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Outside the Home

The Role of Workplace and Industry
Policies on Time spent on Unpaid Work

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Research Summary

Why was the research done?

Women in Australia and globally undertake a larger share of household and care labour than their male counterparts. Understanding why these gendered patterns persist is important because gender inequality in unpaid housework and care has consequences for women's ability to participate fully and effectively in public life and achieve equality more broadly. Gender inequalities at home create barriers to women's employment and public participation, reinforce dominant ideologies about women's and men's unequal social roles, and limit men's opportunities to participate fully in care activities.

What were the key findings?

We find that both workplace and industry level policies are influential in decreasing the time spent on unpaid work. In particular, work-family policies relating to parental leave and work flexibility appear to be most effective in reducing women's housework hours and increasing men's housework hours. But these policies work differently for care work. Instead, the availability of flexible work at workplaces is associated with more time on childcare hours among women, but not men. We also find an interactive effect between industry and workplace policies on flexible work for housework hours. Time spent on housework among women is smallest when an organisation offers job hours flexibility and there is a high level of flexibility at the industry level. Therefore, this shows that when organisations and industries align on their policies, they provide an even stronger effect on women's domestic labour. In fact, we find that when both organisation and industries have flexible work strategies, women show the lowest housework hours and the gender gap is at its smallest. Therefore, flexible work arrangements are particularly powerful when workers are supported to work flexibly in both their workplaces and in their industries.

What does this mean for policy and practice?

One takeaway from this is that our current policies both in workplaces and in industries are not doing enough to challenge the persistent gender gap in unpaid labour. To illustrate, we find no significant difference in industry level gender equality policies, specifically gender recruitment or gender promotion. While these policies are meant to increase equality in the workplace and industry through equal pay and promotion, this may be less effective for gender equality in unpaid work. Policies may need to be more directed to make real shifts in behaviours on unpaid work time.

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We acknowledge the Traditional Custodians of the lands on which we work and live across Australia.
We pay our respects to Elders past and present and recognise their continued connections
to land, sea and community.

Outside the Home: The Role of Workplace and Industry Policies on Time spent on Unpaid Work

Abstract

Organisations and industries have focused on supporting women to manage work-family responsibilities through flexible work policies. Most scholarship has focused on the effects of workplace policies, but just as workplaces have their own policies and informal culture about work-family balance and flexible work, so do industries. Workplace policies may be consistent or differ from industry policies. Using nationally representative Australian data, we ask whether industry context matters above and beyond workplace policies for time spent on unpaid domestic work. We find that workplace and industry level policies decrease the time on unpaid work and parental leave and work flexibility policies are the most effective. When both workplaces and industries offer flexible work strategies, women spend fewer hours on housework whereas men spend more time. Industries and workplaces are intimately linked and when their policies align, they play a strong role in supporting gender egalitarian divisions at home.

Keywords: unpaid domestic work; parental leave; work industries; work-life balance; flexible work

Introduction

Australian women undertake most unpaid household and care labour (Baxter, Hewitt, and Haynes 2008). In 2024, Australia women spent 4.9 hours per day on unpaid domestic and care work compared to men's 3.9 hours (ABS, 2025). To put this in perspective, the additional time women spend on unpaid domestic labour equates to over one-third of the time of a full-time job. Similar patterns are evident in other countries with women doing a much greater proportion and spending more hours each day on domestic work compared to men (Sullivan, Gershuny and Robinson, 2018; Treas and Drobnič 2010). There is some evidence of gender convergence over time and variations in the size of the gender gap across countries and welfare regimes, but progress is slow and uneven (Altintas and Sullivan 2016; Hagqvist, Toivanen, and Bernhard-Oettel 2018).

Understanding why these gendered patterns persist is important because gender inequality in unpaid housework and care has consequences for women's ability to participate fully and effectively in public life and achieve equality more broadly. Gender inequalities at home create barriers to women's employment and public participation, reinforce dominant ideologies about women's and men's unequal social roles, and limit men's opportunities to participate fully in care activities. Much feminist research has placed gender inequality in domestic and care work at the heart of failed attempts to achieve equality for women and as a key factor explaining the so-called stalled revolution in gender inequality (England 2010; Friedman 2015; Kan et al. 2022; Sullivan, Gershuny, and Robinson 2018)

To explain continuing gender inequality in the home, scholarship has pointed to the links between work-family policies (e.g., paid parental leave or flexible work opportunities) and gender divisions of labour at home (Berdahl and Moon 2013; Gornick and Meyers 2003; Noonan 2013; Vandello et al. 2013). Work-family policies may shape household labour arrangements by influencing women and men's opportunities and preferences to participate

in work and care activities, and also by potentially placing financial constraints on the allocation of domestic and paid work between women and men. For example, generous leave arrangements paid at full wage rates support both men and women to take leave, compared to more punitive policies paid at minimum wage rates. If men earn more than women, it will make more financial sense for women to take leave compared to men. Leave policies may thus be inherently gendered and may encourage more traditional gender divisions of labour.

Research on the relationship between work family policies and gendered divisions of labour at home has primarily examined workplace policies. Yet, a focus solely on workplace policies ignores the multiple layers of the social, economic and political landscape that shape gender patterns (Cooper et al. 2021). This study aims to understand how industry and workplace policies influence time spent on unpaid domestic and care work. Workplaces sit within a broader industry setting and this may be an additional driver of family arrangements shaping norms and expectations about who does work at home.

Just as workplaces have their own policies and informal culture, so do industries. To illustrate, an employee may be entitled to 20 weeks of paid parental leave through their workplace but the industry standard may fall well below that. The mismatch between these two may create a disconnect between what the workplace offers employees and what is viewed as normative behaviour for employees in a particular industry. Choroszwicz and Tremblay (2018) and Tremblay (2013) demonstrate that even when men and women are entitled to paid parental leave in their workplaces, taking parental leave and fulfilling childcare responsibilities are stigmatized in the law profession. In turn, employees may utilize less than the full amount of paid parental leave they are entitled to in the workplace.

This study examines these multiple layers of analysis—individual, workplace, and industry. We argue that workplace policies, while important, are just one component of a much larger labour market ecosystem influencing worker behaviour that also includes

industry policies and individual and family demographic characteristics. Using nationally representative data with industry and workplace characteristics, we ask whether industry level context matters above and beyond workplace policies for time spent on unpaid housework? We also consider whether the time spent on domestic work is influenced by the joint availability of work family policies in workplaces and industries? We consider these relationships separately by gender.

Theoretical Background

We draw on Barbara Risman's (2018:28) multilevel theory of gender as social structure that posits that social processes occur at the individual, interactional, and macro levels. Risman (2018) argues that while each level of analysis is important and distinct, the levels are also interactional so that the effects of one level could differ depending on the characteristics of another level. This may mean that the effect of workplace policies on unpaid domestic labour may differ depending on the policies available at the industry level. Using this framework, we examine whether both workplace and industry characteristics shape time spent on unpaid domestic work and care.

Macro Level Characteristics: Workplaces and Industries

Macro-level institutional factors influence how men and women divide their paid and unpaid labour (Fuwa and Cohen 2007; Noonan 2013:126). Macro-level explanations focus on factors external to individuals and families, including the organisation of the workplace or the characteristics of work industries that are influential in determining what happens on a day-to-day level within the family. Applying a macro-level approach is important as it provides a more comprehensive understanding of the mechanisms underpinning the gendered division of unpaid labour. In fact, ignoring the role of macro-level factors may in turn, overestimate the significance of individual factors. A consequence is that gendered patterns in unpaid labour

may appear to be a result of individual choices and decisions rather than being shaped by institutional factors (Noonan 2013:126).

Workplaces and their respective industries represent two macro-level institutional settings that shape the division of unpaid labour at home. Workplaces are an important social context to examine as they are not neutral entities, but instead impose a gendered logic that shapes the culture of work and families in intentional and unintentional ways, including shaping ideologies about feminine and masculine work (Ely and Meyerson 2000:15). In turn, workplace norms, rules, and policies are also shaped by the industries they sit within (Minnotte, Cook, and Minnotte 2010:659). Work industries are also non-neutral entities that have symbolic and material consequences on how workers behave (Cooper et al. 2021). Workplaces may have their own policies and culture, but the cultural norms and practices that influence whether policies are taken up by employees may be partly informed by overarching industry norms.

To illustrate, women working in men-dominated industries may face different constraints in utilizing work family policies than women working in women-dominated industries. Minnotte et al. (2010:674) found that when industries are labelled as feminine or masculine, gender norms dictate behaviour regardless of the characteristics of their workplace or organisation, indicating the overarching influence of work industries. Likewise, Cooper et al. (2021) argue that work industries may be even more influential than workplaces because industries also have cultural norms and practices that supersede or downplay those of the workplace. In Cooper et al.'s (2021:19) study of the finance industry, norms about very long work hours, individualized accountability, and performance-based pay were so pervasive that individuals maintained these behaviours even when their workplaces offered more generous work-family policies.

Interaction between workplace and industry

While workplaces and industries have distinct effects, considering both industry and workplace together is necessary because these contexts likely work together. Minnotte et al. (2010:664, 675) found that workers are more likely to use work flexibility policies under certain workplace and industry conditions. To illustrate, employees are more likely to take up flexible scheduling when their workplace simultaneously offers family support and employees work in a women-dominated industry. In sum, Minnotte et al. (2010) found that both the level of sex segregation of the industry and of the organisation shape individual workers' willingness to use flexible scheduling policies. However, Minnotte et al. (2010) focuses on just one characteristic of the industry (percent women) along with a few workplace measures (percent women, respondent perceptions about the level of family support in the organisation, and respondent perceptions about the level of family support provided by supervisor) for a cross-sectional sample of American workers in 2002. Cooper et al. (2020) suggests that other industry characteristics such as industry norms about work hours and pay structure can also play a role. We draw on this earlier work to examine how industry and workplace factors influence the gendered division of unpaid labour.

We build on Cooper et al. (2020) and Minnotte et al. (2010) by testing the interaction between workplace and industry policies. Specifically, we assess the joint availability of parental leave and flexible work on gender time allocations to domestic and care work while also considering a wider range of industry and workplace characteristics. We examine whether housework hours are shaped by the joint availability of flexible work policies in industries and workplaces and whether the two interact to produce a stronger effect on the gender division of unpaid labour at home. For example, do industry policies influence time allocations to work and care at home over and above the influence of workplace policies?

The Role of Family and Flexible Work Policies

Workplaces and industries can shape individual behaviours by shaping their preferences, opportunities, and beliefs (Greenhaus and Kossek 2014:362). In particular, parental leave and flexible work policies as well as the characteristics of workplaces and industries can actively create and reinforce social conditions and gender norms (Fuwa and Cohen 2007:514). In the review below, we focus on the roles of parental leave and work flexibility, which have long been recognized as important factors shaping work-family relations, and in particular, influencing the gendered division of labour in the family via men's and women's paid and unpaid work (Noonan 2013:126). Such policies can help employees cope with demands on time and energy, though the policies can work in different ways with some increasing the gendered gap in performance of household labour whereas others decrease the gap (Correll et al. 2014; Thébaud and Halcomb 2019:5).

While these two types of policies have been observed across various levels (e.g., workplace, industry, and national), the direction of the effects are hypothesized to work in similar ways regardless of the level of analysis (Chung 2019:27). However, in these studies, parental leave and work flexibility policies at the workplace and industry levels have not been observed together. Our study builds on this by observing whether the effects of parental leave and workplace flexibility policies may be different when considered simultaneously. To that end, we make no apriori assumptions about the directions of parental leave and work flexibility policies at the workplace and industry levels.

Parental Leave

Access to parental leave broadly reduces gender inequality by supporting women's employment, though there are mixed findings about the duration of parental leave and the distinction between maternity and paternity leave on the gendered division of household labour (Eliason, Styker, and Tranby 2008). Fuwa and Cohen (2007:528) found more equitable housework distribution among couples in countries with longer parental leave,

suggesting the role of these policies in equalizing the division of household labour between men and women.

Yet, according to Noonan (2013:128), a longer maternity leave could be detrimental by extending mothers' time outside the labour market. When mothers disengage from paid work, they in turn, increase their engagement in domestic work, creating a more gender unequal division (Geist and Cohen 2011:833; Hook 2010:1509; Noonan 2013:127). Additionally, a longer maternity leave is associated with mothers taking over primary caregiving and housework responsibilities, creating a more gender traditional division of labour (Schober and Zoch 2019). In contrast, shorter maternity leaves and women's return to work are associated with fewer housework and childcare hours among women because men participate more in these activities, creating a more equal division of labour (Haas 1990; Hook 2006; Kotsadam and Finseraas 2011; Schober 2011; Smith and Williams 2007).

While parental leave is often synonymous with maternity leave (Fuwa and Cohen 2007:515; Williamson, Foley, and Cartwright 2019:350), there is a growing focus on paternity leave in equalizing gendered divisions of childcare and housework. Paternity leave was theorized to encourage father's involvement in childcare and support women's involvement and earlier return to paid work (Haas 1990; Hook 2006; Kotsadam and Finseraas 2011; Smith and Williams 2007). Additionally, paternity leave is hypothesized to provide a more similar initial parenting experience that has consequences for household behaviour (Patnaik 2019:1011). Paternity leave, even short periods, are positively associated with an increase in fathers' physical time at home and involvement in housework and childcare and had continuing effects even after paternity leave ended (Hook 2006:653; Noonan 2013:128; Patnaik 2019:1013; Tamm 2019:190). Overall, maternity leave and paternity leave shape the gender division of childcare and housework, though in different directions (Schober and Zoch 2019; Tamm 2019).

Flexible work

Flexible workplace policies, such as variable working schedules, telecommuting, and work from home, may help workers to achieve work-life balance (Diamond 2002). Such policies are theorized to support workers to balance work obligations and family responsibilities and have been shown to increase workers' engagement and retention in the labour force, increase productivity, and reduce stress (Bianchi 2011; Pavalko and Henderson 2006:363; Noonan 2013:130).

But, flexible work can also negatively affect work and family outcomes (Kim et al. 2020:894). Women who telecommute often spend more time on housework tasks and in childcare than those who are not telecommuters (Noonan 2013:130). Likewise, homeworking and other arrangements that blur boundaries between work and home are associated with more traditional arrangements (Chung and Booker 2022). This suggests that women telecommuters are more likely to mix work and family responsibilities when they are working at home, whereas men tend to overwork when they adopt the telework mode (Noonan, Estes, and Maume 2007).

We also consider whether there is an interactive effect of workplace and industry level policies. Specifically, we assess whether the joint availability of flexible work policies and parental leave in industries and workplaces has a stronger effect on housework hours and childcare hours. We expect men to spend more time on unpaid work when industry and workplaces both offer opportunities for flexible work and parental leave and we expect men to spend less time when industry and workplaces are both low on such policies. Where there is a mismatch in industry and workplace policies, we do not expect a specific result. Instead, we will examine whether policies at the industry level are more or less influential than policies at the workplace level.

For women, we expect paid parental leave and flexibility policies in workplaces and industries will influence women's time on unpaid work in the same way. In other words, these policies support women to combine paid and unpaid work and hence women in industry and workplaces with more generous policies will spend more time on unpaid labour. We acknowledge the opposite could also be true. When workplaces and industries have more generous policies toward paid parental leave, this might be associated with more time for women spent on unpaid care and domestic work.

The Australian Context

Australia is a wealthy, liberal welfare country with government-funded welfare safety nets. Gender inequality remains a critical social issue despite some progress over the last few decades (Baxter et. al., 2023). Women's participation in the Australian labour market has increased substantially since the 1960s, although it still trails men's. Australian women are typically employed fulltime prior to having children, but then move to part-time employment throughout the childbearing and child rearing years. Part-time work characterizes approximately one third of women's employment in Australia, a rate much higher than women in comparable nations (OECD, 2022). Australian women account for 68% of primary carers and have the second lowest employment rate compared to mothers across the OECD Family Database (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2018; OECD, 2021). And while there has been some progress in reducing the male breadwinner model, it remains the most common family-earnings arrangement (Steinbring et al. 2023).

Subsidized childcare and paid parental leave were introduced in Australia to encourage women's attachment to the labour market (Nally, Taket, and Graham 2019; Williamson et al. 2019). Universal paid parental leave was introduced in 2011 although the length of leave is still much shorter than their OECD counterparts (Broadway et al. 2020). As federal parental leave is offered at the minimum wage for 24 weeks, many employees may

receive more generous parental leave packages from their employers. The expectation of most Australian policies designed to reduce gender inequality is that changes made in work will facilitate greater gender equality in domestic and care tasks at home. The gender division of labour in unpaid care and domestic tasks continues in Australia, as in most countries, with women undertaking the majority of this work (Altintas and Sullivan 2016; Baxter et al. 2008; Churchill, Kornrich, and Ruppanner 2023).

Industrial relations in Australia are guided by the Fair Work Act, which maintains a modern award safety net; establishes minimum standards for employment conditions and entitlements; and facilitates and approves enterprise agreements and general workplace protections (Acton 2011). The Act establishes National Employment Standards which outline minimum entitlements including wages, working hours, overtime, annual leave, sick leave, and other conditions. In turn, Australian industries may be more standardized with smaller policy differences within industries.

Data and Methods

We use data from the Household, Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia (HILDA) Survey, an Australian household panel study that collects annual information from the same respondents since 2001 through a combination of face-to-face interview and self-completed questionnaires. HILDA is based on a complex, probabilistic design, and its sample is largely representative of the Australian population aged 15 and older in 2001 (Summerfield et al. 2017). Attrition rates are remarkably low by international standards (around 5% each wave), and new participants can join the study if they (a) move into a household where an existing participant lives, or (b) live in a participating household and turn 15 years old. Our sample focuses on employed individuals from 2014 to 2021. Our analytic sample comprising 25,004 from 12915 women and 12089 men.

We also link industry-level information to each respondent in HILDA who was employed from 2014 to 2021 using data from the Workplace Gender Equality Agency (WGEA). Since 2014, WGEA has collected data on gender equality for all Australian organisations with over 100 employees across Australia. Provision of this information is mandatory for all non-public sector employers under Australia's *Workplace Gender Equality Act 2012*. In turn, WGEA has a rich repository of data with information on policies and strategies related to gender equality such as gender composition of industries, remuneration, and employment conditions and entitlements. For each industry, we collected information about industry-level characteristics from 2014 to 2021 and linked them to individuals in HILDA working in the same industry. In total, we can detail the industry-level characteristics for men and women over 50 work industries.

Including industry-level policies greatly enhances our understanding of workers' broader employment contexts. Whereas measures about workplace entitlements and access to work-family policies are often based on a respondent's perception about their workplaces (as is the case in HILDA), our industry-level measures are based on employer-provided and nationally-collected aggregated values of industry characteristics.

Dependent Variable

To examine time spent on unpaid labour, we use two continuous measures: housework and care hours per week. Housework hours is measured by asking respondents the number of hours they spend on housework in a typical week (e.g., preparing meals, washing dishes, cleaning house, washing clothes, ironing, and sewing). Childcare hours is measured by asking respondents the number of hours they spend playing with their children per week.¹

Independent Variables

¹ The childcare question does not specify an age for children in this measure. In additional analyses, we find that this is overwhelmingly representative of parents who have children aged 14 or younger.

We include three industry-level characteristics: 1.) Gender equality policies (measured using percent employers in industry with formal policy on gender and remuneration², percent of employers in industry with a gender equality recruitment policy, percent of employers in industry with gender equality promotion policy, and average percent of full-time female employees in industry); 2.) Family-work policies (average weeks of carer leave offered, average weeks of primary carer leave offered, and average weeks of secondary carer leave offered); and 3.) Work flexibility (measured using percent of employers with flexible work arrangements).³

HILDA also collects self-reported information about workplace policies. We include information on two workplace policies: paid maternity/paternity leave (yes/no) and the availability of home-based work (yes/no). Both measures are based on an individual's responses about whether these entitlements are available in their workplace. We observe paid maternity leave in the workplace for mothers and paid paternity leave for fathers.

Individual and Household Factors

We also control for a number of individual level factors that affect the gendered division of housework among families: marital status (married, cohabiting, and single as the reference), age (years), educational attainment (high school degree, diploma or certificate, bachelor's degree, graduate/postgraduate degree, and less than high school as the reference), total personal income, paid work hours, presence of young children in the household or not as the reference, and foreign-born individuals (reference is native-born individuals).

Results

² Remuneration policies refer to money paid for work, including wages, salaries, retirement, and other related benefits. Formal gender remuneration policies can differ by organisation but may include regular analysis or monitoring of gender pay equity, gender payroll analysis, review of commencement salaries for men and women, etc. Additional information is provided here: <https://www.wgea.gov.au/tools/designing-equitable-remuneration-policy>

³ We capture the percentage of workplaces in the industry that offers a flexible work arrangements strategy that ranges from carer's leave, compressed working week, flexible hours of work, job sharing, part-time work, purchased leave, telecommuting, time-in-lieu, and/or unpaid leave.

Table 1 presents descriptive results. On average, women spend about 6 hours more per week on housework than men (11.6 versus 5.7). Similarly, women spend about 5 hours more per week on childcare than men (10.1 versus 6). On average, women spend about 10 hours less each week in paid employment compared to men (31.8 versus 41.4).

Interestingly, both men and women work in industries with similar weeks of primary carer's leave (nearly 10 weeks), secondary carer's leave (1.5 weeks), and flexible work arrangements (19%). This may reflect greater standardization in parental leave and flexible work across industries. Nonetheless, there are a few notable differences. Women are more likely to work in female-dominated industries (59.4% versus 39%) and industries where women work full time (51.9% versus 33.5%). Women are also more likely than men to be employed in industries providing carer's leave (94.2% versus 91.3%). Likewise, women are more likely to work in industries that provide more average weeks of primary carer's leave (9.9 versus 9.5) than men. The average provision of secondary carer's leave is similar for both men and women (1.5 weeks). Aside from entitlements to leave, women are also employed in industries with greater flexible work arrangements (19.1% versus 18.9%). Overall, women are clearly employed in industries with greater average leave entitlements and flexible arrangements.

Women in our sample are slightly younger than men (38.3 versus 40.4) and are more educated as nearly one quarter have a college degree and another one fifth have a postgraduate or graduate degree. In contrast, only 33% of men hold a college degree or higher. In terms of household and family composition, women are more likely to be single (24.6% versus 20.1%) and less likely to be married (57.6% versus 63.2%). Women are also less likely to have young children at home (37.5% versus 41.8%).

TABLE 1 HERE

To understand whether industries and workplaces align in their policies, we present descriptive tables for workplace and industry policies on job flexibility and paid maternity leave. For illustrative purposes, we used simple dichotomous measures of whether the industry and workplace had a low or high level of job flexibility (see Table 2). Workplaces were categorized as high flexibility if they offered home-based work and low flexibility if workplaces did not offer home-based work. Industries were categorized as high flexibility if 25% or more employers in the industry were offered a flexible work strategy. We intentionally use broad measures in the descriptive tables to provide a general picture of how workplaces and industries align. In the regression analyses, we use a continuous measure of industry flexibility that provides more detail.

We find that the majority of workplaces and industries show low levels of work flexibility. In our sample, 58 industries have both low flexibility and low workplace flexibility. Specifically, this indicates low levels of work flexibility in workplaces and industries related to agriculture, mining, manufacturing, transport, services, warehousing, hospitals and health care services, and school education. There are five industries that have both high industry flexibility and high workplace flexibility. Not surprisingly, these include industries and workplaces where remote work is possible including internet publishing, telecommunication services, internet service providers, web search portals, and insurance and superannuation funds.

TABLE 2 HERE

Table 2 also shows anomalies where industries and workplaces differ in their flexibility. Some industries, like commission-based wholesale, retail, air and space transport or heritage activities have high levels of flexibility at the industry level but have workplaces with limited flexibility. In contrast, non-store retailing, professional services, and tertiary education are industries that do not have high flexibility, but many of the workplaces in these

industries offer work flexibility. In sum, most workplaces and industries do not offer flexible work for their employees but a handful of industries offer some level of flexibility whether it is in the workplace or a more normative standard within the industry.

In Table 3, we present a similar descriptive table for parental leave policies. We used simple dichotomous measures of whether the industry had low or high average levels of paid primary carer leave and whether workplaces offered paid maternity leave. Workplaces were categorized as offering high levels of maternity leave if their workplace offered any maternity leave and categorized as low if their workplace did not offer any maternity leave. Industries offering 8 or more weeks of paid primary carer leave were coded as offering high levels of leave whereas industries offering 7 or fewer weeks were coded as offering low levels of leave. For illustrative purposes, Table 3 is based on maternity leave in the workplace. We have also generated the same table using paternity leave and the industries represented are similar. This suggests consistency in workplaces offering maternity and paternity leave as most workplaces offering paternity leave also offer maternity leave.

TABLE 3 HERE

We find that the most common pattern was high parental leave in workplaces and across industries (n=35). We also find 23 industries that offer more generous parental leave even when workplace maternity leave is low. There were only 13 industries where there was low parental leave. In contrast to job flexibility that was quite low across workplaces and industries, paid maternity leave is quite widespread across workplaces and industries.

Regression Analyses

We use random-effects linear regression models to predict housework hours and childcare hours per week in relation to industry and workplace policies. Table 4 shows the coefficients from a random-effects linear regression analysis predicting housework hours for women (4a) and men (4b). We present the results in a stepwise fashion. In model 1, we

include basic demographics and individual characteristics. We find that marital status and age are statistically significant and associated with higher housework hours among women.

Weekly hours spent in paid work and young children at home are negatively associated with women's housework hours.

In model 2, we add workplace characteristics and policies to the equation. Workplaces providing paid maternity leave (-0.384) are statistically significant and negatively associated with lower housework hours among women. In models 3 and 4, we include a series of measures to capture gender composition of the industry and industry policies to promote equality (model 3) and industry work-family policies (model 4). Model 3 shows that industries with a gender remuneration policy (-0.016) are associated with fewer housework hours. Model 4 shows that industries with a higher level of flexible work (-0.04) and with more full-time female employees are also associated with fewer housework hours among women. Both models 3 and 4 show that workplace and industry characteristics are significant net of each other, indicating the significant effects of each separately on housework hours.

TABLE 4 HERE

Table 4b, model 1 shows that marital status, age, and educational attainment are all positively associated with housework hours among men. Work hours (-0.0296) are negatively associated with men's housework hours. In model 2, we find that employment in a workplace with paid paternity leave (0.426) and home-based work (0.281) consistently increases men's housework hours. Workplace characteristics remain significant and positive, net of industry controls in models 3 and 4. Additionally, models 3 and 4 show that industry characteristics have no significant effect on men's housework hours. Looking across Tables 4a and Table 4b, we find that workplace parental leave and industry level flexible work policies are important predictors for housework among women but only somewhat so for men. In separate

analyses we restrict our analyses to parents with young children and adolescents living in the household and find similar results. This is in Appendix Table 1.

Next, we consider the possibility of an interactive effect between workplace and industry characteristics. Given the available data, we test whether flexible work in the industry and flexible work in the workplace have an interactive effect on housework hours. In Table 5, we present the regression coefficients and find a significant interaction effect between the availability of flexible work in the workplace and across the industry (-0.762) among women. To interpret this interaction, we present predicted housework hours in Figure 1.

TABLE 5 HERE

FIGURE 1 HERE

We first look at workplaces that offer home-based work in the right two columns of Figure 1. If workplaces offer home-based work but the industry has a low level of flexibility, then the predicted housework hours for women is 12.1. If workplaces offer home-based work and there is also high flexibility in their industry then women's predicted housework time drops down to 10.9 hours.

We can gain a fuller picture of this interactive effect if we look at the workplaces that do not offer home-based work, depicted in the left two columns of Figure 1. For women employed in workplaces without home-based work, being in an industry that has low work flexibility (11.6) compared to an industry with high work flexibility (11.1) decreases a woman's probability of housework by 0.5 hours per week.

Interestingly, Figure 1 shows that this interaction works in the opposite direction for men. When workplaces offer home-based work and there is a low level of flexibility in the industry, the predicted housework hours for men are approximately 5.9 hours. However, when workplaces offer home-based work and there is high flexibility in the industry then

men's predicted housework hours increase to 6 hours per week. Although the interaction effect is not significant among men, it is consistent with the findings for women, indicating that greater workplace and industry flexibility together reduces the gender gap in unpaid work. We note that the interaction between the policies has the opposite effect on men and women's behaviour by increasing men's unpaid labour and decreasing women's. Overall, the interaction shows that when employers and industries share similar policies on flexible work, this has a positive effect on reducing the gender gap in unpaid housework. In particular, it reduces women's predicted housework hours and minimizes the gender gap in housework to 4.9 hours. Therefore, this suggests that industries and workplaces that jointly offer flexible work policies are most effective in reducing women's housework hours and increasing men's housework hours and reducing the gender gap in housework hours. We also test an interaction between parental leave in workplace and industries but we do not find a significant effect. These results are presented in Appendix Table 2.

Thus far, our analyses have focused on housework hours, which represent one form of unpaid domestic labour. To capture another type of unpaid domestic labour, we also examine unpaid childcare hours. In Table 6, we conduct similar analyses using a random effects regression to predict care hours for women (6a) and men (6b). Table 6a shows that women who are employed in workplaces that offer paid maternity leave and home-based work report higher childcare hours, as indicated in models 2, 3, and 4. This is in contrast to the findings for housework hours where maternity leave and home-based work decreased women's housework hours. In terms of industry characteristics, model 4 shows that working in industries that offer higher levels of carer leave is associated with higher childcare hours.

In Table 6b, we examine men's childcare hours and find no significant effects of workplace characteristics or industry characteristics. This indicates that work-family policies

in workplaces and in industries are associated with higher childcare hours for women but do not have any effect on men's care hours.

TABLE 6 ABOUT HERE

Overall, we find that work-family policies in the workplace and industry are significantly associated with lower housework hours for men and women. In contrast, workplace characteristics are associated with higher care hours among women, but not men. We find that the gender differences in housework hours reduce when we include an interaction term for industry and workplace policies suggesting that the two domains work together to provide the most favourable conditions to promote gender equality at home.

Discussion and Conclusion

Gender inequality in time spent on domestic and care tasks continues to limit women's opportunities and to reduce men's opportunities to participate fully in home life. Work-family policies to improve work-family balance are one strategy for improving gender equality at home by providing men and women with opportunities to work flexibly and take leave while remaining attached to the labour market. Whereas our knowledge of work-family policies has overwhelmingly focused on workplace policies, we extend this by examining the influence of industry contexts. We argue that while workplace policies may provide access to specific entitlements, industry characteristics may also shape expectations, norms, and cultures around take up of these policies. Adding measures of industry gender equality policies and characteristics to our models is one way to examine how such broader contextual features of the labour market shape household arrangements.

There are two main findings. First, we find that both workplace and industry level policies are influential in decreasing the time spent on unpaid work. In particular, work-family policies relating to parental leave and work flexibility appear to be most effective in reducing women's housework hours and increasing men's housework hours. But these

policies work differently for care work. Instead, the availability of flexible work at workplaces is associated with more time on childcare hours among women, but not men. This may be because flexible work that includes working from home can blur boundaries between paid work and home life and encourage women to maintain traditional mothering duties (Chung and Booker 2022; Noonan et al. 2007; Schieman and Glavin 2008). Furthermore, working from home reduces commuting time and provides additional time for childcare. This is consistent with Palihe et al. (2019:818) who found that during their free time, women spend more time with their children.

We find that such policies at the industry level have minimal effect on the care work for men or women. One potential reason why childcare hours may be less affected by industry policies than housework hours is because of the flexibility of the two types of domestic work. Childcare is particularly inflexible relative to housework which can be left temporarily uncompleted or moved to another day (Palihe et al. 2019:809). Parents, regardless of industry norms and standards, are likely to feel that time spent on care is less negotiable and thus, less likely to be shaped by their industry environment.

Second, we find an interactive effect between industry and workplace policies on flexible work for housework hours. Time spent on housework among women is smallest when an organisation offers job hours flexibility and there is a high level of flexibility at the industry level. Therefore, this shows that when organisations and industries align on their policies, they provide an even stronger effect on women's domestic labour. In fact, we find that when both organisation and industries have flexible work strategies, women show the lowest housework hours and the gender gap is at its smallest.

Flexible work is a useful policy tool for reducing the demands of managing work and family and tackling gender inequality in the labour market (Chung and Booker 2022:17). We find that flexible work arrangements are particularly powerful when workers are supported to

work flexibly in both their workplaces and in their industries. Given the growing evidence showing the potential benefits of flexible work (Noonan et al. 2007; Thébaud and Halcomb 2019), this provides justification for expanding the availability of flexible work. In this regard, our findings offer evidence that both industries and workplaces can do more to offer flexible work to their employees. Although flexible work does not lend itself to all types of work, we find evidence of mismatch as some workplaces provide more or less opportunities for flexible work than is normative across the specific industry. This suggests potential areas to increase work flexibility by better aligning the normative standards in industries and workplaces.

Our findings suggest that industries and workplace policies jointly affect workers' unpaid housework hours. This shows the importance of industry context in shaping how workers distribute household tasks. Overall, our findings reveal the complexity of when and under what conditions institutional factors, such as work and industry environments, shape individual behaviours in the household. It is possible that industry level effects may be more prominent in the Australian context given more standardization across industries. However, our findings are consistent with Minnotte et al. (2010:675), who focused on the United States and found that men and women are more likely to use flexible scheduling when they perceive both organisational and industrial support to be high. Thus, despite different country contexts, our study consistently shows that when workplaces and industries show high levels of support for certain policies, workers are more likely to adopt them.

Our results also lend support to Risman's (2018) multilevel theory of gender, and in particular interactional effects across levels. We argue that although workplaces and industries may be understood as distinct policy environments that independently shape workers' behaviours at home. Workplace and industry policies are also intricately linked and interactional so the extent to which these policies shape unpaid work at home depend on each

other. One possibility is that workplace policies provide the rules and regulations around work-family policies while industry policies shape normative views and perceptions about the implications of take-up of workplace policies (cf. Cooper et al. 2021; Trembay 2013; Choroszewicz and Tremblay 2018). Industries may then be seen as the broader context that shapes rules, beliefs and behaviours in the immediate environment of workplaces.

We find no significant difference in industry level gender equality policies, specifically gender recruitment or gender promotion. While these policies are meant to increase equality in the workplace and industry through equal pay and promotion, this may be less effective for gender equality in unpaid work. Policies may need to be more directed to make real shifts in behaviours on unpaid work time.

It is worth noting that any reduction in the gender difference in time spent on unpaid work from policies is primarily driven by a reduction in women's unpaid work hours, not men's. Men's unpaid hours remain stubborn and persistent. While the gender gap in unpaid hours reduces, this is a result of women reducing the amount of unpaid labour they do at home. This is consistent with Silver and Goldscheider (1994), who found that the availability of these workplace policies reduced women's housework hours, but it did not change men's. On the one hand, reduced housework hours bring women closer to parity with men. On the other hand, it is unclear whether this brings us closer to gender equality. While households may find it is easy to accept fewer hours of housework (and perhaps it will be outsourced to paid help), parents may be less willing to tolerate fewer hours of childcare. Without men or fathers increasing their childcare hours, it is unclear how to further close gender gaps in unpaid labour.

One takeaway from this is that our current policies both in workplaces and in industries are not doing enough to challenge the persistent gender gap in unpaid labour. We acknowledge the potential issue of selection as workers who wish to spend more hours on

childcare or housework may opt for occupations or industries that allow more flexible work. In this case, the policies themselves are less predictive of worker's behaviours. More detailed analyses of longitudinal data that assesses outcomes when individuals move between industries and workplaces could help disentangle these causal processes.

Our study is not without limitations. Industry characteristics are aggregated for employers with over 100 employees in private sector businesses. Therefore, the public sector is not included in our data. Early evidence on Australia's public sector shows less variation across industries as most employers offer gender equality policies, flexible work, and parental leave (WGEA 2025). However, there is no reason to believe that the policies would work differently in public and private sectors. Where available, future research should consider observing work and industry policies together for both public and private sector employers.

Our study focuses on parental leave and work flexibility policies. We acknowledge that other policies, such as subsidized childcare inform how men and women allocate time to unpaid work (Fuwa and Cohen 2007; review in Noonan 2013). However, we do not have information for subsidized childcare in our data. Future research may consider whether the presence of subsidized childcare at the workplace and industry levels shapes unpaid labour at home. Additionally, we note that while this study focuses on parental leave, there is no information about whether workplaces and industries support leave transfer between parents.

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Table 1: Descriptive Statistics

	Women	Men
Childcare hours per week	10.1	6.0
N	10583	7042
Housework hours per week	11.6	5.7
Work Hours Per Week	31.8	41.4
<i>Industry Characteristics</i>		
% female employees in industry	59.4	38.6
% female full-time	51.9	33.5
%employers have formal remuneration policy/strategy	49.7	55.2
%employers have recruitment gender equality policy/strategy	78.4	78.2
%employers have promotion gender equality policy/strategy	62.5	61.4
%employers provide carer's leave	94.2	91.3
weeks of primary carer leave	9.9	9.5
weeks of secondary carer leave	1.6	1.5
%employers have flexible work arrangement	19.1	18.9
<i>Workplace Characteristics</i>		
Paid maternity/ paternity leave	59.3	46.0
Work Hours	31.8	41.4
Age	38.4	40.4
Total Personal Income	50812.7	72590.1
<i>Marital Status</i>		
Single	24.6	20.1
Cohabiting	17.7	16.7
Married	57.6	63.2
Foreign-Born	17.8	20.3
<i>Educational Attainment</i>		
Less than high school	11.4	12.7
HS degree	16.0	15.2
Diploma or certificate	28.5	39.0
Bachelor	24.2	18.7
Grad/postgrad	19.8	14.4
Young Children At Home	37.5	41.8
N	12915	12089

Table 2: Descriptive Portrait of Flexibility in Organisations and Industries

Industry Flexibility (WGEA)		
Workplace Flexibility (HILDA)	Low	High
Low	Agriculture, Forestry, and Fishing; Oil and Gas Extraction; Coal Mining; Metal Ore Mining; Non-Metallic Mineral Mining and Quarrying; Exploration and Other Mining Support Services; Chemical production; Manufacturing; Pulp, paper, and converted paper production; Printing; Electricity Supply; Waste Collection, Treatment, and Disposal Services; Heavy and Civil Engineering Construction; Basic Material Wholesaling; Machinery and Equipment Wholesaling; Motor Vehicle and Motor Vehicle Parts Wholesaling; Grocery, Liquor and Tobacco Production; Fuel Retailing; Store-Based Retailing; Accommodation; Food and Beverage Services; Road and Rail Transport; Warehousing and Storage Services; Motion Picture and Sound Recording; Broadcasting; Library and Information Service; Rental and Hiring Services; Property Operators and Real Estate Services; Administrative Services; Building Cleaning, Pest Control and Other Support Services; Public Order, Safety and Regulatory Services; Preschool and School Education; Adult, Community, and Other Education; Hospitals; Medical and Other Health Care Services; Residential Care Services; Social Assistance Services; Creative and Performing Arts Activities; Sports and Recreation Activities;	Commission-based wholesaling; Food retailing; Air and Space Transport; Heritage Activities (n=4)

	Gambling Activities; Personal and Other Services (n=58)	
High	Non-Store Retailing and Retail Commission-Based Buying and/or Selling; Publishing; Professional, Scientific, and Technical Services (Except Computer System Design and Related); Auxiliary Finance and Insurance Services; Computer System Design and Related; Tertiary Education (n=6)	Internet Publishing; Telecommunications Services; Internet Service Providers, Web Search Portals, and Data Processing Services; Finance; Insurance and Superannuation Funds (n=5)

Table 3: Descriptive Portrait of Parental Leave in Organisations and Industries

Industry Parental Leave (WGEA)		
Workplace Parental Leave (HILDA)	Low	High
Low	Textile, Leather, Clothing and Footwear Manufacturing; Fabricated Metal Product Manufacturing; Furniture Manufacturing; Basic Material Wholesaling; Accommodation; Rental and Hiring Services; Building Cleaning, Pest Control, and Other Support Services (n=7)	Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing; Beverage and Tobacco Product Manufacturing; Printing; Non-metallic Mineral Product Manufacturing; Waste Collection, Treatment, and Disposal; Building Construction; Construction Services; Machinery and Equipment Wholesaling; Motor Vehicle and Motor Vehicle Parts Wholesaling; Grocery, Liquor and Tobacco Production; Commission-based Wholesaling; Fuel Retailing; Other Store-Based Retailing; Non-Store Retailing and Retail Commission-based Buying and Selling; Food and Beverage Services; Road Transport; Motion Picture and Sound Recording; Property Operators and Real Estate; Adult, community, and other education; Creative and Performing Arts Activities; Sports and Recreation Activities; Repair and Maintenance; and Personal and Other services (n=23)
High	Polymer Product and Rubber Product Manufacturing; Food Retailing; Air and Space Transport; Warehousing and Storage Services; Public Order, Safety and Regulatory Services; Social Assistance Services (n=6)	Coal Mining; Oil and Gas Extraction; Metal Ore Mining; Non-Metallic Mineral mining; Exploration and Other Mining Support; Food Product Manufacturing; Pulp, paper, and converted paper production; Chemical production; Primary Metal and Metal Production; Manufacturing; Transport Equipment Manufacturing; Electricity Supply; Heavy and Civil Engineering

		Construction; Machinery and Equipment Wholesaling; Motor Vehicle and Motor Vehicle Parts Retailing; Rail Transport; Transport Support Services; Publishing; Broadcasting; Internet Publishing and Broadcasting; Telecommunications Services; Internet Service Providers; Library and Information Services; Finance; Insurance and Superannuation Funds; Auxiliary Finance and Insurance; Professional, Scientific, and Technical Services; Computer System Design and Related Services; Administrative Services; Preschool and School Education; Tertiary Education; Hospitals; Medical and Other Health care Services; Residential Care Services; Heritage Activities; Gambling Activities (n=35)
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Table 4a. Coefficients from Random Effects Linear Regression Model Predicting Housework Hours for Women

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Marital Status				
Cohabiting	2.981***	2.974***	2.979***	2.963***
(ref: single)	(0.269)	(0.269)	(0.269)	(0.269)
Married	4.498***	4.487***	4.467***	4.470***
	(0.287)	(0.287)	(0.287)	(0.287)
Age	0.206***	0.206***	0.206***	0.208***
	(0.00986)	(0.00987)	(0.00989)	(0.00988)
Educational Attainment				
HS degree	0.233	0.245	0.332	0.312
(ref: less than HS)	(0.372)	(0.372)	(0.373)	(0.372)
Diploma/certificate	0.412	0.431	0.522	0.479
	(0.345)	(0.346)	(0.348)	(0.347)
Bachelor	0.592	0.650	0.740*	0.748*
	(0.365)	(0.369)	(0.372)	(0.373)
Grad/postgrad	0.102	0.161	0.260	0.321
	(0.388)	(0.392)	(0.396)	(0.398)
Foreign-born	0.130	0.112	0.139	0.0975
(ref: Native-born)	(0.287)	(0.287)	(0.287)	(0.287)
No young children at home	-3.522***	-3.519***	-3.529***	-3.535***
(ref: young children at home)	(0.204)	(0.204)	(0.204)	(0.204)
Total Personal Income	-0.00000297	-0.00000296	-0.00000278	-0.00000264
	(0.00000155)	(0.00000156)	(0.00000156)	(0.00000156)
Work Hours	-0.110***	-0.108***	-0.106***	-0.107***
	(0.00663)	(0.00678)	(0.00681)	(0.00678)
<i>Workplace Characteristics</i>				
Paid maternity leave		-0.384*	-0.391*	-0.348
		(0.181)	(0.183)	(0.183)
Home-based Work		0.325+	0.451*	0.407*
		(0.185)	(0.194)	(0.186)
<i>Industry Characteristics</i>				
Remuneration Policy			-0.016*	
			(0.00721)	
Gender Recruitment			0.022	
			(0.0138)	
Gender Promotion			-0.023	
			(0.0125)	
Female Employment			0.055	
			(0.0304)	
Female full-time			-0.069*	
			(0.0336)	
Carer Leave				-0.003
				(0.0165)
Primary Carer leave				-0.057
				(0.0355)
Secondary Carer leave				-0.203
				(0.197)

Flexible work				-0.04 ^{***}
				(0.00890)
<i>N</i>	12915	12915	12915	12915

Standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 4b. Coefficients from Random Effects Linear Regression Model Predicting Housework Hours for Men

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Marital Status				
Cohabiting	0.805***	0.766***	0.763***	0.771***
(ref: single)	(0.181)	(0.181)	(0.181)	(0.181)
Married	0.318	0.279	0.280	0.286
	(0.192)	(0.192)	(0.192)	(0.192)
Age	0.05***	0.05***	0.05***	0.05***
	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)
Educational Attainment				
HS degree	0.906***	0.832***	0.822***	0.809***
(ref: less than HS)	(0.217)	(0.218)	(0.219)	(0.218)
Diploma/certificate	1.164***	1.095***	1.076***	1.080***
	(0.191)	(0.191)	(0.191)	(0.191)
Bachelor	1.816***	1.633***	1.600***	1.583***
	(0.220)	(0.224)	(0.229)	(0.227)
Grad/postgrad	1.609***	1.412***	1.370***	1.354***
	(0.242)	(0.245)	(0.251)	(0.249)
Foreign-born	-0.0323	-0.0159	-0.0247	-0.0147
(ref: Native-born)	(0.161)	(0.161)	(0.161)	(0.161)
No young children at home	-1.221***	-1.228***	-1.226***	-1.225***
(ref: young children at home)	(0.125)	(0.125)	(0.125)	(0.125)
Total Personal Income	-0.000000151	-0.000000378	-0.000000416	-0.000000433
	(0.000000791)	(0.000000791)	(0.000000794)	(0.000000792)
Work Hours	-0.028***	-0.03***	-0.029***	-0.029***
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
<i>Workplace Characteristics</i>				
Paid paternity leave		0.426***	0.411***	0.408***
		(0.108)	(0.109)	(0.109)
Home-based Work		0.281*	0.287*	0.267*
		(0.112)	(0.114)	(0.113)
Industry Characteristics				
Remuneration Policy			0.0001	
			(0.004)	
Gender Recruitment			0.014	
			(0.008)	
Gender Promotion			-0.009	
			(0.007)	
Female Employment			-0.015	
			(0.02)	
Female full-time			0.019	
			(0.023)	
Carer Leave				0.009
				(0.009)
Primary Carer leave				-0.004
				(0.022)
Secondary Carer leave				0.076
				(0.099)
Flexible work				0.003

				(0.005)
<i>N</i>	12089	12089	12089	12089

Standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 5: Coefficients from Random Effects Linear Regression Model with Interaction between Work Flexibility in Workplaces and Industries

	Women	Men
Workplace flexibility	0.576**	0.285*
(ref: no)	(0.202)	(.124)
Industry flexibility	-0.421*	-0.068
(ref:no)	(0.203)	(.119)
Workplace flexibility x Industry flexibility	-0.762*	0.22
	(0.329)	(0.197)
<i>N</i>	12915	12089

Standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Note: Models control for marital status, age, educational attainment, country of birth, children at home, income, occupation, and work hours.

Figure 1: Interaction of Workplace Flexibility and Industry Flexibility on Predicted Housework Hours by Gender

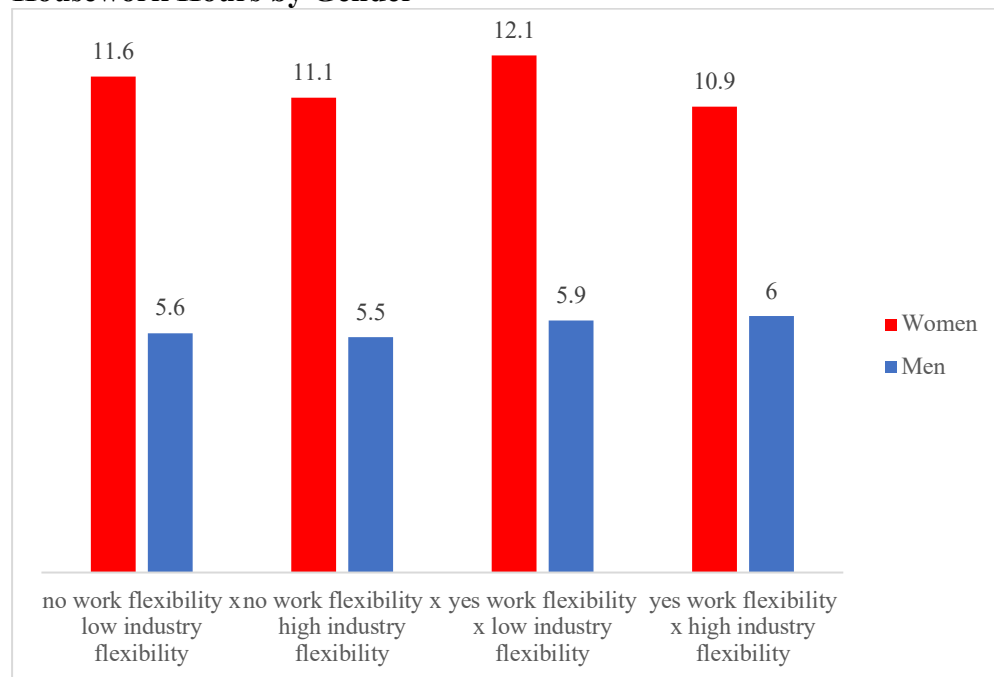


Table 6a. Coefficients from Random Effects Linear Regression Model Predicting Care Hours for Women

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Marital Status				
Cohabiting	3.566***	3.520***	3.499***	3.508***
(ref: single)	(0.459)	(0.458)	(0.459)	(0.459)
Married	6.956***	6.902***	6.908***	6.836***
	(0.473)	(0.472)	(0.472)	(0.473)
Age	-0.109***	-0.113***	-0.113***	-0.116***
	(0.0160)	(0.0160)	(0.0161)	(0.0161)
Educational Attainment				
HS degree	3.174***	3.020***	2.980***	2.959***
(ref: less than HS)	(0.630)	(0.630)	(0.632)	(0.631)
Diploma/certificate	4.601***	4.378***	4.311***	4.260***
	(0.578)	(0.580)	(0.584)	(0.584)
Bachelor	6.770***	6.399***	6.378***	6.151***
	(0.603)	(0.608)	(0.615)	(0.620)
Grad/postgrad	7.236***	6.833***	6.817***	6.558***
	(0.634)	(0.640)	(0.647)	(0.656)
Foreign-born	-2.054***	-2.023***	-2.049***	-1.967***
(ref: Native-born)	(0.450)	(0.449)	(0.451)	(0.450)
No young children at home	-20.42***	-20.40***	-20.39***	-20.39***
(ref: young children at home)	(0.340)	(0.339)	(0.339)	(0.340)
Total Personal Income	-0.00000114	-0.00000194	-0.00000209	-0.00000197
	(0.00000266)	(0.00000266)	(0.00000266)	(0.00000266)
Work Hours	-0.174***	-0.183***	-0.184***	-0.183***
	(0.0114)	(0.0116)	(0.0117)	(0.0117)
<i>Workplace Characteristics</i>				
Paid maternity leave		0.857**	0.856**	0.734*
		(0.312)	(0.317)	(0.318)
Home-based Work		1.349***	1.244***	1.420***
		(0.326)	(0.350)	(0.329)
<i>Industry Characteristics</i>				
Remuneration Policy			0.018	
			(0.0142)	
Gender Recruitment			-0.007	
			(0.0293)	
Gender Promotion			-0.011	
			(0.0273)	
Female Employment			-0.051	
			(0.0565)	
Female full-time			0.063	
			(0.0618)	
Carer Leave				0.069*
				(0.0337)
Primary Carer leave				0.061
				(0.0655)
Secondary Carer leave				-0.066
				(0.454)

Flexible work				-0.025
				(0.0174)
<i>N</i>	10583	10583	10583	10583

Standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 6b. Coefficients from Random Effects Linear Regression Model Predicting Care Hours for Men

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Marital Status				
Cohabiting	1.938***	1.926***	1.955***	1.929***
(ref: single)	(0.352)	(0.353)	(0.353)	(0.353)
Married	2.963***	2.951***	2.966***	2.956***
	(0.365)	(0.365)	(0.365)	(0.365)
Age	-0.0427***	-0.0417***	-0.0421***	-0.0421***
	(0.0108)	(0.0108)	(0.0108)	(0.0108)
Educational Attainment				
HS degree	0.484	0.482	0.483	0.442
(ref: less than HS)	(0.425)	(0.426)	(0.429)	(0.428)
Diploma/certificate	0.660	0.657	0.697	0.637
	(0.389)	(0.390)	(0.392)	(0.391)
Bachelor	0.785	0.779	0.764	0.693
	(0.415)	(0.421)	(0.430)	(0.430)
Grad/postgrad	0.520	0.501	0.469	0.403
	(0.444)	(0.450)	(0.461)	(0.463)
Foreign-born	-0.217	-0.215	-0.187	-0.213
(ref: Native-born)	(0.294)	(0.294)	(0.295)	(0.294)
No young children at home	-10.13***	-10.14***	-10.16***	-10.13***
(ref: young children at home)	(0.239)	(0.239)	(0.239)	(0.239)
Total Personal Income	0.00000143	0.00000142	0.00000160	0.00000137
	(0.00000134)	(0.00000134)	(0.00000135)	(0.00000135)
Work Hours	-0.003	-0.004	-0.003	-0.004
	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.008)
<i>Workplace Characteristics</i>				
Paid paternity leave		0.157	0.131	0.124
		(0.210)	(0.213)	(0.214)
Home-based Work		-0.102	-0.023	-0.116
		(0.213)	(0.220)	(0.215)
<i>Industry Characteristics</i>				
Remuneration Policy			-0.003	
			(0.009)	
Gender Recruitment			-0.016	
			(0.021)	
Gender Promotion			0.006	
			(0.018)	
Female Employment			0.044	
			(0.038)	
Female full-time			-0.04	
			(0.043)	
Carer Leave				0.019
				(0.019)
Primary Carer leave				-0.003
				(0.05)
Secondary Carer leave				0.093
				(0.315)
Flexible work				-0.002

				(0.011)
<i>N</i>	7042	7042	7042	7042

Standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

