
	(0.113)	(0.092)	(0.104)	(0.113)	(0.073)	(0.064)	(0.087)	(0.082)
Company-defined*More me	0.123	0.207 *	0.088	0.196	0.179 *	0.104	0.290 **	0.247 **
	(0.128)	(0.104)	(0.119)	(0.128)	(0.084)	(0.072)	(0.099)	(0.094)
Autonomous*More me	-0.089	0.126	-0.110	-0.077	0.164 +	0.091	0.141	0.174 +
	(0.142)	(0.116)	(0.132)	(0.142)	(0.093)	(0.080)	(0.110)	(0.104)
Flexitime*More me	0.028	0.113	0.004	0.082	0.156 *	0.017	0.258 **	0.213 **
	(0.109)	(0.089)	(0.101)	(0.109)	(0.071)	(0.062)	(0.085)	(0.080)
R^2	0.094	0.173	0.100	0.113	0.059	0.049	0.128	0.049
Adj. R^2	0.076	0.157	0.082	0.096	0.041	0.031	0.111	0.030
Num. obs.	1162	1162	1162	1162	1162	1162	1162	1162

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Table 52A. Results for Men, Model 3 Work–to–life and for Model 7 for Life–to–work conflict, for 8 items.

	Work–to–life conflict				Life–to–work conflict			
	Model 3.1	**Model 3.2**	**Model 3.3**	**Model 3.4**	**Model 7.5**	**Model 7.6**	**Model 7.7**	**Model 7.8**
(Intercept)	0.354 **	0.046	0.041	0.373 **	0.025	0.186 *	-0.005	0.151
	(0.131)	(0.116)	(0.120)	(0.141)	(0.095)	(0.083)	(0.092)	(0.102)
Company-defined (Ref. Fixed)	0.121 ***	0.045	0.057 *	0.126 ***	0.024	-0.061 **	0.032	0.042 +

	Work–to–life conflict				Life–to–work conflict			
	Model 3.1	**Model 3.2**	**Model 3.3**	**Model 3.4**	**Model 7.5**	**Model 7.6**	**Model 7.7**	**Model 7.8**
	(0.031)	(0.027)	(0.028)	(0.033)	(0.022)	(0.020)	(0.022)	(0.024)
Autonomous	0.089 *	0.151 ***	0.055	0.077 +	-0.007	-0.018	0.019	0.041
	(0.038)	(0.034)	(0.035)	(0.041)	(0.028)	(0.024)	(0.027)	(0.030)
Flexitime	0.010	0.021	0.044 +	-0.011	-0.022	-0.028 +	0.001	0.034 +
	(0.026)	(0.023)	(0.024)	(0.028)	(0.019)	(0.017)	(0.019)	(0.020)
R^2	0.056	0.100	0.036	0.045	0.034	0.034	0.027	0.043
Adj. R^2	0.040	0.085	0.020	0.030	0.018	0.018	0.011	0.027
Num. obs.	870	870	870	870	870	870	870	870

Table 53A. Results for Men, Model 4 Work–to–life and for Model 8 for Life–to–work conflict, for 8 items.

	Work–to–life conflict				Life–to–work conflict			
	Model 4.1	**Model 4.2**	**Model 4.3**	**Model 4.4**	**Model 8.5**	**Model 8.6**	**Model 8.7**	**Model 8.8**
(Intercept)	0.402 **	0.118	0.076	0.377 **	0.039	0.195 *	0.002	0.129
	(0.133)	(0.117)	(0.121)	(0.143)	(0.096)	(0.084)	(0.093)	(0.103)
Company-defined (Ref. Fixed)	0.072 +	0.044	-0.026	0.018	0.017	-0.079 **	-0.036	0.020
	(0.043)	(0.038)	(0.039)	(0.046)	(0.031)	(0.027)	(0.030)	(0.034)
Autonomous	0.112 *	0.167 ***	0.049	0.109 *	0.016	-0.010	0.012	0.056
	(0.049)	(0.043)	(0.045)	(0.053)	(0.036)	(0.031)	(0.034)	(0.038)
Flexitime	0.010	0.013	0.070 *	0.002	-0.011	-0.046 *	-0.016	0.023
	(0.034)	(0.030)	(0.031)	(0.036)	(0.025)	(0.021)	(0.024)	(0.026)
Housework equal (ref. more partner)	-0.056 +	-0.081 **	-0.029	-0.016	-0.014	-0.045 *	-0.049 *	-0.004
	(0.034)	(0.030)	(0.031)	(0.037)	(0.025)	(0.022)	(0.024)	(0.027)
More me	-0.098	-0.130 +	-0.036	-0.024	0.064	0.075	-0.022	0.059
	(0.090)	(0.079)	(0.082)	(0.096)	(0.065)	(0.057)	(0.062)	(0.070)
Company-defined*Equal	0.099	0.008	0.175 **	0.200 **	0.030	0.048	0.131 **	0.048
	(0.063)	(0.056)	(0.058)	(0.068)	(0.046)	(0.040)	(0.044)	(0.049)
Autonomous*Equal	-0.046	-0.008	0.030	-0.088	-0.068	-0.037	-0.032	-0.035
	(0.074)	(0.065)	(0.068)	(0.079)	(0.054)	(0.047)	(0.052)	(0.058)
Flexitime*Equal	0.004	0.022	-0.049	-0.019	-0.022	0.049	0.035	0.014
	(0.048)	(0.042)	(0.044)	(0.052)	(0.035)	(0.031)	(0.034)	(0.037)
Company-defined*More me	0.191	0.152	0.092	0.284 +	-0.119	-0.034	0.221 *	-0.013
	(0.146)	(0.129)	(0.134)	(0.157)	(0.106)	(0.093)	(0.102)	(0.114)
Autonomous*More me	0.005	-0.050	-0.027	0.017	-0.005	0.006	0.232 *	-0.043
	(0.140)	(0.123)	(0.127)	(0.150)	(0.101)	(0.088)	(0.097)	(0.108)
Flexitime*More me	0.080	0.133	-0.014	-0.014	0.034	-0.008	0.139 +	0.126
	(0.117)	(0.103)	(0.107)	(0.126)	(0.085)	(0.074)	(0.082)	(0.091)
R^2	0.066	0.120	0.054	0.063	0.049	0.052	0.064	0.056
Adj. R^2	0.042	0.097	0.030	0.038	0.024	0.028	0.040	0.032
Num. obs.	870	870	870	870	870	870	870	870

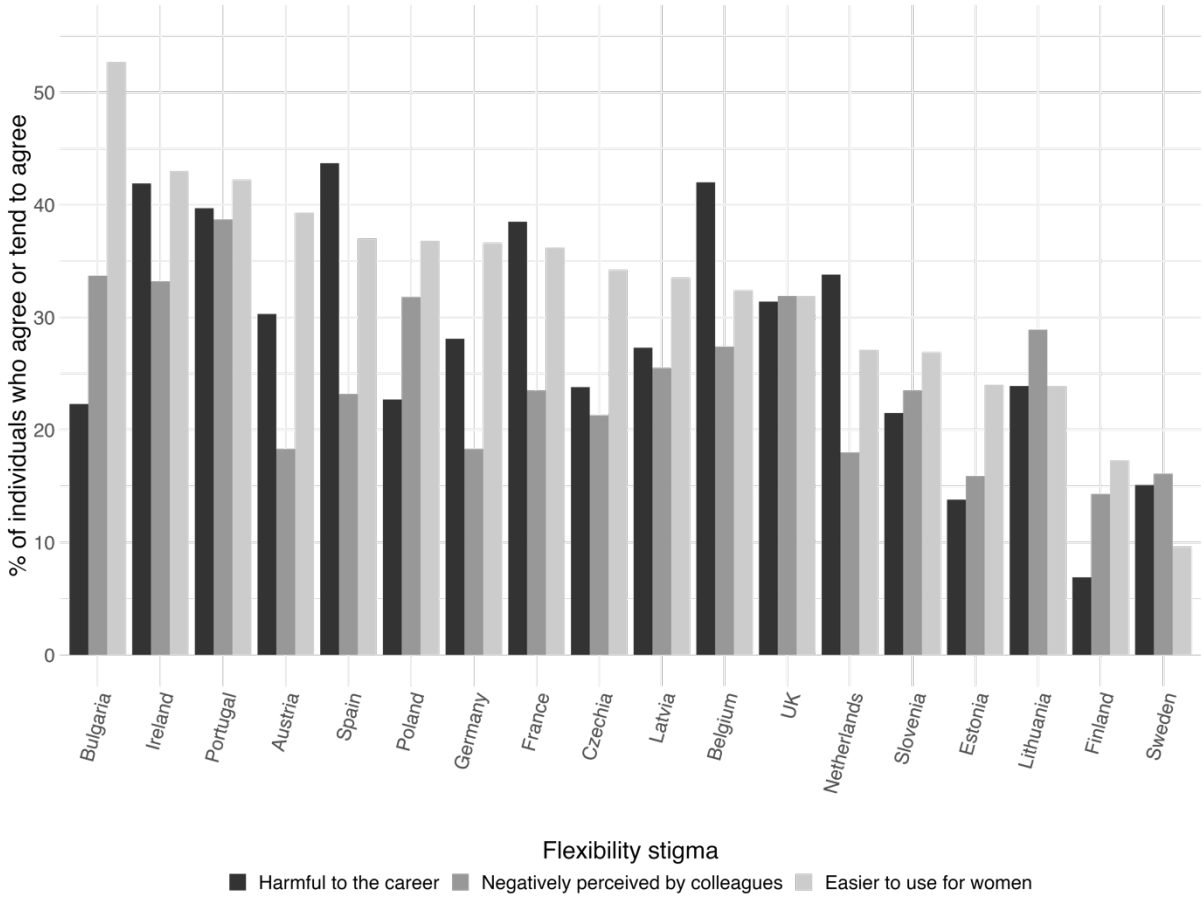
+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Section 29. Missing values

The initial sample consists of 59685 observations. First, I omit those who did not participate in paid employment in the last 7 days (27783 observations). Next, I removed those cases where individuals reported to be in community or military service, disabled, in education or retired (2900 observations). Then, I only kept employees (excluding 3685 in self-employment, 596 in the family business, and 203 missing). Several countries had to be excluded because there was no information on flexibility stigma. These are Iceland, Israel, Montenegro, North Macedonia, Norway, Serbia, and Switzerland (3542 observations). The most missing data occurs due to the variable working hours (1199 observations). There are a few missing values regarding the information on gender (57), education (147), migration status (28), having a child in the household (63), partnership status and partner's working status (63), occupation (1731), and flexible working time arrangements (463). I removed individuals who reported working 0 hours (130) and were in armed forces occupations, ISCO0 (48). Another restriction is due to a few cases of complete working time control arrangements in Cyprus (217), Greece (726), Hungary (734), Slovakia (414), and Italy (745), which are excluded. The final number of observations is 13660 individuals nested in 18 countries.

Section 30. Flexibility stigma. Descriptive figure

Figure 16A. Percentage of individuals who agree that flexibility is harmful to the career (black), negatively perceived by colleagues (dark grey) and easier to use for women than men (light grey) per country.



Section 31. Descriptive tables ESS

Table 54A. Descriptive statistics for women.

Country	N	Work hours usual	% Fixed schedule	% Some control	% Complete control	% High education	% Managers	% With children	% No partner	% Partner works	% Partner does not work	Age	% Migration status
Austria	348	34.3	30.2	48.2	21.6	42.3	61.5	35.3	22.4	67.2	10.4	44.9	11.6
Belgium	246	34.8	46.7	38.0	15.2	61.8	53.2	48.4	20.8	63.6	15.6	43.7	15.5
Bulgaria	478	41.0	73.1	22.9	4.0	38.5	32.6	37.4	27.9	60.9	11.3	46.1	1.0
Czechia	486	43.9	50.0	40.3	9.7	28.7	34.8	33.9	27.4	63.3	9.3	46.4	4.1
Estonia	354	41.1	35.9	46.9	17.2	56.8	61.4	42.5	35.0	54.1	10.9	45.6	9.3
Finland	276	36.6	29.5	51.3	19.2	62.8	63.5	44.3	28.6	60.4	11.0	44.7	2.9
France	411	37.2	49.2	36.7	14.1	46.2	44.7	46.8	31.1	57.8	11.1	44.6	14.8
Germany	1,573	32.7	29.2	49.0	21.7	33.0	58.6	34.6	26.8	62.5	10.8	46.4	10.6
Ireland	256	33.2	57.9	32.0	10.1	54.3	50.9	50.0	39.5	55.1	5.5	42.3	20.4
Latvia	181	39.6	44.0	44.0	12.0	55.2	62.2	32.2	33.5	55.4	11.1	48.7	8.6
Lithuania	303	40.8	51.3	37.0	11.6	66.4	57.8	38.5	26.9	62.3	10.9	45.4	2.5
Netherlands	307	30.6	41.5	39.5	19.0	49.1	62.1	40.6	24.2	70.5	5.3	44.1	8.5
Poland	316	40.3	49.9	44.8	5.3	54.4	62.4	43.9	28.4	62.1	9.5	42.5	0.3
Portugal	337	39.2	68.1	24.6	7.3	40.4	42.0	48.8	28.3	66.5	5.2	44.3	15.1
Slovenia	239	41.0	42.5	42.3	15.3	49.9	49.9	51.2	17.8	69.8	12.4	43.8	9.6
Spain	366	36.8	48.2	45.9	5.9	52.2	49.7	43.9	32.2	56.1	11.7	45.8	11.3
Sweden	410	39.9	27.9	58.6	13.5	61.7	73.0	48.6	25.9	66.1	8.0	43.5	11.2
United Kingdom	213	35.5	35.6	40.2	24.2	62.7	59.6	43.7	36.8	58.5	4.7	43.5	21.7

Table 55A. Descriptive statistics for men.

Country	N	Work hours usual	% Fixed schedule	% Some control	% Complete control	% High education	% Managers	% With children	% No partner	% Partner works	% Partner does not work	Age	% Migration status
Austria	324	41.9	22.7	44.6	32.7	38.4	59.0	35.8	24.2	61.2	14.6	45.6	13.6
Belgium	271	41.2	37.9	42.9	19.2	47.5	49.6	49.8	25.5	59.5	14.9	43.8	18.5
Bulgaria	463	43.8	72.4	24.0	3.5	28.4	31.0	37.0	27.0	55.3	17.7	43.6	0.1
Czechia	395	45.7	48.4	44.1	7.5	23.5	42.0	30.5	26.1	61.2	12.7	45.9	2.3
Estonia	305	43.2	29.7	45.4	24.9	29.7	37.1	41.8	32.7	51.4	16.0	42.6	9.1
Finland	275	39.8	13.0	58.4	28.6	49.8	59.1	39.7	28.3	63.2	8.6	45.3	4.5
France	408	40.9	41.5	42.8	15.7	37.8	45.8	49.1	26.1	56.8	17.1	44.6	16.0
Germany	1,560	41.1	25.1	51.1	23.8	37.7	55.1	38.0	23.9	60.6	15.5	45.7	11.3
Ireland	175	39.6	46.6	37.3	16.1	53.7	61.8	43.8	24.1	56.3	19.5	43.0	26.4
Latvia	130	38.9	32.8	58.2	8.9	37.7	41.4	38.2	29.1	57.2	13.8	45.1	3.8
Lithuania	191	41.5	53.3	38.3	8.4	46.6	44.2	38.7	27.9	55.0	17.1	42.9	2.8
Netherlands	314	40.0	25.4	54.5	20.1	44.7	61.4	42.5	25.6	63.2	11.2	44.5	8.2
Poland	334	43.6	40.8	50.5	8.7	43.0	60.2	44.1	24.1	59.9	16.0	42.8	0.0
Portugal	266	43.2	60.6	33.8	5.6	23.2	39.1	42.8	23.9	64.2	11.9	43.8	13.6
Slovenia	228	43.5	36.5	47.6	15.9	34.3	44.4	40.1	27.0	60.4	12.6	44.4	14.4
Spain	340	42.0	49.9	42.9	7.1	42.1	51.8	49.0	23.7	55.1	21.2	46.5	10.0
Sweden	403	41.2	22.2	60.8	16.9	43.5	58.4	51.7	23.0	64.3	12.7	43.5	12.3
United Kingdom	178	42.3	30.6	46.5	22.9	56.4	68.3	39.4	28.5	59.4	12.1	43.3	16.6

Section 32. Multilevel regression models.

Table 56A. Multilevel linear regression. Dependent variable: usual number of working hours. Item: flexible working is negatively perceived by colleagues.

	Model 1	**Model 2**	**Model 3**	**Model 4**	**Model 5**
Intercept	45.56 ***	45.20 ***	44.53 ***	46.08 ***	45.92 ***
	(1.58)	(1.59)	(1.59)	(1.60)	(1.61)
Some time control (not at all)	0.52 +	0.91 **	1.19 **	0.48 +	0.67 +
	(0.28)	(0.35)	(0.44)	(0.28)	(0.36)
Complete time control	1.53 *	2.55 ***	2.98 ***	1.44 *	2.54 ***
	(0.64)	(0.71)	(0.79)	(0.63)	(0.69)
Female (ref. Male)	-4.79 ***	-4.16 ***	-3.06 ***	-4.80 ***	-4.36 ***
	(0.20)	(0.32)	(0.40)	(0.20)	(0.33)
University diploma	0.87 ***	0.86 ***	0.86 ***	0.87 ***	0.83 ***
	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.24)
Prof. occupation	-0.18 ***	-0.17 ***	-0.17 ***	-0.18 ***	-0.18 ***
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Parent (Child under 18 in HH)	-1.32 ***	-1.32 ***	0.48	-1.32 ***	-1.34 ***
	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.49)	(0.24)	(0.24)
Partner non-working (ref. no partner)	0.62 +	0.61 +	0.32	0.62 +	0.63 +
	(0.35)	(0.35)	(0.36)	(0.35)	(0.35)
Partner working	-0.09	-0.09	-0.17	-0.09	-0.07
	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.24)
Age	0.34 ***	0.34 ***	0.35 ***	0.34 ***	0.34 ***
	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)
Age2	-0.00 ***	-0.00 ***	-0.00 ***	-0.00 ***	-0.00 ***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Migration background	-0.34	-0.35	-0.35	-0.35	-0.33
	(0.34)	(0.34)	(0.34)	(0.34)	(0.34)
Interview year 2022 (ref. 2021)	-2.00 *	-2.00 +	-1.97 +	-2.42 *	-2.45 *
	(1.02)	(1.02)	(1.02)	(1.06)	(1.07)
Female employment rate	-0.37 **	-0.37 **	-0.37 **	-0.28 +	-0.28 +
	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.15)	(0.15)
Flexibility negative by colleagues				0.04	-0.01
				(0.10)	(0.10)
Some control*Female		-0.71 +	-0.92 +		-0.34
		(0.43)	(0.56)		(0.44)
Complete control*Female		-2.03 ***	-1.99 **		-2.22 ***
		(0.59)	(0.77)		(0.62)
Female*Parent			-2.85 ***		
			(0.65)		
Some control**Female**Parent			0.78		
			(0.88)		
Complete control**Female**Parent			0.09		
			(1.20)		
Flexi negative colleagues*Female					0.09 *
					(0.04)
Flexi negative colleagues*Some control				0.03	0.01
				(0.04)	(0.05)
Flexi negative colleagues*Complete control				0.12	0.27 **
				(0.09)	(0.10)
Flexi negative colleagues*Some control*Female					0.07
					(0.06)
Flexi negative colleagues*Complete control*Female					-0.28 **
					(0.10)
AIC	107143.84	107135.19	107100.20	107157.69	107144.81
BIC	107301.80	107308.20	107310.82	107338.22	107362.95
Log Likelihood	-53550.92	-53544.60	-53522.10	-53554.85	-53543.40

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Num. obs.	13660	13660	13660	13660	13660
Num. groups: country	18	18	18	18	18
Var: country (Intercept)	6.17	6.18	6.34	6.18	6.20
Var: country some control	0.40	0.38	0.46	0.39	0.39
Var: country complete control	5.09	5.05	5.06	4.68	4.35
Cov: country (Intercept) some control	-1.19	-1.18	-1.31	-1.26	-1.26
Cov: country (Intercept) complete control	-2.73	-2.65	-2.86	-2.61	-2.48
Cov: country some control complete control	1.33	1.29	1.44	1.20	1.08
Var: Residual	130.11	130.02	129.68	130.12	129.84

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Table 57A. Multilevel linear regression. Dependent variable: usual number of working hours. Items: Flexible working is harmful to the career and is easier to use for women.

	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9
Intercept	44.70 ***	45.53 ***	44.33 ***	45.11 ***
	(1.73)	(1.62)	(1.76)	(1.63)
Some time control (not at all)	0.53 *	0.54 +	1.05 **	1.04 **
	(0.24)	(0.28)	(0.33)	(0.36)
Complete time control	1.56 **	1.81 ***	2.78 ***	3.15 ***
	(0.58)	(0.54)	(0.67)	(0.63)
Female (ref. Male)	-4.80 ***	-4.80 ***	-4.00 ***	-4.10 ***
	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.32)	(0.32)
University diploma	0.88 ***	0.87 ***	0.83 ***	0.80 ***
	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.24)
Prof. occupation	-0.18 ***	-0.18 ***	-0.16 ***	-0.17 ***
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Parent (Child under 18 in HH)	-1.32 ***	-1.31 ***	-1.33 ***	-1.31 ***
	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.24)
Partner non-working (ref. no partner)	0.61 +	0.61 +	0.55	0.56
	(0.35)	(0.35)	(0.35)	(0.35)
Partner working	-0.09	-0.09	-0.10	-0.09
	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.24)
Age	0.34 ***	0.34 ***	0.33 ***	0.34 ***
	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)
Age2	-0.00 ***	-0.00 ***	-0.00 ***	-0.00 ***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Migration background	-0.32	-0.34	-0.33	-0.34
	(0.34)	(0.34)	(0.34)	(0.34)
Interview year 2022 (ref. 2021)	-1.35	-2.03 +	-1.43	-2.01 +
	(1.17)	(1.05)	(1.18)	(1.05)
Female employment rate	-0.42 **	-0.39 *	-0.40 **	-0.39 *
	(0.14)	(0.18)	(0.14)	(0.18)
Flexibility negative for career	-0.13 *		-0.03	
	(0.06)		(0.07)	
Femininity stigma		-0.08		-0.07
		(0.08)		(0.08)
Some control*Female			-0.94 *	-0.91 *
			(0.43)	(0.44)
Complete control*Female			-2.37 ***	-2.57 ***
			(0.59)	(0.60)
Flexi negative career*Female			-0.17 ***	
			(0.03)	
Femininity stigma*Female				-0.02
				(0.03)
Flexi negative career*Some control	0.06 *		-0.00	
	(0.02)		(0.04)	
Flexi negative career*Complete control	0.11 +		0.11 +	
	(0.06)		(0.07)	

	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9
Femininity stigma*Some control		0.03		0.06
		(0.03)		(0.04)
Femininity stigma*Complete control		0.16 **		0.28 ***
		(0.05)		(0.06)
Flexi negative career*Some control*Female			0.09 *	
			(0.05)	
Flexi negative career*Complete control*Female			-0.04	
			(0.06)	
Femininity stigma*Some control*Female				-0.07 +
				(0.04)
Femininity stigma*Complete control*Female				-0.26 ***
				(0.06)
AIC	107158.01	107154.41	107123.92	107130.61
BIC	107338.54	107334.94	107342.06	107348.76
Log Likelihood	-53555.00	-53553.20	-53532.96	-53536.31
Num. obs.	13660	13660	13660	13660
Num. groups: country	18	18	18	18
Var: country (Intercept)	4.98	6.00	5.21	6.07
Var: country some control	0.04	0.47	0.14	0.48
Var: country complete control	3.80	2.81	4.07	3.07
Cov: country (Intercept) some control	-0.46	-1.19	-0.66	-1.23
Cov: country (Intercept) complete control	-1.50	-1.47	-1.69	-1.43
Cov: country some control complete control	0.14	1.04	0.68	1.08
Var: Residual	130.12	130.11	129.62	129.70

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Section 33. Sensitivity checks: multilevel models.

Table 58A. Multilevel linear regression. Dependent variable: usual hours as a share of contractual.

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9
Intercept	8.74 *	8.58 *	7.29 +	12.15 **	7.02 +	9.57 *	11.98 **	6.11	9.07 *
	(3.91)	(3.91)	(3.96)	(3.97)	(3.96)	(3.92)	(3.91)	(3.99)	(3.95)
Some time control (not at all)	1.09	0.56	1.73	1.04	0.78	1.07	0.55	0.26	0.32
	(1.10)	(1.43)	(1.77)	(1.05)	(1.13)	(1.12)	(1.39)	(1.48)	(1.47)
Complete time control	4.55 +	8.74 **	10.66 ***	4.76 +	4.33 *	4.82 +	9.28 **	9.56 ***	9.72 ***
	(2.42)	(2.73)	(3.10)	(2.55)	(2.18)	(2.54)	(2.86)	(2.62)	(2.90)
Female (ref. Male)	-1.24	-0.55	1.01	-1.27	-1.26	-1.26	-0.38	-0.38	-0.48
	(0.82)	(1.28)	(1.64)	(0.82)	(0.82)	(0.82)	(1.29)	(1.35)	(1.31)
University diploma	1.58	1.56	1.57	1.60	1.64 +	1.60	1.55	1.63 +	1.54
	(0.98)	(0.98)	(0.98)	(0.98)	(0.98)	(0.98)	(0.98)	(0.98)	(0.98)
Prof. occupation	-0.19	-0.18	-0.17	-0.19	-0.19	-0.19	-0.18	-0.17	-0.18
	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)
Child under 18 in HH	0.88	0.84	4.32 *	0.85	0.89	0.90	0.76	0.85	0.81
	(0.98)	(0.98)	(2.01)	(0.98)	(0.98)	(0.98)	(0.98)	(0.98)	(0.98)
Partner non-working (ref. no partner)	0.43	0.42	0.08	0.39	0.37	0.43	0.39	0.30	0.44
	(1.47)	(1.46)	(1.48)	(1.47)	(1.47)	(1.47)	(1.46)	(1.47)	(1.46)
Partner working	-2.35 *	-2.37 *	-2.47 *	-2.39 *	-2.39 *	-2.36 *	-2.36 *	-2.38 *	-2.33 *
	(1.00)	(1.00)	(1.00)	(1.00)	(1.00)	(1.00)	(1.00)	(1.00)	(1.00)
Age	-4.66	-4.44	-4.15	-4.32	-4.77	-4.65	-4.04	-4.71	-4.12
	(8.05)	(8.04)	(8.05)	(8.05)	(8.05)	(8.05)	(8.04)	(8.04)	(8.04)
Age2	6.80	6.52	6.23	6.48	6.88	6.78	6.06	6.78	6.15
	(8.23)	(8.22)	(8.23)	(8.23)	(8.23)	(8.23)	(8.22)	(8.22)	(8.22)
Migration background	2.63 +	2.63 +	2.61 +	2.51 +	2.62 +	2.60 +	2.54 +	2.68 +	2.60 +
	(1.41)	(1.41)	(1.41)	(1.41)	(1.41)	(1.41)	(1.41)	(1.41)	(1.41)
Interview year 2022 (ref. 2021)	2.66	2.43	2.45	0.06	4.25 +	2.17	-0.25	4.50 +	2.21
	(2.44)	(2.41)	(2.40)	(2.57)	(2.54)	(2.42)	(2.48)	(2.53)	(2.41)
Female employment rate	-3.77 +	-3.75 +	-3.77 +	-2.02	-5.43 *	-2.04	-1.96	-5.54 *	-2.11
	(2.17)	(2.14)	(2.13)	(2.04)	(2.39)	(2.77)	(1.97)	(2.37)	(2.76)
Flexibility negative for career				7.40 *			9.58 **		
				(2.98)			(3.29)		
Flexibility negative by colleagues					-3.88			-3.31	
					(3.25)			(3.52)	
Femininity stigma						2.01			2.39
						(3.68)			(3.93)
Some control*Female		1.38	0.87				1.40	1.30	1.68
		(1.77)	(2.31)				(1.78)	(1.83)	(1.81)
Complete control*Female		-8.58 ***	-10.40 **				-9.20 ***	-10.71 ***	-9.94 ***
		(2.46)	(3.20)				(2.47)	(2.59)	(2.51)
Female*Parent			-4.06						
			(2.63)						
Some control*_Female_*Parent			1.65						
			(3.61)						
Complete control*_Female_*Parent			4.59						
			(4.98)						
Flexi negative career*Female							-3.59		
							(2.58)		
Flexi negative colleagues*Female								-1.19	
								(2.43)	

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9
Femininity stigma*Female									-0.76
									(2.48)
Flexi negative career*Some control				-3.38 +			-7.55 **		
				(2.00)			(2.71)		
Flexi negative career*Complete control				1.07			3.52		
				(4.54)			(5.15)		
Flexi negative colleagues*Some control					0.77			-0.34	
					(2.15)			(2.84)	
Flexi negative colleagues*Complete control					9.10 *			14.87 **	
					(4.24)			(5.16)	
Femininity stigma*Some control						0.52			-1.99
						(2.17)			(2.83)
Femininity stigma*Complete control						2.91			9.19
						(4.92)			(5.66)
Flexi negative career*Some control*Female							8.03 *		
							(3.53)		
Flexi negative career*Complete control*Female							-6.17		
							(4.95)		
Flexi negative colleagues*Some control*Female								2.14	
								(3.56)	
Flexi negative colleagues*Complete control*Female								-11.53 *	
								(5.41)	
Femininity stigma*Some control*Female									5.01
									(3.46)
Femininity stigma*Complete control*Female									-13.22 *
									(5.28)
AIC	125259.98	125240.68	125227.11	125247.02	125248.67	125252.66	125210.79	125215.07	125214.51
BIC	125415.04	125410.51	125433.85	125424.23	125425.87	125429.87	125424.92	125429.20	125428.63
Log Likelihood	-62608.99	-62597.34	-62585.55	-62599.51	-62600.33	-62602.33	-62576.40	-62578.54	-62578.25
Num. obs.	11892	11892	11892	11892	11892	11892	11892	11892	11892
Num. groups: country	17	17	17	17	17	17	17	17	17
Var: country (Intercept)	36.36	36.71	36.49	28.26	33.65	38.46	27.75	33.49	38.52
Var: country some control	5.31	4.93	4.91	3.53	5.57	5.82	3.03	5.85	6.13
Var: country complete control	62.57	64.28	63.60	73.58	43.10	69.07	75.82	49.58	74.54
Cov: country (Intercept) some control	-13.42	-13.45	-13.39	-9.51	-12.46	-14.72	-9.17	-12.53	-15.03
Cov: country (Intercept) complete control	-15.48	-14.37	-13.98	-25.71	-2.19	-21.10	-25.13	-1.32	-22.00
Cov: country some control complete control	10.21	5.26	5.13	12.71	7.21	11.38	8.31	8.07	12.65
Var: Residual	1933.21	1930.63	1930.68	1933.05	1933.33	1933.36	1929.28	1929.91	1929.25

Table 59A. Multilevel linear regression. Dependent variable: usual number of working hours. Flexibility stigma is measured as the average level of agreement.

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Intercept	44.28 ***	46.19 ***	45.51 ***	43.87 ***	45.86 ***	45.10 ***
	(1.90)	(1.72)	(1.63)	(1.92)	(1.73)	(1.64)
Some time control (not at all)	0.54 *	0.50 +	0.53 +	1.03 **	0.89 *	1.03 **
	(0.24)	(0.27)	(0.29)	(0.32)	(0.35)	(0.37)
Complete time control	1.59 **	1.50 *	1.75 **	2.79 ***	2.73 ***	3.07 ***
	(0.59)	(0.63)	(0.54)	(0.65)	(0.69)	(0.63)
Female (ref. Male)	-4.79 ***	-4.79 ***	-4.79 ***	-4.06 ***	-4.15 ***	-4.11 ***
	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.32)	(0.32)	(0.32)
University diploma	0.88 ***	0.87 ***	0.87 ***	0.81 ***	0.85 ***	0.80 ***
	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.24)
Prof. occupation	-0.18 ***	-0.18 ***	-0.18 ***	-0.16 ***	-0.17 ***	-0.17 ***
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Child under 18 in HH	-1.32 ***	-1.31 ***	-1.31 ***	-1.32 ***	-1.31 ***	-1.30 ***
	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.24)
Partner non-working (ref. no partner)	0.61 +	0.62 +	0.61 +	0.53	0.59 +	0.57
	(0.35)	(0.35)	(0.35)	(0.35)	(0.35)	(0.35)
Partner working	-0.09	-0.09	-0.09	-0.11	-0.09	-0.09
	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.24)
Age	0.34 ***	0.34 ***	0.34 ***	0.33 ***	0.34 ***	0.34 ***
	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)
Age2	-0.00 ***	-0.00 ***	-0.00 ***	-0.00 ***	-0.00 ***	-0.00 ***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Migration background	-0.33	-0.35	-0.34	-0.33	-0.33	-0.33
	(0.34)	(0.34)	(0.34)	(0.34)	(0.34)	(0.34)
Interview year 2022 (ref. 2021)	-1.08	-2.47 *	-1.99 +	-1.10	-2.50 *	-1.99 +
	(1.29)	(1.16)	(1.06)	(1.30)	(1.16)	(1.06)
Female employment rate	-0.42 **	-0.30 +	-0.40 *	-0.42 **	-0.29 +	-0.39 *
	(0.14)	(0.16)	(0.18)	(0.14)	(0.16)	(0.18)
Flexibility negative for career	-5.70 *			-1.63		
	(2.78)			(2.91)		
Flexibility negative by colleagues		0.77			1.01	
		(4.15)			(4.31)	
Femininity stigma			-2.80			-2.36
			(2.70)			(2.78)
Some control*Female				-0.88 *	-0.70	-0.91 *
				(0.43)	(0.44)	(0.44)
Complete control*Female				-2.24 ***	-2.37 ***	-2.51 ***
				(0.59)	(0.61)	(0.60)
Flexi negative career*Female				-7.23 ***		
				(1.36)		
Flexi negative colleagues*Female					-0.22	
					(1.99)	
Femininity stigma*Female						-0.62
						(1.17)
Flexi negative career*Some control	2.29 *			0.56		
	(0.99)			(1.39)		
Flexi negative career*Complete control	4.43 +			4.31		
	(2.33)			(2.63)		
Flexi negative colleagues*Some control		1.57			1.04	
		(1.67)			(2.19)	
Flexi negative colleagues*Complete control		4.86			9.84 *	
		(3.67)			(4.13)	
Femininity stigma*Some control			0.93			2.25 +
			(1.04)			(1.32)
Femininity stigma*Complete control			5.54 **			9.58 ***
			(1.93)			(2.27)
Flexi negative career*Some control*Female				2.48		
				(1.87)		
Flexi negative career*Complete control*Female				-1.29		
				(2.61)		
Flexi negative colleagues*Some control*Female					1.06	
					(2.79)	

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Flexi negative colleagues*Complete control*Female					-10.32 *	
					(4.05)	
Femininity stigma*Some control*Female						-2.95 +
						(1.57)
Femininity stigma*Complete control*Female						-8.83 ***
						(2.31)
AIC	107135.50	107135.97	107133.36	107067.99	107113.32	107088.95
BIC	107316.03	107316.50	107313.90	107286.13	107331.46	107307.10
Log Likelihood	-53543.75	-53543.98	-53542.68	-53504.99	-53527.66	-53515.48
Num. obs.	13660	13660	13660	13660	13660	13660
Num. groups: country	18	18	18	18	18	18
Var: country (Intercept)	4.98	6.26	6.06	5.10	6.27	6.13
Var: country some control	0.04	0.37	0.50	0.04	0.34	0.51
Var: country complete control	3.85	4.67	2.86	3.78	4.46	3.10
Cov: country (Intercept) some control	-0.42	-1.18	-1.24	-0.48	-1.17	-1.27
Cov: country (Intercept) complete control	-1.57	-2.48	-1.59	-1.52	-2.35	-1.52
Cov: country some control complete control	0.13	1.20	1.10	0.14	1.09	1.13
Var: Residual	130.12	130.12	130.11	129.51	129.97	129.71

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Table 60A. Multilevel linear regression. Dependent variable: usual number of working hours. Flexibility stigma is measured as the perception of individuals in managerial occupations.

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Intercept	44.43 ***	46.26 ***	45.53 ***	43.97 ***	45.65 ***	44.85 ***
	(1.55)	(1.62)	(1.68)	(1.57)	(1.60)	(1.69)
Some time control (not at all)	0.57 *	0.52 +	0.56 *	1.08 ***	0.75 *	0.99 **
	(0.24)	(0.29)	(0.28)	(0.33)	(0.34)	(0.33)
Complete time control	1.61 **	1.51 *	1.86 **	2.77 ***	2.50 ***	3.12 ***
	(0.57)	(0.67)	(0.57)	(0.65)	(0.71)	(0.62)
Female (ref. Male)	-4.80 ***	-4.79 ***	-4.79 ***	-4.06 ***	-4.29 ***	-4.14 ***
	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.32)	(0.32)	(0.32)
University diploma	0.87 ***	0.87 ***	0.88 ***	0.80 ***	0.82 ***	0.82 ***
	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.24)
Prof. occupation	-0.18 ***	-0.18 ***	-0.18 ***	-0.17 ***	-0.18 ***	-0.17 ***
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Child under 18 in HH	-1.32 ***	-1.32 ***	-1.32 ***	-1.34 ***	-1.34 ***	-1.32 ***
	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.24)
Partner non-working (ref. no partner)	0.62 +	0.62 +	0.61 +	0.56	0.62 +	0.57
	(0.35)	(0.35)	(0.35)	(0.35)	(0.35)	(0.35)
Partner working	-0.09	-0.09	-0.09	-0.09	-0.09	-0.09
	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.24)
Age	0.34 ***	0.34 ***	0.34 ***	0.33 ***	0.34 ***	0.34 ***
	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)
Age2	-0.00 ***	-0.00 ***	-0.00 ***	-0.00 ***	-0.00 ***	-0.00 ***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Migration background	-0.32	-0.33	-0.34	-0.34	-0.34	-0.35
	(0.34)	(0.34)	(0.34)	(0.34)	(0.34)	(0.34)
Interview year 2022 (ref. 2021)	-1.24	-2.63 *	-2.04 +	-1.20	-2.35 *	-1.82 +
	(1.03)	(1.09)	(1.08)	(1.04)	(1.07)	(1.08)
Female employment rate	-0.44 ***	-0.30 *	-0.36 *	-0.44 **	-0.34 *	-0.39 *
	(0.13)	(0.15)	(0.18)	(0.13)	(0.14)	(0.18)
Flexibility negative for career	-0.13 **			-0.06		
	(0.04)			(0.05)		
Flexibility negative by colleagues		0.09			0.04	
		(0.09)			(0.09)	
Femininity stigma			-0.04			-0.04
			(0.06)			(0.06)
Some control*Female				-0.92 *	-0.39	-0.82 +
				(0.43)	(0.44)	(0.44)
Complete control*Female				-2.20 ***	-1.96 **	-2.40 ***
				(0.59)	(0.62)	(0.60)
Flexi negative career*Female				-0.14 ***		
				(0.03)		
Flexi negative colleagues*Female					0.07 +	

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
					(0.04)	
Femininity stigma*Female						-0.01
						(0.02)
Flexi negative career*Some control	0.05 *			0.02		
	(0.02)			(0.03)		
Flexi negative career*Complete control	0.10 *			0.12 *		
	(0.04)			(0.05)		
Flexi negative colleagues*Some control		-0.00			-0.07 +	
		(0.04)			(0.04)	
Flexi negative colleagues*Complete control		0.05			0.11	
		(0.09)			(0.09)	
Femininity stigma*Some control			0.02			0.04
			(0.02)			(0.03)
Femininity stigma*Complete control			0.12 **			0.21 ***
			(0.04)			(0.05)
Flexi negative career*Some control*Female				0.04		
				(0.04)		
Flexi negative career*Complete control*Female				-0.07		
				(0.05)		
Flexi negative colleagues*Some control*Female					0.16 **	
					(0.06)	
Flexi negative colleagues*Complete control*Female					-0.09	
					(0.09)	
Femininity stigma*Some control*Female						-0.06 +
						(0.03)
Femininity stigma*Complete control*Female						-0.18 ***
						(0.05)
AIC	107154.52	107159.30	107157.16	107102.34	107136.78	107148.29
BIC	107335.05	107339.83	107337.69	107320.48	107354.93	107366.44
Log Likelihood	-53553.26	-53555.65	-53554.58	-53522.17	-53539.39	-53545.15
Num. obs.	13660	13660	13660	13660	13660	13660
Num. groups: country	18	18	18	18	18	18
Var: country (Intercept)	3.72	5.77	6.31	3.92	5.78	6.08
Var: country some control	0.07	0.48	0.44	0.07	0.15	0.13
Var: country complete control	3.55	5.50	3.37	3.63	4.72	2.81
Cov: country (Intercept) some control	-0.22	-1.17	-1.26	-0.30	-0.92	-0.88
Cov: country (Intercept) complete control	-0.94	-2.66	-1.88	-1.05	-2.30	-1.30
Cov: country some control complete control	0.49	1.48	1.11	0.47	0.37	0.19
Var: Residual	130.11	130.11	130.10	129.42	129.75	129.83

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

7. Department of History, Sociology, Sport Science and Empirical Educational Research
7a. History and Sociology

Affirmation in lieu of oath according to § 6 of the Doctoral Regulations of the University of Konstanz (Anlage 1 Promotionsordnung)

1. The doctoral thesis on the topic
The Unequal Flexibility Paradox: How Context Shapes Work-Life Boundaries and Inequality

is entirely my own work.

2. ☒ I have used only the sources and aids indicated, and have not received assistance from unauthorized third parties. In particular, texts or ideas that were obtained from other works have been identified as such.

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3. ☒ The work or parts of the work ~~have already been~~/have never been [1] submitted to an institute of higher education in Germany or abroad as part of an examination or qualification procedure.

Title of the work:

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4. ☒ I hereby affirm that the above statements are true and correct.
5. ☒ I am aware of the significance of the affirmation in lieu of oath and the consequences under the penal code of giving an incorrect or incomplete affirmation in lieu of oath.

I hereby affirm that I have stated the truth to the best of my knowledge and have concealed nothing.

Konstanz, 10.06.2025 _____

place and date **(signature)**

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