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Teleworking, task sharing, and work-life balance: A gender issue? Theoretical approach

Abstract

Aim/purpose – The impact of teleworking on the work-life balance is still not clear. Since women are the ones who tend to assume most of the domestic tasks, our paper aims to determine, in gender terms and with a theoretical approach, how the effects of teleworking may affect the division of domestic tasks and the reconciliation of the private and professional spheres.
Design/methodology/approach – This paper is based on a literature review and focuses on theoretical perspectives.
Findings – On the one hand, the flexibility offered by teleworking during the health crisis may have enabled women to achieve a better work-life balance by offering them the possibility of not having to stop working despite the family responsibilities they had

to assume. On the other, the unequal distribution of unpaid domestic work, which has continued and even increased during the crisis, has forced many women to quit their jobs.

Research implications/limitations – The health crisis has shown that as long as teleworking is not organized in a way challenging the assumption of the home as a female environment, the office will stay a male environment with gender inequalities always prevailing between home and work.

Originality/value/contribution – This paper contributes to the literature on teleworking by highlighting that generalizing teleworking without considering gender aspects may be harmful to female workers. Such a finding is important in the actual context of the development of hybrid organizations.

1. Introduction

During the recent health crisis, teleworking has been a lifesaver (HR Square, 2020). The acceleration of its adoption has been abrupt because of the pandemic (Kosteas et al., 2022). Teleworking has, in particular, countered rising unemployment and limited layoffs (Hou et al., 2022). As we gradually emerge from the health crisis, it is clear that the world of work can no longer be envisaged without a reflection on the practice of teleworking.

As an example, in Belgium, there has been an increase in the share of teleworkers as a result of the measures taken in the context of the health crisis: while in 2018, 17% of Belgians teleworked at least one day per week, 32% of Belgians telework at least one day per week in 2022 (SPF Mobilité et Transports, 2023). Indeed, the generalization of teleworking to companies now seems inevitable.

Teleworking is often presented as one of the major solutions to better reconcile private and professional lives, notably through a reduction in commuting time (Baruch, 2001) and greater flexibility and freedom in the way one organizes one's days to better adapt to the temporality and needs of personal and family lives (Nätti et al., 2011). In 2020, the International Labour Organisation (ILO) published a practical guide entitled "Teleworking during the COVID-19 pandemic and beyond" (2020) which set out eight important areas to be considered to ensure the well-being of employees. Work-life balance is one of these areas (Truchon, 2021). Teleworking would, therefore, help reduce the inter-role conflict that can arise "when the individual perceives the expectations of his or her family role as contradictory to the expectations of his or her work role(s), and vice versa" (Frone & Rice, 1987, cited by Grodent & Tremblay, 2013, p.120).

Many scientific studies have shown that teleworking can help combine the private and professional spheres (Dumas, 2015; Gálvez et al., 2020; Gregory & Milner, 2009). Proponents of teleworking even go so far as to say that without the possibility of teleworking, some workers would have to quit their jobs and stop all productive activity (Executive Office of the President Council of Economic Advisors, 2010). Teleworking could, therefore, mainly benefit women (Aguilera et al., 2016; Gálvez et al., 2020; Hilbrecht et al., 2008), as they are more likely than men to have to take on both work and domestic tasks. However, some authors believe that teleworking may accentuate the conflict between the private and professional spheres rather than mitigate it (Doherty et al., 2000; Kurland & Bailey, 1999; Tremblay et al., 2006b) by making the boundary between these two spheres more porous. This would suggest that teleworking is probably not as beneficial to women as many might think. This is one of the paradoxes of teleworking (Gajendran & Harrison, 2007). The impact of teleworking on a better reconciliation of private and professional life is therefore not clear (Eurofound & The International Labour Office, 2017; Tremblay et al., 2006b).

Given the health crisis we have faced, the interest in a gendered analysis of this topic seems all the more important. Indeed, several studies (Lambert et al., 2020; UGICT & CGT, 2020) have noted inequalities in the practice of teleworking. These studies suggested that teleworking does not necessarily go hand in hand with women's ability to balance their private and professional spheres, especially in times of crisis. Our paper will therefore attempt, in a theoretical way, to answer the following question: in gender terms, how might teleworking affect the division of domestic tasks and the reconciliation of the private and professional spheres?

We think that such a question is an interesting one in the actual context. Indeed, organizations tend to implement more and more hybrid arrangements and generalize the use of teleworking for their staff. However, work-life balance is a growing expectation among generations at work, and organizations can no longer ignore this issue. As ILO (2022) states, "Work-life balance is at the forefront of social and labour market issues in the post-pandemic world." In addition, we know that organizations are increasingly expected to fulfill their social responsibilities, particularly in terms of inclusion, diversity, and gender equality. However, according to Taylor et al. (2021), there are fewer women than men who view their organization as an inclusive one for remote workers in their day-to-day operations. Furthermore, it should be noted that women are seen as a priority group by organizations for their Diversity Equity and Inclusion Program (World Economic Forum, 2023a). So, if employers want to develop more

and more hybrid arrangements using teleworking to adapt to the work expectations of new generations, they have to take into account the risks associated with such a practice for women.

According to Schütz and Noûs (2021), the analysis of teleworking from a gender perspective is rather absent from the French-speaking European literature, whereas it seems to be much more mobilized in the Anglo-Saxon and North American literature. Fernando and Cohen (2013) stated that few studies show what women do with the obstacles they encounter in their attempt to achieve a better work-life balance and how they manage their careers despite these obstacles.

In this paper, the first section discusses the effect of teleworking on the reconciliation of the private and professional spheres. The second section introduces the gender dimension into this debate. Finally, our paper concludes.

2. Method

We chose to carry out a narrative literature review. According to Saracci et al. (2019), such a literature review provides an informal synthesis and discussion of a given topic based on a not necessarily systematic and exhaustive review of the literature. Indeed, our paper aims to provide the main arguments used in the different studies about the effects of teleworking on the division of domestic tasks and the reconciliation of the private and professional spheres, but not to overview all studies that exist on this topic. The narrative literature review is "a review of knowledge on a specific subject, gathered from the relevant literature without any systematic, explicit methodological process for obtaining and qualitatively analysing the articles included in the review" (Mougeot et al., 2018). Consequently, it makes it possible to describe and evaluate documents on a predetermined subject without necessarily using strict, standardized criteria that would make it possible to critically assess the quality of the selected studies (Saracci et al., 2019). Our literature review is therefore not focused on the selection of articles from specific journal databases but may include both scientific articles – whether theoretical or empirical – and reports that provide an understanding of the thinking related to our research topic. According to Madden et al. (2017, p. 654), "narrative synthesis is a nuanced technique that would be useful to explore and evaluate evidence on other topics in HRM that are conceptually complex, notably those where there is a significant volume of evidence that could be synthesized to provide fresh insights, or where research in the field has reached a level of maturity or divergence that would warrant a systematic re-

view." These authors explain that work-life balance is an important issue of HRM research "where the practices and perceived benefits of flexible working and its links to performance, commitment, goal setting, and organizational outcomes are unclear but about which there have been many studies." Narrative synthesis could then be helpful to better understand the research related to it. We elaborated our literature review by selecting papers and documents using simultaneously keywords, such as "gender," "work-life balance," and "teleworking," with their synonyms and variations.

3. Literature review

3.1. Teleworking, advantage or disadvantage for work-life balance?

Teleworking can be defined as "work performed away from the employer's premises, possibly at home, a distance made possible by the use of information and telecommunications technologies" (Bailey & Kurland, 2002; Dockery & Bawa, 2018; Golden, 2012). According to Blanpain (2001, p. 5), it is "work performed by a teleworker (employee, self-employed, homeworker) mainly, or for a significant part, at one or more locations other than the traditional workplace for an employer or client, involving the use of telecommunications." However, Pontier (2014) argued that, given the multiple possible situations involving the use of teleworking, a general definition is not feasible. For this study, we will only focus on teleworking carried out at home by an employee, whether occasionally or regularly, as women reportedly make more use of this type of teleworking than men (Eurofound & The International Labour Office, 2017).

Teleworking appears to have many advantages for employees, such as increased autonomy in work, including greater flexibility and freedom in the way one's day is organized (Eurofound & The International Labour Office, 2017; Greenhaus & Powell, 2006; Wilson & Greenhill, 2004). In addition, teleworking would save time and money by reducing commuting (Baruch, 2001; Eurofound & The International Labour Office, 2017). Teleworking would also reduce distractions (Kurland & Bailey, 1999; Wilson & Greenhill, 2004) and increase productivity (Aguilera et al., 2016). Indeed, according to a survey conducted by OBERGO (2018) on the living and working conditions of teleworking employees in France, 86% of the respondents consider that they are more productive, and 84% believe that they have improved the quality of their work. Teleworking could also be a response to the difficulties of urban congestion (Benchimol,

1994). But the advantage most often put forward by its proponents is that it reduces the problems of reconciling private and professional life (Dumas & Ruiller, 2014; Gajendran & Harrisson, 2007; Gregory & Milner, 2009).

Work-life balance issues are defined as "inter-role conflicts where the demands of work and family roles can be mutually incompatible" (Grodent & Tremblay, 2013, p. 120), including limiting the role overload and role interference that cause conflict between the private and professional spheres. Dumas and Ruiller (2014) explained, for example, that teleworking enables parents to spend more time with their children or to be available for family obligations (Tremblay et al., 2006b). Teleworking could, therefore, be seen as "a way to regulate private and professional obligations" (Taskin, 2006, p.8). According to Thomsin (2005), many teleworkers spontaneously ask for more flexibility in their working hours. This increases flexibility and gives them more control. Some will prefer to work staggered hours to feel they are saving time, while others will choose to postpone certain tasks until later in the evening or even take them over the weekend if necessary. The flexibility of these working hours would be particularly appreciated in the reconciliation of the private and professional spheres (Lyttelton et al., 2022; Tomei, 2021; Tremblay et al., 2006b). According to Mathieu et al. (2020), teleworking would allow employees to better control time and space and, therefore, to better organize the tasks they have to perform, which would facilitate the reconciliation of the work and family spheres. Teleworking would, therefore, contribute to a better quality of family life. In this vein, the OBERGO study (2018) indicated that 90% of men and 88% of women who telework consider that they have a better quality of family life, and 84% of respondents think that they have a better balance between private and professional lives.

However, scientific studies are not unanimous on the idea of a better reconciliation of private and professional lives through teleworking. Indeed, some authors believe that teleworking can be a source of conflict between these two spheres. For example, Wrzesinski et al. (2021) reported from their 2021 survey of 1,500 Belgian employees that 59% of them consider difficulties in maintaining a healthy barrier between private and professional lives to be one of the five most important problems encountered when teleworking. There are various reasons for this. First, the combination of work and home activities in the same place and the presence of professional equipment in the home blur the boundaries (Gurstein, 2001). Second, teleworkers sometimes tend to work longer hours than employees in the office (Baruch, 2001; Boswell & Olson-Buchanan, 2007;

Nätti et al., 2011), with the work sphere taking over the private sphere. Indeed, teleworkers may find it difficult to disconnect from their work (Bains & Gelder, 2002; Borg, 2020), which would complicate their ability to reconcile private and professional lives. According to the survey conducted by OBERGO (2018), 57% of respondents claim to be working longer, and 15% feel an increased workload. Chung and van den Horst (2018) noted that managers generally tend to negotiate with their employees for more work intensity in return for teleworking. Vayre (2021) and Lyttelton et al. (2022) also mentioned the intensification, densification, and extension of working time brought about by teleworking. Teleworkers are said to work more, to work longer, to put more effort into their tasks, and to be more available than when they work in person (Vayre, 2021). Finally, if family members are present at home, they may be tempted to call on the worker during working hours who thus find themselves torn between continuing to work or responding to their family's requests (Dumas & Ruiller, 2014). Indeed, Tremblay et al. (2006a, p. 4) explained that "family members do not always understand the limits of the teleworker and take the liberty of making requests for availability that they would not make if the person did not work at home." Nevertheless, some authors believe that these problems arise mainly when the employee first starts teleworking but tend to disappear over time (Felstead & Jewson, 2002; Tremblay, 2003).

Different strategies are generally used by the teleworker to define clear boundaries between the private and professional spheres and thus limit conflicts between the two. Some authors mentioned the creation of a space within the home dedicated solely to work (Felstead & Jewson, 2000; Kowalski & Sawanson, 2005). The temporal dimension can also be used. In this respect, Gálvez et al. (2020) showed, for example, in their qualitative study that there is a compartmentalization strategy, clearly separating the time devoted to telework from that devoted to their family life. Several authors also highlighted the importance for teleworkers to inform their family members that they should not be disturbed when teleworking or to establish rituals such as dressing as if one were going to work at the office (Dumas & Ruiller, 2014). Fonner and Stache (2012) explained that two main strategies are generally used by teleworkers: integration or segmentation, each with its advantages and disadvantages. Segmentation, which can be associated with the compartmentalization strategy mentioned by Gálvez et al. (2020), avoids blurring the boundaries between the two spheres but makes it more difficult to move from one role to the other. It refers to the desire to separate work and family or, at least, to have an impermeable border between

work and non-work (Scaillerez & Tremblay, 2016). It could generate stress and conflict as teleworkers use rigid practices that could lead their family to feel that they are taking a back seat (Dockery & Bawa, 2018; Fonner & Stache, 2012). While one of the benefits of teleworking generally cited is an increase in worker flexibility, this flexibility is generally sacrificed by the worker who is somehow forced to establish a structure to keep the private and professional spheres distinct (Fonner & Stache, 2012; Pearlson & Saunders, 2001). Integration, which is the art of overlapping work and non-work times and spaces, tends to blur the boundaries but facilitates the transition from one role to another (Fonner & Stache, 2012). Mirchandani (2000) explains that the literature tends to say that teleworkers should keep the two spheres separate at all costs, for three main reasons. First, it avoids the permeability of family and work roles that can result from too-close proximity between home and work and thus reduces the stress associated with it (Foegen, 1993). Second, it reduces the work dependency that can occur when the worker tries to integrate the two spheres (Olson & Primps, 1984). Finally, separating the two spheres should make it possible to maintain professionalism in one's work (Atkinson, 1985).

There are other disadvantages associated with teleworking. Menzies (1997) explained, for example, that work done at home sometimes remains in the shadows, reducing the visibility of workers and reducing their likelihood of moving up in their organization and progressing professionally (Bloom et al., 2013; Huws et al., 1990; Wilson & Greenhill, 2004). Indeed, office attendance is still often taken into account when assessing employee performance or commitment (Gálvez et al., 2020). It should be noted that, according to the signal theory (Spence, 1973, cited by Konrad & Yang, 2012), managers tend to rely on observable signals or qualities to award promotions. The employee using telework would then risk sending a negative signal in terms of involvement in the organization. Several studies also mentioned the risk of isolation as one of the main disadvantages of teleworking, given the absence of face-to-face contact with colleagues (Bailey & Kurlan, 2002; Dumas & Ruiller, 2014). For example, Sewell and Taskin (2015, in Charalampous et al., 2018) noted that when working from home one or two days per week, people feel more isolated and invisible. For Antunes et al. (2023), social and professional isolation due to teleworking is a critical point, especially for mental health. Bentley et al. (2016, in Antunes et al., 2023) thought that a sufficient provision of organizational support is essential to avoid the increase of psychological strain due to social isolation.

3.2. Effects of teleworking on the division of labor and work-life balance: A gender approach

Before focusing on a gendered approach to the effect of teleworking on the division of labor and work-life balance, which is of particular interest to us, it is important to provide some additional information on the gender dimension of telework practices.

3.2.1. The gender dimension of teleworking

As teleworking has emerged at a time of unprecedented growth in the number of women entering the labor market (Huws et al., 1996), it is understandable that gender and teleworking have often been discussed in conjunction with each other and that many authors have attempted to determine, as early as the late 1990s and early 2000s, whether teleworking can limit or reinforce gender inequalities (Mirchandani, 2000; Tremblay, 2001). It is important to mention, however, that since most of these studies were written 20 or 30 years ago, they are strongly influenced by the stereotypes of that time. It is, therefore, necessary to put the results of these different research studies in their temporal context. Nevertheless, it should also be noted that gender stereotypes and gendered expectations of self and others have existed throughout history and continue to exist today (Charles & Bradley, 2009; Correll et al., 2007). These stereotypes are mainly based on the idea that women adopt more of what is termed "communal" values, namely qualities associated with social relationships, such as helpfulness, kindness, and sympathy, whereas men adopt what is termed "agentic" values, namely qualities associated with goal achievement, such as assertiveness and aggressivity (Rudman & Phelan, 2008). These stereotypes are used by critics of women's rights, for example, to promote the idea that women should be content with parenting and family responsibilities at home rather than going out to work. They can also lead to what is known as the "glass ceiling," i.e., "the enduring and persistent barriers to women's participation in the labour market" (Buscatto & Marry, 2009, p. 181), or to segregation of occupations according to gender, with so-called male occupations (such as firefighter, policeman, bricklayer, etc.) or so-called female occupations (such as domestic help, nurse, secretary, etc.).

Comparing male and female teleworkers, Tremblay (2003) pointed to gender differences in the type of tasks performed or function held, autonomy in decision-making, and the organization of work, demonstrating that there is gen-

der segregation in the telework market similar to the one found in the traditional labor market. In terms of functions, Tremblay (2003) noted that male teleworkers are mainly executives, managers, or technicians, especially in the computer field, while female teleworkers are mainly in less skilled and less well-paid jobs (Phizacklea & Wolkowitz, 1995) and hired in secretarial and word processing tasks. Tremblay et al. (2006b) noted that men are more likely than women to have access to teleworking facilities provided by their employers. As for autonomy in decision-making, Tremblay's survey (2001, 2003) revealed that 64% of the women surveyed asked for their supervisor's agreement to telework, while 55.9% of the men made the decision themselves. As far as autonomy in work is concerned, it is also more limited for women than for men who telework. Indeed, Tremblay (2001) explained that female teleworkers come to accept productivity standards 10% to 20% higher than those of the office for fear that their supervisor will question the fact that they are teleworking. This may raise questions about women's ability to reconcile private and professional life. Moreover, women teleworkers perceive that the rigidity of work schedules and the lack of recovery time significantly increase their stress, with positive coefficients that are more than twice those of the male teleworkers' model (Curzia et al., 2021). While women may sometimes feel guilty about teleworking, it seems that this is generally not the case for men (Fonner & Stache, 2012). According to Munsch (2016, in Guinn, 2017), women may miss out on promotion opportunities when colleagues and managers associate their desire for telework with family responsibilities, thus supporting Spence's (1973) signal theory. A study conducted by Bonacini et al. (2021) on the Italian labor market during the crisis showed that the gender pay gap and the glass ceiling increased for women in jobs where the propensity to telework was high. These authors concluded that these risks will continue after the crisis as the spread of teleworking practices seems to have become the new normal in the labor market.

Nevertheless, a study conducted at Michelin by Mathieu et al. (2020) revealed that telework seems to be particularly relevant to women's aspirations. Indeed, these authors showed that women have a more positive perception of telework than men in terms of its effects on the following indicators: quality of work life, autonomy, social interaction, data security, skills, and performance.

3.2.2. Impact on the division of domestic tasks

Most of the studies (cf. Appendix 1- Table 1) analyzing the effect of tele-work on the division of domestic tasks are based on the theoretical "exploitation model," which puts forward the idea that teleworking is "a way of perpetuating the exploitation of women in both paid work and domestic responsibilities" (Haddon & Silverstone, 1993; Sullivan & Lewis, 2001) for various reasons. Teleworking is said to encourage the exploitation of women who have to meet both work and family expectations (Sullivan & Lewis, 2001). Conversely, men who telework would not increase the hours spent on domestic or childcare tasks but would tend to work more often overtime (Kim, 2020, cited by Chung et al., 2021). This model also postulates that teleworking would promote women's social isolation (Bailey & Kurlan, 2002; Tremblay, 2001; Wilson & Greenhill, 2004), detaching them from any possibility of union representation (Wilson & Greenhill, 2004) and could serve as a control tool for men to monitor their wives (Silver, 1993; Sullivan & Lewis, 2001). According to some authors, such as Greenhill and Wilson (2006) or Scaillerez and Tremblay (2016), teleworking reinforces the perception that the home is a gender-segregated space and could therefore increase discrimination against women. Men would thus be perceived as those who provide their families with financial means, while women would be seen as those who care for their families (Chung et al., 2021).

Let us now present the pre-crisis empirical studies on the subject. Tremblay (2001) found that by teleworking, women give more time to family responsibilities, which is not the case for men. More recently, Vayre (2021) cited surveys by INSEE, which showed that women spend two hours more than men on house-hold and parental tasks. In the same vein, Dockery and Bawa (2018) showed that when it is the man who teleworks, teleworking has no positive effect on the shar-ing of household tasks. However, they did find a beneficial effect on the sharing of parenting responsibilities. Sullivan and Lewis (2001) also noted that most teleworkers and their spouses feel that the division of domestic tasks is not changed by teleworking, regardless of the gender of the teleworker. Tomei (2021) explained that although teleworking can be seen as a kind of support for working parents, and more specifically mothers, it appears that mothers still spend more time than fathers on domestic and family tasks. Teleworking would, therefore, not contribute to encouraging family co-responsibility or reducing gender inequalities in employment (Eurofound & The International Labour Of-fice, 2017, cited by Tomei, 2021). Surveys conducted by Eurofound in 2016

among male and female workers with children showed that, in more than half of EU countries, women spend twice as much time as men on household tasks (Blasko et al., 2020). Thus, while teleworking may be seen at first glance as a family-friendly practice, it is not necessarily gender-equitable in its day-to-day practice (Sullivan & Lewis, 2001, cited by Hilbrecht et al., 2008). Studies did not show a significant change in the gender division of labor associated with the use of teleworking (Hilbrecht et al., 2008). This could probably be related to the different priorities developed by gender in general. For example, although it has been observed that men want to spend more time with their families, "women still place a lot of importance on family, children, home, etc. and need to devote time to them, whereas men devote more time to their professional activities, being generally less taken up by domestic work and family responsibilities" (Grodent & Tremblay, 2013, p.141). These findings could be related to the gender role theory, which assumes that with each new child in a family, women tend to reduce their involvement in paid work and increase their involvement in domestic work, while men would increase their hours of paid work. However, Marsh and Musson (2008) were more optimistic about this, showing that when it is the man who teleworks, "telework can provide a space where men can adopt emotional discourses and practices traditionally associated with women, and particularly working mothers," thus enabling women with children to better compete with men in the traditional labor market.

Gender inequalities in the division of domestic tasks seem to have been made more visible by the health crisis. According to Alberio and Tremblay (2021), international research showed that women have been strongly affected by the crisis in terms of the distribution of domestic and parental tasks and responsibilities. Indeed, an IPSOS survey conducted in 18 countries in May 2020 revealed that "women were 4% more likely than men to say they strongly agreed that their workload had increased during the pandemic." Numerous studies thus confirmed that women were more affected than men during the crisis as the burden of childcare fell mainly on them (Adams-Prassl et al., 2020; Sevilla & Smith, 2020, cited by Kosteas et al., 2022). They also showed that women's well-being, satisfaction, and productivity were negatively affected during the crisis due to inequalities in the distribution of domestic tasks and responsibilities (Feng & Savani, 2020, in Vayre, 2021). Nevertheless, Chung et al. (2021) observed in the UK that the large increase in the number of homeworkers during the pandemic, and more specifically fathers, led to a more equitable distribution of unpaid work among working heterosexual couples.

3.2.3. Impact on reconciliation of private and professional lives during the health crisis

Different studies show the impact on the reconciliation of private and professional lives during the health crisis (cf. Table 2 in Appendix). The flexibility model was developed to understand what effect teleworking might have on how teleworking theoretically might affect the reconciliation of private and professional lives, especially for women. This model argues that the flexibility offered by teleworking should help women with children work by providing a solution to the work-life balance problem they face (Sullivan & Lewis, 2001). As mentioned earlier, this argument is not free of stereotypical elements. Indeed, the idea reflected in this argument is that women must stay at home to look after children. Teleworking would, therefore, offer them the possibility of looking after children at home while working.

Nevertheless, as shown in Section 2.2, given that mothers would, on average, take on more family responsibilities than fathers, they would, therefore, experience more work-family conflicts than fathers (Konrad & Yang, 2012). Numerous empirical studies seem to show a negative impact of teleworking on women's ability to better reconcile their private and professional lives. Based on a study conducted in Malta between June and July 2020, Borg (2020) noted that with the pandemic, women spent more hours on household chores and childcare, while their time for leisure, personal care, and sleep decreased more than men. Lyttelton et al. (2022) noted that mothers working at home during the health crisis simultaneously spent more time on childcare and/or domestic tasks. Hence their teleworking time was affected by more interruptions that shifted their attention between work and family and, consequently, made it more difficult to reconcile these two spheres. According to Vayre (2021), female teleworkers would perceive more overlap between work and personal lives than male teleworkers. They also found it more difficult to draw a clear line between these two spheres.

However, some empirical studies seem to point to the potentially positive effects of telework on the reconciliation of the two spheres. According to Cannito and Scavarda (2020), although families, and especially mothers, describe a difficult and complex pre-pandemic organization of childcare and work-life balance, lockdown would have made family management less complicated. Specifically, three-quarters of all parents responding to their survey said they would like to work flexibly to spend more time with children in the future. In Canada, research conducted by Tremblay and Mathieu (2021) during the first lockdown found that the majority of parents considered their work-family balance to be

easy during the crisis, although men (65%) were slightly more likely than women (58%) to tell this. Hou et al. (2022) also showed, via a triple-difference econometric model, that teleworking helped female workers more than male workers during the COVID crisis, reducing unemployment, work absence, and layoffs more strongly for women than for men. Especially women with childcare constraints were able to take advantage of the benefits of teleworking during the crisis. The increasing constraints in terms of family responsibilities that they faced during the crisis thus seem to have been largely compensated by the increased flexibility offered by telework.

The next question is what strategies women use to try to reconcile private and professional lives in a teleworking situation. First of all, it would be more complicated for women than for men to keep these two spheres well separated. Indeed, women are less well equipped by their organization to telework (Schütz & Noûs, 2021) and fewer have a separate office to telework in than men (Huws et al., 1990; Schütz & Noûs, 2021). For example, while 41% of men had a separate room to telework during the COVID crisis, only a quarter of women did. These inequalities seem to be all the more prevalent in higher-level professions (Lambert et al., 2020). The presence of a specific place to telework is an essential element to avoid blurring the boundaries between private and professional lives. Furthermore, according to Gálvez et al. (2020), family members of a female teleworker would be less likely than family members of a male teleworker to understand that the female teleworker is working at home and, therefore, cannot take part in household chores or childcare. In addition, women are more "likely to match their work responsibilities with their family responsibilities" (Haddon & Silverstone, 1993). Fonner and Stache (2012) also showed that women generally have to use segmentation techniques to maintain the boundaries between the two spheres, which is less the case for men for whom domestic or family tasks tend to take a back seat. However, it is recognized that implementing a segmentation strategy generally requires more effort. The study conducted by Gálvez et al. (2020) revealed that some female teleworkers have to engage in "a struggle, an effort, a resistance against a pattern of family and domestic responsibilities attributed to them – not only by the fact that they are present at home but also by the fact that they are women." Women, therefore, tend to suffer more than men from the role conflicts associated with their private and professional lives (Duxbury & Higgins, 2001). The use of segmentation techniques by women could also be explained by the motivations for teleworking. For example, women would use teleworking mainly for family and domestic

reasons, while men would cite individual or work-related reasons (Sullivan & Lewis, 2001). Ordioni (2001) noted that men rarely decide to telework to be able to better care for their children. Therefore, women should be particularly structured in managing the boundaries between work and domestic tasks, hence their use of segmentation. Men would have less need for this as they do not necessarily organize their work around domestic responsibilities (Fonner & Stache, 2012).

We should, nonetheless, note that the evolution of gender roles and professional functions of both sexes has undergone significant changes in recent decades, reflecting a movement toward greater gender equality. Here are some key trends reflecting this evolution: increased female labor force participation, women's education and qualifications, leadership and executive positions, better attention devoted to work-life balance, challenged gender stereotypes, increased female entrepreneurship, and increased social expectations regarding gender roles. Furthermore, today, individuals have more flexibility to choose roles that best suit them rather than strictly conforming to traditional expectations (World Economic Forum, 2023b). All of these trends should, of course, be taken into account when understanding the findings of the different studies mentioned in this paper.

3.2.4. Summary of the arguments for and against teleworking, task sharing, and work-life balance

The previous theoretical developments allowed us to synthesize the theoretical elements used for the elaboration of two tables, which are included in the Appendix, which provide us with an overview of the impact of teleworking on both the sharing of domestic tasks and the work-life balance.

One of the positive arguments for using teleworking is that it improves work-life balance. In fact, teleworking can provide both men and women with greater flexibility in managing their work and personal lives. It enables a reduction in commuting time, which can be especially beneficial for parents and caregivers. Another argument is that it increases equality in household responsibilities because teleworking may encourage a more equitable distribution of household tasks. When men and women have the option to work from home, it can lead to more shared responsibilities in childcare, cooking, and cleaning. Moreover, teleworking can benefit women by enabling them to stay connected to the workforce while managing family responsibilities. This can contribute to better career continuity and advancement opportunities.

We also find that teleworking can open job opportunities for individuals who may have faced geographical constraints in the past, including those living in remote areas or with limited access to traditional office locations. Finally, greater flexibility in work arrangements can help reduce the gender pay gap by allowing women to maintain their careers even when they have family obligations.

Nevertheless, there are negative arguments. In fact, teleworking may blur the boundaries between work and personal life, leading to longer working hours and burnout. This can be particularly challenging for women, who may end up taking on more household tasks. Teleworking can also inadvertently reinforce traditional gender roles, where women are expected to handle more of the household responsibilities even when they work from home. Moreover, not all employees have equal access to teleworking opportunities. Those in lower-paying jobs or industries, such is often the case for women, may be less likely to benefit from this flexibility. Teleworking can lead to isolation and reduced social interaction, which can have negative impacts on mental health and well-being, especially for women who may rely more on social networks. In some cases, teleworking can hinder career advancement, as it may result in reduced visibility and networking opportunities within the organization.

In summary, teleworking has the potential to positively impact gender equality by improving work-life balance, promoting shared responsibilities, and offering career opportunities for women. However, it also poses challenges related to overwork, gender role reinforcement, and limited access, which need to be carefully addressed to ensure that teleworking benefits all genders equally (Palumbo et al., 2022).

4. Conclusions

Our theoretical article has attempted to approach, through a narrative literature review, the impact of teleworking on the division of labor and the reconciliation of work and private lives from a gender perspective. Indeed, according to Eurofound and the International Labour Office (2017), considering the gender aspect in the issue of telework is essential. The health crisis we have been experiencing has only reinforced the interest in gender analysis in this area. Looking at the impact of teleworking on the reconciliation of the private and professional spheres from a gender perspective raises the issue of gender equality within and outside the workplace. Our paper thus reviews the literature on this topic and acknowledges the importance of considering gender in teleworking discussions, especially in light of the recent health crisis.

We have shown in this paper that teleworking can offer the potential for improved work-life balance by reducing commuting time and enabling individuals to spend more time with their children and fulfill family obligations. Teleworking can benefit women by supporting career continuity, especially during family responsibilities. Indeed, according to Hou et al. (2022), the flexibility offered by teleworking may have enabled women to achieve a better work-life balance by offering them the possibility of not having to stop working despite the family responsibilities they had to assume, which were even more important during the health crisis due to the closure of schools and nurseries. Nevertheless, teleworking can lead to overwork. It can also blur the boundaries between personal and professional life. It may inadvertently reinforce traditional gender roles, with women taking on more household tasks. Furthermore, not all employees have equal access to teleworking opportunities, which may potentially exacerbate gender inequalities. Women teleworkers may face role conflicts and be less available for family responsibilities. Indeed, teleworking experiences during the health crisis revealed gender inequalities in domestic responsibilities. Furthermore, it appears that a female teleworker will be more likely than a male teleworker to be confronted with her family's lack of understanding of the fact that she works at home and is, therefore, not available, even if she is physically present at home. She will also have to look after her children while she teleworks, whereas this is not the case for a male teleworker whose wife will look after the children. There is also still a tendency for managers to believe that when a woman wants to telework, it is mainly to be able to look after her children, which could be detrimental to the promotion prospects for women. Gender biases may thus negatively affect promotions and career prospects for women teleworkers. Finally, the unequal distribution of unpaid domestic work, which has continued (Rivoal, 2021; Schütz & Noûs, 2021) and even increased during the crisis, has forced many women to give up their work.

The experience of the health crisis has shown that as long as teleworking is not organized in a way that challenges the assumption that the home is a female environment while the office is a male environment, gender inequalities will always prevail between home and work (Tomei, 2021). It has also shown that without public policies and interventions for an equitable division of domestic and care tasks, women will not achieve a work-life balance through teleworking (Çoban, 2022).

The implications of such findings go beyond the company. In the organizational context, a more socially responsible approach may be of interest, as considerations of work-life balance and gender equality are part of the field of social

responsibility (Barthe & Belabbes, 2016). The company and its management must, therefore, be particularly careful about how female employees might experience teleworking both at home and in the company. Raising awareness among the hierarchy on the principles of non-discrimination at all stages of an employee's career and of the dangers of prejudices relating to women's roles both in and out of the workplace could be an avenue for reflection. This could stimulate the development of a more inclusive culture, which we believe has a role to play in this issue. According to Vayre (2021, p.72), "the development of an organizational and managerial culture which takes account of parenthood, which supports practices in favor of professional equality, which seeks to respond to the problems of reconciliation, to avoid asymmetry between the different areas of life, intrusions, and encroachment of work on the "non-work," is a critical factor for the success of telework. Our findings should also lead the company to think more carefully about the support policies it can offer to families, also encouraging men to make more use of them. This is part of the strategic measures developed by the European Commission to ensure a balance between the private and professional spheres. Chung et al. (2021) believe that it is essential to develop family policies that support fathers' involvement in childcare (e.g., parental leave reserved for fathers), especially during the first years of a child's life. Such policies could contribute to changing societal norms on gender roles. It also considers that in addition to making work more flexible, the culture of long working hours should be tackled through reforms such as the introduction of the four-day week. As the International Labor Office (2020) argues, it would be unfortunate if the telework of "tomorrow" was undermining the diversity and inclusion efforts that have already been made by organizations. Furthermore, family policies, such as paternal leave, can promote gender role changes and societal norms. Reforming long working hours, such as introducing a four-day week, is important to maintain diversity and inclusion efforts.

It should be noted that today, we experience a translation of the recent post-pandemic teleworking trends, such as continued adoption of teleworking, hybrid work models, investments in teleworking technology, increased flexibility, focus on employee well-being, and reevaluation of office space. These trends highlight the lasting impact of the pandemic on how businesses view teleworking and work flexibility. However, these trends may vary by region and industry (PWC, 2021).

In summary, we show the complex relationship between teleworking, gender roles, and work-life balance. This paper calls for a more inclusive and supportive approach within organizations and society to address gender inequalities exacerbated by teleworking.

We are aware of the limits of our paper. First, as the aim was to provide the main arguments used in the different studies about the effects of teleworking on the division of domestic tasks and the reconciliation of the private and professional spheres, we did not conduct a systematic literature review. Nevertheless, such a review could be useful for future research to have a better idea of the geographical areas which are covered and which are not. As an example, our tables in the Appendix show that only a few studies conducted in Europe appear in our paper but this does not mean that we cannot find more studies conducted in this area. Furthermore, if the aim is to have a more precise and quantitative view of the effects of teleworking, meta-analysis could be a useful avenue for future research.

Disclosure statement

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Appendix 1

Table 1. Impact of teleworking on the division of domestic tasks

Author(s)	Year of publication	Method	Country	Data	Object of the study	Findings
1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*
Haddon & Silverstone	1993	Qualitative (case study based)	The South East of England	21 households that included a teleworking member: 19 households in which two partners lived in a single household together with children; and 2 without children	Effect of telework on patterns of everyday life with a focus on gender	For those women who have been confined to home by the responsibilities of a young family, teleworking offers opportunities for a manageable re-integration into a wider world of relationships and meetings. "the experience of telework, its meaning and the capacity to manage it within the home, are all fundamentally determined by the gender of the teleworker, and the particular gendered politics of the household"
Silver	1993	Quantitative (Survey)	US	968 men and 547 women	Does homework help integrate work and domestic roles for men and women?	Working at home does not break down gender roles in domestic life. Male homeworkers perform no more housework than comparable men working outside the home
Sullivan & Lewis	2001	Qualitative	/	14 home-based teleworkers and their families	Effect of telework on work-family roles and boundaries	Teleworking can simultaneously enhance work-life balance while perpetuating traditional work and family roles
Tremblay	2001	Quantitative (phone survey) and qualitative (interviews)	Canada	Survey of 10,250 people (4,4% of them are teleworkers)	Differentiation according to gender of various dimensions of telework (tasks done by teleworkers, work organization, working conditions, degree of satisfaction, …)	More women than men have to ask their manager's permission to telework. There are gender differences in the autonomy and tasks performed when teleworking.

Table 1 cont.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
						There are no significant differences between men's and women's perceptions of the advantages and disadvantages of teleworking. Reconciling work and family is not the main advantage cited by men and women who telework
Bailey & Kurland	2002	Review of litterature	/	80 published academic empirical studies	Who participates in teleworking, why, and what happens when they do?	The teleworking population may be divided along occupational and gender lines, with a predominantly male professional segment and a largely female clerical segment. Expected motivations for individuals to pursue telework have not been borne out. Reluctance managers play a role in predicting employers' adoption of telework. The literature lacks support for claims of higher satisfaction among teleworkers
Wilson & Greenhill	2004	Theoretical paper	/	/	Implications of teleworking for women's identity construction	If teleworking is presented as a practice that can improve working conditions, digital society can also be viewed as one of increased risk
Greenhill & Wilson	2006	Theoretical paper	/	/	What are the implications of teleworking at home for women's ability to improve their taken-for-granted situation, especially through collective actions?	The theory of Marxism reveals potential empowering opportunities for women to challenge uncritical acceptance associated with the benefits of telework. Such work practice can contribute to compounding the double burden of work associated with gender roles within the home

Table 1 cont.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Hillbrecht et al	2008	Qualitative (interviews)	Canada	18 mothers with school-age children (6 to 18-years old)	Analysis of the relationship between temporal flexibility and work-life balance for female teleworkers with families	Women experienced a traditional gendered division of household labor and viewed telework as a helpful tool for combining their dual roles. Time flexibility enhanced their sense of balancing work and life and their perceived quality of life
Marsh & Musson	2008	Qualitative (case study, interviews)	UK	7 fathers (with children under 16) that telework	Analysis of the emotions involved in the expression and experience of fatherhood and career by men working from home	Telework can provide a space where men can adopt emotional discourses and practices traditionally associated with women and, particularly, with working mothers
Grodent & Tremblay	2013	Qualitative (interviews)	Canada	8 male managers and 9 female managers	How do male and female managers with various family situations reconcile their professional, personal, and family time?	If men and women in managerial positions prioritize family and work differently, gender alone is not a variable influencing managers' conciliation practices
Scaillerez & Tremblay	2016	Theoretical paper	/	/	Presentation of the European and North American legal context for telework and analysis of its impact on flexibilization and organization of work within firms	Teleworking helps to shape new work organizations and to inspire social innovations that can improve productivity and working relationships. But such practice lacks regulation since the legal standards designed to govern are few in number or incomplete where they do exist
Eurofound & the International Labour Office	2017	Quantitative	/	Data from national studies and from the sixth European Working Conditions Survey	Study of the impact of telework/ICT-mobile work (T/ICTM) on the world of work	Country-specific gender roles and models of work and family life play a role in shaping teleworking. Home-based teleworkers report better work-life balance. Partial/occasional forms of teleworking appear to result in a more positive balance between the benefits and drawbacks.

Table 1 cont.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
						Women who telework tend to work shorter hours than men, and they seem to achieve slightly better work-life balance effects
Dockery & Bawa	2018	Quantitative (survey)	Australia	Observations for a total of 26,625 employees (women) and 29,388 employees (men) living in a couple (heterosexual)	Analysis of the impact of teleworking from home on family functioning and work-family conflict, based on the point of view of the other member of the couple	Teleworking has a beneficial effect on intra-family relations and the sharing of responsibilities in the presence of children. Such practice could improve work-life balance
Adams-Prassl et al.	2020	Quantitative (survey)	UK, US, Germany	Data were collected in the US (8,003 participants), in the UK (8,905 participants), and in Germany (4,002 participants)	Study of the impact of Covid-19 on labor market in different countries	Women and less educated workers were more affected by the crisis. Women have taken on more childcare than men even when working from home
Blasko et al.	2020	Science for Policy Report	/	/	Study of the potential consequences of the COVID-19 outbreak on women and on gender equality in Europe	Women are risking to pay a higher price for the crisis than men. This can be in the form of a massive physical and mental workload during the crisis, which can lead to career disruptions both in the short and the long run, and in extreme cases even physical suffering
Fend & Savani	2020	Quantitative (survey)	US	286 US resident fulltime employees from dual-career families	Analysis of gender gaps in work-related outcomes in the context of COVID-19	Before the COVID-19 crisis, there were no gender differences in self-rated work productivity and job satisfaction. However, during the lockdown, women reported lower work productivity and job satisfaction than men

Table 1 cont.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Kim	2020	Quantitative (survey)	US	4,650 mothers and 3,600 resident fathers	Analysis of the impact of workplace flexibility (flexible schedules, working from home, part-time employment) on parent–child interactions	Working from home and part-time employment are associated with more frequent enrichment parent–child interactions. These positive associations are more pronounced among low-income mothers than mid- and high-income mothers
Sevilla & Smith	2020	Quantitative (survey)	UK	2,872 respondents	Study of the impact of measures to control COVID-19 on UK families with children under the age of 12	Women have done more of childcare than men (roughly 10 hours a week more) during lockdown. The additional hours of childcare done by women are less sensitive to their employment than they are for men, leaving many women juggling work and (a lot more) childcare, with likely adverse effects on their mental health and future careers
Alberio & Tremblay	2021	Introduction to a specific volume of Papers in Political Economy	/	/	COVID-19: What Impacts on Work and Employment?	The pandemic seems to have exacerbated already existing inequalities in the labor and employment markets
Chung et al.	2021	Quantitative (survey)	UK	692 couples	Which role flexible working has for gender equality during the pandemic?	Mothers were mainly responsible for housework and childcare tasks both before and during the lockdown period, and during the lockdown period, fathers who worked from home said they were doing more housework and childcare during the lockdown period than they were before

Table 1 cont.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Tomei	2021	Theoretical paper	/	/	Who is more likely to take up teleworking in the future, women or men? What consequences will it have for their careers, training opportunities, remuneration, and the gender pay gap? What will be the implications for gender equality at home?	The pandemic has hit women harder than men, and the risk of the reversal of women's hard-won gain is real. However, the pandemic brings new opportunities to correct structural gender inequalities. Teleworking is one of these opportunities

Table 2. Impact of teleworking on the reconciliation of private and professional lives during the health crisis

Authors	Year of publication	Method	Country	Data	Object of the study	Findings
1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*
Haddon & Silverstone	1993	Qualitative (case study based)	The South East of England	21 households that included a teleworking member: 19 households in which two partners lived in a single household together with children; and 2 without children	Effect of telework on patterns of everyday life with a focus on gender	"For those women who have been confined to home by the responsibilities of a young family, teleworking offers opportunities for a manageable re-integration into a wider world of relationships and meetings." "The experience of telework, its meaning and the capacity to manage it within the home are all fundamentally determined by the gender of the teleworker, and the particular gendered politics of the household"
Ordioni	2001	Theoretical paper	/	/	Determining whether teleworking is a trap for women with a Marxist approach	Teleworking practices thus differ profoundly according to gender
Sullivan & Lewis	2001	Qualitative	/	14 home-based teleworkers and their families.	Effect of telework on work-family roles and boundaries	Teleworking can simultaneously enhance work-life balance while perpetuating traditional work and family roles
Duxbury & Higgins	2001	Quantitative	Canada	Surveys conducted in 1991 and in 2001	Examining if all employees experience work-life conflict in the same way	Male gender role expectations (i.e., work comes first) have not changed all that much over the past decade despite the increased number of women in the workforce and the emergence of new family forms

Table 2 cont.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Fonner & Stache	2012	Qualitative	/	142 teleworkers who worked from home at least one day per month	Examining the cues and rituals teleworkers use to facilitate the transition between work and home roles	Female teleworkers were more likely to use segmenting cues relative to male teleworkers
Konrad & Yang	2012	Quantitative	Canada	Total sample of 14 920 employees including 6524 women and 8396 men based on Workplace and Employee Survey data collected by Statistics Canada in 2001 and 2002	Effect of employee usage of seven organizational work–life interface benefits on promotions	"The main effect of using work–life interface benefits on promotions was positive; [...] working at home is more beneficial for mothers than for fathers; [...] Single parents benefitted less than other employees from using work–life interface options." "Gender, presence of young children, and marital status interacted with the use of work–life interface benefits."
Borg	2020	Theoretical paper	Malta	Report using different surveys	Challenges and opportunities brought by teleworking on both employers and employees who were teleworking due to the Covid Crisis	An online study conducted by the National Commission for the Promotion of Equality (NCPE) in Malta between June and July 2020, found that the distribution of unpaid household and caring responsibilities during the Pandemic between women and men widened and exacerbated the already existing gender inequalities. The findings suggest that women spent more hours doing household tasks and childcare, whilst their time for leisure, personal care, and sleep decreased more when compared to that of men due to the pandemic.

Table 2 cont.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
						For those who lack space and privacy, interruptions by family members and pets make it hard for them to concentrate and focus on their work, or participate in virtual meetings and calls. The problem seems to be aggravated when young children are present in the family, especially during periods when the schools are closed or if they are in quarantine
Cannito & Scavarda	2020	Qualitative	Italy	20 online in-depth interviews with 10 heterosexual couples	Effect of remote work on work-life balance and gender inequalities in the division of paid and unpaid labor within heterosexual couples	Remote work does not allow the redefinition of the working models and does not improve the work-life balance of interviewed couples, which is still considerably unbalanced toward a job, with limited space and time for individual activities. Moreover, remote work, even in this unprecedented extreme situation, does not modify gender normative roles within the domestic domain and thus it reproduces and sometimes exacerbates gender inequalities with women trying to balance their double role and fathers expanding the time devoted to work
Gálvez et al.	2020	Qualitative	Spain	Individual interviews with a sample of 24 women and 10 focus groups with a sample of 48 women	Exploring female teleworkers' domestic and work experiences in their day-to-day lives	"Interviewees essentially criticized the employment models prevailing in the (Spanish) market, depicting them, as one participant described, as 'clearly conservative' and as reproducing

Table 2 cont.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
						traditional distinctions between the gender roles, therefore widening the gap between men and women on the issue of work–life balance."
Lambert et al.	2020	Quantitative	France	Survey Coconel conducted on people in employment on 1 March 2020, working from home during the containment period	Who were the first to suffer the economic consequences of the pandemic? Under what conditions did the French continue to work, depending on their gender and socio-professional category?	"The situation has deteriorated most markedly for women. Of those in work on 1 March 2020, only two out of three are still working two months later, compared to three out of four men. When they are at work, women are just as likely as men to be teleworking, but their working conditions differ. In reality, teleworking reveals deeper inequalities in living conditions, both at home and in the private sphere." "More often surrounded by children (48% of teleworking women live with one or more children at the time of confinement, compared with 37% of men), women are less likely to have a room of their own."
Schütz & Noîs	2021	Theoretical paper	/	/	Examining the inequalities in the working conditions	"The health crisis has put the spotlight on gender inequalities in the division of domestic tasks." "Women were less well equipped by their organizations to telework." "They also less often had an isolated place to do so at home."

Table 2 cont.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Tremblay & Mathieu	2021	Quantitative	Canada	Survey carried out in May 2020 with parents	Examining how Quebec parents experienced job-family balance while Quebec family policy favors the activity of women	The majority of parents (62%) described their job-family balance as "easy," which is surprising at first sight. We concluded that teleworking and the reduction in children's activities could explain this easier balance. Respondents' answers differed, however, with men describing their reconciliation as "easy" much more so (65%) than women (58%)
Vayre	2021	Theoretical paper		Report using different studies and surveys	Effect of gender on the impact of teleworking on the living sphere	"Research in this field shows that women who telework have more difficulty recovering physically and mentally than women who do not telework. Conversely, the opposite phenomenon is observed among men: male teleworkers are less tired both physically and mentally than those who do not telework (Hartig et al., 2007). What's more, compared to their male counterparts, female teleworkers perceive more of an overlap between work and personal life, and have more difficulty in mentally demarcating these two spheres." "The studies carried out clearly showed that inequalities in the distribution of domestic tasks and responsibilities during periods of confinement had a greater negative impact on the well-being, job satisfaction, and productivity of female teleworkers than on male teleworkers."

Table 2 cont.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Hou et al.	2022	Quantitative	US	Sample based on the respondents aged between 15 and 64 in the CPS monthly survey conducted by the Bureau of Census for the Bureau of Labor Statistics from September 2018 to April 2021	Examining the heterogeneous impact of teleworkability on labor market outcomes	The positive effect of teleworkability is i) stronger for females than males; ii) stronger for females with kids than their male counterparts as well as those without kids
Lyttelton et al.	2022	Quantitative	US	Matched sample of 2,519 parents drawn from 2003-2018	Effect of telecommuting on gender inequalities in parents' time use at home and on the job before and during the COVID-19 pandemic	Before the pandemic, telecommuting was associated with larger gender gaps in housework and work disruptions but smaller gender gaps in childcare, particularly among couples with two full-time earners. During the pandemic, telecommuting mothers maintained paid work to a greater extent than mothers working on-site, whereas fathers' work hours did not differ by work location