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GENDER AND FAMILY PERSPECTIVES ON THE UPTAKE OF ICT-INDUCED HOME-BASED WORK

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Gender and family perspectives on the uptake of ICT-induced home-based work

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Abstract: This article examines how men and women exploited the work location flexibility enabled by ICT in the context of their family obligations prior to the Covid-19 pandemic. We use the 2015 European Working Conditions Survey for 30 European countries and estimate a set of multinomial logistic regression models, with the dependent variable measuring the frequency of home-based work. We find that when using ICT at work, men were more likely to work from home, both occasionally and more frequently whereas women were more likely to engage in sporadic home-based work but less likely to do so frequently. These results are particularly true for parents, except for single mothers of young children. As single mothers cannot rely on partners' support in combining paid work and care, the advantages of home-based telework (time savings, flexible time organization) outweigh the negative consequences of this work arrangement.

Keywords: family, gender, home-based telework, ICT use, remote work, teleworkers

JEL codes: J12, J13, J16, J21

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1. Introduction

The outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic in Europe (early 2020) has led millions of workers in the EU to switch from on-site work to home-based telework (HBTW). This unprecedented shift toward remote working was not observed during the previous pandemics (e.g. SARS or MERS) in any of the affected countries and it was largely possible thanks to the widespread availability of the Internet and the advancement of modern information and communication technologies (ICT). In 2021, one in four workers in the EU performed their job at home at least occasionally and in many old EU member states the incidence of HBTW exceeded 40% (Eurostat). For comparison, this number was only 15% before the outbreak of the pandemic and 10% two decades earlier. Many argue that HBTW is here to stay and is predicted to become a norm in the working lives of many employees (Barrero, Bloom, and Davis 2021; Ozimek 2020). Given these developments, there is clearly an urgent need to get a deeper understanding of various aspects of HBTW, including basic questions about who is most likely to engage in this mode of work.

Indeed, research on the incidence of HBTW and its consequences has been flourishing since the outbreak of the pandemic (Brugiavini et al. 2022; Hjálmsdóttir and Bjarnadóttir 2021; Hoenig and Wenz 2021; Miglioretti et al. 2022; Raile et al. 2021; Reichelt, Makovi, and Sargsyan 2021). These studies, however, provide knowledge on the situation from the times of the pandemic, which was a unique time when workers not only switched from onsite to home-based work but often also had to simultaneously take care of their children, support them in online schooling and/or undertake other precautionary measures to avoid catching and spreading the virus. The evidence on the incidence of HBTW prior to the pandemic is much scarcer though, despite research on consequences and challenges related to new work arrangements enabled by ICT development. In this study, we aim to fill this research gap and shed more light on who in Europe exploited the workplace flexibility enabled by the ICT shortly before the pandemic, when only a handful of workers made use of HBTW and when the topic attracted much less attention among scholars. We are especially interested in exploring the gap between men and women in their engagement in home-based telework in the context of their family obligations. In our view, understanding the determinants of the uptake of HBTW prior to the pandemic is vital for drawing potential predictions of how likely men and women will be to engage in this mode of work in the future.

In our definition of HBTW, we follow the work of Sullivan (2003) who described HBTW as remote work, conducted at home, which involves the use of ICT. Our key hypothesis is that women, and mothers in particular, might have exploited the workplace flexibility granted by the ICT differently than men since they derived different benefits but also experienced different consequences of the use of this mode of working. On the one hand, women might have been more likely than men to use ICT in order to work from home as this form of work may have helped them to better combine paid work with family obligations (Sullivan and Lewis 2001; Hilbrecht et al. 2008) and continue working after childbirth (Edwards and Field-Hendrey 2002). On the other hand, women may have avoided exploiting the workplace flexibility granted by ICT because of the various negative consequences that HBTW entails. These include a greater risk of paid work interfering with the family life (Demeroutti et al. 2014), higher expectations to perform housework during working hours (Ammons and Markham 2004) or negative consequences for careers and diminished promotion opportunities (Munch 2016).

Our study is based on the 2015 European Working Conditions Survey. We show that before the Covid-19 outbreak women in Europe were on average less likely to HBTW than men, in particular in a more frequent manner. What is more, women who worked with ICT were more likely to work from home than those who did not. A reverse pattern was observed for men. This finding is true regardless of occupational and sectoral differences between men and women and the available flexibility that is provided by employers. The observed gender difference was especially evident among parents. The only exception are the single mothers of young children who were more likely to frequently work from home when using ICT at work. We conclude that women might have been hesitant to use HBTW before the outbreak of the pandemic - when this mode of working was not common - likely because they were afraid of its negative consequences, either for their work-life balance or professional careers. At the same time, the ICT-induced home-based work could have been helpful for a specific group of mothers, like single mothers of young children, who may have had no other option of combining paid work and care than to perform home-based work and who may have been obliged to work for pay for financial reasons.

2. Theoretical background

One of the major advantages of HBTW is the employee-oriented flexibility that comes with it. Such flexibility concerns the physical location of working (flexiplace) and often the ability to adjust

the timing of working (flexitime). It is particularly important for parents as it allows them to combine pursuing professional careers with childcare obligations. Parents who work from home usually can more easily adapt the working hours to the family needs than their office-based counterparts, e.g. by performing paid work when children are in daycare / school, are taken care of by another person or when they sleep (Hilbrecht et al., 2008; Chung and Van der Lippe 2020; Powell and Craig 2015). They also have a chance to be more present in their children's lives even if children are looked after by somebody else or are old enough to manage on their own without direct supervision (Callister and Singley 2004). Finally, HBTW allows workers to save time as they do not have to commute, experience fewer workplace interruptions, and perform paid work in parallel to other, often household-related tasks (e.g. laundry, cooking) (Hill et al, 2003; Bailey and Kurland 2002; Powell and Craig 2015). All in all, the use of ICT and subsequent flexibility which can result from it, may help working parents to be present in the labor market (Edwards and Field-Hendrey 2002; Chung and van der Horst 2018), achieve better work-life balance (Gajendran and Harrison 2007; Allen at al. 2013) and be more productive at work (Angelici and Profeta 2020).

Despite numerous advantages, HBTW may also pose some risks to workers, particularly if they use this mode of work in a more frequent manner. New technologies can, in fact, increase work-family conflict because they create pressure on employees to remain connected to work anytime and anywhere, thereby blurring the boundaries between paid and unpaid work (Demerouti et al. 2014, Baines and Gelder 2003, Baruch 2002). Second, HBTW may also lead to higher intensification of paid work or overtime (Green et al. 2021). Employees who have the possibility to use ICT to work from home may use it in order to take work home to finish it in the evening or over the weekend (Eurofound-ILO 2017; Glass and Noonan 2008; Powell and Craig 2015). They are also exposed to a possibility of being contacted by their supervisors, work colleagues or clients outside of the standard working hours with urgent requests or questions. The flexibility offered by the ICT may thus go hand in hand with a feeling of being constantly available and required to work around the clock (Demerouti et al. 2014), and higher level of stress (Mann and Holdsworth 2003). It has also been argued that workers who are granted permission to work from home, may work harder or longer than their office-based counterparts in order to compensate for the lack of their physical presence in the workplace or get noticed (Felstead and Henseke 2017; Kelliher and Anderson 2010). Finally, HBTW can have negative consequences to workers' professional careers. Even though this work arrangement can help persons with care obligations to remain

employed, workers who HBTW risk being less visible and recognized at work due to their diminished physical presence in the workplace (Demerouti et al. 2014; Srivastava 2011). There is evidence that home-based teleworkers are given fewer mentoring opportunities and experience less informal learning (Cooper and Kurland 2002; Martinez and Gomez 2013). Home-based teleworkers may also experience a 'flexibility stigma' which is a belief that workers who engage in flexible working arrangements are less productive and committed to the workplace (Williams et al. 2013; Chung and van der Horst 2018). Several empirical studies found that home-based workers are less likely to be promoted (Bloom et al. 2014; Munsch 2016; Fernandez-Lozano et al. 2019) and experience lower salary growth (Golden and Eddleston 2020; Kouki and Sauer 2020). These negative consequences of HBTW for workers' careers are particularly pronounced if this work arrangement is used frequently with most of the working days spent at home (Golden and Veige 2005).

Because in contemporary Europe the division of paid and unpaid work continues to be gendered (Baxter and Tai 2016; Oláh, Vignoli, and Kotowska 2020), women and men may experience the advantages and disadvantages of HBTW differently. Varying engagements in the professional and personal sphere by men and women may shape their choices whether to use the workplace flexibility enabled by the ICT or rather avoid it. This can also largely depend on workers' family situation, in particular parenthood and partnership status. On the one hand, women, especially mothers of young children, may be more likely than men to use HBTW as it can help them to better combine paid work with family obligations. Qualitative studies provided evidence supporting this argument, and indicate that mothers who work from home choose to do so mainly to accommodate paid work to family demands (Sullivan and Lewis 2001; Bailey and Kurland 2002; Hilbrecht et al. 2008). Using time use data, Powell and Craig (2015) demonstrated that women who work from home spend the time saved on commuting on additional childcare-related tasks. Other studies have shown that home-based work can also help women to remain in employment after they become mothers (Edwards and Field-Hendrey 2002), work longer hours (Arntz et al. 2022) or return to work after birth on a full-time basis (Chung and van der Horst 2018). Among mothers, single mothers may be most likely to make use of HBTW in order to combine paid work and care. Past research demonstrated that single mothers experience much stronger tensions between paid work and childcare than couple mothers since they are both main care providers and breadwinners (Nomaguchi 2012; Van den Eynde, Vercruyssen, and Mortelmans 2019). It was also

shown that flexible work schedules tend to reduce the work-family conflict and stress more strongly among single than couple mothers (Minnotte 2012; Jang et al 2012). All in all, it is likely that women, and (single) mothers in particular, will be more inclined than men to take advantage of the workplace flexibility (i.e. work from home) when using the ICT at work and engage in this mode of work more[1].

On the other hand, women, especially mothers, may also prefer to avoid HBTW. Past research has demonstrated that women who regularly and frequently worked from home experienced many interruptions from their family members and consequently had more fragmented working times, multitasked more frequently and worked late in the evening (Powell and Craig 2015; Hill et al. 2003). These studies did not find evidence that similar working time patterns were present among men who worked from home. In fact, men seem to be able to separate themselves from family matters by creating physical barriers (e.g. shutting the door) when working from home, which is something that women cannot do as they are seen as the primary caregivers (Martucci 2021). Subsequently, it has been hypothesized that men seek home-based work in order to avoid workplace interruptions and thus increase their productivity levels, leading to better employment outcomes (Lott and Chung 2016; Eurofound-ILO 2017). Furthermore, women may refrain from HBTW to avoid the situation in which they are expected to provide even more housework or care work during work hours than they would have to provide if they worked on-site (Ammons and Markham 2004). Finally, there is also evidence that women, and particularly mothers, who work from home suffer career penalties and are less visible at work, receive fewer training opportunities and are less likely to be promoted in comparison to men (Kasperska 2021; Munsch 2016). Women more than men may thus avoid HBTW as the adverse consequences related to the use of this work arrangement may outweigh its benefits (Donnelly and Proctor-Thomson 2015).

All in all, from the theoretical point of view it remains unclear how gender and family status (parenthood and partnership status) prior to the pandemic affected the use of the ICT-driven workplace flexibility. Recent evidence suggests that shortly before the pandemic women more often than men worked in occupations which could be performed from home (Arntz, Ben Yahmed, and Berlingieri 2020; Garrote Sanchez et al. 2021; Sostero et al. 2020), but large scale European

[1] The same arguments should apply to single fathers who similarly to single mothers are faced with a need of combining care with paid work. Existing evidence for single fathers is, however, scarce – presumably because single fatherhood, while increasing, is still much less common than single motherhood

surveys for the EU show rather minor differences in home-based work by gender. For instance, data from the 2015 Labour Force Survey suggest that men worked from home slightly more often than women (13.2% versus 12.7%). Arntz, Ben Yahmed, and Berlingieri (2020) found that women in Germany were indeed less likely to work from home than men as long as they did not have children. Finally, Felstead and Reuschke (2020) showed that women and men not only differ in whether they work from home or not but also how frequently they make use of this possibility, with women making use of frequent home-based work on an everyday basis while men do so occasionally. Nonetheless, these findings concern the use of home-based work in general rather than home-based work enabled by ICT. Little is also known about how gender or family situation moderate the engagement in the HBTW, with the extant literature showing rather inconclusive evidence. For example, based on the European Working Condition Survey for 2015 - López-Igual and Rodríguez-Modroño (2020) found no gender differences in engagement in HBTW and unclear evidence for parenthood status. Whereas, according to the survey data from the Netherlands from the early 2000s, women were less likely to have access to HBTW (Peters and van der Lippe 2007) and less often worked from home when using ICT at work (Van Klaveren et al. 2005). Based on 2001 survey data for six countries - Britain, Bulgaria, Germany, Israel, Italy, Norway – Haddon and Brynin (2005) also found that HBTW was more prevalent among men than among women, but women were more likely to perform work from home without the use of ICT. Similarly, in Sweden, where the majority of teleworkers perform their work from home, women were found to be slightly underrepresented among teleworkers (Vilhelmson and Thulin 2016). Finally, Peters, Tijdens and Wetzels (2004) demonstrated lower willingness to HBTW among Dutch parents.

The aim of this study is to fill the gap in the literature and expand knowledge on the engagement in HBTW by men and women working in Europe. Our contributions are threefold. First, in comparison to previous studies we investigate the use of HBTW by women and men in the context of their family obligations, taking into account their parenthood and partnership status. Second, we account for the frequency of HBTW use, differentiating between occasional and frequent HBTW use. Finally, we distinguish between the ICT-induced and other forms of home-based work while the majority of previous studies focused solely on home-based work (HBW) in general. We find this differentiation important as most of the future increase in home-based work will be driven by ICT.

3. Methods

We use data from the 2015 European Working Condition Survey (EWCS), which is a cross-sectional dataset with unique and detailed information on work conditions in Europe. In 2015, the survey was carried out in 35 European countries (27 EU member states, 5 EU candidate countries, Switzerland, Norway, and the UK). For our analysis, we select a sample of full-time and part-time employees aged 25-50 and residing in 27 EU member states plus Switzerland, Norway, and the UK. This gives us a total of 17,652 individuals (53% women).

The distinct feature of the EWCS is that it collects information on the location in which the work is performed, accounting for the frequency with which each location is being used. More precisely, individuals are asked how often they have worked in an employer's own business premises, own home, clients' premises, an outside site, public spaces or a car, and another vehicle. The possible answers are recorded on a 5-scale: (1) daily, (2) several times a week, (3) several times a month, (4) less often, (5) never. Based on this question we constructed a new variable that we refer to as HBW. This is a categorical variable with 3 levels: (1) never, (2) less often than several times a month and several times a month, (3) several times a week and daily. We focus specifically on HBW versus on-site work, i.e., we drop from the analysis individuals that report working from locations other than home and employer's premises (1,635 observations are being dropped reducing the sample to 16,017). We also exclude individuals reporting occupations in armed forces and in agriculture and those working in extraterritorial organizations and bodies (293 observations). The final sample consists thus of 15,724 individuals (54.7% women).

Since we are particularly interested in HBTW, which is defined as home-based work that is possible thanks to the use of ICT, we also specify the measure of the ICT use at work. We define working with ICT as a dummy variable (=1) if an employee works approximately three-quarters of the time or more with the use of computers, laptops, smartphones, etc.[2] In the first step we are interested in examining the gender differences in ICT-induced home-based work. To this end, we estimate the model of the following form:

$$HBW_i = \alpha_0 + \alpha(female * ICT) + \beta X_i + \varepsilon_i \qquad \text{(Eq 1)}$$

[2] Our results are robust to a less strict definition of ICT which is based on the cut-off at half of the time instead of three quarters.

Because the HBW measure is defined as a categorical variable with 3 levels, we estimate multinomial logit model. Our primary interest is in the interaction term of the female dummy and the measure of ICT use at work. We control for respondents' family situation, i.e. number of children below 6 years old, number of older children, the presence of a partner and his/her working hours, and number of other household members. We also account for a series of variables which describe workers' job conditions and which determine whether the job can be performed from home (such as supervisory position, sector of work, sector of the economy measured by 1-digit NACE codes, and occupations measured by 1-digit ISCO codes[3]) and whether it offers work schedule flexibility which may affect workers' propensity to seek or avoid additional flexibility (such as an indicator for part-time work, an indicator for the working hours flexibility). Finally we control for workers' age and education level. Summary statistics for the variables used in the analysis are presented in Table 1. All regressions that we estimate include country fixed effects. Standard errors are clustered at the country level.

In the second step, we look more closely into how family status moderates the gender differences in ICT-induced home-based work. To this end, we estimate the model presented in Eq1 allowing for a triple interaction between the ICT use at work, gender and parenthood status. We first measure the parenthood status with a dummy variable (=1) if the employee has children. We next use a more detailed categorical variable of parenthood status which additionally considers the age of the youngest child. It assumes 4 categories: (1) no children, (2) parent with the youngest child aged below 6, (3) parent with the youngest child aged 6-12, (4) parent with the youngest child aged above 12. In the final step, we additionally account for the partnership status and estimate the model presented in Eq 1 but instead of interacting the ICT variable with gender, we interact it with parent and partnership status. This model is estimated only for women as the model for men did not reach convergence due to low number of single fathers.

[3] Because we drop from the analysis individuals reporting occupations in armed forces and in agriculture, our final set of variables describing occupations consists of eight occupational groups.

Table 1. Summary statistics

Variable	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
	All		Women		Men	
HBW frequency						
Never	0.754	0.431	0.763	0.426	0.744	0.436
Less than several times a month or several times a month	0.157	0.364	0.146	0.353	0.170	0.376
Several times a week or daily	0.089	0.285	0.092	0.289	0.086	0.280
ICT (=1 if works three-quarters of the time or more with the use of ICT)	0.456	0.498	0.480	0.500	0.427	0.495
Female (=1 if female)	0.548	0.498	1.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Age						
25-32	0.257	0.437	0.249	0.433	0.267	0.442
33-39	0.275	0.446	0.269	0.444	0.281	0.449
40-45	0.252	0.434	0.262	0.440	0.240	0.427
46-50	0.216	0.412	0.220	0.414	0.212	0.409
Education level						
Less than secondary	0.106	0.308	0.099	0.298	0.115	0.319
Secondary	0.487	0.500	0.462	0.499	0.517	0.500
Tertiary	0.407	0.491	0.439	0.496	0.368	0.482
Spouse (=1 if present)	0.672	0.470	0.666	0.472	0.680	0.467
Partner's work hours	20.380	21.082	24.167	22.024	15.797	18.894
Number of children <6 y.o	0.251	0.546	0.233	0.517	0.274	0.577
Number of children >=6 y.o	0.748	0.973	0.855	0.994	0.619	0.930
Number of other HH members	0.279	0.757	0.248	0.711	0.317	0.808
Supervisory position (=1 if yes)	0.155	0.362	0.124	0.330	0.193	0.395
Sector of work						
Private	0.667	0.471	0.609	0.488	0.736	0.441
Public	0.275	0.447	0.328	0.469	0.211	0.408
Other	0.058	0.234	0.063	0.243	0.052	0.222
Part-time work (=1 if yes)	0.174	0.380	0.255	0.436	0.076	0.266
Occupation						
Legislators, senior officials and managers	0.069	0.254	0.059	0.236	0.081	0.273
Professionals	0.209	0.407	0.240	0.427	0.173	0.378
Technicians and associate professionals	0.154	0.361	0.160	0.367	0.147	0.354
Clerks	0.129	0.336	0.169	0.375	0.081	0.273
Service workers and shop and market sales workers	0.188	0.391	0.229	0.420	0.138	0.345
Craft and related trades workers	0.103	0.304	0.030	0.169	0.193	0.394
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	0.083	0.276	0.034	0.181	0.143	0.350
Elementary occupations	0.063	0.243	0.080	0.271	0.043	0.204
Available flexibility provided by an employer: working time arrangements						
WT set by the company	0.654	0.476	0.656	0.475	0.651	0.477
Can choose bt several fixed working schedules	0.085	0.279	0.094	0.291	0.075	0.263
Can adapt working hours within certain limits	0.212	0.409	0.207	0.405	0.219	0.414
Entirely determined by myself	0.049	0.216	0.044	0.205	0.055	0.227
Sector of the economy (NACE)						
Agriculture, forestry and fishing, mining and quarrying	0.009	0.096	0.005	0.073	0.014	0.118
Manufacturing	0.153	0.360	0.104	0.305	0.212	0.408
Electricity, gas, steam and air conditioning supply, Water supply; sewerage, waste management and remediation activities	0.015	0.120	0.006	0.080	0.024	0.154

Construction	0.049	0.215	0.015	0.122	0.089	0.285
Wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles	0.160	0.366	0.174	0.379	0.143	0.350
Transportation and storage	0.055	0.228	0.029	0.169	0.086	0.280
Accommodation and food service activities	0.052	0.222	0.053	0.224	0.050	0.219
Information and communication	0.032	0.177	0.019	0.137	0.048	0.214
Financial and insurance activities, real estate activities	0.046	0.209	0.049	0.216	0.042	0.201
Professional, scientific and technical activities	0.044	0.205	0.049	0.215	0.038	0.192
Administrative and support service activities	0.052	0.222	0.055	0.228	0.049	0.215
Public administration and defence; compulsory social security	0.062	0.241	0.058	0.233	0.067	0.250
Education	0.106	0.308	0.143	0.350	0.061	0.239
Human health and social work activities	0.121	0.326	0.182	0.386	0.047	0.212
Arts, entertainment and recreation, activities of households and other	0.045	0.207	0.058	0.233	0.029	0.169
Number of observations	15,724		8,609		7,115	

Source: Own calculation based on the EWCS dataset by Eurofound.

4. Results

4.1. Gender gap in the engagement in home-based telework

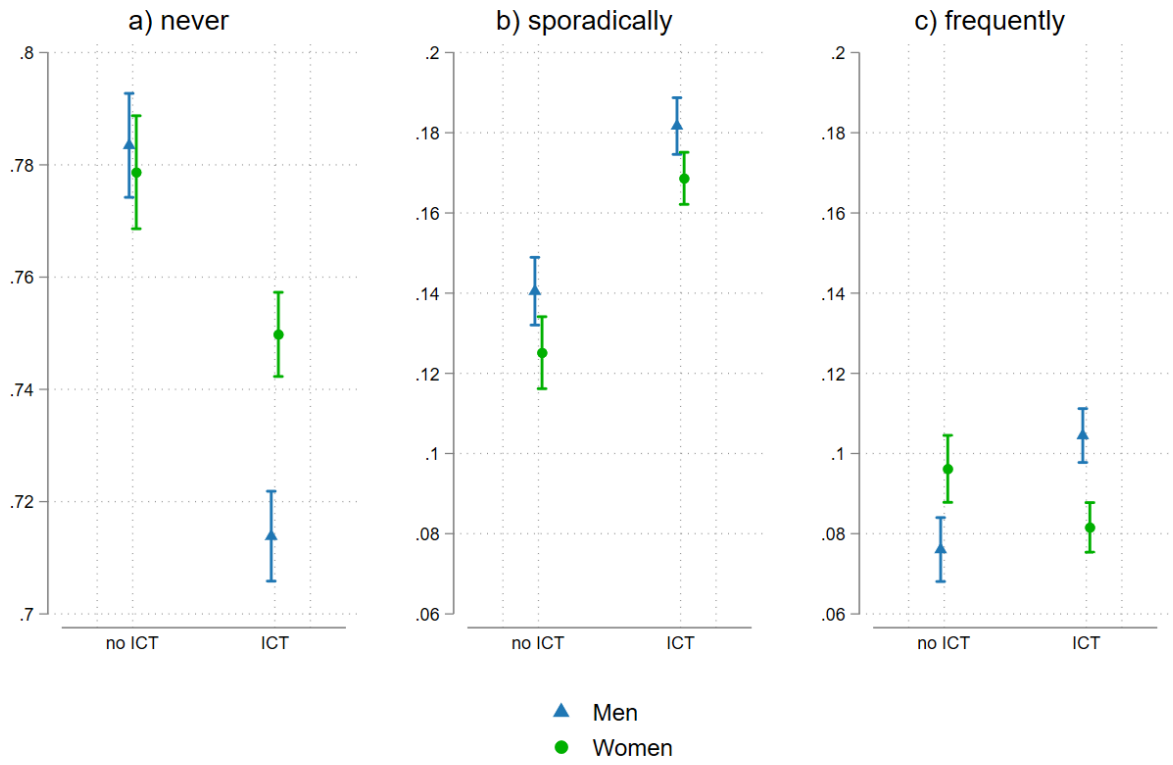
We first discuss the findings on gender differences in HBTW. These findings come from the estimation of the Eq 1. To ease the interpretation we present predicted probabilities of working from home obtained for four categories: (1) women working without ICT, (2) women working with ICT, (3) men working without ICT, (4) men working with ICT. We present 83% confidence intervals (CIs), instead of the standard 95% CIs, as it was demonstrated that nonoverlapping 83% CIs imply a difference between two probabilities to be significant at 0.05 (Austin & Hux 2002). Full model estimates are presented in the Appendix (Table 1).

Our findings clearly indicate that persons who use ICT at work are more likely to work from home than those who do not, which is indicated by predicted probabilities for the category 'never' of the HBW variable (Figure 1a). It is also evident that women and men differently exploit the workplace flexibility that is possible thanks to the ICT. Among persons who use ICT at work women are clearly less likely to work from home compared to men and this gender gap amounts to 3.6 percentage points (defined as a difference in the predicted probability of never working from home when using ICT at work: for women (0.75) and for men (0.714)). There is no gender difference in HBW among those who do not use ICT at work.

Moving from the HBW use to HBW frequency, we find the gender gap in HBTW among men and women who work from home frequently (at the level of 2.3 percentage points) (Figure

1c) but not among men and women who sporadically engage in HBTW (Figure 1b). Women and men clearly differently exploit the workplace flexibility that is possible thanks to ICT. Men who use ICT at work are more likely to work from home sporadically as well as frequently than men who do not use ICT. Women also have higher probability to work from home sporadically but are less likely to work from home frequently if they use ICT at work compared to the situation in which they do not. Thus, in contrast to men, ICT use at work by women is negatively related to the probability of working from home at least several times a week.

Figure 1. Predicted probabilities of working from home by gender and the ICT use at work



Source: Own calculation based on the EWCS dataset by Eurofound.

Notes to Figure 1: Predicted probabilities are derived based on the estimation results presented in Appendix Table 1. Confidence intervals represent 83% confidence intervals. 'Sporadically' refers to work from home performed less than several times a months and several times a month, 'frequently' refers to work from home performed several times a week and daily.

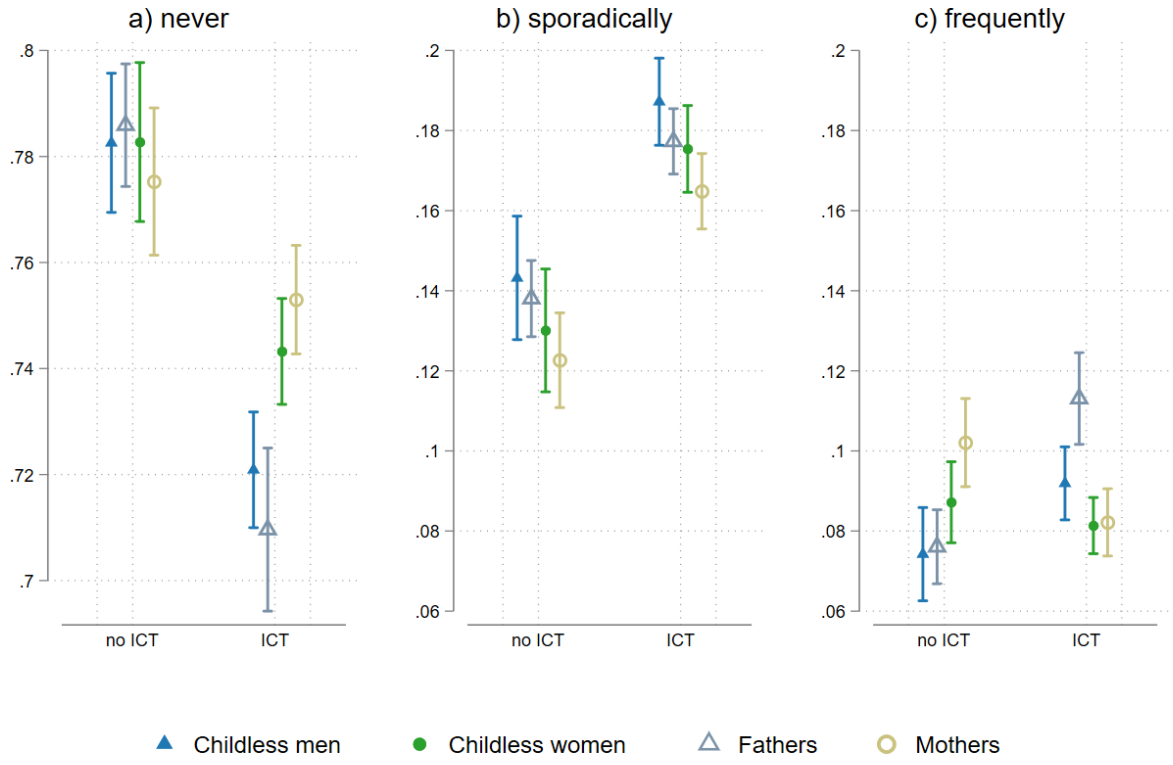
4.2. Gender gap in the engagement in home-based telework in the context of family obligations

In the second step, we investigated whether parenthood moderates the use of HBTW among women and men. We again present our findings graphically (Figures 2) and full model estimates that include a triple interaction between the ICT use at work, gender and parenthood status are presented in Table 2 in the Appendix.

We find that there is no difference in the probability of working from home between parents and childless – both men and women - when they do not use ICT at work (Figure 2a). There emerges, however, a clear gender difference in how parents exploit the workplace flexibility granted by ICT. While fathers are clearly more likely to work from home when they use ICT at work (compared to fathers who do not use ICT), the probability of working from home among mothers does not depend on whether they use ICT at work or not. This finding is achieved net of woman's job characteristics, such as her occupation or sector of work, which means that we account for the fact that women or mothers may choose jobs which do not allow for performing work at home (e.g. in the care sector or education). In contrast to parents, ICT use among the childless is clearly related to higher probability of working from home among both women and men. As a result, the gender gap in HBTW turns out to be almost twice smaller among childless individuals (2.2 percentage points) than among parents (4.3 percentage points).

The findings on HBW frequency demonstrate that the differential behaviors of mothers and fathers, when it comes to teleworking, result mainly from gender differences in the *frequent* exploitation of the workplace flexibility granted by ICT. Both, women and men, are more likely to work from home sporadically (less often than several times a month and several times a month) when they use ICT, irrespectively of their parenthood status (Figure 2b). A completely different pattern is observed for frequent use of home-based work. Namely, while fathers are also more likely to work from home frequently if they use ICT at work, mothers are less likely to do so (Figure 2c). All in all, these findings demonstrate that mothers, in contrast to fathers, avoid using the workplace flexibility granted by ICT on a frequent basis. The estimated 4.3 percentage point gender gap in HBTW among parents is thus mainly driven by the gender gap in frequent HBTW among parents.

Figure 2. Predicted probabilities of working from home by gender, the ICT use at work, and parent status

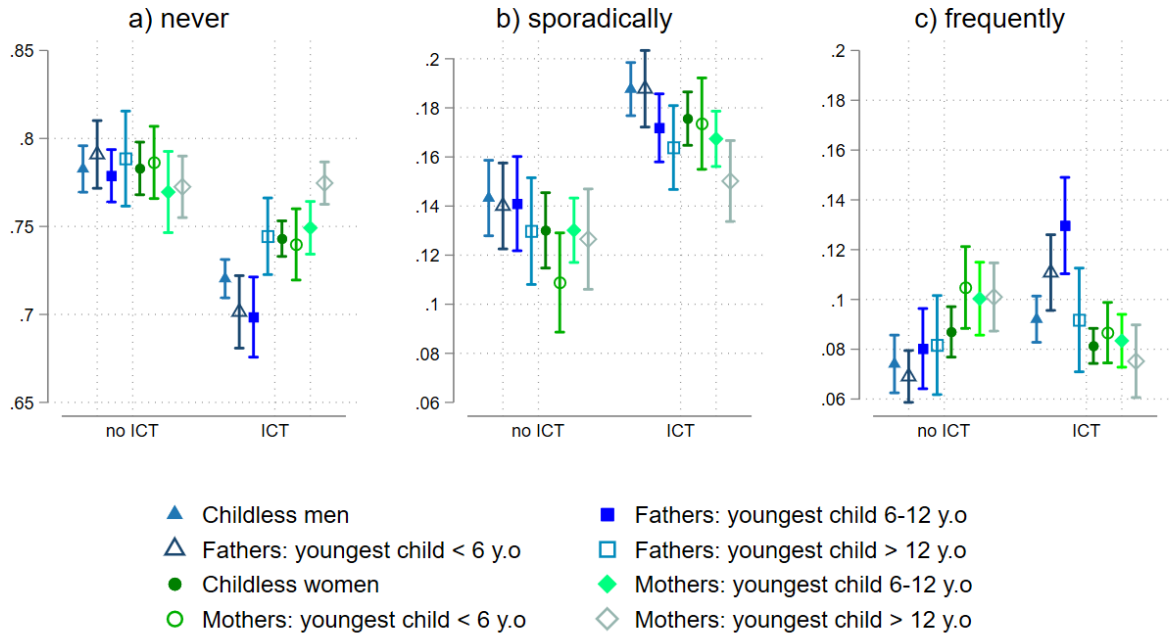


Source: Own calculation based on the EWCS dataset by Eurofound.

Notes to Figure 2: Predicted probabilities are derived based on the estimation results presented in Appendix Table 2. Confidence intervals represent 83% confidence intervals. 'Sporadically' refers to work from home performed less than several times a months and several times a month, 'frequently' refers to work from home performed several times a week and daily.

Since having young children places particularly strong demands on working parents, we also examined whether the behaviors of parents in terms of ICT use at work and HBW depend on the age of the youngest child (Figure 3a-c and Appendix Table 3). It appears that age of the youngest child does not affect the use and frequency of HBTW of mothers. For men we find that fathers of older children (aged >12) do not use the workplace flexibility that is possible thanks to ICT at work which is in contrast to fathers of smaller children. Based on these findings we conclude that there is no evidence for the statement that women with young children are more likely to exploit the workplace flexibility granted by ICT than mothers of older children or fathers.

Figure 3. Predicted probabilities of working from home by gender, the ICT use at work, and age of the youngest child

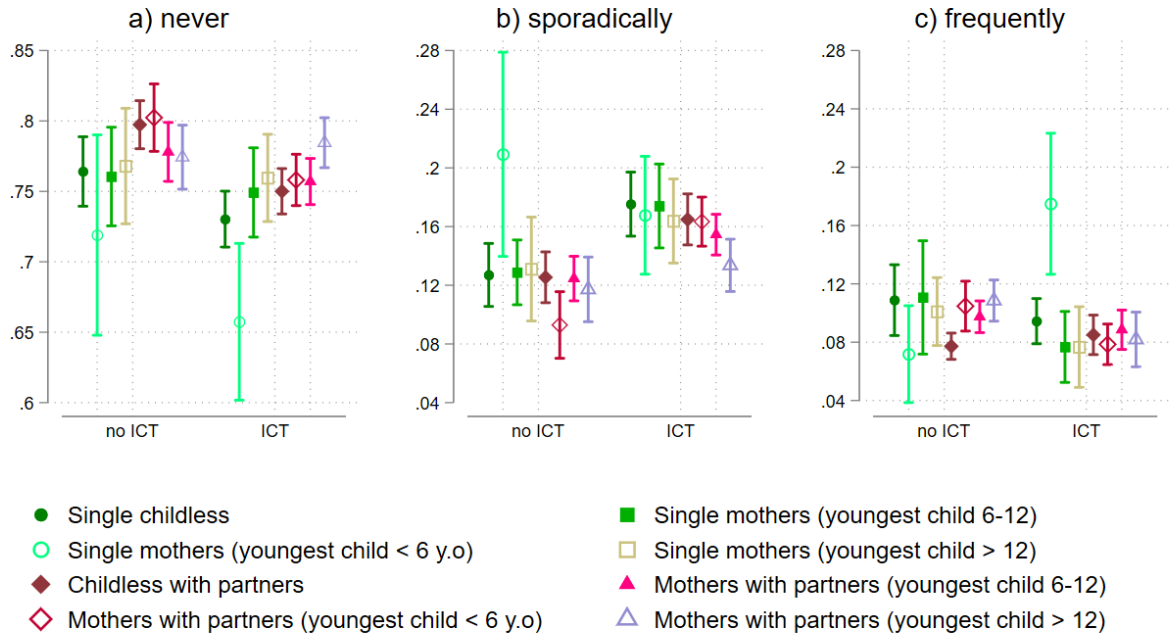


Source: Own calculation based on the EWCS dataset by Eurofound.

Notes to Figure 3: Predicted probabilities are derived based on the estimation results presented in Appendix Table 3. Confidence intervals represent 83% confidence intervals. 'Sporadically' refers to work from home performed less than several times a months and several times a month, 'frequently' refers to work from home performed several times a week and daily.

Finally, we examined how the use of ICT at work relates to HBW use and frequency of single versus couple mothers as the former face much stronger difficulties with combining paid work and care (Figures 4a-c and Appendix Table 4). Figures 4a-c present predicted probabilities of working from home by the ICT use for the groups of single women and women with partners by the age of the youngest child. We observe that single mothers of youngest children constitute the only group of women, who increase their intensive use of home-based work when working with ICT. For this group of women, the positive sides of HBTW (combining work with care, saving time) may thus outweigh the negative ones (increased work demands and tensions, stigma), which is clearly not the case for other women working with ICT. Importantly, such an effect is not present for single mothers of older children.

Figure 4. Predicted probabilities of working from home for the sample of women - by the ICT use at work, partnership status and the age of the youngest child



Source: Own calculation based on the EWCS dataset by Eurofound.

Notes to Figure 4: Predicted probabilities are derived based on the estimation results presented in Appendix Table 3. Confidence intervals represent 83% confidence intervals. 'Sporadically' refers to work from home performed less than several times a months and several times a month, 'frequently' refers to work from home performed several times a week and daily.

5. Discussion

With the development of ICT and modern technologies, working from home has become increasingly more accessible, especially in the developed societies. The recent Covid-19 pandemic has increased the prevalence of home-based telework and now more than ever, we take advantage of flexibility related to the work location enabled by the ICT. This article contributes to our understanding of how modern technologies have changed the way we work by examining the use of ICT-induced home-based work (HBTW) by European women and men in the context of their care obligations shortly before the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic. Situating our study in the pre-pandemic times allows us to understand the engagement in HBTW in more usual settings. Exploring this research topic with the use of the dataset from the times of the pandemic would be

difficult and problematic as working arrangements, and especially the use of ICT-induced work, have changed during the Covid-19 and were largely affected by individual's family situation and the place of work (occupation and industry). Because the pandemic may be perceived as a crisis situation, the results derived from studies conducted during this time should be treated with caution, especially when drawing conclusions about how men and women engage in telework and how this refers to their family situation.

Our results reveal clear gender differences in the use of HBTW. We found that for men, including fathers, the use of ICT was associated with a greater probability of teleworking on a frequent basis. In contrast, women, and mothers in particular, were less likely to work from home frequently (at least several times a week) when using ICT compared to mothers who did not work with ICT. The only exception are single mothers of young children for whom we found increased use of frequent ICT-induced home-based work.

Despite the fact that women are more likely to work in occupations that can be done from home (Garrote Sanchez 2021), our findings suggest that before the Covid-19 pandemic they did not exploit this opportunity in a way the men did. In fact, they rather restrained from intensive teleworking at home unless they were single mothers. This finding aligns with the past scarce and fragmented research on the gender gap in HBTW (Lopez and Rodriguez 2020; Peters et al. 2004; Van Klaveren 2005) which also demonstrated that men tend to telework from home more often than women. It is also consistent with studies on the use of other flexible work arrangements (e.g., flexitime) and gender (Chung 2018; Lambert, Marler, and Gueutal 2008). Even though HBTW as well as other flexible work arrangements could potentially facilitate combination of paid work and care, it seems that prior to the pandemic women abstained from making use of them. A reason behind this can be the fear of negative career consequences, blurred boundaries between paid work and family life or expectations that they will have to perform more housework and childcare duties when working from home. Therefore, instead of making use of the flexibility enabled by the ICT, many mothers continued having to work in the standard but more acceptable working arrangements or not work at all. Single mothers of young children were the only group of mothers for whom the advantages of HBTW (combining work with care, saving time) outweighed the negatives. Single mothers are often the main financial contributors of the family, and therefore staying in the workforce can be of particular importance to them. Being a single mother of a young child also entails extensive care-giving responsibilities. Therefore, the possibility to better combine work and

care responsibilities offered by the use of HBTW can be particularly appealing to them. Although HBTW carries certain negative consequences, single mothers of young children may be more concerned about and attach higher importance to the benefits that come with the use of this work arrangements than partnered mothers and single mothers of older children.

There is certainly more to learn about the gender differences in the use of home-based telework, which we are unfortunately unable to address due to data limitations. First and foremost, due to the low number of cases we were unable to analyze whether single fathers behave similarly to single mothers and telework from home more frequently than fathers with partners. Second, the EWCS data did not provide us with the information on the number of working hours worked from home or part of the day the respondent worked from home. We are thus unable to establish whether respondents who declared working from home did it for the full working day or rather only finished some tasks at home (e.g. in the evening or during the weekend) which they did not manage to complete in the office. This is an important piece of information as women and men may differ in that respect, for example if women tend to spend a full working day at home and men only take work home to finish it and thereby work overtime. Furthermore, we could not identify which motives stand behind men's and women's decisions to engage or not in home-based telework. This information would be useful in order to better understand men's and women's choices, identify barriers which stop them from exploiting the flexibility granted by ICT and consequently propose policies which could help eliminate these barriers. Finally, due to the cross-sectional character of our data we were not able to investigate whether and how HBTW uptake changes over the life-course and whether its role increases or not after the birth of a child. Such longitudinal life-course perspective could shed additional light on the role of workplace location flexibility in combining paid work and care. Despite these limitations, this article meaningfully contributes to our understanding how the development of ICT affects the ways we work and, importantly, does it in the context of care obligations and gendered division of labor. It thus fills the gap in the existing literature on gender, care and flexible work arrangements.

A question which emerges at this stage is to what extent the findings of this study can be applied also to the future contexts. While HBTW will undoubtedly be more common in the aftermath of the Covid-19 pandemic, it is more difficult to predict whether the gender differences in this mode of working will remain unchanged, narrow down or even reverse. This outcome depends on a variety of circumstances, among others the attitude of employers toward this new

mode of working, employees' experiences with telework made during the pandemic and the extent to which care remains gendered as new opportunities for combining paid work and care open up to parents. All of these can also be impacted by country-specific regulations, such as the EU Work-life Balance Directive, which grants parents of children up to age 8 the right to request flexible work arrangements, including the possibility to work from home. On the one hand, the increased prevalence of HBTW can reduce the stigma against home-based workers and weaken the negative career consequences of this work arrangement, thereby encouraging parents, and mothers in particular, to undertake this form of working. In fact, there is evidence that employers positively evaluate performance of teleworkers during the pandemic and are positive about implementing hybrid working modes post-Covid (Criscuolo et al. 2021). More widespread opportunities to work from home may also encourage non-working mothers to enter employment or return to work more quickly after birth. On the other hand, however, women may continue abstaining from the HBTW after experiencing the difficulties of combining care with telework during the pandemic. Even though the possibility to telework enabled many women to keep their jobs during childcare and school closures, the necessity to supervise children simultaneously to work for pay revealed the negative consequences of this work arrangement for mothers' work-life balance and mental health (Minello et al. 2021; Sevilla & Smith 2020; Zamarro & Prados 2021). There is also evidence that fathers who worked from home during the pandemic were more involved in childcare if their female partners had to work from the office than if they could telework (Derndorfer et al. 2021; Sevilla and Smith 2020). Working from the office may thus help women to free themselves partly from childcare obligations. Future research should certainly investigate how the increasing prevalence of HBTW affects men's and women's uptake of this mode of working as well as their work careers as soon as adequate data becomes available.

Data availability statement

Data used for this research are available free of charge from Eurofound: https://www.eurofound.europa.eu/surveys/european-working-conditions-surveys-ewcs.

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APPENDIX

Table 1. Coefficients obtained from the estimation of the multinomial logit model that includes an interaction between the ICT use at work and gender

VARIABLES	Sporadic home-based work: less than several times a month or several times a month	Frequent home-based work: several times a week or daily
ICT	0.481***	0.575***
	(0.082)	(0.141)
Female	-0.102	0.276**
	(0.104)	(0.129)
ICT # Female	-0.088	-0.666***
	(0.127)	(0.176)
Age: 33-39	0.070	0.202*
	(0.093)	(0.114)
Age: 40-45	0.082	0.201
	(0.088)	(0.132)
Age: 46-50	0.010	0.191
	(0.100)	(0.120)
Education: secondary	0.294**	-0.004
	(0.130)	(0.125)
Education: tertiary	0.892***	0.476***
	(0.122)	(0.143)
Spouse (=1 if present)	-0.074	-0.083
	(0.078)	(0.106)
Partner's work hours	0.004**	0.005**
	(0.002)	(0.002)
Number of children <6 y.o	-0.016	0.046
	(0.052)	(0.052)
Number of children >=6 y.o	-0.008	0.080**
	(0.031)	(0.035)
Number of other HH members	-0.0377	0.0231
	(0.037)	(0.069)
Supervisory position (=1 if yes)	0.501***	0.350***
	(0.068)	(0.134)
Sector: public	-0.281***	0.030
	(0.099)	(0.102)
Sector: other	-0.033	-0.211
	(0.114)	(0.165)
Part-time work (=1 if yes)	-0.177*	-0.118
	(0.092)	(0.123)
Occupations:		
Legislators, senior officials and managers	1.681***	1.115***
	(0.299)	(0.209)
Professionals	1.721***	1.019***
	(0.250)	(0.207)
Technicians and associate professionals	1.486***	0.592***
	(0.253)	(0.223)
Clerks	0.880***	-0.159
	(0.247)	(0.242)
Service workers and shop and market sales workers	0.802***	0.010
	(0.264)	(0.212)

Craft and related trades workers	0.902***	0.175
	(0.257)	(0.275)
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	0.372	0.355
	(0.263)	(0.325)
Sector of the economy (NACE)		
Agriculture, forestry and fishing, mining and quarrying	-0.118	-0.216
	(0.337)	(0.303)
Manufacturing	-0.352**	-1.016***
	(0.152)	(0.227)
Electricity, gas, steam and air conditioning supply, Water supply; sewerage, waste management and remediation activities	-0.249	-1.071**
	(0.316)	(0.425)
Construction	0.0760	-0.348
	(0.200)	(0.250)
Wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles	-0.511***	-0.907***
	(0.148)	(0.235)
Transportation and storage	-0.264	-0.429**
	(0.173)	(0.208)
Accommodation and food service activities	-1.066***	-1.791***
	(0.198)	(0.293)
Information and communication	0.297	-0.054
	(0.201)	(0.308)
Financial and insurance activities, real estate activities	-0.305*	-0.876***
	(0.158)	(0.247)
Professional, scientific and technical activities	0.0562	-0.350
	(0.171)	(0.231)
Administrative and support service activities	0.0141	-0.491**
	(0.166)	(0.191)
Public administration and defence; compulsory social security	-0.169	-0.806***
	(0.197)	(0.241)
Education	0.298*	1.075***
	(0.170)	(0.186)
Human health and social work activities	-0.907***	-1.309***
	(0.150)	(0.191)
Available flexibility provided by an employer: working time arrangements		
Can choose bt several fixed working schedules	0.584***	0.145
	(0.090)	(0.112)
Can adapt working hours within certain limits	1.047***	0.941***
	(0.084)	(0.089)
Entirely determined by myself	1.472***	2.148***
	(0.104)	(0.120)
cons	-3.777***	-3.230***
	(0.252)	(0.329)
Psuedo R-Squared	0.229	
N	15724	

Notes: The dependent variable is defined as 1 if during past 12 months the respondent has never worked from home, 2 if the respondent has worked from home less than several times a month or several times a month, and 3 if the respondent has worked from home several times a week or daily. The base outcome is 1 (never worked from home). Standard errors in

parentheses are clustered at the country level. Country Fixed effects included in the model. *** denotes p<0.01, ** denotes p<0.05, and * denotes p<0.1.

Source: Own calculation based on the EWCS dataset by Eurofound

Table 2. Coefficients obtained from the estimation of the multinomial logit model that includes an interaction between the ICT use at work, gender, and parenthood status

VARIABLES	Sporadic home-based work: less than several times a month or several times a month	Frequent home-based work: several times a week or daily
ICT	0.467***	0.432***
	(0.118)	(0.164)
Female	-0.098	0.177
	(0.180)	(0.173)
ICT # Female	-0.039	-0.383
	(0.198)	(0.236)
Parent	-0.048	0.0163
	(0.129)	(0.163)
ICT # Parent	0.029	0.251
	(0.150)	(0.243)
Female # Parent	0.012	0.183
	(0.204)	(0.173)
ICT # Female # Parent	-0.087	-0.471*
	(0.243)	(0.256)
Age: 33-39	0.075	0.209*
	(0.094)	(0.121)
Age: 40-45	0.092	0.229*
	(0.080)	(0.133)
Age: 46-50	0.017	0.213*
	(0.097)	(0.118)
Education: secondary	0.295**	-0.009
	(0.130)	(0.127)
Education: tertiary	0.891***	0.472***
	(0.122)	(0.146)
Partner's work hours	0.003**	0.004*
	(0.001)	(0.001)
Number of other HH members	-0.034	0.0342
	(0.039)	(0.066)
Supervisory position (=1 if yes)	0.501***	0.353***
	(0.068)	(0.132)
Sector: public	-0.280***	0.0287
	(0.010)	(0.101)
Sector: other	-0.034	-0.207
	(0.113)	(0.165)
Part-time work (=1 if yes)	-0.173*	-0.107
	(0.091)	(0.119)
Occupations:		
Legislators, senior officials and managers	1.683***	1.118***
	(0.303)	(0.210)
Professionals	1.724***	1.030***
	(0.252)	(0.206)
Technicians and associate professionals	1.489***	0.598***

	(0.256)	(0.224)
Clerks	0.883***	-0.147
	(0.251)	(0.243)
Service workers and shop and market sales workers	0.803***	0.0162
	(0.267)	(0.211)
Craft and related trades workers	0.903***	0.182
	(0.259)	(0.275)
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	0.373	0.363
	(0.264)	(0.325)
Sector of the economy (NACE)		
Agriculture, forestry and fishing, mining and quarrying	-0.121	-0.224
	(0.338)	(0.307)
Manufacturing	-0.352**	-1.021***
	(0.152)	(0.227)
Electricity, gas, steam and air conditioning supply, Water supply; sewerage, waste management and remediation activities	-0.252	-1.074**
	(0.318)	(0.424)
Construction	0.0749	-0.355
	(0.200)	(0.248)
Wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles	-0.511***	-0.913***
	(0.148)	(0.234)
Transportation and storage	-0.266	-0.438**
	(0.174)	(0.210)
Accommodation and food service activities	-1.063***	-1.798***
	(0.197)	(0.295)
Information and communication	0.299	-0.057
	(0.200)	(0.309)
Financial and insurance activities, real estate activities	-0.305*	-0.880***
	(0.160)	(0.249)
Professional, scientific and technical activities	0.0558	-0.354
	(0.171)	(0.233)
Administrative and support service activities	0.0169	-0.488**
	(0.166)	(0.191)
Public administration and defence; compulsory social security	-0.171	-0.810***
	(0.198)	(0.242)
Education	0.298*	1.074***
	(0.170)	(0.185)
Human health and social work activities	-0.907***	-1.310***
	(0.150)	(0.191)
Available flexibility provided by an employer: working time arrangements		
Can choose bt several fixed working schedules	0.582***	0.140
	(0.091)	(0.113)
Can adapt working hours within certain limits	1.047***	0.938***
	(0.084)	(0.089)
Entirely determined by myself	1.472***	2.142***
	(0.103)	(0.121)
Constant	-3.809***	-3.228***
	(0.248)	(0.325)
Psuedo R-Squared	0.229	
N	15724	

Notes: The same as in Appendix Table 1.

Source: Own calculation based on the EWCS dataset by Eurofound

Table 3. Coefficients obtained from the estimation of the multinomial logit model that includes an interaction between the ICT use at work, gender, and parenthood status by the age of the youngest child

VARIABLES	Sporadic home-based work: less than several times a month or several times a month	Frequent home-based work: several times a week or daily
ICT	0.471***	0.438***
	(0.116)	(0.165)
Female	-0.099	0.176
	(0.179)	(0.173)
ICT # Female	-0.041	-0.385
	(0.197)	(0.236)
Age youngest child < 6	-0.049	-0.104
	(0.168)	(0.173)
Age youngest child 6-12	-0.004	0.100
	(0.177)	(0.214)
Age youngest child >12	-0.119	0.089
	(0.195)	(0.271)
ICT # Age youngest child < 6	0.110	0.370
	(0.223)	(0.283)
ICT # Age youngest child 6-12	-0.017	0.352
	(0.186)	(0.308)
ICT # Age youngest child >12	-0.095	-0.169
	(0.240)	(0.361)
Female # Age youngest child < 6	-0.142	0.301
	(0.271)	(0.216)
Female # Age youngest child 6-12	0.047	0.101
	(0.264)	(0.241)
Female # Age youngest child >12	0.124	0.111
	(0.255)	(0.288)
ICT # Female # Age youngest child < 6	0.0803	-0.487
	(0.374)	(0.341)
ICT # Female # Age youngest child 6-12	-0.0947	-0.546
	(0.257)	(0.337)
ICT # Female # Age youngest child >12	-0.169	-0.218
	(0.311)	(0.450)
Age: 33-39	0.066	0.201
	(0.094)	(0.123)
Age: 40-45	0.105	0.230*
	(0.085)	(0.139)
Age: 46-50	0.0612	0.249**
	(0.107)	(0.123)
Education: secondary	0.297**	-0.004
	(0.131)	(0.128)
Education: tertiary	0.889***	0.467***
	(0.121)	(0.147)
Partner's work hours	0.003**	0.003*
	(0.002)	(0.002)

Number of other HH members	-0.0306	0.0350
	(0.039)	(0.066)
Supervisory position (=1 if yes)	0.503***	0.352***
	(0.069)	(0.130)
Sector: public	-0.282***	0.031
	(0.100)	(0.101)
Sector: other	-0.0391	-0.208
	(0.113)	(0.164)
Part-time work (=1 if yes)	-0.178**	-0.112
	(0.090)	(0.119)
Occupations:		
Legislators, senior officials and managers	1.694***	1.122***
	(0.302)	(0.209)
Professionals	1.730***	1.030***
	(0.251)	(0.208)
Technicians and associate professionals	1.499***	0.607***
	(0.256)	(0.223)
Clerks	0.890***	-0.142
	(0.250)	(0.241)
Service workers and shop and market sales workers	0.809***	0.0163
	(0.266)	(0.211)
Craft and related trades workers	0.903***	0.182
	(0.260)	(0.273)
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	0.377	0.364
	(0.264)	(0.324)
Sector of the economy (NACE)		
Agriculture, forestry and fishing, mining and quarrying	-0.124	-0.217
	(0.339)	(0.310)
Manufacturing	-0.360**	-1.034***
	(0.152)	(0.226)
Electricity, gas, steam and air conditioning supply, Water supply; sewerage, waste management and remediation activities	-0.257	-1.088***
	(0.321)	(0.419)
Construction	0.0761	-0.356
	(0.199)	(0.248)
Wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles	-0.516***	-0.914***
	(0.149)	(0.235)
Transportation and storage	-0.267	-0.445**
	(0.174)	(0.210)
Accommodation and food service activities	-1.063***	-1.796***
	(0.199)	(0.296)
Information and communication	0.295	-0.0673
	(0.203)	(0.310)
Financial and insurance activities, real estate activities	-0.312*	-0.891***
	(0.164)	(0.250)
Professional, scientific and technical activities	0.049	-0.358
	(0.172)	(0.236)
Administrative and support service activities	0.009	-0.499**
	(0.168)	(0.194)
Public administration and defence; compulsory social security	-0.171	-0.812***
	(0.198)	(0.240)

Education	0.298*	1.075***
	(0.170)	(0.187)
Human health and social work activities	-0.908***	-1.311***
	(0.150)	(0.189)
Available flexibility provided by an employer: working time arrangements		
Can choose bt several fixed working schedules	0.582***	0.142
	(0.090)	(0.113)
Can adapt working hours within certain limits	1.046***	0.937***
	(0.085)	(0.089)
Entirely determined by myself	1.475***	2.146***
	(0.103)	(0.119)
Constant	-3.823***	-3.231***
	(0.247)	(0.322)
Psuedo R-Squared	0.230	
N	15724	

Notes: The same as in Appendix Table 1.

Source: Own calculation based on the EWCS dataset by Eurofound

Table 4. Coefficients obtained from the estimation of the multinomial logit model that includes an interaction between the ICT use at work, partnership status, and parenthood status by the age of the youngest child; subsample of women only

VARIABLES	Sporadic home-based work: less than several times a month or several times a month	Frequent home-based work: several times a week or daily
ICT	0.433**	-0.057
	(0.219)	(0.206)
Spouse (=1 if present)	-0.116	-0.489*
	(0.197)	(0.254)
ICT # spouse	-0.008	0.310
	(0.265)	(0.273)
Age youngest child < 6	0.648	-0.327
	(0.420)	(0.430)
Age youngest child 6-12	0.025	0.030
	(0.226)	(0.408)
Age youngest child >12	0.020	-0.097
	(0.288)	(0.332)
ICT # Age youngest child < 6	-0.467	1.264**
	(0.550)	(0.574)
ICT # Age youngest child 6-12	-0.091	-0.320
	(0.285)	(0.596)
ICT # Age youngest child >12	-0.180	-0.227
	(0.393)	(0.432)
Spouse # Age youngest child < 6	-0.970**	0.654
	(0.476)	(0.528)
Spouse # Age youngest child 6-12	0.028	0.290
	(0.291)	(0.388)
Spouse # Age youngest child >12	-0.018	0.551
	(0.432)	(0.353)
ICT # Spouse # Age youngest child < 6	0.754	-1.704***
	(0.653)	(0.658)

ICT # Spouse # Age youngest child 6-12	-0.050	0.024
	(0.340)	(0.519)
ICT # Spouse # Age youngest child >12	-0.143	-0.377
	(0.492)	(0.502)
Age: 33-39	0.078	0.232**
	(0.090)	(0.101)
Age: 40-45	0.160*	0.234*
	(0.082)	(0.140)
Age: 46-50	0.085	0.162
	(0.117)	(0.138)
Education: secondary	0.381	0.0795
	(0.241)	(0.168)
Education: tertiary	1.061***	0.648***
	(0.237)	(0.173)
Partner's work hours	0.006***	0.010***
	(0.002)	(0.003)
Number of other HH members	-0.041	-0.006
	(0.075)	(0.098)
Supervisory position (=1 if yes)	0.472***	0.263*
	(0.0816)	(0.144)
Sector: public	-0.224*	0.165
	(0.121)	(0.151)
Sector: other	-0.0123	-0.119
	(0.141)	(0.230)
Part-time work (=1 if yes)	-0.288***	-0.265**
	(0.101)	(0.129)
Occupations:		
Legislators, senior officials and managers	2.134***	1.241***
	(0.383)	(0.289)
Professionals	1.998***	0.988***
	(0.345)	(0.268)
Technicians and associate professionals	1.834***	0.587**
	(0.329)	(0.252)
Clerks	1.252***	-0.073
	(0.332)	(0.302)
Service workers and shop and market sales workers	1.283***	0.270
	(0.355)	(0.266)
Craft and related trades workers	1.303***	0.737
	(0.411)	(0.499)
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	0.829*	0.623
	(0.462)	(0.457)
Sector of the economy (NACE)		
Agriculture, forestry and fishing, mining and quarrying	-0.117	-0.578
	(0.518)	(0.692)
Manufacturing	-0.176	-1.147***
	(0.223)	(0.398)
Electricity, gas, steam and air conditioning supply, Water supply; sewerage, waste management and remediation activities	-0.026	-1.931
	(0.493)	(1.175)
Construction	0.0369	-0.438
	(0.328)	(0.442)
Wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles	-0.633***	-1.339***

	(0.183)	(0.281)
Transportation and storage	-0.122	-0.241
	(0.260)	(0.354)
Accommodation and food service activities	-0.967***	-2.042***
	(0.308)	(0.556)
Information and communication	0.012	-0.186
	(0.276)	(0.462)
Financial and insurance activities, real estate activities	-0.416**	-0.894***
	(0.198)	(0.295)
Professional, scientific and technical activities	0.116	-0.479
	(0.190)	(0.375)
Administrative and support service activities	0.029	-0.489*
	(0.228)	(0.268)
Public administration and defence; compulsory social security	-0.211	-0.842***
	(0.257)	(0.292)
Education	0.261	0.924***
	(0.216)	(0.250)
Human health and social work activities	-0.967***	-1.379***
	(0.217)	(0.259)
Available flexibility provided by an employer: working time arrangements		
Can choose bt several fixed working schedules	0.486***	0.071
	(0.110)	(0.180)
Can adapt working hours within certain limits	1.027***	0.864***
	(0.111)	(0.107)
Entirely determined by myself	1.531***	2.144***
	(0.156)	(0.161)
Constant	-4.325***	-2.755***
	(0.372)	(0.336)
Psuedo R-Squared	0.226	
N	8609	

Notes: The same as in Appendix Table 1.

Source: Own calculation based on the EWCS dataset by Eurofound

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