

Gendered discrepancies in the outcomes of flexible working: the case of overtime and income in the UK

WES conference 2016 Leeds, UK

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Consequences of schedule control

- Focus mostly on positive impact: work-life balance, productivity, work commitment, health etc.
- Some studies examine some negative impact: increase in work intensity, namely overtime
- Some overlooked aspects: income, and career perspectives
- For schedule control to be a true alternative to adapt work around family life, it should not have negative implications for career...
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What we add to previous studies

- Most studies based in the US but institutional structures may influence this relationship
 - ightarrow we look at UK case
- Most previous studies gender and worker context blind
 → we specifically take gender, parental status, working time status into account
- We look at different types of schedule control \rightarrow flexitime, flexiplace, but also time autonomy (control over working hours)
- Most based on cross-sectional data \rightarrow We examine longitudinal data
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Definition schedule control

- Control over when and where one works (Kelly and Moen, 2007)
- Flexitime: control over <u>when</u> one works (e.g., start end times, accumulation of hours to take days off)
- Flexiplace: control over <u>where</u> one works (working from home for personal reasons)
- Time autonomy: how much control do you have over your working hours?
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Schedule control uses

- Can be used for a variety of reasons
 - Family-friendly arrangement
 - High performance/involvement strategy
 - Reward for higher status/supervisory, management role





Autonomy control paradox

- When workers identify more with the work domain the flexibility in the borders between work and family will result in expansion of work
- Employees who are "free" to work whenever however they wish, may work perpetually (use autonomy to become the ideal worker)
- "honey trap" (Grönlund 2007) "autonomy-control paradox" (Putnam et al 2014)

➔ But depending on the extent to which you can expand the work environment

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Causes of intensification (Kelliher & Anderson 2010)

- Imposed intensification: imposed by employers/contract same amount of work but fewer hours (task based work)
- Enabled intensification: allow people to work harder easily – removal of distractions, increased optimization of hours
- Gift/social exchange theory: The ability to take advantage of flexible working options may engender a reaction in employees, which results in them expending greater effort, increase motivation, commitment → increase other characteristics of the "ideal worker"





Enabled intensification & Stress of a higher status hypothesis (Schieman et al., 2009)

- Individuals in higher positions may engage in role blurring because of the demands of higher status work conditions which can increase work-nonwork interference
- Schedule control for these groups of workers may entail "work that never ends" and a devotion to work that responds to the demands of high status
- Clark (2000) flexibility of borders can increase spillover to the other sphere of life when one aspect takes precedence (workers where work has a high significance in life)





Variance across individuals

- If Clark's theory is correct, increased work intensity and hours will depend largely on individuals
- Individuals whose life focuses more on work, more likely to intensify/increase work efforts → increase spill over
- Individuals who has other demands (family demands) may be less likely to intensify/increase work efforts
- Gender, parental status, and occupational status
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Impact on income

- Work intensity
 - Overtime/increased work intensity leads to higher income → via overtime
 - (unobserved) Increase in work effectiveness/qualitative intensity and productivity (de Menezes and Kelliher, 2011) → direct impact
- Healthier happier workers
 - 'happy worker thesis' (Leslie et al., 2012)
 - Decrease in stress, sickness, and absenteeism, and better work-life balance brought on by schedule control (Weeden, 2005)





Varying across individuals

- Depending on how it is used/perceived to be used by employers
 - Use of schedule control as a signal for lower work commitment (Glass and Noonan, 2016)
 - When used for personal reasons/family demands, schedule control does not lead to income gains (Leslie et al., 2012)
 - Women/parents/lower occupational groups more likely to be perceived to do so (Brescoll et al., 2012)
- Discrimination in rewards
 - Women/lower occupational groups generally gain less rewards (Acker 1990) including rewards from schedule control
- Trade off of flexibility for lower wages

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Data

- Understanding Society waves 2 and 4
- Several selections
- 3,621 men and 3,837 women
- Fixed and random effects models

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Preliminary Results: Overtime

- Having time autonomy positively related to the likelihood of working overtime and how much overtime people work.
- Both men and women
 - But regarding working <u>any overtime</u> clearer for women.
 - Using flexitime was *negatively* related to how much overtime men worked.
- Regardless of parental status
 - But relationship between time autonomy and working any overtime seems clearer for mothers than for childless women.
 - And relationship between time autonomy and how many overwork hours appears to be clearer for non-parents than parents.
- Part-time vs full-time (for women only)
 - Positive relationship between working (any) overtime and time autonomy seems clearer among part-time working women than among full-time working women.
 - However, when we are looking at *how much* overtime these women worked, we see the positive relationship only for full-time working women.





Preliminary Results: Overtime



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Preliminary Results: Overtime



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Preliminary Results: Earnings

- Being able to work from home seems to be positively related to earnings
- Most clearly for women.
- Clearer for mothers than for childless women
- Clearer for part-time working women than for fulltime working women.
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Preliminary Results: Earnings



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Conclusion

- Overall, schedule control can have positive outcomes (higher earnings) and negative outcomes (more overtime)
- Type of flexibility clearly matters
- There is variability in outcomes based on type of workers

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Next steps

- Robustness checks
- Looking at the gender differences in more detail
- Compare high-status jobs with lower occupational groups
- Investigate possible indirection relationship from schedule control \rightarrow working overtime \rightarrow earnings
- When more waves are available: look at this again!
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Thank you!



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