

# Does Working from Home Improve the Temporal Alignment of Work and Private Life? Differences Between Telework and Informal Overtime at Home by Gender and Family Responsibilities

## Citation Information

This is the author accepted manuscript  
Version of the official published article by  
Emerald Insight, see below.

### Citation of the official published version:

Mergener, A., Entgelmeier, I. and Rinke, T. (2023), "Does Working from Home Improve the Temporal Alignment of Work and Private Life? Differences Between Telework and Informal Overtime at Home by Gender and Family Responsibilities", Abendroth, A.-K. and Lükemann, L. (Ed.) Flexible Work and the Family (Contemporary Perspectives in Family Research, Vol. 21), Emerald Publishing Limited, Bingley, pp. 129-157. <https://doi.org/10.1108/S1530-353520230000021005>

### Citation of this version - author accepted manuscript:

Mergener, Alexandra; Entgelmeier, Ines; Rinke, Timothy: Does Working from Home Improve the Temporal Alignment of Work and Private Life? Differences Between Telework and Informal Overtime at Home by Gender and Family Responsibilities. Author accepted manuscript version Bonn, 2023.  
Online: <https://lit.bibb.de/vufind/Record/DS-781333>



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# DOES WORKING FROM HOME IMPROVE THE TEMPORAL ALIGNMENT OF WORK AND PRIVATE LIFE? DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TELEWORK AND INFORMAL OVERTIME AT HOME BY GENDER AND FAMILY RESPONSIBILITIES

Alexandra Mergener, Ines Entgelmeier and Timothy Rinke

## ABSTRACT

*This article examines the extent to which Working from Home affects the temporal alignment of work and private life, i.e., the consideration of personal and family interests in work scheduling, for male and female employees with and without children. A distinction is made between telework that is formally recognised home working time by the employer, and informal overtime at home that is not recorded. It is argued that while the first represents a job resource, by increasing flexibility in work scheduling, the latter constitutes a job demand, which hinders the consideration of personal and family responsibilities in work time planning. Due to differences in status beliefs, identification and the distribution of childcare, gender gaps as well as differences according to family responsibilities are predicted in these associations. Using data from the German BIBB/BAuA Employment Survey 2018, the temporal alignment of work and private life is found to be positively associated with telework, particularly so for men, and negatively associated with informal overtime at home, particularly so for women. While mothers do not benefit from telework during regular working hours in particular, they have the worst temporal alignment of work and private life when they work informal overtime at home.*

**Keywords:** Working from Home (WfH), Telework, informal overtime, Recognition of Working Time, Flexibility in Work Scheduling, Family Responsibilities, Gender

## Introduction

The consideration of family and personal requirements into working life presents a challenge for most employees today and has been further exacerbated by the Covid 19-related shutdowns. Particularly working women with young children, who tend to perform more housework and childcare than men (Pailhé, Solaz, & Souletie, 2019) are confronted with coordinating these competing demands.

As one opportunity for employees to overcome these challenges and achieve a better balance and fewer conflicts between private and occupational demands, Working from Home (WfH) is frequently discussed as a job resource both in research and public debate (Ojala, Nätti, & Anttila, 2014). More specifically, it is argued that WfH can increase employees' autonomy in organising their working time so that they can better consider personal and family requirements (e.g. Gajendran & Harrison, 2007). Moreover, employees who spend at least some of their regular working days at home can use time they would otherwise have spent on commuting to meet private needs. This time flexibility and time savings can be a resource, especially for employees with family responsibilities, who can use this for providing childcare in addition to their gainful employment and, thus, reduce time-based work-family conflicts (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985).

However, empirical studies have so far produced ambivalent results regarding WfH and its impact on the interrelation between work and private life (for an overview, see Allen, Golden, & Shockley, 2015). One reason for the inconclusive findings could be that WfH is considered in a relatively undifferentiated way. Many previous studies refer only to a rough consideration of work in private spaces, i.e. whether or not people worked from home (e.g. Kurowska, 2018; Peters, Dulk, & van der Lippe, 2009; Sarbu, 2018; Sullivan & Smithson, 2007) but could not take further WfH conditions into account (mainly due to not having more detailed information available in the data). We know, however, that WfH is qualitatively very heterogeneous, with home working hours that are not always completely recognised by contract, but supplement and continue work already performed at home or at the employer's workplace, e.g. in the evenings and weekends (Fenner & Renn, 2010; Kim, Henly, Golden, & Lambert, 2020; Mergener, 2020b; Mergener & Fank, 2021; Ojala, 2011; Ojala et al., 2014; Song, 2009).

If these differences in WfH remain unconsidered, the effects due to flexibility gains or time savings cannot be separated from the effects of overtime, which is more of a job demand and may even increase

with WfH (Abendroth & Reimann, 2018; Chung & van der Lippe, 2020; Lott, 2020a; Sarbu, 2018). Our study therefore examines whether, and under what conditions, WfH constitutes a resource that helps or a demand that impedes the temporal alignment of work and private life. By explicitly examining the time dimension of the alignment of work and private life, i.e., the extent to which employees can consider private and family interests when planning their working hours, we focus on a specific and widely discussed aspect affecting work-family balance or conflicts, rather than the broad and more general concepts. In doing so, we ask the two research questions: To what extent does the heterogeneity of WfH affects the temporal alignment of private life and work requirements differently? And how does this differ according to gender and family responsibilities?

To answer these questions, our study explicitly distinguishes WfH into *telework* that is formally recognised home working time and *informal overtime at home* when analysing the temporal alignment of work and private life. Following Allen et al. (2015), we define telework as a work practice that enables employees to perform work for the company from home (at least temporarily), substituting for regular working time that they would typically spend at the employer's premises.<sup>1</sup> Thus, in the case of telework, the employee's working time at home is completely recognised by the employer. In contrast, we define informal overtime at home as additional work performed at home that is not recognised by the employer, e.g. in the evening hours or on weekends. Here, informal overtime at home occurs in two forms. First, employees who telework but extend their working hours into additional informal work from home (partly informal overtime at home). Second, employees who work from home only before or after a working day at the employer's premises or on weekends, completely in addition to their scheduled hours (completely informal overtime at home).

Accounting for this WfH heterogeneity is particularly relevant with regard to gender and family-specific differences in the consideration of private matters into working life. Since working women are still more involved in housework and childcare and, thus, have much more strained time resources than their male counterparts, we assume that women are likely to be especially affected by the temporal effects of both telework and informal overtime at home, with the former facilitating the temporal alignment of work

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<sup>1</sup> Here, we would like to emphasize that telework is not understood as a company-agreed form of WfH within the meaning of the German Workplace Ordinance (vgl. ArbStättV § 2 Abs. 7).

and private life and the latter making it more difficult, and even more so if children are living in the household.

For this purpose, we use high-quality data from the probability based German Employment Survey 2018, carried out by the Federal Institute for Vocational Education and Training (BIBB) and the Federal Institute for Occupational Safety and Health (BAuA). The BIBB/BAuA Employment Survey 2018 (Hall, Hünefeld, & Rohrbach-Schmidt, 2020) offers unique potential for addressing our research question, as it is the only large-scale survey that captures the indicator of the temporal alignment of work and private life and allows for an explicit distinction of WfH into telework and informal overtime at home.

The focus of our study is on Germany, which is representative in that the share of employees using WfH has so far roughly corresponded to the European average, but increased substantially during the Covid-19 pandemic and has even greater potential to increase (Mergener & Winnige, 2021). Furthermore, considering Germany as a case is also relevant, as the gender-specific division of gainful employment and care work is particularly persistent here (Esping-Anderson, 1993; Hobler, Lott, Pfahl, & Schulze Buschoff, 2020; Pfau-Effinger, 1998).

Our study contributes to the previous literature in several ways. First, it offers a more precise definition and consideration of recognised working time when telework and informal overtime at home. Second, our analysis highlights the relevance of the recognition of working time when WfH when considering the temporal alignment of work and private life, while at the same time identifying relevant gender gaps. Third, the study considers the extent to which family responsibility entails different risks and opportunities for the temporal alignment of work and private life when using different forms of WfH.

### **Theoretical considerations and previous research**

WfH builds a special form of a temporal and spatial delimitation of work. In this process, previously strict boundaries between occupational and private life increasingly dissolve, which enables working demands to enter private life as well as private requirements to enter working life (Pongratz & Voß, 2004; Voß, 1998). With reference to the Job-Demand-Resources Model (Demerouti, Bakker, Nachreiner, & Schaufeli, 2001), telework without doing extra work at home can be described as a job resource, more precisely as a boundary-spanning resource (Voydanoff, 2005), by providing more

temporal and spatial flexibility in the organisation of work and personal life compared to a fixed workplace at the employer's premises (Ashforth, Kreiner, & Fugate, 2000; Pongratz & Voß, 2004). In contrast, overtime at home may be a job demand, respectively a boundary-spanning demand (Voydanoff, 2005), since extra work takes valuable time to attend to private matters. Boundary-spanning demands or resources are characterised by the fact that they originate in one area of life, e.g. the work domain, but have an impact on the interaction with another area of life, e.g. the family domain (Voydanoff, 2005).

### **Telework as an enabler of better temporal alignment of work and private life: different effects for women and men with and without family responsibilities?**

Telework allows timesaving by reducing the need for commuting, more autonomous work organisation and greater flexibility in terms of working time and space. Thus, employees might be better able to take family and personal matters into account when planning their working hours compared to people who do not have telework opportunities. However, whether telework is perceived as a job resource or a job demand with regard to the coordination of working and private tasks may differ for women and men.

Due to cultural and social structures, women and men are confronted with different expectations regarding the shaping of their working and private domain (Ashforth et al., 2000). As a result, women and men (have to) use flexible working arrangements differently and are faced with different outcomes (Chung & van der Lippe, 2020). While employed women are still more responsible for additional private requirements, as house and care work, men are more often exclusively responsible for gainful employment (Hobler et al., 2020).

Therefore, integrating multiple tasks into their daily lives may be more challenging for women than for men, and therefore women perceive flexibility and autonomy in the organisation of working time more as a job resource regarding their temporal alignment of work and private life (Chung & van der Lippe, 2020; Lott, 2020a). Men, on the contrary, may perceive telework less as a resource in terms of their temporal alignment of work and private life compared to working in the office because there is less need for this flexibility.

This circumstance may not be understood exclusively as a personal choice of women and men, but is conditioned by social norms and expectations (Lott, 2020a). According to Ashforth et al. (2000), boundary creation between the private and working spheres may be affected by gender-specific role

identification and expectations. Boundaries that are more flexible will be formed around that role, which is more important to a person's identity and greater efforts will be made to integrate that role into others. Thus, women may create more flexible boundaries around their family role and extend it to their working sphere (Ammons & Markham, 2004), while men form more permeable boundaries around their working role and extend it to their private sphere to express their gender identity.

In addition to these expectations regarding performance in private life, there are also gender-specific expectations regarding performance in working life. Thus, the ideal worker norm (Acker, 1990), which implies a comprehensive and constant availability for gainful employment and a subordination of private matters to professional concerns, still primarily affects men who do and are mainly expected to take on the role of the breadwinner, particularly after childbirth (Knight & Brinton, 2017). In contrast, women are still left to and are expected to assign greater responsibility for care work (Dotti Sani & Treas, 2016; van der Lippe, van Breeschoten, & van Hek, 2019). These expectations of ideal work predominantly continue to hold, even if it has already been shown that employees themselves dislike those components that involve extremely long working hours and prioritization of work at the expense of personal or family life (Munsch & Trimble O'Connor, 2018). Thus, according to the ideal worker norm, men are expected to use telework to intensify their work, and this has already been demonstrated in empirical studies (Chung & van der Lippe, 2020; Lott, 2019).

This different use of flexibility is also accompanied by different effects. Lott (2014) shows that men with autonomous working hours have a worse work-life balance than women. This can be explained not only by an extension, but also mainly by an intensification of their work. For men, more working time autonomy, as also associated with telework, does not coincide with the feeling of having more space for considering private demands due to their focussing on gainful employment. Furthermore, with a stronger commitment to domestic and family work, men would go against the ideal worker norm and be more likely to face career penalties. In contrast, women are expected to use flexible working, like telework to meet additional private requirements (Williams, Blair-Loy, & Berdahl, 2013). Thus, Carlson, Grzywacz, and Michele Kacmar (2010) and Hofäcker and König (2013) came to the result that women, in general, benefit more from schedule flexibility regarding work family conflicts than men. However, for women, but not for men, the conflicts increase when work is done at times that are usually reserved for social

life, such as weekends (Hofäcker & König, 2013). In addition, a recent study by Kim et al. (2020) found that women's work family conflicts increased when they were able to change the beginning and ending of working time or when WfH, while men showed less conflicts when having this work time autonomy. Several empirical studies point to these gender-specific assumptions regarding telework or not telework (e.g. Lott, 2019; Lott & Abendroth, 2020; Powell & Craig, 2015; Samtleben, Lott, & Müller, 2020). Powell and Craig (2015) showed that women who telework spend more time on domestic work and childcare than men, but also than women who do not telework. In the study by Samtleben et al. (2020), telework also led to an increase in the time spent on care work for men, but the increase was stronger for women. This implies that telework may be a job resource for employed women to better fulfil their ascribed gender role expectations of care work and thus to better deal with the "Double Burden" (Becker-Schmidt, 1987) of meeting working and private demands. However, these better opportunities for the temporal alignment of work and private life do not necessarily imply better reconciliation (Carstensen, 2019). The coordination and organisation required to integrate different spheres of life can be an enormous effort that telework opportunities enable or reinforce in the first place.

In addition to gender differences, the relation of telework and the temporal alignment of work and private life may differ by children living in the household. Maternity and paternity are status characteristics, which are linked to expectations of performance and competence at work (Ridgeway & Correll, 2004) and can lead to an ideal mother and ideal father norm (Lott & Klenner, 2018; Williams et al., 2013). While fathers still tend to increase their gainful employment in order to assume the role of breadwinner (e.g. Bielby & Bielby, 1992; Jürges, 2006, Knight & Brinton, 2017), mothers do and are still mainly expected to reduce their gainful employment in order to assume their caring role (Dotti Sani & Treas, 2016; van der Lippe, van Breeschoten, & van Hek, 2019). That is why employers and colleagues assume that mothers use flexible working hours for family work, while they expect fathers to intensify their working efforts. In this context, Sullivan and Lewis (2001) show that women consider telework as flexibility and autonomy to meet the time demands of children, while men do not see this as the main reason for telework, but only as a way to "help" with childcare. According to this, especially for mothers, telework with recognised home working time may be a job resource with regard to the temporal alignment of work and family life because they are more able to act according to what is already



expected of them and, thus, use this flexibility for considering family requirements into their working day. These explanations lead to the following hypotheses:

*H1) Telework with recognised home working time is associated with a better temporal alignment of work and private life.*

*H1a) This positive effect is stronger for women than for men.*

*H1b) This positive effect is strongest for women with children.*

Here, it must be emphasised that better opportunities for the temporal alignment of work and private life are not to be understood as an unlimited advantage for women. Through a better consideration of personal and family interests in work scheduling, women may be able to fulfil their ascribed responsibilities better. However, the coordination and organisation of various demands will still require effort.

### **Informal overtime at home as an impediment: can it impair the temporal alignment of work and private life more for mothers than fathers?**

Abendroth and Reimann (2018) provide evidence that the negative associations of telework and time- and strain-based work-family conflict can be partly attributed to the overtime work associated with telework. Our study complements these findings with a focus on informal overtime at home. WfH does not occur only during the employees' working hours or recognized overtime, but often means informal overtime that is performed during free time or weekend in addition to telework or in addition to work already done at the employer's spaces (Fenner & Renn, 2010; Mergener, 2020b; Mergener & Fank, 2021; Noonan & Glass, 2012; Ojala, 2011; Ojala et al., 2014; Song, 2009). Informal overtime could represent a job demand (Demerouti et al., 2001), because extending working time reduces the time that can be spent on recreation, leisure, or domestic work (Voydanoff, 2004). Analyses with US American data have already shown differences in the reasons for WfH and work family conflict (Kim et al., 2020). Both WfH during regular working hours and WfH to catch up on additional work increased the work family conflict for employees. However, the latter form increased more. Research indicated that informal overtime at home occurs mainly among highly motivated and committed employees who hold management positions, have a high workload, or receive performance-based wages (Fenner & Renn,

2010; Ojala, 2011; Song, 2009). Thus, it is more an instrument to enhance performance and less as a way to better consider private demands in work scheduling (Lott, 2020b; Noonan & Glass, 2012).

Due to the varying degrees of its consequences for the temporal alignment of work and private life, we would also like to address the notion that informal overtime at home can be further differentiated. Employees can do informal overtime at home in addition to their formal recognised home working time when telework (partly informal overtime at home) or they can work from home only in addition to their scheduled hours at the employer's premises without having formal WfH regulations (completely informal overtime at home). While the first offers at least partially benefits of recognised home working, e.g. saving commuting times or working time autonomy, the latter does not. Thus, the motivation of employees doing informal overtime at home differs. Employees who have telework opportunities tend to work unpaid overtime at home to express their appreciation for this flexibility (Chung & van der Lippe, 2020). They could also use the flexibility they have gained in the sense of an "enabled intensification", e.g. because they are enabled to work their most productive hours or because they now use saved commuting time as additional working time (Chung & van der Horst, 2020). Employees who only work at home outside of their recognised working hours are more likely to have excessive workloads and work pressures, which prevent them from getting their work done in the time available at employer's location.

The consequences may also vary by gender. Lott and Chung (2016) show that, even if the amount of overtime does not differ between men and women when working full-time, the remuneration does. This may reflect differences in motivation between men and women, besides possible stigmatisation or discrimination by the employer. According to Lott and Chung (2016), it could be that men use schedule control more as a high performance strategy, while women use it as a means to combine different life domains. These results suggest that existing norms lead to women being more likely than men to create more flexible boundaries around their family role and extend it to their working lives (Ashforth et al., 2000). Expanding work hours through informal overtime at home are therefore more likely a job demand for women because overtime conflict with the norm directed at them and thus could impede them to a greater extent than men. Accordingly, the above-mentioned study by Kim et al. (2020) shows that

women suffer more from working at home to catch up on work regarding work-family conflict compared to men.

This relationship is probably even stronger when children need to be cared for. Williams et al. (2013) argue that fathers can extend their working time, in compliance with the so-called "work devotion schema" and still, in their traditional role as the family breadwinner, correspond to the norm of a good father. Mothers, in contrast, find themselves in a kind of dilemma because if they extend their working time and comply with the work devotion schema, they contradict the norm of a good mother. Empirical evidence is, however, currently inconclusive in this regard. On the one hand, Kim et al. (2020) conclude from their study for the U.S. that there are no differences between mothers who take work home to catch up (i.e., not WfH as a regular part of their job) and fathers or men and women without children regarding their work family conflict. On the other hand, a study by Young and Schieman (2018) shows for Canada that mothers with young children are more likely to reduce their work demands and seek more schedule control compared to fathers with young children in work-family conflicts. Support for this finding can also be observed for German employees using WfH, as fathers extend their working hours to a greater extent than mothers, who invest more time in childcare (Lott, 2019). This indicated double burden (Becker-Schmidt, 1987) of mothers compared to fathers may mean that mothers who work informal overtime at home have greater difficulty in considering family interests in work scheduling. These theoretical and empirical considerations lead us to the following hypotheses:

*H2) Informal overtime at home is associated with a poorer temporal alignment of work and private life.*

*H2a) This negative effect is stronger for women than for men.*

*H2b) This negative effect is strongest for women with children.*

## **Data and Methods**

### **Data**

The analysis used data from the German BIBB/BAuA Employment Survey 2018 (doi 10.7803/501.18.1.1.10). This representative survey of more than 20,000 persons in active employment with a minimum of 10 working hours per week includes rich and detailed information on workplace characteristics, occupations, education, employment history and personal characteristics. Moreover, it

allows the differentiation between telework and informal overtime at home and contains information on the extent to which employees were successful in the temporal alignment of work and private life. Given our focus on employer recognition of home-based working time, we restricted the sample to employees, i.e. excluded freelancers and self-employed individuals who lack formal employers. Our analyses based on 16,244 employees, aged 18 to 65 years.

## Measures

The *dependent variable*, the temporal alignment of work and private life, follows a subjective approach. Employees indicated how often they are successful in planning their working time in such a way that their family and personal interests are considered. The responses include never (0), rarely (1), sometimes (2) and frequently (3).

The *predictor variables* are WfH, gender and children living in the household. A distinction was made between telework as completely recognised home working time, partly informal overtime at home, and completely informal overtime at home, while comparing it with no WfH. Employees were first asked whether they work for the employer from home, at least temporarily. WfH users additionally indicated to what extent the hours they work from home are credited as working time by the employer with the categories completely, partly, or not at all.

To consider the gender-children constellation, a differentiation was made between men and women with and without children under the age of 12 living in the household. Twelve years was deemed an appropriate age at which to draw this distinction, as children under 12 require a higher level of parental care, whereas older children tend to be more self-sufficient.

The analysis includes several *control variables* that account for the different employment patterns of men and women, which can influence both the temporal alignment of work and private life and the use of WfH. Previous research showed that WfH was more likely to be available for employees with academic degree, a relatively high level of pay and who were expected to work long hours and overtime (e.g. Glass, 2004; Kelliher & Anderson, 2010; Lott & Chung, 2016; Mergener & Winnige, 2021; Swanberg, Pitt-Catsoupes, & Drescher-Burke, 2005). Moreover, Abendroth and Reimann (2018) found that employees using WfH in a high demanding workplace culture, i.e. where employers have high expectations of extended working hours and constant availability, can increase the risk of conflicts

between private and work life. Thus, the employees' level of education, age, management position, wage, and total weekly working hours were taken into consideration. To account for the potentially confounding effect of employees' unpaid extra hours at all, we disentangle the effects of informal overtime at home from unpaid overtime in the employer's premises by additionally controlling for overtime in the company, distinguishing between no overtime, recognised overtime, and unpaid overtime in the company.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, whether the employee's partner is active in the labour market was included, as this might influence the requirement for flexible worktime and the household demands, as well as potentially being unevenly distributed between men and women. In order to reflect flexibility stigmas, the employees' performance pressure and their career aspirations were considered.<sup>3</sup> Since occupational tasks are crucial in explaining WfH (Mergener, 2020a) and the ability to consider private matters into work scheduling, controls were included for employees' occupations (at the 2-digit level of the German Classification of Occupations 2010, KldB 2010). The company size is also included in the analyses, as it can influence the opportunity to WfH and possibilities to combine private life and work (Jurado-Guerrero, T., Monferrer, J.M., Botía-Morillas, C., Abril, F., 2018). Years of work experience in the company were considered, as employees who are satisfied, also with the temporal alignment of work and private life typically remain in the company and employers may be more willing to offer WfH option to workers with large company experience based on mutual trust. Due to different labour market structures and gender ideologies in East and West Germany (Ebner, Kühhirt, & Lersch, 2020), dummies were included for the company's regional location.

Table A1 in the Appendix presents distributions of all variables used for the analyses, overall and differentiated by the four WfH categories, to provide descriptive information about individual and job characteristics across WfH.

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<sup>2</sup> In our sample, 517 employees did not indicate whether or not overtime in the company was recognised by the employer. They are included in our analysis as 'no information on recognition of overtime'.

<sup>3</sup> The survey question for career aspiration reads: "How strongly do you pursue the goal of a professional career? Very strongly, strongly, not much or not at all. To measure performance pressure, the employees were asked: "How often does your job require you to work under strong deadline or performance pressure? Often, sometimes, rarely or never".

## Methods

The dependent variable the temporal alignment of work and private life was considered a quasi-metric variable and OLS regression models were applied, which are regarded as a robust method for variables with rating scales (Allerbeck, 1978; Jaccard & Wan, 1996). The preferred use of OLS regression when analysing rating variables is widespread, especially among researchers of life satisfaction (e.g. Sacks, Stevenson, & Wolfers, 2012; Stone, Schwartz, Broderick, & Deaton, 2010) as it provides intuitive interpretation of estimated coefficients and interaction effects. The estimates provided by nonlinear models are very similar to those provided by OLS regression (Studer & Winkelmann, 2011).<sup>4</sup> To test hypotheses 1a and 2a, the models were expanded to include interactions between WfH and gender. To test hypotheses 1b and 2b, interactions between WfH and men and women with and without children in the household were included. The interaction effects are illustrated using margins plots. All models were controlled for the above-mentioned confounders affecting the use of WfH and the temporal alignment of work and private life.

## Results

### Descriptive analyses

On average, the employees were quite successful in considering their private lives into their working time planning (see Table 1). Employees who telework within their completely recognised working hours correlated positively with the temporal alignment of work and private life. One fifth of the employees teleworked within their completely recognised working hours, 2 percent did informal overtime at home in addition to their formal recognised teleworking hours, and 6 percent worked only informal overtime at home in addition to work at the employer's premises. Employees with children under 12 living in the household tended to use telework more often compared to employees without children.

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<sup>4</sup> In order to test the robustness of our results, we also compared the OLS estimates with those based on ordered logit regressions (see Table A2). Similar results were produced in terms of the direction and significance of the coefficients, further supporting the conclusions made on the basis of the OLS results. This additionally supports the findings of Studer and Winkelmann (2011) regarding the comparison of estimations of ordered logit with OLS regressions and encourages with the use of linear models.

**Table 1. Minimum, maximum and mean score, standard deviation and bivariate correlations between the variables**

	Min	Max	Mean	SD	1	2	3
1 Temporal alignment of work and private life	0	3	2.42	0.84	1		
2 Women	0	1	0.46	0.50	0.06***	1	
3 Children < 12 years in household	0	1	0.22	0.42	0.04***	0.00	1
No WfH	0	1	0.72	0.45	-0.06***	0.01	-0.06***
Telework	0	1	0.20	0.40	0.10***	-0.01	0.06***
Partly informal overtime	0	1	0.02	0.15	-0.02**	0.01	0.01
Completely informal overtime	0	1	0.06	0.24	-0.04***	-0.01	0.00

\* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01, \*\*\* p<0.001.

Source: BIBB/BAuA Employment Survey 2018, weighted data. Sample includes employees (i.e. no freelancers, assisting family members, self-employed) aged 18-65. Authors' own calculations.

Focusing on the different groups of men and women with and without children, women with children show, compared to all other groups, a better ability to consider personal and family interests in work scheduling (see Table 2). They are also more frequently represented in the group of telework users, than women without children. The same applies to fathers compared to men without children. No differences were found between men with and without children concerning their capacity to temporally align work and private life.

**Table 2. Descriptives of the temporal alignment of work and private life and WfH by men and women with and without children under 12 years in household**

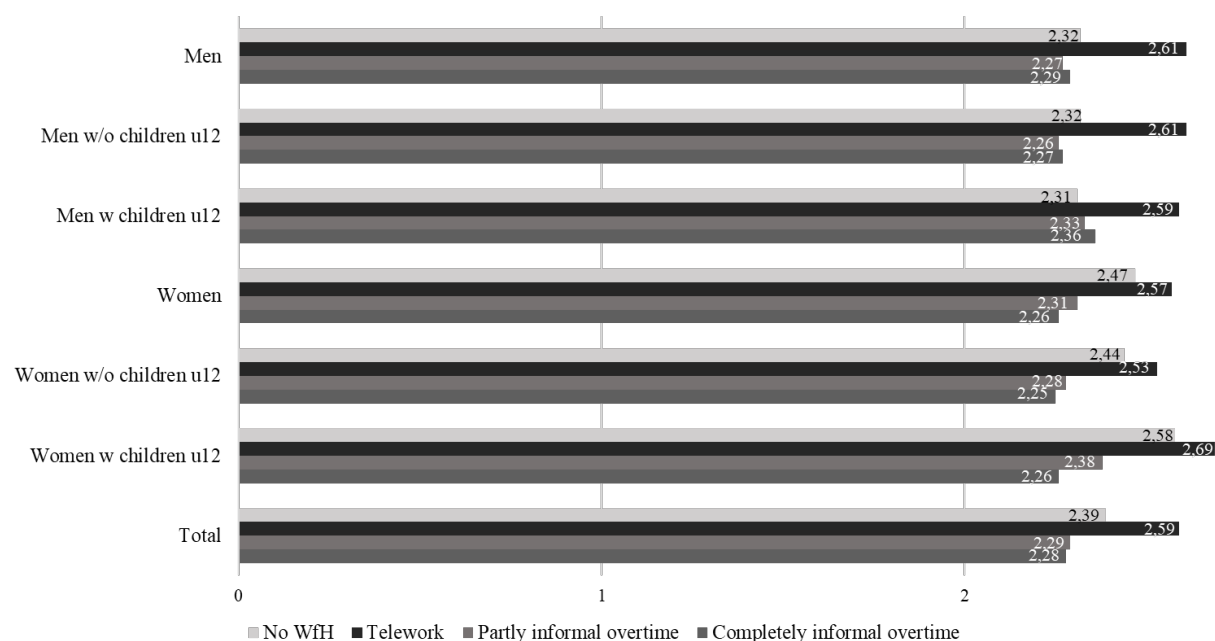
	Men	Men without child. u12	Men with child. u12	Women	Women without child. u12	Women with child. u12
	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)
Temporal alignment of work and private life	2.37 (0.87)	2.37 (0.87)	2.38 (0.86)	2.47 (0.80)	2.44 (0.82)	2.58 (0.73)
No WfH	0.72 (0.45)	0.74 (0.44)	0.66 (0.47)	0.72 (0.45)	0.73 (0.44)	0.69 (0.46)
Telework	0.20 (0.40)	0.19 (0.39)	0.24 (0.43)	0.19 (0.40)	0.18 (0.39)	0.23 (0.42)
Partly informal overtime	0.02 (0.15)	0.02 (0.14)	0.02 (0.14)	0.02 (0.15)	0.02 (0.15)	0.03 (0.18)
Completely informal overtime	0.06 (0.24)	0.06 (0.23)	0.07 (0.26)	0.06 (0.23)	0.06 (0.24)	0.05 (0.21)
	N = 7,979	N = 6,219	N = 1,760	N = 8,265	N = 6,589	N = 1,676

Source: BIBB/BAuA Employment Survey 2018, weighted data. Sample includes employees (i.e. no freelancers, assisting family members, self-employed) aged 18-65. Authors' own calculations.

Regarding the distribution of successful temporal alignment of work and private life among the categories regarding use of WfH, gender and children (see Figure 1), the difference between telework and no WfH is largest for men with and without children. Women with and without children also benefit from telework, but the difference in the mean value for non-WfH users is much smaller. Informal

overtime at home reduces the capacities to consider private requirements into work scheduling for women with and without children and men with children. Men with children seem to temporally align work and private life slightly better when WfH outside the recognised working hours than when not using WfH. In contrast, women with children seem to be much less successful in the temporal alignment of work and private life if they work informal overtime at home.

**Figure 1. Mean score and standard deviation of the temporal alignment of work and private life of men and women with and without children under 12 years in household by WfH use**



*Source:* BIBB/BAuA Employment Survey 2018. Sample includes employees aged 18-65. Authors' own calculations.

The descriptive distributions give the impression that especially parents of children use telework. Moreover, mothers are on average more likely to be able to consider private matters into work scheduling than women without children. This could mean that they already have adapted their working lives to their private requirements and, for example, have chosen occupations with a high level of cognitive and a low level of manual tasks that allow more time and spatial flexibility (Mergener, 2020b). It is also possible that they have adapted their career aspirations in accordance with their private requirements. The multivariate analysis in the next section takes the possibility of these confounding effects into account.



### **Multivariate analyses**

The OLS regressions estimate the impact of WfH on the temporal alignment of work and private life (see Table 3). Model 1a presents the main effects of WfH and men and women, Model 2a distinguishes between men and women with and without children.

Compared to non-WfH users, employees with telework report better temporal alignment of work and private life – even when the control variables are included. The opposite is true if home working time is not recognised. Employees then show a significantly worse temporal alignment of work and private life with the strongest negative effect of completely informal overtime at home. These results support the theory that fully recognise teleworking presents a job resource. Employees gain time and spatial flexibility by substituting working hours at the company with working hours spent at home, which facilitates the reconciliation of family and personal life with work. Otherwise, if home working time is not recognised, it constitutes an increase in the informal work time and thus extends to the employee's free time. This is considered as a job demand and makes it harder to combine private matters with work, slightly more so in the case of completely informal overtime than in the case of partly informal overtime. Thus, H1 and H2 are supported by these results. Model 1a and 2a additionally show that, when accounting for all control variables, women (with and without children) have significantly more difficulties in the temporal alignment of work and private life than men (with children).

**Table 3. OLS regression models of the temporal alignment of work and private life by gender, children and the use of WfH**

	M1a		M1b		M2a		M2b	
<i>No WfH</i>	<i>Reference</i>		<i>Reference</i>		<i>Reference</i>		<i>Reference</i>	
Telework	0.121***	(0.016)	0.182***	(0.022)	0.120***	(0.016)	0.188***	(0.041)
Partly informal overtime	-0.069*	(0.037)	-0.064	(0.054)	-0.069*	(0.037)	-0.086	(0.113)
Completely informal overtime	-0.089***	(0.024)	0.018	(0.033)	-0.090***	(0.024)	0.113*	(0.063)
<i>Men</i>	<i>Reference</i>		<i>Reference</i>					
Women	-0.051***	(0.015)	0.001	(0.018)				
<i>Interactions</i>								
Telework # Women			-0.116***	(0.028)				
Partly informal overtime # Women			-0.008	(0.073)				
Completely informal overtime # Women			-0.221***	(0.047)				
<i>Men, children u12</i>								
Men, w/o children u12					-0.034	(0.021)	-0.013	(0.028)
Women, w/o children u12					-0.081***	(0.023)	-0.014	(0.029)
Women, w children u12					-0.066**	(0.028)	0.008	(0.036)
<i>Interactions</i>								
Telework# Men, w/o child. u12							-0.009	(0.045)
Telework# Women, w/o child. u12							-0.120***	(0.046)
Telework# Women, child. u12							-0.129**	(0.057)
Partly informal overtime # Men, w/o child. u12							0.029	(0.128)
Partly informal overtime # Women, w/o child. u12							-0.002	(0.127)
Partly informal overtime # Women, child. u12							0.055	(0.147)
Completely informal overtime # Men, w/o child. u12							-0.129*	(0.072)
Completely informal overtime # Women, w/o child. u12							-0.305***	(0.073)
Completely informal overtime # Women, w child. u12							-0.361***	(0.099)
<i>Controls</i>								
<i>Education</i>								
No vocational degree	<i>Reference</i>		<i>Reference</i>		<i>Reference</i>		<i>Reference</i>	
Vocational education	0.110***	(0.028)	0.111***	(0.028)	0.108***	(0.028)	0.110***	(0.028)
Further vocational training	0.165***	(0.034)	0.168***	(0.034)	0.163***	(0.034)	0.167***	(0.034)
Academic degree	0.200***	(0.030)	0.201***	(0.030)	0.197***	(0.030)	0.199***	(0.030)
<i>Age</i>	-0.003***	(0.001)	-0.003***	(0.001)	-0.002***	(0.001)	-0.003***	(0.001)

*Continued on next page*

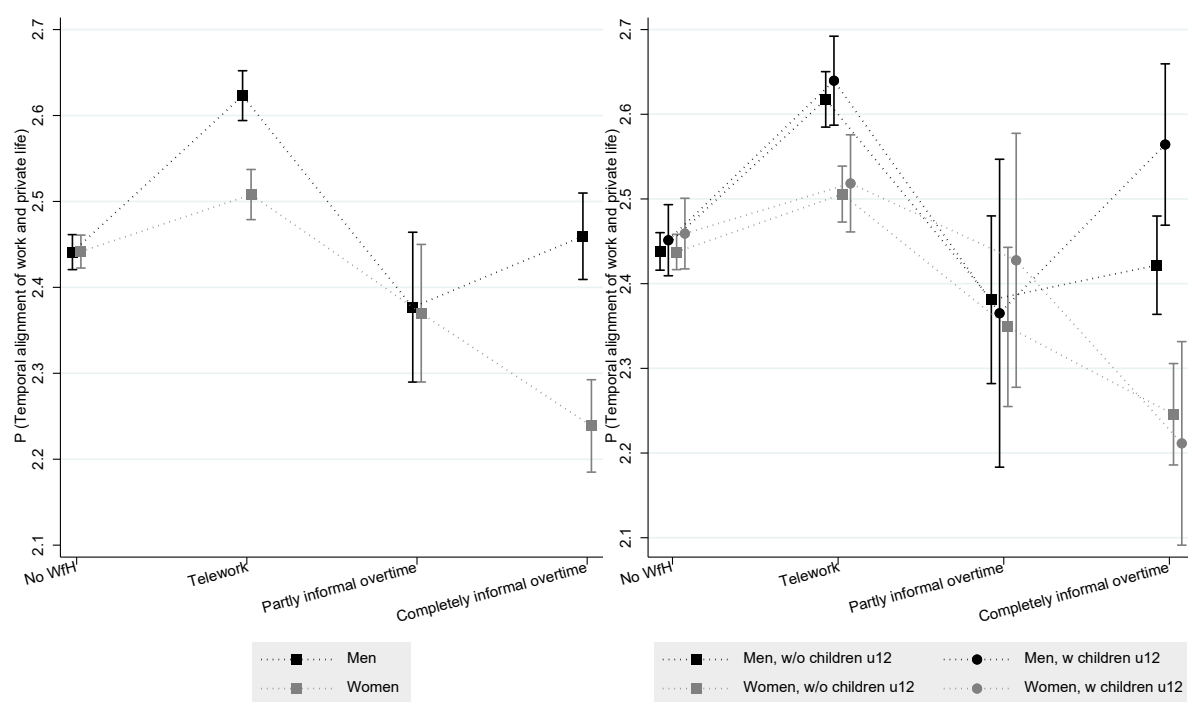
	M1a		M1b		M2a		M2b	
Management position								
No	<i>Reference</i>		<i>Reference</i>		<i>Reference</i>		<i>Reference</i>	
Lower	0.002	(0.021)	0.006	(0.021)	0.002	(0.021)	0.006	(0.021)
Middle	0.021	(0.017)	0.019	(0.017)	0.020	(0.017)	0.018	(0.017)
Upper	0.018	(0.029)	0.014	(0.029)	0.017	(0.029)	0.011	(0.029)
Wage	0.000***	(0.000)	0.000***	(0.000)	0.000***	(0.000)	0.000***	(0.000)
Total working time (hours/week)	-0.016***	(0.001)	-0.016***	(0.001)	-0.016***	(0.001)	-0.016***	(0.001)
Overtime in the company								
No overtime in the company	<i>Reference</i>		<i>Reference</i>		<i>Reference</i>		<i>Reference</i>	
Recognised overtime	-0.001	(0.013)	-0.001	(0.013)	-0.001	(0.013)	-0.001	(0.013)
Non-recognised overtime	-0.170***	(0.023)	-0.175***	(0.023)	-0.170***	(0.023)	-0.176***	(0.023)
Overtime, but no info about recogn. of overtime hours	-0.108	(0.081)	-0.107	(0.081)	-0.106	(0.081)	-0.107	(0.081)
Partner employed	0.058***	(0.012)	0.056***	(0.012)	0.054***	(0.012)	0.052***	(0.012)
Pressure to perform								
No	<i>Reference</i>		<i>Reference</i>		<i>Reference</i>		<i>Reference</i>	
Rarely	0.049	(0.037)	0.049	(0.037)	0.049	(0.037)	0.050	(0.037)
Sometimes	0.007	(0.034)	0.006	(0.034)	0.007	(0.034)	0.007	(0.034)
Often	-0.277***	(0.034)	-0.278***	(0.034)	-0.278***	(0.034)	-0.278***	(0.034)
Carrier aspirations	0.007	(0.014)	0.007	(0.014)	0.007	(0.014)	0.008	(0.014)
Work experience (years)	0.002***	(0.001)	0.002***	(0.001)	0.002***	(0.001)	0.002***	(0.001)
Company size								
1–9 employees	<i>Reference</i>		<i>Reference</i>		<i>Reference</i>		<i>Reference</i>	
10–49 employees	0.021	(0.022)	0.023	(0.022)	0.021	(0.022)	0.023	(0.022)
50–249 employees	0.020	(0.022)	0.020	(0.022)	0.019	(0.022)	0.020	(0.022)
250+ employees	0.057***	(0.022)	0.057**	(0.022)	0.056**	(0.022)	0.056**	(0.022)
Company in West-Germany	-0.025*	(0.015)	-0.025*	(0.015)	-0.025*	(0.015)	-0.025*	(0.015)
Occupational groups <sup>1</sup>								
Constant	2.853***	(0.114)	2.839***	(0.114)	2.869***	(0.115)	2.836***	(0.116)
Observations	16,244		16,244		16,244		16,244	
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.135		0.137		0.135		0.137	

<sup>1</sup> Controls for employees' occupations with 36 dummies for occupational groups (at the 2-digit level of the German Classification of Occupations 2010, KldB 2010) are included but not displayed. The results are available upon request.

Source: BIBB/BAuA Employment Survey 2018. Sample includes employees aged 18-65. Authors' own calculations. Standard errors in parentheses. \* p<.1, \*\* p<.05, \*\*\* p<.01.

To test H1a and H2a, an interaction between gender and WfH was included alongside all control variables (Model 1b). In the group of non-WfH users, no gender-specific differences in the temporal alignment of work and private life were found, but the use of WfH shows different effects for women and men (see Figure 2).

**Figure 2. Probability of the temporal alignment of work and private life. Estimates of M1b (interaction between gender and WfH, left side) and M2b (interaction between gender-children-combination and WfH, right side)**



Source: BIBB/BAuA Employment Survey 2018. Sample includes employees aged 18-65. Authors' own calculations.

Notes: 90% confidence intervals. Control for employees' overtime hours in the company, age, qualification, working time, wage, leading position, career aspiration, pressure to perform, work experience in company (years) and occupation (KldB 2010, 2-digit), employment of partner, company size and region are included but not displayed.

Men and women who telework within their completely recognised working time have better temporal alignment of work and private life, but contrary the expectations outlined in H1a, the positive correlation is stronger for men than for women. There are various theoretical explanations as to why, in this case, telework is less of a job resource for women to consider private needs. First, it could be that, because of the demands and expectations on women in terms of performing care work, they have already adapted their paid work to allow for a (relatively) good reconciliation. However, the regression analysis already accounts for working time, overtime in the company, occupation, and career aspiration of the employees

and thus controls for important variables in this context. Second, working in an employer's premises comes with more planning security in terms of time and space, which could make it easier for women to consider private matters when planning working hours. Third, telework may increase the expectation for women to take on even more private tasks than when they work in the office. Study results show that women who work at home regularly spend more time on domestic and care work than men but also than women who work from home less often or not at all (Powell & Craig, 2015). Even more tasks that women have to integrate into their working life when telework could explain why their perception of a good temporal alignment of work and private life increases only to a small extent. Fourth, it is conceivable that women will also have to prove that they deserve telework. Studies indicate that women who use flexible work options are more likely to be devalued due to gender stereotypes and are therefore forced to compensate for this with particularly good performance (Williams et al., 2013). In this case, telework is not reflected in an extension of informal overtime, but possibly in an intensification of work and an increase in women's commitment to work and postponement of private demands, which will make the temporal alignment of work and private life more difficult.

In contrast, the negative correlation between informal overtime at home and success in temporal alignment of work and private life is only evident for women. While for men, it makes no statistically significant difference whether they do not work from home or home working time is partly or completely unrecognised, for women there is a substantial negative effect of informal overtime at home on the possibility of considering private demands into work scheduling. This meets the expectation, outlined in H1b, that men and women are confronted with different norms that have a different impact on the possibilities of the temporal alignment of work and private life. Women are more likely than men to be assigned much of the responsibility for caregiving and informal work in addition to their paid work. Considering this double burden, informal overtime at home, which extends into private time, builds a job demand for women because it makes it more difficult to combine both spheres. Especially in Germany, where gender relations with regard to the division of gainful employment and care work are still very traditional.

Particularly regarding this double burden for women, we expect in H1b and H2b that children additionally strengthen the effects of WfH. However, regarding those who telework within their

completely recognised working time, there are no statistically significant differences between fathers and men without children or mothers and women without children (see Figure 2). The assumption of hypothesis 1b that the positive correlation between telework and the temporal alignment of work and private life is strongest for mothers can thus not be confirmed. Mothers do not even report better temporal alignment of work and private life when telework than when not WfH. Here again, the theoretical explanations regarding hypothesis 1a can be referred to.

In contrast, mothers doing informal overtime at home have the worst temporal alignment of work and private life, which confirms our hypothesis 2b. However, there is no statistically significant difference in the effect sizes between women with and without children.

Interestingly, our analyses suggest that fathers who only work informal overtime when WfH have a statistically significant better temporal alignment of work and private life than fathers who do not work from home at all (see Table 3, Figure 2). It indicates that this informal flexibility allows fathers to participate in family life, even though they also work overtime in their role as breadwinner and ideal worker. Similar results are shown by Ojala et al. (2014), who found that only informal overtime at home slightly improves parental ability to cope with children.

## **Conclusions and Discussion**

The increasing prevalence of WfH makes it necessary to take a more differentiated look at the working time recognition and its effects. To shed light on the possible resources and demands of WfH, this paper distinguishes between telework that is formally recognised home working time and informal overtime at home. Furthermore, resources and demands associated with these different forms of WfH can affect employees differently depending on their gender and family responsibilities. Women, especially mothers, are still more responsible for care work in addition to their gainful employment due to their stronger social identification and attribution. WfH within regular working hours could therefore be particularly beneficial for mothers, as it can increase temporal flexibility and free up time resources that can relax the fulfilment of responsibilities in both spheres of life. WfH outside regular working hours, in contrast, could lead to special burdens, as it overlaps time resources that mothers could use for family matters with gainful employment. Therefore, this paper has examined different ways in which WfH

impact the temporal alignment of work and private life of women and men, both with and without children.

With the focus on the temporal alignment of work and private life, we explicitly address the specific time dimension that is widely discussed as an important aspect affecting work-family balance or conflicts. By doing so, we differ from the broader and more general concept of work-family conflict (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985) or work-life enrichment (Greenhaus & Powell, 2006) and, thus, cannot exactly interpret positive or negative outcomes for a better or worse work-life reconciliation. While a successful temporal alignment of work and private life might be helpful for organising everyday life, it does not necessarily mean that meeting demands of work and private life is less challenging. Concepts of work-life conflict or enrichment base on the idea of reconciliation and, thus, hide organisational efforts and can mask burdens for women in particular, who continue to be more responsible for the consideration of private and professional demands (Carstensen, 2019; Jürges, 2006).

Our results indicated that the temporal alignment of work and private life is positively associated with telework. It can be assumed that telework then functions as a job resource that allows boundaries to be crossed (Voydanoff, 2004) and allows employees to use the flexibility gained to consider private matters when planning working time (Ashforth et al., 2000). This association is reversed as soon as home working is informal overtime. The temporal alignment of work and private life seems to become more difficult, which may be a result of an intensification and extension of working time at home. Telework then seems more like a job demand that can reduce the time available leisure, domestic work or family responsibilities.

Our results also reveal that the effects of the different forms of WfH considered are gender-specific, but within gender, family responsibilities do not appear to make a difference. Contrary to the hypotheses outlined in this article, telework seems to be more of a resource for men in terms of considering private demands into work scheduling. This may be explained by the fact that telework for women means that they take on even more private tasks. Study results show that women who work at home regularly spend more time on domestic and care work than men but also than women who work from home less often or not at all (Powell & Craig, 2015). Men are confronted with fewer demands from the private sphere than women, which is why they have better temporal alignment of work and private life, resulting from

the flexibility gained through telework. Beyond this explanation, it may also be that women who use telework arrangements are under particular pressure to perform, since according to traditional gender status beliefs (Ridgeway & Correll, 2004; Williams et al., 2013) they are more devalued than men when using flexible work arrangements. This could lead to women being faced with increased expectations regarding their performance and commitment, reducing their ability to accommodate private concerns. The hypothesis that women with informal overtime at home would report more difficulty with the temporal alignment of work and private life than their male counterparts was supported by the analysis. This also indicates that the double burden (Becker-Schmidt, 1987) for women still exists and supports the theory that, due to traditional gender-role models, the extension of informal working time has different effects on women and men. While men do not seem to have any greater problems with an extension of informal home working time, it leads to greater difficulties in combining work with personal and family matters for women, who continue to have higher demands in the area of care work. This explanation may be particularly applicable to the German case examined in this paper, where traditional gender arrangements are still widespread. In countries with more egalitarian gender arrangements, such as Scandinavia, where the allocation to gainful employment and care work is less gender-specific, the differences between women and men regarding their temporal alignment of work and private life when WfH may be less pronounced.

Furthermore, we could not find any confirmation that mothers benefit particularly in terms of their temporal alignment of work and private life when they work from home within regular working hours. However, it could be shown that they are more burdened when they do informal overwork than fathers. WfH is therefore not in itself an unrestricted support for working women to better combine family and work. The arrangement of WfH is important.

Despite the usefulness of this study in furthering the research on WfH in relation to the temporal alignment of work and private life, there are some limitations to consider. Even if our study considered the qualitative heterogeneity of WfH, we know that WfH in Germany is also quantitatively very heterogeneous with most employees working only sometimes or rarely from home – at least in pre-pandemic times (e.g. Alipour, Falck, Mergener, & Schüller, 2020; Mergener, 2020b; Mergener & Fank, 2021). Future research should therefore additionally consider the associations between WfH intensity



and employees' possibilities of considering personal and family demands into work scheduling. In this context, it is also worth mentioning that experiences with WfH during the compulsory phases of WfH of the Covid-19 pandemic and periods of closed schools and child care facilities, are not transferable to our research results. Apart from the additional burden of home schooling or childcare in home office, many employees have also had good experiences and want to continue WfH at least partially in the future (Frodermann et al., 2021). As a consequence, it is to be expected that telework will no longer remain the privilege of a few and especially highly qualified employees, as it was before the pandemic in Germany. In order to check whether this will also change the relation between telework and the temporal alignment of work and private life, our pre-pandemic study should be replicated in the post-pandemic period. Furthermore, our data set contains only employed persons, meaning those (presumably especially mothers) unable to work due to higher difficulty in accounting for private matters while working, or more demanding personal and family lives, are not present in the data set. It can therefore be assumed that the results presented here, e.g., on the gender gap in reconciliation problems, tend to be underestimated. Moreover, it would be beneficial to be able to control for the specific personal and family demands with which the employees are confronted but on which we had no data available. Finally, it would be desirable to conduct comparative analyses with panel data in order to control for potentially unobserved heterogeneity by eliminating all time-constant unobserved characteristics. Nevertheless, we rely in our study on the most appropriate data, which are the only ones that allow for the highly differentiated consideration of recognised working time when telework and informal overtime at home.

In doing so, the results show that telework can be a job resource for increasing challenges in the temporal alignment of work and private life for employees. However, it does not apply to all employees to the same extent, but varies dependent on gender and family responsibility. Furthermore, even if employees are successful in the temporal alignment of work and private life when working from home, this may involve a great deal of effort and may not lead to a better work-life balance automatically. This again might be more relevant for women who are still more often confronted with family and working demands at the same time, especially in Germany (Carstensen, 2019; Jürgens, 2019). Furthermore, while women perceive home-based work as a helpful way to consider demands from both spheres of life, it

may reinforce the gendered division of work and family life (Sullivan & Lewis, 2001). In addition, the results support the idea that flexibility also needs regulation, which cannot be the sole responsibility of the employees due to differences in how it is used. The law on the recording of working time, which was recently confirmed by the European Court of Justice, must also apply to employees working outside the office to be a beneficial instrument for employees. Otherwise, WfH, through a greater mix of private and occupational activities but also the stereotypical assumptions of employers regarding the work performance of their employees at home, carries the risk of leading to an increase in informal working time, which, even with more flexibility, will not contribute to an improvement in the organisation of occupational and personal and family life.

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## Appendix

**Table A1. Distribution of considered variables, overall and by WfH categories**

	No WfH ( <i>n</i> = 11,468)	Telework ( <i>n</i> = 4,675)	Partly informal overtime ( <i>n</i> = 444)	Completely informal overtime ( <i>n</i> = 1,180)	Total ( <i>n</i> = 16,244)
Women	46.6	46.0	50.7	44.7	46.5
Children < 12 years	20.8	27.0	26.1	22.8	22.2
Education					
No vocational degree	10.3	3.5	3.4	2.8	8.4
Vocational education	67.8	29.8	33.1	39.6	57.9
Further vocational training	6.8	8.8	8.6	11.0	7.5
Academic degree	15.1	58.0	54.9	46.6	26.2
Age	43.4 (11.9)	43.1 (11.0)	42.7 (11.7)	43.5 (11.3)	43.4 (11.7)
Management position					
No	75.7	68.3	57.2	54.3	72.5
Lower	9.2	9.1	11.7	9.6	9.3
Middle	12.6	15.5	23.4	24.9	14.2
Upper	2.5	7.1	7.7	11.2	4.0
Wage	2,639.8 (1,757.1)	4,182.6 (3,662.7)	3,682.5 (2,640.7)	3,999.5 (4,345.9)	3,046.6 (2,563.3)
Total working time (hours/week)	37.4 (10.7)	39.2 (10.6)	40.4 (10.8)	41.7 (11.0)	38.0 (10.7)
Overtime in the company					
No overtime in the company	52.5	40.9	33.9	46.1	49.4
Recognised overtime	43.1	42.8	47.2	32.0	42.5
Non-recognised overtime	4.0	15.5	18.6	21.6	7.6
Overtime, but no info about recognition of overtime hours	0.5	0.7	0.3	0.2	0.5
Partner employed	55.2	65.8	64.0	61.2	57.8
Pressure to perform					
No	5.8	1.7	34.6	45.8	4.6
Rarely	13.8	9.4	35.7	53.2	12.3
Sometimes	34.6	7.6	34.2	57.9	34.6
Often	45.8	5.4	30.9	62.6	48.5
Carrier aspirations	33.9	42.4	45.7	46.1	36.5
Work experience (years)	12.0 (11.3)	11.6 (10.3)	11.8 (10.7)	12.1 (10.8)	11.9 (11.0)
Company size					
1–9 employees	12.7	11.4	11.6	10.5	12.3
10–49 employees	28.1	22.9	28.0	25.9	27.0
50–249 employees	26.5	26.4	34.7	29.8	26.8
250+ employees	32.7	39.3	25.7	33.9	33.9
Company in West-Germany	80.5	83.6	80.4	81.2	81.1
Occupational group					
Armed forces personnel	0.7	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.5
Agriculture, forestry, farming	0.7	0.4	0.2	0.1	0.6
Gardening and floristry	1.2	0.2	1.7	0.3	1.0
Production and processing of raw materials, glass-, ceramic	0.4	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.3
Plastic-making, wood- working, -processing	2.0	0.3	0.1	0.3	1.5
Paper-making, printing, technical media design	0.9	0.4	1.2	0.5	0.8
Metal-making, -working, - construction	5.0	0.3	0.7	1.1	3.8
Technical occupations in machine-building and automotive industry	6.8	2.7	3.1	3.6	5.8

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	No WfH (n = 11,468)	Telework (n = 4,675)	Partly informal overtime (n = 444)	Completely informal overtime (n = 1,180)	Total (n = 16,244)
Mechatronics, energy electronics and electrical engineering	3.5	3.7	2.6	2.9	3.5
Technical research, develop., construction, production, planning and scheduling	3.0	3.4	1.8	4.8	3.2
Textile-, leather-making, and - processing	0.4	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.3
Food-production, -processing	3.3	0.8	0.0	3.2	2.7
Construction scheduling, architecture and surveying	0.7	1.3	1.5	0.6	0.8
Building construction above and below ground	1.5	0.2	0.5	0.5	1.2
Interior construction	1.7	0.3	1.0	0.2	1.3
Building services engineering, technical building services	2.8	1.0	0.2	2.1	2.3
Mathematics, biology, chemistry, and physics	1.8	1.1	0.9	2.4	1.7
Geology, geography and environmental protection	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.7	0.2
Computer science, ICT	1.2	12.9	5.5	1.8	3.6
Traffic and logistics (without vehicle driving)	6.5	1.8	2.4	3.6	5.3
Drivers, operators of vehicles and transport equipment	5.0	0.5	1.9	0.7	3.8
Safety and health protection, security and surveillance	2.2	0.9	2.8	1.6	1.9
Cleaning services	2.1	0.5	0.9	0.6	1.7
Purchasing, sales and trading	1.7	6.0	2.6	4.9	2.8
Retail sales	6.9	1.3	2.2	5.0	5.6
Tourism, hotels, restaurants	2.2	1.0	0.7	2.9	2.0
Business management and organization	7.0	15.5	8.9	10.4	8.9
Financial services, accounting, and tax consultancy	4.0	6.0	6.1	3.9	4.5
Law and public administration	4.9	5.1	2.2	4.3	4.8
Medical and healthcare	8.4	2.8	5.4	5.8	7.0
Non-medical healthcare, body care, wellness, and medical technicians	3.1	0.8	1.3	2.3	2.6
Education and social work, housekeeping, and theology	5.4	5.5	12.0	10.1	5.8
Teaching and training	1.1	16.8	25.2	13.3	5.5
Philology, literature, humanities, social sciences, economics	0.2	1.3	2.4	0.8	0.5
Advertising, marketing, commercial, editorial media design	1.4	4.1	1.2	3.3	2.0
Product design, artisan craftwork, fine arts, making of musical instruments	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.5	0.1
Performing arts and entertainment	0.3	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.4

Source: BIBB/BAuA Employment Survey 2018. Authors' calculations.

Notes: Weighted percentages. Categorical variables in percent. Continuous variables with mean and standard deviations in parentheses. Total sample includes employees aged 18 to 65 years .

**Table A2. Ordered logit regression models of the temporal alignment of work and private life by gender and children and the use of WfH**

	M1a	M1b	M2a	M2b
<i>No WfH</i>	<i>Reference</i>	<i>Reference</i>	<i>Reference</i>	<i>Reference</i>
Telework	1.403*** (0.068)	1.620*** (0.103)	1.399*** (0.068)	1.664*** (0.198)
Partly informal overtime	0.794** (0.078)	0.791* (0.110)	0.792** (0.078)	0.714 (0.200)
Completely informal overtime	0.805*** (0.052)	1.067 (0.095)	0.803*** (0.052)	1.412** (0.245)
<i>Men</i>	<i>Reference</i>	<i>Reference</i>		
Women	0.880*** (0.036)	1.002 (0.051)		
<i>Interactions</i>				
Telework # Women		0.758*** (0.063)		
Partly informal overtime # Women		1.008 (0.191)		
Completely informal overtime # Women		0.565*** (0.069)		
<i>Men, children u12</i>				
Men, w/o children u12			0.901* (0.053)	0.958 (0.074)
Women, w/o children u12			0.799*** (0.051)	0.949 (0.078)
Women, w children u12			0.869* (0.071)	1.071 (0.113)
<i>Interactions</i>				
Telework# Men, w/o child. u12				0.964 (0.126)
Telework# Women, w/o child. u12				0.737** (0.098)
Telework# Women, child. u12				0.732* (0.128)
Partly informal overtime # Men, w/o child. u12				1.145 (0.366)
Partly informal overtime # Women, w/o child. u12				1.134 (0.359)
Partly informal overtime # Women, child. u12				1.041 (0.396)
Completely informal overtime # Men, w/o child. u12				0.685* (0.134)
Completely informal overtime # Women, w/o child. u12				0.448*** (0.088)
Completely informal overtime # Women, w child. u12				0.346*** (0.091)
<i>Controls</i>				
<i>Education</i>				
No vocational degree	<i>Reference</i>	<i>Reference</i>	<i>Reference</i>	<i>Reference</i>
Vocational education	1.325*** (0.104)	1.334*** (0.105)	1.320*** (0.104)	1.331*** (0.105)
Further vocational training	1.554*** (0.151)	1.568*** (0.152)	1.546*** (0.150)	1.564*** (0.152)
Academic degree	1.666*** (0.143)	1.674*** (0.143)	1.656*** (0.142)	1.668*** (0.143)
<i>Age</i>	0.994*** (0.002)	0.994*** (0.002)	0.995** (0.002)	0.995*** (0.002)

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	M1a		M1b		M2a		M2b	
Management position	<i>Reference</i>		<i>Reference</i>		<i>Reference</i>		<i>Reference</i>	
No								
Lower	1.013	(0.060)	1.022	(0.060)	1.012	(0.060)	1.023	(0.061)
Middle	1.034	(0.049)	1.030	(0.049)	1.030	(0.049)	1.024	(0.049)
Upper	1.048	(0.082)	1.034	(0.081)	1.040	(0.081)	1.022	(0.080)
Wage	1.000***	(0.000)	1.000**	(0.000)	1.000***	(0.000)	1.000**	(0.000)
Total working time (hours/week)	0.953***	(0.002)	0.954***	(0.002)	0.954***	(0.002)	0.954***	(0.002)
Overtime in the company	<i>Reference</i>		<i>Reference</i>		<i>Reference</i>		<i>Reference</i>	
No overtime in the company								
Recognised overtime	0.967	(0.037)	0.967	(0.037)	0.966	(0.037)	0.967	(0.037)
Non-recognised overtime	0.653***	(0.040)	0.644***	(0.039)	0.651***	(0.040)	0.641***	(0.039)
Overtime, but no info about recog. of overtime hours	0.787	(0.177)	0.791	(0.178)	0.790	(0.178)	0.787	(0.177)
Partner employed	1.175***	(0.040)	1.169***	(0.040)	1.158***	(0.040)	1.154***	(0.040)
Pressure to perform	<i>Reference</i>		<i>Reference</i>		<i>Reference</i>		<i>Reference</i>	
No								
Rarely	1.099	(0.134)	1.098	(0.134)	1.097	(0.134)	1.102	(0.135)
Sometimes	0.835	(0.093)	0.836	(0.093)	0.837	(0.093)	0.839	(0.093)
Often	0.382***	(0.042)	0.381***	(0.042)	0.381***	(0.042)	0.381***	(0.042)
Carrier aspirations	0.998	(0.039)	1.001	(0.039)	1.001	(0.039)	1.004	(0.040)
Work experience (years)	1.003*	(0.002)	1.003*	(0.002)	1.003*	(0.002)	1.004*	(0.002)
Company size	<i>Reference</i>		<i>Reference</i>		<i>Reference</i>		<i>Reference</i>	
1–9 employees								
10–49 employees	1.062	(0.067)	1.064	(0.067)	1.061	(0.067)	1.064	(0.067)
50–249 employees	1.037	(0.065)	1.036	(0.065)	1.034	(0.065)	1.035	(0.065)
250+ employees	1.136**	(0.072)	1.133**	(0.072)	1.134**	(0.072)	1.132*	(0.072)
Company in West-Germany	0.952	(0.040)	0.951	(0.040)	0.953	(0.040)	0.952	(0.040)
Occupational groups <sup>1</sup>								
Observations	16,244		16,244		16,244		16,244	
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	0.077		0.078		0.077		0.078	

Odds ratios are displayed.

<sup>1</sup> Controls for employees' occupations with 36 dummies for occupational groups (at the 2-digit level of the German Classification of Occupations 2010, KldB 2010) are included but not displayed. The results are available upon request.

Source: BIBB/BAuA Employment Survey 2018. Sample includes employees aged 18-65. Authors' own calculations. Standard errors in parentheses. \* p<.1, \*\* p<.05, \*\*\* p<.01.