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15/4: WHEN TWO WORLDS COLLUDE: WORKING FROM HOME AND FAMILY FUNCTIONING

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# When two worlds collude: Working from home and family functioning

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#### Abstract

Whether or not working from home or 'telecommuting' helps workers to balance work and family commitments, as opposed to providing an avenue for work to intrude on family life remains a contentious issue. On balance it seems the flexibility to work some hours from home is a positive for workers. This was confirmed for a representative sample of Australian employees drawn from the Household, Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia Survey (HILDA) from 2001 to 2011, but with the reservation that working from home was associated with longer working hours and hence had the potential to exacerbate work-to-family conflict. A limitation of that study and much of the existing literature is that measures of work-family conflict have been based on subjective assessments by the workers themselves, who may be unlikely to reflect negatively on their own choice of work arrangements. In contrast, this study analyses the effect of employees working from home on their spouses' and children's assessments of family functioning in Australia using HILDA data from 2001-2013. Some evidence is found that working from home contributes to better relationships and a more equitable division of household responsibilities for couples with children. Limited evidence of negative externalities on other family members is observed, namely women whose employee-partners work a substantial number of hours from home are less satisfied with the division of tasks within the home. The findings therefore contribute to the weight of evidence that working from home is conducive to families achieving a better work-life balance.

Keywords: Time allocation and labour supply, Work-family conflict, Job satisfaction, Telecommuting

JEL Classification: J22, J81, J28

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#### 1. INTRODUCTION

An important issue relating to the quality of work and the justification for government regulation of minimum employment standards is the ability of workers to accurately assess the full monetary and non-monetary costs and benefits of a job. Where there are externalities that are not taken into account by employers and employees, sub-optimal welfare outcomes are likely. This will particularly apply when people have to make decisions on whether or not to accept a new job or position, and the terms upon which to accept it, without having experienced life in that particular job. Given the amount of time spent at work and the intertwining of peoples' professional, home and social lives, such welfare losses in the presence of limited information may be substantial.

There has been widespread concern expressed that increasing demands of the labour market are generating negative effects on workers and their families (Keene and Reynolds 2005, Nomaguchi 2009, Swanberg and Simmons 2008). Often attributed to labour market deregulation, globalisation and consumer expectations of the '24/7' economy, working arrangements are believed to be becoming increasingly precarious, to require work outside standard hours (Li et al. 2014), and to be undertaken in the home or other places beyond the workplace (Golden 2012), along with a tendency for workers to work excessive hours (Dockery 2012). The scope for negative externalities to manifest is obviously greater for workers who are married and with dependent children, as reflected in a growing literature concentrating upon 'work and family balance'.

Compared to flexibility in working schedules and in contractual status, the effects of flexibility in where employees undertake their work has received less attention. Previous research has assessed the impacts of working from home on employees' productivity and costs to the employer, and there is evidence that workers themselves value the flexibility provided from being able to work from home, although this is far from conclusive. However, only a few studies have assessed the impact of working from home on the home-worker's family. This is important since workers who do work from home will largely opt to do so voluntarily, and hence it may be expected that self-assessment of those working arrangements will be positive. Negative externalities may be more likely to be observed in reports from other family members.

This paper looks at the impacts of working from home on family functioning or work-family conflict using panel data on a large sample of Australian employees from 2001 to 2013 drawn from the Household, Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia Survey (HILDA). In a recent study using the same data set, Dockery and Bawa (2014a) find that working from home is generally a trait of 'good jobs' in the sense that it is afforded to more senior, highly qualified and higher-paid employees, and is utilised by those likely to desire greater flexibility, such as women with pre-school and school-aged children. However, they also warn that a sharp increase in the number of hours done in the home in response to total workloads pointed to the potential for working from home to facilitate greater intrusion into life's non-work domains. Using subjective assessments of the partners and children of employees we find very limited evidence of the presence of such negative externalities, and some evidence that working from home assists family functioning for couples with children.

#### 2. BACKGROUND

The main focus of this paper is the effect that employees working some of their hours from home has on relationships and functioning within the employee's family. We concentrate on employees as our key interest is on the working arrangements made between firms and their workers, rather than the working habits of the self-employed, people working within family businesses or employers themselves.<sup>1</sup> Much of the literature on working from home refers to teleworkers or telecommuting,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Parasuraman and Simmers (2001) provide a study of work-family conflict differentiating between the self-employed and employees.

particularly for the US where that is the common terminology. This term implies the use of computers and telecommunications; and need not necessarily involve working from the home, only that work is done away from the main worksite (Bailey and Kurland 2002, Baruch 2001, Golden 2012). Here, however, we are interested specifically in the effects of employees bringing work into their family home, irrespective of whether or not that work is computer based or facilitated by telecommunications.<sup>2</sup>

Previous studies have identified a range of benefits that accrue to organisations from allowing their employees to work from home. These include higher productivity, lower staff turnover and absenteeism and reductions in other workplace costs; and there are also social benefits from reduced traffic congestion (Bloom et al. 2013, Baruch 2001, Bailey and Kurland 2002, Council of Economic Advisors 2010). Although there are also potential drawbacks to the firm, such as increased difficulty in monitoring, on balance the literature suggests providing selected employees the option to work some of their hours from home is sensible business practice.

Providing flexible working arrangements benefits firms as it allows workers to continue productive contributions to the workforce while also attending to family and other responsibilities when such workers would otherwise reduce their labour supply or leave the firm (Council of Economic Advisors 2010). This added flexibility in balancing work and non-work commitments is also seen as the key benefit to employees. Employees will also benefit from reduced commuting time (Baruch 2001, Bailey and Kurland 2002), greater discretion over timing and pace of their work (Greenhaus and Powell 2006), and some employees may just simply prefer the home as a working environment. To the extent workers value having the option of working from home, offering such working arrangements will allow the firm to attract more workers and of higher quality for a given wage. However, a number of potential drawbacks have also been identified for people who work from home, including career stagnation (Baruch and Nicholson 1997, Broom et al. 2013), feelings of social isolation (Bailey and Kurland 2002, Baruch 2001) and a tendency to work longer hours (Dockery and Bawa 2014a, Kurland and Bailey 1999).

To the extent that being able to work from home does help people to combine the obligations to their paid employment with family responsibilities and other non-work activities, then it may improve family functioning. However, the potential to exacerbate conflict and magnify the intrusion of work into family and other life domains has been widely recognised (Doherty et al. 2000, Gajendran and Harrison 2007, Kurland and Bailey 1999). In this paper we use the term 'family functioning' to refer broadly to the degree to which family members are positive about their relationships with each other and about the way responsibilities within the home are divided between them; or the inverse of 'family conflict'. The potential for work to create family conflict has largely been seen from the perspective of the role strain hypothesis, in which the demands of the work domain and family domain compete for limited time, physical energy and psychological resources. Inter-role conflict arises when compliance with one role compromises compliance with another role (Thomas and Ganster 1995). While conflict between the work and family roles is typically seen as being created by factors emanating from the workplace, there is also a family-towork dimension to the work/family interface and studies have found the two to be only moderately correlated (Grzywacz and Marks 2000, Mesmer-Magnus and Viswesvaran 2006), suggesting they are independent constructs rather than sharing the same spectrum (Voydanoff 2004). There has been a preoccupation in the literature on conflict, when in fact there is extensive evidence that multiple roles can enhance one another, described by Voydanoff (2004) as work-family facilitation. Married mothers who work, for example, have been found to have higher physical and psychological wellbeing than married mothers who are unemployed (Grzywacz and Marks 2000: 112).

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> In their review of 46 studies into telecommuting, Gajendran and Harrison (2007: 1525), note that 'Home was the primary location for telecommuting in nearly all the studies included in this meta-analysis'.

Working from home has been found to lower work-family conflict in some studies (see Baruch 2001, Gajendran and Harrison 2007, Mesmer-Magnus and Viswesvaran 2006 for reviews). Indeed one explanation for the rapid increase in telework in the US is that it helps reduce work-family conflict (Golden 2012: 255). However, when work is brought into the home to occupy the same physical space, time and resources otherwise devoted to family life, this increases the potential for work to intrude on family life and vice versa. This may make it harder for employees to psychologically disengage from work, increasing the likelihood of time-based conflict and leading employees to work after normal work hours, particularly for individuals who find it difficult to separate activities between home and work (Gajendran and Harrison 2007). Duxbury and Higgins (2002) also note that telecommuting can increase conflict between work and family when commuting serves as a buffer between the employee's home and work domains, and the lack of a commute decreases the opportunity for employees to reduce the transfer of stress from one domain to the other. Further, as noted, a number of authors have highlighted the potential for working from home to lead to individuals working a higher number of hours, and to do those outside of standard work-time schedules, and thus risking greater work-family conflict.

Overall, international evidence remains far from conclusive on whether working from home typically promotes or detracts from family functioning. Gajendran and Harrsion's (2007) meta-analysis states that telecommuting '... is likely more good than bad for individuals', a conclusion drawn in part from evidence that working from home is associated with a modest reduction in work-family conflict. In another meta-analysis, Mesmer-Magnus and Viswesvaran (2006) find no significant correlation between the availability of flexible working arrangements (encompassing flexitime, telecommuting, job sharing) and reported work-family conflict. In analyses of data on Australian employees from the 2001 to 2011 waves of HILDA, Dockery and Bawa (2014a,b) find that both male and female employees who work from home are more satisfied with their flexibility to balance work and nonwork commitments, and this is particularly so for employees who have a formal agreement in place to work some of their hours from home. However, the picture is less clear cut for those who work from home outside of a formal agreement. From the rapid increase in the likelihood of working from home associated with total hours worked and evidence of negative effects of working from home upon satisfaction with hours worked, they also caution that there are grounds for concern that the capacity to work from home does facilitate work-family conflict through its effect on overall working hours.

Dockery and Bawa also note a limitation in that the indicators of job quality – flexibility to balance work and non-work commitments, satisfaction with hours worked and overall job satisfaction – are assessed by the employees themselves. Since employees presumably choose whether or not to work from home in the vast number of cases, it may be expected that they will report positively on the associated outcomes, and this same limitation applies to much of the existing literature. We have not identified any studies of the effect of working from home on work-to-family conflict that have utilised assessments from workers' families. In this paper we address this limitation and the question of whether working from home generates negative externalities in the form of work-family conflict by examining the association between employees' work patterns and assessments of family functioning by their partners and children.

# 3. DATA

This study uses data from Waves 1 to 13 of the Household, Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia Survey. HILDA is a household panel survey in which respondents are tracked and interviewed each year, with Waves 1 to 13 comprising of interviews undertaken from 2001 to 2013. The panel was established through a random sample of private households in Australia, and within those households all persons aged 15 and over are interviewed. Around 13,000 individuals from over 7,000

households have responded in each year, with year-on-year attrition rates averaging below 10% (See <a href="http://www.melbourneinstitute.com/hilda/">http://www.melbourneinstitute.com/hilda/</a> for further details). In 2011 an additional top-up sample of 2,153 households encompassing 4,009 responding individuals was recruited to the survey sample.<sup>3</sup>

HILDA collects a wealth of data on respondents' demographic characteristics, their personal and family circumstances and on the nature of their employment. The data is well suited for this study because it records the relationships between respondents within households, allowing researchers to relate outcomes observed for one individual to the characteristics and activities of other household members. In this study we look at indicators of functioning within the families of employees, drawing upon survey responses of the spouses and children living with those employees. The focus is on employees because the interest is in working arrangements between employers and their workers, not the choices of employers, the self-employed or contractors.

Each year persons in paid employment were asked the following question: "Are any of your usual working hours worked at your home (that is, the address of your usual place of residence)?" with the option to respond either 'yes' or 'no'. Employees who answered in the affirmative were then asked approximately how many hours each week they usually work from home. For those who indicated their hours varied, they were prompted instead "How many hours per week do you work at home on average over a usual 4-week period?". Finally, home workers were asked "Are the hours worked from home the result of a formal arrangement with your employer?". Respondents are specifically instructed to include any paid or unpaid overtime in their reckoning of 'usual hours', with an added note that this includes hours worked both at home and at the workplace. For persons who held multiple jobs, the wording made clear that the responses should relate to their main job, defined as the one from which they get the most pay each week.

#### 3.1 Measuring working from home status

To empirically analyse the effect of working from home some decision rule is needed to differentiate employees who work from home and those who do not. The choice of definition is not so straightforward. In analysing trends in the incidence of working from home using the HILDA data, Wooden and Fok (2013) defined 'home workers' as those who worked the majority of their hours from the home to avoid including people who only worked a small proportion of their usual hours from home. However, our interest is not in defining who would and would not be considered a 'home worker', but rather the impact of any hours worked in the home on the family. Gajendran and Harrison (2007) noted that capturing 'teleworking intensity' may be important as hypothesised mediators, such as the positive effects of a greater sense of autonomy or negative effects on the quality of supervisor-employee relationships, may be very different for high intensity teleworkers and those who work only a few hours outside of the main workplace. Hence we test a number of different specifications to capture the effect of working from home. First we distinguish those employees who work any of their usual hours in the home from those who do not. The subset of those employees who indicate that they work from home under a formal agreement with their employer are further identified. Exactly what would constitute a formal agreement may be somewhat ambiguous, however, Dockery and Bawa (2014b) find that employees reporting a formal

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See HILDA Survey Annual Report 2012, available at <a href="https://www.melbourneinstitute.com/hilda/Reports/annual report.html">https://www.melbourneinstitute.com/hilda/Reports/annual report.html</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> This was the sequence of questions for Waves 2 to 13. The order and wording of these questions were slightly different in Wave 1. In Wave 1 the question on whether any hours are worked at home was followed by the question on whether this was the result of a formal arrangement, and then the questions on the number of hours. For those who indicated the number of hours they worked from home varied, the follow up question was "Thinking about the last month, how many hours on average have you worked from home each week?".

agreement had significantly higher levels of satisfaction with their jobs and work-life flexibility. Hence this question does appear to have substantial discriminatory power.

To capture dimensions of the intensity, employees who work at least 8 hours – the equivalent of a full day - or more per week from home are also identified. As Figure 1 demonstrates, this represents something of a cusp in the distribution of hours worked from home. Of those who do work some of their usual hours from home, only one-third report doing so for 8 hours or more. Finally, the number of hours worked from home is included directly as a continuous variable in multivariate models.<sup>5</sup>

Per cent of employees working from home 10 11-15 16-20 21-30 31+ Hours per week worked from home

Figure 1: distribution of hours per week worked at home: employees who do some of their usual hours from home (2001-2013)

# 3.2 Measures of family functioning

The competing hypotheses to be tested are that working from home improves family functioning versus the alternative that working from home detracts from family functioning. As discussed, the impact on family functioning is seen to occur through the effect of working from home on either mitigating or exacerbating role conflict, specifically the effect on work-to-family conflict. To assess these we select indicators of the quality of relationships between the employee and other family members, and of other family members' perception of how fairly domestic responsibilities are shared within the household. Six separate items reported by employees' spouses are used to assess family functioning:

- Satisfaction with their relationship with their partner (ie. with the employee) measured on an 11-point scale ranging from 0 (completely dissatisfied) to 10 (completely satisfied).
- Satisfaction with their partner's (ie. the employee's) relationship with their children measured on the same 11-point scale.

<sup>5</sup> There were 5 observations in which employees reported working greater than 100 hours per week from home, with a maximum value of 141 hours. Although this appears unlikely, these outliers were not removed.

- Satisfaction with the way household tasks are divided between them and their partner, again using the 11-point scale. This question was asked from Waves 5 to 13, inclusive.
- Satisfaction with the way childcare tasks are divided between them and their partner, using the 11-point scale and available for Waves 5 to 13, inclusive.
- Assessment of whether they do a fair share of work around the house measured on a 5point scale ranging from 1 (I do much more than my fair share) to 5 (I do much less than my
  fair share).
- Assessment of whether they do a fair share of looking after the children measured on the same 5 point scale.

Each of these variables capturing family functioning is coded such that a higher value indicates either greater satisfaction with the relationship, or that the partner (employee) takes on a relatively greater proportion of the responsibilities at home.

Variables used to assess children's perceptions of family functioning are their reported satisfaction with their relationship with their parents (the 11-point satisfaction scale) and their assessment of whether they do a fair share of work around the house (the 5-point scale as above). Household members are included in the full surveys from the age of 15, and we restrict the analyses to young people aged 15 to 21 and living with both parents.<sup>6</sup>

#### 4. SPOUSAL PERCEPTIONS OF FAMILY FUNCTIONING

To analyse spousal perceptions of family functioning the sample is restricted to persons who are married to or living in a de facto relationship with an employee. Each person-year observation contains the employees' own data matched to their spouse's data, including the spouse's subjective ratings for the indicators of family functioning listed above. The small proportion (1.2%) of the sample that are same sex couples are not included in the analysis. Over the 13 years, the resulting pooled dataset contains observations for 26,625 female employees living with a partner and 29,338 male employees living with a partner.

Female employees and male employees reported working some of their usual hours from home in 20.6 per cent and 21.2 per cent of those cases, respectively. Among those working from home, 34 per cent reported doing so through a formal agreement and 36 per cent reported working 8 hours or more from home each week. The average number of hours worked from home for those employees who did some of their hours there was 7.7 hours.

Table 1 shows the means for the key indicators of family functioning as reported by the partners of employees. On each measure the differences in the means for men and women are highly significant by the standard t-test, meaning there is less than a 1 per cent chance those differences arose simply through sampling variability. Women are substantially more likely than men to feel that they do more than their fair share of work around the house and more than their fair share of looking after children. Similarly, women are less satisfied than men with the division of household tasks between them and their partner and the division of child care tasks. Moreover, women's greater negativity toward their partners extends beyond the division of household labour. They also report lower levels of satisfaction with their relationship with their partner, and with their partner's relationship with their children, compared to men.

These findings are consistent with previous studies suggesting women report greater work-family conflict than men since, as female labour force participation and the number of dual-earner couples

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The measures based on the division of household tasks and childcare are not included for children since these refer specifically to the division 'between you and your partner'. Hence they are not applicable in the vast bulk of cases and do not relate to the relationship with the parents.

has increased, women's share of domestic workloads has not declined commensurately (see Nomaguchi 2009: 16). We also note that they do not appear to be attributable to women having a more pessimistic general outlook, or a tendency to interpret such scales differently. For the question on overall life satisfaction, using the same 11-point satisfaction scale, the women in this same sample reported marginally higher life satisfaction (mean=8.03) than men (7.93).

Table 1: Means for indicators of family functioning: women's and men's assessments of their employee partners

	Women's	Men's	Standard
	assessments	assessments	deviation
Satisfaction with: (scale 0=completely			
dissatisfied, 10 completely satisfied)			
Relationship with partner	8.29	8.44	1.82
Partner's relationship with children	8.18	8.43	1.86
Division of household tasks between you &			
partner	7.08	7.93	2.22
Division of child care tasks between you &			
partner	7.38	7.94	2.10
Do fair share of: (scale 1=much more, 5=much			
less)			
Work around the house	2.17	3.09	0.99
Looking after children	2.06	3.12	0.95

Note: all differences between women's and men's assessments are highly significant according to the standard t-test for the difference in means. Calculated for pooled samples from 2001 to 2013, except satisfaction with the division of household tasks and childcare tasks, which are calculated for pooled samples from 2005 to 2013.

Means for those indicators of family functioning are further presented for those whose partners do and do not work from home (Table 2), according to several definitions. The differences across the home-work categories tend to be very small since the distribution of responses on such scales are tightly clustered around the mean. However, in almost all cases partners' average ratings are higher for employees that work from home than for employees who don't work from home. Taking into account the statistical differences in those means, this is most apparent for male employees. It seems that women are more positive about their employee partners' relationship with their children if he works from home, and also more satisfied with his contribution to the care of the children. For female employees, there is more limited evidence of their male partners being more satisfied when she works from home, but again the strongest effect is with respect to satisfaction with their relationship with the children.

# 4.1 Modelling approach

To more precisely isolate the impact of working from home on family functioning, multivariate models are estimated with the partner assessments as the dependent variables. There are a range of personal characteristics of the employee, aspects of their employment circumstances, and characteristics of their partner and family circumstances that may impact on the partner's attitudes towards the functioning of their family. These characteristics may also impact upon the likelihood of the employee working some of their hours from home. Multivariate analysis allows the relationship between working from home status and family functioning to be estimated independently of these potentially confounding effects. The panel nature of the HILDA data provides further advantages for isolating such effects. With repeated observations on the same individuals, it is possible to control for individual-specific effects that would otherwise be unobservable to the analyst.

Denoting the outcome variable based on the spouse's (i's) rating given at time t ( $2001 \le t \le 2013$ ) as  $Y_{it}$ , the model has the following underlying form:

$$Y_{it} = \alpha_i + \beta F_{it} + \gamma L_{it} + \delta P_{it} + \theta E_{it} + v_{it} + \varepsilon_{it}$$
(1)

Where  $\alpha_i$  is an individual specific constant,  $F_{it}$  is a vector of variables relating to the family and the relationship with associated vector of coefficients  $\beta$  to be estimated.  $L_{it}$  is a vector of variables capturing the labour market status of the employee and their partner, with associated vector of coefficients  $\gamma$  to be estimated.  $P_{it}$  is a vector of variables capturing characteristics of the spouse that may influence their subjective assessments of their relationships and family functioning.  $E_{it}$  is a vector of characteristics relating to the employee, including characteristics of their job, with associated vector of coefficients,  $\theta$ . This includes an indicator of whether or not the individual works from home, or the number of hours worked from home.

When equation 1 is estimated by random-effects, the error term comprises of two separate components: an individual specific component  $v_{it}$ , and the standard error term  $\varepsilon_{it}$  which is assumed to be independently and normally distributed with mean zero. Unobservable individual effects are captured through  $a_i$  and  $v_{it}$ . Under the fixed-effects model which more rigorously separates out individual specific effects  $a_i$  and  $v_{it}$  are correlated, such that estimates of coefficients for a variable can only be recovered where there is within-individual variation of that variable. Note that the model is set up so the clustering is based on the spouses of employees — that is the  $Y_{it}$ 's denote a series of ratings by spouse i over multiple time periods. When the couple remain living together, which will be the bulk of cases, these ratings will also be with respect to the same employee. However, if they split and re-partner, the one person may contribute ratings on more than one employee partner.

The measures of family functioning tested (the  $Y_{it}{}'s$ ) are the spousal ratings given in Tables 1 and 2 above. The indicators of working from home tested include three binary dummy variables (works any hours from home, works from home under a formal agreement and works eight hours per week or more from home), and a continuous variable equal to the number of hours worked from home per week. Models are estimated separately by gender given expectations and evidence in the literature that the sources and consequences of work-family conflict differ between men and women (Grzywacz and Marks 2000, Nomaguchi 2009, Parasuraman and Simmers 2001).

Demographic characteristics of the family include marital status (legally married or defacto), the presence of children of different ages, the duration of the relationship and its quadratic, the age difference between the partners, the degree of mismatch in their highest level of qualification and housing tenure. Household labour force engagement is captured by a series of mutually exclusive dummy variables based on the interaction between the employee's labour force status and their partner's labour force status. There are eight such potential categories for the household given two potential categories for the employee (employed full-time and employed part-time) and four potential categories for their partner (employed full-time, employed part-time, unemployed and not participating in the labour force).

Variables capturing the characteristics of the partner making the assessment include age at the commencement of the relationship, whether they have been legally married before, and their highest level of qualification. For the employee we include prior marriage, self-assessment of their general health, self-assessed prosperity and work-from-home status (means of all variables used can be found in Appendix B). A series of dummy variables for the employee's occupation was initially

included but these were rarely significant in any of the models and their inclusion did not alter conclusions relating to other variables of interest.<sup>7</sup>

Table 2: Means for indicators of family functioning: women's and men's assessments of their

employee partners, by working-from-home status

		Employee		
	Employee does	works some	Employee works	Employee works
	not work	hours from	from home under a	from home 8 or
Indicator of family functioning	from home	home	formal agreement	more hrs/week
Men's assessments (of their female				
employee partners)				
Satisfaction with: (scale 0=completely				
dissatisfied, 10 completely satisfied)				
Relationship with partner	8.42	8.48**	8.50*	8.42
Partner's relationship with children	8.41	8.50***	8.48	8.43
Division of household tasks between you				
& partner	7.92	7.97	8.02*	7.94
Division of child care tasks between you &				
partner	7.92	8.01**	7.98	7.99
Do fair share of: (scale 1=much more,				
5=much less)				
Work around the house	3.09	3.08	3.12	3.06
Looking after children	3.12	3.12	3.16	3.13
Women's assessments (of their male				
employee partners)				
Satisfaction with: (scale 0 to 10)				
Relationship with partner	8.29	8.32	8.34	8.31
Partner's relationship with children	8.15	8.32***	8.33***	8.34***
Division of household tasks between you				
& partner	7.06	7.11	7.14	7.09
Division of child care tasks between you &				
partner	7.34	7.51***	7.49*	7.48*
Do fair share of: (scale 1=much more,				
5=much less)				
Work around the house	2.17	2.16	2.19	2.17
Looking after children	2.04	2.12***	2.17***	2.17***

Notes: \*\*\*, \*\* and \* indicate the difference between that figure and the mean for those who do not work from home is significant at the 1 per cent, 5 per cent and 10 per cent levels, respectively, according to the t-test.

For measures of household prosperity and of the employee's health we chose the employee's assessments rather than subjective assessments of their partner, to avoid a likely response-bias between these subjective assessments and the partner's subjective assessments of family functioning. Household income and the number of hours per week the employee works have not been included. Given previous evidence that working from home is associated with long hours of work, there is a risk that total hours worked, employee's earned income, the incidence of working from home and work-family stress may all be endogenous or jointly determined. As noted, self-assessed financial prosperity has been included to capture wealth, as this is not directly related to contemporaneous income and presumably takes into account couples' earnings capacity as well as

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> These were based on the eight major or '1 digit' categories of the 2006 Australian and New Zealand Standard Classification of Occupations (ANZSCO).

current income. With hours of work excluded, the estimated coefficients on variables capturing working from home status will encompass any additional role that working from home plays in facilitating long working hours.

# 4.2 Results for spousal perceptions

Each of the indicators of family functioning are ordered categorical (discrete) variables, ranging from either zero to ten, or from one to five. An appropriate technique to model such dependent variables is the ordered probit model, which models the effect of the independent variables on the probability of the response lying in a higher category rather than a lower one. Random effects ordered probit models are estimated separately for men and women for each of the six indicators of family functioning, with the full results reported in Appendix A.<sup>8</sup>

Before turning to the estimated impacts of working from home on family functioning we discuss the results for the other control variables. Women are less satisfied with their relationships with their partner if they are in a de facto relationship as opposed to a legal marriage. However, there is some ambiguity in terms of satisfaction with the division of labour within the household. For example, it seems women are more satisfied with de facto partners' share of work done around the house as opposed to the share done by husbands in a legal marriage. A strong 'honeymoon effect' seems to exist: women's satisfaction with their relationship drops off rapidly with the duration of that relationship, and this also applies broadly across the indicators of family functioning. Thankfully the decline in satisfaction occurs at a diminishing rate with each year. Taken together, the coefficient on the years duration of the relationship and the coefficient on the quadratic term suggest that her satisfaction with the relationship reaches a nadir after around 26 years! Satisfaction with his relationship with the children bottoms out after around 27 years, while for the division of household tasks and childcare and satisfaction with the share of work done around the house, men start to redeem themselves after around 15 years. Generally women seem more satisfied the older is her partner relative to her own age.

The presence of dependent children has a substantial, negative effect across the indicators of family functioning. Generally it is the presence of children aged 0 to 4 years that most impacts upon family harmony and is associated with the mother feeling she carries more of the burden of household duties. The exception is with respect to women's satisfaction with her partner's relationship with the children, which is higher when there are very young children present — it seems these relationships get harder for men, or are judged more harshly, as the children get older. If there are children present in the home who are a product of the man's previous relationships, the woman is substantially less satisfied with his relationship with the children and more inclined to feel she does a greater share of work around the house.

In terms of the various permutations of labour force engagement between the couple, women are most satisfied with their partner when he works full-time and she is not in the labour force. However, it is a different story with respect to attitudes on the share of work done around the house or looking after children. In this case women are most satisfied when she works full-time and he

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Specifically, the models were estimated using the xtoprobit command in STATA version 13, with robust standard errors (the vce(robust) option). The xtoprobit routine allows the full scale of the ordered, categorical variable to be utilised, whereas previous versions of the probit or logit models for panel data required the outcome variable to be collapsed into a binary variable. However, there is no fixed-effects version of xtoprobit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> The estimating sample numbers are smaller in the models of satisfaction with partner's relationship with the children, division of childcare and share of looking after the children as responses to these questions are only applicable to couples with children.

works part-time. Women feel the share of responsibilities they take on at home is less fair if he works full-time and she does not.

Turning to her own characteristics, women who married younger seem to be more content with their relationship with their partner, and with his relationship with the children. Women who had been previously married are also more satisfied with their relationship with their current partner. Being less educated is associated with greater satisfaction with relationships, but is generally associated with less contentment in other areas of family functioning. Finally, better family functioning is evident across the board for households assessed by the male as being more prosperous, and where his self-assessed general health is higher.

Many of these effects are also observed in men's ratings of their female employee partners. Those not legally married are less satisfied with their relationships and with the division of household tasks and childcare. Satisfaction with the relationship, her relationship with the children and with the division of household tasks and childcare initially drops off with duration, again with decadal time frames before it appears to stabilise. A similar pattern of declining satisfaction associated with the presence of children of different ages is observed for men as for women, though fewer of the results are statistically significant.

Surprisingly, given traditional norms, men are most satisfied with their relationship when she works part-time and he is not in the labour force. Recalling that women are most satisfied with the relationship when he works full-time and she is not participating in the labour force, both men and women are happier with their relationships if their partner works while they themselves do not work at all. However when women employees work full-time, men feel notably hard done by when it comes to the share of work done around the house and share of looking after children if he is not also working full-time. For men the optimal arrangement with respect to the division of labour within the household is generally where she works part-time.

The older men were when they entered the partnership, the less satisfied they are with the relationship with their partner and with their partner's relationship with the children, although the effect on other indicators of family functioning is ambiguous. As with women, men who have been married before tend to be more satisfied with their current relationship. There is a strong and seemingly monotonic gradient in which men's satisfaction with relationships and with the division of household tasks and division of childcare drops off with the man's level of education. This is far more pronounced than was observed for women, for whom there were few statistically significant differences among those who completed school. For men, however, the estimates with respect to their view on the fairness of the share of work done around the house and of the share of looking after children seem inconsistent with those for the measures based on satisfaction with the division of those tasks.

Finally, the same general positive association is observed between men's assessments of family functioning and their partner's self-assessed prosperity and her general health. Good health and prosperity are conducive to marital harmony.

# 4.3 Results for variables capturing working from home status

A number of different variable specifications were tested to capture the effect of working from home. These are a simple binary dummy equal to 1 if the employee worked any of their usual hours form home, and zero if not (full results reported in Tables A1 for ratings of female partners of male employees, and Table A2 for ratings of male partners of female employees); and separate dummy variables for those who report working from home under a formal agreement with their employer, and those who work from home but not through a formal agreement (Tables A3, A4). To allow for the extent of work done in the home, a binary dummy was tested for whether or not the employee

works 8 hours or more per week from home (Tables A5, A6) and finally the number of hours worked in the home is entered as a continuous variable (Tables A7, A8).

The estimated coefficients for these variables capturing working from home status are summarised in Table 3. Table 3a presents the results from the ordered probit models, reproduced directly from Tables A1 to A8. It is immediately apparent that very few of the variables are significantly different from zero in the statistical sense. Where they are significant they are generally positive, but small in magnitude (relative, for example, to the effects of the presence of children). The one exception is the negative effect of the number of hours male employees work from home on their partner's satisfaction with the division of household tasks. For this variable the effect is not only statistically significant, but would also be of quite some magnitude for employees who work a large number of hours in the home. The corresponding coefficient is not significant for male partners' assessment of their satisfaction with the division of household tasks.

One drawback of estimates from ordered probit models is the difficulty of interpreting the practical meaning of the coefficients. Technically it is the effect of the variable on the probability of observing a higher point on the scale, but no inference is made relating to the 'distance' represented by the points or intervals on the scale. For example, we cannot say that a rating of 8 represents twice the satisfaction of a rating of 4; or that an increase in rating from 7 to 8 would represent a similar boost to satisfaction as an increase from 5 to 6. The model imposes only ordinality: a rating of 10 represents a higher level of satisfaction than a rating of 9, which in turn represents a higher level of satisfaction than a rating of 8, and so on. While marginal effects of variables can be calculated, these vary according to the point on the distribution, so there are 10 different such marginal effects for each variable.

It has, however, been shown that treating such scales as linear variables and estimating ordinary least squares (OLS) regressions tends to give very similar results as the more technically correct ordered probit specification (see Kristoffersen 2010, Ferrer-i-Carbonell and Frijters 2004). Hence we include a second panel (b) to Table 3 with the corresponding estimates from random-effects models estimated by OLS. The effect of each dummy variable therefore relates to a direct movement along the scale (up the scale for a positive coefficient and down the scale for a negative coefficient), and their magnitude can be interpreted in the context of the means and standard deviations given in Table 1. For the continuous variable based on the number of hours, the coefficient translates to the movement along the scale for each additional hour worked in the home.

It seems that working from home neither promotes nor detracts from the quality of couples' relationships. There is weak evidence that men are marginally more satisfied with their relationship if their employee-partner works from home through a formal agreement. Positive effects are most commonly found with respect to the share of looking after the children undertaken by the employee. By definition this relates only to the sub-sample of couples with children living in the home. Technically, the positive coefficients mean that the employee working from home is associated with a shift in their partner's assessment away from "I do much more than my fair share" and towards "I do much less than my fair share". We interpret this as indicating the employee is doing a relatively greater share of looking after the children when they work some of their usual hours from home, at least in the eyes of their partner. Hence working from home does seem to facilitate a more equitable sharing of duties associated with looking after children. The effects are highly significant for females whose employee-partner has a formal agreement to work from home and weakly significant for males whose partner works from home eight hours or more per week. The estimated effect of the number of hours worked in the home is weakly significant for both men and women.

These estimates are all very small in magnitude. Even for the effect of the linear variable for the number of hours worked in the home, the estimated effect of working full-time in the home would equate to around one-tenth of one standard deviation in the dependent variable. In addition, females are also more satisfied with their employee partner's relationship with the children when he works some hours from home, and this seems to relate primarily to male employees who have the flexibility to work from home informally. This effect is more sizeable, though still modest.

Using ordinary least squares regression also permits estimation by the fixed-effects specification of the panel model. As a further robustness check fixed effects OLS models were estimated. These results (not reported) generally support the picture of limited effects of working from home on family functioning, with some evidence of negative effects on satisfaction with the division of households tasks when men work longer hours from home, and some evidence of small positive effects on family functioning when children are present.

Overall, the results provide evidence that for couples with children, working from home is a means to achieving a more equitable distribution between parents of the responsibilities associated with looking after the children, and promotes improved parent-child relationships. On the other hand, when male employees work from home there is a tendency for their female partners to feel less satisfied with the division of household tasks. This may reflect that when men are working from home, they do not then increase their contribution to household chores by as much as their partners think they should.

Table 3: Summary of estimated coefficients on 'Working from home' variables

(a) Ordered probit models

(u) Gradica (		Satisfaction	on with			e does fair e of
	Dalatianahin	Financia de la composición dela composición de la composición de la composición de la composición de la composición dela composición de la composición de la composición dela composición dela composición de la composición de la composición dela composición de la composición dela composición dela composición dela composición dela composición dela composición dela composic	Division of	Division	+	
	Relationship	Employee's	Division of	Division	Work	Looking
WFH Variable/	with the	relationship	household	of	around	after the
Assessment by	employee	with children	tasks	childcare	house	children
Works any hours fr	om home					
Female partner	n.s.	0.079**	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Male partner	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
WFH by formal agre	eement					
Female partner:						
No formal agrmt	n.s.	0.082**	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Formal agrmt	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	0.180***
Male partner:						
No formal agrmt	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Formal agrmt	0.079*	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Works from home	8 hrs per week	or more				
Female partner	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Male partner	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	0.131*
Number of hours w	orked from ho	me per week				
Female partner	n.s.	n.s.	-0.009***	n.s.	n.s.	0.007**
Male partner	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	0.007*

Table 3: Summary of estimated coefficients on 'Working from home' variables (cont.)

(b) Ordinary least squares

(10) 01101111111111111111111111111111111	cust squares					
		Satisfaction	on with		Employee	does fair
					share	e of
WFH Variable/	Relationship	Employee's	Division of	Division	Work	Looking
Assessment by	with the	relationship	household	of	around	after the
	employee	with children	tasks	childcare	house	children
Works any hours fr	om home					
Female partner	n.s.	0.100***	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Male partner	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
WFH by formal agre	eement					
Female partner:						
No formal agrmt	n.s.	0.107***	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Formal agrmt	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	0.085***
Male partner:						
No formal agrmt	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Formal agrmt	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Works from home	8 hrs per week	or more				
Female partner	n.s.	n.s.	-0.131**	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Male partner	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	0.054**
Number of hours w	orked from ho	me per week				
Female partner	n.s.	n.s.	-0.014***	n.s.	n.s.	0.003*
Male partner	n.s.	0.004*	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	0.003*

Notes: n.s. not significantly different from zero; \*\*\*, \*\* and \* indicate that the estimate is statistically significant at the 1 per cent, 5 per cent and 10 per cent levels, respectively.

#### 5. CHILDREN'S PERCEPTIONS OF FAMILY FUNCTIONING

To assess children's perceptions of family functioning we select all responding children aged 15 to 21 and match their survey responses to data provided by their mother and father. Only households in which youth are matched to a mother and father living in the same household are included, though this includes both natural and step-parents. To retain the focus on working arrangements of employees the sample is restricted to families in which one of the parents is working as an employee, and households are excluded if any parent reports being self-employed, an unpaid family helper or an employee of their own business.

Two measures of youth's perceptions are analysed: their satisfaction with their relationship with their parents (11 point scale) and their assessment of whether they do their fair share around the house (5 point scale). Again the assessment of whether they do their fair share of work around the house is coded so that a value of 1 corresponds to 'I do much more than my fair share' and a value of 5 to 'I do much less than my fair share', and we take a higher value as indicating that others in the house are seen to be making a larger contribution to the work that needs to be done around the home. The variable measuring young people's satisfaction with their relationship with their parents has a mean value across the 13 waves of 8.03 and standard deviation of 1.82, and the assessment of work share a mean of 3.42 (between 3 'I do my fair share' and 4 'I do a bit less than my fair share') and standard deviation of 0.87.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> While these may be considered 'dependent children' in the sense that they are living with their parents or step-parents, they may also be working and not financially dependent upon their parents. The sample of youth included in the estimation encompasses those categorised in HILDA as dependent students and non-dependent children.

Random effects, ordered probit models are again estimated with a maximum of 7 repeated observations for youth who responded to the survey every year from age 15 to 21, inclusive. The model is hence of a similar nature to that set out above, but with explanatory variables now relating to characteristics of the youth (age, gender, main activity, attainment of post-school qualifications); of their parents and household (housing tenure, financial prosperity, presence of other children, parental age and health), and parental working arrangements, including working from home status.

The variables capturing work from home status are similar to those used for individual employees but now based on both parents' work patterns. These include a binary dummy variable equal to one if any parent works from home and zero otherwise; separate dummy variables if any parent works from home under a formal agreement and any parent works from home without a formal agreement; a dummy variable if any parent works eight hours or more from home and a continuous variable equal to the sum of hours worked from home per week by both parents.

Full results can be found in Table A9. In all models the estimated effects of parents working from home on the youths' assessments are very small and none approach accepted levels of statistical significance. In short, we find no evidence that parents working from home has any effect on young people's satisfaction with their relationship with their parents nor their assessments of how fairly work is shared within the house. Given this, we do not dwell further on alternative specifications, but for completeness provide a brief overview of some of the results relating the other control variables.

For people aged between 15 and 21 years and living at home with both parents, young women report being significantly less satisfied with their relationships with their parents than young men after controlling for a range of other factors. Youth who have gained post-school qualifications are more satisfied with their relationship with their parents, but their assessment does not seem to vary according to their main activity, viz a viz whether they are still at school, working or undertaking further study. As with the relationships between partners themselves, young people are less satisfied with their relationship with their parents if the parents are not legally married. They are more satisfied when the family is more prosperous<sup>11</sup>, but for other factors it seems adversity brings children and parents closer together. Child-parent relationships are judged more favourably when the family rents rather than owns their own home, and even more so if they live in public or community housing; and when the mother or father are in poorer health. Of the possible permutations of parental labour force status, the only one to have a significant impact is when one parent works part-time and one is unemployed. This relates to only a very small proportion (less than 1 per cent) of the families but, oddly, the effect is relatively large.

For youths' perceptions of how fairly work is shared within the household, their main activity does have an impact. Relative to those still at school, young people who work full-time look more favourably on the contribution of others in the family, but young people who have left school and are not participating in the labour force feel they are having to take on relatively more of the work around the house. This is also true of those young people who are unemployed, although the estimated effect is smaller and only weakly significant. Children aged 15 to 21 also feel they do a greater share of work around the house if the family lives in rental accommodation, when there are younger siblings present and when both the parents work full-time.

# 6. Discussion

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As our respondents are not the workers themselves, and often are not employed at all, standard measures of work-family interference are largely non-applicable to the research design. Instead we

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> This variable was based on the mother's assessment of 'prosperity given current needs and financial responsibilities'.

have used indicators of the quality of intra-family relationships and the perceptions of equity in the share of domestic responsibilities provided by the workers' spouses and children. These results provide a different perspective and new evidence on debates in the growing literature on work-to-family conflict.

One of the marked findings is the negative effect of the presence of children, and notably of younger children, on the measures of family functioning. When children are present in the home both men and women are less satisfied with their relationships with their partner, and women in particular feel they bear more of the brunt of household tasks and childcare activities. Both men and women perceive their partner's relationship with the children to deteriorate once the child reaches school age (5 years and over). Voydanoff (2004) also found that the presence of young children (under 6 years) contributed to higher reported work-to-family conflict. Nomaguchi (2009: 17) attributes this effect to the greater demands on time and resources at home increasing role-conflict, but notes not all studies have supported this (see also Grzywacz and Marks 2000).

Our findings relating to prosperity seem consistent with the general literature in which greater household resources are found to mitigate work-to-family conflict or to promote family-to-work facilitation. Previous studies have found that more educated parents are more likely to report work-family conflict, possibly because they set higher parenting standards or because they also face greater demands at work (Grzywacz and Marks 2000, Nomaguchi 2004). If anything, the opposite holds for women in our sample, and there is conflicting evidence for men. For Australian men with partners who are employees, higher levels of education are associated with dissatisfaction with the division of household tasks and childcare. Our finding of a strong and pervasive negative effect of the number of years a couple has been together on assessments of family functioning seems not to have been incorporated into existing theoretical and empirical contributions on work-to-family conflict.

A potential source of difference between our findings and those of the existing literature on the effects of demographic characteristics, as noted, is that previous studies have focused on measures of work-family conflict derived from workers' reports, and hence the estimation samples are limited to employed persons. In contrast, our study includes people who may be unemployed or not participating in the labour market. This makes the findings relating to combinations of labour market status between the partners of considerable interest. We find that both women and men are most satisfied with their relationships when the partner works and they do not, a result that is perhaps unexpected for men given the traditional role of the male as the 'breadwinner' within Australian families. However, when it comes to the division of household responsibilities, particularly in the presence of children, both genders appear to prefer more market based work for themselves and for the partner to have a part-time job. Children aged 15-21 are more satisfied with their relationships with their parents when both parents have limited labour market engagement, but it must be remembered this is after controlling for the effect of household prosperity. These findings offer limited support for the view that the growth in dual-earner families has contributed to a rising trend of work-family conflict (Nomaguchi 2004).

In terms of the effect of working from home, our findings suggest there are only small effects on family functioning, and where these are statistically significant they mostly suggest that spouses are more satisfied with family functioning when their employee partner works some of their hours from home. Gajendran and Harrison (2007: 1529-1530) hypothesise that telecommuting intensity may accentuate reduction in work-family conflict, as workers who can work a substantial number of hours from will benefit from greater autonomy and capacity to synchronize arrangements between home and work. Their empirical estimates did not support this hypothesis, and our results similarly do not return stark differences for measures that capture the number of hours worked at home. In fact the one result from the probit models suggesting a negative impact upon family functioning was

with respect to the effect of the number of hours the male employee works from home on women's satisfaction with the division of household tasks, with the implied effect being substantial if the number of hours is substantial. However, this may reflect overall workloads, which correlate positively with the incidence of working in the home (Dockery and Bawa 2014a). If the total number of hours worked is included in that probit regression, the magnitude and significance of the estimated effect of hours worked in the home is reduced, but remains significant at the 5 per cent level ( $\beta$ =-0.006; p=0.03).

A further mediator of work-family conflict that Gajandren and Harrison (2007) propose as potentially important but unexplored is the degree to which telecommuting is voluntary. While we do not have a direct measure of this in our data, it would be safe to assume that those who work from home under a formal agreement do so voluntarily, and this specification may partly differentiate them from workers who do so involuntarily, such as when simply struggling to meet their current workload. In two of the models the effect of working from home through a formal agreement was found to be positive and significant when no significant effect was observed for working from home without a formal agreement. This provides some support for the hypothesis that voluntariness mediates impacts upon family functioning as assessed by the workers' partner. Much stronger evidence of such a mediating role is found in our earlier work with respect to workers' own assessments (Dockery and Bawa 2014b).

#### 7. Conclusion

The existing literature has demonstrated that there are a range of potential benefits to firms associated with their employees working from home, or telecommuting. Previous analysis has generally also found that working from home is good for workers, and much of this evidence is premised around the potential for working from home to mitigate the conflict that arises as workers try to simultaneously fulfil their roles in the work domain and in home life. In recent analyses, Dockery and Bawa (2014a, 2014b) have confirmed that being able to work from home is generally a positive job attribute from the perspective of Australian employees. However, a very important caveat over those findings was that the intensity of working in the home escalates dramatically with total hours worked, particularly for women. This raises the possibility, firstly, that working from home facilitates excessive working hours that may exacerbate work to family conflict and, secondly, that this is an externality that is not taken into account by workers when they assess the merits of their own working arrangements, and when they decide to bring work home.

This paper addresses those concerns by relating employees' working arrangements to assessments of family functioning made by workers' partners and children. The indicators of family functioning include perceptions of the quality of relationships and of fairness in how domestic responsibilities are shared within the family. Higher values of these indicators of family functioning are taken to signify lower work-family conflict. We find only very limited evidence of any impacts of employees working from home on family functioning. Across a range of specifications to capture varying dimensions of working from home, very few results are statistically significant and these are small in magnitude. If anything, the effects of working from home are positive and this mainly relates to managing parenting roles. The one negative finding is with respect to women's satisfaction with the division of household tasks when her partner works a substantial number of hours from home. It seems this partly proxies a higher overall workload for the employee, but may also indicate that men do not increase their contribution to household tasks when they work from home by as much as their partner feels they should.

While the handful of positive effects of working from home identified with respect to parental relationships with children and the fairness of the allocation of childcare responsibilities are relatively small in magnitude, this may not mean they are immaterial. The results also show the presence of children, and of young children in particular, to be one of the key factors that place

stress on relationships and family functioning. Hence the positive effects of being able to work from home become most apparent at a very challenging time for families.

In one sense these findings add to the body of ambiguous findings regarding whether or not working from home has a net effect of mitigating or exacerbating work-family conflict. However, in another sense they are definitive and important. We can confidently reject the concern that working from home imposes substantive negative externalities on family functioning. This confidence comes from the exhaustive nature of the analysis, covering numerous indicators of family functioning and different dimensions of working from home. It is based on a rich data-set with a large and representative sample of employees and a now substantive panel dimension (13 years) that enables controls for unobservable individual effects. This leads us back to the original conclusion based on employee self-assessments: the ability to work from home is a positive job attribute.

It must be kept in mind that regression results represent average effects across the sample population – effects may be very different within individual families. Identifying those mediating family and job characteristics is an ongoing challenge if research is to inform the formulation of effective organisational practices and public policy in the area of work and family. The fact that working from home is good for those who currently practice it does not mean it will be good for all families. In relation to their analysis of non-standard working hours in Australia, Hosking and Western (2008) do not accept either labour supply or employer demand arguments about the effects on work-family conflict, arguing non-standard work is neither unambiguously good nor unambiguously bad. Rather, they argue such flexible working arrangements can confer advantages when they are "... genuinely negotiated, discretionary and predictably structured ..." (2008: 24). We concur with that sentiment. To the best of our knowledge, working from home in Australia is predominantly a voluntary state. The effects may be very different if, due to deregulation, cost cutting or other policy changes, the labour market gets to a stage where a significant proportion of working from home occurs because workers have little other choice.

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# Appendix A: Regression results from ordered probit panel models (random-effects)

Table A1: Women's ratings of their male employee partners - with dummy variable for partner working from home

				Satisfacti	on with				He does his fair share of				
	The		His relati	•	Divisio	_	Divisio		Work a		Looking a		
	relation		with the		househo		childo		hou		child		
	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	
Characteristics of couple													
Marital status defacto	-0.1374	0.00	0.0098	0.89	-0.1099	0.02	-0.1024	0.15	0.0756	0.07	-0.1605	0.02	
Duration of rltship (yrs)	-0.0900	0.00	-0.0945	0.00	-0.0315	0.00	-0.0437	0.00	-0.0270	0.00	-0.0055	0.64	
Duration squared	0.0017	0.00	0.0017	0.00	0.0011	0.00	0.0013	0.00	0.0009	0.00	0.0008	0.03	
Partner older (yrs)	0.0102	0.09	0.0216	0.00	0.0060	0.31	0.0031	0.69	0.0110	0.05	-0.0026	0.76	
Partner less educated <sup>a</sup>	-0.0046	0.76	-0.0272	0.16	0.0113	0.47	0.0226	0.26	0.0133	0.38	0.0120	0.57	
Presence of dep. children:													
aged 0 to 4	-0.2665	0.00	0.0090	0.84	-0.1660	0.00	-0.1857	0.00	-0.3190	0.00	-0.1538	0.00	
aged 5 to 14	-0.2137	0.00	-0.2183	0.00	-0.0424	0.23	-0.0484	0.23	-0.1737	0.00	-0.0336	0.41	
aged 15 to 24	-0.1636	0.00	-0.2336	0.00	-0.1652	0.00	-0.0485	0.36	-0.2465	0.00	-0.0849	0.09	
Presence of his children to													
other relationship	0.0441	0.52	-0.3905	0.00	-0.0779	0.27	0.0437	0.61	-0.1335	0.06	-0.0897	0.33	
Housing tenure:													
Home owner/purchaser	_		_		_		_		_		_		
Renter	-0.0257	0.45	0.0427	0.39	-0.0707	0.07	-0.0798	0.16	-0.0173	0.63	0.0507	0.33	
Public/community	0.0576	0.65	-0.0039	0.98	-0.1438	0.28	-0.1839	0.25	-0.0843	0.53	-0.1755	0.38	
Labour force status:													
He works full-time & she: works full-time													
	0.0354	0.24	0.0000	0.00	0.0260	0.25	0.0350	0.40	0.4000	0.00	0.2627	0.00	
works part-time	-0.0351	0.21	0.0098	0.80	-0.0360	0.25	-0.0358	0.40	-0.1999	0.00	-0.3627	0.00	
is unemployed	-0.1032	0.11	-0.0581	0.46	0.0104	0.89	-0.1489	0.17	-0.1541	0.02	-0.5515	0.00	
is not in labour force	0.1078	0.01	0.0925	0.05	0.1213	0.01	-0.0382	0.49	-0.1170	0.00	-0.5308	0.00	
He works part-time & she:	0.0004	0.50	0.0000	0.53	0.0000	0.27	0.4634	0.46	0.2004	0.00	0.6400	0.00	
works full-time	-0.0391	0.56	-0.0638	0.52	0.0838	0.27	0.1621	0.16	0.3061	0.00	0.6499	0.00	
works part-time	-0.0588	0.36	0.0767	0.39	0.1021	0.20	0.1070	0.37	0.1097	0.14	-0.0353	0.78	
unemployed	0.0096	0.96	0.1806	0.50	0.0505	0.82	-0.6908	0.06	-0.0932	0.62	-0.5827	0.07	
Not in labour force	0.0370	0.64	0.1067	0.34	0.0115	0.90	-0.0863	0.53	0.0150	0.85	-0.3201	0.01	

				Satisfacti	on with				He	does his f	air share of .	
	The relation		His relati with the o	•	Divisio househo		Divisio childo	_	Work a		Looking a child	
	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z
Her characteristics Age married	-0.0228	0.00	-0.0334	0.00	0.0136	0.00	-0.0070	0.26	0.0072	0.11	0.0035	0.60
Been married before Highest qualification	0.1521	0.07	-0.2157	0.02	0.1562	0.06	0.1220	0.23	0.0985	0.22	-0.0981	0.33
Post-graduate	0.0078	0.91	0.0648	0.56	0.0772	0.41	0.0598	0.66	0.0188	0.83	0.1308	0.28
Degree	_		_		_		_		_		_	
Diploma	0.1105	0.11	-0.1068	0.22	0.0142	0.85	-0.0161	0.86	-0.1829	0.01	-0.2524	0.01
Certificate III/IV	0.0639	0.27	-0.1735	0.02	-0.1299	0.04	-0.1362	0.08	-0.2126	0.00	-0.0267	0.76
Completed Yr 12	0.1647	0.02	0.0137	0.88	-0.0001	1.00	-0.0338	0.71	-0.1489	0.03	-0.1375	0.14
Did not finish Yr 12 His characteristics	0.2676	0.00	-0.0510	0.56	-0.1268	0.09	-0.1735	0.07	-0.3390	0.00	-0.2604	0.01
Been married before	0.0945	0.23	-0.1090	0.26	-0.0270	0.74	0.0147	0.88	-0.0672	0.40	0.0065	0.95
General health <sup>b</sup>	0.1263	0.00	0.1105	0.00	0.1092	0.00	0.0693	0.00	0.0321	0.03	0.0333	0.13
Financial prosperity <sup>c</sup>	0.1332	0.00	0.1002	0.00	0.0954	0.00	0.0941	0.00	0.0635	0.00	0.0464	0.06
Works from home	-0.0026	0.92	0.0791	0.02	-0.0442	0.15	-0.0205	0.59	-0.0262	0.34	0.0442	0.26
N(observations)	25486		13903		17882		9469		25496		12341	
N(individuals)	5376		3149		4419		2500		5381		2824	
Obs. per person:												
minimum	1		1		1		1		1		1	
average	4.7		4.4		4		3.8		4.7		4.4	
maximum	13		12		9		9		13		12	
Wald Chi-square	902.42	0.00	666.71	0.00	335.81	0.00	93.55	0.00	537.5	0.00	280.27	0.00

Notes: Estimated coefficients for cut-points of the ordinal scales not reported; a. Each individual's highest level of qualification was given a value ranging from 1 (did not complete high school) to 6 (post-graduate degree). The variable is calculated as the employee's value minus the partner's; b. Self-assessed general health, coded to range from 1=poor to 5=excellent; c. Financial prosperity as assessed by the partner and coded to range from 1=very poor to 6=prosperous.

Table A2: Men's ratings of their female employee partners - with dummy variable for partner working from home

				Satisfacti	on with				She	does her	fair share of	
	The	e	Her relat	ionship	Divisio	n of	Divisio	n of	Work a	round	Looking a	fter the
	relatio	nship	with the	hildren	househo	d tasks	childo	are	hou	se	child	ren
	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z
Characteristics of couple												
Marital status defacto	-0.2846	0.00	-0.1080	0.27	-0.1657	0.00	-0.2279	0.01	-0.0563	0.20	0.0969	0.33
Duration of rltship (yrs)	-0.0728	0.00	-0.1043	0.00	-0.0180	0.00	-0.0401	0.00	0.0040	0.51	-0.0094	0.52
Duration squared	0.0015	0.00	0.0021	0.00	0.0008	0.00	0.0011	0.00	0.0000	0.84	0.0000	1.00
Partner older (yrs)	0.0050	0.43	0.0195	0.01	-0.0126	0.01	-0.0109	0.11	0.0187	0.00	0.0182	0.03
Partner less educated <sup>a</sup> Presence of dep. children:	-0.0310	0.04	0.0067	0.73	-0.0215	0.11	-0.0201	0.29	-0.0055	0.71	0.0103	0.63
aged 0 to 4	-0.2727	0.00	0.0488	0.39	0.0043	0.91	-0.0031	0.96	0.0053	0.90	-0.0225	0.73
aged 5 to 14	-0.2252	0.00	-0.1717	0.00	-0.1146	0.00	-0.0841	0.06	-0.0936	0.01	-0.0468	0.33
aged 15 to 24 Presence of her children to	-0.1106	0.00	-0.1647	0.00	-0.0684	0.09	0.0162	0.77	-0.1130	0.00	0.0395	0.51
other relationship Housing tenure:	0.0991	0.24	-0.4101	0.00	0.0349	0.70	-0.0279	0.82	0.0191	0.84	-0.4219	0.00
Home owner/purchaser	_		_		_		_		_		_	
Renter	0.0115	0.75	-0.0606	0.31	-0.0264	0.50	-0.0628	0.30	0.0709	0.07	-0.0296	0.66
Public/community Labour force status: She works full-time & he: works full-time	0.1386	0.35	-0.2198 —	0.37	-0.0625 —	0.69	0.0642	0.77	0.1298	0.40	-0.3184 —	0.23
works part-time	0.0206	0.71	0.0905	0.31	0.1101	0.07	0.0948	0.37	-0.2404	0.00	-0.8073	0.00
unemployed	-0.1171	0.20	-0.1566	0.30	-0.0801	0.47	0.2154	0.30	-0.5097	0.00	-0.9026	0.00
not in labour force She works part-time & he:	0.0487	0.48	0.0083	0.94	0.0748	0.42	-0.1021	0.56	-0.3255	0.00	-0.7032	0.00
works full-time	0.0263	0.35	0.1067	0.01	0.0649	0.03	0.0675	0.10	0.2000	0.00	0.2800	0.00
works part-time	0.0003	1.00	-0.0531	0.56	0.1304	0.03	0.2198	0.03	0.1091	0.06	-0.1211	0.20
is unemployed	-0.0356	0.76	0.1402	0.46	-0.0576	0.73	-0.0042	0.99	-0.2540	0.05	-0.5687	0.04
is not in labour force	0.1479	0.04	0.0576	0.64	0.0234	0.76	-0.0274	0.86	0.1562	0.06	-0.0572	0.72
His characteristics	-0.0227	0.00	-0.0450	0.00	0.0065	0.10	-0.0070	0.28	0.0020	0.62	-0.0259	0.00

				Satisfacti	on with				She	does her	fair share of	
	The relation		Her relat with the	•	Divisio househo	_	Divisio childo	-	Work a hou		Looking a child	
	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z
Age married												
Been married before Highest qualification	0.4120	0.00	-0.0958	0.36	0.1234	0.08	-0.0488	0.61	0.0493	0.53	0.0726	0.51
Post-graduate	-0.1044	0.14	0.0698	0.47	0.0092	0.91	-0.0589	0.57	0.2530	0.00	0.2098	0.09
Degree	_		_		_		_		_		_	
Diploma	0.2469	0.00	0.0750	0.43	0.1721	0.02	0.1725	0.06	-0.1548	0.04	-0.1578	0.17
Certificate III/IV	0.2269	0.00	0.1545	0.05	0.2026	0.00	0.1434	0.05	-0.1228	0.03	-0.1620	0.05
Completed Yr 12	0.2990	0.00	0.1186	0.30	0.2500	0.00	0.2236	0.03	-0.1315	0.09	-0.1859	0.12
Did not finish Yr 12 Her characteristics	0.3946	0.00	0.2311	0.02	0.2974	0.00	0.2308	0.03	-0.0495	0.51	-0.1057	0.34
Been married before	0.0878	0.32	-0.3877	0.00	0.0654	0.38	0.0259	0.80	-0.0964	0.25	0.1178	0.29
General health <sup>b</sup>	0.1125	0.00	0.1086	0.00	0.1056	0.00	0.1034	0.00	0.0452	0.01	0.0350	0.19
Financial prosperity <sup>c</sup>	0.0907	0.00	0.0511	0.03	0.0944	0.00	0.0894	0.00	0.0093	0.60	0.0713	0.02
Works from home	0.0324	0.26	0.0395	0.27	0.0310	0.31	0.0544	0.20	-0.0035	0.91	0.0210	0.67
N(observations)	23154		11204		16424		7655		23195		9420	
N(individuals)	5129		2727		4281		2189		5148		2377	
Obs. per person:												
minimum	1		1		1		1		1		1	
average	4.5		4.1		3.8		3.5		4.5		4	
maximum	13		12		9		9		13		12	
Wald Chi-square	582.03	0.00	490.24	0.00	236.08	0.00	92.5	0.00	199.97	0.00	193.78	0.00

Table A3: Women's ratings of their male employee partners - with dummy variables for partner working from home by formal /no formal agreement

				Satisfacti	on with				He does his fair share of				
	The	e	His relati	ionship	Divisio	n of	Divisio	n of	Work ar	ound	Looking a	fter the	
	relatio	nship	with the	children	househol	d tasks	childo	are	hou	se	child	ren	
	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	
Characteristics of couple													
Marital status defacto	-0.1376	0.00	0.0098	0.89	-0.1099	0.02	-0.1024	0.15	0.0753	0.08	-0.1614	0.02	
Duration of rltship (yrs)	-0.0900	0.00	-0.0945	0.00	-0.0315	0.00	-0.0436	0.00	-0.0270	0.00	-0.0055	0.64	
Duration squared	0.0017	0.00	0.0017	0.00	0.0011	0.00	0.0013	0.00	0.0009	0.00	0.0008	0.03	
Partner older (yrs)	0.0102	0.09	0.0216	0.00	0.0060	0.31	0.0030	0.70	0.0110	0.05	-0.0030	0.72	
Partner less educated <sup>a</sup> Presence of dep. children:	-0.0044	0.78	-0.0273	0.16	0.0114	0.47	0.0228	0.25	0.0135	0.37	0.0132	0.53	
aged 0 to 4	-0.2664	0.00	0.0090	0.84	-0.1660	0.00	-0.1857	0.00	-0.3190	0.00	-0.1532	0.00	
aged 5 to 14	-0.2136	0.00	-0.2184	0.00	-0.0424	0.23	-0.0485	0.23	-0.1735	0.00	-0.0335	0.41	
aged 15 to 24 Presence of his children to	-0.1635	0.00	-0.2336	0.00	-0.1652	0.00	-0.0484	0.36	-0.2464	0.00	-0.0841	0.09	
other relationship	0.0438	0.52	-0.3904	0.00	-0.0779	0.27	0.0435	0.61	-0.1339	0.06	-0.0919	0.32	
Housing tenure: Home owner/purchaser	_		_		_		_		_		_		
Renter	-0.0259	0.45	0.0428	0.39	-0.0707	0.07	-0.0802	0.15	-0.0173	0.63	0.0495	0.34	
Public/community Labour force status: He works full-time & she: works full-time	0.0583	0.65	-0.0041 —	0.98	-0.1438 —	0.28	-0.1842 —	0.25	-0.0834 —	0.54	-0.1728 —	0.39	
works part-time	-0.0352	0.21	0.0098	0.80	-0.0360	0.25	-0.0359	0.40	-0.2000	0.00	-0.3636	0.00	
is unemployed	-0.1034	0.11	-0.0582	0.46	0.0104	0.89	-0.1485	0.17	-0.1541	0.02	-0.5512	0.00	
is not in labour force He works part-time & she:	0.1079	0.01	0.0924	0.05	0.1214	0.01	-0.0379	0.49	-0.1168	0.00	-0.5288	0.00	
works full-time	-0.0402	0.55	-0.0635	0.53	0.0838	0.27	0.1606	0.16	0.3047	0.00	0.6430	0.00	
works part-time	-0.0592	0.36	0.0767	0.39	0.1020	0.20	0.1061	0.38	0.1092	0.14	-0.0390	0.76	
unemployed	0.0087	0.96	0.1804	0.50	0.0505	0.82	-0.6905	0.06	-0.0941	0.61	-0.5750	0.07	
Not in labour force	0.0357	0.65	0.1070	0.34	0.0115	0.90	-0.0871	0.53	0.0139	0.86	-0.3196	0.01	
Her characteristics	-0.0228	0.00	-0.0334	0.00	0.0136	0.00	-0.0070	0.26	0.0072	0.11	0.0036	0.59	

				Satisfacti	on with				He	does his f	air share of	
	The	9	His relati	ionship	Divisio	n of	Divisio	n of	Work a	round	Looking a	fter the
	relation	nship	with the	children	househo	d tasks	childo	are	hou	se	childı	ren
	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z
Age married												
Been married before	0.1523	0.07	-0.2158	0.02	0.1562	0.06	0.1217	0.23	0.0986	0.22	-0.0969	0.34
Highest qualification												
Post-graduate	0.0080	0.91	0.0648	0.56	0.0772	0.41	0.0591	0.67	0.0191	0.83	0.1289	0.29
Degree	_		_		_		_		_		_	
Diploma	0.1097	0.11	-0.1066	0.22	0.0142	0.85	-0.0168	0.85	-0.1838	0.01	-0.2579	0.01
Certificate III/IV	0.0632	0.28	-0.1732	0.02	-0.1299	0.04	-0.1371	0.07	-0.2133	0.00	-0.0308	0.72
Completed Yr 12	0.1638	0.02	0.0140	0.88	-0.0001	1.00	-0.0346	0.71	-0.1498	0.03	-0.1435	0.12
Did not finish Yr 12	0.2666	0.00	-0.0506	0.56	-0.1268	0.09	-0.1750	0.06	-0.3400	0.00	-0.2678	0.00
His characteristics												
Been married before	0.0947	0.23	-0.1091	0.26	-0.0270	0.74	0.0148	0.88	-0.0672	0.40	0.0064	0.95
General health <sup>b</sup>	0.1262	0.00	0.1106	0.00	0.1092	0.00	0.0691	0.00	0.0320	0.03	0.0320	0.15
Financial prosperity <sup>c</sup> Work from home (WFH)	0.1332	0.00	0.1002	0.00	0.0954	0.00	0.0940	0.00	0.0635	0.00	0.0459	0.06
status: Does not WFH	_		_		_		_		_		_	
WFH no formal agrmt	-0.0132	0.65	0.0820	0.02	-0.0445	0.20	-0.0316	0.44	-0.0370	0.22	-0.0094	0.82
WFH formal agreement	0.0213	0.60	0.0721	0.18	-0.0437	0.32	0.0063	0.92	-0.0021	0.96	0.1797	0.00
N(observations)	25486		13903		17882		9469		25496		12341	
N(individuals)	5376		3149		4419		2500		5381		2824	
Obs. per person:												
minimum	1		1		1		1		1		1	
average	4.7		4.4		4.0		3.8		4.7		4.4	
maximum	13		12		9		9		13		12	
Wald Chi-square	902.95	0.00	668.16	0.00	335.81	0.00	94.06	0.00	538.85	0.00	291.26	0.00

Table A4: Men's ratings of their female employee partners - with dummy variables for partner working from home by formal /no formal agreement

				Satisfacti	on with				She does her fair share of				
	The relation	_	Her relat with the	-	Divisio househol		Divisio childo		Work a		Looking a child		
	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	
Characteristics of couple Marital status defacto	-0.2854	0.00	-0.1074	0.27	-0.1659	0.00	-0.2277	0.01	-0.0567	0.19	0.0970	0.33	
Duration of rltship (yrs)	-0.0729	0.00	-0.1043	0.00	-0.0180	0.00	-0.0401	0.00	0.0039	0.52	-0.0094	0.52	
Duration squared	0.0015	0.00	0.0021	0.00	0.0008	0.00	0.0011	0.00	0.0000	0.83	0.0000	1.00	
Partner older (yrs)	0.0050	0.42	0.0195	0.01	-0.0126	0.01	-0.0109	0.11	0.0188	0.00	0.0182	0.03	
Partner less educated <sup>a</sup> Presence of dep. children:	-0.0304	0.04	0.0064	0.74	-0.0211	0.11	-0.0202	0.28	-0.0051	0.72	0.0103	0.63	
aged 0 to 4	-0.2751	0.00	0.0497	0.38	0.0027	0.95	-0.0025	0.97	0.0040	0.92	-0.0223	0.73	
aged 5 to 14	-0.2260	0.00	-0.1714	0.00	-0.1153	0.00	-0.0838	0.06	-0.0940	0.01	-0.0468	0.33	
aged 15_24 Presence of her children to	-0.1102	0.00	-0.1649	0.00	-0.0683	0.09	0.0163	0.77	-0.1127	0.00	0.0394	0.51	
other relationship Housing tenure: Home owner/purchaser	0.0990	0.24	-0.4104 —	0.00	0.0359 —	0.69	-0.0286 —	0.81	0.0189 —	0.84	-0.4220 —	0.00	
Renter	0.0108	0.77	-0.0606	0.31	-0.0266	0.49	-0.0630	0.30	0.0706	0.07	-0.0296	0.66	
Public/community Labour force status: She works full-time & he: works full-time	0.1389	0.35	-0.2195	0.37	-0.0622	0.69	0.0639	0.77	0.1299	0.40	-0.3183	0.23	
works part-time	0.0203	0.71	0.0908	0.31	0.1103	0.07	0.0949	0.37	-0.2407	0.00	-0.8072	0.00	
unemployed	-0.1162	0.71	-0.1570	0.31	-0.0797	0.07	0.0949	0.30	-0.5092	0.00	-0.8072	0.00	
not in labour force She works part-time & he:	0.0501	0.47	0.0075	0.94	0.0755	0.42	-0.1024	0.56	-0.3250	0.00	-0.7033	0.00	
works full-time	0.0246	0.38	0.1074	0.01	0.0638	0.03	0.0681	0.10	0.1992	0.00	0.2801	0.00	
works part-time	-0.0015	0.98	-0.0524	0.56	0.1293	0.03	0.2204	0.02	0.1083	0.06	-0.1210	0.20	
is unemployed	-0.0375	0.75	0.1407	0.45	-0.0582	0.73	-0.0039	0.99	-0.2546	0.05	-0.5687	0.04	

				Satisfacti	on with				She	does her	fair share of	
	The relation	_	Her relat with the o	•	Divisio househol		Divisio childo	-	Work ai hou		Looking a child	
	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z
is not in labour force His characteristics	0.1465	0.04	0.0576	0.64	0.0227	0.77	-0.0274	0.86	0.1556	0.06	-0.0572	0.72
Age married	-0.0229	0.00	-0.0449	0.00	0.0065	0.10	-0.0070	0.28	0.0020	0.63	-0.0259	0.00
Been married before Highest qualification	0.4108	0.00	-0.0952	0.37	0.1228	0.08	-0.0483	0.62	0.0488	0.53	0.0727	0.50
Post-graduate	-0.1047	0.14	0.0700	0.47	0.0089	0.91	-0.0585	0.57	0.2528	0.00	0.2099	0.09
Degree	_		_		_		_		_		_	
Diploma	0.2462	0.00	0.0752	0.42	0.1713	0.02	0.1725	0.06	-0.1552	0.04	-0.1577	0.17
Certificate III/IV	0.2259	0.00	0.1549	0.05	0.2021	0.00	0.1436	0.05	-0.1234	0.03	-0.1619	0.05
Completed Yr 12	0.2974	0.00	0.1193	0.30	0.2491	0.00	0.2239	0.03	-0.1323	0.09	-0.1858	0.12
Did not finish Yr 12 Her characteristics	0.3929	0.00	0.2319	0.02	0.2963	0.00	0.2312	0.03	-0.0506	0.50	-0.1055	0.34
Been married before	0.0884	0.32	-0.3882	0.00	0.0654	0.38	0.0261	0.79	-0.0962	0.25	0.1178	0.29
General health <sup>b</sup>	0.1123	0.00	0.1088	0.00	0.1055	0.00	0.1036	0.00	0.0452	0.01	0.0350	0.19
Financial prosperity <sup>c</sup> Work from home (WFH) status:	0.0905	0.00	0.0511	0.03	0.0942	0.00	0.0895	0.00	0.0092	0.60	0.0713	0.02
Does not WFH	_		_		_		_		_		_	
WFH no formal agrmt	0.0056	0.86	0.0495	0.24	0.0150	0.65	0.0620	0.22	-0.0171	0.63	0.0230	0.69
WFH formal agreement	0.0791	0.06	0.0238	0.65	0.0590	0.20	0.0438	0.43	0.0191	0.66	0.0183	0.79
N(observations)	23154		11204		16424		7655		23195		9420	
N(individuals)	5129		2727		4281		2189		5148		2377	
Obs. per person:												
minimum	1		1		1		1		1		1	
average	4.5		4.1		3.8		3.5		4.5		4	
maximum	13		12		9		9		13		12	

	Satisfaction with									She does her fair share of				
	The		Her relationship		Division of		Division of		Work around		Looking after the			
	relationship		with the children		household tasks		childcare		house		children			
	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z		
Wald Chi-square	589.41	0.00	490.26	0.00	236.8	0.00	92.61	0.00	201.55	0.00	194.02	0.00		

Table A5: Women's ratings of their male employee partners - with dummy variable for partner works from home 8 or more hours per week

	Satisfaction with									He does his fair share of			
	Th	e	His relat	•	Divisio	n of	Divisio	on of	Work a	round	Looking a		
	relationship		with the children		household tasks		childcare		house		children		
	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	
Characteristics of couple													
Marital status defacto	-0.1377	0.00	0.0075	0.92	-0.1083	0.02	-0.1031	0.14	0.0755	0.08	-0.1627	0.02	
Duration of rltship (yrs)	-0.0898	0.00	-0.0944	0.00	-0.0314	0.00	-0.0436	0.00	-0.0271	0.00	-0.0054	0.65	
Duration squared	0.0017	0.00	0.0017	0.00	0.0011	0.00	0.0013	0.00	0.0009	0.00	0.0008	0.03	
Partner older (yrs)	0.0103	0.08	0.0218	0.00	0.0060	0.31	0.0031	0.69	0.0111	0.05	-0.0025	0.77	
Partner less educated <sup>a</sup> Presence of dep. children:	-0.0039	0.80	-0.0222	0.25	0.0107	0.49	0.0220	0.27	0.0122	0.42	0.0132	0.53	
aged 0 to 4	-0.2658	0.00	0.0100	0.83	-0.1657	0.00	-0.1852	0.00	-0.3188	0.00	-0.1534	0.00	
aged 5 to 14	-0.2140	0.00	-0.2147	0.00	-0.0427	0.23	-0.0482	0.23	-0.1730	0.00	-0.0321	0.43	
aged 15 to 24 Presence of his children to	-0.1637	0.00	-0.2339	0.00	-0.1654	0.00	-0.0492	0.36	-0.2459	0.00	-0.0839	0.09	
other relationship	0.0447	0.51	-0.3889	0.00	-0.0795	0.26	0.0422	0.62	-0.1348	0.06	-0.0901	0.33	
Housing tenure: Home owner/purchaser	_		_		_		_		_		_		
Renter	-0.0264	0.44	0.0428	0.39	-0.0702	0.07	-0.0791	0.16	-0.0166	0.65	0.0526	0.31	
Public/community Labour force status: He works full-time & she: works full-time	0.0577	0.65	-0.0030 —	0.98	-0.1437 —	0.28	-0.1837 —	0.25	-0.0845 —	0.53	-0.1743 —	0.39	
works part-time	-0.0344	0.22	0.0080	0.84	-0.0353	0.26	-0.0363	0.40	-0.2008	0.00	-0.3638	0.00	
is unemployed	-0.1026	0.12	-0.0604	0.45	0.0120	0.88	-0.1477	0.17	-0.1532	0.03	-0.5527	0.00	
is not in labour force He works part-time & she:	0.1086	0.00	0.0912	0.05	0.1223	0.00	-0.0381	0.49	-0.1171	0.00	-0.5315	0.00	
works full-time	-0.0423	0.53	-0.0740	0.46	0.0807	0.29	0.1614	0.16	0.3078	0.00	0.6463	0.00	
works part-time	-0.0606	0.35	0.0693	0.44	0.0984	0.22	0.1040	0.39	0.1115	0.13	-0.0270	0.83	
unemployed	0.0089	0.96	0.1738	0.52	0.0499	0.82	-0.6889	0.06	-0.0925	0.62	-0.5825	0.07	
Not in labour force	0.0370	0.64	0.1012	0.37	0.0101	0.91	-0.0861	0.53	0.0152	0.85	-0.3206	0.01	
Her characteristics	-0.0229	0.00	-0.0335	0.00	0.0136	0.00	-0.0072	0.25	0.0070	0.12	0.0034	0.61	

	Satisfaction with									He does his fair share of				
	The relationship		His relationship with the children		Division of household tasks		Division of childcare		Work around house		Looking after the children			
	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z		
Age married														
Been married before Highest qualification	0.1500	0.07	-0.2160	0.02	0.1562	0.06	0.1266	0.21	0.0988	0.22	-0.0949	0.35		
Post-graduate	0.0089	0.90	0.0727	0.51	0.0771	0.41	0.0595	0.67	0.0168	0.85	0.1336	0.26		
Degree	_		_		_		_		_		_			
Diploma	0.1108	0.11	-0.1076	0.21	0.0155	0.83	-0.0155	0.87	-0.1811	0.01	-0.2499	0.01		
Certificate III/IV	0.0628	0.28	-0.1863	0.01	-0.1282	0.04	-0.1363	0.07	-0.2097	0.00	-0.0297	0.73		
Completed Yr 12	0.1629	0.02	-0.0033	0.97	0.0026	0.97	-0.0316	0.73	-0.1453	0.03	-0.1419	0.13		
Did not finish Yr 12  His characteristics	0.2633	0.00	-0.0745	0.39	-0.1249	0.09	-0.1707	0.07	-0.3333	0.00	-0.2648	0.00		
Been married before	0.0953	0.23	-0.1095	0.26	-0.0268	0.74	0.0135	0.89	-0.0668	0.40	0.0063	0.95		
General health <sup>b</sup>	0.1268	0.00	0.1109	0.00	0.1098	0.00	0.0693	0.00	0.0324	0.03	0.0335	0.13		
Financial prosperity <sup>c</sup>	0.1329	0.00	0.1013	0.00	0.0941	0.00	0.0920	0.00	0.0625	0.00	0.0474	0.05		
Works from home 8 hrs+	-0.0190	0.61	-0.0105	0.83	-0.0698	0.13	-0.0139	0.80	-0.0066	0.87	0.0633	0.27		
N(observations)	25470		13895		17868		9462		25480		12334			
N(individuals)	5374		3148		4418		2499		5379		2823			
Obs. per person:														
minimum	1		1		1		1		1		1			
average	4.7		4.4		4		3.8		4.7		4.4			
maximum	13		12		9		9		13		12			
Wald Chi-square	901.78	0.00	664.87	0	334.63	0.00	92.51	0.00	538.8	0.00	279.26	0.00		

Table A6: Men's ratings of their female employee partners - with dummy variable for partner works from home 8 or more hours per week

	Satisfaction with								She does her fair share of				
	Th	e	Her relat	ionship	Divisio	n of	Divisio	on of	Work around		Looking a	fter the	
	relationship		with the children		household tasks		childcare		house		child	ren	
	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	
Characteristics of couple													
Marital status defacto	-0.2866	0.00	-0.1071	0.27	-0.1666	0.00	-0.2280	0.01	-0.0551	0.21	0.0986	0.32	
Duration of rltship (yrs)	-0.0726	0.00	-0.1040	0.00	-0.0176	0.00	-0.0400	0.00	0.0041	0.50	-0.0088	0.55	
Duration squared	0.0015	0.00	0.0021	0.00	0.0008	0.00	0.0011	0.00	0.0000	0.83	0.0000	0.98	
Partner older (yrs)	0.0051	0.42	0.0196	0.01	-0.0126	0.01	-0.0107	0.12	0.0186	0.00	0.0180	0.03	
Partner less educated <sup>a</sup> Presence of dep. children:	-0.0287	0.05	0.0097	0.61	-0.0200	0.13	-0.0172	0.36	-0.0057	0.69	0.0098	0.64	
aged 0 to 4	-0.2723	0.00	0.0516	0.37	0.0048	0.90	-0.0027	0.96	0.0062	0.88	-0.0202	0.76	
aged 5 to 14	-0.2241	0.00	-0.1693	0.00	-0.1141	0.00	-0.0827	0.06	-0.0942	0.01	-0.0472	0.33	
aged 15 to 24 Presence of her children to	-0.1121	0.00	-0.1640	0.00	-0.0704	0.08	0.0158	0.78	-0.1139	0.00	0.0383	0.52	
other relationship Housing tenure:	0.1001	0.24	-0.4113	0.00	0.0356	0.69	-0.0283	0.81	0.0190	0.84	-0.4165	0.00	
Home owner/purchaser	_		_		_		_		_		_		
Renter	0.0123	0.74	-0.0599	0.32	-0.0253	0.51	-0.0623	0.30	0.0710	0.07	-0.0339	0.62	
Public/community Labour force status: She works full-time & he: works full-time	0.1379	0.36	-0.2172	0.38	-0.0615 —	0.70	0.0679	0.76	0.1297	0.40	-0.3144 —	0.23	
works part-time	0.0212	0.70	0.0924	0.30	0.1092	0.07	0.0955	0.37	-0.2413	0.00	-0.8084	0.00	
unemployed	-0.1165	0.21	-0.1603	0.29	-0.0802	0.47	0.2176	0.30	-0.5103	0.00	-0.8920	0.00	
not in labour force She works part-time & he:	0.0445	0.52	-0.0046	0.97	0.0718	0.44	-0.1086	0.53	-0.3293	0.00	-0.7006	0.00	
works full-time	0.0256	0.36	0.0994	0.01	0.0632	0.04	0.0642	0.12	0.1994	0.00	0.2905	0.00	
works part-time	0.0008	0.99	-0.0608	0.50	0.1303	0.03	0.2152	0.03	0.1088	0.06	-0.1133	0.23	
is unemployed	-0.0385	0.74	0.1316	0.48	-0.0608	0.72	-0.0073	0.97	-0.2541	0.05	-0.5562	0.05	
is not in labour force	0.1460	0.04	0.0469	0.70	0.0198	0.80	-0.0338	0.83	0.1536	0.06	-0.0468	0.77	
His characteristics	-0.0227	0.00	-0.0448	0.00	0.0068	0.08	-0.0070	0.29	0.0022	0.59	-0.0256	0.00	

				She does her fair share of								
	Th	_	Her relat	•	Divisio	-	Divisio	-	Work a		Looking a	
	relationship		with the children		household tasks		childcare		house		child	ren
	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z
Age married												
Been married before Highest qualification	0.4085	0.00	-0.0947	0.37	0.1198	0.09	-0.0467	0.63	0.0498	0.52	0.0698	0.52
Post-graduate	-0.1022	0.15	0.0688	0.47	0.0121	0.88	-0.0546	0.60	0.2515	0.00	0.2057	0.10
Degree	_		_		_		_		_		_	
Diploma	0.2391	0.00	0.0661	0.48	0.1692	0.02	0.1723	0.06	-0.1537	0.04	-0.1595	0.16
Certificate III/IV	0.2207	0.00	0.1413	0.07	0.1990	0.00	0.1373	0.06	-0.1236	0.03	-0.1606	0.06
Completed Yr 12	0.2891	0.00	0.1050	0.36	0.2490	0.00	0.2160	0.03	-0.1320	0.09	-0.1845	0.12
Did not finish Yr 12	0.3809	0.00	0.2101	0.04	0.2896	0.00	0.2160	0.04	-0.0485	0.51	-0.1018	0.35
Her characteristics												
Been married before	0.0916	0.30	-0.3899	0.00	0.0669	0.37	0.0247	0.81	-0.0960	0.25	0.1150	0.30
General health <sup>b</sup>	0.1121	0.00	0.1090	0.00	0.1053	0.00	0.1031	0.00	0.0440	0.01	0.0343	0.20
Financial prosperity <sup>c</sup>	0.0901	0.00	0.0522	0.03	0.0944	0.00	0.0899	0.00	0.0095	0.60	0.0726	0.02
Works from home 8 hrs+	-0.0137	0.74	-0.0719	0.19	-0.0160	0.72	0.0045	0.94	-0.0138	0.75	0.1309	0.07
N(observations)	23133		11196		16412		7650		23174		9413	
N(individuals)	5126		2726		4279		2188		5145		2376	
Obs. per person:												
minimum	1		1		1		1		1		1	
average	4.5		4.1		3.8		3.5		4.5		4	
maximum	13		12		9		9		13		12	
Wald Chi-square	576.84	0.00	493.14	0.00	235.6	0.00	91.12	0.00	199.89	0.00	197.36	0.00

Table A7: Women's ratings of their male employee partners – with continuous variable for number of hours partner works from home

				Satisfaction	on with				He does his fair share of			
	Th	e	His relati	•	Divisio		Divisio	on of	Work a	round	Looking a	
	relatio	nship	with the	hildren	househo	d tasks	childo	care	hou	se	child	ren
	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z
Characteristics of couple												
Marital status defacto	-0.1377	0.00	0.0074	0.92	-0.1093	0.02	-0.1039	0.14	0.0755	0.08	-0.1627	0.02
Duration of rltship (yrs)	-0.0899	0.00	-0.0944	0.00	-0.0310	0.00	-0.0434	0.00	-0.0270	0.00	-0.0058	0.63
Duration squared	0.0017	0.00	0.0017	0.00	0.0011	0.00	0.0013	0.00	0.0009	0.00	0.0008	0.03
Partner older (yrs)	0.0103	0.08	0.0218	0.00	0.0061	0.30	0.0032	0.68	0.0111	0.05	-0.0027	0.75
Partner less educated <sup>a</sup> Presence of dep. children:	-0.0041	0.79	-0.0227	0.24	0.0129	0.40	0.0236	0.23	0.0128	0.40	0.0114	0.59
aged 0 to 4	-0.2658	0.00	0.0100	0.83	-0.1650	0.00	-0.1854	0.00	-0.3185	0.00	-0.1538	0.00
aged 5 to 14	-0.2140	0.00	-0.2150	0.00	-0.0417	0.24	-0.0477	0.24	-0.1726	0.00	-0.0332	0.41
aged 15 to 24 Presence of his children to	-0.1636	0.00	-0.2338	0.00	-0.1660	0.00	-0.0494	0.35	-0.2461	0.00	-0.0839	0.09
other relationship	0.0447	0.51	-0.3891	0.00	-0.0776	0.27	0.0426	0.62	-0.1346	0.06	-0.0914	0.32
Housing tenure: Home owner/purchaser	_		_		_		_		_		_	
Renter	-0.0263	0.44	0.0429	0.38	-0.0695	0.08	-0.0788	0.16	-0.0163	0.65	0.0519	0.32
Public/community Labour force status: He works full-time & she: works full-time	0.0575 —	0.66	-0.0028 —	0.99	-0.1444 —	0.28	-0.1842 —	0.25	-0.0855 —	0.53	-0.1728 —	0.39
works part-time	-0.0345	0.22	0.0081	0.83	-0.0352	0.26	-0.0367	0.39	-0.2009	0.00	-0.3630	0.00
is unemployed	-0.1024	0.12	-0.0607	0.45	0.0147	0.85	-0.1464	0.17	-0.1528	0.03	-0.5561	0.00
is not in labour force He works part-time & she:	0.1086	0.00	0.0912	0.05	0.1229	0.00	-0.0379	0.49	-0.1171	0.00	-0.5314	0.00
works full-time	-0.0422	0.54	-0.0734	0.46	0.0781	0.30	0.1597	0.16	0.3069	0.00	0.6488	0.00
works part-time	-0.0604	0.35	0.0703	0.43	0.0953	0.23	0.1013	0.40	0.1102	0.14	-0.0242	0.85
unemployed	0.0096	0.96	0.1748	0.52	0.0471	0.84	-0.6913	0.06	-0.0936	0.62	-0.5792	0.07
Not in labour force	0.0373	0.63	0.1017	0.37	0.0055	0.95	-0.0873	0.52	0.0136	0.86	-0.3189	0.01
Her characteristics	-0.0229	0.00	-0.0335	0.00	0.0136	0.00	-0.0072	0.25	0.0070	0.12	0.0035	0.61

		Satisfaction with								He does his fair share of			
	The relation	_	His relati with the o	•	Divisio househo	-	Divisio childo		Work a		Looking a child		
	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	
Age married													
Been married before Highest qualification	0.1503	0.07	-0.2155	0.02	0.1548	0.06	0.1259	0.22	0.0988	0.22	-0.0948	0.35	
Post-graduate	0.0089	0.90	0.0721	0.52	0.0820	0.38	0.0629	0.65	0.0179	0.84	0.1291	0.28	
Degree	_		_		_		_		_		_		
Diploma	0.1109	0.11	-0.1072	0.21	0.0138	0.85	-0.0179	0.85	-0.1815	0.01	-0.2472	0.01	
Certificate III/IV	0.0632	0.28	-0.1850	0.01	-0.1339	0.03	-0.1404	0.07	-0.2112	0.00	-0.0248	0.77	
Completed Yr 12	0.1633	0.02	-0.0017	0.99	-0.0042	0.95	-0.0361	0.69	-0.1472	0.03	-0.1367	0.14	
Did not finish Yr 12 His characteristics	0.2641	0.00	-0.0719	0.41	-0.1362	0.07	-0.1790	0.06	-0.3360	0.00	-0.2564	0.01	
Been married before	0.0953	0.23	-0.1097	0.25	-0.0251	0.76	0.0151	0.88	-0.0665	0.40	0.0041	0.97	
General health <sup>b</sup>	0.1268	0.00	0.1109	0.00	0.1099	0.00	0.0693	0.00	0.0325	0.03	0.0332	0.13	
Financial prosperity <sup>c</sup>	0.1330	0.00	0.1012	0.00	0.0952	0.00	0.0925	0.00	0.0627	0.00	0.0470	0.06	
Hours worked from home	-0.0006	0.78	0.0005	0.88	-0.0086	0.00	-0.0041	0.27	-0.0016	0.48	0.0069	0.05	
N(observations)	25470		13895		17868		9462		25480		12334		
N(individuals)	5374		3148		4418		2499		5379		2823		
Obs. per person:													
minimum	1		1		1		1		1		1		
average	4.7		4.4		4		3.8		4.7		4.4		
maximum	13		12		9		9		13		12		
Wald Chi-square	901.94	0.00	664.81	0.00	337.28	0.00	93.79	0.00	537.6	0.00	281.49	0.00	

Notes: see notes, Table A1.

Table A8: Men's ratings of their female employee partners - with continuous variable for number of hours partner works from home

_				Satisfaction	on with				She does her fair share of			
	The	е	Her relat	ionship	Divisio	n of	Divisio	on of	Work a	round	Looking a	fter the
	relation	nship	with the o	children	househol	d tasks	childo	care	hou	se	child	ren
	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z
Characteristics of couple												
Marital status defacto	-0.2858	0.00	-0.1077	0.27	-0.1664	0.00	-0.2259	0.01	-0.0546	0.21	0.0937	0.35
Duration of rltship (yrs)	-0.0729	0.00	-0.1040	0.00	-0.0177	0.00	-0.0398	0.00	0.0040	0.51	-0.0093	0.53
Duration squared	0.0015	0.00	0.0021	0.00	0.0008	0.00	0.0011	0.00	0.0000	0.83	0.0000	1.00
Partner older (yrs)	0.0051	0.41	0.0195	0.01	-0.0126	0.01	-0.0106	0.12	0.0187	0.00	0.0179	0.03
Partner less educated <sup>a</sup> Presence of dep. children:	-0.0300	0.04	0.0085	0.66	-0.0204	0.12	-0.0163	0.38	-0.0064	0.66	0.0103	0.63
aged 0 to 4	-0.2750	0.00	0.0503	0.38	0.0041	0.92	-0.0021	0.97	0.0046	0.91	-0.0205	0.75
aged 5 to 14	-0.2255	0.00	-0.1702	0.00	-0.1145	0.00	-0.0824	0.06	-0.0950	0.01	-0.0466	0.33
aged 15 to 24 Presence of her children to	-0.1122	0.00	-0.1644	0.00	-0.0703	0.08	0.0152	0.79	-0.1139	0.00	0.0404	0.50
other relationship Housing tenure:	0.0989	0.24	-0.4100	0.00	0.0358	0.69	-0.0292	0.81	0.0185	0.85	-0.4198	0.00
Home owner/purchaser	_		_		_		_		_		_	
Renter	0.0115	0.75	-0.0601	0.32	-0.0254	0.51	-0.0621	0.31	0.0706	0.07	-0.0339	0.62
Public/community Labour force status: She works full-time & he: works full-time	0.1347	0.37	-0.2164 —	0.38	-0.0616 —	0.70	0.0675 —	0.76	0.1277	0.41	-0.3160 —	0.23
works part-time	0.0217	0.69	0.0909	0.31	0.1092	0.07	0.0953	0.37	-0.2412	0.00	-0.8085	0.00
unemployed	-0.1159	0.21	-0.1563	0.30	-0.0799	0.47	0.2143	0.31	-0.5099	0.00	-0.8937	0.00
not in labour force She works part-time & he:	0.0478	0.49	0.0001	1.00	0.0725	0.44	-0.1123	0.52	-0.3276	0.00	-0.7020	0.00
works full-time	0.0299	0.28	0.1046	0.01	0.0643	0.03	0.0607	0.15	0.2019	0.00	0.2895	0.00
works part-time	0.0055	0.92	-0.0563	0.53	0.1313	0.03	0.2115	0.03	0.1115	0.05	-0.1131	0.23
is unemployed	-0.0330	0.78	0.1379	0.46	-0.0595	0.72	-0.0117	0.96	-0.2510	0.05	-0.5569	0.05
is not in labour force	0.1520	0.03	0.0538	0.66	0.0213	0.78	-0.0389	0.80	0.1569	0.06	-0.0476	0.77
His characteristics	-0.0229	0.00	-0.0448	0.00	0.0068	0.08	-0.0070	0.29	0.0020	0.62	-0.0257	0.00

				Satisfaction	on with				She	She does her fair share of			
	The relation	_	Her relat with the o	•	Divisio househo	-	Divisio childo		Work a		Looking a child		
	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	
Age married													
Been married before Highest qualification	0.4084	0.00	-0.0957	0.36	0.1197	0.09	-0.0446	0.64	0.0498	0.52	0.0684	0.53	
Post-graduate	-0.1030	0.15	0.0688	0.47	0.0115	0.89	-0.0543	0.60	0.2510	0.00	0.2065	0.10	
Degree	_		_		_		_		_		_		
Diploma	0.2411	0.00	0.0684	0.47	0.1695	0.02	0.1713	0.06	-0.1525	0.04	-0.1603	0.16	
Certificate III/IV	0.2256	0.00	0.1464	0.06	0.2002	0.00	0.1346	0.06	-0.1209	0.04	-0.1623	0.05	
Completed Yr 12	0.2941	0.00	0.1100	0.34	0.2503	0.00	0.2128	0.04	-0.1291	0.10	-0.1849	0.12	
Did not finish Yr 12  Her characteristics	0.3884	0.00	0.2182	0.03	0.2919	0.00	0.2098	0.04	-0.0442	0.55	-0.1030	0.35	
Been married before	0.0914	0.30	-0.3891	0.00	0.0669	0.37	0.0251	0.80	-0.0963	0.25	0.1145	0.30	
General health <sup>b</sup>	0.1123	0.00	0.1088	0.00	0.1054	0.00	0.1029	0.00	0.0441	0.01	0.0344	0.19	
Financial prosperity <sup>c</sup>	0.0896	0.00	0.0518	0.03	0.0942	0.00	0.0904	0.00	0.0091	0.61	0.0720	0.02	
Hours worked from home	0.0041	0.16	0.0004	0.91	0.0005	0.85	-0.0029	0.48	0.0020	0.41	0.0070	0.07	
N(observations)	23133		11196		16412		7650		23174		9413		
N(individuals)	5126		2726		4279		2188		5145		2376		
Obs. per person:													
minimum	1		1		1		1		1		1		
average	4.5		4.1		3.8		3.5		4.5		4		
maximum	13		12		9		9		13		12		
Wald Chi-square	584.61	0.00	490.21	0.00	235.62	0.00	91.78	0.00	201.67	0.00	197.13	0.00	

Notes: see notes, Table A1.

Table A9: Children's family functioning ratings by parental work from home status

, -					<u> </u>			
			ome dumm				mal agreem	
	Satisfaction		Share of		Satisfacti		Share of	
	relationsh	-	others do the ho		relationsh	-	others do the ho	
	pare				pare			
Youth's characteristics	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z
Female	-0.1285	0.03	-0.0618	0.27	-0.1286	0.03	-0.0615	0.28
Age (years)	0.0051	0.77	0.0018	0.33	0.0050	0.77	0.0013	0.33
Main activity	0.0031	0.77	0.0103	0.33	0.0030	0.77	0.0103	0.33
Still at school	_		_		_		_	
Left school &:								
Works full-time	0.0669	0.34	0.1654	0.02	0.0687	0.32	0.1669	0.02
Works part-time	-0.0042	0.94	-0.0549	0.36	-0.0041	0.95	-0.0553	0.36
Unemployed	-0.1217	0.20	-0.1669	0.07	-0.1216	0.21	-0.1667	0.07
Not in labour force <sup>a</sup>	-0.0313	0.82	-0.4588	0.00	-0.0276	0.84	-0.4578	0.00
Post-school study <sup>a</sup>	-0.0848	0.41	-0.1107	0.32	-0.0850	0.41	-0.1113	0.32
Post-sch. quals								
University level	0.2170	0.14	-0.1316	0.43	0.2181	0.14	-0.1313	0.43
Diploma	0.4778	0.00	-0.2013	0.28	0.4808	0.00	-0.2014	0.28
Certificate III/IV	0.2681	0.01	-0.1745	0.09	0.2679	0.01	-0.1734	0.09
Household/parent								
characteristics:	0.2257	0.02	0.4460	0.20	0.2220	0.02	0.4460	0.20
Marital status defacto	-0.2257	0.02	0.1160	0.28	-0.2238	0.02	0.1169	0.28
Average age of parents <sup>b</sup>	-0.0090	0.18	0.0090	0.15	-0.0090	0.17	0.0088	0.16
Financial prosperity <sup>c</sup>	0.0605	0.05	0.0458	0.17	0.0603	0.05	0.0447	0.18
Housing tenure: Home owner/purchaser	_		_		_		_	
Renter	0.1817	0.02	-0.2454	0.00	0.1844	0.02	-0.2437	0.00
		0.02						
Public/community Number of siblings	0.4558	0.02	0.0207	0.92	0.4559	0.02	0.0233	0.91
aged 0 to 4	-0.1381	0.15	-0.1207	0.19	-0.1368	0.16	-0.1216	0.19
aged 5 to 14	-0.0306	0.35	-0.1657	0.00	-0.0312	0.34	-0.1669	0.00
Mother's general health <sup>d</sup>	-0.0863	0.00	-0.0089	0.74	-0.0861	0.00	-0.0085	0.75
Father's general health <sup>d</sup>	-0.0609	0.02	0.0022	0.93	-0.0603	0.02	0.0027	0.92
Parental labour force status:	0.0003	0.02	0.0022	0.55	0.0003	0.02	0.0027	0.52
Both work full-time	0.0442	0.38	-0.1442	0.00	0.0419	0.41	-0.1460	0.00
One works FT, one PT	-		-		-		_	
One works FT, one unemp.	0.0318	0.81	0.1308	0.22	0.0302	0.82	0.1328	0.22
One works FT, one NILF	-0.0053	0.94	0.0046	0.94	-0.0069	0.92	0.0068	0.92
Both work part-time	-0.0323	0.81	-0.1340	0.31	-0.0322	0.81	-0.1311	0.32
One works PT, one unemp.	0.4130	0.04	-0.2465	0.32	0.4156	0.04	-0.2421	0.32
One work PT, one NILF	0.1005	0.44	0.1452	0.23	0.1030	0.43	0.1502	0.21
Work-from-home status	3.1003	J.44	0.1402	0.23	0.1000	5.∓5	0.1302	J.21
No parent works from home	-		-		-		_	
Any parent works from								
home:	-0.0053	0.90	-0.0166	0.71				
With formal agreement					-0.0353	0.56	-0.0021	0.97
No formal agreement					0.0224	0.62	0.0141	0.77
N(observations)	6359		6578		6359		6578	

	Work	Works from home dummies				Formal/no formal agreement					
	Satisfaction	on with	Share of	Share of work		on with	Share of work				
	relationsh	ip with	others do	others do around		nip with	others do	around			
	parei	nts	the ho	ouse	pare	nts	the house				
	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z			
N(individuals)	2269		2305		2269		2305				
Obs. per person:											
minimum	1		1		1		1				
average	2.8		2.9		2.8		2.9				
maximum	7		7		7		7				
Wald Chi-square	79.47	0.00	122.72	0.00	80.23	0.00	123.6	0.00			

Table A9: Children's family functioning ratings by parental work from home status (continued)

Table A9: Children's family functioning ratings by parental work from home status (continued)  Any parent works * hours  Number of hours parents										
	0	r more fi	om home			work fro	m home			
	Satisfaction		Share of		Satisfaction		Share of			
	relationsh	-	others do around		relationship with		others do around			
	parei		the ho		pare		the ho			
Youth's characteristics	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z		
Female	-0.1285	0.03	-0.0613	0.28	-0.1270	0.03	-0.0623	0.27		
Age (years)	0.0051	0.77	0.0162	0.33	0.0054	0.75	0.0023	0.36		
Main activity	0.0031	0.77	0.0102	0.33	0.0034	0.73	0.0134	0.30		
Still at school	_		_		_		_			
Left school &:										
Works full-time	0.0669	0.34	0.1682	0.02	0.0675	0.33	0.1696	0.02		
Works part-time	-0.0042	0.94	-0.0564	0.35	-0.0030	0.96	-0.0487	0.42		
Unemployed	-0.1215	0.21	-0.1692	0.07	-0.1224	0.20	-0.1631	0.08		
Not in labour force <sup>a</sup>	-0.0311	0.82	-0.4595	0.00	-0.0320	0.81	-0.4560	0.00		
Post-school study <sup>a</sup>	-0.0851	0.41	-0.1098	0.33	-0.0847	0.41	-0.1075	0.34		
Post-sch. quals										
University level	0.2172	0.14	-0.1316	0.43	0.2161	0.14	-0.1300	0.43		
Diploma	0.4779	0.00	-0.2033	0.27	0.4772	0.00	-0.2006	0.28		
Certificate III/IV	0.2682	0.01	-0.1714	0.10	0.2684	0.01	-0.1732	0.09		
Household/parent										
characteristics:										
Marital status defacto	-0.2255	0.02	0.1169	0.28	-0.2286	0.02	0.1134	0.29		
Average age of parents <sup>b</sup>	-0.0090	0.18	0.0083	0.18	-0.0094	0.16	0.0086	0.17		
Financial prosperity <sup>c</sup>	0.0604	0.05	0.0444	0.19	0.0594	0.06	0.0465	0.17		
Housing tenure: Home owner/purchaser	_		_		_		_			
Renter	0.1816	0.02	-0.2414	0.00	0.1845	0.02	-0.2401	0.00		
Public/community	0.4556	0.02	0.0290	0.89	0.4597	0.02	0.0264	0.90		
Number of siblings										
aged 0 to 4	-0.1382	0.15	-0.1246	0.18	-0.1391	0.15	-0.1227	0.18		
aged 5 to 14	-0.0306	0.34	-0.1688	0.00	-0.0330	0.31	-0.1656	0.00		
Mother's general health	-0.0863	0.00	-0.0080	0.76	-0.0861	0.00	-0.0082	0.76		
Father's general health <sup>d</sup> Parental labour force status:	-0.0609	0.02	0.0035	0.89	-0.0609	0.02	0.0017	0.95		
Both work full-time	0.0443	0.38	-0.1492	0.00	0.0432	0.40	-0.1436	0.00		
One works FT, one PT	_		_		_		_			
One works FT, one unemp.	0.0320	0.81	0.1375	0.20	0.0350	0.79	0.1343	0.21		
One works FT, one NILF	-0.0049	0.94	0.0082	0.90	-0.0026	0.97	0.0061	0.93		
Both work part-time	-0.0322	0.81	-0.1258	0.34	-0.0278	0.84	-0.1287	0.33		
One works PT, one unemp.	0.4135	0.04	-0.2416	0.33	0.4166	0.04	-0.2429	0.32		
One work PT, one NILF Work-from-home status	0.1010	0.43	0.1528	0.20	0.1060	0.41	0.1514	0.21		
No parent works from home	_		_							
A parent WFH 8 hours+	-0.0060	0.92	0.0688	0.27						
Parental hours WFH					0.0015	0.64	0.0014	0.66		
N(observations)	6359		6578		6353		6572			

	Any parent works * hours			Number of hours parents						
	C	or more fi	rom home		work from home					
	Satisfacti	on with	Share of work		Satisfacti	on with	Share of work			
	relationsh	nip with	others do	around	relations	nip with	others do	around		
	pare	nts	the ho	ouse	pare	nts	the house			
	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z	Coef.	P> z		
N(individuals)	2269		2305		2269		2305			
Obs. per person:										
minimum	1		1		1		1			
average	2.8		2.9		2.8		2.9			
maximum	7		7		7		7			
Wald Chi-square	79.17	0.00	122.98	0.00	79.58	0.00	120.6	0.00		

Notes: Estimated coefficients for cut-points of the ordinal scales not reported; a. For individuals who had left school and were not in the labour force, those who gave studying or returning to study as their reasons for not looking for work, or gave their main activity since last working/looking for work as TAFE/University were assigned as being in post-school study. Otherwise they were considered not-in-the-labour-force; b. arithmetic mean of the father's and mother's age; c. Financial prosperity as assessed by the mother and coded to range from 1=very poor to 6=prosperous; d. Self-assessed general health, coded to range from 1=poor to 5=excellent.

## Appendix B: Variable means

Table B1: Means for variables used in models for couples, pooled observations 2001-2013

Variable	Means for Female	Means for male
Variable	partners of male	partners of female
	employees	employees
Characteristics of couple		
Marital status defacto	0.25	0.25
Duration of relationship (years)	13.07	13.65
Duration squared	303.61	323.02
Employee older (years)	2.07	-2.42
Employee less educated <sup>a</sup>	0.18	-0.02
Presence of dep. children: aged 0 to 4	0.24	0.16
aged 5 to 14	0.34	0.29
aged 15 to 24	0.34	0.21
Presence of children to employee's other relationship	0.08	0.03
Housing tenure:	0.08	0.03
Home owner/purchaser	0.74	0.77
Renter	0.25	0.22
Public/community	0.02	0.01
Labour force status:		
Employee works full-time & partner:		
works full-time	0.36	0.44
works part-time	0.32	0.04
unemployed	0.02	0.01
not in labour force	0.21	0.03
Employee works part-time & partner: works full-time	0.03	0.39
works part-time	0.03	0.05
is unemployed	0.00	0.01
is not in labour force	0.03	0.04
Partner's characteristics	0.03	0.04
Age employee married	28.61	26.87
Been married before	0.16	0.19
Highest qualification		
Post-graduate	0.04	0.06
Degree	0.27	0.22
Diploma	0.10	0.10
Certificate III/IV	0.16	0.31
Completed Yr 12	0.16	0.12
Did not finish Yr 12	0.28	0.19
Employee characteristics  Been married before	0.16	0.17
General health <sup>b</sup>	0.16	0.17
	3.54	3.61
Financial prosperity <sup>c</sup> Works from home	3.90	3.94
WFH – no formal agreement	0.21	0.21
WFH – formal agreement	0.14	0.13
WFH 8 hours or more per week	0.07	0.07
·	0.08	0.07
Hours usually works from home	1.67	1.53

Notes: see notes, Table A1 for variable definitions.

Table B2: Means for variables used in models for children, pooled observations 2001-2013

Variable	Mean
v	
Youth's characteristics Female	0.49
	17.42
Age (years) Main activity	17.42
Still at school	0.50
Left school &:	
Works full-time	0.15
Works part-time	0.21
Unemployed	0.05
Not in labour force <sup>a</sup>	0.02
Post-school study <sup>a</sup>	0.04
Post-school qualifications	
University level	0.01
Diploma	0.01
Certificate III/IV	0.04
Household/parent characteristics:	
Marital status defacto	0.08
Average age of parents <sup>b</sup>	47.11
Financial prosperity <sup>c</sup>	3.89
Housing tenure:	0.06
Home owner/purchaser	0.86
Renter	0.13
Public/community	0.02
Number of siblings aged 0 to 4	0.05
aged 5 to 14	0.58
_	2.56
Mother's general health <sup>d</sup>	
Father's general health <sup>d</sup> Parental labour force status:	2.59
Both work full-time	0.36
One works full-time, one part-time	0.37
One works full-time, one unemployed	0.03
One works full-time, one not-in-LF	0.18
Both work part-time	0.02
·	
One works part-time, one unemployed	0.01
One work part-time, one not-in-LF Work-from-home (WFH) status	0.03
Any parent works from home	0.34
Any parent WFH, no formal agreement	0.11
Any parent WFH, no formal agreement	0.25
	0.15
Any parent WFH 8 hours+ Parental hours worked from home	
. d. ddar modifo worked monitrionic	3.18

Notes: See notes, Table A9 for variable definitions.

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